Anyone who has seen the stunning ruins at Angkor, Bagan, or Barabudur will understand why Southeast Asia boasts so many United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization World Heritage sites. But this is only part of an immense historical and cultural heritage, much of which is revealed in this thought-provoking guide that helps readers grasp the sites’ value and comprehend the society in which they were created over a period of a thousand years.

Covering the countries of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam from the 1st through 15th centuries, Historical Dictionary of Ancient Southeast Asia explores the vast and complex history of the region through a chronology, a glossary, a bibliography, an introduction, appendices, maps, photographs, and diagrams. It also includes hundreds of cross-referenced dictionary entries on major and minor sites; significant figures; kingdoms and lesser entities they ruled; economic and social relations; and the artistic, cultural, and religious context of the time.

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Historical Dictionaries of Ancient Civilizations
and Historical Eras
Edited by Jon Woronoff

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For well over a thousand years, from roughly the 4th to the 15th centuries, in Southeast Asia a succession of rulers emerged, fought each other, and conquered or were slaughtered while countless kingdoms and lesser entities were proclaimed, prospered, and in most cases declined. But they left behind impressive traces, mainly temples, some of these recovered only after considerable effort, yet enough to make a strong impression upon those who view them today, whether at Angkor, Bagan, Barabudur, or other sites. Somewhat neglected during the colonial period, these represent the roots of today's countries, including parts or all of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines. This helps explain the ongoing careful archaeological work and the painstaking study of linguists and historians, which very slowly and not quite surely reveal the past.

_Historical Dictionary of Ancient Southeast Asia_ attempts, among other things, to sum up the present situation, primarily through its dictionary section with hundreds of succinct entries on the more eminent rulers (at least those who were recorded), the more outstanding remains (those that could be recovered), and information that has been compiled on the various peoples, their art and architecture, their legends and literature, their scripts and societies, their rites and religions. The large number of persons, entities, and events makes it difficult to keep track of them, which makes a chronology particularly important (see appendix A). And, given the numerous vernacular and technical expressions, a glossary is no less helpful. Despite its considerable scope, this book can only be a starting point, and further research can be pursued by following leads in the bibliography.

The author of this volume, John N. Miksic, has been preparing it, in a sense, for nearly three decades, since he moved to Sumatra in 1979
and then Yogyakarta some years later. While in Indonesia, he worked at first as a rural development planning and management advisor and then as a professor of archaeology. Since 1987 he has been teaching at the National University of Singapore, in the Department of History, the Southeast Asian Studies Programme, and the Asia Research Institute, with a specialization in Southeast Asian archaeology and art history. During this period, he has published numerous articles and several books while also serving in many other capacities such as history consultant to the National Parks Board, member of the Asian Civilisations Museum board, and review editor for the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. This was certainly solid preparation for an amazingly far-reaching and in-depth survey of the field.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
Reader’s Note

It was tempting to use completely phonetic spelling for this dictionary, but that would have made it difficult for users already familiar with traditional spelling conventions to locate some words. Therefore it has been decided to adopt common spellings already in use, although in some instances choices had to be made when there is inconsistency in previous works.

In order to retain consistency with local practice, Sanskrit words and names, when used in Indian context, are transliterated according to spelling conventions used in contemporary Indian sources. Diacritics are given the first time the word appears, but without diacritics thereafter. The letter š as in Śiva is transliterated as s. The Ś as in Vishnu is transliterated as sh.

Indonesian authors often spell words of Sanskrit origin phonetically according to their pronunciation in Java. Thus the labial semivowel often transliterated as v in India is transliterated as w, for example, in Bhairawa, Pandawa, and Rawana. An exception has been made for names such as Siva and Vishnu, in the belief that most readers would be more familiar with these Anglicized spellings. It is impossible to reconstruct early Malay pronunciation, since inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries use the letter usually read as the Sanskrit v for both b and w. In Cambodian entries, however, in conformity with common practice the v is retained, as in -varman.

The sound normally spelled ch in English is written simply as c in modern Indonesian and Sanskrit. Thus candi is pronounced “chandi.” The Indonesian and Sanskrit convention will be retained for words that are derived from these languages.

The sound written in some transcriptions of Sanskrit as m and pronounced as ng, as in the English word sing, is often misrepresented in English as m. This confusion has been rectified in all spellings in this
book, even though this results in some spellings that differ from normal usage.

In modern Indonesian, the English sh sound is written sy. The English spelling will be used here.

The letter r is transliterated as er when it appears in the middle of a word, for example, in Kertarajasa, but as ri in the word risi.

The most difficult decision concerned the transliteration of the character å, which symbolizes pronunciation commonly encountered in some but not all parts of central and eastern Java. Indonesian practice varies on this point. It has been decided to spell these words with a rather than o, for example, Singasari instead of Singosari.

In the main entry for some words, alternative spellings including diacritics are given.

The abbreviations CE and BCE (Common Era and Before Common Era) are used in preference to AD and BC.

Throughout this dictionary there are references consisting of a letter and number (e.g., K.557 or C.25). These are inventory numbers for inscriptions. The French devised a system of shorthand references to catalog the inscriptions they found in Indochina. Inscriptions found in the territory of the former kingdom of Champa have a “C” number; thus, C.25 refers to a specific Cham inscription. For Cambodia, the prefix “K” for Khmer is used. For Indonesia, references such as “286A” refer to catalog numbers used by the National Museum of Indonesia.
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SOUTH CHINA SEA

LUZON

PHILIPPINE SEA

MINDORO

VISAYAS

PALAWAN

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MALAYSIA

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BARABUDUR

6. Barabudur, Java, Indonesia
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9. Candi Sewu, Java, Indonesia
Dictionary

A

ABDICATION. Some Jataka tales advocate abdication by royalty, followed by retirement to a life of prayer and meditation. This is a theme of the Makhadeva and is found in the Susima, Culla Sutasoma, and Nimi Jatakas. The king in each story finds a gray hair, realizes that life is brief, becomes an ascetic, and is reborn in Brahma’s heaven. It seems that this ideal was practiced rather frequently in Southeast Asia. In Chitu, according to a Chinese source of 607, the ruler’s father abdicated to preach Buddhism.

Javanese history contains numerous examples of such acts. According to the Javanese text Pararaton, Bhra Hyang Wishesa became ruler of Majapahit after the death of King Hayam Wuruk in 1389. He became a hermit in 1400, but war broke out between him and Bhra Wirabhum, ruler of east Java, in 1404, suggesting that he still retained power even as a hermit. A more complicated case occurred in the 17th century when Sultan Agung Tirtayasa of Banten went to war with his son Sultan Haji, to whom he had already given the throne, in a dispute over policy regarding the Dutch.

In Indonesian shadow plays, the expression “lengser keprabon, madeg pandito” (step down as king, become priest) sometimes occurs. In one shadow play episode, King Abiyasa tried to abdicate but failed because he favored certain children, and his grandchildren fought.

In Cambodia, the practice of abdicating in favor of a son is only attested in the last three reigns before the end of inscriptions. At the same period, this practice was also adopted by the Tran dynasty of Vietnam. The Ying-yai Sheng-lan, a Chinese text of the mid-15th century, states that in Annam, “When the king has reigned 30 years
he becomes a hermit for the purpose of fasting and penance, and he commands his son or his nephew to be regent of the kingdom.”

The custom of bersyaikh diri or “withdrawing from the world” was practiced by the chief royalty of Melaka, notably the mid-15th-century ruler Sultan Mahmud Shah I (“baginda itupun bersyaikh diri . . . jauh dari nobat” [his majesty secluded himself . . . far from the regalia], according to the Malay Annals) and Sultan Ahmad Shah I of Pahang (1475–1512).

ABEYADANA. A Buddhist temple in Bagan. It is often ascribed to King Kyanzittha, but a late inscription attributes it to his chief queen, after whom it was named. Supposedly it marks a spot where she waited for him when he was fleeing Sawlu. It resembles the Nagayon but has a bell-shaped stupa above the terraces instead of a sikhara as at Nagayon. The main image is a brick seated Buddha in bhumisparsa mudra, flanked by two devotees, probably Mogallana and Sariputta. At Buddha’s shoulder level are two kinnaya (kinnara).

The shrine is located on the west side of the Myinkaba-Thiriayitsaya road, opposite Nagayon, in the direction of the palace Kyanzittha built in 1102–1103. It was probably built around the same time as Nagayon. According to Gordon H. Luce, Queen Abeyadana may have been Bengali, which he thought explained the northern Buddhist nature of some of the murals in the shrine. This is purely conjectural; Burmese Buddhism of the period may well have included several forms, one of which may have been related to the Mahayana religion of Bengal.

The temple plinth has moldings characteristic of early period architecture at Bagan, with kalasa pots. The hall is adorned with Jataka scenes. Two broad niches on either side of the arch on the inner wall contain paintings of, on the east, Queen Maya’s Dream, in which she foresaw her role as Buddha’s mother, and on the west, the parinibbana (a reclining figure of Buddha symbolizing his entry into nirvana). Above the niches are paintings of Buddha’s conception.

Walls of the front hall bear Jataka scenes with glosses in Mon script. Frescoes on the outer wall depict bodhisattvas; inner walls have images of the Hindu deity Brahma worshipping Buddha, and other divinities of the Mahayana pantheon. Other figures include heavenly beings (vidhyadhāra) and royal figures paying homage to Buddha, floral bands, and stupas. More Hindu deities (Siva, Vishnu)
appear on their vahāna (Garuda for Vishnu, Nandi for Siva). Around the central niche is a painting of Mara’s attack, probably the oldest depiction of this scene at Bagan.

The outer wall contains scenes that deviate from the more orthodox Theravada Buddhism of Bagan: bodhisattvas, cave scenes with hermits, Taras, and tantric deities in forms comparable to Nepalese depictions of the same period. Mural painting consisted of two styles at Bagan at this time: one for Theravada themes that used shading, similar to paintings in Ajanta, India; the second, more linear, was used for themes found in Mahayana including Tantric forms.

ABHAYAGIRI. A monastic complex in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, centered on a large stupa, which is mentioned in an eighth-century inscription from Ratubaka, central Java. Forest monasteries (tapāwāna) were located about a kilometer (half a mile) west of the Abhayagiri stupa. The form of Buddhism practiced there was highly secretive and is therefore little understood, but it probably involved some form of extreme ascetism, since decoration at these sites, which include at least 18 complexes with “double meditation platforms,” is almost nonexistent. Apparently adherents did not use statuary, nor did they build stupas.

Apparently the forest monasteries of Ahuradhapura were quite influential in Southeast Asia. The Sasanalankara Catam suggests that some Burmese monks were also connected with the Abhayagirivihara. It states that these monks did not practice their religion according to the doctrine, did not wear their robes properly, and wore hats (which is forbidden by most sects). During the reign of the Sinhalese King Mahasena, a monk of the Abhayagirivihara became royal preceptor. When Parakramabahu ascended the throne, he “cleansed the religion,” that is, suppressed this sect.

Strong parallels to the tapāwāna of Abhayagiri are found in the architecture of the so-called krātōn or palace at Ratubaka. The basic elements of the complex include a double meditation platform surrounded by a wall, with a part of the foundation resting directly on bedrock, and a pool of water. Decoration is completely absent. The Ratubaka inscription refers to the construction of a monastery suitable for the ascetic monks of Abhayagiri; no doubt it refers to this edifice. Nearby the ruins of a stone stupa have been found. At a distance of 150 meters (500 feet) are artificial caves for meditation.
In the mid-ninth century the site seems to have been converted to Hindu use after a civil war. A Siva sanctuary with lingga and yoni was constructed nearby, and inscriptions glorifying Siva in his war-like manifestations were erected.

**ABHIDHARMA (Pali ABIDHAMMA).** A text that originated as an attempt to standardize Buddhist scriptures and evolved into a corpus of scholastic treatises on Buddha’s teachings. Fragmentation of Buddhist schools resulted in the formation of variant Abhidharma philosophies. At least four can be distinguished. In the context of mainland Southeast Asia, the Seven Books of the Abhidhamma is a genre of texts on practice. In Thailand, this work is known as the Abhidhamma Cet Gambhi, of which several versions are known. The most common Abhidharma treatise in Burma is the Abhidhammapitaka, though Buddhist monks and scholars also used other treatises in their studies of the Abhidharma. In composing the *Abhidharmakosa* or Treasury of Abhidharma, Vasubandhu created a comprehensive encyclopedia of the Abhidharma philosophical tradition.

**ABHIDHARMAKOSA.** An Indian text that describes a Buddhist cosmology in which the four heavens of desire (Kama Dhatu), the 17 heavens of form (Rupa Dhatu), and the four heavens of formlessness (Arupa Dhatu) are located above Mount Meru at the center of the universe. It has been speculated that this threefold division influenced the design of Southeast Asian temples, with the high base representing the Kama Dhatu, the central cube containing the inner sanctum representing the Rupa Dhatu, and the lofty superstructure symbolizing the Arupa Dhatu.

Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakosa also contains a detailed discussion of four different categories of cakravartin or wheel-turning monarch: the golden-wheeled, the silver-wheeled, the copper-wheeled, and the iron-wheeled. These four different types of universal monarchs assumed different ranks and asserted control over territories of different sizes.

**ADIPARVA.** The first book or *parva* of the *Mahabharata*. A Javanese version of this text was written in the late 10th century at the command of King Dharmawangsa Teguh Anantavikrama of Kediri.
The Javanese version is a local adaptation of the Indian epic rather than a translation of a Sanskrit manuscript; many minor incidents and repetitions have been omitted, while some new events and characters have been added. It may have been intended to be read aloud, since it contains such interjections as “Please listen!” and “Whoever listens to this story is sanctified by it.” This parva describes such important events as the churning of the ocean to produce the amerta or water of immortality, in the context of the story of the enslavement of Garuda’s mother Vinata.

ADITYAWARMAN (ADITYAWARMAN). A nobleman born in east Java, although his mother may have been a Sumatran princess; his father’s name was Adwayawarman. He may have gone to China on a diplomatic expedition in 1325 if, as some historians believe, he is the envoy whom a Chinese source calls Sêng-jia-li-yêh. In 1343 he had his name inscribed on a statue of the bodhisattva Manjusri at Candi Jago. By 1347 he was in Sumatra, at Malayupura, which may have been in the Batanghari lowlands. He may have been deputed to Sumatra as a viceroy expected to act as a loyal subject of Majapahit, but he soon transferred his palace to the area of Pagarruyung in the gold-bearing Minangkabau highlands. He may have manipulated his mother’s Sumatran ancestry to make himself acceptable to the local chiefs.

This move may have had two motives. One would have been to retreat from Majapahit’s potential vengeance. The other would have been to exploit the plentiful sources of gold in the Tanahdatar region. In one of his inscriptions, he explicitly calls himself “Gold-land Lord” (Kanakamedinindra). An inscription in “localized Malay Sanskrit” found on the back of the Amoghapasa statue found at Rambahan, Sumatra, dated 1347, written (and perhaps composed) by Adityawarman, commemorates his role as protector and source of welfare to the people of the “capital of Malaya” (Malaya-pura-hitārthah) and his power as an embodiment of Amoghapasa. The inscription praises Yoga and glorifies a god named Matanganisa, who engages in a mystic dance with his Tara while intoxicated and amorous. The dance takes place amid the songs of birds, humming bees, rutting elephants’ trumpeting, the happy cries of gandharvas, and the scent of jasmine. At Bandar Bapahat, a watercourse carved
from a rocky cliff, he left two inscriptions: one in his usual mixture of old Javanese script and language with Sumatran peculiarities and Sanskrit; the other in Tamil language and south Indian Grantha script.

Adityawarman left many more inscriptions than any other Sumatran ruler; these show that he was a devotee of esoteric Buddhism. He was probably initiated into a cult of the Bhairawa, a deity with demonic features. An enormous statue unearthed near Padang Roco, west Sumatra, depicts a Bhairawa with eyes bulging in a threatening manner, snakes for armbands, a skull bowl, and sacrificial knife, standing on a pile of corpses and skulls. It is possible that this is a depiction of Adityawarman after his initiation to a particular religious status.

He ruled for a long time, until at least 1375, when a Chinese text mentions that Seng-qia-lieh-yu-lan was king of Sumatra. His last known inscription was issued in that year. It says that he was initiated into the rank of Ksetrajna and given the title Vishesha Dharani. It describes him as seated on a high throne, eating delicacies, drinking, and laughing in the midst of the perfume of myriads of flowers. He is described as the Lord of Suravasa; the name Saruaso is still used to refer to the area near Bandar Bapahat and Bukit Gombak, near Pagarruyung.

Adityawarman’s reign constituted an interesting attempt to introduce a Javanese-style court to a highland region of Sumatra that had both mineral wealth and an agricultural system based on irrigation capable of generating as much surplus as Java, but which had never been organized along the lines of a lowland Indonesian court. One of his inscriptions mentions a crown prince, Ananggawarman, but it seems that his experiment in transplanting a different style of rule did not long outlive him. No later inscriptions or statuary of esoteric Buddhist style has been discovered in Sumatra. Pagarruyung was already Muslim by the time the first European visited the capital in the late 17th century. Memories of Adityawarman’s kingdom perhaps survive most vividly in the legend of the wars between Datuk Katumenggungan and Datuk Pepatih nan Sebatang; one was an autocrat, the other an advocate of a more consultative, democratic system. The two forms of adat or customary law still exist in different villages in the Minangkabau area of west Sumatra today.
AGASTYA. A man commemorated in south India as a teacher who introduced Hinduism to this formerly non-Aryan region. As a religious icon, Agastya first appears in 650–675 in early Western Chalukya temples, in Karnataka, south India, where his statue is accompanied by that of a young man. Both supposedly are risi who spread Sivaism to south India. Their statues are used as dwarapalas in the earliest temples. In Java, Agastya was transformed into an iconic figure in the form of a bearded man with a large stomach, closely associated with Siva. Statues of him are placed on the south sides of many Javanese temples. According to a Javanese text, the Tantu Panggelaran (1500–1635?), the entrance to Siva’s home on Mount Meru is guarded by Kala and Anukala (west), Gana (east), Agastya (south), and Gauri (north).

AHOM. A kingdom in the valley of the Brahmaputra, in today’s Assam, founded by Tai speakers in 1229. The inhabitants of the kingdom were animists rather than Buddhists, suggesting that they had split from the other Tai before the 12th century. Ahom chronicles mention the name of Shukapha as the first ruler. Eventually they amalgamated with the indigenous Assamese population, losing their Tai language and identity.

AIRLANGGA (ERLANGGA). “He who has crossed the water.” A powerful king of east Java (R. 1019–1049) who was born around 1000 in Bali, the son of a Balinese king, Udayana, and a Javanese princess, Mahendradatta (also known as Gunapriyadharma patni), the great-granddaughter of King Sindok. Airlangga was engaged to marry the daughter of the ruler of east Java, King Dharmawangsa Teguh, when a vaguely defined event known as Pralaya took place in 1016. The event is referred to in an inscription written partly in Sanskrit, partly in Old Javanese, dated 1041. An attack resulted in the death of Dharmawangsa Teguh, the destruction of his kingdom, and a period of anarchy. The attacker could have been either Srivijaya or its ally the Javanese king of Wurawari. Airlangga took refuge on Wonogiri (“Forest Mountain”; probably Mount Penanggungan), but at age 19, according to inscriptions, he was invited to assume the throne of a small district on the northeast coast of Java with the
grandiloquent title Sri Maharaj Rakai Halu Sri Lokeswara Dharmawangsa Airlangga Anantawikramottunggadewa. At the age of 27 he began to conquer other small principalities; by 37 he had reunited a substantial portion of the most populous districts of east Java. He also ruled Bali by virtue of his descent from Udayana.

Airlangga established a capital at Kahuripan, the location of which has not been discovered. He sponsored several religious foundations, such as a monastery called Sriviwijayasrama. Why he should have chosen this name is unclear; it has been speculated that he married a princess from Sumatra after the Chola capture of Palembang in 1025. He built another monastery at Pucangan, in the Brantas delta.

Inscriptions set up during his reign in east Java refer to commercial relations with several parts of India, Sri Lanka, and Champa and with Remen (Mons) and Khmers. Inscriptions also depict a tripartite division of religious affairs into Siva (Mahesvara) worshippers, Buddhists (Sogata), and risi (forest ascetics), a pattern that continued for several hundred years. These religious orientations had no doubt existed for centuries, but now their equivalence and the king’s impartial recognition of all three as deserving of patronage signaled a particular tolerance for religious variety.

The Wringin Sapta inscription, dated 1037, during Airlangga’s reign, and found in Kelagen, east Java, records the construction of a dam near the village of Kamalagyan. This is one of the rare references in Javanese inscriptions to royal involvement in water management. The dam seems to have been meant to improve conditions for shipping in the Brantas River, enabling travel upstream to Hujung Galuh. The inscription records that villages were given the task of maintaining the dam, in compensation for which Airlangga lowered their taxes.

Airlangga identified himself with Vishnu. A famous literary work written during his reign, the Arjunawiwaha, has been interpreted as an allegory for Airlangga’s own marriage. The language of his inscriptions is known for its high literary quality. Dutch archaeologist W. F. Stutterheim believed that the bathing place of Belahan on Mount Penanggungan was built as a funerary monument for Airlangga, and that he had been portrayed there by the well-known statue of Vishnu on Garuda now in the site museum at Trowulan, but this conjecture has not been verified.
Airlangga’s unified state did not endure after his lifetime. Later Javanese sources attribute to Airlangga the division of his kingdom into two realms, Panjalu (Kediri) and Janggala (Malang). Historians are not convinced of the veracity of the version of events found in later texts that attribute this division to Airlangga’s desire to prevent a struggle between two of his sons.

The system of administration used in Airlangga’s time was similar to that of Bali in several respects. For example his inscriptions give much more specific information about taxes than earlier Javanese texts. Hermitages had to pay a clothing levy in gold. Government warehouses were built to store rice, which was exchanged for goods. Limits were placed on the amount of rice for which traders could barter.

AK YOM. A ruined shrine now partially covered by the south embankment of the West Baray at Angkor. Excavated by Georges Trouvé in 1935, the site is believed to date from the seventh or eighth century. Also on the site are sandstone fragments of an earlier temple; one is dated 674. Other dates inscribed here include 600, 704, and 1001. The shrine originally consisted of multiple towers on a brick platform, the walls of which were decorated with images of miniature palaces. The central shrine, with typical pre-Angkor lintels, was surrounded by eight smaller shrines. The central tower may have originally been covered by a wooden roof, and it once contained a lingga. Two gold leaves with elephant images have been found there. Among several unusual features of the site is a central well 12 meters (40 feet) deep. The purpose of this is unknown; it has been suggested that it was either meant for offerings or to measure the depth of water in the baray.

AKSOBHYA. “Imperturbable” in Sanskrit, the name of one of the Five Jīna Buddhas in Vajrayana Buddhism. He is also the second dhyanibuddha or meditation Buddha. He first appears in the Scripture of the Buddha-land of Aksobhya, the oldest known Pure Land text, dated 147. The text describes a monk who made a vow to remain unperturbed by temptations while practicing dharma in the eastern world of delight. This monk became Aksobhya when he attained enlightenment. Aksobhya is often depicted on the east side of temples
such as Barabudur in Java. In Tibetan and Japanese esoteric Buddhism, Aksobhya is portrayed as blue in color. His attributes include a bell, three monkish robes, a staff, jewel, louts, prayer wheel, and sword. He is often accompanied by two elephants and holds his hands in the bhumiśpāraśa (“calling the earth to witness”) mudra. The 14th-century Bhairava statue allegedly of Adityawarman bears an Aksobhya figure in his headdress.

ALASANTAN. An inscription dated 6 September 939, discovered in 1963 in the village of Bejijong, Trowulan, east Java. It is in Old Javanese language and script, and proves that the northern part of Trowulan was inhabited as early as the 10th century, when a part of the area was turned into a sima, an area in which residents were freed from paying taxes in return for rendering services to a religious institution. Fragments of Chinese porcelain of the Tang dynasty found nearby reinforce the conclusion that Trowulan was a place of some importance at that time. The inscription reads in part as follows:

At the command of Sri Maharaja Rakai Halu Dyah Sindok Sri Ishana Wikrama [Java’s paramount ruler], received by Rakryan Mahapatih I Haluh Dyah Sahasra carried out by Samgat Kanuruhan Pu Ude, that the land in Alasantan which formerly was included in the territory of Bawang Mapapan is a sima for Rakryan Kabayah, the mother of Rakryan Mapatih I Halu Dyah Sahasra. The area of ground made into the sima is 13 tampah obtained by purchase from the inhabitants of Alasantan for 12 kati. Since then the area of Alasantan has had swatantra status, so that all tax collectors and other people or officials who normally have the right to collect tax in the king’s name are no longer allowed to collect any tax there.

ALAUNGSITHU. Successor of his grandfather Kyanzittha as king of Bagan. Alaungsithu took the throne in about 1112 when he was 23. His reign name was Tribhuvanaditya Pavaradhammaraja (“Most Excellent King of the Law, Sun of the Three Worlds”). This title appears in a number of temple inscriptions, including the Pali inscription at Shwegugyi pagoda, which he commissioned, and numerous votive tablets. Early in his reign, he fought to establish control over south Arakan and Tenasserim. Inscriptions demonstrate that in 1118 he established a subordinate king, Letyaminnan, on the Arakan throne.
In gratitude, Letyaminan donated funds for the restoration of Bodhgaya in India. The later Hledauk inscription suggests that Alaungsithu led an attack against Tarup (often translated as “the Chinese,” though in this case it most likely refers to Nanzhao) in early 1111 and built two stupas at the place of battle.

The Glass Palace Chronicle says Alaungsithu made numerous journeys as far as Mallayu Island (Sumatra) and Bengal. The Chronicle describes numerous Burmese kings as traveling extensively throughout their kingdoms, but only Anawrahta and Alaungsithu made sea journeys beyond Burma’s shores. Yunnanese sources record a mission to Nanzhao; the Chronicle states that he went there in search of a Buddhist relic.

Alaungsithu built two important structures that still survive at Bagan: Shwegugyi (1131) and Thatbyinnyu (1150). In 1154 a Burmese scholar, Angawangsa, composed a famous grammar of Pali. The famous monk Shin Arahan passed away during Alaungsithu’s reign.

According to the Glass Palace Chronicle, Alaungsithu banished Minshinsaw, his eldest son by his chief queen Yadanapon, for disrespectful behavior in the presence of the king. Despite pleas from Yadanapon, Alaungsithu sent Minshinsaw away and gave his second son, Narathu, the authority to govern the kingdom.

Narathu supposedly killed his father in 1167, smothering him when Alaungsithu was bedridden with sickness and old age in order to gain the throne more quickly. This does not quite fit the epigraphic evidence, however.

AMARAVATI. The name in Indian mythology for the site of the palace called Vaijayanta in Indra’s heaven, Svarloka or Svarga, north of Mount Meru. Krishna once stayed there. In the garden surrounding it grew kalpavrikṣa or kalpataru, wish-granting trees. Amaravati was also called Devapura, “Divine City.”

An early kingdom in south India was named Amavarati after the mythological site; this kingdom is associated with an important style of early Buddhist art. A Buddha image attributed to this style has been found in Sempaga, Sulawesi; it may be one of the first Buddha images to have reached Indonesia.

In Champa, the name was used by an ancient kingdom in what is now Quang Nam Province, which includes Da Nang. This polity
constructed major monuments at Mi Son and Dong Duong. The major royal center of Indrapura lay somewhere in this region.

AMERTA. Elixir of immortality created by the gods and demons by churning the ocean. Mount Mandara (a subpeak of Mount Meru) was used as the churning stick; the tortoise Kurma, an incarnation of Vishnu, placed himself beneath the mountain as a pivot, and the serpent Vasuki (Basuki in Indonesian) wound himself around the mountain. The gods then grasped Vasuki’s head, the demons his tail, and by taking turns pulling, the ocean became the elixir. During the churning, various miraculous beings appeared, such as the four-tusked elephant Airavata, which became the mount of Indra, king of the gods (and who is often portrayed at Angkor Thom). The kalpavrikṣa or kalpataru wish-fulfilling tree also was created then, as was Lakshmi, Vishnu’s wife, and the śankha or victory conch, the gada or mace of sovereignty, and the dhanus, a magic bow, all of which Vishnu also took for himself.

This legend was portrayed in many variations in Southeast Asian art. In Angkor, for example, it formed the basis for the symbolism of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom. In Java, this act was described in the 10th-century Adiparva, the first book of the Mahabharata. The Tantu Panggelaran, a later Javanese text, says that the gods wrapped Mount Meru in the coils of the World Snake and transported it from India to Java. The force of the mountain’s progress through the air is given credit for producing the elixir. The peak of the mountain fell off in Java and became Sumeru, Java’s highest mountain. The amerta itself was stored in a container in the mountain’s core. The Garudeya story, which describes the theft of the amerta by Garuda, was very popular in Java in the 14th and 15th centuries.

AMOGHAPASA (AMOGHAPASA, AMOGHAPASHA). A Sanskrit name, literally “unerring net or lasso,” which designates a manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. In Chinese Buddhism, he is one of six forms of Kuanyin. He is often depicted with three faces, each with three eyes and six arms, but other forms also exist, including one with three heads and 10 arms. In his hands he holds a net, lotus, trident, halberd, the gift of courage, and a staff. In Japanese Buddhism, Amoghapasa is usually depicted with one head and 6,
8, or 20 arms. His attributes are an arrow, bell, lotus, noose, prayer wheel, rosary, staff, and tiger skin.

Two famous stone statues of Amoghapasa were carved in Indonesia. One is found at Jajaghu (Candi Jago). It bears an inscription stating that in 1268 King Wisnuwardhana died and was memorialized as bodhisattva Amoghapasa in Candi Jago and as Lord Siva in Candi Waleri.

The other stone statue was sent by Kertanagara of Singasari to Malayu in the 13th century. The meaning of this act is disputed: it may have been a claim to suzerainty or a means of solidifying an alliance against the aggressive designs of the Mongols. This statue bears an inscription on its back that gives the date Śākā 1208 (1286 CE). The inscription says the following:

Peace in 1208 Śākā in the month of Bhadrawada... At that time it [the statue] of His Majesty named Sang Arya Amoghapasha Loka-Iswara with 14 companions and seven gems was brought from the Land of Java to Suvarnabhumi, and erected at Dharmasraya as a gift from Prince Visvarupa.

Kertanagara also had cast an unknown number of bronze plaques of Amoghapasa surrounded by 13 gods, dhyānibuddhas, and Taras. Five such plaques are known. One is in the Leiden Museum, another in the Tropeninstituut. They are said to originate from Tumpang, the village where Candi Jago stands. Inscriptions on them say that they were made by Kertanagara as “a pious gift” to earn merit for all creatures, especially his spiritual father, teachers, mother, and father.

ANAK WUNGSU. Ruler of Bali from 1050 to 1078 whose full appellation was Paduka Haji Anak Wungsu ni ra kalih Bhatari sang lumah I Burwan mwang Bhatara Devata sanglumah ring Banuwka. His short name means “youngest son.” Sometimes his title included the appendix tuhu-tuhu Dharmamurti, “truly Dharma’s incarnation.” At least 27 inscriptions were issued during his reign. It has been speculated that a statue in a temple on Mount Panulisan, which bears a date corresponding to 1077 and the name Bhatari Mandul, as well as another statue at Tampaksiring, may have been a portrait of his queen, but without concrete evidence.

The important cloister of Gunung Kawi or “Poet Mountain,” which comprises a complex of meditation clusters and five temple
facades carved into volcanic tuff was probably excavated during his reign. Evidence for this stems from the similarity between the script used for short inscriptions there, including ḫaji lumāh in Jālu (“the lord who lies at Jalu”) and an inscription of Anak Wungsu of 1077. It has been further suggested that Anak Wungsu was commemorated at this particular shrine at Gunung Kawi. Anak Wungsu was succeeded by Sri Maharaja Sri Walaprabhu.

ANANDA. This temple, constructed in 1105 southeast of the Tharabar Gate in Bagan, was probably the last temple built by King Kyaukzintha. It is a good example of Burmese architecture constructed at the end of the site’s early phase of development. Several elements found here, such as the enclosure wall (3.5 meters/12 feet high), arched gateways, and dwarapalas in lalitasana posture within the arch, were first developed at Nagayon, but here the composition forms a more coherent ensemble. The Ananda is the first monument on such a huge scale to be built in Bagan and has the most elaborate narrative decoration on the exterior. Stucco work and many other features of the temple were restored in 1783.

The main sanctuary is topped by a spire reaching a height of 50 meters (165 feet). This sikhara has five panel niches on each face, including one for the future Buddha Mettaya (Maitreya). Four broad halls each 90 meters (300 feet) long extend from the four sides of this square central portion, the interior of which contains two corridors around the main sanctuary. These shadowy ambulatories are sometimes compared with the cave dwellings of monks on Nandamula Hill in the Himalayas.

The dark corridors are lined with 80 stone reliefs. These depict scenes from the life of Gautama Buddha according to the Nidanakatha, the introductory section of the Jatakas, and other Buddhas and their mudra. Some mudras are unusual and may be either Burmese innovations or derived from now-vanished Pyu examples. Gordon H. Luce believed that these stone reliefs represent Kyaukzintha’s only attempt to depict the Jatakas in stone. Archways and walls still retain traces of mural painting, now largely obscured by recent whitewash.

In the inner area of the shrine are 9-meter-high (30-foot) wooden statues of four Buddhas of the present kalpa or age. These include
Kakusandha to the north in dharmacakra mudra, a statue that is probably original. A statue of a donor or devotee stands to the image's right or west. The image has a monk's head, but the jewelry of a prince. The head is not original. On the east is Konagamana, a statue that is either an 18th-century replacement or a much-restored original; the mudra is difficult to decipher, but may either be vārāmudrā or a unique Burmese form. The south sanctum holds Kassapa, in dharmacakra mudra, probably original. This statue is accompanied by statues of the disciples Mogallana and Sariputta, but these are of Inwa-period style.

The main image is that of Gautama, facing west. This statue, in abhayamudrā, was heavily restored in the 18th century. The western sanctum also contains statues believed to portray Kyansittha and his chief monk, Shin Arahan, worshipping the image. The style of these lacquer statues is consistent with the date of the temple's founding.

The exterior is decorated with five tiers of green-glazed terra-cotta plaques. A series of 537 Jataka plaques still retain inscriptions written in Mon, with names and numbers in Pali. Other plaques on the west depict monsters of Mara’s army; on the east are devas with auspicious symbols in their hands celebrating Buddha’s victory. On the upper terraces are 375 plaques depicting the last 10 Jatakas, this time with Mon inscriptions, in an order based on a Sri Lankan model. This is the only cave temple at Bagan with a complete glazed set of Jataka plaques. Since it is difficult to reach the upper terraces to view these plaques, scholars have speculated that these were not didactic in intent but symbolic.

**ANAWRAHTA (ANIRUDDHA).** According to Burmese sources, Anawrahta was the son of King Kunhsaw Kyaungphyu of Bagan. According to the various Burmese chronicles (U Kala’s *Mahayazawingyi*, Twinthin’s *Mahayazawinthit*, Hmannan Yazawindawgyi, etc.) and the Mon Yazawin (Chronicle), Anawrahta became king after killing his half-brother, Sokkate, who—with the help of his elder brother, Kyizo—had earlier forced Anawrahta’s father to abdicate his throne. In addition, Sokkate had taken Anawrahta’s mother as his queen and insulted Anawrahta, who—in great wrath asked his father Kyaungphyu for help, which came in the form of five magical implements. Anawrahta eventually slew Sokkate in a joust, piercing the
latter with his areindama lance at Myinkaba. He became king in 1044 after his father rejected his offer to reassume the throne.

Anawrahta is a half-legendary, half-real figure in Burmese texts. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* and other works ascribe various achievements to him, but few can be confirmed by inscriptions or other evidence from the time these events actually took place. There exist numerous votive tablets bearing the title Aniruddhadeva or Aniruddha discovered over a wide area from the Ayeyarwadi’s mouth to Mong Mit in north Burma. One inscription reads: “This Avalokitesvara was made by King Anawrahta’s hands for his deliverance from samsara.” These suggest but do not prove that he conquered areas in Arakan and north Burma as well. Only one inscription from his reign exists: the Lek Thay Shay Hpaya inscription dated in the year 420 of the Burmese era (1058 CE).

One of the principal stories associated with Anawrahta is his conversion to *Buddhism* by Shin Arahan, followed by his request to King Manuha, the Mon ruler of Thaton (Suddhammawati), for copies of the Buddhist Tripitaka. When the Mon ruler refused, Anawrahta is said to have marched against Thaton, conquered it in 1057, and taken 30 sets of the Tripitaka on 32 elephants back to Bagan, whereupon Buddhism became firmly established among the general population.

Anawrahta is also mentioned in Sri Lankan and northern Thai sources. King Vijayabahu I of Sri Lanka (1055/56–1110/11) asked for Anawrahta’s help against invading Cholas, then in 1071 requested monks and copies of Buddhist texts. In return Anawrahta obtained a copy of a Buddhist relic that was placed in the Shwezigon stupa of Bagan. In the *Jinakalamalipakaranam*, Anawrahta or Arimadana is said to have traveled to Haripunjaya through the sky on his thoroughbred horse. In one account, Aniruddha, through his display of supernatural power, intimidated the king of Mahanagara (Angkor) into giving him Tripitakas.

According to the chronicles, Anawrahta died in 1077 when he was gored to death by a wild buffalo, an incarnation of a tree nat he had offended. He was succeeded by his son, Sawlu.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP. Southeast Asian cultures indicate numerous traces of the belief that spirits of ancestors can affect the world of the
living. This belief probably existed in the prehistoric era. Place-names like Dieng (Di Hyang) in central Java preserve references to this concept. Ancestors are often associated with high places such as mountain peaks. Throughout the premodern period, historical and archaeological sources provide evidence for the persistence of these beliefs at the same time as Southeast Asians were incorporating aspects of ideologies from India and other regions.

The Southeast Asian concept of an afterlife seems to have assumed that the dead did not maintain individual consciousness. Instead they, or at least the nobility in later times, were thought to be detached portions or fragments of the essence of a larger being, an “oversoul” with which they were reunited after death. In this as in other respects, Southeast Asian ancestor worship differed significantly from that found in China, where patrilineal clans worship the spirits of specific individuals.

It was long believed that the ultimate function of many ancient Southeast Asian monuments was to serve as mortuaries for the ashes of dead kings and queens, kept beneath their portrait statues. This was based on a misconception of the archaeological remains, specifically the ritual deposit boxes found in the shrines, and the nature of Southeast Asian concepts of the ancestors. It is now realized that the ashes found in ritual deposit boxes were placed there as part of ceremonies intended to create mandalas and are not remains of human cremations. Rulers’ ashes were probably treated as are those of the dead in contemporary India and Bali: thrown into the river or the sea.

Inscriptions from Majapahit say that the rulers were didharma makan, “memorialized,” at certain places. In 1365, east Java contained 27 royal religious domains where religious sanctuaries were set up in the names of particular rulers. The statues in such royal temples were personalized representations of the rulers. While it may be too much to call them “portraits,” it is likely that in some cases their features were modeled on those of the individual kings and queens. It was believed that after their deaths their spirits could be invoked for protection. Ceremonies were designed to invite the spirit of the deceased rulers to descend from heaven to reside temporarily in their images so that their descendants could address them.

ANGKOR. The Khmer pronunciation of Sanskrit negara, signifying capital of a kingdom. The ancient Khmer capital now known as
Angkor was originally called Yasodharapura after Yasovarman, the ruler who moved the capital there in 889. In the history of Cambodia, the year 802 symbolizes the beginning of the Angkor era because the Sdok Kak Thom inscription specifies that Jayavarman II conducted a ceremony to free Cambodia from Java in that year.

The Angkor region (see maps 4 and 5) was already occupied in prehistory. Burial sites have been found at Prei Khmeng and beneath the West Baray. Before the capital shifted to Angkor, several large monuments had already been erected there: the early stage of Phimeanakas, Ak Yom, where a shrine was built around the seventh century; and Kutisvara, built in the early ninth century, inter alia. One of the factors that may have persuaded Indravarman to begin work at the site may have been the existence of the Siem Reap River, which provided water to help fill the large baray. Few remains of the early phases of the capital exist, because many later construction projects were built over them. We do not know how much of the walled area of Yasodharapura was settled nor the size of its population.

Because the Angkor kingdom commanded a significant army and a large centralized administrative apparatus and because thousands of workers were needed to build and maintain its enormous building complexes, it has been assumed that around the stone constructions of the palaces and temples a city with a substantial population must have existed. This theory has not been proven, however. The remains of dense population may have disappeared because wood, bamboo, and grass were used as construction material, which would all have perished. It is also possible that the site had purely administrative functions, without a large number of inhabitants beyond bureaucrats, priests, and their supporting staff and servants. The Zhu Fanzhi of Zhao Rukuo (1225) mentioned no city. Only one stone building that belonged to the king is referred to; others, commoners and nobles alike, lived in houses of thatch and bamboo.

Angkor’s power extended far beyond the boundaries of modern Cambodia, to Laos and Thailand, where about 300 Khmer sites have been identified. Most are located near the northern border of Cambodia in south Khorat; some lie in the Chao Phraya Valley, and some are near the Three Pagodas Pass, which leads to the modern border between Thailand and Burma.
The year 1432 symbolizes the termination of the Angkor period because it coincides with the transfer of power eastward. This shift was due partly to military pressure from Ayutthaya on the west and partly to the attraction of a location closer to the coast in order to take advantage of increasing opportunities for maritime trade. Angkor was under the control of Ayutthaya for a short time, but in the 1540s a Khmer ruler known in the chronicles as Ang Chan moved back to Angkor and resumed work on some unfinished monuments, including relief carvings in Angkor Wat. Banteay Kdei was restored, Baphuon and Phnom Bakheng were altered, and the west facade of the second level of Baphuon was converted into a reclining Buddha 60 meters (200 feet) long. The site’s aqueducts were already ruined when Spanish and Portuguese began to visit the site in 1586. The first Western-language description of Angkor was published in 1601. After further Thai attacks, Angkor was almost completely abandoned until the 19th century, though some monks continued to live among the ruins. Angkor is a World Heritage site. See also ANGKOR THOM.

ANGKOR BOREI. A site in southeastern Cambodia (see map 4) near the border with Vietnam, 8 kilometers (5 miles) west of the Bassac River, 22 kilometers (14 miles) west of the Mekong, and 90 kilometers (55 miles) from the river’s mouth. The site was already occupied by around 400 BCE. Excavations at Wat Komnou in 1999 discovered a layer of artifacts almost 4 meters (13 feet) thick, including pottery, bones, several hundred glass beads, by-products of metalworking, and burials possibly dating from the first century CE.

Some have hypothesized that Angkor Borei was Naravaranaagara, a capital of Funan in the sixth century. According to Michael Vickery, however, Naravaranaagara was probably 60 kilometers (40 miles) northeast of Angkor Borei. In any case, Angkor Borei was one of the most impressive sites in early first-millennium Southeast Asia. Ruins here cover 300 hectares (660 acres). It has been estimated that 9.5 million bricks were used in constructing its walls, weighing 142,500 metric tons (130,000 tons). The walls, irregular in shape, average 6 kilometers (3.5 miles) in diameter, 4.5 meters (14 feet) high, and 2.4 meters (8 feet) wide. In some places a road and structures were built.
atop it. It is flanked by inner and outer moats and encloses a baray, smaller pools, canals, unexcavated mounds, and at least 15 ancient structures, few of which have been dated. Given the lack of bastions, guardhouses, or gateways, it is thought that the wall was not built for defensive purposes. Instead it was probably intended to provide dry land during that part of the year when the waters of the Mekong, swollen with melted snow from the Himalayas, turn the region into a giant swamp.

The oldest dated inscriptions from Funan (K.557 and K.600), dated 611, have both been found at Angkor Borei. Another recently discovered inscription is believed to date from about 650. This stele mentions that Rudravarman, Funan’s last known ruler, was living in Angkor Borei.

Around 500, Buddhism enjoyed royal favor in Funan, where Indian missionaries frequently called, according to Chinese sources. A large proportion of the earliest Buddhist images found in Southeast Asia have come from Angkor Borei and its environs (a head from Tuol Cham, an upright Buddha from Tuol Lean, an Avalokitesvara from Angkor Borei), and several from Kompong Speu. Inscriptions provide little information about early Khmer Buddhism. Probably Theravada arrived first, then coexisted with Mahayanasim. The hill of Phnom Da, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Angkor Borei, was an important early religious center. Significant early statues of Avalokitesvara and the Hindu deity Harihara have been found there.

ANGKOR THOM. “Great Capital”; the royal complex at the center of the Angkor empire (see map 5) built at the end of the 12th century during the reign of King Jayavarman VII. In 1191, Jayavarman VII moved to Angkor Thom from Jayasri (a temporary palace), which he simultaneously transformed into Preah Khan, a huge temple complex dedicated to his father as a bodhisattva. This royal city probably resembled the Forbidden City of Beijing: a walled complex containing religious and administrative officials and religious sanctuaries. The wall, 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) on each side and 8 meters (26.5 feet) high, is bordered by a moat 100 meters (330 feet) wide. Angkor Thom is an exact square, the sides of which run exactly north–south and east–west. Each wall has a gate in the middle, entered by a bridge over the moat.
The four corners of Angkor Thom are marked by Prasat Chrung, temples that contain steles recording their construction by Jayavarman VII. One inscription on the southeast compares Angkor to the city of Indra plus 32 gods, at the center of which is a garden (Nandana) with a meeting hall (Sudharma), where Brahma comes in the form of Gandharva Pancasikha, an ever-young chieftain, multiplying his face, one to greet each god. This interpretation fits the warrior headdresses of the faces.

According to legend, Indra became the ruler of the celestial palace after the gods were defeated by the asuras. As the gods fled, Indra’s chariot collided with Garuda and was knocked toward the asuras. The asuras, who thought he was counterattacking, ran away. Indra placed guards on Mount Meru and its surrounding peaks, with yakshas and a naga. The four great kings of the four directions, accompanied by Indra, also stood guard. Sculptures of Indra’s elephant Airavata, which are found at all gates to Angkor Thom, symbolize his protection of the city.

It has been hypothesized, based on the balustrades over the moats which depict devas and asuras holding the body of a serpent, that the whole complex represents the churning of amerta; a statue of a turtle symbolizing the pivot was found buried in front of the fifth gate. This interpretation has been challenged, however. Zhou Daguan said the statues were holding the naga to keep it from running away. George Coedès said the balustrades were rainbow bridges connecting the world of humans with Tavatimsa heaven. Art historian Jean Boisselier identified them as the two families of yakshas who, together with a naga, were responsible for safeguarding the city.

At the center of Angkor Thom is the Bayon temple (see photograph 18). The palace area occupies the northwest quadrant of the Angkor Thom complex. The basic plan of the palace compound retained that laid out during the reign of King Suryavarman I, 150 years before Jayavarman VII’s reign. Suryavarman had created an east–west axis with the palace at the west end. He seems to have obliterated the preexisting palace, which may have had a different layout. He built a 15-hectare (37-acre) enclosure, with an oath of loyalty for officials inscribed on the east entrance pavilion, and the North and South Kleangs on the east of the palace. In the early 12th century, Suryavarman II set out a ceremonial processional path east
of the palace. The palace later was burned, perhaps by the attack from Champa just before Jayavarman VII ascended the throne. A thick ash lens discovered in the Phimeanakas area may mark this event. Jayavarman then rebuilt the palace to his own design.

In 1181 Jayavarman added a new gate, the Gate of the Dead, in the east wall. The main gate on the east remained that which led straight to the palace, called the Victory Gate. At the center of the palace complex was a tall, steep-sided terraced structure symbolizing the Heavenly Palace, called Phimeanakas. According to a legend and also the description of the Chinese ambassador Zhou Daguan in the late 13th century, the Khmer king spent the first part of each night on top of this Heavenly Palace, where he met with the Naga Queen, legendary progenitor of the royal line.

Jayavarman modified the Phimeanakas as several of his predecessors had done. He expanded an older tribune to create the Elephant Terrace, adding hunting scenes and a polo match. At the north end, he built what is now called the Terrace of the Leper King, which may have been a place of judgment. The statue found here and commonly identified as a portrait of Jayavarman VII has a 15th-century inscription that identifies it as a Dharmaraja (righteous king) who is also Yama (judge of the dead).

Although we possess some inscriptions from Angkor Thom, most of what has been written about specific parts of the site is based on conjecture. Concrete knowledge is limited to parts of the royal palace in the northwest that have been systematically excavated. Most research in other areas such as the Bayon and Baphuon is limited to data incidentally acquired in the course of architectural restoration. The functions of the various parts of Angkor Thom at different periods will only be understood when large-scale archaeological excavations have been conducted.

ANGKOR WAT. In ancient times known as Nagarawatta, this temple introduced several new elements not found in previous structures at Angkor. The monument does display some similarities to the Khmer complex at Phimai, northeast Thailand, which is slightly older than Angkor Wat. The monarch who sponsored Angkor Wat, Suryavarman II, came from a family with roots in the Phimai area. Angkor Wat was the first large-scale Khmer temple structure where
we can conclude that the builders compiled elaborate plans before beginning to construct the complex. They applied a new type of perspective effect that could not be achieved through the traditional means of proportional reduction of the dimensions of elements meant to seem farther away than they are in reality, but by creating breaks in lines of sight. The temple’s location and layout were coordinated with preexisting structures. The main north–south road where the main entrance to Angkor Wat is located was already in existence when the temple was planned.

Angkor Wat (see diagram 1 and map 5) was built over a period of 28 years (1122–1150), though some decorations were never completed. Like several earlier Khmer temples, Angkor Wat is surrounded by a moat; in this case the moat is 200 meters (660 feet) wide. Digging this moat involved removing 1,500,000 cubic meters of earth; this could have been done by 5,000 men in 10 years. The main entrance is on the west. The entire complex is surrounded by a wall on the inner side of the moat. To reach the shrine, one crosses the western moat via a bridge of laterite surfaced with sandstone, leading to a sandstone gate with main entrances for pedestrians and side entrances that would have been accessible by carts and other wheeled vehicles. Since no other major temples were constructed during this period, it seems likely that most of the kingdom’s manpower and other resources were devoted to this single project.

The principal shrine is located at the eastern end of the square enclosure. To reach the main temple, visitors have to follow an axial pathway in the form of a stone bridge half a kilometer (1,600 feet) in length, reminiscent of the layout of Beijing’s Forbidden City. This pathway is fringed with balustrades in the form of a giant serpent and is flanked by rectangular *baray*. Branches off the main walkway lead to pools, stone structures called libraries, and other now-vanished structures. Chinese influence on Angkor Wat is probably displayed by the device of constructing galleries that meet at right angles, forming courtyards around the main building.

The main group of buildings consists of a tall central tower surrounded by four smaller towers, no doubt an allegory for Mount *Meru*. The main image of the complex was a statue of *Vishnu*. Angkor Wat is particularly well preserved for two reasons: the particularly high standard of workmanship, and the conversion of the
temple to Buddhism at an early period, ensuring that it remained in almost continuous use.

The main temple is entered by crossing a cruciform terrace, which was not part of the original design. The wall of the first gallery inside the entrance bears the narrative reliefs for which the site is famous. Beyond the entrance to this gallery is a section now called “the gallery of the thousand Buddhas.”

The reliefs were not finished in the 12th century. Some in the northeast corner were carved when King Satha restored the monument. The quality of the carving varies considerably from one area to another. The organization of the reliefs differs from that of Java: they display continuous scenes rather than consecutive episodes and have no clear sequence. Scenes depicted include the battle of Kuruksetra, Krishna’s lifting of Mount Govardhana, Rawana shaking Mount Kailasa, Siva blasting Kama, Yama judging the dead, the churning of amerta, gods including Vishnu and Krishna defeating demons, and Ramayana scenes. Suryavarman II himself is depicted with his army.

The monument was abandoned in the 14th century, then transformed into a Buddhist temple. The Hall of Buddhas bears 30 Khmer inscriptions from 1541–1747, along with others in Burmese and Chinese commemorating Buddhist ceremonies, donations, and important visitors. Despite its long period of use and the universal admiration it inspired, Angkor Wat exerted no significant influence on other structures.

ANGLING DHARMA. A story recorded in the early 20th century that purports to explain a series of reliefs on Candi Jago, a Javanese temple built in the late 13th century. No earlier evidence of the story’s existence is known, so it cannot be ascertained whether it truly dates to the 13th century. According to the story, Angling Dharma is married to Satyawati. He learns the language of animals, but refuses to teach it to his wife; she then commits suicide by jumping into a fire. He then becomes despondent and goes to live in the jungle. Meanwhile a young woman named Ambarawati argues with her father, and they go to meet the Jina Buddha Vairocana, who punishes the father by turning him into a demon. This curse can only be exorcised if he is killed by an arrow. Ambarawati meets Angling Dharma, who thinks she is Satyawati reincarnated and carries her away. Vairocana orders a brahmin to protect her. Satyawati’s father learns of his daughter’s
fate and tries to rescue her, but Angling Dharma kills him with an arrow. Thus freed from his curse, he resumes his original form as a priest. Vairocana blesses the marriage of Angling Dharma and Ambarawati and all live happily ever after (except poor Satyawati).

**ANGROK, KEN (AROK).** A shadowy figure who reunified east Java and founded the kingdom of Singasari in 1122. Angrok’s origins are depicted in mythical form in the 16th-century Pararaton, which depicts him as the son of the Hindu deity Brahma and a peasant woman who abandoned him in a cemetery, where a thief found him and brought him up. Angrok repaid his benefactor by losing his possessions in games of chance and then running away. Several times he committed evil deeds, but each time he was saved from the consequences by his supernatural father. After raping the daughter of a village chief, Angrok fled to a cave occupied by several gods, including Siva, who adopted him and decided that he would become king of Java. Angrok then proceeded to the principality of Tumapel, part of the kingdom of Janggala, where he became a member of the household of the governor, Tunggul Ametung.

Ametung had abducted Ken Dedes, daughter of a Buddhist monk. Angrok fell in love with her and schemed to murder Ametung and take Ken Dedes for his own wife. This he accomplished by persuading a famous keris-maker, mpu Gandring, to make a weapon for him. When the keris was not finished on time, Angrok killed Gandring with the blade, who in his death throes cursed Angrok and his descendants unto the seventh generation to be killed by the same keris. Angrok then succeeded in killing Ametung and wedded Ken Dedes. At this point, the legend merges with history. Angrok took the name Ranggah Rajasa, concocted a myth about his birth, defeated King Kertajaya of Kediri in 1221, and established a new capital at Singasari. Zhao Rukuo in 1225 described the east Javanese kingdom, which he called Sujidan, as controlling an extensive area including southwest Borneo, Bali, and even a place named Wunugu, which may correspond to the Moluccas. He was assassinated in 1227 by Anusapati, the son of Ken Dedes and the former ruler Kertajaya; Anusapati in turn died at the hands of Angrok’s son by a concubine, Tohjaya—who was later killed by Anusapati’s son Rangga Wuni, also known from inscriptions as Wishnuwardhana.
In Javanese epigraphy Angrok is also known as Sri Girinatha. He was apparently an adherent of esoteric Buddhism of a Javanese form that incorporated the ascetic symbolism of Siva worshippers as well. According to the Pararaton, a memorial temple was built for Angrok at Kagenengan, the location of which is no longer known.

ANIRUDDHA. See ANAWRAHTA (ANIRUDDHA).

ANAM. A Chinese term literally meaning “pacified south,” first applied in the Six Dynasties period (third to sixth centuries CE) as part of titles given to Chinese officials in north Vietnam and to kings of Champa and Funan who declared themselves to be Chinese vassals. In 679, during the Tang dynasty, it became a name for the territory of north Vietnam administered as a “protectorate.” The Chinese protector-general was also a military governor.

Rebellions became increasingly serious; one was led by Mai Hac De in 722. A military governor in north China, An Lu-shan, led a major rebellion against the Tang dynasty in 755. He died in 757, but the Tang began a long slow decline afterward. Rebellions broke out sporadically in other areas of southern China, some of which managed to establish rival centers of power for short periods.

In 758 the name Annam was changed to Tran-nam, “Guarded South.” The name Annam was restored in 768. The title of the Chinese administrator of the province was changed from military governor to imperial commissioner.

People from the islands of Indonesia (Kunlun, people of maritime Southeast Asia in general, and Shepo, “Javanese”) attacked in 767; this caused the Chinese governors to build a new capital, La-thanh, with stronger fortifications. Reinforcements from the north had to be called in to expel the invaders. A Vietnamese rebel named Phung Hung successfully captured the Chinese citadel and governed from it for several years until he died in 789. A Chinese army invaded in 791, restoring Tang imperial power. For a decade thereafter, Annam’s port drew maritime trade away from Guangzhou, inciting complaints from the Guangzhou military governor.

More rebellion broke out in late 802 and succeeded in expelling the Chinese chief administrator. After China managed to restore order, the fortification around the administrative center was expanded,
with 10 new buildings surrounded by a wall 7 meters (23 feet) high, pierced by 11 gates.

War with Nanzhao, which had been festering for years, became serious in 858. The administrative enceinte at La-thanh was enclosed by a wooden palisade, moat, and thorny bamboo hedge with a perimeter of 8 kilometers (5 miles). In 860 Nanzhao captured a Chinese province in modern Guizhou; the Chinese commander marched out of Annam to expel the invaders, but in his absence a Vietnamese-Nanzhao combined force occupied La-thanh. The Chinese retook the capital in 862, lost it again in 863, and recaptured it again in 865. The Nanzhao invaders, previously allies of the Vietnamese, alienated them by their rapacious behavior, and many Vietnamese apparently preferred the return of the Tang dynasty to the lawless conditions that had developed. Some Nanzhou supporters who previously had been linguistically Vietnamese retreated into the mountains and became a separate group, the Muong people.

After the Nanzhao war ended, Gao Pien, who defeated the Nanzhao invasion, then set up his own administration in Annam. A new capital was built, called Dai-la. It was heavily fortified, with 8-meter-high (26.5-foot) walls around a 6.5-kilometer (4-mile) perimeter enclosing several thousand structures. After the fall of the Tang in 906 and Vietnam’s independence, Dai-la became the site of Thanh-long, now Hanoi.

The Chinese garrison at Dai-la had mutinied and deserted in 880, marking the end of Chinese rule in Vietnam. No information on the political structure in Annam at this time exists; apparently a local family, the Khuc, took control. Their reign lasted until 930. Their position was supported by various honorary appointments issued by the Later Liang, one of the various dynasties that ruled China between 906 and 960, the Five Dynasties period. Later Liang fell in 923, at which point China was divided among eight kingdoms (the term Five Kingdoms refers to the main kingdoms that ruled north China at this period).

The Southern Han dynasty then controlling Guangzhou captured Dai-la in 930 and succeeded in penetrating as far south as Da Nang. The Southern Han did not establish effective administration in Annam, however; instead Vietnamese led by Dinh Nghe occupied Dai-la. In 966 a Vietnamese leader, Bo Linh, proclaimed himself a king,
and in 966 he took the title emperor. He called his kingdom Dai (“great” in Chinese) Co (“great” in Vietnamese) Viet. In 971 he formalized a court hierarchy.

After 1054 the independent kingdom called itself Dai Viet. Nevertheless Chinese sources continued to use the name Annam. Even in 1174, a Chinese proclamation acknowledging Ly Anh Tong as an independent ruler still called his kingdom Annam. Zhao Rukuo in 1225 also used the name Annam when he wrote that its “city walls are of brick and are flanked with stone towers.”

ANUSAPATI (ANUS´APATI; ANUSHAPATI; ANUSYAPATI). Son of Ken Dedes, queen of Singasari, and Kertajaya, former ruler of Kediri who disappeared after a battle in 1221, thus surrendering the throne to the usurper Ken Angrok. Anusapati then ruled Singasari for 27 years. According to Javanese chronicles, he was killed in 1248 by Tohjaya, son of Angrok and a minor wife. Candi Kidal is interpreted as a monument built to enshrine an image in which his soul could be invoked in the form of Siva.

APSARA. Apsara is literally “wet flow,” a reference to a mist or cloud that takes the form of a beautiful young woman. These figures are mentioned in the Vedic literature; the first, Rambha, appeared when the amerta was created. Indra took her and the other nymphs to his heaven, Svarga, where they became the counterparts of the gandharvas or divine musicians. Rambha was later raped by Rawana, villain of the Ramayana. In literature, apsaras were sometimes sent by gods to test the determination of humans who were meditating and undergoing austerities in order to obtain spiritual power. Arjuna’s mother, Pritha, was the daughter of an apsara. In the art of Southeast Asia, particularly at Angkor, they frequently are used to symbolize that a temple such as Angkor Wat is a replica, or even materialization, of heaven.

ARAKAN. Also known as Rakhine. The area of Burma west of the Ayeyarwadi River that adjoins Bangladesh and the Bay of Bengal. In the early centuries of the first millennium CE it was the home of an independent kingdom with its capital at Dhanyawadi. A sixth-century inscription from Shitthaung gives an account of the early kings. An-
other capital was built on the nearby site of Vesali, ruled by kings of the Chandra line. The capital is surrounded by a brick wall and moat enclosing an area of 7 square kilometers (2.7 square miles). Thus early Arakan kingdoms resembled sites in the central plains such as Sriksetra, including evidence for the existence of early Buddhism and Vishnu worship. The Anandacanth inscription from Arakan mentions King Vajrasakti, who was succeeded by Dharmavijaya (R. 655–691).

During the late period of the Vesali kingdom, Tibeto-Burman speakers called Rakhaing entered the region. Vesali was succeeded by a capital called Mrauk-U (Myohaung/Mrohaung), which has yielded important early sculptures such as a bas-relief of Vishnu and the goddess Gangga with two dwarves, but no buildings have yet been described.

The Selagiri reliefs were found at the base of hill across the Kaladan River from Kyauktaw, where Buddha is said to have appeared to King Candrasuriya. One relief found in 1924, made of red sandstone, depicts Buddha in dharmacakra mudra in very high relief said to resemble artifacts from Phnom Da, near Angkor Borei, in the lower Mekong. A devotee, who may represent a king, is shown wearing ornaments like those found in Pyu sculptures of the sixth to eighth centuries. Five more reliefs found in 1986 show scenes of the enlightenment, the first sermon, parinirvana, and a crowned standing figure whose hands are missing, which may be a bodhisattva. These reliefs suggest that Mahayana Buddhism entered Arakan from Bengal in the sixth or seventh century, at the same time as a similar process was occurring in Pyu Sriksetra and Mon Dvaravati.

Arakan was subject to Bagan from the 11th to 13th centuries, but as Bagan declined, a new capital was founded at Launggret in 1237. The kingdom was momentarily recaptured by Burmese in 1404, but the Arakan king Min Saw Mun regained his independence with help from Bengal. Arakan remained an independent kingdom from 1433 to 1784. The kingdom was characterized by Buddhist culture, but Muslim Bengal influenced such aspects of the kingdom as coinage and even royal titles.

ARIMADDANAPURA. Pali for “The City That Tramples Down Its Foes.” Arimaddana is the name of the first capital of Bagan, supposedly
established in the year 16 of the Burma Era (c. 96 CE). According to the Mahayazawingyi and Hmannan Yazawindawgyi, following the destruction of Tharehkettara (Sriksetra), the newly elected King Thamuddaraj gathered the inhabitants of 19 villages and founded the capital on Yonhlut Island. Though recent archaeological surveys conducted in the vicinity of Yonhlut kywan have yielded substantial artifacts, these do not resolve the controversy surrounding the founding date of Arimaddana (Bagan). Arimaddana is often used interchangeably with Bagan, Pugam, and Paukkarama in early sources, both Burmese and non-Burmese, to refer to the kingdom of Bagan.

**ARJUNA.** The hero of the Indian epic *Mahabharata*, one of the five Pandawa brothers. In east Java, Arjuna is better known as the hero of the Javanese composition *Arjunawiwaha*, in which the resolve of the meditating Arjuna is unshaken by the temptation of beautiful nymphs sent by the god Indra. His success in doing penance enabled him to win Siva’s favor and to gain a supernatural weapon with which he destroyed the gods’ enemies. The popularity of this story is reflected in frequent depictions of scenes from it on numerous East Javanese temples such as Candi Jago and Candi Kedaton and modern Balinese temples such as Pura Mengwi.

**ARJUNAWIJAYA.** A Javanese epic poem in *kakawin* style written in the kingdom of Majapahit in the late 14th century by a poet from the principality of Pandansalas known as mpu Tantular.

The Arjunawijaya begins by declaring that the poet wishes to erect a candi for the Lord of the Mountain in the form of a poem. He sought to explain that Buddhism and Hinduism were not opposing religions, but rather that Siva, Vishnu, and Buddha were three facets of the same reality. When Arjunawijaya enters a Buddhist temple, the monks explain that Jīnā Buddhas depicted on the four sides of the shrine are a manifestation of Siva, and that Vairocana is the same as Sādasiwa, who occupies the zenith. Aksobhya on the east is the same as Rudra, Ratnasambhava on the south is the same as Brahma, Amitabha on the west is Mahadewa, and Amoghasiddhi on the north is Vishnu. Thus the characters of the poem are taken from the Rāmāyana rather than a Buddhist text. The plot concerns Rawana, whose name (meaning “roar”) is actually a nickname that Siva gave
Dasamukha; he picked up Mount Kailasa where Siva was staying with Uma and shook it, whereupon Siva pressed down the mountain and pinched Dasamukha’s hands, making him scream with pain. Rawana kills King Banaputra of Ayodhya, who as he lies dying curses Rawana to be killed by an incarnation of Vishnu. Arjuna Sasrabahu (“the thousand-armed”), king of Mahispati, goes on a journey during which he worships at a Buddhist sanctuary, which is described in detail, and a Siva temple, which is only briefly mentioned. A battle ensues, during which the soldiers are told that if they are killed, they will be rewarded by entering Vishnu’s heaven. Arjuna cannot kill Rawana; this will only be accomplished by Rama in one of Vishnu’s future incarnations. Therefore he binds him in chains, then sends him back to his kingdom in Lengka.

**ARJUNAWIWAHA.** A Javanese epic poem written by mpu Kanwa during the reign of Airlangga in the 11th century. The text is illustrated by reliefs on Candi Jago near Malang, built to commemorate King Wisnuwardhana around 1268. It also provided the inspiration for relief carvings at Tulungagung, Surawana, and Kedaton.

In the story, a demon, Niwatakawacha, who cannot be killed by the gods, prepares to destroy Indra’s heaven in revenge for the gods’ refusal to grant him the nymph Suprabha. Indra decides to ask Arjuna, who is doing penance on Mount Indrakila, to rid the universe of the demon, but Arjuna’s steadfastness has to be tested first. Seven celestial nymphs are created who are so beautiful that Indra gives himself a thousand eyes to look at them. They go to Mount Indrakila to attempt to distract Arjuna from his meditation, but he ignores them. Indra then goes to visit Arjuna in the form of an old risi, to discover whether Arjuna’s meditation is an attempt to gain personal happiness and power. Arjuna explains that he is trying to fulfill his duty as a kṣatriya and to help his brother Yudisthira regain his kingdom for the benefit of the whole world.

Niwatakawacha sends a giant named Muka in the form of a wild boar to kill Arjuna. Both Arjuna and Siva, in the guise of a hunter, shoot arrows into the boar and kill it. They then fight over the dead boar, but Siva changes into Ardhanariswara, half man, half woman, and Arjuna, realizing that he is fighting Siva, desists and worships him. Siva then gives Arjuna a magic arrow called Pasupati. The
nymph Suprabha goes to Niwatakawacha pretending to submit to him, but in fact she is seeking to discover his vulnerable spot. He informs her that it is the tip of his tongue. A big battle ensues, in which many gods are killed, before Arjuna can use his magic arrow to kill the demon king. *Amerta*, elixir of immortality, is then used to bring the dead back to life. Arjuna is rewarded with a temporary marriage to the seven nymphs for seven heavenly months.

These themes are found in Indian literature, but are scattered among different stories. The Javanese version includes some important differences from Indian models. In India, although the story of Arjuna’s meditation on Indrakila is known, the attempted seduction is instigated by the spirits of the mountain, who are afraid of the power Arjuna is acquiring from his meditation. The section of the poem after Siva’s appearance is uniquely Javanese. Although its religious origin is clearly Hindu, the theme of asceticism and rejection of physical desire enabled east Javanese Buddhists to appropriate this imagery, too.

**ARU.** A kingdom on the northeast coast of Sumatra known mainly from sources of the 15th and 16th centuries. Wang Dayuan in the 14th century mentioned it, but did not give any details. Ma Guan in the 15th century said that its territory was bounded by high mountains on one side, the sea on another, and Su-men-ta-la (*Samudera*). He described its inhabitants as Muslims. Fei Xin, an officer on Ming voyages to Southeast Asia, in his work *Xing-cha Sheng-lan* recorded that Aru’s soil was infertile, producing mainly bananas and coconuts. The people fished with dugout canoes. Their main economic importance derived from their access to forest products, including cranes’ crests and camphor. In exchange they sought Chinese satins and silks, ceramics, and beads. The Portuguese, however, heard that the inhabitants of Aru were cannibals and that condemned criminals from Melaka had been sent there to be disposed of.

**ASTADIKPALAKA.** In Indian mythology, the guardians of the eight directions and the zenith. They were sometimes used in Southeast Asian art. For example they are depicted on a stone carving set into the ceiling of Candi *Bangkal* in east Java in the 14th century. Each deity has a small round hole carved in the center, probably to hold a
ceremonial offering. Each can be identified by attributes held in its hands. In Bali, the nāwasānga, a diagram showing the symbols of the deities associated with the eight directions, is still a popular motif.

**ATISA (ATIŚA; ATISHA) (980–1053).** A Buddhist intellectual of the early 11th century also known as Dipankara. A prince of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra/Srivijaya) went on a pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, where he was nurtured by a great teacher who changed his name to Dharmakirti. The prince eventually returned home to Sumatra. Atisa, an Indian monk, took passage there on a merchant ship to study with Dharmakirti from 1011 to 1023. From there he moved to Tibet in 1042, where he achieved lasting fame as the reformer of Buddhism in that kingdom. The Buddhism he taught may bear some relationship to the Buddhism of Sumatra at that period. Atisa’s doctrine was called the Sakya wave, after the gray-yellow soil of the region where it became popular. Its main text is the Laughing Vajra (Hevajra) tantra. A Nepalese manuscript of the 11th century contains illustrations labeled “Dipankara in Yavadvipa” and “Lokanatha at Srivijayapura in Suvarnapura.”

**AU LAC.** A kingdom in north Vietnam known from Vietnamese traditional sources. It was formed when a man named Thuc Phan conquered Van Lang and established a new capital named Co Loa Thanh, “Sea Shell City,” at Co Loa in modern Phuc Yen Province. Archaeological excavations there have yielded numerous artifacts, including many arrowheads. The origin of this invader is mysterious. The name Thuc is the same as that of a ruling clan of Sichuan Province, so some have speculated that he came from there. The veracity of this tradition is difficult to credit. The Sichuan kingdom of the Thuc is thought to have been vanquished in 316 BCE, and no historical connections between Sichuan and Vietnam can be traced in other sources. The Thuc may have migrated to an area called Cao-bang in Guangxi, nearer the Vietnamese border, and established a kingdom called Nam Cuong, but this theory is based on circumstantial evidence.

The date of formation of the kingdom is also a source of dispute. Vietnamese historiography gives the date of 257 BCE for the fall of Van Lang to Au Lac. Thuc Phan assumed the title of King An Duong.
Au Lac was defeated by Trieu Da, governor of Nan Hai, a territory centered around Guangdong that had been incorporated into the empire of Qin Shi Huang. In the same year, the Qin dynasty fell and was replaced by the Han. A Vietnamese legend suggests that he was still in power during the Qin dynasty, sending a giant named Ly Ong Trong as tribute. An Duong is not mentioned in any Qin sources.

Au Lac continued to exist after the fall of the Qin dynasty. The kingdom may have been a vassal of Nan Yueh (Nam Viet) in the early second century BCE or simply an ally against potential Chinese incursions. According to legend, Trieu Da defeated An Duong by deceit, whereupon An Duong fled into the sea and was taken away by a golden turtle. Au Lac became part of Nan Yueh, but as a vassal state. The Lac lords continued to govern the kingdom’s internal affairs.

**AUSTROASIATIC.** A language family literally meaning “south Asian.” This family includes Tai and Mon-Khmer (of which Vietnamese is a subfamily). This is one of three major language families found in Southeast Asia. The other two are Austronesian and Tibeto-Burman. Austroasiatic was the dominant language family in what is now China south of the Yangtze River until the Han invasions of the early first millennium CE. The language called Munda split from other Austroasiatic languages approximately 7,000 years ago. Mon and Khmer became separate from each other about 5,000 years ago. Vietnamese became distinct from Khmer about 4,000 years ago.

**AVA.** See INWA.

**AVADANAS.** “Heroic Deeds”; a compilation of legends derived from Buddha’s explanation of events in which people’s noble deeds enabled them to attain enlightenment. This form of Buddhist romance literature is represented by such Sanskrit works as the Avadanastaka (“Century of Legends”) and Divyavadana (“The Heavenly Legend”). Like Jataka and other compilations such as Pancatantra and the Tantri fables, the Avadanas represent one of several compilations of orally transmitted stories. Buddha’s teachings were not recorded until around the first century BCE, four centuries after his death. Though the Avadanas are found only in Mahayana Sanskrit Buddhist texts, some of the stories appear as anecdotes in the Nikaya sec-
tion of the Pali canon, Tripitaka. A set of Avadana reliefs can be found on the first gallery, main wall, of Barabudur. These include stories of the prince Sudhana, the nymph Manohara, and Indra and the virtuous Sibi king.

AVALOKITESVARA (AVALOKITESVARA; AVALOKITESHVARA). “The regarder of the world’s sounds,” a Buddhist deity first mentioned in the Lotus Sutra, composed some time in the first century CE. This bodhisattva, according to this text and the Kārāṇḍavyuha Sūtra, rescues anyone who chants his mantra from all danger. According to Mahayana doctrine, Avalokitesvara made a great vow to listen to the prayers of all sentient beings in difficulty and to postpone his own Buddhahood until he has helped every earthly being to attain enlightenment. In Indian art, Avalokitesvara normally appears as a young man wearing a crown or bearing the image of Amitabha on his head. He was sometimes called Mahesvara, a name often applied to Siva. Some scholars suggest that Siva may have inspired the style in which Avalokitesvara is depicted in sculptures.

In China Avalokitesvara’s original male aspect was replaced by more popular images of a white-robed female known as Kuan Yin or “Goddess of Mercy”; Kuan Yin is depicted in 33 forms. Sometimes Avalokitesvara is part of a triad with Amitabha flanking him on the right. Sometimes he carries such attributes as a bird, a bottle, a willow wand, or a pearl. Sometimes he is said to have a thousand eyes and hands.

At Indonesian temples such as Barabudur, Mendut, and Sewu, Avalokitesvara appears as part of a triad with Buddha in the middle, holding a lotus, and/or crowned with an image of Amitabha. In Vajrayana Buddhism, Avalokitesvara often appears in the form of Padmapani, “lotus holder.” In Theravada Buddhism, he is known as Lokesvara. According to one theory, the smiling faces on the Bayon at Angkor in Cambodia depict him.

In Burma, Lokesvara is known as Lokanat and is frequently depicted in Bagan mural paintings and sculpture sitting on a large lotus platform with one knee raised and the other horizontal with his feet clutching musical cymbals. The earliest portrayal of Lokanat can be seen in the murals of the Abeyadana temple. His left hand holds a bunch of lotus blossoms and buds. He wears a crown, a beaded necklace, and other jewelry.
AYEYARWADI (IRRAWADDY). The river that is Burma's most important commercial waterway. The 2,170-kilometer-long (1,300-mile) river begins at the confluence of the Mali Hka and N'Mai Hka rivers in the Kachin state in the foothills of the Himalayas and flows into the Indian Ocean via nine streams in the lower Burma delta. The river supposedly derives its name from the Sanskrit word āravati (“elephant river”). The Ayeyarwadi has been an important thoroughfare for transportation, communication, and travel for at least 2,000 years, as demonstrated by the numerous archaeological sites located near the river and its tributaries.

AYODHYA. Capital of the kingdom ruled by Rama in the Ramayana; also spelled Ayutthaya.

AYUTTHAYA (AYUDHYA; AYODHYA). A city in Thailand was originally named Dvaravati Sri Ayutthaya, after the kingdoms of Dvaravati and Ayodhya in Indian epics. The kingdom that also bore this name was founded, according to tradition, in 1351 by a prince from Uthong who took the name Ramathibodi I, although there are no contemporary records to confirm this. He was married to a woman from Suphanburi. Ramathibodi was the first of 34 kings to rule this kingdom. The capital, on an island approximately 12 kilometers (7.2 miles) in diameter in the Chao Phraya River at the confluence of the Lopburi and Pasak tributaries (see map 14), soon acquired sovereignty over the old capital of Sukothai. Its founder population may have had some connection with the polity recorded in Chinese sources of the 13th and early 14th centuries as Xian, as well as Suphanburi and Lopburi. The ancient city is now a World Heritage site.

The inhabitants of the lower Chao Phraya were oriented toward the Gulf of Thailand and may have consisted of a mixture of Tai, Khmer, and Mon speakers. Early Ayutthaya titles for the ruler contained terms from all these three languages. The early inscriptions of the kingdom were in the Tai language but were written in Khmer script rather than the form adapted to writing Tai used in Sukothai. Khmer script was used to write Tai in Ayutthaya until 1563. Thereafter the kingdom shifted to Sukothai script, possibly due to the installation of a new ruling family in Ayutthaya following the Burmese
invasion of Ayutthaya in 1569. The kingdom came to an end with the Burmese conquest of 1767.

Chief surviving monuments of the kingdom include Wat Phutthaisawan (1353), Wat Phra Ram (1369, enlarged by Trailok), Wat Rat Burana (built around 1425), the chedi of Wat Borommathat near Chai Nat (typical of U Thong style because it combines Sukhothai and Srivijaya styles), and Wat Mahathat and Wat Chulamani at Phitsanulok.

Ramathibodi I was succeeded by his son Ramesuan, but he abdicated the next year, possibly under compulsion, and returned to his previous position as governor of Lopburi. Ramesuan was replaced by his uncle Borommaracha, previously governor of Suphanburi. Borommaracha ruled until 1388, when Ramesuan entered the city with an army, captured and executed Borommaracha’s son and successor Thong Chan, and ruled until 1395. In that year his son Ramaracha came to power and ruled until 1409. He in turn was deposed, went into exile, and was replaced by Thong Chan’s younger brother Nakhon In, who took the coronation name Intharacha. His reign lasted until 1424.

The name Ayutthaya first appears in Chinese records in 1444. The kingdom regularly sent tribute to China, including substantial amounts of sappanwood and other forest products. Its riverine location helped it become one of the most important ports of mainland Southeast Asia.

King Trailok (R. 1448–1488) was originally named Ramesuan. He succeeded his father Borommaracha II (R. 1424–1448), who died during a war against Lan Na. Trailok, whose full reign name was Borommatrailokanat (“Great King of the Three Worlds”), fought constantly with Lan Na, under its king with a similar name, Tilokracha (R. 1441–1487). Trailok also instituted important administrative advances, organized the bureaucracy, and systematized the sakdiñā (“field power”) system, which allocated land, punishments, and fines to people according to their status.

B
BADUT. A temple in east Java near Malang dedicated to Siva. It was erected in the eighth century, but significantly revised about 200
years later. The Dinaya inscription nearby, written in 760, records the construction of a temple dedicated to Agastya around this time. See also CANDI (CHANDI).

BAGAN (PAGAN; Burmese PUGAM). This site on the middle Ayeyarwadi River is often regarded as the foremost capital of ancient Burma and remains one of the most spectacular archaeological sites in Southeast Asia due to the hundreds of well-preserved architectural remains from the 11th through 13th centuries found there (see diagram 10). Bagan (the classical name of which is Arimad-danapura) according to Burmese chronicles was founded in the second century, but the construction of the city’s walls is credited to a king named Pyinbya in 849. According to Burmese accounts in the Mahayazawingyi and Hmannan Yazawindawgyi, three years after Pyinbya became king, he founded a capital named Pugam in the Burmese Era 211 (849 CE). Burmese literature suggests that Bagan had four successive capitals in the same area: Arimaddanapura, Thiripitsaya, Tampawati, and Pugam. Bagan, Pugam, Arimaddana, and Paukkarama are often used interchangeably in early sources, both Burmese and non-Burmese.

The site of Bagan (see map 3) today covers 80 square kilometers (30 square miles), but the walled area only encloses 1.44 square kilometers (0.5 square miles), much smaller than the earlier sites of Halin, Sriksetra, and Beikthano. Of the total area of the site, only 23.9 square kilometers (10 square miles) contain dense monumental remains. There is no hint of any cosmological principles in its layout.

Burmese literature on rulers of the 10th century includes the story of a gardener who killed the previous king, Theingo, for taking cucumbers from his garden. This trope is found in foundation legends of several Southeast Asian kingdoms such as Cambodia. Subsequent rulers included two brothers: Kyiso, who died in 992 while hunting, and his brother Sokkate, who ruled until he was assassinated in 1044 by Anawrahta, his half-brother. According to a Chinese source, an envoy from Pu-gan brought tribute to the Northern Song capital at Kaifeng in 1004, thus predating the date of Anawrahta’s ascension to the throne. A Cham inscription of 1050 mentions that Pukam men joined Khmer, Chinese, and Thai to help restore the temple of Po Nagar in Nha Trang.
Bagan's sculpture is rigidly conventional, but its architecture is highly original and varied. The development of architecture at Bagan can be divided into four periods. All involve a heavy superstructure, usually a *stupa* or a *sikhara* on top of a cubical temple. The first period began in the mid-10th century and lasted until 1057. It is represented by a Pyu-style stupa called Bupaya, and the Nat-hlaung-kyauang, with a vaulted roof derived from Pyu buildings.

The second period (1057–1084) reflects Mon cultural influence, incurred when according to literature Anawrahta captured Thaton. Important examples include the large *Myinkaba* stupa, *Lukananda*, *Shwesandaw*, East and West *Hpeteik*, and *Shwezigon*. Anawrahta also introduced the practice of decorating stupa bases with ceramic plaques illustrating *Jataka* tales.

The third period is connected with the reign of King Kyanzittha and continues Mon influence. Important examples include *Abeyadana* and *Ananda*, which introduce the flame-shaped motif above doorways, possibly stylized *nagas*. This motif is also found at Sriksetra and may have been a combination of Mon decoration combined with Pyu arches and vaults. Kyanzittha continued Anawrahta’s use of *Jataka* plaques, but with the technologically more advanced use of glazed ceramics.

The fourth period, often called the Burman period, marked a major change. Mon traits were replaced by Burmese and Sinhalese elements. Important monuments include *Sulamani* and Dhammayazika, built in 1196, one of 17 pentagonal buildings at Bagan.

Burmese literature of later centuries embellished the reign of Anawrahta with an account of a Burmese conquest of the Mon kingdom of Thaton, which resulted in the spread of Mon influence in Burmese *Buddhism*. The so-called Thaton School included some Hindu elements. Pyu culture, too, had incorporated elements of *Vishnuism*, so the lineage of these unorthodox characteristics in early Burma is difficult to trace. Burmese chronicles also credit the conquest of Thaton with introducing a new writing system to the Burmese. The old school was finally displaced when the Mahavira sect of Buddhism spread from Sri Lanka through the agency of a Mon monk named Chapata in 1190. This became the orthodox sect in Burma and the rest of mainland Southeast Asia.

Burmese sources emphasize Bagan’s relationship with its neighbors Sri Lanka, China, and the Shan states. Bagan was not exempt
from Mongol attempts to impose a new form of tributary relationship on Southeast Asian rulers during the Yuan dynasty. After Nanzhao was incorporated into the Mongol Empire, in 1273 Kublai Khan ordered the ruler of Bagan, Narathihapate, to send princes to Beijing to bow before him. The Mongol ambassadors sent to deliver this demand never returned to China; they were either killed in Bagan or waylaid in Yunnan. In 1277 a Burmese army invaded the Country of the Golden Teeth, north of Bhamo, which was under Mongol protection. After various skirmishes in the Shan hills, in 1283 a Mongol army broke through into the Ayeyarwadi plain. According to legend, Narathihapate fled before the Mongols arrived, thus earning the derogatory epithet Tarokpye Min, “the king who ran away from the Mongols” by which he is often known in later Burmese chronicles. The details are contested, but in 1285 Bagan managed to mollify the Mongols sufficiently that their army withdrew. More battles later took place; it is possible that a Mongol army reached Bagan itself in 1287, though historians are not unanimous on this point. Traditional history portrays the Mongols as a major force in Burma during the late 13th century, but the evidence for this is mainly found in chronicles.

Archaeological data suggests that Bagan did not “fall” in 1287 but continued to be a focus of political and religious activity. However, after King Narathihapate was assassinated by his son, Prince Thihatu of Pyi, in 1287, and the next king, Kyawswa, was deposed in 1298, other competing centers of power arose, including Toungoo, Sagaing, and Inwa (Ava).

BAGO (PEGU). Burmese chronicles give the date of 825 for the founding of a kingdom named Hanthawati, Hangsawati, Hanthawaddy, or Ussu by two brothers from Thaton named Samala and Vimala. Supposedly, the governor of Bago, foster brother of king Sawlu of Bagan, launched a revolt, which succeeded in killing Sawlu. It has been suggested that the population of Bago was mainly Mon at this time, but others, particularly Michael Aung-Thwin, have rejected this theory. More verifiable is the site’s career as the center of an important Burmese kingdom from 1353 to 1539 when it was conquered by Toungoo. In the early 15th century King Razadarit (R. 1385–1424) fought frequently with Inwa, but the two sides were too evenly matched and the struggle ended in a stalemate in 1417. Be-
between 1453 and 1472 Bago was ruled by a queen, Shin Saw Bu. The next ruler, Dhammazedi (R. 1472–1492), has been identified by Aung-Thwin as the creator of the “Mon paradigm,” the tradition that the Mon were responsible for many civilizing influences on the Burmese after the fall of Thaton in 1057.

The Venetian Nicolo di Conti visited Bago in 1435 and described it as a huge city. Two other European merchants, a Russian named Nikitin and the Genoese Hieronymo Santo Stefano, also saw the city in 1496. The king of Bago purchased Stefano’s wares. The next European visitor was another Italian, Ludovico di Varthema, in 1503–1504, who recorded his astonishment at the amount of gold and jewels at the court of the king, Binnya Ran. The number of Europeans who called there testifies to its importance as a trading center.

**BAHAL.** This word is used to denote three brick temples in *Padang Lawas*, north *Sumatra*, built between the 11th and 13th centuries. This word is still used in Nepal to refer to temples of the Thunderbolt or Vajrayana sect. In Nepal, these structures have two stories: a lower one for the uninitiated where there are statues of the five main Buddhas or other such common images, and a second where the gods of the *vajra* are kept. The structures referred to in Sumatra by this name are not double-storied; they consist of square cellas standing on high square platforms and were probably once topped by stupa-shaped towers that are in a semiruinous state.

**BAJANGRATU.** Literally “royal dwarf,” the name denotes a monumental ornamental gateway 16.5 meters (55 feet) high, built of brick (except for a threshold of andesite) on the southeast side of *Trowulan*, in Dukuh Kraton, Desa Temon, Kecamatan Trowulan, Kabupaten Mojokerto (the 14th- to 15th-century site of the capital of *Majapahit*). The gate can be dated to the 14th century based on its form and the *Ramayana* relief on the door frame, both with strong resemblances to the dated *candi* of the mid-14th century at *Panataran*; ceramics of the Yuan dynasty have also been excavated in its vicinity.

The gate’s form, called *paduraksa* in *Javanese*, consists of a tall superstructure like an east Javanese temple, which surmounts a tall narrow-linteled gateway 1.4 meters (5 feet) wide that can be entered by climbing a set of nine steps. The top of the gateway is decorated
with Kala heads, again recalling the temple form. The tall tower is decorated in unique fashion with pairs of moldings interspersed with a row of towers connected to the next highest level. The lowest two levels are undecorated, perhaps damaged. The roof levels are decorated with a Kala head in the center with a pair of long tusks, like a pair of horns; a similar motif is found on the cheeks of the Kalas on Candi Jago. The Kala head is flanked on both sides by an animal body, which also recalls Candi Jago. Another motif consists of a solar disc with emanating rays; this is a transformation of Kala, as shown by the teeth and long tusks beneath the sun. Two nagas with legs and claws, long ears, and horns face the sun. Their backbone resembles a crocodile's, while the tail ends in spirals.

The two layers of the third roof are decorated with heads of Kala or perhaps a garuda carved at an angle, both in the center and at the corners. The central Kala heads are flanked by a pair of animals similar to a motif at Panataran. The two layers of the fourth roof have one-eyed Kalas shaped like round snails. The roof layer beneath the peak is decorated with geometric motifs and flowers. The pinnacle is decorated with a monocle, or perhaps a jewel.

The south sides of the gate are decorated with reliefs on one half depicting the Rāmāyaṇa story of Hanuman the monkey god fighting a giant, and the Sri Tanjung tale on the other. Carved panels, now highly eroded, depict two people, perhaps a man and woman, standing amid spirals. A second panel shows a whale spouting; two side panels show a woman riding a whale on the left, and a woman standing while turning left and gesturing with her left hand. The woman on a fish is probably Sri Tanjung. A similar composition is found in the temple of Surawana. According to the Indonesian archaeologist Soejatmi Satari, the reliefs, in order, represent Sidapaksa and Sri Tanjung, Sri Tanjung’s soul riding the whale, Sri Tanjung riding a fish, and Sri Tanjung arriving at the other world, looking back over her shoulder. Soejatmi speculates that the gateway was built to commemorate the death of king Jayanagara.

This form of gateway, like the candi bentar form of Wringin Lawang in Trowulan, was adopted for Balinese temples. Whereas the candi bentar is the form used to enter the outer courtyard, the narrower padurāksa form, which can be easily closed with a wooden door, constricts access to the inner courtyard. Despite these temple
associations, however, it is probable that the gateway once gave access to a royal demesne, a kuwu in Javanese, meaning a residential ward under the supervision of a nobleman.

**BAKAU.** Site of a sunken ship (sometimes called the Maranei) in Karimata Strait between Belitung and Borneo. To judge from the cargo, the trade vessel had sailed to south China, called at a Thai port, then sank in the early 15th century in the shipping lane between the South China Sea and Java. Most of the cargo had already been looted before it was studied by scholars. The remainder consisted of storage jars made in Suphanburi, Thailand, which contained some type of grain.

The Bakau ceramic cargo is similar to 13th- and 14th-century Ko Si Chang II and Rang Kwian sites in Thailand and the Turiang and Longquan sites in Malaysia. Looters report that the original cargo had included Thai, Vietnamese, and Chinese ceramics, with Sukothai bowls and dishes outnumbering those from Sawankhalok. Vietnamese ceramicware was uncommon. The ship also carried fine pasteware kendis that may have been made in the southern Thai production center of Pa-O.

No blue-and-white ceramics were reported found. All legible coins found were minted in the reign of Yongle except one from the Northern Song. Other cargo included bronze gongs, mirrors and handles, copper alloy tweezers, anvil-type grindstones and rollers, and iron woks. Other copper artifacts occurred in small quantities so that it cannot be determined whether they were also trade items or personal belongings of the crew; these included fishhooks, a tanged spearhead, a hanging lamp, dishes, bowls, spoons, a bell, scale weights, and a lime container.

**BAKONG.** A pyramidal shrine of five tiers built at Roluos in 881 by Indravarman on the same plan as Barabudur in Java, to support the lingga Indresvara (see diagram 3). The main shrine was surrounded by canals and moats. The lingga sanctuary on the summit was rebuilt in the 12th century. Little of the first stage of the monument survives. It was a single temple on a pyramid surrounded by eight brick towers at ground level. The second level was decorated with beautiful reliefs, but only one remains undamaged. The shrine now standing on
the summit was built in the 11th century; few traces of the previous shrine remain. The first state had perspective effects, but these were hidden by the addition of entrance pavilions as at Barabudur, where these perspective effects were perhaps seen as too Hindu. Further repairs were carried out at Bakong in the 13th century.

BAKSEI CHAMKRONG. “The Bird That Watches over the Capital.” A small brick shrine consisting of a single tower on a three-tier base, at the north foot of Phnom Bakheng, Angkor, built by Harsavarman I in 947 on top of an older building. This was the first Khmer building to boast of advanced perspective effects: the walls slope inward, staircases become narrower as they rise higher, and sight lines were calculated. On the lintels is an important inscription giving a genealogical list of Khmer kings up to 947.

BALAPUTRA. According to the Charter of Nalanda, Suvarnadvipa (probably referring to Srivijaya) in the mid-ninth century was governed by a man with this name, literally meaning “younger son.” His father was King Samaragravira, “killer of enemy heroes,” and his grandfather had been a king of Yawabhumi (land of Java) and “ornament of the Sailendra family.” Samaragravira may be the same as Samaratungga, who ruled central Java in 824. Balaputra may have been expelled from central Java after attempting to usurp the throne there following a marriage between a Sailendra queen and a Sanjaya king. It is not known how he managed to attain the throne of a great kingdom in Sumatra. It is thought possible that he was the son of a Sumatran mother, perhaps the princess Tara who was married to Maharaja Samaratungga. The Sailendra and the Srivijayan rulers, whatever their clan name may have been, were united by a belief in Mahayana Buddhism. After 860, it seems clear that the Srivijayan rulers were Sailendras. Balaputra had a monastery built at Nalanda, to which the Pala ruler Devapala in 860 donated the revenues of many villages. It is the record of this donation that yields much of this information, which is not found in any surviving Sumatran sources.

BALI. Island east of Java (see map 9) with an area of 5,633 square kilometers (2,200 square miles). Romano-Indian rouletted ware discovered at the north coast site of Sembiran demonstrates that Bali al-
ready had maritime contact, perhaps indirect, with India in the early centuries CE. A country named Poli is said to have sent a mission to China in the early sixth century; this may have been Bali. A later Javanese text, the Carita Parahyangan, claims that Sanjaya conquered Bali in the eighth century, but there is no evidence to support this idea.

The historic period in Bali begins with an anonymously issued inscription in Balinese dated 896. Both Buddhism and Hinduism were already practiced on the island at this time. Nevertheless, Bali maintained many of its prehistoric traditions after the introduction of writing. The village of Trunyan, on the shore of Lake Batur, maintains the tradition of disposing of the dead by taking corpses to a special island by boat and exposing them on the ground. Trunyan is mentioned in an inscription dated 911 that refers to repairing a shrine for Bhatara Da Tonta, a local deity. A 4-meter-tall (13-foot) statue now in the village temple of Trunyan called Dewa Ratu Gede Pancering Jagat, “The Great God Who Is the Center of the World,” is a non-Indic deity.

Ancestor worship apparently played an important role in early historic Bali. Old Balinese inscriptions of the ninth century give regulations for funeral rites termed marhantu. Collections of statues of individuals or couples found in Balinese temples may portray royal couples or other important figures and probably indicate a perpetuation of a form of ancestor worship; the statues bear no attributes of Indic deities.

Bali is not mentioned in any Indian source until a reference in the Sanskrit text Manjusri Mulakalpa, written sometime before 920, which mentions Bali as a place inhabited by barbarians. Early Balinese inscriptions mention a palace named Singhamandava, but no kings. The first known Balinese king, Sri Kesarivarman, appears in 914 in an inscription from the tourist area of Sanur. This is one of the more unusual historical documents from ancient Southeast Asia in its mixture of languages and scripts. It is partly written in Old Balinese but using Nagari script normally used in Buddhist inscriptions, and partly in Sanskrit but using the kawi script otherwise used for Old Balinese copperplate writing.

Ugrasena ruled at Singhamandava from 915 to 942. A dynasty with names ending in -varmadeva was in power between 955 and 984. The rulers of this line included three kings and two queens, one named
Subhadrikavarmadevi. Thereafter began the rule of **Udayana** (Dharmodayana Varmadeva), who married a Javanese princess named Mahendradatta (Gunapriyadharmapatni), from 989 to 1022. Mahendradatta was the daughter of Makutawangsa, grandson of **Sindok**. Their son **Airlangga**, born around 991, became an important ruler in east Java in the 11th century after marrying the east Javanese king’s daughter.

During Airlangga’s time, according to inscriptions issued between 1020 and 1025, Bali was ruled by an individual named Dharmavangsa Marakatapangkaja, possibly a viceroy. Another ruler called **Anak Wungsu**, literally “younger son,” is mentioned in inscriptions between 1049 and 1077. His relationship with Airlangga, if any, is unknown.

Inscriptions found in Bali switch to Old Javanese language in 995. Relations with Java remained close for the next several centuries; at times Bali and east Java were part of the same kingdom. In 1284, according to the *Desawarnana*, Kertanagara captured a Balinese queen and took her back to *Singasari*. During the next half-century, Bali seems to have been independent. Its ruler in 1338 was named Paduka Bhatara Sri Ashtasura Ratna Bumi Banten (Banten being an ancient name for Bali; the literal meaning of the word is “offering”). Balinese **chronicles** record unsuccessful Javanese invasions during the early 14th century. In 1343, however, according to the *Desawarnana*, another Javanese army from *Majapahit* led by the young **Gajah Mada** himself introduced another period of Javanese suzerainty.

Mpú Prapanca describes Bali as faithfully adopting Javanese customs, with numerous Buddhist dharmas or domains, most established by priests of the Vajradhara esoteric persuasion.

The last lithic inscription was carved in 1384. It mentions King Kudamrita from Wengker, east Java. According to tradition, when Majapahit fell to **Islamic** forces, some nobles and priests fled to Bali. There is no confirmation of this, but Bali retained its former **religion** and preserved many Sanskrit and Old Javanese texts that had probably once been known in Java, including works of dharmasastra **literature** (Agamas), works of grammar, usada (works on medicine), **kawi** poetry, babad (chronicles), and Buddha Veda (Buddhist priestly rituals).
BALINGAWAN. An ancient Javanese inscription, in two parts: the beginning on a stone post, the continuation on the rear of a Ganesa statue found at Singasari. The text mentions the year Saka 813 (891 CE), an award bestowed by rakyan kanuruhan Mpu Huntu handed down to sang mapatih Katrini, who was requested to allocate the gift to the rama of Balingawan. The rest of the text mentions that a sima was established; the list of people who officiated at the ceremony (apparently local religious leaders); and the compensation offered to a number of officials as expenditure for establishing the sima.

BALITUNG. First Javanese ruler to use the name Mataram for his kingdom. He ruled between 899 and 910. His successor was Daksha.

BAN PHLUANG. An important Khmer temple built in the second half of the 11th century in what is now Thailand, during the reign of Udayadityavarman II. It is in Baphuon style and was built as a Sivaite shrine. It was reconstructed in the 1970s.

BANGKA ISLAND. Island off the mouth of the Musi River in south Sumatra. An important inscription of the Srivijaya kingdom and other remains have been found at the site of Kota Kapur here. The population in ancient history probably consisted of seafarers who formed an important focus of support for the Srivijayan rulers. The capital of the Malay kingdom of Palembang probably evacuated Sumatra and moved to Singapura in the late 14th century after a Javanese attack destroyed what may have been their major naval base.

BANGKAL. A temple in Mojosari District, east Java. From the terrace or platform, the worshipper climbed a stairway to the temple chamber, with small niches on the north, east, and south sides, surmounted with an andesite Kala head. The walls of the temple chamber are plain, without niches for images or to place a lamp and without an opening for light or ventilation, measuring 1.86 meters (6 feet 2 inches) square and rising vertically to a height of 2.5 meters (8 feet 4 inches) and then the four-sided pyramid form rises, tapering to four stones, above which is a capstone of andesite, on which a horse is carved in relief. This probably represented Surya, the sun god. The
temple probably dates from the 14th-century kingdom of Majapahit. See also Candi (Chandi).

BANTEAY CHHMAR. A temple in northwest Cambodia erected by Jayavarman VII in honor of his son, Srindrakumara. The temple, the name of which means “Narrow Fortress,” is decorated with bas-reliefs on the outer face of the enclosing wall depicting scenes of battle, presumably the Khmer-Cham war in which the king lost his son and four generals. Eight large standing multiarmed Avalokitesvaras in relief adorned the outer wall until several were stolen in the 1990s. The complex comprises a major sandstone temple, a number of other religious buildings including a stone rest-house (dharmasala) at the eastern entrance, a baray to the east, and a moat surrounding the main sanctuary.

BANTEAY KDEI. Perhaps the first of Jayavarman VII’s monumental constructions, east of Angkor on a site formerly known as Kuti. Its ancient name may have been Purwatathagata, “Buddha of the East.” Beside it is a large artificial lake, Srah Srang. The temple displays the same plan as Ta Prohm, but on a smaller scale. Between Banteay Kdei and Srah Srang in 1963–1964, Bernard Philippe Groslier excavated a burial ground that was in use from the 9th to 16th centuries, most intensively in the 12th and 13th centuries. The graves consisted of secondary burials of ashes in urns, along with pots containing food and perfume; the wealthiest included bronze mirrors, gilded ingots, and bronze statuettes of Buddhist and Hindu gods.

BANTEAY SAMRE. This Khmer shrine has no inscriptions, but based on its style, it is believed that it was built around the same time as Angkor Wat, that is, the first half of the 12th century. Banteay Samre has an internal cruciform layout similar to the central area of Beng Mealea and Chau Say Tevoda. Galleries with four gopuras or ornamental gateways and a courtyard enclosed the main sanctuary. The main entrance lies on the east side. A long paved pathway lined by nagas links the east gopura to a long room flanked by two structures conventionally termed libraries. The other three gopuras on the north, south, and west sides are cruciform in plan, with two wings that lead to the galleries. These gopuras are decorated with scenes
taken mainly from the *Ramayana*. The fight between Rama and Rawana is depicted on the northern side of the northern gopura, while the charge of the monkeys is represented on the southern side. The pediments and lintels of these gopuras are also highly decorated. The pediment on the east side of the east gopura depicts Krishna wrestling with the serpent Kaliya, and the lintel shows the churning of the sea of immortality. The central sanctuary comprises a main room with projections on four sides. The four-tiered roof is surmounted by a lotus. Scenes depicted on the upper levels are taken from the *Vessantara Jataka*. A Kala head decorates the lintel of the main sanctuary; pediments depict such scenes as a four-armed Vishnu overcoming two figures on the south side.

**BANTEAY SREI.** Considered by many the most beautiful building erected in ancient Cambodia and perhaps in all Southeast Asia. The original name of the shrine was Tribhuvanamahesvara. Dedicated in 967, it was built in a location then called Isvarapura. The sponsor of the building, according to a Khmer inscription at the site, was a “holy teacher” named Yajnavaraha, grandson of Harsavarman I. He may have played an important role in the reign of Rajendravarman and that of his son Jayavarman V. The architect who designed the complex closely followed contemporary models and a manual that specified the proportions of the ideal shrine. Because the dimensions of Banteay Srei are smaller than normal, while its proportions were kept constant, and because of the pinkish color of the sandstone used, the shrine has been described as possessing a gem-like quality. Some buildings at Banteay Srei are too small to have been usable, but had to be built in order to fulfill the requirements of the ideal shrine. Only three buildings are big enough to be entered.

The carvings on the lintels include Rawana shaking Mount Kailasa, Kama shooting an arrow toward Siva, Indra’s rain, and the death of King Kamsa caused by Krishna. These may be the oldest Khmer lintels depicting Hindu legends.

A small temple in front of the royal palace was built around 950 according to the same design.

**BAPHUON.** A three-terraced sanctuary in Angkor on the peak of which, an inscription says, a Siva lingga of gold was erected in a
gold temple termed “the ornament of the three worlds.” It was the last Sivaite terraced temple to be built in Angkor. The Lovek stele compares it to golden Mount Meru. The late 13th-century Chinese envoy Zhou Daguan found the structure to be still highly impressive. Suryavarman I probably started the Baphuon, which was completed by his son Udayadityavarman II (1040–1060). An inscription in Sanskrit at the sanctuary’s base records the success of the armies of Udayadityavarman II in putting down various revolts.

The second terrace was decorated with relief carvings depicting the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The reliefs, and the other highly refined decorative motifs of the monument, influenced other structures, giving rise to the term “Baphuon style.”

The designers of the monument used elaborate perspective techniques to emphasize the height of the monument, which made it relatively unstable. At the end of the 15th century, a statue of a reclining Buddha was built on the site, using stones from the Sivaite monument’s first and third terraces, and probably from the central tower as well.

BARABUDUR. A Buddhist monument in central Java (see map 8). The basic ground plan (see diagram 6), a hilltop partly leveled to provide a flat space around the monument, partly covered with stone, was constructed in the mid-eighth century, either for a Hindu monument or for a terraced structure following the lines of prehistoric Indonesian shrines. Only the first two terraces of the structure, perhaps begun by people loyal to the Sanjaya clan, were finished during that phase. They incorporated perspective effects typical of Hindu architecture in Java.

Work on the site was resumed, perhaps after a hiatus of some years, by builders who kept the basic plan but diverted it to use in creating a Buddhist monument. They dispensed with the perspective effects and erected three more square terraces, atop which were added two round terraces and a central stupa. Miscalculations resulting from lack of experience in this type of construction led to several partial collapses before the proper relationship between height and width was achieved. The resulting structure was completely original and was never duplicated, although its basic form was highly influential in Cambodia.
Four staircases led from the ground level to the top of the monument; these were modified several times due to the structure’s instability. Eventually the builders were forced to make the base significantly wider, at the cost of obliterating reliefs illustrating the *Mahakarmavibhanga*. The space thus formed was probably utilized as a raised walkway upon which pilgrims could perform the rite of circumambulation (prādaksīna) around the temple.

F. D. K. Bosch identified the outer figures on Barabudur’s balustrade as four classes of guardians of Mount Meru. These images include gods with jugs and garlands in oblong panels, those who are drunk are in square panels. If the females on smaller panels are apsaras, the women on square panels ought to be nāginiś and yākṣiniś.

Four stories of square terraces were hidden from view of those outside the monument by balustrades topped by statues of four of the five Jīnas: Aksobhya in bhumisparsa or earth-touching mudra on the east, Ratnasambhava in vara or charity mudra on the south, Amitabha in dhyāni or meditation mudra on the west, and Amoghapasa in abhaya or fear-dispelling mudra on the north. On the highest gallery on all four sides are images of Buddha in vitarka or teaching mudra.

The retaining walls on both sides of each gallery on the four square terraces are decorated with reliefs. On the first gallery where the walls are higher, there are two series, upper and lower. According to the original plan, the first text to be seen by visitors would have been the *Mahakarmawibhanga*, but this was covered up due to construction difficulties. The next series consists of two levels of reliefs on the balustrade of the first terrace. These are scenes from *Jataka*, tales, stories from the previous lives of Buddha. On the main wall, the lower series of reliefs illustrates Avadana stories, a mixture of accounts of those who found enlightenment and fairy tales. The upper series illustrates the Lalitavistara, the life of the Buddha of the present age, Gautama. The reliefs on the walls of the second and third galleries illustrate the Gandavyuha, the quest for enlightenment undertaken by a young man named Sudhana. The fourth and uppermost gallery is devoted to reliefs from a sequel to the Gandavyuha, the Bhadracari.

Atop the four square terraces are three nearly circular terraces on which stand 62 hollow perforated stupas, each containing a Buddha
statue in dharmacakra mudra, symbolizing the preaching of the first sermon in the deer park of Benares. These stupas are of two types: on the first and second round terraces are 32 and 24 stupas, respectively, with lozenge-shaped lattices, whereas the 16 on the third terrace have square lattices.

The origin of the name Barabudur is unknown. The Karangtengah inscription dated 824 mentions King Samaratunga, who built a Jinalaya, “Place for the Conqueror Buddhas,” divided into 10 parts, which might be Barabudur. The origin of another inscription is unknown. It tells us that in 842 Queen Sri Kahulunan gave up her right to tax a village so that the revenue might go to a sanctuary instead; the sanctuary, named Bhumiśambhara, “mountain of the accumulation of the 10 merits” or “perfections” (on the path to becoming a bodhisattva) might have been Barabudur. Originally Barabudur perhaps was designed to consist of six stories, which would conform to the six perfections of one form of Mahayana Buddhism. The Avatamsaka Sutra, which includes the Gandavyuha, mentions 10 perfections.

The Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, an early 10th-century Javanese Mahayana text, refers to the six types of Buddha images found at Barabudur: Sakyamuni came first; Avalokitesvara appeared from his right side, Vajrapani from his left, and Vairocana from his face; and Aksobhya and Ratnasambhava came from Avalokitesvara, and Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi from Vajrapani.

Since its restoration with support from UNESCO and other organizations, Barabudur has been recognized as a World Heritage site.

BARAY. A Khmer term for large, shallow artificial bodies of water. Their functions are unknown. Two of the largest barays are artificial lakes, the East Baray and West Baray, of Angkor Thom of about equal size, 8 kilometers (5 miles) east–west and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) north–south (see map 5). It was at first assumed that they were reservoirs to store water with which to irrigate rice fields between Angkor and the Tonle Sap (Great Lake) during the dry season, but further calculations have shown that although the barays are broad, they are too shallow to have held enough water to be efficient for that purpose. There were inlets but no outlets except for small channels that may have acted to regulate the water level, to prevent it from becoming too deep. Bernard Philippe Groslier proposed a chan-
nel outside the baray, parallel to the dike, filled with water percolating out, but W. J. van Liere showed that this is impossible.

The barays may have worked according to some other principle, such as using the evaporation of a broad sheet of water to draw up moisture from beneath the soil, as a wick in a lamp draws fuel from below. Another theory is that the barays were created for symbolic purposes, perhaps as a microcosm of the great ocean from which the elixir of immortality amerta was churned, a favorite theme of sculptors at Angkor. The West Baray, which still contains water, is now used for fish farming. The East Baray is dry. Angkor reliefs depict fishing scenes but no rice.

According to Groslier, Angkor’s location took advantage of the gradual southward flow of water from the Kulen Plateau toward the Tonle Sap. In the first phase of construction of the hydraulic city of Angkor, Yasodharapura took advantage of the Siem Reap River. In the second phase, the western baray was built. The third phase was marked by Angkor Wat, the moat of which he thought had an irrigation function. The fourth phase included the building of the Jayatataka and Angkor Thom. Jacques Dumarçay and Pascal Royere expanded on this framework, suggesting that Jayavarman VII’s new system using bridges as dams dispersed water control, and thereby weakened central power. Charles Higham is skeptical of this, noting that their claims cannot be checked because of lack of references. The lack of any mention of irrigation or of disputes over water in inscriptions suggests that Angkorian Cambodia possessed no centralized system of water control.

The reasons for the construction of these large works remain obscure. Some form of symbolism was possibly one of their purposes, though it is unlikely that such a justification provided the main or only motivation for the large outlay of resources their construction necessitated.

BARUS. A thousand years ago, the port of Barus, also known as Fansur or Pancur, on the northwest coast of Sumatra was an important destination for merchants from Armenia, Old Cairo, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and several coasts of South Asia. Barus exerted a powerful attraction on traders from all corners of the Eurasian trade network for five centuries. The place-name appears in first-millennium
texts of many languages, but only in very brief references, in conjunction with its principal product, camphor. The Akhbar as-sin wa l-hind (851) mentions Lambri and Fantsour, which produced much good camphor. Camphor was probably known to the Persians first and only became known to the Arabs after the introduction of Islam. Literature from the 10th to 14th centuries describes processing of camphor and its use in medicine, perfume, and embalming.

Barus was in contact with Siraf in the Persian Gulf, and some glass objects probably from the Mediterranean appear to date from the late 11th century, when the main commercial route shifted from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. Barus coins have been found in Fostat, Old Cairo, where a 12th-century document states that a Fostat merchant died in Barus. An Armenian text describing travel in the China Sea from approximately the 11th to 13th centuries, suggests (but does not prove) Armenian involvement in Southeast Asian trade, along with other Middle Easterners (Jews, Arabs, Persians, Nestorians). The text is suggestive of Christian involvement in Sumatra.

According to the Xin Tangshu, Barus was one of two kuo (capitals or kingdoms) in Srivijaya. Although he did not go there, Marco Polo knew it as the “country of camphor” and also said that a tree there yielded a flour used to make bread. This was probably the sago palm. Polo says he ate a lot of this bread and liked it.

Nineteenth-century officials reported finding lithic inscriptions, coins, and statuary scattered over several locations in the vicinity of the modern town of Barus. One of these inscriptions in the Tamil language, dated 1088, is highly significant for the analysis of events in this part of the world. Archaeological remains are found at several separate loci in the Barus area. At Lubok Tua a site includes an area of about 7.5 hectares (18.5 acres) circumscribed by earthen ramparts and a trench. Excavations outside the ramparts found habitation remains covering an area of perhaps 200 hectares (500 acres). The site was occupied for approximately 250 years, from the mid-9th to the end of the 12th centuries.

The ancient habitation has been badly disturbed by looting that began in the mid-1800s, apparently stimulated by discoveries of gold objects. Barus probably produced gold jewelry and coins. Silver and gold are abundant in the mountains of Sumatra, although the Barus area itself does not yield these metals. The implication is that Barus
functioned much like other early entrepots: it imported raw materials from several areas, processed them, and profited greatly by supplying them to the maritime commercial network.

The Arab geographer Mas’udi says that the Siraf and Oman ships only went as far as Kalah, where they met the ships from China. Perhaps Lubok Tua was the victim of the Seljuk emergence, which disrupted the Persian Gulf routes in the mid-11th century, causing the decline of Siraf and Sohar. This suggests that the trade of the Persian Gulf was significant for Lubok Tua.

**BAT CHUM.** Find location of an important inscription commemorating the return of the capital to Angkor in 944 by Rajendravarman. The shrine consists of three towers built in the mid-10th century by Kawindrarimathana, a Buddhist cara or “emissary” who was a high official under Rajendravarman. Three Sanskrit inscriptions here record the presence of statues of Buddha, Vajrapani, and Prajna, a combination that indicates a form of Mahayanism was being followed. A 1952 excavation revealed yantras carved on flagstones under the north tower and in front of the base of the entrance stairway to central tower. The yantra is a checkerboard containing 49 squares in which are the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. George Coedès tried to link the yantra to Buddhist deities, but J. Dumarcay and P. Royere think they were linked to the temple’s earlier Hindu role.

**BATTAMBANG.** The area at the northwest end of Tonle Sap, Cambodia, where several archaeological sites denote the existence of a polity of some importance. These include Wat Basset, dedicated to Jayaksetra and built by Suryavarman I in 1041 with a tower, vihara, and four-sided terrace. Wat Eka, also built by Suryavarman and dated 1017, is dedicated to Sri Narendragrama. A brahmin, Yogiswara Pandeta, erected a lingga here. At Prasat Sneng is a small temple with a lintel depicting the gambling scene from the Mahabharata. It dates from the 12th century but reused an 11th-century inscription as a lintel. At Ban Nan are five towers on a hill reached by a staircase of 356 steps.

**BATUHITAM.** “Black Rock”; site of a major archaeological discovery in the form of a shipwreck with a very valuable cargo of Chinese
The Arab writer Suleiman, who visited Guangzhou in 851, noted that the city had a Muslim community. It was possibly from this port that this Arab ship, wrecked about 826, sailed, although a port in southern Thailand presents an alternative, in view of the Middle Eastern artifacts discovered at the site of Ko Kho Khao.

The sailing route and destination of this ship are important questions. Was it going west or south? Some scholars argue that it was going to Java rather than being homeward bound, based on its location south of the Strait of Melaka. It could have been going to the court of the Sailendra, then at the height of their glory. Arab shippers could have been involved in local or regional transport as well as long-distance trade.

**BAYON.** A complex religious structure erected at the center of Angkor Thom beginning in the reign of Jayavarman VII (see diagram 2). Part of its complexity is due to the fact that it went through numerous phases of construction, during which it was redesigned at least once and probably twice. The central portion of the edifice as it exists today is a tall tower in which a statue of a Buddharaja or divine Buddhist ruler stood. The complex contains numerous “face-towers” from which look out giant heads on all four sides. It has been asserted that these are representations of the Buddhist deity Lokeshvara Samantamukha, or Vajradhara in the form called Vajrapani, a form assumed by Lokeshvara in order to teach the dharma or Buddhist law, but consensus on this issue has not been reached despite decades of argument. According to yet another theory, the Bayon as a whole represents the “body of the god,” a metaphor for the cosmos.

The central portion of the Bayon has been altered many times. The original plan may have been to build a mandala with each chapel representing a province. Inscriptions on the entrance posts note the statues of the divinities that originally were placed in each chapel and where they were mainly worshipped. Unlike Angkor Wat, built approximately 50 years earlier, the Bayon introduced few technical innovations, but conceptually it is unique.

The walls of two concentric galleries bear extensive narrative reliefs almost 1,200 meters (three-quarters of a mile) long, almost twice
the length of reliefs at Angkor Wat, which extend over 700 meters (2,400 feet). Some were never finished. When the Bayon was converted to Sivaism, around the reign of Jayavarman VIII, some Buddhist motifs were obliterated. The internal gallery reliefs of the Bayon, which consist of Sivaite themes, were carved under Jayavarman VIII. The Buddha image that originally occupied a place in the shrine was smashed, and fragments of it now rest on an ancient platform south of the road leading east from the royal palace.

As at Angkor Wat, the reliefs at the Bayon do not indicate any specific narrative sequence. Major themes include Jayavarman VII’s army, including men with short beards and a specific hairstyle who may have been Chinese mercenaries. In another area, reliefs depict what seems to be a story with several scenes, including a possible Chinese dwelling and people drinking rice wine and becoming intoxicated. Still more potential depictions of Chinese occur in scenes of a Chinese junk and people identified as Chinese playing chess.

A king, probably Jayavarman VII, appears in several areas—once on a raft, another time on an elephant in a procession passing through a forest. An inscription suggests that the king had been a hermit before he ascended the throne; perhaps this scene is meant to depict his return to political life. In another scene, a king appears to fight a serpent, then becomes a leper and is treated by massage. Court life, including exotic animals, animal baiting, and dance, form another theme. Perhaps the most spectacular scenes are those of battles in progress. These may include various adversaries and alliances; our knowledge of the events of this period is not sufficiently detailed to identify the various stages of different wars, though the Cham seem to be involved fighting both with and against Khmers.

The Bayon is built on three levels, which were constructed at different times. The first level includes a rectangular courtyard with reliefs on the main wall of a gallery. The second level has a rectangular plan and supports the famous face-towers. The third level includes the monument’s core with a circular plan. The original plan of the monument can no longer be identified, although there are some indications it might have been a mandala.

The outline of the first stage still remains: a cruciform plan that may have represented the kingdom before Jayavarman VII took power. The construction of the monument was complete, though
carving of decorations had not yet begun. At this stage the monument included a rectangular courtyard. A second terrace and central towers were erected.

In the second stage, the monument was rebuilt as a rectangle, perhaps symbolizing the division of the kingdom. A gallery was built facing inward, but was quickly reversed to face outward; this may have been an act meant to symbolize something, perhaps Jayavarman's reversal of the kingdom's fortunes. During this stage, which enlarged the original structure, the present second level was built.

In the third stage, the courtyard of the first level was raised. In the fourth stage, 16 structures were built, then immediately demolished, the doorways to the first gallery closed, and the face-bearing towers built, again in an apparent use of the construction process as a metaphor for the fortunes of the kingdom. Passages were built to connect the galleries of the first and second levels.

The term “Bayon style” is used to refer to the group of monuments that have similar decorative motifs. Within this style, four phases are discerned by art historians. Phase one includes Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei, and Preah Khan. Phase two includes monuments with walls and naga balustrades, such as Bayon, Ta Som, and Neak Pean. Phase three is marked by the remodeling of the Bayon with the addition of the circular central tower and narrative reliefs of wars against Cham; the image of Buddha on the naga Muchilinda was elaborated during this period. Phase four consists of structures on huge terraces at Angkor Thom.

BEIKTHANO. A site in the dry zone of Burma (see map 2) that seems to have had some links with the Andhra dynasty of southern India (c. 250 BCE–230 CE), which in turn is associated with Amaravati. The site is marked by remains of an irregular brick wall surrounding the site, inside which was a smaller rectangular walled complex. Several substantial ruins of brick structures have been found. One building consisting of concentric brick revetments with rectangular projections at cardinal points has been interpreted as the remains of a stupa of Andhan type such as exist at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The projections may have been yākā, platforms for altars mentioned in the Mahasanghika Vinaya. Only one image of Buddha has been found at the site. It seems likely that when Beikthano was built, pre-iconic art still dominated Buddhism.
Excavations have revealed 12 gateways in the complex with burned remains of wooden doorways. Foundations of buildings include two halls with wooden pillars, a rectangular monastery with individual cells, and stupa-like structures. Ceramic burial urns of varying shapes, sizes, and designs contain calcinated bones and ashes similar to those found at Sriksetra. Other artifacts include Pyu-period silver coins, clay and obsidian beads, and domestic pottery. A clay seal found near the monastery bears four letters in Brahmi script dated to the second century CE.

Burmese chronicles describe Beikthano as a rival of Tharehkettara (Sriksetra), a contemporary Pyu capital. Duttabaung, the powerful ruler of Tharehkettara, sought to conquer Beikthano, which was ruled by his half-sister, Queen Panhtwar. All Duttabaung’s attempts to conquer Beikthano were thwarted with the help of a magical drum called Atula Sidaw, given to the queen by Sakka (Indra). When the big drum was beaten, the Yan Pe River nearby rose and flooded the area, preventing enemies from crossing it. Duttabaung eventually succeeded in nullifying the magical powers of the drum and conquered Beikthano, taking Panhtwar back to Tharehkettara as his consort.

BELAHAN. Bathing place constructed on the northeast slope of Mount Penanggungan around 1049, if the interpretation of a carving found on the site as a chronogram is correct. According to the theory of W. F. Stutterheim, it was built as a funerary monument for King Airlangga, who would have been immortalized in the sculpture of Vishnu on Garuda now in the museum of Trowulan, but this theory has been contested.

This statue is carved from an unusual reddish stone. Vishnu sits in a meditative posture, whereas Garuda, portrayed as a bird-like figure with talons on his legs, grapples with the nagas with whom in mythology he fought for the elixir of immortality, a fitting motif for a fountain from which this amerta symbolically cascaded.

Like Jalatunda, constructed about 80 years previously, it may have functioned as a place of ritual purification for pilgrims who were on their way to visit the hermitages farther up the slopes of Penanggungan. Both are set against the slope of the mountain. The design of the fountain is quite different in other respects, however.
Belahan is built of brick instead of stone. It has only one shallow pool into which water flows.

Two large stone statues are still in their original positions. These portray Sri and Lakshmi, female counterparts of Vishnu. The statue of Sri still functions as a conduit for water; in a semierotic, semisymbolic pose, a stream of liquid still issues from each of her two breasts, which are cupped in her two forearms. She is equipped with two other arms, which hold her standard attributes. The statue of Lakshmi once also poured water into the pool from a *kendi*. Stone parasols that once sheltered these figures are now in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta (that thought to have overhung the Vishnu statue) and the Joko Dolok park in Surabaya (those of the two goddesses).

Another sculpted spout, no longer functional, stands on the left side of the pool. Water originally issued from the mouth of a *Kala* portrayed on this stone object.

A complex surrounded by brick walls entered through gates of the *candi bentar* type once stood northeast of the pool. These have now been largely despoiled of their bricks by local looters.

**BENG MEALEA.** One of the largest temple complexes in the Angkor area. Though no documentary evidence or inscriptions exist, the temple is dated by experts to the 12th century because of its similar style to Angkor Wat. It has a cruciform terrace and a moat, which is now partially dried up. The temple comprises three enclosing galleries with four *gopuras*. The galleries are not sculpted, however, as in the case of Angkor Wat or Bayon. Decorations are carved in high relief on the pediments, lintels, and pilasters. Various stock scenes represented on the pediments and pilasters include the birth of Brahma, the churning of the elixir of immortality, and Krishna wrestling with the *āśūrā* Bana. Lintels depict Hindu divinities such as Indra on a three-headed elephant, Vishnu on Garuda, and Siva dancing between Ganesa and Parvati. The central tower has completely collapsed.

**BERAHU.** A temple in east Java north of the modern village of Trowulan, capital of the 14th- to 15th-century kingdom of Majapahit. It is difficult to obtain an impression of the original form of the building due to significant restorations, which have led to the ad-
dition of much modern brick. It can, however, be deduced that it con-
tained one inner chamber entered by a door on the west. The only re-
main ing ornamentation is a highly eroded Kala above one exterior
niche. The surviving height of the building is 20 meters (65 feet), but
it would have been significantly taller when it was intact. The re-
main ing superstructure is topped by a rounded element that suggests
a stupa. This is the only direct evidence that allows us to suggest that
the shrine was Buddhist rather than Hindu.

Approximately 350 meters (1,100 feet) away, another site, Candi
Gentong, has yielded clay votive stupas, one of which bears an Old
Javanese inscription. This suggests that the Berahu area may have
been set aside for Buddhist activities.

**BHADRAVARMAN.** A name used by several rulers of Champa.
Bhadravarman I left inscriptions in Quang Nam and Phu Yen around
400. He founded the first sanctuary at the site of Mi Son, dedicated
to Siva Bhadresvara. His capital was probably at Trakieu, where
three inscriptions in identical script have been found. Two, written in
Sanskrit, mark the limits of the sacred area of Bhadresvara; the third,
in Cham, is the oldest text in any indigenous Southeast Asian lan-
guage. The Cham inscription orders that people respect the “king’s
naga.”

Bhadra varman II was the ruler of Indrapura, also in Quang Nam,
in the period 908–910. He was succeeded by his son, Indravarman
III.
Bhadravarman III is a little-known king of Vijaya whose only known date is 1061. By the end of that year, he had been replaced by his younger brother Rudravarman III.

BHADRESVARA. Name of a deity, probably a form of Siva identified with a lingga at Mi Son consecrated by Bhadravarman about 400. The practice of naming a lingga after a ruler by replacing the -varman suffix with -vara continued in the Cham regions and in Cambodia for many centuries thereafter.

Bhadresvara is also the name of a deity widely worshipped in the ancient Khmer empire, the principle shrine of which was located at Wat Phu, Laos. The deity’s main emblem was the Siva lingga. Yasovarman built a sanctuary called Bhadresvara at Sivapura (Phnom Sandak).

BHADRESVARAVARMAN. Son of a brahmin, Satyakaushikasvamin, and a sister of Prabhasadharma, ruler of Trakieu/Singapura whose brother was assassinated in 645. He ruled for eight years and was succeeded by a queen, another sister of Prabhasadharma, according to Chinese sources.

BHAIRAWA. A terrifying deity, originally Hindu, who was adopted by esoteric Buddhism as well. He was popular among higher nobles in east Java and Sumatra in the 13th and 14th centuries. Spectacular statues of this god were carved in Singasari and in Sumatra in the 14th century. It is suspected that a monumental Bhairawa statue 4.14 meters (13 feet) tall with the Aksobhya in the headdress found in west Sumatra and now in the Museum Nasional Jakarta may portray Adityawarman, the ruler of Jambi who moved his capital to the Minangkabau highlands around 1350. He probably underwent an initiation intended to consecrate him as a form of this deity.

BHARATAYUDDHA. An Indian epic poem, the title of which means “The Wars of the Bharatas,” a reference to the battles described in the Mahabharata. A Javanese version in manggala form was begun by mpu Sedah in 1157 and completed by Panulus. The poem was addressed to the Kediri ruler Jayabhaya. Like the Indian version, the
poem describes a battle at Kuruksetra between two rival families, the Pandawas and the Kurawas.

BHAVA V ARMAN. This name was used by several rulers in the kingdom that the Chinese termed Zhenla. A later Khmer inscription says that Bhavavarman I, who ruled in the late 6th century, a devotee of Siva, was grandson of a “universal monarch” and husband of a princess Kambujarajalakshmi, a descendant of Kambu and Mera.

Bhavavarman I, who ruled in the late sixth century, was a Shaivite. His inscriptions cover a broad area from Kratie on the Mekong, to Buriram north of the Dangrek Mountains and west of the Tonle Sap. He built a capital called Bhavapura, which some have concluded lay at Ampil Rolêm, 30 kilometers (18 miles) northwest of Kompong Thom.

Another Bhavavarman seems to have succeeded Isanavarman I; he left an inscription dated 639 in Takeo. He was succeeded by a son, who was probably Jayavarman I.

BHIMA. Second of the five Pandawa brothers of the Mahabharata. He is the son of Bayu, the Hindu god of the wind. Bhima became particularly prominent in east Java in the 14th and 15th centuries, and numerous statues of him were carved there. He embodies both great physical strength and true spirituality, according to the Javanese definition of the concept, which he demonstrates through his mystical practices, including deep meditation. He was also the hero of numerous other myths composed during this period.

One of these, the story of Bhima Bungkus, begins with his birth in a caul (bungkus in Indonesian means “package” or “container”). It is so tough that it cannot be penetrated, so it is kept in a forest under the watchful eyes of Semar and Pamade (Arjuna in his youth). The Kowara try to destroy the baby inside the caul, but fail. Gradually signs of distress in the natural world begin to appear, caused by the tension of the baby’s struggle to escape. Finally Siva’s son Gajahsena, a mighty elephant, and Siva’s wife Uma break the sack. Gajahsena is absorbed by the youth inside, who the risi Narada announces is named Bratasena. Like Arjuna, he will later change his name. This story may be alluded to in a sculpture at Candi Sukuh.
Bhimasuci depicts Bhima’s search for true wisdom. In this story, his quest leads Bhima to seek a spirit named Dewaruci, a miniature replica of Bhima who lives under the ocean. Bhima has to crawl inside Dewaruci’s ear to unite with him. The end of the journey comes when Bhima realizes that true wisdom lies within himself. This tale is depicted in a relief at Kendalisada, on Mount Penanggungan.

In Bhimaswarga, Pandu, the father of the five Pandawa brothers, angers the gods by competing with them in the splendor of his palace and garden. When he dies of illness, the gods send him to hell. Bhima goes to hell to relieve his father’s suffering. Siva then transports Pandu’s soul to heaven and promises that Bhima, his brothers, and their mother Kunti will one day join him there. This story, too, may explain some reliefs at Candi Sukuh.

The late statuary of Majapahit, probably dating from the 15th century, seems to have been carved by craftsmen with little training. The only type of statuary that maintained a reasonable standard of quality consists of a group of images depicting a male, who is usually assumed to be Bhima. Many such images were found on sacred edifices on upper slopes of mountains in east Java. He may have been popular among the risi groups.

Bhima statues generally have a moustache, bulging eyes, stout body, long fingernails (pañcaṇākā), and a particular form of curving headdress called supit urang in Javanese. Part of Bhima’s phallus is often shown exposed.

A statue of Bhima now in the Museum Mpu Tantular, Surabaya, was discovered in Trenggalek, east Java. It bears an inscription on its back, in Old Javanese, five lines long. Buchari estimates on the basis of writing style that the inscription dates from approximately the same time as the Gajah Mada inscription from Singasari, 1357. Unfortunately due to damage, only part of the inscription can be read. It contains the word प्रातिष्ठान and a chronogram for 1273 Saka (1351 CE). Buchari explains that the relatively inferior writing style indicates that it was carved by a nonroyal sculptor.

Old Javanese dictionaries give a variety of meanings for प्रातिष्ठान: foundation; holy place; calm; serenity; initiation; condition; position of subservience to something such as a monument, image, or temple; or installation as a deity in a holy place, in which the deity can descend and take up abode. The word’s appearance here shows that the
statue was a portrait image. However, the damage to the stone prevents us from discovering whom the image portrays.

Bhima images often hold attributes in their hands. One in the Museum Nasional Jakarta (286a) carries a flower bud in his right hand. Another Bhima image that was once worshipped is held in the private collection of KRT Hardjonegoro of Solo; on the rear is a chronogram for 1443.

BHOMAKAWYA. A story of Krishna’s son Samba and his battle against the demonic Bhoma found in Javanese literature. Once when Vishnu and Brahma were locked in battle, a goddess appeared to make peace; by Vishnu she became pregnant, and Bhoma was born. Another of Vishnu’s sons, Dharmadewa, married a woman named Yanjawati, but lived in a hermitage. Bhoma was wreaking destruction on the Earth, so Vishnu incarnated himself as Krishna, while Dharmadewa was reincarnated as his son Samba. Yanjawati, not knowing what had become of her husband, committed suicide and was reborn as the daughter of a king whom Bhoma had conquered.

Samba, accompanied by the risi Gunadewa, defeated demon armies, then came upon an abandoned hermitage; this was the place where Dharmadewa and Yajnawati had lived. A nymph then informs Samba that Yajnawati has been reborn and is Bhoma’s captive. Samba sneaks into Bhoma’s palace and is reunited with Yajnawati. They are discovered and Yajnawati is hidden in another part of the palace. The risi Narada advises Samba to seek Krishna’s help. The story ends with the defeat of Bhoma and the lovers’ reunion.

BINHDINH. Vietnamese province corresponding to the ancient Cham kingdom of Vijaya.

BLITAR. This small city lies in the upper Brantas Valley near the foot of Mount Kelud, one of the most destructive volcanoes in Indonesia. Numerous remains of the 14th-century kingdom of Majapahit are found in its vicinity, including the Boro statue of Ganesa, the candis of Tulungagung, and the largest monumental complex of Majapahit, Panataran. The tomb of Indonesia’s independence leader Sukarno is there, near the site of his birth, and has become a major shrine visited by hundreds of thousands of people a year, mainly during the fasting
month of Ramadan, drawn by a combination of reverence for his nationalist philosophy and the reputation of this place as a source of supernatural spiritual power.

**BODHISATTVA (BODHISATTWA).** Literally “enlightened being”; one who has attained enlightenment but consciously refrains from entering nirvana. In **Mahayana Buddhism**, bodhisattvas are compassionate beings. Bodhisattvas such as **Avalokitesvara** and Samantabhadra took vows not to enter nirvana until all beings have achieved enlightenment. Though **Theravada** Buddhism does not emphasize the role of the bodhisattva, the concept exists in the Pali canon. The historic Buddha Gautama stated that he was a bodhisattva prior to his enlightenment. Another bodhisattva mentioned in texts is the future Buddha Maitreya. The bodhisattva in **Theravada** Buddhism seeks enlightenment for himself, unlike his Mahayana counterpart. Many bodhisattvas in Mahayana Buddhism possess individualistic characteristics, in contrast to the generic nature of bodhisattvas in Theravada Buddhism.

**BOROBUDUR.** See **BARABUDUR**.

**BOT.** A building in **Thai** monasteries. The building houses a Buddha image and is demarcated by boundary markers known as **sima** stones. These buildings are used for **religious** ordination. Another word for the same building is **ubosoth**.

**BRAHMA.** God of creation; one of the **trimurti** or trinity of **Hindu** gods, along with **Siva** and **Vishnu**. According to the **puranas**, Brahma appeared on a lotus that grew from the navel of the sleeping **Vishnu**. Brahma is conventionally represented with four heads and four arms holding a scepter, a water pot or **lota** used to create life, a string of beads used to measure out the life of the universe, and a lotus. According to legend, Brahma created a female goddess, Shatarupa or Gayatri, from part of himself when he was creating the universe. He eventually grew so infatuated with her that when she moved to avoid his gaze, a head grew. Eventually he developed five heads, one on each side and one on top. Angry with Brahma because Brahma’s love of Gayatri was wrong since she was technically his...
daughter, Siva cut off his top head. Siva then told everyone not to worship Brahma as the latter had become unholy. Since then Brahma is said to have been engaged in reciting the four Vedas, one with each mouth, in penance for his misdeed. This and other anecdotes are cited to explain why there are few temples and worshippers of Brahma.

In the case of Hindu Southeast Asia, Siva and Vishnu were more popular than Brahma. A few early temples in Java contain Brahma statues, including one specifically devoted to the god at the Lara Jonggrang complex. Phnom Chisor in Cambodia is an 11th-century Brahma temple. Brahma statues in bronze and stone have been found throughout Southeast Asia. Brahma rarely becomes involved in the affairs of the gods or mortals, but in one case he forced Soma to return Tara to her husband, Brihaspati. His abode on Mount Meru is Brahmapura.

BRAHMIN. The priestly caste, one of the four main strata of Hindu society. The name is similar to a related word, Brahan, a concept related to that of the English word soul. The word brahmin means “one who has realized or attempts to realize Brahman.” French scholar Jean Filliozat has shown that court priests who went to Thailand and Cambodia sometime after the 16th century, taking with them some Agamic traditions of southeast India, were successors to the purohita of earlier kings, but were not brahmins. Their status was probably like that of gurukkal of southwest India, who are not brahmins either. Balinese culture assigns no special role to brahmins in complete contrast to the situation in India.

Brahmins are ritual experts, but cannot have been agents of Sanskritization. Brahmans have no major literary texts; much of their knowledge is orally transmitted. That Sanskrit grammar was known in Indonesia or that the inscriptions from Cambodia are in better Sanskrit than many in India, does not imply that Southeast Asian experts or authors of Sanskrit must have been brahmins. Around 1000 BCE another set of texts, the Upanishads, was compiled, and these led to the formation of new schools of thought such as Vedanta and Yoga. Vedic gods such as Indra, Varuna, and Agni were replaced with other deities not found in the Vedas such as Siva and Vishnu. Some Vedic practices such as homa or fire sacrifices, however, continued.
Fifth-century inscriptions from Kutai, east Borneo, suggest that Vedic religion made some very early converts in Southeast Asia. This form of religion was not focused on image worship; the iconoplastic tradition of Hindu sculpture only began during the first century BCE and first century CE.

**BRAJANATA.** The elder brother of Panji in a Javanese cycle of legends. A statue found in Grogol, Sidoarjo, east Java, 51 centimeters (1 foot 8 inches) tall, has been tentatively identified as a representative of this figure. The image has curly hair tied in a bun on top of his head, a curl of hair beside his forehead in the shape of a small horn, and a curling moustache. He has a fierce expression. His right hand holds his sarong and his left the end of a sash. His upper arm is adorned with a band in the form of a snake. He wears a sarong; his extended right leg is exposed to the thigh. He wears a keris tucked into his sarong behind his back. This image has been labeled as the priest Begawan Tunggal Manik, but the pose, hairstyle, and keris argue against this identification. The figure is a warrior, in conformity with Panji’s elder brother.

**BRANTAS.** The name of a river in east Java. The river’s source is near Malang. From there it flows south, then west, then north, then northeast, thus describing a spiral route around the volcanic massif including Mounts Kelud, Arjuna, Welirang, and Penanggungan. The river links a large number of important archaeological sites, from the area of Candi Jago and Kidal near Malang, to Blitar with such important monuments as Panataran, to Kediri. It then bends toward Trowulan, capital of the major kingdom of Majapahit, and finally enters the sea near Surabaya. Important ports connected to the international maritime routes have been located in this vicinity for at least one thousand years. The river was a major highway connecting a large hinterland.

**BRUNEI.** This name has one of the longest histories of any existing Southeast Asian kingdom. It has always been ruled from a center located in north Borneo. The kingdom’s early history is mainly known from early Chinese sources. The extent of the area acknowledging fealty to Brunei probably covered much of Borneo’s northwest coast.
for many centuries. Poli, as it is called in early Chinese sources, exported camphor, gold, cowrie shells, birds’ feathers, and other forest products. The Liăng Shu of the mid-first millennium CE describes its ruler as possessing much gold. Poli sent an embassy to China in 630. The toponym drops out of Chinese records after 692.

Poni appears around 860 in the Man Shu. This name was used in Chinese sources for Brunei until the 17th century. In the 13th century, Zhao Rukuo described Poni as a wealthy place affording camphor and pearls, which may have come originally from Sulu. Poni then had more than 100 ships useful in war. Its capital was a city with a wall made of wooden boards, containing in excess of 10,000 people, a large number for the time. The ruler was the major figure in the kingdom’s trade in the 13th century. He met incoming ships himself, set prices, and after drums were beaten, trade began. Archaeological remains at the Kota Batu site include numerous local and imported ceramics from the 13th to 15th centuries.

In the 14th century, Brunei may have become a vassal of Majapahit, if it is the place referred to in the Desawarnana as Burungeng, which sent camphor to Java as tribute. Poni may have been sacked by people from Sulu around 1369; as of 1371, according to Chinese sources, it had declined significantly. By 1405, though, it had recovered sufficiently to send a mission to the Ming court. The king himself, Ma-na-je-chia-na, came personally to China in 1408, but died at Nanjing and was buried nearby. His son, then 14 years old, succeeded him and received an inscribed stone tablet similar to that granted to Melaka, which was to be placed on a site in Poni known as the Mountain of Lasting Tranquility Preserving the State. Poni continued sending embassies in the early 15th century. When Europeans arrived in Brunei in the early 16th century, Brunei was again powerful, ruling Sulu through viceroys.

Brunei was one of the places in Southeast Asia where Islam penetrated early. Muslims were present in Brunei by 1264, as demonstrated by the discovery of a Chinese Muslim tomb of that date. More Islamic tombstones date from the 15th century, including one that bears a date of 1418/1419 and a Sanskrit inscription. It has, however, been noted that the stone may have arrived in Brunei at a subsequent date, as ballast. Another stone found near Brunei’s modern capital at Bandar Seri Begawan bears an inscription that mentions Maharaja
Brunei. It has been argued that the stone was carved around 1300, but this has not been proven since no date appears on the stone itself. According to the Portuguese Rui de Brito, in 1514 the ruler of Brunei was still a pagan. Tomé Pires wrote in 1515, however, that the king had recently become a Muslim.

The Brunei History Centre has compiled royal genealogies and concluded that the first sultan of Brunei was named Sultan Muhammad, that he reigned from 1363 to 1402, and that he married a princess of Johor, which at that time may have referred to Temasik (now Singapore).

BUBUKSHA. One of two brothers, the other being Gagang Aking, who play the main roles in a Javanese parable of spirituality. Both are ascetic hermits, but Gagang Aking (whose name means “Dry Stick”) is much stricter, eating no meat, while Bubuksha is omnivorous; he justifies his consumption of animals by the fact that he is helping them to progress along the path to nirvana. Siva tests their sincerity by sending a tiger who tells them that he is starving and begs to be allowed to eat them. Gagang Aking demurs on the grounds that he is too skinny and recommends his corpulent brother as the better person to save the tiger. Bubuksha instantly agrees to sacrifice himself. Siva decides to send both to heaven, but Bubuksha gets to ride on the tiger’s back while Gagang Aking is forced to cling to his tail. This tale was popular in 14th-century Java and is depicted in narrative reliefs on the pendopo terrace of Panataran as well as at Candi Surawana.

BUDDHA. See BUDDHISM; SAKYAMUNI.

BUDDHAGUPTA. A sea captain (mahanavika in Sanskrit) recorded in a fifth-century inscription found in Province Wellesley, peninsular Malaysia. The stone was discovered by Col. James Low, an amateur antiquarian, in the 1840s, along with “some old ruins,” which he did not describe further. The Sanskrit text, written in Pallava script similar to that used in a number of inscriptions from the same period in Southeast Asia, is decorated by a stupa carved in relief and a prayer for a safe voyage. In the inscription Buddhagupta is said to come from the Red Earth Land (Raktamrittika). This kingdom may have
been located on the east coast of the peninsula. Chinese sources of the same period refer to a kingdom with a similar name, possibly located on the east coast of peninsular Thailand.

The Buddhagupta inscription also bears a Buddhist text taken from the Theory of Dependent Origin, which states, “Through ignorance, karma is accumulated. The cause of birth of karma. Through knowledge, karma is not accumulated. Through absence of karma, one is not reborn.”

The same teaching about karma and the stupa image are also carved on another stone found in 1979 in Kampong Sungai Emas, in southern Kedah not far from the site of Low’s discovery. This inscription, made of a local stone, is not as expertly carved as the Buddhagupta inscription, and it lacks the Buddhagupta prayer.

Col. James Low found another 5th-century inscription in the same vicinity, at Bukit Meriam, while excavating the ruins of a brick structure that he described as being 10 feet (3 meters) square. It bears the text of the Theory of Dependent Origin plus the Buddhist Credo or ye dharma formula: “The Buddha has told the causes of all things which spring from a cause, and also how things cease to be—this is what the great monk proclaims.” The ye dharma was also carved on a boulder at Batu Pahat, on a tributary of the Kapuas River in west Borneo; it was carved not once but several times, along with the karma formula and images of stupas similar to those found in Kedah. A fragment of stone bearing the same karma formula has been found in Brunei.

The ye dharma credo comes from the Buddhist text Saddhammapundarika, popularly known as the Lotus Sutra. The karma formula is unusual, however. It may have formed part of a local type of Buddhism popular in western Indonesia during the fifth through seventh centuries.

BUDDHISM. First developed as a philosophy challenging the limitations of the Vedic and Brahmanical religions in providing a means of salvation for peoples belonging to the lower castes, this belief system soon became a religion itself. Siddhartha Gautama, a prince of the Sakya clan, became known as the Buddha upon attaining enlightenment. He developed doctrines that allowed ordinary people a chance to attain enlightenment regardless of their station in life. His teachings
spread throughout Asia after his death at the age of 80 sometime around 486 BCE.

Important Buddhist texts include the Sutta Pitaka, a standard collection of the Buddha’s sermons, and literary works such as Asvaghosa’s Buddhacarita. According to tradition, a general council was held soon after the Buddha’s death. His disciples Upali and Ananda recited the Buddha’s sermons on matters of doctrines and ethics. A century later, a second council was held, which documented a schism between the two main branches of the Buddhist order: the Sthaviravadin or Theravada (“Lesser Vehicle”), and the Mahayana (“Greater Vehicle”).

By the third council held at Pataliputra under the patronage of King Asoka in the third century BCE, many Buddhist works of later composition had been added to Buddhist canonical traditions, especially the Pali canon of the Sthaviravada School. According to Sri Lankan and Burmese chronicles, at the third council Mogaliputta Tissa sent missionaries to spread the Buddhist faith to Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and China.

By the first millennium CE, Buddhism had spread over an extensive area. Buddhism began to wane in India by the fifth or sixth century, paving the way for devotional Hinduism. Theravada Buddhism, however, still prevails in Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia. Mahayana Buddhism retains prominence in parts of China, Japan, and Korea, as does the Vajrayana School in Tibet.

The oldest known Buddha images from Southeast Asia have been found in Sempaga, south Sulawesi, and south Jember, east Java. These are difficult to date precisely. Early authorities considered them to be examples of Amaravati, Sri Lankan, or Gupta art and to date from the fourth or fifth century. Recent research in Batujaya, west Java, has revealed clay tablets with Buddhist imagery. This site has yielded radiocarbon dates of the early first millennium CE, but these dates are not directly associated with the tablets. A Buddha image found in Dong Duong (Quang Nam) is also stylistically dated to the fourth or fifth century. The religion enjoyed some favor in early Funan; wooden Buddha images found in the Mekong Delta have been dated by radiocarbon to the early centuries CE. The influence of Pali Buddhism can be detected in Burma by 500. Early Buddhist art in west Java dates from around this time. By the seventh century, the
Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya was a center of Mahayana Buddhist activity. See also VAJRA.

BURIAL CUSTOMS. Most Southeast Asian societies who converted to Hinduism or Buddhism also adopted cremation. Other forms of disposing of the dead were also employed. A Chinese source of the fifth or sixth century on Dunsun states as follows:

When they become sick, they make vows to be buried by birds. They are led outside the city with songs and dances, and there the birds devour them. The bones that are left are burned and placed in a jar which is thrown into the sea. If the birds do not eat them, they are put into a basket. As for those buried by fire, they are thrown into the fire. The ashes are collected in a vase which is buried and to which sacrifices of unlimited duration are made.

Ma Tuanlin, describing kingdoms on the Siamo-Malay Peninsula, says,

Those who have lost their father, their mother, or their brothers shave their heads and wear white clothing. They build a bamboo hut over the water, fill it with small sticks, and place the corpse in it. Streamers are put up, incense is burned, conches are blown, and drums beaten while the pyre is set on fire and the flames consume it. At the end, everything disappears into the water. This ceremony never varies.

Other Southeast Asian societies that did not adopt South Asian customs maintained different practices. Corpses were sometimes carefully laid in branches of high trees where nothing would disturb them. Elsewhere, for instance in north Sulawesi, the custom arose of burying the dead in sandstone containers. Corpses were placed in a seated position, dressed in finery and gold jewelry. The containers resembled miniature dwellings decoratively carved with such motifs as naked humans, wild cattle, dogs, boars, and serpents; the choice of motifs was related to acts of the person in life.

These customs persisted into the early modern era. Cremation was still practiced in Melaka in 1537, for example, long after conversion to Islam took place.

BURMA. A British corruption of the name Bamar, adapted from the ethnolinguistic term used to denote the people who inhabit the lower
course of the Ayeyarwadi River from the point where it leaves the Himalaya Mountains until it flows into the Bay of Bengal. Burma is the part of Southeast Asia nearest to India (see map 2), but the Burmese people speak a Tibeto-Burman language, indicating that they entered Southeast Asia by following the Ayeyarwadi into the lowlands.

An alternative term is Myanma, which the country’s current rulers have adopted (in the form Myanmar) as a name for the country. An ancient Burmese source lists Myanma as one of 100 ethnic groups inhabiting the kingdom. Mian, the Chinese adaptation of the Burmese word, first appears in late 13th-century Yuan sources.

Burma has been the home of several important early kingdoms, including those associated with the Pyu, another Tibeto-Burman group absorbed by the Burmese at the end of the first millennium CE, and their archaeological sites such as Sriksetra, Halin, and Belkthano. The most important early Burmese kingdom was situated at Bagan. The people of Arakan on the west coast are linguistically related to the Burmese but have maintained their own traditions; for a long time, they also maintained political autonomy. The Mon and Shan who inhabited the mountains on the eastern border of the Ayeyarwadi Plain and the part of Burma that occupies the northwestern part of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula have also long formed part of the Burmese political mandala.

The Burmese formulated at least three indigenous terms to designate types of religious buildings in Burma: ceti, gu, and puhto. Gu, probably derived from Sanskrit caitya-grha, refers to a temple with a hollow vaulted base. This is the most common type of religious structure found on the plains of Bagan. Gu can also be cave-shrines, carved into a natural cave or cliff. The type seems designed to mimic a meditation cave. Examples of cave-shrines are the Kyanzittha Umin and Kyaukku Umin. Ceti or cētiya in Pali/Sanskrit refers to a pagoda that enshrines sacred objects, often the Buddha’s relics or sometimes relics of important monks. Ceti are often established by kings and royal or religious personages. King Anawrahta ordered at least four ceti constructed to house four of Buddha’s teeth. The third category of religious structures is the puhto, a stupa with a vaulted base. Though a fair number of puhto can be found in the vicinity of Bagan, most of these structures were erected after the 13th century.
Early Burmese poems were often commissioned by the king, to be written by either monks or ministers; the poetry of the monks tends to focus on religious themes, while the ministers wrote to praise the achievements, lineage, and virtues of the king. Burmese poetry, as a general rule, is written in quadro-syllabic lines. At the peak of ancient Burmese literary culture, often perceived to have been attained in the 14th- to 15th-century Inwa period, there were at least three different genres of poetry: egyin, mawgun, and pyo. Monks often wrote pyo with religious themes, appropriating themes from the 550 Jatakas or other Buddhist stories. Famous pyo writers include Shin Maha Thilawuntha (the author of the Yazawingyaw), Shin Ratthasara, Shin Tejosara, and Shin Aggasamadhi. Though poets continued to write pyo until the end of the 19th century, they were unable to match the Inwa period.

Mawgun, in Burmese, means “record,” often composed to commemorate the building of a religious structure, a coronation, or a visit by foreign dignitaries. Unlike pyo, both monks and lay people composed mawgun. The best-known mawgun commemorates the capture of a white elephant by a king who traveled to Pyi along the Ayeyarwadi.

Egyin or ballads were written exclusively by court officials to extol the king and his offspring. The most popular, and possibly oldest, egyin is the Yakhâing Minthami Egyin (Ballad of the Arakan Princess) written by Adu Minnyo in 1455. The fluidity and grace of the few extant compositions suggest that egyin achieved a high level of development.

Other literary genres include the tawla (“forest journey”) and the yadu (literally “seasons”), both replete with a mood of wistful sadness. The high sophisticated language used in the tawla suggests that they were probably written for a court audience. The yadu, which began in the Inwa period, became extremely popular during the Toungoo period. Unlike the tawla, which associates melancholy with one’s experience of nature’s beauty, the yadu emphasizes sadness, whether due to separation or nature’s transient beauty. See also TENASSERIM.

**BUTAK.** Like much of our evidence for ancient Indonesian history, the dramatic story of the founding of the great kingdom of Majapahit
was preserved by accident. In 1780 an anonymous digger discovered a set of six sheets of copper about 30 centimeters (1 foot) long and 20 centimeters (8 inches) wide on Mount Butak, a few kilometers west of Malang, East Java. The plates were taken to Surakarta in 1782, where they were transcribed into modern Javanese characters. The original plates then disappeared and have never been rediscovered. The transcription was found in a chest of papers willed to the library of the Royal University in Leiden in 1888. In this way the historic events of Saturday, 11 September 1294, have been preserved.

The plates were inscribed to express the gratitude that Wijaya, the recently crowned ruler of the new kingdom of Majapahit, felt for the people of a village called Kudadu. Two years earlier, the villagers had saved his life. At that time, he had been a fugitive. The king he served as military commander had been slain and his troops routed. Wijaya, exhausted, disheartened, and hungry, fled into the mountains. Wijaya’s inscription describes how the villagers rescued him, hid him, and conducted him safely to the sea. Wijaya escaped to the island of Madura. A year later he returned, rallied support, overthrew the usurper, and in 1294 proclaimed himself king.

CAKRAVARTIN (CHAKRAVARTIN). Literally “wheel turner,” but figuratively “universal monarch.” A Lan Na king in the 15th century was called both dharmaraja and cakravartin. The qualities of a cakravartin included heroism, valor, prowess, splendor, and the ability to discern the best course for himself and others. He was expected to be prudent, faithful, pious, profoundly wise, and capable of inspiring awe and devotion in all mankind. Sanskrit literature contains no notions of the state, constitutional legitimacy, or territorial jurisdiction circumscribed by precise borders. Instead, the personal qualities of the righteous ruler are paramount.

Indian sources that define righteous and moral behavior conversely imply that those who do not recognize the righteous ruler are evil and therefore deserve to be destroyed by violence. Rulers with ambitions to be seen as cakravartins thus often felt compelled to punish those who denied their privileged status—though another philos-
ophy might have concluded that if their moral and spiritual charisma was not sufficient to bring about compliance, then they were perhaps not true cakravartins after all.

In **Buddhism**, the concept is modeled on the precepts of Asoka (Ashoka), ruler of the Maurya kingdom of northwest India and Pakistan in the third century BCE, which emphasized the behavior expected of the righteous ruler. Asoka never applied the term to himself. The most famous example of a Southeast Asian who portrayed himself overtly as a cakravartin is **Jayavarman II** of **Cambodia**, who underwent a ceremony in 802 specifically intended to initiate him into that status.

**CALCUTTA STONE.** Name of an inscription written in 963 Šaka (1041 CE), found on Mount Penanggungan, east Java, named after the city in India where it is now kept (in the Indian Museum); it is partly in **Sanskrit**, partly in Old Javanese. The Sanskrit part has a list of the kings of Java, then records that the empire fell, the king died, and a prince named Airlangga escaped into the jungle accompanied by his servant, in 1016. In 1019 commoners and priests asked Airlangga to take the throne. He consolidated the kingdom by various battles, then retired. The gods ordered Airlangga to built a hermitage on Mount Pugawat. The Old Javanese part describes the establishment of a sacred monument.

**CALENDRIICAL SYSTEMS.** Southeast Asians have used many different systems for recording dates. By the fifth century of the common era, Southeast Asians were using Indian calendrical systems. A fifth-century inscription of King Purnawarman of Java gives a date in regnal years and Indian months. We do not know the absolute date of the inscription, since the date when he became king is unknown.

Southeast Asians began to use the Šaka era in the seventh century. This system was named after a dynasty in northwest India. Year 1 in the Saka era is equivalent to 78 CE. The Saka era was used in many regions until the 15th century and is still used in **Bali**.

Unlike the Western (Christian) calendar, based on a solar year of 365.24 days divided into 12 months of 28 to 31 days, or the Muslim calendar, which began in 622 CE and is divided into 12 lunar months of roughly 29.5 days, the Saka year is luni-solar. It consists of 12 lunar months, but about once every three years another month is added to compensate for the deviation from the solar year.
The beginning of the new year in the Saka calendar falls anywhere between 25 February and 25 March of the Western calendar. Saka months bear Sanskrit names. They begin at the new moon and are divided into two 15-day halves: the bright half from the new moon to full moon, and the dark half ending at the next new moon. Southeast Asian inscriptions often give very precise dates: the Saka year, the month, the number of the day, the half of the month, and the day of the five-, six-, and seven-day week and sometimes other weeks of from one to ten days, all of which ran concurrently.

Perhaps because the numerical signs used in ancient Indic scripts were difficult to carve in stone, they were often replaced by words that symbolize particular numbers. Risi, for example, stands for seven because there were traditionally seven sages. These chronograms were of two types: candrasengkala, or “lunar periods,” which expressed the date in reverse order, and suryasengkala, or “solar periods,” in which the date was expressed with the largest number first, followed by progressively smaller numbers.

The very complicated systems for reckoning time used by Southeast Asians were due to the emphasis placed on choosing the most auspicious dates for rituals. They used several different systems for dividing time into weeks. One method used to keep track of time involved the use of several different kinds of weeks for different purposes. Whereas seven-day weeks were used for some religious purposes, weeks of five days were used to fix market days. In Java, Sanskrit names were used for days of the seven-day weeks, but names for days of the five- and six-day weeks were Austronesian.

Combinations of days in different week systems produce different auspicious days for different purposes. The same combination of day-names in the five-, six-, and seven-day weeks recur every 210 days (5 $\times$ 6 $\times$ 7). Southeast Asians sometimes utilized a 210-day year for ritual purposes. In Java, each of the 30 seven-day weeks in the 210-day cycle has an Austronesian name.

As time passed, more and more astronomical data were included in the inscriptions. By the tenth century, inscriptions specified the name of the constellation where the moon was then located (one of 27 nakṣatras, “moon-houses”). Southeast Asians also had a concept analogous to the zodiac. A set of 12 symbols was sometimes used to decorated bronze vessels for containing holy water in Java and Bali.
An example of a typical date is found in a Javanese inscription:

The Saka year 843 [921 CE], the month of Asuji, 15th day of the bright half of the month, Haryang [day in the six-day week], Umanis [day in the five-day week], Wednesday, while the lunar mansion Uttarabhadrapada stood under the deity Ahbradhana during the conjuction of Dhruva.

Inscriptions contain the names of at least 40 stars, showing that Southeast Asians had a good knowledge of astronomy.

Southeast Asians also commonly thought in cycles of years, including 12-year and 60-year cycles. In addition to the Saka era, Buddhist texts in Burma, Cambodia, Thai, and Lao kingdoms use the Buddhist era, which began in 544 BCE. Another era called the Culla, used in Burma, Cambodia, and Laos, began in 639 CE. Muslim kingdoms began using the hijrah era in the 14th century; the oldest example of this comes from a stone inscription from Terengganu, Malaysia.

In central and eastern Java, the Javanese era is still used. It was calculated according to the Saka era until the 16th century; thereafter it merged with the Islamic year of 354 days, so that every 33 years it gains a year against the common era.

**CAMADEVIWANGSA (CHAMADEWIWANGSHA).** A Pali chronicle composed by the Thai monk Mahathera Bodhiramsi in the early 15th century. It begins with Buddha’s visit to the site where Haripunjaya was to be founded and focuses on the important semilegendary Queen Camadevi, a female cakravartin and founder of that northern Thai kingdom. The text recounts the history of Buddhism in the Lamphun region and examines the extent of Mon influence in northern Thailand and the relationship of the Mons with their neighbors, the Lawa and the Khmer, between the 7th and 13th centuries. Another important connection the author develops is the close relationship between the Mons of Lamphun (Haripunjaya) and those of Thaton and Bago.

**CAMBODIA.** The name Cambodia derives from Kambuja, an appellation invented in the ninth century. The earliest evidence for its use is in inscriptions of Indravarman II from 877–899, in which he is called “sovereign of the kambuja.” The founder couple Risi Kambu
and Mera are first mentioned in the Baksei Chamkrong inscription of Rajendravarman II in 947. An inscription issued the next year, however, cites Kaundinya and Soma as ancestors instead of Kambu. Another inscription mentions Kambu wangsa, “clan of Kambu.” Pali chronicles of north Thailand describe warfare between Haripunjaya and a king called Kambojaraja, “king of the Kambojas.”

Ancient historical sources from Cambodia include a very few texts in Pali, some in Sanskrit, and some in Old Khmer. Many consist of two parts, of which one is written in Sanskrit and the other in Khmer. However, only one source is bilingual in the sense that the same text is written in both languages.

Cambodian history is normally divided into the pre-Angkor (third century to 802 CE), Angkor (802–1432), and post-Angkor periods. The pre-Angkor period is mainly known from seventh-century inscriptions; Angkor epigraphy begins in the late ninth century. Thus there is a crucial gap in our sources during the critical transitional phase.

The earliest dated inscriptions in Cambodian territory were issued in Sanskrit in 611. They come from Angkor Borei, which is thought to have been the capital of a kingdom known as Funan in Chinese sources. Another recently discovered inscription has been provisionally assigned to Jayavarman I around 650. This stele mentions Funan’s last ruler, Rudravarman, who lived in Angkor Borei. The important Ba Phnom inscription of 667 records that for four generations, one family served as ministers to five kings (Rudravarman, Bhavavarman II, Mahendravarman (Chitrasena), Isanavarman, and Jayavarman I).

The Chinese said that Funan was replaced by its former vassal Zhenla in the sixth century, which itself split into Land and Water Zhenla in the eighth century. But the Chinese had little firsthand knowledge of Cambodia then; regular diplomatic relations had ended with Funan’s collapse. Thereafter we only know of Cambodian history from local inscriptions.

At the end of the sixth century, brief Sanskrit inscriptions recording the erection of linggas are believed to represent a number of small Khmer polities north of the Dangrek mountains in what is now northeast Thailand. Chitrasena, alias Mahendravarman, left inscriptions from south Laos to Ubon, Thailand; Bhavavarman, his elder
brother, left inscriptions in **Battambang**, Cambodia, and **Si Thep**, Thailand. Conventionally these sources are viewed as evidence of Zhenla, conqueror of Funan. In fact, only four inscriptions have been found in the area of south Cambodia and Vietnam thought to have been Funan's core, whereas more than 15 are known from the Dangrek region. Whereas the rulers of the Dangrek area were mainly followers of **Siva**, south Cambodia was marked by a heterogeneous set of statuary portraying **Vishnu**, Durga, Harihara, and Buddha.

When the first inscriptions in Khmer language were carved, Cambodia's economy was in transition. The coastal trading orientation that had characterized Funan was collapsing, while hinterland agrarian-based centers were evolving. Some interest in trade persisted into the eighth century.

Seventh-century Cambodia was divided among several small polities. The Chinese were aware of five principalities in northwest Cambodia, four of which sent missions in 638. At times they were under the control of one overlord, such as Chitrasena. Sambhupura (in Kratie, northeast Cambodia) had its own dynasty in its eighth century.

By the seventh century, Khmer nobles were beginning to establish realms in the Chao Phraya Valley. A Sanskrit inscription of this period found at **Uthong** was issued by a grandson of Isanavarman, ruler of central Cambodia, but Angkor's control over that area was only firmly established in the 11th century by **Suryavarman I**. Hereditary rank had developed by the eighth century. Pre-Angkor inscriptions rarely refer to military action, but it seems that warfare must have been common.

Pre-Angkor inscriptions refer to donations of rice field workers to temples, but not to irrigation. Thus agriculture was probably dependent on trapping floodwater or rainfall. Another possibility in certain areas around the Great Lake was a system of natural pumping created by raising the level of groundwater through creating a unique, complex system arising from local ecology. This might have been the reason for the construction of the large **baray** of the Angkor period. Early Cambodian water retention systems may have consisted of earthen dams open on one side, in a system similar to that of **Java**. Inscriptions contain no references to plowing, but do mention water buffalo and use of a yoke.
Seventh-century inscriptions focus on officials called pon, who obtained high status by founding temples and controlled trawang, artificial reservoirs. Some pon were chiefs of small villages around ponds, while others had influence over broader areas. The societies of these small pon-doms were highly stratified, with numerous levels: officials entitled pon or mātān occupied the summit, followed by females who had important ritual functions; then dancers, singers, and musicians; craft specialists; and at the bottom, agricultural workers.

Pon status was inherited matrilineally, from one’s mother’s brother. Pre-Angkor inscriptions of kings suggest a tendency toward a similar pattern of inheritance, though rulers sometimes tried to enable their own sons to succeed them.

Between 681 and 770, only two names of rulers appear in contemporary Khmer sources. One was a queen, Jayadevi. She was in power in the Angkor region in 713. The other, King Nṛpaditya, was somehow connected with her. There were other kings in other areas, but their names were not recorded. The reason for this absence of references to rulers by name is unknown. It could either be a sign of political deterioration or merely the result of different customs regarding inscriptions and religious foundations. Perhaps this was connected with a period of feminine ascendancy. An inscription from Sambhupura, dated 803, records three consecutive queens.

Another reason for the lack of information about eighth-century rulers may be that only 11 Khmer and 6 Sanskrit inscriptions survive from this period, whereas architectural remains are common, indicating that Khmer society was still well organized. Between 791 and 877 there is only a single text. During this period of silence, from approximately 700 to 900, major changes occurred in Cambodian economy and society.

Some major differences between the pre-Angkor and Angkor periods include the transfer of the center of power and population from southeast to northwest Cambodia (see map 4); the title pon disappeared; inscriptions adopted a different format; new names were used for deities; and new words for economic subjects appeared. The system of coinage used in early Cambodia was discontinued; the Angkor period economy was moneyless. On the other hand, the importance of the relationships between maternal uncles and nephews in transmitting rank remained significant.
Around 800, a new ruler named Jayavarman II is conventionally said to have founded a dynasty at Angkor that lasted for two centuries. He left no inscriptions, but was well remembered by his descendants, who mentioned him often in their records. His officials bore new titles. He probably started from Vyadhapura in the southeast then moved north to Isanapura, where he married the queen. Later inscriptions refer often to Vyadhapura as the birthplace of his dynasty. Jayavarman did not remain permanently at Isanapura, but moved farther northwest, to the Angkor region. He seems to have re-located large numbers of people first to Battambang, then to Angkor. In 802, according to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription written exactly 250 years later, he had himself consecrated cakravartin on Phnom Kulen, thus initiating the Angkor period.

Jayavarman’s dynasty was marked by frequent succession disputes. Out of 26 kings of Angkor, only eight were sons or brothers of the previous king.

The Khmer empire of the 11th and 12th centuries had major outposts in Sakon Nakhon and other places in the central Mekong Valley; Phimai on the Khorat Plateau; Lopburi, Suphanburi, and Ratburi in the lower Chao Phraya; and Phitsanulok, Sawankhalok, and Sukothai in the north-central plain of Thailand. The important ruler Suryavarman II came from the Phimai region of northeast Thailand rather than from the earlier line of rulers descended from Jayavarman II. He is considered to have inaugurated a new dynasty called Mahidharapura. Numerous changes were instituted in such fields as royal succession and the relationship between the king and his officials. Vajrayana Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the favored religion. The devaraja cult was discontinued.

Pali began to be used in Cambodian inscriptions in 1308, when a text begins in Pali before switching to Khmer. It was carved at the order of Srindravarman, a former ruler who had abdicated the previous year to become a forest monk. This inscription records the grant of a village and people to a Buddhist abbot (mahathera), an indication of early Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia.

The last known Sanskrit inscription from Cambodia was carved during the reign of his second successor, Jayavarmadiparamesvara. It was found at Kapilapura, northeast of Angkor Wat. He ruled until at least 1335 and was the last Angkorian ruler to espouse the Shaivite
Hinduism that had been popular in Cambodia for a thousand years. After him, the history of Cambodia becomes murky for several centuries, during which our only sources are chronicles of later date. No stone inscriptions from the period between the late 1300s and the mid-1500s have been found. Records of missions from Cambodia to China in the early Ming dynasty, between 1371 and 1419, help to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge.

From its founding in 1351, the kingdom of Ayutthaya exerted intense pressure on the kingdom. A Khmer ruler named Lampong-raja supposedly succeeded Nirwanapada (1346–1351) but was driven away by a Tai attack and replaced by two Siamese princes, the latter of whom was in turn expelled by Lampong-raja’s brother, who took the throne under the name Suryavangsa Rajadhiraja. Subsequent rulers named Paramara and Dhammasokarajadhiraja are mentioned in early Ming records. In 1404 a ruler took the name Suryavarman. In the period 1403–1424, Cambodia sent seven missions to China. But in the face of attacks from both Ayutthaya and the Cham, Suryavarman decided to retreat from the old site of Angkor and to move the capital to the area of Phnom Penh. After the fall of Cambodia, missions continued to arrive in China, in 1435, 1436, 1452, and 1499, indicating that the kingdom was still sufficiently integrated to be able to conduct foreign relations. The Angkor period, however, had come to an end.

**CANASA (CHANASA).** A kingdom that controlled the Khorat Plateau, northeast Thailand, from the pre-Angkor period to the 10th century. It may have been responsible for the construction of a number of moated sites. Muang Sema has been proposed as the location of the capital of Sri Canasa in the seventh century; a Sanskrit inscription found there commemorates seventh-century donations to a Buddhist community by Sri Canasa’s ruler. Artifacts of 7th- to 11th-century Dvaravati style found there include a stone dharmacakra and a reclining Buddha. No Hindu objects have been found at Muang Sema, but at nearby Phra Ngam Cave, Buddha is shown perhaps teaching Siva and Vishnu. A figure of a brahmin or risi is worshipping them. Canasapura, referred to in an inscription found on the island in the Chao Phraya River, later became the capital city of Ayutthaya. The inscription is dated 937, long before the kingdom of Ayutthaya was founded. The inscription is written in Sanskrit and
Khmer and gives a genealogy of a line of kings that apparently existed separately from those of Angkor. The first of the line was Bhagadatta; he was succeeded after an unspecified number of generations by Sundaraparakrama, Sundaravarman, Narapatisinghavarman, and Mangalavarman, the man responsible for the inscription. Mangalavarman commemorated the erection of a statue of goddess Dewi in honor of his mother. A list of people donated to the temple implies that the inhabitants of the area were Khmer rather than Mon.

CANDI (CHANDI). An Indonesian word that, in current usage, denotes any architectural remains from the classical period (roughly 500–1500). In addition to temples of various forms and religious affiliations, it is applied to such structures as bathing places and gateways, and figuratively even to literary works. It occurs in inscriptions beginning in the seventh century, but it is difficult to give a date for the first use of this term. In the Desawarnana of 14th-century Java, it means “monument,” but also “poem.” Inscriptions more commonly use Sanskrit terms such as caitya (implying a place containing a relic, such as a stupa), vihara (monastery), or prasada (literally mountain), but none of these terms are clearly defined in any ancient source. The most likely conclusion is that the word candi was derived from caitya.

In early Buddhist sources, the word caitya denoted a hemispherical mound erected over the ashes of a dead person. P. J. Zoetmulder defined the word candi as “temple or sanctuary (in which the deity descends, is worshipped, and contact with it is achieved).” A popular derivation connects the word with Candika, a form of Kali or Durga, but this is unlikely. Early Western authors were under the impression that Javanese temples were funerary monuments or mausoleums. This was based on several mistaken assumptions. One was that ashes and other materials in ritual deposit boxes found in temples were the cremated remains of rulers; it is now known that these deposits were meant to create sanctified mandalas and were not ashes from human beings. Also, early statues in temples in Java and Cambodia were not portraits of deceased rulers.

Indonesian archaeologist R. Soekmono showed that candis were not funerary but commemorative, like temples in India. Dutch art historian Marijke Klokke has inferred that the statues therefore cannot be portraits, only effigies of gods. Soekmono later changed his
formulation slightly, to say that statues are both “representatives of deities that depicted deceased royalty and at the same time acted as representations of ancestors. . . . The candi was therefore a place of worship in which homage was paid to deified royalty as well as to ancestral spirits.” Jacques Dumarçay says candis were both places where a deity who was a reflection of the god with whom the ruler merged after death could manifest itself, and replicas of a ruler’s realm or palace.

In Thai, the analogous word is chedi. In Cham, it is kalan.

CANGGAL. See SANJAYA.

CASTE SYSTEM. According to the Varnasramadharma, an Indian text that contains fundamental rules for social organization, society should be divided into four caste groups or varnas. There is no evidence that a true caste system ever existed in ancient Southeast Asia. In Cambodia, according to Angkorian inscriptions, society consisted of many groups—with criteria based on age, sex, profession, region, and so forth—which were called varna or jati, but the system seems to have borrowed Indian terminology to refer to a local administrative system rather than a religious or hereditary grouping of people. The same person could belong to several varnas at one time. People were appointed to specific varnas. There is no reference to caste in relation to marriage or food restrictions.

Thus Khmer “Hinduism” had very different social implications than it had in India. The barrier between priests and nobles was hereditary in India, but not in Cambodia, where an elite calling themselves brahmana and ksatriya ruled, and in which priests belonged to families who were favored by the kings who gave them large estates.

Pre-Angkor inscriptions give no indication that the Khmer considered themselves Hindu. It is true that in India non-Hindus could be inducted into the Hindu community through the vratyastoma ceremony, used mainly to change non-Aryan chiefs into members of the ruling ksatriya caste, but Cambodian inscriptions do not mention such a ceremony. Angkor’s culture probably resembled that found in Bali. The goal of the caste system in Cambodia seems to have been to organize labor for food production and manufacture of necessary goods.
CERAMIC INDUSTRY. Ceramics, defined as clay artifacts that have been heated sufficiently to change their physical properties, have been made by Southeast Asian artisans for perhaps 8,000 years. Most of this pottery was made by women for use in their own households, although skilled potters may have exchanged some of their wares with others. Industrial production of pottery as a full-time occupation, however, was rare and limited to a few areas. Earthenware from southern Vietnam has been found on a fifth-century ship buried under the mud of a collapsed riverbank in Pontian, Pahang, west Malaysia, and well-made pottery fabricated in the Pa-O area of southern Thailand in the 12th to 14th centuries has been found in shipwrecks and sites on dry land in western Southeast Asia.

The production of glazed pottery, which implies greater specialization and a larger scale of production, first began in Cambodia and perhaps Khmer-inhabited regions of northeast Thailand and Laos during the Angkor period. These ceramics were green or brown in color, and their shapes included vases, zoomorphic and other containers, and architectural elements such as roof tiles. Apparently they were intended solely for local use; there is no evidence that they were exported.

Glazed tiles and bricks were used for some religious sites in Bagan, but these were earthenware decorations glazed with lead or tin. Recent research in Burma and bordering areas of Thailand has shown that the production of glazed stoneware pottery may have begun in the lower Ayeyarwadi area at such sites as Lagumbyi and Twante in the late 14th or 15th century. Items produced included bowls and plates, some of which reached Indonesia.

Glazed ceramics in many forms, from plates to vases, jars, and large storage vessels were produced in Suphanburi, Sukhothai, and Sawankhalok, as well as in other sites such as Kalong and Muang Phan in northern Thailand, beginning in the 13th century. During the 15th century numerous examples were exported to island Southeast Asia.

Both the Cham area of Go Sanh in southern Vietnam and the northern area around Hanoi produced glazed ware from about the 12th century. It is possible that some of these ceramics were exported in trade as early as the 13th or 14th century, but large-scale export of Vietnamese wares began only in the early 15th century. Some very
high-quality examples were exported as far west as Turkey; the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul has a blue-and-white Vietnamese vase dated 1450. Another very similar dish is found in the Ardebil Shrine, Iran. In Southeast Asia, Viet wares of the 15th century have been reported found in the Philippines, in several parts of Sumatra (Palembang, Lampung, and Jambi), and Sulawesi. Other examples are found as far east as Japan.

A special variety of Vietnamese porcelain, decorated wall tiles, has been found in Kudus, Demak, and Trowulan, Java. A solitary specimen has also been reported from Sulawesi. Merchants from Vietnam are mentioned in the Javanese 14th-century Desawarnana.

Tho-ha, 30 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Hanoi, is recorded as a pottery center in 1465, when a potter came from Lau-khe in Hai Duong province, 60 kilometers (37 miles) east of Hanoi on the Red River. Bat-trang, 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Hanoi, is said to have been founded around 1530 by potters from Thanh Hoa province. The Vietnamese kilns produced numerous types of wares, of which the most popular export items were decorated with underglaze blue designs or painted with red and green overglaze enamel, resembling Chinese wares. Some very ornate ceramic statuary has also been found in Indonesia.

Vietnamese ceramic exports flourished during the 15th century when Chinese exports were severely restricted. They do not seem to have been as numerous as Thai ceramics from Sawankhalok, but they were of high quality. Exports of Thai and Vietnamese ceramics declined rapidly when Chinese ware became available again in the 16th century.

**CEROK TOKUN.** Name of a location in Province Wellesley, peninsular Malaysia, where a fragmentary Sanskrit inscription dated to the fourth century has been found. It is related to inscriptions of the same period found at nearby sites such as Bukit Meriam, Kedah.

**CETO (CHETO).** A temple complex at an elevation of 1,470 meters (4,851 feet) on the slope of Mount Lawu, east-central Java. It bears some similarities to Candi Sukuh, which is 16 kilometers (10 miles) away. Ceto once had 14 terraces, whereas Sukuh has only three. Freestanding statues include dwarapalas and several images of Bhima.
On the eighth terrace is a unique horizontal arrangement of stones depicting a stylized bat with its wings outstretched. On top of the bat is a tortoise. Where the bat’s head should be is a round stone sculpted with a Majapahit sun in relief. In front of this is a triangular arrangement of stone on which several creatures (frogs, crabs, lizards, and an eel) are depicted. At the tip of the triangle is a lingga, to the shaft of which four spheres are attached. This sculpture resembles one that once stood on top of Candi Sukuh. The whole ensemble is aligned on the central axis of the site, pointing to the valley far below, with the peak of Mount Lawu in the rear. A cluster of stones carved in relief lies on the ninth terrace. Some figures such as Vishnu and Bhima are discernible, but the story or stories referred to have not been identified. The site is dated by inscriptions to 1468–1475.

CHAIYA. A site in south Thailand also known as Grahi, which in Chinese yielded the transcription Jiā-luō-xī (see map 15). An important bronze bodhisattva found here is sometimes said to embody “Srivijayan style,” though it would perhaps be better to denote it as an example of international Buddhist art of the late first millennium. The image displays complex jewelry, a distinctive facial expression, and an exaggerated posture in which the projecting hip is comparable to images from Pala dynasty, Bengal. A 16-line inscription is known as the Chaiya Inscription, though it may have been found farther south at Nakhon Si Thammarat. The inscription was issued by a ruler named Chandrabhanu, whose title was Dharmaraja (Righteous King). This name may have been the origin of the name Nagara Sri Dharmaraja, which in Thai became Nakhon Si Thammarat.

CHALIANG. A group of remains on the east side of the city of Si Satchanalai in the Chao Phraya Valley. Wat Chao Chang, built during the period of Khmer rule, includes a rest house or dharmasala built during the reign of Jayavarman VII. Wat Mahathat was also founded during his reign; other parts of the complex date from the rule of Rama Khamhaeng of Sukothai. The wat was further enlarged during the Ayutthaya period. Also at Chaliang is a partially ruined chedi in Mon style, a cālīya-grha. A ceramic industry existed here in the early second millennium CE.
CHAM. See CHAMPA.

CHAMPA. Originally the name of a kingdom in Bangladesh, near the important ancient Buddhist monastery of Nalanda, the name also was used to denote the southern half of Vietnam, where a number of kingdoms formed in the early first millennium CE, inhabited by Austronesian-speaking people called Cham. The word Champa first appears in an inscription in south Vietnam at Mi Son in about 600.

Early Chinese sources first refer to the area near the southern frontier of Chinese-occupied Vietnam as Linyi. After 758 that name was replaced by Huanwang, the significance of which is unknown; possibly it indicates a shift of the center of power. The earliest center of political activity south of the Vietnamese-speaking area was located in the districts of Thua Thien and Quang Nam. In the eighth century, other centers appeared in Phan Rang (originally called Pandurangga) and Nha Trang (Kauthara). At the same time, Cham inscriptions begin to refer to deceased kings by posthumous names, suggesting a form of ancestor worship. This custom soon was adopted in Cambodia as well, by Jayavarman II.

Cham royal families took names of trees as their emblems. These included such names as the narikelawangsa or Coconut Palm Clan and the kramukawangsa or Areca Palm Clan, according to 11th-century sources.

In 875 Chinese sources change their name for Champa again, to Zhan-cheng (“Cham City”), and a new kingdom appears at Indrapura in Quang Nam. In 1051 a defeated rebel from Angkor, Aravin-dahrada, fled to Cham City (Champapura).

French scholar Louis Finot in the early 20th century described Champa as a unified kingdom consisting of five provinces: Indrapura, Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara, and Pandurangga (see map 7). Historians now believe that Champa resembled other early Southeast Asian kingdoms, which consisted of several regional polities each of which possessed its own elite groups and a large degree of internal autonomy, although one center or another achieved paramount status for varying periods of time.

The names for these regional polities appear sporadically and at widely separated points in time. The first use of the name Champa in about 600 is found in the word Champadesa, which, according to
William Southworth, referred only to land donated for the upkeep of one temple at Mi Son. Champapura in the period 650–700 seems to have designated the entire site of Mi Son. One king called himself Champapura Parameswara, “supreme lord of the city of Champa.” The Yang Tikuh or Da Trang inscription (C.25) commissioned by Indravarman around 799, found 15 kilometers (9.5 miles) west of Phan Rang, describes the destruction in 787 of a temple to Sri Bhadradhipatisvara in the west of Champapura by an army sent by ship from Java. The king restored the temple in 799. Since the Phan Rang area is far from Mi Son, the name must have applied to a broad area at that time.

Kauthara is first cited in 784, when it denoted an independent kingdom. By 817, however, it was ruled by Pandurangga. Vijaya is first mentioned in a Chinese source around 1000. Cham inscriptions mentioning the kingdom are confined to the period 1153–1158. The name Amaravati, applying to Mi Son, was still in use in the late 12th century.

The economy of the major early Cham political center located at the Thu Bon River sometimes called Singapura flourished due to trade with Guangzhou. Local competition arose at Kauthara’s port at Nha Trang and Pandurangga. The power center called Vijaya in Binh dinh Province dominated the other centers in the Cham cultural realm during the 11th century.

As Vijaya rose, the Cham began to lose territory along their northern frontier to the Vietnamese. Cham rulers pursued a policy of sending tribute to Dai Viet interspersed with attempts, usually unsuccessful, to win back lost ground. They also engaged in raids into Cambodia.

In the 12th century, the Khmer forced the Cham to join in an invasion of Dai Viet, which failed. When Champa then resumed sending tribute to Dai Viet, the Khmer captured the capital at Vijaya and killed the Cham king. A Khmer attempt to install a puppet ruler failed, however, and Cham power was reestablished at Vijaya. In 1177 the Cham managed to penetrate Angkor and devastated the capital.

In the early 13th century, Jayavarman VII of Cambodia turned Champa into a puppet kingdom. This situation lasted until about 1220, when Jaya Paramesvaravarman II became king and restored many Cham sanctuaries.
The last Sanskrit inscription in Champa was carved in 1253. This date marks an important stage in the wane of Cham political and cultural control over its territory.

As Khmer influence over Champa waned, that of Vietnam grew. Warfare between Champa and Dai Viet resulted in gradual subjugation of the Cham. A Cham prince attempted to throw off Vietnamese suzerainty in 1318, failed, and went into exile in Java. Dai Viet then installed another Cham known in their annals as Chê Anan as vassal ruler, but he managed to throw off Vietnamese subjugation in 1326. His successor Trahoa Bô-dê also managed to withstand Vietnamese pressure, although his attempt to regain Cham territory in the region of Hue in 1353 failed.

The last great Cham ruler is known as Che Bong Nga. He became king around 1360 and was victorious in frequent wars against the Vietnamese. He managed to sack Hanoi in 1371 and was on the verge of another great victory when he was killed in 1390. His successors were helped by the Ming invasion of Vietnam in 1407 and were able to win some victories over the crumbling Khmer Empire, according to an inscription from Biên-hoa dated 1421.

During the reign of the Yongle emperor in the early 15th century, Champa sent 18 missions to China—more than Cambodia (7), Java (17), or Melaka (12). Then, after almost a century of relative strength, Champa fell into decline in the mid-15th century. The capital Vijaya was lost in 1446, retaken, then lost for good in 1471. Wholesale depopulation then ensued; according to historical sources, 60,000 people were killed by the Vietnamese conquerors, and 30,000 prisoners, including the royal family, were deported. A remnant Cham kingdom continued to exist at Kauthara until 1653, but never threatened to become a dominant political entity again. Pandurangga was not absorbed fully into the Vietnamese polity until 1832.

Cham art is conventionally divided into five periods: an Early style; the Hoa Lai style; Dong Duong, the apogee of Cham sculpture; Mi Son; and Dinh Dinh.

**CHAU SAY TEVODA.** A 12th-century Hindu temple at Angkor built by King Suryavarman II. The temple has its entrance on the east. In front of the east gopurā is a pathway in the form of a cross. The principal sanctuary has an enclosure wall with a gopura in each of its four
walls. The north and south gopuras have already collapsed. Lintels bear scenes from the *Ramayana* epic. Above the north passage of the east gopura, the lintel depicts the fight between the monkey kings *Sukvali* and *Sugriva*. A pathway leading from the east gopura to the main shrine is flanked by two buildings, most probably libraries. The principal shrine stands on a platform. From it, three other pathways lead to the north, south, and west gopuras. The doors and corners of the central tower are decorated with reliefs of *devas* in niches. Several pediments and lintels that have collapsed now lie outside the walls. These show scenes of *Vishnu* with *apsaras*, *Siva* and Uma sitting on *Nandi*, and others of gods with people. A statue of Nandi has been found south of the north library.

**CHE BONG NGA (CHÉ BÔNG NGA).** Last great king of *Champa*. Of unknown origins, he rose to become ruler in approximately 1360. His status was acknowledged by the new *Ming* dynasty in 1369. He fought almost continuously against the Vietnamese. In 1371 he invaded Vietnam and managed to sack Hanoi. He defeated an invading Vietnamese force near his capital of *Vijaya* in 1377, whereupon he marched north and sacked Hanoi again. In 1390 he was in the midst of another victorious campaign in Tongkin when he was killed. He was succeeded by a general who usurped the throne from Che Bong Nga’s sons and took the ancient Cham royal name *Jaya Singhavarman*.

**CHEDI.** A Thai language term for *stupa*. Like the Javanese word *candi*, it probably is derived from the *Sanskrit* term *chāitya-grhā*, denoting a place where relics such as ashes from the cremation of holy men are kept and venerated.

**CHENG HO.** See *ZHENG HE*.

**CHENLA.** See *ZHENLA*.

**CHIANGMAI.** “New City” founded in 1296 by King *Mangrai*, who came from *Chiangrai* as the capital of the kingdom of *Lan Na*. The city was located at a strategic point on overland routes across the mountains to Yunnan on the north (see map 16). Its economic
strength enabled it to become an important center of Buddhist learning and art. The city also formed an important focus of cultural identity for the related linguistic groups inhabiting the area of what is now northern Thailand.

Archaeological remains include Wat Chiang Man, built as a monument to the city’s founding. The Chiangmai chronicle says that Mangrai married a princess of Bago, Burma, imported craftsmen from there to build the temple in 1297, and was interred in it, but no other sources confirm this account. Extant structures including a vihan (sanctuary), ho-trai (scripture house), and chedi (stupa) are of later date. Here the chedi is a building housing an object of worship (e.g., a statue) surmounted by a stupa. Moats and walls were added between 1336 and 1355. The southeast corner of this fortification still stands today.

Wat Phra Sing was founded by the seventh Lan Na king in 1345. It includes a Sinhalese chedi on a circular base said to date from this time. The ho-trai is also a typical 14th-century structure, repaired in 1927.

Wat Chedi Luang was founded in 1411 by Muang Mai and enlarged 1472 by Tilok. This is a cāitya-grha crowned by a stupa. It has mainly been destroyed by earthquakes; only the north side has retained its original form.

Wat Mahabodharama, also known as Wat Chet Yot (Temple with Seven Spires) and modeled on Bodhgaya, is said to have been built by Tilok in 1455. Its radiating arches and vaults may betray Burmese influence.

CHIANGRAI. A kingdom in northern Thailand founded by King Mangrai of Ngoen Yang, an area dominated by the Yonok subgroup, in 1262. In 1291–1292 Mangrai conquered the ancient Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya at Lamphun. In 1296 he moved his capital again, to a site 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of Haripunjaya, which he named Chiangmai. Chiangrai, however, remained a strategic town, in consequence of which it was often ruled by senior princes. Many sites with moats and earthen ramparts in the Chiangrai vicinity exist but have not been systematically investigated by archaeologists. The population was ethnically diverse; in addition to Tai-Yonok speakers, Mon speakers called Lua or Lawa continued to maintain their own identity and had specific roles in royal ceremonies.
CHIANGSEN. A kingdom in north Thailand. The last king, Mangrai, took the throne in 1261 at age 22 and moved his capital south to found Chiangrai. Chiangsaen art has some distinctive traits that perhaps indicate some connection with Bengal during the Pala era.

CHITRASENA. Cousin of Bhavavarman I of Zhenla. He left Sanskrit inscriptions recording the erection of linggas and statues of Siva’s bull Nandi in Kratie and Stung Treng in Cambodia, and in northeast Thailand. He probably succeeded Bhavavarman as king around 600, whereupon he took the reign name Mahendravarman. He claims to have conquered “the whole country.” He was succeeded by his son Isanavarman.

CHOK GARGYAR. Ancient name of Koh Ker.

CHOLA. An Indian dynasty founded by Vijalaya in 850. At its peak, its influence covered much of south India, parts of north Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. The dynasty’s capital lay near Thanjavur (Tanjor) on the southeastern coast of Tamil Nadu. The best-known Chola rulers are Rajaraja (985–1014) and his son Rajendrachola I (1012–1044). The latter ordered an invasion of Srivijaya in 1025, which crippled that polity. The same naval expedition also conquered other parts of Southeast Asia, including Burma and the Malay Peninsula.

For 300 years, the Cholas’ flourishing social and economic institutions supported construction of enormous stone temples, sculpture, and literary and performing arts. Their greatest monument is the 11th-century temple at Tanjore, which was dedicated to Siva. The Chola dynasty gradually declined in the next century, and by 1279 the Chola Empire had disintegrated. Their fame lived on; however, the early section of the Malay Annals contains a memory of the Chola invasion and gives their rulers a position in the Malay rulers’ genealogy.

CHRONICLES. A term used by historians to denote a quasi-historical genre of writing found in similar forms in most Southeast Asian cultures. These chronicles are usually texts purporting to give accounts of the history of kingdoms. They were originally written on palm leaves or paper and thus usually survive only in copies made by hand at some point after their original composition. Authors and editors in
this genre did not attempt to record history dispassionately; they advocated specific points of view meant to reinforce the prestige of certain rulers, extended families, or kingdoms, as well as certain political points of view. In many cases, the information they contain is contradicted by other, more reliable sources.

In most of Southeast Asia, the chronicle tradition dates back to the mid-14th century, an era that coincides with the end of records inscribed on stone. In the 19th century, Cambodian chroniclers may have taken information then available about the first king of Lovek found in historical records and projected him back into the mid-14th century, a period chosen to coincide with the foundation of Ayutthaya, with whom the Cambodians perceived themselves to be in competition.

From the narrative point of view, chronicles can only be used with great caution to reconstruct the history of the periods about which they are written. They can, however, be used as indicators of the state of mind of the chroniclers and the assumptions and preoccupations of their societies at the time they were written. Chronicles therefore have great potential to assist structural historians to reconstruct long-term underlying cultural and social patterns and trends. See also LITERATURE.

**CHU LAO CHAM.** Site of a shipwreck in Vietnamese waters near Hoi An. Ceramics looted from the wreck appeared in markets in 1995. Controlled excavation and recovery took place in 1997–1999 in which over 150,000 artifacts were recovered, including Chinese blue and white ceramics and polychrome enamel ware. The original cargo may have contained over 250,000 items. The date of the wreck was probably in the late 15th century. A radiocarbon date for the ship’s construction gave a range of 1380–1499 CE. One scholar believes that on the basis of stylistic features such as bronze mirror handles and a Yongle coin, the latest date for the ship must be the 1471 defeat of Vijaya in Champa. Another scholar, citing a small number of Chinese vessels decorated with vajra, detached vegetal clusters, and clouds with frilly edges dated to Interregnum period (1436–1464), believes the vessel must have sunk no later than 1457. The ship’s hull, which was still relatively intact, measured 30 meters (100 feet) long and seven meters (22 feet) wide. The ship was bigger than the...
13th-century Quanzhou shipwreck, found in Funan in 1973/74, which was 24.2 meters (80.5 feet) long.

The ship was divided by bulkheads into 18 compartments, a typical Chinese pattern, but the ship is made of teak, a kind of wood found at this period only in India, Burma, Java, and Thailand. Also found on board were lime containers associated with betel chewing, suggesting that the ship may have been built and crewed by Southeast Asians. Other items found on board that provided more specific indications that the ship was Sino-Thai include 30 large stoneware jars from the Ban Rachan kilns of Singburi, which have also been found on wrecks in the Gulf of Thailand; 5 Si Satchanalai jars; an earthenware kendis, and four small jars of Cham provenance. See also TRADE.

CHU-FAN-CHIH. See ZHUDIANZHI.

CHULAMANIVARMADEVA. Ruler of Srivijaya who sent a mission to China in 1003, which reported that a Buddhist temple had been built in his kingdom to pray for the long life of the emperor. He also sponsored the construction of a Buddhist monastery called Chulamanivarmavihara in Negapatam, southeast coastal India. The local ruler, Rajaraja Chola I, designated the population of a large village to support it. The charter for this monastery was renewed in 1089/1090 by King Kulottungga I of the Chola, who called it Sri Sailendra Chulamanivarmavihara.

Another sign of this Srivijayan king’s attentiveness to Buddhism was the composition in his kingdom of a commentary on the Abhisamayalankara, a Buddhist text, by a local scholar named Dharmakirti. An Indian monk named Atisa spent 10 years in Srivijaya during this reign, then moved to Tibet where he became renowned as the reformer of Buddhism in that country. Atisa translated the work of Dharmakirti into Tibetan; he recorded that the original text was written in the reign of Sri Chudamanivarmadeva, of Srivijayanagara, in Malayagiri, in Suvarnadvipa. By 1008 Chudamanivarmadeva had been replaced by his son Maravijayottunggavarman.

CITARUM. A river in west Java. Ci means “river” in Sundanese, the language of west Java. The name can thus be translated as Taruma.
River, suggesting that this area formed a key part of that fifth-century kingdom.

CLOTHING. Despite the region’s hot climate, Southeast Asians in ancient times paid great attention to clothing. They imported much cloth from China and India, and intraregional trade in locally made textiles was also economically significant. The same phenomenon applied to Malayo-Polynesians of the Pacific Ocean; the common ancestry of the Pacific islanders and those of island Southeast Asia suggests that the preoccupation with clothing as a form of status display began in prehistoric times, before the language family dispersed halfway around the globe. Spindle whorls for spinning thread have been found in prehistoric sites in both the mainland and islands. Weaving is a metaphor for the creation of the world both in Southeast Asia and in India.

The principal reason for the cultural importance placed on cloth was not protection from the environment; cloth served as an important badge of rank. There were some other important uses for cloth as well. Cloth of particular designs such as the tāmpān of south Sumatra was not worn but was displayed on important ceremonial occasions. In some areas such as Sulawesi, squares of cloth of uniform size served as currency. When Chinese envoys in the early first millennium CE arrived in Qitu on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, they were given four lengths of white folded cloth to bathe with. Perhaps these were towels; perhaps they were sarongs to be worn while bathing in Malay fashion.

Silk was one of the important commodities imported from China, but it seems to have been relatively plentiful in Southeast Asia. Both mulberry trees and silkworms are naturally found in Southeast Asia. Chinese sources report that rough yellow silk was made in north Sumatra in the early 15th century. A legendary founder of Samudera-Pasai could turn worms into gold and silver. Women’s quarters in palaces had heavy silk curtains.

According to the 14th-century traveler Ibn Battutah, in Qaullah (Kedah), cotton was more expensive than silk. A spindle weight of stone and a possible bobbin have been found in an archaeological excavation at the site of Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah. In the 19th century, Kedah’s tribute to Siam usually included 20 lengths of white cloth 25
meters (82.5 feet) long, 20 of seven meters (23 feet), 20 of six meters (20 feet), and 20 pieces of flowered kain choi (silk), plus other items of cloth for the queen and crown prince.

In earlier times, Southeast Asian kingdoms sent cloth as part of their tribute to China. The Sung Hui Yao says that in 1082 the ruler of Jambi sent the vice superintendent of transportation and acting superintendent of foreign trade 227 taels of camphor and 13 pieces of cotton cloth.

Cotton was introduced to south China from Vietnam, perhaps as late as the seventh century. The Chinese bought cotton in Vietnam, Luzon, and Java in the early 13th century. Into the 18th century, cotton was grown in central Burma for export to China via Yunnan. Other important cotton-growing areas included east Java, Bali, Sumbawa, Buton (southeast Sulawesi), Siam, and various parts of Sumatra. One main cotton-growing area in Sumatra was the west coast between Padang and Indrapura, which survived until the Dutch suppressed cotton cultivation in order to force farmers to grow pepper in the late 17th century.

Cloth and costume played a very important role as a status indicator in China, too. Thus the merchant Wang Dayuan in the 1330s paid close attention to what Southeast Asians wore and recorded in detail the dress and types of textiles available in each Southeast Asian market. Examples from the Malay Peninsula illustrate the diversity of use of cloth in one small area. Pahang imported Javanese cotton. Kelantan people normally wore black, but on festive days put on red cotton. They wove cotton themselves, but also imported Annamese cotton. Xia-lai-wu, somewhere in the Malay Peninsula, imported Annamese and Hainanese cotton and red pongee. Tambralingga, according to Zhao Rukuo, imported Hochi silk (named after a district in Shensi) and gan-li cotton, possibly from a Middle Eastern country.

In 15th-century Melaka, according to Ma Guan, the king wore a white turban of fine local cloth, and a long floral robe of fine green calico. Commoners wrapped white cotton around their lower body and wore short shirts of printed cotton. The Malay Annals state that Sultan Mahmud sent a mission to south India to obtain 40 kinds of rare cloth. East Java, Bali, and Sumbawa capitalized on their dry climates to become major exporting centers of cotton cloth. Javanese cloth was sold in northern Sumatra early in the 15th century, and in
the 16th century the striped lurik from the Javanese ports of Panarukan and Pasuruan was still popular in Melaka. Fifteen large ships per year carried mostly cloth to Melaka in 1510 from Gujarat, Coromandel, and Bengal. In the early 16th century a king in Maluku presented a fellow ruler with 500 silk patola from Gujarat, each reputedly valued at half a ton of cloves (according to Pigafetta and Barbosa).

It is therefore likely that cloth was a major, perhaps the principal, item of luxury expenditure in early Southeast Asia. Unfortunately such materials are not preserved in archaeological sites, and since surviving texts, mainly inscriptions on stone or metal, do not directly discuss trade, we are unlikely ever to know much about the details of the commerce in this important commodity.

**CO LOA.** A site 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Hanoi that was twice made the capital of Vietnamese kingdoms, in 208 BCE and again in 938 CE. Large portions of its ancient earthen walls still exist. They include a triple embankment 14 kilometers (9 miles) long and 10–12 meters (33–40 feet) high. The area is now largely rural. The first phase of its importance came during the **Au Lac** kingdom. Archaeological research there in 1967 uncovered tens of thousands of artifacts including bronze weapons (arrows, axes, and knives) and some of the most impressive Dongson drums in existence.


**COINAGE.** Three traditions of coin design arose in ancient Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese began to make bronze coins modeled after Chinese examples as soon as Vietnam became independent in the 10th century. In the rest of mainland Southeast Asia, silver coins decorated with conch shells and silhouettes of temples appeared in the fifth century. These may have originated in south coastal **Burma.** Other decorative motifs included the **sri vatsa** and a design apparently representing a rising sun. The only coins with writing on them come from **Dvaravati,** where the name of the kingdom has been found on
a few artifacts, though scholars differ as to whether these were coins or medallions. These were made until the ninth century. Thereafter no coins were made on the mainland outside of Vietnam for nearly one thousand years.

Chinese sources suggest that one of Funan’s dependencies was Dunsun, western Thailand. Fan Shih-man, Funan’s early ruler, is said to have died in battle against Chin Lin, perhaps in the Ayeyarwadi Valley. French archaeologist Louis Malleret noted that the territories in this region are connected with srivatsa coins, while American archaeologist Bennet Bronson noted that the srivatsa motif is found on several different types of objects at Belkthano and concluded that the srivatsa coins may have come from Burma rather than Funan.

In Indonesia, gold and silver coins appeared around 800. The oldest examples are found in Java, but they may have been made in Sumatra, probable source of the metal used to make them. The earliest are cup-shaped objects decorated with stamped designs known as sandalwood flowers (see below) on one side, and a letter in devanagari script on the other indicating the nominal weight of the coin. Other gold coins, including semispherical objects known as piloncitos (found in the Philippines as well as Indonesia) and rectangular pieces of metal, were also minted. These coins were made for several hundred years.

A four-petaled design resembling the flower of the sandalwood tree probably originated in late eighth-century Java. It was the principal motif used to decorate coins, made of silver, electrum (a silver-gold alloy), and gold, found in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula beginning in the 11th century. One possible origin for them is Barus, northwest Sumatra. A type known as Class B has been found at Barus and Krui, also on Sumatra’s west coast, where a cache of 79 was discovered. Most gold examples come from Barus, but some have also been found in Bengkulu. Three gold specimens were found in the foundation deposit of Candi Gumpung, Muara Jambi, on Sumatra’s east coast. Specimens of all three metals have been found in south Thailand, at Nakhon Si Thammarat, Songkhla, Surathani, and Krabi. One example was found in an excavation in a 12th-century site in Fostat, Egypt. On the opposite sides of the coins from the flower motif is the devanagari character ma, short for masa, a unit of weight.
Coins traditionally made of gold and silver were too valuable to be useful in low-value exchanges such as in markets. By 1300, Chinese coinage had become sufficiently available to be accepted as legal tender by Majapahit, one of Southeast Asia’s largest kingdoms. The existence of this mode of exchange would have led to a much greater volume of economic activity and would have encouraged the elaboration of occupational specialization. Archaeological discoveries indicate that Chinese coinage was used over an area stretching from east Java to northeast Sumatra. When Islamic kingdoms in 15th-century Southeast Asia such as Melaka began minting locally made low-value coins, their use would have represented not a new idea but rather an elaboration of a preexisting custom. Coins of the early Islamic period in Southeast Asia often imitated Chinese-style coins, with a square hole in the center to enable them to be strung in order to form larger units. See also MONEY.

DAHA. Capital of the east Javanese kingdom of Kediri, otherwise known as Panjalu, from the 11th to 13th centuries.

DAI VIET (DÀI VIỆT). Literally “Great Viet”; Viet is a reference to the Chinese term Yueh, by which Han Chinese meant all the non-Chinese groups who occupied the area south of the Yangtze River. The name Dai Viet was adopted by Emperor Ly Thanh Tong, who reigned from 1127 to 1138. It replaced the name Dai Co Viet, a more colloquial phrase with the same meaning. The name referred to the area that now comprises northern Vietnam, which definitively asserted its independence in 939 (see map 18).

For the previous thousand years, the area around the Red River delta had been subject to various forms of Chinese administration, sometimes nominal, at other times quite effective. After 939, Chinese sources refused to accept the new status of the kingdom and continued to call the kingdom Annam. Dai Viet also used the name Annam when it communicated with China until the 18th century.

After becoming independent from China in the 10th century, the country later known as Dai Viet had to defend itself against attacks in
923, 938, 980, and 1075. Chinese sources of the Song dynasty sometimes use the term *Jiao Zhi*, another archaic term for Vietnam implying that it was a Chinese province. Only in 1174 did China acknowledge the Dai Viet ruler Ly Anh Tong as an independent sovereign. The Vietnamese for their part sent tribute to China starting in 973, an act that promised loyalty to China and invoked Chinese protection while entailing Chinese recognition of the party sending the tribute as the lawful ruler of his realm.

Even after 1174, China continued to regard Dai Viet as a vassal, though not a part of China. During the *Tran* dynasty, which ruled Dai Viet from 1225 to 1400, the kingdom kept Chinese-style annals (*Dâi Việt su ky*), which claimed a history for the realm stretching back to pre-Chinese kings.

In an endeavor to punish the king of *Champa* for not coming in person to demonstrate his submission, the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan sent an army led by one of his sons to the south. Dai Viet, however, was not willing to compromise its sovereignty by allowing a foreign army to pass over its soil. Ferocious battles were fought and the Dai Viet capital fell to the Sino-Mongol forces in 1285. The Vietnamese eventually defeated the Mongols at *Thanh Hoa*. A Mongol general, Sogatu, who had gone to Champa by sea, attempted to relieve the Mongol army in Dai Viet but was captured and had his head chopped off. This is one of many instances in which the Vietnamese demonstrated their determination to avert submission to China. The *Ming* succeeded in retaking Dai Viet in 1407, but after 20 years had to withdraw once again. The *Ly dynasty* then assumed control of the country and retained this position until 1789. However, the Ming continued to address the Dai Viet rulers as subordinate rulers until 1647, when they were already in exile from Manchu-ruled China.

Under the Ly rulers, Dai Viet incorporated the territories formerly controlled by the Cham people. A major portion of Champa was subjugated in 1471, though the complete defeat of the Cham took several more centuries.

**DAKSHA.** King of *Mataram*, central *Java*, who reigned approximately from 913 to 919. He inaugurated the use of a dating system called the *Sanjaya* era, which began on a date corresponding to 18 March 717, in honor of the traditional founder of the kingdom. Before
ascending the throne, he had held the titles of rakryan ri Hino and mapatih l Hino.

**DAMAR WULAN.** An epic poem set in Majapahit. Damar Wulan, the protagonist, is opposed by his uncle Patih Logender, vizier of Majapahit, who is afraid Damar Wulan will rise higher than his own two sons, and by Menak Jingga, demonic king of Balambangan, who proposed marriage to the queen of Majapahit, was rejected, and declares war. Damar Wulan is ordered to kill Menak Jingga. He succeeds, marries the queen of Majapahit, and obtains the title Brawijaya. Other important characters in the story include Demang Gatul, an old servant of Rongga Lawe (a slain king); Dayun, Menak Jingga’s servant; two clown servants of Damar Wulan (Sabda Palon and Naya Genggong); Logender’s two jealous sons, Layang Setra and Layang Kumitir; and a hermit, Pamengger. See also LITERATURE.

**DANDAN (TAN-TAN).** A kingdom mentioned by Chinese sources because it sent embassies in 530 and 535. It may have lain in the area of modern Terengganu, on the east coast of peninsular Malaysia.

**DAOYI ZHILUE.** See WANG DAYUAN.

**DAO-YI-ZA-ZHI.** Chinese text compiled around the end of the Song dynasty or the beginning of the Yuan, in approximately 1270. Most of its contents come from the Song-period Office of Maritime Affairs at Guangzhou. In many respects, it merely repeats information from the Zhufanzhi, written in 1225, but it adds some important information not found in other sources.

**DEDES, KEN.** See ANGROK, KEN (AROK).

**DEMOK.** A Muslim kingdom in north-central Java that during the early 16th century acted as a focus of local opposition to the Portuguese after their capture of Melaka in 1511. Javanese chronicles, in particular the Babad Tanah Jawi, claim in a millennial fashion that Islam defeated the adherents of the Hindu-Buddhist religion in a climactic battle with Majapahit in 1478. The chronicles say that Raden Patah, ruler of the port of Bintara, established Demak in the
same year. Raden Patah, also known as Dipati Jimbun, was said to be the son of Brawijaya, ruler of Majapahit, and a Chinese princess. When she was already pregnant, she was given to Aria Damar, ruler of Palembang. Raden Patah ruled until 1513 and is recorded in Portuguese sources. Brawijaya, however, is an adaptation of a Javanese title and not the name of any ruler. Brawijaya VII, the last ruler, is said to have undergone moksha—dematerialization—after his defeat and become the ruling spirit of Mount Lawu. The same sources place great emphasis on stories of the Wali Songo or “Nine Saints,” semi-mythical heroic figures credited with spreading early Islam in Java and performing various miracles such as building the mosque of Demak in one night.

**DESAWARNANA (DEŚAWARNANA).** In 1894 a Dutch expedition to Lombok sacked the Cakranagara palace of the Balinese ruler and set it aflame. A Dutch official attached to the expedition for the purpose of recovering important antiquities, J. L. A. Brandes, salvaged several *manuscripts*, one of which was a copy dated 1740 of a poem written in 1365 by the Buddhist court poet Prapanca at Majapahit. The poem, popularly known as *Nagarakrtagama* but properly referred to as Desawarnana (“Description of the Country”), gives the most complete surviving description of any ancient Indonesian Court. Two more copies have now been found.

The work includes a paean to the ruler Hayam Wuruk as an incarnation of the supreme god Bhatara Natha or Sri Parwatanatha. The poem includes several sections. The first part describes the royal compound surrounded by a thick, high brick wall. West of the gate were bodhi trees in rows on terraces. Nearby was a fortified guardpost connected with the royal compound’s council area. We do not know whether this was simply an open space or, as seems more likely, there were some open-walled pavilions on pillars there.

The main gate on the north had huge doors of decorated iron. Next to the entrance was a high platform with a parapet covered with gleaming white plaster. Outside the north gate was a very long building where the courtiers met once a year, a marketplace, and a sacred crossroad. Just inside this gate was a large courtyard where various *religious* buildings stood. The western side of the courtyard was separated from the main space by a partition. In this smaller courtyard,
which Prapanca describes as constantly crowded and noisy, were pavilions surrounded by a canal; perhaps people bathed there.

South of the main courtyard was another area where palace servants lived in rows of houses along a road, in the midst of which grew flowering tanjung trees. Palace servants’ quarters were separated by rank, with walls and gates between different sections, and set on terraces. Here was another guardhouse.

Passing through this second main gate, one entered a third courtyard crowded with houses and a great hall where those who were to be admitted into the ruler’s presence waited. The royal quarters were east of this courtyard: one for the king’s father, one for the king himself, and one for the king’s sister and her husband. The houses had decorated brick bases, ornately carved wooden pillars, and roofs decorated with clay ornaments.

East of the palace were quarters of Siva priests; those of the Buddhists were south of the palace, and other nobles were on the west. Farther away, separated from the palace by open fields, were other royal compounds, including that of the redoubtable prime minister Gajah Mada. Here Prapanca’s description of the capital ends.

Beyond Indonesia were other countries “protected by the Illustrious Prince.” What Prapanca meant by that phrase is unclear, but Majapahit claimed some sort of precedence over them. These countries included Cambodia, south Burma, Champa, and Siam. Prapanca, however, distinguished Vietnam from the others as “a friend, regular.” Majapahit apparently received some sort of tribute from these countries. If they did not perform this duty, they could be dealt with violently. Legends and historical and physical evidence of Javanese military actions are found in Sumatra. At least until 1400, the Javanese had the ability to enforce edicts with compulsion far beyond their home island.

Every year in the month of Bhadrapada, corresponding to late August and early September, the king and his Court made a royal tour through east Java. They traveled in carts; according to Prapanca, there were at least 400 in the train. The route varied each year. Among the main objectives were religious shrines. Some were already old; in 1359 the royal procession visited ruined monuments. Along the way, local nobles paid court to the king to present tribute, mainly in the form of animals and cloth. Prapanca mentions that he took the opportunity to buy valuable books.
At Sagara was a terrace on which stood a sanctuary adorned with reliefs narrating religious texts; these he read and reread like he would a poem. The king toured the hermitage associated with the sanctuary and received a gift of food and clothing; according to custom, the king reciprocated with a gift of money.

Singasari was another important stop on the route. Majapahit rulers traced their descent from Singasari and had built a temple there to commemorate the assassinated last ruler of this kingdom. Prapanca describes an impressive temple there, dedicated to Siva, and an abandoned Buddhist shrine with a wall and high gateway. Prapanca describes his sadness at the sight of the abandoned monastery, yard and paths overgrown by weeds. The trees there reminded him of ailing, lovesick women. The illustrious King Hayam Wuruk, he was sure, would bring it back to life. They also visited Candi Jawi, a shrine that, according to oral tradition, had been built by Kertanagara as a sanctuary for both Buddhists and Hindus.

In 1360 and 1361 the court visited the Blitar area. The temple of Simping was in poor condition; Prapanca sighs, “How grievous was the ruin of the temple!” Prapanca called on the abbot of a religious complex to collect information about the kings’ lineage and the religious domains set up in their names. In 1363 the annual royal tour visited Simping again, this time to move Raden Wijaya’s (Kertarajasa Jayawardhana’s) memorial temple to a new, less remote site where it could be properly maintained.

Prapanca lists all the religious domains of east Java, which were of many types: Sivaite halls with pavilions, “sacred places” (perhaps connected with ancestor worship), temples, and “divinity’s crystals” (another unknown term, possibly connected with lingga worship). There were royal Buddhist domains, as well as communities of esoteric Buddhists. There were also risi domains, a number of “mandala” communities, and special remote hermitages. Majapahit boasted of a wide variety of religious organizations. They probably catered to different levels of society and to different shades of belief.

Another topic of the poem is a description of the shraddha ceremony, held 12 years after the death of a person, when the soul was believed to be free of all earthly bonds. This particular occasion in 1362 was the death anniversary of Gayatri, widow of the assassinated king of Majapahit. Prime Minister Gajah Mada led the ritual, and King Hayam Wuruk performed a ritual dance.
**DEVAGARI.** A form of script. Its most important use in Southeast Asia is found in central Java, where it was used to inscribe several important texts during the ascendancy of the Sailendra family in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The name derives from the idea that the script was used in the “divine city” of the gods. It probably originated from a form of Aramaic, which led to Brahmi. The earliest examples of this script in India date from about 100 CE, but the first inscription in devanagari in India, dated 754, is only a few years previous to its appearance in Indonesia. It is not an alphabet, but semisyllabic. It may have been imported to Southeast Asia from the Bengal area, where it was used in the influential monastery at Nalanda. The Kalasan inscription of 778 is the first example of this script in Southeast Asia. It was also used at Kelurak. Examples are also found in Bali and Cambodia.

**DEVARAJA.** A compound formed from the Sanskrit words for “god” and “king.” A tremendous controversy over the import of this term has raged for decades. George Coedès interpreted the expression to mean a cult of an “essence of kingship” inherent in a lingga, associated with the reigning king, and marking the center of the capital (Bakong at Roluos, Phnom Bakheng at Angkor in its first stage, Prasat Thom at Koh Ker, and later the Phimeanakas and Baphuon at Angkor). Coedès called the devaraja the “source of inspiration for the great monuments of Angkor” and believed that the major terraced temples had been dedicated to a royal lingga where the kings were worshipped as supreme deities. He and other scholars who followed him concluded that the temples were also funerary structures where the dead kings’ ashes were interred.

The term devaraja could be interpreted as a synonym for the cult of deified rulers identified with Siva, as Jean Filliozat suggested. L. Finot and Philippe Stern argued that the devaraja was a cult, not an object. Other scholars, including notably H. Kulke and I. Mabbett, have noted that worship of the devaraja is mentioned in very few inscriptions. The term may have referred to a particular object, not a deified king. Kulke suggests that the term meant a portable image, perhaps a bronze statue of Siva, such as is carried in processions in Orissa, India.

There is no evidence that Indians believed in the deification of royalty. The Vedas, early sacred books of India, contain no theory of di-
vines. In the later Manusastras, it is stated that to bring an end to anarchy Brahma created kings from Indra, Wind, Yama, the sun, Fire, Varuna, the moon, and Kuwera. The Khmer may have had their own indigenous cults of king-worship, however.

Jayavarman IV (921–941) and later rulers of Angkor claimed to be part of Siva. Their “subtle inner self” met with the “royal self” of the god Siva in linggas in temples on top of artificial mountains. The blurring of the distinction between the king and the god was thus a Khmer innovation, not an Indianized importation as earlier historians supposed.

A similar tendency to use language and statuary to portray rulers as deities, either during their lives or after their deaths, appeared in east Java during the Kediri period. This ideology may represent the resurgence of a prehistoric concept of the link between rulers, mountains, divine beings, and ancestors characteristic of Southeast Asian societies, restated with the use of South Asian terms and artistic motifs. The devaraja, whether ritual or object or the two combined, may have formed an important legitimizing function in the ninth century. Its role may have changed, however, when linggas were built on stepped pyramids.

In any case, there is no evidence that temples in Cambodia or elsewhere in Southeast Asia functioned as mortuaries for ashes of cremated rulers. Remains of ashes in ritual deposit boxes have been discovered in numerous temples, but it is now thought that they were remains of other substances burned during rituals meant to consecrate the temples as mandalas and are not remains of human beings.

An inscription by Jayavarman I can be taken as evidence of a claim to be an incarnation of Indra. Other kings of pre-Angkor Cambodia also compared themselves with Indra, even claiming to surpass him in valor. Adhir Chakravarti dismisses these as “isolated references,” which reflect the Indian belief that kings resemble Indra because they perform similar functions on Earth to those of Indra in heaven. One inscription indicates a belief that a king’s ancestor united with Indra after death.

References to Prthu and Manu in inscriptions of the early Angkor period suggest a general belief in the humanity of kings. Prthu was created by rubbing the body of Vena, a mortal, according to the Mahabharata. Then Vishnu entered Prthu; thus kings are mortal but
have the greatness of Vishnu. Manu, father of the human race, in the \textit{Mahabharata} was nominated by Brahma to rule over men but was not a god. Only after Jayavarman IV are there explicit claims that rulers were incarnations of Siva, Indra, Vishnu, or Brahma/Prajapati. The Kapilapura inscription of Cambodia from the reign of Jayavarman V states that in the Kali (Dark) age there was much sin; therefore, Brahma caused Siva and Vishnu to descend to Earth in the form of the king. This differs from the \textit{Manusastra} tradition of India mentioned above.

One can observe a progressive evolution in Cambodian expressions of beliefs regarding deification. It is possible that over time the attribution of deification became more of a \textit{literary} device denoting respect than a concrete and literal belief. The inscriptions eventually contain fewer descriptions of the king’s functions and more about the significance of his personality. Before \textbf{Suryavarman I}, the king was not divine; he was still protected by gods. Only after death did kings unite with their chosen god. From \textbf{Udayadityavarman II} onward, kings no longer were given posthumous names because they were already deemed to be gods during their lifetime. The concept of deification, however, seems to have been devalued at that time; not only kings but the king’s relatives, such as brothers-in-law, bureaucrats, and priests were also said to be gods. Two queens held the title Vrah, indicative of deification. Aristocratic women often were deified posthumously.

\textbf{Dharanindravarman.} Dharanindravarman I was the successor of \textbf{Jayavarman VI}, taking the throne of \textit{Angkor} in 1107. He reigned for five years, then was deposed by his grandnephew, \textbf{Suryavarman II}, who claimed to have slain the king by jumping onto his elephant during a battle. Dharanindravarman was given the posthumous name Paramaniskalapada.

Dharanindravarman II succeeded Suryavarman II on the throne. Little is known of his reign, including the dates on which it began and ended. He was a \textbf{Buddhist}, as was his son, who was to become ruler under the name Jayavarman VII, but only after several intervening events took place. His only major temple that we are aware of is Preah Khan at Kompong Svay.
DHARMACAKRA. Literally “wheel of the law.” The mudra or gesture called dharmacakra is used in Buddhist sculpture to symbolize the first sermon given by the Buddha at the deer park in Benares. The metaphor of “turning the wheel of the law” stands for the beginning of the process by which Buddha’s wisdom was communicated to the rest of humankind. The wheel was a common element in several other metaphors in Hinduism and Buddhism. The Lalitavistara says that when preaching the first sermon, Buddha turned the wheel three times for each of the four Noble Truths and created the sangha.

The term is also applied to a set of stone sculptures of a physical wheel reminding devotees of the Buddhist law (perhaps better translated as “doctrine”). These are found in Indian art, and in one area of Southeast Asia: that part of Thailand believed to have formed the kingdom of Dvaravati. They were placed on stone pillars called stambhas.

Relief depictions of Buddha flanked by cakra and stupa, found in Thailand, are apparently unknown in Indian iconography. These sculptures have other attributes such as garlands at the tops of pillars and three-dimensional stone deer that are not found in Indian tradition. Stone cakras may also symbolize bhavacakra, “wheel of becoming”; some are inscribed with patīcasamuppada, “chain of causation.”

The script used to write on some of the dharmacakras is datable to the era between the sixth and the ninth centuries; artistic evidence suggests that the sculptures date to the period 650–700. The concentration of these objects at Nakhon Pathom suggests that this site played an important role in the religious life of Dvaravati. However, these artifacts are found over a broad area, from U Thong, Si Thep, Lopburi, Nakhon Sawan, to Chaiya.

DHARMAJA. Poet of 12th-century Kediri, Java, who wrote a very popular poem, Smarakadana, about the God of Love (Asmara).

DHARMARAJA. Sanskrit for “King of the Law” or “Righteous King.” In Buddhist ideology, the dharmaraja is one who rules in accord with and protects the dharma, Buddha’s law, and Buddha’s religion. He upholds the moral and political order of his kingdom. The dharmaraja must adhere to 10 kingly virtues, 5 common precepts, and
8 further precepts on holy days. As the patron of the monastic order, he must hold councils to ensure that monks adhere to monastic regulations. The first council was held after the death of Buddha; the second occurred in the fourth century BCE. King Asoka in the third century BCE and King Kaniska of the Kushan dynasty in the first or second century CE called the third and fourth councils.

In Burma, kings such as Anawrahta periodically purified the monastic order of heterodox ideas. In the Myazedi inscription of 1112, Rajakumara refers to his father Kyansittha as a dharmaraja. In the Indian literary world, dharma refers to a Vedic concept that variously means duty, the right way of living, and religious law. Dharma is an epithet for Yama (the Lord of Death) and his son Yudhisthira of the Mahabharata epic. Yama enforces the principles of religion by punishing all violators. Yudhisthira, on the other hand, is known for his steadfastness in performing all his duties.

**DHARMASRAYA.** The capital of the kingdom of Malayu in Sumatra in the 13th century.

**DHARMAWANGSA TEGUH ANANTAWIKRAMA.** Ruler of east Java whose reign began around 985 and lasted until perhaps 1016. His capital may have lain near modern Kediri. An important Javanese literary work, Virataparva, was composed during his reign, as was the oldest surviving Javanese version of the Mahabharata. Chinese sources during his reign speak of major warfare between his kingdom and Srivijaya. It has been suggested that a Sumatran raid resulted in his death and the destruction of his kingdom, though no concrete evidence for this theory has been uncovered. See also AIRLANGGA (ERLANGGA).

**DINAYA (DINOYO).** Site in east Java where an important Sanskrit inscription dated 760 was discovered. The contents mention the founding of a temple dedicated to Agastya by Gajayana, king of Kanjuruh, son of Dewasingha, whose capital was Kanjuruh. The inscription describes the replacement of a wooden image made by the ancestors by one made of black stone. Both father and son may have been devotees of a lingga named Putikesvara, which “embodied the essence of royalty.” The concept of a royal lingga echoes similar beliefs in Champa and in Cambodia.
This is the only major inscription found in east Java that predates the transfer of the center of power eastward in the 10th century. We are otherwise in the dark about political developments in that region before 929. Two surviving temples in the Malang area were built before the shift of the center of government to east Java in the 10th century: Badut and Songgoriti. Neither can be definitively connected with this inscription.

DONG DUONG. This site in Quang Nam Province was long thought to be a capital of the Cham people, because 22 royal inscriptions have been found there. It is now considered that it was the site of a very important Buddhist sanctuary. A very early bronze Buddha discovered there has been described as being in Gupta style, which suggests that it may have been imported from India before 500. The statue is described as having a very Indian face and an urna in high relief. The Dong Duong area sometimes was called Amaravati, also the name of an early kingdom and center of Buddhist art in south India. Art historian Jean Boisselier described the statue’s style as Amaravati or Anuradhapura, after an early kingdom in Sri Lanka.

Dong Duong’s importance reached its peak between 850 and 900 and lasted until about 1000, after which there is no archaeological evidence of activity at the site. Most Buddhist monuments in Champa were built in the 10th century and may have been sponsored by the Indrapura dynasty.

DUNSUN (TUN-SUN). A fifth-century Chinese text, the Liang Shu, mentions this place among the vassals of Funan: “All the countries beyond the frontier come and go in pursuit of trade. . . . At this mart East and West meet together. . . . Precious goods and rare merchandise, there is nothing which is not there.” The port had contacts ranging from Bac Bo in Vietnam to India. A thousand Indian brahmins were said to live there and to intermarry with the local population. It is thought that the name corresponds to a port somewhere on the upper portion of the Malay Peninsula, but no archaeological site has yet been linked to this name. Chinese sources also describe its burial practices: cremation for some; for others, exposure of corpses to be eaten by birds, with the remaining bones being thrown into the ocean.
DURGA. Another name for the Hindu goddess Kali. Durga had three forms: Durga Mahisasuramardini, beautiful slayer of a demon; Mahasakti, who helped create the universe; and a frightening form of Siva’s wife. In epics such as Markandeya Purana and Mastya Purana, the demon king Mahisha defeated Indra and the gods. Since Mahisha could not be conquered by any male, Brahma then persuaded Vishnu and Siva to create a female with the combined powers of all the gods. Durga, the being who was thus created, defeated Mahisha’s army of asuras (demons) and then pursued Mahisha himself. In an effort to escape, Mahisha disguised himself in various forms. Eventually Durga captured and dispatched him while he was in the form of a buffalo.

Durga was very popular in Indonesia, where females have traditionally enjoyed high status. More than 100 statues of her survive in Java. She is conventionally portrayed with eight arms, which hold the various weapons donated by the various gods. She stands on the body of a buffalo, from which the dwarflike form of the demon Mahisha is being extracted by Durga with her lower left hand. Her normal posture is highly energetic, with legs spread wide apart, but her face is always serene.

In India her lower right hand normally holds a spear, but Javanese artists perhaps misread this; in Indonesia, she is shown grasping the buffalo’s tail. In Java, Durga became associated with Siva and is part of a triad of associated images that usually appear in Siva temples along with Ganesa and Agastya. She normally occupies the north side of Siva shrines in Java. At Lara Jonggrang, her statue provided the folk name (literally “slender maiden”) by which the temple is commonly known today. Two late 15th-century inscriptions from Jiyu, Mojokerto, east Java, call upon man-eating Durga to enforce oaths.

DVARAVATI (DWARAWATI). “City of Gates.” This is one of the most famous kingdoms in Indian mythology: that ruled by Vishnu in his human incarnation as Krishna. It is also the name of the Burmese province containing the important town of Sandoway.

Perhaps as early as the fifth or sixth century, this name was also used to refer to a region in the Chao Phraya Valley, Thailand. Important early archaeological sites thought to be related to this kingdom
are found at U Thong, Nakhon Pathom, and Ku Bua west of the Chao Phraya in the central plain of Thailand, along the routes that lead to Burma (through the Three Pagodas Pass) and east to Cambodia, north-central Thailand, north Laos, and the Khorat Plateau, where related sites are found at Si Thep in the Pa Sak River valley. Also associated with this kingdom are early Buddhist remains at Phra Pathom and Phong Tuk, including a stupa, vihara, and Buddha image dated to 550. The name of King Sridvaravatisvara of Dvaravati was inscribed on pieces of silver found near Phra Pathom. These sites may have been loosely connected to the Funan polity at one time, but after Funan’s disappearance, the Dvaravati region attained political autonomy. The name was incorporated into the full title of the kingdom of Dvaravati Sri Ayutthaya, founded in 1351.

Historical records for the kingdom are scarce, prompting some to believe that it never attained political unity. It may have consisted of a group of culturally affiliated principalities in competition with each other for the position of primus inter pares. In Dvaravati, Pali was used for religious inscriptions, and Sanskrit was used by royalty for official and votive texts; nonroyal votive inscriptions from Phra Pathom and Lopburi of this period are in Old Mon, suggesting that this was the main ethnic group in the area.

The mid-seventh-century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzhang (596–664) refers to Dvaravati as being west of Isanapura in Cambodia and east of Sriksetra in Burma. Dvaravati sent missions to China in 638, 640, and 649. The pilgrim Yijing also mentioned it in the late seventh century, but these are the only references to the kingdom in Chinese sources.

The name of the kingdom also occurs on silver objects, either coins or medallions, which commemorate “the meritorious act of the lord of Dvaravati.” Two have been found near Nakhon Pathom, one at U Thong, and one at Ban Ku Muang, 150 kilometers (95 miles) north of Nakhon Pathom. Another has been found farther north at Chai Nat. Others are reported to exist, but their find spots are unverifiable.

Nakhon Pathom may have been the principal center of Dvaravati culture and politics. The site is strategically located at the confluence of the Mae Klong and Khwae Noi rivers. The Khwae Noi leads to the Three Pagodas Pass, for centuries a major communication route to Burma.
An inscription threatens those who counterfeit Dvaravati money with death, and coins bearing motifs of a conch and temple similar to those found from Burma to Vietnam have been unearthed. They were made at U Thong and Nakhon Pathom, and perhaps at other sites as well.

A group of sites in central Thailand with radiocarbon dates ranging from the sixth to ninth centuries yield similar artifacts, including types of earthenware pottery, iron tools, beads made of glass and semiprecious stone, and monuments of brick (all badly decayed), often surrounded by moats. Archaeologists are not yet certain whether these sites were part of a single kingdom or the term Dvaravati in Thailand should be understood to denote an archaeological culture, a time period, or an art style.

Art in a style known as Dvaravati is found only in the far north of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula, and from Chaiya to Yala. Dharmacakra sculptures are found in both areas. However, only one inscription tentatively ascribed to the Mon in the isthmian region predates the 13th century. The oldest Khmer inscription in the peninsula, on a statue of Mucalinda Buddha from Wat Wieng, Chaiya, is dated 1183.

Thai archaeologist Srisak Vallibhotama believes that there were two Dvaravatis, one east and the other west of the Chao Phraya. The shared art style, in his opinion, indicates a cultural area in which Buddhism dominated the west, Hinduism the east. Robert Brown argues that there was a fairly even mix of the two religions, particularly in the seventh and eighth centuries, in the eastern part of this cultural area. A Ganesa in Dong Muang Pra Rot was placed near the footprints of Buddha. Two inscriptions in Aranyaprathet include one addressed to Siva in 637 and one to Buddha in 639. At Si Thep, Dong Si Maha Phot, Phetburi, and the Kra Isthmus, Buddhist art in the form of dharmacakras coexisted with Vishnus in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Pierre Dupont argued that the distinctive style of these statues evolved in the peninsula before 800. Jean Boisselier thought that Dvaravati images cannot predate the seventh century, but Brown noted similarities with statuary from Angkor Borei, which may be older.

A unique type of image consists of a Buddha seated on a winged monster. The meaning of this portrayal has yet to be established.
Some of the Buddhas raise their hands in what may be \textit{vītārka muddra}; others are in \textit{kāṭākāhāṣṭā mudra} (fingers fold down into palms), and still others are in \textit{ābhāya mudra}, which Brown has tentatively suggested may be evidence of an association between Buddha and the sun.

Dvaravati art also included stucco and terra-cotta. The similarity of these media as well as motifs found on the dharmacakra to early Cambodian art suggests a cultural relationship between these two areas. Terra-cottas common in Dvaravati art but rare or absent elsewhere include a figure of Buddha between two stupas. Only one Indian example is known, a ninth-century bronze from Kashmir; however, the motif was very popular in \textit{Pyu} Burma at the same period (seventh to ninth centuries).

A terra-cotta motif found only in Dvaravati’s cultural zone consists of Buddha flanked by stupa and cakra, mainly on votive tablets. This was a popular artifact in south Thailand, but is also found in central Thailand (at Ku Bua). The motif of Buddha flanked by stupas may have been more popular in eastern Thailand.

A hoard of several hundred bronze images was found somewhere in \textit{Pra Kon Chai} District, Buriram Province, east Thailand, in 1964, almost all of which can be identified are Maitreya or \textit{Avalokitesvara}, along with a few standing Buddhas. These suggest the presence of \textit{Mahayana} Buddhism. In Thamorat Cave, Si Thep area, north-northeast Thailand, statues of four-armed \textit{bodhisattvas} coexist with standing Buddhas in Dvaravati style. Thus \textit{Theravada} and Mahayana images seem to have been worshipped at the same site. Most of the bodhisattvas in Dvaravati sites have no distinctive attributes, as in Burmese art, although a gold plaque, probably from Thamorat Cave, depicts Maitreya, with a stupa in his headdress, flanked by stupa and cakra. This is the only known instance where Buddha is replaced by a different deity.

Dvaravati sites and art declined in the 10th century, approximately at the same time that the Khmer empire began expanding. Probably the culture of the region underwent significant alteration, first by Khmer occupation, then by \textit{Tai} immigrants.

\textit{DVIPANTARA.} A Sanskrit word used in early Indian sources that literally means “people of the islands”; it probably constitutes a
reference to people of insular Southeast Asia, akin to “Malays.” See also KUNLUN.

**DWARAPALA (DVARAPALA).** Literally “door guardian.” According to the sixth-century Indian text Brhat Samhita, the bottom quarter of the jambs of doorframes should be decorated with dwarapalas. According to other texts such as the Agni Purana, Nandiswara and Mahakala, left and right, should accompany Ganga and Yamuna at the doors of Sivaite mandalas.

In India, no pre-Gupta (fourth- to sixth-century) temples are known, apparently because they were made of perishable materials. On early railings of Buddhist stupas such as at Bharhut (100 BCE), nagas and yakshas are portrayed as guards at entrances of gateways and railings. The oldest that are still in situ date from the first century BCE. Buddhist cave temples of the sixth century in Maharashtra, India—for example, Ellora—have bodhisattvas as dwarapalas: Avalokitesvara on the right, Manjusri or Maitreya on the left. Similar arrangements are found in painted caves in western China of the Tang dynasty. From early south India, dwarapalas are found by entrances to main shrines (garbha-grha), at entrances to mandapas, and at gateways in walls.

The first dwarapalas may have been the risi Agastya and Trnavindu. In the Calukya dynasty, Nandiswara and Mahakala replaced the risis. The Calukyas are the most likely sources for the dwarapalas of early J ava. There are precedents in Austronesian societies for such guardian statues, however. The practice of carving guardian figures and setting them at entrances to villages and other important sites has parallels in the cultures of the Pacific Ocean, with whom the Indonesians share a common ancestry. Similar statues have been found in parts of Indonesia such as the Lake Toba area of north Sumatra, where little Indian influence ever penetrated. The dwarapala figure therefore can be seen as an extension of a preexisting feature of Austronesian art.

In early Buddhist temples in Java, statues of kneeling guardians were erected near entrances to temple compounds. At the beginning of the ninth century, standing dwarapalas in reliefs appear, but they disappear after the ninth century, with the exception of Bahal I in Padang Lawas, north Sumatra. A bronze dwarapala statue has been found in west Sumatra, but its architectural context is unknown.
All central Java Buddhist candis except Sari have figures in relief flanking doors that can be termed dwarapala (see photograph 15). Some are divine. Some are female. At Lumbung, both male and female figures are found. At Mendut near Barabudur, the dwarapalas are taken from the Astamahabodhisattvas: Samantabhadra on the right and Sarvaniviskambin on the left. Some central Javanese Buddhist candis have kneeling dwarapalas at entrances to temple grounds, and standing dwarapalas carved into the walls beside shrine doors.

Very few Javanese dwarapalas are still in situ in Hindu sites. In all known cases, Mahakala, the more threatening figure, is on the proper left of the entrance.

Despite the clear evidence for the influence of Indian art on the dwarapalas of Indonesia, contrasts can also be identified. For example, no Indian dwarapalas carry the flywhisk, which is an attribute of some Indonesian dwarapala statues. In Indonesia, the flywhisk was an ascetic attribute, whereas in India they were signs of royalty. Indian regulations say that Nandiswara should carry a club, but he never does so in Indonesia. Instead Indonesian Nandiswaras have more ascetic attributes.

In mainland Southeast Asia, dwarapalas are found in Champa and Cambodia. At Hoa-lai, Champa, relief dwarapalas appear, while those at Dong Duong are three-dimensional; like many Indonesian dwarapalas, they wear snake ornaments. Unlike those in Indonesia, Cham dwarapalas north of the doorways hold vajras, and the flesh of their necks is pleated as in Chinese art. At Khu’o’ng-my, Tra Kieu, are two dwarapalas with benevolent and threatening aspects corresponding to the Javanese Nandiswara and Mahakala. By 1000, Cham sculptures always depicted gods (though not Buddha) in relief and dwarapalas in the round. Dwarapalas in Champa may have been made as late as the 14th or 15th century, at Yang-mum.

In Cambodia, the first dwarapalas may have appeared at Preah Ko (around 879). They include both female and males; some are benevolent, others fearsome. An inscription from Prasat Kok Po gives their names as Nandi and Kala. The beautiful Banteay Srei temple has benevolent dwarapalas in relief, with anthropomorphic bodies but heads of a garuda, lion, ape, and yaksha.

Unlike in Java, dwarapalas in Cambodia did not wear snake ornaments. There are some three-dimensional kneeling dwarapalas in
Cambodia, parallel to those in Java; this form is almost entirely absent in Champa.

EAST BARAY. Originally called Yasodharatataka after the ruler, Yasovarman, who planned its construction, this is a large artificial body of water (6 by 2.4 kilometers/3.5 by 1.5 miles) in the eastern area of Angkor (see map 5), in the midst of which a shrine called East Mebon was built in 952 by Yasovarman’s nephew Rajendravarman. The baray is now dry. It apparently ceased to function in the 10th century, perhaps influencing the decision of Jayavarman IV (921–941) to move to Koh Ker. When the capital was moved from Koh Ker back to Angkor, the East Baray was altered by moving the south bank farther south and raising its height from 2 meters (6.5 feet) to 5 meters (16.5 feet). This reconstruction began in the reign of Harsavarman II (941–944) and was completed during the reign of Rajendravarman (944–968).

EAST MEBON. An impressive religious shrine erected in 952 by Rajendravarman on an artificial island in the midst of the artificial body of water now called the East Baray. It lies on the same axis as the Gate of Victory, the central gopura of the royal palace of Angkor, and the important Phimeanakas shrine.

On top of a pyramidal terrace 12 meters (40 feet) high are five brick towers representing the main peaks of Mount Meru built to contain statues of Rajendravarman’s parents represented as Siva and Uma, images of Brahma and Vishnu, and in the center a royal lingga called Rajendresvara. Eight smaller temples contained more linggas. An inscription notes that the carving of the temple’s decoration was very detailed; surviving false doors are finely worked, and many of the lintels bear complex designs.

Rajendravarman’s largest temple was Pre Rup, built in 961. It is also a laterite pyramid with a groundplan like the East Mebon or Bakong, but in other respects was quite different.

At a later date that has not been determined, six brick towers of a completely different model, much larger, were begun but never fin-
ished. A new system for roofing subsidiary wooden structures involving separable tile ends was invented at this time and used until the 13th century, when the builders reverted to the old technique.

**ELDERS SONA AND UTTARA.** Two men reputed to have brought the Buddhist religion to Suvarnabhumi (Sudhammati). Though the location of Suvarnabhumi remains a subject of contestation, most scholars agree that it was somewhere in lower Burma. According to the Mahayazawingyi and Sasanavangsa, following the end of the Third Council, Sona and Uttara were part of a group of 10 elders sent by Moggaliputta Thera to spread Buddhism to nine regions, one of them being Suvarnabhumi.

**ERLANGGA.** See AIRLANGGA (ERLANGGA).

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**FA NGUM.** Founder of the kingdom of Lan Xang, Laos, in 1353. Although of Lao Tai origin, he spent much of his youth in exile at the court of Angkor and launched his kingdom with Khmer support. He supposedly established the border with Annam by applying the criterion that areas where people built houses on stilts would belong to the Lao kingdom, while areas with houses built on the ground would belong to Annam. In uninhabited areas, the dividing line was the watershed between rivers running east to the South China Sea and those running west to the Mekong River. He may have been forced into exile in northeast Thailand in about 1371; his son Oun Hueun then ascended the throne.

**FANSUR.** See BARUS.

**FUNAN.** This is the modern pronunciation of Chinese characters used in texts from the third to the seventh centuries to denote a kingdom centered in the lower Mekong Valley (see map 7). In ancient times they were probably pronounced biunâm, which is a good approximation of the Khmer word bnam, now pronounced phnom and meaning “mountain.” The rulers of this kingdom held the Sanskrit titles
parwatabhupala or sailaraja meaning “Lord of the Mountain.” A similar title, Sailendra, was later used by Buddhist rulers of Java and south Sumatra. This has occasioned some speculation that the Indonesian rulers were descended from Funan, but there is no confirmation of this theory. The ability to call oneself “lord of the mountain” symbolized connections both with indigenous Southeast Asian beliefs about mountains as the abode of the ancestors and with South Asian beliefs about a mountain at the center of the universe where the gods live. Buddhist traditions depict mountains as places where Buddha sometimes gave sermons.

According to Chinese texts, the kingdom of Funan was ruled by a woman, daughter of a naga, before an Indian brahmin named Kaundinya came with a group of merchants, conquered her, married her, and founded a new line of rulers. Similar legends are found in south India, among the Pallava, for instance, and in an early inscription from Champa.

A Chinese history of the Liang dynasty (502–556) says that a later ruler, Fan Shih-man, conquered many kingdoms and incorporated them into his kingdom. One specifically mentioned is Dunsun, thought to have lain on the Malay Peninsula north of the Isthmus of Kra. There is some archaeological evidence in the form of coins and other objects for some contact between the isthmian region and the Mekong Delta at this time, but it is impossible to detect whether conquest was involved. Some historians suspect that the Chinese assumed that Funan’s political structure was more centralized than was really the case. No territorially based polities can be found in Southeast Asia before the imperial era of Angkor in the 11th and 12th centuries. It is unlikely that Funan was such a kingdom. More likely it was a typical early Southeast Asian mandala, in which political power manifested itself in the form of ability to extract tribute and occasional other tokens of subservience, but not direct rule of distant provinces.

It is impossible to tell whether Funan could be defined as a unified state or as a cluster of small polities in the delta. Evidence in favor of territorial organization covering at least the lower Mekong includes extensive remains of a canal network and signs of the emergence of an elite stimulated by trade involving resources brought downriver from the hinterland.
Some scholars interpret the Vocanh stele as a record of a Funan vassal in Khanh-hoa, central Vietnam. Unfortunately all inscriptions yet discovered in the territory and time period thought to belong to Funan are written in Sanskrit. We therefore cannot be sure whether the Funan rulers spoke an Austronesian or Austroasiatic language. In view of recent archaeological research, however, it seems likely that Funan was a Mon-Khmer polity. Pottery discovered at Oc Eo and Angkor Borei have more in common with later Cambodian ceramics than with those found in such probable Austronesian areas as Sahuynh.

Funan sent a mission to China in 243, during the Three Kingdoms period, and several more between 268 and 287. Assuming that Oc Eo and other sites in the Mekong delta are in fact representative of Funan (no inscription bearing the local name of the kingdom has yet been found), we can conclude that Funan was a major trading port with regular connections reaching India. This attracted the attention of the Chinese kingdom of Wu, which sent ambassadors there between 245 and 250. There they met an Indian diplomat from the Murrunda kingdom.

The Chinese envoy Kang Tai reports that Funan had walled villages, palaces, and houses. His report that “they like to engrave ornaments and to chisel” is borne out by the discovery of many artifacts related to metalworking, including gold, silver, tin, and copper at Oc Eo. He also mentions that they had books and archives and used an Indic script to write.

In the late fifth century, the History of the Southern Qi mentions a ruler named Jayavarman. At this time two Buddhist monks from Funan, described as expert translators of Sanskrit texts, moved to China. This Chinese text mentions that the Funan people were aggressive toward their neighbors, whom they sometimes captured and enslaved, but they were also expert smiths of gold rings and bracelets, silver plates, and bronze statues, as well as shipbuilders. Large groups of families constructed ponds for water; this practice typifies later Khmer culture and is a good argument in favor of identifying Funan as an early Khmer kingdom.

Jayavarman left no inscriptions, but Chinese sources tell us that he was a devotee of Mahesvara (Siva), who “descended” on a particular mountain, and that he died in 514. His queen and his son, however,
did leave inscriptions of the late fifth century. The queen, Kulaprabhawati, apparently a devotee of Vishnu, wished to become an ascetic and had a hermitage built in an artificial lake. Her inscription was found in Takèo Province, now in Cambodia. Jayavarman’s son Guanavarman’s inscription was found in the Plaine des Joncs in the humid Mekong delta. It picturesquely describes reclaiming a kingdom from the mud and the erection of a temple with a Vishnu footprint. Gunavarman may have been assassinated by his eldest brother, Rudravarman, who sent embassies to China between 517 and 539. Rudravarman was remembered in the seventh century as the predecessor of Bhavavarman I, and in the 10th century as the ancestor of a line of kings.

Recent archaeology has yielded numerous traces of brick structures on hills near Oc Eo and Angkor Borei, indicating the importance of these natural features for early religion in Funan. Large numbers of stone statues of Vishnu in a particular style have been discovered in the lower Mekong, along with standing Buddha images of wood, preserved to some extent by the waterlogged soil.

Funan continued to appear in Chinese court records as a sender of embassies until the early seventh century. Then, the Chinese believed, Funan was conquered by a kingdom that they called Zhenla. No explanation of this name has yet been proposed. One of the more likely theories is that it is an approximation of Tonle Sap, the Great Lake in central Cambodia. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing in the late seventh century still mentions Funan but complains that Buddhism, which had formerly been popular in that country, had been destroyed by a wicked king. Funan sent at least 25 missions to China during the period from 226 to 649. The tribute they brought mostly consisted of items in the hinterland, not from the Mekong Delta.

Recent research in the delta has yielded evidence of the existence of several trading communities of the late centuries BCE. At Go Hang, for example, finds included beads of glass, agate, and carnelian associated with a radiocarbon date of 54 BCE–130 CE. Then a major transformation took place, for example at Nen Chua, where a large brick and stone structure was associated with a lingga and gold ornaments. A new form of burial ritual was introduced: cremated remains were placed in subterranean brick chambers. At a
brick ruin in Go Xoai, gold leaves included one with a fifth-century Sanskrit inscription. Pre-Angkor inscriptions from the delta mention several pūrā: Tamandarapura, Samudrapura, Svaradvapura, and over 20 pūrā outside the delta. The Chinese Sūi Shū says that in the early seventh century Funan had 30 enclosed settlements with at least 1,000 households each.

More than 90 archaeological sites belonging to the “Oc Eo culture” in the delta have now been recorded, and over 20 have been excavated. These can be divided into three categories: residential sites, such as Oc Eo, Dong Thap, Dong Dhua, Nhon Thanh, and Nen Chua; religious structures (10 sites); and burial grounds (6 sites). At Go Thap, a burial mound covering 1 hectare (2.5 acres) contains brick-lined pits, human ashes, gold discs, rings, flowers, and leaves with numerous motifs, including Vishnu, Garuda, water buffalo, elephants, snakes, conch shells, the sun, plants, and even a house on stilts along with a radiocarbon date of 400–600.

A Sanskrit inscription of the sixth century from Prasat Pram Loven mentions that a prince of the line of Kaundinya, entrusted a sanctuary containing an image of Vishnu’s feet to his son Gunavarman, in a domain that he had “wrested from the swamp.” Another undated Sanskrit inscription from Nak Ta Dambang Dek (Ta Prohm, Bati) is Buddhist rather than Hindu and refers to Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman. The first two stanzas praise Buddha; the next two praise King Rudravarman; the fifth says that his father, King Jayavarman, gave the office of inspector of royal goods to the son of a brahmin. The rest praise this functionary and his family and describe a foundation made by him during Rudravarman’s reign. George Coedes, who studied the inscription, concluded that the inscription cannot refer to Jayavarman I, who reigned around 660, because the script style was older, slightly before 550. He therefore concluded that this Jayavarman must be the same king as Chinese sources mention in 514 (Jayavarman died, Rudravarman succeeded). Chinese texts showed that Buddhism flourished under Jayavarman I. The inscription, however, betrays no suggestion of Mahayana influence; thus the Palembang inscription of 684 is still the oldest to demonstrate the existence of Mahayanism in Southeast Asia.

Two inscriptions from Angkor Borei imply that the capital of the last recorded king of Funan, Rudravarman, was located in that area.
These inscriptions are the earliest dated texts believed to emanate from the people of Funan (inventory numbers K.557 and K.600), both from 611. Another recently discovered inscription, provisionally dated to 650 (the reign of Jayavarman I), mentions that Funan’s last ruler, Rudravarman, lived in Angkor Borei.

A Chinese source, the Liàngh Shū, says the “enclosed settlement” (possibly meaning capital) of Funan was 500 ǐ (200 kilometers/120 miles) from the sea, which would fit the location of Angkor Borei. Another Chinese record, the Xin Tangshu, says that the capital was once at Temu, but after that city was captured by Zhenla in the late sixth century, it moved to Nafuna (Naravaranagara).

Whatever the cause, the fact remains that the Oc Eo culture and references to the kingdom of Funan both came to an end in the seventh century. Oc Eo was peopled by a highly advanced society for its time, but it dwindled into insignificance and was not replaced by any comparable political or commercial entity. Instead, a new society coalesced in the middle Mekong Valley. Its connection with Funan is unclear. See also ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

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GADAW-PALIN. A structure described by one authority as the “most refined of Bagan’s temples,” which stands inside the wall of the enceinte near the bank of the Ayeyarwadi River. The temple was begun by King Sithu II (1174–1211) and finished by King Nadaungmya (1211–c. 1230). According to tradition, it was built to commemorate the ceremony of paying homage to the king’s ancestors. It was severely damaged in an earthquake in 1975.

GAJAH MADA. A great minister of the kingdom of Majapahit in east Java. Gajah Mada began as head of the king’s guard (Bhayangkara) under King Jayanagara. Next he moved to Daha (Kediri) where he became chief administrator; there, he was mentioned in the Walandit inscription as Pu Mada. He then became patih or prime minister of the kingdom in 1331, under Tribhuvanatungadewi, a woman who was acting as regent for her mother, Queen Gayatri.
Various sources suggest that Gajah Mada was both a man of action and a statesman. He is supposed to have saved King Jayanagara from a rebel named Kuti in 1319. In 1328, however, Jayanagara was assassinated by the royal physician, Tancha, whom Gajah Mada later executed. In 1331, the year he was promoted to patih, he led a military expedition against local enemies; as a consequence he received the title “protector of the kingdom.”

Gajah Mada is identified in the Pararaton as the instigator of Majapahit’s expansionist policy, which saw the boundaries claimed by the kingdom extend over most of modern Indonesia. He served Tribhuvana’s son Hayam Wuruk for 14 years after the latter assumed the throne in 1350 as King Rajasanagara. The Pararaton blames him for the tragic massacre of the princess of Pajajaran, her father the king, and many of the nobles who accompanied her when she went to east Java to marry Hayam Wuruk in 1357. Supposedly the Pajajaran king assumed she would be given a position of equality, but Gajah Mada is supposed to have insisted she accept a lesser status. The resulting argument is said to have led to a bitter battle on the field of Bubat.

Gajah Mada passed away in 1364. He is mentioned in the Desawarnana of 1365, which lists most of the places in the Pararaton that Gajah Mada swore to conquer as Majapahit’s vassals.

GANDASULI. Site of an inscription in Old Malay in the Kedu Plain, the approximate vicinity of Barabudur. It has been speculated that the use of Old Malay betokens influence from Sumatra, possibly the kingdom of Srivijaya.

GANDAVYUHA. A Sanskrit text that forms part of the Buddhist Avatamsaka (“Flower-Ornament”) Sutra. It contains an account of the pilgrimage of young Sudana, who goes from teacher to teacher searching for guidance along the path to enlightenment. Through Sudana’s determination to attain knowledge, the potential goodness of every human being is illustrated. His journey begins with Manjusri and ends when he meets Samantabhadra, who teaches him the tenfold path to enlightenment. The text is depicted on a series of 460 relief panels on the third level of Barabudur. The illustrations deviate in
various particulars from the text. For example, in the text Sudana is a young boy traveling alone, but in Barabudur he is shown as a young man who is always accompanied by a retinue like a prince. The text may be considered to contain the most important teaching that Barabudur was meant to convey.

GANESA (GANEŚA; GANESHA). Elephant-headed deity of Hinduism. The oldest Ganesa statues in Southeast Asia are found in Cambodia and date from 550–650 but follow Indian styles of the fifth century. Ganesa was worshiped as an īsta déwata (personal deity) in Cambodia in the seventh century, possibly before he attained this role in India. Both traditions may have originated in Mathura, northwest India. The Laws of Mānu says that Śiva should be worshipped by the brahmin caste, whereas Ganesa was the appropriate god for the Sudra. He is one of the most popular gods in India, as he was in Indonesia, where the earliest Ganesa statues were carved in the eighth century.

In India, the oldest Ganesa statues are nude, whereas in Southeast Asia this god is always shown wearing local costumes. Southeast Asian statues depict him seated with the soles of his feet together, a posture that is almost nonexistent in India. Ganesa acquired tantric traits such as skull motifs and snake bands in Southeast Asia long before these attributes appear on images in India.

A Ganesa statue found in Palembang, south Sumatra, is usually interpreted as indicating the presence of Hinduism there in a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism, but this is not necessarily true. Ganesa was also worshipped in esoteric Buddhism, for example, in Nalanda. Some Tibetan manuscripts mention Ganesa as a Tantrayana deity. Many of the works on Ganesa in Tibet were written or translated by Atisa (Dipangkarasrijnana), who was born in India in the late 10th century and then went to study with Dharmakirti in Suvarnadvipa (south Sumatra). One of the manuscripts he took from Palembang to Tibet was the Mahaganapati Tantra, which is believed to record the words of Buddha. In Tibet, one of the manuscripts he translated was written by his Sumatran guru and entitled Krodah Ganapati Sadhana. Both these titles refer to Ganesa.

Another work that may have been influential among the Buddhist communities of Indonesia, Ganapati Stotra, was written by
Amoghavajra in the eighth century. He had lived in Java before moving to China. The *Ganapati Stotra* describes Ganapati as “the king of the gods,” “ruler of the four quarters,” and an emanation of Avalokitesvara, who resides in the Tushita Heaven of the 33 gods. The conclusion of the manuscript reports that Pandita Amoghavajra, who had attained Yamantaka, began to worship Ganapati after seeing him in a graveyard.

Ganesa was known in China and Japan. At Gongxian, China, is a Ganesa dated 531. In China, Ganesa was usually known as Vinayaka, who could provide wealth or become an obstacle. Ganesa was also known in Shingon Buddhism in Japan, including a form known as “Twin Ganesa,” which was specifically prohibited in China. The Hozanji temple in Japan resembles Theravada temples in Southeast Asia where an “orthodox” deity named Fuda is found in the main shrine, whereas a small hut contains a statue of Ganesa (Kangi). Supposedly, most of the wealth of this temple is obtained from those who come to ask Kangi for favors.

Ganesa statues are the most common of any Hindu deity in Indonesia. He was extremely popular in Java, where more than 168 statues of him have been recorded. According to a study by Dutch archaeologist N. J. Krom, Ganesa statues outnumbered Durga by a ratio of 5 to 1 and Agastya by 12 to 1. He was usually associated with Siva and conventionally occupied a niche or room opposite the entrance to a Siva temple. Ganesa also had shrines of his own, where he was worshipped as the remover of obstacles. Military leaders frequently associated themselves with him.

Various stories account for his unique form. In one, Siva’s wife Parvati created a man out of dirt scrubbed from her skin while preparing to bathe. She then ordered him to guard the entrance to her bathing place. Siva returned and tried to enter, but the man prevented him from doing so, whereupon Siva struck off his head. The annoyed Parvati then refused to sleep with Siva until he revived the body, so Siva took the head of the first creature he met, which happened to be an unfortunate elephant. Thus the figure has human hands, and often human feet, although sometimes he is anomalously depicted with elephants’ feet.

According to other sources, including the *Mahabharata*, Ganesa’s head is that of Airavata, the mount of Indra. In the
Smaradhana story, Parvati while pregnant was startled by gods, including Airavata.

One of Ganesa's main traits is his broken tusk. According to the Smaradhana, it was broken by an enemy's weapon. Another text says that he broke it himself in order to obtain an instrument with which to write. In Java, only 24 percent of the statues have one broken tusk.

Several large Ganesas have been found in open sites with no remains of any temples; they may have served as guardians at important or dangerous places such as river crossings. In Java, Ganesa was very often mentioned in invocations as Ganapati. The name Ganapati is the name for Siva in the Siwaratrikalpa and is associated with Rudra, a possible predecessor of Siva, in older Indian sources. Ganesa appears in curses (sapatha) under the name Winayaka in three inscriptions (Wuatan Tija [880] and Sugih Manik and Gilikan I [undated]). An undated inscription found at Ratubaka contains a reference to Winayak as a stone statue that can bring about good and avoid evil. Winayaka were originally hostile spirits that had the potential to interfere with human activities. In the Mahabharata, the term in one place designates a group, but in another place a single figure, as Ganeswara. Offerings to him may bring safety and good fortune.

Important inscriptions referring to Ganesa include Senapati Rakandi, which has two parts: an Old Javanese beginning, and a conclusion in Tamil. The pillar on which the inscription is carved has a Ganesa image on top. Three inscriptions invoking Ganapati were set up by Sindok in 929–930.

Yet another name for this deity is Sadwinayaka, found in inscriptions of 928, 929, 930, and 1021 and two undated inscriptions. The similar name Sadwinaya is found in Majapahit-period inscriptions dated 1294 and 1323, in copies of two earlier inscriptions, and in Bali at Gunung Kawi.

Depictions of Ganesa in Javanese court texts differ from those found in popular literature. In court literature such as the Smaradhana, Ganesa is depicted as a fierce, destructive being with an elephant's head. In popular sources, his elephant head and his martial qualities are not described; instead, Ganesa is depicted as a god in ancient literature who can respond to human prayers for assistance. Ganesa is also connected with Javanese exorcism rituals (ruatan) be-
cause of the belief that he once exorcised Uma when she was transformed into Durga. See also MAHAPEINNE.


**GARUDA.** A mythological bird, a lesser Hindu god and the mount of Vishnu. He is usually portrayed as part-human, with wings, mighty talons, and an eagle’s beak. Garuda first appears in the Vedas as a being named Shyena, who brought nectar to Earth from heaven, according to the Garudopanisada and the Garuda purana. In the Buddhist Mahasamyatta Sutta, Buddha had to intervene to stop the wars between garudas and nagas (serpents), who were traditional enemies. In Hindu myths, Garuda became Vishnu’s mount to repay the latter for feeding him with his flesh. Another story, the Garudeya, describes his journey to Indra’s heaven to steal the amerta or elixir of immortality, which he uses to ransom his mother who had become a captive of Kadru, her archrival.

In addition to a specific character, the name can also apply to a whole class of supernatural beings. One of these, Jatayu, tried to rescue Sita from Rawana in the Ramayana.

**GARUDEYA.** A story found in section 6 of the Adiparva, first book of the Mahabharata. According to the Garudeya, Kasyapa had 29 wives. One, Kadru, gave birth to the nagas. Another, Vinata, gave birth to Garuda. The two wives quarreled over the real color of Ucchaisrawa, a horse that appeared with the amerta when the ocean was churned by the gods and demons, and they made a bet, the loser to become the other’s slave. However, Kadru cheated: she got the nagas to bite the horse, changing his color to black with their poison. Later Vinata gave birth to Garuda, whose father was a brahmin. The nagas offered to free Vinata if Garuda could bring them the elixir by stealing it from the gods under Batara Indra. Garuda went to Indra’s heaven, where the elixir was kept, and succeeded in defeating all the defenses set up to stop him, including a wall of fire, a wheel with
knives on its spokes, and two nagas. In return for the elixir, Garuda agreed to become Vishnu’s vehicle. He then took the elixir to the nagas, obtaining his mother’s freedom. Then, when the nagas left the elixir unguarded for a moment while undergoing purification through prayer and bathing, Indra took advantage of the opportunity to re-claim it. This myth was depicted in schematic form in east Javanese reliefs on Candi Kidal and Candi Kedaton.

GAYATRI. A female goddess who, according to a Hindu legend, was created by Brahma when he was creating the universe. Smitten with her beauty, he grew five heads to be able to watch her constantly.

The wife of King Kertarajasa of the 14th-century Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, grandmother of King Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk), was named after this goddess. A brick candi built in her honor stands in Boyolangu, Tulungagung district, where two phases of construction are dated by inscriptions to 1369 and 1389. The structure is in ruins, but a large statue of the Buddhist deity Prajnaparamita remains in situ. Gayatri was the assassinated King Kertanagara’s youngest daughter and the youngest and most beautiful of King Kertarajasa’s four wives. She gave birth to Tribhuwanatunggadewi, later queen of Majapahit. Gayatri may have died in 1350, outliving her husband by many years.

The Desawarnana, canto 69, says,

The honored Illustrious Rajapatni is placed in a religious domain in Bhayalangu. The honored holy Jnanawidhi was sent once more to perform worship, the ground purification ceremony and the pratistha establishing ceremony. It is called Wisesapura [Paramountcy Compound].

GENRES. See LITERATURE.

GHATOTKACASRAYA. A Javanese kakawin in manggala form addressed to the god of beauty and to Jayakerta, an incarnation of Vishnu who is bringing prosperity to the world assisted by his guru. The poem tells the story of Arjuna’s son Abhimanyu, who was left with his mother and Krishna in Dvaravati when the Pandawas went into exile. Krishna had a daughter whom he wished to marry Abhimanyu. The court went on a trip to the country to imitate the way of life of the religious hermits. During the trip, Abhimanyu and the girl
fell in love, and various intrigues and battles ensued. Abhimanyu was helped by Gatotkaca, the son of Bhima, thus his own cousin.

**GIRINDRAWARDHANA.** Last family of nobles to rule the east Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. Their rule began in 1486. They remained a bastion of Javanese traditional religion, but their power was gradually eroded by the growing power of the Muslim ports along Java’s north coast. Their power and their kingdom disappeared around 1526. See also ISLAM.

**GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE.** The title given to an English translation by Gordon H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin of less than one-third of a longer Burmese chronicle, the *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi*. This translation gives the history of Burmese kings and their kingdoms from the establishment of Tagaung until the reign of Narathihapate (Tarukpye), representing the period when Bagan came under attack from the Mongols (in Burmese, the attacker is identified as China). The translation derives its title from a building mainly made of glass in which the original manuscript was compiled in the fourth Ratanapura capital (Mandalay) in 1829, during the reign of King Bagyidaw of the Konbaung dynasty. The Burma Research Society published the first edition of this translation in 1923; a reprint followed in 1960.

**GRAHI.** The name Jia-luo-xi, which appears in the Zhufanzhi of 1225 as a vassal of Sanfoqi, probably is a Chinese transcription of Grahi, which in turn was probably an alternate name for Chaiya. An important bronze Buddha image in a style typical of Sukothai art was found in Wat Wiang, Chaiya, a settlement on the east coast in the isthmian region of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula. The image consists of three pieces: a pedestal, the Buddha, and a seven-headed naga (Muchilinda) that shelters the Buddha. The Buddha image is in earth-touching mudra rather than the meditation mudra normally associated with this scene.

The base of the image bears an inscription in Old Khmer, in a script more closely related to Sumatran than to Khmer writing. The text of the inscription says that the statue was made at the command of Kamraten An Maharaja srimat Trailokyarajamahusana-warmadewa. Mahasenapati Talanai, ruler of Grahi, commissioned an
artist named Mraten sri Nano to make the statue. The inscription bears a date that is clearly impossible: 11,004 (Saka era), which would correspond to 11,082 CE. The true date has been suggested as 1291, 1303, 1315, or 1327, based partly on the statue’s resemblance to other statuary of that period. The inscription also gives the date of the statue’s casting as the Year of the Hare, indicating the use of the Chinese animal zodiac, a practice that seems to have been adopted in Southeast Asia only in the late 13th century.

The king’s long name begins with a Khmer title, but the rest of it is similar to names of kings of Malayu found in inscriptions in Rambahan, Sumatra, in the late 13th and mid-14th centuries. Mahasena-pati literally means “great general.” Two people named Talanai appear in the Malay Annals, one a king of the island of Bintan, the other an ambassador sent from Melaka to Siam in the 15th century. Legends of Jambi mention a King Sutan Talanai. This information suggests a Malay origin for the ruler who commissioned the statue. The use of Khmer as the language of the inscription at this late date when Angkor’s influence seems to have waned considerably from its peak is difficult to account for. The multiplicity of religious, artistic, and political factors implied by the inscription and the statue’s style are typical of the isthmian region.

GRESIK. A 15th-century port 15 kilometers (9.5 miles) south of the mouth of the Solo River, east Java. The Ming dynasty author Ma Guan records its name as Ku-erh-hsi and says: “Anciently it was a mud flat. Chinese visited it and settled down there in numbers. . . . It counts over a thousand families and its chief is [or its chiefs are] from Kuang-tung.” Gresik was both an early settlement of overseas Chinese and an important early Muslim economic mercantile center.

GU. A Sanskrit word meaning “cave.” In Burmese architectural terminology, it refers to Buddhist temples with inner chambers, as opposed to stupas or solid structures. See also BAGAN (PAGAN; PUGAM).

GUA PASIR. An artificial cave at Sumber Gempol, Tulungagung district, east Java. The site probably dates to the 14th century. The cave walls are adorned with reliefs depicting scenes from the Arjunawaha, some of which are unfinished.
GUILDS. There is no evidence that Southeast Asians formed unions or associations of craftsmen or traders in precolonial times. Such organizations existed in South Asia more than 2,000 years ago, however. In pre-Mauryan times, if the Indian text Arthasastra is an accurate guide, functionaries of Indian kingdoms practically monopolized the internal economy. Merchants engaged in trade only between territories separated by inhabited frontiers. Merchant guilds, known as vanīg-grama in the north and manī-gramam in the south, appeared in the third century BCE. Led by rich families, they attained the dominant position over śrenī, workers’ guilds. These merchant guilds consisted of traders involved in commerce with particular trading centers in other kingdoms. They were given charters by the kings, which gave them diplomatic rights to conduct negotiations with foreign countries, often for the purpose of obtaining rights to trade or favorable taxation rates. They also sometimes had their own armed forces. They were thus similar to the European organizations ironically termed “India companies” formed in the 16th century.

A famous example of the activities of one of these guilds is an inscription found at Barus, northwest Sumatra. The inscription in Old Tamil is dated February or March 1088. The guild’s members were referred to as sons of the deity Parameswari. The inscription contains the information that the ship’s captain, along with “oarsmen” or ferrymen had to pay a fee in gold, “according to” the value of musk. After having paid, they were allowed to sit on a cloth, perhaps as a figurative way of saying they could enter the town. This guild was centered mainly in Karnataka, of the Calukyas, though by the end of the 12th century it incorporated several ethnic groups in the Chola kingdom, Tamil Nadu.

GUNUNG BUDAK. An inscription in East Java dated 1294, proclaiming that a king had made a village an autonomous area because the people there gave sanctuary to him while he was still a prince and fleeing his enemies. The inscription is unusual in the epigraphical genre of Indonesia because it provides narrative details of the prince and his battles. See also MAJAPAHIT.

GUNUNG KIDUL. An inscription dated 890 that contains an unusual narrative from central Java. The text says that a princess was kid-
napped by her younger brother, then abandoned; she committed suicide by throwing herself into a fire. Another prince fled toward the sea, was protected by a village and then brought back safely to the king, who gave them gold and conferred on them the coveted status of a *sima*.

**HAI DUONG.** Archaeological research at sites around Chu Dao, Ngoi, Hop Le, and My Xa in the heart of the Red River delta, north Vietnam, show that this region was a major center of ceramic production in the 15th and 16th centuries. The region produced high-fired wares for export, many of which probably were sent to Indonesia and the Philippines. The trade route first ran through Van Don, Halong Bay, but in the late 15th century shifted to the river port of Pho Hien. This location was closer to the Hai Duong kilns and also was easier to tax. During the 15th century, Vietnamese exports filled much of the vacuum created when the *Ming* emperors enforced a strict policy against foreign trade. This ban was not completely lifted until the mid-16th century. Thereafter China reclaimed much of the market for ceramic exports to Southeast Asia.

**HALIN (HANLIN).** A Pyu-period site 50 kilometers (30 miles) north of Mandalay (see map 2). Halin is the only one of the four major urban sites of ancient Burma that has yielded evidence of substantial preurban occupation. The walled complex was apparently built next to rather than above the older site; prehistoric artifacts are concentrated south of the wall, adjacent to fields where salt was extracted in colonial and more recent periods. Broad earthenware bowls found at the site were perhaps used to evaporate brine before metal troughs were available. Unlike the other early urban sites of Burma, Halin possesses few architectural remains, except for bases of what appear to have been square or rectangular structures, a rectangular brick wall with rounded corners like at Beikthano and Sriksetra, and a moat. The wall originally had 12 gateways, but only three have so far been excavated.
Radiocarbon dates from wooden pillars, perhaps remains of an assembly hall, give ages in the sixth century CE. A signet stone found here is inscribed with a name identical to one at Oc Eo. A Pyu inscription in Halin containing information about a funeral has been dated paleographically to the fourth century or earlier. Other Pyu inscriptions found here include one in script of the eighth or ninth century. Another inscription dated 1082/83 refers to a king “Sithu,” probably a reference to a ruler of Bagan, set up by a local governor. This is earlier than any known inscriptions from Bagan. The last inscriptions at the site date from the 13th century. Thus the site was inhabited for perhaps 1,500 years.

Archaeological excavations were first conducted at Halin by Taw Sein Ko in 1905. More research by Nyint Aung in 1962–1967 and 1996 and by the Directorate of Archaeology office in Mandalay in 1998 have yielded hoards of small artifacts, including burial urns, beads, pottery sherds, coins, metal implements, and a few inscribed stone slabs. The funerary urns were found both beneath and outside rectangular structures inside the wall. The urns contained the remains of both cremations and secondary burials.

One of the metal implements found appears to have been a caltrop consisting of four sharp connected spikes used to impede the progress of enemy cavalry and foot soldiers. Bronze hand-mirrors and numerous small gold, silver, and bronze ornaments indicate the presence of high-status people. Coins found at Halin are similar in form to examples uncovered at Sriksetra, but have different designs. Halin coins are decorated with either the rising sun or the conch within a door-like śrīvatsa symbol, whereas the throne motif is typical of coins from Sriksetra.

The Mu canal was built in the Bagan period, but there is no evidence of a precolonial irrigation system. The site’s main source of income may have derived from its access to the salt wells.

HANTHAWATI (HANGSAVATI). “The city of Hangsa,” the goose, mount of the Hindu god Brahma. Burmese and Mon chronicles and other sources describe two Hanthawati kingdoms. The first was supposedly established by the Mon in Bago in the ninth century, while the second Hanthawati kingdom began with the establishment
of Toungoo in Bago. The latter is often referred to as Toungoo-Hanthawati to differentiate it from the older kingdom.

HARIHARA. See HARIHARALAYA.

HARIHARALAYA. Modern Roluos, a site located 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southeast of Angkor (see map 5). The name refers to the god who is half Siva (Hari) and half Vishnu (Hara). Indravarman II constructed a huge reservoir here, the Indratataka, measuring 3,800 by 800 meters (2.3 by 0.5 miles), approximately 100 times larger than any previous such construction in Cambodia. Other important structures here include Bakong and Lolei. The next ruler, Yasovarman I, moved the capital to the site now known as Angkor.

HARIPUNJAYA. A Mon kingdom in Lamphun, the area of north Thailand that includes Chiangmai. Chronicles state that the kingdom was founded in 661 by monks from Lopburi. Most historians, however, believe that the kingdom was not founded until the early ninth century. A Pali chronicle, the Jinakalamalipakaranam, completed in 1516, describes a war, perhaps based on events that took place during the 11th century, in which a Haripunjaya king named Atrasataka attacked Lavo (Lopburi) but was driven off by another attack led by Sujita, king of Ligor. In the 12th century, King Adityaraja fought off a Khmer invasion. This text also refers to the founding of Haripunjaya by Vasudeva, an ascetic monk, and the arrival of a pregnant Queen Camadevivangsa from Lavo to Haripunjaya. She was to become the monarch who would give birth to a long line of Haripunjaya kings. This story is to a large part supported by another chronicle, the Camadevivangsa.

In 1200 the kingdom was still governed by a Mon elite. A king named Sabbadhisiddhi left inscriptions in Mon with some Pali elements at Lamphun, the site of the kingdom’s capital. These inscriptions date from 1213–1219 and record donations to Buddhist sanctuaries, one known as Wat Kukut. A Tai leader from Chiangrai defeated the Mons around 1287 and founded a new capital nearby at Chiangmai.

Archaeological remains at Lamphun include those of Wat Kukut, a five-storied sanctuary or ratanaceti. The architecture of the sanctuary
resembles the Sat Mahal Prasada of Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka, a 12th-or 13th-century structure.

**HARITI.** An ogress who was converted to Buddhism and changed from a devourer of children to a guardian devoted to children. Her story is one of the classic examples of the power of Buddha’s word to convert even the most fearsome demon to the path of goodness. She was depicted on Candi Mendut, near Barabudur, Central Java, and was also popular as a subject for sculpture in early Bali. Images of Hariti have been found in Kedah, Malaysia, and on Mount Arjuna, one of the volcanoes in the mountain complex south of Trowulan; J. Fontein dates the latter statue to the 13th century. Two terra-cotta images excavated in Kepiting, Temon, near Trowulan, and now kept in the Trowulan Museum have also been identified as statues of Hariti. These have been dated to the Majapahit period and may indicate that the cult of this deity was also practiced then. It is possible, however, that the terra-cottas portray normal women. A similar, but more complete, terra-cotta in a private collection portrays a woman with children and full breasts supporting a bowl on her head, thus forming a stand that could have been used to support offerings.

**HARIVARMAN.** Harivarman I was a ruler of Panduranga who ascended the throne around 802 and fought successfully for a time against the Chinese-ruled area of north Vietnam. He reigned until at least 817, but the details of the latter part of his reign are unknown.

Harivarman II was the ruler of Vijaya in 988, who moved his capital to Indrapura around 990. He set up a lingga named Isanabhadresvara at Mi Son in 991; sent a mission to China in 992; and freed 360 Cham prisoners held at Tongkin. Hostilities marked the rest of his reign, which lasted until 999. The first part of his successor’s name is Yang Pu Ku Vijaya Sri; the rest of it is unknown.

Harivarman III ascended the throne in Vijaya between 1005 and 1010 and ruled until about 1018. He was succeeded by Paramesvaravarman II.

Harivarman IV took the throne of Champa in 1074. His reign began auspiciously, with a successful defense of his territory against a Vietnamese attack and a raid in Cambodia that brought back numerous captives who were put to work to serve Cham temples in Mi Son.
He also rebuilt decaying structures in Champapura and Singapura in Quang Nam. He died in 1080 and was succeeded by his young son Jaya Indravarman II.

Harivarman V took the throne in 1113 as the successor of his uncle Jaya Indravarman II. He made donations to Mi Son and sent tribute to Dai Viet. He was succeeded by a prince of uncertain ancestry, Jaya Indravarman III, in 1139.

HARIWANGSA (HARIWANGŚA; HARIWANGSHA). A Javanese kakawin written in manggala form by Mpu Panuluh, who also collaborated with Mpu Sedah on the Bharatayuddha in the kingdom of Kediri in 1157. The Hariwangsa is addressed to Vishnu and King Jayabhaya. In this version of the tale, Vishnu has incarnated himself as Krishna to kill demons whom only a human can destroy. In his residence, Dvaravati, he finds that his divine wife Sri has been incarnated as Rukmini. Krishna sends Rukmini a letter, which she reads in the garden under a full moon. They elope, and the poet describes their lovemaking, first in the mountains, then on the seashore. The poem includes passages about love and the beauty of nature that are typical of Old Javanese poetry. Krishna has to fight another suitor, whose allies include the Pandawas (Arjuna and his four brothers). Three Pandawas including Bhima are killed, but eventually Vishnu restores them to life with amerta.

HARSA V ARMAN (HARS´A V ARMAN). Harsavarman I was the successor of Yasovarman as ruler of Angkor around 900 and built Baksei Chamkrong temple there. He died approximately 922 and was given the posthumous name Rudraloka.

Harsavarman II was the son of Jayavarman IV. He ruled at Koh Ker from 941 to about 943 or 944, died when he was still young, and was given the posthumous name Brahmaloka. He was succeeded by his cousin Rajendravarman.

Harsavarman III ascended the throne of Angkor in 1066. According to inscriptions from Mi Son, the Cham defeated him in a battle at Somesvara and devastated Sambhupura (Sambor), taking captives to serve in sanctuaries of Sri Isanabhadresvara in Mi Son. Harsavarman died in 1080 and received the posthumous name Sadasivapada. It seems that upon his death, a power struggle broke out. A ruler named Nri-
patindravarman may have ruled at Angkor until around 1113, whereas another ruler named Jayavarman VI is also mentioned in one unfinished inscription at Angkor, and in later inscriptions. No kinship relationships among any of these individuals can be ascertained.

HARU. See ARU.

HAYAM WURUK. Ruler of Majapahit whose official royal name was Rajasanagara. He was born in Kahuripan in 1334 and ascended the throne in 1350. Hayam Wuruk retained the able services of the prime minister Gajah Mada, who had served his mother during her long regency. Majapahit was able to stake a respectable claim to overlordship of most of the Indonesian archipelago during his reign. Javanese artists of his time left great works of literature, sculpture, and architecture. The Desawarnana, written in 1365 by the court poet Prapanca, gives a glowing and by all accounts accurate description of the kingdom at the height of its glory. Hayam Wuruk sent many missions to the new Ming dynasty, which records him under the transcription “Batana Banawu,” Javanese for the title of the king, Bhatara Prabhu. His uncle Vijayarajasa, otherwise known as Bhre Wengker, issued his own inscriptions in Bali from 1384 to 1386, suggesting that he exercised a great deal of autonomy there. Hayam Wuruk died in 1389 and was succeeded by his nephew/son-in-law Wikramawardhana.

HELING (HOLING). Chinese name for a kingdom that sent embassies to the Tang court beginning in 640. The most likely hypothesis is that Heling was located in central Java. The transcription may correspond to the Javanese word/place-name Walaing. Chinese sources describe the kingdom as Buddhist; a famous Javanese monk, Jnanabhadra, invited a Chinese pilgrim, Huining, who went there in 664–665 to translate Theravada Sanskrit texts into Chinese. He was assisted by a Vietnamese monk, Van Ki, who eventually moved to Srivijaya. Another Vietnamese monk, Khuy Sung, accompanied a Chinese monk, Ming Yuan, to Java on his way to Sri Lanka and India, as did numerous others.

The earliest archaeological evidence of inscriptions and temples in central Java dates from the late seventh century. Heling sent its last
known embassy in 818; thereafter beginning in 820 Javanese embassies are recorded under the name Shepo, which in the eighth century had been used as the name of Heling’s capital, abandoned between 742 and 755. The changes in names of the Javanese tributary kingdoms cannot be interpreted with certainty, but they probably be token shifting fortunes among a number of competing elites and capitals. The Sailendra and Sanjaya families may have been jockeying for position during this era.

HELODAN (HO-LO-TAN). Chinese name of a kingdom on the island of Shepo (probably Java), which sent ambassadors to China between 430 and 452. One embassy in 434 was sent by a king whose name or title, transcribed in Chinese as Shih-li-pi-chuo-ye, may have been Srivijaya.

HEVAJRA. A deity of esoteric Buddhism who was popular in Sumatra and Cambodia. The name may have been derived from the phrase he vajra, an invocation formula. Buddhism of the tantra (“manual”) form underwent four phases of development; Hevajra belongs to the third phase. The Hevajra Tantra text was compiled in Bengal, a focal point of esoteric Buddhism, during the Pala dynasty in the late eighth or early ninth century. He is supposed to have 8 faces, 4 legs, and 16 arms. In most statuary he has only one head and two arms and is usually shown in a distinctive dancing posture with the left leg bent at a sharp angle of about 120 degrees and the right leg bent even more sharply, so that the sole of the right foot touches the inside of the thigh and is held horizontally. According to the Hevajra Tantra, he is dancing on the demon Mara. A beautiful Hevajra statue has been found in Padang Lawas, north Sumatra, a complex of esoteric temples dating from the 11th to 13th centuries. The statue is badly shattered, but poses in the distinctive dance posture and holds a magical staff in one hand.

In Cambodia, Hevajra was popular beginning in the 10th century. His cult reached its high point under Jayavarman VII. A mandala containing Hevajra and eight dancing yoginis is found in the National Museum, Phnom Penh. Several Hevajra images have been found in the Phimai region of Thailand, including a relief of Hevajra and his yoginis on Prasat Phimai itself.
HINDUISM. A general term invented by outsiders to encompass an enormous range of religious beliefs found in India. The earliest evidence for the adoption of aspects of this religion in Southeast Asia appears in the form of inscriptions dating from the fourth or fifth century. Vishnu and Siva were the two most popular deities. Various sects such as the Shaivite Pashupatas and the Vishnuite Pancharatras spread from India to Southeast Asia. In the early phase a deity, Harihara, who combined aspects of both Vishnu and Siva was also popular. Siva was often worshipped in the form of a lingga, Vishnu in the form of a human, although a few statues of his other incarnations, particularly in his form as a lion, have been found.

Hinduism is associated with the caste system or varnasrama-dharma, the doctrine that people have to live in accordance with rules set down for one’s caste or tribe and with one’s age group. Southeast Asians were apparently attracted to some particular aspects of this system such as bhakti and particular forms of dharma, more characteristic of Buddhism than of Hinduism, such as the idea that subjects have natural duties to their king, but also that kings have duties toward their subjects. Southeast Asians seem to have given Sanskrit terms to their own traditional ideas. Many other fundamental elements of the caste system such as hereditary occupational groups were never adopted, however. For these reasons, many scholars are uncomfortable with terms such as “Hindu-Buddhist culture” to refer to Southeast Asia. For instance, Southeast Asian inscriptions sometimes refer to court brahmins or purohitas, “royal preceptors” or religious teachers and advisers, in Thailand and Cambodia, but the French scholar Jean Filliozat has shown that although they introduced some south Indian traditions to those countries, they were not members of the brahmana caste. Even in Tamil regions of south India, religious figures known as gurukkal were sometimes regarded as brahmins there, but in fact were not members of the brahmana caste. See also DURGA; GANESA (GANEŚA; GANESHA).

HMANNAN YAZAWINDAWGYI. King Bagyidaw of Burma (R. 1819–1837) commissioned the composition of this chronicle in 1829 following the conclusion of the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1826. According to the work’s introduction, the king gathered scholars, monks, and educated officials and entrusted them with the task of
compiling a history based on irrefutable evidence gathered from inscriptions, official documents, and other sources in order to arrive at an authoritative work on Burmese history.

The chronicle is divided into three volumes. The first deals with the period from the beginning of time through the inauguration of the first king, Mahathama, the founding of Buddhism in India, and the spread of that religion through Sri Lanka and Burma and ends with the reign of King Rajadhiraj of Hanthawati. The next volume begins with the reigns of the Inwa kings and then focuses on the reigns and exploits of the Toungoo-Hanthawati kings such as Tabinshwehti and Bawa Mintaragyi (Bayinnaung), ending with Toungoo’s war with Ayutthaya. The last volume continues with Mintaragyi’s reign, describing the numerous wars between Hanthawati, Ayutthaya and Inwa, and ends with the reign of King Loka Tharaphudaya of Inwa. See also GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE.

HMAWZA. See SRIKSETRA.

HOIAN SHIPWRECK. See CHU LAO CHAM.

HPETLEIK. East and West Hpetleik, twin pagodas at Thiripyitsaya south of Bagan, date from the reign of Anawrahta. When excavated in the early 20th century, two tiers of unglazed terra-cotta plaques depicting scenes from the Jatakas were found. The West Petleik is better preserved. It consists of a tall cylindrical bell with two decorative bands, with four niches for Buddha images facing the cardinal points. Originally the monument also had a vaulted corridor around the base, and an entrance chamber facing east.

HSING-CH’A SHENG-LAN. See MING DYNASTY.

HTILOMINLO. (“Favored by the Umbrella, Favored by the King.”) A 13th-century temple built in Bagan during the reign of King Nadaungmya (1211–c. 1230). According to Burmese chronicles, Nadaungmya’s father, Sithu II, determined to test his five sons to decide which should become the next king. He gathered the brothers together, set up a white umbrella—the symbol of kingship—in their midst, and called upon the umbrella to bend toward the son who
should become king. The white umbrella miraculously bent toward Nadaungmya, the youngest son, giving him the throne. The king built the Htilominlo at the place where the white umbrella stood.

The temple is modeled after the Sulamani constructed by his father. It is a two-story structure facing east. Four Buddha images stand on each level of the structure. The top part of the main shrine is terraced decorated with green-glazed terra-cotta plaques. Most of the murals within the temple have deteriorated beyond recognition. A number of horoscopes, supposedly of some important historical personages, still remain on the high parts of the walls within the main shrine.

HUJUNG TANAH. See UJUNG TANAH.

IABADIOU. See JAVA.

IBN BATTUTA. A Moroccan scholar who visited many countries in Southeast Asia in the 14th century. Born in 1304, he was appointed ambassador to China by Sultan Muhammad of India in 1342. His journey began around 1345. He sailed through the Strait of Melaka and called at numerous ports, the names of which are sometimes difficult to identify with places known in other sources. Some of them were Qaqula, probably Kedah; Samudera; and Champa. The narrative of his travels was written by Ibn Juzayy after Ibn Battuta returned to Morocco in 1353. The reliability of his accounts of some places is suspect, suggesting that he may not have actually visited all the places he claimed to have seen.

INDIANIZATION. The notion that Southeast Asian culture was fundamentally altered by influence from India beginning approximately 2,000 years ago, and that Indian ideas of royalty, Hindu and Buddhist religion, and Sanskrit language, mythology, and literature—in short Indian civilization—was transplanted to Southeast Asia. Various theories were proposed to account for this cultural transmission. The major variants involved direct conquest by Indian princes,
younger sons of Indian kings who had no kingdoms of their own; acculturation by brahmins or priests, who were particularly sought by Southeast Asian rulers who saw in them the means to increase their power or to gain an advantage in contests with other local contenders; and influence by merchants who came to Southeast Asia to trade.

A major source of disagreement among those who espoused this paradigm concerned the degree to which Indian culture penetrated below the nobility to the commoners, that is, the extent to which Southeast Asian society as a whole was Indianized as opposed just to the courts. Unfortunately no early texts giving factual descriptions of Southeast Asia have been found in India. The first references to Southeast Asia in Indian sources are in such literary works as the Ramayana. It has been argued that much Indian influence reached Southeast Asia in the medium of written texts—the sastra, including texts on laws (dharmaśastra), politics (arthasastra), and so forth. This would partly explain the relative importance of Sanskrit influence on Southeast Asian languages compared with such spoken languages as Tamil.

The oldest example of Southeast Asian writing appears in the Votcanh stele. Earlier evidence of contact with India appears in the form of glass and stone beads found in Myanmar and Thailand, which may date from the late centuries BCE. It is not possible to discover who brought these items to Southeast Asia, whether Indians or the Southeast Asians themselves. Indian-style works of sculpture and architecture found in Southeast Asia cannot be dated earlier than the fourth or fifth century.

No evidence has been found for large-scale waves of immigration or conquest from India before the 11th century, when the Chola kingdom conquered Srivijaya and established a trading post in Barus, north Sumatra. The term Indianization has lost much favor since it is associated with the idea that Indians colonized Southeast Asia in a manner similar to the European incursions of the 16th and subsequent centuries. Debate still continues over the precise modes and agents by which cultural traits from South Asia were transmitted to Southeast Asia. Recent discussions have tended to give Southeast Asians a more active role in the process and to discern different sequences and agents in different places and times, rather than a single wave or succession of waves all producing the same effects. The adoption of In-
dian cultural forms was more correlated with intensification of pre-existing social and cultural structures on the part of local elites than the creation of new ones.

**INDRA.** The supreme deity and god of war in Vedic religion. He is conventionally described as wielding the **vajra** or thunderbolt. Even though Indra’s popularity dropped as **Vishnu** and **Siva** became the supreme gods of **Hinduism**, he remained an important deity featured in many stories and epics. Indra was credited with bringing water to the Earth and was occasionally a god of fertility. In Southeast Asian art, Indra is depicted as riding his mount, the three-headed elephant Airavata, and holding the thunderbolt, sometimes with a bow, a net, and elephant goad. Indra on Airavata is a popular motif on the lintels and pediments of many Khmer temples.

On **Barabudur**, a Buddhist monument of the late eighth and early ninth century in central **Java**, Indra often appears, but rarely in the guise of a human wielding his vajra. Instead, he is often depicted as a deity who invents trials to test the resolve and goodness of the future Buddha, Siddharta Gautama. His weapon, the vajra, in the form of a five-pronged spear, became a fundamental attribute of priests of esoteric Buddhism, often in combination with the **ghanta** or bell. One of the main **mandalas** of esoteric Buddhism is called the **Vajradhatu**, “Diamond World” (vajra can mean both lightning bolt and diamond).

In the Buddhist **chronicles** of **Burma** and **Thailand**, Indra is called **Sakka** (in **Sanskrit**, Sakra), a divinity who often appeared when Buddha was about to make a prophecy. At kings’ coronations, Sakka himself was deemed to consecrate the king. He was depicted as always prepared to aid righteous individuals their his endeavors. Burmese kings associated themselves closely with Sakka. They wielded “Sakka’s weapon,” the **ariendama** lance. **Kyanzittha** named his palace Weyayaanta, after Sakka’s palace, and his elephant Erawan, after Indra’s Airavata. Narapatisithu enshrined relics in Culamani temple, named after the one in which Sakka put Buddha’s hair. In the abhiṣekā or consecration ceremony, kings were symbolically incarnated as Indra. King **Sawlu** (c. 1077–1084), **Anawrahta**’s successor, bore the title Bajrabharanadewa, “Vajra-bearer-deity” (i.e., Indra).

Costumes of 19th-century **Thai** and **Cambodian** kings still portrayed them as Indra. In both **Mahayana** and **Theravada** Buddhism,
it was accepted that Buddha did not challenge the existence of gods, only their relevance to the seeker of enlightenment. Mahayana symbols were never completely absent from Theravada religion.

**INDRAPURA.** A capital that appeared in Quang Nam between 860–875. Its first ruler was called Indravarman; he is usually termed Indravarman II to differentiate him from the ruler of Pandurangga who died around 802. The Chinese called the kingdom Zhan-zheng. Indravarman II built a large Mahayana complex near his capital dedicated to Laksmindralokesvara—perhaps Dong Duong, south of Mi Son. Dong Duong was once thought to be a political capital, but only Buddhist sanctuaries have been found here; no traces of a palace or city have come to light. Twenty-two inscriptions here indicate a long period of significant religious activity. Cham kings of this period were identified with Buddha, but this was a temporary interlude in the otherwise Hindu-inflected ideology of Champa.

Paramesvaravarman, the fifth king of Indrapura, who was reigning in 972, left no inscriptions. He was killed in a Vietnamese invasion in 982. Chinese texts suggest that the Cham capital moved to Vijaya (Fo Shi) between 982 and 990. Other sources suggest the old capital of Indrapura was reoccupied around 990, but because the site was too vulnerable to Vietnamese raids, it was abandoned in 1000, when Harivarman II moved to Vijaya.

**INDRATATAKA.** A large baray—a broad, shallow man-made structure built to retain water—the first known example of the use of this technique of water management in Cambodia. It was built by Indravarman I, the successor of Jayavarman III in 877. He ruled from Hariharalaya (modern Roluos).

**INDRAVARMAN.** The first historical figure to bear the name Indravarman in Southeast Asia was a ruler of Pandurangga, Champa, who died around 802.

Indravarman II (R. 875–c. 898) founded Indrapura in modern Quang Nam. His personal name was Lakshmindra Bhumisvara Gramasvamin. He first enters history as a result of the erection of a Mahayana Buddhist monastery dedicated to Laksmin-
dralokesvara, which may have been located at Dong Duong. Indravarman II sent a mission to China in 877. His Buddhist faith is further emphasized by his posthumous name, Paramabuddhaloka. Indravarman said in an inscription that he became king not through his father or grandfather, but because he was “chosen by the king.” Nevertheless he probably came from a royal lineage. He supported both Buddhist and Siva temples. His successor was his nephew Jaya Singhavarman.

Indravarman III was the son of Bhadravarman II of Indrapura. In 918 he erected a statue of Bhagawati made of gold at Po Nagar (Nha Trang). In 950 Indravarman was still reigning when raiders from Angkor, then ruled by Rajendravarman, succeeded in stealing the gold statue. He sent emissaries to the kingdom of Zhou in China in 951, 958, and 959 during the period just prior to the foundation of the Tang dynasty and died around 959. He was succeeded by Jaya Indravarman.

Indravarman IV was the ill-fated short-lived successor of Paramesvaravarman. He escaped the Vietnamese invasion of 985 but died soon thereafter.

Indravarman V began life as Harideva, then became ruler of Champa in 1266. He sent annual missions to Dai Viet, but like other Southeast Asian potenates, he was “invited” to come in person to Beijing to demonstrate the sincerity of his submission to the Mongols who had taken control of China in 1260. Like his peers, he refused. Kublai Khan then sent a military force, which fought numerous battles in Champa from 1283 to 1285. Marco Polo, who passed through the region in 1292, heard that the “old king” had survived by retreating into impregnable positions in the mountains. The Mongols wished to enter Champa through Vietnamese territory, but the Vietnamese were unwilling to compromise their sovereignty by allowing this incursion. The Mongols were forced to retreat, and Indravarman sent a mission to offer peace in 1285. He was succeeded shortly thereafter by his son Jaya Singhavarman III.

Indravarman VI was the last ruler of Champa before it was definitively dismembered by the Vietnamese. His reign ended in 1441, whereupon ensued a period of civil wars and Vietnamese invasions under the Le kings Nhan-tong and Thanh-tong culminating in the final loss of Vijaya in 1471.
The name Indravarman was also used by two kings of Cambodia. Indravarman I was the successor of Jayavarman III in 877. There is no evidence that he was related to his predecessor. He gives his father’s name as King Prithivindravarman, of whom nothing is known. Indravarman ruled from Hariharalaya and constructed a large baray named Indratataka. This is the first example of the use of this technique of water management. In 879 he had an inscription carved to record the construction of Preah Ko, at Roluos, which is dedicated to Jayavarman II and his wife, represented by Siva and Devi, and to his own parents and maternal grandparents (an indication of the importance of maternal descent among the Khmer nobility). In 881 Indravarman commemorated the construction of Bakong, also at Roluos, a pyramidal monument on the top of which was a royal lingga named Indreshwara. This latter name combines his personal name with the word Isvara, denoting Siva. Bakong is the first structure of its type in Cambodia: a large stone stepped pyramid. He died in 889 and was succeeded by his son Yasovarman.

Indravarman II of Cambodia was one of the successors of Jayavarman VII. Sources for the history of Cambodia in the early 13th century are very scarce, so we do not know if he was the first successor or if another king had ruled in the intervening period. The only firm information we have is that Indravarman II died in 1243.

INWA. Also known as Ava. A city built on an island in the Ayeyarwadi River at the confluence of its tributary the Myitnge, upstream from Bagan, which succeeded that place as capital of much of central Burma in 1364 (see map 3). To the south of this island, a canal was dug to connect the two rivers. The site is strategically situated near the main rice-growing area of Kyaukse. Inwa apparently retained much of the same administrative and cosmological structures of Bagan with a few deviations in architecture and art.

Its ascendancy lasted until 1527. During that time many Buddhist monasteries were built on the right bank of the river at Sagaing. Unlike Bagan where the gu predominates, the majority of the monuments in Sagaing are solid stupas. Although a few pūhto or stupas with vaulted bases continued to be built, key elements of Bagan architecture such as keystone arches and barrel vaults appear to be missing.
The Inwa period is best known for its artistic and literary achievements. The greatest Burmese literary works originate from the Inwa period. Literacy was widespread, and monks, court literati, and laypeople all engaged in literary production. According to specialists, the poetic literature of Inwa is extremely difficult to interpret. According to the chronicles, Inwa fell in 1527 when it was attacked by one of its Shan vassals. The majority of the population fled and apparently sought refuge in the southern city of Toungoo.

IRRAWADDY. See AYEYARWADI (IRRAWADDY).

ISANAPURA. An important early city, possibly located at the site now known as Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom Province, northeastern Cambodia. An account taken from the History of the Sui and quoted by Ma Duanlin in the 13th century describes a place called Yi-shê-nâ, which is probably the Chinese transliteration of Isanapura. This source says that the city had a population of more than 20,000 families with a royal audience hall in the center, dwellings, and a palace beside the temples still visible enclosed in a double wall.

ISANATUNGAJAYA. Daughter of Sindok who became queen of Java around 948. She was married to a man named Lokapala, with whom she had a son, Makutawangshawardhana, who later became king. Makutawangshawardhana in turn had a daughter named Mahendradatta.

ISANAVARMAN. Isanavarman II was the son of Chitrasena (Mahendravarman) and seventh-century ruler of a territory that stretched from southeastern Cambodia to northeastern Thailand. He was king by 616/17, when he sent an embassy to China, and was still reigning in 627; we do not know precisely when he died. His capital, Isanapura, was mentioned by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzhang in the mid-seventh century. It is possible, though not certain, that Isanapura is the site now known as Sambor Prei Kuk, near Kompong Thom; many of his inscriptions have been found there. He may also be responsible for the oldest structures erected at Phnom Bayang, Takeo Province, Cambodia.
The Kdei Ang inscription, dated 667, during the transitional period between Funan and Zhenla, suggests a gradual evolution rather than violent revolution. It contains evidence that Isanavarman established hegemony over strategic areas and appointed a son to rule in the west.

Indravarman II was the younger brother of Harsavarman I of Angkor. He took the throne on the death of his sibling around 922, but one of his material uncles set up an alternative capital at Koh Ker (Chok Gargyar), taking the reign name Jayavarman IV. He may have died in 928, but this is not confirmed.

**ISLAM.** Arab geographers began to mention places in Southeast Asia in the eighth century. Their accounts suggest that Islamic traders regularly visited port polities in the region. By 903 an Arab merchant named Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad bin Ishaq had penetrated the Southeast Asian hinterland, residing at the court of the Khmer ruler of Angkor for two years.

Tenth-century Chinese texts record envoys with Arab-sounding names from the Chola empire of Tamil-ruled south India, Zabaj (Srivijaya), and Champa. There is good evidence that Muslim merchants were part of the power structure of some Southeast Asian kingdoms by this period. Some may have been Shiite adherents who fled to Southeast Asia to escape persecution in the west, according to a 14th-century Arab source, Dimashqī, writing of Sanf (Champa). It is possible that the surname “Li” used in Chinese texts of this period for some Southeast Asian officials refers to Alids, who used the surname Ali in honor of the Shiite Ali bin Abī Taʿlib.

A Muslim mausoleum at Leran, East Java, near Surabaya, contains a gravestone dated AH 475 (1082 CE) inscribed “daughter of Maimun.” It has been observed that this stone may have been brought to Java as ballast, or that the person mentioned was not a Southeast Asian, so this artifact is not accepted as evidence of the conversion of a Southeast Asian to Islam. The earliest Muslim tombstone (and simultaneously the oldest known Chinese tomb) generally accepted as a burial marker in Southeast Asia is the grave of a Song dynasty official with the surname Pu (possibly a transcription for Abu) with a date equivalent to 1264 found in Brunei. He may have died there while on a diplomatic mission.
Marco Polo reported that in 1292 the city of Perlak/Ferlec, probably Samudera-Pasai in north Sumatra, was Muslim. Dutch archaeologists during the colonial period discovered the gravestone of Sultan Malik as-Salih dated AH 696 (1297 CE) there. In the late 13th century, two envoys to China from Sū- mù-dā, again probably Samudera, bore Islamic names. These phenomena suggest a new age in the relationship between Islam and Southeast Asia, when rulers of local polities embraced this religion. Samudera may have had significant contact with Mamluk Egypt, because Samudera rulers used the name/title Al-Malik az-Zahir, possibly a reference to the Mamluk sultan who defeated both Crusaders and Mongol forces in Palestine in 1260.

Gravestones found in Aceh, north Sumatra, with epitaphs in Kufic script such as that of Malik as-Salih, probably were imported from Cambay in Gujarat, although some may have been carved locally since they bear some Sumatran motifs. South India also probably was involved in the transmission of Islam to Sumatra. Evidence in favor of this hypothesis includes the use of the title Perumal in both southern India and Pasai, and the importance of the Shāfi'i school of jurisprudence in both areas.

In the late 14th century, the first tombstones generally accepted as marking the graves of indigenous Muslims appear in Java, at the site of Tralaya, part of the capital of Majapahit. These tombstones are shaped like sima stones in Thailand and bear dates in Javanese numerals and Sākā era along with Majapahit royal symbols on one face, inscriptions in Arabic on the other. Another interesting question concerns the role of Chinese Muslims (or perhaps it is better to say Muslims from China) in the dissemination of Islam in Southeast Asia. By the time of the Zheng He voyages of the early 15th century, several ports on the north coast of Java included several thousand Muslim Chinese in their populations. Brunei adopted Islam in the 14th century; the 14th-century gravestone of “Mahārāja Brunī” has been found in Bandar Seri Begawan. This artifact is made of a nonlocal stone (diabase) that probably came from Quanzhou. In Terengganu, a stone inscribed in Malay, written in Arabic script, and dating from the 14th century suggests that Islamic law was being practiced in at least this part of the Malay Peninsula.
In all these places, Islamic elements penetrated local culture gradually, rather than creating a sudden rupture with the past. The title Maharaja continued to be used in the region formerly associated with Srivijaya. The Terengganu inscription referred to God as “Dewata Mulia Raya,” a Sanskrit term, as well as Allah. The law code promulgated in the inscription prescribed different fines for people of different social rank, a practice not in accord with orthodox Islam. Two late 14th-century gravestones at Minye Tujuh in north Sumatra have inscriptions in Arabic and in Old Malay written in a Sumatran kawi script.

By the beginning of the 15th century, at least three kingdoms in north Sumatra were under Muslim rulers (Samudera, Aru, and Lombok). In Java, according to Ma Guan, a Muslim who accompanied Zheng He on some voyages in the early 15th century, the Muslim communities in the island consisted of “people from every foreign kingdom in the West who have flowed to this place as merchants,” and people from Guangdong, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, and other parts of China, who had “fled away and now live in this country,” many of whom were also Muslims. They were mainly located in three ports along the north coast: Tuban, Gresik, and Surabaya, as well as the hinterland court of Majapahit. Ma Guan described the local people scornfully as “very ugly and strange” and “devoted to devil worship”—in other words, non-Muslim. In Melaka, he notes, the rulers and people were all Muslim, although the ruler of Melaka in 1424 was still using the title Sri Maharaja. In 1445, the name of the Melakan ruler was recorded in Chinese texts as Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah, a distinctly non-Islamic title. Only in the 1450s, with a ruler named Sultan Muzaffar Shah, does Islam appear to have become firmly established as the dominant religion. At Pengkalan Kempas, not far from Melaka, kawi script was still in use until the 1460s.

The conversion of large numbers of Southeast Asians to Islam did not take place until the 16th century. Between the 13th and 16th centuries, Islam remained a minority religion, largely confined to ports and courts in the Austronesian-speaking areas of the region. Just as Southeast Asian contact with India predated by several centuries the arrival of such Indic cultural materials as brick and stone architecture, anthropomorphic deities, and writing, so did the conversion of the first Southeast Asians to Islam postdate early contacts with Muslims by hundreds of years.
JABUNG. A brick temple in east Java. A date equivalent to 1354 is carved over the doorway. The shrine was constructed in memory of a Buddhist relative of Majapahit’s king Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk), who visited the temple five years after it was built. The temple has an unusual cylindrical body resting on a high foot. The superstructure has disappeared, but was probably some form of stupa. A decorative panel depicts a dharmacakra (wheel of the law), a Buddhist symbol typical of Theravada Buddhist art of mainland Southeast Asia but uncommon in Indonesia. Other decorative panels display scenes from the Sri Tanjung story. No statuary is known to have been associated with this site.

JAGO (JAAJAGHU). A religious monument in the village of Tumpang, near Malang, east Java. It was built to provide a site where the soul of the deceased ruler of Singasari, Wisnuwardhana (who died in 1268), could be invoked through the medium of a statue of Amoghapasa Lokesvara. The shraddha ceremony consecrating the monument would have been held 12 years later, in 1280. He was also commemorated in the form of a Siva image at Waleri, which no longer exists. The monument was reconstructed in 1343.

The builders of Candi Jago revived the tradition of narrative reliefs, which had not been seen in Java since the construction of Barabudur and Lara Jonggrang in the ninth century. The texts illustrated here consist of an eclectic mixture including the Tantri Kamanakanda, Kunjarakarna, Parthayajna, Arjunawiwa, and Kresnayana, some of which are Hindu rather than Buddhist. The shrine contained images of esoteric Buddhist deities, including Sudhanakumara, Tara, Hayagriva, and Bhrkuti, facing a central image of Amoghapasa that is almost identical to another found in Sumatra and dated 1286. These deities belong to a particular set established in Bengal, underlining the continuation of the connection between the Buddhists of that region with those of Indonesia, which had been important in the ninth century. The depiction of these deities was strongly influenced by the text of the Amoghapasadhana written by a Kashmiri, Sakyasribhadra, after a visit to Bodhgaya. He had a vision of Amoghapasa Lokesvara as a manifestation of Avalokitesvara.
Other statues found at Candi Jago include the Jina Buddhas Ratnasambhawa, Aksobhya, and Amitabha and their consorts Mamaki, Locana, and Pandurawasini. Amoghasiddhi and his consort are missing. The statue of the Mamaki is now in the British Museum. The head is backed by a halo flanked by the devanagari inscription “Bharali-Mamakhi.” Bharali is a word used in Nepalese texts on esoteric Buddhist iconography. Its presence here suggests Pala influence from Bengal. Another important statue found at Jago depicts Manjusri and bears the date 1343, indicating that the temple was revived as a significant holy site during the fluorescent period of Majapahit. The inscription records the construction of a prasada or temple by a nobleman named Adityawarman, who soon thereafter moved to Sumatra.

Nothing of the superstructure remains. This portion of the building may have been made of perishable materials, but it is equally possible that it consisted of stone, later removed by local villagers and reused. Three large Kala heads now on the forecourt of the grounds suggest that the superstructure was at least partly of stone.

Jago’s plan and profile are both distinctive. The base consists of three terraces, the second and third of which are progressively recessed toward the rear. The plan of the building is rectangular, rather than square like most other Javanese temples, with a length of 23 meters (76 feet) and a width of 15 meters (50 feet).

The style of the reliefs represents a significant departure from the central Javanese period. Such traits as low relief, flat perspective, distorted figures, and use of trees and other motifs to separate scenes appear here for the first time. This style is more pronounced in the upper two registers of reliefs. These characteristics had a powerful effect on Javanese art and were replicated in many other sites during the following 150 years.

JALADWARA. Sanskrit for water spout or drain pipe. The heavy rains of tropical Java caused problems for ancient temple designers as well as modern restorers. Ancient architects used these devices in an attempt to protect their buildings. Some were ornately carved to portray such mythical creatures as Kala or makara.

JALATUNDA. A stone monument consisting of pools and spouts for channeling water constructed in 977 at an elevation of 500 meters.
(1,650 feet) on the west slope of Mount Penanggungan, east Java. The name Udayana was found carved on the monument, probably a reference to the legendary king of the Mahabharata after whom the Javanese king was named. The ruler of Bali named Udayana was alive at this time; he was born in 963 and ruled from 989 to 1001. He was the father of King Airlangga, who supposedly took refuge on this mountain after the east Javanese kingdom was destroyed. Whether this is a coincidence or the young prince Udayana was in some way connected with this choice of theme has led to much speculation but no firm conclusion is possible.

The site was recorded by J. W. B. Wardenaar in 1815. He also found a nine-chambered stone box that contained ashes and gold objects, no doubt part of the ceremony meant to transform Jalatunda into a mandala. The complex centers around a natural spring issuing from a steep slope just above the site. Water is conducted through a series of spouts, the most impressive of which was a fountain in the form of a lingga encircled by four medium-size and four small linggas. A sheer stone wall 5 meters (16.5 feet) high was built against the slope, surmounted by the fountain sculpture that has now been removed for safekeeping to a museum in Trowulan. The rear wall bears two monumental inscriptions in Javanese: one of them gives the date 899 Saka (977 CE); the other reads “gempeng,” the meaning of which is no longer understood. A large central tank or reservoir was built beneath the fountain, and two more stone tanks were constructed at the left and right ends of the wall. Spouts in the form of a garuda (left) and a naga (right) lead water into these two flanking tanks. These two creatures symbolize the elixir of immortality. From the three tanks many smaller spouts pour water into a broad shallow pool of rectangular plan. The Netherlands East Indies Archaeological Service restored the site in 1923–1923.

The three tanks were once decorated with 16 reliefs, three of which have not been rediscovered. One, depicting a man playing a harp, bears the inscribed name Udayana referred to above. In Indian legends, Udayana was said to be a gifted harpist. The reliefs depict scenes from various narratives. The three on the far right, including the depiction of Udayana, relate to the story of Mergawati, daughter of the king of Ayodhya, a member of the Pandawa family, found in the Kathasaritsagara (“Ocean of Story”), a compilation of Indian tales. Mergawati was abducted by a garuda, was saved by hermits,
and gave birth to Udayana. The other remaining reliefs bear no inscriptions, but clues to their contents in the scenes themselves suggest that they symbolize the ancestors of the mythical Udayana: Palasara, Vyasa, Pandu, Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parikesit, Janamejaya, and Sahasranika. In many of the stories, gods test the sincerity of ascetics meditating in order to acquire spiritual power. This repetitive theme indicates that Penanggungan was already firmly associated with hermits. Quite possibly pilgrims intending to visit shrines farther up the mountain had to undergo some type of ritual cleansing in the pools’ water before continuing their ascent.

These reliefs are only the third series known to have been carved in Java, after the major central Javanese monuments of Lara Jonggrang and Barabudur. Their style contains some unique aspects, such as H-shaped motifs used to represent clouds. The human figures are still recognizably three-dimensional and human, unlike later east Javanese figurations in which space and people are almost purely two-dimensional. In depth of carving, the sculptors were moving away from the Barabudur aesthetic but had not arrived at the fully developed east Javanese style that would only appear at Candi Jago in the 13th century.

JAMBI. This name first appears in Chinese sources as Zhanbei in the You-yang za-zu of 840. It referred to a kingdom that sent a mission to China in 852; another arrived in 871. Thereafter it was not heard from until the 11th century, when it sent missions in 1079, 1082, and 1088. It was probably the location of the capital of the kingdom of Malayu (see map 10). By the late 11th century it may have taken over the mantle of the main Sumatran port with connections to China from Palembang. The most powerful rulers of Sanfoqi probably resided here, at the site of Muara Jambi.

JANGGALA. According to legend, the east Javanese king Airlangga divided his kingdom into two parts, Panjalu (Kediri) and Janggala, before abdicating and retiring to a monastery before his death in 1041. He had two sons, both of whom were kings according to a 14th-century source, the Desawarnana (canto 68, strophe 1). An older inscription, however, found in Surabaya, says that the kingdom split in two because of enmity between two princes, who may not have been related.
Janggala is always mentioned first in inscriptions and may therefore have been the more important. An inscription attributed to Mpu Sindok, who ruled Java in the early 10th century, has been found here. However, Sindok’s inscriptions, which were written on copper sheets, were recopied later; several, including this one, have anachronistic traits and must be later, probably from the Majapahit period.

In a popular legend, a learned Buddhist monk and yoga master named Bharada walked over the water to visit Bali. The Surabaya inscription associated with the Joko Dolok statue of Kertanagara, carved in the late 13th century, says he divided the two kingdoms by means of “magic water in a crock.”

Dutch archaeologists recorded remains of a stone wall called the Pinggir Raksa (“Giant Border”), which once ran from Mount Kawi to the south coast. Some believe that this wall marked the boundary between Janggala and Panjalu. The wall ran from north to south; Janggala would have controlled the land east of the boundary, and Panjalu the west. Other scholars, based on the assumption that ancient Indonesian thought stressed dualism, believe that the idea of the division of the kingdom corresponds to ancient Javanese ideas of the importance of the four quarters of the universe, and that Bharada corresponds to the Naksatraraja, the king of the constellations.

The most likely theory is that the old wall formed part of the boundary, until it reached the Brantas River, then followed the Dutch residency boundary along a ridge dividing Rembang and Semarang from Kediri, Madiun, and Surakarta, or even farther west, via Ungaran to Dieng and Mount Slamat. Thus Janggala would have included Malang and the Brantas delta. The Guangzhou harbormaster Zhao Rukuo in the 13th century mentioned a country called Sukitan, which may have been Janggala. Thus Janggala would have controlled the ports on the north coast.

The location of Janggala’s capital is unknown. Two possibilities include Bakong, a village on the Porong River, which may be the “Bengkung” mentioned in an inscription of Sindok; and Jedong, a site on Mount Penanggungan, where a ruined walled complex with ornate gateways has been discovered.

JATAKA. Sanskrit for “birth.” The word occurs in the title Jātākamālā, meaning “Birth Garland,” a series of stories about previous lives of the being who became known as Siddharta Gautama and
whom Buddhist believe achieved enlightenment about 2,500 years ago. They exist in numerous versions and have been translated into all the major languages of Southeast Asia. Jatakas rarely appeared in India after the Gupta era, which ended in the sixth century. Some Theravada pilgrims are probably responsible for the few examples from later times found at Bodh Gaya and Sarnath.

These stories were frequently used as the sources of inspiration for illustrations on numerous Buddhist monuments in Southeast Asia. Some of the oldest are found on the outer wall of the first and second galleries of Barabudur. Unlike India, where the Jatakas were reduced to single iconic scenes, at Borobudur the narratives were reproduced in several panels. Not all the Jataka reliefs at Barabudur have yet been deciphered. Other central Javanese representations of Jatakas are found at Candi Mendut and Candi Sojiwan, both dating to the eighth or ninth century. They are not found in later east Javanese art, although Javanese stories called Tantri tales have similar content. It seems that at the time Barabudur was designed, the cleavage between Mahayana and Theravada artistic traditions had not yet become significant. By the end of the first millennium, the Jatakas were firmly identified with Theravada and neglected by Mahayana artistic communities.

In Cambodia, where Buddhism did not receive much royal encouragement until after the division between Theravada and Mahayana had become more pronounced, the Jatakas were very rarely depicted in stone reliefs. It is possible that when during the 13th century the Khmer embraced Buddhism of the type now called the doctrine of the Lesser Vehicle, Jatakas were depicted in pagodas in the form of paintings such as are commonly found in Laos and Thailand, although surviving examples date only from the last few centuries.

In Burma, Jatakas were painted in frescoes on the walls of brick structures. A large quantity of ancient murals are preserved at Bagan, by far the greatest repository of early Southeast Asian painting. The oldest Jataka representations are found in the form of glazed terracotta plaques inserted in walls, which unfortunately survive only in fragments. The most complete series are found on the Ananda temple of the 11th century and on the base of the Hpetleik stupa of the 12th century. The last 10 Jatakas (Mahanipata) received the greatest prominence. At Ananda, for example, 389 plaques were devoted to
the last 10 Jatakas, and these are located on the more prestigious upper terraces. The 537 preceding Jatakas received just one plaque each, on the less sacred lower level.

At the Hpetleik, the original number of stories was different (560). Later the number was changed to 547, and they were repeatedly presented in a standardized sequence, probably of Mon origin, such as is found at Thaton. This order was changed slightly in Kyanzittha’s reign under Sri Lankan influence, for example at the Loka-hteik-pan, where one story was moved from number 542 to number 546. See also photograph 5.

JAVA. The name Yavadvipa (“Barley Island”; the term Yawabhumi, “Land of Java,” occurs in early Javanese inscriptions) appears in the Ramayana (in a passage that cannot be from later than 100 CE) as one of the four corners of the world to which rescuers go to look for Sita. A similar toponym, Iabadiou, is found in Ptolemy’s Geographia (c. 150 CE). Early Chinese transcriptions include Yediao, whose king, Diao Bien, sent a mission to China in 132. At Shepo, a Kashmiri Buddhist monk named Gunavarman stopped on his way to China around 424. Yehpoti is another possible version of Java[dvipa]; Faxian, a famous Chinese monk, visited this port on his way to China in 414. Some scholars are of the opinion that Yehpoti was actually on the west coast of Kalimantan. Faxian mentions ascetics but no meaningful Buddhist community; Gunavarman is said to have preached in Shepo.

Possibly these and other unrecorded Buddhists were responsible for the establishment of the monuments, ruins of which have been recently discovered at Batujaya, east of Jakarta, west Java. Chinese sources in some instances treat Shepo as a kingdom, for instance, when recording embassies from there in 433 and 435. But in another fifth-century Chinese source Shepo is called an island. Perhaps there was a kingdom on Java that also called itself “Java” in the early first millennium CE. The Chinese sources record that at least two kingdoms of that era were pitted against each other for control of the area.

Early Javanese inscriptions seem to refer to all Indonesian peoples as Jawa. Early Khmer and Cham inscriptions, written in the same basic script, use Jvâ for the peoples of the islands. Pali texts used the word Jâvaka for the same general purpose. Thus a Jâwa-like name may have had a very wide application in the earliest sources.
After the seventh century, Shepo probably refers to Mataram. Embassies came from there in 860 and 873. The records of the mission in China reports that they built wooden fortifications, using only palm leaves, not tiles, for roofing, and that their furniture consisted of ivory couches and plaited bamboo mats. The kingdom’s products included tortoise shell (an imperial monopoly avidly sought after in China) and rhinoceros horn. The people were literate and had knowledge of astronomy. The court structure suggests a mandala-like pattern, with 28 vassals and 32 high ministers.

The name Shepo continued to be used in Chinese sources after the fall of Mataram. The Lingwaidaidâ of 1178 describes Shepo as the second wealthiest country in the world after the Arab country. The Dao-yi-za-zhi (1270) and Da-de-nan-hâi-zhi (1304) also mention She-po guo, “Java country.” The Javanese were called “the foremost of the barbarians of the Eastern Seas” by Wang Dayuan (1349).

JAWI. A temple built on the slopes of Mount Welirang in east Java in the late 13th century by King Kertanagara of Singasari. The Desawarnana (1365) gives an account of a 1361 pilgrimage to the temple by King Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk), his great-grandson and ruler of Majapahit. The original name of the temple was Jajawa, and the mountain was called Kemukus. The shrine was revered by both Sivaites and Buddhists. The interior sheltered a statue of Siva, and a statue of Aksobhya stood atop the pinnacle of the superstructure. The Aksobhya had already been destroyed in 1361, “through its supernatural powers . . . being truly of the highest essence of Void.” The temple had been struck by lightning in 1331. The summit of the restored temple resembles a small stupa. Another statue of Aksobhya now in Surabaya, east Java, is dated 1289 by an inscription which records that the image was intended as Kertanagara’s portrait.

The tall, slender shrine (24.5 meters/81 feet high, on a base 9.5 meters/31 feet on a side) was erected on a terrace surrounded by a water-filled, stone-faced moat. In place of makaras, figures of lions stand at the foot of the stairs leading to the hollow chamber where the Siva image once stood. The temple’s statuary consisted of the normal triad of Durga, Ganesa, and Agastya. The Durga is now in the Mpu Tantular Museum in Surabaya. A damaged Siva was found in a restoration project in 1938. Statues of the door guardians (dwara-
Nandiswara and Mahakala once stood in niches beside the entrance. The Nandiswara still survives and is displayed in the Balai Penyelamatan, Trowulan, east Java. The statue base for the Siva image or yoni on which the head of a naga supports a trough for the lustral liquids is still in situ. Thus Jawi resembles Lara Jonggrang in central Java in that the main icon was a Siva statue rather than a lingga.

At the pinnacle of the ceiling is a carved stone depicting the god Surya in relief, riding his horse across the solar disc. The edges of the square stone are decorated with floral swags. This is the first instance in Java of the practice of depicting Surya on temple ceilings. During the Majapahit period, it was often repeated, with the modification that the edges of the stone reproduced the sun’s rays typical of Majapahit art.

Jawi has several other unique features. It faces east rather than west, unlike most other east Javanese temples. It has ganas supporting figures, but they are placed beneath the upper cornice of the base rather than at the lower section as was more customary. Jawi’s exterior bears reliefs that proceed in a clockwise fashion, like those of central Java, rather than counterclockwise in the standard east Javanese mode. The reliefs have not been deciphered, but they are valuable because they depict in detail various structures that are believed to have been actual buildings of the 13th century that were constructed of perishable materials. They resemble traditional Balinese multistoried meru roofs used for sacred structures. Rather than a fictional tale of heroes and demons, the reliefs seem to depict religious processions and temple ceremonies.

Jaya Harivarman. Ruler of a kingdom at Pandurangga in Champa that emerged two years after the Khmer capture of Vijaya in 1145. Jaya Harivarman had spent much of his youth in exile before he was acclaimed ruler to succeed his father Rudravarman IV. He defeated two invasions led by Khmer using impressed Cham auxiliaries in 1148. The Khmer tried to establish a puppet ruler, Harideva, at Vijaya, but Jaya Harivarman defeated and executed him and set up his capital there in 1149. Inscriptions from his 17-year-long reign mention other struggles against his brother-in-law who mobilized support from highland dwellers, including the Radê and Dai Viet. He
succeeded in imposing his authority over Amaravati (Quang Nam) and Pandurangga by 1160. Increasing political stability enabled Jaya Harivarman to contribute to religious sanctuaries at Mi Son and Po Nagar and to send missions to China in 1155 and Dai Viet between 1152 and 1166. He died in 1166 or 1167. Although he may have intended his son to become Jaya Harivarman II, an official lauded in earlier inscriptions as a paragon of learning took over the kingdom instead as Jaya Indravarman IV.

**JAYA INDRAVARMAN.** Jaya Indravarman I was a ruler of Indrapura who ascended the throne in 959. The next year, he sent envoys to the newly founded Song dynasty in China. He sent five more missions from 962 to 971. In 965 Jaya Indravarman repaired the Po Nagar sanctuary damaged by the Khmer raid of 950, setting up a stone statue of a female deity. He was no longer reigning in 972, by which time the ruler was Paramesvaravarman.

Jaya Indravarman II was the successor of Harivarman IV, ascending the throne in 1080. He was only 10 years old at the time, so a regent was chosen. This was Paramabodhisattva, the young king’s uncle. Jaya Indravarman deposed his authoritarian uncle in 1086. He sent tribute to Dai Viet until 1102, then launched an unsuccessful attack in an attempt to retake territory lost in 1069. For the rest of his reign, which lasted until approximately 1113, he concentrated his attention on building religious structures at Mi Son.

Jaya Indravarman III took the throne in 1139 at the age of 33. From his capital at Vijaya, he paid tribute to Dai Viet early in his reign, donated to Mi Son and Po Nagar (Nha Trang), then was dragged very reluctantly into joining a Khmer invasion of Nghệ An. When this invasion failed, he resumed paying tribute to Dai Viet. To punish him, the Khmer ruler Suryavarman II in 1145 captured Vijaya. Jaya Indravarman disappeared, his fate unknown. A new king named Rudravarman IV was then crowned.

Jaya Indravarman IV of Gramapura, previously a high official, pushed aside the putative heir Jaya Harivarman II in 1166–1167 and sent a mission to China to seek imperial recognition. Ma Duanlin records that in 1177 a Chinese sailor guided the Cham fleet up the Mekong to Angkor, which they sacked, executing the Khmer king. In 1190 he attacked Cambodia again, but this time with disastrous
results. According to an inscription from Mi Son, a Cham prince, Vidyanandana, had gone to Cambodia in 1182, one year after Jayavarman VII had made himself king there. We are not told what motivated Vidyanandana to become a renegade, but the Mi Son inscription says that Jayavarman took a liking to him and taught him military skills. He even entrusted Vidyanandana with putting down a revolt in Malyang (now south Battambang Province). As a result, Jayavarman made him crown prince. In 1190 Vidyanandana led Khmer forces in a counterattack, captured the capital Vijaya, and sent Jaya Indravarman IV back to Cambodia. A brother-in-law of Jayavarman VII was installed as ruler in Vijaya with the reign name Suryajayavarmadeva.

Jaya Indravarman V became ruler when a revolt drove Suryajayavarmadeva back to Cambodia. He was defeated and killed by Vidyanandana.

Jaya Indravarman VI took the throne of Champa around 1252, having earlier led an attack against Panduranga. In 1257 he was assassinated by Harideva, his nephew.

JAYA PARAMESVARAVARMAN. Jaya Paramesvaravarman I was a ruler of Vijaya, taking the throne in around 1041 after the previous king, Jaya Singhabarman II, was killed in battle. He sent his son to subdue Panduranga in the south, and this prince erected a lingga at Po Klaung Garai in honor of his victory there. The king restored Po Nagar (Nha Trang) and donated slaves, including Khmer, Chinese, Burmese (Pukam/Bagan men), and Siamese. He sent three embassies to China between 1050 and 1056, as well as five to the Vietnamese between 1047 and 1060. By 1961 another ruler, Bhadravarman III, was on the throne.

Jaya Paramesvaravarman II, formerly known as Prince Angsharaja of Turai-vijaya, was the grandson of Jaya Harivarman I. He was raised at the court of Angkor during the period of Khmer domination in the early 13th century, but after being crowned king of Champa in 1226 he restored many of the old Cham sanctuaries with two significant omissions: Yang Pu Nagara (Po Nagar, Nha Trang) and Srisanabhadresvara (Mi Son). The fact that these two sites, identified closely with generations of Cham royalty, were specifically omitted suggests that he was still somewhat hesitant about proclaiming his
independence too openly. He was engaged in frequent hostilities with the Vietnamese, who blamed him for piratical raids. In 1252 Emperor Tran Thai-tong led an expedition that captured many nobles and even women from the palace. Jaya Paramesvaravarman may have died at the same time, for his younger brother was soon thereafter ruling as Jaya Indravarman IV.

Jaya Singhavarman II became ruler of Vijaya around 1042, when he sent a mission to China. In 1043 he raided the coast of Dai Viet. The king, Ly Thai-tong, counterattacked in 1041, defeated the Cham king, and beheaded him. The next ruler of Vijaya was Jaya Paramesvaravarman I.

Jaya Singhavarman III took the throne about 1285. He is known in Vietnamese annals as Che Man. In 1292 he prevented the powerful Mongol fleet from landing in Champa on its way to attack Java’s ruler Kertanagara. He married a Javanese princess, who was also the sister of Emperor Trần Anh-tông of Dai Viet, in 1306 (though in exchange for her he had to give up two Cham districts). She then received the title Parameswari. One of his main achievements was the erection of the temple called Po Klaung Garai at Phan Rang. He died in 1307.

Jaya Singhavarman IV, born in 1284, became ruler of Champa in 1307. In Vietnamese annals he is called Chê Chi. During his reign, the Cham territories that his predecessor had ceded to Dai Viet struggled to escape from Vietnamese domination. In 1312 the Vietnamese emperor Trần Anh-tông invaded Champa, captured Jaya Singhavarman, and took him back to Tongkin, where he died in prison. Champa then became a vassal of Dai Viet. Jaya Singhavarman’s brother was
placed in charge, but he, too, soon took up arms against the Vietnamese. He was defeated in 1318, whereupon he escaped to Java.

**JAYAKATWANG.** Governor of the district of Kediri in east Java who in 1292 led a surprise attack on the capital of Singasari that succeeded in killing King Kertanagara. Shortly after Jayakatwang established himself on the throne of east Java, a Mongol fleet arrived; it had been sent to punish Kertanagara for literally defacing envoys sent earlier to demand a more overt show of submission from Java than Kertanagara was willing to make. Ironically the Mongols then became involved in a civil war between Jayakatwang and another Javanese noble, Naraya Sanggramawijaya—usually known as Raden Wijaya—who was a son-in-law of Kertanagara. Wijaya’s wife, Gayatri, had been killed in the same surprise attack in which Kertanagara was slain. Wijaya gave tokens of submission to the Yuan troops, led by a Mongol, a Uighur, and a Chinese general, who perceived Jayakatwang to be Kertanagara’s successor and therefore the next logical target of their vengeance. The Mongol fleet captured Jayakatwang’s fleet at Surabaya, then marched to Kediri where, after bitter fighting, Jayakatwang surrendered on 26 April 1293. We hear nothing further about his fate. Wijaya then established the kingdom of Majapahit and took the reign name Kertarajasa Jayawardhana.

**JAYANAGARA.** Ruler of Majapahit who inherited the throne from his father Kertarajasa Jayawardhana in 1309. Jayanagara bore the elaborate reign name Sri Sundarapandawadhishwara Vikramottungadewi. Like his father, he had to cope with numerous revolts, one by Gajah Biru, another by Kuti, which managed to force him to evacuate his capital temporarily. Jayanagara sent ambassadors to the Yuan court each year from 1325 to 1328 and contributed to the construction of important portions of the temple complex of Panataran, but in 1329 he was assassinated as the result of his dalliance with the wife of a courtier. He was succeeded by a female relative, Tribhuwanatunggadewi, who was technically a regent for her mother who had become a Buddhist nun. Jayanagara was a devotee of Vishnu. Upon his death, images of Jayanagara were installed in the palace in the form of Vishnu Sila Ptak, at Bubat as Vishnu, and at Sukhalila as Buddha.
JAYAPANGUS. A ruler of Bali who left inscriptions dating between 1178 and 1181.

JAYAVARMAN. A name used by many rulers of Cambodia. The first to bear this name, Jayavarman I, may have been a son of Bhavavarman II. He was ruling by 657. He left inscriptions over a very large area, from Wat Phu in Laos to the shore of the Gulf of Siam, and built temples at Ba Phnom (possibly the site known as Vyadhapura). The next known ruler of Cambodia was a queen, Jayadewi, whose relationship to Jayavarman I is unknown.

Jayavarman II was glorified by rulers of Angkor of many subsequent generations. Two inscriptions dated 770 and 781 may record his very early career, but they date from long before his move to Roluos. They probably relate to his exploits in southeast Cambodia and Kratie. The most detailed discussion of his origins and the reason for his significance for later Khmer culture is found in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription of 1052, exactly 250 years after he supposedly founded Angkor (in 802). He is also prominently featured in the genealogy claimed by King Yasovarman. Jayavarman II was said to have been the great-grandnephew of a king of Sambhupura through his mother’s line, and also the nephew of a King Jayendradhipativarman, of whom nothing whatsoever is known. In other words, his background is obscure. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription says that he came from Java and assumed the throne of Indrapura. Conventional historians believe that this is a reference to the island of Java in Indonesia and may be connected with the story of the Maharaja of Zabag in Arabic texts who obtained the head of the vainglorious ruler of Cambodia. This episode, if it is at all based on fact, would have taken place in the late eighth century when both Srivijaya and the Sailendras of Java were flourishing. Jayavarman may have been taken to Java as a young man and then sent back to act as viceroy; such a strategy was often employed by Javanese kingdoms, which did not attempt to rule foreign conquered territories directly. Another interpretation notes that Java in Khmer can also refer to Champa.

In any case, once in Cambodia, Jayavarman started from Indrapura, the location of which is unknown; one possible site is Banteay Prei Nokor. In 780 he may have become coruler of Kratie through marriage with a local queen. Jayavarman took into his service a
brahmin named Sivakaivalya, whose descendants 250 years later set up the Sdok Kak Thom inscription. Sivakaivalya became Jayavarman’s purōhītā or religious preceptor, an important position in early Southeast Asian kingdoms.

Jayavarman II and his son Indrayudha defeated a Cham force in 790, then moved west to the area north of the Tonle Sap. He gave Sivakaivalya an estate and village called Kuti, which is thought to have been in the area of Banteay Kdei. Jayavarman then established his capital at Hariharalaya, now called Roluos, 15 kilometers (9.5 miles) southeast of Angkor.

Next, according to the inscription, he moved his capital to a new site, Amarendrapura, the location of which is also unknown. From there he is said to have moved again, to Mahendraparvata, probably the Phnom Kulen Plateau, where a brahmin named Hiranyadama from Janapada performed a ritual, the purpose of which was to make the country of the Kambujas free forever from Java and to ensure that there would be only one cakravartin. Hiranyadama also created a devaraja and taught Sivakaivalya sacred rituals, including the devaraja ritual, which then became the hereditary responsibility of Sivakaivalya’s family. Afterward Jayavarman returned to Hariharalaya, bringing the devaraja with him; that is where he died, supposedly in 850 after a reign of 48 years. Other sources record that his son Jayawardhana had already assumed the throne in 834.

The only known archaeological remains of temples attributed to Jayavarman II’s reign are found at Sambor Prei Kuk and Phnom Kulen; none are known from Angkor. He was given the posthumous name Parameswara. His son Jayawardhana reigned at Hariharalaya until 857 as Jayavarman III and was given the posthumous name Vishnuloka.

Jayavarman IV was the maternal uncle of Isanavarman II, who reigned from approximately 922 to 928. In a dispute over the succession, Jayavarman established a rival capital at Koh Ker northeast of Angkor. There on the summit of Prasat Thom, a stone stepped pyramid 35 meters (115.5 feet) high, he erected a royal linga named Tribhuvanesvara (Lord of the Three Worlds). Important inscriptions in Old Khmer also refer to the linga as kamrateng jagat tā rajya, corresponding approximately to the Sanskrit devaraja. Jayavarman seems to have been encouraging his subjects to consider him as
a deity rather than a human. This expression represents evidence for one of the first, if not the earliest, instances of a Southeast Asian ruler claiming outright to be a god rather than divinely inspired. The practice may have had some relationship to a preexisting autonomous belief in the reunification of the soul of a human being with a larger entity in the form of a Great Ancestor Spirit such as is found in most parts of Southeast Asia.

His actions can also be interpreted as an attempt to appeal to a right of succession by charisma rather than by birth. This alternative to genealogy is found in India and Java, but was less common in Cambodia. Kings who appealed to this justification for their status claimed to have been divinely elected by a national divinity. Thus Jayavarman IV did not name his lingga Jayesvara, which would have combined his name with that of an epithet for Siva. This variation of name signified a claim to direct selection by Siva.

Jayavarman IV died in 941, received the posthumous name Paramesvarapada, and was succeeded by his son Harsavarman II.

Jayavarman V was the son of Rajendravarman. He took the throne as a boy in 968. Jayavarman devoted numerous resources to the construction of a palace called Jayendranagari, at the center of which was a structure called a gold mountain (Hemagiri) or gold horn (Memashringagir), both epithets of Mount Meru; the location of this palace has not been identified. During his reign, Jayavarman’s sister Indralaksmi married a brahmin, Divakarabhatta, who was born on the banks of the Yamuna River in India; this brahmin built numerous sanctuaries dedicated to Siva, including Preah Einkosei in Siem Reap and Prasat Komphus in Mlu Prei. Jayavarman died in 1001, received the posthumous name Paramawiraloka, and was succeeded by his nephew Udayadityavarman I.

Jayavarman VI is a shadowy figure. He was one of several rivals who apparently controlled different parts of Cambodia after the death of Harsavarman III in 1080. He is mentioned in one inscription from Angkor, which was never finished, and in later inscriptions that credit him with donations to Saivite temples at Phnom Sandak, Preah Vihear, and Wat Phu and to a Buddhist temple at Phimai. His importance rests chiefly upon the important later kings who claimed descent from him: Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. Jayavarman VI seems to have had no relationship to earlier royal families of
Angkor. Later inscriptions ascribe his origins to a noble family from Mahidharapura, of which neither the location nor any other details are known. Jayavarman may not have controlled Angkor itself; his power base seems to have been farther north, perhaps even in Laos or Thailand, to judge from the record of his donations. He died in 1107 and was succeeded by Dharanindravarman I.

Jayavarman VII was the son of Dharanindravarman II. Like Suryavarman II, he belonged to the Mahidharapura dynasty. He was in Vijaya, capital of Champa, when his father died. His activities during the intervening period when first Yasovarman II and then the usurper Tribhuvanadhityavarman were in power are not discussed in the sources, but it seems that he remained in Champa. Jayavarman must have retained considerable resources, however, for after the Cham sacked Angkor, he was able to mobilize large forces, including Cham troops who fought on his side, in a short time. The final battle, depicted in bas-reliefs at the Bayon and Banteay Chhmar temples, was fought on the water, the element on which the Cham had previously been dominant. The year of the Cham invasion is given in Chinese sources as 1177, but not all historians are satisfied with this precise date. Nevertheless, after a period of about four years he had restored enough stability to stage a ceremony in which he was crowned king.

Before the late 12th century the Khmer military forces consisted of individual companies with their own weapons in a system similar to medieval Europe. In Jayavarman VII’s time weaponry was standardized, and such technical advances as ballistae of Chinese origin were introduced.

During his reign Jayavarman VII pushed Khmer power to its greatest territorial extent. He reduced Champa to the status of a province governed by designated Cham nobles. The northernmost Khmer inscription was set up in 1186 across the Mekong from Vientiane. Khmer armies attacked Dai Viet in 1216, 1218, and 1220. Chinese sources (Zhao Rukuo in the 1225 Zhufanzhi, borrowing some material from the Lingwai Daida of 1178) and Jayavarman’s own inscriptions claim that he had at least some authority over most of Thailand, including the peninsular area. He also claimed to exact tribute from Dai Viet and Java, but this is unlikely.

Jayavarman VII undertook the largest building campaign ever seen in Cambodia. He constructed Angkor Thom, which turned the capital
into a mandala. Like his father Dharanindravarman II, Jayavarman was a devout Buddhist, and specifically a follower of Mahayanism. Nevertheless his chief priest (purohita) was a brahmin named Hrishikesha who came from Narapatidesa, which some historians identify with Burma (where Narapatisithu was then on the throne). His chief contributions to religious architecture were Buddhist, although he also erected huge secular works such as the walls and moats of Angkor Thom. Jayavarman’s most famous temples are the Bayon, Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei, Preah Khan, and Neak Pean, all in or near Angkor; and other more distant sites including Banteay Chhmar, Wat Nokor in Kompong Cham, and Ta Prohm at Bati.

Another of his famous projects was a series of 102 hospitals with stone temples along the main roads of the kingdom. About 30 of these have so far been located. The hospitals were believed to be protected by Bhaishajyaguru Vaiduryaprabha, still known today in China as “Medicine Buddha.” A total of 81,640 men and women from 838 villages were assigned to supply the hospitals with rice, clothing, honey, wax, and fruit. Medical materials included two kinds of camphor, coriander, pepper, mustard, cardamom, molasses, cumin, pine resin, ginger, and onions. An ointment for fevers was made from 10 plants. A total of 1,960 boxes of salve were produced to treat hemorrhoids. Each hospital had two doctors and assistants, two dispensary workers, two cooks who also helped clean, people whose job was to heat water, medicine preparers, and various other staff, including temple attendants who made offerings to Buddha.

Another of Jayavarman VII’s major secular projects consisted of 121 “houses with fire” along main roads, spaced approximately 15 kilometers (10 miles) apart, apparently a distance corresponding to a day’s journey. Fifty-seven lie along the road from Angkor to Champa, 17 are on the route to Phimai, 44 are on a route linking cities that have not been identified with certainty, one is at Phnom Chisor, and the other two locations are not known. Zhou Daguan, a member of a Chinese embassy to Angkor in 1296, reported that these rest houses still functioned in his day. Jayavarman also sponsored the construction or improvement of the road system. One major road ran from Angkor to Phimai. Another led west toward Lopburi. Two others ran east, one of which probably reached the Mekong River. The motivation for building these roads may have been both military and economic.
Jayavarman VII left many inscriptions in Sanskrit from the first part of his reign, but thereafter the epigraphic record vanishes. His reign lasted at least until 1218; we do not know his exact date of death. Mahaparasagota was his posthumous epithet.

Jayavarman VIII was the successor of Indravarman II. He was in power when a Mongol army attempted to invade around 1283, coming overland via Quang Tri and Savannakhet. Zhou Daguan said they were captured and never returned to China. The Khmer, however, sent tribute to Kublai Khan, emperor of China, in 1285. Jayavarman VIII was a Hindu, and during his reign, it seems, many images of Buddha carved during Jayavarman VII's reign were destroyed in a rare strategy of iconoclasm perhaps perpetrated by a Hindu priesthood that had felt threatened by Jayavarman VII's favoritism for Buddhism. Jayavarman VIII abdicated in 1295 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Srindravarman. His posthumous name was Paramesvarapada.

Jayaviravarman. One of three rival claimants for the throne of Angkor. He apparently succeeded in deposing Udayadityavarman I in 1003, but was in turn deposed by Suryavarman I by about 1010.

Jedong. Surviving remains at this site, on a small plain at the foot of Mount Penanggungan in the district of Mojosari, east Java, comprise a gateway rather than a temple. In 1835, however, explorer H. J. Domis found four temples of stone and one of brick here, in a collapsed state. Nevertheless the ruins inspired several Dutch artists. N. H. Sieburgh in 1842 created an oil painting of Jedong that is now in the ethnographic museum of Leiden. W. R. van Hoëvell in 1849 made a color sketch of a complete temple, probably after a sketch made by the explorer J. W. B. Wardenaar in 1815.

In 1854 J. F. G. Brumund visited “the gate of Jedong.” He described a completely undamaged gateway 4.5 meters (15 feet) high made of trachyte. Above the gate an inscription found by van Hoëvell was read in 1854 by Dr. R. H. T. Friederich as 562 Saka. However, A. B. Cohen Stuart remarked that Friederich's reading was wrong—that the 5 is actually 9, “two numbers which are frequently confused in Kawi inscriptions, for they are very similar, however with the opening on the left in 5, on the right in 9.” This would yield a date equivalent to 924 CE, the reign of Mpu Sindok.
The doorway originally provided access to an area surrounded by a stone wall, to the right of which was a bathing place of carved stone and brick, 8 by 3.5 meters (26.5 by 11.5 feet), with defaced and eroded statues. A second door led to a lower plateau. Yet farther to the west were brick ruins of two smaller doorways. Another inscription above the small gateway gave the date 1336.

On all four sides of the structure are Kala heads, right and left of which are paws with two pointing fingers; next to each paw is a naga with gaping beak. Remains of the walls are plain. The gateways once had plinths, for at the western entrance is a stairway that had at least 12 steps going downward to the interior. The western entrance bears an inscription that was no longer legible when W. Verbeek visited the site, which he called Pasetran, in 1890. Small statues found beside this gate are so defaced and eroded that it is impossible to identify them.

Approximately 82 meters (270 feet) farther north stands a second gateway, also of andesite and of similar construction. However, the naga and Kala motifs are missing.

**JIAO ZHI.** Chinese name for the prefecture of Giao-chi in north Vietnam (see map 17). The name was first applied by Trieu Da, who in 185 BCE proclaimed himself emperor of Nam Viet, conquered the Vietnamese kingdom of Au Lac, and created two prefectures there: Giao-chi and Cuu-chan. The name Giao-chi was taken from an ancient Chinese classic, Li Ji ("Records of Rituals"), in a reference to customs of "southern barbarians" who supposedly slept side by side, with one person's feet next to another person's head. The Portuguese pronunciation of Giao-chi led to the name Cochin that was used by early Europeans to refer to this region.

Initially the prefecture was ruled by local Lac chiefs, but after the Truong Sisters' rebellion was brutally put down in 42 CE, Han Chinese administration was instituted. Graves similar to those of north China were used beginning in the first century, and increasing numbers of Chinese immigrants entered the region. They were eventually integrated into Vietnamese culture, including using the Vietnamese language, but they introduced some Chinese attitudes, values, and practices into Vietnamese society as well.

The name Jiao Zhi was used to refer to a Circuit that included seven prefectures. The Circuit extended from Nan-hai (modern
Guangdong) to Nhat-nam, in the Hue region. Jiao Zhi was by far the most populous of these prefectures, with more than half the total inhabitants of the Circuit, according to a census of 2 CE. After a rather peaceful century, corruption and revolts marked much of the second century CE. Shi Xie, sixth-generation descendant of Chinese immigrants and son of a prefect of Nhat-nam (later to become the independent kingdom of Linyi) in the late second century became a powerful local figure, indicating the emergence of a class of descendants of Chinese immigrants who identified more closely with Vietnam than with distant Han China.

In 203 Jiao Zhi Circuit became Jiao Province. When in 205 the governor was murdered, Shi Xie was given the title “South-Soothing General” with authority over the province. Shi sent tribute to the capital, effectively establishing himself as a quasi-independent ruler. He allied himself with Sun Quan, who in 220 founded the Wu dynasty in Nanjing as the Han empire broke apart. Shi sent regular tribute of Southeast Asian luxuries to Wu and continued to rule the territory that once formed Nam Viet from a capital in the lower Red River valley, Luy-lau, which had been a center of political power since the time of Zhao To 450 years earlier.

Jiao Zhi remained under the administration of the succession of six dynasties (the “Southern Dynasties”) at Nanjing until the late sixth century. After Shi Xie’s death in 226, Jiao Province was divided into Guang and Jiao provinces, consisting of the prefectures in modern Vietnam. Shi Xie was succeeded by his son Shi Hui, who had ambitions of complete independence from Wu. The Shi family lost the struggle for power, however, and was wiped out, replaced by Lu Tai, governor of Nanhai, who reunited the two provinces. Lu then established diplomatic relations with Linyi, Funan, and Tang-ming, in the vicinity of northeast Thailand. In 229 Wu sent envoys to Funan, opening a long period of Chinese relations with that kingdom in the lower Mekong.

Another famous Vietnamese rebel against Chinese control is known in Vietnamese sources as Au (Lady) Trieu. She came from the prefecture of Cuu-chan, south of Jiao Zhi. She died in battle in 248 and became a folk hero. She was the last female rebel leader in Vietnamese history.

In the mid-third century, Jiao Zhi was again separated from Guang Province. A rival Chinese kingdom, Jin, with support from Wei in
Sichuan, attempted to intervene in Jiao Zhi. In 280 Jin conquered Wu, but Tao Huang, a former Wu general then governing Jiao Zhi, submitted to Jin. He established his capital at Long-bien, an old power center at the inland edge of the Red River delta, and subdivided the prefectures of Jiao Zhi and Cuu-chan, separating the rebellious frontier zones from the lowland settled populations.

When Wu died, Jin, by then ruling from Nanjing, sent Wu Yen, another official who had served the defunct Wu kingdom, to govern Jiao Zhi. He was eventually replaced by another Chinese-appointed governor, Gu Pi. When he died, he was succeeded by his son, Gu Tsan, for the Jin empire was in turmoil due to nomadic incursions from the north and had no attention to spare for this distant region. Gu Tsan was in turn succeeded by his brother Gu Shou, thus demonstrating a potential for the formation of another kingdom focused on a Sino-Vietnamese family. This process was truncated when Gu Shou was defeated by a local official, Luong Thac, who gave himself a title combining the Chinese term for “prefect” with the local name Tan-xuong, which had strong associations with Vietnamese history. After defeating two Jin attempts to impose their own rulers, a third time proved too much for Luong, who was himself killed.

Jin was unable to stabilize Jiao Zhi, however, and in fact became embroiled in numerous battles with other local kingdoms in Sichuan. In the fourth century, the prefectures of Cuu-chan and Nhat-nam experienced frequent hostilities with Linyi. The Jiao Zhi governors appointed by the Chinese kingdom of Qin managed to repulse these attacks, but the Jiao Zhi government was plagued by rapacious officials who extorted money from foreign merchants. In the late fourth century the Qin lost influence to the Song dynasty, founded in 420. The Do family of Sino-Vietnamese generals maintained relatively peaceful and prosperous conditions in Jiao, in collaboration with Chinese governors. Ly Ton took control of the province for a time in the late fourth century and adopted a rebellious stance toward Qin, but he was captured and beheaded by Do Vien, the Jiao Zhi prefect in 381. The Do family was from north China and had become administrators in the south around 300. They were one of a number of Chinese immigrants from the upper class who settled in the province in the Southern Dynasties period between the fall of the Han and the rise of the Tang.
The Song dynasty replaced the Qin as the Chinese overlord of Jiao Zhi in 420. The scion of the Do family died on a trip north to take up a post in the Song court in Nanjing, and the Do lost their influence.

Jiao conquered Linyi in 446, but although that kingdom was forced to regroup farther south, near Hoi An, Jiao’s borders shrank thereafter. The Song formed a new province called Yue on the northeast, and Jiao lost control over the area of Nhat-nam south of Hoanh-son. In compensation, water control intensified in the Red River plain around Hanoi, and the population increased. The Song dynasty became disorganized and lost control of Jiao for a few years, until 485 when Qi succeeded in imposing a governor. Qi in turn fell to the Liang in 502.

The Liang ushered in a period of Buddhist expansion, but little in the way of efficient administration in Jiao. Local families dominated the scene. Jiao used traditional media of exchange (gold and silver) instead of Chinese copper coins. It was divided into several provinces, including Ai, Hoang, Duc, Ly, and Minh. Ly Bi, descendant of first-century Chinese immigrants, after failing to win a position at the Liang court, returned to Jiao and started a rebellion. He attained sufficient success to claim the title of emperor of Nam Viet in 544. The “empire” was organized along Chinese lines, though the court religion may have incorporated both Buddhism and local cults. His empire lasted less than two years, however, before a particularly skillful and loyal Liang general, Zhen Baxian, brought it to an end. In 557 he founded the Zhen dynasty, which lasted about 30 years. A man known in some sources as Ly Phat Tu styled himself “governor of Jiao” during this period. He seems to have been the most powerful person in Jiao Zhi at this time.

Jiao Zhi offered numerous precious goods, including gold, kingfisher feathers, pearls, shells, precious stones, and other rare items, many of which it probably obtained from Champa. Chinese officials termed “messengers” sent there in the sixth century often became wealthy from taking part in this trade. The nature of administration in Jiao Zhi at this time is unknown. Chinese sources provide little information on this topic. Vietnamese sources preserve images of heroes who resisted foreign rule and are associated with ancient Vietnamese symbols such as a yellow dragon’s claw.

The Sui dynasty reunified much of China in 581, and in 590 forced Ly Phat Tu to surrender. Vietnam was then divided into three prefectures:
Jiao Zhi, Cuu-Chan, and Nhat-nam. A governor was established at Jiao Zhi, whose main duty seems to have been encouraging the trade in luxury items from the islands in the southern seas.

The Sui were soon supplanted by the great Tang dynasty in 618. The transition to Tang rule was smooth; the region was apparently prosperous and put up no resistance to another administrative reorganization into smaller provinces. Eventually in 679 these were combined into one Protectorate, Annam (Pacified South); more “pacified protectorates” were established on China’s other frontiers. Jiao Zhi remained the administrative center of the protectorate.

JINAKALAMALIPAKARANAM. “The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror.” A Pali chronicle completed in 1516 by the monk Ratanapanna from the Phayao region of present-day Chiangmai. The original manuscript, now lost, probably was written on either bark paper or talipot palm leaf. There is only one manuscript copy of the text, which was found in Thailand; this was copied using Cambodian characters during the Ayutthaya period. Like the later Camadevivangsa, this text focuses on the history of Buddhism in the northern Thai region, connecting the lineage of the religion in Chiangmai to the Buddhist kingdom of Haripunjaya. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this text lies in its detailed concern with the relations between Lamphun (northern Thailand) on one hand and Bagan and Sri Lanka on the other, justifying the legitimacy of its form of Buddhism, which derives from two different roots.

JOKO DOLOK. A statue—familiarly called Joko Dolok (“Fat Boy”)—now at Taman Simping, Surabaya, east Java, bears a Sanskrit inscription dated 1289, which reads as follows:

The Lord is the son of Sri Baginda Maharaja Hariwardana and Sri Baginda Putri Jayawardani, who rule the four continents; he is also a [wise] muni. Full of good habits, famed among the religious scholars of the Law, diligent in repairing what has fallen, a spreader of dharma [Buddhist law].

Named Sri Jnana-Sivavajra, adorned with jewel-like spirit, blessed with a body sanctified by the light of knowledge and truth, learned in the wisdom of a Buddha, and because of his dedication to worship, he initiated himself and then a statue of Maha Aksobhya in his physical form was erected in the cemetery of Wurare.
The statue lacks the traditional identifying marks of a Buddha, such as the usnīsa or bump of wisdom on top of the head. Unfortunately the face of the statue was found in damaged condition; its present appearance is a restoration.

An inscription on the base of the statue indicates that it was twice consecrated: once sometime after 1272 and again in 1289 during the Singasari period. It was composed in Sanskrit by Nadajna, the “superintendent of religious affairs” (dharmadhyakṣa), and commemorates the reunification of the kingdom by Wisnuwardhana and the consecration of his son, Kertanagara, as Maha Aksobhya. Mahā (“great”) in this case may indicate a relationship with tantras of the mahayoga level. Among these the Guhyasamaja Tantra regards Aksobhya as the central bodhisattva.

**JULAH.** An ancient port on the north coast of Bali in the vicinity of an important archaeological site named Sembiran. Six copperplate inscriptions from the period between 922 and 1181 provide some information about this region, where Romano-Indian rouletted ware ceramics provide some of the oldest evidence for contact between eastern Indonesia and India.

The first inscription orders the inhabitants of the fortified settlement of Julah, who had been attacked by their enemies and run away, to return to the site. The ruler, Ugrasena, also ordered the villagers to make ships and a hall for visiting officials, including himself. The inscription mentions four denominations of coinage and taxation in kind and includes numerous other regulations, such as the instruction that cargoes of wrecked ships were to be used for the welfare of the village. A similar custom was still in force in 1906 and formed a causus belli that enabled the Dutch to extend their control over south Bali. At the end of the inscription is a curse invoking Bhatara Punta Hyang.

Inscriptions dated 975 and 951 mention an official entitled bānigrama, which because of its resemblance to a south Indian term, it has been suggested, may refer to the leader of some organization of foreign merchants. Another inscription dated 1016 mentions that Julah had been attacked again and only 50 families out of 300 remained; this is one of the earliest records of the population of a settlement in ancient Southeast Asia. Other important terms in this
inscription include banyaga, generally interpreted as referring to foreign merchants, and mangilala drwyä haji, “collectors of the king’s due,” some sort of position related to royal revenue. An inscription of 1181 states that specific officials could inspect cargoes of merchant ships. Thus, although Bali was not one of the better-known trading societies of ancient Southeast Asia, it too had at least one area where much economic activity took place, including frequent contact with outsiders.

KADARAM. See KEDAH.

KADIRI. See KEDIRI (KADIRI).

KAKAWIN. Poetic works that normally begin with invocation of a deity, glorification of ruler, and poet’s self-deprecation. This literary form was used in Java for court epics modeled on the kāvyā of South Asia, incorporating gaṇavṛtta meters, and modes of narrative and figuration partly indebted to India—including such Indic conventions as descriptions of young men and women disporting in a garden (udyana-krīda)—and partly to the Javanese poets of early Mataram, which reached a peak during the Kediri period (c. 1048–1222). By the Kediri period, the attention paid to compositions in kakawin form led to the creation of the office of selingsingan, “king’s poet.” Religious authorities (mpu, mpu danghyang, dang acārya) who could write in kakawin form were promoted to higher positions in religious institutions or as royal counselors. Prowess and charisma, not prominent in the Old Javanese kakawin, began to characterize a genre called kidung in Bali in the 16th century, heavily influenced by kakawin language and tropes but in which the quest for political power assumes a much more central role. A new character, Prince Panji, became the hero of many kidung. The term kawya also led to the formation of the Javanese word kawi. See also LITERATURE.

KALA. A bodiless demon whose head was immortalized after he drank the elixir of immortality. According to the legend, when Vishnu found
out that Kala had stolen the amerta, he threw his magic cakra (discus), cutting off Kala’s head above the lower jaw. However, because the demon had swallowed some of the elixir, his head from his mouth upward was immortal. The partial Kala head (without his lower jaw) appears on most lintels above temple entrances in Java and Cambodia. It is sometimes accompanied by two makaras. In the later-period east Javanese temples, Kala often appears with an intact lower jaw. Depictions of him become more stylized over time, including such variants as Kala ekacaksu, “one-eyed Kala.” The effect of the decoration may have been to symbolize the presence of immortality within the gates of the temple, analogous to entering Kala’s mouth.

KALA, U. The author of the Burmese Mahayazawingyi (“Great Chronicle”) in the early 18th century. He was a resident of Inwa. Though U Kala’s family was intimately connected with the court, he seems to have written the chronicle as a personal act rather than with royal patronage. The Monywe Sayadaw, one of the compilers of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi, suggested in his own private composition that U Kala and Twinthin both erred in their readings and interpretations of inscriptions, especially in their chronologies. Apparently a number of the sources U Kala used were destroyed in a fire at the Inwa court. The Hmannan Yazawindawgyi is often regarded as a copy of U Kala’s chronicle. It was compiled at least a century and a half later, however, and certain differences can be discerned between them, principally in the organization of the text.

KALAH (KALAH; KAIĄH; KILLAH; KRA). A term found in Arab and Persian texts from the 9th and 10th centuries, including the Arabian Nights, probably referring to the stretch of coastline on the west of the Malay Peninsula from Kedah to Phuket and Takuapa, where ships from Oman and Siraf were said to go to meet ships coming from China. Archaeological sites representing major ports of this period are found in Kedah, Malaysia, and Ko Kho Khaa, south Thailand. The area was known to the Arabs as a source of tin and a region where people from India were also encountered.

KALASAN. An inscription in devanagari script dated 778 describes the dedication of a Buddhist temple and monastery at the instigation
of the religious preceptor of the Sailendra rulers. This is the oldest Buddhist edict in Java. It mentions the erection of a sanctuary for a statue of Tara, associated with the remains known as Candi Kalasan; the inscription records that a village called Kalasana was donated to the temple and the monks established there and cites two rulers connected with this pious foundation. The first is characterized as an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty. He was probably the same king who is mentioned in the Ratubaka stele. The second king, Panamkarana, probably ruled in the Temanggung/Dieng area, in north-central Java. He may have been a Hindu rather than a Buddhist, and his connection with this Buddhist sanctuary is not clear. In the concluding section, he requests that future kings preserve the monastery. According to the Wanua Tengah III inscription, the ashes of the râkâï or appanage-holder of Warak were interred here around 827.

The site is now marked by an impressive temple that represents an enlargement of the original structure in the ninth century. The plasterwork on the exterior is among the best preserved examples of this artwork in Java. See also TITLES.

**KALPATARU.** “Wishing trees,” also known as kalpadruma or kalpavriksa. The tree was a symbol of plenty in ancient Indian and Southeast Asian art. Central Javanese stone shrines are carved with lavish and ornate depictions of trees hung with precious objects. The wishing tree motif recalls the heaven of Indra on Mount Meru, where these trees can fulfill all desires. Wishing trees on the exterior of the lowest balustrade wall at Barabudur demarcate the space inside the wall as part of heaven. Such trees were believed to be common in the realms of the gods. There are some indications that real trees were decorated in ancient times in emulation of the heavenly wishing trees. In Burma, “offering trees” (pâdeltha pîn) were used to hang gifts being donated to monasteries in Buddhist ceremonies.

**KAMBU.** Mythical ancestor of the Khmer people. According to a Khmer myth recorded in an inscription of Rajendravarman II at Baksei Chamkrong dated 948, Khmer kings owe their origin to a marriage arranged by Siva between a hermit or risi named Kambu Svayambhúva and a heavenly nymph or apsara named Mera. (This myth is also used to explain the origin of the names Kambuja [Cam-
bodia] and Khmer.) They had a son named Srutavarman, who became king of Cambodia.

The modern name Cambodia is derived from Kambuja, “Born of Kambu,” a name that ironically first appears in a Cham inscription from 817 mentioning Indravarman (877–899), in which he is called “sovereign of the Kambuja.” Chronicles of Thai kingdoms describe battles between Kambujas of Lopburi and Mons of Haripunjaya. The name was apparently created in the early Angkor period. Zhou Daguan in the late 13th century also knew of the name Kambuja, but Chinese authors only began to use it in the Ming period, before which they preferred their own name, Zhenla (or Zhenlap), of unknown derivation.

KAMESWARA. The name of a ruler of Kediri who left inscriptions dated 1182 and 1185. His reign is notable for the composition of important literary works by Tanakung and Dharmaja. See also LITERATURE.

KAMPE (KUMPEH; KOMPEI). A place-name that appears in Chinese sources beginning in the seventh century. It refers to a port, or possibly more than one port, on the east coast of Sumatra. It was listed in a Chinese record of the 11th century as a former dependency of Sanfoqi, from which it had become independent. Zhao Rukuo in 1225 mentioned two places with this name. One plausible location is Kumpeh Island, north of Medan. Another is Muara Kumpeh, near the mouth of the Batanghari in Jambi. E. Edwards McKinnon recovered an Indian “tradewind” bead, a Chinese coin from the Tang dynasty, and Chinese ceramics of the Song period at Tanjung Pelancu, where the Kumpeh River enters the Batanghari. This site lies 40 kilometers (25 miles) downstream from Muara Jambi, a site where there exist important monuments from the 11th through 13th centuries.

KANJURUHAN. Name of a capital in east Java mentioned in the Dinaya inscription of 760. The inscription records the erection of a statue of Agastya in a temple built by Limwa, also known as Gajayana, son of Dewasingha. This is our only record of the kingdom and its rulers. The location of Kanjuruhan is unknown. This kingdom coexisted with the early kingdom of Mataram in central Java, but
there is no evidence of direct contact between the two. The inscription also mentions a royal marriage between a princess of Kanjuruh and a king named Jananiya, who must have ruled another place, but even the name of his kingdom is unknown.

**KAN-T’O-LI.** See GANTOLI.

**KANURUHAN.** An inscription found in Bunul, Blimbing district, Malang, east Java. It is now in the courtyard of the fire department barracks and office of sanitation in the city of Malang. The inscription, dated 856 Saka (934 CE), records the presentation of land from Rakryan Kanuruh to sang Bubul, to be made into a flower garden. The new ownership was confirmed by the presentation of gifts to officials. This inscription is interest partly because of its early date and partly because of the evidence it provides about the environs of early Javanese temples. See also TITLES.

**KARANGBERAHI.** Site where a stone inscription was discovered on the upper Merangin River of Jambi Province, east Sumatra. It is one of several “oath stones” set up by the ruler of Srivijaya in the late seventh century. The Dutch archaeologist N. J. Krom compared these inscriptions to an act of taking possession, similar to erecting a flag.

**KARANGREJA.** An inscription from Garum district, Blitar, east Java, dated 1056 Saka (1134 CE). It concerns the award to sang brahmana by Rahyangta Sanjaya (who is also mentioned in the Pojok inscription from the Semarang area dated 1022 Saka of special rights: to sit on or own a kind of furniture made for sitting or sleeping (a sort of couch) made from wood turned on a lathe; to wear certain clothes; and to decorate his house with silk of a type called ringring bananten, a decorative fringe or strip of cloth prepared in a special way, including by pounding with a mallet. Houses decorated with cloth curtains or fringes of pleated cloth beneath the roof can be seen in reliefs of east Javanese temples at Jabung, Tegurwangi (Tigawangi), Panataran, and Kedaton. Apparently the possession of this fringe was a mark of status. Also sang brahmana could own slaves, including hunchbacks, albinos, and dwarfs. This is one of the typical inscriptions of the Kediri period, which indicates the prolifer-
ation of status differences and the outward markers that accompanied them.

KARANGTENGGA. An inscription dated 824 that mentions King Samaratunga, who built a Jinalaya, “Place for the Conqueror Buddhas,” divided into 10 parts; this might refer to Barabudur.

KARIMUN. An island in the Riau archipelago, site of an inscription carved in large letters on a cliff on the north side of the island from which the entire southern entrance to the Strait of Melaka is visible. This would have been a highly strategic site of great interest for any group that wished to control shipping passing through the strait. The Sanskrit inscription, written in large letters in devanagari script, was carved in the eighth or ninth century, during Srivijaya’s golden age.

The inscription proclaims: “These are the footsteps of the illustrious Gautama, the Mahayanist, who possessed a round instrument (gōlā yāṇṭrā).” The meaning of the inscription is ambiguous. Natural indentations near the inscription might be the “footsteps” to which the text refers. Devanagari script was used by Mahayana Buddhists in Java starting in the late eighth century. A Buddhist community probably existed somewhere near the north coast of Karimun. The “round instrument” is a mystery. The phrase gōlā yāṇṭrā is not found in any other inscription. It has been speculated that this is a reference to an armillary sphere, but it is impossible to confirm this idea.

Probably this site was used by Sea People allied to Srivijaya, who kept watch over passing ships and made sure that they paid duties to the maharaja. Perhaps a king of Srivijaya once presented the local chief with an imported instrument, who had a record of the gift inscribed on the prominent rock. A village whose inhabitants called themselves the Akit people still live near the site. They revere the inscription, decorating the low enclosure that now surrounds it with banners.

KARMAVIBHANGGA. See MAHAKARMAVIBHANGGA.

KATAHA. See KEDAH.
KATTIGARA. One of the place-names in the corpus ascribed to Ptolemy, the Greek cosmographer of the second century CE. Most scholars agree that the toponym probably refers to a location in the Mekong Delta where the kingdom known as Funan was in existence by the third century. See also OC EO.

KAUNDINYA. The founder of Funan, who according to legend belonged to a brahmin clan of this name that is known to have lived in northern India. Third-century Chinese envoys to Funan reported that its first king came in a ship from a foreign land (which could have been either in India or insular Southeast Asia), guided by a magical being. In Funan he used a magic bow to subdue a piratical and primitive queen, married her, and became king. A Cham inscription from Mi Son tells a different version, according to which Kaundinya the brahmin married a naga princess. Another Kaundinya was a legendary brahmin who came from Panpan.

KAUTHARA. The name Kauthara is first cited in 784, when it denoted an independent Cham kingdom in the area of what is now Nha Trang. By 817, however, it was under the rule of Pandurangga. Major sanctuaries in the kingdom included Po Nagar. The earliest inscription in Southeast Asia, the Vocanh stele, was found in this region.

KAWI. From the Sanskrit kavya, poetic literature. Whereas Indian kawyas were marked by extreme technical virtuosity, Javanese kawi was comparatively simple and natural. Important examples of kawi literature in ancient Java include the Arjunawijaya, Arjunawiwaha, Bharatayuddha, Ghatotkacasraya, and Hariwangsa. The term came to be applied to a form of literature known in Java as kakawin and to the style of script used in Java by the mid-eighth century, which had evolved from earlier Pallava writing. Archaic Kawi was used in inscriptions before 832, mainly for edicts issued in the name of the Sailendra rulers, including one dated 775 in southern Thailand. After 832 the archaic form evolved into a new form called Standard Kawi used by rulers for sima inscriptions. Later Kawi, which developed in east Java after the ninth century, was both more monumental in style and clearer in its distinctions between characters closely re-
sembling one another. Kawi script was also used in Bali, Madura, Sumbawa, and Sumatra, with local features in each area. Inscriptions from the outer islands tend to incorporate some elements that had already been replaced in Java, making it more difficult to determine the ages of inscriptions by reference to paleography.

**KEDAH.** The name of a modern state in northwest peninsular Malaysia. Various versions of the name appear in the 7th through 10th centuries in Chinese (Jiecha) and Indian sources (Katahā, Kadaram, Kidara). The Arab name Kalah also refers to the same general area. Important sites of inscriptions, temples, and trading ports such as Pengkalan Bujang (on the Sungai Bujang/Bujang River), Sungai Mas, Bukit Meriam, and Candi Bukit Batu Pahat lie in this state. Kedah was one of the two centers of the kingdom of Srivijaya until the Chola attack of 1025, when it was conquered and its king, Sangramavijayottunggavarman, taken captive to India, along with his treasures, after which he disappears from history.

In 1068, however, the Chola king Virarajendra I said that he had restored the kingdom to its defeated king, because it was too far away beyond the sea. In 1089–1090 the king of Kidara asked the Chola ruler Kulottungga I to grant a new charter to the Buddhist sanctuary built at Negapatam in 1005 at the request of the Sailendra ruler Chudamanivarman, who was then ruling at Palembang. Kedah was probably a colony of the Cholas at this time.

In a Tamil inscription of 1265 issued by another south Indian kingdom, Pandya, “Kadaram” appears as one of 19 countries conquered along with Burma and Sri Lanka. Some historians believe this claim is fictitious, but others point out that the Tambralingga king Chandrabhanu had recently attempted to occupy part of Sri Lanka. It is possible that Kedah was an ally of Tambralingga involved in a war against the Pandyas who then ruled Sri Lanka.

**KEDATON.** A candi in east Java dated by inscription to 1370. Its isolated location suggests that it was once part of a hermitage. A statue of Bhima, one of the five Pandawa brothers of the Mahabharata, was discovered here. He became the focus of a Javanese cult during the Majapahit period. The structure consists of a stone platform that perhaps once supported a superstructure of perishable material. The
walls of the platform are decorated with narrative reliefs illustrating scenes from the Arjunawiwaha, Garudeya, and Bhomakawya.

**KEDIRI (KADIRI).** A kingdom established in the mid-11th century after the division of Airlangga’s kingdom Kahuripan in east Java. The kingdom was also called Panjalu or Pangjalu, and the capital was known as Daha, according to the Wurare inscription. The site of Daha has never been located. Janggala is supposed to have controlled the north and east; Panjalu would then have ruled the south and west. Kediri was probably the kingdom’s popular name, whereas Panjalu may have been an official or sacred name used by the elite. The name Gelanggelang also appeared in the 13th century. The Madin area with its flat land suitable for growing rice would have formed an important part of the kingdom. Although Janggala was supposedly independent, Kediri rapidly became the dominant half, and the period from 1049 to 1222 is often called the Kediri period in Javanese history. In 1109 Kediri sent a mission to China.

Kediri left many inscriptions, whereas its putative twin, Janggala, is mute from the standpoint of inscriptions. A Kediri poet named Tri-guna composed an epic poem entitled Kresnayana about Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu. The kingdom constructed no temples of permanent materials, but did sponsor religious sculpture. Kediri inscriptions continue to mention simas, as in central Java, but in terms of their renewal rather than their original formulation. The rulers of the kingdom were devotees of Vishnu, and many statues of this deity survive from this period. Kediri’s rulers, according to various inscriptions, included Bameshwara (1117–1130); Warmeshwara, also called Jayabaya (1135–1179); Sarweshwara (1159–1161); Aryeshwara (1171); and Kroncharyadipa (11810.

Kediri developed a well-organized system of territorial administration. Villages, called thani, were the lowest level. Above them were districts (wisaya) and the kingdom (bhumi). Nagara denoted the capital settlement, and the palace was termed kadatwan. Two inscriptions in central Java date from the Kediri period, showing that there was some small amount of organized religious activity there, but give no evidence of direct administration from Kediri.

Centralized government increased during the Kediri period. Military organization was systematized, with troops allocated to divisions
of archers, club-wielders, lancers, horse cavalry, and elephants. Some military personnel became permanent professionals, but in war the general population was also mobilized. Units of nonprofessionals each had a special banner with emblems, usually depicting animals. For example, one Kediri inscription mentions “the official called Winuruk, with the ‘yellow elephant’ banner.” King Sminingrat appointed relatives as governors of areas outside the palace. The authority of kings in religious affairs superseded that of the priesthood itself.

Fines, payable in gold, were levied for breaking regulations, rather than punishment by curses as in earlier periods. Taxes were collected on such activities as the sale of cattle, metalwork, pottery, salt and oil, and entertainment. The government regulated the building of boats and their use.

The ranks of intermediate officials in the kingdom grew more complex. Duwan or duhan were stationed at the village (thani) or central village (dalem thani) level. Kediri inscriptions describe the desire of these officials to secure royal dispensation to display certain status symbols. The other new type of official was the sopana, literally “staircase” or “mediator.” Village life probably began to resemble that in the capital. The main duty of village-level officials was sending local products to the capital. The panajyan sri maharaja (king’s teachers) were described as “masters of yoga in the Bhairawa path, the cause of the attainment of perfection through the Nyanya school of thought.” They were in charge of communicating the king’s orders to lower-ranking officials and advised the kings in religious affairs. Other groups of officials included the rakryan mahamantri, possibly including princes, and tanda rakryan, bureaucratic leaders, some with special authority in religious affairs. Kings of Kediri had court poets, implying a sophisticated cultural life at court.

In 1221 the ruler of Kediri, known as Kertajaya or Shringa, was defeated in a battle by a usurper known as Ken Angrok. Kediri became part of his new kingdom, Tumapel, the capital of which was located at Singasari. Zhao Rukuo in 1225 wrote that the country of Shepo had changed its name to Sujidan, possibly corresponding to modern Javanese Sukadana, in order to deceive the Chinese government. Huge amounts of copper coins were being smuggled from China to Java despite a strict Chinese ban against the export of this
form of money. It is more likely that the change of the name by which the Chinese called the main polity in Java had more to do with internal political events in Java than the fabrication of a ruse intended to confuse the Chinese.

KEDUKAN BUKIT. Site near the foot of Seguntang Hill, Palembang, south Sumatra. An important inscription found here says that on 23 April 682 a king set out by boat in search of fortune (siddhayatra) and that on 19 May he left an estuary with both land and sea forces; after a month, he brought back victory, power, and wealth to the kingdom of Srivijaya. The meaning seems to be that the king first made a pilgrimage to the hill. The Malay Annals describes the magical appearance of the first king of the Malays, Sri Tri Buana, at this hill. During the Srivijaya period, large Buddhist sanctuaries with monumental sculptures were erected there. These were subsequently replaced by pseudo-Islamic shrines (keramat).

KELANTAN. Now the name of a state on the northeast coast of peninsular Malaysia. The name is first referred to in 1225 in the Chinese source Zhufanzhi as Ji-lan-dan, a dependency of Sanfoqi.

KELURAK. An inscription dated 782, known as the Kelurak Stone, was found between two Buddhist sanctuaries named Candi Lum-bung and Candi Sewu, near Lara Jonggrang in the environs of Prambanan village. The text refers to an important sanctuary, but cannot be connected with certainty to any one of these monuments. According to the stone, in 782 a teacher from Gaudi (western Bengal), possibly an Indian monk, named Kumaraghosa consecrated in Kelurak an image of Manjusri. The image is described as containing the essence of Buddha, dharma, and sanggha on one hand and Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesvara (Siva) on the other, and the inscription emphasizes the powerful effects this image of Manjusri is expected to exert. The inscription also mentions a Sailendra king named Sanggramadhananjaya. Like several other Mahayana Buddhist inscriptions of the Sailendra, it is written in a script called devanagari rather than the usual kawi. The inscription invokes the three jewels of Buddhism, then refers to king Indra, characterized as a great conqueror and ornament of the Sailendra dynasty. In the last line, the
name Sri Sangramadhananjaya is legible. This is probably King In-
dra’s abhiśeka name received upon initiation into a Mahayana Bud-
dhist order.

**KENDALISADA.** Named after the palace of Hanuman, this is a sacred
site on the slope of Mount Penanggungan, east Java. It consists of
a five-story set of terraces set against a steep slope at an elevation of
about 1,000 meters (3,300 feet), overlooking the east Javanese low-
lands where Majapahit’s capital at Trowulan was located. The site
probably dates to the 15th century. Three small structures often called
altars and now used as places to leave offerings of flowers stand on
the top story. These resemble the structures now in use in Balinese
temples and identified as seats where the gods can be invoked to re-
side by devotees during ceremonies.

The first two terraces are decorated with narrative reliefs. The
main characters consist of a woman and a man who wears a particu-
lar kind of headgear often but not always associated with Panji, a
character in a popular series of Majapahit-period stories. The themes
of all the stories revolve around the separation and reunion of Panji
and his love Chandrakirana.

A natural cleft in the rock has been adapted to serve as a medita-
tion space. The entrance to the interior of the cleft has been furnished
with a stone staircase and gateway, the walls of which were originally
decorated with more reliefs. Two depicted the temptation of Arjuna;
the other portrayed Bhima in the midst of the ocean, probably a scene
from the Bhimasuci text. Two of these have now disappeared.

**KENDI.** A word derived from Sanskrit kūndika to refer to a type of
pitcher with a long neck and a spout. In India this type of artifact was
often made of a special material known as Red Polished Ware and
was primarily associated with Hindu rituals involving holy water,
but they have also been found at Buddhist sites. Early kendi are
found on Pyu sites in Burma such as Beikthano, at Dvaravati sites
in Thailand such as Chansen, and at Ban Ku Muang, Oc Eo, Vietnam.
The form became popular in Java and Sumatra, where it was often
associated with Buddhist sites. Production continues into the present,
when such vessels are still mainly used for containing water for
drinking.
KERTANAGARA. Ruler of Singasari, east Java, between 1254 and 1292. According to inscriptions, his reign overlapped with that of his father Wisnuwardhana, which lasted from 1248 to 1268. Perhaps his father retired from the world to devote himself to religion, a practice common in ancient Java. According to the Desawarnana, the name Singasari replaced the former name Kutaraja for his capital and thus applied to the whole kingdom during his reign. In 1269 he issued the Charter of Sawardharma, which exempted religious establishments, including communities centered around risi, from the secular administration. The religious communities gained autonomy, but lost access to government funding. Thereafter Javanese temples became much smaller, and architects adopted elaborate design methods aimed at making them appear taller than they were.

In 1275, according to the Pararaton, Kertanagara launched a military expedition against Malayu in Sumatra (an invasion called the Pamalayu in the Javanese text). The Desawarnana, canto 41, stanza 5, contains the information that in 1275 the honored Prabhu (ancestor, i.e., Kertanagara) had ordered an expedition to be sent to the country of Malayu. “Intense was going to be their fear because of his being a divine incarnation.” This is followed by the statement in canto 42, stanza 1, that in 1284 he sent men to subjugate Bali. As a result, people from foreign countries “equally were striving for security, entering into the Presence at the Prince’s feet. / All that belonged to Pahang, that belonged to Malayu equally bowed humbly.”

A statue of the esoteric Buddhist deity Amoghapasa found in Sumatra bears an inscription stating that it had been sent from Java by this king, who is given the highly respectful title Sri Maharajadhi-rama Sri Kertanagara Wikrama Dharmottungadewa, in 1286. The statue was supposed to be “a delight for all the people of bhumi [the land of] Malayu.” Such “donations” of religious artifacts were sometimes used as signs of political dominance. Some historians, notably J. G. de Casparis, however, favor an alternative interpretation of these events, namely, that Kertanagara wished to form an alliance against the Mongol Yuan dynasty, which had assumed control over most of China in 1260. The Yuan rulers gave indications that they expected a much more servile form of tributary relationship than that which had traditionally existed between China and its vassals in the South Seas.
Singasari’s 14th-century successor kingdom Majapahit undoubtedly sought to subjugate Sumatra and the rest of the Indonesian archipelago; on balance it is likely that this represented a continuation of Kertanagara’s policies. It is acknowledged that Bali became subject to him only after an attack in 1284 that resulted in the capture of the queen and her exile to Java.

Kublai Khan’s command to the Javanese to send a close relative of the Javanese king to come in person and bow before the Yuan ruler dates from four years after the Pamalayu attack, in 1279. After more missions from China in 1280 and 1281, another Mongol envoy in 1289 had his face mutilated by the Javanese, causing an attack to be launched from China. By the time the fleet arrived in Java in 1292, however, Kertanagara was dead, assassinated a few months earlier by the governor of the Kediri area, Jayakatwang, in the midst of a tantric ritual that apparently involved consumption of intoxicating drink. The Pararaton took a dim view of such a ritual, but the Desawarnana depicted the same event as a solemn religious duty and characterized Kertanagara as learned, virtuous, and devoted to Buddhism. When he died, he was said to have “returned to the abode of the king of the Jina Buddhas” and to have been commemorated in statues of a Jina Buddha and Ardhanareswari, a half-male, half-female representation of the esoteric Buddhist deity Vairocana and Lochana, his female aspect.

Kertarajasa Jayawardenhe. Founder of the east Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in 1294. He was originally a prince known as Raden or Dyah Wijaya. In the aftermath of the assassination of his father-in-law, King Kertanagara, and the king’s wife Gayatri, Wijaya managed to form an alliance with a Mongol/Chinese force that arrived with the intention of punishing Kertanagara. After gaining their trust and subduing his rival Jayakatwang, Wijaya turned on his erstwhile allies and drove them away. They took with them Jayakatwang’s children and other prisoners, but their generals were punished for their defeat by the Yuan emperor.

Kertarajasa reigned until 1309, though he had to put down revolts by Rangga Lawe, Viraraja, Sora, Nambi, and Juru Demung. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Jayanagara. A statue of Harihara was placed in Candi Simping near Blitar, in which according to
Javanese tradition it was believed that his spirit could be invoked by his descendants for protection.

KERTAWIJAYA. King of Majapahit, east Java, 1447–1451. The development of a specifically Javanese variant of religion with loose connections to ancient Hinduism continued apace during his reign, with the construction of sanctuaries on Mounts Wilis and Merbabu in 1449. He was succeeded by Rajasawardhana, whose relationship with him is obscure.

KETANEN. An inscription in the museum of Mojokerto, near the former capital of Majapahit, which mentions the date 826 Saka (904 CE) and the kabikuan i simajaran that was released from Pamwatan. It has been speculated that simajaran should be read as sima ajaran, a place with special exemptions from taxation, within which was a kabikuan, a place for people who had withdrawn from the outside world.

KHLEANG. Two small temples at Angkor Thom, designated North and South Khleang. Suryavarman I kept the North Khleang, which already existed but whose purpose is unknown, and built the South Khleang to mark the limits of his palace. These were restored in the early 21st century. They flank one of the main routes leading from the palace.

KHMER. The ethnolinguistic group that, during the Angkor period, probably constituted the majority of the population inhabiting a wide area including modern Cambodia, the Mekong Valley as far north as Savannakhet, the area of northeast Thailand including the Chi River valley to Roi Et, the Mun River valley and Khorat, and perhaps even the area around Bangkok. During the late first millennium CE expansion of Angkor, the Khmer probably absorbed people who had been Mon speakers.

More than 100 Khmer-style temples are found in the basin of that tributary of the Mekong. The sculpture, epigraphy, architecture, and religion of the Khmer of northeast Thailand were, however, distinct from those who lived in the Angkor area. The modern population of the Mun area in Thailand still contains many ethnic Khmer.
**KHUAN LUKPAD.** Site of an early port in southern Thailand, which was in contact with India by the early first millennium CE. Artifacts found here include carnelian intaglios and seals, some of second-century Roman types. Other inscribed objects have inscriptions in Brahmi and Karoshti. A Tamil inscription on a touchstone for assaying gold, on the other hand, has been dated to the third century. Unfortunately most of these artifacts come from illegal excavations, so their context is completely unknown. Parts of a boat found in the Wat Khlong Thom Museum, Krabi, south Thailand, were apparently associated with this site, as are relics of possible bead production using raw glass imported from India. Molds for making rings, probably of gold, have also been found here. Khuan Lukpad may have been a processing center as well as a trading port. No remains of architecture, nor long inscriptions, have been found there.

**KIDAL.** A stone temple in east Java. Early written sources state that it was built to commemorate Anusapati, second ruler of Singasari, east Java, who reigned from 1227 to 1248. According to east Javanese custom, 12 years after death the soul’s journey to reunion with its divine origin was considered complete, and the final ceremony called shraddhā could be held enshrining a statue where the dead person’s soul, now part of a greater being, could be invoked.

According to the Desawarnana, Rangga Rajasa came to power in 1182 and died in 1227, honored as Siva at Kagenengan and as Buddha at Usana. He was succeeded by his son Anusapati who “returned to Sivaloka” in 1248 and was honored as Siva at Candi Kidal. He was succeeded by his son Wisnuwardana, who ruled together with Narasinga.

The Pararaton, on the other hand, states that Anusapati was the son of Ken Dedes and Tunggul Ametung, king of Tumapel. Tunggul Ametung was killed by Ken Angrok, who was in turn assassinated in 1247. Anusapati then took the throne; was killed by Toh Jaya, son of Angrok and Ken Umang in 1249; and was honored at Candi Kidal.

The Maribong inscription records that in September 1248 Tumapel was ruled by Jayawisnuwardana, son of Anusapati. Probably Anusapati was dead by this time, but this cannot be confirmed. Candi Kidal was likely finished for his shraddha ceremony 12 years later, in 1260.

Kidal is important because it is the first temple of this type to have been built in Java, or at least the oldest that has survived. It represents
the resumption of permanent temple architecture in Java after a lapse of four centuries. Kidal has some general similarities to central Javanese architecture, including division into a base, a hollow central shrine, and a tall multistory superstructure; a Kala head over the entrance; and ferocious beasts guarding the staircase analogous to makaras. Kidal displays hallmarks of the east Javanese style, which differs from that of central Java; taller proportions, making more use of perspective effects, and the depiction of the Kala with a lower jaw, fangs, and two hands in threatening gestures are two of the most prominent here. Rampant lions on the four corners of the base are replicas of those found at Candi Ngawen in central Java.

Kidal’s most unique characteristic consists of three depictions of Garuda on the exterior of the base. They symbolize the Garudeya legend from the first book of the Mahabharata in which Garuda strives to redeem his mother, Vinata, enslaved by her sister Kadru and her naga children. Integral to the story is his capture of the elixir of immortality, the price for his mother’s freedom. The elixir, amerta, is symbolized by the tall-necked spouted kendi Garuda carries on his head in one of the relief carvings. The Garudeya is depicted on other east Javanese shrines, including Kedaton and Sukuh, but not in any central Javanese monuments.

The main image from the shrine is missing. It may have been the statue of Siva now in the Tropeninstituut in Amsterdam, which according to Satyawati Suleiman is Anusapati’s portrait statue. Other associated statues of Agastya, Durga, and Ganesa probably also once existed as well; their whereabouts are unknown. Sir T. S. Raffles in his History of Java in 1817 described Kidal, then covered by jungle.

KINWU. An inscription now in the Blitar museum, said to have come from Klampok, Jiwut, Nglegok, in the Blitar area, east Java. It contains the date 829 Saka (937 CE) and mentions sri maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung as the giver of a grant to rama i Kinwu watak Randaman: the extension of a rice field, requested in order that the rama or elder of Kinwu would be able to pay drabyahaji (tax). The cost of expanding the rice field included five kati (6.5 pounds/3 kilograms) of gold to be paid to high officials, including the king. The inscription records an unusually detailed sequence of activities of Ra-
manta Kinwu: he was to pay his respects (possibly at the capital), then go home, hold a religious meal (sélamaññ), and erect a stone boundary pillar (sáng ḫyang teás). This is one of the few inscriptions that add significant background information to the official records.

**KOH KER.** A site called Chok Gargyar in ancient texts, Koh Ker was a rival capital established in 921 by Jayavarman IV northeast of Angkor (see map 6), where he built a number of large temples and a baray. This may have been Jayavarman’s native place; a three-sided baray already existed there. This site was the capital also of Jayavarman’s son Harsavarman, upon whose death in approximately 944 the capital was moved back to Yasodharapura (Angkor) by Rajendravarman. A Sanskrit inscription of Prasat Thom dated 921 mentions the god Tribhuvanesvara (Siva). All Khmer inscriptions from this monument mention Kamraten jagat ta raïya, “god of royalty,” possibly a Khmer translation of Tribhuvanesvara, “Lord of the Three Worlds.” This expression eventually was applied to all sorts of gods and divinized people.

Numerous shrines imply that a dense population once existed here. Buildings at Koh Ker include towers like Prasat Kravan that unfortunately are too ruined to enable us to reconstruct the perspective effects, which would have given interesting information regarding the development of Khmer architecture at this period. Other important structures in various states of preservation include Prasat Ling[ga]; Prasat Andong Kuk, which consists of several small buildings half-completed; Prasat Krachap (a Banteay Srei–type structure with many inscriptions named after a water plant); Prasat Banteay Pitcheon (a large stone structure with two “libraries” and an interesting lintel); Prasat Chrap; and Prasat Damrei, a brick shrine with elephants on the corners. Koh Ker sculptural style was also highly developed.

**KOSA.** A word derived from Sanskrit meaning “sheath or container for something precious.” It denotes artifacts described in Cham inscriptions as gold or silver sheaths for Rudrabhaga, the upper section of the línŋgā that represents Siva. Kosa are well-known in India, but rare in Southeast Asia. They are frequently cited in Sanskrit portions of Cham inscriptions as the most important gifts given by rulers to
deities. The Uttarakanda book of the Ramayana says that worship of a gold lingga helps one become rich. Rawana carried one and worshipped it as a path to sovereignty.

**KOTA KAPUR.** Site on Bangka Island, near the mouth of the Musi River, south Sumatra, near Palembang, where an inscription dated 686, written in Old Malay language but including numerous Sanskrit words, was found. The text was carved on a hexagonal stone pillar, found on the Menduk River, west Bangka, of a sort of rock not found on the island. The text, which consists of 10 lines written in Pallava script, begins with a cryptic section in a language or code that has not been deciphered. It then mentions the kadatuan or kingdom of Srivijaya, followed by an oath of allegiance repeated in several other late seventh-century Sumatran inscriptions, and the report that an expedition was about to be dispatched to the land of Java, which had not yet submitted to the kingdom of Srivijaya. N. J. Krom thought that this inscription was a warning to Bangka, but more likely it contained this extra clause because the warriors of Srivijaya came from Bangka. In later periods, this island was an important source of Srivijaya’s naval manpower.

**KO-YING.** Two early third-century Chinese envoys, Kang Tai and Wan Chen, visited Funan (probably in the region of south Vietnam) and the Kra Isthmus on the Malay Peninsula in order to compile a report on Southeast Asian maritime commerce. This report, entitled Nan chou i wu chih, mentions a place called Ko-ying. This country had volcanoes, and its people wore bark cloth. Ko-ying traded with the Malay Peninsula as well as India, from whence it imported horses; its products included pearls, gold, jade, and areca nuts. It did not trade with China, however. The information recorded about Ko-ying suggests that it was probably in western Java. Historians have speculated that it possibly corresponds to a place called Argyre in Ptolemy’s Geographia, written around 150 CE.

A mid-sixth-century Chinese manuscript, the Lo yang jia lan zhi, contains information from Wan Chen’s third-century report, possibly including some that was omitted from other copies of the original source. It describes Ko-ying as the most powerful country in the southern barbarian lands.
**KRAVANH.** Meaning “cardamom,” this is the name of a Khmer temple in Angkor built by Harsavarman I (900–921). The site consists of five brick towers, all displaying the same plan but constructed in varying dimensions. The style of decoration is much like that of Phnom Bakheng. The interior of the central tower has reliefs carved in brick; surviving traces of black and red paint indicate that much detailed decoration has disappeared. Prasat Kravanh belongs to a specific type of temple built as single towers in rows, as at Preah Ko and Lolei. This form of architecture may have been destined specifically to enshrine statues of ancestors of rulers in the form of deities. The eastern towers are usually meant for male ancestors and are guarded by male dwarapalas; the western towers are dedicated to women and guarded by devatas. The Prasat Kravanh group, however, faces east, so the temples are aligned along a north–south axis.

The central tower at Prasat Kravanh bears an inscription on the entrance dated 921 that mentions the erection of a statue of Vishnu. The walls of the central tower bear carvings depicting Vishnu bestriding the universe in three steps, riding on his mount Garuda, and being worshipped. Unusually, a Siva lingga was discovered in the middle of the shrine rather than a Vishnu statue. The temple on the north has decorations indicating that it was allocated to Lakshmi, Vishnu’s consort. The temple at the south end of the group has a lintel depicting Vishnu on Garuda.

**KRASNAYANA.** An epic poem in kakawin form about Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu, written in the late 11th century at the court of Kediri by Triguna, “the one with three virtues.” Two versions of the poem are known. The oldest extant edition is derived from one dated 1544, but it may have become standardized around 1400.

The narrative revolves around a love affair between Krishna and Rukmini, a princess. Her elder brother Rukma opposed the marriage, instead wanting her to marry King Sisupala of Cedi. After a war was fought between Rukma and Krishna, the victorious Krishna wanted to finish off Rukma, but Rukmini asked him to have mercy on her brother. Rukma went away and founded a new city. Reliefs illustrating the text are found at Candi Jago, near Malang, built in 1268.

Some scenes resembling parts of this text are recognizable on the Vishnu temple at Lara Jonggrang: Krishna tied to a mortar; Krishna
sucking the poison-filled breasts of Putana; the destruction of evil beings such as Dhenuka in the form of an ass, Pralamba the cowherd, and Arista the calf; Trenawarta, who as a whirlwind stole baby Krishna; Kaliya the naga king; Agha the snake; and other demons such as Vakasura. However the Lara Jonggrang reliefs do not appear to depict Krishna’s marriage with Rukmini, so the text the designers followed in this case is unlikely to have been the Kresnayana.

**KRISHNA.** See VISHNU.

**KUALA SELINSING.** An archaeological complex located on several hummocks in a coastal swamp in Perak, on the west coast of peninsular Malaysia. Large quantities of what seem to be late prehistoric earthenware ceramics have been excavated on one of these hummocks. On another, a range of artifacts including burials, gold jewelry, early Chinese porcelain, and a carnelian seal engraved with the name Sri Vishnuvarman in a script dated to the early first millennium CE were discovered. The site is interesting because it seems to have been a second-level port, a collecting center for a larger harbor, parts of which already existed in late prehistoric times.

**KUBYAUUKKYI.** “Great Variegated.” A temple at Myinkaba, Bagan, built by Prince Rajakumara to try to earn merit for his ailing father Kyanzittha in 1113. Rajakumara never became king; instead he chose to devote his life to scholarship. The temple has surviving plaster carvings on the exterior, and Jataka paintings with Mon captions on the interior. Above the Jatakas are two larger rows of panels: the upper with stories of the life of the historical Buddha (64 in all), the lower with scenes of four great kings, the Brahmanic Govinda legend, and further episodes from Buddha’s life. Some paintings in the temple have been well restored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Some written glosses are taken from the Sri Lankan chronicles Mahawangsa and Culawangsa, which contain information about the history of Buddhism and of Sri Lanka.

Another section of the temple has murals depicting various cities where Buddha taught, the Buddha teaching on Earth, and his mother in heaven. The three great Buddhist councils, based on the Mahawangsa, are shown. Unusual murals depict 10-armed dwarapalas with their female saktis; these are surmounted by a three-headed Brahma, above whom is a Theravada arahat.
The four-faced inscription describing the donation of the temple is now in the enclosure of the Myazedi stupa just east of it. Because of this inscription, this is the oldest datable temple at Bagan. The inscription is quadrilingual: Pyu, Mon, Old Burman, and Pali. The language shows continued Pyu influence, even though their political power declined in the ninth century. This is also the oldest known inscription written in the Burmese language.

KULEN. A plateau north of Angkor in Cambodia. Here in 802 Jayavarman II supposedly conducted a ceremony involving a devaraja ritual intended to ensure Cambodia’s eternal independence from Java and to consecrate himself as a cakravartin. This ritual is best known from an inscription found at the distant location of Sdok Kak Thom, now in the territory of the kingdom of Thailand. There are numerous important archaeological remains on and around Phnom Kulen. A particular style of early Khmer architecture has been named after the plateau. It consists of simple brick towers with square plans containing small chambers found here and at Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Prasat.

Kulen-style sculpture has clear links to that of Gupta India, but even the earliest known examples seem to have distinctive local characteristics such as a more realistic depiction of the torso of the body. Examples include mainly statues of Vishnu with tall miter-shaped crowns or Harihara (Siva and Vishnu in one body). During the Kulen period, statuary became less fluid and more blocklike. The legs became very conventionalized and stiff. The famous facial expression known as the “Smile of Angkor” already began to appear, as did a conventionalized style of depiction of the textile that covered the lower body.

Construction probably began here at the same time as at Sambor Prei Kuk in northeast Cambodia, as seen in the similarities between Prasat Neak Ta and Prasat O Paong to sanctuaries at Sambor. Prasat Neak Ta (also called Prasat Andon) may have been the first structure to be erected on the plateau. It consists of a brick tower with a few sandstone elements. It faces west and is decorated with triangular niches and a relief temple on the exterior. The next, built around 800, was Prasat O Paong, which can be dated to the early ninth century by its false doorways on false stories, which Jacques Dumarçay and
Pascal Royere consider to be a sign of this period when Khmer architects were influenced by Java. The Khmer innovation of the false door may have arisen around 795, when the Javanese closed off some doorways in their shrines, making them more exclusive. O Paong is a single brick tower built in four stages.

Foliage decoration on Prasat Thmar Dap resembles the Javanese temple Kalasan during its second state, which it was given in 795. This building, which faces east, is well preserved. It has a sandstone lintel on one side and carved brick lintels on other three sides. Scattered around the site are sandstone bases for linggas. The ceiling is of an unusual corbeled design and has naga-head brackets on the interior. Rong Cen, the biggest building on Kulen, was modeled on Barabudur. Cham influence can also be detected on the cornerstones of the Damrei Krap temple, which the Cham themselves had obtained from India.

**KUNHSAW KYAUNGPHYU.** According to Burmese chronicles, Kunhsaw Kyaungphyu was the father of King Anawrahta of Bagan and became king in approximately 1001. Burmese sources represent his reign as a return to the throne of the legitimate line of kings. The previous king, Nyaung U Sawrahan, is depicted as a cucumber farmer who had killed the king and usurped the throne. Sources such as the Mahayazawingyi claim that Kyaungphyu was the descendant of a former Burmese king, though this claim cannot be verified. His stepsons, Kyiso and Sukkate, sons of Sawrahan, eventually forced Kyaungphyu to abdicate and become a monk. When Anawrahta successfully defeated his half-brother Sukkate, in a joust, he offered the throne to Kyaungphyu, who declined. Kyaungphyu died in 1047, three years after Anawrahta became king.

**KUNJARAKARNA.** An epic poem depicting a visit to hell and the punishments of the damned. It is illustrated by relief carvings on Candi Jago, built near Malang, east Java, around 1280. The eponymous hero of the tale is a demon who practiced asceticism, was taught by the Jīna Buddha Vairocana, and escaped from rebirth by visiting hell. While there, he saw a bull-shaped cauldron of boiling water intended for the torture of his friend Purnawijaya. Although a virtuous person, in a previous existence Purnawijaya had committed sins that
necessitated a long period of punishment. Upon returning to Earth, Kunjarakarna warned his friend and advised him to ask Vairocana for assistance. The depiction of the torments of the damned, including the bull-shaped cauldron, animal-headed demons, attacks by birds, and so on found here, are depicted on other monuments, including the Mahakarmavibhangga reliefs of Barabudur and the ceiling of the 19th-century Kertagosa hall of justice that still stands in Klungkung, Bali.

The oldest surviving text of the poem dates from the mid-14th century; previous versions, perhaps oral, must have existed in the 13th century. It is a purely Javanese composition. Its theme of redemption through meditation and devotion to the law of righteous conduct is common in east Javanese literature. The text emphasizes that neither Hindus nor Buddhists will obtain release from existence if they try to separate Siva and Buddha, who are in reality one entity.

KUNLUN. A Chinese term used in early history to refer to people of Southeast Asia. Chinese sources apply the adjective Kunlun to various subjects: a writing form, language, merchants, and pirates. The term has been glossed as “people of the islands” by Sylvain Lévi and G. Ferrand. R. C. Majumdar proposed to equate the term with “Malay.” It may be the Chinese equivalent of the Sanskrit word dvipantara.

KUTAI. An area in northeast Borneo (Kalimantan) near the modern cities of Balikpapan and Samarinda where numerous antiquities have been found. Seven inscriptions from here, in Pallava script dated on paleographic grounds to the early fifth century, may be the oldest in Indonesia. They are even older than the oldest stone inscriptions from south India in this script; earlier Pallava inscriptions were all on copper plates. Seven inscriptions were found, but only six are at present in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta.

The inscriptions are written in Sanskrit and were written at the order of a king named Mulavarman, whose father was Asvavarman, a Sanskrit name, but whose grandfather was Kundunga, an Indonesian-sounding name. The inscriptions were carved on stone posts known as yupa, and they commemorate gifts of cattle, a “wish-yielding tree,” and possibly gold to brahmins. The inscriptions mention a
sanctuary called Vaprakesvara but do not refer to any Hindu deities; the rituals they describe are more like those of early Vedic India. Remains such as menhirs and batu lesung, stones with cup-shaped depressions, found in the same area indicate continuity in the culture of the area from the late prehistoric to early historic periods. In India, such posts are normally made of wood; only three stone yupa posts have been reported from all of India. Thus Kutai has yielded more than the whole of India, where these date from the second to fourth centuries. Why the first inscriptions in Indonesia should have been erected in such a remote area, far from known trade routes linking the archipelago with India, is still a mystery.

In the same area at a site called Kota Bangun, a bronze Buddha of early style was discovered. Other important sites in the Kutai region have yielded important remains from the 13th to 16th centuries. The chronicle Salasilah Kutai describes a kingdom known as Martapura in Tanah Hulu, Muara Kaman, which existed in the late pre-Islamic period. Unfortunately in the early 1990s, many sites in Muara Kaman were looted; much potential historical information was lost. Known remains include brick ruins, probably of temples; stone and bronze statuary; ceramics; and beads. Other important sites that have yielded statuary from the 13th to 15th centuries include Mount Kombeng, where a Ganesa statue and other Hindu sculptures were discovered, and the estuary of the Rata River. For official occasions, the sultan of Muara Kaman in the colonial era wore a gold Vishnu and gold tortoise, which probably date from the pre-Islamic period.

KUWERA (KUBERA). In Indian mythology, a dark-skinned being, one of the eight generals or Masters of the Horses, all emanations of Vaisravana. He evolved from a yaksha form 2,000 years ago to become a lokaḍa or dikḍa, the guardian of the north. In Buddhism, he is known as Jambhala. In Java, Kuwera became popular in the ninth century as the god of wealth. Statues often depict him as a fat man seated on a throne, squeezing a mongoose from the mouth of which pour jewels, resting one foot on a vase full of gems.

KYANZITTHA. An important general under King Anawrahta of Bagan who took command of the army in 1084 upon the death of Sawlu during a revolt. Inscriptions call him Htilain Min (king of Hti-
lain in northeast *Burma*). *Chronicles* depict him as a brave and effective general, the son of a princess named Panchakalyani from India or *Arakan*; his father may have been an official who had an affair with the princess as he escorted her to Bagan. The chronicles describe Anawrahta’s numerous attempts to kill Kyanzittha because of a prophecy that he was destined to be the king of Bagan. Anawrahta’s advisers deliberately misled the king to interpret the prophecy as indicating that Kyanzittha posed a threat to his throne. The misunderstanding was eventually resolved, but Kyanzittha and Anawrahta then had a dispute that resulted in Kyanzittha’s exile to Htilain.

Kyanzittha’s inscriptions are vague about his origins, merely designating himself as a descendant of the “solar race.” Kyanzittha defeated the rebel Ngayaman Kan at the site where *Inwa* was later built. In about 1086 Kyanzittha is supposed to have been crowned by *Shin Arahan*, taking the reign name Tribhuwanaditya Dhammaraja. This became the title of his successors. According to the *Hmannan Yaza-windawgyi*, his only child by his official queen *Abeyadana* was a daughter who married the son of Sawlu. Kyanzittha abdicated at the birth of their child, his grandson, named *Alaungsithu*, installing himself as regent. The chronicles interpret this as an attempt to return the Burmese throne to Anawrahta’s line of legitimate kings.

Kyanzittha is also supposed to have had a son named Rajakumara by a woman named Sambhula, a niece of a hermit whom he met while in exile. This son later became governor of north Arakan. We cannot confirm most of these dramatic details since our only source is the chronicle. Rajakumara purportedly set up the inscription carved in four languages (Burmese, *Mon*, *Pyu*, and Pali) commonly referred to as the *Myazedi* inscription, around the time of Kyanzittha’s death.

Kyanzittha constructed a major temple at Bagan known as *Ananda*, which some have suggested is modeled after a shrine in Paharpur, Bangladesh. Supposedly one of the statues of a devotee praying in the Ananda is his portrait. He also completed the *Shwezigon*, begun by Anawrahta, where many of his inscriptions have been found. Much further afield, he also provided much assistance to rebuild the temple of Bodhgaya in India. A new palace was built for him around 1101–1102, which, according to his inscriptions (written in Mon), was dedicated with *Vishnu* rituals and where places of honor were reserved for Mons.
Kyanzittha sent an embassy to China in 1103, which was received with high honors. He died in approximately 1112.

**Kyanzittha Umin.** A large semisubterranean monastery at Bagan. The structure is believed to have been erected some time in the 13th century despite the fact that it was named after King Kyanzittha (1084–1113). The interior walls contain mural paintings, some of which are still in fair condition after conservation in the 1970s. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the murals is the depiction of warriors, including an archer, thought to represent the Mongols who invaded Burma in 1283.

**Kyaukku Umin.** A Bagan-period temple distinguished by the unique feature of its position built into the side of a cliff in a relatively remote area north of the main site. It was favored by hermit monks, who probably reached the site by boat on the Ayeyarwadi. The temple comprises a two-story central square shrine surmounted by two receding rectangular terraces, on top of which stands a small stupa. The entrance faces north. There are three corridors on the east, north, and west sides of the shrine. The south side includes meditation cells and tunnels running deep beneath the cliff, which according to folk tales lead to other temples. Exterior decoration includes ornate cornices and friezes decorated with ogre heads (kārītumukha); kinnari, half-human, half-bird heavenly musicians found on other temples in Southeast Asia, but here incorporated into temple decoration for the first time in Burma; nude females on the lowest tier east of the entrance; perforated stone windows; and carved door jambs.

Facing the entrance is a large Buddha image seated on a lotus throne. High on the walls beside the Buddha are square panels of paintings, which have been whitewashed or deteriorated beyond recognition. Other walls are pierced by 53 niches containing stone Buddha images, 36 of which have been taken to the Bagan Museum. The upper recesses of the main vault contain more square niches depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha.

Scholars believe that the ground floor of the temple was probably built during the late 11th century. A stone inscription near the northeast pillar in the interior describes the donation of land and slaves in
1188 and 1270. In the early 12th century, King Narapatisithu (1174–1211) added the upper square terraces to the temple. These contain corridors lined with numerous small niches, perhaps for small Buddha images, leading to a number of meditation cells. A small white plaster stupa on top of the main shrine was added in the 20th century.

KYAUKSE. A strategic area near Bagan in north-central Burma. Kyaukse was settled and developed prior to the 10th century. Widely considered the “rice bowl” of Upper Burma, some scholars have argued that effective control of Upper Burma can be achieved only with successful control of Kyaukse. Two perennial streams, the Zawgyi and the Panlaung, flow into the district. Water for irrigation is channeled into the fields via canals and weirs constructed of stone cribs along these two streams. The Zidaw canal, the largest on the Zawgyi stream, serves as an important transport route between Kyaukse and Mandalay.

KYAWSWA. The son of King Narathihapate of Bagan, also known pejoratively as “he who fled from the Chinese [Mongols].” Kyawsa became king in 1289. According to some sources, the Mongols chose him, then the lord of Daha, as puppet ruler of Bagan. However, Burmese chronicles state that Kyawsa had to defeat his elder brother, Thihathu, who had already defeated their eldest brother, Uzana.

Queen Saw, the chief queen of Narathihapate, and royal officials crowned Kyawsa and gave him the title Siriribhawa Nadibhayapawarapannita Dhammaraja. In 1295 Kyawsa sent missionaries and architects to India to repair the damaged Bodh Gaya pagoda. The project was completed during the reign of his successor. Chroniclers state that in 1298 King Kyawsa and his son and crown prince Singhpati were defeated and killed in a battle with three brothers at Myinsain. He became known posthumously as Nankya Kyawsa, “the Kyawsa who fell from the throne.” Queen Saw returned to Bagan and crowned Kyawsa’s eldest son, Sawnit, the new king of Bagan in the same year.
LAC DRAGON LORD. “Long Quan” in Vietnamese. The hero of an origin myth according to which the Hung kings of Van Lang traced their descent to a man who came from beneath the sea to the Red River plain, subdued local demons, taught the people the rudiments of civilized existence, and then returned to the sea.

The words Hung and Van Lang are both Austroasiatic, indicative of the Vietnamese people’s origins as a Mon- and Khmer-speaking group. The word làc seems to be the original form of modern Vietnamese lách or rạch, meaning “ditch” or “channel.” It may refer to a system of tidal irrigation practiced by several Southeast Asian groups in which the rising tide is harnessed to push fresh water upstream into fields. The openings to the fields are then closed, trapping the water on the land, where rice is planted. The word làc can also be used to refer to the people who inhabited the area beyond the fringe of Meilinh, which was under the direct control of the Hung kings. The Lac lords or chiefs may have entered into some sort of tributary status with the Hung rulers.

According to legend, a Chinese king later took over the country. The Vietnamese then pleaded with Lac Long Quan to come back and save them. He captured the Chinese ruler’s wife, Au Co, and took her to the top of Mount Tan-vien, a sacred place in Vietnamese folklore, which is near the confluence of the Red, Da, and Chay rivers a short distance upstream from Co Loa; on the other side of the river is Mount Hung, where there is a temple dedicated to the ancestors of the Hung kings. These sites are about 160 kilometers (100 miles) inland. The intruder then went back to China. Au Co became the mother of the first Hung king, and Lac Long Quan returned once again to the sea.

According to a Vietnamese source, the Việt su lược, there were 18 Hung kings. By inference, their kingdom would have been contemporaneous with the culture that produced large bronze ceremonial objects in a style called Dongson, after an archaeological site in north Vietnam. Dongson remains appear about 500 BCE.

Lac lords (local chiefs) continued to form the main institution of local administration in north Vietnam during the periods of Van Lang, Au Lac, Nam Viet, and early Han dynasty rule. Their power was
broken after the rebellion of the **Truong Sisters** in 40 CE was defeated and direct Han rule was implemented.

**LALITAVISTARA.** “The Unfolding of the Play.” A **Mahayana Buddhist** text that describes the story of Gautama Buddha before he attained enlightenment. The title suggests that the Buddha’s final incarnation was intentionally performed to enlighten mankind before he entered nirvana. This text appears in its most elaborate form on the 120 bas-reliefs on the upper register of the first gallery of **Barabudur**. The Lalitavistara describes Gautama, who was already a **bodhisattva**, entering the womb of Queen Maya in the form of a white elephant. The relief series ends with the Buddha’s sermon in the Deer Park at Benares.

**LAMBRI (LAMURI; NANWULI; RAMI; RAMLI; RAMNI; RAMRI).** A port polity located on the northwest tip of **Sumatra**, the modern province of Aceh. The name appears in numerous Arab sources, beginning with Ibn Khurdadhbih in the ninth century. Arab sources identify it with rhinoceros, elephants, camphor, and gold and note that it was near Fansur (**Barus**), a place much frequented by Arab sailors and traders. Lambri was listed in the Tamil-language Tanjor inscription among the dependencies of **Srivijaya** attacked by the **Chola** ruler Rajendra Chola in 1025 as Ilāmuridesam. **Zhao Rukuo** in 1225 said it paid tribute to **Sanfoqi**: he described it as a place where ships coming from Quanzhou would spend the months between the end of the eastern monsoon and its revival the next year before continuing their voyage west. Tribute from this kingdom arrived in 1284 and 1286, and in 1292 the Yuan fleet dispatched to Java sent envoys to “Nanwuli” to demand its submission. In the same year **Marco Polo** mentioned that the kingdom acknowledged itself as subject to “the Great Kahn,” that is, Kublai Khan.

The next known European traveler to the port, **Odoric of Pordenone**, said that it was an international port where camphor and gold were available. He also records that Lambri and **Samudera-Pasai** often fought each other. **Wang Dayuan** in 1349 compared its populace to that of **Temasik** in their fondness for piracy. The **Desawarnana** listed Lambri as one of **Majapahit’s** dependencies. **Ma Guan** in the early 15th century described its population as relatively small, “only
something over a thousand families. All are Muslims. . . The king is also a Muslim.” He says that copper coins, probably Chinese, were used as currency in Lambri. According to Tomé Pires in the early 16th century, Lambri was “right next to” Aceh. The precise location of Lambri is not certain. It may have lain just west of the modern city of Banda Aceh, in the bay now called Lhok Lambaro.

LAMPHUN. See HARIPUNJAYA.

LAMURI. See LAMBRI (LAMURI; NANWULI; RAMI; RAMLI; RAMNI; RAMRI).

LAN NA. A kingdom in northern Thailand, the territory of which corresponds to the modern Thai provinces of Chiangmai, Lamphun, Lampang, Chiangrai, Phayao, Phrae, Nan, and Mae Hong Son (see map 16). People of this region today call themselves Yuan (“northern neighbor”). They speak a distinctive language and their script is somewhat different from standard Thai. They are closely related to the Khun and Lu, groups that inhabit eastern Myanmar.

Tai chronicles tell the story of Lan Na’s founding by Mangrai, in a context of competition among several Lao principalities, including Chiangsen, Chiang Hung (southern Yunnan), Luang Prabang, and another center in the Black River valley. The dates of specific events are uncertain; our main sources of information are the various chronicles, which were revised at various times after their first composition and give differing accounts of certain events. An inscription of 1370 from Wat Phra Yun gives a list of Lan Na’s early kings which differs from that found in the chronicles.

King Mangrai’s early career is known only from chronicles. They state that he was born in 1239 at Chiangsen, where he succeeded his father as ruler in 1259. He established a new capital at Chiangrai in 1262. In 1281 he conquered Lamphun, the capital of the ancient Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya. In 1292 he established a new capital at Chiangmai, “New City,” where he founded a kingdom called Lan Na, which means literally “one million rice fields,” a measure of wealth. The country was known in Chinese as Babai xifu or Babadi dadian.

The Mongols then ruling China captured Chiang Hung, which had been ruled by Mangrai’s relative Thao Ai, in 1296, but Mangrai drove them back. The Mongols then formed an “Aboriginal Pacification
Commission” to move against Mangrai and Chiang Hung. Battles took place in 1301–1303, but Mangrai’s troops continued to fight them off. Eventually the Mongols settled for a more traditional tributary relationship, and Lan Na sent tribute via a mission in 1312 led by Mangrai’s son Cai Songkham.

Mangrai instituted a legal code (possibly based on the former Mon system) and formed numerous personal relationships with local groups, but when he died in about 1317 after a long reign, several of his sons and grandsons fought over the throne, with various individuals ruling the cities of Chiangrai, Chiangmai, and Haripunjaya. This unsettled political situation continued for about 20 years with numerous transfers of power between these principalities. Between 1325 and 1336, Kham Fu established a certain degree of stability. Lan Na’s government was nevertheless sufficiently coherent to send five missions to China between 1315 and 1329. The economy seems to have done well during this period, according to the chronicles.

In 1328 the king moved his residence to Chiangsen (“the royal city of Saen Phu”), about 50 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Chiangrai. A Chinese “pacification commission” was established there in 1333–1335. This did not greatly alter Lan Na’s relationship with China, even when in 1368 the Yuan were overthrown by the Ming. Mission-sending remained a principal means of communication between Lan Na and its northern neighbor. Between 1406 and 1432, 18 missions were sent to China. Chiangmai remained important as a ceremonial center. In 1340 Kham Fu’s successor Pha Yu moved his residence back to Chiangmai. His son Khan Na succeeded him in 1355 and ruled peacefully until 1385.

The oldest inscription from Lan Na is dated 1369. This inscription has a list of kings which differs from that in the chronicles and gives greater prominence to Lamphun than Chiangmai as the preeminent city of the realm.

When Khan Na’s son Muang Ma took over, strife broke out between him and his uncle Thao Maha Phom, which eventually involved Ayutthaya, from whom Thao Maha Phom requested assistance. Muang Ma and the army of Chiangmai succeeded in repelling a combined Chiangrai/Ayutthaya attack.

Muang Ma died in 1402 and was succeeded by his 13-year-old son Sam Fang Kaen. Again a war of succession broke out between
Chiangmai and Chiangrai, this time assisted by Sukhothai; again Chiangmai emerged victorious. Chiangrai nevertheless sent a mission to China in 1404, which the Chinese accepted as representing a genuinely independent kingdom. A serious diplomatic incident occurred when a Chinese ambassador on his way elsewhere was detained by Chiangmai officials. The Chinese then sent an armed force, which seized Chiangsen briefly in 1405. The affair was settled by a Lan Na note of apology.

In 1441 a group of nobles forced Sam Fang Kaen to abdicate in favor of his son Tilok. Tilok’s reign was marked by numerous struggles. Nan and its ally Phrae attacked but were defeated and absorbed. Lan Na and Ayutthaya came into conflict over the control of the territories bordering their core areas, particularly Sukhothai, which was strategically located on the overland trade route to Burma and the Bay of Bengal. Warfare between Lan Na and Ayutthaya lasted until 1475, when a treaty was made.

In 1479 Vietnam under Le Thanh Tong invaded Lan Xang and captured its capital, Luang Prabang. Lan Na gave assistance to the Lao forces, who succeeded in expelling the invaders. In 1487 Tilok died and was succeeded by his grandson Not Chiang Rai, who ruled for eight years and was then deposed in favor of Tilok’s 14-year-old son Muang Keo. Not Chiang Rai was sent off to rule a small province in the Shan area. The first half of Muang Keo’s reign from 1495 to 1525 was perceived as a golden age. Numerous monasteries were constructed and works of literature composed. Trade flourished. Tensions then resurfaced with Ayutthaya, leading to frequent warfare.

Lan Na’s last years were marked by violence and internal disintegration. Its capital Chiangmai fell practically without resistance to the Burmese in 1558.

LAN XANG. “Million Elephants.” Important early kingdom in the area of modern Laos. According to Lao legend, the King of Heaven, Phya Thene, caused a great flood to destroy the sinful world, including a kingdom that had been ruled by 14 generations of kings. Phya Thene then sent one of his own advisers, Khun Boulom, to repopulate the Earth and found a kingdom in the area of Dien Bien Phu, now in north Vietnam. The population of the area is today made up of peoples designated by the term Sipsong Chau Tai. Other Tai groups from
the same region later moved southwest; those from Xieng Khouang were the founder population of central Thailand and south Laos. Others from the Nam Ou Valley and the vicinity of modern Luang Prabang populated most of northern Laos.

Rama Khamhaeng incorporated Luang Prabang and Vientiane into his kingdom of Sukothai in the late 13th century, displacing rulers who had been vassals of the Khmer. After his death in 1298, Luang Prabang and Vientiane broke away and became independent kingdoms under Lao rulers.

In 1316 the first ruler whose existence can be confirmed, Fa Ngum, was born. Chronicles give his father’s name as Chao Phi Fa (“Prince Evil Spirit”; real name Chao Fa Ngiao), son of Souvanna Khampong, king of Xieng Dong Xieng Thong (Luang Prabang). Because of inauspicious omens surrounding his birth, Fa Ngum and 32 others (a cosmologically significant number) were set adrift on a raft that floated down the Mekong. According to another version, his father was exiled to the court of Angkor around the time of Jayavarmanmadiparamesvara, and his son was born there. There he was raised and married a daughter of the Khmer king, who later gave him armed support to conquer Souvanna Khampong’s territories.

Lao chronicles tell the story of his campaigns up the Mekong to Vientiane, his negotiations of borders with Dai Viet and Ayutthaya, and his coronation. Fa Ngum’s existence is confirmed by a Sukothai inscription carved sometime after 1359; the veracity of the rest of the story of his rise cannot be determined. He also sent a mission to Cambodia, which brought to Lan Xang monks, craftsmen, and a famous statue of Buddha called Phra Bang. The statue still stands in the royal palace in Luang Prabang.

Several local kings ruled Xieng Thong in the 14th century. According to chronicles, Souvanna Khampong was ruler from 1316 to 1343. In the latter year, he passed away, but his successor’s name is not clearly stated. In 1349 Chao Fa Kham Hiao ascended the throne. He was defeated by Fa Ngum, who was crowned king in 1353 and established the kingdom of Lan Xang. Fa Ngum was replaced by his son Oue Hueun (regnal name Sam Sen Thai), who reigned 1373–1417. It seems that during his reign, the court was divided into two factions: one representing the large proportion of the population of Mon-Khmer ethnicity, the other representing the Tai. Sam Sen
Thai himself was half Khmer, but his chief queen was a Tai, from Ayutthaya.

The next ruler, a younger son of Sam Sen Thai, was Lan Kham Deng. His rule covered the years 1417–1428. Thereafter a series of kings ruled with few recorded events until 1478, when Luang Prabang was captured by the Vietnamese. The ruling king Sainyachakkaphat then abdicated and was replaced by his younger brother Suvanna Banlang. During his reign from 1479 to 1486, he reconquered Luang Prabang. The kingdom attained its most glorious phase in the 16th century.

**LANGKASUKA.** The oldest reference to this kingdom in the isthmian region of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula (see map 15), which dates from 515 when King Bhadatta of a country called in Chinese Lâng-ya-xiū sent a mission to the court of the Liang dynasty. The record of the embassy states that Langkasuka’s territory took 30 days to cross. The kingdom was reported to have a citadel with walls and gates. The History of the Liang says that the people wore gold jewelry and the women wore scarves decorated with gems. Houses were built in the form of pavilions on top of terraces and had double doors. Langkasuka was probably located in the Patani region. On the north it bordered on Panpan. The kingdom sent further embassies in 523, 531, and 568. It appears again in 608 as Lâng-ya-xū, and in Yijing’s description of Southeast Asia of the late seventh century as Lâng-jìa-shù.

During the Tang period, Langkasuka appears again as Lâng-ya-xiū. Its center was probably located somewhere on the east coast near Surat Thani, but at times its authority may have extended to some of the important ports on the west coast of the peninsula as well. During the Srivijayan era, it sent no embassies to China; it is mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Tanjor in 1030 as having been one of the cities conquered by the Chola attack against Srivijaya in 1025 (Ilangâs´ogam). In 1225 the Zhufanzhi records it as Lîng-yâ-si-jîâ, a dependency of Sanfoqi. In 1293, according to the History of the Yuàn, the Mongols sent an envoy to “the small countries of Malayu” to deliver an imperial order that the kings send their brothers or sons to China to show their loyalty to the emperor; it is recorded that they complied. Only Lôché (possibly Langkasuka) refused to obey the
order, and according to Marco Polo, the Yuan were unable to force them to comply.

The long existence of Langkasuka is underlined by further references to it in the 14th-century Javanese poem Desawarnana. In the 15th century it is mentioned in an Ayutthayan text as a Siamese dependency and in Arab texts. It also is listed on the Mao Kun map of the Ming dynasty.

LAOS. The Lao people speak a language belonging to the Tai subfamily of Austroasiatic. The name Lao appears in sixth-century Chinese and Vietnamese sources for people inhabiting the mountains near the Red River (see map 16). In the seventh century, the “uncivilized Lao” were “beckoned and soothed,” in the words of Chinese sources, apparently a reference to attempts to settle and pacify them through rewards rather than punishment.

One of the early Lao kingdoms was named Chiangsen. King Mangrai in 1262 moved the capital south and founded a new kingdom, Chiangrai. He later conquered the Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya and founded another capital, Chiangmai, in a kingdom called Lan Na. In the 14th century the kingdom of Lan Xang arose in the middle Mekong, with its capital at Luang Prabang.

LARA JONGGRANG. A complex of Hindu temples near the village of Prambanan, central Java, often called the Lara Jonggrang group after a Javanese folk tale about a “slender maiden” inspired by a Durga image in the main shrine. The complex was consecrated in 856 after a construction period of perhaps 25 years.

The group includes 224 subsidiary chapels arranged in rows around an artificial plateau, on which stand temples to Brahma and Vishnu flanking a shrine dedicated to Siva; opposite their entrances stand three subsidiary temples (see diagram 7). One, which faces the Siva temple, contains a Nandi statue. The purpose of the buildings facing the Brahma and Vishnu temples is unclear; some suspect that they held statues of the vahana (vehicles) of those gods, but in other temple complexes with the same basic plan that have been discovered, none contain statues of āngsa or Garuda.

The Siva temple contains four cellae. In the largest stands an image of Siva Mahadeva on a tall base. Agastya is found on the south,
Ganesa on the west, and Durga Mahisasuramardini on the north, in the standardized Javanese disposition of images in Hindu temples. The other two main temples contain single cellae for Brahma (on the south) and Vishnu (on the north).

The balustrades of the three main shrines also bear narrative reliefs, all related to Vishnu. The Ramayana is depicted on the inner face of the balustrade on the outer side of a processional path where devotees could circumambulate the Siva shrine. The reliefs begin with a scene depicting Vishnu seated on a serpent in the midst of the ocean. Garuda offers him a flower while gods beseech him to incarnate himself on Earth in order to eliminate some demons. Other reliefs on the Siva temple depict Rama’s marriage, his banishment with Laksmana and Sita, Sita’s abduction, Jatayu’s report that she is in Rawana’s palace, the alliance with Hanuman and Sugriva, and the preparations for the storming of Ngalengka.

The Ramayana’s conclusion is sculpted on the Brahma temple. The Vishnu temple is used as a canvas for a story of Vishnu’s incarnation as Krishna. No text that might have inspired the reliefs on the Vishnu temple has been identified. The first part of the story can be followed, but the latter half of the reliefs has not been deciphered.

Other important works of art on the main body of the Siva temple include portraits of Lokapala, guardians of the various directions. On the exterior of the Siva temple’s balustrade are illustrations of dance postures known as tandava, based on the Natyasastra text. These postures depict dances which Siva himself is supposed to have performed. It is not known whether the dance reliefs replicate an actual dance performance. The temple was completely ruined in the late 19th century, and early attempts at restoration by an amateur archaeological group made it impossible to reconstruct the original location of some of the reliefs.

The central point of the complex lies beside the staircase leading into the main cella of the Siva shrine. This point is marked by a small shrine, which may have been dedicated to the local spirit. An inscription mentions “evil ones” who had to be placated; perhaps that was the purpose of this feature.

Lara Jonggrang shares numerous design elements with Barabudur and other Mahayana Buddhist temples. The ruler who probably instigated construction of Lara Jonggrang was known by his
title Rakai Pikatan. He was married to a Buddhist queen, and the royal couple donated to institutions of both religions. Some decorative motifs at Lara Jonggrang are unique, including lions in niches, wishing trees (kalpataru) flanked by imaginary animals, and finials termed keben after a Javanese fruit. The temple complex has been elaborately restored and is now a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage site.

LAVO. See LOPBURI.

LE (LÉ). Vietnamese ruling family, which came to power in 1428 and continued to rule until 1789, apart from a hiatus between 1527 and 1533. The founder of the line, Le Loi, reigned from 1428 to 1432. He led Vietnamese forces against Chinese occupation, emerged victorious, and established his capital at Hanoi, then known as Thang Long. He was succeeded by Thai Tong (1433–1442), Nhan Tong (1442–1459), and Le Nghi Dan (1459–1460). The fifth emperor, Le Thanh Tong (1460–1497), ruled over Vietnam during a period of progress and stability. He managed to achieve a stable relationship between civil and military power, something that had been lacking in the earlier reigns of the dynasty, wherein the military tended to dominate the civil bureaucracy. Le Thanh Tong’s reign was marked by aggressive militaristic expansion; however, in 1470, he won an important victory over the Cham people in the south. His armies also fought major wars in Lan Xang (Laos) and against China.

LENA SHOAL. Site of a shipwreck east of Busuanga in the Philippines. Items of cargo recovered by archaeologists include 5,000 items, including ceramics, bronze cannon, spices, glass beads, lacquer, bronze bracelets, silver and iron ingots, iron frying pans, copper vessels, and elephant tusks. Ceramics consisted of 28 Vietnamese porcelains, Chinese celadons, and Thai green-glazed ware, including more than 400 jars, which are not of the standard Si Satchanalai type. One scholar speculates that the jars came from Kalong, and that the ship dates from around 1500 (the Hongzhi reign, 1488–1505). Also on board were a variety of storage jars from China, Thailand, Vietnam, and Burma.

Southeast Asians were avid consumers of Chinese iron in the late 15th century. The Ming Shi-lu mentions that Javanese ambassadors
made two specific requests for iron. One, in 1429, was rejected with the explanation that iron export was officially forbidden. But when another Javanese mission asked for iron pots and nails as well as porcelain in 1452, their request was granted.

The oldest shipwrecks yet discovered containing large quantities of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain date from the Hongzhi period. The Lena Shool wreck belongs to this period, along with the Brunei Junk and the Santa Cruz. These shipwrecks share similar features: they contained significant amounts of Chinese blue-and-white ware, some Vietnamese blue-and-white ceramics, and many storage jars, mostly from Singburi, Thailand. The ships contain some celadon plates, possibly made at Twante in the Ayeyarwadi delta, and Sawankhalok “coconut” jars and jarlets with ring-handles. The Brunei shipwreck contained a dish bearing a four-character mark, “made in the Ming dynasty.”

LIGOR. The province of Nakhon Sithammarat in southern Thailand. The word Nakhon was corrupted to Ligor by Portuguese authors in the 16th century. See also NAKHON SI THAMMARAT.

LINGGA. An icon representing Siva in the form of an erect phallus. By the fifth century the form of the lingga had become abstract, with only lines suggesting the head and glans. A completely abstract lingga of tripartite structure had evolved by the seventh century. The upper section has a circular cross-section; two lower sections with octagonal and square cross-sections are concealed in the base or yoni, which has a spout for lustral fluid symbolizing a vagina. A form called ekamukhalingga with a human face on the shaft is found in both India and Southeast Asia. A related form called jatalingga found in Cambodia and Thailand showing Siva’s jata (matted hair of the ascetic) at the stem of the glans is not found in India. These icons show that Southeast Asians were interpreting texts rather than adhering to stylistic conventions found in India. The inspiration for the variant may also be due to Southeast Asians’ particular emphasis on risi and ascetics, expressed in other forms in Khmer art.

LINYI. The only records of this early kingdom, which lay on the south frontier of the Chinese provinces in what is now north Vietnam,
found in Chinese texts. The nucleus of this polity may have been a kingdom named Xianglin, located near modern Hue. In 100 CE the Sino-Vietnamese province of Tuong-lam experienced an uprising. In 136, people called Chulien, “from beyond the frontier,” attacked Tuong-lam, killing Han officials. More attacks occurred in 144. Around 192, Ou Lien, son of an official in the district of Tuong-lam, Nhat-nam prefecture, killed the local magistrate and formed the kingdom he called Linyi. The origin of this name is unknown.

The ethnicity of the people of Linyi is unidentified. They may have constituted a mixture of Vietnamese, other Mon-Khmer speakers, and Cham. As time passed, the kingdom may have become increasingly Cham and less Vietnamese.

A Chinese text by Ma Duanlin dating from the 13th century but referring to the fourth or fifth century says that the people built houses on platforms of brick coated with plaster. The dead were cremated, with rulers’ ashes put into gold urns and thrown into the ocean, while commoners’ ashes were deposited in earthenware jars and put into rivers. These customs indicate cultural affinity with people beyond the realm of Chinese-influenced Vietnam.

Linyi occasionally sent tribute to China, but relations were more often hostile. From 248, when Linyi captured part of Nhat-nam that had remained under control of the Chinese state of Jiao, through the fifth century, Linyi frequently fought against the governors of Vietnam for control of the zone between the Cham sphere of influence and the lands around Tonkin.

Third-century rulers of Linyi included Fan Xiung and his son Fan Yi, who sent the first Linyi embassy to China (the kingdom of Qin) in 284. After Fan Yi’s death, an escaped slave born in south China named Wen took the throne. Wen, who had worked for a Linyi maritime trader, had later entered the service of Fan Yi, introducing Chinese techniques of architecture and military technology.

In 344 and 347 Wen attacked Vietnam, partly in reaction to the local governors’ extortionate demands on foreign traders. His campaigns were successful until Wen died of wounds in 350. He was succeeded by his son Fan Fu, who continued the war with the north. A Chinese-led invasion in 359 forced Linyi to cease its attacks, and peace reigned until 400. Then Fan Fu’s son, Fan Hu Da, launched a guerrilla-like campaign against Vietnam, but the Linyi army was
defeated by Vietnamese forces under Do Vien, a man of Chinese ancestry but born and raised in Vietnam (the Chinese prefecture of Jiao Zhi). Jiao Zhi also launched a naval attack on Linyi’s coast, where trade apparently formed an important source of the kingdom’s wealth.

The ruler of Linyi in 427, Fan Yang Mai, occupied territory in Chinese-ruled Vietnam and built a fort near the mouth of the Giang River, which was an important trading center. In 430 he sent an embassy to the Song kingdom in Nanjing, but sent a hundredship-strong naval attack against Jiao in the next year. A sequence of tributary missions and raids followed. In 446 the governor of Jiao Zhi sacked the settlement at the Giang River (Khu-tuc, near modern Hue), seizing an immense quantity of booty, including much gold. Thereafter Linyi sent ambassadors to China. The descendants of the Linyi ruler Yang Mai reestablished a kingdom at Tra Kieu, near Da Nang. However the Nhat-nam border area south of Hoanh-son mountain remained part of the Linyi (later the Cham) sphere of influence until the 15th century.

Linyi in later centuries became the standard term for the kingdom of Champa in Chinese sources. In the early seventh century Tang dynasty sources say China “soothed and comforted” Linyi. The Chinese replaced the name Linyi with Huan-wang in 758, and Zhan-cheng became Champapura, in 877. By the eighth century the main Cham political centers were located farther south than in earlier centuries, at Nha Trang and Phan Rang.

**LITERATURE.** Southeast Asian cultures utilized a huge range of standardized literary forms, some of which were adopted from India, but most of which were locally created. Most Southeast Asian cultures distinguished between prose and poetry. Poetry, often with highly formalized conventions, was established in all major languages of the region by the time the earliest texts were written. Much Southeast Asian literature was meant to be recited aloud in public on various occasions, as entertainment, education, indoctrination, or worship, and thus the words used were often chosen because of their sounds rather than their precise meanings. Southeast Asian genres do not usually correspond to Western literary categories—a feature that complicates but also enriches the study of ancient Southeast Asian texts.
The earliest inscriptions are on stone. They are records of the meritorious acts of rulers and subjects. Similar genres are found throughout Southeast Asia, though with many local variations. Poetry in particular evolved in many different directions in various linguistic realms due to different grammatical and aural possibilities. Many Southeast Asian Courts employed full-time poets. The Sanskrit verse form kāwyā was adopted into many Southeast Asian literary traditions, for example, as kawi in Indonesia and kāp in Thai. Early inscriptions were written in Sanskrit and follow Sanskrit rules and meters.

Indian texts of many types were translated into Southeast Asian languages in the first millennium CE. The epic Ramayana from India underwent many local revisions. For example, in Laos the Prahlād Prahlād is set in the Mekong Valley rather than in India and converts Rawana from villain to hero. As in most of the rest of the world, oral literature circulated for centuries before it was written, and so the earlier phases of Southeast Asian genres are not accessible to scholarship.

Due to many factors, including the climate and fundamental institutional and religious changes over time, not many manuscripts date from before 1500. Few original versions of literary sources written during ancient times have survived; surviving copies of these made in later centuries usually have been revised to fit the audience and the political conditions of the era in which they were copied, rather than those that they purport to depict.

The first generations of Western historians to deal with Southeast Asian texts tended to dismiss later chronicles as useless because they were contradicted by the few surviving inscriptions. Now historians generally agree that although the later chronicles cannot be taken as objective records of facts, they may contain reflections of the cultural underpinnings of earlier times. The application of structural analysis as opposed to narrative reconstructions, sometimes stigmatized as “king and battle” history, has emerged as an alternative approach to the reconstruction of ancient Southeast Asian society through the Southeast Asian sources themselves.

The oldest surviving manuscript in Burma dates from the 15th century and comprises a sophisticated poem entitled “Cradle Song of the Princess of Arakan.” Monks wrote poetry retelling Jātaka stories.
Courtiers wrote poetic panegyrics for kings. The Burmese recognize nine main genres that contain historical information; in addition to the genres mentioned above, these include records of the founding of Buddhist sanctuaries, legal records, royal chronicles resembling Indian models or rajawangsa, and legends. Another literary form is called ayanawbon, “memoirs” or “historical events.”

In Java, the kakawin genre of court literature was adapted from the Indian kawya form. Javanese authors working in this genre often emphasized the religious, meditative function of both their act of writing and the act of reading, either aloud or silently. Both contexts were believed to be steps toward attaining unity with the divine essence that permeates the universe.

In Thailand, historian Charnvit Kasetsiri has analyzed three genres that deal with the past from different perspectives. The tamnan genre (“story, legend, myth”), often written in Pali, focuses on the spread of Buddhism, along with the accomplishments of kings and other important people such as risi (mystically inclined ascetics) and religious teachers who contributed to its development. The tamnan genre came into existence before the 15th century and was popular until the 18th century, when it was gradually overshadowed by the phongsawadan genre. The language of this form was Thai, and the center of attention shifted from religion to the courts. The authors who wrote in this form were courtiers rather than monks. Though it only appeared in the 18th century, the phongsawadan form discussed the foundation of Thai kingdoms in ancient times. A third genre, prawatsat history, came into existence in the 19th century. This form marked the appearance of a genre with goals and methods similar to those of academic historians in the West. Each of these three genres can be used by modern historians, but they must be clearly distinguished and analyzed in terms of the objectives of their authors and the paradigms established by their genres, rather than by some absolute standard that favors, for example, a European definition of “history.”

LO THAI. Rama Khamhaeng’s son who inherited the throne of Sukothai in 1298. Lo Thai was not able to maintain the alliances of his father, and during his long reign, which lasted until 1346 or 1347, he lost most of the northern and southern outlying regions, including Suphanburi. Thus he was cut off from access to the sea. By the end
of his reign, the people known as Xian, probably focused around the lower Chao Phraya, were in the process of becoming politically dominant through the wealth gained from trade. Four years later, the new kingdom of Ayutthaya was founded near Suphanburi. It quickly absorbed Sukothai.

**LOKA-HTEIK-PAN.** A small but beautiful temple at Bagan to which a whole monograph by Ba Shin was devoted. Mural paintings portraying Jataka tales depict contemporary costumes, jewelry, and architecture. Scenes shown include the stupa-shaped reliquary in Brahmaloka in which Buddha’s discarded royal robes were enshrined; the Buddha’s hair enshrined by Sakra (Indra) in Tavatimsa heaven; Buddha’s ascent to Indra’s palace in heaven in which Buddha preached to his mother in heaven; and his descent back to Earth. Other scenes include Buddha’s disciples Sariputta and Moggallana flanked by kinvara, the parinirvana, distribution of relics, Mara’s army, four tooth relic stupas, and the Buddhawangsa (28 Buddhas of various ages of the universe’s history).

The artists who formed the decorative scheme of the temple gave particular attention to the Mahosaddha Jataka (the struggle for the Law, Jataka number 546, wherein the bodhisattva forces his adversary to accept a huge jewel and to bow to him), and the Vessantara Jataka, number 547, in which the bodhisattva gives away all his possessions, including his wife and children. The designers followed a Sri Lankan rather than Burmese order of the stories. One wall of the sanctuary is dedicated to Sakyamuni’s life. Another characteristic Bagan motif found here is the prophecy of Dipangkara Buddha.

**LOKANANDA.** A stupa at Bagan built in 1059. It consists of a tall cylindrical bell similar to Pyu stupas and three octagonal terraces (see photograph 3).

**LOKANATHA.** Another name for the bodhisattva Lokesvara. A famous bronze statue of Lokanatha on which his name is inscribed, flanked by two images of Tara and dated 1024, has been found in Tapanuli, near Padang Lawas, north Sumatra. A manuscript from Nepal of approximately the same period reports that a statue of Lokanatha in Srivijaya was famous throughout the Buddhist lands.
LOKESVARA. See AVAŁOKITĖŚVARA (AVAŁOKITESVARA; AVAŁOKITESHWARA); LOKANATHA.

LOLEI. A temple site at Roluos, near Angkor. First, at an unknown date, a dike was built on the southern edge of the site. Indravarman II added dikes on the other three sides, creating a baray known as Indratataka, which is 3.8 kilometers (2.5 miles) long and 800 meters (half a mile) wide. Yasovarman, who succeeded Indravarman, erected a shrine on an artificial island in this reservoir, which is now dry. It consists of four brick towers that commemorated his ancestors, according to an inscription on the temple.

LOPBURI. A name derived from Lavapura, also known as Lavo, in eastern Thailand. The name Lavapura has been found on two medals in the Uthong area. According to chronicles, people from here formed the kingdom of Haripunjaya in the seventh century; scholarly sources suggest that a date in the early ninth century is more likely. Lavo sent a mission to China in 1001 and is mentioned in the Songshì in conjunction with Tambralingga in the records for that year. Early Buddhist art in Laos from the 11th and 12th centuries bears similarities to earlier Lopburi art. In the early 11th century Lavo was attacked by Haripunjaya; a Khmer noble from Tambralingga, Jayaviravarman, seized Lopburi in the confusion, then usurped the throne of Angkor itself before he was in turn overthrown by Suryavarman I around 1007.

Lopburi then became a part of the Khmer Empire, ruled by governors from Angkor, but when possible it evinced aspirations to independence. The city may have achieved this aspiration for a time in the 12th century. A Chinese mission went to Lavo in 1115, though it was not given the status of guó, meaning “country.” In 1155 a mission brought elephants to China from Zhenla Lō̂u-hú, “Cambodia Lopburi.” It is not clear whether this means “from Lopburi as a part of Cambodia” or “Lopburi which is near Cambodia.” These two missions came during periods of political turmoil in Cambodia—one when Suryavarman II was fighting to establish himself as the ruler of Angkor, the other after his death—so in both cases Lavo may have taken advantage of temporary instability in its overlord’s capital to act on its own.
The south gallery of **Angkor Wat**, in its relief depicting a victory parade of Khmer soldiers, depicts a troop identified in an accompanying inscription as Syam Kuk from lvo/lavodayapura. An inscription from Nakhon Sawan (the Thai pronunciation of the Sanskrit Nagara Swarga, “City of Heaven”) from 1167 mentions a King Dhamasoka, whose kingdom is not mentioned but may have been Lavo. **Jayavarman** VII sent a statue of Jayabuddhamahanatha to Lavo in the late 12th century. A statue of **Avalokitesvara** found at Lopburi may be this statue, copies of which were sent to 22 other cities, probably as symbols of Angkorian sovereignty. The Chinese author **Zhao Rukuo** lists Lavo as a vassal of Cambodia in 1225. Inscription K.285, “The Great Stele of Phimeanakas,” says that Lavodaya was governed by a son of Jayavarman VII, **Indravarman**.

By 1289 Lopburi had become independent, as indicated by embassies sent to China over the following decade. By the mid-14th century it was under a **Tai** ruler. The language of its texts suggests that the population was drawn from different roots than the people of **Sukothai**; they had more affinity with the Khorat Plateau. Quite possibly its population still contained an appreciable proportion of people who identified themselves as **Mon** and Khmer.

Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat is one of Lopburi’s most important surviving monuments. It represents a transitional stage between the typical single-chambered Khmer sanctuary with protruding portico and the **phra prang** that evolved in Thailand. Its tower’s shape indicates some similarity with Angkor Wat, its stucco relief with Sukothai. This combination has been termed Uthong style, which flourished in the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

**LORD OF THE THREE WORLDS.** A translation of the Sanskrit term Sri Tri Buana or Tribhuvanesvara. The word refers to a doctrine, according to which the universe consists of three worlds: an upper realm of gods, a middle world of humans, and a netherworld of demons.

**LUANG PRABANG.** A city in modern Laos where a tributary, the Khan, joins the **Mekong** River. The region was known by its early **Tai** inhabitants as Muang Swa. Another ancient name was Xieng
Dong Xieng Thong, “City of Flame Trees along the Dong River,” abbreviated to Xieng Thong. Before the Tai diaspora of the 13th century, it was part of the Khmer Empire. A Vishnu statue still in the city remains from that era. Tai legend contains a list of 35 kings of Muang Swa, whose existence cannot be confirmed by independent sources. One is supposed to have been the son of Khun Boulom, formerly a divinity who came to Earth to found the kingdom of Lan Xang, “Kingdom of a Million Elephants and a White Parasol.” Other sources connect the founding of Lan Xang with a Lao Tai, Fa Ngum, whose reign has been dated at 1357–1371. In any case, Luang Prabang probably became the capital of this kingdom in the mid-14th century. The name Luang Prabang was given to the city around 1560 in honor of a Buddha image named Phra Bang, which may have been made in Sri Lanka and then resided in Angkor for some time before reaching its present location.

LY DYNASTY. The Ly family established a kingdom in the Hanoi region that lasted from 1009 to 1225. The founder, Ly Cong Uan, later known as Thai To, replaced the previous ruler Le Long Dinh. Important rulers in the dynasty include his grandson Ly Thai-tong, who while still a prince attacked northern Champa (Quang Binh) in 1021. In 1028 he took the throne. In response to Cham raids in 1043, the next year Ly Thai-tong led a naval attack on Champa in which the Vietnamese were victorious. The Cham king lost his head on the battlefield. The Ly dealt the Cham another devastating defeat in 1069 when Ly Thanh-tong responded to a Cham attack by capturing the Cham king, Rudravarman III, and burning his capital. He later released the king in exchange for Champa's northern provinces.

The kingdom adopted the name Dai Viet in 1054. China attempted to reconquer the country in 1075, but was driven back by General Ly Thuong Kiet. China eventually recognized its independence in 1174 though they still preserved the name Annam by which it had been known during the Tang dynasty when it was considered a Chinese protectorate. Dai Viet rulers, in turn, continued to send tribute despite their assertion of independence.

The kingdom’s structure was formed by a complex mixture of Chinese and indigenous influences. The rulers attempted to introduce the Chinese examination system for training officials in 1075, but it did
not exert much authority. Royal females wielded considerable power over their emperor sons and husbands. Religions included Buddhism and local cults. Ports in Nghe An and Ha Tinh were important centers of trade. The kingdom eventually disintegrated during civil war in which the Tran family replaced the Ly and founded a new dynasty.

MA DUANLIN. A 13th-century Chinese author who compiled sources regarding non-Chinese people and places. He incorporated material from much older sources that no longer exist. His own work is also lost, but many subsequent Chinese authors quoted him, thus preserving significant sections of his writing. This procedure necessarily entails some uncertainty since it is difficult to determine the exact date of various pieces of information, but meticulous scholarship has enabled historians to use this and other Chinese records to reconstruct the history of ancient Southeast Asia.

MA GUAN (MA HUAN; c. 1380–c. 1460). An official who accompanied Zheng He on three voyages (1413–1415, 1421–1422, and 1431–1433). He wrote a book based on the first voyage, during which he visited Champa, Java, Palembang, Melaka, Samudera-Pasai, Sri Lanka, India, and Hormuz. On the last voyage, he probably made a pilgrimage to Mecca. He also visited Aru, Lambri, and Thailand. Ma Guan collected his notes from his three voyages, along with those of a friend who accompanied him, Guo Chongli, in a volume entitled Ying-yai Sheng-lan (“A Comprehensive Survey of the Ocean Shores”), which was circulated in manuscript form for some time before it was finally published in 1451. A foreword was added in 1444 by another friend, Ma Jing, and an imperial clerk, Gu Po, wrote an afterword in which it is noted that Ma Guan and Guo Chongli gave talks about their travels. Ma Guan was also aware of Wang Dayuan’s Daoyi Zhilue, published in 1349. The extant versions of Ying-yai Sheng-lan derive from recensions printed in 1617 and later rather than the original text. Ma’s family hailed from Shaoxing, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Hangzhou, a major port. He described himself as a
“mountain woodcutter,” probably a way of saying that his background was neither particularly illustrious nor nautical. He was, however, a linguist, able to understand Arabic script and either Arabic or Persian, and so served as a translator.

MA HUAN. See MA GUAN (MA HUAN; c. 1380–c. 1460).

MAHABHARATA. One of two epic poems that encapsulate much of the value system and the miscellany of religious beliefs that have gradually become encoded as Hinduism (the other is the Ramayana). The oldest written versions are in a form of the Sanskrit language that evolved during the transition between the Vedas and classical Sanskrit, perhaps 2,300 years ago. The poem focuses on the struggle between two related families, the Korawas and Pandawas, both descendants of Bharata. The legendary author Vyasa, equivalent to Homer in Greek literature, supposedly dictated the text to the god Ganesa himself. The classical Indian text is divided into 18 parva, plus a supplement called the Harivangsa. In all, the poem consists of 90,000 verses. The chief god who appears in the poem is Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu. The most important philosophical section is the Bhagavadgita.

In the first section, the Adiparva, the Kurawa and Pandawa princes are born, raised at Hastinapura by Drona, and they begin to quarrel. The five Pandawas marry the same woman, Drupadi. In the next section the eldest Pandawa, Yudhisthira, gambles away the kingdom and the Pandawas go into exile. The sixth parva contains the Bhagavadgita and the start of the battle at Kuruksetra. The battle continues through parva 10. The following parvas deal with kingship, the adventures of the Pandawa Arjuna, and ultimately the journey of the Pandawas to Indra’s palace on Mount Meru.

The Mahabharata includes additions, such as Greek words and references to Roman coins, that must date from a relatively late period. No version of the poem is considered authoritative. Different versions exist in India. The oldest manuscript in existence dates from the 15th century. However, the Mahabharata has been known in Southeast Asia since the early historical period. It is illustrated on the Khmer monuments of Baphuon (11th century) and Angkor Wat (12th century), where the great battle of Kuruksetra is found on the southern part of the west gallery.
MAHABODHI. A 13th-century temple in Bagan that derives its name from the Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya in India, built in the sixth century at the site where Buddha attained enlightenment under the bodhi tree. Earlier Burmese kings, including Kyanzittha, had sent contributions to Bodh Gaya; Alaungsithu (1112–c. 1168) may also have done so. Little is known of the history of the Burmese copy of the temple at Bodh Gaya. Although many inscriptions have been found at its site in Bagan, they shed no light on the temple’s history. Clay votive tablets of the 11th–12th centuries from Bagan depicted the Bodh Gaya Mahabodhi; thus its general form was well known in ancient Burma. At least 11 other Bagan temples also have square Mahabodhi-like śikhāras (pyramidal towers), and five or more of these temples at Bagan may be even older than the Bagan Mahabodhi.

Legend states that it was built by King Nadaungmya (R. 1211–c. 1230). In 1199 the large Buddhist complex at Nalanda, Bangladesh, had been destroyed by Muslims. The original Bodh Gaya in India may also have been destroyed around that time. Thus the construction of the Burmese copy may have been an attempt to compensate for the loss of the original structure.

As Buddhism went into decline in northern India during the 11th to 13th centuries, Sri Lanka was ruled by Tamils. Some Sri Lankan refugees moved to Burma. Thus Bagan in 1200 was perhaps the largest center of Buddhism in the world. The Bagan Mahabodhi was built inside the walled enceinte, which probably contained the royal palace. Thus the temple may have had clear implications for the Burmese king’s claim to the leadership of the Buddhist world.

The Bagan Mahabodhi stands inside double enclosure walls. Chintē (mythical lion figures) flank the outer gate. The central shrine consists of four receding planes with six smaller stupa obelisks on the front two corners of the top three planes. Two more obelisks are located on the rear corners of the top plane. The sikhara rests on a central shrine and is reached via stairways along the walls of the lower hall. The exterior of this upper shrine displays niches containing Buddha images in bhumiśāra mudra. The lower central hall contains a large Buddha image.

MAHAGIRI NAT. A spirit also known as the eindwin nat (“within the house”), the most important of the Burmese pantheon of 37 nats. He is the lord of Mount Popa, together with his sister Hnamadawgyi,
According to chronicles, the Mahagiri nat was formerly Maung Tin De, a blacksmith who possessed great supernatural strength and was extremely popular among the people of his village in Tagaung. The king feared the power and popularity of the blacksmith. Although he married Maung Tin De’s beautiful sister, the king still feared that Maung Tin De would overthrow him. The king convinced Hnamadawgyi to invite her brother to the palace for a feast. When Maung Tin De arrived, the king’s men arrested him, tied him to a tree, and set him on fire. Hnamadawgyi, realizing that she had been tricked, jumped into the fire. The king ordered the charred remains of the tree to be tossed into the river. These eventually floated down the Ayeyarwadi to Bagan, where King Thelaykyaung caused the wood containing the spirits of the brother-sister nats to be enshrined on Mount Popa.

MAHAKALA. A Sivaite deity with similar attributes to Bhairawa in Buddhism. According to the Hindu text Agni Purana, his attributes are khadga, kapala, trisula, and shield. Yamuna is his companion. These descriptions, however, are irrelevant to the Indonesian form of Mahakala. In Java, statues of him are often found on the right side of entrances to temples in the position of dwarapala along with Nandiswara. Mahakala is usually fat and fanged, and his hair is curly; Nandiswara is slim and has no fangs, and his hair is well-arranged. Nandiswara is more demonic, whereas Mahakala’s visage is benign.

MAHAKARMAVIBHANGGA. “Great Exposition of the Law of Karma.” A Sanskrit Mahayana text describing the causes and effects of karma. A series of relief panels uncovered at the foot of Barabudur in 1885 illustrate this text in 160 bas-reliefs. These were covered up again by restoring the encasing stones by 1891 in order to prevent further collapse of the monument. However, Japanese officials revealed four of these panels during their occupation of Java during World War II, and these remain exposed for public viewing today. Several hidden reliefs bear short Old Javanese inscriptions describing the themes of the panels. These inscriptions may have been brief instructions for the sculptors, or they may have been part of the original scheme of the builders in one of the early phases of the monument’s evolution.
MAHAPIEINNE. The Burmese name of the elephant-headed Hindu deity Ganesa. According to an archaeological inventory, a 12th-century brick-and-plaster statue of Mahapeinne 175 centimeters (5 feet 10 inches) high and 90 centimeters (3 feet) wide and holding a thanhlyet (four-edged dagger) in its left hand once stood at the western side of the northern arch entrance to the Shwezigon temple. Ganesa sometimes functioned as a deity in esoteric Buddhism, but there is no textual evidence that he ever served in this capacity in Burma.

MAHAVIHARA. A Theravada Buddhist sect that came into prominence in Sri Lanka during the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153–1186). A novice monk of Mon ancestry, Chapata, and four others accompanied a diplomatic mission from Burma to Sri Lanka in 1180 and remained there for 10 years. One of the other monks, named Tamalinda according to the Glass Palace Chronicle, was a son of the king of Cambodia, Jayavarman VII, a devout Buddhist. These monks were reordained in the Mahavihara order. When they returned to Bagan, a doctrinal dispute arose between the monks of the Mahavihara school and the older order founded by Shin Arahan, designated the Kanchi school. Eventually the Mahavihara school triumphed, a result that may have owed much to internal political events in Burma.

MAHAYANA. Literally “Great Vehicle”; a reference to the form of Buddhism that emphasizes the role of numerous deities and enlightened beings or bodhisattvas in addition to Sakyamuni or Siddharta Gautama, who is believed to have lived between 563 and 483 BCE. Bodhisattvas do exist in some versions of Hinayana Buddhism, such as Sanskrit Sarvastivadins and Sammitiyas at Sarnath in the fifth century, where a few images of Avalokitesvara have been found. Both these groups were found in Southeast Asia; Piriya Krairiksh has suggested that Sarvatstivadins were important in Dvaravati. The term Mahayana was deliberately chosen to distinguish the belief in the efficacy of bodhisattvas from other doctrines that consider Sakyamuni the only being who has attained enlightenment in the present age, such as Theravada Buddhism.

Mahayana Buddhism is sometimes known as Northern Buddhism because it is now found mainly in Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan. In the early phase of Mahayana’s evolution, however, between the 7th
and 12th centuries, it was important in Southeast Asia, especially in Sumatra and Java. Mahayanism also had some influence in Cambodia during the 11th and 12th centuries. In the 13th century it was almost entirely displaced by Theravada Buddhism on the mainland and Islam in insular Southeast Asia.

Mahayana Buddhism in Southeast Asia paid particular attention to such bodhisattvas as Avalokitesvara, Manjusri, and Lokesvara. Mandalas and other aids to enlightenment indicate a relationship between Southeast Asian Buddhism and that form known in Japan today as Shingon. In ancient times, Southeast Asian Mahayanists had a close relationship with the monastic center of Nalanda (located in the modern nation of Bangladesh). Major monuments in Southeast Asia inspired by Mahayana include Barabudur and Candi Sewu in Java and the Bayon in Angkor. Southeast Asian statuary of such deities as Manjusri and Prajnaparamita is among the finest sculpture ever produced.

MAHAYAZAWINGYI. “Great Chronicle.” A historical text completed by U Kala around 1712. Though numerous Burmese historical accounts, written and copied on palm leaf, were available during U Kala’s time, few remain today. The Mahayazawingyi is the second oldest extant Burmese historical text, following the Yazawingyaw compiled by Shin Maha Thilawuntha (Silavangsa) in the 16th century. The Mahayazawingyi is probably the first composition to devote a large proportion of its content to accounts of Burmese kings and cities. For example, Bagan, which occupies a single paragraph in the Yazawingyaw, receives at least 20 pages in U Kala’s text. In a test of the veracity of the Mahayazawingyi, Victor Lieberman compared Jesuit reports for the period 1580–1608 with this chronicle and found a high level of agreement between them.

MAHENDRADATTA. Daughter of Makutawangshawardhana of east Java. She married Udayana, who ruled as king of Bali from 989 to 1011. See also Airlangga (Erlangga).

MAHENDRAPARVATA. The place where, according to Khmer inscriptions, Jayavarman II was consecrated cakravartin in 802 by Hiranyadama, a purohita who also created the devaraja and taught
the accompanying ritual to *Sivakaivalya*. It is believed that this place corresponds to *Phnom Kulen*, northeast of *Angkor*. Mahendra (from *māha*, "great," and *Indra*, king of the gods) in south India is the name of a mythical mountain, part of the Mount *Meru* complex, which was considered to be the home of the gods. Jayavarman II was cited in many later Angkorian inscriptions as “the king who established his residence on the summit of Mount Mahendra.”

**MAHIDHARAPURA.** A family line that includes some of the most important rulers of ancient *Cambodia*, starting with *Jayavarman VI*, who took the throne in 1080, and including Jayavarman VII and *Suryavarman II*. The term also denotes the name of a capital city, but its location is unknown. This family does not seem to have claimed descent from any previous *Khmer* dynasties. Their origins are therefore mysterious. See also *ANGKOR WAT; PHIMAI*.

**MAINGMAW.** A site in central *Burma* identified from aerial photos in the 1960s and excavated in the 1970s. It is one of the group of early urban sites—along with *Beikthano, Halin, and Sriksetra*—that are suspected of having been built by the *Pyu* people. Maingmaw is the most complex of all: it consists of a circular wall surrounding 44 hectares (109 acres), compared to 18 hectares (45 acres) at Beikthano, 32 hectares (80 acres) at Halin, and 32 hectares (80 acres) at Sriksetra. Outside this are rectangular walls enclosing 100 hectares (250 acres) and another outer circular wall within which is an area of 625 hectares (1,550 acres).

Ten ruined structures are known to exist but have not yet been mapped. A ritual structure with decorations of *bhadrapitha* and a man on horseback have been conserved. Other remains include a cemetery with urns, etched onyx beads, *coins*, and carnelian ornaments. The site is bisected by a canal, which probably postdates the wall. The site is tentatively dated by stylistic criteria to the period of the second to the sixth centuries, but occupation may have continued later.

**MAJAPAHIT.** A kingdom founded at Tarik, east *Java*, in 1294 by Raden Wijaya (*Kertarajasa Jayawardhana*). Its capital soon shifted
to the nearby site of Trowulan. Two of its rulers, Tribhuwanatunggadewi (technically a regent for her mother, a Buddhist nun) and Suhita, were women. The royal title Rajapatni was used for high-status females. At its apogee during the approximately 230-year-long period of its existence, its authority encompassed much of modern Indonesia’s territory (see map 9). Its golden age was the mid- to late 14th century under the prime minister Gajah Mada. During the 15th century, the balance of power shifted gradually to the north coast ports. The kingdom remained a bastion of traditional Javanese religion, combining Buddhism, Hinduism, and indigenous practices of asceticism, while the north coast ports became bases for the dissemination of Islam.

Traditional historical sources such as the Babad Tanah Jawi claim that Majapahit fell in a great final battle against the Muslim forces of Demak in 1478, when the last ruler, mythologized as Brahwijaya VII, vanished. According to other sources, however, the kingdom continued to exist in a much reduced state until it finally disappeared in the early 16th century. The last inscription of the kingdom was carved in 1486 by the ruler Girindrawardhana Dyah Ranawijaya. Pigafetta, who recorded Ferdinand Magellan’s voyage around the world, indicated that a Javanese kingdom calling itself Majapahit still existed in 1522. It was located somewhere in east Java, possibly still in the vicinity of Trowulan, where some late Ming dynasty porcelain has been discovered.

Majapahit’s economy was well developed. A 14th-century text, the Nawanatya, mentions that a court official in charge of markets collected 8,000 Chinese coins a day in fees. About 1300, Majapahit adopted Chinese bronze coins as the official currency used for paying fines, taxes, and other obligations, instead of the local gold and silver currency that had been in use for centuries. Chinese coins were preferable to traditional Javanese currency because they were available in small denominations.

In Majapahit’s capital, most people were employed in specialized occupations, received wages, and acquired their daily needs by purchase. Clay figurines of pigs with hollow bodies and slits on their backs large enough to admit a coin, found at Trowulan, are perhaps the world’s first piggy banks. Domesticated pigs were probably an important symbol of wealth in ancient Java. Coin containers in other
shapes are also commonly found at Trowulan; designs include deer, elephants, and simple globes with painted red stripes, incised wavy lines, and regularly spaced holes probably necessitated by the production process.

Some locally made coinlike objects with square holes resembling Chinese coins may have been used as money or as amulets. Their modern name in Javanese, uang gobog, means “money which is no longer in circulation.” They are decorated with many patterns, often human figures in wayang style. Some depict the story of Damar Wulan, a hero who defeated the rebel Menakjinggo and married Ken-canawungu, the queen. Vishnu in his incarnation as Krishna also appears, in the context of the Mahabharata, with Arjuna as a youth (when he was called Permadi). Bhima and his son Gatotkaca also appear together. In one variant, the hole is round rather than square; one example of this type bears the Arabic shahadah: “There is no god but God and Muhammad is his prophet.”

Majapahit left no large archaeological ruins. Religion in the kingdom was decentralized. Numerous monastic communities belonging to Hindu, Buddhist, and indigenous ascetic groups were scattered about the countryside. Majapahit was described by early Chinese visitors during the Ming dynasty as a great kingdom. Numerous traders from other Asian countries also called at its major port, Tuban.

MAKARA. A Sanskrit word that originally referred to the crocodile, the mount of the god representing the Ganga (Ganges) River, personified as a woman. The makara quickly changed into a mythical beast, having a tail like a crocodile or fish, but with an elephant’s trunk and front paws like those of a lion. This motif became very important in temple architecture in central Java. Makaras flanked doorways and staircases and combined with Kala icons to create frames for niches containing statues. Some examples are also known from Sumatra, and one has been found in Melaka, though it is not known where it was originally located. The makara was the symbol of the god of love, Kama, and was often depicted in gold jewelry, especially ear ornaments.

MAKUTA. King of Thaton in 1057, according to the Glass Palace Chronicle. When he refused the request of King Anawrahta of
Bagan for Pali texts, Anawrahta attacked and conquered Thaton, taking Makuta and many of his subjects to Bagan. During his captivity, Makuta is said to have sponsored the construction of two monuments, Nanhpaya and Manuha, which still exist.

MALACCA. See MELAKA.

MALAIUR. See MALAYU.

MALAY ANNALS. A genealogy of Malay rulers was written in Melaka around 1436. The original text no longer exists, but subsequent generations copied and revised the text, which became known in Malay as the Sulalatu’s-Salatin and in English as the Malay Annals. The oldest surviving copy of the Sulalatu’s-Salatin is known as Raffles MS 18. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles acquired it during his residence in Southeast Asia in the early 19th century. About 30 other, later manuscripts exist. Several historians have attempted to reconstruct the stages of the text’s evolution by comparing various recensions of the manuscript, but no detailed version of the original text has yet been compiled.

The work’s first episode tells the story of a king named Raja Shulan from Kalinga, descendant of Iskander Zulkarnain, and his son, Raja Culan, who set out to conquer China. The Chinese sent a ship to intercept him at Temasik and convinced Raja Culan that China was too distant to attack. Raja Culan had a love affair with a fairy who lived beneath the sea (a common motif in ancient Southeast Asian myths). Three princes born as a result of this union appeared on a hill called Seguntang Mahameru, near Palembang. One of these, Sri Tri Buana (“Lord of the Three Worlds”), became king of Palembang.

The Malay Annals stresses the need for subjects to be loyal to their rulers, and the ruler’s obligation never to shame his subjects. Seventh-century inscriptions found in Palembang and other sites in Sumatra contain an oath of loyalty to the ruler of Srivijaya. These provide good grounds for suspecting that the agreement between Demang Lebar Daun and Sri Tri Buana is based on an oath of loyalty taken by subjects of the maharaja of Srivijaya.

From Indonesia to Polynesia, origin myths frequently contain the theme of a stranger who miraculously appears in the form of a hand-
some, glowing youth and is proclaimed king. The story of Sri Tri Buana thus fuses tropes from primordial Austronesian and early Buddhist sources.

Eventually Sri Tri Buana went to Bintan Island, which was ruled by Queen Sakidar Syah. She adopted him as her son and successor, inventing for this purpose the nobat, a set of musical instruments that became an indispensable part of the royal regalia. From Bintan he moved to Temasik, where he founded a settlement named Singapura, which became a great trading port ruled by five generations of kings. Singapura fought off one attack from Majapahit, but was defeated by treachery. The king, however, escaped to the Malay Peninsula and founded a new port at Melaka. The rest of the pre-1500 text deals with the greatness of the Melaka rulers. The text omits such historical events as the visits by the Ming fleets under Zheng He.

MALAYU. This name first appears in the record of an embassy to China in 644–645, and it recurs in the account of the travels of the Buddhist pilgrim Yijing, who recorded that in 671 Malayu was a zhou or geographical region where he stopped on his way to India. On his return in 689 he noted that Malayu had become part of Srivijaya. The heartland of Malayu lay in Jambi, probably along the Batanghari. Malaiyûr is one of the dependencies of Srivijaya that the Chola raid of 1025 claimed to have conquered. In the 11th through 13th centuries, it was probably the political center of the Sumatran coastal region and offshore islands referred to by Chinese sources as Sanfoqi. Malayu missions went to China in 1079 and 1082.

The capital of Malayu during the 11th–13th centuries was probably located at Muara Jambi, on the lower Batanghari. In 1275 an expedition called the Pamalayu launched by King Kertanagara of Singasari succeeded in establishing some form of Javanese suzerainty over the kingdom. Whether this was achieved through violence or as a peaceful alliance has long been in dispute among historians. The base of a statue of the esoteric Buddhist deity Amoghapasa Lokesvara bears an inscription of 1286 stating that the statue had been brought from Java to Suvarnabhumi by Javanese officials and erected at Dharmasraya by Maharaja Kertanagara. The inscription gives the name of Malayu’s king at the time as Maharaja Shrimat Tribhuwanaraja Mauliwarmadewa. The statue was found at a place
called Rambahan, far upstream near the mountains that form the western spine of Sumatra. The practice of sending images from sovereigns to subordinate provinces was also performed by the king of Angkor, Jayavarman VII, in the late 12th century.

Malayu sent ambassadors to China in 1280, 1293, and 1299, a fact that suggests that Malayu still retained political autonomy. Islam may have already begun to make converts among the subjects of Malayu by this time. In 1281 the Yuan sent two Muslims as envoys to Malayu. In 1293, according to the History of the Yuan, the Yuan sent an envoy to “the small countries of Malayu” to deliver an imperial order that the kings send their brothers or sons to China to show their loyalty to the emperor; it is recorded that they complied.

Marco Polo in 1292 described the city of Malayu as “very large and noble,” a center of the spice trade, but he apparently did not visit it himself. Embassies came from Malayu to China in 1299 and 1301, indicating that Majapahit had not yet reasserted the grip Singasari had formed over the kingdom.

Wang Dayuan says that the Sanfoqi area was densely populated and the land fertile. The people lived on pile-dwellings and gathered oysters. It produced some valuable commodities: plum blossom and flake camphor of fair quality, laka wood, betel nut, cotton, and fine carved wood. The Chinese in return provided colored taffeta, red beads, other cotton goods, and copper and iron pots.

The Pararaton and Desawarnana both record Majapahit’s assertion of Javanese suzerainty over the kingdom. Canto 12 of the Desawarnana describes the relationship of Majapahit’s capital to the rest of the kingdom as being like that of the sun to the stars and planets. Beyond the towns of Java, of which the main one was Kediri, were the other islands, the kingdoms of which, as the poet Prapanca was proud to note, “frequently came to court to seek the favor of the king.” Prapanca described them as follows: “The principal ones are all those that belong to the country of Malayu: namely Jambi and Palembang [and others on Sumatra]. These are the most important ones of those belonging to the country of Malayu, one country, equally executing [orders and] following [commands].” In other words, they were obedient to Majapahit’s dominion.

In 1347 an inscription of Adityawarman mentions “Malayupura,” probably the name of his capital. He was probably sent to Malayu as
a Javanese viceroy; his mother may have been of Sumatran ancestry. Adityawarman seems to have quickly broken away from Java and asserted independence. He seems to have had his name inscribed on the base of the Amoghapasa statue of 1286, as Srimat Sri Udayadityawarman Pratapaparakramrajendra Maulimaliwarmmadewa. The 1347 inscription was found in the hinterland of west Sumatra; the location of the site of Malayupura is unknown, but was probably in the Batanghari lowlands. The center of power moved to the Minangkabau highlands by the mid-14th century, possibly as the result of Javanese pressure, perhaps also due to the gold mines in the mountains.

A 15th-century Siamese law book, the Kot Mandirapala, claims Malayu as a vassal of Ayutthaya. Probably the early Ming records that describe Sanfoqi as an impoverished vassal of Java in the late 14th century reflect the nadir of ancient Malayu.

**MANASARA SILA-SAstra.** The most complete manual of religious construction surviving from ancient India, which was probably also known in ancient Southeast Asia. Scholars differ on its dating; Acharya dated it to 450–550, but Murata thinks it has continued to be modified until the present. The manual uses the traditional method of utilizing modules rather than absolute, standardized units of measurement. These include the anggula or width of the thumb, the vitasti or span of a palm, the jong or foot, the hasta or cubit, and the depa or fathom (which, as in English, originally meant the distance between the tips of the middle fingers when standing with both arms outstretched). Early Javanese inscriptions mention such terms.

Scholars have attempted to discern the basic module used in the construction of such ancient buildings as Barabudur. One possibility is that the vitasti was used. A basic measurement taken from the thickness of the stones used is roughly 23 centimeters (9 inches), which might have been the span of the outstretched hand of a priest or monk involved in the monument’s design.

**MANDALA.** Literally “circle” in Sanskrit. This term was used to refer to the 10 divisions of the Rig Veda of ancient Hinduism. In later Indian and Southeast Asian sources, the word was used to refer to territories envisioned as belonging to either ideal or real polities. Srivijaya, for example, referred to itself in its inscriptions as a mandala.
In Angkor, Rajendravarman’s mandala was praised in inscriptions as “rich and without faction,” along with the seven constituents (prakṛtis) of which the kingdom (rājyā) was composed according to Indian political theory.

The term mandala implies a specific notion of the relationship between the supreme ruler and his subordinates. In much of ancient Southeast Asia, ambitious overlords strove to dominate surrounding chiefs; they would account themselves successful if they could induce them to send tribute to their own capitals, which would betoken their spiritual superiority. Within their own territories, however, the chiefs were free to act more or less autonomously, extending to the collection of taxes and adjudication of legal disputes. The supreme leader of the mandala reserved the sole right to deal with other rulers outside the mandala. The ideology of the mandala is an example of a political system that scholars working in Africa have labeled the “segmentary state.” The conduct of trade with China, couched in terms of presentation of tribute from rulers autonomous in their own realms, was based on the same principle.

In the mandala system, neighboring regimes were automatically perceived as potential enemies. The ruler with ambitions to become a cakravartin, the ruler of a mandala, endeavored not to destroy his rivals; rather they were encouraged to acknowledge his spiritual supremacy. The mandala thus gave primacy to spiritual and ceremonial practice rather than to ambitions to impose economic or political control over subordinate areas, which were assumed to possess in some sense permanent identities of their own.

The relationship between the supreme ruler and his subordinate rulers was perceived in terms of religious diagrams in which the supreme deity occupied the center of a series of concentric circles occupied by satellite deities, the whole usually (but not always) bounded by a square. Religious mandalas, which in India were usually drawn on two-dimensional surfaces such as canvas or even with colored sand, depicted the main deity at the center of the constellation of subordinate deities, which might in turn have their own satellites, and so on ad infinitum. Other associated deities are shown at the four cardinal points around the central deity; thus mandalas are associated with multiples of the number 4, plus 1: 5, 17, 33, and so forth. Inscriptions indicate that ancient Southeast Asian kingdoms repli-
cated this system in their court structures, for example, appointing 33 ministers.

Esoteric Buddhism emphasized the use of mandalas, usually painted on canvas or paper, as aids to meditation. On the surface of the ground, mandalas could be created by depositing certain ritual objects in the earth, at points marking the center and the borders of the mandala. Within this space thus demarcated, evil influences would be excluded.

Mandalas could also be constructed in three dimensions, though this was more common in Southeast Asia than in India. Sets of more than 100 bronze images discovered in Java originally belonged to large sculptural mandalas. It has been argued that Barabudur's groundplan was designed according to mandala principles. Other Javanese temple complexes, particularly Candi Sewu and Plaosan, consist of hundreds of shrines laid out according to mandala principles. Early Javanese Buddhism apparently shared many tenets in common with Shingon Buddhism in Japan; the latter form of Buddhism recognizes more than 2,000 different mandalas composed of different configurations of deities. Sources relating to Atisa, a Buddhist who lived in both Srivijaya and Tibet, depict him as discussing ways of meditating in buildings constructed as multistory mandalas.

**MANDAPA (Thai MONDOP, MORADOP; Javanese PENDAPA, PENDOPO).** A Sanskrit word for a roofed, open-sided area in front of the sanctum in medieval Hindu temples in India. Such buildings were a very common architectural form in ancient Southeast Asia, where they were used in many contexts, both religious and secular.

**MANGRAI.** The energetic ruler who played a major role in establishing Tai sovereignty over the former Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya in northern Thailand. Mangrai began in Chiangsen, moved to Chiangrai, and then Chiangmai (“New City”) in 1296, in a kingdom called Lan Na. He died in about 1315 after a long reign.

**MANJUSRI (MAÑJUSRĪ).** Literally “One who is beautiful [or pleasing] to look at” in Sanskrit. Manjusri is generally acknowledged to be the first bodhisattva to appear in literature. His purpose was to lead audiences in the inquiry into the self, to discover the true nature
of reality. Typical attributes include a book on a blue lotus, symbolizing the Prajnaparamita Sutra, and a sword that cuts all delusions. This deity was popular among the Sailendra of central Java in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Statues of him are common, particularly at Candi Plaosan. An inscription from Candi Sewu describes him as the principle deity of a large temple complex. Several authorities have conjectured that the Sewu complex was dedicated to Manjusri, at least after its expansion in approximately 790. Kusen speculated that Candi Sewu was originally designed as a dharmadhatuswargiswaramandala with Manjusri as its main figure, but when it was redesigned in 790, it became a vajradatumandala with Vairocana as main deity. The Manjusrigraha inscription supports this inference.

An inscription found on the Ratubaka Plateau, dated in the same year as the Manjusrigraha inscription of Candi Sewu, mentions the foundation of a vihara dedicated to a bodhisattva whose identity is unclear; it may either be Avalokitesvara or Manjusri. Manjusri plays an important role in the text illustrated on the upper terraces of Barabudur, the Gandavyuha. According to the text, when Manjusri was preaching in southern India, Sudhana asked him for guidance to perfect himself and to obtain the “thunderbolt of wisdom.” Thus Manjusri set in motion the chain of events depicted in the Gandavyuha. Manjusri occupies a central position in a relief that depicts him quite differently from standard Javanese iconography. Instead of the canavira and other attributes of a young boy that Manjusri usually assumes in Java, he is wearing a yogapatra and brahminical caste cord. His body is corpulent, his features those of a mature male. Behind his head is a crescent moon, which identifies this deity in Java. He wears elaborate jewelry. It is possible that this scene portrays a real person, perhaps the ruler who commissioned this phase of Barabudur’s construction.

Candi Mendut, near Barabudur, built in about 800, houses three stone images: Sakyamuni in the center, a deity on the left usually identified as Avalokitesvara, and another on the right usually thought to represent Vajrapani, but whom N. J. Krom concluded is Manjusri. Several types of Manjusri images were made in Indonesia. The name Arapacana is usually applied to the image of Manjusri with sword and book. Manjusri is part of many mandalas, either as a bod-
hisattva in his own right or as Vajra, one of Amitabha’s advisers. A
beautiful silver image from Ngemplak depicts him as a young boy
with the attribute of five locks of hair, seated with right hand in vārā
mudra, left hand holding the stalk of the blue lotus on top of which
lies a book. Around his neck, he wears a necklace of tiger claws, a
typical ornament for young boys.

In more esoteric manifestations, he was depicted as Vajrabhairava
(“Diamond Terrifier”), alias Yamantaka (“Death Exterminator”).
Manjusri tamed Yama, the god of death and the underworld, by imi-
tating him and adding faces, arms, and legs.

**MANJUSRI GRHA.** Sanskrit for “house [or building] of Manjusri.”
This name was given to an inscription dated 792, found at Candi
Sewu, central Java, in 1960. Several authorities have conjectured
that the Sewu complex was dedicated to Manjusri, at least after its ex-
pansion around 790. The inscription is written in a mixture of San-
skrit and a language similar to Old Malay perhaps spoken on the
north coast of Java at this time. The ruler is termed Lord Sarana. The
inscription was found lying on the ground in a remote location near
a subsidiary chapel. Possibly the inscription refers not to the central
shrine, but to the subsidiary temple. It was not written in the name of
the king, but of an otherwise unknown functionary entitled dāng
Nayaka diranda lurawa, who refers to himself as a “charioteer.”
Other fragmentary inscriptions from Sewu indicate that officials of
the kingdom sponsored some of the subsidiary temples in the com-
plex. The inscription seems to refer to both the completion of the
temple and the consecration of an image. It is possible that the in-
scription does not refer to the main shrine or statue, but to the sub-
sidiary chapel in which it was found.

**MANTYASIH.** Site of an important Old Javanese inscription issued in
907 (usually termed Mantyasih I) during the reign of Balitung. The
inscription records the foundation of a sima. The importance of this
inscription derives from one section that curses anyone who disturbs
the sima. The curse calls upon the spirits of past kings who came
from Medang in Poh Pitu. These kings are listed as Sanjaya,
Panangkaran, Panunggalan, Warak, Garung, Pikatan, Kayuwa-
gi, and Watu Humalang. The list omits names of rulers mentioned in
other inscriptions, in particular those thought to belong to the Saindra family.

**MANUHA.** A temple in Bagan named after King Manuha of Thaton. According to Burmese chronicles, he was defeated by King Anawrahta, was taken to Bagan as a captive, and built the temple during his captivity. The temple structure is rather simple, comprising a two-level blocklike building. A makara-torana pediment frames the entrance, which faces the east; Paul Strachan and other scholars think that these motifs are of a later style, not contemporaneous with the reign of Anawrahta. Inside the main shrine is a set of three seated Buddha images, all depicting the Buddha Gautama in the bhumisparsa mudra. In an adjoining chamber on the west side can be found another huge Buddha image reclining on his right, representing the parinirvana.

**MANUSCRIPTS.** Southeast Asians used numerous materials for writing. The most common in ancient times seems to have been the leaf of the sugar palm (Borassus), a custom also found in India and Sri Lanka. These are called pei-za in Burmese, lontar in Indonesian. Writing was performed by preparing the leaf, then incising letters on it with a sharp-pointed stylus, after which the leaf was rubbed with soot, filling in the grooves and making the letters visible against the yellow leaf.

Various kinds of paper were also made in the region. In Burma, paper books called parabaik were made by folding a long sheet accordion-fashion. Parabaik were sometimes black in color, the writing being done with white soapstone. Southeast Asian paper was made of mulberry bark mixed with other materials.

Sheets of metal were also used, mainly for important government or religious records. The materials included copper, bronze, gold, and silver. However, most literature was written only on perishable materials, few of which date to the pre-1500 era.

Southeast Asian manuscripts rarely contain dates of original composition or authors’ names. Their colophons most often give dates at which a manuscript was copied and names of the copyist, but sometimes the copyists gave the date of the manuscript they copied instead. See also CHRONICLES.
MAO KUN MAP. A navigational chart found in the Wu Bei Zhi ("Treatise on Military Preparation") by Mao Yuanyi, which was presented to the ruler of the Ming dynasty in 1628. Mao Yuanyi’s grandfather, Mao Kun (1511–1601), had been on the staff of the admiral in charge of defending the coast of China against pirates. The book’s preface, dated 1621, states that the geographical and navigational details of the map were based on the Ying-yai Sheng-lan of Ma Guan and the Xing-cha Sheng-lan, both written in the 15th century. It is one of the oldest maps of Southeast Asia. Most scholars believe that the map shows the routes taken by the fleets of Zheng He.

The map takes the form of a scroll 20 centimeters (8 inches) high and 5.5 meters (18.5 feet) long. It is distorted by its long, narrow shape, but it was meant to provide a schematic set of instructions for sailing rather than a true representation of geography. The map concentrates on depictions of coasts and gives sailing routes as dotted lines, along with 499 place-names, covering the area from Nanjing to Hormuz, a distance of about 12,000 kilometers (7,500 miles). The map includes written directions for sailors, giving sailing times in terms of watches of 2.4 hours and compass directions between key reference points (Chinese compasses were divided into divisions of 15 degrees, which could be divided in half, giving the smallest division of 7.5 degrees) from one point to the next.

Most records of the early Ming voyages were intentionally destroyed in the mid-15th century. This is one of the few documents that provide insight into the methods and techniques used during the great voyages of Zheng He and his colleagues.

MARA VIJAYOTTUNGGAVARMAN. Ruler of Srivijaya in 1008. An inscription from south India, written sometime soon after 1014 by the Chola king Rajendrachola I, calls him a descendant of the Sailendras and king of Srivijaya and Kidara (Kedah). By 1025 he may have been replaced by Sanggramavijayottunggavarman, whom another Tamil inscription identifies as the ruler of Kedah in that year.

MARTABAN. Port in peninsular Burma where by 1281 a kingdom had been founded by a Mon ruler known as Makatho, Chao Fa Rua, or Wareru. He later gained control over the city of Hanthawati (Bago/Pegu) and is credited with developing a law code based on the
Laws of Manu. His code later became influential in Siam. The king was assassinated in 1313 by his grandsons. The port’s name became synonymous with a kind of large glazed storage jar that was popular in much of Southeast Asia.

MATARAM. A kingdom in central Java. The name was coined in the 10th century, toward the end of the period of central Javanese civilization, and referred to an area around Mount Merapi where a kingdom or kingdoms had built hundreds of brick and stone temples dedicated to Hindu and Mahayana Buddhist deities in the eighth and ninth centuries. The largest of these are Barabudur and Lara Jonggrang. The first ruler, Sanjaya, may have ascended the throne around 716.

There exist two schools of thought regarding the family relations of the rulers of Mataram. One holds that there was but a single family stemming from Sanjaya. The other argues that there were two extended families or wangsā: the Sanjaya and the Sailendra, one Hindu, the other Buddhist. The problem is that records of their reigns give overlapping dates during the period 782–824. It has been suggested that the two families ruled different areas, but no evidence for this has come to light.

Another theory is that the apparent overlap is the result of the complexity of Javanese royal titles, which sometimes resulted in different names being used for the same person, either because of context, the needs of poetic meters when an inscription was written in Sanskrit, or purely random factors. Another possibility is that the Buddhist Sailendra originated from the kingdom known to the Chinese as Heling, which could have been located on the north-central coast of Java, while the Sanjaya may have been native to the south-central zone. The Buddhist affiliation of the Sailendra would have benefited from their long-distance trading connections. On the other hand, the large amount of resources devoted to Buddhist temple building from 780 to 830 and the preponderance of Buddhist inscriptions from the same period suggests that the Sailendra may still have maintained a separate identity.

Sometime between 919 and 929, the center of Javanese rule moved from Mataram to the eastern part of the island. The reason or reasons for the abandonment of Mataram are unclear. Numerous theories have been proposed, involving such factors as an attack from Suma-
tra, volcanic eruptions, or other sudden disasters, but no definitive proof of any of these has been discovered.

The transfer of power to east Java coincided with the cessation of construction of monuments in permanent materials and almost all lithic inscriptions for more than 300 years. East Javanese religion, however, continued to worship the same gods, statues continued to be created, and inscriptions written.

**MEDANG.** According to later inscriptions, this was the place of origin of the Sanjaya line of rulers of the central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the first of whom may have ascended the throne in 716. The exact location of the site, if in fact it existed, has never been determined.

**MEKONG.** One of Southeast Asia’s longest (4,300 kilometers/2,600 miles) and most famous rivers. It rises at an elevation of almost 5,000 meters (16,400 feet) on the Tibetan Plateau, near the sources of the Salween and Yangzi, then flows through Yunnan before entering Southeast Asia at the border of China, Burma, and Laos. This marks the beginning of the lower Mekong, which runs for 2,400 kilometers (1,500 miles) and drains an estimated watershed of 600,000 square kilometers (232,000 square miles), an area larger than France. For 210 kilometers (130 miles), the Mekong forms the border of Burma and northern Laos. It then runs along the border between Laos and Thailand before flowing through eastern Cambodia and south Vietnam, where it enters the South China Sea through a six-mouth delta. The Mekong has few tributaries, the most important being the Mun and Chi, which drain a large portion of northeast Thailand.

In Cambodia, the spring melting of the snows in China causes the level of the Mekong at Phnom Penh to rise by nearly 10 meters (33 feet), enough to cause the flow of water from the outlet of the Tonlé Sap or Great Lake in the center of the country to reverse its course. In June the area of the lake expands greatly, gently inundating the lake’s margins and driving a highly productive agricultural regime. The lower part of the river from Phnom Penh to the sea also becomes a large complex of shallow swamps and seasonal ponds during this season. In terms of total water discharge, the Mekong is the third largest river in Asia, after the Yangzi and the Ganges.
The lower Mekong is broad, which prevented ancient kingdoms from building bridges across it. Early settlers in the lower Mekong were more concerned with building canals to drain the annual floods than creating irrigation networks. The first 400 kilometers (250 miles) is tidal during the season of low water. The Sambor Rapids begin about 15 kilometers (9.5 miles) north of Kratie and extend for more than 12 kilometers (7 miles), making boat traffic between the lower and upper stretches of the river impossible. At the Khone Falls in southern Laos, the river is divided into many courses distributed over a width of 15 kilometers (9.5 miles). More rapids are found in several sections north of this point.

The Mekong thus is a highly variable river. It has not served to unify the lands along its banks, although it has been a factor in the formation of important agricultural regimes in its lower reaches.

**MELAKA.** A Malay kingdom on the west coast of peninsular Malaysia founded by Parameswara, native of Palembang, Sumatra, who tried to assert independence from Majapahit after Hayam Wuruk died in 1389. Parameswara was forced to flee after his naval forces based on Bangka Island were destroyed by a Javanese attack. He settled at Temasik (Singapore), where he or his associates assassinated the local chief who had at various times been a tributary to both Ayutthaya and Majapahit. Parameswara was expelled from there, too, about 1397 by an attack, probably from the murdered chief’s in-laws, who were from the Malay kingdom of Patani, then a vassal of Ayutthaya. He then took refuge in the Malay Peninsula, first at Muar, then at Bertam, before settling at Melaka, where he was residing by 1403, according to the report of a Chinese envoy named Yinqing.

Parameswara sent a mission to the Ming court in China in 1405, which resulted in official investiture. Zheng He’s fleet visited him in 1409, and he reciprocated by going to China in 1411. Later Melaka missions asked for help to defend themselves against Ayutthaya, but Melaka is cited in a 15th-century Ayutthaya text as a vassal.

The history of the next few reigns of the kingdom is murky. Either Parameswara converted to Islam at an advanced age and changed his name to Iskandar Shah, or his son, Megat Iskandar Shah, who took the throne in about 1414, may have been a convert. According to Tomé Pires, the Portuguese author of an account of Melaka in 1515,
Iskandar Shah was Parameswara’s son who had been born in Singapore; Pires describes him as Melaka’s second ruler and says he died at Bertam. The Malay Annals, however, says that Iskandar Shah, not Parameswara, was the Singapore ruler who established Melaka. Ming sources call the second ruler of Melaka Iskandar Shah, but they could have been misled by his change of name from Parameswara to Iskandar Shah upon his conversion to Islam; the Malay Annals says this occurred at a late stage in his life.

Pires, according to O. W. Wolters, was confused by the fact that Parameswara/Iskandar Shah had two sons and a grandson; the latter was born in Singapore in the 1390s and became the third ruler of Melaka. Iskandar Shah lived at Bertam, and his son lived in Melaka; this kind of internship or junior kingship system was very widespread in early Southeast Asia.

The mission to China in 1418 was led by the Melaka ruler’s elder brother. Both he and the king also went to China with the returning Ming fleets, which visited Southeast Asia seven times between 1405 and 1433. The Chinese information on this point is found in the Ming Shi-lu records of the Yongle reign, which were copied late in the Ming dynasty; it is possible that a copyist made an error and inserted the wrong name for the ambassador, but this would be a mistake of unusually great magnitude.

The bendahara (official in charge of the treasury, one of the most important official positions) of Melaka, Tun Perpateh Berjajar, was father-in-law to both of Iskandar’s sons, which may have further confused Pires and his informants. But the Malay Annals gives the second ruler only two years of rule, 1414–1416, whereas his reign probably lasted until 1423. The third ruler presented tribute in April 1424. He is recorded in Chinese texts as having borne the title Sri Maharaja, a non-Muslim title identical to that used in Srivijaya. He reigned until 1444. There is some evidence that he converted to Islam, took the name Muhammad Shah, and went on missions to China in 1424 and 1431.

The Ying-yai Sheng-lan says that in Melaka, “The king and the people are all Mahommedans,” but Paul Pelliot believed that this information was added after 1433. Ma Guan’s work was published with a postscript in 1451. Thus Iskandar may have been a name used by the son and possibly grandson of Melaka’s founder, but not by Parameswara himself.
The Melakan ruler in 1445 had the non-Muslim title of Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah, but according to some accounts, he was a Muslim whose personal name was Abu Shahid Ibrahim Shah. In 1446 he was assassinated and replaced by a ruler who was clearly a Muslim. His father was Sri Maharaja; his mother may have been a Muslim concubine of Tamil ancestry born in Samudera-Pasai. He took the title Sultan Muzaffar Shah and minted coins with the Arabic inscriptions “Muzaffar Shah al-Sultan/Nasir al-dunya wa'l-Din.” By the mid-15th century, Melaka had become the foremost trading port in Southeast Asia and officially a Muslim sultanate.

Subsequent rulers included Mansur Shah (1459–1477) and his son Ala’uddin Riayat Shah (1477–1488), who died probably as the result of poisoning and was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah, who remained in power until the Portuguese conquered Melaka in 1511. Before his overthrow, Mahmud had exerted various forms of control over most of the coastal area on both sides of the Strait of Melaka and had repulsed a Siamese attack on Pahang in 1500. In 1510 Mahmud, fearing treachery, had assassinated the bendahara and other high officials, significantly weakening the kingdom just as it was about to be put to a severe test. Mahmud withdrew when he realized he would be unable to expel the Portuguese, reestablishing a court in Muar, then Pahang, then Bintan, and finally Kampar, Sumatra, where he died in 1529.

In addition to the Malay Annals, another important surviving text from Melaka is the Melaka Legal Code (Undang-Undang Melaka). It consists of six divisions. A large portion of the code is devoted to maritime law, which itself takes up 11 volumes. Bugis traders from south Sulawesi are believed to have had a major role in influencing the maritime trading code. Other Malay kingdoms later used the Melaka Laws as a guide to their own legal systems.

**MENDUT.** A large Buddhist stone temple in central Java, dating from about 800, which stands 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) east of Barabudur. Eight bodhisattvas appear in relief on the exterior of the shrine, two on each side. Inside are three enormous stone images: Sakyamuni in the center, Avalokitesvara on his right, and another on his left who may be Vajrapani or Manjusri. According to one theory by J. L. Moens, Mendut and Pawon were components of a ceremony in which Buddhist rulers of central Java were consecrated as
**Cakravartins.** In this theory, the principal images of Mendut and Pawon depicted the *rupa* forms of the Nīsyandabuddhās Maitreya and Manjusri. The ruler would have undergone *abhiseka* (consecration) at Mendut in front of a Maitreya image and then gone to Pawon, which lies on a straight line between Mendut and Barabudur. At Pawon the ruler would have participated in another ceremony in the presence of a Manjusri image.

**Meru.** A mountain at the center of the universe, according to Buddhist and Hindu cosmology. The mountain’s main peak was envisioned as encircled by seven seas and seven mountain ranges. In the outermost sea were four continents, and on one of these live humans. On the upper slopes of Meru and in the heavens above it live the gods. At the summit is the palace of **Indra**, ruler of the heavens. See also MAHENDRAPARVATA; MANDALA.

**Mi Son.** A site in the hinterland of Da Nang, central Vietnam, in a narrow valley surrounded by mountains. French scholars first became aware of the site in 1889. The scholar Henri Parmentier gave simple alphanumeric designations to the complexes of architectural remains found at the site. The ruins are built of relatively well-baked brick, but have suffered from both natural decay and also from human action, in particular during the Vietnam War. The site was accorded World Heritage status by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1999.

A ceremonial site patronized by many rulers of **Champa**, Mi Son is of great importance to the history of Southeast Asian art. The first known **Siva lingga** in Southeast Asia is recorded in an inscription as having been erected here in the fourth century CE. The earliest buildings on the site seem to have been made of perishable materials. Brick and stone began to be used in the seventh century, and construction continued until the 13th century. Thus Mi Son was in more or less continuous use for as much as nine centuries, one of the longest histories of any site in Southeast Asia.

Mi Son was probably closely associated with the royal center of **Amaravati**, located at modern **Tra Kieu**, in ancient times called **Singapura**. Excavations at Tra Kieu have yielded evidence of the use of Chinese-style roof tile ends there more than 2,000 years ago, furnishing some of the earliest evidence for Southeast Asian contacts.
with Chinese culture (possibly by way of north Vietnam, where Chinese rule was established in the Han dynasty).

Mi Son was a center of Hindu religious activity. During the ninth century, Hinduism was eclipsed by Buddhism in the Cham region, then resumed its dominant position in the kingdom in the early 10th century. Many of the major structures now extant at Mi Son date from this later time.

Parmentier divided Mi Son into eight clusters designated A to H (see diagram 11). These largely consist of groups of buildings surrounded by walls, although some structures lie outside enclosures. Some clusters are chronologically homogeneous; the seven edifices of Group C, for example, are probably all products of the 10th century. Others experienced the insertion of new buildings into old groups, and erection of new buildings on old foundations. Out of about 70 structures that once stood here, some 20 still exist. The largest cluster, Group B, was built in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Many scholars consider the Mi Son style of architecture and sculpture to represent the high point of Cham art (see photographs 6 and 7). Cham style strikes some observers, both Western and Asian, as having a tendency to relax the classical ideals of harmony in proportion, dignity and introspection in emotional expression, and restraint in use of decoration. Mi Son is least subject to such deviations from the classical ideals of any Cham site.

After Bhadravarman erected his lingga in the fourth century, an inscription of Rudravarman records the replacement by Shambhuvamana of a wooden temple that had burned down with a brick building in the early seventh century. He established a lingga known as Shambhubhadresvar, to which later kings paid tribute. Prakash Dharma built numerous structures in the late seventh century and donated a gold kosa for the lingga. Numerous inscriptions from later kings record their donations to this religious center. Important sculptures installed here include a pediment depicting a reclining Vishnu from shrine E1, dated to the eighth century. After a member of the Cham nobility went on a pilgrimage to Java around 900, strong central Javanese influence appeared in such forms as kala-makara niches and kinnara surrounded by leaves. Other important sculptures include a statue of Skanda, Siva’s son and god of war, on his mount, a peacock, in B3, and a dancing Siva in H1.
MING DYNASTY. The Ming dynasty was founded in 1368. It replaced the Yuan, which represented a period of foreign (Mongol) domination. The first Ming ruler, the Hongwu emperor, in an attempt to return to what he believed to be Chinese values, reimposed ancient restrictions on contact between Chinese and foreigners that had been increasingly relaxed since the Song dynasty (founded 960). This had severe effects on Chinese trade with Southeast Asia. During the reign of the third Ming emperor, Yongle, numerous imperial missions were sent overseas. The records of these missions were largely destroyed in the mid-15th century when China entered a period of isolationism, but some have survived. These provide important information about ancient Southeast Asia.

The first important Chinese reference work to be written on Southeast Asian commerce since the Yuan dynasty author Wang Dayuan's Daoyi Zhilue was entitled Ying-yai Sheng-lan, (“A Comprehensive Survey of the Ocean Shores”). It was probably written between 1425 and 1432 by an otherwise unknown Chinese Muslim named Ma Guan, who served as an interpreter and recorder with two of Zheng He’s expeditions.

The Xing-cha Sheng-lan (“Description of the Starry Raft”) was written by Fei Xin in 1436. He made several voyages with Zheng He, but we do not know what his job was. A navigational manual with the subtitle Shun-feng Xiang-sung (“Fair Winds for Escort”) is dated around 1430. Another work about the Zheng He missions, Hsi Yang Fan Kuo Chih (“Description of Foreign Countries of the West”), dated 1432, by Kung Chen, a secretary, survives only in fragments. Later Ming works include Xi Yang Chao Kung Tien Lu (“Record of the Tributary Nations of the West”), written by by Huang Sheng-ceng in 1520.

Wu Bei Zhi is a treatise on military preparation with a preface dated 1620. It was presented to the emperor no earlier than 1628. It contains the navigational chart known as the Mao Kun map. The preface states that the geographical and navigational details of the map were based on the Ying-yai Sheng-lan and Xing-cha Sheng-lan. This is the nearest thing to a map that has survived from the voyages of the “jewel ships,” as Zheng He’s vessels were termed.

MINGALAZEDI. The “Auspicious Pagoda” built by King Narathihapate (1256–1287). It is considered the last great monument of the
Bagan period, and one of the most impressive of all. According to chronicles, Narathihapate began construction of Mingalazedi in 1268, but before the structure was finished, it was prophesied that when the pagoda was completed, Bagan would be destroyed. Thereupon the king suspended construction of the temple. However a venerable monk chided the king for neglecting his duty of acquiring merit.

Narathihapate finished the Mingalazedi in 1274, according to a dedicatory inscription found at the site. The inscription describes a ceremony in which the king walked from the palace to the pagoda via a covered pathway. The temple was built to house 51 gold and silver statuettes of kings, queens, ministers, and maids of honor. A decade after completion of the temple, according to the chroniclers, the king fled Bagan following a Mongol invasion.

The Mingalazedi contains a remarkably well-preserved full set of glazed Jataka plaques. The only other temple in Bagan to incorporate a full set of Jataka plaques is the Dhammayazika, built in 1196. Mingalazedi comprises three receding octagonal terraces. The central structure is a bell-shaped domed stupa topped with a tapering conical finial. Small pagodas at the corners of terraces assume the form of kalasa pots.

MINYE TUJUH. Location of an ancient Muslim graveyard in Aceh, north Sumatra, dated 1380. One grave is marked by two tombstones— one inscribed with Arabic script, the other with Old Malay. This is one of the last examples of the use of this ancient script. The stones are simple rectangles with pointed arches at the tops. The Arabic inscription records the death of “the Sublime Queen Alalah[?], daughter of the late Sultan Malik az-Zahir, the khan of previous times, the son of his father the khan of khans.” The Old Malay text is somewhat different. Written in rhymed couplets, it speaks of “the queen of the faithful Varda Rahmatullah from the House of Bharubha, which has rights on Kedah and Samudera-Pasai, having sprouts all over the world. O my lord, lord of the universe, place our leader in heaven.” It is dated 1389. The questions raised by these differences in content and dating have not been resolved.

MON. An ethnolinguistic group whose language belongs to the Austroasiatic family. In some older ethnographic texts the term Talaing is
used, but it is considered somewhat derogatory. At the dawn of the historic period in Southeast Asia, Mon seems to have been the main language used by inhabitants of Thailand. Dvaravati and Haripunjaya are two of the better-known Mon kingdoms. The oldest known Mon inscriptions were carved in the Lopburi area in the seventh century.

Another Mon kingdom, Thaton in south Burma, is referred to in a number of sources. It has been suggested that the Mons became established in Burma only at a relatively late date, perhaps as a result of pressure from Angkor armies or even later, but this is not certain. In the 11th century, Mon cultural influence can be discerned in Bagan, the Burmese capital. Burmese chronicles claim that King Anawrahta conquered Thaton in 1057 and transported many Mon scholars and craftsmen back to Bagan. The first Burmese-language inscription, dated 1058, is written in Mon script.

The Mon-Dvaravati style of sculpture has been compared to the Gupta school of Sarnath, India, with similar smooth drapery, but more austere in profile. Its simplicity corresponds to the ethos of Theravada Buddhism.

MONEY. Early Southeast Asia exhibited a wide range of economic systems. Economic matters in the region were closely connected with political and religious power and were therefore constrained by considerations beyond the realm of the market.

The monetization of mainland Southeast Asia’s economy began in the fifth century. The oldest coin hoards have been found in a zone stretching from Burma through Thailand to south Vietnam, but after the fall of Funan and Dvaravati, coins were no longer used on mainland Southeast Asia.

Coinage appeared in Java by the beginning of the ninth century. Although in 800 coinage existed both on the Southeast Asian mainland and in major islands of the archipelago, thereafter the paths of monetary development in the two regions diverged. Coinage disappeared from the archaeological record of the mainland, not to reappear until after Islamization and the arrival of Europeans, whereas in Sumatra, Java, Bali, and the Philippines, coinage came to occupy an increasingly important position in the lives of the ordinary people.

In Cambodia during the height of the Angkor civilization, inscriptions record numerous exchanges, both among individual people
and in connection with temples, but there are no references to markets, trade, merchants, coins, or taxation. Some materials were used as exchange media, including pieces of silver and cloth, but the only type of trade that can be reconstructed is barter. No coins have been found within the major kingdoms of Angkor, Sukothai, or Bagan. This situation suggests that an important transformation took place when these kingdoms formed in the late first millennium CE. An early period of relatively fluid economic activity must have been replaced by a system in which the distribution of labor and commodities was dictated by the state.

Inscription K.259, from early eighth-century Cambodia, mentions an official with the title “chief of merchants,” possibly an individual who administered such matters. The Chinese envoy Zhou Daguan in 1296 observed that Angkor possessed neither markets nor money. The large kingdoms of mainland Southeast Asia seem to have instituted command economies in which the government regulated economic activity through taxation and redistribution. In Indonesia, on the other hand, coinage continued to be produced and became integral to the functioning of several societies.

In both mainland and island Southeast Asia, the notion of “the economy” was shaped by the fact that control over labor was much more highly esteemed and emphasized than other types of assets. Social structures of the region (in this aspect rather like that of China at the same period) were predicated upon the notion that it was the fate of everyone to “belong” to someone else of higher status, in the sense of being part of a patron–client relationship in which both parties were expected to respect a set of mutual obligations, thus creating a sort of social safety net. Lower-status people in most societies were expected to form part of the retinue of someone of higher status and to perform certain duties for him in return for the fulfillment of specific obligations, mainly protection.

Southeast Asian inscriptions contain various terms that have been translated as “slave.” Early European sources also refer to “slaves” as a major component of Southeast Asian population. However, this single word does not do justice to the range of relationships that existed in ancient Southeast Asia and which in many contexts still affect human relationships in the region. People could become enslaved for debt, as war captives, or by selling themselves. As a result of accept-
ing someone as a “slave,” however, the master was responsible for en-
suring the welfare of that person. Of course, not all patrons fulfilled their
duty faithfully, but the ideal was frequently approximated in practice.

In this matter as in so much else having to do with early modern
Southeast Asia, one cannot simply read European sources as literal
descriptions of reality. References to slavery have to be analyzed in
the context of the place where they are situated and their specific pe-
riod, for of course changes occurred over time. The complexity of so-
cial institutions in determining the allocation of social and physical
resources and the economic choices of individuals suggests that “the
economy” in early modern Southeast Asia is a concept in need of def-
inition according to the local situation.

**MONYWE SAYADAW.** An important Burmese chronicler born in
the village of Monywe in 1766. He spent most of his life in the
monastic order and became the head of the Ledat Maha Zetawun
Monastery in Monywe, where he was popularly referred to as the
Monywe Sayadaw (sayadaw means “respected teacher”). In 1829
King Bagyidaw appointed him to head a Royal Historical Commiss-
ion to compile the *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi*. He also wrote a
chronicle he called the *Yazeinda Yazawya-mandani Yazawin* or *Maha
Yazawingyaw*, popularly known as the *Monywe Yazawin*. The
sayadaw completed his chronicle in 1831, probably around the same
time the first volume of the *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi* was finished.

The *Monywe Yazawin* essentially conformed to the *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi* except in a few areas. A good example is his more objec-
tive treatment of the behavior of King Maha Dhammayaza Dipati of
the Nyaungyan dynasty. The sayadaw also wrote several other his-
torical texts in which he adopted a critical comparison and interpre-
tation of the dates and events in Burmese history relying on extensive
reading of Burmese inscriptions. He passed away in 1835.

**MRAUK-U.** Capital of an important kingdom in the Burmese region
of Arakan. The early history of this kingdom is only known from
chronicles, which give differing accounts. According to one, Mrauk-
U was founded in 1430 by a king who had been driven away by the
Burmese in 1406 and returned with the assistance of the sultan of
Bengal. He is known in early sources as Mang Co Mwan, but this
may be a title, not a name. His real name and dates are uncertain. Various chronicles tell the story of Mrauk-U’s founding, but they differ on the subject of Bengal’s role. In a text ascribed to Wimala that dates from 1536, an early king’s name is given as Naranu. The Mon then occupied the country. Naranu went to Indriya, the capital of which was Dili (perhaps Delhi), then ruled by Rum Pashya, who helped Naranu return. In another chronicle by Na Man, Mang Co Mwan was driven out by the Burmese and lived in exile in Bengal for 20 years. Mang Co Mwan became the Bengal ruler’s military adviser and devised the tactic nearly universal in Southeast Asian folklore of clearing a bamboo forest by shooting coins into it, thus encouraging people to slash down the vegetation in order to recover the money. The three sources agree in basic respects: a king driven into exile returns later with foreign assistance. In the details, however, there is no consistency.

That Muslims were influential in the kingdom of Mrauk-U is undeniable, although the nature of their involvement, and the possibility that some Mrauk-U rulers actually converted to Islam, are the subject of debate. In the mid-15th century, Mrauk-U issued coins with inscriptions in Persian. Use of Muslim-style coins indicates Bengali influence on Arakan commerce, but not necessarily political or cultural ascendancy.

One Arakan king whose name occurs regularly in chronicles was Ali Khan, also known as Naranu. He probably reigned from 1434 to 1459. His son conquered Chittagong, but then lost it. At his court, the oldest surviving Burmese poem was composed.

**MUANG FA DAED.** Site in northeast Thailand near the Chi River that has been inhabited since the prehistoric era. The site is known for large sima markers decorated with Jataka scenes from the sixth to ninth centuries, in a style related to Dvaravati art. Bernard Philippe Groslier considered Muang Fa Daed to belong to a distinctive civilization touched by Khmer culture only lightly and late. The practice of erecting these stones may derive from a local prehistoric custom of placing stones around burials of important individuals. These are found in groups of four or eight, erected at cardinal points.

**MUANG PHRA ROT.** An important archaeological site in the Bang Pakong Valley, Thailand. Culturally it is usually believed to have
formed part of Dvaravati on the basis of pottery, but molds for tin amulets like at Oc Eo indicate an earlier phase of habitation. Statu-ary found here includes a possible Vishnu as well as Buddha images.

MUANG SEMA. A temple on the Khorat Plateau, northeast Thailand. Partly excavated, it has yielded artifacts of Dvaravati style of the 7th to 11th centuries, including a stone dharmacakra, a reclining Bud-dha, and an inscription connected with Sri Canasa.

MUANG TAM. An important Khmer temple in Thailand 8 kilometers (5 miles) from Phnom Rung. Lintels here combine the Angkor styles of Khleang (c. 965–1010) and Baphuon (c. 1010–1080). The main sanctuary was dedicated to Siva; a small Vishnu statue was also found, a not uncommon combination in Angkorian temples. The imag-ery also includes a particularly large number of the naga images typical of Khmer temples, and unusual L-shaped ponds between the surrounding laterite walls and the corners of the main shrine.

MUARA JAMBI. No fewer than 61 brick ruins are found along a 7.5-kilometer-long (4.5-mile) portion of the left (north) bank of the Batanghari River in Jambi Province, east Sumatra, 26 kilometers (15.5 miles) downstream from the modern provincial capital. It is probably the site of an important religious and political center of the kingdom of Malayu during the 11th through 13th centuries. It may be the site recorded in the Tanjor inscription of 1030–1031 as Malaiyur. A gong found at one of the temple sites here, Candi Kem-bar Batu, is inscribed with Chinese characters giving the date 1231 and mentioning an official named Hung.

The structures here with functions that can be identified with rea-sonable certainty are Buddhist shrines, some surmounted with stu-pas. No towers are discernible; some probably had superstructures of perishable material. It seems that several structures existed here by the ninth century, but were enlarged in later centuries. A large rec-tangular pool called Telaga Raja (“King’s Well”) measuring 120 by 100 meters (400 by 330 feet) was probably a facility for storing wa-ter, and probably a symbolic site as well.

Few written materials have been discovered here. Those that have been recovered include kawi letters found incised on bricks from
Candi Gumpung. Paleographically they can be dated to the ninth century. Their function was magico-religious rather than for recording information. The same observation applies to gold foil found in ritual deposit boxes in Candi Gumpung, which gives the names of the 5 Tathagata, 16 Vajrabodhisattva, and 16 Vajratara, all deities of the esoteric Buddhist Vajradhatu mandala. Another gold foil piece found at Candi Gedong bears the word vajra.

The most impressive piece of statuary found in Muara Jambi is a Prajnaparamita in a style similar to that of 13th-century east Java unearthed in 1978 at Candi Gumpung. Other Buddhist statuary found here and in other nearby sites such as Solok Sipin and Rantaukapasto includes 10 Buddha images and 7 Avalokitesvaras. Six makaras have been found in the lower Batanghari, including two at Candi Gumpung and four at Solok Sipin, one of which bears the date 1064 and the word dharmavira.

A small number of Hindu sculptures has been found here, including a Nandi. A temple lamp in the form of a Dipalaksmi has been found farther downstream at Koto Kandis.

MUDRA. Literally “seal,” an Iranian word adopted in Indic religion. In India mudra has several connotations, but in Southeast Asia the word is usually applied to the study of hasta-mudra or mudrika, symbolic hand positions. They are used by sculptors as traits by which deities can be recognized. Balinese priests assume different mudras during rituals and prayers. In Southeast Asian Buddhism, the most popular mudras included the bhumisparsa or earth-touching mudra, signifying the act of the Buddha when he called upon the earth goddess to bear witness to his countless acts of sacrifice and charity in his various incarnations when he was attacked by the demon Mara; vara mudra, signifying charity; dhyani mudra, meditation; vitarka mudra, preaching; and dharmacakra mudra, the preaching of the first sermon in the deer park at Benares, which symbolically started the wheel of the law spinning.

MULAVARMAN. See KUTAI.

MUN. A 673-kilometer-long (418-mile) river in northeast Thailand, a tributary of the Mekong. The population of the river valley today is
mostly of Khmer ancestry. More than 100 Khmer-style temples have been found in the river’s basin. The Khmer of this region were related to but distinct from those of Angkor in sculpture, epigraphy, architecture, and religion.

MUSLIMS. See ISLAM.

MYANMAR. See BURMA.

MYAZEDI. Around 1112, Rajakumara, who according to Burmese chronicles was the son of King Kyanzittha by a hermit’s niece and was governor of Arakan, had an inscription carved in four languages (Pali, Pyu, Mon, and Burmese) that was discovered at this temple site in Bagan. The inscription states that the king, Sri Tribhuvanadityadhammaraj, father of Rajakumara, gave ornaments to his beloved deceased queen, Rajakumara’s mother. He also gave three villages of slaves to the son. When the king became very ill, Rajakumara made an image of Buddha in pure gold for the father. He later enshrined this image and made the proclamation that with this gift, he hoped to gain enlightenment.

MYINKABA. A simple dome-shaped structure near the Ayeyarwadi River at the site of Bagan said to have been built by Anawrahta in the 11th century to atone for the sin of killing his half-brother, Sukkate, in battle. The stupa has an unusual structure with an elongated, almost cylindrical bell that stands on a foundation of low circular receding terraces. The name Myinkaba, which means “brought on the horse’s saddle,” supposedly derives from the fact that it stands near the spot where Sukkate died after being pierced by Anawrahta’s lance.

NADAUNGMYA. King of Bagan who ascended the throne in 1211. He is responsible for the construction of three great monuments. One is named Htilominlo, literally “favored by the umbrella, favored by the king,” in reference to an event which supposedly took place during
deliberations over the succession to the throne when the royal parasol tilted toward him. Another is named Mahabodhi and is modeled after the original temple of the same name in Bodh Gaya, India. The third is the Gadaw-palin. The Glass Palace Chronicle states that Nadaungmya was succeeded by a son named Kyawswa, who was so devoted to Buddhism that he spent all his time with monks and delegated his authority to his son. Epigraphical sources show that by 1231 his eldest son Narasingha Uzana had succeeded him.

NAGA. (Feminine form nagi or nagini.) In Sanskrit naga means both “serpent” and “elephant.” Mythical serpents were worshipped in both South and Southeast Asia in ancient times. They were depicted in painting and sculpture either with human forms, as snakes, or as dragons.

The ancient Khmer believed that they were descendants of a naga and a brahmin. This belief is mentioned in an early inscription from Mi Son and in the 13th-century record of Zhou Daguan, Yuan envoy to Angkor, who described a tower in the palace where the Khmer ruler slept with the naga princess every night; this tower is associated with the Phimeanakas, which still stands in the palace precinct.

The trope of a naga queen who confers legitimacy on a ruler from a foreign land is also found in the story of the origins of the Malay rulers in the Malay Annals and in the legend of Nyai Lara Kidul and Senopati in Java. Nagas were associated with the elixir of immortality in east Java; in the Garudeya, Garuda’s mother became the slave of the nagas and could only be redeemed if Garuda could obtain the amerta. Reliefs on several east Javanese temples such as Candi Kidal and Kedaton (or Andong Biru) depict this legend.

In Burma the Mahagiri nat, a household god symbolized by the coconut, usually forms part of a dwarapala pair along with his sister, Shwe Myet Hna, who was the daughter of the nagi. Early Mon and Burmese kings claimed descent from Mahasammata of the Solar dynasty on the male side and from nagi on the female side.

NAGARA. A Sanskrit word with two meanings. The more restricted is a temple with a groundplan that has square ends (as distinguished from those that are octagonal, called dravida, or apsidal, which are vesara). The other, more general meaning is that of a royal capital.
The term, sometimes spelled nagārī, implies the presence of a palace, a purā or pūrī. At Angkor, which is the Khmer pronunciation of nāgārā, the term would have included at least the area within the wall such as Angkor Thom, and possibly other contiguous areas. In Indonesia, especially in the Desawarnana, the term was used to refer to the compound of the ruler or another nobleman, usually walled, and other nearby walled compounds where relatives and high officials lived. People who lived in the nagara of Majapahit also seem to have included artisans, possibly wage earners independent of any specific patron, thus forming a kind of floating population. Nagārā is contrasted with desa; pradesha, meaning a nonurban district; and thani, peasants’ cultivated land or rural settlement.

The Desawarnana uses both purā and pūrī interchangeably, though purā is more common. In Balinese, purā specifically implies a walled temple-compound, whereas pūrī is a royal compound. Historical sources do not provide enough specific descriptions of settlements to enable us to describe early Southeast Asian cities.

NAGARA SRI DHARMARAJA. See NAKHON SI THAMMARAT.

NAGARAKRTAGAMA. See DESAWARNANA (DEŚAWARNANA).

NAGARI. See DEVANAGARI.

NAGAYON. A temple at Bagan built by Kyanzittha, according to legend on the spot where he was protected by a naga when fleeing Sawlu, his predecessor, in a horse pasture. The shrine’s main image, a standing stucco Buddha under the hood of a naga, may refer to this legend. The shrine has three entrances. Niches in the hall have stone relief carvings depicting Buddha’s life. The hall and corridor are paved with green glazed tiles. Outer walls of the shrine and corridor walls have niches containing stone sculptures depicting 27 Buddhas who lived before Gautama Buddha according to the Buddhawangsa. Images in the ambulatory are typical of the early Kyanzittha period and may have been derived from the Pyu, which in turn borrowed from Gupta India. Statues in the Ananda are only 10 years later, but were possibly inspired by the later Pala art of Bengal. Corridor walls of the Nagayon are decorated with paintings showing Sri Lankan
influences, illustrating scenes from the life of Buddha and Jataka
with glosses in Mon and Pali. More esoteric thematic matter also ap-
pears, including bodhisattvas and Tara.

NAGI/NAGINI. See NAGA.

NAKHON SI THAMMARAT. Derived from the Thai pronunciation
of Nagara Sri Dharmaraja; Dharmaraja (“Righteous King”) was a ti-
tle used by the kingdom of Tambralingga in the 13th century. The
name Siridhammanagara was used in some literary sources. An im-
portant inscription found at Wat Mahathat in this city dates from the
13th century. It is composed of two sections: one written in Sanskrit
language and Khmer script, the other part in Tamil language and
script. The Tamil section mentions Dharmasenapati (“Righteous
General”), possibly someone’s name, who gave equal shares of a do-
nation to three brahmins and enjoins people not to kill. The Sanskrit
section mentions Tambralingga. The date of the Tamil inscription
may be either 1183 or 1283.

By the mid-13th century, Nakhon Si Thammarat may already have
been under Tai rule. This relationship may have been a multilayered
one, with Nakhon Si Thammarat forming a dependency of Phetburi,
which in turn was part of the mandala of principalities acknowled-
ging the superiority of Sukothai. Nakhon Si Thammarat itself proba-
bly played the role of center in a mandala incorporating other Malay
kingdoms in Pahang and Kedah. A Malay chronicle, the Al-Tarikh
Salasilah, traces the well-known tribute of a tree with gold and silver
flowers (reminiscent of the kalpataru of Indic symbolism) that the
Malay sultanates sent to the Siamese court in the 19th century to the
tradition by which Kedah sent such an acknowledgment of submis-
sion to Nakhon Si Thammarat.

Nakhon Si Thammarat may have played a key role in the dissem-
ination of Theravada Buddhism of the Mahavihara school of Sri
Lanka. This school was probably established first in Nakhon Si
Thammarat, from whence it spread north to Lopburi, Sukothai, and
Lan Na, assuming the dominant doctrinal position it occupies to this
day in Thailand. The first inscription of the Sukothai kingdom, con-
ventionally dated 1292, records that Rama Khamhaeng built a tem-
ple named Arannika to the west of his city and gave it to the most
learned priest in his kingdom, whom he had invited from Nakhon Si Thammarat. According to the *Jinakalamalipakaranam*, a chronicle from Chiangmai, the king of Sukothai went in person to Nakhon Si Thammarat to obtain an important Buddha image. The latter part of Inscription Number 1 lists Nakhon Si Thammarat as the southernmost territory of the kingdom of Sukhothai. Possession of this territory would have given Sukhothai access to the Bay of Bengal via the transpeninsular route.

The Tai-language Tamnan Nakhon Si Thammarat, written in the 17th century, says that the city was founded by King Narapati of Hanthawati (*Bago, Burma*). A miraculous Buddha image is said to have come there of its own volition; it was later given to Chiangmai in 1274 by a king named Sri Sainaran who “came from the west.” Later another king from abroad came, built a giant stupa with a Buddha relic, and brought monks from Sri Lanka and Bago. The city was eventually subjugated by Ayutthaya, after which Chandrabhanu became king. In this source, however, Chandrabhanu seems to be a title for crown princes, not a name. Later the Javanese came and took control of the city for a time. By 1365 however it was under Siamese control. After Ayutthaya took prisoners in Chiangmai in 1390, it resettled them in Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla.

**NALANDA.** An important center of Mahayana Buddhism in Bar- gaon, Bihar, Bengal (modern Bangladesh). The name is derived from a naga who was honored in a sacred tank there. This is said to be the birthplace of Buddha’s disciples Sariputta and Moggallana. Nalanda had become a center of monastic education by the second century, when the philosopher Nagarjuna lived there. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, including both Yijing and Xuanzhang, studied there in the seventh century. Students came from as far away as Japan. In the mid-eighth century the Pala dynasty arose in this region. It gave strong encouragement to the development of Mahayana Buddhism, and as a result Nalanda became a great center of Mahayana scholarship and art. Nalanda exerted significant influence on the Buddhist sculpture of the Strait of Melaka and Java from the late eighth century. The worship of such deities as Padmapani, Vajrapani, Manjusri, Tara, and Lokesvara is typical of the Vajrayana school, which was popularized at Nalanda. All these are mentioned in inscriptions
from the late eighth century in Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, and the Malay Peninsula. A Sanskrit inscription on copper plate found here in 1921 records that the king of the Pala dynasty, Devapaladeva, in the mid-ninth century gave the revenue from five villages to support a monastery established there by Maharaja Balaputradeva, lord of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra). The library of Nalanda was destroyed in the 10th century, but the university continued to exist until around 1250.

NAM VIET. Vietnamese pronunciation of the Chinese characters Nan Yueh, “southern Yueh.” Traditional Vietnamese history depicts the kingdom of this name as the first that had to fight in order to remain independent from China. Nam Viet was founded in about 207 BCE by a Chinese governor named Zhao To, whose Vietnamese name is Trieu Da. He was a trusted assistant of the last Qin dynasty governor of the conquered southern regions around Guangzhou, who established his own independent kingdom after the fall of the Qin. Nam Viet received Chinese recognition as a tributary state in 196 BCE. When in 185 BCE Empress Lu of China prohibited Chinese traders from selling horses and weapons to Nam Viet, Trieu Da invaded two Chinese provinces in Hunan and proclaimed himself emperor, indicating his rejection of Chinese suzerainty. He then conquered the Vietnamese kingdom of Au Lac and created two prefectures there: Jiao Zhi and Cuu-chan. The name Giao-chi was taken from an ancient Chinese classic, Li Ji (“Records of Rituals”), in a reference to customs of “southern barbarians.” The Portuguese pronunciation of Giao-chi led to the name “Cochin” used by the Portuguese and other Europeans to refer to this region.

After a reign Vietnamese sources say lasted until 136 BCE, Trieu Da was succeeded by his grandson, Hu. He passed away in 124 BCE and was succeeded by his son Yong Ji. When he died in 113 BCE, his queen, a former Chinese courtesan named Ku, ruled in the name of her son Xing. Chinese influence grew during her regency, but a Vietnamese commander of the armed forces, Lu Jia, retained significant power. A civil war then broke out; Chinese troops attempted to support the queen, but Lu Jia killed Xing. The Han dynasty sent a large force and in 111 BCE defeated Nam Viet.

The Nguyen dynasty tried to revive the ancient name of the kingdom in 1803, but China objected on the grounds that Nam Viet had
fought against China, and so the characters were reversed to form the modern name Vietnam.

**NAN.** A kingdom in what is now north Thailand. It was prosperous due to the presence of salt mines in its territory. It challenged [Lan Na](#) for superiority in the region but was defeated and incorporated into that kingdom in 1449, along with its ally, the kingdom of [Phrae](#).

**NAN YUEH.** See [NAM VIET](#).

**NANDI.** The [vahana](#) or ceremonial mount of [Siva](#). He often appears as a kneeling bull facing a Siva statue or [lingga](#) within a shrine or in front of its entrance. Nandi statues can also be found in smaller temples facing the main Siva sanctuary, such as in the case of [Lara Jonggrang](#). The bull symbolizes the ideal devotee, exuding joy and strength.

**NANDISWARA.** A [dwarapala](#). According to the [Agni Purana](#), which is closest to Indonesian practice, and other texts, Nandiswara, also called Nandin, and [Mahakala](#) should accompany Gangga and [Yamuna](#) as guardians at the doors of Sivaite [mandalas](#). According to the [Agni Purana](#), he holds the [aksamala](#) and [trisula](#). Other texts give him different attributes. In the [Ramayana](#), Nandin is the guardian of Mount Kailasa, Siva’s abode, carries a trident, and is the companion of Gangga. The [IsanaSwagurudevapaddhati](#) assigns him the trisula and [gada](#) (club). He has the more demonic aspect of the two door guardians and is found on the left of the doorways. Indian regulations say Nandiswara should have a club, but he is never found with this attribute in Indonesia, where he has more ascetic attributes.

**NANHPAYA.** A brick temple surfaced with stone in [Bagan](#). In one tradition, it is said to have been the residence of captive king [Manuha](#). Another says it was built by one of Manuha’s descendants during the reign of [Narapatisithu](#) (1173–1210) on the site of Manuha’s residence. These legends attempt to explain the unusual iconography of the temple. However, architectural features show it is probably older than the late 12th century. Its general plan resembles [Bhubaneswar](#) in [Orissa](#): a rectangular body surmounted by a square tower or [sikhara](#) with portico in front. In the main shrine are stone pillars with seated...
Nanzhao (Nanchao). An area roughly corresponding to western Yunnan Province, China. The name in Chinese means “Southern Prince.” It was originally coined by Chinese to refer to Bilogo, who was the ruler of the principality of Mengshe in the early eighth century.

China first exercised authority in Yunnan during the Han dynasty. After the fall of the Han in the third century, the region was governed by a line of half-Chinese, half-indigenous princes. Reunified China under the Tang dynasty resumed control over much of Yunnan, but after 713, China was content to exercise a measure of control over the region from Sichuan, the governors of which maintained traditional tributary relations with the “barbarians” to the south. With Chinese support, Bilogo forced five other chiefs around Lake Dali to acknowledge him as their overlord. The name that originally applied to Bilogo came to denote his territory.

The majority of Nanzhao’s inhabitants, those who lived in the southeast, spoke Austroasiatic (Tai)-related languages, but others, including the ruling elite, used a Tibeto-Burman tongue (Lolo or Lahu). The Chinese called them Wu-ma, “black barbarians.” Golofeng, the second ruler and Bilogo’s adopted son, took the throne in 748. He extended his control over the trade route to the Ayeyarwadi River, and when he experienced a slight from a Chinese military official, he killed him and threw off his allegiance to China. In 753 he defeated a Chinese force and made a defensive alliance with Tibet.

Nanzhao flourished during the next 40 years, spreading its influence over much of Yunnan and neighboring Guizhou, even raiding Vietnam. Kunming became an important center of the kingdom. In 791, however, Golofeng’s grandson Yimoxun decided to resume a tributary relationship with China. In the early ninth century, Nanzhao regained autonomy and seized numerous captives from central Burma, resettling them at Kunming. A military expedition to Zhenla may have attained some momentary success. The Man Shu, written in China in the 860s, described the kingdom as a multiethnic society with a complex administrative system similar to that of China.
By the late 12th century, several Tai principalities had arisen in Nanzhao’s border territory in south Yunnan. They were probably tributary to Nanzhao, but may have had considerable internal autonomy. The Nanzhao rulers may have hoped that this would insulate them from potential attacks from Bagan. The Mongols under Genghis Khan captured the capital Dali in 1253 and took control of most of the region of what is now Yunnan by 1257.

NARAPATISITHU. Descendant of Anawrahta who became king of Bagan in 1173, perhaps with Singhalese support. Dissension then broke out and Narapatisithu arrested Singhalese merchants, took their goods, and for good measure also took hostage a Sri Lankan princess who was traveling through Burma on her way to Cambodia. Singhalese chronicles record a retaliatory raid in 1180. The Glass Palace Chronicle of Burma, however, records that a Mon monk named Uttarajiwa, head of the Burmese sangha, in the same year went to Sri Lanka, perhaps to ask for reconciliation. The Glass Palace Chronicle also credits Narapatisithu with developing irrigation. He sponsored several major monuments at Bagan, including the Sulamani. He died in 1210 and was succeeded by his son by a minor wife, Jayasingha, known as Nadaungmya.

NARASINGHA. One of the 10 incarnations or avatars of Vishnu in which the god took the form of a lion to slay a demon, Hiranyakasipa. Statues of this deity have been found in several locations in Southeast Asia, though they are rare. One found at Candi Ijo in central Java from the late ninth century differs from normal Indian compositions in that Hiranyakasipa is on Vishnu’s right thigh instead of the left.

NARASINGHA UZANA. Ruler of Bagan who had ascended the throne by 1231. He reigned until 1235 when his brother Kyawswa I succeeded him.

NARATHIHAPATE. Ruler of Bagan who ascended the throne in 1256. He was the son of a concubine, but succeeded in usurping the crown from the designated heir, Thingathu (Singhasura). In the Glass Palace Chronicle he is given the derogatory epithet Taruppye, “the
one who ran away from the Chinese (Mongols)” because of an episode in which he supposedly fled rather than defend the palace against an attack during the Yuan dynasty rule of Kublai Khan. More positively, he sponsored the construction of the Mingalazedi pagoda, designed to house statues of royalty.

Historians continue to debate the veracity of Burmese chronicles’ accounts of the battles between the Mongols and the Burmese. In 1285 Narathihapate sent an embassy to China, whereupon the Mongol armies left the Ayeyarwadi Valley. In 1287 he was apparently about to return to Bagan when he died, allegedly poisoned by his son Thihathu. Some historians have concluded that Bagan “fell” in 1287 when another Mongol army invaded, but archaeological evidence suggests that important monuments continued to be built in Bagan in the 14th century.

NARATHU. Son of Alaungsithu, king of Bagan. The Glass Palace Chronicle describes him as scheming to accelerate his father’s demise in order to ascend the throne in 1167. Inscriptions suggest that Narathu died in 1165, however, so Alaungsithu must have died a few years earlier. Narathu’s death is mentioned in the Sri Lankan Culawnawgangsa chronicle, which suggests that he was killed by Singhalese invaders. No rulers of Bagan are known between 1165 and 1173, when Narapatisithu became king.

NEAK PEAN. A unique site at Angkor constructed by Jayavarman VII as a healing place. Its original name was Jayasri. Neak Pean was described in an inscription as “an eminent island, deriving its charm from its lake and cleansing the impurity of sin from those who come to it.” The site covers an area 900 by 3,500 meters (3,000 feet wide, 2 miles long), in the midst of which is a square island 300 meters (1,000 feet) on a side, within which are five pools. Four spouts gush water from the central basin, each supposed to heal certain illnesses, each in the form of symbolic representatives of the four great rivers in South Asian mythology that divide the continent on which humans live: on the west, a man’s head, representing the Ganges; on the north, an elephant’s head, symbolizing the Tarim; on the east, a horse, standing for the Oxus; and on the south, a lion, the sign of the Indus. The sick were supposed to be treated by squatting beneath the flow-
ing water in the artificial grotto appropriate to their illness. The complex may also have functioned as a kind of water monitoring device: perhaps the fountain began to spout when water in the feeding system reached a certain level, signaling that it was time to release water from the pools into the fields.

In the central basin is an artificial island toward which a stone statue of a gigantic horse appears to be swimming, while human beings cling to him for salvation. This is a depiction of Balaha, the bodhisattva Lokesvara in his incarnation as a horse. Three other statues once stood in the pool, but have not survived. The monument’s current state is the result of a revision planned by Jayavarman VII. Three of four entrances on a small temple on the island have been blocked with Buddhist reliefs. These revisions were done rapidly and display poor workmanship.

NGRIMBI. A stone temple located in east Java, near Trowulan, 14th-to 15th-century capital of Majapahit. The edifice is connected with Tribhuwanatunggadewi, who between 1328 and 1350 acted as regent for her mother Queen Gayatri, who was unable to rule due to vows she had taken to become a Buddhist nun. Tribhuwanatunggadewi abdicated when her son Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) came of age. A statue of the goddess Parvati now in the Museum Nasional Jakarta, is thought to represent the regent in the image of the deity with which, according to east Javanese belief, her soul was reunited after death; in this form, her protection could be invoked by later generations. She died in 1372, and the temple was probably finished at the time of her shraddha ceremony, held to mark the 12th year after death, when the soul was believed finally free of all earthly bonds. The temple bears narrative reliefs that have not been identified. According to one hypothesis, some of them may depict the Sang Satyawan legend. Other motifs in the reliefs include a garuda bowing before a holy man, and a Majapahit solar symbol.

NGURAH. A Saivite temple complex buried under about 5 meters (16.5 feet) of sand and rock in east Java that some believe may have been constructed in the 11th or 12th century, a period from which no other architecture has survived. Three statues from the site possibly depict Bhatara Guru, Surya, and Candra. The main sanctuary is 11
meters (36 feet) square (enlarged from original 9.5 meters/31 feet) and faces west. In front of it are three subsidiary structures facing east. This plan is found in central Java, but not elsewhere in the eastern part of the island. Stone *makaras* on stairs with parrots in jaws are also reminiscent of central Java. The main image is so smashed that it is unrecognizable. The central subsidiary structure originally contained three statues: a *Nandi* flanked by Surya and Candra, a set of icons also found at *Lara Jonggrang*. Base moldings resemble the central Java system, but the style of the statues resembles *Singasari*. Candra has his right hand in his lap, Surya has both hands on his knees; all four palms face up, each holding a flower. Bhatara Guru has four heads and four arms. The lower two hands have flowers in palms resting on his knees. This image was found in the north subsidiary temple.

**NHA TRANG.** Southern Vietnamese province in which lay the early Cham kingdom of *Kauthara*. The important sanctuary of *Po Nagar* here was supposedly built by King Vichitrasagara. It was destroyed by a *Javanese* invasion in 774. The ruler Satyavarman (posthumous name: Isvaraloka) expelled the raiders and rebuilt the temple in brick. His son and successor, *Indravarman*, also experienced a Javanese attack, which destroyed another sanctuary near *Phan Rang*. Indravarman sent a diplomatic mission to China in 793.

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**OC EO.** A site in far southern Vietnam, 25 kilometers (15 miles) from the sea at the foot of a group of granitic hills called Bathê. A canal leads from this site toward the shore; 11 kilometers (7 miles) seaward from Oc Eo another canal intersects it, and at this intersection is Ta Kèo, which was perhaps the outer harbor of a kingdom called *Funan*, which is believed to have existed from the third to the seventh centuries.

The site covers 450 hectares (1,100 acres), and related sites are found in the surrounding 20 square kilometers (7.5 square miles). Major features include four earth ramparts, five exterior moats, and a canal that cuts through the middle of the complex. The site once was...
dotted with 35 mounds, on which were scattered vestiges of brick buildings on granite foundations. No stone building components typical of most ancient Southeast Asian buildings such as lintels, door jambs, pilasters, or steps have been found, suggesting that these structures were some of the first to be built in the region, possibly dating from the fifth century. Building fragments consist of balusters of stone and terra-cotta, tiles with naga tips, and sculptures of Kala, makaras, Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, Uma, dharmacakra, and bronze Buddhas have been recovered. In a central mound, archaeologist Louis Malleret found brick foundations, a ceramic lion and other animals, and a lingga.

Some wooden pillars driven into the ground have been preserved by the damp soil, probably indicating the use of stilt dwellings. The buildings of perishable materials once had roofs of flat tiles like those of Champa rather than Cambodia. A wooden Buddha image radiocarbon-dated to the early centuries CE has been found at Da Noi, 30 kilometers (18 miles) southeast of Oc Eo.

Evidence of the site’s earliest existence includes a gold medallion of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius, dated 152 CE, and a fragment of an Eastern Han mirror of the late second century. Scholars have suggested that the site may have been known to Ptolemy around 150 CE as Kattigara, and that its local name may have been Samudrapura, a place mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription (K.137), which is undated but on the basis of its script has been postulated to date from 650–700.

Oc Eo has yielded the oldest known writing in Southeast Asia: a form of central Indian script known as Brahmi that dates from the second to fifth centuries. The writing is found on small stones used as seals, intaglios, and rings and does not appear to have been written at Oc Eo itself.

According to early Chinese sources, between 225 and 250, Funan had links with the Murundas of India, whose kingdom lay in the hinterland of the Ganges River, as well as with China. Artifacts found, in addition to those from Rome, came from Iran and the Gandhara and Kusana areas of India. Excavations by L. Malleret in 1944 found evidence of many activities that Chinese envoys to Funan in the mid-third century had mentioned were carried on there, including the working of various metals. One area yielded evidence of a jewelry
workshop using copper and tin. Partially finished items include small gold plaques. Abundant iron slag was also scattered over the site.

Oc Eo is much larger than any other known settlement of the early first millennium in Southeast Asia. It has the first evidence for the use of brick in the region and much evidence of occupational specialization. **Coins**, probably locally made, as well as imported examples, indicate the existence of a monetized economy. More than 300 other sites of the same culture and period have now been discovered in the **Mekong** Delta.

**ODORIC OF PORDENONE (1286–1331).** A Franciscan friar and medieval European traveler who visited China, India, **Java**, and **Sumatra**. He was born in Villa Nuova near Pordenone in the Italian kingdom of Friuli, was dispatched to the East as a missionary in 1316, and returned to Italy in 1330. He apparently reached western India at the beginning of 1321, when his ship docked at Thana, near Mumbai (Bombay). From India, Odoric took ship to Sumatra, visiting numerous ports on the north coast of the island. He then stopped at Java, Borneo, and **Champa**, arriving in Canton in 1323. He traveled overland to Fujian, Zhejiang, and Hangzhou. Odoric spent three years in Cambaleth (present-day Beijing) and presumably made an overland journey through Tibet and northern Persia on his return journey. The friar fell ill at Pisa and died when he returned to Udine, the capital of his home province. Odoric was the first European since **Marco Polo** to describe Sumatra. His work was influential; John Mandeville, a popular contemporary author who pretended to have visited Asia but probably never actually did, is thought to have copied much of his material from the friar’s account.

**PADANG LAWAS.** “Broad Plain” in the Batak language, denoting an area in the hinterland of North **Sumatra**, south of Lake Toba, which interrupts the Barisan Chain and the Batak Tumor, two mountain ranges that stretch along the west coast of the island. Here a savannah landscape covering several hundred square kilometers (more than a hundred square miles) is formed by dry winds that sweep across from the west coast.
This landscape has never supported a dense population, but it provides a convenient transport route between the east and west coasts. The Panai River, which flows from this plain to the Strait of Melaka, may be connected with the kingdom of Pannei conquered by the Cholas in 1025.

At least 25 elaborate brick shrines for esoteric Buddhism were built here between the 11th and 13th centuries. Three shrines here named Biaro Bahal I, II, and III may preserve ancient appellations. Biāro is the local pronunciation of vihara, “monastery”; bahal is used in Nepal to refer to two-story temples of the Vajrayana sect. Rampant lions on Biaro Bahal I are very similar to carvings of approximately the same date on brick shrines at Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dates on inscriptions found in association with the region include 1038 on a bronze from Gunungtua, 1179 from Si Joreng Belangah, and 1235 at Si Topayan. An inscription dated 1245 on a stone at Porrak Dolok, Padang Lawas, begins in Old Javanese, beneath which are a few lines of script that may be south Indian.

No architecture from this period is known from Java. Elements in common with earlier structures in central Java include temples with a square groundplan with projections; a basement enclosed by a corridor and low balustrade; stairs ending in makaras; a three-story superstructure with square, octagonal, and circular plans as at Bahal II; wreaths of small stupas; and a main stupa at the summit. Doors had wooden lintels that have not survived. Elements comparable to later east Java include the arrangement of the buildings in temple grounds enclosed by brick walls. Statuary and other objects closely resemble south Indian styles. The overall character of the architecture and sculpture is, however, quite distinctive.

**PADANG ROCO.** A site on the upper course of the Batanghari in Sumatra where an inscription dated 1286 was set up at the order of Kertanagara, ruler of Singasari. The name means “Statue Field” in the local dialect of Malay. Despite its rather remote location, this region must have been significant in the 13th and 14th centuries, since important statues, inscriptions, Chinese ceramics, and monuments have been discovered in the vicinity. It may have been a meeting place where people in the Barisan Mountains brought forest products such as ivory, gold, and incense to exchange with people from the lowlands.
PADMAPANI. See AVALOKITESVARA (AVALOKITEŚVARA; AVALOKITESHWARA).

PAGAN. See BAGAN (PAGAN; PUGAM).

PAHANG. A state in modern peninsular Malaysia. The name appears, in the Chinese transliteration Peng-feng, in the Zhufanzhi (1225) as a “dependency” of Sanfoqi. The name later was used in some sources to refer to the entire southern half of the peninsula inhabited by Malays. The Ming Shi-lu mentions Ba-la-mi-su-o-la Da-luo Xi-ni (Parameswara Telok Cini?), king of Pahang, in 1411.

PAJAJARAN. A kingdom in west Java founded by an individual known from an inscription of 1333 as Maharaja. According to the Pararaton, he was killed in Majapahit’s capital as the result of a dispute over the marriage of his daughter to King Hayam Wuruk. For some time the kingdom was claimed as a vassal of Majapahit, but it was independent (and non-Muslim) at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511.

During the 14th and 15th centuries, when much of Sumatra came under the political and cultural sway of east Java, the western third of Java, called Sunda, in contrast appears to have regained a measure of political and cultural autonomy. According to N. J. Krom, during the 14th and 15th centuries, there emerged

a highly individual...Hindu-Sundanese culture, with its center in the kingdom of Pajajaran. The political contrast with the east [of Java], which expressed itself during Hayam Wuruk’s time in armed conflict, is also unmistakable in the sphere of art. Nothing here is related to East Java; old Sundanese art is the daughter of Central Java.

In other words, Sundanese art of this period, mainly stone sculptures, preserved features of the eighth and ninth centuries rather than affecting the more esoteric style of Singasari and Majapahit.

A statue found at Cikapundung, northeast of Bandung, bears a date in kawi script equivalent to 1341. The same site, a 12-meter (40-foot) square terrace, yielded 16 other images, the style of which suggests that they were made by a population who had only superficially been influenced by Hindu symbolism. In west Banten, Sivaitic images (Siva Mahadewa, Agastya or Guru, Brahma, Durga, Ganesa, yōnis, and linggas) have been found at numerous sites, mainly from
Cimanuk and Caringin. Their style is original, not derived from that of the rest of Java.

Pajajaran is mentioned in the inscription of Batutulis and in a number of copperplate inscriptions. The date of the Batutulis inscription is open to some doubt; it has been variously interpreted as 1133, 1333, 1433, or 1533, but many historians accept the 1333 attribution. Pajajaran may already have existed as early as the 13th century, if it is the same place that Zhao Rukuo noted in the guise of Pai-hua-yuan.

It is more than a little puzzling that neither Sunda nor Pajajaran is mentioned in the Majapahit court poem Desawarnana (1365). The Pararaton, a later source, lists Sunda among the east Javanese kingdom’s dependencies. Another Javanese literary source, the Kidung Sunda, describes a war between Sunda and Majapahit that is supposed to have occurred in 1357. According to the story, Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit, wanted to marry the king of Sunda’s daughter; she was carried to the river port of Bubat by a large Sundanese fleet. She was insulted by Gajah Mada, the Majapahit prime minister, however, who refused to acknowledge her as the equal of Hayam Wuruk and would only accept that she could be a concubine. A great battle ensued at Bubat, in which the Sundanese fought bravely but were massacred. The historical truth of the tale is difficult to verify; H. T. Pigeaud did not doubt its veracity, though, and inferred that all references to Sunda were intentionally omitted from the Desawarnana in deference to Hayam Wuruk’s sorrow at losing his bride.

In the 15th century, Pajajaran was not mentioned by Ma Guan, who accompanied the Chinese fleets dispatched to Southeast Asia between 1403 and 1433, but Pai hua or Pai hua yuan does appear in the Ming Shi-lu, compiled in the early 18th century, thus during the Qing period. The compilers of this source used materials found in the archives of the previous Ming dynasty, so we can suppose that it was known to the Chinese during this period. The information on Pai hua yuan is thought to reflect information acquired before 1433, on the grounds that the Ming stopped collecting geographical data on Southeast Asia after that date.

A number of inscriptions in Old Sundanese dating from the 15th century have been found, including one from Tasikmalaya dated
1411 and five from Cirebon that mention a kingdom called Kawali. Other toponyms also appear, in particular that of Galuh. Possibly these were not really separate kingdoms, but rather a situation in which the location of the palace was frequently moved, perhaps as a result of the conditions imposed by the tradition of shifting cultivation of dry land rice. The grandfather of the founder of Pakuan Pajajaran may have had his palace at Kawali.

The term *pakuan* is sometimes thought to derive from *paku* ("nail," or alternatively a type of plant). *Paku* is used today to refer to the dynasties of Surakarta (Pakubuana) and Yogyakarta (Pakualam), in both cases now translated "nail" or "axis of the world." In a general sense, it may be translated simply as "capital." In east Java, *pakuwon* was also a term used to signify "quarter of the manors," where dwelled the local *mantri* ("mandarins," ministers/elite functionaries) and other members of the upper class, both at *Singasari* and at the 14th-century capital of Majapahit. The word may have been derived not from *paku*, but from *kuwu* ("manor").

**PALEMBANG.** Modern city in southeast Sumatra, 90 kilometers (55 miles) upstream from the mouth of the Musi River. In its precincts are found numerous sites that date back to the Srivijayan era, from the 7th to 11th centuries. The name Palembang may be as old as the ninth century, when it appears in the Xin Tangshu as the name of a river. By the 14th century the place had become known in Chinese sources as *Qiújiāng* ("Old Harbor"). Yuan dynasty author *Wang Dayuan* said that the residents there used rafts of bamboo instead of boats, and that many brick pagodas stood "along the roads." He recorded that its soil was very fertile: "The profit they derive from their fields is double that of other countries." It produced gharu wood, "cotton superior to that of any other foreign country," beeswax, coarse laka-wood, and very big cranes’ crests. The Chinese merchants traded beads, porcelain, copper cauldrons, colored cotton, and big and little water jars and pots.

The 15th-century author *Ma Guan* in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* says *Qiú-jiang* "was anciently called *San-fo-qi*. It is also called *Po-lin-pang* and is under the rule of *Chao-wa*." That the site was far upstream is indicated by his remark that people had to transfer to small boats to reach the capital. He recorded that many of the inhabitants came from Guangdong, Zhangzhou, and Quanzhou.
There is a great deal more water than land. The inhabitants are given to fighting on water. Only the dwellings of the highest officers are on the banks of the river, the people live scattered about on bamboo rafts tied to a root of a tree or a post, moving on a tidal stream with the rise and fall of the tide.

Chinese copper coins were used as currency.

 Palembang was governed by Chinese during the early Ming dynasty. The precise date at which Chinese took control of Palembang is unknown, but it was some time after 1377. On his first voyage, which began in 1405, Zheng He appointed a local Chinese as governor of the city with the title Shi Jin-qing (“Pacifier of Old Port”) at the instruction of Yongle, in recognition of Palembang’s special status as a largely Chinese polity.

In 1406 Ah Lit (probably Arya) Jin-qing sent tribute to Japan. He was probably another member of the Shi family, the father of Shi Jin-sun, who in 1424 requested Chinese investiture as ruler of Gugang (Jiu-qing). In 1421 Master Shi Arya Jin-sun of Gugang sent a mission to Japan. Thus Chinese Palembang took on the role of an independent Southeast Asian kingdom.

In 1428 Ryukyu sent an ambassador to Gugang. Ryukyu archives record that a “passport” was issued for a voyage to Gugang in 1428 to transport “a cargo of porcelain and other products.” Similar voyages were dispatched in 1429 and 1430.

Shi Jin-qing apparently had at least two daughters, Pinati and Shih Er Chieh. Pinati later became the ruler of Palembang. Pinati is a word still used in South Sulawesi to refer to eloquent women who were used as diplomatic envoys; something of this nature may account for her designation, which may have been a title. According to the Ryukyu Dynastic Documentary Records, Shi Ta Niang (ta niang means “Big Woman”) Tzi Pi Na Ti was a relative of Shi Jin-qing. In 1430 Ryukyu sent a letter addressed to “Your Ladyship, Ben-mu-niang, Palembang, San-fo-qi”. This was answered in a letter from “Her Ladyship, Pen-tou-niang of Palembang, Country of San-fu-qi” in 1431. Her complete name may have been Pun (perhaps from the Malay puan, “lady”) Tau Mu Niang. She was the leader of Gugang at the time.

Ma Guan described how Shih Er Chieh succeeded her father and ruled as a Tou Mu Niang (female chief) in 1431. When Shi Jin-qing
died, instead of his son Qi-sun, his second daughter became queen, according to some sources. But the Ming Shi-lü says that in 1424 Qi-sun was confirmed as his father’s successor. Thus the two accounts contradict each other.

Pinati became an important figure in 15th-century Indonesian lore. After being deposed from her position in Palembang, she appears in Gresik, a Chinese Muslim stronghold near Surabaya, eastern Java, where the jewel ships customarily spent several months. A thousand Chinese families lived at Gresik, ruled by a Cantonese. Sir T. S. Raffles in his History of Java (1817) quoted a Javanese text that says Pinati was the wife of the prime minister of Sambaja, which he thought meant Cambodia, but was banished to Java. P. J. Veth recorded another version, according to which she had been married to Kyai Sambaja, regent of Majapahit, and after the death of her husband moved to Gresik and embraced Islam. Tan Yeok Seong deciphered Sambaja not as Kamboja/Cambodia, but as Sanfoqi.

According to the legend, Nyai Ageng Pinati may even have become the harbormaster (shahbandar) of Gresik. She became known in Java as Nyai Gede Pinati, Javanese for “big woman.” Her tomb near that of Sunan Giri in east Java is still a pilgrimage site.

**PALLAVA.** A dynasty founded by Bappa in southeast India in the third century. The family may have come from north India; all their records were written in Prakrit or Sanskrit rather than a Dravidian language. The greatest Pallava king is usually identified as Mahasringeravarman I, who reigned from 630 to 660. They are thought to have been the first to sponsor the construction of stone buildings in south India. The script they developed became the basis for all early scripts used in Southeast Asia and is the ancestor of modern Burmese, Thai, Cambodian, and Javanese script.

**PANAI.** The name of the river that flows from Padang Lawas eastward to the Strait of Melaka. Prapanca in the Desawarnana mentions Panai as one of the Sumatran kingdoms subordinate to Majapahit.

**PANANGKARAN.** Ruler of central Java for 38 years (746–784). He was a member of the Sanjaya lineage. Panangkaran was his family
domain, where he bore the title of rakai. He is also known as dyah Pancapana. He probably expanded the kingdom significantly from a base in the Kedu plain to the north coast, where a kingdom known to the Chinese as Heling had previously existed. A Chinese record of 742–755 says that Java’s capital had moved east from its former location to a new site called Pulo (possibly pura) Giasi. The site of his capital is unknown.

Late in Panangkaran’s reign, two major Buddhist temple complexes were inaugurated in the area east of Mount Merapi, Kalasan and Sewu. These are credited to King Indra Sanggramadhanamjaya, but it has been speculated that he may be the same person as Panangkaran.

PANATARAN. The largest temple complex in east Java, located near Blitar. The complex is divided into three walled courtyards on an axis aligned with Mount Kelud. The first courtyard contains a building known as the Dated Temple—so-called because the year 1291 Śaka (1369 CE) is incised on it—and two rectangular platforms called pendopo terraces, which were probably built to support open-sided, roofed wooden structures (mandapas). One of these terraces is decorated with narrative reliefs. In the middle courtyard stands a square structure adorned with human figures holding the body of a huge serpent over their heads; for this reason, it is commonly called the Naga Temple. Nāgas are also important components of the decorative program of the pendopo terrace and main edifice in the innermost courtyard.

Work at the complex began as early as 1197, according to an inscription erected by King Sringga of Kediri. Subsequent additions and modifications were made on at least 12 different occasions between 1319 and 1454. The majority of the complex was built during the golden age of prime minister Gajah Mada and King Rajasanggarana (Hayam Wuruk). The Desawarnana describes his tours of the site in cantos 17 and 61.

The complex was dedicated to Siva. None of the main statues remains intact. An American doctor and naturalist, James Horsfield, during the period of the British government of Java, identified a Brahma image at the site. Fragmentary statues of Siva, Nandi, Garuda, and Angsa (Brahma’s mount) have been found. Another
surviving sculpture depicts Karttikeya, Siva’s warlike son. A statue of Ganesa now occupies the center of the Dated Temple’s interior, but it is not certain that this is its original location.

Narrative reliefs adorn several structures: the pendopo terrace, the Naga Temple, the main temple, and a bathing place in the rear of the complex. These may have been carved at various times; no convincing theory of their periodization has yet been advanced. The main temple (1323) and the bathing place (1415) can be dated by inscription, but the reliefs may have been carved later.

Tantri fables are found on the pendopo terrace, Naga Temple, bathing place, and even the rear of dwarapala statues. The pendopo terrace also bears scenes depicting a number of other stories, few of which have been deciphered. Those that have been identified include the stories of Bubuksha and Sri Tanjung. Another series may correspond to the Sang Satyawan story.

The principal temple bears 106 panels depicting scenes from the Ramayana on the lower terrace. The reliefs focus on a particular section of the epic: they begin with the arrival of Hanuman, the monkey general, in Ngalengka, Rawana’s kingdom, and depict his battles with numerous monsters, his capture, and escape, before the climax, the death of the enemy giant Kumbhakarna.

The second terrace of the main temple bears Kresnayana reliefs. This sequence is highly unusual for east Java in that the reliefs proceed in a clockwise direction. Scenes depicted include the destruction of the demons by Muchukunda; the miracles of the god of the sea Baruna, god of wealth Kuwera, and god of wind Bayu; Krishna’s abduction of Rukmini; and his killing of her brother Rukma.

The main portion of the principal temple was probably completed around 1323. Three terraces of stone remain. The superstructure, which would have been massive, may have been made of perishable materials. The upper terrace is adorned with winged lions, identifying the structure that once stood on it as a palace of the gods floating in the sky.

PANDANAN. Site of an ancient shipwreck off the southwest tip of Palawan, near Borneo in the southern Philippines. The ship’s hull suggests a Southeast Asian origin. Three earthenware stoves and a few earthenware pots, probably for the use of the ship’s crew, support
this conclusion. Several scholars guess that it might have sunk between 1450 and 1487.

Of a total of 4,722 ceramic items found, 75 percent are Vietnamese. Most are grayish or olive-green wares made in Go Sanh, in what is now Binh Dinh, central Vietnam, formerly part of the culture zone of the Cham people. The cargo also contained 63 Thai brown jars, and a few Chinese wares.

Sixty pieces of Chinese porcelain recovered from the wreck are rare blue-and-white ware believed to date from the Interregnum period (1436–1464). This is the oldest cargo of blue-and-white ware of any appreciable quantity yet discovered in any shipwreck. Also of particular interest are two small Chinese cannons.

PANDURANGGA. An ancient Cham kingdom from which modern Phan Rang takes its name. It lies in the southernmost part of the old Cham cultural region, now the provinces of Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan. Important architectural vestiges are found at the sites of Po Klaung Garai, Po Rome, and Hoa Lai.

The oldest buildings in Panduranga date from 802–803 in the reign of Harivarman I; these are three towers (kalān in Cham) at Hoa-lai. Some details show strong links with Khmer architecture. In 1270, according to the Chinese text Dao-yi-za-zhi, the area was subject to “Champa,” meaning Vijaya.

PANJALU. A kingdom in east Java that existed between the mid-11th and early 13th centuries, also known as Kediri. It was one of two kingdoms into which Java was supposedly divided by Airlangga when he abdicated his throne before his death in 1041. Although the precise location of Panjalu’s capital is unknown, it was somewhere near the modern city of Kediri.

PANPAN. A kingdom in peninsular Thailand that sent its first embassy to China in 424–453 and continued to send them until 635. Panpan had close relations with Funan. According to Ma Duanlin, the population lived in palisaded settlements near the seashore. He reported the presence of many brahmins from India, but also stated that there were 10 Buddhist monasteries and even a Daoist monastery. According to the History of the Liang, sometime before 424 a brahmin
from India named Kaundinya went to Panpan and thence to Funan, where he was proclaimed king.

PANULUH. Poet of the Kediri court who completed the Bharatayuddha begun by Sedah. He also wrote the Hariwangsa, a collection of Vishnu stories.

PANUNGGALAN. Javanese ruler with the title rakai who reigned from 784 to 803. His name is recorded in several inscriptions from the Prambanan area. He was also known as Panaraban. The important Buddhist complex at Plaosan was founded during this time.

PARAMABODHISATTVA. Originally called Prince Pang, Paramabodhisattva became regent of Champa in 1081. Previously he had led a successful attack against Sambhupura in Cambodia, bringing back war prisoners to serve Cham temples. He reigned as king for six years, sending tribute to Dai Viet and putting down a rebellion in Panduranga, then was swept aside by the young boy, 16 years old, for whom he was supposedly acting as regent, Jaya Indravarman II.

PARAMESVARAVARMAN. Paramesvaravarman I was king of Indrapura, Champa, taking the throne in 972. He left no inscriptions, but is mentioned frequently in Chinese records because he sent seven missions to China between then and 979. He attempted to assist a claimant from the Ngo dynasty to capture the throne of newly independent Dai Co Viet in 979, but the Cham fleet was wiped out by a storm. The next year, the new Le dynasty of Dai Co Viet sent an ambassador to Indrapura, but Paramesvaravarman threw him into prison. The Le king retaliated with an attack in 982 that killed Paramesvaravarman and destroyed Indrapura. A successor named Indravarman IV fled to the south but died soon thereafter.

Paramesvaravarman II became king of Vijaya by 1018, when he sent a mission to China. He lost a war to the Ly dynasty of Vietnam in 1021 and was attacked again in 1026. His reign had ended by 1030, when the ruler was Vikrantavarman IV.

PARAMESWARA (PARAMÉŚVARA). An expression meaning “supreme lord,” Parameswara was used in fifth-century India as part
of royal titles by the Guptas, Chalukyas, Rastrakutas, and Western Gangga. Some have suggested that kings who used this title were attempting to claim divine status. Sometimes the supreme deity was considered to be a goddess and given the feminine form, Parameswari; members of the guild of Indian merchants who erected the Tamil-language inscription at Barus in 1088 termed themselves her “sons.”

The title became very popular in Southeast Asia. It was often applied to the Hindu god Siva. In 14th-century east Java, the highest god, called either Parameswara or Bhatara Guru, bore many similarities to Siva as teacher, ascetic, and husband of Uma. The Bhomakawya, a Javanese poetic work, mentions Bhatara Parameswara. Parameswara and Parameswari are used as names for Guru and Uma in another Javanese poem, the Tantu Panggalan. In addition to the Parameswara who ruled Melaka in the early 15th century, the Ming Shi-lu mentions Ba-la-mi-su-la Da-luo Xi-ni (Parameswara Telok Cini?), king of Pahang, in 1411. In 1445, a ruler of Melaka had the title Xi-li Ba-mi-xi-wa-er Diu-ba Sha, “Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah,” according to Chinese sources.

The title was also very popular on the Southeast Asian mainland. Sri Parameswara was the title of the ruler of Ko-lo, which in the Tang dynasty lay southeast of Panpan, somewhere around the Isthmus of Kra. An eighth-century ruler called himself Campapura Parameswara, “supreme lord of the city of Champa.” Several rulers of Champa were called Paramesvaravarman, including one who may have been a Buddhist.

In Cambodia, the founder of the Angkor kingdom, Jayavarman II (d. 850), was posthumously entitled Parameswara. Even a building could be called Parameswara, for example, the temple complex at Angkor now known as Preah Ko, built in 879 by King Indravarman. Duttabaung, founder of Sriksetra in the Glass Palace Chronicle, was assisted by Gavampati, risi, Indra, nagas, Garuda, candis, and Parameswara. The son of the king of Bali, Adikuntiketana, in 1204 had this name. The queen of Majapahit in 1294 bore the female version of the name, Parameswari Tribhuvana. Parameswari was also a title conferred on Princess Huyền Trân of Dai Viet when she married the king of Champa in 1306.
PARARATON. “On Kings [and Queens].” A Javanese text written around 1500 and preserved in a manuscript dated 1600. Since the book begins with the statement that it is “a narrative on Ken Angrok,” the Dutch scholars who edited the text, J. L. A. Brandes and N. J. Krom, gave this as an alternative title for the work. It devotes almost half of its space to the story of this controversial figure. The Pararaton variously describes Angrok as an incarnation of Vishnu, son of Bhatara Guru (Siva), and the offspring of a union of the god Brahma and a village woman. The latter part of the work discusses the history of the kingdoms of Singasari and Majapahit up to 1478.

PARI. An east Javanese brick temple named after the nearby modern town of Pari dated by inscription on the lintel of the entrance to 1371. The exterior is plain except for candis in relief on three walls. It has been speculated that the builders were under Cham influence, due to the form of the pediment above the entrance to the interior chamber, which is said to resemble the shape of the roof of granaries used in Champa.

PARIKESIT. Descendant of Arjuna, of the Pandawa family in the Mahabharata. It is also the name of a temple on the Dieng Plateau; this is not the original name, which is unknown, but one assigned by the villagers who rediscovered the site after it had been abandoned for centuries. In the Mahabharata, Parikesit abused a hermit and was therefore killed by the king of the naga. His son Janamejaya later avenged his death by sacrificing a naga. This scene is depicted in a relief from Jalatunda, east Java.

PARTHAYAJNA. “Book of the Forest.” A Javanese epic poem illustrated by reliefs on the temple Candi Jago, erected around 1280. The text is inspired by the Mahabharata’s tale of the five Pandawa brothers, especially the adventures of Arjuna during his exile. Yudisthira, the elder Pandawa, loses at dice and has to abdicate the throne for 12 years to Duryodhana of the Korawa family. The five brothers, including Nakula, Sadewa, and Bhima, go into the forest. Their common wife Drupadi is molested by Dursasana, a Korawa. During their exile they encounter hermits such as Widhura and Dwipayana and a noble anchoress, Mahayani, who instruct them in righteous behavior,
including the worship of Siva. They have to subdue temptations such as beautiful women.

A goddess from their palace appears to assure them of their future victory. They are advised to go to Mount Indrakila to obtain a magic weapon that will enable them to avenge themselves against the Korawa. On their journey they pass a lake in which is a giant elephant-shaped rock, where they meet Kama and Ratih, god and goddess of love. At another body of water they meet a demon, Nalamala, who is defeated by the divine glow of Arjuna. Eventually they reach Indrakila, where Arjuna has to do penance before obtaining the weapons that will ensure the Pandawas’ eventual victory. The Arjunawiwaha forms a sequel to the Parthayajna.

PASAI. See SAMUDERA-PASAI.

PASETRAN. See JEDONG.

PATOTHAMYA. A temple in Bagan traditionally ascribed to the 10th century, although architectural features and Mon glosses below paintings on the interior walls suggest it belongs to the 11th-century reign of Kyanzittha. Anawrahta concentrated on building solid stupas, but Kyanzittha seems to have had a predilection for Mon culture; he built elaborate temples based on the earlier Mon type. Gordon H. Luce believed it dated to the reign of Sawlu (1077–1084), between the two. Probably the royal palace lay somewhere nearby.

Patothamya consists of a square main block and a rectangular vaulted hall on the east, three doorways with elegant pediments, and four windows on each side of the main block. The superstructure consists of three terraces and an ogee-form roof surmounted by a dome with 12 vertical ribs. Jataka paintings on walls of the sanctum with Mon glosses beneath them may be among the earliest in Bagan. Luce described them as “devotional wallpaper,” implying that they were less significant to the shrine’s symbolism than the architectural elements. More paintings adorn the outer wall. Their subject matter includes standard scenes from Buddha’s life. Other paintings on the inner wall are somewhat obscure but probably derive from the theme of the 28 Buddha themes, the Buddhawangsa.
PAUkkarama. See Bagan (Pagan; Pugam).

Pawon. J. L. Moens proposed an elaborate theory according to which the temples of Mendut and Pawon were linked to Barabudur as components of a ceremony intended to consecrate the Buddhist rulers of central Java as cakravartins. In this theory, the principal images of Mendut and Pawon were selected in order to depict the rupa forms of the Nisyandabuddhas Maitreya and Manjusri. The ruler would have first experienced an abhiseka ritual at Mendut in front of a Maitreya image, then gone to Pawon. Mendut lies 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) east of Barabudur; Pawon lies on a straight line between the two, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the main monument. At Pawon the ruler would have undergone another ceremony called rājasuya in the presence of a Manjusri image in order to assume the role of Paracittanairmanikkabuddha. The cakravartin would then become the nirmana emanation of Samantabhadra.

Unfortunately, none of the images of Pawon have survived. The exterior of the temple seems to portray a heaven of Kuwera, with wishing trees, jewel pots, and so forth. Moens’s theory implies that at Pawon the ruler was invested with kingly might, and that Pawon may have stood within the palace complex. (No confirmed remains of any ancient Javanese palace have yet been discovered.)

The name Pawon derives from the Javanese word for “ash.” For this reason, it has also been proposed that the temple was built for homa rituals, a type of burnt offering practiced by Vajrayana Buddhists in Nepal today.

Pegu. See Bago (Pegu).

Penanggungan. A peak in east Java 1,653 meters (5,455 feet) high. Between the late 10th and late 15th centuries, no fewer than 81 shrines were built on this extinct volcano, most probably belonging to ascetic groups of risi and dedicated to a form of Siva worship. The presence of several minor peaks surrounding the central cone give the appearance of a replica of Mount Meru; like Sumeru, farther east, Penanggungan was revered in Javanese mythology as a detached portion of that mountain. An important inscription dated 1296 found here was issued by the same king who issued the Gunung Budak ins-
inscription of 1294. The inscription mentions a grant of land that had formerly formed part of a *simā* by the king to a man who had saved him, accompanied him during his flight, and helped him in a successful attempt to recover his throne. The king referred to is no doubt *Kertarajasa Jayawardhana*, founder of the kingdom of *Majapahit*. Apparently he fled the fall of *Singasari* when *Kertanagara* was assassinated in 1292.

**PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA (PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI).** Also known as the Sailor’s Guide to the Indian Ocean. An anonymous work, presumably written by a Greek-speaking Egyptian around the middle of the first century CE. The work comprises 66 chapters describing the length and conditions of sailing routes, key ports, the indigenous peoples, and the import and export commodities of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean region. The last few chapters describe ports along the east coast of India as far as to the mouth of the Ganges River and uncharted lands beyond, including Southeast Asia.

**PERLAK.** One of a number of ports along the north coast of *Sumatra* that became important in the 13th century. In 1292, a Yuan ambassador visited Perlak (Balala), along with *Lambri* and *Samudera-Pasai*, to demand its submission. The *Desawarnana* included it in the list of *Majapahit*’s dependencies in 1365.

**PHAN RANG.** Modern name derived from the ancient Cham *Pan-durangga*. In the eighth century, this kingdom’s capital was called *Virapura*. A *Javanese* invasion in 787 destroyed a temple named Bhadrādhipatisvara, which was rebuilt by King *Indravarman* in 799.

**PHATTALUNG.** A place in southern Thailand referred to in Chinese texts of the 13th and 14th centuries as *Fo-lo-an*. It sent annual tribute to *Sanfoqi* (probably *Jambi*). According to the *Dao-yi-za-zhi*, a Chinese text of the 1270s, Sanfoqi sent a governor there, making it a directly ruled territory.

**PHILIPPINES.** Although the people of the Philippines utilized a script similar to that of Indonesia, the sole written document that has
survived from the pre-Hispanic period is the Laguna de Bay inscription on a 20- by 30-centimeter (8- by 12-inch) copper plate dated 822 Śaka (900 CE). It was offered for sale to the National Museum of the Philippines in January 1990 after having been found accidentally near the mouth of the Lumbang River by men dredging for sand.

The inscription consists of 10 lines in a script still known among the Mangyans of Mindoro Island as Baybayin. It is identical to early kawi used in the early 10th century from Bali to central Java to Thailand and Champa. The language of the inscription is basically Old Malay with a mixture of some Sanskrit words, some words (e.g., the title pamagat) analogous to Tagalog, and Old Javanese. Names include some in Austronesian form (Tagalog), some Sanskrit names for people, and a place-name, Medang, which is also found in central Javanese inscriptions at this period. The objective of the inscription was to certify that a chief and commander representing a leader named Jayadewa had declared a person named Namwran to be acquitted of a debt amounting to 1 kati (617.6 grams/24 ounces) and 8 suwarna (38.6 grams/1.5 ounces), presumably of gold.

PHIMAI. A town in modern northeast Thailand 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Nakhon Ratchasima. Settlement in the region began around 1000 BCE. Three moated sites had already appeared by the Tamyae Phase (1000–600 BCE). This increased to seven in the Prasat Phase (600–200 BCE) and reached a peak of 15 in the Phimai Phase (300 BCE–300 CE). A famous type of pottery called Phimai Black also appeared in this latter period. A shrine was built here in the early historic Muang Sema Phase (600–1000), but its nature is unclear.

Eight moated sites here were inhabited during the Muang Sema Phase, 10 during the Lopburi Phase (1000–1300). In the Lopburi Phase, new types of sites with rectangular outlines first appear, with reservoirs and walled temple compounds. A walled town was built on a site in modern Phimai, known as Vimayapura. Also found in the vicinity are sites consisting of mounds within rectangular earth walls. No evidence of habitation has been associated with these sites; it has been suggested that they might have been formal gardens.

During the Lopburi Phase, the economic system changed significantly, probably due to some type of influence from Angkor. A num-
ber of small temples and two large temples (Phimai and Prasat Phanom Wan) were established and became centers of population and economic activity. The Phimai temple is one of the largest Khmer complexes. It may have served as the prototype for Angkor Wat. The main tower of Phimai is similar to the central structure of Angkor Wat. Phimai is older, and may thus have influenced the architects who designed the grandest temple of Angkor, which was originally dedicated to Vishnu. The Mahidharaapura dynasty, which took control of Angkor under Jayavarman VI, probably came from here. Suryavarman II, the builder of Angkor Wat, was his descendant. The Phimai ruler in 1112, Virendradhipativarman, is portrayed in bas-reliefs at Angkor Wat riding a war elephant and leading his troops.

The principal construction activity at Prasat Phimai probably took place during the reign of Jayavarman VI in the late 11th century. The structure is unusual in many respects. One of these is the direction to which it is oriented: south-southeast. Lintels from this period combine Buddhist and Hindu themes. The Buddhist scenes depicted include the earth goddess Dharani wringing out her hair; Buddha in vistarka mudra; a possible image of the Buddhist deity Vajrasattva; and Trailokyavijaya (who according to Mahayana Buddhists converted Siva to Buddhism). Phimai was thus perhaps mainly Mahayana Buddhist in religious orientation, possibly indicating cultural continuity with Dvaravati. Some Hindu elements include small linggas found in one building, lintels with Krishna and Vishnu scenes, and a dancing multiarmed deity; this statue is normally interpreted as Siva Nataraja, although another theory suggests that it may represent a Buddhist figure.

Jayavarman VII added several major structures, including Kileang (storehouses) similar to those at Angkor Thom. Evidence that favors the interpretation that these structures had a mundane purpose includes grindstones found there.

PHIMEANAKAS. A steep-sided pyramidal brick shrine located in Angkor Thom. It may have been constructed by Rajendravarman soon after the capital was returned from Koh Ker to Yasodharapura (Angkor) in about 944. The monument is located at the junction of an east–west road leading to the East Baray (Yasodhatataka) and
Phnom Bakheng and thus occupies a highly significant position in the cosmologically symbolic plan of the capital. Its construction was revised in later reigns, including that of Suryavarman I. The late 13th-century Yuan envoy Zhou Daguan called it the “tower of gold,” that is, a celestial palace. Zhou says the king slept here every night with the nāgīṇī, a serpent-form female spirit of the kingdom referred to in ancient legends that are echoed in Javanese folklore. See also NAGA.

PHITSANULOK. A city in central Thailand. Ethnic Tai were probably already established there by the 11th century, according to Stanley Tambiah. It became part of Sukhothai in the late 13th century. Some historians believe that in the reign of King Boromrachathirat I (1370–1388), it was captured by Ayutthaya, but other records state that the last king of Sukhothai transferred his palace there in the 1420s. By 1438 the kingdom had been absorbed by Ayutthaya, but Phitsanulok remained an important subcenter of the kingdom. Ramesuan, the crown prince under Borommaracha II (1424–1448), was sent to Phitsanulok as governor. When he became king of Ayutthaya, with the title Boromtrailokanat Trailok (1448–1488), he moved his palace there, too, in 1463, the better to wage war against his northern neighbor Lan Na. His son was left in Ayutthaya as governor. After Trailok’s death, the relationship between the two centers reverted to its former state, with Phitsanulok becoming the domain of the crown prince.

PHNOM BAKHENG. A Khmer temple built on a volcanic hill in Angkor. At the top of the 70-meter-high (230-foot) hill, climbed by a long stone stairway, is a terraced stone structure probably begun by Indravarman and finished by Yasovarman I around the same time he built temples on two other nearby hills, Phnom Krom and Phnom Bok. He built the Lolei temple at Roluos, then moved to Angkor and began to build the East Baray. The term “Bakheng style” is sometimes used to refer to monuments built during this period.

On the hill’s artificially flattened summit was constructed a complex of laterite walls, sandstone “libraries,” and the main structure: a five-tier pyramid with stairways on the four axes. The Sivaite nature of the original shrine is denoted by three statues of Siva’s bull Nandi and bases for linggas.
Early French scholars found the peak thickly strewn with remains of the base for a huge Buddha image built in the late 15th century encasing Yasovarman’s structure. The base of statue was not preserved, but a remnant of it, part of Buddha’s right leg, is visible on south door jamb of the northeast tower. The construction of the Buddha image destroyed two of the five original towers. All 44 small towers on the shrine’s terraces face east; thus those on the west somewhat incongruously face the retaining wall. Bakheng established the distinctive Khmer model for a brick sanctuary tower that survived unchanged for several hundred years.

According to art historian Jean Filliozat, the shrine had three goals: to represent the five peaks of Mount Meru, the abodes of the 33 gods of Hinduism, and the numbers 60 and 108, the latter being the number of cosmic revolutions around Mount Meru during one “great year” or Yuga from the creation of the world to its destruction; this equals 4,324,000 human years.

PHNOM BOK. A temple on a hill 235 meters (775 feet) high on the eastern outskirts of Angkor (see photograph 21). It resembles another temple on the hill of Phnom Krom, southwest of the city. It may have been built by Yasovarman. This style of architecture was quite influential in early Angkor. Another indication of the site’s importance is that the largest lingga ever found in Cambodia was discovered here.

PHNOM CHISOR. An 11th-century Khmer temple constructed by King Suryavarman I of laterite and bricks with carved sandstone lintels on top of a 100-meter-high (330-foot) hill. Eleventh-century inscriptions found around the site record that Suryavarman built the temple in 1010 for the worship of Brahma. The temple faces east. Two laterite gateways, Sen Thmol and Sen Ravang, and a sacred pool, Tonle Om, form a straight line leading to the main shrine’s entrance. Phnom Chisor was originally known as Suryagiri or “Mountain of the Sun.”

PHNOM DA STYLE. This art style named after a site in southeast Cambodia near Angkor Borei produced both Buddhist and Hindu statuary. The statuary displays strong Gupta influence from India and
dates from the late sixth to early seventh centuries. The sculptors of Phnom Da appear to have provided the models that later generations of Khmer sculptors strove to imitate.

PHNOM KROM. A 137-meter-high (452-foot) hill on the edge of Tonle Sap, southwest of Angkor. On this hill stand six temples probably built by Indravarman I or Yasovarman. The three main towers were dedicated to the Hindu trimurti (Brahma/Vishnu/Siva). The north “library” contained a stone carving depicting the “nine planets.” Such stones were often placed southeast of the main shrine. The normal order of deities depicted includes Surya and Candra on the left; and Rahu and Kuwera on the right. The five deities in the middle can vary, but often are, from left to right, Brahma, Indra, Skanda, Vayu, and Yama, each with his own mount.

PHNOM KULEN. An extensive plateau northeast of Angkor. It is believed that this place corresponds to Mahendraparvata, where, according to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription of 1052, Jayavarman II was consecrated cakravartin by Hiranyadama in 802, where the devaraja was inaugurated, and where the accompanying ritual was taught to Jayavarman II’s chief priest or purohita Sivakaivalya. Mahendra is also the name of the mythical mountain that in south India was considered to be the home of the gods. Numerous archaeological sites exist on Phnom Kulen. It has been speculated that the specific site where the ritual took place is Krus Preah Aram Rong Chen, a pyramidal monument.

PHNOM RUNG. An important Khmer temple on an ancient volcanic peak 350 meters (1,155 feet) high in what is now northeast Thailand. The site contains many inscriptions from the 10th through 13th centuries. These inscriptions appear to have been authored by a line of local rulers of the line of Narendraditya who were not subject to Angkor.

PHNOM WAN. A Khmer temple now located within the territory of Thailand. Despite the discovery of inscriptions dated 891, 1055, and 1082, it is difficult to be certain which deity was the principal god worshipped here. Siva seems to have been preeminent at some peri-
ods, but he may have been displaced by other deities at times. Khmer temples in Thailand often combine styles that are found at different periods in Cambodia, making it difficult to decipher the iconography or to date them. By the 12th century the temple had been converted to Buddhist use. Large baray nearby suggest this was a site of greater than normal importance.

PHRA PATHOM. The “first” stupa, a 127-meter-high (419-foot) Buddhist structure in Nakhon Pathom, Thailand. Though the earliest written references to a stupa here date from 675, the early Dvaravati period, it is believed that the first stage of the structure was probably built even earlier. Architectural elements here comprise a stupa surrounded by four viharas, one of which contains an 8-meter (26.5-foot) standing Buddha in Sukhothai style. The structure appears to have been restored numerous times.

PHRA PRANG. A type of religious building found in Ayutthaya. It consists of a caitya-grha or relic chamber surmounted by an ogival tower, and a cella reached by a steep staircase on a high platform. Wat Rat Burana in Ayutthaya is an example of this type of building.

PHRAE. A small kingdom in north Thailand allied to Nan. It was incorporated along with Nan into Lan Na in 1449.

PHUKET. An island off the west coast of south Thailand. It may have been referred to as early as the first century CE as Ujung Salang in the Geographia of Ptolemy. Early European sources corrupted the Malay name to Junk Ceylon. It may have lain within the region known to early Arabs as Kalah.

PIKATAN. A district in central Java ruled by a nobleman with the title rakai. The ruler of Pikatan was the supreme ruler of Java in 842. He was a Hindu of the Sanjaya line, but his wife Pramodawardhani was a Buddhist queen of the Sailendra family. An inscription dated 856 describes the consecration of a temple complex called the abode of Siva (Sivagrha) and a funeral poem of rakai Pikatan. It is believed that the complex referred to is Lara Jonggrang. During Pikatan’s reign, both Buddhist and Hindu temples received royal
sponsorship. He was said to have made donations to the building of Candi Plaosan.

It is likely that Pikatan converted the Ratubaka Plateau from a Buddhist to a Hindu religious site. Inscriptions of 856 known as Ratubaka A, B, and C, as well as the Pereng inscription dated 863, may originate from him, though they are “signed” by different people; Inscriptions A and B were issued by Sri Kumbhaja, conqueror and protector of rakai Walaing; inscription C by Kalasadbhawa, and the Pereng inscription by rakai Walaing pu Kumbhayoni.

J. G. de Casparis argued that this particular Pikatan was also the rakai of Walaing, based on the Sivagrha inscription of 865; that text records that a rakai abdicated in favor of his son, rakai Kayuwangi Dyah Lokapala. The Mantyasih inscription of 907 says that Kayuwangi succeeded Pikatan, thus providing de Casparis with the equation of Rakai Walaing and Pikatan. Buchari, on the other hand, asserted that Kumbhayoni was Pikatan’s adversary.

The Wanua Tengah III inscription says that Pikatan passed away before Kayuwangi was enthroned, lending support to the idea that Pikatan and Walaing were different people. No completely satisfactory reconstruction has yet been proposed. It is however probable that the Ratubaka site served as a retreat for rulers who wished to follow the custom of retiring to a life of religious contemplation in their old age.

**PITAKATAIK.** A structure at Bagan, the name of which literally means “Library of Pitakas.” Pitaka means “basket,” but figuratively it refers to collections of related Buddhist texts. This building is supposedly a library built by King Anawrahta to store the 33 sets of Buddhist texts or Tripitaka he brought back to Bagan after his conquest of Thaton.

The Pitakataik’s style is based on the early gu. It is square in plan, measuring 15.5 meters (51 feet) on each side, with a central cell surrounded by a corridor. On each side are three perforated windows. There are three doorways, all on the east side. In 1783 King Bodawpaya (1781–1819) carried out a series of repairs on the Pitakataik. The spire, the five receding roofs, and the winged-motif finials at the roof corners are the results of these repairs.
PLAOSAN. A Buddhist complex in central Java 1 kilometer (1,100 yards) east of Candi Sewu and 2.5 kilometers (1.5 miles) northeast of Candi Lara Jonggrang (see diagram 8). A long inscription in devanagari script now in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta is believed to have come from this site; J. G. de Casparis concluded that it was the same stone that John Crawfurd in 1816 said then stood “midway between the gates.” More than half of the inscription is preserved. It is undated, but due to its script it can be assigned to the late eighth century. It is the longest devanagari inscription connected with the main Buddhist sites of central Java.

It mentions Buddha images and temples (mandira, prasada) and the founder of the Sailendra wangsa. The name of the author is not recorded; it may have been commissioned by King Indra around 800. Extant structures at Plaosan were built in the mid-ninth century. These must have replaced an earlier Buddhist structure or complex.

The inscription uses such similes as awarana (“obstruction”), a technical term for the obstacles on the path to Buddhahood. These are divided into two groups: klesha, obstacles on the path to nirvana, and jneya, far more subtle impediment encountered by the bodhisattva on the path to Buddhahood. The division is made even more complicated by the addition of another obstacle, which prevents most people from ascending to the first bhumī or plane of the bodhisattvamarga. There are 10 other kinds of awarana, one on each bhumī. The aspiring bodhisattva must eliminate the awarana of the 10th bhumī by engaging in a form of meditation known as wajropamasamadhi. The bodhisattva who reaches the highest stage is compared to a cloud from which the soft rain of dharma descends.

Unfortunately the first 12 lines of the inscription are almost impossible to decipher. This section contained important historical data, including the name of a royal person who “causes the rains, which are the boons taking away passion, to descend,” a feat only Buddhas and bodhisattvas on the highest stage of perfection, dharmamegha, can perform. The inscription implies that a ruler had reached the 10th bhumī together with such deities as Avalokitesvara, Maitreya, Manjusri, and Samantabhadra.

Ten strophes of the inscription mention a statue that miraculously fell into the temple because it was attracted by images of the four
Sugatas (Buddhas) already there. Strophe 14 notes that people “continuously arrive from the Gurjara country,” probably a reference to India, to worship this jina mandira.

Although no images are specifically mentioned by name, line 10 contains a possible reference to an eight-armed statue commemorating a previous king; one possible candidate would be the eight-armed form of Manjusri, Vagisvara Dharmadhatu. The inscription suggests that the temple contained statues of a Buddha with Vajrapani on one side and possibly Lokesvara.

In addition to the long devanagari inscription, another inscription found in 1925 has a script resembling the inscriptions of Dinaya (760), Kuburan Candi (821), Karangtengah (824), and Gandasuli (832?). More than 50 short inscriptions found in various contexts at the site were probably carved around 840–860. They include a Sanskrit dharani mentioning the Buddha, Dharma, and Sanggha and 42 on the innermost row of small square chapels that surround the two main shrines. Of 50 buildings in this row, inscriptions were discovered on 42; the other buildings may have been similarly inscribed as well.

An inscription in red paint was found on the towerlike corner of the innermost complex at Plaosan. Short painted inscriptions were also found at other central Javanese temples including Lara Jonggrang, Candi Sajiwan, and Candi Sari and on the Ratubaka Plateau. Most have now disappeared due to weathering.

Most of the short inscriptions at Plaosan consist of the word anumoda followed by a title. The term anumoda means “joy derived from the revelation of the Good Doctrine which is a means of escape from the miseries of Phenomenal Existence.” The term can be connected with the first stage of a bodhisattva’s career when he is “possessed by a joyous felicitous feeling.” These are records of the donors who sponsored the particular structure. Nineteen were sponsored by the king, Sri Maharaja Rakai Pikatan, who was probably a Hindu. He perhaps abdicated in 856. He probably married the Sailendra queen, daughter of Samaratungga. Other shrines at Plaosan were sponsored by Sri Kahulunnan, the queen, and other lesser officials.

N. J. Krom suggested that the buildings around the Buddhist sanctuaries of central Java might correspond to specific parts of the kingdom, so the temple group was a kind of symbolic map. De Casparis
found confirmation for this hypothesis in the locations of the inscriptions with names of donors at Plaosan. It thus seems that Plaosan Lor may have been a symbolic map rather than a mandala.

**PO KLAUNG GARAI.** A 13th-century Cham temple complex located on Trau Hill in Phan Rang, southern Vietnam. The complex originally consisted of six towers; only four remain. According to the legend, King Po Klaung Garai, a leper, was worshipped in the main tower. The main surviving structures were built in the 13th or 14th century, according to their decorative features and inscriptions from King Jaya Singhavarman III that mention restoration of the main building. A particularly famous carving from this site depicts a Siva Nataraja. Other sculptures here depict apsaras and the bull Nandi.

**PO NAGAR.** A Cham religious site in Nha Trang; derived from Yang Pu Negara, this name is also applied to another Cham religious site at Mongduc. Senapati Par, a Cham general, endowed religious establishments at Nha Trang in 817, as did Vikrantavarman III, who also gave donations to the other Po Nagar at Mongduc. Both remained ritual centers for Cham kings for half a millennium.

The Po Nagar in Nha Trang is dedicated to a goddess known as Yang Ino Po Nagar. According to inscriptions on the site, the original structure here, built of wood, was destroyed by a Javanese attack in 774. A brick-and-stone building was built to replace the original one 10 years later by King Sri Satyavarman. Of 10 structures that once stood here, five remain. The oldest part of the complex is thought to be a set of octagonal brick columns mentioned in an inscription erected by a general, Senopati Par, in 817. The main standing structure, a kālān or tower, is one of the largest remaining ancient Cham monuments. It was built in the 11th century. Inscriptions on it mention offerings presented to the goddess of the complex in the 11th through 13th centuries. The image now in the shrine, a multiarmed female called Bharagati, is believed to have been carved in 1050 during the reign of King Jaya Paramesvaravarman.

**POLO, MARCO (1254-1324).** A Genoese traveler who spent 17 years in China before he obtained permission to return to Italy in 1292. Although he had arrived in China via the overland route, he decided to
return by sea. He was taken as far as the Persian Gulf by a Chinese fleet that was escorting a princess there to be married. His vessel called at Champa and passed through the Strait of Melaka. The fleet on which he was a passenger followed age-old practice and stopped for five months in the harbor of Samudera, on the north coast of Sumatra, to wait for the return of favorable winds. It was possible to travel from China only to Sumatra in one year’s voyage because the Chinese had not yet invented ships that could sail against the wind.

Although some have questioned the veracity of Polo’s claims, much independent evidence confirms details of his descriptions of Sumatra and other parts of Southeast Asia he either visited or of which he heard reports. His report that the people of “Ferlac,” a port on the north coast, had converted to Islam was confirmed much later by the discovery of the tombstone of Sultan Malik al-Salih (d. 1297). Polo mentions Champa, Java (which he did not visit), Sumatra (which he called “Java Minor”) with its eight kingdoms, and the Nicobar and Andaman Islands.

**PONG TUK.** An archaeological site in central Thailand occupied in the early centuries CE. Politically it may have been a subject of Funan, then Dvaravati. A well-known early Buddha image and a bronze Roman-style lamp have been discovered here. Bricks and laterite blocks found in the same village include a round foundation, perhaps of a stupa. The lamp, which may originate from Alexandria, was found in a small square brick building. It bears a medallion with the head of Silenus, Dionysus’ mentor. The cult of Dionysus became dominant at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemaic rule, perhaps due to syncretism with Serapis. The Buddha image George Coedès thought was imported from India, perhaps Gandhara.

**PONI.** Chinese name for a kingdom in Borneo. Its ruler, Sri Maharaja, sent a mission to the Chinese Court in 1082. The kingdom’s location is thought to have been on Borneo’s west coast. The ruler’s title is the same as that used by Srivijayan monarchs previously. Perhaps Poni represents Brunei, which may have been a part of Srivijaya before that kingdom’s demise in 1025.

**POPA.** An extinct volcano 1,519 meters (5,013 feet) high situated on the northern end of the Pegu range in central Burma. The mountain
is significant in Burmese culture because it is regarded as the home of the 37 nat. There are at least three different categories of nats: devās or deities such as the Hindu gods Ganesa and Indra; free spirits who inhabit trees, rivers, hills, and other natural environments; and the spirits of either people of royal birth who were murdered by royalty or others who died horrible or untimely (“green”) deaths. The 37 nats belong to the latter category. According to chronicles and folklore, King Anawrahta built a shrine on top of Taungkalat, a solitary spur on the side of the mountain, to house statues of the 37 nats. At that time, the Burmese already believed that Mahagiri and his sister nat, Hnamadawgyi, inhabited the summit of Mount Popa.

Wooden slabs with nat faces painted in gold in the shrine at the base of Taungkalat are said to be the wood of the tree to which the brother-sister nats were tied before they died. The main shrine on Taungkalat is devoted to the Popa Medaw, the mother of the twin brother nats Shwepyingyi and Shwepyinle.

PRA KON CHAI HOARD. This term denotes a large quantity of pre-Angkor bronzes found in Buriram Province, Thailand, in 1964. The exact number of statues found is not known, because the site was looted rather than being properly excavated by archaeologists. Rice chaff in the core material of a statue of Maitreya yielded a radiocarbon date of 330–650. According to unverifiable accounts, the largest statue was 1.6 meters (5 feet 4 inches) high. The majority depict Maitreya and Avalokitesvara; others include Buddha. Based on images supposed to belong to this hoard, fragments of a colossal bronze excavated at Ban Thanot, and three images found nearby at Ban Fai, the Pra Kon Chai style has been characterized as linked to both Dvaravatī and pre-Angkor Khmer-related sites, including Angkor Borei and Ak Yom. Images said to originate from Pra Kon Chai are found in the Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth, Texas); and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

PRAJNAPARAMITA. A Buddhist goddess of transcendental wisdom. The east Javanese school of Vajrayana Buddhism paid particular attention to this deity. The most important statue of this goddess was discovered at the Candi Singasari complex in east Java and taken to the Netherlands in 1820, but was returned to Jakarta in 1978.
Local legend considers this statue to be a portrait of Ken Dedes, wife of Ken Angrok. Other theories hypothesize that it might represent the rajapatni of Majapahit, whose shraddha rites are described in the Desawarnana. She was commemorated as Prajnaparamita, perhaps in a ruined statue of this goddess at Tulungagung. Chutiwongs has suggested that a similar image in Sumatra probably connected with the reign of Kertanagara, last ruler of Singasari, is good evidence that the statue portrays his mother Jayawardhani.

PRALAYA. A Sanskrit word referring to the end of a cycle of existence, when the world is destroyed in order to be recreated in a pure state (from which it gradually deteriorates into disorder and decay, and so has to be destroyed again in an endless cycle). In Indonesian history, the word occurs in an east Javanese inscription of 1041 in reference to an event that occurred in 1016, the nature of which is not clearly described. The result was the destruction of the extant Javanese kingdom, but also the creation of a new kingdom under King Airlangga, by implication a purified land.

PRAMBANAN. See LARA JONGGRANG.

PRAMODAWARDHANI. Member of the Sailendra family of central Java in the early ninth century who married Pikatan of the Sanjaya clan. This union resulted in a fusion of the two noble families but excited the jealousy of Balaputra, perhaps her younger brother. Balaputra rebelled but failed to overthrow the newly united kingdom—yet, in a manner that is not understood, succeeded in becoming the ruler of Srivijaya, perhaps through the connections of his mother, Princess Tara, who came from that Sumatran kingdom.

PRASADA. A Sanskrit word meaning the seat or platform of a god; also “palace.” The word was used in ancient Southeast Asian Sanskrit inscriptions and was later adopted into local languages, becoming prasat in Thai and pyatthat in modern Burmese. It can also be equated with the concept of the caitya-grha. In Southeast Asian parlance, however, prasat can also refer to a complex of religious buildings or the tall tower of the main edifice in a complex. See also CANDI (CHANDI).
PRASANTA. A statue of tuffaceous stone found in Desa Grogol, Sidoarjo, east Java. It is representative of late east Javanese sculpture, which often depicts figures from local legends. This image has been identified as Sabda Palon. It depicts a dwarflike male with rather hunched posture and bulging stomach. He wears a small flower in his hair behind his ears, and round plugs in his ear lobes. The statue’s face has wide eyes, a flat nose, thick lips and a moustache, and a rather comical expression. He appears to be walking; his sarong leaves his right leg exposed up to the thigh. Behind him are stylized rocks. The figure carries a keris stuck in his sarong. His humorous form identifies him as one of the Javanese divine clowns or punakawan, but he is not Sabda Palon the companion of Damar Wulan. Since this image was found with a statue of Brajanata, it may portray the friend and companion of Panji, Prasanta (Semar).

PRASAT CHRUNG. See ANGKOR THOM.

PRE RUP. A Khmer temple built at Angkor by Rajendravarman in 961. It is located outside the south dike of the now-dry East Baray and was aligned on its north–south axis with the East Mebon, which had been built nine years earlier and is 1.3 kilometers (0.9 miles) to the north. The name has the bizarre translation “turn the corpse,” the significance of which is unknown. A large stone vat in the complex is thought to have been related to cremation rites. It has also been suggested that the correct name may have been prææ, which would suggest change or transmutation.

The temple consists of a quincunx of sandstone buildings on the summit of two laterite terraces. Six more towers stand on the ground on the east side of the complex. Another small stone enclosure of unknown function stands at the foot of the east stairway. At the northeast corner is a small structure of laterite meant to shelter an inscription. The roof of the building displays a lotus motif typical of Indian architecture, rare in Cambodia. The founding inscription mentioned that the main tower sheltered a lingga called Rajendrabhadresvara on the summit, with four subsidiary shrines: one containing a lingga named Rajendravarmesvara, the second for a statue of Vishnu Rajendravishvarupa in memory of Harsavarman II, the third holding a
statue of Uma in honor of his aunt Jayadevi, and the last containing the eight murti or manifestations of Siva.

**PREAH KHAN.** A temple built by Jayavarman VII in 1191. The site was used as a temporary capital while Angkor Thom was under construction, during which period it was called Jayasri. When the new capital was completed, the site was converted to a shrine for a statue of Jayavarman VII’s father, king Dharanindravarman II in the form of the Buddhist deity Lokesvara and given the proper name Jayavarmesvara. The site retains the wall of laterite, 700 by 800 meters (2,400 by 2,640 feet) with sandstone garudas, that encircled the former palace complex. Outside the four entrances are three-dimensional representations of the churning of amerta, in very graphic detail. The shrine was closely linked with Neak Pean, which lies on the same east–west axis.

**PREAH KO.** A shrine at Roluos built in 879 by Indravarman I, who also built the Bakong there. The complex consists of six east-facing shrines of brick and sandstone on a single base. The three towers in the front row are dedicated to the souls of Indravarman’s predecessors. The central tower is also dedicated to Siva, cited as the divine “associate” of Jayavarman II. Three statues of Nandi in the courtyard of the first enclosure may have given their name to the entire complex (Préah Ko means “sacred bull”). The north tower is dedicated to Indravarman himself; the south tower is allocated to his father. Three shorter towers in the second row are dedicated to the spirits of former queens. Indravarman’s connection with Jayavarman II and the queens is not specifically mentioned. Indravarman may have been attempting to compensate for lack of a royal pedigree. Probably he was not recognized as a true noble and thus had to make special efforts to link himself to that line.

The shrine contains several important artistic innovations. One of these is the use of naga railings, which later became typical of major shrines at Angkor.

**PREAH PITHU.** A group of five 13th-century monuments at Angkor, four of which are Hindu, the other Buddhist. The temples are aligned on an east–west axis. The easternmost building is a pyrami-
dal structure on a cruciform base. Decorations include devās wearing floral skirts at the corners and rows of miniature dancing figures along the facades.

The second temple is similar in layout to the first but smaller. Lintel panels depict such scenes as the churning of the elixir of immortality (amerta) and Siva Nataraja dancing between Brahma and Vishnu.

The next temple is the only Buddhist structure and comprises three terraces with no enclosure. The building contains a cruciform main sanctuary and vestibules with passageways and windows. It seems to have been abandoned before completion. Inside the main chamber is a double frieze of Buddhas. Other scenes include the episode in which the future Buddha cut off his princely hair.

The fourth temple appears also to be incomplete. The main sanctuary contains a lingga. Exterior pilasters display lyre-shaped decorations.

The last temple has an unusual plan resembling the roadside shelters of the Jayavarman VII period. It comprises two windowless rooms joined by a passage, with lintels and pediments. The north pediment illustrates Vishnu on Garuda battling the demon Bana. The south pediment shows Vishnu taking the three steps in which he traversed the universe.

PREAH VIHEAR. A Khmer temple complex situated on the edge of a cliff in the Dangrek mountain range along the border between northern Cambodia and northeast Thailand. King Yasovarman I's builders began work on a Siva sanctuary in this complex in 813. Construction continued over a few centuries, resulting in the hybrid style reflecting influences ranging from the Koh Ker style of the mid-10th century to the Khleang style of King Jayavarman V. In the 11th century, Suryavarman I carried out extensive remodeling. Most of the remaining structures date from his reign. In the 12th century, Suryavarman II and his priest Divakarapandita carried out more alteration and renovation.

The complex is aligned on a north–south axis. Five gopuras lead from the entrance to the central sanctuary (see diagram 5). The first is cruciform, with pediments reflective of Banteay Srei style. A broad causeway leads from here to the second gopura, which contains a pediment depicting the churning of the amerta (elixir of
immortality). Hindu gods include Brahma standing on top of a pole flanked by the moon and sun, Indra on his elephant Airavata on the far right, Lakshmi on the right, and Garuda attempting to stir the elixir. Another causeway linked this gopura with the next, along which remains of a rectangular pool were found. This third gopura is the largest of the complex. The southern pediment depicts Siva and Uma sitting on Nandi riding through a forest. The next gopura opens out to a courtyard in which stand two libraries. The last gopura occupies the entire north side of the courtyard in which the main shrine stands. Opposite this is a false gopura, which sits at the edge of the cliff.

PREI KMENG. A now-ruined temple that gave its name to an important pre-Angkorian art style popular during the 635–700 period. Whereas earlier lintels at Sambor Prei Kuk had imitated Indian design with makaras, at Prei Kmg floral motifs predominate. The site lies just west of the southwest corner of the West Baray.

PROME. See SRIKSETRA.

PUGAM/PUKAM. See BAGAN (PAGAN; PUGAM).

PUNTADEWA. King of Ngamarta who appears as the recipient of a wedding invitation to the marriage of Princess Rukmini and Priest Drona in the Kresnayana. The name was later adopted for one of the temples built on the Dieng Plateau of central Java during the period of the Mataram kingdom.

PURANAS. A category of Sanskrit literature composed over the long period from the fourth century BCE to 1000 CE. Though puranas (“old ones”) often contain religious themes expressing devotion to gods such as Siva and Vishnu, they are not usually considered religious texts but rather poetry with religious themes. The puranas focus on the power and deeds of the gods. The Sanskrit lexicographer Amarasinha, who was writing in the fifth or sixth century, provided five defining characteristics of puranas: creation of the universe, its destruction and revival, genealogy of gods and patriarchs, reigns of the Manus, and the history of the Solar and Lunar races of kings. Very few puranas fulfill all these criteria.
There are 18 major puranas. Some of the better-known are the Vishnu Purana, Garuda Purana, and the Bhavagata Purana. These can be divided into three groups with stories concerned with Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva and his consorts. Unlike the Vedas, which were used solely by brahmin priests, the puranas were designed for use by the common people. Since the puranas were written in the same metrical system as itihasas ("histories"), the Mahabharata is commonly referred to as a purana although most scholars would classify it as an itihasa.

PURNAWARMAN. See TARUMA (TÂRUMÂ).

PYU. Third-century Chinese sources first mention the kingdom of Piao, probably corresponding to Pyu, a name for the ethnolinguistic group that throughout most of the first millennium CE controlled the middle Ayeyarwadi River valley in the center of Burma. Traditional Burmese historiography considers them the founders of the first complex civilization in Myanmar. Their major sites were Sriksetra, near modern Prome (Pyi in Burmese) mentioned by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims in the seventh century; Beikthano; and Halin. They were adherents of Pali Buddhism, as shown by their earliest texts, which date from around 500. The Pyu seem to have been gradually absorbed by the Burmese; inscriptions in their language, which was probably Tibeto-Burman, have not been deciphered.

A ruler whom Chinese sources call Yung-qiang sent an ambassador to China in 802 and another in 807. Records of the embassy report that the Pyu capital was surrounded by a wall of green-glazed brick, with a brick-lined moat and 12 gates and bastions at the corners (it must be remembered that these are the uncorroborated claims of the ambassador who gave this information to Chinese officials who interviewed him in China). Houses were said to be roofed with lead and tin. The capital had more than a hundred Buddhist monasteries painted in many colors and decorated with gold, silver, and embroidery. A large statue of a white elephant played an important role in public ceremonies. Music and dance were well developed.

Later in the century, around 832, Nanzhao attacked a city—identified as Halin by Gordon H. Luce and Maingmaw by Tilman H. Frasch—carrying away 3,000 people to Kunming. According to
Burmese annals, the precision of which cannot be assumed, King Pyinbya had the city wall of Bagan built in 849. Chinese sources of the Tang dynasty say that the Pyu had 18 states and 9 walled towns, but were not politically unified. The Pyu language continued to be used in later centuries, as indicated by its presence on the multilingual Myazedi inscription of 1112 and Pyu script on a terra-cotta votive tablet found in the Shwesandaw temple at Bagan.

PYUSAWHTI. The third king of the first Bagan kingdom of Arimaddana, according to Burmese chronicles. Pyusawhti defeated the four great enemies of Arimaddana: a great bird, a great boar, a great flying squirrel, and a great tiger. As a result of his feat, he was given the throne. However, Pyusawhti did not immediately become king; instead he gave the kingship to his ascetic teacher, Yathekyaung, in gratitude for his tutelage. Only after Yathekyaung’s death did Pyusawhti become king of Arimaddana.

– Q –

QUANG BINH. See CHAMPA.

QUANG NAM. A province in north-central Vietnam where several important Cham sites are found, including Mi Son, Tra Kieu, and Dong Duong. The area formed a kingdom called Amaravati, which existed from the 2nd through 13th centuries. The state contained five symbolic elements: the Holy Mountain, symbolizing Siva; the Holy River, representing Ganga, consort of Siva; the Holy Estuary, which is the center of trade; the Holy City, center of royal power; and the Holy Seat, the royal sanctuary.

QUANG TRI. The Vietnamese province in which the ancient capital of Hue is located.

– R –

RAHU. In Indian mythology, a titan or danava with four arms and a dragon’s tail, son of Singhika. The Ramayana says that his mother
was killed by Hanuman, thus turning Rahu against the gods. He tried to drink the *amerta* or elixir of immortality churned by the gods and demons by disguising himself as a god, but the sun and moon saw him and informed *Vishnu*, who threw his discus at Rahu’s mouth, cutting his head into two parts, the upper and lower. Because his upper lip had already touched the elixir, however, it could not die. His demonic face became a common decoration for the apexes of niches and the lintels of temple doors in early Javanese art.

**RAJA CULAN/RAJA SHULAN.** See MALAY ANNALS.

**RAJAPATNI.** See MAJAPAHIT.

**RAJARAJA.** See CHOLA.

**RAJASANAGARA.** See HAYAM WURUK; MAJAPAHIT.

**RAJENDRACHOLA.** See CHOLA.

**RAJENDRAVARMAN.** A ruler who ascended the throne of *Angkor* in approximately 944, succeeding his cousin *Harsavarman II*. He was the nephew of *Jayavarman IV* and *Yasovarman*. He moved the capital from *Koh Ker* back to its previous location at *Yasodharapura* (*Angkor*). An inscription at *Bat Chum* glorifies him for rescuing the sacred city from the wilderness that had engulfed it, comparing him to Kusha (son of *Rama* and *Sita* in the *Ramayana*, who restored the city of *Ayodhya*), and describes a palace with a golden sanctuary comparable to that on Mount Mahendra, abode of the gods. It has been speculated that the sanctuary referred to is *Phimeanakas*. In 952 he erected the *East Mebon* in the middle of the *Yasodharatataka*, which his uncle Yasovarman had constructed. Many more structures that still survive were built during his reign, some under his sponsorship, including *Pre Rup*, and others with donations from his officials. The most famous of these is *Banteay Srei*, built in 967. Rajendravarman died in 968, was given the posthumous name Sivaloka, and was succeeded by his son *Jayavarman V*.

**RAKAI.** See TITLES.
RAKSASA. Gigantic creatures of extreme ugliness; the archenemies of men in Indic mythology. They hover around cremation grounds and other places where the dead are disposed of, attempt to kill and eat people, especially babies, and interfere with humans who try to practice religion and goodness. They correspond to the asuras, who are the enemies of the gods. Raksasas often appear in the epics: in the Mahabharata as males, but in the Ramayana as females. Their king is Rawana. The raksasa Danu, who is depicted as a face with legs, is shown in a famous relief on Lara Jonggrang in Java as Rama kills him with an arrow. As in several other similar cases, Danu is revealed to have been cursed for various misdeeds by gods and, upon death, is restored to his original beautiful form under the name Kabandha. He then tells Rama that he can only defeat Rawana by making an alliance with the monkey army under Hanuman.

RAKTAMRITTIIKA. “Red Earth Land” in Sanskrit; a kingdom mentioned in the fifth-century inscription found near the mouth of the Muda River, Kedah, on the west coast of peninsular Malaysia. The inscription records a prayer for safety by a ship’s captain named Buddhagupta, who is said to have been a native of the Red Earth Land. The place may be the same as Chitu, which appears in a Chinese text of the seventh century; that name also means “Red Earth.” The Chinese source suggests that Red Earth Land was located somewhere in Kelantan or south Thailand, perhaps in the Patani region. Ma Dunlin reproduced a description of Chitu dating from the early seventh century. The capital was said to be called Sengqi and to have three walls with gates 100 paces apart, painted with images of celestial beings and adorned with gold bells. Rulers’ ashes were said to have been placed in gold urns kept inside a monument.

RAMA. Hero of the Ramayana. In the Rig Veda, Rama is said to be a king of the asura or aboriginal inhabitants of India. In later Hinduism he became the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. He appears briefly in the Mahabharata (Vana Parva). Rama was one of four children of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya; his mother was queen Kausalya. He married Sita, daughter of a neighboring king, after winning a contest that involved stringing the bow of Siva. Kaikeyi, another of Dasaratha’s wives, managed to have Rama banished for 14
years in order that her son Bharata would become king, but Bharata refused to take the throne. Instead he placed Rama’s sandals on the throne and acted as viceroy during Rama’s exile.

Sita and Laksmana, his brother, accompanied him into the forest. They traveled to various hermitages until they reached the Dandaka forest where Agastya has directed them. There a female raksasa fell in love with him, but Rama mutilated her and killed several others. The mutilated raksasa was the sister of Rawana, who learned of Sita’s beauty and decided to abduct her. Rawana’s minister Marichi transformed into a golden deer, and Sita asked Rama to catch it for her. While he was gone, Rawana captured her and took her to his kingdom, Langka. On the way, a garuda, Jatayu, tried to save her but failed. Rama found Jatayu as he lay dying and learned what has happened. Rama then went in search of the monkey army led by Hanuman and made an alliance with him. In a great battle, the giant Kumbhakarna almost turned the tide of battle in Rawana’s favor until Rama killed him with an arrow.

After many more episodes, Rama finally killed Rawana and placed Vibhishana on the throne of Langka. He rescued Sita, but suspected her of having been raped by Rawana. He assumed his rightful place on the throne of Ayodhya, but banished Sita, who went to the hermitage of Valmiki and there gave birth to twin boys, Lava and Kusha. Fifteen years later, Rama met the twins, acknowledged them as his sons, and invited Sita back to court. She returned, only to ask the earth goddess to take her back, which she did. Finally, Rama entered the Sarayu River and returned to his identity as Vishnu.

**RAMA KHAMHAENG.** “Rama the Strong.” A ruler of Sukothai who supposedly issued a long inscription dated 1292 describing the foundation of a Tai kingdom there by his grandfather Indraditya. The inscription states that Rama Khamhaeng himself invented the script used in the kingdom (an adaptation of earlier Siamese script, originally derived from Khmer writing) in 1282. It also credits him with building a large stupa in Si Satchanalai. In a section on the same stone as the 1292 inscription that may have been added somewhat later, Rama Khamhaeng is described as “the sovereign of all the Tai,” a teacher, the most learned person in the kingdom in science, and the most courageous and strongest man in the kingdom.
Rama Khamhaeng’s reign is mainly documented in later chronicles. He is said to have been the son of Bang Klang Hao, a chief who threw off Khmer rule in the 1240s and founded Sukothai. He obtained the sobriquet “the strong” (or “bold”) after defeating a rival center, Sot, at age 19. His reign coincided with that of another important northern Thai monarch, Mangrai of Lan Na. At the beginning of his rule, Sukothai was a minor kingdom, but Rama Khamhaeng expanded it by conquering lands as far away as the Mekong and Vientiane, as far south as Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat), and as far west as Hanthawati (Bago, Burma). On the north, he made alliances with the independent kingdoms of Phayao and Chiangrai. He sent numerous missions to China, which were recorded as coming from “Xian” (Siam). Rama Khamhaeng’s reign is conventionally dated as beginning in 1279. Some authors believe that he died in 1298; others argue that he probably reigned until around 1318. His successor was his son, Loe Thai.

Ramadhipati. Also known as Ramathibodi or Uthong. According to one version of the royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, he was the son of a Chinese merchant, born in 1314. He married the daughter of the king of Suphanburi, then renamed himself Ramadhipati (dhipati is a term for chief, leader, or ruler). He is credited with founding the kingdom of Ayutthaya in 1351, becoming the first of 34 kings. In 1352 he attacked Angkor, and though he failed to take the city, he seized much territory from the Khmer. Ramadhipati ruled until his death in 1369, whereupon he was succeeded by his son Ramesuan.

Ramannadesa. “Land of Ramanna.” A name used in various ancient sources to refer to lands inhabited in recent times by the Mon people, who are sometimes termed the Rman. As in the case of Dvaravati, scholars disagree whether this name denoted merely a geographic area, a unified kingdom, or a group of related polities, perhaps linked in some sort of mandala fashion. Another question concerns the precise location to which this name referred. A previous generation of historians believed that Ramannadesa referred to the region between the Sittaung and Salween rivers and that Thaton was a flourishing port and capital city.
According to chronicles, a certain king named Siharaja founded Thaton around the fifth century of the Buddhist era in Suvarnabhumi. The Elders Sona and Uttara brought Buddhism to Thaton. This assertion cannot be validated, however, until more archaeological work has been done. Michael Aung-Thwin has argued that Rammannadesa and Thaton were “imagined” entities that did not emerge until the 15th century when these names were recorded in the Kalyani inscription of King Dhammaceti.

**RAMAYANA (RÂMÂYANA).** “Rama’s Vehicle.” An epic of about 30,000 verses divided into seven books or kanda centering on the abduction of Sita, wife of Rama, by the demon Rawana. Traditionally the authorship of the poem is credited to Valmiki, a former robber who became a devotee of Vishnu. Parts of the epic were first written down or at least standardized before 350 BCE. The Sanskrit version was composed around 250 CE, but may have been derived from the earlier Dasaratha Jataka of Prakrit Buddhism. The fourth book, or Kiskindha kanda, includes references to Java (Yavadvipa) and Sumatra (Suvarnadvipa). Many versions exist in India; they can be grouped into two sets, the northern and southern recensions.

Scenes from this text are displayed on several ancient monuments in Southeast Asia. At Lara Jonggrang, the story is depicted in reliefs on the inner face of the balustrade of the Siva and Brahma temples (see photograph 13). Scenes from the epic are also carved on the lower register of the main edifice erected at Panataran, Java, in the 14th century. In Cambodia the Ramayana forms part of the illustrations on the Baphuon, Angkor Wat, and the Bayon.

**RAMNI.** See LAMBRI (LAMURI; NANWULI; RAMI; RAMLI; RAMNI; RAMRI).

**RATUBAKA.** A mythical king in central Java. An important complex of ruins from the late eighth and early ninth centuries on a limestone plateau overlooking the Sorogedug plain and the Lara Jonggrang complex 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) to the north is named after him. The complex contains several clusters of ruins. These include a monumental gateway and associated foundations for timber structures resembling palace squares of later periods; a separate area with various
ruins of probable religious functions, both Buddhist and Hindu; and a quarry that probably provided the stone used for those buildings and into which meditation caves were then hewn.

The plateau may have been originally established by Buddhists in the late eighth century, then converted to a fort during a struggle between the Hindu ruler known as räkäi Pikatan, who married a Buddhist queen of the Sailendra line, and a prince named Balaputra. Balaputra was ultimately defeated, but succeeded in becoming ruler of Srivijaya in Sumatra. Thereafter the plateau may have become a sanctuary used by Hindus. The northwestern area of the site may have been a palace garden.

An inscription dated 792, the same year as the Manjusrigrha inscription of Candi Sewu, mentions Dharmottunggadeva, abhiseka name of the person who was probably king by that time. The inscription was discovered just outside the east wall of the structure traditionally called the kraton or palace of King Baka. The inscription, however, commemorates the foundation of “This Abhayagiri vihara here of the Sinhalese ascetics, trained in the sayings of discipline of the Best of the Jinas,” which is dedicated to a bodhisattva who may either be Avalokitesvara or Manjusri.

A piece of gold inscribed “ye te svaḥa” and a silver plate inscribed with the same Buddhist formula were found near the vihara in 1953. In the early 1990s fragments of a stupa made of andesite were discovered about 100 meters (330 feet) from the structure, which was probably a double meditation platform of the type found near Abhayagiri in Sri Lanka and used by Buddhist monks of an esoteric sect.

Five small inscriptions in the form of miniature linggas found around the plateau glorify Siva in warlike manifestations. They date from the period around 856 and probably symbolize the defeat of Balaputra by Pikatan.

RECO LANANG. Site of a monumental sculpture of Buddha of uncertain date, 5.5 meters (18 feet) high and weighing 60 tons. It is located in a secluded spot on the slope of Mount Arjuna, east Java. It may have been intended to depict the Jina Buddha Aksobhya, since its right hand is in the mudra symbolizing victory over Mara. It was not completed.
RED EARTH LAND. See RAKTAMRITTAKA.

RELIGION. Prehistoric Southeast Asian religion, as far as it can be reconstructed from later sources, was characterized by belief in the ability of ancestors to influence worldly affairs. Ancestors were associated with high places such as mountains and hilltops. Ancestor worship seems to have taken the form of offerings and prayers to propitiate the ancestor spirits, who could be either helpful or hostile.

Another aspect of early Southeast Asian religion was probably belief in the efficacy of meditation and the practice of austerities in order to obtain supernatural powers. This belief strongly affected the religious practices of the early historic period, when Southeast Asians in the western part of the region incorporated literary and artistic motifs from South Asia into their societies. Buddhism, Hinduism, and some aspects of early Vedic religion had already made their appearance when the earliest historical sources on Southeast Asia become available. The figure of the risi was as significant in Southeast Asia as the organized clergy of the Hindu and Buddhist text-based faiths.

There is very little evidence of tension between the faiths. Indeed, kingdoms in both mainland and island Southeast Asia gave official support to all three groups (Buddhist, Hindu, and ascetics). The clergy of the two Indic faiths probably felt some rivalry between each other, but the general population does not seem to have absorbed any feelings of animosity toward other groups on the basis of religion.

Major religious transformations occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries when Theravada Buddhism and Islam penetrated the region. The division between the two new faiths seems to have followed linguistic lines, with Austronesians adopting Islam and Austroasiatic speakers espousing Theravada. Christianity does not seem to have made any significant converts in the region before the coming of the Europeans.

RISI. “Sage.” The word implies a special category of men who are depicted as elderly, usually bearded, possessing combined wisdom and spiritual power that can be turned to physical deeds such as destructive anger if they are disturbed or the ability to fly. Risis obtain their power by undergoing extreme physical austerities. Even the gods fear
them and sometimes attempt to interfere in their meditations. They invariably live in remote areas, usually on mountains or forests, sometimes alone, sometimes with their wives and children, other times with pupils. Some risis are mythological authors, such as Valmiki, author of the Ramayana, and Vyasa, who is given credit for the Mahabharata. One who appears in the Romaka Jataka is a Roman who eats a pigeon; he is contrasted with a Buddhist who is a pure vegetarian.

Risis are officially listed in inscriptions from the reign of Airlangga. The term risi is mentioned with other priests, sometimes in a group of three (tripaksa), that is, risi-saiwa-sogata or in a fourfold grouping (caturdwija), as in brahmana-sogata-saiwa-risi. Risi are those who perform the third and fourth life stages (wanasrama and sanyasin or bhiksuka) by exiling themselves to the forest and other isolated places.

The risis had their own sacred edifices. The forms and functions of the many types of risi sacred places have not been determined. Research has been conducted only on mandalas, places of religious instruction led by risis termed dewaguru. The Desawarnana and Parthayajna kakawin mention female and male pupils (endang and kaki) who are still ensnared by earthly appearances by love for fellow humans. These mandalas (kadewaguruuan) are located in isolated areas: on mountain slopes, in the midst of jungles, on the seashore, and so forth.

Risis were basically Sivaites of the Sivasiddhanta sect. However, little is known of the teachings of the risis in the mandalas, for they were kept secret. According to Sivasiddhanta recitations, the goal of risi meditation was to seek spiritual release by uniting with the Absolute Reality through meditation. To accomplish this goal, one must equip oneself with sacred knowledge of the Absolute Reality. The risis meditated in caves or other places considered to be suitable for their purposes. They worshipped Siva in their thoughts. On the terraced structures on the slopes of Mounts Penanggungan, Arjuna, and Lawu are many altars without statues, probably as a result of this current of belief.

ROLUOS. An area about 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Angkor, the site of an ancient capital of the Khmer kingdom of Hariharalaya (“Abode of Harihara,” a combined manifestation of Siva
and Vishnu). King Jayavarman II established a capital here after founding religious establishments on Phnom Kulen in 802. His successors continued to reside in Roluos until 910 when the capital was moved to Phnom Bakheng in the Angkor zone.

Roluos comprises three major monuments: Preah Ko, Lolei, and Bakong. In the early phase of the reign of Jayavarman II, a dam was built, which is now the south dike of the Lolei baray. It was not an efficient system, so two perpendicular banks were added. King Indravarman I donated resources to endow the structure, and Yasovarman I built an island in the middle to commemorate his ancestors, especially his father Indravarman. Indravarman dedicated Preah Ko, a group of brick towers, to Jayavarman II and his other ancestors in 879. Some of the original plaster covering the brick walls of the buildings is still visible. Motifs depicted on the sandstone lintels and pilasters include Kala, Vishnu on Garuda, female apsaras, and dwarapala (door guardians).

Bakong, built some time in the late eighth or early ninth century, may have been modeled on Barabudur, with receding terraces and stairways on each side leading to the main sanctuary at the top. It is believed that Roluos was the place where such fundamental Khmer architectural models as the use of false stories, end tiles, and perspective effects became established.

Indravarman I founded Angkor and moved his residence there from Hariharalaya in 910. The monuments were not abandoned, though. On the contrary, renovations were carried out there beginning around 950.

RUDRALOKA. Posthumous name of Harsavarman I of Angkor, who died around 922. Rudra is an alternative name for Siva.

RUDRAVARMAN. A popular name among rulers in Cambodia and Champa. The first Cham king of this name was the son of the previous ruler, Vijayavarman. Rudravarman I was acknowledged as ruler of his territory by China in 530 and sent an embassy there in 534. He attacked the Chinese provinces of north Vietnam in 543 but was defeated. The first sanctuary built at Mi Son, Bhadresvara, was probably destroyed by fire during his reign. The length of his reign is unknown. He was succeeded by his son Sambhuvarman.
Another Rudravarman (II) was reigning in 749, according to the record of a mission he sent to China.

Rudravarman III ascended the throne of Vijaya in 1061. He sent embassies to China in 1062 and to Dai Viet in 1063, 1065, and 1068. In the latter part of the same year he attacked Dai Viet, but was defeated by a counterattack by Ly Thanh-tong, captured, and sent as a prisoner to Cambodian territory. The Vietnamese then burned down the capital. Rudravarman was freed in 1069 as part of a treaty in which Quang Binh and Quang Tri were given to the Vietnamese. He died around 1074; it is not known whether he ever reestablished control over the remainder of his former territory.

Rudravarman IV was crowned in 1145 after the disappearance of Jaya Indravarman III during a Khmer invasion. He fled to Panduranga but never succeeded in establishing a government before he died and was given the posthumous name Brahmaloka. His son then succeeded him in 1147 as Jaya Harivarman I.

SABANA. A designated trading port (nomimon emporion) mentioned in the notes of Ptolemy around 150 CE, located at the southernmost end of a chain of trading centers connecting Southeast Asia and India. Ptolemyaeus was a Greek astronomer who compiled a manual, the Geographia, using astronomical observations to map places on the Earth. According to the text, once ships reached Sabana, they had to make either a sharp turn to the east or to the northeast. Sabana most likely was situated at the southern end of the Strait of Melaka in the vicinity of Singapore or the area around the north side of the Sunda Strait.

SAGAING. City on the Ayeyarwadi River in central Burma that became important in 1315 when Athinkhaya, a descendant of rulers of Bagan, founded a palace here. Sagaing’s preeminent political position was soon transferred to nearby Inwa, but it remained a significant center of Buddhist monastic activity.

SAILEN德拉 (ŚAILEN德拉; SHAILEN德拉). Sanskrit for “Lord of the Mountain.” Indonesian tradition posits a strong connection be-
tween high places and spiritual power, and often with spirits of ancestors. This title was used by a royal line that was staunchly Mahayana Buddhist. Their representatives ruled in central Java in the eighth and ninth centuries and in Sumatra in the ninth century, and they possibly had influence in peninsular Thailand in the eighth century as well. A ruler known by the title Sang Ratu Halu, who flourished around 768, may have been the first of this line, but the name Sailendra is first mentioned in the Kalasan inscription of central Java, dated 778, albeit in a roundabout manner. It says that Maharaja Panangkaran, who despite his grand title was acting under a higher authority, described as the “ornament of the Sailendra family,” founded a sanctuary dedicated to the bodhisattva Tara in the village of Kalasa at the behest of his religious teachers. J. G. de Casparis argued that Panangkaran was not a Sailendra but a vassal of the Sailendra Vishnu Dharmanungga. The monument that now stands in the village of Kalasan near Yogyakarta represents an expansion of Panangkaran’s original building.

Other important Sailendra inscriptions include the Kelurak stone, dated 782. Temples associated with the Sailendra include Candi Sari, Barabudur, Mendut, Pawon, Bubrah, and Lumbung. There are some suggestions in Cham sources that the Sailendra had designs on extending their power to the Vietnam area in the late eighth century. Vietnamese annals mention an invasion from Java in 767. An inscription from Po Nagar, at Nha Trang, mentions people who came in ships, stole a lingga, and burned a temple. The Cham king Satyavarman, however, caught them at sea and defeated them. In 787 another Javanese army is said to have raided Champa and burned another temple.

In 782 or shortly thereafter, a second inscription was carved on another side of the same stone used for the inscription set up in 775 by the king of Srivijaya at Ligor. This second inscription refers to a king named Vishnu, who used the title Maharaja. This may have been the same king as Sanggramadhananjaya, who is glorified in the Kelurak text. It is not known whether the Sailendras had already taken power in Srivijaya by this time.

It is possible, though not certain, that the Sailendra formed a separate lineage from the Sanjaya rulers of central Java. If this is true, their reign was short, from about 780 to 830, but glorious. Their origin
is unknown. One reading of the evidence would suggest that they amalgamated with the Sanjaya through intermarriage around 832.

SAKKA/SAKRA. See INDRA.

SAKYAMUNI. “Sage of the Sakya clan”; the spiritual founder of Buddhism. Born Siddhartha in Lumbini in the Himalayas around 563 BCE, his father was Suddhodana of the Sakya clan and ruler of Kapilavastu. According to the later texts about the historic Buddha’s life, the bodhisattva visited his mother, Queen Maya, in her dream, appearing in the form of a white elephant. Siddhartha was the last incarnation of the bodhisattva before he attained enlightenment and became Buddha.

A seer invited to the palace to analyze Maya’s dream announced that the baby would become either a powerful king or a holy man. Suddhodana wanted his son to become a king and attempted to shield him from religious teachings and suffering. However Siddhartha was dissatisfied even after marrying Yasodhara and begetting a son, Rahula. He came to a realization of human suffering through encounters with an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and an ascetic and determined to learn how to overcome suffering. He eventually recognized that neither the extreme indulgence in pleasure nor extreme self-mortification leads to enlightenment. Meditating under a tree, he soon discovered the “middle way.” At the age of 35, Siddhartha attained enlightenment and became known as Buddha or “the awakened one.”

He traveled to Sarnath and gave his first sermon on the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path at the Deer Park. The Buddha spent the rest of his life traveling through central India teaching his doctrine. At the age of 80, Gautama Buddha attained nirvana in Kushinagar.

Accounts of the historic Buddha’s life and teachings were first transmitted orally through the sanggha or monastic community. Later these were committed to writing. Stories of the Buddha’s last incarnation appeared around the first few centuries CE, mostly in Sanskrit. These include Asvaghosa’s Buddhacarita and Lalitavistara.

SAMARATUNGGA. Ruler of central Java in 824. He was a member of the Buddhist Sailendra family. His queen was Princess Tara of
Srivijaya. His daughter Princess Pramodawardhani married Pikatan, a member of the Hindu Sanjaya family. His son Balaputra rebelled but was defeated and moved to Srivijaya in Sumatra.

SAMBHUPURA. A Khmer kingdom centered on the Mekong River in the vicinity of the modern town of Sambor and Kratie, northeast Cambodia, supposedly founded in the late seventh century by a ruler named Sambhuvarman, although no inscriptions from him exist. According to Chinese records, the first ruler of Sambhupura was a female, presumably the daughter of Sambhuvarman. She apparently married Pushkaraksha, son of Nripatindravarman of the rival Aninditapura kingdom, and he became the new king of Sambhupura.

By the mid-eighth century, Rajendravarman II of Zhenla united these rival kingdoms, along with a third, Vyadhapura, and established a capital at Angkor Borei. Inscriptions from this period refer to Rajendravarman as the king of Sambhupura. Some scholars have argued that Jayavarman II united Zhenla and became the ruler of Sambhupura during his military campaigns of the early eighth century. However, at the end of the century, Jayavarman moved his capital to Hariharalaya (Roluos). Shrines that once stood here were said to have been destroyed in an attack by Champa in 1074–1080, and its people were carried back to Mi Son.

SAMBHUVARMAN. Son and successor of Rudravarman I of Champa. He ruled from some time in the late sixth century until 629. Sambhuvarman sent tribute to the new Sui rulers of China in 595, but his capital at Tra Kieu was sacked by the Chinese in the early seventh century. He survived, however, and later sent three missions to the Tang rulers. Sambhuvarman rebuilt the temple of Mi Son, which he renamed Sambhubhadresvara. He was succeeded by his son Kandarpadharma, who was in turn succeeded by his son Prabhasadharma. The latter was assassinated in 645 by a minister.

SAMBOR PREI KUK. A location in eastern Cambodia located on a tributary of the Mekong River. Archaeological and epigraphical sources indicate that an important pre-Angkorian capital named Isanapura existed here, probably founded in the seventh century by Isanavarman. Earlier rulers may have already made their capital
here, including Bhavavarman I, who was in power around 598. A Chinese text of the 13th century compiled by Ma Duanlin, who drew on much earlier sources, describes the kingdom as having five ministers and many minor officials. Isanavarman may have reigned from about 616–617 to about 635, a period during which he left inscriptions at Sambor Prei Kuk. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzhang used Isanapura as a toponym for a country around 650. Isanapura seems to have had close relations with Champa, which may have exerted important influence in that area.

Archaeological remains still standing include 10 major temples in an area covering approximately 100 square kilometers (40 square miles). These are divided into three groups (north, central, and southern), each enclosed by a wall. The south group has yielded two inscriptions of Isanavarman I, found between the main shrine and a temple dedicated to Siva's mount Nandi. The main building in the south group is the largest ever built at the site. The architecture of Sambor Prei Kuk follows Indian models more closely than did the builders of later periods, indicating that these structures were designed before Cambodian architects had had time to imprint the stamp of their own genius on them. One example of such a feature is the somāsūtra, a drain for lustral liquids common in India beginning in the early eighth century but used in only a few of the earliest Hindu structures in Southeast Asia.

SAMUDERA-PASAI. A port on the north coast of Sumatra. The name Samudera derives from the Sanskrit word for ‘ocean’; the name Sumatra probably has the same derivation. The Yuan dynasty fleet sent to attack Java in 1292 dispatched an ambassador to Samudera to demand tribute. Marco Polo, a passenger on another Chinese fleet, stopped here for five months around the same time. He describes the palm wine he tasted here as the best drink ever invented.

At the same time, the kingdom must have been in the process of conversion to Islam. Marco Polo notes that the local ruler was a Muslim, and the tombstone of Sultan Malik al-Salih found here is dated 1297. This is the oldest record of a Southeast Asian ruler becoming a Muslim convert. The gravestone, carved in a special style denoted “Aceh stone,” has a general outline that resembles a kala-makara; the makaras have become wings.
The conversion of Samudra-Pasai’s ruler to Islam is recorded in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, a text that has been assigned to the late 14th century, with additions in the 15th century. According to this account, the sharif of Mecca ordered Sheikh Isma’il to go convert the raja, Merah Silu, who is identified with Malik al-Salih. Merah Silu had a dream in which the Prophet Muhammad taught him the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, says that Malik al-Salih was buried near his palace, in the *kota* (citadel/palace/town) of Samudera. Pasai, according to the Dutch archaeologist J. Moquette, writing in 1914, was located at the site now called Cot Astana.

The well-known Arab traveler Ibn Battuta visited Samudera in 1345 and 1346, on the way to and from China. He called it a port with verdant, fertile land, a source of cloves and camphor. Ibn Battuta also reports that he saw a ship belonging to the Pasai ruler in China.

Samudera-Pasai became a vassal of Majapahit in the 14th century, perhaps soon after Ibn Battuta’s visit. Samudera is listed among Majapahit’s territories in the *Desawarnana* (1365). The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* describes Majapahit’s court, where Samudera-Pasai envoys went each year to present tribute.

Despite its vassal status during the 14th century, this kingdom was one of the busiest commercial centers in the Strait of Melaka. The rulers seem to have been the major beneficiaries of the trade. They had commercial connections with Gujarat, Bengal, Bago, and Tenasserim in the west, Java on the south, and China. Pasai’s exports included pepper, gold, benzoin, and silk, some imported, some reportedly made locally.

Pasai made its own coins of tin and 18-carat gold, and gold dust and silver were also used as media of exchange. The first Islamic coins made in Southeast Asia came from Samudera-Pasai, during the
reign of Sultan Muhammad, who died in 1326; they were inscribed “Muhammad Malik az-Zahir” on the obverse, “al-Sultan al-’Adil” on the reverse. Samudera-Pasai coins served as an international medium of exchange in island Southeast Asia for the next two centuries.

Pasai was involved in Melaka’s economy when that kingdom replaced Majapahit as the dominant polity in the 15th century. Pasai tin coins circulated in Melaka. The port remained politically independent, however, and maintained tributary relations with China during this period. Like Melaka, in the 15th century Samudra was significant as an important Ming base during the voyages of Admiral Zheng He.

The port was prosperous in the early 16th century. Tomé Pires in 1515 described it as a flourishing town of 20,000 people, where a strange custom existed: that anyone who killed the king was automatically the new ruler. Imported items available there included ceramics from Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, and China, silk, and sandalwood. The site had no wall, though, according to Ma Guan, the town was destroyed in an attack in 1524 by Ali Mughayat Syah, first sultan of Aceh. Thereafter, its population was absorbed by Aceh.

SANFOQI. Chinese transcription that is usually assumed to be an alternative form of Shih-li-fo-shih, “Srivijaya,” but which may also be interpreted as “the three Vijayas.” This formulation may reflect a growing Chinese realization of the diffuse, mandala-like organization of political power in the Melaka Strait area, replacing the earlier Chinese perception of Srivijaya as a unified powerful bureaucratic state in the Chinese mold. Perhaps the term can be equated with the Arab Zabag, as compared to the Arab Sribuza, which probably meant Srivijaya. South Indian Pali texts mention Jávaka, and Tamil inscriptions refer to Sávaka; these, too, may correspond to the culturally related peoples on both sides of the strait who were linked by constantly shifting political bonds of varying extent and strength.

Carved stone makaras from a ruined temple at Solok, Jambi, are dated 1064. These suggest strongly that Jambi had become an important center of activity in the mid-11th century.

In 1068–1069 a Chinese source says that the Chola king Virarajendra conquered Kadaram on behalf of its own king. In 1070 a person named Divakara became ruler of the Chola kingdom in south India. In 1077 a Sanfoqi ambassador named Divakara arrived in China.
Chinese authors therefore came to the conclusion that the Cholas were vassals of Sanfoqi at this time. The more probable explanation is that Divakara had been a viceroy acting on behalf of the Chola king. Quite possibly he had been dispatched to serve in the territory conquered by his father or grandfather in the Strait of Melaka in 1025 and gather experience, and when the king of the Cholas died in 1070, he returned home to claim his kingdom. Thus the situation was probably the reverse of the Chinese inference.

An inscription found in Guangzhou in 1957 records the reconstruction of a temple called Dien Qing, a Daoist shrine, after it had burned down. According to the inscription, in the period 1064–1067, the ruler of Sanfoqi, again identified as Divakara, sent a “clansman” to “escort his ships” to Guangzhou. He saw the temple in ruins and reported the sad situation to Divakara, whereupon the Sanfoqi ruler sent an official to supervise the reconstruction of the temple. He also paid 500,000 gold cash (coins or their equivalent in weight) to buy rice fields to endow the establishment. The project was completed in 1079.

This inscription shows that even after Divaraka returned to rule the Chola empire, he was still seen by the Chinese as the ruler of Sanfoqi. That Sanfoqi was Jambi is confirmed by a record from the Song Hui Yao, which states that in 1082 the king of Zhānbēi (Sanfoqi) and his daughter sent a letter with camphor and cotton.

Sanfoqi sent frequent embassies to China between 1078 and 1097. No doubt most of these came from Jambi on the Batanghari. In 1089–1090 the Chola king Kulottungga I issued a new charter for the Sri Sailendra Chudamaniarmavihara built at Negapatam around 1005. This charter was issued in the name of the king of Kidara (Kedah), not Srivijaya. Kedah was probably still under Chola suzerainty at this time, not under Sanfoqi.

Chinese sources record a place that may have been another Sanfoqi, namely San-fo-qi Zhu-nian. Missions from this place came to China in 1077, 1079, 1082, 1088, and 1090. Fukami has argued that this name refers to the Kedah area, which may have been a province of the Cholas at this time, whereas Jambi was independent. Thus at least one other place besides Jambi was also called Sanfoqi at this time.

Sanfoqi sent more missions to China in 1156, 1176, and 1178. Ma Duanlin says that the ruler who sent the 1178 mission had been
reigning since 1169. Arab sources continue to use the name Zabag for the kingdom of the Strait of Melaka. The mission of 1178 was the last one recorded by the Song annals. In the same year the Lingwaidaida describes Sanfoqi as the third most prosperous foreign country in the world, after the Arab lands and Java.

There was then a break of 200 years before Sanfoqi is recorded as sending tribute to China, during the early Ming dynasty. The kingdom was still powerful at that point, however. According to Zhao Rukuo in 1225, Sanfoqi controlled 15 tributaries, from Grahi, Langkasuka, and Tambralingga in the Siamo-Malay Peninsula to Palembang and west Java; in other words, the major ports along the straits of Melaka and Sunda. Zhao reported that the rulers compelled all passing ships to pay tolls. Zhao’s statement that Palembang was a vassal of Sanfoqi clearly shows that Jambi was the overlord of the mandala.

Zhao said that the capital of Sanfoqi possessed a large area enclosed by a brick wall. This area was apparently reserved for those associated with the court. The common people lived either in scattered habitations nearby or on rafts on the river, one of their motives for this lifestyle being that they had no tax to pay. This indirectly shows that the kingdom levied some kind of tax on land.

In the Dao-yi-za-zhi, written in the 1270s, Sanfoqi was called a guo or country, suggesting that it was an overlord of other principalities. It has the same status in the 1304 Da-de-nan-hai-zhi.

Three kings of 14th-century Sanfoqi appear in the History of the Ming: Maharaja Prabhu, Da-ma-sha-na-a-zhe, and Ma-na-zhe Wu-li. At the same time (1374) the maharaja of Palembang sent an embassy to China. This was obviously an attempt on the part of the Malays of the Musi River to obtain Chinese backing for their claims to independence from Java during the reign of Hayam Wuruk in Majapahit. It also indicates that Sanfoqi no longer controlled Palembang.

In 1376 the ruler of the Batanghari region received Chinese recognition as the king of Sanfoqi, but Javanese forces captured and killed the members of the Chinese mission bringing the symbols of investiture. Thereafter, Sanfoqi “became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country anymore.” The Chinese now recognized that Sanfoqi had been conquered by Java; they heard that the country’s name had been changed to Gugang (“Old Harbor”). This
suggests that the major center of activity was now back on the Musi River, for it is clear from other records that Gugang refers to Palembang, not Jambi.

**SANG HYANG KAMAHAYANIKAN.** The oldest surviving esoteric Buddhist text written in Java. The oldest manuscript dates from the 10th century, but the basic text was probably written a century earlier. It comprises a Sanskrit set of verses and Old Javanese commentary, which is very difficult to translate or interpret because it includes many terms that must have had special meaning to devotees. In general, it espouses a form of Vajrayana Buddhism of the type practiced at central Javanese Buddhist temples after about 800. The impact of this form of Buddhism may have been responsible for renovations of Barabudur and Candi Sewu, among others, at the beginning of the ninth century.

According to the Sang Hyang Kamahayananikan, Buddha reveals himself in the triad of Sakyamuni, Lokesvara, and Vajrapani, with the five Tathagatas (Vairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, and Amoghasiddhi). These eight form the Sambhogakaya of the Adibuddha, the revealed form visible only to the highest adepts. This revealed body is twofold. One half is formed by the Garbhadhatu ("Womb World"), the other by the Vajradhatu ("Diamond World"). According to Shingon Buddhism, which was taught in Japan in the ninth century, the Adibuddha (supreme Buddha) Mahavairocana is threefold in the Garbhadhatu and fivefold in the Vajradhatu. The Sang Hyang Kamahayananikan espouses a very similar doctrine.

The text glorifies the position of the teacher who communicates a particular method of achieving salvation to those who are worthy of receiving it. It says that the vajra, ghanta (bell), and mudra should be mentioned only to those who are members of the mandala. It mentions 10 perfections and five devis. It also contains a Great Secret—a means of meeting the Lord by using Yoga—which was transmitted by Dignaga, one of whose disciples, Dharmapala, moved from Nalanda to Suvarnavipra.

**SANG SATYAWAN.** A heavenly being who is married to a mortal woman named Suwistri. He leaves her to become a hermit, but
Suwistri tries to follow him. Sang Satyawan tries to test her devotion by calling down a tempest, then sending a snake and a tiger after her. A group of ascetics working in a field try to seduce her as she passes. She passes all the tests and is allowed to rejoin Sang Satyawan if she becomes a female ascetic. W. F. Stutterheim hypothesized that this story was the basis for narrative reliefs on the pendopo terrace of Candi Panataran, east Java, and possibly Candi Ngirimbi, too. This story was only written down in the 17th or 18th century, however. It may well have been composed on the basis of older oral tradition; many folk tales were recorded in Banyuwangi, east Java, at this time.

SANGGRAMA VIJAYOTTUNGGA VARMAH. Ruler of Kadaram (Kedah) and perhaps of all Srivijaya in 1025. In that year Rajendra-chola I, king of south India, claims to have attacked and conquered a string of ports in the Strait of Melaka, which are listed in an inscription of Tanjor of 1030–1031. The list starts with Srivijaya (by which perhaps Palembang is meant), then lists—apparently in no particular order—Panai on the northeast coast of Sumatra, Malayu (Jambi), and Lambri (Aceh). On the mainland, the inscription lists Takola and Langkasuka and ends with Kadaram (Kedah). No other ruler is mentioned, implying that Sanggramavijayottunggavarman ruled them all. The Kedah ruler was captured and taken to India, after which we know nothing more about his fate. It seems that Srivijaya never recovered from this blow.

SANJAYA. A ruler named Sanjaya first set up a kingdom in Java in 716, if Javanese inscriptions of the 10th century are correct. He is the author of the first dated inscription from central Java, set up in 732. The stone was found on a hill called Wukir, a dozen kilometers (seven miles) southeast of Barabudur, and records the erection of a Sivaite sanctuary called Canggal. Sanjaya called his kingdom Kunjarakunja. Located on the island of Yawa, it was rich in grain and gold mines. The name Kunjarakunja is also found in south India between Travancore and Tinnevelly where an ancient shrine is dedicated to Agastya. The inscription is written in somewhat grammatically incorrect Sanskrit and records the erection of a lingga in a temple. The ruined structure that stands there now is the outcome of rebuilding activity in the ninth century.
Later Javanese texts starting with that of Kayuwangi in about 880 portray him as the founding ancestor of a long line of kings of a country called Mataram, which occupied much of the central portion of the island. Sanjaya is invoked by his later descendants as a legitimizing figure and protective ancestor.

**SANSKRIT.** An Indo-European language used in ancient India. It was no longer a daily spoken language as long as 2,000 years ago, but it was still important as a lingua franca and language of scholarship and religion, much like Latin in Europe from medieval times to the early modern period. The earliest inscriptions of Southeast Asia are written in this language and a script believed to have derived from Pallava writing of southern India. The Southeast Asian inscriptions appear soon after the first Sanskrit inscriptions appear in India. Sanskrit continued to be used for inscriptions in Champa until 1253, in Cambodia until 1330, and in Sumatra until 1378.

**SANSKRITIZATION.** A term sometimes used to designate the process of incorporation of ethnolinguistic groups in South and Southeast Asia into the brahmanic system of religion and social structure. Sometimes the term Brahmanization is used as well. Both terms are used in contradistinction to Indianization to indicate that many parts of India itself underwent cultural change in a similar fashion to that which may have occurred in Southeast Asia. Local rulers outside the caste system may have been incorporated into it by undergoing a ceremony termed vratyastoma, through which they were inducted into the ksatriya or warrior/ruler caste. It has been argued that this process occurred in Southeast Asia, simply as an extension of a similar process.

**SARI.** Site of a candi approximately 10 kilometers (6 miles) east of Yogyakarta. It was built around 800–850. Its original form was similar to that of Candi Plaosan, but the complex of buildings that once surrounded it has disappeared. The remaining structure is a two-story mandala temple with three rooms on each floor, once surrounded by a broad foot with a walkway that has also disappeared.

**SASANAVANGSA (SASANAVAMSA).** The History of the Buddha’s Religion, written in Pali in 1861 by Pannasami, a monk who was also
the tutor of King Mindon Min of the Konbaung dynasty of Burma. This text traces the history of Buddhism from the Buddha’s death through the convening of three councils and the religion’s development in various places, including Burma. Pannasami used religious texts such as the Atthakatha, Vinaya Pitaka, Mahawangsa, and Dipawangsa as sources. The Sasanavangsa is not a canonical text, though several scholars have argued that the text probably served as a legitimizing tool to establish the pure lineage of the Sihala school in Burma and to emphasize the connection between Burma and Sri Lanka.

The text is divided into two parts. The first section comprises the history of Buddhism and Buddhist legends in India and Sri Lanka with commentaries mainly from Buddhaghosa. The second part focuses on the development of Buddhism in Burma proper. Unusual details in this work include the assertion that Buddha visited Suvarnabhumi (Thaton) before the time of Elders Sona and Uttara. The main importance of the work stems from its description of relations between Burma and Sri Lanka during the early period of Buddhism in Burma.

SAWANKHALOK. A corruption of Sangkhalok, the etymology of which is found in the Mon words for pottery kiln, srun and kok. The site, near Sukothai in central Thailand, began to export glazed ceramics in large quantities in the late 14th century, when Chinese policy led to a shortage of this popular commodity in Southeast Asia. This trade was temporarily interrupted in the 15th century by wars between Ayutthaya and Lan Na, then resumed in the 1470s when King Trailoke moved his capital to Phitsanulok and restored southern authority over Si Satchanalai. It then declined once more when war with Lan Na resumed at the end of the 15th century. Evidence from the Sattahip/Ko Kram underwater site, dated by radiocarbon to 1485, reveals that the cargo of a sunken ship included at least 4,000 ceramics from Sawankhalok and Sukothai.

Production of ceramics increased significantly at Sawankhalok in the 15th century during periods of peace. Much of its production was destined for export to insular Southeast Asia, although some pieces have been found in Japan and at Julfar in the Arabian Peninsula. Many shapes and styles were designed to appeal to the Indonesian
and Philippine markets, including covered boxes, potiches, “coconut jars,” mammiform kendis, heavy plates, and batiklike painted decorations. Some pieces were also exported to Angkor until 1431. Sawankhalok ware included green-glazed objects called celadon by art historians, white glazed wares, incised biscuit ware, brown-glazed items, and underglaze iron blackware objects. The products of this site can sometimes be recognized because of the use of tubular pontils by the potters, which have left black circles on the bases of the pieces.

SAWENTAR. Site of a temple near Blitar, east Java. The main statuary has disappeared, but the base for the central image still exists and bears an image of Garuda, often associated with Vishnu. The capstone depicting Surya riding across the sky still remains. Unusually for east Java, the stair ends are guarded by makaras.

SAWL U. Son of Anawrahta, king of Bagan, whom he succeeded as king in 1077. While later chronicles are rich in description of incidents during his reign, it is impossible to confirm their accounts. He is supposed to have married his stepmother Khin U and to have been killed in a revolt led by his foster-brother Ngayaman Kan, governor of Bago. He was succeeded by his half-brother Kyanzittha in 1084.

SCRIPTS. The oldest writing in Southeast Asia is in the form of letters called Brahmi found on carved stones from Oc Eo, south Vietnam, which date from the period of the second to fifth centuries. A Tamil variant and another script called Karosthi also appear on small imported objects in Southeast Asia. Beginning in the fourth century, Southeast Asians began to use a form of writing called Grantha, developed in the kingdom of the Pallava, a south Indian dynasty. Similar letters were used in Sri Lanka. The script is partly alphabetic, partly syllabic. Inscriptions did not use dates in a known era until the seventh century. Thus dates of earlier inscriptions can only be guessed by studying the shapes of the letters by specialists in paleography.

Pallava script was specially designed for writing on stone. The oldest examples resemble writing from Andhra Pradesh. The Old Malay inscriptions from south Sumatra of the seventh century indicate a more advanced form in which the letters are less ornate and more
systematized. By the early eighth century, a local version of the script had begun to develop in central Java.

Another form of writing called kawi began to evolve in east Java in the late eighth century. The first example is found on the Dinaya inscription dated 760. It is more cursive and may have been adapted to writing on another medium such as palm leaf before it appeared on stone. Kawi was used for the next 700 years in Java. Kawi script displays several phases of development: an early phase from 760 to 850, a “standard” phase lasting until 925 (the period of Kings Kayuwangi and Balitung), and a late phase, from 925 to 1250.

Devanagari script appeared in the late eighth century. It was mainly used for writing Sanskrit texts. Whereas Pallava was derived from south India, devanagari probably developed in Bengal, northeast India. Indonesian examples are several hundred years older than the oldest known appearance of the script in India. One must therefore consider the possibility that the script actually evolved in Buddhist monasteries in Indonesia.

A decorative script called Kadiri Quadratic appeared in the 11th century in east Java. In the 14th-century kingdom of Majapahit, several more styles of kawi script emerged. Numerous variations on this script appeared in different parts of Sumatra, and one example has been found on a stone in Singapore.

The oldest dated text from the Philippines, a copperplate inscription of a legal text, dates from 900. The language and script have much in common with Java and Sumatra. No stone inscriptions have been found. Surviving written materials cover a wide range, from pottery to bamboo, palm leaf, and bark.

The Mon adapted Grantha script to suit their own phonology. The Mon script was subsequently adopted by the Burmese in the 12th century, with more modifications. The Thai script, which first appeared in the 13th century, is derived from Khmer, though northern Thai script (sometimes called Lan Na script) is related to Shan and Burmese scripts. The ancient Khmer had two scripts, one consisting of individual letters, the other cursive.

In Vietnam, the earliest script was Chinese. A Vietnamese hybrid script, chu nom ("southern characters"), was formulated to incorporate features more suited to Vietnamese language, including vocabulary and poetic forms. Although the oldest surviving example dates
from the 13th century, the formulation of this script may have begun in the ninth century.

Arabic script replaced earlier Indic scripts in Islamic societies in Southeast Asia beginning in the 14th century. An inscription from Pengkalan Kempas, Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, is inscribed in kawi script on two sides and Arabic script on the other two sides. The dates of these two inscriptions enable us to fix the transition from one script to the others in the 1460s. See also LITERATURE.

SDOK KAK THOM. A small sanctuary originally called Bhadraniketana located in what is now Thailand, near the Cambodian border. A key inscription for understanding the history of the Angkor kingdom was set up here in 1052. It details the life of Jayavarman II and was found in the ruins of a temple belonging to a family that traced its origins to a priest named Sivakaivalya, who had been the chief priest of the devaraja. The inscription was set up by a former priest (Sadasiva) who a few years before 1052 had married king Udayadityavarman II’s sister-in-law and left the priesthood. He became the king’s purohita. Thus the inscription marked a sort of farewell to the priestly functions of the family. Another family, the Saptadevakula, then took over the functions of the Sadasiva family as chief priests of the devaraja.

SEDAH. Poet of the Kediri kingdom who began a Javanese-language version of the epic poem Bharatayuddha (“Wars of the Bharatas”). The poem was later completed by Panuluh.

SEGARAN. Literally “ocean,” this is an artificial reservoir 375 by 175 meters (1,235 by 575 feet) in the middle of the modern village of Trowulan, site of the capital of Majapahit in east Java in the 14th and 15th centuries. The walls which form its edges are 3.2 meters (9.5 feet) high; the bottom of the reservoir is excavated to that depth below the surrounding ground level. At one time, part of the pool was occupied by an artificial island, on which a floating pavilion or bale kambang probably stood. The reservoir formed part of a massive system that captured water on the slopes of Mount Welirang 40 kilometers (25 miles) away and channeled it into a series of canals laid out on a grid pattern.
The original pattern has been altered by deposition of volcanic sediment from the mountain and by landscaping of the site by farmers endeavoring to lower the level of the land to enable the irrigation of rice fields, but the general outline can still be reconstructed. The provision of water thus made possible the growth of a dense population in what must have been one of Southeast Asia’s largest ancient cities.

SEGUNTANG. According to the Kedukan Bukit inscription of 682, the king of Srivijaya made a pilgrimage to this hill. In the Malay Annals, the first king of the Malays, Sri Tri Buana, appears magically on this hill along with his two brothers, who are descendants of Iskandar Dzulkarnain (Alexander the Great transmogrified in Indian legend). The hill seems to have had some sort of mystical significance in prehistoric times; during the Srivijaya era, Buddhist sanctuaries and statues were erected there. This tradition still perseveres today in the form of pseudo-Islamic shrines (keramat).

SEJARAH MELAYU. See Malay Annals.

SELOMANGLENG. Literally “cleft in a rock” in Javanese, the name is applied to two sites with artificial meditation caves in east Java, one in Kediri, the other at Tulungagung.

The Kediri shrine, in the village of Pojok, according to legend was a hermitage established for Sanggramawijaya, relative of King Airlangga in the mid-11th century. Four interconnected chambers were sculpted here. Decorations include a freestanding crowned naga and relief carvings depicting meditating Buddhist figures, mountains, and clouds, designed in the H-shaped form found at Jalatunda. A triangular object on a pole has been interpreted as a coffin by comparison with Bornean customs. A stream issues from a spout, introducing the theme of holy water.

Another scene depicts a cemetery in the form of a field in which bones are exposed to the open air, similar to customs still followed in Trunyan, Bali. A platform along one wall probably functioned as a sleeping place for hermits. Another scene depicts a garuda clasping a naga, a reference to immortality. A Kala head in east Javanese style is portrayed over one doorway. A rock projection furnished an altar-like platform, which is hollowed out, and the recess thus formed has
been used to burn something, either incense or offerings of some type, to judge from the thick deposits of soot still adhering to it. Va-

jra motifs indicate that the sculptors of the grotto adhered to some form of esoteric Buddhism.

The Tulungagung site is part of a group of sites with Buddhist associations dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, the Majapahit

period. These include Dadi, Gayatri, and Sanggrahan. This site may date from the 11th century, however, to judge from its carving style. The main feature is a rectangular recess, the long sides parallel to the ground. Above it is a large but heavily eroded Kala head, reminiscent in some ways to that at Goa Gajah, Bali. On the interior are relief carvings depicting the Arjunawiwaha story, composed in Kediri in the 11th century.

The scenes begin with Indra seated on his throne dispatching seven nymphs, including Suprabha, to tempt Arjuna. This is followed by the nymphs descending to Earth, where they land beside a stream; the temptation of Arjuna, depicted in a format very similar to that normally used to portray Buddha’s temptation by Mara’s daughters; Indra’s questioning of Arjuna to investigate the nature of his meditation; Arjuna’s journey to Indra’s heaven on Mount Meru; Indra ordering Suprabha to go to Nitikawaca to pretend to accept his proposal while Arjuna is to take advantage of his distraction to kill the demon; and Arjuna and the nymph transported by a cloud to the demon’s lair.

Although the story is based on a Hindu text, Buddhists in east Java also exploited the story to emphasize the theme of delayed gratification in the search for spiritual enlightenment. It is thus difficult to be certain whether this site was affiliated with Hinduism or Buddhism.

SEMBADRA. In the Kresnayana, the name of a princess, the younger sister of prince Narayana. The name was also used for one of the temples on the Dieng Plateau, central Java.

SENAPATI RAKANDI. The Senapati Rakandi inscription, on a pillar with a highly schematic Ganesa carved on top, commemorates the deeds of a senapati or military commander. The date of the text is incomplete; only the first figure, which could be seven or nine, is visible. The first five and a half lines are written in Old Javanese, the last
five and a half in Tamil. These two parts are separated by a sign known as adeg-adeg, which marks the beginning of a narrative, and a pillaiyar sul sign, which is common in India, but rare in Java. Only one other occurrence is known: in a legal decision or jayapattra of 992.

SEWU, CANDI. Literally “Thousand Temples,” the name refers to a complex of Mahayana Buddhist affiliation constructed in central Java in the late eighth century, then extensively revised around 800 to introduce new ideas connected with the practice of esoteric Buddhism (see diagram 9). The cruciform groundplan for Buddhist temples first appears in India in the late eighth century. There are three extant examples; one, at Paharpur, occupies the center of a square monastery built by the Pala king Dharmapala about 781–821. Around 790 Candi Sewu was converted to this form.

An important inscription known as the Manjusrigrha stone, dated 792, was discovered among the ruins of the Candi Sewu complex in 1960. Several authorities have conjectured that the Sewu complex was dedicated to Manjusri, at least after its expansion in approximately 790. Kusen speculated that Candi Sewu was originally designed as a dharmahatuwagiswaramandala with Manjusri as its main figure, but when it was redesigned in 790, it became a vajrada-tumandala with Vairocana as the main deity. Bronze bodhisattva images previously found in the subsidiary shrines would have been replaced by stone Dhyani Buddhas, 46 statues of which have been discovered in the ruins.

The inscription of 792 was not found near the main shrine, but rather lying on the ground in the outermost row of the complex. It is possible that the inscription refers not to the central shrine, but to the subsidiary temple where the stone was found.

The text was not written in the name of the king, but by a functionary entitled dang Nayaka diranda lurawa. Nayaka is a common title in central Javanese inscriptions. The author refers to himself as a “charioteer” (muah susarathi) and notes his desire to honor the commands of Narendra, thus placing himself in a subordinate position rather than that of the ruler. Several inscriptions indicate that officials of the kingdom sponsored at least some of the subsidiary temples in the complex.
The Manjusrigrha inscription seems to refer to both the completion of a temple and the consecration of an image. The only certain conclusion to be drawn is that Manjusri is included in the name of a shrine within the Candi Sewu complex. It is possible that a Manjusri image was erected here, perhaps a reflection of the main image in the central shrine.

The Ratubaka inscription, dated 792, the same year as the Manjushrigrha inscription, mentions Dharmottunggadeva, abhiṣekā name of the person who was probably king by that time. If the earlier king, Indra, had died and been succeeded by a new ruler, this would explain some of the phrases in the Sewu inscription, particularly the statement that Narendra has “incarnated in the realm of the gods.”

SHAN. An ethnonym applied to the Tai-speaking inhabitants of eastern Burma. Similar names include Siam and (in Chinese sources) Xian. Shan history is poorly understood, though chronicles from Hsenwi, west of the Salween River, Burma, describe kings who supposedly began to rule in the sixth century. By the 11th century large numbers of Shan were residing in their current territories in eastern Burma, particularly in the Shweli Valley. Burmese chronicles suggest that the first ruler of Bagan, Anawrahta, married a Shan princess from Mong Mao in the mid-11th century. The ruler (Sao) Hso Hkan Hpa, who reigned from 1152 to 1205, is credited with conquests in Yunnan, Laos, northern Thailand, Assam, and Burma. After Bagan declined in the 13th century, the Shan played an important role in the politics of the main kingdoms of central Burma such as Inwa for the next 300 years.

SHEPO. See JAVA.

SHIH-LI-FO-SHIH. See SRIVIJAYA (ŚRĪVIJAYA).

SHIN ARAHAN. According to the Glass Palace Chronicle, a monk with this title (whose name was Silabuddhi or Dhammadasi) was the son of a brahmin of Thaton. The chronicle states that he went to Bagan and converted King Anawrahta to Theravada Buddhism in 1056. The king then sought to acquire Pali texts from Thaton, which led to his conquest of that kingdom. Shin Arahān lived to the ripe old age of 81, dying in 1116.
SHIN MAHA THILAWUNTHA. See THILAWUNTHA (SILAVANGSA), SHIN MAHA (1453–1518).

SHWEGUGYI. The “Great Golden Cave Temple” at Bagan, which took only seven months to complete, according to an inscription found on two stone slabs on the inner walls. The inscription states that King Alaungsithu (reigned 1113–1167) began construction of the temple in 1131 to accumulate merit that would enable him to gain Buddhahood. The Shwegugyi faces north and stands on a high brick platform. The interior of the structure contains a hall and a corridor surrounding a central mass. The top level of the building comprises two receding square terraces decorated with a stupa at each of the four corners. On top of these terraces is a tall sikhara topped with a stupa finial. Fine stucco carving adorns the arch pediments, pilasters, plinth, and cornice moldings of the temple. According to the chronicles, Narathu murdered the critically ill Alaungsithu here by smothering him.

SHWESANDAW. The “Golden Royal Hair Relic” pagoda, which is the earliest example of a Bagan-period stupa and possibly the oldest in all Burma. It is also known as Mahapeinne or Ganesa pagoda because stone Ganesa statues were formerly found at each corner of the square terraces. This stupa may represent the center point of a pattern of five stupas built by King Anawrahta, together with those at Myinkaba; Lokananda near Thiripyitsaya; Tuywin-taung; and Shwezigon. Popular belief suggests that the stupa was intended to enshrine the sacred hair of Buddha, which Anawrahta received as a gift from the King of Ussa-Pegu (Bago). Burmese chronicles say that merchant brothers named Tapussa and Bhallika brought four sacred hair relics to Tharehkettara and that they were moved to Bago after Tharehkettara was destroyed.

Architecturally the pagoda comprises a series of five receding square terraces with stairways on each side. On the west side, a small arched opening on the third terrace to the north of the medial flight of steps leads to the interior; it was probably made by tabēnā-shā, treasure hunters. Above these terraces is a bell-shaped stupa topped with a conical finial with a hti (umbrella) an octagonal base. The exterior of the terraces is decorated with unglazed terra-cotta plaques portraying the Jatakas.
SHWEZIGON. According to Burmese chronicles, King Anawrahta (R. 1044–1077) began the construction of this pagoda in Bagan to house a holy tooth, collarbone, and frontlet of Buddha. The king was able to complete only three terraces before he died. Kyansittha (R. 1084–1113) added the superstructure after he became king. The chronicles state that Kyansittha completed the pagoda in seven months and seven days. A Mon inscription on two stone pillars at the eastern entrance was erected by Kyansittha. The name is allegedly derived from a corrupted reading of Jeyyabhumi (“Ground of Victory”).

The main structure is a huge stupa that enshrines the Buddha relics. It stands on three receding terraces with subsidiary stupas on the corners, supported by an octagonal intermediate base. Terraces were decorated with green-glazed Jataka plaques. Small square temples on all four sides called gandhakuti (“perfumed chambers”) stand at the cardinal points facing the stairways, which lead up the terraces. These shrines house 4-meter-high (13-foot) standing bronze Buddha images, which symbolize the four past Buddhas of the present age. They are the largest remaining bronzes of Bagan.

Other statuary in the complex include two nat images in a modern building in the southwest corner, and another shrine containing all 37 nats in the southeast. A statue of Indra in the east end of this building is the earliest known figure of Indra in Burma. The lions and makara there are later additions.

SI SATCHANALAI. A city 65 kilometers (40 miles) north of Sukhothai in the middle Chao Phraya Valley (see photograph 9). It was ruled by a Khmer governor during the reign of Jayavarman VII in the 12th and early 13th centuries, but was then conquered by the Tai along with Sukhothai. In 1460 the governor sought to shift his allegiance to Lan Na, but Lan Na failed to take the city.

A group of remains on the east side of the city called Chaliang includes remains from the reigns of Jayavarman VII and Rama Khamhaeng and from the Ayutthaya period. The western group of remains is laid out along a northwest–southeast axis. The center of the site is surrounded by a moat and a laterite-and-earth wall 5 meters (16.5 feet) high. Nine groups of remains are found on a hill northwest of the walled site and along the axial road, all built of stuccoed laterite. The eclectic style of the monuments includes Sinhalese, Khmer, and Burmese elements interwoven with indigenous Sukhothai design.
The main ruin is Wat Chang Lom, a laterite podium with 39 statues of elephants and niches with seated Buddhas, surmounted by a Sinhalese-style chedi. The podium and elephant terrace were once covered by a wooden roof; the laterite columns that supported it still exist. The design of elephants surrounding a stupa may have been derived from Ruvanvelisaya, at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. According to an inscription, Rama Khamhaeng installed Buddha relics here in 1286. A similar chedi on the eastern outskirts of Sukhothai bears the same name. Other important remains at the site include Wat Chedi Chet Thaew, a complex with many chedi and shrines to the southwest, and Wat Nang Phya, with well-preserved stucco reliefs on the wall of the vihan.

SI THEP. Site of the find in Thailand of a Sanskrit inscription of the fifth or sixth century. Some very good sculptures have been discovered here, but because they were not excavated by archaeologists, their date and context are unknown. Given the parallels between them and the Gupta style of India, it has been speculated that they date from the same period as the inscription. Images include standing Buddhas, bodhisattvas, a stupa/cakra/Buddha triad, a gold plaque with stupa/cakra/Maitreya, a gold plaque with Buddha, two bodhisattvas, stupa and cakra, four dharmacakras, some pillars and socles, fragments of sema stones, and votive tablets. Their subject matter is related to that characteristic of Dvaravati. Hindu as well as Buddhist material was found at the site. It is unknown whether these religions were dominant there at different periods or coexisted.

SIAM. The term Syām first appears in a Cham inscription of 1050, in the context of a group of slaves, perhaps war captives, and it is found in other Cham, Khmer, and Burmese inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries. It referred to the population of the lower Chao Phraya Valley and the northern part of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula. The culture and language of this group differed from that of the northern kingdom of Lan Na. Although it was also Tai-speaking, its population was no doubt comprised of a mixture of people drawn from Malay, Mon, and Khmer roots. The Tai speakers of eastern Burma eventually came to be known by a variant of the term, Shan.
SIDDHAYATRA. A term combining the Sanskrit words for “success” and “pilgrimage.” It has been found inscribed on stones at Seguntang Hill, Palembang, apparently in reference to ritual visits to sacred places where it was believed that a source of spiritual power could be tapped in order to acquire political or military success. At Munggir, in the Lumajang-Jember area of east Java, at least 16 stones with this term carved on them were found scattered around a spring called Rawa. At least two bear the date 1381 Saka (1459 CE), the period when Bhre Wengker ruled Majapahit. Another bears an inscribed yantra, a mystical diagram, while one was seemingly meant to mark the boundary of a meditation spot where it was forbidden to fell the forest.

SIEM REAP. A province in northwestern Cambodia; also the closest city to the ancient capital Angkor Thom and other monuments, including Angkor Wat, the Bayon, Banteay Srei, Phnom Bakheng, and Ta Prohm.

SILK. Textiles made of silk were exported from China at the beginning of the historic period. The oldest evidence for silk trade with Southeast Asia dates from the Han dynasty. According to the Qian Han Shu, people somewhere in the South Seas had been sending tribute to China since 141–87 BCE. They provided pearls, glass, rare stones, and other strange products in exchange for gold and various silks. Kunlun merchants acquired silks and brocades between 479 and 502. According to Abu Dulaf, Kalah people dressed in a single piece of expensive cloth called Chinese firand, a kind of silk imported from China.

One context in which imported silk was used in Southeast Asia consisted of temple ceremonies. The stele of Ta Prohm, from the late 12th century, gives a list of offerings presented to divinities, including 45 cloth veils from China, 967 more Chinese veils, 20 Chinese beds, and 25 Chinese textiles of unspecified nature. Women’s quarters in palaces had heavy silk curtains.

Both mulberry trees and silkworms are found in parts of Indonesia. According to the 15th-century Chinese author Ma Guan, yellow silk was made in north Sumatra. The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai contains the legend that the founder of Samudera-Pasai could turn
worms into gold and silver. The Sumatran silk industry declined in the 17th century, when Chinese silk became easily available. Yellow silk was also produced in Wajo, south Sulawesi.

Silkworms are said to have been introduced to Burma from China in the 11th century. Thai weavers introduced silkmaking to Cambodia in Zhou Daguan’s time (in the late 13th century).

SILVER TOWER. A group of Cham ruins in Binh Dinh Province, about 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of Qui Nhon city on the southeast coast of Vietnam. This site was probably an important religious center of the Vijaya kingdom. The Silver or Banh It Tower dates to the 11th century. The main tower is situated on the summit of a hill; two smaller buildings are located on its lower slopes. Several intricate bas-reliefs of dancers found here are now on display in the Da Nang Museum of Cham Art. An important Siva statue was taken from here to France in the 1880s.

SIMA. A Sanskrit/Pali word meaning “boundary,” such as a village or neighborhood boundary; in Thai the word is pronounced sema. Inscriptions in India, Sri Lanka, Java, Champa, and Cambodia sometimes specify officials, apparently tax collectors, who are not allowed to enter a specific area. These inscriptions allocate rights to labor, land, and other resources to the upkeep of temples, including the support of the priests who officiate there. The inscriptions often contain dire curses against those who disturb the land inside the sima limits, which will last “as long as the moon and the sun.” In Sri Lanka, according to a Vinaya convention in the Samantapasadiki, kings and officials who sponsored a vihara set up pillars inscribed with descriptions of the limits of the area allocated to the upkeep of the vihara. Sima inscriptions sometimes contain long lists of people of various occupations who were allowed or forbidden to enter the sima, thus inadvertently preserving important economic information.

In Java, the institution continued into the colonial/Islamic era, when perdikan were established on behalf of religious schools and royal tombs. As in ancient times, sima zones constituted tax exemptions, which attracted craftsmen who were paid in coinage, and the religious schools themselves became engaged in various enterprises. In Thailand, the boundary markers or sima stones became works of art, with shapes reminiscent of kala-makara designs.
SINDOK. Ruler of the principal kingdom of Java whose reign began around 929. His kingdom was centered in the eastern portion of the island. Inscriptions carved in east Java over the next three centuries portrayed him as the person responsible for the abandonment of the old territory of Mataram in central Java and the founding of a new capital in the upper Brantas River valley.

His official reign name was Sri Ishanavikramdharmottunggadewa. No major temples were erected in his reign, but he left about 20 inscriptions, which show that his reign lasted until at least 948. Important texts were also written on other materials, including the Old Javanese version of the Ramayana, and the oldest Javanese Buddhist text, the Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, which as its name suggests espouses Mahayana Buddhism. A later inscription of 1041 records that Sindok was succeeded by a daughter, Isanatunggawijaya. His capital probably lay somewhere in the vicinity of the modern town of Jombang. One of his inscriptions, a copperplate text from a location called Alas Antan, was found in the vicinity of Majapahit’s 14th-century capital, Trowulan, about 14 kilometers (8.4 miles) east of Jombang.

SINGAPURA. “City of the Lion.” A popular name found in several early contexts:

1. A place mentioned in one of the Jataka tales written in India concerning the previous lives of Gautama Buddha.
2. The capital of the ancient kingdom of Mathura in India in the fourth century.
3. A Cham capital founded at Tra Kieu in Quang Nam, also in the fourth century. A complex of temples and palaces was erected here around a natural hill. The site was restored in the 11th century under King Harivarman IV. Its history is closely related to that of the religious complex of Mi Son, which lies in Singapura’s hinterland.
4. A city in southern Thailand in the seventh century. In 607 CE, the name Singapura appeared in the Sui Shu as the name of the residence of the king of “Red Earth Land,” which has tentatively been located in Singora/Songkhla. Chinese envoys visited this Singapura in 608. Chinese sources mention that the buildings in the royal palace were in the form of pavilions and
that the dead were disposed of by cremation, with the exception of the kings.

5. A kingdom in west Java mentioned in the Cariosan Prabhu Siliwangi, a legend about a local hero.

6. A city mentioned in a Khmer inscription of Jayavarman VII in the late 12th century to which he sent a statue of Jayabuddhamahanatha as a token of his suzerainty. It corresponds linguistically to modern Thai Singburi, a town in Kanchanaburi Province.

7. A name given to a place previously called Temasik (modern Singapore). The Malay Annals states that the first ruler of the Malays, Sri Tri Buana, was responsible for the change of name. Historical sources suggest that the change took place in the late 14th century, when a usurper from Palembang assassinated the local chief and attempted to establish a capital here.

SINGASARI. A kingdom in east Java founded by Ken Angrok after the overthrow of Kediri’s ruler Kertajaya in 1221. The kingdom’s original name was Tumapal, and the palace was initially called Kutaraja (“Citadel of the Ruler”), but in 1254 both capital and kingdom became known by this sobriquet.

The kingdom’s history is quite melodramatic. Angrok was murdered by Anusapati, son of Kertajaya. Anusapati was then killed by Tohjaya, son of Rajasa. Tohjaya was assassinated in a plot hatched jointly by a son of Anusapati and a grandson of Rajasa. Tohjaya was succeeded by Wisnuwardhana, who launched a successful attack against Sumatra. The last ruler, Kertanagara, died during a tantric ritual in 1292.

Despite this bloody atmosphere, the kingdom achieved such major accomplishments as the revival of stone architecture in Java after a lapse of 400 years with the construction of the temples of Kidal, Jago, and Jawi. It subjugated Malayu, the major kingdom on Sumatra.

The palace where Kertanagara was killed, like all ancient Javanese palaces, was built of perishable materials and has not survived. Originally seven or eight stone temples stood around a palace square or alun-alun, ruins of which still existed in the 19th century, but only one survives today. The site has yielded numerous examples of spectacular sculpture, almost all of which have been removed to other lo-
cations. The major exceptions are two enormous guardian figures, which probably stood at the entrance to the palace precinct.

The remaining temple on the site is now called Candi Singasari. It resembles Kidal in its general plan and cross-section, but is larger. The superstructure unfortunately is missing and was perhaps never finished. This may be due to the fact that it was in progress when Kertanagara was assassinated. The iconography comprised the standard set of Agastya, Durga, and Ganesa. The Agastya is still in situ, but the Durga and Ganesa were taken to the Netherlands in the 19th century and now repose in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, along with the door guardians Nandiswara and Mahakala. All these images are in excellent condition and exemplify a high standard of carving. The Durga in particular is indisputably the finest image of this goddess known from Java and perhaps anywhere.

It is not known whether the central image was a statue of Siva or a lingga. Only the base or yoni still remains in the main chamber. Other statuary from the vicinity, such as an image of Parvati and other Shaivite statuary, is still in the temple’s courtyard. Also present are parts of images of Surya and a probable fragment of a Prajnaparamita. Museums in Jakarta and the Netherlands also contain fine examples of statues from this general area, including large images of Nandi and Ganesa.

One of the most important of the statues from this site is a larger-than-lifesize statue of Bhairava now in Leiden. This deity was worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists in Java during the 13th and 14th centuries, when esoteric cults were dominant among the members of the royal courts. A Prajnaparamita statue of a very high standard from Singasari in a perfect state of preservation was taken to the Netherlands, but was returned to Indonesia by the Dutch government in 1978.

Other temples that still stood in the early 19th century were described by Dutch officials. One was very large. Called Candi B, its foundation measured 11 by 29 meters (36 by 96 feet) and contained three rooms; it thus resembled central Javanese shrines such as Plaosan Lor and Candi Sari. A Camundi statue found nearby depicts a goddess enthroned on two corpses. The statue bears a date of 1292 and was therefore completed just prior to Kertanagara’s murder. A particularly fine Brahma image was found near the site of Candi F,
along with a statue of a *risi*, which bears an inscription denoting that it is a specific representation of Ternawindu. A total of six risi figures have been found at Singasari, indicating the honor the kingdom attached to these ascetics’ lifestyle. An inscription of 1351 reports that a shrine was built to commemorate the risis who were slaughtered along with Kertanagara, an indication of the ferocity of the attack.

**SIRIDHAMMANNAGARA.** See NAKHON SI THAMMARAT.

**SIVA.** “Auspicious.” One of the main gods imported to Southeast Asia from India. His main emblem is the *lingga*, a phallus. Siva, unlike *Vishnu* or Buddha, is not reincarnated in different avatars, but is immortal in one form. Siva is particularly associated with asceticism and symbols of death such as skulls and corpses. Saivite priests are normally from lower castes than the *brahmins*.

Siva is not the hero of any major epics. His literature is mainly written in Sanskrit and Tamil, and he is worshipped primarily in south India. Important Siva sects that appeared in Southeast Asia include the Pasupatas and the Kapalikas, which incorporated much death symbolism. Siva is believed to live on Mount Kailasa with his wife Parvati. His son Skanda (Kartikkeya), god of war, who rides a peacock, was less popular in Southeast Asia than his other son, Ganesa.

**SIVAKAIVALYA.** A lineage of brahmin priests. The best sivakaivalyas are said to be the brahmans of Aryavarta in India. People from surrounding countries, such as Kalinga and Kosala, cannot become sivakaivalyas because they are not considered to exhibit perfect stature. The *Sdok Kak Thom* inscription states that in 802 the brahmin Sivakaivalya consecrated King *Jayavarman II* as cakravartin or universal monarch in conjunction with the installation of a devaraja. The Sivakaivalyas had been the royal chaplains of the Khmer kings and guardians of royal *linggas* since the sixth century.

**SIVASIDDHANTA.** A school of Saivism that flourished in south India from the 7th to 11th centuries. In Java during the Majapahit era, there were several Saivite sects, of which Sivasiddhanta was probably most popular. Inscriptions refer to religious officials of the central government who were Sivasiddhanta followers. The Sivasid-
dhanta religion in Java and Bali differed from that of south India, because Sivasiddhanta instruction in Indonesia was strongly influenced by Vedanta and Samkhya teachings.

Several Sivasiddhanta texts have been found in Indonesia. The oldest may be the Bhuwanakosa, thought to date from the 10th century.

Lingga worship was popular during the Majapahit period. A kakawin written during this time, Siwaratrikalpa, is a narrative intertwined with instruction for the worship of the lingga. Lubdhaka, a low-caste hunter, who lives in sin because he has killed many animals, is allowed to enter heaven because he accidentally performed an act of Siva worship by dropping a leaf onto a lingga.

SLAVERY. In some parts of Southeast Asia, ancient social institutions in which certain groups continue to maintain traditional patron–client relations still exist. The implications of these relations usually involve the provision of services by the clients in exchange for protection by the patron. In ancient times, clients were bonded to their patrons in various ways. Various terms in historical sources imply the existence of some form of involuntary servitude, but there exists a wide range of possible ties between patrons and clients. In ancient Cambodia, slaves could be mortgaged, sold, or rented. On the other hand, slaves could control land, property, and even other slaves. Cambodian slaves could be freed, have families, hold titles and offices such as village chiefs, and be official witnesses. Their status was generally higher than in ancient India, where slaves could not make contracts, witness ceremonies, or have families.

In ninth-century inscriptions from Roluos, 40,000 slaves are mentioned, grouped according to place of origin and function. The Preah Khan inscription of Jayavarman VII in the late 13th century mentions the donation of the huge number of 306,372 slaves and 13,500 villages to various foundations.

It is difficult to evaluate the status of those termed “slaves” in the inscriptions. When Zhou Daguan visited Angkor in 1295–1296, he noted only a few domestic slaves. On the other hand, rulers in 19th-century Southeast Asia could still compel their subjects to perform corvee labor without compensation. In the 14th-century kingdom of Lan Na, The Judgments of King Mangrai described the status of freemen as rare.
Those made temple slaves were in some sense better off, because they were not subject to corvee. In Sumatra in the late 16th through 18th centuries, as well as the hill country of Burma in recent times, many Kachin voluntarily became serfs, because it guaranteed them a livelihood.

The word knum in Sanskrit sometimes corresponded to Khmer dasa, “slave,” but sometimes to bhṛtyā, “servant,” occasionally used in a figurative sense. Thus inscriptions can only be used to a certain extent to understand ancient social relations; in the end some ambiguities remain, the result of using the same word literally at some times, figuratively at others. The word knum may have denoted “dependent” or “client” rather than “slave,” just as the word budak in Indonesian means “child,” but in Malay “slave.” In classical Malay, a subject would address his ruler as hamba Tuan, literally meaning “your slave,” but probably closer in meaning to “your servant” in a figurative sense. Thus a wide range of relationships may have existed, but cannot be distinguished from the meager literary evidence that survives.

SMARADHANA. A poem written in the kingdom of Kediri during the late 12th century by Dharmaja. It is based on the Hindu legend of Kama (also known as Asmara), god of love, who had to save the world by rousing Siva from meditation. In anger, Siva blasted Kama with the heat of his third eye.

SOJIWAN. A ruined Mahayana Buddhist sanctuary about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of Candi Plaosan, near the foot of the Ratubaka Plateau, central Java, dating from the early ninth century. The foot was decorated with reliefs depicting animal fables. The main sanctuary contained several images. The main statue was a Buddha, now vanished. Others included an Avalokitesvara, a Manjusri, and an Amitabha. Another nearby shrine, Candi Kalongan, consisted of two small temples surrounded by rows of lotus cushions. An Amitabha statue was found between the two small temples along with fragments of two larger statues.

An image from a niche on the south wall of Sojiwan has a canavira and crescent moon behind head. It is thus likely to have represented Manjusri. A short inscription, “Sri Maharaja,” was found on a frag-
ment of stone at Sojiwan. While this is very little information on which to base a theory, it does suggest that the king himself, of the Sailendra wangsa, may have personally sponsored this sanctuary.

**SOMA.** A ritual drink made from the juice of a hallucinogenic plant. The Rig Veda records many hymns that praise the intoxicating qualities of the drink. The Vedas depict Soma as simultaneously the plant, the drink, and the god because drinking the juices gives access to the divine. Brahmin priests drink the juice to enhance their tapas (“heat”) or ascetic practices. The Vedic gods Indra and Agni were portrayed as imbibing large amounts of the liquid. The Soma Mandala in the Rig Veda primarily comprises hymns addressed to the Soma Pavamana (“purified Soma”).

In early Hindu iconography, Soma is identified with a god who is usually depicted as a bull or bird and occasionally as an embryo. Over time he evolved into a lunar deity associated with the moon god Candra and the underworld.

**SONGGORITI.** A Hindu candi near Malang, Java, built over a hot spring. From the temple, the water flowed to a bathing place through stone conduits. Gold sheets found in stone ritual deposit boxes under the shrine date from the ninth century, evidence that this is one of the oldest surviving temples in east Java.

**SPEAN TOR.** “Linking bridge” near Prasat Tor, Angkor. In the period of Jayavarman VII, Khmer engineers began to create bridge dams to retain water for agriculture. Spean Tor was able to retain a million cubic meters (265 million gallons) of water. The shift to bridge dams led to smaller, more widely distributed water reservoirs than the former baray system. A damming bridge near Kompong Kdei retains 350,000 cubic meters (90 million gallons) of water, which was probably too little to support a temple. The temple associated with Spean Tor was never completed, perhaps because even a structure of that scale was unable to support enough personnel to run the establishment.

Bridge dams had the advantage that they could be constructed more quickly than a baray. This system may have enabled Jayavarman VII to raise funds more quickly, making it possible for him to
fund all the structures he had planned. One unexpected side effect may have been to disperse political power more widely, possibly contributing to the decline of Angkor's highly centralized polity that had dominated much of the lower Mekong and Chao Phraya valleys for 300 years.

**SRAH SRANG.** A pool at Angkor, the name of which literally means “royal bathing place.” In the 10th century, a Buddhist monument and a large pool were built on this site. The pool was probably bigger than the one that exists today. In the late 12th century, Jayavarman VII built a much larger shrine, Banteay Kdei, on the west part of the site and reduced the size of the pool. The water now covers an area of 700 by 400 meters (2,300 by 1,300 feet). Stone blocks in the pool suggest that an artificial island, perhaps supporting a pavilion, once occupied the center of the lake. At the west side of the pool, near Banteay Kdei, is an elaborate stone structure that may have been a landing stage from which boats set out from the shore to the artificial island. The landing stage has particularly elaborate naga statues at the ends of the typical serpent-form balustrades around the edges of the platform.

In 1963 Bernard Philippe Groslier excavated a site at the northeast corner of the pool (the side opposite Banteay Kdei), which was discovered to be a cemetery. The site covers 1,600 square meters (16,000 square feet) and yielded jars containing ashes from human cremations and grave offerings including Chinese ceramics, figurines, iron weapons, pieces of lead, and stone mortars and pestles. Bronze mirrors were set to face east. The placement of other artifacts around the jars seems to indicate some sort of particular symbolism. Religious artifacts found in association with the urns included bronze statues of Buddha and Vishnu on Garuda. The burials seem to belong to two phases, the second dating from the late 13th century, around the time of the visit of Zhou Daguan. He says that those who cremated their dead were said to be “descendants of Chinese.” It is not certain whether his remarks refer to this particular site.

**SRESTHAVARMAN.** Legendary son of Srutavarman and grandson of Kambu; second king of Cambodia. A district in the kingdom of Angkor was known as Srethapura. Another inscription, from Ta Prohm, says that a ruler named Bhavavarman, grandson of the
“universal monarch,” was married to a princess descended from Princess Kambujarajalaksni, Sresthavarman’s supposed paternal grandmother.

SRI TANJUNG. A wife who is unjustly accused of infidelity and murdered in a well-known east Javanese story. This theme is found in many other legends, including the Ramayana, but in east Java it was developed in a specific manner in the Majapahit kingdom. Scenes from the story were a favorite theme for artists and sculptors who decorated 14th-century structures in east Java, from the Bajangratu gateway to Panataran, Jabung, and Surawana.

The story concerns the couple named Sidapaksa and Sri Tanjung. Sidapaksa is a poor nobleman in the service of King Sulakrama. The king sends him into the forest to find an ascetic who will give him medicine for the king’s headache. In a hermitage, which in fact belongs to his grandfather, Sidapaksa meets the hermit’s granddaughter, Sri Tanjung, who is actually his cousin. They fall in love, elope, and return to Sidapaksa’s kingdom. The king hears of Sidapaksa’s beautiful wife, becomes jealous, and sends Sidapaksa on a dangerous mission to Indra’s heaven, ostensibly to obtain wool and gold. In fact, he wishes Indra to believe that Sidapaksa is bent on attacking heaven. As Sidapaksa is about to be killed by Indra’s forces, Sidapaksa calls out the names of his father and uncle. Indra recognizes their names as two of the five Pandawa brothers, and the ruse is discovered.

While Sidapaksa is gone, the king tries to seduce Sri Tanjung, but she remains pure. When Sidapaksa returns, the king lies to him that his wife has been unfaithful, and Sidapaksa kills her. Later he realizes that he was mistaken. In a scene that became iconic in east Javanese art, Sri Tanjung’s soul is carried across a river to the land of the dead by a large fish. The fish’s body is always depicted in relief carvings and terra-cotta statuary with an arched back and its tail pointing straight up, a definitive reference to this story. Because it was not her fated time to die, she is revived by Durga and returns to her grandfather’s monastery, where her husband finds her. She insists that Sidapaksa kill the evil king, which he does, and they are reunited at last.

SRI TRI BUANA. Sanskrit for “Lord of the Three Worlds.” In the Malay Annals, this is the name of the ancestor of Malay royalty. The
term was symbolic both of the general division between the worlds of gods, humans, and demons and of more specific doctrines. One of these was espoused in the Traibhumikatha, a 14th-century Thai text. According to the Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, a Javanese text on esoteric Buddhism of the 9th or 10th century, the three worlds included air, governed by Isvara (Siva), from whom were descended Aksobhya and Ratnasambhava; earth and water, governed by Brahma, whose descendant is Vairocana; and fire and wind, governed by Vishnu, from whom descended Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi. The term thus constitutes an allusion to a very abstruse set of esoteric Buddhist ideas.

SRIBUZA. See SRIVIJAYA (ŚRĪVĪJAYA).

SRIKSETRA. A place mentioned by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Xuanzhang and Yijing in the seventh century, probably corresponding to an enormous archaeological site in the midst of which is a modern village named Hmawza, located a few kilometers from the modern town of Pyi (Prome; in modern Burmese, Thayekhettaya). The site is the largest of those that, in Burmese tradition, have been the capitals of the ancient Pyu people.

Burmese chronicles say Sriksetra was a city with 32 gateways on Sumeru built by Indra and other gods. Buddha images of a style related to that of the Gupta period in India have been unearthed here. Unusual discoveries include stone urns containing ashes of cremated bodies and inscribed with the names of kings. These urns are also inscribed with dates, but since the Burmese used several different eras and the era in which these are calculated is not specified, they cannot be directly converted to the common era. It is believed that they correspond to the late seventh and early eighth centuries. One inscription on an urn records that it contained King Sihavikrama’s ashes.

Several important monuments still standing at the site were apparently built when the dominant school of Buddhism at Sriksetra was Mulasarvastivada, which used Sanskrit—unlike the Theravada, which used Pali. Scholars such as Robert Brown and Daigoro Chihara assert that these Buddhist monuments were built during the seventh and eighth centuries, when names from a new dynasty who called themselves Vikrama appeared on burial urns and a new calen-
drical system was implemented. This would mean that these are probably the oldest standing buildings in Southeast Asia. Possible contemporary prototypes for these buildings include Amaravati, Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Pyu architects, however, seem to have made an important independent discovery: true radiating arches and vaulted structures. These are found nowhere else in ancient Southeast Asia.

Like several other presumed Pyu sites, Sriksetra consists of an inner enceinte with rectangular brick walls, enclosed in a much larger wall (in some places more than one) with irregular outline. Important pre-Bagan monuments inside the wall include the Hphaya Htaung, a gu-type square brick structure. Many votive tablets have been discovered here. The East Zegu is another, smaller gu. The building has a projection for a staircase on its east side and one large room. A sandstone Buddha image 60 centimeters (2 feet) high found here displayed the dhyanī mudra. The West Zegu has been rebuilt, despite the fact that only foundations of the original structure remained. It is much larger than the East Zegu.

Outside the wall are such monuments as the Laymyetna, a large gu surrounded by its own wall, within which three sandstone Buddha images in an unusual mudra, flanked by stupas, are still in situ. The Hpaya Gyi is a stupa in Sri Lanka style nearly 65 meters (200 feet) high, at the base of which is a recent naga shrine. A naga motif is also found on a local temple bell.

Another Singhalese-style stupa is the Bawbawbyi, more than 45 meters (150 feet) high, reflected by Yahanda Lake 100 meters (330 feet) away, an artificial pond (see photograph 1). At a nearby mound, more than 1,000 stoneware urns were discovered. Brick foundations in the vicinity have been restored, making it difficult to reconstruct their original form.

At U Khin Bak Mound, 20 inscribed gold Buddhist plates were discovered tied together with gold wire, a silver Buddha, and a silver stupa-shaped reliquary decorated with four Buddhas in relief, two gold containers, and a beautiful gold Buddha on a throne, at a depth of 4.5 meters (15 feet) beneath stone relic chamber covers. Many beads and articles made of precious metals are reported to have been found at Sriksetra, but most of these disappeared during intensive looting carried out over many years. Archaeological research currently in progress aimed at clarifying the pattern of spatial use at the
site, including habitation, activities connected with royalty, religion, and occupational specialization may yet overcome this obstacle and yield important new information about the history of the Pyu in the future.

**SRINDRAVARMAN.** Ruler of Angkor who took the throne when his father-in-law Jayavarman VIII abdicated in 1295. He was thus in power when Zhou Daguan arrived in 1296 as part of a Yuan mission. Srindravarman, too, abdicated in 1307 to become a forest monk. His successor was a relative named Srindrajayavarman.

**SRIVIJAYA (ŚRĪVIJAYA).** The name first appears in the writing of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing, who sailed directly from Guangzhou to “Foshih” (Vijaya) in 671 on a ship belonging to Vijaya’s ruler. Yijing stayed in Srivijaya, where a large Buddhist monastery existed, for six months to study Sanskrit. After spending 10 years in India (at Nalanda), he went back to Srivijaya for 10 years (during which he made a brief visit to Guangzhou). Yijing uses the name Srivijaya to refer to most of Sumatra and says it had 14 cities divided among two kuo or kingdoms: one in the southeast, the other being Barus in the northwest.

The oldest inscriptions in Sumatra date from 682–686; all were probably set up at the order of a ruler of Srivijaya named Jayanas. Three major texts, as well as a number of shorter ones, have been found in Palembang, which informed opinion considers the probable locus of the kingdom’s center of authority. Two (from Kedukan Bukit at the foot of Seguntang Hill, and from Kota Kapur, Bangka Island) refer to military expeditions, one against “the land of Java.” Another, from Talang Tuwo, 5 kilometers (3 miles) north of Seguntang, records the meritorious deed of the ruler in founding a public park. A handful of inscriptions contain oaths of loyalty to the ruler: Sabukingking (otherwise known as Telaga Batu) in Palembang; the Kota Kapur stone from Bangka; and others in Karang Berahi (Jambi) and Lampung.

No inscriptions are known to have been carved in Srivijaya after the seventh century, so our knowledge of the kingdom’s later history is based on Chinese and Arab sources and a small amount of archaeological research. Srivijaya sent ambassadors to China beginning around the time of Yijing’s first voyage. In the eighth century, em-
bassies came from rulers named Sri Indravarman and Liu-teng-wei-gung, a name that has not been satisfactorily explained. Vajrabodhi, a south Indian monk who brought Mahayana Buddhism to China, left Sri Lanka in 717 and went straight to Srivijaya, where “the king received him with the greatest solemnity”; he stayed five months to wait for the change of the monsoon. In 724 a mission from Srivijaya came to China under the “Crown Prince” Kumara.

An inscription at Wat Sema Muang at Ligor dated 775 records that a Srivijayan monarch named Dharmasetu sponsored sanctuaries dedicated to Buddha and the bodhisattvas Padmapani and Vajrapani. The precise nature of the Srivijayan connection with this region of the Malay Peninsula has not been established. Chinese sources depict Srivijaya as a “double kingdom,” which seems to indicate that there were two poles of power. The other was probably located in the eighth century in the region between Ligor and Kedah, but it may have shifted to other places at different times.

Whatever its internal arrangements, when Srivijaya appeared, it managed to prevent any other polities in the Strait of Malacca from obtaining official recognition from China for several centuries. The result was that the center of the kingdom, probably Palembang, became extremely wealthy from its dominance of the diplomatic exchanges with China. These exchanges were formally defined as presentations of tribute from a Southeast Asian vassal and reciprocal gifts from China as overlord, but economically they provided large supplies of imported luxury items that had significant value as political capital in internal struggles for power.

The kingdom’s main religion was Mahayana Buddhism, but bronze statues of Hindu deities have been found in the Musi River, which flows through Palembang. Hindu shrines have also been excavated farther upstream at Tanahabang. Arguments continue to flow about the extent to which elements that are now considered tantric were present in Srivijaya. Dharmapala of Kanchi in the seventh century, associated with early tantric Buddhist beliefs, studied at Nalanda, a cradle of esoteric Buddhism with which Sumatra had strong connections for several centuries. Dharmapala is said to have gone from Nalanda to Suvarnadvipa.

The kingdom experienced a long period of stability and prosperity from the eighth to the early 11th centuries. Arab and Persian texts
from this period refer to the power of the maharaja of Zabag. His power was said to include the island of Srivijā, transcribed in Arabic as Šrbzā, Rami (Ramni or Lambri), and Kalah, probably referring to the stretch of coastline on the west of the Malay Peninsula from Kedah to Phuket and Takuapa, where ships from Oman were said to come. The Arab geographer Mas’udi in 995 described the maharaja as having more perfume, camphor, spices, and other precious goods than any other ruler.

Chinese sources change their name for the ruler of the Strait of Melaka from Shi-li-fo-shi to Sanfoqi, which might mean “Three Vijayas.” This entity sent many missions to China during the 10th century. At the beginning of the Song dynasty in 960, they came from a king named Sri Udayaditya. A Chinese priest returning from India in 983 stopped at “Sanfoshi,” where he met an Indian priest named Vimalashri. Srivijayan embassies arriving in the late 10th century confirm reports from Javanese embassies that a state of war existed between the two islands. The Nepalese manuscript of Fouchen, written about 1015, has miniatures of renowned Buddhist images of the world, including one of “Suvarnapura Srivijayapura Lokanatha.”

In the first decade of the 11th century, the Srivijayan ruler Chulamanivarmadeva built Buddhist temples to solidify relations with China and the Cholas of south India. During his reign, important Buddhist literature was also composed. The kingdom was sufficiently important that it attracted Atisa from India, who resided there for 12 or 13 years before going to Tibet. Atisa described “Sriwijayanagara” as being in Malayagiri in Suvarnadvipa.

This glory was cut short in 1025 when Srivijaya was attacked and conquered by the Chola king Rajendrachola. All its major ports were invaded, and its ruler captured and taken to India, never to be heard from again. It is likely that the Tamils ruled the northern end of the strait for the next century before the Chola kingdom itself fell into decline. Srivijaya’s mandala was never reconstituted. Instead, the ports that comprised the thalassocracy became independent and experienced varying degrees of prosperity during the expansion of trade that began in the 12th century.

SRUTAVARMAN. In Khmer tradition, the first king of Cambodia, son of the hermit Kambu and the apsara Mera. Srutavarman was
succeeded by his son Srethavarman. A 10th-century inscription that records this tradition glorifies them as having freed Cambodia from a prior condition of vassaldom. The overlord is not named; historians have suggested Funan or Champa as candidates for that role, if the legend can be taken literally in the first place.

**STUPA. Buddhist** structures originally built as burial tumuli. The Buddha himself is said to have expressed the wish to have his ashes interred beneath such a structure. Originally these were hemispherical mounds, possibly with wooden pillars protruding vertically from their summits to represent the axis of the world. The stupa eventually became one of Buddhism’s most recognizable symbols and evolved into a multiplicity of shapes. They are found throughout the Buddhist world. The wooden poles evolved into multitiered parasols. At the junction of the parasol and the stupa body, places for ritual deposits (harmika) were installed. These ritual deposits sometimes consisted of relics of Buddha himself, at other times of ashes or objects associated with respected monks. The ritual of building a stupa involved the deposit of these items in a consecration ceremony or pranapratistha. In esoteric Buddhism, including Mahayana and Vajrayana versions, relics were of minimal importance. Stupas were mainly built in mainland Southeast Asia, where Theravada Buddhism was more popular, but some were also built in Sumatra, Java, and Bali.

**SUDAMALA.** A story composed in east Java. Like other Javanese literature of the Kediri/Singasari/Majapahit period, it is inspired by an Indian epic—in this case, the Mahabharata—but uses the characters and settings from that repository of stories to emphasize concerns of life and death as seen from an Indonesian perspective. In the Sudamala story, Siva’s wife Uma has been unfaithful, so Siva turns her into Durga, here portrayed as an ugly witch. Her fate is to live among corpses left on the surface of the ground to decay in a manner suggestive of ancient practices still pursued at Trunyan, Lake Batur, and Bali and recorded for other Southeast Asian cultures. No burials from the Majapahit period have been discovered in Java; the custom depicted in this story may provide the reason for this situation. Durga becomes the queen of the devils who haunt the corpse field. Two of these are Kalanjaya and Kalantaka, heavenly beings whom Siva has
also cursed. Durga and the two others can only be freed from this condition by Sadewa, youngest of the five Pandawa brothers.

Kalanjaya and Kalantaka offer to help the Pandawas' rivals, the Korawas. Kunti, mother of Sadewa, goes to the charnel ground to obtain Durga's permission to kill them. Durga will agree only if Kunti agrees to give Sadewa to her. Kunti refuses, but becomes possessed by another devil, Kalika, and while under Kalika's spell, delivers up Sadewa. Kalika offers to free Sadewa if he will marry her, but of course he refuses, upon which Kalika calls up all the other ghosts who haunt the field. A holy man, Narada, finds out what is happening and calls upon Siva for assistance. Siva possesses Sadewa and in this form exorcises Durga, who turns back into Uma; the corpse field becomes a beautiful garden. Uma then gives Sadewa a new name, Sudamala, and gives him a magic weapon to kill Kalanjaya and Kalantaka.

More complications ensue. Sudamala (Sadewa) is betrothed to Nidipada, daughter of the hermit Tambrapetra. Kalantaka and Kalanjaya attack the Pandawas, but are killed, whereupon they resume their original guises as celestial beings and return to heaven. The themes of the story, exorcism and redemption, are thought to reflect popular concerns of the period. The Sudamala story remains popular in Bali today, where it is performed in a dance drama believed to be able to expel evil spirits from those possessed by them.

**SUDDHAMMAWATI.** See THATON.

**SUHITA.** Queen of Majapahit who succeeded her father Wikramawardhana and reigned from 1429 until 1447. During her period in power, numerous mountain sanctuaries were built on Penanggungan, Merbabu, and Lawu. These sites reflect the popularity of Javanese ideas of mountains as holy places and the importance of ascetics and hermits as religious figures. She was succeeded by her brother Kertawijaya.

**SUKHODAYA.** See SUKOTHAI (SUKHODAYA).

**SUKOTHAI (SUKHODAYA).** Site of a 12th-century Khmer outpost in the Chao Phraya Valley, possibly founded by Suryavarman II or
Jayavarman VII. The transition from Khmer to Tai rule took place during the 13th century. This change is described in an inscription, conventionally dated 1292 (the dating and authenticity of the inscription have been questioned by Michael Vickery and Piriya Krairiksh), issued in the name of Rama Khamhaeng. According to the version of events contained therein, around 1220 Pha Muang, a Tai chief of a principality called Rat, whose wife was a Khmer princess, formed an alliance with another chief, Bang Klanghao of Bang Yang, and together they seized Si Satchanalai and then Sukhothai. They may have originated from the White Tai region in north Laos.

Sukhothai's first ruler was known as Indraditya. According to Tai chronicles, he was succeeded by his son Ban Muang until around 1279, when he fled an attack by another Tai prince on Sukhothai's important link to the western trade route at Tak. Another commander, Rama Khamhaeng, his son or grandson, rallied the army and saved the day. As a result, he then became the king himself.

The 1292 inscription of Rama Khamhaeng describes his capital city as a place of free trade, with a market to the north, a triple wall and four gates, a pond in the center, various temples both inside and outside the walled area— one of which housed a learned monk from Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ligor)— and a hill on the south where a powerful local spirit resided and had to be propitiated. Thus the Tai also accepted the Southeast Asian tradition of associating high places with important symbolic locations inhabited by spirits.

Sukhothai sculpture includes some early bronze Buddha images that show Sri Lankan rather than Khmer influence. Nevertheless, Sukhothai art rapidly developed a unique and distinctive style.

Rama Khamhaeng may have ruled until about 1298. During the reign of his son Loe Thai (1298–1347), the kingdom's territory contracted significantly. It is even possible that his kingdom was subjugated by another center located farther south, near the mouth of the Chao Phraya. Only one embassy from Sukhothai ever reached China; this was in 1299. Thereafter a country called Xian (“Siam”) sent numerous missions. Some historians believe this is also Sukhothai, but others believe it was a separate, coastal polity.

According to Cham annals, Siamese forces raided Champa in 1313. Loe Thai may have conquered Tavoy and Tenasserim in
peninsular Burma, but he was defeated by Martaban. In terms of religious iconography, he is particularly associated with many carvings of footprints of Buddha. During Loe Thai’s reign, a Tai prince became a monk and traveled to Sri Lanka, and Sinhalese workers came to Sukhothai to assist in work on Wat Mahathat. No doubt these artisans made an imprint on Sukhothai sculpture, though the art retained its essentially Thai character. He was succeeded by his son Lu Thai, who had been viceroy at Si Satchanalai (Sawankhalok). This ruler is credited with composing the Traibhumikatha, an important Buddhist text.

The kingdom became a vassal of the new kingdom of Ayutthaya in 1351. Between 1400 and 1412, Sukhothai’s ruler Sai Luthai (R. 1398–1419) enjoyed enough autonomy to rule some external territories directly, including Nakhon Sawan, which enabled him to control river traffic. Sukhothai also became embroiled in the internecine warfare in Lan Na between Chiangmai and Chiangrai—but on the losing side. In 1438 Sukhothai lost its last vestige of autonomy and was fully incorporated into Ayutthaya. The last king of Sukhothai had moved to Phitsanulok around 1430.

In 1431 under King Borommaracha II, a Tai army succeeded in conquering Angkor and seizing much of the royal regalia, which was taken back to Ayutthaya. For a short while, Angkor was under a Tai governor, but it was soon abandoned. In 1442, Borommaracha marched against Lan Na, but the war was long and inconclusive.

The oldest structure at Sukhothai is a small Hindu temple, Tha Pha Daeng, which may date from the period of Suryavarman II, in the early 12th century. Another Khmer structure, Wat Phra Phai Luang, a laterite tower with stucco decoration on the exterior, may date from the late 12th-century reign of Jayavarman VII. Wat Si Sawai was originally a Khmer-towered sanctuary built during the same period; the vihan beside it belongs to the Sukhothai era. Wat Mahathat was built by Indraditya, founder of Sukhothai, and enlarged around 1345. It originally had the typical Khmer quincunx layout. Standing Buddhas in the mondop (mandapa) may be the lifesize Buddhas mentioned in Rama Khamhaeng’s putative 1292 inscription. The same text mentions a Buddha called Brahmacana north of the capital, which may be the colossal Buddha in Wat Si Chum. The interior of this site has a surprising similarity to many shrines of the 12th and 13th centuries at Bagan, including a staircase leading to the roof.
The Sukhothai area also produced numerous glazed ceramics, some of which were exported. The site of Chaliang, 55 kilometers (33 miles) north of Sukhothai, may have been once occupied by Khmers. Brown-glazed stonewares were made between the 11th and 14th centuries at Ban ko Noi, a site 14 kilometers (8.5 miles) upstream. The use of brown glaze is typical of Khmer ceramics, but the shapes of Chaliang wares more closely resemble those of Sawankhalok than Cambodian pottery.

Ceramic production at Sukhothai itself probably began about 1300 and lasted 150 years. Sukhothai-style pottery has been compared to that of Cizhou, in Hebei, north China, whereas Sawankhalok may have been influenced by Zhejiang celadons. Several other important differences distinguish Sukhothai products from those of Sawankhalok. Instead of tubular kiln supports, they used five-spurred pontils. The raw material used by Sukhothai potters was much lower in quality than that used at Sawankhalok: a coarse, poorly levigated clay that turns reddish-brown when fired, with many white particles. The range of shapes produced was also limited to dishes, bowls of two types, and bottles. The fish motif was very commonly depicted.

The city and associated ruins nearby were accorded World Heritage status in 1991 (see photograph 10).

SUKUH. A Javanese candi situated at an elevation of 900 meters (3,000 feet) on the slope of Mount Lawu, on the border between central and east Java. Inscriptions at the site date to the period between 1437 and 1457. On the floor of the entrance, a graphic penis and vulva are carved within a curvilinear scroll. The site consists of three courtyards, which rise in stepwise fashion from front to rear of the complex. On the upper terrace stand a number of structures, the principle one being a square-based truncated pyramid. A large lingga once stood atop this structure, now in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta. This lingga is unique; it is highly naturalistic, with the addition of four spheres that may represent penis balls intentionally inserted under the skin—a custom found in several Indonesian societies. The lingga, 1.8 meters (6 feet) tall, also bears relief carvings of the Majapahit sunburst, a sword, and an inscription reading “Consecration of the Holy Ganggusudhi in [undecipherable]. The sign of manhood
is the essence of the world.” A chronogram gives a date equivalent to 1440.

Other sculptures in the compound include a strange structure meant for channeling water through a trough, probably connected with the belief in the elixir of immortality. Scenes from the Garudeya and Sudamala stories are depicted here, as well as other motifs that are difficult to decipher but may represent themes from the Bhimaswarga and Bhima Bungkus. Another relief depicts a priest silhouetted against a disk holding a vajra in either hand.

A separate structure consists of a small platform, perhaps an altar, on which stands a relief depicting Bhima as a blacksmith. He is forging a keris with his bare hands. In the central portion, an elephant-headed male being stands on one leg, while holding a small animal in his hands. He stands between the smith and the bellows, which are being manipulated by another Bhima figure. The elephant-headed person may be intended to be Ganesa. His position in the center, between the bellows and the fire, may be a symbol of his ability to help humans overcome obstacles, in this case to bring about the transformation of raw materials into gleaming sharp metal. Keris makers were considered to be of high status in ancient Indonesia, exemplified by the respectful title mpu they bore. Blacksmiths have their own temples in Bali.

Freestanding statues at the site are numerous. They include a headless man grasping his erect penis; enormous tortoises; and two statues of winged men. At first glance, the latter pair appear to be Garuda, but some doubt exists as to the identification of these figures. One has been tentatively identified as Jatayu, who was killed by Rawana in the Ramayana. A chronogram on the statue gives the date 1442. The second figure bears a 1441 date and an inscription that conveys the information that Rajeg Wesi, an ancient kingdom, was conquered by Medang and that Ki Mpu Rama of the losing side threw himself into a fire. The battle is recorded as having been caused by a land dispute. The significance of this text is uncertain, but it has been theorized that Candi Sukuh was established by a dissident faction of the Majapahit Court who were defeated in 1437 and perhaps retreated to this area. A Bhima statue that once stood here has now been taken to a private home in Surakarta.
SULAMANI. A temple at Bagan built by Narapatisithu in 1181. It has several special characteristics, including the use of smaller bricks, the perfection of true arches employing radiating voussoirs, elaborate stucco carvings that are still in good condition, and still-vibrant paintings in green and blue. One hundred monks’ cells line the site’s inner wall. The original tank for storing water for the temple personnel is also preserved.

SUMATRA. A large island measuring 1,700 kilometers (1,054 miles) in length at the western end of the Indonesian archipelago (see map 10). It was home to numerous kingdoms, including Srivijaya, Malayu, Barus, Aru, and Samudera, from which the modern name of the island is probably derived. Sumatra possesses numerous natural resources and a skilled maritime population. In ancient times, Chinese sources used such names as Sanfoqi and Shih-li-fo-shih to refer to its major polities. Arab sources mention Zabag and Fansur (their name for Barus, probably derived from the local toponym). Indian classics mention Suvarnadvipa and Suvarnabhumi.

SUMBERAWAN. A Buddhist stupa 6 kilometers (3.5 miles) east of Singasari, east Java, on a mountain slope at an elevation of 650 meters (2,150 feet). Stupas are common in mainland Southeast Asia, but rare in Indonesia. The site is undated, but is believed to date from the 14th century. The structure is undecorated. It may be the site called Kasurangganan (“Garden of the Heavenly Nymphs”) visited by Raja Rannagaran (Hayam Wuruk) in 1359, according to the Desawarnana. Originally it was probably 8.16 meters (26.9 feet) high; in its current state, it measures 5.23 meters (17.3 feet). Its construction was not completed in antiquity. This is one of only two known stupas to have been built in east Java; the other is Candi Dadi near Tulungagung.

SUNDA. The western third of the island of Java (see map 8). Ptolemy in his Geographia mentions several emporia (official trading ports) in the Southeast Asian region. One of these, Argyre, was situated at the western end of Iabadiou; perhaps the place-name intended was Kawang or Kerawang, east of Jakarta. Romano-Indian rouletted
Two Chinese envoys, Kang Tai and Wan Chen, in the early third century visited Funan (probably in the region of south Vietnam) and the Kra Isthmus on the Malay Peninsula to compile a report on Southeast Asian maritime commerce. This report, entitled 南州物志, mentions a country called “Ko-ying,” which had volcanoes; its people wore bark cloth. Ko-ying traded with the Malay Peninsula as well as India, from whence it imported horses; its products included pearls, gold, jade, and areca nuts. It did not trade with China, however. The information recorded about Ko-ying suggests that it was probably in western Java, like Argyre. A mid-sixth-century Chinese manuscript, the 郎陽家蘭記, contains information from Wan Chen’s third-century report, possibly including some omitted from other copies of the original source. It describes Ko-ying as the most powerful country in the southern barbarian lands.

West Java enters the historical period in the middle of the fifth century. The first written sources are stone inscriptions, which tell us that a kingdom called Tarumanagara existed there, ruled by King Purnawarman, a Hindu. The kingdom of He-lo-dan sent ambassadors to China in 430, 433, 434, 436, 437, and 452; the mission of 430 brought cloth from India and Gandhara. In 436 the ruler of He-lo-dan was succeeded by another person named Pi-sha-ba-ma. “My country once had a large population and was prosperous,” he said, complaining that now, “my neighbors vie with each other in attacking me” and that his son had seized the kingdom. He-lo-dan may have been Cia-reuton, a river in West Java where two of Purnawarman’s inscriptions have been found.

It seems that Tarumanagara reached its peak during Purnawarman’s reign; after him, we find no more inscriptions in west Java until about 932, nearly 500 years later. In the seventh century, however, another kingdom in west Java appeared in Chinese references: A country called Do-lo-mo, which sounds suspiciously similar to “Taruma,” sent a mission to China between 666 and 669. Yijing mentions a place called “He-ling,” to which several pilgrims sailed. A series of missions visited China from this place in 640, 648, and 666. Then there was a hiatus until 768. This gap may have been caused by the rise in southeast Sumatra of Srivijaya, a kingdom that appears
to have exercised some sway over Sunda. Missions from He-ling resumed in 768, but the kingdom now may have been located in central Java.

In about 932 an inscription with four lines in Old Javanese was carved near Kebon Kopi. This seems to indicate that Hindu culture had maintained some form of existence in west Java, although there are few other archaeological remains between this date and Purnawarman’s time. In 1030 another inscription was erected at Cibadak, near Sukabumi, by a man who styled himself ruler (praḥājyaṇa) of Sunda; this is the oldest known use of the toponym. This inscription concerns a sacred footprint, reminiscent of Purnawarman, and a place where no one may fish. The language and script are all Javanese, as are the formulas in which titles and curses are expressed. The significance of the inscription is difficult to ascertain; possibly Sunda had recently been released from a long period of subordination to Srivijaya, whose power seems to have waned at about this time. A Srivijayan ruler is said to have reinstalled a deposed prince of Sunda in 942. The use of Javanese may represent cultural influence rather than the imposition of Javanese political domination, although L.-C. Damais suggested that the praḥājyaṇa may have been a governor appointed by the newly installed king of east Java, Airlangga.

By the 13th century, west Java may have again been subject to a Sumatran kingdom, this time established at Jambi. According to a Chinese gazetteer compiled by Zhao Rukuo, harbormaster at Guangzhou, “Sinto” (Sunda) was a vassal of Srivijaya (now with its capital at Jambi), along with the rest of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Zhao provides the first relatively detailed description of Sunda: it had a harbor with a deep anchorage, and many people lived along the shore. The country also yielded pepper that was small grained but superior to that of Ta-pan (Tuban, eastern Java). The internal situation, however, he described as disorganized, where brigandage was common, and therefore few foreign traders called there.

During the 14th and 15th centuries, when much of Sumatra came under the sway of east Java, Sunda regained a measure of political and cultural autonomy. According to N. J. Krom, during this period, which corresponds to the golden age of Majapahit, there emerged “a highly individual culture . . . a Hindu-Sundanese culture, with its center in the kingdom of Pajajaran.” Sundanese art of this period,
mainly stone sculptures, preserved features of the eighth and ninth centuries from central Java rather than affecting the more esoteric style of Singhasari and Majapahit.

A statue found at Cikapundung, northeast of Bandung, bears a date in kawi script of 1341. The same site, a 12-meter (40-foot) square terrace, yielded 16 other images, the style of which suggests that they were made by a population who had only superficially been influenced by Hindu symbolism. In west Banten, Sivaitic images (Mahadewa, Agastya, Brahma, Durga, Ganesa, yonis, and linggas) have been found at numerous sites, mainly at Cimanuk and Caringin.

The kingdom of Pajajaran is mentioned in the inscription of Batutulis and in a number of copperplate inscriptions. The date of the Batutulis inscription is open to some doubt; it has been variously interpreted as 1133, 1333, 1433, and 1533, but many historians accept the 1333 attribution. Pajajaran may already have existed as early as the 13th century, if it is the same place that Zhao Rukuo noted in the guise of “Bai-hua-yuan.”

It is more than a little puzzling that neither Sunda nor Pajajaran is mentioned in the Majapahit Court poem Desawarnana (1365). The Pararaton, a later source, lists Sunda among Majapahit’s dependencies. Another literary source, the Kidung Sunda, describes a war between Sunda and Majapahit that is supposed to have occurred in 1357. According to the story, Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit, wanted to marry the king of Sunda’s daughter; she was carried to the river port of Bubat by a large Sundanese fleet. However, she was insulted by Gajah Mada, the Majapahit prime minister, who refused to acknowledge her as the equal of Hayam Wuruk and would only admit her as a concubine. A great battle ensued at Bubat, in which the Sundanese were massacred. H. T. Pigeaud inferred that all reference to Sunda was intentionally omitted from the Desawarnana in deference to Hayam Wuruk’s sorrow at losing his bride.

In the 15th century, Pajajaran was not mentioned by Ma Guan, but Pai hua or Pai hua yuan does appear in the Ming Shih-lu, compiled in the early 18th century but using materials found in the archives of the Ming dynasty. The information on Pai hua yuan is thought to reflect information acquired before 1433, on the grounds that the Ming stopped collecting geographical data on Southeast Asia after that date.
A number of inscriptions in Old Sundanese dating from the 15th century have been found, including one from Tasikmalaya dated 1411 and five from Cirebon that mention a kingdom called Kawali. Other toponyms include Galuh. Possibly these were not separate kingdoms, but different locations of the palace that may have frequently moved, perhaps as a result of the conditions imposed by the tradition of shifting cultivation of dry land rice. The grandfather of the founder of Pakuan Pajajaran may have had his palace at Kawali.

In 1690, Capt. Adolf Winckelaer inspected “the old center of the Javanese, named Pakuan,” now Bogor. He found a site enclosed by a stone-and-earth rampart, within which was a stone called by the local residents the Batu Tulis (inscribed stone) on which were written eight and a half lines of characters, a tall round stone, two female images, and a statue of what he interpreted as a dog—all within a ring of boulders. Other remains included a stone floor said to have been the former king’s house, a large well-shaped stone (probably the watu gigi-lang or “shining stone,” a ceremonial throne), and a large path planted with trees at regularly spaced intervals. In 1815 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles noted the same remains.

Despite its distance from the coast, Pakuan Pajajaran’s location at Bogor had a strategic quality. The major communication routes of west Java could be controlled from there: the riverheads at Rumpin and Ciampea on the Cisadane, Muaraberes on the Ciliwung, Cikao on the Citarum, and perhaps Karang Sambung on the Cimanuk.

The north coast of Sunda was subdued by Muslim forces from north-central Java in the early 16th century, but Pakuan did not fall until 1579. The Portuguese chronicler Da Barros described the Sunda people before their conversion as unwarlike: “They spend their time praying to their gods. They have many temples to pray to these gods.”

**SUNGAI BUJANG.** See KEDAH.

**SUNGAI LANGSAT.** The location in Sumatra where a 13th-century statue of Amoghapasa Lokesvara was found. The statue bears an inscription stating that in 1286 King Kertanagara presented the statue to King Srimat Tribuanaraja Mauliwarmadewa of Suvarnabhumi (Sumatra). A 14th-century manuscript in dhluang or bark paper
from Kerinci, west Sumatra, refers to a kingdom of Dharmasraya on the bank of the Batanghari. The polity was allegedly situated near Sungai Langsat. The king of Dharmasraya was probably one of the three kings of Sanfoqi mentioned in Chinese records. The last Chinese report on Dharmasraya states that the king’s son succeeded his father on the throne in 1377. In the same year Majapahit attacked Jambi.

SUPHANBURI. An ancient city in the lower Chao Phraya Valley of Thailand. Its name derives from Suvarnapura, “Golden City” in Sanskrit. In the late 12th or early 13th century, Jayavarman VII of Angkor sent a statue of jayabuddhamahanatha to this place among 23 cities, an indication of Khmer control over the area. Territories under Suphanburi’s dominion were mainly located west of the Chao Phraya, including Nakhon Chaisi (Nakhon Pathom), Ratburi, and Petburi. It may have exercised some influence over Nakhon Si Thammarat in the isthmian region of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula. Suphanburi may also have had some relationship to the polity known to the Chinese as Xian.

SURAWANA. An east Javanese temple of the Majapahit period already existed on this site in 1361 when it was visited by King Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk). The Desawarnana poem of 1365 indicates it was linked to the nobleman Wijayarajasa of Wengker, an important domain near the capital Trowulan. He sent a mission to China in his own right in 1377; the Chinese court acknowledged him as an independent sovereign. A charter was also issued in his name in Bali in 1384. He died in 1388. It is possible that the preexisting structure was modified in conjunction with his shraddha ceremony, which would have occurred in 1400.

The base of the temple (the superstructure is missing; it was probably built of perishable materials) is decorated with numerous narrative reliefs. Tantri stories, the Sri Tanjung myth, Bubuksha, and the Arjunawiwaha are all depicted. The reliefs are not organized consecutively. Instead, scenes with similar themes are grouped in specific areas of the temple, regardless of which story they come from. The organizing principle itself is still under discussion. According to one proposal, the criteria for placement included natural versus cul-
tural settings, and themes of destruction, preservation, or renunciation. Another theory holds that the east side, toward the rising sun, was allocated to religious themes, while the west, the direction of sunset, was used for scenes depicting death.

SURYA. The sun god. Surya was a popular subject for sculpture in Majapahit, and he still is in modern Bali. In early Java, he was depicted riding a chariot drawn by seven horses, but in Majapahit he was often shown mounted on the back of his horse Uccaisravasa, which was said to have long ears. Statues of this figure have been found at Surawana. Surya also had a son, named Karna, who was well known in Old Javanese literature, appearing in the shadow plays, and who is said to have ridden his father’s horse.

SURYAVARMAN. Suryavarman I, the first Khmer ruler to bear this name, apparently overcame two other rival claimants to the throne, Udayadityavarman I and Jayaviravarman. He claimed in his own inscriptions that his reign began in 1002, when Udayadityavarman I was overthrown, but Jayaviravarman ruled Angkor between 1003 and 1006, and the war between these two contenders lasted until about 1010. According to a later inscription, Suryavarman repaired some structures that were damaged in the civil war. As in the case of many Khmer rulers who obtained the throne through violence, he claimed that his right to kingship stemmed from maternal connections (in his case to Indravarman) and his wife’s relations. Although he continued to maintain the devaraja ceremony, according to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, he also sponsored many Buddhist foundations, and his posthumous name, Nirwanapada, emphasizes his preference for that religion.

Suryavarman I imposed an oath of loyalty on his officials in a manner reminiscent of Srivijayan rituals. The oath was inscribed on a stone at the entrance to the palace and was signed by the officials themselves. During Suryavarman’s reign, the Phimeanakas temple inside the palace was apparently brought to its final state. He or his high officials also sponsored Ta Keo, Phnom Chisor (the original name of which was Suryaparwata (Suryagiri), “mountain of the sun”), parts of Preah Viheer and Preah Khan (Kompong Svay), and Wat Ek and Baset, in the province of Battambang.
In 1012 Suryavarman donated a chariot to Rajendrachola I of south India. Indian scholar R. C. Majumdar has theorized that this gift was meant to cement an alliance against Srivijaya, possibly specifically against Maravijayottunggavarman, ruler of Kataha (Kedah). In 1025 the Chola empire overthrew Srivijaya.

Pali chronicles of Chiangmai in northern Thailand, which date from a later period, record wars between Haripunjaya, Lavo (Lopburi), and a ruler called Kambojaraja, whom George Coedès identified with Suryavarman I. There are several 11th-century Khmer inscriptions from Lopburi, at least one of which was set up in the name of Suryavarman. Other archaeological remains of Khmer occupation are found as far north as Sukothai, but they are later than the 11th century. Upon his death in 1049, Suryavarman I was succeeded by his son Udayadityavarman II.

Suryavarman II came to power in an unsettled time. In his inscriptions, he claims to have defeated two other contenders, both his relatives, who had carved up Angkor after the death of Jayavarman VI. One was Dharanindravarman I; the name of the other is not recorded. Like them, he belonged to the Mahidharapura dynasty, which originated from a city or palace of that name north of the Danrek Mountains, somewhere in what is now northeast Thailand. Inscriptions of this family are found at Phimai, Phnom Rung, and Phnom Wan.

Soon after his coronation in 1113, Suryavarman began a campaign of military expansion. His first target was Champa, possibly motivated by a desire to obtain better access to maritime trade. When Dai Viet allowed fleeing Cham to take refuge in its territory, Suryavarman invaded Dai Viet in 1128. He attacked Champa both by land and by sea. In 1131 he forced Champa to contribute soldiers to his campaign against Nghe An and Thanh Hoa, but they were defeated. The Cham under Jaya Indravarman III preferred to pay tribute to Dai Viet, so in 1145 Suryavarman II captured the Cham capital, Vijaya and Jaya Indravarman disappeared. Further invasions aimed at setting up a puppet Cham ruler failed, however, and in 1149 the Cham ruler Jaya Harivarman I established his own capital at Vijaya.

The Khmer invaded Dai Viet again in 1150 but again were defeated. Thus Suryavarman’s attempts at eastward expansion were futile. Later Thai chronicles describe Khmer battles against the Mons...
of Haripunjaya. They record the Khmer invasions as failures, but Chinese sources of the mid-12th century describe the territory of **Cambodia** (still anachronistically called **Zhenla**) as extending from Champa to **Bagan** in **Burma** and **Grahi** in what is now peninsular Thailand. Chinese knowledge of Cambodia may well have come from Khmer embassies, however, which would not be an unbiased source. The Khmer ruler was given high status in Chinese sources.

Between 1131 and 1147, commerce between China and Cambodia also appears in the Chinese sources. Suryavarman II resumed the practice of sending diplomatic missions to China, after a suspension of such activity during the several previous reigns. He sent missions in 1116 and 1120.

Archaeologically, Suryavarman contributed to existing temples at Phnom Chisor, Phnom Sandak, **Wat Phu**, and Preah Vihear. He was responsible for major construction at **Preah Pithu** in **Angkor Thom**, Chau Say Tevoda, and Thommanon, and most importantly he built **Angkor Wat**. It has been written that Angkor Wat was his funerary temple. This is a misconception based on a faulty understanding of the nature of early Southeast Asian concepts regarding the nature of ancestor souls. It is more correct to say that Suryavarman II claimed to be a detached portion of **Vishnu**, and that after his death he (now rejoined with the rest of that deity’s essence) could be invoked to inhabit the statue of Vishnu in Angkor Wat in order to receive petitions from worshipers. His posthumous name was Paramavishnuloka.

Curiously for such an important ruler, the date of Suryavarman II’s death is unknown. His last known inscription is dated 1045. In fact, like other rulers of the period 1050–1167, he did not leave many inscriptions compared with earlier kings of Angkor. This may be evidence of more centralized political power, since minor officials, the source of many earlier inscriptions, were mostly silent in this era. Either he or his successor Dharanindravarman II, his cousin, gave orders to invade Vietnam in 1150.

**SUTASOMA.** Sutasoma is the name of at least three characters from the **Jatakas** and the **Mahabharata**. This was the future Buddha’s name in several **Jataka** tales. In the **Cullasutasoma Jataka**, which is illustrated at **Barabudur**, the **bodhisattva** was born as **Soma**, son of the king of Sudassana (Benares). The prince was fond of **soma juice**
and hence was called Sutasoma. He became king and had many wives, but wanted to become an ascetic. When his hair turned gray, Sutasoma abdicated the throne and spent the rest of his life in a hermitage built for him by Sakka (Indra).

In the Mahasutasoma jataka, the bodhisattva was again named Sutasoma, this time born as prince of Kurus in Indraprastha. Sutasoma’s friend, King Brahmadatta of Benares, developed an addiction to human flesh. He ordered many of his subjects killed to feed his fetish and soon had eaten everyone around him, including his cook. His insatiable appetite appalled a tree deity. On advice from Sakka, the deity convinced Brahmadatta that he had to eat Sutasoma to complete the number of his victims. When Sutasoma realized that the king intended to eat him, he recited four verses of the Kassapa Buddha and preached the virtues of Truth. Sutasoma convinced the king to give up cannibalism and restored him to the Benares throne.

Mpu Tantular’s Kakawin Sutasoma of 14th-century Java expands this story to greater length. This text contains an important passage in which Prince Sutasoma explains the basic principles of the Saivite path to salvation in terms of a “six-limbs” (sad-āṅga) system representing a tantric school of Yoga and then expounds a Buddhist doctrine focusing on nondual wisdom (adwaya-jñāna), the “perfection of wisdom” (prajñāparamita), and the breath of pranayama, which can enable the seeker for enlightenment to reach the highest reality. Canto 139, stanza 5, contains the following passage (as translated by Soewito Santoso):

It is said that the well-known Buddha and Śiva are two different substances. They are indeed different, yet how is it possible to recognize their difference in a glance, since the Truth of Jina and [the Truth of] Śiva is One. They are indeed different, but they are of the same kind, [bhinneka tunggal ika] as there are no division [sic] in Truth.

The phrase bhinneka tunggal ika became the Indonesian national motto.

Sutasoma was also the name of Draupadi’s son in the Mahābhārata. Nakula, one of the five Pandawas, killed him with an arrow from his bow.

**SUVARNABHUMI (SUVARNABHŪMI).** Sanskrit for “Golden Land.” The name first appears in the Arthasastra, a Sanskrit manual
on government traditionally ascribed to Kautilya, a minister of Chandragupta Maurya. This work was probably composed between the fourth century BCE and the third century CE. In the Arthasastra, Suvarnabhumi is noted as a source for aloeswood.

The name was sometimes applied to Sumatra. The term appears in this sense, for example, in the inscription of 1286 found at Rambahan, Sumatra. In earlier sources, however, it seems to have meant the entire area of western Southeast Asia known to the Sanskrit-using class of south Asia.

Early Buddhist texts such as the Sasanavangsappadipika and the Jataka tales may have used this term to refer to the region of modern Burma. The Jatakamala, a Buddhist text in poetic Sanskrit assigned to the author Aryasura sometime in the fourth to sixth centuries CE, mentions merchants from Suvarnabhumi who go to India. The term appears in Brhatasanghita, a sixth-century work on astrology. The Divyavada, a collection of Avadana literature composed sometime after the second century CE, describes the journey of a merchant named Supriya from Tamralipti to Suvarnabhumi. The Bhrhatkathaslokasanggraha by Buddhagomin, composed between the eighth and ninth centuries, describes trade and navigation between India and Suvarnabhumi, with emphasis on the dangers involved.

According to the Mahayazawingyi and Sasanavangsa, following the end of the Third Buddhist Council, Elders Sona and Uttara were two of the 10 elders sent by Moggaliputta Thera to spread Buddhism to nine regions, one of them being Suvarnabhumi (Sudhammati). In this case, the chroniclers imply that the term referred to the general area of Burma.

SUVARNAADVIPA (SUVARNAADVIPA). Sanskrit for “Golden Peninsula [or Island].” This was a common name for Sumatra used by Southeast Asians and Indians such as Atisa. It appears in the Nalanda copperplate inscription of Devapaladeva of the mid-ninth century, which records the donation of five villages for the upkeep of a monastery established there by Maharaja Balaputradeva, lord of Suvarnadipa. The term Suvarnarupakadvipa appears in the Ramayana, the written form of which was established around 200 CE, although it is possible that some interpolations later found their way into the text.
TA KEO. An unfinished monument at Angkor. It is one of the group of Khmer temples in the form of a pyramid on top of which stands a group of structures representing the five peaks of Mount Meru. The identity of the person who sponsored the monument’s construction is unknown. It was begun in the late 10th century and laid out in conjunction with the East Baray, to which it was linked by a pathway lined with boundary stones leading to a landing stage. Work was suspended when it was struck by lightning. When work resumed, the monument’s designers altered the original plans to incorporate new perspective effects to emphasize the monument’s height. The main outlines of the structure were completed, but it was abandoned before any decorative carving had been added. Despite the building’s unfinished state, it was used until the 13th century, when Buddhist statues were placed in its niches.

TA PROHM. Khmer for “ancestor Brahma,” so named after a statue found there by archaeologist E. Aymonier. Constructed at Angkor by Jayavarman VII, its original name was Rajavihara (“Royal Monastery”). An inward-facing gallery here, like that built then disassembled at Bayon, and at Prasat Stung, may have symbolized the incorporation of new provinces into the empire. It was built in 1186 as a monastery and contained a statue of Jayavarman VII’s mother, Jayaramachudamani, in the guise of the Mahayana Buddhist deity Prajnaparamita, and another of Jayamanggalartha, Jayavarman’s teacher. A total of 12,000 people were designated to support the rituals conducted in the monastery such as circumambulation of the central tower.

The main shrine, which was probably built in five years, may have copied the central part of Preah Khan in Kompong Svay. Facetowers were added to the axes of the large enclosure around 1200. Later, numerous wooden structures were erected in its grounds.

Ta Prohm has been left in an overgrown state as a way of giving visitors an impression of the atmosphere of the ruins of Angkor in the 19th century.

TAGAUNG. A town located 200 kilometers (120 miles) north of Mandalay on the left bank of the Ayeyarwadi River. It derives its prosperity partly from its position as a distribution center for salt from
Halin. Burmese chronicles depict Tagaung as the first kingdom to be established in Burma, the native place of the peoples of Arakan, Sriksetra, Bagan, and the Shan. Archaeological excavations in the 1960s uncovered brick foundations, Pyu earthenware, beads, bronze and iron objects, and coins, as well as abundant Bagan-period remains. Pyu-type burial urns with grave goods have been reportedly found there; if this can be verified, it would be the first source of concrete evidence for this unusual practice. The urns are reported to have contained jewelry such as bells, beads, silver and iron bracelets, bronze rings, knives and swords, and coins.

These artifacts suggest that the population of Tagaung was at one time Pyu, though they cannot be used to demonstrate that Tagaung was Burma’s first kingdom. Recent studies furnish evidence of early urban habitation. In 1993, two separate walled areas of 14 and 62 hectares (35 and 155 acres) were tentatively identified as palaces, both with an outer wall enclosing 204 hectares (504 acres). Excavations have been conducted by the Directorate of Archaeology office at Mandalay and the Universities Historical Research Centre since 1996. Further sites have been discovered within a radius of 30 kilometers (18 miles), suggesting that Tagaung was a center of at least regional importance in the Pyu-Bagan eras.

TAI. A subbranch of the Austroasiatic language family. This term refers to those who speak related languages in Burma, India, Laos, and China. The spelling distinguishes the linguistic group from those who live in the kingdom of Thailand and are subject to the king (and are therefore called Thais) but may speak other languages. The search for suitable terminology is further complicated for ancient historians by the fact that premodern Chinese sources used the term Xian (“Siamese”) for those people whom they thought spoke Tai and were culturally related, even though not all were subjects of the kingdom of Siam or its predecessors such as Ayutthaya or Sukothai. The people of eastern Burma who speak Tai languages are still called by a related term, Shan. It is beneficial to distinguish between those who are related by cultural and linguistic affinities as Tai; those who are citizens of a particular kingdom as Thai; and those who lived in the territory of the former kingdom of Siam and whom the ancient Chinese perceived to have a common cultural identity as Siamese. The name Siam was formally changed to Thailand in 1932.
The Tai linguistic group includes about 70 million speakers, divided into subgroups including the Shan, Black Tai, Tai Lue, and others. Some groups, such as the Ahom in northeast India, have become assimilated to other ethnic identities, although the Tai Khampti are still recognized as a distinct group in Arunachal Pradesh, India.

A Cham inscription of the 11th century mentions Siamese slaves. A relief on Angkor Wat from the mid-12th century depicts Tai mercenaries in service to the Khmer king Suryavarman II. It seems that Tai speakers were moving south into central Thailand and Laos, and west into Burma and Assam, in the 11th and 12th centuries. What pressures and incentives may have caused this southward migration are the subject of speculation. The general picture is one of a movement of several separate groups under charismatic leaders rather than an organized invasion or a gradual infiltration of individuals.

The Tai seem to have been better organized than the groups they encountered, including the Khmer who manned outposts in the Chao Phraya Valley, and they quickly established themselves as the dominant group in the heart of mainland Southeast Asia. Though they were probably originally highland shifting cultivators, they quickly adapted to the opportunities afforded by the irrigable lowlands along the Mekong region of what is now Laos and the Chao Phraya. In the Shan States of Myanmar, by contrast, they continued to pursue dry-land agriculture.

Several Tai kingdoms were founded in the early 13th century: Moguang, north of Bhamo, in what is now Myanmar, in 1215; Moné or Mulang Nai, on a tributary of the Salween, in 1223; and the kingdom of Ahom, in the region of Assam, in 1229. In 1238 Tai forces won an important battle against a Khmer outpost in what is now northern Thailand. This signaled the beginning of Tai political penetration into the area of the Chao Phraya Valley formerly under Mon and Khmer rulers.

Mangrai, founder of Lan Na, an important early Tai kingdom in the Chiangmai region, was born in 1239. In 1282 the kingdom of Xian (Shan/Siamese) tried to send a mission to China; it was captured by the Cham. In 1287 Mangrai captured the former Mon capital of Haripunjaya and founded Chiangmai.

The date 1292 symbolizes the founding of the first sizeable Tai kingdom in what is now Thailand: Sukothai. An inscription purport-
edly issued by Rama Khamhaeng in that year may describe the state of mind of the people of the largest Tai kingdom established at that time, although some have argued vigorously that the inscription is not genuine. The most acceptable explanation is that the inscription may have been carved after 1292, but that at least part of it is not much later than that year. By the end of the 13th century, the Tai had moved from the mountain fringes into the lowlands of central Southeast Asia, ruling an area from Assam to Laos and the center of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula.

In 1295, according to the History of the Yuan, “the people of Xian [Siam] and of Malayu have long been killing each other.” The Siamese (Xian) envoy who came to the Yuan court that year was given a gold tablet and was escorted home by a reciprocal Yuan mission carrying the imperial order to stop harassing the Malayu. Quite possibly this comment reflects the extension of Tai power into the isthmian region of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula.

Zhou Daguan in 1296 during his stay in Angkor obtained the information that the Khmers had recently fought a war with the Siamese and that “the country has been entirely destroyed.” Thus Chinese sources of the late 13th century depict a Siamese/Tai surge through the heart of mainland Southeast Asia reaching all the way to the Malay realm.

The foundation of Ayutthaya in 1351 by Uthong (Rama Thibodi) marked the rise of the Tai as one of the great powers of mainland Southeast Asia. For much of the next 400 years, Ayutthaya was one of the region’s most prosperous kingdoms. The Lao Tai chief Fa Ngum founded Luang Prabang in 1353, a forebear of the modern country of Laos.

TAKKOLA. “Market of Cardamom” in Sanskrit. Cardamom still grows wild in the Cardamom Mountains (Phnom Kravanh) of western Cambodia. Takkola may have lain on the west coast of the Kra Isthmus area and was an important emporium mentioned by Ptolemy around 150 CE and in the Mahaniddesa and Milindapanha, Buddhist works written around 50 years later. It reappears in the Tanjor inscription of 1030–1031 as Talaittakkolam, one of the dependencies of Srivijaya conquered by the Chola invasion. H. G. Quaritch Wales once claimed to have discovered archaeological evidence of its existence.
near the mouth of the Takuapa River, but later cast doubt on this conclusion.

**Takuapa.** A site on the northern Malay Peninsula near the Ten-Degree Channel between the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which provides one route between the Strait of Melaka and India. Takuapa may have been linked by an overland route to Chaiya on the opposite coast (see map 15). Both sites have yielded significant archaeological remains from the late first millennium CE.

A Tamil inscription dating to the early ninth century has been found at Khao Phra Narai, near Vishnuite statues that may be of the same vintage. The inscription records the construction of an artificial pond by a person named Nangur-udaiyan, who has been identified with a man of the same name renowned as a warrior who lived near Tanjor, south India. The pond was under the supervision of a merchant guild named Manikkiramam, which was based in a military encampment. The name of the pond, Avani-naranam, corresponds to a name of a south Indian king who reigned from 826 to 849.

**Talaing.** See MON.

**Talang Tuwo.** Site of an inscription dated 684 in the vicinity of Palembang, south Sumatra. It was set up at the order of the king of Srivijaya to commemorate his pious deed in establishing a park called Sriksetra for the benefit of all living beings.

**Tambralingga.** A kingdom that once existed on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in the vicinity of Nakhon Si Thammarat or Ligor, between Chaiya (formerly known as Grahi) and Pattani (see map 15). A Sanskrit inscription from here may date from the sixth century; the script resembles that used for the last inscriptions of Funan, which were carved in the early seventh century. Tambralingga may have been mentioned as early as the second century in the Pali Buddhist text Mahaniddesa as “Tambalingam.” It appears in the 1030 Tanjor Inscription from south India as “Madamalinggam,” one of the territories of Srivijaya the Chola invaders defeated. A 13th-century inscription from Wat Mahathat, Nakhon Si Thammarat, in the Tamil section mentions Tambralingga.
Chinese texts of the 12th to 14th centuries mention a kingdom called “Dan-ma-ling,” which is probably Tambralingga. It sent tribute to China in 1196. Zhao Rukuo in 1225 described the capital as surrounded by a “palisade” 2 meters (6.7 feet) thick and more than 6 meters (20 feet) high, on which soldiers could be posted. Houses of the officials were built of wood, whereas commoners made do with bamboo dwellings. He stated that the kingdom was part of Sanfoqi.

In 1230 a ruler named Chandrabhanu, who acknowledged no overlord, erected an inscription at Chaiya (although possibly its original location was at Nakhon Si Thammarat) in which he is called the king of Tambralingga. This ruler was relatively well known in south India and Sri Lanka. According to the Jinakalamalipakaranam and inscriptions from the Pandya kingdom of India, in 1247 Chandrabhanu sent a mission to Sri Lanka that may have had religious intentions. A battle ensued and a settlement of his people (whom the Sri Lankan chronicle call “Javakas”) was established there. The Pandyas were in the process of making Sri Lanka a protectorate, and around 1263 they fought a Javaka prince there whom they succeeded in subduing. Around 1270 another battle occurred in Sri Lanka involving a request from Tambralingga for Buddhist relics; the Javakas were defeated again. This may explain why the Dao-yi-za-zhi of the 1270s says that “Dan-ma-ling . . . has a ruler but no king.”

The Jinakalamalipakaranam describes events connected with King Siridhamma (Chandrabhanu) of Siridhammanagara (Nakhon Si Thammarat), who obtained a marvelous Buddha image from Sri Lanka. The king of Sukothai, hearing of this, went to Nakhon Si Thammarat and obtained the statue himself. The historicity of this account is in doubt, but the association of Tambralingga with a search for a Buddhist relic in Sri Lanka is consistent with data from the inscriptions.

According to the Da-de-nan-hai-zhi, by 1304 Tambralingga had taken over the role formerly played by Sanfoqi as the overlord of important parts of the Malay Peninsula, including Langkasuka, Phatthalung, Terengganu, and Pahang. The Grahi inscription suggests that Tambralingga may have been linked to Malayu in Sumatra. By the time of the Daoyi Zhilue in the 1340s, however, Tambralingga no longer seems to occupy a major political position. Wang Dayuan mentions it, but does not accord it a high status. By 1365, the kingdom and the rest of the isthmus were probably subject to Ayutthaya.
TAMIANG. A kingdom in northeast Sumatra. In the early 14th century, Wang Dayuan described its port as being more than 100 li from the kingdom’s capital. The country possessed some cultivable land among hills, but much wasteland. It produced lakewood as aromatic as that of Aru, which it adjoined, but which was 10 watches away. Fei Xin in the early 15th century added the detail that it was three days from Melaka and was found in a bay near the mouth of a large river. Chinese exports to this kingdom included dark red gold, ironware, and coarse bowls.

TAMNAN. See LITERATURE.

TAMPAWATI. The name of the third capital of Bagan according to the Mahayazawingyi and Hmannan Yazawindawgyi. They record that in Myanmar Era 438 (c. 346 CE), the new king, Thaiktain, seeking expansion, abandoned Thiripitsaya and built a new capital at Thamahti. This political center thereafter became known as Tam-pawati.

TANAKUNG. A famous east Javanese poet of the kingdom of Kediri who was active during the late 12th century. He wrote a highly regarded treatise on meter called Vrittasanchaya.

TANTRI KAMANDAKA. An Old Javanese text of the 14th century containing animal fables. Scenes from similar stories were depicted on Candi Jago in the 13th century; no doubt the author of the text drew on folk tales that were widespread at that time and on earlier Sanskrit literature with similar themes. Some of the same stories are depicted in vignettes on Candi Mendut and Sojiwan, central Javanese temples of the eighth and ninth centuries. The framing story of the fables is the classical theme of the evil king who takes a different woman to bed every night. The woman in this case who brings the king’s practice to an end by telling him a series of stories is named Tantri. The animals involved include frogs, snakes, monkeys, tigers, crocodiles, bulls, jackals, herons, fish, crabs, geese, and tortoises. In another story, a king, Aridharma, laughs to himself about a conversation he has sworn not to repeat. His wife hears him and says she will die if he does not tell her why he was laughing. They decide
to commit suicide together by jumping into a funeral pyre, but after his wife has done so, the king overhears two goats discussing his foolishness and abjures his vow to commit suicide with her.

**TANTRISM; TANTRA.** Tantra (literally meaning “manual” or “instructions”) is a form of ritual in which the devotee simultaneously visualizes the deity and makes offerings either real or imagined while chanting the deity’s mantra. In some instances, the devotee visualizes the deity in the act of sexual union with a consort and imagines himself or herself as the deity engaging in the same act. The practice of tantra represents a search for liberation from life’s suffering and achievement of magical power through the employment of various methods. Besides visualization, these include the use of sacred diagrams such as **mandalas**, the use of **mudras**, and repeated recitation of mantras.

According to legend, Dattareya, a yogi who supposedly wrote *Jīvanmukta Gīta* (Song of the liberated soul) was the first to develop tantra. Others suggest that Matsyendranath, a fisherman, found a tantra lodged within a fish and wrote a long ninth-century treatise on tantra, Kaulajñana-nirnaya, an important text used in both Hindu and Vajrayana **Buddhist** tantraism. Though the texts can be dated with some degree of certainty only to the 9th or 10th century, it is believed that tantrism superseded orthodox Hinduism, which derived from the Vedas by this time.

The earliest tantric texts are tantras focusing on **Siva, Vishnu**, and Shakti. Buddhist tantraism probably also has early roots and became incorporated later into Vajrayana and Tibetan Buddhism. There are two basic divisions in the practice of tantras. The “Left-handed Path” or vāmāchāra values the advancement of the self over other goals and usually involves esoteric practices such as sexual yoga. The “Right-handed Path” or dakshināchāra, on the other hand, focuses on the worship of one or more deities and the observance of strict moral codes. An instance of such esoteric practices being carried out in Southeast Asia is represented by the Bhairawa statue found in Rambahan, west Sumatra. This statue, purportedly depicting Adityawarman, bears fangs, wears a tall headress with an Aksobhya image, is clothed in skull-patterned garb, and holds a skull while standing on a folded human corpse laid on top of a throne bedecked with more skulls.
TANTU PANGGELARAN. An Old Javanese text composed some time between the 14th and 16th centuries. The title means literally “World Theater,” but H. Kern and P. J. Zoetmulder state that the proper translation should be Founding of the World. This pertains to the imagery of cosmogony represented by the placing piecemeal of Mount Meru in Java. According to the text, the mountain was transported from India to Java to hold the island in place. During the journey, the mountain began to break apart, forming a chain of volcanic peaks as it fell. The base of the mountain became Mount Sumeru and the summit of Mount Pawitra, now known as Penanggungan. Poerbatjaraka and Tardjan believe that this description of the formation of Java is adapted from the Javanese Adiparva and ultimately refers to the Indian myth of the churning of amerta. Other creation myths in the text include the story of how Siva was transformed into Kala-Rudra.

TANTULAR. A parab (pseudonym) meaning “immovable,” “firmly resolved,” or “unchangeable” for a poet who lived during the reign of King Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) of 14th-century Majapahit. He bore the title mpu. His patron, Ranamanggala, was the nephew of the king and was married to the daughter of the king’s younger sister. Tantular was a Buddhist who integrated many references to Vishnuite themes into his writing. He wrote two prominent kakawin: the Arjunawijaya and the Sutasoma story. The national motto of Indonesia, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, is taken from a passage in the latter. He may also have written a poem entitled Harisraya, no critical edition of which has yet been published.

TAO-I CHIH-LIOH. See WANG DAYUAN.

TARA. “Star.” A female bodhisattva who represents virtuous and enlightened action. Tara is the generic name for a set of bodhisattvas sharing similar aspects. They appear in various manifestations, usually differentiated by color. Green Tara, depicted with a half-open lotus, is associated with nature and represents the compassionate savior who protects all from life’s suffering. White Tara, with a full-bloom lotus, embodies maternal compassion, long life, and serenity. In contrast, Black Tara represents power and Blue Tara symbolizes transformation of anger.
The bodhisattva probably originated as a manifestation of Parvati, consort of Siva in Hinduism. Tara became a Buddhist bodhisattva around the sixth century. According to Buddhist tradition, Tara was the female aspect and consort of Avalokitesvara. In some stories, she was born out of the tears of the bodhisattva; in others, she issued from a beam of blue light emanating from one of Avalokitesvara’s eyes. Tara became an object of tantric Buddhist worship around the seventh century. In Southeast Asia, an inscription in devanagari script found in Candi Kalasan states that the temple was built for Tara in 778.

TARUMA (TÂRUMÂ). A place in south India, 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of Cape Comorin; also a Sanskrit word meaning “indigo.” In inscriptions of the mid-fifth century in Sunda (west Java), Taruma denotes a kingdom ruled by Purnawarman, its only known king, who was a Hindu and a devotee of Vishnu. Seven inscriptions from Tarumanagara “Taruma Country” are known. Several are found on large boulders in the midst of streambeds in the west Java highlands, where the kingdom’s capital is believed to have been located and where King Purnawarman concentrated his activities. Five were found in the environs of Bogor, one in Jakarta, and one in south Banten (at Munjul, Lebak).

The oldest inscription, from Ciareuteun, west of Bogor, is written in Sanskrit. In the inscription, the king compares his footprints to those of Vishnu. The Jambu (“guava”) inscription records that Purnawarman was the ruler of Taruma and describes him as skilled in destroying enemy cities. The Jambu inscription may be as much as 50 years later than that of Kebon Kopi (“coffee garden”), judging by the type of script, but a pair of Purnawarman’s footprints are still displayed.

The Kebon Kopi stone, found in the same village, bears marks resembling an elephant’s footprints (said to be those of the elephant of a king whose name is not mentioned) and a text that compares the size of these footprints to those of Airavata, the mount of Indra, another metaphor for his own greatness. In this indirect manner, Purnawarman was comparing himself to the god who symbolized kingship, without directly claiming divinity.

The Tugu inscription near Jakarta records Purnawarman’s sponsorship in the 22nd year of his reign of a canal dug to alleviate flooding.
in the lowlands caused by a river that ran past the palace. The inscription was found at the junction of the present course of the Cakung River with the river’s probable ancient course, now silted in. The topography of the Tugu area is marked by beach ridges marking former shore lines, levees or banks of older rivers, and modern creeks, showing that older coastlines have been eroded by waves, possibly the result of Purnawarman’s diversion of the river. Vishnu statues found at the nearby site of Cibuaya may have been imported by Taruma from India.

It seems that Tarumanagara reached its peak during Purnawarman’s reign; after him, we find no more inscriptions in west Java until about AD 932, nearly 500 years later. A country called To-lo-mo, which sounds suspiciously similar to “Taruma,” sent a mission to China between 666 and 669; however, it is not mentioned in any other source, including the records of the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing, who stayed in Sumatra both on his way to and from India, where he went to gather religious texts. Instead he mentions a place called He-ling, to which several pilgrims sailed.

**TELAGABATU.** Name of a seventh-century inscription found at Sabukingking, Palembang, south Sumatra, erected by the ruler of Srivijaya. It was meant to be used in a ceremony in which water was poured over the heads of seven nagas carved at the top of the stone, flowed over the words carved below, and drained into a trough with a spout at the bottom. The inscription says that if anyone drank “imprecation water” and then broke the oath of loyalty the text contains, he would be poisoned by the water of the curse. The practice of “drinking oaths” was common in Southeast Asia until recent times.

The inscription reads in part as follows:

Om! Success! . . . All of you, as many as you are—sons of kings, . . . chiefs, army commanders, confidants of the king, judges, surveyors of groups of workmen, surveyors of low castes, cutlers, . . . clerks, sculptors, naval captains, merchants, . . . and you—washermen of the king and slaves of the king—all of you will be killed by the curse of this imprecation; if you are not faithful to me, you will be killed by the curse. . . . However, if you are submissive, faithful and straight to me and do not commit these crimes, an immaculate tantra will be my recompense. You will not be swallowed with your children and wives. . . . [E]ternal peace will be the fruit produced by this curse which is drunk by you. (condensed from a translation by J. G. de Casparis)
Other versions of the same oath have been found at Karangberahi, far upstream in modern Jambi; at Kota Kapur, Bangka Island; and at two sites in the province of Lampung at the south end of Sumatra. This distribution may reflect the approximate extent of Srivijaya’s domain.

TEMASIK (TUMASIK). A place-name that appears in 14th-century Chinese, Vietnamese, and Javanese records. It denoted the south coast of the island of Singapore. Temasik included two inhabited areas: Longyamen (“Dragon’s Tooth Strait”), from whence a mission was sent to Yuan-dynasty China around 1320, but which was infested with pirates; and Banzu/Pancur, a trading settlement around a hill beside a river that is now called the Singapore River.

The Desawarnana, a Majapahit court poem written in 1365, lists Temasik as one of the Javanese kingdom’s vassals. A memorial to a Vietnamese prince says that he could speak “the language of the envoys from Temasik.” The two most important references are Chinese and Malay sources. The Daoji Zhilue was written by a merchant named Wang Dayuan around 1349. Temasik was not a particularly rich or powerful port, but Wang gives indications that he was rather familiar with it. He reports in an informal aside in his description of Xian that “a few years ago” (perhaps around 1325), the Xian besieged Temasik, but did not succeed in breaching its defenses. He also records that Chinese merchants lived here “side by side with the natives.” This is the only port in Southeast Asia for which he records the existence of a resident Chinese community.

Wang also portrays the Dragon’s Tooth Strait as a dangerous place. Ships sailing through this narrow waterway (the modern strait between Sentosa Island and Labrador Point) had to be on guard against canoes manned by murderous robbers armed with blowguns, which they used to shoot poisoned darts.

The Malay Annals describes the change of name from Temasik to Singapura (Singapore) by its first mythical ruler, Sri Tri Buana. It grew to become the first great Malay trading city. Five kings ruled the place, twice attacked by Majapahit. The first attempted invasion was unsuccessful, but the second time, the Javanese succeeded in breaching the defenses with the help of a treasonous prime minister. The king, however, escaped and a few years later founded Melaka. This latter individual, Iskandar Syah, is a historical personage whose
existence is confirmed by the Ming Annals, though sources differ on the details of his career. Combining information in the Ming Annals and the Malay Annals, it can be calculated that Singapore’s mythical founder set up his kingdom on Temasik in 1299, while Iskander Syah decamped around 1395.

Archaeological excavations have succeeded in uncovering many remains of 14th-century occupation, including a wide range of local earthenware and Chinese porcelain, stoneware, glass, and coins and gold jewelry. Some of the Chinese objects found on Fort Canning Hill are of elaborate types unknown from other sites, attesting a close connection between the inhabitants of the site (probably the ruling elite) and China.

Early 19th-century British reports record that numerous brick ruins were then to be seen on the hill. A large inscription once stood at the mouth of the Singapore River written in a pre-Islamic Indic-derived script paleographically dated to the period between the 9th and 14th centuries, but this was destroyed in 1843.

TENASSERIM. The part of Burma that lies on the western coast of the Siao-Malay Peninsula. Its population consists of Mon and Tai speakers and groups of sea nomads known as Mawken, as well as Burmese. Several early kingdoms known mainly from Chinese sources, such as Dunsun and Panpan, were located in this region; little is known of them from local historical or archaeological sources. The region yielded tin, coral, ivory, and pearls for the early trade to China via north Vietnam. In later centuries, incense and fragrant wood became important in long-distance commerce. Parts of Tenasserim may have had a tenuous political connection with Funan. In the Bagan period, the region came under Burmese sway, though Sri Lanka and Angkor posed potential competition for domination. Sukothai in the 14th century became interested in the port of Martaban. By the mid-15th century it was incorporated into Ayutthaya. The town of Tavoy was conquered by King Trailok of Ayutthaya in 1488, and for several centuries thereafter Tenasserim was a significant Siamese port of trade. During subsequent centuries, the Thai and Burmese jostled for control over Tenasserim.

TEP PRANAM. Location in Angkor Thom where was found an important inscription that records the foundation of a Buddhist asrama
by Yasovarman. The inscription may have been moved from its original location, perhaps on the south side of the Yasodharatataka.

THAI. Modern term for a subject of the kingdom of Thailand. The word Tai, in contrast, refers to a speaker of the Austroasiatic language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of Thailand or a member of the dominant ethnic group in the country.

THANH HOA. A province located near the mouth of the Song Ma River in east-central north Vietnam. This area was probably inhabited during the late Neolithic and early Bronze ages, as supported by the discovery of several archaeological sites, including the Da But site. Da But was an early Neolithic cemetery and shell midden on the coast were discovered in the 1930s by French archaeologists. Excavations revealed evidence that the prehistoric people then most likely practiced a mixture of hunting, gathering, and fishing, although some traces of agricultural activities were found but deemed inconclusive. Radiocarbon dates suggest that the site may date back to earlier than 5000 BCE.

Thanh Hoa was an important area in the historic period. In 1416 in the mountains of the province, a member of the local gentry, Le Loi, gathered together a small force and swore an oath to drive out the Chinese. He succeeded in December 1427 when the Chinese military fled in droves. Le Loi then founded the later Le dynasty (1428–1788) and restored the name Dai Viet to his kingdom.

THATBYINNYU. The pagoda of the “Omniscience of the Buddha” was most likely built by King Alaungsithu around the end of his reign. Art historians consider Thatbyinnyu to represent a transitional style between the earlier Ananda and later Gadaw-palin temples. Thatbyinnyu is one of the earliest two-story temples in which the main Buddha image and its sanctum were placed on the second level rather than the first. Each level of the structure is decorated with three receding terraces. Along the sides of these terraces are indented panels presumably meant for green-glazed Jataka plaques like those found in other temples at Bagan. The temple has a square plan with porticoes on all four sides, though the east portico juts out farther. The main entrance on the east has a central stairway flanked by a pair of standing door guardians; it leads to an intermediate level, where a
corridor runs around the central mass. Two tiers of windows along the walls provide some light to the interior, which is devoid of mural paintings except for faint traces in the western portico.

Two stairways on the east side provide access to an external stairway, which leads to the main sanctum containing a large image of Buddha seated on a throne. Another flight of stairs leads to terraces above the main shrine. The height of the pagoda is approximately 61 meters (200 feet).

Southwest of Thatbyinnyu are two tall stone pillars with inverted-V designs purportedly used to support a huge bronze bell donated by Alaungsithu. Other than the chronicles, there appears to be no evidence supporting this assertion.

THATON. References to this site in peninsular Burma may date as early as the sixth century. Burmese texts refer to a place named Sudhammawati or Sudhammapura at the mouth of the Sittang River, supposedly founded by a colony of Indians from Orissa. Local legend claims that Buddhaghosa, a famous Sri Lankan monk of the fifth century, was born and died there. Thaton has been designated in some sources as belonging to—or even being the capital of—the “country” or deśa (which may mean simply a geographical area, a region with a common culture, a group of polities whose rulers all aspired to the role of primus inter pares, or a unified kingdom) of the Rman or Mons (Ramannadesa), which included territory between the Ayeyarwadi and the Chao Phraya.

Not enough archaeological research has been conducted to enable scholars to discriminate between these widely spaced alternatives. No unaltered old remains have been discovered at Thaton, but originally the site had a moat with inner and outer ramparts, faced with laterite, enclosing an area of 2,300 by 1,200 meters (7,600 by 3,700 feet). Nearby lies another site, Ayetthema, which may be older. Nothing is known of this site other than that it displays remains of walls.

THERAVADA. The dominant form of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. The term literally means “doctrine of the elders.” It traces its origins to Asoka, ruler of the Mauryan empire in India from 264 to 238 BCE. Adherents of this doctrine assume that the road to enlightenment is very long and cannot be accelerated by appeal to other deities or artificial
aids such as chants or mystical diagrams such as **mandalas**. The historical character Siddharta Gautama (**Sakyamuni**), who lived between 563 and 483 BCE, dominates the **religion**, and he is considered the only being who has attained enlightenment in this cycle of existence.

The Pali language is considered sacred by the Theravada religion, and generations of pupils have attained literacy due to its emphasis on preserving and disseminating its basic texts in the written form of this language. The link between Sri Lanka and **Burma** was instrumental in the dissemination of this religion to Southeast Asia. According to tradition, Buddhist missionaries were sent by Asoka to Burma and Sri Lanka. The **Mahavihara** school of Theravada, developed in Sri Lanka in the 12th century, is associated with a return to strict interpretation of the rules for monkhood in the texts known as **Vinayas**. Burmese Buddhists went to Sri Lanka, were reordained according to the customs of this school, and returned to Burma, where they introduced its precepts. Mahavihara influence quickly spread through what is now Thailand, **Cambodia**, and **Laos**.

**THILAWUNTHA (SILAVANGSA), SHIN MAHA (1453–1518).** The author of the **Yazawingyaw** or Celebrated Chronicle, completed in 1510. This is the oldest extant Burmese **chronicle**. Earlier documents might have been destroyed in a fire that engulfed the royal palace at **Inwa** in the early 18th century. Shin Maha Thilawuntha was born in Taungdwingyi, famous as the birthplace of well-known poets and writers. During the early period of the first Inwa kingdom, Thilawuntha was one of four famous Burmese writers referred to collectively as **pe le bin, shin le ba** (“four manuscript, four venerable monks”). He became so famous that a pagoda was built to mark the place where his cremated ashes were buried.

The **Yazawingyaw** is divided into three chapters: the history of the Law of the Mahasama, the history of Sri Lanka, and the history of **Burma**. Unlike later Burmese chronicles, Thilawuntha’s text devotes only one-fifth of its content to the history of **Buddhism** in Burma proper.

**THIRIPITSAYA.** The second capital of **Bagan**. According to **Burmese chronicles**, in Myanmar Era 266 (c. 518 CE), Theylaykyaung, son of King Paiktheylay, became king. He disbanded the
19 villages and founded a new capital in the area around Lokananda. This new city became known as Thiripitsaya. A village that still exists on the site preserves the ancient name of the capital.

**THOMMANON.** First temple at a rest house built on the main road leading out of *Angkor* around 1150. It seems to have been modeled on the form *Wat Phu* then exhibited. It stands on a probable Bronze Age site. Bernard Philippe Groslier in 1964 found a ritual deposit under the library of the Thommanon complex, containing a rock crystal Nandi seal. Secondary Bronze Age burials, including bronze bracelets, were also found around *Baksei Chamkrong*. Suryavarman II made few basic changes to the site, but did erect two temples beside the road leading east from the palace: Thommanon and Chau Say Tevoda.

**TIGAWANGI.** A candi located in east Java and dating from the 14th-century reign of Rajasangara (*Hayam Wuruk*), who died in 1389. The temple was to have been dedicated to the king’s brother-in-law Rajasawardhana, but it was not finished. Perhaps it was under construction when the king died. Like nearby Surawana, its ruins consist of a high platform decorated with narrative reliefs. Both temples may once have had timber superstructures.

The narrative reliefs at Tigawangi differ from Surawana in that they consist of a single story told in linear sequence. The story depicted is that of *Sudamala*, a tale with a theme of exorcism based on characters found in the *Mahabharata*.

The temple was equipped with statue bases, but the main images have not been discovered. A damaged statue of a male figure riding an animal is among the fragments of stones associated with the site. It probably represents Surya on his rabbit-eared horse. A small subsidiary structure of which the stone base remains is decorated with panels apparently depicting scenes from daily life, including a man, perhaps a traveling peddler, carrying goods using a shoulder pole.

**TIKUS.** Literally meaning “Temple of the Rat,” this is the modern folk name of an ornamental fountain and bathing place constructed in east Java on the southeast fringe of the 14th- and 15th-century capital of Majapahit. The site had been deeply buried by volcanic debris washed down from nearby Mount Welirang, and a Muslim graveyard
had been constructed above it. The site was discovered in 1914 when villagers excavated deeply below the cemetery in an effort to eradicate the many rats that lived in the warrens afforded by the ruins below. The bathing place contained an elaborate system of inlets for water, which the rats used as burrows.

The graves were exhumed due to the influence of a local regent, R. A. A. Kramadja Adinegara, and the site was restored in the 1980s. The ensemble measures 22.5 meters (75 feet) square, and its floor is 5.2 meters (17 feet) below present ground level. A stairway leads down to the floor; on either side, it is flanked by a brick tank, which was filled by water fed through concealed channels in the brickwork. Directly in front of the staircase is a structure meant to represent a model of Mount Meru. From this structure, water poured onto the floor of the pool from spouts in the forms of makaras and lotuses.

**TITLES.** Southeast Asian historians are often faced with major problems in interpreting the names of people found in ancient inscriptions because they may use several different names for the same person. Rulers often had different names at different stages of life: a personal name before becoming king; a royal title by which they were referred to during their reign; and a posthumous name.

In Java, rulers were often referred to by a complex formula. The first component of the designation was usually Sri Maharaja. Next came the name of their watak, that is, their personal appanage, the area from which they drew their main income. The title of a noble who ruled a watak was rakarayan i (“appanage-holder in . . .”), which was often abbreviated rakai or rake. After this would sometimes be an honorific such as dyah (“his majesty”); pu or mpu, roughly “the learned one”; or sri (“the glorious one”). Some rulers underwent initiations into religious orders, called abhiseka rituals, after which they would be given a religious name. Different inscriptions might use different parts of these long names. After death they, too, sometimes received posthumous names. An example of a complete name and title would be Sri Maharaja Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung Sri Dharmmodaya Mahasambu.

Other terms with the more general meaning “lord” were used, such as Narendra, incorporating the name (I)ndra, from the “king of the gods” who ruled Mount Meru in both Hindu and Buddhist thought.
In Cambodia, many rulers used the suffix -varmadeva. Because of a mistaken assumption, early sources transliterated the suffix as -värman; thus Jayavarman should properly be written Jayavarmadeva. Khmer royal titles were based on mratañ, including Vrah kamrateañañ, His Majesty. The term was first used for gods, but through a process of “title inflation” beginning around 650, men claiming kingship began to use it for themselves. Conversely, the earliest records of Cambodia use enhanced versions of titles used by chiefs.

TONLE SAP. The “Great Lake” in central Cambodia. The lake increases from a depth of 1 meter (3.3 feet) and area of 3,000 square kilometers (1,000 square miles) during the dry season to 12 meters (40 feet) and 10,000 square kilometers (3,000 square miles) during the period when the Mekong River reverses its flow due to the melting of Himalayan snows and water flows into the lake from the river.

The abundance of aquaculture and the lake’s seasonal expansion provide a reliable livelihood for people living on the banks of the lake—some in villages built on stilts in its waters—and between the Tonle Sap and Mekong rivers. By the late sixth century, the area extending from the north shore of the Tonle Sap east to the Mekong represented the heartland of the Zhenla kingdom. In the seventh century, according to traditional historiography, Zhenla split into Land Zhenla, located to the north of the great lake, and Water Zhenla, a trading polity along the southern Mekong River. Michael Vickery has challenged this picture, however.

According to Khmer inscriptions, Champa attacked Angkor some time around 1177 by sailing up the Tonle Sap. Scenes of naval battles on the lake are prominently displayed on the south wall of the Bayon.

TOUNGOO. Kingdom on the Sittang River in southeast Burma founded in 1280. In 1347, it attained prominent status when Thinkhaba became king. When Inwa fell in 1527, its population fled to Toungoo, which had been a southern provincial capital. The governor of Toungoo then founded a new kingdom and dynasty. At this time, three major kingdoms were vying for supremacy in Burma: Inwa, then controlled by the Shan in the north; Toungoo in the center; and Bago in the south. Toungoo soon began expanding south-
ward, its goal being the capture of the lucrative ports of Bago and others in the Tenasserim area of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula.

After Bago was taken, it became the new capital of the second Mon Hanthawati dynasty, commonly referred to as Toungoo-Hanthawati. Toungoo recaptured Inwa after taking several strategic cities along the way, including Pyi. By this point, Toungoo-Hanthawati controlled the entire Ayeyarwadi River valley. Myinkyinyo (R. 1486–1531), founder of the resurgent kingdom, married the king of Inwa’s daughter. When Tabinshwehti, their son, became king, he began expanding into northern Thailand. By the mid-16th century, Toungoo under King Bayinnaung was powerful enough to sack Ayutthaya (in 1569) and Vientiane (shortly thereafter). Toungoo’s success was short-lived, however. In 1599 a combined attack by Mrauk-U, Arakan, and Ayutthaya sacked and burned the capital at Bago to the ground. Bago was never able to recover from this attack.

TRA KIEU. A hill between Mi Son and the sea where a ruler named Bhadresvarman probably established his capital around 400. An inscription from Dong Yên Chau here, written in Cham, is the oldest in any Southeast Asian language. The inscription, set up by Bhavavarman I, praises the “divine naga” of the king. Apart from this inscription, Cham inscriptions were all written in Sanskrit until the seventh century; thereafter Sanskrit was used primarily for religious passages, Cham for mundane matters.

The kingdom centered here was known as Singapura. These sites lie along the Thu Bon River, which enters the sea at modern Hoi An. Archaeological research at Tra Kieu has yielded much information, including indications of early temples and other structures, including roof tiles with Chinese-style decorations from the early first millennium CE.

TRADE. Trade, both local and long-distance, began in prehistoric Southeast Asia, as archaeological research has demonstrated. During the period of ancient history, trade occupied an important position in foreign accounts of Southeast Asia. Local documents, however, provide very little information on the subject. No doubt many records of trade once existed but were written on perishable material and did not survive. Permanent materials were largely reserved for religious
matters and judicial decisions, though a few records confirming the discharge of personal debts provide glimpses of the existence of such transactions.

In the first millennium CE, trade stimulated the development of important social, political, and technological changes in the region. In the 10th century, though, the paths of development of mainland and island Southeast Asia diverged. Mainland empires eliminated *coinage* and adopted centralized economies; Austronesian-speaking regions of coastal Champa, Malaysia, and the insular area, on the other hand, intensified their economic institutions. This development may have been stimulated by the Austronesians’ nautical expertise and by the possession of strategic positions and resources. Another factor may have been the increasing demand for Southeast Asian products in other parts of Asia.

Scholars are gradually making progress in the study of ancient Southeast Asian trade. More precise interpretations of ancient written sources combined with much new archaeological data are leading to a greater appreciation of the sophistication of the region’s economy. See also FUNAN; MAJAPAHIT; MONEY; OC EO; SRIVIJAYA (SRÎVIJAYA).

**TRAIBHUMIKATHA.** A text on Buddhist cosmology written in 1345 in Sukothai, supposedly by the ruler, Lu Thai. In Old Siamese, it is known as the Traiphum Phra Ruang, “The Doctrine of the Three Worlds.” It is still influential in Cambodia and Thailand, and in its time was probably known in the Buddhist kingdoms of the Malays.

**TRALAYA (TROLOYO).** A modern village that occupies part of the site of Majapahit’s capital city of the 14th century. In the village is a group of tombstones with Islamic and Javanese motifs. One face of the stones is inscribed with verses from the Koran in Arabic script; the other is inscribed with Javanese motifs, including the Majapahit sunburst enclosing a symbol that may represent a palm-leaf book. There are no names on the stones, but they are dated in Javanese numerals, using not the Muslim Hegira era but the pre-Islamic Saka year system. The dates range from 1376 to 1475 CE.

It seems that by the end of King Hayam Wuruk’s reign, some Javanese, probably of rather high social standing, had already converted to Islam. Majapahit’s official religion, however, remained a
characteristically Javanese blend of indigenous and Indian symbols and concepts until the kingdom’s end. Islam was a minority faith mainly restricted to the north coast ports until the 16th century, during which it spread into the interior of Java and was at least nominally adopted by most of the agrarian population.

**TRIHUWANADHYAVARMAN.** An official of Angkor who overthrew Yasovarman II around 1165. He may have been a relative of Jayavarman VII. He was killed in the Cham invasion of 1177.

**TRIHUWANATUNGGADEWI.** Technically the regent for her mother Gayatri, she effectively reigned as queen of the kingdom of Majapahit from 1329 to 1350. When Gayatri died, Tribhuwana’s regency ended and her son Hayam Wuruk ascended the throne as King Rajasanagara. Tribhuwana, like her mother, was a devout Buddhist. Her reign is associated with the rise of a powerful prime minister, Gajah Mada, who served her from 1331. Much of the drive for territorial expansionism that took place during her regency is attributed to him. Bali was invaded in 1343, the local ruler and his family were wiped out, and the island came under strong Javanese influence. A statue of a woman found at Candi Ngrimbi (Mojowarno, east Java, near Majapahit’s capital Trowulan) depicts Siva’s consort Parvati. Archaeologist W. F. Stutterheim concluded that the statue represented Tribhuwanatunggadewi. She died in 1372.

The name was also used by a queen of Indrapura, Champa, around 900. During her time, a high official went on siddhayatra to Yawadwipapura, probably central Java.

**TRIEU DA.** Vietnamese pronunciation of Zhao To, name of a Chinese commissioner under the Qin dynasty who became governor of the
conquered southern regions around Guangzhou. He established his own independent kingdom called **Nam Viet** (Nan Yueh in Chinese) after the fall of the Qin in 207 BCE. Trieu Da was recognized as a vassal ruler as a tributary state of Han-dynasty China in 196 BCE. When, in 185 BCE, Empress Lu of China prohibited Chinese traders from selling horses and weapons to Nam Viet, Trieu Da threw off Chinese suzerainty, proclaimed himself emperor, and conquered the Vietnamese kingdom of **Au Lac**. Traditional sources credit him with an incredibly long reign, lasting more than 70 years to 136 BCE—when he would have been 121 years old. In Vietnamese tradition, he is honored for his resistance to Chinese rule.

**TRIGUNA.** Poet of the east Javanese kingdom of Kediri who composed a text of the Kresnayana around 1100.

**TROWULAN.** The modern village that occupies much of the site of the former capital of the 14- and 15th-century Majapahit kingdom in east Java (see map 9). The name probably originally meant “Bright [or Full] Moon.” The name does not appear in early sources, and it is not known when it came to be applied to the area, which is today one of a number of agricultural villages approximately 60 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Surabaya.

The Desawarnana, a poem written in 1365 by the court poet Prapanca, gives a detailed description of the palace, which was surrounded by a high wall of red brick. On the west side was a square surrounded by water. The main gate, furnished with iron doors, was on the north, near which a market was held and where rest houses (presumably for those visiting the market) stood. On the east was a tall tower. An outer courtyard was lined with pavilions: on the north for scholars and officials, along with three-story Buddhist structures; on the east, quarters for Siva worshippers and Buddhists, including a place for offerings and a Siva temple. The Wiras (risi) had multi-story buildings on the south, while the west was devoted to a platform where offerings were presented to “demons,” presumably local spirits of the soil.

Passing south from this outer courtyard, one reached audience halls and pavilions. Proceeding farther in the same direction, after passing through another gate, one would enter the residential quarters...
of the royal family, divided into subsections, in which were dwellings built of wood.

A Dutch engineer, Henri Maclaine Pont, manager of a sugar plantation that covered much of the site in the early 20th century, constructed a plan of the palace, taking into account the Desawarnana’s description and various remains, some of which no longer exist. His underlying assumption was that the palace was part of a large mandala-like layout, symmetrically designed. Archaeologist W. F. Stutterheim came to somewhat different conclusions, based on his comparison of the site with Balinese palace complexes. More recent archaeological research suggests that the area today known as Kedaton (“Place of the Ruler”), which lies on the southwest side of the site, was in fact the location of the palace. The main principle governing the site’s layout may have been the north–south and east–west axes, which met at a sacred crossroad.

Several important sites in and around Trowulan still display 14th-century remains, including Segaran, Bajangratu, Berahu, Wringin Lawang, and Tralaya. Unfortunately much of the site has been despoiled for brick; many structures were demolished before they could be recorded. It is unlikely that the full extent and nature of the site will ever been known in detail. Archaeological surveys, however, suggest that a number of manors or kuwu comprising compounds of dwellings under the rule of noble families were spread over an area of approximately 100 square kilometers (40 square miles), making the capital a very large early urban settlement in Southeast Asian terms.

**TRUONG SISTERS.** Truong Trac was the daughter of a Vietnamese local chief who instigated her husband, Thi Sach, traditional ruler of Chu-dien, to rebel against the Han-dynasty governors of north Vietnam in 40 CE. Truong Trac herself was acknowledged as reigning queen. She and her sister and assistant Truong Nhi became legendary figures in Vietnamese history. According to tradition, many other leaders of the rebellion were women. In 41, Chinese general Ma Yuan, who had successfully put down another rebellion in China, was dispatched to put down this uprising. Truong Trac was defeated, and she and her sister were beheaded, although Vietnamese traditions assert that they drowned themselves.
TUBAN. Now merely a village situated on the north coast of east Java, Tuban was the site of one of the island’s main ports during the 13th through 15th centuries. It was an important node in the trading network that funneled spice from eastern Indonesia to mainland Asia, and it hosted a large community of foreign merchants. According to Chinese records, in the 13th century, Kublai Khan’s expedition sent to capture King Kertanagara landed at Tuban. Chinese visitors to Majapahit noted that Tuban was the first port they visited in the kingdom before their ships continued east to Gresik and Surabaya.

Numerous shipwrecks off the harbor, from which many pieces of Chinese porcelain have been recovered, attest to Tuban’s importance as a principal port of trade. Tuban is also regarded as one of the first places in Java to convert to Islam. The tomb of Sunan Bonang, one of the wali songo or nine saints credited with bringing Islam to Java can be found behind the Jami’q Mosque.

TUK MAS. Site on the slope of the extinct volcano Merbabu where the oldest known inscription in central Java was found. The name means “Golden Spring” in Javanese, and indeed there are springs in the vicinity. The text reads “This spring, sprung from pure white lotuses, in some parts oozing from stones and sand, in others spreading with cool and clear water, flows as extensively as the Ganga.” It bears no date, but the script style is dated to approximately the seventh century. Also engraved on the stone are a number of symbols, including a conch, discus, and mace, attributes of Vishnu.

TULODONG. Ruler of Mataram, central Java. Inscriptions from him date from 919–921.

TUN PERAK. The famous chief minister of 15th-century Melaka. Tun is a title of respect; Perak means “silver” in Malay. He was a son of Seriwa Raja, the bendahara or treasurer of the kingdom. He proved a worthy leader in defending the kingdom against a Siamese attack in 1445–1446. Tun Perak served as chief minister under three sultans, repelling more Siamese invasions and masterminding Melaka’s territorial expansion to Bengkalis and Karimun, strategic islands in the Strait of Melaka; important territories on Sumatra, including Jambi, Siak, and Aru; and major portions of the Malay Peninsula, including
Pahang, Terengganu, and Johor. He probably played a part in the compilation of the Laws of Melaka (Undang-Undang Melaka), an important text that survived the fall of the kingdom in 1511. When Tun Perak passed away in approximately 1498, the kingdom was at the height of prosperity.

TUNGGUL AMETUNG. See ANGROK, KEN (AROK).

TURIANG. Site of a shipwreck found off the east coast of Pahang, Malaysia. Radiocarbon dating has indicated it was constructed sometime between 1305 and 1435. The ship may have sunk just before 1371, when the Hongwu emperor, founder of the Ming dynasty, imposed a ban on foreign trade. This may be the oldest known Chinese vessel found in Southeast Asian waters, based on the use of nails and bulkheads in its construction.

The ship’s ceramic cargo consisted of 46 percent Sukothai, 11 percent Si Satchanalai, 8 percent Vietnamese, and 35 percent Chinese ware, all monochromes; no Chinese blue-and-white ceramics were found. Four jars from Suphanburi, common storage vessels of the 15th and 16th centuries, were also discovered, along with two earthenware pots, perhaps property of the crew. Nonceramic cargo included iron ore and four elephant tusks. This is the oldest known ship that carried Southeast Asian glazed pottery as its main cargo.

TWINTHIN. Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu was born Tun Nyo in Maung Htaung village near Monywa, Burma, in 1726. He was educated in the Buddhist monastery in his village and became a famous author who wrote mainly pyo poems, some dhammathat or customary law texts, and an orthographic work entitled Wibazza-pita. He left the monastic order after six years when he fell in love with a maiden who regularly attended his sermons. King Alaungpaya recognized Tun Nyo’s intellectual ability and appointed him tutor to his third son, the future King Bodawpaya (R. 1782–1819). When the latter ascended the throne, he raised Tun Nyo to the position of Twinthin Taikwun and gave him the high title Mahasithu.

In 1793 King Bodawpaya ordered all stone inscriptions from monasteries and pagodas across Burma to be collected and brought to the capital, where new copies of these inscriptions were made.
During this time Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu became extremely interested in Burmese history. He soon discovered that there were discrepancies between the dates contained in the inscriptions and in chronicles such as U Kala’s Mahayazawingyi. Bodawpaya then ordered Twinthin to compile a new and more accurate chronicle known as Mahayazawinthit (“New Chronicle”), which was probably completed in 1798. This work allegedly comprised 15 parts, but only 13 have been identified.

Burmese scholars regard the Mahayazawinthit as an important text that assumes a more critical reading of not only the inscriptions but also the earlier chronicles. Twinthin’s work is significant, too, because it provides invaluable information on the records and writings of other authors who were his contemporaries.

– U –

U KALA. See KALA, U.

UBOSOTH. A Thai term for a religious structure with a Buddha image and sima boundary markers. The structure is used for religious ordination. An alternative term in Thai is bot.

UDAYADITYAVARMAN. Udayadityavarman I was the son of Jayavarman V, who became king of Yasodharapura (Angkor) in 1001. He left two inscriptions at Koh Ker and Mlu Prei, but he soon lost a power struggle with Suryavarman I. It is not known what eventually became of him.

Udayadityavarman II was the successor of Suryavarman I in Angkor. He took the throne in 1050. Two years later the Sdok Kak Thom inscription was carved, signifying a major change in the fortunes of the family who had supervised the devaraja for 250 years. The chief priest, Sadasiva, married a sister of the queen and obtained a new title, Dhuli jeng (“dust of the feet,” referring to the ruler) and a new job as royal spiritual teacher (the priests of the devaraja were celibate). Udayadityavarman II sponsored some major construction projects, including the Baphuon, which was the centerpiece of his capital. His massive building projects obliterated most traces of the
older layout of the site. His reign lasted until 1066, when he died and was succeeded by his younger brother, Harsavarman III.

**UDAYANA.** King of Bali who issued inscriptions from 989 to 1011. His queen, Mahendradatta, was the daughter of Makutawang-shawardhana, the ruler of east Java.

**UGRASENA.** Ruler of a kingdom in Bali from 915 to 939. His capital was called Singamandawa or Singadwalapura. Its location is unknown.

**UJUNG GALUH.** A site at the mouth of the Kali Mas River. This was the forerunner of the city that became known as Surabaya in 1358. It was first settled in 1275 but did not become an important port city until Raden Wijaya founded Majapahit in 1293.

**UJUNG TANAH.** A place cited in the 15th-century Kot Mandirapala or Palatine Law of Ayutthaya as a dependency. Literally meaning “Land’s End,” it referred to the southern area of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula.

**UTHONG.** “Golden Cradle.” An archaeological site in central Thailand with a range of artifacts typical of Dvaravati culture. It was surrounded by an oval-shaped moat 1,690 meters (5,580 feet) long and 840 meters (2,770 feet) wide and earthen embankments that enclosed brick monuments (probably religious structures). Archaeological remains include plaster that probably once coated the temples, ceramics, iron tools, remnants of metalworking such as slag, glass beads, and spindle whorls for weaving. Radiocarbon dates for the site extended from the first to the seventh centuries. Archaeologically the site shares many details with Oc Eo, in the southernmost part of Vietnam, which probably formed part of the kingdom of Funan. A copperplate inscription written in Sanskrit that dates from the seventh century mentions King Harsavarman, grandson of Isanavarman. This information fits available data on the son of Chitrasena, who was named Isanavarman and ruled until about 630.

The name Uthong was still used for a muang or district in the mid-14th century, when a man variously described as a chief or prince of Uthong—according to one version of the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya the son of a Chinese merchant, born in 1314—in 1351 established
a royal center on an island in the Chao Phraya River that became the capital of the kingdom of Ayutthaya.

– V –

VAIROCANA. “The Sun Shining Everywhere” is the oldest dhyanibuddha (“meditation Buddha”) to originate from India. He is the chief object of worship in the Japanese Shingon sect. In Vajrayana Buddhism, he is represented in the center surrounded by the other four jiña Buddhas at the four cardinal points. The Mahavairocana Sutra states that Vairocana is the whole world divided into two parts, Garbhadhatu (material) and Vajradhatu (indestructible), both combining to form the Dharmadhatus (“realm of the dharma,” the Buddhist Law). On the central Javanese monument of Barabudur, the layout of which some scholars believe represents the Dharmadhatus mandala, Vairocana appears both in relief and in statuary displaying the dharmacakra mudra (“turning the wheel of the dharma”). The turning of the wheel refers to the episode of the historic Buddha’s life when he preached the first sermon in the Deer Park. In statuary, Vairocana carries the golden wheel (cakra) and sits on a lotus seat supported by a pair of lions.

VAJRA. A Sanskrit word meaning either diamond or thunderbolt. The term is frequently used in esoteric Buddhism to symbolize the durability and brilliance of the Buddhist dharma. The vajra is the attribute of Indra, commonly known in Buddhism as Sakra. He often appears in Jataka tales, where he devises various tests to evaluate the sincerity and depth of the future Buddha’s commitment to attaining enlightenment. Indra can be identified by the thunderbolt (vajra) he holds in his hand, usually visualized as a three- or five-pronged instrument with a handle. Sometimes the prongs are found on both ends; sometimes the vajra forms the handle of a bell. Such ritual implements are found in archaeological sites in Java and are still used by priests in Bali. A large collection of them was discovered on the Intan shipwreck off southeast Sumatra; they had formed part of the cargo of a vessel that probably sank around 930 on its way from Sumatra to Java. Depictions of Indra holding his vajra can be seen on Barabudur.
In later esoteric Buddhism, a specific doctrine termed Vajrayana, “way of the thunderbolt,” was formulated. A deity of esoteric Buddhism named Vajrapani, “Thunderbolt holder,” emerged as Mahayana Buddhist schools became more diversified. He is depicted wielding his thunderbolt as a weapon to defeat the enemies of Buddhism.

VAN LANG. Name of the earliest kingdom in Vietnam. Its origins are legendary; it is thought to have existed until 257 BCE. Its rulers are called the Hung kings, of whom 18 are recorded. Sources for the kingdom’s history are limited to much later texts: Chinese documents of the fourth century CE and Vietnamese traditions first written in the 14th century. The first Hung ruler, recorded as reigning at Phong Chau, was supposedly the youngest son of Lac Long Quan, legendary ancestor of the Hundred Yueh. The kingdom was divided into domains under his relatives, termed Lac Tuong or military chiefs. Their culture may be reflected in the decorations on the bronze drums and other artifacts in a style termed Dongson after an archaeological site in north Vietnam where many were discovered. They depict warriors who wear feathered headdresses, utilize large war canoes, and build stilt houses with a particular technique called the stressed roofbeam found today in Sumatra and Sulawesi, Indonesia. Numerous weapons, including swords and ceremonial axes, are found in archaeological sites of this period.

Chinese texts describe them as people who wore their hair long, in buns wrapped in cloth turbans. The chewing of betel seems to have been an important part of their culture. According to traditional Vietnamese history, the kingdom of Van Lang was succeeded by Au Lac.

VIDYANANDANA. A Cham prince who went to Angkor in 1182, obtained the trust of Jayavarman VII, and was delegated to lead a Khmer attack on Champa in 1190. This assault was successful, and a Khmer was installed as king at Vijaya (Binh Dinh Province). However, Vidyanandana then set up his own principality farther south at Pandurangga and styled himself Suryawarmadewa. When a revolt at Vijaya expelled the Khmer ruler and placed a Cham on the throne as Jaya Indravarman V, Vidyanandana/Suryawarmadeva fought him, won, and killed his rival, unifying Champa. His reign lasted until 1203, but then he was driven away by his uncle with Khmer support. Failing to gain Dai Viet support, he vanished from history.
VIENTIANE. In early history, a Mon city was called Chandapuri, “City of the Moon” in Pali. In Lao Tai, this would be Vieng Chăn, thus providing the origin of the modern name. Another name for the city, Vieng Kham, “City of Gold,” is mentioned in a Sukhothai inscription. Another possible derivation of the name is “City of Sandalwood.”

In the 14th century the city’s ruler refused to support Fa Ngum’s campaign. In 1356 Vientiane was ruled by King Xieng Mung. Vientiane had a twin city, Phai Nam, ruled by his son, Phagna Phao. Chronicles describe the great battle that occurred in that year between the forces of Luang Prabang and Vientiane, in which Fa Ngum killed Xieng Mung and incorporated the city into his kingdom of Lan Xang.

VIETNAM. See DAI VIET (ĐẢI VIỆT); JIAO ZHI; NAM VIET; VAN LANG; YUEH (YÜEH).

VIHAN. A Thai name for a kind of building in a Buddhist complex. Vihan contain images of Buddha and are used as places to conduct religious ceremonies for laypeople.

VIHARA. A Sanskrit word for a Buddhist monastic complex. The earliest known examples in Southeast Asia are found in central Burma at Beikthano, Halin, and Bagan.

VIJAYA. The name of a Cham capital in Binh Dinh Province. In 988 a ruler later known as Harivarman II was crowned here. He later moved his capital back to its former site of Indrapura. In 1000 Yang Pu Ku Vijaya Sri again moved the capital to Vijaya to escape attacks from Vietnam. Vijaya was captured in 1069 by King Ly Thanh-tong, who held a feast in the Cham palace, took a census that enumerated 2,560 families in the city, then burned the palace down. Vijaya is believed to have controlled territory in modern Binh Dinh and Phu Yen provinces. Important ruins in Vijaya’s territory include the so-called Silver Tower (Banh It).

VIKRANTA VARMAN. Crowned king of Singapura (Champa) in 653, Vikrantavarman I built many temples dedicated to Vishnu at Mi
**Son.** at the capital, and elsewhere in **Quang Nam.** He sent four missions to China between 653 and 670 and erected inscriptions as far south as **Nha Trang.** He was probably succeeded by a son, Vikrantavarman II, who sent about 15 missions to China, reigning until at least 731.

Vikrantavarman IV governed **Vijaya,** Champa, between 1030 and 1041. He was succeeded by his son **Jaya Singhabharman II.**

**VISHNU.** Important **Hindu** deity, one of the **Trimurti** or central trinity, along with **Brahma** and **Siva.** Vishnu was incarnated in 10 forms or **avatars** in order to save the world from disaster. The 10 incarnations were a fish; a tortoise; a boar; **Narasingha,** when he took the form of a lion to slay the demon Hrinayakasipa; Trivikrama, a dwarf who strides the universe in three steps; Parasurama; **Rama;** Krishna; Buddha; and Kalkin (a man riding a horse, heralding the destruction of the present era). In the last case, some images show him with a horse’s head. In Indonesia, statues of this god in five of his incarnations have been found: the third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and eighth.

Vishnu statues appeared in several parts of Southeast Asia by 500, including the territories in the lower **Mekong** associated with the kingdom of **Funan;** peninsular Thailand; **Bangka Island,** off southeast **Sumatra;** and west **Java.** While he was not as popular as **Siva** and his associated deities **Ganesa** or **Durga,** Vishnu enjoyed the patronage of many Southeast Asian rulers. Statues of Narasingha have been found in several locations in Southeast Asia, though they are rare. One found at **Candi Ijo** in central Java from the late ninth century differs from normal Indian compositions because Hiranyakasipa is on Vishnu’s right instead of left thigh. The Nat-hlaung-kyaoong at **Bagan,** a Vishnu temple built by Tamils in the 11th century, originally contained images of all 10 of Vishnu’s avatars, of which seven survive.

In the 12th century an important revival of Vishnu worship began in India, associated with the **religious** thinker Ramanuja. Perhaps as a result of this religious wave in India, the important ruler of **Cambodia** (**Suryavarman II**) and the ruling line of kings of **Kediri** in Java in the 12th century were devotees of Vishnu.

**VOCANH.** The name of a site in **Nha Trang,** south Vietnam, where a royal edict inscribed on stone, the oldest known Southeast Asian text,
has been found. It is written in a southern Indian script that can be dated to the third century at the latest. The script with the closest parallel to this stone is found in the Gujarat area, northwest India. The Vocanh inscription was associated with some enormous bricks measuring 118 by 35 by 8 centimeters (47 by 14 by 3.5 inches), probably part of a religious sanctuary. It mentions a king named Srimara, which is also the name of a ruler of Funan mentioned in Chinese sources. The inscription itself does not mention any kingdom, however, and since it is written in Sanskrit, the ethnicity of the author cannot be determined. The king who set up the inscription was not Srimara, but a descendant whose name is not found in the surviving portion of the text.

The stone is a rectangular granite pillar 2.5 meters (8 feet 3 inches) high and 72 by 67 centimeters (28.8 by 26.8 inches) in cross-section. A long text was inscribed on three faces of this pillar. Unfortunately at least the first six lines are nearly gone on one face, as are the first eight lines on another side. On the third face of the stone traces of more writing are visible, but only a few characters are legible. The letters are very big, 4 centimeters (1.6 inches) high on average.

The remaining text contains such phrases as “compassion for the creatures,” “the priests, of course, who have drunk the ambrosia of the hundred words of the king”; “the ornament . . . by that which is the joy of the family of the daughter of the grandson of king Srimara . . . has been ordained”; and “the edict which brings the welfare of the creatures, by the better of the two karîn, the going and coming of this world.” Karîn means “possessors of kâra” and can indicate either an elephant’s trunk or a tax. This constitutes a play on words of a type Southeast Asian authors have always enjoyed using. The use of this technique can create refined literary effects, but obscures the text’s overall meaning. In this case, the intent is probably that the elephant and the king are both generous donors. Elephants give the liquor secreted from their foreheads when they are māda, that is, rutting; rulers give gifts.

Other fragments on the inscription mention “those who are seated on the throne,” “that which has to do with silver or gold,” “material treasure,” “all that is provided by me as one who is kind and useful,” and “my minister Vira.”
Louis Finot discerned Buddhist significance in the inscription, but Jean Filliozat noted that the expression “going and coming” used is found in the Ramayana, meaning going to another world and then returning to this one. Buddhists themselves considered compassion for creatures (karuna) as a brahmavihara, a “brahmanic disposition”; at this time the “brahmanists” of southern India considered karuna to be one of the supreme graces of Siva. Filliozat concluded that the inscription was therefore evidence of Hinduism rather than Buddhism.

VYADHAPURA. The possible birthplace of Jayavarman II, who is conventionally considered the founder of the kingdom of Angkor. From Vyadhapura, Jayavarman moved to Isanapura, where he married the queen. Later inscriptions refer often to Vyadhapura. He seems to have moved a large number of people to Angkor. Only one pre-Angkor inscription, dated 655, refers to Vyadhapura, but 16 Angkor-period texts, 10 from northwest Cambodia, mention it. Two record that Jayavarman took people from Vyadhapura to settle in Battambang, northwest of the Tonle Sap.

It has been speculated that Vyadhapura was the capital of Funan, but the point is controversial. The Chinese said that Funan’s capital was Te-mu. The original, probably Khmer, form of this word has been tentatively reconstructed as Khmer dālmake. This word can be glossed as “hunter,” which would be synonymous with Sanskrit vyadhā. But dālmake literally means “lassoer,” whereas vyadhā is “spearer” or “stabber.”

Vyadhapura was apparently located northeast of Ba Phnom, in the area of Banteay Prei Nokor. A site here consists of five reservoirs on one axis and extensive walls, but it has not been systematically excavated.

– W –

WALAING. A place-name referred to in several Javanese inscriptions dated between 856 and 919. According to an inscription of 863, Abhayagiri Wihara, identified with the Ratubaka site, changed its name to Walaing Kraton. Rākāi Walaing Pu Kumbayoni, described as the
victor of or from Walaing, proclaimed that his grandfather was the devaraja of Musalakyarastra (“the Kingdom of the Pounder”) or sang ratu i halu whose palace was in Jangluran. The Mantyasih inscription of 908 mentioned Walaing as the origin of the lineage of Punta Tarka. No further references to the place or title occur after 919.

**WANG DAYUAN.** A man with the cognomen Huan-chang, author of *Daoyi Zhilue* (“Description of the Barbarians of the Isles”). He was born around 1311 in Nanchang, Jiangsi Province, which became a prosperous port during the Song dynasty. Texts describe it as a place where there were many merchants who dealt in such Southeast Asian products as aromatic woods, pearls, and rhinoceros horns. The boats of the Southeast Asians were described as being “as big as hills.” The town is not far from the great pottery production center at Jingdezhen. Nanchang may have been a center of porcelain trade in the Yuan period.

Wang says in his postscript that in his youth he “attached” to a boat. This seems to refer to a common practice whereby a trader booked space on a ship for himself and his goods. He seems to have made two voyages to Southeast Asia, one from 1330 to 1334, the other from 1337 to 1339. It is also believed that he lived in Quanzhou for some time. We do not know what kind of business he was engaged in, when or where he died, or why he became the first Chinese sea trader to write about his experiences.

Wang’s *Daoyi Zhilue* was written as a supplement to *Qingyuan Xuzhi* (A Continuation of the History and Topography of Quanzhou), a local gazetteer by Wu Jian. Wang quotes from Zhao Rukuō’s *Zhu-fanzhi*. He was not a member of the literati class, but he had scholarly pretensions; the *Daoyi Zhilue* was excerpted from poems he wrote (which have not survived). Wang was less inclined to depict foreign customs and people as inferior to those of China than previous commentators had been, perhaps as the result of his personal experience. His text is a very important source for the study of early Southeast Asia. It is the oldest eyewitness description of a wide swath of the region that has survived.

**WANUA TENGAH.** A place in Java where several important ancient inscriptions have been found. The most significant is Wanua Tengah
III, issued by King Balitung in 908. It gives a very detailed list of central Javanese rulers in the context of setting up a sima for a Buddhist monastery in the village of Wanua Tengah (“Middletown”) in the appanage or district (watak) of Pikatan. The first donation recorded took place in 746. The inscription links the fate of various rulers to their generosity (or lack of it) to this particular religious foundation. Those who were not generous, who dissolved the sima, it says, died or were driven from the palace. Those who devoted the yield from a particular area of irrigated rice land, it is implied, lived long and had peaceful reigns. The implication is that the fate of the rulers was tied to their willingness to contribute to the sima’s maintenance.

The inscription is valuable for the light it sheds on the dynastic history of Mataram. It does not, however, mention the rulers of the parallel Sailendra family, dwelling only on the Sanjaya line. Interestingly, the Sanjaya are normally thought to have favored Siva worship, while the Sailendra are associated with Buddhism, yet here the Sanjaya are portrayed as the benefactors (at times) of the Buddhist monastery of Wanua Tengah. The name of the founder is not recorded; he is only indirectly referred to as the “ancestor of Hara,” who may have been a member of either the Sanjaya or Sailendra family, or even unrelated to either of them. The Sailendras seem to have been absorbed by the Sanjaya, perhaps after a marriage between a Sanjaya king and Sailendra queen around 832.

WARAK. Name of an appanage in central Java, the rulers of which were styled rākāi Warak. One of the most important was named Dyah Manara. He may have been the paramount of the Sanjaya line between 803 and 827. His relationship to the Sailendra line is unclear. Most of the major Buddhist complexes of central Java underwent great expansion during this time. Candi Banon, a Hindu temple near Lara Jonggrang, was probably also constructed in his time. Warak’s ashes were deposited at Kalasan, according to one record. The Wanua Tengah III inscription, however, views him dimly since he discontinued the sima status of Pikatan.

This period is important due to the shift from Sanskrit to Old Javanese language for inscriptions. Most of them were records of the formation of sima. Javanese coinage may have first been struck during his reign.
WAT ATHVEA. Athvea is a Khmer word meaning “deep in the forest.” The name denotes a temple with 16-sided colonnettes and apsaras on the interior, resembling Angkor Wat. Only one other Angkorian structure, Preah Pithu, has 16-sided columns. The libraries are also unusual in that they face the same direction as the main shrine. The complex is connected by a canal to the southwest corner of Angkor Wat’s moat. Other links with Angkor Wat consist of similarities in doorjambs and the use of many moldings. The library at the southeast corner has an unusual element: a somasutra, normally found in very early Siva temples. The main temple here faces west, also like Angkor Wat.

WAT PHU. An important architectural complex in southern Laos, near the town of Champassak at the foot of a mountain called Phu Kao, at the peak of which stands a large monolith. This was probably the Ling-qia-bo-po (Linggaparvata or “mountain of the lingga”) mentioned in a sixth-century Chinese text. The text states that there was a temple on top of the mountain dedicated to Po-do-li and that it was always guarded by thousands of soldiers.

A late fifth-century inscription (K.365), probably the oldest in Cambodia, found at a nearby temple, Wat Luang Kao, in Sanskrit language and Brahmi script, mentions King Devanika, a maharajadiraja (“king of kings”) who had come from a distant country and was installed with royal power by the grace of the Sri Linggaparvata. The inscription also records the establishment of a new mahatirtha, or pilgrimage center, Kuruksetra, named after an important site in the Indian epics. Thus the Wat Phu site was probably used for some time before King Jayavarman I constructed the central shrine in the eighth century. It may have been the site of a Zhenla capital called Sresthapura.

The structure was rebuilt by Jayavarman VI of Angkor. Blocks of stone fell into the temple from a nearby cliff in the early 13th century, so more renovation was carried out. During these renovations, elements of older buildings were preserved, giving Wat Phu characteristics from several different time periods. A chapel on the upper terrace of the sanctuary contains a pre-Angkor inscription and antefixes, but the exterior is of 11th-century style. Structures termed palaces are laid out in a manner similar to Koh Ker but use the decorative ele-
ments from early Angkor Wat. Wat Phu influenced the design of Thommanon and Chau Say Tevoda at Angkor.

**WATHUNDAGE.** An earth divinity in central Burma and Arakan, where numerous statues of her show her wringing water from her long hair. Her name derives from Vasudara, who offered a pot of water to Buddha.

In Shittaung, Arakan, Wathundage statues play a more complex role. On one wall of the site of Shittaung, in Mrauk-U, four Wathundage images are sculpted. Three are in traditional style, but the fourth is depicted as male. In Arakan the male version was incorporated into coronation rites. Wathundage appears at the Abeyadana shrine in Bagan, built in the 11th century, and on a lintel at Beng Mealea, Cambodia.

**WAWA.** Ruler of the principal Javanese kingdom in 927–928. In his reign, or perhaps shortly before, the center of Javanese political activity had moved from the center to the east of the island. He was succeeded by King Sindok.

**WENGKER.** One of the 20 provinces of Majapahit described in the 14th-century Desawarnana. Bhre Wengker Vijayarajasa, ruler of Wengker, was the uncle of Hayam Wuruk, the Majapahit king. Vijayarajasa was the commander of the army sent by Prime Minister Gajah Mada to battle with the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran. To reward him for the successful expedition, Gajah Mada advised Hayam Wuruk to marry the daughter of his uncle. Vijayarajasa became a trusted adviser of the king and was granted the governorship of Bali. Many edicts bearing his name were found in Bali dating from 1384 to 1386. Following the death of Gajah Mada, Majapahit was divided into two distinct administrative units. Chinese records suggest that between 1370 and 1381 the Bhre Wengker and Bhatara Prabhu were the administrators of these areas. In the 15th century, the ruler of Wengker seems to have rebelled against the central administration in the region of Trowulan, possibly setting the stage for the kingdom’s gradual disintegration.

**WEST BARAY.** An artificial body of water, 8 kilometers (4.8 miles) long and 2.2 kilometers (1.4 miles) wide, built at Angkor by
Udayadityavarman II in the mid-11th century. In the midst of it an artificial island was built with a temple, the West Mebon.

WEST MEBON. A temple constructed by Udayadityavarman II in the mid-11th century in the middle of the West Baray at Angkor. The focus of the temple was not a tower but a very large bronze statue of Vishnu reclining on his side in an allegory for the creation of the world, which Vishnu did in a dream while floating on his serpent in the midst of the ocean. In his dream, the god Brahma was born from his navel and then went on to perform the actual work of creation.

WETKYI-IN KUBYAUK-GYI. “Great Colorful Cave.” Buildings of a form that Burmese call “caves” because they have interior spaces, unlike stupas. A temple site at Bagan with beautiful mural paintings. The date of the temple and the identity of its patron are unknown. The vault bears a picture of a lotus pool surrounded by solar deities, symbolic of the appearance of a lotus from the ocean on which the universe was supported. Other motifs include the 28 Buddhas. Other paintings depict scenes from Gautama’s life and the 550 Jatakas. Larger paintings depict Buddha telling about the Jatakas and Mara’s attack. The murals were despoiled by a German treasure hunter in 1899, who cut out several sections and spirited them away.

WETKYI-IN KUBYAUK-NGE. “Lesser Colorful Cave.” Despite its name, it is larger than the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi (“Great Colorful Cave”), which is not far away. It is similar to early 12th-century shrines. Much of the original stucco decoration on the exterior has survived. Paintings on the interior focus on the conventional subject of the 550 Jatakas. Stone reliefs occupy niches on the interior.

WIKRAMAWARDHANA. Ruler of Majapahit who succeeded Hayam Wuruk in 1389. He had to contend with an attempted usurpation by Wirabhumi, Hayam Wuruk’s son by a concubine. Wikramawardhana himself was Hayam Wuruk’s nephew as well as son-in-law. Wirabhumi governed the eastern region under the title Bhre Wengker. The precise arrangements under which Wengker was ruled are not known, but it seems to have had considerable autonomy. The civil war lasted from 1401 to 1406, when Wirabhumi was killed.
This denouement is recorded in Chinese sources; the Ming fleet under Admiral Zheng He arrived in east Java just as the final battle was in progress. No fewer than 170 Chinese personnel of the fleet were killed during the battle. Wikramawardhana was succeeded by his daughter Suhita.

**WISNUWARDHANA.** Ruler of east Java. Also known as Ranggawuni, he was the son of Anusapati. He reigned jointly with his cousin Mahisha Champaka (also known as Narasinghamurti) from 1248 until 1254, then continued to reign until his death in 1268; he may have ruled jointly for a time with his son Kertanagara. It was he who changed the name of the capital from Kutaraja to Singasari, the name by which the kingdom was subsequently known. An important inscription from his reign known as Mulamanurung was written in 1255, in which the ruler, here called Narayya Sminingrat, appointed family members as governors of territories in Madura, Kediri, and other parts of east Java and possibly Bali. When he died in 1268, two monuments were erected in his memory: at Waleri, near Blitar, of which no trace now remains, where he was commemorated in the form of Siva; and at Jago, a unique monument with statues of a number of esoteric Buddhist deities. Wisnuwardhana was considered to be invocable there in the form of Amoghapasa.

**WOMEN.** Most scholars agree that women occupied an exceptionally prominent position in Southeast Asia compared to other parts of the world. A history of women in ancient Southeast Asia remains to be written, however. Inscriptions indicate that in pre-Angkorian Cambodia (during the seventh and eighth centuries), women held positions of power. At least two queens ruled independently, and in other polities they occupied positions of great authority. In the Angkorian period, no queens are attested, but royal genealogies indicate that claimants to the throne could appeal to descent through the female line to establish their legitimacy.

In most of ancient Southeast Asia, people recorded their descent through both the maternal and paternal lines. Philosophical and religious systems stressed the complementarity of the two sexes rather than the dominance of one over the other. There were regional differences in this pattern. Women are less prominently mentioned in
sources from Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam, possibly due to stronger influences from India and China in these areas, or perhaps because of the different cultural predispositions in Austronesian as opposed to Austroasiatic speakers.

Yet another, more complex explanation for the differences in the relative position of women, corresponding roughly to the mainland–island dichotomy, may stem from the role of women in commerce. Throughout Southeast Asia women have historically played an important part in trade, particularly as both buyers and sellers in markets. Women often control household decisions on disposition of income. Trade and the use of money were much more significant in the island realms than on the mainland, where economies tended to bypass markets in favor of centralized administered systems. Thus women’s greater power in the islands may have been connected with the greater importance of market exchange found there.

Women in insular Southeast Asia seem to have been more literate than their mainland counterparts. On the mainland, writing was mainly taught to boys during their formal period of residence in Buddhist monasteries, a resource not available to women. In Java, Sumatra, and Bali, on the other hand, women needed to learn to read and write because these were necessary skills for their commercial activity. To some extent, women in mainland Southeast Asia, especially those of the higher classes, may also have learned to read and write at home.

Another important role women played was that of diplomat. Women were seen throughout Southeast Asia as better negotiators and were therefore often charged with leading diplomatic missions between Southeast Asian countries and even in discussions with foreigners. See also CAMADEVIVANGSA (CHAMADEWIWANGSA); DEVARAJA; DURGA; GAYATRI; PALEMBANG; PLAOSAN; RATUBAKA; SUHITA; TRIBHUWANATUNGGADEWI; TRUONG SISTERS.

WRINGIN LAWANG. A monumental gateway on the northeast side of Trowulan, 14th- and 15th-century capital of Majapahit. The gateway is of the candi bentar or “split gate” form, resembling a mountain that has been sliced in two. It consists of two towers that are now 15.5 meters (51 feet) high. The gap between the two sides of the gate is 3.5 meters (11.5 feet) wide. Just outside it are a number of ancient
brick-lined wells. It seems probable that this was one of the main
gates to the city; it is located near the modern road, which leads to
Surabaya and the coast.

This form of gateway was copied many times in later centuries, for
instance in the 15th-century palace of Cirebon. It was particularly
popular in Bali, where entrances to temples still utilize this form.

**WU BEI ZHI.** See MAO KUN MAP; MING DYNASTY.

**WUKIR.** The name of a hill in central Java where the important in-
scription of King Sanjaya was discovered. The inscription is dated
732 by the chronogram “r̥śa, organ, Vedas,” that is, 456, which is to
be read in reverse as 654 Sākā. It commemorates the erection of a
lingga on a hill by Sanjaya. It then adds praise of Siva, “the lord of
beings,” and asks that he protect and give success to the reader.
Vishnu, referred to indirectly as the “lord of Sri,” identified as the
goddess of wealth, is also invoked to give prosperity. The next verse
mentions the excellent island of Java, which possesses abundant
grains and gold mines, and a temple of Siva. Next, the inscription
praises a king called Sanna, who lived in Java and ruled through con-
ciliation and generosity, protecting the earth. He died and was re-
placed by his son, a king who was compared to Mount Meru: his
color was that of molten gold or bright fire, with long arms and a high
head, towering over other rulers. The ruins of a Siva temple now
found on the site date from a second phase of construction, probably
in the ninth century.

**WURARE.** An important Javanese inscription dated 1289 found at
Simpang, in the modern city of Surabaya. The inscription dates from
the last years of Kertanagara’s reign and mentions the early kingdom of
Kediri, under the name Pangjalu.

– X –

**XIAN.** A Chinese term that first appears in the Yuan Shi’s Basic Annals
entry for 1282. It is probably a Chinese transliteration of Siam or
Shan, indicating a reference to a Tai-speaking group, although others have suggested that it originally referred to a geographical area that may have had a mixed population, including Mon and Khmer.

The earliest Chinese citations classify Xian as a guó, a rather large kingdom, on a par with Vietnam, Champa, Burma, Java, and Sanyu (the Philippines). Wang Dayuan mentions that Xian sought to buy grain from Lavo (Lopburi), indicating that it may have been oriented toward the sea rather than the land. The term also appears in other Yuan and Ming dynasty texts. The early Chinese sources derive from the Sukothai period, but they emphasize the kingdom’s identity as a maritime country, which does not seem to tally with Sukothai’s inland location. The Dá-de-nán-hái-zhi states that Xian controlled Sugudi (Sukothai). Maritime trade seems to have been one of Xian’s main activities, whereas Sukothai’s economy appears to have been primarily agrarian. Xian may therefore denote another kingdom located somewhere near the mouth of the Chao Phraya River. On the other hand, it is equally possible that in this case, as in several others, the Chinese misunderstood the relative standings of overlord and vassal.

In any case, Xian is portrayed in Chinese sources as an aggressive maritime power. Xian frequently attacked Malayu, which resulted in a Yuan imperial edict in 1295 ordering Xian to stop its aggression against the people of the Strait of Melaka. This prohibition seems to have had only limited effect, however. Wang Dayuan describes Xian’s siege of Singapore in the early 14th century, which was broken off only when a Javanese envoy passed by, presumably on his way to China.

Zhou Daguan, in the record of his 1296–1297 mission to Angkor, mentions Xian and locates it southwest of Angkor. He also notes that the people of Xian did not understand Khmer, indicating that by this time either any earlier Khmer component of the population had been absorbed by other groups or that a different dialect of Khmer not used in Angkor, such as Pear, was in use.

Xian sent numerous embassies to China, in 1299, 1300, 1314, 1315, 1319, and 1323. By 1365 the Javanese Desawarnana mentions the “Siamese of Ayodhya and also of Dharmanagari,” probably referring to Nakhon Si Thammarat. The Javanese word for Siamese
is Shangka. The passage containing this term, corresponding to the Chinese Xiān, suggests that the Siamese were now in control of the isthmian region of the peninsula.

The Chinese eventually came to use Xiān to refer to Ayutthaya after its founding in 1351. This may indicate that Ayutthaya owed its origins at least partly to a previous polity or group of autonomous ports in the lower Chao Phraya.

XIENG DONG XIENG THONG. “City of Flame Trees along the Dong River”; usually abbreviated Xieng Thong. The modern name for the city is Luang Prabang. It formed part of the Khmer Empire until the 13th century, when Tai rulers occupied the site, first calling it Muang Swa. In 1353 it became the capital of the new kingdom of Lan Xang.

XING-CHA SHENG-LAN. See MING DYNASTY.

– Y –

YAKSHA. Ogres in Indian mythology. They are depicted on stair panels of central Javanese temple complexes, including Buddhist monuments such as Sewu and Merak, which is Saivite. They are associated with such motifs as kalpataru, wishing trees.

YANG PU KU VIJAYA. A Cham ruler who ascended the throne of Indrapura in the late 10th century but in 1000 was forced by Vietnamese attacks to move south to Vijaya in Binh Dinh. He sent a mission to China in 1004–1005. His reign ended sometime before 1010; by that date another ruler, who according to Chinese sources was probably named Harivarman III, was on the throne.

YASODHARAPURA. Ancient name for the site now known as Angkor, established by Yasovarman in approximately 889.

YASODHARATATAKA. Ancient name of the East Baray, a large artificial body of water constructed during the reign of Yasovarman.
YASOVARDHANA. See YASOVARMAN.

YASOVARMAN. King of Roluos who succeeded his father Indravarman in 889. Born Yasovardhana, he took the reign name Yasovarman I. His mother, Indradewi, was credited with being the descendant of ancient royal families of Vyadhapura, Sambhupura, and Aninditapura, thus giving him and excuse to reach back beyond Jayavarman II to an older aristocracy.

Yasovarman’s inscriptions claim that in his coronation year he had a hundred establishments for ascetics built near ancient temples and pilgrimage sites. A number of these have been identified by inscriptions that bear Sanskrit texts on one face and devanagari script on the other, similar to that used in Java 100 years earlier. The inscriptions are largely copies of the same text, praising Yasovarman and giving his genealogy and the rules of the sanctuary, termed a yashodharasrama. In 893 he built a brick monument on an artificial island in the middle of the baray called Indratataka constructed by his father. The monument, known as Lolei, was built for statues of the king’s parents and grandparents.

According to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, Yasovarman moved his capital to another location called Yasodharapura, to which he transported the devaraja and in the midst of which he erected a sacred linga. The center of the new capital was Phnom Bakheng, a natural hill in the site now called by the general term Angkor. Yasovarman built temples dedicated to the Hindu trinity on Phnom Krom to the south and Phnom Bok to the northeast. He also built another baray, the Yasodharatataka, the corners of which were marked by Sanskrit inscriptions in devanagari, again praising him and his ancestry; this is today known as the East Baray. Along the southern bank of the baray, he built a set of religious compounds for many groups, including one for Saivas, Pasupatas, and Tapaswins; one for Vishnuites of the Pancharatra, Bhagavata, and Sattvata sects; and one for the Buddhists (the inscription recording this monastery was found at Tep Pranam in Angkor Thom, but no doubt it was moved there later). Among his many other projects were the Siva temples at Preah Vihear and Phnom Sandak.

Yasovarman II succeeded Dharanindravarman II as ruler of Angkor sometime around 1155–1160. Nothing is known of his an-
cestry. He ruled for about five years, then was overthrown by an official who took the title Tribhuwanadhityavarman.

YAVADVIPA (YAVADVĪPA). Valmiki’s Ramayana, canto 4, quotes Sugriva, the king of the monkeys, telling his army to go east, west, south, and north to look for Sita. In the eastern direction, he orders his troops to go to Suvarnadvipa and beyond to Yavadvipa, which is divided among seven kingdoms, possessing silver and gold mines. Since Java has no ancient gold mines, it has been speculated that the early Indian sources conflated Java and Sumatra. On the other hand, the early Javanese king Sanjaya also claimed to possess them. Perhaps the claim to possess gold mines was a stock phrase indicating wealth, not meant to be taken literally.

Yaśa literally means “barley” in Sanskrit. Barley is not a traditional Javanese crop, but the word may have been used as a literary device, because it reproduced the approximate sound of the indigenous word for the island. Java may well have been known for its production of grain, particularly rice, and “barley” may have been a convenient Sanskrit metaphor for cereals in general; barley may have played the role of a daily staple that Valmiki considered to be analogous to rice in Java. Ptolemy, in his work of the second century, described “Iabadiou,” which he correctly said meant “island of barley,” as being very fertile and full of gold. He reported that its capital, Argyre, lay at the western end of the island.

YAWABHUMI. See JAVA.

YAZAWINGYAW. See THILAWUNTHA (SILAVANGSA), SHIN MAHA (1453–1518).

YIJING (635–713). Chinese Buddhist monk who went to India in the seventh century to obtain Buddhist scriptures. He was dispatched by the Empress Wu, a devout Buddhist. He wrote two texts about his trip. One, Da Tang Xi Yu Qiu Fa Gao Seng Zhuan, recounted the lives of other monks who had gone to India before him; the other, Nan-hai ji-gui nei-fa juan, described Buddhism in the South Seas.

Yijing left Guangzhou in 671 in a ship belonging to the ruler of Srivijaya and traveled all the way to India in Sumatran ships. He used the six months he had to spend in Srivijaya while waiting for the
turn of the monsoon to study Sanskrit. He mentions a large monastery in the suburbs of the port where it was possible to obtain an excellent education in Indian Buddhist literature. Yijing then traveled to India via Malayu and Kedah and spent 18 years there before returning to Srivijaya in 689. On his return to Srivijaya, he mentioned that Malayu and Kedah "were now Srivijaya," implying that they had been politically subjugated. Yijing described Srivijaya as having two kūo, or kingdoms/polities, and three zhōu (geographical regions): Barus, Malayu, and Mukha Asin. The latter seems to have been located on the Banyuasin estuary between the Musi and Batanghari rivers.

One day while aboard a ship to enter an order for paper and ink, Yijing was unexpectedly carried back to China when the ship suddenly weighed anchor before he had time to go ashore. He therefore ended up going in person to China, where one assumes he purchased his own writing materials. He then returned to Srivijaya, where he remained until 695 before returning to China for good. Obviously Yijing found Srivijaya a suitable place to carry on his studies of Buddhist literature. He then spent the rest of his days in a monastery near Xian translating Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese.

Sakyakirti, author of the Ḫāsdandāsastra, who lived in Srivijaya during Yijing’s time, was considered to be one of the seven great Buddhist masters. Yijing took his text back to China and translated it into Chinese.

**YING-YAI SHENG-LAN.** “A Comprehensive Survey of the Ocean Shores.” This was the first important Chinese reference work to be written on Southeast Asian commerce since Wang Dayuan’s Daoyi Zhilüe. It was probably written between 1425 and 1432 by an otherwise unknown Chinese Muslim named Ma Guan, who served as an interpreter and recorder with Zheng He’s 1413 expedition. The text was edited around 1436 by Chang Sheng.

**YONGLE.** See MING DYNASTY; ZHENG HE.

**YUEH (YÜEH).** Chinese word for the indigenous peoples who occupied much of southeast China 2,300 years ago. The word originally designated the people of Fujian and Zhejiang but was eventually ex-
tended to include inhabitants of Guangdong, Guangxi, and north Vietnam. Culturally and linguistically, many of those groups were related to the Tai and Vietnamese; the Chinese character pronounced Yueh is pronounced Việt in Vietnamese.

Han people were already trading with the Yueh in what is now southern China by the early Zhou dynasty. Chinese sought such luxury items as ivory, pearls, tortoise shell, kingfisher feathers, rhinoceros horns, scented woods, and spices, which came from the Yueh lands. The area south of the Yangtze River became Sinicized only in the early first millennium CE, when many people from the north migrated south.

In the third century BCE, three kingdoms controlled different parts of the Yangtze River: Shu in hinterland Sichuan, Chu in the central valley, and Yueh in the rivermouth region. In 333 BCE, Chu conquered Yueh, whereupon the displaced Yueh elite moved farther south and created numerous small kingdoms, which the Chinese called the “Hundred Yueh.” The largest was Nan Yueh, near modern Guangzhou. Another important kingdom, Western Ou, in Guangxi, is linguistically related to Au Lac (Oú equals Âu in Vietnamese), which succeeded Van Lang in Vietnam in 257 BCE.

Qin Shihuang, the “first emperor,” extended Chinese control to parts of the south coast populated by Yueh people. The Yueh were expert sailors and traders. Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE) merchants were well acquainted with the geography and resources of these regions. A Han dynasty source says that Qin Shihuang was “interested in the rhinoceros horns, the elephant tusks, the kingfisher plumes, and the pearls of the land of Yueh.” He sent five armies totaling half a million men against the Yueh people. They defeated the Vietnamese kingdom of Au Lac near modern Hanoi in 214 BCE, after eight years of bitter battles in which the Chinese suffered several defeats, including the death of the Qin commander, and “the sword and the crossbow were in constant readiness.”

In 207 BCE, as the Qin dynasty was coming to an end, Zhao To (Trieu Da in Vietnamese), governor of the Chinese commandery of Nan Hai in Guangdong, created his own kingdom, which he called Nam Viet, with his capital near modern Guangzhou. Nam Viet (Nan Yueh in Chinese) was recognized by the Chinese in 196 BCE. In 111 BCE Nam Viet was conquered by the Han dynasty and became a Chinese province named Jiao Zhi.
During the Han dynasty, an “inspector-general” of the conquered southern lands was stationed in northern Vietnam. A port in the area of modern Shanghai maintained regular trading relations with Tonkin where they could obtain products from Vietnam and the South Seas. Ships from the southern parts of Southeast Asia were already regular callers there. Four military commanderies were established in Yueh territory: in Fuzhou, Nanhai (Guangzhou), Guilin, and Xiang (Hanoi). In 96 BCE the local chief was incorporated into the Han administration as a feudal lord.

With peace and stability in the region, trade flourished. People of the southern regions sought iron from China, which they obtained in exchange for pearls, tortoise shell, ivory, and rhinoceros horn. No doubt these items reached Hanoi through the sphere of interaction in the South China and Java seas that already existed in Dongson times.

Yueh culture as represented by local chiefs called Lac lords persisted until 42 CE, when they were replaced by direct Chinese rule. Chinese sources continue to use the term “Hundred Yueh” to refer to the indigenous people who lived south of the Yangtze for centuries thereafter.

**YUPA.** A type of sacrificial pillar used for inscriptions in Sanskrit set up by King Mulavarman at Kutai (East Borneo) in the fourth century.

**ZABAG (ZABAJ).** Arab texts of the ninth century contain the earliest uses of this name. Akhbâr al-sîn wa’l-hind (Reports of China and India), attributed in part to firsthand information from “Sulayman the trader,” mentions Zabag after Ramni (probably Lambri in Aceh) and Salat (probably from the Malay word Selat, “strait”), states that it was a kingdom ruling Kalah Bar (probably the west coast of south Thailand and Kedah), and notes the presence there of camphor, gold, a volcano, and cannibals.

Voyage of the Arab Merchant Sulaymen to India and China, edited in 851, followed by remarks by Abu Zayd Hasan (c. 916) tells the story of a Khmer king who wished to have the head of the maharaja of Zabag presented to him on a platter. The maharaja, hearing of this,
attacked and killed the Khmer king. This is probably a legend, but historians have been tempted to see in this a reference to circumstances that might explain the statement in a Khmer inscription that Jayavarman II desired to liberate Cambodia from Javanese suzerainty and therefore conducted a special ritual on Phnom Kulen.

Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l-mamâlik (The Book of Routes and Kingdoms), ascribed to an Iranian, Ibn Khurdadhbih, contains similar information. Ibn Khurdadhbih also says that the maharaja of “Zabaj” received gold each day, which was thrown into a pool of water. The early 10th-century account of Abu Zayd of Siraf shows that Zabaj can be identified with Srivijaya, given that he locates a toponym within it called Sribuza. The Indian Muslim Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (973–1048) stated that these isles were known to the Indians of his day as Suwarna Dîb (i.e., Suvarnadvipa).

Zabaj or Zabag probably corresponds to Jawaka, which may either refer to Java or south Sumatra during the height of the Srivijayan kingdom. Arab texts continue to use the name Zabag into the 12th century, when it probably referred to a polity governed from Jambi.

The geographer Edrisi in 1154 states that Chinese had begun to frequent Zabag and its island dependencies in preference to China and India, where tyranny and confusion were rife. Zabag was depicted as having just laws and pleasant businesslike inhabitants. As a result, he says, Zabag was “heavily populated and so often frequented by foreigners.”

ZATADAWPON YAZAWIN. “Historical Anthology of Royal Horoscopes.” A Burmese chronicle. The identity of its author and the date of its composition are still being debated. Some scholars postulate that the earliest portions of the work were compiled during the late 13th or early 14th century. Others have argued for more recent composition, perhaps as late as the reign of King Minyeh Kyawhtin (R. 1672–1698). Another theory suggests that during the reign of King Thalun Mintara (R. 1671–1672), a certain brahmin priest named Azagaru wrote a chronicle referred to as the Punna Yazawin (“Brahmin Chronicle”), which later became known as the Zatadawpon Yazawin. The former hypothesis is most likely true, as the earliest extant palm-leaf manuscript contains a declaration stating that the text “was written during the reign of King Minyeh Kyawhtin.”
This work provides important information on the Burmese kings from Bagan to Toungoo. The Zatadawpon Yazawin is believed to contain the most accurate information of any historical source on the reign dates of these rulers.

ZHAO RUKUO. The commissioner of foreign trade of the city of Quanzhou, an important position at a time when this city was one of the world’s most important international ports. According to Song records, he had some royal ancestry: he was the eighth-generation descendant of Emperor Taizong. In 1225 Zhao Rukuo compiled the Zhufanzhi (“Description of the Barbarous Peoples”), a report of the customs, practices, peoples, and strange fauna of foreign nations. The work incorporated some earlier information, such as that of Zhou Zufei’s Lingwai Daida from the late 12th century, whose own book no longer exists, and some from government archives, but many of the important Southeast Asian entries are his own work. His main sources were probably interviews with traders themselves. The Zhufanzhi is divided into two sections. The first describes specific ports and countries; the second gives details of foreign products of interest to Chinese traders. Zhao Rukuo’s book contains numerous descriptions of Southeast Asian countries and products.

ZHENG HE. In the early 15th century, large Chinese fleets sailed as far as the east coast of Africa. Approximately 25 such expeditions were dispatched, led by eunuchs of the Department of the Yellow Gate, which managed foreign affairs. Seven of these voyages were led by an admiral known as Zheng He, a eunuch of Central Asian ancestry. Six of Zheng’s voyages (1405–1421) were organized at the order of the Yongle emperor.

Zheng He was a descendant of Mongol invaders, a Muslim, and a eunuch. These most un-Chinese attributes qualified him perfectly for this duty. Chinese relations with foreign countries had been conducted by eunuchs since the Han dynasty. Most trading ports in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia were dominated by Muslims.

Zheng’s original name was Ma He. He was born in Yunnan in about 1371. His great-grandfather was a Mongol; his father and grandfather made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Ma He became a soldier and contributed significantly to Yongle’s coup against the second
Ming emperor, Yunwen, in 1402. As a result, he was promoted and given the honorific surname Zheng.

Zheng He’s largest ships were termed “ships [for fetching] precious stones from the western ocean,” or “jewel ships.” The main fleet usually sailed to Champa, then to Surabaya in east Java, remaining there for about four months. When the wind changed, the ships sailed via Palembang to India. Detachments visited other ports. On the return voyage, the fleet and its detachments sometimes rendezvoused at Melaka, where the Chinese built a fortified stockade like one mentioned by Marco Polo in north Sumatra more than a century earlier. When it was time to return, the fleet usually passed through the Singapore Strait and into the South China Sea.

One of the main missions of the first fleet, which consisted of 63 jewel ships and 28,000 personnel, was to attack a large force of Chinese at Palembang. In 1405 the emperor had ordered the Chinese in Palembang to return to China. They apparently refused to do so, and in 1407 Zheng killed more than 5,000 of them and took their leader, Chen Zuyi, a native of Guangzhou, back to Nanjing for execution. Chen was accused of piracy, but his main crime may have been simple disobedience of the emperor. The first voyage also called at Samudera-Pasai, Aceh, and Sri Lanka, then returned to China in late 1407.

Another voyage departed in early 1408, but Zheng He did not accompany it. This mission, which called at Java, Aru, Aceh, and several ports in India, was organized in order to transport foreign ambassadors back to their home countries. The expedition returned to China relatively quickly, in autumn 1409.

Zheng’s second voyage consisted of 48 ships and departed in 1410. After Champa and Java, the fleet visited Melaka, where the ruler was given a silver seal, hat, belt, and gown. Zheng He set up a stone inscription there acknowledging Melaka as a kingdom, symbolic of a specific form of Chinese diplomatic recognition. Next the fleet visited Samudera, India, and Sri Lanka, where a king who had failed to pay the respect Zheng demanded was captured; he was carried back to China’s new capital at Beijing in 1411.

The next voyage departed in early 1414, visiting Champa, Kelantan, Pahang, Java, Palembang, Melaka, Aru, Samudera-Pasai, Aceh, Sri Lanka, and India and continuing beyond to the Persian Gulf. On
his return journey in mid-1415, Zheng captured a usurper who had seized the throne of Samudera and brought him back to China for execution.

Another expedition left in 1417, and after visiting seven Southeast Asian destinations and South Asia, proceeded to East Africa, returning with various exotic animals to China in 1419.

Yongle’s last expedition probably set off in January 1422. Zheng does not seem to have accompanied this fleet, which returned various envoys to their countries in Southeast Asia, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and East Africa. Yongle’s immediate successor sponsored no voyages.

Zheng He directed one more expedition, which sailed in 1432 at the order of Yongle’s grandson, the fifth Ming emperor, Xuande; this was the only voyage sponsored by Xuande. Details of this voyage’s itinerary are relatively well known. The fleet set off on January 12; arrived in Champa on January 27 and departed on February 12; arrived in Surabaya on March 7 and departed July 13; arrived in Palembang July 24 and departed July 27; arrived in Melaka August 3 and departed September 2; arrived Aceh in September 12 and departed November 2; and arrived in Sri Lanka on November 28. From there, the fleet went on to the Persian Gulf. The fleet was back in China on 7 July 1433.

Zheng lived on until 1444. After Xuande’s reign, no more fleets left China. Records of the expeditions, the ships, and the shipyard where they had been built were all intentionally destroyed, robbing subsequent historians of much valuable material.

Although Zheng He’s fleets were the most spectacular, they were not the only missions sent out in the early 15th century. Ma Pin was dispatched to Java, Aceh, and India in 1403. Wu Bin and Zhang Ko-qing also went on sea missions around the same time. Hou Xien went to Tibet and Nepal between 1403 and 1413; in 1415 he went by ship to eastern India.

ZHENG. Chinese term used to refer to Cambodia from the demise of Funan until modern times. In ancient Chinese, it would have been pronounced zhenlap. The origin of the name has not been satisfactorily explained, although it may correspond to Tonle Sap, the Great Lake at the heart of Cambodia. As the Chinese perceived the situation, Funan in the seventh century was conquered by Zhenla, located
in the hinterland. The History of the Sui says Zhenla was originally Funan’s vassal, located southwest of Linyi. Near the capital was a mountain with a temple on the summit, guarded by 1,000 soldiers, where human sacrifices were made to the local spirit. It has been speculated that the place that the Chinese source refers to lies in the vicinity of Wat Phu, now in Laos.

In the early eighth century, Zhenla is supposed to have broken into two kingdoms: one, “Land Zhenla,” located farther north; the other, “Water Zhenla,” in the south. In 716 a king named Puskaraksa became king in Sambhupura, now called Sambor Prei Kuk, upstream from Kratie where a group of ruined sanctuaries is found. This may have been the chief principality in the middle Mekong portion of Cambodia at this time. On the other hand, it is possible that no single ruler was able to accumulate more than local power at this period. Chinese sources also use the names Wendan and Poluo to refer to polities in Cambodia during the period between Funan and Angkor.

Water Zhenla seems to have been composed of an agglomeration of warring kingdoms. The most important may have been Aninditapura, one of whose rulers was named Baladitya. He assumed an important role in later Angkorian royal genealogies: kings of Angkor were wont to regard him as their link with the Indian Brahman Kaundinya and the naga princess Soma.

In 753 Land Zhenla sent an embassy to China, and the next year, a prince of Land Zhenla accompanied Chinese troops fighting in Nanzhao. More embassies were sent in the late eighth century. Inscriptions from this period are found in the area of Sambor, where they cite a ruler named Jayavarman. In 803 a “senior queen,” Jyestharya, who is called great-granddaughter of King Indraloka, endowed a temple there, too.

An inscription dated 791 that was found in Siem Reap Province (the Angkor region) was carved on the occasion of the consecration of a statue of the deity Lokesvara. It is the first written evidence that Mahayana Buddhism existed in Cambodia.

Politically, the situation in Cambodia was fluid at this time. Artistically, the period was productive, with numerous statues of high quality attributed to the eighth century. Socially, important transitions were taking place, but because of the dearth of inscriptions from the Zhenla era, we are unable to analyze them in detail.
ZHENLIFU. A kingdom of the early second millennium CE somewhere on the coast of the Gulf of Thailand. It is known only from Chinese sources. Chinese references of 1200 and 1205 give titles for the rulers that suggest they were Khmer.

ZHOU DAGUAN. Chinese member of a Yuan mission sent to Angkor in 1295. The goal was to compel the Khmer to send more demonstrative tokens of submission to the Mongols than they had been accustomed to doing during the previous periods of Chinese rule. Zhou claims that the mission achieved its goal, but no independent sources mention any significant tributary missions to China afterward.

Zhou is a very important historical source, because he kept a record of the customs of Cambodia that seems in general to be quite accurate and reliable. He notes that the country was either called Zhenla (the old Chinese name) or Gan-bu-zhe (Kambuja). Zhou’s route from China took him by sea to the Mekong Delta, then up the river to the Tonle Sap, where the emissaries went ashore at Kompong, and thence overland to the capital. He mentions all the important sites that can still be seen today, such as the gates, walls, and moats of Angkor Thom, the Bayon, the Baphuon, the royal palace, Angkor Wat, and the East Baray.

Zhou recorded the tale of the naga princess (who he says had nine heads), the mistress of the soil of the whole kingdom, with whom the king had to sleep every night on top of a “gold tower,” undoubtedly the Phimeanakas. His account contains detailed descriptions of the king’s costume and the Cambodian bureaucratic system (mainly staffed by nobles).

Like Java, Angkor contained three main religious groups: panditas or brahmins, with their caste cords; Buddhist monks with shaven heads and yellow robes; and ascetics who worshipped a stone lingga. In both places the ascetics or hermits were considered a separate community. Zhou describes a system of writing with chalk on black leather, which is not mentioned in any other source; no specimens have survived. An important note records that cremation was not popular, but that those who did so were “for the most part descendants of Chinese.” This suggests the existence of a Chinese community of some antiquity in Angkor.
Buddhism was an important religion at that time. Zhou describes royal progressions in which the king went to a small gold temple in front of which a Buddha statue stood. The king was also said to hold audience twice a day, in a famous manner that involved his appearance at a golden window.

ZHOU QUFEI. Author of the Lingwai Daida, a Chinese text dated 1178. The original version is lost, but much of it was copied in the Zhufanzhi of Zhao Rukuo.

ZHUFANZHI. “Description of the Barbarous Peoples,” written in 1225 by Zhao Rukuo. It contains reliable information on lands ranging from the Mediterranean coast of Africa through India and Southeast Asia. The work is compiled using information Zhao had derived from Arab and other traders he interviewed while he was a customs inspector at the city of Quanzhou.

ZIRBADAT (ZIRBÂDÂT). Arabic for the lands “below the winds,” that is, the region from the Malay Peninsula to Japan. The term refers to the differing seasons for sailing in relation to the monsoons.

ZONIT. Ruler of Bagan from about 1303, together with his son Zomoun-nit.
Appendix A: Kingdoms and Rulers: 
Chronological Tables for Ancient Southeast Asia

JAVA

Mataram

Sanjaya family

Sanjaya    732–760
Panangkaran    760–780
Panunggalan    780–800
Warak    800–819/829
Garung    819/829–838
Pikatan    838–851
Kayuwangi    851–882

Sailendra

Bhanu    752
Vishnu Dharmmatungga    775–782
Indra Sangramadhanamjaya    782–812/824
Samaratungga    818/824–832
Pramodawarddhani    824; married Pikatan; ruled jointly?

Kediri

(dates of inscriptions; beginning and end of reigns unknown)
Bameswara 1117, 1120
Warmeswara-Jayabhaya 1135, 1136, 1144, 1157
Sarwweswara 1159
Arreyeswara 1169
Kroncharryadipa 1181
Kameswara 1185
Srengga-Jayawarsa 1194, 1204, 1205

Singasari
Rajasa/Angrok 1222–1227
Anushapati 1227–1248
Toh Jaya 1248
Wishnuwardhana 1248–1268
Kertanagara 1268–1292
Jayakatwang 1292–1293

Majapahit
Kertarajasa Jayawardhana 1293–1309
Jayanagara 1209–1328
Tribhuwana 1329–1350
Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) 1350–1389
Wikramawardhana 1389–1429
Suhita 1429–1447
Bhre Tumapel/Kertawijaya 1447–1451
Rajasawardhana 1451–1453
Girisawardhana 1456–1466
Singhawikramawardhana 1466–1474
Girindrawardhana 1474–1519

MELAKA
Parameswara 1400–1414
Megat Iskandar Syah 1414–1423
Sri Maharaja 1423–1444
Sri Parameswara Dewa Syah 1444–1446
Sultan Muzaffar Shah 1446–1459
Mansur Shah 1459–1477
Ala’uddin Riayat Shah 1477–1488
Sultan Mahmud Syah 1488–1511
PASAI

Malik al-Salih  ?–1297
Muhammad    1297–1326
Mahmud Malik al-Zahir  1326–1345
Ahmad Malik al-Zahir  1346–1383
Zainal Abidin Malik al-Zahir  1383–1405
Nahrasiah  1405–1412
Zaid Malik al-Zahir  1412–?
Mahmud Malik al-Zahir  1455–1477
Zainal Abidin    1477–1500
Abdullah Malik al-Zahir  1501–1513
Zainal Abidin    1513–1524

FUNAN

(according to Chinese sources)
Kaundinya    first century CE
Hun Pan-huang    late second century
Pan-Pan    early third century
Fan Shihman    c. 205–225
Fan Chinsheng    no dates
Fan Chinsheng    no dates
Fan Chan    no dates
Fan Hsun    240–?
Zhu Zhantan    ?–357–?
Kaundinya II died before    434
Zhelibamo    –434–

(Chinese sources augmented by inscriptions)
Kaundinya Jayavarman    ?–484–514
Rudravarman    514–c. 550
Bhawavarman    –598–
Mahendravarman    early seventh century
Isanavarman I    616–c. 635
Bhawavarman II    –639–
### CAMBODIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Reign</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jayavarman I</td>
<td>657–681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayadewi</td>
<td>–713–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puskaraksa</td>
<td>–716–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayavarman II</td>
<td>802–850</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayavarman III</td>
<td>850–877</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indravarman</td>
<td>877–889</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yasovarman</td>
<td>889–900</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harsavarman I</td>
<td>900–922–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isanavarman III</td>
<td>–925–</td>
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<td>Hayavarman IV</td>
<td>928–942</td>
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<td>Harsavarman II</td>
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<td>Rajendravarman</td>
<td>944–968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayavarman V</td>
<td>968–1001</td>
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<tr>
<td>Udayadityavarman I</td>
<td>1001</td>
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<td>Suryavarman I</td>
<td>1002–1050</td>
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<td>Udayadityavarman II</td>
<td>1050–1066</td>
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<td>Harsavarman III</td>
<td>1066–1080</td>
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<td>Jayavarman VI</td>
<td>1080–1107</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dharanindravarman I</td>
<td>1107–1113</td>
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<td>Suryavarman II</td>
<td>1113–1145–</td>
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<td>Dharanindravarman II</td>
<td>–1160–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayavarman VII</td>
<td>1181–c. 1220</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indravarman II</td>
<td>?–1243</td>
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<td>Jayavarman VIII</td>
<td>1243–1295</td>
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<td>Srindravarman</td>
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<td>Srindrajayavarman</td>
<td>1307–1327</td>
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<td>Jayawarmadiparameswara</td>
<td>1327–?</td>
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### CHAMPA

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<th>Ruler</th>
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<tr>
<td>Devavarman</td>
<td>–510–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vijayavarman</td>
<td>–526–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rudravarman I</td>
<td>–529–</td>
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Sambuvarman –605–
Kandharpadharma –629–
Bhasadharma –645–
Bhadresvaravarman –645–
Prakasadhvarma Vikrantavarman I –653–
Vikrantavarman II 686–731
Rudravarman II –749–
Prithindravarman –758–
Satyavarman 774–784
Indravarman I 787–801
Harivarman I 803–817
Vikrantavarman III –854
Indravarman II, 875–889
Jaya Singhavarman I 898–903
Jaya Sakivarman unknown
Bhadravarman II –910–
Indravarman III ?–959
Jaya Indravarman I 960–965
Parameswaravarman I –982
Indravarman IV –982–
Liu Jizong –986–
Harivarman II –991–
Yap Pu Ku Wijaya 999–1007
Harivarman III –1010–
Paramesvaravarman II –1018–
Vikrantavarman IV –1030
Jaya Singhavarman II –1044–
Jaya Paramesvaravarman I –1044–
Bhadravarman III –1061–
Rudravarman III –1061–
Harivarman IV –1074–
Jaya Indravarman II –1080–, –1086–
Paramabodhisatva 1081
Jaya Indravarman III –1139–
Rudravarman IV –1145–
Jaya Harivarman I –1147–
Jaya Harivarman III unknown
Jaya Indravarman IV –1167–
VIJAYA

Suryajayavarman –1190–
Jaya Indravarman V –1191–

PANDURANGGA

Suryavarman –1190–1203
[Khmer Rule 1203–1220]

CHAMPA REUNITED

Che Anan –1318–
Tra Hoa –1342–
Cha Bong Nga –1390
Ko Cheng 1390–1400
Jaya Singhavaran V 1400–1441
Maha Vijaya 1441–1446
Moho Gweilai 1446–1449
Moho Gweiyou 1449–1458
Moho Panloyue 1458–1460
Panlo Touqian 1460–?

LAN XANG

Fa Ngum 1353–1373
Sam Sen Thai 1373–1417
Lan Kham Deng 1417–1428
Phommathad 1428–1429?
Yukorn 1429
Kon Kham 1431–1432
Kham Temsa 1433
Lusai 1434
Kham Keut 1435–1438
Chakkaphat 1456–1479
Souvanna Banlang    1479–1486
La Sen Thai    1486–1496
Visoun    1496–1520

AYUTTHAYA

Rama Thibodi    1351–1369
Ramesuan    1369
Borommaracha    1369–1388
Thong Chan    1388
Ramesuan    1388–1395
Ramaracha    1395–1409
Intharacha    1409–1424
Borommmaracha II    1424–1448
Borommatrailokanat    1448–1463
Borommaracha III    1463–1491 (from 1488 to 1491 under the name
Intharacha II)
Ramathibodi II    1491–1529

SUKHOTHAI

Sri Indraditya    1240s?–1270s?
Ban Muang    1270s?–1279?
Rama Khamhaeng    1279?–1298
Lo Thai    1298–1346/1347
Ngua Nam Thom    1346/1347
Mahathammaracha I (Luthai)    1346/1347–1368–1374?
Mahathammaracha II    1368–1374?    1398?
Mahathammaracha III (Sai Luthai)    1398–1419
Mahathammaracha IV    1419–1438

LAN NA

Mangrai    1259–1317
Chai Songkhram    1317–1318
Saen Phu    1318–1319
Khrua    1319–1322
Saen Phu    1324–1328 (second reign)
Kham Fu    1328–1337
Pha Yu    1337–1355
Ku Na    1355–1385
Saen Muang Ma    1385–1401
Sam Fang Kaen    1401–1441
Yot Chiang Rai    1441–1487
Muang Kaeo    1487–1495
Ket Chettharat    1495–1526

VIETNAM

Ngo Dynasty
Ngo Vuong Quyen    939–945
Duong-Binh Vuong Tamkha    945–951
Ngo Nam-Tan Vuong Xuong-Van    951–965

Dinh Dynasty
Dinh Tien-hoang De    –968–
Dinh De-Toan    –979–

Le Dynasty
Le Dai-Hanh Hoang-De    980–
Le Truong-Ton Hoang-De    –1005–

Ly Dynasty
Ly Cong Uan (Thai To)    1009–1028
Ly Phat Ma (Thai Tong)    1028–1054
Ly Nhat Ton (Thanh Tong)    1054–1072
Ly Can Duc (Nhan Tong)    1072–1127
Ly Than Ton    1127–1138
Ly Anh-ton    1138–
Ly Cao Tong    1175–1210
Ly Hue Tong    1210–1224
Ly Chieu-Hoang    1224–1225

**Tran Dynasty    1225–1400**
Tran Thai Ton    1225–1258
Tran Thanh Ton    1258–1278
Tran Nhon Ton    1278–1293
Tran Anh Ton    1293–1314
Tran Minh Ton    1314–1329
Tran Hien Ton    1329–1341
Tran Du Ton    1341–1369
Duong Nhut Le    1369–1370
Tran Nghe Ton    1370–1372
Tran Due Ton    1372–1377
Tran De Hien    1377–1388
Tran Thuan Ton    1388–1398
Tran Thieu De    1398–1400

**Ho Dynasty**
Ho Qui Li    1400
Ho Han Thuong    1400–1407

**Tran Restoration**
Tran De Qui    1407–1409
Tran De Qui Khoang    1409–1413

**Le Dynasty**
Le Loi    1428–1432
Thai Tong    1433–1442
Nhan Tong    1442–1459
Le Nghi Dan    1459–1460
Than Tong    1460–1497
Hien Tong    1497–1504
Mac Dynasty
Mac Dang Dung  1527–1533

Le Dynasty Restored
Trang Tong  1533–1548
Trung Tong  1548–1556
Anh Tong  1556–1573

BURMA

Bagan

Note: In the Glass Palace Chronicle, kings were arranged not by dynasty (usurpers were common) but by capital. Taking possession of a royal city was a separate ceremony from taking possession of a palace.

Pyusawti  167–242
Timinyi  242–299
Paikthili  324–344
Thinlikyaung  344–387
Kyaungdurit  387–412
Thihtan  412–439
[variou usurpers  439–497]
Tharamunhyia  494–516
Thaihtaing  516–523
Thinlikayaungnge  523–532
Thinlipaik  532–547
Hkanlaung  547–557
Hkanlat  557–569
Htuntaik  569–582
Htunpyit  582–598
Htunchit  598–613
Popa Sawrahan  613–640
Shwe Onthi  640–652
Peitthon  652–710
Ngahkwe  710–716
Myinkywe  716–726
Theinhka  726–734
Shwelaung  744–753
Htunhtwin  753–762
Shwemauk  762–785
Munlat  785–802
Sawhkinhnit  802–829
Hkelu  829–846
Pyinbya  846–878
Sale Ngahkwe  906–931
Nyaung-u Sawrahan  931–964
Kunhsaw Kyaunghpyu  931–964
Kyiso  986–992
Sokkata  992–1044
(dates from inscriptions combined with chronicles)
Anawrahta  1044–1077
Sawlu  1077–1084
Kyanzittha  1984–1113
Alaungsithu  1113–1165
Narathu  1165–1174
Narapatisithu  1174–1211
Nantaungmya  1211–1231
Narasingha Uccana  1231–1235
Klaswa  1235–1249
Uzana  1249–1256
Narathihapate  1256–1287

Sagaing
Sawyun  1315–1323
Tarabyagi  1323–1336
Shwetaungtet  1336–1340
Kyaswa  1340–1350
Nawrahtaminye  1350
Tarabyange  1350–1352
Minbyauk Thihapate  1352
Inwa
Thadominbya  1364–1368
Nga Nu      1368–1401
Minkyiswasawke 1368–1401
Tarabya     1401
Nga Nauk Hsan 1401
Minhkaung   1401–1422
Thihathu    1422–1426
Minhlange   1426
Kalekyetaungnyo 1426–1427
Mohnyinthado 1427–1440
Minrekyawsa 1440–1443
Narapati    1443–1469
Thihathura  1469–1481
Minhkaung   1481–1502

Toungoo
Minkyinyo  1486–1531

Arakan
Vesali Dynasty  878–1018
First Pyinsa Dynasty 1018–1103
Parin Dynasty    1103–1167
Krit Dynasty     1167–1180
Second Pyinsa Dynasty 1180–1237
Launggyet Dynasty 1237–1433
Mrohaung (Mrauk-U) Dynasty 1433–1785

INDIAN KINGDOMS

Mauryas  322–185 BCE
Kushan/Gandhara  50–320 CE
Gupta  320–647
Pallava  500–750
Pala-Sena  730–1197
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chola</td>
<td>985–1279</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delhi Sultanate</td>
<td>1206–1526</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vijayanagar</td>
<td>1346–1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal Empire</td>
<td>1526–1719</td>
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**CHINESE DYNASTIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qin</td>
<td>221–207 BCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Han</td>
<td>202 BCE–9 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xin Interregnum</td>
<td>9–23 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Han</td>
<td>25–220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Guo/Three Kingdoms</td>
<td>221–265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu (Han)</td>
<td>221–264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei</td>
<td>220–264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>222–280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Qin</td>
<td>265–317</td>
</tr>
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<td>Eastern Qin</td>
<td>317–420</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liu Sung</td>
<td>420–479</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Northern and Southern Dynasties**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Period</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qi</td>
<td>479–502</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liang</td>
<td>502–557</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chen</td>
<td>557–587</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Wei</td>
<td>386–535</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western Wei</td>
<td>535–554</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Wei</td>
<td>534–543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Qi</td>
<td>550–577</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Zhou</td>
<td>557–581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sui</td>
<td>581–618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>618–906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Dynasties</td>
<td>907–960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liao (Khitan)</td>
<td>937–1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Liao</td>
<td>1125–1211</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xixia</td>
<td>990–1227</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Song</td>
<td>960–1227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Song</td>
<td>1227–1279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qin    1115–1234
Yuan    1260–1367
Ming    1368–1643
Qing    1644–1911
Appendix B: Language Families of Southeast Asia

The Austronesian language family (once called Malayo-Polynesian) includes Malay, Javanese, Tagalog—in fact, all languages of island Southeast Asia except some Aslian languages and some Papuan speakers in east Indonesia. This family also includes languages spread over the tropical region from Madagascar (10,000,000 speakers) and Taiwan (250,000 speakers) to Vietnam (630,000 speakers) and the Pacific as far as Hawaii. Austronesian languages span more than half of the Earth’s circumference. By 2,000 years ago, Austronesian had become the most widespread language family in the world and held this position for many centuries, until English overtook it.

There are at least 500 languages in this family. According to linguists, they all originate from one tongue, which began to split up between 5,000 and 7,000 years ago. Most theories propose that this diversification was caused by migration from a single source or center of dispersion somewhere in East or Southeast Asia. It is plausible, however, that Austronesian speakers were settled along the east coast of old Sundaland and that they maintained a common language through frequent communication by water along that shore. When the sea level began to rise 10,000 years ago, the old coastline was drowned, and areas that had been highlands on the Sunda shelf became islands separated by the rising water; at that point, separate linguistic groups may have begun to develop.

At the same time as Austronesian languages began to spread through the islands, roughly 5,000 years ago, mainland Southeast Asia was populated by speakers of another family of languages: Austroasiatic. This group includes such languages as Mon, Khmer, Vietnamese, and some Asli (spoken in northern peninsular Malaysia). Quite possibly languages of this family were once spoken in insular Southeast Asia as well, but were replaced by Austronesian, except in the Nicobar Islands, where an Austroasiatic language is still spoken.
Possibly Austronesian and Austroasiatic both derive from a common ancestral language much further back in time. Resemblances have also been noted between Austronesian and Japanese, which, if proven to indicate common origin, would support the theory that the east coast of Asia was once linked by a single human population.

Linguist Isidore Dyen concluded that Austronesian spread from a center near west Melanesia, based on lexical diversity. Others, such as Peter Bellwood, point to Taiwan. In support of his hypothesis, Bellwood notes that pottery first appeared in Taiwan around 6,000 years ago. Pottery is a useful marker of cultural development throughout the world, and in Southeast Asia we can trace its history with rough accuracy. After Taiwan, pottery next appeared in the northern Philippines 5,000 years ago. From there it spread rapidly to Sulawesi and Borneo. We do not yet know when pottery appeared in west Indonesia, but Bellwood suggests it would have been later, in line with his theory that Austronesian speakers moved into these areas from Borneo and Sulawesi, thus later than 5,000 before the present. We do not know whether they were descended from the original population of the area or had absorbed or displaced an earlier negrito group. The latter is probably the case, however.

Today there exist two language families on the Southeast Asian mainland in addition to Austronesian and Austroasiatic: Tai and Tibeto-Burman. They entered the region during historic times; at the dawn of Southeast Asian history, it is possible that only two families were present in the area south of the modern Chinese border.

The population of southern China at the beginning of history consisted of members of the Tai language family, which today includes 30 million Siamese; the Lao (of whom 20 million live in Thailand and 2 million in Laos); the Black, Red, and White Tai of Laos and north Vietnam; the Shan of Burma; the Lu of Yunnan; the Chuang of Guangxi and Guizhou; and isolated groups in northeast India (Assam) and Hainan Island. When, in the first century CE, the Tai, then living in what is now southwest China, came under pressure from the Viet and Han peoples, some moved to upland north Vietnam and northeast Laos and were eventually separated from those in China.
Abhayamudra  Hand position symbolizing the dispelling of fear
Abhiseka  Ritual consecration of a person into a particular religious status
Aksamala  Rosary; an attribute of Siva and associated Hindu deities
Angsa  “Goose” in Sanskrit; the mount of Brahma in Hindu mythology
Arahant  “Great-souled one”; a person who is close to attaining enlightenment in Buddhism
Areindama  Magical lance associated with Burma’s king Anawrahta
Asuras  Enemies of the gods in Indic mythology
Bhakti  Sanskrit for “devotion”; also a name for a particular form of Hinduism that arose around 2,000 years ago, in which worshippers first began to devote themselves to particular anthropomorphic deities
Bhumisparsa  “Calling the earth to witness”; a mudra used by Buddha and indicative of his conquest of illusion
Caiyagrha  Room or structure in which a sacred relic is kept
Cakra  Sanskrit for “disc” or “wheel”; also a discus, one of the iconic traits of Vishnu
Candi bentar  Javanese term for a type of gateway resembling a mountain split in two, and thus often called “split gate” in English
Chedi  Thai term for a stupa where relics of the dead are kept
Devas  Gods
Dharmacakramudra  A hand position symbolizing Buddha’s first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares. It signifies the turning of the wheel of the Buddhist doctrine.
Dharmaraja  “Righteous king”; a Buddhist ideal of kingship
Dhyanimudra  “Meditation Buddha”; a category of popular deities in Mahayana Buddhism
Gana  Minor supernatural figures with somewhat demonic characteristics. They are often depicted in Southeast Asian classical temple architecture as atalantes, figures who support temple superstructures on their heads.
Gandharvas  Heavenly musicians often depicted in early Hindu and Buddhist temple art
Gopura  Ornamental gateway
Hijrah  The dating system used by Muslims, beginning from the year of the Prophet Muhammad’s journey from Mecca to Medina
Ista dewata  “Personal deity”; a god to whom a ruler or other person specifically devoted himself
Jina  “Conqueror”; a term for five Buddhist deities who were not born but have always existed. They are identified with specific compass directions and have special individual attributes. They were popular in Javanese Mahayana Buddhism.
Kalasa  Large vases signifying heavenly abundance
Kalpadruma  “Wishing Tree”; the source of treasures, symbolic of heaven. Wishing trees were a popular decorative motif for ancient Javanese temples. Kalpadruma is synonymous with kalpataru and kalpavriksha.
Kalpvriksha  see Kalpadruma
Kapala  Sanskrit for “skull”; an identifying characteristic of Mahakala
Karma  In Buddhist philosophy, actions and the consequences they entail for one’s future life
Khadga  A sword. An iconographic trait of Mahakala
Kinnari  Half-human, half-bird heavenly musicians found as decorative motifs and symbols of heaven on temples in Southeast Asia. The female form is kinnara.
Kraton  Place of the ratu or king; in Java, a palace
Ksatriya  One of the “twice-born” castes of Hinduism, the warriors and rulers. In Southeast Asia, the term was used in a literary sense to refer to males with a particular set of heroic qualities.
Kuwu  Javanese term for a walled portion of a settlement under the jurisdiction of a nobleman. Such units were the constituent components of Trowulan, Java’s 14th-century capital.
Lalitasana  Posture of leisure; a Sanskrit term for a particular iconographic attribute showing deities or rulers seated with one leg raised
Mahathera  “Great Elder”; Buddhist title for the abbot of a monastery
Mahesvara  “Great Lord”; a common epithet for Siva
Marhantu  Balinese name for ancestral rites, related to the modern Indonesian word hantu (“ghost” or “spirit”)
Meru  Term for a multistory roof used for sacred structures; a reference to the various levels of heaven on Mount Meru
Mpu  Javanese honorific used for learned people such as poets and keris makers
Muni  “Jewel”; an epithet normally applied to Buddha, but also used in other Buddhist contexts to refer to something precious
Nagini  Female nāga
Paduraksa  A Javanese term for a special type of gateway surmounted by a lintel. The form appeared in 14th-century Trowulan, east Java.
Parinibbana  Entry into nirvana; Buddha’s physical death
Pendopo  Javanese pronunciation of Sanskrit mandapā, signifying a wall-less pavilion
Pradaksina  Ceremonial circumambulation of a monument in a clockwise direction
Prasada  One of the numerous Sanskrit words used for “temple” in Southeast Asia. It became adopted into modern Thai as prāsāt.
Pura  Sanskrit word for “capital,” sometimes translated as “city”
Purohita  “Royal preceptor”; a religious teacher and adviser
Rakai  Javanese title for appanage holder
Rama  Javanese word for a village elder
Saka  Name of a dynasty in India, and a dating system widely used in ancient Southeast Asia. The first year of the Saka era is equivalent to 78 CE.
Sakdina  “Field power”; the Thai word for a basic system of social organization that allocated land, punishments, and fines to people according to their status
Samsara  “Suffering”; a term often found in Buddhist literature, correlated with existence and attachment to illusion
Sangha  The institution of the Buddhist monkhood; one of the three jewels of Buddhism, along with the dharma and Buddha
Shraddha  A ceremony held 12 years after a person’s death to symbolize the final release of the soul from all earthly bonds
Sikhara  Pyramidal tower with a square cross-section used on some temples in India and Burma, notably Mahabodhi
Srīvatsa  An Indian curvilinear motif originally depicting a symbolic tuft of hair on the chest of a male deity
Tathagatha  “Thus-come One”; a synonym for Buddha and other enlightened beings
Tripitaka  “Three Baskets”; a term for a compilation of important Buddhist texts
Trisula  Trident, an iconographic trait of Siva
Urna  “Bump of wisdom”; a protuberance on top of Buddha’s head symbolizing his supreme knowledge
Vahana  Animal vehicles: Garuda for Vishnu, Nandi for Siva, and so on
Vajrayana  “Way of the Thunderbolt”; a form of Mahayana Buddhism popular in ancient Java and Sumatra
Varamudra  Hand position symbolic of charity.
Varna  A Sanskrit word often translated as “caste”
Vihara  Sanskrit for “monastery”
Wangsa  A Sanskrit word used in Southeast Asia in the general sense of “clan,” “family,” or “lineage group.” In modern Malay and Indonesian, the term has become bangsa (“nationality”).
Yaksa  Demigods in Indic mythology, of generally threatening character. The female form is yaksini.
Yantra  Sacred diagram meant to assist devotees to attain closer communication with deities.
I. INTRODUCTION

The study of Southeast Asia as an autonomous historical and cultural entity only began in earnest in the 1950s. Before that time, the region was largely considered to be an appendage of India, with Vietnam belonging to the Chinese sphere of influence. This perception has gradually changed since, but continued to exert strong influence into the 1980s. Historians are still struggling to develop new categories for the region. Subregions and chronological frameworks are still in the rudimentary stage of formulation. Even the concept of Southeast Asia as a region—a legitimate unit of study with the same degree of coherence as South Asia, East Asia, or Europe—is still being debated.

Southeast Asia is indubitably one of the most diverse regions of the world. The mainland and island regions have displayed very different courses of
development. Parts of the region became avid adopters of artistic and literary developments from India, while others did not. As a result, scholars of the ancient past are still struggling to define themes with which to compose general narratives to knit together the many different polities that emerged during the period of ancient history, roughly between 200 and 1500.

The structure of this bibliography follows modern political boundaries, except in the case of Champa. This region had a high degree of cultural and political integrity throughout the period of ancient history. Only in the early modern period did the Cham region begin to be incorporated into the Vietnamese sphere.

Chinese sources have been added as a separate category. They constitute an important set of primary documents, and their study is a specialized field in itself, requiring a special set of scholarly tools for their analysis.

Scholarship on Southeast Asia was fragmented during the colonial period due to the territorial division of the region by colonial powers. In the postcolonial era, nationalism has had similar effects. As a result, students contemplating the study of ancient Southeast Asia are faced with the challenge of learning several European languages. Other obstacles to progress in the subject are posed by the use of scripts that are no longer in use and the importance of Sanskrit, another non-Southeast Asian language, for many inscriptions. Other sources of ambiguity in the analysis of ancient sources include changes in vocabulary over time and the indirect, allusive, and condensed style of writing favored by ancient authors of inscriptions. This style was probably adapted specifically to deal with the exigencies of inscribing texts on stone or metal. Quite possibly other styles of composition existed, for use on other writing media such as paper and palm leaf, but due to the Southeast Asian climate and normal loss of texts over time, they have not been preserved.

As a result, it is necessary to utilize information from sources in addition to the historian’s normal texts in order to piece together a coherent picture of ancient Southeast Asia. Accordingly, this bibliography contains numerous works compiled by archaeologists and art historians.

Note that in Indonesia, many people do not have family names. For simplicity, works by many Indonesian authors are listed according to their first names.

II. ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEIO: Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient
BK1: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
JMBRAS: Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
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XII. PHILIPPINES


XIII. SINGAPORE


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**XV. VIETNAM**


About the Author

John N. Miksic began his archaeological career as an undergraduate at Dartmouth College. His first expedition took him to the Hudson’s Bay region of the Canadian Arctic. His interest in the Asian origin of the Inuit took him to Asia, and eventually to Malaysia, where he served as a Peace Corps Volunteer from 1968 to 1972. He changed his field to Southeast Asian historical archaeology and received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1979 with his dissertation “Archaeology, Trade, and Society in Northeast Sumatra.” Miksic has since lived and worked in Sumatra (1979–1981), Java (1981–1987), and Singapore (1987–present). He is associate professor in the Southeast Asian Studies Programme at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. He has organized numerous archaeological excavations and museum exhibitions in Southeast Asia. Some of his publications include Archaeological Research on the “Forbidden Hill” of Singapore (1985), Old Javanese Gold (1990), Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas (1990), and with Malcolm H. Murfett, Brian P. Farrell, and Chiang Ming Shun, Between Two Oceans: A Military History of Singapore (1999).