

Mandala-BOOK V

Rajmandala

'CIRCLE OF KINGS'.

Indian Ocean Kingdoms & Diplomacy



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Mandala-BOOK V

Rajmandala



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RAJAMANDALA-BOOK V

Indian Ocean Kingdoms & Diplomacy

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The RAJAMANDALA KINGDOMS

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Press Conference on Unveiling of the WORLD MANDALA MONUMENT



PRESS CONFERENCE ON WORLD MANDALA MONUMENT

The World Mandala Monument to be unveiled at United Nations Headquarters today was a symbol of the United Nations in that, for the first time ever and symbolically speaking, the boundaries between the 188 Member States had been dissolved, the artist Neil Tetkowsky told

correspondents this morning at a Headquarters press conference sponsored by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

The Monument sculpted by Mr. Tetkowsky will be unveiled this afternoon at 4 p.m. as part of an exhibit being held in conjunction with the two-week meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the World Summit on Sustainable Development. The Monument is composed of soil and clay samples collected from the 188 States who were United Nations Members at the turn of the millennium. Mr. Tetkowsky is a New York City artist and the founding director of the Common Ground World Project, a non-governmental organization that uses the arts and education to focus attention on global, environmental and human concerns. His work appears in 30 museums around the world and he has recently become the recipient of a Ford Foundation grant.

Mr. Tetkowsky said the idea behind the eight-foot sculpture was to create a symbol of oneness for everyone on the planet. Just as the United Nations was a symbol, so the sculpture symbolized the dual aspect of cultural identity today; the need to preserve and maintain individual identity, while at the same time assuming a global identity.

A mandala (Sanskrit for “circle”) is an artistic representation of higher thought and deeper meaning. The details of such thought and meaning depend on the individual creating or observing the image, but mandalas in every culture serve, more or less, the same purpose of centering an individual or community on a given narrative in order to encourage introspection and, ultimately, an awareness of one’s place and purpose in the world; this awareness then allows for peace of mind.

There is no set definition for the meaning or even the form of a mandala, nor could there be, since it appears in the art and architecture – in one form or another – of various cultures around the world. The image and use of the term first appear in India via the Hindu text known as the *Rig Veda* c. 1500 - c. 500 BCE where it is an image and also the name of the books which comprise the work. It was, and is, also used as a meditative tool and spiritual exercise in the belief systems of Jainism, Buddhism, and Shintoism, appears in Persian art, as the Ishtar Star Symbol (and others) from Mesopotamia, figures in Mesoamerican architecture and Native American art, and was used by the Celts of the Iberian peninsula and Northern Europe, to name only a few cultures.

The image is usually defined as a circle decorated with imagery which directs the mind of the observer (or creator) inwards from the outer rim toward deeper reflection on the meaning and purpose of life, the nature of the universe, the substance and reality of God, the true nature of the self, the underlying form of reality, cosmological truths, and, actually, any other spiritual, psychological, or emotional aspect of one’s life.

WHATEVER ELSE THE MANDALA MAY REPRESENT TO AN INDIVIDUAL, IT ESSENTIALLY REFLECTS ORDER & IS UNDERSTOOD AS AN ALMOST SELF-CREATED IMAGE OF THAT ORDER.

Although the circle is the most common form, a mandala may also be a square enclosing a circle or a series of circles, a square alone, a circle enclosing an image (such as a star or flower), and a rectangle enclosing a circle. Mandalas are defined in many different ways, however, and are not limited to any of these geometric shapes exclusively. The best example of this is the Celtic Cross which is considered by some scholars a mandala.

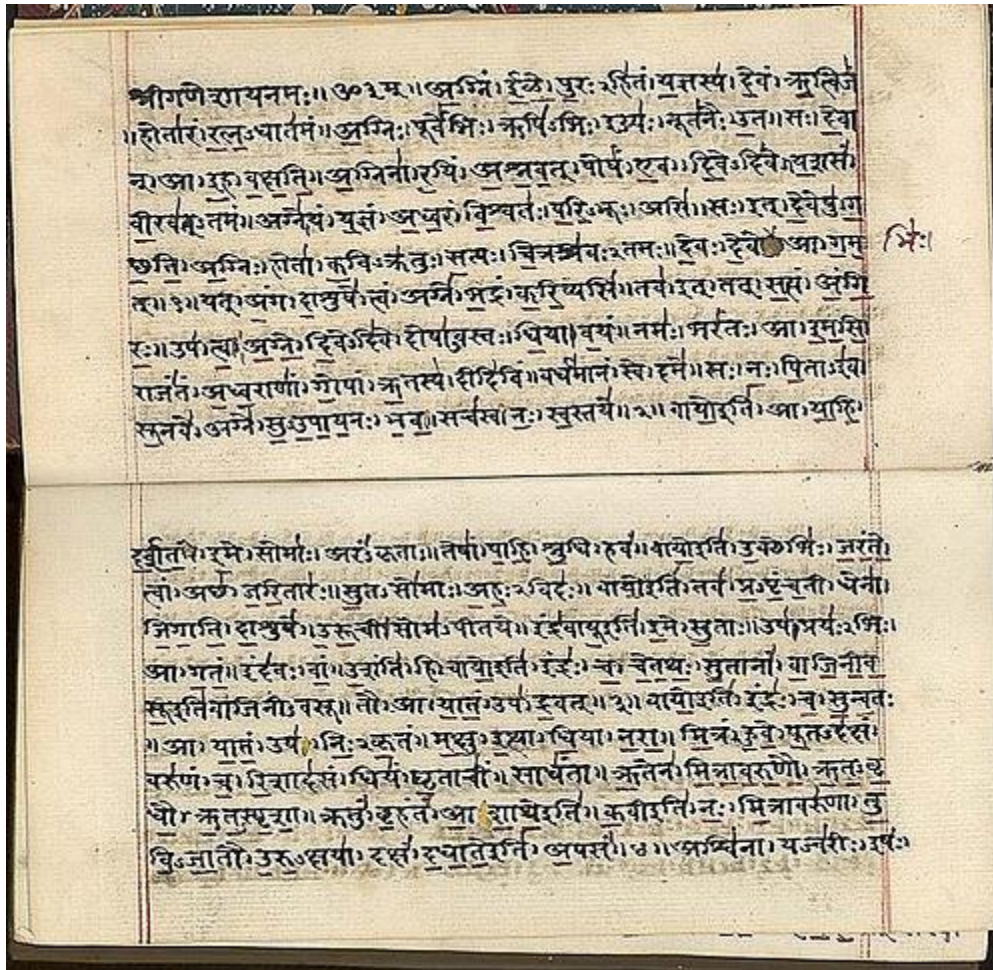
In the modern day, the most extensive, groundbreaking work on the meaning and purpose of the mandala was pioneered by the iconic Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (l. 1875-1961 CE) who devotes considerable time to the subject in a number of his works. To Jung, the mandala was the key to self-understanding and self-acceptance; by creating mandalas, one could come to know one's self more completely, recognize unhealthy thoughts and behaviors, and move closer to the center of one's actual being, leaving behind the various illusions of the self which clouded and confined one's psychological and spiritual vision.

Jung's work opened up the possibility for the secular uses of the mandala – though he consistently emphasized its spiritual power and use – and popularized the image in the West. In the present day, mandalas appear in significant numbers around the world in both religious and secular contexts and have gained a significant following among those who use the image to manage stress.

Mandala in Hinduism

Whatever else the mandala may represent to an individual, it essentially reflects order – whether of the cosmos, nation, community, or self – but is understood as an almost self-created image of that order. The person who draws the mandala in paint or chalk or creates it with colored sand or yarn or any other material, is thought to be generating the image from some higher source. This source does not necessarily have to be a supernatural entity of any kind (it could be one's higher self) but, in the beginning, it definitely was.

Hinduism is known by adherents as *Sanatan Dharma* (“Eternal Order”), and the order it references was established by an all-powerful supernatural entity, too overwhelming for the human mind to comprehend, who created, maintained, and also was the Universe. At some point in the ancient past, Brahman “spoke” the eternal truths of existence which were “heard” by sages of India while in a deep, meditative state. This knowledge came to be regarded as *shruti* (“what is heard”) and retained in oral form until it was set down in writing as the Vedas during the Vedic Period (c. 1500 - c. 500 BCE), with the *Rig Veda* thought to have been written first.



The Vedas (Rig-veda)-by BernardM (CC BY-SA)

The Rig Veda is comprised of ten books, known as mandalas, containing 1,028 hymns of 10,600 verses relating to religious understanding and practice. Since Brahman was understood as beyond human comprehension, it was thought that the entity appeared to people as avatars – forms and aspects of itself – through which one could connect with the source of all life. In time, this ideology developed the concept of a higher self within each individual known as the *Atman* which was a divine spark of Brahman linking one to all other living things and to the Universe itself. The purpose of life was to attain oneness with the *Atman* through adherence to one's duty (*dharma*) performed with the right action (*karma*) in order to liberate one's self from the cycle of rebirth and death (*samsara*) and achieve liberation (*moksha*).

The Rig Veda provided guidance toward this liberation through its mandalas which encouraged an audience to question perceived reality, reject illusion, and pursue true knowledge and wisdom concerning the self and the world. Each book of the Rig Veda is, in fact, a mandala as it leads one from the outer rim of understanding toward the center of meaning. The images which came to accompany the text – and which are the oldest mandalas in the world – served as illustrations of the truth of the vision as received by Brahman. This work established the basic use of the image of the mandala which has continued up through the present: a kind of self-teaching tool to elevate the mind from the mundane to the sublime.

The Nastika Schools

Toward the end of the Vedic Period, c. 600 BCE, there was a spiritual and cultural shift in India which encouraged various thinkers to question the Hindu vision. The Vedas were written, and recited, in Sanskrit by the priests – a language the people could not understand – and so were also interpreted by the clergy for the people. Objections to this practice encouraged questions concerning the validity of the entire belief system and so a number of philosophical schools arose which either supported the orthodox Hindu view or rejected it. Those schools who supported it were known as *astika* (“there exists”), and those who rejected Hindu thought were known as *nastika* (“there does not exist”). The best known *nastika* schools were Charvaka, Jainism, and Buddhism, all three of which came to use the mandala in their own systems.

Charvaka: The Charvaka mandala represents the central belief of the school that only perceivable reality of the four elements of air, earth, fire, and water exists. Charvaka was founded by the reformer Brhaspati (l. c. 600 BCE) who completely rejected any supernatural concepts and insisted on direct, personal experience as the only means of establishing truth. The Charvakan mandala reflects this as an image of the four elements each enclosed in a circle within a broader circle. The mandala, in this case, would have encouraged one’s belief in materialism and the materialistic truth of the human condition and prevented the mind from wandering to speculative thought on higher powers or any other meaning in life other than pursuing one’s own pleasure and recognizing the observable world as the only reality.



Four Elements-by Mana Lesman - Vardhamana Mahavira by Jules Jain (CC BY-NC-SA)

Jainism: Jainism was expounded by the sage Vardhamana (better known as Mahavira, l. c. 599-527 BCE). Although often referenced as Jainism’s founder, he is known by adherents as the 24th *tirthankara* (“ford builder”), one in a long line of enlightened souls who recognized the illusory nature of existence and freed themselves (and then others) through adherence to a strict spiritual discipline which broke the cycle of *samsara* and led to liberation. Jains observe this same discipline in the hope of reaching the same goal. Jain mandalas illustrate this path and discipline through images of Mahavira (or an earlier *tirthankara*) in the center of a circle enclosed by ever-widening squares in which representations of various divine spirits (*devas*) or

life-conditions appear. The details of a Jain mandala vary but, frequently, Mahavira appears in the center and the observer is invited to travel the image from the outer rim of distraction and illusion toward the central truth revealed by Mahavira. An observer, in the stillness of contemplation, is thereby provided with a kind of spiritual map of the Jain path.

Buddhism: Buddhism was founded by Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha, l. c. 563 - c. 483 BCE) who recognized that people suffered in life by insisting on permanent states of being in a world of constant change. After his enlightenment, he taught a spiritual discipline which encouraged detachment from craving for permanence and fear of loss as well as shedding one's ignorance of the true nature of existence which trapped the soul in the unending suffering of *samsara*. His Four Noble Truths and Eightfold Path, he taught, would lead one to the liberation of *nirvana*. His illustration of the cycle of *samsara*, The Wheel of Becoming, is a mandala which illustrates how the soul suffers through ignorance, craving, and fear and his teachings show one how to escape from the cycle of the wheel. The Buddhist mandalas are as varied as any other school of thought but provide one with a visual representation of the Buddhist vision. This vision can take many forms, from Buddha appearing at the center to a depiction of Buddhist cosmology, an illustration of one's progress along the Eightfold Path, or the story of Buddha's journey from illusion to enlightenment. Buddhists sometimes create a mandala from colored sand, carefully crafting the piece, only to then wipe it away in recognition of the impermanence of all things.



Tibetan Sand Mandala by Lisette Barlow (CC BY-NC-ND)

All three of these schools used the mandala to reinforce their visions of the nature of life and one's place in it but, in time - or perhaps even from the very start - the mandala developed a life and power of its own through which, it is said, the act of creating the image directed the person doing so in the story it told and the truth it revealed. One was not, in other words, creating an image consciously the way one would draw a picture but was 'receiving' the image from some deeper or higher source.

Jung & the Mandala

Carl Jung was the first to explore this aspect of the mandala in the West and popularized its usage. In his autobiography *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, he describes his early experience with the mandala c. 1918-1919 CE:

It was only toward the end of the First World War that I gradually began to emerge from the darkness...I sketched every morning in a notebook a small circular drawing, a mandala, which seemed to correspond to my inner situation at the time. With the help of these drawings, I could observe my psychic transformations from day to day...Only gradually did I discover what the mandala really is: "Formation, Transformation, Eternal Mind's eternal recreation". And that is the self, the wholeness of the personality, which if all goes well is harmonious, but which cannot tolerate self-deceptions. My mandalas were cryptograms concerning the state of the self which were presented to me anew each day...When I began drawing the mandalas, I saw that everything, all the paths I had been following, all the steps I had taken, were leading back to a single point, namely, to the mid-point. It became increasingly plain to me that the mandala is the center. It is the exponent of all paths. It is the path to the center, to individuation. (195-196)

The concepts Jung expresses here are, essentially, the same as those presented by the mandalas of the Rig Veda and those of the later *nastika* schools. The mandala, whatever form it takes, encourages the individual to explore the nature of the self in relation to the self, to others, to circumstances, and to the wider world of experience. Whether one is focusing on an image of the Hindu deity Ganesha (remover of obstacles) at the center of a mandala, an image of the elements, Mahavira, Buddha, or a lotus flower, one is encouraged to reflect upon one's path in life, the choices one has made and their consequences, and what one might do differently or the same.

It is hardly surprising that Jung should express the same concepts as the ancient belief systems of India, first, because he was well-versed in them but also because of his belief in what he called the Collective Unconscious, a broad body of universal knowledge shared, at an unconscious level, by all members of a species. Jung cited this Collective Unconscious to explain, for example, why the pyramid shape appears in so many ancient cultures which had no contact, why certain archetypes such as the Wise Sage, the Trickster, the Tree of Life, the Great Mother, the Shadow appear in the art, literature, scripture, and architecture of ancient cultures, independent of each other, the world over. In the same way, Jung felt, the mandala was an archetype which the individual responded to naturally because, at some deep level, the observer already recognized the image as a potent symbol of transformation and change, of a recognition of established order and one's place in it.



Tibetan Star Mandala- by Poke2001 (CC BY-SA)

Conclusion

No matter how seemingly different the varied cultures of the world may be, the mandala appears – in one form or another – in virtually all of them. Jung defines it as “an instrument of contemplation” (*Archetypes*, 356) and notes the universal spiritual and psychological importance of moving from the outside – the external world – toward the center – the self – in order to achieve full individuation, in order to recognize, and become, the self. The externals depicted on the outside of the mandala are parts of that self, just as all the others drawing the observer toward the center are, but it is toward that center that one’s attention is drawn, and toward which one naturally moves. Jung writes:

The energy of the central point is manifested in the almost irresistible compulsion and urge to become what one is, just as every organism is driven to assume the form that is characteristic of its nature, no matter what the circumstances. This center is not felt or thought of as the ego but, if one may so express it, as the self. (Archetypes, 357)

The mandala has appeared on the covers of the Torah and Tanakh, is regularly seen in depictions of Christian saints with a halo of light surrounding their heads and in other Christian iconography, decorates the covers of the Quran and elevates the mind as the colorful and intricate design of the ceilings of mosques. Native Americans of the north and south regions used the mandala, whether as direct representations of a deity or the cosmos or to symbolize a

spiritual journey, state of mind, or to ward off bad spirits as with the circular hoop design known as a dreamcatcher.

Mandalas of the Shinto religion of Japan follow the same paradigm, and mandalas also appear in Greek works and designs, notably those featuring the “evil eye”, which deflect bad luck and curses. The ancient Celts made use of the circle within a circle, decorated with various designs, which corresponds to the mandala, as did the ancient Mesopotamians in symbols of their deities. The soapstone seals of the people of the Indus Valley Civilization, thought to correspond in usage to the Mesopotamian cylinder seals, can also be understood as a kind of mandala in that they depict a central image, toward which one’s attention is drawn, accompanied by symbols enclosed in a circle.

The mandala has been a part of the human experience for thousands of years, but ever since the popularization of the works of Jung in the 1960s CE and, more so, after the widespread popularity of the work of the scholar Joseph Campbell (whose theories are informed by Jung) in the 1970s-1980s CE, the significance of the image has been recognized far more fully in the West. Spiritual centers, yoga classes, grief therapy counselors, and many more institutions and professional occupations utilize the mandala in helping their clientele.

THE MANDALA CONCEPT Of CHANAKYA NEETI DIPLOMACY



Chanakya gives utmost importance to the foreign policy of the state. The states cannot remain in isolation with the policies of others. The actions of each state has impacts on the other states and even their relations with each other. Here Chanakya defines the concept of “Mandala” i.e Circle of States.

The Mandala concept is one in which there are circles of friends and foes with the central point being the Principle King and his State. This is a well thought out strategy to consolidate power for the Kingdom who employs this concept.

Mandala in Sanskrit means ‘Circle’. The concept is also known as ‘RAJAMANDALA’ meaning, ‘CIRCLE OF KINGS’.

Chanakya believes that foreign policy is of utmost important for the stability of a state. The states cannot remain in isolation with the policies of others. The actions taken by each state has a direct or indirect impact on the other states and their relations with each other.

The fundamental truth guiding, the foreign policy of a state should be the welfare (*Yogakshema*) of the state. Welfare of the state is welfare of the people of the state for a sustainable positive growth. Today, the welfare can be stated as the means to achieve self-esteem for a state, the social-political-economic strength, the economic and social well-being of the citizens of the state. The means to achieve a balanced and effective foreign policy is defined by Chanakya as the concept of “Mandala” i.e Circle of States.

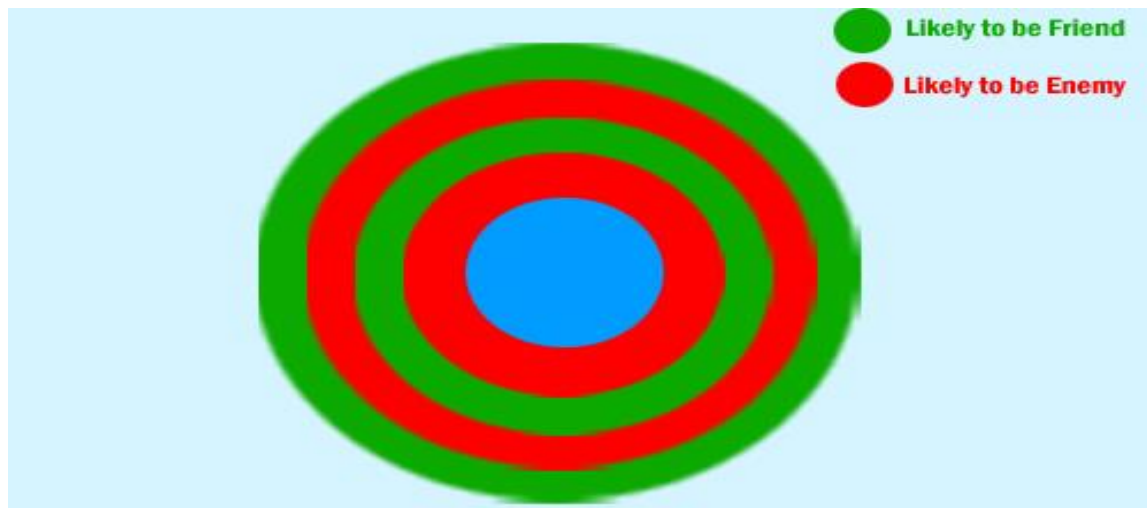
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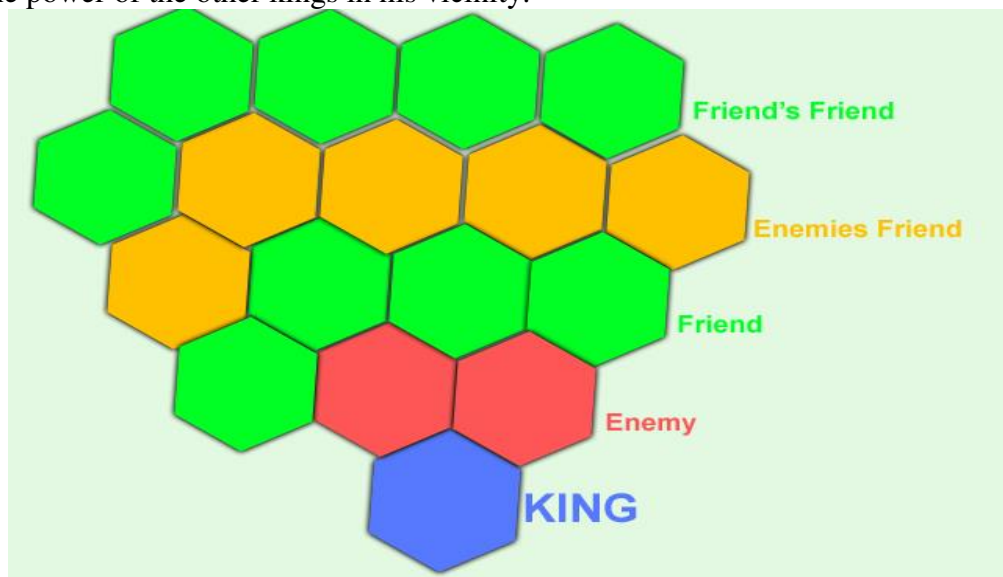
Mandala in Sanskrit means 'Circle'. The concept is also known as 'RAJAMANDALA' meaning, 'CIRCLE OF KINGS'.

The concept stems from the basic fact that "Your neighbor is your natural enemy and the neighbor's neighbor is your friend". Kautilya fine-tuned this theory for foreign relations and diplomacy.

This concept embraces twelve kingdoms in the near border of the principle Kingdom, where Chanakya considers these bordering kingdoms as neighbors as well as enemies, the states which are the enemies' neighbors are his enemies' friends and the next circle of states are his friends.



Kautilya proposes that the nations which are his neighbors and are also neighbors of his enemies are neutral and should always be treated with respect. He believes that this circle is dynamic in nature and the King should work towards expanding his central position and employ means to reduce the power of the other kings in his vicinity.



He also proposes to build alliances with states which are two degrees away from the center to create a balance of power.

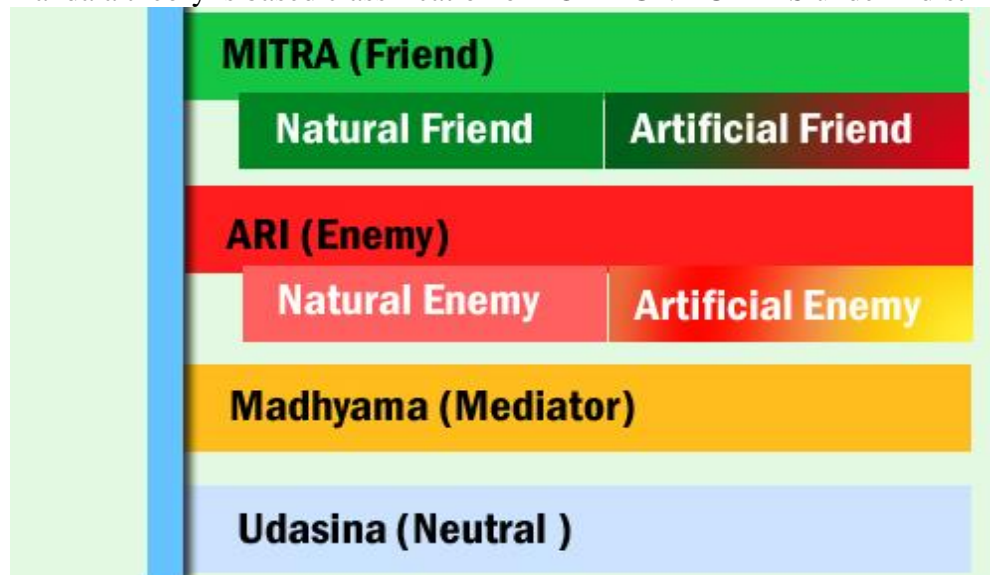
The Mandala concept is of multi-polar nature. Today our world, is trying to be multi-polar economically and militarily. Unfortunately, we see a Uni-polar world at the military front but economically otherwise. Kautilya, saw the middle power as an important step in creating a balance in the world order.

Kautilya says that “War is an outcome of a power struggle and state sovereignty”

Diplomacy is a ephemeral phenomenon and is a set of tools to attain means to avoid confrontation, which at one point becomes inevitable. Chanakya’s theory of foreign policy however, doesn’t advocate unnecessary war. Given the option, he prefers peace on war. The principles of his foreign policy are hybrid in nature and is equally applicable for non-strategic , semi strategic, economic, sociopolitical relations among nations.

Classification of Foreign Rulers

Mandala theory is based classification of FOREIGN RULERS under 4 distinct categories.



Ari – Enemies

Kautilya concludes that the king and his immediate neighbors are the *Natural Enemies*.

Any king who attempts to cause trouble to the principle kingdom without reasonable cause is an “*Artificial Enemy*” of that principle Kingdom.

Mitra- Friends

The *best kind of friend* in the concept of Mandala according to Kautilya, is the one who is consistent in behavior, Noble in approach, Straight Forward in matters and whose friendship is inherited from father or grandfather (Generations). Any other King whose friendship is courted for the sake of protection of life and property is an *Artificial Friend*.

Madhyama- Mediators

The King whose kingdom is situated close to that of a king and his wicked enemy ; who is capable of helping both the kings or of resisting either of them, is a *MEDIATOR* according to Kautilya

Udasina -Neutrals

The King whose territory is situated between the territories of two rival kings and who was powerful enough to help or resist either of them or a mediating king was *Neutral*.

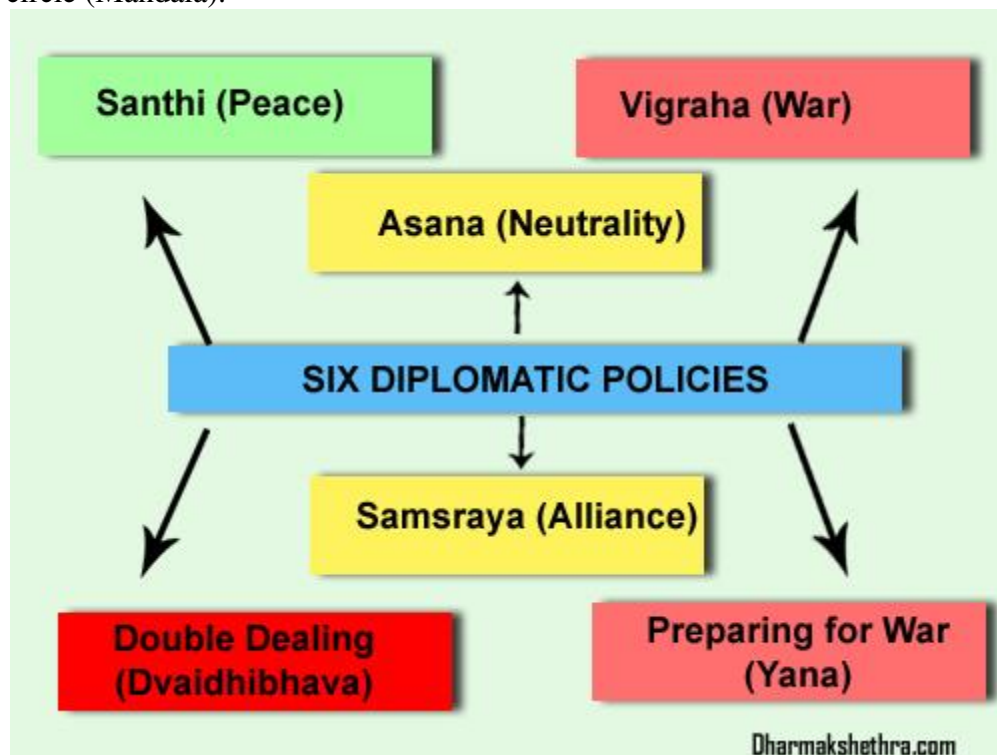
The distinction between Neutral and Mediators are not very clear but logically the king who remained passive in regard to both the parties are Neutral while Madhyama king was the one who exerted his influence to bring reconciliation.

The Classes of Neighboring King

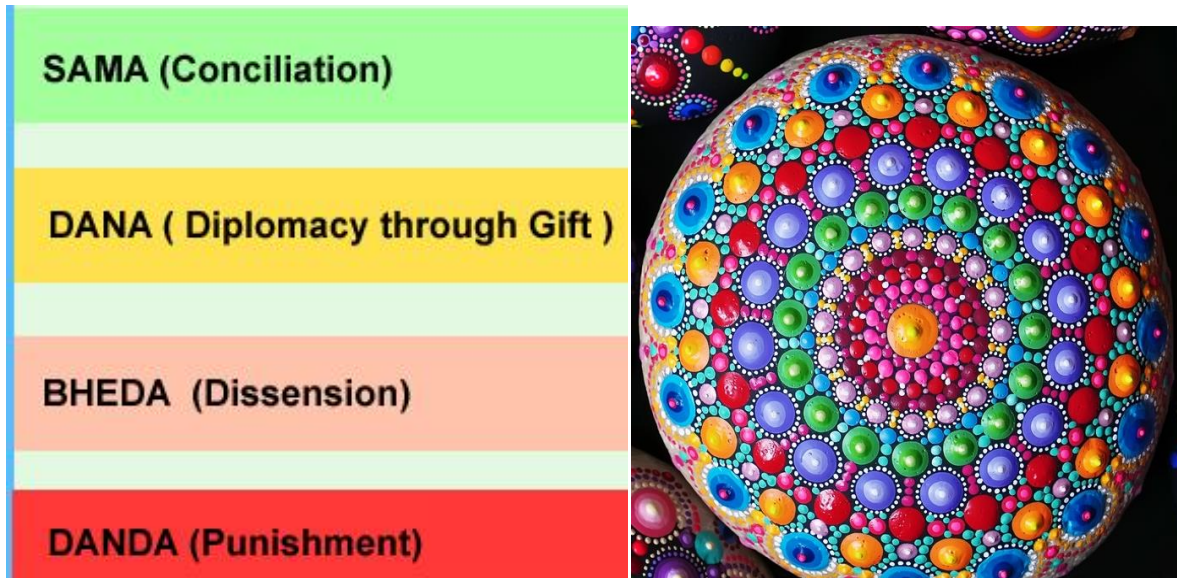
The neighbouring king belong to either of four classes

- Rearward Enemy – Parshnigraha
- Rearward Friend – Akaranda
- Ally of a Rearward Enemy – Parshnigrahasana
- Ally of a Rearward Friend – Akarandasara

Kautilya affirms that a powerful king should always try to make himself center (Nabhi) of the circle (Mandala).



To consolidate the power, the king should best adopt any of the following policies, namely, peace (Sandhi), war (Vigraha), neutrality (Asana), preparedness for war (Yana), alliance (Samsraya) and double dealing (Dvaidhibhava) according to the situation which is presented to the king.



The policies can be implemented through exercising these four methods which are : conciliation (*Sama*), making of gift (*Dana*), showing of dissension (*Bheda*), punishment (*Danda*).
<https://dharmakshethra.com/chanakya-mandala-concept-explained/>

Mandalas are often associated with geometric, circular designs that contain repetitive shapes, colors, and patterns radiating from the center. In today's world mandalas have become a generic term for almost any circle ornament. In the European and American cultures, the term is usually interpreted as a tool for relaxation. It is connected mainly to art therapy.

However, the underlying meaning of a mandala is much broader than its vibrant appearance. In numerous traditions, this geometric configuration represents a spiritual guidance tool. This serves as a base for building a sacred space, and aid for practices such as meditation and trance induction.

For example, in the Indian religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and the Japanese religion of Shintoism, a mandala may represent deities, places, spirits, holy powers, paradises or actual shrines. Yet, different perspectives reveal the diverse meaning, functions, and benefits of mandalas. They can be precise, perfectly measured and symmetrical or completely the opposite, asymmetric, organic and free-flowing. But once one reaches a complete understanding of this phenomenon, you will start seeing mandalas everywhere!

What is a mandala?

The word 'mandala' comes from a Sanskrit, an ancient Indian language, with direct translation to a "circle" or a "discoid object". As a spiritual and ritual symbol in Hinduism and Buddhism, mandalas are mainly divided into two parts: an inner and outer world of the universe. The first level of understanding is connected to several practices from Asian traditions. These include meditation, which is related to the spiritual journey of the individual. The mandala serves as a guide and the individual viewer is encouraged to find his/her place within the universe. The second view is related to the "circle" which is a symbolic representation of the universe. It is a magical form that is believed to have no beginning and no end.

More specifically, the metaphorical meaning implies that everything eventually connects and life is a never-ending round. The most basic form of a mandala is a square with four T-shaped gates and a circle with a central point. But the mandala can be also drawn in an outer circle. Also, variations of the prototype may include various shapes and patterns. These include other geometric forms (triangles and polygons), flowers, Buddhist saints, and much more. Due to its symmetric shape and the center-positioned circle, the mandala is used as a tool for focusing the viewer's attention. Apart from redirecting the body and mind, mandalas are used to remove irritating thoughts and guide the mind towards more relaxing and creative horizons.

History of Mandalas



Hand of Buddha. A symbol of meditation and Asian Buddhist religion. Photo: iStock/Getty Images

Siddhartha Gautama Buddha, known as the founder of Buddhism, was a religious leader from Ancient India. During his 45 years of teaching, his guidance was not only based on getting insights into “duḥkha” or suffering but also putting an end to it.

Above all, he wanted to show his followers the path to enlightenment. Hence, through meditation and thoughtful action, he unified his followers and established core values which are still practiced in the many forms of Buddhism.

Once Siddhartha Gautama Buddha attained enlightenment and has freed himself from the never-ending cycle of death and rebirth, he wanted to pass this knowledge onto someone.

Finally, he started to preach his philosophy and has established the first Buddhist community of monks, called “sangha”. Their culture has an enormous influence on the making of mandalas.

The earliest evidence of a Buddhist mandala date to the first century B.C.E. While the sangha traveled through major trade routes in Asia, including the Silk Road, they have spread Buddhism as a religion and the art of making mandalas to numerous lands and regions.

Proof of the existence of mandalas dates back to the 4th century and can be found in regions such as China, Tibet, and Japan. After a while, the spread of these art pieces continued onto other religions and practices, such as Hinduism. Nation-states of Eurasia born from empires, city states, and *mandala* states

Michel Bruneau

A postmodern mandala? Moving beyond methodological nationalism, Claire Sutherland, 10.15626/hn.20163705
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311880029_A_postmodern_mandala_Moving_beyond_methodological_nationalism

Anthropologists and geographers of cosmopolitanism and migration have also long questioned the analytical usefulness of bordered nation-states. Building on these insights, the article calls for a paradigm shift in political enquiry and playfully proposes the “post-modern mandala” as an alternative to methodological nationalism applied to Southeast Asia.

The Western Nation-state, based, in the modern era, on democratic citizenship or ethno-nationalism, spread to Central Europe, the Balkans and the World after the fall of multi-ethnic Empires and subsequently, colonial Empires. These Nation-States have their origins in ancient Empires (Iran, China and Vietnam) or Precolonial Mandala-States (South-East Asia). These pre-existing state structures evolved into Nation-States as a result of colonial domination or strong reformist and modernizing Western influence. Expansion into their ethno-national form was sometimes accomplished with violence (Turkey, Balkan states), causing the emergence of national minorities, which may claim the right to establish their own Nation-State.

Mandala construction by monks

Due to this fact, not anyone can take part in this technique. Therefore, a monk who is willing to construct a mandala must go through an artistic and philosophical study, which usually takes around 3 years.

The making of a single mandala can last from several days to several weeks. To ease the construction, usually, four monks come together to work on one mandala.

Each of them has an equal quadrant to work on. Likewise, once they come to the coloring part, each monk has an assistant to help them finish the task.

The principle on which the monks work is from the center and outwards to a series of concentric circles.

Certainly, the monks are well organized and usually move around the mandala; working in tandem.

Even more, to ensure balance, they wait upon each other. Once they finish their section, they continue working in agreement.

Furthermore, when monks finish the construction of a particular mandala, they can either choose to paint it or choose to deliberately destroy it.

Painting serves as an enduring object of contemplation, whereas destroying it reminds them of the impermanence of things in their teachings.

Two Major Types of Mandalas

As explained before, mandalas are found in numerous cultures and have a distinct use in each of them.

Additionally, they differ in their form, types, and varieties.

Mandalas in China, Japan, and Tibet are mainly divided into two types: the garbha-dhatu and the vajra-dhatu.

The distinction lies in their representation of the universe. More specifically, the movement in the garbha-dhatu is from one to many. In contrast, the movement in the vajra-dhatu is from many into one.

Other Types of Mandalas

A vintage portrait of a woman with a Mandala tattoo by JJ-Jordan

Mandalas may be painted on paper, stone, wood, cloth or even on a wall. Also, they can be constructed on the ground, which must be well-prepared for the technique. Some traditions use ephemeral material such as butter, colored sand, or rice powders, fashion the art piece in bronze or build it in stone.

Above all, Tibetan Buddhism has used this process for architectural structures. Their temples are built as giant art pieces of a mandala.

According to their purpose, they can be divided into teaching, healing and sand mandalas.

Teaching mandalas serve as a visual symbolization of everything a student has learned. Certainly, the student must have an understanding of the principles of design and construction.

Then, he/she can project this onto his/her mandala, whereas each line, shape or color is a representation of a certain aspect of the philosophical or religious system.

These art pieces are mainly symbolic and serve as a mental map to their creator.

Unlike the teaching mandalas, the healing mandalas' purpose is not based on strict rules.

On the contrary, this technique is used for meditation and is far more intuitive. The creator of a healing mandala aims to reach a certain level of calmness, focus, and concentration, and eventually gain wisdom.

The third type is sand mandalas, which are mainly used as a religious and traditional instrument.

This technique is typical for the Buddhist monks and Navajo cultures.

The various symbols are of colorful sand and serve as an expression of the impermanence in human life.

In addition to the previously-explained, there are countless other types of mandalas.

The most famous ones being: Architectural, Aztec, Bodhi, Body, Butterfly, Celtic, Christian, Circle, Ceiling, Cosmological & Geographical, Deity, Element, Figure, Geometric, Healing, Heart, Henna, Jung, Kalachakra, Imagined, Initiation Card, Initiation, Inverted Figure, Letter, Plate With Deities, Mural Painting, Painting, Protection, Sand, Scroll Painting, Sculptural, "Self Blessing", Square, Symbol, Thread-Cross, Upright-Figure, Yantra, Lotus, Flower, and Sun Mandalas.

Symbolism of Mandala

Both Hinduism and Buddhism use mandalas as a way of expression of Buddha's teachings.

So, one way of interpretation is to understand the underlying principles and beliefs of these religions.

The mandala consists of a squared temple which is placed in the center of the structure and is surrounded by concentric circles, each of which has a unique symbolic meaning.

There are a dot and an image of the chief deity in the center of the mandala, symbolizing that the chief deity is the actual center of the universe. Apart from the essence of the Buddha that can be found in the temple itself, four gates are leading out of it.

The presence of Buddha is the abstract form of his mind, usually found in the form of a flower, a tree, a wheel or a jewel.

The interpretation of the gates may be north, south, east, and west- the four directions, or sympathy, compassion, loving-kindness, and equanimity – the four boundless thoughts.

The first circle features a ring of fire, representing the way humans are transformed before they reach the inside.

The second circle is composed of diamonds, a metaphor for indestructibility.

The third circle is of the eight graveyards, made by lotus leaves. The leaves represent religious rebirth, and the circle symbolizes the aspects of human consciousness through which humans are bound to the cycle of rebirth.

Mandalas can also be constructed to represent a particular deity or a group of deities. In the case of a few or even thousands of deities, the main deity (the generative force) is placed in the center, while the rest of them (manifestations of the power of the core image) are organized around the central point.

Common symbols in mandalas

Apart from these interpretations, some common symbols can be found in most mandalas, such as a bell representing openness, a triangle representing action and energy when faced upwards or creativity and the pursuit of knowledge when faced downwards.

Additionally, a Wheel with eight spokes represents the Eightfold Path of Buddhism or the perfect universe. The sun is connected with the universe as well, a symbol for life and energy.

Mandalas are found across all cultures, each of which has a certain representation and interpretation, so there is no one understanding of this phenomenon which could be generalized across all of them.

Modern use and benefits from Mandalas

Nowadays, people have increased their use of mandalas as a tool for relaxation and improving focus.

These geometric designs are no longer associated only with Buddhists. It seems like individuals also connect them with fun activities for personal enjoyment.

In such cases, no rules apply. It is entirely up to the person who creates the design whether it will consist of symmetrical shapes and patterns. He/she may also choose to fill the circles with colors of his/her choice.

Besides, coloring mandalas can be beneficial for people of different ages. Children could take advantage of the flexibility of this technique. Simultaneously this will expand their creativity.

Adults could use coloring as a way of calming down. Focusing on the mandala could certainly take your mind off of things and generally improve your concentration.

When it comes to elders, they may use coloring the symmetrical patterns as a way of keeping their minds sharp.

Based on research that involved creating 100 mandalas in 100 days, the results showed that this using this technique is quite beneficial for the creators.

More specifically, the participants have eased stress, fear, overwhelming feelings, worry and depression. Furthermore, they considered it a fun activity that relaxed their bodies and minds, improved their focus and enhanced their creativity.

Apart from cultivating feelings of happiness and inner peace, the creation of mandalas has enhanced the participants' self-esteem and self-acceptance, simultaneously fostering a sense of connection with themselves and others around them.

Last but not least, the experiment has shown that this process had improved the sleep schedule of the participants.

Conclusion

All in all, mandalas have existed for centuries and have certainly made a significant impact on people from different cultures.

No matter the age and background of the creator, the purpose of constructing or coloring, these geometrical art designs have proven to be of great importance.

Even now, with all the available technology and advancement, people find mandalas as a great way of expression and transmitting the inner feeling onto a piece of paper.

<https://www.thisisbrainy.com/mandala-everything-you-need-to-know-about-mandalas/>



The concept of Mandala originated from Hinduism in India. It is a religious symbol representing the universe and has spiritual and ritual significance in both Hinduism and Buddhism. As can be seen from the picture on the right, most forms of the Mandala consist of a square with four gates (each in the general shape of a "T"), containing a circle with a centre point. Power is believed to radiate outwards from this centre point.

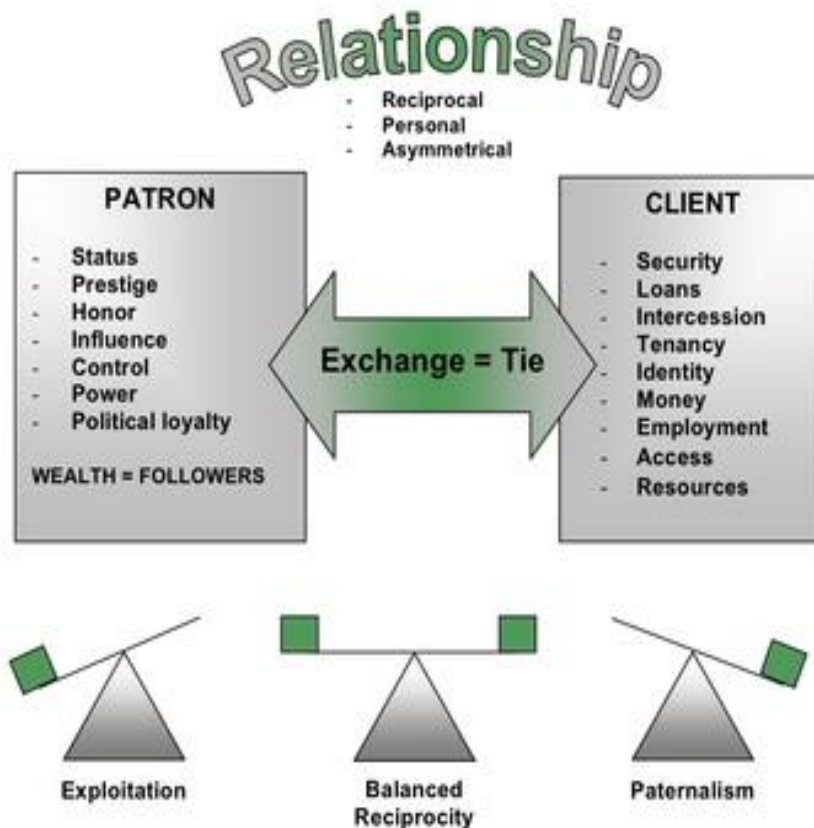
This symbol is also often reflected in various temples, batik and works of art in Southeast Asia.

Based on this religious concept, the Mandala has been applied as a political system in Southeast Asia, where polities are defined by their centre of administration as opposed to its geographical boundaries. This is in line with the Mandala's notion of the centre as being the most powerful.

This also means that the Mandala is a very fluid and dynamic system, as allegiances of the constituent cities may change depending on their relationships with the king at the centre of the empire. Thus, in the Mandala political system, relationships between kings or leaders and their subjects are emphasised. This is called a patron-client relationship, where the patron, in this case the ruler, possesses superior power and influence and uses this to assist the his clients, meaning the constituent cities and societies. These clients in return provide smaller services and loyalty towards the king, helping to increase his power.

Such relationships are constantly shifting. For example, a constituent city may break off from an empire and attach itself to a different political centre. Thus, in order to stay in power, moral obligations of reciprocity are expected of the king - he is expected to be generous and righteous, and maintain order throughout the empire. This is also seen in the Buddhist concepts of merit, karma and dharma, where it is believed that a leader's advantageous position is due to his meritorious action in previous lives, and hence it is his duty as a person of such status to be generous and provide protection for those below him.

This diagram provides a more detail explanation of the above-mentioned patron-client relationship.



CHAPTER II

MANDALA POLITICAL SYSTEM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

HomeIndic Statecraft and Indo-Pacific

Indic Statecraft and Indo-Pacific, Dr Vijay Sakhuja

India's cartographic delimitation of Indo-Pacific broadly encompasses sea space from the western Pacific Ocean through Southeast Asia to the western Indian Ocean along the east coast of Africa. In this sea space it pursues an 'eclectic blend' of 'constructivism' and 'realism'¹ and showcases how a civilisational power with a long history of socio-cultural engagement and trade, premises its contemporary diplomacy and economic engagements. In fact these are reminiscent of the ancient times and represent strong civilisational underpinnings that featured India's engagements with Southeast Asia and China in the East, and Persia, Arabia, Egypt, Roman Empire and Africa in the West. The contemporary diplomatic initiatives pivot on multilateral engagements; economic enmeshments are through multiple Free Trade Agreements (FTA); and capacity building in these regions under the mantra 'SAGAR' (Security and Growth for All). These are emblematic of its soft power which is rooted in antiquity.

Indic Statecraft

The realist framework of India's Indo-Pacific vision is inspired by the ancient statecraft propounded by the Indian strategic thinker and statesman Kautilya. Also known as Chanakya (350-275 BCE), he authored *Arthashastra*. This magnum opus is a treatise in 'political realism' which showcases how the political world works with firm foundations in self-interests, strategic autonomy, and the dynamic nature of alliances.² It conceptualizes a geo-political and a geo-strategic framework of interests, alliances and strategic conduct, and envisions a 'regional order' driven by the priority of interests to deduce regional security architecture. These are labeled as the 'Mandala'.

Kautilya offers a number of choices to the King to manage relations of the State with the States in the 'Mandala' through political dialogue and diplomacy by using tools such as treaties, alliances, neutrality, to employment of 'just war doctrine'. Mandala pivots on a clear understanding of the elements of 'Amity and Adversity; Alliance and Convergence; Competition and Cooperation and the larger envision of a norms-rules based regional order'.³ In spatial terms Mandala denotes a zone and schematically it is figurative of concentric circles, which define the relations of a State that lies at the core, with its 'immediate', 'intermediate' and 'outer' ring of countries.

Maritime Mandala

It is useful to locate the Indo-Pacific in the context of maritime 'Mandalas' and obtain a clearer understanding of New Delhi's engagements in the region. India's Maritime Mandalas stretch across a seamless continuum from the Indian Ocean, through Southeast Asia, to the western Pacific Ocean. New Delhi's politico-diplomatic engagements, economic outreach and emergent strategic concerns are practiced across the entire swath of Indo-Pacific. The Mandalas are determined by geopolitical priorities, economic interests, and geostrategic imperatives and drive its operational patterns in the realms of naval maneuvers.

India's 'Immediate Mandala' has China and Pakistan, the two contiguous states with whom New Delhi has boundary disputes that remain unresolved; India has engaged in wars with these states. In this Mandala, China and India are the rising powers in Asia and are shaping the

strategic dynamics of the region. Chinese political and economic initiatives in South Asia are demonstrated by the 21st century Maritime Silk Road under the Belt Road Initiative. It is also shaping the maritime battle space in the Indian Ocean through naval forays that have intensified during the last few years. It is also building power projection capability with access and basing arrangements in strategic locations such as Djibouti, Gwadar and Hambantota.

In the Immediate Mandala sea-based nuclear delivery platforms have added a new dimension to the already complex and stressed security environment. India has a strong sea-based nuclear deterrent also referred to as the ‘third leg of the nuclear triad’. Likewise, there is a visible Pakistani desire to acquire a similar capability albeit by equipping a conventional submarine to carry nuclear tipped missiles. Furthermore, China now deploys nuclear submarines in the Indian Ocean.

India’s Intermediate Mandala comprises of at least three strategic spaces. First, the Persian Gulf region is an important source for its energy imports and dictates interests in the safety and security of the Straits of Hormuz which is India’s oil jugular. Also, the presence of Indian diaspora in the region are a significant source of remittance economy and feature prominently in the Intermediate Mandala which necessitates a very sophisticated strategy of building close relations with Persian Gulf countries. Second, India’s East African maritime engagements have come by way of Indian Navy’s deployment for assistance in maritime security that began in 2003 by providing waterfront security cover during the African Union Summit held in Maputo, Mozambique.⁴ Similar initiatives have continued and since 2009 the Indian Navy has deployed warships in the Gulf of Aden to counter Somali piracy. Over all, India has expanded its engagements with the east African–Indian Ocean littorals through several maritime/naval security initiatives.

In the East, the Intermediate Mandala focuses on Southeast Asia where India has enduring economic, trade and cultural ties with several countries of the region that date back to ancient times. Its ‘Act East’ policy is a robust tool for strategic engagements with the ASEAN whose ‘centrality’ is frequently promoted by New Delhi and is underpinned by the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ) and East Asian Summit (EAS) with its other associated initiatives.

India’s ‘Outer Mandala’ is the arc of the major powers (Australia, Japan and the United States) with whom politico-diplomatic, economic and strategic engagement have been determined by the norm of synergy of robust relations based on strategic convergence. Strategic dialogues at both political and security level have strengthened ties and form the basis for the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue or the ‘Quad’. Besides, Indian, Japanese, and the U.S. navies conduct maneuvers across the entire swath of Indo-Pacific waters.

Mandala and Naval Strategy

The Indian Navy’s maritime strategy is in harmony with the Mandalas’ of the Indo-Pacific. For instance, *India’s Military Maritime Strategy* (2007) envisioned Indian Ocean region as the primary area of interest and operations. It designated the Red Sea, South China Sea, Southern Indian Ocean, and East Pacific Region as the secondary area of interest but these spaces would gain primacy in case the events and incidents in those areas impinge on Indian interests. In 2015, the Indian Navy published *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy* and acknowledged Indo-Pacific as a strategic space for a variety of interests and operations. It however, retained Indian Ocean as the primary area of interest, and South and East China Seas, Western Pacific Ocean, and their littoral regions as secondary areas.

At the functional level, the concept of '*tous azimuth*' resonates in India naval strategic thinking. In 2017, the Indian Navy unveiled its Mission Based Deployment (MBD) plan to maintain 24x7 round the year vigil over the Indian Ocean.⁵ Under the MBD, nearly 15 warships of the Indian Navy are deployed at any time in different sea areas i.e. from the Persian Gulf to Straits of Malacca and from Northern Bay of Bengal to Southern Indian Ocean to East coast of Africa. The deployments in the western Pacific including South China Sea are based on the Indian Navy's capability to conduct surveillance, detection, identification and prosecution of the challenger before it can jeopardize India's national interests, damage critical assets at sea or disrupt Indian flagged shipping. In essence, under the 'Maritime Mandala' schema, the Indian Navy engages potential friends and strategic partners to offset the dominant challengers in the Immediate Mandala - currently China with its growing colossal economic and strategic-military capabilities and Pakistan which repetitively invokes the nuclear card.

Zones or Mandala

It is not the policy of the Government of India to publish White Papers. In the absence of such a document, a number of questions about what Indo-Pacific means to New Delhi come to mind. India has at least three useful choices to pursue its vision of an "open, stable, secure, prosperous and inclusive" Indo-Pacific. First would be to conceptualize Zones of Engagement in which both deft diplomacy and strategic autonomy are at play wherein New Delhi's evolving political and diplomatic profile, economic power and technological-industrial prowess are the determinants of its pursuits. These Zones would be a cluster of countries bound together by constants of geography and with whom India has built robust mutually beneficial relations based on convergent interests and priorities that are part of its political-economic-strategic-cultural continuums. For instance Zone One could be the littorals of Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea, Persian Gulf and East Africa; Zone Two would be a region encompassing East Asia and the western Pacific to include Japan, Republic of Korea, Taiwan and several ASEAN countries including Philippines in the east and Australia and New Zealand in the South; and Zone Three would naturally be the United States and the Pacific Island states.

The second approach is to internalize Mandala and promote it as a strategy wherein convergence, competition and cooperation would be the primary drivers. In fact India is already practicing an Indo-Pacific strategy in which the Indian Navy, through its maritime strategy, engages countries of the Intermediate and Outer Mandalas' through naval/maritime operations that feature strong elements of interoperability, and leverages its capabilities to supplement New Delhi's diplomatic and competitive gains. Importantly, it is not similar to the United States approach to Indo-Pacific which has chosen to articulate it in its National Security Strategy.

The third would be a creative mix of 'Zones of Engagement' and 'Mandala'. This is based on the proposition that the history of the world is replete with examples of civilisational powers such as the Minoans, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Chinese who all relied on the seas for the full realization of their power potential. They exhibited a strong proclivity to use the seas that had expeditionary roles factored in them even as they launched their mercantile trade across the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean and Asian waters through Southeast Asia as far as China.

Finally, India's rise in the 21st century is a rediscovery of its power and comes at a time when it's rising profile and the ability to leverage expeditionary capability is quite evident in its

maritime engagements with other maritime powers both in and outside Asia. In essence, India is drawing liberally from its statecraft enunciated in the ancient classic the *Arthasasthra* of which it has now become a practitioner par excellence.

CHAPTER III

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Dr Vijay Sakhuja-October 11 , 2019

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Finally, India’s rise in the 21st century is a rediscovery of its power and comes at a time when it’s rising profile and the ability to leverage expeditionary capability is quite evident in its maritime engagements with other maritime powers both in and outside Asia. In essence, India is drawing liberally from its statecraft enunciated in the ancient classic the *Arthasasthra* of which it has now become a practitioner par excellence.

Notes:

(Dr Vijay Sakhuja is former Director National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi)

Deciphering the sea trade routes used by ancient Tamil sailors

Historian Sivagnanam Balasubramani, popularly known as Orissa Balu, deciphers the sea trade routes used by ancient Tamil sailors through his research on sea turtles

‘Thirai kadal odiyum thiraviam thedu’ (Seek your fortune even by venturing overseas) — Tamil poet Avvaiyar.

The Sangam literature is a rich repository of information on the ancient Tamil way of living. Amidst its chapters that vividly describe the beauty of nature, lifestyle and social structure of the old Tamil country, the *Purananuru* elicits the flourishing sea trade of those times. From ships, sea routes, daring maritime voyages to the merchandise that were traded and the expertise of the Tamil seafarers, it talks in detail of the mighty ocean and the strong bond the people shared with it.

For the past two decades, historian Orissa Balu, has been collecting real-life evidences and remnants from across the coast of Tamil Nadu and elsewhere in the world, correlating them with the references in Sangam literature. “The land expanse mentioned in the literary works is a much larger area than the present day Tamil Nadu state. Our ancestors had maintained trade links from Europe in the west to the Far East,” says Balu. “Excavations at Adichanalur have yielded skeletons of people belonging to five different races. It’s an indication that we have been a centre of international trade, paving way for exchange of culture and language.”

According to Balu, the root of the word ‘Tamilar’ comes from ‘Dramilar’, which in turn is a derivative of *‘Thirai Meelar’* – an expression to denote sea farers. “It was considered a science to be able to return from the sea. The Tamil seafarers had an advanced idea of direction, geography and weather. They were able to come back to their home turf after sea voyages spanning months

and years covering millions of nautical miles. The word '*Thirai Meelar*' is mentioned repeatedly in works like *Manimekalai* and *Silapathikaram*."

Sea faring was such a thriving industry that the Tamil society is said to have had over 20 different communities working for sea trade. Literature talks about the *Vathiriyars* (people who weaved the sail), *Odavis* (men who built ships), *Kuliyalis* (Surfers) and *Mugavaiyars* (divers who fished pearl from the deep sea bed).

Balu who has done an extensive study on the '*Paimara Kappal*' (sail boat), the indigenous vessel of ancient Tamils, says, "The sail cloth used in the Sangam age was 20 metres in width, 10 metres in height and could withstand a wind velocity of 250km/hr. It's notable that even the women were experts in sailing and pearl fishing. Even today, we can find women diving into the sea in search of pearls along the coast of Tuticorin."

He adds, "The mechanism of building the boat was unique as they used nearly 42 kinds of wood including the *Karunkali* wood for the central pole that withstood lightning. Today, the coastal Muslim community practices the age-old boat building technique. There are hardly 25 sail boats and five families of boat builders left in Kayalpatnam and Keezhakarai."

The Sangam literature also documents the presence of over 20,000 islands in the Indo-Pacific Ocean, says Balu. 'Muziris Papyrus is a document on the evolved sea trade of Tamils. It shows how advanced and strategically planned were the supply chain network and management policies of Tamil traders." Balu postulates that ancient Tamil seafarers followed sea turtles and thus chalked maritime trade routes. For over 21 years, he has been doing research on sea turtles, mapping their migration routes.

"The turtle has the ability of returning to its home turf even after migrating thousands of miles in the sea. They float along sea currents and don't swim in the ocean. The technique used by Tamil sailors must have been inspired from this," he says. "There's a proper documentation of the life cycle of sea turtles in Sangam literature."

Balu is researching on the migration routes of Olive Ridleys, Green Turtles and Leatherbacks which visit the Tamil Nadu coast. "My idea is to use historical facts for sustainable living in the present times," says Balu, who runs the Integrated Ocean Culture Research Foundation, based in Chennai. "We have people from over 72 sea-related fields researching on various subjects. We have created a link between the stakeholders of the sea, from marine engineers and ship builders to fishermen." Orissa Balu delivered a lecture at a programme organised by INATCH Madurai Chapter.

source: <http://www.thehindu.com> / The Hindu / Home> Features> MetroPlus> Society / A. Shrikumar / Madurai – April 29th, 2016

CHAPTER IV

History of Southeast Asia, history of Southeast Asia from prehistoric times to the contemporary period.

William H. Frederick-Associate Professor of History, Ohio University, Athens. Author of *Visions and Heat: the Making of the Indonesian Revolution* and others.



Historical map of Southeast Asia

Early Society And Accomplishments Origins

Knowledge of the early prehistory of Southeast Asia has undergone exceptionally rapid change as a result of archaeological discoveries made since the 1960s, although the interpretation of these findings has remained the subject of extensive debate. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the region has been inhabited from the earliest times. Hominid fossil remains date from approximately 1,500,000 years ago and those of *Homo sapiens* from approximately 40,000 years ago. Furthermore, until about 7000 BCE the seas were some 150 feet (50 metres) lower than they are now, and the area west of Makassar Strait consisted of a web of watered plains that sometimes is called Sundaland. These land connections perhaps account for the coherence of early human development observed in the Hoabinhian culture, which lasted from about 13,000 to 5000 or 4000 BCE. The stone tools used by hunting and gathering societies across Southeast Asia during this period show a remarkable degree of similarity in design and development. When the sea level rose to approximately its present level about 6000 BCE, conditions were created for a more variegated environment and, therefore, for more extensive differentiation in human development. While migration from outside the region may have taken place, it did not do so in a

massive or clearly punctuated fashion; local evolutionary processes and the circulation of peoples were far more powerful forces in shaping the region's cultural landscape.

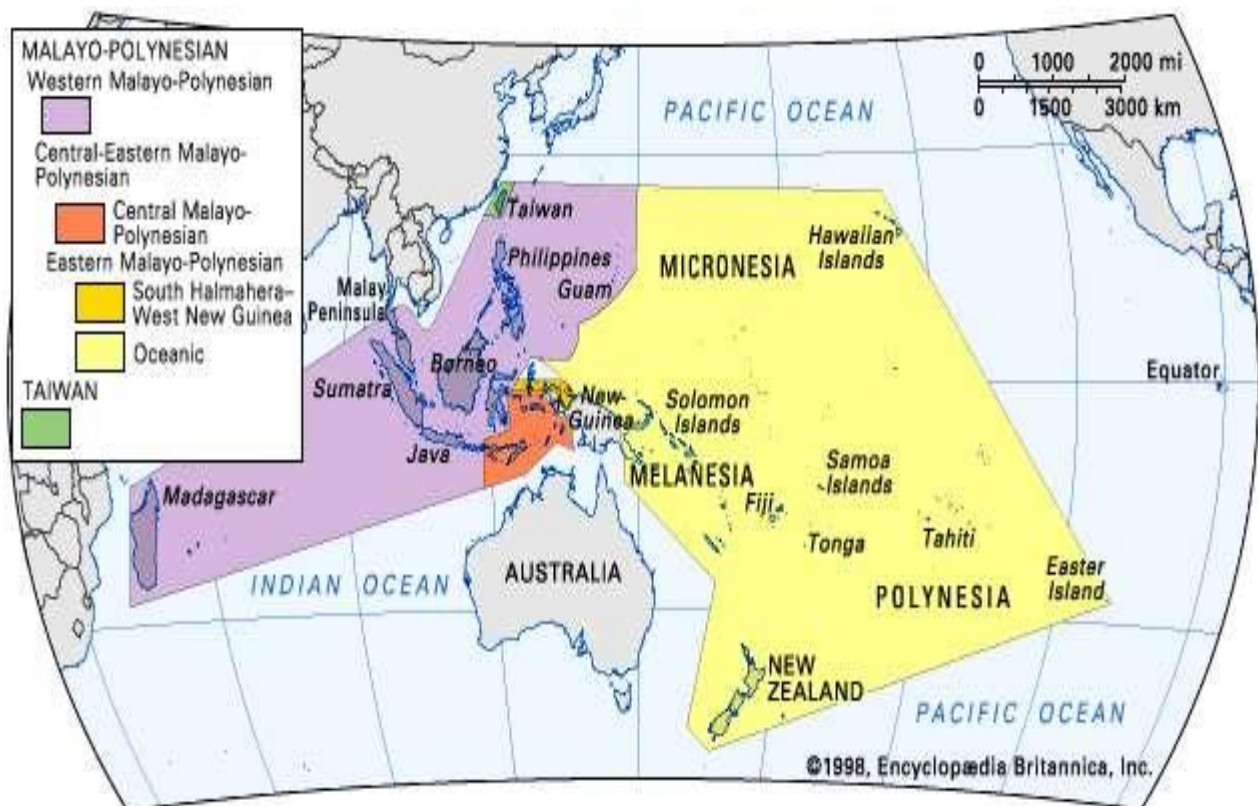
Technological developments and population expansion

Perhaps because of a particular combination of geophysical and climatic factors, early Southeast Asia did not develop uniformly in the direction of increasingly complex societies. Not only have significant hunting and gathering populations continued to exist into the 21st century, but the familiar cultural sequences triggered by such events as the discovery of agriculture or metallurgy do not seem to apply. This is not to say that the technological capabilities of early Southeast Asian peoples were negligible, for sophisticated metalworking (bronze) and agriculture (rice) were being practiced by the end of the 3rd millennium BCE in northeastern Thailand and northern Vietnam, and sailing vessels of advanced design and sophisticated navigational skills were spread over a wider area by the same time or earlier. Significantly, these technologies do not appear to have been borrowed from elsewhere but were indigenous and distinctive in character.

These technological changes may partially account for two crucial developments in Southeast Asia's later prehistory. The first is the extraordinary seaborne expansion of speakers of Proto-Austronesian languages and their descendants, speakers of Austronesian (or Malayo-Polynesian) languages, which occurred over a period of 5,000 years or more and came to encompass a vast area and to stretch nearly half the circumference of Earth at the Equator. This outward movement of people and culture was evolutionary rather than revolutionary, the result of societal preference for small groups and a tendency of groups to hive off once a certain population size had been reached. It began as early as 4000 BCE, when Taiwan was populated from the Asian mainland, and subsequently it continued southward through the northern Philippines (3rd millennium BCE), central Indonesia (2nd millennium BCE), and western and eastern Indonesia (2nd and 1st millennia BCE). From approximately 1000 BCE on the expansion continued both eastward into the Pacific, where that immense region was populated in a process continuing to about 1000 CE as voyagers reached the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand, and westward, where Malay peoples reached and settled the island of Madagascar sometime between 500 and 700 CE, bringing with them (among other things) bananas, which are native to Southeast Asia. Thus, for a considerable period of time, the Southeast Asian region contributed to world cultural history, rather than merely accepting outside influences, as frequently has been suggested.

The second development, which began possibly as early as 1000 BCE, centred on the production of fine bronze and the fashioning of bronze-and-iron objects, particularly as they have been found at the site in northern Vietnam known as Dong Son. The earliest objects consisted of socketed plowshares and axes, shaft-hole sickles, spearheads, and such small items as fishhooks and personal ornaments. By about 500 BCE the Dong Son culture had begun producing the bronze drums for which it is known. The drums are large objects (some weigh more than 150 pounds [70 kg]), and they were produced by the difficult lost-wax casting process and decorated with fine geometric shapes and depictions of animals and humans. This metal industry was not derived from similar industries in China or India. Rather, the Dong Son period offers one of the most powerful—though not necessarily the only or earliest—examples of Southeast Asian societies transforming themselves into more densely populated, hierarchical, and centralized communities. Since typical drums, either originals or local renditions, have been found throughout Southeast Asia and since they are associated with a rich trade in exotics and

other goods, the Dong Son culture also suggests that the region as a whole consisted not of isolated, primitive niches of human settlement but of a variety of societies and cultures tied together by broad and long-extant trading patterns. Although none of these societies possessed writing, some displayed considerable sophistication and technological skill, and, although none appears to have constituted a territorial centralized state, new and more complex polities were forming.



Austronesian languages-Major divisions of the Austronesian languages.

Influence of China and India

Between approximately 150 BCE and 150 CE, most of Southeast Asia was first influenced by the more mature cultures of its neighbours to the north and west. Thus began a process that lasted for the better part of a millennium and fundamentally changed Southeast Asia. In some ways the circumstances were very different. China, concerned about increasingly powerful chiefdoms in Vietnam disturbing its trade, encroached into the region and by the end of the 1st century BCE had incorporated it as a remote province of the Han empire. For generations, the Vietnamese opposed Chinese rule, but they were unable to gain their independence until 939 CE. From India, however, there is no evidence of conquests, colonization, or even extensive migration. Indians came to Southeast Asia, but they did not come to rule, and no Indian power appears to have pursued an interest in controlling a Southeast Asian power from afar, a factor that may help to explain why only the Vietnamese accepted the Chinese model.



China

China under the Han emperor Wudi (c. 100 BCE) and (inset) at the end of the Chunqiu (Spring and Autumn) Period (c. 500 BCE).

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Yet, in other ways the processes of Indianization and Sinicization were remarkably similar. Southeast Asia already was socially and culturally diverse, making accommodation easy. Furthermore, indigenous peoples shaped the adaption and adoption of outside influences and, indeed, seem to have sought out concepts and practices that enhanced rather than redirected changes already underway in their own societies. They also rejected some components: for example, some of the vocabulary and general theories related to the Indian notions of social hierarchy were borrowed but much of the specific practices were not, and neither Indian nor Chinese views of women as socially and legally inferior were accepted. In the later stages of the assimilation process—particularly in the Indianized areas—local syncretism often produced exuberant variations, which, despite familiar appearances, were expressions of local genius rather than just inspired borrowings.

Still, Chinese and Indian influences were anything but superficial. They provided writing systems and literature, systems of statecraft, and concepts of social hierarchy and religious belief, all of which were both of intrinsic interest and pragmatic significance to Southeast Asians of the day. For elites seeking to gain and retain control over larger and more complex populations, the applications of these ideas were obvious, but it would also seem that the sheer beauty and symbolic power of Hindu and Buddhist arts tapped a responsive vein in the Southeast Asian soul. The result was an imposing array of architectural and other cultural wonders, at first very much

in the Indian image and hewing close to current styles and later in more original, indigenous interpretations. The seriousness and profundity with which all this activity was undertaken is unmistakable. By the 7th century CE, Palembang in southern Sumatra was being visited by Chinese and other Buddhist devotees from throughout Asia, who came to study doctrine and to copy manuscripts in institutions that rivaled in importance those in India itself. Later, beginning in the 8th century, temple and court complexes of surpassing grandeur and beauty were constructed in central Java, Myanmar, and Cambodia; the Borobudur of the Śailendra dynasty in Java, the myriad temples of the Burman dynastic capital of Pagan, and the monuments constructed at Angkor during the Khmer empire in Cambodia rank without question among the glories of the ancient world.



Rise of indigenous states

In the realm of politics, Indian influence accompanied the rise of new political entities, which, since they do not readily fall under the Western rubric of “states,” have been called *mandalas*. The *mandala* was not so much a territorial unit as a fluid field of power that emanated, in concentric circles, from a central court and depended for its continued authority largely on the court’s ability to balance alliances and to influence the flow of trade and human resources. Such a conception of political organization already had surfaced among Southeast Asians, but Indian civilization provided powerful metaphors for the change underway and for ways of extending it. The *mandala* was the predominant form of the Southeast Asian state until it was displaced in the 19th century.



Sculptures at Borobudur, central Java, Indonesia.

Between approximately the 2nd century BCE and the 6th century CE, *mandala* polities appeared throughout Southeast Asia in the major river valleys and at strategic landfalls for sea traffic—generally, locations where routes for local and international trade crossed. These communities took different forms, depending on their physical setting. For example, walled and moated settlements predominated in much of the mainland but do not seem to have been constructed in insular Southeast Asia. Yet they served similar purposes to and frequently shared characteristics with *mandalas* in the same immediate region. *Mandala* sites have been located in the Mekong, Chao Phraya, and Irrawaddy river valleys; along the coasts of central Vietnam, western and northern Java, and eastern Borneo; and on the Isthmus of Kra. One of the most intriguing sites, called Oc Eo, is in the Mekong delta region of southern Vietnam. This port settlement, which flourished between the 1st and 6th centuries CE amid a complex of other settlements connected by canals (some up to 60 miles long), was not only an extraordinarily rich emporium dealing in articles from as far as Rome and inner Asia, but it was also a local manufacturing centre producing its own jewelry, pottery, and other trade goods. Almost certainly it also fed itself from wet-rice agriculture practiced in the surrounding delta. Little is known, however, about the nature of state structure in Oc Eo, although it seems to have been one of—and perhaps was prime among—an assemblage of local *mandala*-type principalities.

After the 6th century there emerged a number of larger and more powerful *mandala* states, principally in Cambodia, Myanmar, Sumatra, and Java. Often designated kingdoms or empires, these states nevertheless functioned and were structured upon the same principles that had

governed their predecessors. They were, in some respects, unstable and prone to fluctuation because of shifting relations with outside powers and constant internal struggles for the position of overlordship, but they also were remarkably durable. No two states were exactly alike, each occupying a particular ecological niche and exploiting a particular combination of opportunities to survive by trade, agriculture, and war. The cultural impact of their courts long outlasted their political grasp and continued to inform their societies until modern times.

Perhaps the outstanding example of this durability is Srivijaya, the great Sumatran trading empire that dominated much of Southeast Asian commerce from about the 7th to the 13th century. Srivijaya does not appear to have been heavily urbanized or to have had a continuously occupied capital during its roughly 700 years of existence, nor does it seem to have possessed boundaries and clearly delineated territories. Its armies, while they could be mustered and quickly dispatched overseas, were weapons of limited use. Instead, Srivijaya maintained its authority in a shifting and extremely varied trading world largely by means of a shrewd brand of cultural and economic politics that involved, among other things, offering a protective and mutually beneficial trading environment to all comers and maintaining a courtly culture from which the idiom of overlordship issued grandly and convincingly. Srivijaya was ruled by a formula supple enough to attract trade from all quarters and to exploit it at the same time.



Angkor Wat, Angkor, Cambodia-Overview of Angkor Wat, a temple complex in Angkor, Cambodia. *Contunico* © *ZDF Enterprises GmbH, Mainz* See all videos for this article

Whatever the achievements of Srivijaya, the Khmer (Cambodian) state that flourished in the Tonle Sap region roughly between the 9th and mid-13th centuries is widely regarded as the most impressive of the concentrically arranged ancient Southeast Asian states. This admiration largely stems from the state's extensive architectural remains, including the renowned Angkor Thom and Angkor Wat temple complexes. In many respects, however, the Angkorian imperial achievement was singular. Though informed by the *mandala* paradigm, the Khmer carried it further and shaped it more distinctively than other Southeast Asians before or since.



Ruined temples at the Angkor Thom complex, Angkor, Cambodia.

At its zenith, Angkor may have supported a population of one million in a relatively small area, with an elite apparatus and a population of bondsmen far greater than any of Cambodia's neighbours. In achieving this, however, the Khmer state surrendered the flexibility and balance critical to the *mandala* pattern and eventually fell victim to its own brittleness. Other concentric states in early Southeast Asia rose and fell; the Khmer proved unable to revive theirs once it had fallen.



Khmer empire c. 1200.

The Classical Period-Components of a new age

By about 1300 much of Southeast Asia had entered a period of transition from ancient times. No single factor can account for the disruption, which lasted longer in some places than in others. The Mongol attacks of the second half of the 13th century and the disintegration of Khmer and Srivijayan power undoubtedly were of significance, but less dramatic changes, such as slowly changing trade patterns and political competition, may also have played an important role. Whatever the case, the shifts were not of a type or severity to bring about major disruptions; they instead paved the way for the coalescing of what can best be termed a classical age. In this period the major civilizations of Southeast Asia achieved a broader influence and greater coherence than before. They integrated rival political and cultural forms into their own, and the patterns they established were widely imitated by smaller powers that were drawn into their orbit. Regional and international trade reached a high level of development, bringing greater well-being to larger numbers of Southeast Asians than ever before. It also was an age of great change and challenges—especially in the form of new and often foreign religious, political, and economic influences—and one of constant warfare. But it was a measure of the confidence and balance of the era that these influences were absorbed and digested with little difficulty, leaving more than a millennium of creative synthesis essentially undisturbed until as late as the end of

the 18th century. Many Southeast Asian civilizations can be said to have reached their definitive premodern shape during this “golden” age, which also is modern scholarship’s best source of information on the classical cultures of the region before the ravages of 19th- and 20th-century colonialism.

State and society

There were five major powers in Southeast Asia between the 14th and 18th centuries: Myanmar under the rulers of Ava (1364–1752), especially the Toungoo dynasty during most of that period; an independent Vietnam under the Later Le dynasty (1428–1788); the Tai state of Ayutthaya, or Ayudhia (1351–1767); Majapahit, centred on Java (1292–c. 1527); and Malacca (Melaka) centred on the Malay Peninsula (c. 1400–1511). Particularly with the waning of Indian influence (the last known Sanskrit inscription dates from the late 13th century), each power had developed in distinctive ways: more than ever, what constituted being “Javanese” or “Burman,” for example, was taking focus, and the Vietnamese, too, sought to clarify what was their own as opposed to what was Chinese. Remarkably enough, the process by which this was accomplished was characterized not by elimination or purification but by absorption. The syncretic powers developed in earlier periods had by no means weakened. The Tai, comparative newcomers, absorbed much of Khmer civilization during this period and, beginning with their written language, shaped it to their requirements. The Burmans absorbed Mon civilization in a similar fashion, and the Javanese of Majapahit could not help but make adjustments with the Malay and other cultures of the archipelago that they came to dominate. Even the Vietnamese, who had decided after several generations of struggle to adopt the outlines of a Confucian state that they had inherited from China, in the late 14th and early 15th centuries not only modified that model but also absorbed important influences from the culture of the Cham, an Indianized people whose kingdom, Champa, they had decisively (though not finally) defeated in 1471. This integrative approach may not have represented a conclusive departure from the behaviour of the ancient *mandala* states, but it does seem to have sustained larger and more far-reaching states, as well as richer and more complex elite cultures.

Malacca empire in 1500.

At the same time, however, a galaxy of smaller states appeared, some of them very powerful for their size and all of them ambitious. These states were especially numerous in insular Southeast Asia, where Aceh, Bantam (Banten), Makasar (Makassar), and Ternate were only the most prominent of many such Islamic sultanates; on the mainland, Chiang Mai (Chiangmai), Luang Prabang, and Pegu at various times during the period were powerful enough to be taken seriously. They both imitated and contributed to the court cultures of their larger neighbours and made alliances, war, and peace with many powers. Above all, these states participated in a dynamic and prosperous trade, not merely in exotics or high-value goods (such as gems and metal items) but in such relatively mundane goods as salted dried fish, ceramics, and rice. While institutions of servitude were structured somewhat differently from those of the West, there was no mistaking that a lively trade in human beings prized for their labour or craftsmanship took place. The proliferation of states and the rapid growth of an accompanying intricate web of local cultural and commodity exchange laid the foundation for both greater local autonomy and increased regional interdependency.

in the early 16th century; in Europe only Naples, Paris, and perhaps London were larger at that time. Finally, Southeast Asians during the 16th and 17th centuries appear to have enjoyed good health, a varied diet, and a comparatively high standard of living, especially when compared with most of the population of Europe of the same period.

Religion and culture

New religions appeared in Southeast Asia, accompanying the currents of trade and often entwined with social changes already underway. Gradually, in most areas, these religions filled the gaps left by weakening local Hindu-Buddhist establishments and beliefs, and by the mid-18th century the region had assumed something much like its modern religious configuration. On the mainland, Theravada Buddhism, which had been making inroads in Cambodia since the 11th century, underwent revitalization, the result especially of royal patronage and direct contact with Theravada monasteries in Sri Lanka. Both the general idiom and many precepts of Theravada already were familiar in Indianized societies, making this a gentle, nearly silent revolution that despite its subtlety was no less important. In Ayutthaya and the other Tai kingdoms and in the Mon-Burman states, Theravada Buddhism buoyed the kingship and introduced a vigorous intellectual leadership; it also spread broadly among the populace and thus played an important role as a cohesive social and cultural force from which the people of modern Thailand and Myanmar later were to draw much of their sense of identity.

Christianity made its appearance in the early 16th century, brought by the Portuguese, Spanish, and, somewhat later, the French. It spread easily in the northern Philippines, where Spanish missionaries did not have to compete with an organized religious tradition and could count on the interested support of a government bent on colonization. Unlike the religions with which Southeast Asia had been familiar, Christianity showed no interest in syncretic accommodation of local animist or other beliefs. The Spanish friars rooted out whatever they could find in the way of indigenous tradition, destroying much of cultural value, including, it appears, a native writing system. By the 18th century, most of the Philippines, except the Muslim south, was Roman Catholic, and a society that was both Filipino and Christian had begun to evolve. Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, however—with the exception of Vietnam and parts of the Moluccas island group of eastern Indonesia—Christianity attracted little interest. It did not go unopposed and was resisted, for example, by Buddhist monks in Thailand and Cambodia in the 16th century, but Christian doctrines do not appear to have attracted the general populace. There were few conversions, and rulers were not unduly disturbed by the presence of missionaries, except on occasions when they were accompanied by political and economic adventurers; these people were crushed.



Manila Cathedral

Islam, however, captured the imagination of Southeast Asians in the archipelago. It was proselytized primarily by Malacca and Aceh after 1400 and by the late 17th century was the dominant faith from the western tip of Sumatra to the Philippine island of Mindanao. The conversion process was gradual, for Muslim traders from the Middle East and India long had traveled the sea route to China; it seems likely that they traded and settled in the port cities of Sumatra and Java as early as the 9th or 10th century. Perhaps as a result of weakening of the Hindu-Buddhist courts and the rise of smaller, independently minded trading states and social classes, Islam made important inroads among both ruling elites and others.

Conversion was comparatively easy and promised certain practical advantages, especially in trade, to members of the Islamic community (the *ummah*). In addition, Islam was itself diverse, offering a spectrum of approaches from mystical to fundamentalist, and in practice Muslim proselytizers often were tolerant of syncretic behaviour. In addition, Islamic culture, especially poetry and philosophy, was particularly attractive to courts anxious to enhance their status as cultural hubs. While the spread of Islam throughout the archipelago was not entirely peaceful, for the most part it proceeded in evolutionary fashion and without remarkable disturbance. Javanese Muslims, perhaps even members of the court, lived peacefully in the capital of Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit, for example, and Muslims and non-Muslims everywhere continued to trade, enter into alliances, and inhabit the same general cultural world. What change there was tended to occur slowly in the face of robust and deeply rooted tradition. In some societies the cultural response was original and lively. Along the northern coast of Java, for example, architecture, batik cloth-dyeing motifs, and the literature and performance of the wayang (shadow-puppet theatre) were deeply affected by Islamic ideas and produced vital new forms to accompany the old.

Chinese and Western incursions

Southeast Asia, unlike many other parts of the world on the eve of European expansion, long had been a cosmopolitan region acquainted with a diversity of peoples, customs, and trade goods. The arrival of Europeans in force in the early 16th century (others had made visits earlier, beginning with Marco Polo in 1292) caused neither wonderment nor fear. Long-distance travel by then was no novelty, and already there was impressive precedence for the arrival of foreign delegations rather than of individual trading vessels. A century before the Portuguese first arrived at Malacca in 1509, that port and a number of others in Southeast Asia had been visited by a succession of Chinese fleets. Between 1403 and 1433 Ming-dynasty China had sent several enormous flotillas of as many as 63 large vessels and up to 30,000 people on expeditions that carried them as far as Africa. The purpose of these journeys, led by the Muslim court eunuch Zheng He, was to secure diplomatic and trade advantages for the Chinese and to extend the sovereign lustre of the ambitious Yongle emperor. Yet, except for efforts to regain Dai Viet (Vietnam) as a province, these expeditions had no permanent military or colonial ambitions and did not much disturb the Southeast Asian region. Perhaps in part because of the sound defeat the Vietnamese handed a Ming occupying army in 1427, China lost interest in its new and far-flung initiatives, and the voyages came to an abrupt end.

Europeans presented a rather different prospect for Southeast Asia, however, above all because they sought riches and absolute control over the sources of this wealth. The Europeans were few in number and often poorly equipped and generally could not claim great technological superiority over Southeast Asians, but they were also determined, often well-organized and highly disciplined fighters, and utterly ruthless and unprincipled. Except for the Spanish in the Philippines, they were not interested in colonization but rather in the control of trade at the lowest financial cost. These characteristics made Europeans a formidable—though by no means dominant—new force in Southeast Asia. Except in a few locales and special circumstances, for the better part of 250 years Europeans could accomplish little politically or militarily without strong Southeast Asian allies. Individual adventurers often were useful to a particular Southeast Asian ruler or aspirant to the throne, but they were carefully watched and, when necessary, dispatched. Constantine Phaulkon, the Greek advisor to the Siamese court who was executed in 1688 on charges of treason, was only the most dramatic example.

In economic affairs, Europeans soon discovered that they were quite unable, even by the most drastic means, to monopolize the spice trade for which they had come. They generally were forced to engage in commerce by Southeast Asian rules and soon found themselves dependent on the local carrying trade for survival. For these reasons, the celebrated Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511 did not signal the dawn of an age of Western dominance in Southeast Asia. The majority of the population and much of the trading activity deserted the port, the sultan moved his court elsewhere, and by the end of the 16th century Malacca was a backwater; the Malay trade flourished elsewhere into the 18th century.

Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that the Western presence represented nothing more than a minor irritant. European commercial tools, especially the ability to amass large amounts of investment capital, were different and, from a capitalistic point of view, more sophisticated and dynamic than those of the Southeast Asians. The Dutch and British East India companies often were able to make inroads on certain markets simply by having a large amount of money available, and it was possible for them to adopt long-term strategies by carrying large deficits

and debts. Although company directors in Europe warned against the dangers—and costs—of involvement in local affairs, the representatives on the spot often could see no other course. Thus, soon after permanently establishing themselves on Java in 1618, the Dutch found themselves embroiled in the succession disputes of the court of Mataram and, by the late 1740s, virtual kingmakers and shareholders in the realm. Finally, Europeans did bring with them much that was new. Some items shaped Southeast Asian life in unexpected ways: the chili pepper, which the Spanish introduced from the New World, came to hold such an important place in the region's diet that today Southeast Asian cuisine can hardly be imagined without it. Another import, however, was coffee, with a more ominous effect. Smuggled into Java in 1695 against Dutch East India Company rules, coffee by the early 18th century had become a company monopoly produced through a unique relationship between the Dutch and the local Javanese elite in a system that prefigured the one adopted by the 19th-century colonial state.

CHAPTER V

The Influence of Mandala Concept in Indian Maritime Interaction in the Indian Ocean

Tharishini Krishnan

The Indian Ocean is an important sphere of influence for India for centuries. With this status, at times India is seen as a regional bully and on the other hand projects a status quo posture in the region. These two extreme trajectories create a grey area of knowledge and raise the question of what truly is the structure of Indian maritime interaction pattern with its neighbours. As India's maritime profile increases, India's intentions will be questioned and these puzzles need to be addressed more acutely. An in-depth research on cause and effect relationship of size and foreign policy interaction could reveal a distinguish analysis about India's communication style with its different neighbours and this will clarify these two-extreme perceptions. On that basis, this paper seeks to examine India's maritime interaction in the Indian Ocean by coining the general power categories in the study of international relations as *Mahabala* (big power), *Samabala* (medium power) and *Durbala* (small power). These terms are inherited from Sanskrit. It will discuss four role of power that are used as a yardstick in understanding how a state's power is assessed in the study of international relations. The four roles are: (a) the resource available for the wellbeing of its own nations and for the contributions of other nations, (b) second are primary and secondary responsibilities, (c) the paces or speed to response to an emergency and (e) is the choice of communication. Categorising power and the role of power based on these three clusters will strengthen the conceptualisation of India's maritime interaction pattern in Indian Ocean and fill the puzzle in this study. The method involved are solely secondary data collection. It is found that with *Mahabala* interaction, Indian adopts bandwagon but relative gain; with *Samabala* interaction, adopts collective security but regional supremacy and with *Durbala* interaction, adopts absolute gain but leadership role

The political system of Mandala was used in the early empires of Southeast Asia. According to historian O.W. Wolters, "The map of earlier Southeast Asia, which evolved from the prehistoric networks of small settlements and reveals itself in historical records, was a patchwork of often overlapping mandalas."

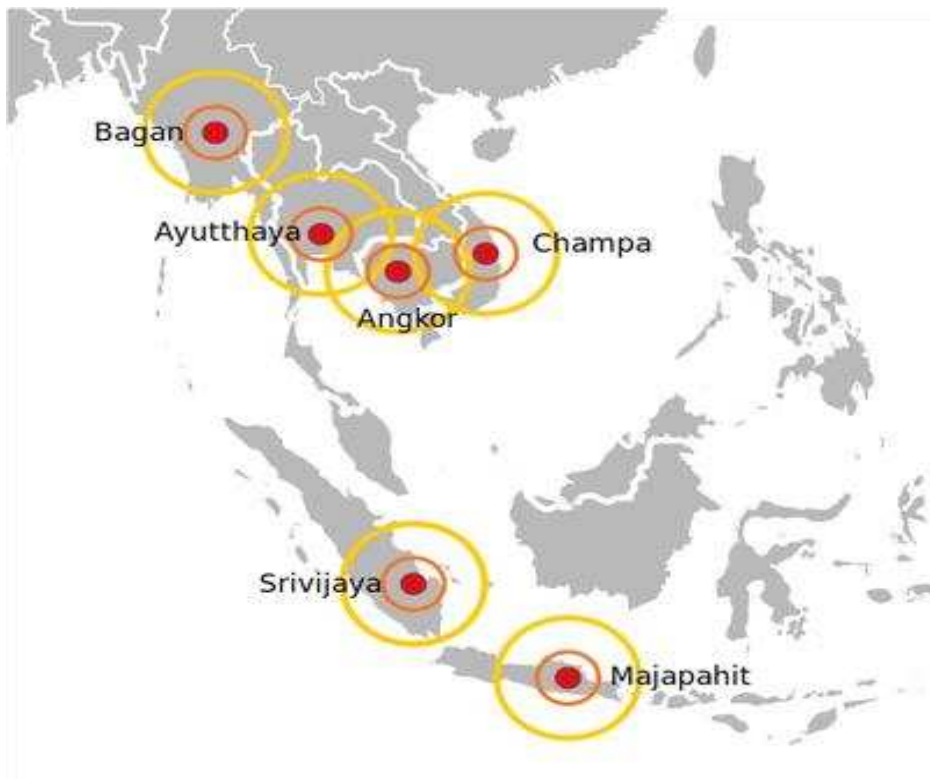
This means that based on historical evidence, it can be seen that the different empires of Southeast Asia often overlapped and were not confined to geographical boundaries (see the map on the left), indicating the presence of the Mandala system throughout the region.

This Indian political philosophy was spread to the region during Indianisation. The fact that it was so prevalent in shaping the politics of early Southeast Asia, including the Khmer Empire, shows that Indian influence did indeed influence the societies of Southeast Asia.

HOME



INDIANISATION of THE KHMER EMPIRE and INFLUENCE ON SOUTHEAST ASIA



SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS & HIERARCHY

Social relationships in the ancient kingdom of the Khmer Empire, as well as across Southeast Asia, are hierarchical and based on a multitude of factors including wealth and political position.

There are many parallels between Indian caste system and Southeast Asian hierarchy. For example, both systems are founded on the basis that no one is considered equal, as everyone has their respective place and rank in society. Thus, it can be postulated that the hierarchical system of Southeast Asia was adapted from the Indian caste system as a result of Indianisation.

This social hierarchy is also often reflected in the Khmer Empire, as shown through the Khmer language. For instance, there is no general pronoun for the word "you", and instead pronoun choice is based upon the status relationship between the speaker and the person being addressed or referenced. In addition, certain verbs change depending on the status of the person undertaking the action, and vary between those of a respectable position and those of lesser status. This indicates the Khmer empire's emphasis on social relationships as being hierarchical.

Derived from the Indian caste system, the social hierarchy system in the Khmer Empire is an example of how Indianisation has moulded early Southeast Asian society, demonstrating the impact of India's influence on the region.

RELIGION IN THE KHMER EMPIRE



Indianisation involved the spreading of religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism to the early Southeast Asian empires. This includes the Khmer Empire.

Majority of the people of the Khmer Empire followed the Khmer style of Buddhism, which blends elements from Theravada Buddhism with Hinduism and the animistic culture of spirit worship. The widespread practice of Buddhism in the empire shows the strong and pervasive influence of Indianisation on the empire. In addition, the blending of Buddhism with other beliefs is a form of syncretism, proving that Southeast Asians weren't merely passive recipients of Indian influence but instead adapted it to suit their needs, disproving the Kshatriya Theory of Indianisation.

In addition, religion was practised in temples architecturally similar to the temples in India. In Angkor, the ancient kings built over 700 temples, the largest of which was Angkor Wat, which

covers an area of over 500 acres. The great number of temples built further indicates the strong extent of Indian influence, in the form of religion, throughout the Khmer Empire.

ANGKOR WAT

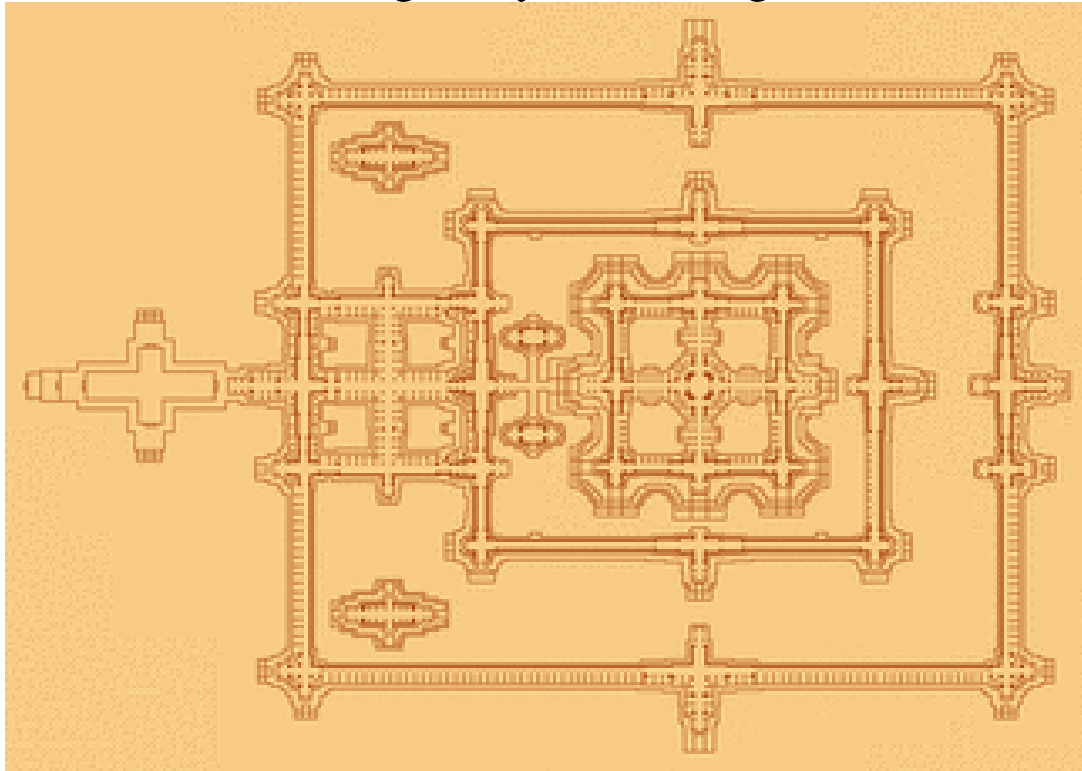
Angkor Wat was built by the king of the Khmer Empire first as a Hindu, then a Buddhist temple complex. It is known as one of the largest monuments ever built. Hence, this great Buddhist temple provides clear, physical evidence that Hinduism and Buddhism were brought to the region by the Indians, and adopted by early Southeast Asian empires like the Khmer Empire.

The pagodas of Angkor Wat are also a physical depiction of the Hindu concept of Mandala. In addition, the gates of the temple also resemble the gates of the symbol of Mandala. This concept is Hindu in nature and is believed to have been brought to pre-modern Southeast Asia from India. It is probable that these ideas were then "borrowed" by the Khmer Empire, and depicted through its great temple. Angkor Wat also has a Gopura. A Gopura is a monumental tower often built at the entrance of temples - a distinctive feature of South Indian architecture. The presence of this structure at Angkor Wat indicates that there was Indian influence in the architecture of the Khmer Empire. In addition, the temple has many bas-reliefs depicting stories from the Indian epics, the Mahabharata and Ramayana. This shows that these stories were clearly influential in early Southeast Asia as they repeatedly adorn the walls of Angkor Wat, which was seen as a sacred and important place. This demonstrates just how strong Indian influence was in the Khmer Empire.

Furthermore, even though hundreds of years have passed, Angkor Wat is still a national symbol and major source of pride of Cambodia today. The fact that Indianisation of the Khmer Empire from the 7th to 14th century has continued to shape the heritage and identity of modern Cambodia indicates the lasting impact Indianisation had on the region.

A BRIEF ONLINE TOUR AROUND ANGKOR WAT

Rough Layout of Angkor Wat



The Causeway into Angkor Wat

The First Tier

Note how the architectural layout of the temple greatly resembles the symbol of Mandala. For example, you can spot the building's centre point, as well as the four gates on the outermost

wall.





The History and Architecture of Angkor Wat:

All this evidence supports the argument that Indianisation played a great role in shaping the Khmer Empire. Firstly, it brought about the political concept of Mandala throughout the region. This moulded the political structure of the Khmer Empire to be a polity defined by its centre, as opposed to being restricted by its geographical boundaries.

It also spread the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism to the state, the latter being its majority religion. The widespread practice of Buddhism as well as the many Buddhist temples built throughout the empire prove that Indian influence in the aspect of religion was exceptionally strong. Furthermore, the great Buddhist temple complex of Angkor Wat not only shows the extent of India's religious influence over the region, but also indicates the presence of Indian influence in other areas, such as through India's literature and the philosophical idea of Mandala.

In conclusion, Indianisation has influenced the pre-modern society of the Khmer Empire in many ways. This demonstrates how many societies in pre-modern Southeast Asia were generally shaped by the influences of Indian culture.

Now that we have talked about Indian influence in the Khmer Empire, we will move on to discuss the evidence of Indianisation in other parts of the region. Not only has Indianisation shaped the pre-modern societies of Southeast Asia, these societies have also gone on to mould the culture, heritage and identity of the Southeast Asian states of today. Even now, about seven centuries later, Indian ideas are still present in the region, such as in political systems, religions, cultures, as well as physical artefacts. All this indicates that Indianisation did indeed have a lasting influence on the region. Browse through the different segments of this exhibit to learn about some ways Indianisation has affected present-day Southeast Asia by starting here.



Evidence of Indianisation: Angkor Wat

.Evidence of Mandalas in Different Cultures

The Rajamandala (or *Raja-mandala* meaning "circle of kings"; मण्डल, *mandala* is a Sanskrit word that means "circle") was formulated by the Indian author Chanakya (Kautilya) in his work on politics, the *Arthashastra* (written between 4th century BCE and 2nd century CE). It describes circles of friendly and enemy states surrounding the king's (*raja*) state. Also known as Mandala theory of foreign policy or Mandala theory, the theory has been called as one of Kautilya's most important postulations regarding foreign policy.

The term draws a comparison with the mandala of the Hindu and Buddhist worldview; the comparison emphasises the radiation of power from each power center, as well as the non-physical basis of the system.

The terminology was revived two millennia later as a result of Twentieth Century efforts to comprehend patterns of diffuse but coherent political power. Metaphors such as social anthropologist Tambiah's idea of a "galactic polity" describe such political patterns as the mandala. Historian Victor Lieberman preferred the metaphor of a "solar polity,"^[8] as in the solar system, where there is one central body, the sun, and the components or planets of the solar system. The "Rajamandala" concept of ancient India was the prototype for the Mandala model of South East Asian political systems in later centuries, established by British historian O. W. Wolters.

CHAPTER VI

Ancient Maritime Trade of Bharat

Navigations in the Indian Ocean was well attested in the ancient periplographical and geographical literature, though fragmentary they provide information and attest to the existence of cartographic representations. Navigators both Greek and Latin had experienced what it was to sail in the Indian Ocean at that time, offering a constantly evolving representation of this area.¹ The story of oceanic trade is a reminder of India's colonial past. Europeans – the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, the French, and the British – arrived as sea-faring merchants, and eventually insinuated themselves in the politics of the subcontinent with the backing of their governments. The epochs of Indian history round which these various evidences regarding the shipping and maritime activity of India will be grouped, may be roughly indicated as follows:

1. The Pre-Mauryan Epoch, extending from the earliest times to about the year B.C. 321.

For this period we shall discuss the evidences that can be gleaned from some of the oldest literary records of humanity like the Rig-Veda, the Bible, and some of the old Pali and Tamil works, as also from the finds of Egyptian and Assyrian archaeologists, regarding the early maritime intercourse of India with the West. Evidences for this period are also to be derived from the writings of the Greek authors Herodotus and Ctesias, in the 5th century B.C., containing references to India.

2. The Mauryan Epoch (b.c. 321-184) For this period the available evidences are those preserved in the works of many Greek and Roman authors who essayed to tell the story of Alexander's Indian campaign and recorded the observations made on India by the Greek ambassadors to the courts of the Maurya emperors. These Greek and Roman notices of India have been mostly made accessible to Indian students by the translations of Mr. McCrindle. More important and interesting than these foreign evidences is the evidence furnished by a recently published Sanskrit work, the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, which is a mine of information regarding the manifold aspects of a highly developed material civilization witnessed by Mauryan India. Bearing on this period also is the evidence of tradition preserved in that monumental work of the Kashmirian poet Kshemendra called *Bodhisattvavandana Kalpalata*, which is now being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. The seventy-third *pallava* or chapter of this work relates a story which throws some light on the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of India during the days of the Emperor Asoka.

3. The Kushan Period in the north and the Andhra Period in the south, extending roughly from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. (This was the period when Roman influence on India was at its height; in fact, the whole of the southern peninsula under the Andhra dynasty was in direct communication with Rome, while the conquests in Northern India tended still further to open up trade with the Roman Empire, so that Roman gold poured into all parts of India in payment for her silks, spices, gems, and dye-stuffs. The evidences proving this are the remarkable finds of Roman coins, more numerous in the south than in the north, together with

the references in the ancient Sanskrit and Pali works to " Romaka," or the city of Rome, and in ancient Tamil works to the " Yavanas " or Greeks and Romans, and to the important South Indian ports like Muchiris and Pukar, of which full descriptions are given in old Tamil poems. Besides evidences from ancient Indian literature bearing- on Indian commerce with Rome, there are also definite evidences from important foreign works. The chief of these are Pliny's Natural History, the Peripius of the Erythraean Sea, and Ptolemy's Geography, besides the incidental allusions to Indian commerce and shipping thrown out by writers like Agatharcides and Strabo.

4. The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India under the Guptas and Harshavardhana, extending from the 4th century to the 7th century a.d.—This was the period of the expansion of India and of much colonizing activity towards the farther East from Bengal, the Kalinga coast, and Coromandel. Parts of Burma and Malacca were colonized, chiefly from Kalinga and Bengal, The main evidences for the remarkable maritime activity of this period are supplied by the accounts of the numerous Chinese pilgrims to India, of whom Fa-Hien was the first and Hiuen Tsang the most famous. These accounts are now all accessible through translations. Among foreign works supplying valuable materials for the history of the period may be mentioned the Christian Topography.

Some very valuable evidences regarding the early commerce between India and China are furnished by Chinese annals like the Kwai-Yuen Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka. Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither also has recorded many facts relating to the Indian intercourse with China. For the reign of Harsha the most important source of information is the Travels of Hiuen Tsang, that " treasure-house of accurate information, indispensable to every student of Indian antiquity, which has done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of lost Indian history which has recently been effected."

5. The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Southern India and the rise of the Cholas, extending from the middle of the 7th century up to the Mahomedan conquests in Northern India. During this period Indian maritime intercourse was equally active with both the West and the East. The colonization of Java was completed, and the great temple of Borobudur remained a standing monument of the hold which Buddhism had on that /island. The field of Indian maritime enterprise was extended as far as Japan. Chinese traveller, contains many interesting details regarding Indian maritime activity in the Eastern waters and intercourse with China in the latter half of the 7th century. Chinese annals also furnish evidences regarding the maritime intercourse of the Cholas with China, e.g. the Sung-shih. The Musalman {pre-Mogul) Period, extending from the nth century to the 15th.—The sources of evidence for this, and indeed the whole of the Musalman period, are mostly imbedded in Persian works which have been made accessible to scholars by the monumental History of India by Sir H. Elliot, in eight volumes. For information regarding maritime enterprise and activity in Sindh our authorities are Al-Bildduri and Chachndma, translated in Elliot, vol. i. The early Musalman travellers throw much light upon Indian affairs of this period. Al-Biruni is our authority for the nth century and Al-Idrisi for the 12th. In the 13th century a very valuable source of information regarding Indian shipping and commerce is furnished by a foreign traveMer, the Venetian Marco Polo. Wassaf is our guide in the next century, as well as Tdrikh-i-Firozshdhi. In the 15th century we have, in the Chinese account of Mahuan, the most important foreign notice of India after Marco Polo, which relates the exchange of presents between the kings of Bengal and the emperors of China.

In the 6th century, when the Portuguese first appear as a factor in Indian politics, details regarding Indian maritime activity are derivable from Portuguese annals like De Coutto, utilized in some of the standard works on the history of the Portuguese power in India. About the same time the foreign traveller Varthema has left a very interesting account of shipbuilding in Calicut.

7. The Period of Mogul Monarchy, from the 16th century to the 18th, i.e. from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb.—The evidence for the reign of Akbar is derived, firstly, from that mine of information, Abul-Fazl's *Ayeeen-i-Akbari*, which gives a very valuable account of Akbar's Admiralty; and, secondly, from the abstract of *Ausil Toomar yumma* given in Grant's *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal in the Fifth Report*, in which are contained many interesting details regarding the organization and progress of the Imperial *Nowwara* or shipping stationed at Dacca, the sources of revenue for its maintenance, the materials for shipbuilding, and the like. The *Chach-nama* in Elliot, vol. i., and Abul-Fazl's *Ayeeen-i-Akbari* give some details about the shipping and ports of Sindh. Some details regarding Hindu maritime activity, commerce, and shipping in Bengal are also derived. The 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' shows how India has been part of an interconnected global network for millennia.

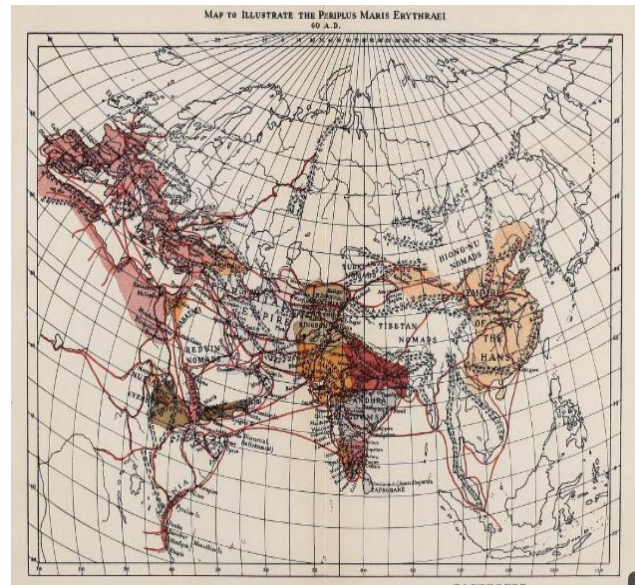
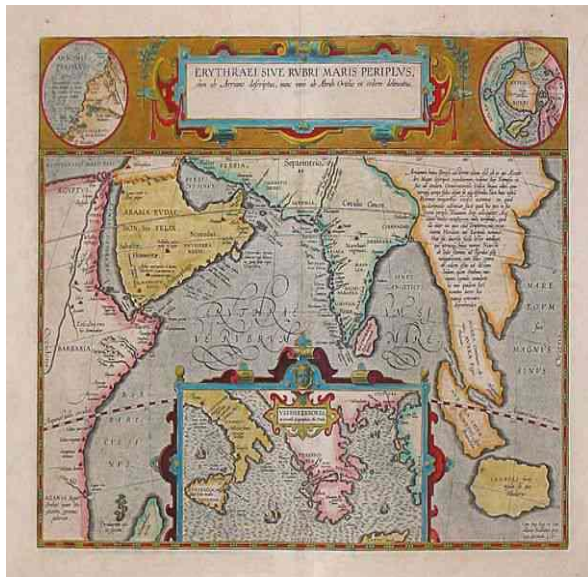


dhow of the coast of Kenya.

Monsoon as maritime destiny: In a period prior to modern navigation and ships, the monsoon integrated a world of trade across the Indian Ocean. The fact that it depended on the vagaries of the weather did not mean this trade was marginal. India's location at the centre of this oceanic geography facilitated its rise as the fulcrum of world trade and economy. This sophisticated,

wide ranging commerce, played a key role in the subcontinent. India at the time and for centuries later accounted for, according to some estimates, nearly a fifth of the world's GDP.

One of the earliest written accounts of this complex network of trade is the Greek text, *Periplus Maris Erythraei* or the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (read it online [here](#)). This remarkable handbook was written sometime in the middle of the first century CE and was meant for Greek merchants trading between Egypt, East Africa, southern Arabia and India.



1597 map depicting the locations of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Abraham Ortelius [Public domain]

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* primarily focuses on two trade routes originating at Egyptian ports: one, on the East African coast as far as Tanzania, and the other via the Arabian peninsula and Persian Gulf to western India. The author writes in detail of numerous cities, ports and harbours on these routes but India's western coast, from Karachi down to Kanyakumari on the southernmost tip, accounts for nearly half the narrative. Literally, Erythraean Sea means "red sea" but this is not a reference to the waterbody we know as the Red Sea today. For ancient Greek and Roman geographers, the Erythraean Sea incorporated the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the western Indian Ocean. The text of the *Periplus* survives in the form of a 10th-century manuscript preserved in Heidelberg, a copy of which is also housed at the British Museum. Written over 1,900 years ago and more than 1,400 years before Vasco da Gama "discovered" the trade route to India, the *Periplus* is a window into the diverse world of the Indian Ocean.

Lionel Casson, scholar of the *Periplus* and also its most recent translator, has noted that other periploi, an ancient genre of manuals, from the time are primarily guides for seamen containing navigational information. In contrast, according to Casson, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is a guide for merchants emphasising knowledge of trade and products that could be bought and sold on each port – something akin to a modern shoppers' guide. The descriptions of the places on these oceanic routes are colourful and the reporting style is direct and detailed giving the

impression that the author, an Egyptian Greek who remains anonymous, was writing from personal experience.

Manoeuvring the monsoons

By the time this merchant drafted his deliberations on traversing the western Indian Ocean, Mediterranean trade with India had been on the rise for three centuries. But Indian and Arab mariners had plied the Indian Ocean years before Greek ships entered these waters. To ensure safe voyage, these seamen needed to manoeuvre the monsoons, those seasonal winds that in the western Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, and the Arabian Sea, blow from the southwest during the summer and from the northeast during the winter.

Until about a century before the *Periplus* was written, while goods were frequently traded between India and the Mediterranean, the Greek merchants depended primarily on their Indian and Arab counterparts for access to India. Mastery over monsoon was so integral to this entire trading world that for every port that the *Periplus* mentions, it also makes sure to note the most suitable months in which to make the journey.

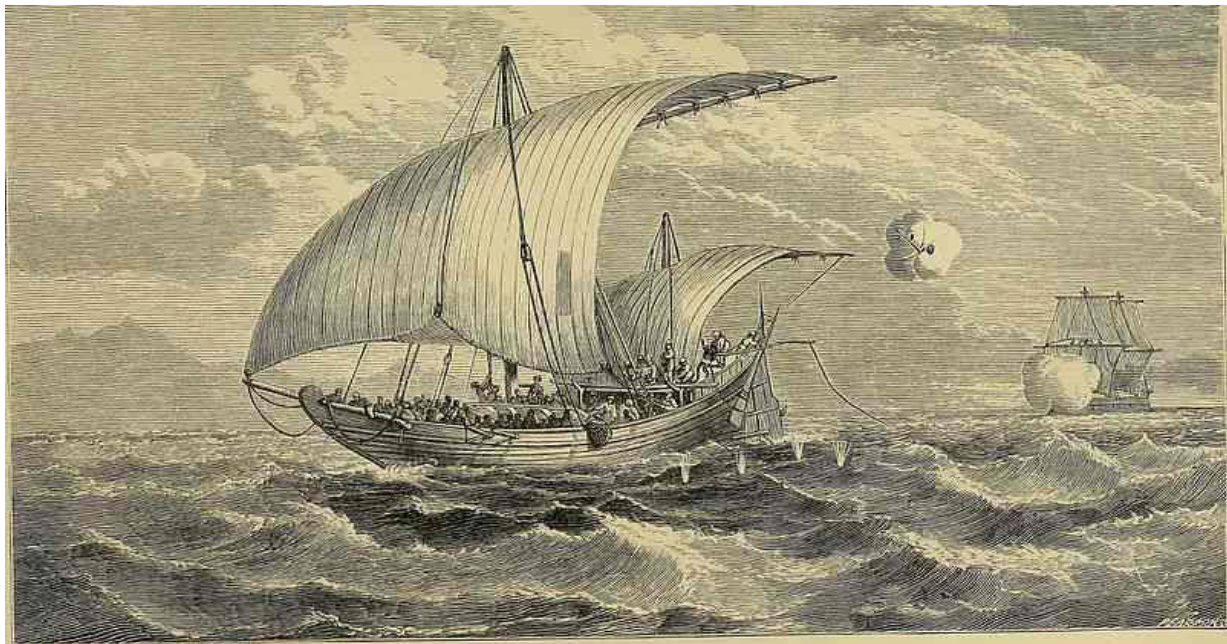
Quite apart from the delight of reading a merchant's advice and opinions from so far back in time, the *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea, tells us of three vital but overlooked aspects of the ancient Indian Ocean trade. First, the ports, harbours, and metropolises located on the Indian Ocean coasts the *Periplus* mentions may not be well-known today but were some of the most vibrant trading centres of the world at the time.

The Indian port city of Bharuch, which was also a major manufacturing centre features pre-eminently in the Greek merchant's handbook. Muziris, roughly near present-day Kochi on the Malabar coast, was another hub of commercial interactions between the Mediterranean, India, Persia, Africa, China, and Southeast Asia. Northeast of Bharuch, Ujjan was a thriving entrepot from where products from all over the subcontinent made their way to the maritime ports. The *Periplus* mentions nearly 20 Indian ports, markets, and towns painting a picture of a buzzing world of trade, production, and social exchange around 50 CE. Over the centuries that followed, Indian ports, urban, and commercial centres rose to prominence as some of the biggest cities of the medieval world.

Second, the *Periplus* gives the modern reader a fascinating glimpse into the "bestsellers" traded across the Indian Ocean two millennia ago. The most frequently mentioned and perhaps also the most surprising from today's vantage point, is tortoise shell procured from India and Africa. Frankincense and myrrh, aromatic resins used for incense and perfumes and for the purpose of embalming in Egypt also make it to the list. Less surprising is that India's Malabar coast exported ship-fulls of pepper, as it would continue to do when Vasco da Gama came in search for this precious "black gold" centuries later. The widest spread of goods was traded by India: native spices, drugs and aromatics, fine cottons and Chinese silks, ivory, and pearls. Indian merchants along with their Arab counterparts controlled the trade in everyday commodities like grain, rice, sesame oil, ghee, cane sugar, and cotton cloth.

Taste on the Indian coast veered decidedly towards the more expensive side even when it came to imports from the Mediterranean. Indians bought Italian and Arab wines, olive oil, silverware and glassware. Indian kings also demanded deluxe clothing, choice unguents, as well as “slave musicians” and “beautiful girls for concubinage”. The Mediterranean demands for expensive goods from India, as the Roman officials often lamented were draining their coffers, and as the *Periplus* also notes, Roman gold and silver coins, valued as bullion, fetched high exchange rates on the subcontinent; the hordes of Roman coins and shards of amphorae (which mostly hold wine but also oil) that archaeologists have unearthed from India’s southwestern coast.

Third, it is clear that even in its earliest form, trade between India and the Mediterranean across the Indian Ocean was highly evolved. A sophisticated economic system was needed to support these intricately linked commercial and social networks. Evidence from the *Periplus* shows how merchants had to navigate restrictive rulers and their officials, face the threat of pirates and negotiate with vendors who drove hard bargains. Trade was conducted through barter as well as with money. Maritime ports were linked, particularly in India, to webs of internal riverine routes and inland trading and production centres. Over time, complex banking and capital generating systems came in to place. Historian Himanshu Prabha Ray has written, for instance, of the vital role Buddhist monasteries played in the cultural and commercial landscape of the northern Deccan and western India during the first century CE. Her research shows that Buddhist monasteries were able to provide early forms of banking and act as safe houses for merchants and travellers. Their location on important trade routes linked to the Arabian sea also facilitated the rise of production centres and cities in the surrounding areas; the *Periplus* in fact mentions the towns of Paithan and Tagara in this region that supplied onyx and ordinary cloth respectively to the port of Bharuch.



A dhow carrying slaves in the Indian Ocean in 1893. Colomb, Philip Howard, 1831-1899

The world that the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* describes and that developed, over the centuries, into a network of some of the world's richest cities is far removed from our own times. It is important to avoid the temptation to read into it only the values and ideas we cherish today. Yet, this was by no means an idyllic world. For example, even from the *Periplus* we glean that slaves were not only bought and sold in these markets, slaves and convicts also provided the labour for the most difficult tasks of the lucrative luxury trade like pearl diving and the unhealthy work of collecting frankincense from trees; women find only three passing mentions in the entire text.

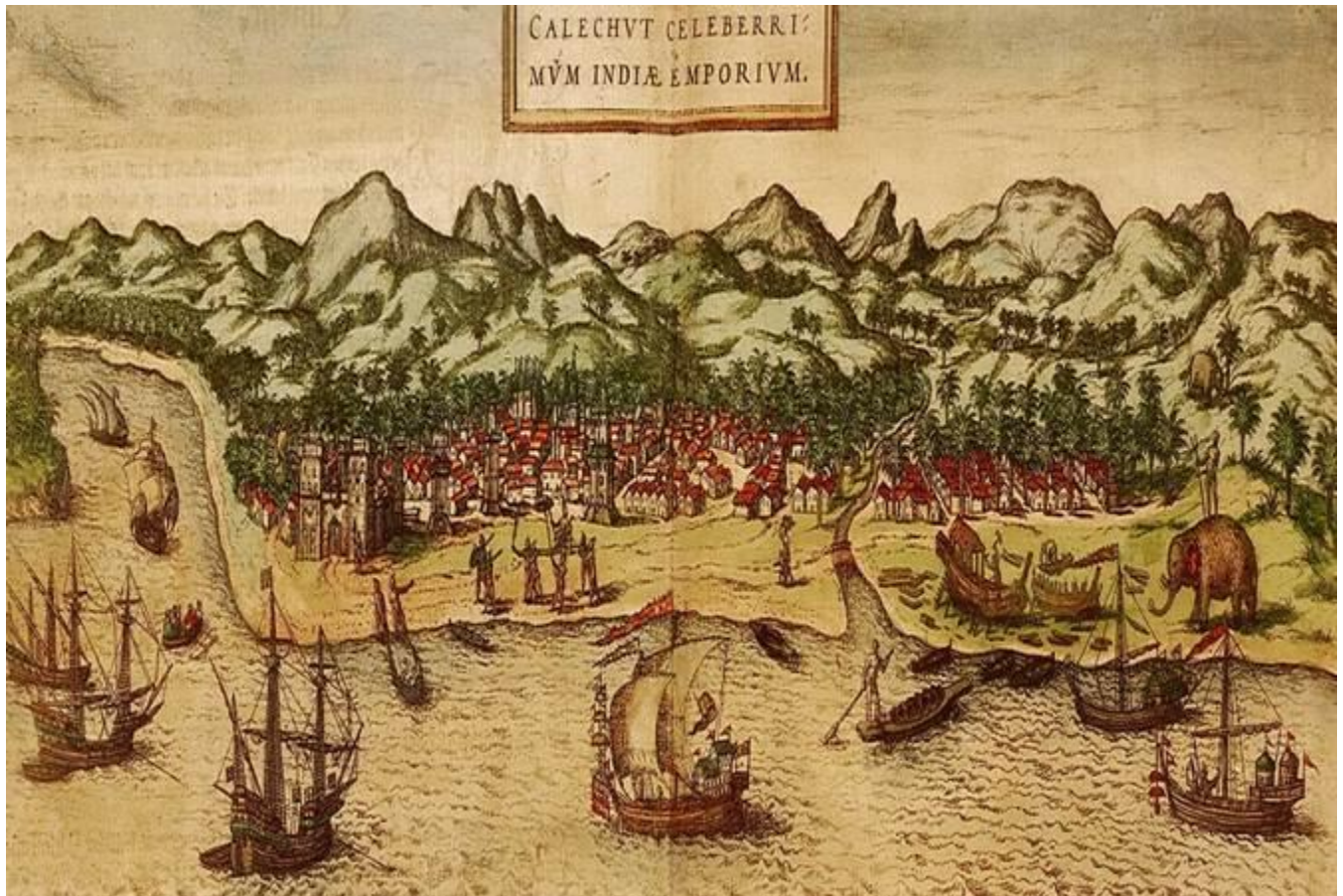
However, we do learn one big thing from the *Periplus*: that as early as the first century CE, India was part of an interconnected global network. And as much as it was part of the old it was also a cosmopolitan, multi-lingual, dynamic world. For centuries before the European trading companies “discovered” it, the Indian Ocean was place where merchants without navies ruled the high seas. And trade without colonialism flourished.³



Kerala Maritime History: The Saga of Kerala Trade History

Both the 6400 km land route taken by caravans as well as the Indian maritime history of trade route carrying cargo passed through India. The former crossed North India whereas the latter passed through the coastal belt of south India. These are well-etched stories in Indian history.

Our focus is on Kerala Maritime history, discussed here is the scenario prevalent in south India in those times and the impact of trade on this part of the world.



Kerala Maritime History: An illustration of ancient-day Calicut port (different location)

Indian Maritime History mentions that Indian ocean trade had a prominent place in world economic scenario and in linking several people and cultures. The Indian Ocean borders the African continent and connected the Mediterranean through the Red Sea, the Middle East via the Persian Gulf, makes a U shape touching both shores of the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka and across the Bay of Bengal links up with South China seas. There is no single maritime tradition for the entire Indian Ocean region. Instead, there are local traditions suited to a particular maritime environment and set of human needs. There are such cases all through Indian history, or specifically, in the India Maritime History. The Medieval Kerala trade history is a case in point! The geographical location of Kerala, its extensive coastline, and the course of monsoon winds set the rhythm of sea trade here.

Kerala Maritime History in Boom

Kerala is referred to as 'Garden of Spices' according to Sumerian records. Merchants from Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Arab, Greece and Rome have visited this part of the land for trade. Kerala maritime history points towards a rich Kerala trade history. Judaism was one of the

first foreign religions to arrive in India. It is believed that King Solomon had visited Kerala for trade purposes. In the 6th century BC, the Jews came to Cranganore (which the Jews referred to as Shingly) to escape from the Babylonian captivity of Nebuchadnezzar. Later many more Jews landed here and settled in Kodungalloor (Cranganore), Parur, Palayur and Kollam. Records say Jews were traders and remained loyal to the native rulers, in return the Jewish leaders were granted distinctive privileges and honours by the local rulers and land to make houses and synagogues.

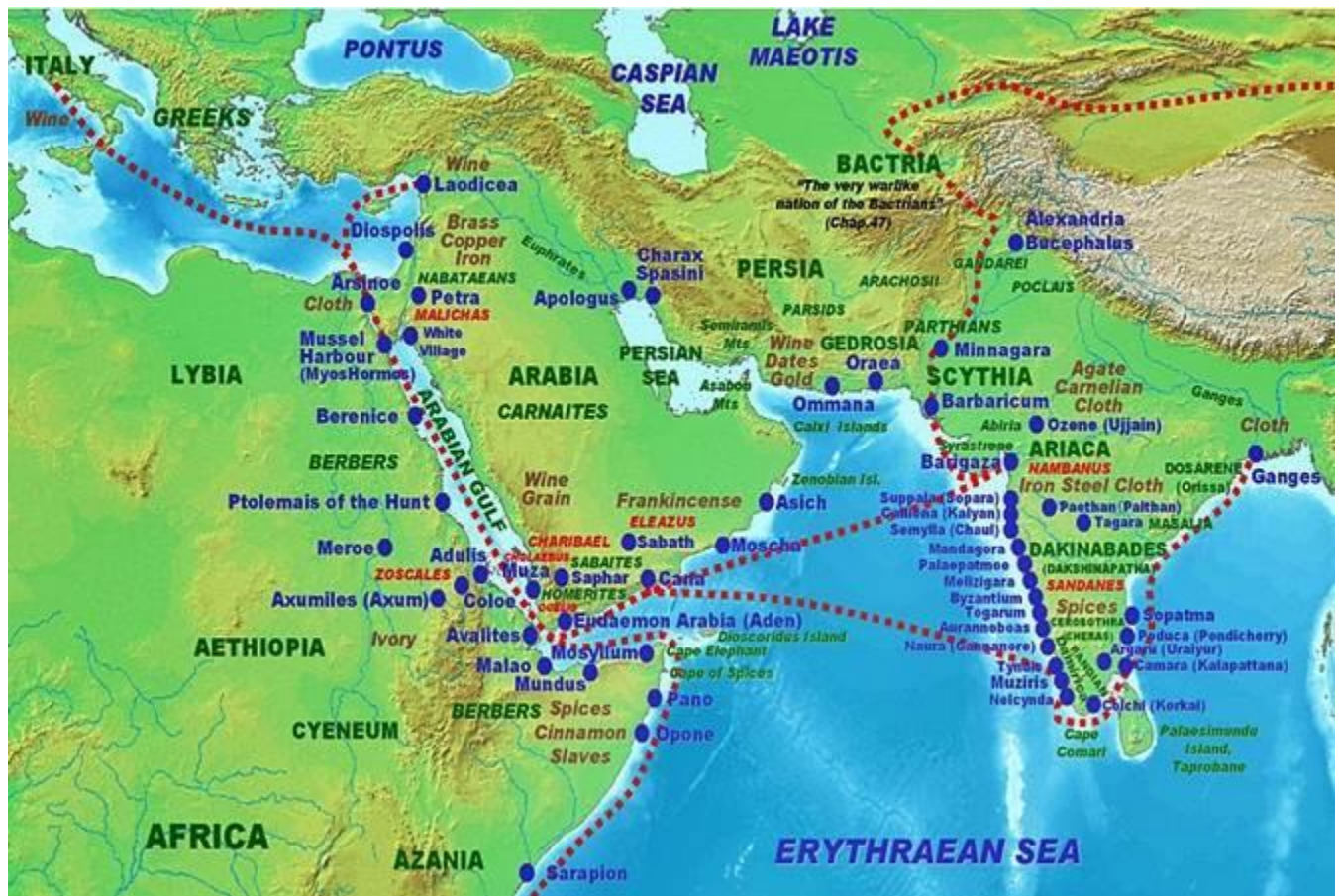
To this day, Kochi has a Jewish Street, a functioning synagogue and a handful of Jewish descendants. The copper plates granted by the Chera ruler in 1000 CE bears evidence to the influence the Jews enjoyed in the domestic and foreign affairs of pre-modern Kerala. When St Thomas came to Kerala, there was a large number of Jews already present here and initially, they were tried to convert to Christianity.



Pepper vines in Kerala are what attracted the Romans

Hoardings of Roman aureus (coins) and pottery were discovered from various parts of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, pointing towards Indo-Roman trade (a significant part of Indian Maritime History) in the early centuries of the Christian era. This is a great story that connects with Kerala Maritime History. Contemporaneous to the Roman Empire, south India (comprised of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and parts of Karnataka, Andhra and Sri Lanka) was ruled by Chera, Chola and Pandiya dynasties from 6th century BC to 3rd century CE, known as the Sangam Period. With the decline of the Roman Empire in the 5th century CE, trading with Rome ended. Though Chera, Chola and Pandya powers saw a decline with the rise of Kalabhras, it was short-lived. The three powers revived again during the eighth and ninth centuries.

The ordainment of Pallava kingdom (A.D 600) witnessed the development of several trade organizations and economic activities in south India. Some of the ports in the coastal towns were Sopara, Ozene, Kalyana, Tyndis, Naura, Muziris, Nelcynda, Masalia, Sopatma, Kolkar etc. These ports are significant elements of Kerala Maritime History. Spice and precious herbs were traded from hinterlands and plantations of Kerala.



Ancient Maritime Trade Routes

The scenario in South India during the Medieval Period

The history of people of South Asia is mainly documented in the literature written in the Sangam period. People were divided into five different clans based on their profession: Mallars (farmers), Malavars (traders), Nagars (border security), Kadambars (forest people), Thiraiyars (seafarers) and Maravas (warriors). Each clan have their own mark in Indian history. The clans spread across the land and formed individual settlements. Seafarers obviously lived in the coastal region and the traders came to live in Kerala, western Tamil Nadu, eastern Andhra Pradesh, and southern Sri Lanka. The growth and development of trade and urbanization in medieval Kerala was a synchronized process. Agricultural production was the mainstay of the economy of Kerala in the medieval period. The land was given much importance as it was the main source of production.

The very unique environmental peculiarities of Malabar supported the growth of several varieties of pepper, cardamom, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg and cloves. Pulses and grains were also grown and the forests produced various species of trees such as teak, veetti, trimbakam, angili, arani and mahagoni.

The ballads, anthologies, inscribed sources and oral narratives refer to agricultural prosperity in the rural areas. Growth and development of agriculture in the hinterlands brought about plentiful availability of surplus. The excess agricultural crops and grains were bartered for other necessities in angadis or trading centres, turning the ports to cities.

Traders used coins especially in foreign trade to export spices, muslin, cotton, pearls and precious stones to countries of the west and received the wine, olive oil, amphora and terracotta pots from there. Egyptian dinars and Venetian ducats (1284-1797) were in great demand in medieval Kerala trade history.

Chapter of Arab and Chinese Traders: Kerala Maritime History

The Arabs and the Chinese were important trade partners of medieval Kerala. Arab trade and navigation attained a new enthusiasm since the birth and spread of Islam. Four gold coins of Umayyad Caliphs (665-750 CE) found in Kothamangalam (Ernakulam district) testifies the visit of Arab traders to Kerala in that period. With the formation of Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258 CE) the Golden Age of Islam began and trade flourished as the religion was favourably disposed towards trade. Ninth century onwards the Arab trade to Malabar was raised to new esteems and saw many outposts of Muslim merchants. This, later on, became a strong element of Kerala Maritime History.

Mishkal Mosque was built by Yemeni Arab Trader Nakhuda Mishkal in the 15th Century

The Trade with Malabar resulted in the drainage of Chinese gold in abundance that the Southern Sang Government (1127-1279) prohibited the use of gold, silver and bronze in foreign trade in 1219 and silk fabrics and porcelain was ordered to be bartered against foreign goods. Pepper, coconut, fish, betel nuts, etc were exported from Malabar in exchange for gold, silver, coloured satin, blue and white porcelain, musk, quicksilver and camphor from China.

Traffic on sea route increased by the second half of the eighth century CE as the Chinese and the Arabs had a tough time fighting the regional tribes on the land route. By the beginning of the 15th century, Kozhikode had developed into a great emporium of international trade.

Kerala coast used to be studded with settlements of traders. These settlements were due to commercial and climatic compulsions. Sailing with south-west monsoon wind, traders from the West would come to the western ports of India.

Incapable of reaching Malacca and Canton in a single monsoon, they were forced to stay along Malabar Coast and thus the region became a stopover for the merchants from the west. Traders had to wait for favourable winds or stay in the port for collecting cargoes. Though pirates were very active in a number of ports along the western coast, foreign traders and their merchandise were safe at Kozhikode. The security of her waters, as well as the efficient facilities for trade, attracted foreign traders to Kozhikode.

Indian History: The Imperialism

Before 1500 Europe was largely self-sufficient. By late 1500, many sea explorers took a series of voyages to reach India, in the hope of establishing direct trade between Europe and Asia in spices. With Vasco da Gama landing in Kozhikode, he opened the way for an age of global imperialism and the Portuguese established a colonial empire in Asia. Portuguese commercialized agriculture. Through this enriched the economy, the beneficiaries of this richness were not the common man. Indian Maritime Trade exposed our rural economy to the international money market in terms of the price of spices which resulted in the enhanced use of coined money. The maritime cities of this oceanic trade system were Venice, Alexandria, Hormuz, Aden, Cambay, Kollam, Kozhikode, Malacca, and Canton.

By the closing decade of the 15th century the first Portuguese trading post in India was established at Kochi and the trade there was comparable with that of Lisbon. Kochi saw powerful merchant families with wide connections in the inter-Asian trade. One such family was that of the Mamale Marakkar who had well-established trade connections with the East Indies. In the beginning of the 16th century, this merchant used to supply pepper to the Portuguese in large quantities in return for copper.

Horse trade had great economic and political significance in those times. Thousands of fine quality horses were imported to the Malabar port from the trading centres of the Red Sea, especially Hormuz. Kulamukku and Kannur were centres of the lucrative horse trade. The ruling powers of the Deccan especially Vijayanagar obtained horses from Kannur. To monopolize the horse trade, the Portuguese captured Hormuz and shifted the arrival of horses to the port to Goa, reducing the significance of Kozhikode in trade.



The British initially controlled trade in Malabar from Telicherry

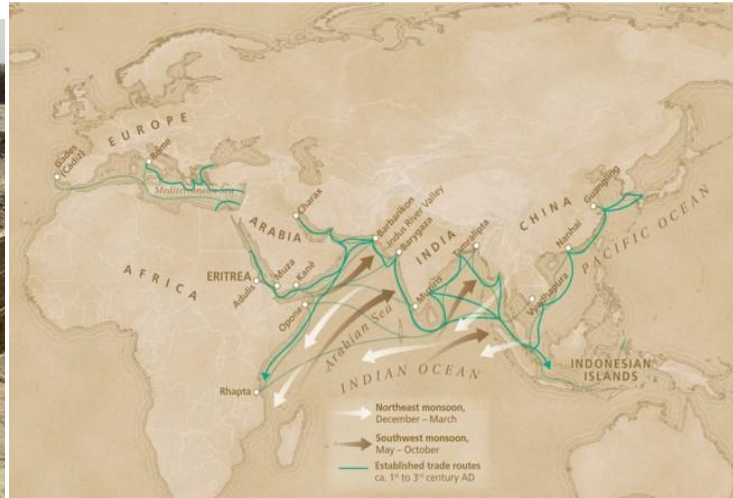
The Dutch annexed Kochi by defeating the Portuguese and ruled from 1661-1795. With the British occupying the Malabar in 1795, the Dutch had to go back. In the 18th century, the British

built up a well-knit commercial network in the Indian Ocean and took over the entire trade rights. With the archaeological excavations carried out at Muziris, Kerala Tourism is ready to implement an ambitious project this year called 'Spice Route' to rediscover the stopovers along the 2000-year-old trade route on the Indian Ocean. Explore the Kerala Maritime History with this package.



An early 20th century painting captures a dhow sailing along the East African coast. These traditional boats plied the waters of the Indian Ocean for millennia, connecting continents. (Credit: Mary Evans Picture Library)

It's a chapter of history nearly forgotten: Intrepid merchants and explorers traveled thousands of miles, not along storied caravan routes, but across the great blue expanse of the Indian Ocean, exchanging goods and ideas, forming bonds and challenging our notions about the ancient world. "People think that it must have taken a long time to get anywhere, that it must have been difficult to travel long distances, but that is not true," says archaeologist Marilee Wood, whose research focuses on the network's glass bead trade. "This [field of study] is about opening that all up." In fact, by the time Marco Polo set out to explore East Asia in the 13th century, communities across Africa, Asia and the Mediterranean had been exchanging their wares for thousands of years in a vast network driven by the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean.



As trade flourished along the network's routes, so did construction, such as this massive fifth-century basilica in Adulis, a port city in what's now Eritrea on the Red Sea coast. (Credit: David Stanley)

Early scholars presumed that the Indian Ocean network had developed to supply the Roman Empire's demand for exotic goods. However, new evidence shows that the network predates the Romans by generations. The Indian Ocean system developed out of the gradual integration of earlier regional networks. By 3000 B.C., travelers in small canoes and rafts moved between towns and trading ports along coastlines from Arabia to the Indian subcontinent. By 2000 B.C., millet and sorghum — grains imported from the East African coast — were part of the cuisine of the Harappan civilization, which stretched across today's Pakistan and northern India. Archaeological evidence and genetic studies suggest that the first major settlement of Madagascar came not from Africa — a short hop across the Mozambique Channel — but from Indonesia, 4,000 miles away.

Less famous than the Silk Road — its land-based parallel — the maritime web of commerce and cultural exchange operated on seasonal monsoon winds. The network grew out of ancient regional routes and, by 2,000 years ago, connected Western Europe with East Asia. (Credit: Rick Johnson/Discover) During its peak, the trade network connected places as far-flung as China, Rome and southern African kingdoms such as Great Zimbabwe. In terms of the sheer amount of goods moved, the maritime trading system rivaled its more famous inland relative, the Silk Road.

A first-century Greek manuscript, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, recorded trading depots and ports' locations, goods and populations with enough accuracy that researchers today are able to match archaeological sites with the text's descriptions. For example, using the text, one team has determined a site in present-day Eritrea was Adulis, an important city in the early Christian empire of Aksum. For more than a millennium, farmers, shepherds and merchants went there from surrounding villages to exchange raw materials such as ivory, salt and animal skins for Persian glassware, Arabian spices and other exotic products.



Researchers found Ming Dynasty porcelain from China among artifacts of Great Zimbabwe, capital city of a massive southern African kingdom. (Credit: Chirikure 2014 African Archaeological Review)

Many of these goods made their way far inland. Archaeologists today regularly recover small items like glass beads, spindle whorls or Chinese porcelain at sites across Africa and the Mediterranean. These foreign-made objects — particularly those easily transported, such as glass beads — became a kind of currency in more ways than one.

“It wasn’t like money, though you could say beads the length of your arm would get you a cow, or a certain number of chickens,” Wood says. “But it created a form of wealth and power. It built alliances.”

This exquisite gold rhino is one of many grave goods from burials at the site of Mapungubwe in southern Africa. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the city was a nexus for local, inland commerce and Indian Ocean gold trade. (Credit: Stefan Heunis/AFP/Getty Images)

Not only owning, but also giving away such exotic items appears to have been critical in gaining political power and building trust.

Movers and Shapers

Archaeologists still have many questions about the Indian Ocean exchange network. Tracing the movement of goods from place to place is relatively easy. With pottery, for example, members of a single community tend to repeat the same decorative styles over time. Stone, clay and other raw materials, used to produce objects ranging from anchors to gold bullion, have unique chemical signatures that vary by geographic location and can be traced back to their source.



Glass beads, filling a clay cup found in southern India, served as currency along some maritime and inland routes associated with the Indian Ocean trade network. (Credit: DEA/G. Dagli Orti/Granger, NYC)

Figuring out *how* the goods were moved is a little harder. Ships are rare finds, and inland caravans even rarer. One thing scholars know for certain is that the very nature of the ocean trade made prolonged periods of interaction necessary: The currents of the Indian Ocean change seasonally, and traders had to wait for months until currents shifted in favor of the return voyage. For many seafarers, these foreign ports became a second home.

However, outside of the ports mentioned in a handful of ancient texts, it's unclear just how merchants, and their goods, traveled inland.

This bust of a “priest king” from the Indus Valley site of Mohenjo-Daro is about 4,000 years old. Its carver may have eaten millet imported from Africa via the Indian Ocean trade network. (Credit: EA/A. Dagli Orti/De Agostini/Getty Images)

Kefilwe Rammutloa, a graduate student at the University of Pretoria, is building a database to trace the distribution of exotic goods at sites across southeastern Africa. She's finding evidence that suggests members of indigenous communities exchanged these items, often as gifts, rather than professional merchants establishing trade between towns. Like Wood, Rammutloa has uncovered a social aspect to the items. Mapungubwe, for example, the first indigenous kingdom of southern Africa, was rich in ivory and gold — but bodies found in its cemeteries were interred with glass beads from Persia and porcelain from China.

“People used the materials to create relationships,” says Rammutloa. “We’re talking about humans here. Someone gives you a gift, they’re negotiating a role in your life. It creates a network.” Indian Ocean trade never truly disappeared. Beginning in the 15th century, however, with the expansion of European exploration and China’s withdrawal from international affairs, the world’s economic focus shifted westward. In the centuries that followed, few researchers studied this early and extensive trade network. Says Wood: “It’s the European background of the

people writing the histories, including our own. There's more work being done now, but part of the problem is that we depend on written documents, and there are a lot less [for the Indian Ocean trade network]. It's also a question of language. I'm sure there are a wealth of documents on it hidden away in China, but someone's got to translate them."



On the Indonesian island of Sumatra, a hoard of Chinese coins found in a river estuary attest to regional commerce routes combining to create the greater Indian Ocean network. (Credit: Marilee Wood)

Other forces, from unstable governments to international sanctions, have also stymied research in the past. "The political past of South Africa has left a huge gap," says Rammutloa. "It's only now, after apartheid, that we're able to get involved in international projects."

Over the past decade, dozens of regional research programs have developed in coastal Africa, and connected with peers in Europe and Asia, in a way re-creating the trade routes they study. Only now they're exchanging information rather than goods. ⁴

These trading enterprises began on the coasts – Malabar, Goa, Gujarat, Bengal – but as is known to every school child, the East India Company eventually took over direct and indirect control. By the 19th century, with the advent of the steamship, the British truly became the monopolistic masters of the Indian Ocean moving goods and people in large numbers. Sea trade then is associated with the tragedy that brought in the trepidations of colonial exploitation. This past prevents us from looking at the dazzling world of Indian Ocean trade that came before.

Indian Ocean Trade (whose trade routes are sometimes collectively called the Monsoon Marketplace) has been a key factor in East–West exchanges throughout history. Long distance trade in dhows and proas made it a dynamic zone of interaction between peoples, cultures, and civilizations stretching from Java in the East to Zanzibar and Mombasa in the West. Cities and states on the Indian Ocean rim focused on both the sea and the land.

There was an extensive maritime trade network operating between the Harappan and Mesopotamian civilizations as early as the middle Harappan Phase (2600-1900 BCE), with much commerce being handled by "middlemen merchants from Dilmun" (modern Bahrain and Failaka located in the Persian Gulf).^[4] Such long-distance sea trade became feasible with the development of plank-built watercraft, equipped with a single central mast supporting a sail of woven rushes or cloth.

Several coastal settlements like Sotkagen-dor (astride Dasht River, north of Jiwani), Sokhta Koh (astride Shadi River, north of Pasni), and Balakot (near Sonmiani) in Pakistan along with Lothal in western India, testify to their role as Harappan trading outposts. Shallow harbours located at the estuaries of rivers opening into the sea allowed brisk maritime trade with Mesopotamian cities.



Austronesian proto-historic and historic maritime trade network in the Indian Ocean

The first true maritime trade network in the Indian Ocean was by the Austronesian peoples of Island Southeast Asia, who built the first ocean-going ships. They established trade routes with Southern India and Sri Lanka as early as 1500 BC, ushering an exchange of material culture (like catamarans, outrigger boats, lashed-lug and sewn-plank boats, and paan) and cultigens (like coconuts, sandalwood, bananas, and sugarcane); as well as connecting the material cultures of India and China. Indonesians, in particular were trading in spices (mainly cinnamon and cassia) with East Africa using catamaran and outrigger boats and sailing with the help of the Westerlies in the Indian Ocean. This trade network expanded to reach as far as Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, resulting in the Austronesian colonization of Madagascar by the first half of the first millennium AD. It continued up to historic times, later becoming the Maritime Silk Road.

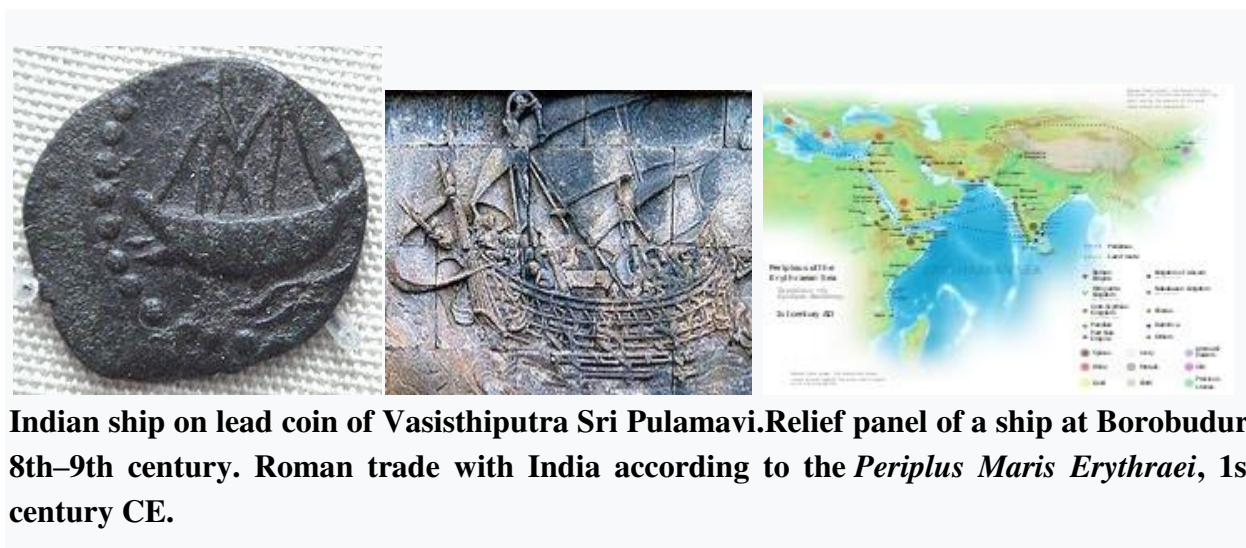
Ancient Greece–Ancient India relations

Prior to Roman expansion, the various peoples of the subcontinent had established strong maritime trade with other countries. The dramatic increase in South Asian ports, however, did not occur until the opening of the Red Sea by the Greeks and the Romans and the attainment of geographical knowledge concerning the region's seasonal monsoons. In fact, the first two centuries of the Common Era indicate this increase in trade between present-day western India and Rome. This expansion of trade was due to the comparative peace established by the Roman Empire during the time of Augustus (9 September 61 BC – 19 August AD 14), which allowed for new explorations.

Indo-Roman trade relations (see also the spice trade and incense road) was trade between the Indian subcontinent and the Roman Empire in Europe and the Mediterranean Sea. Trade through the overland caravan routes via Asia Minor and the Middle East, though at a relative trickle compared to later times, antedated the southern trade route via the Red Sea and monsoons which started around the beginning of the Common Era (CE) following the reign of Augustus and his conquest of Egypt in 30 BCE.

The southern route so helped enhance trade between the ancient Roman Empire and the Indian subcontinent, that Roman politicians and historians are on record decrying the loss of silver and gold to buy silk to pamper Roman wives, and the southern route grew to eclipse and then totally supplant the overland trade route.

Roman and Greek traders frequented the ancient Tamil country, present day Southern India and Sri Lanka, securing trade with the seafaring Tamil states of the Pandyan, Chola and Chera dynasties and establishing trading settlements which secured trade with the Indian subcontinent by the Greco-Roman world since the time of the Ptolemaic dynasty a few decades before the start of the Common Era and remained long after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. As recorded by Strabo, Emperor Augustus of Rome received at Antioch an ambassador from a South Indian king called Pandyan of Dramira. The country of the Pandyas, Pandi Mandala, was described as *Pandyan Mediterranea* in the *Periplus* and *Modura Regia Pandyan* by Ptolemy. They also outlasted Byzantium's loss of the ports of Egypt and the Red Sea (c. 639–645 CE) under the pressure of the Muslim conquests. Sometime after the sundering of communications between the Christian Kingdom of Axum and the Eastern Roman Empire in the 7th century, the Kingdom of Axum fell into a slow decline, fading into obscurity in western sources. It survived, despite pressure from Islamic forces, until the 11th century, when it was reconfigured in a dynastic squabble. Communications were reinstated after the Muslim forces retreated.



Indian ship on lead coin of Vasisthiputra Sri Pulamavi. Relief panel of a ship at Borobudur, 8th–9th century. Roman trade with India according to the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 1st century CE.

The replacement of Greece by the Roman empire as the administrator of the Mediterranean basin led to the strengthening of direct maritime trade with the east and the elimination of the taxes extracted previously by the middlemen of various land-based trading routes.^[11] Strabo's mention of the vast increase in trade following the Roman annexation of Egypt indicates that monsoon was known and manipulated for trade in his time.

The trade started by Eudoxus of Cyzicus in 130 BCE kept increasing, and according to Strabo (II.5.12.), writing some 150 years later:

At any rate, when Gallus was prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Kingdom of Aksum (Ethiopia), and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to the subcontinent, whereas

formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise.

— *Strabo*

By the time of Augustus up to 120 ships were setting sail every year from Myos Hormos to India. So much gold was used for this trade, and apparently recycled by the Kushan Empire (Kushans) for their own coinage, that Pliny the Elder (NH VI.101) complained about the drain of specie to India:

Roman ports

The three main Roman ports involved with eastern trade were Arsinoe, Berenice and Myos Hormos. Arsinoe was one of the early trading centers but was soon overshadowed by the more easily accessible Myos Hormos and Berenice.

Arsinoe



Sites of Egyptian Red Sea ports, including Alexandria and Berenice./Roman piece of pottery from Arezzo, Latium, found at Virampatnam, Arikamedu (1st century CE). Musee Guimet.

The Ptolemaic dynasty exploited the strategic position of Alexandria to secure trade with the subcontinent. The course of trade with the east then seems to have been first through the harbor of Arsinoe, the present day Suez. The goods from the East African trade were landed at one of the three main Roman ports, Arsinoe, Berenice or Myos Hormos. The Romans repaired and cleared out the silted up canal from the Nile to harbor center of Arsinoe on the Red Sea. This was one of the many efforts the Roman administration had to undertake to divert as much of the trade to the maritime routes as possible.

Arsinoe was eventually overshadowed by the rising prominence of Myos Hormos. The navigation to the northern ports, such as Arsinoe-Clysma, became difficult in comparison to Myos Hormos due to the northern winds in the Gulf of Suez. Venturing to these northern ports presented additional difficulties such as shoals, reefs and treacherous currents.

Myos Hormos and Berenice

Myos Hormos and Berenice appear to have been important ancient trading ports, possibly used by the Pharaonic traders of ancient Egypt and the Ptolemaic dynasty before falling into Roman control.

The site of Berenice, since its discovery by Belzoni (1818), has been equated with the ruins near Ras Banas in Southern Egypt. However, the precise location of Myos Hormos is disputed with the latig Abu Sha'ar and the accounts given in classical literature and satellite images indicating a probable identification with Quseir el-Quadim at the end of a fortified road from Koptos on the Nile. The Quseir el-Quadim site has further been associated with Myos Hormos following the excavations at el-Zerqa, halfway along the route, which have revealed ostraca leading to the conclusion that the port at the end of this road may have been Myos Hormos.

Major regional ports

The regional ports of Barbaricum (modern Karachi), Sounagoura (central Bangladesh) Barygaza, Muziris in Kerala, Korkai, Kaveripattinam and Arikamedu on the southern tip of present-day India were the main centers of this trade, along with Kodumanal, an inland city. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describes Greco-Roman merchants selling in Barbaricum "thin clothing, figured linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine" in exchange for "costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, and indigo". In Barygaza, they would buy wheat, rice, sesame oil, cotton and cloth.

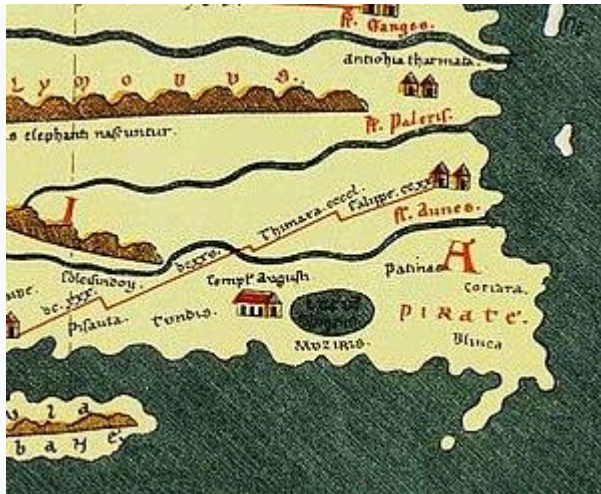
Barigaza

Trade with Barigaza, under the control of the Indo-Scythian Western Satrap Nahapana ("Nambanus"), was especially flourishing

There are imported into this market-town (Barigaza), wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-colored girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the King there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. There are exported from these places spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate and carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market-towns. Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make the voyage favorably about the month of July, that is Epiphi.

— *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (paragraph 49).

Muziris



Muziris, as shown in the Tabula Peutingeriana, with a "Templum Augusti".

Muziris is a lost port city on the south-western coast of India which was a major center of trade in the ancient Tamil land between the Chera kingdom and the Roman Empire. Its location is generally identified with modern-day Cranganore (central Kerala).^{[22][23]} Large hoards of coins and innumerable shards of amphorae found at the town of Pattanam (near Cranganore) have elicited recent archeological interest in finding a probable location of this port city. According to the Periplus, numerous Greek seamen managed an intense trade with Muziris.

Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica (Limyrike), and then Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance. Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. Muziris, of the same Kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia"

— *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (53–54)

Arikamedu

The Periplus Maris Erythraei mentions a marketplace named Poduke (ch. 60), which G.W.B. Huntingford identified as possibly being Arikamedu in Tamil Nadu, a centre of early Chola trade (now part of Ariyankuppam), about 3 kilometres (1.9 mi) from the modern Pondicherry. Huntingford further notes that Roman pottery was found at Arikamedu in 1937, and archeological excavations between 1944 and 1949 showed that it was "a trading station to which goods of Roman manufacture were imported during the first half of the 1st century AD".

Decline and legacy

Following the Roman-Persian Wars, the areas under the Roman Byzantine Empire were captured by Khosrow II of the Persian Sassanian Dynasty, but the Byzantine emperor Heraclius reconquered them (628). The Arabs, led by 'Amr ibn al-'As, crossed into Egypt in late 639 or early 640 CE. This advance marked the beginning of the Islamic conquest of Egypt and the fall of ports such as Alexandria, used to secure trade with the subcontinent by the Roman world since the Ptolemaic dynasty.

The decline in trade saw the ancient Tamil country turn to Southeast Asia for international trade, where it influenced the native culture to a greater degree than the impressions made on Rome.

Dating back to the first century, Indian culture started making its way into the region of Southeast Asia. The expansion of Indian culture into these areas was given the term *Indianization*. The term was coined by French archaeologist, George Coedes in his work *Histoire ancienne des états hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient* (The Indianized States of Southeast Asia). He defined it as the expansion of an organized culture that was framed upon Indian originations of royalty, Hinduism and Buddhism and the Sanskrit dialect. A large number of nations came under the influence of the Indosphere becoming a part of Greater India, the cultural expansion caused the Sanskritization of South East Asia, the rise of Indianized kingdoms, spread of Hinduism in Southeast Asia and the Silk road transmission of Buddhism. Indian honorifics were adopted into the Malay, Thai, Filipino and Indonesian languages. The Indian diaspora, both historical (PIO or Person of Indian-Origin) and current (NRI or Non-Resident Indian), play an ongoing key role in the region in terms of geopolitical, strategic, trade, cultural traditions, and economic aspects, with most Southeast Asian countries having sizable Indian communities alongside often much larger ethnic Chinese minorities. The Satavahanas developed shipping ventures in Southeast Asia. They were also referred to as the Andhras in the Puranas, were an ancient Indian dynasty based in the Deccan region. Most modern scholars believe that the Satavahana rule began in the late second century BCE and lasted until the early third century CE, although some assign the beginning of their rule to as early as the 3rd century BCE based on the Puranas, but uncorroborated by archaeological evidence. The Satavahana kingdom mainly comprised the present-day Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. At different times, their rule extended to parts of modern Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Karnataka. The dynasty had different capital cities at different times, including Pratishthana (Paithan) and Amaravati (Dharanikota).

The origin of the dynasty is uncertain, but according to the Puranas, their first king overthrew the Kanva dynasty. In the post-Maurya era, the Satavahanas established peace in the Deccan region, and resisted the onslaught of foreign invaders. In particular their struggles with the Saka Western Satraps went on for a long time. The dynasty reached its zenith under the rule of Gautamiputra Satakarni and his successor Vasisthiputra Pulamavi. The kingdom fragmented into smaller states by the early 3rd century CE.

The Satavahanas were early issuers of Indian state coinage struck with images of their rulers. They formed a cultural bridge and played a vital role in trade and the transfer of ideas and culture to and from the Indo-Gangetic Plain to the southern tip of India. They supported Hinduism as well as Buddhism, and patronised Prakrit literature.

The 8th century depiction of a wooden double outrigger and sailed Borobudur ship in ancient Java suggests that there were ancient trading links across the Indian Ocean between Indonesia and Madagascar and East Africa sometimes referred to as the 'Cinnamon Route.' The single or double outrigger is a typical feature of vessels of the seafaring Austronesians and the most likely vessel used for their voyages and exploration across Southeast Asia, Oceania, and Indian Ocean. During this period, between 7th to 13th century in Indonesian archipelago flourished the Srivijaya thalassocracy empire that rule the maritime trade network in maritime Southeast Asia and connecting India and China.

Silk route



The island of Hormuz was captured by an Anglo-Persian force in the 1622 Capture of Ormuz. Part of Zheng He's navigation map providing instruction for aligning ship to travel from Hormuz to Calicut, 1430

Chinese fleets under Zheng He crisscrossed the Indian Ocean during the early part of the 15th century. The missions were diplomatic rather than commercial, but many exchanges of gift and produces were made.

During the 16th and 17th century, Japanese ships also made forays into Indian Ocean trade through the Red Seal ship system.

During the Muslim period, in which the Muslims had dominated the trade across the Indian Ocean, the Gujaratis were bringing spices from the Moluccas as well as silk from China, in exchange for manufactured items such as textiles, and then selling them to the Egyptians and Arabs. Calicut was the center of Indian pepper exports to the Red Sea and Europe at this time with Egyptian and Arab traders being particularly active.

In Madagascar, merchants and slave traders from the Middle East (Shirazi Persians, Omani Arabs, Arabized Jews, accompanied by Bantus from southeast Africa) and from Asia (Gujaratis, Malays, Javanese, Bugis) were sometimes integrated within the indigenous Malagasy clans. New waves of Austronesian migrants arrived in Madagascar at this time leaving behind a lasting cultural and genetic legacy. Therefore generally the upper caste Hindus did not take up maritime activities involving seafaring. For the upper Hindu castes, i.e. dwija or twice born castes crossing the sea was prohibited by custom. Sizable population of the coastal region was Islamised in the middle ages and they followed all these maritime activities particularly the Marakkayan and Labbais. For the voyages on the sea and across the seas the people of the Neithal or coastal region used various kinds of vessels. The names of such vessels used by the ancient Tamils are found in the Tamil literatures down from Sangam Age. A few of them are vangam, umpi, nawai, dhoney, kalam, madhalai, pathai, punai, thonnai, paru, podam, panri, thimil, pattihai, paduvai, midavai and odams. The word Kappal seems to be a very late derivation, by about 17th century. The parts of these vessels are also described in detail in these literatures⁹.

The spread of Islam paved the way for the emergence of powerful Muslim trading communities in peninsular India. Peninsular India occupies a central position in this region and its vital role in trade is undeniable. With the rise of Islamic power in West Asia, the Muslims lost no time in spreading their influence in the ports of peninsular India. Among the Hindu communities along the coast with whom they had already established friendly and close trade relations they also tried to spread their new faith, Islam. In the course of time, Arab settlements grew into powerful native Muslim trade settlements. Malabar was a vital link in Muslim trade in the Indian ocean. The Chola sea power was a serious obstruction in the eleventh century to the growth of Muslim influence. One of the first important measures taken by Chola Raja Raja I towards the end of the tenth century A.D. was to secure Malabar coast in an engagement off Kandalur Chalai and to conquer the Laccdives and Maldives islands. This was intended to curb the Arab influence in Indian ocean trade. After the decline of the Chola power in the twelfth century the Muslim influence increased, and they enjoyed a dominant role in the sea borne trade of the region ².

The Coromandel ports became the favourable settlements of the Muslim traders. Kayal was the principal port, in the thirteenth century where Muslims were principal traders. Nagapattanam also became a busy port, and important Muslim centres of trade. These maritime acts played a major economic role in the pre-colonial Coromandel Coast. The import of war horses was one of the *earliest* specialities. By the *early* fourteenth century, the armies of Pandya rulers were supplied with west Asian horses, shipped in by the Muslim traders to Kayal, Petiappatham. In this, an important agency had been established here by an Arab Chief who is described by Muslim history as Malikul Islam. He was very influential in Pandyan Kingdom. Kayal was also an important link in horse trade to Ceylon. The diverse Muslim communities of peninsular India had a significant role to play in the Indian ocean trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries until they were ousted by the European powers. By the end of twelfth century, the naval power of the Cholas and the Shylenstras completely declined and many mercantile communities of peninsular India began to claim a major role in Indo-Ceylon trade and as well as trans oceanic trade. Soon they were able to secure a dominant role in the maritime trade of India and an enviable share of the seaborne trade in Malacca, Indonesian islands, Java, Aden and Maldives. The Muslims controlled much of the region's trade in gem stones and pearls. Many Muslim port centres also served as outlets for the international trade in cotton piece goods. After the destruction of Bagdad in the middle thirteenth century by Mongols, the Arab activities in the East became restricted. In fact at the end of fifteenth century the Arabs had lost their supreme position in the sea borne trade¹³. The Gujarathi Muslims and Tamil Muslims had taken over from the Arabs the dominant role in the Indian ocean trade.

Portuguese period

The Portuguese under Vasco da Gama discovered a naval route to the Indian Ocean through the southern tip of Africa in 1497–98. Initially, the Portuguese were mainly active in Calicut, but the northern region of Gujarat was even more important for trade, and an essential intermediary in east–west trade.^[30]

Reception of Venetian ambassadors in Damascus in the time of Qaitbay.

Venetian interests were directly threatened as the traditional trade patterns were eliminated and the Portuguese became able to undersell the Venetians in the spice trade in Europe. Venice broke

diplomatic relations with Portugal and started to look at ways to counter its intervention in the Indian Ocean, sending an ambassador to the Egyptian court. Venice negotiated for Egyptian tariffs to be lowered to facilitate competition with the Portuguese, and suggested that "rapid and secret remedies" be taken against the Portuguese. The Mamluks sent a fleet in 1507 under Amir Husain Al-Kurdi, which would fight in the Battle of Chaul.

The Ottomans tried to challenge Portugal's hegemony in the Persian Gulf region by sending an armada against the Portuguese under Ali Bey in 1581. They were supported in this endeavor by the chiefs of several local principalities and port towns such as Muscat, Gwadar, and Pasni. However, the Portuguese successfully intercepted and destroyed the Ottoman Armada. Subsequently, the Portuguese attacked Gwadar and Pasni on the Mekran Coast and sacked them in retaliation for providing aid and comfort to the enemy.

Dutch and English period

During the 16th century the Portuguese had established bases in the Persian Gulf. In 1602, the Iranian army under the command of Imam-Quli Khan Undiladze managed to expel the Portuguese from Bahrain. In 1622, with the help of four English ships, Abbas retook Hormuz from the Portuguese in the capture of Ormuz. He replaced it as a trading centre with a new port, Bandar Abbas, nearby on the mainland, but it never became as successful.

It is a fact that the Muslims of Coromandel stumbled by the ruthless attack of the Portuguese. Their maritime enterprises met with a sudden economic misfortunes. Many withdrew from the scene. But in the course of time the Muslim traders began to accommodate and cooperate with the exploiters. There developed a symbiotic relationship between the two even with mutual freight space on board on one others ship but it was too late for the Muslims to tide up the situations. With regard to the Southeast Asian markets the Muslims avoided the Portuguese and shifted to alternate trade centres. However the superior naval power and higher capital resources of the Portuguese continued to be the real challenge to the Muslims. With their half shattered economic condition they had to face the new competitors. The English had no religious bias against the Muslims like the Portuguese and the Dutch. From the second half of eighteenth century to the first half of nineteenth , the English East India

Company encouraged the Muslims particularly Mamkkayars in the maritime trade. They extended them concessions but from the second quarter of nineteenth century, the economic ambitions of the English marginalized and the Muslims also. In the period the English emerged as the major political power in India and they were the purchasers and exporters of Indian goods. It was but natural for their subjects to turn in the direction of England for their trade prospects. But the policies of London were detrimental to Indian traders including the Coromandel Muslims. By 1900, the masters of maritime commerce, the Marakkayars, Labbais, Sonakars and Rowthars were reduced to small and petty traders and intermediaries to the English and local artisans and peasants. Their independent economic stability and social standing were cut short due to the various causes enumerated above. Thus at the dawn of the twentieth century the enterprises of the Coromandel Muslims became the story of the past and forgotten unsung.

Maritime trade of early south India- New Archeological evidence from Motupalli A.P excavation of coastal sites is still discovering new evidences by way of pattery and artifacts that there were many more ports than those we think of today.

Marakkayars is a South Asian Muslim community found in parts of Indian states of Tamil Nadu (the Palk Strait), Kerala and in Sri Lanka. The Marakkars speak Tamil in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka and Malayalam in Kerala. The community claim ancestry from marriages between early Arab Muslim traders of the high seas and indigenous coastal women. The Islamized Arabs who arrived on the Coromandel coast brought Islamic values and customs with them and intermarried with the indigenous women who followed the local Hindu customs. Naturally, their children will have imbibed both the Islamic and the local values and transmitted both to their descendants. From the outset, the Arabs must, in all probability, have asserted the centrality of the Islamic values in their relationship with the local women, at the same time making the necessary adjustments to local customs. This is the pattern that appears to have survived to this day. The Marakkayars, the early Muslim inhabitants of Coastal Tamil Nadu, are Sunnis of the Shafi'i school of thought (Madhab). Most Marakkayars, are in some way or other, connected to foreign trade through which they became more advanced economically and socially than the other Muslim groups in the locality and even many Hindu sub-castes. The Marakkars were known to be a powerful maritime spice trading community in the medieval South Asia. They traded in and with locations such as Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia in East Asia and South Asia, Maldives and Sri Lanka. The Marakayar's have dominated the educational and economic landscape in Tamil Nadu since the 17th century.

There are two main hypothesis regarding the etymology of the term 'Marrakayar', and it's various forms.



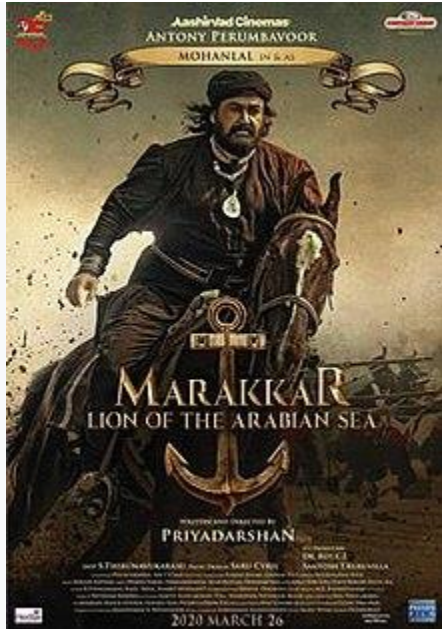
Arab merchants arriving in boats at Thirukkurungudi temple

Tamil derivation

The first being from the term 'Marakalarayar' which may mean those who controlled or owned boats.^[4] In Tamil, 'marakalam' signifies 'wooden boat' and 'rayar' means 'king' that it is the association of these two words that gives Marakkayar.^[4]

Arabized derivation

The second theory was derived from the arrival of Yemeni Arab royals (some of the first immigrants of this class) seeking refuge from persecutions who came by boats called 'markabs' in Arabic, and settled on the east coast. Their arrival in 'markabs', led to them being called Marakkayar by the local people, which literally means 'boat people'.



Marakkar Arabikadalinte Simham: (AKA Marakkar: Lion of the Arabian Sea) A movie of Kunjali Marakkars exploits

Malabari Marakkars are credited with organizing the first naval defence of the Indian coast. With the emergence of the Portuguese in India, some Marakkars were forced to take up arms and enlist themselves in service of the Hindu king (the zamorin) of Calicut. The Marakkar naval chiefs of the Calicut were known as Kunjali Marakkars. The seamen were famous for their naval guerrilla warfare and hand-to-hand fighting on board. The Marakkar vessels — small, lightly armed and highly mobile — were a major threat to the Portuguese shipping all along the Indian west coast.

In 1598, the Portuguese convinced the Zamorin that Marakkar IV intended to take over his Kingdom to create a Muslim empire. In an act of betrayal, the Zamorin joined hands with the Portuguese who brutally killed him.

The Arabic language brought by the early merchants is no longer spoken, though many Arabic words and phrases are still commonly used. Until the recent past, the Tamil Muslim minority employed Arwi as their native language, though this is also extinct as a spoken language. They today use Tamil as their primary language with influence from Arabic. Many Arabic and Arabized words exist in the form of Tamil spoken by Marakkars. Among many examples, greetings and blessings are exchanged in Arabic instead of Tamil, such as *Assalamu Alaikum* instead of *Sandhiyum Samadanamum*, *Jazakallah* instead of *Nandri* and *Pinjhan/Finjan* for Bowl/Cup. There are also words which are unique to Marakkars and a few other Tamil Muslim communities such as *Laatha* for elder-sister, *Kaka* for elder-brother, *Umma* for mother and *Vappa* for father. There are also words derived from Sinhala such as *Mattapa* for terrace. There are also words from Purananuru era such as *Aanam* for Kulambu and *Puliaanam* for rasam or soup.

The Marakkars were an endogamous community and followed the system of inheritance known as marumakkathayam. This type of marriage is preferred generally among Tamils, irrespective of religion and caste, mainly to maintain family ties and prevent property leaving the family.

However, unlike among the Hindus, the daughter of the brother or sister of the bridegroom is not sought after for marriage. In any case, the *murai* marriage, as practised among the Marakkayars, is not contrary to Islamic law, given that it does not contradict the conditions for Islamic marriages stipulated in Surah 4 of the Holy Qur'an.

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3. What a 2,000-year-old Greek merchant's manual tells us about the Indian monsoon and oceanic trade, *Aparna Kapadia*

4. The Indian Ocean: A Maritime Trade Network History Nearly Forgotten

Long before the Silk Road or the Roman Empire, the Indian Ocean was awash with commerce.

By Adrienne Daggett <https://www.discovermagazine.com/technology/the-indian-ocean-a-maritime-trade-network-history-nearly-forgot>

Surya Majapahit



The diagram of Surya Majapahit shows the arrangements of Hindu deities each resided in main cardinal points.

Surya Majapahit (The Sun of Majapahit) is the emblem commonly found in ruins dated from the Majapahit era. The emblem commonly took the form of an eight-pointed sun ray with the rounded part in the center depicting Hindu deities. The emblem might have taken the form of a cosmological diagram haloed by typical "Surya Majapahit" sun rays, or a simple circle with typical sun rays. Because of the popularity of this sun emblem during the Majapahit era, it is suggested that the sun emblem served as the imperial symbol or emblem of the Majapahit empire. The Hindu cosmology, like the Buddhist and Jain cosmology, considers all existence as cyclic. With its ancient roots, Hindu texts propose and discuss numerous cosmological theories. Hindu culture accepts this diversity in cosmological ideas and has lacked a single mandatory view point even in its oldest known Vedic scripture, the *Rigveda*. Alternate theories include a universe cyclically created and destroyed by god, or goddess, or no creator at all, or a golden egg or womb (Hiranyagarbha), or self-created multitude of universes with enormous lengths and time scales. The Vedic literature includes a number of cosmology speculations, one of which questions the origin of the cosmos and is called the Nasadiya sukta:

*Neither being (sat) nor non-being was as yet. What was concealed?
 And where? And in whose protection? Who really knows?
 Who can declare it? Whence was it born, and whence came this creation?
 The devas (gods) were born later than this world's creation,
 so who knows from where it came into existence? None can know from where
 creation has arisen, and whether he has or has not produced it.
 He who surveys it in the highest heavens,
 He alone knows or perhaps He does not know."*
 — *Rig Veda 10. 129*

Time is conceptualized as a cyclic Yuga with trillions of years. In some models, **Mount Meru plays a central role.**

Beyond its creation, Hindu cosmology posits divergent theories on the structure of the universe, from being 3 lokas to 12 lokas (worlds) which play a part in its theories about rebirth, samsara and karma.

The complex cosmological speculations found in Hinduism and other Indian religions, states Bolton, is not unique and are also found in Greek, Roman, Irish and Babylonian mythologies, where each age becomes more sinful and of suffering.

Hindu Dieties: The most common depiction of Surya Majapahit consists of the images of nine deities and eight sun rays. The round center of the sun depicting nine Hindu gods called *Dewata Nawa Sanga*. The major gods in the center is arranged in eight cardinal points around one god in the center. The arrangements are:

• Center: Shiva • East: Isvara • West: Mahadeva • North: Vishnu • South: Brahma • Northeast: Sambhu • Northwest: Sangkara • Southeast: Mahesora • Southwest: Rudra	The minor deities located at the outer rim of the sun, symbolized by eight shining sun rays: • East: Indra • West: Varuna • North: Kubera • South: Yama • Northeast: Isana • Northwest: Vayu • Southeast: Agni • Southwest: Nirrti
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The common carving of Surya Majapahit taken from Majapahit temple ruins, Trowulan Museum/Another render of Surya Majapahit, taken from Majapahit temple ruins, National Museum Jakarta

The emblem is rendered in many forms; sometimes it took the form of the circle of deities and sun rays, or just a simple eight-pointed sun ray such as the emblematic Surya Majapahit set into the ceiling of Candi Penataran. The deities in the sun arranged as cosmological diagram in the form of a mandala. Another variation of Surya Majapahit is the eight pointed sun rays with the god of sun Surya in the center riding celestial horse or chariot. The carving of Surya Majapahit usually can be found on the center ceiling of the Garbhagriha (inner sanctum) of the temple such as Bangkal, Sawentar, and Jawi temple. Surya Majapahit also can be found on the Stella, carving of halo or aura at the back of the statue's head. The carving of Surya Majapahit also commonly found in gravestone dating from Majapahit era, such as the Troloyo cemetery in Trowulan.

Star of Lakshmi - a star-shaped symbol that represents Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth

Part I I

KINGDOMS OF THE MANDALA



CHAPTER VII

Sunda Kingdom

Languages Sundanese, Sanskrit

Coronation of king Tarusbawa and change the name from Tarumanagara to Sunda 669

Government Monarchy

Date dissolved 1579



Capital Pakuan

Religion Hinduism,

Currency Native gold and silver coins

Pajajaran,
Buddhism,

Sunda

Kawali
Wiwitan

Sunda kingdom

The Kingdom of Sunda was a Hindu kingdom located in western Java from 669 to around 1579, covering the area of present-day Banten, Jakarta, West Java, and the western part of Central Java. According to primary historical records, the Bujangga Manik manuscript, the eastern border of the Sunda Kingdom was the Pamali River (Ci Pamali, the present day Brebes River) and the Serayu River (Ci Sarayu) in Central Java. Most accounts of the Sunda Kingdom come from primary historical records from the 16th century.

CHAPTER VIII

Đại Việt (大越,) [đâj[?] viət]

Đại Việt (大越, IPA: [đâj[?] viət]; literally Great Viet), often known as Annam, was a Vietnamese kingdom in Southeast Asia from the 10th century AD to the early 19th century. Its early name, Đại Cồ Việt, was established in 968 by Vietnamese ruler Đinh Bộ Lĩnh after he ended the Anarchy of the 12 Warlords, until the beginning of the reign of Lý Thánh Tông (r. 1054–1072), the third emperor of the Lý dynasty. Đại Việt lasted until the reign of Gia Long (r. 1802–1820), the first emperor of the Nguyễn dynasty, when he changed the name to Việt Nam.

Kingdom of Đại Việt

Đại Việt Quốc (大越國)

968–1400-1428–1804



Flag of the Tây Sơn Dynasty in 1778

Royal Standard



Dai Viet (green) during late 18th century

Capital

Hoa Lư (968–1010)
 Thăng Long (Hanoi) (1010–1398, 1428–1789)
 Thanh Hóa (1398–1407)
 Phú Xuân (1789–1802)

Huế (1802–1804)	
Common languages	Official Vietnamese show Regional
Religion	Buddhism (State religion from 968 to 1400) Taoism Confucianism (State ideology from 1428 to 1883) Vietnamese folk religion Catholicism Islam show Minority
Government- King or Emperor	Monarchy-
968–979	Đinh Bộ Lĩnh
1802–1820	Gia Long
Historical era	Postclassical era to Late modern period
End of Third Chinese domination of Vietnam	905
Establishment of the Kingdom of Đại Cồ Việt	968
Lý Thánh Tông shortened Vietnam's name from Đại Cồ Việt to Đại Việt	1054
Renamed <i>Đại Ngu</i> under the Hồ dynasty	1400–1407
Fourth Chinese domination of Vietnam as Giao Chỉ	1407–1427
Emperor Gia Long changed Đại Việt to Việt Nam	17 February 1804
Area 1480 est.	620,000 km ² (240,000 sq mi)
Currency	Vietnamese văn, banknote
	Preceded by Succeeded by Tĩnh Hải Việt Nam under the Nguyễn

quân dynasty	
Today part of	 Vietnam  China  Laos  Cambodia
Nước Đại Việt	
Vietnamese name	
Vietnamese	<i>Nước Đại Việt</i>
Hán-Nôm	渌大越
History of Vietnam (Names of Vietnam)	
hide	
2879–2524 BC	Xích Quỷ
2524–258 BC	Văn Lang
257–179 BC	Âu Lạc
204–111 BC	Nam Việt
111 BC – 40 AD	Giao Chỉ
40–43	Lĩnh Nam
43–299	Giao Chỉ
299–544	Giao Châu
544–602	Vạn Xuân
602–679	Giao Châu
679–757	An Nam
757–766	Trần Nam
766–866	An Nam
866–967	Tĩnh Hải quân
968–1054	Đại Cồ Việt
1054–1400	Đại Việt

1400–1407	Đại Ngu	
1407–1427	Giao Chỉ	
1428–1804	Đại Việt	
1804–1839	Việt Nam	
1839–1945	Đại Nam	
1887–1954	Đông Pháp (Bắc Trung Kỳ, Nam Kỳ)	Kỳ,
from 1945	Việt Nam	

Đại Việt is the second-longest used name for Vietnam after "Văn Lang".^[6] Its history is divided into the seven royal dynasties of the Đinh (968–980), Early Lê (980–1009), Lý (1009–1226), Trần (1226–1400), and Later Lê (1428–1789); the Mạc dynasty (1527–1677); and the brief Tây Sơn dynasty (1778–1802). It was briefly interrupted by the Hồ (1400–1407), which used the name *Đại Ngu*,^{[7][8]} and the Fourth Chinese domination of Vietnam (1407–1427) when the region was administered as Jiaozhi.

The term "Việt" (Yue) (Chinese: 越; pinyin: *Yuè*; Cantonese Yale: *Yuht*; Wade–Giles: *Yüeh*⁴; Vietnamese: *Việt*) in Early Middle Chinese was first written using the logograph "戊" for an axe (a homophone), in oracle bone and bronze inscriptions of the late Shang dynasty (c. 1200 BC), and later as "越". At that time it referred to a people or chieftain to the northwest of the Shang. In the early 8th century BC, a tribe on the middle Yangtze were called the Yangyue, a term later used for peoples further south.^[11] Between the 7th and 4th centuries BC Yue/Việt referred to the State of Yue in the lower Yangtze basin and its people.

From the 3rd century BC the term was used for the non-Chinese populations of south and southwest China and northern Vietnam, with particular states or groups called Minyue, Ouyue, Luoyue (Vietnamese: Lạc Việt), etc., collectively called the Baiyue (Bách Việt, Chinese: 百越; pinyin: *Bǎiyuè*; Cantonese Yale: *Baak Yuht*; Vietnamese: *Bách Việt*; "Hundred Yue/Viet";). The term Baiyue/Bách Việt first appeared in the book *Lüshi Chunqiu* compiled around 239 BC.

History of Việt Nam-Origins and formation: Han-Tang dynasties(*Vietnam under Chinese rule, Jiaozhou (region), and Jiaozhi*)

For a thousand years, the area of what is now Northern Vietnam was ruled by a succession of Chinese regimes as Giao Châu (交州, Jiaozhou) and Giao Chỉ (交趾, Jiaozhi).

The indigenous inhabitants in Northern Vietnam of ancient kingdom of Nanyue (c. 204 – 111 BC) were known as the Lạc Việt (Luoyue). In 111 BC, Western Han dynasty (c. 202 BC – 9 AD) conquered Nanyue and incorporated the kingdom into Chinese rules, as known as Giao Chỉ. However until the 7th century, the region's population were largely indigenous people.

In 679, the Tang dynasty created Protectorate General to Pacify the South and a military government. In late 9th century, the collapsing Tang dynasty was unable to retain control of the area, then known as Jinghai Jun. Local Viet chieftains and highland people in central Vietnam, in an attempt to overthrow the Tang Chinese influences in the region, allied with Nanzhao. Repeated Nanzhao attack and local rebels from 854 to 866 in Annan ousted the Chinese until Gao Pian recaptured it in 866.^[15] In 880, the army in Annan mutinied, took the city of Đại La, and forced the military commissioner Zeng Gun to flee, ending de facto Chinese control in Vietnam.

Dinh, Ly dynasties

In 905, a local Vietnamese chieftain Khúc Thừa Dụ was elected as *jiedushi* (military governor) of Tĩnh Hải circuit amid the collapsing of Tang Empire. This notable event was widely regarded by Vietnamese historians as the reclaim of Vietnamese Independence after a thousand years of Imperial Chinese rules. This independence was more secured by the naval battle on Bạch Đằng river in 938 and the kingdom of Tĩnh Hải under Ngô monarchs (939–965). However, the royal rule remained weak. From 948 to 968, Vietnamese warlords began fighting each other to take control the country, as known as Anarchy of the 12 Warlords period.

The indigenous Viet people centered around the Red River Delta became de facto independent under the rule of the local Khúc clan, and then the kingdom of the Ngô family. However, the royal power remained weak, resulting in a period of civil war between 12 war lords. In 968, Đinh Bộ Lĩnh reunited the country under the name of Đại Cồ Việt and claimed the title *Hoàng Đế* (emperor). In 1010, King Lý Thái Tổ relocated the Vietnamese capital from Hoa Lư to Thăng Long (modern-day Hanoi).

Trần dynasty

During the 13th century, the Trần dynasty of Đại Việt successfully repelled multiple Mongol invasions and ushered in an era of flourishing Vietnamese Buddhism, peace and prosperity until the rise of the Neo-Confucian scholar class and administrative bureaucracy in the late 14th century.

Hồ dynasty and Ming rule and Fourth Chinese domination of Vietnam

In 1400, the Trần was then succeeded by the Hồ dynasty, who claimed descent from the Trần and changed the name of the country to *Đại Ngu*. The Hồ was then conquered by the Chinese Ming dynasty in the Ming–Hồ War of the early 15th century. The region was administered as Giao Chi (Jiaozhi).

Lê dynasty

In 1427, Lê Lợi led the Lam Sơn Uprising and then started the Lê dynasty, which would serve as a Ming vassal for several centuries. After Lê Thánh Tông died in 1497, the kingdom swiftly declined, and entered a period of destabilization known as the Southern and Northern courts which began in 1533 and ended in 1592. Đại Việt was again divided from 1627 to 1775

when two rival families, Trịnh and Nguyễn fought and competed against each other to contest control of the court.

Tây Sơn dynasty

In late 18th century, the Tây Sơn uprising led by the Nguyễn brothers overthrew the Lê dynasty and repelled the invading Qing armies in the Battle of Ngọc Hồi-Đống Đa, considered one of the greatest military victories in Vietnamese history.

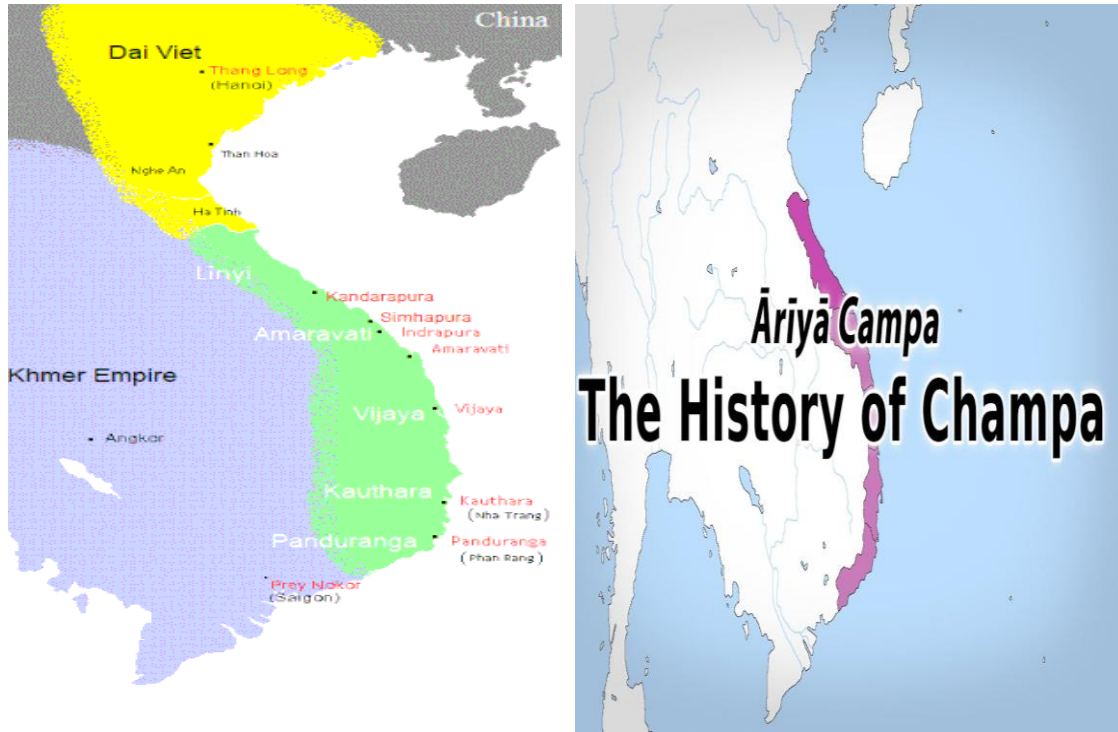
In 1802, the Tây Sơn was then overthrown by Gia Long, who founded the Nguyễn dynasty and renamed the country *Việt Nam* in 1804.

Expansion: *Nam tiến*

From the Trần to the Nguyễn dynasty, Đại Việt's borders expanded to encompass territory that resemble modern-day Vietnam, which lies along the South China Sea from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Gulf of Thailand. Throughout its long existence from 968 to 1804, Đại Việt flourished and acquired significant power in the region. The kingdom slowly annexed Champa's and Cambodia's territories, expanded Vietnamese territories to the south and west.

CHAPTER IX

नगरचम्प: Champa



Kingdom of Champa

Campa

192–1832

The main Champa polities circa 1000–1100, depicted in green, lay along the coast of present-day southern Vietnam. To the north (in yellow) lay Đại Việt; to the west (in blue), Angkor.

Capital

Simhapura
(4th century to the 8th century CE)
Indrapura
(875–978)
Amaravati
Vijaya

	(978–1485) Kauthara polity Panduranga polity (757-1832)	(757-1653)
Common languages	Chamic languages, Sanskrit, Old Malay	
Religion	Cham Folk religion, Hinduism and Buddhism, later Islam	
Government	Monarchy	
History		
Established	192	
Pandurangga annexed by Vietnam under Nguyễn dynasty	1832	
	Preceded by Han dynasty	Succeeded by Nguyễn dynasty
Today part of	 Vietnam Laos Cambodia	

Champa or Tsiompa (Cham: *Campa* / 𑀓𑀺𑀓𑀾 ; Vietnamese: *Chăm Pa*) was a collection of independent Cham polities that extended across the coast of what is today central and southern Vietnam from approximately the 2nd century AD until 1832 when it was annexed by the Vietnamese Empire under Minh Mạng. The kingdom was known variously as *nagara Campa* in the Chamic and Cambodian inscriptions, *Chăm Pa* in Vietnamese (*Chiêm Thành* in Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary). The Chams of modern Vietnam and Cambodia are the remnants of this former kingdom. They speak Chamic languages, a subfamily of Malayo-Polynesian closely related to the Malayic and Bali–Sasak languages.

Champa was preceded in the region by a kingdom called Lâm Ấp (Vietnamese), or Linyi (林邑, Lim Ip in Middle Chinese), that was in existence since 192 AD ; although the historical relationship between Linyi and Champa is not clear. Champa reached its apogee in the 9th and 10th centuries AD. Thereafter, it began a gradual decline under pressure from Đại Việt, the Vietnamese polity centered in the region of modern Hanoi. In 1832, the Vietnamese emperor Minh Mạng annexed the remaining Cham territories.

Hinduism, adopted through conflicts and conquest of territory from neighboring Funan in the 4th century AD, shaped the art and culture of the Champa kingdom for centuries, as testified by the many Cham Hindu statues and red brick temples that dotted the landscape in Cham lands. Mỹ Sơn, a former religious center, and Hội An, one of Champa's main port cities, are now World Heritage Sites. Today, many Cham people adhere to Islam, a conversion which began in the 10th century, with the Royals having fully adopted the faith by the 17th century; they are called the Bani (Ni tục, from Arabic: Bani). There are, however, the Bacam (Bacham, Chiêm tục) who still retain and preserve their Hindu faith, rituals, and festivals. The Bacam are one of only two surviving non-Indic indigenous Hindu peoples in the world, with a culture dating back thousands of years. The other is the Balinese Hinduism of the Balinese of Indonesia.

The historiography of Champa relies upon four types of sources:

- Physical remains, including ruins as well as stone sculptures;
- Inscriptions in Cham and Sanskrit on steles and other stone surfaces;
- Chinese and Vietnamese annals, diplomatic reports, and other literature such as those provided by Jia Dan;
- Historiography of modern Cham people.

Overarching theories

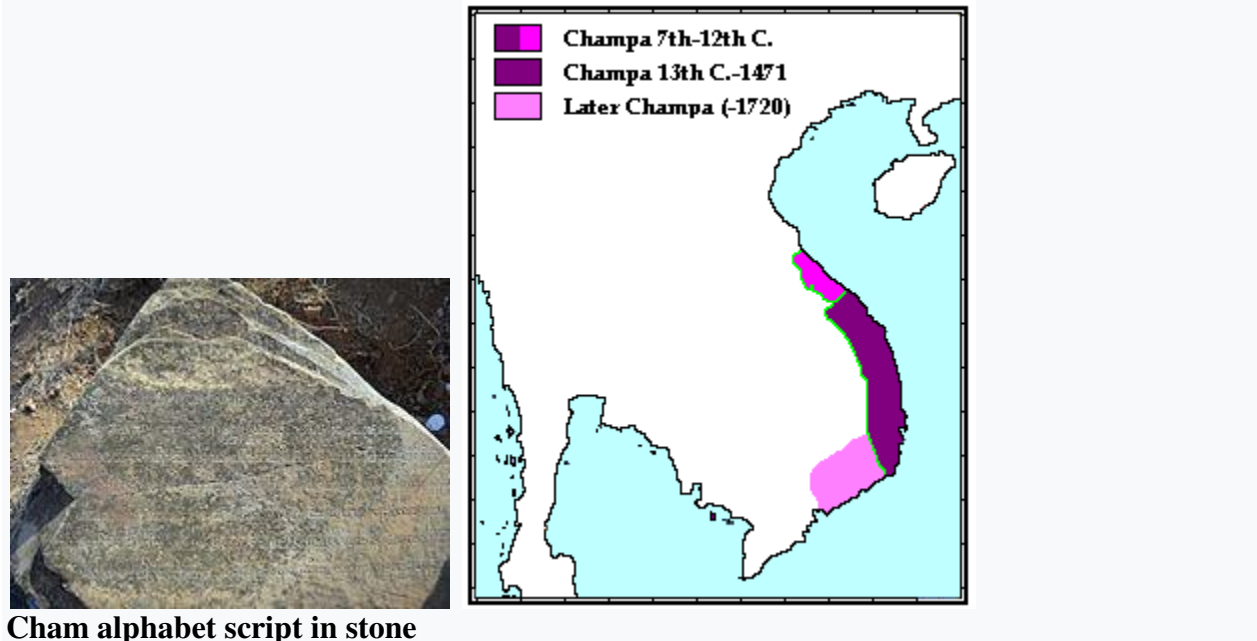


This Cham head of Shiva was made of electrum around 800. It decorated a kosa, or metal sleeve fitted to a lingam. One can recognise Shiva by the tall chignon hairstyle and by the third eye in the middle of his forehead. To RIGHTBCrown of Champa in 7th and 8th century. (Museum of Vietnamese History)

Modern scholarship has been guided by two competing theories in the historiography of Champa. Scholars agree that historically Champa was divided into several regions or principalities spread out from south to north along the coast of modern Vietnam and united by a common language, culture, and heritage. It is acknowledged that the historical record is not equally rich for each of the regions in every historical period. For example, in the 10th century AD, the record is richest for *Indrapura*; in the 12th century AD, it is richest for Vijaya; following the 15th century AD, it is richest for *Panduranga*. Some scholars have taken these shifts in the historical record to reflect the movement of the Cham capital from one location to another. According to such scholars, if the 10th-century record is richest for Indrapura, it is so because at that time Indrapura was the capital of Champa. Other scholars have disputed this contention, holding that Champa was never a united country, and arguing that the presence of a particularly

rich historical record for a given region in a given period is no basis for claiming that the region functioned as the capital of a united Champa during that period.

History of Champa-Sources of foreign cultural influence



Through the centuries, Cham culture and society were influenced by forces emanating from Cambodia, China, Java and India amongst others. Lâm Ấp, a predecessor state in the region, began its existence in AD 192 as a breakaway Chinese colony. An official successfully revolted against Chinese rule in central Vietnam, and Lâm Ấp was founded in AD 192.^[6] In the 4th century AD, wars with the neighbouring Kingdom of Funan in Cambodia and the acquisition of Funanese territory led to the infusion of Indian culture into Cham society. Sanskrit was adopted as a scholarly language, and Hinduism, especially Shaivism, became the state religion. From the 10th century AD onwards, Arab maritime trade in the region brought increasing Islamic cultural and religious influences. Champa came to serve as an important link in the spice trade, which stretched from the Persian Gulf to South China, and later in the Arab maritime routes in Mainland Southeast Asia as a supplier of aloes. Despite the frequent wars between Champa and Cambodia, the two countries also traded and cultural influences moved in both directions. Royal families of the two countries intermarried frequently. Champa also had close trade and cultural relations with the powerful maritime empire of Srivijaya and later with the Majapahit of the Malay Archipelago.

Evidence gathered from linguistic studies around Aceh confirms that a very strong Champan cultural influence existed in Indonesia; this is indicated by the use of the Chamic language Acehnese as the main language in the coastal regions of Aceh. Linguists believe the Acehnese language, a descendant of the Proto-Chamic language, separated from the

Chamic tongue sometime in the 1st millennium AD. However, scholarly views on the precise nature of Aceh-Chamic relations vary.

Formation and growth

The people of Champa descended from seafaring settlers who reached the Southeast Asian mainland from Borneo about the time of the Sa Huỳnh culture between 1000 BC and 200 AD, the predecessor of the Cham kingdom. The Cham language is part of the Austronesian family. According to one study, Cham is related most closely to modern Acehnese in northern Sumatra. While Northern Vietnam Kinh people assimilated Han Chinese immigrants into their population, have a sinicized culture and carry the patrilineal Han Chinese O-M7 haplogroup, Cham people carry the patrilineal R-M17 haplogroup of South Asian Indian origin from South Asian merchants spreading Hinduism to Champa and marrying Cham females since Chams have no matrilineal South Asian mtDNA and this fits with the matrilineal structure of Cham families.^[9] Analysis of Vietnamese Kinh people's genetics show that within the last 800 years there was mixture between a Malay like southern Asian and a Chinese ancestral component that happens to fit the time period in which Kinh expanded south from their Red river delta homeland in Nam tiến which also matches the event 700 years ago when the Cham population suffered massive losses. With the exception of Cham who are Austronesian speaking and Mang who are Austroasiatic speaking, the southern Han Chinese and all other ethnic groups in Vietnam share ancestry.

To the Han Chinese, the country of Champa was known as 林邑 *Linyi* in Mandarin and *Lam Yap* in Cantonese and to the Vietnamese, *Lâm Ấp* (which is the Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation of 林邑). It was founded in AD 192.

Around the 4th century AD, Champan polities began to absorb much of Indic influences, probably through its neighbour, Funan. Hinduism was established as Champa began to create Sanskrit stone inscriptions and erect red brick Hindu temples. The first king acknowledged in the inscriptions is Bhadravarman, who reigned from AD 380 to AD 413. At Mỹ Sơn, King Bhadravarman established a linga called Bhadresvara, whose name was a combination of the king's own name and that of the Hindu god of gods Shiva.¹ The worship of the original god-king under the name Bhadresvara and other names continued through the centuries that followed.

Rudravarman of Champa founded a new dynasty in 529 CE and was succeeded by his son, Shambhuvarman. He reconstructed the temple of Bhadravarman and renamed it to Shambhubhadeshvara. He died in 629 and was succeeded by his son, Kandarpadharma, who died in 630–31. Kandarpadharma was succeeded by his son, Prabhasadharma, who died in 645.

Between the 7th to 10th centuries AD, the Cham polities rose to become a naval power; as Champan ports attracted local and foreign traders, Champan fleets also controlled the trade in spices and silk in the South China Sea, between China, the Indonesian archipelago and India. They supplemented their income from the trade routes not only by exporting ivory and aloes, but also by engaging in piracy and raiding. However, the rising influence of Champa caught the attention of a neighbouring thalassocracy that considered Champa as a rival, the Javanese (Javaka, probably refers to Srivijaya ruler of Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java). In AD 767, the Tonkin coast was raided by a Javanese fleet (Dava) and Kunlun pirates, Champa was

subsequently assaulted by Javanese or Kunlun vessels in AD 774 and AD 787. In AD 774 an assault was launched on Po-Nagar in Nha-trang where the pirates demolished temples, while in AD 787 an assault was launched on Phang-rang.



Depiction of Cham people in the Boxer Codex from 1590

According to Cham inscriptions, in 1190, Jayavarman VII conquered Champa and made it a dependency of the Khmer Empire for 30 years. RIGHT Ninh Thuận-Temple

Decline-See also: *History of the Cham–Vietnamese wars and Nam tiến*

In the Cham–Vietnamese War (AD 1471), Champa suffered serious defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese, in which 120,000 people were either captured or killed, and the kingdom was reduced to a small enclave near Nha Trang with many Chams fleeing to Cambodia. Champa was reduced to the principalities of Panduranga and Kauthara at the beginning of the 17th century. Kauthara was annexed by the Vietnamese in 1653. The last remaining principality of Champa, Panduranga, survived until 1832.



1770's map of Champa(Ciampa)

Geography and History

Between the 2nd and the 15th centuries AD, Champa at times included the modern provinces of Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi, Bình Định, Phú Yên, Khánh Hòa, Ninh Thuận, and Bình Thuận. Though Cham territory included the mountainous zones west of the coastal plain and (at times) extended into present-day Laos, for the most part, the Cham remained a seafaring people dedicated to trade, and maintained few settlements of any size away from the coast.

Historical Champa consisted of up to five principalities:

- Indrapura ("City of Indra") was the capital of Champa from about AD 875 to about AD 1000. It was located at the site of the modern village of Đồng Dương, near the modern city of Da Nang. Also found in the region of Da Nang is the ancient Cham city of Singhapura ("City of the Lion"), the location of which has been identified with an archaeological site in the modern village of Trà Kiệu, and the valley of Mỹ Sơn, where a number of ruined temples and towers can still be seen. The associated port was at modern Hội An. The territory once controlled by this principality included present-day Quảng Bình, Quảng Trị, and Thừa Thiên–Huế provinces.
- Amaravati was located in present-day Châu Sa citadel of Quảng Ngãi Province. The earliest mention of Amaravati is from an AD 1160 inscription at Po Nagar.



Depiction of fighting Cham naval soldier against the Khmer, stone relief at the Bayon-

Closeup of the inscription in Cham script on the Po Nagar stele, 965. The stele describes feats by the Champa kings.

- Vijaya was located in present-day Bình Định Province. Early mention is made of Vijaya in an AD 1160 inscription at Po Nagar. The capital has been identified with the archaeological site at Cha Ban. The associated port was at present-day Qui Nhon. Important excavations have also been conducted at nearby Tháp Mẫm, which may have been a religious and cultural centre. Vijaya became the political and cultural centre of Champa around AD 1000, when the northern capital of Indrapura was abandoned due to pressure from the Viet. It remained the centre of Champa until AD 1471, when it was sacked by the Việt and the centre of Champa was again displaced toward the south. In its time, the principality of Vijaya controlled much of present-day Quang-Nam, Quang-Ngai, Bình Định, and Phú Yên Provinces.

- Kauthara was located in the area of modern Nha Trang in Khánh Hòa Province. Its religious and cultural centre was the temple of Po Nagar, several towers of which still stand at Nha Trang. Kauthara is first mentioned in an AD 784 inscription at Po Nagar.
- Panduranga was located in the area of present-day Phan Rang in Ninh Thuận Province. Panduranga was the last of the Cham territories to be annexed by the Vietnamese. Panduranga is first mentioned in an AD 817 inscription at Po Nagar.

Within the four principalities were two main clans: the "Dù" (means "coconut" in Vietnamese) and the "Cau" (means "areca catechu" in Vietnamese). The Dù lived in Amravati and Vijaya, while the Cau lived in Kauthara and Panduranga. The two clans differed in their customs and habits and conflicting interests led to many clashes and even war. But they usually managed to settle disagreements through intermarriage.

Religiously and culturally, the Chams were grouped into two major religio-cultural groups; the Balamon Chams that adhere to an indigenized form of Hinduism, and Bani Chams that adhere to an indigenized form of Islam. These two groups mostly live in separate villages. Intermarriage was prohibited in former times, and remains rare.

Hinduism and Buddhism



Po Nagar-----Apsara with Saraswati (right)Dancing Siva, c. 10th century AD

Champa art, Hindu temples and statues have been found in many parts of Vietnam.

The term "Balamon" derived from "Brahman" or "Brahmin", one of Hindu caste of religious elite. Balamon Chams adhere to the old religion of their ancestor, an indigenized form of Hinduism that thrived since the ancient era of Kingdom of Champa in 5th century CE. While today the Bacam (Bacham) are the only surviving Hindus in Vietnam, the region once hosted some of the most exquisite and vibrant Hindu cultures in the world. The entire region of Southeast Asia, in fact, was home to numerous sophisticated Hindu kingdoms. From Angkor in neighbouring Cambodia, to Java and Bali in Indonesia.



13th century sculpture in the Tháp Mẫm style, depicting Garuda devouring a serpent.

Before the conquest of Champa by the Đại Việt emperor Trần Thánh Tông in 1471, the dominant religion of the Cham people was Hinduism, and the culture was heavily influenced by that of India. The Hinduism of Champa was overwhelmingly Shaiva and it was liberally combined with elements of local religious cults such as the worship of the Earth goddess Lady Po Nagar. The main symbols of Cham Shaivism were the lingam, the mukhalinga, the *jaṭāliṅgam*, the segmented *liṅgam*, and the *kośa*.

- A *liṅga* (or *liṅgam*) is black stone pillar that serves as a representation of Shiva. Cham kings frequently erected and dedicated stone lingas as the central religious images in royal temples. The name a Cham king would give to such a *liṅga* would be a composite of the king's own name and suffix "-*śvara*", which stands for Shiva.
- A *mukhaliṅga* is a *liṅga* upon which has been painted or carved an image of Shiva as a human being or a human face.
- A *jaṭāliṅga* is a *liṅga* upon which has been engraved a stylised representation of Shiva's chignon hairstyle.
- A segmented *liṅga* is a *liṅga* post divided into three sections to represent the three aspects of the Hindu godhead or *trimurti*: the lowest section, square in shape, represents Brahma; the middle section, octagonal in shape, represents Vishnu, and the top section, circular in shape, represents Shiva.
- A *kośa* is a cylindrical basket of precious metal used to cover a *liṅga*. The donation of a *kośa* to the decoration of a *liṅga* was a distinguishing characteristic of Cham Shaivism. Cham kings gave names to special *kośas* in much the way that they gave names to the *liṅgas* themselves.

The predominance of Hinduism in Cham religion was interrupted for a time in the 9th and 10th centuries AD, when a dynasty at Indrapura (modern Đồng Dương, Quảng Nam Province, Vietnam) adopted Mahayana Buddhism as its faith. The Buddhist art of Đồng Dương has received special acclaim for its originality.

Beginning in the 10th century AD, Hinduism again became the predominant religion of Champa. Some of the sites that have yielded important works of religious art and architecture from this period are, aside from Mỹ Sơn, Khương Mỹ, Trà Kiệu, Chanh Lo, and Tháp Mẫm.

Bani Chams are Muslim Chams that converted to Islam, as the faith started making headway among the population after the 10th century AD. The term "Bani" derived from Arabic term "bani" (بني) which means "people". By the 17th century, the royal families of the Cham had

converted to Islam. Most Cham are now evenly split between being followers of Islam and Hinduism, with the majority of Vietnamese Cham being Hindu while the majority of Cambodian Cham are Muslim, though significant minorities of Mahayana Buddhists continue to exist.

Economy: In contrast to Đại Việt, Champa's economy was not based on agriculture. As seafaring people, the Cham were highly mobile and established a network of trade including not only the major ports at Hội An, Thị Nại but also extending into the mountainous hinterland.^[41] Maritime trade was facilitated by a network of wells that provided fresh water to Cham and foreign ships along the coast of Champa and the islands of Cù Lao Chàm and Lý Sơn.^[42] While Kenneth R. Hall suggests that Champa was not able to rely on taxes on trade for continuous revenue, but instead financed their rule by raiding neighbouring countries, Hardy argues that the country's prosperity was above all based on commerce.

The vast majority of Champa's export products came from the mountainous hinterland, sourced from as far as Attapeu in southern Laos. They included gold and silver, slaves, animal and animal products, and precious woods. By far the most important export product was eaglewood. It was the only product mentioned in Marco Polo's brief account and similarly impressed the Arab trader Sulayman several centuries earlier.^[46] Most of it was probably taken from the *Aquilaria crassna* tree, just as most of the eaglewood in Vietnam today.^[46]

Archaeological remains



Mỹ Sơn is the site of the largest collection of Cham ruins/Duong Long ruins in Bình Định province.

Religious

- Mỹ Sơn near the town of Hội An on the Thu Bồn River. Established by Bhadravarman I in the 5th century AD, Vikrantavarman initiated a major building program in the 7th century. Construction continued until AD 1157 under Harivarman.
- Po Nagar in Kauthara, on a harbour, comprising six temples and a pillared hall. Established before the 7th century AD, a wooden structure was burned in AD 774. Satyavarman initiated major construction in AD 757. One tower dates from AD 813 and construction continued until AD 1256.
- Đồng Dương was founded by Jaya Indravarman in AD 875. Most of the complex was destroyed during the Vietnam War. The site consists of three large courts, a large assembly

hall, and a main temple sanctuary. Two bronze statues, one of Buddha and one of Avalokiteśvara were found at the site.

- Po Klaung Garai in Panduranga (Phan Rang).
- Po Rome.
- Po Sah Inu in Hamu Lithit (Phan Thiết).
-

Fortresses

- Khu Túc along the Kiến Giang River of Quảng Bình province, was built in the 4th century AD and includes a revetted wall and moat as do the other centers. Khu Túc was sacked by the Chinese in AD 446, "all inhabitants over the age of 15 were put to the sword" and as much as 48,000 of gold taken.
- Trà Bàn (Caban) was the capital of Vijaya. Ruins included Canh Tien towers, located north of Quy Nhon and contains a possible royal palace.
- Châu Sa or Amaravati in Quảng Ngãi province
- Trà Kiệu or Simhapura, dating from two to three centuries BC until the 6th or 7th centuries AD
- Thành Hồ (Ayarú) is located on the northern bank of the Đà Rằng River, Phú Yên.
- Song Luy (Bal Cattinon) is located on the coast south of Cape Dinh, Bình Thuận province

Some of the network of wells that was used to provide fresh water to Cham and foreign ships still remains. Cham wells are recognisable by their square shape. They are still in use and provide fresh water even during times of drought.



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CHAPTER X

Ayutthaya Kingdom Anachak Ayutthaya

1350–1767



Trade flag (1680–1767) Seal (1657–1688)



Ayutthaya's zone of influence and neighbours, c. 1540

Capital	Ayutthaya 1350-1463 Phitsanulok
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	1463-1488 Ayutthaya 1488-1666 Lopburi 1666-1688 Ayutthaya 1688-1767
Common languages	Ayutthayan dialect
Religion	Majority: Theravada Buddhism Minority: Hinduism, Roman Catholic, Islam
Government	Feudal absolute monarchy with Chatu Sadom as executive body
King	
1350–69	Ramathibodi I (Uthong)
1590–1605	Sanphet II (Naresuan The Great)
1657–88	Ramathibodi III (Narai The Great)
1758–67	Borommorachathirat V (Ekkathat)
Legislature	None (absolute monarchy)
History	
Uthong ascends the throne in Ayutthaya	1350
Personal union with Sukhothai Kingdom	1438
Vassal of Taungoo Dynasty	1564, 1569
Merge with Sukhothai, and independence from Taungoo	1583, 1584
Naresuan and Mingyi Swa's Elephant War	1593
End of Sukhothai Dynasty	1630
Fall of Ayutthaya in	1767

1767

Currency	Pod Duang
Preceded by	Succeeded by
Lavo Kingdom Sukhothai Kingdom Nakhon Thammarat Kingdom	Thonburi Kingdom
Today part of	Thailand Malaysia Myanmar Cambodia



History

1. Sukhothai Kingdom
2. Ayutthaya Kingdom
3. Thonburi Kingdom
4. Rattanakosin Kingdom

1932 to 1973

1973 to 2001

Since 2001

The Ayutthaya kingdom also spelled "Ayudhya" or "Ayodhya" after the fabled city of Ram the Hindu deity was a Siamese kingdom that existed from 1350 to 1767 centered on the city of Ayutthaya. The Kingdom of Ayutthaya is considered to be the precursor of modern Thailand and its developments are an important part of the History of Thailand. It emerged from the mandala of city-states on the Lower Chao Phraya Valley in late fourteenth century during the decline of the Khmer Empire. After a century of territorial expansions, Ayutthaya was centralized and rose as a major power in Southeast Asia. Ayutthaya faced Burmese invasions resulting in the First Fall of Ayutthaya in 1569. However, King Naresuan (r. 1590 - 1605) freed Ayutthaya from brief Burmese rule and expanded Ayutthaya militarily. By 1600, the kingdom's vassals included some city-states in the Malay Peninsula, Sukhothai, Lan Na and parts of Burma and Cambodia,^[1] though the extent of Ayutthaya's control over its neighbors varied over time. In the seventeenth century, Ayutthaya emerged as an entrepôt of international trade and its cultures flourished. The reign of King Narai (r. 1657 - 1688) was described as "Golden Age" of Siamese culture and was known for historic contact between the Siamese court and the court of King Louis XIV of France. In the eighteenth century, however, Ayutthaya succumbed to civil wars and renewed Burmese invasions. Ayutthaya Kingdom ended in 1767 with Burmese invasion and the city of Ayutthaya, after 417 years of existence, was destroyed. The seat of Siamese authority was moved to Thonburi and later Bangkok.

In foreign accounts, Ayutthaya was called "Siam", but other sources say the people of Ayutthaya called themselves *Tai*, and their kingdom *Krung Tai* meaning 'Tai country'. It was also referred to as *Iudea* in a painting requested by the Dutch East India Company. Below-Painting by Johannes Vingboons of Ayutthaya, c. 1665. And to right c.1665, painted by Johannes Vingboons, ordered by the Dutch East India Company, Amsterdam





Southeast Asia in the early-15th century: Blue Violet: Ayutthaya Kingdom. Dark Green: Lan Xang. Purple: Lan Na. Orange: Sukhothai Kingdom. Red: Khmer Empire. Yellow: Champa. Blue: Đại Việt. Lime: Majapahit

The origin of Ayutthaya had been subjected to scholarly debates. Traditional accounts hold that King Uthong, the ruler of a city called "Uthong", moved his court due to the threat of an epidemic. The city of "Uthong" was not the modern U Thong District, Suphan Buri Province, which was a major Dvaravati site but had already been abandoned before the foundation of Ayutthaya. *Van Vliet's chronicles*, a seventeenth-century work, stated that King Uthong was a Chinese merchant who established himself at Phetchaburi before moving to Ayutthaya. *Tamnan Mulla Satsana*, a sixteenth-century Lanna literature, stated that King Uthong was from Lavo Kingdom. Regardless of his origin, King Uthong, who had been a post-Angkorian ruler of one of the cities in Lower Chao Phraya Valley, moved his court to an island on intersection of three rivers; Chao Phraya River, Lopburi River and Pa Sak River, and founded Ayutthaya there in 1350, naming it after Ayodhya, one of the holiest Hindu cities of India of the same name.

The city of Ayutthaya itself, however, might have existed before the supposed "foundation" in 1350. Some temples in Ayutthaya have been known to exist before 1350. Recent archaeological works reveal pre-existing barays superimposed on by subsequent structures and support the Lavo theory. The barays later became Bueng Phra Ram (Thai: บึงพระราม) in the place called Nong Sano (Thai: นองโสน), in which King Uthong had laid his foundation. Excavation map shows

the traces from a baray close to the southwestern tip of Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon which could have been built on a former important Angkorian temple complex.^[3] Lavo (modern Lopburi) had been the center of Angkorian political and cultural influence in Central Thailand. The Lavo kingdom had established the port on the site of Ayutthaya called Ayodhya Sri Rama Thepnakorn. King Uthong established his base on the pre-existing Angkorian site. Many polities had existed in the Lower Chao Phraya Valley before the foundation of Ayutthaya including the Khmer Empire, Lopburi, Suphan Buri and Phetchaburi. Suphanburi had sent a tribute mission to Song dynasty in 1180 and Petchaburi to the Yuan dynasty in 1294. Some argue that Suphanburi was, in fact, *Xiān* mentioned in Chinese sources.

Early conquests and expansion



Ayutthaya is shown in the Fra Mauro map of the world (c. 1450) under the name "Scierno", derived from the Persian "Shahr-I-Naw", meaning 'New City'

The integrity of the patchwork of cities of early Ayutthaya Kingdom was maintained largely through familial connections under the mandala system.^[10] King Uthong had his son, Prince Ramesuan, the ruler of Lopburi, his brother, the ruler of Praek Sriracha^[11] (in modern Chainat Province) and his brother-in-law, Khun Luang Pa-ngua, the ruler of Suphanburi. The ruler of Phetchaburi was his distant relative. The king would appoint a prince or a relative to be the ruler of a city, and a city that was ruled by a prince was called *Muang Look Luang* (Thai: เมืองลูกหลวง). Each city ruler swore allegiance and loyalty to the King of Ayutthaya but also retained certain privileges.

Politics of Early Ayutthaya was characterized by rivalries between the two dynasties; the Uthong dynasty based on Lopburi and the Suphannabhum dynasty based on Suphanburi. When King Uthong died in 1369, he was succeeded by his son Ramesuan. However, Khun Luang Pa-Ngua, the ruler of Suphanburi, marched and usurped the throne from Ramesuan in 1370, prompting Ramesuan to return to Lopburi. Khun Luang Pa-Ngua crowned himself as King Borommara I and with his death in 1388 was succeeded by his son Thong Lan.

However, Ramesuan then marched from Lopburi to seize Ayutthaya and had Thong Lan executed. Ramesuan was crowned king once more and was eventually succeeded by his son Ramracha at his death in 1395. Prince Intharacha I, who was King Borommaracha's nephew, usurped the throne from Ramracha in 1408.

Ayutthaya had set expansionist eyes on its neighbors, most notably Sukhothai,^{[13]:222} and Angkor. Victory of King Borommaracha I over Sukhothai, then centered on Phitsanulok, in 1378 put Sukhothai under the dominance of Ayutthaya. Borommaracha II led armies to sack Angkor in 1431, ending its six hundred years of existence, and also expanded into the Korat Plateau. Borommaracha II made his son Prince Ramesuan the ruler of Sukhothai at Phitsanulok. Upon his death in 1448, Prince Ramesuan took the throne of Ayutthaya as King Boromma Trailokanat, thus Ayutthaya and Sukhothai was united. The *Ligor Chronicles* composed in the seventeenth century said that the ruler of Petchaburi had sent his son to rule Ligor in Southern Thailand. Ligor Kingdom was then incorporated into Ayutthaya.

Centralization and institutionalization

Ayutthaya had acquired two mandalas; Sukhothai and Ligor. The *Muang Look Luang* system was inadequate to govern relatively vast territories. The government of Ayutthaya was centralized and institutionalized under King Trailokanat in his reforms promulgating in Palatine Law of 1455, which became the constitution of Ayutthaya for the rest of its existence and continued to be the constitution of Siam until 1892, albeit in altered forms. The central government was dominated by the *Chatusadom* system (Thai: จตุสดมภ์ lit. "Four Pillars), in which the court was led by two Prime Ministers; the *Samuha Nayok* the Civil Prime Minister and the *Samuha Kalahom* the Grand Commander of Forces overseeing Civil and Military affairs, respectively. Under the *Samuha Nayok* were the Four Ministries. In the regions, the king sent not "rulers" but "governors" to govern cities. The cities were under governors who were from nobility not rulers with privileges as it had previously been. The "Hierarchy of Cities" was established and cities were organized into four levels. Large, top level cities held authorities over secondary or low-level cities.

The emerging Kingdom of Ayutthaya was also growing powerful. Relations between Ayutthaya and Lan Na had worsened since the Ayutthayan support of Thau Choi's rebellion in 1451, Yuttitthira, a noble of the Kingdom of Sukhothai who had conflicts with Boromma Trailokanat of Ayutthaya, gave himself to Tilokaraj. Yuttitthira urged Boromma Trailokanat to invade Phitsanulok, igniting the Ayutthaya-Lan Na War over the Upper Chao Phraya valley (the Kingdom of Sukhothai). In 1460, the governor of Chaliang surrendered to Tilokaraj. Boromma Trailokanat then used a new strategy and concentrated on the wars with Lan Na by moving the capital to Phitsanulok. Lan Na suffered setbacks and Tilokaraj eventually sued for peace in 1475. Due to the lack of succession law and a strong concept of meritocracy, whenever the succession was in dispute, princely governors or powerful dignitaries claiming their merit gathered their forces and moved on the capital to press their claims, culminating in several bloody coups.^[14]

At the start of the 15th century, Ayutthaya showed an interest in the Malay Peninsula, but the great trading ports of the Malacca Sultanate contested its claims to sovereignty. Ayutthaya launched several abortive conquests against Malacca which was diplomatically and economically fortified by the military support of Ming China. In the early-15th century the Ming admiral Zheng He established a base of operation in the port city, making it a strategic position

the Chinese could not afford to lose to the Siamese. Under this protection, Malacca flourished, becoming one of Ayutthaya's great foes until the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese.

First Burmese wars

Starting in the middle of the 16th century, the kingdom came under repeated attacks by the Taungoo Dynasty of Burma. The Burmese–Siamese War (1547–49) resulted in a failed Burmese siege of Ayutthaya. A second siege (1563–64) led by King Bayinnaung forced King Maha Chakkraphat to surrender in 1564. The royal family was taken to Pegu (Bago), with the king's second son Mahinthrathirat installed as the vassal king. 1568, Mahinthrathirat revolted when his father managed to return from Pegu as a Buddhist monk. The ensuing third siege captured Ayutthaya in 1569 and Bayinnaung made Mahathammarachathirat (also known as Sanphet I) his vassal king, instating the Sukhothai dynasty.



Naresuan stabbed Lak Wai Tham Mu a military general of Taungoo in 1586/87. Elephant battle between Naresuan and Mingyi in 1593.

In May 1584, less than three years after Bayinnaung's death, Uparaja Naresuan (or Sanphet II), the son of Sanphet I, proclaimed Ayutthaya's independence. This proclamation resulted in repeated invasions of Ayutthaya by Burma which the Siamese fought off ultimately finishing in an elephant duel between King Naresuan and Burmese heir-apparent Mingyi Swa in 1593 during the fourth siege of Ayutthaya in which Naresuan famously slew Mingyi Swa. Today, this Siamese victory is observed annually on 18 January as Royal Thai Armed Forces day. Later that same year warfare erupted again (the Burmese–Siamese War (1593–1600)) when the Siamese invaded Burma, first occupying the Tanintharyi province in southeast Burma in 1593 and later the cities of Moulmein and Martaban in 1594. In 1599, the Siamese attacked the city of Pegu but were ultimately driven out by Burmese rebels who had assassinated Burmese King Nanda Bayin and taken power.

In 1613, after King Anauketlun reunited Burma and took control, the Burmese invaded the Siamese-held territories in Tanintharyi province, and took Tavoy. In 1614, the Burmese invaded Lan Na which at that time was a vassal of Ayutthaya. Fighting between the Burmese and Siamese continued until 1618 when a treaty ended the conflict. At that time, Burma had gained control of Lan Na and while Ayutthaya retained control of southern Tanintharyi (south of Tavoy).

Foreign Influence and Dynastic Struggles

In 1605, Naresuan died of illness while on campaign against a Burmese spillover conflict in the Shan region, leaving a greatly expanded Siamese kingdom to be ruled by his younger

brother, Ekathotsarot (Sanphet III). Ekathotsarot's reign was marked with stability for Siam and its sphere of influence, as well as increased foreign interactions, especially with the Dutch Republic, Portuguese Empire, and Tokugawa Shogunate (by way of the Red Seal Ships), among others. Indeed, representatives from many foreign lands began to fill Siam's civil and military administration - Japanese traders and mercenaries led by Yamada Nagamasa, for example, had considerable influence with the king.

Enkathotsarot's era ended with his death in 1620. The question of his succession was complicated by the alleged suicide of his eldest legitimate son, Suthat, while his second legitimate son, Si Saowaphak, was never legally designated as an heir by Enkathotsarot himself. Nonetheless, Si Saowaphak succeeded to the throne against his late father's wishes, and led a short and ineffective reign in which he was kidnapped and held hostage by Japanese merchants, and later murdered. After this episode, the kingdom was handed to Songtham, a lesser son born of Enkatotsarot and a first-class concubine.



Pictured in this contemporary Siamese painting, the mercenary army of Japanese adventurer Yamada Nagamasa played a pivotal role in court intrigue during the first half of the 17th century.

Songtham temporarily restored stability to Ayutthaya and focused inward on religious construction projects, notably a great temple at Wat Phra Phutthabat. In the sphere of foreign policy, Songtham lost suzerainty of Lan Na, Cambodia and Tavoy, expelled the Portuguese, and expanded Siam's foreign trade ties to include both the English East India Company and French East India Company, along with new merchant colonies in Siam representing communities from all across Asia. Additionally, Songtham maintained the service of Yamada Nagasama, whose Japanese mercenaries were at this point serving as the king's own royal guard.

As Songtham's life began to fade, the issue of succession generated conflict once again when both King Songtham's brother, Prince Sisin, and his son, Prince Chetthathirat, found support for their claims among the Siamese court. Although Thai tradition typically favored brothers over sons in matters of inheritance, Songtham enlisted the help of his influential cousin, Prasat Thong to ensure his son would inherit the kingdom instead. When Songtham died in 1628, Prasat Thong used his alliance with Yamada Nagasama's mercenaries to purge everyone who had supported Prince Sisin's claim, eventually capturing and executing Sisin as well.^{[19]:213} Soon Prasat Thong became more powerful in Siam than the newly-crowned King Chetthathriat, and through further intrigue staged a coup in which Chetthathirat was deposed and executed in favor

of his even younger brother Athittayawong, whom Prasat Thong intended to use as a puppet ruler.

This form of government was quickly met with resistance by elements within the Thai court who were dissatisfied with the idea of having two acting heads of state. Since Prasat Thong already ruled Siam in all but name as Kalahom, he opted to resolve the issue by orchestrating the final dethronement and execution of the child king in 1629. Thus, Prasat Thong had completely usurped the kingdom by double (perhaps triple) regicide, extinguishing the Sukhothai dynasty 60 years after its installation by the Burmese. Many of King Prasat Thong's former allies abandoned his cause following his ascension to the throne. In the course of quelling such resistance, Prasat Thong assassinated his former ally Yamada Nagasama (who now opposed Prasat Thong's coup), and promptly banished all the remaining Japanese from Siam. While a community of Japanese exiles were eventually welcomed back into the country, this event marks the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate's long-standing formal relationship with the Ayutthaya Kingdom.

Narai the Great and *Siamese revolution of 1688*



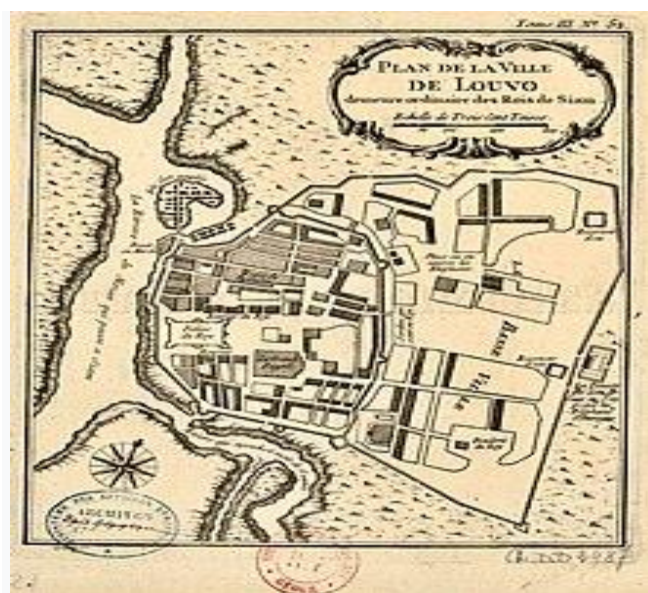
French Jesuits observing an eclipse with King Narai and his court in April 1688, shortly before the Siamese revolution.

Upon his death in 1656, King Prasat Thong was succeeded first by his eldest son, Chai, who was almost immediately deposed and executed by the late King's brother, Si Suthammaracha, who in turn was defeated in single combat by his own nephew, Narai. Narai finally assumed a stable position as King of Ayutthaya with the support of a mainly foreign court faction consisting of groups that had been marginalized during the reign of his father, Prasat Thong. Among his benefactors were, notably, Persian, Dutch, and Japanese mercenaries. It should therefore come as no surprise that the era of King Narai was one of an extroverted Siam. Foreign trade brought

Ayutthaya not only luxury items but also new arms and weapons. In the mid-17th century, during King Narai's reign, Ayutthaya became very prosperous. In 1662 war between Burma and Ayutthaya (the Burmese-Siamese War (1662-64)) erupted again when King Narai attempted to take advantage of unrest in Burma to seize control of Lan Na. Fighting along the border between the two adversaries continued for two years and at one time Narai seized Tavoy and Martaban.

Ultimately, Narai and the Siamese ran out of supplies and returned home back within their border.

While commercially thriving, Narai's reign was also socially tumultuous. Much of this can be attributed to three-way conflict between the Dutch, French, and English trading companies now operating in Siam at an unprecedented intensity due to Siam's role as a center of trade, fostered by Narai. Of these competing foreign influences, Narai tended to favor relations with the French, wary of the growing Dutch and English colonial possessions in the South China Sea.



A plan of Narai's new capital complex of Lopburi ("Louvo" in French sources).

Soon, Narai began to welcome communities of French Jesuits into his court, and pursue closer relations with both France and the Vatican. Indeed, the many diplomatic missions conducted by Narai to such far-flung lands are some of the most celebrated accomplishments of his reign. Narai as well leased the ports of Bangkok and Mergui to the French, and had many French generals incorporated into his army to train it in Western strategy and supervise the construction of European-style forts.^[24] During this time, Narai abandoned the traditional capital of Ayutthaya for a new Jesuit-designed palace in Lopburi.

As a growing Catholic presence cemented itself in Siam, and an unprecedented number of French forts were erected and garrisoned on land leased by Narai, a faction of native Siamese courtiers, Buddhist clergy, and other non-Catholic and/or non-French elements of Narai's court began to resent the favorable treatment French interests received under his reign. This hostile attitude was especially directed at Constantine Phaulkon, a Catholic Greek adventurer and proponent of French influence who had climbed to the rank of Narai's Prime Minister and chief advisor of foreign affairs.^[25] Much of this turmoil was primarily religious, as the French Jesuits were openly attempting to convert Narai and the royal family to Catholicism.

Narai was courted not just by Catholic conversion, but as well by proselytizing Muslim Persians, Chams and Makassars in his court, the later of which communities launched an unsuccessful revolt in 1686 to replace Narai with a Muslim puppet king.^[26] While members of the anti-foreign court faction were primarily concerned with Catholic influence, there is evidence

to suggest that Narai was equally interested in Islam, and had no desire to fully convert to either religion.

Nonetheless, a dissatisfied faction now led by Narai's celebrated Elephantry commander, Phetracha, had long planned a coup to remove Narai. When the king became seriously ill in May of 1688, Phetracha and his accomplices had him arrested along with Phaulkon and many members of the royal family, all of whom were put to death besides Narai, who died in captivity in July of that year. With the king and his heirs out of the way, Phetrachathen usurped the throne and officially crowned himself King of Ayutthaya on August 1

King Phetracha took Mergui back from French control almost immediately, and began the pivotal Siege of Bangkok, which culminated in an official French retreat from Siam. Pretacha's reign, however, was not stable. Many of Phetracha's provincial governors refused to recognize his rule as legitimate, and rebellions by the late Narai's supporters persisted for many years. The most important change to Siam in the aftermath of the revolution was Phetracha's refusal to continue Narai's foreign embassies. King Phetracha opted instead to reverse much of Narai's decisions and closed Thailand to almost all forms of foreign interaction except with the Dutch.

Second Burmese wars

In the mid-18th century, Ayutthaya again became ensnared in wars with the Burmese. The Burmese–Siamese War (1759–1760) begun by the Konbaung Dynasty of Burma failed to take Ayutthaya but took northern Taninthayi. The Burmese–Siamese War (1765–1767) resulted in the sack of the city of Ayutthaya and the debellation of the kingdom in April 1767.

Downfall- *Burmese–Siamese War (1759–1760) and Burmese–Siamese War (1765–1767)*

Ayutthaya and Southeast Asia c. 1707-1767



Three pagodas of Wat Phra Si Sanphet which house the remains of King Borommatrailokanat, **King Borommarachathirat III, and King Ramathibodi II**

Buddha head overgrown by fig tree in Wat Mahathat, Ayutthaya Historical Park

After a bloody period of dynastic struggle, Ayutthaya entered into what has been called the golden age, a relatively peaceful episode in the second quarter of the 18th century when art, literature, and learning flourished. There were foreign wars. Ayutthaya fought with the Nguyễn Lords (Vietnamese rulers of south Vietnam) for control of Cambodia starting around 1715. But a greater threat came from Burma, where the new Konbaung dynasty had subdued the Shan states..

The last fifty years of the kingdom witnessed a bloody struggle among the princes. The throne was their prime target. Purges of court officials and able generals followed. The last monarch, Ekathat, originally known as Prince Anurakmontree, forced the king, who was his younger brother, to step down and took the throne himself. According to a French source, Ayutthaya in the 18th century included these principal cities: Martaban, Ligor or Nakhon Sri



Thammarat, Tenasserim, Junk Ceylon or Phuket Island, Singora or Songkhla. were Patani, Pahang, Perak, Kedah and Malacca.

Her

Thai Gir
tributaries

In 1765, a combined 40,000-strong force of Burmese armies invaded the territories of Ayutthaya from the north and west. Major outlying towns quickly capitulated. After a 14-month siege, the

city of Ayutthaya capitulated and was burned in April 1767. Ayutthaya's art treasures, the libraries containing its literature, and the archives housing its historic records were almost totally destroyed, and the Burmese brought the Ayutthaya Kingdom to ruin.

Burmese rule lasted a mere few months. The Burmese, who had also been fighting a simultaneous war with the Chinese since 1765, were forced to withdraw in early-1768 when Chinese forces threatened their own capital.

With most Burmese forces having withdrawn, the country was reduced to chaos. All that remained of the old capital were some ruins of the royal palace. Provinces proclaimed independence under generals, rogue monks, and members of the royal family.

One general, Phraya Taksin, former governor of Tak, began the reunification effort. He gathered forces and began striking back at the Burmese. He finally established a capital at Thonburi, across the Chao Phraya from the present capital, Bangkok. Taak-Sin ascended the throne, becoming known as King Taak-Sin or Taksin.

The ruins of the historic city of Ayutthaya and "associated historic towns" in the Ayutthaya historical park have been listed by UNESCO as World Heritage Site. The city of Ayutthaya was refounded near the old city, and is now capital of Ayutthaya Province.

Ruins of the old city of Ayutthaya



Ruins of the old city of Ayutthaya

Kings-*Monarchy of Thailand and List of monarchs of Thailand*

The kings of Ayutthaya were absolute monarchs with semi-religious status. Their authority derived from the ideologies of Hinduism and Buddhism as well as from natural leadership. The king of Sukhothai was the inspiration of Inscription 1 found in Sukhothai, which stated that King Ramkhamhaeng would hear the petition of any subject who rang the bell at the palace gate. The king was thus considered as a father by his people.

Map of Ayutthaya

At Ayutthaya, however, the paternal aspects of kingship disappeared. The king was considered the *chakraphat* (Sanskrit *chakravartin*) who through his adherence to the law made all the world revolve around him. According to Hindu tradition, the king is the avatar of Vishnu, destroyer of demons, who was born to be the defender of the people. The Buddhist belief in the king is as righteous ruler (Sanskrit: *dharmaraja*) who strictly follows the teaching of Gautama Buddha and aims at the well-being of his people.

The kings' official names were reflections of those religions: Hinduism and Buddhism. They were considered as the incarnation of various Hindu gods: Indra, Shiva, or Vishnu (Rama). The coronation ceremony was directed by brahmins as the Hindu god Shiva was "lord of the universe". However, according to the codes, the king had the ultimate duty as protector of the people and the annihilator of evil.

According to Buddhism, the king was also believed to be a bodhisattva. One of the most important duties of the king was to build a temple or a Buddha statue as a symbol of prosperity and peace.

For locals, another aspect of the kingship was also the analogy of "The Lord of the Land" or "He who Rules the Earth" (*Phra Chao Phaendin*). According to the court etiquette, a special language, *Rachasap* (Sanskrit: *Rājāśabda*, 'royal language'), was used to communicate with or about royalty.

In Ayutthaya, the king was said to grant control over land to his subjects, from nobles to commoners, according to the *sakna* or *sakdina* system^[38] codified by King Borommatrailokkanat (1448–88). The *sakdina* system was similar to, but not the same as feudalism, under which the monarch does not own the land.^[39] While there is no concrete evidence that this land management system constituted a formal palace economy, the French François-Timoléon de Choisy, who came to Ayutthaya in 1685, wrote, "the king has absolute power. He is truly the god of the Siamese: no-one dares to utter his name." Another 17th century writer, the Dutchman Jan van Vliet, remarked that the King of Siam was "honoured and worshipped by his subjects second to god." Laws and orders were issued by the king. For sometimes the king himself was also the highest judge who judged and punished important criminals such as traitors or rebels.

In addition to the *sakdina* system, another of the numerous institutional innovations of Borommatrailokkanat was to adopt the position of *uparaja*, translated as 'viceroy' or 'prince', usually held by the king's senior son or full brother, in an attempt to regularise the succession to

the throne—a particularly difficult feat for a polygamous dynasty. In practice, there was inherent conflict between king and *uparaja* and frequent disputed successions.^[41] However, it is evident that the power of the throne of Ayutthaya had its limits. The hegemony of the Ayutthaya king was always based on his charisma based on his age and supporters. Without supporters, bloody coups took place from time to time. The most powerful figures of the capital were always generals, or the Minister of Military Department, *Kalahom*. During the last century of Ayutthaya, bloody fighting among princes and generals, aiming at the throne, plagued the court.



Mandala (Southeast Asian political model)- Thai royal and noble titles

The reforms of King Borommatrailokkanat (r. 1448–1488) placed the king of Ayutthaya at the centre of a highly stratified social and political hierarchy that extended throughout the realm. Despite a lack of evidence, it is believed that in the Ayutthaya Kingdom, the basic unit of social organization was the village community composed of extended family households. Title to land resided with the headman, who held it in the name of the community, although peasant proprietors enjoyed the use of land as long as they cultivated it.¹ The lords gradually became courtiers and tributary rulers of minor cities. The king ultimately came to be recognized as the earthly incarnation of Shiva or Vishnu and became the sacred object of politico-religious cult practices officiated over by royal court brahmans, part of the Buddhist court retinue. In the Buddhist context, the *devaraja* (divine king) was a bodhisattva. The belief in divine kingship prevailed into the 18th century, although by that time its religious implications had limited impact.

Ranking of social classes

With ample reserves of land available for cultivation, the realm depended on the acquisition and control of adequate manpower for farm labor and defense. The dramatic rise of Ayutthaya had entailed constant warfare and, as none of the parties in the region possessed a technological advantage, the outcome of battles was usually determined by the size of the armies. After each victorious campaign, Ayutthaya carried a number of conquered people back to its own territory, where they were assimilated and added to the labour force. Ramathibodi II (r.1491–1529) established a corvée system under which every freeman had to be registered as a *phrai* (servant) with the local lords, *chao nai*. When war broke out, male *phrai* were subject to impressment. Above the *phrai* was a *nai* (นาย), who was responsible for military service, corvée labour on public works, and on the land of the official to whom he was assigned. *Phrai Suay* (ไพร่ส่วย) met labour obligations by paying a tax. If he found the forced labour under his *nai* repugnant, he could sell himself as a *that* or *slave* to a more attractive *nai* or lord, who then paid a fee in compensation for the loss of corvée labour. As much as one-third of the manpower supply into the 19th century was composed of *phrai*.

Wealth, status, and political influence were interrelated. The king allotted rice fields to court officials, provincial governors, and military commanders, in payment for their services to the crown, according to the *sakdina* system. The size of each official's allotment was determined by the number of commoners or *phrai* he could command to work it. The amount of manpower a particular headman, or official, could command determined his status relative to others in the hierarchy and his wealth. At the apex of the hierarchy, the king, who was symbolically the realm's largest landholder, theoretically commanded the services of the largest number of *phrai*, called *phrai luang* ('royal servants'), who paid taxes, served in the royal army, and worked on the crown lands.

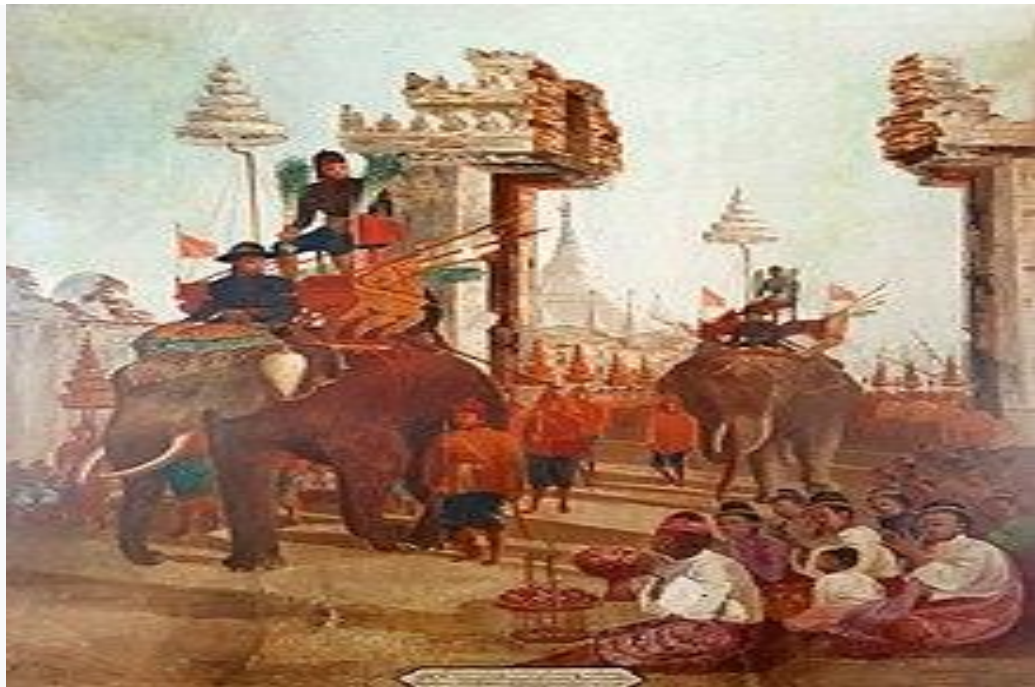
However, the recruitment of the armed forces depended on *nai*, or *mun nai*, literally meaning 'lord', officials who commanded their own *phrai som*, or 'subjects'. These officials had to submit to the king's command when war broke out. Officials thus became the key figures in the kingdom's politics. At least two officials staged coups, taking the throne themselves while

bloody struggles between the king and his officials, followed by purges of court officials, were common.

The 16th century witnessed the rise of Burma, which had overrun Chiang Mai in the Burmese-Siamese War of 1563-1564. In 1569, Burmese forces, joined by Thai rebels, mostly royal family members of Thailand, captured the city of Ayutthaya and carried off the whole royal family to Burma (Burmese-Siamese War 1568-70). Dhammaraja (1569–90), a Thai governor who had aided the Burmese, was installed as vassal king at Ayutthaya. Thai independence was restored by his son, King Naresuan (1590–1605), who turned on the Burmese and by 1600 had driven them from the country.

Determined to prevent another treason like his father's, Naresuan set about unifying the country's administration directly under the royal court at Ayutthaya. He ended the practice of nominating royal princes to govern Ayutthaya's provinces, assigning instead court officials who were expected to execute policies handed down by the king. Thereafter royal princes were confined to the capital. Their power struggles continued, but at court under the king's watchful eye.^[46]

To ensure his control over the new class of governors, Naresuan decreed that all freemen subject to *phrai* service had become *phrai luang*, bound directly to the king, who distributed the use of their services to his officials. This measure gave the king a theoretical monopoly on all manpower, and the idea developed that since the king owned the services of all the people, he also possessed all the land. Ministerial offices and governorships—and the *sakdina* that went with them—were usually inherited positions dominated by a few families often connected to the king by marriage. Indeed, marriage was frequently used by Thai kings to cement alliances between themselves and powerful families, a custom prevailing through the 19th century. As a result of this policy, the king's wives usually numbered in the dozens.



King Naresuan enters an abandoned Bago, Burma in 1600, mural painting by Phraya Anusatchitrakon, Wat Suwandaram, Ayutthaya Historical Park.

Even with Naresuan's reforms, the effectiveness of the royal government over the next 150 years was unstable. Royal power outside the crown lands—in theory, absolute—was in practice limited by the laxity of the civil administration. The influence of central government and the king was not extensive beyond the capital. When war with the Burmese broke out in the late 18th century, provinces easily abandoned the capital. As the enforcing troops were not easily rallied to defend the capital, the city of Ayutthaya could not stand against the Burmese aggressors.^[46]

The accomplishment and influence of Thai art and culture, developed during the Ayutthaya period, on the neighboring countries was evident in the observation of James Low, a British scholar on Southeast Asia, during the early-Rattanakosin Era: "The Siamese have attained to a considerable degree of perfection in dramatic exhibitions – and are in this respect envied by their neighbours the Burmans, Laos, and Cambojans who all employ Siamese actors when they can be got." Notable Ayutthaya architectural sites

Name	Picture	Built	Sponsor(s)
Wat Chai Watthanaram		1630	King Prasat Thong
Wat Mahathat		1374	King Borommachathirat I
Wat Phanang Choeng		1324	
Wat Phra Si Sanphet		1350	King Ramathibodi I
Wat Ratchaburana		1424	King Borommachathirat II
Wat Lokayasutharam		1452	King Intharacha

Name	Picture	Built	Sponsor(s)
Wat Phra Ram		1369	King Ramesuan
Wat Phutthaisawan		Before Ayutthaya was founded.	King Ramathibodi I
Wat Thammikarat		Before Ayutthaya was founded.	King of Lavo

Contacts with the West- *Constantine Phaulkon and Maria Guyomar de Pinha*

In 1511, immediately after having conquered Malacca, the Portuguese sent a diplomatic mission headed by Duarte Fernandes to the court of King Ramathibodi II of Ayutthaya. Having established amicable relations between the Kingdom of Portugal and the Kingdom of Siam, they returned with a Siamese envoy who carried gifts and letters to the King of Portugal.^[60] The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the country. Five years after that initial contact, Ayutthaya and Portugal concluded a treaty granting the Portuguese permission to trade in the kingdom. A similar treaty in 1592 gave the Dutch a privileged position in the rice trade.

Foreigners were cordially welcomed at the court of Narai (1657–1688), a ruler with a cosmopolitan outlook who was nonetheless wary of outside influence. Important commercial ties were forged with Japan. Dutch and English trading companies were allowed to establish factories, and Thai diplomatic missions were sent to Paris and The Hague. By maintaining these ties, the Thai court skillfully played off the Dutch against the English and the French, avoiding the excessive influence of a single power.

In 1664, however, the Dutch used force to exact a treaty granting them extraterritorial rights as well as freer access to trade. At the urging of his foreign minister, the Greek adventurer Constantine Phaulkon, Narai turned to France for assistance. French engineers constructed fortifications for the Thais and built a new palace at Lopburi for Narai. In addition, French missionaries engaged in education and medicine and brought the first printing press into the country. Louis XIV's personal interest was aroused by reports from missionaries suggesting that Narai might be converted to Christianity.

The French presence encouraged by Phaulkon, however, stirred the resentment and suspicions of the Thai nobles and Buddhist clergy. When word spread that Narai was dying, a general, Phetracha (reigned 1688–1693) staged a coup d'état, the 1688 Siamese revolution, seized the throne, killed the designated heir, a Christian, and had Phaulkon put to death along with a number of missionaries. He then expelled the remaining foreigners. Some studies said that Ayutthaya began a period of alienation from Western traders, while welcoming more Chinese

merchants. But other recent studies argue that, due to wars and conflicts in Europe in the mid-18th century, European merchants reduced their activities in the East. However, it was apparent that the Dutch East Indies Company or VOC was still doing business in Ayutthaya despite political difficulties.



1. Dutch East India Company merchant ship/
2. Memorial plate in Lopburi showing King Narai with French ambassadors.
3. The French ambassador Chevalier de Chaumont presents a letter from Louis XIV to King Narai. Constance Phaulkon is seen kowtowing in the lower left corner of the print.
4. Siamese embassy to Louis XIV in 1686, by Nicolas Larmessin.
Ok-khun Chamnan, a Siamese ambassador who visited France and Rome on an embassy in 1688



A portrait of Kosa Pan, a Thai ambassador accredited by King Narai of Ayutthaya to the court of King Louis XIV of France, by Charles Le Brun, 1686

Contacts with East Asia

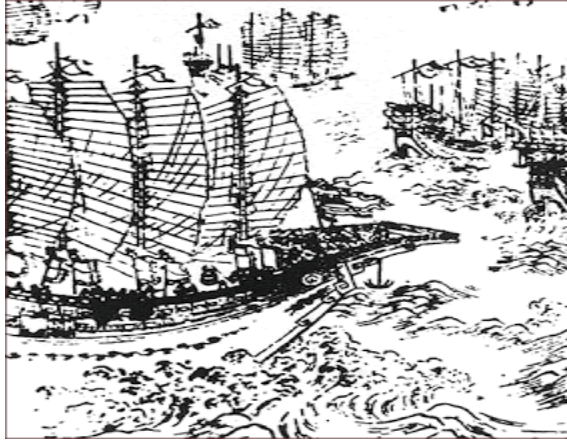
Between 1405 and 1433, the Chinese Ming dynasty sponsored a series of seven naval expeditions. Emperor Yongle designed them to establish a Chinese presence, impose imperial control over trade, and impress foreign peoples in the Indian Ocean basin. He also might have wanted to extend the tributary system. It is believed that the Chinese fleet under Admiral Zheng He travelled up the Chao Phraya River to Ayutthaya on three occasions.

Meanwhile a Japanese colony was established in Ayutthaya. The colony was active in trade, particularly in the export of deer hides and saphan wood to Japan in exchange for Japanese silver and Japanese handicrafts (swords, lacquered boxes, high-quality paper). From Ayutthaya, Japan was interested in purchasing Chinese silks, as well as deerskins and ray or shark skins (used to make a sort of shagreen for Japanese sword handles and scabbards).^[63]

The Japanese quarters of Ayutthaya were home to about 1,500 Japanese inhabitants (some estimates run as high as 7,000). The community was called *Ban Yipun* in Thai, and was headed by a Japanese chief nominated by Thai authorities. It seems to have been a combination of traders, Christian converts (*Kirishitan*) who had fled their home country to various Southeast

Asian countries following the persecutions of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, and unemployed former samurai who had been on the losing side at the battle of Sekigahara.

Padre António Francisco Cardim recounted having administered the sacrament to around 400 Japanese Christians in 1627 in the Thai capital of Ayuthaya ("a 400 japoes christaos") There were also Japanese communities in Ligor and Patani.



Early 17th-century Chinese woodblock print,

thought to represent Zheng He's ships.



Palace

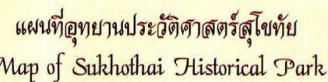


Yamada Nagamasa c.1630.



Luang Pho Tho or Sam Pao Kong, the highly revered Buddha statue in Wat Phanan Choeng temple was visited in 1407 by Zheng He during the naval expedition.

ROBERT SMITH





CHAPTER X

JAVA

Java (Indonesian: *Jawa*, Indonesian pronunciation: is an island of Indonesia, bordered by the Indian Ocean on the south and the Java Sea on the north. With a population of over 148 million (Java only) or 152 million (including the inhabitants of its surrounding islands), Java constitutes 56.1 percent of the Indonesian population and is the world's most-populous island.^[1] The Indonesian capital city, Jakarta, is on its northwestern coast. Much of the well-known part of Indonesian history took place on Java. It was the centre of powerful Hindu-Buddhist empires, the Islamic sultanates, and the core of the colonial Dutch East Indies. Java was also the center of the Indonesian struggle for independence during the 1930s and 1940s. Java dominates Indonesia politically, economically and culturally. Four of Indonesia's eight UNESCO world heritage sites are located in Java: Ujung Kulon National Park, Borobudur Temple, Prambanan Temple, and Sangiran Early Man Site.

Formed mostly as the result of volcanic eruptions from geologic subduction between the Sunda Plate and Australian Plate, Java is the 13th largest island in the world and the fifth largest in Indonesia by landmass at about 138,800 square kilometres (53,600 sq mi). A chain of volcanic mountains forms an east–west spine along the island. Four main languages are spoken on the island: Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and Betawi where Javanese and Sundanese is the most spoken; it is the native language of about 60 million Javanese people in Indonesia, most of whom live on Java. Only two ethnic groups are native to the island—the Javanese in the central and eastern parts and Sundanese in the western. Most residents are bilingual, speaking Indonesian (the official language of Indonesia) as their first or second language. While the majority of the people of Java are Muslim, Java's population comprises people of diverse religious beliefs, ethnicities, and cultures.

Java is divided into four administrative provinces Banten, West Java, Central Java, and East Java, and two special regions, Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

The origins of the name "Java" are not clear. One possibility is that the island was named after the *jáva-wut* plant, which was said to be common in the island during the time, and that prior to Indianization the island had different names. There are other possible sources: the word *jaú* and its variations mean "beyond" or "distant". And, in Sanskrit *yava* means barley, a plant for which the island was famous. "Yavadvipa" is mentioned in India's earliest epic, the Ramayana. Sugriva, the chief of Rama's army dispatched his men to Yavadvipa, the island of Java, in search of Sita. It was hence referred to in India by the Sanskrit name "yāvaka dvīpa" (dvīpa = island). Java is mentioned in the ancient Tamil text *Manimekalai* by Chithalai Chathanar which states that Java had a kingdom with a capital called Nagapuram. Another source states that the word "Java" is derived from a Proto-Austronesian root word, meaning "home". The great island of Iabadiu or Jabadiu was mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geographia* composed around 150 CE in the Roman Empire. *Iabadiu* is said to mean "barley island", to be rich in gold, and have a silver town called Argyra at the west end. The name indicates Java and seems to be derived from the Sanskrit name Java-dvipa (Yavadvipa).

The annual news of Songshu and Liangshu referred to Java as She-po (5th century CE), He-ling (640–818), then called it She-po again until the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), where they began mentioning Zhao-Wa (爪哇).^[11] According to Ma Huan's book (the Yingya Shenlan), the Chinese called Java as Chao-Wa, and the island was called 閩婆 (*She-pó* or *She-bó*) in the past.^[12] Sulaiman al-Tajir al-Sirafi mentioned two notable island which separated Arab and China: One is 800 farsakh long Al-Rami, which is identified as Sumatra, and the other is Zabaj (Arabic: الزابج, Indonesian: Sabak), 400 farsakh in length, identified as Java.

When John of Marignolli returned from China to Avignon, he stayed at the Kingdom of Saba for a few months, which he said had many elephants and was led by a queen; Saba may be his interpretation of She-bó. Afanasij Nikitin, a merchant from Tver (in Russia), travelled to India in 1466 and described the land of java, which he call шабайте (shabait/šabajte).

Mount Bromo in East Java

Java lies between Sumatra to the west and Bali to the east. Borneo lies to the north, and Christmas Island is to the south. It is the world's 13th largest island. Java is surrounded by the Java Sea to the north, Sunda Strait to the west, the Indian Ocean to the south and Bali Strait and Madura Strait in the east.

Java is almost entirely of volcanic origin; it contains thirty-eight mountains forming an east–west spine that have at one time or another been active volcanoes. The highest volcano in Java is Mount Semeru, 3,676 metres (12,060 ft). The most active volcano in Java and also in Indonesia is Mount Merapi, 2,930 metres (9,610 ft). In total, Java has more than 150 mountains.

Java's mountains and highlands split the interior into a series of relatively isolated regions suitable for wet-rice cultivation; the rice lands of Java are among the richest in the world. Java was the first place where Indonesian coffee was grown, starting in 1699. Today, *coffea arabica* is grown on the Ijen Plateau by small-holders and larger plantations.

Parahyangan highland near Buitenzorg, c. 1865–1872

The area of Java is about 150,000 square kilometres (58,000 sq mi).^[17] It is about 1,000 km (620 mi) long and up to 210 km (130 mi) wide. The island's longest river is the 600 km long Solo River. The river rises from its source in central Java at the Lawu volcano, then flows north and eastward to its mouth in the Java Sea near the city of Surabaya. Other major rivers are Brantas, Citarum, Cimanuk and Serayu.

The average temperature ranges from 22 °C (72 °F) to 29 °C (84 °F); average humidity is 75%. The northern coastal plains are normally hotter, averaging 34 °C (93 °F) during the day in the dry season. The south coast is generally cooler than the north, and highland areas inland are even cooler. The wet season begins in November and ends in April. During that rain falls mostly in the afternoons and intermittently during other parts of the year. The wettest months are January and February.

West Java is wetter than East Java, and mountainous regions receive much higher rainfall. The Parahyangan highlands of West Java receive over 4,000 millimetres (160 in) annually, while the north coast of East Java receives 900 millimetres (35 in) annually.



Banteng at Alas Purwo, eastern edge of Java// Male Javan rhino shot in 1934 in West Java. Today only small numbers of Javan rhino survive in Ujung Kulon; it is the world's rarest rhino.

The natural environment of Java is tropical rainforest, with ecosystems ranging from coastal mangrove forest on the north coast, rocky coastal cliffs on the southern coast, and low-lying tropical forest to high altitude rainforest on the slopes of mountainous volcanic regions in the interior. The Javan environment and climate gradually alters from west to east; from wet and humid dense rainforest in western parts, to a dry savanna environment in the east, corresponding to the climate and rainfall in these regions.

Originally Javan wildlife supported a rich biodiversity, where numbers of endemic species of flora and fauna flourished; such as the Javan rhinoceros, Javan banteng, Javan warty pig, Javan hawk-eagle, Javan peafowl, Javan silvery gibbon, Javan lutung, Java mouse-deer, Javan rusa, and Javan leopard. With over 450 bird species and 37 endemic species, Java is a birdwatcher's paradise. There are about 130 freshwater fish species in Java. There are also several endemic amphibian species in Java, including 5 species of tree frogs.

Since ancient times, people have opened the rainforest, altered the ecosystem, shaped the landscapes and created rice paddy and terraces to support the growing population. Javan rice terraces have existed for more than a millennium and had supported ancient agricultural kingdoms. The growing human population has put severe pressure on Java's wildlife, as rainforests were diminished and confined to highland slopes or isolated peninsulas. Some of Java's endemic species are now critically endangered, with some already extinct; Java used to have Javan tigers and Javan elephants, but both have been rendered extinct. Today, several national parks exist in Java that protect the remnants of its fragile wildlife, such as Ujung Kulon, Mount Halimun-Salak, Gede Pangrango, Baluran, Meru Betiri, Bromo Tengger Semeru and Alas Purwo.



Mount Sumbing surrounded by rice fields. Java's volcanic topography and rich agricultural lands are the fundamental factors in its history.

HISTORY: Fossilised remains of *Homo erectus*, popularly known as the "Java Man", dating back 1.7 million years were found along the banks of the Bengawan Solo River.

The island's exceptional fertility and rainfall allowed the development of wet-field rice cultivation, which required sophisticated levels of cooperation between villages. Out of these village alliances, small kingdoms developed. The chain of volcanic mountains and associated highlands running the length of Java kept its interior regions and peoples separate and relatively isolated. Before the advent of Islamic states and European colonialism, the rivers provided the main means of communication, although Java's many rivers are mostly short. Only the Brantas and Sala rivers could provide long-distance communication, and this way their valleys supported the centres of major kingdoms. A system of roads, permanent bridges and toll gates is thought to have been established in Java by at least the mid-17th century. Local powers could disrupt the routes as could the wet season and road use was highly dependent on constant maintenance. Consequently, communication between Java's population was difficult.

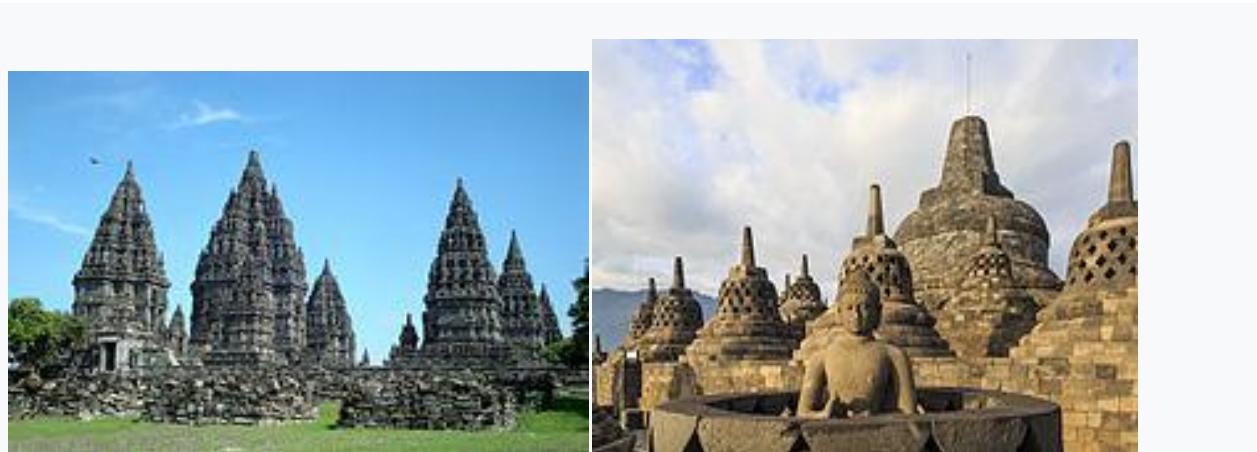
The emergence of civilization on the island of Java is often associated with the story of Aji Saka from 78 AD. Although Aji Saka is said to be the bearer of civilization on Java, the story received several objections and rebuttals from other historical sources. Valmiki's Ramayana, made around 500 BC, records that Java already had a governmental organization long before the story:

"Yawadwipa is decorated with seven kingdoms, gold and silver islands, rich in gold mines, and there is Cicira (cold) Mountain that touches the sky with its peak."

According to Chinese records, the Javanese kingdom was founded in 65 BC, or 143 years before the story of Aji Saka began.

The story of Aji Saka is a Neo Javanese story. This story has not yet been found to be relevant in the Old Javanese text. This story tells of events in the Medang Kamulan kingdom in Java in the past. At that time, the king of Medang Kamulan Prabu Dewata Cengkar was replaced by Aji Saka. This story is considered as an allegory of the entry of Indians into Java. Referring to the Liang dynasty information, the Javanese kingdom was divided into two: the pre-Hinduism kingdom and the post-Hindu kingdom, which began in 78 AD.

Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms era



Prambanan Hindu temple =The 9th century Borobudur Buddhist stupa in Central Java

The Taruma and Sunda kingdoms of western Java appeared in the 4th and 7th centuries respectively, while the Kalingga Kingdom sent embassies to China starting in 640. However, the first major principality was the Medang Kingdom that was founded in central Java at the beginning of the 8th century. Medang's religion centred on the Hindu god Shiva, and the kingdom produced some of Java's earliest Hindu temples on the Dieng Plateau. Around the 8th century the Sailendra dynasty rose in Kedu Plain and become the patron of Mahayana Buddhism. This ancient kingdom built monuments such as the 9th century Borobudur and Prambanan in central Java.

Around the 10th century the centre of power shifted from central to eastern Java. The eastern Javanese kingdoms of Kediri, Singhasari and Majapahit were mainly dependent on rice agriculture, yet also pursued trade within the Indonesian archipelago, and with China and India. Majapahit was established by Wijaya, and by the end of the reign of Hayam Wuruk (r. 1350–89) it claimed sovereignty over the entire Indonesian archipelago, although control was likely limited to Java, Bali and Madura. Hayam Wuruk's prime minister, Gajah Mada, led many of the kingdom's territorial conquests. Previous Javanese kingdoms had their power based in agriculture, however, Majapahit took control of ports and shipping lanes and became Java's first commercial empire. With the death of Hayam Wuruk and the coming of Islam to Indonesia, Majapahit went into decline.

Islam became the dominant religion in Java at the end of the 16th century. During this era, the Islamic kingdoms of Demak, Cirebon, and Banten were ascendant. The Mataram Sultanate became the dominant power of central and eastern Java at the end of the 16th century. The principalities of Surabaya and Cirebon were eventually subjugated such that only Mataram and Banten were left to face the Dutch in the 17th century.

Java has been traditionally dominated by an elite class, while the people in the lower classes were often involved in agriculture and fishing. The elite class in Java has evolved over the course of history, as cultural wave after cultural wave immigrated to the island. There is evidence that South Asian emigres were among this elite, as well as Arabian and Persian immigrants during the Islamic eras. More recently, Chinese immigrants have also become part of the economic elite of Java. Although politically the Chinese generally remain sidelined, there are notable exceptions, such as the former governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. Though Java is increasingly becoming more modern and urban, only 75% of the island has electricity. Villages and their rice paddies are still a common sight. Unlike the rest of Java, the population growth in Central Java remains low. Central Java however has a younger population than the national average. The slow population growth can in part be attributed to the choice by many people to leave the more rural Central Java for better opportunities and higher incomes in the bigger cities. Java's population continues to rapidly increase despite many Javanese leaving the island. This is somewhat due to the fact that Java is the business, academic, and cultural hub of Indonesia, which attracts millions of non-Javanese people to its cities. The population growth is most intense in the regions surrounding Jakarta and Bandung, which is reflected through the demographic diversity in those areas.

Religion in Indonesia

Java has been a melting pot of religions and cultures, which has created a broad range of religious belief. Indian influences came first with Shaivism and Buddhism penetrating deeply into society, blending with indigenous tradition and culture. One conduit for this were the ascetics, called *resi*, who taught mystical practices. A *resi* lived surrounded by students, who took care of their master's daily needs. *Resi*'s authorities were merely ceremonial. At the courts, Brahmin clerics and *pudjangga* (sacred literati) legitimised rulers and linked Hindu cosmology to their political needs. Small Hindu enclaves are scattered throughout Java, but there is a large Hindu population along the eastern coast nearest Bali, especially around the town of Banyuwangi.

The coming of Islam, strengthened the status structure of this traditional religious pattern. More than 90 percent of the people of Java are Muslims, on a broad continuum between *abangan* (more traditional) and *santri* (more modernist). The Muslim scholar of the writ (*Kyai*) became the new religious elite as Hindu influences receded. Islam recognises no hierarchy of religious leaders nor a formal priesthood, but the Dutch colonial government established an elaborate rank order for mosque and other Islamic preaching schools. In Javanese *pesantren* (Islamic schools), The *Kyai* perpetuated the tradition of the *resi*. Students around him provided his needs, even peasants around the school.



1. A Hindu shrine dedicated to King Siliwangi in Pura Parahyangan Agung Jagatkarta, Bogor.
2. Mendut Vihara, a Buddhist monastery near Mendut temple, Magelang.
3. Masjid Gedhe Kauman in Yogyakarta, built in traditional Javanese multi-tiered roof.
4. Ganjuran Church in Bantul, built in traditional Javanese architecture.

Pre-Islamic Javan traditions have encouraged Islam in a mystical direction. There emerged in Java a loosely structured society of religious leadership, revolving around *kyais*, possessing various degrees of proficiency in pre-Islamic and Islamic lore, belief and practice. The *kyais* are the principal intermediaries between the villages masses and the realm of the supernatural. However, this very looseness of *kyai* leadership structure has promoted schism. There were often sharp divisions between orthodox *kyais*, who merely instructed in Islamic law, with those who taught mysticism and those who sought reformed Islam with modern scientific concepts. As a result, there is a division between *santri*, who believe that they are more orthodox in their Islamic belief and practice, with *abangan*, who have mixed pre-Islamic animistic and Hindu-Indian concepts with a superficial acceptance of Islamic belief.

There are also Christian communities, mostly in the larger cities, though some rural areas of south-central Java are strongly Roman Catholic. Buddhist communities also exist in the major cities, primarily among the Chinese Indonesian. The Indonesian constitution recognises six official religions.

CHAPTER XII

Majapahit

Majapahit Empire <i>Kemaharajaan Majapahit</i> (Indonesian) <i>Keraton Mojopahit</i> (Javanese) 滿者伯夷 (Mandarin) मजापहित (Sanskrit)		
1293–1527		
 Surya Majapahit		
 Extent of Majapahit influence based on the <i>Nagarakretagama</i>; the notion of such Javanese depictions is considered conceptual.^[1]		
Capital	Majapahit, (modern Trowulan)	Wilwatikta
Languages	Old Javanese (main), Sanskrit (religious)	
Religion	Hinduism, Buddhism, Kejawen, Animism	
Government	Monarchy	
Raja	• 1295–1309 Raden Wijaya • 1498–1527 Girindrawardana	

<i>Mahapatih</i>	
• c. 1336–1364	Gajah Mada
History	
• Coronation	10 November ^[2] 1293
• Demak takeover	1527
Currency	
Native gold and silver coins, Kepeng (copper coins imported from China and later produced locally ^[3])	
Preceded by Singhasari	Succeeded by Demak Sultanate Bali Kingdom
Today part of	 Indonesia  Malaysia  Singapore  Brunei  Thailand  East Timor  Philippines

Part of a series on the
History of Indonesia



Timeline

Prehistory

Java Man	1,000,000 BP
Flores Man	94,000–12,000 BP

Toba catastrophe	75,000 BP
Buni culture	400 BCE
Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms	
Salakanagara Kingdom	130–362
Kutai Kingdom	350–1605
Tarumanagara Kingdom	358–669
Kalingga Kingdom	500s–600s
Melayu Kingdom	600s
Srivijaya Kingdom	600s–1200s
Sailendra Kingdom	800s–900s
Galuh Kingdom	669–1482
Sunda Kingdom	669–1579
Medang Kingdom	752–1006
Bali Kingdom	914–1908
Kahuripan Kingdom	1006–1045
Kediri Kingdom	1045–1221
Dharmasraya Kingdom	1183–1347
Singhasari Kingdom	1222–1292
Majapahit Kingdom	1293–1500
Rise of Muslim states	
Spread of Islam	1200–1600
Aru Kingdom	1225–1613
Ternate Sultanate	1257–1914
Samudera Pasai Sultanate	1267–1521
Pagaruyung Kingdom	1347–1833
Brunei Sultanate	1368–1888
Malacca Sultanate	1400–1511
Sulu Sultanate	1405–1851
Cirebon Sultanate	1445–1677
Demak Sultanate	1475–1548
Aceh Sultanate	1496–1903
Banten Sultanate	1526–1813
Kalinyamat Sultanate	1527–1599
Mataram Sultanate	1500s–1700s
Johor Sultanate	1528s–1877
Siak Sultanate	1725–1946
Surakarta Sunanate	1745–1946
Yogyakarta Sultanate	1755–1945
Deli Sultanate	1814–1946
Riau-Lingga Sultanate	1824–1911
Christian kingdom	

Larantuka Kingdom	1515–1904
European colonisation	
Portuguese	1512–1850
Dutch East India Company	1602–1800
French and British interlude	1806–1815
Netherlands East Indies	1800–1942 1945–1950
Emergence of Indonesia	
National Awakening	1908–1942
Japanese occupation	1942–1945
National Revolution	1945–1950
Independence	
Liberal democracy	1950–1957
Guided Democracy	1957–1965
Transition	1965–1966
New Order	1966–1998
Reformasi	1998–present

The Majapahit Empire or *Karaton Majapahit*, Indonesian: *Kerajaan Majapahit*) was a vast thalassocracy based on the island of Java (part of modern-day Indonesia) from 1293 to around 1500. Majapahit reached its peak of glory during the era of Hayam Wuruk, whose reign from 1350 to 1389 was marked by conquest which extended through Southeast Asia. His achievement is also credited to his prime minister, Gajah Mada. According to the *Nagarakretagama* (*Desawarnāna*) written in 1365, Majapahit was an empire of 98 tributaries, stretching from Sumatra to New Guinea; consisting of present-day Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, southern Thailand, Sulu Archipelago, Philippines, and East Timor, although the true nature of Majapahit sphere of influence is still the subject of studies among historians.

Majapahit was one of the last major empires of the region and is considered to be one of the greatest and most powerful empires in the history of Indonesia and Southeast Asia, one that is sometimes seen as the precedent for Indonesia's modern boundaries.^{[8](p19)[9]} Its influence extended beyond the modern territory of Indonesia and has been the subject of many studies.

The name *Majapahit* derives from local Javanese, meaning "bitter *maja*". German orientalist Berthold Laufer suggested that *maja* came from the Javanese name of *Aegle marmelos*, an Indonesian tree. The name originally referred to the area in and around Trowulan, the cradle of Majapahit, which was linked to the establishment of a village in Tarik timberland by Raden Wijaya. It was said that the workers clearing the Tarik timberland encountered some bael trees and consumed its bitter-tasting fruit that subsequently become the village's name.^[2] In ancient Java it is common to refer the kingdom with its capital's name. Majapahit (sometimes

also spelled *Mojopait*) is also known by other names: *Wilwatikta*, although sometimes the natives refer to their kingdom as *Bhumi Jawa* or *Mandala Jawa* instead.

Historiography: Little physical evidence of Majapahit remains, and some details of the history are rather abstract. Nevertheless, local Javanese people did not forget Majapahit completely, as *Mojopait* is mentioned vaguely in Babad Tanah Jawi, a Javanese chronicle composed in the 18th century. Majapahit did produce physical evidence: the main ruins dating from the Majapahit period are clustered in the Trowulan area, which was the royal capital of the kingdom. The Trowulan archaeological site was discovered in the 19th century by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of British Java of British East India Company from 1811 to 1816. He reported the existence of "ruins of temples.... scattered about the country for many miles", and referred to Trowulan as "this pride of Java".

By the early 20th century, Dutch colonial historians began to study old Javanese and Balinese literature to explore the past of their colony. Two primary sources were available to them: the *Pararaton* ('Book of Kings') manuscript was written in the Kawi language c. 1600, and *Nagarakretagama* (Desawarnāna) was composed in Old Javanese in 1365.^[15] *Pararaton* focuses on Ken Arok, the founder of Singhasari, but includes a number of shorter narrative fragments about the formation of Majapahit. The *Nagarakretagama* is an old Javanese epic poem written during the Majapahit golden age under the reign of Hayam Wuruk, after which some events are covered narratively. The Dutch acquired the manuscript in 1894 during their military expedition against the Cakranegara royal house of Lombok. There are also some inscriptions in Old Javanese and Chinese.

The Javanese sources incorporate some poetic mythological elements, and scholars such as C. C. Berg, an Indonesia-born Dutch naturalist, have considered the entire historical record to be not a record of the past, but a supernatural means by which the future can be determined. Most scholars do not accept this view, as the historical record corresponds with Chinese materials that could not have had similar intention. The list of rulers and details of the state structure show no sign of being invented

The Chinese historical sources on Majapahit mainly acquired from the chronicles of Yuan and following Ming dynasty. The Chinese accounts on Majapahit, mainly owed to the 15th century Zheng He's account — a Ming Dynasty admiral reports during his visit to Majapahit between 1405 and 1432. Zheng He's translator Ma Huan wrote a detailed description of Majapahit and where the king of Java lived.

The report was composed and collected in *Yingyai Shenglan*, which provides a valuable insight on the culture, customs, also various social and economic aspects of *Chao-Wa* (Java) during Majapahit period.

The Trowulan archaeological area has become the center for the study of Majapahit history. The aerial and satellite imagery has revealed extensive network of canals criss-crossing the Majapahit capital. Recent archaeological findings from April 2011 indicate the Majapahit capital was much larger than previously believed after some artefacts were uncovered.

Formation

After defeating the Melayu Kingdom in Sumatra in 1290, Singhasari became the most powerful kingdom in the region. Kublai Khan, the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire and the Emperor of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, challenged Singhasari by sending emissaries demanding tribute. Kertanegara, the last ruler of Singhasari, refused to pay the tribute, insulted the Mongol envoy, and challenged the Khan instead. In response, Kublai Khan sent a massive expedition of 1,000 ships to Java in 1293.

Mongol invasion



The statue of Parvati as mortuary deified portrayal of Tribhuwanottunggadewi, queen of Majapahit, mother of Hayam Wuruk. King Kertarajasa portrayed as Harihara, amalgamation of Shiva and Vishnu. Originally located at Candi Simping, Blitar, today it is displayed in National Museum.

In 1293, Raden Wijaya founded a stronghold with the capital Majapahit. The exact date used as the birth of the Majapahit kingdom is the day of his coronation, the 15th of Kartika month in the year 1215 using the Javanese çaka calendar, which equates to 10 November 1293.^[2] During his coronation he was given the formal name Kertarajasa Jayawardhana. King Kertarajasa took all four daughters of Kertanegara as his wives, his first wife and prime queen consort Tribhuwaneswari, and her sisters; Prajnaparamita, Narendraduhita, and Gayatri Rajapatni the youngest. He also took a Sumatran Malay Dharmaśraya princess named Dara Petak as his wife. The new kingdom faced challenges. Some of Kertarajasa's most trusted men, including Ranggalawe, Sora, and Nambi were rebelled against him, though unsuccessfully. It was suspected that the *Mahapati* (a title equal to prime minister) Halayudha set the conspiracy to overthrow all of his rivals in the court, led them to revolt against the king, while he himself gained king's favour and attained the highest position in the government. However, following the death of the last rebel Kuti, Halayudha's treachery was exposed, subsequently he was captured, jailed for his stratagems and then sentenced to death.^[22] Wijaya himself died in 1309. Jayanegara.

Kertarajasa Wijaya was succeeded by his heir Jayanegara, his son with his Malayu Dharmaśraya spouse, Indreswari. The reign of Jayanegara was a difficult and chaotic one,

troubled with several rebellions by his father's former companions in arms. Among others are Gajah Biru's rebellion in 1314 and the Kuti rebellion in 1319. Kuti rebellion is the most dangerous one, as Kuti managed to take control of the capital city. With the help of Gajah Mada and his *Bhayangkara* palace guard, Jayanegara barely escaped from the capital and safely hiding in Badander village. While the king was in hiding, Gajah Mada returned to the capital city to learn the situation. After learning that Kuti's rebellion was not supported by the people as well as nobles of Majapahit court, Gajah Mada wage a resistance forces to crush Kuti rebellion. Finally Kuti forces was crushed and Jayanegara safely returned to his throne. For his loyalty and excellent service, Gajah Mada was promoted to higher office and begin his career in court royal politics.

According to tradition, Wijaya's son and successor, Jayanegara, was notorious for immorality. One of his distasteful acts was his desire to take his own stepsisters — Tribhuwana and Rajadewi, as wives. The practice of half siblings marriage is abhorred Javanese tradition, subsequently the council of royal elders speak strongly against king's wishes. It was not clear the motivation of Jayanegara's wish — it might be his way to ensure his throne legitimacy by preventing rivals from his half sisters' suitors. Although in Majapahit court in later period, the custom of marriage among cousins was quite common. In Pararaton, he was entitled as *Kala Gemet*, or "weak villain". Approximately during Jayanegara's reign, the Italian Friar Odoric of Pordenone visited the Majapahit court in Java. In 1328, Jayanegara was murdered by his physician, Tanca, during a surgical operation. In tumult, Gajah Mada immediately killed Tanca. It was not clear the motive behind this murder. According to Pararaton, it was Tanca's revenge for the king had sexually abused his wife. However, according to Balinese manuscript Babad Dalem, the assassination was a stratagem crafted by Gajah Mada, in order to protect the kingdom from being ruled by an evil tyrant. The tradition mentioned that the immoral, cruel and abusive king often seduces and abuses women, even the wives of his own subordinates. Other possible reason includes to protect the two princesses — Tribhuwana and Rajadewi, the daughters of Gayatri Rajapatni from the cruel king. Since the slain king was childless, he left no successor.

Golden age

Queen Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi

Jayanegara's stepmother, Gayatri Rajapatni — the most revered matriarch of Majapahit court, was supposed to took the helm. However, Rajapatni had retired from worldly affairs to become a Bhikkhuni. Rajapatni appointed her daughter, Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi, or known in her formal name as Tribhuwannottunggadewi Jayawishnuwardhani, as the queen of Majapahit under Rajapatni's auspices. Tribhuwana appointed Gajah Mada as the Prime Minister in 1336. During his inauguration Gajah Mada declared his Sumpah Palapa, revealing his plan to expand Majapahit realm and building an empire.

During Tribhuwana's rule, the Majapahit kingdom grew much larger and became famous in the area. Under the initiative of her able and ambitious prime minister, Gajah Mada, Majapahit sent its armada to conquer the neighbouring island of Bali. According to the Babad Arya Tabanan manuscript, in 1342 Majapahit forces led by Gajah Mada, assisted by his general Arya Damar, the regent of Palembang, landed in Bali. After seven months of battles, Majapahit forces defeated the Balinese king and captured the Balinese capital of Bedulu in 1343. After the

conquest of Bali, Majapahit distributed the governing authority of Bali among Arya Damar's younger brothers, Arya Kenceng, Arya Kutawandira, Arya Sentong, and Arya Belog. Arya Kenceng led his brothers to govern Bali under Majapahit suzerainty, and he would become the progenitor of the Balinese kings of the Tabanan and Badung royal houses. Through this campaign, Majapahit planted a vassal dynasty that would rule the Bali Kingdom in the following centuries. Tribhuwana ruled Majapahit until the death of her mother in 1350. She abdicated the throne in favour of her son, Hayam Wuruk.

Reign of Hayam Wuruk and Gajah Mada's conquest



Expansion of the Majapahit Empire started in Trowulan Majapahit in the 13th century and extended to much of the Indonesian archipelago until it receded and fell in the early 16th century. Hayam Wuruk, also known as Rajasanagara, ruled Majapahit in 1350–89. During this period, Majapahit attained its peak with the help of prime minister Gajah Mada. Under Gajah Mada's command (1313–64), Majapahit conquered more territories and became the regional power. According to the *Nagarakretagama*, canto XIII and XIV mentioned several states in Sumatra, Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara islands, Maluku, New Guinea, Mindanao, Sulu Archipelago and some parts of the Visayas islands as under Majapahit realm of power. The Hikayat Raja Pasai, a 14th century Aceh chronicle describe a Majapahit naval invasion on Samudra Pasai in 1350.^[26] This expansion marked the greatest extent of Majapahit, making it one of the most influential empires in the Indonesian history. It is considered as a commercial trading empire in the civilisation of Asia.



The terracotta figure popularly believed as the portrait of Gajah Mada, collection of Trowulan Museum.

long with launching naval and military expeditions, the expansion of the Majapahit Empire also involved diplomacy and alliance. Hayam Wuruk decided, probably for political reasons, to take princess Citra Rashmi (Dyah Pitaloka) of neighbouring Sunda Kingdom as his consort.^[27] The Sundanese took this proposal as an alliance agreement. In 1357 the Sunda king and his royal family came to Majapahit to accompany and marry his daughter to Hayam Wuruk. However, Gajah Mada saw this event as an opportunity to demand Sunda's submission to Majapahit overlordship. The skirmish between the Sunda royal family and the Majapahit troops on Bubat square was inevitable. Despite courageous resistance, the royal family were overwhelmed and decimated. Almost the whole of the Sundanese royal party were killed.^[28] Tradition mentioned that the heartbroken princess committed suicide to defend the honour of her country.^[29] The Battle of Bubat, or the Pasunda Bubat tragedy, became the main theme of Kidung Sunda, also mentioned in Carita Parahyangan and Pararaton, however it was never mentioned in Nagarakretagama.

The *Nagarakretagama*, written in 1365, depicts a sophisticated court with refined taste in art and literature and a complex system of religious rituals. The poet describes Majapahit as the centre of a huge mandala extending from New Guinea and Maluku to Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Local traditions in many parts of Indonesia retain accounts of 14th-century Majapahit's power in more or less legendary form. The direct administration of Majapahit did not extend beyond east Java and Bali, but challenges to Majapahit's claim to overlordship in outer islands drew forceful responses.

In an effort to revive the fortune of Malayu in Sumatra, in the 1370s, a Malay ruler of Palembang sent an envoy to the court of the first emperor of the newly established Ming dynasty. He invited China to resume the tributary system, just like Srivijaya did several centuries earlier. Learning this diplomatic maneuver, immediately King Hayam Wuruk sent an envoy to Nanking, convinced the emperor that Malayu was their vassal, and was not an independent country. Subsequently, in 1377—a few years after the death of Gajah Mada, Majapahit sent a punitive naval attack against a rebellion in Palembang,^{[8](p19)} contributing to the end of Srivijayan successor kingdom. Gajah Mada's other renowned general was Adityawarman, known for his conquest in Minangkabau.



Bronze cannon, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, claimed to be from 14th century Majapahit. Examine the *Surya Majapahit* emblem on the bronze cannon

In the 14th century a Malay Kingdom of Singapura was established, and it promptly attracted a Majapahit navy that regarded it as Tumasik, a rebellious colony. Singapura was finally sacked by Majapahit in 1398. The last king, Sri Iskandar Shah, fled to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula to establish the Melaka Sultanate in 1400.

The nature of the Majapahit empire and its extent is subject to debate. It may have had limited or entirely notional influence over some of the tributary states, including Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Kalimantan, and eastern Indonesia, over which authority was claimed in the *Nagarakretagama*. Geographical and economic constraints suggest that rather than a regular

centralised authority, the outer states were most likely to have been connected mainly by trade connections, which were probably a royal monopoly. It also claimed relationships with Champa, Cambodia, Siam, southern Burma, and Vietnam, and even sent missions to China. Although the Majapahit rulers extended their power over other islands and destroyed neighbouring kingdoms, their focus seems to have been on controlling and gaining a larger share of the commercial trade that passed through the archipelago. About the time Majapahit was founded, Muslim traders and proselytisers began entering the area.

Decline

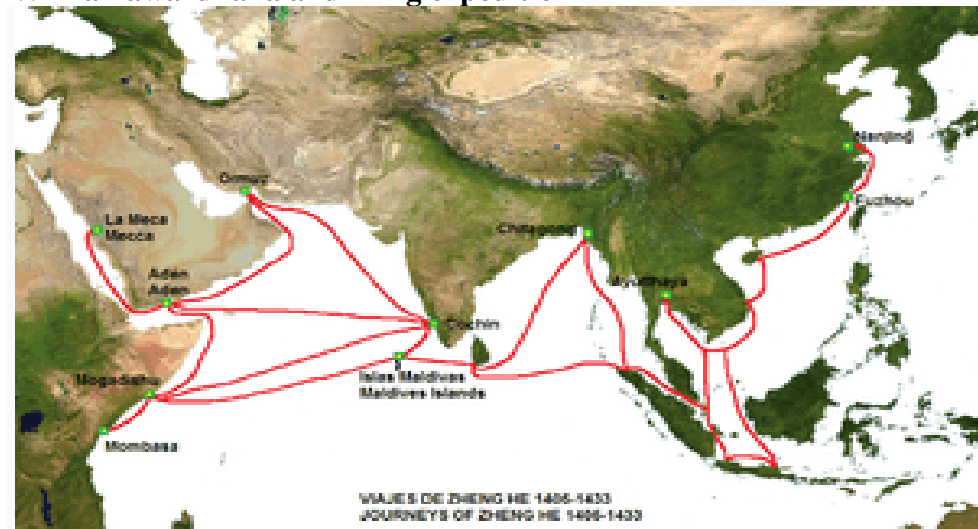
Following Hayam Wuruk's death in 1389, Majapahit power entered a period of decline with conflict over succession.^{[23]:241} Hayam Wuruk was succeeded by the crown princess Kusumawardhani, who married a relative, Prince Wikramawardhana. Hayam Wuruk also had a son from his previous marriage, crown prince Wirabhumi, who also claimed the throne.

Paregreg war

A civil war, called Paregreg, is thought to have occurred from 1405 to 1406.^{[8](p18)} The war was fought as the contest of succession between Western court led by Wikramawardhana, against Eastern court led by Bhre Wirabhumi. Wikramawardhana was victorious and Wirabhumi was caught and decapitated. The civil war has drained financial resources, exhausted the kingdom, and weakened Majapahit's grip on its outer vassals and colonies.

Despite weakened by internal struggle, in 1409 Majapahit continued its invasion against West Sumatran Pagaruyung Kingdom, as recorded in a semi-legendary account of the Minangkabau legend. It was mentioned that the Javanese force was being defeated in a buffalo fight.

Wikramawardhana and Ming expedition



The route of the voyages of Zheng He's fleet, including Majapahit ports.

During the reign of Wikramawardhana, a series of Ming armada naval expeditions led by Zheng He, a Muslim Chinese admiral, arrived in Java several times spanning the period from 1405 to 1433. This Chinese voyages visited numbers of ports in Asia as far as Africa, which including Majapahit ports. It was said that Zheng He has paid a visit to the Majapahit court in Java.

This Chinese massive voyes was not merely a naval exploration, but it was a show of power and a display of geopolitical reach. The Chinese Ming dynasty had recently overthrown the Mongols Yuan dynasty, and were eager to establish their hegemony in the world, which changed the geopolitical balance in Asia. Chinese intervened in the politics of the southern seas by supported Thais against the declining Khmer Empire, support and installing allied factions in India, Sri Lanka and other places in Indian Ocean coasts. However, perhaps the most significant Chinese intervention was its support for the newly established Sultanate of Malacca, as a rival and counter-weight to the Majapahit influence of Java. Previously, Majapahit has succeed to assert its influence in Malacca strait by contained the aspiration of Malay polities in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula to ever reach the geopolitical might like those of Srivijaya. The Hindu Majapahit were the most powerful maritime power in Southeast Asian seas that time and were opposed to Chinese expansion into their sphere of influence. The Ming's support for Malacca has weakened Majapahit maritime influence in the region that finally reduced only in Java sea and eastern Indonesian waters.

This Ming dynasty voyages is extremely important for Majapahit historiography, since Zheng He's translator Ma Huan wrote *Yingyai Shenglan*, a detailed description of Majapahit,^[17] which provides a valuable insight on the culture, customs, also various social and economic aspects of Java during Majapahit period.

Chinese provided systematic support to Malacca, and its sultan made at least one trip to personally pay obeisance to the Ming emperor. Malacca actively encouraged the conversion to Islam in the region, while Ming fleet actively established Chinese-Malay Muslim community in coastal northern Java, thus created a permanent opposition to the Hindus of Java. By 1430, the expeditions had established Muslim Chinese, Arab and Malay communities in northern ports of Java such as Semarang, Demak, Tuban, and Ampel; thus Islam began to gain a foothold on the northern coast of Java. Malacca prospered under Chinese Ming protection, while the Majapahit were steadily pushed back.

Queen Suhita



The mortuary deified portrait statue of Queen Suhita (reign 1429-1447), discovered at Jebuk, Kalangbret, Tulungagung, East Java, National Museum of Indonesia.

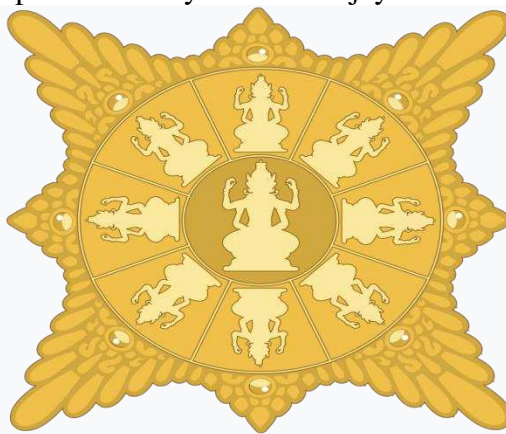
Wikramawardhana ruled until 1426 and was succeeded by his daughter Suhita,^{[23]:242} who ruled from 1426 to 1447. She was the second child of Wikramawardhana by a concubine who was the daughter of Wirabhum. The reign of Suhita was the second time Majapahit was reigned by a queen regnant after her great grandmother Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi. Her reign is immortalized in Javanese legend of Damarwulan, as it involves a maiden queen named Prabu Kenya in the story, and during Suhita's reign there was a war with Blambangan as stated in the legend.

In 1447, Suhita died and was succeeded by Kertawijaya, her brother. He ruled until 1451. After Kertawijaya died, Bhre Pamotan became a king with formal name Rajasawardhana and ruled at Kahuripan. He died in 1453. A three-year kingless period was possibly the result of a succession crisis. Girisawardhana, son of Kertawijaya, came to power in 1456. He died in 1466 and was succeeded by Singhawikramawardhana.

The divide

In 1468 Prince Kertabumi rebelled against Singhawikramawardhana, promoting himself as the king of Majapahit. Deposed Singhawikramawardhana retreated upstream of Brantas River, moved the kingdom's capital further inland to Daha (the former capital of Kediri kingdom), effectively splitting Majapahit, under Bhre Kertabumi in Trowulan and Singhawikramawardhana in Daha. Singhawikramawardhana continued his rule until he was succeeded by his son Ranawijaya in 1474.

In the western part of the crumbling empire, Majapahit found itself unable to control the rising power of the Sultanate of Malacca that in the mid-15th century began to gain effective control of Malacca Strait and expand its influence to Sumatra. Several other former Majapahit vassals and colonies began to release themselves from Majapahit domination and suzerainty. But Kertabumi managed to reverse this event, under his rule he allied Majapahit with Muslim merchants, giving them trading rights on the north coast of Java, with Demak as its centre and in return he asked for their loyalty to Majapahit. This policy boosted the Majapahit treasury and power but weakened Hindu-Buddhism as its main religion because Islam spread faster. Hindu-Buddhist followers' grievances later paved the way for Ranawijaya to defeat Kertabumi.



The model of a Majapahit ship display in Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur.

Dates for the end of the Majapahit Empire range from 1478 (that is, 1400 Saka, the ends of centuries being considered a time when changes of dynasty or courts normally ended to 1517. Actually that was the year when a Ranawijaya army under general Udara (who later became vice-regent) breached Trowulan defences and killed Kertabumi in his palace, Demak sent reinforcements under Sunan Ngudung, who later died in battle and was replaced by Sunan Kudus, but they came too late to save Kertabumi although they managed to repel the Ranawijaya army. This event is mentioned in Trailokyapuri (Jiwu) and Petak inscription, where Ranawijaya claimed that he already defeated Kertabumi and reunited Majapahit as one Kingdom. Ranawijaya ruled from 1474 to 1498 with the formal name Girindrawardhana, with Udara as his vice-regent. This event led to the war between the Sultanate of Demak and Daha, since Demak rulers were descendants of Kertabumi.

Demak invasion and the fall of Majapahit



Demak was the earliest Islamic polity in Java that replaced Majapahit.

In 1498, there was a turning point when Girindrawardhana was deposed by his vice regent, Udara. After this coup, the war between Demak and Daha receded, with some sources saying Raden Patah, Sultan of Demak, left Majapahit alone as his father had done before, while others said Udara agreed to become a vassal of Demak, even marrying Raden Patah's youngest daughter.

In the west, Malacca was captured by Portuguese in 1511. The delicate balance between Demak and Daha ended when Udara asked Portugal for help in Malacca and forced Demak to attack both Malacca and Daha under Adipati Yunus to end this alliance. A large number of courtiers, artisans, priests, and members of the royalty moved east to the island of Bali. The refugees probably fled to avoid Demak retribution for their support for Ranawijaya against Kertabumi.

With the fall of Daha, crushed by Demak in 1517, the Muslim emerging forces finally defeated the remnants of the Majapahit kingdom in the early 16th century. Demak came under the leadership of Raden (later crowned as Sultan) Patah (Arabic name: Fatah), who was acknowledged as the legitimate successor of Majapahit. According to Babad Tanah Jawi and Demak tradition, the source of Patah's legitimacy was because their first sultan, Raden Patah, was the son of Majapahit king Brawijaya V with a Chinese concubine. Another argument supports Demak as the successor of Majapahit; the rising Demak sultanate was easily accepted as the nominal regional ruler, as Demak was the former Majapahit vassal and located near the former Majapahit realm in Eastern Java.

Demak established itself as the regional power and the first Islamic sultanate in Java. After the fall of Majapahit, the Hindu kingdoms in Java only remained in Blambangan on the eastern edge and Pajajaran in the western part. Gradually Hindu communities began to retreat to the mountain ranges in East Java and also to the neighbouring island of Bali. A small enclave of Hindu communities still remain in the Tengger mountain range.

The main event of the administrative calendar took place on the first day of the month of Caitra (March–April) when representatives from all territories paying tax or tribute to Majapahit came to the capital to pay court. Majapahit's territories were roughly divided into three types: the palace and its vicinity; the areas of east Java and Bali which were directly administered by officials appointed by the king; and the outer dependencies which enjoyed substantial internal autonomy.

Culture- The capital Trowulan, was grand and known for its great annual festivities. Buddhism, Shaivism, and Vaishnavism were all practised: the king was regarded as the incarnation of the three. The *Nagarakretagama* does not mention Islam, but there were certainly Muslim courtiers by this time



Wringin Lawang, the 15.5-meter tall red brick split gate in Trowulan, believed to be the entrance of an important compound.

The first European record about Majapahit came from the travel log of the Italian Mattiussi, a Franciscan monk. In his book: "Travels of Friar Odoric of Pordenone", he visited several places in today's Indonesia: Sumatra, Java, and Banjarmasin in Borneo, between 1318–1330. He was sent by the Pope to launch a mission into the Asian interiors. In 1318 he departed from Padua, crossed the Black Sea into Persia, all the way across Calcutta, Madras, and Sri Lanka. He then headed to Nicobar island all the way to Sumatra, before visiting Java and Banjarmasin. He returned to Italy by land through Vietnam, China, all the way through the silkroad to Europe in 1330.

In his book he mentioned that he visited Java without explaining the exact place he had visited. He said that king of Java ruled over seven other kings (vassals). He also mentioned that in this island was found a lot of clove, cubeb, nutmeg and many other spices. He mentioned that the King of Java had an impressive, grand, and luxurious palace. The stairs and palace interior were coated with gold and silver, and even the roofs were gilded. He also recorded that the kings of the Mongol had repeatedly tried to attack Java, but always ended up in failure and managed to be sent back to the mainland. The Javanese kingdom mentioned in this record is Majapahit, and the time of his visit is between 1318–1330 during the reign of Jayanegara.

In *Yingyai Shenglan* — a record about Zheng He's expedition (1405-1433) — Ma Huan describes the culture, customs, various social and economic aspects of *Chao-Wa* (Java) during Majapahit period.^[18] Ma Huan visited Java during Zheng He's 4th expedition in the 1413, during the reign of Majapahit king Wikramawardhana. He describes his travel to Majapahit capital, first he arrived to the port of *Tu-pan* (Tuban) where he saw large numbers of Chinese settlers migrated from Guangdong and Chou Chang. Then he sailed east to thriving new trading town of *Ko-erh-hsi* (Gresik), *Su-pa-erh-ya* (Surabaya), and then sailing inland into the river by smaller boat to southwest until reached the river port of *Chang-ku* (Changgu).^[18] Continued travel by land to southwest he arrived in *Man-che-po-I* (Majapahit), where the king stay. There are about 200 or 300 foreign families resides in this place, with seven or eight leaders to serve the king. The climate is constantly hot, like summer. He describes the king's costumes; wearing a crown of gold leaves and flowers or sometimes without any headgear; bare-chested without wearing a robe, the bottom parts wears two sash of embroidered silk. Additional silk rope is looped around the waist as a belt, and the belt is inserted with one or two short blades, called *pu-la-t'ou* (*belati* or more precisely kris dagger), walking barefoot. When travelling outside, the king riding an elephant or an ox-drawn carriage.



The graceful *Bidadari Majapahit*, golden celestial apsara in Majapahit style perfectly describes Majapahit as "the golden age" of the archipelago. Commoners' clothing for men is without headgear and women arrange their hair as a bun secured with hairpin.

They wore clothing on the upper body and wrapped unstitched fabrics around the bottom part. Men from a boy aged three to elders slipped *pu-la-t'ou* (dagger) in their belt. The dagger, made entirely of steel with intricate motifs smoothly drawn. The handles are made of gold, rhino's horn or ivory carved with a depiction of human or demon, the carving works are exquisite and skilfully made.

Majapahit people, men and women, favoured their head. If someone was touched on his head, or if there is a misunderstanding or argument when drunk, they will instantly draw their knives and stab each other. When the one being stabbed was wounded and dead, the murderer will flee and hide for three days, then he will not lose his life. But if he was caught during the fight, he will instantly be stabbed to death (execution by stabbing). The country of Majapahit knows no caning for major or minor punishment. They tied the guilty men on his hands in the back with rattan rope and paraded them, and then stabbed the offender in the back where there is a floating rib which resulted in instant death. Judicial executions of this kind were frequent.

Population of the country did not have a bed or chair to sit, and to eat they do not use a spoon or chopsticks. Men and women enjoy chewing betel nut mixed with, betel leaves, and white chalk made from ground mussels shells. They eat rice for meal, first they took a scoop of water and soak betel in their mouth, then wash their hands and sit down to make a circle; getting a plate of rice soaked in butter (probably coconut milk) and gravy, and eat using hands to lift the rice and put it in their mouth. When receiving guests, they will offer the guests, not the tea, but with betel nut.

The population consisted of Muslim merchants from the west (Arab and Muslim Indians, but mostly those from Muslim states in Sumatra), Chinese (claimed to be descendants of Tang dynasty), and unrefined locals. The king held annual jousting tournaments.^{[17](p45)} About the marriage rituals; the groom pays a visit to the house of the bride's family, the marriage union is consummated. Three days later, the groom escorts his bride back to his home, where the man's

family beat drums and brass gongs, blowing pipes made from coconut shells (*senterewe*), beating a drum made from bamboo tubes (probably a kind of bamboo gamelan or kolintang), and light fireworks. Escorted in front, behind, and around by men holding short blades and shields. While the bride is a matted-hair woman, with uncovered body and barefooted. She wraps herself in embroidered silk, wears a necklace around her neck adorned with gold beads, and bracelets on her wrist with ornaments of gold, silver and other precious ornaments. Family, friends and neighbours decorate a decorative boat with betel leaf, areca nut, reeds and flowers were sewn, and arrange a party to welcome the couple on such a festive occasion. When the groom arrives home, the gong and drum are sounded, they will drink wine (possibly arack or tuak) and play music. After a few days the festivities end.

About the burial rituals, the dead body was left on beach or empty land to be devoured by dogs (for lower-class), cremated, or committed into the waters (Javanese:*larung*). The upper-class performed *suttee*, a ritual suicide by widowed wives, concubines or female servants, through self immolation by throwing themselves into flaming cremation fire.

For the writing, they had known the alphabet using *So-li* (Chola - Coromandel/Southern India) letters. There is no paper or pen, they use *Chiao-chang* (*kajang*) or palm leaf (*lontar*), written by scraping it with a sharp knife. They also have a developed language system and grammar. The way the people talk in this country is very beautiful and soft.

In this record, Ma Huan also describes a musical troupes travelling during full moon nights. Numbers of people holding shoulders creating an unbroken line while singing and chanting in unison, while the families whose houses being visited would give them copper coins or gifts. He also describes a class of artisans that draws various images on paper and give a theatrical performance. The narrator tells the story of legends, tales and romance drawn upon a screen of rolled paper. This kind of performance is identified as *wayang bébér*, an art of story-telling that has survived for many centuries in Java.

Art



Bas reliefs of Tegowangi temple, dated from Majapahit period, demonstrate the East Javanese style.

The Pala school of art of the Indian Pala Empire influenced the art and architecture of Majapahit. Majapahit art was the continuation of East Javanese art, style and aesthetic developed since the 11th century during Kediri and Singhasari period. Unlike the earlier naturalistic, relaxed and flowing figures of classical Central Java style (Sailendra art c. 8th to 10th century), this east Javanese style are somehow demonstrate stiffer pose, stylised and rendered in wayang-like figures, such as those carved on east Javanese temple's bas-reliefs. The bas-reliefs projected

rather flat from the background. This style was later preserved in Balinese art, especially in its classical paintings and Balinese wayang.

The statues of Hindu gods and Buddhist deities in Majapahit art were also the continuation of its previous Singhasari art. The statues of East Javanese period tend to be stiffer and frontal-formal pose, compared to the statues of Central Javanese art (c. 9th century) that are more Indianized style, relaxed in tribhanga pose. The stiffer pose of Majapahit gods statues are probably in accordance to the statue's function as the deified portrayal self of the dead Majapahit monarch. The carving however, are richly decorated, especially with fine floral carving of lotus plants carved on the stela behind the statue. Examples of Majapahit statues are the Harihara statue from Simping temple, believed to be the deified portrayal of King Kertarajasa, the statue of Parwati believed to be the portrayal of Queen Tribhuwana, and statue of queen Suhita discovered at Jebuk, Kalangbret, Tulungagung, East Java.



Jabung temple near Paiton, Probolinggo, East Java, dated from Majapahit period. **Pair of door guardians from a temple, Eastern Java, 14th century, Museum of Asian Art, San Francisco.**

Clay pottery and brick masonry are popular features in Majapahit art and architecture. The Majapahit Terracotta art also flourished in this period. Significant numbers of terracotta artefacts were discovered in Trowulan. The artefacts range from human and animal figurines, jars, vessels, water containers, piggy banks, bas reliefs, architectural ornaments, roof pinnacles, floor tiles, to pipes and roof tiles. One of the most interesting findings is the Majapahit piggy bank. Several boar-shaped piggy banks have been discovered in Trowulan. It is probably the origin of the Javanese-Indonesian word to refer to saving or money container. The word *celengan* in Javanese and Indonesian means both "savings" and "piggy bank". It was derived from the word *celeng* which means "wild boar", the suffix "-an" was added to denote its likeness. One important specimen is stored in the National Museum of Indonesia, it has been reconstructed since this large piggy bank has been found broken to pieces.

Terracotta money boxes also have been found in different shapes, such as tubular or boxes, with slits to slip coins. Another important terracotta artefact is the head figurine of a man popularly

thought to be the depiction of Gajah Mada, although it is not certain about who was depicted in these figurines.

Architecture

In his book *Yingyai Shenglan*, Ma Huan also describes the Majapahit cities: most of them do not have walls surrounding the city or the suburbs. He describes the king's palace in Majapahit. The king's residence is surrounded with thick red brick walls more than three *chang* high (about 30.5 feet or 9.3 metres), with length of more than 200 paces (340 yards or 310 metres) and on the wall there are two layers of gates, the palace is very well guarded and clean. The king's palace was a two storey building, each of them 3 or 4 *chang* high (9–14.5 metres or 30–48 feet). It had wooden plank floors and exposed mats made from rattan or reeds (presumably palm leaves), where people sat cross-legged. The roof was made of hardwood shingles (Javanese: *sirap*) laid as tiles.

The houses of commoners had thatched roofs (nipa palm leaves). Every family has a storage shed made of bricks, about 3 or 4 *Ch'ih* (48.9 inches or 124 centimetres) above the ground, where they kept the family property, and they lived on top of this building, to sit and sleep.

The Majapahit temple architecture follows the east Javanese styles, in contrast of earlier central Javanese style. This east Javanese temple style is also dated back from Kediri period c. 11th century. The shapes of Majapahit temples are tends to be slender and tall, with roof constructed from multiple parts of stepped sections formed a combined roof structure curved upward smoothly creating the perspective illusion that the temple is perceived taller than its actual height. The pinnacle of the temples are usually cube (mostly Hindu temples), sometimes dagoba cylindrical structures (Buddhist temples). Although some of temples dated from Majapahit



period used andesite or sandstone, the red bricks is also a popular construction material.

The 16.5-metre tall Bajang Ratu Paduraksa gate, at Trowulan, echoed the grandeur of Majapahit. Although brick had been used in the *candi* of Indonesia's classical age, it was Majapahit architects of the 14th and 15th centuries who mastered it.^[48] Making use of a vine sap and palm sugar mortar, their temples had a strong geometric quality. The example of Majapahit temples are Brahu temple in Trowulan, Pari in Sidoarjo, Jabung in Probolinggo, and Surawana temple near Kediri. Jabung temple was mentioned in Nagarakretagama as Bajrajinaparamitapura, despite some parts of its roof and pinnacles are now missing, it is one of the most well-preserved Majapahit temple architecture. Another example include Gunung Gangsir temple near Pasuruan. Some of the temples are dated from earlier period but renovated and expanded during Majapahit

era, such as Penataran, the largest temple in East Java dated back to Kediri era. This temple was identified in Nagarakretagama as Palah temple and reported being visited by King Hayam Wuruk during his royal tour across East Java. Another notable temple of Eastern Javanese style is Jawi temple in Pandaan — also visited by King Hayam Wuruk, the temple was mentioned in Nagarakretagama as Jajawa, and was dedicated as mortuary temple for his great grandfather, King Kertanegara of Singhasari.

Some of typical architectural style are believed to be developed during Majapahit era; such as tall and slender roofed red brick gate commonly called as *kori agung* or *paduraksa*, and also split gate of *candi bentar*. The large split gate of Wringin Lawang located at Jatipasar, Trowulan, Mojokerto, East Java, is one of the oldest and the largest surviving *candi bentar* dated from Majapahit era. The *candi bentar* took shape of typical Majapahit temple structure—consists of three parts; foot, body and tall roof—evenly split into two mirroring structures to make a passage in the centre for people to walk through. This type of split gate has no doors and provides no real defensive purpose but narrowing the passage. It was probably only serve the ceremonial and aesthetic purpose, to create the sense of grandeur, before entering the next compound through tall roof *paduraksa* gate with enclosed door. The example of *kori agung* or *paduraksa* style gate is the elegant Bajang Ratu gate richly decorated with Kala demon, cyclops and also the bas-relief telling the story of Sri Tanjung. Those typical Majapahit architectural style has deeply influenced the Javanese and Balinese architecture of later period. The current prevalence of Majapahit style pendopo pavilion, *candi bentar* and *paduraksa* gates, was owed to the influence of Majapahit aesthetics on Javanese and Balinese architecture.

In later period near the fall of Majapahit, the art and architecture of Majapahit witnessed the revival of indigenous native Austronesian megalithic architectural elements, such as Suku and Cetho temples on western slopes of Mount Lawu. Unlike previous Majapahit temples that demonstrate typical Hindu architecture of high-rise towering structure, the shape of these temples are step pyramid, quite similar to Mesoamerican pyramids. The stepped pyramid structure called *Punden Berundak* (stepped mounds) is a common megalithic structure during Indonesian prehistoric era before the adoption of Hindu-Buddhist culture.

Also in Yingyai Shenglan, Ma Huan reported the Javanese economy and market. Rice is harvested twice a year, and its grain is small. They also harvest white sesame and lentils, but there is no wheat. This land produces sapan wood (useful to produce red dye), diamond, sandalwood, incense, *puyang* pepper, cantharides (green beetles used for medicine), steel, turtles, tortoise shell, strange and rare birds; such as a large parrot as big as a hen, red and green parrots, five-colored parrots, (all of them can imitate the human voice), also guinea fowl, 'bird hanging upside down', five-coloured pigeon, peacock, 'betel tree bird', pearl bird, and green pigeons. The beasts here are strange: there are white deer, white monkey, and various other animals. Pigs, goats, cattle, horses, poultries, and there are all types of ducks, however donkeys and geese are not found.

For the fruits, there are all kinds of bananas, coconut, sugarcane, pomegranate, lotus, *mang-chi-shi* (*manggis* or mangosteen), watermelon and *lang Ch'a* (*langsap* or lanzones). *Mang-chi-shi* – is something like a pomegranate, peel it like an orange, it has four lumps of white flesh, sweet and sour taste and very delicious. *Lang-ch'a* is a fruit similar to Loquat, but larger, contained three

blocky white flesh with sweet and sour taste. Sugarcane has white stems, large and coarse, with roots reaching 3 *chang* (30 feet 7 inches). In addition, all types of squash and vegetables are there, just a shortage of peach, plum and leek



Majapahit terracotta piggy bank, 14th or 15th century Trowulan, East Java. (Collection of National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta)

Taxes and fines were paid in cash. Javanese economy had been partly monetised since the late 8th century, using gold and silver coins. Previously, the 9th-century Wonoboyo hoard discovered in Central Java shows that ancient Javan gold coins were seed-shaped, similar to corn, while the silver coins were similar to buttons. In about the year 1300, in the reign of Majapahit's first king, an important change took place: the indigenous coinage was completely replaced by imported Chinese copper cash. About 10,388 ancient Chinese coins weighing about 40 kg were even unearthed from the backyard of a local commoner in Sidoarjo in November 2008. Indonesian Ancient Relics Conservation Bureau (BP3) of East Java verified that those coins dated as early as Majapahit era. The reason for using foreign currency is not given in any source, but most scholars assume it was due to the increasing complexity of Javanese economy and a desire for a currency system that used much smaller denominations suitable for use in everyday market transactions. This was a role for which gold and silver are not well suited. These *kepeng* Chinese coins were thin rounded copper coins with a square hole in the centre of it. The hole was meant to tie together the money in a string of coins. These small changes—the imported Chinese copper coins—enabled Majapahit further invention, a method of savings by using a slitted earthenware coin containers. These are commonly found in Majapahit ruins, the slit is the small opening to put the coins in. The most popular shape is boar-shaped *celengan* (piggy bank).

Some idea of scale of the internal economy can be gathered from scattered data in inscriptions. The Canggu inscriptions dated 1358 mentions 78 ferry crossings in the country (mandala Java). Majapahit inscriptions mention a large number of occupational specialities, ranging from gold and silver smiths to drink vendors and butchers. Although many of these occupations had existed in earlier times, the proportion of the population earning an income from non-agrarian pursuits seems to have become even greater during the Majapahit era.

The great prosperity of Majapahit was probably due to two factors. Firstly, the northeast lowlands of Java were suitable for rice cultivation, and during Majapahit's prime numerous irrigation projects were undertaken, some with government assistance. Secondly, Majapahit's ports on the north coast were probably significant stations along the route to obtain the spices

of Maluku, and as the spices passed through Java they would have provided an important source of income for Majapahit.

The Nagarakretagama states that the fame of the ruler of Wilwatikta (a synonym for Majapahit) attracted foreign merchants from far and wide, including Indians, Khmers, Siamese, and Chinese among others. While in later period, *Yingyai Shenglan* mentioned that large numbers of Chinese traders and Muslim merchants from west (from Arab and India, but mostly from Muslim states in Sumatra and Malay peninsula) are settling in Majapahit port cities, such as Tuban, Gresik and Hujung Galuh (Surabaya). A special tax was levied against some foreigners, possibly those who had taken up semi-permanent residence in Java and conducted some type of enterprise other than foreign trade. The Majapahit Empire had trading links with Chinese Ming dynasty, Annam and Champa in today Vietnam, Cambodia, Siamese Ayutthayan, Burmese Martaban and the south Indian Vijayanagara Empire.

Administration: During the reign of Hayam Wuruk, Majapahit employed a well-organised bureaucratic structure for administrative purposes. The hierarchy and structure relatively remain intact and unchanged throughout Majapahit history. The king is the paramount ruler, as the chakravartin he is considered as the universal ruler and believed to be the living god on earth. The king holds the highest political authority and legitimacy. Bureaucracy officials.

During his daily administration, the king is assisted by bureaucratic state officials that also included the close relatives of the kings that hold certain esteemed titles. The royal order or edict usually transmitted from the king to the high officials well to their subordinates. The officials in Majapahit courts are:

- *Rakryan Mahamantri Katrini*, usually reserved for the king's heir
- *Rakryan Mantri ri Pakira-kiran*, the board of ministers that conduct the daily administration
- *Dharmmadhyaksa*, the officials of laws, state laws as well as religious laws
- *Dharmma-upapatti*, the officials concerning religious affairs

Within the ministers of *Rakryan Mantri ri Pakira-kiran* there is the most important and the highest minister titled *Rakryan Mapatih* or *Patih Hamangkubhumi*. This position is analogous to prime minister, and together with king, they determine the important state policies, including war or peace. Among the *Dharmmadhyaksa* officials there is *Dharmmadhyaksa ring Kasewan* (State's highest Hindu Shivaist priest) and *Dharmmadhyaksa ring Kasogatan* (State's highest Buddhist priest), both are the religious laws authorities of each dharmic faiths.

There is also the board of advisors which consists of the elders within royal family called *Bhattara Saptaprabhu*. This council consists of seven influential elders—mostly directly related to the king. They are the *Bhres* (Duke or Duchess) acted as regional kings, the rulers of Majapahit provinces. This council congregate, offer advices, gave consideration to the king, and often formed an assembly to judge a certain important case in the court. Example of their office was, their sentence to temporarily suspend Mahamantri Gajah Mada, as a punishment since he was held responsible for the shamefully disastrous Bubat incident.

The council also sentenced the execution of Raden Gajah (Narapati) for decapitating Bhre Wirabhumi in Paregreg war.

Territorial hierarchy

Majapahit recognise the hierarchy classifications of lands within its realm:

1. *Bhumi*: the kingdom, ruled by the king
2. *Nagara*: the province, ruled by the *rajya* (governor), or *natha* (lord), or *bhre* (prince or duke)
3. *Watek*: the regency, administered by *wiyasa*,
4. *Kuwu*: the district, administered by *lurah*,
5. *Wanua*: the village, administered by *thani*,
6. *Kabuyutan*: the hamlet or sanctuary place.

During its formation, Majapahit traditional realm only consists of lesser vassal kingdoms (provinces) in eastern and central Java. This region is ruled by provincial kings called *Paduka Bhattara* with the title *Bhre*. This title is the highest position below the monarch and similar to duke or duchess. Usually this position reserved for the close relatives of the king. Their duty is to administer their own provinces, collect taxes, send annual tributes to the capital, and manage the defences of their borders.

During the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350– 1389) there were 12 provinces of Majapahit, administered by king's close relatives:

Provinces	Titles	Rulers	Relation to the King
Kahuripan (or Janggala, today Sidoarjo)	Bhre Kahuripan	Tribhuwanatunggadewi	queen mother
Daha (former capital of Kediri)	Bhre Daha	Rajadewi Maharajasa	aunt and also mother-in-law
Tumapel (former capital of Singhasari)	Bhre Tumapel	Kertawardhana	father
Wengker (today Ponorogo)	Bhre Wengker	Wijayarajasa	uncle and also father-in-law
Matahun (today Bojonegoro)	Bhre Matahun	Rajasawardhana	husband of the duchess of Lasem, king's cousin
Wirabhumi (Blambangan)	Bhre Wirabhumi	Bhre Wirabhumi	son
Paguhan	Bhre Paguhan	Singawardhana	brother in-law
Kabalan	Bhre Kabalan	Kusumawardhani	daughter

Pawanuan	Bhre Pawanuan	Surawardhani	niece
Lasem (a coastal town in Central Java)	Bhre Lasem	Rajasaduhita Indudewi	cousin
Pajang (today Surakarta)	Bhre Pajang	Rajasaduhita Iswari	sister
Mataram (today Yogyakarta)	Bhre Mataram	Wikramawardhana	nephew

Territorial division

When Majapahit entered the thalassocratic imperial phase during the administration of Gajah Mada, several overseas vassal states were included within the Majapahit sphere of influence, as the result the new larger territorial concept was defined:

- *Negara Agung*, or the Grand State, the core kingdom. The traditional or initial area of Majapahit during its formation before entering the imperial phase. This includes the capital city and the surrounding areas where the king effectively exercises his government. The area in and around royal capital of Trowulan, port of Canggu and sections of Brantas River valley near the capital, also mountainous areas south and southeast of capital, all the way to Pananggungan and Arjuno-Welirang peaks, are the core realm of the kingdom. The Brantas river valley corridor, connecting Majapahit Trowulan area to Canggu and estuarine areas in Kahuripan (Sidoarjo) and Hujung Galuh port (Surabaya) are considered as parts of *Negara Agung*.
- *Mancanegara*, areas surrounding *Negara Agung* — traditionally refer to Majapahit provinces in East and Central Java. This area covered the eastern half of Java, with all its provinces ruled by the *Bhres* (dukes), the king's close relatives. These areas are directly influenced by Javanese Majapahit court culture, and obliged to pay annual tributes. These areas usually possess their own rulers that might be directly related, foster an alliance or intermarried with the Majapahit royal family. Majapahit stationed their officials and officers in these places and regulate their foreign trade activities and collect taxes, yet they enjoyed substantial internal autonomy. This includes the rest of Java island, Madura and Bali. However, in later period, overseas provinces which has developed culture reflected or comparable to those of Java, or possess significant trading importance, are also considered as *mancanegara*. Either the province has their own native rulers subject (vassal) to the king, or a regent appointed and sent by the king to rule the region. This realm includes Dharmasraya, Pagaruyung, Lampung and Palembang in Sumatra.
- *Nusantara*, areas which do not reflect Javanese culture, but are included as colonies and they had to pay annual tribute. They had their native polity intact, enjoyed substantial autonomy and internal freedom, and Majapahit did not necessarily station their officials or military officers here; however, any challenges on Majapahit oversight might draw severe response. These areas such as the vassal kingdoms and colonies in Malay peninsula, Borneo, Lesser Sunda Islands, Sulawesi and Maluku.



The extent of Majapahit according to Nagarakretagama.

Nagarakretagama mentioned more than 80 places in the archipelago described as the vassal states. In Canto 13, several lands on Sumatra are mentioned, and some possibly correspond to contemporary areas: Jambi, Palembang, Teba (Muaro Tebo), and Dharmasraya.

Also mentioned are Kandis, Kahwas, Minangkabau, Siak, Rokan, Kampar and Pane, Kampe, Haru (coastal North Sumatra, today around Medan) and Mandailing. Tamiyang (Aceh Tamiang Regency), negara Perlak (Peureulak) and Padang Lawas, are noted in the west, together with Samudra (Samudra Pasai) and Lamuri, Batan (Bintan), Lampung, and Barus. Also listed are the states of Tanjungnegara (believed to be on Borneo): Kapuas Katingan, Sampit, Kota Lingga, Kota Waringin, Sambas, and Lawas.

In Nagarakretagama Canto 14 more lands are noted: Kadandangan, Landa, Samadang, Tirem, Sedu (Sarawak), Barune (Brunei), Kalka, Saludung (Manila), Solot (Sulu), Pasir, Barito, Sawaku, Tabalung, and Tanjung Kutei. In Hujung Medini (Malay Peninsula), Pahang is mentioned first. Next Langkasuka, Saimwang, Kelantan and Trengganu, Johor, Paka, Muar, Dungun, Tumasik (where Singapore is today), Kelang (Klang Valley) and Kedah, Jerai (Gunung Jerai), Kanjapiniran, all are united.



Also in Canto 14 are territories east of Java: Badahulu and Lo Gajah (part of today's Bali). Gurun and Sukun, Taliwang, Sapi (Sape town, east end of Sumbawa island, by the Sape Strait) and Dempo, Sang Hyang Api, Bima. Hutan Kadali (Buru island). Gurun island, and Lombok Merah. Together with prosperous Sasak (central, north and east Lombok) are already ruled. Bantayan with Luwu. Further east are Udamakatraya (Sangir and Talaud). Also mentioned are Makassar, Buton, Banggai, Kunir, Galiao with Selayar, Sumba, Solot, Muar. Also Wanda(n) (Banda island), Ambon or Maluku islands, Kai-islands, Wanin (Onin peninsula, today Fakfak Regency, West Papua), Seran, Timor and other islands.

The true nature of Majapahit suzerainty is still a subject of study and even has sparked controversy. Nagarakretagama describes Majapahit as the center of a huge mandala consists of 98 tributaries stretching from Sumatra to New Guinea. Some scholars has discounted this claim as merely a sphere of limited influence, or even just a statement of geographical knowledge. Scholars, such as historian Hasan Djafar, argued that *Nusantara* should be translated as "other islands", which denotes that they are beyond Majapahit sovereignty. He argued that Majapahit territory was confined only in

East and Central Java.

Nevertheless, the Javanese overseas prestige and influence during the lifetime of Hayam Wuruk was undoubtedly considerable.^[7] Majapahit fleets must have periodically visited many places in the archipelago to acquire formal submission, or the splendour of Majapahit court might have attracted regional rulers to send tribute, without any intention to submit to Majapahit's order.

All of those three categories—the *Negara Agung*, *Mancanegara* and *Nusantara*, were within the sphere of influence of the Majapahit empire, however Majapahit also recognise the fourth realm that defines its foreign diplomatic relations:

- *Mitreka Satata*, literally means "partners with common order". It refers to independent foreign states that are considered as Majapahit's equals, not the subject of Majapahit powers. According to Nagarakretagama canto 15, the foreign states are *Syangkayodhyapura* (Ayutthaya of Siam), *Dharmmanagari* (Negara Sri Dharmaraja) in southern Thailand, *Rajapura* (Ratchaburi) and *Singhanagari* (Singora or modern Songkla), *Marutma* (Martaban or Mottama, modern Southern Myanmar), *Champa* (today Southern Vietnam), *Kamboja* (Cambodia), and *Yawana* (Annam).^{[54][55]} *Mitreka Satata* can be considered as Majapahit's allies, since other foreign kingdoms in China and India were not included in this category, although Majapahit known has conducted foreign relations with these nations.

The model of political formations and power diffusion from its core in Majapahit capital city that radiates through its overseas possessions, was later identified by historians as "mandala" model. The term mandala derived from Sanskrit "circle" to explain the typical ancient Southeast Asian polity that was defined by its centre rather than its boundaries, and it could be composed of numerous other tributary polities without undergoing administrative integration.^[56] The territories belong within Majapahit Mandala sphere of influence were those categorised as *Mancanegara* and *Nusantara*. These areas usually have their own indigenous rulers, enjoy substantial autonomy and have their own political institution intact without further integration into Majapahit administration. The same mandala model also applied to previous empires; Srivijaya and Angkor, and also Majapahit's neighbouring mandalas; Ayutthaya and Champa.

In later period, Majapahit's hold on its overseas possessions began to wane. According to Wingun Pitu inscription (dated 1447) it was mentioned that Majapahit consist of 14 provinces, that administrated by the ruler titled *Bhre*. The provinces or vassal areas are:

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| • Daha (former capital of Kediri) | • Kahuripan (or Janggala, modern Surabaya) | • Kembang Jenar | • Singhapura | • Wengker |
| | | • Matahun (today Bojonegoro) | • Tanjungpura | (today Ponorogo) |
| | | • Pajang (today Surakarta) | • Tumapel (former capital of Singhasari) | • Wirabhumi (today Blambangan) |
| • Jagaraga | • Kelinggapura | | | |
| • Kabalan | | | | |



Pura Maospahit ("Majapahit Temple") in Denpasar, Bali, demonstrate the typical Majapahit red brick architecture.

Majapahit was the largest empire ever to form in Southeast Asia. Although its political power beyond the core area in east Java was diffuse, constituting mainly ceremonial recognition of suzerainty, Majapahit society developed a high degree of sophistication in both commercial and artistic activities. Its capital was inhabited by a cosmopolitan population among whom literature and art flourished.

Numbers of local legends and folklores in the region had mentioned about the Majapahit kingdom. Other than Javanese sources, some regional legends mentioning Majapahit kingdom or its general Gajah Mada, also can be found; from Aceh, Minangkabau, Palembang, Malay Peninsula, Sunda, Brunei, Bali to Sumbawa. Most of them mentioned about the incoming Javanese forces to their land, which was probably a local testament of the empire's expansive nature that once dominating the archipelago. The Hikayat Raja Pasai, a 14th century Aceh chronicle tell a Majapahit naval invasion against Samudra Pasai in 1350. The chronicle described that the Majapahit invasion was a punishment for Sultan Ahmad Malik Az-Zahir's crime on ruining a royal marriage between Pasai Prince Tun Abdul Jalil and Raden Galuh Gemereng, a Majapahit princess — that led to the death of the royal couple.



The Majapahit style minaret of Kudus Mosque.

In West Sumatra, the legend of Minangkabau mentioned an invading foreign prince — associated with Javanese Majapahit kingdom — being defeated in a buffalo fight.^[38] In West Java, the Pasunda Bubat tragedy caused a myth to revolve around Indonesians, which forbids marriage between a Sundanese and a Javanese, as it would be unsustainable and only bring misery to the couple. In Malay peninsula, the Malay annals mentioned the legend of the fall of Singapura to Majapahit forces in 1398 was due to the betrayal of Sang Rajuna Tapa that opened the fortified city gate. In Brunei, the folk legend of Lumut Lunting and Pilon-Pilongan islands in Brunei Bay also connected to Majapahit.

Several Javanese legends were originated or become popular during Majapahit period. The Panji cycles, the tale of Sri Tanjung, and the epic of Damarwulan, are popular tales in Javanese and Balinese literatures. The tales of Panji was dated from older period during Kediri kingdom, while the tale of Sri Tanjung and the epic of Damarwulan took place during Majapahit period. These tales remained a popular theme in Javanese culture of later period during Mataram Sultanate, and often became the source of inspiration for wayang shadow puppet performance, ketoprak and topeng dance drama. The Panji tales in particular have spread from East Java to become a source of inspiration for literature and dance drama throughout the region, as far as Malay peninsula, Cambodia and Siam where he is known as Raden Inao or Enau (Thai: อิเหนา) of Kurepan.

Majapahit had a momentous and lasting influence on Indonesian architecture. The descriptions of the architecture of the capital's pavilions (*pendopo*) in the *Nagarakretagama* evoke the Javanese Kraton also the Balinese temples and palace compounds of today. The Majapahit architectural style that often employs terracotta and red brick heavily influenced the architecture of Java and Bali in the later period. The Majapahit style *candi bentar* split gate, the *kori* or *paduraksa* towering red brick gate, and also *pendopo* pavilion have become ubiquitous in Javanese and Balinese architectural features, as seen in Menara Kudus Mosque, Keraton Kasepuhan and Sunyaragi park in Cirebon, Mataram Sultanate royal cemetery in Kota Gede, Yogyakarta, and various palaces and temples in Bali.



Bas relief from Candi Penataran describes the Javanese-style pendopo pavilion, commonly found across Java and Bali.

The vivid, rich and festive Balinese culture is considered as one of Majapahit legacy. The Javanese Hindu civilisation since the era of Airlangga to the era of Majapahit kings has profoundly influenced and shaped the Balinese culture and history.^[62] The ancient links and Majapahit legacy is observable in many ways; architecture, literature, religious

rituals, dance-drama and artforms. The aesthetics and style of bas-reliefs in Majapahit East Javanese temples were preserved and copied in Balinese temples. It is also due to the fact that after the fall of the empire, many Majapahit nobles, artisans and priests had taken refuge either in the interior mountainous region of East Java or across the narrow strait to Bali. Indeed, in some ways the Kingdom of Bali was the successor of Majapahit. Large numbers of Majapahit manuscripts, such as Nagarakretagama, Sutasoma, Pararaton and Tantu Pagelaran, were being well-kept in royal libraries of Bali and Lombok, and provides the glimpse and valuable historical records on Majapahit. The Majapahit Hindu-Javanese culture has shaped the culture of Bali, that led to popular expression; "without Java there is no Bali". Yet in return, Bali is credited as the last stronghold to safeguard and preserve the ancient Hindu Javanese civilisation.

In weaponry, the Majapahit expansion is believed to be responsible for the widespread use of the keris dagger in Southeast Asia; from Java, Bali, Sumatra, Malaysia, Brunei, Southern Thailand, to the Philippines. Although it has been suggested that the keris, and native daggers similar to it, predate Majapahit, nevertheless the empire expansion contributed to its popularity and diffusion in the region around the year 1492.^[63]



The red brick *Candi Bentar* split gate of Keraton Kasepuhan in Cirebon reveal Majapahit architectural influences.

For Indonesians in later centuries, Majapahit became a symbol of past greatness. The Islamic sultanates of Demak, Pajang, and Mataram sought to establish their legitimacy in relation to the Majapahit. The Demak claimed a line of succession through Kertabumi, as its founder Raden Patah, in court chronicles was said to be the son of Kertabumi with Putri Cina, a Chinese princess, who had been sent away before her son was born. Sultan Agung's conquest of Wirasaba (present day Mojoagung) in 1615—during that time just a small town without significant strategic and economic value—led by the sultan himself, may probably have had such symbolic importance as it was the location of the former

Majapahit capital Central Javanese palaces have traditions and genealogy that attempt to prove links back to the Majapahit royal lines—usually in the form of a grave as a vital *link* in Java — where legitimacy is enhanced by such a connection. Bali in particular was heavily influenced by Majapahit and the Balinese consider themselves to be the true heirs of the kingdom.



The high reliefs of Gajah Mada and Majapahit history depicted in Monas, has become the source of Indonesian national pride of past greatness.

Modern Indonesian nationalists, including those of the early 20th-century Indonesian National Revival, have invoked the Majapahit Empire. Indonesian founding fathers—especially Sukarno and Mohammad Yamin, built a historical construct around Majapahit to argue for the ancient unified realm, as a predecessor of modern Indonesia.^[53] The memory of its greatness remains in Indonesia, and is sometimes seen as a precedent for the current political boundaries of the Republic. Many of modern Indonesian national symbols derived from Majapahit Hindu-Buddhist elements. The Indonesian national flag "Sang Merah Putih" ("Red and White") or sometimes called "Dwiwarna" ("The bicolor"), derived from the Majapahit royal colour. The Indonesian Navy flag of red and white stripes also has a Majapahit origin. The Indonesian national motto, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*", is a quotation from an Old Javanese poem "*Kakawin Sutasoma*", written by a Majapahit poet, Mpu Tantular.

The Indonesian coat of arms, *Garuda Pancasila*, also derives from Javanese Hindu elements. The statue and relief of Garuda have been found in many temples in Java such as Prambanan from the ancient Mataram era, and the Panataran as well as the Sukuh temple dated from the Majapahit era. The notable statue of Garuda is the statue of the king Airlangga depicted as Vishnu riding Garuda.



Ancient red brick canal discovered in Trowulan.

In its propaganda from the 1920s, the Communist Party of Indonesia presented its vision of a classless society as a reincarnation of a romanticised Majapahit.^{[8](p174)} It was invoked by Sukarno for nation building and by the New Order as an expression of state expansion and consolidation. Like Majapahit, the modern state of Indonesia covers vast territory and is politically centred on Java.

Palapa, the series of communication satellites owned by Telkom, an Indonesian telecommunication company, was named after *Sumpah Palapa*, the famous oath taken by Gajah Mada, who swore that he would not taste any spice as long as he had not succeeded in unifying Nusantara (Indonesian archipelago). This ancient oath of unification signifies the Palapa satellite as the modern means to unify the Indonesian archipelago by way of telecommunication. The name was chosen by president Suharto, and the program was started in February 1975.

During the last half year of 2008, the Indonesian government sponsored a massive exploration on the site that is believed to be the place where the palace of Majapahit once stood. Jero Wacik, the Indonesian Minister of Culture and Tourism stated that the Majapahit Park would be built on the site and completed as early as 2009, to prevent further damage caused by home-made brick industries that developed in the surrounding area. Nevertheless, the project leaves a huge attention to some historians, since constructing the park's foundation in Segaran site located in south side of Trowulan Museum will inevitably damage the site itself. Ancient bricks which are historically valuable were found scattered on the site. The government then argued that the method they were applying were less destructive since digging method were used instead of drilling.

The rulers of Majapahit was the dynastic continuity of the Singhasari kings, which started by Sri Ranggah Rajasa, the founder of Rajasa dynasty in the late 13th century.

1. Raden Wijaya, styled Kriktarajasa Jayavardhana (1294–1309)

2. Kalagamet, styled Jayanagara (1309–1328)
3. Sri Gitarja, styled Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi (1328–1350)
4. Hayam Wuruk, styled Sri Rajasanagara (1350–1389), Majapahit Golden Age
5. Wikramawardhanastyled Bhra Hyang Wisesa Aji Wikrama, (1389–1429), Majapahit civil war Paregreg war, success defeating Bhre Wirabhum
6. Ratu (queen) Suhita (1429–1447)
7. Kritavijaya, styled Brawijaya I (1447–1451)
8. Rajasawardhana, born Bhre Pamotan, styled Brawijaya II (1451–1453)
9. Interregnum (1453–1456)
10. Bhre Wengker, Purvavisesha or Girishawardhana, styled Brawijaya III (1456–1466)
11. Singhavikramawardhana, Pandanalas, or Suraprabhawa, styled Brawijaya IV (1466–1468 or 1478)
12. Bhre Kertabumi, styled Brawijaya V (1468–1478)
13. Girindrawardhana, styled Brawijaya VI (1478–1489)
14. Prabu Udara, styled Brawijaya VII (1489–1517)

Celebrated as 'the golden era of the archipelago', the Majapahit empire has inspired many writers and artists (and continues to do so) to create their works based on this era, or to describe and mention it. The impact of the Majapahit theme on popular culture can be seen in the following:

1. *Sandyakalaning Majapahit* (1933), or Twilight/Sunset in Majapahit is an historical romance that took place during the fall of Majapahit empire, written by Sanusi Pane.
2. *Panji Koming* (since 1979), a weekly comic strip by Dwi Koendoro published in the Sunday edition of Kompas, telling the everyday life of Panji Koming, a common Majapahit citizen. Although it took place in the Majapahit era, the comic strip serves as witty satire and criticism of modern Indonesian society. From a political, social, cultural and current point of view, Indonesia is described as the 'reincarnation' of the Majapahit empire. The current Indonesian president is often portrayed as a Majapahit monarch or prime minister.
3. *Saur Sepuh* (1987–1991), a radio drama and film by Niki Kosasih. Begun as a popular radio drama program in the late 1980s, Saur Sepuh is based on 15th-century Java, centred around the story about a fictional hero named Brama Kumbara, the king of Madangkara, a fictional kingdom neighbour of the Pajajaran. In several stories the Paregreg war is described, that is to say the civil war of Majapahit between Wikramawardhana and Bhre Wirabhum. This part has been made into a single feature film entitled 'Saur Sepuh' as well.
4. *Tutur Tinular*, a radio drama and film by S Tidjab. Tutur Tinular is a martial art historical epic fictional story with the Majapahit era serving as the background of the story. The story also involved a romance between the hero named Arya Kamandanu and his Chinese lover Mei Shin.
5. *Wali Songo*, the film tells the story of nine Muslim saints ('wali') who spread Islam to Java. The story took place near the end of the Majapahit era and

the formation of Demak. It describes the decaying Majapahit empire where royals are fighting each other for power while the commoners suffer.

6. *Senopati Pamungkas* (1986, reprinted in 2003), a martial art-historical epic novel by Arswendo Atmowiloto. It takes place in the late Singhasari period and formation of Majapahit. This novel describes the sagas, royal intrigues, and romance of the formation of the kingdom as well as the adventure of the main character, a commoner named Upasara Wulung and his forbidden love affair with princess Gayatri Rajapatni, whom later becomes the consort of Raden Wijaya, the first king of Majapahit.
7. *Imperium Majapahit*, a comic book series by Jan Mintaraga, published by Elexmedia Komputindo. This series tells the history of Majapahit from its formation until the decline.
8. *Puteri Gunung Ledang* (2004), a Malaysian epic film based on a traditional Malay legend. This film recounts the love story between Gusti Putri Retno Dumilah, a Majapahit princess, and Hang Tuah, a Malaccan admiral.
9. *Gajah Mada*, a pentalogy written by Langit Kresna Hariadi depicting a fictionalised detail of Gajah Mada's life from the Kuti rebellion up to the Bubat War.
10. *Dyah Pitaloka* (2007), a novel written by Hermawan Aksan, fictionalising the detailed life story of Sundanese princess Dyah Pitaloka Citraresmi set around the Bubat War. The novel virtually takes the same context and was inspired by the Kidung Sundayana.
11. *Jung Jawa* (2009), an anthology of short stories written by Rendra Fatrisna Kurniawan, imagining the life of the Nusantara people, published by Babel Publishing.
12. *Civilization 5: Brave New World* (2013), where Gajah Mada appeared as one of the leaders of a great civilisation in the second expansion of the Civilization 5 game. He is the leader of the Indonesian civilisation, with the emblem of the Indonesian empire being the Surya Majapahit, although in the game the empire is known as the "Indonesian empire" instead.
13. On the *Rise of the Rajas* expansion pack from *Age of Empires II*, Gajah Mada appears in a campaign detailing his rise and then fall after the Pasunda Bubat tragedy.

***Nagarakretagama* palm-leaf manuscript.** Composed by Mpu Prapanca in 1365, it provides a primary historical account of Majapahit court during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk.

By the early 20th century, Dutch colonial historians began to study old Javanese and Balinese literature to explore the past of their colony. Two primary sources were available to them: the *Pararaton* "Book of Kings" manuscript was written in the Kawi language c. 1600, and *Nagarakretagama* (Desawarnana) was composed in Kawi in 1365.^[16] *Pararaton* focuses on Ken Arok, the founder of Singhasari, but includes a number of shorter narrative fragments about the formation of Majapahit. The *Nagarakretagama* is an old Javanese epic poem written during the Majapahit golden age under the reign of Hayam Wuruk, after which some events are covered narratively. The Dutch acquired the manuscript in 1894 during their military expedition against the Cakranegara royal house of Lombok. There are also some inscriptions in Kawi and Chinese.

The Javanese sources incorporate some poetic mythological elements and scholars such as Cornelis Christiaan Berg, an Indies-born Dutch naturalist, have considered the entire historical record to be not a record of the past, but a supernatural means by which the future can be determined.^{[iii][6]} Most scholars do not accept this view, as the historical record corresponds with Chinese materials that could not have had similar intention. The list of rulers and details of the state structure show no sign of being invented.

The Chinese historical sources on Majapahit mainly acquired from the chronicles of the Yuan and following Ming dynasty. The Chinese accounts on Majapahit are mainly owed to the Ming admiral Zheng He's reports during his visit to Majapahit between 1405 and 1432. Zheng He's translator Ma Huan wrote a detailed description of Majapahit and where the king of Java lived.^[18] The report was composed and collected in *Yingya Shenglan*, which provides valuable insight on the culture, customs, also various social and economic aspects of *Chao-Wa* (Java) during Majapahit period.

The Trowulan archaeological area has become the centre for the study of Majapahit history. The aerial and satellite imagery has revealed an extensive network of canals crisscrossing the Majapahit capital. Recent archaeological findings from April 2011 indicate the Majapahit capital was much larger than previously believed after some artefacts were uncovered.^[21]

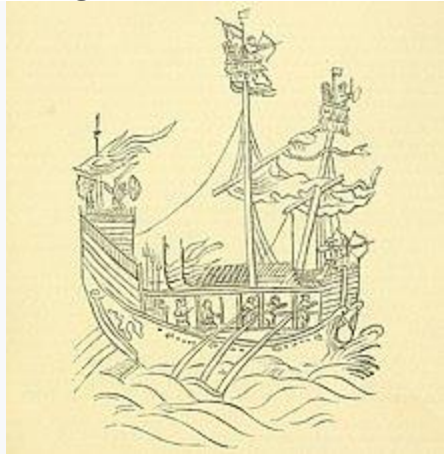
Majapahit was one of the last major Hindu empires of the region and is considered to be one of the greatest and most powerful empires in the history of Indonesia and Southeast Asia, one that is sometimes seen as the precedent for Indonesia's modern boundaries. Its influence extended beyond the modern territory of Indonesia and has been the subject of many studies.



A *maja* fruit growing near Trowulan, the bitter-tasting fruit is the origin of the kingdom's name. The name *Majapahit* derives from local Javanese, meaning "bitter *maja*". German orientalist Berthold Laufer suggested that *maja* came from the Javanese name of *Aegle marmelos*, an Indonesian tree. The name originally referred to the area in and around Trowulan, the cradle of Majapahit, which was linked to the establishment of a village in Tarik timberland by Raden Wijaya. It was said that the workers clearing the Tarik timberland encountered some bael trees and consumed its bitter-tasting fruit which then gave its name to the village. It is a common practice in Java to name an area, a village or settlement with the most conspicuous or abundant tree or fruit species found in that region. In ancient Java, it is common to refer the kingdom with its capital's name. Majapahit (sometimes also spelled *Mojopait*) is also known by other names: *Wilwatikta*, although sometimes the natives refer to their kingdom as *Bhumi Jawa* or *Mandala Jawa* instead.

After defeating the Melayu Kingdom in Sumatra in 1290, Singhasari became the most powerful kingdom in the region. Kublai Khan, the Khagan of the Mongol Empire and the Emperor of the Mongol Yuan dynasty, challenged Singhasari by sending emissaries demanding tribute. Kertanegara of Singhasari, refused to pay the tribute, insulted the Mongol envoy, and challenged the Khan instead. In response, Kublai Khan sent a massive expedition of 1000 ships to Java in 1293.

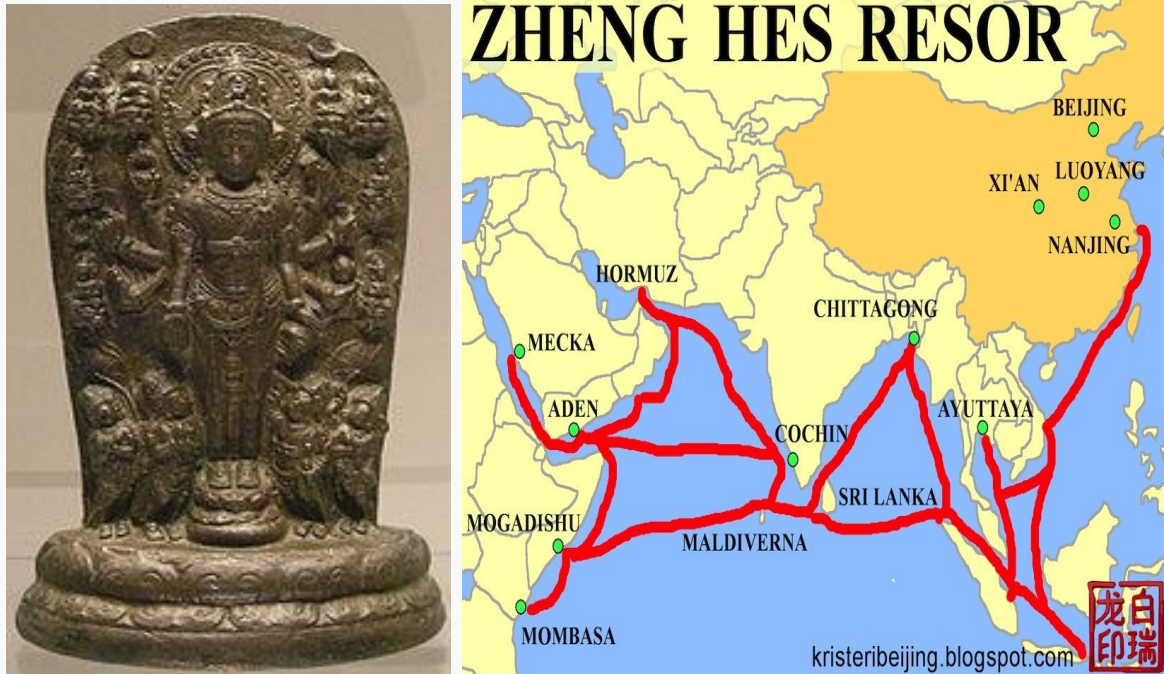
Mongol invasion of Java



Painting of a 14th-century Yuan junk. Similar ships were sent by the Yuan in their naval armada. By that time, Jayakatwang, the *Adipati* (Duke) of Kediri, a vassal state of Singhasari, had usurped and killed Kertanegara. After being pardoned by Jayakatwang with the aid of Madura's regent, Arya Wiraraja; Raden Wijaya, Kertanegara's son-in-law, was given the land of Tarik timberland. He then opened the vast timberland and built a new settlement there. The village was named *Majapahit*, which was taken from the name of a fruit that had a bitter taste (*maja* is the fruit name and *pahit* means bitter). When the Mongolian Yuan army sent by Kublai Khan arrived, Wijaya allied himself with the army to fight against Jayakatwang. Once Jayakatwang was destroyed, Raden Wijaya forced his allies to withdraw from Java by launching a surprise attack. The Yuan army had to withdraw in confusion as they were in hostile territory, with their ships being attacked by Javanese navy. It was also their last chance to catch the monsoon winds home; otherwise, they would have had to wait for another six months.



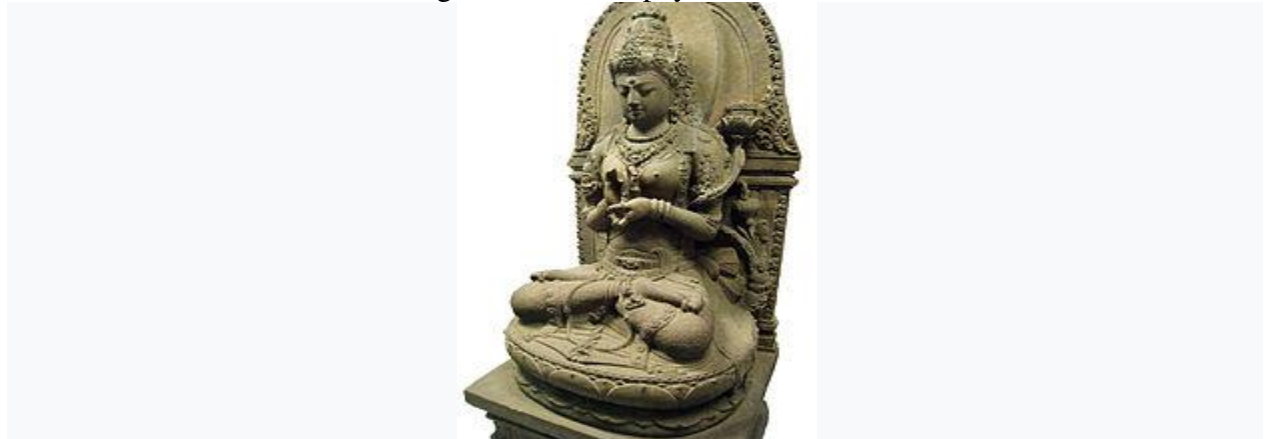
Mongol invasion of Java



A *mandala* of Amoghapaśa from the Singhasari period

Indonesia is one of the few areas in Asia that thwarted invasion by the Mongol horde by repelling a Mongol force in 1293. As the centre of the Malayan peninsula trade winds, the rising power, influence, and wealth of the Javanese Singhasari empire came to the attention of Kublai Khan of the Mongol Yuan dynasty based in China. Moreover, Singhasari had formed an alliance with Champa, another powerful state in the region. Both Java (Singhasari) and Champa were worried about Mongol expansion and raids against neighbouring states, such as their raid of Bagan (Pagan) in Burma.

Kublai Khan then sent emissaries demanding submission and tribute from Java. In 1280, Kublai Khan sent the first emissary to King Kertanegara, demanding Singhasari's submission and tribute to the great Khan. The demand was refused. The next year in 1281, the Khan sent another envoy, demanding the same, which was refused again. Eight years later, in 1289, the last envoy was sent to demand the same, and Kertanegara, refused to pay tribute.



The serene beauty of Prajnaparamita statue found near Singhasari temple is believed to be the portrayal statue of Queen Ken Dedes, wife of Ken Arok (the collection of National Museum of Indonesia).

In the audition throne room of the Singhasari court, King Kertanegara humiliated the Khan by cutting and scarring Meng Ki's face, one of the Mongols' envoys (some sources even state that the king cut the envoy's ear himself). The envoy returned to China with the answer—the scar—of the Javan king written on his face. Enraged by this humiliation and the disgrace committed against his envoy and his patience, in late 1292 Kublai Khan sent 1,000 war junks for a punitive expedition that arrived off the coast of Tuban, Java in early 1293.

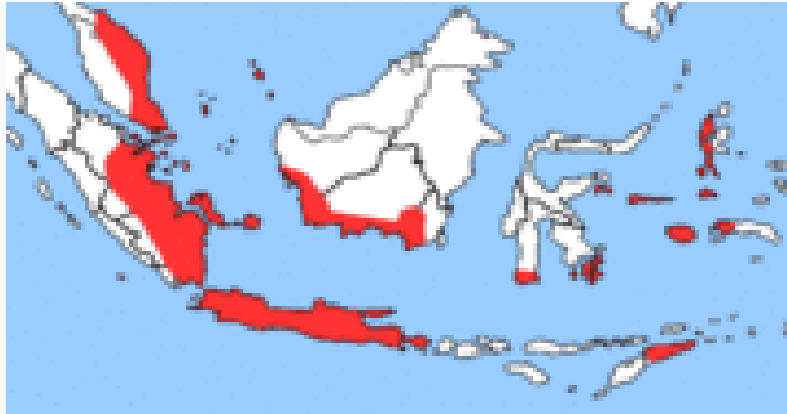
King Kertanegara, whose troops were now spread then and located elsewhere, did not realise that a coup was being prepared by the former Kediri royal lineage.



Singhasari temple built as a mortuary temple to honour Kertanegara, the last king of Singhasari.

The Kediri (Gelang-gelang) army attacked Singhasari simultaneously from both north and south. The king only realised the invasion from the north and sent his son-in-law, Nararya Sanggramawijaya, informally known as 'Raden Wijaya', northward to vanquish the rebellion. The northern attack was put at bay, but the southern attackers successfully remained undetected until they reached and sacked the unprepared capital city of Kutaraja. Jayakatwang usurped and killed Kertanegara during the Tantra sacred ceremony, thus bring an end to the Singhasari kingdom.

Having learned of the fall of the Singhasari capital of Kutaraja due to Kediri's treachery, Raden Wijaya tried to defend Singhasari but failed. He and his three colleagues, Ranggalawe, Sora and Nambi, went to exile under the favour of the same regent (Bupati) Arya Wiraraja of Madura, Nambi's father, who then turned his back to Jayakatwang. With Arya Wiraraja's patronage, Raden Wijaya, pretending to submit to King Jayakatwang, won favour from the new monarch of Kediri, who granted him permission to open a new settlement north of mount Arjuna, the Tarik forest. In this wilderness, Wijaya found many bitter Maja fruits, so it was called Majapahit (literally meaning “bitter Maja”), the future capital of the empire.



The land of Singhasari when at its peak during 1291

Early 1293, the Mongol naval forces arrived on the north coast of Java (near Tuban) and on the Brantas River mouth to flank what they thought was Singhasari. Raden Wijaya found the opportunity to use the unsuspecting Mongols to overthrow Jayakatwang. Raden Wijaya's army allied with the Mongols in March 1293 and battle ensued between Mongol forces against Daha forces in the creek bed of Kali Mas river, a distributary of Brantas River, which was followed by the battle of Mongol forces against Daha forces that attacked the Majapahit regional army led by Raden Wijaya. The Mongols then stormed Daha and Jayakatwang finally surrendered and was executed.

Once Jayakatwang was eliminated, Raden Wijaya then turned his troops on his former Mongol allies, forcing them to withdraw from the island of Java on 31 May 1293.^{[2]:200–201}

The victor, Prince Wijaya, son-in-law of Kertanegara, the last Singhasari king, then ascended the throne as Kertajasa Jayawardhana, the first king of the great Majapahit Empire, on 12 November 1293.

CHAPTER XIII

Kediri Kingdom

Kediri

1045–1221



Trade Routes of Southeast Asia
Srivijaya, Kediri, Khmer, and Champa around XII

Janggala and Panjalu (Kediri) kingdom, later unified as Kediri kingdom

Capital

Daha or Kadiri (modern Kediri)

Common languages	Old Javanese, Sanskrit
Religion	Kejawen, Hinduism, Buddhism, Animism
Government	Monarchy
Raja	
1104–1115	Jayawarsa
1200–1222	Kertajaya
History	
Airlangga divided his kingdom into Janggala and Panjalu (Kediri)	1045
Currency	Native gold and silver coins
Preceded by	Succeeded by
Kahuripan Janggala	Singhasari

Kediri or Kadiri (also known as Panjalu) was a Hindu Javanese Kingdom based in East Java from 1042 to around 1222. Despite the lack of archaeological remains, the age of Kediri saw much development in classical literature.^[1] Mpu Sedah's *Kakawin Bharatayuddha*, Mpu Panuluh's *Gatotkacasraya*, and Mpu Dharmaja's *Smaradhana* blossomed in this era. The kingdom's capital is believed to have been established in the western part of the Brantas River valley, somewhere near modern Kediri city and surrounding Kediri Regency.

The name "Kediri" or "Kadiri" derived from Sanskrit word *Khadri* which means Indian Mulberry (*Morinda citrifolia*), locally known as *pacé* or *mengkudu* tree. The bark of morinda produces a brownish-purplish dye for batik-making, while its fruit have medicinal values. Similar named city also known, Kadiri in Andhra Pradesh, India.

The kingdom was also known as Panjalu as the twin kingdom with Jenggala. During the reign of Jayakatwang that revived the short-lived second dynasty of Kadiri, the kingdom is also known as Gelang-gelang or Gegelang. Other than Kadiri, the kingdom was also often referred to as Daha or Dahana, after its capital. The name "Daha" was used in later Majapahit period, as the seat of rival court of Trowulan.

Founding: The Kingdom of Kediri is the successor of Airlangga's Kahuripan kingdom, and thought as the continuation of Isyana Dynasty in Java. In 1045, Airlangga divided his kingdom of Kahuripan into two, Janggala and Panjalu (Kediri), and abdicated in favour of his sons to live as an ascetic. He died four years later.



Statue of Vishnu. Kediri, East Java, circa 12th–13th century

The first king of Kediri to leave historical records was Çri Jayawarṣa Digjaya Çāstaprabhu (reigned 1104–1115). In his inscription dated 1104, like Airlangga, he claimed himself to be the incarnation or Avatar of Vishnu.

The second king was Kameçvara. His formal stylised name was *Çri Maharaja Rake Sirikan çri Kameçvara Sakalabhuwanatustikarana Sarwaniwaryyawiryya Parakrama Digjayottunggadewa*. The *Lanchana* (royal seal) of his reign was a skull with a crescent moon called *chandrakapala*, the symbol of Shiva. During his reign, Mpu Dharmaja wrote *Smaradhana*, in which the king was adored as the incarnation of Kamajaya, the god of love, and his capital city Dahana was admired throughout the known world. Kameçvara's wife, Çri Kirana, was celebrated as the incarnation of Kamaratih, goddess of love and passion. The tales of this story, known as Panji cycle, spread throughout Southeast Asia as far as Siam.

Jayabhaya (reigned 1130–1160) succeeded Kameçwara. His formal stylised name was *Çri Maharaja çri Dharmmeçwara Madhusudanawataranindita Suhrtsingha Parakrama Digjayottunggadewa*. The *Lanchana* (royal seal) of his reign was *Narasingha*. The name *Jayabhaya* was immortalised in Sedah's *Kakawin Bharatayuddha*, a Javanese version of the *Mahabharata*, written in 1157. This Kakawin was perfected by his brother, Mpu Panuluh. Mpu Panuluh wrote *Hariwangsa* and *Gatotkacasraya*. Jayabhaya's reign was considered the golden age of Old Javanese literature. The *Prelambang Joyoboyo*, a prophetic book ascribed to Jayabhaya, is well known among Javanese. It predicted that the archipelago would be ruled by a white race for a long time, then a yellow race for a short time, then be glorious again. The Jayabhaya prophecies mention Ratu Adil, the *Just Prince*, a recurring popular figure in Javanese folklore. During the reign, Ternate was a vassal state of Kediri.

Jayabhaya's successor was Sarwweḥwara (reigned 1160–1170), followed by Aryyeḥwara (reigned 1170–1180), who used Ganesha as his royal *Lanchana*. The next monarch was Gandra; his formal stylised name was *Çri maharaja çri Kroncarryadipa Handabhuwanapalaka Parakramanindita Digjayottunggadewanama çri Gandra*. An inscription (dated 1181) from his reign documents the beginning of the adoption of animal names for important officials, such as *Kbo Salawah, Menjangan Puguh, Lembu Agra, Gajah Kuning, and Macan Putih*. Among these highly ranked officials mentioned in the inscription, there is a title *Senapati Sarwwajala*, or *laksmana*, a title reserved for navy generals, which means that Kediri had a navy during his reign.

From 1190 to 1200, King Çrngga ruled Kediri, with the official name *Çri maharaja çri Sarwweḥwara Triwikramawataranindita Çrngga lancana Digwijayottunggadewa*. He used a *cangkha* (winged shell) on a crescent moon as his royal seal.

The last king of Kediri was Kertajaya (1200–1222). His royal seal was Garudamukha, the same as Airlangga's. In 1222 he was forced to surrender his throne to Ken Arok and so lost the sovereignty of his kingdom to the new kingdom of Singhasari. This was the result of his defeat at the battle of Ganter. This event marked the end of Kediri era, and the beginning of the Singhasari era.

According to Jiyu and Petak inscriptions, during the end of Majapahit era in the 15th century, there was a brief resurrection of Daha (Kediri) as the centre of political power, which was led by Girindrawardhana in 1478 after he managed to defeat Kertabhumi. But it short lived since descendant of Kertabhumi who became ruler of Demak crushed Daha in 1527.

Relations with Regional Powers: The Kediri kingdom existed alongside the Srivijaya empire based in Sumatra throughout 11th to 12th-century, and seems to have maintained trade relations with China and to some extent India. Chinese account identify this kingdom as *Tsao-wa* or *Chao-wa* (Java), numbers of Chinese records signify that Chinese explorers and traders frequented this kingdom. Relations with India were cultural one, as numbers of Javanese *rakawi* (poet or scholar) wrote literatures that been inspired by Hindu mythology, beliefs and epics such as Mahabharata and Ramayana.

In 11th-century, Srivijayan hegemony in Indonesian archipelago began to decline, marked by Rajendra Chola invasion to Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The Chola king of Coromandel conquered Kedah from Srivijaya. The weakening of Srivijayan hegemony has enabled the formation of regional kingdoms, like Kediri, based on agriculture rather than trade. Later Kediri managed to control the spice trade routes to Maluku.

According to a Chinese source in the book of *Chu-fan-chi* written around 1225, Chou Ju-kua described that in the Southeast Asian archipelago there were two powerful and rich kingdoms: Srivijaya and Java (Kediri). In Java he found that people adhere two religions: Buddhism and the religion of Brahmin (Hinduism). The people of Java were brave and short tempered, daring to put up a fight. Their favourite pastimes were cockfighting and pigfighting. The currency was made from the mixture of copper, silver, and tin.

The book of *Chu-fan-chi* mentioned that Java was ruled by a maharaja, who ruled several colonies: Pai-hua-yuan (Pacitan), Ma-tung (Medang), Ta-pen (Tumapel, now Malang), Hi-ning

(Dieng), Jung-ya-lu (Hujung Galuh, now Surabaya), Tung-ki (Jenggi, West Papua), Ta-kang (Sumba), Huang-ma-chu (Southwest Papua), Ma-li (Bali), Kulun (Gurun, identified as Gorong or Sorong in West Papua or an island in Nusa Tenggara), Tan-jung-wu-lo (Tanjungpura in Borneo), Ti-wu (Timor), Pingya-i (Banggai in Sulawesi), and Wu-nu-ku (Maluku)

Regarding Srivijaya, Chou-Ju-Kua reported that Kien-pi (Kampe, in northern Sumatra) with armed forced rebellion had liberated themselves from Srivijaya, and crowned their own king. The same fate befell some of Srivijaya's colonies on the Malay Peninsula that liberated themselves from Srivijaya domination. However Srivijaya was still the mightiest and wealthiest state in the western part of the archipelago. Srivijaya's colonies were: Pong-fong (Pahang), Tong-ya-nong (Trengganu), Ling-ya-ssi-kia (Langkasuka), Kilan-tan (Kelantan), Fo-lo-an, Ji-lo-t'ing (Jelutong), Ts'ien-mai (?), Pa-t'a (Paka), Tan-ma-ling (Tambralinga, Ligor or Nakhon Si Thammarat), Kia-lo-hi (Grahi, northern part of Malay peninsula), Pa-lin-fong (Palembang), Sin-t'o (Sunda), Lan-wu-li (Lamuri at Aceh), and Si-lan. According to this source, in the early 13th century Srivijaya still ruled Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, and western Java (Sunda).

Regarding Sunda, the book details that the port of Sunda (Sunda Kelapa) was excellent and strategically located, and that the pepper from Sunda was among the best quality. The people worked in agriculture; their houses were built on wooden piles (rumah panggung). However the country was infested with robbers and thieves.



Vajrasattva. Eastern Java, Kediri period, 10th–11th century CE, bronze, 19.5 x 11.5 cm

Ganesha and a fragment of a temple at the residency in Kediri, 1866-1867

Celebrated as an era of blossoming literature, Kediri produced significant contributions in the field of Javanese classic literature. Next to the literary works already

mentioned, *Lubdhaka* and *Wrtasancaya* by Mpu Tanakung, *Krisnayana* written by Mpu Triguna, and *Sumanasantaka* by Mpu Monaguna are also notable.

The King wore silk garments, leather shoes and ornate golden jewellery. He wore his hair up high on his head. Every day, he would receive state officials, managers of his kingdom, on a square throne. After an audience, the state official would bow three times to the king. If the king travelled outside the palace, he rode an elephant and was accompanied by 500–700 soldiers and officials while his subjects, the people of Kediri, prostrated themselves as the king passed.

Economy: According to Chinese sources, the main occupations of the Kediri people revolved around agriculture (rice cultivation), animal farming (cattle, boar, poultry), and the spice trade. Daha, the capital city of Kediri, (suggested to be at the same site as modern Kediri) is located inland, near the fertile Brantas river valley. From the predecessor kingdom of Airlangga's Kahuripan, Kediri inherited irrigation systems, including the Wringin Sapta dam. Kediri economy was partly monetised, with silver coins issued by the royal court.

In later periods, Kediri economy grew to rely more heavily on trade, especially the spice trade. This resulted from Kediri development of a navy, giving them the opportunity to control the spice trade routes to eastern islands. Kediri collected spices from tributaries in southern Kalimantan and the Maluku Islands. Indians and Southeast Asians then transported the spices to Mediterranean and Chinese markets by way of the Spice Route that linked a chain of ports from the Indian Ocean to southern China.

RULERS

- Unknown ruler 1042–1104 (the era of twin kingdoms: Janggala and Kediri)
- Çri Jayawarṣa Digjaya Çāstaprabhu 1104–1115
- Kameçwara, or Bamesvara, 1117–1130
- Jayabhaya, or Varmesvara, 1135–1179
- Sarvesvara 1159–1161
- Aryesvara reigning in 1171
- Gandra, or Kroncharyadipa, reigning in Kamesvara 1182–1185^{[2]:179}
- Sringa or Kritajaya 1194–1222

CHAPTER XIV

Medang Kingdom--*Mataram*.

Medang i Bhumi Mataram

732–1006



The Medang Kingdom during the Central Java and Eastern Java periods

Capital	Central Java: Mdan i Bhumi Mataram (exact location unknown, perhaps somewhere on the Prambanan Plain), and later moved to Mamrati and Poh Pitu; East Java: Mdan i Tamwlang and Mdan i Watugaluh (near modern Jombang), later moved to Mdan i Wwatan (near modern Madiun)
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Common languages	Old Javanese, Sanskrit
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Religion	Kejawen, Hinduism, Buddhism, Animism
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Government	Monarchy
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Maharaja

732–760	Sanjaya
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985–1006	Dharmawangsa
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History

Sanjaya established the kingdom (Canggal inscription)	732
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Dharmawangsa defeat to Wurawari and Srivijaya	1006
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Currency	Masa and Tahlil (native gold and silver coins)
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Preceded by Kalingga Sunda Kingdom	Succeeded by Kahuripan
Part of a series on the History of Indonesia 	

The Medang Kingdom (Indonesian pronunciation: [mdaŋ]) or Mataram Kingdom (Indonesian pronunciation: [mətaram]) was a Javanese Hindu–Buddhist kingdom that flourished between the 8th and 11th centuries. It was based in Central Java, and later in East Java. Established by King Sanjaya, the kingdom was ruled by the Sailendra dynasty.

During most of its history the kingdom seems have relied heavily on agriculture, especially extensive rice farming, and later also benefited from maritime trade. According to foreign sources and archaeological findings, the kingdom seems to have been well populated and quite prosperous. The kingdom developed a complex society, had a well developed culture, and achieved a degree of sophistication and refined civilization.

In the period between the late 8th century and the mid-9th century, the kingdom saw the blossoming of classical Javanese art and architecture reflected in the rapid growth of temple construction. Temples dotted the landscape of its heartland in Mataram (Kedu and Kewu Plain). The most notable of the temples constructed in Medang Mataram are Kalasan, Sewu, Borobudur and Prambanan, all quite close to present-day city of Yogyakarta. At its peak, the kingdom had become a dominant empire—not only in Java, but also in Sumatra, Bali, southern Thailand, Indianized kingdoms of the Philippines, and the Khmer in Cambodia.

Later the dynasty divided into two kingdoms identified by religious patronage—the Buddhist and Shivaist dynasties. Civil war followed. The outcome was that the Medang empire was divided into two powerful kingdoms; the Shivaist dynasty of Medang kingdom in Java led by Rakai Pikatan and the Buddhist dynasty of Srivijaya kingdom in Sumatra led by Balaputradewa. Hostility between them did not end until 1006 when the Sailendra clan based in Srivijaya incited a rebellion by Wurawari, a vassal of the Medang kingdom, and sacked the capital of Watugaluh in East Java. Srivijaya rose to become the undisputed hegemonic empire in the region. The Shivaist dynasty survived, reclaimed east Java in 1019, and then established the Kahuripan kingdom led by Airlangga, son of Udayana of Bali.



A lithograph of *Tjandi Sewoe* ruins near Prambanan, circa 1859

In the early 19th century, the discovery of numerous ruins of great monuments—such as Borobudur, Sewu and Prambanan—which dominated the landscape of the Kedu and Kewu plains in Yogyakarta and Central Java, caught the attention of some historians and scholars in the colonial Dutch East Indies. This spurred archaeological studies to uncover the history of this ancient civilisation.

The history of the Mataram area as the capital of the Central Javanese Medang kingdom is also part of the historical *Yawadvipa* or *Bhumijava* (the land of Java), and the classical Javanese civilisation. The Indians collectively called them as *Yawadvipa*, the Khmer refer to them as *Chvea*, the Chinese called them as *Shepo*, *Chopo* or *Chao-wa*, the Arabs called them as *Jawi* or *Jawah*, and Srivijayan refer to them as *Bhumijava*. The native Javanese most often refer to their lands and country simply as *Jawi* (Java), while the name of their *nagara* (country) is often based on their capital. The only foreign source mentioning *Mdan* was found from the Philippines inscription, dated 822 saka (900).



Borobudur, the largest single Buddhist structure in the world, one of the monuments constructed by the Sailendran of the Medang Kingdom.

There are no comprehensive written records that have survived in Java except numbers of *prasasti* (inscriptions) written on stones or copper plates. These inscriptions most often recorded the political and religious deeds of the rulers. The most common theme mentioned in

inscriptions is the establishment of *Sima* (taxed rice cultivation land recognised through royal edict), and sometimes some portion or the whole of tax collected from this *Sima* land is appointed to fund the construction and maintenance of religious building. Nevertheless, some local legends and historical records, written on *lontar*—most often dated from later period—might also provides data and source to reconstruct the historical event.

Native Javanese mythology and beliefs composed in the Mataram Sultanate era (circa 17th century), but probably originating from an earlier period, mentioned a semi-mythological kingdom named Medang Kamulan, which in Javanese translates to "Medang the origin" kingdom. The kingdom is mentioned in the myth of Dewi Sri and also Aji Saka. This is probably the remnant of vague native Javanese collective memory of the existence of an ancient kingdom called "Medang".

Current knowledge of historical Javanese civilisation is thus primarily derived from:

- *Archaeological excavations*, reconstruction and investigation of ancient structures, especially *candi* (temples), and also the discovery of ancient relics, such as the Wonoboyo hoard.
- *Stone inscriptions*, most common are those which mention the foundation and funding of temples which report on the political and religious deeds of the kings, or stating their lineage; the most notable are the Canggal, Kalasan, Shivagrha and Balitung charter.
- *Bas reliefs* in a series of temple walls with depictions of life in the palace, village, temple, ship, marketplace and also the everyday lives of the population. The most notable are the bas reliefs found on Borobudur and Prambanan temple.
- *Native manuscripts* mentioning stories of kings, their deeds and exploits, that somehow link across to accounts mentioned in stone inscriptions. The notable example is the Carita Parahyangan.
- *Reports and chronicles* of foreign diplomats, traders and travellers, mainly from Chinese, Indian, and Arab sources.



The Prambanan temple compound originally consisted of hundreds of temples, built and expanded in the period between the reign of Pikatan and Balitung



Initially, the kingdom was identified only through its location Yawadvipa (Java island) as mentioned in Canggal inscription (732). The inscription mentioned *Rakai Mataram Sang Ratu Sanjaya* (King Sanjaya, the Rakai (lord) of Mataram). The earlier historians such as Soekmono, identify this kingdom as Mataram, a historic geographical name to identify the plain south of Mount Merapi in central Java, roughly corresponds to modern Muntilan (where the Canggal temple on Gunung Wukir hill is located), Yogyakarta, Sleman and Bantul Regency. This is based on the locations where large numbers of candi were discovered in and around Prambanan Plain. The etymology of the name "Mataram" derived from a Sanskrit term for "mother".

The name Medang appear later in East Javanese inscriptions such as Anjukladang inscription (937) and Minto Stone (982), Paradah inscription and some inscriptions discovered in Surabaya. As the result, historians tends to identify the Eastern Java period (929—1006) of this kingdom as *Medang* to differ it with its earlier Central Java period of *Mataram* (732—929). However, by examining the phrase in Anjukladang inscription mentioning: "*Kita prasiddha mangrakpa kadatwan rahyang ta i Mdaṇ i Bhûmi Matarâm*" suggests that the name *Mdaṇ* (read: Mdaṇ or Medang) was already used earlier in Central Java period. The phrase "*Mdaṇ i Bhûmi Matarâm*" literally means "Medang in the land of Mataram", which means the kingdom name is Medang with its capital in Mataram.^[10] The etymology of the name "Medang" might be derived from a local name of the hardwood "medang" tree which refer to trees of the

genus *Phoebe*.^[11] However, another etymological approach suggests that it might derived from old Javanese term "medang" which means "gracefully appear". It might be related to a Javanese term "medal" which means "going out", and Sundanese term "midang" which refer to dress up and appear gracefully in public.



Plaosan temple

The court moved several times after Mataram (reign of Sanjaya) to Mamrati or Amrati (reign of Rakai Pikatan), Poh Pitu (reign of Balitung), again to Bhumi Mataram (reign of Dyah Wawa), Tamwlang (reign of Sindok), Watugaluh (reign of Sindok), and last to Wwatan (reign of Dharmawangsa Teguh).

The name "Mataram" reappeared again later in the 14th century as one of Majapahit's province. Later in the 16th century appeared the Islamic Mataram Sultanate located in the same area in Yogyakarta vicinity. As the result, earlier historian also named this kingdom as Hindu Mataram or Ancient Mataram to differ it with later Islamic Mataram Sultanate.

This historic Javanese Kingdom of Mataram should not be confused with the Mataram city located on Lombok island, currently the capital of West Nusa Tenggara province. The latter was actually the royal capital of the Cakranegara, a branch of Balinese Karangasem nobles that colonize Lombok in early 19th century. Indeed, Lombok's Mataram city was named after the historic region of Mataram in Java, as it is a common practice for Balinese to name their settlements after their Javanese Majapahit heritage.

Formation and growth



Canggal inscription (732), created by King Sanjaya.

The earliest account of the Medang Mataram Kingdom is in the Canggal inscription, dated 732, discovered within the compound of Gunung Wukir temple in Canggal village, southwest of the town of Magelang. This inscription, written in Sanskrit using the Pallava script, tells of the erection of a *lingga* (a symbol of Shiva) on the hill in the Kunjarakunja area, located on a noble island called Yawadwipa (Java) which was blessed with abundance of rice and gold. The establishment of *lingga* was under the order of Rakai Mataram Sang Ratu Sanjaya (King Sanjaya Rakai (lord) of Mataram). This inscription tells that Yawadwipa was ruled by King Sanna, whose long reign was marked by wisdom and virtue. After Sanna died, the kingdom fell into disunity. Sanjaya, the son of Sannaha (Sanna's sister) ascended to the throne. He conquered the areas around his kingdom, and his wise reign blessed his land with peace and prosperity for all of his subjects.

It seemed that Sanjaya came to power c. 717 CE; that was the starting year of Sanjaya chronicle used in King Daksa's inscription far later in early 10th-century.^[15] According to Canggal inscription, Sanjaya established a new kingdom in Southern Central Java. And yet it seems to be the continuation of earlier polity ruled by King Sanna, Sanjaya's uncle. This earlier polity is linked to the earlier temple structures in Dieng Plateau, in the northern part of Central Java, which is the oldest surviving structure found in Central Java. The earlier kingdom linked as the predecessor of Medang kingdom is Kalingga, located somewhere in Central Java northern coast. The story of Sanna and Sanjaya are also described in the *Carita Parahyangan*, a book from a later period composed around late 16th-century, which mainly describes the history of Pasundan (the Sunda Kingdom). However, in this book, Sanjaya is described as Sanna's son, rather than his nephew. It also mentions that Sanna was defeated by Purbasora, King of Galuh, and retreated to Mount Merapi. So, to avenge the defeat of his father, Sanjaya attacked Galuh and killed Purbasora and his family. Afterwards, Sanjaya reclaimed Sanna's kingdom and ruled West Java, Central Java, East Java, and Bali. He also battled the Malayu and Keling (against their king, Sang Srivijaya). Although the manuscript seems to be romanticised, vague and not providing certain details on the period, nevertheless the almost exact name and theme of the story with historical Canggal inscription seems to confirm that the manuscript was based or inspired from the historical event.

Golden age



The 9th century Central Javanese gold and silver image of the Mahayana Buddhist goddess Tara

The period between the reign of King Panangkaran to King Balitung (span between 760–910) that roughly lasted for 150 years, marked the apogee of Javanese classic civilisation. This period witnessed the blossoming of Javanese art and architecture, as numbers of majestic temples and monuments were erected and dominated the skyline of Kedu and Kewu Plain. Most notable of these temples are Sewu, Borobudur and Prambanan temple. The Sailendras are known as the ardent temple builder.

King Sanjaya was a Shivaist, and yet his successor Panangkaran was a Mahayana Buddhist. This shift of faith, from Shivaist Sanjaya to Buddhist Panangkaran has raised problematic questions among scholars; whether there were two competing royal families that dominated the political landscapes in Central Java, that each are patrons of either Shivaist Hindu or Mahayana Buddhism. Or more recently suggested theory, that there were only one dynasty—the Sailendras—and there was only the shift or split of royal patronage in favour to Hinduism or Buddhism.

The great builder



The construction of Kalasan temple was mentioned in Kalasan inscription, under the auspices of King Panangkaran.

Panangkaran (r. 760–780) was an enthusiastic developer, he was credited for at least five major temple projects conducted and started during his reign. According to the Kalasan inscription, dated 778 and written in the Pranagari script in Sanskrit, the Kalasan temple was erected by the will of *Guru Sang Raja Sailendravamçatilaka* (the teacher of the ornament of Sailendra family), who persuaded Panangkaran (Sanjaya's successor) to construct a holy building for the goddess (*bodhisattvadevi*) Tara and build a vihara (monastery) for Buddhist monks from the Sailendra realm. Panangkaran also awarded Kalaça village to a *sangha* (Buddhist monastic community).^[16] The temple connected to this inscription is the Kalasan temple that housed the image of Tara, and the nearby Sari temple that was probably functioned as the monastery.

Panangkaran was also responsible for the construction of Abhayagiri Vihara, connected to the present-day of Ratu Boko. This hilltop compound was actually not a religious structure; consist of series of gates, ramparts, fortified walls, dry moats, walled enclosure, terraces and building bases. This site displays attributes of an occupation or settlement site, although its precise functions is unknown.^[17] This led to a suggestion that this compound probably was served as the palace. Initially it was likely intended as a secluded hilltop Buddhist monastery, as mentioned

in the Abhayagiri Vihara inscription. However, later it seems to be converted to become a fortified palace or a citadel, which evidence in the remnant of defensive structures.



The construction of Manjusri-grha temple was mentioned in Manjusri-grha inscription, under the auspices of King Panangkaran and completed during Dharanindra reign. The construction of Mendut temple was initiated and completed during the reign of King Indra (r. 780–800), a valiant king of Sailendra dynasty.

King Panangkaran probably also responsible to the conception and laid the foundation for the construction of grand Manjusri-grha temple, as mentioned in Manjusri-grha inscription dated 792. The king, however, never saw the completion of this grand temple complex, as it finished in 792, long after his death probably around 780. This massive temple complex with total of 249 structures was the grandest of its time, and probably served as the official state's temple that conducted important stately religious ceremonies.

The great conqueror

There are some reports that naval Javanese raiders invaded Tran-nam in 767, Champa in 774, and Champa again in 787. The successor of Panangkaran was Dharanindra (r. 780–800) or commonly known as King Indra. He was mentioned in Kelurak inscription (dated 782) in his formal reign name Sri Sanggrama Dhananjaya. In this inscription, he was hailed as *Wairiwarawiramardana* or "the slayer of courageous enemies". The similar title also found in Ligor B inscription discovered in Southern Thailand Malay Peninsula; *Sarwwarimadawimathana*, which suggest it referred to the same person. Dharanindra seems to be a valiant and warlike character, as he embarked on military naval expedition overseas and has brought Sailendras' control on Ligor in Malay Peninsula.^{[14]:91–92}

King Indra seems to continue the builder tradition of his predecessor. He continued the construction of Manjusri-grha temple (Sewu complex), and according to the Karangtengah inscription (dated 824) responsible for the construction of Venuvana temple, connected to Mendut or probably Ngawen temple. He was also probably responsible for the conception and initiation of the construction of Borobudur and Pawon temple.

Dharanindra ascends as the Maharaja of Srivijaya. The nature of Sailendras' close relations with the neighbouring Srivijayan empire based on Sumatra is quite uncertain and complicated. It seems that in earlier times, Sailendra family belonged within Srivijayan mandala sphere of influence. And for a later period of time, Sailendras' monarch rose to become the head of Srivijayan mandala. The shift that rendered Sailendras in return to become the ruler of Srivijaya was unclear. Was it led by military campaign by Dharanindra against Srivijaya in Sumatra, or

more likely formed by close alliance and kinship between the house of Sailendra and the Maharaja of Srivijaya.



The Laguna Copperplate Inscription (circa 900 CE) from the Laguna de Bay area in Luzon, the Philippines. The inscription invokes the "chief" (*pamegat*) of "Mdang" as one of the authorities in the clearing of a debt owed to the "chief and commander" (*pamegat senapati*) of "Tundun". Based on the Ligor inscription, Laguna copperplate inscription and Pucangan inscription, the influence and knowledge of the Medang Kingdom reached as far as Bali, southern Thailand, the Indianized kingdoms in the Philippines, and the Khmer in Cambodia.^{[3][4][5]}

The pacifist ruler

Dharanindra's successor was Samaragrawira (r. 800–819), mentioned in Nalanda inscription (dated 860) as the father of Balaputradewa, and the son of *Śailendravamsatilaka* (the ornament of Śailendra family) with stylised name *Śrīviravairimathana* (the slayer of enemy hero), which refer to Dharanindra. Unlike his predecessor the expansive warlike Dharanindra, Samaragrawira seems to be a pacifist, enjoying a peaceful prosperity of interior Java in Kedu Plain, and more interested on completing the Borobudur project. He appointed the Khmer prince Jayavarman as the governor of Indrapura in the Mekong delta under Sailendran rule. This decision was proven as a mistake, as Jayavarman later revolted, moved his capital further inland north from Tonle Sap to Mahendraparvata, severed the link and proclaimed Cambodian independence from Java in 802. Samaragrawira was mentioned as the king of Java that married Tārā, daughter of Dharmasetu. He was mentioned as his other name Rakai Warak in Mantyasih inscription.

Earlier historians, such as N. J. Krom, and Coedes, tend to equate Samaragrawira and Samaratungga as the same person. However, later historians such as Slamet Muljana equate Samaratungga with Rakai Garung, mentioned in Mantyasih inscription as the fifth monarch of Mataram kingdom. Which means Samaratungga was the successor of Samaragrawira.



The massive stone stupa-mandala of Borobudur was completed in 825 during the reign of King Samaratungga.

Samaratungga (r. 819–838) was credited for the completion of massive stone mandala, the grand monument of Borobudur (completed in 825). Samaratungga just like Samaragrawira, seems to be deeply influenced by peaceful Mahayana Buddhist beliefs and strive to become a pacifist and a benevolent ruler. His successor was Princess Pramodhawardhani that betrothed to Shivaite Rakai Pikatan, son of the influential Rakai Patapan, a landlord in Central Java. The political move that seems as an effort to secure peace and Sailendran rule on Java by reconciling the Mahayana Buddhist with Shivaist Hindus.

The rule of Shivaist Rakai Pikatan (r. 838–850) and his Buddhist queen consort Pramodhawardhani marked the return of the Medang Mataram court favour to Shivaist Hindu,^{[14]:108} instead of Mahayana Buddhism favoured by previous king Samaratungga. This is evident in the construction of grand Shivagrha temple compound in the Mataram capital, located only few hundred meters south from Manjusri temple compound. Nevertheless, the inter-religious relations during Pikatan's reign seems to promote tolerance in the spirit of reconciliation. Their reign is credited to the construction and expansion of at least two of perwara temple and stupa in Plaosan complex, located east from Sewu (Manjusri) temple. Plaosan temple with twin main temples is probably built and dated from an earlier period, probably started by Panangkaran, Samaragrawira or Samaratungga, but completed during Pikatan-Pramodhawardhani's reign.

The divide



Ratu Boko, a fortified hill, probably referred in Shivagrha inscription as the location of a battle. Balaputra however, opposed the rule of Pikatan and Pramodhawardhani. The relations between Balaputra and Pramodhawardhani is interpreted differently by some historians. Older theory according to Bosch and De Casparis holds that Balaputra was the son of Samaratungga, which means he was the younger brother of Pramodhawardhani. Later historians such as Muljana on the other hand, argued that Balaputra was the son of Samaragrawira and the younger brother of Samaratungga, which means he was the uncle of Pramodhawardhani.^[21]

It is not known whether Balaputra was expelled from Central Java because of succession dispute with Pikatan, or was he already ruled in Suvarnadwipa (Sumatra). Either ways, it seems that Balaputra eventually ruled the Sumatran branch of Sailendra dynasty and enthroned in Srivijayan capital of Palembang. Historians argued that this was because Balaputra's mother—Tara, the queen consort of King Samaragrawira was the princess of Srivijaya, this rendered

Balaputra as the heir of Srivijayan throne. Balaputra the Maharaja of Srivijaya later stated his claim as the rightful heir of Sailendra dynasty from Java, as proclaimed in Nalanda



inscription dated 860.

Shivagrha inscription dated 778 Saka (856 CE), one of the historical source dated from the Medang Mataram Kingdom.

The Shivagrha inscription (dated 856) mentioned about a war challenging Pikatan's reign, the inscription, however, did not mention who was the enemy that challenged Pikatan's authority. The earlier historians suggest that it was Balaputradewa that rose against Pikatan, however, later historians suggest it was another enemy, argued by that time Balaputra already ruled in Srivijaya. The Shivagrha inscription only mentioned that the battle happened in a fortress on a hill protected by bulk of stone walls, this fortress hill is identified with Ratu Boko archaeological site. The eldest children of Pikatan and Pramodhawardhani was Rakai Gurunwangi Dyah Saladu. Eventually the revolt was successfully defeated by Pikatan's youngest son—the valiant Dyah Lokapala also known as Rakai Kayuwangi. As the reward for his heroic deed and bravery, the people and many of Pikatan's state advisors urged that Lokapala should be named as crown prince instead of Gurunwangi. Gurunwangi's loss of favour in succession—despite being the eldest sibling, has raised a question among scholars. It was previously thought that the name Rakai Gurunwangi Dyah Saladu refer to a female character (princess), although it is more likely that Gurunwangi was a prince.

This revolt seems to have succeeded in taking over the capital in Mataram for a certain period. After defeating the usurper, Pikatan found that this bloodshed has made the capital in Mataram inauspicious, thus he moved the *karaton* (court) to Mamrati or Amrati located somewhere in Kedu Plain (Progo river valley), northwest from Mataram.

Later Pikatan decided to abdicate his throne in favour of his youngest son Dyah Lokapala (r. 850—890). Rakai Pikatan retired, renounce worldly affairs and become a hermit named Sang Prabhu Jatiningrat. The event also marked with the consecrated ceremony of Shiva image in Prambanan main temple. Boechari suggests that the enemy that challenged Pikatan was Rakai Walaing pu Kumbhayoni, a powerful Shivaist landlord and also the branch of the ruling dynasty as he claimed as the descendant of a king that ruled Java.

The short peace

Ijo, a 10th-century Hindu temple located on Ijo Hill Southeast from Prambanan

The Medang Mataram kings after Pikatan; from Lokapala, Watuhumalang (r. 890—898) and Balitung are the patrons of Shivaist Hindu, "after the decline of the power of the Buddhist Sailendras in central Java." Their reign seems to have enjoyed a relative peace. The grand Shivagrha temple compound is continuously expanded and completed with hundreds of perwara (complementary) temples surrounding the main three prasada (tower) of Trimurti Hindu Gods. It is probably during their reign that some Hindu temples are constructed in the area, such as Sambisari, Barong, Ijo, Kedulan, Kimpulan, Kadisoka, Gebang and Merak temple. Barong and Ijo temples in particular are interesting, for they are built on the hill and have a different layout compared to earlier temples. Sewu and Prambanan temples are arranged in concentric mandala layout. Barong and Ijo temples, however, are arranged in a completely different way; the main temple is located further back of the compound on the most higher ground, while the perwara complementary temples are built in front of the main temple on the lower ground, the layout corresponds to the uneven topography of the site. This style of temple layout is most likely the predecessor and will be continued in the later East Javanese temple architecture.

King Pikatan, Lokapala (Rakai Kayuwangi), and Watuhumalang ruled from their court in Mamrati or Amrati, they are known as "Amrati Kings". The exact location of Mamrati is unknown, suggested somewhere in Kedu Plain (modern day Magelang and Temanggung regencies), located north from Mataram along Progo River valley. It was suggested that Amrati might be located near the location of Wanua Tengah III inscription, in Kedunglo hamlet, Kaloran village, within Temanggung Regency.



A battle scene depicted on a bas-relief in Prambanan.

After absent for several generations, the name "Mataram" reappears in Javanese inscription during the reign of Balitung, which probably signifies the transfer of capital. King Balitung moved his capital from Amrati to Poh Pitu, and renamed Poh Pitu as Yawapura. Again the exact location of this capital is unknown, probably also located within Kedu Plain. However, it is highly possible that Poh Pitu was located around the Poh inscription (905), in Dumpoh hamlet, Potrobangsari village, North Magelang district within Magelang city. Balitung productively issued several inscriptions, among others are Telahap inscription (dated 11 September 899), Watukura inscription (27 July 902), Telang (11 January 904), Poh (17 July 905), Kubu-Kubu (17 October 905), Mantyasih (11 April 907), and Rukam (907).

Our current knowledge of the names of kings that reign the Medang Mataram kingdom is much owed to Mantyasih inscription (dated 907), issued by King Balitung (r. 898–910)—that contains genealogy and the reign order of Medang Mataram kings, and he seeks ancestor as far as King Sanjaya. This inscription is also known as "Balitung charter". The motivation of Balitung's edict has sparked various assumptions from historians—as if Balitung eagerly seeks legitimacy of his rule, by stating his ancestral lineage. It is highly possible that he related to the royal family and

shared common ancestry. Thus, suggested that he married to the daughter of previous king, which made him the royal son-in-law as well as heir.



Bubrah temple

The Watukura inscription (902) is the oldest inscription in Javanese statecraft that mentioned the position of Rakryan Kanuruhan (Prime Minister), while the position of Rakryan Mapatih—which in Balitung's era is equivalent to crown prince, was held by Mpu Daksa. The relation between Balitung and his successor Daksha is quite problematic, as historians suggested Daksha was the son of previous king (Watuhumalang), while the court was held by Balitung who is probably Daksha's brother-in-law. The Telang inscription, dated 11 January 904, revealed the development of the port complex of Paparahuan which was led by Rakai Welar Mpu Sudarsana, located on the bank of Bengawan Solo river. By building port and ferry crossing in navigable Bengawan Solo, might signify the growing interest in maritime trade, thus the court interest has shifted eastward.

The Kubu-Kubu inscription (17 October 905) revealed the village Kubu-kubu was awarded to Rakryan Hujung Dyah Mangarak and Rakryan Matuha Dyah Majawuntan in recognition of their valor on conquering Bantan. The toponym of Bantan is unclear, it might correspond to the 10th-century site of Banten Girang in present-day Banten province of western Java, or might be another place. While other historians speculated that Bantan might be an alternative name to Bali. In old Javanese, the term *Bantan* means *sacrifice* which is often used interchangeably with Bali that means *offering*.



Sajiwan Buddhist temple, linked to Nini Haji Rakryan Sanjiwana or Sri Kahulunnan

The Mantyasih inscription (11 April 907) revealed the gifts awarded to five junior *patihs* (officials) for their service on maintained peace during Balitung's wedding. Also in 907, in Rukam inscription, Balitung offers that the Sima taxes being collected from the village of

Rukam to be allocated for the construction and maintenance of a temple dedicated to his grandmother, Nini Haji Rakryan Sanjiwana. The temple mentioned here is Sajiwan Buddhist temple, located not far south from Prambanan, probably was built during the end of Rakai Kayuwangi (King Lokapala) reign and completed in Balitung's reign. The temple is dedicated to Nini Haji Rakryan Sanjiwana, linked to Sri Kahulunnan, another name of queen Pramodhawardhani. This temple probably was a mortuary temple dedicated as *pedharmaan* (dedication) for the deceased queen mother.

The rivalry between Balitung and Daksha was probably a result of the previous contest of succession between Rakai Gurunwangi and Rakai Kayuwangi (King Lokapala)—both are descendants of Rakai Pikatan. During the rule of his brother-in-law—Balitung, Mpu Daksa held the position as Rakai Hino, according to Taji Gunung inscription (dated 21 December 910), that mentioned about the partition of Taji Gunung area between him and Rakai Gurunwangi. It seems that Rakai Gurunwangi allied himself with his nephew Daksha. Historian Boechari is certain that the reign of Balitung was ended as the result of Mpu Daksha's rebellion. According to Taji Gunung inscription (910) Daksha was still as Rakai Hino, while in the stele of Timbangan Wungkal (913) he already ascended to the throne as the king. Although the kingdom also enjoyed relative peace and prosperity, after King Balitung, it seems that the construction of grand temples are decreased in both quality and quantity.

Daksha ruled over the centre and the east portions of Java. King Daksha (r. 910–919) and his successor King Tulodong (r. 919–924) also ruled from Poh Pitu. The next monarch, King Wawa (r. 924–929) returned the capital back from Poh Pitu to Mataram. The Sanggurah inscription (dated 2 August 928)—found in Malang area in East Java is particularly interesting, since it mentioned about the deed of Sri Maharaja Rakai Pangkaja Dyah Wawa Sri Wijayalokanamottungga (King Wawa) that granted the Sima status to the land in and around the source of Brantas river in present-day Batu and Malang area. This means that during the reign of Wawa, the kingdom has expanded eastward by establishing settlements (Sima lands) along the river Bengawan Solo and Brantas.

Black labor and overseas invasions



Borobudur ship, a ship used by Javanese people for sailing as far as Ghana.

The 10th century Arab account *Ajayeb al-Hind* (Marvels of India) gives an account of invasion in Africa by people called Wakwak or Waqwaq, probably the Malay people of Srivijaya or Javanese people of Medang kingdom, in 945-946 CE. They arrived in the coast of Tanganyika and Mozambique with 1000 boats and attempted to take the citadel of Qanbaloh, though eventually failed. The reason of the attack is because that place had goods suitable for their country and for China, such as ivory, tortoise shells, panther skins, and ambergris, and also because they wanted black slaves from Bantu people (called *Zeng* or *Zenj* by Arabs, *Jenggi* by Javanese) who were strong and make good slaves. According to Waharu IV inscription (931 AD) and Garaman inscription (1053 AD), the Medang kingdom and Airlangga's era Kahuripan kingdom (1000–1049 AD) of Java experienced a long prosperity so that it needed a lot of manpower, especially to bring crops, packings, and send them to ports. Black labor was imported from Jenggi (Zanzibar), Pujut (Australia), and Bondan (Papua). According to Naerssen, they arrived in Java by trading (bought by merchants) or being taken prisoner during a war and then made slaves.

Moving eastward



Towering Merapi volcano overlooking Prambanan prasad tower.

It was suggested that Merapi volcanic eruption had devastated Mataram capital, forcing them to relocate in the east.

Around the year 929, the centre of the kingdom was shifted from Central Java to East Java by Mpu Sindok, who established the Isyana Dynasty. The exact cause of the move is still uncertain. Historians have proposed various possible causes; from natural disaster, epidemic outbreak, politics and power struggle, to religious or economic motives.

According to van Bemmelen's theory, which was supported by Prof. Boechari a severe eruption of Mount Merapi volcano probably has caused the move.^[29] Historians suggest that, some time during the reign of King Wawa of Mataram (924—929), Merapi volcano erupted and devastated the kingdom's capital in Mataram. The historic massive volcano eruption is popularly known as *Pralaya Mataram* (the debacle of Mataram). The evidence for this eruption can be seen in several temples that were virtually buried under Merapi's lahar and volcanic debris, such as the Sambisari, Morangan, Kedulan, Kadisoka and Kimpulan temples.



Sambisari temple buried five metres under volcanic debris of Mount Merapi.

Archeologist Agus Aris Munandar proposed a hypothesis, that the move was caused by a religious motives. He mentions that the incessant eruptions of Mount Merapi has caused the kingdom to move. Pointing out that in ancient Javanese beliefs, Merapi was considered as the Mahameru for the people in the ancient Mataram. According to Hindu teachings, the Mahameru peak symbolises the centre of the universe, the sacred realm where the gods live. Since their Mahameru in Central Java continued to erupt, they decided to move, but they still looked for another Mahameru. As East Java was still part of Mataram territory, it is possible that some of the people informed the Central Java kingdom that there was another Mahameru in the east. He suggests that the new sacred mountain was Mount Penanggungan in East Java, which resembles Mahameru.

Another hypothesis proposed by N.J. Krom says that the demise was caused by an epidemic break-out, forcing people to seek a new place to live. On the other hand, B. Schrieke says the move was caused by economic reasons; the vigorous temple construction boom during the era of Sailendran kings has put a tremendous economic burden upon the peasant. People were suffering as they were forced to build grand temples by the kings, instead of working their farms. Slowly they moved to the east to avoid the kings' orders.



Barong Hindu temple, constructed on large terraces.

A power struggle is also proposed as the cause of the move. Coedes suggested that the move to East Java was probably in response to the Buddhist Sailendras. This theory is inline with the one proposed by J.G. de Casparis which suggests, that the shift of capital city eastward was to avoid a Srivijaya invasion from Sumatra.

However, it was most likely motivated by economic reasons. De Casparis then expands his theory, saying that the location of the kingdom in Central Java was less accessible than East

Java. The Brantas river valley was considered to be a strategic location, as the river provides easy access to reach ports on East Java's north coast and Java Sea, strategic for the control of maritime trade routes to the eastern parts of archipelago, being especially vital for control of the Maluku spice trade. This is in contrast with Mataram's Kedu and Kewu Plain that relatively isolated from the north coast of Central Java. Despite its fertility, ideal for rice agricultural kingdom, the Mataram Plain is quite isolated, its northern borders are protected by natural barrier of Merapi, Merbabu, Sumbing, Sundoro, Dieng and Ungaran volcanoes. Ideal for inward-looking agricultural polity, but insufficient to develop a maritime trading kingdom.



Badut temple near Malang, East Java circa 8th century

The recent studies suggest, that the move eastward was not an abrupt event. During the Mataram period in Central Java, the kingdom most likely already expanded eastward and established settlements along Brantas river in East Java. It was more likely that the move was done in gradual manner over long period. The cause of the move was also motivated from multiple factors; either natural, economy or politics. The Sanggurah inscription or popularly known as the "Minto Stone", dated to 982—found in Malang, East Java in early 19th century—mentions the name of a Javanese king, Sri Maharaja Rakai Pangkaja Dyah Wawa Sri Wijayalokanamottungga (King Wawa Wijayaloka), who then ruled the Malang area. This suggests that even during the reign of King Wawa, the Malang region in East Java already belongs within the realm of Medang Kingdom. The inscription contains elements about the shift of power that consequently took place to East Java.

Whatever the true reasons behind the move of political centre from Central to East Java, this event marked the end of an era profoundly. Indeed, the temple-building activity has decreased since the era of King Balitung in scale, quality and quantity, and yet the Eastern Java period of Medang kingdom leave no tangible traces of any temple structure comparable to those of the previous Central Javanese Sailendra era. It seems that the kingdom no longer has the intention and the resource to embark on a grand scale construction project.

Establishing the eastern country



Anjukladang inscription (937), issued by King Sindok during his power consolidation in East Java.

According to Turyan inscription (dated 929), Sindok moved the capital to Tamwlang and later moved it again to Watugaluh. Historians identify those names with the Tambelang and Megaluh area near modern Jombang, East Java. Although Sindok establishes a new dynasty, the Isyana dynasty named after his daughter, Sindok seems to be closely related to the royal house of Medang Mataram, thus he can be viewed as the continuation of a long line of Javanese Kings lineage stretched from King Sanjaya. During his reign Sindok created quite a number of inscriptions, most are related to the establishment of *Sima* lands; these inscriptions are among others; Linggasutan (929), Gulung-Gulung (929), Cunggrang (929), Jru-Jru (930), Waharu (931), Sumbut (931), Wulig (935), and Anjukladang (937). Most of these inscriptions mentioned the establishment of *Sima* or *Swatantra* lands. This signifies that Sindok seems to consolidate his authority over East Java as collections of villages are declared as *Sima* lands, which means the settlements have developed wet rice cultivation and can be taxed and swore allegiance as part of Sindok's kingdom.

The Anjukladang inscription dated from 937, in particular, is interesting because it stated the *Sima* status is awarded to Anjukladang village and a temple is erected in recognition of their service in repelling the invading forces from Malayu. The temple mentioned here is probably the Candi Lor made of bricks which is now in ruins, located in Candirejo village in Nganjuk Regency.¹ The mentioning of invading *Malayu* forces refer to the old name of Sumatran Malayu Kingdom, which probably means Srivijaya instead. This means the relations between East Javanese Medang kingdom with Srivijaya has badly deteriorated to the state of hostility.

Expansion to Bali



Bodhisattva Manjushri from Goa Gajah cave, Bali, demonstrated the influence of Javanese Medang Mataram Sailendran art.

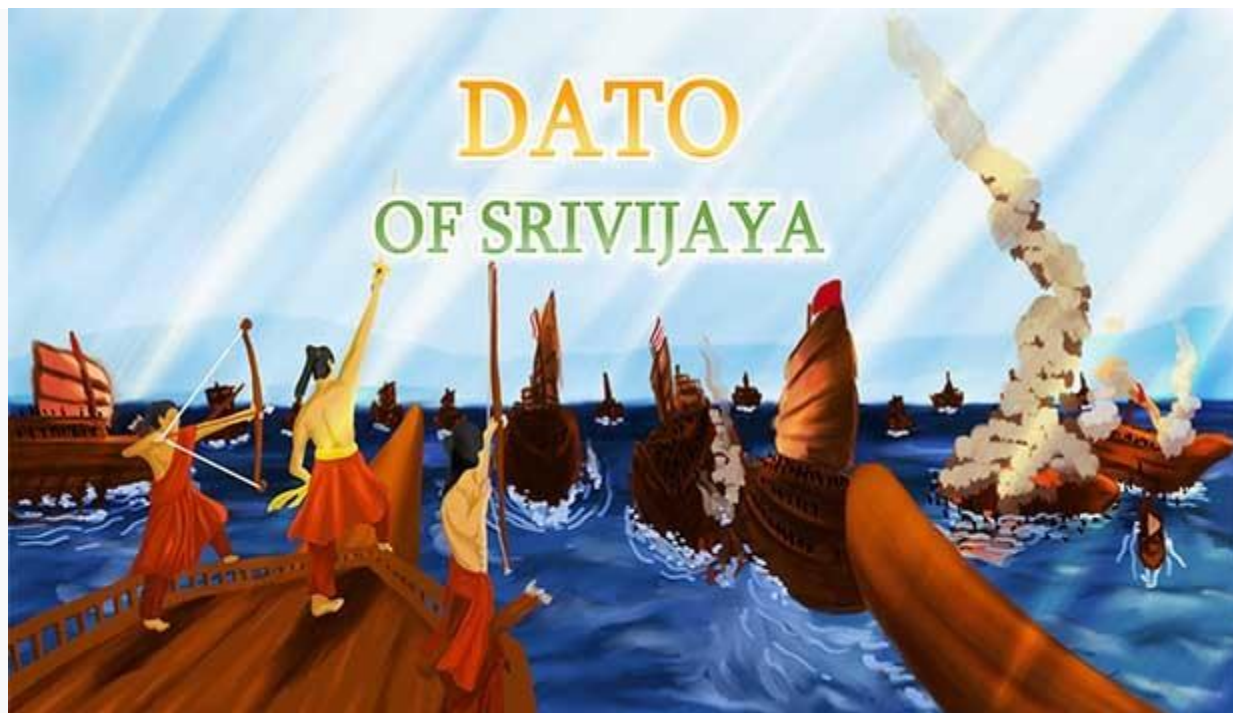
Sindok was succeeded by his daughter Isyana Tunggalwijaya. According to Gedangan inscription (dated 950), Queen Isyana married to Sri Lokapala, a nobleman from Bali. She later succeeded by her son Makutawangsa Wardhana c. 985. According to Pucangan inscription (dated 1041), King Makutawangsa Wardhana has a daughter named Mahendradatta, Makutawangsa Wardhana was replaced by his son Dharmawangsa Tguh c. 990s.

A later king, Dharmawangsa, moved the capital again to Wwatan, identified as the Wotan area near modern Madiun. Dharmawangsa's sister, Mahendradatta later would be betrothed to a Balinese king Udayana Warmadewa. This report indicated that somehow Bali had been absorbed into the Medang Kingdom's mandala sphere of influence, probably as vassal. In literature development, King Dharmawangsa also ordered the translation of the *Mahabharata* into Old Javanese in 996.

Collapse

In the late 10th century, the rivalry between the Sumatran Srivijaya and Javanese Mataram became more hostile.^{[14]:130} The animosity was probably caused by the Srivijayan effort to reclaim Sailendra lands in Java, as Balaputra and his offspring—a new dynasty of Srivijaya maharajas—belonged to the Sailendra dynasty, or by Medang aspirations to challenge Srivijaya dominance as the regional power. Previously the Anjukladang inscription dated from 937 mentioned about infiltration attack from Malayu which refer to a Srivijayan attack.

War against Srivijaya



Ancient Javanese vessel depicted in Borobudur. In 990 King Dharmawangsa launched a naval attack against Srivijaya in Sumatra, the hostility between two kingdoms has led to the collapse of Medang kingdom.

In 990, Dharmawangsa launched a naval invasion against Srivijaya^{[14]:130} in an attempt to capture Palembang. The news of Javanese invasion of Srivijaya was recorded in Chinese accounts from Song period. In 988, an envoy from *San-fo-qi* (Srivijaya) was sent to Chinese court in Guangzhou. After sojourned for about two years in China, the envoy learned that his country has been attacked by *She-po* (Java) thus made him unable to return home. In 992 the envoy from *She-po* (Java) arrived in Chinese court and explaining that their country has involved in continuous war with Srivijaya. In 999 the Srivijayan envoy sailed from China to Champa in an attempt to return home, however he received no news about the condition of his country. The Srivijayan envoy then sailed back to China and appealed Chinese Emperor for the protection of China against Javanese invaders.

Dharmawangsa's invasion led the Maharaja of Srivijaya, Sri Cudamani Warmadewa to seek protection from China. Srivijayan Maharaja, Sri Cudamani Warmadewa was an able and astute ruler, with shrewd diplomatic skills. In the midst of crisis brought by Javanese invasion, he secured Chinese political support by appeasing the Chinese Emperor. In 1003, a Song historical record reported that the envoy of *San-fo-qi* dispatched by the king Sri Cudamani Warmadewa, informed that a Buddhist temple had been erected in their country to pray for the long life of Chinese Emperor, thus asked the emperor to give the name and the bell for this temple which was built in his honor. Rejoiced, the Chinese Emperor named the temple *Ch'eng-t'en-wan-shou* ('ten thousand years of receiving blessing from heaven, which is China) and a bell was immediately cast and sent to Srivijaya to be installed in the temple.^{[33]:6}

After 16 years of war, in 1006, Srivijaya managed to repel the Medang invaders and liberated Palembang. This attack opened the eyes of the Srivijayan Maharaja to how dangerous the Medang kingdom could be, and he planned to destroy his new Javanese nemesis.



Mahapralaya

Buddhist bronze figure depicting Boddhisattva Padmapani, 10th-century dated from late period of Medang Kingdom

In retaliation, in 1016–1017, Srivijaya forces assisted Haji (king) Wurawari to revolt. He launched an invasion from Lwaram, attacked and destroyed the Medang Palace, killing Dharmawangsa and most of the royal family.^{[14]:130} Wurawari was a vassal polity located in present-day Banyumas area, south of Karang Kobar.^{[22]:201} Lwaram is connected to the modern-day Ngloram village in Cepu region, Blora, Central Java. This sudden and unexpected attack took place during the wedding ceremony of Dharmawangsa's daughter, which rendered the court unprepared and shocked.

This calamity was recorded in Javanese account as the *pralaya* (the debacle) the death of the Mataram kingdom. With the death of Dharmawangsa and the fall of the capital, under military pressure from Srivijaya, the kingdom finally collapsed and fell to chaos. With the absence of Medang paramount ruler, warlords in regional provinces and settlements in central and east Java rebelled and break loose from the central Medang government and forming their own polities serving local dynasties. Raids and robbery were rampant ravaging the country. There was further unrest and violence several years after the kingdom's demise.

Airlangga, a son of King Udayana Warmadewa of Bali and Queen Mahendradatta,^{[14]:129} also a nephew of slain King Dharmawangsa, managed to escape the destruction and went into exile

in Vanagiri forest in interior Central Java. He later rallied popular support, reunited the remnants of the Medang Kingdom and re-established the kingdom (including Bali) under the name of Kingdom of Kahuripan in 1019. The Kingdom of Kahuripan can be considered as the successor state of Medang, and from this point on, the kingdom was known as Kahuripan, with its capital located near Brantas river estuarine, somewhere around modern Surabaya, Sidoarjo or Pasuruan in East Java.

The dual dynasties theory- *Sanjaya Dynasty*



Plaosan twin temples

Bosch in his book *"Srivijaya, de Sailendravamsa en de Sanjayavamsa"* (1952) suggested that king Sanjaya was the progenitor of the Sanjaya Dynasty, and there were two dynasties that ruled Central Java; the Buddhist Sailendra and the Shivaist Sanjaya dynasty.^[34] The inscription also states that Sanjaya was an ardent follower of Shaivism. From its founding in the early 8th century until 928, the kingdom was ruled by the Sanjaya dynasty. The first king was Sanjaya, who ruled in the Mataram region in the vicinity of modern Yogyakarta and Prambanan, and left the written records on the Canggal inscription. However, around the mid 8th century, the Sailendra dynasty emerged in Central Java and challenged Sanjaya domination in the region. The prevailing historical interpretation holds that the Sailendra dynasty co-existed next to the Sanjaya dynasty in Central Java, and much of the period was characterised by peaceful co-operation. The Sailendra, with their strong connections to Srivijaya, managed to gain control of Central Java and become overlords of the *Rakai* (local Javanese lords), including the Sanjayas, thus making the Sanjaya kings of Mataram their vassals. Little is known about the kingdom due to the dominance of the Sailendra, who during this period constructed Borobudur, a Buddhist monument. Samaratunga, the monarch of the Sailendra, tried to secure the Sailendra position in Java, cementing an alliance with the Sanjayas by arranging the marriage of his daughter Pramodhawardhani with Pikatan.

Around the middle of the 9th century, relations between the Sanjaya and the Sailendra deteriorated. In 852, the Sanjaya ruler, Pikatan, defeated Balaputra, the offspring of the Sailendra monarch Samaratunga and the princess Tara. This ended the Sailendra presence in Java; Balaputra retreated to the Srivijayan capital in Sumatra, where he became the paramount ruler. The victory of Pikatan was recorded in Shivagrha inscription dated 856, created by Rakai Kayuwangi, Pikatan's successor.

The single dynasty theory



The scene of the Javanese court depicted in Borobudur bas relief

However, this dual Sailendra—Sanjaya dynasties theory proposed by Bosch and De Casparis was opposed by some Indonesian historians in later period. An alternate theory, proposed by Poerbatjaraka, suggests there was only one kingdom and one dynasty, the kingdom called Medang, with the capital in the Mataram area (thus the name of the kingdom: "*Medang i Bhumi Mataram*"), and the ruling dynasty being the Sailendra.

This theory is supported with Boechari interpretation on Sojomerto inscription and Poerbatjaraka study on Carita Parahyangan manuscript, Poerbatjaraka holds that Sanjaya and all of his offspring belongs to the Sailendra family, which initially was Shivaist Hindu. However, according to Raja Sankhara inscription (now missing); Sanjaya's son, Panangkaran, converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism. And because of that conversion, the later series of Sailendra kings who ruled Medang become Mahāyāna Buddhists also and gave Buddhism royal patronage in Java until the end of Samaratunga's reign. The Shivaist Hindus regained royal patronage with the reign of Pikatan, which lasted until the end of the Medang Kingdom. During the reign of Kings Pikatan and Balitung, the royal Hindu Trimurti temple of Prambanan was built and expanded in the vicinity of Yogyakarta.

The complex stratified ancient Javan society, with its refined aesthetic taste in art and culture, is evidenced through the various scenes in narrative bas-reliefs carved on various temples dated from the Medang era.

Capital



Prambanan prāsāda (towers) viewed from Ratu Boko hill, the area in Prambanan Plain was the location of the Mataram capital.

During this period the common concept of city, as it known in Europe, Middle East or China, as the urban concentration centre of politics, administration, religious and economic activities, was not quite established yet in ancient Java. The proper urban development as a city took place later in 13th-century Majapahit's Trowulan.

The capital itself is more likely refer to the palace, a walled compound called *pura* in Sanskrit, or in local Javanese as *karaton* or *kadatwan*, this is where the king and his family reside and rule his court. The palace itself is more of a collection of *pendopo* style pavilions surrounded by walls. These pavilions and halls are made from organic wooden and thatched materials, so they had decayed over centuries leaving only stone walls, gates, terraces and bases. The example of this type of secular buildings can be found in Ratu Boko compound. The Javanese urban centre in this period did not recognise walled-city as it found in Chinese or Indian counterparts, the only walled, well-guarded and protected compound was the king's palace and temple compound. The *nagara* or capital itself was more of a collection of densely populated villages surrounding the *pura* (king's palace).

The religious activity centres, which refer to the location of where the temples stood, did not necessarily signify the administrative or economic centre as well. As according to inscriptions, numbers of lands has been awarded a *Sima* status with portion or the whole of its rice tax revenue was allocated to funding the construction and maintaining the temple. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the Prambanan Plain with high concentration of temples located just few hundred meters away from each other—Sambisari, Kalasan, Sari, Sewu, Lumbung, Prambanan, Plaosan, Sajiwan, Banyunibo, Ratuboko, Barong and Ijo temples—might be the location of the capital of Mataram. Other experts argued that the Prambanan area was indeed the religious centre of the kingdom, but was not the administrative centre, while suggesting other locations in Muntilan as the possible political centre of the kingdom.

Most of the time, the court of the Medang Kingdom was located in Mataram, possibly located somewhere in Muntilan or the Prambanan Plain near modern Yogyakarta. However, during the reign of Rakai Pikatan, the court was moved to Mamrati. Later, in the reign of Balitung, the court moved again, this time to Poh Pitu. Unlike Mataram, historians have been unable to pinpoint the possible locations of Mamrati and Poh Pitu, although most historians agree that both were located in the Kedu Plain, somewhere around the modern Magelang or Temanggung regencies. Later expert suggests that the area in Secang, on the upper Progo river valley in northern Magelang Regency — with relatively high temple density — was possibly the secondary political centre of the kingdom.^[37] In later Eastern Java period, other centres were mentioned; such as Tamwlang and Watugaluh (near Jombang), also Wwatan (near Madiun).

Administration



The bas relief of 8th century Borobudur depicts the scene in royal court.
Image of Bodhisattva on Plaosan temple.

During this period the administration level of Javanese polity was only consists of two levels; the central government level centred in king's court, and the *wanua* or village level took form of settlements scattered around within kingdom's realm. The palace where the King resided was mentioned as *kadatwan* or *karaton*, the court was the centre of kingdom's administration. The *wanua* or village is more likely took shape of an "island" filled with housings and orchards in the middle of vast rice paddies, this village layout still can be found in modern Javanese *desa*. The King was regarded as the paramount ruler or *chakravartin*, where the highest power and authority lies. He ruled the *nagara* or *kadatwan* which means the kingdom, from his *puri* (palace or walled compound). Under the king, there are state officials that serve to forward the king's laws and orders. They are using the title of *Rakai* or *Samget*. The *Rakais* ruled an administrative unit called *watak* that formed from the collection of several villages or *wanua*. *Rakai* can be considered as regional landlord or the landed gentry, that rule a large collection of villages. The *rakais* transmit the king's order to the *Rama* or village leaders that rules their own domain called *karaman* or *watak*. As the kingdom grew larger and complex, entering the 10th century during the reign of Balitung, series of state officials are added to add hierarchy levels.

Most of the inscriptions dated from Medang Mataram period are related to the establishment of *sima* lands. This signify the formation and expansion of Javanese agricultural villages in the region during this period. Either by opening a forest or converting a *ladang* (dry rice cultivation) to *sawah* (wet rice cultivation). A *sima* is an arable wet rice agricultural land with rice surpluses available for taxation, and officially recognised through royal edict. Most of these *sima* lands are ruled by regional *rakai* or *samget* (landed gentry) in their realm. By acquiring prestigious *sima* status from the king, a *watak* regional unit held a higher prestige compared to non-*sima* settlements, yet this also means acknowledging the kingdom's overlordship over their land and swore their allegiance to the king. The *Rakais* that rule the land are granted a royal permission to collect tax, yet some parts of these tax should be regularly paid to the king's court (central government in the capital). In some instance, some of these *sima* inscription stated that this *sima* land has become a tax-free land, in exchange that the rice harvest surpluses collected from this land are used to construct or maintain a religious building. This means the *rakai* that

traditionally ruled this lands no longer has the right to collect the tax, or at least reducing their tax earnings.

Other than their administrative and military-defense function, the king and the royal family is also known as the patron of arts and also religious piousness. The king, the royal family and the kingdom's officials had the authority to launch public projects, such as irrigation works or temple construction. The royal art and religious patronage can be seen in sponsoring temples constructions. The kingdom left behind several temples and monuments. The most notable ones are Borobudur, Prambanan, Sewu, and the Plaosan temple compound.

Economy



The bas-relief in 8th century Borobudur depicting rice agriculture in ancient Java//

Earliest evidence of a currency system in Java – Javanese gold *mas* or *tahl* ingots, circa the 9th century

The common people of Medang mostly made a living in agriculture, especially as rice farmers, however, some may have pursued other careers, such as hunter, trader, artisan, weaponsmith, sailor, soldier, dancer, musician, food or drink vendor, etc. Rich portrayals of daily life in 9th century Java can be seen in many temple bas-reliefs. Rice cultivation had become the base for the kingdom's economy where the villages throughout the realm relied on their annual rice yield to pay taxes to the court. Exploiting the fertile volcanic soil of Central Java and the intensive wet rice cultivation (*sawah*) enabled the population to grow significantly, which contributed to the availability of labour and workforce for the state's public projects. Certain villages and lands were given the status as *sima* lands awarded through royal edict written in inscriptions. The rice yields from *sima* lands usually were allocated for the maintenance of certain religious buildings. The economic activity was also not solely centred in a single marketplace in the capital city. It is most likely that the marketplace was rotated in daily basis within a week among participating villages, in a Javanese system called *pasaran*. This system still can be found in rural Javanese villages, before most are turned into a permanent marketplace as it is commonly found today. The economic trading practice in these marketplace are most likely done in barter as well as using money, as during this period, Javanese economy has been partly monetised.

The bas-reliefs from temples of this period, especially from Borobudur and Prambanan describe occupations and careers other than agricultural pursuit; such as soldiers, government officials, court servants, massage therapists, travelling musicians and dancing troupe, food and drink sellers, logistics courier, sailors, merchants, even thugs and robbers are depicted in everyday life of 9th century Java. These occupations requires economic system that employs currency.

The Wonoboyo hoard, golden artefacts discovered in 1990, revealed gold coins in shape similar to corn seeds, which suggests that 9th century Javan economy is partly monetised. On the surface of the gold coins engraved with a script "*ta*", a short form of "*tail*" or "*tahil*" a unit of currency in ancient Java.

1. The commoners that formed the majority of kingdom's population.
2. The king with his royal family, including those nobles, landlords and the member of elite ruling class that depends on the king's court and his dynasty. Can be commonly called "the palace/court people".
3. The religious figures and religious authorities. The priests class; brahmins and monks, includes the lower rank servants employed in temple compounds and monasteries.^[41]

Based on the study of the styles and types of clothing and jewelries worn by people depicted in bas-reliefs from the temple — especially Borobudur reliefs — the ancient Javanese society roughly can be divided into:^[42]

1. The nobles, the king and the royal families, landlords, nobles and those that related to ruling elites. They wore luxurious clothing of *kain* long clothes wrapped around their hips to the ankle, waistband, and sash either wore around their hips as *sampur*, or wore around their body hanging from left shoulder to the hip. Adorned with intricate golden jewelries such as *jamang* (forehead ornaments), *makuta* (crown), earrings, *kelat bahu* (armlet), necklace, *upavita* (body ornament of golden chains wore across the chest), bracelets, rings, ankle bracelet. The gods and divinities also portrayed in similar fashion as nobles, although they are described as having *prabhamandala* (divine halo) around their head.
2. The royal servants or lower-ranked nobles, they are king's servants, entourages or royal attendants. They occupied positions as *dayang-dayang* (female royal attendants), guard or state officials. They wore long cloth around their hips to the ankle, and wore jewelries and ornaments too, such as earrings, necklace and bracelets, although not as complete and luxurious as those worn by the king and the nobles.
3. The priests, the brahmins, Buddhist monks, or those religious figures employed in temples or monasteries. They usually wore robes or cloaks called *sinhel*. Buddhist monks were usually portrayed as bald men wore robe with open right shoulder, while brahmins were usually depicted as bearded men wearing turbans.
4. The commoners, the majority of the people, mostly described as villagers. They wore simple clothing of around their hips, the lower end sometimes being tied upward to create a short loincloth. Usually they wore no jewelry or ornaments, but some wore a few simple ornaments, including necklaces or bracelets, or a rope worn as a waistband.

Religion



The statue of Dhyani Buddha Vairocana, Avalokitesvara, and Vajrapani inside the Mendut temple

Hinduism and Buddhism are the two religions adhered by the rulers and people of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the commoners' religious practices were probably still mixed with native shamanism and indigenous pre-Dharmic beliefs. Since the beginning of its formation, the Medang Mataram kings seemed to favour Shivaist Hinduism, such as the construction of linga in Gunung Wukir Hindu temple as mentioned in Canggal inscription by king Sanjaya. However, during the reign of Panangkaran, Mahayana Buddhism began to blossom and gain court favour. The Kalasan, Sari, Sewu, Mendut, Pawon and the magnificent Borobudur temples testify the Buddhist renaissance in Central Java. The court patronage on Buddhism spanned from the reign of Panangkaran to Samaratunga. During the reign of Pikatan, Shivaist Hinduism began to regain court's favour, signified by the construction of grand Shivagraha (Prambanan). Shiva statue in main chamber of Prambanan.

The kingdom recognised the religious authority of priest class, the brahmins. Buddhism was also well represented through the sangha Buddhist monastic community, consists of Buddhist monks living in viharas such as Sari and Plaosan and gaining court patronage. These Hindu and Buddhist religious authorities conducted state's and regional religious rituals and ceremonies in the temples. The ruling class of kshatriya royal family also indulged in spiritualism. Some monarch seems to immerse themselves in spiritualism and religion. For example, King Panangkaran seems to be deeply influenced by Mahayana Buddhism, and even strive to become a hermit during his later days. Numbers of other kings such as Samaragrawira and Samaratunga was also deeply influenced by Buddhism and strive to become a benevolent leaders. Rakai Pikatan also abdicated and renounced worldly affairs during his old days and become a rishi hermit named Sang Prabhu Jatiningrat.

The period between the reign of King Panangkaran to the reign of King Balitung (late 8th century to the early 10th century) saw a fervent temple construction in the kingdom. This was probably motivated either by religious zeal, kingdom's immense wealth and resources or social-political reasons. Some historians such as Munoz suggest, that this ardent temple construction projects was actually a religious-political tool to control the regional *Rakai* landlords, to prevent them from rebelling against the king.^[43] During this time, each of regional *watak* are ruled by *Rakai* landlords that nurturing their own dynasty. By appointing the Rakais' *sima* land to fund the construction and maintenance of a *candi* religious building, the Maharaja depriving the

Rakais' ability to collect large sum of tax, that can be potentially misused to fund some army that might rose to challenge the Maharaja's authority. The Rakais might be willingly or reluctantly compliant to the king's will, for refusing to construct religious building might harm their reputation, and cast them not only as the enemy of the king, but also as the enemy of gods or Buddha.

Art and Architecture



The Wonoboyo hoard displays the immense wealth and artistic achievement of the Medang kingdom. Comparison between left: Borobudur of Java (825) and right: Bakong of Cambodia (881), both temples had similar basic design of stepped pyramid and similar corbelling method, which suggest there was a connection of technical and cultural influence between ancient Java and Cambodia.

Other than examining bas-reliefs carved on the temple's walls, the study of ancient Javanese society is also conducted through archaeological relics. The Wonoboyo hoard golden artefacts attest to the wealth, art, and culture as well as the aesthetic achievement of the Medang Kingdom. The artefacts show the intricate artwork and technical mastery of the ancient Javanese goldsmith. The hoard was estimated to date from the reign of King Balitung.^[44] The treasure has been identified as belonging to a noble or a member of the royal family.^[45]

The earliest temple in the Southern Central Java Mataram region was the Hindu Shivaist Gunung Wukir temple, linked to Canggal inscription (732 CE) built by King Sanjaya. Almost 50 years later the oldest Buddhist temple was built in Prambanan region, the Buddhist Kalasan temple, linked to Kalasan inscription (778 CE) and King Panangkaran. From this time, the kingdom saw exuberant temple construction projects, such as Sari, Manjusrigrha, Lumbung, Ngawen, Mendut, Pawon and peaked in the construction of Borobudur, the massive stone mandala, that took shape of a mountain temple pinnacled with stupas that completed c. 825 CE.

The monumental Hindu temple of Prambanan in the vicinity of Yogyakarta — initially built during the reign of King Pikatan (838–850), and expanded continuously through the reign of Lokapala (850–890) to Balitung (899–911) — is a fine example of ancient Medang Mataram art and architecture. The description of a grand temple compound dedicated for lord Shiva, and the public project to shift the course of the river near the temple (Opak river) to run straight along western wall of temple compound was also mentioned in Shivagrha inscription. The grand temple complex was dedicated to the *Trimurti*, the three highest gods in the

Hindu pantheon (Shiva, Brahma, Vishnu). It was the largest Hindu temple ever built in Indonesia, evidence of the immense wealth and cultural achievement of the kingdom.

Other Hindu temples dated from Medang Mataram Kingdom era are: Sambisari, Gebang, Barong, Ijo, and Morangan. Although the Shivaist regain the favour, Buddhist remain under royal patronage. The Sewu temple dedicated for Manjusri according to Kelurak inscription was probably initially built by Panangkaran, but later expanded and completed during Rakai Pikatan's rule, whom married to a Buddhist princess Pramodhawardhani, daughter of Samaratunga. Most of their subjects retained their old religion; Shivaists and Buddhists seemed to co-exist in harmony. The Buddhist temple of Plaosan, Banyunibo and Sajiwan were built during the reign of King Pikatan and Queen Pramodhawardhani, probably in the spirit of religious reconciliation after the succession disputes between Pikatan-Pramodhawardhani against Balaputra.

Medang kingdom had an exceptionally intense relations with the regional hegemon Srivijaya of Sumatra. In earlier period, the relations was close and intimate, as Sailendran kings of Java has formed an alliance with Maharaja of Srivijaya and the two royal houses seems to be merged. In later period however, the relations was deteriorated to warfare, as Dharmawangsa launched failed attempt to capture Palembang, and Srivijaya well-crafted retaliation ensued. In its eastern boundary, the Medang kingdom seems to subjugate the neighboring Bali, and pulled the island into its sphere of influence.

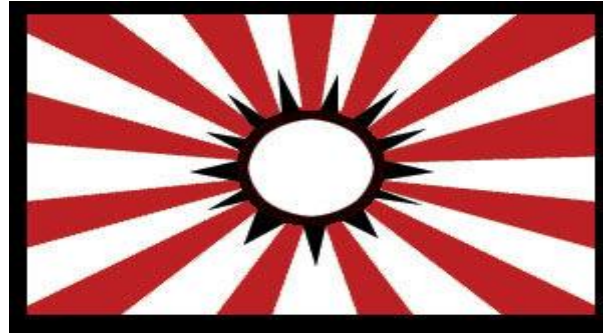
The Khmer art and architecture during the formative early Angkor era also believed to being influenced by Javanese art and architecture; the striking similarity of the Bakong temple in Cambodia to Borobudur, strongly suggests that Bakong was inspired by Borobudur's design. There must had been exchanges of travellers, if not mission, between Kambuja and Java. Transmitting to Cambodia not only ideas, but also technical and architectural details, including arched gateways in corbelling method.

The Kaladi inscription (c. 909 CE), mentioned *Kmir* (Khmer people of the Khmer Empire) together with *Campa* (Champa) and *Rman* (Mon) as foreigners from mainland Southeast Asia that frequently came to Java to trade. The inscription suggests a maritime trade network has been established between kingdoms in mainland Southeast Asia and Java.^[47]

The name of the Medang Kingdom was mentioned in the Laguna Copperplate Inscription of the Philippines' Tondo, dated 822 saka (c. 900 CE), discovered in Lumban, Laguna, Philippines. The discovery of the inscriptions, written in the Kawi script in a variety of Old Malay containing numerous loanwords from Sanskrit and a few non-Malay vocabulary elements whose origin is ambiguous between Old Javanese and Old Tagalog, suggests that the people or officials of the Medang Kingdom had embarked on inter-insular trade and foreign relations in regions as far away as the Philippines, and that connections between ancient kingdoms in Indonesia and the Philippines existed.

CHAPTER XV

The MYSTERIOUS Srivijaya Empire



(L'Uniona Homanus)

**Three things cannot be long hidden: the sun, the
moon, and the truth
. ...Gautama Buddha**

Foundation of the Srivijaya Empire: George Cœdès who was director of the National Library of Thailand in 1918, and director of L'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1929 is credited with rediscovering the former kingdom of Srivijaya, centred on the modern-day Indonesian city of Palembang, but with influence extending from Sumatra through to the Malay Peninsula and Java. He wrote two texts in the field, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (1968, 1975) (first published in 1948 as *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*) and *The Making of South East Asia* (1966), as well as innumerable articles, in which he developed the concept of the Indianized kingdom. Perhaps his greatest lasting scholarly accomplishment was his work on Sanskrit and Old Khmer inscriptions from Cambodia. In addition to scores of articles (especially in the *Bulletin* of the École française d'Extrême-Orient), his 8-volume work *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (1937-1966) contains editions and translations of over a thousand inscriptions from pre-Angkorian and Angkor-era monuments, and stands as Cœdès' *magnum opus*. One stele, the recently rediscovered K-127, contains an inscription of what has been dubbed the "Khmer Zero", the first known use of zero in the modern number system.

In Sanskrit, Sri Means "shining" and Vijaya means "victory". It was not until the 1920s that the people of modern Sumatra, in Indonesia, had their imperial ancestry rediscovered.



In the year 687 the Chinese monk Yi Jing, returning from a 25-year pilgrimage, passed through Srivijaya. He was so impressed by the standard of Buddhist scholarship in the country that he stayed there for eight years, working on translating the local texts.

Buddhism was the chief religion of the region at the time, as Islam had yet to spread this far. Monks from all over the area came to study at “the fortified city of Bhoga”, which archaeologists have identified as being in the area of modern Palembang. From Yi Jing’s accounts, we can get a picture of the region, and the influence of Srivijaya within it.

There is no further record of Srivijaya in the history of Indonesia; the forgotten past was re-established by a foreign scholar. No modern Indonesian people who heard about Srivijaya until the 1920s, when French scholar George Coedes publish his findings in the Dutch language newspaper, and Indonesia.

Coedes stated that the reference to "San-fo-ts'i", previously read "Sribhoja", and some inscriptions in the ancient Malays refer to the same empire. Srivijaya became a symbol of the greatness of early Sumatra, and the kingdom of Majapahit in the archipelago except for East Java.

In the 20th century, the kingdom has become a reference by the nationalists to show that Indonesia is a unit of Dutch colonialism before. Srivijaya called by various names. People call Tionghoa Shih-li-fo-Shih, or San-fo-Fo ts'i or San Qi. In Sanskrit and Pali, the kingdom of Srivijaya called Yavadesh and Javadeh. Arabs call Zabag Malay and Khmer. The number of names is another reason why Srivijaya was difficult to find.¹

Srivijaya was one of the most magnificent and prosperous maritime kingdoms in Indonesia from 500 CE to 1400 CE. The name itself is a Sanskrit word meaning, Sri = Shining and Jaya = Victory. We know about this kingdom first from the writings of Yijing, a Chinese monk, from the 7th century. According to Yijing’s writings and Drs. R. Soekmono (1973), the center of the kingdom was near Riau. However, other sources such as the Kedukan Bukit inscription says otherwise as it shows that the kingdom was located near a place now known as Palembang and the banks of Musi (Coedès, 1968) . The Srivijaya Kingdom managed to control almost every South East Asian

kingdom in Java, Sumatra, West Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines.

“Arab accounts state that the empire of the Srivijayan Maharaja was so vast that the swiftest vessel would not have been able to travel round all its islands within two years” - Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro, Nugroho Notosusanto, (1992), Sejarah nasional Indonesia: Jaman kuna, PT Balai Pustaka, ISBN 979-407-408-X

Nomenclature: George Coete first published about it in a Dutch and Indonesian newspaper in 1920 based on the inscriptions that were discovered in Sumatra and Malaysia Peninsula.

“No modern Indonesians, not even those of the Palembang area around which the kingdom was based, had heard of Srivijaya until the 1920s, when French scholar and epigraphist George Coedès published his discoveries and interpretations in Dutch and Indonesian-language newspapers.” - Taylor, Jean Gelman. Indonesia: Peoples and Histories. New Haven; and London: Yale University Press, 2003. ISBN 0300105185

Origin

Little is known about the origin of the Srivijaya Kingdom. Although Srivijaya's territory was wide, the very limited number of relics left made it hard for the archaeologists to know everything there is to know about this kingdom. The fact that there is little relics left from Srivijaya is due to the attack of Majapahit at 1477. From the little relics that we still have, the Kedukan Bukit inscription showed that the name of the first king of Srivijaya was Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa. According the the inscription, the king embarked on a journey with 20 000 people in search of power and prosperity (Farrington, 2002). Srivijaya is known to be one of the two big empires in early Indonesia, the other one being Majapahit. It was argued which one was the prior colonial Indonesian identity It is said That it (also written Sri Vijaya or Sriwijaya in Malay or Indonesian) was a Buddhist thalassocratic Indonesian empire based on the island of Sumatra, Indonesia, which influenced much of Southeast Asia. Srivijaya was an important centre for the expansion of Buddhism from the 8th to the 12th century AD. Srivijaya was the first unified kingdom to dominate much of the Indonesian archipelago. The rise of the Srivijayan Empire was parallel to the end of the Malay sea-faring period. Due to its location, this once-powerful state developed complex technology utilizing maritime resources. In addition, its economy became progressively reliant on the booming trade in the region, thus transforming it into a prestige goods-based economy.

The earliest reference to it dates from the 7th century. A Tang Chinese monk, Yijing, wrote that he visited Srivijaya in 671 for six months. The earliest known inscription in which the name Srivijaya appears also dates from the 7th century in the Kedukan Bukit inscription found near Palembang, Sumatra, dated 16 June 682. Between the late 7th and early 11th century, Srivijaya rose to become a hegemon in Southeast Asia. It was involved in close interactions, often

rivalries, with the neighbouring Java, Kambuja and Champa. Srivijaya's main foreign interest was nurturing lucrative trade agreements with China which lasted from the Tang to the Song dynasty. Srivijaya had religious, cultural and trade links with the Buddhist Pala of Bengal, as well as with the Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East.

The kingdom ceased to exist in the 13th century due to various factors, including the expansion of the rival Javanese Singhasari and Majapahit empires. After Srivijaya fell, it was largely forgotten. It was not until 1918 that French historian George Coédès, of *École française d'Extrême-Orient*, formally postulated its existence.

Srivijaya is a Sanskrit-derived name: श्रीविजय, Śrīvijaya. Śrī means "fortunate", "prosperous", or "happy" and vijaya means "victorious" or "excellence". Thus, the combined word Srivijaya means "shining victory", "splendid triumph", "prosperous victor", "radiance of excellence" or simply "glorious." Early 20th-century historians that studied the inscriptions of Sumatra and the neighboring islands thought that the term "Srivijaya" referred to a king's name. In 1913, H. Kern was the first epigraphist that identified the name "Srivijaya" written in a 7th century Kota Kapur inscription (discovered in 1892). However, at that time he believed that it referred to a king named "Vijaya", with "Sri" as an honorific title for a king.

The Sundanese manuscript of Carita Parahyangan, composed around the late 16th-century in West Java, vaguely mentioned a princely hero that rose to be a king named Sanjaya that — after he secured his rule in Java — was involved in battle with the Malayu and Keling against their king Sang Sri Wijaya. The term Malayu is a Javanese-Sundanese term referring to the Malay people of Sumatra, while Keling — derived from the historical Kalinga kingdom of Eastern India, refers to people of Indian descent that inhabit the archipelago. Subsequently, after studying local stone inscriptions, manuscripts and Chinese historical accounts, historians concluded that the term "Srivijaya" referred to a polity or kingdom.

Historiography

As a Vajrayana Buddhist teaching centre, Srivijaya attracted pilgrims and scholars from countries in Asia. Among other priests from China I-sing, who visited Sumatra on his way to study at Nalanda University, India, in the year 671 and 695, and in the 11th century, Atisha, a Buddhist scholar from Bengal who played in the development of Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet.

I-sing reported that Srivijaya became home to thousands of Buddhist scholars to become Buddhist learning centre. Visitors who came to this island state that gold coins have been used in the coastal empire. Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism also developed in the Kingdom.

In the early days, the Khmer empire was also a colony of Srivijaya. Many historians claim that Chaiya, Surat Thani province, southern Thailand, as the last capital of the kingdom, Srivijaya influence apparent on building the pagoda-style Borom That Kingdom. After the fall of Srivijaya, Chaiya is divided into three cities namely (Mueang) Chaiya, Thatong (Kanchanadit), and Khirirat Nikhom.

Srivijaya also closely related to the Pala kingdom in Bengal, and a numbered plaque notes that 860 kings Balaputra a monastery dedicated to the University Nalada, Pala. Relations with the Chola dynasty of southern India quite well and then become worse after Rajendra Coladewa ascended the throne and an attack on the 11th century.



Talang Tuwo inscription, discovered in Bukit Seguntang area, tells the establishment of sacred Śrīksetra park.

Little physical evidence of Srivijaya remains. There had been no continuous knowledge of the history of Srivijaya even in Indonesia and Malaysia; its forgotten past has been resurrected by foreign scholars. Contemporary Indonesians, even those from the area of Palembang (around which the kingdom was based), had not heard of Srivijaya until the 1920s when the French scholar, George Coédès, published his discoveries and interpretations in the Dutch — and Indonesian — language newspapers. Coédès noted that the Chinese references to "Sanfoqi", previously read as "Sribhoja", and the inscriptions in Old Malay refer to the same empire.

The Srivijayan historiography was acquired, composed and established from two main sources: the Chinese historical accounts and the Southeast Asian stone inscriptions that have been discovered and deciphered in the region. The Buddhist pilgrim Yijing's account is especially important on describing Srivijaya, when he visited the kingdom in 671 for six months. The 7th-century siddhayatra inscriptions discovered in Palembang and Bangka island are also vital primary historical sources. Also, regional accounts that some might be preserved and retold as tales and legends, such as the Legend of the Maharaja of Javaka and the Khmer King also provide a glimpse of the kingdom. Some Indian and Arabic accounts also vaguely describe the riches and fabulous fortune of the king of Zabag.



Srivijaya Fleet

The historical records of Srivijaya were reconstructed from a number of stone inscriptions, most of them written in Old Malay using Pallava script, such as the Kedukan Bukit, Talang Tuwo, Telaga Batu and Kota Kapur inscriptions. Srivijaya became a symbol of early Sumatran importance as a great empire to balance Java's Majapahit in the east. In the 20th century, both empires were referred to by nationalistic intellectuals to argue for an Indonesian identity within an Indonesian state that had existed prior to the colonial state of the Dutch East Indies. Srivijaya, and by extension Sumatra, had been known by different names to different peoples.

The Chinese called it Sanfoqi or Che-li-fo-che (Shilifoshi), and there was an even older kingdom of Kantoli, which could be considered the predecessor of Srivijaya. Sanskrit and Pali texts

referred to it as Yavades and Javadeh, respectively. The Arabs called it Zabag or Sribuza and the Khmers called it Melayu.[18] While the Javanese called them Suvarnabhumi, Suvarnadvipa or Malayu. This is another reason why the discovery of Srivijaya was so difficult.[18] While some of these names are strongly reminiscent of the name of "Java", there is a distinct possibility that they may have referred to Sumatra instead.

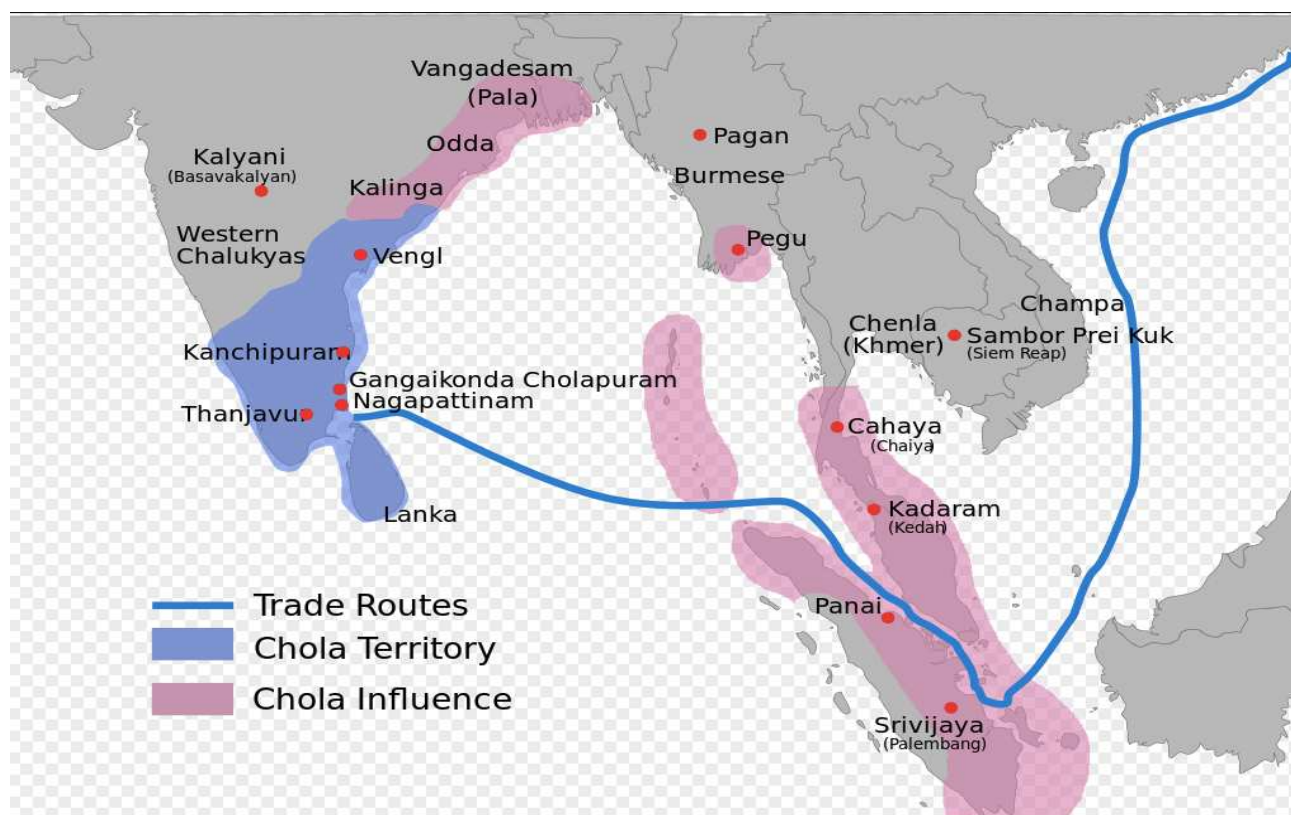
In the year 902, Srivijaya sent tribute to China. Two years later, the last king of the Tang Dynasty conferred the title of the messenger of Srivijaya. China envoy from the literature that has this Arabic name given the information that in those days was related to Srivijaya. Arab allows Srivijaya had entered the Islamic influence in the kingdom.

In the first half of the 10th century, between the fall of the Tang dynasty and the rise of the Song dynasty, with foreign trade is rampant, especially Fujian, Min royal and the rich countries of Guangdong, the kingdom of Nan Han. Srivijaya undoubtedly benefited from this trade. In the year 903, the Muslim writer Ibn Battuta was impressed with the prosperity of Srivijaya. Urban areas include the kingdom of Palembang (especially Hill Seguntang), Muara Jambi and Kedah.

It was this unity, then, that probably caused the sultanate to persist through the centuries in the minds of the conquered people, while knowledge of Srivijaya faded. Even its cities were abandoned, the most famous of these the great Buddhist temple of Borobudur.

Even to this day, it is the world's largest Buddhist temple, but in the 14th century, it was abandoned to the jungle. It was the British colonial ruler of Java, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who in 1814 ordered the expedition that cleared the temple and brought it to the attention of the world.





Srivijaya was first established in the vicinity of today's Palembang, on the banks of Musi River. It mentions that Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa came from Minanga Tamwan. The exact location of Minanga Tamwan is still a subject of discussion. The Palembang theory as the place where Srivijaya was first established was presented by Coedes and supported by Pierre-Yves Manguin. Soekmono, on the other hand, argues that Palembang was not the capital of Srivijaya and suggests that the Kampar River system in Riau where the Muara Takus temple is located as Minanga Tamwan.

Other than Kedukan Bukit and other Srivijayan inscriptions, immediately to the west of modern Palembang city, a quantity of artefacts have been revealed through archaeological surveys commenced since the 20th century. Artefacts unearthed includes large amount of Chinese ceramics and Indian rouletted ware remains, also the ruins of stupa at the foot of Seguntang Hill. Furthermore, a significant number of Hindu-Buddhist statuary has been recovered from the Musi River basin. These discoveries reinforce the suggestion that Palembang was the center of Srivijaya. Nevertheless, Palembang left little archaeological traces of ancient urban settlement. This is probably because of the nature of Palembang environment — a low-lying plain which frequently flooded by Musi River. Expert suggests that the ancient Palembang settlement was formed as a collection of floating houses made from thatched materials, such as wood, bamboo and straw roof. The 13th century Chinese account confirmed this; in his book *Chu-Fan-Chi*, Chau-Ju-kua mentioned that "The residents Sanfo-tsi (Srivijaya) live scattered outside the city on the water, within rafts lined with reeds." It was probably only Kadatuan (king's court) and religious structures were built on land, while the people live in floating houses along Musi River.

Palembang and its relevance to the early Malay state suffered a great deal of controversy in terms of its evidence build-up through the archaeological record. Strong historical evidence found in Chinese sources, speaking of city-like settlements as early as 700 AD, and later Arab travelers, who visited the region during the 10th and 11th centuries, held written proof, naming the kingdom of Srivijaya in their context. As far as early state-like polities in Malay archipelago, the geographical location of modern Palembang was a possible candidate for the 1st millennium kingdom settlement like Srivijaya as it is the best described and most secure in historical context, its prestige was apparent in wealth and urban characteristics, and the most unique, which no other 1st millennium kingdom held, was its location in junction to three major rivers, the Musi, the Komering, and the Ogan. The historical evidence was contrasted in 1975 with publications by Bennet Bronson and Jan Wisseman. Findings at certain major excavation sites, such as Geding Suro, Penyaringan Air Bersih, Sarang Wati, and Bukit Seguntang, conducted in the region played major roles in the negative evidence of the 1st millennium kingdom in the same region. It was noted that the region contained no locatable settlements earlier than the middle of the second millennium.

Lack of evidence of southern settlements in the archaeological record comes from the disinterest in the archeologist and the unclear physical visibility of the settlement themselves. Archeology of the 1920s and 1930s focused more on art and epigraphy found in the regions. Some northern urban settlements were sited due to some overlap in fitting the sinocentric model of city-state urban centers. An approach to differentiate between urban settlements in the southern regions from the northern ones of Southeast Asia was initiated by a proposition for an alternative model. Excavations showed failed signs of a complex urban center under the lens of a sinocentric model, leading to parameters of a new proposed model. Parameters for such a model of a city-like settlement included isolation in relevance to its hinterland. No hinterland creates for low archaeological visibility. The settlement must also have access to both easy transportation and major interregional trade routes, crucial in a region with few resources. Access to the former and later played a major role in the creation of an extreme economic surplus in the absence of an exploited hinterland. The urban center must be able to organize politically without the need for ceremonial foci such as temples, monuments and inscriptions. Lastly, habitations must be impermanent, being highly probable in the region Palembang and of southern Southeast Asia. Such a model was proposed to challenge city concepts of ancient urban centers in Southeast Asia and basic postulates themselves such as regions found in the South, like Palembang, based their achievements in correlation with urbanization.

Mataram and Srivijaya

Another kingdom—Mataram—arose as Srivijaya began to flourish in the early eighth century, in south-central Java on the Kedu Politically, the two hegemonies were probably more alike than different. The rulers of both saw themselves and their courts (*kedatuan*, *keratuan*, or *kraton*) as central to a land or realm (*bhumi*), which, in turn, formed the core of a larger, borderless, but concentric and hierarchically organized arrangement of authority. In this greater mandala, an Indic-influenced representation of a sort of idealized, “galactic” order, a ruler emerged from constellations of local powers and ruled by virtue of neither inheritance nor divine descent, but rather through a combination of charisma (*semangat*), strategic family relationships, calculated manipulation of order and disorder, and the invocation of spiritual ideas and supernatural forces.



The exercise of power was never absolute, and would-be rulers and (if they were to command loyalty) their supporters had to take seriously both the distribution of benefits (rather than merely the application of force or fear) and the provision of an “exemplary center” enhancing cultural and intellectual life. In Mataram, overlords and their courts do not, for example, appear to have controlled either irrigation systems or the system of weekly markets, which remained the purview of those who dominated local regions (*watak*) and their populations. This sort of political arrangement was at once fragile and remarkably supple, depending on the ruler and a host of surrounding circumstances.

Mysterious Culture: Very little is known about social realities in Srivijaya and Mataram, and most of what is written is based on conjecture. With the exception of the religious structures on Java, these societies were constructed of perishable materials that have not survived the centuries of destructive climate and insects. There are no remains of either palaces or ordinary houses, for example, and we must rely on rare finds of jewelry and other fine metalworking (such as the famous Wonosobo hoard, found near Prambanan in 1991), and on the stone reliefs on the Borobudur and a handful of other structures, to attempt to guess what these societies may have been like. (The vast majority of these remains are Javanese.) A striking characteristic of both Srivijaya and Mataram in this period is that neither—and none of their smaller rivals—appear to have developed settlements recognizable as urban from either Western or Asian traditions. On

the whole, despite evidence of socioeconomic well-being and cultural sophistication, institutionally Srivijaya and Mataram remained essentially webs of clanship and patronage, chieftainships carried to their highest and most expansive level. *

Srivijaya Culture

Srivijaya was a Buddhist kingdom. The Srivijaya kings practiced Mahayana Buddhism which suggests its introduction from India. As a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism, Srivijaya attracted pilgrims and scholars from other parts of Asia. These included the Chinese monk Yijing and the eleventh-century Buddhist scholar Atisha, who played a major role in the development of Tibetan Buddhism. In the 8th century Srivijaya introduced a mixture of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism to Malaysia and Thailand. [Sources: Library of Congress, noelbynature, southeastasianarchaeology.com, June 7, 2007]

Srivijaya was considered to be one of the major centres of learning for the Buddhist world. The Chinese pilgrim Yijing (635–713), who briefly visited Srivijaya in 671 and 687 and then lived there from 687 to 695, recommended it as a world-class center of Buddhist studies. Inscriptions from the 680s, written in Pallava script and the indigenous Old Malay language (forerunner of contemporary Bahasa Indonesia), identified the realm and its ruler by name and demanded the loyalty of allies by pronouncing elaborate threats and curses. [Library of Congress]

Yijing, a Buddhist monk who travelled between China and India to copy sacred texts mentioned the high quality of Sanskrit education in Palembang, and recommended that anyone who wanted to go to the university at Nalanda (north India) should stay in Palembang for a year or two to learn “how to behave properly”. Srivijaya’s prominent role in the Buddhist world can be found in several inscriptions around Asia: an inscription in Nalanda dated 850-860 AD described how a temple was built in Nalanda at the request of a king of Srivijaya. In the 11th century, a temple in Guangzhou in China received a donation from Srivijaya to help with the upkeep. The Wang Sa inscription quoted above recounts how a Srivijayan king ordered the construction of three stupas in Chaiya, also in the Thai peninsula.

Very little is known about social realities in Srivijaya and Mataram (570-927, a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom based in Java), and most of what is written is based on conjecture. With the exception of the religious structures on Java, these societies were constructed of perishable materials that have not survived the centuries of destructive climate and insects. There are no remains of either palaces or ordinary houses, for example, and we must rely on rare finds of jewelry and other fine metalworking (such as the famous Wonosobo hoard, found near Prambanan in 1991), and on the stone reliefs on the Borobudur and a handful of other structures, to attempt to guess what these societies may have been like. (The vast majority of these remains are Javanese.) A striking characteristic of both Srivijaya and Mataram in this period is that neither—and none of their smaller rivals—appear to have developed settlements recognizable as urban from either Western or Asian traditions. On the whole, despite evidence of socioeconomic well-being and cultural sophistication, institutionally Srivijaya and Mataram remained essentially webs of clanship and patronage, chieftainships carried to their highest and most expansive level.

The chedi of temples produced during the Srivijaya period resemble Hindu-Buddhist stupas of central Java which have a ‘stacked’ appearance. This style was copied in Thailand, including at temples in the great Thai kingdom of Sukothai (m 1238 until 1438).

Early Trade in Indonesia

Medieval Sumatra was known as the “Land of Gold.” The rulers were reportedly so rich they threw solid gold bar into a pool every night to show their wealth. Sumatra was a source of

cloves, camphor, pepper, tortoiseshell, aloe wood, and sandalwood—some of which originated elsewhere. Arab mariners feared Sumatra because it was regarded as a home of cannibals. Sumatra is believed to be the site of Sinbad's run in with cannibals.

Sumatra was the first region of Indonesia to have contact with the outside world. The Chinese came to Sumatra in the 6th century. Arab traders went there in the 9th century and Marco Polo stopped by in 1292 on his voyage from China to Persia. Initially Arab Muslims and Chinese dominated trade. When the center of power shifted to the port towns during the 16th century Indian and Malay Muslims dominated trade.

Traders from India, Arabia and Persia purchased Indonesian goods such as spices and Chinese goods. Early sultanates were called "harbor principalities." Some became rich from controlling the trade of certain products or serving as way stations on trade routes.

The Minangkabau, Acehnese and Batak—coastal people in Sumatra—dominated trade on the west coast of Sumatra. The Malays dominated trade in the Malacca Straits on the eastern side of Sumatra. Minangkabau culture was influenced by a series of 5th to 15th century Malay and Javanese kingdoms (the Melayu, Sri Vijaya, Majapahit and Malacca).

Economy: The Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya was the first major Indonesian kingdom and the first major Indonesian commercial sea power. Ruled by Tamils and centered in Palembang, on the Musi River in present-day Sumatera Selatan Province, it was founded in Sumatra the end of the 6th century after Funan had been conquered and thrived from the 8th to 13th centuries.. At its height, it ruled Western Indonesia and controlled the strategic Molucca Straits—a choke point on the India-China trade route—and much of the trade in the area. Although historical records and archaeological evidence are scarce, it appears that by the seventh century A.D., the Indianized kingdom of Srivijaya, centered in the Palembang area of eastern Sumatra, established suzerainty over large areas of Sumatra, western Java, and much of the Malay Peninsula

With a reach spanning from Sumatra and Java to as far north as the Thai peninsula and a reign of some 600 years, it's remarkable that what is now known as the Srivijaya empire was only unearthed relatively recently. The first hint of a Sumatran-based polity was first alluded to by the eminent French scholar George Coedes 1918, based on inscriptions found in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. In this primer, we'll talk about the Srivijayan empire, the extent of its influence and its eventual fall.

The kingdom of Srivijaya, a name which translates to "shining victory", was a Malay polity and a Hindu-Buddhist trading kingship ruled by the Maharajahs of Srivijaya. The empire was based around trade, with local kings (dhatu or community leaders) swearing allegiance to the central lord for mutual profit. Srivijaya's area of influence included neighbouring Jambi, to the north the kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula: Chitu, Pan-pan, Langkasuka and Kataha, as well as eastwards in Java, where links with the Sailendra dynasty and Srivijaya are implied. The same Sailendra dynasty was responsible for the construction of the massive Buddhist stupa of Borobudur between 780 and 825 AD.

Srivijaya Trade and Economic Power

Srivijaya was the first major Indonesian commercial sea power. Primarily a coastal empire, it drew its riches and power from maritime trade and extended its power to the coasts of West Java

and Malaysia and to Vhaiya in southern Thailand. It was able to control much of the trade in Southeast Asia in part because its location on the Strait of Melaka between the empires of the Middle east, India and China. Merchants from Arabia, Persia and India brought goods to Sriwijaya's coastal cities in exchange for goods from China and local products. [Sources: Library of Congress, noelbynature, southeastasianarchaeology.com, June 7, 2007]

At its zenith in the ninth and tenth centuries, Srivijaya extended its commercial sway from approximately the southern half of Sumatra and the Strait of Malacca to western Java and southern Kalimantan, and its influence as far away as locations on the Malay Peninsula, present-day southern Thailand, eastern Kalimantan, and southern Sulawesi. Its dominance probably arose out of policies of war and alliance applied, perhaps rather suddenly, by one local entity to a number of trading partners and competitors. The process is thought to have coincided with newly important direct sea trade with China in the sixth century, and by the second half of the seventh century Srivijaya had become a wealthy and culturally important Asian power.

The important Strait of Melaka (Malacca) which facilitated trade between China and India. With its naval power, the empire managed to suppress piracy along the Malacca strait, making Srivijayan entrepôts the port of choice for traders. Despite its apparent hegemony, the empire did not destroy the other non-Srivijayan competitors but used them as secondary sources of maritime trade. Srivijaya's wide influence in the region was a mixture of diplomacy and conquest, but ultimately operated like a federation of port-city kingdoms. Besides the southern centre of power in Palembang, Arab, Chinese and Indian sources also imply that Srivijaya had a northern power centre, most probably Kataha, what is now known as Kedah on the western side of the Malay peninsula. Kedah is now known for remains of Indian architecture at the Bujang Valley. This was due to the invasion by the Chola kingdom from South India —“ an invasion which ultimately led to the fall of Srivijaya.

Dominating the Malacca and Sunda straits, Srivijaya controlled the trade of the region and remained a formidable sea power until the thirteenth century. Serving as an entrepôt for Chinese, Indonesian, and Indian markets, the port of Palembang, accessible from the coast by way of a river, accumulated great wealth. Control over the burgeoning commerce moving through the Strait of Malacca. This it accomplished by mobilizing the policing capabilities of small communities of seafaring *orang laut* (Malay for sea people), providing facilities and protection in exchange for reasonable tax rates on maritime traders, and maintaining favorable relations with inland peoples who were the source of food and many of the trade goods on which commerce of the day was built. But Srivijaya also promoted itself as a commanding cultural center in which ideas from all over Buddhist Asia circulated and were redistributed as far as away Vietnam, Tibet, and Japan. Srivijaya declined in the 11th century because of forced changes in trade routes brought about by increased piracy in the Sunda and Malacca Straits.

Palembang on the Musi River in Sumatra: Heart of ancient Srivijaya

Palembang, the second largest town on Sumatra after Medan, was the celebrated seat of the Srivijaya kingdom for more than three centuries. The city was then known as the wealthy trade hub as well as the center for Buddhist learnings. Monks from China, India and Java used to congregate here to learn and teach the lessons of Buddha. In AD 671 the famous Chinese Buddhist monk, Yojing wrote that there were more than 1.000 Buddhist monks in the city and advised Chinese monks to study Sanskrit in Palembang before proceeding to India.

While the Srivijaya kings lived inland on shore, his subjects lived along the wide Musi river, manning the powerful fleet and busily trading in gold, spices, silks, ivories and ceramics with foreign merchants who sailed in from China, India and Java. In 1025, however, the king of Chola

in South India sent a fleet to Sumatra, destroying the kingdom, marking the end of its golden era. Later, Chinese admiral Cheng Ho, emissary of the Chinese emperor visited Palembang in the 15th century.

Palembang is also known in history as the origin of the Malays whose kings are believed to have descended to earth at Gunung Siguntang, north of Palembang. Today, not much can be seen from Srivijaya's golden age, except for evidence of the area's fine gold and silver songket weaving that persists until today, the fine lacquerware it produces for which Palembang is renowned, and its regal dances and opulent costumes.

On Kemaro Island in the middle of the Musi river there is a large Buddhist temple and the grave of a Chinese princess, who was destined to wed a Srivijaya king. The island is today the center of the Cap Go Meh celebrations. During Cap Go Meh, Chinese communities from around the city squeeze into this small piece of land, together with those coming from Hongkong, Singapore and China. Ever since the 9th century Srivijaya was a thriving trading power and an epicenter for Buddhist learnings, Chinese merchants came to trade in Palembang and monks stayed here to study Sanskrit before proceeding to India. Over the centuries many Chinese settled in the area.

Legend of the Srivijaya Princess and the Chinese Prince

There are many legends connected to the Chinese princess (or maybe a prince) buried on Kemaro. According to one version, the island is evidence and symbol of the love and loyalty of Princess Siti Fatimah, daughter of the King of Srivijaya, towards a Chinese prince called Tan Bun An. In the 14th century, so the legend goes, Prince Tan Bun An arrived in Palembang to study. After living here for some time, he fell in love with princess Siti Fatimah. He came to the palace to ask the king for her hand in marriage. The king and queen gave their approval on one condition, that Tan Bun An must present a gift.

Tan Bun An then sent a messenger back to China to ask his father for such a gift to be presented to the King of Srivijaya. When the messenger returned with pots of preserved vegetables and fruits, Tan Bun An was surprised and enraged because he had asked his father to send Chinese jars, ceramics and gold. In his anger he threw the ships cargo into the Musi River, unaware that his father had placed gold bars inside the fruits and vegetables. Ashamed after finding out his mistake, he tried to recover what he had thrown into the river. Tan Bun An, however, never returned as he drowned with the precious cargo.

When Siti Fatimah heard about the tragedy, the Princess ran to the river and drowned herself to follow her lover, but not before leaving a message saying; "If you see a tree grow on a piece of land where I drown, it will be the tree of our true love ". At the place where the princess drowned, a piece of land appeared on the surface of the river. The locals believe that this new island is the couple's tomb and therefore, they call it "Kamarau Island" which means that despite high tides in the Musi River, this island will always remain dry.

The local ethnic Chinese believe that their ancestor, Tan Bun An, lives on this island. As a result, the island is always crowded during Chinese New Year. Today, a magnificent Chinese temple, the Hok Cing Bio, stands here. Built in 1962, it attracts many devotees. On special occasions, especially on what the Hokkien call the 'Cap Go Meh' Celebrations, the island is packed with locals and visitors coming from Palembang and overseas. There is something magical about Kamarau island. Witnessing the crowds on this particular occasion is an attraction by itself.

Srivijaya Civilization in Malaysia

In the 7th century the powerful Shrivijaya kingdom in Sumatra spread to Malay peninsula and introduced a mixture of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. Srivijaya influence extended over

the Malay Peninsula and much of Borneo from the 7th to the 14th centuries. Shrivijaya ruled a string of principalities as far north Chaiya in what is today southern Thailand with support from China. When Shrivijaya in Chaiya extended its sphere of influence, those cities became tributary states of Shrivijaya.

The Shrivijaya kingdom in Malaysia was based in the Bujang Valley or Lembah Bujang, a sprawling historical complex situated near Merbok, Kedah. It is regarded as the richest archaeological area in Malaysia. Over the years, numerous artefacts have been uncovered in the Bujang Valley - celadon, porcelain, stoneware, clay, pottery, fragments of glass, beads and Persian ceramics - evidences that Bujang Valley was once a centre of international and entrepot trade in the region.

More than 50 ancient Hindu or Buddhist temples, called candi, have also been unearthed, adding to the spirituality of the place. The most well-preserved of these is located in Pengkalan Bayang Merbok, which is also where the Bujang Valley Archaeological Museum is located. This museum is the first archaeology museum built in Malaysia, under the Museum and Antiquity.

Kedah also had a strong Tamil influence which have led to surmise at least some of the Shrivijaya maharajas may have been Tamiles. A 7th-century Sanskrit drama, *Kaumudhimahotsva*, refers to Kedah as *Kataha-nagari*. The *Agnipurana* also mentions a territory known as *Anda-Kataha* with one of its boundaries delineated by a peak, which scholars believe is Gunung Jerai. Stories from the *Katasaritasagaram* describe the elegance of life in *Kataha*. The Buddhist kingdom of Ligor took control of Kedah shortly after. Its king Chandrabhanu used it as a base to attack Sri Lanka in the 11th century, an event noted in a stone inscription in Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu and in the Sri Lankan chronicles, *Mahavamsa*.

Decline of Shrivijaya Civilization in Malaysia

At times, the Khmer kingdom, the Siamese kingdom, and even Cholas kingdom in India tried to exert control over the smaller Malay states. In 1025 and 1026 Gangga Negara was attacked by Rajendra Chola I, the Tamil emperor who is now thought to have laid Kota Gelanggi to waste. Kedah—known as Kedaram, Cheh-Cha (according to I-Ching) or *Kataha*, in ancient Pallava or Sanskrit—was in the direct route of the invasions and was ruled by the Cholas from 1025. The senior Chola's successor, Vira Rajendra Chola, had to put down a Kedah rebellion to overthrow other invaders. The coming of the Chola reduced the majesty of Shrivijaya, which had exerted influence over Kedah, Pattani and as far as Ligor.

The power of Shrivijaya declined from the 12th century as the relationship between the capital and its vassals broke down. Wars with the Javanese caused it to request assistance from China, and wars with Indian states are also suspected. In the 11th century CE the centre of power shifted to Melayu, a port possibly located further up the Sumatran coast at near the Jambi River. The power of the Buddhist Maharajas was further undermined by the spread of Islam. Areas which were converted to Islam early, such as Aceh, broke away from Shrivijaya's control. By the late 13th century, the Siamese kings of Sukhothai had brought most of Malaya under their rule. In the 14th century, the Hindu Java-based Majapahit empire came into possession of the peninsula.

By the fourteenth century, Shrivijaya's dominance had ended because it lost Chinese support and because it was continually in conflict with states seeking to dominate lucrative trade routes. In 1405 the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho arrived in Melaka with promises to the locals of protection from the Siamese encroaching from the north. With Chinese support, the power of Melaka

extended to include most of the Malay Peninsula. Islam arrived in Melaka around this time and soon spread through Malaya.

As for the other region of Malaysia, Borneo, evidence suggests that Borneo developed quite separately from the peninsula and was little affected by cultural and political developments there. The kingdom of Brunei was Borneo's most prominent political force and remained so until nineteenth-century British colonization.

Srivijaya Prince and the Founding of Malacca

The founding of trading port of Malacca on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula is credited to the Srivijayan prince Sri Parameswara, who fled his kingdom to avoid domination by rulers of the Majapahit kingdom. In 1402 by Parameswara fled Temasek (now Singapore). The Sejarah Melayu claims that Parameswara was a descendant of Alexander the Great and said he sailed to Temasek to escape persecution. There he came under the protection of Temagi, a Malay chief from Patani who was appointed by the king of Siam as regent of Temasek. Within a few days, Parameswara killed Temagi and appointed himself regent. Some five years later he had to leave Temasek, due to threats from Siam. During this period, a Javanese fleet from Majapahit attacked Temasek

Parameswara headed north to found a new settlement. At Muar, Parameswara considered siting his new kingdom at either Biawak Busuk or at Kota Buruk. Finding that the Muar location was not suitable, he continued his journey northwards. Along the way, he reportedly visited Sening Ujong (former name of present-day Sungai Ujong) before reaching a fishing village at the mouth of the Bertam River (former name of the Melaka River), and founded what would become the Malacca Sultanate. Over time this developed into modern-day Malacca Town. According to the Malay Annals, here Parameswara saw a mouse deer outwitting a dog resting under a Malacca tree. Taking this as a good omen, he decided to establish a kingdom called Malacca. He built and improved facilities for trade. The Malacca Sultanate is commonly considered the first independent state in the peninsula.

Srivijaya Civilization Thailand

The Wang Sa Inscription (Thai Peninsula) dated 775 AD reads: "Victorious is the king of Srivijaya, whose Sri has its seat warmed by the rays emanating from neighbouring kings, and which was diligently created by Brahma, as if this God has in view only the duration of the famous Dharma."

Joe Cummings wrote in the Lonely Planet guide for Thailand: While much of northern and eastern Thailand was controlled by the Angkor-based Khmers, "southern Thailand – the upper Malay Peninsula – was under the control of the Srivijaya empire, the headquarters of which is believed to have been located in Palembang, Sumatra, between the 8th and 13th centuries. The regional centre for Srivijaya was Chaiya, near modern Surat Thani. Remains of Srivijaya art can still be seen in Chaiya and its environs." Srivijaya was a maritime empire that lasted for 500. It ruled a string of principalities in what is today Southern Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Chaiya, near Present-day Surat Thani (685 kilometers south of Bangkok, jumping off area for Ko Samui), was a provincial capital of the Srivijaya Empire. Just north of Surat Thani city, Chaiya is the home of Wat Phra Boromathat, Thailand's most important monument from the

Srivijaya period. Surrounded by walls and moats, this temple features a cloister with a large number of Buddhist images. At the center of the courtyard is an ancient Srivijaya-style stupa restored during the reign of King Rama V. Surat Thani is located on the Gulf of Thailand about equidistant between Bangkok and the Malaysian border.

When Srivijaya in Chaiya extended its sphere of influence, those cities became tributary states of Srivijaya. Srivijaya ruled a string of principalities in what is today southern Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Chaiya contains several ruins from Srivijaya times, and was probably a regional capital of the kingdom. Some Thai historians even claim that it was the capital of the kingdom itself for some time, but this is generally disputed. After Srivijaya lost its influence, Nakhon Si Thammarat became the dominant kingdom of the area. During the rule of King Ramkhamhaeng the Great of Sukhothai leader, Thai influence first reached Nakhon Si Thammarat in the south.

Due to the strategic location of the kingdom, maritime trading became a major reason why the kingdom had that much riches and power. The kingdom manage to gain control of 2 key and significant straits in routes which traders and merchants often travel through. These straits are the Malacca strait and Sunda strait. Hence, it managed to control a lot of the trades that were going on in Asia, including India and China. The strategic location has also made Srivijaya a resourceful empire. Because the Musi river was rich with silt, the land around the river is arable. Hence, it was also well known as a source for cloves, camphor, pepper, tortoiseshell, aloe wood, and sandalwood, as well as ivory, gold and tin. The empire's riches can be equaled to any Maharaja in India.

Relics Like all the other great kingdoms, there are artefacts found from the Srivijaya kingdom, including inscriptions. Inscriptions are evidence that show that kingdoms exist, and it worked the same for Srivijaya. although majority of artefacts and evidences of Srivijaya's existence has perished, there are still some artefacts and inscriptions which proved the existence of Srivijaya Kingdom.

There are 2 inscriptions that are believed to have been cursed for those who do not follow the rules and the king's order. This inscription is carved on an andesite stone and is 118 cm tall. On top of the inscription, it is embellished by seven deities head, or what we call nāga. There is some king of a water channel at the lower portion that were likely used for some kind of allegiance ritual in the past. It is written in the Old Malay language in Pallava alphabet. It was found in Palembang.

One of the oldest written evidence of the Old Malay language that survived. It is also written in Pallava alphabet in Old Malay language. This inscriptions was carved on a pinnacle stone and is 177 cm tall. It was found on 606 CE west of Palembang.

Legacy

Though the great kingdom was almost forgotten, its greatest legacy would be the spreading of the Old Malay language. Being a maritime kingdom, trading played a huge part on where it got its riches. Due to the extensive trading that took place, the Srivijayans managed to spread Old Malay language to the traders in the region. Old Malay is the foundation for Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia and the large territory of Srivijaya, are probably the reasons why Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore have Malay as their main language and Bahasa Indonesia became the language that unite the diverse Indonesia.

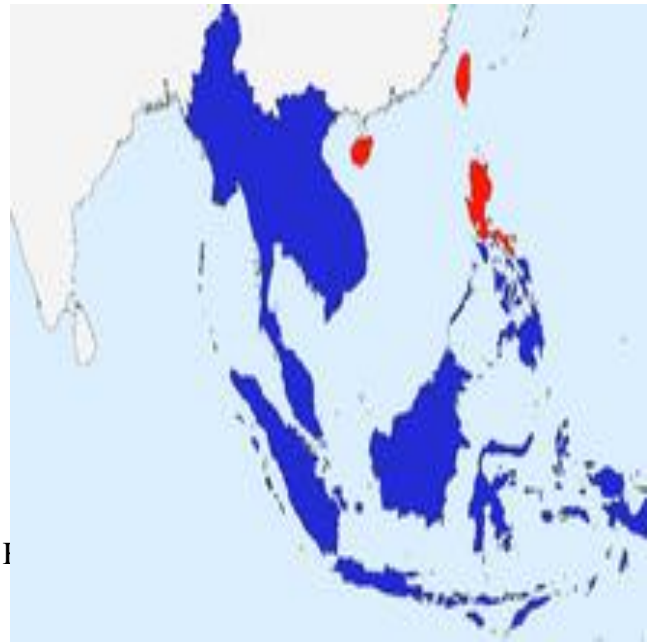
Today the Srivijaya Kingdom's influence can be found from the local set of song and dance called "Gending Sriwijaya" in Palembang, South Sumatra. The dance was created to tell the glory and magnificence of the kingdom that successfully united the west side of Indonesia.

All in all, this mysterious great kingdom played a big part in spreading buddhism in its realm. There is another version to the story, and probably not the last one:

The Srivijaya started as a project by the Japanese Emperor Koizumi to attack the Sinicans from another angle on the Asian Continent. The Srivijaya Founders were a mix of Buddhists who were thrown out of the Maurya Empire in India under the leadership of a man named Thenmobala, who then established the splinter religion of Thenmobism, as well as immigrants from the Cambodia region of South East Asia, who then became the ethnic majority in the country and from where the name Khmer originates. The Thenmobis religion became a guiding principle that led to the conquest of a part of Sumatra before the Japanese intervened. The imperial vision that the Khmer leaders was only achieved with the weapons and strategy of the Japanese and if it was not provided then their aspirations would likely have been set back many decades or centuries perhaps. In 677 (76 BC) the first maharajah was declared and he set out to take the islands of Indonesia, the taking of the sparsely inhabited, though Sinican dominated, Southeast Asian Peninsula also provided many aspects of respect and diplomacy with the Mainland countries. The Srivijaya had a small war with the Japanese to take the islands of the Philippines but the end of the conflict concluded with the largest island of Luzon going to the Japanese and the remaining smaller islands left to the Japanese. The Srivijaya name comes from the Sanskrit, ancient language of Buddhists, words 'Sri' meaning 'radiant' and 'vijaya' meaning 'victory'. Vietnam, a Sinitic state, rebelled and joined the Japanese empire.

Rulers or Maharajas of the Empire

1. Jayanasa 678-693 (75-60 BC)
2. Srivatsav 693-701 (60-52 BC)
3. Balaputra 701-735 (52-18 BC)
4. Balaputra II 735-752 (18-1 BC)
5. Girindra 752-769 (1 BC- 16 AD)
6. Mandakranta 769-786 (16-33 AD)
7. Neelanchal 786-799 (33-46 AD)
8. Girindra II 799-811 (46-58 AD)
9. Balaputra III 811-829 (58-76 AD)
10. Privrata 829-842 (76-89 AD)
11. Balaputra IV 842-857 (89-104 AD)
12. Girindra III 857-866 (104-113 AD)
13. Balaputra V 866-878 (113-125 AD)
14. Trishanku 878-885 (125-132 AD)
15. Balaputra VI 885-915 (132-162 AD) I Maharajah



Countries (L'Uniona Homanus)

1. Former Countries

2.  The Srivijaya Empire ,
3. The First Han Dynasty ,
4. Kingdom of Bei ,
5. Kingdom of Chu ,
6. Kingdom of Han ,
7. Kingdom of Nan ,
8. Kingdom of Song ,
9. Kingdom of Tang ,
10. Kingdom of Wei ,
11. Kingdom of Xi ,
12. Kingdom of Yan,
13.  Thai Kingdom ,
14.  United Kingdom of Lao-Cham ,
15.  Khmer Kingdom ,
16.  The Maurya Empire,
17.  Satavahana Kingdom

2.Asian Countries

1.  The Second Han Dynasty ,
2.  The Japanese Empire ,
3.  Tibetan Empire ,
4.  The Korean Empire ,
5.  The Mongol Empire,
6.  The Indian Empire

3.African Countries

1.  Zulu Republic ,

2.  The Bantu Kingdom ,
3.  The Siddharthist Republic ,
4.  The Otjomouise Kingdom

4. European Countries

1. Roman Empire ,
2.  Cimbrian Alliance

5. Hyperborean

(North American)
Countries

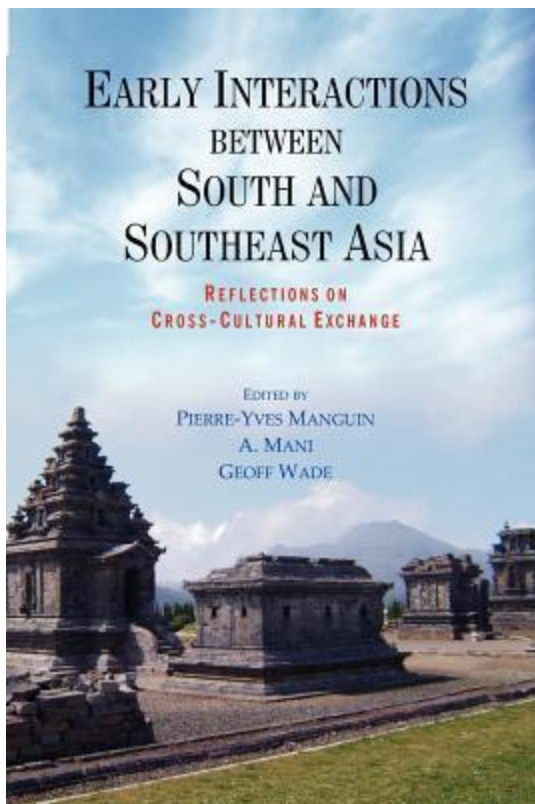
 The United Tribes

Legacy: Once the existence of Srivijaya had been established, it became a symbol of early Sumatran greatness, and a great empire to balance Java's Majapahit in the east. In the twentieth century, both empires were referred to by Indonesian nationalist intellectuals to argue for an Indonesian identity within and Indonesian state prior to the establishment of the Dutch colonial state. Due to the contradicting pattern found in southern regions, like Palembang, in 1977 Bennet Bronson developed a speculative model for a better understanding of the Sumatran coastal region, such as insular and peninsular Malaysia, the Philippines, and western Indonesia. Its main focus was the relationship of political, economic and geographical systems. The general political and economic pattern of the region seems irrelevant to other parts of the world of their time, but in correlation with their maritime trade network, it produced high levels of socio-economic complexity. He concluded, from his earlier publications in 1974 that state development in this region developed much differently than the rest of early Southeast Asia. Bronson's model was based on the dendritic patterns of a drainage basin where its opening leads out to sea. Being that historical evidence places the capital in Palembang, and in junction of three rivers, the Musi, the Komering, and the Ogan, such model can be applied. For the system to function appropriately, several constraints are required. The inability for terrestrial transportation results in movements of all goods through water routes, lining up economical patterns with the dendritic patterns formed by the streams. The second being the overseas center is economically superior to the ports found at the mouth of the rivers, having a higher population and a more productive and technologically advanced economy. Lastly, constraints on the land work against and do not developments of urban settlements.



Floating houses in Musi River bank near Palembang in 1917. The Srivijayan capital was probably formed from a collection of floating houses like this.

An aerial photograph taken in 1984 near Palembang (in what is now Sriwijaya Kingdom Archaeological Park) revealed the remnants of ancient man-made canals, moats, ponds, and artificial islands, suggesting the location of Srivijaya's urban centre. Several artefacts such as fragments of inscriptions, Buddhist statues, beads, pottery and Chinese ceramics were found, confirming that the area had, at one time, dense human habitation. By 1993, Pierre-Yves Manguin an emeritus professor at the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO, French School of Asian Studies) whose research focuses on the history and archaeology of coastal states, trade networks, and ships of Southeast Asia, had shown that the centre of Srivijaya was along the Musi River between Bukit Seguntang and Sabokingking (situated in what is now Palembang, South Sumatra, Indonesia). Palembang is called in Chinese: 'Giant Harbour', this is probably a testament of its history as once a great port.



A Bibliography for Sriwijayan Studies, Manguin Pierre-Yves, Efeo, 1989

However, in 2013, archaeological research led by the University of Indonesia discovered several religious and habitation sites at Muaro Jambi, suggesting that the initial centre of Srivijaya was located in Muaro Jambi Regency, Jambi on the Batang Hari River, rather than on the originally-proposed Musi river.[26] The archaeological site includes eight excavated temple sanctuaries and covers about 12 square kilometers, stretches 7.5 kilometers along the Batang Hari River, 80 menapos or mounds of temple ruins, are not yet restored. The Muaro Jambi archaeological site was Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhist in nature, which suggests that the site served as the Buddhist learning center, connected to the 10th century famous Buddhist scholar Suvarṇadvīpi Dharmakīrti. Chinese sources also mentioned that Srivijaya hosts thousands of Buddhist monks.

Another theory suggests that Dapunta Hyang came from the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and that the Chaiya District in Surat Thani Province, Thailand, was the centre of Srivijaya.[29] The Srivijayan Period is referred to as the time when Srivijaya ruled over present-day southern Thailand. In the region of Chaiya, there is clear evidence of Srivijayan influence seen in artwork inspired by Mahayana Buddhism. Because of the large amount of remains, such as the Ligor stele, found in this region, some scholars attempted to prove Chaiya as the capital rather than Palembang.[30] This period was also a time for art. The Buddhist art of the Srivijayan Kingdom was believed to have borrowed from Indian styles like that of the Dvaravati school of art. The city of Chaiya's name may be derived from the Malay name "Cahaya" which means "light" or "radiance". However, some scholars believe that Chaiya probably comes from Sri Vijaya. It was a regional capital in the Srivijaya empire. Some

Thai historians argue it was the capital of Srivijaya itself, but this is generally discounted. Dvaravati itself was heavily influenced by Indian culture though the process of cultural diffusion over several centuries starting from the Christian 5th century, and played an important role in introducing Mahayana Buddhism and particularly Buddhist art to the region.

It is a form of artistic work originating from Mon. Dvaravati flourished from the Dvaravati Mon ancient artifacts are in present-day Thailand and Burma, Mon states to the west in southern Myanmar (Burma) and with the Mon state in northern Thailand. Dvaravati experienced political domination by neighbouring peoples on three separate occasions: in the 10th century, when the Burmese conquered the Mon state of Thaton west of the Tenasserim Yoma; from the 11th to the 13th century, when the Khmer empire (Cambodia) arose in the east; and finally, in the late 13th century, when Dvaravati was absorbed by the Thai empire.

Dvaravati art came into form around the 6th century by the Mon communities as part of numerous minor kingdoms that existed in Thailand. Surrounding geography proved treacherous for travel and thus provided a fair amount of isolation for the individual kingdoms. Isolation enabled development of a highly sophisticated and distinct Mon-Dvaravati style.

Architecture: Archaeological research and restoration have indicated that Buddhist monuments of the Dvaravati style exhibited contemporary art of Gupta temple-architecture with many constructed with open-air structures. Chief among the architecture is the *stupa* style architecture. There are four major categories:

1. Chedi with terrace in each story
2. stupa with a square base
3. The central part of this is pointed in a finial way has a stupa with a square base and a central part, This form is shaped in an inverted alms-bowl. This form has numerous superimposed flat rings with a bulb terminal. Inspired by Mahayana Buddhism.
4. Stupa with a square base and 5 terraces. The lowest is the biggest terrace while the smallest is the top terrace. Each terrace has 3 niches in each of the four direction. Inside these 3 niches stand Buddha images.

The temple complex at Wat Phra That Hariphunchai, dating to the 9th and 11th centuries, is a pristine example of Dvaravati architecture. Phra Pathommachedi is a wat dating to the 12th century that exemplifies the architecture. The temple's origins date from the 11th century but the central stupa is thought to originate in the 9th century. Its earliest origins were in 897 when the then king of Hariphunchai is said to have built a stupa (now the central stupa) to house a hair of

the Buddha. The present compound, founded by Hariphunchai King Athitayarai, dates from 1044. The temple was first rebuilt in 1443 by King Tilokaraja of Lanna kingdom Chiang Mai. The temple's pyramid-shaped Chedi Suwanna was built in 1418. In the 1930s temple renovations were made by the northern Thai monk Khru Ba Sriwichai.

Architecture : The restoration of 1443 enlarged and enhanced the central stupa, including the incorporation of repousse Buddha images on bronze sheets affixed to the stupa bell element (*anda*). These repousse Buddhas are indicative of the Lanna Early Classic period.



Chedi Suwanna

The unusual pyramid-shaped, 46 m high Chedi Suwanna in the northwest of the compound is in the Dvaravati-style of the Hariphunchai period and believed to be modeled on similar stupas at nearby Wat Chama Thewi (Wat Kukut. The chedi is featured on the reverse of the one-satang coin. It houses a 15th-century Lanna Buddha. Near the wihan is a library of 19th-century origin. The library's staircase features naga images. Also near the wihan is a large bronze gong, purportedly the world's largest. The gong dates from 1860. The southwestern corner of the temple compound has a stone indented with four footprints. Worshippers believe these to confirm the legend of a Buddha visit to the area.

By the late 8th century, the political capital was shifted to Central Java, when the Sailendras rose to become the Maharaja of Srivijaya.

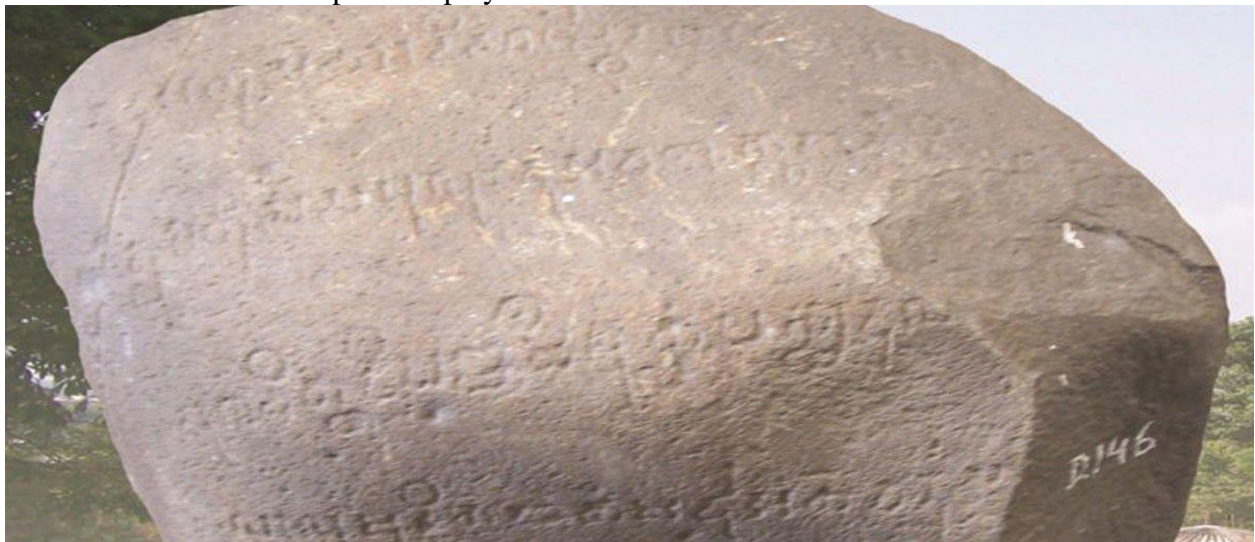
In the second half of the eighth century, the capital of Srivijayan Mandala seems to be relocated and reestablished in Central Java, in the splendid court of Medang Mataram located somewhere in fertile Kedu and Kewu Plain, in the same location of the majestic Borobudur, Manjusri-grha and Prambanan monuments. This unique period is known as the Srivijayan episode in Central Java, when the monarch of Sailendras rose to become the Maharaja of Srivijaya. By that time, Srivijayan Mandala seems to be consists of the federation or an alliance of city-states, spanned from Java to Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, connected with trade connection cemented with political allegiance. By that time Srivijayan trading centres remain in Palembang, and to further

extent also includes ports of Jambi, Kedah and Chaiya; while its political, religious and ceremonial center was established in Central Java.

History. Formation and growth. Siddhayatra



The Kedukan Bukit inscription displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia



The **Kedukan Bukit inscription** is an inscription discovered by the Dutchman M. Batenburg on 29 November 1920 at Kedukan Bukit, South Sumatra, Indonesia, on the banks of the River Tatang, a tributary of the River Musi. It is the oldest surviving specimen of the Malay language, in a form known as Old Malay. It is a small stone of 45 cm × 80 cm. This inscription is dated 1 May 683 CE. This inscription was written in Pallava script. The inscriptions contain numerous Sanskrit words.

	Transliteration
1	svasti śrī śaka varṣātīta 605 ekādaśī śukla-
2	pakṣa vulan vaiśākha ḍapunta hiyaṃ nāyik di
3	sāmvaṃ maṇalap siddhayātra di saptamī śuklapakṣa
4	vulan jyeṣṭha ḍapunta hiyaṃ marlapas dari mināṇa
5	tāmvaṃ mamāva yaṃ vala dua lakṣa daṇan kośa

6	dua ratus cāra di sāmvaṁ daṇan jālan sarivu
7	tlu ratus sapulu dua vaṇakṇa dātaṁ di mukha upaṁ
8	sukhacitta di pañcamī śuklapakṣa vulan āsāḍha
9	laghu mudita dātaṁ marvuāt vanua ...
10	śrīvijaya jaya siddhayātra subhikṣa nityakāla

Modern Malay translation

Svasti! Pada 11 hari bulan separuh *Vaiśākha* tahun 605 Śaka, Dapunta Hiyang menaiki sampan untuk mendapatkan *siddhayātra*. Pada hari ke tujuh iaitu 15 hari bulan separuh *Jyēṣṭha*, Dapunta Hiyang berlepas dari *Mināṇa* membawa 20000 orang bala tentera dengan bekal-bekalan sebanyak 200 peti di sampan diiringi 1312 orang yang berjalan kaki banyaknya datang ke hulu Upang dengan sukacitanya. Pada 15 hari bulan separuh *āsāḍha* dengan mudah dan gembiranya datang membuat benua ... *Śrīvijaya jaya siddhayātra subhikṣa nityakāla!*

English Translation

Om swasti astu! All hail and prosperity. In the year 605 of the Saka calendar, on the eleventh day at half-moon of *Waisaka*, Sri Baginda took dugouts in order to obtain *siddhayatra*.^[5] On Day 7, on the 15th day at half-moon of *Jyestha*, Sri Baginda extricated himself from *mināṅga tāmvan*.^[6] He took 20,000 troops with him ... as many as 200 in dugouts, with 1,312 foot soldiers. They arrived at ... Truly merry on the fifteenth day of the half-moon..., agile, happy, and they made a trip to the country ... Great Sriwijaya! Prosperity and riches.

Around the year 500, the roots of the Srivijayan empire began to develop around present-day Palembang, Sumatra. The Kedukan Bukit inscription (683), discovered on the banks of the Tatang River near the Karanganyar site, states that the empire of Srivijaya was founded by Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa and his retinue. He had embarked on a sacred siddhayatra journey and led 20,000 troops and 312 people in boats with 1,312 foot soldiers from Minanga Tamwan to Jambi and Palembang.

From the Sanskrit inscriptions, it is notable that Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa launched a maritime conquest in 684 with 20,000 men in the siddhayatra journey to acquire wealth, power, and 'magical powers'. Under the leadership of Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa, the Melayu Kingdom became the first kingdom to be integrated into Srivijaya. This possibly occurred in the 680s. Melayu, also known as Jambi, was rich in gold and held in high esteem at the time. Srivijaya recognised that the submission of Melayu would increase its own prestige.

The empire was organised in three main zones: the estuarine capital region centred on Palembang, the Musi River basin which served as a hinterland, and rival estuarine areas capable of forming rival power centres. The areas upstream of the Musi River were rich in various commodities valuable to Chinese traders.^[36] The capital was administered directly by the ruler, while the hinterland remained under local datus or tribal chiefs, who were organised into a network of alliances with the Srivijaya maharaja or king. Force was the dominant element in the empire's relations with rival river systems such as the Batang Hari River, centred in Jambi.

The Telaga Batu inscription, discovered in Sabokingking, eastern Palembang, is also a siddhayatra inscription, from the 7th century. This inscription was very likely used in a ceremonial sumpah (allegiance ritual). The top of the stone is adorned with seven nāga heads, and on the lower portion there is a type of water spout to channel liquid that was likely poured over the stone during a ritual. The ritual included a curse upon those who commit treason against Kadatuan Srivijaya.

The Talang Tuwo inscription is also a siddhayatra inscription. Discovered in Bukit Seguntang, western Palembang, this inscription tells about the establishment of the bountiful Śrīksetra garden endowed by King Jayanasa of Srivijaya for the well-being of all creatures.[3]:82–83 It is likely that the Bukit Seguntang site was the location of the Śrīksetra garden.

Regional conquests

According to the Kota Kapur inscription discovered on Bangka Island, the empire conquered most of southern Sumatra and the neighbouring island of Bangka as far as Palas Pasemah in Lampung. Also, according to the inscriptions, Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa launched a military campaign against Java in the late 7th century, a period which coincided with the decline of Tarumanagara in West Java and the Kalingga in Central Java. The empire thus grew to control trade on the Strait of Malacca, the Sunda Strait, the South China Sea, the Java Sea and the Karimata Strait.

Chinese records dating to the late 7th century mention two Sumatran kingdoms and three other kingdoms on Java as being part of Srivijaya. By the end of the 8th century, many western Javanese kingdoms, such as Tarumanagara and Kalingga, were within the Srivijayan sphere of influence.



The golden Malayu-Srivijayan Avalokiteśvara, Rataukapastuo, Muarabulian, Jambi, Indonesia

The 7th-century Sojomerto inscription mentioned that an Old Malay-speaking Shivaist family led by Dapunta Selendra had established themselves in the Batang area of the northern coast of Central Java. He was possibly the progenitor of the Sailendra family. By the early 8th century, an

influential Buddhist family related to Srivijaya dominated Central Java. The family was the Sailendras, of Javanese origin. The ruling lineage of Srivijaya intermarried with the Sailendras of Central Java.

Conquest of Malay Peninsula

Malay polities in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. By the turn of the 8th century the states in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula were under Srivijayan domination.

During the same century, Langkasuka on the Malay Peninsula became part of Srivijaya.[40] Soon after this, Pan Pan and Tambralinga, north of Langkasuka, came under Srivijayan influence. These kingdoms on the peninsula were major trading nations that transported goods across the peninsula's isthmus.

The Ligor inscription in Vat Sema Muang says that Maharaja Dharmasetu of Srivijaya ordered the construction of three sanctuaries dedicated to the Bodhisattvas Padmapani, Vajrapani, and Buddha in the northern Malay Peninsula.[41] The inscription further stated that the Dharmasetu was the head of the Sailendras of Java. This is the first known instance of a relationship between Srivijaya and the Sailendra. With the expansion into Java and the Malay Peninsula, Srivijaya controlled two major trade choke points in Southeast Asia: the Malacca and Sunda straits. Some Srivijayan temple ruins are observable in Thailand and Cambodia.

At some point in the late 7th century, Cham ports in eastern Indochina started to attract traders. This diverted the flow of trade from Srivijaya. To stop this, Maharaja Dharmasetu launched raids against the coastal cities of Indochina. The city of Indrapura by the Mekong was temporarily controlled from Palembang in the early 8th century. The Srivijayans continued to dominate areas around present-day Cambodia until the Khmer King Jayavarman II, the founder of the Khmer Empire dynasty, severed the Srivijayan link later in the same century. In 851 an Arabic merchant named Sulaiman recorded an event about Javanese Sailendras staging a surprise attack on the Khmers by approaching the capital from the river, after a sea crossing from Java. The young king of Khmer was later punished by the Maharaja, and subsequently the kingdom became a vassal of Sailendra dynasty. In 916 CE, a Javanese kingdom invaded Khmer Empire, using 1000 "medium-sized" vessels, which results in Javanese victory. The head of Khmer's king then brought to Java.

Srivijayan rule in Central Java

After trade disruption at Canton between 820 and 850, the ruler of Jambi was able to assert enough independence to send missions to China in 853 and 871. Jambi's independence coincided with the troubled time when the Sailendran Balaputra, expelled from Java, seized the throne of Srivijaya. The new maharaja was able to dispatch a tributary mission to China by 902. Only two years later, the expiring Tang Dynasty conferred a title on a Srivijayan envoy.

In the first half of the tenth century, between the fall of Tang Dynasty and the rise of Song, there was brisk trade between the overseas world and the Fujian kingdom of Min and the rich Guangdong kingdom of Nan Han. Srivijaya undoubtedly benefited from this, in anticipation of the prosperity it was to enjoy under the early Song. Around 903, the Persian explorer and geographer Ibn Rustah who wrote extensively of his travels was so impressed with the wealth of Srivijaya's ruler that he declared one would not hear of a king who was richer, stronger or with more revenue. The main urban centers were at Palembang (especially the Bukit Seguntang area), Muara Jambi and Kedah.

The Sailendras of Java established and nurtured a dynastic alliance with the Sumatran Srivijayan lineage, and then further established their rule and authority in the Medang Mataram Kingdom of Central Java.

In Java, Dharanindra's successor was Samaragrawira (r. 800—819), mentioned in the Nalanda inscription (dated 860) as the father of Balaputradewa, and the son of Śailendravamsatilaka (the jewel of the Śailendra family) with stylised name Śrīviravairimathana (the slayer of a heroic enemy), which refers to Dharanindra.[3]:92 Unlike his predecessor, the expansive and warlike Dharanindra, Samaragrawira seems to have been a pacifist, enjoying the peaceful prosperity of interior Java in Kedu Plain and being more interested in completing the Borobudur project. He appointed Khmer Prince Jayavarman as the governor of Indrapura in the Mekong delta under Sailendran rule. This decision was later proven to be a mistake, as Jayavarman revolted, moved his capital further inland north from Tonle Sap to Mahendraparvata, severed the link to Srivijaya and proclaimed Cambodian independence from Java in 802. Samaragrawira was mentioned as the king of Java that married Tārā, daughter of Dharmasetu.[3]:108 He was mentioned as his other name Rakai Warak in Mantyasih inscription.

Earlier historians, such as N. J. Krom and Cœdes, tend to equate Samaragrawira and Samaratungga as the same person.[3]:92 However, later historians such as Slamet Muljana equate Samaratungga with Rakai Garung, mentioned in the Mantyasih inscription as the fifth monarch of the Mataram kingdom. This would mean that Samaratungga was the successor of Samaragrawira.

Dewi Tara, the daughter of Dharmasetu, married Samaratunga, a member of the Sailendra family who assumed the throne of Srivijaya around 792.[45] By the 8th century, the Srivijayan court was virtually located in Java, as the Sailendras monarch rose to become the Maharaja of Srivijaya.



The construction of the Borobudur was completed under the reign of Samaratunga of the Sailendra dynasty.(See ht Book by Dr Uday Dokras “The Celestial Mysteries of the Borobudur Temple” on academia.edu

After Dharmasetu, Samaratungga became the next Maharaja of Srivijaya. He reigned as ruler from 792 to 835. Unlike the expansionist Dharmasetu, Samaratungga did not indulge in military expansion but preferred to strengthen the Srivijayan hold of Java. He personally oversaw the construction of the grand monument of Borobudur; a massive stone mandala, which was completed in 825, during his reign.[46] According to Cœdès, "In the second half of the ninth century Java and Sumatra were united under the rule of a Sailendra reigning in Java... its center at Palembang." [3]:92 Samaratungga, just like Samaragrawira, seems to have been deeply influenced by peaceful Mahayana Buddhist beliefs and strove to become a peaceful and benevolent ruler. His successor was Princess Pramodhawardhani who was betrothed to Shivaite Rakai Pikatan, son of the influential Rakai Patapan, a landlord in Central Java. The political

move that seems as an effort to secure peace and Sailendran rule on Java by reconciling the Mahayana Buddhist with Shivaist Hindus.

Return to Palembang

Prince Balaputra, however, opposed the rule of Pikatan and Pramodhawardhani in Central Java. The relations between Balaputra and Pramodhawardhani are interpreted differently by some historians. An older theory according to Bosch and De Casparis holds that Balaputra was the son of Samaratungga, which means he was the younger brother of Pramodhawardhani. Later historians such as Muljana, on the other hand, argued that Balaputra was the son of Samaragrawira and the younger brother of Samaratungga, which means he was the uncle of Pramodhawardhani.

It is not known whether Balaputra was expelled from Central Java because of a succession dispute with Pikatan, or he already ruled in Suvarnavipa (Sumatra). Either way, it seems that Balaputra eventually ruled the Sumatran branch of Sailendra dynasty and enthroned in Srivijayan capital of Palembang. Historians argued that this was because Balaputra's mother Tara, the queen consort of King Samaragrawira, was the princess of Srivijaya, making Balaputra the heir of the Srivijayan throne. Balaputra the Maharaja of Srivijaya later stated his claim as the rightful heir of the Sailendra dynasty from Java, as proclaimed in the Nalanda inscription dated 860.[3]:108

After a trade disruption at Canton between 820 and 850, the ruler of Jambi (Melayu Kingdom) was able to assert enough independence to send missions to China in 853 and 871.[citation needed] The Melayu kingdom's independence coincided with the troubled times when the Sailendran Balaputradewa was expelled from Java and, later, he seized the throne of Srivijaya. The new maharaja was able to dispatch a tributary mission to China by 902. Two years after that, the expiring Tang Dynasty conferred a title on a Srivijayan envoy.

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Srivijayan explorations

The core of the Srivijayan realm was concentrated in and around the straits of Malacca and Sunda and in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Western Java. However, between the 9th and the 12th centuries, the influence of Srivijaya seems to have extended far beyond the core. Srivijayan navigators, sailors and traders seem to have engaged in extensive trade and exploration, which reached coastal Borneo,[48] the Philippines archipelago, Eastern Indonesia, coastal Indochina, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar.

The migration to Madagascar accelerated in the 9th century when Srivijaya controlled much of the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean. The migration to Madagascar was estimated to have taken place 1,200 years ago around 830 CE. According to an extensive new mitochondrial DNA study, native Malagasy people today can likely trace their heritage back to 30 founding mothers who sailed from Indonesia 1,200 years ago. Malagasy contains loan words from Sanskrit, with all the local linguistic modifications via Javanese or Malay, hinting that Madagascar may have been colonised by settlers from Srivijaya.

The influence of the empire reached Manila by the 10th century. A kingdom under its sphere of influence had already been established there. The discovery of a golden Tara statue in Agusan del Sur and a golden Kinnara from Butuan, Northeastern Mindanao, in the Philippines suggests an ancient link between ancient Philippines and the Srivijayan empire, since Tara and Kinnara are important figures or deities in Mahayana Buddhist beliefs. The Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhist religious commonality suggests that ancient Philippines acquired their Mahayana-Vajrayana beliefs from Srivijayan influence in Sumatra.

The 10th-century Arab account Ajayeb al-Hind (Marvels of India) tells of an invasion in Africa, probably by Malay people of Srivijaya, in 945–946. They arrived on the coast of Tanganyika and Mozambique with 1,000 ships and boats and attempted to capture the citadel of Qanbaloh, though they eventually failed. The reason for the attack was to acquire African commodities coveted by the Asian market, especially China, such as ivory, tortoiseshell, panther fur, and ambergris, and also to extract black slaves from Bantu tribes (called Zeng or Zeng by Malay, Jenggi by Javanese); these were perceived as physically strong and thus would make good slaves.

By the 12th century, the kingdom included parts of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Western Java, Borneo and the Philippines, most notably the Sulu Archipelago and the Visayas islands. It is believed by some historians that the name 'Visayas' is derived from the empire.



Ancient Javanese vessel depicted in Borobudur.

War against Java

In 990 King Dharmawangsa of Java launched a naval attack against Srivijaya in Sumatra.

In the 10th century, the rivalry between Sumatran Srivijaya and the Javanese Medang kingdom became more intense and hostile. The animosity was probably caused by Srivijaya's effort to reclaim the Sailendra lands in Java or by Medang's aspiration to challenge Srivijaya domination in the region. In East Java, the Anjukladang inscription dated from 937 mentions an infiltration attack from Malayu — which refers to a Srivijayan attack upon the Medang Kingdom of East Java. The villagers of Anjuk Ladang were awarded for their service and merit in assisting the king's army, under the leadership of Mpu Sindok, in repelling invading Malayu (Sumatra) forces; subsequently, a jayastambha (victory monument) was erected in their honor.

In 990, King Dharmawangsa of Java launched a naval invasion against Srivijaya and attempted to capture the capital Palembang. The news of the Javanese invasion of Srivijaya was recorded in Chinese Song period sources. In 988, a Srivijayan envoy was sent to the Chinese court in Guangzhou. After sojourning for about two years in China, the envoy learned that his country had been attacked by She-po (Java) which made him unable to return home. In 992 the envoy from She-po (Java) arrived in the Chinese court and explaining that their country was involved in continuous war with San-fo-qi (Srivijaya). In 999 the Srivijayan envoy sailed from China to Champa in an attempt to return home, however, he received no news about the condition of his

country. The Srivijayan envoy then sailed back to China and appealed to the Chinese Emperor for the protection of Srivijaya against Javanese invaders.

Dharmawangsa's invasion led the Maharaja of Srivijaya, Sri Cudamani Warmadewa, to seek protection from China. Warmadewa was known as an able and astute ruler, with shrewd diplomatic skills. In the midst of the crisis brought by the Javanese invasion, he secured Chinese political support by appeasing the Chinese Emperor. In 1003, a Song historical record reported that the envoy of San-fo-qi was dispatched by the king Shi-li-zhu-loo-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua (Sri Cudamani Warmadewa). The Srivijayan envoy told the Chinese court that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected to pray for the long life of Chinese Emperor, and asked the emperor to give the name and the bell for this temple which was built in his honor. Rejoiced, the Chinese Emperor named the temple Ch'eng-t'en-wan-shou ('ten thousand years of receiving blessing from heaven, which is China) and a bell was immediately cast and sent to Srivijaya to be installed in the temple.

In 1006, Srivijaya's alliance proved its resilience by successfully repelling the Javanese invasion. The Javanese invasion was ultimately unsuccessful. This attack opened the eyes of Srivijayan Maharaja to the dangerousness of the Javanese Medang Kingdom, so he patiently laid a plan to destroy his Javanese nemesis. In retaliation, Srivijaya assisted Haji (king) Wurawari of Lwaram to revolt, which led to the attack and destruction of the Medang palace. This sudden and unexpected attack took place during the wedding ceremony of Dharmawangsa's daughter, which left the court unprepared and shocked. With the death of Dharmawangsa and the fall of the Medang capital, Srivijaya contributed to the collapse of Medang kingdom, leaving Eastern Java in further unrest, violence and, ultimately, desolation for several years to come.



A Siamese painting depicting the Chola raid on Kedah
Chola invasion

The contributory factors in the decline of Srivijaya were foreign piracy and raids that disrupted trade and security in the region. Attracted to the wealth of Srivijaya, Rajendra Chola, the Chola king from Tamil Nadu in South India, launched naval raids on ports of Srivijaya and conquered Kadaram (modern Kedah) from Srivijaya in 1025. The Cholas are known to have benefitted from both piracy and foreign trade. At times, the Chola seafaring led to outright plunder and conquest as far as Southeast Asia.[59] An inscription of King Rajendra states that he had captured the King of Kadaram, Sangrama Vijayatunggavarman, son of Mara Vijayatunggavarman, and plundered many treasures including the Vidhyadara-torana, the jewelled 'war gate' of Srivijaya adorned with great splendour.

According to the 15th-century Malay annals *Sejarah Melayu*, Rajendra Chola I after the successful naval raid in 1025 married Onang Kiu, the daughter of Vijayottunggavarman.[60][61] This invasion forced Srivijaya to make peace with the Javanese kingdom of Kahuripan. The peace deal was brokered by the exiled daughter of Vijayottunggavarman, who managed to escape the destruction of Palembang, and came to the court of King Airlangga in East Java. She also became the queen consort of Airlangga named Dharmaprasadottungadevi and, in 1035, Airlangga constructed a Buddhist monastery named Srivijayasrama dedicated to his queen consort.

The Cholas continued a series of raids and conquests of parts of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula for the next 20 years. The expedition of Rajendra Chola I had such a lasting impression on the Malay people of the period that his name is even mentioned (in the corrupted form as Raja Chulan) in the medieval Malay chronicle the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals).[60][63][64][65] Even today the Chola rule is remembered in Malaysia as many Malaysian princes have names ending with Cholan or Chulan, one such was the Raja of Perak called Raja Chulan.[66][67][68]



Ruins of the Wat Kaew in Chaiya, dating from Srivijayan times

Rajendra Chola's overseas expeditions against Srivijaya were unique in India's history and its otherwise peaceful relations with the states of Southeast Asia. The reasons for the naval expeditions are uncertain as the sources are silent about its exact causes. Nilakanta Sastri suggests that the attacks were probably caused by Srivijaya's attempts to throw obstacles in the way of the Chola trade with the East or, more probably, a simple desire on the part of Rajendra Chola to extend his military victories to the well known countries to gain prestige. It gravely weakened the Srivijayan hegemony and enabled the formation of regional kingdoms like Kediri, which were based on intensive agriculture rather than coastal and long-distance trade. With the passing of time, the regional trading center shifted from the old Srivijayan capital of Palembang to another trade centre on the island of Sumatra, Jambi, which was the centre of Malayu.

Rule of the Cholas

The Chola control over Srivijaya under Rajendra Chola I lasted two decades until 1045 AD. According to one theory proposed by Sri Lankan historian Paranavitana, Rajendra Chola I was murdered in 1044 AD, during his visit to Srivijaya by Purandara, on the order of Samara Vijayatunggavarman, Sangrama Vijayatunggavarman's brother. According to this theory, Samara launched a massive annihilation against Chola and claimed the Srivijaya throne in 1045. Samara sent his cousin and son-in-law, Mahendra, with his army to help Vijayabahu I to defeat the Cholas and regain the throne. Samara's name was mentioned by Mahinda VI of Polonnaruwa in the Madigiriya inscription and Bolanda inscription. On the contrary, according to South Indian epigraphs and records, Rajendra Chola I died in Brahadesam, now a part of the North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu, India. This information is recorded in an inscription of his son, Rajadhiraja Chola I, which states that Rajendra Chola's queen Viramadeviyar committed sati upon Rajendra's death and her remains were interred in the same tomb as Rajendra Chola I in Brahadesam. It adds that the queen's brother, who was a general in Rajendra's army, set up a watershed at the same place in memory of his sister. There is also evidence to suggest that Kulottunga Chola, the maternal grandson of emperor Rajendra Chola I, in his youth (1063) was in Sri Vijaya,[3]:148 restoring order and maintaining Chola influence in that area. Virarajendra Chola states in his inscription, dated in the 7th year of his reign, that he conquered Kadaram (Kedah) and gave it back to its king who came and worshiped his feet. These expeditions were led by Kulottunga to help the Sailendra king who had sought the help of Virarajendra Chola. An inscription of Canton mentions Ti-hua-kialo as the ruler of Sri Vijaya. According to historians, this ruler is the same as the Chola ruler Ti-hua-kialo (identified with Kulottunga) mentioned in the Song annals and who sent an embassy to China. According to Tan Yeok Song, the editor of the Sri Vijayan inscription of Canton, Kulottunga stayed in Kadaram (Kedah) after the naval expedition of 1067 AD and reinstalled its king before returning to South India and ascending the throne.



Internal and external rivalries

Candi Gumpung, a Buddhist temple at the Muaro Jambi Temple Compounds of the Melayu Kingdom, later integrated as one of Srivijaya's important urban centre

Between 1079 and 1088, Chinese records show that Srivijaya sent ambassadors from Jambi and Palembang.[74] In 1079 in particular, an ambassador from Jambi and Palembang each visited China. Jambi sent two more ambassadors to China in 1082 and 1088.[74] That would suggest that the centre of Srivijaya frequently shifted between the two major cities during that period.[74] The Chola expeditions as well as the changing trade routes weakened Palembang, allowing Jambi to take the leadership of Srivijaya from the 11th century onwards.[75]

By the 12th century, a new dynasty called Mauli rose as the paramount of Srivijaya. The earliest reference to the new dynasty was found in the Grahi inscription from 1183 discovered in Chaiya (Grahi), Southern Thailand Malay Peninsula. The inscription bears the order of Maharaja Srmat Trailokyaraja Maulibhusana Warmadewa to the bhupati (regent) of Grahi named Mahasenapati

Galanai to make a statue of Buddha weighing 1 bhara 2 tula with a value of 10 gold tamlin. The artist responsible for the creation of the statue is Mraten Sri Nano.

According to the Chinese Song Dynasty book *Zhu Fan Zhi*, written around 1225 by Zhao Rugua, the two most powerful and richest kingdoms in the Southeast Asian archipelago were Srivijaya and Java (Kediri), with the western part (Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, and western Java/Sunda) under Srivijaya's rule and the eastern part was under Kediri's domination. It says that the people in Java followed two kinds of religions, Buddhism and the religion of Brahmins (Hinduism), while the people of Srivijaya followed Buddhism. The book describes the people of Java as being brave, short-tempered and willing to fight. It also notes that their favourite pastimes were cockfighting and pig fighting. The coins used as currency were made from a mixture of copper, silver and tin.

Zhu fan zhi also states that Java was ruled by a maharaja and included many "dependencies" Srivijaya remained a formidable sea power until the 13th century. According to Cœdès, at the end of the 13th century, the empire "had ceased to exist... caused by the simultaneous pressure on its two flanks of Siam and Java"

Javanese pressure:

By the 13th century, the Singhasari empire, the successor state of Kediri in Java, rose as a regional hegemon in maritime Southeast Asia. In 1275, the ambitious and able king Kertanegara, the fifth monarch of Singhasari who had been reigning since 1254, launched a naval campaign northward towards the remains of the Srivijayan mandala. The **Pamalayu** campaign was a military expeditionary force sent by Javanese King Kertanegara of Singhasari to conquer the Sumatran Melayu Kingdom. It was decreed in 1275, though perhaps not undertaken until later.

Little is known about the results of the expedition. Padang Roco Inscription dated from 1286 CE states a religious statue of Amoghapaśa were established at Dharmasraya on the orders of Kertanegara, and that all the inhabitants of Melayu and especially their king rejoiced at the presentation of the gifts.

The expedition arguably established Javanese domination upon Malayu and trade in Strait of Malacca. To cement the relationship between the two kingdoms, a political marriage was arranged. According to Pararaton two Malay princesses, Dara Petak and Dara Jingga went to Java, originally intended for Kertanegara. However following his demise by Jayakatwang, princess Dara Petak would later be married to Raden Wijaya of Majapahit, Kertanegara's successor. The union would result in the second king of Majapahit, Jayanegara.

The strongest of these Malay kingdoms was Jambi, which captured the Srivijaya capital in 1088, then the Dharmasraya kingdom, and the Temasek kingdom of Singapore, and then remaining territories. In 1288, Kertanegara's forces conquered most of the Melayu states, including Palembang, Jambi and much of Srivijaya, during the Pamalayu expedition. The Padang Roco Inscription was discovered in 1911 near the source of the Batang Hari river. The 1286 inscription states that under the order of king Kertanegara of Singhasari, a statue of Amoghapaśa Lokeshvara was transported from Bhumi Jawa (Java) to Suvarnabhumi (Sumatra) to be erected at Dharmasraya. This gift made the people of Suvarnabhumi rejoice, especially their king Tribhuvanaraja.



Statue of Amoghapaśa on top of inscription (1286) sent by Kertanegara of Singhasari to be erected in Suvarnabhumi Dharmasraya

In 1293, the Majapahit empire, the successor state of Singhasari, ruled much of Sumatra. Prince Adityawarman was given power over Sumatera in 1347 by Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi, the third monarch of Majapahit. A rebellion broke out in 1377 and was quashed by Majapahit but it left the area of southern Sumatra in chaos and desolation. In the following years, sedimentation on the Musi river estuary cut the kingdom's capital off from direct sea access. This strategic disadvantage crippled trade in the kingdom's capital. As the decline continued, Islam made its way to the Aceh region of Sumatra, spreading through contacts with Arab and Indian traders. By the late 13th century, the kingdom of Pasai, in northern Sumatra, converted to Islam. At the same time, Srivijayan lands in the Malay Peninsula (now Southern Thailand) were briefly a tributary state of the Khmer empire and later the Sukhothai kingdom. The last inscription on which a crown prince, Ananggavarman, son of Adityawarman, is mentioned, dates from 1374.

Sang Sapurba and Kingdom of Singapura

After decades of Javanese domination, there were several last efforts made by Sumatran rulers to revive the old prestige and fortune of Malay-Srivijayan Mandala. Several attempts to revive Srivijaya were made by the fleeing princes of Srivijaya.[citation needed] According to the Malay Annals, a new ruler named Sang Sapurba was promoted as the new paramount of Srivijayan mandala. It was said that after his accession to Seguntang Hill with his two younger brothers, Sang Sapurba entered into a sacred covenant with Demang Lebar Daun, the native ruler of Palembang. The newly installed sovereign afterwards descended from the hill of Seguntang into

the great plain of the Musi river, where he married Wan Sendari, the daughter of the local chief, Demang Lebar Daun. Sang Sapurba was said to have reigned in Minangkabau lands.

According to Visayan legends, in the 1200s, there was a resistance movement of Srivijayan datus aimed against the encroaching powers of the Hindu Chola and Majapahit empires. The datus migrated to and organized their resistance movement from the Visayas islands of the Philippines, which was named after their Srivijayan homeland. Ten Datus, led by Datu Puti, established a rump state of Srivijaya, called Madja-as, in the Visayas islands. This rump state waged war against the Chola empire and Majapahit and also raided China, before they were eventually assimilated into a Spanish empire that expanded to the Philippines from Mexico.

In 1324, a Srivijaya prince, Sri Maharaja Sang Utama Parameswara Batara Sri Tribuwana (Sang Nila Utama), founded the Kingdom of Singapura (Temasek). According to tradition, he was related to Sang Sapurba. He maintained control over Temasek for 48 years. He was recognised as ruler over Temasek by an envoy of the Chinese Emperor sometime around 1366. He was succeeded by his son Paduka Sri Pekerma Wira Diraja (1372–1386) and grandson, Paduka Seri Rana Wira Kerma (1386–1399). In 1401, the last ruler, Paduka Sri Maharaja Parameswara, was expelled from Temasek by forces from Majapahit or Ayutthaya. He later headed north and founded the Sultanate of Malacca in 1402. The Sultanate of Malacca succeeded the Srivijaya Empire as a Malay political entity in the archipelago.

Government and economy/Political administration



Telaga Batu inscription adorned with seven nāga heads on top, and a waterspout on the lower part to channel the water probably poured during a ceremonial allegiance ritual

The 7th century Telaga Batu inscription, discovered in Sabokingking, Palembang, testifies to the complexity and stratified titles of the Srivijayan state officials. These titles are mentioned: rājaputra (princes, lit: sons of king), kumārāmātya (ministers), bhūpati (regional rulers), senāpati (generals), nāyaka (local community leaders), pratyaya (nobles), hāji pratyaya (lesser kings), dandanayaka (judges), tuhā an vatak (workers inspectors), vuruh (workers), addhyāksi nījavarna (lower supervisors), vāsīkarana (blacksmiths/weapon makers), cātabhata (soldiers), adhikarana (officials), kāyastha (store workers), sthāpaka (artisans), puhāvam (ship captains), vaniyāga (traders), marsī hāji (king's servants), hulun hāji (king's slaves)

During its formation, the empire was organised in three main zones — the estuarine capital region centred on Palembang, the Musi River basin which served as hinterland and source of valuable goods, and rival estuarine areas capable of forming rival power centres. These rival estuarine areas, through raids and conquests, were held under Srivijayan power, such as the Batanghari estuarine (Malayu in Jambi). Several strategic ports also included places like Bangka Island (Kota Kapur), ports and kingdoms in Java (highly possible Tarumanagara and Kalingga), Kedah and Chaiya in Malay peninsula, and Lamuri and Pannai in northern Sumatra. There are also reports mentioning the Java-Srivijayan raids on Southern Cambodia (Mekong estuarine) and ports of Champa.

After its expansion to the neighbouring states, the Srivijayan empire was formed as a collection of several Kadatuans (local principalities), which swore allegiance to the central ruling powerful Kadatuan ruled by the Srivijayan Maharaja. The political relations and system relating to its realms is described as a mandala model, typical of that of classical Southeast Asian Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. It could be described as federation of kingdoms or vassalised polity under a centre of domination, namely the central Kadatuan Srivijaya. The polity was defined by its centre rather than its boundaries and it could be composed of numerous other tributary polities without undergoing further administrative integration.

The relations between the central kadatuan and its member (subscribers) kadatuans were dynamic. As such, the status would shift over generations. Minor trading ports throughout the region were controlled by local vassal rulers in place on behalf of the king. They also presided over harvesting resources from their respective regions for export. A portion of their revenue was required to be paid to the king. They were not allowed to infringe upon international trade relations, but the temptation of keeping more money to themselves eventually led foreign traders and local rulers to conduct illicit trading relations of their own.[90] Other sources claim that the Champa invasion had weakened the central government significantly, forcing vassals to keep the international trade revenue for themselves.

In addition to coercive methods through raids and conquests and being bound by pasumpahan (oath of allegiance), the royalties of each kadatuan often formed alliances through dynastic marriages. For example, a previously suzerained kadatuan over time might rise in prestige and power, so that eventually its ruler could lay claim to be the maharaja of the central kadatuan. The relationship between Srivijayan in Sumatra (descendants of Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa) and Sailendras in Java exemplified this political dynamic.

Buddhism expansion from northern India to the rest of Asia, Srivijaya once served as a centre of Buddhism learning and expansion. This expansion followed trade routes of Silk Road inland and maritime route. The main interest of Srivijayan foreign economic relations was to secure a highly lucrative trade agreement to serve a large Chinese market, that span from Tang to Song dynasty era. In order to participate in this trade agreement, Srivijaya involved in tributary relation with China, in which they sent numbers of envoys and embassies to secure the Chinese court's favour. The port of Srivijaya served as an important entrepôt in which valuable commodities from the region and beyond are collected, traded and shipped. Rice, cotton, indigo and silver from Java; aloes, resin, camphor, ivory and rhino's tusks, tin and gold from Sumatra and Malay Peninsula; rattan, rare timber, camphor, gems and precious stones from Borneo; exotic birds and rare

animals, iron, sappan, sandalwood and rare spices including clove and nutmeg from Eastern Indonesian archipelago; various spices of Southeast Asia and India including pepper, cubeb and cinnamon; also Chinese ceramics, lacquerware, brocade, fabrics, silks and Chinese artworks are among valuable commodities being traded in Srivijayan port. What goods were actually native to Srivijaya is currently being disputed due to the volume of cargo that regularly passed through the region from India, China, and Arabia. Foreign traders stopped to trade their cargo in Srivijaya with other merchants from Southeast Asia and beyond. It was an easy location for traders from different regions to meet as opposed to visiting each other directly. This system of trade has led researchers to conjecture that the actual native products of Srivijaya were far less than what was originally recorded by Chinese and Arabic traders of the time. It may be that cargo sourced from foreign regions accumulated in Srivijaya. The accumulation of particular foreign goods that were easily accessible and in large supply might have given the impression they were products of Srivijaya. This could also work in the opposite direction with some native Srivijayan goods being mistaken as foreign commodities. By 1178, Srivijaya mission to China highlighted the Srivijaya's role as intermediary to acquire Borneo product, such as plum flower-shaped Borneo camphor planks.

In the world of commerce, Srivijaya rose rapidly to be a far-flung empire controlling the two passages between India and China, namely the Sunda Strait from Palembang and the Malacca Strait from Kedah. Arab accounts state that the empire of the Srivijayan Maharaja was so vast that the swiftest vessel would not have been able to travel around all its islands within two years. The islands the accounts referred to produced camphor, aloes, sandal-wood, spices like cloves, nutmegs, cardamom and cubebs, as well as ivory, gold and tin, all of which equalled the wealth of the Maharaja to any king in India. The Srivijayan government centralized the sourcing and trading of native and foreign goods in “warehouses” which streamlined the trade process by making a variety of products easily accessible in one area.

Ceramics were a major trade commodity between Srivijaya and China with shard artifacts found along the coast of Sumatra and Java. It is assumed that China and Srivijaya may have had an exclusive ceramics trade relationship because particular ceramic shards can only be found at their point of origin, Guangzhou, or in Indonesia, but nowhere else along the trade route. When trying to prove this theory, there have been some discrepancies with the dating of said artifacts. Ceramic sherds found around the Geding Suro temple complex have been revealed to be much more recent than previously assumed. A statuette found in the same area did align with Srivijayan chronology, but it has been suggested that this is merely a coincidence and the product was actually brought to the region recently.

Other than fostering the lucrative trade relations with India and China, Srivijaya also established commerce links with Arabia. In a highly plausible account, a messenger was sent by Maharaja Sri Indravarman to deliver a letter to Caliph Umar ibn AbdulAziz of Ummayyad in 718. The messenger later returned to Srivijaya with a Zanj (a black female slave from Zanj), a gift from the Caliph to the Maharaja. Later, a Chinese chronicle made mention of Shih-li-t'-o-pa-mo (Sri Indravarman) and how the Maharaja of Shih-li-fo-shih had sent the Chinese Emperor a ts'engchi (Chinese spelling of the Arabic Zanj) as a gift in 724.

Arab writers of the 9th and 10th century, in their writings, considered the king of Al-Hind (India and to some extent might include Southeast Asia) as one of the 4 great kings in the world. The reference to the kings of Al-Hind might have also included the kings of Arab trading records from the 9th and 10th centuries mention Srivijaya, but do not expand upon regions further east thus indicating that Arabic traders were not engaging with other regions in Southeast Asia thus serving as further evidence of Srivijaya's important role as a link between the two regions. The currency of the empire was gold and silver coins embossed with the image of the sandalwood flower (of which Srivijaya had a trade monopoly on) and the word “vara,” or “glory,” in Sanskrit. Other items could be used to barter with, such as porcelain, silk, sugar, iron, rice, dried galangal, rhubarb, and camphor. According to Chinese records, gold was a large part of Srivijaya. These texts describe that the empire, also referred to as “Jinzhou” which translates to “Gold Coast”, used gold vessels in ritual offerings and that, as a vassal to China, brought “golden lotus bowls” as luxurious gifts to the Emperor during the Song Dynasty.[97] Some Arabic records state that the profits acquired from trade ports and levies were converted into gold and hidden by the King in the royal pond.

Thalassocratic empire

Expansion of the Srivijayan empire, started in Palembang in the 7th century, expanding throughout Sumatra, Malay Peninsula, Java, Cambodia, and receded as Malayu Dharmasraya in the 13th century. The Srivijayan empire was a coastal trading centre and was a thalassocracy. As such, its influence did not extend far beyond the coastal areas of the islands of Southeast Asia.

Srivijaya benefited from the lucrative maritime trade between China and India as well as trading in products such as Maluku spices within the Malay Archipelago. Serving as Southeast Asia's main entrepôt and gaining trade patronage by the Chinese court, Srivijaya was constantly managing its trade networks and, yet, always wary of potential rival ports of its neighbouring kingdoms. A majority of the revenue from international trade was used to finance the military which was charged with the responsibility of protecting the ports. Some records even describe the use of iron chains to prevent pirate attacks. The necessity to maintain its trade monopoly had led the empire to launch naval military expeditions against rival ports in Southeast Asia and to absorb them into Srivijaya's sphere of influence. The port of Malayu in Jambi, Kota Kapur in Bangka island, Tarumanagara and the port of Sunda in West Java, Kalingga in Central Java, the port of Kedah and Chaiya in Malay peninsula are among the regional ports that were absorbed within Srivijayan sphere of influence. A series of Javan-Srivijaya raids on the ports of Champa and Cambodia was also part of its effort to maintain its monopoly in the region by sacking its rival ports.



The image of a Borobudur ship on bas relief

The maritime prowess was recorded in a Borobudur bas relief of Borobudur ship, the 8th century wooden double outrigger vehicles of Maritime Southeast Asia. The function of an outrigger is to stabilise the ship. The single or double outrigger canoe is the typical feature of the seafaring Austronesians vessels and the most likely type of vessel used for the voyages and explorations across Southeast Asia, Oceania, and the Indian Ocean. The ships depicted at Borobudur most likely were the type of vessels used for inter-insular trades and naval campaigns by Sailendra and Srivijaya.

The Srivijayan empire exercised its influence mainly around the coastal areas of Southeast Asia, with the exception of contributing to the population of Madagascar 3,300 miles (8,000 kilometres) to the west. The migration to Madagascar was estimated to have taken place 1,200 years ago around 830.

Culture and society

Srivijaya-Palembang's significance both as a center for trade and for the practice of Vajrayana Buddhism has been established by Arab and Chinese historical records over several centuries. Srivijaya's own historical documents, inscriptions in Old Malay, are limited to the second half of the 7th century. The inscriptions uncover the hierarchical leadership system, in which the king is served by many other high-status officials.[98] A complex, stratified, cosmopolitan and prosperous society with refined tastes in art, literature and culture, with complex set of rituals, influenced by Mahayana Buddhist faith; blossomed in the ancient Srivijayan society. Their complex social order can be seen through studies on the inscriptions, foreign accounts, as well as rich portrayal in bas-reliefs of temples from this period. Their accomplished artistry was evidenced from a number of Srivijayan Art Mahayana Buddhist statues discovered in the region. The kingdom had developed a complex society; which characterised by heterogeneity of their society, inequality of social stratification, and the formation of national administrative institution in their kingdom. Some forms of metallurgy were used as jewelry, currency (coins), as status symbols—for decorative purposes.

Srivijayan Art



A 2.77 metres tall statue of Buddha in Amaravati style, from Bukit Seguntang, Palembang, c. 7th-8th century.
 B. Avalokiteshvara Bingin Jungut, Musi Rawas, South Sumatra. Srivijayan art (c. 8th-9th century CE) resemble Central Java Sailendran art.

C bronze Maitreya statue from Komering, South Sumatra, 9th century Srivijayan art.
 D. The bronze torso statue of the bodhisattva Padmapani, 8th century CE Srivijayan art, Chaiya, Surat Thani, Southern Thailand. The statue demonstrates the Central Java (Sailendra) art influence.

Trade allowed the spread of art to proliferate. Some art was heavily influenced by Buddhism, further spreading religion and ideologies through the trade of art. The Buddhist art and architecture of Srivijaya was influenced by the Indian art of the Gupta Empire and Pala Empire. This is evident in the Indian Amaravati style Buddha statue located in Palembang. This statue, dating back to the 7th and 8th centuries, exists as proof of the spread of art, culture, and ideology through the medium of trade. According to various historical sources, a complex and cosmopolitan society with a refined culture, deeply influenced by Vajrayana Buddhism, flourished in the Srivijayan capital. The 7th century Talang Tuwo inscription described Buddhist rituals and blessings at the auspicious event of establishing public park. This inscription allowed historians to understand the practices being held at the time, as well as their importance to the function of Srivijayan society. Talang Tuwo serves as one of the world's oldest inscriptions that talks about the environment, highlighting the centrality of nature in Buddhist religion and further, Srivijayan society. The Kota Kapur Inscription mentions Srivijaya military dominance against Java. These inscriptions were in the Old Malay language, the language used by Srivijaya and also the ancestor of Malay and Indonesian language. Since the 7th century, the Old Malay language has been used in Nusantara (Malay-Indonesian archipelago), marked by these Srivijayan inscriptions and other inscriptions using old Malay language in the coastal areas of the archipelago, such as those discovered in Java. The trade contact carried by the traders at the time was the main vehicle to spread Malay language, since it was the language used amongst the traders. By then, Malay language became lingua franca and was spoken widely by most people in the archipelago.

However, despite its economic, cultural and military prowess, Srivijaya left few archaeological remains in their heartlands in Sumatra, in contrast with Srivijayan episode in Central Java during the leadership of Sailendras that produced numerous monuments; such as the Kalasan, Sewu and Borobudur mandala. The Buddhist temples dated from Srivijayan era in Sumatra are Muaro Jambi, Muara Takus and Biaro Bahal.

Some Buddhist sculptures, such as Buddha Vairocana, Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara and Maitreya, were discovered in numerous sites in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. These archaeological findings such as stone statue of Buddha discovered in Bukit Seguntang, Palembang, Avalokiteshvara from Bingin Jungut in Musi Rawas, bronze Maitreya statue of Komering, all discovered in South Sumatra. In Jambi, golden statue of Avalokiteshvara were discovered in Rataukapastuo, Muarabulian. In Malay Peninsula the bronze statue of Avalokiteshvara of Bidor discovered in Perak Malaysia, and Avalokiteshvara of Chaiya in Southern Thailand. vijayan art" that reflects close resemblance — probably inspired — by both Indian Amaravati style and Javanese Sailendra art (c. 8th to 9th century). The difference in material, yet overarching theme of Buddhism found across the region supports the spread of Buddhism through trade. Although each country put their own spin on an idea, it is evident how trade played a huge role in spreading ideas throughout Southeast Asia, especially in Srivijaya. The commonality of Srivijayan art exists in Southeast Asian sites, proving their influence on art

and architecture across the region. Without trade, Srivijayan art could not have proliferated, and cross-cultural exchanges of language and style could not have been achieved.

After the bronze and Iron Age, an influx of bronze tools and jewelry spread throughout the region. The different styles of bangles and beads represent the different regions of origin and their own specific materials and techniques used. Chinese artworks were one of the main items traded in the region, spreading art styles enveloped in ceramics, pottery, fabrics, silk, and artworks.

Religion

"...Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoga [Palembang, Srivijaya's capital] Buddhist priests number more than 1,000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhya-desa, India) ; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to Central India."
— from I-tsing's A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea.

Remnants of Buddhist shrines (stupas) near Palembang and in neighboring areas aid researchers in their understanding of the Buddhism within this society. Srivijaya and its kings were instrumental in the spread of Buddhism as they established it in places they conquered like Java, Malaya, and other lands. People making pilgrimages were encouraged to spend time with the monks in the capital city of Palembang on their journey to India.

Other than Palembang, in Srivijayan realm of Sumatra, three archaeological sites are notable for their Buddhist temple density. They are Muaro Jambi by the bank of Batang Hari River in Jambi province; Muara Takus stupas in Kampar River valley of Riau province; and Biaro Bahal temple compound in Barumon and Pannai river valleys, North Sumatra province. It is highly possible that these Buddhist sites served as sangha community; the monastic Buddhist learning centers of the region, which attracts students and scholars from all over Asia.



Candi Tinggi, one of the temples within Muaro Jambi temple compound

250 years before I Ching, scholar and traveler, Fa Xian, did not notice the heavy hand of Buddhism within the Srivijayan region. Fa Xian, however, did witness the maritime competition over the region and observed the rise of Srivijaya as a Thalassocracy. I-Tsing stayed in Srivijaya for six months and studied Sanskrit. According to I-Tsing, within Palembang there were more than 1000 monks studying for themselves and training traveling scholars who were going from India to China and vice versa. These travelers were primarily situated in Palembang for long periods of time due to waiting for Monsoon winds to help further their journey.

A stronghold of Vajrayana Buddhism, Srivijaya attracted pilgrims and scholars from other parts of Asia. These included the Chinese monk I Ching, who made several lengthy visits to Sumatra on his way to study at Nalanda University in India in 671 and 695, and the 11th century Bengali Buddhist scholar Atisha, who played a major role in the development of Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet. I Ching, also known as Yijing, and other monks of his time practised a pure version of Buddhism although the religion allowed for culture changes to be made. He is also given credit for translating Buddhist text which has the most instructions on the discipline of the religion. I Ching reports that the kingdom was home to more than a thousand Buddhist scholars; it was in Srivijaya that he wrote his memoir of Buddhism during his own lifetime. Travellers to these islands mentioned that gold coins were in use in the coastal areas but not inland.

A notable Srivijayan and revered Buddhist scholar is Dharmakirti who taught Buddhist philosophy in Srivijaya and Nalanda. The language diction of many inscriptions found near where Srivijaya once reigned incorporated Indian Tantric conceptions. This evidence makes it clear the relationship of the ruler and the concept of bodhisattva—one who was to become a Buddha. This is the first evidence seen in the archaeological record of a Southeast Asian ruler (or king) regarded as a religious leader/figure.

One thing researchers have found Srivijaya to be lacking is an emphasis in art and architecture. While neighboring regions have evidence of intricate architecture, such as the Borobudur temple built in 750-850 AD under the Saliendra Dynasty, Palembang lacks Buddhist stupas or sculpture. Though this does not accurately reflect Buddhist influence.

Although historical records and archaeological evidence are scarce, it appears that by the 7th century, Srivijaya had established suzerainty over large areas of Sumatra, western Java and much of the Malay Peninsula. The oldest accounts of the empire come from Arabic and Chinese traders who noted in their travel logs the importance of the empire in regional trade. Its location was instrumental in developing itself as a major connecting port between China and the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Control of the Malacca and Sunda Straits meant it controlled both the spice route traffic and local trade, charging a toll on passing ships. Serving as an entrepôt for Chinese, Malay, and Indian markets, the port of Palembang, accessible from the coast by way of a river, accumulated great wealth. Instead of traveling the entire distance from the Middle East to China, which would have taken about a year with the assistance of monsoon winds, it was easier to stop somewhere in the middle, Srivijaya. It took about half a year from either direction to reach Srivijaya which was a far more effective and efficient use of manpower and resources. A round trip from one end to Srivijaya and back would take the same amount of time to go the entire distance one way. This theory has been supported by evidence found in two local shipwrecks. One off the coast of Belitung, an island east of Sumatra, and another near Cirebon, a coastal city

on the nearby island of Java. Both ships carried a variety of foreign cargo and, in the case of the Belitung wreck, had foreign origins

The Melayu Kingdom was the first rival power centre absorbed into the empire, and thus began the domination of the region through trade and conquest in the 7th through the 9th centuries. The Melayu Kingdom's gold mines up in the Batang Hari River hinterland were a crucial economic resource and may be the origin of the word Suvarnadvipa, the Sanskrit name for Sumatra. Srivijaya helped spread the Malay culture throughout Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and western Borneo. Its influence waned in the 11th century. It was then in frequent conflict with, and ultimately subjugated by, the Javanese kingdoms of Singhasari and, later, Majapahit. This was not the first time the Srivijayans had a conflict with the Javanese. According to historian Paul Michel Munoz, the Javanese Sanjaya dynasty was a strong rival of Srivijaya in the 8th century when the Srivijayan capital was located in Java. The seat of the empire moved to Muaro Jambi in the last centuries of Srivijaya's existence.

The Khmer Empire might also have been a tributary state in its early stages. The Khmer king, Jayavarman II, was mentioned to have spent years in the court of Sailendra in Java before returning to Cambodia to rule around 790. Influenced by the Javanese culture of the Sailendran-Srivijayan mandala (and likely eager to emulate the Javanese model in his court), he proclaimed Cambodian independence from Java and ruled as devaraja, establishing Khmer empire and starting the Angkor era.

Some historians claim that Chaiya in Surat Thani Province in southern Thailand was, at least temporarily, the capital of Srivijaya, but this claim is widely disputed. However, Chaiya was probably a regional centre of the kingdom. The temple of Borom That in Chaiya contains a reconstructed pagoda in Srivijaya style.



Pagoda in Srivijaya style in Chaiya, Thailand

Wat Phra Boromathat Chaiya is highlighted by the pagoda in Srivijaya style, elaborately restored, and dating back to the 7th century. The Buddha relics are enshrined in the chedi or stupa. In the surrounding chapels are several Buddha statues in Srivijaya style, as it was labelled

glorification of the past, but as a frame of reference and example of how ancient globalisation, foreign relations and maritime trade, has shaped Asian civilisation.

Language: The most important legacy of Srivijayan empire was probably its language. Unlike some inscriptions of Srivijayan contemporaries — Tarumanagara and other Javanese polities that uses Sanskrit — Srivijayan inscriptions was written in Old Malay. This has promoted the status of local languages vis-a-vis to Sanskrit; as the language of elite, employed in royal and religious edicts. Sanskrit was only known by a limited circle; Brahmin (priests) and Kavi (poets), while Old Malay was a common language in Srivijayan realm. This linguistic policy was probably stemmed from the rather egalitarian nature of Mahayana Buddhism adhered in Srivijaya, in contrast to the elitist nature of Hinduism. Unlike Hinduism, Mahayana Buddhism did not emphasize the caste system that limiting the use and knowledge of liturgical language only to Brahmin caste.

For centuries, Srivijaya, through its expansion, economic power and military prowess, was responsible for the widespread of Old Malay throughout the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. It was the working language of traders and it was used in various ports, and marketplaces in the region. The language of Srivijayan had probably paved the way for the prominence of the present-day Malay and Indonesian language, now the official language of Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore and the unifying language of modern Indonesia. According to the Malay Annals, the founder of Malacca Sultanate Parameswara claimed to be a member of the Palembang Srivijaya lineage. That shows that even in the 15th century, the prestige of Srivijaya still remained and was used as a source for political legitimacy in the region.

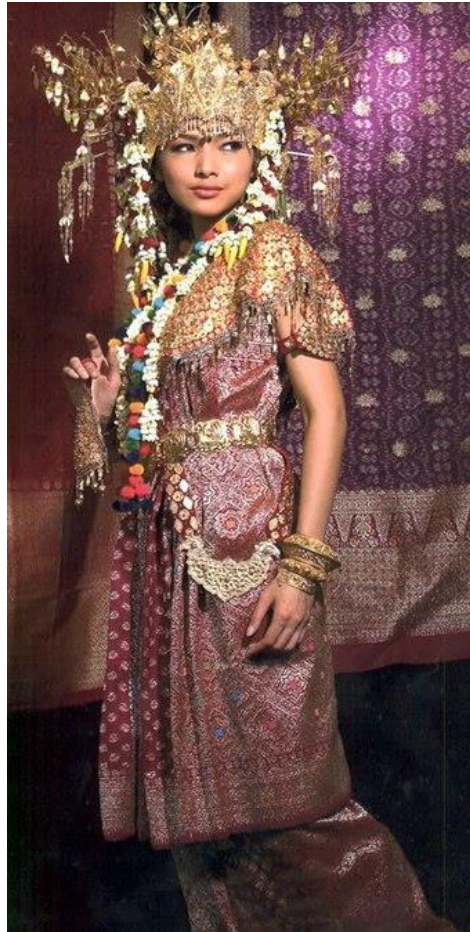
Modern Indonesian nationalists have also invoked the name of Srivijaya, along with Majapahit, as a source of pride in Indonesia's past greatness. Srivijaya has become the focus of national pride and regional identity, especially for the people of Palembang, South Sumatra province, and the Malay people as a whole. For the people of Palembang, Srivijaya has also become a source of artistic inspiration for Gending Sriwijaya song and traditional dance.



The Sriwijaya Museum in Sriwijaya Archaeological Park

The same situation also happened in southern Thailand, where Sevichai (Thai: Srivijaya) dance was recreated in accordance with the art and culture of ancient Srivijaya. Today, the Srivijayan legacy is also celebrated and identified with Malay minority of Southern Thailand. In Thailand, the Srivijayan art was associated with Javanese art and architecture, which probably demonstrate the Sailendra influences over Java, Sumatra and the Peninsula. The examples of Srivijayan style temples are Phra Borom Mahathat at Chaiya constructed in Javanese style made of brick and mortar (c. 9th – 10th century), Wat Kaew Pagoda at Chaiya, also of Javanese form and Wat Long Pagoda. The original Wat Mahathat at Nakhon Si Thammarat (a Srivijayan city) was subsequently encased by a larger Sri Lanka styled building.

In Indonesia, Srivijaya is a name given to streets in many cities and has become synonymous with Palembang and South Sumatra. Srivijaya University, established in 1960 in Palembang, was named after Srivijaya. Kodam Sriwijaya (a military commando area unit), PT Pupuk Sriwijaya (a fertiliser company), Sriwijaya Post (a Palembang-based newspaper), Sriwijaya Air (an airline), Gelora Sriwijaya Stadium, and Sriwijaya F.C. (Palembang football club) were also all named to honour this ancient maritime empire. On 11 November 2011, during the opening ceremony of 2011 Southeast Asian Games in Gelora Sriwijaya Stadium, Palembang, a colossal dance performance titled "Srivijaya the Golden Peninsula" was performed featuring Palembang traditional dances and also an actual sized replica of an ancient ship to describe the glory of the maritime empire. In popular culture, Srivijaya has become the sources on inspiration for numbers of fictional feature films, novels and comic books. The 2013 film *Gending Sriwijaya* for example, took place three centuries after the fall of Srivijaya, telling the story about the court intrigue amidst the effort to revive the fallen empire.



List of Srivijaya kings

Date	Name	Capital	Stone inscription or embassies to China and events
683	Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa	Srivijaya	Kedukan Bukit (682), Talang Tuwo (684), and Kota Kapur inscriptions Malayu conquest, Central Java conquest[3]:82–83
702	Sri Indravarman Che-li-t'o-lo-pa-mo	Srivijaya Shih-li-fo-shih	Embassies 702, 716, 724 to China[3]:83–84 Embassies to Caliph Muawiyah I and Caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz
728	Rudra Vikrama Liu-t'eng-wei-kung	Srivijaya Shih-li-fo-shih	Embassies 728, 742 to China[3]:84

Date	Name	Capital	Stone inscription or embassies to China and events
			No information for the period 742–775
775	Dharmasetu or Vishnu	Java	Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ligor),[3]:84 Vat Sema Muang
775	Dharanindra	Java	Ligor, started to build Borobudur in 770, conquered South Cambodia
782	Samaragrawira	Java	Ligor, Arabian text (790), continued the construction of Borobudur
792	Samaratunga	Java	Karangtengah inscription (824), 802 lost Cambodia, 825 completion of Borobudur
835	Balaputradewa	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Lost Central Java, moved to Srivijaya Nalanda inscription (860)
			No information for the period 835–960
960	Sri Udayadityavarman Si-li-Hu-ta-hsia-li-tan Shih-li Wu-yeh	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Chinese Embassies 960, 962[3]:131
980	Haji Hsia-ch'ih	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Chinese Embassies 980, 983[3]:132
988	Sri Cudamani Warmadewa Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-tian-hwa	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Chinese Embassies 988,992,1003,1004[3]:132,141 Javanese King Dharmawangsa attack of Srivijaya, building of temple for Chinese Emperor, Tanjore Inscription or Leiden Inscription (1044), building of temple at Nagapattinam with revenue from Rajaraja Chola I
1006, 1008	Sri Maravijayottungavarman Se-li-ma-la-pi	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Constructed the Chudamani Vihara in Nagapattinam, India in 1006.[117] Chinese Embassies 1008,1016[3]:141–142
1017	Sumatrabhumi Ha-ch'i-su-wa-ch'a-p'u	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Chinese Embassy 1017
1025	Sangrama Vijayatunggavarman[3]:142	Srivijaya San-fo-ts'i	Chola invasion of Srivijaya, captured by Rajendra Chola Chola Inscription on the temple of Rajaraja, Tanjore
1028	Sri Deva Shih-li Tieh-hua	Palembang Pa-lin-fong	Chinese Embassy 1028[3]:143 Building of Tien Ching temple, Kuang Cho (Kanton) for Chinese Emperor
1045	Samara Vijayatunggavarman	Srivijaya San-fots'i	Madigiriya inscription, Bolanda inscription

Date	Name	Capital	Stone inscription or embassies to China and events
1078	Kulothunga Chola I Ti-hua-ka-lo	Palembang Pa-lin-fong	Chinese Embassy 1077[3]:148
			No information for the period 1080–1155
1156	Raja H Tunggavarman	Kadaram Pa-lin-fong	Larger Leyden Plates
1183	Srimat Trailokyaraja Maulibhusana Warmadewa	Jambi, Dharmasraya Kingdom	Bronze Buddha (Grahi inscription), Chaiya 1183[3]:179
			No information for the period 1183–1275
1286	Srimat Tribhuwanaraja Maui Warmadewa	Jambi, Dharmasraya Kingdom	Padang Roco inscription 1286, Pamalayu expedition 1275–1293

INDONESIA- TIMELINE

Prehistory

Early kingdoms

Srivijaya (third to fourteenth centuries)

Sailendra (eighth & ninth centuries)

Kingdom of Mataram (752–1045)

Kediri (1045–1221)

Singhasari (1222–1292)

Majapahit (1293–1500)

The rise of Muslim states

The spread of Islam (1200–1600)

Malacca Sultanate (1400–1511)

Sultanate of Demak (1475–1518)

Aceh Sultanate (1496 - 1903)

Mataram Sultanate (1500s to 1700s)

Colonial Indonesia

The Portuguese in Indonesia (1512-1850)

Dutch East India Company (1602–1799)

Dutch East Indies (1800–1942)

The emergence of Indonesia

National Revival (1899–1942)

Japanese Occupation (1942-45)

Declaration of Independence (1945)

National Revolution (1945–1950)

Independent Indonesia

Liberal Democracy (1950-1957)

Guided Democracy (1957-1965)

Transition to the New Order (1965–1966)

The New Order (1966-1998)

Date	Name	Capital	Stone inscription or embassies to China and events
Reformation Era (1998–present)			

Neither beginning nor end: Records of its beginning are scarce, and estimations of its origins range from the third to fifth centuries, but the earliest solid proof of its existence dates from the seventh century; a Chinese monk, I-Tsing, wrote that he visited Srivijaya in 671 for six months and studied at a Buddhist temple there; and the Kedukan Bukit Inscription containing its name is dated 683. The kingdom ceased to exist between 1200 and 1300 due to various factors, including the expansion of Majapahit in Java. In Sanskrit, *sri* means "shining" or "radiant" and *vijaya* means "victory" or "excellence."

After it fell it was largely forgotten, and was largely unknown to modern scholars until 1918 when French historian George Coedès of the École française d'Extrême-Orient postulated the existence of a Srivijayan empire based in Palembang. Around 1992 and 1993, Pierre-Yves Manguin proved that the centre of Srivijaya was along the Musi River between Bukit Seguntang and Sabokingking (situated in what is now the province of South Sumatra, Indonesia).^[5]

There is no continuous knowledge of Srivijaya in Indonesian histories; its forgotten past has been recreated by foreign scholars. No modern Indonesians, not even those of the Palembang area around which the kingdom was based, had heard of Srivijaya until the 1920s, when French scholar and epigraphist George Coedès published his discoveries and interpretations in Dutch and Indonesian-language newspapers. Coming back to him, Coedès noted that the Chinese references to "Sanfoqi," previously read as "Sribhoja," and the inscriptions in Old Malay refer to the same empire.

In 1918, George Coedès linked a large maritime state identified in seventh-century Chinese sources as *Shilifoshih*, and described in later Indian and Arabic texts, to a group of stone inscriptions written in Old Malay which told about the foundation of a polity named Srivijaya, for which *Shilifoshih* was a regular Chinese transcription. These inscriptions were all dated between 683 and 686, and had been found around the city of Palembang, on Sumatra. A few Hindu and Buddhist statues had been found in the region, but there was little archaeological evidence to document the existence of a large state with a wealthy and prestigious ruler and a center of Buddhist scholarship. Such evidence was found at other sites on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula, and suggested that they may have been the capital of Srivijaya. Finally, in the 1980s, enough archaeological evidence was found in Southern Sumatra and around Palembang to support Coedès' theory that a large trading settlement, with manufacturing, religious, commercial and political centers, had existed there for several centuries prior to the fourteenth century. Most of the information about Srivijaya has been deduced from these archaeological finds, plus stone inscriptions found in Sumatra, Java, and Malaysia, and the historical records and diaries of Arab and Chinese traders and Buddhist travelers. While some of these names are strongly reminiscent of the name of *Java*, there is a distinct possibility that they may have referred to Sumatra instead.



Borobudur stupas overlooking a shadowy mountain of Java. For centuries, it has been deserted.

Little physical evidence of Srivijaya remains. According to the Kedukan Bukit Inscription, the empire of Srivijaya was founded by Dapunta Hyang Çri Yacanaca (Dapunta Hyang Sri Jayanasa). He led twenty thousand troops (mainly land troopers and a few hundred ships) from Minanga Tamwan (speculated to be Minangkabau) to Palembang, Jambi, and Bengkulu.

The empire was a coastal trading centre and was a thalassocracy (sea-based empire). It did not extend its influence far beyond the coastal areas of the islands of Southeast Asia, with the exception of contributing to the population of Madagascar 3,300 miles to the west. Around the year 500, Srivijayan roots began to develop around present-day Palembang, Sumatra, in modern Indonesia. The empire was organized in three main zones—the estuarine capital region centred on Palembang, the Musi River basin which served as hinterland, and rival estuarine areas capable of forming rival power centers. The areas upstream of the Musi river were rich in various commodities valuable to Chinese traders.^[12] The capital was administered directly by the ruler while the hinterland remained under its own local datus or chiefs, who were organized into a network of allegiance to the Srivijaya maharaja or king. Force was the dominant element in the empire's relations with rival river systems such as the Batang Hari, which centered in Jambi. The ruling lineage intermarried with the Sailendras of Central Java.

Under the leadership of Jayanasa, the kingdom of Malayu became the first kingdom to be integrated into the Srivijayan Empire. This possibly occurred in the 680s. Malayu, also known as Jambi, was rich in gold and was held in high esteem. Srivijaya recognized that the submission of Malayu to them would increase their own prestige.

Chinese records dated in the late seventh century mention two Sumatran kingdoms as well as three other kingdoms on Java as being part of Srivijaya. By the end of the eighth century, many Javanese kingdoms, such as Tarumanagara and Holing, were within the Srivijayan sphere of influence. It has also been recorded that a Buddhist family related to Srivijaya, probably the

Sailendras dominated central Java at that time. According to the Kota Kapur Inscription, the empire conquered Southern Sumatra as far as Lampung. The empire thus grew to control the trade on the Strait of Malacca, the South China Sea and Karimata Strait.

During the same century, Langkasuka on the Malay Peninsula became part of Srivijaya.^[15] Soon after this, Pan Pan and Trambalinga, which were located north of Langkasuka, came under Srivijayan influence. These kingdoms on the peninsula were major trading nations that transported goods across the peninsula's isthmus.

With the expansion to Java as well as the Malay Peninsula, Srivijaya controlled two major trade choke points in Southeast Asia. Some Srivijayan temple ruins are observable in Thailand, Cambodia and on the Malay Peninsula.

At some point in the seventh century, Cham ports in eastern Indochina started to attract traders, diverting the flow of trade from Srivijaya. In an effort to redirect the flow of trade back to Srivijaya, the Srivijayan king or maharaja, Dharmasetu, launched various raids against the coastal cities of Indochina. The city of Indrapura by the Mekong River was temporarily controlled from Palembang in the early eighth century.^[14] The Srivijayans continued to dominate areas around present-day Cambodia until the Khmer King Jayavarman II, the founder of the Khmer Empire dynasty, severed the Srivijayan link later in the same century.

After Dharmasetu, Samaratunga, the last ruler of the Sailendra dynasty, married Dharmasetu's daughter, Dewi Tara, the princess of Srivijaya, and became the next Maharaja of Srivijaya. He reigned as ruler from 792 to 835. Unlike the expansionist Dharmasetu, Samaratunga did not indulge in military expansion, but preferred to strengthen the Srivijayan hold of Java. He personally oversaw the construction of Borobudur; the temple was completed in 825, during his reign.

By the twelfth century, the Srivijayan kingdom included parts of Sumatra, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, Western Java, Sulawesi, the Moluccas, Borneo and the Philippines, most notably the Sulu Archipelago and the Visayas islands (the latter island group, as well as its population, is named after the empire). Srivijaya remained a formidable sea power until the thirteenth century.

Vijrayana Buddhism: A stronghold of Vajrayana Buddhism, Srivijaya attracted pilgrims and scholars from other parts of Asia. These included the Chinese monk Yijing, who made several lengthy visits to Sumatra on his way to study at Nalanda University in India in 671 and 695, and the eleventh century Bengali Buddhist scholar Atisha, who played a major role in the development of Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet. In the year 687, Yi Jing stopped in the kingdom of Srivijaya on his way back to Tang (China), and stayed there for two years to translate original Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures to Chinese. In the year 689 he returned to Guangzhou to obtain ink and papers and returned again to Srivijaya the same year. Yijing reports that the kingdom was home to more than a thousand Buddhist scholars; it was in Srivijaya that he wrote his memoir of Buddhism during his own lifetime. Travelers to these islands mentioned that gold coinage was in use on the coasts, but not inland.

Diplomacy: Between 1079 and 1088, Chinese records show that Srivijaya sent ambassadors from Jambi and Palembang. In 1079 in particular, an ambassador from Jambi and Palembang each

visited China. Jambi sent two more ambassadors to China in 1082 and 1088. This suggests that the center of Srivijaya frequently shifted between the two major cities during that period.^[20] The Chola expedition as well as changing trade routes weakened Palembang, allowing Jambi to take the leadership of Srivijaya from the eleventh century on. The sixth and seventh centuries saw the reunification of China under the Sui (590 – 618) and T'ang dynasties, and the demise of long-distance trade with Persia, created new opportunity for Southeast Asian traders.^[19] Although historical records and archaeological evidence are scarce, it appears that by the seventh century, Srivijaya had established suzerainty over large areas of Sumatra, western Java and much of the Malay Peninsula. Dominating the Malacca and Sunda straits, Srivijaya controlled both the spice route traffic and local trade, charging a toll on passing ships. Serving as an entrepôt for Chinese, Malay, and Indian markets, the port of Palembang, accessible from the coast by way of a river, accumulated great wealth. Envoys traveled to and from China frequently.

The domination of the region through trade and conquest in the seventh and ninth centuries began with the absorption of the first rival power center, the Jambi kingdom. Jambi's gold mines were a crucial economic resource and may be the origin of the word *Suvarnavdipa* (island of gold), the Sanskrit name for Sumatra. Srivijaya helped spread the Malay culture throughout Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and western Borneo. Srivijaya's influence waned in the eleventh century, as it came into frequent conflict with, and was ultimately subjugated by, Javanese kingdoms, first Singhasari and then Majapahit. The seat of the empire moved to Jambi in the last centuries of Srivijaya's existence.

Some historians claim that Chaiya in the Surat Thani province in Southern Thailand was at least temporarily the capital of Srivijaya, but this claim is widely disputed. However, Chaiya was probably a regional center of the kingdom. The temple of *Borom That* in Chaiya contains a reconstructed pagoda in Srivijaya style. The Khmer Empire may also have been a tributary in its early stages.

Srivijaya also maintained close relations with the Pala Empire in Bengal, and an 860 inscription records that the *maharaja* of Srivijaya dedicated a monastery at the Nalanda university in Pala territory. Relations with the Chola dynasty of southern India were initially friendly but deteriorated into actual warfare in the eleventh century.

The downfall Fall of Srivijaya

By the early eleventh century, Srivijaya had been weakened by decades of warfare with Java and a devastating defeat in 1025 at the hands of the Chola, a Tamil (south Indian) maritime power. Chola launched an attack on Srivijaya, systematically plundering the Srivijayan ports along the Straits of Malacca, and even captured the Srivijayan king in Palembang. The reasons for this change in relations between Srivijaya and the Cholas are unknown, although it is theorised that plunder made up an essential part of the Chola political economy. While it seemed that the Cholas only intended to plunder Srivijaya, they left a lasting presence on Kataha, the remains of which are still visible at the Bujang Valley archaeological museum. [Source: noelbynature, southeastasianarchaeology.com, June 11, 2007]

The successful sack and plunder of Srivijaya had left it in a severely weakened state that marked the beginning of the end of Srivijaya. Having lost its wealth and prestige from the Chola attack, the port cities of the region started to initiate direct trade with China, shrugging off the exclusive influence Srivijaya once held over them. Towards the end of Srivijaya's influence, the power

centre of Srivijaya began to oscillate between Palembang and neighbouring Jambi, further fragmenting the once-great empire. Other factors included Javanese invasion westwards toward Sumatra in 1275, invading the Malayu kingdoms. Later towards the end of the 13th century, the Thai polities from the north came down the peninsula and conquered the last of the Srivijayan vassals.

Despite its influence and reach, Srivijaya flew very quickly into obscurity, and it was not until the last 90 years that the kingdom's history was rediscovered, mainly through epigraphical sources. Palembang, determined as the centre of power for Srivijaya poses a special problem for archaeologists, for if the modern settlement followed the ancient settlement pattern, ancient Palembang would have been built over shallow water and any archaeological remains would be buried deep in the mud. As the 19th-century naturalist Alfred Wallace described it, Palembang is a populous city several miles long but only one house wide!

By way of a quick epilogue, the story of Srivijaya ends where the story of the Malacca Sultanate begins. The *Sejarah Melayu*, or Malay Annals, begins with a story about Raja Chulan —perhaps an allusion to the king (Raja) of the Cholas, whose sack of Srivijaya led to its ultimate downfall. The annals go on to relate the appearance of three princes at Bukit Seguntang in Palembang, one of whom eventually founds a city of Singapura in Temasek before establishing Malacca further north.

As Srivijaya's hegemony ebbed, a tide of Javanese paramountcy rose on the strength of a series of eastern Java kingdoms beginning with that of Airlangga (r. 1010–42), with its *kraton* at Kahuripan, not far from present-day Surabaya, Jawa Timur Province. A number of smaller realms followed, the best-known of which are Kediri (mid-eleventh to early thirteenth centuries) and Singhasari (thirteenth century), with their centers on the upper reaches of the Brantas River, on the west and east of the slopes of Mount Kawi (Gunung Kawi), respectively. In this region, continued population growth, political and military rivalries, and economic expansion produced important changes in Javanese society. Taken together, these changes laid the groundwork for what has often been identified as Java's—and Indonesia's—“golden age” in the fourteenth century. In Kediri, for example, there developed a multilayered bureaucracy and a professional army. The ruler extended control over transportation and irrigation and cultivated the arts in order to enhance his own reputation and that of the court as a brilliant and unifying cultural hub. The Old Javanese literary tradition of the *kakawin* (long narrative poem) rapidly developed, moving away from the Sanskrit models of the previous era and producing many key works in the classical canon. Kediri's military and economic influence spread to parts of Kalimantan and Sulawesi.

The decline of Srivijaya Kingdom was caused by the Chola dynasty. The Chola dynasty was a Tamil Maritime power and was a major competitor of the trade in the region. Captivated and jealous of the success of Srivijaya, Chola dynasty decided to attack Srivijaya's ports. Additionally, they engaged with acts of robbery and stole goods that are to and from Srivijaya (Coedès, 1968). Not only did they plundered the kingdom, they also kidnapped the King of Kadaram which was an important partner of Srivijaya's trades (Kulke, Kesavapany & Sakhuja, 2009). Due to the Chola attack, the kingdom became weaker and even the port cities of Srivijaya shrugged off the exclusive influence of Srivijaya and started to initiate direct trade with China. The kingdom also became more fragmented as there was a power struggle between

the city of Palembang and neighboring city Jambi. Furthermore, Srivijaya was already in a weakened state from decades of war with the Javanese. Further attacks from Java and the Majapahit empire ensured the once great empire's downfall.

In 1025, Rajendra Chola, the Chola king from Coromandel in South India, conquered Kedah from Srivijaya and occupied it for some time. The Cholas continued a series of raids and conquests throughout what is now Indonesia and Malaysia for the next 20 years. Although the Chola invasion was ultimately unsuccessful, it gravely weakened the Srivijayan hegemony and enabled the formation of regional kingdoms based, like Kediri, on intensive agriculture rather than coastal and long-distance trade.



TARI GENDING SRIWIJAYA // GENDING SRIWIJAYA DANCE

Region - South Sumatra (Palembang)

Gending Sriwijaya is the name of the song and the traditional dance from Palembang, South Sumatra. This song is sung or played during the Gending Sriwijaya dance performance. Both was created to describe the splendor, cultural refinement, glory and the grandeur of Srivijayan empire that once succeed on unifying the western parts of Indonesian archipelago



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CHAPTER XVI

អាណាចក្រខ្មែរ

Anachak Khmer or Khmer Empire

The history of Angkor as the central area of settlement of the historical kingdom of *Kambujadesa* is also the history of the Khmer kingdom from the 9th to the 13th centuries.

From **Kambuja** itself—and so also from the Angkor region—no written records have survived other than stone inscriptions. Therefore, the current knowledge of the historical Khmer civilisation is derived primarily from:

- Archaeological excavation, reconstruction and investigation
- Stone inscriptions (the most important of which are foundation steles of temples), which report on the political and religious deeds of the kings
- Reliefs in a series of temple walls with depictions of military marches, life in the palace, market scenes, and the daily life of the population
- Reports and chronicles of Chinese diplomats, traders and travellers.

Formation and growth- Jayavarman II – the founder of Angkor



Archers mounted on elephants

According to Sdok Kok Thom inscription, circa 781 Indrapura was the first capital of Jayavarman II, located in Banteay Prei Nokor, near today's Kompong Cham.^[10] After he eventually returned to his home, the former kingdom of Chenla, he quickly built up his influence, conquered a series of competing kings, and in 790 became king of a kingdom called **Kambuja** by the Khmer. He then moved his court northwest to Mahendraparvata, far inland north from the great lake of Tonle Sap.

Jayavarman II (802–835) is widely regarded as a king who set the foundations of the Angkor period in Cambodian history, beginning with a grandiose consecration ritual that he conducted in 802 on the sacred Mount Mahendraparvata, now known as Phnom Kulen, to celebrate the independence of Kambuja from a place inscriptions call "Java". At that ceremony Prince Jayavarman II was proclaimed a universal monarch (Cambodian: *Kamraten jagad ta Raja*) or God King (Sanskrit: *Deva Raja*). He declared himself Chakravartin in a ritual taken from the Hindu tradition, thereby not only becoming the divinely appointed and therefore uncontested ruler, but also simultaneously declaring the independence of his kingdom from Java. According to some sources, Jayavarman II had resided for some time in Java during the reign of Sailendras, or "The Lords of Mountains", hence the concept of Deva Raja or God King was ostensibly

imported from Java. At that time, Sailendras allegedly ruled over Java, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and parts of Cambodia, around the Mekong delta.

The first pieces of information on Jayavarman II came from the K.235 stone inscription on a stele in Sdok Kok Thom temple, Isan region, dating to 1053. It recounts two and a half centuries of service that members of the temple's founding family provided for the Khmer court, mainly as chief chaplains of the Shaivite Hindu religion.

Historians debate whether "Java" means the Indonesian island of Java, Champa or a different location. According to an older established interpretation, Jayavarman II was a prince who lived at the court of Sailendra in Java and brought back to his home the art and culture of the Javanese Sailendran court to Cambodia.^{[8]:97} This classical theory was revisited by modern scholars such as Claude Jacques^[16] and Michael Vickery, who noted that Khmer used the term *chvea* to describe the Chams, their close neighbours. Moreover, Jayavarman's political career began at Vyadhapura (probably Banteay Prei Nokor) in eastern Cambodia, which makes the scenario of longtime contacts with the Chams (even through skirmishes, as the inscription suggests) more probable than the scenario of a long stay in distant Java. Finally, many early temples on Phnom Kulen show both Cham (e.g. Prasat Damrei Krap) and Javanese influences (e.g. the primitive "temple-mountain" of Aram Rong Cen and Prasat Thmar Dap), even if their asymmetric distribution seems typically Khmer.^[19]

In the following years, he extended his territory and, later in his reign, moved from Mahendraparvata and established his new capital of Hariharalaya near the modern Cambodian town of Rolous. He thereby laid the foundation of Angkor, which was to arise some 15 km to the northwest. Jayavarman II died in the year 835^{[11]:59} and he was succeeded by his son Jayavarman III. Jayavarman III died in 877 and was succeeded by Indravarman I.

The successors of Jayavarman II continually extended the territory of Kambuja. Indravarman I (reigned 877–889) managed to expand the kingdom without wars and initiated extensive building projects, which were enabled by the wealth gained through trade and agriculture. Foremost were the temple of Preah Ko and irrigation works. Indravarman I developed Hariharalaya further by constructing Bakong circa 881. Bakong in particular bears striking similarity to the Borobudur temple in Java, which strongly suggests that it served as the prototype for Bakong. There must have been exchanges of travelers, if not missions, between the Khmer kingdom and the Sailendras in Java, transmitting to Cambodia not only ideas, but also technical and architectural details.

Yasodharapura – the first city of Angkor



1. Bakong, one of the earliest temple mountains in Khmer architecture
2. Banteay Srei, a 10th-century Cambodian temple dedicated to the Hindu god Shiva
2. Ta Keo, a state temple built around the year 1000



Baphuon, a temple-mountain dedicated to the Hindu God Shiva

Indravarman I was followed by his son Yasovarman I (reigned 889 – 915), who established a new capital, Yasodharapura – the first city of Angkor. The city's central temple was built on Phnom Bakheng, a hill which rises around 60 m above the plain on which Angkor sits. Under Yasovarman I the East Baray was also created, a massive water reservoir of 7.1 by 1.7 km.

At the beginning of the 10th century, the kingdom split. Jayavarman IV established a new capital at Koh Ker, some 100 km northeast of Angkor, called Lingapura. Only with Rajendravarman II (reigned 944–968) was the royal palace returned to Yasodharapura. He took up again the extensive building schemes of the earlier kings and established a series of temples in the Angkor area, not the least being the East Mebon, a temple located on an artificial island in the center of the East Baray, and several Buddhist temples, such as Pre Rup, and monasteries. In 950, the first war took place between Kambuja and the kingdom of Champa to the east (in the modern central Vietnam).

The son of Rajendravarman II, Jayavarman V, reigned from 968 to 1001. After he had established himself as the new king over the other princes, his rule was a largely peaceful period, marked by prosperity and a cultural flowering. He established a new capital slightly west of his father's and named it Jayendranagari; its state temple, Ta Keo, was to the south. At the court of Jayavarman V lived philosophers, scholars, and artists. New temples were also established: the most important of these are Banteay Srei, considered one of the most beautiful and artistic of Angkor, and Ta Keo, the first temple of Angkor built completely of sandstone.

Tamil Contacts: A decade of conflict followed the death of Jayavarman V. Three kings reigned simultaneously as antagonists until Suryavarman I (reigned 1006 – 1050) gained the throne. Suryavarman I established diplomatic relations with the Chola dynasty of south India. Suryavarman I sent a chariot as a present to the Chola Emperor Rajaraja Chola I. His rule was marked by repeated attempts by his opponents to overthrow him and by military conquests. Suryavarman was successful in taking control of the Khmer capital city of Angkor Wat. At the same time, Angkor Wat came into conflict with the Tambralinga kingdom of the Malay peninsula. In other words, there was a three-way conflict in mainland Southeast Asia. After surviving several invasions from his enemies, Suryavarman requested aid from the powerful Chola Emperor Rajendra Chola I of the Chola dynasty against the Tambralinga kingdom. After learning of Suryavarman's alliance with Rajendra Chola, the Tambralinga kingdom requested aid from the Srivijaya King Sangrama Vijayatungavarman. This eventually led to the Chola Empire coming into conflict with the Srivijaya Empire. The war ended with a victory for the Chola dynasty and of the Khmer Empire, and major losses for the Srivijaya Empire and the Tambralinga kingdom. This alliance also had religious nuance, since both Chola and Khmer empire were Hindu Shaivite, while Tambralinga and Srivijaya were Mahayana Buddhist. There is some indication that before or after these incidents Suryavarman I sent a gift, a chariot, to Rajendra Chola I to possibly facilitate trade or an alliance. Suryavarman I's wife was

Viralakshmi, and following his death in 1050, he was succeeded by Udayadityavarman II, who built the Baphuon and West Baray. In 1074, conflict arose between Harshavarman III and the Champa King Harivarman IV.

Golden age of Khmer Civilization



King Suryavarman II...Angkor Wat

Khmer–Cham wars were a series of conflicts and contests between states of the Khmer Empire and the kingdom of Champa, later involved Đại Việt, lasted from mid-10th century to early 13th century on mainland Southeast Asia. The first conflict began in 950 AD when Khmer troops sacked the Cham principality of Kauthara. Tensions between the Khmer Empire and the Champa kingdom reached climax in the middle of the 12th century when both deployed field armies and waged devastate wars on each other. The conflicts ended after the Khmer army voluntary retreated from occupying Champa back to their state in 1220.



Vietnamese war elephant and soldiers pottery figure

Around 950, the Khmer under Rajendravarman II pillaged the temple of Po Nagar (Kauthara) and carried off the statue of the goddess.^[1] In 965, the Cham King Jaya Indravaman I restored the temple at Po Nagar and reconstructed the statue of the goddess to replace the one stolen by the Khmer.

Khmer Invasion: In 1074, Harivarman IV became king of Champa, had close ties to Sung China, made peace with Dai Viet but provoked war with the Khmer Empire. In 1080, a Khmer army attacked Vijaya and other centers in northern Champa. Temples and monasteries were sacked and cultural treasures were carried off. After much misery, Cham troops under King

Harivarman were able to defeat the invaders and restored the capital and temples.^[6] His raiding force penetrated Cambodia as far as Sambor and the Mekong, where it destroyed all religious sanctuaries. Also in previous years Đại Việt reorganized her royal army, equipped them with cavalries and catapults.

Khmer–Vietnamese war (1123–1150)



Depiction of a naval battle between the Cham and the Khmer on the Bayon relief

In 1127, Suryavarman II demanded Vietnamese king Lý Dương Hoán to pay tribute for the Khmer Empire, but the Vietnamese refused. Suryavarman decided to expand his territory northward into Vietnamese territory. The first attack was in 1128 when King Suryavarman II led 20,000 soldiers from Savannakhet to Nghệ An but were routed in battle.¹ The following year Suryavarman continued skirmishes on land and sent 700 ships to bombard the coastal areas of Đại Việt. In 1132, he persuaded Cham king Jaya Indravarman III to join with him attack Đại Việt, briefly seizing Nghệ An, pillaged the coastal districts of Thanh Hoá.

In 1136, the Vietnamese force under Đỗ Anh Vũ counterattacked the Khmers with 30,000 men, but later retreated. The Cham thereupon made with the Vietnamese, and when Suryavarman renewed the attack, Jaya Indravarman refused to cooperate with the Khmers.^[7] After failed attempt to seize seaports in southern Đại Việt, Suryavarman II turned to invade Champa in 1145, and sacked Vijaya, ending the reign of Jaya Indravarman III, and destroying the temples at Mỹ Sơn. They occupied northern Champa until 1149, when they were drove out by Jaya Harivarman I from Panduranga. Harivarman reunited the kingdom. A royal pretender, Vamsaraja, attacked Harivarman with highland troops but was failed and escaped to Đại Việt.

Cham Invasion Of ZAngkor-Battle of Tonlé Sap1170-1177

After securing peace with Đại Việt in 1170, Cham forces under Jaya Indravarman IV invaded the Khmer Empire through land with inconclusive results.^[14] In 1177, however, his troops launched a surprise attack against the Khmer capital of Yasodharapura from warships piloted up the Mekong River to the great lake Tonlé Sap in Cambodia, and killed the Khmer king Tribhuvanadityavarman. Multiple-bow siege crossbows were introduced to Champa from Song dynasty in 1171, and later were mounted on the backs of Cham and Vietnamese war elephants. They were deployed by the Cham during the siege of Angkor, which was defended only by wooden palisades, led to the Cham occupation of Cambodia for next four years.

Jayavarman's Conquest of CHAMPA: In 1190, the Khmer king Jayavarman VII appointed a Cham prince named Vidyanandana who had been educated at Angkor to lead the Khmer army. Vidyanandana defeated the invaders and proceeded to occupy Vijaya and to capture Jaya

Indravarman IV, whom he sent back to Angkor as a prisoner. Adopting the title of Shri Suryavarmadeva (or Suryavarman), Vidyanandana made himself king of Panduranga, which became a Khmer's vassal. He made Prince In, a brother-in-law of Jayavarman VII, "King Suryajayavarmadeva in the Nagara of Vijaya" (or Suryajayavarman). In 1191 a revolt at Vijaya drove Suryajayavarman back to Cambodia and enthroned Jaya Indravarman V. Vidyanandana occupied Vijaya, killed both Jaya Indravarman IV and Jaya Indravarman V, then "reigned without opposition over the Kingdom of Champa," but he declared his independence from the Khmer Empire.

Khmer armies under Jayavarman VII continued campaigning against Champa until the Chams were finally defeated in 1203. The Khmer later also had double bow crossbows mounted on elephants, which Michel Jacq Hergoualc'h suggest were elements of Cham mercenaries in Jayavarman VII's army. The Khmer sent the Cham king Suryavarman into exile. Jayavarman VII added Champa into his empire as a province, until the Chams regained independence in 1220. Followed the Khmer voluntary evacuation of Champa, a Cham prince of the old royal line took over the reins of government peacefully and proclaimed himself Jaya Paramesvaravarman II and restored Champa's sovereigns.

Suryavarman II – Angkor Wat- Jayavarman VII – Angkor Thom



Portrait statue of Jayavarman VII/// Bronze replica of one of the twenty-three stone images sent by King Jayavarman VII to different parts of his kingdom in 1191



Bayon, the state temple located at the center of Jayavarman VII's capital, Angkor Thom
King Jayavarman VII (reigned 1181–1219) was generally considered as Cambodia's greatest king. He had already been a military leader as a prince under the previous kings. After the Cham

had conquered Angkor, he gathered an army and regained the capital. He ascended the throne and continued the war against the neighbouring eastern kingdom for another 22 years, until the Khmer defeated Champa in 1203 and conquered large parts of its territory. According to Chinese sources, Jayavarman VII added Pegu to the territory of the Khmer Empire in 1195.

Jayavarman VII stands as the last of the great kings of Angkor, not only because of his successful war against the Cham, but also because he was not a tyrannical ruler in the manner of his immediate predecessors. He unified the empire and carried out noteworthy building projects. The new capital, now called Angkor Thom (literally: "Great City"), was built. In the centre, the king (himself a follower of Mahayana Buddhism) had constructed as the state temple the Bayon, with towers bearing faces of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, each several metres high, carved out of stone. Further important temples built under Jayavarman VII were Ta Prohm for his mother, Preah Khan for his father, Banteay Kdei, and Neak Pean, as well as the reservoir of Srah Srang. An extensive network of roads was laid down connecting every town of the empire, with rest-houses built for travelers and a total of 102 hospitals established across his realm.

Jayavarman VIII – the last blooming

After the death of Jayavarman VII, his son Indravarman II (reigned 1219–1243) ascended the throne. Like his father, he was a Buddhist, and he completed a series of temples begun under his father's rule. As a warrior he was less successful. In the year 1220, under mounting pressure from increasingly powerful Đại Việt, and its Cham alliance, the Khmer withdrew from many of the provinces previously conquered from Champa. In the west, his Thai subjects rebelled, establishing the first Thai kingdom at Sukhothai and pushing back the Khmer. In the following 200 years, the Thais would become the chief rivals of Kambuja.

Indravarman II was succeeded by Jayavarman VIII (reigned 1243–1295). In contrast to his predecessors, Jayavarman VIII was a follower of Hindu Shaivism and an aggressive opponent of Buddhism, destroying many Buddha statues in the empire and converting Buddhist temples to Hindu temples. From the outside, the empire was threatened in 1283 by the Mongols under Kublai Khan's general Sogetu (sometimes known as Sagatu or Sodu), who was the governor of Guangzhou, China. The king avoided war with his powerful opponent, who ruled all of China, by paying annual tribute, starting in 1285. Jayavarman VIII's rule ended in 1295 when he was deposed by his son-in-law Srindravarman (reigned 1295–1309). The new king was a follower of Theravada Buddhism, a school of Buddhism that had arrived in southeast Asia from Sri Lanka and subsequently spread through most of the region.

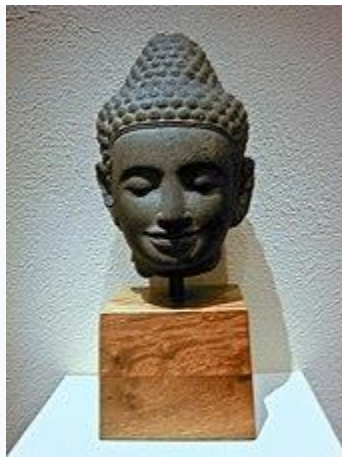
In August 1296, the Chinese diplomat Zhou Daguan arrived at Angkor and recorded, "In the recent war with the Siamese, the country was utterly devastated. He remained at the court of King Srindravarman until July 1297. He was neither the first nor the last Chinese representative to visit Kambuja. His stay is notable, however, because Zhou Daguan later wrote a detailed report on life in Angkor. His portrayal is today one of the most important sources of understanding historical Angkor. Alongside descriptions of several great temples (the Bayon, the Baphuon, Angkor Wat) – his account informs us that the towers of the Bayon were once covered in gold – the text also offers valuable information on the everyday life and the habits of the inhabitants of Angkor.

Decline

By the 14th century, the Khmer empire suffered a long, arduous, and steady decline. Historians have proposed different causes for the decline: the religious conversion from Vishnuite-Shivaite Hinduism to Theravada Buddhism that affected social and political systems, incessant internal power struggles among Khmer princes, vassal revolt, foreign invasion, plague, and ecological breakdown.

For social and religious reasons, many aspects contributed to the decline of the Khmer empire. The relationship between the rulers and their elites was unstable – among the 27 Angkorian rulers, eleven lacked a legitimate claim to power, and civil wars were frequent. The Khmer empire focused more on the domestic economy and did not take advantage of the international maritime network. In addition, the input of Buddhist ideas conflicted and disturbed the state order built under the predominant Hinduism.^[34]

Conversion of faith



11th-century Cambodian sculpture of the Buddha

The last Sanskrit inscription is dated 1327 and describes the succession of Indrajayavarman by Jayavarmadiparamesvara. Historians suspect a connection with the kings' adoption of Theravada Buddhism: they were therefore no longer considered "devarajas", and there was no need to erect huge temples to them, or rather to the gods under whose protection they stood. The retreat from the concept of the devaraja may also have led to a loss of royal authority and thereby to a lack of workers. The water-management apparatus also degenerated, meaning that harvests were reduced by floods or drought. While previously three rice harvests per year were possible – a substantial contribution to the prosperity and power of Kambuja – the declining harvests further weakened the empire.

The final fall of Angkor would then be due to the transfer of economic – and therewith political – significance, as Phnom Penh became an important trade centre on the Mekong. Besides, severe droughts and ensuing floods were considered as one of the contributing factors to its fall. The empire focused more on regional trade after the first drought.

Satellite image of Angkor, the dried East Baray suggests the environmental changes in the region. Ecological failure and infrastructural breakdown is a new alternative theory regarding the end of the Khmer Empire. Scientists working on the Greater Angkor Project believe that the Khmers had an elaborate system of reservoirs and canals used for trade, transportation, and irrigation. The canals were used for harvesting rice. As the population grew there was more strain on the

water system. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were also severe climatic changes impacting the water management system. Periods of drought led to decreases in agricultural productivity, and violent floods due to monsoons damaged the infrastructure during this vulnerable time.¹ To adapt to the growing population, trees were cut down from the Kulen hills and cleared out for more rice fields. That created rain runoff carrying sediment to the canal network. Any damage to the water system would have enormous consequences.

Plague

The plague theory, which suggests a severe epidemic outbreak might have hit the heavily populated Angkor and contributed to the fall of the empire, has been reconsidered. By the 14th century, the Black Death had affected Asia, as the plague first appeared in China around 1330 and reached Europe around 1345. Most seaports along the line of travel from China to Europe felt the impact of the disease, which might have had a severe impact on life throughout Southeast Asia. Possible diseases include bubonic plague, smallpox and malaria.

Angkor after the 15th century

In any event, there is evidence for a further period of use of Angkor. Under the rule of King Barom Reachea I (reigned 1566–1576), who temporarily succeeded in driving back the Thai, the royal court was briefly returned to Angkor. But, Angkor became a part of Taungoo Dynasty by King Bayintnaung in 1580 and regained independence in 1599 from Burma (Myanmar). Inscriptions from the 17th century testify to Japanese settlements alongside those of the remaining Khmer.^[40] The best-known inscription tells of Ukondayu Kazufusa, who celebrated the Khmer New Year there in 1632.^[41] However, in following decades the Japanese community was absorbed into the local Khmer community, owing to the lack of new Japanese arrivals and very little possibility of renewing their community.



Economy and agriculture

The ancient Khmers were a traditional agricultural community, relying heavily on rice farming. The farmers, who formed the majority of kingdom's population, planted rice near the banks of the lake or river, in the irrigated plains surrounding their villages, or in the hills when lowlands were flooded. The rice paddies were irrigated by a massive and complex hydraulics system, including networks of canals and *barays*, or giant water reservoirs. This system enabled the formation of large-scale rice farming communities surrounding Khmer cities. Sugar palm trees, fruit trees, and vegetables were grown in the orchards by the villages, providing other sources of agricultural produce such as palm sugar, palm wine, coconut, various tropical fruits, and vegetables.



Khmer market on Bayon

Located by the massive Tonlé Sap lake, and also near numerous rivers and ponds, many Khmer people relied on fresh water fisheries for their living. Fishing gave the population their main source of protein, which was turned into *prahok* — dried or roasted or steamed fish paste wrapped in banana leaves. Rice was the main staple along with fish. Other sources of protein included pigs, cattle, and poultry, which were kept under the farmers' houses, which were on stilts to protect them from flooding. The marketplace of Angkor contained no permanent buildings; it was an open square where the traders sat on the ground on woven straw mats and sold their wares. There were no tables or chairs. Some traders might be protected from the sun with a simple thatched parasol. A certain type of tax or rent was levied by officials for each space occupied by traders in the marketplace. The trade and economy in the Angkor marketplace were mainly run by women.

Zhou Daguan's description of the women of Angkor:

The local people who know how to trade are all women. So when a Chinese goes to this country, the first thing he must do is take in a woman, partly with a view to profiting from her trading abilities.

The women age very quickly, no doubt because they marry and give birth when too young. When they are twenty or thirty years old, they look like Chinese women who are forty or fifty.

The role of women in the trade and economy of the Khmer Empire suggests that they enjoyed significant rights and freedom. Their practice of marrying early may have contributed to the high fertility rate and huge population of the kingdom.

Society and politics



Women of the royal court/ Naval battle against Cham, Bayon



Bas-relief depicting home life, Bayon

The Khmer empire was founded upon extensive networks of agricultural rice farming communities. A distinct settlement hierarchy is present in the region. Small villages were clustered around regional centres, such as the one at Phimai, which in turn sent their goods to large cities like Angkor in return for other goods, such as pottery and foreign trade items from China. The king and his officials were in charge of irrigation management and water distribution, which consisted of an intricate series of hydraulics infrastructure, such as canals, moats, and massive reservoirs called *barays*. Society was arranged in a hierarchy reflecting the Hindu caste system, where the commoners – rice farmers and fishermen – formed the large majority of the population. The *kshatriyas* – royalty, nobles, warlords, soldiers, and warriors – formed a governing elite and authorities. Other social classes included brahmins (priests), traders, artisans such as carpenters and stonemasons, potters, metalworkers, goldsmiths, and textile weavers, while on the lowest social level were slaves. The extensive irrigation projects provided rice surpluses that could support a large population. The state religion was Hinduism but influenced by the cult of Devaraja, elevating the Khmer kings as possessing the divine quality of living gods on earth, attributed to the incarnation of Vishnu or Shiva.^[45] In politics, this status was viewed as the divine justification of a king's rule. The cult enabled the Khmer kings to embark on massive architectural projects, constructing majestic monuments such as Angkor Wat and Bayon to celebrate the king's divine rule on earth.

The King was surrounded by ministers, state officials, nobles, royalties, palace women, and servants, all protected by guards and troops. The capital city of Angkor and the Khmer royal court are famous for grand ceremonies, with many festivals and rituals held in the city. Even when travelling, the King and his entourages created quite a spectacle, as described in Zhou Daguan's account:

Zhou Daguan's description of a royal procession of Indravarman III

When the king goes out, troops are at the head of [his] escort; then come flags, banners and music. Palace women, numbering from three to five hundred, wearing flowered cloth, with flowers in their hair, hold candles in their hands, and form a troupe. Even in broad daylight, the candles are lighted. Then come other palace women, bearing royal paraphernalia made of gold and silver... Then come the palace women carrying lances and shields, with the king's private guards. Carts drawn by goats and horses, all in gold, come next. Ministers and princes are

mounted on elephants, and in front of them one can see, from afar, their innumerable red umbrellas. After them come the wives and concubines of the king, in palanquins, carriages, on horseback and on elephants. They have more than one hundred parasols, flecked with gold. Behind them comes the sovereign, standing on an elephant, holding his sacred sword in his hand. The elephant's tusks are encased in gold.

Zhou Daguan's description of the Khmer king's wardrobe:

Only the ruler can dress in cloth with an all-over floral design...Around his neck he wears about three pounds of big pearls. At his wrists, ankles and fingers he has gold bracelets and rings all set with cat's eyes...When he goes out, he holds a golden sword [of state] in his hand.

Khmer kings were often involved in series of wars and conquests. The large population of Angkor enabled the kingdom to support large free standing armies, which were sometimes deployed to conquer neighboring princedoms or kingdoms. Series of conquests were led to expand the kingdom's influence over areas surrounding Angkor and Tonle Sap, the Mekong valley and delta, and surrounding lands. Some Khmer kings embarked on military conquests and war against neighbouring Champa, Dai Viet, and Thai warlords. Khmer kings and royal families were also often involved in incessant power struggle over successions or rivalries over principalities.

Culture and way of life



Cockfighting on Bayon/ Bas-relief depicting people playing a chess-like game

Zhou Daguan's description of Khmer houses:

The dwellings of the princes and principal officials have a completely different layout and dimensions from those of the people. All the outlying buildings are covered with thatch; only the family temple and the principal apartment can be covered in tiles. The official rank of each person determines the size of the houses.

Houses of farmers were situated near the rice paddies on the edge of the cities. The walls of the houses were made of woven bamboo, with thatched roofs, and they were on stilts. A house was divided into three rooms by woven bamboo walls. One was the parents' bedroom, another was the daughters' bedroom, and the largest was the living area. Sons slept wherever they could find space. The kitchen was at the back or in a separate room. Nobles and kings lived in the palace and much larger houses in the city. They were made of the same materials as the farmers' houses, but the roofs were wooden shingles and had elaborate designs as well as more rooms.

The common people wore a sampot where the front end was drawn between the legs and secured at the back by a belt. Nobles and kings wore finer and richer fabrics. Women wore a strip of cloth to cover the chest, while noble women had a lengthened one that went over the shoulder. Men and women wore a Krama. Along with depictions of battle and the military conquests of kings, the bas-reliefs of Bayon depict the mundane everyday life of common Khmer people, including scenes of the marketplace, fishermen, butchers, people playing a chess-like game, and gambling during cockfighting.

Vishnu, Baphuon style

The main religion was Hinduism, followed by Buddhism in popularity. Initially, the kingdom revered Hinduism as the main state religion. Vishnu and Shiva were the most revered deities, worshipped in Khmer Hindu temples. Temples such as Angkor Wat are actually known as *Phitsanulok* (*Vara Vishnuloka* in Sanskrit) or the realm of Vishnu, to honor the posthumous King Suryavarman II as Vishnu.

Hindu ceremonies and rituals performed by Brahmins (Hindu priests), usually only held among the ruling elites of the king's family, nobles, and the ruling class. The empire's official religions included Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism until Theravada Buddhism prevailed, even among the lower classes, after its introduction from Sri Lanka in the 13th century.

Art and architecture

Zhou Daguan's description on the Angkor Royal Palace:

All official buildings and homes of the aristocracy, including the Royal Palace, face the east. The Royal Palace stands north of the Golden Tower and the Bridge of Gold: it is one and a half mile in circumference. The tiles of the main dwelling are of lead. Other dwellings are covered with yellow-coloured pottery tiles. Carved or painted Buddhas decorate all the immense columns and lintels. The roofs are impressive too. Open corridors and long colonnades, arranged in harmonious patterns, stretch away on all sides.

The Khmer empire produced numerous temples and majestic monuments to celebrate the divine authority of Khmer kings. Khmer architecture reflects the Hindu belief that the temple was built to recreate the abode of Hindu gods, Mount Meru, with its five peaks and surrounded by seas represented by ponds and moats. The early Khmer temples built in the Angkor region and the Bakong temple in Hariharalaya (Roluos) employed stepped pyramid structures to represent the sacred temple-mountain.

Khmer art and architecture reached their aesthetic and technical peak with the construction of the majestic temple Angkor Wat. Other temples are also constructed in the Angkor region, such as Ta Phrom and Bayon. The construction of the temple demonstrates the artistic and technical achievements of the Khmer Empire through its architectural mastery of stone masonry.

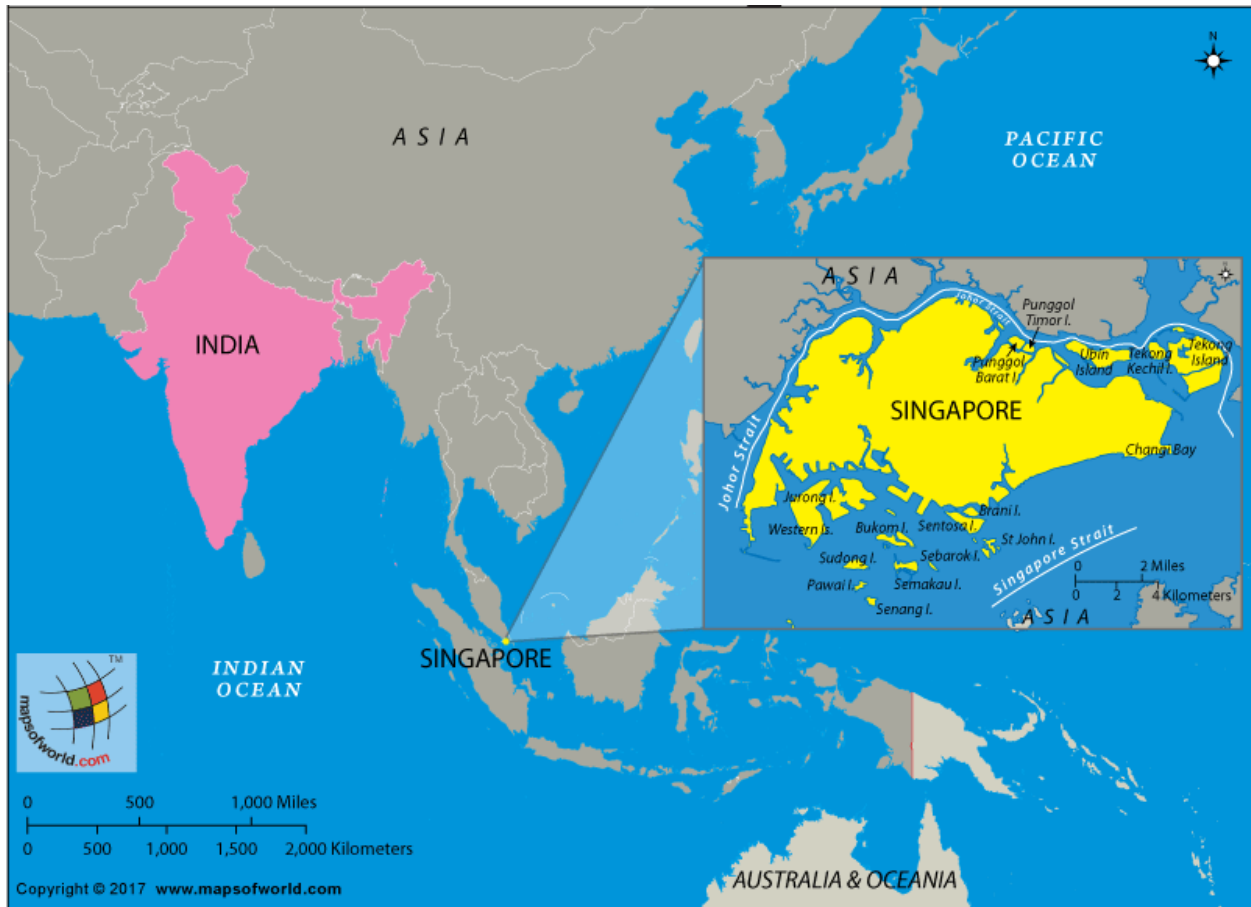
List of architectural styles during Angkor period

Styles	Dates	Rulers	Temples	Chief Characteristics
Kulen	825–875	Jayavarman II	Damrei Krap	Continuation of pre-Angkorean but a period of innovation and borrowing such as from Cham temples. Tower mainly square and relatively high. Mainly brick with laterite walls and stone door surrounds. Square and octagonal colonettes begin to appear.
Preah Ko	877–886	Indravarman I Jayavarman III	Preah Ko, Bakong, Lolei	Simple plan: one or more square brick towers on a single base. First

				appearance of concentric enclosures and of gopura and libraries. Decorative 'flying palaces' replaced by dvarapalas and devatas in niches. First major temple mountain at Bakong.
Bakhe ng	889– 923	Yasovarman I Harshavarman I	Phnom Bakheng, Phnom Krom, Phnom Bok, Baksei Chamkrong (trans.)	Development of the temple mountain. More use of stone, particularly for major temples and more decorative stone carving.
Koh Ker	921– 944	Jayavarman IV	Group of Koh Ker temples	Scale of buildings diminishes toward center. Brick still main material but sandstone also used.
Pre Rup	944– 968	Rajendravarman	Pre Rup, East Mebon, Bat Chum, Kutisvara	Transitional between Koh Ker and Banteay Srei. Long halls partly enclose sanctuary. The last great monuments in plastered brick, increasing use of sandstone.
Banteay Srei	967– 1000	Jayavarman V	Banteay Srei	Ornate, superposed pediments, sweeping gable ends, rich and deep carving. Plasterd brick replaced by stone and laterite. Appearance of scenes in pediments. Voluptuous devatas with gentle expressions.
Khleang	968– 1010	Jayavarman V	Ta Keo, The Khleangs, Phimeanakas, Royal Palace	First use of galleries. Cruciform gopuras. Octagonal colonettes. Restrained decorative carving.
Baphuo n	1050– 1080	Udayadityavarma n II	Baphuon, West Mebon	A return to rich carving: floral motifs but also lintels with scenes. Nagas without

				head-dress. Bas-reliefs appear at Baphuon temple, carving with lively scenes enclosed in small panels, often in narrative sequence.
Angkor Wat	1113-1175	Suryavarman II Yasovarman II	Angkor Wat, Banteay Samré, Thommanon, Chau Say Tevoda, Beng Mealea, some of Preah Pithu, Phimai and Phnom Rung	The high classical style of Khmer architecture. Fully developed conical towers with carving profile. Galleries wider and with half galleries on one side. Concentric enclosures connected by axial galleries. Nagas with head-dress, naga balustrades raised off the ground. Invention of cross-shaped terrace. Richly carved lintels and other decorations. Bas-reliefs, Apsaras.
Bayon	1181-1243	Jayavarman VII Indravarman II	Ta Prohm, Preah Khan, Neak Pean, Ta Som, Ta Nei, Angkor Thom, Prasat Chrung, Bayon, Elephant terrace, Ta Prohm Kel, Krol Ko, Prasat Suor Prat, Banteay Chhmar, Hospital Chaples, Jayatataka baray	The last great style. Hurried construction, often in laterite not stone, carving less elegant. Complex plans, huge temples. In Cambodia, face-towers and historical narrative bas-reliefs. Three periods: 1. large complex temples on a single level, 2. face-towers and avenues of giants carrying nagas, 3. decline of the building standards, devatas acquire Angkor Wat style diadem.
Post Bayon	1243-15th C	Jayavarman VIII and others	Terrace of the Leper King, Preah Pithu, Preah Palilay (modifications to temples)	Inversion of cross-shaped terrace, causeways on columns, low or high.

CHAPTER SINGAPORE



The history of the modern state of Singapore dates back to its founding in the early nineteenth century, but evidence suggests that a significant trading settlement existed on the Island of Singapore in the 14th century. At the time, the Kingdom of Singapura was under the rule of Parameswara, who killed the previous ruler before he was expelled by the Majapahit or the Siamese. It then came under the Malacca Sultanate and then the Johor Sultanate. In 1819, British statesman Stamford Raffles negotiated a treaty whereby Johor allowed the British to locate a trading port on the island, leading to the establishment of the crown colony of Singapore in 1819.

This is a **timeline of Singaporean history**, comprising important legal and territorial changes and political events in Singapore and its predecessor states. To read about the background to these events,

11th to 12th century

Year	Date	Event	
1025		The region was invaded and occupied by Rajendra Chola of the Chola empire in India, although there has been no record of them visiting the island itself.	

13th century[

Year	Date	Event	
1299		According to the <i>Malay Annals</i> , the Kingdom of Singapura is founded by Sang Nila Utama, a prince of Srivijaya. The kingdom existed till 1398.	

14th century

Year	Date	Event	
1320		The Mongol court sends a mission to obtain elephants from <i>Long Ya Men</i> (or <i>Dragon's Tooth Strait</i>), believed to be Keppel Harbour.	
1330		The Chinese traveller Wang Dayuan visits Temasek and records an attack by Siam, recording it down alongside Long Ya Men and Ban Zu.	
1398		Parameswara, the last Srivijayan prince, flees from Temasek.	

15th century[edit]

Year	Date	Event
1414		Temasek becomes part of the Sultanate of Malacca established by Parameswara.

16th century

Year	Date	Event
1511	15 August	Malacca fell and was sacked by Afonso de Albuquerque of Portuguese Empire.

17th century

Year	Date	Event
1613		Portuguese burn down the trading outpost at the mouth of Singapore River.
1641	14 January	Fall of Portuguese Malacca to Dutch.

19th century

Year	Date	Event
1819	29 January	Sir Stamford Raffles arrives in Singapore with William Farquhar to establish a trading post for the British East India Company.
	6 February	The treaty is signed between Sultan Hussein of Johor, Temenggong Abdul Rahman and Sir Stamford Raffles.

		William Farquhar is installed as the first Resident of the settlement.
1821		Singapore General Hospital was established.
1822		Raffles drafts the Raffles Plan of Singapore to reorganise the island.
1823	27 May	Dr John Crawfurd appointed as second Resident of the settlement.
	5 June	Raffles Institution is founded by Sir Stamford Raffles. ^[4]
1824	17 March	The Anglo-Dutch Treaty is signed between Great Britain and the Netherlands.
	2 August	Singapore becomes a British colony.
1826		Singapore becomes part of the British colony of Straits Settlements under the rule of the East India Company, together with Malacca and Penang.
	27 November	Robert Fullerton was installed as the first Governor of the Straits Settlements
1830		Singapore comes under the Presidency of Bengal in India
	12 November	Robert Ibbetson was appointed as the second Governor of the Straits Settlements.
1832	December	Singapore becomes the centre of government of the Straits Settlements.

1833	7 December	Kenneth Murchison was appointed as the third Governor of the Straits Settlements
1834	1 August	Singapore Free School was established. ^[11]
1836	18 November	Sir Samuel George Bonham was appointed as the fourth Governor of the Straits Settlements
1842		St. Margaret's Girls School was founded by Maria Tarn Dyer
1843		Thomas Dunman, the first full-time police chief of Singapore, improves the police force
	January	Singapore became ruled directly from the British East India Company.
	August	William John Butterworth was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements
1844	4 March	Raffles Girls' School was established at Bras Basah Road
	25 July	The Tan Tock Seng Hospital begins operation.
1845	15 July	The Straits Times was established as <i>The Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce</i>
1852		A new deep harbour called New Harbour, later known as Keppel Harbour, is built.
	22 July	St Joseph's Institution [as St John's Institution] was established at Bras Basah Road

1854		Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus (CHIJ) was established
1855	21 March	Edmund Augustus Blundell was appointed as the Governor of the Straits
1858		Singapore is placed under the hierarchy of the Government of India (Calcutta)
	8 March	Commercial Square is renamed Raffles Place.
1859	6 August	Major General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements
		The Singapore Botanic Gardens was founded.
1862	8 September	Saint Andrews School was founded at Chin Chew Street.
1867	16 March	Major General Sir Harry St. George Ord was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements. ^[19]
	1 April	Straits Settlements become a crown colony of British Empire
		The Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements was formed.
1869	17 November	The Suez Canal opens, and Singapore enjoys the increase in trade. ^l
1873	4 November	Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements

1875	8 May	Sir William Jervois was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements. ^l
1876		Victoria School was established in Kampong Glam.
1877	3 April	Major General Edward Archibald Harbord Anson was appointed as the Acting Governor.
	3 May	The Chinese Protectorate is set up, and William Pickering was the first Protector appointed.
	August	Sir William Cleaver Francis Robinson was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements.
1879	10 February	Major General Edward Archibald Harbord Anson was appointed as the Acting Governor.
1880	16 May	Sir Frederick Weld was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements.
1885		Gan Eng Seng School was established at Telok Ayer Street.
1886	1 March	Anglo-Chinese School was established at Amoy Street.
1887	25 July	Methodist Girls' School was established at Short Street.
	17 October	Sir Cecil Clementi Smith was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements.
	1 December	The Raffles Hotel was established.
1888		Henry Ridley becomes the first scientific director of the Singapore Botanic Gardens.

		The Singapore Fire Brigade was formed.
1892		The Tanjong Pagar Police Station opens, and many Sikh policemen were recruited.
		Holy Innocents' High School was established.
1893	30 August	William Edward Maxwell was appointed as the Acting Governor of the Straits Settlements.
1894	1 February	Sir Charles Bullen Hugh Mitchell was appointed as the Governor of the Straits Settlements.
1899	1 July	Singapore Chinese Girls' School was established at 52 Hill Street.
	7 December	Sir Charles Bullen Hugh Mitchell died while in the office as Governor of the Straits Settlements.
		James Alexander Swettenham was appointed as the Acting Governor of the Straits Settlements.



During World War II, Singapore was conquered and occupied by the Japanese Empire from 1942 to 1945. When the war ended, Singapore reverted to British control, with increasing levels of self-government being granted, culminating in Singapore's merger with the Federation of Malaya to form Malaysia in 1963. However, social unrest and disputes between Singapore's ruling People's Action Party and Malaysia's Alliance Party resulted in Singapore's expulsion from Malaysia. Singapore became an independent republic on 9 August 1965.

Facing severe unemployment and a housing crisis, Singapore embarked on an aggressive modernisation programme beginning in the late 1960s through the 1970s that focused on establishing a manufacturing industry, developing large public housing estates, and investing heavily in public education and infrastructure.

By the 1990s, the country had become one of the world's most prosperous nations, with a highly developed free market economy and strong international trading links. It now has the highest per capita gross domestic product in Asia, which is 2nd in the world, and it is ranked 9th on the UN Human Development Index.



An artist's impression of Parameswara, who ruled Singapore in the 1390s./ A fragment of the Singapore Stone, inscribed with an Indic script, c. 10th to 13th century.

The Greco-Roman astronomer Ptolemy (90–168) identified a place called *Sabana* at the tip of Golden Chersonese (believed to be the Malay Peninsula) in the second and third century.^[4] The earliest written record of Singapore may be in a Chinese account from the third century, describing the island of *Pu Luo Chung* (蒲羅中). This is thought to be a transcription from the Malay name "*Pulau Ujong*", or "island at the end" (of the Malay Peninsula).

In 1025 CE, Rajendra Chola I of the Chola Empire led forces across the Indian Ocean and invaded the Srivijayan empire, attacking several places in Malaysia and Indonesia.^{[6][7]} The Chola forces were said to have controlled Temasek (now Singapore) for a couple of decades.^[8] The name Temasek however did not appear in Chola records, but a tale involving a Raja Chulan (assumed to be Rajendra Chola) and Temasek was mentioned in the semi-historical *Malay Annals*

The Nagarakretagama, a Javanese epic poem written in 1365, referred to a settlement on the island called *Tumasik* (possibly meaning "*Sea Town*" or "*Sea Port*"). The name Temasek is also given in *Sejarah Melayu* (*Malay Annals*), which contains a tale of the founding of Temasek by a prince of Srivijaya, Sri Tri Buana (also known as Sang Nila Utama) in the 13th century. Sri Tri Buana landed on Temasek on a hunting trip, and saw a strange beast said to be a lion. The prince took this as an auspicious sign and founded a settlement called Singapura, which means "Lion City" in Sanskrit. The actual origin of the name Singapura however is unclear according to scholars



The Mao Kun map from Wubei Zhi which is based on the early 15th century maps of Zheng He showing Temasek (淡馬錫) at the top left, and Long Ya Men (龍牙門) on the right panel.

In 1320, the Mongol Empire sent a trade mission to a place called *Long Ya Men* (or *Dragon's Teeth Gate*), which is believed to be Keppel Harbour at the southern part of the island. The Chinese traveller Wang Dayuan, visiting the island around 1330, described *Long Ya Men* as one of the two distinct settlements in *Dan Ma Xi* (from Malay *Temasek*), the other being *Ban Zu* (from Malay *pancur*). *Ban Zu* is thought to be present day Fort Canning Hill, and recent excavations in Fort Canning found evidence indicating that Singapore was an important settlement in the 14th century. Wang mentioned that the natives of *Long Ya Men* (thought to be the *Orang Laut*) and Chinese residents lived together in *Long Ya Men*.^{[15][16]} Singapore is one of the oldest locations where a Chinese community is known to exist outside China, and the oldest confirmed by archaeological and historical research

By the 14th century, the empire of Srivijaya had already declined, and Singapore was caught in the struggle between Siam (now Thailand) and the Java-based Majapahit Empire for control over the Malay Peninsula. According to the Malay Annals, Singapore was defeated in one Majapahit attack. The last king, Sultan Iskandar Shah ruled the island for several years, before being forced to Melaka where he founded the Sultanate of Malacca.¹ Portuguese sources, however, indicated that Temasek was a Siamese vassal whose ruler was killed by Parameswara (thought to be the same person as Sultan Iskandar Shah) from Palembang, and Parameswara was then driven to Malacca, either by the Siamese or the Majapahit, where he founded the Malacca Sultanate.^[19] Modern archaeological evidence suggests that the settlement on Fort Canning was abandoned around this time, although a small trading settlement continued in Singapore for some time afterward.

The Malacca Sultanate extended its authority over the island and Singapore became a part of the Malacca Sultanate.^[5] However, by the time the Portuguese arrived in the early 16th century, Singapura had already become "great ruins" according to Alfonso de Albuquerque. In 1511, the Portuguese seized Malacca; the sultan of Malacca escaped south and established the Johor Sultanate, and Singapore then became part of the sultanate. The Portuguese however destroyed the settlement in Singapore in 1613, and the island sank into obscurity for the next two centuries.

Founding of modern Singapore



Engraving of Sir Stamford Raffles by James Thomson /A statue of Raffles by Thomas Woolner now stands in Singapore, near Raffles's landing site in 1819.

Between the 16th and 19th centuries, the Malay Archipelago was gradually taken over by the European colonial powers, beginning with the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca in 1509. The early dominance of the Portuguese was challenged during the 17th century by the Dutch, who came to control most of the ports in the region. The Dutch established a monopoly over trade within the archipelago, particularly in spices, then the region's most important product. Other colonial powers, including the British, were limited to a relatively minor presence.

In 1818, Sir Stamford Raffles was appointed as the Lieutenant Governor of the British colony at Bencoolen. He was determined that Great Britain should replace the Netherlands as the dominant power in the archipelago, since the trade route between China and British India, which had become vitally important with the institution of the opium trade with China, passed through the archipelago. The Dutch had been stifling British trade in the region by prohibiting the British from operating in Dutch-controlled ports or by subjecting them to a high tariff. Raffles hoped to challenge the Dutch by establishing a new port along the Straits of Malacca, the main ship passageway for the India-China trade. He needed a third port since the British only had the ports of Penang and Bencoolen. The port had to be strategically located along the main trade route between India and China and in the middle of the Malay Archipelago. He convinced Lord Hastings, the Governor-General of India and his superior at the British East India Company, to fund an expedition to seek a new British base in the region.

Raffles arrived in Singapore on 28 January 1819 and soon recognised the island as a natural choice for the new port. It lay at the southern tip of the Malay peninsula, near the Straits of Malacca, and possessed a natural deep harbour, freshwater supplies, and timber for repairing ships. It was also located along the main trade route between India and China. Raffles found a small Malay settlement at the mouth of the Singapore River, with an estimated population of about 150 that consisted of around 120 Malays and 30 Chinese.^[25] headed by the Temenggong and Tengku Abdul Rahman. Around 100 of these Malays had originally moved to Singapore from Johor in 1811 led by the Temenggong.^[25] The entire island may have a population of 1,000 including the various tribes and Orang Laut (sea gypsies).^[26] The island was

nominally ruled by the Sultan of Johor, who was controlled by the Dutch and the Bugis. However, the Sultanate was weakened by factional division and Tengku Abdul Rahman and his officials were loyal to Tengku Rahman's elder brother Tengku Long who was living in exile in Riau. With the Temenggong's help, Raffles managed to smuggle Tengku Long back into Singapore. He offered to recognize Tengku Long as the rightful Sultan of Johor, given the title of Sultan Hussein and provide him with a yearly payment of \$5000 and \$3000 to the Temenggong; in return, Sultan Hussein would grant the British the right to establish a trading post on Singapore. A formal treaty was signed on 6 February 1819 and modern Singapore was born.

When Raffles arrived, it was estimated that there were around 1,000 people living in the whole of the island of Singapore, mostly local groups that would become assimilated into Malays and a few dozen Chinese. The population increased rapidly soon after Raffles' arrival; the first census of 1824 shows that 6,505 out of the 10,683 total were Malays and Bugis. Large number of Chinese migrants also started to enter Singapore just months after it became a British settlement, by the census of 1826, there were already more Chinese than Malays excluding Bugis and Javanese. Due to continual migration from Malaya, China, India and other parts of Asia, Singapore's population had reached nearly 100,000 by 1871, with over half of them Chinese. Many early Chinese and Indian immigrants came to Singapore to work in various plantations and tin mines and they were predominantly male, and large number of them would return to their home countries after they had earned enough money. However, an increasingly significant number chose to stay permanently by the early to mid twentieth century, and their descendants would form the bulk of Singapore's population.

1819–1826: Early growth



The *Plan of the Town of Singapore*, or more commonly known as the *Jackson Plan* or *Raffles Town Plan*.

Raffles returned to Bencoolen soon after the signing of the treaty and left Major William Farquhar in charge of the new settlement, with some artillery and a small regiment of Indian soldiers. Establishing a trading port from scratch was a daunting endeavor. Farquhar's administration was fairly funded and was prohibited from collecting port duties to raise revenue as Raffles had decided that Singapore would be a free port. Farquhar invited settlers to Singapore

and stationed a British official on St. John's Island to invite passing ships to stop in Singapore. As news of the free port spread across the archipelago, Bugis, Peranakan Chinese, and Arab traders flocked to the island, seeking to circumvent the Dutch trade restrictions. During the starting year of operation in 1819, \$400,000 (Spanish dollars) worth of trade passed through Singapore. By 1821, the island's population had gone up to around 5,000, and the trade volume was \$8 million. The population reached the 10,000 mark in 1824, and with a trade volume of \$22 million, Singapore surpassed the long-established port of Penang.

Raffles returned to Singapore in 1822 and became critical of many of Farquhar's decisions, despite Farquhar's success in leading the settlement through its difficult early years. For instance, in order to generate much-needed revenue, Farquhar had resorted to selling licenses for gambling and the sale of opium, which Raffles saw as social evils. Shocked at the disarray of the colony as well as the tolerance of slave trade by Farquhar, Raffles set about drafting a set of new policies for the settlement, such as banning of slavery, closing of gambling dens, the prohibition of carrying of weapons, and heavy taxation to discourage what he considered to be social vices such as drunkenness and opium-smoking. He also organized Singapore into functional and ethnic subdivisions under the *Raffles Plan of Singapore*.^[24] Today, remnants of this organization can still be found in the ethnic neighbourhoods. William Farquhar was also stripped off his post. Farquhar later died in Perth, Scotland.

On 7 June 1823, John Crawfurd signed a second treaty with the Sultan and Temenggong, which extended British possession to most of the island. The Sultan and Temenggong traded most of their administrative rights of the island, including the collection of port taxes for lifelong monthly payments of \$1500 and \$800 respectively. This agreement brought the island under the British Law, with the provision that it would take into account Malay customs, traditions and religion. Raffles replaced Farquhar with John Crawfurd, an efficient and frugal administrator, as the new governor. In October 1823, Raffles departed for Britain and would never return to Singapore as he died in 1826, at the age of 44. In 1824, Singapore was ceded in perpetuity to the East India Company by the Sultan.

1826–1867: The Straits Settlements



The Thian Hock Keng, completed in 1842, served as a place of worship for early immigrants. Restored shophouses running along a street in Chinatown, which reflects the Victorian architecture of buildings built in Singapore during the earlier colonial period, with styles such as the painted ladies

The status of a British outpost in Singapore seemed initially in doubt as the Dutch government soon protested to Britain for violating the Netherlands' sphere of influence. But as Singapore rapidly emerged as an important trading post, Britain consolidated its claim on the island. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 cemented the status of Singapore as a British possession, carving up the Malay archipelago between the two colonial powers with the area north of the Straits of Malacca, including Singapore, falling under Britain's sphere of influence. In 1826, Singapore was grouped by the British East India Company together with Penang and Malacca to form the Straits Settlements, administered by the British East India Company. In 1830, the Straits Settlements became a *residency*, or subdivision, of the Presidency of Bengal in British India.

During the subsequent decades, Singapore grew to become an important port in the region. Its success was due to several reasons including the opening of the Chinese market, the advent of ocean-going steamships, the dramatic reduction in the time and cost of shipping goods to Europe after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the production of rubber and tin in Malaya.^[42] Its status as a free port provided a crucial advantage over other colonial port cities in Batavia (now Jakarta) and Manila where tariffs were levied, and it drew many Chinese, Malay, Indian, and Arab traders operating in South-East Asia to Singapore. The later opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 would further boost trade in Singapore. By 1880, over 1.5 million tons of goods were passing through Singapore each year, with around 80% of the cargo transported by steamships. The main commercial activity was entrepôt trade which flourished under no taxation and little restriction. Many merchant houses were set up in Singapore mainly by European trading firms, but also by Jewish, Chinese, Arab, Armenian, American and Indian merchants. There were also many Chinese middlemen who handled most of the trade between the European and Asian merchants.

By 1827, the Chinese had become the largest ethnic group in Singapore. They consisted of Peranakans, who were descendants of early Chinese settlers, and Chinese coolies who flocked to Singapore to escape economic hardship in southern China. Their numbers were swelled by those fleeing the turmoil caused by the First Opium War (1839–1842) and Second Opium War (1856–1860). Many arrived in Singapore as impoverished indentured laborers. The Malays were the second largest ethnic group until the 1860s and they worked as fishermen, craftsmen, or as wage earners while continued to live mostly in kampungs. By 1860, the Indians had become the second-largest ethnic group. They consisted of unskilled labourers, traders, and convicts who were sent to carry out public works projects such as clearing jungles and laying out roads. There were also Indian Sepoy troops garrisoned at Singapore by the British.

Despite Singapore's growing importance, the administration governing the island was understaffed, ineffectual, and unconcerned with the welfare of the populace. Administrators were usually posted from India and were unfamiliar with local culture and languages. While the population had quadrupled from 1830 to 1867, the size of the civil service in Singapore had remained unchanged. Most people had no access to public health services and diseases such as cholera and smallpox caused severe health problems, especially in overcrowded working-class areas.^[40] As a result of the administration's ineffectiveness and the predominantly male, transient, and uneducated nature of the population, the society was lawless and chaotic. In 1850 there were only twelve police officers in the city of nearly 60,000 people. Prostitution, gambling, and drug abuse (particularly of opium) were widespread. Chinese criminal secret societies (analogous to modern-day triads) were extremely powerful, and some had tens of thousands of members. Turf

wars between rival societies occasionally led to hundreds of deaths and attempts to suppress them had limited success.

The situation created a deep concern in the European population of the island. In 1854 the *Singapore Free Press* complained that Singapore was a "small island" full of the "very dregs of the population of southeastern Asia"

1867–1942: Straits Settlements Crown Colony

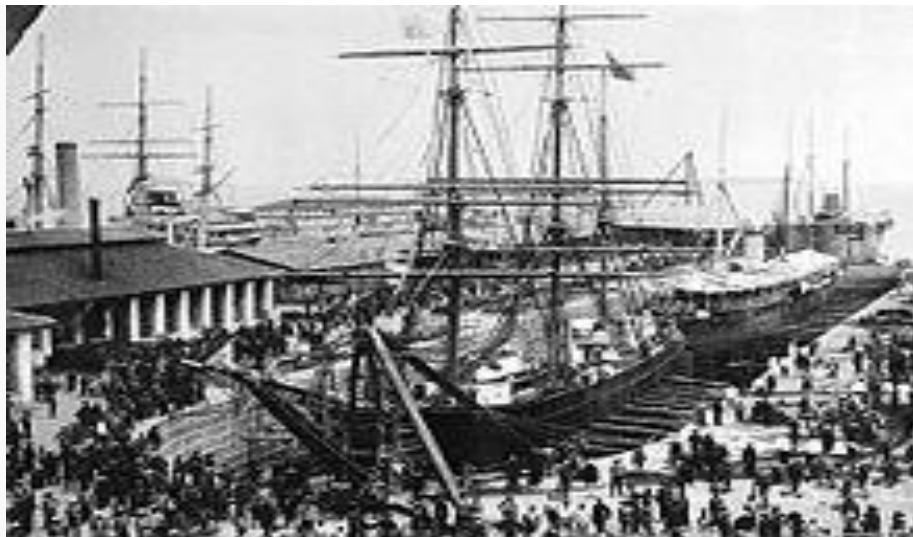


1888 German map of Singapore//Baedeker map of the city and environs, c. 1914

As Singapore continued to grow, the deficiencies in the Straits Settlements administration became serious and Singapore's merchant community began agitating against British Indian rule. The British government agreed to establish the Straits Settlements as a separate Crown Colony on 1 April 1867. This new colony was ruled by a governor under the supervision of the Colonial Office in London. An executive council and a legislative council assisted the governor. Although members of the councils were not elected, more representatives for the local population were gradually included over the years.

The colonial government embarked on several measures to address the serious social problems facing Singapore. A Chinese Protectorate under Pickering was established in 1877 to address the needs of the Chinese community, especially in controlling the worst abuses of the coolie trade and protecting Chinese women from forced prostitution. In 1889 Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith banned secret societies, driving them underground. Nevertheless, many social problems persisted up through the post-war era, including an acute housing shortage and poor health and living standards. In 1906, the Tongmenghui, a revolutionary Chinese organisation dedicated to the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and led by Sun Yat-sen, founded its Nanyang branch in Singapore, which served as the organisation's headquarters in Southeast Asia. The members of the branch included Dr. Wong Hong-Kui (黃康衢), Mr. Tan Chor Lam (陳楚楠, 1884–1971, originally a rubber manufacturer)¹ and Mr. Teo Eng Hock (張永福, originally a rubber shoe manufacturer) Chan Cho-Nam, Cheung Wing-Fook and Chan Po-Yin (陳步賢, 1883–1965)

started the revolution-related Chong Shing Chinese Daily Newspaper (中興日報, 中興 meaning China revival), with the inaugural issue on 20 August 1907 and a daily distribution of 1000 copies.¹ The newspaper ended in 1910, presumably due to the revolution in 1911. Working with other Cantonese people, Chan, Cheung and Chan opened the revolution-related Kai Ming Bookstore (開明書報社, 開明 meaning open wisdom)^[48] in Singapore. For the revolution, Chan Po-Yin raised over 30,000 yuan for the purchase and shipment (from Singapore to China) of military equipment and for the support of the expenses of people travelling from Singapore to China for revolutionary work.^{[49][50]} The immigrant Chinese population in Singapore donated generously to Tongmenghui, which organised the 1911 Xinhai Revolution that led to the establishment of the Republic of China.



A busy Victoria Dock, Tanjong Pagar, in the 1890s.

World War I (1914–1918) did not deeply affect Singapore: the conflict did not spread to Southeast Asia. The only significant local military event during the war was a 1915 mutiny by the British Muslim Indian sepoys garrisoned in Singapore. After hearing rumors of plans to send them to fight the Ottoman Empire, the soldiers revolted, killing their officers and several British civilians before troops arriving from Johor and Burma suppressed the unrest.

After the war, the British government devoted significant resources into building a naval base in Singapore, as a deterrent to the increasingly ambitious Japanese Empire. Completed in 1939 at a staggering cost of \$500 million, the naval base boasted what was then the largest dry dock in the world, the third-largest floating dock, and enough fuel tanks to support the entire British navy for six months. It was defended by heavy 15-inch naval guns and by Royal Air Force squadrons stationed at Tengah Air Base. Winston Churchill touted it as the "Gibraltar of the East." Unfortunately, it was a base without a fleet. The British Home Fleet was stationed in Europe and the plan was for it to sail quickly to Singapore when needed. However, after World War II broke out in 1939, the Fleet was fully occupied with defending Britain.^[53] Lieutenant General Sir William George Shedden Dobbie was appointed governor of Singapore and General Officer Commanding Malaya Command on 8 November 1935, holding the post based in The Istana until shortly before the outbreak of World War II in 1939. He was responsible for forming The

Dobbie Hypothesis on the fall of Singapore which, had it been heeded, may have prevented the fall of Singapore during the Second World War.

1942-45 Battle of Singapore and Japanese occupation of Singapore



Damage caused by a Japanese air assault on 8 February 1942. Many civilians were killed in these air raids.

In December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and the east coast of Malaya, causing the Pacific War to begin in earnest. Both attacks occurred at the same time, but due to the international dateline, the Honolulu attack is dated 7 December while the Kota Bharu attack is dated 8 December. One of Japan's objectives was to capture Southeast Asia and secure the rich supply of natural resources to feed its military and industry needs. Singapore, the main Allied base in the region, was an obvious military target because of its flourishing trade and wealth.

The British military commanders in Singapore had believed that the Japanese attack would come by sea from the south since the dense Malayan jungle in the north would serve as a natural barrier against invasion. Although they had drawn up a plan for dealing with an attack on northern Malaya, preparations were never completed. The military was confident that "Fortress Singapore" would withstand any Japanese attack and this confidence was further reinforced by the arrival of Force Z, a squadron of British warships dispatched to the defense of Singapore, including the battleship HMS *Prince of Wales*, and cruiser HMS *Repulse*. The squadron was to have been accompanied by a third capital ship, the aircraft carrier HMS *Indomitable*, but it ran aground en route, leaving the squadron without air cover.



Lieutenant-General Arthur Percival, led by a Japanese officer, marches under a flag of truce to negotiate the capitulation of Allied forces in Singapore, on 15 February 1942. It was the largest surrender of British-led forces in history.

On 8 December 1941, Japanese forces landed at Kota Bharu in northern Malaya. Just two days after the start of the invasion of Malaya, *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* were sunk 50 miles off the coast of Kuantan in Pahang, by a force of Japanese bombers and torpedo bomber aircraft, in the worst British naval defeat of World War II. Allied air support did not arrive in time to protect the two capital ships.¹ After this incident, Singapore and Malaya suffered daily air raids, including those targeting civilian structures such as hospitals or shop houses with casualties ranging from the tens to the hundreds each time.

The Japanese army advanced swiftly southward through the Malay Peninsula, crushing or bypassing Allied resistance. The Allied forces did not have tanks, which they considered unsuitable in the tropical rainforest, and their infantry proved powerless against the Japanese light tanks. As their resistance failed against the Japanese advance, the Allied forces were forced to retreat southwards towards Singapore. By 31 January 1942, a mere 55 days after the start of the invasion, the Japanese had conquered the entire Malay Peninsula and were poised to attack Singapore.¹



Japanese POWs are taken to work where they were made to clear up the city during the British reoccupation in September 1945

The causeway linking Johor and Singapore was blown up by the Allied forces in an effort to stop the Japanese army. However, the Japanese managed to cross the Straits of Johor in inflatable boats days after. Several fights by the Allied forces and volunteers of Singapore's population against the advancing Japanese, such as the Battle of Pasir Panjang, took place during this period. However, with most of the defenses shattered and supplies exhausted, Lieutenant-General Arthur Percival surrendered the Allied forces in Singapore to General Tomoyuki Yamashita of the Imperial Japanese Army on Chinese New Year, 15 February 1942. About 130,000 Indian, Australian, and British troops became prisoners of war, many of whom would later be transported to Burma, Japan, Korea, or Manchuria for use as slave labour via prisoner transports known as "hell ships." The fall of Singapore was the largest surrender of British-led forces in history. Japanese newspapers triumphantly declared the victory as deciding the general situation of the war.

Singapore, renamed **Syonan-to** (昭南島 *Shōnan-tō*, "Bright Southern Island" in Japanese), was occupied by the Japanese from 1942 to 1945. The Japanese army imposed harsh measures

against the local population, with troops, especially the *Kempeitai* or Japanese military police, particularly ruthless in dealing with the Chinese population. The most notable atrocity was the Sook Ching massacre of Chinese and Peranakan civilians, undertaken in retaliation against the support of the war effort in China. The Japanese screened citizens (including children) to check if they were "anti-Japanese". If so, the "guilty" citizens would be sent away in a truck to be executed. These mass executions claimed between 25,000 and 50,000 lives in Malaya and Singapore. The Japanese also launched massive purges against the Indian community, they secretly killed about 150,000 Tamil Indians and tens of thousands of Malayalam from Malaya, Burma, and Singapore in various places located near the Siam Railway. The rest of the population suffered severe hardship throughout the three and a half years of Japanese occupation. The Malay and Indians were forced to build the "Death Railway", a railway between Thailand and Burma (Myanmar). Most of them died while building the railway. The Eurasians were also caught as POWs (Prisoners of War).

Operation Tiderace and Post-war Singapore



Chinese community in Singapore carrying the Flag of the Republic of China (written *Long live the motherland*) to celebrate the victory, also reflected the Chinese identity issues at that time.

After the Japanese surrender to the Allies on 15 August 1945, Singapore fell into a brief state of violence and disorder; looting and revenge-killing were widespread. British troops led by Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander for Southeast Asia Command, returned to Singapore to receive the formal surrender of the Japanese forces in the region from General Itagaki Seishiro on behalf of General Hisaichi Terauchi on 12 September 1945, and a British Military Administration was formed to govern the island until March 1946. Much of the infrastructure had been destroyed during the war, including electricity and water supply systems, telephone services, as well as the harbor facilities at the Port of Singapore. There was also a shortage of food, leading to malnutrition, disease, and rampant crime and violence. High food prices, unemployment and workers' discontent culminated in a series of strikes in 1947 causing massive stoppages in public transport and other services. By late 1947, the economy began to

recover, facilitated by a growing demand for tin and rubber around the world, but it would take several more years before the economy returned to pre-war levels.

The failure of Britain to defend Singapore had destroyed its credibility as an infallible ruler in the eyes of Singaporeans. The decades after the war saw a political awakening amongst the local populace and the rise of anti-colonial and nationalist sentiments, epitomized by the slogan *Merdeka*, or "independence" in the Malay language. The British, on their part, were prepared to gradually increase self-governance for Singapore and Malaya. On 1 April 1946, the Straits Settlements was dissolved and Singapore became a separate Crown Colony with a civil administration headed by a Governor. In July 1947, separate Executive and Legislative Councils were established and the election of six members of the Legislative Council was scheduled for the following year.

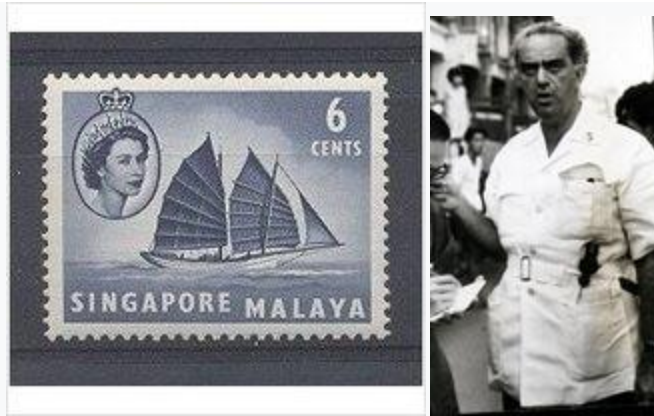
1948–1951: First Legislative Council

The first Singaporean elections, held in March 1948, were limited as only six of the twenty-five seats on the Legislative Council were to be elected. Only British subjects had the right to vote, and only 23,000 or about 10% of those eligible registered to vote. Other members of the council were chosen either by the Governor or by the chambers of commerce. Three of the elected seats were won by a newly formed Singapore Progressive Party (SPP), a conservative party whose leaders were businessmen and professionals and were disinclined to press for immediate self-rule. The other three seats were won by independents.

Three months after the elections, an armed insurgency by communist groups in Malaya – the Malayan Emergency – broke out. The British imposed tough measures to control left-wing groups in both Singapore and Malaya and introduced the controversial Internal Security Act, which allowed indefinite detention without trial for persons suspected of being "threats to security". Since the left-wing groups were the strongest critics of the colonial system, progress on self-government was stalled for several years.

1951–1955: Second Legislative Council

A second Legislative Council election was held in 1951 with the number of elected seats increased to nine. This election was again dominated by the SPP which won six seats. While this contributed to the formation of a distinct local government of Singapore, the colonial administration was still dominant. In 1953, with the communists in Malaya suppressed and the worst of the Emergency over, a British Commission, headed by Sir George Rendel, proposed a limited form of self-government for Singapore. A new Legislative Assembly with twenty-five out of thirty-two seats chosen by popular election would replace the Legislative Council, from which a Chief Minister as head of government and Council of Ministers as a cabinet would be picked under a parliamentary system. The British would retain control over areas such as internal security and foreign affairs, as well as veto power over legislation.



1955 stamp with the portrait of Queen Elizabeth II/ David Marshall is seen here wearing his political uniform of white bush-jacket, complete with a hammer.

The election for the Legislative Assembly held on 2 April 1955 was a lively and closely fought affair, with several new political parties joining the fray. Unlike previous elections, voters were automatically registered, expanding the electorate to around 300,000. The SPP was soundly defeated in the election, winning only four seats. The newly formed, left-leaning Labour Front was the biggest winner with ten seats and it formed a coalition government with the UMNO-MCA Alliance, which won three seats. Another new party, the People's Action Party (PAP), won three seats.

1953–1954 The Fajar trial

Fajar trial was the first sedition trial in post-war Malaysia and Singapore. The Fajar was the publication of the University Socialist Club which mainly at that time circulated in the university campus. In May 1954, the members of the Fajar editorial board were arrested for publishing an allegedly seditious article named "Aggression in Asia". However, after three days of the trial, Fajar members were immediately released. The famous English Queen's Counsel D.N. Pritt acted as the lead counsel in the case and Lee Kuan Yew who was at that time a young lawyer-assisted him as the junior counsel. The club's final victory stands out as one of the notable landmarks in the progress of decolonisation of this part of the world.^[65]

Main article: Self-governance of Singapore

1955–1959: Partial internal self-government

David Marshall, leader of the Labour Front, became the first Chief Minister of Singapore. He presided over a shaky government, receiving little cooperation from both the colonial government and the other local parties. Social unrest was on the rise, and in May 1955, the Hock Lee bus riots broke out, killing four people and seriously discrediting Marshall's government.^[66] In 1956, the Chinese middle school riots broke out among students in The Chinese High School and other schools, further increasing the tension between the local government and the Chinese students and unionists who were regarded of having communist sympathies.

In April 1956, Marshall led a delegation to London to negotiate for complete self-rule in the Merdeka Talks, but the talks failed when the British were reluctant to give up control over

Singapore's internal security. The British were concerned about communist influence and labour strikes which were undermining Singapore's economic stability, and felt that the local government was ineffective in handling earlier riots. Marshall resigned following the failure of the talk.

The new Chief Minister, Lim Yew Hock, launched a crackdown on communist and leftist groups, imprisoning many trade union leaders and several pro-communist members of the PAP under the Internal Security Act.^[67] The British government approved of Lim's tough stance against communist agitators, and when a new round of talks was held beginning in March 1957, they agreed to grant complete internal self-government. The State of Singapore would be created, with its own citizenship. The Legislative Assembly would be expanded to fifty-one members, entirely chosen by popular election, and the Prime Minister and cabinet would control all aspects of government except defense and foreign affairs. The governorship was replaced by a *Yang di-Pertuan Negara* or head of state. In August 1958, the State of Singapore Act was passed in the United Kingdom Parliament providing for the establishment of the State of Singapore

1959–1963: Full internal self-government

Elections for the new Legislative Assembly were held in May 1959. The People's Action Party (PAP) won the polls in a landslide victory, winning forty-three of the fifty-one seats. They accomplished this by courting the Chinese-speaking majority, particularly those in the labour unions and radical student organizations. Its leader Lee Kuan Yew, a young Cambridge-educated lawyer, became the first Prime Minister of Singapore.

The PAP's victory was at first viewed with dismay by foreign and local business leaders because some party members were pro-communists. Many businesses promptly shifted their headquarters from Singapore to Kuala Lumpur.^[67] Despite these ill omens, the PAP government embarked on a vigorous program to address Singapore's various economic and social problems. Economic development was overseen by the new Minister of Finance Goh Keng Swee, whose strategy was to encourage foreign and local investment with measures ranging from tax incentives to the establishment of a large industrial estate in Jurong.^[67] The education system was revamped to train a skilled workforce and the English language was promoted over the Chinese language as the language of instruction. To eliminate labour unrest, existing labour unions were consolidated, sometimes forcibly, into a single umbrella organisation, called the National Trades Union Congress (NTUC) with strong oversight from the government. On the social front, an aggressive and well-funded public housing program was launched to solve the long-standing housing problem. More than 25,000 high-rises, low-cost apartments were constructed during the first two years of the program.

Campaign for merger

Despite their successes in governing Singapore, the PAP leaders, including Lee and Goh, believed that Singapore's future lay with Malaya. They felt that the historic and economic ties between Singapore and Malaya were too strong for them to continue as separate nations. Furthermore, Singapore lacked natural resources and faced both a declining entrepôt trade and a growing population that required jobs. It was thought that the merger would benefit the economy by creating a common market, eliminating trade tariffs, and thus supporting new industries which would solve the ongoing unemployment woes.

Although the PAP leadership campaigned vigorously for a merger, the sizable pro-communist wing of the PAP was strongly opposed to the merger, fearing a loss of influence as the ruling party of Malaya, United Malays National Organisation, was staunchly anti-communist and would support the non-communist faction of PAP against them. The UMNO leaders were also skeptical of the idea of a merger due to their distrust of the PAP government and concerns that the large Chinese population in Singapore would alter the racial balance on which their political power base depended. The issue came to a head in 1961 when pro-communist PAP minister Ong Eng Guan defected from the party and beat a PAP candidate in a subsequent by-election, a move that threatened to bring down Lee's government.

Faced with the prospect of a takeover by the pro-communists, UMNO changed their minds about the merger. On 27 May, Malaya's Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, mooted the idea of a Federation of Malaysia, comprising existing Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei and the British Borneo territories of North Borneo and Sarawak. The UMNO leaders believed that the additional Malay population in the Borneo territories would offset Singapore's Chinese population.^[67] The British government, for its part, believed that the merger would prevent Singapore from becoming a haven for communism.

On 9 July 1963, the leaders of Singapore, Malaya, North Borneo, and Sarawak signed the Malaysia Agreement to establish the Federation of Malaysia

Singapore in Malaysia

Merger



Singapore's first Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew declaring the forming of the Federation of Malaysia on 16 September 1963 in Singapore.

On 16 September 1963, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak were merged and Malaysia was formed. The union was rocky from the start. During the 1963 Singapore state elections, a local branch of United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) took part in the election despite an earlier UMNO's agreement with the PAP not to participate in the state's politics during Malaysia's formative years. Although UMNO lost all its bids, relations between PAP and UMNO worsened. The PAP, in a tit-for-tat, challenged UMNO candidates in the 1964 federal election as part of the Malaysian Solidarity Convention, winning one seat in the Malaysian Parliament.

Racial tension

Racial tensions increased as ethnic Chinese and other non-Malay ethnic groups in Singapore rejected the discriminatory policies imposed by the Malays such as quotas for the Malays

as special privileges were granted to the Malays guaranteed under Article 153 of the Constitution of Malaysia. There were also other financial and economic benefits that were preferentially given to Malays. Lee Kuan Yew and other political leaders began advocating for the fair and equal treatment of all races in Malaysia, with a rallying cry of "*Malaysian Malaysia!*".

Meanwhile, the Malays in Singapore were being increasingly incited by the federal government's accusations that the PAP was mistreating the Malays. The external political situation was also tense; Indonesian President Sukarno declared a state of *Konfrontasi* (Confrontation) against Malaysia and initiated military and other actions against the new nation, including the bombing of MacDonald House in Singapore 10 March 1965 by Indonesian commandos, killing three people.^[68] Indonesia also conducted sedition activities to provoke the Malays against the Chinese. Numerous racial riots resulted and curfews were frequently imposed to restore order. The most notorious riots were the 1964 Race Riots that first took place on Prophet Muhammad's birthday on 21 July with twenty-three people killed and hundreds injured, and also, many people by then still hated the rest. During the unrest, the price of food skyrocketed when the transport system was disrupted, causing further hardship for the people.

The state and federal governments also had conflicts on the economic front. UMNO leaders feared that the economic dominance of Singapore would inevitably shift political power away from Kuala Lumpur. Despite earlier agreement to establish a common market, Singapore continued to face restrictions when trading with the rest of Malaysia. In retaliation, Singapore refused to provide Sabah and Sarawak the full extent of the loans previously agreed to for the economic development of the two eastern states.^[citation needed] The Bank of China branch of Singapore was closed by the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur as it was suspected of funding communists. The situation escalated to such an extent that talks between UMNO and the PAP broke down, and abusive speeches and writings became rife on both sides. UMNO extremists called for the arrest of Lee Kuan Yew.

Separation

Seeing no alternative to avoid further bloodshed, the Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman decided to expel Singapore from the federation. Goh Keng Swee, who had become skeptical of the merger's economic benefits for Singapore, convinced Lee Kuan Yew that the separation had to take place. UMNO and PAP representatives worked out the terms of separation in extreme secrecy in order to present the British government, in particular, with a *fait accompli*.

On 9 August 1965, the Parliament of Malaysia voted 126–0 in favor of a constitutional amendment expelling Singapore from the federation. A tearful Lee Kuan Yew announced in a televised press conference that Singapore had become a sovereign, independent nation. In a widely remembered quote, he stated: "For me, it is a moment of anguish. All my life, my whole adult life, I have believed in merger and unity of the two territories. The new state became the Republic of Singapore, with Yusof bin Ishak appointed as its first President.

History of the Republic of Singapore

1965 to 1979



The Jurong Industrial Estate was developed in the 1960s to industrialise the economy.

After gaining independence abruptly, Singapore faced a future filled with uncertainties. The Konfrontasi was on-going and the conservative UMNO faction strongly opposed the separation; Singapore faced the dangers of attack by the Indonesian military and forcible re-integration into the Malaysia Federation on unfavorable terms. Much of the international media was skeptical of prospects for Singapore's survival. Besides the issue of sovereignty, the pressing problems were unemployment, housing, education, and the lack of natural resources and land.^[72] Unemployment was ranging between 10 and 12%, threatening to trigger civil unrest.

Singapore immediately sought international recognition of its sovereignty. The new state joined the United Nations on 21 September 1965, becoming the 117th member; and joined the Commonwealth in October that year. Foreign minister Sinnathamby Rajaratnam headed a new foreign service that helped assert Singapore's independence and establishing diplomatic relations with other countries.^[73] On 22 December 1965, the Constitution Amendment Act was passed under which the Head of State became the President and the State of Singapore became the Republic of Singapore. Singapore later co-founded the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on 8 August 1967 and was admitted into the Non-Aligned Movement in 1970.

The Economic Development Board had been set up in 1961 to formulate and implement national economic strategies, focusing on promoting Singapore's manufacturing sector.^[75] Industrial estates were set up, especially in Jurong, and foreign investment was attracted to the country with tax incentives. The industrialization transformed the manufacturing sector to one that produced higher value-added goods and achieved greater revenue. The service industry also grew at this time, driven by demand for services by ships calling at the port and increasing commerce. This progress helped to alleviate the unemployment crisis. Singapore also attracted big oil companies like Shell and Esso to establish oil refineries in Singapore which, by the mid-1970s, became the third-largest oil-refining centre in the world.^[72] The government invested heavily in an education system that adopted English as the language of instruction and emphasised practical training to develop a competent workforce well suited for the industry.

The lack of good public housing, poor sanitation, and high unemployment led to social problems from crime to health issues. The proliferation of squatter settlements resulted in safety hazards and caused the Bukit Ho Swee Fire in 1961 that killed four people and left 16,000 others homeless.^[76] The Housing Development Board set up before independence continued to be largely successful and huge building projects sprung up to provide affordable public housing to resettle the squatters. Within a decade, the majority of the population had been housed in these

apartments. The Central Provident Fund (CPF) Housing Scheme, introduced in 1968, allows residents to use their compulsory savings account to purchase HDB flats and gradually increases home-ownership in Singapore.^[77]

British troops had remained in Singapore following its independence, but in 1968, London announced its decision to withdraw the forces by 1971. With the secret aid of military advisers from Israel, Singapore rapidly established the Singapore Armed Forces, with the help of a national service program introduced in 1967. Since independence, Singaporean defense spending has been approximately five percent of GDP. Today, the Singapore Armed Forces are among the best-equipped in Asia.[[]

The 1980s and 1990s[edit]



Traffic in Singapore, 1981. Prior to the introduction of the Certificate of Entitlement (COE) in 1990, vehicles per capita in Singapore was the highest in ASEAN. Top view of Bukit Batok West. Large scale public housing development has created high housing ownership among the population.

Further economic success continued through the 1980s, with the unemployment rate falling to 3% and real GDP growth averaging at about 8% up until 1999. During the 1980s, Singapore began to upgrade to higher-technological industries, such as the wafer fabrication sector, in order to compete with its neighbours which now had cheaper labour. Singapore Changi Airport was opened in 1981 and Singapore Airlines was developed to become a major airline.[[] The Port of Singapore became one of the world's busiest ports and the service and tourism industries also grew immensely during this period. Singapore emerged as an important transportation hub and a major tourist destination. ;The Housing Development Board (HDB) continued to promote public housing with new towns, such as Ang Mo Kio, being designed and built. These new residential estates have larger and higher-standard apartments and are served with better amenities. Today, 80–90% of the population lives in HDB apartments. In 1987, the first Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) line began operation, connecting most of these housing estates and the city centre.

The political situation in Singapore continues to be dominated by the People's Action Party. The PAP won all the parliamentary seats in every election between 1966 and 1981.^[82] At the time, the PAP administration was deemed authoritarian by some activists and opposition politicians such as Chee Soon Juan and J.B. Jeyaretnam who see the strict regulation of political and media activities by the government as an infringement on political rights. The lack of separation of powers between the court system and the government led to further accusations by the opposition parties of miscarriage of justice.

The government of Singapore underwent several significant changes. Non-Constituency Members of Parliament were introduced in 1984 to allow up to three losing candidates from opposition parties to be appointed as MPs. Group Representation Constituencies (GRCs) was introduced in 1988 to create multi-seat electoral divisions, intended to ensure minority representation in parliament. Nominated Members of Parliament were introduced in 1990 to allow non-elected non-partisan MPs. The Constitution was amended in 1991 to provide for an Elected President who has veto power in the use of national reserves and appointments to public office.^[87] The opposition parties have complained that the GRC system has made it difficult for them to gain a foothold in parliamentary elections in Singapore, and the plurality voting system tends to exclude minority parties

In 1990, Lee Kuan Yew passed the reins of leadership to Goh Chok Tong, who became the second prime minister of Singapore. Goh presented a more open and consultative style of leadership as the country continued to modernize. In 1997, Singapore experienced the effect of the Asian financial crisis and tough measures, such as cuts in the CPF contribution, were implemented.

Lee's programs in Singapore had a profound effect on the Communist leadership in China, who made a major effort, especially under Deng Xiaoping, to emulate his policies of economic growth, entrepreneurship, and subtle suppression of dissent. Over 22,000 Chinese officials were sent to Singapore to study its methods

2000–present

Early 2000s

Singapore went through some of its most serious postwar crises in the early 21st century, including the SARS outbreak in 2003 and the rising threat of terrorism. In December 2001, a plot to bomb embassies and other infrastructure in Singapore was uncovered and as many as 36 members of the Jemaah Islamiyah group were arrested under the Internal Security Act. Major counter-terrorism measures were put in place to detect and prevent potential terrorist acts and to minimise damages should they occur.^[92] More emphasis was placed on promoting social integration and trust between the different communities. There are also increasing reforms in the Education system. Primary education was made compulsory in 2003.

In 2004, then Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Hsien Loong, the eldest son of Lee Kuan Yew, took over from incumbent Goh Chok Tong and became the third prime minister of Singapore. He introduced several policy changes, including the reduction of national service duration from two and a half years to two years, and the legalisation of casino gambling. Other efforts to raise the city's global profile included the reestablishment of the Singapore Grand Prix in 2008, and the hosting of the 2010 Summer Youth Olympics.

The general election of 2006 was a landmark election because of the prominent use of the internet and blogging to cover and comment on the election, circumventing the official media. The PAP returned to power, winning 82 of the 84 parliamentary seats and 66% of the votes

On 3 June 2009, Singapore commemorated 50 years of self-governance.

Mandala-BOOK V



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