



IN SEARCH OF "HO-LING"

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The Chinese chroniclers, and especially the compilers of the dynastic annals, have contributed substantially to our knowledge of the ancient history of Southeast Asia. On the other hand, in the field of topography and historical geography, they have created a number of problems for us by mentioning cities and countries whose identity, in view of the idiosyncracies of the Chinese system of phonetic transcription and frequently vague geographical references (e.g., "South of Cambodia"), can rarely be ascertained without the help of autochthonous information. Such information, however, is extremely scarce, especially for the first millennium A.D., and what little is available is often irrelevant as far as the political historian is concerned. Thus modern historical research has been haunted by elusive phantoms from the past of which researchers would have been blissfully ignorant had it not been for the annalists.

One of these elusive ghost-countries is called "Ho-ling," if we are to follow the modern sound value of the Chinese characters; in the T'ang period (618-907), however, when this kingdom came to the fore, its name must have been pronounced (H)a ling, (H)a lèng, (H)aring, or (H)arèng.¹ This country sent its first embassy to the T'ang court around the middle of the seventh century, while the last is mentioned under the year 818, about a century before the overthrow of the T'ang dynasty itself.

For a long time scholars were satisfied that the name "Ho-ling" must have been a Chinese version of the Sanskrit "Kalingga" or of an Indonesian derivation of this name, "Kĕling," and must have indicated a settlement of Indian immigrants from the Coromandel coast.² This derivation gave, of course, no direct indication as to its location; but from what was reported about Ho-ling, most scholars placed its center on the island of Java (and especially the region of Central Java), without precluding the possibility of its spreading over several centers in Java and Sumatra.³

¹L. Ch. Damais, "Études sino-indonésiennes III: La transcription chinoise Ho-Ling comme désignation de Java," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient (BEFEO)*, LII (1964), p. 119.

²The first scholar to suggest the matrix "Kalingga" was W. F. Mayers exactly a century ago ("Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean during the Fifteenth Century," *The China Review*, IV, 3 [1875], pp. 173-90). His suggestion was endorsed with varying degrees of assurance by Chavannes, Pelliot, Ferrand, Coedès, H. Kern, Krom, Vogel, and others, but never seriously analyzed. See Damais, "Études III," pp. 94-106.

³We may note, however, that the search for an additional location outside Java was not so much occasioned by the Chinese sources (with the exception of a single

The first scholar to question this Kalingga thesis exhaustively was Damais. He showed that the transliteration of Ho-ling as Kalingga or even Kĕling ran counter to the constant practice and known principles of Chinese transcription for over a thousand years.⁴ He suggested instead that "Walaing" or "Walèng," a toponym or title which appears in a number of Javanese inscriptions between 856 and 919, may have been the indigenous matrix of the name Ho-ling. Yet both the justification of the transliteration of Ho-ling, as Walaing, and Walaing's qualifications to be regarded as a kingdom are not entirely convincing, as Damais himself conceded. Yet he wants his thesis to be accepted "au moins provisoirement."⁵

I. Java and Ho-Ling in the Chinese Reports

The first section of this article is intended to give a preliminary outline of the history of Ho-ling as far as this can be inferred from the available translated Chinese sources.⁶ Such a survey has to

item to be mentioned presently) as by a fixation with the word Kĕling--the name given to Indians settled in the port cities of Java and Sumatra at least since the sixteenth century. The theory proposed in J. L. Moens, "Crĭvijaya, Yāva en Katāha," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, Bataviaasch Genootschap (TBG), LXXVII (1937), pp. 317-486, namely that Kĕling was to be found in Malaya, was categorically rejected by G. Coedès, who calls it "a story that is pure fiction," citing as well the supporting opinion of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. See his *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1968), p. 88. For a similar thesis proposed by R. Bradell, see Damais, "Études III," p. 106.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 106-18. The buddhists needed a well-defined system for the transliteration of Sanskrit names with a view to transmitting the sacred texts into Chinese (yet admitting in practice certain variations). Since these original texts are available, it is possible to determine the use that was made of a certain character at a given time. As Chinese writing is basically ideographic, its pronunciation can vary widely from place to place and from age to age. With regard to the embassies sent by "vassal" Buddhist states, it is plausible to suggest that the imperial office responsible for screening their credentials and recording their time of arrival and status made use of Buddhist interpreters; for sometimes fairly long letters from such "vassal" kings are recorded. The language initially used must have been Sanskrit, since Brahmans and Buddhist monks are sometimes reported as having been in charge of these missions. Such official letters certainly would have contained the names of the countries involved. If the mission used a Sanskrit name for the country it represented, transliteration would have been easy since the name would have fitted into an established transcription system and its meaning would be known. Transliteration of indigenous names would probably have been less accurate, in part because the available Sanskrit *akṣara* were not always adequate for representing the indigenous sounds of such names. See also L. Ch. Damais, "Études sino-indonésiennes I: Quelques titres javanais de l'époque des Song," *BEFEO*, XLVIII (1957), pp. 641-44.

⁵Damais, "Études III," pp. 121-41 (for the quotation, see p. 107). For example, it may be doubted that Pu Kumbhayoni could have assumed the title "rakai Walaing" if this had been the name of a kingdom or *kraton* he had just defeated or destroyed. If it was simply the name of the site of his victory, however, the title would have been auspicious enough.

⁶See especially P. Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle," *BEFEO*, IV (1904), pp. 270-94, 324-37; O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 213-19 and passim; and Damais, "Études III," pp. 93-141.

start with an important announcement in the Revised T'ang Annals (*Hsin T'ang Shu*) which has a bearing on the entire history of Ho-ling, namely: "Ho-ling. It is also called Shê-p'o and Shê-p'o (the Shê- is represented by different characters)." According to modern pronunciation, these characters can be rendered as Shê-p'o or Chô-p'o (French system), but in T'ang times they were pronounced as Dz'ia-b'uâ," which admits of no other derivation than "Jawa."⁷

"Jawa" was a very old acquaintance of the Chinese. It had been on the lists of "vassal" countries as early as the days of the Liu Sung (420-79), a southern dynasty that endeavored to establish contacts with Southeast Asian countries in view of opening a new way to India.⁸ In addition, around 422, this same Jawa was visited by a Buddhist preacher called Guṇavarman, who came from North India and, after a successful sojourn in Jawa, continued his journey to China, where he preached until he died in Nanking in 431.⁹ Yet after these initial contacts mention of Jawa dropped out of the condensed annals of the following dynasties. It is mentioned in the records of neither the Liang dynasty (502-57) nor the Sui (581-618). At the very least this means that contacts with Jawa were not deemed sufficiently important to be worth commemorating for posterity.¹⁰

Nearly two centuries later, a country named Ho-ling appears in the abstracts of the T'ang archives. As we have noted, this was only another name for the Jawa already known to the Chinese historians. We do not know what occasioned the change of name, but it is interesting to note that already in the reports of the fifth century the name seems to change from Shê-p'o to Shê-p'o-p'o-ta and thence to P'o-ta.¹¹ It is still unclear whether or not there is some connection between these two phenomena.

Emissaries from Ho-ling are reported as visiting China in the 'forties and 'sixties of the seventh century.¹² In the first of these periods, Ho-ling was visited by a Chinese monk, Hui-ning, who studied there under a Javanese master, Jñanabhadrā, probably the mentor of the

⁷Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 217, 219; Damais, "Études III," pp. 101, 105 ff.; P. Wheatley, Review of *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* by G. Coedès, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVIII (1968/69), pp. 433-34.

⁸Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," pp. 271-74.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 274-75.

¹⁰After the overthrow of a dynasty, a team of scholars was typically entrusted with the task of composing its "annals," based on abstracts from its archives and containing the more memorable events of its epoch.

¹¹Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," pp. 287-88; Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 170. This change of name does not necessarily mean the overthrow of one and the rise of another kingdom, as Damais seems to suggest ("Études III," p. 135). It may hinge on the successive domination of rival groups, as in the case of I-tsing's "Malayu, which is now [called?] Śrīvijaya. . . ." But even this is not certain. The moving of a kraton to a new location might have been sufficient reason. In any event, the Chinese report does not imply any violence, but rather an alternative use of one of the two names, according to convenience.

¹²Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," pp. 287-88.

Buddhist community in Java.¹³ A Chinese biography of the same Jñāna-bhadra, which shows his international renown, spells the name of his country as "P'o-ling," the first and only time this form is used.¹⁴ During the last quarter of the seventh century the "people" (probably meaning the stronger faction of the royal clan) are recorded as giving the throne to a queen, called Si-mo, whose ruthlessness became legendary. She made even the Tazis (these "Arabs" were more likely piratical Malay raiders) afraid to attack the country.¹⁵

The seventh century reports are brought to a worthy conclusion by some significant information related by I-tsing, the best known of the Chinese Buddhist travelers, who, during his long sojourn in Śrīvijaya (671, and with interruptions from 685 until 695), was in a position to collect reliable information about the countries of Southeast Asia and the connections between them. His primary interest, however, concerned the condition and teaching of Buddhism and the travels of Buddhist pilgrims. His most relevant contribution to the story of Ho-ling consists in providing us with a definite idea about the whereabouts and the status of the country, because he places it in a line-up of countries on the eastbound voyage from Śrīvijaya to P'o-li (Bali, East Java). The principal countries on this stretch are: "Malayu which is now Śrīvijaya, Mo-ho-hsin, Ho-ling, Tan-tan, P'ên-p'ên, P'o-li. . ."¹⁶ it seems therefore that at the end of the seventh century there lay one major realm between Śrīvijaya and Ho-ling, and two between Ho-ling and Bali.

From that time on until well into the second half of the eighth century conditions in the area of Ho-ling were seen from the Chinese perspective as ominously quiet. No envoys appeared until suddenly in the years 768, 769, and 770 embassies are again reported, while from Tongking and Champa furious protests are heard about raids on the coast by, among others, people from Shê-p'o (767-87). At the same time we get some autochthonous information from inscriptions in South Central Java which attest to the activity of a certain Mahārāja rakarayan Panangkaran and the rise of a Buddhist cultural and political center promoted by scions of what styled itself the Śailendra dynasty (Kalasan 779, Kelurak 782).

After the embassy of 770, silence falls again, but not for very long. In the years 813, 815, and 818 Ho-ling once more dispatched emissaries in quick succession. These were the last to sail under the banner of Ho-ling. The next embassy, in 820, must have informed the Chinese authorities that their country had returned to the old name of Jawa (and probably the king to the former *kraton*), for the Chinese annals begin to use the older name again. It was followed by missions

¹³The biography of Hui-ning, along with those of other "religieux éminents," was written by I-tsing (of whom more below) and translated by Chavannes in 1894 (E. Chavannes, *Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident* [Paris: Leroux, 1894]).

¹⁴Damais, "Études III," p. 118; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," p. 286.

¹⁵Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," p. 297.

¹⁶See especially Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 199. We shall return to Ho-ling's neighbors in the last section of this article.

in 831 and 839. Inscriptions, this time from the northern part of Keḍu, inform us of the acts of a certain Rakarayan Patapan Pu Palar (824, 832). Dr. de Casparis has shown convincingly that this figure, though in a rather old-fashioned manner, was indeed the king of the realm.¹⁷ Subsequent official contacts between Jawa and China seem to have been erratic. Only two further embassies are mentioned for the rest of the ninth century, and both in vague terms.

Having completed our general survey, we will now briefly return to the "information gap" we mentioned above which lasted for most of the eighth century until 768. We do so especially in connection with an important observation made by Professor Wolters:¹⁸ where the Revised T'ang Annals (and in much lesser degree the older version of these annals) give a summary description of the kingdom of Ho-ling, they depict a state of a very different stature than is compatible with available seventh century information. Is it possible that the picture given by the Hsin T'ang Shu was linked to a later period and based on newer information? If so, this information can only have reached China in or after 768, thus after the end of the "information gap." There is one source in particular that provides firm proof of this thesis.

In 755, not long before diplomatic connections were resumed, Tu Yu, "a diligent scholar and experienced official,"¹⁹ finished his *T'ung tien*, an encyclopedia that contained all the up-to-date knowledge of his day according to the latest sources. He also provided the latest information about the "vassal" countries. Ho-ling's place in this record is a very modest one. This is what it amounts to according to the translation of Professor Wolters: "Ho-ling country lies to the south of Chên-la (Cambodia). In the 627-649 period it sent envoys with gold flowers and such articles. The ruler's residence is in a compound surrounded by a wall of wooden stakes. Large houses and pavillions of several storeys are covered with coir palms. Couches are all made of ivory. When they eat they use their hands. . . ." Furthermore, he recorded, they were adept at making palm wine; in the mountains there were caves from which salt oozed out; and they had poisonous prostitutes who caused ulcers and death, yet the corpses of the victims did not rot.²⁰

This picture can readily be harmonized with that of Ho-ling as one of a number of coastal principalities, as I-tsing suggests. It is impossible, however, to connect it with T'ang annals. The older version of the annals already adds some remarkable incompatible details: Ho-ling was situated on an island in the southern ocean, to the east and west were respectively P'o-li and To-p'o-têng (?), in the south it adjoined the ocean; they had letters and some knowledge of astronomy. For the rest, it repeats the traditional information. If we turn to

¹⁷J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd (Prašasti Indonesia I)* (Bandung: Nix, 1950), pp. 37-38, 57-58. I am not, however, satisfied that he needs to be identified with the Raka i Garung or that he had in any way retired from the world. I hope to return to this question in a later article.

¹⁸Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 214-18, 338-39.

¹⁹p. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961), pp. 106-7. The encyclopedia was the fruit of a lifetime's research.

²⁰Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 215.

the Revised Annals, however, the differences become immense. First the country is said to be "exceedingly rich."²¹ There is added "The ruler lives in the [capital] city of Shê-p'o. His ancestor Chi-yen moved eastward to the city of P'o-lu-chia-ssü. . . . On the borders [of Ho-ling] are 28 small countries, all of which owe allegiance to Ho-ling. There are 32 great ministers and the Ta-tso-kan-hsiung is the chief of them. On the top of the mountain there is the province of Lang-pi-ya. The ruler frequently ascends this mountain to gaze at the sea."²²

Some further information provided concerns the results of a sundial reading (which would situate Ho-ling north of the equator),²³ the story of queen Si-mo, and a number of embassies, the last of which, in the period 860-873, presented female musicians. The one crucial piece of information is, of course, that Ho-ling was overlord of 28 vassal countries. This is not something that could have been overlooked inadvertently by previous chroniclers, not only because it was too important to be overlooked, but because it could not be simply added to the information they gave. It completely contradicted the earlier picture and changed it fundamentally: a new Ho-ling was "created," and as such it must have been the result of new developments and new communications.

II. Dvîpavara Yavākya Atula

Though we have already mentioned some autochthonous sources in the course of our initial survey, we reserved one key piece of evidence for special treatment. This is the important proclamation of king Sañjaya, which bears the date 732.²⁴ Not only does this date coincide with the threshold of Ho-ling's new era, but the inscription proclaims the advent of this era in forceful Sanskrit stanzas. We may note in addition that the proclamation was found carved in stone at the foot of the Wukir, a small hill 340 m. high on the southern boundary of

²¹Its exports are given as "tortoise shell, yellow and white gold, rhinoceroses and elephants." Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 216.

²²*Ibid.* Thus the king in question returned to Jawa (i.e., the Jawa-kraton). Such was also Pelliot's original translation. Later, however, he emended it to "the king lived" [*habitait*] in Jawa. ("Deux itinéraires," p. 225.) According to this later version, the king(s) formerly resided in Jawa, but, since Chi-yen's move, now lived in the new kraton. Cf. Damaïs, "Études III," p. 130, for an endorsement of the original translation.

²³Having studied this sundial reading extensively, Pelliot concluded, in the light of other evidence, that an error must have crept in as a result of an injudicious clerical correction. His explanation has been taken by most scholars as sensible. "Deux Itinéraires," pp. 293-96; see also Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 338 n. 127.

²⁴This inscription was first edited and translated by H. Kern in 1885. It was later reprinted in his *Verspreide Geschriften* (VG), 15 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1913-28; Suppl. 1936), VII, pp. 115-28. His edition was subsequently emended variously by B. Ch. Chhabra in 1935, W. F. Stutterheim in 1939, and J. Ph. Vogel in 1941. These emendations will be cited below. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, in his *Riwayat Indonesia* (Jakarta: Jajasan Pembangunan, 1952), pp. 50-55, also edited the text with an Indonesian translation.

Keḍu residency.²⁵ On the flat top of this hill the remnants of a small *lingga*-sanctuary were found (which, however, are ascribed to a much later epoch).²⁶

The proclamation opens with the statement that the "*narapati Śrī Sañjaya*" in the year 654 of the Śaka era²⁷ erected a *lingga*, provided with certain (unusual or distinctive?) marks (*lakṣaṇa lakṣita*) on the mountain known as "the permanent share" (*sthiraṃśa vidite . . . parvate*).²⁸ The location of this mountain called "the permanent share" (or heritage) is of course obscure to us today, but we may provisionally identify it with the Wukir.

This opening statement is followed by five stanzas dedicated to the praise of Śiva, Brahma, and Viṣṇu, whereupon we are admitted to the wonder that was Yava: "There was a wonderful country (*dvīpa*) beyond compare called Yava, richly endowed by nature with all kinds of grain and with gold mines, the private possession of the immortals as it were." The word "*dvīpa*" (island) is commonly used, especially in poetical and esoteric literature (such as here) for distinctive parts of the cosmic universe--often those created by man, and usually enclosed by or adjoining the sea.²⁹ The use of the past tense "*asīd*" ("there was") makes it clear that the proclamation did not have a "physical" island in mind: no island had disappeared in the time of Sañjaya or was rebuilt by him. Rather, some kind of political realm had gone to pieces. We still have to find out, if possible, what its location was and the extent of its reach.

Are we justified, however, in identifying this Sanskrit Yava with the indigenous Jawa? It is true that in later Old Javanese writings the two names are used indiscriminately for the same entity. This entity can perhaps be appropriately described as "the realm" of the Javanese with all that this entails: island, kingdom, and people. But the lack of confirmatory source material prevents us from simply reading this later use back into earlier times. To be sure, Damais opined that the promiscuous use of the two names was common practice, at least among foreigners, from the earliest appearance of Hindu traders, and that the practice was readily taken over by indigenous brahmins

²⁵This stone is still, unlike many others, extant and can be found in the Museum Pusat in Jakarta. In addition, there is ample information on its original site.

²⁶See, for example, E. B. Vogler, "De stichtingstijd van de tjandi's Gunung Wukir en Badut," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, Koninklijk Instituut (BKI), 108 (1952), pp. 314-46. There may, of course, have been a more primitive structure, dating back to 732, which was later rebuilt. Too little survives, however, to make possible any distinction between older and new elements.

²⁷To be exact: October 6, 732. See L. Ch. Damais, "Études d'épigraphie indonésienne III," *BEFEO*, XLVI (1952), pp. 20-21. There is a difference of about 78 years between the Śaka calendar (then in use in Java) and our own Julian calendar.

²⁸Kern read *sthiraṅga* ("strongly-joined"); *VG*, VII, p. 118. Following Chhabra and Vogel, Damais preferred *sthiraṃsa*. See his "Études I," p. 633. Poerbatjaraka, however, returned to Kern's reading.

²⁹Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, 5 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960-63), V (glossary), translates *dvīpa* simply as "land" or "country."

and kings in the course of Hinduization.³⁰ The reality, however, may not have been this simple.

In the second century A.D., Ptolemy knew of a certain Iabadiou (Yavadvîpa) that was different from Sabadibai (Jawadvîpa). The Chinese in the fifth century mention a Yeh-p'o-t'i (Yavadvîpa) next to Shê-p'o (Jawa). It is true that after the second of these names made its appearance in the annals, the first was mentioned no more.³¹ This could mean that the second was a continuation of the first, but this is never intimated in the annals. I have elsewhere proposed the thesis³² that originally the southwestern part of Borneo (Kalimantan), where the Jelai-river (*jelai* is the Malay word for *yava*, barley) empties itself into a large gulf, was called Yavadvîpa. There may have been some confusion among outsiders at the beginning, but by the fifth century when the north coast of Java came to the fore and began to absorb the Yavadvîpa traffic (and with it the old "trademark"), one finds assimilation at work rather than confusion. Besides, there would have been no reason for Indian traders to confuse Java with Yava, since Java (rapid) is as good a Sanskrit word as Yava (barley), and Java does not (and most probably never did have) any barley that might have caused anyone to apply to it the name Yava. The Chinese bureaucrats were right, therefore, to close the file on Yeh-p'o-t'i and to open a new one on Shê-p'o, which was reported as a different country. Not being concerned with court poetry, they held on to the real name, wanting no confusion.

What, then, did the name Jawa (-Yava) in the inscription indicate? Sañjaya's proclamation clearly speaks about a political entity that could perish, a fact that will become even more apparent from the next stanzas of the *praśasti* to be discussed below. The Chinese evidence also seems to favor this political interpretation. One of the first contacts of Jawa with China (around 422) was, as we noted before, through the intermediary of a prince-monk from Kashmir, Guṇavarman, who was on his way to China, but stayed on in Jawa for years. He preached Buddhism with great success thanks to the cooperation of the queen mother who in a dream had a premonition of his arrival. The king asked him to be his adviser and requested advice on whether or not to attack his enemies. The Liu Sung emperor eventually dispatched a ship to bring Guṇavarman to China, but before it arrived the zealous preacher had already left on another vessel. It is clear that Jawa is pictured as a political entity.³³ While the Liu Sung Annals do

³⁰Damais, "Études III," p. 127.

³¹Yeh-p'o-t'i (Ia-b'uã-d'iei) is not mentioned in any of the annals, but occurs in the memoirs of the pilgrim Fa-hsien, who returned home to China in 413-14--only a decade before Guṇavarman, sailing from Java, made the same voyage (with better luck). On Fa-hsien, see Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 38. However, the annals of the Han dynasty mention that in the year 133 A.D. (thus three centuries earlier), a mission arrived from Yeh-tiao; most scholars believe this name to be a truncated rendition of Yava-dvîpa.

³²See my "Ptolemy's Geography of Mainland Southeast Asia and Borneo," *Indonesia*, 19 (April 1975), pp. 16-22.

³³Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 222, and 339 n. 131, prefers to see this older Jawa as the name of the island and does not trust the Guṇavarman story because it was recorded more than a century later. Such a delay, however, was by no means

inform us that a certain country, Ho-lo-tan, is located in or on Jawa, which seems to suggest that Jawa is an island, yet at the same time they mention embassies from both Ho-lo-tan and Jawa between 430 and 440, which seems to confer statehood on this Jawa. As we have seen, there can be no doubt about Ho-ling and the later Jawa in this respect, in spite of the fact that Chia-Tan (writing between 785 and 805) states that "Some four or five days' journey over the water eastward of Fo-shih (Palembang) is the kingdom of Ho-ling, the largest of the islands in the south."³⁴ Apart from his geographical error (but he means perhaps "the most important" of the islands), his statement is probably correct. It is evident that he equates Jawa-Holing with the island of Java, which, in view of the recent expansion of the realm, is very understandable. It is, however, not certain that this equation can be automatically applied to earlier times.

The origin and meaning of the name Jawa are completely unknown. We can therefore only speculate. Probably the most likely solution is that it was the name of a people, which also became the name of their original center of settlement on the island. Because this people emerged as more powerful or dynamic than its competitors, it conquered and colonized a considerable part of the island, which thus as a whole became actually or potentially an extension of *bumi Jawa*, the original center. The tribal unity and sacred bonds with the original center probably did not include any element of overlordship or political organization, though they may have allowed for an element of mutual plunder and strife. The first explicitly political element crept in with the rise of trade and the influence of Hindu civilization. Tribal wars for plunder became royal wars for power and subjection. Whoever controlled the original settlement or the central sanctuary of the tribe probably claimed overlordship in view of his superior *pusaka* (sacred treasures), though this overlordship would have been mainly honorary. The Chinese sources from the fifth and seventh centuries mention several principalities in Jawa (to which Târūmanagara may be added), without recording any dependencies (unless the note about Ho-lo-tan meant "dependent on Jawa"). These principalities each sent their own envoys, only rarely banding together. There are indeed hints of fierce fratricidal wars and the subjection of neighboring states in a letter of the king of Ho-lo-tan to the emperor and in the story about Guṇavarman. But the first reference to a true overlordship dates from the eighth century and is provided by both the Revised T'ang Annals and the proclamation of the king Sañjaya. Yet the extent of this overlordship remains a matter for conjecture.

exceptional for the Chinese annalists. The writer would have had at his disposal some written reports either by Guṇavarman himself or by his disciples. Moreover, though the queen mother story could well be a sort of cliché, the rest of the account seems too realistic and detailed to be dismissed out of hand.

³⁴See Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 56 and 106. We must remember that none of these scholarly compilers ever saw the countries they mentioned. Apart from a few embassies and Buddhist monks, there is no evidence of Chinese venturing abroad during the first twelve centuries of our era. Everything had to be pieced together from information provided by the emissaries of "vassal" states.

III. The Sacred Field of Śiva and the Elephant-Enclosure Country

If we continue our reading of the inscription of Sañjaya, we become aware of an intimate connection between Yava and an "extremely wonderful field of Śiva, created for the salvation of the world, covered with [or enclosed by] the most beautiful lingga-tīrthas and situated in the Land of the Elephant Glades (Kuñjarakuñjadeśa)."³⁵

The most eminent and, in view of its remains, the oldest sacred field of Śiva on the island of Java is without any doubt the Diēng-plateau. The *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, a kind of encyclopedic jungle of Sivaitic traditions composed at the end of the Hindu-Javanese period, explains that Śiva created the Dihyang to be the scene of his first yoga practice on the soil of Java, in order to make it fit for human habitation. Thereupon he gave the order to Brahma and Viṣṇu to proceed to the creation of the people of Java on the Pawinihan (a peak south of the plateau that still bears this name).³⁶

A second tradition connected with Diēng that the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* transmits is the well-known myth of the transfer of the Mahāmeru-Mandara mountain to Java in order to stabilize the drifting island.³⁷ The move was effected by gods, *ṛṣis*, and demons under the enthusiastic direction of Śiva himself. After immense effort, to the point of having to be resuscitated by Śiva, they succeeded in putting the mountain ashore somewhere in the western part of Java. The result, however, was that the western part began to sink, while the eastern part rose upward. The movers tried to restore the balance by pushing the Mandara eastward, but it refused to budge. So they broke off the upper part and left the foot on the spot. This truncated mountain received the name Kailāśa. On the way east other bits fell off and formed the mountains of Java: Kaṭong (Lawu), Wilis, Kampud (Kelud), Arjuna, and Kumukus (Kawi). From the whole context it seems evident that the stubborn foot of the Mandara, the first of the mountains of Java, must be

³⁵My translation. W. F. Stutterheim, "Note on Cultural Relations between South-India and Java," *TBG*, LXXIX (1939), p. 79, translates this as "a most wonderful, miraculous *sanctuary* for Śiva" (*italics added*). J. Ph. Vogel, in his "Aanteekeningen op de inscriptie van Tjanggal in Midden-Java," *BKI*, 100 (1941), p. 445, notes that the *sthāna* of the text does not indicate any kind of building, as Stutterheim's version tends to imply; rather, it simply means a sacred place or field, which could be quite large as in the case of the sacred deer-park of Banāres (also called a *sthāna*). Such a sacred locale could contain many *tīrtha* (sacred bathing pools)--a word that, again, cannot be reconciled with Stutterheim's "surrounded by *streams*" (*italics added*); at best it could mean a certain spot in a river. In this connection, I would prefer to restore the illegible syllable before *ṅga* as *līṅga* (*lingga-tīrtha*) following Poerbatjaraka (*Riwajat*, p. 52), rather than as Chhabra's *gaṅgā*. See his "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I (1935), p. 36; and "Kuñjarakuñjadeśa on the Chaṅgal Inscription," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, III, 2 (1937), p. 170.

³⁶See Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, ed. and trans., *De Tantu Panggĕlaran* (The Hague: Smits, 1924), p. 57 (text), 129 (Dutch translation). This work was written in East Java some time between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 65-66, 136. That the first tradition contradicts the second is of no importance here. They both "prove" the Diēng to be the original locale from which Śivaism spread over Java.

the Dièng. The name Kailâśa occurs, moreover, in several inscriptions connected with this truncated mountain.³⁸

But even without these traditions, it is evident from the archaeological finds that "on the Dièng, mixed with remains of a later date, we find the oldest Hindu-Javanese art and the oldest Hindu-Javanese Śivaism," according to Professor Krom.³⁹ We may note, however, that though the Dièng was the earliest cradle of Śivaism and was therefore its most venerated site, the mother of all other sanctuaries, it does not follow that Śivaism was the first cult to establish itself there or that it had been in control there very long before the time of Sañjaya. Though Śivaism's predominant position in later times tempts one to read this ascendancy back into the earliest period of Java's history, there is no proof whatever to support such an idea. On the contrary, while the few older sources we have, such as the fifth century Târûma and Kutai inscriptions and that of Tuk Mas (sixth or seventh century) mention several divinities, Śiva is never one of them. One exception is the Old Malay inscription of Sojomerto at the foot of Mt. Prahu (early seventh century?).⁴⁰ Even the ninth century Dièng praśasti (the oldest we have) are more remarkable, apart from the particular or archaic elements in their language, for the cult of a certain Haricandana and the institution of the pitāmahâ (clan priests?) than for the cult of Śiva.⁴¹ Śivaism was certainly not the first in control of Dièng, but the cult groups that flourished there previously were not yet accustomed to building in stone and have therefore left few traces. The rise of Śivaism becomes visible with the oldest extant buildings; one therefore may wonder whether this cult brought with it a fashion for stone construction. In any case, whatever the boast of his followers, in spite of Śiva's yoga the truncated mountain did not become the Kailâśa, but remained the Āihyang.⁴²

³⁸For the East Javanese author, Sunda clearly did not count. The later (Central Javanese?) text *Manik-maya* adds a few Sundanese mountains to restore the physical balance. See R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel* (Leiden: Brill, 1926), p. 76 n. 1. The inscription of Pintang Mas (Dièng), dated 878, mentions a "*pitāmahâ ing Kailâśa*" next to a "*Juru [magistrate] i Āihyang*" (*ibid.*, pp. 74-75). Another copper plate, from Banjarnegara, south of Dièng, undated, mentions a "*guru hyang i Kelâśa*"; see Brandes' transcription in N. J. Krom, ed., *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden (OJO)*, published as Vol. LX of the *Verhandeligen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (Batavia: Albrecht, 1913), No. 104, pp. 234-36. Note that -ai- and -ê- were then used interchangeably, as, for example, in *rakai* and *rakê*.

³⁹N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis (HJG)*, 2nd ed. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1931), p. 127; E. B. Vogler, *De monsterkop in de Hindoe-Javaansche Bouwkunst* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), pp. 216-43.

⁴⁰The Târûma inscriptions will be discussed below. For those of Kutai and Tuk Mas, see, e.g., Krom, *HJG*, pp. 71-72, 103. The Sojomerto inscription was discovered in 1963 and edited by Boechari. See his "Preliminary Report on the Discovery of an Old-Malay Inscription at Sodomerto," *Madjalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, III, 2-3 (1966), pp. 241-51.

⁴¹Haricandana is both the name of the sacred sandal tree in Indra's Heaven and of the ordinary sandalwood, frequently used for cremation of the dead, and, when burnt, for the ash-mark of Brahmins. Cf. Pigeaud, ed., *Tantu Panggêlaran*, pp. 272-73. Yet since in later inscriptions Haricandana occurs in the context *Hyang i śrî Haricandana* (see the texts cited in Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya*, pp. 65-66), it was probably a sacred locality like *baprakeśvara*.

⁴²In India the Vaiṣṇava tendency became more or less organized in the second

This sacred terrain of Śiva's yoga is said to have been situated in the "Elephant-enclosure-country." The word *deśa* (which has different meanings) must be interpreted here as "region" or "country," because the place of Śiva's yoga has to be located there. The word *kuñja* indicates an open space enclosed by brushwood or bamboo, a copse, a thicket, or a bower.⁴³ It is thus reminiscent of the ancient indigenous cult-places (*krapyak*), where rough stone blocks in an open space function as seats for the *hyang* (spirits). If this was the intended meaning of the word, these *kuñja* would probably have been the centers of an elephant (*kuñjara*) cult. One might, of course, be tempted to interpret the *kuñja* as corrals for live elephants. But although the Chinese speak about the export of "elephants," there are no reports or temple reliefs that give the impression that, except perhaps inside the kraton, this animal was a fixture of everyday Javanese life in historical times. But whatever the correct meaning of the term, it seems unlikely that the region derived its name from one such place or sanctuary, as is sometimes proposed, unless this name was an allusion to the local kraton by comparing this center to Hastināpura (*hastin* = elephant), the capital city of the Bharata. It is known that the coastal region north of the Dièng and the Dièng itself was traditionally associated with the country of the Pandava heros and the Himailaya.⁴⁴ The passion of poetical literature for allusions, substitute names, and alliterations (e.g., *kuñjarakuñja*) is equally well known, so that such a comparison is nothing exceptional--the more so because the kraton, according to Chinese description, consisted mainly of an enclosure and was the more likely (or even only) place to have its elephant quarters as the unmistakable emblem of kingship. It is possible, however, that still another feature may have entered into the word play.

If we turn again to the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, we find, in the context of Śiva's creative entry to Java, a "mdang Gaṇa, which was the first

century B.C. The Śaiva cult only started to compete effectively in the first century A.D. See J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śaivism: A Comparison* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 88-92. The Pāśupata, Śaivaite ascetics, were considered unclean by many on account of their repulsive ritual practices, manners, and customs. It is unlikely that their rites entered Java by way of the courts. Non-Śivaitic tendencies were much more suitable for the elevation and dignifying of states and kings. The Śivaite are likely to have penetrated Java as ascetics and yogins, especially in such places as the Dièng and Kawi mountains. We do not know what factors later led to their rise in power, nor the dates, but the seventh and eighth centuries offer us the first explicitly Śivaitic documents (though with a syncretic character, since Brahma and Viṣṇu are mentioned as secondary co-manifestations). I have tried to show this "conversion" process in action in East Java in my "The Purī Pūṭikeśvarapāvitā and the Pura Kāñjuruhan," *BKI*, 132 (1976), pp. 445-62.

⁴³Damais discusses the meaning of *kuñja* in his "Études I," pp. 628-31.

⁴⁴See Stutterheim, "Note," pp. 80-81. Though the present-day names of the Dièng *candi*, such as Arjuna, Srikanḍi, Puntadĕwa, Bima, etc., are fairly recent (see W. F. Stutterheim, "De Wajangnamen der tjandi's op het Dièngplateau," *Djawa*, V [1925], pp. 344-46), the Dièng's association with the Pandava probably stems from ancient times. This, at least, seems to be indicated by the name *sataśrīṅga* which will be discussed below.

beginning of all kingdoms, according to ancient tradition."⁴⁵ Gana is a shorter version of the name of Gaṇeśa, the elephant-faced son of Śiva. Though the cult of Gaṇeśa is very popular throughout India and Java, in the environs of the Dièng it seems to have been practiced with extraordinary devotion. This region may indeed have been the cradle of the cults of both Śiva and Gaṇeśa.

Stutterheim once noted that every fourth sculptured stone object that came from the environs of the Dièng to the Museum in Batavia was a Gaṇeśa statue.⁴⁶ This estimate is certainly not too high. By adding up all the artifacts such as statues, lingga, *yoni*, antefixes, etc., listed in the archaeological survey of 1914,⁴⁷ I have arrived at an estimate of almost 30 percent Gaṇeśa statues for the Dièng and its environs, with a peak of 45 percent for the district of Boja. The same trend is clear when one proceeds eastward to the areas of Ungaran and Salatiga. These regions clearly housed many Gaṇeśa sanctuaries, of which those of Pengilon, Sikunir-Bergas and Sētān are today the best known.⁴⁸

No wonder, then, that for this area we read passages in the ROD survey that are not repeated for any other part of Java: "Kendal. On the premises of the residence of the bupati (regent), twenty-one statues, originating from the Dièng and Pengilon, consisting of five Gaṇeśas, one Viṣṇu, two Śivas . . ." (no. 576). "Sélokaton. . . . eight statues, namely one Pârvatī (Śiva's consort), one Śiva, four Gaṇeśas . . . originating from Jambéan, Gedong and Dièng" (no. 579). "Medini. Here stood formerly four Gaṇeśas originating from Pengilon" (no. 597). "Bergas-lor. From the hamlet of Sikunir ten statues, of which four were Gaṇeśas, were earlier transported elsewhere. A small and a big Gaṇeśa are still at the site" (no. 555). "Ungaran. . . . fifteen statues . . . including two Śivas and five Gaṇeśas . . ." (no. 561). Gaṇeśa was (if we go by the number of statues) two to three times as popular as Śiva himself, and about five times as popular as any other god.

Thus it would seem that the name "mēḍang Gaṇa" was extremely fitting for this region, perhaps more so than for any other. The difficulty lies, however, in connecting both the cult and the name with the kuñjara of Sañjaya's inscription. Though Gaṇeśa is the "divine form of

⁴⁵Pigeaud, ed., *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, p. 60, 132. According to Pigeaud, *Java*, IV, p. 244, Mēḍang is "an old name in legendary history and myth specifically given to places of origin or first settlement." He therefore proposes the translation "sacred land." In the inscriptions the name is found, without apposition, as a village name or in the combination *ri mḍang ri pohpitu* and *i mḍang i bhūmi Mataram*. In later origin myths, however, it always appears in apposition: e.g., Mēḍang Gana, Mēḍang Purbwa, Mēḍang Tantu, etc., and thus seems to have become a "concept." It is doubtful if such was the case with the earlier compounds.

⁴⁶W. F. Stutterheim, "Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen," *BKI*, 86 (1930), pp. 308-10.

⁴⁷"Inventaris van Oudheden, samengesteld onder leiding van Dr. F. D. K. Bosch," *Rapporten van de Oudheidkundige Dienst (ROD)*, 1914-15.

⁴⁸Entries no. 598-99 mention the villages of Ganaverti and Ganariti--names probably derived from Gaṇavṛtti ("devoted to Gaṇeśa"). In the nineteenth century some fragments of a sanctuary and one or two Gaṇeśa were still to be found there.

this craftiest and strongest of all animals," according to Krom,⁴⁹ we find no indication in Indian or Javanese literature that the god was ever *called* "elephant." The nearest he comes to that is in appellations like Gajavadana (Elephant-face). In popular cults he may have been called something similar to Gajah-wong (Man-elephant), but we have no proof of that. We could argue, however, that this extraordinary development of the Gaṇeśa cult can only be explained by a preexisting cult of the animal itself still being practiced in the time of Sañjaya. In that period a Śivaitic version of this elephant cult may have been in the process of establishing itself, the beginning of the extraordinary development just mentioned. Of such a preexisting cult, however, no tangible evidence has come down to us, except perhaps in the prominence of the elephant-ornament on the local *caṇḍi* (which represents the animal in its natural form, not as a *makara* or fish-elephant as in Indian-style ornamentation) and a few elephant statues probably meant as cult objects.⁵⁰

To summarize our argument: We are confronted by an inscription dated 732, which gives us our first intimation of an expansion of Śivaism in Java. The country of Yava mentioned in this inscription has an evident connection with a "field of Śiva created for the welfare of the world" and with an "elephant-enclosure-country." Eight or nine centuries later a collection of Śivaitic traditions traces the beginning of Śivaitic expansion to a certain terrain of Śiva's yoga, which is evidently the Diēng, in combination with a "mēḍang Gaṇa," a sacred land of Gaṇeśa, the elephant-faced son of Śiva, said to be "the first beginning of all [Śivaitic] kingdoms."⁵¹ Though the argument remains speculative for lack of sufficient tangible evidence, the parallelism seems too striking to be completely fortuitous, the more so since the Diēng indeed contains the oldest known Śivaitic remains and its environs an extraordinarily developed Gaṇa cult.⁵² It is fortunate,

⁴⁹N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923), I, p. 95. His characteristics were those that the Indians ascribed to the elephant: an ability to remove heavy obstacles, craftiness, cunning, and practical wisdom. At the beginning of every important activity his statue was set up: for example, before building a house, writing a book or letter, or undertaking a journey. He was the special refuge of travelers (his images were commonly erected at dangerous spots), and the protector of the common man, the god of the Śudra. See P. Thomas, *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, 11th ed. (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1961), pp. 43-45; A. Daniélou, *Hindu Polytheism* (New York: Bollingen Foundation [distributed by Pantheon Books], 1964; Bollingen Series No. 73), p. 293.

⁵⁰Krom, *Inleiding*, pp. 162-63; *ROD*, 1914, Nos. 586 (Surugajah?), 600, etc.

⁵¹In spite of all the mythical embroidering, the basic tradition of the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* may be sound. Given the origin of Śivaism in the Diēng region, Śiva has to be given a personal role in the text's story--something achieved by creating a new or adapting an old legend. Similarly in the case of other holy sites, manipulation of their names, as it were, magically conjures up the history of their foundation by Śiva, his consort Uma, or some Śivaitic superman. Though these additions are pure myth, it does not follow that this is true of the whole tradition. Moreover, the text's East Javanese author would scarcely have placed the sacred origins of Śivaism in Central Java without any basis in fact.

⁵²Neither the Diēng itself nor its environs have ever been extensively excavated; what we have are only surface finds. Note that in an East Java inscription of 926, a *kuñjatan* (*kuñja-sthāna*) is mentioned, along with other mountains of Central

therefore, that quite independently the Chinese reports offer additional concrete evidence.

The T'ang annals mention Lang-li-ya as a mountain district where the king of Ho-ling (having returned to the Jawa kraton) frequently went in order to gazewistfully at the sea. Groeneveldt thought that the Chinese "Lang" could well be equated with Javanese "Dyang" and accordingly placed the king's mountain house on the Diëng. It is not surprising that Krom called this opinion "unwarranted."⁵³ Though his reasoning was faulty, Groeneveldt may not in fact have been far off the mark. In a fourteenth century inscription, the spirits of the mountains of Central Java are invoked, starting with "kamung hyang (thou spirits . . .) i Dihyang ring Sataśrnga, i Watu Lampyar. . . ."⁵⁴ Rouffaer supposed this Watu (mountain) Lampyar to have been an old name of the Prahū peak which rises seaward from the Diëng plateau. This guess seems rather lucky--for the upper reaches of the main river that descends from the northern slope of the peak to the sea is still called the Kali Lampir. (Near its mouth, its name becomes Kali Kutī.)⁵⁵ This "Lampyar" mountain corresponds perfectly not only with the name recorded in and the conditions required by the Chinese report, but also with our thesis about the location of Java-Holing.⁵⁶

Java. This may have been a variant of (kuñjara)kuñjadeśa, but since its original place of provenance is unknown, it does not give us much assistance here. See Krom, ed., *OJO*, p. 50.

⁵³Krom, *HJG*, pp. 127 and 167.

⁵⁴This inscription originates from fourteenth century Kediri, but purports to be from the ninth century. It is a miscellaneous compilation of what seem to be genuine fragments of old documents with additions by the compiler. Because this list of mountains is part of a curse upon would-be violators of the charter involved (here violators are menaced with the anger of the spirits of these mountains), and curses often follow highly stylized traditional conventions, it is commonly accepted as genuine. The inscription was first edited by A. B. Cohen Stuart in his *Kawi oorkonden in facsimile* (KO) (Leiden: Brill, 1875), pp. 7-10 (no. II). See also W. F. Stutterheim, "Een vrij overzetveer in Wanagiri in 903 A.D.," *TBG*, LXXIV (1934), p. 284; G. F. Rouffaer, "Oudheidkundige Opmerkingen," *BKI*, 74 (1918), pp. 145-49; J. A. L. Brandes, ed., "Pararaton," *Verhandelungen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, LXII (1920), pp. 112-17; Krom, *HJG*, p. 200. The Sataśrnga (Hundred Peaks) is part of the Himalayas, the part from which the father of the Pandava was elevated to the heavenly abode. Here it probably denotes the mountain range of which the Diëng is a part.

⁵⁵Along the course of this river one finds the springs of Asinan and Plantungan flowing out of a chasm. At one time these springs were renowned for their medicinal qualities, but today no salt oozes out, indeed the salt content of the water is very low. If the name Asinan (salt place) points to ancient salt deposits, nothing of these has survived. Cf., e.g., F. Junghuhn, *Java*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: van Kampen, 1850), I, pp. 260-68. Salt springs are mentioned in *ibid.*, II, pp. 1172 ff., and 1344 ff.; but according to the Chinese, they have to be in the mountains. Against this slope lie Candi Sélokaton (Visible Rock) and Argapura (Mountain Palace), the latter having an inscription dated 863.

⁵⁶The only other explanation offered for Lang-pi-ya is that of E. W. van Orsoy de Flines in his "Hasin--Medang--Kuwu--Lang-pi-ya," *TBG*, LXXXIII (1949), pp. 424-29, who detected the site of an ancestor cult on the Gunung Lasem (east of the Muria), called by the Javanese Krapyak (a general name for such places) and by the Chinese (who went there for picnics to enjoy the beautiful view over the sea) Klampyak. I do not believe, however, that Klampyak could become Lang-pi-ya in Chinese transliteration

Before turning to discuss the question of the actual name "Ho-ling," I would like to make a few preliminary remarks. First, we noted before that the fifth century name Shê-p'o or Jawa had attached to it the suffix "p'o-ta" (the most probable reading), which would make it in full "Jawa-(de)wata," or "Jawa of the gods [or spirits]."⁵⁷ Secondly, in the inscription of Sañjaya, Yava is called "the private possession of the immortals," thus clearly indicating which Yava was meant. These two items, added to the location of Ho-ling near the Diêng, might lead us to suspect that this addition to Ho-ling's name should be (and was) associated with spirits or immortals. In view of the fact that the inscription gives Po-ling as an initial variant of Ho-ling, we may suggest an analogous shift from Paryang ("connected with the immortals") to Aryang ("possessed by the immortals").⁵⁸

The question may be raised, however, whether a Chinese transliteration of -ryang into -ling is possible. The r- could, of course, become an l-, but the -yang would probably have to be pronounced -êng (as in Diêng) in order to bring about the Chinese transliteration -ing. At the very end of the Hindu-Javanese period we do indeed find in the written sources a general transition from -ya- to -è-.⁵⁹ But in this early period no comparable examples have turned up. In all Old Javanese literary sources, the place name Dihyang (Dihyang, Diyang) is spelled with a -hyang, and thus accordingly is considered to be the "old" name of the Diêng. It is remarkable, however, that the modern names of certain famous mountains, such as Priyangan (West Java) and Gunung Hyang (East Java) (the shift from -ya- into -è- notwithstanding), have retained the -yang whereas the Dihyang became the Diêng. Is this an indication that Dihyang had no roots in popular speech and was not so much an old as a literary name, used in order to enhance the prestige of the place? The Sanskritized court language of charters and literature teaches us nothing about the everyday speech of the common people (and even less about local dialects), just as little as it tells us about their lives. The literary changes observable at the end of the Hindu-Javanese period were most probably the result of popular speech reasserting itself. It might be objected that the emissaries to the T'ang court would certainly have used the "official" name in representing their kingdom. We have nevertheless to remember that their first representation took place two centuries before the form "dihyang" appeared in the inscriptions. I believe, therefore, that this problem of nomenclature cannot be solved at the moment. I can only present it as a possible line for further research.

--only Ka-lang-pi-ya. Moreover, the only background here is the unsubstantiated and legendary Mēḍang Kamulan.

⁵⁷The Chinese readily shortened indigenous names they thought too long for convenience.

⁵⁸The prefix a- has various meanings, of which the most common indicates possession; the -r- might be either a conjunction or a shortening of the honorific ra-. From earliest times an -h- in the middle of a word was always unvoiced (see Damais, "Études I," p. 618), so that Dihyang was pronounced, and often written, Diyang.

⁵⁹To offer a few examples: *pahyas-pahès*, *handyan-handèn* (*radèn*), *ramya-ramé*, *Turunhyang* (a place name)-*Trunèng*. In the fourteenth century text *Rājapattigūḍala* there is mention of a "*lmah ahèng*." It is described as a piece of land supposed to be possessed by the spirits and therefore only reclaimable by a *yogīśwara*, who can subdue such immortals. See Pigeaud, *Java*, IV, pp. 360-67; III, p. 133.

IV. Jawa-Holing's Neighbors

While constructing our survey of Jawa-Aryèng's history from the materials provided by the Chinese sources, we encountered a number of other countries mentioned. If we could locate these countries with a reasonable degree of probability--which is the most we can hope to do--on the basis of evidence not dependent on our thesis about the location of Ho-ling itself, the resulting picture could strengthen that thesis, quite apart from the interest of the identifications in themselves.

The Country of Ho-lo-tan

The first country encountered was a certain Ho-lo-tan (or Ho-lo-t'o), according to modern pronunciation, but whose characters would have been pronounced in the fifth century as (H)aratan or (H)alatan (the last syllable apparently created a problem). This country is recorded as having sent seven missions to the Liu Sung empire between 430 and 452, sometimes two a year. The interesting fact is, however, that the annals quote lengthy portions from the letters of the king, making it clear that he lived in continuous fear of enemies both outside and inside his realm, indeed even certain Chinese officials who threatened to confiscate one of his ships. He asked urgently for diplomatic assistance and even weapons, as well as for protection against the said officials. He informed the emperor that his country had once been peaceful and prosperous. (It appears from the tribute listed that he must have had contacts with Gandâra and other Indian regions.) But he was now being attacked from all sides and his people were fleeing the country. Subsequently, the mission of 436 reported that king P'i-sha-pa-mo (Viśamvarman?) was living in exile because his son had usurped the throne.⁶⁰

It is stated that Ho-lo-tan was in (or on) Java and south of Ch'ih T'u, which is the region of the Kelantan River on the east coast of the Malay peninsula.⁶¹ The combination of these two items makes a location in the western part of Java most likely, unless "south of" means nothing more precise than "on a more southern latitude." Since, however, this information was probably based on sailing directions provided by the emissaries of the people in question, it had to have at least some degree of accuracy. Accordingly, "the location of Ho-lo-tan in Western Java is a probable one."⁶²

We are lucky enough to have some autochthonous information from fifth century West Java, namely four Sanskrit inscriptions of a country called Târūmanagara, where the king bore the name Pūrṇavarman. The inscriptions are not dated, but the lettering points to the middle or the second half of the fifth century.⁶³ It can be assumed that the name

⁶⁰Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," pp. 271-74; Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 151, 313 nn. 92 and 95, passim.

⁶¹Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 161-62, 212-13.

⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 218, 340 n. 148.

⁶³J. Ph. Vogel, "The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java," in *Publicaties van de Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, I (1925), pp. 15-35; J. G. de Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 18-20.

Târūmanagara is connected with that of the Tarum River to the east of the place where the inscriptions were found, and thus may be a Sanskritization of Pataruman (a place of that name is in existence today on the banks of the Ci Tarum).

Three of these inscriptions were found close to Bogor, 60 kilometers south of Jakarta, while the fourth was discovered near the shore of the bay of Jakarta, southeast of Tanjung Priok.⁶⁴ Those from Bogor were carved on big boulders carried down from the mountains by river torrents; one was even found in the bed of the Arutōn River, invisible when the water level was higher than normal. All three had also a pair of footprints carved into the stone. The two pairs which have the shape of human feet are stated by the text to be those of the king, while the one resembling the forefeet of an elephant are, according to the same source, those of the king's elephant. Though such carved footprints are known from other places they invariably represent the epiphany of a divine being such as Buddha or Viṣṇu, never a living king. Here, however, they seem to be meant as a token of victory and conquest, because they are called "tantamount to the [three conquering and victorious] footprints of Viṣṇu," and "ever efficient in destroying hostile kraton and salutary to princes who are devoted subjects."⁶⁵

If the "Arutōn" kraton was the one the Chinese called Ho-lo-tan, it probably shared the fate of the "hostile kraton." The king of this country received in 449 the official recognition of the Chinese court, but apparently it did not do him much good. He was able to send a further mission in 452, but that seems to have been the end of his royal activity. The time sequence creates no difficulties for accepting the idea that Ho-lo-tan was destroyed by Târūmanagara. But the equation of the name Arutōn with Ho-lo-tan presents some problems. The main difficulty is that we do not know the Old Sundanese form or pronunciation of this name.⁶⁶ In addition, we do not hear of any missions to

⁶⁴The fourth inscription tells us that in the twenty-second year of his reign, Pūrṇavarman gave his attention to drainage problems in the coastal area by creating a new outlet. The silting up of the river-mouth and the increasing swampiness of the littoral during the previous era may have made traditional access impossible for trading vessels and caused dangerous flooding upstream. See J. Noorduyt and H. Th. Verstappen, "Pūrṇavarman's River-Works near Tugu," *BKI*, 128 (1972), pp. 298-307.

⁶⁵See also W. F. Stutterheim, "Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen," *BKI*, 89 (1932), pp. 288-89. The power of the Javanese king is located in his feet, placed over the heads of his enemies. This idea is also expressed in later passages of the Sañjaya inscription, to be discussed in a future article.

⁶⁶Ha-lu-tan would have been more regular. Since the Sanskrit script cannot directly represent the sound -tōn (with a long -ě-), it may have been customary simply to use an -a- (as is often the case for the short -ě-). No example of this is provided by the Târūma inscriptions, but we find several instances elsewhere, for example in the Śrīvijaya charters. See de Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography*, pp. 26-27. There are no certain examples of the change of -u- into -a- in Chinese transliterations, only probable ones such as To-lang-p'o-huang for Tulangbawang. The reverse process (-a- into -u-) is exemplified by the T'ang transliteration of the Khmer *bnam* (the modern Banam) into *b'iu-nām* (Fu-nan in modern parlance), while the T'ang traveler I-tsing wrote Po-nan. See Coedès, *Indianized States*, pp. 36-37 and 74. It would be essential, however, to know the Old Sundanese form of the name.

China from Pataruman. It might of course have been "blacklisted" for destroying a king endorsed explicitly by the Chinese emperor.

Mo-ho-hsin Country

At the end of the seventh century, as we mentioned before, the monk I-tsing enumerated the principal countries encountered on the voyage from Śrīvijaya to P'o-li: Mo-ho-shin, Ho-ling, Tan-tan, and P'ên-p'ên. Nothing is known about the first country except the name. If I-tsing's enumeration indeed proceeds strictly from west to east along the north coast of Java, a number of possible locations emerges. Many guesses have already been made: for example, at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula (Rouffaer), on Belitung (Takakusu), Masin near Pekalongan or Ngasin near Gresik (Damais), Banjarmasin (Takakusu, the final choice of Damais), etc.⁶⁷ Though most of these locations can more or less be squared with I-tsing's account, the toponym on which they are based (and some are not even based on that) is "asin" or "masin." It seems difficult to explain the Chinese transliteration, which sounded like "ma'ha'shin," from the matrix "masin," while "asin" or "hasin" are entirely insufficient. It is possible (but far from certain) that "masin" is a contraction of "mahasin." Even at the time, however, the "h" had lost its sound-value in the middle of a word, as is conceded by Damais. Why would this soundless letter have been transliterated by I-tsing, whose knowledge of the place must have been based on oral communication? In addition, the Chinese typically shortened rather than lengthened indigenous Southeast Asian names.

It is therefore more probable that the name consisted of a compound such as "Lmah Asin" (salty land). While such a term is linguistically quite acceptable, no country of that name presents itself within the zone probably indicated by I-tsing. However, we do find something fairly close, namely Lmah Asēm, the Asēm Lands, with bay and river, on the northeast coast of West Java.⁶⁸ This would mean that the Sundanese trade center had moved eastward, an occurrence that fits in with indications about Śrīvijayan attacks on and domination over the former Sundanese realm.⁶⁹ In that case I-tsing's Mo-ho-hsin could very well have been the last refuge of the To-lo-mo which sent embassies from 528 until the period 666-69 and is not heard of again.⁷⁰ The refuge seems not to have prospered either, however, since no subsequent source mentions its existence.

⁶⁷Damais, "Études I," pp. 618-19; Krom, *HJG*, p. 115.

⁶⁸Asēm means "tamarind" or "sour." In the nineteenth century the whole littoral between Batavia and Cirebon went by the name of the Ci-asem and Pamanukan Lands. The Asem river can still be navigated from its mouth up to the inhabited areas on higher ground by normal-sized *prau*. See *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2nd ed., 8 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1917-38), IV, p. 371; *Netherlands East Indies*, Geographical Handbook Series Naval Intelligence Division (Washington, D.C.: Office of Naval Intelligence, 1944), I, p. 169.

⁶⁹F. D. K. Bosch, "Een Maleische inscriptie in het Buitenzorgsche," *BKI*, 100 (1941), pp. 49-53.

⁷⁰This means that in spite of the erroneous spelling and incorrect location To-lo-mo was probably Târūma. See *ibid.*, pp. 50-51; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," p. 284. Note that this identification is not accepted by Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 205.

Tan-tan and P'ên-p'ên

Since East Java has not offered inscriptions older than the middle of the eighth century, it would seem that this source of information is closed if we are looking to the eastern part of Java as the cradle of these two kingdoms (an assumption of Wolters that seems quite reasonable). The names of later kingdoms in East Java do not provide us with any clues either. Only one way seems open: to hunt through the inscriptions of King Siṇḍok (±929-47), the first king of East Java, who in order to strengthen the foundations of his power revived the memory of old sanctuaries by numerous restorations. Many of these were the *kamūlan* or *kahyangan* (ancestor cult shrines) of earlier kingdoms.

By a charter from the Singasari region (*OJO* XXXVIII) he revived the "sanghyang Kahyangan i Hēmad i Pangawān" and its "bhaṭara" (protector); and the "mūla kahyangan ing Pangawān" on Wangkḍi hill shared in these honors. The same "Pangawān" is mentioned in subsequent charters as "sang hyang Pangawān" (*OJO* XLIX) and as the name of a village (*OJO* XLIII). It is also counted under the "desha meḍang hulun hyang," sacred origin places cared for by the servants of the (ancestor?) spirits described in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (78,5) as free of taxes from olden times.⁷¹ It would seem that the old pronunciation of P'ên-p'ên corresponds very well with the name Pangawān, and this identification would locate the kingdom in the Singasari region.

More problematic is the connection between Tan-tan and the "viṣaya [pleasure ground] i Hantang," which in 1135 received royal privileges for the third time without any reason being mentioned (*OJO* XLVIII). The modern village of Ngantang, where the inscription was found, has a location which is very appropriate for Tan-tan, namely on the northern foothills of Mt. Kawi and Mt. Kelud on the upper course of the Konto river.⁷² The name Tan-tan, however, does not come to us solely on the strength of oral information provided to I-tsing. The kingdom was registered in the imperial Chinese files beginning in 530, and subsequently became a regular though not frequent embassy sender until 670 (nine recorded missions).⁷³ It must still have been in business at the end of that century as I-tsing's reference demonstrates its existence. Nonetheless, it is not entirely clear how the Chinese arrived at the name Tan-tan, unless they thought "Tanah Hantang" too long and cumbersome.

To-p'o-têng and P'o-li

Both the old and the new T'ang annals give Ho-ling only two neighbors. These two are To-p'o-têng and P'o-li. About the first we are further informed that it is located somewhere between Ho-ling and

⁷¹See Pigeaud, *Java*, III, p. 91. For its character as a *kamūlan*, see de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd*, p. 171.

⁷²Antang still existed as a known region in the early nineteenth century. Col. Adams, who carted away the inscription of Ngandat and presented it to Lord Minto, Governor-General of India--who took it home to Scotland--spoke of his "excursion into the provinces of Malang and Antang." See N. J. Krom, "De herkomst van de Mintosteen," *BKI*, 73 (1917), pp. 30-31.

⁷³Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 164.

Mi-li-kü. Because this second toponym may well have been Mě-rě-gui, we have the choice between a location in West Java, Sumatra, or the Malay Peninsula. Mi-li-kü sent its only mission in 647 and the name is not mentioned in the eastward itinerary of I-tsing at the end of the century. Whether it in fact continued to exist and where we should look for it, is by no means clear.

P'o-li is commonly accepted as a transliteration of Bali, but it may have included portions of the eastern part of Java. It was probably known to the Chinese from the early fifth century. Though its recorded missions are few and far between (473, 518, 523, 616, 630), it seems nevertheless to have functioned as one of the main orientation points for the Chinese geographers, a kind of sentinel on the southeast border of civilization. The archaeological evidence shows that the use of stone and copper on the island itself started relatively late: the first charters that have survived originate from the end of the ninth century. At that time, however, Hinduization was thoroughly developed and the absence of Javanese influence on the local language and culture points to a history of independence. The early Hinduization process had evidently not come from or by way of Java.⁷⁴

The Mysterious Neighbor

In most cases we know the name of a country (or at least something that looks like it) and the period of its existence, but we still are pressed to find its location. In this case, however, we know where to find it, we have a name for it, but we do not know when it existed, nor even if it was a real kingdom. It may have been merely a sacred precinct turned by later legend into a kingdom. But whatever its nature or period of existence, it was located on the coastal plain to the northwest of the Dièng and southeast of Pekalongan in the district of Doro. It must have seen the rise of Jawa-Holing or at least knew the story of this ancient kingdom. The archaeological information about this mysterious neighbor we owe to the survey made by the district officer Sell at the beginning of this century.⁷⁵

In the district Doro, there is a village called Suroloyo, where a few small mounds and a square demarcated by ordinary river stones indicate, according to the local people, the site of a onetime kraton of "Miroloyo." South of this village there is a wooded hill called "Goromanik," or the jewel of Graha.⁷⁶ This is the name of the mythical

⁷⁴Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," pp. 279-85; Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 164; Krom, *HJG*, p. 97; R. Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungu (Prasasti Bali I)* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1954).

⁷⁵E. A. Sell, "Opgave van Hindoe-oudheden in de Residentie Pekalongan," *ROD*, 1912, pp. 160-63. Bosch's survey (1914) basically repeats Sell's reports but leaves out vital details. When I tried to visit the spot some ten years ago, everything was so overgrown that it was difficult to determine what was really still there and what was not.

⁷⁶It is true that the Sanskrit form *grahana* is retained in the Javanese *grahono* (unlike the Malay *gerhana*). That is why Brandes suggested *segoro* for the etymology of this name (see note 83 below). It would seem, however, that my derivation may be justified in view of the remains to be discussed below. If so, then the toponym would

flask which contained the *amṛta*, the elixir of immortality obtained by churning the ocean with the Mahameru as a churning stick. Though both gods and demons shared the immense labor of this operation, the gods decided that immortality was strictly their privilege and thus they excluded the demons when they sat down to enjoy their drink. The demon Rāhu, however, managed to sneak in and grab the sacred vessel while the gods were too absorbed to notice anything (hence his epithet Graha, "the seizer," a name he shared with the crocodile). The sun and moon, however, noticed what was happening and told Viṣṇu, who sprang up, hurled his *cakra* (discus), and severed Rāhu's head from its trunk. The demon had already taken a mouthful of the elixir, but had not had time to swallow it. Thus his head was doomed to live forever without its mortal limbs. In revenge for what he called their treason, Rāhu periodically tries to devour the sun and moon (eclipses), but since the demon has nothing left of himself except his mouth, they always manage to squeeze out again "through the back door."⁷⁷

Returning to the hill Goromanik we may observe that this name is properly the name of a stone about 40 centimeters high at its summit, hewn in the form of a truncated step-pyramid. At the top of this stone there is a rather deep and wide hole into which a club or pestle is inserted (definitely not a lingga). Its sacred character is enhanced by the presence of two giant guardians (Rāksasa) with club and *keṇḍi* (drinking flask). A few hundred meters further on are three "graves," marked by ordinary river stones and said to be tombs of early Islamic saints. There is, however, nothing Islamic about the names of those who are supposed to be interred there. One of them is a "prince [of] Sling Singan," the name of an important sanctuary mentioned in several inscriptions of the ninth century.⁷⁸ Another is a certain "prince [of] Jipan" alias "prince [of] Goromanik." The origin of the last name we know. Jipan is derived from the Sanskrit *jīvana*, "dispensing (ever-lasting) life," an epithet of the *amṛta* itself. The third is a certain "Kyai Atas Angin" (Honorable Above-the-Wind or From-Overseas), who is none other than the demon Rāhu himself in new and Javanese disguise. His Sanskrit name "Ātta-aṅgin" (without limbs) speaks for itself.

In the village itself was exhibited a gargoyle representing the head of a crocodile (which as we know is called *graha*, like Rāhu). Squatting on its head, with her hand on the upper jaw of the wide open

have the same meaning as the *kuṇḍi maṇik* of the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, which in its version of the *amṛta* myth gives this name to the core of the Mahameru (pp. 66-69, 137-39).

⁷⁷J. A. B. van Buitenen, trans. and ed., *The Mahābhārata* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), I, p. 75. The *Tantu Panggĕlaran* version is, of course, connected with the removal of the Mahameru (or its upper portion) from India to Java.

⁷⁸Quoted in W. F. Stutterheim, "De beschreven lingga van Krapjak," *TBG*, LXXIV (1934), pp. 85-93. A "danhyang Salingsingan" appears also in the text *Ṛṣiśāsana* (Pigeaud, ed., *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, p. 299). There may be a connection here with the probably pre-Islamic Guru or Batara ri Seleng who governs the Buginese nether world. Cf. B. Alkema and T. J. Bezemer, *Beknopt handboek der volkenkunde* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1927), p. 189. In that case he is probably represented by the *kāla* head motif (*singa*), the monster head above gateways and the like, and is here in particular Kāla-Rāhu (W. F. Stutterheim, "Oudheidkundige aantekeningen," *BKI*, 92 [1934], pp. 196-202; Th. v. Erp, "Een verkwaardig Hindoejavaansch chronogram in Beeld in het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde te Leiden," *Cultureel Indië*, I [1939], pp. 40-47). He is certainly not a product of Islam.

mouth, is a female figure. The name of the exhibit, according to the villagers, was *prawan sunti*. Centuries ago this "prawan" (virgin) was probably baptized as *sunîti* (guiding, taming), which makes it another symbol of the taming of Râhu. Nothing is left of the sanctuary to which it must have belonged, though some stones are reported to have been used for the foundations of the *mesjid* (mosque). It is noteworthy too that the two above-mentioned raksasa clasp their *kuṇḍi* to their breasts as if to defend them. This reminds us of the fact that in the *Tantu Pang-gêlaran* version, too, two raksasa, Râtmaya and Ratmayi (*ratnamaya* = consisting of jewels), enter onto the scene. Coming from nowhere, they stumble on the *kuṇḍi manik*, inexplicably forgotten by the gods, take it with them and, though they do not know what it is, stubbornly refuse to give it back.

It seems rather evident that these primitive remains are connected with the story of the theft of amṛta by Râhu, the eclipse of sun and moon, and with the Hindu-Javanese period in general. There is, however, one element that does not seem to fit--namely, the pestle or club. But a lack of fit can only be maintained by someone who has not lived through eclipses in a Javanese environment. Crawford knew better: "During an eclipse the rice-stampers are clattered in their mortars, in order to frighten the monster from its meditated mischief. In Java, for example, there is not a rice mortar among ten millions of people that is not put in requisition on such an occasion."⁷⁹ Even today this custom has lost nothing of its popularity.

The pestle was probably the main cult object, since an "anti-Râhu" cult seems more sensible than a Râhu cult. We have seen that in the local folk tradition the whole site had a royal past. We may hope, too, that the stamper or pestle played a prominent role in the history of Javanese kingship, under the names *halu* or *watu tihang*. The oldest reference we have is an inscription dated 863 wherein a certain Pu Kumbhayoni, the victor of (from?) Walaing, claims that his great-grandfather was *devaraja* of Musalâkyarâstra (the kingdom of the pounder) or "sang ratu i halu," whose kraton was in Jangluran.⁸⁰ Starting from the reign of Balitung the *rakai* or *rakryan i Halu* (Watu Tihang) was the highest court-noble after the *mahamantri i Hino* (Ayam Teas [901] and subsequent inscriptions), and thus certainly a member of the royal clan. The founding kings of the East Java realms also attached much importance to this dignity. Siṇḍok bore the title both when he was crown prince and at the beginning of his reign, and Airlangga symbolized his victory over Wura-wari (Luaram), Galuh, and Barat by the erection of his lingga "i Halu." It was also the title of the first king of Janggala. From Krtanagara's time it became the title of one of the three "Great Mantri." In the west of the island, the Sang Hyang Halu

⁷⁹John Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries*, reprint of 1856 edition, ed. M. C. Ricklefs (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 135. This ceremony is probably older than Hindu influence; the Malayo-Polynesians also had a myth about a monster devouring sun and moon. See Stutterheim, "Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen"; also Th. P. Galestin, "Een Hindoe-javaansch gouden sieraad," *Cultureel Indië*, I (1939), pp. 73-79.

⁸⁰De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D. (Prasasti Indonesia II)* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956), pp. 251-64, 300, 341-43, and 289. See also Damais, "Études III," p. 136.

Wesi seems to have been the special emblem of the kingdom of Galuh and its successors, such as Pajajaran.⁸¹

Whether these developments began in our "pestle center" no one can say. There is no evidence of the use of the name "Halu" here. The traditional name of the "kraton" is given as Miroloyo, which must have been derived from the Sanskrit "Mihiralaya," (disappearance or absorption of the sun).⁸² No kingdom of this name is known from other sources. The remains nevertheless seem to be of some interest for the old history of this coastal area on which so little data has come down to us.⁸³

⁸¹Krom, *HJG*, pp. 185, 195, 213, 243, 283, 329; H. ten Dam, "Verkenningen rondom Padjadjaran," *Indonesië*, X (1957), pp. 290-310; F. D. K. Bosch, "De oorkonde van Kem-bang Aroem," *Oudheidkundige Verslag* (1925), pp. 41-49.

⁸²Alternatively, it may have been derived from Mihirâlaya (Dwelling-place of the Sun). In the circumstances, however, "eclipse of the sun" makes better sense. The village name Suroloyo is commonly derived from *surâlaya* ("dwelling-place of the spirits"). This derivation is so common, indeed, that even if the original name had been *suryalaya* ("eclipse of the sun"), it might easily have been assimilated to the name Suroloyo.

⁸³We may note that this site also produced a short inscription with the *sěngkolo* year 1571 (1649 A.D.). The text is obscure, but it does not seem to be connected with the remains discussed above. See J. Brandes, "Enkele oude stukken, betrekking hebbende op Oud-Javaansche opschriften, en bewaard in de Rijksuniversiteits Boekerij te Leiden," *TBG*, XLVII (1904), pp. 458-59. The site is also called *alas kaum* or *alas kahum*, a name possibly originating from *kaum[odaki]*, the club of Kṛṣṇa.

AppendixSources for Information on Ho-ling

	<u>Dynasty Annals</u>	<u>Other Sources</u>	<u>Neighbors</u>
JAWA (Shê-p'o) JAWA Dewata (Shê-p'o-p'o-ta) (433-51)	Liu Sung (420-79)	Biography of Gunavarman (ca. 422) Inscriptions Târûma (after 450)	Ho-lo-tan (430-52)
	Liang (502-57)		P'o-li (473-695)
	Sui (581-615)		Tan-tan (530-695)
Jawa-(P)ARYANG (P/Ho-ling)	T'ANG (618-907)		
	I: ca. 640-70	Biography Hui-ning, Jñanabhadra (Po-ling)	To-lo-mo? (528-669)
		I-tsing (ca. 695)	Mo-ho-hsin (?-695) P'ên-p'ên (?-695)
		Inscriptions of SAÑJAYA (732)	
	II: 768-70	Inscriptions South Central Java	To-p'o-têng (647-?) P'o-li (...-?) 28 vassal countries
	III: 813-18		
JAWA	IV: 820-39	Inscriptions North Central Java	

