



Frontispiece: The Wiṣṇu of Bělahan

Photo: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia

BĚLAHAN OR A MYTH DISPELLED

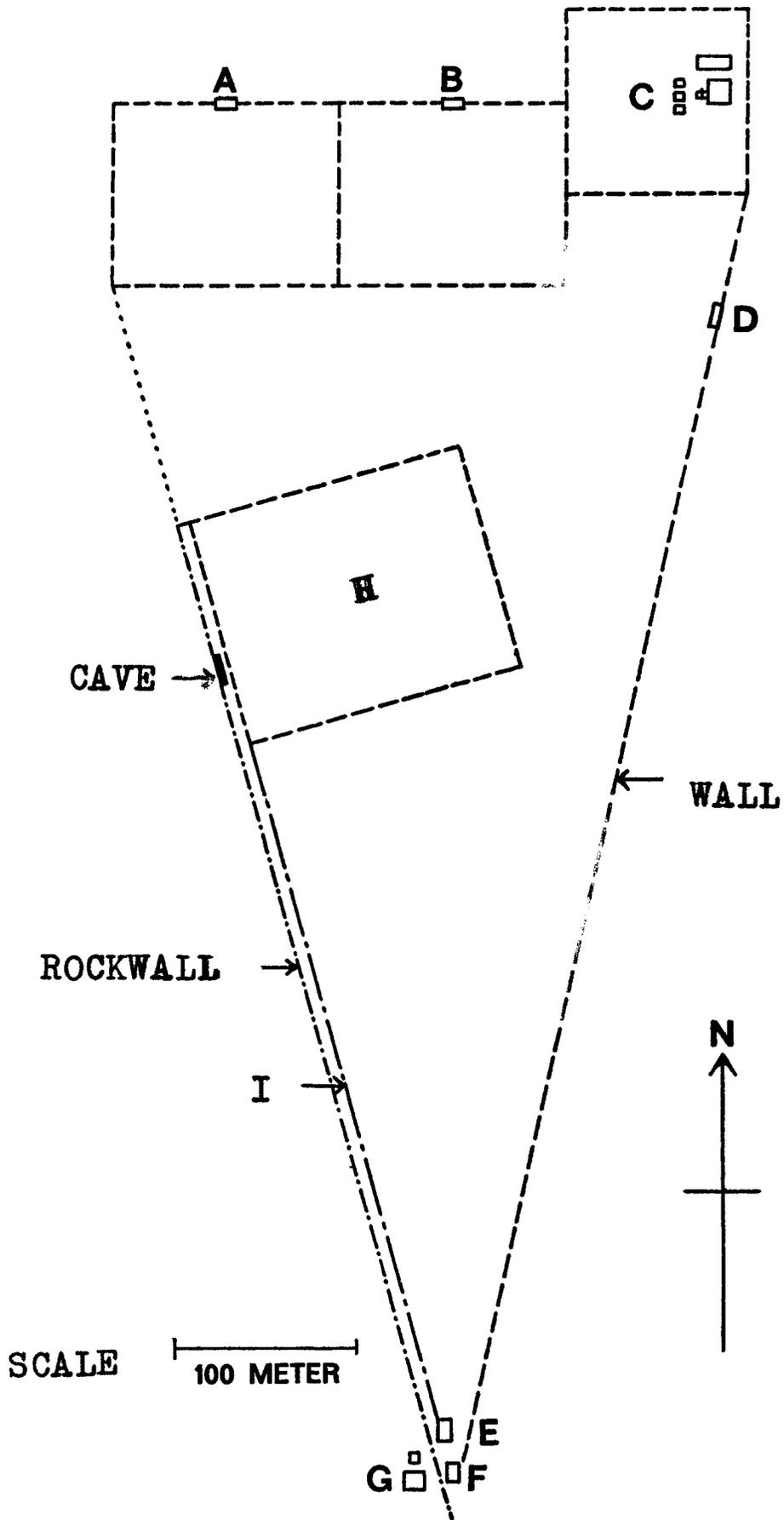
Th. A. Resink¹

Anyone who has attempted to challenge a hypothesis which, though originally advanced with cautious reservations, has gained in authority in the course of years to assume in the end the nature of an established fact, knows about the tough tenacity of myths. They become unassailable.

Our case concerns the hypothesis of Rouffaer, stated in the *Notulen* of the Royal Batavian Society in 1909.² In it the author first advanced the notion that a portrait statue of King Airlangga was embodied in the splendid image of Wiṣṇu borne by Garuḍa which originally came from the bathing-place sanctuary BĚlahan, on the eastern slope of Mt. Penanggungan in the Bangil region of Surabaya, and which now graces the Museum of Modjokerto. This notion was accepted and emphatically defended by Krom,³ was subsequently used by Sutterheim as a point of departure for further assumptions,⁴ and has been perpetuated since as an unassailable fact, or rather myth.

It probably would not have occurred to me to question the myth of Airlangga's portrait myself were it not for the fact that new data have come to light subsequent to the publications of the above scholars. They make it possible to determine more precisely the foundation date of the BĚlahan complex and, as a

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1. An earlier version of this story, "BĚlahan - of een mythe ontluisterd," was published in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (CXVIII), 1967, pp. 250-266. The author and the editors of Indonesia are grateful to that journal for permission to publish this revised and expanded version and to Claire Holt for translating the essay and making valuable suggestions for its revision.
 2. "Notulen van de tiende Directievergadering, gehouden op Maandag, 8 November 1909," Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (XLVII), 1909, p. 183ff.
 3. N. J. Krom, "De Wiṣṇu van BĚlahan," Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (LVI), 1914, pp. 442-444; and see his Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931, 2nd edition), p. 270ff.
 4. W. F. Sutterheim, "De beelden van BĚlahan," Djāwā (XVIII), 1938, pp. 299-308.



result, to eliminate completely the possibility that in the Wiṣṇu of Bĕlahan the features of this mighty prince are immortalized.⁵

Before proceeding with my argument as to why this is so, I should like first to summarize the descriptions of the Bĕlahan complex provided by visitors to the site in the nineteenth and twentieth century, by way of orientation.⁶

From these reports it appears that the complex was surrounded on two sides by a wall and covered an area forming an acute triangle about 800 meters in vertical length (see sketch). At its apex there once stood a small temple with an adjacent shrine (marked G on the sketch map on p. 3). On a level below this was the bathing place known as Bĕlahan I (F on the sketch map), which originally had three spout figures, only two of which are now *in situ* (see Pl. 1). At the base of the triangle lay three walled courts, each with a gate. Only two of the latter remain (A and B); they were separated from each other, according to De Haan, who restored them, by a distance of about 120 meters.

In this spacious area, which slopes upward from north to south, there were located, in addition to the two extant courts:

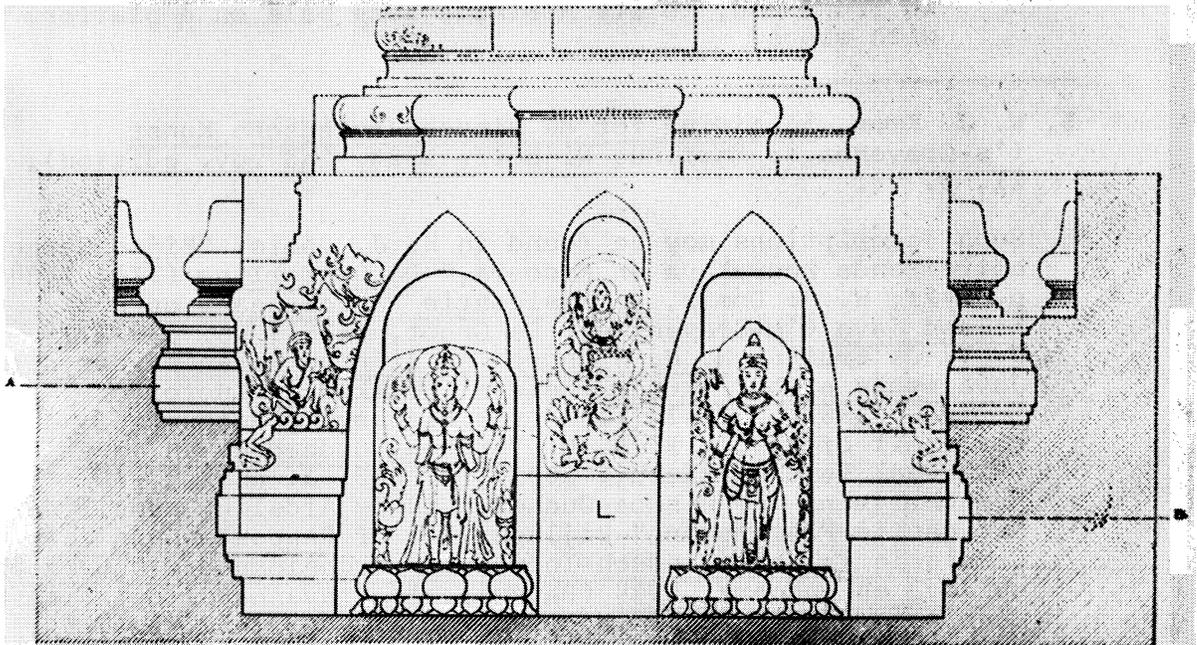
C--the easternmost court, formerly enclosing a tjandi which, as depicted on a painting by Sieburgh (see Pl. 9), had a staircase on its western façade, three small shrines in front and, to its north, a long balé on a platform with steps;

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5. N. J. Krom, Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923, 2nd rev. edition), II, p. 43.
6. Such descriptions may be found in H. J. Domis, "Bijzonderheden betreffende Sourabaya en Madoera," De Oosterling (II), 1834, p. 94ff; H. J. Domis, De Residentie Passoeroeang op het Eiland Java ('s-Gravenhage: De Groot, 1836), pp. 169-171; J. V. de Bruijn, H. N. Sieburgh en zijn beteekenis voor de Javaansche oudheidskunde (Leiden: Drukkerij "Luctor et Emergo," 1937), pp. 147-154 (for Sieburgh's account of his visit of 1840); R. D. M. Verbeek, Oudheden van Java (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1891), p. 303; J. Knebel, "Beschrijving der Hindoe-Oudheden in de Afdeling Bangil der Residentie Pasoeroean," Bijlage 27 a of Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, 1904 (Batavia, 's-Gravenhage: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1905), p. 37ff; J. Knebel, "Beschrijving Hindoe-oudheden in de Afdeling Mādjakertā der Residentie Soerabaja," Bijlage 35 of Rapporten . . . 1907 (1909), p. 104ff.

Pl. 1: The Bathing Place Bělahan I



a. Present condition



b. Reconstruction

- D--a now-vanished hermitage (patapan) with a gate;
 E--the bathing place Bĕlahan II, lying a few meters north of
 of
 F--the bathing place Bĕlahan I; and above them, to the west,
 G--a temple structure with a small shrine to the north (vanished);
 H--a large water basin with an adjacent hermit's cave to the west (vanished); and
 I--a water conduit running along the western rock wall.

For an Earlier Dating of Bĕlahan

I should now like to consider the individual features of this complex in order to demonstrate why, in my opinion, Bĕlahan should be dated not from the reign of King Airlangga in the eleventh century but from that of King Siᅇdok in the tenth. I should like to consider this from three aspects: the style of ornamentation, the architecture, and the available epigraphic evidence.

Stylistic Considerations

The waterwork designated as Bĕlahan I (F) is located at the southern point of the complex and constitutes its second highest sanctuary. In its western wall two four-armed female images, about 1.90 meters high, still stand in niches, each of which is approximately 3 meters high and 1 meter deep. They represent the goddesses Laksmi and Ćri (Pls. 1-3). Originally, these figures flanked the image of Wiᅇnu borne by Garuᅇa. The central Wiᅇnu image was removed in 1815 to Trawas and later was transported from there to the Museum of Modjokerto. It suffered heavy damage in the process, one of the losses being the amᅇta (ambrosia) ewer originally clasped in Garuᅇa's left hand, which served as a water spout.

About thirty years ago, missing parts to all three images were discovered. In Surabaya's Kroesenpark, opposite the residence of the Governor of East Java, Stutterheim found two ornamented stones which, as he convincingly demonstrated,⁷ belonged to the two images of the goddesses. They were the crowning pieces of these statues' nimbi, and their form and measurements fitted perfectly into the spaces above the statues hollowed into the sanctuary's rear brick wall (Pl. 4-5). Later it appeared that a similar crowning stone, which I myself discovered in the

7. Stutterheim, "De beelden van Bĕlahan," p. 302.



Pl. 2: The southern spout figure of Bělahan I

Photo: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia



Pl. 3: The northern spout figure of Bělahan I

Photo: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia

Museum of Batavia (Djakarta), had served as top section of the nimbus at the back of the Wiṣṇu image in the Modjokerto Museum.

These discoveries were followed by others. During a visit to the Museum of Djakarta, I was struck by the ornamentation of three inscribed stones there: above the engraved text, ornamentation appeared in relief, crowned by a convexly curving parasol (payong) with upsweeping ends, which in turn was decorated on its top by a jewel or a lingga on a lotus cushion. The same ornament appears on the stones which belong to the upper part of the Bělahan images. However, when I checked the entry numbers of the charter stones against Damais' revised list of dated inscriptions from Java and Bali,⁸ all three stones appeared to contain edicts of King Siṅḍok, a century before Airlangga, although according to the then prevalent hypothesis of Bělahan's origin one should have expected King Airlangga or his successor to have been their initiator.

I then decided to search further for possible correspondence between Bělahan and other stone charters from Siṅḍok's time by examining three more stones with inscriptions by Siṅḍok in the Museum and by obtaining photographs or rubbings of such stones available elsewhere. Nothing significant came to light, however. The second group of three charter stones in the Museum lacked the parasol motif at the top, and the other documentary material proved insufficient for any definite conclusions. Nonetheless, one could deduce from this that, while the parasol motif was not a firm sign, symbol, or seal identifying Siṅḍok, it was a motif favored in his time and applied in certain cases to objects deserving veneration.

The oldest of the three edict stones of Siṅḍok (D 88, Museum Djakarta) originates from Singasari and bears the date 851 Çaka (929 A.D.). On its front side (Pl. 6a) the ornament consists of a lingga resting on a double, strongly profiliated lotus cushion with stylized foliated tendrils sprouting out of either side. Immediately above the lingga there spreads a parasol with upturned points, topped by a further double lotus cushion supporting a miniature lingga which is flanked by what may be two stamens. The back of this stone (Pl. 6b) shows a bulging vase (kumbha), simply decorated, with a cuffed brim, no foot ring, and standing on a double lotus cushion. From the vase issue two stylized foliated tendrils very similar to those on the front side.

The second stone (D 70), also from Singasari, bears the date 852 Çaka (930 A.D.). Its front side (Pl. 7a) shows a band of stylized cloud and mist motifs which run the whole

8. L. C. Damais, "Études d'épigraphie Indonésienne," Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient (XLVI), 1952, pp. 56 (D 88), 58 (D 70), and 60 (D 59).



Pl. 4: Crowning stone of the southern spout figure

Photo: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia

width of the stone, and, above it, the convexly curving outline of a parasol with upturned ends, which frames a double lotus cushion supporting what appears to be a flaming jewel. From the lower edge of the parasol hang loop-shaped pendants. On its back side (Pl. 7b) is carved, resting on a double cushion, a red lotus with partly opened corolla petals; out of this there rises sharply a blue lotus with pointed corolla and calyx petals flanked by what seem to be stamens. The beautifully stylized foliated tendrils which issue from the cushion felicitously fill the remaining space with their spiralling and arabesque shapes.

The third charter stone (D 59) comes from an entirely different region, Ngandjuk; it was found at Tjandi Lor and dates from the year 857 Çaka (935 A.D.). On its front side (Pl. 8a) we see from left to right the following: three cloud motifs tending leftward; a cakra (wheel of the sun) surrounded by four flames, with diagonally above it another cloud motif directed toward the left; a jewel-crowned serpent whose head is turned to the left and whose coiled body rests on a double lotus cushion; above it and to the right a cloud motif tending toward the right; a winged conch (çangka) on a lotus cushion; and, finally, three cloud motifs directed toward the right. The whole group is once again surmounted by a parasol with upturned ends, and topped by a double lotus cushion supporting what appears to be a jewel, while under the lower edge of the parasol there appear decorations possibly representing bead strings. The cakra, naga (serpent), and çangka, which respectively symbolize the numerical values of 5, 8, and 7, provide the elements of a chronogram (tjandra sengkala). In correspondence with the date that appears in the inscription, they must be read 857 Çaka.

The ornamentation of the back side of the third stone (Pl. 8b) is formed by the upper body of a kâla (protective monster), whose face, peering from between his hunched shoulders and wide-spread elbows, rests on his inward-turned forearms. The monstrous head has puffed-up cheeks, bulging eyes, fangs, stylized ears, a short little beard, and a pair of horns between which rises a tall vertical ornament composed of a lotus cushion supporting a flower. The spaces at either side of the figure are filled with cloud motifs.

If we consider the ornamentation of Siṅdok's charter stone crowns and the top sections of the images at Bĕlahan I, we find four significant points of correspondence:

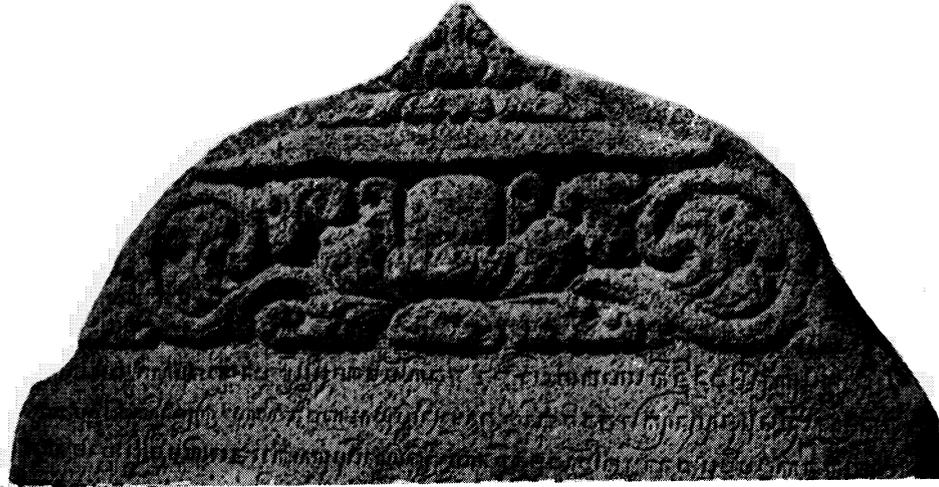
1. The parasols: An outstanding point of correspondence is the occurrence of the curved parasols with upturned ends, a motif unknown elsewhere in Java in this particular form. The upper parts of the parasols, showing a lingga or jewel on a double lotus cushion, also are strikingly similar. The decorative bead strings appearing at the lower edge of the



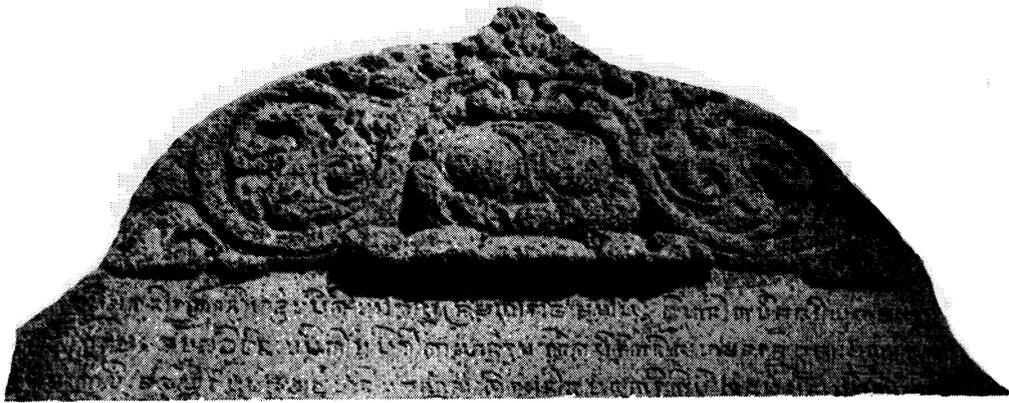
Pl. 5: Crowning stone of the northern spout figure

Photo: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia

Pl. 6: Crowning Piece of Charter D 88



a. Front side



b. Back side

Photos: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia

parasol in Pl. 4 seem to have a counterpart in the parasol of the stone on Pl. 7a.

2. The cloud motifs: Another element of correspondence is the motifs designated by Stutterheim as "cloud motifs with strips of mist and flowers."⁹ These appear on both crowning sections of the images at Bělahan I, to the left and right of the parasols (Pls. 4 and 5), as well as on the relief of the spout stone of Bělahan II (Pl. 11), to which we shall return later. The particular form of this motif too is unique in Java--with one exception¹⁰--and it is therefore significant that it also appears in the ornamentation of the band under the parasol at the top of the charter stone D 70 (Pl. 7a).

3. A blue lotus issuing from a red lotus: A third point of correspondence between the charter stone D 70 (Pl. 7b) and the crowning stone of the northern spout figure of Bělahan I (Pl. 5) is the peculiar representation under the double parasol, of a blue lotus flanked by stamens arising from a half-opened or fully blooming red lotus. Stutterheim, too, was struck by this unusual and peculiar combination in considering the spout figure and interpreted it as a possible allusion to the fertility of the queen represented underneath in her deified form. This conjecture now seems most doubtful considering the presence of this ornament on the charter stone, where it has no relation to a queen's image.

4. Kāla with shoulders, arms, and hands: This element of correspondence occurs between the representation on the charter stone D 59 (Pl. 8b) and a spout stone found at Bělahan II (Pl. 11) which, in another connection, will be discussed below in greater detail. On the back side of the charter stone from Tjandi Lor (D 59) as well as on the spout of Bělahan II, the kāla is depicted with shoulders, arms, and hands. In the spout figure the hands clasp a round object (the moon), while on the

9. Stutterheim, "De beelden van Bělahan," p. 304.

10. This exception did not escape Stutterheim's discerning eye (see "De beelden van Bělahan," p. 304). It relates to a standing image of Çiva at the Museum of Djakarta (Catalogue No. 57), where this motif clearly appears on the background stone on either side of the god's head and shoulders. Stutterheim goes too far, however, in concluding that the image must therefore derive from Bělahan. The same cloud-and-mist motif appears on Siṅdok's charter stone D 70, in which the place name Walandit is mentioned, a locality in the region of Malang where the remains of a bathing place and a number of images and fragments have been found. It is therefore equally possible that the Çiva image belonged to the Walandit site, had landed in the Scheepmaker collection, and was eventually brought to Djakarta.

charter stone the monster's heavy body leans on its arms and the round face is wedged between its hands.

To my knowledge, kāla heads combined with shoulders and such very human arms and hands occur elsewhere only at the Barabudur and in Cambodia.¹¹ But this figure is clearly a forerunner of the banaspati, the version of the kāla figure later used to crown portals in East Java and Bali, where the kāla head is shown with its (lower) jaw between its shoulders and is flanked below by claw-like or figured hands. The clearly delineated horns are typical for later East Javanese representations of the kāla head, but they also appear in ornate late Central Javanese crowns, as at the principal temple of the Lara Djonggrang (Prambanan) complex, at Tjandi Plaosan, and on a lintel of a tjandi on the Dieng plateau.¹²

Architectural Data

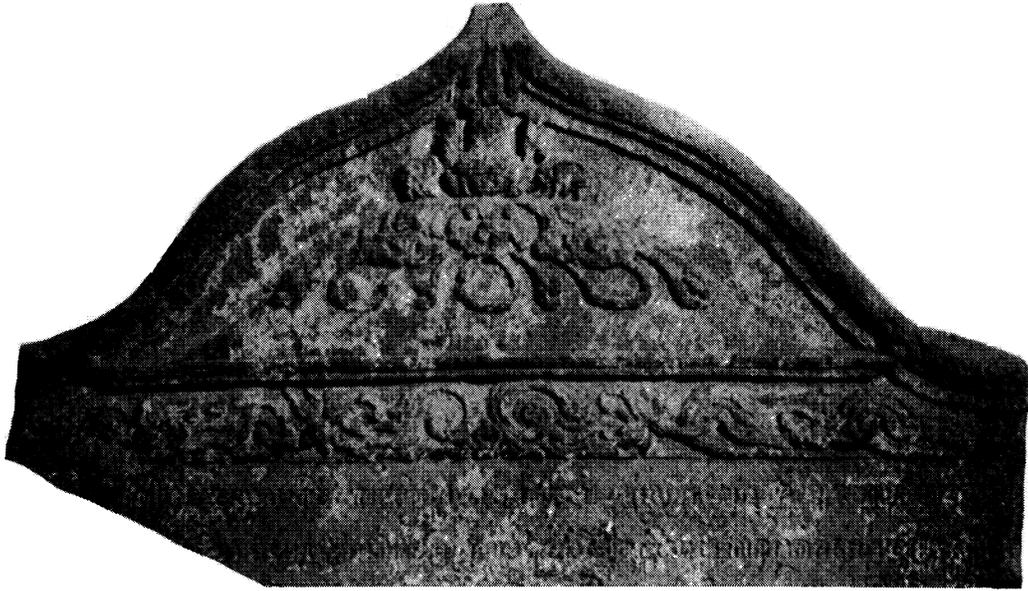
To lend support to my view I have dealt so far exclusively with stylistic idiosyncracies. Some architectural features of the Bĕlahan complex can, however, also contribute corroborative evidence to the argument by indicating the time of their foundation.

Sieburgh's painting of the Çiva temple in the easternmost court (Pl. 9) clearly shows the temple's profile with the balustrade of the stair to the west and a slight projection at the north side. This profile consists of a five-layered plinth, with five successively receding moldings; an ogee with two sets of semi-rounded strips separated by receding moldings; and a flat vertical section, above which there is again a semi-rounded strip. We also encounter the ogee with two sets of semi-rounded moldings separated from each other by recessed strips in Bĕlahan I, at the top of the western wall, in which the niches occur. The profile of the ogee combined with a torus molding is a wellknown element in the architecture of Central Java. It does not appear, however, at Djalatunda or in later East Javanese architecture.

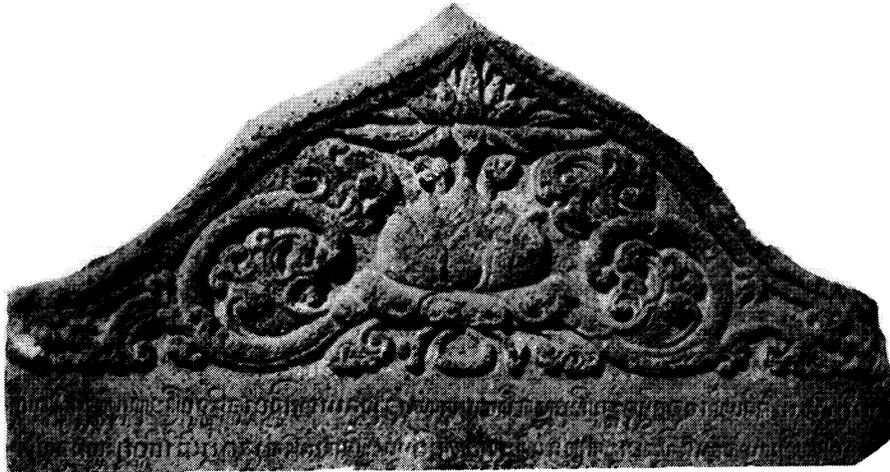
In his description of the gates at Bĕlahan (see Pl. 10), De Haan observes that in some of their parts they contain

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11. F. D. K. Bosch, The Golden Germ (The Hague: Mouton, 1960), Pl. 50; E. B. Vogler, De Monsterkop uit het omlijstingsornament van tempeldoorgangen en -nissen in de Hindoe-Javaanse bouwkunst (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949), Pls. 117, 233.
 12. A. J. Bernet Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art (Amsterdam: Van der Peet, 1959), Pls. 31, 137, 142.

Pl. 7: Crowning Piece of Charter D 70



a. Front side



b. Back side

Photos: Lembaga Purbakala Nasional Indonesia

elements characteristic of Central Javanese architectural motifs.¹³ He points to the similarity between the forms of the crowning ornaments on the rear wall of Bělahan I and those in Central Java.¹⁴ He considers that Bělahan II shows the same general style, pointing out that "(t)here is a striking similarity between [its] profile and that of the gates [of Bělahan I] discussed in a previous article. The same ogee, the same tripartite band in between, etc."¹⁵

It is curious how De Haan kept mentioning these Central Javanese features, all pointing to an early date of Bělahan's foundation, even though they flagrantly contradicted what he, under the influence of the Rouffaer-Krom hypothesis, had stated at the beginning of his description of the Bělahan bathing place:

The bathing place which chronologically most probably follows Djalatunda is Bělahan. Though we miss a date here, the time of its construction should be placed approximately in the middle of the 10th Çaka century. Dr. Rouffaer and Prof. Krom have justified the assumption that this bathing place is a posthumous monument to the powerful East Javanese king, Airlangga. . . .¹⁶

Epigraphic Data

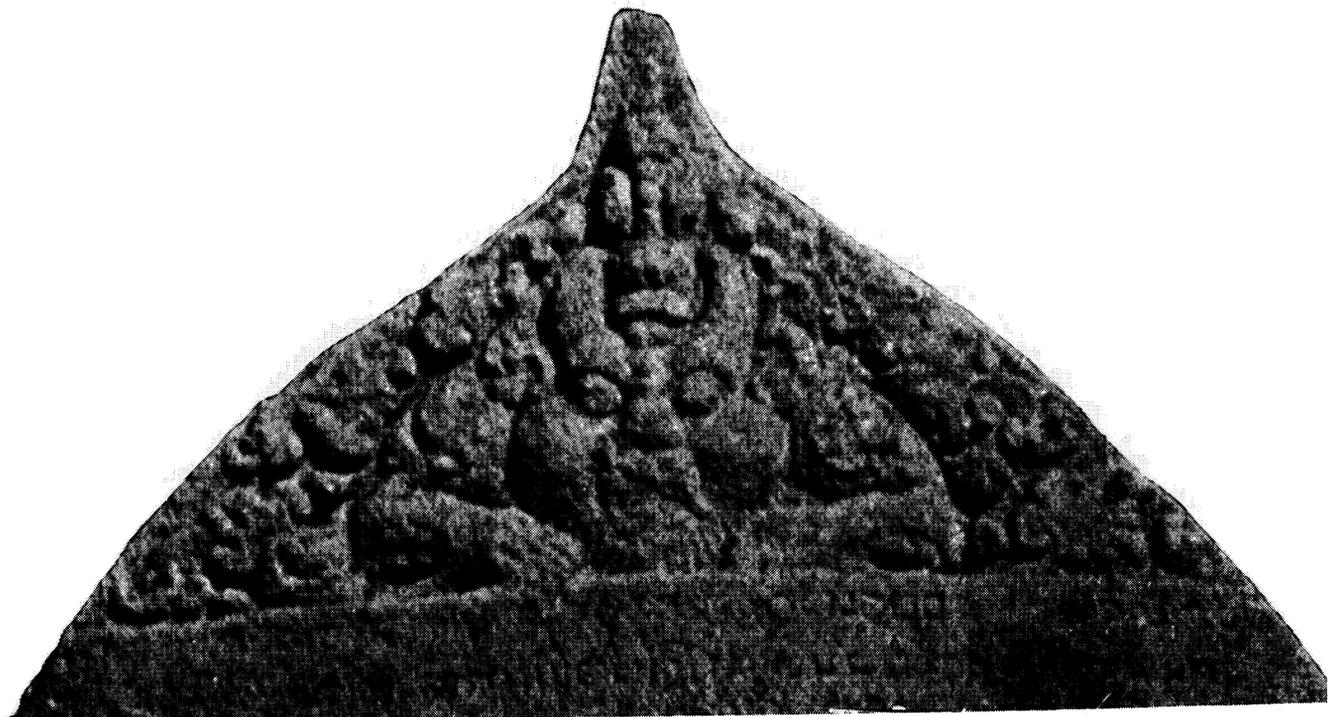
Having considered the stylistic and architectural aspects of the complex, we turn now to epigraphical and related data to test further our argument for an early dating of Bělahan. In this context, we must first deal with the question of whether or not the material of the complex contains a chronogram.

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13. B. de Haan, "Drie Oost-Javaansche Poortjes," Bijlage L of Oudheidkundige Verslag, 1923, p. 158.
 14. B. de Haan, "Oost-Javaansche Badplaatsen II. Bělahan," Bijlage M of Oudheidkundige Verslag, 1924, Fig. III. See also F. D. K. Bosch, "De Spuierreliefs van Djalatoenda," Cultureel Indië (VII), 1945, p. 21, Pl. 8.
 15. De Haan, "Oost-Javaansche Badplaatsen II," p. 145. The "previous article" referred to is "Drie Oost-Javaansche Poortjes" (see note 13).
 16. De Haan, "Drie Oost-Javaansche Poortjes," p. 139. Krom himself attributes the gates to the time of Siṅḍok (Inleiding, II, pp. 39-40), but asserts that they are older than the bathing place with its Wiṣṇu-"Airlangga."

Pl. 8: Crowning Piece of Charter D 59



a. Front side



b. Back side

De Haan described one of the spout stones in the complex as follows:

About 20 meters to the east of the bathing place Bělahan II (E) a singular stone was found (Pl. 11). It has the familiar shape of a stone with an inscription and rests on a lotus cushion. On the face of it is a relief showing a sun with a hole. The sun is in the grip of a monster in whom we recognize an early East Javanese banaspati. The monster head is surrounded by a wreath of clouds, and three celestial beings hover in the atmosphere. On the back of the stone, opposite the sun, there is a small cavity with a decorated rim, which, in turn, is surrounded by several decorative motifs (clouds?).¹⁷

Stutterheim suggested that what is depicted on this stone, which is shaped like a charter stone, is a chronogram giving the date of Bělahan's foundation or the year in which King Airlangga was ritually entombed there.¹⁸ Before discussing this further, I want to point out that the stone under consideration is a spout which did not, as Stutterheim thought, receive its water through a tube coming from the back but via one of its sides, as clearly appears from the photograph in *Oudheidkundige Verslag* (no. 9), 1924. This means that the stone once stood with its narrow side affixed to a wall, from which water was conducted to its spouts; and further that the stone was visible from three sides and that the water had spouted from the front as well as from the

17. De Haan, "Drie Oost-Javaansche Poortjes," p. 144. To complement and correct this description, Stutterheim noted ("Is 1049 het sterfjaar van Erlangga?", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (XCII), 1935, p. 196): "The description 'sun with a hole' is . . . somewhat misleading. Careful examination of the place on the stone discloses that the space around this hole, bordered by a rim of pearls which once surrounded the supposed sun, is very crudely chipped away, in strong contrast to the richly ornamented and very carefully finished surface of the rest of the stone, which extends even to its back. If one further considers that on the precise level of the circular cavity of the front there is a corresponding circular cavity on the back of the stone, likewise crudely finished, the assumption seems justified that over the crudely worked depressions there once was attached a now vanished circular *metal* object, probably a bronze plate, with or without letters or ornaments in relief. De Haan also speaks of 'celestial beings'; seeing their bearded faces and their headdress, which typify hermits, we can correct this designation with 'rsi's. As was believed in Airlangga's times--see the story of Mpu Bharāda--they were able to fly." The "sun," furthermore, was in actuality a representation of the moon.

18. Stutterheim, "Is 1049 het sterfjaar van Erlangga?", pp. 196-202.



Pl. 9: Painting by Sieburgh of temple remains and gates in the northeastern court of the Bělahan complex (see C on the sketch map).

Photo: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

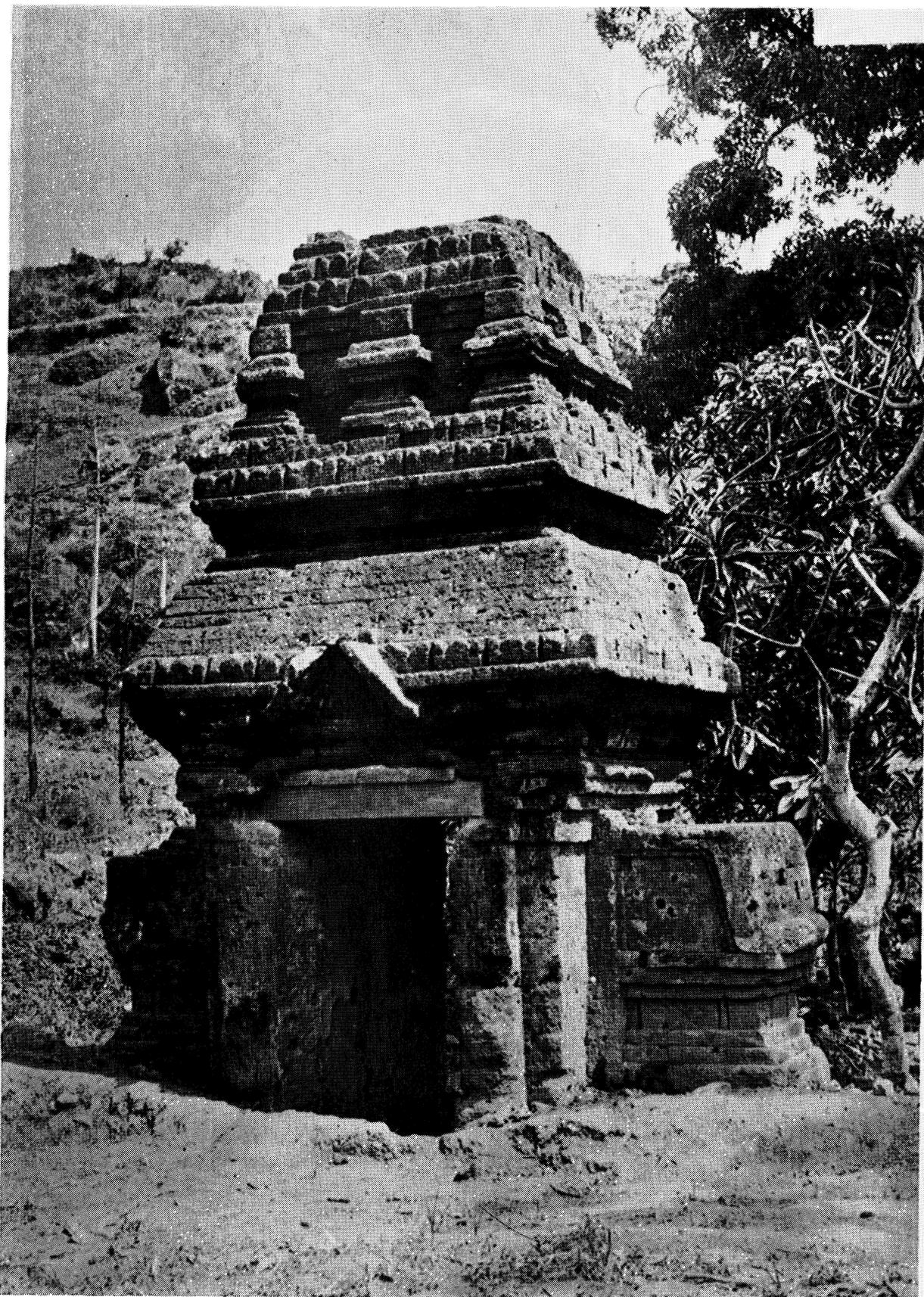
back. At both front and back the disk of the moon is represented, though in different states. Considering the above, it becomes clear that what we see is the eclipse and rebirth of the moon. Unfortunately it is quite uncertain precisely where at Bělahan II the stone was originally located.

We must now inquire whether Stutterheim was right in his assumption that the representations on the stone signified a chronogram. He assigned to the moon the numerical value of 1; to the rsi's 7; and to the mouth of the kāla Rāhu (the opening of the body) 9. This offered six possibilities for numerical combinations; according to the author, preference was due to 971 Çaka (1049 A.D.), this presumably indicating the year of Airlangga's ritual entombment at Bělahan. This conclusion certainly cannot be accepted without reservations. For, quite apart from the possibilities for transposing the representations on the face of the stone into numerical equivalents in an entirely different way than was done by Stutterheim (for example, Rāhu as demon = 5; three rsi's = 3; airspace = 0; water = 4), there is the important fact that the back of the stone shows the same principal elements as the front, i.e., the central figure of the moon disk surrounded by a wreath of clouds; and therefore it should be considered as a possible chronogram no less than the front. But here the combination possibilities of the ciphers (if that is what they are) are quite limited--there is no choice beyond air space = 0; moon = 1; and water = 4--and the highest value obtainable for a date is 410 Çaka, which is impossibly early.

Because of our spout's stylistic affinities (the kāla and the cloud-mist motifs) with the dated stone inscriptions D 59 and D 70 (see p. 14), one may argue that the spout was also produced during Siṅḍok's reign. And if this be the case, a chronogram would certainly have to contain the number 8 for the Çaka century, as is the case in the stone inscription D 59. There is no figure, however, on either side of the spout which could possibly represent an 8. This may indicate simply that there is no chronogram intended. Indeed, so far we know of no decorated stone spout from the old Java period which does bear a chronogram, so that there is no particular reason to expect one.

There is, however, epigraphic information from the area of Bělahan that does provide us with a clue as to its date.¹⁹

19. A small golden plate, found at Bělahan I and discussed by Stutterheim, bears an inscription in a type of script which according to him is completely identical to the script appearing on Airlangga's charters. However, he also remarked that it was impossible to decipher the writing satisfactorily, which leads one to suspect that this judgment may have been hasty. (See "De beelden van Bělahan," p. 301.) Unfortunately, this object disappeared during the war with



Pl. 10: The eastern gate (see B on sketch map) after restoration

Photo: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden



Pl. 11: Spout stone of Bělahan II

In the vicinity of Bělahan's gates, an inscribed stone was found in the hamlet of Sutji; it was dated 851 Çaka and was issued by King Siṅdok. The inscription mentions the place-name Cunggrang (corresponding to the present name of the village Djunggrang), as well as a *sang hyang dharmmāçrama ing Pāwitra* (Pāwitra is the old name for Mt. Penanggungan). Thus one can assume that the charter relates to our sacred site.

Two copper plates found at Nglawang, in the region of Singasari, proved to be a copy of this edict; it had probably soon threatened to become illegible and for this reason was copied to preserve the content. The relevant opening parts of the text of the copper plates, which are much more complete than the badly weathered lines on the stone of Sutji, read as follows:

Ia

1. Hail! Çaka years passed: 851;
month: asuji; twelfth day of the light half of
the moon; (day of the six-day week) Tunglai; (day
of the five-day week) Pahing; (day of the seven-day
week) Çukrawāra (Friday); moon house: Çatabhişaj;
Deity: Baruna;
2. conjunction: Gaṇḍa;
this is the point of time of the order of His
Majesty the Mahārāja Rake Hino Mpu Siṅdok, Çri
Içānawikramadharmmottungga,
3. coming down to both the Samgat Mohahumah: (the
Samgat Madaṅḍēr) Mpu Padmā and the Samgat Anggēhan,
Mpu Kuṅḍala;
decreeing
4. the region of Cunggrang, which belongs to Bawang and
is under the jurisdiction of the Wahuta Wungkal, 2
kupang of land valued at 15 mā su, with live-stock,
as a demarcated freehold
5. to be offered to the Sacred [sang hyang] hermitage
[Dharmmāçrama patapān] of Pāwitra and the Sacred
temple tower [Prāsāda] silunglung of the late [sang
siddha dewata] Rakryān Bawang
6. the father of Rakryān the Royal Lady Çri Parameçwarī
Dyaḥ Kēbi.

The aim of this demarcation is that it belong to
the Sacred Dharmmapatapān and the Sacred Prāsāda

7. silunglung of the deceased [sang dewata: venerable
divinity, i.e., the soul of the deceased king]; that

Japan and no further study of it has been possible; it
must therefore be left out of the discussion for the time
being.

(the inhabitants) work for the Sacred Dharmmapatapān and the Sacred Prāsāda and care for the Sacred springs [tirtha] with spouts of Pāwitra.

8. There is, however, a sawah pakarungan . . . uphill (?) Pamuatan, with livestock, a mark of favor of His Majesty the Mahārāja
9. to Rakryān Parameṣwari. This must be included apart from the remaining property of the Sacred Dharmmapatapān of Pāwitra along with the freehold to be demarcated.

1b

1. Therefrom the costs will be covered for the worshipping of the Bhaṭāra of the Prāsāda of the Patapān of the (Holy) Tirtha: three (times) every month, and also (the costs of) the daily offerings.
2. Such are the high dispositions of His Majesty the Mahārāja over the region of Cunggrang. In consequence of the fact that it will be demarcated (as freehold) (the power of) Bawang Watu ceases.
3. The Bhaṭāra of Pāwitra and the Sacred Prāsāda silunglung of the sang dewata have power over it. None of the monarchs still to come may dispose of it;
4. into eternity it is firmly independent.

(follows a sequence of restrictions. . . .)²⁰

Here, too, King Siṅdok is the author, and Cunggrang and Pāwitra appear as geographical names. The intent and essential provisions of the decree are clear: two pieces of land, until then under other jurisdiction, were made freeholds for the support of a sacred site where Rakryān Bawang, the late father of the king's wife, Rakryān Binihaji Ḍri Parameṣwari Dyaḥ Kēbi²¹ is (or is to be) entombed and deified. According to Poerbatjaraka--

20. W. F. Stutterheim, "Een oorkonde op koper uit het Singasarische," Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (LXV), 1925, pp. 208-281. The above extract was translated from the Dutch; extensive footnotes by Stutterheim have been omitted. A few of the Old Javanese terms, in brackets, have been added by the translator.

21. Here I follow Poerbatjaraka's theory (see below) that *rakryān binihaji Ḍri parameṣwari dyaḥ kēbi*, the title of the queen, refers to Siṅdok's royal wife and not, as suggested by Stutterheim (in "Nog eens Siṅdok's dynastiek positie," Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (LXXV), 1935, pp. 456-462), possibly to a queen-grandmother, the widow of King Daksa.

who read Bawa and not Bawang--this Rakryān Bawang may have been the same person as King Wawa.²²

Krom's Arguments

So far our analysis of the stylistic, architectural, and epigraphic evidence points to the period of King Sindok's reign as the time for the erection of the sanctuaries at Bēlahan. This contradicts the views of the eminent scholar N. J. Krom, who held that it was King Airlangga, claiming descent from Siṇḍok, who was deified by his family there.

Krom sought support for his conjecture in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His reasoning can be summarized as follows: The designation of a ruler as *Aji pāduka mpungku sang pinakachattra ning bhuwana* in the inscription of Keboan Pasar (Residency of Surabaya; OJO 63) which dates from 1042 A.D., must refer to the then reigning Airlangga; and, in view of the combination of secular and religious titles, it must mean he had become a hermit. (This, however, did not prevent him from issuing in the following month of the same year a charter--the stone of Pamotan--under his full royal name; this is the last edict of the King to reach us.) Further the charter of Sumengka, (Bat. Mus. 12) dated 1059 and issued by a later king, refers to a *kantēn*, a water conduit, which was formerly founded by a *pāduka mpungku*--thus echoing the Keboan Pasar inscription's combination of sacred and profane titles--who was entombed at Tirtha as Bhaṭāra Guru (bhaṭāra Guru sang lumāh ri Tirtha). In 1136 still another charter, from Talon in the Blitar region (OJO 70), mentions a favor granted by Bhaṭāra Guru in 1093 and makes it evident that the king buried in Tirtha had the Garuda as his seal; and the Garuda was used as a seal by Airlangga. Connecting the Tirtha of the Sumengka charter with Bēlahan and the Bhaṭāra Guru of the Sumengka and Talon inscriptions with the deified Airlangga, Krom concludes:

It is thus highly probable that this is always the same Airlangga who, having withdrawn from the world, was later ritually entombed at Tirtha. This Tirtha is a hermitage on the Pāwitra and existed already in the time of Siṇḍok. By reason of its location in an area where a pertinent charter by Siṇḍok was found, and of the place names occurring in that charter, as well as on the basis of the minutely retraceable route followed by King Hayam Wuruk in his journey described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama (58:1), this hermitage must be sought on the eastern slope of the Penanggungan.

22. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "De naam Dharmmawangṣa," Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (LXX), 1930, p. 182.

An ancient site is indeed located there in approximately the expected spot, the bathing place Bělahan . . . which, among other [representations] yielded a very beautiful image of Wiṣṇu on Garuḍa, evidently a portrait statue. The early conjecture advanced by Rouffaer . . . that Bělahan is the tomb-bathing-place of Airlangga . . . and that the Wiṣṇu image represents the king's person, gains in probability with the identification of Tīrtha with Airlangga's sacred entombment site.²³

My comment on the above is, in the first place, that it is by no means certain that the author of the charter of Keboan Pasar and the Bhaṭāra Guru of Sumengka and Talon are one and the same person. But even if this identification is accepted, Krom's reasoning seems to be far from unassailable. As Stutterheim had already pointed out, tīrtha must not be understood as a place name but as a "(tomb) bathing place."²⁴ (in a wider sense, "sacred well"). Moreover, in contrast to the Sutji-Nglawang charter as well as the text of the Nāgarakṛtāgama--where the place Cungkrang, the mountain Pāwitra (Penanggungan), and the hermitage are mentioned, thus closely indicating the location of the tīrtha--the edicts of Sumengka and Talon contain no names of places that would indicate the location of the sacred foundation they deal with.

If we consider the original sites of the stones of 1059 and 1136, it seems likely that the tīrtha's mentioned in their inscriptions were situated nearby, Sumengka's in the Sidoardjo region and Talon's in the area of Blitar. This probably was the reason why there was no need to spell out the place name for the local inhabitants.

The Entombments

Now that Airlangga's candidacy for entombment at Bělahan is falling away, let us consider that of Wawa, Siṇḍok's predecessor and, apparently, father-in-law. In this connection it may be useful to review the funerary customs as practiced even today by members of the Javanese nobility (and old Dutch-Indonesian families), especially with regard to the selection of a future grave.

If such persons have special wishes regarding the place of their burial, they may disclose them during their lifetime

23. Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, pp. 270ff.

24. Stutterheim, "Een oorkonde op koper uit het Singasarische," p. 224.

by purchasing the land where they wish to lie, by making arrangements for its maintenance (as, for example, by providing income deriving from designated land-holdings), and by giving instructions to their relatives concerning the monument they wish to have erected after their death. It would be a challenge to the higher powers, however, to start the construction of a tomb during one's life. This task is delegated instead to the next of kin, today usually to the surviving spouse and children. The wife, in proof of her loyalty, then orders the simultaneous preparation of a grave for herself, which stresses her position and her relationship to her husband. In Bali, where wives formerly followed their husbands into death, cremation is performed by and on behalf of the children only.

We should now consider the facts that the last charter of Siṅḍok's immediate predecessor, the rakai Pangkaja dyah Wawa, dates from 928 A.D. and that the first charter issued by Siṅḍok, that of Sutji-Nglawang, dates from the following year and includes the statement that his spouse's late father was sang siddha dewata rakryān Bawa (Wawa). The connection between this and our observations on the duty of close relatives towards a deceased person of high birth is obvious.

If, in this light, we carefully examine once more the quoted part of the charter's texts, we find some interesting details. On side Ia, strophe 4, of the copper plate there is mentioned "the region of Cunggrang, which belongs to Bawang"; and on side Ib, strophe 2, it says: "Such are the high dispositions of H.M. the Mahārāja over the region of Cunggrang. In consequence of the fact that it will be demarcated (as freehold) (the power of) Bawang Watu ceases." So much for the region of Cunggrang. There is, however, still another piece of property, described in Ia, strophe 8, as a "sawah pakarungan . . . a mark of favor of H. M. the Mahārāja to Rakryān Parameḡwari." And this land, too, "must be included . . . along with the freehold to be demarcated."

The second of the above two transactions is quite clear. It was a gift of Wawa's daughter, who was King Siṅḍok's wife, to the sacred site where her father's deified soul was to be worshipped. But the transfer of the region of Cunggrang, which "belongs to Bawang," whereupon "(the power of) Bawang Watu ceases," is less clear and gives rise to the following conjecture.

The region of Cunggrang, it would appear, belonged to someone or something designated once as Bawang and a second time as Bawang Watu. I assume that the person and/or territorial unit from which these names or titles derive are the same. The name, or more probably title, occurs repeatedly in different contexts in several other inscriptions of Siṅḍok's period and earlier, and it bears the same appellation as that by which the deceased

father of Siṅḍok's wife, Rakryān Bawa (read Bawang by Stutterheim), is designated.

Stutterheim conjectured that the Bawang or Bawang Watu of the Sutji-Nglawang charter could have been the eldest son of his predecessor.²⁵ As I share this view, it leads me to suggest that the region Cunggrang belonged to Wawa's eldest son, who for reasons unknown to us did not succeed his father but retained a high hierarchical position. He may have bought the area for the money value mentioned in the Nglawang charter (Ia, 4). Accordingly this land, ceded for the benefit of the sacred site and made by Siṅḍok's decree into a freehold, is mentioned *before* that donated by his sister, Siṅḍok's wife, indicating his high status and probably higher age.

It thus is possible, I think, to see in the Sutji-Nglawang decree an illustration of how the children of a deceased ruler contributed to the foundation and maintenance of a sanctuary for his deified soul. But if this supposition is correct, a second question automatically arises: Can the place where Wawa was entombed at Bělahan be determined with any accuracy? The inevitably hypothetical answer to this question must be sought in the Sutji-Nglawang charter, wherein a *prāsāda silunglung* of the late rakryān Wawa is mentioned no less than six times.²⁶ According to Van der Tuuk, as cited by Stutterheim, *silunglung* is the name of "a *balé* in a cemetery, according to some [informants], small, with a roof of string, under [among?] the offerings and the same as [equivalent to?] the *pantjarengga*, while the one in the cemetery is called *balé gumi*; the roof of whitewashed or white cotton; serves as the place where the priest mutters [prayers] for the remains of the corpse (*pambasmijan*)."²⁷ Owing to Van der Tuuk's peculiar, telegraphic style the description is quite confusing: e.g., the "roof of string" under the offerings is puzzling; the distinction between *silunglung* and *balé gumi* is not clear, but they are obviously related, and both are in a cemetery. Yet it does provide a clue toward the identification of the *prāsāda silunglung* as a funerary temple-tower.

25. Stutterheim, "Een oorkonde op koper uit het Singasarische," p. 220.

26. The *prāsāda silunglung* is mentioned five times in the translated part of the text given above (Ia 5, 6-7, 7; Ib 1, 3) and once in the untranslated Plate II (IIa 6-7), where *bhaṭāra ri pāwitra muang sang hyang prāsāda* are mentioned. Stutterheim, "Een oorkonde op koper uit het Singasarische," p. 236.

27. Stutterheim, "Een oorkonde op koper uit het Singasarische," p. 211.

Now let us consider the description of Bělahan by Sieburgh:

A little off to the side of these bathing places, but standing much higher up on the hill, there is a tomb or mausoleum which has the perfect shape of a small temple in the Janggala architectural manner; it is completely closed, and it is more than probable that it still contains the ashes of a deceased. . . .

It has the form of a small temple, with a kind of portico drawn on one side, and perhaps a small image could have once been standing there. . . .

Close to the said tomb, and standing on the same base, there is a little prayerhouse having the same shape as the grave but smaller, and this offers nothing but a place to sit, so cramped that the tapa (hermit) must have remained there motionless, which fits very well with the teaching about self-torture and self-renunciation. . . .

[The prayerhouse's] opening is turned toward the tomb.²⁸

Verbeek has this to note on the subject:

Above the bathing place, on a small mountain peak, lies still another, third antiquity. It is a small tower, without stairs or chamber, 2.13 meters square and rising 6.5 meters above the surrounding terrace, though [in present times] it protrudes only 4 meters above the surrounding ground. At the northwest side there is a small empty niche.²⁹

This small structure is situated on the highest level of the whole complex and forms the southermost point of the triangle. Its location recalls the tomb-temples of Bali, which often are found on elevations above sacred springs. It seems not unlikely that the prāsāda silunglung of King Wawa, too, was situated above the sacred source, or sources, of Belahan and that it should be identified with the small temple structure, described by Sieburgh and Verbeek, before which stood the balé for the pambasmijan, the priest's prayers for the remains of the dead, as indicated by Van der Tuuk.

28. Sieburgh's description as quoted in De Bruijn, H. N. Sieburgh en zijn beteekenis voor de Javaansche oudheidskunde, p. 152.

29. Verbeek, Oudheden van Java, p. 303.

There are, however, two more tomb temples in the Bělahan complex. In the charter of Sutji (as in its copy, the copper plates of Nglawang) there are mentioned, apart from the *prāsāda silunglung*, a *dharmmapatapān* (place for monk's meditation) and a *tīrtha* (sacred bathing place). The hermitage or *dharmmapatapān* is mentioned five times: in three cases before the *prāsāda silunglung*, once alone, and once when the charter deals with "the *Bhaṭāra* of the *Prāsāda* [temple tower] of the *Patapān* [hermitage] of the (Holy) *Tīrtha* [bathing place]." I interpret this last passage to mean that there were three deities (*bhaṭāra*) to be worshipped, one for the *prāsāda*, one for the *patapān*, and one for the *tīrtha*. This, in my view, is substantiated by the subsequent provision that they be worshipped "three (times) every month. . . ." One month, being a combination of five- and seven-day weeks, consisted of 35 days; and if each deity was worshipped on its proper monthly day, three different days for worship would occur within each month.

I am tempted to make a guess that the sanctuary where the particular *bhaṭāra* of the *patapān* was worshipped was the now completely vanished temple on the elevated terrace in the north-eastern part of the Bělahan complex [C on the sketch map]. It was painted by Sieburgh with the following annotation: "Two walled areas situated on a lower level are closely connected with it, and these three terraces are separated from each other by small gates." These small gates may be those restored by De Haan, though originally there may have been other gates as well. If we consider that the distance between the two restored gates is about 120 meters, and that Sieburgh's temple was still further away, several dozens of feet to the east of the easternmost gate, it appears that this complex was not inferior either in size or in importance to Bělahan I, rising on a higher level above it with its *prāsāda silunglung*.

Sieburgh's painting clearly shows a gap in the plinth at the northern side of the temple (Pl. 9, left foreground). Debris and loose bricks have fallen into it, while the adjacent part of the plinth and the layers of bricks above the ruined area are wholly intact. If, as I surmise, this indicates willful destruction, a plausible explanation is that tomb robbers had ripped away the bricks to gain access to the pit in the interior and to the gold or other treasures entombed there in the casket with the ashes.

From the descriptions by Domis and Sieburgh and from the latter's painting one gathers that the *dharmmapatapān* was oriented west-east in contrast with the *prāsāda silunglung*, whose orientation was south-north. On the terrain of the *dharmmapatapān* were found images of a *Ganeṣa*, a *Nandi* and also a *lingga*, indicating a *Ṣivaite* character for the sanctuary rather than a *Wiṣṇuite* as is the case with Bělahan I. Whereas

in Central Java the trinity of Brahma, Çiva and Wişnu was worshipped, East Java tended to concentrate on Çiva and Wişnu alone, as expressed sometimes in images of Harihara (a fusion of Çiva and Wişnu in one figure).

In three cases this dharmmapatapān was mentioned in the Sutji-Nglawang charter preceding the mention of the prāsāda silunglung. Could it therefore have been the tomb of one of Wawa's predecessors? The answer is "no," because if, as seems likely, Wawa was entombed in the prāsāda silunglung, on the highest level of the complex, none of his predecessors could have been entombed in a sanctuary situated on a lower level than his.

Let us turn now to the third sort of tomb temple, the tīrtha. If we take tīrtha to mean the "holy bathing place" where, according to the inscription, a deity is worshipped, we must assume that the designation refers to Bēlahan I. Containing no visible entranceway, it appears to have been a bathing place intended only for the gods when these, invoked, descended to earth.

At Bēlahan I there was unearthed a rectangular casket with a lid whose shape was similar to that of similar stone receptacles for ashes buried in the tomb-monuments of Central Java. This points to still another entombment. It was considered perhaps of lesser importance than the one at prāsāda silunglung, since it is situated on a lower level. Furthermore, in the charter tīrtha is mentioned only two times--once alone and once in connection with the deity (bhaṭāra) related to this sanctuary. In anticipation of further archaeological research at Bēlahan which may bring greater clarity as to its history and function, the question of who was entombed at Bēlahan I remains a matter for conjecture. Theoretically, however, there are two possibilities:

1. Entombment of Wawa himself, with or without his wife.
2. Entombment of a later king, possibly Siṅḍok.

My hypothesis is that King Wawa, or rather a part of his ashes, was also entombed at Bēlahan I. For, if I read the meaning of the Sutji-Nglawang inscriptions properly, the "deity of tīrtha" applied already in 929 A.D. (851 Çaka), the date of the charter, to the liberated soul of the person entombed there. Thereafter, during Siṅḍok's reign, the elaborate monument was erected on this site. It thus appears that at Bēlahan we may be dealing with a triple entombment, corresponding to the three deities worshipped there according to the charter of Sutji-Nglawang.

The Evolution of Bělahan

I am inclined to believe that the Bělahan site, with its spring regarded as sacred by the population, was venerated already in pre-Hindu times. Moreover, it seems possible that these sacred waters, which irrigated the ricefields below, may have been stored from time immemorial in a basin serving as reservoir (perhaps the large basin--H on the sketch map--which has since vanished?), and that the mountain itself, Pāwitra, was venerated. As we know, mountains were regarded as the dwelling places of the gods, in this case the Bhaṭāra i Pāwitra (Ib, 3, and IIa 6-7). The god (or gods) of Pāwitra must have been venerated long before the cult of the deified king had developed in Java, with its attendant construction of temple-tombs.

One may imagine the evolution of Bělahan as follows: at first it was a sacred site presided over by the god(s) of Pāwitra. In time, hermits watching over the holy springs made their dwellings there. Later a dharmmapatapān was built by or for them. They saw to the offerings and worshipped the god(s) of Pāwitra at the water source with its spouts, the tīrtha, as well as at the dharmmapatapān. This very sacred site was chosen by Wawa for his own entombment. It was effected with the participation of Wawa's son and daughter and her royal spouse through the erection of the prāsāda silunglung, the expansion and embellishment of the spouts of the tīrtha now presided over by Wiṣṇu, and the transformation of the dharmmapatapān into a temple for Çiva. Both these gods were regarded perhaps as aspects or manifestations of the god of the mountain (Çiva) and its waters (Wiṣṇu). The Bhaṭāra i Pāwitra thus became host to the deified soul, the sang siddha dewata (Ia, 5) of the entombed king, whose ashes lent magic substance to all three sanctuaries and whose soul merged with the deities worshipped there. Wawa's wishes were thereby fulfilled.

The sacred bathing place, tīrtha (Bělahan I), was, as I have noted, apparently inaccessible to the population. In the same manner as in Bali, it was meant to serve only the deities when they descended to earth. Subsequently Wawa's children and the king, to accommodate the people who were accustomed to worship the holy source and its deities, caused the construction of Bělahan II, where pilgrims, separated by sex and status, could take a ritual bath. Presumably other structures were added thereafter, the complex acquiring the scope and beauty which four centuries later brought King Hayam Wuruk to visit it, as described in Prapañca's *Nāgarakṛtāgama*:

1. To be described is: at His parting from Jajawa was Paḍameyan the place that was moved into.
2. He stopped in Cungkrang, picking up poetically charming features, making a tour in the wooded country, admiring.

3. A dharma (religious domain), a place of řshis (friars), on the side of mount Pāwitra, was [what was] visited.
4. The pleasantness of that place, looking down into the chasms, was fixed by Him in the songs' idiom.³⁰

It would perhaps be fruitful to extend our discussion of Bělahan to the examination of analogies in some of the sacred sites of Bali as well as at Djalatunda in East Java. In Bali, the sacred ancestral temple of Batu Kahu is significant for a comparison with Bělahan because of its size and location high in the mountains; even more important are the sites of Tampaksiring, Tirta Empul, and Goa Gadjah, which variously combine the functions of a holy bathing place with those of a tomb-temple and a hermitage. As regards Djalatunda, situated on the western slope of Penanggungan, it is as it were a counterpart to Bělahan on that mountain's opposite flank, and comparison between the two is significant for the study of stylistic and architectural development in East Javanese art. But we cannot stop there. As a consequence of this revision, a general re-examination of established concepts concerning the relationship between Central Javanese and East Javanese architectural styles becomes desirable. Also, an investigation is needed as to whether the proposed redating of Bělahan can contribute the clarification of the still obscure circumstances surrounding the transfer of the focus of power from the center of the island to the east. It is beyond the scope of this article to go deeper into these questions. As it was my primary intention to make acceptable my proposition concerning an earlier dating of Bělahan, I can only recommend to the attention of archeologists and historians a further study of the problems arising therefrom.

PORTRAIT STATUES: A POSTSCRIPT

In the literature of Indonesian archaeology, from the time of Professor H. Kern in the beginning of this century up to the present, one encounters the term "portrait statues" used in reference to some posthumous images of deified kings of the past. Yet not a single scholar has defended, let alone proved, the existence of actual portraits enshrined in the sanctuaries of antiquity.

The best known of these "portrait statues," the famous image of Wiřnu on Garuđa, which originated in Bělahan I and

30. Canto 58, stanza 1; in Th. Pigeaud, Java in the Fourteenth Century (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), III, p. 66.

is now standing in the Museum of Modjokerto, is asserted to represent the facial features of Airlangga.¹ However, as I believe I have demonstrated, the Bělahan sanctuary must be attributed to the period of King Siṅḍok's reign for stylistic and other reasons. According to the wellknown stone inscription of Calcutta, this king was Airlangga's great-grandfather, and it is thus not possible that the Wiṣṇu image represented Airlangga.

I should like to go further than the Bělahan case here and argue against the whole assumption of the existence of portrait statues in writings on the cultural history of old Indonesia. First of all, let us inquire into the reasons which led to the use of the term "portrait statues."

From the Nāgarakṛtāgama and the Pararaton we learn that the last remains of a deceased king were entombed in a sanctuary and that above them was erected the image of a deity to be worshipped. A connection was thereby established between the sanctuary, a particular god, and the deceased king. When it was discovered that some of the images bore what appeared to be strongly individual facial features, the seemingly logical conclusion was drawn that the connection between the deity and the king was established by lending the god the face (but not the other body parts) of the deceased ruler whose remains were entombed in the temple.

To return for a moment to the image of Wiṣṇu on Garuda: a closer examination of the image discloses that considerable damage, possibly inflicted during the transportation from Bělahan to Modjokerto, has been repaired, rather inexpertly. Among these repairs was the "restoration" of the face. The repairing and especially the "restoration" of the faces of ancient Javanese stone images was common practice when, in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of this century, prominent Netherlanders and Javanese nobles started to acquire such antiquities to adorn their homes and gardens. As the result, practically all such images with so-called "individual facial features" are suspect as regards the authenticity of their visages.² This undermines the argument for portrait statues based on evidence

1. See, for example, A. J. Bernet Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art (Amsterdam: Van der Peet, 1959), caption to Pl. 202.

2. A clear example is provided by the image reproduced on Pl. 93 (left) in N. J. Krom's Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst, III. Commenting on this figure, Krom observes: "Çiwa-Mahadewa, from Mādjakertā, . . . a piece showing peculiarities in its facial features--it is clearly a portrait figure--exhibiting traces of racial mixture between Javanese and Chinese." (Ibid., II, p. 363).

of "individual facial features." It also eliminates the need to explain why there should be, on the one hand, divine images with characteristically human, individualized facial features, and on the other a large number of deities represented with idealized or conventionalized faces, not to mention the practice of representation through purely symbolic figures such as a *lingga* with or without a *yoni* or the sandals of Buruan.³ In point of fact, the only link that connects the image and the deceased person it "represents" is a correspondence in sex.

One could nevertheless suppose that the Indonesian sculptors and their clients of ancient Java wished to represent their dead rulers in idealized form and to establish the connection between the image and the deceased ruler, if not in external appearance then in some meaningful, symbolic way. Such a thought would suggest that the Javanese and Balinese of antiquity, just as other peoples in various parts of the world down through the ages, wished to perpetuate and preserve into eternity the memory of their great men by means of temple-monuments built of permanent materials and the erection of statues therein representing a deity associated with the king.

There is no evidence, however, to substantiate this assumption. On not a single *tjandi*, image, stone casket, or so-called stone "grain temple" (really a charnel house⁴) has there been found a name or date indicating a precise relation to the person whose remains were entombed in it. Not a single stone inscription or bronze plate, though engraved to preserve the text to eternity, makes a direct reference to the erection of a sanctuary for *commemorating* a deceased person even though the text in many cases indirectly deals with the intention of building a sacred structure.

In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, Prapanca lists many sanctuaries,⁵ a considerable number of which were certainly temples of the king's deified ancestors or relatives; but the poet does not mention their names. Indeed, the avoidance of naming a dead person by his secular name sometimes resulted in providing a deceased king with a new, posthumous appellation. Even today, after many centuries of Muslim and Christian influence, one seldom encounters a name and date of death on a tombstone in an indigenous Javanese or Balinese cemetery.

3. L. C. Heyting, "Rama's sandalen op Bali," *Bijdragen tot de Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde* (CXXIII), 1967, pp. 373ff.

4. W. F. Stutterheim, "Some Remarks on Pre-Hinduistic Burial Customs in Java," in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1956), pp. 76ff.

5. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, III, pp. 86ff.

From all this I am inclined to conclude that in Central and East Java prior to the fifteenth century, and in Bali as well, everything was done to push away rather than to cling to the memory of a deceased person, to perfect the deliverance of his soul from earthly bonds. Should this be true, it would follow that, as Moens has already suggested, it would be more correct to regard the tjandi's, sacred bathing places, rock-temples, and so on not primarily as tomb-monuments but as deliverance-sanctuaries in which is worshipped the deity (bhaṭāra) into whom the soul of the deceased has fused. Therefore it may be better to speak of deliverance symbols rather than posthumous images, let alone portrait statues.