H. Sarkar
South-India in Old Javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 125 (1969), no: 2, Leiden, 193-206

SOUTH-INDIA IN OLD-JAVANESE AND SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS*

The art of writing in many places of South-East Asia is generally believed to have been derived, to use a generic term, from southern India. Epigraphists have designated this script as 'Vengi', 'Pallava-Grantha', but it does not necessarily mean that the script was introduced by the Pallavas. It does however refer to the script of that region of southern India which was later on dominated by the Pallavas. Out of this script was evolved the Old-Javanese script, of which the earliest specimen is provided by the Dinaya inscription of 760 A.D.[1] It is a developed form of the Pallava-script and it came to be known in native parlance as Akṣara Buddha or Buddhist writing. In broad terms, the phrase signifies pre-Muslim writing.[2] An episode, however, in the history of the Old-Javanese palaeography was the introduction of the Pre-Nāgarī script in the late eighth century A.D. The script has been used in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kalasan,[3] Kĕlurak,[4] Plaosan,[5] Sajivan,[6] etc. It also emerges in the script of Sumatra and Cambodia for a brief spell of time, presumably due to the influence of the Pāla-monarchs of Bengal and the Śailendra monarchs of the Malayo-Indonesian world. The Pre-Nāgarī script of the 8th century and the

---

* This article was originally read as a paper at a meeting of the II International Conference: Seminar of Tamil Studies, which held its session at Madras between the 3rd and 11th January 1968.

1 Vide Kern, *VG* VII, pp. 67 ff.; Krom, *HJG*, p. 5. The latest edition is by de Casparis in *TBG* 81 (1941) pp. 499 ff. A revised edition of the inscription by the present author is to be found in the *R. C. Majundar Felicitation Volume.* (For abbreviations, see at the end of this article.)

2 Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 32.

3 Bosch in *TBG* 68 (1928) pp. 3-16, 57-62 and Pl. II.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-56.

5 De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* II pp. 175 ff.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. I pp. 21-22. For a general study of the pre-Nāgarī inscriptions, one can profitably consult these volumes.

Proto-Bengali script of the 13th-14th century [7] were however severely limited in regard to time and space and do not appear, at the present stage of our knowledge, to have permanently affected the evolution of a national script for important members of the Austronesian family of languages. The modern Javanese script is the successor of the Old-Javanese script as found in the Dinaja inscription referred to above.

The Pallava-Grantha character, as adapted in Java, led, I believe, to the evolution of national scripts in several islands in the vicinity of Java. Such, for instance, was the case in regard to Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese scripts. The Sumatran script of the Middle Ages is also believed to have developed out of this script. The Batak handwriting of Central Sumatra is merely a variation of the Javanised Pallava-script. The simplification introduced into the Batak writing is believed by Gonda [8] to have been due to the writing materials used, for instance, tree bark or sap-wood. The Rĕjang and Lampong scripts of South Sumatra also bear remarkable affinity with the Javanised Pallava-Grantha character. Kern thought that the ancient alphabets of the Bugis and the Macassars of Celebes were evolved out of an ancient common Malay or Sumatran script of the same family. According to some scholars, the old Filipino and old Tagalog scripts seem also to be derived from Dravidian sources.[9] A thorough study of the palaeography of South-East Asia is thus absolutely necessary to determine the nature and extent of the infiltration of the art of writing from India and the exact provenance thereof.

These preliminary observations are necessary for an intelligent appreciation of the contribution made by southern India in the evolution of the Old-Javanese script.

De la Vallée-Poussin had once described palaeography as *une petite science conjecturale*. In the absence of directly dated inscriptions, it is no doubt difficult to establish a firm framework for the study of history, but as matters stand now, the palaeography of the earliest epigraphs,

[7] Such Proto-Bengali scripts are to be found on the back of some sculpture of East Java and in some terra-cotta votive tablets of Burma. I read these inscriptions about thirty years back, but I have not noticed any comprehensive study on the subject. As centres of Buddhist learning in eastern India were being destroyed by Muslim invaders towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, the sudden appearance of Proto-Bengali scripts in Java and perhaps in some other places of S.E. Asia may indicate the dispersal of Buddhists from Bengal to this region. A thorough study of the subject would be highly desirable.

[8] *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

[9] *Ibid.* See also *Tamil Culture* XI (1964) pp. 58-91.

which are undated, is our only guide to determine the history and culture of the periods concerned. From the details outlined above, it would appear that the script of southern India has been mainly responsible for the evolution of the scripts in a large part of South-East Asia. In a recent survey of the provenance and chronology of early cultural influence in South-East Asia, Christie has however assigned [10] a greater role to the Gujerat-Malava and western Calukyan scripts than Pallava-scripts in the development of the palaeography of South-East Asia, before the 6th century A.D. The famous Võ-cạnh inscription (c. 400 A.D.) of Indo-China, the epigraphs of Kĕdah I and Bukit Mĕriam of Malaya are believed by Christie to be written in the Gujerat-Malava script. He thinks that the inscriptions of Mūlavarman of Borneo are written "in a southern script, though it does not appear to be the full Pallava style, which can, however, be seen in Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions from Tārumā, West Java." He assigns them to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. or a little later. He also admits that the Tuk Mas inscription of Central Java was incised in a South-Indian style.

These views, formulated by Christie, are challenging and differ in some major respects from the views of almost every other scholar who has written on the subject. The grounds for the assignment of some of the earliest epigraphs of South-East Asia to the school of writing prevalent in the Gujerat-Malava region need be fully substantiated by a detailed examination of the scripts, but the very fact that the same scripts have been assigned to northern, western and southern India by different scholars indicate need for a comprehensive probe into the scripts of the earliest inscriptions of South-East Asia in the context of the contemporary palaeography of India. The broad similarity of these scripts at a certain stage and piecemeal study of individual inscriptions have been mainly responsible for diverse opinions bearing on the data. Such study has carried us, it seems, nowhere. As the rise of the Pallavas synchronised with the growth of several kingdoms in South-East Asia, it might again lead one to think that the script of the Pallavas, and not that of western or northern India, was mainly responsible for the introduction of their script in several places of South-East Asia.

It is however generally admitted that the oldest records of Java, viz., the inscriptions of Tārumā in West Java have been written in the Pallava-script or style. A comparison of these records with those of

[10] *R. C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 1 ff.

Borneo and southern India, as far as this has been made, reveals the fact that these inscriptions from western Java have probably to be placed in c. 450 A.D., though there are advocates to place them in the 6th century A.D. It is difficult to be dogmatic about this date, as there was not much change in Pallava-Grantha characters between 400 and 750 A.D. Of the four records under review,[11] the oldest character has been used in the Ci-arutan inscription. With it, fair similarity has been maintained by the Tugu inscription, which has the additional advantage of being dated in the 22nd year of the king. The Kĕbon Kopi and the Jambu inscriptions, on the other hand, betray a somewhat later development of the script, as we find herein vowel-strokes developed into ornamental curves. It is however possible that this variation is due to the decorative style of writing of the copyists employed.

In 1933, a very short inscription was found incised on a megalithic boulder at Rambipuji near the Lumajang-Lamber road in a corner of East Java.[12] The script is in the same style as in the records of western Java referred to above and thus pertains to the 5th century A.D. It reads thus:

PA-RVVA-TE-ŚVA-RA i.e. Lord of the mountain.

The occurrence of this record on a boulder which may perhaps be imagined to represent a miniature-hill may refer either to Śiva who is universally recognised as the Lord of the Mountain, or may even signify a sanctified object of indigenous popular worship, as found invoked in the imprecatory formula of the Old-Javanese inscriptions. It is no doubt hazardous to determine the age of this inscription on the basis of only five letters, but they resemble the scripts of the 5th century A.D. to be found in tracts dominated by the Pallavas. If this view be deemed to be correct, it would naturally signify that there were several waves of migration from the tracts where the Pallavas lived. Viewed in a broad context, it was a big movement, which spread out over two or three centuries in considerable parts of South-East Asia. The history of the art and architecture in South-East Asia lends general support to this view, unless new discoveries change or modify the present interpretation of facts.

The script of both Java and South India was evolving. It is therefore

---

[11] These inscriptions were edited, amongst others, by J. Ph. Vogel in *Publ. Oudh. Dienst* I (1925) pp. 15-35, with plates. Latest edition by H. B. Sarkar in *JAS* I (1959) pp. 135 ff.

[12] Stutterheim in *BKI* 95 (1937) pp. 397-401.

difficult to say, on the basis of inscriptional data, whether the flourishing of the cultural life of Central Java is to be attributed mainly to the immigration of Javanised South Indians from the western part of Java, where there was already a South Indian settlement in the 5th century A.D., or to fresh influx of migrants from the Pallava tracts of southern India. It is always a risky job to come to a definite conclusion on the basis of a short text or of a few letters. We have therefore to realise our limitations in this regard, particularly because there is a gap of over 250 years between the series of West Javanese inscriptions and the Tuk Mas inscription.

The Tuk Mas inscription is incised on a detached boulder at the foot of the volcano of Měrbabu.[13] It is written in Sanskrit verses in Upajāti metre describing the sanctity of the Ganges. It is undated, but on palaeographic grounds it has been placed[14] in c. 650 A.D., while the following Canggal inscription of King Sañjaya is dated in 732 A.D.[15] Thus there is a gap of about 80 years between the two inscriptions. Both the Javanese inscriptions referred to above are written in the Pallava style. Kern has already observed that the script of the Canggal inscription has also been used in the Hanh Khiai inscription of Cambodia and in the Uruvalli copper-plates of the Pallavas.[16] If it is possible to imagine, on the basis of palaeography, the composition of the Hinduised society in the region of Tuk Mas, we can postulate that there were immigrants from the Pallava-tracts of southern India and if the religious symbols depicted by the side of the inscription be any guide, there were Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas in that region. The following Canggal inscription, also written in Pallava style, as stated before, indicates that, within 80 years, the Śaiva influence predominated. It would however be risky to say that the Śaivism, as reflected in the Canggal inscription, was directly derived from the Śaivism of the Tuk Mas region and not from India. The problems are so complex and the data so meagre that one must hesitate to express any opinion.

The Canggal inscription is an important one and in verse 7 it refers to Kuñjarakuñjadeśa. The older school of scholars took it to be a place located in the borderland between Tinnevelly and Travancore and supposed that a temple dedicated to Śiva was shifted, as it were, from

---

[13] Vide in this connexion B. C. Chabra in *JASBL* I (1935) pp. 34-35.
[14] Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[15] Latest edition by H. B. Sarkar in *JAS* I (1959) pp. 183 ff.
[16] *VG* VII, pp. 123 ff. For linguistic peculiarities of this inscription, see specially pp. 125-127.

that place to Java. King Sañjaya, who set up the Śivaliṅga on the Vukir-hill in Central Java and recorded that event in this inscription was therefore believed to have dynastic or other connexions with the region called Kuñjaradari, which lay, according to the Bṛhatsaṃhitā,[17] between Kach and Tamraparni. It was also celebrated as a place where Agastya-worship was prevalent. The seer Agastya made a deep impact on the religious life of South-East Asia in ancient times and a temple was dedicated to him in Java as early as 760 A.D.[18] All these indications might tempt one to postulate that the origin of the first important dynasty of Mataram, its Śiva and Agastya worship have ultimately to be traced to southern India. The position was somewhat changed when the text was proposed to be read as: śrīmat kuñjarakuñjadeśanihitaṃ gaṅgāditīrthāvṛtaṃ. Scholars then tried to find out Kañjarakuñja in Java itself, though without success. It seems to me that the translation of the text is wrong and that verse 7 should be translated as follows:

"There is a great island called Yava, abundantly supplied with rice-grains and other seeds and rich in gold-mines. That (island) is acquired by the immortals (by mantras) and other means; where there is a wonderful place dedicated to Śambhu, a heaven of heavens surrounded by the Gaṅgā and other holy resorts and laid in a beautiful woodland habitated by elephants, existing for the good of the world."[19]

This translation puts an end to the romance of Kuñjarakuñja but even then the connexion with southern India is unmistakable. South Indian people have also found elaborate mention in a record from the 9th century A.D. I refer to the Jaha inscription of 840 A.D.[20] As the Canggal inscription is dated in 732 A.D., there would appear to be a gap in our knowledge of South-Indians in Java for a little over 100 years. This Jaha inscription mentions the Kling people. The inscription is believed by many scholars to be unauthentic,[21] but it seems to me that when attempt was made in the Singhasari-Majapahit period to adapt the older charters to the idiom of contemporary Java, the copyists or editors of the old charters might have committed mistakes on account of their ignorance or illegibility of the same. These mistakes do not necessarily signify that the original charter was fabricated. An indirect

---

[17] XIV : 16.
[18] F. n. 1 above and Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel* (1926) pp. 43 ff.
[19] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.* (see note 15).
[20] C. Stuart, *KO* II.
[21] *Pararaton*, 1st edn. (*VBG 49*) pp. 94-98; revised edn. *VBG 62*, pp. 112-116.

support to the proposition regarding the familiarity of the name comes from the Chinese annals. In the *New History of the T'ang dynasty* (618-906 A.D.), we come across the name of a kingdom called Ho-ling, which is usually believed to be the Chinese transcription of the famous name Kaliṅga and is generally located in Central Java, though there were advocates to place it in the Malay Peninsula.[22] It seems that the emergence of Ho-ling = Kaliṅga synchronised with waves of fresh immigration through some ports of Kaliṅga, but it does not necessarily mean that all of these immigrants were Kaliṅga people.[23] In any case, emigration through the ports of Kaliṅga must have been heavy, as it succeeded in establishing a new settlement in Central Java or re-christening an old State of that region under a new name. Ho-ling had an importance of its own, but this is not the place to discuss the matter in detail.[24] In the Jaha inscription stated above, in the margin of plate no. 5b, in the 3rd and 4th lines, we read the following statement:

"Cĕmpa, Kling, Haryya, Singā, Gola, Cvalika, Malyalā, Karṇakā, Rĕman, Kmir . . ."

The names are striking and refer to Campā (Annam), Kaliṅga, Ārya, Siṃhala, Gauḍa, Colika, Malayala, Karṇāṭaka, Rĕmĕn and Khmer. The names which are doubtless South Indian include Kaliṅga, Colika, Malayala and Karṇāṭaka. Assuming that the charter is genuine, it would appear that the people of the Kaliṅga-tracts between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī, the Cola people, the people of the Malabar coast and Canara had come into prominence in Java towards the middle of the ninth century. A.D. Among other people referred to in the charter, the Āryas appear to signify either the Aryans of northern India or Hindus of non-Dravidian stock living in southern India. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV), a place called Aryaka is located between Cerya and Ceylon. Of these names, Kling became the most famous. As a personal or place-name, it did not disappear from the inscriptional records of Java. As a matter of fact, we find, among the hundreds of proper names in the charters of Central Java,, only one person bearing the name of Si (i.e. Śrī) Kling. He was associated with the foundation of a Śiva-temple.[25] Kling as a place-name did not also disappear from

[22] E.g. Schlegel in *T'oung Pao* I, pp. 9 ff.; II pp. 273 ff.; Moens in *TBG* 77 pp. 350 ff. For discussion regarding difficulties in locating the place, vide Damais in *BEFEO* XLVIII (1957) pp. 612 and 644; Coedès, *Les Etats Hindouisés,* etc. (1964) p. 151.

[23] Gonda, *op. cit.,* pp. 25 ff.

[24] The data have been discussed in detail by Damais, *op. cit.,* pp. 612 and 644-45.

[25] Text in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 24.

the inscriptions of Java, as later testimony would demonstrate. We shall discuss these data in due course.

If we turn from Central Java to the eastern part of the island, it would appear that the people of that region had also come into contact with the people from southern India. An inscription of king Airlangga (1019-42 A.D.) refers to the fact that people from various countries had come to his kingdom through ports situated on the river Brantas. The river had burst its banks at Varingin Sapta (mod. Varingin pitu) and caused great miseries to the people and Airlangga had to build a dam to stop it. It caused great joy to the foreign merchants and captains of ships who thronged the port of Hujung Galuh.[26] Who these foreigners were has been referred to in several Old-Javanese charters.[27] Among the foreigners, we come across the names of people who hailed from Kling, Āryya, Gola, Singhala, Karnataka, Colika, Malayala, Paṇḍikira, Draviḍa, Campa, Rĕmĕn and Kmir. Some of these places are already mentioned in the Jaha inscription described above. If we compare the two lists, it would appear that the present list is somewhat different from the earlier one and cannot therefore be called stereotyped. The new names introduced here are those of Paṇḍikira and Draviḍa and the order of names are not exactly similar. The Paṇḍikiras obviously refer to the Pāṇḍya and the Kera people and they still survive in the Malay Pĕndekar.[28] Thus we have here precise data from the inscriptions bearing on the ethnic groups of people from southern India who had gone to Java and possibly other places of Indonesia for commercial or other purposes. Of these names, Karṇāṭaka, called Karṇnake in Old-Javanese charters, became so popular in Java that people are found in the foundation-charters to bear names like Kārṇnakendra and Kārṇnakeśvara.[29] Goods coming from foreign countries are also referred to in an inscription dating from the reign of the same king Airlangga: "...yan pavlivli bhāṇḍa adgan ri paradeśa...", thus referring to saleable commodities which came from foreign lands. I have already mentioned which these foreign lands were. I made a thorough search of the Old-Javanese inscriptions hitherto published for any trace of the merchant-guilds of southern India like the *nānādeśis,*

[26] *OJO* no. LXI.
[27] *Ibid.,* nos. LVIII, LIX and LXIV.
[28] For general discussion of these names, vide Krom, *op. cit.,* p. 264 & 265; Kern, *VG* III, p. 71; VII, p. 30; Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes,* etc., I, p. 97; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* I p. 271; Coedès, *op. cit.,* pp. 268-9.
[29] *OJO* no. LVIII, dated 1135 A.D.

for instance, but without any success. It is however unthinkable that, after penetrating into the markets of Sumatra in 1088 A.D., as the Lovu Tuvu inscription indicates,[30] such merchant-guilds would not extend the field of their operations to the more prosperous neighbouring island of Java. The Cola-raids of earlier decades must also have made additional contribution to the creation of a favourable climate.

But the joy of the foreign merchants referred to in the inscription of king Airlangga mentioned above did not necessarily mean that they were always welcome in at least some of the freeholds established for religious purposes during his reign. In fact, restrictions were put in the movement of such foreigners, including South Indians, in such freeholds.[31] Merchandise from foreign lands, beyond a certain limit, was expressly forbidden from the religious foundation of Vimalāśrama in East Java.[32] Although the South Indians were not alone in this discriminatory arrangement, the very fact of restriction implies that they came in large numbers. All these records have been from the residency of Surabaya. Consequently, the Brantas river and the Kali Mas were the principal means for the transportation of merchandise from southern India into the interior tracts of eastern Java. The tributaries like the Kali Konto and the Kali Kĕling further served as channels for the introduction of South Indian goods into the hinterland. The very name of Kali Kĕling is suggestive.

Whatever may be the circumstances leading to the emergence of Ho-ling as a kingdom in Central Java or to the occurrence of Kling in the epigraphy and geography of East-Java, one should not lose sight of the fact that the term Kling (= Kaliṅga) had the same adventure as the Greek word Iawones, a term which was used by the Indians to denote any Greek, subsequently the Muslims and even the Europeans.[33] The commercial activities of the Orang Kĕling i.e. the people of Kaliṅga, which denoted, in a general way, the Tamils, South Indians and even the Indians in general, were greatly responsible for the popularity of the name in the epigraphy of Java. One should have expected, in this context, the inclusion of many Tamil loan words in the Old-Javanese vocabulary. Excepting one case of Prākṛt intrusion, there is not a single non-Sanskritic Indian word in the charters of Central Java numbering over one hundred. Unless some obscure words in the charters of East-

[30] K. A. N. Sastri in *TBG* 72 (1932) pp. 314 ff.
[31] *OJO* nos. LVIII, LIX and LXIV.
[32] *OJO* no. CXII.
[33] Gonda, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6 and f.n. 15.

Java conceal any word of South Indian origin, the charters are written in Old-Javanese with a liberal dose of Sanskrit words, especially at the preamble or beginning. Tamil loan-words in Indonesian vocabulary however increased considerably between the 15th and 19th centuries on account of the commercial activities of the Tamil people. The Hindu and the Muslim Tamils of the port regions of Malacca and the adjacent areas who kept their accounts in Tamil were mainly responsible for this state of affairs. These loan-words in the Malayo-Indonesian vocabulary belong to the domain of trade and commerce.

From the Orang Kĕling, let us now return to the time of king Airlangga. I do not wish here to refer to the military expeditions of the Colas against the Śailendra empire of Sumatra and Malaya, as these lie outside the scope of the present paper, but I have to refer to an interesting phenomenon which has so far baffled the scholars. As I have said before, inscriptions of the time of king Airlangga refer to many people from southern India thronging in the port-areas of eastern Java. This reference occurs when the Śailendra empire was being convulsed by the Cola-invasions. If we think of these two phenomena together, it may not be impossible that the phrase *haji vuravari an vijil sangke lvarām* i.e. the king of Vuravari, when he came from Lvarām,[34] occurring in an inscription of king Airlangga, but referring to the destruction of Dharmmavaṃśa and his kingdom in the year 1007 A.D., may refer to a kingdom in southern India, thus being the precursor of the more adventurous Cola-invasions of subsequent times. The word *Vuravari* in Old-Javanese means 'clear water', while *Lvarām* may signify 'sweet water'. Although some scholars have tried to trace the name in some rather obscure localities in Java and Malaya,[35] I should like to point out certain strange coincidences, which may tempt us to seek for the land in southern India. I refer to a kingdom called Baruvara in some inscriptions from the Mysore area,[36] but since the kingdom in question has not been placed in the list in any sense of geographical sequence, it is difficult to establish its exact location. If this be in southern India and Vuravari be the corrupted form of Baruvara, a search should be made for the exact location of this ephemeral kingdom. The way in which it has been mentioned in the Mysore inscriptions seems to indicate that it was not a very insignificant kingdom, though it did not long survive. The second coincidence is the

[34] *OJO* no. LXII.
[35] Vide Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.
[36] *Ep. Carnatica* IV, Hg. 17; VII, sk. 118.

claim of Rājarāja I to have conquered *in 1007 A.D.* 'ships (at) Kandalur Salai . . . and twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea.' [37] Whether we hold the view that these 12000 islands refer to the Maldives [38] or these and other islands, it is strange that the dates coincide with the destruction of the kingdom of Dharmmavaṃśa in eastern Java. Can all these strange coincidences signify that Rājarāja I and the king of Baruvara collaborated in naval expeditions and that, while the king of Baruvara destroyed the kingdom of Dharmmavaṃśa, the Cola-monarch led naval expeditions against other islands? The only other powerful king who could have destroyed the kingdom of Dharmmavaṃśa was the Śailendra ruler of Sumatra and Malaya, but he has nowhere been mentioned. Besides, the ultimate defeat and death of the king of Vuravari at the hands of king Airlangga preclude this possibility. This major enterprise from southern India, which was temporarily crowned with resounding success, but ultimately proved to be very costly for the king of Vuravari, seems to be echoed in another inscription of king Airlangga.[39] The relevant portion of the text reads as follows:

8. Bhāratavarṣa, kapva pranata mastaka sahanikanang musuḥ parangmukha sa . . . ri paradvīpa paramaṇḍala . . .

I should like to translate the passage thus: "Bhāratavarṣa, all heads (bowed down) in obeisance, along with enemies fully disinclined (to fight) . . . from other islands and other circles . . ."

This passage has not received adequate attention from scholars, but the use of the word Bhāratavarṣa, followed by expressions denoting defeat of enemies, seems to be significant from the point of view elaborated above. It was the victorious conclusion of the war which enabled him, I believe, to describe himself as *ratu cakravartti,* Lord Paramount, in the line immediately following. I therefore offer a tentative suggestion, that Haji of Vuravari is the same as the king of Baruvara in southern India; that he and Rājarāja I undertook overseas expeditions in 1007 A.D.; that while the latter conquered other islands of the Indian Ocean, the king of Baruvara destroyed the kingdom of Dharmmavaṃśa, but he was ultimately defeated by king Airlangga. This exploratory invasion by the king of Baruvara paved the way for

[37] *Ibid.,* Vol. IX, nos. 128, 130, 131, 132 of Channapatna. Taluq. Translation pp. 159-161. Vide in this connexion, R. C. Majundar, *op. cit.,* p. 171 and Coedès, *op. cit.,* p. 261.

[38] K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas* (2nd ed.), p. 183 and f.n. 72 with references therein and his *History of Śrīvijaya,* p. 79; note 13.

[39] *OJO* no. LXIV, Face A, line 8.

the more successful naval expeditions of the Cola monarchs. The slight difference in the names of Vuravari and Baruvara need not be an insuperable objection, as the experience from different inscriptions proves that almost all geographical names from India have got corrupted in Java. However, in view of the paucity of the data, all questions arising out of this proposition can not be adequately answered now, but I offer this suggestion for a study of the problem from a new point of view. If this interpretation be correct, one can understand why king Airlangga put restrictions on the trade of foreigners in the templezone, which no other previous or succeeding ruler of Java had ever done.

I have already referred to the fact that the country of Kaliṅga figures in the inscriptions of king Airlangga. The name did not disappear from the inscriptions of Java. A *juru kling* i.e. a headman of Kling is mentioned in an inscription dated 1194 A.D.[40] The name also appears in an inscription from Jiju in the Mojokerto division of the residency of Surabaya; the inscription is to be dated in the last quarter of the 15th century A.D.[41] Here king Girindravardhana has been designated Bhaṭāre Kling i.e. Lord of Kling. The name is reminiscent of Kaliṅga of India, but both the references seem to indicate the principality lying to the North-West of Kĕdiri by the side of the river Kali Kĕling.[42]

For about three centuries after the reign of king Airlangga, the inscriptions of Java do not reveal any story of contact with South India. That is, to a great extent, understandable, as almost all the Old-Javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions of Java are charters connected with the foundation of freeholds for deities. Obviously there was hardly any scope to refer, except very casually and rarely, to political and commercial affairs of the State. Not until we come to 1314 A.D., when the Blitar inscription[43] was issued under the orders of king Jayanagara, do we find any data connecting Java with South India. In this and the Sidotĕka

[40] *OJO* no. LXXIII.

[41] *OJO* no. XCIV. In this connexion, I must express my thanks to the Editors for kindly inviting my attention to an inscription from 1447 (śakavarṣātīta 1368) published in the *Jaarboek Bat. Gen.*, 1938, pp. 117-18, where Girīndravardhana has been described as *bhaṭṭāreng kling* (i.e. king of kling) and Kamalavarṇṇadevī as *bhaṭṭara ring kalinggapura* (i.e. Queen of Kalinggapura). It appears from the contemporary records that Kling and Kalinggapura were two of the several administrative units in the Majapahitan empire of that time. The popularity and importance of the name Kling-Kalingga is thus demonstrated once again.

[42] Verbeek, *NBG* (1889) pp. 10 ff.

[43] *OJO* no. LXXXII. This inscription is badly damaged, but the name also reappears in the Sidotĕka inscription. The latter inscription has been edited and translated by H. B. Sarkar. In *JGIS* II (1935).

inscription of 1323 A.D., we find the king assuming the curious title Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍyadevādhīśvaranāma-rājābhiṣeka Vikramottuṅgadeva. A nobleman also bears in the Sidoṭĕka inscription the name of Sundarādhirājadāsa. Another surprising thing is that the seal mark of the king was mīnadvaya or two fishes, which was also a Pāṇḍya-custom. At the present state of our knowledge, it would be too much to read any political significance in the matter, but one may perhaps admit that the phenomenon demonstrates close contact, be it cultural or commercial, with southern India. This contact continued unabated at least up to 1365 A.D., because the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,*[44] which was composed in that year, refers to merchants and Brāhmaṇas coming from Karṇāṭaka and Gauḍa. The Buddhist monk Buddhāditya of Ṣaḍvihāra in Kāñcī (Conjeeverum) and the Brahmin Mutali[45] Sahṛdaya came to the Javanese court of Hayam Vuruk. The former composed a Bhogāvali in Sanskrit ślokas, while the latter paid "praise in ślokas".[46]

Kāñcī referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is thrice mentioned in another inscription from Jiju, which is to be dated in the last quarter of the 15th century A.D.[47] One of these references pertain to sang hyang dharma ring kañci, thus a religious foundation at Kañci, but the drift of the passage indicates it to be a place located somewhere in the subdivision of Mojokerto, and not to Kāñcī of southern, although the need for further clarification of the matter still remains.

These are all the data we can possibly have from a study of the Old-Javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions of Java. Unless we supplement these data from other sources, our study of the subject of overseas trade and cultural contact of Tamil-India with what was once a Greater India is likely to be blurred in many respects. These other sources include literary and inscriptional data from both India and Indonesia, the writings of western and Arab, including Persian, geographers, the travels of Chinese pilgrims, relics of sculptural and architectural art of the mainland of India and South-East Asia, the whole range of its palaeography, social customs, myths and legends, historical tradition and folk-tales, the names of localities, rivers and hills, loanwords, etc. It is a stupendous task which must necessarily spread over years.[48]

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

---

[44] 83 : 4.
[45] Supposed by Kern to be the equivalent of Mudaliyar.
[46] 93 : 1.
[47] *OJO* p. 224.
[48] Cf. Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Postscript:

I am thankful to the Editors for inviting my attention to B. Schrieke's *Rulers and Realm in Java* (Indonesian Sociological Studies, Vol. II, 1957) pp. 213-15, where the author has discussed the question of the location of Vuravari. Since it was not my intention to discuss all the suggestions made regarding the location of this place, I merely referred to Krom's *HJG* in passing. I should have possibly referred to the names of Rouffaer and Schrieke in this connexion in the footnote. In any case, since I have been offered an opportunity to revert to the subject, I should like to observe that, with the available data, it is hardly possible to come to any definite conclusion regarding the location of Vuravari. It has been known for a long time that there are several Vuravaris in Java and Malaya/Sumatra. It is doubtful if any one of them can be proved, apart from the inscription of King Airlangga, to have been a kingdom in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. As matters stand now, the history of the Voravari of 1360 (Rouffaer in *BKI*, 77, 1921 pp. 22 & 168) and of the Vorah-Varih of the 18th and 19th centuries, as mentioned by Schrieke, can not be pushed back at present to the time of Airlangga. I do not, of course, wish to mean thereby that there could not be any kingdom of that name in Java or Malaya/Sumatra in the early eleventh century A.D., but that the present data are too meagre to support that view. As against these difficulties, I have invited attention to the advantage of the claim of a contemporary kingdom Baruvara from Southern India at a time when the naval arms of the Colas were already conquering islands in the Indian ocean in 1007 A.D.

H. B. S.

ABBREVIATIONS

BKI,	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
HJG,	Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, 1931.
JAS,	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
JASBL,	Journal and Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters).
JGIS,	Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.
KO,	Cohen Stuart, Kawi Oorkonden.
NBG,	Notulen van het Bataviaas Genootschap van K. en W.
OJO,	Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden.
TBG,	Tijdschrift v. Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bat. Gen.
VBG,	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaas Genootschap.
VG,	Kern, Verspreide Geschriften.