

THE HOMELAND OF ŚAILENDRA FAMILY*

By Bambang Budi Utomo

In this opportunity I will present about the Sailendra Dynasty. The evidence from the presence of this dynasty was mentioned in some inscriptions. Around the beginning of the 90's, I was interviewed by the Army Force of Thailand Kingdom's television. The interview was about the existence of the Śrīvijaya in the southern part of Thailand, where a stone inscription known as Ligor Inscription was found. Both sides of this inscription are written. The content of the first side, which is known as Viang Sa Inscription (Ligor A Inscription), is about the Lord King of Śrīvijaya, only supreme king of all the kings of the earth, has erected three beautiful brick edifices (*Trisamaya caitya*), home of Kajakara (Padmapāṇi), of destroyer of Māra (Buddha), and of Vajrin (Vajrapāṇi) (Majumdar 1933: 126-127; Coédés 1992). In the other side, known as Ligor B Inscription, we find information about a name "Visnu" whose epithet is *śesavvārimadavimathana* ("killer of all his proud enemies without exception") and also called Śrī Mahārāja (Coédés 1918: 17-31). Does that information indicate that the power of Śrīvijaya expanded of southern part of Thailand (Ligor), or how is it's relationship of the Śailendra dynasty, and who is really this someone by epithet "killer of all his proud enemies without exception".

These problems have been a polemic among historians and archaeologists. Since there is still no agreement among them, chauvinism has risen as well as nationality pride because each country claimed her self to be the "owner" of this magnificent kingdom and therefore should be respected as the oldest. In my opinion, these problems could be neutralized if scientists would realise the lack of written data on Śailendra, Śrīvijaya, Mdaṅ, Paṅamkaran, and Bālaputra.

This paper, I would like to try to explain the problem about Śailendra, Paṅamkaran, and Bālaputra(deva), using data I have gathered from various secondary sources. Nevertheless, for this article's guide, especially for the explanation about the dynasty sovereign in Java around the 8th Century AD., I used Boechari's opinion – that Śailendra dynasty was in power in the Kingdom of Mdaṅ around this era - as consideration.

Śailendravamśa

In Indonesia, the name Śailendravamśa was found for the first time in the Kalasan Inscription from 778 AD. (*sailendragurubis*, *śailendravamśatilakasya*, *śailendrarājagurubhis*) (Damais 1970: 512). This name appeared also in the Kelurak Inscription from 782 AD (*sailendravañśatilakena*) (Bosch 1928: 1-56), Abhayagiri-vihāra Inscription from 792 AD (*dhammatuñgadevasyaśailendra*) (Damais 1970: 512), Sojomerto Inscription from 725 AD (*selendranamah*) (Boechari 1966: 241-251; Damais 1970: 512), and Kayumwuṅan Inscription from 824 AD (*śailen[dravañśa-tilaka]*) (de Casparis 1956: 38-41; Damais 1970: 512). Outside Indonesia, this name was found in Ligor Inscription from 775 AD (Coédés 1918: 29-31) and Nālanda Inscription (Bosch 1925: 509-527).

The origin of Śailendra family is still a subject of discussion. Various opinions have been brought forward by historians and archaeologist from different countries. Some said that this family came from India (Majumdar 1933: 121-144), other side from Funan (Coédés 1933: 66-70), while other said that they were native of the Archipelago (Nusantara) (Poerbatjaraka 1975: 25-38; Boechari 1966: 241-251).

* Paper for the "Trans Border Seminar on Kuala Lumpur", Malaysia, 4-10 Sept. 2004

Majumdar (1933: 121-144) assumed that the Śailendra family in Indonesia, either in Śrīvijaya (Sumatera) or Mdaŋ (Java), came from Kaliŋga (South of India). Nilakantasastrī and Moens have the same opinion. Moens (1937: 317-487) considered that this family came from India and stayed in Palembang before the arrival of Dapunta Hiyaŋ. In 682 AD, this family left for Java because of the pressure of Dapunta Hiyaŋ and his soldiers. At that time, the centre of Śrīvijaya was in Malay Peninsula.

Slametmulyana has the same idea based on the title *dapunta* found in the Sojomerto Inscription. This title was also found in Kedukan Bukit Inscription (Dapunta Hiyaŋ). These two inscriptions were written in Old Malay language. Since the origin of this language is Sumatera and there were the political regional expanding of *Kadātuan* Śrīvijaya around 680 AD it can be assumed that Dapunta Selendra was one of the South Sumatera officials who escape to northern coast of Java around Pekalongan (Slametmulyana 1981: 48).

Cœdés (1933: 66-70) has the tendency to assume that the Śailendra in Nusantara came from Funan (Cambodia). The fall of the Funan Kingdom caused by riots have pushed this family in Java, where they soon became the ruler in Mdaŋ (Matarām) in the mid 8th Century using Śailendra as family name.

The opinion that this Śailendra family came from Nusantara (Java) was brought forward by Poerbatjaraka. According to him, Sañjaya and his descendants were kings from the Śailendra family, of the origin of Nusantara and are Śivaists. But since Paŋamkaran become Mahāyāna Buddhist follower (1975: 25-38). This opinion was based on *Carita Parahyangan* which mentioned that R. Sanjaya ordered his son, R. Panaraban or R. Tamperan to change religion because this religion is respected by all people.¹



The Sojomerto Inscription.

Poerbatjaraka's opinion, based on *Carita Parahyangan*, was then confirmed by an inscription found in the region of Batang Regency. In this inscription, known as Sojomerto Inscription, the name of the Dapunta Selendra is mentioned, also his father's name (Santanu), his mother name's (Sampūla) (*da pū nta selendra namah santanū nāma ṅda bapa ṅda bhadrawati nāma aya ṅda sampūla nāma ṅda*). According to Boechari, the figure named Dapunta Selendra was the found-father of all kings from Śailendra descendants reign in Mdaŋ (Boechari 1966: 241-251).

Since the Sojomerto Inscriptions was written in Old Malay language, the name Dapunta Selendra is clearly Indonesia spelling from Sanskrit word Śailendra. If Śailendra family came from South India, certainly they must have used Sanskrit in their inscription. The discovery of Sojomerto Inscription shows the origin of Śailendra family with Dapunta Selendra as the found-father. Based on its palaeographic style, the Sojomerto Inscription was written in mid 7th Century AD.

The Canggal Inscription mentioned that Sañjaya built a *lingga* on Sthīraŋga hill for the secure of his people. It was also written that Sañjaya reign

¹ This religion changing was mentioned implicitly in Raja Sañkhara Inscription, now preserved in Museum Adam Malik. In this inscription, was found that the father of King Sañkhara, Sañjaya, passed away because of sickness during 8 days. His son, Sañkhara, afraid of Sang Guru who was not right, then abandoned the Siva religion, became Mahāyāna Buddhist, and moved the kingdom centre to the east (Poesponegoro & Nugroho Notosusanto 1984: 109)

Java replacing Sanna. King Sanna had a sister named Sanaha whom he married and beared Sañjaya.²

It was known from Sojomerto and Canggal Inscription that they were three ruler names who reigned in Mdaṅ (Matarām): Dapunta Selendra, Sanna, and Sañjaya. King Sañjaya began to reign in Mdaṅ in 717 AD. According to *Carita Parahyangan*, Sena (King Sanna) reigned for seven years. If Sañjaya reigned since 717 AD, then Sanna must have been started to rule around 710 AD. This means that until the sovereignty of Dapunta Selendra (in mid 7th Century AD) there were still 60 years to go. If a king rules around 25 years, then there were still at least 2 more rules before Dapunta Selendra.

The *Carita Parahyangan* mentioned that King Mandimiñak has a son named Sang Sena (Sanna). He ruled for 7 years and was substituted by Sang Sena for also 7 years. By noticing the ranks of the ruled kings, it can be assumed that King Mandimiñak reigned since 703 AD. This means that there was still one king before King Mandimiñak.

The Chinese Chronicle from T'ang dynasty told about Ho-ling kingdom, know as She-p'o (=Java). In the year of 674 AD, this kingdom was ruled by a queen Hsi-mo (=Simo). She ruled very well (Groeneveldt 1960: 14). Could she be inherited her power from Dapunta Selendra? If it is so, then we can get chronological order of rulers in Mdaṅ: Dapunta Selendra (? – 674 AD), Queen Simo (674-703 AD), Mandimiñak (703-710 AD), R. Sanna (710-717 AD), R. Sanjaya (717-746 AD), and R. Panamkaran (746-784 AD).

Rakai Paṅamkaran

Sañjaya reigned in Mdaṅ Kingdom until 745 AD. The reading of the Raja Sañkhara Inscription, he passed away because of an 8-days illness. His son, Sañkhara, being afraid of Sang Guru whom he considered was not a right person, abandoned his Śivais religion and became a Mahāyāna Buddhist, and moved the centre of his kingdom to the east (Poesponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto 1984: 109). In *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, King Sañkhara is considered as Paṅamkaran. Poerbatjaraka considered Paṅamkaran as Panaraban mentioned in *Carita Parahyangan*.

If we assumed the content of a script or inscription is as what the written know, the *Carita Parahyangan* was for the purpose of R. Panaraban (R. Tamperan) and Raja Sañkhara Inscriptions was for Paṅamkaran dyah Sañkhara. So, Panaraban is not similar to Paṅamkaran as suggested by Poerbatjaraka. Moreover

² In the area of ancestors, the *kaliyuga* concept was used to confirm history facts about the fall of a great king by his lower king (Schrieke 1957: 77-81). Based on this belief, the duration of one dynasty's sovereignty was around 100 years or the fall of a kingdom happened on the fourth ruler of a dynasty. Usually, the substitute king considered himself as Śrī Rama or the incarnation of Visnu. The fall of the kingdom is a *pralaya*. The last kings who passed away at *pralaya*, e.g. Wawa (?), Dharmmawangsa Tguh and Krtanāgara. Dharmmawangsa Tguh was the fourth ruler in Iśāna dynasty, and Krtanāgara of Rajasa dynasty.

In Canggal Inscription, was found that King Sanna passed away and the world was broken and in panic because of the disappearances of its protector. The *Carita Parahyangan* mentioned the Sanna kingdom was attacked by Purbasora and the Sanna evacuated to Merapi. From these two sources we can conclude that the attack happened at the time of Sanna sovereignty. After the fall of the Sanna kingdom, Sanjaya became the ruler. As the taken of the kingdom unification Sañjaya built a *lingga* on Sthiraṅga hill.

Generally, the changing of dynasty reigned happened after each *pralaya*. In the case of Mdaṅ Kingdom (Matarām), it did not happen that way. The dynasty reigned in Mdaṅ was still the descendant of the former king. The next ruler (Sañjaya) was Sanna's nephew (Sannaha's son). Maybe he was Sanna and Sannaha's son by marriage.

the Wanua Tñah III Inscription mentioned that Panaraban reigned after Paṅamkaran in 784 AD (Djoko Dwiyanto 1986: 96). Thus, it can be presumed that Sanjaya had 2 wives came from different regions: the first one who came from Java and gave birth to Sañkhara (Pañamkaran), and the second who came from Sunda and descended R. Panaraban (R. Tamperan).³

In the Wanua Tñah III Inscription, we find information that Paṅamkaran started to reign on October 7th, 746 AD. According to de Casparis, this king was a lower-rank king of the king of Śailendra whose name was not mentioned in the Kalasan Inscription. This opinion was also brought forward by van Naerssen who said that Paṅamkaran was a king of Java, who –according to the Kalasan Inscription—had to accomplish a King Śailendra’s order (1948: 249). The second and third line of the Kalasan Inscription mentioned “...*Gurus* of Śailendra King asked Mahārāja dyah Pañcapana Paṅamkaran to build a Tārā building, including her statue...” Meanwhile, Coedes assumed that the king of Śailendra came from Funan in the South East Asia mainland, and he was a Buddhist (1934: 66-70). He succeeded in conquering the king from the Sañjaya dynasty who ruled Jawa Tengah and was a Śivait (de Casparis 1956).

If the argument of van Naerssen and de Casparis was right that Rakai Paṅamkaran was a lower-king, why did he use the title Śrī Mahārāja (‘a great king’), while the title for lower-king was *haji* or *samyahaji* (Edhie Wuryantoro 1983: 606). De Casparis’ opinion was based on the reading of the Kalasan Inscription which indicated the existence of two kings: a king from Śailendra and a Mahārāja dyah Pañcapana Paṅamkaran.

I was interested in sentences “... *Gurus* of Śailendra King asked Mahārāja dyah Pañcapana Paṅamkaran to build a Tārā building...” (Translation) written in the Kalasan Inscription. Based on this sentence, we can agree why de Casparis came to the conclusion of the existence of two kings as informed in the Kalasan Inscription. The question is: why the *guru* did not ask directly to the Śailendra king, instead to Mahārāja dyah Pañcapana Paṅamkaran. Did the Śailendra king has no capability in buildings or was there something else. From the sentence above, I am more convinced that Paṅamkaran was the king of Śailendra, and the *guru* who made please to him was the *guru* of Paṅamkaran, because he was one of the king’s of Śailendra dynasty.

In the Kalasan Inscription, Paṅamkaran was mentioned by the name ...mahārāja dyah pañcapana paṅamkaran; while in the Mantyaśih Inscription (907 AD) he was mentioned as Śrī Mahārāja rakai Paṅamkaran. The mentioning of the title mahārāja is quite interesting for it is also written in the Inscription Ligor A and Ligor B. The name Śailendra and epithet “the brave enemies killer” (*viravairimathana*) were also mentioned in these two inscription, as well as in the Kelurak and

³ *Pustaka Rjyawardana I Bhumi Nusantara* mentioned that Sanjaya had two wives: Devi Sekarkancana from Sunda and Devi Sudhivara from Keling (Java). Devi Sekarkancana and Sanjaya had a son R. Panaraban (R. Tamperan), who then reined Sunda while Devi Sudhivara and Sanjaya had a son Panarakan, who then reined Mdaṅ (Ayatohaédi 1986: 4-7). It seemed that each son got their power according to the origin of their mother, and also that Sanjaya once ruled Sunda (72-732 AD) and Java (732-754 AD). I doubt the authenticity of this script which described completely the historical events as described in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia II*. Panunggalan for the example was only found in Mantyaśih Inscription and written in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia II*. In the inscription he was mentioned after Paṅamkaran. This name was not found in Wanua Tñah III Inscription but Panaraban was ell mentioned.

If we consider inscription as authentic historical data, why was Panuṅgalan not mentioned in the last inscription? Might it be that this inscription was written by a ruler who did not like Panuṅgalan? If that is the case, why were the names of “rebels” mentioned? In that case, we must treat these two sources (script and inscription) fairly: the authenticity of both must be studied before used for historiography.

Kalasan Inscriptions. In the Kelurak Inscription we also found the name Dharaṇḍra (...*dharaṇḍranamna*) whose epithet was *Śrī viravairivaravimardana*) (Bosch 1928: 27-62).

The following table shows some similarity of title and epithets from various inscriptions which designated to one figure. The common point is in the family name: the Śailendra family.

INSCRIPTION	NAME/TITLE	FAMILY	EPITHETON	YEAR
Ligor B	Śrī Mahārāja	Śailendra	śesasavvārimadavimathana	775 AD
Kalasan	Śrī Mahārāja	Śailendra	-	778 AD
Kelurak	Dharaṇḍra	Śailendra	viravairivaravimardana	782 AD
Nālanda	Mahārāja	Śailendra	viravairimathana	9 th Cent. AD
Mantyāsih	Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Paṇamkaran	Śailendra	-	907 AD
Wanua Tñah III	Rakai Paṇamkaran	Śailendra	-	908 AD

(Poerbatjaraka 1975: 35-36; Bambang Budi Utomo 1989:17)

There are some similarities among the inscriptions of Ligor B, Kalasan, Kelurak, Nālanda, Mantyāsih and Wanua Tñah III in that table. Except Mantyāsih and Wanua Tñah III Inscriptions, the other four inscriptions have these elements: *Mahārāja*, *Śailendravamśa*, and *vairivaravimardana*.

The Kelurak Inscription mentioned the construction of a sacred building for Mañjuśri in 782 AD as instructed by Dharaṇḍra, whose name was also mentioned in the Ligor B Inscription. The Nālanda Inscription mentioned the name *Śailendravamśatilaka Śrī vīravairimathana* which means “the jewel of the *Śailendra* family, the brave enemy killer”, while in the Ligor B Inscription *śesasavvārimadavimathana* (“the killer of all his proud enemies without exceptions”) was Visnu’s epithet. Since he was a Śailendra’s family descendant, he wore the title *Śrī Mahārāja*. He was Bālaputra(deva)’s grandfather who became the king of Java as is stated in the Nālanda Inscription, the ‘jewel’ of the Śailendra family, and has an epithet *Śrī vīravairimathana*. His son, Samaratuṅga, was married to Tārā, Dharmasetu’s daughter from the Soma family. The names Dharmasetu and Tārā were also mentioned in the Nālanda and Ligor A Inscriptions as a king Śrīvijaya.

Based on these similarities it can be concluded that Śrī Mahārāja Rake Paṇamkaran, whose name was mentioned in Mantyāsih Inscription (907 AD) and Wanua Tñah III Inscription, was Śailendra king. His name was mentioned in the Kalasan Inscription (778 AD) and Ligor B (775 AD). Inscription while the Raja Saṅkhara Inscription mentioned the name Saṅkhara. In the Nālanda Inscription (9th Century AD) he was called as *Śailendravamśatilaka* (‘Jewel of the Śailendra family’) and got epithet *Śrī vīravairimathana* (‘The killer of enemy’s hero’). The similar epithet was also found in the Kelurak Inscription which was written as *vairivaravimardhana* (‘the killer of enemy’s well known hero’) and in the Ligor B Inscription as *śesasavvārimadavimathana* (‘the killer of all his proud enemies without exceptions’).

Bālaputra(deva)

The potential capacity of inscriptions as data for explaining the origin of Śailendra family is still insufficient. The Sojomerto Inscription, which was found in the area of Pekalongan, did not even mention the origin of Dapunta Selendra. By the name *dapunta* as well as *dapunta hiyaṅ* and also by the language used in the inscription which was Old Malay, Śailendra family was presumed coming from Sumatera. The reason why this family was stranded in the northern coastal area of Jawa Tengah was not mentioned in the inscription. Is it not impossible that they are from this region (Pekalongan) of origin? Since Pekalongan is located in the coastline of northern Java, the emerge of cultural contact was possible was reflected on the commercial relationship between these two areas. The existence of cultural contact was reflected on the using of Old Malay language and the professional's title. The name *dapunta* and *dapunta selendra* was maybe the name of a ruler at that time. In the case of language, Old Malay might be popular among the visitors from Sumatera or people who had made contact with Sumatera. This language was used even until the remote area of Jawa Tengah in the area of Temanggung Regent. In this area, were found two stone inscriptions: the inscriptions of Saṅ Hiyaṅ Wintaṅ (Gondosuli I, no date) and Daṅ Puhawaṅ Glis (Gondosuli II, May 17th. 827 AD) (*OJO III*).⁴

In the inscriptions of Ligor, Kalasan, Kelurak, Nālanda, Mantyaṣih, Wanua Tṛah III, and Raja Saṅkhara, we find a name of a person who was still Bālaputra(deva)'s grandfather. His name was Rakay Paṅamkaran dyah Saṅkhara Śrī Saṅgrāmadhananjaya, who started to reign Mdaṅ kingdom in October 7th, 746 AD with the title of Śrī Mahārāja (Djoko Dwiyanto 1986: 96; Bambang Budi Utomo 1989: 9-16). In various inscriptions, this king epithet is 'the killer of proud enemies' or 'the brave enemies killer'. Based on the findings of inscriptions mentioning him and his epithet, this king might have had strong enough "influence", even though it does not mean that he has immense kingdom till Ligor.

How about Bālaputra(dewa) in the connection with the Śailendra family in Java, and why could be rule Sumatera (Suvarṇadvīpa)? In fact, this is a question of who was the ruler of Mdaṅ after Rakay Paṅamkaran. Until now we have not enough descriptions about the genealogy of rulers of Mdaṅ. The list of rulers of Mdaṅ, known in the term "*Balitung's List*", was not an order of king of Mdaṅ. Moreover, the Karangtengah Inscription mentioned Samaratuṅga and Prāmodāwarddhanī who ruled after Rakay Paṅamkaran.

Rakay Paṅamkaran ruled Mdaṅ quite long, at least for 38 years. In Karangtengah Inscription (824 AD) we found the name Samaratuṅga and his daughter, Prāmodāwarddhanī. A name of a Śailendra princess was found in the Śrī Kahulunnan Inscription (842 AD). Bosch considered the Śailendra princess, Śrī Kahulunnan, was similar to Prāmodāwarddhanī (1975: 17). The princess was said to build a beautiful *jinalaya*. For the maintenance of this building, Rakarayān Patapān pu Palar presented rice-field. Meanwhile, in other sources we find out that Bālaputra(deva) was the son of Samaragravira and the grandson of a king who became 'the jewel of Śailendra family', whose epithet is 'brave enemies killer' alias Rakay Paṅamkaran. His mother's name Tārā, was the daughter of Dharmasetu from the Soma family. If Bālaputra(deva) was Paṅamkaran's grandson, then Samaragravira was actually Samaratuṅga. So, Samaratuṅga, had at least two children from

⁴ The village of Gondosuli is situated in the area of Kedu district, Temanggung Regent, on the slope of Mt. Sumbing. By the distribution of archaeological sites in the area of Temanggung Regent, it can be presumed that between coastal area (Pekalongan) and remote area (Temanggung) there is a road which connected these two places. This road is located in the hilly area in the northern part of Temanggung Regent. Maybe the spreading of Malay culture was brought by the people from the coastal area by this road.

two wives: Prāmodāwarddhanī from the queen as crown-princess, and Bālaputra(deva) from Tārā, Dharmasetu daughter.

Other source mentioned Rakarayān Patapān pu Palar. He was seemed to be the lower-king of Samaratuṅga then married Prāmodāwarddhanī to Pikatan, Pu Palar's daughter. In the later days, after the death of Samaratuṅga, Pikatan became the king of Mdaṅ.

The inauguration of Pikatan as king of Mdaṅ did not please Bālaputra (deva). He felt that he has the right of the Mdaṅ throne. That was the reason why he rebelled against his brother-in-law as told in the Sivagṛha Inscription dated November 12th, 856 AD (de Casparis 1956: 280-330). This inscription mentioned that Bālaputra(deva) (*vālaputra*) has made a refuge built by hundreds of stones. This refuge is now known as Bukit Ratu Baka, lies in southern part of Prambanan Temple complex.

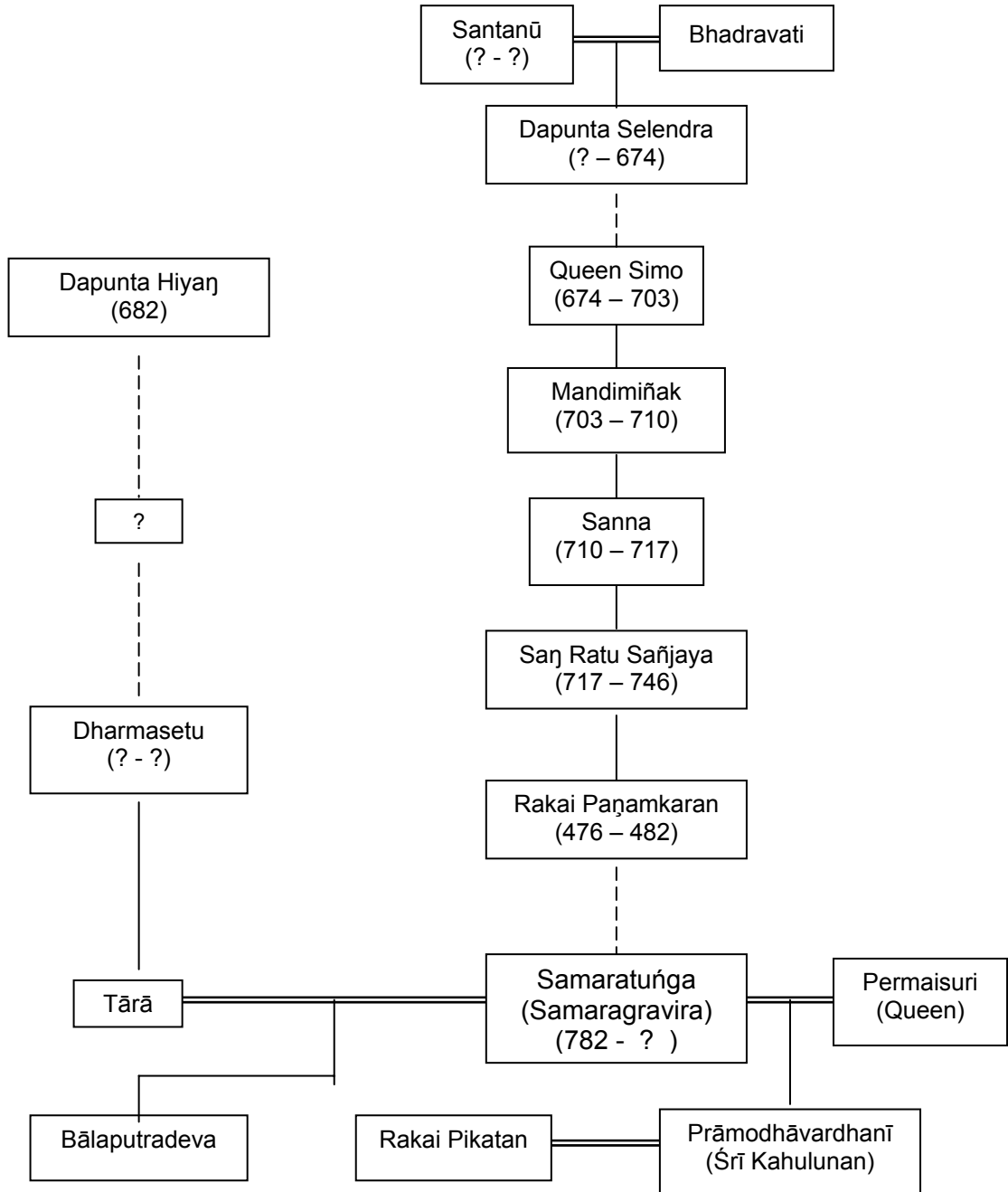
It seems that Bālaputra(deva) could not resist too long. He was then conquered by Pikatan and moved to Sumatera, his mother-land. As he still entitled to the kingdom of Dharmasetu, he succeeded to become the king of Sumatera. He made a relationship with India (Nālanda Inscription) and southern Thailand (Ligor Inscription).⁵

The problem of family relationship between the Java and Sumatera realm is still in discussion because of the lack of written data. What I present here is still an assumption. The question on the Śailendra families who ruled Mdaṅ is not yet solved. The oldest inscription mentioning Dapunta Selendra was only referring a name. This inscription did not describe the origin of the family who descend the kings of Mdaṅ, as well as Bālaputra(deva). Written sources which mentioning him evacuated to Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatera) are only from one point of view that is Java. This problem might be solved if written source mentioning the same thing is found in Sumatera or other places whose have the connection with this problem.

⁵ Ligor A Inscription (no date) was written under the command of Bālaputra(deva), king of Śrīvijaya Śailendra descendant, reigned in Śrīvijaya in mid 9th Century AD (Boechari 1979: note 6)

Svarnadvīpa

Matarām (Mdaṅ)



The Śailendra's Culture Heritage

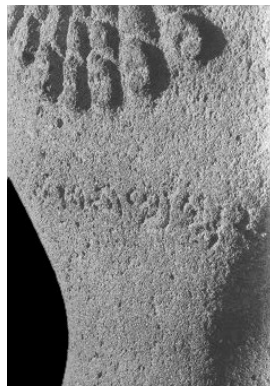
The indication of Śailendra's influence in Malay Peninsula, Sumatera and Jawa was first known from the inscriptions which are found from those areas. In those inscriptions, it is only mentioned one personage from the Śailendra's family, who is Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Paṅamkaran. This personage is mentioned to be the builder of *Trisamaya caitya* for Padmapāṇi, Sakyamuni and Vajrapāṇi (Ligor A Inscription), and in Jawa he is mentioned to be the builder of a sacred building for

Devi Tārā (Kalasan Inscription), Sewu Temple for the worship of Mañjusri (Kelurak Inscription), Plaosan Lor Temple (Plaosan Inscription), Borobudur Temple, and one among many building in Ratu Baka Hill. Though Paṇamkaran has made a sacred building in Ligor, there are no inscriptions which tell that he has built a sacred building in Sumatera. Based on the information taken from Śivagr̥ha Inscription, I can only estimate that the grandson of Paṇamkaran (Bālaputra) who bring the influence of Śailendra to Sumatera in 856. He ran away to Sumatera after he lost the war against Rakai Pikatan (his brother in law).

Paṇamkaran started to rule in Sumatera at 860. Based on Nālanda Inscription which is written by Devapaladeva in the middle of 9th Century AD, the right of the throne is taken from the grandfather of the mother side (Dharmasetu), which is told from Somavaśīsa. He moved to Sumatera bringing his architects and his sculptors.

The influence of Śailendra in Sumatera which is probably brought by Paṇamkaran in the middle of 9th Century AD can be recognized from its cultural heritage. The cultural heritage which is influenced by Śailendra is mostly found in archeological sites in Sumatera Selatan and Sumatera Barat (Sulaiman 1981:54). An Avalokiteśvara Statue with four hands has been found in Palembang. This statue is described wearing a tiger skin. According to Nik Hassan (1979), the Avalokiteśvara statue wearing a tiger skin started from Sumatera. But this opinion is the opposite of Satyawati Sulaiman's who explained that sculpting Avalokiteśvara and Visnu has started from Jawa Tengah during the time of Śailendra (Sulaiman 1981:54). At the time Paṇamkaran moved to Sumatera, this habit is also brought by his sculptors.

From the base of Lematang River, in the city of Palembang, there are some bronze statues of Buddha Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara found (Kempers 1959 fig. 174-176; Schnitger 1937 fig. 8). The imaging of this statue is very beautiful and resemble with the statues found in Java. These statues are classified by Satyawati Sulaiman in Śailendra Style.



Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and an inscription *daṅ ācāryya syuta*.

In 1990, on the riverside of Lematang, a complex of bricks building has been found in a site named Bumiayu. This site has been found for the first time by Tombrink in 1864 (Bambang Budi Utomo 1993: 10). The whole site which is made of bricks consists of 9 building ruins. One of those is being renovated and has a size of 10 x 16 meter. From this ruins, there are some statues found such Agastya, Nandi,

Nivamah Dewa, Deva I, Deva II and a statue with unknown date (?). Based on a paleographical observation on a gold inscription (Sukarto 1993: C6-3), the shape of the site and the style of the statue, it can be estimated that this site came from the 9-12th Century AD. The statues found in this site looks like the statues found in Jawa Tengah especially in the area around Borobudur Temple. Based on this fact, it can be estimated that the statues found in Bumiayu site with Śailendra style which grows in that place in 9-12th Century AD.

In South Sumatera, at Bingin Jungut site, a statue of a standing Avalokiteśvara has been found. In the back of this statue, there is a phrase “Daṅ Ācāryya Syuta”. With this clue, Wolters (1967:310) estimate that this place was the place where Paṅamkaran stayed after moving from Java, and in this place also the Buddhist has built a religion center. Perhaps the Buddhist traveler went there after Borobudur is unreachable.

Archeological observation which is done in Muara Jambi site has reached a conclusion that the Muara Jambi statue site was built in some segment. The first segment was estimated to start in 8-9th Century AD based on a wall slice of Gumpung Temple. This statement is clarified with a discovery of some short gold inscriptions found on the well of Gumpung Temple. Based on its paleographical analysis, the writing on this inscription came from 8-9th Century AD. Though this site is estimated built in 8-9th Century AD, the influence of Śailendra’s style has not been found. The Prajñāparamita statue which was found in the ruins of Gumpung Temple has a Singosari style which developed from the 13th Century AD.

Based on the facts that there are many statues with Śailendra’s Style found in Sumatera, it can be estimated that in the middle of 9th Century AD, there has been a cultural contact between Śailendra in Java and a kingdom in Sumatera. The data obtained from the inscription, inform that in the years 860, Bālaputra who is a noble moved to Sumatera, because he lost the war against Pikatan and in Sumatera he still have an authority because he is the grandson of Dharmasetu.

Resume

The problems I have mentioned give a hypothetical description on the southern part of Thailand (Ligor), Sumatera (Śrīvijaya) and Java (Mdaṅ). There were two kings who were in role at those areas – other than the local government (Ligor) – and they were a Śrīvijayan king named Dharmasetu and someone who might be the descendant of *śesarvārimadavimathana*.

The Ligor A Inscription mentioned a Śrīvijayan king who had build *Trisamaya caitya* for Kajakara (Padmapāṇi), Destroyer of Māra (Buddha), and Vajrin (Vajrapāṇi). This king was Dharmasetu who hold the power around 775 AD. The name Dharmasetu appeared in Nālanda Inscription (9th Century AD), in the part which mentioned the ancestor of Bālaputra(deva), the Śrīvijayan king who built viharas in Nālanda. Several years later, around the middle of the 9th Century AD, a grandson of Dharmasetu -- Bālaputra(deva) – had ordered the writing of Ligor B Inscription (Boechari 1982). Thus, we get a picture about two Śrīvijayan kings who played role around the 8 – 9th Century AD or at least who had made welfare in Ligor.

The Ligor B Inscription mentioned someone with epithet *śesarvārimadavimathana* (‘the brave of proud enemies without exception’). This person is Śrī Mahārāja Rake Paṅamkaran dyah Saṅkhara Śrī Saṅgrāmadhananjaya who ruled the Matarām (Mdaṅ) kingdom in 746-782 AD. It could be possible that his success in ruling the kingdom made him as a “jewel of the Śailendra family” with epithet “the brave killer of proud enemies without exception”. This Matarām king had a grandson, Bālaputra(deva) possessed the right to sit on the throne of the Śrīvijayan

Kingdom. Certainly, he could proudly claim himself as the descendant of *śesarvvārimadavimathana* ('the brave of proud enemies without exception').
