SOUTH-EAST ASIA

STUDIES IN ART, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ARTISTIC RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

POLISH INSTITUTE OF WORLD ART STUDIES

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Izabela Kopania

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SOUTH-EAST ASIA
STUDIES IN ART, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ARTISTIC RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

Jerzy Malinowski

Introduction

The preparation of this book began in 2011 and was connected with the 5th centenary of establishing contacts between Europe and South-East Asia. After Goa was conquered by the Portuguese in 1509, Admiral Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Deputy Governor of Portuguese India sent an expedition to Malakka (today Malaysia) in 1511. On the 24th of August they seized the city and built the Famosa fortress – the oldest, hitherto extant building erected by Europeans. In the same year, the diplomat Duarte Fernandes reached Ayutthaya, with a mission for King Ramathibodi II, and established peaceful relations with the Kingdom of Siam. Irrespective of the political evaluation of the Portuguese mission, it must be said that the establishment of direct contacts between Europe and South-East Asia is one of the most important events in the political, economic and cultural history of the world.

South-East Asia is a fascinating melting pot, where nations, tribes, ethnic minorities and colonies of migrants from different countries mix. These are, for example, Indians, the Chinese, and Europeans. People of many religions meet here – Hindis, Buddhists of various traditions, Muslims, Christians and believers in local faiths. It is this melting pot that saw the formation of the aristocratic court culture based on Indian patterns (Siam, Thailand, Cambodia), Confucian culture of administrative officials (Vietnam), the culture of religious centres, trade towns gradually brought under Chinese control, the colonial culture of Europeans, as well as the culture of the lower strata of society – folk and tribal culture.

Various kinds of interaction took place between high and popular culture. In such an environment an art historian, ethnologist, theater historian, or Orientalist can research works of art (including folk art and craft), as well as theatrical spectacles, their stylistic conventions, techniques of execution, iconography and symbolism, religious and social function, local elements and external influence.

Due to being exposed to such a manifold influence, the elites of these countries developed an interest in European culture. Since the late 19th century colonial or protectorate countries started setting up institutions of artistic life here, while artists of local backgrounds began going to university in Europe. This was connected with the process of the Occidentalization of culture and art, which now represents similar phenomena and content to international art (including mass art), or shows regional values based on traditional techniques. The knowledge of local art techniques became the basic component of protecting the cultural heritage of the area.

Poland and South-East Asia have been linked by many years of contacts beginning from the participation of Polish clergy in Catholic missions in the 16th century. Particularly strong bonds were established, however, after World War II. Most noteworthy are the 1970s and 1980s, when Polish art restorers from the Polish Ateliers for Conservation of Cultural Property were the only ones rescuing and restoring Angkor Wat, Phnom Penh, Hue or My Son. Polish universities educated conservators for Laos and Vietnam. Kazimierz Kwiatkowski, a Polish restorer who died in Danang is to this day remembered in Vietnam. Many works of art from South-East Asia were collected by the Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw, set up by Andrzej Wawrzyniak. Today close contacts are maintained with Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam. I hope that the volume of studies on South-East Asian culture published by the Polish Institute of World Art Studies will be a good starting point for further collaboration in the field of academic research, student and faculty exchange as well as curatorial work.

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South-East Asia – Polish Perspective. Introduction

There are two persons at the very sources of this book. They are distant to each other be it due to realities they used to live in, their social backgrounds and the reasons of stay respectively in Warsaw/Europe and in Vietnam/South-East Asia. These two figures are Chulalongkorn, Rama V, the King of Siam between the years 1868–1910, and Kazimierz Kwiatkowski, Polish architect and art restorer, who devoted his life to Vietnam. What makes them close to each other is the "bridge" they built between Poland and South-East Asia. Even though the lives and activities of neither of them are discussed here in detail, both of them might be perceived as "focal figures" in the history of mutual relations as well as symbolic patrons of the volume. While the fact that Kazimierz Kwiatkowski was one of those who spent his life on rescuing Vietnamese heritage is commonly known, king Chulalongkorn's visit to Warsaw is almost completely forgotten, left out of account or just briefly mentioned.[1] The whole story has been very recently recalled by a Polish journalist.[2]

On the 1st of July 1897, during his first journey to Europe (which took place between the 7th of April and the 16th of December), Rama V got off the train from Vienna to spend a day in Warsaw. By no means was it his final destination. He was heading for Russia where he was to meet Tsar Nicolas II, who had visited Siam, as Tsarevitch, in 1891.[3] King Chulalongkorn's visit was politically oriented and his sojourn in the present capital of Poland was just an episode. The schedule of king's one-day stay in Warsaw is known thanks to the letters he wrote to one of his wives[4] as well as accounts published by Polish journals and weekly magazines.[5] Some insight into the sojourn is also offered by the photos taken by a Polish photographer, Bolesław Matuszewski. One of these is preserved in the Embassy of Thailand in Poland. The programme of the royal visit was very intense: solemn dinner, visit to the theatre, review of troops, the homage paid by the balloonists... What we know is that the King resigned from visiting the highlights of Warsaw (such as the University and St. John's Cathedral) for the sake of taking rest in the Palace on the

[1] See for example: Jacquemyns (2000: 6); Peleggi (2002: 26).

[2] Robiński (2012).

[3] On Nicolas II's visit to the Kingdom of Siam and Chulalongkorn's visit to Russia see Posrithong (2010).

[4] Chulalongkorn (2003).

[5] Król syamski (1897). See also a short paragraph on the visit in "Wędrowiec" (The Wanderer) magazine: 35/28 (1897): 546, 548; as well as a note on the King in the same periodical: 35/22 (1897): 433.

Water, King Stanislaus Augustus' (r. 1764–1795) summer residence in the Łazienki Royal Garden, which Rama V received at his disposal. Just as king Chulalongkorn noted his impressions of Warsaw, the Polish journals informed their readers on the Kingdom of Siam and the distinguished guest. He was described as an enlightened monarch[6] who introduced European culture to his country, waived the slavery, built the merchant marine and electrified the capital. King Chulalongkorn's visit to Warsaw was therefore not only a diplomatic and social event but it also gave opportunity to familiarize Poles with the faraway Kingdom of Siam.

Kazimierz Kwiatkowski's work for the sake of protection of cultural heritage in Vietnam cannot be overestimated. A passionate personality, director of Polish archeological mission, devoted himself to the rebirth and rediscovery of My Son. It was an agreement signed in 1980 between the Vietnamese Ministry of Culture and Information and Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts that enabled him to do research in Vietnam. Its most important objective was to assess war damage to Cham monuments.[7] Kwiatkowski, known among the locals as Kazik (diminutive of Kazimierz), is one of the main figures as far as the safeguarding of Cham monuments, Hue citadel and the historical city of Hoi An is concerned. He presented the results of his research in two volumes on Champa monuments, often referred to even today.[8]

Rama V and Kazimierz Kwiatkowski are the most outstanding personalities in the history of scant cultural relations between Poland and South-East Asia. A story of Andrzej Wawrzyniak, the collector and founder of the Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw, is briefly sketched in Joanna Wasilewska's article in the present volume. There are however others worth mentioning. One cannot forget about the Jesuit missionaries from Polish-Lithuanian province who worked in Asia in the early modern period. Their fortunes and activities were meticulously described by Nguyen Duc Ha.[9] Suffice it to mention the most interesting one – Michael Boym who travelled immensely in Asia and left an account, still unpublished, of his journey from Tonkin to Siam containing a short description of the latter. First and foremost, attention must be paid here to travelers and scientists who visited the region in the first decades of the 20th century. We owe them not only travel accounts which form a body of material to study both European/Polish images of South-East Asia and the erstwhile state of knowledge of Vietnam, Java etc., but also first collections of arts and handicrafts from the region. While Władysaw Jagniątkowski[10] and Aleksander Janta Połczyński[11] noted down their impressions, including some typical to their times observations on art and architecture of respectively Vietnam, Burma and Siam, Michał Siedlecki, Marian Raciborski and Jarosław Waszak brought with them interesting objects which form today the core of South-East Asian collection of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow.[12] Marian Raciborski's activity in Java is well researched in the field of the history of botany.[13] His stay there is perceived as a breakthrough in his academic career and his contribution to the development of studies in the field of tropical botany is highly appreciated. Michał Siedlecki's interest in Java resulted in an extensive account of journey illustrated with his drawings and photographs. What is of particular interest to us here is the fact that he paid unusual attention to art and culture and devoted separate chapters to theatre and music as well as to monuments of sculpture and architecture.[14]

Limited encounters between Poland and South-East Asia have discouraged Polish historians of art from research in the culture of the region.[15] They have focused on the arts of India, China and Japan as well as artistic relations between Poland and these countries. Similarly, the knowledge of South-East Asia in early modern and modern Poland, the way South-East Asian art was perceived as well as the presence of South-East Asian culture in contemporary Poland are still neglected fields.

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[6] See footnote 5.

[7] On Kwiatkowski see: Zolese (2009: 201–202); Phuong (2011: 245–247).

[8] Kwiatkowski (1985; 1990).

[9] Nguyen (2006: *passim*, especially 97–98, 108–109, 122, 215).

[10] Jagniątkowski (2009).

[11] Połczyński (1939).

[12] On the subject see Eleonora Tenerowicz's article in the present volume. See also: Kamocki (2000).

[13] Kornaś (1986).

[14] Siedlecki (1913).

[15] The body of Polish literature, with Andrzej Jakimowicz's outdated *Sztuka Indonezji* (The Arts of Indonesia) published in Warsaw in 1974 (Wiedza Powszechna) as well as scant catalogues of exhibitions organized by Polish museums (for reference see Eleonora Tenerowicz's and Joanna Wasilewska's articles in the present volume) prove rather vague interest in the field.

Some attention was only paid to Aleksander Kobzdej's journey to North Vietnam in 1953–1954 which the painter undertook while paying an official visit to China. The trip, extraordinary at the time, and the observations made *in situ* resulted in the drawings which were widely commented both in the 1950s and recently.[16] However scant the direct relations were, there are still some unexplored issues. Research in the early modern geographical compendia, missionary accounts and articles in 19th-century journals and magazines might provide us with a body of material to discuss the problems mentioned above.

The present volume is the first, extensive collection of studies on the arts of South-East Asia published in Poland. It covers a huge area of almost the whole region and the contributors focus on various fields of culture, from visual arts and puppet theatre to travel accounts and epics. The book is divided into four sections: I. *Art and Tradition: Ornament, Inscription, Figure*; II. *Cultural Heritage: Collections, Challenges, Strategies*; III. *Modern and Contemporary Art: Identities, Contexts, Struggles*; IV. *Europe and South-East Asia: Encounters, Influences, Interpretations*.

The first and most diversified part of the book contains studies on selected aspects of the arts in the region. Among the main threads discussed here are the issue of Indian influence in South-East Asia and the question of ornament. The articles devoted to these problems are accompanied by a discussion of transitional style of Burmese murals (17th–19th century), typological studies in Lao temples, Javanese silk batiks and Philippine golden objects as well as by the analysis of symbolic meanings ascribed to things in *hudhud* epics.

The second section, opening with an outline of heritage sites in South-East Asia, is devoted to tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The articles collected here give insight into the way indigenous traditions mingle with Western influences; suggest the interpretation of local toponyms in terms of cultural heritage; and discuss museum collections, both the objects and their histories as well as the problems with and strategies for exhibiting the artifacts and narrating the processes and issues they illustrate.

The third part of the book is devoted to modern and contemporary art. Here the question of identity seems to be a crucial issue for both artists and researchers dealing with the subject. It is related to another problem discussed: the relations between tradition and modernity, traditional form and modern/contemporary themes resulting from social and cultural changes. The struggles, tensions and reconciliations in the areas of local/global, indigenous/Western as well as traditional/modern (and/or postmodern) are insufficient but still somehow employed binaries that help organize the discourse.

The last, fourth part of the volume, is a collection of papers dealing with mutual (European and South-East Asian) encounters, inspirations and (mis)interpretations. Articles collected here are devoted, first and foremost, to European presence in South-East Asia. The authors discuss both the marks that Europeans left on local cultures as well as their lives and activities in the region.

There is also "an absent" running throughout this section – the issue of presence, influences and interpretations of South-East Asian art in Europe. It is slightly touched in the discussions of Western writings on the arts in the region as well as in the accounts of European collections of South-East Asian objects. The question how Europe deals with, adapts, interprets or rejects South-East Asian heritage still remains in the background. Let's hope it is the subject of another volume. I would be most satisfied if the present book both contributed to the lively academic discussion on the arts of South-East Asia as well as aroused the interest in this field among Polish scholars and resulted in further research and publishing projects.

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[16] See Wasilewska (2009: 71).

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Art and Tradition:
Ornament, Inscription, Figure

SOUTH-EAST ASIA
STUDIES IN ART, CULTURAL HERITAGE
AND ARTISTIC RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

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The Influence of Indian Culture on South-East Asian Art. A Few Remarks

Although I am not an art historian, but indologist working mainly on the early Vaishnava religious traditions and their literature, I would like to present some observations concerning the issue of the presence and role of Indian elements in South-East Asia. I would like to point out that also the tradition I am working on, namely Pancaratra (pà¤caràtra), was present in this region, and the issue of its presence and influence exerted there is still awaiting a thorough inquiry.

Indian influences on the culture and art of South-East Asia are the subject which has been undertaken by scholars working on many aspects of South-East Asian studies, but they are still being discussed not only from the cultural, but also political and ideological angles. The discussion touches the problem of what is original, indigenous and what is foreign, adopted, modified. It refers not only to the one-way movement from India to South-East Asia, but also applies to the mutual relations of these two regions.

The phenomenon of Indian influences in South-East Asia is often called "Indianization" and such was the term used in the English title of the French book by Georges Coedès: *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Its French title, though, was: *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (1948, English translation 1968), therefore the author did not use the term "Indianization", but he spoke about the process of a "hinduisation", obviously referring to the religious dimension of the process.

In this fundamental work on the subject Coedès writes:

"Indianization must be understood essentially as the expansion of an organized culture that was founded upon the Indian conception of royalty, was characterized by Hinduist and Buddhist cults, the mythology of the Purāṇs, and the observance of the Dharmaśàstras, and expressed itself in the Sanskrit language. It is for this reason that we sometimes speak of "Sanskritization" instead of "Indianization." This Sanskrit or Indian civilization, transplanted into South-East Asia and called, according to the country, "Indo-Khmer", "Indo-Javanese", etc., is the one we are able to recognize in the epigraphical or archaeological documents. Perhaps the only difference between it and the "Sanskrit civilization" of Bengal and the Dravidian countries is the fact that it was spread by sea while the other was spread by land and, in a sense, by "osmosis."[1]

The ideas concerning the Indian influence were then developed also in his second crucial work entitled *The making of South-East Asia* (the French

[1] Coedès (1968: 15).

title: *Peuples de la peninsule indochinoise*, 1966). Here he writes:

"Indian culture was never introduced for political purposes, none of Indochinese States of Indian type was ever a dependency of an Indian metropolitan power. Relation was both by sea and land. The earliest traces of Indian origin are not earlier than II AD."[2]

Coedès draws readers' attention to the fact that several hypotheses concerning Indian influence usually concentrated on one dominant factor, however, in his opinion, there were many of them involved and the main ones are: 1) Indian culture was spread by high-caste Indians travelling in search of prosperity in other countries known as rich in gold and spices; 2) commercial expansion was at one point possible thanks to development of more advanced navigation on one hand and on the other hand thanks to development of Buddhism which did not have prejudices against non-Indian peoples or against overseas voyages, as it was in the case of Brahmanism.

He doubts that traders have a decisive impact on spreading Indian culture outside India, and he is of the opinion that this was a result of activity of learned Hindus visiting South-East Asia and introducing ritual and technical manuals. The role of South-East Asian travelers to India, who then came back to their own countries, was also very important for introducing some Indian ideas in this region.

One of the hypotheses stresses the role of Brahmins known for their skill in magical powers – obviously, for local, native chiefs the religious and philosophical doctrine of Brahmins was attractive and they adopted it together with the Indian mode of life. Nevertheless, the local South-East Asian rulers did not accept the imposed administration, but what was tempting to them was rather an administration technique, which was then adapted to the particular and varying conditions in these countries. The process of applying this technique was also strengthened by mixed marriages between Brahmins and local women.

Coedès also points out to the fact that Indian culture had many pre-Aryan elements and remnants, which were common to many regions of South-East Asia, therefore the Indian influence was not treated as really foreign.

[2] Coedès (1966: 50).

Alessandra Iyer in her book about Prambanan, sculpture and dance in Ancient Java[3] speaks about, in her opinion, the improper assumption that the indigenous cultures were passive receivers with no substantial role to play in the process of making of civilization in South-East Asia. Nowadays historians sometimes talk of "localization of Indian influence" (not copying, but choosing and modifying) instead of "Indianization". In her opinion however, the rapid shift from the position of "Indianization" into "localization":

"(...) introduces a polarity between the foreign (in this instance Indian) and the indigenous", while one should rather think about "a two-way cultural exchange, with much give and take and recycling involved."[4]

Her idea of "recycling" will be revisited.

Nevertheless, Martin Ramstedt, one of the leading scholars on Indonesia,[5] uses the term Indianization, though he acknowledges different theories concerning the source of Indian influence, and points out that scholars agree that Indianization was spread due to trade relocations among Indonesia, India and China.[6]

He also acknowledges the local input leading to the creation of the new value being rooted both in Indian and local cultures and, in his opinion, Brahmans and Buddhist monks:

"(...) provided local rulers with a royal Indian pedigree rooted in a fusion of local and Indian mythology, new state rituals built on new interpretations of local customs, and impressive state temples."

A substantial impact of Indian culture on South-East Asia was connected with religion and administrative model based on Brahmanical culture. The impact of Indian religion, though still needs a lot

[3] Iyer 1998.

[4] Iyer (1998: 9): "(...) introduces a polarity between the foreign (in this instance Indian) and the indigenous, which so viewed become given fixed entities, equivalent to 'building blocks'. The problem is that it is not possible to give a clear-cut definition of what is or is not indigenous, nor does it seem to be plausible that contacts with the Indian subcontinent, mainly motivated by trade, would have begun suddenly and as late as the early centuries of the Christian era and would have only been a one-way process of cultural assimilation, rather than a two-way cultural exchange, with much give and take and recycling involved."

[5] Ramstedt (2009).

[6] Ramstedt (2009: 353): "Scholarly consensus nowadays maintains that large-scale Indianization was spread by increasing prosperity due to the intensifying overseas trade relocations among Indonesia, India and China (...)."

of research, has been interestingly treated by Alexis Sanderson in his article "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers".[7] He underlines the role of especially Śaivism, being relatively open, but also very influential in India in the time of the first more substantial contacts with South-East Asia. In Sanderson's opinion, already from the fifth century in Kambujadeśa there existed three religions of Indian origin, namely Pāncarātrika Vaishnavism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in its Mantrayāna or Vajrayāṇa form, and the predominant Śaivism.

In his considerations concerning the influence of these religions Sanderson points out to the fact that the ritualistic manuals (*paddhatis*) that guided ceremonies among the Khmers were:

"(...) freely modified over time in order to appeal to or satisfy the expectations of new clients, such as immigrant brahmins patronized by the court or an incoming dynasty with its own traditions of worship for the protection of the king and the state."[8]

In his opinion, it refers not only to the subcontinent, but was apparent to those of the Śaiva brahmin priests (so called *pědanda śiwa*) of Bali and Lombok who were inheritors of the traditions of pre-Islamic East Java. He also points out that the liturgy of the Balinese was predominantly Saiddhāntika Śaiva, but it also shows various elements of other Śaiva cults.[9] The religious culture of the Javanese court of Majapahit, inherited by the Balinese, was in Sanderson's opinion a Śaiva-Buddhist coalition. Some remarks concerning the present-day impact of Brahmana (priests) on the local rulers in the case of South Balinese village Intaran one finds in Hauser-Schaublin book about temple rituals of this region, in which she writes that:

"The princes and kings are indirectly supported in their political rule by Brahamana (*brahmana*), who are the scribes and highest priests. From the circle of the Brahmana priests are recruited the religious leaders (*pedanda*), on whose cooperation a king or prince (*raja*) depends for the execution and public demonstration of his power."[10]

Coming back to Khmers, it should be also remembered that Brahmanism connected with the *śruti* (revelation) and *smṛti* (tradition) was also present among the Khmers and Brahmins possessing the knowledge of the Vedas and other authoritative texts (such as for example sūtras belonging to *vedāngas* – auxiliaries, sciences connected with the Vedas, upaniṣads, epics and *purāṇas*), officiated for the Khmer monarchs. Rājendravarman (944–968 AD) offered the gods to drink Soma, which, as Sanderson writes, means that this king had Soma sacrifices performed and if so, it speaks for the existence of a community of orthodox Brahmins, since for the Soma sacrifice 16 officiants, representing all four Vedas, are needed. Sanderson also mentions that some kings were even versed in Vedas and some studied exegetical texts.[11]

The evident and strong impact of India on the religion of South-East Asia has its counterpart in art and architecture. Nevertheless, it was Śaivism which dominated, therefore Sanderson mentions that, for instance, even in the temples dedicated to god Viṣṇuthere were elements typical for Śaivism[12], and also this is the case of Angkor Wat, which was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, but for example the bas-relief, showing thirty-two hells, belong to Śaiva tradition.[13]

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[7] Sanderson (2003–2004).

[8] Sanderson (2003–2004: 361).

[9] Sanderson mentions non-Saiddhāntika Mantramārgic traditions of the Vāmasrotas, of Paścimasrotas and of the archaic Atimārga.

[10] Hauser-Schaublin (1993: 25).

[11] All this means that Brahmanism was present at least among the elite of the Khmer society. Śaiva tradition claimed to be beyond as the one with the practice prescribed in its own scripture of higher authority. Nevertheless it was Brahmanism (called for that reason by Sanderson a "subsidiary Brahmanism") which gave a general structure, some regulations concerning social rules, administration and law. Sanderson writes: "What is more, the subsidiary Brahmanism of the Khmers was less substantial than that of their Indian co-religionists. Its influence did not penetrate to those levels that provided the primary criteria of brahmanic orthopraxy in India. The Khmers eagerly adopted the etiquette and ceremonial of the Indian courts; they cremated their dead; and they allowed India to influence their personal habits, avoiding the left hand in eating, and cleaning their teeth with tooth sticks; but they did not adopt Brahmanism's dietary preferences and taboos, except in the case of special restrictions adopted by Śaiva ascetics." (Sanderson 2003–2004: 389).

[12] Sanderson writes: "Nārāyaṇa, a Bhāgavata courtier of Jayavarman V (r. c. 970–1000), found a Vaiṣṇava hermitage and build a Viṣṇu temple within it, but then install images of Nandin and Mahākāla to guard its entrance, although these two are the door guardians prescribed in the Śaiva systems for shrines of Śiva. The deities required at the entrance to a Vaiṣṇava shrine are Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa." (Sanderson 2003–2004: 422).

[13] Sanderson (2003–2004: 422): "There is further evidence of the intrusion of Śaivism into the Vaiṣṇavism of the Khmers if the great temple established by Sūryavarman II (r. 1113–c. 1150) and now known as Angkor Wat was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, as is probable and generally accepted. In the bas-relief on the wall of the eastern section of its southern gallery thirty two hells are depicted, each with an accompany-

It is not possible in a short presentation to speak about Indian influences in the whole region of South-East Asia, nevertheless I would like to mention Vietnam as a region rich in examples of Indian influences. A very interesting collection of articles concerning Vietnamese My Son was published in 2009, and I have to add that the book, whose editors were Hardy, Cucarzi and Zolese[14], is dedicated to Polish scholar, Prof. Kazimierz Kwiatkowski, one of the pioneers of preservation and conservation process in My Son.

I would also like to concentrate for a while on some Indian influences on Indonesian Archipelago, mainly Java and Bali and to refer to some particular examples of art and architecture.

In the region of Java and Bali also, as for example Sarkar[15] writes, the main role in the process of bringing and implementing the Indian influence was played by Brahmins. In Sarkar's opinion, the fact that in the Malaya-Indonesian languages one cannot see Tamil or Prakrit influences, but instead quite many Sanskrit ones, speaks for this supposition as well. The Sanskrit language had the status of sacred one and, as Sarkar writes:

"The rulers of many of these places also eager for a Bràhmanic consecration, which involved the utterance of mystic formulas and Sanskrit mantras which were unintelligible to them but which were pregnant with magic power, strengthened their dynasties in this way."[16]

From the point of view of Indian influences, the Old-Javanese language is an interesting phenomenon. It is sometimes called *kavi* (which is also in itself meaningful, since referring directly to the poetical tradition of India) and the poetical works in this language known as *kakavin* were written in about 100 Sanskrit metres.[17] Old-Javanese is not the only language of the Archipelago in which a significant amount of Sanskrit words appear, the languages of Papua New Guinea included. The Tamilian influence seems to appear only from the 15th century in connection with more frequent trade contacts.

The Old-Javanese script is supposed to be based on the Indian Pallava-Grantha (the oldest inscriptions dated to about 760 AD), and at that time also Proto-Nagari and Proto-Bengali were present there, but they did not have any impact on local alphabets.

Among the texts in Old- and Middle-Javanese there are Vedas (though these are not really Vedic texts, but *mantra*s and magical formulae), *mantra*s, *kalpaśāstra*s, *āgama*s, etc. (*dharmaśāstra*, *jyotiṣa*, *itihāsa*), and also Buddhist texts. In literature especially *Rāmāyaṇa*, having its Old-Javanese version, is very popular; *Pa¤catantra* has Laotan and Siamese versions and about 12 Indonesian ones; there are Malaya versions of stories from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, adaptations of *Hitopadeśa* and *Pa¤catantra* from Old-Javanese and also Tamil versions.[18]

Early architecture from Central Java is dated to the 8th century AD (earlier it was probably constructed from non-durable materials, such as wood, clay, etc.) and this early architecture, as well as sculptures, were called by Dutch scholars Hindu-Javanese. The temples are called Candi (*caṇḍi*), and in Old-Javanese also *prāsāda* (which is the name for temple also in Sanskrit). One of the most interesting places in respect to this early architecture is Dieng Plateau, with the remnants of the temples referring to the Draviḍa style in Indian architecture.

The oldest Buddhist monument is supposed to be the Candi Kalasan in the Prambanan Valley built, according to the inscription, in 778 AD[19]; Candi Seva is the second biggest, after Barabudur, Buddhist complex on Java with about 250 tem-

ing Khmer legend that names it and identifies the kinds of sinners being punished in it. Now the schema of thirty-two hells is distinctively Śaiva. It is taught in the Śaiva scriptures *Niśvāsamukha*, *Mataṅga* (VP 23.74–81b), *Parākhya* (5.11–32b), and *Kiraṇa* (*Vidyāpāda* 8.7–11c). There is some small variation among these sources in the names or identities of the hells, and no scriptural list known to me agrees exactly with that of the Angkor Wat bas-relief. But there is a particularly close agreement, both in names and in their order, with that of the *Niśvāsamukha*. In any case all the Śaiva lists are closer to that of Angkor Wat than are those seen in brahmanical and Vaiṣṇava sources."

[14] Hardy et al (2009).

[15] Sarkar (1970). According to the author (p. 23) Indian influence on art of South-East Asia spread in four important waves: 1) Amarāvatī wave (2nd–3rd AD), a rather weak one; 2) The Gupta wave (4th–6th AD) – along the costal line; influences visible in the remnants of architecture in Thailand, Burma, Cām, Khmer regions; 3) Pallava wave (550–750 AD) – through the sea and mainly in Indonesia, then Burma, Central Thailand; 4) Nālanda-Pāla wave (750–900 AD) – Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in its Tantric form– Burma, Central and East Java; it had its second phase of development in the 12th–13th centuries.

[16] Sarkar (1970: 30).

[17] The other kind of poetical composition is called *lambang*, and its metre has probably also Sanskrit source.

[18] Sarkar (1970).

[19] Other old ones are Candi Sari and 17 temples in Lumbung complex.