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The Dikpalakas in ancient Java. (Met 1 fig. en 6 platen)

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THE DIKPĀLAKAS IN ANCIENT JAVA *)

I. Singhasāri.

During the excavations conducted in 1927 at the site of Singhasāri two images came to light which were badly mutilated (see Pl. 1 and 2). Fortunately, however, they retained an aspect by which their identification could still be attempted, viz. their vāhanas. When discussing these two images in her study on the antiquities of Singhasāri Dr Blom takes advantage of these preserved vāhanas to suggest an identification. The first image (see Pl. 1) which figures as No. 42 in Dr Blom's book is described by her as having a stag or a goat as its vāhana ¹⁾, whereas the second (see Pl. 2) which is No. 122 in Dr Blom's work has a horse as its vehicle to judge from its long tail ²⁾.

In order to identify the two images Dr Blom then draws up a chart of the Aṣṭadikpālakas which looks as follows ³⁾:

CHART I.

No.	Name	Region	Vāhana ⁴⁾	Vāhana ⁵⁾	Vāhana ⁶⁾	Vāhana ⁷⁾
2	Agni	S.E.	Grey goat	Grey goat	Horse	Grey goat
4	Nairṛta	S.W.	Crocodile	Grey goat	Bhūta	Horse
5	Varuṇa	W.	Stag	Crocodile	Crocodile	Crocodile
6	Vāyu	N.W.	Bhūta	Stag	Stag	Stag
7	Kuvera	N.	Chariot	Horse	Grey goat	Ram

*) Abbreviations:

B.K.I., Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. *Ind. Ant.*, Indian Antiquary. *O.V.*, Oudheidkundig Verslag. *R.O.C.*, Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera. *T.B.G.*, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. *Verh. Bat. Gen.*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

¹⁾ J. Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari*, Leiden 1939, p. 86.

²⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 102. ³⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

⁴⁾ B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods*, Madras 1869, pp. 8, 191-193.

⁵⁾ Ceiling in the antarāla maṇḍapa of the Hariharesvara temple at Harihar, see A. Rea, *Chālukyan Architecture*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imp. Series, vol. XXI, Madras 1896, pl. 107.

⁶⁾ Ceiling in the Kalleśvara temple at Bāgali, see Rea, *op cit.*, pl. 2, fig. 1.

⁷⁾ Ceiling in cave IV at Bādāmi, see J. Burgess, *Rock-cut temples at Bādāmi*, in the *Dekhan*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 6, 1877, pp. 354-366, pl. facing p. 357, top row, right.

The author next proceeds to identify the first image:

"Agni, the Fire-god, thus has the stag three times as a vāhana, and his most frequent attribute is the flame-symbol.

Varuṇa, who has the crocodile three times as a mount — which thus seems to be his favourite — we can therefore rule out as being identical with the image No. 42; in any case his attributes — the serpent and the noose — do not tally with the object on the pedestal.

Vāyu — although we find him three times with the stag as his mount — must also be ruled out, since his attribute — the banner — is generally raised in the right hand; he would not, however, be absolutely abandoned as a possibility, if we were to assume that his attribute was held up in one of the hands on the knee; this does not seem very likely to us. On the whole we consider that Agni with his flame-symbol has the best qualifications"⁸⁾. So far Dr Blom.

Throughout these paragraphs Dr Blom seems engaged with the identification of a Dikpālaka with a stag as his vehicle, for in order to decide which god has the best chance of being represented by the image in question she compares Agni, Varuṇa and Vāyu who according to her all have the stag as their vāhana in one or more traditions. But it seems that Dr Blom should not have brought Agni into the discussion for although she asserts that he has the stag three times as his vāhana the chart clearly shows that this god has the goat as his vehicle and consequently one would probably have to assume that the Dikpālaka in question was Vāyu whose vāhana is shown three times to be a stag.

However, if we study the image more carefully we see that the vehicle in question is probably a goat and not a stag for its beard can still be distinguished on the original photograph. Moreover, Indo-Javanese art practically always represents stags and hinds as standing or rather running. Goats on the contrary are generally depicted lying down⁹⁾. So there are several reasons for identifying the animal as a goat. This vāhana would suggest an identification of the image as Agni. As we shall see further on, Vāyu should have a dhvaja as his attribute¹⁰⁾ and this would certainly be held against the back slab to avoid

⁸⁾ Blom, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁹⁾ The same difference exists — though to a lesser degree — between horses which are mostly represented standing, and cows, bulls and bullocks which are generally shown lying down.

¹⁰⁾ See chart V.

breaking off and not in front of the right knee as the image in question does with its attribute. Clearly this attitude would better suit Agni holding the incense burner, which is his usual attribute¹¹⁾, and in fact if we look carefully we can discern that the object standing in front of the image's right knee has a round base like a pot or some other vessel. So after all Dr Blom's identification is right though for other reasons than those enumerated by her. In her list of the images found at Singhasāri she calls the image Kuvera but this seems a slip of the pen¹²⁾.

Before proceeding to discuss the second identification let us first consider the chart of the Aṣṭadikpālakas more carefully, for it seems that a number of corrections will have to be made. First of all the vāhana of the guardian of the South East in the Harihareśvara temple at Harihar is not a grey goat but a bhūta¹³⁾. Moreover, if we carefully scrutinize the gods on the ceiling of cave IV at Bādāmī illustrated in an article by Burgess¹⁴⁾ and in Banerji's Memoir¹⁵⁾ it becomes clear that what Dr Blom calls a grey goat is in fact a ram¹⁶⁾ and what Burgess called a stag is in reality a bull and the ram appears to be in fact a buffalo¹⁷⁾. These two mistakes were copied by Dr Blom from Burgess. Finally the gods listed in the fourth column have been given in the wrong sequence. Burgess when describing the gods inverted their sequence by not projecting the drawing of the ceiling on to his paper, as he should have done. For the guardians of the regions of the sky are always depicted in their proper quarters. Burgess' mistake becomes clear when we see that when he describes another ceiling-panel he places the god riding on a buffalo (not a ram!) with a daṇḍa in his hand in the North¹⁸⁾. However, the vāhana and attribute leave no doubt that this figure represents Yama, guardian of the South. Dr Blom copied Burgess' sequence and consequently the whole fourth column except for the crocodile of Varuṇa is wrong.

¹¹⁾ See chart V.

¹²⁾ Blom, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

¹³⁾ Rea, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁴⁾ Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. facing, p. 357.

¹⁵⁾ R. D. Banerji, *Basreliefs of Badami, Memoir of the Arch. Survey of India*, no. 25, Calcutta 1928, pl. XXVI, a; A misprint occurs throughout pl. XV-XXVII where "cave no. III" should read "cave no. IV".

¹⁶⁾ These two animals are frequently mixed up, not only by present-day scholars, but also by the ancient authors of the Āgamas.

¹⁷⁾ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

¹⁸⁾ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 362 and pl. facing p. 357, bottom row, left.

If we incorporate these five corrections and draw up a new chart from the sources used by Dr Blom adding the guardians of the East, South and South-East we get the following:

CHART II.

1	Indra	E.	— ¹⁹⁾	elephant ²⁰⁾	elephant ²¹⁾	elephant ²²⁾
2	Agni	S.E.	goat	ram	horse	Brahmā on [lotus
3	Yama	S.	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo
4	Nairṛta	S.W.	makara	bhūta	bhūta	bull
5	Varuṇa	W.	stag	makara	makara	makara
6	Vāyu	N.W.	bhūta	stag	stag	horse
7	Kuvera	N.	chariot	horse	ram	lion
8	Īśāna	N.E.	bull	bull	bull	ram

When considering this chart it looks as if a mistake has been made in connection with the ceiling at Bāgali, for we have not met so far with the ram as Kuvera's vāhana ²³⁾; generally he uses a horse or a chariot. On the other hand Agni never has the horse as his vehicle but always the goat or ram. It looks therefore as if the vāhanas were exchanged. As Rea gives no detailed description of the ceiling it is difficult to determine whether this mistake was made by the sculptors of the ceiling — which is rather unlikely — or by the person whom Rea employed to draw the different panels of the ceiling. It seems quite possible that the sequence of the eight drawings was at some moment mixed up. Another point that emerges is that Ziegenbalg left out Nairṛta's bhūta, but again inserted it in the wrong place, viz. after the stag. Consequently the makara and stag were pushed up one place by mistake. The column of Bādāmī is very unsatisfactory indeed and seems to represent an entirely different tradition. Apart from the vāhanas of the guardians of East, South and West none of the vehicles

¹⁹⁾ Ziegenbalg, op. cit., pp. 191-193; he omits Indra's vāhana.

²⁰⁾ Rea, op. cit., pl. 107.

²¹⁾ Rea, op. cit., pl. 2, fig. 1.

²²⁾ Banerji, op. cit., pl. XXVI, a.

²³⁾ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols., Madras 1914-Poona 1926, p. 138. Rao therefore probably made a mistake here. '16, vol. II, p. 536 states that the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama* gives a ram as Kuvera's vāhana. However, in the edition we have consulted this vehicle is given to Analeśvara, which is one of Agni's names; Kuvera's vāhana is not mentioned, *Kāśyapaśilpam*, ed. Vināyaka Gaṇeśa Āpte, *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, No. 95, Poona 1926, p. 138. Rao therefore probably made a mistake here.

are the same as the usual set in South India, and it seems better therefore to leave this list out of consideration for the time being. We shall return to it at the end of this article.

The correctness of the three remarks made in the preceding paragraph on the sources used by Dr Blom is borne out by a comparison with other known sets of Aṣṭadikpālakas for instance those on a ceiling-stone at Gañjigaṭṭi in Dhārwar and those given in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, the Matsya Purāṇa, the Agni Purāṇa and the Śrītattvanidhi. These give us the following chart:

CHART III.

1.	elephant ²⁴⁾	elephant ²⁵⁾	elephant ²⁶⁾	elephant ²⁷⁾	elephant ²⁸⁾
2.	ram	goat	goat	goat	goat
3.	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo
4.	bhūta	man	man	man	man
5.	makara	makara	fish	makara	makara
6.	stag	stag	stag	—	stag
7.	horse	man-drawn	man-drawn	—	horse
		chariot	chariot		
8.	bull	bull	bull	bull	bull

A comparison between charts II and III justifies the corrections suggested for chart II. A combination of these charts would give us the following:

CHART IV.

	<i>Ziegen- balg</i> ²⁹⁾	<i>Harihar</i> ³⁰⁾	<i>Bāgali</i> ³¹⁾	<i>Gañji- gaṭṭi</i> ³²⁾
1.	—	elephant	elephant	elephant
2.	goat	ram	ram	ram
3.	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo
4.	bhūta	bhūta	bhūta	bhūta
5.	makara	makara	makara	makara
6.	stag	stag	stag	stag
7.	chariot	horse	horse	horse
8.	bull	bull	bull	bull

²⁴⁾ G. H. Khare, Mūrtivijñāna, Poona 1939, pl. 81.

²⁸⁾ Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi of Someśvara Deva, ed. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore University, Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series, No. 69, part 1, Mysore 1926, pp. 267-270.

	<i>Abhilaṣi- tārthacin- tāmaṇi</i> ³³⁾	<i>Matsya Purāṇa</i> ³⁴⁾	<i>Agni Purāṇa</i> ³⁵⁾	<i>Śrīta- ttvanidhi</i> ³⁶⁾
1.	elephant	elephant	elephant	elephant
2.	goat	goat	goat	goat
3.	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo	buffalo
4.	man	man	man	man
5.	makara	fish	makara	makara
6.	stag	stag	—	stag
7.	man-drawn chariot	man-drawn chariot	—	horse
8.	bull	bull	bull	bull

From this chart it is clear that the vehicles of the Aṣṭadīkṣpālakas are far more consistent than one would assume at first sight from Dr Blom's chart (our No. I), in fact I believe we may say that the vāhanas at for instance Harihar or those given in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi represent the usual South Indian set.

Having settled the question of the vāhanas we shall now also give a list of the usual attributes of each guardian as this is another means through which the Dīkṣpālakas can be identified and we shall need this information in our further investigations. We have compiled this list from various sources. The sequence in which the attributes are given for each god indicates more or less their importance. The first and most important attribute is also the one usually common in Java.

²⁶⁾ Matsya Purāṇa, ed. Pt. Jivānanda Vidyāsara Bhaṭṭācāryya, Calcutta 1876, ch. 259, verse 65-ch. 260, verse 23, pp. 1114-1117.

²⁷⁾ Agni Purāṇa, ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1873, ch. 56, vv. 17-29, pp. 160-161.

²⁸⁾ Śrītattvanidhi, Venkateśvara Press, Bombay 1891, quoted by Khare, op. cit., pp. 194-198. I have not been able to check this quotation. The text is neither in Cambridge University Library nor in India Office Library.

²⁹⁾ Ziegenbalg, op. cit., pp. 191-193.

³⁰⁾ Rea, op. cit., pl. 107.

³¹⁾ Rea, op. cit., pl. 2, fig. 1.

³²⁾ Khare, op. cit., pl. 81.

³³⁾ Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, ed. cit., pp. 267-270.

³⁴⁾ Matsya Purāṇa, ed. cit., ch. 259, verse 65-ch. 260, verse 23.

³⁵⁾ Agni Purāṇa, ed. cit., ch. 56, vv. 17-29.

³⁶⁾ Śrītattvanidhi, ed. cit., quoted by Khare, op. cit., pp. 194-198.

CHART V.

Indra	vajra, aṅkuśa.
Agni	ḥvāla or dhūpa, akṣamālā, kamaṅḍalu, sruk, śakti, trisūla.
Yama	daṇḍa and pāśa or khaḍga and khetaka.
Nairṛta	khaḍga or daṇḍa and khetaka.
Varuṇa	nāga (and) pāśa, śaṅkha, padma, ratnapātra.
Vāyu	dhvaja or aṅkuśa, and cakra or daṇḍa.
Kuvera	gadā, śaṅkha, padma, purse or mongoose, śakti.
Īśāna	trisūla and kapāla.

Throughout the sphere of Indian influence in Asia the guardians of the four quarters are the same in character. The Eastern guardian is always connected with light or the sky. Indra, Lord of the Thunder has the vajra as his attribute; as Meghavāhana his vehicle, the elephant, is equivalent to the raincloud; he is king of the Gandharvas, a certain type of air-genii. The guardian of the West on the other hand is generally connected with water and rules over the Nāgas. As he is Apāmpati he is usually shown with a makara as his vehicle, sometimes we find a fish, or a crocodile and a nāga in his hand³⁷). The Dikpālaka of the North is always the guardian of riches and treasures and he rules over the Yakṣas, whereas his colleague of the South is generally Lord of Death and king of the demons or underworld creatures.

The guardians of the four intermediate quarters of the sky are less consistent for in some cases Sūrya takes the place of Nairṛta and Candra that of Īśāna³⁸). According to the Agni Purāṇa Candra even sometimes substitutes Kuvera³⁹).

Let us now return to the Singhasāri images. Looking at chart No. IV we see that the god with the goat as his vāhana remains without doubt Agni, as suggested above. As for the identification of the image with a horse as its vehicle Dr Blom, realising that Kuvera has a chariot, horse, goat or ram as his vāhana in her chart (our No. I), reasons as follows:

³⁷) Also in Mahāyāna iconography, see A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford 1928, p. 166.

³⁸) J. Dowson, *A classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion*⁴, London 1903, p. 180; W. J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology, Vedic and Purānic*², Calcutta 1900, p. 390.

³⁹) Agni Purāṇa, ed. cit., ch. 56, vv. 26-27.

"For the identification of the image No. 122, Kuvera appears to be the most likely candidate; especially on account of his corpulent belly. The vāhanas chariot and horse are so closely allied to one another that his chances of being No. 42 and No. 122 are about equal, but the corpulent belly may tip the scales in favour of his identification as No. 122"⁴⁰).

In her list of the images found at Singhasāri Dr Blom calls this image Agni but this seems again a slip of the pen⁴¹). Looking at our chart No. IV we see there need be no longer any doubt as to the identification of the sculpture as a representation of Kuvera.

As a result of the two identifications proposed by Dr Blom she puts forward the theory that at one time Singhasāri contained a set of the Aṣṭadīpālakas⁴²). We would like to bring forward three pieces of evidence which seem to prove beyond doubt that Dr Blom's suggestion is right.

The first consists of the lower part of an image found during the excavations of 1901 (see Pl. 3). It is described in the monograph on Singhasāri⁴³) and figures in Dr Blom's work as No. 14⁴⁴). The figure is broken at the waist and the fragment shows us crossed legs resting on a lotus which is carried by a tortoise seen from the front. On the left knee rests the left hand with the palm turned upwards, holding a flat lotus rosette⁴⁵). To the right of the figure remnants of a lotus plant are visible. It seems permissible to assume that the tortoise is meant to be a vāhana.

Although the tortoise reminds us of the Kūrma Avatāra of Viṣṇu it does not seem possible to suggest an identification of the image as such, for this Avatāra is always represented as a tortoise or at most as a human being the lower part of whose body is a tortoise, but never as a human being seated on a tortoise. Moreover, no representation of the Kūrma Avatāra has been found previously in Java, nor have any of the other emanations belonging to the less popular group of Avatāras, such as Matsya or Kalki Avatāra.

⁴⁰) Blom, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁴¹) *Ibidem*, p. 168.

⁴²) *Ibidem*, pp. 104 and 161.

⁴³) J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, Batavia 1909, pp. 50-51, pl. 72, three lower illustrations.

⁴⁴) Blom, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴⁵) This peculiarity and the following one can be better distinguished in the original photograph of the Arch. Survey, No. O.D. 753 reproduced as pl. 72 in the monograph by Brandes, as this shows the side of the image.

On the basis of the vehicle an identification as Yamunā could be suggested, for her vāhana in India is always a tortoise. So far, however, this goddess has not yet been found in Java and although this fact does not completely exclude this identification, at least it renders it extremely doubtful. But what is more, this goddess is always represented as standing and never as seated. So there are grave objections against identifying the image as Yamunā.

A far more likely possibility is that the image represents the guardian of the nadir who according to Hindu ⁴⁶⁾ and Jaina ⁴⁷⁾ iconography is called Ananta, Śeṣa or Nāga and whom the Agni Purāṇa gives a tortoise as his vehicle ⁴⁸⁾. A Balinese text which we shall discuss further on calls this guardian: Darma — clearly therefore a form of Yama, god of the underworld — and mentions the tortoise as his vehicle. Another Balinese text calls the guardian of the nadir Anantaboga and gives him the tortoise of the Underworld, Bdavangnala, as his attribute. So there are strong arguments in favour of identifying the image in question as the guardian of the nadir, by whatever name he be indicated ⁴⁹⁾. If this identification is right then the interesting situation arises in which we have to presume that the image in question was buried under the floor of the temple. For as all the Dikpālakas are always situated in their respective regions of the sky, so the guardian of the nadir would have to reside under the temple.

Our identification of the image as a guardian of a region of the sky has nothing improbable in it for Dr Blom's identification of two other images at Singhasāri as Dikpālakas makes it quite likely that the other guardians must also have existed there at one time. Moreover, there are a number of similarities in style which as a group seem to add probability to our suggestion that these three images at Singhasāri all belong to the same set of Dikpālakas: to begin with all three images have a cushion under the lotus ⁵⁰⁾; the stamens of this lotus are indicated in the same way in the image on the tortoise and in the Kuvera by concentric semi-circles; those of the Agni are too

⁴⁶⁾ See P. Thomas, *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, Bombay, no date, pl. XXVIII and p. 30.

⁴⁷⁾ See A. Prakash, *The Foundation of Indian Art and Archaeology*, Lucknow 1942, p. 193.

⁴⁸⁾ *Agni Purāṇa*, ed. cit., ch. 56, verse 31.

⁴⁹⁾ See for this whole question p. 373, and especially notes 83, 90 and 130.

⁵⁰⁾ Several of the following details are not quite clear in the reproduction but can be discerned in the original photographs of the Arch. Survey Nos. O.D. 8604 and 8605.

worn to be useful for comparison; they all wear a garment which shows a pattern consisting of intersecting circles; the Kuvera and the image on the tortoise share the peculiarity of a sash which whirls up against the back of the seat⁵¹⁾; in the Agni image this can be seen higher up against the back slab; the bow of this sash stands out vertically on the left hip of the images; the jewelry as far as visible in the image on the tortoise is completely identical with that of the two other images: ankle rings ending in a point in front, and pearl-studded ribbons hanging down from the legs on to the seat in an elegant curve. The left hand of the Kuvera has broken away but that of the Agni shows an attitude and moulding completely identical with that of the image on the tortoise, both holding a flat lotus rosette on their opened palms⁵²⁾; finally the feet of the latter image and of the Agni are moulded in the same peculiar flat way. None of these similarities is very impressive in itself but as a group I think they may be counted as an argument in favour of our suggestion for identifying the image in question as a third Dikpālaka, probably the guardian of the nadir.

Some time ago we came across two more Indo-Javanese images which are clearly intended to represent Dikpālakas. Both sculptures are now standing in a temple in the Chinese cemetery in the quarter Sentiong near Gunung Sari at Weltevreden (see Pl. 4). A drawing of these images was published about 140 years ago by Raffles⁵³⁾. Attention was again drawn to them in 1862⁵⁴⁾, 1867⁵⁵⁾, 1868⁵⁶⁾, 1872⁵⁷⁾, 1882⁵⁸⁾, 1891⁵⁹⁾ and 1901⁶⁰⁾, but in spite of all this they have never been properly identified as far as we know.

⁵¹⁾ For the side views of the image on the tortoise see the monograph by Brandes, pl. 72.

⁵²⁾ See previous note.

⁵³⁾ T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, 2 vols., London 1817, vol. II, pl. following p. 54.

⁵⁴⁾ J. A. van der Chijs and J. F. G. Brumund, T.B.G., vol. XII, 1862, pp. 563-564 and T. H. der Kinderen and H. D. Levyssohn Norman, T.B.G., vol. XII, 1862, p. 578.

⁵⁵⁾ *Notulen Bat. Gen.*, vol. V, 1867, p. 9.

⁵⁶⁾ J. F. G. Brumund, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Hindoeïsme op Java*, Verh. Bat. Gen. vol. 33, Batavia 1868, p. 9.

⁵⁷⁾ *Notulen Bat. Gen.*, vol. X, 1872, pp. 54, 62-63 and 83-84.

⁵⁸⁾ P. J. Veth, *Java, geografisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch*, 4 vols., Haarlem 1875-'84, vol. 3, pp. 54-55.

⁵⁹⁾ R. D. M. Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java*, Batavia 1891, p. 36.

⁶⁰⁾ J. Knebel, *Beschrijving van de beelden in de Chineesche Kerk bij Goenoeng Sari*, te Weltevreden, R.O.C. 1901, pp. 18-30, especially pp. 21-22

The first image (see Pl. 5) shows a figure seated on a lotus carried by a *vāhana* which has the appearance of a *bhūta*. In his right hand the god carries a flaming sword. His left hand lies on his left knee with the palm turned upwards and a flat lotus rosette on it. His eyes bulge and from the corners of his mouth small tusks protrude. According to our chart No. IV the *vāhana* points to an identification of the image as *Nairṛta*, guardian of the South West. The other details of the image also tally perfectly with the description of this *Dikpālaka* in the *Āgamas*, for *Nairṛta* should have a terrifying appearance, bulging eyes and a gaping mouth, exposing his teeth and side-tusks⁶¹). The *Viṣṇudharmottara* says *Nairṛta* should carry a *daṇḍa*⁶²) but other texts such as the *Agni* and *Matsya Purāṇas*, the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama* describe his attribute a sword⁶³). At *Ahobilam* *Nairṛta* is shown on his *bhūta* carrying a weapon which Rao describes as a *daṇḍa*⁶⁴), but the weapon in question looks more like a sword than a *daṇḍa* because a hilt is visible. Moreover, flames seem to protrude from the tip of the weapon just as in the image in the Chinese temple at *Weltevreden*. However this may be, there seems no doubt that the image in Plate 5 represents *Nairṛta*, guardian of the South West.

The second image (see Pl. 6) shows a god seated on a lotus carried by a buffalo. In his right hand he holds a mace or sceptre-like object; his left hand lies on his left knee with the palm turned upwards and a flat lotus rosette on it. His eyes bulge even more than in the case of the *Nairṛta* image, his mouth is wide open and tusks protrude. His wild hair is kept together by a diadem on the front of which a large skull is visible. The earrings are also decorated with skulls. A thick belly completes his *Bhairava*-like appearance. According to our chart No. IV the buffalo points to an identification of this image as *Yama*,

⁶¹) For instance in the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*, ed. cit., pp. 145-146. After this article had gone to press we came across a note of twenty lines by Prof. N. J. Krom in *Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw*, vol. 12, 1927, pp. 82-83, in which he reports that the previous year Dr. Poerbatjaraka had suggested in one of his propositions for the Ph. D. degree that the two images at *Weltevreden* represented *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Yama*. Prof. Krom in his note suggests, however, that the *Vaiśravaṇa* is *Agni*. As the reader can see from chart No. IV in this article the image represents neither *Vaiśravaṇa* nor *Agni* but *Nairṛta*.

⁶²) According to Rao, op. cit., vol. II, p. 528. I have not been able to check this quotation. The text is neither in Cambridge University Library nor in India Office Library.

⁶³) *Agni Purāṇa*, ed. cit., ch. 56, verse 22, *Matsya Purāṇa*, ed. cit., ch. 260, verse 16, *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, ed. cit., p. 268, *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*, p. 145.

⁶⁴) Rao, op. cit., vol. II, p. 529 and pl. CLIV, fig. 2.

and the *daṇḍa* as well as his terrifying appearance leave no doubt that the sculpture indeed represents the Lord of Death and guardian of the South.

It seems reasonable to assume that these two images formed part of a set of the *Aṣṭadīkṣālakas* and what is more, of one and the same set. This is clear not only from the fact that their size is practically the same⁶⁵), but also from their striking similarity in such details as the completely identical attitude of the body and especially of both arms and hands, the patterned garment decorated with intersecting circles, the pearl-studded ribbons hanging over the crossed legs on to the seat in an elegant curve, the sash on the right whirling up against the back of the seat, the jewelry especially the bracelets and the ankle rings ending in a point on the front, the fact that the *udarabandha* is worn over the sash hanging down from the left shoulder to the right hip and finally the completely identical left hand, with the palm turned upwards and the flat lotus rosette on it.

In passing we can state that both images present certain peculiarities which during our research in connection with a project concerning the development of Indo-Javanese sculpture we have found to be characteristic of a group of images at Singhasāri of the Majapahit period. It would take us too long to go into this matter and we shall therefore leave it for our future publication of this material. Meanwhile, even without elaborating this point we can prove that the images originally stood in Singhasāri and not Prambanan as Verbeek suggests⁶⁶).

This will become clear when we compare the two images with the two *Dīkṣālakas* found in 1927 (Pl. 1 and 2) and the fragment on the tortoise which we identified as a third guardian probably that of the *nadir* (Pl. 3), all three from Singhasāri. Striking similarities occur in the attitude and moulding of the left hand with the palm turned upwards and a flat lotus rosette on it, the garment showing a pattern of intersecting circles, the pearl-studded ribbons hanging over the crossed legs on to the seat in an elegant curve, the sash on the right whirling up against the back of the seat with a bow standing out horizontally

⁶⁵) This can be seen on the photograph of the Arch. Survey No. O.D. 9 where the two images are standing next to each other and differ at most two or three centimetres. In R.O.C. 1901, p. 22 the height of the *Nairṛta* is given as 87 cm. for the base, lotus and back of the seat. That of the *Yama* is given as 66 cm. for the figure itself and 17 cm. for the lotus. If we add about 6 or 7 cm. for the base and the part of the back of the seat above the head we arrive at a measurement which would tally with that indicated by the photograph.

⁶⁶) Verbeek, loc. cit., p. 36.

on the left hip, and the jewelry, especially the bracelets and ankle rings which end in a point on the front, as well as an ornament which can be seen hanging on the shoulders of the Kuvera and the two Weltevreden images. Also the udarabandha runs over the sash in four of the five images, and the hair falls down low along the shoulder line in pretty curls. Then the lotus is carried by a cushion and its stamens in the Nairṛta image show the same concentric semi-circles as in the image on the tortoise. Unfortunately Dr Blom does not mention the measurements of the two Dikpālakas found in 1927, but the size of the image on the tortoise at its base ⁶⁷⁾ is practically the same as that of the two Weltevreden images ⁶⁸⁾. Finally the identification of the five images as five *different* Dikpālakas does not militate against their having belonged to one and the same set and in fact the five images supplement each other admirably.

It seems the three images discussed above go to prove that Dr Blom's suggestion that the Aṣṭadikpālakas were represented at Singhasāri was right. We still miss for the East, Indra on his elephant; for the North West, Vāyu on his stag and for the North East, Īśāna on his bull, unless the image in the centre of plate 3, c in Dr Blom's book is another so far unidentified Dikpālaka. This sculpture is wrongly placed on a Sūrya chariot which measures 59 cm. ⁶⁹⁾. The measurements of the small image on top of the chariot would seem to be between 45 and 50 cm. at its base which is about the width of the Yama and Nairṛta, and the image on the tortoise ⁷⁰⁾. Moreover, it seems that something is carved out in the centre front of the lotus on which the god is seated, and this is exactly the spot where the vāhanas of the other Dikpālakas are represented. On the left this "something" seems to have large flap ears like those of an elephant. For the time being we cannot verify this possibility of a sixth guardian and it may have to be relegated to the realm of pure fantasy.

However, the missing Dikpālakas may one day reappear either through further excavation or as a result of careful search among the

⁶⁷⁾ The width of the image on the tortoise at its base is given in the monograph by Brandes on p. 51 as 47, 5 cm.

⁶⁸⁾ The width of the base of the Weltevreden images is not given in R.O.C., 1901, pp. 21-22, but on the photograph of the Arch. Survey, No. O.D. 9 one can see that the width is somewhat more than half and less than two-thirds of the height. As the height of the two images is known we can estimate their width as between 50 and 55 cm. The rod on the photograph gives us an opportunity to check this as being about right.

⁶⁹⁾ It is the sun chariot O, discussed in the monograph by Brandes on p. 48.

⁷⁰⁾ See notes 67 and 68.

countless Indo-Javanese images dispersed from ancient sites without proper registration of their provenance. The third alternative is that they may never be traced if they belonged to the four consignments of images sent to Holland in the beginning of the 19th century by Professor Reinwardt which never reached their destination as a result of a series of shipwrecks.

This point brings us to the question as to when the two Dikpālakas at Weltevreden were removed from Singhasāri. In 1862 it was suggested that they had been brought back in 1746 by the Governor-General Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff from his journey through Central Java ⁷¹). During this tour the Governor-General indeed passed some Indo-Javanese ruins near Prambanan which he mentions in the account of his journey ⁷²), and the suggestion was therefore made that it was he who removed the image from a ruin and placed them in his country house near Gunung Sari which was later on converted into the Chinese temple mentioned above. Probably it was on the assumption that van Imhoff brought the images to Weltevreden that Verbeek suggested Prambanan as their provenance ⁷³). Research in the archives has since proved, however, that it cannot be established whether van Imhoff ever possessed the country house in question ⁷⁴), whereas we do know that he had a house at Tanah Abang so that the two may have been mixed up. However this may be, as van Imhoff never visited Singhasāri it is quite impossible that he ever had anything to do with bringing back these two images.

The first time the two Dikpālakas were mentioned was by Raffles in his History of Java, who tells us they belonged to the Chinese temple at Weltevreden ⁷⁵). Consequently we can assume that the sculptures were there before Raffles left the island in 1816. Now the ruins of Singhasāri were discovered only in 1803 ⁷⁶), so it is most unlikely that the images were removed before that.

⁷¹) J. A. van der Chijs en J. F. G. Brumund, T.B.G., vol. XII, 1862, pp. 563-564; and Brumund, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷²) Reis van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Imhoff, over Java in het jaar 1746, B.K.I., vol. I, 1853, pp. 291-440, especially p. 407.

⁷³) Verbeek, op. cit., p. 36.

⁷⁴) Notulen Bat. Gen., vol. X, pp. 62-63, see also Knebel, op. cit., pp. 20-21 and H. D. H. Bosboom, Nog eens de Teekeningen van het Oude Batavia en andere vestigingen der O.I. Compagnie, T.B.G., vol. 45, 1902, pp. 193-256, especially p. 208, note 2.

⁷⁵) Raffles, op. cit., p. 55.

⁷⁶) Not 1804 as Krom mentions in his Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst², The Hague 1923, vol. II, p. 68; See Blom, op. cit., p. 11, where she

Even if the local Javanese peasants would have known about the ruins and their sculptures, even then there is no reason to suppose that they would have taken away the images and somehow or other passed them on to the Chinese cemetery in West Java. Everybody knows the awe and fear in which the Javanese held, and partly still hold, the images of Indo-Javanese times. In exceptional cases images have been destroyed because they were supposed to have a bad influence or for some other reason, but the general attitude is to leave them alone⁷⁷⁾. Consequently it is very unlikely that the local Javanese would have removed the images, supposing they had known about their existence before 1803, but there is nothing that points in this last direction. Moreover, only 25 to 30 years after the discovery of the first ruin at Singhasāri the neighbouring peasants made it clear that they preferred to keep the images where they were. Domis tells us that when he expressed his regret that the heads of the horses of a Sūrya chariot had been struck off, the villagers assured him this had been done by the local people on purpose because they feared that if the images remained undamaged they might be taken away as had been done with other images previously⁷⁸⁾.

Probably the Dikpālakas were removed either by a European or, what is more likely, by a Chinese. In the same way many other images from Singhasāri were brought to Malang and put up as statues in the Chinese cemetery at that place. The question as to how exactly the two Dikpālakas reached the Chinese cemetery at Weltevreden between 1803 and 1816 remains unsolved for the time being.

A more important point is the question: "To which ruin do the five Singhasāri Dikpālakas belong?" As we shall see further on representations of the guardians of the regions of the sky have also been found at Lara Jonggrang in Central Java and at Panataran in East Java. The former temple might easily be termed the most important Śaiva temple in Central Java. Panataran and the so-called Tower-temple at Singhasāri — which is the most significant ruin in the group of

discusses an unpublished letter from Engelhard to Reuvens in the MSS. section of the Leiden University Library, dated 28 February 1827, in which he gives 1803 as the date of the discovery of Singhasāri.

⁷⁷⁾ This is quite contrary to the prevailing habit in India where newly discovered antiquities are continually put up for worship by the local people. We need only recall the case of the famous Dīdargañj Yakṣī to remind our readers of this eternal headache of the Indian archaeologist.

⁷⁸⁾ H. I. Domis, *De Residentie Passeroeang op het eiland Java*, The Hague 1836, p. 122.

Singhasāri, — are undoubtedly the two most important Śaiva temples in East Java. Consequently it seems fitting that apart from Lara Jonggrang and Panataran, the Tower-temple too should possess a set of Dikpālakas. Now it so happens that the ruins discovered in 1803 are those of the Tower-temple. A second temple was only discovered on the site in 1820. As the Weltevreden images were seen by Raffles in or before 1816 it is clear that these two guardians — and consequently also the other three Dikpālakas — originally belonged to the Tower-temple.

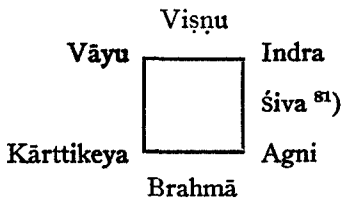
We would have liked to add to these arguments a discussion on the stylistic peculiarities which these five Dikpālakas share with the other images from the Tower-temple now in Leiden, but we must leave this till later, lest we embark on a lengthy discussion which we would rather preserve for our future study on the development of Indo-Javanese sculpture. For the same reason we leave aside a discussion about the exact date of these images.

Meanwhile the identification of the images represented in Pl. 3, 5 and 6 as Dikpālakas from Singhasāri has enriched our knowledge of this important site and it does not seem exaggerated to claim that the Nairṛta and Yama belong to the finest, and certainly the best preserved Singhasāri images which Indonesia has retained.

II. Panataran.

How does this set of Dikpālakas from Singhasāri compare with other sets of guardians of the regions of the sky in Java? There seems to be a set at Panataran in niches in the walls on the third terrace. According to Krom, remnants were found of Indra on his elephant, Kārttikeya on his peacock, Vāyu on his stag and Agni's ram. Kārttikeya seems a stranger in this company, and this is even more the case with Viṣṇu's garuḍa and Brahmā on his haṃsa found in the niches in the centre of the North and South walls ⁷⁹⁾.

According to Krom the arrangement of these guardians was as follows ⁸⁰⁾:



⁷⁹⁾ Krom, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 267.

⁸⁰⁾ Information from a note given to the author by Professor Krom.

There are some difficulties which make it impossible for us to accept Krom's identifications and arrangement of the images. First of all Indra on his elephant could not possibly be placed on the North East as he is the guardian of the East. As Śiva (or rather some form of Śiva) almost certainly occupied the centre of the East wall there is no room for Indra. Secondly the presence of Brahmā and Viṣṇu should have warned Krom to be cautious in drawing the conclusion that the Aṣṭadikpālakas were represented at Panataran. For Viṣṇu and Brahmā do not belong to this group of guardians of the regions of the sky, but they do remind us of another set of Dikpālakas popular in ancient Java and Bali. This group is generally indicated by its Balinese name of Navasanga or Navadevata and in order to distinguish it from the set of guardians discussed so far we shall continue to call the latter the Aṣṭadikpālakas and use the name Navasanga for the other set. As its name indicates the last mentioned group consists of nine gods, one for each of the regions and a ninth for the centre⁸²). Sometimes two more are added for the zenith and the nadir⁸³).

Could it be that at Panataran the Navasanga were represented and not the Aṣṭadikpālakas? In order to solve this point we need to know the vāhanas of these gods. Fortunately they are given in a manuscript originally belonging to Pedanda Buddha Ktut Oka, a priest of Lombok⁸⁴). As we shall need the attributes of the Navasanga further on we shall add a list of them as given in the MS in a separate column.

CHART VI.

East	Isuara	goh (bull)	bajra ⁸⁵)
South East	Mahesora	singa (mythical lion)	dupa
South	Brahma	viagra (tiger)	danda

⁸¹) A Śiva image was not actually found in the centre of the East wall but Krom's suggestion that this god was probably represented on this side of the temple as a counterpart of the representations of Viṣṇu and Brahmā occupying the North and South walls, seems very acceptable, see Krom, op. cit., vol. II, p. 267.

⁸²) H. T. Damsté, *Balische Kleedjes en Doeken, verband houdende met Eeredienst en Doodenzorg, Gedenkschrift 75-jarig bestaan v. h. Kon. Inst., The Hague 1926*, pp. 254-264; B. M. Goslings, *Een "Nawa-Sanga" van Lombok, Gedenkschrift 75-jarig bestaan v. h. Kon. Inst., The Hague 1926*, pp. 200-210.

⁸³) See three MSS. published by H. T. Damsté, *Balische Oudheden, O.V., 1922*, pp. 72-81, especially pp. 76-78; and in a drawing by W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp in his *Bali en Lombok, [Edam] 1906-'10*, p. 196.

⁸⁴) See previous note, MS.B.

⁸⁵) In two cloths embroidered with the Navasanga attributes used for certain ceremonies in Bali and Lombok, Iśvara is given a ghaṇṭa instead of a vajra, see H. T. Damsté, *Balische Kleedjes en Doeken etc., loc. cit., figs. 3 and 4.*

South West	Rudra	asti (elephant)	kadga ⁸⁶⁾
West	Mahadeva	gadarba (donkey)	pasah ⁸⁷⁾
North West	Sangkara	menda (ram)	duaja ⁸⁸⁾
North	Visnu	garuda (mythical sun-eagle)	gada ⁸⁹⁾
North East	Sambu	varaha (boar)	trisula
Nadir	Darma ⁹⁰⁾	kurma (tortoise)	cakra
Centre	Siva	pisaca (demon)	padma
Zenith	Guru	vilmana (mythical bird)	naraca

Instead of identifying the guardian on the elephant at Panataran as Indra and locating him in the North East we would rather suggest regarding him as Rudra who would then be situated in the South-western corner of the temple. As for Agni on the ram he could equally well be Śaṅkara who would then occupy the North-western corner of the building.

⁸⁶⁾ Rudra is given the "muksala" as an attribute in a set of wooden attributes from Lombok in the Institute of the Tropics, Amsterdam, and in a drawing by Nieuwenkamp, *op. cit.*, p. 196, both of which are reproduced as figs. 1 and 2 in Goslings' article; the same is the case in three cloths embroidered with the Navasanga attributes and in a drawing by Ida Made Raï of Banjar, all four illustrated by Damsté in his article *Balische Kleedjes en Doeken etc.*, *loc. cit.*, figs. 1-4. This "muksala" looks like a mace or club and can probably be equated with the *daṇḍa* which in Indian iconography is one of the two attributes frequently allotted to Nairṛta, for as we shall see on p. 381 the attributes of the Navasanga were copied from those of the Aṣṭadikpālakas. The word "muksala" probably goes back to the Sanskrit "mudgara", i.e. hammerlike weapon, and indeed the Jaina traditions mention a club as his main attribute, see Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁸⁷⁾ In the illustrations of the attributes of the Navasanga mentioned in the previous note Mahādeva is given a *nāgapāśa* or a *nāga*.

⁸⁸⁾ In the three Navasanga cloths mentioned in note 86 Śaṅkara is given an *aṅkuśa* or a sort of *daṇḍa*. In the drawing by Ida Made Raï mentioned in note 86 it is an object which branches into three flames, but the inscription calls it an "angkoës". As we shall see on p. 381 that all the attributes of the Navasanga go back to those of the Aṣṭadikpālakas, we wonder whether this queer object could be related to the incense, also burning with three flames on Vāyu's lotus at Lara Jonggrang, see Groneman, *op. cit.* in note 104, pl. L. D. 16.

⁸⁹⁾ In the drawing by Ida Mada Raï and two of the three Navasanga cloths illustrated by Damsté and mentioned in note 86, Viṣṇu is given a *cakra* instead of a *gadā*. Obviously the attribute was changed in these cases in order better to match its owner, Viṣṇu.

⁹⁰⁾ The text actually gives the following list for the guardians of nadir, centre and zenith:

nadir	Siva	kurma	naraca
centre	Darma	pisaca	padma
zenith	Guru	vilmana	cakra

Obviously two mistakes have crept in, for in all other Navasanga descriptions and representations Śiva is always given the centre and his attribute is the

The guardian of the North East is given a boar as his *vāhana* in the MS. Other Balinese traditions allow him a rhinoceros⁹¹). Now we know that Kārttikeya sometimes uses this animal as his *vāhana*⁹²), for instance at Angkor Vat⁹³), and we consequently would like to suggest that Kārttikeya on the peacock (or in other cases the rhinoceros) is an alternative to Śaṃbhu as guardian of the North East, which might have resulted from the very close relation mythologically speaking of *varāha* and rhinoceros, in fact they are really one and the same⁹⁴). Moreover, Kārttikeya is one of the *Dikpālakas* in a tradition in India which we shall mention further on⁹⁵). As Kārttikeya is Śiva's son he does not upset the arrangement of the *Navasanga* which with the exception of the North and South guarded by Viṣṇu and Brahmā, is built up of aspects of Śiva.

padma, whereas the attributes *naraca* or *triśūla* and *cakra* are given to the guardians of zenith and nadir respectively in MSS. A and C, and in the drawing by Nieuwenkamp, op. cit., p. 196. Moreover, Dharma or Yama is the Lord of the underworld. We therefore have taken the liberty of exchanging the names of Siva and Dharma and the attributes *naraca* and *cakra*.

The set of wooden attributes of the *Navasanga* from Lombok in the Institute of the Tropics, Amsterdam, has slightly different attributes for the guardians of nadir, centre and zenith. Goslings identified them as an *aṅkuśa* for the zenith and a *cakra* for the nadir. He attributed a third object which resembles two intertwined snakes also to the guardian of the zenith. This last is of course impossible as there cannot be two attributes for the zenith. The *aṅkuśa* seems very appropriate for the zenith as it is closely related in character to the *naraca* and *triśūla*. The intertwined snakes therefore belong either to the centre or to the nadir. It seems better to consider the object which Goslings called a *cakra* but which is really a three-dimensional *cakra* resembling a globe, as the attribute of Śiva, for this object seems a most appropriate attribute for the guardian of the centre surrounded by the ten other guardians around, over and under him. This leaves the nadir free for the two intertwining snakes which tallies with the fact that in most traditions the guardian of the nadir is called *śeṣa* or *Ananta-(boga)*, see note 130. Compare also a drawing by Ida Bagus Togog of Batuan reproduced in M. Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, London 1937, facing p. 6, in which the tortoise of the underworld and the two intertwining snakes are shown.

⁹¹) Information from Professor Krom.

⁹²) We wonder whether there is any relation between the fact that one of Kārttikeya's two most important attributes is the *khadga* and the fact that the Sanskrit name for the rhinoceros, his *vāhana*, is also *khadga* which obviously alludes to the horn used as a weapon.

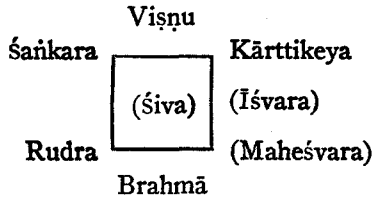
⁹³) In the East wing of the northern gallery, see G. Coedès, *Les Bas-reliefs, d'Angkor-Vat*, Bull. de la Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1911, pp. 170-220, especially p. 179 and pl. II; H. Stöner, *Erklärung des Nashornreiters auf den Reliefs von Angkor-Vat*, *Artibus Asiae*, 1925, pp. 128-130, fig. 1, wrongly identifies the god as Agni.

⁹⁴) See our paper read at the 21st Int. Congr. of Orientalists, Cambridge 1954, or *Sūrya* in Indonesia in which the *ekaśṛṅga* is discussed.

⁹⁵) See note 128.

As for the last guardian on the stag there is some difficulty. If our identification of the three previous gods as guardians of the South West, North West and North East is right, then the only remaining regions are the East and South East. The MS. gives the guardians of these regions Isuara = Īśvara and Mahesora = Maheśvara, a bull and a singa or mythical lion. Now there are two possibilities: either the set of guardians at Panataran represents a different tradition from that given in the MS. of Pedanda Buddha Ktut Oka ⁹⁶), or the vāhana was mistaken for a stag but is in fact a bull or a singa. As both animals have horns it is not impossible that Krom should have mistaken either of them for a stag, an error apparently easy to commit in view of the fact that others have repeatedly mixed up the horned vāhanas as we have seen above, mistaking a goat for a stag, a bhūta and a ram for a goat, a bull for a stag and a buffalo for a ram ⁹⁷).

Summing up, it seems that Panataran possesses a set of the Nava-sanga which tallies more or less with the known data from Bali. Until the vehicle of the guardian discussed in the last paragraph can be more



closely investigated we would suggest the following arrangement of the images on the walls of the temple at Panataran :

Probably some form of śiva was erected in the centre of the cella.

Does the fact that the set of guardians at Singhasāri copies the South Indian tradition faithfully, whereas the later temple at Panataran and the tradition in Bali show a preference for the Navasanga, point to a replacement of one by the other, or were both sets simultaneously popular in ancient Java?

To decide this matter we must look for other representations of the Dikpālakas. These are, however, rather rare for the guardians are

⁹⁶) One detail in which the MS. does not tally with the situation at Panataran is that it attributes a tiger to Brahmā as his vāhana, whereas he is shown on the temple with a haṃsa.

⁹⁷) See p. 358.

generally represented by their attributes, as for instance on the ceiling of Caṅḍi Ngrimbi ⁹⁸⁾ or on a ghaṅṭa in the Leiden Museum ⁹⁹⁾. These attributes are exactly the same for both sets of guardians, as we can see by comparing charts Nos. V and VI, and consequently these representations are of no help in determining whether one set preceded the other or whether they were in use simultaneously. Fortunately there are, however, a certain number of facts which can help us in our investigations.

III. *Jalatuṅḍa*.

The first piece of useful evidence was found more than 130 years ago. In the ruined tīrtha of Jalatuṅḍa, Wardenaar dug up a stone box divided into nine compartments ¹⁰⁰⁾. In it were found ashes and several objects. Two of these were pieces of gold leaf inscribed with the following inscriptions: "Om! Īśānāya bhūtādhipataye svāhā" and "Om! Agnaye dvijādhipataye svāhā" ¹⁰¹⁾.

It is clear that the box with its contents was the so-called temple deposit. In each compartment jewels and gold leaf plaques would be deposited representing a guardian of a region of the sky according to the position of the compartment. Two out of the originally nine plaques have been preserved and they represent Īśāna and Agni, guardians of the North East and South East. Clearly therefore, the Aṣṭadīkpālakas were popular in the days when Jalatuṅḍa was built, i.e. in the end of the 10th century.

This proves at least that this set of guardians was already known in the very beginning of the East Javanese period and probably it had been inherited from the Central Javanese period.

⁹⁸⁾ Photographs Arch. Survey Nos. O.D. 7234 and 11282.

⁹⁹⁾ No. 1403/2442: see the sixth proposition for my Ph. D. degree 1949 and more recently F. D. K. Bosch, *De Hindoe-Javaanse bronzen Priesterschel uit de collectie Loudon voor het Museum van Aziatische Kunst aangekocht*, Bull. v. h. Rijksmuseum, vol. 2, no. 1, Amsterdam 1954, pp. 15-18.

¹⁰⁰⁾ J. Knebel, *Beschrijving der Hindoe-oudheden in de Afdeeling Madjakerta der Residentie Soerabaja*, R.O.C., 1909, pp. 12-114, especially p. 95. The box is now in the Museum in Djakarta, Museum No. 374. Reproduced by W. R. van Hoëvell, *Reis over Java, Madura en Bali in het midden van 1847*, vol. II, Amsterdam 1851, fig. 8 facing p. 110.

¹⁰¹⁾ Museum Djakarta No. 783, e, reproduced in van Hoëvell, *op. cit.*, as figs. 6 and 7 facing p. 110. See also W. P. Groeneveldt, *Catalogus der Archeologische Verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, Batavia 1887, p. 218.

IV. *Lara Jonggrang.*

This last assumption is supported by the occurrence of the Aṣṭadik-pālakas on the Śiva temple at Prambanan. These representations have been studied by Miss Tonnet¹⁰²). In his "Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst" Krom accepts Miss Tonnet's identifications of the guardians of the four main quarters, but he is not convinced of her other identifications¹⁰³).

Let us look at the matter more closely¹⁰⁴). There are 24 panels; two flanking each of the steps on all four sides, which makes eight; then two on every corner of the building, another eight; and finally eight panels are found on both of the outer side-walls of each of the four entrance vestibules (see textfig. 1).

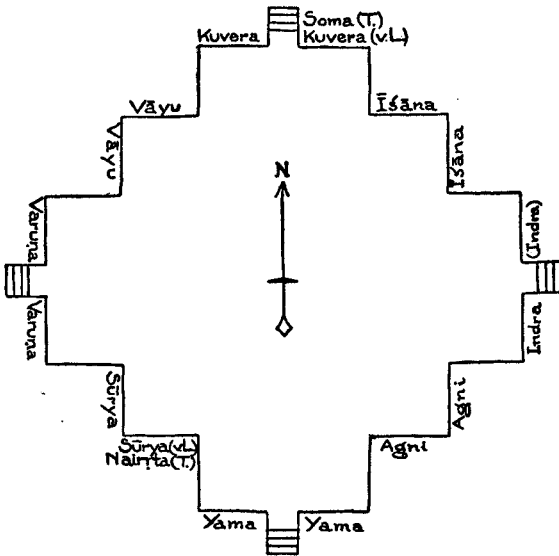


Fig. 1. *The Śiva Temple of Lara Jonggrang.*

On the South Miss Tonnet found Yama flanking the steps; he can be recognized by his *daṇḍa*. On the West Varuṇa is represented twice with his *nāgapaśa*. We do not agree with Miss Tonnet that his follower

¹⁰²) M. Tonnet, *De godenbeelden aan den buitenmuur van den Çiwatempel te Tjanḍi Prambanan en de vermoedelijke leeftijd van die tempelgroep*, B.K.I., vol. 60, 1908, pp. 128-149.

¹⁰³) Krom, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 466-467.

¹⁰⁴) The panels are reproduced as pl. XXXV. D. 1 — LVIII. D. 24 in J. Groneman, *Tjanḍi Prambanan op Midden-Java, na de ontgraving, Leiden 1893.*

on his left-hand side carries his sunshade, ābhoga¹⁰⁵); the object looks more like a winged conch shell, one of Varuṇa's well-known attributes.

On the North side Miss Tonnet identifies Kuvera to the right and Soma to the left of the steps. Of the first she says he misses his usual attributes. The conch shell which Kuvera carries on a lotus flower makes her think rather of Viṣṇu or of a Watergod¹⁰⁶). However, in India this attribute is very common for the God of Wealth and is called the śaṅkhanidhi. Generally it is matched by the padmanidhi, Kuvera's other well-known attribute. They are often represented pouring forth jewels and other treasures and in later Indian iconography are even personified as little attendants flanking Kuvera and carrying the shell and padma¹⁰⁷). We cannot agree with Miss Tonnet's identification of the second northern figure as Soma¹⁰⁸). The attendants of this god are Yakṣas as are those of Kuvera on the other northern panel, the only difference being that the Yakṣas this time are male as well as female. There is no reason whatever to identify the flowers carried by the Yakṣī next to the god as the Soma plant, as Miss Tonnet does. The Yakṣa on the extreme left seems to hold a jewel in his hand. The attribute which the god himself carries is a jewel on a lotus, but need not necessarily be the moonjewel, candrakānta, as Miss Tonnet thinks. As we have found the guardians of the South and West twice, we see no reason why Kuvera should not be represented twice on the North. No better attribute for the God of Wealth than the padmanidhi, matching the śaṅkhanidhi on the other northern panel. Secondly Yakṣas are inexplicable as followers of Candra, but would be most appropriate for Kuvera. Moreover, one of them repeats his master's treasure-guarding or jewel-spending function by carrying a precious stone.

Finally we come to the East. The right-hand panel has been badly damaged and the main attribute of the guardian is lost. The left-hand panel shows us Indra recognizable as such by his vajra. Seeing that Yama, Varuṇa and Kuvera were all three represented twice it seems permissible to assume that the damaged panel also represented Indra.

After having discussed the panels flanking the steps let us now consider the panels on both sides of each of the four corners of the temple. In the North-East Miss Tonnet twice found Īśānā identified by his kapāla and trisūla. We would rather not identify the attendants

¹⁰⁵) Tonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Groneman, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI. D. 12.

¹⁰⁶) Tonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Groneman, *op. cit.*, pl. LII. D. 18.

¹⁰⁷) Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 536.

¹⁰⁸) Tonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Groneman, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII. D. 19.

on the left-hand panel as śūdras as Miss Tonnet does ¹⁰⁹). They seem to be Gaṇas, judging by their childish jewelry and rounded eyes. As Śiva is Lord of the host of Gaṇas we find them in his environment at many places such as for instance Aihole ¹¹⁰), Bādāmī ¹¹¹), Ellora ¹¹²) and Kāñcīpuram ¹¹³).

In the South East the left-hand panel is clearly Agni, not because of his lance with seven points, as Miss Tonnet describes his attribute ¹¹⁴), but because of the dhūpa, with seven flames, referring to his surname Saptajihva. His followers hold the sruk, those in the centre seem to carry the pieces of wood which are rubbed together to produce fire, hence Agni is spoken of as dwelling in two pieces of wood ¹¹⁵). Finally the first attendant to the left holds, we think, a manuscript leaf from which the prayers are to be read, for Agni presides over the sacrificial fire. The right-hand relief shows a god with an utpala. His attendants are again provided with the sruk. Miss Tonnet identifies this figure as Agni Abjahasta ¹¹⁶). The lotus and the attitude of the right hand on the right knee remind us of the Indo-Javanese way of representing Sūrya ¹¹⁷). An identification of this god as Sūrya would fit in quite well as he is an aspect of Agni, but as we shall see presently Sūrya seems already represented on the South East corner of the temple and so we do not press our identification. Whether he be Abjahasta or Sūrya, in either case he is a second form of Agni.

On the South West corner Miss Tonnet identifies the right-hand panel as Nairṛta and the left-hand one as Sūrya ¹¹⁸). However, the first god carries neither danḍa nor khaḍga, but like the left-hand figure a jewel on a lotus. It seems to us safer therefore, to identify both panels as Sūrya as they are identical and there is nothing in favour of an identification of the left-hand one as Nairṛta. Miss Tonnet suggests that the frowning forehead is an aesthetic way of indicating

¹⁰⁹) Tonnet, op. cit., p. 141; Groneman, op. cit., pl. LVI. D. 22.

¹¹⁰) Rao, op. cit., vol. II, pl. XXIV and p. 135.

¹¹¹) Banerji, op. cit., pl. III, a and b, and XXVI, b.

¹¹²) W. Cohn, Indische Plastik, Berlin 1922, pl. 43.

¹¹³) Rao, op. cit., vol. II, pl. LXX and p. 270.

¹¹⁴) Tonnet, op. cit., p. 138; Groneman, op. cit., pl. XXXVIII. D. 4. In his note mentioned in note 61 Krom regards this attribute as a flaming sword, but Agni is never shown with this attribute.

¹¹⁵) Wilkins, op. cit., p. 23.

¹¹⁶) Tonnet, op. cit., p. 139; Groneman, op. cit., pl. XXXVII. D. 3.

¹¹⁷) See our paper mentioned in note 94.

¹¹⁸) Tonnet, op. cit., pp. 139-140; Groneman, op. cit., pl. XLIII. D. 9 and XLIV. D. 10.

a third eye because the Prambanan sculptors objected to physical absurdities, but we see no reason why it should not be taken as a quite normal indication of a *krodha* form. *Sūrya* and *Kāla* are equated even nowadays in Bali, and as *Sūrya* as well as *Nairṛta* occupy the inauspicious region of the South West, they would naturally show a *krodha* appearance. In this connection it is interesting to point out that all four gods between South and West show more or less a *krodha* appearance. Moreover, it is worth while mentioning that the left-hand *Sūrya* has a far more pronounced *krodha* form than the right-hand *Sūrya*.

Finally we come to the North West. The panels on either side of this corner were identified by Miss Tonnet as *Vāyu Gandhavaha* on account of the burning incense on the lotus he carries, with which we agree.

As for the intermediate panels beginning with East-South-East Miss Tonnet suggested identifications as *Bṛhaspati*, *Hanuman*, *Brahmanaspati*, *Sūrya*, *Kārttikeya*, *Kāma*, *Viśvakarman* and *Nārada*¹¹⁹). Several of these identifications among which that of *Sūrya* we cannot accept, with others we agree. It would involve us in too lengthy a discussion to deal with these eight panels here and as they do not immediately touch our present subject we prefer to return to them later on.

To recapitulate: Miss Tonnet's identification of the attributes of the main gods or the objects in the hands of their attendants is not always correct. We accept, however, fourteen of her identifications of the sixteen panels discussed above, but suggest corrections in her identifications of *Soma* and *Nairṛta* as *Kuvera* and *Sūrya* respectively.

Moreover, Miss Tonnet rightly expressed uneasiness about her grand total of seventeen gods. Our corrections of the identifications have improved the group as a whole for we now have a regular system in which each of the eight cardinal points is represented by two panels depicting the same god. Secondly we now arrive at a grand total of sixteen gods which tallies with the number given in drawings of Mount Meru such as that reproduced by Coleman and described by him as sixteen heavenly mansions "being those of Indra and other deities"¹²⁰). Clearly these mansions belong to the sixteen gods of the cardinal points which he indicates by naming their leader, *Indra* the guardian of the East. Reviewing the sixteen main panels which we discussed we see now that the eight gods represented in them are identical with the

¹¹⁹) Tonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-146.

¹²⁰) C. Coleman, *The Mythology of the Hindus*, London 1832, p. 253 and pl. 28.

Aṣṭadikpālakas apart from the common substitution of Sūrya for Nairṛta. Judging by the expression of some of the faces and especially of the eyes, it might be possible that the left-hand panels of each pair show the krodha aspects and the right-hand panels the benevolent aspects of the eight gods.

V. *The relations between the Aṣṭadikpālakas and the Navasanga.*

From the foregoing it is clear that the Aṣṭadikpālakas were mentioned at Jalatuṅḍa and portrayed in relief at Lara Jonggrang. An image in the British Museum dating from about the same period carries a sword and shield and consequently probably represents Nairṛta¹²¹). This indicates that another set of images of the Aṣṭadikpālakas may have existed in Central Java. All this we believe is sufficient proof that the Aṣṭadikpālakas were known from the Central Javanese period onwards with slight deviations such as the substitution of Sūrya for Nairṛta.

On the other hand there are no indications that the set of the Navasanga was already known at such an early date. For although we have a number of cases in which the Dikpālakas are represented by way of their attributes this does not mean anything in view of the fact that the attributes of the Aṣṭadikpālakas and the Navasanga are exactly the same (compare charts Nos. V and VI).

However, this very fact in itself seems to give us a clue, for it is clear that these attributes belong to the Aṣṭadikpālakas and were subsequently borrowed by the Navasanga. Only very few of the attributes fit their new owners more or less, for example Viṣṇu has Kuvera's gadā¹²²); but most of the gods and their attributes are unrelated, such as Maheśvara and the flame, Brahmā and the daṅḍa or śaṅkara and the dhvaja. It seems therefore that a set of new names for the Dikpālakas was introduced towards the end of the East Javanese period, but their attributes remained the same as those of the Aṣṭadikpālakas. The priority of this last set is also proved by the fact that the regions of the sky such as North West, North East, South East and South West are indicated by the names of the Aṣṭadikpālakas presiding over them¹²³).

But the situation is not as simple as all that. For although it is clear now that the Navasanga took over from the Aṣṭadikpālakas this does

¹²¹) British Museum No. 1861-10-10-1.

¹²²) See chart No. VI.

¹²³) See the three MSS. mentioned in note 83.

not imply that the group as such is much younger than the Aṣṭadikpālakas. Undoubtedly it goes back to a group which must have existed in India long before that. The fact that the Navasanga consists mainly of forms of Śiva would suggest an association with the Mūrtyaṣṭaka, a group of eight aspects of Śiva¹²⁴) with which it has at least two aspects in common. This Mūrtyaṣṭaka shares again five forms with the Ekadaśarudra, a group of eleven aspects of Śiva¹²⁵). In its turn the Navasanga has three aspects in common with this last group. Again, a relation with the eight Bhairavas can be suggested¹²⁶). This group is equated by the Kāpālikas with a set of gods¹²⁷) which can easily be recognized as a set of guardians of the regions of the sky. Moreover, the female counterparts of these Bhairavas, the Aṣṭamātrkās¹²⁸), indicate by their mere names a close relationship with a set of gods (in fact they are their śaktis) which again are manifestly a group of Dikpālakas. With the Bhairava group the Navasanga share at least three gods and with the male counterparts of the Aṣṭamātrkās at least four. These two groups of Bhairavas and Mātrkās again link up with the set of Dikpālakas on the ceiling of cave IV at Bādāmī which we left out earlier because they undoubtedly represent another tradition than that of South India, with which we were concerned in the beginning of our article¹²⁹). We hope to discuss this set in an article on the Dikpālakas in India because the problems connected with it are too involved to be treated here briefly. Finally there is also an interesting parallel between the guardians of the nadir and zenith as given in several Balinese MSS. and in the Hindu and Jaina traditions, especially the Agni Purāṇa¹³⁰).

Meanwhile all these sets of guardians with which the Navasanga have a number of gods in common, go to prove that there existed in

¹²⁴) Rao, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 403-407.

¹²⁵) Rao, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 386-392.

¹²⁶) S. Lévi, *Le Népal. Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, 3 vols., Bibliothèque d'études, vol. 17-19, Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris 1905-'08, vol. III, pp. 175-176. P. H. Pott, *Yoga en Yantra*, Leiden 1946, pp. 147-149 has pointed out the relation between this set and the Navasanga.

¹²⁷) Rao, op. cit., vol. II, p. 28.

¹²⁸) Rao, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 380-381. One of these Mothergoddesses is the śakti of Kārttikeya, which therefore is a Dikpālaka in some traditions.

¹²⁹) See p. 360.

¹³⁰) Hindu and Jaina traditions call the guardian of the nadir Ananta, Śeṣa or Nāga and the guardian of the zenith Brahmā who has the haṃsa as his vehicle, see Prakash, op. cit., p. 193 and Thomas, op. cit., p. 30 and pl. XXVIII. The Agni Purāṇa calls the guardian of the nadir Ananta and gives him the cakra as an attribute, his vāhana is the tortoise; the guardian of the zenith is

India in general other traditions than the South Indian one, and that it is most unlikely that the Navasanga is an Indo-Javanese invention. On the contrary, this later Javanese group almost certainly goes back to a tradition connected with the sets just mentioned.

The vāhanas of the Navasanga too seem to resemble Indian prototypes. Hevajra for instance shows in his left hands the following set of Dikpālakas: Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Candra, Sūrya, Yama, Vasudharā and Vāstupati¹³¹). Apart from the last two gods, this set is completely identical with the popular set of Aṣṭadikpālakas discussed in this article. In his right hands Hevajra holds the following creatures which I take to be the vāhanas of the gods in his left hands: elephant, horse, donkey, bull, camel, red man, stag and cat. This set of vehicles is completely different from that which we have found to be usual in South India and Java. Comparing it with the vāhanas of the Navasanga we see that the bull and the elephant are shared by the two groups, which is not very surprising as they are vehicles which are very popular. More surprising is the fact that they also have the donkey and the cat (or tiger) in common, neither of which occur in the list of vāhanas of the Aṣṭadikpālakas. This might be taken as a pointer to the fact that the vehicles of the Navasanga too form a separate tradition which probably goes back to an Indian prototype.

To sum up, the Navasanga were introduced in the last part of the East Javanese period, perhaps in the middle of the 14th century, at least that is the first time we meet them. They probably derive from an ancient Indian prototype. During the process of replacement of the Aṣṭadikpālakas by the Navasanga the attributes of the former were conferred upon the latter; their vāhanas, however, seem to go back to an Indian tradition, as they themselves do. In this connection we should leave open the possibility that the Dikpālakas at Singhasāri were already indicated by names of Śiva although retaining the attributes and vāhanas of the older group of Dikpālakas.

called Brahmā and rides on a haṃsa, ed. cit., ch. 56, vv. 29-31. The Balinese MS. A published by Damsté, op. cit., calls the guardian of the nadir Anantaboga and his attribute is the tortoise of the underworld Bdavangnala. MS. B mentions the tortoise as the vāhana of Śiva but this is obviously a mistake for Darma, see note 90. In MSS. A and C the cakra is the attribute of the guardian of the nadir. Guru (or Cintya) who as guardian of the zenith can be equated with Brahmā is given the vilmana as a vehicle, a mythical bird comparable with the haṃsa.

¹³¹) A. Getty, op. cit., pl. XLIV, d, p. 143; A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismes au Tibet et en Mongolie*, Leipzig 1900, figs. 85 and 86 and pp. 106-107; Pott, op. cit., p. 108 has suggested an identification of the eighth figure as Vāstupati.

It is possible that already in early times the Aṣṭadīkpālakas were considered aspects of the great god Śiva. This would be entirely in line with the general Indian belief cherished also in Hindu Java, that all differentiations are but aspects of the One Deity, whether He be called Śiva, Viṣṇu or be indicated by any other name. This idea seems to be corroborated by the fact that a considerable number of guardians at Lara Jonggrang have differing earrings in their left and right ears which is a peculiarity of Śiva¹³²). If the idea that the Aṣṭadīkpālakas were aspects of the great god Śiva existed already in the Central Javanese period, then it is clear that the ground was already prepared at a very early date for the eventual change-over from Aṣṭadīkpālakas to Navasanga.

Exactly how and when this change-over took place remains unknown, but it probably has some connection with the increased popularity of the worship of Bhairava in the middle of the fourteenth century, a topic to which we hope to return in more detail on some other occasion.

Dr J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN—DE LEEUW.

¹³²) The most common combination of earrings for Śiva is a patrakuṇḍala in the left ear and a makarakuṇḍala in the right ear; in some texts this last ornament is called nakrakuṇḍala, but of course this is only another name for the same piece of jewelry. Another combination is the śaṅkhapatrankuṇḍala in the left ear and the makarakuṇḍala in the right ear. Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 119 following the Uttarakāmikāgama says that the ear ornament worn in the left ear is either a ratnakuṇḍala, or a śaṅkhatra or a padmatra, whereas that in the right ear is a makarakuṇḍala, or a śiṃhakuṇḍala or a patrankuṇḍala. Fairly extensive investigations have shown us, however, that the patrankuṇḍala in the right ear is not at all common. The only other instance we know of is the description of Brahmaśiraśchedakamūrti in the Śrītattvanidhi (quoted by Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 176), all the texts we have consulted mention the patrankuṇḍala for the left ear. The main point in connection with our subject is, however, that although Śiva is sometimes shown with two identical earrings, he usually has a different one in each ear.



Plate 1.
Agni found
at Singhasāri.



Plate 2.
Kuvera found
at Singhasāri.



Plate 3.

Dikpālaka found
at Singhasāri.

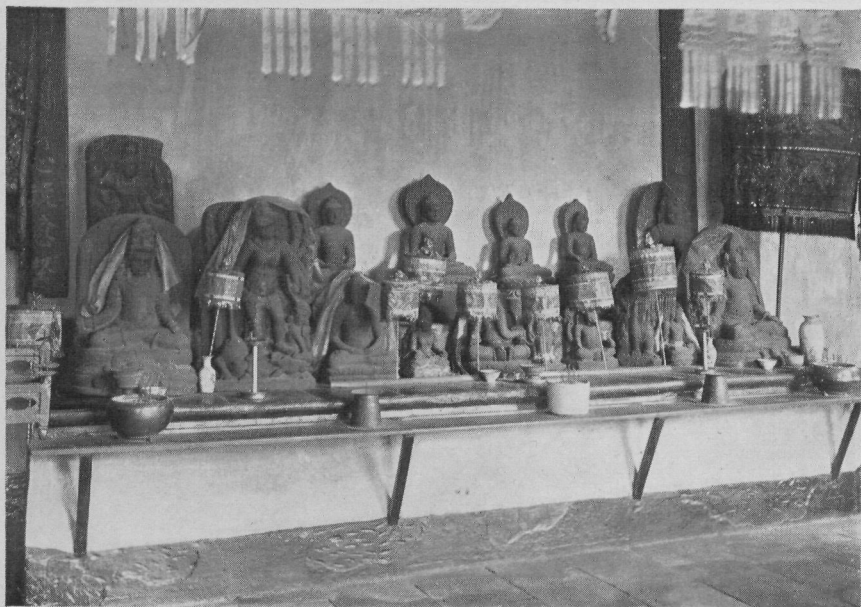


Plate 4.

Chinese temple near Gunung Sari, Weltevreden, showing the
Dikpālakas on the extreme left and right.



Plate 5.

Nairrta in the
Chinese temple.



Plate 6.

Yama in the
Chinese temple.