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Introduction

Comparative studies of the utensils used in Hindu and Buddhist rituals as they were practised in the various ancient Southeast Asian cultural regions are still entirely lacking. Nevertheless, the production of such artefacts in precious and semi-precious metals in the ancient Indonesian archipelago—particularly the island of Java—during the ‘Hindu-Buddhist’ period seems to stand out for both the quality of its manufacture and the quantity of material preserved. Javanese metal artefacts that must have been produced for use by a political and religious elite—mainly in ritual context—are very well represented in public and private collections, both within Indonesia itself and in the West.¹ Several of these collections were assembled entirely during the colonial period. The great quantity of such material collected early on means that we have a relatively high percentage of pieces whose

authenticity is beyond suspicion,² much of it moreover relatively easy of access in public collections. This riches presents both an opportunity and a challenge to scholarship—to analyze the material both corpus-internally and in comparison with related groups of artefacts from other ‘Indianized’ cultures—, which has not even started yet to be taken up on a comprehensive scale.³

This article proposes to make a contribution towards the comprehensive study of ancient Indonesian ritual utensils while limiting itself to a selection of types and focusing on specimens endowed with inscriptions.⁴ Indeed, compared once again to other Southeast Asian cultural regions, and perhaps to South Asia as well, ancient Indonesia has left us a large corpus of inscribed ritual utensils, fashioned mostly in bronze, that seems remarkable in terms of the quantity of inscribed items, of the typological variety of inscriptions they bear, and of the diversity of the types of utensil that have been inscribed.⁵

While for some categories of utensils we have just a single or, at most, only a very small number of inscribed specimens preserved, for other categories the number of known inscribed specimens reaches many dozens. The categories of zodiac beakers and mirror handles are no doubt the most commonly encountered.⁶ Rarely attested types (and names) of utensils on which we find inscriptions are plates,⁷ platters (*talam/tahas*),⁸ cups,⁹ pots (*dyun*),¹⁰

* Several colleagues have kindly helped us during the process of writing this article. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Bruce Carpenter (Bali), Véronique Degroot (Jakarta), John Guy (New York), Thomas Hunter (Vancouver), Jifí Jákl (Brisbane), Alexey Kirichenko (Moscow), Marijke J. Klokke (Leiden), Christian Lammerts (New Brunswick), Petra Martin (Dresden) and Stuart Robson (Melbourne).

1. See the illustrated catalogues of specific public collections: MEYER 1884, JUVNBOLL 1909, KROM 1918–1919 (the best pieces of this collection now at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), HEINE-GELDERN 1925, BERNET KEMPERS 1935, STUTTERHEIM 1937, LE BONHEUR 1971 (ex-collection Meier), VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, LERNER & KOSSAK 1991. See also LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988, pp. XI–XII.

2. Nevertheless, early entry into collections is not a guarantee of authenticity. The early, well-known forgeries mixed with authentic bronzes of the collection Dieduksman (see BOSCH 1926, STUTTERHEIM 1927 and BERNET KEMPERS 1932) are not the only such case from the colonial period.

3. First steps towards a systematic study were taken in LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988.

4. For a broad overview of bronze utensils from the Majapahit period, giving at most two specimens of each type and not taking into account epigraphical evidence, see CHUTIWONGS 2000.

5. For a first glimpse of the diversity of types of utensil, see the splendid plate 107 in KROM 1923/III.

6. See STUTTERHEIM 1937, pp. 45–47 and CRUCQ 1939 for mirror handles. On zodiac beakers, see LEEUWRIK 1982 and the sources cited by VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, p. 126. All inscribed mirror handles are East Javanese. Zodiac beakers were not produced at all before the East Javanese period.

7. See DEGROOT, GRIFFITHS & BASKORO TIAHJONO 2010–2011, p. 378, n. 25, on two bronze plates held in Berlin (Museum für Asiatische Kunst, inv. no. II 644–645). See DAMAIS 1970, p. 44, nos. 21 and 22, and GROENEVELDT 1887, pp. 326–327, about two other inscribed plates: one (MNI 1738) in silver, and another one in unspecified material, but probably likewise silver, whose current whereabouts are unknown. All the four plates mentioned in this note date to about the 9th century.

8. See *JBG* 7, 1940, p. 88 (MNI 6893) and STUTTERHEIM 1941 (a *talam* formerly part of the collection of Dr. M. Hille Ris Lambers, at Malang, present whereabouts unknown). These two inscribed *talams* both include the ancient term for this kind of object, namely *tahas* on the one and the orthographic variant *thahas* on the other. See also STUTTERHEIM 1940, p. 22, on this term; and see *OV* 1939, p. 21, where three other specimens are mentioned, each said to bear the inscription *sanjivana nini haji*.

9. MNI 8924/8925 (Central Javanese): see BIANCHINI & GIRARD-GESLAN 1995, no. 22, and WAHYONO MARTOWIKRINDO 1998.

10. MNI 5824 (Central Javanese) bears an inscription that includes the auto-designation *dyun* ‘vase’. Unfortunately, we know of no visual documentation for the artefact bearing this inscription, and have not been able to see it ourselves. See *OV* 1924, p. 105; *TBG* 64, 1924, p. 657; STUTTERHEIM 1925, pp. 228–230, n. 31; POERBATJARAKA 1926, p. 47, n. 3.

small bowls (*saragi*),¹¹ cineraries,¹² lamps,¹³ ladles,¹⁴ water-dippers,¹⁵ finials for processional staffs,¹⁶ boxes for storing copper-plate inscriptions or palm-leaf manuscripts,¹⁷ items to be donated to cult icons,¹⁸ and ritual daggers (*kīla*)¹⁹—and this is certainly not an exhaustive list. Among types we have not yet mentioned are the reasonably well-attested categories of sound-making devices, namely bells and slitdrums, the former of several subtypes. It is to these last two categories that we propose to devote the present contribution.

Our purpose in the first place is to document all inscribed specimens known to us of these categories, many of them previously unpublished. Those that have been published have appeared piecemeal in archaeological reports or in museum, auction and exhibition catalogues, or in broad

overviews of bronze utensils, generally with limited attention paid to the inscriptions on them, often without a reading, and sometimes with no mention of the inscription at all. The reason for this neglect of the inscriptions may lie in the fact that, when taken individually, they are in most cases too short and too devoid of context to allow for confident decipherment and interpretation. An extra complicating factor here is that, from the beginning of the East Javanese period onwards,²⁰ local artisans tended to prefer highly ornamental forms of script, which seem deliberately to make reading difficult, a difficulty which only careful comparison with other specimens of the same kind of script can help to overcome.²¹ On the strengthened empirical basis of an exhaustive corpus allowing for internal comparison, we will attempt here to provide reliable readings and interpretations of the inscriptions found on the types of sound-making devices that we have selected for discussion.

Our second purpose, then, is to combine textual and art-historical perspectives, to let them provide mutual illumination, and jointly throw light on basic questions such as developments over time in the types and shapes of bronze utensils and in the types of inscription applied to them, the chronology of undated specimens, the meaning of iconic and ornamental features, indigenous terminology for the artefacts in question and the way they might have been used in the ritual life of those who ordered and manufactured them. On the textual side, besides the inscriptions on the objects themselves, there is the evidence of contemporary transmitted Old Javanese literature, mainly of the *kakavin* genre. On

the art-historical side, we will attempt a comprehensive stylistic and iconographic description of the common and particular features of the artefacts, pointing out some motifs that are typical of Javanese art and architecture; we will also take into account, to the extent that it is available, the visual evidence on ancient use of such artefacts furnished by temple reliefs in stone.

1. Old Javanese Bells and similar Utensils

1.1 Hanging bells

This type of bell consists of two separately made parts, the body and the finial into which a suspension ring is incorporated. The body is often decorated with garlands suspended on eight points evenly divided over a horizontal band. The suspension points form an ornament of four curly leaves in the Central Javanese and a *kāla* head in the East Javanese period. An additional short decorative string is suspended from them. Sometimes the body is left plain. The base consists of a heavy semicircular moulding above which a border of lotus petals is generally applied.²² Such bells were made to hang free. A relief on the hidden base of Borobudur shows a donation of a temple bell suspended from a wooden rack.²³ Above this panel we find inscribed the label *ghanṭā*, which was the generic name for bells in ancient times and the source of the modern Malay/Indonesian *genta*.²⁴ This term is found also on our specimen 1.1a. Hanging bells were used not only in Buddhist but also in Hindu temple cult, for purposes we will discuss below. They do not have a clapper; to make them sound, they were beaten on the moulding of the base with a wooden stick or hammer.

11. See GRIFFITHS 2012a, pp. 209–212. All inscribed specimens known so far date to the first millennium.

12. MNI 1210 (East Javanese): see GROENEVELDT 1887, p. 271, with reading Brandes in n. 1; an alternative reading is proposed in PAMERAN 2002, p. 46.

13. MNI 6027 (East Javanese): see GALESTIN 1958.

14. Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya, Yogyakarta, inv. no. BG 297: see HERNI PRAMASTUTI *et al.* 2007, pp. 110–111. Judging by the script, the artefact seems to date from the East Javanese period, although it is apparently of Central Javanese provenance.

15. MNI 8990 (Central Javanese): see BIANCHINI & GIRARD-GESLAN 1995, no. 31, and WAHYONO MARTOWIKRIDO 1998, p. 138.

16. Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, inv. no. II 232 (East Javanese): see MOELLER 1985, pp. 51–53 (and book cover); FONTEIN 1990, no. 91.

17. Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya, Yogyakarta, inv. no. BG 1549: see HERNI PRAMASTUTI *et al.* 2007, pp. 116–117. RMV 401-22a: see HOLLE 1880, p. 2 and line drawing on last of the subjoined facsimiles. The former specimen is of the Central Javanese, the latter of the East Javanese period.

18. Parasols (*chattra*): MNI 685a–c (DAMAIS 1970, p. 45, nos. 42–44). Sword hilt: MMA 1998.544.43 (GRIFFITHS 2014, p. 56). Coil (*pailut*): a long gold coil part of a hoard <<http://www.michaelbackmanltd.com/2221.html>>, unpublished. The artefacts mentioned are Central Javanese. Perhaps also to be classified here is a bronze tube (quiver?) bearing the *millésime* 1185 Śaka from East Java (MNI 5937, OV 1929, pp. 286–287, with pl. 35d = OD 10161 / TBG 70, 1930, p. 133). It is amusing that Nakada speaks of a ‘cooker,’ evidently because he did not know the meaning of the Dutch ‘*kooker*’ (NAKADA 1982, pp. 136–137).

19. Two apparently almost identical specimens are known to us. They are MNI 6060 (*JBG* 2, 1934, pp. 108, 118–119) and Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya, Yogyakarta, inv. no. BG 49 (HERNI PRAMASTUTI *et al.* 2007, pp. 114–115). Their dating is uncertain: perhaps early East Javanese period, although apparently of Central Javanese provenance.

20. The transition from the Central to the East Javanese periods of Javanese history is conventionally situated around 928 CE. See BARRETT JONES 1984, pp. 1–7.

21. The fact that the Javanese developed during the East Javanese period a predilection for expressing dates in the form of rebus-like chronograms, formulated in Old Javanese, is another factor that can complicate decipherment of the inscriptions on ritual utensils. Such chronograms, too, have so far invariably been interpreted *ad hoc*, without situating them in the corpus of the more than fifty attested epigraphical chronograms of which they are part. Our study includes two examples (2a and c). On the Old Javanese tradition of chronograms in transmitted texts, see NOORDUYN 1993.

22. The bell MMA 1987.142.235 (unpublished) is a very rare exception.

23. See KUNST 1968, fig. 11 = BERNET KEMPERS 1976, p. 16, fig. 10. This manner of suspension is still very commonly seen for temple bells in Burma.

24. See FONTEIN 1990, p. 236. This label inscription was published as no. 131a by KROM 1927/I, p. 52 and plate I at the back of vol. II.

The body has a border of lotus petals at the top where the finial is inserted. The finial or top part is sometimes only a plain thick ring for suspension on a moulding, but more usually takes the shape of a supernatural animal. Exceptional is an arch with flanking *makaras* as a suspension ring on a Central Javanese temple bell found near Borobudur.²⁵ Frequently the finial is a prancing horned lion, its fore paws in the air and its mouth full of sharp teeth, open as if producing a loud roar (1.1f).²⁶ There are also several cases where the finial takes the shape of a standing or reclining bull (1.1a and b), some with open mouth and head turned upwards, apparently bellowing loudly.²⁷ A roaring lion is associated in Buddhism with the spread of the doctrine. Perhaps the bellowing bull, Śiva's mount, is its Javanese counterpart for Śaiva teaching. Sometimes serpents decorate the top (1.1g).²⁸ Otherwise, we find a wide variety of exceptional representations, such as monkeys squatting back to back holding something above their heads (1.1j),²⁹ a female figure transported by a flying monster,³⁰ Garuda armed with a knife,³¹

25. MNI 7975, h. 30.5 cm, see ENDANG SRI HARDIATI 2005 (see also BERNET KEMPERS 1976, p. 16, fig. 10). For a suspension ring in the shape of a complicated deer arch, see VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, no. 49.

26. On this 'leoglyph,' see GRIFFITHS, REVIRE & SANYAL 2013, p. 9. We have not seen the apparently inscribed lion-shaped finial MNI 957a mentioned in *NBG* 30, 1892, pp. 112, CLXVIII.

27. See also RM AK-RAK-1990-4 (LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 1992, fig. 3); RMV 1403-2051; Museum of Fine Art, Boston, acc. no. 1977.749; Christie's New York, auction 20 Sept. 2000, no. 192.

28. These serpents are shown from a different angle in KROM 1923/III, pl. 110; a pair of entwined serpents is shown in FONTEIN 1990, no. 73 (our 1.1h). In the Old Javanese court poem *Bhāratayuddha*, a rather obscure passage possibly alludes to a snake bell; see SUPOMO 1993, p. 155, stanza 50.7, *pāda* d: *muny aṅgyat kutupuknya sarpa bhagavān ghaṅṭānikānde takut*. On p. 249, Supomo translates this as: 'The abrupt sound of the owls hooting was like the frightening ring of a holy snake bell.' However, this translation is very uncertain, and the same verse quarter was translated as follows by Poerbatjaraka and Hooykaas: 'De uilen krasten afschuwwekkend; het gekakel van de groote slangen leek wel het geluid van klokken, angstaanjagend [The owls shrieked terrifyingly; the chatter of large snakes seemed like the sound of bells, frightening]' (POERBATJARAKA & HOOPYKAAS 1934, p. 71).

29. Another specimen with a similarly seated pair of monkeys, but with demonic faces, is held in the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, inv. no. 71.101.15.

30. See CHUTIWONGS 2000, p. 72, fig. 4.

31. See VAN ERP 1933. Present whereabouts unknown.

and a demon with the stolen flask of the elixir of life.³²

At least two specimens with the image of a seated deity are known, one in the Tropenmuseum and one in the National Museum of Indonesia, both dating to the Majapahit period.³³

The four-armed deity, forming the crown of the Tropenmuseum bell, is surrounded by an arch surmounted by the suspension ring, which is itself topped by a tiny *liṅga-yoni*. The arch is set with lotuses. The deity is seated on a bull and can therefore only be a manifestation of Śiva. His pair of lower hands makes a meditation gesture.³⁴ His upper hands, however, do not hold his usual pair of prayer beads (*akṣamālā*) and flywhisk (*cāmara*), but prayer beads and a red-lotus flower (*padma*). The body of this bell is also exceptional. At four points the horizontal band around the body is decorated with the usual *kāla* heads, but these are the secondary interstitial markers, alternating as they do with two-armed deities standing below the arches of a meandering band over the bell's body. The arches are crowned by a large *padma*. The deities, with left hand on hip, are identical but for the attribute they hold in their right hand, which, at the same time, rests upon a *padma*. Their attributes are a *vajra*, a trident (*triśūla*), a serpent noose (*nāgapāśa*), and a club (*gadā*); these four correspond to those of the four main directional deities of the Group of Nine Deities (*navadevatā*), the divine system still prevalent on Bali today, watching over the East, South, West and North respectively, with the *triśūla* on the bell standing in place of the usual *daṇḍa* for the South. The ninth and central deity of this system is Śiva with the *padma* attribute, clearly represented by the crowning image of the bell and the frequent occurrence of this flower.³⁵ This would seem

32. MNI 944 and 5942. See respectively FONTEIN, SOEKMONO & SATYAWATI SULEIMAN 1971, no. 60, and FONTEIN 1990, no. 74.

33. Respectively TM 1448-1 (h. 39 cm, VAN BRAKEL 1987, p. 87, no. 12) and MNI 6040 (h. 43 cm, unpublished).

34. See KLOKKE 1994.

35. See DAMSTÉ 1926 and GOSLINGS 1926.

to be another instance of the application in a form of ancient Javanese art of the guardians of the points of the compass according to the Nawasanga system known later in Bali. In 1946, P.H. Pott, curator and later director of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, had already discovered certain similarities, as well as differences, between the Indian Lokapāla and Balinese Nawasanga systems, in particular in connection with the keystone of the fourteenth-century monument Candi Ngrimbi.³⁶ More recently other scholars have revealed the Nawasanga system to have already been applied in Central Javanese temples.³⁷

The deity crowning the bell in the National Museum at Jakarta is seated on a lotus cushion; while his lower hands make a meditation gesture, his upper hands hold prayer beads and a wheel (*cakra*). This last attribute is probably not original. The wheel is balancing on the tip of the deity's finger, while he holds the other attribute differently, clasping it with all five fingers, as does the Śiva on the Tropenmuseum bell with his two attributes. It is therefore likely that the crowning deity of this bell originally held another attribute, probably a *padma*, and likewise represents the central manifestation of Śiva as part of the Nawasanga. The body of the bell is decorated, as usual, with four *kāla* heads on the horizontal band that are large, in high relief, and provided with claws and elaborate additional festoons. In the four intermediate spaces one-eyed *kāla* heads are applied. By the crowning image of the seated Śiva alone this bell implies the presence of the guardian deities of the directions.

If the Tropenmuseum and Jakarta National Museum bells are indeed to be considered as being endowed with the qualities of the nine guardians of the cosmos, beating the bells may have meant awakening these guardians and calling them as witness to ritual acts carried out in the shrines where the bells were struck. We base this

36. See POTT 1966, p. 133, with pl. XV.

37. See SOEKMONO 1995, pp. 96–99, and ACRÍ & JORDAAN 2012.

interpretation mainly on what is known about the religious motivations underlying the use of temple bells in Burma,³⁸ and seem to find some confirmation of this universal appeal in at least one of the inscriptions presented below (1.1j). The idea of summoning deities to the farthest corners of the universe may hold good for all hanging bells but is made explicit only in the two mentioned examples bearing, respectively, representations of the four directional deities crowned by the central Śiva, and of the crowning central Śiva on his own, both from the Majapahit period. Similarly, Hindu and Buddhist hand bells, already present in the Central Javanese period, are sometimes decorated with representations of sets of deities protecting segments of space.³⁹ The frequent application of four faces representing the four Jinas or Brahmā on the handles of the hand bells would seem to confirm this idea.⁴⁰ Perhaps a more general invocation of the protective power of supernatural forces was also part of the motivation for

ritual use of such sound-making devices in ancient Java, as seems to be suggested by the ever-increasing importance of terrifying elements in the ornament.⁴¹

A distinction between Central and East Javanese period temple bells can be made on the basis of their decoration, the lotus petals, the suspension ornament, the animal on top and, if an inscription is present, the date it records or the palaeographic aspect of its script. The majority, including all the inscribed ones presented here with only one exception (1.1a), stem from the East Javanese period as conventionally defined (starting in 928 CE). We will return to the issue of periodization in our conclusion.

The size of hanging bells varies considerably. The bell found near Candi Kalasan is so far the tallest with its height of 58.5 cm,⁴² which may be contrasted with one with a height of 11 cm, also from the Central Javanese period.⁴³ The damaged bell with a height of 9.5 cm presented here (1.1i), missing the upper part of its body and its finial, has been classified as a hand bell, probably because of its small size.⁴⁴ When complete it would have measured ca. 20 cm, big enough for a temple bell. Moreover its decoration is characteristic of East Javanese specimens of this category.⁴⁵

A list and description of dated or datable ancient Javanese temple bells is provided in Boechari's study of 'A dated bronze temple bell from Pekalongan (North Central Java).'⁴⁶ Four of the items listed by Boechari are inscribed, but his list is far from complete. We present below the inventory of cases known to us, starting with bells dated through a complete dating formula, followed by bells dated by a mere *millésime* of the Śaka era, and finally bells with inscriptions not comprising any date. All specimens originate in Java.

38. There is a whole chapter, well worth reading, on the use of bells in Burmese religious life, in SCOTT 1882. Although the book is more than a century old, many of the practices described in it are still current today, and are likely to have been so several centuries earlier too. We limit ourselves here to the following citation (p. 244): "The bells are not intended to summon worshippers to their devotions. There is no necessity for such a call where there is no formal service. Every man is responsible to himself only for his religious state; no one else has anything directly to do with him, or can give him help. The monks themselves display but little concern in the spiritual state of the laity. If a man is to attain a favourable change in a succeeding existence, it must be by his own exertions. He knows the regular duty-days, and on these and on the special feast-days he goes to gain koothoh [*<* Pali *kusala*, here 'merit'] for himself and better his chance towards a new trans-incorporation. If he is a fond man, he parcels out the merit acquired by his devotions among those members of his family or friends who have not been to the pagoda. The use of the bells is to direct attention to the fact of the lauds of the Buddha having been recited. The worshipper, when he has finished, goes to one of the bells and strikes it three times, to bring to the notice of the guardian spirits and the four worlds what he has been doing. There are always a number of deer's antlers and billets of wood lying near the bell for this purpose. None of them have clappers, and metal is not used to strike them." It seems to us very likely that similar notions were prevalent also in ancient Javanese society.

39. See e.g. RM AK-MAK-314 (BOSCH 1954; FONTEIN 1990, no. 71; LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988, no. 67); RMV 1403-2226 (CHUTIWONGS 2001).

40. To mention some: RM AK-MAK-314 (BOSCH 1954); VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, nos. 61–64; RMV 1403-2442; MMA 1987.142.26 (LERNER & KOSSAK 1991, no. 165).

41. See LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2000.

42. Held at Museum Sono Budoyo, Yogyakarta. See FONTEIN 1990, no. 70.

43. Musée Guimet, Paris, inv. no. M.A. 2593. See LE BONHEUR 1971, pp. 238–289.

44. See JUYNBOLL 1909, p. 151.

45. Compare VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, no. 48.

46. BOECHARI 1963 = BOECHARI 2012, p. 341–348.

(a) Jakarta, Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, inv. no. PUSPAN/AK/Pr/b.1; h. 16.5 cm, diam. bottom 14 cm, diam. top 7 cm. This is Boechari's bell from the *desa* Tlogopakis, *kec.* Petungkriyono, *kab.* Pekalongan, province Jawa Tengah; inscription published without image by BOECHARI 1963; photo of bell and inferior reading by Machi Suhadi published by ENDANG SRI HARDIATI SOEKATNO 1981, no. 1; Boechari's 1963 article edited anew, with photographic coverage of the bell and its inscription in BOECHARI 2012, pp. 341–348. The same photos are reproduced here as **fig. 1**. Inscription engraved. Precisely dated to 3 February 906 CE.⁴⁷

Text:⁴⁸ *om namaś śivāya* (1) *°i śaka 827 phālguṇamāsa tithi saptamī śukla, tu, va, so, vāra kāla rakryān· °i vuṅkal tiham pu vīravikrama maṅarpanākan· gaṅṭa °i bhaṭāra °im rabvān·* (2) *likhita siṅgahan·*

Translation: 'Om. Homage to Śiva! In Śaka 827, month of Phālguṇa, seventh day of the waxing [fortnight], Tuṅlai, Vagai, Monday. At [that] time did Rakryān of Vuṅkal Tihān Sir Vīravikrama profer [this] bell to the Lord of Rabvān. Written by Siṅgahan.'

(b) Provenance and present location unknown; h. 18 cm; published with photo of the bell, showing only part of the inscription, in Auction catalogue Christie's Amsterdam, sale 2436, 2 Nov. 1999, no. 191.⁴⁹ Inscription in relief. Precisely dated to 17 March 964 CE.⁵⁰

47. Conversion of the date by L.-Ch. DAMAIS (1963, p. 582, also reported by Boechari in his n. 1) confirmed with the program HIC developed by J.C. Eade and Lars Gislén. See <http://home.thep.lu.se/~larsg/Site/download.html>. The indicated Julian date gives a precise match for the calendrical and cyclical elements of the dating formula.

48. Boechari's reading is here verified to the extent possible on the basis of photos by Titi Surti Nastiti published as fig. 6 in BOECHARI 2012, p. 342, and adapted to the editorial conventions explained in GRIFFITHS 2012b, p. 473, n. 5, which will also be adopted in the rest of this paper.

49. The reading and translation published here were furnished to the auction house by J.G. de Casparis.

50. Calculated with HIC. The date 963 published in the Christie's catalogue must have been arrived at by the mechanical addition of 78 to the Śaka *millésime*. This example demonstrates that adding 78 does not always yield the correct Julian year.



Figure 1. — Bell (1a), 3 February 906 CE, Tlogopakis, Jawa Tengah. Bronze, H. 16.5 cm; D. bottom 14 cm; D. top 7 cm. Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, PUSPAN/AK/Pr/b.1. Photographs by Titi Surti Nastiti, courtesy of Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, Jakarta.

Text:⁵¹ *°im śaka 885 cetramāsa, tithi pratipāda śukla, °irikā divāśa rakryān*

51. The text is not quoted in the Christie's catalogue. We cite it, with adaptation of the transliteration system, after a document prepared by J.G. de Casparis, entitled "Old Javanese Bell," found among the de Casparis papers kept in the University Library, Leiden. Only the reading of the final portion (from *mapunya* onwards) could be checked on the basis of the photo published in the catalogue.

putaḍanu pu garañyañ mapunya viṇā °im °ḡban· //

Translation:⁵² 'In Śaka 885, month of Caitra, first day of the waxing [fortnight]

52. We have made several changes vis-à-vis the published translation of J.G. de Casparis. The most serious problem with his translation is omission of the name of

(i.e. New Year's day). On this date did the Rakryān of Putaḍanu, Sir Garañyañ (?) make the pious gift (*punya*) of a *viṇā* at Rəban.'

De Casparis comments: "Although the reading and translation are quite clear (except perhaps the precise title and name of the donor—perhaps: Garadyang), the meaning of the text is obscure. Why was the gift of a *wiṇā*, i.e. a kind of ancient sithar, inscribed on a *ghanṭā* or sacrificial bell? The script as well as the richly decorated bell itself seem authentic and are roughly contemporary with the famous Nganjuk bronzes. As to the name of the village where the gift took place, I have no other reference,⁵³ nor to the name and title of the donor."⁵⁴

(c) BOECHARI 1963, p. 124 (= 2012, p. 345): "The next datable bell is that with the date 1029 Śaka. It originates from Trenggalek, Kediri Residency (East Java), and was purchased by the Archaeological Service in 1952." But the bell is not shown in ENDANG SRI HARDIATI SOEKATNO 1981. On p. 123 (= p. 344), Boechari had referred to what seems to be the same bell as being dated to 1092 Śaka: "Probably of the same [Kaḍiri] period is the bell with the date 1092 (Śaka) in the same type of 'quadrate script'." There is hence uncertainty with regard to the date.⁵⁵ Either way, a date in the 11th Śaka century would place this bell much earlier than the following group of bells inscribed only with *millésimes*, so it would be desirable to verify the reading. Alas, no image is available that would allow us to do so.

the month, as well as the misidentification of the Julian year indicated above.

53. Here de Casparis forgets the bell-inscription published by Boechari (our bell a), where the spelling *rabvān* is likely to denote the same place name as that which is spelled *°ḡban* in the present inscription. Since Reban is a common toponym in Java, there is no strong reason to assume we are dealing with two bells from the same place, although this possibility cannot be excluded either.

54. We quote now from the document kept in Leiden University Library, correcting only an error in the placement of parentheses. The Christie's catalogue does not reproduce this comment in its entirety.

55. NAKADA 1982, pp. 130–133 shows no entries for either Śaka 1029 or 1092.



Figure 2. — Bell (1d), 1266/1267 CE, Java. Bronze, H. 17 cm; D. 4.8–12 cm. Acquired by Wolf Curt v. Schierbrand (1807–1888), before 1865. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1379. Photograph by H.-P. Klut (SKD).

(d) Dresden, Museum für Völkerkunde, cat. no. 1379; h. 17 cm, diam. 4.8–12 cm; photograph published in MEYER 1884, Tafel 5, no. 9. Inscription in relief, correctly read by STUTTERHEIM 1924, p. 290 as the Śaka *millésime* 1188, i.e. 1266/1267 CE (fig. 2).

(e) Stuttgart, Lindenmuseum, inv. no. SA 35 267 L; h. 28.8 cm; the same b/w photograph was published by THOMSEN 1980, no. 40, and VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, no. 52, but the latter catalogue also includes a colour close-up (p. 21). Inscription in relief forms a *millésime* said to be 1198 (van Lohuizen-de Leeuw) or 1188 Śaka (Thomsen), neither of which reading is verifiable from the published photos.

(f) Private collection; published with photo in LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988, no. 73; formerly in Dutch collection, then auctioned and now in a collection at New York. Inscription in relief forms a Śaka *millésime* read as 1206. This reading is not verifiable for the numbers representing the thousands and hundreds on the published photos, but unpublished photos available to us allow us to confirm the reading 1206, i.e. 1284/1285 CE.

(g) Formerly Batavia, Museum Bataviaasch Genootschap, inv. no. 958f; found in the village of Gunung Grongga, Gondanglegi district, Malang Residency, East Java;⁵⁶ h. 39 cm, diam. 21 cm; photographs OD 1628 (OV 1913, Bijlage M, here fig. 3) and, with the—apparently loose—top piece turned 90°, in KROM 1923/III, pl. 110 (cf. 1923/II, p. 453); described by BOECHARI 1963 (= 2012, pp. 345–346), who recalls: “This very beautiful specimen was unfortunately destroyed during the exhibition at Paris in 1931 (BOSCH & LE ROUX 1931, p. 671).” See also FONTEIN 1990, under no. 73, for further bibliographic references. Inscription in relief forms the Śaka *millésime* 1208, i.e. 1286/1287 CE.

(h) Jakarta, MNI, inv. no. 958i/5055; found in the village of Ngerjo, *desa* Kalangbret, *kec.* Kauman, *kab.* Tulungagung, province Jawa Timur;⁵⁷ h. 31 cm, diam. 18.5 cm; described by BOECHARI 1963 (= 2012, p. 346); see FONTEIN 1990, no. 73, for a good colour photo showing the inscription, which forms Śaka *millésime* 1211, i.e. 1289/1290 CE.

(i) Formerly Surakarta, Sriwedari Museum, inv. no. 34; h. 27.5 cm; described by BOSCH 1923, p. 146, with photo as pl. 11. When Arlo Griffiths visited Surakarta in 2010, it turned out that the bell is no longer to be found at Museum Radyapustaka, which is the current name of the former Museum Sriwedari.

With regard to the inscription, Bosch had observed: “Between the garlands four characters in strongly figurative quadrangle script of Kediri, among which only the final *ng*, with *paten*, can be recognized.”⁵⁸

The issue of the inscription was taken up again by CRUCQ 1929a, p. 281, who relied on the photo published by Bosch: “on the picture only the final three letters

56. See *NBG* 34, 1896, p. 25.

57. See *NBG* 48, 1910, pp. 16–17, XXXIII.

58. “Tusschen de guirlandes vier karakters in sterk gefigureerd Kediriſch kwadraatschrift, waarvan alleen de laatste *ng* met *paten*, te herkennen is.”



Figure 3. — Bell (1g), 1286/1287 CE, Gunung Grongga, East Java. Bronze, H. 39 cm; D. 21 cm. Formerly Museum Batavia, 958f. Photograph OD 1628, courtesy of the Kern Institute collections, Leiden University Library.

are visible; a picture of the other side, which bears the first letter, is not available. Both letters preceding the *ng* are quite unclear on the photo. [...] I read: *rgatang*; *gatang* probably stands for *gantang* = to hang, hanging bell; the first letter, on the other side of the bell, is therefore likely to have been a *b* with *pēpēt*, and the complete inscription should be: *bērgatang*.⁶⁰

When Boechari described the bell again in 1963 (pp. 122–123 = BOECHARI 2012, pp. 344–345), he identified its script as ‘quadrangle script’ and decided that “on the basis of the script we have to

59. Crucq here furnishes an eye-copy based on the photo published by Bosch.

60. “op de foto zijn slechts de drie laatste letters te zien; een foto van de andere zijde, waarop de eerste letter staat, ontbreekt. De beide letters voor de *ng* zijn op de foto vrij onduidelijk. [...] Ik lees: *rgatang*; *gatang* zal wel staan voor: *gantang* = hangen, hangklok; de eerste letter, op de andere zijde der klok, zal dus wel een *b* zijn met *pēpēt*, en de geheele inscriptie zal luiden: *bērgatang*.”

attribute the bell now kept in the Museum at Surakarta to approximately the same date as the bell from Trenggalek” (our 1.1c), while admitting that the reading was not yet definitive. It remains unclear whether he had seen the bell himself, or was still relying on the same photo.

Unfortunately, the bell now seems to be lost so that better photographic documentation is unlikely to be forthcoming. Judging only by the available photo, Crucq’s reading is hard to confirm. And since his interpretation presupposes the prefix *bār-*, which is Malay rather than Javanese, his theory may anyhow be rejected outright. We see various ways to read the two first *akṣaras*, while the final *ṅ* with *paten* that Bosch already observed is unmistakable. None of the possibilities that occur to us (*gijaṅ*·, *ṭaṭaṅ*·, *ṭajaṅ*·, and other combinations) yield a word that we can recognize. We do not know what was the basis for Crucq’s assertion that the Surakarta bell comprised one (and only one) more *akṣara* than those visible in the photo. The script seems to be the same as that observed on items 1.1j and k below, which we are inclined to date between 950 and 1050 CE, so this bell may be a bit earlier than Boechari assumed.

(j) New York, MMA, inv. no. 1987.142.182a, b; h. 34.9 cm; published with photograph showing only part of the inscription by LERNER & KOSSAK 1991, no. 170. In the free spaces left open by the garlands, going around the bell, separated by three spaces filled with the spiral punctuation sign at each end and the winged conch motif in the middle, we can read an inscription engraved in relief using monumental *akṣaras* of the East Javanese period, of the type discussed in GRIFFITHS 2012a, pp. 206–207, datable to 950–1050 CE (fig. 4). The reading is: *sarbveṣṭagaṅa*.⁶¹ This is reminiscent of the concept *aṣṭagaṅa*, often spelled *aṣṭagaṅa*.⁶²

61. For the spiral sign, see figs. 8–9 and 14–15 in GRIFFITHS 2012a; and see items 1.1k and l below.

62. See ACRI 2011, pp. 418, 440 and especially 534–538, on the concept; see OJED, pp. 143 and 526, on the spelling *giṅa*.



Figure 4. — Bell (1j), 950–1050 CE, Java, Indonesia. Bronze, H. 34.9 cm. MMA, 1987.142.182a, b. Bronze, H. 34.9 cm. Photographs courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

But here we rather have what in correct Sanskrit would be *sarveṣṭagaṅa* (i.e. *sarva-iṣṭagaṅa*), meaning ‘all desirable qualities.’ We tentatively propose to see in the word *sarva* ‘all’ a connection with the function of

universal summons that we have proposed above for this kind of bell. While *aṣṭagaṅa* is a very widespread expression, *iṣṭagaṅa* is not attested anywhere in Old Javanese sources as far as we can tell.



Figure 5. — Bell (1k), 10th–11th century, Java. Bronze, H. 13.9 cm; D. 16.5 cm. Acquired by Wolf Curt v. Schierbrand (1807–1888), before 1865. Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1378. Photographs by H.-P. Klut (SKD).

(k) Dresden, Museum für Völkerkunde, cat. no. 1378; h. 13.9, diam. 16.5 cm; photograph published in MEYER 1884, Tafel 5, no. 8, showing only the spiral punctuation sign. Inscription in relief (fig. 5) using the same type of script and punctuated again by the same spiral sign as observed on 1.1j above. It was read *vṛmmaya* by STUTTERHEIM 1924, p. 290, who did not understand what this might mean. The correct reading is clearly *dhṛmmaya*. While the variation *ra/r̄* after a consonant is very common in Old Javanese manuscripts and inscriptions (e.g. the word *dravya* spelled as *dṛvya*), variation *ar/r̄* before a consonant seems to be much rarer. Still, the word *dhṛmma* here can only be interpreted as a spelling variant of *dharma*,⁶³ and *ya* can be interpreted as a pronoun.⁶⁴ If we are correct in separating *ya*, and if we take into account for *dharma* the meaning ‘donation’ (cf. Malay/Indonesian *derma*), which certainly existed in Old Javanese even though it is not clearly recorded in *OJED*,⁶⁵ then the sense might be ‘this is a donation.’ Alternatively, the inscription might be read as a single word, representing in idiosyncratic shape the word *dharm(m)āya*, in which case it means ‘for the sake of *dharma*.’

(l) Leiden, RMV, inv. no. 1630-42; h. 9.5 cm; described by JUYNBOLL 1909, p. 151, without illustration of the bell or reading of the inscription. As observed by

63. Thus also an apparent occurrence of *dharma* in the lexicographical part of the text *Chandakarāṇa* is spelled *dhṛma*, although in the only published edition this spelling is misread as *dṛma* and misinterpreted as *druma* (LOKESH CHANDRA 1997, p. 187). That this is a misinterpretation is fairly certain, because the word in question appears in a list of loanwords from Sanskrit containing aspirated consonants. Our reading is based on the sole manuscript on which the edition is based, viz. Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia L631, folio 22r, line 3, which we have collated with the manuscript L298 from the same collection. At folio 17r, lines 3–4, it too reads *dhṛma*. See also DAMAIS 1970, p. 14, n. 1.

64. See e.g. *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. and transl. SOEWITO SANTOSO 1980) 3.54: *devakuśāla śālā mvaṇi dharma ya pahayun* ‘Maintain the temples to worship the gods and hospitals, improve the state of the *dharmas* (religious domains).’

65. Cf. the word *dharmmān* on a signet ring published in GRIFFITHS 2012b, p. 492, and the interpretation proposed there.

Juynboll, the inscription, which is in relief, includes characters resembling those observed on ancient Javanese mirror-handles. The script here is slightly more florid than that of items 1.1j and k (and perhaps i), and possibly datable to the period 1050–1150 CE (fig. 6). The reading of the inscription is: *sakatñan* ‘from the right-hand side.’ We suppose that this might be an Old Javanese equivalent for the Sanskrit term *pradakṣiṇa*, but fail to see why it would have been engraved on a bell. A spiral sign again marks the transition between end and beginning of the text.

(m) Stuttgart, Lindenmuseum, inv. no. SA 35 270 L; h. 19.7 cm; the same b/w photograph was published by THOMSEN 1980, no. 39, and by VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, p. 88, no. 54. A cartouche has been interpreted as showing a single *akṣara* in “quadrate Kaḍiri script, which could perhaps be read as Śrī” (van Lohuizen-de Leeuw). We are unable to confirm any such reading, and are in fact convinced that we are not dealing with an *akṣara* at all. This is quite clearly a variant of the oval-in-rectangle motif that we see on many East Javanese objects,⁶⁶ and strung together on the borders around the openings of some of the slitdrums presented below (2a, b, c, g, i).

1.2 Oval hanging bell with clapper

The particular bell we are here focusing on is a variant of a bell whose shape is of more general occurrence all over the world, and in the Central and East Javanese period, with the body shaped as a longer or shorter tube, its base as a semicircular moulding, and its top as a suspension ring. The body of the present type of bronze bell is vertically rounded and slightly flaring towards the bottom. Its section is lens-shaped, in this way creating a ridge on both vertical sides. The bottom

66. E.g. the gold pectoral MNI 6126 (*JBG* 3, 1936, p. 201, with fig. 5, wrongly identified as a chastity plate) and the finial MNI 839b (FONTAINE 1990, no. 92). See also the apparently rather small bell with this motif shown on OD 6374 (*OV* 1922, p. 59).



Figure 6. — Bell (1), 1050–1150 CE, Java, Indonesia. Bronze, H. 9.5 cm. Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1630-42. Photographs by Ben Grishaaver, courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde.

is decorated with a simple thick moulding with corners flapping up at the sharp angles. The top is a suspension ring or a tube, usually on an ornamental border, often of lotus petals, made separately and then welded onto the body. The opening of the tube runs in the direction of the long axis of the oval section. When suspended on a cord or chain one of the long sides of the bell will touch the body of its wearer, probably an elephant, or perhaps a horse. The clapper is a ball on a chain decorated at the bottom with tiny additions.

The type just described is the East Javanese version. Bells of this type that are clearly datable to the Central Javanese

period have not so far been discovered,⁶⁷ but that they existed at the time is revealed by some narrative reliefs on Borobudur depicting royal elephants. The pachyderms wear cords with one or more bells, fastened to their body in different ways: around their neck and running over their body from behind their ears and under their tail, or suspended on a cord from under the richly decorated seat.⁶⁸ Similar

67. The following specimens found in Central Java are likely to date to the East Javanese period: MNI 986 (Rembang); 986a (Banyumas); 991, 998, 1001, 4233 (Tegal); 4241, 4242 (Pekalongan). References kindly supplied by Véronique Degroot.

68. For instance KROM 1927, reliefs Ib70 (reproduced in KUNST 1968, fig. 18); II 54, II 97. All our references to relief

bells on a cord are also shown around the necks of horses.⁶⁹ But these Central Javanese horse bells are shaped somewhat differently from the elephant bells. The body is also oval, but without the sharp angles on both ends. At the bottom, the walls of the bell bend inwards ending in a simple thick moulding. The clapper is a ball without addition, hanging from beneath the bell.⁷⁰ The bell is completely undecorated.

Many East Javanese bronze bells of this type are preserved.⁷¹ They are meant to be hung and to sound by being moved on a cord. The height varies from 10⁷² to 23 cm. A bell of the size of 21 (1.2b) or 23 cm (1.2a) and therefore rather heavy, is suitable for a big, strong animal such as an elephant. Many passages in Old Javanese literature depict elephants as formidable vehicles in battle.⁷³ In real life they were probably present only in small numbers and brought into action in parades carrying kings and other male notables from the upper layers of society in full regalia. Elephants being decked with bells are described in a passage of the Old Javanese court poem *Sumanasāntaka*.⁷⁴ As mentioned above, horses were also decorated with bells on strings on similar occasions. Naturally, these would have been of smaller size and lighter weight. Similar bells, but made of wood, have been preserved from Java and Bali, but they probably date to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷⁵ It seems likely

nos. from KROM 1927 can also be looked up, at smaller scale, in an appendix to NOU & FRÉDÉRIC 1994/1996.

69. Borobudur reliefs Ia27, Ib114, IBa91, IBb38.

70. See KUNST 1968, fig. 1.

71. To mention a few: VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, nos. 205–208; LE BONHEUR 1971, pp. 250–254; RMV 401-20, 913-44, 1403-2105, 1403-2283, 1403-2355, 1403-2356, 1403-2421, 1403-2422, 1403-2692, 1403-3118, 1403-3449, 1757-1, 1757-2, 2630-23.

72. RMV 401-20.

73. *Harivaṅśa* (ed. TEEUW 1950) 32.6; *Sutasoma* (ed. SOEWITO SANTOSO 1975) 90.2, 121.6, 121.8; *Arjunavijaya* (ed. SUPOMO 1977) 3.4. References kindly provided by Jiří Ják.

74. Stanza 25.4 (ed. WORSLEY *et al.* 2013): *ghaṅṭanin liman* 'bells for elephants'. Reference kindly provided by Jiří Ják.

75. For instance in RMV 625-95, 1001-68, 2549-17, 2549-18, 3600-2156, 3600-2157.

that such wooden bells were also in use in ancient Indonesia for cows tended by lower layers of society. Until recently in Java, metal (probably copper) bells were tied around the neck of an ox (*sapi*) that pulls an ox-cart (*grobag*). It is probably due to this recently observed use that the bronze oval bells with clapper are often described as cowbells or cattle bells. However, it seems unlikely that in the East Javanese period they were used for cows or oxen, as the material of bronze would have been too precious to be used for everyday purposes.

(a) Jakarta, MNI, inv. no. 986a, from village Panunggalan, district Cahyana, Residence Banyumas, *i.e.* probably present Penungkulan, *kec.* Gebang, *kab.* Purworejo, province Jawa Tengah;⁷⁶ h. 23 cm. This bell was published in FONTEIN 1990, no. 75, with argument for interpretation as bell to be worn by an elephant. Inscription engraved in relief using *akṣaras* of the type discussed above, datable to 950–1050 CE. Read by Brandes (in GROENEVELDT 1887, p. 249, n. 1): *sahati*. As Fontein notes, this can be interpreted either as Sanskrit ‘he bears/endures’ or as Old Javanese ‘one of heart.’ Brandes (*ibid.*) and after him Muusses understand “hij overwint [he conquers]” (MUUSSES 1923, p. 504f., n. 6). ‘He endures/bears’ would perhaps be a more fitting reading for an elephant bell. If interpreted as Old Javanese, the expression could also mean ‘at the height of the heart,’⁷⁷ possibly an indication of where the bell was to be worn.

(b) Formerly collection van Orsoy de Flines, present location unknown, found at Campurdarat, Kediri, East Java; photograph OD 11126 (fig. 7). Inscription engraved in relief using *akṣaras* of the type discussed above (1.1j), datable to 950–1050 CE. Reading: *srahhana*. This was

76. See GROENEVELDT 1887, p. 250; NBG 22, 1884, p. 95.
77. According to *OJED*, when used to indicate a part of the body, *hati* would mean ‘liver’ rather than ‘heart.’ The Old Javanese word *hati* can, however, also indicate the heart ‘as seat of the emotions’ etc. We think that both possibilities are legitimate, *i.e.* that depending on context *hati* could indicate either the liver or the heart in the body.



Figure 7. — Oval bell with clapper, 950–1050 CE, Campurdarat, East Java. Bronze. Photograph OD 11126, courtesy of the Kern Institute collections, Leiden University Library.

possibly intended as a passive irrealis of the verb *sumrahi* (base *srah*), meaning ‘to be entrusted with.’⁷⁸

(c) Jakarta, MNI, inv. no. 6422; described by Stutterheim (*JBG* 6, 1939, p. 99): “Bronze cattle bell, helmet model, endowed with a tube for a rope at the top, points on the sides of the base leaping up, and a certain degree of profile. On the flat surface of one side three letters in quadrat script and closing mark (*bingēr*?). With clapper. H. 21 cm, maximum diam. 23 cm. Purchased in Bandung. Provenance unknown.”⁷⁹ The reading *ngě* proposed by Stutterheim is incorrect; the *akṣara* in question clearly reads *ḍa*. The photos at our disposal (taken through glass) do not allow for a definite reading of the first syllable, which seems to bear vocalization *i* and might have to be read as *mi*. If so, the word is *miḍar* and the meaning ‘wandering around.’ We would again be inclined to date this bell from the period 950–1050 CE.

78. Unless we have here a variant of the inscription *śra hana*, an error for *śrī hana*, found on a number of ancient Javanese signet rings: one that was in the possession of E.A. Zeilinga Azn. at the time (*NBG* 46, 1908, p. 130), which may well be the ring RMV 1785-5 (received in Leiden after publication of JUYNBOLL 1909); MNI A.405/1363b/4061 (*NBG* 37, 1899, bijl. XX, p. CLIV); British Museum AF.2376.

79. “Bronzen veebel, helmmodel, voorzien van een bus voor een koord op den top, opwippende punten aan de zijkanten van de basis en eenige profileering. Op het zijvlak aan één zijde drie letters in kwadraat-schrift en sluitteeken (*bingēr*?). Met klepel. H. 21 cm, grootst. diam. 23 cm. Aangekocht te Bandoeng. Herkomst onbekend.”

1.3 Pellet Bells on Three Feet

More than one type of pellet bell was known in ancient Java. The simplest type is made of bronze or gold and is round with only one straight split in the bottom and a ring or hole at the top for suspension.⁸⁰ Such bells are, however, rare and never inscribed, although we find them represented more than once on stone statues of Śaiva deities and on narrative reliefs.⁸¹ They are sometimes decorated with a reclining bull,⁸² and often attached in a cluster on a staff and used by Śaiva ascetics to announce their arrival and readiness to receive alms.⁸³ Buddhist mendicant monks had their own type of jingling staff.⁸⁴

Another type is the pellet bell on three feet. This seems to be specific to ancient Java, where this type of utensil was apparently manufactured both during the Central and the East Javanese period. It is made in two parts. The lower one forms the body with feet. In the round bottom three slits join in the centre. They are emphasized by raised, plain frames widening upwards. The three angles bordering the slits are extended and formed into three feet. One or more pellets are put inside to provide the sound when the bell is shaken. The second, upper part closes off the lower part in various layers of lotus petals and mouldings. A few have the top raised to the size of a handle by a piling of mouldings. One is crowned by a wheel and flanked by conch shells, apparently connected to the worship of Viṣṇu; two others are crowned by an indeterminate shape.⁸⁵

80. RMV 1403-2376.

81. On the Agastya statue in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and various Central Javanese temple reliefs, see VAN ERP 1937.

82. RMV 1403-3331 (LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988, no. 74); for a specimen with three feet, see VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, no. 80.

83. Only two bronze finials with a circle of pellet bells are known, see VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, nos. 58–59; on a narrative relief depicting Rāvaṇa disguised as a Śaiva mendicant planning to abduct Sītā, see FONTEIN 1990, no. 19; on a Śiva image at RMV (1403-3152), see LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2001, fig. 5; see also the Agastya image of Candi Rejo (MNI 5508 and photo OD 2228).

84. See for instance LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988, no. 103; FONTEIN 1990, no. 98. Cf. REVIRE 2009.

85. See, respectively, VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, no. 81 and BOROBUDUR 1977, no. 89; SPINK & SON 1978, no. 185 left.



Figure 8. — Pellet bell on three feet, 950–1050 CE, Java, Indonesia. Bronze, H. 20.3 cm. Private collection, Amsterdam. Photographs courtesy of the Documentation Centre for Ancient Indonesian Art.

A hole is made in the very upper tip to insert a suspension ring or cord. The bell can hence stand on its own or be suspended. Its shape resembles a fruit, probably a breadfruit (*artocarpus altilis*).⁸⁶ It is easy to understand how a dried breadfruit with its seeds could serve as a sound-making device. In the Central Javanese period this came to be imitated in metal. Some early items still show explicit representations of their model.⁸⁷ Later copies, like the inscribed one we present below and a very similar one without inscription,⁸⁸ no longer show it.⁸⁹ Measurements vary from 13 to 20 cm in height.⁹⁰

Amsterdam, private collection; h. 20.3 cm. Published by CHUTIWONGS 1990, no. 28, pp. 76–78, 133, who reports that J.G. de Casparis reads: *sa(?)*, *te*, *ñ*. Inscription engraved in relief using *aḱṣaras* of the type

86. Information kindly given by Dr. M.M.J. van Balgooy, National Herbarium, Leiden University.

87. See HEINE-GELDERN 1925, pl. 27, right; RMV 1403-2551.

88. See LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER & KLOKKE 1988, no. 75.

89. Nandana Chutiwongs, who was the first to describe the bell under discussion, did recognize a fruit in it.

90. Publications of further specimens include ENDANG SRI HARDIATI SOEKATNO 1981, no. 16; LERNER & KOSSAK 1991, no. 172.

discussed above, datable to 950–1050 CE (fig. 8). We read: *°ateñ*. This can be compared with *OJED*, pp. 2005/2027 *atihañ* and *atiyañ* from *tihañ/tiyañ* ‘mast, pole, pillar’ with common development of *iya* to *e*, and prefix (*m*)*a*.⁹¹ Hence the word seems to denote this kind of bell: ‘on stands.’

1.4 Pellet bells with terrifying head

This category is in fact another kind of pellet bell, *i.e.* a closed bell with slit, one or more pellets inside and a tube or ring for suspension. It does, however, differ from the general type by its manufacture and overall decoration, which features a front and a rear. As we want to express its appurtenance to the larger category of pellet bells, we do not follow the designation ‘rattle pendant’ used by Miksic.⁹²

Such pellet bells, generally about 5–6 cm in diameter, were made to hang free, but it is not clear from whom or from what they would have been suspended. They seem to occur only in the East Javanese period, unless the bells hanging in large

91. Modern Javanese *athéng* = *gathéng* ‘a children’s game resembling jacks, played with pebbles’ cannot be the same word, as the *th* of modern orthography stands for a sound that would have been spelt *ṭ* in ancient times.

92. MIKSIC 2011, pp. 236–237.

numbers from heavenly trees on reliefs of Borobudur were bells of this type.⁹³

The pellet bells of this type are made in bronze⁹⁴ and in gold⁹⁵ and are usually in the shape of the head of a terrifying creature: a *kāla*, a demon, or a monster. They always have a front (the face) and a rear (the back of the head). The pellet bell with terrifying head that we discuss here is the only one known to us that is made of gold and does not overtly represent a head. The similarity, however, is that the decoration is a one-eyed *kāla*, a reduced terrifying head. The use of the material gold renders it less heavy than the bronze ones and allows it to be shaken with less effort, as for instance by a light breeze.

The gold pellet bell under discussion is composed of two pear-shaped embossed vertical halves, leaving open a slit at the bottom, and a suspension tube on top welded on. The decoration on both sides is similar but for a few details. The

93. KUNST 1968, fig. 28.

94. RMAK-MAK-1991-15; MNI 7957; MMA 1987.142.247 (unpublished), 1987.142.298 (LERNER & KOSSAK 1991, no. 173), 1997.130 (unpublished).

95. MIKSIC 2011, pl. 93. We know two very similar ones, namely MMA 1998.544.26 and the one offered for sale by Andrew Kahane, Oriental Art, New York, Orientations March 2001.



Figure 9. — Pellet bell with terrifying head, 13th–14th century. Gold, H. 6.6 × 5.2 × 4.4 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, 2008.21.119. Photographs courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

decorative motifs are applied almost symmetrically. On one side we find a large one-eyed *kāla* head with three additional teeth (cf. the detail of slitdrum **2g** in **fig. 15**).⁹⁶ The central bulging eye is represented as three circles, diminishing in size towards the inside and touching at their bottom tip. Along the bottom line of the bell, meanders are intertwined with the teeth and fangs of the *kāla* head. The bulging eye is crowned by four lotus petals, with irregular curves above them. The other side has almost the same decoration but without the teeth at the bottom. Additionally the bulging eye, here one central circle, is covered by one short meander and some elegantly curving calligraphic characters. These motifs belong to the East Javanese and, more specifically, to the Singasari-Majapahit period.

The highly stylised *akṣaras* of the present gold rattle are imbedded in terrifying motifs, which makes us wonder whether the meaning of the inscription was somehow meant to be frightening as well.

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 2008.21.119; 6.6 × 5.2 × 4.4 cm, 26 g. Published in MIKSIĆ 2011, pl. 94, with possible reading *thajar-* furnished by Arlo Griffiths; another possibility might be *thajar-*. Either way, the meaning alas remains unclear.

96. See also LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2012, pp. 26–28, no. 19.

2. Slitdrums

The bronze slitdrum (*kentongan*) is constructed from two parts: the body with slit and the top with suspension ring. The body is shaped as a tube, often slightly curved, the section sometimes round, sometimes six, seven, or eight sided. The slit runs longitudinally and cuts through the body almost completely. A motif, usually a *kāla* head, or a one-eyed *kāla* head, sits below and above it. Around the slit is a raised border, undecorated, as this is the area where the drum is beaten with a wooden stick. Usually the upper and lower sides of the body, as well as the slit frame, are decorated with a border of linked rectangular motifs. Flanking the slit halfway is a circular motif, sometimes bulging (**2c**), sometimes engraved with smaller circles (**2b, g**) or a spiral,⁹⁷ and in one case a meandering ribbon encircling a winged conch motif.⁹⁸ The rest of the body of some slitdrums is left plain, while that of others is completely covered with decoration including inscriptions in sometimes highly stylized ‘quadrated’ script. The upper end of the tube is decorated with a series of lotus petals serving as support to the top. Regrettably many tops are missing and it

97. RMV 1630-16, reproduced in JUYNBOLL 1909, p. 153.

98. MMA 1987.142.31, uninscribed, published in LERNER & KOSSAK 1991, p. 223, photo on p. 224. This catalogue confounds description and images of its items 182 and 183.

is, therefore, hard to determine which are the most frequently applied decorations. Those which are preserved feature a prancing lion (**2d**), just like the ones frequently found on top of hanging bells, the head and neck of a serpent (**2g** and **h**),⁹⁹ an arching serpent’s body forming the suspension ring (**2e**) and a bird standing under such a *nāga* arch (**2f**).

Height varies from 26 cm (**2c**) to 50 cm (**2j**), both the smallest and largest specimen by chance lacking a top piece. The shape of the serpents with bulging eyes, sets of sharp teeth, and turned up noses, the shape of the lotus petals with raised tips and incised lines, the decorative motifs, *kāla* heads, the borders of rectangles, the quadrated script and the densely decorated bodies are all characteristic of the East Javanese period.¹⁰⁰ No bronze slitdrums from the Central Javanese period are known; no representations of any slitdrums of this type are known to us from any temple reliefs of either period.¹⁰¹

The bronze slitdrums are imitations of drums made of a hollowed tree trunk. Such wooden slitdrums are in use to the present day in villages in Java (as well as in Bali and Lombok) as a signal drum to warn for disasters or other matters affecting the community such as an eclipse of the sun or moon, the eruption of a volcano, a forest fire, floods and raids, or to call a meeting of village elders. It was the exclusive right of the village head, ideally a descendant of the founder, to beat the slitdrum. Besides such use in day-to-day life, it was (and in some areas perhaps still is) also used to ward off danger. On Bali and Lombok, there is a special class of slitdrum (*kulkul pameksan*) used in temples. Slitdrums tend to be conceived as somehow masculine,

99. For very similar unscripted specimens, see TM 4037-1 (FONTEIN 1990, no. 100) and MMA 1987.142.31 (see the preceding note).

100. See LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2000.

101. The identification of a “peculiar globe-shaped slitdrum with a handle, found on relief O 39 on the buried base of the Barabuḍur” proposed by Kunst does not seem particularly convincing (KUNST 1968, p. 58); in any case the kind of slitdrum in question, if correctly identified, would be of a different type than the ones under discussion.

and some wooden specimens show overtly phallic decoration; others are carved to resemble a fish; sometimes phallus and fish shapes are combined.¹⁰² The reasons for sounding the slitdrums were probably similar in the pre-modern period, and likewise beating them may already have been the privilege of a settlement official at that time. The bronze specimens, like their wooden models, are made to hang free, probably from a tree at a central place of a village, if not within a temple compound. When the slitdrum is beaten, the sound spreads around, and the motivation for use in religious contexts may have been the same as that for beating temple bells, discussed above.¹⁰³

A rather varied terminology for such slitdrums is known from ancient and modern languages, and this has been presented with ample references by musicologist J. Kunst.¹⁰⁴ Of principal interest for us here is the term *kukulan*, because one of our inscriptions (2f) actually includes this very term. It is mentioned in court poetry in rural contexts, for its function as an alarm device,¹⁰⁵ for its terrifying or loud noise,¹⁰⁶

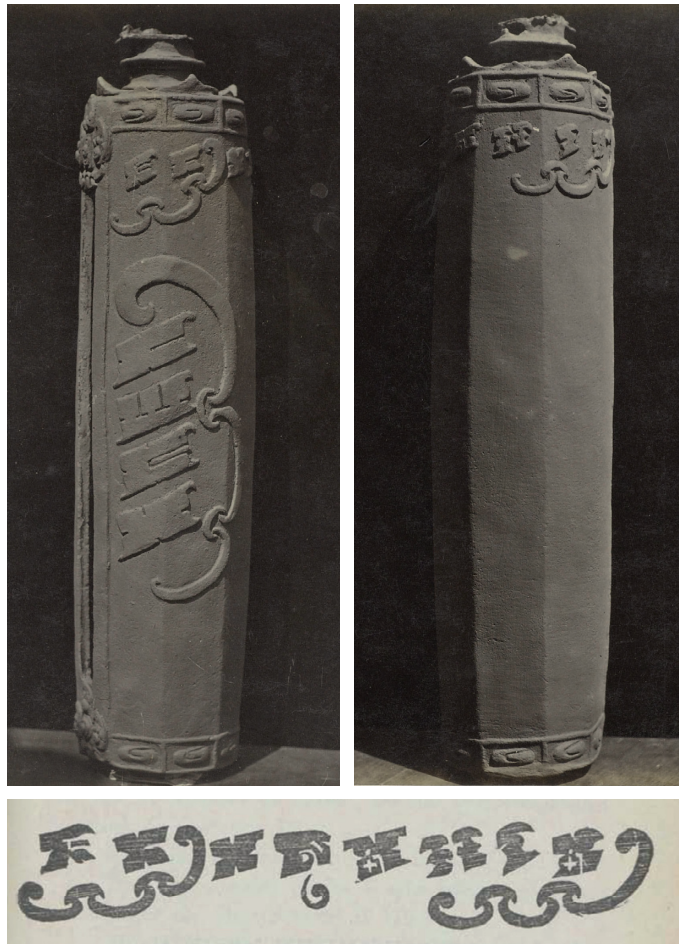


Figure 10. — Slitdrum (2a), 1229/1230 CE, Sadapaingan, Jawa Barat. Bronze, H. 41.5 cm; D. 8.5 cm. MNI, 970. Photographs van Kinsbergen 72a and 72b, courtesy of the Kern Institute collections, Leiden University Library. Woodcutting reproduced from HOLLE 1877.

102. The preceding information is summarized from MEIJER 1939 and WESSING 1996; see also I GUSTI AYU SURASMI 1986. Damais has observed a connection that does not emerge clearly from Meijer's extensive comparative material: "le fragment de tronc d'arbre fendu et creusé, et dont l'extrémité supérieure est souvent en tête de poisson (*kentongan* ou *tongton* à Java, *kukul* à Bali), qui est encore si usité dans de nombreux villages, est l'équivalent exact du « poisson de bois » (*mou yu*) de monastères bouddhiques de Chine et du Japon" (DAMAIS 1959, p. 824).

103. See FONTEIN 1990, p. 273: "The fact that several [bronze slitdrums] have been found in association with other ritual paraphernalia, as, for example, in the hoard from Selumbung, Gandusari (East Java), suggests that they also were used for some ritual purpose."

104. See KUNST 1968, pp. 57–58, esp. n. 55 for some references from Old Javanese literary sources.

105. *Bhāratayuddha* (ed. SUPOMO 1993), 50.6 (KUNST 1968, p. 57 on this stanza: "the *kukulan* used to be attached to an animal trap. The struggling of the animal sounded the *kukulan*, thereby informing the hunters"); *Bhomāntaka* (ed. TEEUW & ROBSON 2005) 7.5; *Sumanasāntaka* (ed. WORSLEY et al. 2013), 146.2.

106. *Sumanasāntaka* 149.4. It seems that the stanza *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* 29.5 also belongs here: this text is unpublished, but the words of this stanza can be pieced together from the *OJED* entries for headwords *mampāh*, *pañliṅgan*, *amāki* and *taskara*; the same seems to be the case for the passage *Rāmaparaśuvijaya* 36.28, quoted in *OJED* under *palu/amalu*.

and as an instrument, which accompanied singing.¹⁰⁷ Sexual connotations are also in evidence here,¹⁰⁸ as is the notion of special rights attached to the use of slitdrums.¹⁰⁹

In the following list of inscribed specimens, we again start by presenting in chronological order those that bear a date, followed by the undated items. Different from the case of bells discussed in section 1, we here are able to include two specimens that do not originate on Java, but were found on Bali.

107. *Bhomāntaka* 40.2.

108. *Smaradahana* (ed. POERBATJARAKA 1931) 26.9d: *kupinānirātahān juga maśabda lanānukulan* 'His stout member just (?) stood up strongly, continuously making the sound of a slit gong (*kukulan*).'

109. The set phrase *amanah kukulan* occurs in lists of privileges in a few Majapahit-period inscriptions (Tuhañaru copper-plate grant of 1245 Śaka, plate VIIIa, line 5, BOECHARI & WIBOWO 1985–1986, p. 83; Mādhavapura copper-plate grant, undated, plate VIIb, line 6, VAN NAERSSSEN 1941, p. 59). The phrase seems to mean 'to shoot at a slitdrum,' although van Naerssen tentatively translated it as 'to beat the alarm device.' Jiří Jákl suggests to us that the expression may indicate precision shooting.

(a) Jakarta, MNI, inv. no. 970; h. 41.5 cm, diam. 8.5 cm; reportedly found in the *desa* Sadapaingan, *kec.* Panawangan, *kab.* Ciamis, province Jawa Barat; the photographs made by van Kinsbergen¹¹⁰ do not show all of the inscription applied around the top of this specimen, but HOLLE 1877 gives an excellent facsimile of it which is included here in **fig. 10**. The object was cursorily described by GROENEVELDT 1887, pp. 247–248, without illustration but with a note containing comments by J.L. Brandes on the reading of the two inscriptions, which had been first published by HOLLE 1877. Brandes here correctly determined the reading of the inscription engraved from bottom to top along the slit, but failed to detect the mistake in Holle's reading of one *aḥsara*

110. Nos. 72a and b, see THEUNS-DE BOER & ASSER 2005, pp. 234–235. See also *NBG* 3, 1865, p. 25, and *OV* 1914, Bijlage D, p. 20, no. 72/72a.

of the one applied around the top. The correct reading of the latter was established by CRUCQ 1929a, p. 272. See also FONTEIN 1990, no. 101; MIKSIC & ENDANG SRI HARDIATI SOEKATNO 1995, no. 51.

The inscriptions are applied in ornamental quadratic script, the *virāma/paten* marks being endowed with very elaborate flourishes (*cf.* n. 124). The inscription along the top reads: *jan-ma bhuta sarat-*. This a chronogram, meaning ‘birth-elements-one-world,’ which seems quite possibly to have been intended as a sentence, in the typical manner of later Javanese chronograms: ‘all people originate from birth.’ In any case, it designates 1151 Śaka, *i.e.* 1229/1230 CE.¹¹¹ The inscription running from bottom to top reads *majayan-*.¹¹² Muusses has interpreted this as meaning ‘conquers’ (MUUSSES 1923, p. 504f, n. 6), which she explicitly related to a possible meaning of the bell-inscription *sahati* (see 1.2a). In the light of our interpretation of specimens **f**, **g** and **h** below, it is likely that this was a name for the object itself.

(b) Jakarta, MNI, inv. no. 5967; h. 29.5 cm, diam. 7–8 cm; part of a large hoard of bronze objects found at desa Slumbung, *kec.* Ngadiluwih, *kab.* Kediri, province Jawa Timur;¹¹³ mentioned under FONTEIN 1990, no. 74; there is an inscription in relief that has been read by CRUCQ 1929b, p. 287, as forming Śaka *millésime* 1209, *i.e.* 1287/1288 CE, but the published photographs do not allow for verification of this reading.

111. Crucq’s article containing the correct reading of this chronogram is a treasure trove of short inscriptions all too easily overlooked, even by those able to read Dutch. Thus for instance, FONTEIN, SOEKMONO & SATYAWATI SULEIMAN 1971, p. 156, still quoted the year 1189 based on the erroneous reading of Holle and Brandes; they were followed by I GUSTI AYU SURASMI 1986, p. 251; and in the Museum Nasional publication PAMERAN 2002, p. 45, too, we still find the superseded reading.

112. Orientation of ornamental quadrate inscriptions from bottom to top is commonly observed, for instance in mirror-handle inscriptions.

113. See OV 1928, p. 98, and CRUCQ 1929b (where on p. 287 this slitdrum is erroneously listed under inv. no. 5970), the list of OD photos in OV 1929, pp. 39–40, and the inventory description in TBC 70, 1930, pp. 139–140.



Figure 11. — Slitdrum (2c), possibly 1322/1323 CE, Mojokerto, East Java. Bronze, H. 26 cm; D. 7.1 cm. MNI, 972. Photograph by Marijke J. Klokke.

(c) Jakarta, MNI, inv. no. 972; h. 26 cm, diam. 7.1 cm; found in Mojokerto, East Java.¹¹⁴ Inscription applied in relief in relatively simple Kawi script along its top. Photos together allowing the whole inscription to be read have been published in THOMSEN 1980, no. 38; FONTEIN, SOEKMONO & SATYAWATI SULEIMAN 1971, no. 86; MIKSIC & ENDANG SRI HARDIATI SOEKATNO 1995, no. 52. Our **fig. 11** shows all but the final *akṣara*. All the publications of this specimen repeat the result obtained by Brandes (in GROENEVELDT 1887, p. 248, n. 1):

A legend in relief letters whose last part is *ṅimwan*. What precedes it looks odd. The first character seems to be *śri*, but upside-down; the next

114. GROENEVELDT 1887, p. 248 / ROC 1907, p. 17.

two are *dewa* or *depa* or *deha* or something like that. The letters are Old Javanese, not decorative at all but very ugly.¹¹⁵

FONTEIN, SOEKMONO & SATYAWATI SULEIMAN 1971, p. 156 (no. 86) present things much more simply than they are by stating: “The inscription on this drum reads ‘*sri depanimwan*,’ presumably the name given to the piece.” This interpretation depends on the interpretation of the first sign as *śri* (a common indicator of personal names), which—as Brandes duly indicated—requires a leap of faith, and is certainly wrong, because the first sign can easily be read as *°air*.¹¹⁶ Since this word means ‘water’—although the common Old Javanese word for ‘water’ is *vai/ve*—and since *timba* means ‘to draw water from a well,’ it seems hard *prima facie* to avoid the reading *°air de paṅimvan-*, where *paṅimvan* would be a spelling variant for *panimban*, a derivative with circumfix *pa-...-an* from the mentioned base *timba*. And if so, the sentence might mean ‘water is the purpose of drawing from a well;’ it would then be very hard to understand why such a mysterious sentence would have been applied to the object. Another possibility, however, is suggested by the fact that *air* (spelled *her* in Modern Javanese) is a common chronogram word (value 4), and that *paṅi*, if—as is easily imaginable—it is a localized spelling of Sanskrit *pāṇi* ‘hand,’ could be another (value 2).¹¹⁷ There hence seems to be some reason to think that we are dealing with a chronogram. If so, then *mvan* might be a spelling variant for *ḁmban* (OJED, p. 614, *s.v.* *ḁmban*), which is also attested as a chronogram word (of

115. “Een legende in relieffletters waarvan het laatste gedeelte luid [*sic*] *ṅimwan*. Het daaraan voorafgaande ziet er vreemd uit. Het eerste karakter schijnt te zijn [...] (*śri*) doch ondersteboven; de twee volgende *dewa* of *depa* of *deha* of iets dergelijks. De letters zijn oud-Javaansche, niet gefigureerd en zeer leelijk.”

116. See HOLLE 1882, p. 23, col. 40 for a clear example of the relatively rare sign *°ai*.

117. For words denoting ‘water’ and ‘hand’ respectively in the values 4 and 2, see VAN HIEN 1933, pp. 383–385; on this source, see also RICKLEFS 1978, Appendix II.



Figure 12. — Slitdrum (2d), top piece dated 1324/1325 CE. Bronze, H. 35.6 cm; D. 7.6 cm. San Francisco, Asian Art Museum, 2010.553. Photographs courtesy of the Asian Art Museum.



Figure 13. — Slitdrum (2e), 1422/1423 CE. Bronze, H. 43 cm. Private collection, USA.



much-disputed value,¹¹⁸ but here necessarily denoting 1), and we are left with the syllable that Brandes read *de*, which cannot be identified as a chronogram word. We are tempted to propose that the *akṣara* in question should be taken to be a carelessly composed *ve*, in which case we have another word for ‘water’ (value 4), and a complete chronogram denoting 1244 Śaka, *i.e.* 1322/1323 CE, which may be read as a sentence °*air ve pañimvan* ‘water (*air*) is water (*ve*) from a place for drawing water (*pañimban*).’ In the—limited—present state of our

118. See POERBATJARAKA 1919–1921, p. 388.

knowledge of epigraphical Old Javanese chronograms (*cf.* n. 21), this seems to be the most reasonable way of making sense of the inscription.

(d) San Francisco, Asian Art Museum, 2010.553 (formerly F2003.34.10); purchased by donor at Beurdeley & Cie, Paris in 1991; h. 35.6 cm, diam. 7.6 cm. This previously unpublished and unprovenanced specimen shows an inscription in relief on the breast of the prancing beast that adorns its top piece (fig. 12). It forms the Śaka *millésime* 1246, *i.e.* 1324/1325 CE. However, it seems uncertain whether the top piece on which this date is inscribed

originally belongs with this slitdrum,¹¹⁹ with rather spectacular decorations, whose dating hence remains an open question.

(e) Private collection, USA; h. 43 cm. This previously unpublished and unprovenanced octagonal slitdrum (fig. 13) shows a suspension device formed by a loop in the body of a *nāga*, terminating in a head at both sides, that resembles what

119. Information received by email from Natasha Reichle, curator at the Asian Art Museum: “The top of the piece is attached to the bottom with an adhesive. Both pieces show corrosion consistent with long-term burial. In his last report our conservator said it was either a repair or a very good pastiche.”



Figure 14. — Slitdrum (2f), 13th–14th century. Bronze, H. 43.8 cm. MMA, 1987.142.31. Photographs courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

we see on specimen **f** below. But otherwise this slitdrum is unusual for both its shape and its near total lack of ornament. The fact that it stands out from all other

specimens known to us may be connected with its relatively late date, expressed in an inscription in relief that forms the Śaka *millésime* 1344, i.e. 1422/1423 CE.

(f) New York, MMA, inv.no.1987.142.31; h. 43.8 cm (fig. 14).¹²⁰ Its inscription, so far unread, is applied from bottom to top on both sides of the slit in exquisite quadrate *akṣaras* and can be deciphered as follows:

left	// <i>sañ apan·ji taṇ· pahalar</i>
right	<i>kukulan·</i>
	‘Sañ Apañji Tan Pahalar, the slit drum’

Since an exhaustive palaeographic study of quadrate script still remains a desideratum, we are unable to estimate the date of manufacture of this piece on palaeographic grounds, but judging from the ornamentation it must clearly belong to the 13th or 14th century CE. The inscription furnishes another example of the application of the name of the object-type on the object (cf. 1.3 above). As for the expression, *sañ apañji tan pahalar*, it literally means ‘the one with emblem devoid of wings,’ which seems to be a name or description for the slit drum, whose suspension ring takes the form of the loop in the body of a *nāga*, terminating into a head at both sides, that seems to be holding down a bird. But since the bird does have wings, it might also be possible to interpret this as a very succinct statement of the donor, for designations of individuals by their emblem (*pañji*) and emblems comprising the element *tan* (‘without ...’) are found also elsewhere in Old Javanese epigraphy.¹²¹

(g) Private collection, Amsterdam; h. 49.2 cm. Photo published in CHUTIWONGS 2000, p. 73, fig. 8, with laconic mention of a “dedicatory inscription,” but no reading. The inscription, applied in relief from top to bottom in fairly simple quadrate *akṣaras*, is not dedicatory in the sense in

120. See LERNER & KOSSAK 1991, item 183/182. As observed above (n. 98), this catalogue confounds description and images of its items 182 and 183.

121. A *mapañji* (or *sañ apañji*) *tan utama* figures several times in the Sarvadharmā inscription (1191 Śaka, PIGEAUD 1960–1963/I, pp. 99–103); a *rakryan mapatiḥ mapañji tan sañ* occurs in a Majapahit-period copy of an earlier edict (VAN NAERSSSEN 1941, p. 106).

which this term is generally used in epigraphy, *i.e.* as recording a donation (fig. 15). We read *vanim sih*, which means ‘courageous in love.’ This is probably again a designation of the object itself, alluding to its inherent masculinity.¹²² This particular name may be compared with the inscriptions found on certain mirror handles, which also show expressions involving *sih* ‘love’ and related terms.¹²³ Compare perhaps also **a** above, with its inscription *majayan* that seems to mean ‘conquers.’

(h) Private collection, USA; h. 35.9, diam. 9 cm. This previously unpublished and unprovenanced polygonal slitdrum shows an inscription applied in relief from top to bottom in fairly simple quadrate *akṣaras* (fig. 16). The placement of the accolade, here interpreted as making a long *ā* on the first (lowest) consonant sign, to the left of the *akṣaras*, rather than to their right (where it normally stands to denote the *virāma/paten*),¹²⁴ is highly unusual. The reading seems to be *jānakīya*, which would mean ‘Son of Jānakī (*i.e.* Sītā),’ and would again seem to be the name of the slitdrum, although it is surprising if it was named after one of the sons of Sītā, Kuśa and Lava, for these twin brothers are not usually examples of manliness. The motivation for the name may in this case be different. We tentatively propose to explain it with reference to the fact that a name for Sītā’s sons together is *kuśilava*, and that this Sanskrit word as an appellation has such meanings as ‘bard, herald, actor, mime, newsmonger,’¹²⁵ which seem quite appropriate given the use of slitdrums as alarm devices.

(i) Present location unknown; found at Pura Penataran, Sukawati, Gianyar, Bali; bronze, h. 25 cm; shown in photograph

122. See references above to ethnographic sources on the masculinity of slitdrums.

123. See the references cited above, in n. 6.

124. See the accolade signs placed to the right of the *akṣaras* on specimens **a**, **f**, **i** and **j**. See also the bells in figs. **6**, **8** and **9**.

125. See MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899, p. 297, col. 3.



Figure 16. — Slitdrum (2h), 13th–14th century. Bronze, H. 35.9 cm; D. 9 cm. Private collection, USA.

Figure 15. — Slitdrum (2g), 13th–14th century. Bronze, H. 49.2cm. Private collection, Amsterdam. Photographs: Documentation Centre for Ancient Indonesian Art (whole), A. Griffiths (detail).



Figure 17. — Slitdrum (2i), 13th–14th century, Pura Penataran, Sukawati, Gianyar, Bali. Bronze, H. 25 cm. From photograph OD 9071, courtesy of the Kern Institute collections, Leiden University Library.

OD 9071 (OV 1928, p. 52), an extract from which is here reproduced as **fig. 17**. Nothing seems to have been published about this specimen besides the very brief remarks in OV 1927, p. 109, and the inscription applied in relief from bottom to top in quadrate script, visible to the right of the slit in the OD photo, has not yet been deciphered. We tentatively read *sañ lumlañ i patik* ‘The one that vanished in Patik.’ This is reminiscent of the frequent designations of deceased kings as *sañ mokta riñ PLACE NAME* and similar expressions, commonly found in Old Javanese inscriptions and literature.¹²⁶ It seems less likely that we are dealing again with a name for the object.

(j) Pujungan, Bali; h. 50 cm, diam. 15–20 cm; photographed in the year 1931 (OD 10896–10900, three of which here reproduced in **fig. 18**). An inscription is applied in relief from bottom to top in very ornamental quadrate *akšaras* on both sides of the slit. Both ornament of the slitdrum and shape of the *akšaras* make this specimen stand out quite notably from all previous ones. Its

126. See Stutterheim’s note in *INI* I, p. 49.

inscription has been read and interpreted as follows:¹²⁷

right *sasak· dana priḥhan·*
left *sriḥ jayan·nira*
‘This object has been donated by a Sasak in commemoration of his victory.’

This translation, quoted uncritically by I GUSTI AYU SURASMI 1986¹²⁸ and FONTEIN 1990 (under no. 100) seems to be merely an intuitive interpretation, which clearly cannot be justified in terms of the syntax and lexical items of the text: for instance, to arrive at the meaning ‘gift of a Sasak’ one would at least expect the word order *dana sasak*, not *sasak dana*. We consider the meaning of this inscription undetermined.

Conclusions

From the Central Javanese period, conventionally deemed to end around 928 CE, we have been able to record only one inscribed hanging bell. Although metal utensils in general, and inscribed ones in particular, are certainly not lacking in the Central Javanese period, sound-making devices from that period are rare, with the exception of the so-called priest’s bell. No oval bells, pellet-bells or slitdrums have reached us from the Central Javanese period, and this is true even when the scope is not limited to inscribed items. It is also a remarkably negative result not to have found a single example of a priest’s bell bearing an inscription, a fact which is all the more surprising as this category of ritual sound-making devices is numerically very well represented, both for the Central and East Javanese periods.¹²⁹

127. Reading by J.G. de Casparis as quoted by GORIS 1954/I, p. 26, no. 469; translation as proposed by GORIS & DRONKERS 1953, p. 192, text accompanying plate 3.09.

128. According to this author, p. 244, the bronze slitdrum in question is the only one of its kind found on Bali. But she has overlooked our item i.

129. See for instance GROENEVELDT 1887, pp. 237–244, ca. 75 pieces; JUYNBOLL 1909, pp. 145–151, 40 items; VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1984, nos. 61–77.

We have used the practical designations ‘Central Javanese’ and ‘East Javanese’, but our data give good reason to call this periodization into question. The two earliest inscribed hanging bells together are typologically distinct from all the other specimens, but if we apply the conventional periodization, the first (1.1a, 906 CE) would be ‘Central Javanese’ while the second (1.1b, 964 CE) would be ‘East Javanese’. Not only on stylistic grounds, but also from the epigraphical point of view, the most significant typological changes clearly took place after and not before 964. The bell produced in that year bears the same type of donation inscription with full date, name of donor, object and recipient that we see on the temple bell of 906. The only significant difference is that the bell of 964 no longer shows the technique of engraving, which was used for that unique ‘Central Javanese’ specimen. After the bell of 964, dates are still often recorded on ‘East Javanese’ specimens, but then they always stand nakedly, and in relief, in the form of a *millésime* or a chronogram, without any other dating elements and without any statement of what it is that happened in the year in question. We are left to infer that it was the manufacture or dedication of the object itself, but no such information is ever made explicit. This remarkable feature indeed seems typical for post-11th-century epigraphical material from East Java in general, where inscriptions comprising no more than a date, whether expressed in figures or as a chronogram, make up a large percentage of the entire epigraphic corpus; no such inscriptions, conversely, are known from the ‘Central Javanese’ period.

We conclude that the data assembled in this study confirm results already reached in previous, strictly art-historical, research conducted by one of us on the gold jewelry from the Muteran and Wonoboyo hoards.¹³⁰ The shift of the centre of power of the ancient kingdom of Mataram, from Central to East Java, was probably not the cause of the differences between ‘Central Javanese’

130. See LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2005.



Figure 18. — Slitdrum (Zi), 14th–15th century (?), Pujungan, Bali. Photographs OD 10896, 10899, 10900, courtesy of the Kern Institute collections, Leiden University Library.

and ‘East Javanese’ material culture, and certainly did not coincide with the arising of those differences. Well into the reign of Sindok, artistic and epigraphic practices show continuity with the preceding period. The changes in the manufacture of bronze utensils that took place subsequently do not concern only ornamentation applied to such utensils, but also the nature of the inscriptions applied to them, the technique used for applying inscriptions, and even the types of utensils that were manufactured to begin with.

One new type of ritual utensil was the *kentongan*. Several such slitdrums are characterized by the particular feature of being endowed with a label inscription giving a proper name of the object, clearly reflecting the fact that such devices were conceived as persons rather than things. Although the material is too limited for us to be certain of this fact’s statistical significance, it is interesting to note that names of *kentongans* are consistently applied in quadrate script, and vertically oriented, from bottom to top; chronograms, by

contrast, are applied below the top rim of the body of the drum, horizontally, and not consistently in quadrate script; *millésimes* are always applied horizontally on the top-piece.

We have found on the various kinds of bells a number of non-*millésime*, non-chronogram inscriptions comprising a single word, and these generally do not allow for more than guesswork about their meaning. The number of such examples, but even more notably the number of instances for which complete photographic coverage is available, is too limited to be able to establish any specific groups, as was possible for the name-inscriptions on *kentongans*. Some of them might conceivably also have been names.

Virtually all of the material comes from Java. We have been able to include two *kentongans* originating in Bali, but not a single specimen from any of our categories of bells. As far as we are aware, the category of hanging bells without clapper, well-represented in the Javanese archaeological record, plays no role in contemporary

Balinese temple cult, while the slitdrum is an important element there, partly in functions overlapping with those we have postulated for Javanese temple bells. We are inclined to see the Balinese situation as the end of a long development in the ritual use of sound-making devices in the context of Śaiva and Buddhist religions in Indonesia. Initially, practice in Java would have been closely modelled on Indian temple cult, where the bell has played an important role from time immemorial, as it still does in Burma. By the 12th century, the indigenous slitdrum starts to take a place in temple cult, where it seems to have coexisted with clapperless bells for a few centuries, until the latter went entirely out of use.

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Abbreviations

BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië).</i> Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië).
INI I	<i>Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië</i> , aflevering 1 (all published). Batavia, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1940.
JBG	<i>Jaarboek.</i> Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
MNI	Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.
NBG	<i>Notulen van de algemeene en directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.</i>
OD	Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlands-Indië.
OJED	<i>Old Javanese-English Dictionary</i> , see ZOETMULDER 1982.
OV	<i>Oudheidkundig verslag.</i> Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, subsequently Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië.
RM	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
RMV	Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.
ROC	<i>Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera.</i>
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.</i> Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
TM	Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

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