CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION IN THE EAST

I. BEGINNING OF COLONIALISM

It has already been shown in the preceding volumes that since very early times—long before the Christian era, India had come into contact with the countries lying to the west, north and north-east. Her intercourse with the countries lying to the east and south-east also dates from very early times, but it was not till the period dealt with in this volume, that a very close and intimate association was established between India on the one hand and Burma, Siam (Thailand), Malay Peninsula, Cambodia (including Laos), Annam and the East Indies (Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and other islands) on the other. Indians not only carried on trade and settled in large numbers in these countries, but also set up kingdoms some of which developed into big empires.

These regions were vaguely referred to as Suvarṇabhūmi (gold-land) and Suvarṇadvīpa (gold-island) in ancient Indian literature which contains a number of stories relating to the voyage of Indians to these distant lands. Although these stories cannot be regarded as historical, yet to have preserved the reminiscence of actual intercourse between India and these countries, and throw interesting light on its early phases of which there is no other record. As such, these stories are of great historical interest and some of them may be referred to here.

1. Indian Literary Traditions

The Jātaka stories refer to Indian merchants sailing in ships bound for Suvarṇabhūmi in order to get riches there. These ships

1 Detailed reference to the facts and statements made in this chapter will be found in the following works by the writer of this chapter:-

I Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East
  Volume I, Champā
  Volume II, Suvarṇapura

II Kāśmīrjātaka

III Hindu Colonies in the Far East.
sailed from Tāmralipti, now represented by the inland city of Tamluk (Midnapore district, West Bengal), where inland vessels carried persons and goods from the interior along the Ganga river. Sometimes the voyage was made from Bhārukachchha (Broach) on the western coast. The long lost Brhatkathā also contained many such stories, some of which have been preserved in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, Brhat-kathā-maṇjarī, and Brhatkathā-śloka-samgrahā. The last work gives us the remarkable story of Sānudāsa who crossed the sea, and then, after many perilous adventures in a journey by land, reached the promised land of gold. This story vividly describes the dangers and difficulties that confronted the pioneers in this field. The Kathāsarit-sāgara has several stories of merchants going to Suvarṇadvīpa for trade, some of them, including a princess of Kaṭāha, being shipwrecked on their way back to India. The Kathūkośa relates the story of Nāgadatta who made the voyage to Suvarṇadvīpa with five hundred ships. The Samarāichha-Kahā, a Jaina Prākrit work by Hari-bhadra (c. A.D. 750), refers to the journeys of merchants, who purchased goods for overseas trade, took to ship at Tāmralipti, landed at Kaṭāha-dvīpa, Mahā-Kaṭāha or Suvarṇadvīpa, sold their goods and bought new ones, and came back or were ship-wrecked. We have references to various localities in Suvarṇadvīpa, and also to a signal to a sailing vessel by a ship-wrecked man.

In addition to such stories we have incidental references to trade with Suvarṇabhumī in various ancient texts. Thus Milinda-pañha refers, by way of comparison, to a ship-owner who has become wealthy by traversing high seas and visiting seaport towns in various countries including Takkola, Chīna and Suvarṇabhumī. Other Buddhist texts also refer to merchants and missionaries who visited Suvarṇabhumī. Among the latter are included such well-known names as Uttara and Soṇa, the missionaries of Aśoka, Cāvaṃpati, Dharmapāla (seventh century A.D.) and Atiśa Dipaṅkara (eleventh century A.D.). Among Brahmanical works, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra refers to a guru of Suvarṇabhumī, the Rāmāyaṇa refers to Yadvīpa, and the Purāṇas refer to a number of islands in the east.

2. Local Traditions and Foreign Accounts

The testimony of Indian literature is confirmed by traditions current in various parts of Suvarṇadvīpa that these were colonised by the Indians. Reference will be made later to some of them concerning the history by important countries. Here we may relate a number of such legends concerning their less important neighbour. The city of Ligor (Malay Peninsula) is said to have been founded by a descendant of Aśoka, who was driven by pestilence from Magadha,
set sail with a number of followers and was wrecked on the 'Diamond Sands' (near Ligor). Gerini, who records this tradition, says that a large body of brahmans still live in the city remaining distinct from the Siamese, and they are commonly regarded as the descendants of those that came with the founder of the city.

Yunnan, in Southern China, was called Gandhāra, even so late as the thirteenth century A.D., by Rashid-ud-din who remarks that the local population originated from the Indian and the Chinese. According to a local tradition it was colonised by a great-grandson of Aśoka. There are numerous vestiges of Hindu influences in this locality, and we get reference to two other Hindu kingdoms between it and the Indian border. Gerini, who has collected local traditions of many places in this region, holds that there was a continuous string of petty Hindu states from the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin Gulf.

These traditions, supported by the more sober evidence of the Chinese and Greek writers, leave no doubt that the Indians proceeded to these eastern countries both by land and sea. Overland routes from Assam, through Upper Burma, to China and Tonkin to the east and to Siam and Laos in the south, are referred to by the Chinese. The sea route is referred to by the Greeks, the Chinese, and the Arabs. Tāmrālipti in Bengal, Paloura (or Dantapur) on the Ganjam coast, three ports near Masulipatam (in Madras), and Broach seem to have been the starting places for ships which in very early times kept close to the coast, but later, made direct voyage across the Bay of Bengal. The stories scattered in Indian books leave no doubt that trade was the first incentive to these voyages, though in course of time, adventurous kshatriyas, eager to make money or set up kingdoms, as well as missionaries of different religious sects, visited these lands and permanently settled there. A vivid and circumstantial account of the voyage of Indian mercantile marine across the sea is preserved by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited this country in the early fifth century A.D. At Tāmrālipti ‘he embarked in a large merchant-vessel; ‘the wind was favourable, and, after fourteen days, sailing day and night, they came to the country of Sinighala (Ceylon), a distance of 700 yojanas.’ His further journey from Ceylon to Java (and from Java to China) is described in minute detail, as the following extract will show:

‘Fa Hien... took passage in a large merchantman, on board of which there were more than 200 men, and to which was attached by a rope a smaller vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of the navigation. With a favourable wind, they proceeded eastward for three days, and then they encountered a
great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and the water came in. The merchants wished to go to the smaller vessel; but the men on board it, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, feeling their risk of instant death. Afraid that the vessel would fill, they took their bulky goods and threw them into the water.

In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea (hereabouts) there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west; only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, (the ship) went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen, breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the sky became clear, they could tell east and west, and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape. After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days they arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa (Java).2

Another Chinese chronicle, the History of the Leang Dynasty (A.D. 502-556), throws very interesting light on the beginning of Indian colonisation in the Far East in connection with the kingdom called Tuen-suen, situated in the Malay Peninsula. We are told that as Tuen-suen forms a curve projecting into the sea for more than a thousand li (about 150 miles), the merchants from India and Parthia came in large numbers to carry on trade and commerce. Hence the market of Tuen-suen forms a meeting ground between the east and the west, frequented every day by more than ten thousand men. The Chinese chronicle then reproduces the account given by an Indian who visited these parts in the fifth century A.D.

'Tuen-suen contains five hundred Hu (probably of mercantile caste families of India), two hundred Fo tu (probably Buddhists), and more than a thousand brahmanas of India. The people of Tuen-suen follow their religion and give their daughters in marriage, as most of these brahmanas settle in the country and do not go away,

Day and night they read sacred scriptures and make offerings of
white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods.'

'The account of Tuen-suen is very illuminating as it gives a vivid
image of an Indian colony in a foreign land, and shows the process
by which colonies grew and exerted their influence over the indige-
nous population. It is the usual story of trade followed by a mission-
ary propaganda, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, of gradual settle-
ment of Indians in the country, and ultimate fusion with the peo-
ple by intermarriage with the native population.'

Having thus described the process which led to the growth of
Indian settlements in the Far East, we shall now briefly describe
the history of a few important localities, beginning with Suvarṇad-
vīpa. As Alberuni tells us, it comprised the islands now known as
East Indies, together with the Malay Peninsula, which the Arabs
regarded as a series of islands.

II. SUVARṆADVĪPA

1. Malay Peninsula

The geographical position of the Malay Peninsula made it the
centre for carrying trade between India and the Far East. No
wonder, therefore, that it played an important role in the maritime
and colonising activity of the Indians. The Chinese chronicles and
actual archaeological remains testify to the existence of several
Hindu States in this region. One of these, called by the Chinese
Lang-Kia-shu, was probably founded as early as the second century
A.D. Its king Bhagadato (Bhagadatta) sent an envoy named Aditya
with a letter to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 515. His father, we are
told, was expelled by the king, but fled to India and married a
princess there. When the king died he was called back by the
officers of state and elected king.

We know the names of several other states ruled by the Hindus,
such as Kārmaraṅga, Kalaśapura, Kala (Kedah) and Pahang, but no
details are available. It has been suggested that the fruit called in
Bengali Kāmṛāṅgā (Carambola) derived its name from Karmaraṅga.

Remains of Brahmanical and Buddhist temples and images of gods
have been found in different parts of the country testifying to nume-
rous Hindu settlements, particularly in Takua Pa (identified with the
famous port of Takkola mentioned by Ptolemy), on the correspond-

3 Kambujadeśa, p. 23.
4 For a full discussion of the location of Suvarṇadvīpa, cf. Suvarṇadvīpa, Part I,
pp. 43 ff.
ing eastern coast round the Bay of Bandon, Kedah and Province Wellesley. Special reference may be made to a cornelian seal with the Hindu name of Śrī Viśnuvarman engraved in Indian alphabet of the fifth century A.D.

But by far the most important finds are the large number of inscriptions written in Sanskrit and in Indian alphabets of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. They clearly prove that the Indians, hailing both from Northern and Southern India, had set up colonies in the northern, eastern and western sides of the Malay Peninsula by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D. One of these inscriptions mentions Mahānāvika (great sailor Buddhānagāra), an inhabitant of Raktaṁrīttikā, and seems to record a gift by him and a prayer for his successful voyage. Here we come upon one of those numerous captains of the sea whose daring voyages and nautical skill laid the foundations of Indian colonies but whose names have passed into the limbo of oblivion. Raktaṁrīttikā (Red clay) has been identified with a place, still called Rāṅgāṅāti (Red clay), 12 miles south of Murshidabad, in Bengal. But there are other places bearing this name in Chittagong.

The archaeological remains in the Malay Peninsula confirm what might have been deduced on general grounds from literary evidence. Takkola, modern Takua Pa, was the first landing stage of the Indian traders and colonists. From this some crossed the mountain range over to the rich wide plain on the opposite coast round the Bay of Bandon. From this centre they could proceed by land or sea to Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and even further east. This trans-peninsular route, marked by remains of Indian settlements, was followed by many who wanted to avoid the long and risky voyage through the Straits of Malacca. That this second route was also very popular and largely used is indicated by the archaeological remains in the Province Wellesley. This all-sea route was naturally preferred by many traders who wanted to avoid transhipment, and offered a shorter passage to Java and southern Sumatra. On the whole the Malay Peninsula may be regarded as the main gate of the Indian colonial empire in the Far East.

The report of the Archaeological Mission in Malay Peninsula contains interesting observations regarding Hindu colonisation in this land which may be summed up as follows:

The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley,
Takua Pa and the common delta of the rivers Lanyia and Tenasserim, on the western.

The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great stūpa of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines.

The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takua Pa. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the route from the west. At the same time person of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of brāhmaṇas of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.  

2. Sumatra

The big island of Sumatra, separated by a narrow strait from the Malay Peninsula, also occupied an important strategic position in the sea-route between India and the Far East. Although we have no archaeological remains belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, possibly the Hindus settled here in very early times, and some of the place-names mentioned by Ptolemy may be located on its coast. But the most important Hindu kingdom in this island was Śrīvijaya. A reference to this name has been traced in a Chinese translation of a Buddhist Sūtra, made in A.D. 392, but this is somewhat doubtful. There is, however, no doubt that Śrīvijaya rose to be a very powerful kingdom in the seventh century A.D. This is proved by four inscriptions, written in old Malay language, of which three were found in Sumatra, and one in the neighbouring island of Baṅka. One of these, dated Saka 606 (A.D. 684), refers to a king named Śri Jayanāśa probably a mistake for Jayanāga. Two others, which are nearly identical, hold out threat of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to Śrīvijaya if they revolt or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt. One of these two, found in

5 Ibid, pp. 88 ff.
Baṅka, contains a post-script adding that in Saka 608 (A.D. 686) the army of Śrīvijaya was starting on an expedition against Java which had not yet submitted to Śrīvijaya.

These inscriptions prove that Śrīvijaya was a powerful kingdom in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. It had established its authority not only in Palembang and Malayu or Jambi in Sumatra and the island of Baṅka but had sent an expedition to conquer Java as well. The result of this expedition is not known, but we have positive evidence that in course of the next century Śrīvijaya had established its political supremacy over a large part of the Malay Peninsula. A Sanskrit inscription found at Ligor in the northern part of the Peninsula, and dated Saka 697 (A.D. 775), records the construction of three Buddhist chaityas by the king of Śrīvijaya, who is described as the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings make obeisance to him.

We can thus trace the rise and growth of the powerful kingdom of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra during the century A.D. 675-775. Its capital, Śrīvijaya, which has been located in modern Palembang, was a great centre of trade and culture. I-tsing, the famous Chinese pilgrim, visited it twice and stayed there for seven years from A.D. 688 to 695 in order to study the original Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Pāli. He says that the state of Malāyu formed a part of Śrīvijaya. The capital city, situated on a river, was the chief trading port with China and there was a regular navigation between the two. The king of Śrīvijaya possessed ships, probably for commerce, which sailed to India. I-tsing sailed in a king’s ship to Tāmralipti. Another Chinese pilgrim Wu-hing also made his journey from Śrīvijaya to the port of Nāgapatattana (Negapatam) in India on board the king’s ship. Śrīvijaya was also a great centre of Buddhist culture, as will be apparent from the following statement of I-tsing:

“Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoja (sic. Śrīvijaya) Buddhist priests number more than 1,000 whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhya-deśa, India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practice the proper rules and then proceed to Central India.”

Śrīvijaya was recognised by China as the leading state in Sumatra.

6 I-tsing. Tr. by Takakusu, p. xxxiv,
and sent several embassies to the imperial court. The earliest on record was sent some time before A.D. 695. Four more embassies were sent between 702 and 728. The king who sent an embassy in A.D. 724 is called by the Chinese Che-li-to-lo-pa-mo, which may stand for Śrīndravarman. The ambassador is called Kumāra, which may be either a personal name or denote the crown prince.

3. **Sailendra Empire**

The political greatness of Śrīvijaya soon passed into the hands of a new dynasty called the Sailendras. Two Sanskrit inscriptions in Java, dated A.D. 778 and 782, prove their supremacy over that island, and a short record engraved on the back of the stone bearing the Ligor inscription of the king of Śrīvijaya dated A.D. 775, shows that shortly after that year the Sailendras had also established their authority in the Malay Peninsula. As we shall see later, Cambodia came to be a vassal state of the Sailendras and remained as such till A.D. 802, and even the distant kingdom of Champā (Annam) was repeatedly raided by their navy. Curiously enough, we do not know how this new dynasty came into power, not even where their original seat of authority lay. The great French scholar G. Coedes holds the view that the Sailendras were originally kings of Śrīvijaya, and gradually conquered Malay Peninsula, Java and the other islands of the archipelago. Sailendra dynasty belonged to Java and, later, conquered Śrīvijaya. There is also a third view that the Sailendras first established their political authority in Malay Peninsula and gradually conquered Java, Śrīvijaya and other kingdoms in the southern seas.

But whatever view we may take, there can be hardly any doubt that the grand empire of the Mahārāja of Zābag, consisting of the islands of Indonesia and Malay Peninsula, to which frequent reference is made by the Arab writers from the middle of the ninth century onwards, represents the Sailendra empire. The following extracts would give a fair view of what the Arab merchants travelling in the East thought of this empire.

1. **Ibn Khordadzbeh (A.D. 844-848)**

   ‘The king of Zābag is called Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred mans of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying ‘there is my treasure.’

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7 Cf. Suvarṇadvīpa, Part I, Book II.
8 Cf. Śrīvijaya by Prof. K. A. N. Sastrī.
2. Abu Zayd Hasan (A.D. 916)

The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (Śrīvijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) parsangs, and the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Mahārāja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloes, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles. There was a regular maritime inter-course between this port and Oman.

The Mahārāja exercises sovereignty over all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

There is one very extraordinary custom in Zābag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank and the remnant is distributed among the poor.

3. Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) remarks

In the bay of Champā, is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil.

4. Al-beruni (c. A.D. 1030) says

The eastern islands in this ocean which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa, i.e. the gold islands... The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country.

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago
and Malay Peninsula, called Suvarṇadvīpa by the Hindus, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus, we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Sailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrīvijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called Sanfo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Sailendra empire. We learn from them that several embassies of the Sailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

The detailed Chinese accounts testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Sailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D.

An Arab writer has told a story how the king of Zābag, offended by a remark of the king of Khmer, invaded his country and cut off his head. Khmer undoubtedly denotes the Kamboja country (Cambodia). Its king Jayavarman II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 802 after his return from Java, performed a religious ceremony 'in order that Kamboja might not again be dependent on Java'. As Java was a part of the Sailendra empire, Kamboja must have been a vassal state under the Sailendras till at least the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Java also freed herself from the yoke of the Sailendras about the middle of that century. But in spite of the loss of Java and Kamboja, the Sailendra empire was a powerful one throughout the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. as testified to by the Arab writers.

We have evidence of a close and intimate association between the Sailendra emperors and Bengal, then under the Pāla dynasty. A Sanskrit inscription in Java, dated A.D. 782, refers to the Buddhist king Indra, an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty, and of his guru (spiritual preceptor) Kumāraghoṣa, an inhabitant of Gauḍa (Bengal.) This preceptor, who set up an image of Mañjuśrī, is also said to have obtained the reverent hospitality (satkāra) of king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanaṅjaya. As the next portion of the record is lost, we cannot trace the relationship between these two kings, but presumably Kumāraghoṣa of Gauḍa was acknowledged as guru by more than one Sailendra king and deeply influenced the Buddhism of this locality. This is further proved by the Nālandā copper-plate dated in the year 35 (or 39) of the Pāla emperor Devapāla (c. A.D. 845). This inscription records the grant of five villages by Devapāla at the request of the illustrious Bālaputra-deva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa. It concludes with a short account of Bālaputra-deva which may be summed up as follows:
There was a great king of Yavabhūmi (Yavabhūmi-pāla), whose name signified “tormentor of brave foes” (Vira-vairimathan-ānu-gat-ūbhidhāna) and who was an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty (Śailendra-vahsa-tilaka). He had a valiant son (called) Samarāgravīra (or who was the foremost warrior in battle). His wife Tārā, daughter of king Śrī-Varmasetu of the lunar race, resembled the goddess Tārā. By this wife he had a son Śrī-Bālaputra, who built a monastery at Nālandā.’

The Sailendras also maintained diplomatic relations with China. Their kingdom is referred to in the Chinese of chronicler as San-fo-tsi, which, according to some scholars, stands for Śrīvijaya, though this is somewhat doubtful. The Chinese Annals refer to embassies sent by San-fo-tsi in A.D. 904, 960, 961, 962, 971, 972, 974, 975, 980 and 982. They also refer to merchants from San-fo-tsi visiting Chinese ports in the tenth century A.D.

Although we do not possess any detailed history of the Sailendras, their reign constitutes an important landmark in the history of southeast Asia. For the first time we find Malaysia or at least the greater part of it, united under one political authority. This empire was at the height of its power in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. It would appear from the Arab accounts that the emergence of the Sailendras as the greatest naval and trading power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. But in reality the Sailendras were more than a great military or political power. They introduced a new type of culture which manifested itself in the new vigour of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the highly developed art which produced such splendid monument as Chāndī Kalasan, Chāndī Mendut and the famous Barabudur in Java. They also introduced a new kind of Indian alphabet into Java, and the adoption of a new name Kaliṅga for that island, if not the whole of Malaysia, at least by the foreigners, is also probably to be traced to their influence. This has given rise to the theory that the Sailendras probably originally came from the Kaliṅga country. But although this view finds some support in the analogous names of Sailodbhavas and Sailas, two ruling races in Kaliṅga coast and its hinterland, we cannot say anything definite about it.

4. Java

The island of Java is one of the most fertile countries in the world. It has a rich flora, produces excellent timber, and is even now the most thickly populated country in the whole world. Presumably for
the same reasons, it was the most flourishing of the ancient Hindu colonies in the Malay Archipelago.

The primitive people of Java possessed some rudiments of civilisation, the precise nature of which it is now difficult to determine. But the Hindu colonisation was by far the most outstanding event in the history of the island, and profoundly modified the culture and civilisation of the people. Although we have no definite record of the early stages of this colonisation, popular legends, current in Java for more than a thousand years, have preserved its memory. According to many of these stories Aji Saka, the leader of the first colonists was associated with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, and landed in Java in the year 1 of the Saka era which thus became the national era of Java. He gave the name Yava (barley) to the island, which was then called Nusa Kendang, and introduced the arts and religion of India among the primitive people, who are called Rasaka (i.e. Rākṣasa or demons).

Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonisation of Java to the people of Kaliṅga. The prince of Kaling (Kaliṅga) is said to have sent to Java twenty thousand families who prospered and multiplied. A prince named Kāno, who flourished in the year 289 of the Javanese era, i.e. Śaka era, introduced higher elements of civilisation among them. Four hundred years later sprang up another principality, named Astina, ruled successively by Pula Sara, his son Abiāsa, and the latter's son Pāṇḍu Deva Nātha.

In these last names we can easily recognise, Hastināpura, Parāsara, Vyāsa, and Pāṇḍu. Thus the two cycles of legends are combined, and we find a further modification when Aji Saka and his associates of Hastinā are first taken to Gujarat whence a further wave of migration to Java took place at a later date.

These legends seem to preserve some elements of historical truth. In the first place, the migration of the colonists from Kaliṅga and Gujarat is supported by the evidence of the Jātakas and the Greek writers, as noted above. Secondly, the beginnings of the Indian colonisation in Java in the early years of the Śaka era, as reported in these stories, cannot be very far from truth. For the Greek geographer Ptolemy mentions the name of Iabadiu or Sabadiou, which is explained as the 'Island of Barley.' There can be hardly any doubt that the Greek form of the name is a transcription of Sanskrit Yavadvipa. Ptolemy also tells us that the island was of extraordinary fertility and produced very much gold.

The Sanskrit name Yavadvipa used by Ptolemy seems to indicate the existence of an Indian colony in this island in the second century A.D., and possibly some time before that. The name Yavadvipa also
occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa in a famous passage which gives a list of countries which Hanumān was to visit in search of Sītā. Although the date of the extant text of the Rāmāyaṇa cannot be definitely determined, the passage probably shows that the Indians settled in the island and gave a new name to it before the Christian era.

The Chinese chronicles also fully support the early date of Indian colonisation of Java. The Heu-Han-shu mentions an embassy sent to China in A.D. 132 by Tiao-Pien, king of Ye-tiao. Pelliot recognised the identity of Ye-tiao with Yavadvīpa, and Ferrand explained the name of the king as a Chinese rendering of Deva-varman. If we accept these identifications we must hold that by the year A.D. 132 the Indians had not only colonised the island of Java but also established their political authority here on a firm footing.

There are possibly other references of Java in the Chinese annals, but the question is rendered difficult by the uncertainty in respect of the identification of Chinese names. We have, thus, references to Chu-po or Cho-po, which has been identified with Java by some scholars. In A.D. 430 the king of Ho-lo-tan, who ruled over the island of Cho-po, sent ambassadors to China with presents which included white Indian rugs and cottons. In addition to this, four or five embassies were sent from Ho-lo-tan between A.D. 434 and 452, and two from Cho-po in A.D. 433 and 435. The names of the various kings were Indian ending in Varman.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who visited Java in A.D. 414-15 and stayed there for five months, observes that 'various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing while Buddhism is not worth mentioning.' It seems, therefore, that Brahmanism was the prevailing religion in the island up to the fifth century A.D. But that Buddhism soon made an influence felt is proved by the story of Gunavarman preserved in a Chinese work, Kao-seng-chuan (Biography of famous monks) compiled in A.D. 519. Gunavarman belonged to the royal family of Ki-piñ, which has been identified both with Kashmir and Kapiṣa (in modern Afghanistan). He took to monastic life and came to Java some time before A.D. 424, i.e. shortly after Fa-hien left. He converted the king and his mother, and gradually the Buddhist religion was spread throughout the kingdom. Gunavarman, invited by the Chinese Emperor, sailed in a vessel owned by a Hindu merchant Nandin (Nan-ti) and reached Nankin in A.D. 431.

We may thus hold that by the fifth century A.D. Indian culture and religion had a strong hold on the island of Java. This is fully corroborated by four inscriptions, found near Batavia, written in Sanskrit language and the current Indian script. They all refer to a king
named Pūrṇavarman. One of the inscriptions, dated in the 22nd year of his reign, refers to his grandfather as rājarṣi (royal ascetic); and records the digging of two canals (or rivers) called Gomati and Chandrabhāgā by the king and a rājādhīrāja, probably his father. The king paid a thousand cows to brāhmaṇas as daksīṇā or fee. The script, language and contents of the inscriptions testify to the thoroughgoing character of the Indian culture and civilisation in Java, even to the extent of transferring familiar geographical names to the new home by the colonists. On palaeographical evidence the inscriptions may be referred to the fifth or sixth century A.D., more probably the latter.

Pūrṇavarman, thus, probably ruled in the sixth century A.D. over Western Java. It appears from two Chinese chronicles of the Sui Period (A.D. 589-618) that in Tou-po, which has been identified with Java by Pelliot, there were more than ten kingdoms. In the history of the T'ang Period also reference is made to twenty-eight feudatory kings acknowledging the supremacy of Java. It may thus be held that normally the island was divided into a number of small kingdoms which were at times brought under the political authority of a supreme ruler.

One such ruler was Sañjaya who is known from a Sanskrit inscription, engraved on a stone slab which originally belonged to a Śaiva temple at Chaiagal in Kedu (Central Java). It contains an invocation to the gods Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, praises the island of Java, and refers to its king Sanna or Sannāha who ruled righteously like Manu for a long time. He was succeeded by Sañjaya, who set up a Śivalīga in the Saka year 654 (A.D. 732). Sañjaya was probably the son of Sannāha, but some lacunae in the record make this point somewhat uncertain. It has been inferred from certain passages in this record that the royal family had recently emigrated to Java from a locality named Kuñjara-Kuñja in South India.

King Sañjaya is referred to in this record as a ‘conqueror of the countries of neighbouring kings.’ This vague statement is, however, corroborated by literary evidence. A Javanese chronicle gives a long list of countries conquered by the king Sañjaya, son of Sena (presumably the same as Sanna). The conquered kingdoms cannot all be definitely identified but include Java, Bali, Malāyu (Jambi in Sumatra), Khmer (Cambodia) and China.

The Javanese chronicle concludes the account by saying that ‘Sañjaya returned from his over-sea expedition to Galun’. It is difficult to decide how far we can accept its detailed statement of conquests as historical. We may accept Krom’s view that Sañjaya ruled over
Java and possibly led some expeditions across the sea. But Stutterheim not only takes the passage in the chronicle at its face value but builds up an ingenious hypothesis according to which Sañjayya was the founder of the Sailendra dynasty. This theory has not, however, met with general acceptance.

Sañjayya was the founder of what came to be known as the kingdom of Matarām, at least as early as the tenth century A.D. It is probable that it was located in the region covered by the famous kingdom of Matarām ruled over by the Muhammadan Sultans since the last years of the sixteenth century A.D. Its capital was probably Prambanan, or a place near it, in Central Java.

As has been noted above, the Sailendras conquered Java in the reign of Sañjayya or his immediate successor. There is no doubt that they ruled over Central Java, as some of their biggest monuments are in this region. There is equally little doubt that the Sailendra supremacy was over and the kingdom of Matarām was revived in the middle of the ninth century A.D. or towards its close. It would appear from some statements in the Chinese chronicles that when the dynasty of Sañjayya was ousted from Central Java, about the middle of the eighth century A.D., it shifted its capital about 100 to 150 miles to the east; but it recovered its old capital before the end of the ninth century A.D.

One of the kings of this period, Sajjanotsavatunga, is known from his inscription dated A.D. 500. Towards the close of the ninth century ruled Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu, who has left no less than twelve inscriptions. One of these gives a list of eight kings of Matarām who preceded him. The list is headed by Sañjayya, and the second name has been identified with a Sailendra king. Some of the remaining kings in this list are also known from their own records. It is to be noted, however, that other kings are also known to have ruled in this region during the same period. Thus, we have a copper-plate charter, dated A.D. 892, of a king named rake Limus Śrī Devedra. With one or two exceptions all these inscriptions were found in Central Java.

The Twelve inscriptions of Dharmodaya Mahāśambha with dates ranging between A.D. 898 and 910, show that he ruled over both Central and Eastern Java. The various royal names and titles given in these records are also very interesting. The full form of the royal name usually consisted of a special raka title, an Indonesian proper name, and the Sanskrit coronation name. Thus, this king is called in one record ‘Mahārāja rake Watukura dyah Balitung Śrī Iśvarakeśavatsavatunga.’ But he had, in addition to Balitung, another personal
name, Garuḍamuka, and also another rake title, viz. 'rake Halu or Galu.' But the most interesting thing is the variety of coronation names assumed by him, such as Uttuṅgadeva, Iśvara-Keśavotsavatūṅga, Iśvarakeśava-samarottuṅga, and Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu.

Dharmodaya was succeeded by Śrī Dakshottama Bajrabāhu Pratipakshakshaya, in or before A.D. 915, and the latter by Tuluoḍong Śrī Sajjanasanmatānurāga-(ut) tuṅggadeva. Both of these ruled in Central and East Java. But all the four records of the next king Wawa Śrī Vijayalokanāmottuṅga come from East Java and there is nothing to connect him with Central Java. But he was probably also a king of Matarām. For the benedictory formula used in the official records up to his time is ‘May gods protect the Kraton (palace) of His Majesty at Meḍang in Matarām. In the time of his successor, Sinddok, the formula is changed into ‘May Gods protect the Kraton of the divine spirits of Medang.’ These divine spirits obviously refer to the past kings who were dead. A comparison of the two formulae leaves no doubt that after Wawa's reign, Matarām ceased to be the land of living kings who henceforth fixed their capital in East Java. As the old formula was used in A.D. 927, and the new one in A.D. 929, we may regard the year A.D. 928 as the date of the great change to the east which meant an end of Matarām as the seat of the royal power.

Although Matarām was the most important kingdom in Java during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., some other states also flourished in the island during the same period. A stone inscription, in Sanskrit, discovered at Dinaya to the north of Malang records that a stone image of Agastya was consecrated in A.D. 760 with elaborate rituals performed by priests versed in Vedic lore. The king, who set up this fine stone image in order to replace an old and decayed one made of sandalwood by one of his predecessors, also built a temple of Agastya. The name of this king is not legible. But his mother Uttejanā was the daughter of Gajavāna, son of king Devasimha. Whether this royal family was connected in any way with that of Saṅjaya, or was an altogether independent line ruling over a small principality in E. Java, it is difficult to determine. The latter view seems more probable, for the Chinese chronicles refer to several states in Java, with separate names such as Ho-ling (Kaliṅga) and Cho-po (Java). At least six embassies were sent from Ho-ling and three or four from Cho-po to China during the T'ang period. It is evidently from these envoys that the Chinese chroniclers got reliable information about Java. As such the following statement in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty is very important: ‘The king
lives in the town of Java. On different sides there are twenty-eight small countries, all acknowledging the supremacy of Java. There are thirty-two high ministers and the Doso-Kan-hiung is the first of them.'

As the New History refers to embassy from Java during A.D. 860 and 873, the political condition is probably true of the third quarter of the ninth century A.D. We may, therefore, hold that Java was about this time a powerful state with 28 small states under its suzerainty. This is in fair agreement with the sketch of political history given above.

After the accession of Siṇḍok about A.D. 928, not only was the centre of political authority changed to the eastern part of Java, but there was almost a complete collapse of culture and civilisation in Central Java. Various theories have been put forward to account for this great change. It has been suggested that a civil war, accompanied by ravage and massacre on a huge scale, brought about the downfall of Central Java. But it may be pointed out that the famous monuments of Central Java show no marks of wilful damage or destruction. Another theory attributes the wholesale desertion of Central Java either to an epidemic or popular panic caused by the eruption of a volcano. According to a third view, the fear of the Sailendras forced the Javanese kings to shift to the east and deliberately reduce Central Java to a no-man's land as a policy to prevent any further invasion from the west. None of these explanations seems to be quite satisfactory. The removal of the capital to the east was undoubtedly due to the fear of the Sailendras, and the rest possibly followed as a matter of course. Slowly but steadily the flow of Javanese life and culture followed the political change and gradually Central Java lost cultural pre-eminence along with political importance. Some extraneous causes, like epidemic, volcanic eruption, or foreign aggressions might have hastened the decay, but it was the inevitable consequence of the transfer of political authority towards the east.

Siṇḍok, the first king of Eastern Java, assumed the name of Śrī Iśāna-Vikrama Dharmottungadeva at the time of his coronation and ruled for nearly twenty years (c. A.D. 929-949). Nearly twenty inscriptions of his reign have so far come to light, but they mostly refer to pious and religious foundations and supply very little historical informations. They have all been found within a very narrow area, viz. the valley of the Brantas river. But considering the great respect with which his memory was cherished in Javanese tradition for several centuries, we must hold that his authority was not limited to this region.
Sīṇḍok was succeeded by his daughter who ruled as queen Śrī Isānaturaṅgavijayā. She was married to king Śrī Lokapāla and the issue of this marriage was king Śrī Makutavarsavardhana. He had a daughter named Mahendradattā, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapati, who was married to Udayana. Although Udayana is said to have belonged to a royal family, neither he nor his wife seems to have ever exercised royal authority. Their son Airlāṅgga was married to the daughter of Dharmavarnā, who is described as pūrva-yavādhīpati, which may mean either an old ruler of Java, or a king of Eastern Java. In any case Dharmavarnā ruled towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.

5. Bali

The island of Bali to the east of Java, is separated from it by a narrow channel about a mile and a half wide. Although very small in area—its extreme length and breadth being respectively 98 and 50 miles—it possesses a great importance in the history of Indian colonisation in Suvarṇadvīpa for two reasons. In the first place, it has still retained its Hindu religion and culture; and secondly, it has preserved the vast Indo-Javanese literature and cultural traditions.

Unfortunately, unlike other islands, Bali does not contain any archaeological remains of a very early date, and all that we know of it before the tenth century A.D. is derived from the writings of the Chinese. They contain many references to an island called Pō-li, which has been identified with Bali by Paul Pelliot, though some previous scholars located it in the northern coast of Sumatra.

The earliest reference to Bali is contained in the History of the Leang Dynasty which covers the period A.D. 502-556. It tells us that the name of the king (or of his family) is Kauṇḍinya, who claimed that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country. The pomp and luxury of the king and his retinue, as described by the Chinese, leaves no doubt that already by the sixth century A.D. Bali had developed into a rich and civilised kingdom ruled by Indian colonists.

The king of Bali sent an envoy to China in A.D. 518, and this was repeated at least twice in the next century, in 616 and 630. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing records, towards the close of the seventh century A.D., that Bali was a stronghold of Buddhism.

For nearly two centuries after this we do not know anything of Bali. But a series of copper-plate grants throw some light on its history from the beginning of the tenth century A.D. We know of several kings whose names and known dates are given below.

2. Tabanendra-varmadeva — A.D. 955.
5. Queen Śrī-Vijayamahādevī — A.D. 983.

No particulars are known of any of these. But shortly after the reign of the last-named queen the island was conquered by Java. For a few inscriptions, discovered at Bali, were issued in the name of Guṇapriyadharmapatni, followed by that of her husband Dharmodayanavarmadeva. There can be no doubt that these two are to be identified with the Javanese princess Mahendradattā, alias Guṇapriyadharmapatni and her husband Udayana mentioned above in connection with Java. As the name of the wife precedes that of her husband in the inscriptions of Bali, we must presume that she was ruling over the island in her own right. Her husband Dharmodayanavarmadeva (shorter form Udayana) was probably a native of the island of Bali, and the two together were governing Bali on behalf of the Javanese king, either Makuṭavamśvardhana or Dharmava or perhaps both.

6. Borneo

Even the island of Borneo, which today enjoys the unenviable notoriety of being the land of head-hunters, was at least partially colonised by the Indians. The earliest evidence of the Hindu colonisation is furnished by four inscriptions engraved on stone pillars, found in the district of Koti (Kutei), at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river in East Borneo. These inscriptions are written in Sanskrit language and Indian script and have been referred on palaeographic grounds to about A.D. 400. We learn from these records that king Kunḍuṅga had a famous son Aśvavarman who was the originator of a royal family. His eldest son king Śrī-Mūlavarman, performed the Bahu-suvaṇyaka sacrifice and on that occasion the pillars (yūpa) were set up by the Brāhmaṇas who received from the king the gift of 20,000 cows in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.

These inscriptions and a number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images found in a cave at Kombeng, considerably to the north of Muara Kaman and to the east of the upper course of the Telen river, prove that by the fourth century A.D. the Indians had established their political authority over a considerable part of East Borneo and introduced a large element of Hindu culture.

The Indians had also many settlements in West Borneo along the Kapuas river. For at various places on or near the bank of this river a number of inscriptions engraved on rock stones and golden plates have come to light. Although they do not supply his-
historical information they show the influence of Indian culture and religion, presumably introduced by Indian settlers.

III. CHAMPĀ

The eastern coastal region of Indo-China, now known as Annam, was the seat of a great Hindu colonial kingdom, called Champā. The Annamites, after whom the region is now named, lived in Tonkin and the region immediately to its south, while the rest of the province gradually passed under the sway of the Hindu colonists. A long range of hills, running north and south across the whole length of the country, separated it from the valley of the Mekong river in the west, where flourished another Hindu kingdom called Kambuja, from which has been derived the modern name of Cambodia.

By 215 B.C. the Chinese had established undisputed supremacy over the greater part of the province, as far south at least as Cape Varella (13° N. Lat.). The indigenous population, the Chams, who at first lived to the south of this area, gradually advanced towards the north and by the first century A.D. we find them firmly established in large numbers as far as Quang-nam (16° N. Lat.) considerably to the north of Cape Varella. The Chinese historians describe these Chams as savages who had no knowledge of cultivation and lived on hunting alone. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the independent Chams to the south of Cape Varella were sufficiently organised and advanced in military skill. In A.D. 137 they invaded the southernmost territories of the Chinese, destroyed some Chinese forts, ravaged the whole country and occupied some of the Chinese districts after defeating imperial army. Soon the Chams of the Chinese dominion also revolted and about A.D. 192 K’iu-lien, a native of Siang-lin, killed the Chinese officer in charge of the city and proclaimed himself king. This city came to be known as Champā from the capital city of that name which is now represented by Tia-kieu, a little to the south of Quang-nam.

There can be little doubt that the rise of the Cham power was due to the settlement of Indians in large numbers in the country. For it can be hardly a matter of coincidence that we find a Hindu family ruling immediately to the south of Cape Varella about the time when the kingdom of Champā was founded. The earliest account of this dynasty is given in a rock inscription found close to the village of Vo-canḥ in the province of Khanh-hoa. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated, but even the fragment that remains is of great interest. It is composed in Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse, and the script does not exhibit the peculiar characteristics of
the South Indian alphabet such as we find in later records. It refers
to the royal family of Śrī Māra and records the donation made by
a king of this family. The inscription is not dated, but has been re-
ferred on palaeographic grounds to the second or third century
A.D.9 As the donor is said to belong to the family of Śrī Māra, this
king possibly lived at least three or four generations before him.
Thus, we may refer the foundation of a kingdom in southern Champā
by Śrī Māra to a date not later than the second century A.D.

The Vocanh inscription proves the introduction of Hindu lan-
guage and culture and the establishment of political authority by
the Hindu colonists in Champā by the second century A.D. How
long before this the Indians first came into contact with this region,
it is difficult to say. Later traditions, as usual, refer the first Hindu
dynasty to hoary antiquity. Thus, an inscription dated A.D. 875 de-
scribes how Uroja, apparently the first king, was sent to the earth by
God Siva. Three other inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated A.D.
784 refer to king Vichitrasāgara who is said to have flourished
in the year 5911 of the Dwāparayuga. These traditions prove that the
Chams in later age associated the Hindu colonists with the beginnings
of their history and culture.

The first historical Hindu king of Champā is, however, Śrī-Māra
of the Vo-cananh Rock Inscription. Maspeo has proposed to identify
him with K’iu-lien who, according to Chinese history, founded the
kingdom of Champā about A.D. 192.10 This is quite a probable hypo-
thesis though we have no definite evidence in support of it. In any
case, the foundation of the kingdom of Champā was followed by
further raids of the Chams on Chinese territory. They took full ad-
vantage of the internal disorders in China which led to its dismem-
berment in three parts during A.D. 220-265. In A.D. 248 the Chams
sent a naval expedition which ravaged the provincial capital Kiao-
che (Hanoi) with several other towns and even defeated the Chinese
fleet sent against them. At last a treaty was concluded by which the
Chinese ceded some territories, corresponding roughly to the
modern district of Thua-thien, immediately to the north of the king-
dom of Champā.

For nearly a century and a half after this we are solely depen-
dent on the Chinese chronicles for the history of Champā. They
have preserved the names of several kings who either fought with
the Chinese or sent an embassy to the Imperial court. But unfortu-
nately they give only the Chinese form of the names. Each of these

9. D. C. Sircar (SI, p. 473) refers it to the fourth century A.D.
10 For other views cf. IHQ, XVI, pp. 486-88.
begins with Fan, ‘an equivalent of the termination of royal names with varman, interpreted by the Chinese as the name of family.’

It may be added that Varman forms the names ending of all the Cham kings in later times.

King Fan Hiong, who became king of Champâ some time between A.D. 270 and 280, was probably descended from Sîrî-Màra in the female line. He made an alliance with the king of Fu-nan (in Cambodia) and ravaged Chinese territories for ten years till peace was concluded in A.D. 280, probably on terms unfavourable to the Chinese. His son Fan Yi had a long and peaceful reign and sent an embassy to the Imperial court of China in A.D. 284.

On the death of Fan Yi in A.D. 336 the throne was usurped by his commander-in-chief Fan Wen. In A.D. 347 he led an expedition against the Chinese governor, and conquered the province of Nhut-nam, corresponding to the three northern districts of Thua-thien, Quang-tri and Quang-binh. The kingdom of Champâ was thus extended to its furthest limits in the north. Wen also defeated the savage tribes who formed independent states within the kingdom and thus laid the foundation of a strong and consolidated kingdom. His son Fan Fo (A.D. 349-80) was, however, less successful in his wars with the Chinese who once advanced up to the very walls of the capital city of Champâ. A treaty was concluded by which a considerable part of the province of Nhut-nam was restored to the Chinese (A.D. 359). During the rest of his reign Fan Fo lived in peace and sent two embassies to China in A.D. 372 and 377.

Fan Hou-ta, who succeeded his father Fan Fo, renewed the struggle with the Chinese. After a prolonged warfare, he not only succeeded in recovering Nhut-nam but even carried his arms further to the north as far as Than-hoa. Although defeated in a pitched battle, in A.D. 413 he resisted successfully all the efforts of the Chinese governor to retake this city. This king is probably to be identified with king Bhadra-varman, two of whose inscriptions have been found at My-son, near Champâ, and Cho-dinh to the north of Cape Varella. Three other inscriptions also probably belong to his reign. On palaeographic grounds these have been referred to the fifth century A.D. and this agrees well with the reign-period of Fan Hou-ta. But whatever we might think of the identification of the two, Bhadra-varman was one of the most important kings in ancient Champâ. His full name was Dharma-mahârâja Sîrî Bhadra-varman. He constructed a temple at My-son for the God Siva, which was called after him Bhadresvarasvâmi. This temple became the national sanctuary of

11 *IHQ*, XVI, p. 457.
Champā and kept alive the name and fame of Bhadra-varman for many centuries. The practice which he set on foot of calling the tutelary deity by the name of the reigning king was undoubtedly derived from India, but came to be almost universally adopted by his successor in Champā. The inscriptions of Bhadra-varman are written in Sanskrit and refer to the endowment of lands he made to the temple at My-son. One of them describes the king as versed in the Vedas.

According to the Chinese accounts, the death of Fan Hou-ta, in A.D. 413, was followed by internal dissensions in course of which his son and successor Ti-chen abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew and himself went to India. This small detail suggests his identification with the king Gaṅgarāja, who is mentioned in an inscription as having abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the bank of the Gaṅgā in India. But whatever we might think of this identification, the departure of the king was followed by a civil war. Anarchy and confusion followed, attended with murders and quick successions to the throne till the order was restored by Fan Yang Mai, probably a son of Fan Hou-ta, who ascended the throne about A.D. 400. He carried on raids into the Chinese territory, but being severely defeated in A.D. 420, made peace with the Imperial court. His son and successor, Yang Mai II was less wise. He continued the usual raids and in A.D. 431 sent more than 100 vessels to pillage the coast of Nhut-nam. The Chinese sent a military force and a fleet against him, but none of these achieved any decisive victory. Encouraged at the failure of the Chinese, Yang Mai sent raiding parties every year against the Chinese territory and was bold enough to send an envoy in A.D. 433 to the Chinese Emperor asking to be appointed the governor of Tonkin. Irritated by this effrontery the Chinese Emperor sent a strong force against Champā in A.D. 446. In spite of heroic resistance the Chinese carried everything before them and advanced towards the capital. Yang Mai opposed them with a huge army but suffered terrible defeat and fled from the battle field. The victorious Chinese general then entered Champā-pura in triumph and gradually occupied the whole country. All the temples were sacked and their statues were melted, yielding about 100,000 pounds of pure gold. The Chinese victory was complete.

One incident in the final battle between Yang Mai II and the Chinese deserves special mention. Yang Mai placed a large number of elephants in front of his army and this terrified the Chinese soldiers. The Chinese general hit numerous ingenious devices to counter the danger. He prepared numerous figures of lions by means of bamboo and paper and threw them before the elephants. These took
fright and fled in disorder, throwing into confusion the very army they were intended to protect. This was one of the main causes that led to the complete rout of the Cham army.

The Chinese force returned with a huge booty and Yang Mai II came back to his ruined capital. But he soon died of a broken heart (A.D. 446).

Yang Mai II was succeeded by his son and grandson who remained on friendly terms with the Chinese courts and sent embassies with presents in 455, 458 and 472. Soon after the death of the latter, a fugitive rebel from Fu-nan usurped the throne of Champā. He had committed some crime and, to evade punishment, fled to Champā. Jaya-varman, the king of Fu-nan, sent a monk, Sākya Nāgasena, to the Chinese Emperor asking for the aid of Chinese troops to punish the rebel. The Emperor, however, refused the request, and not only recognised the usurper as the king of Champā, but also gave him high-sounding honorary titles in A.D. 491. But shortly after this the usurper was defeated and dethroned by Chu Nong, a grandson of Yang Mai II. The new king was also recognised by the Chinese Emperor and sent embassies to him in 492 and 495. But he died in A.D. 498 and was succeeded by his son, grandson and great-grandson, the last of whom was Vijaya-varman. He sent two embassies to China in 526 and 527.

Vijaya-varman was succeeded by Rudra-varman whose genealogy is given in an inscription engraved on a stele at Mv-son. It begins with Gaṅgārāja who abdicated the throne and retired to the banks of the Gaṅgā. It next mentions king Manoratha-varman, but the relation between the two cannot be determined on account of the damaged nature of the stone. Manoratha-varman’s grand-daughter (daughter’s daughter) was married to a Brāhmaṇa and their issue was Rudra-varman.

It is thus quite clear that Rudra-varman was not a direct descendant of Vijaya-varman, but if we accept the identification of Gaṅgārāja and Ti-chén suggested above Rudra-varman may be regarded as belonging to a collateral branch of the royal family, deriving his right to the throne from Gaṅgārāja.

We learn from an inscription that during the reign of Rudra-varman the famous temple of Bhadreśvarasvāmī was burnt by fire. The date of this event was also given in the inscription, but of this only the hundred-figure, viz. 400 can be read. Rudra-varman thus flourished in the fifth century of the Saka era, and may be identified with Kao Che Lu To Lo Pa Ma (Ku Śrī Rudra-varman) mentioned in the Chinese annals. was sought for his investiture from the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 529 by payment of tribute and renewed
the tribute again in 534. Although what the Chinese call as tribute is nothing but presents, and should not be regarded as a regular payment by a vassal state, there is no doubt that China was at this time looked upon as a paramount power by the smaller states in Indo-
China whose goodwill they were anxious to maintain.

About this time the Annamites of Tonkin revolted and threw off the Chinese yoke. Rudra-varman, probably at the instigation of the Chinese Emperor, invaded the province but was defeated and forced to retreat (A.D. 541).

Rudra-varman was succeeded by his son Praśastadharmā who took the name Sambhu-varman at the time of his coronation. He constructed a new temple for the God Bhadreśvarasvāmi in place of the one burnt during his father's reign, and re-named the image as Sambhu-Bhadreśvara, by adding his own name to that of the original founder.

Taking advantage of the political turmoil in China, Sambhu-var-
man stopped the payment of customary presents, but renewed it as soon as the Sui Dynasty was established on the Imperial throne. But the Chinese general who had been sent to quell the rebellion in Tonkin was ordered to invade Champā. The Chinese advanced both by land and sea, and having inflicted several defeats upon Sambhu-
varman reached the capital in A.D. 605. The Chinese general cut off the left ears of about 10,000 Cham soldiers who were captured in the war. He sacked the capital city and took away as captives all the inhabitants he could lay hands on. He also took away the golden tablets of eighteen kings who had ruled over Champā before Sambhu-varman as well as 1350 Buddhist manuscripts. Among his captives were some musicians from Fu-nan who introduced the musical art of India to the Imperial court.

As soon as the Chinese army left, Sambhu-varman returned to his capital and sent an ambassador to the Imperial court asking for pardon. He was succeeded in A.D. 629 by his son Kandarpadharmā, who also kept peace with China by regular payment of tribute.

Kandarpadharmā’s son and successor Prabhāsadharman was killed with all his family by a palace revolution in A.D. 645. Then the people raised a Brāhmaṇa, a son-in-law of king Kandarpadharmā, on the throne. But he, too, was deposed by the nobles, who first offered the throne to his wife and later to the sister’s son of Sambhu-varman, who came back from Kainbuja (where his father had fled after committing a crime) and married the daughter of Kandarpadharmā. The next king Prakāṣadharman Vīrānta-varman was a devotee of both Siva and Viṣṇu and erected many temples. He had a long reign
of more than thirty-one years (A.D. 656-687) and maintained cordial relations with China by sending embassies and regular tribute.

We know the names of three more kings of this dynasty, viz. Naravahan-varman, Vikrantavarman II, and Rudra-varman II, but hardly anything about them beyond the embassies they sent to China. With Rudra-varman II, who died about A.D. 757, ended the dynasty founded by the first king of that name about A.D. 529. The findspots of their inscriptions show that the province of Quang-nam, known as Amaravati, in which the capital city of Champā was situated, formed the stronghold of the dynasty, but its power extended over the whole of Southern Annam.

The new dynasty that succeeded had probably its headquarters in the south in the region known as Kaushāra where alone its inscriptions have been found. Its founder Prithivindra-varman claims that 'he enjoyed the lands by having conquered all his enemies by his own power' and 'destroyed all the thieves.' This shows that there were disorders and perhaps civil war, and the military genius of Prithivindra-varman enabled him to seize the throne. It is also not unlikely that the naval raid by the Javanese, to which reference will shortly be made, caused the overthrow of the last dynasty and the heroic resistance of Prithivindra-varman against the foreign marauders gained him the throne. In any case, Prithivindra-varman seems to have had a long and peaceful reign and died some time after A.D. 774.

He was succeeded by his nephew (sister's son) Satya-varman. The chief event in his reign was a naval raid of Champā to which reference is made in several inscriptions. The raiders are described as 'dark coloured people of other cities whose food was more horrible than that of the vampires (preta) and who was vicious and furious like yama', and again as 'multitudes of vicious cannibals'. The raiders, who are said to have come in ships, undoubtedly belonged to Java, as has been expressly stated in connection with another naval raid taking place in A.D. 787. The Javanese raiders carried away a Mukhaliṅga (lānga with the face of Śiva engraved on it) held in the highest veneration. We are told that this Mukhaliṅga was established in Kaushāra by king Vicitrasāgara in the year 5911 of the Dvāparavuga, and successive generations richly endowed the temple with articles of enjoyment such as grain, silver, gold, jewels, and costly utensils. The raiders carried away the image, articles of enjoyment, and the ornaments. As soon as Satya-varman heard of this raid he sailed on good ships with his soldiers and 'killed those wicked and vicious persons in the sea.' But he was very much dejected to learn that the Mukhaliṅga together with its property which was in their
ships, was thrown into water. Thereupon Satya-varman re-installed a linga together with other gods and goddesses and thus name to be known as an incarnation of Vichitrásāgara.

Satya-varman was succeeded by his younger brother Indra-varman, shortly after A.D. 784. There was another Javanese raid during his reign in A.D. 787. This time the raiders burnt and plundered the temple of Bhadrādhipatiśvara. It was also an ancient sanctuary richly endowed by the piety of successive generations. But, as the inscription puts it, "owing to the excess of faults in the Kali age, the temple was burnt by the army of Java coming by means of ships, and became empty in the year 709 (A.D. 787)". Like his predecessor Indra-varman re-installed the linga and re-named it Indra-Bhadreshvara.

Indra-varman's glory is sung in extravagant terms in his inscriptions. He is said to have fought with many enemies and ruled over the whole of Champā. Who these enemies were we cannot say. But as suggested earlier, it is not unlikely that the Javanese raids were backed by the power of the Sailendras who were rapidly rising to power. Kamboja had to submit to their yoke about this time and probably Indra-varman saved Champā from a similar fate.

Indra-varman was succeeded by his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Hari-varman who seems to have been a very powerful king and invaded the neighbouring dominions on the north and the west. In one of his records he is said to have defeated the Chīnas (Chinese). That this was no mere empty boast is indicated by the Chinese chronicles. We learn from them that in January 803 a king of Champā conquered two Chinese districts, but in 809 the Chinese governor defeated and forced him to retreat. The king of Champā whose temporary success is admitted by the Chinese was almost certainly Hari-varman. We further learn from other inscriptions that his general, named Par, who led an expedition again Kamboja, ravaged its towns and advanced into the heart of this country. The full significance of this raid will be discussed in connection with the history of Kamboja.

Hari-varman probably ruled from 800-820. He was succeeded by his son Vikrānta-varman who enjoyed a long reign till about A.D. 860. He died without any issue and the kingdom of Champā passed to a new family whose origin is somewhat obscure. It seems to have been founded by Indra-varman II for, according to an inscription issued by this king in A.D. 875, he gained the kingdom, not from his grandfather and father, but by the special merit of his austerities and by virtue of his pure intelligence. On the other hand, in the genealogy given in the same record, both his father Bhadrā-varman
and grandfather Rudra-varman are referred to as kings. Most likely these two were petty local chiefs and Indra-varman made himself master of the kingdom by his own prowess. Indra-varman traces his descent from God Śiva and the royal family is referred to in a later record as the Bhṛgu family, presumably because Bhṛgu was sent to Champā by Śiva himself to set up his liṅga. The original name of the king was Śrī Lakṣmīndra Bhumīśvara Grāmāsvāmin, but on ascending the throne he assumed the title Śrī Jaya-Indra-varma Mahā-rājādhirāja. Although devoted to Saivism, he erected a Buddhist temple and a monastery, and had probably some leanings towards that religion. He married his aunt, a niece of his grandfather Rudra-varman III.

Indra-varman II had a long reign (c. A.D. 858 to 895) and was succeeded by Jaya Simha-varman, who was probably the son of the elder sister of his queen Haradevi. Jaya Simha-varman made many pious donations and is said to have spread his power to other lands. This is partly corroborated by the fact that he sent Rājadvāra, a relation of his queen Tribhuvanadevi on a diplomatic mission to Java. The same envoy was again sent to Java by king-Bhadra-varman II, the second king after Jaya-Simha-varman. Bhadra-varman’s known dates are A.D. 909 and 910. An inscription refers to the multitude of royal ambassadors coming from different countries to his court. Another inscription says with reference to one of his ministers that he understood thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries. All these seem to indicate that by the time of Bhadra-varman III, Champā had become a powerful and important kingdom taking part in international politics. Bhadra-varman III was succeeded by his son Indra-varman III whose earliest known date is A.D. 911. One of his records describes his high literary accomplishments. He is said to have mastered the six systems of philosophy (śad-tarka) beginning with Mīmāṃsā, and also those of Buddha (Jmendra). He was also quite conversant with the grammar of Pāṇini, with its commentary Kāśikā, and the Uttarakalpa of the Saivites. Even making due allowance for the exaggerations of the court poet, we must regard the king as an erudite scholar.

But the king was not very successful in maintaining the political greatness of his kingdom. Both Jaya-varman IV and Rājendra-varman of Kāmbuja invaded Champā and wrought havoc and destruction. The fact that the golden image of the goddess Bhagavati, which Indra-varman had installed at Po-nagar in A.D. 918, was carried away by the Kāmbujas shows that they penetrated far into the interior of the kingdom of Champā. Indra-varman ultimately forced the Kāmbujas to retreat, but his straitened circumstance is disclosed by the
fact that the golden image of Bhagavati carried away by the Kambuja king had to be replaced by a stone figure, when his successor restored the temple of Po Nagar in A.D. 965.

Indra-varman took advantage of the internal dissensions in China after the fall of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) to stop the payment of customary presents. But on the foundation of the Heu Cheu Dynasty in A.D. 951 he sent an embassy to China with presents. The cordial relations were continued even after the Sung dynasty was established in A.D. 960. His son and successor Jaya Indra-varman sent no less than six embassies to China between A.D. 960 and 971. He probably died shortly after, about A.D. 972.

IV. KAMBUJADESA

1. Beginnings of Colonisation

The fertile valley of the Mekong which lay to the west of Annam was known in ancient days as Kambuja, from which the modern name Cambodia is derived. Kambuja proper roughly comprised the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, but the old kingdom in its greatest extent included Laos in the north and Siam or Thailand in the west.

Kambuja may well be regarded as the gift of the Mekong. This mighty river rising in distant hills in China traverses a long stretch of territory along the eastern border of Siam before it enters Cambodia below the rapid of Prat Patang. From this point its bed is nearly doubled and it covers the country by its ramifications. A wide sheet of water joins it to the vast lake of Tonle Sap more than 60 miles to its north-west. Below this junction, near the modern capital Phnom Penh, the Mekong branches off into two wide streams, connected by cross canals, which both fall into the China Sea forming the rich delta of Cochin-China. The Mekong is to Cambodia what the Nile is to Egypt. Its banks supply the habitations of the people and its regular annual inundations fertilise the country. The region beyond the reach of the flood water is almost an arid desert. No wonder, therefore, that the river was held in the highest veneration as the Gaṅgā in India. It has even been suggested that the name of the river really consists of two parts Me and Kong and corresponds to Mā Gaṅgā (Mother Gaṅgā).

The geographical position of Kambuja makes it very likely that it was colonised by the Hindus before they settled in Annam or proceeded by way of sea to China. According to a Chinese chronicle, there was regular communication between India and China by the
Southern Sea during the period A.D. 147-167. We may, therefore, refer to earliest settlement of the Indians in Kambuja to the first century A.D. As we shall see presently, this is corroborated by more positive evidence. It may be noted here that there was also an overland route between India and Kambuja.

As in other colonies, popular legends and traditions have preserved the memory of the early Hindu immigration in Kambuja. According to one of these, Ādityavaṁśa, king of Indraprastha, banished his son who come to this country and married the daughter of the local Nāga king. According to a different version of the story Kambu Svāyambhuva, the king of Āryadeśa, being disconsolate at the death of his wife came to this country and married the Nāga king’s daughter. A third version has been recorded by the Chinese Kia Tan, who actually visited Fu-nan, the southern part of Cambodia, in the middle of the third century A.D. It is also repeated in later Chinese texts, sometimes with additional details, and we find an echo of it in a Sanskrit inscription in Champā dated A.D. 657. By combining all these sources we can reconstruct the story somewhat as follows: An Indian Brāhmaṇa, named Kaunḍinya, being directed by his tutelary deity in a dream, embarked on a trading vessel and came to Fu-nan. The sovereign of Fu-nan, a female called Somā, came in a boat to plunder his vessel. Kaunḍinya raised the bow which the God had given him and pierced the queen’s boat by an arrow. Being overpowered by fear the queen submitted and Kaunḍinya married her. He ruled over the kingdom and fixed the site of his capital by planting the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa’s son Aśvatthāmā.

These legends naturally remind us of similar ones current about the Pallava dynasty in India. Thus, some records describe Skandaśishya, the progenitor of the Pallavas, as the son of Aśvatthāmā by a Nāga woman. According to other, Vīrakurça, the predecessor of Skandaśishya, married a Nāga maiden and obtained from her the insignia of royalty. Thus, there is a common basic factor in all these traditions, viz. the origin of a royal dynasty by marriage between an Indian male and a Nāga female. Even the mythical Aśvatthāmā is associated though in different roles in both the cases.

Apart from a possible Indian origin of these traditions they undoubtedly have preserved an echo of a great historical fact, viz. the conquest of the land of primitive wild tribes (Nāgas) beyond the sea by the people of India (Āryadeśa) who permanently settled there and introduced higher elements of civilization among them.

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12 BEFEO, III, p. 271.
13 The Chinese form of the name is Huen-Chen or Huen Tien.
14 The Chinese form of the name is Lieu-ye.
The eye-witness’ account of the colonisation of Tuen Suen, a vassal state of Fu-nan, vividly illustrates the process by which the Indian colonies grew in this region. It is the usual story of trade followed by missionary propaganda, of gradual settlement of Indians, and their intermarriage with the indigenous people leading ultimately to their fusion on a higher plane of culture and civilization.

Evidently the same process led to the establishment of a colony at Fu-nan, an important trading centre where met the merchants from, India, China and other countries. We have already referred to King Tai’s account of its foundation by Kauṇḍinya which is no doubt based on local tradition. Fortunately the subsequent history of Fu-nan has also been preserved in the Chinese chronicles and we may begin with an account of this, the earliest known colonial kingdom of the Indians in Kamboja.

2. Fu-nan

The earliest historical kingdom in Cambodia known to us is that generally called Fu-nan by the Chinese, though I-tsing calls it Pan-nan. Some scholars, regard it as a pure Chinese word meaning ‘protected south,’ but others take it to be the Chinese transcription of the indigenous name. Finot suggested that this original name was Kurun Vnán (King of mountains). Coedés, however, derives the name from Ba Phnom, a region round the hill of that name in South Cambodia. In any case there is no doubt that Fu-nan must have been situated in this region.

The earliest inhabitants of Cambodia seem to have been the Khmers who still from the predominant element of the population. The name appears as Kvór and Kmír in the old inscriptions of Champã, and as Comar in the writings of the Arabs. It is possible that the country was originally inhabited by primitive hill tribes whom the Khmers conquered. But in any case the people were not very highly civilised when the Hindu first went there. The Chinese chroniclers expressly state that the primitive people of Fu-nan were semi-savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks Kauṇḍinya introduced the elements of civilisation among them; in particular he made the women wear clothes.

According to the tradition mentioned above, Kauṇḍinya was a Brâhmaṇa and came directly from India. This was probably a fact, though it is not unlikely that he was a Hindu colonist living in some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. The details fur-
nished by the Chinese writers in the third century A.D. leave no doubt that Kauṇḍinya must have set up the kingdom of Fu-nan not later than the first century A.D. No particulars of his reign are known, but his descendants are said to have ruled for about 100 years, after which Fan She-man, the general of the last ruler, was elected king by the people.

Fan She-man was an able ruler and laid the foundation of the greatness of Fu-nan. He constructed a powerful navy and conquered the neighbouring states to a distance of five or six thousand li which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. Although the Chinese names of these vassal states cannot all be satisfactorily identified, we may hold in a general way that nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Fu-nan, which thus became the first Hindu colonial empire in Indo-China. Fan She-man assumed the title ‘Great king of Fu-nan’ and was about to lead a campaign against Kin-lin (Suvarṇabhūmi or Su-varṇadvīpa) when he fell ill and died.

Coëdes has proposed to identify Fan She-man with Śrī-Māra\(^\text{16}\) of Champā. According to this view South Annam formed a vassal state of Fu-nan under Fan She-man and his successors, and the Vo-canh inscription was issued by one of them. Whatever we might think of this there is no doubt that the political authority of Fu-nan was established over a wide area.

Fan Chan, the general of Fan She-man, usurped the throne after killing the son of the latter. He sent an embassy to China in A.D. 243, and this gives us a fixed point in the chronology of Fu-nan by which we can determine the date of Kauṇḍinya and his successors with a tolerable degree of certainty.

We have also evidence of intercourse between India and Fu-nan during this reign. An inhabitant of Western India came to Fu-nan in the course of a trading voyage and gave a detailed account of the country to Fan Chan. Thereupon the king sent one of his relations named Su-Wu as an ambassador to India. Su-wu embarked at T'eu-kiu-li, probably the famous port of Takkola in Malay Peninsula, and reached the mouth of the great river of India (Gangā) after about a year. Having proceeded up the river for 7000 li (about 1150 miles) he met the king of India, who received him very cordially. In his turn the king of India sent two envoys to Fu-nan with a present of four horses of the Yüe-chi country. These came with Su-wu who returned to Fu-nan after an absence of four years.

There were palace revolutions in Fu-nan during these four years.

\(^{16}\) IHQ, XVI, p. 487.
Fan Chan was assassinated; his assassin met with the same fate; and general Fan Siun became the king of Fu-nan. During his reign two Chinese ambassadors K'ang T'ai and Chu Yüng, visited Fu-nan. It is their writings that have preserved the earliest account of Fu-nan as mentioned above. It is interesting to note that the Chinese ambassadors met in Fu-nan one of the envoys from India and K'ang T'ai recorded a brief account of India as reported by him.

Fan Siun had a long reign and sent four embassies to China between A.D. 268 and 257. We learn from K'ang T'ai's account that in those days the men in Fu-nan went about naked but the king put a stop to this indecent habit. We learn from another Chinese account of the time that the Chams and the people of Fu-nan were allies and they did not submit to China.

For nearly a century we do not know anything about Fu-nan. In A.D. 357 a Hindu named Chan-tan (Chandra or Chandana) sent an embassy with some elephants as presents to China. But the Chinese emperor did not like them (or ordered them to be returned) as the maintenance of these animals was very costly (or they were a source of evil).

According to the Chinese history the throne of Fu-nan was occupied by an Indian Brāhmaṇa named Kauṇḍinya towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. This second Kauṇḍinya, like the first, was directed by a supernatural voice to proceed to Fu-nan. He was cordially welcomed by the people, and being elected king, introduced Indian laws, manners, and customs. It is difficult to say whether this was merely an echo of the old legend or refers to a fresh stream of Indian colonists who thoroughly Hinduised the country.

Towards the close of the Sung Period (A.D. 420-479) Jaya-varman ruled in Fu-nan. The king's family name was Kauṇḍinya. He sent some merchants to Canton for trade and the Indian monk Nāgasena accompanied them on their return journey. In A.D. 484 Jaya-varman sent Nāgasena with presents and a long petition to the court of China. The full text of the petition is given in Chinese chronicles and it is a highly interesting document.

The petition narrates in detail how a rebellious subject of Fu-nan, named Kieu-ch'eu-lo fled to Champâ, organised a rebellion there and made himself master of Champâ. He was there indulging in all sorts of violence and injustice, and what was worse, adopted an attitude of open hostility against the king of Fu-nan, his original master. As Fu-nan and Champâ had a common boundary, Jaya-varman was naturally anxious to get rid of him and asked the emperor to send a force against Champâ, which he complacently described as
originally a vassal state of China. He offered to help the imperial troops in their task of subjugating Champā, and agreed to recognise, as king of Champā, any other person nominated by the emperor. Even if the emperor were unwilling to send a powerful army to chastise the king of Champā, Jaya-varman requested him to send a small force to help him in punishing the wicked king. In order to strengthen his case he sent rich presents including a golden model of the throne of Nāga-rāja, an elephant of white sandal, two ivory stūpas, two pieces of cotton, two vases of precious transparent stones, and a betel-nut plate made of shell.

As mentioned above, the Emperor did not send any military aid, though he sent a cordial reply and presented a large quantity of silk of various colours to the king of Fu-nan. In a.d. 503 Jaya-varman sent another embassy with presents including an image of the Buddha, made of coral. The Chinese Emperor conferred an honorary title upon Jaya-varman in consideration of the fact that he and his forefathers ruled over the kingdom for generations and sent frequent embassies, with presents, to China. Jaya-varman sent two more embassies to China in a.d. 511 and 514. The cordial relation between China and Fu-nan is further proved by the fact that two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan, Saṅgha-pāla (or Saṅgha-varman) and Mandra (or Mandrasena), settled in China and translated various canonical texts.

A Sanskrit inscription found in South Cambodia records the foundation of a hermitage (ārāma),17 with a tank and a dwelling house by Kulaprabhāvatī, the queen of Jaya-varman. The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles one of Guṇavarman who is described as the young son of a king of the family of Kaunḍinya. Now we know from the Chinese chronicles that on the death of Jaya-varman in a.d. 514, his elder son Rudra-varman, born of a concubine, killed the younger son born of a legitimate wife and seized the throne. Coedès suggests that Guṇa-varman was the younger son of Jaya-varman by his queen Kulaprabhāvatī, and was killed by Rudra-varman. This seems very plausible.

Rudra-varman sent six embassies to China between a.d. 517 and 539. On the last occasion he sent a living rhinoceros and offered the Emperor a hair of the Buddha, 12 ft long, which was in his country. The Emperor sent a monk to fetch the precious relic.

Rudra-varman is praised in a Buddhist inscription of his reign, but it does not give any historical information. He is the last king of Fu-

17 Jgis, IV, p. 117.
nan, so far known to us. The kingdom was conquered by Chitrasena, ruler of Kambuja, and though the kings of Fu-nan moved further south and maintained a precarious existence for some time, the whole country became ultimately subject to Kambuja to whose history we may now turn.

A. Kambuja

(i) Early History

The mythical legends about the origin of Kambuja have been, mentioned earlier. It was named after Kambu Svayambhuva, the progenitor of its kings, who was sometimes called simply Kambu. Originally it was a small principality in the north-eastern part of Cambodia. The earliest historical king known to us is Sruta-varman, who is referred to as 'the root of the rulers of Kambu who delivered the country from bondage.' This no doubt means that either Sruta-varman or one of his successors freed Kambuja from the yoke of Fu-nan. Sruta-varman was succeeded by his son Sreshtha-varman, after whom the capital was named Sreshthropura. It was situated close to Vat Phu hill near Bassac in Laos.

We next hear of a king Bhava-varman who was the founder of a new royal family and had his capital at Bhavapura, evidently named after him. He ascended the throne in the second half of the sixth century A.D. and considerably increased the extent and power of his kingdom. He was succeeded by his brother whose original name was Chitrasena but who assumed the name Mahendra-varman at the time of coronation. The history of the Sui Dynasty tells us that Chitrasena made himself master of Fu-nan and was succeeded by his son Iśanasena. It also refers to an embassy from Kambuja to China in A.D. 616-17 which was obviously sent Iśanasena. But another Chinese text tells us that the Kshatriya king Iśana, at the beginning of the period Cheng-Kuan (A.D. 627-649) conquered Fu-nan and took possession of the kingdom. The fact that two Chinese texts attribute the conquest of Fu-nan respectively to Chitrasena and his son Iśana, seems to indicate that the conquest of Fu-nan was a gradual process. Evidently Chitrasena or Mahendra-varman first led a military expedition against Rudra-varman, the king of Fu-nan, or one of his successors, and occupied a part of the kingdom, including even the capital. The king of Fu-nan fled to the south and his dynasty continued to rule over a petty state in the extreme south of Cambodia with a new capital city, as a Chinese text informs us. But the struggle continued and Iśana-varman finally extinguished the kingdom of Fu-nan some time about A.D. 630.
Thus, in course of about a century the vassal kingdom of Kambuja first threw off the yoke of Fu-nan during the rule of Sruta-varman’s family, and then conquered Fu-nan itself and became the premier state in Cambodia under another royal family founded by Bhava-varman. There was possibly some relation between these two royal families, for, as noted above, Sruta-varman is described as the ‘root’ of the rulers of Kambuja, and even king Jaya-varman VII, who ruled towards the close of the twelfth century A.D., claimed to have been descended from Sreshṭhavarman, the supreme king of Sreshṭhapura. Similarly it is not unlikely that Bhava-varman was also connected with the kings of Fu-nan, for, he and his successors make no allusion to either Kambu or Sreshṭhapura, but describe themselves, like kings of Fu-nan, as descendants of Kauṇḍinya and Somā. But it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say anything definite on the relation between these three royal families or any two of them.

The rule of Bhava-varman I and his brother Mahendra-varman covered roughly the second half of the sixth century A.D., and under them the greater part of Cambodia came to be included within the kingdom of Kambuja. Īśāna-varman completed the conquest of Cambodia by the annexation of Fu-nan, and he also ruled over the valley of the Mun to the north of the Dangrek mountains. He transferred the capital to a city, named after him as Īśānapura (modern Sambor Prei Kuk). He interfered in the political troubles of Champā and we have seen earlier how its disaffected and rebellious elements found shelter in his court an ultimately his daughter’s son Prakāśadharma became the king of that kingdom. Although the nature and successive stages in the revolution of Champā cannot be precisely determined, there is hardly any doubt that Īśāna-varman really pulled the wires from behind, and succeeded in establishing his influence in the court of the neighbourly kingdom on the east. This is proved by the detailed reference in a contemporary inscription of Champā to the royal family of Īśāna-varman.

Two other kings, Bhava-varman II (A.D. 638) and Jaya-varman I (A.D. 657-674) are known from epigraphic records, but their relation, if any, with the preceding kings is not known. We know very little of the history of Kambuja during the century following the reign of Jaya-varman I. All that we can ascertain is that Kambuja proper was divided into a number of independent kingdoms, among which Sambhupura (Sambor), Vyādhapura (probably corresponding to ancient Fu-nan), and Aninditatapura (region east of Angkor) are referred to in later epigraphic records. There is no doubt that the first and the last existed as independent states, though we have reasons to believe that
they came under the same ruler, temporarily or permanently, in the first half of the eighth century A.D. According to the Chinese annals of the Liang Dynasty, Chen-la (the Chinese name of Kambuja) was divided into two states at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., viz. Chen-la of the land and Chen-la of the water. Many scholars held the view that these two states correspond respectively to Sambhupura and Vyadhapura (or Aninditapura). But Coedes holds that the Kambuja of water probably corresponded to the kingdom of Aninditapura, united with that of Sambhupura, while the Kambuja of land denoted the territory north of Dangrek mountains.

Whatever we might think of these theories, there is no doubt about the fact that there was no longer any powerful and united kingdom of Kambuja, and instead there were two or more separate states, none of which possessed any considerable power and authority. This might have been brought about by natural causes and local political factors, but it is not also unlikely that it was at least partially due to the rise of the Sailendra power. As we have seen above, the Sailendras exercised political supremacy over the northern part of Malay Peninsula, which was close to the border of Kambuja. Reference has been made earlier to the naval raids of Java against Champa, and according to the epigraphic record, Kambuja itself was a vassal state of Java towards the end of the eighth century A.D. As the Sailendras were masters of a big empire including Java it is likely that they also established their supremacy over Kambuja, and this foreign domination might have been the cause or effect (or both) of the political disintegration of Kambuja.

(ii) JAYA-VARMAN II

The accession of Jaya-varman II in A.D. 802 marks an epoch in the history of Kambuja in more senses than one. The obscurity in the history of Kambuja, for more than a century suddenly lifts, and we can trace the history of her rulers in an unbroken line of succession down to modern times. Kambuja not only becomes free and united, but sets definitely on the way to imperialism. Lastly, the centre of political authority and cultural activity is shifted to the Angkor region which was destined to acquire immortal fame in the history of human civilisation.

Very little is known of the early history of Jaya-varman. Scattered references in epigraphic records seem to indicate that both his grandmother (mother's mother) and his queen were connected with some royal families, but the relationship was not of such a nature as to give him a legitimate claim to the throne. It is only from a late record of the eleventh century A.D. that we come to know some
details which enable us to reconstruct his life and reign somewhat as follows:

Jaya-varman resided for some time at Java and then returned to his native land Kambuja which was then under the domination of a foreign power with seat of authority in Java. Jaya-varman freed the country from foreign yoke and then performed some tāṇtrik rites in order that Kambujadesa might no longer be dependent on Java and might have a paramount ruler (chakravarti) of its own. For this purpose he invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāma, who came from Janapada (probably in India). This Brāhmaṇa instituted the worship of Devarāja, who became the tutelary deity of the royal family, and initiated Sivakaivalya into its rituals. The king took a vow that only the family of Sivakaivalya should be in future employed to celebrate the worship of Devarāja. According to this decision the descendants of Sivakaivalya served as the High Priest of the royal family from generation to generation till A.D. 1052, when the record was drawn up by Sadāśīva, the High Priest for the time being. This long record of 340 lines, which contains 130 verses in Sanskrit and 146 lines of prose text in Khmer, gives the names of, and the pious works done by Sivakaivalya and his descendants together with the names of all the kings they served. It is, thus, a remarkable historical document which describes, in chronological order, the pious activities of a priestly family for 250 years and the names of all their patron kings who ruled during this long period.

In addition to what has been said above regarding Jaya-varman the record refers to his frequent change of capitals, four of which are named. The identification of these ancient cities has not been easy, and opinions differ very sharply in regard to some of them. According to the identifications now generally accepted, Jaya-varman, immediately after his return from Java, fixed his first capital at Indrapura, not far from the ancient royal seat of Sambhupura, probably because he was a native of this region. He then successively shifted his capital to Hariharālaya (Prah Khan, immediately to the north of Angkor Thom), Amarendra pura (in Battambang), and Mahendra-parvata (Phnom Kulen, to the north-west of Angkor Thom). Thus we see a gradual transfer of royal seat towards the west, first to the Angkor region, then further west towards Battambang and lastly again back to Angkor. The reason for this frequent change is not known, and various theories have been put forward on this subject. Some attribute the changes merely to royal caprice, while others see in them an anxious desire to select a suitable site for the capital of the newly founded kingdom. It is also not unlikely that internal
troubles forced the king, at different times, to seek refuge in different parts of the country. On the other hand, it is just possible that starting from his home-province in the east, the conquest of a new region was followed by the setting up of a new capital, and the different capitals may thus indicate the different stages of political consolidation of Kambuja brought about by Jaya-varman II.

The invasion of Kambuja by Hari-varman, king of Champā, has been mentioned above. The Cham general is said to have forcibly advanced up to the very heart of the kingdom some time between A.D. 800 and 817, i.e. early in Jaya-varman’s reign. It is not impossible, therefore, that the Cham incursion forced Jaya-varman II to leave Indrapura, perhaps even Angkor, and seek safety in the western part of the kingdom. All these are possible interpretations. If we hold that all the capital cities mentioned in the record were held by Jaya-varman II at one and the same time, we must hold that he reigned over the whole of Kambuja, but this view has to be considerably modified if we accept any of the other interpretations.

The name of Jaya-varman II was held in great honour and esteem by posterity, even many centuries later. Although many achievements set to his credit by popular tradition, and modern historians have proved to be erroneous, there can be no doubt that his great renown was well deserved. He delivered the country from the foreign yoke of Java, saved it from the aggressions of Champā, and perhaps gave it a unity and solidarity which it had lacked for a century. The Deva-rāja cult introduced by him remained the state religion for long, and he revived the old tradition of Kambuja which had been replaced by the legend of Fu-nan about Kaṇḍīnaya and Somā. Henceforth the country is referred to as Kambuja, and Kambujendra, Kambujāśvara, etc. become the normal official titles of the Khmer kings who regard themselves as belonging to Sūrya-vāmśa and not to Somavaṁśa. Lastly, by fixing the capital finally at Hariharālaya, Jaya-varman laid the foundation of the greatness of Angkor. After a long and eventful reign he died in A.D. 854 and received the posthumous appellation Prameśvara.

Jaya-vardhana, the son of Jaya-varman II, ascended the throne under the name of Jaya-varman (III). Although no political events of his reign are known, he seems to have been an able ruler who not only maintained intact the kingdom he had inherited from his father but probably also extended its boundaries. For we know from the Chinese chronicle Man-chu, that in A.D. 862 the kingdom of Kambuja included the whole of Laos in the north and almost touched the frontier of Yunnan. Thus, when Jaya-varman III died about A.D. 877 Kambuja had grown into a powerful state. The Arab
writer Ya'kūbi (c. A.D. 875) describes the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the ruler of which receives the homage of other kings. Ibn Rosteh (A.D. 903) refers to the high standard of judicial administration in Kambuja. 'There are eighty judges,' says he, 'Even if a son of the king appears before them they would judge equitably and treat him as an ordinary complainant.' Several Arab writers bestow high praise on the people of Kambuja for their abstinence from wine and women. Thus we may reasonably conclude that under Jaya-varman II and his son Kambuja was not only powerful and prosperous but also reached a high level of culture and civilisation.

(iii) Rise of Angkor

Indra-varman, who succeeded Jaya-varman III in A.D. 877 was very remotely related to the queen Jaya-varman II, and we do not know the circumstances which enabled him to seize the kingdom. The respectful reference to Jaya-varman II and III in the epigraphic records of Indra-varman and his successors preclude the possibility of a rebellion or illegal usurpation on his part.

But however he might have come to the throne Indra-varman proved to be an extremely able ruler. He pursued the aggressive and imperialistic policy of his predecessors and increased the power and prestige of Kambuja still further. Indra-varman claims in his record that his commands were respectfully obeyed by the rulers of China, Champā and Yavadvipa. In spite of obvious exaggerations it is not unlikely that he obtained some successes against the three neighbouring powers.

Indra-varman died in A.D. 889 and was succeeded by his son Yaśo-varman who occupies a place of honour in the history of Kambuja such as falls to the lot of few rulers in any country. He was a great scholar and the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions of his reign show the high development of Sanskrit literature and Hindu culture in all its aspects. Although general reference is made to his numerous military campaigns, including a naval expedition, we do not know of any specific events of his reign. But there is no doubt that he ruled over extensive dominions which touched the frontiers of China on the north and were bounded by Champā and the sea on the east and south. On the west his kingdom extended up to the mountains which form the watershed between the Menam and Salween rivers.

The inscriptions of Yaśo-varman hold out a picture of a happy, prosperous and peaceful kingdom ruled over by an able and wise monarch who took all possible measures to ensure the welfare of the kingdom in all its aspects, political, economic, religious and social.
The elaborate regulations framed by him give us an insight into the social and religious condition of the time and the earnest effort made by the king to improve it. Making all due allowances for the exaggerations of court poets, we must regard Yaśo-varman as a brave general and ideal king, shining equally well in arts of war and peace. Himself a great scholar, he was a patron of art and science. He was liberal in his religious views, and although a devoted follower of Saivism, he patronised Buddhism in an unstinted manner. He was a great king in every sense of the term. Perhaps the court-poet did not exaggerate very much when he said that the glory of Yaśo-varman was sung even after his death, by the people ‘in their games, on their beds, and in their travels’. Yaśo-varman received the very appropriate posthumous title of Paramaśivaloka.

Yaśo-varman founded a new capital city which was at first called Kambupurī and later Yasodharapura. For a long time it was held by scholars that this was the famous Angkor Thom now covered with magnificent ruins. But it has now been proved beyond dispute that the capital city Yasodharapura was situated on the top of the neighbouring hill called Phnom Bakhen. But as the city extended round the hill and included a large part of the present site of Angkor Thom, Yaśo-varman may still be regarded as the founder of Angkor Thom in a qualified sense. In any case Yaśo-varman may justly be regarded as having laid the foundation of the Angkor civilization whose glory and splendour form the most brilliant chapter in the history of Kambuja.

Yaśo-varman died about A.D. 908, and his two sons ascended the throne one after another. But Jaya-varman IV. the husband of the sister of Yaśo-varman, rebelled and seized the throne some time before A.D. 921. He removed the capital to Koh Ker (Chok Garvvar), a wild barren country about 50 miles north-east of Angkor. He is said to have destroyed the ruler of Champa, but no details are known. Possibly he defeated king Indra-varman III. He was succeeded by his son (A.D. 941 or 942) and the later by Rājendra-varman, the son of another sister of Yaśo-varman. Rājendra-varman, who ascended the throne in A.D. 944, removed the capital back again to Yasodharapura, and embellished the city which was deserted for a long time.

Rājendra-varman is credited in his inscriptions with victorious campaigns in all directions, but no details are given. But, as noted above, he certainly led a successful expedition against Champa and carried away among other things, a golden image of goddess Bhavarati. Rājendra-varman’s son and successor Jaya-varman V (A.D. 961-
also continued the aggressive policy against Champā and obtained some success.

Jaya-varman V was the last king of the family founded by Indra-varman. The period of two centuries (A.D. 802-1001), covered by the rule of ten kings beginning from Jaya-varman II and ending with Jaya-varman V, is chiefly memorable in the history of Kambuja for the great extension of its political authority, specially in the comparatively inaccessible and little known central region of Indo-China lying between Burma, China, Annam and Cambodia.

The kingdom, which the Chinese call Nan-chao and is referred to as Mithilārāṣṭrā in Thai chronicles, comprised the northern part of Yunnan. Immediately to its south lay the kingdom which is called Alavirāśṭrā, the kingdom of the giant Alavi. It comprised the southern part of Yunnan. According to a contemporary Chinese chronicler, who visited these regions in A.D. 862, the northern part of Alavirāśṭrā formed the boundary of the Khmer empire. When, therefore, Indra-varman claims that his commands were obeyed by the king of China, and Yaśo-varman asserts that his empire reached up to the frontier of China, we must presume a further expansion of the power of Kambuja at the cost of Mithilārāṣṭrā (Chinese Nan-chao), which would extend the Kambuja power into the heart of Yunnan, probably not far from the border of the then kingdom of China. The memory of this Kambuja empire is preserved in the local annals. The chronicles of Yonaka, which comprised the two kingdoms of Alavirāśṭrā are Haribhunājaya, record the foundation of Suvarṇaṅgrāma, the site of the later capital Xien Sen, by a Khmer emperor. The chronicle of Bayao, a town about 60 miles further south, on a branch of the upper Mekong river, states that ruins of old palaces and cities belonging to the old time of Khmer kings were shattered in mountains and forests when this city was founded. The victorious campaigns of Rājendra-varman in all directions evidently relate to his campaigns in these regions. On the whole it may be safely presumed that throughout the reign of Indra-varman’s dynasty the Kambuja empire extended in the north as far as Yunnan and included a considerable portion of it.

While the Kambuja kingdom was thus expanding along the valley of the Mekong river towards the north, it also extended its authority along the valley of the Menam on the west. In this region, which now constitutes the home province of the kingdom of Siam or Thailand, the country of Lavapuri, comprising all the territory between the Gulf of Siam in the south and Kampheng Phet on the north, formed a stronghold of Kambuja power. For a long time this was regarded as an integral part of the Kambuja kingdom, but the
Kāmbuja kings also exercised political influence over the petty principalities of the local ruling chiefs that lay to its north. The successive kingdoms in this region in geographical order beginning from the south are Sukhodaya, Yonakarāshṭra and Kshmerarāshṭra which touched the Kāmbuja kingdom of Ālavrāshṭra on the Mekong valley. The chronicles of these kingdoms refer to the Kāmbuja sovereignty over them, and the very name Kshmerarāshṭra of the northernmost of these recalls the suzerainty of that people throughout the Menam valley. The Kāmbuja kings established a strongly fortified post at a place called Unmārgaśilānagāra which commanded the roads to the upper valleys of both the Mekong and Menam rivers, and although the petty vassal states on the Menam often revolted against the Kāmbuja authority, the Kāmbuja kings could always bring their forces from one region to the other through this road and subdue them. Many stories of such unsuccessful rebellions are preserved in the local annals.

If we now turn from the north towards the south we find that Kāmbuja also came into contact with the mighty empire of the Sailendras in the Malay Peninsula. During the tenth century A.D. the northern part of this Peninsula, lying, roughly speaking to the north of the Isthmus of Kra, belonged to Kāmbuja, while the part of its south was included within the mighty empire of the Sailendras. We have no definite evidence of any political relation between the two, but Indra-varman’s claim of supremacy over Java may refer to a contest with the Sailendras who ruled over both Java and Malay Peninsula.

Although we are unable to find out the exact relationship between Kāmbuja and the Sailendras, we are in a better position as regards her eastern neighbour, the kingdom of Champā. It will appear from what has been said above that almost throughout the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. there were perpetual hostilities between Kāmbuja and Champā, and Kāmbuja scored some definite successes against Champā in the tenth century A.D.

V. BURMA

1. The Beginnings of Indian Colonisation

Burma, being nearest to India and directly accessible both by land and sea, naturally attracted Indian traders, missionaries, and political adventurers from a very early period. Unfortunately, we do not possess any definite evidence regarding their early settlements. According to Buddhist tradition Aśoka’s missionaries visited Burma, and two merchants of this country became the first lay-disciples even
of Gautama Buddha shortly after he attained Bodhi at Gayā. Although none of these traditions can be regarded as historical, the fact that Buddhaghosha believed them shows that in the fifth century A.D. people regarded the introduction of Hindu culture in Burma as reaching back to hoary antiquity. However, that may be, the Sanskrit place-names mentioned by Ptolemy and the discovery of isolated letters of the Indian alphabet on stone indicate the settlements of Indians in Burma long before the second century A.D.

Like other countries, Burma has preserved many legends about the beginning of Indian colonisation, of which the one most generally accepted may be summed up as follows:

'Abhirāja, a prince of the Sākya clan of Kapilavastu marched with an army to Upper Burma, founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the Upper Irawadi, and set himself up the king of the surrounding region. After his death the kingdom was divided in two parts. The elder son ruled over Arakan and the younger over Tagaung. Thirty-one generations of kings ruled over Tagaung when the kingdom was overthrown by tribes coming from the east. About this time, when Gautama was still alive, a second band of Kshatriyas from the Gangetic valley in India arrived in Upper Burma under Daza (Daša or Dāsa) Rāja. He occupied the old capital and married the widow of its last king. After sixteen generations of kings of the second dynasty had ruled, the kingdom of Tagaung was overrun by foreign invaders, who dethroned the king.

The elder son of this king had a miraculous escape and founded a new kingdom with his capital near modern Prome. His son Duttabaung founded the great city of Thare Khettara (Srikshetra) near by and made it his capital. Eighteen kings ruled after him till A.D. 84, when a civil war broke out. Of the three constituent tribes Pyu, Kanran and Mrarma, the first two fought for supremacy for eleven years. The Pyu having gained the contest by an artifice, the Kanran went off to Arakan. The Pyu themselves were shortly after defeated by the Moiṣ or Talaings of the south, and after wandering in various regions founded the city of Pagan and settled there. After this the chronicles do not mention the separate tribes and the name Mramma, from which is derived the modern name Burma, appears as the national designation for all the peoples.'

The Moiṣ or Talaings in the coastal districts of Lower Burma have their own traditions regarding the early history of their country. According to traditions current among the people of Pegu, Indian colonists from the lower courses of the rivers Krishna and
Godāvari had at a remote time crossed the sea and formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and on the adjoining coast. A long story is told to explain the origin of the kingdom of Sudhammavatī (Thaton) and the foundation of the kingdom of Hamsāvati (Pegu) by Śyāmala and Vimala, two sons of the king of Thaton.

There is no doubt about the historical character of the broad facts which emerge from a critical analysis of these legends, viz. the settlement of Indian colonists, in Arakan and Burma, among the Pyus, Mramma and Karens, who were branches of the same race, and the Moṅi or Talaings in the south who belonged to a different race; the foundation of the Hindu kingdoms of Arakan, Tagaung, Śrīkshetra, Thaton and Pegu; and destruction of the Hinduised Pyu kingdom of Śrīkshetra by the Moṅi or Talaings of Pegu leading to the foundation of the new kingdom of Pagan where the Hinduised Mrammas or the Burmans came to occupy the supreme place.

2. Ramañña-Desa

The Hinduised Moṅi in Lower Burma seem to have been politically the most powerful, and at the same time the most advanced in culture and civilization, among the peoples of Burma who came in contact with the Indian settlers. The Moṅi are also known as Talaings. It is generally held that this name originally denoted the Indian colonists who came from Telingana (the Telugu speaking region in India) and was ultimately applied to the entire population of the region dominated by them.

The Hinduised Moṅi settlements in Lower Burma were collectively known as Ramañña-desa. There are good grounds to believe that the kingdom of Dvāravatī, mentioned by Hsuan Tsang was also a Moṅi kingdom. It comprised the lower valley of the Menam river with its capital probably at Lavapuri (modern Lopburi). Several Moṅi inscriptions in arhaic characters, probably belonging to the eighth century A.D., and a Buddha image have been discovered in the ruins of this city. It may, therefore, be reasonably held that the Moṅi in Lower Burma had gradually spread their power and influence along the coast right up to the lower valley of the Menam. Further, if we may believe in the medieval Pāli chronicles, Indian culture was spread by the Moṅis to the more inaccessible regions in Northern Siam and Western Laos. Thus according to the two chronicles Chāmadēvīcīraṅga and the Jina-kilamalini, the Ṛṣi (ascetic) Vāsudeva founded the town of Haripuṇjaya (modern Lamphun and Chiang Mai in N. Siam) in A.D. 661. Two years later, on his invitation Chāmadēvī, daughter of the king of Lavapuri and the wife, pro-
bably a widow, of the king of Ramañña-nagara, came from her father's capital with a large number of followers and Buddhist teachers and was placed on the throne of Haripuñjaya. Her descendants ruled over the country and Buddhism spread over the surrounding region. Reference is made to an epidemic in the course of which the people of the kingdom fled to Lower Burma, whose people, we are told, 'spoke the same language'.

Whatever we may think of the precise date, the account of the foundation of Haripuñjaya may be accepted in its general features, and it shows the spread of Hinduised Moṅs in Siam. Accounts of other Hinduised kingdoms in Siam and Laos are found in local chronicles, written in both vernacular and Pāli. They give us a long list of royal names (mostly in Indian form) and describe their fight with the Mlechchhas (aborigines) and the foundation of Buddhist temples and monasteries. The general picture of Hindu culture and civilisation in them is fully confirmed by archaeological finds.

As has already been mentioned, all these Moṅ kingdoms in Siam and Laos were gradually included within the growing Kamboja empire by the middle of the tenth century A.D. But the rest of the Moṅ settlements, known as Ramaññadesa, comprising the whole of Lower Burma, Tavoy, Mergui and Tennasserim, was a very powerful kingdom at this time. It formed something like a federation of states such as Rāmāvatī, Hamsāvatī, Dvāravatī, Śrīkshetra, etc. The number of these states varied but was never less than seven, all acknowledging from time to time the suzerainty of one of them which grew more powerful than the others. It was a strong centre of Hindu civilization and contained a large number of famous colonies of Indians.

3. Śrīkshetra

To the north of the Moṅs lay the kingdom of the Hinduised Pyus with its capital at Śrīkshetra (modern Hmawza, near Prome). The earliest notices in Chinese chronicles, going back to the third century A.D., refer to the people of Burma as P'iao. This undoubtedly stands for Pyu, and shows the great antiquity and importance of the tribe which then occupied the valley of the Irawadi. The continued existence of the Pyus as a political power is proved by references in various Chinese texts. The Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsang refers to six kingdoms beyond the eastern frontier of India, of which he must have heard and gained information at Samataṭa (Lower Bengal). The first of these, Shi-li-cha-to-lo undoubtedly stands for Śrīkshetra. The third, fourth and fifth may be easily identified with Dvāravatī, Champā and Kamboja. If the names were written in geographical
order, the second, Ka-mo-long-ka (Kāmalanākā), may be identified with Ramaṇāndeśa. The name of Kāmbuja is written as Iśānapura derived from king Iśāna-varman who ruled only a few years before Hsiian Tsang visited Samataṭa. The account of Hsiian Tsang thus proves an intimate intercourse between Eastern India and these remote Indian colonies in the seventh century A.D.

Several old inscriptions, found amid the ruins of the old capital of the Pyus, give us some insight into its history and culture. A few may be noted below:

(1) An inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, composed in beautiful Sanskrit verses, interspersed with Pyu renderings of Sanskrit text. The script and the style of the image both resemble those of Eastern India of about the seventh century A.D. It appears from the record that the image of the Buddha was set up by king Jayachandra-varman at the instance of his guru (religious preceptor) for maintaining peace and good-will between the king and his younger brother Harivikrama. We are further told that king Jayachandra built two cities side by side.

(2) Seven inscriptions on five funeral urns, found at Payagi Pagoda, contain the names of three kings Harivikrama, Siha (Simha) Vikrama, and Suriya (Sūrya) Vikrama. The dates in these inscriptions have been interpreted to refer to the period between A.D. 673 and 718, but this is by no means certain. The inscriptions are written in Pyu language and archaic South-Indian alphabets which appear to belong to a much earlier period.

(3) The Pyu inscription on a stūpa gives the names or titles of donors as Sṛi Prabhuvarma and Sṛi Prabhudevī, and most probably these are the names of a king and his queen.

The foundation of the independent Hinduised Thai kingdom of Nan-chao about A.D. 730, proved a source of great danger to the Pyus. The frontier between the two states roughly corresponded with the present Sino-Burman frontier near Bhamo. The king of Nan-chao invaded the Pyu kingdom, and the Pyu king seems to have submitted to his powerful neighbour. The Pyu king also sent ambassadors to China in A.D. 802 and 807. It is presumably from them that the Chinese derived the information about the Pyus which we find in the History of the T’ang Dynasty. According to this account the Pyu kingdom, which was 500 miles from east to west and 700 or 800 miles from north to south comprised nearly the whole of Burma down to the sea. Their ruler was called Mahārāja and his chief minister Mahāsena. The capital city surrounded by a wall, 27 miles in circumference and faced with glazed bricks, contained over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with courts and rooms all decked with
gold and silver. A detailed account is given of the musical instru-
ments which are very similar to those which we find in India. The
number and variety of these instruments and the excellence of the
musical performance which was highly appreciated in the Chinese
court leave no doubt that the Hinduised Pyus had attained to a high
degree of civilisation.

This glorious Pyu civilisation seems to have vanished altogether,
without leaving any trace, some time after the ninth century A.D. In
A.D. 832 the king of Nan-chao defeated the Pyus and plundered their
capital. Some scholars are of the opinion that this brought about the
sudden end of the Pyu civilisation. But it seems that the Pyu king-
don survived this disaster, for it sent an embassy to China in A.D.
862. Little is known of the Pyu kingdom after this date. It is prob-
able that the Moiis conquered it for, as mentioned above,
Srikshtera is included among the federated Moi States in a Chinese
chronicle which describes the political condition prevailing about
A.D. 960.

4. Arakan

According to the chronicles of Arakan, its first Indian royal dynas-
ty was founded by the son of a king of Benares who fixed his capital
at the city of Rāmāvatī. Three more dynasties, connected with the
first through female, followed, and the capital was removed to Dhan-
yavatī which became the classical name of the whole country. In
A.D. 146, during the reign of a king called Chandra-Sūrya, was cast
the famous Buddha image called Mahāmuni which has been regarded
as the tutelary deity of Arakan throughout the historic period. In
A.D. 789 Maha-tain Chandra removed the capital to the new city of
Vaiśāli founded by him.

Whatever we might think of these legends, the existence of a long
line of kings with names ending in Chandra is proved by both coins
and inscriptions. An inscription engraved on a pillar in Shitthaung
temple at Mrohaung in Arakan gives an account of the Śrī-Dharma-
rājānuja-varasā, and furnishes a list of 19 kings of the dynasty with
the regnal period of each. Eight out of the twelve names, which
alone are legible, end in Chandra (such as Bālachandra', Deva/o,
Yajñā/o, Dīpa/o, Priti/o, Nitī/o, Narendra/o, and Ānanda/o). The other
four names are Mahāvira, Dharmasūra, Dharmavijaya and Narendra-
vijaya. Ānandachandra, who issued this inscription, is said to have
built many Buddhist temples and monasteries, set up beautiful images
of copper, constructed various dwellings for Āryaṅgha, and grant-
ed land with servants to fifty Brāhmaṇas. On palaeographic grounds,
the inscription may be referred to the tenth century A.D., and the 19
kings mentioned in it may be presumed to have ruled between A.D.
600 and 1000. Some of these names are also found on coins and it
is likely that the kings, known at present from their coins alone, such
as Dharmachandra and Virachandra, also belonged to the same family.

Anandachandra is described in his record as king of Tārmapattana
which was either the name of the kingdom or of the capital city. According to the chronicles, the capital was at Vaiśāli, ruins of
which exist in and near a village still called Vethali (Vesali), 8 miles
to the north-west of Mrohaung, the find-spot of the inscription. Re-
 mains of the city-walls, buildings and sculptures, scattered through the
surrounding jungles, haunted by tigers and leopards, indicate the wide
extent of the ancient city. Two short inscriptions of the seventh and
eighth century A.D. mark the antiquity of the site, and it is not un-
likely, as the chronicle says, that it was the seat of a powerful king-
dom about that time, if not during the whole period of the Dharmarājānuja-vamśa.

The sculptures discovered so far in Arakan are predominantly
Buddhist, but, there are Saiva and Vaishnava symbols as well
on the coins. It is probable that the kings and people were
mainly Buddhist though Brahmanical religion was also favoured.
This follows also from the inscription of king Ānandachandra, who
was evidently a Buddhist but granted lands to fifty Brāhmaṇas.

5. Siam

The archaeological finds, such as images of both Brahmanical and
Buddhist deities and remains of temples, dug up at Pra Pathom, and
Pong Tuk, 20 miles further to the west, clearly demonstrate the existence of Hindu colonies and the influence of Hindu culture and civil-
isation in Siam in the second century A.D., if not earlier still. A Sans-
krit inscription of the fourth century A.D., found near Pechaburi,
along with Saiva and Vaishnava sculptures, proves the continuity of
Hindu colonies.

The character of some of the Buddhist sculptures, which reflect the
most primitive ideas of Buddhism, forms, according to Coedés,
‘a very strong argument in favour of an early colonisation of South-
ern Siam by Indian Buddhists.’ ‘One is even induced,’ says he, ‘to
wonder whether that region with its many toponyms like Supan,
Kanburi, U. Thong, meaning “Golden Land,” has not a better claim
than Burma to represent Suvarṇabhūmi, the “Golden Land,” where
according to Pāli scriptures and ancient traditions, Buddhist teach-
ing spread very early.’
But none of the Hindu colonies in Siam grew to be a powerful kingdom. The major part of Siam was subject to Fun-nan. After the fall of that kingdom flourished the Mon State of Dvāravatī mentioned earlier. It sent embassies to China in A.D. 638 and 649, and probably comprised the whole of Lower Siam from the borders of Cambodia to the Bay of Bengal. As noted above, this and many other small Hinduised states that flourished in N. Siam and Laos were all subjugated by Kambuja by the middle of the tenth century A.D. The Kambuja supremacy which was gradually established all over Siam continued till the advent of the Thais in the thirteenth century A.D.

These Thais themselves, however, had come under the influence of Hindu culture long before they conquered Siam. They are a Mongolian tribe and are generally believed to be ethnically related to the Chinese. From their original home in the southern part of China, the Thais migrated to the south and west and peopled nearly the whole of the Uplands of Indo-China to the east of Burma and north of Siam and Cambodia. Among the various principalities set up by them, the two most important were situated in what is now called Tonkin and Yunnan. In the former the Annamites, a branch of the Thais, were subjugated to China for a long period and adopted Chinese culture. But they regained their independence in the tenth century A.D. and gradually established a powerful kingdom which comprised not only Tonkin, but also the northern part of the province now called after them Annam. This kingdom has been referred to in connection with the history of Champā.

The Thai kingdom in Yunnan, though occasionally defeated and subjugated by the Chinese, obtained complete independence in the seventh century A.D. and soon grew very powerful. This kingdom is referred to as Nan-chao by the Chinese, but it is called Videharājya and its capital is named Mithilā in the native chronicles. It was brought under the cultural influence of India, either directly by the Indian colonists, or indirectly through the Hinduised states in Burma.