CHAPTER XXXIV

EXPANSION OF INDIAN INFLUENCE

INTRODUCTORY

The subject of this Book is the expansion of Indian influence throughout Eastern Asia and the neighbouring islands. That influence is clear and wide-spread, nay almost universal, and it is with justice that we speak of Further India and the Dutch call their colonies Neerland Indië. For some early chapters in the story of this expansion the dates and details are meagre, but on the whole the investigator’s chief difficulty is to grasp and marshal the mass of facts relating to the development of religion and civilization in this great region.

The spread of Hindu thought was an intellectual conquest, not an exchange of ideas. On the north-western frontier there was some reciprocity, but otherwise the part played by India was consistently active and not receptive. The Far East counted for nothing in her internal history, doubtless because China was too distant and the other countries had no special culture of their own. Still it is remarkable that whereas many Hindu missionaries preached Buddhism in China, the idea of making Confucianism known in India seems never to have entered the head of any Chinese.

It is correct to say that the sphere of India’s intellectual conquests was the East and North, not the West, but still Buddhism spread considerably to the west of its original home and entered Persia. Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in “the terminal marshes of the Helmund” in Seistan and Bamian is a good distance from our frontier. But in Persia and its border lands there were powerful state religions, first Zoroastrianism and then Islam, which disliked and hindered the importation of foreign creeds and though we may see some resemblance between sufis and Vedantists, it does not appear that the Muslim civilization of Iran owed much to Hinduism.

But in all Asia north and east of India, excluding most of Siberia but including the Malay Archipelago, Indian influence is obvious. Though primarily connected with religion it includes much more, such as architecture, painting and other arts, an Indian alphabet, a vocabulary of Indian words borrowed or translated, legends and customs. The whole life of such diverse countries as Tibet, Burma, and Java would have been different had they had no connection with India.

In these and many other regions the Hindus must have found a low state of civilization, but in the Far East they encountered a culture comparable with their own. There was no question of colonizing or civilizing rude races. India and China met as equals, not hostile but also not congenial, a priest and a statesman, and the statesman made large concessions to the priest. Buddhism produced a great fermentation and controversy in Chinese thought, but though its fortunes varied it hardly ever became as in Burma and Ceylon the national religion. It was, as a Chinese Emperor once said, one of the two wings of a bird. The Chinese characters did not give way to an Indian alphabet nor did the Confucian Classics fall into desuetude. The subjects of Chinese and Japanese pictures may be Buddhist, the plan and ornaments of their temples Indian, yet judged as works of art the pictures and temples are indigenous. But for all that one has only to compare the China of the Hans with the China of the T’angs to see how great was the change wrought by India.

This outgrowing of Indian influence, so long continued and so wide in extent, was naturally not the result of any one impulse. At no time can we see in India any passion of discovery, any fever of conquest such as possessed Europe when the New World and the route to the East round the Cape were discovered. India’s expansion was slow, generally peaceful and attracted little attention at home. Partly it was due to the natural permeation and infiltration of a superior culture beyond its own borders, but it is equally natural that this gradual process should have been sometimes accelerated by force of arms. The Hindus produced no Tamerlanes or Babers, but a series of expeditions, spread over long ages, but still not few in number, carried them to such distant goals as Ceylon, Java and Camboja.
But the diffusion of Indian influence, especially in China, was also due to another agency, namely religious propaganda and the deliberate despatch of missions. These missions seem to have been exclusively Buddhist for wherever we find records of Hinduism outside India, for instance in Java and Camboja, the presence of Hindu conquerors or colonists is also recorded\(^1\). Hinduism accompanied Hindus and sometimes spread round their settlements, but it never attempted to convert distant and alien lands. But the Buddhists had from the beginning the true evangelistic temper: they preached to all the world and in singleness of purpose: they had no political support from India. Many as were the charges brought against them by hostile Confucians, it was never suggested that they sought political or commercial privileges for their native land. It was this simple disinterested attitude which enabled Buddhism, though in many ways antipathetic to the Far East, to win its confidence.

Ceylon is the first place where we have a record of the introduction of Indian civilization and its entry there illustrates all the phenomena mentioned above, infiltration, colonization and propaganda. The island is close to the continent and communication with the Tamil country easy, but though there has long been a large Tamil population with its own language, religion and temples, the fundamental civilization is not Tamil. A Hindu called Vijaya who apparently started from the region of Broach about 500 B.C. led an expedition to Ceylon and introduced a western Hindu language. Intercourse with the north was doubtless maintained, for in the reign of Asoka we find the King of Ceylon making overtures to him and receiving with enthusiasm the missionaries whom he sent. It is possible that southern India played a greater part in this conversion than the accepted legend indicates, for we hear of a monastery built by Mahinda near Tanjore\(^2\). But still language, monuments and tradition attest the reality of the connection with northern India.

It is in Asoka's reign too that we first hear of Indian influence spreading northwards. His Empire included Nepal and Kashmir,

---

\(^1\) The presence of Brahmans at the Courts of Burma and Siam is a different matter. They were expressly invited as more skilled in astrology and state ceremonies than Buddhists.

\(^2\) Watters, *Yüan Chuang*, vol. II. p. 228.
he sent missionaries to the region of Himavanta, meaning apparently the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and to the Kambojas, an ambiguous race who were perhaps the inhabitants of Tibet or its border lands. The Hindu Kush seems to have been the limit of his dominions but tradition ascribes to this period the joint colonization of Khotan from India and China.

Sinhalese and Burmese traditions also credit him with the despatch of missionaries who converted Suvarṇabhūmi or Pegu. No mention of this has been found in his own inscriptions, and European critics have treated it with not unnatural scepticism for there is little indication that Asoka paid much attention to the eastern frontiers of his Empire. Still I think the question should be regarded as being sub judice rather than as answered in the negative.

Indian expeditions to the East probably commenced, if not in the reign of Asoka, at least before our era. The Chinese Annals\(^1\) state that Indian Embassies reached China by sea about 50 B.C. and the Questions of Milinda allude to trade by this route: the Ramayana mentions Java and an inscription seems to testify that a Hindu king was reigning in Champa (Annam) about 150 A.D. These dates are not so precise as one could wish, but if there was a Hindu kingdom in that distant region in the second century it was probably preceded by settlements in nearer halting places, such as the Isthmus of Kra\(^2\) or Java, at a considerably anterior date, although the inscriptions discovered there are not earlier than the fifth century A.D.

Java seems to have left some trace in Indian tradition, for instance the proverb that those who go to Java do not come back, and it may have been an early distributing centre for men and merchandize in those seas. But Ligor probably marks a still earlier halting place. It is on the same coast as the Mon kingdom of Thaton, which had connection with Conjevaram by sea and was a centre of Pali Buddhism. At any rate there was a movement of conquest and colonization in these regions which brought with it Hinduism and Mahayanism, and established Hindu kingdoms in Java, Camboja, Champa and Borneo, and another movement of Hinayanist propaganda, apparently

---

\(^1\) But not contemporary Annals. The Liang Annals make the statement about the reign of Hsüan Li 73-49 B.C.

\(^2\) Especially at Ligor or Dharmaraja.
earlier, but of which we know less. Though these expeditions both secular and religious probably took ship on the east coast of India, e.g. at Masulipatam or the Seven Pagodas, yet their original starting point may have been in the west, such as the district of Badami or even Gujarat, for there were trade routes across the Indian Peninsula at an early date.

It is curious that the early history of Burma should be so obscure and in order not to repeat details and hypotheses I refer the reader to the chapter dealing specially with this country. From an early epoch Upper Burma had connection with China and Bengal by land and Lower Burma with Orissa and Conjevaram by sea. We know too that Pali Buddhism existed there in the sixth century, that it gained greatly in power in the reign of Anawrata (c. 1060) and that in subsequent centuries there was a close ecclesiastical connection with Ceylon.

Siam as a kingdom is relatively modern but like Burma it has been subject to several influences. The Siamese probably brought some form of Buddhism with them when they descended from the north to their present territories. From the Cambojans, their neighbours and at one time their suzerains, they must have acquired some Hinduism and Mahayanaism, but they ended by adopting Hinayanism. The source was probably Pegu but learned men from Ligor were also welcomed and the ecclesiastical pre-eminence of Ceylon was accepted.

We thus see how Indian influence conquered Further India and the Malay Archipelago and we must now trace its flow across Central Asia to China and Japan, as well as the separate and later stream which irrigated Tibet and Mongolia.

Tradition as mentioned ascribes to Asoka some connection with Khotan and it is probable that by the beginning of our era the lands of the Oxus and Tarim had become Buddhist and acquired a mixed civilization in which the Indian factor was large. As usual it is difficult to give precise dates, but Buddhism probably reached China by land a little before rather than after our era and the prevalence of Gandharan art in the cities of the Tarim basin makes it likely that their efflorescence was not far removed in time from the Gandharan epoch of India.

---

1 The statement of I-Ching that a wicked king destroyed Buddhism in Funan is important.

The discovery near Khotan of official documents written in Prakrit makes colonization as well as religious missions probable. Further, although the movements of Central Asian tribes commonly took the form of invading India, yet the current of culture was, on the whole, in the opposite direction. The Kushans and others brought with them a certain amount of Zoroastrian theology and Hellenistic art, but the compound resulting from the mixture of these elements with Buddhism was re-exported to the north and to China.

I shall discuss below the grounds for believing that Buddhism was known in China before A.D. 62, the date when the Emperor Ming Ti is said to have despatched a mission to enquire about it. For some time many of its chief luminaries were immigrants from Central Asia and it made its most rapid progress in that disturbed period of the third and fourth centuries when North China was split up into contending Tartar states which both in race and politics were closely connected with Central Asia. Communication with India by land became frequent and there was also communication via the Malay Archipelago, especially after the fifth century, when a double stream of Buddhist teachers began to pour into China by sea as well as by land. A third tributary joined them later when Khubilai, the Mongol conqueror of China, made Lamaism, or Tibetan Buddhism, the state religion.

Tibetan Buddhism is a form of late Indian Mahayanism with a considerable admixture of Hinduism, exported from Bengal to Tibet and there modified not so much in doctrine as by the creation of a powerful hierarchy, curiously analogous to the Roman Church. It is unknown in southern China and not much favoured by the educated classes in the north, but the Lamaist priesthood enjoys great authority in Tibet and Mongolia, and both the Ming and Ch’ing dynasties did their best to conciliate it for political reasons. Lamaism has borrowed little from China and must be regarded as an invasion into northern Asia and even Europe\(^1\) of late Indian religion and art, somewhat modified by the strong idiosyncrasy of the Tibetan people. This northern movement was started by the desire of imitation, not of conquest. At the beginning of the seventh century the King

---

\(^1\) There are settlements of Kalmuks near Astrakhan who have Lama temples and maintain a connection with Tibet.
of Tibet, who had dealings with both India and China, sent a mission to the former to enquire about Buddhism and in the eighth and eleventh centuries eminent doctors were summoned from India to establish the faith and then to restore it after a temporary eclipse.

In Korea, Annam, and especially in Japan, Buddhism has been a great ethical, religious and artistic force and in this sense those countries owe much to India. Yet there was little direct communication and what they received came to them almost entirely through China. The ancient Champa was a Hindu kingdom analogous to Camboja, but modern Annam represents not a continuation of this civilization but a later descent of Chinese culture from the north. Japan was in close touch with the Chinese just at the period when Buddhism was fermenting their whole intellectual life and Japanese thought and art grew up in the glow of this new inspiration, which was more intense than in China because there was no native antagonist of the same strength as Confucianism.

In the following chapters I propose to discuss the history of Indian influence in the various countries of Eastern Asia, taking Ceylon first, followed by Burma and Siam. Whatever may have been the origin of Buddhism in these two latter they have had for many centuries a close ecclesiastical connection with Ceylon. Pali Buddhism prevails in all, as well as in modern Camboja.

The Indian religion which prevailed in ancient Camboja was however of a different type and similar to that of Champa and Java. In treating of these Hindu kingdoms I have wondered whether I should not begin with Java and adopt the hypothesis that the settlements established there sent expeditions to the mainland and Borneo. But the history of Java is curiously fragmentary whereas the copious inscriptions of Camboja and Champa combined with Chinese notices give a fairly continuous chronicle. And a glance at the map will show that if there were Hindu colonists at Ligor it would have been much easier for

\[1\] The existence of a Hindu kingdom on the East Coast of Borneo in 400 A.D. or earlier is a strong argument in favour of colonization from Java. Expeditions from any other quarter would naturally have gone to the West Coast. Also there is some knowledge of Java in India, but apparently none of Camboja or Champa. This suggests that Java may have been the first halting place and kept up some slight connection with the mother country.
them to go across the Gulf of Siam to Camboja than via Java. I have therefore not adopted the hypothesis of expansion from Java (while also not rejecting it) nor followed any chronological method but have treated of Camboja first, as being the Hindu state of which on the whole we know most and then of Champa and Java in comparison with it.

In the later sections of the book I consider the expansion of Indian influence in the north. A chapter on Central Asia endeavours to summarize our rapidly increasing knowledge of this meeting place of nations. Its history is closely connected with China and naturally leads me to a somewhat extended review of the fortunes and achievements of Buddhism in that great land, and also to a special study of Tibet and of Lamaism. I have treated of Nepal elsewhere. For the history of religion it is not a new province, but simply the extreme north of the Indian region where the last phase of decadent Indian Buddhism which practically disappeared in Bengal still retains a nominal existence.
CHAPTER XXXV

CEYLON

1

The island of Ceylon, perhaps the most beautiful tropical country in the world, lies near the end of the Indian peninsula but a little to the east. At one point a chain of smaller islands and rocks said to have been built by Rama as a passage for his army of monkeys leads to the mainland. It is therefore natural that the population should have relations with southern India. Sinhalese art, religion and language show traces of Tamil influence but it is somewhat surprising to find that in these and in all departments of civilization the influence of northern India is stronger. The traditions which explain the connection of Ceylon with this distant region seem credible and the Sinhalese, who were often at war with the Tamils, were not disposed to imitate their usages, although juxtaposition and invasion brought about much involuntary resemblance.

The school of Buddhism now professed in Ceylon, Burma and Siam is often called Sinhalese and (provided it is not implied that its doctrines originated in Ceylon) the epithet is correct. For the school ceased to exist in India and in the middle ages both Burma and Siam accepted the authority of the Sinhalese Sangha¹. This Sinhalese school seems to be founded on the doctrines and scriptures accepted in the time of Asoka in Magadha and though the faith may have been codified and supplemented in its new home, I see no evidence that it underwent much corruption or even development. One is inclined at first to think that the Hindus, having a continuous living tradition connecting them with Gotama who was himself a Hindu, were more likely than these distant islanders to preserve the spirit of his teaching. But there is another side to

¹ E.g. Burma in the reign of Anawrata and later in the time of Chapata about 1200, and Siam in the time of Sûryavamsa Râma, 1361. On the other hand in 1752 the Sinhalese succession was validated by obtaining monks from Burma.
the question. The Hindus being addicted to theological and metaphysical studies produced original thinkers who, if not able to found new religions, at least modified what their predecessors had laid down. If certain old texts were held in too high esteem to be neglected, the ingenuity of the commentator rarely failed to reinterpret them as favourable to the views popular in his time. But the Sinhalese had not this passion for theology. So far as we can judge of them in earlier periods they were endowed with an amiable and receptive but somewhat indolent temperament, moderate gifts in art and literature and a moderate love and understanding of theology. Also their chiefs claimed to have come from northern India and were inclined to accept favourably anything which had the same origin. These are exactly the surroundings in which a religion can flourish without change for many centuries and Buddhism in Ceylon acquired stability because it also acquired a certain national and patriotic flavour: it was the faith of the Sinhalese and not of the invading Tamils. Such Sinhalese kings as had the power protected the Church and erected magnificent buildings for its service.

If Sinhalese tradition may be believed, the first historical contact with northern India was the expedition of Vijaya, who with 700 followers settled in the island about the time of the Buddha's death. Many details of the story are obviously invented. Thus in order to explain why Ceylon is called Sinhala, Vijaya is made the grandson of an Indian princess who lived with a lion. But though these legends inspire mistrust, it is a fact that the language of Ceylon in its earliest known form is a dialect closely connected with Pali (or rather with the spoken dialect from which ecclesiastical Pali was derived) and still more closely with the Mahārāṣhtra Prakrit of western India. It is not however a derivative of this Prakrit but parallel to it and in some words presents older forms¹. It does not seem possible to ascribe the introduction of this language to the later mission of Mahinda, for, though Buddhist monks have in many countries influenced literature and the literary vocabulary, no instance is recorded of their changing the popular speech². But Vijaya is said to have conquered Ceylon and to have slaughtered many

¹ Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 91.
² Compare the history of Khotan. The first Indian colonists seem to have introduced a Prakrit dialect. Buddhism and Sanskrit came afterwards.
of its ancient inhabitants, called Yakkhas\textsuperscript{1}, of whom we know little except that Sinhalese contains some un-Aryan words probably borrowed from them. According to the Dipavamsa\textsuperscript{2}, Vijaya started from Bharukaccha or Broach and both language and such historical facts as we know confirm the tradition that some time before the third century B.C. Ceylon was conquered by Indian immigrants from the west coast.

It would not be unreasonable to suppose that Vijaya introduced into Ceylon the elements of Buddhism, but there is little evidence to indicate that it was a conspicuous form of religion in India in his time. Sinhalese tradition maintains that not only Gotama himself but also the three preceding Buddhas were miraculously transported to Ceylon and made arrangements for its conversion. Gotama is said to have paid no less than three visits\textsuperscript{3}: all are obviously impossible and were invented to enhance the glory of the island. But the legends which relate how Paṇḍuvāsudeva came from India to succeed Vijaya, how he subsequently had a Sakya princess brought over from India to be his wife and how her brothers established cities in Ceylon\textsuperscript{4}, if not true in detail, are probably true in spirit so far as they imply that the Sinhalese kept up intercourse with India and were familiar with the principal forms of Indian religion. Thus we are told\textsuperscript{5} that King Paṇḍukabhaya built religious edifices for Nigaṇṭhas (Jains), Brahmans, Paribbājakas (possibly Buddhists) and Ājivikas. When Devanampiya Tissa ascended the throne (circ. 245 B.C.) he sent a complimentary mission bearing wonderful treasures to Asoka with whom he was on friendly terms, although they had never met. This implies that the kingdom of Magadha was known and respected in Ceylon, and we hear that the mission included a Brahman. The answer attributed to Asoka will surprise no one acquainted with the inscriptions of that pious monarch. He said that he had taken

\textsuperscript{1} Literally demons, that is wild unoanny men. I refrain from discussing the origin and ethnological position of the Vaeddas for it hardly affects the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. For Vijaya's conquests see Mahāvamsa vii.

\textsuperscript{2} ix. 26.

\textsuperscript{3} Dipavamsa i. 15-31, ii. 1-69. Mahāvamsa i. 19-83. The legend that the Buddha visited Ceylon and left his footprint on Adam's peak is at least as old as Buddhaghosa. See Samanta-pāsādikā in Oldenberg's Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. iii. p. 332 and the quotations in Skeen's Adam's Peak, p. 50.


\textsuperscript{5} Mahāvamsa x. 96, 102.
refuge in the law of Buddha and advised the King of Ceylon to
find salvation in the same way. He also sent magnificent
presents consisting chiefly of royal insignia and Tissa was
crowned for the second time, which probably means that he
became not only the disciple but the vassal of Asoka.

In any case the records declare that the Indian Emperor
showed the greatest solicitude for the spiritual welfare of Ceylon
and, though they are obviously embellished, there is no reason
to doubt their substantial accuracy. The Sinhalese tradition
agrees on the whole with the data supplied by Indian inscrip-
tions and Chinese pilgrims. The names of missionaries mentioned
in the Dipa and Mahâvamsas recur on urns found at Sanchi
and on its gateways are pictures in relief which appear to
represent the transfer of a branch of the Bo-tree in solemn pro-
cession to some destination which, though unnamed, may be
conjectured to be Ceylon. The absence of Mahinda's name in
Asoka's inscriptions is certainly suspicious, but the Sinhalese
chronicles give the names of other missionaries correctly and
a mere argumentum ex silentio cannot disprove their testimony
on this important point.

The principal repositories of Sinhalese tradition are the
Dipavamsa, the Mahâvamsa, and the historical preface of
Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pâsadikâ. All later works are founded
on these three, so far as concerns the conversion of Ceylon and
the immediately subsequent period, and the three works appear
to be rearrangements of a single source known as the Aṭṭhakathâ,
Sihalaṭṭhakathâ, or the words of the Porâna (ancients). These
names were given to commentaries on the Tipiṭaka written in
Sinhalese prose interspersed with Pali verse and several of the
greater monasteries had their own editions of them, including
a definite historical section. It is probable that at the beginning
of the fifth century A.D. and perhaps in the fourth century the
old Sinhalese in which the prose parts of the Aṭṭhakathâ were

---

1 For the credibility of the Sinhalese traditions see Geiger intr. to translation
of Mahâvamsa 1912 and Norman in J.R.A.S. 1908, pp. 1 ff. and on the other side
2 Grünwedel, Buddhist art in India, pp. 69-72. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 302.
3 The Jātaka-nidâna-kathâ is also closely allied to these works in those parts
where the subject matter is the same.
4 This section was probably called Mahâvamsa in a general sense long before
the name was specially applied to the work which now bears it.
written was growing unintelligible, and that it was becoming more and more the fashion to use Pali as the language of ecclesiastical literature, for at least three writers set themselves to turn part of the traditions not into the vernacular but into Pali. The earliest and least artistic is the unknown author of the short chronicle called Dipavamsa, who wrote between 302 A.D. and 430 A.D.\(^1\) His work is weak both as a specimen of Pali and as a narrative and he probably did little but patch together the Pali verses occurring from time to time in the Sinhalese prose of the Atthakathā. Somewhat later, towards the end of the fifth century, a certain Mahānāma arranged the materials out of which the Dipavamsa had been formed in a more consecutive and artistic form, combining ecclesiastical and popular legends\(^2\). His work, known as the Mahāvamsa, does not end with the reign of Elāra, like the Dipavamsa, but describes in 15 more chapters the exploits of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his successors ending with Mahāsena\(^3\). The third writer, Buddhaghosa, apparently lived between the authors of the two chronicles. His voluminous literary activity will demand our attention later but so far as history is concerned his narrative is closely parallel to the Mahāvamsa\(^4\).

The historical narrative is similar in all three works. After the Council of Pataliputra, Moggaliputta, who had presided over it, came to the conclusion that the time had come to despatch missionaries to convert foreign countries. Sinhalese tradition represents this decision as emanating from Moggaliputta whereas the inscriptions of Asoka imply that the king himself initiated the momentous project. But the difference is small. We cannot now tell to whom the great idea first occurred but it must have been carried out by the clergy with the assistance of Asoka, the apostle selected for Ceylon was his\(^5\)

---

\(^1\) See introduction to Oldenburg’s edition, pp. 8, 9.

\(^2\) Perhaps this is alluded to at the beginning of the Mahāvamsa itself, “The book made by the ancients (porvānehi kato) was in some places too diffuse and in others too condensed and contained many repetitions.”

\(^3\) The Mahāvamsa was continued by later writers and brought down to about 1780 A.D.

\(^4\) The Mahāvamsatikā, a commentary written between 1000 and 1250 A.D., has also some independent value because the old Atṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa was still extant and used by the writer.

\(^5\) Son according to the Sinhalese sources but according to Hsuan Chuang and others, younger brother. In favour of the latter it may be said that the younger brothers of kings often became monks in order to avoid political complications.
near relative Mahinda who according to the traditions of the Sinhalese made his way to their island through the air with six companions. The account of Hsüan Chuang hints at a less miraculous mode of progression for he speaks of a monastery built by Mahinda somewhere near Tanjore.

The legend tells how Mahinda and his following alighted on the Missaka mountain\(^1\) whither King Devānampiya Tissa had gone in the course of a hunt. The monks and the royal cortège met: Mahinda, after testing the king’s intellectual capacity by some curious dialectical puzzles, had no difficulty in converting him\(^2\). Next morning he proceeded to Anuradhapura and was received with all honour and enthusiasm. He preached first in the palace and then to enthusiastic audiences of the general public. In these discourses he dwelt chiefly on the terrible punishment awaiting sinners in future existences\(^3\).

We need not follow in detail the picturesque account of the rapid conversion of the capital. The king made over to the Church the Mahâmegha garden and proceeded to construct a series of religious edifices in Anuradhapura and its neighbourhood. The catalogue of them is given in the Mahâvamsa\(^4\) and the most important was the Mahâvihâra monastery, which became specially famous and influential in the history of Buddhism. It was situated in the Mahâmegha garden close to the Bo-tree and was regarded as the citadel of orthodoxy. Its subsequent conflicts with the later Abhayagiri monastery are the chief theme of Sinhalese ecclesiastical history and our version of the Pali Piṭakas is the one which received its imprimatur.

Tissa is represented as having sent two further missions to India. The first went in quest of relics and made its way not only to Pataliputra but to the court of Indra, king of the gods, and the relics obtained, of which the principal was the Buddha’s alms-bowl\(^5\), were deposited in Anuradhapura. The king then built the Thuparâma dagoba over them and there is no reason

---

\(^1\) The modern Mahintale.

\(^2\) The Mahâvamsa implies that he had already some acquaintance with Buddhism. It represents him as knowing that monks do not eat in the afternoon and as suggesting that it would be better to ordain the layman Bhandu.

\(^3\) The chronicles give with some slight divergences the names of the texts on which his preaching was based. It is doubtless meant that he recited the Sutta with a running exposition.

\(^4\) Mahâvamsa. xx. 17.

\(^5\) Many other places claimed to possess this relic.
to doubt that the building which now bears this name is genuine. The story may therefore be true to the extent that relics were brought from India at this early period.

The second mission was despatched to bring a branch of the tree\(^1\) under which the Buddha had sat when he obtained enlightenment. This narrative\(^2\) is perhaps based on a more solid substratum of fact. The chronicles connect the event with the desire of the Princess Anulâ to become a nun. Women could receive ordination only from ordained nuns and as these were not to be found on the island it was decided to ask Asoka to send a branch of the sacred tree and also Mahinda’s sister Sanghamittâ, a religieuse of eminence. The mission was successful. A branch from the Bo-tree was detached, conveyed by Asoka to the coast with much ceremony and received in Ceylon by Tissa with equal respect. The princess accompanied it. The Bo-tree was planted in the Meghavana garden. It may still be seen and attracts pilgrims not only from Ceylon but from Burma and Siam. Unlike the buildings of Anuradhapura it has never been entirely neglected and it is clear that it has been venerated as the Bo-tree from an early period of Sinhalese history. Botanists consider its long life, though remarkable, not impossible since trees of this species throw up fresh shoots from the roots near the parent stem. The sculptures at Sanchi represent a branch of a sacred tree being carried in procession, though no inscription attests its destination, and Fa-Hsien says that he saw the tree\(^3\). The author of the first part of the Mahâvamsa clearly regards it as already ancient, and throughout the history of Ceylon there are references to the construction of railings and terraces to protect it.

Devânampiya Tissa probably died in 207 B.C. In 177 the kingdom passed into the hands of Tamil monarchs who were not Buddhists, although the chroniclers praise their justice and the respect which they showed to the Church. The most important of them, Elâra, reigned for forty-four years and was dethroned by a descendant of Tissa, called Duṭṭha-gâmaṇî\(^4\).

---

1 Of course the antiquity of the Sinhalese Bo-tree is a different question from the identity of the parent tree with the tree under which the Buddha sat.

2 Mahâvams. xviii.; Dipavâma. xv. and xvi.

3 But he says nothing about Mahinda or Sanghamittâ and does not support the Mahâvamsa in details.

4 Duṭṭha, meaning bad, angry or violent, apparently refers to the ferocity shown in his struggle with the Tamils.
The exploits of this prince are recorded at such length in the Mahāvamsa (XXII.–XXXII.) as to suggest that they formed the subject of a separate popular epic, in which he figured as the champion of Sinhalese against the Tamils, and therefore as a devout Buddhist. On ascending the throne he felt, like Asoka, remorse for the bloodshed which had attended his early life and strove to atone for it by good works, especially the construction of sacred edifices. The most important of these were the Lohapasāda or Copper Palace and the Mahāthūpa or Ruwanweli Dagoba. The former¹ was a monastery roofed or covered with copper plates. Its numerous rooms were richly decorated and it consisted of nine storeys, of which the four uppermost were set apart for Arhats, and the lower assigned to the inferior grades of monks. Perhaps the nine storeys are an exaggeration: at any rate the building suffered from fire and underwent numerous reconstructions and modifications. King Mahāsena (301 A.D.) destroyed it and then repenting of his errors rebuilt it, but the ruins now representing it at Anuradhapura, which consist of stone pillars only, date from the reign of Parâkrama Bâhu I (about A.D. 1150). The immense pile known as the Ruwanweli Dagoba, though often injured by invaders in search of treasure, still exists. The somewhat dilapidated exterior is merely an outer shell, enclosing a smaller dagoba². This is possibly the structure erected by Duṭṭhadāmanī, though tradition says that there is a still smaller edifice inside. The foundation and building of the original structure are related at great length³. Crowds of distinguished monks came to see the first stone laid, even from Kashmir and Alasanda. Some have identified the latter name with Alexandria in Egypt, but it probably denotes a Greek city on the Indus⁴. But in any case tradition represents Buddhists from all parts of India as taking part in the ceremony and thus recognizing the unity of Indian and Sinhalese Buddhism.

¹ Dipavamsa xix. 1. Mahāvamsa xxvii. 1–48. See Fergusson, Hist. Ind. Architecture, 1910, pp. 236, 246. I find it hard to picture such a building raised on pillars. Perhaps it was something like the Sat-mahal-prasāda at Pollanarua.
² Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 282. The restoration of the Ruwanweli Dagoba was undertaken by Buddhists in 1873.
³ Mahāvamsa xxviii.–xxx. Duṭṭhadāmanī died before it was finished.
⁴ Mahāvamsa xxix. 37. Yonanāgāralasanda. The town is also mentioned as situated on an Island in the Indus: Mil. Pan. iii. 7. 4.
Of great importance for the history of the Sinhalese Church is the reign of Vaṭṭagâmanî Abhaya who after being dethroned by Tamils recovered his kingdom and reigned for twelve years. He built a new monastery and dagoba known as Abhayagiri, which soon became the enemy of the Mahâvihâra and heterodox, if the latter is to be considered orthodox. The account of the schism given in the Mahâvamsa is obscure, but the dispute resulted in the Piṭakas, which had hitherto been preserved orally, being committed to writing. The council which defined and edited the scriptures was not attended by all the monasteries of Ceylon, but only by the monks of the Mahâvihâra, and the text which they wrote down was their special version and not universally accepted. It included the Parivâra, which was apparently a recent manual composed in Ceyl. The Mahâvamsa says no more about this schism, but the Nikâya-Sangrahâwa says that the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery now embraced the doctrines of the Vajjiputta school (one of the seventeen branches of the Mahâsanghikas) which was known in Ceylon as the Dhammaruci school from an eminent teacher of that name. Many pious kings followed who built or repaired sacred edifices and Buddhism evidently flourished, but we also hear of heresy. In the third century A.D. King Voharaka Tissa suppressed the Vetulyas. This sect was connected with the Abhayagiri monastery, but, though it lasted until the twelfth century, I have found no Sinhalese account of its tenets. It is represented as the worst of heresies, which was suppressed by

---
1 According to the common reckoning B.C. 88-76: according to Geiger B.C. 29-17. It seems probable that in the early dates of Sinhalese history there is an error of about 62 years. See Geiger, Trans. Mahâvamsa, pp. xxx ff. and Fleet, J.R.A.S. 1909, pp. 323-356.
2 For the site see Parker's Ancient Ceylon, pp. 299 ff. The Mahâvamsa (xxxii. 79 and x. 98-100) says it was built on the site of an ancient Jain establishment and Kern thinks that this tradition hints at circumstances which account for the heretical and contentious spirit of the Abhaya monks.
3 Mahâv. xxxii. 100-104. See too the Tiṅkâ quote by Turnour in his introduction, p. iii.
4 A work on ecclesiastical history written about 1395. Ed. and Trans. Colombo Record Office.
5 The probable error in Sinhalese dates mentioned in a previous note continues till the twelfth century A.D. though gradually decreasing. For the early centuries of the Christian era it is probable that the accepted dates should be put half a century later.
6 Mahâvamsa xxxvi. 41. Vetulyavâdam madditvâ. According to the Nikâya Sang. he burnt their Piṭaka.
all orthodox kings but again and again revived, or was reintroduced from India. Though it always found a footing at the Abhayagiri it was not officially recognized as the creed of that Monastery which since the time of Vaṭṭagâmanî seems to have professed the relatively orthodox doctrine called Dhammaruci.

Mention is made in the Kathâ-vatthu of heretics who held that the Buddha remained in the Tusita heaven and that the law was preached on earth not by him but by Ânanda and the commentary¹ ascribes these views to the Vetulyakas. The reticence of the Sinhalese chronicles makes it doubtful whether the Vetulyakas of Ceylon and these heretics are identical but probably the monks of the Abhayagiri, if not strictly speaking Mahayanist, were an off-shoot of an ancient sect which contained some germs of the Mahayana. Hsüan Chuang in his narrative² states (probably from hearsay) that the monks of the Mahâvihâra were Hinayanists but that both vehicles were studied at the Abhayagiri. I-Ching on the contrary says expressly that all the Sinhalese belonged to the Âryasthavira Nikâya. Fa-Hsien describes the Buddhism of Ceylon as he saw it about 412 A.D., but does not apply to it the terms Hina or Mahayana. He evidently regarded the Abhayagiri as the principal religious centre and says it had 5000 monks as against 3000 in the Mahâvihâra, but though he dwells on the gorgeous ceremonial, the veneration of the sacred tooth, the representations of Gotama’s previous lives, and the images of Maitreya, he does not allude to the worship of Avalokita and Mañjusri or to anything that can be called definitely Mahayanist. He describes a florid and somewhat superstitious worship which may have tended to regard the Buddha as superhuman, but the relics of Gotama’s body were its chief visible symbols and we have no ground for assuming that such teaching as is found in the Lotus sūtra was its theological basis. Yet we may legitimately suspect that the traditions of the Abhayagiri remount to early prototypes of that teaching.

In the second and third centuries the Court seems to have favoured the Mahâvihâra and King Goṭhâbhaya banished

monks belonging to the Vetulya sect\(^1\), but in spite of this a monk of the Abhayagiri named Sanghamitta obtained his confidence and that of his son, Mahāsena, who occupied the throne from 275 to 302 A.D. The Mahāvihāra was destroyed and its occupants persecuted at Sanghamitta's instigation but he was murdered and after his death the great Monastery was rebuilt. The triumph however was not complete for Mahāsena built a new monastery called Jetavana on ground belonging to the Mahāvihāra and asked the monks to abandon this portion of their territory. They refused and according to the Mahāvamsa ultimately succeeded in proving their rights before a court of law. But the Jetavana remained as the headquarters of a sect known as Sagaliyas. They appear to have been moderately orthodox, but to have had their own text of the Vinaya for according to the Commentary\(^2\) on the Mahāvamsa they “separated the two Vibhangas of the Bhagavā\(^3\) from the Vinaya... altering their meaning and misquoting their contents.” In the opinion of the Mahāvihāra both the Abhayagiri and Jetavana were schismatical, but the laity appear to have given their respect and offerings to all three impartially and the Mahāvamsa several times records how the same individual honoured the three Confraternities.

With the death of Mahāsena ends the first and oldest part of the Mahāvamsa, and also in native opinion the grand period of Sinhalese history, the subsequent kings being known as the Cūlavamsa or minor dynasty. A continuation\(^4\) of the chronicle takes up the story and tells of the doings of Mahāsena's son Sirimēghavanña\(^5\). Judged by the standard of the Mahāvihāra, he was fairly satisfactory. He rebuilt the Lohapasāda and caused a golden image of Mahinda to be made and carried in

---

\(^1\) Mahāvams. xxxvi. iii. ff. Gothābhaya's date was probably 302–315 and Mahāsena's 325–352. The common chronology makes Gothābhaya reign from 244 to 257 and Mahāsena from 269 to 296 A.D.

\(^2\) Quoted by Turnour, Introd. p. liii. The Mahāvams. v. 13, expressly states that the Dhammaruci and Sāgaliya sects originated in Ceylon.

\(^3\) i.e. as I understand, the two divisions of the Sutta Vibhanga.

\(^4\) It was written up to date at various periods. The chapters which take up the history after the death of Mahāsena are said to be the work of Dhammakitti, who lived about 1250.

\(^5\) He was a contemporary of the Gupta King Samudra-gupta who reigned approximately 330–375 A.D. See S. Lévi in J.A. 1900, pp. 316 ff, 401 ff. This synchronism is a striking confirmation of Fleet and Geiger's chronology.
procession. This veneration of the founder of a local church reminds one of the respect shown to the images of half-deified abbots in Tibet, China and Japan. But the king did not neglect the Abhayagiri or assign it a lower position than the Mahâvihâra for he gave it partial custody of the celebrated relic known as the Buddha’s tooth which was brought to Ceylon from Kalinga in the ninth year of his reign and has ever since been considered the palladium of the island.

2

It may not be amiss to consider here briefly what is known of the history of the Buddha’s relics and especially of this tooth. Of the minor distinctions between Buddhism and Hinduism one of the sharpest is this cultus. Hindu temples are often erected over natural objects supposed to resemble the footprint or some member of a deity and sometimes tombs receive veneration. But no case appears to be known in which either Hindus or Jains show reverence to the bones or other fragments of a human body. It is hence remarkable that relic-worship should be so wide-spread in Buddhism and appear so early in its history. The earliest Buddhist monuments depict figures worshipping at a stupa, which was probably a reliquary, and there is no reason to distrust the traditions which carry the practice back at least to the reign of Asoka. The principal cause for its prevalence was no doubt that Buddhism, while creating a powerful religious current, provided hardly any objects of worship for the faithful. It is also probable that the rudiments of relic worship existed in the districts frequented by the Buddha. The account of his death states that after the cremation of his body the Mallas placed his bones in their council hall and honoured them with songs and dances. Then eight communities or individuals demanded a portion of the relics and over each portion a cairn was built. These proceedings are mentioned as if they were the usual ceremonial observed on the death of a great man and in

1 E.g. the tomb of Râmânuja at Srirangam.
2 For a somewhat similar reason the veneration of relics is prevalent among Moslems. Islam indeed provides an object of worship but its ceremonies are so austere and monotonous that any devotional practices which are not forbidden as idolatrous are welcome to the devout.
the same Sutta¹ the Buddha himself mentions four classes of men worthy of a cairn or dagoba². We may perhaps conclude that in the earliest ages of Buddhism it was usual in northeastern India to honour the bones of a distinguished man after cremation and inter them under a monument. This is not exactly relic worship but it has in it the root of the later tree. The Piṭakas contain little about the practice but the Milinda Pañha discusses the question at length and in one passage³ endeavours to reconcile two sayings of the Buddha, “Hinder not yourselves by honouring the remains of the Tathāgatha” and “Honour that relic of him who is worthy of honour.” It is the first utterance rather than the second that seems to have the genuine ring of Gotama.

The earliest known relics are those discovered in the stupa of Piprâvâ on the borders of Nepal in 1898. Their precise nature and the date of the inscription describing them have been the subject of much discussion. Some authorities think that this stupa may be one of those erected over a portion of the Buddha’s ashes after his funeral. Even Barth, a most cautious and sceptical scholar, admitted⁴ first that the inscription is not later than Asoka, secondly that the vase is a reliquary containing what were believed to be bones of the Buddha. Thus in the time of Asoka the worship of the Buddha’s relics was well known and I see no reason why the inscription should not be anterior to that time.

According to Buddhaghosa’s Sumangalavilāsini and Sinhalese texts which though late are based on early material⁵, Mahâkassapa instigated Ajâtasattu to collect the relics of the Buddha, and to place them in a stupa, there to await the advent of Asoka. In Asoka’s time the stupa had become overgrown and hidden by jungle but when the king was in search of relics, its position was revealed to him. He found inside it an inscription authorizing him to disperse the contents and pro-

¹ Dig. Nik. xvi. v. 27.
² Plutarch mentions a story that the relics of King Menander were similarly divided into eight portions but the story may be merely a replica of the obsequies of the Buddha.
³ iv. 3, 24. The first text is from Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, v. 24. The second has not been identified.
⁵ See Norman, “Buddhist legends of Asoka and his times,” in J.A.S. Beng. 1910.
ceeded to distribute them among the 84,000 monasteries which he is said to have constructed.

In its main outlines this account is probable. Ajātasattu conquered the Licchavis and other small states to the north of Magadha and if he was convinced of the importance of the Buddha's relics it would be natural that he should transport them to his capital, regarding them perhaps as talismans. Here they were neglected, though not damaged, in the reigns of Brahmanical kings and were rescued from oblivion by Asoka, who being sovereign of all India and anxious to spread Buddhism throughout his dominions would be likely to distribute the relics as widely as he distributed his pillars and inscriptions. But later Buddhist kings could not emulate this imperial impartiality and we may surmise that such a monarch as Kanishka would see to it that all the principal relics in northern India found their way to his capital. The bones discovered at Peshawar are doubtless those considered most authentic in his reign.

Next to the tooth, the most interesting relic of the Buddha was his patra or alms-bowl, which plays a part somewhat similar to that of the Holy Grail in Christian romance. The Mahāvamsa states that Asoka sent it to Ceylon, but the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien saw it at Peshawar about 405 A.D. It was shown to the people daily at the midnight and evening services. The pilgrim thought it contained about two pecks yet such were its miraculous properties that the poor could fill it with a gift of a few flowers, whereas the rich cast in myriads of bushels and found there was still room for more. A few years later Fa-Hsien heard a sermon in Ceylon in which the preacher predicted that the bowl would be taken in the course of centuries to Central Asia, China, Ceylon and Central India whence it would ultimately ascend to the Tusita heaven for the use of the future Buddha. Later accounts to some extent record the fulfilment of these predictions inasmuch as they relate how the bowl (or bowls) passed from land to land but the story of its wandering may have little foundation since it is combined with the idea that it is wafted from shrine to shrine according as the faith is flourishing or decadent. Hsüan Chuang says that it "had gone

---

1 Just as the Tooth was considered to be the palladium of Sinhalese kings.
2 Record of Buddhist kingdoms. Legge, pp. 34, 35. Fa-Hsien speaks of the country not the town of Peshawar (Pūrūshapura).
3 Ibid. p. 109. Fa-Hsien does not indicate that at this time there was a rival bowl in Ceylon but represents the preacher as saying it was then in Gandhara.
on from Peshawar to several countries and was now in Persia. A Mohammedan legend relates that it is at Kandahar and will contain any quantity of liquid without overflowing. Marco Polo says Kublai Khan sent an embassy in 1284 to bring it from Ceylon to China.

The wanderings of the tooth, though almost as surprising as those of the bowl, rest on better historical evidence, but there is probably more continuity in the story than in the holy object of which it is related, for the piece of bone which is credited with being the left canine tooth of the Blessed One may have been changed on more than one occasion. The Sinhalese chronicles, as mentioned, say that it was brought to Ceylon in the ninth year of Sirimeghavana. This date may be approximately correct for about 413 or later Fa-Hsien described the annual festival of the tooth, during which it was exposed for veneration at the Abhayagiri monastery, without indicating that the usage was recent.

The tooth did not, according to Sinhalese tradition, form part of the relics distributed after the cremation of the Buddha. Seven bones, including four teeth, were excepted from that distribution and the Sage Khema taking the left canine tooth direct from the funeral pyre gave it to the king of Kalinga, who enshrined it in a gorgeous temple at Dantapura where it is supposed to have remained 800 years. At the end of that period

4 i.e. about 361 or 310, according to which chronology is adopted, but neither Fa-Hsien nor Hsüan Chuang says anything about its arrival from India and this part of the story might be dismissed as a legend. But seeing how extraordinary were the adventures of the tooth in historical times, it would be unreasonable to deny that it may have been smuggled out of India for safety.
5 Various accounts are given of the disposal of these teeth, but more than enough relics were preserved in various shrines to account for all. Hsüan Chuang saw or heard of sacred teeth in Balkh, Nagar, Kashmir, Kauaj and Ceylon. Another tooth is said to be kept near Foo-chow.
6 Plausibly supposed to be Puri. The ceremonies still observed in the temple of Jagannath are suspected of being based on Buddhist rites. Dantapura of the Kālingas is however mentioned in some verses quoted in Digha Nikāya xix. 36. This looks as if the name might be pre-Buddhist.
a pious king named Guhasiva became involved in disastrous wars on account of the relic, and, as the best means of preserving it, bade his daughter fly with her husband¹ and take it to Ceylon. This, after some miraculous adventures, they were able to do. The tooth was received with great ceremony and lodged in an edifice called the Dhammacakka from which it was taken every year for a temporary sojourn² in the Abhayagiri monastery.

The cultus of the tooth flourished exceedingly in the next few centuries and it came to be regarded as the talisman of the king and nation. Hence when the court moved from Anuradhapura to Pollunaruwa it was installed in the new capital. In the troubled times which followed it changed its residence some fifteen times. Early in the fourteenth century it was carried off by the Tamils to southern India but was recovered by Parâkrama Bâhu III and during the commotion created by the invasions of the Tamils, Chinese and Portuguese it was hidden in various cities. In 1560 Dom Constantino de Bragança, Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, led a crusade against Jaffna to avenge the alleged persecution of Christians, and when the town was sacked a relic, described as the tooth of an ape mounted in gold, was found in a temple and carried off to Goa. On this Bayin Naung, King of Pegu, offered an enormous ransom to redeem it, which the secular government wished to accept, but the clergy and inquisition put such pressure on the Viceroy that he rejected the proposal. The archbishop of Goa pounded the tooth in a mortar before the viceregal court, burned the fragments and scattered the ashes over the sea³.

But the singular result of this bigotry was not to destroy one sacred tooth but to create two. The king of Pegu, who wished to marry a Sinhalese princess, sent an embassy to Ceylon to arrange the match. They were received by the king of Cotta, who bore the curiously combined name of Don Juan Dharma-pâla. He had no daughter of his own but palmed off the daughter of a chamberlain. At the same time he informed the king

¹ They are called Ranmali and Danta in the Râjâvaliya.
² There is a striking similarity between this rite and the ceremonies observed at Puri, where the images of Jagannâtha and his relatives are conveyed every summer with great pomp to a country residence where they remain during some weeks.
of Pegu that the tooth destroyed at Goa was not the real relic and that this still remained in his possession. Bayin Naung was induced to marry the lady and received the tooth with appropriate ceremonies. But when the king of Kandy heard of these doings, he apprized the king of Pegu of the double trick that had been played on him. He offered him his own daughter, a veritable princess, in marriage and as her dowry the true tooth which, he said, was neither that destroyed at Goa nor yet that sent to Pegu, but one in his own possession. Bayin Naung received the Kandyan embassy politely but rejected its proposals, thinking no doubt that it would be awkward to declare the first tooth spurious after it had been solemnly installed as a sacred relic. The second tooth therefore remained in Kandy and appears to be that now venerated there. When Vimala Dharma re-established the original line of kings, about 1592, it was accepted as authentic.

As to its authenticity, it appears to be beyond doubt that it is a piece of discoloured bone about two inches long, which could never have been the tooth of an ordinary human being, so that even the faithful can only contend that the Buddha was of superhuman stature. Whether it is the relic which was venerated in Ceylon before the arrival of the Portuguese is a more difficult question, for it may be argued with equal plausibility that the Sinhalese had good reasons for hiding the real tooth and good reasons for duplicating it. The strongest argument against the authenticity of the relic destroyed by the Portuguese is that it was found in Jaffna, which had long been a Tamil town, whereas there is no reason to believe that the real tooth was at this time in Tamil custody. But, although the native literature always speaks of it as unique, the Sinhalese appear to have produced replicas more than once, for we hear of such being sent to Burma and China. Again, the offer to ransom the tooth came not from Ceylon but from the king of Pegu, who, as the sequel shows, was gullible in such matters: the Portuguese clearly thought that they had acquired a relic of primary importance; on any hypothesis one of the kings of Ceylon must have deceived the king of Pegu, and finally Vimala Dharma had the strongest political reasons for accepting as

---

1 Fortune in *Two Visits to Ten Countries of China*, vol. ii. pp. 107-8, describes one of these teeth preserved in the Ku-shan monastery near Foo-chow.

E. III.
genuine the relic kept at Kandy, since the possession of the true tooth went far to substantiate a Sinhalese monarch’s right to the throne.

The tooth is now preserved in a temple at Kandy. The visitor looking through a screen of bars can see on a silver table a large jewelled case shaped like a bell. Flowers scattered on the floor or piled on other tables fill the chamber with their heavy perfume. Inside the bell are six other bells of diminishing size, the innermost of which covers a golden lotus containing the sacred tooth. But it is only on rare occasions that the outer caskets are removed. Worshippers as a rule have to content themselves with offering flowers¹ and bowing but I was informed that the priests celebrate puja daily before the relic. The ceremony comprises the consecration and distribution of rice and is interesting as connecting the veneration of the tooth with the ritual observed in Hindu temples. But we must return to the general history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

3

The kings who ruled in the fifth century were devout Buddhists and builders of vihāras but the most important event of this period, not merely for the island but for the whole Buddhist church in the south, was the literary activity of Buddhaghosa who is said to have resided in Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma. The chief authorities for his life are a passage in the continuation of the Mahāvamsa² and the Buddhaghosuppatti, a late Burmese text of about 1550, which, while adding many anecdotes, appears not to come from an independent source³. The gist of their account is that he was born in a Brahman family near Gaya and early obtained renown as a disputant. He was converted to Buddhism by a monk named Revata and began to write theological treatises⁴. Revata observing his

¹ This practice must be very old. The Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādins and similar texts speak of offering flowers to a tooth of the Buddha. See J.A. 1914, ii. pp. 523, 543. The Pali Canon too tells us that the relics of the Buddha were honoured with garlands and perfumes.
² Chap. xxxvii.
³ Both probably represent the tradition current at the Mahāvihāra, but according to the Talaing tradition Buddhaghosa was a Brahman born at Thaton.
⁴ The Mahāvamsa says he composed the Jñānodaya and Atthasālinī at this time before starting for Ceylon.
intention to compose a commentary on the Pitakas, told him that only the text (pālimattam) of the scriptures was to be found in India, not the ancient commentaries, but that the Sinhalese commentaries were genuine, having been composed in that language by Mahinda. He therefore bade Buddhaghosa repair to Ceylon and translate these Sinhalese works into the idiom of Magadha, by which Pali must be meant. Buddhaghosa took this advice and there is no reason to distrust the statement of the Mahāvamsa that he arrived in the reign of Mahānāma, who ruled according to Geiger from 458 to 480, though the usual reckoning places him about fifty years earlier. The fact that Fa-Hsien, who visited Ceylon about 412, does not mention Buddhaghosa is in favour of Geiger's chronology 1.

He first studied in the Mahāvihāra and eventually requested permission to translate the Sinhalese commentaries. To prove his competence for the task he composed the celebrated Visuddhi-magga, and, this being considered satisfactory, he took up his residence in the Ganthākara Vihāra and proceeded to the work of translation. When it was finished he returned to India or according to the Talaing tradition to Thaton. The Buddhaghosuppatti adds two stories of which the truth and meaning are equally doubtful. They are that Buddhaghosa burnt the works written by Mahinda and that his knowledge of Sanskrit was called in question but triumphantly proved. Can there be here any allusion to a Sanskrit canon supported by the opponents of the Mahāvihāra?

Even in its main outline the story is not very coherent for one would imagine that, if a Buddhist from Magadha went to Ceylon to translate the Sinhalese commentaries, his object must have been to introduce them among Indian Buddhists. But there is no evidence that Buddhaghosa did this and he is for us simply a great figure in the literary and religious history of Ceylon. Burmese tradition maintains that he was a native of Thaton and returned thither, when his labours in Ceylon were completed, to spread the scriptures in his native language. This version of his activity is intelligible, though the evidence for it is weak.

1 Fa-Hsien is chary of mentioning contemporary celebrities but he refers to a well-known monk called Ta-mo-kiu-ti (?Dhammakathī) and had Buddhaghosa been already celebrated he would hardly have omitted him.
He composed a great corpus of exegetical literature which has been preserved, but, since much of it is still unedited, the precise extent of his labours is uncertain. There is however little doubt of the authenticity of his commentaries on the four great Nikâyas, on the Abhidhamma and on the Vinaya (called Samanta-pâsâdikâ) and in them¹ he refers to the Visuddhi-magga as his own work. He says expressly that his explanations are founded on Sinhalese materials, which he frequently cites as the opinion of the ancients (porânâ). By this word he probably means traditions recorded in Sinhalese and attributed to Mahinda, but it is in any case clear that the works which he consulted were considered old in the fifth century A.D. Some of their names are preserved in the Samanta-pâsâdikâ where he mentions the great commentary (Mahâ-Âttâhakathâ), the Raft commentary (Paccari, so called because written on a raft), the Kurundi commentary composed at Kurunda-Velu and others². All this literature has disappeared and we can only judge of it by Buddhaghosa’s reproduction which is probably not a translation but a selection and rearrangement. Indeed his occasional direct quotations from the ancients or from an Âttâhakathâ imply that the rest of the work is merely based on the Sinhalese commentaries.

Buddhaghosa was not an independent thinker but he makes amends for his want of originality not only by his industry and learning but by his power of grasping and expounding the whole of an intricate subject. His Visuddhi-magga has not yet been edited in Europe, but the extracts and copious analysis³ which have been published indicate that it is a comprehensive restatement of Buddhist doctrine made with as free a hand as orthodoxy permitted. The Mahâvamsa observes that the Theras held his works in the same estimation as the Piṭakas. They are in no way coloured by the Mahayanist tenets which were already prevalent in India, but state in its severest form the Hinayanist creed, of which he is the most authoritative exponent. The Visuddhi-magga is divided into three parts treating of conduct (silam), meditation (samâdhi) and knowledge

¹ In the Coms. on the Dîgha and Dhammasangani.
² See Rhys Davids and Carpenter’s introduction to Sumangalavi, I. p. x.
³ In the Journal of Pali Text Soc. 1891, pp. 76–164. Since the above was written the first volume of the text of the Visuddhi magga, edited by Mrs Rhys Davids, has been published by the Pali Text Society, 1920.
(paññâ), the first being the necessary substratum for the religious life of which the others are the two principal branches. But though he intersperses his exposition with miraculous stories and treats exhaustively of superhuman powers, no trace of the worship of Mahayanist Bodhisattvas is found in his works and, as for literature, he himself is the chief authority for the genuineness and completeness of the Pali Canon as we know it.

When we find it said that his works were esteemed as highly as the Piṭakas, or that the documents which he translated into Pali were the words of the Buddha\(^1\), the suspicion naturally arises that the Pali Canon may be in part his composition and it may be well to review briefly its history in Ceylon. Our knowledge appears to be derived entirely from the traditions of the Mahâvihâra which represent Mahinda as teaching the text of the Piṭakas orally, accompanied by a commentary. If we admit the general truth of the narrative concerning Mahinda's mission, there is nothing improbable in these statements, for it would be natural that an Indian teacher should know by heart his sacred texts and the commentaries on them. We cannot of course assume that the Piṭakas of Mahinda were the Pali Canon as we know it, but the inscriptions of Asoka refer to passages which can be found in that canon and therefore parts of it at any rate must have been accepted as scripture in the third century B.C. But it is probable that considerable variation was permitted in the text, although the sense and a certain terminology were carefully guarded. It was not till the reign of Vaṭṭagâmaṇi, probably about 20 B.C., that the canon was committed to writing and the Parivâra, composed in Ceylon\(^2\), was included in it.

In the reign of Buddhadâsa\(^3\) a learned monk named Mahâdhammakathi is said to have translated the Suttas into Sinhalese, which at this time was esteemed the proper language for letters and theology, but in the next century a contrary tendency, probably initiated by Buddhaghosa, becomes apparent and Sinhalese works are rewritten in Pali\(^4\). But nothing indicates that

\(^1\) Bhagavato Sâsanam. See Buddhaghosupatti, cap. 1.

\(^2\) It appears to be unknown to the Chinese Tripitaka. For some further remarks on the Sinhalese Canon see Book iii. chap. xiii. § 3.

\(^3\) That is according to Geiger 386-416 A.D. Perhaps he was the Ta-mo-kiu-tí mentioned by Fa-Hsien.

\(^4\) The tendency seems odd but it can be paralleled in India where it is not uncommon to rewrite vernacular works in Sanskrit. See Grierson, J.R.A.S. 1913,
any part of what we call the Pali Canon underwent this process. Buddhaghosa distinguishes clearly between text and comment, between Pali and Sinhalese documents. He has a coherent history of the text, beginning with the Council of Rājagaha; he discusses various readings, he explains difficult words. He treated the ancient commentaries with freedom, but there is no reason to think that he allowed himself any discretion or right of selection in dealing with the sacred texts accepted by the Mahāvihāra, though it might be prudent to await the publication of his commentaries on all the Nikāyas before asserting this unreservedly.

To sum up, the available evidence points to the conclusion that in the time of Asoka texts and commentaries preserved orally were brought to Ceylon. The former, though in a somewhat fluid condition, were sufficiently sacred to be kept unchanged in the original Indian language, the latter were translated into the kindred but still distinct vernacular of the island. In the next century and a half some additions to the Pali texts were made and about 20 B.C. the Mahāvihāra, which proved as superior to the other communities in vitality as it was in antiquity, caused written copies to be made of what it considered as the canon, including some recent works. There is no evidence that Buddhaghosa or anyone else enlarged or curtailed the canon, but the curious tradition that he collected and burned all the books written by Mahinda in Sinhalese may allude to the existence of other works which he (presumably in agreement with the Mahāvihāra) considered spurious.

Soon after the departure of Buddhaghosa Dhātusena came to the throne and "held like Dhammasoka a convocation about the three Piṭakas." This implies that there was still some doubt as to what was scripture and that the canon of the Mahāvihāra was not universally accepted. The Vetulyas, of

---

p. 133. Even in England in the seventeenth century Bacon seems to have been doubtful of the immortality of his works in English and prepared a Latin translation of his Essays.

1 It is reported with some emphasis as the tradition of the Ancients in Buddhaghosuppatti, cap. VII. If the works were merely those which Buddhaghosa himself had translated the procedure seems somewhat drastic.

2 Mahāv. xxxiii. Dhammasokova so kași Piṭakattaye Saṅgahan. Dhātusena reigned from 459–477 according to the common chronology or 509–527 according to Geiger.
whom we heard in the third century A.D., reappear in the seventh when they are said to have been supported by a provincial governor but not by the king Aggabodhi¹ and still more explicitly in the reign of Parâkrama Bâhu (c. 1160). He endeavoured to reconcile to the Mahâvihâra "the Abhayagiri brethren who separated themselves from the time of king Vaṭṭagâmâni Abhaya and the Jetavana brethren that had parted since the days of Mahâsenâ and taught the Vetulla Piṭaka and other writings as the words of Buddha, which indeed were not the words of Buddha²." So it appears that another recension of the canon was in existence for many centuries.

Dhâtusena, though depicted in the Mahâvamsa as a most orthodox monarch, embellished the Abhayagiri monastery and was addicted to sumptuous ceremonies in honour of images and relics. Thus he made an image of Mahinda, dedicated a shrine and statue to Metteyya and ornamented the effigies of Buddha with the royal jewels. In an image chamber (apparently at the Abhayagiri) he set up figures of Bodhisattvas³, by which we should perhaps understand the previous births of Gotama. He was killed by his son and Sinhalese history degenerated into a complicated story of crime and discord, in which the weaker faction generally sought the aid of the Tamils. These latter became more and more powerful and with their advance Buddhism tended to give place to Hinduism. In the eighth century the court removed from Anuradhapura to Pollannaruwa, in order to escape from the pressure of the Tamils, but the picture of anarchy and decadence grows more and more gloomy until the accession of Vijaya Bâhu in 1071 who succeeded in making himself king of all Ceylon. Though he recovered Anuradhapura it was not made the royal residence either by himself or by his greater successor, Parâkrama Bâhu⁴. This monarch, the most eminent in the long list of Ceylon's sovereigns, after he had consolidated his power, devoted himself, in the words of Tennent, "to the two grand objects of royal solicitude, religion and agriculture." He was lavish in building monasteries, temples and libraries, but not less generous in constructing or repairing

¹ Mahâv. XLII. 35 ff.
² Mahâv. LXXVIII. 21–23.
⁴ Or Parakkama Bâhu. Probably 1153–1186.
tanks and works of irrigation. In the reign of Vijaya Bâhu hardly any duly ordained monks were to be found\(^1\), the succession having been interrupted, and the deficiency was supplied by bringing qualified Theras from Burma. But by the time of Parâkrama Bâhu the old quarrels of the monasteries revived, and, as he was anxious to secure unity, he summoned a synod at Anuradhapura. It appears to have attained its object by recognizing the Mahâvihâra as the standard of orthodoxy and dealing summarily with dissentients\(^2\). The secular side of monastic life also received liberal attention. Lands, revenues and guest-houses were provided for the monasteries as well as hospitals. As in Burma and Siam Brahmans were respected and the king erected a building for their use in the capital. Like Asoka, he forbade the killing of animals.

But the glory of Parâkrama Bâhu stands up in the later history of Ceylon like an isolated peak and thirty years after his death the country had fallen almost to its previous low level of prosperity. The Tamils again occupied many districts and were never entirely dislodged as long as the Sinhalese kingdom lasted. Buddhism tended to decline but was always the religion of the national party and was honoured with as much magnificence as their means allowed. Parâkrama Bâhu II (c. 1240), who recovered the sacred tooth from the Tamils, is said to have celebrated splendid festivals and to have imported learned monks from the country of the Colas\(^3\). Towards the end of the fifteenth century the inscriptions of Kalyani indicate that Sinhalese religion enjoyed a great reputation in Burma\(^4\).

A further change adverse to Buddhism was occasioned by the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505. A long and horrible struggle ensued between them and the various kings among whom the distracted island was divided until at the end of the sixteenth century only Kandy remained independent, the whole coast being in the hands of the Portuguese. The singular barbarities which they perpetrated throughout this struggle are vouched for by their own historians\(^5\), but it does not appear

---

\(^1\) Mahâvamsa lxx. 4–7.
\(^2\) Mahâvamsa lxxviii. 21–27.
\(^3\) Mahâv. lxxxiv. If this means the region of Madras, the obvious question is what learned Buddhist can there have been there at this period.
\(^4\) J. Ant. 1893, pp. 40, 41.
\(^5\) I take this statement from Tennent who gives references.
that the Sinhalese degraded themselves by similar atrocities. Since the Portuguese wished to propagate Roman Catholicism as well as to extend their political rule and used for this purpose (according to the Mahāvamsa) the persuasions of gold as well as the terrors of torture, it is not surprising if many Sinhalese professed allegiance to Christianity, but when in 1597 the greater part of Ceylon formally accepted Portuguese sovereignty, the chiefs insisted that they should be allowed to retain their own religion and customs.

The Dutch first appeared in 1602 and were welcomed by the Court of Kandy as allies capable of expelling the Portuguese. This they succeeded in doing by a series of victories between 1638 and 1658, and remained masters of a great part of the island until their possessions were taken by the British in 1795. Kandy however continued independent until 1815. At first the Dutch tried to enforce Christianity and to prohibit Buddhism within their territory but ultimately hatred of the Roman Catholic church made them favourable to Buddhism and they were ready to assist those kings who desired to restore the national religion to its former splendour.

In spite of this assistance the centuries when the Sinhalese were contending with Europeans were not a prosperous time for Buddhism. Hinduism spread in the north, Christianity in the coast belt, but still it was a point of honour with most native sovereigns to protect the national religion so far as their distressed condition allowed. For the seventeenth century we have an interesting account of the state of the country called An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon by an Englishman, Robert Knox, who was detained by the king of Kandy from 1660 to 1680. He does not seem to have been aware that there was any distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism. Though he describes the Sinhalese as idolaters, he also emphasizes the fact that Buddou (as he writes the name) is the God "unto whom the salvation of souls belongs," and for whom "above all others they have a high respect and devotion." He also describes

---

1 See Ceylon Antiquary, i. 3, pp. 148, 197.
2 Rājasinha I (1581) is said to have made Śivaism the Court religion.
the ceremonies of pirit and bana, the perahera procession, and two classes of Buddhist monks, the elders and the ordinary members of the Sangha. His narrative indicates that Buddhism was accepted as the higher religion, though men were prone to pray to deities who would save from temporal danger.

About this time Vimala Dharma II\(^1\) made great efforts to improve the religious condition of the island and finding that the true succession had again failed, arranged with the Dutch to send an embassy to Arakan and bring back qualified Theras. But apparently the steps taken were not sufficient, for when king Kittisiri Râjasîha (1747–81), whose piety forms the theme of the last two chapters of the Mahâvamsa, set about reforming the Sangha, he found that duly ordained monks were extinct and that many so-called monks had families. He therefore decided to apply to Dhammad, king of Ayuthia in Siam, and like his predecessor despatched an embassy on a Dutch ship. Dhammad sent back a company of “more than ten monks” (that is more than sufficient for the performance of all ecclesiastical acts) under the Abbot Upâli in 1752 and another to relieve it in 1755\(^2\). They were received by the king of Ceylon with great honour and subsequently by the ordination which they conferred placed the succession beyond dispute. But the order thus reconstituted was aristocratic and exclusive: only members of the highest caste were admitted to it and the wealthy middle classes found themselves excluded from a community which they were expected to honour and maintain. This led to the despatch of an embassy to Burma in 1802 and to the foundation of another branch of the Sangha, known as the Amarapura school, distinct in so far as its validity depended on Burmese not Siamese ordination.

Since ordination is for Buddhists merely self-dedication to a higher life and does not confer any sacramental or sacerdotal

---

\(^1\) His reign is dated as 1679–1701, also as 1687–1706. It is remarkable that the Mahâvamsa makes both the kings called Vimala Dharma send religious embassies to Arakan. See xciv. 15, 16 and xcvii. 10, 11.

\(^2\) See for some details Lorgeou: Notice sur un Manuscrit Siamois contenant la relation de deux missions religieuses envoyées de Siam à Ceylon au milieu du xviii Siecle. Jour. Asiat. 1906, pp. 633 ff. The king called Dhammad by the Mahâvamsa appears to have been known as Phra Song Tham in Siam. The interest felt by the Siamese in Ceylon at this period is shown by the Siamese translation of the Mahâvamsa made in 1798.
powers, the importance assigned to it may seem strange. But the idea goes back to the oldest records in the Vinaya and has its root in the privileges accorded to the order. A Bhikkhu had a right to expect much from the laity, but he also had to prove his worth and Gotama's early legislation was largely concerned with excluding unsuitable candidates. The solicitude for valid ordination was only the ecclesiastical form of the popular feeling that the honours and immunities of the order were conditional on its maintaining a certain standard of conduct. Other methods of reform might have been devised, but the old injunction that a monk could be admitted only by other duly ordained monks was fairly efficacious and could not be disputed. But the curious result is that though Ceylon was in early times the second home of Buddhism, almost all (if indeed not all) the monks found there now derive their right to the title of Bhikkhu from foreign countries.

The Sinhalese Sangha is generally described as divided into four schools, those of Siam, Kelani, Amarapura and Ramanya, of which the first two are practically identical, Kelani being simply a separate province of the Siamese school, which otherwise has its headquarters in the inland districts. This school, founded as mentioned above by priests who arrived in 1750, comprises about half of the whole Sangha and has some pretensions to represent the hierarchy of Ceylon, since the last kings of Kandy gave to the heads of the two great monasteries in the capital, Asgiri and Malwatte, jurisdiction over the north and south of the island respectively. It differs in some particulars from the Amarapura school. It only admits members of the highest caste and prescribes that monks are to wear the upper robe over one shoulder only, whereas the Amarapurans admit members of the first three castes (but not those lower in the social scale) and require both shoulders to be covered. There are other minor differences among which it is interesting to note that the Siamese school object to the use of the formula "I dedicate this gift to the Buddha," which is used in the other schools when anything is presented to the order for the use of the monks. It is held that this expression was correct in the lifetime of the Buddha but not after his death. The two schools are not mutually hostile, and members of each find a hospitable reception in the monasteries of the other. The laity patronize
both indifferently and both frequent the same places of pilgrimage, though all of these and the majority of the temple lands belong to the sect of Siam. It is wealthy, aristocratic and has inherited the ancient traditions of Ceylon, whereas the Amarapurans are more active and inclined to propaganda. It is said they are the chief allies of the Theosophists and European Buddhists. The Ramanya school is more recent and distinct than the others, being in some ways a reformed community. It aims at greater strictness of life, forbidding monasteries to hold property and insisting on genuine poverty. It also totally rejects the worship of Hindu deities and its lay members do not recognize the monks of other schools. It is not large but its influence is considerable.

It has been said that Buddhism flourished in Ceylon only when it was able to secure the royal favour. There is some truth in this, for the Sangha does not struggle on its own behalf but expects the laity to provide for its material needs, making a return in educational and religious services. Such a body if not absolutely dependent on royal patronage has at least much to gain from it. Yet this admission must not blind us to the fact that during its long and often distinguished history Sinhalese Buddhism has been truly the national faith, as opposed to the beliefs of various invaders, and has also ministered to the spiritual aspirations of the nation. As Knox said in a period when it was not particularly flourishing, the Hindu gods look after worldly affairs but Buddha after the soul. When the island passed under British rule and all religions received impartial recognition, the result was not disastrous to Buddhism: the number of Bhikkhus greatly increased, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. And if in earlier periods there was an interval in which technically speaking the Sangha did not exist, this did not mean that interest in it ceased, for as soon as the kingdom became prosperous the first care of the kings was to set the Church in order. This zeal can be attributed to nothing but conviction and affection, for Buddhism is not a faith politically useful to an energetic and warlike prince.

1 Rāmaṇa is the part of Burma between Arakan and Siam.
Sinhalese Buddhism is often styled primitive or original and it may fairly be said to preserve in substance both the doctrine and practice inculcated in the earliest Pali literature. In calling this primitive we must remember the possibility that some of this literature was elaborated in Ceylon itself. But, putting the text of the Piṭakas aside, it would seem that the early Sinhalese Buddhism was the same as that of Asoka, and that it never underwent any important change. It is true that mediæval Sinhalese literature is full of supernatural legends respecting the Buddha\(^1\), but still he does not become a god (for he has attained Nirvana) and the great Bodhisattvas, Avalokita and Manjuśri, are practically unknown. The *Abhidhammattha-sangaha*\(^2\), which is still the text-book most in use among the Bhikkhus, adheres rigidly to the methods of the Abhidhamma\(^3\). It contains neither devotional nor magical matter but prescribes a course of austere mental training, based on psychological analysis and culminating in the rapture of meditation. Such studies and exercises are beyond the capacity of the majority, but no other road to salvation is officially sanctioned for the Bhikkhu. It is admitted that there are no Arhats now—just as Christianity has no contemporary saints—but no other ideal, such as the Bodhisattva of the Mahayanists, is held up for imitation.

Mediæval images of Avalokita and of goddesses have however been found in Ceylon\(^4\). This is hardly surprising for the island was on the main road to China, Java, and Camboja\(^5\) and Mahayanist teachers and pilgrims must have continually passed through it. The Chinese biographies of that eminent tantrist, Amogha, say that he went to Ceylon in 741 and elaborated his system there before returning to China. It is said that in 1408 the Chinese being angry at the ill-treatment of envoys whom they had sent to the shrine of the tooth, conquered Ceylon and

---

2 A translation by S. Z. Aung and Mrs Rhys Davids has been published by the Pali Text Society. The author Anuruddha appears to have lived between the eighth and twelfth centuries.
5 For intercourse with Camboja see *Epigr. Zeylanica*, ii. p. 74.
made it pay tribute for fifty years. By conquest no doubt is meant merely a military success and not occupation, but the whole story implies possibilities of acquaintance with Chinese Buddhism.

It is clear that, though the Hinayanist church was predominant throughout the history of the island, there were up to the twelfth century heretical sects called Vaitulya or Vetulyaka and Vâjira which though hardly rivals of orthodoxy were a thorn in its side. A party at the Abhayagiri monastery were favourably disposed to the Vaitulya sect which, though often suppressed, recovered and reappeared, being apparently reinforced from India. This need not mean from southern India, for Ceylon had regular intercourse with the north and perhaps the Vaitulyas were Mahayanists from Bengal. The Nikâya-Sangrahawa also mentions that in the ninth century there was a sect called Nilapatadarâsana¹, who wore blue robes and preached indulgence in wine and love. They were possibly Tantrists from the north but were persecuted in southern India and never influential in Ceylon.

The Mahâvamsa is inclined to minimize the importance of all sects compared with the Mahâvihâra, but the picture given by the Nikâya-Sangrahawa may be more correct. It says that the Vaitulyas, described as infidel Brahmans who had composed a Piṭaka of their own, made four attempts to obtain a footing at the Abhayagiri monastery². In the ninth century it represents king Matvalasen as having to fly because he had embraced the false doctrine of the Vâjjiras. These are mentioned in another passage in connection with the Vaitulyas: they are said to have composed the Gûdha Vinaya³ and many Tantras. They perhaps were connected with the Vajrayâna, a phase of Tantric Buddhism. But a few years later king Mungayinsen set the church in order. He recognized the three orthodox schools or nikâyas called Theriya, Dhammaruci and Sâgaliya but proscribed the others and set guards on the coast to prevent the importation of heresy. Nevertheless the Vâjiriya and Vaitulya doctrines

¹ A dubious legend relates that they were known in the north and suppressed by Harsha. See Ettinghausen, Harsha Vardhana, 1906, p. 86. Nil Sâdhana appears to be a name for tantric practices. See Avalon, Principles of Tantra, preface, p. xix.
² In the reigns of Vohâratissa, Gôthâbhaya, Mahâsena and Ambheherana Salamevan. The kings Matvalasen and Mungayinsen are also known as Sena I and II.
³ Secret Vinaya.
were secretly practised. An inscription in Sanskrit found at the Jetavana and attributed to the ninth century\(^1\) records the foundation of a Vihâra for a hundred resident monks, 25 from each of the four nikâyas, which it appears to regard as equivalent. But in 1165 the great Parâkrama Bâhu held a synod to restore unity in the church. As a result, all Nikâyas (even the Dhammaruci) which did not conform to the Mahâvihâra were suppressed\(^2\) and we hear no more of the Vaitulyas and Vâjiriyas.

Thus there was once a Mahayanist faction in Ceylon, but it was recruited from abroad, intermittent in activity and was finally defeated, whereas the Hinayanist tradition was national and continuous.

Considering the long lapse of time, the monastic life of Ceylon has not deviated much in practice from the injunctions of the Vinaya. Monasteries like those of Anuradhapura, which are said to have contained thousands of monks, no longer exist. The largest now to be found—those at Kandy—do not contain more than fifty but as a rule a pansala (as these institutions are now called) has not more than five residents and more often only two or three. Some pansalas have villages assigned to them and some let their lands and do not scruple to receive the rent. The monks still follow the ancient routine of making a daily round with the begging bowl, but the food thus collected is often given to the poor or even to animals and the inmates of the pansala eat a meal which has been cooked there. The Pâtimokkha is recited (at least in part) twice a month and ordinations are held annually\(^3\).

The duties of the Bhikkhus are partly educational, partly clerical. In most villages the children receive elementary education gratis in the pansala, and the preservation of the ancient texts, together with the long list of Pâli and Sinhalese works produced until recent times almost exclusively by members of the Sangha\(^4\), is a proof that it has not neglected literature. The

---

\(^1\) *Epigraphia Zeylon.* i. p. 4.

\(^2\) One of the king's inscriptions says that he reconciled the clergy of the three Nikâyas. *Ep. Zeyl.* i. p. 134.

\(^3\) See Bowden in *J.R.A.S.* 1893, pp. 159 ff. The account refers to the Malwatte Monastery. But it would appear that the Pâtimokkha is recited in country places when a sufficient number of monks meet on Uposatha days.

\(^4\) Even the poets were mostly Bhikkhus. Sinhalese literature contains a fair number of historical and philosophical works but curiously little about law. See Jolly, *Recht und Sitten*, p. 44.
chief public religious observances are preaching and reading the scriptures. This latter, known as Bana, is usually accompanied by a word for word translation made by the reciter or an assistant. Such recitations may form part of the ordinary ceremonial of Uposatha days and most religious establishments have a room where they can be held, but often monks are invited to reside in a village during Was (July to October) and read Bana, and often a layman performs a pinkama or act of merit by entertaining monks for several days and inviting his neighbours to hear them recite. The recitation of the Jātakas is particularly popular but the suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya are also often read. On special occasions such as entry into a new house, an eclipse or any incident which suggests that it might be well to ward off the enmity of supernatural powers, it is usual to recite a collection of texts taken largely from the Suttaññatā and called Pirit. The word appears to be derived from the Pali paritta, a defence, and though the Pali scriptures do not sanction this use of the Buddha’s discourses they countenance the idea that evil may be averted by the use of formulae.

Although Sinhalese Buddhism has not diverged much from the Pali scriptures in its main doctrines and discipline, yet it tolerates a superstructure of Indian beliefs and ceremonies which forbid us to call it pure except in a restricted sense. At present there may be said to be three religions in Ceylon; local animism, Hinduism and Buddhism are all inextricably mixed together. By local animism I mean the worship of native spirits who do not belong to the ordinary Hindu pantheon though they may be identified with its members. The priests of this worship are called Kapuralas and one of their principal ceremonies consists in dancing until they are supposed to be possessed by a spirit—the devil dancing of Europeans. Though this religion is distinct from ordinary Hinduism, its deities and ceremonies find parallels in the southern Tamil country. In Ceylon it is not merely a village superstition but possesses

---

1 E.g. in the Ātānātiya sutta (Dig. Nik. xxxii.) friendly spirits teach a spell by which members of the order may protect themselves against evil ones and in Jātaka 159 the Peacock escapes danger by reciting every day a hymn to the sun and the praises of past Buddhas. See also Bunyi, Nanjios Catalogue, Nos. 487 and 800.
temples of considerable size\(^1\), for instance at Badulla and near Ratnapura. In the latter there is a Buddhist shrine in the court yard, so that the Blessed One may countenance the worship, much as the Piṭakas represent him as patronizing and instructing the deities of ancient Magadha, but the structure and observances of the temple itself are not Buddhist. The chief spirit worshipped at Ratnapura and in most of these temples is Mahā Saman, the god of Adam's Peak. He is sometimes identified with Lakshmana, the brother of Rāma, and sometimes with Indra.

About a quarter of the population are Tamils professing Hinduism. Hindu temples of the ordinary Dravidian type are especially frequent in the northern districts, but they are found in most parts and at Kandy two may be seen close to the shrine of the Tooth\(^2\). Buddhists feel no scruple in frequenting them and the images of Hindu deities are habitually introduced into Buddhist temples. These often contain a hall, at the end of which are one or more sitting figures of the Buddha, on the right hand side a recumbent figure of him, but on the left a row of four statues representing Mahābrahmā, Vishṇu, Kārttikeya and Mahāsāman. Of these Vishṇu generally receives marked attention, shown by the number of prayers written on slips of paper which are attached to his hand. Nor is this worship found merely as a survival in the older temples. The four figures appear in the newest edifices and the image of Vishṇu never fails to attract votaries. Yet though a rigid Buddhist may regard such devotion as dangerous, it is not treasonable, for Vishnu is regarded not as a competitor but as a very reverent admirer of the Buddha and anxious to befriend good Buddhists.

Even more insidious is the pageantry which since the days of King Tissa has been the outward sign of religion. It may be justified as being merely an edifying method of venerating the memory of a great man but when images and relics are treated with profound reverence or carried in solemn procession it is hard for the ignorant, especially if they are accustomed to the ceremonial of Hindu temples, not to think that these symbols are divine. This ornate ritualism is not authorized in any

---

1 See for an account of the Maha Saman Devale, Ceylon Ant. July, 1916.
2 So a medieval inscription at Mahintale of Mahinda IV records the foundation of Buddhist edifices and a temple to a goddess. Ep. Zeyl. i. p. 103.
known canonical text, but it is thoroughly Indian. Asoka records in his inscriptions the institution of religious processions and Hsüan Chuang relates how King Harsha organized a festival during which an image of the Buddha was carried on an elephant while the monarch and his ally the king of Assam, dressed as Indra and Brahmâ respectively, waited on it like servants1. Such festivities were congenial to the Sinhalese, as is attested by the long series of descriptions which fill the Mahâvamsa down to the very last book, by what Fa-Hsien saw about 412 and by the Perahera festival celebrated to-day.

6

The Buddhism of southern India resembled that of Ceylon in character though not in history. It was introduced under the auspices of Asoka, who mentions in his inscriptions the Colas, Pândyas and Keralaputras2. Hsüan Chuang says that in the Malakûta country, somewhere near Madura or Tanjore, there was a stupa erected by Asoka's orders and also a monastery founded by Mahinda. It is possible that this apostle and others laboured less in Ceylon and more in south India than is generally supposed. The pre-eminence and continuity of Sinhalese Buddhism are due to the conservative temper of the natives who were relatively little moved by the winds of religion which blew strong on the mainland, bearing with them now Jainism, now the worship of Vishnu or Siva.

In the Tamil country Buddhism of an Asokan type appears to have been prevalent about the time of our era. The poem Manimegalei, which by general consent was composed in an early century A.D., is Buddhist but shows no leanings to Mahayanism. It speaks of Śivaism and many other systems3 as flourishing, but contains no hint that Buddhism was persecuted. But persecution or at least very unfavourable conditions set in. Since at the time of Hsüan Chuang's visit Buddhism

1 Similarly in a religious procession described in the Mahâvamsa (xcix. 52; about 1750 A.D.) there were “men in the dress of Brahmâ.”
2 Rock Edicts, II. and XIII. Three inscriptions of Asoka have been found in Mysore.
3 The Manimegalei even mentions six systems of philosophy which are not the ordinary Darśanas but Lokâyatam, Baudhâna, Sâukhyam, Naiyâyikam, Vaiśeshikam, Mâmsâkam.
was in an advanced stage of decadence, it seems probable that the triumph of Śivaism began in the third or fourth century and that Buddhism offered slight resistance, Jainism being the only serious competitor for the first place. But for a long while, perhaps even until the sixteenth century, monasteries were kept up in special centres, and one of these is of peculiar importance, namely Kancīpuram or Conjeveram. Hsüan Chuang found there 100 monasteries with more than 10,000 brethren, all Sthaviras, and mentions that it was the birthplace of Dharma-pāla. We have some further information from the Talanging chronicles which suggests the interesting hypothesis that the Buddhism of Burma was introduced or refreshed by missionaries from southern India. They give a list of teachers who flourished in that country, including Kaccāyana and the philosopher Anuruddha. Of Dharmapāla they say that he lived at the monastery of Bhadra-tīṭṭha near Kancīpura and wrote fourteen commentaries in Pali. One was on the Visuddhi-magga of Buddhaghosa and it is probable that he lived shortly after that great writer and like him studied in Ceylon.

I shall recur to this question of south Indian Buddhism in treating of Burma, but the data now available are very meagre.

---

1 Kan-chih-pu-lo. Watters, Yüan Chuang, II. 226. The identification is not without difficulties and it has been suggested that the town is really Negapatam. The Life of the pilgrim says that it was on the coast, but he does not say so himself and his biographer may have been mistaken.

2 See art. by Rhys Davids in E.R.E.

3 See Forchhammer, Jardine Prize Essay, 1885, pp. 24 ff.

4 Author of the Abhidhammattha-sangaha.

5 Some have been published by the P.T. Society.
CHAPTER XXXVI

BURMA

1

UNTIL recent times Burma remained somewhat isolated and connected with foreign countries by few ties. The chronicles contain a record of long and generally peaceful intercourse with Ceylon, but this though important for religion and literature had little political effect. The Chinese occasionally invaded Upper Burma and demanded tribute but the invasions were brief and led to no permanent occupation. On the west Arakan was worried by the Viceroys of the Mogul Emperors and on the east the Burmese frequently invaded Siam. But otherwise from the beginning of authentic history until the British annexation Burma was left to itself and had not, like so many Asiatic states, to submit to foreign conquest and the imposition of foreign institutions. Yet let it not be supposed that its annals are peaceful and uneventful. The land supplied its own complications, for of the many races inhabiting it, three, the Burmese, Talaings and Shans, had rival aspirations and founded dynasties. Of these three races, the Burmese proper appear to have come from the north west, for a chain of tribes speaking cognate languages is said to extend from Burma to Nepal. The Môns or Talaings are allied linguistically to the Khmers of Camboja. Their country (sometimes called Râmaññadesa) was in Lower Burma and its principal cities were Pegu and Thaton. The identity of the name Talaing with Telingana or Kalinga is not admitted by all scholars, but native tradition connects the foundation of the kingdom with the east coast of India and it seems certain that such a connection existed in historical times and kept alive Hinayanist Buddhism which may have been originally introduced by this route.

The Shan States lie in the east of Burma on the borders of Yünnan and Lao§. Their traditions carry their foundation back to the fourth and fifth centuries b.c. There is no confirmation of this, but bodies of Shans, a race allied to the Siamese, may
have migrated into this region at any date, perhaps bringing Buddhism with them or receiving it direct from China. Recent investigations have shown that there was also a fourth race, designated as Pyus, who occupied territory between the Burmese and Talaings in the eleventh century. They will probably prove of considerable importance for philology and early history, perhaps even for the history of some phases of Burmese Buddhism, for the religious terms found in their inscriptions are Sanskrit rather than Pali and this suggests direct communication with India. But until more information is available any discussion of this interesting but mysterious people involves so many hypotheses and arguments of detail that it is impossible in a work like the present. Prome was one of their principal cities, their name reappears in P'iao, the old Chinese designation of Burma, and perhaps also in Pagan, one form of which is Pugâma.

Throughout the historical period the pre-eminence both in individual kings and dynastic strength rested with the Burmese but their contests with the Shans and Talaings form an intricate story which can be related here only in outline. Though the three races are distinct and still preserve their languages, yet they conquered one another, lived in each other's capitals and shared the same ambitions so that in more recent centuries no great change occurred when new dynasties came to power or territory was redistributed. The long chronicle of bloodstained but ineffectual quarrels is relieved by the exploits of three great kings, Anawrata, Bayin Naung and Alompra.

Historically, Arakan may be detached from the other provinces. The inhabitants represent an early migration from Tagaung and were not annexed by any kingdom in Burma until 1784 A.D. Tagaung, situated on the Upper Irrawaddy in the Ruby Mines district, was the oldest capital of the Burmese and has a scanty history apparently going back to the early centuries of our era. Much the same may be said of the Talaing kingdom in Lower Burma. The kings of Tagaung were succeeded by another dynasty connected with them which reigned at Prome. No dates can be given for these events, nor is the part which the Pyus played in them clear, but it is said that the Talaings

destroyed the kingdom of Prome in 742 A.D. According to tradition the centre of power moved about this time to Pagan on the bank of the Irrawaddy somewhat south of Mandalay. But the silence of early Chinese accounts as to Pagan, which is not mentioned before the Sung dynasty, makes it probable that later writers exaggerated its early importance and it is only when Anawrata, King of Pagan and the first great name in Burmese history, ascended the throne that the course of events becomes clear and coherent. He conquered Thaton in 1057 and transported many of the inhabitants to his own capital. He also subdued the nearer Shan states and was master of nearly all Burma as we understand the term. The chief work of his successors was to construct the multitude of pagodas which still ornament the site of Pagan. It would seem that the dynasty gradually degenerated and that the Shans and Talaings acquired strength at its expense. Its end came in 1298 and was hastened by the invasion of Khubilai Khan. There then arose two simultaneous Shan dynasties at Panya and Sagaing which lasted from 1298 till 1364. They were overthrown by King Thadominpaya who is believed to have been a Shan. He founded Ava which, whether it was held by Burmese or Shans, was regarded as the chief city of Burma until 1752, although throughout this period the kings of Pegu and other districts were frequently independent. During the fourteenth century another kingdom grew up at Toungoo in Lower Burma. Its rulers were originally Shan governors sent from Ava but ultimately they claimed to be descendants of the last king of Pagan and, in this character, Bureng or Bayin Naung (1551–1581), the second great ruler of Burma, conquered Prome, Pegu and Ava. His kingdom began to break up immediately after his death but his dynasty ruled in Ava until the middle of the eighteenth century.

During this period Europeans first made their appearance and quarrels with Portuguese adventurers were added to native
dissensions. The Shans and Talaings became turbulent and after a tumultuous interval the third great national hero, Alaungpaya or Alompra, came to the front. In the short space of eight years (1752–1760), he gained possession of Ava, made the Burmese masters of both the northern and southern provinces, founded Rangoon and invaded both Manipur and Siam. While on the latter expedition he died. Some of his successors held their court at Ava but Bodawpaya built a new capital at Amarapura (1783) and Mindon Min another at Mandalay (1857). The dynasty came to an end in 1886 when King Thibaw was deposed by the Government of India and his dominions annexed.

2

The early history of Buddhism in Burma is obscure, as in most other countries, and different writers have maintained that it was introduced from northern India, the east coast of India, Ceylon, China or Camboja\(^1\). All these views may be in a measure true, for there is reason to believe that it was not introduced at one epoch or from one source or in one form.

It is not remarkable that Indian influence should be strong among the Burmese. The wonder rather is that they have preserved such strong individuality in art, institutions and everyday life, that no one can pass from India into Burma without feeling that he has entered a new country. This is because the mountains which separate it from Eastern Bengal and run right down to the sea form a barrier still sufficient to prevent com-

---

\(^1\) For the history and present condition of Buddhism in Burma the following may be consulted besides other works referred to in the course of this chapter.

M. Bode, *Edition of the Sāsanavamsa* with valuable dissertations, 1897. *This work is a modern Burmese ecclesiastical history written in 1861 by Paññāsāmi.*


Bigandet, *Vie ou Légende de Gautama*, 1878.

Yoe, *The Burman, his life and notions.*


Various articles (especially by Duroiselle, Taw-Sein-Ko and R. C. Temple) in the *Indian Antiquary, Buddhism, and Bulletin de l’École Française de l’Extrême Orient.*
munication by rail. But from the earliest times Indian immigrants and Indian ideas have been able to find their way both by land and sea. According to the Burmese chronicles Tagaung was founded by the Hindu prince Abhirāja in the ninth century B.C. and the kingdom of Arakan claims as its first ruler an ancient prince of Benares. The legends have not much more historical value than the Kshatriya genealogies which Brahmins have invented for the kings of Manipur, but they show that the Burmese knew of India and wished to connect themselves with it. This spirit led not only to the invention of legends but to the application of Indian names to Burmese localities. For instance Aparantaka, which really designates a district of western India, is identified by native scholars with Upper Burma. The two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika who were the first to salute the Buddha after his enlightenment are said to have come from Ukkala. This is usually identified with Orissa but Burmese tradition locates it in Burma. A system of mythical geography has thus arisen.

The Buddha himself is supposed to have visited Burma, as well as Ceylon, in his lifetime and even to have imparted some of his power to the celebrated image which is now in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay. Another resemblance to the Sinhalese story is the evangelization of lower Burma by Asoka's missionaries. The Dipavamsa states that Sona and Uttara were despatched to Suvarṇabhūmi. This is identified with Rāmaṇādesa or the district of Thaton, which appears to be a corruption of Saddhammapura and the tradition is accepted in Burma. The scepticism with which modern scholars have received it is perhaps unmerited, but the preaching of these missionaries, if it ever took place, cannot at present be connected with other historical events. Nevertheless the statement of the Dipavamsa is significant. The work was composed in the fourth century A.D. and taken from older chronicles. It may therefore be con-

1 So too Prome is called Śrīkṣhetra and the name Irrawaddy represents Irāvati (the modern Ravi). The ancient town of Śrāvasti or Sāvatthi is said to reappear in the three forms Tharawaddy, Tharawaw and Thawutti.
3 Dipav. viii. 12, and in a more embellished form in Mahāvamsa xii. 44–54. See also the Kalyani Inscriptions in Indian Ant. 1893, p. 16.
4 Through the form Saton representing Saddhan. Early European travellers called it Satan or Xatan.
cluded that in the early centuries of our era lower Burma had the reputation of being a Buddhist country. It also appears certain that in the eleventh century, when the Talaings were conquered by Anawrata, Buddhist monks and copies of the Tipitaka were found there. But we know little about the country in the preceding centuries. The Kalyani inscription says that before Anawrata's conquest it was divided and decadent and during this period there is no proof of intercourse with Ceylon but also no disproof. One result of Anawrata's conquest of Thaton was that he exchanged religious embassies with the king of Ceylon, and it is natural to suppose that the two monarchs were moved to this step by traditions of previous communications. Intercourse with the east coast of India may be assumed as natural, and is confirmed by the presence of Sanskrit words in old Talaing and the information about southern India in Talaing records, in which the city of Conjevaram, the great commentator Dharmapâla and other men of learning are often mentioned. Analogies have also been traced between the architecture of Pagan and southern India. It will be seen that such communication by sea may have brought not only Hinayanist Buddhism but also Mahayanist and Tantric Buddhism as well as Brahmanism from Bengal and Orissa, so that it is not surprising if all these influences can be detected in the ancient buildings and sculptures of the country. Still the most important evidence as to the character of early Burmese Buddhism is Hinayanist and furnished by inscriptions on thin golden plates and tiles, found near the ancient site of Prome and deciphered by Finot. They consist of Hinayanist religious formulæ: the language is Pali: the alphabet is of a south Indian type and is said to resemble closely that used in the inscriptions of the Kadamba dynasty which ruled in Kanara from the third to the

1 The Burmese identify Aparantaka and Yona to which Asoka also sent missionaries with Upper Burma and the Shan country. But this seems to be merely a misapplication of Indian names.

2 See Forchhammer, Jardine Prize Essay, 1885, pp. 23–27. He also says that the earliest Talaing alphabet is identical with the Vengi alphabet of the fourth century A.D. Burma Archaeol. Report, 1917, p. 29.

3 See R. C. Temple, "Notes on Antiquities of Rāmaññadesa," Ind. Antiq. 1893, pp. 327 ff. Though I admit the possibility that Mahāyānism and Tantrism may have flourished in Upper Burma, it does not seem to me that the few Hindu figures reproduced in this article prove very much.

sixth century. It is to the latter part of this period that the inscriptions are to be attributed. They show that a form of the Hinayana, comparable, so far as the brief documents permit us to judge, with the church of Ceylon, was then known in lower Burma and was probably the state church. The character of the writing, taken together with the knowledge of southern India shown by the Talaing chronicles and the opinion of the Dipavamsa that Burma was a Buddhist country, is good evidence that lower Burma had accepted Hinayanism before the sixth century and had intercourse with southern India. More than that it would perhaps be rash to say.

The Burmese tradition that Buddhaghosa was a native of Thaton and returned thither from Ceylon merits more attention than it has received. It can be easily explained away as patriotic fancy. On the other hand, if Buddhaghosa’s object was to invigorate Hinayanism in India, the result of his really stupendous labours was singularly small, for in India his name is connected with no religious movement. But if we suppose that he went to Ceylon by way of the holy places in Magadha and returned from the Coromandel Coast to Burma where Hinayanism afterwards flourished, we have at least a coherent narrative.

It is noticeable that Tāranātha states that in the Koki countries, among which he expressly mentions Pukham (Pagan) and Hamsavatī (Pegu), Hinayanism was preached from the days of Asoka onwards, but that the Mahayana was not known until the pupils of Vasubandhu introduced it.

The presence of Hinayanism in Lower Burma naturally did not prevent the arrival of Mahayanism. It has not left many certain traces but Atiśa (c. 1000), a great figure in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, is reported to have studied both in Magadha and in Suvarnavīpa by which Thaton must be meant. He would hardly have done this, had the clergy of Thaton been unfriendly to Tantric learning. This mediæval Buddhism was also, as in other countries, mixed with Hinduism.

1 It is remarkable that Buddhaghosa commenting on Ang. Nik. 1.14. 6 (quoted by Forchhammer) describes the merchants of Ukkala as inhabiting Asitañjana in the region of Hamsavatī or Pegu. This identification of Ukkala with Burmese territory is a mistake but accepted in Burma and it is more likely that a Burmese would have made it than a Hindu.

2 Chap. xxxix.
but whereas in Camboja and Champa Śivaism, especially the worship of the lingam, was long the official and popular cult and penetrated to Siam, few Śivaite emblems but numerous statues of Vishnūite deities have hitherto been discovered in Burma.

The above refers chiefly to Lower Burma. The history of Burmese Buddhism becomes clearer in the eleventh century but before passing to this new period we must enquire what was the religious condition of Upper Burma in the centuries preceding it. It is clear that any variety of Buddhism or Brahmanism may have entered this region from India by land at any epoch. According to both Hsüan Chuang and I-Ching Buddhism flourished in Samaṭata and the latter mentions images of Avalokita and the reading of the Prajnā-pāramitā. The precise position of Samaṭata has not been fixed but in any case it was in the east of Bengal and not far from the modern Burmese frontier. The existence of early Sanskrit inscriptions at Taungu and elsewhere has been recorded but not with as much detail as could be wished. Figures of Bodhisattvas and Indian deities are reported from Prome, and in the Lower Chindwin district are rock-cut temples resembling the caves of Barabar in Bengal. Inscriptions also show that at Prome there were kings, perhaps in the seventh century, who used the Pyu language but bore Sanskrit titles. According to Burmese tradition the Buddha himself visited the site of Pagan and prophesied that a king called Sammutiraya would found a city there and establish the faith. This prediction is said to have been fulfilled in 108 A.D. but the notices quoted from the Burmese chronicles are concerned less with the progress of true religion than with the prevalence of heretics known as Aris¹. It has been conjectured that this name is a corruption of Ārya but it appears that the correct orthography is araṇyaka, that is forest priests. It is hard to say whether they were degraded Buddhists or an indigenous priesthood who in some

ways imitated what they knew of Brahmanic and Buddhist institutions. They wore black robes, let their hair grow, worshipped serpents, hung up in their temples the heads of animals that had been sacrificed, and once a year they assisted the king to immolate a victim to the Nats on a mountain top. They claimed power to expiate all sins, even parricide. They lived in convents (which is their only real resemblance to Buddhist monks) but were not celibate. Anawrata is said to have suppressed the Aris but he certainly did not extirpate them for an inscription dated 1468 records their existence in the Myingyan district. Also in a village near Pagan are preserved Tantric frescoes representing Bodhisattvas with their Šaktis. In one temple is an inscription dated 1248 and requiring the people to supply the priests morning and evening with rice, beef, betel, and a jar of spirits. It is not clear whether these priests were Aris or not, but they evidently professed an extreme form of Buddhist Šaktism.

Chinese influences in Upper Burma must also be taken into account. Burmese kings were perhaps among the many potentates who sent religious embassies to the Emperor Wu-ti about 525 A.D. and the T'ang annals show an acquaintance with Burma. They describe the inhabitants as devout Buddhists, reluctant to take life or even to wear silk, since its manufacture involves the death of the silk worms. There were a hundred monasteries into which the youth entered at the age of seven, leaving at the age of twenty, if they did not intend to become monks. The Chinese writer does not seem to have regarded the religion of Burma as differing materially from Buddhism as he knew it and some similarities in ecclesiastical terminology shown by Chinese and Burmese may indicate the presence of Chinese

1 The Aris are further credited with having practised a sort of *jus primae noctis*. See on this question the chapter on Camboja and alleged similar customs there.

2 See Burma Arch. Rep. 1916, pp. 12, 13. They seem to have been similar to the Nilapatanadarsana of Ceylon. The Prabodhacandrodaya (about 1100 A.D.) represents Buddhist monks as drunken and licentious.

3 See Parker, Burma, 1892. The annalists says “There is a huge white elephant (or image) 100 feet high. Litigants burn incense and kneel before it, reflecting within themselves whether they are right or wrong. . . . When there is any disaster or plague the king also kneels in front of it and blames himself.” The Chinese character means either image or elephant, but surely the former must be the meaning here.
influence\(^1\). But this influence, though possibly strong between the sixth and tenth centuries A.D., and again about the time of the Chinese invasion of 1284\(^2\), cannot be held to exclude Indian influence.

Thus when Anawrata came to the throne\(^3\) several forms of religion probably co-existed at Pagan. and probably most of them were corrupt, though it is a mistake to think of his dominions as barbarous. The reformation which followed is described by Burmese authors in considerable detail and as usual in such accounts is ascribed to the activity of one personality, the Thera Arahanta who came from Thaton and enjoyed Anawrata’s confidence. The story implies that there was a party in Pagan which knew that the prevalent creed was corrupt and also looked upon Thaton and Ceylon as religious centres. As Anawrata was a man of arms rather than a theologian, we may conjecture that his motive was to concentrate in his capital the flower of learning as known in his time—a motive which has often animated successful princes in Asia and led to the uncereemonious seizure of living saints. According to the story he broke up the communities of Aris at the instigation of Arahanta and then sent a mission to Manohari, king of Pegu, asking for a copy of the Tipiţaka and for relics. He received a contemptuous reply intimating that he was not to be trusted with such sacred objects. Anawrata in indignation collected an army, marched against the Talaings and ended by carrying off to Pagan not only elephant loads of scriptures and relics, but also all the Talaing monks and nobles with the king himself\(^4\). The Piţakas were stored in a splendid pagoda and Anawrata

---

\(^1\) See Taw-Sein-Ko, in *Ind. Antiquary*, 1906, p. 211. But I must confess that I have not been able to follow or confirm all the etymologies suggested by him.

\(^2\) See for Chinese remains at Pagan, *Report of the Superintendent, Arch. Survey, Burma*, for year ending 31st March, 1910, pp. 20, 21. An inscription at Pagan records that in 1285 Khubilai’s troops were accompanied by monks sent to evangelize Burma. Both troops and monks halted at Tagaung and both were subsequently withdrawn. See *Arch. Survey*, 1917, p. 38.

\(^3\) The date of Anawrata’s conquest of Thaton seems to be now fixed by inscriptions as 1057 A.D., though formerly supposed to be earlier. See *Burma Arch. Rep. 1916*. For Anawrata’s religious reforms see *Sāsanavamsa*, pp. 17 ff. and 57 ff.

\(^4\) It has been noted that many of the inscriptions explanatory of the scenes depicted on the walls of the Ananda temple at Pagan are in Talaing, showing that it was some time before the Burmans were able to assimilate the culture of the conquered country.
sent to Ceylon\(^1\) for others which were compared with the copies obtained from Thaton in order to settle the text\(^2\).

For 200 years, that is from about 1060 A.D. until the later decades of the thirteenth century, Pagan was a great centre of Buddhist culture not only for Burma but for the whole east, renowned alike for its architecture and its scholarship. The former can still be studied in the magnificent pagodas which mark its site. Towards the end of his reign Anawrata made not very successful attempts to obtain relics from China and Ceylon and commenced the construction of the Shwe Zigon pagoda. He died before it was completed but his successors, who enjoyed fairly peaceful reigns, finished the work and constructed about a thousand other buildings among which the most celebrated is the Ananda temple erected by King Kyansithâ\(^3\).

Pali literature in Burma begins with a little grammatical treatise known as Kârikâ and composed in 1084 A.D. by the monk Dhammasenâpati who lived in the monastery attached to this temple. A number of other works followed. Of these the most celebrated was the Saddanîti of Aggavamsa (1154), a treatise on the language of the Tipiïaka which became a classic not only in Burma but in Ceylon. A singular enthusiasm for linguistic studies prevailed especially in the reign of Kyovâ (c. 1230), when even women are said to have been distinguished for the skill and ardour which they displayed in conquering the difficulties of Pali grammar. Some treatises on the Abhidhamma were also produced.

Like Mohammedanism, Hinayanist Buddhism is too simple and definite to admit much variation in doctrine, but its clergy are prone to violent disputes about apparently trivial questions. In the thirteenth century such disputes assumed grave proportions in Burma. About 1175 A.D. a celebrated elder named

\(^1\) So the Sâilanavamsa, p. 64 and p. 20. See also Bode, Pali Literature of Burma, p. 15. But the Mahâvamsa, lx. 4–7, while recording the communications between Vijaya Bahu and Aniruddha (=Anawrata) represents Ceylon as asking for monks from Râmañña, which implies that lower Burma was even then regarded as a Buddhist country with a fine tradition.

\(^2\) The Burmese canon adds four works to the Khuddaka-Nikâya, namely: (a) Milinda Païha, (b) Netti-Pakarañã, (c) Suttasañgaha, (d) Petakopadesa.

\(^3\) Inscriptions give his reign as 1084–1112 A.D. See Burma Arch. Rep. 1916, p. 24. Among many other remarkable edifices may be mentioned the Thapinyu or Thabbanu (1100), the Gaudapalin (1160) and the Bodhi (c. 1200) which is a copy of the temple at Bodhgaya.
Uttarâjīva accompanied by his pupil Chapaṭa left for Ceylon. They spent some years in study at the Mahâvihâra and Chapaṭa received ordination there. He returned to Pagan with four other monks and maintained that valid ordination could be conferred only through the monks of the Mahâvihâra, who alone had kept the succession unbroken. He with his four companions, having received this ordination, claimed power to transmit it, but he declined to recognize Burmese orders. This pretension aroused a storm of opposition, especially from the Talaing monks. They maintained that Arahanta who had reformed Buddhism under Anawrata was spiritually descended from the missionaries sent by Asoka, who were as well qualified to administer ordination as Mahinda. But Chapaṭa was not only a man of learning and an author but also a vigorous personality and in favour at Court. He had the best of the contest and succeeded in making the Talaing school appear as seceders from orthodoxy. There thus arose a distinction between the Sinhalese or later school and the old Burmese school, who regarded one another as schismatics. A scandal was caused in the Sinhalese community by Râhula, the ablest of Chapaṭa’s disciples, who fell in love with an actress and wished to become a layman. His colleagues induced him to leave the country for decency’s sake and peace was restored but subsequently, after Chapaṭa’s death, the remaining three disciples fell out on questions of discipline rather than doctrine and founded three factions, which can hardly be called schools, although they refused to keep the Uposatha days together. The light of religion shone brightest at Pagan early in the thirteenth century while these three brethren were alive and the Sâsanavamsa states that at least three Arhats lived in the city. But the power of Pagan collapsed under attacks from both Chinese and Shans at the end of the century

1 The best known of his works are the Sutta-niddesa on grammar and the Sankhepavâganâ. The latter is a commentary on the Abhidhammattha-sangaha, but it is not certain if Chapaṭa composed it or merely translated it from the Sinhalese.

2 Some authorities speak as if the four disciples of Chapaṭa had founded four sects, but the reprobate Râhula can hardly have done this. The above account is taken from the Kalyani inscription, Ind. Ant. 1893, pp. 30, 31. It says very distinctly “There were in Pugama (Pagan) 4 sects. 1. The successors of the priests who introduced the religion from Sudhammanâgara (i.e. the Mramma Sangha). 2. The disciples of Sivalimahâthera. 3. The disciples of Tâmalindamahâthera. 4. The disciples of Ânanda Mahâthera.”
and the last king became a monk under the compulsion of Shan chiefs. The deserted city appears to have lost its importance as a religious centre, for the ecclesiastical chronicles shift the scene elsewhere.

The two Shan states which arose from the ruin of Pagan, namely Panya (Vijayapura) and Sagaing (Jeyyapura), encouraged religion and learning. Their existence probably explains the claim made in Siamese inscriptions of about 1300 that the territory of Siam extended to Hamsavati or Pegu and this contact of Burma and Siam was of great importance for it must be the origin of Pali Buddhism in Siam which otherwise remains unexplained.

After the fall of the two Shan states in 1364, Ava (or Ratnapura) which was founded in the same year gradually became the religious centre of Upper Burma and remained so during several centuries. But it did not at first supersede older towns inasmuch as the loss of political independence did not always involve the destruction of monasteries. Buddhism also flourished in Pegu and the Talaing country where the vicissitudes of the northern kingdoms did not affect its fortunes.

Anawrata had transported the most eminent Theras of Thaton to Pagan and the old Talaing school probably suffered temporarily. Somewhat later we hear that the Sinhalese school was introduced into these regions by Sāriputta, who had been ordained at Pagan. About the same time two Theras of Martaban, preceptors of the Queen, visited Ceylon and on returning to their own land after being ordained at the Mahāvihāra considered themselves superior to other monks. But the old Burmese school continued to exist. Not much literature was produced in the south. Sāriputta was the author of a Dhammathat or code, the first of a long series of law books based upon Manu. Somewhat later Mahāyasa of Thaton (c. 1370) wrote several grammatical works.

The most prosperous period for Buddhism in Pegu was the reign of Dhammaceti, also called Rāmādhipati (1460–1491). He was not of the royal family, but a simple monk who helped a princess of Pegu to escape from the Burmese court where she was detained. In 1453 this princess became Queen of Pegu and Dhammaceti left his monastery to become her prime minister,

---

1 Also known by the title of Dhammavitasa. He was active in 1246.
son-in-law and ultimately her successor. But though he had returned to the world his heart was with the Church. He was renowned for his piety no less than for his magnificence and is known to modern scholars as the author of the Kalyani inscriptions\(^1\), which assume the proportions of a treatise on ecclesiastical laws and history. Their chief purpose is to settle an intricate and highly technical question, namely the proper method of defining and consecrating a *simā*. This word, which means literally *boundary*, signifies a plot of ground within which Uposatha meetings, ordinations and other ceremonies can take place. The expression occurs in the Vinaya Piṭaka\(^2\), but the area there contemplated seems to be an ecclesiastical district within which the Bhikkhus were obliged to meet for Uposatha. The modern *simā* is much smaller\(^3\), but more important since it is maintained that valid ordination can be conferred only within its limits. To Dhammaceti the question seemed momentous, for as he explains, there were in southern Burma six schools who would not meet for Uposatha. These were, first the Camboja\(^4\) school (identical with the Arahanta school) who claimed spiritual descent from the missionaries sent by Asoka to Suvarṇabhūmi, and then five divisions of the Sinhalese school, namely the three founded by Chapata’s disciples as already related and two more founded by the theras of Martaban. Dhammaceti accordingly sent a mission to Ceylon charged to obtain an authoritative ruling as to the proper method of consecrating a *simā* and conferring ordination. On their return a locality known as the Kalyanisimā was consecrated in the manner prescribed by the Mahāviḥāra and during three years all the Bhikkhus of Dhammaceti’s kingdom were reordained there. The total number reached 15,666, and the king boasts that he had thus purified religion and made the school of the Mahāviḥāra the only sect, all other distinctions being obliterated.

---

\(^1\) Found in Zaingganaing, a suburb of Pegu. The text, translation and notes are contained in various articles by Taw-Sein-Ko in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1893–4.

\(^2\) Mahāvagga, ii. 11, 12, 13.

\(^3\) According to Taw-Sein-Ko (*Ind. Ant.* 1893, p. 11) “about 105 or 120 feet in perimeter.”

\(^4\) No contact with Cambojan religion is implied. The *soct* was so called because its chief monastery was near the Camboja market and this derived its name from the fact that many Cambojan (probably meaning Shan) prisoners were confined near it.
There can be little doubt that in the fifteenth century Burmese Buddhism had assumed the form which it still has, but was this form due to indigenous tradition or to imitation of Ceylon? Five periods merit attention. (a) In the sixth century, and probably several centuries earlier, Hinayanism was known in Lower Burma. The inscriptions attesting its existence are written in Pali and in a south Indian alphabet. (b) Anawrata (1010–1052) purified the Buddhism of Upper Burma with the help of scriptures obtained from the Talaing country, which were compared with other scriptures brought from Ceylon. (c) About 1200 Chapata and his pupils who had studied in Ceylon and received ordination there refused to recognize the Talaing monks and two hostile schools were founded, pre-dominant at first in Upper and Lower Burma respectively. (d) About 1250 the Sinhalese school, led by Sāriputta and others, began to make conquests in Lower Burma at the expense of the Talaing school. (e) Two centuries later, about 1460, Dhammaceti of Pegu boasts that he has purified religion and made the school of the Mahâvihâra, that is the most orthodox form of the Sinhalese school, the only sect.

In connection with these data must be taken the important statement that the celebrated Tantrist Atiśa studied in Lower Burma about 1000 A.D. Up to a certain point the conclusion seems clear. Pali Hinayanism in Burma was old: intercourse with southern India and Ceylon tended to keep it pure, whereas intercourse with Bengal and Orissa, which must have been equally frequent, tended to import Mahayanism. In the time of Anawrata the religion of Upper Burma probably did not deserve the name of Buddhism. He introduced in its place the Buddhism of Lower Burma, tempered by reference to Ceylon. After 1200 if not earlier the idea prevailed that the Mahâvihâra was the standard of orthodoxy and that the Talaing church (which probably retained some Mahayanist features) fell below it. In the fifteenth century this view was universally accepted, the opposition and indeed the separate existence of the Talaing church having come to an end.

But it still remains uncertain whether the earliest Burmese Buddhism came direct from Magadha or from the south. The story of Asoka's missionaries cannot be summarily rejected
but it also cannot be accepted without hesitation. It is the Ceylon chronicle which knows of them and communication between Burma and southern India was old and persistent. It may have existed even before the Christian era.

After the fall of Pagan, Upper Burma, of which we must now speak, passed through troubled times and we hear little of religion or literature. Though Ava was founded in 1364 it did not become an intellectual centre for another century. But the reign of Narapati (1442–1468) was ornamented by several writers of eminence among whom may be mentioned the monk poet Silavamsa and Ariyavamsa, an exponent of the Abhidhamma. They are noticeable as being the first writers to publish religious works, either original or translated, in the vernacular and this practice steadily increased. In the early part of the sixteenth century occurred the only persecution of Buddhism known in Burma. Thohanbwá, a Shan who had become king of Ava, endeavoured to exterminate the order by deliberate massacre and delivered temples, monasteries and libraries to the flames. The persecution did not last long nor extend to other districts but it created great indignation among the Burmese and was perhaps one of the reasons why the Shan dynasty of Ava was overthrown in 1555.

Bayin (or Bureng) Naung stands out as one of the greatest personalities in Burmese history. As a Buddhist he was zealous even to intolerance, since he forced the Shans and Moslims of the northern districts, and indeed all his subjects, to make a formal profession of Buddhism. He also, as related elsewhere, made not very successful attempts to obtain the tooth relic from Ceylon. But it is probable that his active patronage of the faith, as shown in the construction and endowment of religious buildings, was exercised chiefly in Pegu and this must be the reason why the Sásanavamsa (which is interested chiefly in Upper Burma) says little about him.

His successors showed little political capacity but encouraged religion and literature. The study of the Abhidhamma was

---

1 In favour of it, it may be said that the Dipavamsa and the earlier traditions on which the Dipavamsa is based are ancient and impartial witnesses: against it, that Asoka’s attention seems to have been directed westwards, not towards Bengal and Burma, and that no very early proof of the existence of Buddhism in Burma has been found.

2 Apparently about 1525–1530.
specially flourishing in the districts of Ava and Sagaing from about 1600 to 1650 and found many illustrious exponents. Besides works in Pali, the writers of this time produced numerous Burmese translations and paraphrases of Abhidhamma works, as well as edifying stories.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Burma was in a disturbed condition and the Sāsanavamsa says that religion was dimmed as the moon by clouds. A national and religious revival came with the victories of Alompra (1752 onwards), but the eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of a curious and not very edifying controversy which divided the Sangha for about a hundred years and spread to Ceylon. It concerned the manner in which the upper robe of a monk, consisting of a long piece of cloth, should be worn. The old practice in Burma was to wrap this cloth round the lower body from the loins to the ankles, and draw the end from the back over the left shoulder and thence across the breast over the right shoulder so that it finally hung loose behind. But about 1698 began the custom of walking with the right shoulder bare, that is to say letting the end of the robe fall down in front on the left side. The Sangha became divided into two factions known as Ekamsika (one-shouldered) and Pārupana (fully clad). The bitterness of the seemingly trivial controversy was increased by the fact that the Ekamsikas could produce little scriptural warrant and appealed to late authorities or the practice in Ceylon, thus neglecting sound learning. For the Vinaya frequently prescribes that the robe is to be adjusted so as to fall over only one shoulder as a mark of special respect, which implies that it was usually worn over both shoulders. In 1712 and again about twenty years later arbitrators were appointed by the king to hear both sides, but they had not sufficient authority or learning

---

1 See Sāsanavamsa, pp. 118 ff.
2 E.g. Mahāvagga, i. 29, 2; iv. 3, 3. Ekamsam uttarāsangam karitvā. But both arrangements of drapery are found in the oldest images of the Buddha and perhaps the Ekamsika fashion is the commoner. See Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India, 1901, p. 172. Though these images are considerably later than the Mahāvagga and prove nothing as to the original practice of the Sangha, yet they show that the Ekamsika fashion prevailed at a relatively early period. It now prevails in Siam and partly in Ceylon. I-Ching (chap. xi.) has a discussion on the way robes were worn in India (c. 680 A.D.) which is very obscure but seems to say that monks may keep their shoulders covered while in a monastery but should uncover one when they go out.
to give a decided opinion. The stirring political events of 1740 and
the following years naturally threw ecclesiastical quarrels into the
shade but when the great Alompra had disposed of his enemies
he appeared as a modern Asoka. The court religiously observed
Uposatha days and the king was popularly believed to be a
Bodhisattva. He was not however sound on the great question of
ecclesiastical dress. His chaplain, Atula, belonged to the
Ekamsika party and the king, saying that he wished to go into
the whole matter himself but had not for the moment leisure,
provisionally ordered the Saṅgha to obey Atula’s ruling. But
some champions of the other side stood firm. Alompra dealt
leniently with them, but died during his Siamese campaign
before he had time to unravel the intricacies of the Vinaya.

The influence of Atula, who must have been an astute if not
learned man, continued after the king’s death and no measures
were taken against the Ekamsikas, although King Hsin-byu-shin
(1763–1776) persecuted an heretical sect called Paramats. His
youthful successor, Sing-gu-sa, was induced to hold a public
disputation. The Ekamsikas were defeated in this contest and
a royal decree was issued making the Pārulpana discipline
obligatory. But the vexed question was not settled for it came
up again in the long reign (1781–1819) of Bodópayá. This king
has won an evil reputation for cruelty and insensate conceit,
but he was a man of vigour and kept together his great empire.
His megalomania naturally detracted from the esteem won by
his piety. His benefactions to religion were lavish, the shrines
and monasteries which he built innumerable. But he desired to
build a pagoda larger than any in the world and during some
twenty years wasted an incalculable amount of labour and
money on this project, still commemorated by a gigantic but
unfinished mass of brickwork now in ruins. In order to supervise
its erection he left his palace and lived at Mingun, where he

---

1 Sāmaṇav. p. 123. Sakala-Maramma-raṭṭhavāsino ca: ayaṃ amhakām rājā
bodhisatto ti vohārimeu. In the Po-U-Daung inscription, Alompra’s son, Hain-
byu-shin. says twice “In virtue of this my good deed, may I become a Buddha,...
an omniscient one.” Indian Antiquary, 1893, pp. 2 and 5. There is something
Mahāyānist in this aspiration. Cf. too the inscriptions of the Siamese King Śrī-
Sūryavamsa Rāma mentioned below.

2 They were Puritans who objected to shrines and images and are said to be
represented to-day by the Sawti sect.

3 See The Burmese Empire by the Italian Father Sangermano, who went to
Burma in 1783 and lived there about 20 years.
conceived the idea that he was a Buddha, an idea which had not been entirely absent from the minds of Alompra and Hsin-byu-shin. It is to the credit of the Theras that, despite the danger of opposing an autocrat as cruel as he was crazy, they refused to countenance these pretensions and the king returned to his palace as an ordinary monarch.

If he could not make himself a Buddha, he at least disposed of the Ekamsika dispute, and was probably influenced in his views by Nānābhivamsa, a monk of the Pārupana school whom he made his chaplain, although Atula was still alive. At first he named a commission of enquiry, the result of which was that the Ekamsikas admitted that their practice could not be justified from the scriptures but only by tradition. A royal decree was issued enjoining the observance of the Pārupana discipline, but two years later Atula addressed a letter to the king in which he maintained that the Ekamsika costume was approved in a work called Cūlagāṇṭhipada, composed by Moggalāna, the immediate disciple of the Buddha. The king ordered representatives of both parties to examine this contention and the debate between them is dramatically described in the Sāsanavamsa. It was demonstrated that the text on which Atula relied was composed in Ceylon by a therā named Moggalāna who lived in the twelfth century and that it quoted mediæval Sinhalese commentaries. After this exposure the Ekamsika party collapsed. The king commanded (1784) the Pārupana discipline to be observed and at last the royal order received obedience.

It will be observed that throughout this controversy both sides appealed to the king, as if he had the right to decide the point in dispute, but that his decision had no compelling power as long as it was not supported by evidence. He could ensure toleration for views regarded by many as heretical, but was unable to force the views of one party on the other until the winning cause had publicly disproved the contentions of its opponents. On the other hand the king had practical control of the hierarchy, for his chaplain was de facto head of the Church and the appointment was strictly personal. It was not the practice for a king to take on his predecessor’s chaplain and the latter could not, like a Lamaist or Catholic ecclesiastic, claim any permanent supernatural powers. Bodópayá did something towards organizing the hierarchy for he appointed four
elders of repute to be Saṅgharājas or, so to speak, Bishops, with four more as assistants and over them all his chaplain ṇana as Archbishop. ṇana was a man of energy and lived in turn in various monasteries supervising the discipline and studies.

In spite of the extravagances of Bodōpayā, the Church was flourishing and respected in his reign. The celebrated image called Mahāmuni was transferred from Arakan to his capital together with a Sanskrit library, and Burma sent to Ceylon not only the monks who founded the Amarapura school but also numerous Pali texts. This prosperity continued in the reigns of Bagyidaw, Tharrawadi and Pagan-min, who were of little personal account. The first ordered the compilation of the Yazawin, a chronicle which was not original but incorporated and superseded other works of the same kind. In his reign arose a question as to the validity of grants of land, etc., for religious purposes. It was decided in the sense most favourable to the order, viz. that such grants are perpetual and are not invalidated by the lapse of time. About 1845 there was a considerable output of vernacular literature. The Dīgha, Samyutta and Anguttara Nikāyas with their commentaries were translated into Burmese but no compositions in Pali are recorded.

From 1852 till 1877 Burma was ruled by Mindon-min, who if not a national hero was at least a pious, peace-loving, capable king. His chaplain, Paññasāmi, composed the Sāsanavamsa, or ecclesiastical history of Burma, and the king himself was ambitious to figure as a great Buddhist monarch, though with more sanity than Bodōpayā, for his chief desire was to be known as the Convener of the Fifth Buddhist Council. The body so styled met from 1868 to 1871 and, like the ancient Saṅgītis, proceeded to recite the Tipiṭaka in order to establish the correct text. The result may still be seen at Mandalay in the collection of buildings commonly known as the four hundred and fifty Pagodas: a central Stupa surrounded by hundreds of small shrines each sheltering a perpendicular tablet on which a portion of this veritable bible in stone is inscribed. Mindon-min also corrected the growing laxity of the Bhikkhus, and the esteem in which the Burmese church was held at this time is shown by the fact that the monks of Ceylon sent a deputation to the Saṅgharāja of Mandalay referring to his decision a dispute about a simā or ecclesiastical boundary.
Midon-min was succeeded by Thibaw, who was deposed by the British. The Saṅgharāja maintained his office until he died in 1895. An interregnum then occurred for the appointment had always been made by the king, not by the Sangha. But when Lord Curzon visited Burma in 1901 he made arrangements for the election by the monks themselves of a superior of the whole order and Taunggwin Sayâdaw was solemnly installed in this office by the British authorities in 1903 with the title of Thathanabaing.

3

We may now examine briefly some sides of popular religion and institutions which are not Buddhist. It is an interesting fact that the Burmese law books or Dhammathats, which are still accepted as regulating inheritance and other domestic matters, are Indian in origin and show no traces of Sinhalese influence although since 1750 there has been a decided tendency to bring them into connection with authorities accepted by Buddhism. The earliest of these codes are those of Dhammavilāsa (1174 A.D.) and of Waguru, king of Martaban in 1280. They professedly base themselves on the authority of Manu and, so far as purely legal topics are concerned, correspond pretty closely with the rules of the Mānava-dharmaśāstra. But they omit all prescriptions which involve Brahmanic religious observances such as penance and sacrifice. Also the theory of punishment is different and inspired by the doctrine of Karma, namely, that every evil deed will bring its own retribution. Hence the Burmese codes ordain for every crime not penalties to be suffered by the criminal but merely the payment of compensation to the party aggrieved, proportionate to the damage suffered. It is probable that the law-books on which these codes were based were brought from the east coast of India and

1 Thathana is the Pali Sāsana. In Burmese pronunciation the s of Indian words regularly appears as th (= θ), r as y and j as z. Thus Thagyā for Sakra, Yazawin for Rājāvamsa.


3 This theory did not prevent the kings of Burma and their subordinates from inflicting atrociously cruel punishments.
were of the same type as the code of Nārada, which, though of unquestioned Brahmanic orthodoxy, is almost purely legal and has little to say about religion. A subsidiary literature embodying local decisions naturally grew up, and about 1640 was summarized by a Burmese nobleman called Kaing-zâ in the Mahārāja-dhammathat. He received from the king the title of Manurāja and the name of Manu became connected with his code, though it is really based on local custom. It appears to have superseded older law-books until the reign of Alompra who remodelled the administration and caused several codes to be compiled. These also preserve the name of Manu, but he and Kaing-zâ are treated as the same personage. The rules of the older law-books are in the main retained but are made to depend on Buddhist texts. Later Dhammathats become more and more decidedly Buddhist. Thus the Mohavicchedani (1832) does not mention Manu but presents the substance of the Manu Dhammathats as the law preached by the Buddha.

Direct Indian influence may be seen in another department not unimportant in an oriental country. The court astrologers, soothsayers and professors of kindred sciences were even in recent times Brahmans, known as Pōnnâ and mostly from Manipur. An inscription found at Pagan and dated 1442 mentions the gift of 295 books to the Sangha among which several have Sanskrit titles and about 1600 we hear of Pandits learned in the Vedaśāstras, meaning not Vedic learning in the strict sense but combinations of science and magic described as medicine, astronomy, Kāmaśāstras, etc. Hindu tradition was sufficiently strong at the court to make the presence of experts in the Atharva Veda seem desirable and in the capital they were in request for such services as drawing up horoscopes and

---

1 Forchhammer gives a list of 39 Dhammathats compiled between 1753 and 1882.

2 They seem to have included tantric works of the Mahākāla-cakra type. See Bode, Pali Lit. of Burma, p. 108, Nos. 270, 271. But the name is given in the Pali form cakkha.

3 Among usages borrowed from Hinduism may be mentioned the daily washing in holy water of the image in the Arakan temple at Mandalay. Formerly court festivities, such as the New Year's feast and the festival of ploughing, were performed by Pōnnâs and with Indian rites. On the other hand the Rāmāyana does not seem to have the same influence on art and literature that it has had in Siam and Java, though scenes from it are sometimes depicted. See Report, Supt. Archæolog. Survey, Burma, 1908, p. 22.
invoking good luck at weddings whereas monks will not attend social gatherings.

More important as a non-Buddhist element in Burmese religion is the worship of Nats\(^1\) or spirits of various kinds. Of the prevalence of such worship there is no doubt, but I cannot agree with the authorities who say that it is the practical religion of the Burmese. No passing tourist can fail to see that in the literal as well as figurative sense Burma takes its colour from Buddhism, from the gilded and vermilion pagodas and the yellow robed priests. It is impossible that so much money should be given, so many lives dedicated to a religion which had not a real hold on the hearts of the people. The worship of Nats, wide-spread though it be, is humble in its outward signs and is a superstition rather than a creed. On several occasions the kings of Burma have suppressed its manifestations when they became too conspicuous. Thus Anawrata destroyed the Nat houses of Pagan and recent kings forbade the practice of firing guns at funerals to scare the evil spirits.

Nats are of at least three classes, or rather have three origins. Firstly they are nature spirits, similar to those revered in China and Tibet. They inhabit noticeable natural features of every kind, particularly trees, rivers and mountains; they may be specially connected with villages, houses or individuals. Though not essentially evil they are touchy and vindictive, punishing neglect or discourtesy with misfortune and ill-luck. No explanation is offered as to the origin of many Nats, but others, who may be regarded as forming the second category, are ghosts or ancestral spirits. In northern Burma Chinese influence encouraged ancestor worship, but apart from this there is a disposition (equally evident in India) to believe that violent and uncanny persons and those who meet with a tragic death become powerful ghosts requiring propitiation. Thirdly, there are Nats who are at least in part identified with the Indian deities recognized by early Buddhism. It would seem that the Thirty Seven Nats, described in a work called the Mahâgâtâ Medânîgyân, correspond to the Thirty Three Gods of Buddhist mythology, but that the number has been raised for unknown purposes.

\(^1\) See especially *The Thirty Seven Nats* by Sir R. C. Temple, 1906, and *Burma* by Sir J. G. Scott, 1906, pp. 380 ff. The best authorities seem agreed that Nat is not the Sanskrit Nâtha but an indigenous word of unknown derivation.
reasons to 37. They are spirits of deceased heroes, and there is nothing unbuddhist in this conception, for the Piṭakas frequently represent deserving persons as being reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty Three. The chief is Thagyā, the Sakra or Indra of Hindu mythology, but the others are heroes, connected with five cycles of legends based on a popular and often inaccurate version of Burmese history.

Besides Thagyā Nat we find other Indian figures such as Man Nat (Māra) and Byammā Nat (Brahmā). In diagrams illustrating the Buddhist cosmology of the Burmans a series of heavens is depicted, ascending from those of the Four Kings and Thirty Three Gods up to the Brahmā worlds, and each inhabited by Nats according to their degree. Here the spirits of Burma are marshalled and classified according to Buddhist system just as were the spirits of India some centuries before. But neither in ancient India nor in modern Burma have the devas or Nats anything to do with the serious business of religion. They have their place in temples as guardian genii and the whole band may be seen in a shrine adjoining the Shwe-zigon Pagoda at Pagan, but this interferes no more with the supremacy of the Buddha than did the deputations of spirits who according to the scriptures waited on him.

4

Buddhism is a real force in Burmese life and the pride of the Burmese people. Every male Burman enters a monastery when he is about 15 for a short stay. Devout parents send their sons for the four months of Was (or even for this season during three successive years), but by the majority a period of from one month to one week is considered sufficient. To omit this stay in a monastery altogether would not be respectable: it is in common esteem the only way to become a human being, for without it a boy is a mere animal. The praises of the Buddha

---

1 Possibly in order to include four female spirits: or possibly because it was felt that sundry later heroes had as strong a claim to membership of this distinguished body as the original 33.

2 It is noticeable that Thagyā comes from the Sanskrit Sakra not the Pali Sakka. Th = Sk. s: y = Sk. r.

3 See R. C. Temple, The Thirty Seven Nats, chaps. x.–xiii., for these cycles.

4 E.g. R. C. Temple, l.c. p. 36.
and vows to lead a good life are commonly recited by the laity every morning and evening. It is the greatest ambition of most Burmans to build a pagoda and those who are able to do so (a large percentage of the population to judge from the number of buildings) are not only sure of their reward in another birth but even now enjoy respect and receive the title of pagoda-builder. Another proof of devotion is the existence of thousands of monasteries—perhaps on an average more than two for each large village and town—built and supported by voluntary contributions. The provision of food and domicile for their numerous inmates is no small charge on the nation, but observers are agreed that it is cheerfully paid and that the monks are worthy of what they receive. In energy and morality they seem, as a class, superior to their brethren in Ceylon and Siam, and their services to education and learning have been considerable. Every monastery is also a school, where instruction is given to both day boys and boarders. The vast majority of Burmans enter such a school at the age of eight or nine and learn there reading, writing, and arithmetic. They also receive religious instruction and moral training. They commit to memory various works in Pali and Burmese, and are taught the duties which they owe to themselves, society and the state.

Sir J. G. Scott, who is certainly not disposed to exaggerate the influence of Buddhism in Burma, says that "the education of the monasteries far surpasses the instruction of the Anglo-vernacular schools from every point of view except that of immediate success in life and the obtaining of a post under Government." The more studious monks are not merely schoolmasters but can point to a considerable body of literature which they have produced in the past and are still producing. Indeed among the Hinayanist churches that of Burma has in recent centuries held the first place for learning. The age and continuity of Sinhalese traditions have given the Sangha of Ceylon a correspondingly great prestige but it has more than

---

1 According to Sir J. G. Scott much more commonly than prayers among Christians. *Burma*, p. 366.

2 15,371 according to the census of 1891. The figures in the last census are not conveniently arranged for Buddhist statistics.

3 Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, art. "Burma (Buddhism)."

4 See Bode, *Pali Literature in Burma*, pp. 95 ff.
once been recruited from Burma and in literary output it can hardly rival the Burmese clergy.

Though many disquisitions on the Vinaya have been produced in Burma, and though the Jātakas and portions of the Sutta Piṭaka (especially those called Parittam) are known to everybody, yet the favourite study of theologians appears to be the Abhidhamma, concerning which a multitude of handbooks and commentaries have been written, but it is worth mentioning that the Abhidhammattha-sangaha, composed in Ceylon about the twelfth century A.D., is still the standard manual. Yet it would be a mistake to think of the Burmese monks as absorbed in these recondite studies: they have on the contrary produced a long series of works dealing with the practical things of the world, such as chronicles, law-books, ethical and political treatises, and even poetry, for Silavamsa and Ratthapaṇḍa whose verses are still learned by the youth of Burma were both of them Bhikkhus. The Sangha has always shown a laudable reserve in interfering directly with politics, but in former times the king's private chaplain was a councillor of importance and occasionally matters involving both political and religious questions were submitted to a chapter of the order. In all cases the influence of the monks in secular matters made for justice and peace: they sometimes interceded on behalf of the condemned or represented that taxation was too heavy. In 1886, when the British annexed Burma, the Head of the Sangha forbade monks to take part in the political strife, a prohibition which was all the more remarkable because King Thibaw had issued proclamations saying that the object of the invasion was to destroy Buddhism.

In essentials monastic life is much the same in Burma and Ceylon but the Burmese standard is higher, and any monk known to misconduct himself would be driven out by the laity. The monasteries are numerous but not large and much space is wasted, for, though the exterior suggests that they are built in several stories the interior usually is a single hall, although it may be divided by partitions. To the eastern side is attached a chapel containing images of Gotama before which daily devotions

1 No less than 22 translations of it have been made into Burmese. See S. Z. Aung in *J.P.T.S.* 1912, p. 129. He also mentions that night lectures on the Abhidhamma in Burmese are given in monasteries.
are performed. It is surmounted by a steeple culminating in a *hī*, a sort of baldachino or sacred umbrella placed also on the top of dagobas, and made of open metal work hung with little bells. Monasteries are always built outside towns and, though many of them become subsequently enclosed by the growth of the larger cities, they retain spacious grounds in which there may be separate buildings, such as a library, dormitories for pupils and a hall for performing the ordination service. The average number of inmates is six. A large establishment may house a superior, four monks, some novices and besides them several lay scholars. The grades are *Sahin* or novice, *Pyit-shin* or fully ordained monk and *Pöngyi*, literally great glory, a monk of at least ten years’ standing. Rank depends on seniority—that is to say the greatest respect is shown to the monk who has observed his vows for the longest period, but there are some simple hierarchical arrangements. At the head of each monastery is a Sayā or superior, and all the monasteries of a large town or a country district are under the supervision of a Provincial called Gaing-Ok. At the head of the whole church is the Thathanabaing, already mentioned. All these higher officials must be Pöngyis.

Although all monks must take part in the daily round to collect alms yet in most monasteries it is the custom (as in Ceylon and Siam) not to eat the food collected, or at least not all of it, and though no solid nourishment is taken after midday, three morning meals are allowed, namely, one taken very early, the next served on the return from the begging round and a third about 11.30. Two or three services are intoned before the image of the Buddha each day. At the morning ceremony, which takes place about 5.30, all the inmates of the monastery prostrate themselves before the superior and vow to observe the precepts during the day. At the conclusion of the evening service a novice announces that a day has passed away and in a loud voice proclaims the hour, the day of the week, the day of the month and the year. The laity do not usually attend these services, but near large monasteries there are rest houses for the entertainment of visitors and Uposatha days are often celebrated by a pious picnic. A family or party of friends take a rest-house for a day, bring a goodly store of cheroots and betel nut, which are not regarded as out of place during divine
service\(^1\), and listen at their ease to the exposition of the law
delivered by a yellow-robed monk. When the congregation in-
cludes women he holds a large fan-leaf palm before his face lest
his eyes should behold vanity. A custom which might not be
to the taste of western ecclesiastics is that the congregation ask
questions and, if they do not understand, request the preacher
to be clearer.

There is little sectarianism in Burma proper, but the Sawtis,
an anti-clerical sect, are found in some numbers in the Shan
States and similar communities called Man are still met with
in Pegu and Tenasserim, though said to be disappearing. Both
refuse to recognize the Sangha, monasteries or temples and per-
form their devotions in the open fields. Otherwise their mode
of thought is Buddhist, for they hold that every man can work
out his own salvation by conquering Māra\(^2\), as the Buddha did,
and they use the ordinary formulæ of worship, except that
they omit all expressions of reverence to the Sangha. The ortho-
dox Sangha is divided into two schools known as Mahāgandi
and Sūlagandi. The former are the moderate easy-going
majority who maintain a decent discipline but undeniably
deviate somewhat from the letter of the Vinaya. The latter are
a strict and somewhat militant Puritan minority who protest
against such concessions to the flesh. They insist for instance
that a monk should eat out of his begging bowl exactly as it is
at the end of the morning round and they forbid the use of silk
robes, sunshades and sandals. The Sūlagandi also believe in free
will and attach more value to the intention than the action in
estimating the value of good deeds, whereas the Mahāgandi
accept good actions without enquiring into the motive and
believe that all deeds are the result of karma.

5

In Burma all the higher branches of architecture are almost
exclusively dedicated to religion. Except the Palace at Manda-
lay there is hardly a native building of note which is not con-
ected with a shrine or monastery. Burmese architectural

\(^1\) But on such occasions the laity usually fast after midday.
\(^2\) Man is the Burmese form of Māra.
forms show most analogy to those of Nepal and perhaps\(^1\) both preserve what was once the common style for wooden buildings in ancient India. In recent centuries the Burmese have shown little inclination to build anything that can be called a temple, that is a chamber containing images and the paraphernalia of worship. The commonest form of religious edifice is the dagoba or zedi\(^2\): images are placed in niches or shrines, which shelter them, but only rarely, as on the platform of the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon, assume the proportions of rooms. This does not apply to the great temples of Pagan, built from about 1050 to 1200, but that style was not continued and except the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay has perhaps no modern representative. Details of these buildings may be found in the works of Forchhammer, Fergusson, de Beylié and various archaeological reports. Their construction is remarkably solid. They do not, like most large buildings in India or Europe, contain halls of some size but are rather pyramids traversed by passages. But this curious disinclination to build temples of the usual kind is not due to any dislike of images. In no Buddhist country are they more common and their numbers are more noticeable because there is here no pantheon as in China and Tibet, but images of Gotama are multiplied, merely in order to obtain merit. Some slight variety in these figures is produced by the fact that the Burmese venerate not only Gotama but the three Buddhas who preceded him\(^3\). The Shwe Dagon Pagoda is reputed to contain relics of all four; statues of them all stand in the beautiful Ananda Pagoda at Pagan and not infrequently they are represented by four sitting figures facing the four quarters. A gigantic group of this kind composed of statues nearly 90 feet high

---

\(^1\) Among the most striking characteristics of the Nepalese style are buildings of many stories each with a projecting roof. No examples of similar buildings from ancient India have survived, perhaps because they were made of wood, but representations of two-storied buildings have come down to us, for instance on the Sohagaura copper plate which dates probably from the time of Asoka (see Buhler, *W.E.K.M.* 1886, p. 138). See also the figures in Foucher’s *Art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, on pp. 121, 122. The monuments at Mamallapuram known as Raths (see Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, t. p. 172) appear to be representations of many storied Vihāras. There are several references to seven storied buildings in the Jātakas.

\(^2\) =cetiya.

\(^3\) Occasionally groups of five Buddhas, that is, these four Buddhas together with Metteyya, are found. See *Report of the Supt. Arch. Survey (Burma) for the year ending Murch 31st, 1910*, p. 16.
stands in the outskirts of Pegu, and in the same neighbourhood is a still larger recumbent figure 180 feet long. It had been forgotten since the capture of Pegu by the Burmans in 1757 and was rediscovered by the engineers surveying the route for the railway. It lies almost in sight of the line and is surprising by its mere size, as one comes upon it suddenly in the jungle. As a work of art it can hardly be praised. It does not suggest the Buddha on his death bed, as is intended, but rather some huge spirit of the jungle waking up and watching the railway with indolent amusement.

In Upper Burma there are not so many large images but as one approaches Mandalay the pagodas add more and more to the landscape. Many are golden and the rest are mostly white and conspicuous. They crown the hills and punctuate the windings of the valleys. Perhaps Burmese art and nature are seen at their best near Sagaing on the bank of the Irrawaddy, a mighty flood of yellow water, sweeping down smooth and steady, but here and there showing whirlpools that look like molten metal. From the shore rise hills of moderate height studded with monasteries and shrines. Flights of white steps lead to the principal summits where golden spires gleam and everywhere are pagodas of all ages, shapes and sizes. Like most Asiatics the Burmese rarely repair, but build new pagodas instead of renovating the old ones. The instinct is not altogether unjust. A pagoda does not collapse like a hollow building but understands the art of growing old. Like a tree it may become cleft or overgrown with moss but it remains picturesque. In the neighbourhood of Sagaing there is a veritable forest of pagodas; humble seedlings built by widows’ mites, mature golden domes reared by devout prosperity and venerable ruins decomposing as all compound things must do.

The pagoda slaves are a curious institution connected with temples. Under the Burmese kings persons could be dedicated to pagodas and by this process not only became slaves for life themselves but involved in the same servitude all their posterity, none of whom could by any method become free. They formed a low caste like the Indian Pariahs and though the British Government has abolished the legal status of slavery, the social stigma which clings to them is said to be undiminished.

Art and architecture make the picture of Burma as it
remains in memory and they are the faithful reflection of the character and ways of its inhabitants, their cheerful but religious temper, their love of what is fanciful and graceful, their moderate aspirations towards what is arduous and sublime. The most striking feature of this architecture is its free use of gold and colour. In no country of the world is gilding and plating with gold so lavishly employed on the exterior of buildings. The larger Pagodas such as the Shwe Dagon are veritable pyramids of gold, and the roofs of the Arakan temple as they rise above Mandalay show tier upon tier of golden beams and plates. The brilliancy is increased by the equally lavish use of vermillion, sometimes diversified by glass mosaic. I remember once in an East African jungle seeing a clump of flowers of such brilliant red and yellow that for a moment I thought it was a fire. Somewhat similar is the surprise with which one first gazes on these edifices. I do not know whether the epithet flamboyant can be correctly applied to them as architecture but both in colour and shape they imitate a pile of flame, for the outlines of monasteries and shrines are fanciful in the extreme; gabled roofs with finials like tongues of fire and panels rich with carvings and fret-work. The buildings of Hindus and Burmans are as different as their characters. When a Hindu temple is imposing it is usually because of its bulk and mystery, whereas these buildings are lighthearted and fairy-like: heaps of red and yellow fruit with twining leaves and tendrils that have grown by magic. Nor is there much resemblance to Japanese architecture. There also, lacquer and gold are employed to an unusual extent but the flourishes, horns and finials which in Burma spring from every corner and projection are wanting and both Japanese and Chinese artists are more sparing and reticent. They distribute ornament so as to emphasize and lead up to the more important parts of their buildings, whereas the open-handed, splendour-loving Burman puts on every panel and pillar as much decoration as it will hold.

The result must be looked at as a whole and not too minutely. The best work is the wood carving which has a freedom and boldness often missing in the minute and crowded designs of Indian art. Still as a rule it is at the risk of breaking the spell that you examine the details of Burmese ornamentation. Better rest content with your first amazement on beholding these
carved and pinnacled piles of gold and vermilion, where the
fantastic animals and plants seem about to break into life.

The most celebrated shrine in Burma is the Shwe Dagon
Pagoda which attracts pilgrims from all the Buddhist world.
No descriptions of it gave me any idea of its real appearance
nor can I hope that I shall be more successful in giving the
reader my own impressions. The pagoda itself is a gilt bell-
shaped mass rather higher than the Dome of St Paul's and
terminating in a spire. It is set in the centre of a raised mound
or platform, approached by lofty flights of steps. The platform,
which is paved and level, is of imposing dimensions, some nine
hundred feet long and seven hundred wide. Round the base of
the central pagoda is a row of shrines and another row runs
round the edge of the platform so that one moves, as it were, in
a street of these edifices, leading here and there into side
squares where are quiet retreats with palm trees and gigantic
images. But when after climbing the long staircase one first
emerges on the platform one does not realize the topography
at once and seems to have entered suddenly into Jerusalem the
Golden. Right and left are rows of gorgeous, fantastic san-
ctuaries, all gold, vermilion and glass mosaic, and within them
sit marble figures, bland, enigmatic personages who seem to
invite approach but offer no explanation of the singular scene
or the part they play in it. If analyzed in detail the artistic
merits of these shrines might be found small but the total
impression is unique. The Shwe Dagon has not the qualities
which usually distinguish great religious buildings. It is not
specially impressive by its majesty or holiness; it is certainly
wanting in order and arrangement. But on entering the plat-
form one feels that one has suddenly passed from this life into
another and different world. It is not perhaps a very elevated
world; certainly not the final repose of the just or the steps of
the throne of God, but it is as if you were walking in the bazaars
of Paradise—one of those Buddhist Paradises where the souls
of the moderately pure find temporary rest from the whirl of
transmigration, where the very lotus flowers are golden and the
leaves of the trees are golden bells that tinkle in the perfumed
breeze.
CHAPTER XXXVII
SIAM

1

The Buddhism of Siam does not differ materially from that of Burma and Ceylon but merits separate mention, since it has features of its own due in some measure to the fact that Siam is still an independent kingdom ruled by a monarch who is also head of the Church. But whereas for the last few centuries this kingdom may be regarded as a political and religious unit, its condition in earlier times was different and Siamese history tells us nothing of the introduction and first diffusion of Indian religions in the countries between India and China.

1 The principal sources for information about Siamese Buddhism are: Journal of Siam Society, 1904, and onwards.
Gerini, Chûlîkantamangala or Tonsure Ceremony, 1893.
P. A. Thompson, Lotus Land, 1906.
W. A. Graham, Siam, 1912.
Much curious information may be found in the Directory for Bangkok and Siam, a most interesting book. I have only the issue for 1907.

I have adopted the conventional European spelling for such words as may be said to have one. For other words I have followed Pallegoix's dictionary (1896) for rendering the vowels and tones in Roman characters, but have departed in some respects from his system of transliterating consonants as I think it unnecessary and misleading to write j and x for sounds which apparently correspond to y and ch as pronounced in English.

The King of Siam has published a work on the spelling of His Majesty's own language in Latin letters which ought to be authoritative, but it came into my hands too late for me to modify the orthography here adopted.

As Pallegoix's spelling involves the use of a great many accents I have sometimes begun by using the strictly correct orthography and afterwards a simpler but intelligible form. It should be noted that in this orthography "": is not a colon but a sign that the vowel before it is very short.
The people commonly known as Siamese call themselves Thäi which (in the form Tai) appears to be the racial name of several tribes who can be traced to the southern provinces of China. They spread thence, in fanlike fashion, from Laos to Assam, and the middle section ultimately descended the Menam to the sea. The Siamese claim to have assumed the name Thäi (free) after they threw off the yoke of the Cambojans, but this derivation is more acceptable to politics than to ethnology. The territories which they inhabited were known as Siem, Syām or Syāma, which is commonly identified with the Sanskrit Śyāma, dark or brown\(^1\). But the names Shan and A-hom seem to be variants of the same word and Śyāma is possibly not its origin but a learned and artificial distortion\(^2\). The Lao were another division of the same race who occupied the country now called Laos before the Tai had moved into Siam. This movement was gradual and until the beginning of the twelfth century they merely established small principalities, the principal of which was Lamphun\(^3\), on the western arm of the Mekong. They gradually penetrated into the kingdoms of Svankalok, Sukhothai\(^4\) and Lavo (Lophburi) which then were vassals of Camboja, and they were reinforced by another body of Tais which moved southwards early in the twelfth century. For some time the Cambojan Empire made a successful effort to control these immigrants but in the latter part of the thirteenth century the Siamese definitely shook off its yoke and founded an independent state with its capital at Sukhothai. There was probably some connection between these events and the southern expeditions of Khubilai Khan who in 1254 conquered Talifu and set the Tai tribes in motion.

The history of their rule in Siam may be briefly described as a succession of three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively. Like the Burmese, the Siamese have annals or chronicles. They fall into two divisions,

\(^1\) The name is found on Champan inscriptions of 1050 A.D. and according to Gerini appears in Ptolemy’s Samarade=Sāmarattha. See Gerini, Ptolemy, p. 170. But Samarade is located near Bangkok and there can hardly have been Tais there in Ptolemy’s time.

\(^2\) So too in Central Asia Kustana appears to be a learned distortion of the name Khotan, made to give it a meaning in Sanskrit.

\(^3\) Gerini states (Ptolemy, p. 107) that there are Pali manuscript chronicles of Lamphun apparently going back to 924 A.D.

\(^4\) Strictly Sukhothai.
the chronicles\(^1\) of the northern kingdom in three volumes which
go down to the foundation of Ayuthia and are admitted even
by the Siamese to be mostly fabulous, and the later annals in
40 volumes which were rearranged after the sack of Ayuthia in
1767 but claim to begin with the foundation of the city. Various
opinions have been expressed as to their trustworthiness\(^2\), but
it is allowed by all that they must be used with caution. More
authoritative but not very early are the inscriptions set up by
various kings, of which a considerable number have been
published and translated\(^3\).

The early history of Sukhothai and its kings is not yet
beyond dispute but a monarch called Râmarâja or Râma
Khomhêng played a considerable part in it. His identity with
Phâya Rhuang, who is said to have founded the dynasty and
city, has been both affirmed and denied. Sukhothai, at least as
the designation of a kingdom, seems to be much older than his
reign\(^4\). It was undoubtedly understood as the equivalent of the
Sanskrit Sukhodaya, but like Śyāma it may be an adaptation
of some native word. In an important inscription found at
Sukhothai and now preserved at Bangkok\(^5\), which was probably
composed about 1300 A.D., Râma Khomhêng gives an account of
his kingdom. On the east it extended to the banks of the
Mekhong and beyond it to Chavâ (perhaps a name of Luang-
Prabang): on the south to the sea, as far as Śrî Dharmarâja or
Ligor: on the west to Hamsavatî or Pegu. This last statement
is important for it enables us to understand how at this period,
and no doubt considerably earlier, the Siamese were acquainted
with Pali Buddhism. The king states that hitherto his people
had no alphabet but that he invented one\(^6\). This script subse-

---

\(^1\) Phongsa va: dan or Vamsavada. See for Siamese chronicles, *B.E.F.E.O.* 1914,

\(^2\) E.g. Aymonier in *J.A.* 1903, p. 186, and Gerini in *Journal of Siam Society*,
vol. II, part 1, 1905.

\(^3\) See especially Fournereau and the publications of the Mission Pavie and
*B.E.F.E.O.*


\(^5\) See Fournereau, r. p. 225. *B.E.F.E.O.* 1916, III. pp. 8–13, and especially
Bradley in *J. Siam Society*, 1909, pp. 1–68.

\(^6\) This alphabet appears to be borrowed from Cambojan but some of the
letters particularly in their later shapes show the influence of the Môn or Talaing
script. The modern Cambojan alphabet, which is commonly used for ecclesiastical
purposes in Siam, is little more than an elaborate form of Siamese.
quently developed into the modern Siamese writing which, though it presents many difficulties, is an ingenious attempt to express a language with tones in an alphabet. The vocabulary of Siamese is not homogeneous: it comprises (a) a foundation of Thai, (b) a considerable admixture of Khmer words, (c) an element borrowed from Malay and other languages, (d) numerous ecclesiastical and learned terms taken from Pali and Sanskrit. There are five tones which must be distinguished, if either written or spoken speech is to be intelligible. This is done partly by accents and partly by dividing the forty-four consonants (many of which are superfluous for other purposes) into three groups, the high, middle and deep.

The king also speaks of religion. The court and the inhabitants of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists: they observed the season of Vassa and celebrated the festival of Kathina with processions, concerts and reading of the scriptures. In the city were to be seen statues of the Buddha and scenes carved in relief, as well as large monasteries. To the west of the city was the Forest Monastery, presented to a distinguished elder who came from Sri Dharmarajá and had studied the whole Tripitaka. The mention of this official and others suggests that there was a regular hierarchy and the king relates how he exhumed certain sacred relics and built a pagoda over them. Though there is no direct allusion to Brahmanism, stress is laid on the worship of spirits and devas on which the prosperity of the kingdom depends.

The form of Buddhism described seems to have differed little from the Hinayanism found in Siam to-day. Whence did the Siamese obtain it? For some centuries before they were known as a nation, they probably professed some form of Indian religion. They came from the border lands, if not from the actual territory of China, and must have been acquainted with Chinese Buddhism. Also Burmese influence probably reached Yunnan in the eighth century¹, but it is not easy to say what form of religion it brought with it. Still when the Thai entered what is now Siam, it is likely that their religion was some form of Buddhism. While they were subject to Cambója they must have felt the influence of Śivaism and possibly

of Mahayanist Sanskrit Buddhism but no Pali Buddhism can have come from this quarter.\(^1\)

Southern Siam was however to some extent affected by another wave of Buddhism. From early times the eastern coast of India (and perhaps Ceylon) had intercourse not only with Burma but with the Malay Peninsula. It is proved by inscriptions that the region of Ligor, formerly known as Śrī Dharmanāja, was occupied by Hindus (who were probably Buddhists) at least as early as the fourth century A.D.\(^2\), and Buddhist inscriptions have been found on the mainland opposite Penang. The Chinese annals allude to a change in the customs of Camboja and I-Ching says plainly that Buddhism once flourished there but was exterminated by a wicked king, which may mean that Hinayanist Buddhism had spread thither from Ligor but was suppressed by a dynasty of Śivaites. He also says that at the end of the seventh century Hinayanism was prevalent in the islands of the Southern Sea. An inscription of about the fourth century found in Kedah and another of the seventh or eighth from Phra Pathom both contain the formula Ye dharmā, etc. The latter inscription and also one from Mergui ascribed to the eleventh century seem to be in mixed Sanskrit and Pali. The Sukhothai inscription summarized above tells how a learned monk was brought thither from Ligor and clearly the Pali Buddhism of northern Siam may have followed the same route. But it probably had also another more important if not exclusive source, namely Burma. After the reign of Anawrata Pali Buddhism was accepted in Burma and in what we now call the Shan States as the religion of civilized mankind and this conviction found its way to the not very distant kingdom of Sukhothai. Subsequently the Siamese recognized the seniority and authority of the Sinhalese Church by inviting an instructor to come from Ceylon, but in earlier times they can hardly have had direct relation with the island.

\(^1\) Bradley, J. Siam Society, 1913, p. 10, seems to think that Pali Buddhism may have come thence but the objection is that we know a good deal about the religion of Camboja and that there is no trace of Pali Buddhism there until it was imported from Siam. The fact that the Siamese alphabet was borrowed from Camboja does not prove that religion was borrowed in the same way. The Mongol alphabet can be traced to a Nestorian source.

\(^2\) See for these inscriptions papers on the Malay Peninsula and Siam by Finot and Lajonquière in Bull. de la Comm. Archéol. de l'Indo-Chine, 1909, 1910 and 1912.
We have another picture of religious life in a Khmer inscription\(^1\) of Lïdaiya or Sri Sûryavarman Réma composed in 1361 or a little later. This monarch, who is also known by many lengthy titles, appears to have been a man of learning who had studied the Tipitaka, the Vedas, the Śāstrāgama and Dharmañāya and erected images of Maheśvara and Vishnu as well as of the Buddha. In 1361 he sent a messenger to Ceylon charged with the task of bringing back a Metropolitan or head of the Saṅgha learned in the Pitakas. This ecclesiastic, who is known only by his title, was duly sent and on arriving in Siam was received with the greatest honour and made a triumphal progress to Sukhothai. He is not represented as introducing a new religion: the impression left by the inscription is rather that the king and his people being already well-instructed in Buddhism desired ampler edification from an authentic source. The arrival of the Saṅgharāja coincided with the beginning of Vassa and at the end of the sacred season the king dedicated a golden image of the Buddha, which stood in the midst of the city, and then entered the order. In doing so he solemnly declared his hope that the merit thus acquired might make him in future lives not an Emperor, an Indra or a Brahmā but a Buddha able to save mankind. He pursued his religious career with a gratifying accompaniment of miracles and many of the nobility and learned professions followed his example. But after a while a deputation waited on his Majesty begging him to return to the business of his kingdom\(^2\). An edifying contest ensued. The monks besought him to stay as their preceptor and guide: the laity pointed out that government was at an end and claimed his attention. The matter was referred to the Saṅgharāja who decided that the king ought to return to his secular duties. He appears to have found little difficulty in resuming lay habits for he proceeded to chastise the people of Luang-Prabang.

Two other inscriptions\(^3\), apparently dating from this epoch,

---

1. Fournereau, pp. 157 ff. and Coedès in B.E.F.E.O. 1917, No. 2. Besides the inscription itself, which is badly defaced in parts, we have (1) a similar inscription in Thāi, which is not however a translation, (2) a modern Siamese translation, used by Schmitt but severely criticized by Coedès and Petithuguenin.

2. This portion of the narrative is found only in Schmitt's version of the Siamese translation. The part of the stone where it would have occurred is defaced.

3. See Fournereau, vol. ii. inscriptions xv and xvi and the account of the Jātakas, p. 43.
relate that a cutting of the Bo-tree was brought from Ceylon and that certain relics (perhaps from Patna) were also installed with great solemnity. To the same time are referred a series of engravings on stone (not reliefs) found in the Vat-si-jum at Sukhothai. They illustrate about 100 Jatakas, arranged for the most part according to the order followed in the Pali Canon.

The facts that King Śrī Sūryavamsa sent to Ceylon for his Metropolitan and that some of the inscriptions which extol his merits are in Pali make it probable that the religion which he professed differed little from the Pali Buddhism which flourishes in Siam to-day and this supposition is confirmed by the general tone of his inscriptions. But still several phrases in them have a Mahayanist flavour. He takes as his model the conduct of the Bodhisattvas, described as ten headed by Metteyya, and his vow to become a Buddha and save all creatures is at least twice mentioned. The Buddhas are said to be innumerable and the feet of Bhikkhus are called Buddha feet. There is no difficulty in accounting for the presence of such ideas: the only question is from what quarter this Mahayanist influence came. The king is said to have been a student of Indian literature: his country, like Burma, was in touch with China and his use of the Khmer language indicates contact with Camboja.

Another inscription engraved by order of Dharmāsokarāja and apparently dating from the fourteenth century is remarkable for its clear statement of the doctrine (generally considered as Mahayanist) that merit acquired by devotion to the Buddha can be transferred. The king states that a woman called Bunrak has transferred all her merit to the Queen and that he himself makes over all his merit to his teacher, to his relations and to all beings in unhappy states of existence.

At some time in this period the centre of the Thai empire

---

2 See the texts in B.E.F.E.O. i.c. The Bodhisattvas are described as Ariyametteyādīnam dasānām Bodhisattānam. The vow to become a Buddha should it seems be placed in the mouth of the King, not of the Metropolitan as in Schmitt’s translation.
3 See Fournereau, pp. 209 ff. Dharmāsokarāja may perhaps be the same as Mahādharmarāja who reigned 1388–1415. But the word may also be a mere title applied to all kings of this dynasty, so that this may be another inscription of Śrī Sūryavamsa Rāma.
changed but divergent views have been held as to the date\(^1\) and character of this event. It would appear that in 1350 a Siamese subsequently known as King Rāmādhipati, a descendant of an ancient line of Thai princes, founded Ayuthia as a rival to Sukhothai. The site was not new, for it had long been known as Dvāravati and seems to be mentioned under that name by I-Ching (c. 680), but a new city was apparently constructed. The evidence of inscriptions indicates that Sukhothai was not immediately subdued by the new kingdom and did not cease to be a royal residence for some time. But still Ayuthia gradually became predominant and in the fifteenth century merited the title of capital of Siam.

Its rise did not affect the esteem in which Buddhism was held, and it must have contained many great religious monuments. The jungles which now cover the site of the city surround the remnants of the Wāt Somarokot, in which is a gigantic bronze Buddha facing with scornful calm the ruin which threatens him. The Wāt Chern, which lies at some distance, contains another gigantic image. A curious inscription\(^2\) engraved on an image of Śiva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D. asserts the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism, but the popular feeling was in favour of the former. At Ayuthia the temples appear to be exclusively Buddhist and at Lopburi ancient buildings originally constructed for the Brahmanic cult have been adapted to Buddhist uses. It was in 1602 that the mark known as the footprint of Buddha was discovered at the place now called Phra-bat.

Ayuthia was captured by the Burmese in 1568 and the king was carried into captivity but the disaster was not permanent, for at the end of the century the power of the Siamese reached its highest point and their foreign relations were extensive. We hear that five hundred Japanese assisted them to repulse a Burmese attack and that there was a large Japanese colony in Ayuthia. On the other hand when Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592, the Siamese offered to assist the Chinese. Europeans appeared first in 1511 when the Portuguese took Malacca. But on the whole

---

1 1350 is the accepted date but M. Aymonier, J.A. 1903, pp. 185 ff. argues in favour of about 1400. See Fournereau, Ancien Siam, p. 242, inscription of 1426 A.D. and p. 186, inscription of 1510 described as Groupe de Sajjanalaya et Sukhodaya.
the dealings of Siam with Europe were peaceful and both traders and missionaries were welcomed. The most singular episode in this international intercourse was the career of the Greek adventurer Constantine Phaulcon who in the reign of King Nārai was practically Foreign Minister. In concert with the French missionaries he arranged an exchange of embassies (1682 and 1685) between Nārai and Louis XIV, the latter having been led to suppose that the king and people of Siam were ready to embrace Christianity. But when the French envoys broached the subject of conversion, the king replied that he saw no reason to change the religion which his countrymen had professed for two thousand years, a chronological statement which it might be hard to substantiate. Still, great facilities were given to missionaries and further negotiations ensued, in the course of which the French received almost a monopoly of foreign trade and the right to maintain garrisons. But the death of Nārai was followed by a reaction. Phaulcon died in prison and the French garrisons were expelled. Buddhism probably flourished at this period for the Mahāvamsa tells us that the king of Ceylon sent to Ayuthia for monks in 1750 because religion there was pure and undefiled.

Ayuthia continued to be the capital until 1767 when it was laid in ruins by the Burmese who, though Buddhists, did not scruple to destroy or deface the temples and statues with which it was ornamented. But the collapse of the Siamese was only local and temporary. A leader of Chinese origin named Phāya Tāk Sin rallied their forces, cleared the Burmese out of the country and made Bangkok, officially described as the Capital of the Angels, the seat of Government. But he was deposed in 1782 and one of the reasons for his fall seems to have been a too zealous reformation of Buddhism. In the troubled times following the collapse of Ayuthia the Church had become disorganized and corrupt, but even those who desired improvement would not assent to the powers which the king claimed over monks. A new dynasty (of which the sixth monarch is now on the throne) was founded in 1782 by Chao Phāya Chakkri. One of his first acts was to convene a council for the revision of the Tipiṭaka and to build a special hall in which the text thus agreed on was preserved. His successor Phra: Buddha Löt La is considered the best poet that Siam has produced and it is
probably the only country in the world where this distinction has fallen to the lot of a sovereign. The poet king had two sons, Phra Nang Klao, who ascended the throne after his death, and Mongkut, who during his brother’s reign remained in a monastery strictly observing the duties of a monk. He then became king and during his reign (1851-1868) Siam “may be said to have passed from the middle ages to modern times.” It is a tribute to the excellence of Buddhist discipline that a prince who spent twenty-six years as a monk should have emerged as neither a bigot nor an impractical mystic but as an active, enlightened and progressive monarch. The equality and simplicity of monastic life disposed him to come into direct touch with his subjects and to adopt straightforward measures which might not have occurred to one who had always been surrounded by a wall of ministers. While still a monk he founded a stricter sect which aimed at reviving the practice of the Buddha, but at the same time he studied foreign creeds and took pleasure in conversing with missionaries. He wrote several historical pamphlets and an English Grammar, and was so good a mathematician that he could calculate the occurrence of an eclipse. When he became king he regulated the international position of Siam by concluding treaties of friendship and commerce with the principal European powers, thus showing the broad and liberal spirit in which he regarded politics, though a better acquaintance with the ways of Europeans might have made him refuse them extraterritorial privileges. He abolished the custom which obliged every one to keep indoors when the king went out and he publicly received petitions on every Uposatha day. He legislated against slavery, gambling, drinking spirits and smoking opium and considerably improved the status of women. He also published edicts ordering the laity to inform the ecclesiastical authorities if they noticed any abuses in the monasteries. He caused the annals of Siam to be edited and issued numerous orders on archaeological and literary questions, in which, though a good Pali scholar, he deprecated the affected use of Pali words and enjoined the use of a terse and simple Siamese style, which he certainly wrote himself. He appears to

2 But it was his son who first decreed in 1888 that no Siamese could be born a slave. Slavery for debt, though illegal, is said not to be practically extinct.
have died of scientific zeal for he caught a fatal fever on a trip
which he took to witness a total eclipse of the sun.

He was succeeded by his son Chulalongkorn\(^1\) (1868–1911), a
liberal and enlightened ruler, who had the misfortune to lose
much territory to the French on one side and the English on
the other. For religion, his chief interest is that he published
an edition of the Tipiṭaka. The volumes are of European style
and printed in Siamese type, whereas Cambodian characters
were previously employed for religious works.

2

As I have already observed, there is not much difference
between Buddhism in Burma and Siam. In mediaeval times a
mixed form of religion prevailed in both countries and Siam
was influenced by the Brahmanism and Mahayanism of Cam-
boja. Both seem to have derived a purer form of the faith from
Pegu, which was conquered by Anawrata in the eleventh cen-
tury and was the neighbour of Sukhothai so long as that king-
dom lasted. Both had relations with Ceylon and while vener-
ating her as the metropolis of the faith also sent monks to her
in the days of her spiritual decadence. But even in externals
some differences are visible. The gold and vermilion of Burma
are replaced in Siam by more sober but artistic tints—olive,
dull purple and dark orange—and the change in the colour
scheme is accompanied by other changes in the buildings.

A religious establishment in Siam consists of several edifices
and is generally known as Wāt\(^2\), followed by some special
designation such as Wāt Chang. Bangkok is full of such estab-
lishments mostly constructed on the banks of the river or canals.
The entrance is usually guarded by gigantic and grotesque
figures which are often lions, but at the Wāt Phō in Bangkok
the tutelary demons are represented by curious caricatures of
Europeans wearing tall hats. The gate leads into several courts
opening out of one another and not arranged on any fixed plan.
The first is sometimes surrounded by a colonnade in which
are set a long line of the Buddha’s eighty disciples. The most

\(^1\) = Cūḷālaṃkāra.

\(^2\) The word has been derived from Vāta, a grove, but may it not be the Pali
Vatthu, Sanskrit Vāstu, a site or building?
important building in a Wät is known as Bōt. It has a colonnade of pillars outside and is surmounted by three or four roofs, not much raised one above the other, and bearing finials of a curious shape, said to represent a snake's head. It is also marked off by a circuit of eight stones, cut in the shape of Bo-tree leaves, which constitute a simâ or boundary. It is in the Bōt that ordinations and other acts of the Sangha are performed. Internally it is a hall: the walls are often covered with paintings and at the end there is always a sitting figure of the Buddha forming the apex of a pyramid, the lower steps of which are decorated with smaller images and curious ornaments, such as clocks under glass cases.

Siamese images of the Buddha generally represent him as crowned by a long flame-like ornament called Sirô rôt, probably representing the light supposed to issue from the prominence on his head. But the ornament sometimes becomes a veritable crown terminating in a spire, as do those worn by the kings of Camboja and Siam. On the left and right of the Buddha often stand figures of Phra: Mûkha: la (Moggalâna) and Phra: Sâribût (Sâriputta). It is stated that the Siamese pray to them as saints and that the former is invoked to heal broken limbs. The Buddha when represented in frescoes is robed in red but his face and hands are of gold. Besides the Bōt a Wät contains one or more wihâns. The word is derived from Vihâra but has come to mean an image-house. The wihâns are halls not unlike the Bōts but smaller. In a large Wät there is usually one containing a gigantic recumbent image of the Buddha and they sometimes shelter Indian deities such as Yama.

In most if not in all Wätts there are structures known as Phra: chedi and Phra: prang. The former are simply the ancient cetiyas, called dagobas in Ceylon and zedis in Burma. They do not depart materially from the shape usual in other countries

---

1 = Uposatha.
2 These finials are very common on the roof ends of Siamese temples and palaces. It is strange that they also are found in conjunction with multiple roofs in Norwegian Churches of eleventh century. See de Beylié, Architecture hindoue dans l'extrême Orient, pp. 47, 48.
3 The Buddha is generally known as Phra: Khodom (= Gotama).
4 In an old Siamese bronze from Kampeng Pet, figured in Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India, p. 179, fig. 127, the Sirô rôt seems to be in process of evolution.
5 P. A. Thompson, Lotus Land, 1906, p. 100.
and sometimes, for instance in the gigantic chedi at Pra Pratoom, the part below the spire is a solid bell-shaped dome. But Siamese taste tends to make such buildings slender and elongate and they generally consist of stone discs of decreasing size, set one on the other in a pile, which assumes in its upper parts the proportions of a flagstaff rather than of a stone building. The Phra: prangs though often larger than the Phra: chedis are proportionally thicker and less elongate. They appear to be derived from the Brahmanic temple towers of Camboja which consist of a shrine crowned by a dome. But in Siam the shrine is often at some height above the ground and is reduced to small dimensions, sometimes becoming a mere niche. In large Phra: prangs it is approached by a flight of steps outside and above it rises the tower, terminating in a metal spire. But whereas in the Phra: chedis these spires are simple, in the Phra: prangs they bear three crescents representing the trident of Śiva and appear like barbed arrows. A large Wat is sure to contain a number of these structures and may also comprise halls for preaching, a pavilion covering a model of Buddha’s foot print, tanks for ablution and a bell tower. It is said that only royal Wats contain libraries and buildings called chātta mūkh, which shelter a four-faced image of Brahmā.

The monks are often housed in single chambers arranged round the courts of a Wat but sometimes in larger buildings outside it. The number of monks and novices living in one monastery is larger than in Burma, and according to the Bangkok Directory (1907) works out at an average of about 12. In the larger Wats this figure is considerably exceeded. Altogether there were 60,764 monks and 10,411 novices in 1907, the province of Ayuthia being decidedly the best provided with clergy. As in Burma, it is customary for every male to spend some time in a monastery, usually at the age of about 20, and two months is considered the minimum which is respectable. It is also common to enter a monastery for a short stay on the day when a parent is cremated. During the season of Vassa all

---

1 Four images facing the four quarters are considered in Burma to represent the last four Buddhas and among the Jains some of the Tirthankaras are so represented, the legend being that whenever they preached they seemed to face their hearers on every side.

2 These figures only take account of twelve out of the seventeen provinces.
monks go out to collect alms but at other seasons only a few make the daily round and the food collected, as in Burma and Ceylon, is generally not eaten. But during the dry season it is considered meritorious for monks to make a pilgrimage to Phra Bât and while on the way to live on charity. They engage to some extent in manual work and occupy themselves with carpentering. As in Burma, education is in their hands, and they also act as doctors, though their treatment has more to do with charms and faith cures than with medicine.

As in Burma there are two sects, the ordinary unreformed body, and the rigorous and select communion founded by Mongkut and called Dhammayut. It aims at a more austere and useful life but in outward observances the only distinction seems to be that the Dhammayuts hold the alms-bowl in front of them in both hands, whereas the others hold it against the left hip with the left hand only. The hierarchy is well developed but somewhat secularized, though probably not more so than it was in India under Asoka. In the official directory where the departments of the Ministry of Public Instruction are enumerated, the Ecclesiastical Department comes immediately after the Bacteriological, the two being clearly regarded as different methods of expelling evil spirits. The higher clerical appointments are made by the king. He names four Primates, one of whom is selected as chief. The Primates with nineteen superior monks form the highest governing body of the Church. Below them are twelve dignitaries called Gurus, who are often heads of large Wats. There are also prelates who bear the Cambojan title of Burien equivalent to Mahâcârya. They must have passed an examination in Pali and are chiefly consulted on matters of ceremonial.

It will thus be seen that the differences between the churches of Burma, Ceylon and Siam are slight; hardly more than the local peculiarities which mark the Roman church in Italy, Spain, and England. Different opinions have been expressed as to the moral tone and conduct of Siamese monks and most critics state that they are somewhat inferior to their Burmese.

---

1 Thompson, Lotus Land, p. 120.
2 They bear the title of Sômâlêt Phra: Châo Râjagama and have authority respectively over (a) ordinary Buddhists in northern Siam, (b) ordinary Buddhists in the south, (c) hermits, (d) the Dhammayut sect.
brethren. The system by which a village undertakes to support a monk, provided that he is a reasonably competent schoolmaster and of good character, works well. But in the larger monasteries it is admitted that there are inmates who have entered in the hope of leading a lazy life and even fugitives from justice. Still the penalty for any grave offence is immediate expulsion by the ecclesiastical authorities and the offender is treated with extreme severity by the civil courts to which he then becomes amenable.

The religious festivals of Siam are numerous and characteristic. Many are Buddhist, some are Brahmanic, and some are royal. Upasatha days (wán phra:) are observed much as in Burma. The birth, enlightenment and death of the Buddha (which are all supposed to have taken place on the 15th day of the 6th waxing moon) are celebrated during a three days festival. These three days are of peculiar solemnity and are spent in the discharge of religious duties, such as hearing sermons and giving alms. But at most festivals religious observances are mingled with much picturesque but secular gaiety. In the morning the monks do not go their usual round¹ and the alms-bowls are arranged in a line within the temple grounds. The laity (mostly women) arrive bearing wicker trays on which are vessels containing rice and delicacies. They place a selection of these in each bowl and then proceed to the Böt where they hear the commandments recited and often vow to observe for that day some which are usually binding only on monks. While the monks are eating their meal the people repair to a river, which is rarely far distant in Siam, and pour water drop by drop saying "May the food which we have given for the use of the holy ones be of benefit to our fathers and mothers and to all of our relatives who have passed away." This rite is curiously in harmony with the injunctions of the Tirokuḍḍasuttam in the Khuddakapâtha, which is probably an ancient work². The rest of the day is usually devoted to pious merrymaking, such as processions by day and illuminations by night. On some feasts

¹ For this and many other details I am indebted to P. A. Thompson, Lotus Land, p. 123.
² When gifts of food are made to monks on ceremonial occasions, they usually acknowledge the receipt by reciting verses 7 and 8 of this Sutta, commonly known as Yathā from the first word.
the laws against gambling are suspended and various games of chance are freely indulged in. Thus the New Year festival called Trūt (or Krūt) Thāi lasts three days. On the first two days, especially the second, crowds fill the temples to offer flowers before the statues of Buddha and more substantial presents of food, clothes, etc., to the clergy. Well-to-do families invite monks to their houses and pass the day in listening to their sermons and recitations. Companies of priests are posted round the city walls to scare away evil spirits and with the same object guns are fired throughout the night. But the third day is devoted to gambling by almost the whole population except the monks. Not dissimilar is the celebration of the Sōngkran holidays, at the beginning of the official year. The special religious observance at this feast consists in bathing the images of Buddha and in theory the same form of watery respect is extended to aged relatives and monks. In practice its place is taken by gifts of perfumes and other presents.

The rainy season is preceded and ended by holidays. During this period both monks and pious laymen observe their religious duties more strictly. Thus monks eat only once a day and then only what is put into their bowls and laymen observe some of the minor vows. At the end of the rains come the important holidays known as Thôt Kāṭhīn¹, when robes are presented to monks. This festival has long had a special importance in Siam. Thus Rāma Khomhēng in his inscription of A.D. 1292² describes the feast of Kāṭhīna which lasts a month. At the present day many thousands of robes are prepared in the capital alone so as to be ready for distribution in October and November, when the king or some deputy of high rank visits every temple and makes the offering in person. During this season Bangkok witnesses a series of brilliant processions.

These festivals mentioned may be called Buddhist though their light-hearted and splendour-loving gaiety, their processions and gambling are far removed from the spirit of Gotama. Others however are definitely Brahmanic and in Bangkok are superintended by the Brahmans attached to the Court. Since the time of Mongkut Buddhist priests are also present as a sign that the rites, if not ordered by Buddhism, at least have its

¹ Kathina in Pali. See Mahāvag. cap. vii.
² Fournereau, p. 225.
countenance. Such is the Rĕk Na\(^1\), or ploughing festival. The king is represented by the Minister of Agriculture who formerly had the right to exact from all shops found open such taxes as he might claim for his temporary sovereignty. At present he is escorted in procession to Dusit\(^2\), a royal park outside Bangkok, where he breaks ground with a plough drawn by two white oxen.

Somewhat similar is the Thĕb-Chăng-Cha, or Swinging holidays, a two days' festival which seems to be a harvest thanksgiving. Under the supervision of a high official, four Brahmans wearing tall conical hats swing on a board suspended from a huge frame about 100 ft high. Their object is to catch with their teeth a bag of money hanging at a little distance from the swing. When three or four sets of swingers have obtained a prize in this way, they conclude the ceremony by sprinkling the ground with holy water contained in bullock horns. Swinging is one of the earliest Indian rites\(^3\) and as part of the worship of Krishna it has lasted to the present day. Yet another Brahmanic festival is the Loi Kăthŏng\(^4\), when miniature rafts and ships bearing lights and offerings are sent down the Menam to the sea.

Another class of ceremonies may be described as royal, inasmuch as they are religious only in so far as they invoke religion to protect royalty. Such are the anniversaries of the birth and coronation of the king and the Thŭ Năm or drinking of the water of allegiance which takes place twice a year. At Bangkok all officials assemble at the Palace and there drink and sprinkle on their heads water in which swords and other weapons have been dipped thus invoking vengeance on themselves should they prove disloyal. Jars of this water are despatched to Governors who superintend the performance of the same ceremony in the

\(^1\) The ploughing festival is a recognized imperial ceremony in China. In India ceremonies for private landowners are prescribed in the Gṛihya Sūtras but I do not know if their performance by kings is anywhere definitely ordered. However in the Nidāna Kathā 270 the Buddha's father celebrates an imposing ploughing ceremony.

\(^2\) i.e. Tsuita. Compare such English names descriptive of beautiful scenery as Heaven's Gate.

\(^3\) See Keith, Aitereya Āranyaka, pp. 174–178. The ceremony there described undoubtedly originated in a very ancient popular festival.

\(^4\) i.e. float-raft. Most authors give the word as Krathong, but Pallegoix prefers Kathong.
provincial capitals. It is only after the water has been drunk that officials receive their half yearly salary. Monks are excused from drinking it but the chief ecclesiastics of Bangkok meet in the Palace temple and perform a service in honour of the occasion.

Besides these public solemnities there are a number of domestic festivals derived from the twelve Sanskāras of the Hindus. Of these only three or four are kept up by the nations of Indo-China, namely the shaving of the first hair of a child a month after birth, the giving of a name, and the piercing of the ears for earrings. This last is observed in Burma and Laos, but not in Siam and Camboja where is substituted for it the Kôn Chûk or shaving of the topknot, which is allowed to grow until the eleventh or thirteenth year. This ceremony, which is performed on boys and girls alike, is the most important event in the life of a young Siamese and is celebrated by well-to-do parents with lavish expenditure. Those who are indigent often avail themselves of the royal bounty, for each year a public ceremony is performed in one of the temples of Bangkok at which poor children receive the tonsure gratis. An elaborate description of the tonsure rites has been published by Gerini¹. They are of considerable interest as showing how closely Buddhist and Brahmanic rites are intertwined in Siamese family life.

Marriages are celebrated with a feast to which monks are invited but are not regarded as religious ceremonies. The dead are usually disposed of by cremation, but are often kept some time, being either embalmed or simply buried and exhumed subsequently. Before cremation the coffin is usually placed within the grounds of a temple. The monks read Suttas over it and it is said² that they hold ribbons which enter into the coffin and are supposed to communicate to the corpse the merit acquired by the recitations and prayers.

In the preceding pages mention has often been made not only of Brahmanic rites but of Brahman priests³. These are

¹ Chulakantamangalam, Bangkok, 1893.
² P. A. Thompson, Lotus Land, p. 134.
still to be found in Bangkok attached to the Court and possibly in other cities. They dress in white and have preserved many Hindu usages but are said to be poor Sanskrit scholars. Indeed Gerini\(^\text{1}\) seems to say that they use Pali in some of their recitations. Their principal duty is to officiate at Court functions, but wealthy families invite them to take part in domestic rites, and also to cast horoscopes and fix lucky days. It is clear that the presence of these Brahmans is no innovation. Brahmanism must have been strong in Siam when it was a province of Cambodia, but in both countries gave way before Buddhism. Many rites, however, connected with securing luck or predicting the future were too firmly established to be abolished, and, as Buddhist monks were unwilling to perform them\(^\text{2}\) or not thought very competent, the Brahmans remained and were perhaps reinforced from time to time by new importations, for there are still Brahman colonies in Ligor and other Malay towns. Siamese lawbooks, like those of Burma, seem to be mainly adaptations of Indian Dharmaśāstras.

On a cursory inspection, Siamese Buddhism, especially as seen in villages, seems remarkably free from alien additions. But an examination of ancient buildings, of royal temples in Bangkok and royal ceremonial, suggests on the contrary that it is a mixed faith in which the Brahmanic element is strong. Yet though this element appeals to the superstition of the Siamese and their love of pageantry, I think that as in Burma it has not invaded the sphere of religion and ethics more than the Piṭakas themselves allow. In art and literature its influence has been considerable. The story of the Ramayana is illustrated on the cloister walls of the royal temple at Bangkok and Indian mythology has supplied a multitude of types to the painter and sculptor; such as Yōmma: rāt (Yāma), Phāya Man (Māra), Phra: In (Indra). These are all deities known to the Piṭakas but the sculptures or images\(^\text{3}\) in Siamese temples also

---

\(^{1}\) Chulakantamangala, p. 56.

\(^{2}\) They are mostly observances such as Gotama would have classed among “low arts” (tiracchānāvijjā). At present the monks of Siam deal freely in charms and exorcisms but on important occasions public opinion seems to have greater confidence in the skill and power of Brahmans.

\(^{3}\) King Śrī Sūryavāṁsa Rāma relates in an inscription of about 1365 how he set up statues of Paramēśvara and Viṣṇukarma (?) and appointed Brahmans to serve them.
include Ganeśa, Phra: Nārāi (Nārāyana or Vishnu) riding on the Garuda and Phra: Isuén (Śiva) riding on a bull. There is a legend that the Buddha and Śiva tried which could make himself invisible to the other. At last the Buddha sat on Śiva’s head and the god being unable to see him acknowledged his defeat. This story is told to explain a small figure which Śiva bears on his head and recalls the legend found in the Piṭakas that the Buddha made himself invisible to Brahmā but that Brahmā had not the corresponding power. Lingas are still venerated in a few temples, for instance at Wät Phó in Bangkok, but it would appear that the majority (e.g. those found at Pra Pratom and Lophburi) are survivals of ancient Brahmanic worship and have a purely antiquarian importance. The Brahmanic cosmology which makes Mt Meru the centre of this Universe is generally accepted in ecclesiastical treatises and paintings, though the educated Siamese may smile at it, and when the topknot of a Siamese prince is cut off, part of the ceremony consists in his being received by the king dressed as Śiva on the summit of a mound cut in the traditional shape of Mt Kailāśa.

Like the Nāts of Burma, Siam has a spirit population known as Phīs. The name is occasionally applied to Indian deities, but the great majority of Phīs fall into two classes, namely, ghosts of the dead and nature spirits which, though dangerous, do not rise above the position of good or bad fairies. In the first class are included the Phī Prēt, who have the characteristics as well as the name of the Indian Pretas, and also a multitude of beings who like European ghosts, haunt houses and behave in a mysterious but generally disagreeable manner. The Phī ām is apparently our nightmare. The ghosts of children dying soon after birth are apt to kill their mothers and in general women are liable to be possessed by Phīs. The ghosts of those who have died a violent death are dangerous but it would seem that Siamese magicians know how to utilize them as familiar spirits. The better sort of ghosts are known as Chào Phī and shrines called San Chào are set up in their honour. It does not however appear that there is any hierarchy of Phīs like the thirty-seven Nāts of Burma.

1 Maj. Nik. 47.  
Among those Phís who are not ghosts of the dead the most important is the Phí rúen or guardian spirit of each house. Frequently a little shrine is erected for him at the top of a pole. There are also innumerable Phís in the jungle mostly malevolent and capable of appearing either in human form or as a dangerous animal. But the tree spirits are generally benevolent and when their trees are cut down they protect the houses that are made of them.

Thus the Buddhism of Siam, like that of Burma, has a certain admixture of Brahmanism and animism. The Brahmanism is perhaps more striking than in Burma on account of the Court ceremonies: the belief in spirits, though almost universal, seems to be more retiring and less conspicuous. Yet the inscription of Ráma Komhêng mentioned above asserts emphatically that the prosperity of the Empire depends on due honour being shown to a certain mountain spirit.

It is pretty clear that the first introduction of Hinayanist Buddhism into Siam was from Southern Burma and Pegu, but that somewhat later Ceylon was accepted as the standard of orthodoxy. A learned therà who knew the Sinhalese Tipitaka was imported thence, as well as a branch of the Bo-tree. But Siamese patriotism flattered itself by imagining that the national religion was due to personal contact with the Buddha, although not even early legends can be cited in support of such traditions. In 1602 a mark in the rocks, now known as the Phra: Bāt, was discovered in the hills north of Ayuthia and identified as a footprint of the Buddha similar to that found on Adam’s Peak and in other places. Burma and Ceylon both claim the honour of a visit from the Buddha but the Siamese go further, for it is popularly believed that he died at Praten, a little to the north of Phra Pathom, on a spot marked by a slab of rock under great trees. For this reason when the Government of India presented

---

1 *Jour. Siam Soc.* 1909, p. 28. “In yonder mountain is a demon spirit Phrá Kháphûng that is greater than every other spirit in this realm. If any Prince ruling this realm reverences him well with proper offerings, this realm stands firm, this realm prospers. If the spirit be not reverenced well, if the offerings be not right, the spirit in the mountain does not protect, does not regard:—this realm perishes.”

2 The most popular life of the Buddha in Siamese is called Patthómma Sóm-phothiyan, translated by Alabaster in *The Wheel of the Law*. But like the Lalita vistara and other Indian lives on which it is modelled it stops short at the enlighten-
the king of Siam with the relics found in the Piprava vase, the gift though received with honour, aroused little enthusiasm and was placed in a somewhat secluded shrine.  

ment. Another well-known religious book is the Traiphûm (＝Tribhûmi), an account of the universe according to Hindu principles, compiled in 1776 from various ancient works.

The Pali literature of Siam is not very large. Some account of it is given by Coedès in B.E.F.E.O. 1915, iii. pp. 39–46.

1 When in Bangkok in 1907 I saw in a photographer's shop a photograph of the procession which escorted these relics to their destination. It was inscribed "Arrival of Buddha's tooth from Kandy." This shows how deceptive historical evidence may be. The inscription was the testimony of an eye-witness and yet it was entirely wrong.
CHAPTER XXXVIII
CAMBOJA

1

The French Protectorate of Camboja corresponds roughly to the nucleus, though by no means to the whole extent of the former Empire of the Khmers. The affinities of this race have given rise to considerable discussion and it has been proposed to connect them with the Munḍa tribes of India on one side and with the Malays and Polynesians on the other. They are allied linguistically to the Mons or Talaings of Lower Burma and to the Khasias of Assam, but it is not proved that they are similarly related to the Annamites, and recent investigators are not disposed to maintain the Mon-Annam family of languages

1 See among other authorities:
(a) E. Aymonier, Le Cambodge, Paris, 3 vols. 1900, 1904 (cited as Aymonier).
(b) A. Barth, Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge (Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.), Paris, 1885 (cited as Corpus, i.).
(c) A. Bergaigne, Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campâ et du Cambodge (in same series), 1893 (cited as Corpus, ii.).
(e) G. Maspero, L’Empire Khmèr, Phnom Penh, 1904 (cited as Maspero).
(f) P. Pelliot, “Mémoires sur les Coutumes de Cambodge par Tcheou Ta-
(g) Id. “Le Founan,” B.E.F.E.O. 1903, pp. 248–303 (cited as Pelliot, Founan).
(i) Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l’Indochine, 1908 onwards.
Besides the articles cited above the Bulletin de l’École Française d’Ex-
treème Orient (quoted as B.E.F.E.O.) contains many others dealing with the religion and archaeology of Camboja.
(k) L. Finot, Notes d’Épigraphie Indo-Chinoise, 1916.

proposed by Logan and others. But the undoubted similarity of the Mon and Khmer languages suggests that the ancestors of those who now speak them were at one time spread over the central and western parts of Indo-China but were subsequently divided and deprived of much territory by the southward invasions of the Thais in the middle ages.

The Khmers also called themselves Kambuja or Kamvuja and their name for the country is still either Srôk Kâmpûchécá or Srôk Khmer. Attempts have been made to find a Malay origin for this name Kambuja but native tradition regards it as a link with India and affirms that the race is descended from Kambu Svayambhuva and Merâ or Perâ who was given to him by Śiva as wife. This legend hardly proves that the Khmer people came from India but they undoubtedly received thence their civilization, their royal family and a considerable number of Hindu immigrants, so that the mythical ancestor of their kings naturally came to be regarded as the progenitor of the race. The Chinese traveller Chou Ta-kuan (1296 A.D.) says that the country known to the Chinese as Chên-la is called by the natives Kan-po-chih but that the present dynasty call it Kan-p’u-chih on the authority of Sanskrit (Hsi-fan) works. The origin of the name Chên-la is unknown.

There has been much discussion respecting the relation of Chên-la to the older kingdom of Fu-nan which is the name given by Chinese historians until the early part of the seventh century to a state occupying the south-eastern and perhaps central portions of Indo-China. It has been argued that Chên-la is simply the older name of Fu-nan and on the other hand that Fu-nan is a wider designation including several states, one of which, Chên-la or Camboja, became paramount at the expense of the others. But the point seems unimportant for their

1 Cambodge is the accepted French spelling of this country's name. In English Camboja, Kambodia, Camboja and Cambodia are all found. The last is the most usual but di is not a good way of representing the sound of j as usually heard in this name. I have therefore preferred Camboja.

2 See the inscription of Bâkâc, Camkrôn, J.A. xiii. 1909, pp. 468, 469, 497.

3 The Sui annales (Pelliot, Founan, p. 272) state that “Chên-la lies to the west of Lin-yi: it was originally a vassal state of Fu-nan.... The name of the king’s family was Kshatriya: his personal name was Citrasena: his ancestors progressively acquired the sovereignty of the country: Citrasena seized Fu-nan and reduced it to submission.” This seems perfectly clear and we know from Cambojan inscriptions that Citrasena was the personal name of the king who reigned as
religious history with which we have to deal. In religion and general civilization both were subject to Indian influence and it is not recorded that the political circumstances which turned Fu-nan into Chên-la were attended by any religious revolution.

The most important fact in the history of these countries, as in Champa and Java, is the presence from early times of Indian influence as a result of commerce, colonization, or conquest. Orientalists have only recently freed themselves from the idea that the ancient Hindus, and especially their religion, were restricted to the limits of India. In mediæval times this was true. Emigration was rare and it was only in the nineteenth century that the travelling Hindu became a familiar and in some British colonies not very welcome visitor. Even now Hindus of the higher caste evade rather than deny the rule which forbids them to cross the ocean\(^1\). But for a long while Hindus have frequented the coast of East Africa\(^2\) and in earlier

Mahendravarman, c. 600 A.D. But it would appear from the inscriptions that it was his predecessor Bhavavarman who made whatever change occurred in the relations of Camboja to Fu-nan and in any case it is not clear who were the inhabitants of Fu-nan if not Cambojans. Perhaps Maspéro is right in suggesting that Fu-nan was something like imperial Germany (p. 25), "Si le roi de Bavière s'emparaît de la couronne impériale, rien ne serait changé en Allemagne que la famille régissante."

\(^1\) It is remarkable that the Baudhâyana-dharma-sūtra enumerates going to sea among the customs peculiar to the North (i. 1, 2, 4) and then (ii. 1, 2, 2) classes making voyages by sea as the first of the offences which cause loss of caste. This seems to indicate that the emigrants from India came mainly from the North, but it would be rash to conclude that in times of stress or enthusiasm the Southerners did not follow their practice. A passage in the second chapter of the Kautilya Arthaśāstra has been interpreted as referring to the despatch of colonists to foreign countries, but it probably contemplates nothing more than the transfer of population from one part of India to another. See Finot, B.E.F.E.O. 1912, No. 8. But the passage at any rate shows that the idea of the King being able to transport a considerable mass of population was familiar in ancient India. Jātaka 466 contains a curious story of a village of carpenters who being unsuccessful in trade built a ship and emigrated to an island in the ocean. It is clear that there must have been a considerable seafaring population in India in early times for the Rig Veda (ii. 48, 3; i. 56, 2; i. 116, 3), the Mahabharata and the Jātakas allude to the love of gain which sends merchants across the sea and to shipwrecks. Sculptures at Salsette ascribed to about 150 A.D. represent a shipwreck. Ships were depicted in the paintings of Ajanta and also occur on the coins of the Andhra King Yajñasrī (c. 200 A.D.) and in the sculptures of Boroboedoe. The Digha Nikāya (xi. 85) speaks of sea-going ships which when lost let loose a land sighting bird. Much information is collected in Radhakumud Mookerji's History of Indian Shipping, 1912.

\(^2\) Voyages are still regularly made in dhows between the west coast of India and Zanzibar or Mombasa and the trade appears to be old.
centuries their traders, soldiers and missionaries covered considerable distances by sea. The Jātakas\(^1\) mention voyages to Babylon: Vijaya and Mahinda reached Ceylon in the fifth and third centuries B.C. respectively. There is no certain evidence as to the epoch when Hindus first penetrated beyond the Malay peninsula, but Java is mentioned in the Ramayana\(^2\): the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa date from our third or perhaps second century, and the Chinese Annals of the Tsin indicate that at a period considerably anterior to that dynasty there were Hindus in Fu-nan\(^3\). It is therefore safe to conclude that they must have reached these regions about the beginning of the Christian era and, should any evidence be forthcoming, there is no reason why this date should not be put further back. At present we can only say that the establishment of Hindu kingdoms probably implies earlier visits of Hindu traders and that voyages to the south coast of Indo-China and the Archipelago were probably preceded by settlements on the Isthmus of Kra, for instance at Ligor.

The motives which prompted this eastward movement have been variously connected with religious persecution in India, missionary enterprise, commerce and political adventure. The first is the least probable. There is little evidence for the systematic persecution of Buddhists in India and still less for the persecution of Brahmans by Buddhists. Nor can these Indian settlements be regarded as primarily religious missions. The Brahmans have always been willing to follow and supervise the progress of Hindu civilization, but they have never shown any disposition to evangelize foreign countries apart from Hindu settlements in them. The Buddhists had this evangelistic temper and the journeys of their missionaries doubtless stimulated other classes to go abroad, but still no inscriptions or annals suggest that the Hindu migrations to Java and Camboja were parallel to Mahinda’s mission to Ceylon. Nor is there any reason to think that they were commanded or encouraged by

\(^1\) See Jātaka 339 for the voyage to Baveru or Babylon. Jātakas 360 and 442 mention voyages to Suvanapurī or Lower Burma from Bharukaccha and from Benares down the river. The Milinda Pañha (vi. 21) alludes to traffic with China by sea.

\(^2\) Rām. iv. 40, 30.

\(^3\) Pelliot, Fouwan, p. 254. The Western and Eastern Tsin reigned from 265 to 419 A.D.
Indian Rajas, for no mention of their despatch has been found in India, and no Indian state is recorded to have claimed suzerainty over these colonies. It therefore seems likely that they were founded by traders and also by adventurers who followed existing trade routes and had their own reasons for leaving India. In a country where dynastic quarrels were frequent and the younger sons of Rajas had a precarious tenure of life, such reasons can be easily imagined. In Camboja we find an Indian dynasty established after a short struggle, but in other countries, such as Java and Sumatra, Indian civilization endured because it was freely adopted by native chiefs and not because it was forced on them as a result of conquest.

The inscriptions discovered in Camboja and deciphered by the labours of French savants offer with one lacuna (about 650–800 A.D.) a fairly continuous history of the country from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. For earlier periods we depend almost entirely on Chinese accounts which are fragmentary and not interested in anything but the occasional relations of China with Fu-nan. The annals of the Tsin dynasty\(^1\) already cited say that from 265 A.D. onwards the kings of Fu-nan sent several embassies to the Chinese Court, adding that the people have books and that their writing resembles that of the Hu. The Hu are properly speaking a tribe of Central Asia, but the expression doubtless means no more than alphabetic writing as opposed to Chinese characters and such an alphabet can hardly have had other than an Indian origin. Originally, adds the Annalist, the sovereign was a woman, but there came a stranger called Hun-Hui who worshipped the Devas and had had a dream in which one of them gave him a bow\(^2\) and ordered him to sail for Fu-nan. He conquered the country and married the Queen but his descendants deteriorated and one Fan-Hsün founded another dynasty. The annals of the Ch'i dynasty (479–501) give substantially the same story but say that the stranger was called Hun-T'ien (which is probably the correct form of the name) and that he came from Chi or Chiao, an unknown locality. The same annals state that towards the end

\(^1\) Pelliot, Fouuon, p. 254. Most of the references to Chinese annals are taken from this valuable paper.

\(^2\) The inscription of Mi-son relates how Kaundinya planted at Bharapura († in Camboja) a javelin given to him by Aśvatthāman.
of the fifth century the king of Fu-nan who bore the family
name of Ch’iao-ch’ên-ju\(^1\) or Kauṇḍinya and the personal name
of Shê-yeh-po-mo (Jayavarman) traded with Canton. A Bud-
dhist monk named Nâgasena returned thence with some Cam-
bojan merchants and so impressed this king with his account of
China that he was sent back in 484 to beg for the protection of
the Emperor. The king’s petition and a supplementary paper
by Nâgasena are preserved in the annals. They seem to be an
attempt to represent the country as Buddhist, while explaining
that Maheśvara is its tutelary deity.

The Liang annals also state that during the Wu dynasty
(222–280) Fan Chan, then king of Fu-nan, sent a relative
named Su-Wu on an embassy to India, to a king called Mao-lun,
which probably represents Murunda, a people of the Ganges
valley mentioned by the Purânas and by Ptolemy. This king
despatched a return embassy to Fu-nan and his ambassadors
met there an official sent by the Emperor of China\(^2\). The early
date ascribed to these events is noticeable.

The Liang annals contain also the following statements.
Between the years 357 and 424 A.D. named as the dates of
embassies sent to China, an Indian Brahman called Ch’iao-
ch’ên-ju (Kauṇḍinya) heard a supernatural voice bidding him
go and reign in Fu-nan. He met with a good reception and was
elected king. He changed the customs of the country and made
them conform to those of India. One of his successors, Jayavar-
man, sent a coral image of Buddha in 503 to the Emperor
Wu-ti (502–550). The inhabitants of Fu-nan are said to make
bronze images of the heavenly genii with two or four heads
and four or eight arms. Jayavarman was succeeded by a
usurper named Liu-t’o-pa-mo (Rudravarman) who sent an
image made of sandal wood to the Emperor in 519 and in 539
offered him a hair of the Buddha twelve feet long. The Sui
annals (589–618) state that Citrasena, king of Chên-la, con-
quered Fu-nan and was succeeded by his son Isânasena.

Two monks of Fu-nan are mentioned among the translators
of the Chinese scriptures\(^3\), namely, Saṅghapâla and Mandra.

\(^1\) This is the modern reading of the characters in Peking, but Julien’s Méthode
justifies the transcription Kau-di-nya.
\(^2\) See S. Lévi in Mélanges Charles de Harlez, p. 176. Deux peuples méconnus
i. Les Murundas.
\(^3\) Nanjio Catalogue, p. 422.
Both arrived in China during the first years of the sixth century and their works are extant. The pilgrim I-Ching who returned from India in 605 says\(^1\) that to the S.W. of Champa lies the country Po-nan, formerly called Fu-nan, which is the southern corner of Jambudvipa. He says that "of old it was a country the inhabitants of which lived naked; the people were mostly worshippers of devas and later on Buddhism flourished there, but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all and there are no members of the Buddhist brotherhood at all."

These data from Chinese authorities are on the whole confirmed by the Cambojan inscriptions. Rudravarman is mentioned\(^2\) and the kings claim to belong to the race of Kauṇḍinya\(^3\). This is the name of a Brahman gotra, but such designations were often borne by Kshatriyas and the conqueror of Camboja probably belonged to that caste. It may be affirmed with some certainty that he started from south-eastern India and possibly he sailed from Mahābalipūr (also called the Seven Pagodas). Masulipatam was also a port of embarkation for the East and was connected with Broach by a trade route running through Tagara, now Tèr in the Nizam’s dominions. By using this road, it was possible to avoid the west coast, which was infested by pirates.

The earliest Cambojan inscriptions date from the beginning of the seventh century and are written in an alphabet closely resembling that of the inscriptions in the temple of Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadkal in the Bijapur district\(^4\). They are composed in

---

1 I-Ts'ing, trans. Takakusagi, p. 12.  
2 *Corpus*, 1. p. 65.  
3 *Corpus*, 1. pp. 84, 89, 90, and Jour. Asiatique, 1882, p. 152.  
4 When visiting Badami, Paṭṭadkal and Ahole in 1912 I noted the following resemblances between the temples of that district and those of Camboja. (a) The chief figures are Harīhara, Vāmana and Nṛsiṁha. At Paṭṭadkal, as at Angkor Wat, the reliefs on the temple wall represent the Churning of the Sea and scenes from the Rāmāyana. (b) Large blocks of stone were used for building and after being put in their positions were carved in situ, as is shown by unfinished work in places. (c) Medallions containing faces are frequent. (d) The architectural scheme is not as in Dravidian temples, that is to say larger outside and becoming smaller as one proceeds towards the interior. There is generally a central tower attached to a hall. (e) The temples are often raised on a basement. (f) Mukhalingas and kōshas are still used in worship. (g) There are verandas resembling those at Angkor Wat. They have sloping stone roofs, sculptures in relief on the inside wall and a series of windows in the outside wall. (h) The doors of the Līnga shrines have a serpentine ornamentation and are very like those of the Bayon. (i) A native gentleman told me that he had seen temples with five towers in this neighbourhood, but I have not seen them myself.
Sanskrit verse of a somewhat exuberant style, which revels in the commonplaces of Indian poetry. The deities most frequently mentioned are Śiva by himself and Śiva united with Vishnu in the form Hari-Hara. The names of the kings end in Varman and this termination is also specially frequent in names of the Pallava dynasty. The magnificent monuments still extant attest a taste for architecture on a large scale similar to that found among the Dravidians. These and many other indications justify the conclusion that the Indian civilization and religion which became predominant in Camboja were imported from the Deccan.

The Chinese accounts distinctly mention two invasions, one under Ch'iao-ch'ên-ju (Kauṇḍinya) about 400 A.D. and one considerably anterior to 265 under Hun-T'ien. It might be supposed that this name also represents Kauṇḍinya and that there is a confusion of dates. But the available evidence is certainly in favour of the establishment of Hindu civilization in Fu-nan long before 400 A.D. and there is nothing improbable in the story of the two invasions and even of two Kauṇḍinyas. Maspéro suggests that the first invasion came from Java and formed part of the same movement which founded the kingdom of Champa. It is remarkable that an inscription in Sanskrit found on the east coast of Borneo and apparently dating from the fifth century mentions Kuṇḍagga as the grandfather of the reigning king, and the Liang annals say that the king of Poli (probably in Borneo but according to some in Sumatra) was called Ch'iao-ch'ên-ju. It seems likely that the Indian family of Kauṇḍinya was established somewhere in the South Seas (perhaps in Java) at an early period and thence invaded various countries at various times. But Fu-nan is a vague geographical term and it may be that Hun-T'ien founded a Hindu dynasty in Champa.

1 E.g. Mahendra varman, Narasinhavarman, Paramesvaravarman, etc. It may be noticed that Paṭṭadkal is considerably to the N.W. of Madras and that the Pallavas are supposed to have come from the northern part of the present Madras Presidency. Though the Hindus who emigrated to Camboja probably embarked in the neighbourhood of Madras, they may have come from countries much further to the north. Varman is recognized as a proper termination of Kṣhatriya names, but it is remarkable that it is found in all the Sanskrit names of Cambojan kings and is very common in Pallava names. The name of Aśvatthāman figures in the mythical genealogies of both the Pallavas and the kings of Champa or perhaps of Camboja, see B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 923.
It is clear that during the period of the inscriptions the religion of Camboja was a mixture of Brahmanism and Buddhism, the only change noticeable being the preponderance of one or other element in different centuries. But it would be interesting to know the value of I-Ching's statement that Buddhism flourished in Fu-nan in early times and was then subverted by a wicked king, by whom Bhavavarman¹ may be meant. *Prima facie* the statement is not improbable, for there is no reason why the first immigrants should not have been Buddhists, but the traditions connecting these countries with early Hinayanist missionaries are vague. Taranātha² states that the disciples of Vasubandhu introduced Buddhism into the country of Koki (Indo-China) but his authority does not count for much in such a matter. The statement of I-Ching however has considerable weight, especially as the earliest inscription found in Champa (that of Vocan) appears to be inspired by Buddhism.

2

It may be well to state briefly the chief facts of Cambojan history³ before considering the phases through which religion passed. Until the thirteenth century our chief authorities are the Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions, supplemented by notices in the Chinese annals. The Khmer inscriptions are often only a translation or paraphrase of Sanskrit texts found in the same locality and, as a rule, are more popular, having little literary pretension. They frequently contain lists of donations or of articles to be supplied by the population for the upkeep of pious foundations. After the fourteenth century we have Cambojan annals of dubious value and we also find inscriptions in Pali or in modern Cambojan. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions date from the beginning of the seventh century and mention works undertaken in 604 and 624.

The first important king is Bhavavarman (c. 500 A.D.), a

¹ Some authorities think that Kaundinya is meant by the wicked king, but he lived about 300 years before I-Ching's visit and the language seems to refer to more recent events. Although Bhavavarman is not known to have been a religious innovator he appears to have established a new order of things in Camboja and his inscriptions show that he was a zealous worshipper of Śiva and other Indian deities. It would be even more natural if I-Ching referred to Īśānavarman (c. 615) or Jayavarman I (c. 650), but there is no proof that these kings were anti-buddhist.

² Schiefner, p. 262.

conqueror and probably a usurper, who extended his kingdom considerably towards the west. His career of conquest was continued by Mahâvarman (also called Citrasena), by Isânavarman and by Jayavarman. This last prince was on the throne in 667, but his reign is followed by a lacuna of more than a century. Notices in the Chinese annals, confirmed by the double genealogies given for this period in later inscriptions, indicate that Camboja was divided for some time into two states, one littoral and the other inland.

Clear history begins again with the reign of Jayavarman II (802–869). Later sovereigns evidently regard him as the great national hero and he lives in popular legend as the builder of a magnificent palace, Beng Melea, whose ruins still exist and as the recipient of the sacred sword of Indra which is preserved at Phnom-penh to this day. We are told that he "came from Java," which is more likely to be some locality in the Malay Peninsula or Laos than the island of that name. It is possible that Jayavarman was carried away captive to this region but returned to found a dynasty independent of it.

The ancient city of Angkor has probably done more to make Camboja known in Europe than any recent achievements of the Khmer race. In the centre of it stands the temple now called Bayon and outside its walls are many other edifices of which the majestic Angkor Wat is the largest and best preserved.

1 Perhaps a second Bhavavarman came between these last two kings; see Coedès in B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 691.
2 See Meequenem in B.E.F.E.O. 1913, No. 2.
3 But the captivity is only an inference and not a necessary one. Finot suggests that the ancient royal house of Fu-nan may have resided at Java and have claimed suzerain rights over Camboja which Jayavarman somehow abolished. The only clear statements on the question are those in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, Khmer text c. 72, which tell us that Camboja had been dependent on Java and that Jayavarman II instituted a special state cult as a sign that this dependence had come to an end.

It is true that the Hindu colonists of Camboja may have come from the island of Java, yet no evidence supports the idea that Camboja was a dependency of the island about 800 A.D. and the inscriptions of Champa seem to distinguish clearly between Yasadvipa (the island) and the unknown country called Java. See Finot, Notes d'Épiz, pp. 48 and 240. Hence it seems unlikely that the barbarous pirates (called the armies of Java) who invaded Champa in 787 (see the inscription of Yang Tukuh) were from the island. The Siamese inscription of Râma Khomhêng, c. 1300 A.D., speaks of a place called Châvâ, which may be Luang Piabang. On the other hand it does not seem likely that pirates, expressly described as using ships, would have come from the interior.
King Indravarman (877–899) seems responsible for the selection of the site but he merely commenced the construction of the Bayon. The edifice was completed by his son Yaśovarman (889–908) who also built a town round it, called Yaśodharapura, Kambupuri or Mahānagara. Angkor Thom is the Cambojan translation of this last name, Angkor being a corruption of Nokor (= Nagara). Yaśovarman’s empire comprised nearly all Indo-China between Burma and Champa and he has been identified with the Leper king of Cambojan legend. His successors continued to embellish Angkor Thom, but Jayavarman IV abandoned it and it was deserted for several years until Rajendravarman II (944–968) made it the capital again. The Chinese Annals, supported by allusions in the inscriptions, state that this prince conquered Champa. The long reigns of Jayavarman V, Sūryavarman I, and Udayādityavarman, which cover more than a century (968–1079) seem to mark a prosperous period when architecture flourished, although Udayādityavarman had to contend with two rebellions. Another great king, Sūryavarman II (1112–1162) followed shortly after them, and for a time succeeded in uniting Camboja and Champa under his sway. Some authorities credit him with a successful expedition to Ceylon. There is not sufficient evidence for this, but he was a great prince and, in spite of his foreign wars, maintained peace and order at home.

Jayavarman VII, who appears to have reigned from 1162 to 1201, reduced to obedience his unruly vassals of the north and successfully invaded Champa which remained for thirty years, though not without rebellion, the vassal of Camboja. It was evacuated by his successor Indravarman in 1220.

After this date there is again a gap of more than a century in Cambojan history, and when the sequence of events becomes clear again, we find that Siam has grown to be a dangerous and aggressive enemy. But though the vigour of the kingdom may have declined, the account of the Chinese traveller Chou Ta-kuan who visited Angkor Thom in 1296 shows that it was not in a state of anarchy nor conquered by Siam. There had however been a recent war with Siam and he mentions that the country was devastated. He unfortunately does not tell us the name of the reigning king and the list of sovereigns begins again only in 1340 when the Annals of Camboja take up the history. They
are not of great value. The custom of recording all events of importance prevailed at the Cambojan Court in earlier times but these chronicles were lost in the eighteenth century. King Ang Chan (1796–1834) ordered that they should be re-written with the aid of the Siamese chronicles and such other materials as were available and fixed 1340 as the point of departure, apparently because the Siamese chronicles start from that date. Although the period of the annals offers little but a narrative of dissensions at home and abroad, of the interference of Annam on one side and of Siam on the other, yet it does not seem that the sudden cessation of inscriptions and of the ancient style of architecture in the thirteenth century was due to the collapse of Camboja, for even in the sixteenth century it offered a valiant, and often successful, resistance to aggressions from the west. But Angkor Thom and the principal monuments were situated near the Siamese frontier and felt the shock of every collision. The sense of security, essential for the construction of great architectural works, had disappeared and the population became less submissive and less willing to supply forced labour without which such monuments could not be erected.

The Siamese captured Angkor Thom in 1313, 1351 and 1420 but did not on any occasion hold it for long. Again in 1473 they occupied Chantaboun, Korat and Angkor but had to retire and conclude peace. King Ang Chan I successfully disputed the right of Siam to treat him as a vassal and established his capital at Lovek, which he fortified and ornamented. He reigned from 1505 to 1555 and both he and his son, Barom Racha, seem entitled to rank among the great kings of Camboja. But the situation was clearly precarious and when a minor succeeded to the throne in 1574 the Siamese seized the opportunity and recaptured Lovek and Chantaboun. Though this capture was the death blow to the power of the Khmers, the kingdom of Camboja did not cease to exist but for nearly three centuries continued to have an eventful but uninteresting history as the

---

vassal of Siam or Annam or even of both\(^1\), until in the middle of the nineteenth century the intervention of France substituted a European Protectorate for these Asiatic rivalries.

The provinces of Siem-reap and Battambang, in which Angkor Thom and the principal ancient monuments are situated, were annexed by Siam at the end of the eighteenth century, but in virtue of an arrangement negotiated by the French Government they were restored to Camboja in 1907, Krat and certain territories being at the same time ceded to Siam\(^2\).

3

The religious history of Camboja may be divided into two periods, exclusive of the possible existence there of Hinayanist Buddhism in the early centuries of our era. In the first period, which witnessed the construction of the great monuments and the reigns of the great kings, both Brahmanism and Mahayanist Buddhism flourished, but as in Java and Champa without mutual hostility. This period extends certainly from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries and perhaps its limits should be stretched to 400–1400 A.D. In any case it passed without abrupt transition into the second period in which, under Siamese influence, Hinayanist Buddhism supplanted the older faiths, although the ceremonies of the Cambojan court still preserve a good deal of Brahmanic ritual.

During the first period, Brahmanism and Mahayanism were professed by the Court and nobility. The multitude of great temples and opulent endowments, the knowledge of Sanskrit literature and the use of Indian names, leave no doubt about this, but it is highly probable that the mass of the people had their own humbler forms of worship. Still there is no record of anything that can be called Khmer—as opposed to Indian—religion. As in Siam, the veneration of nature spirits is universal in Camboja and little shrines elevated on poles are erected in their honour in the neighbourhood of almost every house.

\(^1\) E.g. Ang Chan (1796–1834) received his crown from the King of Siam and paid tribute to the King of Annam; Ang Duong (1848–1859) was crowned by representatives of Annam and Siam and his territory was occupied by the troops of both countries.

\(^2\) The later history of Camboja is treated in considerable detail by A. Leclerc, *Histoire de Cambodge*, 1914.
Possibly the more important of these spirits were identified in early times with Indian deities or received Sanskrit names. Thus we hear of a pious foundation in honour of Brahmarakshaśaś, perhaps a local mountain spirit. Śiva is adored under the name of Śrī Śikhareśvara, the Lord of the Peak and Krishna appears to be identified with a local god called Śrī Champeśvara who was worshipped by Jayavarman VI.

The practice of accepting and hinduizing strange gods with whom they came in contact was so familiar to the Brahmins that it would be odd if no examples of it occurred in Camboja. Still the Brahmanic religion which has left such clear records there was in the main not a hinduized form of any local cult but a direct importation of Indian thought, ritual and literature. The Indian invaders or colonists were accompanied by Brahmins: their descendants continued to bear Indian names and to give them to all places of importance: Sanskrit was the ecclesiastical and official language, for the inscriptions written in Khmer are clearly half-contemptuous notifications to the common people, respecting such details as specially concerned them: Āśramas and castes (varga) are mentioned and it is probable that natives were only gradually and grudgingly admitted to the higher castes. There is also reason to believe that this Hindu civilization was from time to time vivified by direct contact with India. The embassy of Su-Wu has already been mentioned and an inscription records the marriage of a Cambojan princess with a Brahman called Divākara who came from the banks of the Yamunā, “where Kṛishṇa sported in his infancy.”

During the whole period of the inscriptions the worship of Śiva seems to have been the principal cultus and to some extent the state religion, for even kings who express themselves in their inscriptions as devout Buddhists do not fail to invoke him. But there is no trace of hostility to Vishnuism and the earlier inscriptions constantly celebrate the praises of the compound deity Vishnu-Śiva, known under such names as

---

1 Inscrip. of Moroun, Corpus, ii. 387.
2 Other local deities may be alluded to, under the names of Śrī Jayakshetra, “the field of victory” adored at Bassīt Simadāmataka, Śrī Mandaresvara, and Śrī Jalangēvara. Aymonier, ii. p. 297; i. pp. 305, 306 and 327.
3 Inscrip. of Loverk.
4 Prea Eynkosey, 870 A.D. See Corpus, i. pp. 77 ff.
Hari-Hara, Śambhu-Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, etc. Thus an inscription of Ang-Pou dating from Iśānavarman’s reign says “Victorious are Hara and Acyuta become one for the good of the world, though as the spouses of Parvatī and Śrī they have different forms.” But the worship of this double being is accompanied by pure Śivaism and by the adoration of other deities. In the earliest inscriptions Bhavavarman invokes Śiva and dedicates a linga. He also celebrates the compound deity under the name of Śambhu-Viṣṇu and mentions Umā, Laksñmī, Bhāratī, Dharma, the Maruts, and Viṣṇu under the names of Caturbhuja and Trailokyasāra. There appears to be no allusion to the worship of Viṣṇu-Śiva as two in one after the seventh century, but though Śiva became exalted at the expense of his partner, Viṣṇu must have had adorers for two kings, Jayavarman III and Sūryavarman II, were known after their death by the names of Viṣṇu-loka and Parama-Viṣṇu-loka.

Śiva became generally recognized as the supreme deity, in a comprehensive but not an exclusive sense. He is the universal spirit from whom emanate Brahmā and Viṣṇu. His character as the Destroyer is not much emphasized: he is the God of change, and therefore of reproduction, whose symbol is the Linga. It is remarkable to find that a pantheistic form of Śivaism is clearly enunciated in one of the earliest inscriptions. Śiva is there styled Viśnu, the omnipresent, Paramvrahmā (= Brahmā), Jagatpati, Paśupati. An inscription found at Angkor mentions an Ācārya of the Paśupatas as well as an Ācārya of the Śaivas and Chou Ta-kuan seems to allude to the worshippers of Paśupati under the name of Pa-ssū-wei. It would therefore appear that the Paśupatas existed in Camboja as a distinct sect and there are some indications that ideas which prevailed among the Lingayats also found their way thither.

1 This compound deity is celebrated in the Harivamasa and is represented in the sculptures of the rock temple at Badami, which is dated 578 A.D. Thus his worship may easily have reached Camboja in the sixth or seventh century.

2 Jayato jagatâm bhûtyai Kritasandhi Harâcyutau, Parvatâśripatîtvena Bhinnamûrttîdarâvapi. See also the Inscip. of Ang Chumnik (667 A.D.), verses 11 and 12 in Corpus, 1. p. 67.

3 The Bayang Inscription, Corpus, 1. pp. 31 ff. which mentions the dates 604 and 626 as recent.

4 Corpus, II. p. 422 Śaivapaśupatâcâryya. The inscription fixes the relative rank of various Ācâryas.

5 See B.E.F.E.O. 1906, p. 70.
The most interesting and original aspect of Cambojan religion is its connection with the state and the worship of deities somehow identified with the king or with prominent personages\(^1\). These features are also found in Champa and Java. In all these countries it was usual that when a king founded a temple, the god worshipped in it should be called by his name or by something like it. Thus when Bhadravarman dedicated a temple to Śiva, the god was styled Bhadreshvara. More than this, when a king or any distinguished person died, he was commemorated by a statue which reproduced his features but represented him with the attributes of his favourite god. Thus Indravarman and Yasovarman dedicated at Bakó and Lolei shrines in which deceased members of the royal family were commemorated in the form of images of Śiva and Devī bearing names similar to their own. Another form of apotheosis was to describe a king by a posthumous title, indicating that he had gone to the heaven of his divine patron such as Paramavishnuloka or Buddhhaloka. The temple of Bayon was a truly national fane, almost a Westminster abbey, in whose many shrines all the gods and great men of the country were commemorated. The French archaeologists recognize four classes of these shrines dedicated respectively to (a) Indian deities, mostly special forms of Śiva, Devī and Vishnū; (b) Mahayanist Buddhas, especially Buddhas of healing, who were regarded as the patron saints of various towns and mountains; (c) similar local deities apparently of Cambojan origin and perhaps corresponding to the God of the City worshipped in every Chinese town; (d) deified kings and notables, who appear to have been represented in two forms, the human and divine, bearing slightly different names. Thus one inscription speaks of Śrī Mahendresvari who is the divine form (vrajā rūpa) of the lady Śrī Mahendralakshmi.

The presiding deity of the Bayon was Śiva, adored under the form of the linga. The principal external ornaments of the building are forty towers each surmounted by four heads. These were formerly thought to represent Brahmā but there is little doubt that they are meant for lingas bearing four faces of Śiva,

since each head has three eyes. Such lingas are occasionally seen in India and many metal cases bearing faces and made to be fitted on lingas have been discovered in Champâ. These four-headed columns are found on the gates of Angkor Thom as well as in the Bayon and are singularly impressive. The emblem adored in the central shrine of the Bayon was probably a linga but its title was Kamraten jagat ta râja or Devardja, the king-god. More explicitly still it is styled Kamraten jagat ta râjya, the god who is the kingdom. It typified and contained the royal essence present in the living king of Camboja and in all her kings. Several inscriptions make it clear that not only dead but living people could be represented by statue-portraits which identified them with a deity, and in one very remarkable record a general offers to the king the booty he has captured, asking him to present it "to your subtle ego who is Îśvara dwelling in a golden linga." Thus this subtle ego dwells in a linga, is identical with Śiva, and manifests itself in the successive kings of the royal house.

The practices described have some analogies in India. The custom of describing the god of a temple by the name of the founder was known there. The veneration of ancestors is universal; there are some mausolea (for instance at Ahar near Udeypore) and the notion that in life the soul can reside elsewhere than in the body is an occasional popular superstition. Still these ideas and practices are not conspicuous features of Hinduism and the Cambojans had probably come within the sphere of another influence. In all eastern Asia the veneration of the dead is the fundamental and ubiquitous form of religion and in China we find fully developed such ideas as that the great should be buried in monumental tombs, that a spirit can be made to reside in a tablet or image, and that the human soul is compound so that portions of it can be in different places. These beliefs combined with the Indian doctrine that the deity

1 I have seen myself a stone lingam carved with four faces in a tank belonging to a temple at Mahakut not far from Badami.
2 Suvarṇamayalingagatesvare te sūkshmāntarātmanī. Inscrip. of Prea Ngouk, Corpus, i. p. 157.
3 E.g. see Epig. Indica, vol. iii. pp. 1 ff. At Paṭṭadkal (which region offers so many points of resemblance to Camboja) King Vijayāditya founded a temple of Vijayaśvara and two Queens, Lokamahādevi and Trailokyamahādevi founded temples of Lokesvarā and Trailokyeśvara.
is manifested in incarnations, in the human soul and in images afford a good theoretical basis for the worship of the Devarâja. It was also agreeable to far-eastern ideas that religion and the state should be closely associated and the Cambojan kings would be glad to imitate the glories of the Son of Heaven. But probably a simpler cause tended to unite church and state in all these Hindu colonies. In mediaeval India the Brahmans became so powerful that they could claim to represent religion and civilization apart from the state. But in Camboja and Champa Brahmanic religion and civilization were bound up with the state. Both were attacked by and ultimately succumbed to the same enemies.

The Brahmanism of Camboja, as we know it from the inscriptions, was so largely concerned with the worship of this "Royal God" that it might almost be considered a department of the court. It seems to have been thought essential to the dignity of a Sovereign who aspired to be more than a local prince, that his Chaplain or preceptor should have a pontifical position. A curious parallel to this is shown by those mediaeval princes of eastern Europe who claimed for their chief bishops the title of patriarch as a complement to their own imperial pretensions. In its ultimate form the Cambojan hierarchy was the work of Jayavarman II, who, it will be remembered, re-established the kingdom after an obscure but apparently disastrous interregnum. He made the priesthood of the Royal God hereditary in the family of Śivākaivalya and the sacerdotal dynasty thus founded enjoyed during some centuries a power inferior only to that of the kings.

In the inscriptions of Sdok Kâk Thom¹ the history of this family is traced from the reign of Jayavarman II to 1052. The beginning of the story as related in both the Sanskrit and Khmer texts is interesting but obscure. It is to the effect that Jayavarman, anxious to assure his position as an Emperor (Cakravartin) independent of Javâ², summoned from Janapada a Brahman called Hiranyadâma, learned in magic (siddhividvâ), who arranged the rules (viddhî) for the worship of the Royal God and taught the king's Chaplain, Śivākaivalya, four treatises called Vrah Vinâśikha, Nāyottara, Sammohand

² See above.
Śirascheda. These works are not otherwise known. The king made a solemn compact that "only the members of his (Śiva-
kaivalya's) maternal family, men and women, should be Yājakas (sacrificers or officiants) to the exclusion of all others." The restriction refers no doubt only to the cult of the Royal God and the office of court chaplain, called Purohita, Guru or Hotri, of whom there were at least two.

The outline of this narrative, that a learned Brahman was imported and charged with the instruction of the royal chaplain, is simple and probable but the details are perplexing. The Sanskrit treatises mentioned are unknown and the names singular. Janapada as the name of a definite locality is also strange, but it is conceivable that the word may have been used in Khmer as a designation of India or a part of it.

The inscription goes on to relate the gratifying history of the priestly family, the grants of land made to them, the honours they received. We gather that it was usual for an estate to be given to a priest with the right to claim forced labour from the population. He then proceeded to erect a town or village em-bellished with temples and tanks. The hold of Brahmanism on the country probably depended more on such priestly towns than on the convictions of the people. The inscriptions often speak of religious establishments being restored and sometimes say that they had become deserted and overgrown. We may conclude that if the Brahman lords of a village ceased for any reason to give it their attention, the labour and contributions requisite for the upkeep of the temples were not forthcoming and the jungle was allowed to grow over the buildings.

Numerous inscriptions testify to the grandeur of the Śiva-
kaivalya family. The monotonous lists of their properties and slaves, of the statues erected in their honour and the number of parasols borne before them show that their position was almost regal, even when the king was a Buddhist. They prudently refrained from attempting to occupy the throne, but

1 Sammohana and Niruttara are given as names of Tantras. The former word may perhaps be the beginning of a compound. There are Pali works called Sammo-
havinodini and S. vināśini. The inscription calls the four treatises the four faces of Tumburn.

2 This shows that matriarchy must have been in force in Camboja.

3 Jānapada as the name of a locality is cited by Böthlingck and Roth from the Gaṇa to Pāṇini, 4. 2. 82.
probably no king could succeed unless consecrated by them. Śadaśiva, Śaṅkarapāṇḍita and Divākarapāṇḍita formed an ecclesiastical dynasty from about 1000 to 1100 A.D. parallel to the long reigns of the kings in the same period\(^1\). The last-named mentions in an inscription that he had consecrated three kings and Śaṅkarapāṇḍita, a man of great learning, was de facto sovereign during the minority of his pupil Udayādityavarman nor did he lose his influence when the young king attained his majority.

The shrine of the Royal God was first near Mt Mahendra and was then moved to Hariharālaya\(^2\). Its location was definitely fixed in the reign of Indravarman, about 877 A.D. Two Śivakaivalya Brahmans, Śivasoma and his pupil Vāmaśiva, chaplain of the king, built a temple called the Śivāśrama and erected a linga therein. It is agreed that this building is the Bayon, which formed the centre of the later city of Angkor. Indravarman also illustrated another characteristic of the court religion by placing in the temple now called Prah Kou three statues of Śiva with the features of his father, grandfather and Jayavarman II together with corresponding statues of Śakti in the likeness of their wives. The next king, Yaśovarman, who founded the town of Angkor round the Bayon, built near his palace another linga temple, now known as Ba-puon. He also erected two convents, one Brahmanic and one Buddhist. An inscription\(^3\) gives several interesting particulars respecting the former. It fixes the provisions to be supplied to priests and students and the honours to be rendered to distinguished visitors. The right of sanctuary is accorded and the sick and helpless are to receive food and medicine. Also funeral rites are to be celebrated within its precincts for the repose of the friendless and those who have died in war. The royal residence was moved from Angkor in 928, but about twenty years later the court returned thither and the inscriptions record that the Royal God accompanied it.

The cultus was probably similar to what may be seen in the

---
\(^1\) Possibly others may have held office during this long period, but evidently all three priests lived to be very old men and each may have been Guru for forty years.

\(^2\) This place which means merely “the abode of Hari and Hara” has not been identified.

\(^3\) *Corpus*, ii. Inscript. lvi. especially pp. 248–251.
Sivaite temples of India to-day. The principal lingam was placed in a shrine approached through other chambers and accessible only to privileged persons. Libations were poured over the emblem and sacred books were recited. An interesting inscription\(^1\) of about 600 A.D. relates how Śrīsomasarman (probably a Brahmān) presented to a temple "the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇa and complete Bhārata" and made arrangements for their recitation. Sanskrit literature was held in esteem. We are told that Sūryavarman I was versed in the Atharva-Veda and also in the Bhāshya, Kāvyas, the six Darśanas, and the Dharmaśāstras\(^8\). Sacrifices are also frequently mentioned and one inscription records the performance of a Koṭihoma\(^3\). The old Vedic ritual remained to some extent in practice, for no circumstances are more favourable to its survival than a wealthy court dominated by a powerful hierarchy. Such ceremonies were probably performed in the ample enclosures surrounding the temples\(^4\).

4

Mahayanist Buddhism existed in Camboja during the whole of the period covered by the inscriptions, but it remained in such close alliance with Brahmanism that it is hard to say whether it should be regarded as a separate religion. The idea that the two systems were incompatible obviously never occurred to the writers of the inscriptions and Buddhism was not regarded as more distinct from Śivaism and Vishnuism than these from one another. It had nevertheless many fervent and generous, if not exclusive, admirers. The earliest record of its existence is a short inscription dating from the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century\(^5\), which relates how a person called Pon Prajinā Candra dedicated male and female slaves to the three Bodhisattvas, Šāstā\(^6\), Maitreyā and Avalō-

\(^1\) Vela Kantel, Corpus, i. p. 28.
\(^2\) Inscr. of Prah Khan, B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 675.
\(^3\) B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 677.
\(^4\) Just as a Vedic sacrifice was performed in the court of the temple of Chidambaram about 1908.
\(^5\) Aymonier, Cambodja, i. p. 442.
\(^6\) Šāstā sounds like a title of Śākyamuni, but, if Aymonier is correct, the personage is described as a Bodhisattva. There were pagoda slaves even in modern Burma.
kiteśvara. The title given to the Bodhisattvas (Vrah Kamratāçā) which is also borne by Indian deities shows that this Buddhism was not very different from the Brahmanic cult of Camboja.

It is interesting to find that Yaśovarman founded in Angkor Thom a Saugatāśrama or Buddhist monastery parallel to his Brāhmaṇāśrama already described. Its inmates enjoyed the same privileges and had nearly the same rules and duties, being bound to afford sanctuary, maintain the destitute and perform funeral masses. It is laid down that an Ācārya versed in Buddhist lore corresponds in rank to the Ācāryas of the Śaivas and Pāṣupatas and that in both institutions greater honour is to be shown to such Ācāryas as also are learned in grammar. A Buddhist Ācārya ought to be honoured a little less than a learned Brahman. Even in form the inscriptions recording the foundation of the two Āśramas show a remarkable parallelism. Both begin with two stanzas addressed to Śiva: then the Buddhist inscription inserts a stanza in honour of the Buddha who delivers from transmigration and gives nirvāṇa, and then the two texts are identical for several stanzas.¹

Mahayanism appears to have flourished here especially from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries and throughout the greater part of this period we find the same feature that its principal devotees were not the kings but their ministers. Sūryavarman I (†1049) and Jayavarman VII (†1221) in some sense deserved the name of Buddhists since the posthumous title of the former was Nirvāṇapada and the latter left a long inscription² beginning with a definitely Buddhist invocation. Yet an inscription of Sūryavarman which states in its second verse that only the word of the Buddha is true, opens by singing the praises of Śiva, and Jayavarman certainly did not neglect the Brahmanic gods. But for about a hundred years there was a series of great ministers who specially encouraged Buddhism. Such were Satyavarman (c. 900 A.D.), who was charged with the erection of the building in Angkor known as Phimeanakas; Kavindrārimathana, minister under Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman V, who erected many Buddhist statues and Kirtipandita, minister of Jayavarman V. Kirtipandita was the

² Inscrip. of Ta Prohm, B.E.F.E.O. 1906, p. 44.
author\(^1\) of the inscription found at Srey Santhor, which states that thanks to his efforts the pure doctrine of the Buddha reappeared like the moon from behind the clouds or the sun at dawn.

It may be easily imagined that the power enjoyed by the court chaplain would dispose the intelligent classes to revolt against this hierarchy and to favour liberty and variety in religion, so far as was safe. Possibly the kings, while co-operating with a priesthood which recognized them as semi-divine, were glad enough to let other religious elements form some sort of counterpoise to a priestly family which threatened to be omnipotent. Though the identification of Śivaism and Buddhism became so complete that we actually find a Trinity composed of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), Ambhojanetra (Vishnu) and the Buddha\(^2\), the inscriptions of the Buddhist ministers are marked by a certain diplomacy and self-congratulation on the success of their efforts, as if they felt that their position was meritorious, yet delicate.

Thus in an inscription, the object of which seems to be to record the erection of a statue of Prajñā-pāramitā by Kavindrārimathana we are told that the king charged him with the embellishment of Yaśodharapura because “though an eminent Buddhist” his loyalty was above suspicion\(^3\). The same minister erected three towers at Bāṭ Čum with inscriptions\(^4\) which record the dedication of a tank. The first invokes the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi\(^5\) and Lokeśvara. In the others Lokeśvara is replaced by Prajñā-pāramitā who here, as elsewhere, is treated as a goddess or Śakti and referred to as Devī in another stanza\(^6\). The three inscriptions commemorate the construction of a sacred tank

---

\(^1\) See Senart in *Revue Archéologique*, 1883. As in many inscriptions it is not always plain who is speaking but in most parts it is apparently the minister promulgating the instructions of the king.

\(^2\) Inscript. of Prasat Prah Khse, *Corpus*, i. p. 173.

\(^3\) Buddhānām agraṇir api, *J.A.* xx. 1882, p. 164.


\(^5\) The Bodhisattva corresponding to the Buddha Akshobhya. He is green or blue and carries a thunderbolt. It seems probable that he is a metamorphosis of Indra.

\(^6\) An exceedingly curious stanza eulogizes the doctrine of the non-existence of the soul taught by the Buddha which leads to identification with the universal soul although contrary to it. Vuddho vodhim vidaddhyād vo yena nairātyadā rājanām viruddhasyāpi sādhūktaṃ sādhanaṃ paramātmanaḥ.
but, though the author was a Buddhist, he expressly restricts the use of it to Brahmanic functionaries.

The inscription of Srey Santhor¹ (c. 975 A.D.) describes the successful efforts of Kirtipandita to restore Buddhism and gives the instructions of the king (Jayavarman V) as to its status. The royal chaplain is by no means to abandon the worship of Siva but he is to be well versed in Buddhist learning and on feast days he will bathe the statue of the Buddha with due ceremony.

A point of interest in this inscription is the statement that Kirtipandita introduced Buddhist books from abroad, including the Sāstra Madhyavibhāga and the commentary on the Tattvasangraha. The first of these is probably the Mādhyāntavibhāga śāstra² by Vasubandhu and the authorship is worth attention as supporting Taranātha’s statement that the disciples of Vasubandhu introduced Buddhism into Indo-China.

In the time of Jayavarman VII (c. 1185 A.D.), although Hindu mythology is not discarded and though the king’s chaplain (presumably a Śivaite) receives every honour, yet Mahayanist Buddhism seems to be frankly professed as the royal religion. It is noteworthy that about the same time it becomes more prominent in Java and Champa. Probably the flourishing condition of the faith in Ceylon and Burma increased the prestige of all forms of Buddhism throughout south-eastern Asia. A long inscription of Jayavarman in 145 stanzas has been preserved in the temple of Ta Prohm near Angkor. It opens with an invocation to the Buddha, in which are mentioned the three bodies, Lokeśvara³, and the Mother of the Jinas, by whom Prajñā-pāramitā must be meant. Śiva is not invoked but allusion is made to many Brahmanic deities and Bhikkhus and Brahmans are mentioned together. The inscription contains a curious list of the materials supplied daily for the temple services and of the personnel. Ample provision is made for both, but it is not clear how far a purely Buddhist ritual is contemplated and it seems probable that an extensive Brahmanic cultus existed side by side with the Buddhist ceremonial.

¹ Aymonier, i pp. 261 ff. Senart, Revue Archéologique, Mars-Avril, 1883.
² Nanjio, 1244 and 1248.
³ The common designation of Avalokita in Camboja and Java. For the inscription see B.E.F.E.O. 1906, pp. 41 ff.
We learn that there were clothes for the deities and forty-five mosquito nets of Chinese material to protect their statues. The Upasatha days seem to be alluded to\(^1\) and the spring festival is described, when “Bhagavat and Bhagavati” are to be escorted in solemn procession with parasols, music, banners and dancing girls. The whole staff, including Burmese and Chams (probably slaves), is put down at the enormous figure of 79,365, which perhaps includes all the neighbouring inhabitants who could be called on to render any service to the temple. The more sacred part of the establishment consisted of 18 principal priests (adhirīniṣā), 2740 priests and 2232 assistants, including 615 dancing girls. But even these figures seem very large\(^2\).

The inscription comes to a gratifying conclusion by announcing that there are 102 hospitals in the kingdom\(^3\). These institutions, which are alluded to in other inscriptions, were probably not all founded by Jayavarman VII and he seems to treat them as being, like temples, a natural part of a well-ordered state. But he evidently expended much care and money on them and in the present inscription he makes over the fruit of these good deeds to his mother. The most detailed description of these hospitals occurs in another of his inscriptions found at Say-fong in Laos. It is, like the one just cited, definitely Buddhist and it is permissible to suppose that Buddhism took a more active part than Brāhmaṇism in such works of charity. It opens with an invocation first to the Buddha who in his three bodies transcends the distinction between existence and non-existence, and then to the healing Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas who drive away darkness and disease. These divinities, who are the lords of a heaven in the east, analogous to the paradise of Amitābha, are still worshipped in China and Japan and were evidently gods of light\(^4\). The hospital erected

\(^1\) Stanza xlvi.

\(^2\) The inscription only says “There are here (atra).” Can this mean in the various religious establishments maintained by the king?

\(^3\) See also Finot, *Notes d’Epigraphie*, pp. 332–335. The Mahāvamsa repeatedly mentions that kings founded hospitals and distributed medicines. See too, Yule, *Marco Polo*, t. p. 446. The care of the sick was recognized as a duty and a meritorious act in all Buddhist countries and is recommended by the example of the Buddha himself.

\(^4\) Their somewhat lengthy titles are Bhaiṣajyaguruśvānduṣṭhāyaprabhārāja, Sūryavairoccanaśaṅkara and Candrayavairoccanaśina. See for an account of them and the texts on which their worship is founded the learned article of M. Pelliot, “Le Bhaiṣajyaguru,” *B.E.F.E.O.* 1903, p. 33.
under their auspices by the Cambojan king was open to all the four castes and had a staff of 98 persons, besides an astrologer and two sacrificers (yâjaka).

5

These inscriptions of Jayavarman are the last which tell us anything about the religion of mediæval Camboja but we have a somewhat later account from the pen of Chou Ta-kuan, a Chinese who visited Angkor in 1296\(^1\). He describes the temple in the centre of the city, which must be the Bayon, and says that it had a tower of gold and that the eastern (or principal) entrance was approached by a golden bridge flanked by two lions and eight statues, all of the same metal. The chapter of his work entitled "The Three Religions," runs as follows, slightly abridged from M. Pelliot's version.

"The literati are called Pan-ch'i, the bonzes Ch'ú-ku and the Taoists Pa-ssū-wei. I do not know whom the Pan-ch'i worship. They have no schools and it is difficult to say what books they read. They dress like other people except that they wear a white thread round their necks, which is their distinctive mark. They attain to very high positions. The Ch'ú-ku shave their heads and wear yellow clothes. They uncover the right shoulder, but the lower part of their body is draped with a skirt of yellow cloth and they go bare foot. Their temples are sometimes roofed with tiles. Inside there is only one image, exactly like the Buddha Šâkya, which they call Po-lai (= Prah), ornamented with vermilion and blue, and clothed in red. The Buddhas of the towers (? images in the towers of the temples) are different and cast in bronze. There are no bells, drums, cymbals, or flags in their temples. They eat only one meal a day, prepared by someone who entertains them, for they do not cook in their temples. They eat fish and meat and also use them in their offerings to Buddha, but they do not drink wine. They recite numerous texts written on strips of palm-leaf. Some bonzes have a right to have the shafts of their palanquins and the handles of their parasols in gold or silver. The prince consults them on serious matters. There are no Buddhist nuns.

"The Pa-ssū-wei dress like everyone else, except that they wear on their heads a piece of red or white stuff like the Ku-ku

\(^1\) His narrative is translated by M. Pelliot in B.E.F.E.O. 1902, pp. 123–177.
worn by Tartar women but lower. Their temples are smaller than those of the Buddhists, for Taoism is less prosperous than Buddhism. They worship nothing but a block of stone, somewhat like the stone on the altar of the God of the Sun in China. I do not know what god they adore. There are also Taoist nuns. The Pa-ssū-wei do not partake of the food of other people or eat in public. They do not drink wine.

"Such children of the laity as go to school frequent the bonzes, who give them instruction. When grown up they return to a lay life.

"I have not been able to make an exhaustive investigation."

Elsewhere he says "All worship the Buddha" and he describes some popular festivals which resemble those now celebrated in Siam. In every village there was a temple or a Stūpa. He also mentions that in eating they use leaves as spoons and adds "It is the same in their sacrifices to the spirits and to Buddha."

Chou Ta-kuan confesses that his account is superficial and he was perhaps influenced by the idea that it was natural there should be three religions in Camboja, as in China. Buddhists were found in both countries: Pan-ch'i no doubt represents Paṇḍita and he saw an analogy between the Brahmans of the Cambojan Court and Confucian mandarins: a third and less known sect he identified with the Taoists. The most important point in his description is the prominence given to the Buddhists. His account of their temples, of the dress and life of their monks\(^1\) leaves no doubt that he is describing Hinayanist Buddhism such as still flourishes in Camboja. It probably found its way from Siam, with which Camboja had already close, but not always peaceful, relations. Probably the name by which the bonzes are designated is Siamese\(^2\). With Chou Ta-kuan's statements may be compared the inscription of the Siamese King Râma Khomhêng\(^3\) which dwells on the flourishing condition of Pali Buddhism in Siam about 1300 A.D. The contrast indicated by Chou Ta-kuan is significant. The Brahmans held

---

\(^1\) Pelliot (B.E.F.E.O. 1902, p. 148) cites a statement from the Ling Wai Tai Ta that there were two classes of bonzes in Camboja, those who wore yellow robes and married and those who wore red robes and lived in convents.

\(^2\) M. Finot conjectures that it represents the Siamese Chao (Lord) and a corruption of Guru.

\(^3\) See chapter on Siam, sect. 1.
high office but had no schools. Those of the laity who desired education spent some portion of their youth in a Buddhist monastery (as they still do) and then returned to the world. Such a state of things naturally resulted in the diffusion of Buddhism among the people, while the Brahmans dwindled to a Court hierarchy. When Chou Ta-kuan says that all the Cambodians adored Buddha, he probably makes a mistake, as he does in saying that the sculptures above the gates of Angkor are heads of Buddha. But the general impression which he evidently received that everyone frequented Buddhist temples and monasteries speaks for itself. His statement about sacrifices to Buddha is remarkable and, since the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII speak of sacrificers, it cannot be rejected as a mere mistake. But if Hinayanist Buddhism countenanced such practices in an age of transition, it did not adopt them permanently for, so far as I have seen, no offerings are made to-day in Cambodian temples, except flowers and sticks of incense.

The Pa-ssū-wei have given rise to many conjectures and have been identified with the Basaih or sacerdotal class of the Chams. But there seems to be little doubt that the word really represents Pâsupata and Chou Ta-kuan's account clearly points to a sect of linga worshippers, although no information is forthcoming about the "stone on the altar of the Sun God in China," to which he compares their emblem. His idea that they represented the Taoists in Camboja may have led him to exaggerate their importance but his statement that they were a separate body is confirmed, for an inscription of Angkor\(^1\) defines the order of hierarchical precedence as "the Brahman, the Śaiva Ācārya, the Pâsupata Ācārya\(^2\)."

From the time of Chou Ta-kuan to the present day I have

\(^1\) *Corpus*, p. 222.

\(^2\) The strange statement of Chou Ta-kuan (pp. 153–155) that the Buddhist and Taoist priests enjoyed a species of *jus prime noctis* has been much discussed. Taken by itself it might be merely a queer story founded on a misunderstanding of Cambodian customs, for he candidly says that his information is untrustworthy. But taking it in connection with the stories about the Aris in Burma (see especially Finot, *J.A.* 1912, p. 121) and the customs attributed by Chinese and Europeans to the Siamese and Philippines, we can hardly come to any conclusion except that this strange usage was an aboriginal custom in Indo-China and the Archipelago, prior to the introductions of Indian civilization, but not suppressed for some time. At the present day there seems to be no trace or even tradition of such a custom. For Siamese and Philippine customs see *B.E.F.E.O.* 1902, p. 153, note 4.
found few notices about the religion of Camboja. Hinayanist
Buddhism became supreme and though we have few details of
the conquest we can hardly go wrong in tracing its general
lines. Brahmanism was exclusive and tyrannical. It made no
appeal to the masses but a severe levy of forced labour must
have been necessary to erect and maintain the numerous great
shrines which, though in ruins, are still the glory of Camboja.1
In many of them are seen the remains of inscriptions which
have been deliberately erased. These probably prescribed cer-
tain onerous services which the proletariat was bound to render
to the established church. When Siamese Buddhism invaded
Camboja it had a double advantage. It was the creed of an
aggressive and successful neighbour but, while thus armed with
the weapons of this world, it also appealed to the poor and
oppressed. If it enjoyed the favour of princes, it had no desire
to defend the rights of a privileged caste: it offered salvation
and education to the average townsmen and villager. If it
invited the support and alms of the laity, it was at least modest
in its demands. Brahmanism on the other hand lost strength
as the prestige of the court declined. Its greatest shrines were
in the provinces most exposed to Siamese attacks. The first
Portuguese writers speak of them as already deserted at the
end of the sixteenth century. The connection with India was
not kept up and if any immigrants came from the west, after
the twelfth century they are more likely to have been Moslims
than Hindus. Thus driven from its temples, with no roots
among the people, whose affections it had never tried to win,
Brahmanism in Camboja became what it now is, a court
ritual without a creed and hardly noticed except at royal
functions.

It is remarkable that Mohammedanism remained almost
unknown to Camboja, Siam and Burma. The tide of Moslim
invasion swept across the Malay Peninsula southwards. Its
effect was strongest in Sumatra and Java, feeblter on the coasts
of Borneo and the Philippines. From the islands it reached
Champa, where it had some success, but Siam and Camboja
lay on one side of its main route, and also showed no sympathy

1 The French Archæological Commission states that exclusive of Angkor and
the neighbouring buildings there are remains of 600 temples in Camboja, and
probably many have entirely disappeared.
for it. King Rama Thuppdey Chan who reigned in Camboja from 1642–1659 became a Mohammedan and surrounded himself with Malays and Javanese. But he alienated the affections of his subjects and was deposed by the intervention of Annam. After this we hear no more of Mohammedanism. An unusual incident, which must be counted among the few cases in which Buddhism has encouraged violence, is recorded in the year 1730, when a Laotian who claimed to be inspired, collected a band of fanatics and proceeded to massacre in the name of Buddha all the Annamites resident in Camboja. This seems to show that Buddhism was regarded as the religion of the country and could be used as a national cry against strangers.

As already mentioned Brahmanism still survives in the court ceremonial though this by no means prevents the king from being a devout Buddhist. The priests are known as Baku. They wear a top-knot and the sacred thread after the Indian fashion, and enjoy certain privileges. Within the precincts of the palace at Phnom Penh is a modest building where they still guard the sword of Indra. About two inches of the blade are shown to visitors, but except at certain festivals it is never taken out of its sheath.

The official programme of the coronation of King Sisowath (April 23–28, 1906), published in French and Cambojan, gives a curious account of the ceremonies performed, which were mainly Brahmanic, although prayers were recited by the Bonzes and offerings made to Buddha. Four special Brahmanic shrines were erected and the essential part of the rite consisted in a lustral bath, in which the Baku poured water over the king. Invocations were addressed to beings described as “Anges qui êtes au paradis des six séjours célestes, qui habitez auprès d'Indra, de Brahmâ et de l'archange Sahabodey,” to the spirits of mountains, valleys and rivers and to the spirits who guard the palace. When the king has been duly bathed the programme prescribes that “le Directeur des Bakous remettra la couronne à M. le Gouverneur Général qui la portera sur la tête de Sa Majesté au nom du Gouvernement de la République Française.” Equally curious is the “Programme des fêtes royales à l'occasion de la crémation de S.M. Norodom” (January 2–16, 1906). The lengthy ceremonial consisted of a strange mixture of prayers,

1 Maspéro, pp. 62–3.
sermons, pageants and amusements. The definitely religious exercises were Buddhist and the amusements which accompanied them, though according to our notions curiously out of place, clearly correspond to the funeral games of antiquity. Thus we read not only of “offrande d’un repas aux urnes royales” but of “illuminations générales...lancement de ballons...luttes et assauts de boxe et de l’escrime...danses et soirée de gala....Après la crémation, Sa Majesté distribuera des billets de tombola.”

The ordinary Buddhism of Camboja at the present day resembles that of Siam and is not mixed with Brahmanic observances. Monasteries are numerous: the monks enjoy general respect and their conduct is said to be beyond reproach. They act as schoolmasters and, as in Siam and Burma, all young men spend some time in a monastery. A monastery generally contains from thirty to fifty monks and consists of a number of wooden houses raised on piles and arranged round a square. Each monk has a room and often a house to himself. Besides the dwelling houses there are also stores and two halls called Salâ and Vihéar (vihâra). In both the Buddha is represented by a single gigantic sitting image, before which are set flowers and incense. As a rule there are no other images but the walls are often ornamented with frescoes of Játaka stories or the early life of Gotama. Meals are taken in the Salâ at about 7 and 11 a.m.¹, and prayers are recited there on ordinary days in the morning and evening. The eleven o’clock meal is followed by a rather long grace. The prayers consist mostly of Pali formulæ, such as the Three Refuges, but they are sometimes in Cambojans and contain definite petitions or at least wishes formulated before the image of the Buddha. Thus I have heard prayers for peace and against war. The more solemn ceremonies, such as the Uposatha and ordinations, are performed in the Vihéar. The recitation of the Pâtimokkha is regularly performed and I have several times witnessed it. All but ordained monks have to withdraw outside the Sîmâ stones during the service. The ceremony begins about 6 p.m.: the Bhikkhus kneel down in pairs face to face and rubbing their foreheads in the dust ask for mutual forgiveness if they have inadvertently offended.

¹ The food is prepared in the monasteries, and, as in other countries, the begging round is a mere formality.
This ceremony is also performed on other occasions. It is followed by singing or intoning lauds, after which comes the recitation of the Pātimokkha itself which is marked by great solemnity. The reader sits in a large chair on the arms of which are fixed many lighted tapers. He repeats the text by heart but near him sits a prompter with a palm-leaf manuscript who, if necessary, corrects the words recited. I have never seen a monk confess in public, and I believe that the usual practice is for sinful brethren to abstain from attending the ceremony and then to confess privately to the Abbot, who assigns them a penance. As soon as the Pātimokkha is concluded all the Bhikkhus smoke large cigarettes. In most Buddhist countries it is not considered irreverent to smoke\(^1\), chew betel or drink tea in the intervals of religious exercises. When the cigarettes are finished there follows a service of prayer and praise in Cambojan. During the season of Wassa there are usually several Bhikkhus in each monastery who practise meditation for three or four days consecutively in tents or enclosures made of yellow cloth, open above but closed all round. The four stages of meditation described in the Pitàkas are said to be commonly attained by devout monks\(^2\).

The Abbot has considerable authority in disciplinary matters. He eats apart from the other monks and at religious ceremonies wears a sort of red cope, whereas the dress of the other brethren is entirely yellow. Novices prostrate themselves when they speak to him.

Above the Abbots are Provincial Superiors and the government of the whole Church is in the hands of the Sāmīc prāh sanghrāc. There is, or was, also a second prelate called Lūk prāh sōkōn, or Braḥ Sugandha, and the two, somewhat after the manner of the two primates of the English Church, supervise the clergy in different parts of the kingdom, the second being inferior to the first in rank, but not dependent on him. But it is said that no successor has been appointed to the last Braḥ Sugandha who died in 1894. He was a distinguished scholar and introduced the Dhammayut sect from Siam into Camboja.

\(^1\) But in Chinese temples notices forbidding smoking are often posted on the doors.

\(^2\) The word dhyāna is known, but the exercise is more commonly called Vipassanā or Kammathāna.
The king is recognized as head of the Church, but cannot alter its doctrine or confiscate ecclesiastical property.

6

No account of Cambojan religion would be complete without some reference to the splendid monuments in which it found expression and which still remain in a great measure intact. The colonists who established themselves in these regions brought with them the Dravidian taste for great buildings, but either their travels enlarged their artistic powers or they modified the Indian style by assimilating successfully some architectural features found in their new home. What pre-Indian architecture there may have been among the Khmers we do not know, but the fact that the earliest known monuments are Hindu makes it improbable that stone buildings on a large scale existed before their arrival. The feature which most clearly distinguishes Cambojan from Indian architecture is its pyramidal structure. India has stupas and gopurams of pyramidal appearance but still Hindu temples of the normal type, both in the north and south, consist of a number of buildings erected on the same level. In Camboja on the contrary many buildings, such as Ta-Keo, Ba-phuong and the Phimeanakas, are shrines on the top of pyramids, which consist of three storeys or large steps, ascended by flights of relatively small steps. In other buildings, notably Angkor Wat, the pyramidal form is obscured by the slight elevation of the storeys compared with their breadth and by the elaboration of the colonnades and other edifices, which they bear. But still the general plan is that of a series of courts each rising within and above the last and this gradual rise, by which the pilgrim is led, not only through colonnade after colonnade, but up flight after flight of stairs, each leading to something higher but invisible from the base, imparts to Cambojan temples a sublimity and aspiring grandeur which is absent from the mysterious halls of Dravidian shrines.

One might almost suppose that the Cambojan architects had deliberately set themselves to rectify the chief faults of Indian architecture. One of these is the profusion of external ornament in high relief which by its very multiplicity ceases to produce any effect proportionate to its elaboration, with the
result that the general view is disappointing and majestic outlines are wanting. In Cambojan buildings on the contrary the general effect is not sacrificed to detail: the artists knew how to make air and space give dignity to their work. Another peculiar defect of many Dravidian buildings is that they were gradually erected round some ancient and originally humble shrine with the unfortunate result that the outermost courts and gateways are the most magnificent and that progress to the holy of holies is a series of artistic disappointments. But at Angkor Wat this fault is carefully avoided. The long paved road which starts from the first gateway isolates the great central mass of buildings without dwarfing it and even in the last court, when one looks up the vast staircases leading to the five towers which crown the pyramid, all that has led up to the central shrine seems, as it should, merely an introduction.

The solidity of Cambojan architecture is connected with the prevalence of inundations. With such dangers it was of primary importance to have a massive substructure which could not be washed away and the style which was necessary in building a firm stone platform inspired the rest of the work. Some unfinished temples reveal the interesting fact that they were erected first as piles of plain masonry. Then came the decorator and carved the stones as they stood in their places, so that instead of carving separate blocks he was able to contemplate his design as a whole and to spread it over many stones. Hence most Cambojan buildings have a peculiar air of unity. They have not had ornaments affixed to them but have grown into an ornamental whole. Yet if an unfavourable criticism is to be made on these edifices—especially Angkor Wat—it is that the sculptures are wanting in meaning and importance. They cannot be compared to the reliefs of Boroboedoer, a veritable catechism in stone where every clause teaches the believer something new, or even to the piles of figures in Dravidian temples which, though of small artistic merit, seem to represent the whirl of the world with all its men and monsters, struggling from life into death and back to life again. The relics in the great corridors of Angkor are purely decorative. The artist justly felt that so long a stretch of plain stone would be wearisome, and as decoration, his work is successful. Looking
outwards the eye is satisfied with such variety as the trees and houses in the temple courts afford: looking inwards it finds similar variety in the warriors and deities portrayed on the walls. Some of the scenes have an historical interest, but the attempt to follow the battles of the Ramayana or the Churning of the Sea soon becomes a tedious task, for there is little individuality or inspiration in the figures.

This want of any obvious correspondence between the decoration and cult of the Cambojan temples often makes it difficult to say to what deities they were dedicated. The Bayon, or Śivāśrama, was presumably a linga temple, yet the conjecture is not confirmed as one would expect by any indubitable evidence in the decoration or arrangements. In its general plan the building seems more Indian than others and, like the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, consists of three successive chambers, each surmounted by a tower. The most remarkable feature in the decoration is the repetition of the four-headed figure at the top of every tower, a striking and effective motive, which is also found above the gates of the town. Chou Ta-kuan says that there were golden statues of Buddhas at the entrance to the Bayon. It is impossible to say whether this statement is accurate or not. He may have simply made a mistake, but it is equally possible that the fusion of the two creeds may have ended in images of the Buddha being placed outside the shrine of the linga.

Strange as it may seem, there is no clear evidence as to the character of the worship performed in Camboja's greatest temple, Angkor Wat. Since the prince who commenced it was known by the posthumous title of Paramavishnuloka, we may presume that he intended to dedicate it to Vishṇu and some of the sculptures appear to represent Vishṇu slaying a demon. But it was not finished until after his death and his intentions may not have been respected by his successors.  An authoritative statement¹ warns us that it is not safe to say more about the date of Angkor Wat than that its extreme limits are 1050 and 1170. Jayavarman VII (who came to the throne at about this latter date) was a Buddhist, and may possibly have used the great temple for his own worship. The sculptures are hardly

Brahmanic in the theological sense, and those which represent
the pleasures of paradise and the pains of hell recall Buddhist
delineations of the same theme¹. The four images of the Buddha
which are now found in the central tower are modern and all
who have seen them will, I think, agree that the figure of the
great teacher which seems so appropriate in the neighbouring
monasteries is strangely out of place in this aerial shrine. But
what the designer of the building intended to place there
remains a mystery. Perhaps an empty throne such as is seen
in the temples of Annam and Bali would have been the best
symbol².

Though the monuments of Camboja are well preserved the
grey and massive severity which marks them at present is
probably very different from the appearance that they wore
when used for worship. From Chou Ta-kuan and other sources³
we gather that the towers and porches were gilded, the bas-
reliefs and perhaps the whole surface of the walls were painted,
and the building was ornamented with flags. Music and dances
were performed in the courtyards and, as in many Indian
temples, the intention was to create a scene which by its
animation and brilliancy might amuse the deity and rival the
pleasures of paradise.

It is remarkable that ancient Camboja which has left us so
many monuments, produced no books⁴. Though the inscriptions
and Chou Ta-kuan testify to the knowledge of literature
(especially religious), both Brahmanic and Buddhist, diffused
among the upper classes, no original works or even adaptations
of Indian originals have come down to us. The length and

¹ Although there is no reason why these pictures of the future life should not be
Brahmanic as well as Buddhist, I do not remember having seen them in any purely
Brahmanic temple.

² After spending some time at Angkor Wat I find it hard to believe the theory
that it was a palace. The King of Camboja was doubtless regarded as a living God,
but so is the Grand Lama, and it does not appear that the Potala where he lives is
anything but a large residential building containing halls and chapels much like
the Vatican. But at Angkor Wat everything leads up to a central shrine. It is
quite probable however that the deity of this shrine was a deified king, identified
with Vishnu after his death. This would account for the remarks of Chou Ta-kuan
who seems to have regarded it as a tomb.

³ See especially the inscription of Bussac. Kern, Annales de l'Extême Orient,
t. iii, 1880, p. 65.

⁴ Pali books are common in monasteries. For the literature of Laos see Finot,
B.E.F.E.O. 1917, No. 5.
ambitious character of many inscriptions give an idea of what the Cambojans could do in the way of writing, but the result is disappointing. These poems in stone show a knowledge of Sanskrit, of Indian poetry and theology, which is surprising if we consider how far from India they were composed, but they are almost without exception artificial, frigid and devoid of vigour or inspiration.
CHAPTER XXXIX

CHAMPA

The kingdom of Champa, though a considerable power from about the third century until the end of the fifteenth, has attracted less attention than Camboja or Java. Its name is a thing of the past and known only to students: its monuments are inferior in size and artistic merit to those of the other Hindu kingdoms in the Far East and perhaps its chief interest is that it furnishes the oldest Sanskrit inscription yet known from these regions.

Champa occupied the south-eastern corner of Asia beyond the Malay Peninsula, if the word corner can be properly applied to such rounded outlines. Its extent varied at different epochs, but it may be roughly defined in the language of modern geography as the southern portion of Annam, comprising the provinces of Quâng-nam in the north and Binh-Thuan in the south with the intervening country. It was divided into three provinces, which respectively became the seat of empire at different periods. They were (i) in the north Amarâvâti (the modern Quâng-nam) with the towns of Indrapura and Sinhapura;

1 Also spelt Campâ and Tchampa. It seems safer to use Ch for C in names which though of Indian origin are used outside India. The final a though strictly speaking long is usually written without an accent. The following are the principal works which I have consulted about Champa.


(c) H. Parmentier, Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Cambodgiens de l’Annam. 1899.

(d) L. Finot, “La Religion des Chams,” B.E.F.E.O. 1901, and Notes d’Épigraphie. “Les Inscriptions de Mi-son,” ib. 1904. Numerous other papers by this author, Durand, Parmentier and others in the same periodical can be consulted with advantage.

(e) Id., Notes d’Épigraphie Indo-Chinoise, 1916.
(ii) in the middle Vijaya (the modern Bing-Dinh) with the
town of Vijaya and the port of Śri-Vinaya; (iii) in the south
Pâṇḍurâṅga or Panran (the modern provinces of Phanrang and
Binh-Thuan) with the town of Virapura or Râjapura. A section
of Pâṇḍurâṅga called Kauthâra (the modern Kanh hoa) was a
separate province at certain times. Like the modern Annam,
Champa appears to have been mainly a littoral kingdom and not
to have extended far into the mountains of the interior.

Champa was the ancient name of a town in western Bengal
near Bhagalpur, but its application to these regions does not
seem due to any connection with north-eastern India. The
conquerors of the country, who were called Chams, had a
certain amount of Indian culture and considered the classical
name Champa as an elegant expression for the la. d of the
Chams. Judging by their language these Chams belonged to
the Malay-Polynesian group and their distribution along the
littoral suggests that they were invaders from the sea like the
Malay pirates from whom they themselves subsequently
suffered. The earliest inscription in the Cham language dates
from the beginning of the ninth century but it is preceded by
a long series of Sanskrit inscriptions the oldest of which, that of
Vo-can\(^1\), is attributed at latest to the third century, and refers
to an earlier king. It therefore seems probable that the Hindu
dynasty of Champa was founded between 150 and 200 A.D. but
there is no evidence to show whether a Malay race already
settled in Champa was conquered and hinduized by Indian
invaders, or whether the Chams were already hinduized when
they arrived, possibly from Java.

The inferiority of the Chams to the Khmers in civilization
was the result of their more troubled history. Both countries
had to contend against the same difficulty—a powerful and
aggressive neighbour on either side. Camboja between Siam and
Annam in 1800 was in very much the same position as Champa
had been between Camboja and Annam five hundred years
earlier. But between 950 and 1150 A.D. when Champa by no
means enjoyed stability and peace, the history of Camboja, if
not altogether tranquil, at least records several long reigns of
powerful kings who were able to embellish their capital and
assure its security. The Chams were exposed to attacks not only

\(^1\) Corpus, ii. p. 11, and Pinot, Notes d’Épig. pp. 227 ff.
from Annam but also from the more formidable if distant Chinese and their capital, instead of remaining stationary through several centuries like Angkor Thom, was frequently moved as one or other of the three provinces became more important.

The inscription of Vo-can is in correct Sanskrit prose and contains a fragmentary address from a king who seems to have been a Buddhist and writes somewhat in the style of Asoka. He boasts that he is of the family of Śrimārarāja. The letters closely resemble those of Rudradaman’s inscription at Girnar and contemporary inscriptions at Kanheri. The text is much mutilated so that we know neither the name of the writer nor his relationship to Śrimāra. But the latter was evidently the founder of the dynasty and may have been separated from his descendant by several generations. It is noticeable that his name does not end in Varman, like those of later kings. If he lived at the end of the second century this would harmonize with the oldest Chinese notices which fix the rise of Lin-I (their name for Champa) about 192 A.D.\(^1\) Agreeably to this we also hear that Hun T’ien founded an Indian kingdom in Fu-nan considerably before 265 A.D. and that some time between 220 and 280 a king of Fu-nan sent an embassy to India. The name Fu-nan may include Champa. But though we hear of Hindu kingdoms in these districts at an early date we know nothing of their civilization or history, nor do we obtain much information from those Cham legends which represent the dynasties of Champa as descended from two clans, those of the cabbage palm (aréquier) and cocoanut.

Chinese sources also state that a king called Fan-yi sent an embassy to China in 284 and give the names of several kings who reigned between 336 and 440. One of these, Fan-hu-ta, is apparently the Bhadravarman who has left some Sanskrit inscriptions dating from about 400 and who built the first temple at Mī-so’n. This became the national sanctuary of Champa: it was burnt down about 575 A.D. but rebuilt. Bhadravarman’s son Ganganâja appears to have abdicated and to have gone on a pilgrimage to the Ganges\(^2\)—another instance of the intercourse prevailing between these regions and India.

\(^1\) See authorities quoted by Maspéro, *T’oung Pao*, 1910, p. 329.
\(^2\) Finot in *B.E.F.E.O.* 1904, pp. 918 and 922.
It would be useless to follow in detail the long chronicle of the kings of Champa but a few events merit mention. In 446 and again in 605 the Chinese invaded the country and severely chastised the inhabitants. But the second invasion was followed by a period of peace and prosperity. Sambhuvarman († 629) restored the temples of Mi-so’n and two of his successors, both called Vikrântavarman, were also great builders. The kings who reigned from 758 to 859, reckoned as the fifth dynasty, belonged to the south and had their capital at Virapura. The change seems to have been important, for the Chinese who had previously called the country Lin-I, henceforth call it Huan-wang. The natives continued to use the name Champa but Satyavarman and the other kings of the dynasty do not mention Mi-so’n though they adorned and endowed Po-nagar and other sanctuaries in the south. It was during this period (A.D. 774 and 787) that the province of Kauthâra was invaded by pirates, described as thin black barbarians and cannibals, and also as the armies of Java. They pillaged the temples but were eventually expelled. They were probably Malays but it is difficult to believe that the Javanese could be seriously accused of cannibalism at this period.

The capital continued to be transferred under subsequent dynasties. Under the sixth (860–900) it was at Indrapura in the north; under the seventh (900–986) it returned to the south; under the eighth (989–1044) it was in Vijaya, the central province. These internal changes were accompanied by foreign attacks. The Khmers invaded the southern province in 945. On the north an Annamite Prince founded the kingdom of Dai-cô-viêt, which became a thorn in the side of Champa. In 982 its armies destroyed Indrapura, and in 1044 they captured Vijaya. In 1069 King Rudravarman was taken prisoner but was released in return for the cession of the three northernmost provinces. Indrapura however was rebuilt and for a time successful wars were waged against Camboja, but though the kings of Champa did not acquiesce in the loss of the northern provinces, and

1 Corpus, ii. Stèle de Po Nagar, pp. 252 ff. and Stèle de Yang Tikuh, p. 208, etc.
2 The statements that they came from Java and were cannibals occur in different inscriptions and may conceivably refer to two bodies of invaders. But the dates are very near. Probably Java is not the island now so called. See the chapter on Camboja, sec. 2. The undoubted references in the inscriptions of Champa to the island of Java call it Yavadvipa.
though Harivarman III (1074–80) was temporarily victorious, no real progress was made in the contest with Annam, whither the Chams had to send embassies practically admitting that they were a vassal state. In the next century further disastrous quarrels with Camboja ensued and in 1192 Champa was split into two kingdoms, Vijaya in the north under a Cambojan prince and Panran in the south governed by a Cham prince but under the suzerainty of Camboja. This arrangement was not successful and after much fighting Champa became a Khmer province though a very unruly one from 1203 till 1220. Subsequently the aggressive vigour of the Khmers was tempered by their own wars with Siam. But it was not the fate of Champa to be left in peace. The invasion of Khubilai lasted from 1278 to 1285 and in 1306 the provinces of Ô and Ly were ceded to Annam.

Champa now became for practical purposes an Annamite province and in 1318 the king fled to Java for refuge. This connection with Java is interesting and there are other instances of it. King Jaya Simhavarman III († 1307) of Champa married a Javanese princess called Tapasi. Later we hear in Javanese records that in the fifteenth century the princess Darawati of Champa married the king of Madjapahit and her sister married Raden Radmat, a prominent Muslim teacher in Java\(^1\).

The power of the Chams was crushed by Annam in 1470. After this date they had little political importance but continued to exist as a nationality under their own rulers. In 1650 they revolted against Annam without success and the king was captured. But his widow was accorded a titular position and the Cham chronicle\(^2\) continues the list of nominal kings down to 1822.

In Champa, as in Camboja, no books dating from the Hindu period have been preserved and probably there were not many. The Cham language appears not to have been used for literary purposes and whatever culture existed was exclusively Sanskrit. The kings are credited with an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature. An inscription at Po-nagar\(^3\) (918 A.D.) says that Śrī Indravarman was acquainted with the Mimāṃsā and other

---

1 Veth. Java, 1. p. 233.
3 Corpus, II. p. 259. Jinendra may be a name either of the Buddha or of a grammarian. The mention of the Kāśikā vṛtti is important as showing that this work must be anterior to the ninth century. The Uttara Kalpa is quoted in the Tantras (see Bergaigne’s note), but nothing is known of it.
systems of philosophy, Jinendra, and grammar together with
the Kāśikā (vṛtti) and the Śāivottara-Kalpa. Again an inscrip-
tion of Mi-son¹ ascribes to Jaya Indravarmadeva (c. 1175 A.D.)
proficiency in all the sciences as well as a knowledge of the
Mahāyāna and the Dharmaṣāstras, particularly the Nāradiya
and Bhārgaviya. To some extent original compositions in
Sanskrit must have been produced, for several of the inscriptions
are of considerable length and one² gives a quotation from a
work called the Purāṇārtha or Arthapurāṇaṣāstra which appears
to have been a chronicle of Champa. But the language of the
inscriptions is often careless and incorrect and indicates that
the study of Sanskrit was less flourishing than in Camboja.

2

The monuments of Champa, though considerable in size and
number, are inferior to those of Camboja. The individual
buildings are smaller and simpler and the groups into which
they are combined lack unity. Brick was the chief material,
stone being used only when brick would not serve, as for statues
and lintels. The commonest type of edifice is a square pyramidal
structure called by the Chams Kalan. A Kalan is as a rule
erected on a hill or rising ground: its lowest storey has on the
east a porch and vestibule, on the other three sides false doors.
The same shape is repeated in four upper storeys of decreasing
size which however serve merely for external decoration and
correspond to nothing in the interior. This is a single windowless
pyramidal cell lighted by the door and probably also by lamps
placed in niches on the inner walls. In the centre stood a
pedestal for a linga or an image, with a channel to carry off
libations, leading to a spout in the wall. The outline of the tower
is often varied by projecting figures or ornaments, but the
sculpture is less lavish than in Camboja and Java.

In the greater religious sites several structures are grouped
together. A square wall surrounds an enclosure entered by a
gateway and containing one or more Kalans, as well as smaller
buildings, probably for the use of priests. Before the gateway
there is frequently a hall supported by columns but open at the
sides.

¹ B.E.F E.O. 1904, p. 973.
² From Mi-son, date 1157 A.D. See B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 961 and 963.
All known specimens of Cham architecture are temples; palaces and other secular buildings were made of wood and have disappeared. Of the many sanctuaries which have been discovered, the most remarkable are those of Mi-son, and Dong Duong, both in the neighbourhood of Tourane, and Po Nagar close to Nhatrang.

Mi-son¹ is an undulating amphitheatre among mountains and contains eight or nine groups of temples, founded at different times. The earliest structures, erected by Bhadravarman I about 400, have disappeared² and were probably of wood, since we hear that they were burnt (apparently by an accident) in 575 A.D. New temples were constructed by Šambhuvarman about twenty-five years later and were dedicated to Šambhu-bhadreśvara, in which title the names of the founder, restorer and the deity are combined. These buildings, of which portions remain, represent the oldest and best period of Cham art. Another style begins under Vikrântavarman I between 657 and 679 A.D. This reign marks a period of decadence and though several buildings were erected at Mi-son during the eighth and ninth centuries, the locality was comparatively neglected³ until the reign of Harivarman III (1074–1080). The temples had been ravaged by the Annamites but this king, being a successful warrior, was able to restore them and dedicated to them the booty which he had captured. Though his reign marks a period of temporary prosperity in the annals of Champa, the style which he inaugurated in architecture has little originality. It reverts to the ancient forms but shows conscious archaism rather than fresh vigour. The position of Mi-son, however, did not decline and about 1155 Jaya Harivarman I repaired the buildings, dedicated the booty taken in battle and erected a new temple in fulfilment of a vow. But after this period the princes of Champa had no authority in the district of Mi-son, and the Annamites, who seem to have disliked the religion of the Chams, plundered the temples.

¹ = Chinese Mei shan, beautiful mountain. For an account of the temples and their history see the articles by Parmentier and Finot, B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 805–977.
² But contemporary inscriptions have been discovered. B.E.F.E.O. 1902, pp. 185 ff.
³ Doubtless because the capital was transferred to the south where the shrine of Po-nagar had rival claims.
Po-nagar\(^1\) is near the port of Nha-trang and overlooks the sea. Being smaller that Mi-son it has more unity but still shows little attempt to combine in one architectural whole the buildings of which it is composed.

An inscription\(^2\) states with curious precision that the shrine was first erected in the year 5911 of the Dvâpara age and this fantastic chronology shows that in our tenth century it was regarded as ancient. As at Mi-son, the original buildings were probably of wood for in 774 they were sacked and burnt by pirates who carried off the image\(^3\). Shortly afterwards they were rebuilt in brick by King Satyavarman and the existing southern tower probably dates from his reign, but the great central tower was built by Harivarman I (817 A.D.) and the other edifices are later.

Po Nagar or Yang Po Nagar means the Lady or Goddess of the city. She was commonly called Bhagavati in Sanskrit\(^4\) and appears to have been the chief object of worship at Nha-trang, although Śiva was associated with her under the name of Bhagavatiśvara. In 1050 an ardhanāri image representing Śiva and Bhagavati combined in one figure was presented to the temple by King Paramesvara and a dedicatory inscription describes this double deity as the cosmic principle.

When Champa was finally conquered the temple was sold to the Annamites, who admitted that they could not acquire it except by some special and peaceful arrangement. Even now they still continue the worship of the goddess though they no longer know who she is\(^5\).

Dong Duong, about twenty kilometres to the south of Mi-son, marks the site of the ancient capital Indrapura. The monument which has made its name known differs from those already described. Compared with them it has some pretensions to be a whole, laid out on a definite plan and it is Buddhist. It consists of three courtes\(^6\) surrounded by walls and entered by massive porticoes. In the third there are about twenty buildings

---

\(^1\) See especially the article by Parmentier, *B.E.F.E.O.* 1902, pp. 17–54.

\(^2\) *XXVI Corpus*, ii. pp. 244, 256; date 918 A.D.

\(^3\) Śivamukham: probably a mukhalinga.

\(^4\) Also Yāpunagara even in Sanskrit inscriptions.

\(^5\) Parmentier, *l.c.* p. 49.

\(^6\) This is only a very rough description of a rather complicated structure. For details see Parmentier, *Monuments Cams*, planche xcvi.
and perhaps it did not escape the fault common to Cham architecture of presenting a collection of disconnected and unrelated edifices, but still there is clearly an attempt to lead up from the outermost portico through halls and gateways to the principal shrine. From an inscription dated 875 A.D. we learn that the ruins are those of a temple and vihâra erected by King Indravarman and dedicated to Avalokita under the name of Lakshmîndra Lokeśvara.

3

The religion of Champa was practically identical with that of Camboja. If the inscriptions of the former tell us more about mukhalingas and koshas and those of the latter have more allusions to the worship of the compound deity Hari-hara, this is probably a matter of chance. But even supposing that different cults were specially prominent at different places, it seems clear that all the gods and ceremonies known in Camboja were also known in Champa and vice versa. In both countries the national religion was Hinduism, mainly of the Śivaite type, accompanied by Mahayanist Buddhism which occasionally came to the front under royal patronage. In both any indigenous beliefs which may have existed did not form a separate system. It is probable however that the goddess known at Po-nagar as Bhagavatî was an ancient local deity worshipped before the Hindu immigration and an inscription found at Mi-son recommends those whose eyes are diseased to propitiate Kuvera and thus secure protection against Ekâkshapingalâ, "the tawny one-eyed (spirit)." Though this goddess or demon was probably a creation of local fancy, similar identifications of Kâli with the spirits presiding over cholera, smallpox, etc., take place in India.

The social system was theoretically based on the four castes, but Chinese accounts indicate that in questions of marriage and inheritance older ideas connected with matriarchy and a division into clans still had weight. But the language of the inscriptions is most orthodox. King Vikrântavarman\(^1\) quotes with approval the saying that the horse sacrifice is the best of good deeds and the murder of a Brahman the worst of sins. Brahmans, chaplains (purohitā), pandits and ascetics are frequently mentioned

\(^1\) Inscrip. at Mi-son of 658 A.D. See B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 921.
as worthy of honour and gifts. The high priest or royal chaplain is styled Śriparamapurohita but it does not appear that there was a sacerdotal family enjoying the unique position held by the Śivakaivalyas in Camboja. The frequent changes of capital and dynasty in Champa were unfavourable to continuity in either Church or State.

Śivaism, without any hostility to Vishnuism or Buddhism, was the dominant creed. The earliest known inscription, that of Vo-can, contains indications of Buddhism, but three others believed to date from about 400 A.D. invoke Śiva under some such title as Bhadreśvara, indicating that a temple had been dedicated to him by King Bhadravarman. Thus the practice of combining the names of a king and his patron deity in one appellation existed in Champa at this early date. It is also recorded from southern India, Camboja and Java. Besides Śiva one of the inscriptions venerates, though in a rather perfunctory manner, Umā, Brahmā, Vishnu and the five elements. Several inscriptions give details of Śivaite theology which agree with what we know of it in Camboja. The world animate and inanimate is an emanation from Śiva, but he delivers from the world those who think of him. Meditation, the practice of Yoga, and devotion to Śiva are several times mentioned with approval. He abides in eight forms corresponding to his eight names Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, Īśāna, Bhīma, Rudra, Mahādeva, and Ugra. He is also, as in Java, Guru or the teacher and he has the usual mythological epithets. He dances in lonely places, he rides on the bull Nandi, is the slayer of Kāma, etc. Though represented by figures embodying such legends he was most commonly adored under the form of the linga which in Champa more than elsewhere came to be regarded as not merely symbolic but as a personal god. To mark this individuality it was commonly enclosed in a metal case (kosha) bearing one or more human faces. It was then called mukhalinga and the

---

1 Other examples are Indrabhadreśvara, Corpus, ii. p. 208. Harivarmēśvara, B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 961.
3 Yogaddhyāna, Śivārādha, Śivabhakti. See B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 933–950. Harivarman III abdicated in 1080 and gave himself up to contemplation and devotion to Śiva.
4 See B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 912 ff. and esp. p. 970. I have seen a kosha which is still in use in the neighbourhood of Badami. It is kept in a village called Nandikē-
faces were probably intended as portraits of royal donors, identified with the god in form as well as in name. An inscription of 1163 A.D. records the dedication of such a kosha, adorned with five royal faces, to Śrīsānabhadreśvara. The god, it is said, will now be able to give his blessing to all regions through his five mouths which he could not do before, and being enclosed in the kosha, like an embryo in the matrix, he becomes Hiranyagarbha. The linga, with or without these ornaments, was set on a snānadroni or stone table arranged for receiving libations, and sometimes (as in Java and Camboja) four or more lingas were set upon a single slab. From A.D. 400 onwards, the cult of Śiva seems to have maintained its paramount position during the whole history of Champa, for the last recorded Sanskrit inscription is dedicated to him. From first to last it was the state religion. Śiva is said to have sent Uroja to be the first king and is even styled the root of the state of Champa.

An inscription¹ of 811 A.D. celebrates the dual deity Śankara-Nārāyaṇa. It is noticeable that Nārāyaṇa is said to have held up Mt Govardhana and is apparently identified with Krishṇa. Rāma and Krishṇa are both mentioned in an inscription of 1157 which states that the whole divinity of Vishṇu was incarnate in King Jaya Harivarman I². But neither allusions to Vishṇu nor figures of him³ are numerous and he plays the part of an accessory though respected personage. Garuḍa, on whom he rides, was better known than the god himself and is frequently represented in sculpture.

The Śakti of Śiva, amalgamated as mentioned with a native goddess, received great honour (especially at Nhatrang) under the names of Umā, Bhagavatī, the Lady of the city (Yang Po Nagar) and the goddess of Kauthāra. In another form or aspect śvara, but on certain festivals it is put on a linga at the temple of Mahakut. It is about 2 feet high and 10 inches broad; a silver case with a rounded and ornamented top. On one side is a single face in bold embossed work and bearing fine moustaches exactly as in the mukhalingas of Champa. In the tank of the temple of Mahakut is a half submerged shrine, from which rises a stone linga on which are carved four faces bearing moustaches. There is said to be a gold kosha set with jewels at Śringeri. See J. Mythic. Society (Bangalore), vol. viii. p. 27. According to Gopinatha Rao, Indian Iconography, vol. ii. p. 63, the oldest known lingas have figures carved on them.

¹ Corpus, ii. pp. 229, 230.
² B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 959, 960.
³ See for an account of same B.E.F.E.O. 1901, p. 18.
she was called Maladākuṭhāra. There was also a temple of Ganesā (Śri-Vināyaka) at Nhatrang but statues of this deity and of Skanda are rare.

The Chinese pilgrim I-Ching, writing in the last year of the seventh century, includes Champa (Lin-I) in the list of countries which “greatly reverence the three jewels” and contrasts it with Fu-nan where a wicked king had recently almost exterminated Buddhism. He says “In this country Buddhists generally belong to the Ārya-sammiti school, and there are also a few followers of the Āryasavāstivādin school.” The statement is remarkable, for he also tells us that the Sarvāstivādins were the predominant sect in the Malay Archipelago and flourished in southern China. The headquarters of the Sammitīyas were, according to the accounts of both Hsüan Chuang and I-Ching, in western India though, like the three other schools, they were also found in Magadha and eastern India. We also hear that the brother and sister of the Emperor Harsha belonged to this sect and it was probably influential. How it spread to Champa we do not know, nor do the inscriptions mention its name or indicate that the Buddhism which they knew was anything but the mixture of the Mahayana with Śivaism which prevailed in Camboja.

I-Ching’s statements can hardly be interpreted to mean that Buddhism was the official religion of Champa at any rate after 400 A.D., for the inscriptions abundantly prove that the Śivaite shrines of Mi-son and Po-nagar were so to speak national cathedrals where the kings worshipped on behalf of the country. But the Vo-can inscription (? 250 A.D.), though it does not mention Buddhism, appears to be Buddhist, and it would be quite natural that a dynasty founded about 150 A.D. should be Buddhist but that intercourse with Camboja and probably with India should strengthen Śivaism. The Chinese annals mention that 1350 Buddhist books were carried off during a Chinese invasion in 605 A.D. and this allusion implies the existence of Buddhism and monasteries with libraries. As in Camboja it was

1 Corpus, II. p. 282.
2 In several passages Hsüan Chuang notes that there were Pāṣupatas or other Śivaite in the same towns of India where Sammitīyas were found. See Watters, Yün Chuang, i. 331, 333; ii. 47, 242, 256, 258, 269.
3 Maspero, T’oung Pao, 1910, p. 514.
perhaps followed by ministers rather than by kings. An inscription found\(^1\) in southern Champa and dated as 829 A.D. records how a sthavira named Buddhanirovâna erected two vihâras and two temples (devakula) to Jina and Śankara (Buddha and Śiva) in honour of his deceased father. Shortly afterwards there came to the throne Indravarman II (860–890 A.D.), the only king of Champa who is known to have been a fervent Buddhist. He did not fail to honour Śiva as the patron of his kingdom but like Asoka he was an enthusiast for the Dharma\(^2\). He desires the knowledge of the Dharma: he builds monasteries for the sake of the Dharma: he wishes to propagate it: he even says that the king of the gods governs heaven by the principles of Dharma. He wishes to lead all his subjects to the “yoke and abode of Buddha,” to “the city of deliverance.”

To this end he founded the vihâra of Dong Duong, already described, and dedicated it to Śri Lakshmîndra Lokesvâra\(^3\). This last word is a synonym of Avalokita, which also occurs in the dedicatory inscription but in a fragmentary passage. Lakshmîndra is explained by other passages in the inscription from which we learn that the king’s name before he ascended the throne was Lakshmîndra Bhûmiśvara, so that the Bodhisattva is here adored under the name of the king who erected the vihâra according to the custom prevalent in Śivaite temples. Like those temples this vihâra received an endowment of land and slaves of both sexes, as well as gold, silver and other metals\(^4\).

A king who reigned from 1080 to 1086 was called Paramabodhisattva, but no further epigraphic records of Buddhism are known until the reigns of Jaya Indravarmadeva (1167–1192) and his successor Sûryavarmadeva\(^5\). Both of these monarchs, while worshipping Śiva, are described as knowing or practising the jānâ or dharma of the Mahayana. Little emphasis seems to be laid on these expressions but still they imply that the

---


\(^2\) For his views see his inscriptions in B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 85 ff. But kings who are not known to have been Buddhists also speak of Dharma. B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 922, 945.

\(^3\) Apparently special forms of deities such as Śrisânabhadrasvâra or Lakshmîndra Lokesvâra were regarded as to some extent separate existences. Thus the former is called a portion of Śiva, B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 973.

\(^4\) Presumably in the form of vessels.

\(^5\) B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 973–975.
Mahayana was respected and considered part of the royal religion. Śūryavarmadeva erected a building called Śrī Herukaharmya. The title is interesting for it contains the name of the Tantric Buddha Heruka.

The grotto of Phong-nha in the extreme north of Champa (province of Quang Binh) must have been a Buddhist shrine. Numerous medallions in clay bearing representations of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Dagobas have been found there but dates are wanting.

It does not appear that the Hinayanist influence which became predominant in Camboja extended to Champa. That influence came from Siam and before it had time to traverse Camboja, Champa was already in the grip of the Annamites, whose religion with the rest of their civilization came from China rather than India. Chinese culture and writing spread to the Cambojan frontier and after the decay of Champa, Camboja marks the permanent limit within which an Indian alphabet and a form of Buddhism not derived through China have maintained themselves.

A large number of the Chams were converted to Mohammedianism but the time and circumstances of the event are unknown. When Friar Gabriel visited the country at the end of the sixteenth century a form of Hinduism seems to have been still prevalent. It would be of interest to know how the change of religion was effected, for history repeats itself and it is likely that the Moslems arrived in Champa by the route followed centuries before by the Hindu invaders.

There are still about 130,000 Chams in the south of Annam and Camboja. In the latter country they are all Mohammedans. In Annam some traces of Hinduism remain, such as mantras in broken Sanskrit and hereditary priests called Basaih. Both religions have become unusually corrupt but are interesting as showing how beliefs which are radically distinct become distorted and combined in Eastern Asia.

---

1 B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 975.
3 Gabriel de San Antonio, Breve y verdadera relation de los successos de Reyno de Camboya, 1604.
CHAPTER XL

JAVA AND THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

1

In most of the countries which we have been considering, the native civilization of the present day is still Indian in origin, although in the former territories of Champa this Indian phase has been superseded by Chinese culture with a little Mohammedanism. But in another area we find three successive stages of culture, indigenous, Indian and Mohammedan. This area includes the Malay Peninsula with a large part of the Malay Archipelago, and the earliest stratum with which we need concern ourselves is Malay. The people who bear this name are remarkable for their extraordinary powers of migration by sea, as shown by the fact that languages connected with Malay are spoken in Formosa and New Zealand, in Easter Island and Madagascar, but their originality both in thought and in the arts of life is small. The three stages are seen most clearly in Java where the population was receptive and the interior accessible. Sumatra and Borneo also passed through them in a fashion but the indigenous element is still predominant and no foreign influence has been able to affect either island as a whole. Islam gained no footing in Bali which remains curiously Hindu but it reached Celebes and the southern Philippines, in both of which Indian influence was slight\(^1\). The destiny of southeastern Asia with its islands depends on the fact that the tide of trade and conquest whether Hindu, Moslim or European, flowed from India or Ceylon to the Malay Peninsula and Java and thence northwards towards China with a reflux westwards in Champa and Camboja. Burma and Siam lay outside this track. They received their culture from India mainly by land and were untouched by Mohammedanism. But the Mohammedan current

\(^1\) I have not been able to find anything more than casual and second-hand statements to the effect that Indian antiquities have been found in these islands.
which affected the Malays was old and continuous. It started from Arabia in the early days of the Hijra and had nothing to do with the Moslim invasions which entered India by land.

2

Indian civilization appears to have existed in Java from at least the fifth century of our era. Much light has been thrown on its history of late by the examination of inscriptions and of fairly ancient literature but the record still remains fragmentary. There are considerable gaps: the seat of power shifted from one district to another and at most epochs the whole island was not subject to one ruler, so that the title king of Java merely indicates a prince pre-eminent among others doubtfully subordinate to him.

The name Java is probably the Sanskrit Yava used in the sense of grain, especially millet. In the Ramayana the monkeys of Hanuman are bidden to seek for Sītā in various places including Yava-dvīpa, which contains seven kingdoms and produces gold and silver. Others translate these last words as referring to another or two other islands known as Gold and Silver Land. It is probable that the poet did not distinguish clearly between Java and Sumatra. He goes on to say that beyond Java is the peak called Śīśira. This is possibly the same as the Yavakoṭi mentioned in 499 A.D. by the Indian astronomer Āryabhaṭṭa.

There is no lack of scholarly and scientific works about Java, but they are mostly written in Dutch and dissertations on special points are more numerous than general surveys of Javanese history, literature and architecture. Perhaps the best general account of the Hindu period in Java will be found in the chapter contributed by Kern to the publication called Neerlands Indië (Amsterdam, 1911, chap. vi. II. pp. 219–242). The abundant publications of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen comprise Verhandelingen, Notulen, and the Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (cited here as Tijdschrift), all of which contain numerous and important articles on history, philology, religion and archaeology. The last is treated specially in the publications called Archaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura. Veth’s Java, vols. i. and iv. and various articles in the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië may also be consulted. I have endeavoured to mention the more important editions of Javanese books as well as works dealing specially with the old religion in the notes to these chapters.

Although Dutch orthography is neither convenient nor familiar to most readers I have thought it better to preserve it in transcribing Javanese. In this system of transcription ķ = y; tj = ch; dj = j; sj = sh; w = v; ō = u.

1 Rām. iv. 40, 30. Yavadvipam saptarājyopāṣobhitaṃ Suvarṇarūpyaṃ kavadvipam suvarṇakaramāṇḍitam.
Since the Ramayana is a product of gradual growth it is not easy to assign a definite date to this passage, but it is probably not later than the first or second century A.D. and an early date is rendered probable by the fact that the Alexandrian Geographer Ptolemy (c. 130 A.D.) mentions1 Νῖκος Ἰαβάδιον καὶ Σαβάδιον and by various notices collected from inscriptions and from Chinese historians. The annals of the Liang Dynasty (502–556 A.D.) in speaking of the countries of the Southern Ocean say that in the reign of Hsüan Ti (73–49 B.C.) the Romans and Indians sent envoys to China by that route2, thus indicating that the Archipelago was frequented by Hindus. The same work describes under the name of Lang-ya-hsiu a country which professed Buddhism and used the Sanskrit language and states that “the people say that their country was established more than 400 years ago.”3 Lang-ya-hsiu has been located by some in Java by others in the Malay Peninsula, but even on the latter supposition this testimony to Indian influence in the Far East is still important. An inscription found at Kedah in the Malay Peninsula is believed to be older than 400 A.D.4 No more definite accounts are forthcoming before the fifth or sixth century. Fa-Hsien5 relates how in 418 he returned to China from India by sea and “arrived at a country called Ya-va-di.” “In this country” he says “heretics and Brahmanas flourish but the law of Buddha hardly deserves mentioning.” Three inscriptions found in west Java in the district of Buitenzorg are referred for palaeographic reasons to about 400 A.D. They are all in Sanskrit and eulogize a prince named Purṇavarman, who appears to have been a Vishnuite. The name of his capital is

1 Ptolemy’s Geography, vii. 2. 29 (see also viii. 27, 10). Ἰαβάδιον (ἢ Σαβάδιον), δὲ σημαίνει κράθης, νῆσος. Ἐνθρωποτάθε δὲ λέγεται ἡ νῆσος εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων χρυσῶν ποιεῖν, ἢ τε τοιοῦτοι ὑπάρχουσιν ἀργυρῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς διομικοὺς τέρατας.
2 The Milinda Pañhã of doubtful but not very late date also mentions voyages to China.
3 Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago compiled from Chinese sources, 1876 (cited below as Groeneveldt), p. 10. Confirmed by the statement in the Ming annals book 324 that in 1432 the Javanese said their kingdom had been founded 1376 years before.
5 Chap. xl. Legge, p. 113, and Groeneveldt, pp. 6–9.
6 He perhaps landed in the present district of Rembang “where according to native tradition the first Hindu settlement was situated at that time” (Groeneveldt, p. 9).
deciphered as Narumâ or Tarumâ. In 435 according to the Liu Sung annals¹ a king of Ja-va-da named Shih-li-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo sent tribute to China. The king’s name probably represents a Sanskrit title beginning with Śrī-Pāda and it is noticeable that two footprints are carved on the stones which bear Pûrṇavarman’s inscriptions. Also Sanskrit inscriptions found at Koetei on the east coast of Borneo and considered to be not later than the fifth century record the piety and gifts to Brahmans of a King Mûlavarman and mention his father and grandfather².

It follows from these somewhat disjointed facts that the name of Yava-dvîpa was known in India soon after the Christian era, and that by the fifth century Hindu or hinduized states had been established in Java. The discovery of early Sanskrit inscriptions in Borneo and Champa confirms the presence of Hindus in these seas. The T’ang annals³ speak definitely of Kaling, otherwise called Java, as lying between Sumatra and Bali and say that the inhabitants have letters and understand a little astronomy. They further mention the presence of Arabs and say that in 674 a queen named Sima ascended the throne and ruled justly.

But the certain data for Javanese history before the eighth century are few. For that period we have some evidence from Java itself. An inscription dated 654 Śaka (= 732 A.D.) discovered in Kēdoe celebrates the praises of a king named Sanjaya, son of King Sanna. It contains an account of the dedication of a linga, invocations of Śiva, Brahmâ and Vishnû, a eulogy of the king’s virtue and learning, and praise of Java. Thus about 700 A.D. there was a Hindu kingdom in mid Java and this, it would seem, was then the part of the island most important politically. Buddhist inscriptions of a somewhat later date (one is of 778 A.D.) have been found in the neighbourhood of Prambânam. They are written in the Nagari alphabet and record various pious foundations. A little later again (809 and 840 A.D.) are the inscriptions found on the Dieng (Dihyang), a

¹ Groeneveldt, p. 9. The transcriptions of Chinese characters given in the following pages do not represent the modern sound but seem justified (though they cannot be regarded as certain) by the instances collected in Julien’s Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits. Possibly the syllables Do-a-lo-pa-mo are partly corrupt and somehow or other represent Pûrṇavarman.
³ Groeneveldt, pp. 12, 13.
lonely mountain plateau on which are several Brahmanic shrines in fair preservation. There is no record of their builders but the New T'ang Annals say that the royal residence was called Java but "on the mountains is the district Lang-pi-ya where the king frequently goes to look at the sea. This may possibly be a reference to pilgrimages to Dieng. The inscriptions found on the great monument of Boroboedoer throw no light on the circumstances of its foundation, but the character of the writing makes it likely that it was erected about 850 and obviously by a king who could command the services of numerous workmen as well as of skilled artists. The temples of Prambanam are probably to be assigned to the next century. All these buildings indicate the existence from the eighth to the tenth century of a considerable kingdom (or perhaps kingdoms) in middle Java, comprising at least the regions of Mataram, Kedo, and the Dieng plateau. From the Arabic geographers also we learn that Java was powerful in the ninth century and attacked Qamar (probably Khmer or Camboja). They place the capital at the mouth of a river, perhaps the Solo or Brantas. If so, there must have been a principality in east Java at this period. This is not improbable for archaeological evidence indicates that Hindu civilization moved eastwards and flourished first in the west, then in mid Java and finally from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries in the east.

The evidence at our disposal points to the fact that Java received most of its civilization from Hindu colonists, but who were these colonists and from what part of India did they come? We must not think of any sudden and definite conquest, but rather of a continuous current of immigration starting perhaps from several springs and often merely trickling, but occasionally swelling into a flood. Native traditions collected by Raffles ascribe the introduction of Brahmanism and the Saka era to the sage Tritresta and represent the invaders as coming from Kalinga or from Gujarat.

The difference of locality may be due to the fact that there was a trade route running from Broach to Masulipatam through Tagara (now Ter). People arriving in the Far East by this route might be described as coming either from Kalinga, where they

2 History of Java, vol. II. chap. x.
embarked, or from Gujarat, their country of origin. Dubious as is the authority of these legends, they perhaps preserve the facts in outline. The earliest Javanese inscriptions are written in a variety of the Vengi script and the T'ang annals call the island Kaling as well as Java. It is therefore probable that early tradition represented Kalinga as the home of the Hindu invaders. But later immigrants may have come from other parts. Fa-Hsien could find no Buddhists in Java in 418, but Indian forms of Mahayanism indubitably flourished there in later centuries. The Kalasan inscription dated 778 A.D. and engraved in Nāgari characters records the erection of a temple to Tārā and of a Mahayanist monastery. The change in both alphabet and religion suggests the arrival of new influences from another district and the Javanese traditions about Gujarat are said to find an echo among the bards of western India and in such proverbs as, they who go to Java come not back. In the period of the Hunnish and Arab invasions there may have been many motives for emigration from Gujarat. The land route to Kalinga was probably open and the sea route offers no great difficulties.

Another indication of connection with north-western India is found in the Chinese work Kao Sêng Chuan (519 A.D.) or Biographies of Eminent Monks, if the country there called Shê-p'o can be identified with Java. It is related that Guṇavārman, son of the king of Kashmir, became a monk and, declining the throne, went first to Ceylon and then to the kingdom of Shê-p'o, which he converted to Buddhism. He died at Nanking in 431 B.C.

Târanâtha states that Indo-China which he calls the Koki country, was first evangelized in the time of Asoka and that

1 Jackson, Java and Cambodiâ. App. IV. in Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i. part 1, 1896.
2 It is also possible that when the Javanese traditions speak of Kaling they mean the Malay Peninsula. Indians in those regions were commonly known as Kaling because they came from Kalinga and in time the parts of the Peninsula where they were numerous were also called Kaling.
4 Chap. xxxix. Schiefner, p. 262.
5 Though he expressly includes Camboja and Champa in Koki, it is only right to say that he mentions Nas-gling (= Yava-dvīpa) separately in another enumeration together with Ceylon. But if Buddhists passed in any numbers from India to Camboja and vice versa, they probably appeared in Java about the same time, or rather later.
Mahayanism was introduced there by the disciples of Vasubandhu, who probably died about 360 A.D., so that the activity of his followers would take place in the fifth century. He also says that many clergy from the Koki country were in Madhyadesa from the time of Dharmapala (about 800 A.D.) onwards, and these two statements, if they can be accepted, certainly explain the character of Javanese and Cambojan Buddhism. Taranatha is a confused and untrustworthy writer, but his statement about the disciples of Vasubandhu is confirmed by the fact that Dignaga, who was one of them, is the only authority cited in the Kamahayanikan.

The fact that the terms connected with rice cultivation are Javanese and not loan-words indicates that the island had some indigenous civilization when the Hindus first settled there. Doubtless they often came with military strength, but on the whole as colonists and teachers rather than as conquerors. The Javanese kings of whom we know most appear to have been not members of Hindu dynasties but native princes who had adopted Hindu culture and religion. Sanskrit did not oust Javanese as the language of epigraphy, poetry and even religious literature. Javanese Buddhism appears to have preserved its powers of growth and to have developed some special doctrines. But Indian influence penetrated almost all institutions and is visible even to-day. Its existence is still testified to by the alphabet in use, by such titles as Arjo, Radja, Praboe, Dipati (= adhipati), and by various superstitions about lucky days and horoscopes. Communal land tenure of the Indian kind still exists and in former times grants of land were given to priests and, as in India, recorded on copper plates. Offerings to old statues are still made and the Tenggerese are not even nominal Mohammedans. The Balinese still profess a species of Hinduism and employ a Hindu Calendar.

From the tenth century onwards the history of Java becomes a little plainer.

Copper plates dating from about 900 A.D. mention Mataram. A certain Mpo Sindok was vizier of this kingdom in 919, but ten years later we find him an independent king in east Java.

1 See Kamaha, pp. 9, 10, and Watters, Yuen Chwang, ii, pp. 209-214.
2 They preserve to some extent the old civilization of Madjapahit. See the article "Tengerezen" in Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië.
He lived at least twenty-five years longer and his possessions included Pasoeroean, Soerabaja and Kediri. His great-grandson, Er-langga (or Langghya), is an important figure. Er-langga’s early life was involved in war, but in 1032 he was able to call himself, though perhaps not with great correctness, king of all Java. His memory has not endured among the Javanese but is still honoured in the traditions of Bali and Javanese literature began in his reign or a little earlier. The poem Arjuna-vivāha is dedicated to him, and one book of the old Javanese prose translation of the Mahabharata bears a date equivalent to 996 A.D.\footnote{See Kern, 
*Kawi-studien Arjuna-vivāha*, I. and II. 1871. 
Juynboll, Drie Boeken van het oudjavaansche Mahābhārata, 1893, and id. *Wiridaparwua*, 1912. This last is dated Śaka 918 = 996 A.D.}

One of the national heroes of Java is Djajabaja\footnote{Or Jayabaya.} who is supposed to have lived in the ninth century. But tradition must be wrong here, for the free poetic rendering of part of the Mahabharata called Bhārata-Yuddha, composed by Mpoes Sēdah in 1157 A.D., is dedicated to him, and his reign must therefore be placed later than the traditional date. He is said to have founded the kingdom of Daha in Kediri, but his inscriptions merely indicate that he was a worshipper of Vishnu. Literature and art flourished in east Java at this period for it would seem that the Kawi Ramayana and an *ars poetica* called Vṛttasaṅcaya\footnote{See Râmâyana. *Oudjavaansche Heldendicht*, edited Kern, 1900, and *Vṛttasūnycaya*, edited and translated by the same, 1875.} were written about 1150 and that the temple of Panataran was built between 1150 and 1175.

In western Java we have an inscription of 1030 found on the river Tjitjatih. It mentions a prince who is styled Lord of the World and native tradition, confirmed by inscriptions, which however give few details, relates that in the twelfth century a kingdom called Padjadjaran was founded in the Soenda country south of Batavia by princes from Toemapēl in eastern Java.

There is a gap in Javanese history from the reign of Djajabaja till 1222 at which date the Pararaton\footnote{Composed in 1613 A.D.}, or Book of the Kings of Toemapēl and Madjapahit, begins to furnish information. The Sung annals\footnote{Groeneveldt, p. 14.} also give some account of the island but it is not
clear to what years their description refers. They imply, however, that there was an organized government and that commerce was flourishing. They also state that the inhabitants "pray to the gods and Buddha": that Java was at war with eastern Sumatra: that embassies were sent to China in 992 and 1109 and that in 1129 the Emperor gave the ruler of Java (probably Djajabaja) the title of king.

The Pararaton opens with the fall of Daha in 1222 which made Toemapël, known later as Singasari, the principal kingdom. Five of its kings are enumerated, of whom Vishnuvardhana was buried in the celebrated shrine of Tjandi Djago, where he was represented in the guise of Buddha. His successor Śri Rāja-sañāgara was praised by the poet Prapantja as a zealous Buddhist but was known by the posthumous name of Śivabuddha. He was the first to use the name of Singasāri and perhaps founded a new city, but the kingdom of Toemapël came to an end in his reign for he was slain by Djaja Katong, prince of Daha, who restored to that kingdom its previous primacy, but only for a short time, since it was soon supplanted by Madjapahit. The foundation of this state is connected with a Chinese invasion of Java, related at some length in the Yüan annals, so that we are fortunate in possessing a double and fairly consistent account of what occurred.

We learn from these sources that some time after Khubilai Khan had conquered China, he sent missions to neighbouring countries to demand tribute. The Javanese had generally accorded a satisfactory reception to Chinese missions, but on this occasion the king (apparently Djaja Katong) maltreated the envoy and sent him back with his face cut or tattooed. Khubilai could not brook this outrage and in 1292 despatched a punitive expedition. At that time Raden Vidjaja, the son-in-law of Kērtanagara, had not submitted to Djaja Katong and held out at Madjapahit, a stronghold which he had founded near the river Brantas. He offered his services to the Chinese and after a two months' campaign Daha was captured and Djaja Katong killed. Raden Vidjaja now found that he no longer

---

1 In the work commonly called "Nāgarakṛtāgama" (ed. Brandes, Verhand. Bataav. Genootschap. Liv. 1902), but it is stated that its real name is "Deçawarṇana." See Tijdschrift, lvi. 1914, p. 194.
2 Or Jayakatong.
3 Groeneveldt, pp. 20–34.
needed his Chinese allies. He treacherously massacred some and prepared to fight the rest. But the Mongol generals, seeing the difficulties of campaigning in an unknown country without guides, prudently returned to their master and reported that they had taken Daha and killed the insolent king.

Madjapahit (or Wilwatikta) now became the premier state of Java, and had some permanency. Eleven sovereigns, including three queens, are enumerated by the Pararaton until its collapse in 1468. We learn from the Ming annals and other Chinese documents that it had considerable commercial relations with China and sent frequent missions: also that Palembang was a vassal of Java. But the general impression left by the Pararaton is that during the greater part of its existence Madjapahit was a distracted and troubled kingdom. In 1403, as we know from both Chinese and Javanese sources, there began a great war between the western and eastern kingdoms, that is between Madjapahit and Balambangan in the extreme east, and in the fifteenth century there was twice an interregnum. Art and literature, though not dead, declined and events were clearly tending towards a break-up or revolution. This appears to have been consummated in 1468, when the Pararaton simply says that King Paṇḍansalas III left the Kraton, or royal residence.

It is curious that the native traditions as to the date and circumstances in which Madjapahit fell should be so vague, but perhaps the end of Hindu rule in Java was less sudden and dramatic than we are inclined to think. Islam had been making gradual progress and its last opponents were kings only in title. The Chinese mention the presence of Arabs in the seventh century, and the geography called Ying-yai Shêng-lan (published in 1416), which mentions Grissé, Soerabaja and Madjapahit as the principal towns of Java, divides the inhabitants into three classes: (a) Mohammedans who have come from the west, “their dress and food is clean and proper”; (b) the Chinese, who are also cleanly and many of whom are Mohammedans; (c) the natives who are ugly and uncouth, devil-worshippers, filthy in food and habits. As the Chinese do not generally speak so severely of the Hinduized Javanese it would appear that Hinduism lasted longest among the lower and more savage

1 Groenesveldt, pp. 34–53.
classes, and that the Moslems stood on a higher level. As in other countries, the Arabs attempted to spread Islam from the time of their first appearance. At first they confined their propaganda to their native wives and dependents. Later we hear of veritable apostles of Islam such as Malik Ibrahim, and Raden Rahmat, the ruler of a town called Ampel\(^1\) which became the head quarter of Islam. The princes whose territory lay round Madjapahit were gradually converted and the extinction of the last Hindu kingdom became inevitable\(^2\).

3

It is remarkable that the great island of Sumatra, which seems to lie in the way of anyone proceeding from India eastwards and is close to the Malay peninsula, should in all ages have proved less accessible to invaders coming from the west than the more distant Java. Neither Hindus, Arabs nor Europeans have been able to establish their influence there in the same thorough manner. The cause is probably to be found in its unhealthy and impenetrable jungles, but even so its relative isolation remains singular.

It does not appear that any prince ever claimed to be king of all Sumatra. For the Hindu period we have no indigenous literature and our scanty knowledge is derived from a few statues and inscriptions and from notices in Chinese writings. The latter do not refer to the island as a whole but to several states such as Indragiri near the Equator and Kandali (afterwards called San-bo-tsai, the Sabaza of the Arabs) near Palembang. The annals of the Liang dynasty say that the customs of Kandali were much the same as those of Camboja and apparently we are to understand that the country was Buddhist, for one king visited the Emperor Wu-ti in a dream, and his son addressed a letter to His Majesty eulogizing his devotion to Buddhism. Kandali is said to have sent three envoys to China between 454 and 519.

\(^1\) Near Soerabaja. It is said that he married a daughter of the king of Champa, and that the king of Madjapahit married her sister. For the connection between the royal families of Java and Champa at this period see Maspero in T'oung Pao, 1911, pp. 595 ff., and the references to Champa in Nāgarākṛtāgama, 15, 1, and 83, 4.

\(^2\) See Raffles, chap. x, for Javanese traditions respecting the decline and fall of Madjapahit.
The Chinese pilgrim I-Ching visited Sumatra twice, once for two months in 672 and subsequently for some years (about 688–695). He tells us that in the islands of the Southern Sea, "which are more than ten countries," Buddhism flourishes, the school almost universally followed being the Mulasarvastivada, though the Sammitiyas and other schools have a few adherents. He calls the country where he sojourned and to which these statements primarily refer, Bhoja or Sribhoja (Fo-shih or Shih-li-fo-shih), adding that its former name was Malayu. It is conjectured that Shih-li-fo-shih is the place later known as San-bo-tsai and Chinese authors seem to consider that both this place and the earlier Kandali were roughly speaking identical with Palembang. I-Ching tells us that the king of Bhoja favoured Buddhism and that there were more than a thousand priests in the city. Gold was abundant and golden flowers were offered to the Buddha. There was communication by ship with both India and China. The Hinayana, he says, was the form of Buddhism adopted "except in Malayu, where there are a few who belong to the Mahayana." This is a surprising statement, but it is impossible to suppose that an expert like I-Ching can have been wrong about what he actually saw in Sribhoja. So far as his remarks apply to Java they must be based on hearsay and have less authority, but the sculptures of Borobodour appear to show the influence of Mulasarvastivadin literature. It must be remembered that this school, though nominally belonging to the Hinayana, came to be something very different from the Theravada of Ceylon.

The Sung annals and subsequent Chinese writers know the same district (the modern Palembang) as San-bo-tsai (which may indicate either mere change of name or the rise of a new city) and say that it sent twenty-one envoys between 960 and 1178. The real object of these missions was to foster trade and there was evidently frequent intercourse between eastern Sumatra, Champa and China. Ultimately the Chinese seem to have thought that the entertainment of Sumatran diplomatists cost more than they were worth, for in 1178 the emperor ordered that they should not come to Court but present themselves in

---

1 See Takakusu, _A record of the Buddhist religion_, especially pp. xl to xlvii.
2 In another pronunciation the characters are read San-fo-chai. The meaning appears to be The Three Buddhas.
the province of Fu-kien. The Annals state that Sanskrit writing was in use at San-bo-tsai and lead us to suppose that the country was Buddhist. They mention several kings whose names or titles seem to begin with the Sanskrit word Śrī. In 1003 the envoys reported that a Buddhist temple had been erected in honour of the emperor and they received a present of bells for it. Another envoy asked for dresses to be worn by Buddhist monks. The Ming annals also record missions from San-bo-tsai up to 1376, shortly after which the region was conquered by Java and the town decayed. In the fourteenth century Chinese writers begin to speak of Su-mên-ta-la or Sumatra by which is meant not the whole island but a state in the northern part of it called Samudra and corresponding to Atjeh. It had relations with China and the manners and customs of its inhabitants are said to be the same as in Malacca, which probably means that they were Moslims.

Little light is thrown on the history of Sumatra by indigenous or Javanean monuments. Those found testify, as might be expected, to the existence here and there of both Brahmanism and Buddhism. In 1343 a Sumatran prince named Adityavarman, who was apparently a vassal of Madjapahit, erected an image of Manjuśrī at Tjandi Djago and in 1375 one of Amoghapāsa.

The Liang and T’ang annals both speak of a country called Po-li, described as an island lying to the south-east of Canton. Groeneveldt identified it with Sumatra, but the account of its position suggests that it is rather to be found in Borneo, parts of which were undoubtedly known to the Chinese as Po-lo and Pu-ni. The Liang annals state that Po-li sent an embassy to the Emperor Wu-ti in 518 bearing a letter which described the

1 E.g. Si-li-ma-ha-la-sha (=Śrimahārāja) Si-li-tieh-hwa (perhaps =Śrideva).
2 The conquest however was incomplete and about 1400 a Chinese adventurer ruled there some time. The name was changed to Ku-Kang, which is said to be still the Chinese name for Palembang.
3 The Ming annals expressly state that the name was changed to Atjeh about 1600.
4 For the identification of Po-li see Groeneveldt, p. 80, and Hose and McDougall, Pagan Tribes of Borneo, chap. iv. It might be identified with Bali, but it is doubtful if Hindu civilization had spread to that island or even to east Java in the sixth century.
country as devoted to Buddhism and frequented by students of the three vehicles. If the letter is an authentic document the statements in it may still be exaggerations, for the piety of Wu-ti was well known and it is clear that foreign princes who addressed him thought it prudent to represent themselves and their subjects as fervent Buddhists. But there certainly was a Hindu period in Borneo, of which some tradition remains among the natives\(^1\), although it ended earlier and left fewer permanent traces than in Java and elsewhere.

The most important records of this period are three Sanskrit inscriptions found at Koetoei on the east coast of Borneo\(^2\). They record the donations made to Brahmins by King Mûlavarma, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of Kuṇḍagga. They are not dated, but Kern considers for palæographical reasons that they are not later than the fifth century. Thus, since three generations are mentioned, it is probable that about 400 A.D. there were Hindu princes in Borneo. The inscriptions testify to the existence of Hinduism there rather than of Buddhism: in fact the statements in the Chinese annals are the only evidence for the latter. But it is most interesting to find that these annals give the family name of the king of Poli as Kaundinya\(^3\) which no doubt corresponds to the Kuṇḍagga of the Koetoei inscription. At least one if not two of the Hindu invaders of Camboja bore this name, and we can hardly be wrong in supposing that members of the same great family became princes in different parts of the Far East. One explanation of their presence in Borneo would be that they went thither from Camboja, but we have no record of expeditions from Camboja and if adventurers started thence it is not clear why they went to the east coast of Borneo. It would be less strange if Kaundinysas emigrating from Java reached both Camboja and Koetoei. It is noticeable that in Java, Koetoei, Champa and Camboja alike royal names end in varman.

---

\(^1\) See Hose and McDougall, l.c. p. 12.

\(^2\) See Kern, "Oever de Opschriften uit Koetoei" in Verslagen Meded. Afd. Lett. 2 R. xi. D. Another inscription apparently written in debased Indian characters but not yet deciphered has been found in Sanggau, south-west Borneo.

\(^3\) Groeneveldt, p. 81. The characters may be read Kau-di-nya according to Julien's method. The reference is to Liang annals, book 54.
5

The architectural monuments of Java are remarkable for their size, their number and their beauty. Geographically they fall into two chief groups, the central (Boroboedoer, Prambanan, Dieng plateau, etc.) in or near the kingdom of Mataram and the eastern (Tjandi Djago, Singasari, Panataran, etc.) lying not at the extremity of the island but chiefly to the south of Soerabaja. No relic of antiquity deserving to be called a monument has been found in western Java for the records left by Purnavarman (c. 400 A.D.) are merely rocks bearing inscriptions and two footprints, as a sign that the monarch’s triumphal progress is compared to the three steps of Vishnu.

The earliest dated (779 A.D.) monument in mid Java, Tjandi Kalasan, is Buddhist and lies in the plain of Prambanan. It is dedicated to Târâ and is of a type common both in Java and Champa, namely a chapel surmounted by a tower. In connection with it was erected the neighbouring building called Tjandi Sari, a two-storied monastery for Mahayanist monks. Not far distant is Tjandi Sevu, which superficially resembles the 450 Pagodas of Mandalay, for it consists of a central cruciform shrine surrounded by about 240 smaller separate chapels, every one of which, apparently, contained the statue of a Dhyāni Buddha. Other Buddhist buildings in the same region are Tjandi Plaosan, and the beautiful chapel known as Tjandi Mendut in which are gigantic seated images of the Buddha, Manjuśrī and Avalokita. The face of the last named is perhaps the most exquisite piece of work ever wrought by the chisel of a Buddhist artist.

It is not far from Mendut to Boroboedoer, which deserves to be included in any list of the wonders of the world. This celebrated stūpa—for in essence it is a highly ornamented stūpa with galleries of sculpture rising one above the other on its sides—has been often described and can be described intelligibly only at considerable length. I will therefore not attempt to detail or criticize its beauties but will merely state some points which are important for our purpose.

It is generally agreed that it must have been built about 850 A.D., but obviously the construction lasted a considerable time and there are indications that the architects altered their original plan. The unknown founder must have been a powerful
and prosperous king for no one else could have commanded the necessary labour. The stūpa shows no sign of Brahmanic influence. It is purely Buddhist and built for purposes of edification. The worshippers performed pradakshinā by walking round the galleries, one after the other, and as they did so had an opportunity of inspecting some 2000 reliefs depicting the previous births of Śākyamuni, his life on earth and finally the mysteries of Mahayanist theology. As in Indian pilgrim cities, temple guides were probably ready to explain the pictures.

The selection of reliefs is not due to the artists’ fancy but aims at illustrating certain works. Thus the scenes of the Buddha’s life reproduce in stone the story of the Lalita Vistara and the Jātaka pictures are based on the Divyāvadāna. It is interesting to find that both these works are connected with the school of the Mulasarvāstivādins, which according to I-Ching was the form of Buddhism prevalent in the archipelago. In the third gallery the figure of Maitreya is prominent and often seems to be explaining something to a personage who accompanies him. As Maitreya is said to have revealed five important scriptures to Āsaṅga, and as there is a tradition that the east of Asia was evangelized by the disciples of Āsaṅga or Vasubandhu, it is possible that the delivery and progress of Maitreya’s revelation is here depicted. The fourth gallery seems to deal with the five superhuman Buddhas, their paradises and other supra-mundane matters, but the key to this series of sculptures has not yet been found. It is probable that the highest storey proved to be too heavy in its original form and that the central dagoba had to be reduced lest it should break the substructure. But it is not known what image or relic was preserved in this dagoba. Possibly it was dedicated to Vairocana who was regarded as the Supreme Being and All-God by some Javanese Buddhists.

The creed here depicted in stone seems to be a form of

1 See Pleyte, Die Buddhalegende in den Sculpturen von Borobudur. But he points out that the version of the Lalita Vistara followed by the artist is not quite the same as the one that we possess.

2 Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Akshobhya, Vairocana, sometimes called Dhyāni Buddhas, but it does not seem that this name was in common use in Java or elsewhere. The Kamahāyānikan calls them the Five Tathāgatas.

3 So in the Kunjarakarma, for which see below. The Kamahāyānikan teaches an elaborate system of Buddha emanations but for purposes of worship it is not quite clear which should be adored as the highest.
Mahayanism. Śākyamuni is abundantly honoured but there is no representation of his death. This may be because the Lalita Vistara treats only of his early career, but still the omission is noteworthy. In spite of the importance of Śākyamuni, a considerable if mysterious part is played by the five superhuman Buddhas, and several Bodhisattvas, especially Maitreya, Avalokita and Manjuśrī. In the celestial scenes we find numerous Bodhisattvas both male and female, yet the figures are hardly Tantric and there is no sign that any of the personages are Brahmanic deities.

Yet the region was not wholly Buddhist. Not far from Borobodour and apparently of about the same age is the Sivaite temple of Banon, and the great temple group of Prambanan is close to Kalasan and to the other Buddhist shrines mentioned above. It consists of eight temples of which four are dedicated to Brahmā, Śiva, Vishṇu and Nandi respectively, the purpose of the others being uncertain. The largest and most decorated is that dedicated to Śiva, containing four shrines in which are images of the god as Mahādeva and as Guru, of Ganesa and of Durgā. The balustrade is ornamented with a series of reliefs illustrating the Ramayana. These temples, which appear to be entirely Brahmanic, approach in style the architecture of eastern Java and probably date from the tenth century, that is about a century later than the Buddhist monuments. But there is no tradition or other evidence of a religious revolution.

The temples on the Dieng plateau are also purely Brahmanic and probably older, for though we have no record of their foundation, an inscribed stone dated 800 A.D. has been found in this district. The plateau which is 6500 feet high was approached by paved roads or flights of stairs on one of which about 4000 steps still remain. Originally there seem to have been about 40 buildings on the plateau but of these only eight now exist besides several stone foundations which supported wooden structures. The place may have been a temple city analogous to Gīnmar or Śatrunjaya, but it appears to have been deserted in the thirteenth century, perhaps in consequence of volcanic activity. The Dieng temples are named after the heroes of the Mahabharata (Tjandi Arджuno, Tjandi Bimo, etc.), but these appear to be late designations. They are rectangular tower-
like shrines with porches and a single cellule within. Figures of Brahmâ, Śiva and Vishnu have been discovered, as well as spouts to carry off the libation water.

Before leaving mid Java I should perhaps mention the relatively modern (1435–1440 A.D.) temples of Sukö. I have not seen these buildings, but they are said to be coarse in execution and to indicate that they were used by a debased sect of Vishnuites. Their interest lies in the extraordinary resemblance which they bear to the temples of Mexico and Yucatan, a resemblance "which no one can fail to observe, though no one has yet suggested any hypothesis to account for it".

The best known and probably the most important monuments of eastern Java are Panataran, Tjandi Djago and Tjandi Singasari.

The first is considered to date from about 1150 A.D. It is practically a three-storied pyramid with a flat top. The sides of the lowest storey are ornamented with a series of reliefs illustrating portions of the Ramayana, local legends and perhaps the exploits of Krishna, but this last point is doubtful. This temple seems to indicate the same stage of belief as Prambanan. It shows no trace of Buddhism and though Śiva was probably the principal deity, the scenes represented in its sculptures are chiefly Vishnuite.

Tjandi Djago is in the province of Pasoeoean. According to the Pararaton and the Nâgarakrêtâgama, Vishnuvardhana, king of Toemapel, was buried there. As he died in 1272 or 1273 A.D. and the temple was already in existence, we may infer that it dates from at least 1250. He was represented there in the form of Sugata (that is the Buddha) and at Waleri in the form of Śiva. Here we have the custom known also in Champa and Camboja of a deceased king being represented by a statue with his own features but the attributes of his tutelary deity. It is strange that a king named after Vishnu should be portrayed in the guise of Śiva and Buddha. But in spite of this impartiality, the cult practised at Tjandi Djago seems to have been not a mixture but Buddhism of a late Mahayanist type. It was

3 See Knebel in Tijds. voor Indische T., L. en Volkenkunde, 41, 1909, p. 27.
doubtless held that Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are identical with Brahmanic deities, but the fairly numerous pantheon discovered in or near the ruins consists of superhuman Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with their spouses.¹

In form Tjandi Djago has somewhat the appearance of a three-storied pyramid but the steps leading up to the top platform are at one end only and the shrine instead of standing in the centre of the platform is at the end opposite to the stairs. The figures in the reliefs are curiously square and clumsy and recall those of Central America.

Tjandi Singasari, also in the province of Paseroesian, is of a different form. It is erected on a single low platform and consists of a plain rectangular building surmounted by five towers such as are also found in Cambodian temples. There is every reason to believe that it was erected in 1278 A.D. in the reign of Krētānagara, the last king of Toemapēl, and that it is the temple known as Śiva-buddhālaya in which he was commemorated under the name of Śiva-buddha. An inscription found close by relates that in 1351 A.D. a shrine was erected on behalf of the royal family in memory of those who died with the king.²

The Nāgarakrtētagama represents this king as a devout Buddhist but his very title Śivabuddha shows how completely Sivaism and Buddhism were fused in his religion. The same work mentions a temple in which the lower storey was dedicated to Śiva and the upper to Akshobhya: it also leads us to suppose that the king was honoured as an incarnation of Akshobhya even during his life and was consecrated as a Jina under the name of Śrīnānabajreśvara.³ The Singasari temple is less ornamented with reliefs than the others described but has furnished numerous statues of excellent workmanship which illustrate the fusion of the Buddhist and Sivaite pantheons. On the one side we have Prajñāpāramitā, Manjuśrī and Tārā, on the other Ganesā, the Linga, Śiva in various forms (Guru, Nandisvara, Mahākāla, etc.), Durgā and Brahmā. Not only is

¹ Hayagrīva however may be regarded as a Brahmanic god adopted by the Buddhists.
² See for reasons and references Archaeol. Onderzoek, ii. pp. 36–40. The principal members of the king’s household probably committed suicide during the funeral ceremonies.
³ Kern in Tijds. voor T., L. en Volkenkunde, Deel lvi. 1910, p. 107. Similarly in Burma Alompra was popularly regarded as a Bodhisattva.
the Sivaite element predominant but the Buddhist figures are concerned less with the veneration of the Buddha than with accessory mythology.

Javanese architecture and sculpture are no doubt derived from India, but the imported style, whatever it may have been, was modified by local influences and it seems impossible at present to determine whether its origin should be sought on the eastern or western side of India. The theory that the temples on the Dieng plateau are Chalukyan buildings appears to be abandoned but they and many others in Java show a striking resemblance to the shrines found in Champa. Javanese architecture is remarkable for the complete absence not only of radiating arches but of pillars, and consequently of large halls. This feature is no doubt due to the ever present danger of earthquakes. Many reliefs, particularly those of Panataran, show the influence of a style which is not Indian and may be termed, though not very correctly, Polynesian. The great merit of Javanese sculpture lies in the refinement and beauty of the faces. Among figures executed in India it would be hard to find anything equal in purity and delicacy to the Avalokita of Mendut, the Manjuśrī now in the Berlin Museum or the Prajñāpāramitā now at Leyden.

6

From the eleventh century until the end of the Hindu period Java can show a considerable body of literature, which is in part theological. It is unfortunate that no books dating from an earlier epoch should be extant. The sculptures of Prambanan and Borobuendoer clearly presuppose an acquaintance with the Ramayana, the Lalita Vistara and other Buddhist works but, as in Camboja, this literature was probably known only in the original Sanskrit and only to the learned. But it is not unlikely that the Javanese adaptations of the Indian epics which have come down to us were preceded by earlier attempts which have disappeared.

The old literary language of Java is commonly known as Bāsā Kawi or Kawi, that is the language of poetry¹. It is

¹ Sanskrit Kawi, a poet. See for Javanese literature Van der Tuuk in J.R.A.S. xiii. 1881, p. 42, and Hinloopen Labberton, òb. 1913, p. 1. Also the article "Literatuur" in the Encyc. van Nederlandsch-Indië, and many notices in the writings of Kern and Veth.
however simply the predecessor of modern Javanese and many authorities prefer to describe the language of the island as Old Javanese before the Madjapahit period, Middle-Javanese during that period and New Javanese after the fall of Madjapahit. The greater part of this literature consists of free versions of Sanskrit works or of a substratum in Sanskrit accompanied by a Javanese explanation. Only a few Javanese works are original, that is to say not obviously inspired by an Indian prototype, but on the other hand nearly all of them handle their materials with freedom and adapt rather than translate what they borrow.

One of the earliest works preserved appears to be the Tantoe Panggélaran, a treatise on cosmology in which Indian and native ideas are combined. It is supposed to have been written about 1000 A.D. Before the foundation of Madjapahit Javanese literature flourished especially in the reigns of Erlangga and Djajabaja, that is in the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively. About the time of Erlangga were produced the old prose version of the Mahabharata, in which certain episodes of that poem are rendered with great freedom and the poem called Arjunavivāha, or the marriage of Arjuna.

The Bhāratayuddha, which states that it was composed by Mpoé Sedah in 1157 by order of Djajabaja, prince of Kediri, is, even more than the prose version mentioned above, a free rendering of parts of the Mahabharata. It is perhaps based on an older translation preserved in Bali. The Kawi Ramayana was in the opinion of Kern composed about 1200 A.D. It follows in essentials the story of the Ramayana, but it was apparently composed by a poet unacquainted with Sanskrit who drew his knowledge from some native source now unknown. He appears to have been a Sivaite. To the eleventh century are also referred the Smaradahana and the treatise on prosody called Vrittasāncaya. All this literature is based upon classical Sanskrit models and is not distinctly Buddhist although the prose version of the Mahabharata states that it was written for Brahmans, Sivaites and Buddhists. Many other translations

---

1 Edited by Gunning, 1903.
2 A fragment of it is printed in Notulen. Batav. Gen. LII. 1914, 103.
3 Episodes of the Indian epics have also been used as the subjects of Javanese drama. See Juynboll, Indone"sische en achterindische toneelvoorstellingen uit het Rāndyana, and Hinloopen Labberton, Pepakem Sapanti Sakoentala, 1912.
4 Juynboll, Drie Boeken van het Oudjavovansche Māhābhārata, p. 28.
or adaptations of Sanskrit work are mentioned, such as the Nitiśāstra, the Sārasamuccaya, the Tantri (in several editions), a prose translation of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, together with grammars and dictionaries. The absence of dates makes it difficult to use these works for the history of Javanese thought. But it seems clear that during the Madjapahit epoch, or perhaps even before it, a strong current of Buddhism permeated Javanese literature, somewhat in contrast with the tone of the works hitherto cited. Brandes states that the Sutasoma, Vighnottsava, Kuñjarakarna, Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan, and Budhapaṃputus are purely Buddhist works and that the Tjiantakaparva, Arjunavijaya, Nāgarakṛttagama, Wariga and Bubukshah show striking traces of Buddhism. Some of these works are inaccessible to me but two of them deserve examination, the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan and the story of Kuñjarakarna. The first is tentatively assigned to the Madjapahit epoch or earlier, the second with the same caution to the eleventh century. I do not presume to criticize these dates which depend partly on linguistic considerations. The Kamahāyānīkan is a treatise (or perhaps extracts from treatises) on Mahayanism as understood in Java and presumably on the normal form of Mahayanism. The other work is an edifying legend including an exposition of the faith by no one less than the Buddha Vairocana. In essentials it agrees with the Kamahāyānīkan but in details it shows either sectarian influence or the idiosyncrasies of the author.

The Kamahāyānīkan consists of Sanskrit verses explained by a commentary in old Javanese and is partly in the form of questions and answers. The only authority whom it cites is Dignāga. It professes to teach the Mahāyāna and Mantrāyana, which is apparently a misspelling for Mantrayāna. The emphasis laid on Bajra (that is vajra or dorje), ghantā, mudrā, maṇḍala, mystic syllables, and Devis marks it as an offshoot of Tantrism and it offers many parallels to Nepalese literature. On the other hand it is curious that it uses the form Nībāna not Nirvāṇa. Its

1 Archaeol. Onderzoek, i. p. 98. This statement is abundantly confirmed by Krom's index of the proper names in the Nāgarakṛttagama in Tijdschrift, lvi. 1914, pp. 495 ff.
4 But this probably represents nīzbāna and is not a Pali form. Cf. Bajra, Bāyu for Vajra, Vāyu.
object is to teach a neophyte, who has to receive initiation, how to become a Buddha. In the second part the pupil is addressed as Jinaputra, that is son of the Buddha or one of the household of faith. He is to be moderate but not ascetic in food and clothing: he is not to cleave to the Purāṇas and Tantras but to practise the Pāramitās. These are defined first as six and then four others are added. Under Prajñāpāramitā is given a somewhat obscure account of the doctrine of Śūnyatā. Then follows the exposition of Paramaguhyā (the highest secret) and Mahāguhyā (the great secret). The latter is defined as being Yoga, the bhāvanās, the four noble truths and the ten pāramitās. The former explains the embodiment of Bhaṭāra Viśesha, that is to say the way in which Buddhas, gods and the world of phenomena are evolved from a primordial principle, called Advaya and apparently equivalent to the Nepalese Ādibuddha. Advaya is the father of Buddha and Advayajñāna, also called Bharāli Prajñāpāramitā, is his mother, but the Buddha principle at this stage is also called Divarūpa. In the next stage this Divarūpa takes form as Śākyamuni, who is regarded as a superhuman form of Buddhahood rather than as a human teacher, for he produces from his right and left side respectively Lokeśvara and Bajrapāni. These beings produce, the first Akshobhya and Ratnasambhava, the second Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, but Vairocana springs directly from the face of Śākyamuni. The five superhuman Buddhas are thus accounted for. From Vairocana spring Īśvara (Śiva), Brahmā, and Vishnu: from them the elements, the human body and the whole world. A considerable part of the treatise is occupied with connecting these various emanations of the Advaya with mystic syllables and in showing how the five Buddhas correspond to the different skandas, elements, senses, etc. Finally we are told that there are five Devis, or female counterparts corresponding in the same order to the Buddhas named above and called Locanā, Māmaki, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Tārā and Dhātvīśvari. But it is declared that

1 Adyābhūṣhikāyushmanta, p. 30 Prāptam buddhatvam bhavadbhir, ib. and Esha mārga varah śrīmān mahāyāna mahodayah Yena yūyam ganushyanto bhavishyatha Tathāgatāh.
2 Dāna, śila, kṣhānti, virya, dhvāna, prajñā.
3 Mātrī, karunā, muditā, upokṣhā.
4 The Kāraṇavāyuḥa teaches a somewhat similar doctrine of creative emanations. Avalokita, Brahmā, Śiva, Vishnu and others all are evolved from the original Buddha spirit and proceed to evolve the world.
the first and last of these are the same and therefore there are really only four Devis.

The legend of Kuñjarakarna relates how a devout Yaksha of that name went to Bodhicitta and asked of Vairocana instruction in the holy law and more especially as to the mysteries of rebirth. Vairocana did not refuse but bade his would-be pupil first visit the realms of Yama, god of the dead. Kuñjarakarna did so, saw the punishments of the underworld, including the torments prepared for a friend of his, whom he was able to warn on his return. Yama gave him some explanations respecting the alternation of life and death and he was subsequently privileged to receive a brief but more general exposition of doctrine from Vairocana himself.

This doctrine is essentially a variety of Indian pantheism but peculiar in its terminology inasmuch as Vairocana, like Krishṇa in the Bhagavadgītā, proclaims himself to be the All-God and not merely the chief of the five Buddhhas. He quotes with approval the saying "you are I: I am you" and affirms the identity of Buddhism and Śivaism. Among the monks there are no muktas (i.e. none who have attained liberation) because they all consider as two what is really one. "The Buddhists say, we are Bauddhas, for the Lord Buddha is our highest deity: we are not the same as the Śivaites, for the Lord Śiva is for them the highest deity." The Śivaites are represented as saying that the five Kuśikas are a development or incarnations of the five Buddhhas. "Well, my son" is the conclusion, "These are all one: we are Śiva, we are Buddha."

In this curious exposition the author seems to imply that his doctrine is different from that of ordinary Buddhists, and to reprimand them more decidedly than Śivaites. He several times uses the phrase Namo Bhaṭāra, namaḥ Śivāya (Hail, Lord: hail to Śiva) yet he can hardly be said to favour the Śivaites on the whole, for his All-God is Vairocana who once (but only once) receives the title of Buddha. The doctrine attributed to the Śivaites that the five Kuśikas are identical with the superhuman Buddhhas remains obscure. These five personages are said to be often mentioned in old Javanese literature but to be variously

1 The use of this word, as a name for the residence of Vairocana, seems to be peculiar to our author.
2 This term may include Śvāite ascetics as well as Buddhist monks.
3 See further discussion in Kern's edition, p. 16.
enumerated. They are identified with the five Indras, but these again are said to be the five senses (indriyas). Hence we can find a parallel to this doctrine in the teaching of the Kamahâyânikan that the five Buddhas correspond to the five senses.

Two other special theses are enounced in the story of Kuñjarakarṇa. The first is Vairocana's analysis of a human being, which makes it consist of five Ātmans or souls, called respectively Ātman, Cetanātman, Parātman, Nirātman and Antarātman, which somehow correspond to the five elements, five senses and five Skandhas. The singular list suggests that the author was imperfectly acquainted with the meaning of the Sanskrit words employed and the whole terminology is strange in a Buddhist writer. Still in the later Upanishads the epithet pancātmaka is applied to the human body, especially in the Garbha Upanishad which, like the passage here under consideration, gives a psychophysiological explanation of the development of an embryo into a human being.

The second thesis is put in the mouth of Yama. He states that when a being has finished his term in purgatory he returns to life in this world first as a worm or insect, then successively as a higher animal and a human being, first diseased or maimed and finally perfect. No parallel has yet been quoted to this account of metempsychosis.

Thus the Kuñjarakarṇa contains peculiar views which are probably sectarian or individual. On the other hand their apparent singularity may be due to our small knowledge of old Javanese literature. Though other writings are not known to extol Vairocana as being Śiva and Buddha in one, yet they have no scruple in identifying Buddhist and Brahmanic deities or connecting them by some system of emanations, as we have already seen in the Kamahâyânikan. Such an identity is still more definitely proclaimed in the old Javanese version of the Sutamasoma Jātaka. It is called Purushâda-Sânta and was

1 As are the Panchpirs in modern India.
For the Sutamasomajâtaka see Speyer's translation of the Játkamâlâ, pp. 291–313, with his notes and references. It is No. 537 in the Pali Collection of Játkas.
composed by Tantular who lived at Madjapahit in the reign of Râjasanagara (1350–1389 A.D.). In the Indian original Sutasoma is one of the previous births of Gotama. But the Javanese writer describes him as an Avatâra of the Buddha who is Brahmâ, Vishnu and Íśvara, and he states that “The Lord Buddha is not different from Siva the king of the gods....They are distinct and they are one. In the Law is no dualism.” The superhuman Buddhas are identified with various Hindu gods and also with the five senses. Thus Amitâbha is Mahâdeva and Amoghasiddhi is Vishnu. This is only a slight variation of the teaching in the Kamahâyânikan. There Brahmanic deities emanate from Sâkyamuni through various Bodhisattvas and Buddhas: here the Buddha spirit is regarded as equivalent to the Hindu Trimûrti and the various aspects of this spirit can be described in either Brahmanic or Buddhistic terminology though in reality all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and gods are one. But like the other authors quoted, Tantular appears to lean to the Buddhist side of these equations, especially for didactic purposes. For instance he says that meditation should be guided “by Lokesvara’s word and Sâkyamuni’s spirit.”

7

Thus it will be seen that if we take Javanese epigraphy, monuments and literature together with Chinese notices, they to some extent confirm one another and enable us to form an outline picture, though with many gaps, of the history of thought and religion in the island. Fa-Hsien tells us that in 418 A.D. Brahmanism flourished (as is testified by the inscriptions of Pûrṇavarman) but that the Buddhists were not worth mentioning. Immediately afterwards, probably in 423, Guṇavarman is said to have converted Shê-po, if that be Java, to Buddhism, and as he came from Kashmir he was probably a Sarvâstivâdin. Other monks are mentioned as having visited the southern seas. About 690 I-Ching says that Buddhism of the Mûlasarvâstivâdin school was flourishing in Sumatra, which he visited, and in the other islands of the Archipelago. The remarkable series of Buddhist monuments in mid Java ex-

1 See Nanjio Cat. Nos. 137, 138.
tending from about 779 to 900 A.D. confirms his statement. But two questions arise. Firstly, is there any explanation of this sudden efflorescence of Buddhism in the Archipelago, and next, what was its doctrinal character? If, as Tāranātha says, the disciples of Vasubandhu evangelized the countries of the East, their influence might well have been productive about the time of I-Ching's visit. But in any case during the sixth and seventh centuries religious travellers must have been continually journeying between India and China, in both directions, and some of them must have landed in the Archipelago. At the beginning of the sixth century Buddhism was not yet decadent in India and was all the fashion in China. It is not therefore surprising if it was planted in the islands lying on the route. It may be, as indicated above, that some specially powerful body of Hindus coming from the region of Gujarat and professing Buddhism founded in Java a new state.

As to the character of this early Javanese Buddhism we have the testimony of I-Ching that it was of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school and Hinayanist. He wrote of what he had seen in Sumatra but of what he knew only by hearsay in Java and his statement offers some difficulties. Probably Hinayanism was introduced by Guṇavarman but was superseded by other teachings which were imported from time to time after they had won for themselves a position in India. For the temple of Kalasan (A.D. 779) is dedicated to Tārā and the inscription found there speaks of the Mahayana with veneration. The later Buddhism of Java has literary records which, so far as I know, are unreservedly Mahayanist but probably the sculptures of Borobooder are the most definite expression which we shall ever have of its earlier phases. Since they contain images of the five superhuman Buddhas and of numerous Bodhisattvas, they can hardly be called anything but Mahayanist. But on the other hand the personality of Sākyamuni is emphasized; his life and previous births are pictured in a long series of sculptures and Maitreya is duly honoured. Similar collections of pictures and images may be seen in Burma which differ doctrinally from those in Java chiefly by substituting the four human Buddhas and Maitreya for the superhuman Buddhas. But Mahayanist teaching declares that these human Buddhas are reflexes of

1 Gotama, Kassapa, Konagamana and Kakusandha.
counterparts of the superhuman Buddhas so that the difference is not great.

Mahayanist Buddhism in Camboja and at a later period in Java itself was inextricably combined with Hinduism, Buddha being either directly identified with Śiva or regarded as the primordial spirit from which Śiva and all gods spring. But the sculptures of Borobodoer do not indicate that the artists knew of any such amalgamation nor have inscriptions been found there, as in Camboja, which explain this compound theology. It would seem that Buddhism and Brahmanism co-existed in the same districts but had not yet begun to fuse doctrinally. The same condition seems to have prevailed in western India during the seventh and eighth centuries, for the Buddhist caves of Ellora, though situated in the neighbourhood of Brahmanic buildings and approximating to them in style, contain sculptures which indicate a purely Buddhist cultus and not a mixed pantheon.

Our meagre knowledge of Javanese history makes it difficult to estimate the spheres and relative strength of the two religions. In the plains the Buddhist monuments are more numerous and also more ancient and we might suppose that the temples of Prambanan indicate the beginning of some change in belief. But the temples on the Dieng plateau seem to be of about the same age as the oldest Buddhist monuments. Thus nothing refutes the supposition that Brahmanism existed in Java from the time of the first Hindu colonists and that Buddhism was introduced after 400 A.D. It may be that Borobodoer and the Dieng plateau represent the religious centres of two different kingdoms. But this supposition is not necessary for in India, whence the Javanese received their ideas, groups of temples are found of the same age but belonging to different sects. Thus in the Khajraho group¹ some shrines are Jain and of the rest some are dedicated to Śiva and some to Vishṇu.

The earliest records of Javanese Brahmanism, the inscriptions of Pûrnavarman, are Vishnuite but the Brahmanism which prevailed in the eighth and ninth centuries was in the main Śivaite, though not of a strongly sectarian type. Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva were all worshipped both at Prambanan and on the Dieng but Śiva together with Ganeśa, Durgā, and Nandi

¹ About 950–1050 A.D. Fergusson, Hist. of Indian Architecture, II. p. 141.
is evidently the chief deity. An image of Śiva in the form of Bhaṭāra Guru or Mahāguru is installed in one of the shrines at Prambanan. This deity is characteristic of Javanese Hinduism and apparently peculiar to it. He is represented as an elderly bearded man wearing a richly ornamented costume. There is something in the pose and drapery which recalls Chinese art and I think the figure is due to Chinese influence, for at the present day many of the images found in the temples of Bali are clearly imitated from Chinese models (or perhaps made by Chinese artists) and this may have happened in earlier times. The Chinese annals record several instances of religious objects being presented by the Emperors to Javanese princes. Though Bhaṭāra Guru is only an aspect of Śiva he is a sufficiently distinct personality to have a shrine of his own like Ganeša and Durgā, in temples where the principal image of Śiva is of another kind.

The same type of Brahmanism lasted at least until the erection of Panataran (c. 1150). The temple appears to have been dedicated to Śiva but like Prambanan it is ornamented with scenes from the Ramayana and from Vishnuite Purāṇas. The literature which can be definitely assigned to the reigns of Djarabaya and Erangga is Brahmanic in tone but both literature and monuments indicate that somewhat later there was a revival of Buddhism. Something similar appears to have happened in other countries. In Camboja the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII (c. 1185 A.D.) are more definitely Buddhist than those of his predecessors and in 1296 Chou Ta-kuan regarded the country as mainly Buddhist. Parakrama Bahu of Ceylon (1153–1186) was zealous for the faith and so were several kings of Siam. I am inclined to think that this movement was a consequence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism at Pagan in Burma from 1050 to 1250. Pagan certainly stimulated religion in both Siam and Ceylon and Siam reacted strongly on Camboja. It is true that the later Buddhism of Java was by no means of the Siamese type, but probably the idea was current that the great kings of the world were pious Buddhists and consequently in


2 In Camboja the result seems to have been double. Pali Buddhism entered from Siam and ultimately conquered all other forms of religion, but for some time Mahayanist Buddhism, which was older in Camboja, revived and received Court patronage.
most countries the local form of Buddhism, whatever it was, began to be held in esteem. Java had constant communication with Camboja and Champa and a king of Madjapahit married a princess of the latter country. It is also possible that a direct stimulus may have been received from India, for the statement of Taranâtha\(^1\) that when Bihar was sacked by the Mohammedans the Buddhist teachers fled to other regions and that some of them went to Camboja is not improbable.

But though the prestige of Buddhism increased in the thirteenth century, no rupture with Brahmanism took place and Pali Buddhism does not appear to have entered Java. The unity of the two religions is proclaimed: Buddha and Śiva are one. But the Kamahâyânîkan while admitting the Trimûrti makes it a derivative, and not even a primary derivative, of the original Buddha spirit. It has been stated that the religion of Java in the Madjapahit epoch was Sivaism with a little Buddhism thrown in, on the understanding that it was merely another method of formulating the same doctrine. It is very likely that the bulk of the population worshipped Hindu deities, for they are the gods of this world and dispense its good things. Yet the natives still speak of the old religion as Buddhâgama; the old times are “Buddha times” and even the flights of stairs leading up to the Dieng plateau are called Buddha steps. This would hardly be so if in the Madjapahit epoch Buddha had not seemed to be the most striking figure in the non-Mohammedan religion. Also, the majority of religious works which have survived from this period are Buddhist. It is true that we have the Ramayana, the Bhârata Yuddha and many other specimens of Brahmanic literature. But these, especially in their Javanese dress, are belles lettres rather than theology, whereas Kamahâyânîkan and Kuñjarakarna are dogmatic treatises. Hence it would appear that the religious life of Madjapahit was rooted in Buddhism, but a most tolerant Buddhism which had no desire to repudiate Brahmanism.

I have already briefly analysed the Sang Hyang Kamahâyânîkan which seems to be the most authoritative exposition of this creed. The learned editor has collected many parallels from Tibetan and Nepalese works and similar parallels between Javanese and Tibetan iconography have been indicated by

\(^1\) Chap. 37.
Pleyte\(^1\) and others. The explanation must be that the late forms of Buddhist art and doctrine which flourished in Magadha spread to Tibet and Nepal but were also introduced into Java. The Kamahâyânikan appears to be a paraphrase of a Sanskrit original, perhaps distorted and mutilated. This original has not been identified with any work known to exist in India but might well be a Mahayanist catechism composed there about the eleventh century. The terminology of the treatise is peculiar, particularly in calling the ultimate principle Advaya and the more personal manifestation of it Divarûpa. The former term may be paralleled in Hemacandra and the Amarakosha, which give respectively as synonyms for Buddha, advaya (in whom is no duality) and advayavâdin (who preaches no duality), but Divarûpa has not been found in any other work\(^2\). It is also remarkable that the Kamahâyânikan does not teach the doctrine of the three bodies of Buddha\(^3\). It clearly states\(^4\) that the Divarûpa is identical with the highest being worshipped by various sects: with Paramaśûnya, Paramaśiva, the Purusha of the followers of Kapila, the Nirguna of the Vishnuites, etc. Many names of sects and doctrines are mentioned which remain obscure, but the desire to represent them all as essentially identical is obvious.

The Kamahâyânikan recognizes the theoretical identity of the highest principles in Buddhism and Vishnuism\(^5\) but it does not appear that Vishnu-Buddha was ever a popular conception like Śiva-Buddha or that the compound deity called Śiva-Vishnu, Hari-Hara, Śankara-Narâyaṇa, etc., so well known in Camboja, enjoyed much honour in Java. Vishnu is relegated to a distinctly secondary position and the Javanese version of the Mahabharata is more distinctly Śivaitc than the Sanskrit text. Still he has a shrine at Prambanan, the story of the Ramayana is depicted there and at Panataran, and various

---

1 “Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Mahâyâna op Java” in Bijd. tot de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1901 and 1902.
2 This use of advaya and advayavâdin strengthens the suspicion that the origins of the Advaita philosophy are to be sought in Buddhism.
3 It uses the word trikâya but expressly defines it as meaning Kâya, vâk and citta.
4 In a passage which is not translated from the Sanskrit and may therefore reflect the religious condition of Java.
5 So too in the Sutasoma Jâtaka Amoghasiddhi is said to be Vishnu.
unedited manuscripts contain allusions to his worship, more especially to his incarnation as Narasimha and to the Garuda on which he rides.

8

At present nearly all the inhabitants of Java profess Islam although the religion of a few tribes, such as the Tonggarasee, is still a mixture of Hinduism with indigenous beliefs. But even among nominal Moslems some traces of the older creed survive. On festival days such monuments as Boroboedoer and Prambanan are frequented by crowds who, if they offer no worship, at least take pleasure in examining the ancient statues. Some of these however receive more definite honours: they are painted red and modest offerings of flowers and fruit are laid before them. Yet the respect shown to particular images seems due not to old tradition but to modern and wrongheaded interpretations of their meaning. Thus at Boroboedoer the relief which represents the good tortoise saving a shipwrecked crew receives offerings from women because the small figures on the tortoise’s back are supposed to be children. The minor forms of Indian mythology still flourish. All classes believe in the existence of raksasas, boetas (bhūtas) and widadaris (vidyādharis), who are regarded as spirits similar to the Jinns of the Arabs. Lakshmi survives in the female genius believed even by rigid Mohammedans to preside over the cultivation of rice and the somewhat disreputable sect known as Santri Birahe is said to adore devas and the forces of nature. Less obvious, but more important as more deeply affecting the national character, is the tendency towards mysticism and asceticism: What is known as ngelmoe plays a considerable part in the religious life of the modern Javanese. The word is simply the Arabic ‘ilm (or knowledge) used in the sense of secret science. It sometimes signifies mere magic but the higher forms of it, such as the ngelmoe peling, are said to teach that the contemplative life is the way to the knowledge of God and the attainment of supernatural powers. With such

3 See Veth, l.c. and ngelmoe in Encycl. van Nederlandsch-Indië.
ngelmoe is often connected a belief in metempsychosis, in the illusory nature of the world, and in the efficacy of regulating the breath. Asceticism is still known under the name of tâpâ and it is said that there are many recluses who live on alms and spend their time in meditation. The affinity of all this to Indian religion is obvious, although the Javanese have no idea that it is in any way incompatible with orthodox Islam.

Indian religion, which in Java is represented merely by the influence of the past on the present, is not dead in Bali where, though much mixed with aboriginal superstitions, it is still a distinct and national faith, able to hold its own against Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The island of Bali is divided from the east coast of Java only by a narrow strait but the inhabitants possess certain characters of their own. They are more robust in build, their language is distinct from Javanese though belonging to the same group, and even the alphabet presents idiosyncrasies. Their laws, social institutions, customs and calendar show many peculiarities, explicable on the supposition that they have preserved the ancient usages of pre-Mohammedan Java. At present the population is divided into the Bali-Agas or aborigines and the Wong Madjapahit who profess to have immigrated from that kingdom. The Chinese references to Bali seem uncertain but, if accepted, indicate that it was known in the middle ages as a religious centre. It was probably a colony and dependency of Madjapahit and when Madjapahit fell it became a refuge for those who were not willing to accept Islam.

Caste is still a social institution in Bali, five classes being recognized, namely Brahmans, Kshatriyas (Satriyas), Vaisyas (Visias), Sudras and Parias. These distinctions are rigidly observed and though intermarriage (which in former times was often punished with death) is now permitted, the offspring are not recognized as belonging to the caste of the superior parent. The bodies of the dead are burned and Sati, which was formerly frequent, is believed still to take place in noble families. Pork

---

1 Also to some extent in Lombok. The Balinese were formerly the ruling class in this island and are still found there in considerable numbers.

2 It has even been suggested that hinduized Malays carried some faint traces of Indian religion to Madagascar. See Tu'ong Pao 1906, p. 93, where Zanahari is explained as Yang (=God in Malay) Hari.

3 Groeneveldt, pp. 19, 58, 59.
is the only meat used and, as in other Hindu countries, oxen are never slaughtered.

An idea of the Balinese religion may perhaps be given most easily by describing some of the temples. These are very abundant: in the neighbourhood of Boeleling (the capital) alone I have seen more than ten of considerable size. As buildings they are not ancient, for the stone used is soft and does not last much more than fifty years. But when the edifices are rebuilt the ancient shape is preserved and what we see in Bali to-day probably represents the style of the middle ages. The temples consist of two or more courts surrounded by high walls. Worship is performed in the open air: there are various pyramids, seats, and small shrines like dovecots but no halls or rooms. The gates are ornamented with the heads of monsters, especially lions with large ears and winglike expansions at the side. The outermost gate has a characteristic shape. It somewhat resembles an Indian gopuram divided into two parts by a sharp, clean cut in the middle and tradition quotes in explanation the story of a king who was refused entrance to heaven but cleft a passage through the portal with his sword.

In the outer court stand various sheds and hollow wooden cylinders which when struck give a sound like bells. Another ornamented doorway leads to the second court where are found some or all of the following objects: (a) Sacred trees, especially *Ficus elastica*. (b) Sheds with seats for human beings. It is said that on certain occasions these are used by mediums who become inspired by the gods and then give oracles. (c) Seats for the gods, generally under sheds. They are of various kinds. There is usually one conspicuous chair with an ornamental back and a scroll hanging behind it which bears some such inscription as “This is the chair of the Bhatâra.” Any deity may be invited to take this seat and receive worship. Sometimes a stone linga is placed upon it. In some temples a stone chair, called padmâsana, is set apart for Sûrya. (d) Small shrines two or three feet high, set on posts or pedestals. When well executed they are similar to the cabinets used in Japanese temples as shrines for images but when, as often happens, they are roughly made they are curiously like dovecots. On them are hung strips of dried palm-leaves in bunches like the Japanese *gohei*. As a rule the shrines contain no image but only a small seat and some
objects said to be stones which are wrapped up in a cloth and called Artjeh. In some temples (e.g. the Bale Agoeng at Singaraja) there are erections called Meru, supposed to represent the sacred mountain where the gods reside. They consist of a stout pedestal or basis of brick on which is erected a cabinet shrine as already described. Above this are large round discs made of straw and wood, which may be described as curved roofs or umbrellas. They are from three to five in number and rise one above the other, with slight intervals between them. (e) In many temples (for instance at Sangsit and Sawan) pyramidal erections are found either in addition to the Merus or instead of them. At the end of the second court is a pyramid in four stages or terraces, often with prolongations at the side of the main structure or at right angles to it. It is ascended by several staircases, consisting of about twenty-five steps, and at the top are rows of cabinet shrines.

Daily worship is not performed in these temples but offerings are laid before the shrines from time to time by those who need the help of the gods and there are several annual festivals. The object of the ritual is not to honour any image or object habitually kept in the temple but to induce the gods, who are supposed to be hovering round like birds, to seat themselves in the chair provided or to enter into some sacred object, and then receive homage and offerings. Thus both the ideas and ceremonial are different from those which prevail in Hindu temples and have more affinity with Polynesian beliefs. The deities are called Dewa, but many of them are indigenous nature spirits (especially mountain spirits) such as Dewa Gunung Agung, who are sometimes identified with Indian gods.

Somewhat different are the Durgâ temples. These are dedicated to the spirits of the dead but the images of Durgâ and her attendant Kaliki receive veneration in them, much as in Hindu temples. But on the whole the Malay or Polynesian element seemed to me to be in practice stronger than Hinduism in the religion of the Balinese and this is borne out by the fact that the Pëmangku or priest of the indigenous gods ranks higher than the Pëdanda or Brahman priest. But by talking to Balinese one may obtain a different impression, for they are proud of their connection with Madjapahit and Hinduism: they

1 This word appears to be the Sanskrit arca, an image for worship.
willingly speak of such subjects and Hindu deities are constantly represented in works of art. Ganeśa, Indra, Vishṇu, Krīṣṇa, Sūrya, Garuḍa and Śiva, as well as the heroes of the Mahābhārata, are well known but I have not heard of worship being offered to any of them except Durgā and Śiva under the form of the linga. Figures of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa are very common and a certain class of artificers are able to produce images of all well known Indian gods for those who care to order them. Many Indian works such as the Veda, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Brahmapurāṇa and Nitiśāstra are known by name and are said to exist not in the original Sanskrit but in Kawi. I fancy that they are rarely read by the present generation, but any knowledge of them is much respected. The Balinese though confused in their theology are greatly attached to their religion and believe it is the ancient faith of Madjapahit.

I was unable to discover in the neighbourhood of Singarāja even such faint traces of Buddhism as have been reported by previous authors¹, but they may exist elsewhere. The expression Śiva-Buddha was known to the Pēṇandas but seemed to have no living significance, and perhaps certain families have a traditional and purely nominal connection with Buddhism. In Durgā temples however I have seen figures described as Pusa, the Chinese equivalent of Bodhisattva, and it seems that Chinese artists have reintroduced into this miscellaneous pantheon an element of corrupt Buddhism, though the natives do not recognize it as such.

The art of Bali is more fantastic than that of ancient Java. The carved work, whether in stone or wood, is generally polychromatic. Figures are piled one on the top of another as in the sculptures of Central America and there is a marked tendency to emphasize projections. Leaves and flowers are very deeply carved and such features as ears, tongues and teeth are monstrously prolonged. Thus Balinese statues and reliefs have a curiously bristling and scaly appearance and are apt to seem barbaric, especially if taken separately². Yet the general aspect of the temples is not unpleasing. The brilliant colours and

² See Pleyte, Indonesian Art, 1901, especially the seven-headed figure in plate XVI said to be Krishna.
fantastic outlines harmonize with the tropical vegetation which surrounds them and suggest that the guardian deities take shape as gorgeous insects. Such bizarre figures are not unknown in Indian mythology but in Balinese art Chinese influence is perhaps stronger than Indian. The Chinese probably frequented the island as early as the Hindus and are now found there in abundance. Besides the statues called Pusa already mentioned, Chinese landscapes are often painted behind the seats of the Devas and in the temple on the Volcano Batoer, where a special place is assigned to all the Balinese tribes, the Chinese have their own shrine. It is said that the temples in southern Bali which are older and larger than those in the north show even more decided signs of Chinese influence and are surrounded by stone figures of Chinese as guardians.
CHAPTER XLI
CENTRAL ASIA

1

The term Central Asia is here used to denote the Tarim basin, without rigidly excluding neighbouring countries such as the Oxus region and Badakshan. This basin is a depression surrounded on three sides by high mountains: only on the east is the barrier dividing it from China relatively low. The water of the whole area discharges through the many branched Tarim river into Lake Lobnor. This so-called lake is now merely a flooded morass and the basin is a desert with occasional oases lying chiefly near its edges. The fertile portions were formerly more considerable but a quarter of a century ago this remote and lonely region interested no one but a few sportsmen and geographers. The results of recent exploration have been important and surprising. The arid sands have yielded not only ruins, statues and frescoes but whole libraries written in a dozen languages. The value of such discoveries for the general history of Asia is clear and they are of capital importance for our special subject, since during many centuries the Tarim region and its neighbouring lands were centres and highways for Buddhism and possibly the scene of many changes whose origin is now obscure. But I am unfortunate in having to discuss Central Asian Buddhism before scholars have had time to publish or even catalogue completely the store of material collected and the reader must remember that the statements in this chapter are at best tentative and incomplete. They will certainly be supplemented and probably corrected as year by year new documents and works of art are made known.

Tarim, in watery metaphor, is not so much a basin as a pool in a tidal river flowing alternately to and from the sea. We can imagine that in such a pool creatures of very different provenance might be found together. So currents both from east to west and from west to east passed through the Tarim, leaving behind whatever could live there: Chinese administration and
civilization from the east: Iranians from the west, bearing with them in the stream fragments that had drifted from Asia Minor and Byzantium, while still other currents brought Hindus and Tibetans from the south.

One feature of special interest in the history of the Tarim is that it was in touch with Bactria and the regions conquered by Alexander and through them with western art and thought. Another is that its inhabitants included not only Iranian tribes but the speakers of an Aryan language hitherto unknown, whose presence so far east may oblige us to revise our views about the history of the Aryan race. A third characteristic is that from the dawn of history to the middle ages warlike nomads were continually passing through the country. All these people, whether we call them Iranians, Turks or Mongols had the same peculiarity: they had little culture of their own but they picked up and transported the ideas of others. The most remarkable example of this is the introduction of Islam into Europe and India. Nothing quite so striking happened in earlier ages, yet tribes similar to the Turks brought Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity into China and played no small part in the introduction of Buddhism.

A brief catalogue of the languages represented in the manuscripts and inscriptions discovered will give a safe if only provisional idea of the many influences at work in Central Asia and its importance as a receiving and distributing centre. The number of tongues simultaneously in use for popular or learned purposes was remarkably large. To say nothing of great polyglot libraries like Tun-huang, a small collection at Toyog is reported as containing Indian, Manichæan, Syriac, Sogdian, Uigur and Chinese books. The writing materials employed were various like the idioms and include imported palm leaves, birch bark, plates of wood or bamboo, leather and paper, which last was in use from the first century A.D. onwards. In this dry atmosphere all enjoyed singular longevity.

Numerous Sanskrit writings have been found, all dealing with religious or quasi religious subjects, as medicine and grammar were then considered to be. Relatively modern Mahayanist literature is abundant but greater interest attaches to portions of an otherwise lost Sanskrit canon which agree in substance though not verbally with the corresponding passages in the Pali Canon and are apparently the original text from
which much of the Chinese Tripitaka was translated. The manuscripts hitherto published include Sūtras from the Sam-yukta and Ekottara Āgamas, a considerable part of the Dharmapada, and the Prātimoksha of the Sarvāstivādin school. Fa-Hsien states that the monks of Central Asia were all students of the language of India and even in the seventh century Hsüan Chuang tells us the same of Kucha. Portions of a Sanskrit grammar have been found near Turfan and in the earlier period at any rate Sanskrit was probably understood in polite and learned society. Some palm leaves from Ming-Ōi contain fragments of two Buddhist religious dramas, one of which is the Sāriputra-prakārana of Āsvaghosha. The handwriting is believed to date from the epoch of Kanishka so that we have here the oldest known Sanskrit manuscripts, as well as the oldest specimens of Indian dramatic art. They are written like the Indian classical dramas in Sanskrit and various forms of Prākrit. The latter represent hitherto unknown stages in the development of Indian dialects and some of them are closely allied to the language of Asoka’s inscriptions. Another Prākrit text is the version of the Dharmapada written in Kharoshṭhī characters and discovered by the Dutreuil de Rhins mission near Khotan, and numerous official documents in this language and alphabet have been brought home by Stein from the same region. It is probable that they are approximately coeval with the Kushan dynasty in India and the use of an Indian vernacular as well as of Sanskrit in Central Asia shows that the connection between the two countries was not due merely to the introduction of Buddhism.

Besides these hitherto unknown forms of Prākrit, Central Asia has astonished the learned world with two new languages, both written in a special variety of the Brahmi alphabet called Central Asian Gupta. One is sometimes called Nordarisch and is regarded by some authorities as the language of the Šakas whose incursions into India appear to have begun about the second century B.C. and by others as the language of the Kushans and of Kanishka's Empire. It is stated that the basis of the language is Iranian but strongly influenced by Indian

---

1 See Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, 1911, and id., *Das Sāriputra-prakārana*, 1911.
idioms\textsuperscript{1}. Many translations of Mahayanist literature (for instance the Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Vajracchedikā and Aparimitāyus Sūtras) were made into it and it appears to have been spoken principally in the southern part of the Tarim basin\textsuperscript{2}. The other new language was spoken principally on its northern edge and has been called Tokharian, which name implies that it was the tongue of the Tokhars or Indoscyths\textsuperscript{3}. But there is no proof of this and it is safer to speak of it as the language of Kucha or Kuchanese. It exists in two different dialects known as A and B whose geographical distribution is uncertain but numerous official documents dated in the first half of the seventh century show that it was the ordinary speech of Kucha and Turfan. It was also a literary language and among the many translations discovered are versions in it of the Dharmapada and Vinaya. It is extremely interesting to find that this language spoken by the early and perhaps original inhabitants of Kucha not only belongs to the Aryan family but is related more nearly to the western than the eastern branch. It cannot be classed in the Indo-Iranian group but shows perplexing affinities to Latin, Greek, Keltic, Slavonic and Armenian\textsuperscript{4}. It is possible that it influenced Chinese Buddhist literature\textsuperscript{5}.

Besides the "Nordarisch" mentioned above which was written in Brahmi, three other Iranian languages have left literary remains in Central Asia, all written in an alphabet of Aramaic origin. Two of them apparently represent the speech of south-western Persia under the Sassanids, and of north-western Persia under the Arsacids. The texts preserved in both are Manichean but the third Iranian language, or Sogdian, has


\textsuperscript{3} An old Turkish text about Maitreya states that it was translated from an Indian language into Tokhri and from Tokhri into Turkish. See F. K. W. Müller, \textit{Sitzungsber. der Königl. Preuss. Akad.} 1907, p. 958. But it is not clear what is meant by Tokhri.

\textsuperscript{4} The following are some words in this language:
Kant, a hundred; rake, a word; por, fire; soye, son (Greek \textit{uýr}); suwan, swesc, rain (Greek \textit{sýrós}); álvek, another; ókso, an ox.

\textsuperscript{5} The numerous papers on this language are naturally quickly superseded. But Sieg and Siegling Tokharisch, "Die Sprache der Indoakythen" (\textit{Sitzungsber. der Berl. Ak. Wiss.} 1908, p. 815), may be mentioned and Sylvain Lévi, "Tokharen B, Langue de Koutcha," \textit{J.A.} 1913, ii. p. 311.
a more varied literary content and offers Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts, apparently in that chronological order. It was originally the language of the region round Samarkand but acquired an international character for it was used by merchants throughout the Tarim basin and spread even to China. Some Christian texts in Syriac have also been found.

The Orkhon inscriptions exhibit an old Turkish dialect written in the characters commonly called Runes and this Runic alphabet is used in manuscripts found at Tun-huang and Miran but those hitherto published are not Buddhist. But another Turkish dialect written in the Uigur alphabet, which is derived from the Syriac, was (like Sogdian) extensively used for Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian literature. The name Uigur is perhaps more correctly applied to the alphabet than the language which appears to have been the literary form of the various Turkish idioms spoken north and south of the Tien-shan. The use of this dialect for Buddhist literature spread considerably when the Uigurs broke the power of Tibet in the Tarim basin about 860 and founded a kingdom themselves: it extended into China and lasted long, for Sūtras in Uigur were printed at Peking in 1330 and Uigur manuscripts copied in the reign of K'ang Hsi (1662–1723) are reported from a monastery near Suchow. I am informed that a variety of this alphabet written in vertical columns is still used in some parts of Kansu where a Turkish dialect is spoken. Though Turkish was used by Buddhists in both the east and west of the Tarim basin, it appears to have been introduced into Khotan only after the Muslim conquest. Another Semitic script, hitherto unknown and found only in a fragmentary form, is believed to be the writing of the White Huns or Hepthalites.

As the Tibetans were the predominant power in the Tarim basin from at least the middle of the eighth until the middle of the ninth century, it is not surprising that great stores of Tibetan manuscripts have been found in the regions of Khotan, Miran and Tun-huang. In Turfan, as lying more to the north, traces of Tibetan influence, though not absent, are fewer. The

1 See Radloff Tisastvustik (Bibl. Buddh. vol. xii.), p. v. This manuscript came from Urumtei. A translation of a portion of the Saddharma-pundarika (Bibl. Buddh. xiv.) was found at Turfan.

2 Laufer in T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 392; Radloff, Kuan-si-im Pursar, p. vii.
documents discovered must be anterior to the ninth century and comprise numerous official and business papers as well as Buddhist translations. They are of great importance for the history of the Tibetan language and also indicate that at the period when they were written Buddhism at most shared with the Bön religion the allegiance of the Tibetans. No Manichaean or Christian translations in Tibetan have yet been discovered.

Vast numbers of Chinese texts both religious and secular are preserved in all the principal centres and offer many points of interest among which two may be noticed. Firstly the posts on the old military frontier near Tun-huang have furnished a series of dated documents ranging from 98 B.C. to 153 A.D. There is therefore no difficulty in admitting that there was intercourse between China and Central Asia at this period. Secondly, some documents of the T'ang dynasty are Manichaean, with an admixture of Buddhist and Taoist ideas.

The religious monuments of Central Asia comprise stupas, caves and covered buildings used as temples or vihāras. Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian edifices have been discovered but apparently no shrines of the Zoroastrian religion, though it had many adherents in these regions, and though representations of Hindu deities have been found, Hinduism is not known to have existed apart from Buddhism. Caves decorated for Buddhist worship are found not only in the Tarim basin but at Tun-huang on the frontier of China proper, near Ta-t'ung-fu in northern Shensi, and in the defile of Lung-mên in the province of Ho-nan. The general scheme and style of these caves are similar, but while in the last two, as in most Indian caves, the figures and ornaments are true sculpture, in the caves of Tun-huang and the Tarim not only is the wall prepared for frescoes, but even the figures are executed in stucco. This form of decoration was congenial to Central Asia for the images which embellished the temple walls were moulded in the same fashion. Temples and caves were sometimes combined, for instance at Bäzäklı̧k where many edifices were erected on a terrace in front.

3 See especially Chavannes and Pelliot, "Traité Manichéen" in *J.A.* 1911 and 1913.
4 Hsüan Chuang notes its existence however in Kabul and Kapiša.
of a series of caves excavated in a mountain corner. Few roofed buildings are well preserved but it seems certain that some were high quadrilateral structures, crowned by a dome of a shape found in Persia, and that others had barrel-shaped roofs, apparently resembling the chaityas of Ter and Chezarla. Le Coq states that this type of architecture is also found in Persia.

The commonest type of temple was a hall having at its further end a cella, with a passage behind to allow of circumambulation. Such halls were frequently enlarged by the addition of side rooms and sometimes a shrine was enclosed by several rectangular courts.

Many stupas have been found either by themselves or in combination with other buildings. The one which is best preserved (or at any rate reproduced in greatest detail) is the Stupa of Rawak. It is set in a quadrangle bounded by a wall which was ornamented on both its inner and outer face by a series of gigantic statues in coloured stucco. The domo is set upon a rectangular base disposed in three stories and this arrangement is said to characterize all the stupas of Turkestan as well as those of the Kabul valley and adjacent regions.

This architecture appears to owe nothing to China but to include both Indian (especially Gandharan) and Persian elements. Many of its remarkable features, if not common elsewhere, are at least widely scattered. Thus some of the caves at Ming-Öi have dome-like roofs ornamented with a pattern composed of squares within squares, set at an angle with each other. A similar ornamentation is reported from Pandrenthan in Kashmir and from Bamian.

The antiquities of Central Asia include frescoes executed on the walls of caves and buildings, and paintings on silk paper. The origin and affinities of this art are still the subject of investigation and any discussion of them would lead me too far from my immediate subject. But a few statements can be

1 See for these Fergusson-Burgess, History of Indian Architecture, i. pp. 125–8.
3 E.g. Grünwedel, Altbuddhistische Kultstätten, fig. 624.
4 Stein, Ancient Khotan, plates xiii–xvii and xl, pp. 83 and 482 ff.
made with some confidence. The influence of Gandhara is plain in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The oldest works may be described as simply Gandharan but this early style is followed by another which shows a development both in technique and in mythology. It doubtless represents Indian Buddhist art as modified by local painters and sculptors. Thus in the Turfan frescoes the drapery and composition are Indian but the faces are eastern asiatic. Sometimes however they represent a race with red hair and blue eyes.

On the whole the paintings testify to the invasion of Far Eastern art by the ideas and designs of Indian Buddhism rather than to an equal combination of Indian and Chinese influence but in some forms of decoration, particularly that employed in the Khan's palace at Idiqutshähri, Chinese style is predominant. It may be too that the early pre-buddhist styles of painting in China and Central Asia were similar. In the seventh century a Khotan artist called Wei-ch'ih Po-chih-na migrated to China, where both he and his son Wei-ch'ih I-sêng acquired considerable fame.

Persian influence also is manifest in many paintings. A striking instance may be seen in two plates published by Stein apparently representing the same Bodhhisattva. In one he is of the familiar Indian type: the other seems at first sight a miniature of some Persian prince, black-bearded and high-booted, but the figure has four arms. As might be expected, it is the Manichæan paintings which are least Indian in character. They represent a "lost late antique school" which often recalls Byzantine art and was perhaps the parent of mediæval Persian miniature painting.

The paintings of Central Asia resemble its manuscripts. It is impossible to look through any collection of them without feeling that currents of art and civilization flowing from neighbouring and even from distant lands have met and mingled in this basin. As the reader turns over the albums of Stein, Grünwedel or Le Coq he is haunted by strange reminiscences and resemblances, and wonders if they are merely coincidences or whether the pedigrees of these pictured gods and men really

2 Ancient *Khotan*, vol. ii. plates ix and lxi.
3 Le Coq in *J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 299 ff. See the whole article.
stretch across time and space to far off origins. Here are coins and seals of Hellenic design, nude athletes that might adorn a Greek vase, figures that recall Egypt, Byzantium or the Bayeux tapestry, with others that might pass for Christian ecclesiastics; Chinese sages, Krishna dancing to the sound of his flute, frescoes that might be copied from Ajanta, winged youths to be styled cupids or cherubs according to our mood.

Stein mentions that he discovered a Buddhist monastery in the terminal marshes of the Helmund in the Persian province of Seistan, containing paintings of a Hellenistic type which show “for the first time in situ the Iranian link of the chain which connects the Greco-Buddhist art of extreme north-west India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East.”

Central Asian art is somewhat wanting in spontaneity. Except when painting portraits (which are many) the artists do not seem to go to nature or even their own imagination and visions. They seem concerned to reproduce some religious scene not as they saw it but as it was represented by Indian or other artists.

2

Only one side of Central Asian history can be written with any completeness, namely its relations with China. Of these some account with dates can be given, thanks to the Chinese annals which incidentally supply valuable information about earlier periods. But unfortunately these relations were often interrupted and also the political record does not always furnish the data which are of most importance for the history of Buddhism. Still there is no better framework available for arranging our data. But even were our information much fuller, we should probably find the history of Central Asia scrappy and disconnected. Its cities were united by no bond of common blood or language, nor can any one of them have had a continuous development in institutions, letters or art. These were imported in a mature form and more or less assimilated in a precocious Augustan age, only to be overwhelmed in some catastrophe which, if not merely destructive, at least brought the ideas and baggage of another race.

1 For some of the more striking drawings referred to see Grunwedel, Buddh. Kultstatten, figs. 51, 53, 239, 242, 317, 337, 345-349.
It was under the Emperor Wu-ti (140–87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty that the Chinese first penetrated into the Tarim basin. They had heard that the Hsiung-nu, of whose growing power they were afraid, had driven the Yüeh-chih westwards and they therefore despatched an envoy named Chang Ch’ien in the hope of inducing the Yüeh-chih to co-operate with them against the common enemy. Chang Ch’ien made two adventurous expeditions, and visited the Yüeh-chih in their new home somewhere on the Oxus. His mission failed to attain its immediate political object but indirectly had important results, for it revealed to China that the nations on the Oxus were in touch with India on one hand and with the more mysterious west on the other. Henceforth it was her aim to keep open the trade route leading westwards from the extremity of the modern Kansu province to Kashgar, Khotan and the countries with which those cities communicated. Far from wishing to isolate herself or exclude foreigners, her chief desire was to keep the road to the west open, and although there were times when the flood of Buddhism which swept along this road alarmed the more conservative classes, yet for many centuries everything that came in the way of merchandize, art, literature, and religion was eagerly received. The chief hindrance to this intercourse was the hostility of the wild tribes who pillaged caravans and blocked the route, and throughout the whole stretch of recorded history the Chinese used the same method to weaken them and keep the door open, namely to create or utilize a quarrel between two tribes. The Empire allied itself with one in order to crush the second and that being done, proceeded to deal with its former ally.

Dated records beginning with the year 98 B.C. testify to the presence of a Chinese garrison near the modern Tun-huang. But at the beginning of the Christian era the Empire was convulsed by internal rebellion and ceased to have influence or interest in Central Asia. With the restoration of order things took another turn. The reign of the Emperor Ming-ti is the traditional date for the introduction of Buddhism and it also witnessed the victorious campaigns of the famous general and adventurer Pan Ch’ao. He conquered Khotan and Kashgar and victoriously repulsed the attacks of the Kushans or Yüeh-chih who were interested in these regions and endeavoured to stop his progress. The Chinese annals do not give the name of their

1 Chavannes, Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein, 1913.
king but it must have been Kanishka if he came to the throne in 78. I confess however that this silence makes it difficult for me to accept 78–123 A.D. as the period of Kanishka’s reign, for he must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorious contact with him, would not their historians have mentioned it? It seems to me more probable that he reigned before or after Pan Ch’ao’s career in Central Asia which lasted from A.D. 73–102. With the end of that career Chinese activity ceased for some time and perhaps the Kushans conquered Kashgar and Khotan early in the second century. Neither the degenerate Han dynasty nor the stormy Three Kingdoms could grapple with distant political problems and during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries northern China was divided among Tartar states, short-lived and mutually hostile. The Empire ceased to be a political power in the Tarim basin but intercourse with Central Asia and in particular the influx of Buddhism increased, and there was also a return wave of Chinese influence westwards. Meanwhile two tribes, the Hephthalites (or White Huns) and the Turks¹, successively became masters of Central Asia and founded states sometimes called Empires—that is to say they overran vast tracts within which they took tribute without establishing any definite constitution or frontiers.

When the T’ang dynasty (618–907) re-united the Empire, the Chinese Government with characteristic tenacity reverted to its old policy of keeping the western road open and to its old methods. The Turks were then divided into two branches, the northern and western, at war with one another. The Chinese allied themselves with the latter, defeated the northern Turks and occupied Turfan (640). Then in a series of campaigns, in which they were supported by the Uigurs, they conquered their former allies the western Turks and proceeded to organize the Tarim basin under the name of the Four Garrisons². This was the most glorious period of China’s foreign policy and at no other time had she so great a position as a western power. The

¹ These of course are not the Osmanlis or Turks of Constantinople. The Osmanlis are the latest of the many branches of the Turks, who warred and ruled in Central Asia with varying success from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

² That is Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Tokmak for which last Karahshahr was subsequently substituted. The territory was also called An Hai.
list of her possessions included Bokhara in the west and starting from Semirechinsk and Tashkent in the north extended southwards so as to embrace Afghanistan with the frontier districts of India and Persia. It is true that the Imperial authority in many of these regions was merely nominal: when the Chinese conquered a tribe which claimed sovereignty over them they claimed sovereignty themselves. But for the history of civilization, for the migration of art and ideas, even this nominal claim is important, for China was undoubtedly in touch with India, Bokhara and Persia.

But no sooner did these great vistas open, than new enemies appeared to bar the road. The Tibetans descended into the Tarim basin and after defeating the Chinese in 670 held the Four Garrisons till 692, when the fortunes of war were reversed. But the field was not left clear for China: the power of the northern Turks revived, and Mohammedanism, then a new force but destined to ultimate triumph in politics and religion alike, appeared in the west. The conquests of the Mohammedan general Qutayba (705–715) extended to Ferghana and he attacked Kashgar. In the long reign of Hsüan Tsung China waged a double warfare against the Arabs and Tibetans. For about thirty years (719–751) the struggle was successful. Even Tabaristan is said to have acknowledged China’s suzerainty. Her troops crossed the Hindu Kush and reached Gilgit. But in 751 they sustained a crushing defeat near Tashkent. The disaster was aggravated by the internal troubles of the Empire and it was long before Chinese authority recovered from the blow. The Tibetans reaped the advantage. Except in Turfan, they were the dominant power of the Tarim basin for a century, they took tribute from China and when it was refused sacked the capital, Chang-an (763). It would appear however that for a time Chinese garrisons held out in Central Asia and Chinese officials exercised some authority, though they obtained no support from the Empire. But although even late in the tenth century Khotan sent embassies to the Imperial Court, China

1 See for lists and details Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 67 ff. and 270 ff.

2 The conquest and organization of the present Chinese Turkestan dates only from the reign of Ch’ien Lung.

3 Thus the pilgrim Wu-K’ung mentions Chinese officials in the Four Garrisons.
gradually ceased to be a Central Asian power. She made a treaty with the Tibetans (783) and an alliance with the Uigurs, who now came to the front and occupied Turfan, where there was a flourishing Uigur kingdom with Manicheism as the state religion from about 750 to 843. In that year the Kirghiz sacked Turfan and it is interesting to note that the Chinese who had hitherto tolerated Manicheism as the religion of their allies, at once began to issue restrictive edicts against it. But except in Turfan it does not appear that the power of the Uigurs was weakened. In 860–817 they broke up Tibetan rule in the Tarim basin and formed a new kingdom of their own which apparently included Kashgar, Urumtsi and Kucha but not Khotan. The prince of Kashgar embraced Islam about 945, but the conversion of Khotan and Turfan was later. With this conversion the connection of the Tarim basin with the history of Buddhism naturally ceases, for it does not appear that the triumphal progress of Lamaism under Khubilai Khan affected these regions.

3

The Tarim basin, though sometimes united under foreign rule, had no indigenous national unity. Cities, or groups of towns, divided by deserts lived their own civic life and enjoyed considerable independence under native sovereigns, although the Chinese, Turks or Tibetans quartered troops in them and appointed residents to supervise the collection of tribute. The chief of these cities or oases were Kashgar in the west: Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan (Idikutshahri, Chotscho) and Hami lying successively to the north-east: Yarkand, Khotan and Miran to the south-east. It may be well to review briefly the special history of some of them.

The relics found near Kashgar, the most western of these cities, are comparatively few, probably because its position exposed it to the destructive influence of Islam at an early date. Chinese writers reproduce the name as Ch’ia-sha, Chieh-ch’ao, etc., but also call the region Su-lê, Shu-lê, or Sha-lê. It is

1 See for this part of their history, Grenard’s article in J.A. 1900, i. pp. 1–79.
2 Pelliot also attributes importance to a Sogdian Colony to the south of Lob Nor, which may have had much to do with the transmission of Buddhism and Nestorianism to China. See J.A. Jan. 1916, pp. 111–123.
3 These words have been connected with the tribe called Sacæ, Sakas, or Sük.
mentioned first in the Han annals. After the missions of Chang-Ch’ien trade with Bactria and Sogdiana grew rapidly and Kashgar which was a convenient emporium became a Chinese protected state in the first century B.C. But when the hold of China relaxed about the time of the Christian era it was subdued by the neighbouring kingdom of Khotan. The conquests of Pan-Ch’ao restored Chinese supremacy but early in the second century the Yüeh-chih interfered in the politics of Kashgar and placed on the throne a prince who was their tool. The introduction of Buddhism is ascribed to this epoch. If Kanishka was then reigning the statement that he conquered Kashgar and Khotan is probably correct. It is supported by Hsüan Chuang’s story of the hostages and by his assertion that Kanishka’s rule extended to the east of the Ts’ung-ling mountains: also by the discovery of Kanishka’s coins in the Khotan district. Little is heard of Kashgar until Fa-Hsien visited it in 400. He speaks of the quinquennial religious conferences held by the king, at one of which he was present, of relics of the Buddha and of a monastery containing a thousand monks all students of the Hinayana. About 460 the king sent as a present to the Chinese Court an incombustible robe once worn by the Buddha. Shortly afterwards Kashgar was incorporated in the dominions of the Hephthalites, and when these succumbed to the western Turks about 465, it merely changed masters.

Hsüan Chuang has left an interesting account of Kashgar as he found it on his return journey. The inhabitants were sincere Buddhists and there were more than a thousand monks of the Sarvástivādin school. But their knowledge was not in proportion to their zeal for they read the scriptures diligently without understanding them. They used an Indian alphabet into which they had introduced alterations.


2 Fa-Hsien’s Chieh-ch’a has been interpreted as Skardo, but Chavannes seems to have proved that it is Kashgar.

3 About 643 A.D. He mentions that the inhabitants tattooed their bodies, flattened their children’s heads and had green eyes. Also that they spoke a peculiar language.
According to Hsüan Chuang’s religious conspectus of these regions, Kashgar, Osh and Kucha belonged to the Small Vehicle, Yarkand and Khotan mainly to the Great. The Small Vehicle also flourished at Bakh and at Bamian¹. In Kapiša the Great Vehicle was predominant but there were also many Hindu sects: in the Kabul valley too Hinduism and Buddhism seem to have been mixed: in Persia² there were several hundred Sarvâstivâdin monks. In Tokhara (roughly equivalent to Badakshan) there was some Buddhism but apparently it did not flourish further north in the regions of Tashkent and Samarkand. In the latter town there were two disused monasteries but when Hsüan Chuang’s companions entered them they weremobbed by the populace. He says that these rioters were fire worshippers and that the Turks whom he visited somewhere near Aulieata were of the same religion. This last statement is perhaps inaccurate but the T’ang annals expressly state that the population of Kashgar and Khotan was in part Zoroastrian³. No mention of Nestorianism in Kashgar at this date has yet been discovered, although in the thirteenth century it was a Nestorian see. But since Nestorianism had penetrated even to China in the seventh century, it probably also existed in Samarkand and Kashgar.

The pilgrim Wu-K’ung spent five months in Kashgar about 786, but there appear to be no later data of interest for the study of Buddhism.

The town of Kucha⁴ lies between Kashgar and Turfan, somewhat to the west of Karashahr. In the second century B.C. it was already a flourishing city. Numerous dated documents show that about 630 A.D. the language of ordinary life was the interesting idiom sometimes called Tokharian B, and, since the Chinese annals record no alien invasion, we may conclude that Kucha existed as an Aryan colony peopled by the speakers of

¹ At Bamian the monks belonged to the Lôkottaravâdin School.
² Beal, Records, ii. p. 278. The pilgrim is speaking from hearsay and it is not clear to what part of Persia he refers.
³ See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kius Occidentaux*, pp. 121, 125. The inhabitants of K’ang (Samarkand or Sogdiana) are said to honour both religions. Ib. p. 135.
⁴ Known to the Chinese by several slightly different names such as Ku-chih, Kiu-tee which are all attempts to represent the same sound. For Kucha see S. Lévi’s most interesting article “Le ‘Tokharian B’ langue de Kouetcha” in *J.A.* 1913, ii. pp. 311 ff.
this language some centuries before the Christian era. It is mentioned in the Han annals and when brought into contact with China in the reign of Wu-ti (140–87 B.C.) it became a place of considerable importance, as it lay at the junction\(^1\) of the western trade routes leading to Kashgar and Aulieata respectively. Kucha absorbed some Chinese civilization but its doubtful loyalty to the Imperial throne often involved it in trouble. It is not until the Western Tsin dynasty that we find it described as a seat of Buddhism. The Tsin annals say that it was enclosed by a triple wall and contained a thousand stupas and Buddhist temples as well as a magnificent palace for the king\(^2\). This implies that Buddhism had been established for some time but no evidence has been found to date its introduction.

In 383 Fu-chien, Emperor of the Tsin dynasty, sent his general Lü-Kuang to subdue Kucha\(^3\). The expedition was successful and among the captives taken was the celebrated Kumārajiva. Lü-Kuang was so pleased with the magnificent and comfortable life of Kucha that he thought of settling there but Kumārajiva prophesied that he was destined to higher things. So they left to try their fortune in China. Lü-Kuang rose to be ruler of the state known as Southern Liang and his captive and adviser became one of the greatest names in Chinese Buddhism.

Kumārajiva is a noticeable figure and his career illustrates several points of importance. First, his father came from India and he himself went as a youth to study in Kipin (Kashmir) and then returned to Kucha. Living in this remote corner of Central Asia he was recognized as an encyclopaedia of Indian learning including a knowledge of the Vedas and “heretical śāstras.” Secondly after his return to Kucha he was converted to Mahayanism. Thirdly he went from Kucha to China where he had a distinguished career as a translator. Thus we see how

\(^1\) J.A. 1913, ii. p. 326.
\(^3\) The circumstances which provoked the expedition are not very clear. It was escorted by the king of Turfan and other small potentates who were the vassals of the Tsin and also on bad terms with Kucha. They probably asked Fu-chien for assistance in subduing their rival which he was delighted to give. Some authorities (e.g. Nanjio Cat. p. 408) give Karashahr as the name of Kumārajiva’s town, but this seems to be a mistake.
China was brought into intellectual touch with India and how the Mahayana was gaining in Central Asia territory previously occupied by the Hinayana. The monk Dharmagupta who passed through Kucha about 584 says that the king favoured Mahayanaism. That Kucha should have been the home of distinguished translators is not strange for a statement has been preserved to the effect that Sanskrit texts were used in the cities lying to the west of it, but that in Kucha itself Indian languages were not understood and translations were made, although such Sanskrit words as were easily intelligible were retained.

In the time of the Wei, Kucha again got into trouble with China and was brought to order by another punitive expedition in 448. After this lesson a long series of tribute-bearing missions is recorded, sent first to the court of Wei, and afterwards to the Liang, Chou and Sui. The notices respecting the country are to a large extent repetitions. They praise its climate, fertility and mineral wealth: the magnificence of the royal palace, the number and splendour of the religious establishments. Peacocks were as common as fowls and the Chinese annalists evidently had a general impression of a brilliant, pleasure-loving and not very moral city. It was specially famous for its music: the songs and dances of Kucha, performed by native artists, were long in favour at the Imperial Court, and a list of twenty airs has been preserved.

When the T'ang dynasty came to the throne Kucha sent an embassy to do homage but again supported Karashahr in rebellion and again brought on herself a punitive expedition (648). But the town was peaceful and prosperous when visited by Hsiian Chuang about 630.

His description agrees in substance with other notices, but he praises the honesty of the people. He mentions that the king was a native and that a much modified Indian alphabet was in use. As a churchman, he naturally dwells with pleasure on the many monasteries and great images, the quinquennial

1 S. Lévi, J.A. 1913, ii. p. 348, quoting Hsü Kao Sêng Chuan.
3 As a proof of foreign influence in Chinese culture, it is interesting to note that there were seven orchestras for the imperial banquets, including those of Kucha, Bokhara and India and a mixed one in which were musicians from Samarkand, Kashgar, Camboja and Japan.
assemblies and religious processions. There were more than 100 monasteries with upwards of 5000 brethren who all followed the Sarvāstivāda and the "gradual teaching," which probably means the Hinayana as opposed to the sudden illumination caused by Mahayanist revelation. The pilgrim differed from his hosts on the matter of diet and would not join them in eating meat. But he admits that the monks were strict according to their lights and that the monasteries were centres of learning.

In 658 Kucha was made the seat of government for the territory known as the Four Garrisons. During the next century it sent several missions to the Chinese and about 788 was visited by Wu-K'ung, who indicates that music and Buddhism were still flourishing. He mentions an Abbot who spoke with equal fluency the language of the country, Chinese and Sanskrit. Nothing is known about Kucha from this date until the eleventh century when we again hear of missions to the Chinese Court. The annals mention them under the heading of Uigurs, but Buddhism seems not to have been extinct for even in 1098 the Envoy presented to the Emperor a jade Buddha. According to Hsüan Chuang's account the Buddhism of Karashahr (Yenki) was the same as that of Kucha and its monasteries enjoyed the same reputation for strictness and learning.

Turfan is an oasis containing the ruins of several cities and possibly different sites were used as the capital at different periods. But the whole area is so small that such differences can be of little importance. The name Turfan appears to be modern. The Ming Annals¹ state that this city lies in the land of ancient Ch’e-shih (or Kū-shih) called Kao Ch’ang in the time of the Sui. This name was abolished by the T’ang but restored by the Sung.

The principal city now generally known as Chotscho seems to be identical with Kao Ch’ang² and Idiqtshähri and is called by Mohammedans Apsus or Ephesus, a curious designation connected with an ancient sacred site renamed the Cave of the Seven Sleepers. Extensive literary remains have been found in the oasis; they include works in Sanskrit, Chinese, and various Iranian and Turkish idioms but also in two dialects of so-called

¹ Quoted by Bretschneider, Medieval Researches, ii. 180.
² Pelliot, J.A. 1912, i. p. 579, suggests that Chotscho or Qoco is the Turkish equivalent of Kao Ch’ang in T’ang pronunciation, the nasal being omitted.
Tokharian. Blue-eyed, red-haired and red-bearded people are frequently portrayed on the walls of Turfan.

But the early history of this people and of their civilization is chiefly a matter of theory. In the Han period¹ there was a kingdom called Kü-shih or Kiü-shih, with two capitals. It was destroyed in 60 B.C. by the Chinese general Chêng-Chi and eight small principalities were formed in its place. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Turfan had some connection with two ephemeral states which arose in Kansu under the names of Hou Liang and Pei Liang. The former was founded by Lü-Kuang, the general who, as related above, took Kucha. He fell foul of a tribe in his territory called Chü-chü, described as belonging to the Hsiung-nu. Under their chieftain Mêng-hsün, who devoted his later years to literature and Buddhism, this tribe took a good deal of territory from the Hou Liang, in Turkestan as well as in Kansu, and called their state Pei Liang. It was conquered by the Wei dynasty in 439 and two members of the late reigning house determined to try their fortune in Turfan and ruled there successively for about twenty years. An Chou, the second of these princes, died in 480 and his fame survives because nine years after his death a temple to Maitreya was dedicated in his honour with a long inscription in Chinese.

Another line of Chinese rulers, bearing the family name of Ch’iu, established themselves at Kao-ch’ang in 507 and under the Sui dynasty one of them married a Chinese princess. Turfan paid due homage to the T’ang dynasty on its accession but later it was found that tributary missions coming from the west to the Chinese court were stopped there and the close relations of its king with the western Turks inspired alarm. Accordingly it was destroyed by the imperial forces in 640. This is confirmed by the record of Hsüan Chuang. In his biography there is a description of his reception by the king of Kao-ch’ang on his outward journey. But in the account of his travels written after his return he speaks of the city as no longer existent.

Nevertheless the political and intellectual life of the oasis was not annihilated. It was conquered by the Uigurs at an uncertain date, but they were established there in the eighth and ninth centuries and about 750 their Khan adopted Manichæism as the state religion. The many manuscripts in Sogdian and

other Persian dialects found at Turfan show that it had an old and close connection with the west. It is even possible that Mani may have preached there himself but it does not appear that his teaching became influential until about 700 A.D. The presence of Nestorianism is also attested. Tibetan influence too must have affected Turfan in the eighth and ninth centuries for many Tibetan documents have been found there although it seems to have been outside the political sphere of Tibet. About 843 this Uigur Kingdom was destroyed by the Kirghiz.

Perhaps the massacres of Buddhist priests, clearly indicated by vaults filled with skeletons still wearing fragments of the monastic robe, occurred in this period. But Buddhism was not extinguished and lingered here longer than in other parts of the Tarim basin. Even in 1420 the people of Turfan were Buddhists and the Ming Annals say that at Huo-chou (or Kara-Khojo) there were more Buddhist temples than dwelling houses.

Let us now turn to Khotan\(^1\). This was the ancient as well as the modern name of the principal city in the southern part of the Tarim basin but was modified in Chinese to Yü-t’ien, in Sanskrit to Kustana\(^2\). The Tibetan equivalent is Li-yul, the land of Li, but no explanation of this designation is forthcoming.

Traditions respecting the origin of Khotan are preserved in the travels of Hsüan Chuang and also in the Tibetan scriptures, some of which are expressly said to be translations from the language of Li. These traditions are popular legends but they agree in essentials and appear to contain a kernel of important truth namely that Khotan was founded by two streams of colonization coming from China and from India\(^3\), the latter being somehow connected with Asoka. It is remarkable that the introduction of Buddhism is attributed not to these original colonists but to a later missionary who, according to Hsüan Chuang, came from Kashmir\(^4\).

---

\(^1\) For the history of Khotan see Rémusat, *Ville de Khotan*, 1820, and Stein’s great work *Ancient Khotan*, especially chapter vii. For the Tibetan traditions see Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 230 ff.

\(^2\) Ku-stana seems to have been a learned perversion of the name, to make it mean breast of the earth.

\(^3\) The combination is illustrated by the Sino-Kharoshthi coins with a legend in Chinese on the obverse and in Prakrit on the reverse. See Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 204. But the coins are later than 73 A.D.

\(^4\) The Tibetan text gives the date of conversion as the reign of King Vijayasambhava, 170 years after the foundation of Khotan.
This traditional connection with India is confirmed by the discovery of numerous documents written in Kharoshthi characters and a Prakrit dialect. Their contents indicate that this Prakrit was the language of common life and they were found in one heap with Chinese documents dated 269 A.D. The presence of this alphabet and language is not adequately explained by the activity of Buddhist missionaries for in Khotan, as in other parts of Asia, the concomitants of Buddhism are Sanskrit and the Brahmi alphabet.

There was also Iranian influence in Khotan. It shows itself in art and has left indubitable traces in the language called by some Nordarisch, but when the speakers of that language reached the oasis or what part they played there, we do not yet know.

As a consequence of Chang Ch’ien’s mission mentioned above, Khotan sent an Embassy to the Chinese Court in the reign of Wu-ti (140–87 B.C.) and the T’ang Annals state that its kings handed down the insignia of Imperial investiture from that time onwards. There seems however to have been a dynastic revolution about 60 A.D. and it is possible that the Vijaya line of kings, mentioned in various Tibetan works, then began to reign. Khotan became a powerful state but submitted to the conquering arms of Pan-Ch’ao and perhaps was subsequently subdued by Kanishka. As the later Han dynasty declined, it again became strong but continued to send embassies to the Imperial Court. There is nothing more to mention until the visit of Fa-Hsien in 400. He describes “the pleasant and prosperous kingdom” with evident gusto. There were some tens of thousands of monks mostly followers of the Mahayana and in the country, where the homes of the people were scattered “like stars” about the oases, each house had a small stupa before the door. He stopped in a well ordered convent with 3000 monks and mentions a magnificent establishment called The King’s New Monastery. He also describes a great car festival which shows the Indian colour of Khotanese religion. Perhaps Fa-Hsien and Hsüan Chuang unduly emphasize ecclesiastical features, but they also did not hesitate to say when they thought things unsatisfactory and their praise shows that Buddhism was flourishing.

In the fifth and sixth centuries Khotan passed through troublous times and was attacked by the Tanguts, Juan-Juan

1 See Sten Konow in *J.R.A.S.* 1914, p. 345.
and White Huns. Throughout this stormy period missions were sent at intervals to China to beg for help. The pilgrim Sung Yün\(^1\) traversed the oasis in 519. His account of the numerous banners bearing Chinese inscriptions hung up in the temple of Han-mo proves that though the political influence of China was weak, she was still in touch with the Tarim basin.

When the T'ang effectively asserted their suzerainty in Central Asia, Khotan was included in the Four Garrisons. The T'ang Annals while repeating much which is found in earlier accounts, add some points of interest, for they say that the Khotanese revere the God of Heaven (Hsien shên) and also the Law of Buddha\(^2\). This undoubtedly means that there were Zoroastrians as well as Buddhists, which is not mentioned in earlier periods. The annals also mention that the king's house was decorated with pictures and that his family name was Wei Ch'ih. This may possibly be a Chinese rendering of Vijaya, the Sanskrit name or title which according to Tibetan sources was borne by all the sovereigns of Khotan.

Hsüan Chuang broke his return journey at Khotan in 644. He mentions the fondness of the people for music and says that their language differed from that of other countries. The Mahâyâna was the prevalent sect but the pilgrim stopped in a monastery of the Sarvāstivādins\(^3\). He describes several sites in the neighbourhood, particularly the Gośringa or Cow-horn mountain\(^4\), supposed to have been visited by the Buddha. Though he does not mention Zoroastrians, he notices that the people of P'i-mo near Khotan were not Buddhists.

About 674 the king of Khotan did personal homage at the Chinese Court. The Emperor constituted his territory into a government called P'i-sha after the deity P'i-sha-mên or Vaiśravana and made him responsible for its administration. Another king did homage between 742 and 755 and received an imperial princess as his consort. Chinese political influence was effective until the last decade of the eighth century but after 790 the conquests of the Tibetans put an end to it and there is

---


\(^3\) Beal, *Life*, p. 205.

\(^4\) Identified by Stein with Kohmari Hill which is still revered by Mohammedans as a sacred spot.
no mention of Khotan in the Chinese Annals for about 150 years. Numerous Tibetan manuscripts and inscriptions found at Endere testify to these conquests. The rule of the Uigurs who replaced Tibet as the dominant power in Turfan and the northern Tarim basin does not appear to have extended to Khotan.

It is not till 938 that we hear of renewed diplomatic relations with China. The Imperial Court received an embassy from Khotan and deemed it of sufficient importance to despatch a special mission in return. Eight other embassies were sent to China in the tenth century and at least three of them were accompanied by Buddhist priests. Their object was probably to solicit help against the attacks of Mohammedans. No details are known as to the Mohammedan conquest but it apparently took place between 970 and 1009 after a long struggle.

Another cultural centre of the Tarim basin must have existed in the oases near Lob-nor where Miran and a nameless site to the north of the lake have been investigated by Stein. They have yielded numerous Tibetan documents, but also fine remains of Gandharan art and Prakrit documents written in the Kharoshthi character. Probably the use of this language and alphabet was not common further east, for though a Kharoshti fragment was found by Stein in an old Chinese frontier post the library of Tun-huang yielded no specimens of them. That library, however, dating apparently from the epoch of the T'ang, contained some Sanskrit Buddhist literature and was rich in Sogdian, Turkish, and Tibetan manuscripts.

4

Ample as are the materials for the study of Buddhism in Central Asia those hitherto published throw little light on the time and manner of its introduction. At present much is hypothetical for we have few historical data—such as the career of Kumārajiva and the inscription on the Temple of Maitreya at Turfan—but a great mass of literary and artistic evidence from which various deductions can be drawn.

It is clear that there was constant intercourse with India and the Oxus region. The use of Prakrit and of various Iranian idioms points to actual colonization from these two quarters and

1 Desert Cakhay, II, p. 114.
it is probable that there were two streams of Buddhism, for the
Chinese pilgrims agree that Shan-shan (near Lob-nor), Turfan,
Kucha and Kashgar were Hinayânist, whereas Yarkand and
Khotan were Mahâyânist. Further, much of the architecture,
sculpture and painting is simply Gandharan and the older
specimens can hardly be separated from the Gandharan art of
India by any considerable interval. This art was in part coeval
with Kanishka, and if his reign began in 78 A.D. or later the first
specimens of it cannot be much anterior to the Christian era. The
earliest Chinese notices of the existence of Buddhism in Kashgar
and Kucha date from 400 (Fa-Hsien) and the third century
(Annals of the Tsin, 265–317) respectively, but they speak of it
as the national religion and munificently endowed, so that it
may well have been established for some centuries. In Turfan
the first definite record is the dedication of a temple to Maitreya
in 409 but probably the history of religion there was much the
same as in Kucha.

It is only in Khotan that tradition, if not history, gives a
more detailed narrative. This is found in the works of the Chinese
pilgrims Hsüan Chuang and Sung Yün and also in four Tibetan
works which are apparently translated from the language of
Khotan. As the story is substantially the same in all, it merits
consideration and may be accepted as the account current in
the literary circles of Khotan about 500 A.D. It relates that the
Indians who were part-founders of that city in the reign of
Asoka were not Buddhists and the Tibetan version places the
conversion with great apparent accuracy 170 years after the
foundation of the kingdom and 404 after the death of the
Buddha. At that time a monk named Vairocana, who was an
incarnation of Manjuśri, came to Khotan, according to Hsüan
Chuang from Kashmir. He is said to have introduced a new
language as well as Mahâyânism, and the king, Vijayasambhava,
built for him the great monastery of Tsarma outside the capital,
which was miraculously supplied with relics. We cannot be sure

1 See Watters, Yüan Chuang, ii. p. 296. Beal, Life. p. 205. Chavannes, "Voyage
de Sung Yun." B.E.F.E.O. 1903, 395, and for the Tibetan sources, Rockhill, Life
of the Buddha, chap. viii. One of the four Tibetan works is expressly stated to be
translated from Khotaneese.
2 The Tibetan Chronicles of Li-Yul say that they worshipped Vaiśravana and
Śrimahādevī.
3 A monk from Kashmir called Vairocana was also active in Tibet about 750 A.D.
that the Tibetan dates were intended to have the meaning they
would bear for our chronology, that is about 80 B.C., but if they
had, there is nothing improbable in the story, for other traditions
assert that Buddhism was preached in Kashmir in the time of
Asoka. On the other hand, there was a dynastic change in
Khotan about 60 A.D. and the monarch who then came to the
throne may have been Vijayasambhava.

According to the Tibetan account no more monasteries were
built for seven reigns. The eighth king built two, one on the
celebrated Gośirsha or Gośringa mountain. In the eleventh reign
after Vijayasambhava, more chaityas and viharas were built in
connection with the introduction of the silkworm industry.
Subsequently, but without any clear indication of date, the
introduction of the Mahāsanghika and Sarvāstivādīn schools is
mentioned.

The Tibetan annals also mention several persecutions of
Buddhism in Khotan as a result of which the monks fled to
Tibet and Bruzha. Their chronology is confused but seems to
make these troubles coincide with a persecution in Tibet,
presumably that of Lang-dar-ma. If so, the persecution in
Khotan must have been due to the early attacks of Moham-
medans which preceded the final conquest in about 1000 A.D.¹

Neither the statements of the Chinese annalists about Central
Asia nor its own traditions prove that Buddhism flourished there
before the Christian era. But they do not disprove it and even
if the dream of the Emperor Ming-Ti and the consequent
embassy are dismissed as legends, it is admitted that Buddhism
penetrated to China by land not later than the early decades of
that era. It must therefore have been known in Central Asia
previously and perhaps Khotan was the place where it first
flourished.

It is fairly certain that about 160 B.C. the Yüeh-chih moved
westwards and settled in the lands of the Oxus after ejecting
the Sakas, but like many warlike nomads they may have oscil-
lated between the east and west, recoiling if they struck against
a powerful adversary in either quarter. Le Coq has put forward
an interesting theory of their origin. It is that they were one
of the tribes known as Scythians in Europe and at an unknown

¹ It is also possible that Buddhism had a bad time in the fifth and sixth centuries
at the hands of the Tanguta, Juan-Juan and White Huna.
period moved eastwards from southern Russia, perhaps leaving traces of their presence in the monuments still existing in the district of Minussinsk. He also identifies them with the red-haired, blue-eyed people of the Chotscho frescoes and the speakers of the Tokharian language. But these interesting hypotheses cannot be regarded as proved. It is, however, certain that the Yüeh-chih invaded India, founded the Kusyan Empire and were intimately connected (especially in the person of their great king Kanishka) with Gandharan art and the form of Buddhism which finds expression in it. Now the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien (c. 400) found the Hinayāna prevalent in Shan-shan, Kucha, Kashgar, Osh, Udyana and Gandhara. Hsüan Chuang also notes its presence in Balkh, Bamian, and Persia. Both notice that the Mahāyāna was predominant in Khotan though not to the exclusion of the other school. It would appear that in modern language the North-West Frontier province of India, Afghanistan, Badakshan (with small adjoining states), the Pamir regions and the Tarim basin all accepted Gandharan Buddhism and at one time formed part of the Kusyan Empire.

It is probably to this Gandharan Buddhism that the Chinese pilgrims refer when they speak of the Sarvāstivādīn school of the Hinayāna as prevalent. It is known that this school was closely connected with the Council of Kanishka. Its metaphysics were decidedly not Mahāyānist but there is no reason why it should have objected to the veneration of such Bodhisattvas as are portrayed in the Gandhara sculptures. An interesting passage in the life of Hsüan Chuang relates that he had a dispute in Kucha with a Mahāyānist doctor who maintained that the books called Tsa-hsin, Chü-shē, and P'i-sha were sufficient for salvation, and denounced the Yugasāstra as heretical, to the great indignation of the pilgrim whose practical definition of Mahāyānism seems to have been the acceptance of this work,

1 The Later Han Annals say that the Hindus are weaker than the Yüeh-chih and are not accustomed to fight because they are Buddhists. (See T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 192.) This seems to imply that the Yüeh-chih were not Buddhists. But even this was the real view of the compiler of the Annals we do not know from what work he took this statement nor to what date it refers.

2 See Beal, Life, p. 39, Julien, p. 50. The books mentioned are apparently the Samyuktabhidhammaridaya (Nanjio, 1287), Abhidharma Kośa (Nanjio, 1267), Abhidharma-Vibhāsha (Nanjio, 1264) and Yogācāryabhūmi (Nanjio, 1170).
reputed to have been revealed by Maitreya to Asanga. Such a
definition and division might leave in the Hīnayāna much that
we should not expect to find there.

The Mahāyānist Buddhism of Khotan was a separate stream
and Hsüan Chuang says that it came from Kashmir. Though
Kashmir is not known as a centre of Mahāyānism, yet it would
be a natural route for men and ideas passing from any part of
India to Khotan.

5

The Tarim basin and the lands of the Oxus\(^1\) were a region
where different religions and cultures mingled and there is no
difficulty in supposing that Buddhism might have amalgamated
there with Zoroastrianism or Christianity. The question is
whether there is any evidence for such amalgamation. It is
above all in its relations with China that Central Asia appears
as an exchange of religions. It passed on to China the art and
thought of India, perhaps adding something of its own on the
way and then received them back from China with further
additions\(^2\). It certainly received a great deal from Persia: the
number of manuscripts in different Iranian languages puts this
beyond doubt. Equally undoubted is its debt to India, but it
would be of even greater interest to determine whether Indian
Buddhism owes a debt to Central Asia and to define that debt.
For Tibet the relation was mutual. The Tibetans occupied the
Tarim basin during a century and according to their traditions
monks went from Khotan to instruct Tibet.

The Buddhist literature discovered in Central Asia represents,
like its architecture, several periods. We have first of all the
fragments of the Sanskrit Āgamas, found at Turfan, Tun-huang,
and in the Khotan district: fragments of the dramas and poems
of Aśvaghosha from Turfan: the Prātimoksha of the Sarvastivā
dins from Kucha and numerous versions of the anthology
called Dharmapada or Udāna. The most interesting of these is
the Prakrit version found in the neighbourhood of Khotan, but
fragments in Tokharian and Sanskrit have also been discovered.

\(^1\) The importance of the Tarim basin is due to the excellent preservation of its
records and its close connection with China. The Oxus regions suffered more from
Mohammedan iconoclasm, but they may have been at least equally important for
the history of Buddhism.

\(^2\) E.g. see the Maitreya inscription of Turfan.
All this literature probably represents the canon as it existed in the epoch of Kanishka and of the Gandharan sculptures, or at least the older stratum in that canon.

The newer stratum is composed of Mahāyānist sutras of which there is a great abundance, though no complete list has been published. The popularity of the Prajñā-pāramitā, the Lotus and the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa is attested. The last was translated into both Uigur (from the Chinese) and into "Iranien Oriental." To a still later epoch belong the Dhāraṇīs or magical formulæ which have been discovered in considerable quantities.

Sylvain Lévi has shown that some Mahāyānist sutras were either written or re-edited in Central Asia. Not only do they contain lists of Central Asian place-names but these receive an importance which can be explained only by the local patriotism of the writer or the public which he addressed. Thus the Sūryagarbha sutra praises the mountain of Gosringa near Khotan much as the Puranas celebrate in special chapters called Māhātmyas the merits of some holy place. Even more remarkable is a list in the Chandragarbha sutra. The Buddha in one of the great transformation scenes common in these works sends forth rays of light which produce innumerable manifestations of Buddhas. India (together with what is called the western region) has a total of 813 manifestations, whereas Central Asia and China have 971. Of these the whole Chinese Empire has 255, the kingdoms of Khotan and Kucha have 180 and 99 respectively, but only 60 are given to Benares and 30 to Magadha. Clearly Central Asia was a very important place for the author of this list.

One of the Turkish sutras discovered at Turfan contains a discourse of the Buddha to the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika who are described as Turks and Indra is called Kormusta, that is Hormuzd. In another Brahmā is called Asrūa, identified as the Iranian deity Zervan. In these instances no innovation of doctrine is implied but when the world of spirits and men

---

1 Or at least is not accessible to me here in Hongkong, 1914.
2 I do not mean to say that all Dhāraṇīs are late.
3 It is even probable that apocryphal Sūtras were composed in Central Asia. See Pelliot in Mélanges d'Indianisme, Sylvain Lévi, p. 329.
4 The list of manifestations in Jambudvīpa enumerates 50 kingdoms. All cannot be identified with certainty, but apparently less than half are within India proper.
becomes Central Asian instead of Indian, it is only natural that the doctrine too should take on some local colour.  

Thus the dated inscription of the temple erected in Turfan A.D. 469 is a mixture of Chinese ideas, both Confucian and Taoist, with Indian. It is in honour of Maitreya, a Bodhisattva known to the Hinayâna, but here regarded not merely as the future Buddha but as an active and benevolent deity who manifests himself in many forms, a view which also finds expression in the tradition that the works of Asanga were revelations made by him. Ākāśagarbha and the Dharmakâya are mentioned. But the inscription also speaks of heaven (t’ien) as appointing princes, and of the universal law (tao) and it contains several references to Chinese literature.

Even more remarkable is the admixture of Buddhism in Manichæism. The discoveries made in Central Asia make intelligible the Chinese edict of 739 which accuses the Manichæans of falsely taking the name of Buddhism and deceiving the people. This is not surprising for Mani seems to have taught that Zoroaster, Buddha and Christ had preceded him as apostles, and in Buddhist countries his followers naturally adopted words and symbols familiar to the people. Thus Manichæan deities are represented like Bodhisattvas sitting cross-legged on a lotus; Mani receives the epithet Ju-lai or Tathâgata: as in Amida’s Paradise, there are holy trees bearing flowers which enclose beings styled Buddha: the construction and phraseology of Manichæan books resemble those of a Buddhist Sutra. In some ways the association of Taoism and Manichæism was even closer, for the Hu-hua-ching identifies Buddha with Lao-tzû and Mani, and two Manichæan books have passed into the Taoist Canon.

1 The Turkish sutras repeatedly style the Buddha God (t’angri) or God of Gods. The expression devâtideva is applied to him in Sanskrit, but the Turkish phrases are more decided and frequent. The Sanskrit phrase may even be due to Iranian influence.

2 An Chou, the Prince to whose memory the temple was dedicated, seems to be regarded as a manifestation of Maitreya.

3 J.A. 1913, r. p. 154. The series of three articles by Chavannes and Pelliot entitled “Un traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine” (J.A. 1911, 1913) is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Manichæism in Central Asia and China.

4 E.g. see J.A. 1911, pp. 509 and 589. See also Le Coq, Sitzb. preuss. Akad. der Wiss. 48, 1909, 1202-1218.

5 J.A. 1913, r. pp. 116 and 132.
Nestorian Christianity also existed in the Tarim basin and became prominent in the seventh century. This agrees with the record of its introduction into China by A-lo-pen in 635 a.d., almost simultaneously with Zoroastrianism. Fragments of the New Testament have been found at Turfan belonging mostly to the ninth century but one to the fifth. The most interesting document for the history of Nestorianism is still the monument discovered at Si-ngan-fu and commonly called the Nestorian stone. It bears a long inscription partly in Chinese and partly in Syriac composed by a foreign priest called Adam or in Chinese King-Tsing giving a long account of the doctines and history of Nestorianism. Not only does this inscription contain many Buddhist phrases (such as Sêng and Ssû for Christian priests and monasteries) but it deliberately omits all mention of the crucifixion and merely says in speaking of the creation that God arranged the cardinal points in the shape of a cross. This can hardly be explained as due to incomplete statement for it reviews in some detail the life of Christ and its results. The motive of omission must be the feeling that redemption by his death was not an acceptable doctrine. It is interesting to find that King-Tsing consorted with Buddhist priests and even set about translating a sutra from the Hû language. Takakusu quotes a passage from one of the catalogues of the Japanese Tripitaka which states that he was a Persian and collaborated with a monk of Kapiâsa called Prajña.

We have thus clear evidence not only of the co-existence of Buddhism and Christianity but of friendly relations between Buddhist and Christian priests. The Emperor’s objection to such commixture of religions was unusual and probably due to zeal for pure Buddhism. It is possible that in western China and Central Asia Buddhism, Taoism, Manichæism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism all borrowed from one another just as the first two do in China today and Buddhism may have become modified by this contact. But proof of it is necessary. In most places Buddhism was in strength and numbers the most im-

---

1 See especially Havret, "La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fu" in Variti's Sino-logues, pp. 7, 12 and 20.
2 See Havret, l.c. III. p. 54, for some interesting remarks respecting the unwillingness of the Nestorians and also of the Jesuits to give publicity to the crucifixion.
portant of all these religions and older than all except Zoroastrianism. Its contact with Manichaeism may possibly date from the life of Mani, but apparently the earliest Christian manuscripts found in Central Asia are to be assigned to the fifth century.

On the other hand the Chinese Tripitaka contains many translations which bear an earlier date than this and are ascribed to translators connected with the Yüeh-chih. I see no reason to doubt the statements that the Happy Land sutra and Prajñā-pāramitā (Nanjio, 25, 5) were translated before 200 A.D. and portions of the Avatamsaka and Lotus (Nanjio, 100, 103, 138) before 300 A.D. But if so, the principal doctrines of Mahayanist Buddhism must have been known in Khotan¹ and the lands of Oxus before we have definite evidence for the presence of Christianity there.

Zoroastrianism may however have contributed to the development and transformation of Buddhism for the two were certainly in contact. Thus the coins of Kanishka bear figures of Persian deities² more frequently than images of the Buddha: we know from Chinese sources that the two religions co-existed at Khotan and Kashgar and possibly there are hostile references to Buddhism (Buiti and Gaotema the heretic) in the Persian scriptures³.

It is true that we should be cautious in fancying that we detect a foreign origin for the Mahāyāna. Different as it may be from the Buddhism of the Pali Canon, it is an Indian not an exotic growth. Deification, pantheism, the creation of radiant or terrible deities, extreme forms of idealism or nihilism in metaphysics are tendencies manifested in Hinduism as clearly as in Buddhism. Even the doctrine of the Buddha's three bodies, which sounds like an imitation of the Christian Trinity, has roots in the centuries before the Christian era. But late Buddhism indubitably borrowed many personages from the Hindu pantheon, and when we find Buddhas and Bodhisattvas such as Amitābha, Avalokita, Manjuśrī and Kshitigarbha without clear antecedents in India we may suspect that they are borrowed from some other mythology, and if similar figures were known to Zoroastrianism, that may be their source.

¹ Turfan and Kuhsa are spoken of as being mainly Hinayānists.
² See Stein, Zoroastrian deities on Indo-Scythian coins, 1887.
The most important of them is Amitābha. He is strangely obscure in the earlier art and literature of Indian Buddhism. Some of the nameless Buddha figures in the Gandharan sculptures may represent him, but this is not proved and the works of Grünwedel and Foucher suggest that compared with Avalokita and Tārā his images are late and not numerous. In the earlier part of the Lotus he is only just mentioned as if he were of no special importance. He is also mentioned towards the end of the Awakening of Faith ascribed to Ásvaghosha, but the authorship of the work cannot be regarded as certain and, if it were, the passage stands apart from the main argument and might well be an addition. Again in the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra of Asanga, his paradise is just mentioned.

Against these meagre and cursory notices in Indian literature may be set the fact that two translations of the principal Amidaist scripture into Chinese were made in the second century A.D. and four in the third, all by natives of Central Asia. The inference that the worship of Amitābha flourished in Central Asia some time before the earliest of these translations is irresistible.

According to Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, this worship goes back to Saraha or Rahulabhadra. He was reputed to have been the teacher of Nāgārjuna and a great magician. He saw Amitābha in the land of Dhingkota and died with his face turned towards Sukhāvatī. I have found no explanation of the name Dhingkota but the name Saraha does not sound Indian. He is said to have been a sudra and he is represented in Tibetan pictures with a beard and topknot and holding an arrow in his hand. In all this there is little that can be called history, but still it appears that the first person whom tradition connects with the worship of Amitābha was of low caste, bore a foreign name, saw the deity in an unknown country, and like many tantric teachers was represented as totally unlike a Buddhist monk. It cannot be proved that he came from the lands of the Oxus or Turkestan, but such an

\[1\] Chap. vii. The notices in Chaps. xxii. and xxiv. are rather more detailed but also later.

\[2\] xii. p. 23.

\[3\] Transl. Schiefner, pp. 93, 105 and 303, and Pandor’s Pantheon, No. 11. But Tāranātha also says that he was Āryadeva’s pupil.

\[4\] Sara in Sanskrit.
origin would explain much in the tradition. On the other hand, there would be no difficulty in accounting for Zoroastrian influence at Peshawar or Takkasila within the frontiers of India.

Somewhat later Vasubandhu is stated to have preached faith in Amitābha but it does not appear that this doctrine ever had in India a tithe of the importance which it obtained in the Far East.

The essential features of Amidist doctrine are that there is a paradise of light belonging to a benevolent deity and that the good¹ who invoke his name will be led thither. Both features are found in Zoroastrian writings. The highest heaven (following after the paradises of good thoughts, good words and good deeds) is called Boundless Light or Endless Light². Both this region and its master, Ahuramazda, are habitually spoken of in terms implying radiance and glory. Also it is a land of song, just as Amitābha’s paradise re-echoes with music and pleasant sounds³. Prayers can win this paradise and Ahura Mazda and the Archangels will come and show the way thither to the pious⁴. Further whoever recites the Ahuna-vairya formula, Ahura Mazda will bring his soul to “the lights of heaven⁵,” and although, so far as I know, it is not expressly stated that the repetition of Ahura Mazda’s name leads to paradise, yet the general efficacy of his names as invocations is clearly affirmed⁶.

Thus all the chief features of Amitābha’s paradise are Persian: only his method of instituting it by making a vow is Buddhist. It is true that Indian imagination had conceived numerous paradises, and that the early Buddhist legend tells of the Tushita heaven. But Sukhavati is not like these abodes of bliss. It appears suddenly in the history of Buddhism as something exotic, grafted adroitly on the parent trunk but sometimes overgrowing it⁷.

¹ The doctrine of salvation by faith alone seems to be later. The longer and apparently older version of the Sukhavati Vyūha insists on good works as a condition of entry into Paradise.
³ It may also be noticed that Ameretāt, the Archangel of immortality, presides over vegetation and that Amida’s paradise is full of flowers.
⁵ S.B.E. xxxi. p. 281.
⁶ S.B.E. xxiii. pp. 21-31 (the Ormasd Yasht).
⁷ Is it possible that there is any connection between Sukhavati and the land of Saukavastan, governed by an immortal ruler and located by the Bundeshish between
Avalokita is also connected with Amitābha's paradise. His figure, though its origin is not clear, assumes distinct and conspicuous proportions in India at a fairly early date. There appears to be no reason for associating him specially with Central Asia. On the other hand later works describe him as the spiritual son or reflex of Amitābha. This certainly recalls the Iranian idea of the Fravashi defined as "a spiritual being conceived as a part of a man's personality but existing before he is born and in independence of him: it can also belong to divine beings." Although India offers in abundance both divine incarnations and explanations thereof yet none of these describe the relationship between a Dhyānī Buddha and his Bodhisattva so well as the Zoroastrian doctrine of the Fravashi.

S. Lévi has suggested that the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī is of Tokharian origin. His worship at Wu-tai-shan in Shan-si is ancient and later Indian tradition connected him with China. Local traditions also connect him with Nepal, Tibet, and Khotan, and he is sometimes represented as the first teacher of civilization or religion. But although his Central Asian origin is eminently probable, I do not at present see any clear proof of it.

The case of the Bodhisattva Kshitarābha is similar. He appears to have been known but not prominent in India in the fourth century A.D.: by the seventh century if not earlier his cult was flourishing in China and subsequently he became in the Far-East a popular deity second only to Kuan-yin. This popularity was connected with his gradual transformation into a god of the dead. It is also certain that he was known in Central Asia but whether he first became important there or in China is hard to decide. The devotion of the Chinese to their dead suggests that it was among them that he acquired his great position, but his rôle as a guide to the next world has a parallel in the similar benevolent activity of the Zoroastrian angel Srosh.

Turkistan and Chinistan? I imagine there is no etymological relationship, but if Saunkavastan was well known as a land of the blessed it may have influenced the choice of a significant Sanskrit word with a similar sound.

1 E.R.E. sub voce.

2 J.A. 1912, t. p. 622. Unfortunately only a brief notice of his communication is given with no details. See also S. Lévi, Le Népal, pp. 330 ff.


4 He was accepted by the Manichæans as one of the Envoys of Light. J.A. 1911, II. p. 549.
One of Central Asia's clearest titles to importance in the history of the East is that it was the earliest and on the whole the principal source of Chinese Buddhism, to which I now turn. Somewhat later, teachers also came to China by sea and still later, under the Yuan dynasty, Lamaism was introduced direct from Tibet. But from at least the beginning of our era onwards, monks went eastwards from Central Asia to preach and translate the scriptures and it was across Central Asia that Chinese pilgrims went to India in search of the truth.