

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA

By
K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MA.



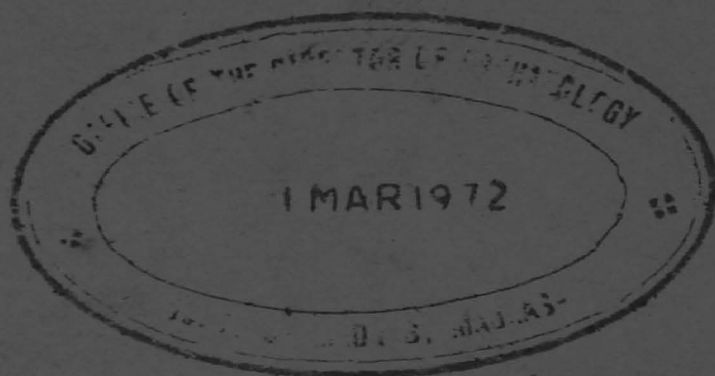
UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
1949

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA

(Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1946-47)

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By
K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.



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P R E F A C E

The lectures on the history of Śrī Vijaya delivered under the Sir William Meyer Foundation for the year 1946—47 are published almost exactly as they were delivered together with an Appendix of select inscriptions bearing on the subject. My indebtedness to previous workers has been fully indicated in the footnotes in the body of the book and in the bibliography at the end. But I must make a special acknowledgement of what I owe to the works of Professors George Coedès and N. J. Krom.

I must also express my grateful thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University of Madras for their appointing me to the Lecturership and arranging for the speedy publication of the lectures. I must also thank Mr. S. Viswanathan of the Central Art Press for the care he has bestowed on the printing of the work.

‘ NILESVAR ’,
Edward Elliot’s Road,
Mylapore, Madras.
12th April, 1949

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K. A. N.

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I. THE BACKGROUND

The history of India, said Sylvain Lèvi, is often too exclusively considered from a continental point of view, and should be envisaged also from the maritime standpoint. World War II has emphasized the importance of India's strategic and trade position in the Indian Ocean, and the links that bind her with the sister peninsula of Indo-China and with Indonesia. 'The more we learn the further goes back the history of eastern navigation,' and so far as we know, the Indian Ocean was the first centre of the oceanic activity of man. Ancient India, particularly the peninsular portion, took a prominent part in this activity, and her cultural sway extended for several centuries over most of the lands just mentioned. In his lectures under this foundation in 1942-3 Prof. R. C. Majumdar traced the history of Kambuja-Deśa as the Hindu Colony in ancient Cambodia came to be called. My aim in these lectures is to deal with the history of a celebrated maritime empire somewhat nearer home, the empire of Śrī Vijaya, which had much to do with South India in the days when Tamil culture reached its apogee under the Cōlas of the line of Vijyālaya. The history of Śrī Vijaya, is not so well known or so fully documented as that of Kambuja, and there remains scope for wide divergence of views at many points of the story. It will be my endeavour to present the whole subject as simply and as cogently as the nature of the sources and the incomplete knowledge of facts permit. And before entering on the history of Śrī Vijaya, we shall do well to get a general idea of the background against which that history has to be viewed, and accordingly I shall devote this lecture to an account of the state of culture in Indo-China and Indonesia before the advent of the Hindus in these lands, and the nature and general results of the movement of Hindu colonization as a whole. In the general sketch that follows I have availed myself very largely of the excellent survey of the subject by Coedès in his latest work on *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouisés d' Extrême-Orient*.

The area affected by this movement comprises Insulindia including the Philippines and Indo-China or 'India beyond the Ganges' as Ptolemy called it, with the Malay peninsula and Burma, but excluding Assam which is part of India and also Tonkin and North Annam which never came under Hindu influences. By their natural wealth and their geographical situation these lands came to hold a place of the first importance in history. About the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, they constituted the 'land of gold' (*Suvarṇabhūmi* and *Suvarṇadvīpa*) to which Hindu merchants sailed in considerable numbers. The spices, the camphor and the fragrant woods of Insulindia attracted Indians first and even some Graeco-Romans, and some centuries later, Arabs and Europeans. Rubber, tin and petrol have

emphasized the economic importance of these lands in modern times. The position of the Malay peninsula and the Sunda islands marks a necessary stage in all navigation between India and the Western lands on the one side and China on the other, whence arises their importance for the maritime commerce of South-eastern Asia.

For our purpose it is needless to attempt a detailed geographical description of this vast region over which Hindu culture spread from the eastern coast of India. But some leading traits may be briefly noted. The whole region is tropical country subject to the influence of the monsoons which dominate the climatic conditions and the navigation of the entire area. Annual variations in rainfall may sometimes prove disastrous to cultivation, and the alternation of wet seasons with dry, generally makes for sedentary habits among the people. The western shore of Burma, Malay peninsula and Sumatra is turned towards the Indian Ocean where, in the words of Sylvain Lévi, 'the regime of currents and that of periodical winds which govern navigation have maintained from very ancient times a system of exchanges in which the African coast, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, Indo-China and China at her back, have contributed and received each its share.'¹ On the other side of the natural barrier formed by the Malay peninsula and the islands which continue it, there is a veritable mediterranean sea formed by the sea of China, the Gulf of Siam and the sea of Java. In spite of its storms and perils, this land-locked sea has always been more a connecting link than an obstacle among the populations of the river valleys. Before the arrival of foreign mariners, these people possessed their own ships, and despite their probably separate origins, they had developed, thanks to continual intercourse among themselves, a certain community of culture of which something will be said presently. This pre-Hindu culture was developed near the sea on the banks of the great rivers: Mekong, Menam, Irawadi and Salwin, in the low plains of Java, and in the basins of the coastal rivers of Annam, of Malay Peninsula and of Sumatra, little suited for navigation, but very good for irrigation. The aboriginal and uncivilized population was confined to the mountainous highlands where, as in India, they have continued to lead to this day a life hardly different from that of the neolithic stage.

The progress of research shows that from time immemorial there have gone on many more displacements and movements of populations in S. E. Asia than was suspected at one time and that the mutual relations among these movements were also very complicated. Even in the most remote epochs the population of Farther India was composed of very diverse elements, some related to Negritos and Veddas, others to Melanesians and yet others to Indonesians. The primitive inhabitants of Indonesia and Indo-China were thus connected with those who still inhabit the islands of the Pacific, and the Mongolian elements among them were of

¹ J. A. 1918 p. 147, cited by Coedes—*Des Etats Hindouisés* p. 1.

relatively recent introduction. Evidence from the most ancient skulls shows that races had even then become thoroughly mixed, and it is therefore much better to speak less of races than of types of culture.

These old peoples have left behind implements in stone, bone and metal, pottery and glass-ware, and, in certain areas, megalithic monuments. The chronology of these vestiges is far from being settled either absolutely or relatively. Polished stone tools are often found in association with iron objects, and the pre-historic period in this area lasted to much later times than in Europe or India. In the last centuries before the Christian era, about the time the civilizations of China and India began to exercise a profound influence on the peoples of these lands, they seem to have just started making regular use of metals for making tools and utensils.

Leaving out the pleistocene skulls discovered in Java as too remote for our purposes, we find traces of an early stone stage, almost totally devoid of ceramic ware, in Tonkin (Hoa-binh) and North Annam, in Laos and Siam and in Malaya. On the east coast of Sumatra some hatchets sharpened on only one face seem to go back to the same period. This culture is generally styled Hoabinhian from the name of the province of its greatest incidence in Tonkin. In some strata, the hewn stone tools are mixed with instruments with ground and polished edges characteristic of Bacsonian (Tonkin) industry, some ceramic ware of the wicker basket type and bone implements. The human remains of the Hoabinhian and Bacsonian sites connect them with the Australian and Papua-Melanesian types. Per contra sites at Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes associated with an industry marked by an abundance of splinters and microliths appear to be connected with people of Negrito or Veddoid affiliations. Lastly, a late form of old stone age culture marked by the dominance of bone implements is attested in Indo-China and Malaya and from Sumatra to Japan along Java, Celebes, Borneo, Philippines, Formosa and Liu-Kiu islands; this may be related to the migration or expansion of a particular people or culture of which we know little at present.

The neolithic industry which is encountered nearly everywhere in these lands must have been introduced by new-comers, doubtless the Indonesians who form the most important element in the population now. This culture is rich in pottery of designs recalling the motifs of archaic China, and it did not disappear with the introduction of metals. We may even say that its spirit subsists still among certain groups on the mountains and in the interior. In the neolithic epoch there develops a striking difference between the northern and southern regions of the area under consideration, probably due to the first coming in of new Mongoloid or Mongolised elements in the north. Central Indo-China, Southern China and North-eastern India are the domain of the hatchet with a tenon for hafting, tool characteristic of the peoples speaking languages of Austro-Asiatic family, whereas the area of Indonesian speech in the south knows only the concave hatchet with a triangular or semi-circular cross-section.

From the implements found in them, the megaliths spread all over the area are seen to belong to the age of metals, in other words to the proto-historic period. The most ancient ones where only bronze and no iron is found are the dolmens in Eastern Java which in course of time evolved into the sarcophagi of Bali. When it is a question of dolmens, caverns (Central Java, South Sumatra, Perak), monolithic Jars (Upper Laos), or menhirs (Upper Laos, Malaya, Sumatra, Java), we have generally to recognize monuments of funerary destination connected with the cult of ancestors and dead chiefs. And there is little need for us to go into the bold and far-fetched theories sometimes propounded regarding their significance.

There was indeed no bronze age strictly so called in Farther India. Stone continues in use till a late stage, and iron comes into use almost at the same time as bronze. At Dong-Son in the Tanh-hoa province of Annam were discovered many kettle-drums of bronze which surprise us by their huge size and by the thinness of their walls. Ships of considerable size manned by large crews are portrayed on these drums and this implies great skill in navigation on the part of the people. Besides these drums there were also found swords, daggers and helmets, household utensils and small statuettes, all of bronze, besides ornaments of shell and semi-precious stones. Dong-son has been considered the centre from which this late culture spread and it has been accordingly designated Dong-sonian. P. V. Van Stein Callenfels has suggested 600 B.C. for this culture in Indo-China and 300 B. C. for its spread to the islands, but others consider these dates too high.

In many instances we pass without transition from the late neolithic stage to the first vestiges of Hindu contacts. On the coast of Annam and Cambodia there is nothing between the neolithic layers of Sa-huynh, of Samrong-Sen and the megaliths of Xuan-loc on the one side and the earliest monuments of Campā and Kambuja on the other. The Hindu settlement at Kuala Selinsing (in the state of Perak in Malaya) from which we get a seal with a Sanskrit name inscribed in Pallava characters has also yielded tools in polished stone. At Celebes a bronze Buddha demonstrably of the school of Amarāvati has been found at Sempaga just above a neolithic station. It is thus clear beyond all doubt that the peoples of Farther India were still practically in the late neolithic stage when they came into contact with Indian culture in historical times, though this was perhaps by no means their first contact with India.

The wide extension of the different early cultures and the abundance of beads and glass-ware of Indian origin found in neolithic layers in Indo-China and the archipelago and even the Philippines, show that there were extensive maritime contacts not only among the different parts of Farther India, but between these and India proper. Scholars have often drawn attention to the similarity of certain fundamental beliefs and essential rites prevalent throughout the monsoon-regions of Asia. Some like Hornell and Heine-Geldern explain this by postulating one or more ethnic waves

having their origin in Indo-China or the islands and spreading to India before the Aryan invasion. Others like Kern, Sylvain-Lévi and Przyluski hold that either the Dravidians or the Aryans entering India from north-west pushed before them the aboriginal populations towards the east and south, and these migrated as a result to Indo-China and Insulindia. Two results ensued from these displacements. The Indonesians were found to quit Indo-China and go over to the islands, and throughout all these lands of Farther India there came about a preliminary pre-Aryan Indianisation of culture. It is perhaps best not to be too precise about what actually happened in those far off times, but follow the wise reserve of Przyluski when he says that during the second bronze age of Europe Indo-China entered the circle of a maritime civilization which comprised the South-East of Asia and Indonesia. Whatever its exact origin, this civilization was carried over to Madagascar by Indonesians either before or after they became Hinduized. Possibly it even touched Japan as notable resemblances with the countries of the south have often been traced there in prehistoric implements, in language and in folklore.

The use of the bow, matriarchy and totemic beliefs have been held to be the main characteristics which relate the pre-Aryan culture of these lands to the wider cycle designated 'Austronesoid'. But it is necessary to guard ourselves against too rigid classifications which might impede the correct understanding of changing and flexible realities. With this reservation the chief traits of this culture may be briefly indicated thus: the cultivation of rice by means of irrigation, the domestication of the ox and buffalo, the rudimentary use of metals, and skill in navigation were most notable on the material side; socially, the importance of the role of woman and descent in the female line, and the organization resulting from the needs of irrigated agriculture; and in the religious sphere, animism, the cult of ancestors and of the god of the soil, the location of cult shrines on heights and the inhumation of the dead in Jars or dolmens. Its mythology was marked by a cosmological dualism in which mountain was opposed to sea, the winged beings to the aquatic, and men of the heights to those of the coasts. In speech it employed isolating languages endowed with a rich faculty of derivation by means of prefixes, suffixes and infixes.

It is thus clear that the pre-Hindu population of these lands were by no means utter savages and strangers to civilisation. They had a well-established cultural tradition of their own and lived in more or less organized societies with which the new comers had to make their terms.

The history of the expansion of Indian culture has not yet been studied as a whole; the results of Indianisation in different tracts have been traced for each country taken by itself, but on the general questions of the origin, nature and progress of the whole movement, we are still very much in the region of conjecture and hypothesis. One thing is certain. The establishment of the numerous Hindu Kingdoms of Indo-China and Indonesia in the early centuries of the Christian era^o was by no means the result of the first contact between India and

these lands. The Brahmin priests who anointed the monarchs of these states and consecrated the shrines at which they offered worship were learned men who were adepts in the use of their sacred language, Sanskrit, as may be seen from the earliest inscriptions from these kingdoms. But they must have been preceded by mariners, merchants and emigrants who made the first tentative establishments and prepared the way for the advent of carriers of more abiding cultural influences. "There is no evidence", says Winstedt², "that the arrival of Hindus in the Malay world was sudden, or violent or overwhelming. A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and those rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars, the latter stone-like agglomerates of salts found in coconut, jack-fruit and bamboo, snake, pig, monkey and dragon, and universally esteemed as antidotes against plague and poison. Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring, as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude. For daily speech the new comers, evidently because they were sparse, adopted the languages of Malaysia and introduced very few words of their own colloquial Prakrit. In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kingship.' This may well be accepted as a rough picture of what took place all over these lands. The Hindu settlements were seldom altogether new creations, but as at Kuala Selinsing in Perak or Sempaga in Celebes, they were installed on the neolithic sites which sailors from India might have frequented from times immemorial.

Unlike the European contact with America at the beginning of Modern History, the ancient Hindu colonisation movement was not the result of the discovery of a new world. It was but the continuation beyond the seas of the process by which India proper had been Aryanized, a process which began from the North-West of India in the age of the Rigveda, continued to spread steadily east and south, and when the whole peninsula had been 'converted', was carried over to fresh lands across the seas. This becomes clear from the role assigned to Agastya in the traditions of Indo-China and Indonesia. Already celebrated in Indian legend as the apostle of Aryan culture in non-Aryan lands and one of the chief devotees of Śiva, this redoubtable seer plays an important part in the foundation of some at least of the Hindu kingdoms of the East. He acts as intermediary between divinity and royalty, by receiving the palladium of the state, a divine *linga*, from God Śiva and passing it on to the ruling king, the founder of the monarchy. Agastya figures prominently in the iconography of Java, and as in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom in South India, his connection with the foundation of the state was cherished in Campā and Kambuja till very late in their history, till the tenth or eleventh century

² *History of Malaya* p. 18. cf. J.A. 1919, (July-Aug.) pp. 15 ff. for a similar reconstruction by Ferrand.

A.D.³ Just as in classical times the Greek colonists carried with them the fire from the sacred hearth of the city, a token of their filial relation to the land they left in search of new abodes, so also the Hindu colonists carried a cult with them, the cult of Śaivism in which Śiva played the role of the guardian of the state, thanks to the kind offices of his chief devotee and the *purohita* of the Pāṇdyas, the sage Agastya. The path of the Aryanized Indians was perhaps rendered easy in these lands because under the veneer of Aryan culture they carried habits and beliefs which had much in common with those of all the monsoon lands of Asia. If this movement appears to become important about the beginning of the Christian era it is perhaps because Hindus then began to sail in greater numbers, and for the first time the immigrants commanded sufficient strength to be able to spread their arts and their religion together with the Sanskrit language in the new countries. This resulted in the foundation of kingdoms which differed little from their counter-parts in India. In fact the most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of Farther India are not very much later than the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of India proper. Of the make up of the new states that came up as a result of this movement, Foucher has observed: 'What they implanted in these rich deltas or these fortunate islands was nothing less than their civilization or at least its copy; here are their names and their laws, their alphabet and their learned language, here is the whole of their social and religious condition, with the closest possible likeness to their castes and their cults. In short, it is not a question of simple influence, but in all the force of the term, a veritable colonisation'.⁴ It is the spread of a highly evolved culture with a definite polity of its own and characterized by the cults of Hinduism and Buddhism in all their variety, by the mythology of the Purāṇas and the observance of Dharmaśāstras, and employing Sanskrit as its cultural medium.

Commencing as sporadic individual or corporative enterprises with no preconceived plan, this movement started by adventurers and merchants must have been joined in course of time by the members of the two higher castes in sufficient numbers; for without their presence it is not possible to explain the profound influence of the Indian religions and the Sanskrit literature on the culture of Farther India; we shall see that the earliest inscriptions make specific mention of the Brāhmaṇas frequently. It is quite possible, however, that members of the other castes and even non-Aryans secured for themselves in their new homes a status which was denied to them in India proper.

The new states had no political connections with the mother country. They must have come up in one of two ways. Either a Hindu imposed himself as a chief over the local population already Indianized in a considerable measure, or an indigenous chief adopted the incoming culture as a means of strengthening his position. Even in the first alternative, though the royal family might have

³ For more details see my *Agastya* T.B.G. 1936.

⁴ *Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara* II p. 618.

been purely Indian to start with, it could not have remained so for long, thanks to the mixed marriages they must have found it necessary to contract. The Chinese annals ascribe the origin of the first dynasty of the kingdom of Fu-nan, the predecessor of Kambuja in the valley of the Mekong, to a marriage of this character. But the elevation of indigenous chiefs to the rank of Kṣatriyas perhaps by the performance of ceremonial rites was not evidently unknown. In Borneo we come across a royal family of the fourth and fifth century A.D., that of Mūlavarman, whose name is a good Sanskrit name like that of his father Aśvavarman, while that of his grand-father is Kuṇḍunga, which is certainly un-Indian. Much later, in Java, Sañjaya, the śaiva ruler who founded the dynasty of Mataram, is described as the nephew of a certain Sannah, a name which looks much like the Sankritization of an originally Javanese name. While editing the inscriptions of Kambuja, Barth observed that the Brahmans of that country were not very scrupulous about purity of blood and accommodated themselves to the need for relaxing their rules of endogamy if they wanted to found a family.⁵ It is in such ways that, as S. Lèvi has observed, Brahmanism 'an amorphous religion without chief, without clergy, without orthodoxy and without programme' has always found it possible to create a sense of unity among peoples marked by wide differences of character and habits. We shall do well then to think of these new states not so much as colonies peopled altogether or even predominantly by Hindu emigrants, but as indigenous societies more or less completely Hinduized. 'Even to-day in Bali,' says Stutterheim, 'the so-called *trivamsa*, the three castes of the Hindus, constitutes only about seven per cent of the population. The rest call themselves *Kaula* (servants), or by the well-known term *śūdra*.'⁶

Coedès is inclined to ascribe some importance to the part played by those among the indigenous people of the colonies who visited India for one reason or other and returned to their home country afterwards filled with admiration for the customs and manners of Indians and ready to carry them over to their own country and spread them among their compatriots; he draws a parallel between what happens to-day in the Asiatic countries where the nationals who visit Europe and America and return to their country are as much responsible for its Europeanization as the Europeans themselves.⁷ This might well have been so; but we have no evidence.

How far did Hindu culture penetrate among the populations of Indo-China and Indonesia? Did it become the common property of the people at large or was it only the privilege of the *elite*? Was the decadence of this culture after the thirteenth century the result of a progressive dilution of its elements by their being taken over by increasing numbers of the indigenous people, or was it due to the disappearance of a

⁵ ISCC. p. 159 n. 10.

⁶ *Indian Influences in old-Balinese Art*, p. 6.

⁷ p. 31.

refined aristocracy that had always remained aloof from the masses? To such questions no confident answers may be propounded. Our sources, particularly epigraphy, the most important one among them, tell us only of the organization of the religion and life of the courts and the privileged classes, without enabling us to see much of the life of the common folk. Historians are generally of opinion that Hinduism furnished only a veneer below which indigenous society preserved its essential characteristics unaltered. They hold that Hindu culture continued long to be alien to the bulk of the people who were astonished by it and would gladly adopt it, but could yet not feel at home in it. Krom concedes for Java, at any rate, that a union was attained after a long process of give and take and mutual adaptation.⁸ In Bali, according to Stutterheim, Hinduism has always been the culture of the superior classes and was at no time fully accepted by the masses attached to their primitive animism and to the cult of ancestors. The decline of Kambuja in the fourteenth century A.D. was probably closely related to the decadence of the Brahman aristocracy recorded in an inscription of Sukhodaya.⁹ Coedés points out that Hinduism in its particular aspect of the royal cult widely prevalent in Farther India was essentially an aristocratic affair with which the masses had nothing to do; he thinks that this explains the ease and rapidity with which several of these states adopted Sinhalese Buddhism and Islam precisely at the time when the Hindu world was being shaken by Mongol conquests and Muslim invasions. But whatever the validity of these opinions and explanations, the fact is undeniable that even in countries where indigenous traditions reasserted themselves in course of time in the most lively manner, the heritage from the contact with Indian culture was far from being negligible. In fact but for this long and fruitful contact with India and its results, the ancient history of these lands would hardly be of greater interest to us than that of Australia or New Guinea.

The penetrative power of Indian culture in these lands may be judged from the importance of what still survives in the countries which, with the exception of Siam, passed under European domination in modern times, a good many of them having been converted to Islam earlier. Except in the island of Bali and among some groups of Chams, the ancient Indian cults—Śaivism, Viṣṇuism, Buddhism of the Hināyāna and Māhāyānā, as well as the Sanskrit language have disappeared, but not without leaving their traces. At Phnom Penh in Cambodia and at Bangkok in Siam, Brahmans of very mixed descent, still follow Buddhism though they wear the *śikha* (chignon) and the *upavīta* (sacred thread) and officiate in all the great ceremonies of the court which follow a ritual inherited from the Hindu epoch. This survival, of course, only interests the court and does not touch the generality of the people. But from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., the people of Indo-China have been subject to the influence of Sinhalese Buddhism which has come home to the masses; in

⁸ H. J. G. Ch. III end.

⁹ Coedés *Recueil les Inscriptions du Siam* i. p. 85.

Cambodia, Siam, Laos and Burma, Buddhist cosmogony and cosmology, the doctrines of *Karma* and transmigration have been deeply impressed on the masses of the people by the teaching of Buddhist monks.

We can hardly imagine what would have happened if the advent of Islam in Insulindia had not snapped its spiritual bonds with Hindu India. The tolerance of Javanese Islam is sometimes attributed to the character of the people of the island. But, as Coedés has rightly pointed out, their origin was not fundamentally different from that of other Indonesian peoples—like the Bataks of Sumatra and Dayaks of Borneo not particularly reputed for the softness of their manners. We may well ask if the particular aspect that Islam has assumed in Java should not be ascribed to the influence that, for many centuries, Hindu religions exercised on the character of the people.

Today the literary heritage of these lands from ancient India is much more apparent than the religious. Throughout the Hindu period the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivamśa* and the *Purāṇas* were the principal if not the only sources of inspiration for the local literatures. Throughout Indian Indo-China, Malaya and Java all this epic and legendary literature still constitutes the web of the classical theatre, of the dances and of shadow-plays and marionette shows. From one end of Farther India to the other spectators still continue to weep over the tribulations of Rāma and Sītā.

The influence of Hindu Law is not less profound. The *Dharmaśāstras*, above all the most celebrated among them, the Code of Manu, furnished the model for ordering the local customs of Hinduized countries, somewhat in the same manner as Roman Law did for the barbarian kingdoms that rose on the ruins of the Roman Empire. The *Arthaśāstras* again contributed to the shaping of the administrative hierarchy dominated by the king whose conduct, in theory, had to conform to the precepts of *rājanīti*.

Though the Hindu colonists must doubtless have spoken Prākṛt dialects or Dravidian languages, it is Sanskrit which served to enrich the vocabulary of the local languages by contributing a large number of words which are still in current use. These words are by no means confined, as is often stated, to abstract religious and philosophical terms, but include technical terms of material life. What is more important, they include grammatical particles that were borrowed to secure added flexibility of expression to the isolating languages and enable them to become convenient vehicles of the thought developed in the flexional languages. Not only was language thus enriched by these borrowings, but it was fixed by the adaptation of Indian writing, and the common origin of the script of Mon, Burmese, Tai, Khmer, Cham, Javanese and Balinese languages is still very easy to recognize.

The use of the luni-solar calendar and of the Śaka era and a live sense of social grades, the last vestige of the caste system, are other tangible results of the ancient Indian contacts.

Lastly, the benevolent influence of a superior civilization freely accepted made itself felt in the most striking fashion in the domain of arts, for India, as S. Lévi writes 'produced her definitive masterpieces only under the action of foreigners or on foreign territory. . . . In architecture it is in distant Cambodia and distant Java that we have to look for the two wonders produced by the Indian genius: Angkor and Boro-Budur'.¹⁰

Besides India, the other civilized neighbour of these lands was China which, by its closer proximity, naturally entered into commercial and diplomatic relations with these lands. But except in the deltas of Tonkin and N. Annam which were conquered and annexed by China for a time, the cultural influence of the Celestial Empire on other regions is negligible, and one is struck by the contrast in results between the contacts with India and China in these lands. This is doubtless due to the radical difference in the methods of colonization employed by the Chinese and the Hindus. Conquest and annexation, military occupation of the conquered country and the employment of officials to spread the civilization of the conquerors were the Chinese methods. Peaceful penetration, never disfigured by the destruction which characterized the Mongol inroads or the Spanish conquest of Mexico, was the Hindu way. Far from being extirpated by the new-comers, the indigenous population found in the society of the Hindu immigrants, transplanted and altered to suit local conditions everywhere, a framework within which they gained their own place with ample scope for self-development. The newly rising Hindu kingdoms were not political dependencies of India, but flourished under independent dynasties of rulers of their own. The exchanges between the two sides of the Bay of Bengal took place on a footing of equality, whereas the celestial court always demanded 'tribute' from 'the barbarians of the South'. Thus, though for long centuries China exercised a more or less effective political guardianship over the countries of Farther India, her civilization did not spread beyond the effective range of her military conquests. The pacific penetration of Hindu culture on the contrary reached, from the beginning, the very limits of their commercial navigation. The prestige of Indian culture, and the freedom it allowed after its advent for other cultures to grow and benefit by the new contacts, each according to its own genius, explains at once the basic cultural unity of these lands in the midst of many differences and the originality of the Khmer, Cham and Javanese civilisations despite their common Hindu origin.¹¹

One of the earliest references to the eastern lands in Indian literature occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the midst of Sugrīvā's instructions to his monkey hordes about the different places in the whole world where they have got to search for the missing Sītā. We read:¹²

*Yatnavanto Yavadvīpam saptarājyopāśobhitam
suvarṇarūpyakadvīpam suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam*

¹⁰ Coedès pp. 328-31.

¹¹ Coedès, pp. 41-2.

¹² Ram. IV, 30, vv. 30-1.

*Yavadvīpa-atikramya Śīśiro nāma parvataḥ
divam spr̥ṣati śṛngeṇa devadānava-sevitaḥ*

Here Yavadvīpa is described as including seven kingdoms, bearing the name of gold and silver island, and being adorned by gold-mines; beyond Yavadvīpa lay the mountain Śīśira whose top touched the sky and which was visited by gods and dānavas (demons). There has been much discussion on these different features but no general agreement about the conclusions. Java produces no gold though Sumatra does; but Java has always been credited with gold mines in literature and epigraphy—e.g., *sampannam kanakākaraḥ* in the Cangal inscription of A.D. 732. Mt. Śīśira sounds fabulous by its very description. After discussing these verses and some other early Sanskrit and Classical texts, Kern came to the following conclusions as early as 1869,¹³ and they still seem to hold good: (1) Suvarṇadvīpa and Yavadvīpa were one according to the prevalent opinion; (2) two originally separate islands were confused with each other; (3) strictly speaking Suvarṇadvīpa is Sumatra and Yavadvīpa Java; (4) Sumatra (or a part of it) and Java were considered one, probably because they were politically connected and (5) Yavakōṭi was the name applied to the eastern corner of Java.

The Rāmāyaṇa passage cited above may be considered to be more or less of the same age as the Pāli canonical work the *Niddesa* and both may be assigned at the latest to the early centuries of the Christian era; the *Niddesa* gives a list of Sanskrit or Sanskritized toponyms many of which have been identified with places in Farther India by Sylvain Lévi.¹⁴ About the same time, more precisely about the middle of the second century A.D., the Alexandrine geographer, Ptolemy, speaks of Iabadiu, explains the name correctly as 'island of barley', thus clearly showing that he was thinking of the Sanskrit Yavadvīpa, and states that its capital, the city of Argyre (Silver-town) lay in the extreme west of it, a statement which recalls the Rāmāyaṇa data on the island.¹⁵ He adds specifically: 'the island is said to be of extraordinary fertility, and to produce very much gold'. He also mentions the names and locations of many places in Malaya and Indo-China right up to Cattigara (probably Hanoi in Tonkin), and many of the names he records are Sanskritic in origin. In the century before him Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, and the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea* knew of 'Chryse', the 'land of gold', beyond the Ganges, though only in a vague way. The *Periplus*, however, while speaking of South Indian ports on the east coast, makes particular mention of very large ships called *colandia* which made regular voyages from these ports to the Ganges and to Chryse.¹⁶ The Chinese annals mention an embassy sent to China in A.D. 132 by Tiao-Pien, King of Ye-tiao, who received from the emperor in return a gold seal and violet

¹³ TBG. 1869; VG. V. pp. 303-14.

¹⁴ Ptolemee, *le Niddesa et la Brhatkatha-Etudes Asiatiques* ii pp. 1-55. Also Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* i. pp. 56 ff.

¹⁵ McCrindle, *Ptolemy* p. 191. HJG. 57-61, 63-5.

¹⁶ *Foreign Notices* p. 59.

ribbon. Ye-tiao is clearly Yavadvīpa, and Ferrand restores Tiao-Pien into Sanskrit Deva-Varman.¹⁷ If this restoration is correct, and there is little reason to doubt it, we have here a ruler with a fully Hindu name holding sway in Java early in the second century A.D. From this fact Ferrand drew the conclusion that the Hinduization of the East which must have been a gradual process began at least some centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Coedès, however, points out that this argument is by no means conclusive.¹⁸ The contact between India and the Eastern lands was long-standing and constant from pre-historic times, and it would have been enough for some priests or men of letters to accompany the merchants and immigrants for them to have been able to establish new kingdoms quickly in a land mostly inhabited by aboriginal tribes. The most ancient Sanskrit inscription of Fu-nan is only a century and a half later than the date fixed by the Chinese for the foundation of that state by the union of a Brahman with a naked native woman. Coedès holds that it would be prudent to say that the Hindu colonization movement grew in strength in the second and third centuries A.D. and bore its fruits in the fourth and fifth. But he takes care to add that the presence on the coast of Central Annam and at Celebes of Buddha images of Indian origin anterior to the fourth century A.D. is a proof of the range of the voyages, which, from the beginning of the Christian era, carried Hindus to the extreme limits ever reached by their colonization.

Of the specific causes that favoured the movement we have little direct knowledge though there has been a considerable amount of speculation by scholars interested in the subject. The question has been asked what made the Hindus overcome the ritual prohibition of the *śāstras* against sea-voyage and contact with *mlecchas* and embark on these colonial enterprises. But the early history of India gives little evidence of the prevalence of such restrictions and prejudices in practice, and these may well have been the results of a relatively late reaction. Again we cannot assume that the *śāstraic* restriction applied to all classes of the population to an extent which would interfere with their avocations. Baudhāyana, an early author of the pre-Christian era, distinctly says that sea-voyages were undertaken by the priestly classes in Northern India without their incurring any odium thereby; and the evidence of colonial inscriptions is, as we shall see, conclusive that this became the rule in the South also at least from the beginning of the Christian era. However that may be, it is difficult to point to any particular circumstances in India that gave an impetus to this movement. The admittedly blood-stained conquest of Kalinga by Aśoka, it has been said, might have led to an exodus of populations; but this conquest was in the third century B.C. and there is no evidence that the particular phase of the movement with which we are concerned started so early. In fact, there is little reason to think specifically of Kalinga except the prevalence of the name Kling in Malaya and Indonesia for Indians in

¹⁷ HJG. p. 61-2.

¹⁸ pp. 22-3.

the later centuries of the Christian era. The pressure on population resulting from the invasions of the Kushans has been mentioned as a contributory factor ; chronologically less open to objection, this suggestion also lacks support from any evidence worth the name. More plausible is the attempt to seek the source of the impulse in commerce. The live contact between the Mediterranean world and India established as a result of the conquests of Alexander and the rise of the Seleucid empire, the foundation of the Mauryan empire, and later the rise of the Roman empire and that of Kanishka, together promoted a commerce in articles of luxury between the East and West which became the cause of great concern among the moralists and financiers of the Roman Empire. Now, spices and fragrant woods and resins like sandal, aloes, camphor and benzoin, were among the specific products of the lands and islands beyond the Ganges. Geographical names in Sanskrit like Takkola, the market for Cardamoms, Karpūradvīpa, the island of camphor, Nārikeladvīpa, the cocoanut island, show clearly what kind of interest attracted the Hindus to these regions. And the attraction was all the greater as these lands had the reputation of being rich in gold, a reputation which finds its echo, as we have noted, in early Sanskrit and Graeco-Roman literature. Commenting on the name of Kanakapurī (gold town) in Dvīpāntara, Sylvain Lévi drew pointed attention to the role of the quest for gold in the expansion of Indian culture. 'Not only', said he, 'do the classic names of Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa attest this ; but the names of rivers and streams recorded by Ptolemy in his Tables, underneath many alterations of dialectal origin which perhaps disclose the diverse origins of the seekers of gold, relate themselves to the 'fabulous metal' which Indonesian sands have never ceased to carry down. It was gold which attracted India to the Eldorado of the Far East'.¹⁹ After the rush for gold in the rich gold-yielding areas of South Africa and California in the 19th century, the quantity of gold found in Indonesia may not seem to us to justify a similar rush in the past. But gold was then very rare, and about the beginning of the Christian era India found her chief source of supply blocked. She used to buy it from caravans that brought it from Siberia by way of Bactriana to N. W. India. This route was closed after the movements of peoples in Central Asia which began in the last centuries B.C. and ultimately led to the invasion of India by the Śakas, the Pahlavas and Kushānas. In the first century A.D., trade with the Roman empire made good the loss to a considerable extent and Roman coins were imported in quantities and some of them were doubtless melted down for current use. But Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) took steps to stop the drain of specie which was causing a crisis in the economy of the Roman Empire, and India had to turn necessarily to other sources, and the reputation of the 'Golden Chersonesus' naturally drew the attention of the seekers of gold.

Two other circumstances of quite another character may also be adduced as helping to strengthen the force of the movement. First, the

¹⁹ BKI. 88 (1931) p. 627 cited by Coedès p. 24.

development of Indian and Chinese marines, and the construction of ships, first in India and a little later in China, of large ships fit for the high seas and capable of carrying six or seven hundred passengers, the technique of their construction being copied from the vessels of the Persian Gulf. There is some evidence of diplomatic and commercial intercourse between China and the kingdom of Houang-tche (Kāñcī) as early as the second century B.C. and a Chinese coin of about the same date has been found in the excavations at Candravalli in Mysore.²⁰ Hippalus' discovery of the periodicity of the monsoons which the Arabs had kept a close secret till the first century A.D. and the resulting increase in the traffic between India and the West, and the progress of Graeco-Roman navigations of exploration in the east must have had their share in stimulating the progress of the movement and strengthening it. Again, the development and spread of Buddhism perhaps played a part in demolishing the barriers of caste and weakening the exaggerated regard for purity of blood. The broader social outlook and the missionary zeal of the new faith might have contributed something in the same direction, and the Buddhist Jātakas contain many references to the maritime trade of the times. The Buddhist merchants had the Buddha Dīpankara, the calmer of the waves, for their guardian deity.

Next, we may consider the original home of the colonists in India and the routes they followed in spreading themselves in the Eastern lands. In seeking the original home of the colonists in India, we have to be guided only by indirect evidence such as the character of the writing in the earliest inscriptions from the East, and the style of art found in the earliest monuments that have been preserved besides the testimony of geographers and travellers, European and Chinese. Indian texts bearing on navigation, the names of places in the Colonies and their traditions may be also availed of though their guidance is seldom likely to be unequivocal in nature. Coedès has observed that in dealing with this question Indian historians have failed to evince the objectivity desirable in such researches, and that, according as they were natives of Madras or of Calcutta, they have claimed for the Tamil Country or for Bengal the honour of having colonized Greater India.²¹ It is therefore necessary to let facts speak for themselves and wherever possible cite the judgments of disinterested foreign scholars who have dealt with the matter.

The *Periplus* places at Kamara, (Khabari of Ptolemy), Kaveripattinam at the mouth of the Kāvēri, Poduca (Pondicherry) and Sopatma (Maṛkānam formerly called Śōpatṭinam), the three great ports, adjacent to one another, whence sailed the great ships called *Colandia* to the land of Chryse. Ptolemy notes that more to the north in the vicinity of Chica-cole lay the port of departure for the sailors who had the Golden Chersonese for their destination. Again it is at Tāmralipti (Tamluk at the mouth of the Ganges) that the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and I-tsing took

²⁰ IHQ. XIV. pp. 180-7.

²¹ p. 34.

ship on their return to China from India, the former in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and the latter at the end of the seventh. I-Tsing noted that there were direct sailings in his day across the Bay between Kedah and Negapatam. It is doubtless at Tāmralipti that the merchants of Benares and Campā embarked for Suvarṇabhūmi in the age when the Jātakas were redacted. Some ports on the West Coast of India are also mentioned in the Jātakas like Bharukaccha (Broach) and Śūrpāraka (Sopara) as having relations with Suvarṇabhūmi. L. de La Vallée Poussin summed up his impressions about the whole question by saying: 'All the eastern ports of India up to Tāmralipti contributed to this Indian expansion, but the South had the largest share.'²²

The evidence of toponyms transplanted from India cannot prove much, because the choice of names like Campā, Dvāravatī and Ayodhyā, celebrated in legend and Purāṇa does not give any indication of the original home in India of the people employing them. Names like Campā and Mathurā again had been applied even before the Christian era to places in South India, and they might have been carried over to the East as well from South India as from their places of origin in the North. Less celebrated names might conceivably give better clues, and it has been thought that the name of Tārumā, an early Hindu kingdom in Western Java, was derived from that of a place situated near the cape Comorin in South India.²³ But the evidence cited does not support the inference, and Krom's view that the name comes from an Indonesian word meaning indigo seems still to be much more likely.²⁴ We may be more certain that the use of the name Ussa (Oḍra) for Pegu, and Śrikṣetra (Purī) for ancient Prome in Burma, indicate a rather close relation between Burma and Orissa. The name Kalinga again finds an echo in Ho-ling, the name by which the Chinese designated an ancient kingdom in Java, and in Kling applied to Hindus by Malays and Cambodians. Likewise the name Talaing applied by the Burmans to the Moṅs implies that at a certain period Telingana was in active touch with the Moṅ country. Lastly, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, and Malayāla are names of tribes in the regions of Sumatra inhabited by the Karo-Bataks, though we have no means of finding out for how long these names have been in use there.²⁵

Besides the references to Agastya and his worship in different parts of Farther India which have been noticed already, the dynastic traditions of the sovereigns of Fu-nan clearly recall similar traditions of South India prevalent among the Pallavas and the Cōḷas regarding the origin of a ruling family from the marriage of a legendary hero, priest, prophet, or prince with a serpent princess Nāgī, an *apsaras*, or some other female of semi-divine extraction.²⁶ The attempt to connect the Śailendras of Java

²² *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde* p. 293. cited by Coedès p. 34.

²³ TBG. 1934 p. 187; and 1939 p. 83.

²⁴ HJG. p. 78.

²⁵ Kern—VG. III pp. 67—72.

²⁶ Minakshi, *Admn. and Social Life under the Pallavas*, pp. 25—34.

and Sumatra with the Śailas of Orissa and other Indian dynasties with like names has not been considered convincing by Coedès.²⁷

The paleography of the inscriptions furnishes more useful and precise indications and as this has formed the subject of a debate in which I have taken some part, I am content to cite the observations of Coedès himself on this question: 'A wave of Bengali influence is attested at the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth by the short-lived employment of a pre-Nāgari script. Unfortunately the different types of Indian writing show the fewest differences in their most ancient forms. R. C. Majumdar has sought to show that the script of the oldest Sanskrit inscription from Indo-China (which dates from the third century A.D. and emanates from Fu-nan and not from Campā) is derived from the writing employed by the Kushānas in the central regions of Northern India. But this revolutionary opinion has been opposed with good arguments by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, defender of the classic thesis according to which the alphabets of Farther India are of South Indian origin, with a predominance of the influence of the Pallavas.'²⁸ I will only add that in the light of present knowledge we should give up the emphasis laid by Vogel in 1918 on Pallava influence when he edited the Yūpa inscriptions of East Borneo and rather speak of the script prevalent in the East Coast of the Madras Presidency, as the Telugu Country has furnished many early records of this type of writing which do not belong to the Pallavas but to other lines like the Śāṅkayanas.

The plastic arts are not of much help because their most ancient vestiges are generally centuries later than the beginnings of Hinduization, with the exception of the Buddhas of the Amarāvati school found in different regions. If they speak in favour of a preponderance of the Southern influences in the beginning, the influences of Gupta art and later of the art of the Pālas and Senas are clearly noticeable in the later sculptures, and of Orissa on the Hindu images of Burma and of Java. There is no doubt thus that the influences which played upon the evolution of the plastic arts in the colonies were many and diverse. Architecture would enforce the same conclusions if we knew enough of it. But the earliest monuments, possibly of light and perishable material, have disappeared. The general opinion is that the monolithic *rathas* of Māmallapuram, constructed in the seventh century by the Pallavas, offer the closest affinity with the ancient Hindu monuments of the Eastern lands. But South India was by no means the sole source of Indian influences on the architecture of Indo-China and Indonesia. The resemblance between the brick towers of pre-Angkor Kambuja or of ancient Campā with certain brick monuments of Central India, above all with the Gupta temple of Bhitargaon in the valley of the Ganges, is too striking to be ignored.²⁹

The general impression produced by this brief review of the different lines of evidence is that while all parts of India did take part in the move,

²⁷ p. 36.

²⁸ pp. 36-7.

²⁹ Coedès p. 38.

ment at some time or other, the share of South India undoubtedly preponderated. But let us not forget that the Hindu expansion was not a specific historic event, definite in the time and place of its occurrence. It was a long process, carried out in successive waves, lasting over several centuries and touching diverse regions at home and abroad in different ways. It was aided by centres of diffusion constituted by the first Hindu kingdoms on the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere, which served as relays between India and the East. The Brahman Kaundinya, the second Hinduizer of Fu-nan, came from the kingdom of Pan-pan on the Malay peninsula. In the south, Palembang in Sumatra became at the end of the seventh century a great centre for the diffusion of Buddhism to which many strangers came to study like the Chinese I-tsing. In fact, our sources enable us to see the results of this vast movement much better than its origin and the early stages of its progress.³⁰

Turning for a moment to the routes followed by the emigrants, it is obvious that the archipelago was reached by way of the sea; but for Indo-China, it is a question if land-routes did not also come into use. Indo-China and its extension in the Malay peninsula have been described as a natural barrier of an impassable nature, and the narrow straits of Malacca have been held to be the only way of passing from one side of the peninsula to the other. But this may well be doubted. The thick forests of the mountains and the deltas of Indo-China did not check the adventurers who went in search of gold any more than the deserts of Central Asia or the snows of the Pamir stopped the silk merchants or the Buddhist pilgrims from pursuing their different ends. Geographical obstacles are sometimes less formidable than the pirates of the sea, and it is precisely the increase of piracy in the straits, and later the strict control of the straits exercised by the empire of Śrī Vijaya that seems to have rendered the land routes really important, as may be seen from the results of excavations along these routes. Further, it would not have taken long for the discovery to be made that the long detour round the straits can be avoided by taking advantage of the narrowness of the isthmus of Kra to cross from one side to the other over a distance which is easily covered in few hours today on a bicycle. Sailors who went from Southern India crossed the Bay and availed themselves of the narrow sea between the Andamans and Nicobars, or that more to the south, between Nicobars and the head of Achin. The former landed at Takua Pa, the latter at Kedah, both sites of rich archaeological import. It is easy to pass from Kedah to Singora, from Trang to Patalung and ancient Ligor on the Bay of Bandon, from Kra to Ch'ump'on, and above all from Takua Pa to C'aiya—all places whose antiquity and importance is attested by archaeology.

For voyagers who came from central India and for those who followed the coastal route, access to the Gulf of Siam and thence to the China sea was to be had by the route leading from Tavoy across the mountains through the pass of the Three Pagodas and descending to the

³⁰ *Ib.* pp. 33-9.

delta of the Menam by way of the river Kanburi on whose banks are found the very ancient site of P'ong Tuk, and next to it, the no less ancient P'ra Pathom. More to the north, access to the basin of the Menam was practicable from the west by the route which now connects the port of Moulmein with the village of Raheng on one of the branches of the Menam. Lastly, we must postulate the existence of a route connecting the Menam with the Mekong by the plateau of K'orat *via* Si T'ep, another ancient site, and the valley of the Mun. The cradle of the Hindu kingdom of Kambuja, in the region of Bassak on the middle Mekong, separated from lower Mekong and the sea by the impassable falls of Khôn, formed in a way the terminus of this route. Still further to the north, there lay the route connecting India with China by way of Assam, Upper Burma and Yunnan. Its use from the second century A.D. is well attested; but doubtless it came into use much earlier and Indian influences flowed along this route first to Upper Burma and thence up to the Thais at Nantchao.³¹

Before we conclude this preliminary survey, we must take a bird's-eye-view of the earliest results of the movement so far as they have been ascertained with the aid of the spade of the archaeologist and the study of inscriptions. The many new Hindu kingdoms that came up and were ruled by kings with Sanskrit names have left few traces dating earlier than the fifth century A.D. The Chinese dynastic annals which have preserved a careful record of the embassies from the 'Southern Kingdoms' confirm the data of Ptolemy and carry back the antiquity of these states to the second century A.D. One of the earliest among them was the kingdom called Fu-nan, variant of old Khmer *bnam*, now *Phnom*, meaning mountain. The kings of this country described themselves as Lords of the Mountain, *parvatabhūpāla* or *Śailarāja*. It had its centre in the lower course and the delta of the Mekong, but in the period of its greatest prosperity it embraced southern Annam, and middle Mekong besides a great part of the Menam valley and the Malay peninsula. For the first two hundred years of the history of this kingdom we have only a report from two Chinese envoys who visited it in the middle of the third century A.D., a document known so far only from fragments cited in later annals, and a Sanskrit inscription of the same century.

The Chinese report states that a certain Houen-t'ien (Kaundinya) came over to Fu-nan in a ship guided by a spirit who had appeared to him in a dream and endowed him with a magic bow. Fu-nan then had a woman, Lieou-ye (willow-leaf) for ruler. She wished to rob the boat and capture it. Kaundinya raised the divine bow and shot; the arrow pierced the queen's barge through and through. She became afraid and submitted, and Kaundinya became master of Fu-nan³². He married the queen and made her wear clothes to which she had been a stranger before. This is doubtless a corrupt version of the Indian legend better preserved in a Sanskrit inscription from Campā. According to this Kaundinya was a Brahman who got a Javelin from Aśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇa, and pitched

³¹ Coedès pp. 31-34.

³² *Et, As.*, II pp. 245-6,

it on the site of his future capital; he then espoused a daughter of the king of the Nāgas, Somā by name, who gave birth to a line of kings.³³ This mystic union was still commemorated at the court of Angkor at the end of the thirteenth century by a rite described by another contemporary Chinese envoy. It bears a family resemblance to the story the Pallavas of South India cherished about their own origin as can be seen from the Amarāvati inscription.³⁴ The events which lay at the foundation of this fabulous account could not have been much later than the first century A.D., for in the next century we come across names of kings whose historicity is attested by Chinese historians and by inscriptions. One of the descendants of Kaundinya, called Houen-p'an-houang in Chinese, died at the ripe age of over ninety and was succeeded by his second son, P'an-p'an, who left the care of his kingdom to his commander-in-chief Fan Che-man and died at the end of three years. Thereupon the brave and capable Fan Che-man became king with the consent of the people and laid the foundations of the political greatness of Fu-nan.³⁵ After conquering the neighbouring kingdoms and reducing them to vassalage he built a navy, traversed the seas and conquered a good part of the Malay peninsula. He was the first to assume the title: 'Great King of Fu-nan'. He fell ill in the course of an expedition against Suvarṇabhūmi, perhaps Lower Burma, and died soon after. Buddhism came into Fu-nan under the successors of Fan Che-man, and Śrī Māra, the ancestor of the author of the Vo-Canh inscription, from Campā is believed to have been no other than Fan Che-man. The inscription is in a South-Indian script and not later than the third century A.D.

Campā itself figures as an independent kingdom from the end of the second century and it was also already Hinduized or not long after. The beautiful bronze Buddha over 3½ feet in height of the school of Amarāvati found at Dōng-duong is sufficient proof of the early Hinduization of this region which itself bears the name of Amarāvati. To the south of Amarāvati, the inscriptions mention Vijaya (in modern Binh-dinh), Kauṭhāra (in the plain of Nha-trang) and Pāṇḍuranga in the region which still retains the name Phan-rang. We have no early evidence on the beginnings of the colony or its royal line. It clearly passed under Fu-nan for a time if the identification of Śrī Māra with Fan Che-man is correct. Later monarchs of Campā claimed descent from *maharṣi* Bhṛgu as is seen from an inscription of the ninth century. The name Campā itself appears in epigraphy only in the beginning of the seventh century, but must have been in use much earlier. Whether it was named after the city of that name in Bengal or after Kāverippattinam which was also called Campāpurī is a moot question. Early in their history the Chams seeking to expand northwards came into conflict with the Annamites who were pushing to the south, and thus began a long-drawn conflict in this area between the representatives of the Hindu and Chinese cultures.

³³ Mi-Sōn (no. 3) BEFEO. IV. p. 923.

³⁴ SII. I p. 26.

³⁵ Coedès pp. 44-6 and 50-53.

Chinese sources make it clear that the states of the Malay peninsula overrun by Fan Che-man were already Hinduized. The foundation of Lang-ya-sieou (Langkāśuka) took place about the beginning of the second century A.D., according to the Leang annals. The name survives in modern geography as that of a tributary of the upper reach of the Perak river. The state lay astride the peninsula commanding both its coasts and controlling an important land route from one side to the other. Its king bore the name Bhagadatta in A.D. 515. Tāmbralinga, Tan-mei-lieou in Chinese, was another kingdom which had its centre in the region of Ligor and is mentioned as Tambalingam in the *Niddesa*. An undated Sanskrit inscription from this place, probably of the sixth century A.D., registers a common endowment for the benefit of Buddhist and Brahmanical institutions providing at once for the worship of Pāramitā and Agastya.³⁶ Takkola mentioned in the *Milindapanha* has been identified with Takua-Pa on the west coast of the isthmus of Kra; possibly it lay a little further to the south. An embassy sent to India by Fu-nan in the third century embarked at this port. But it is Kedah and Perak that are richest in their archaeological finds. 'At Sungai Batu, not far from Kuala Merbok and at the foot of Kedah peak', writes Winstedt, 'there have been found a statue of Durgā triumphing over Maḥiṣāsura in the form of a bull (sic), the head of Nandi, Śiva's bull, and a *yonī*, while on the peak itself is an unidentified structure of cut granite and bricks that have been carried 400 ft. up a mountain that has abundance of sandstone'.³⁷ Near Bukit Meriam in a ruined brick house 12' square, possibly the hut of a Buddhist monk, was found an inscribed slate slab containing the Buddhist credal formula *Ye dharmā* etc., as well as the verse :

ajñānāccīyate karma janmanah karma kāraṇam
Jñānāna kriyate karma karmābhāvāna jāyate

meaning: 'Karma is accumulated through *ajñāna*; Karma is the cause of birth. *Jñāna* leads to desistance from Karma, and in the absence of Karma there is no birth.' The original of this record is lost, but more recent finds of similar inscriptions from the same site by Dr. Wales leave no doubt that the inscriptions are all in South Indian characters of the fourth century A.D.³⁸ Of the same age is another incised slate slab from the northern district of Province Wellesley bearing a record inscribed on both sides of a *stūpa* with an umbrella-series (*Chattrāvali*) of seven members. Besides the verse *ajñānāt* (as above), the inscription contains a short prose passage of benediction wishing for success in all ways and everywhere for the enterprises undertaken by the sea-captain (*Mahānāvika*) Buddhagupta, resident of Raktamṛttikā, on the gulf of Siam in the neighbourhood of P'at'alung. It also contains the interesting word *Siddhayātrā*, meaning a pilgrimage to a holy place for the attainment of spiritual merit.

³⁶ Coedès—*Inscr. du Siam* ii p. 51, no. XXVIII, and my *Agastya* pp. 508-9.

³⁷ *History of Malaya*, p. 21.

³⁸ JGIS. VIII pp. 1-16.

leading to success.³⁹ We shall come across this term again later. An inscribed sun-dried clay tablet discovered by Dr. Wales in the neighbourhood of Kedah bears three Sanskrit verses in script of the same age; they embody Mahāyanist philosophical doctrines which have been traced in a Chinese translation of the *Sāgaramati-paripṛcchā*, of which the original is not forthcoming. Two of these three verses occur also in a number of translations of other works, all of the Mādhyamika school. This evidence of the prevalence of Mahāyana of South Indian origin in Malaya in the sixth or even fifth century A.D. is of considerable interest to the history of religion in Indonesia.

A number of fragmentary inscriptions in Sanskrit on a weather worn rock face at Cherok Tokun opposite Penang in Province Wellesley are seen to be in the same so-called 'Pallava' alphabet of a date not later than the fourth century A.D.⁴⁰ At Perak on the late neolithic site of Kuala Selinsing which was doubtless occupied early by Hindu colonists has been found a cornelian seal bearing the inscription *Srī Viṣṇuvarmmasya* in box-headed characters earlier than the sixth century A.D. Immediately to the north of Langkāśuka lay the kingdom of P'an-p'an on the Gulf of Siam; an embassy went to China from there in the period A.D. 424-53, and about the same time another Kaundinya, the second Hinduizer of Fu-nan, also went out from there. The Chinese authors aver that at the court of P'an-p'an were many Brahmans who had come from India to profit by the munificence of its monarch. They also state that there were ten convents of Buddhist monks and nuns who studied the canon and never drank wine though they ate meat. There was also a Taoist convent, the inmates of which abstained alike from meat and wine. These data are, however, of a relatively late epoch.⁴¹

Burma, one would expect from its geographical situation, would have been earlier and more thoroughly Indianised than the more distant Fu-nan and Campā. But for the period before the sixth century A.D. the evidence from archaeology and epigraphy is meagre and late. Barring the religious mission of Soṇa and Uttara sent by Aśoka to Suvarṇabhūmi according to the *Mahāvamsa*, there is no vestige of Indian contacts earlier than the fragments of the Pali canon found engraved on gold plates, stone and terra-cotta in Southern characters of about A.D. 500 in the region round about the ancient site of Prome, particularly at Moza and Maungun. But it may not be quite correct to conclude from this that the colonization movement had little to do with Burma till relatively late. Ancient vestiges might have disappeared owing to various causes or might still await discovery. And the Chinese are also silent about Burma in this period because they visited the southern countries generally by the sea-route and had little chance of learning much about countries that were very far away by sea.⁴²

³⁹ JGIS, IV pp. 128-36.

⁴⁰ *Suvarṇadvīpa* i. pp. 88-9; Winstedt p. 18 (plate).

⁴¹ Coedès—pp. 60-63.

⁴² Coedès—pp. 75-7.

In Borneo no fewer than seven Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in the Sultanate of Kutei in the eastern part of the island. They are all written in unmistakably South Indian characters of about A.D. 400. They are all engraved on stone posts, sacrificial *yūpas*. They belong to a king Mūlavarman, grandson of Kuṇḍunga, no Sanskrit name this, and son of Aśvavarman, who is called the founder of the dynasty (*vaṃśakartā*). One of the inscriptions says that Mūlavarman conquered other kings in battlefield and made them his tributaries as did king Yudhiṣṭhira. The inscriptions mention a sanctuary called Vaprakēśvara, a form of Śiva or Agastya or some local divinity, certainly devoid of all funerary associations. They record the performance of a *bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifice and costly *dānas* of various kinds, among them *gosahasrika*, *kalpavṛkṣa*, *Jaladhenu*, *ghṛtadhenu* and *tilaparvata*. They mention distinctly that many Brahmans had assembled there particularly for the occasion, most having come from elsewhere (*Viprairihāgataih*). There are other more or less clear traces of Hinduization elsewhere in Borneo along the rivers Kapuhas, Rata and Mahakam. A beautiful bronze Buddha of Gupta style was found near Kota Bangun, also in the province of Kutei. Brahman and Buddhist images of uncertain date have been found in a grotto on mount Kombeng and in the estuary of the river Rata. It is most probably Borneo that is meant by the Barhiṇadvīpa mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.⁴³ The Chinese seem to have called it P'o-ni from the ninth century. This identification is by no means sure, and P'o-li, which was ruled by a king of the family of Kaundinya and sent embassies to China in the first quarter of the sixth century, might well have been Borneo if it was not Bali.⁴⁴

Java, as we have seen, is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and by Ptolemy, possibly along with Sumatra. In the south of the province of Jember in East Java an early bronze Buddha of the Amarāvātī school, like the other image from Sempaga on the Celebes, must count among the earliest vestiges of Hindu contacts. Then come four stone inscriptions from the extreme west of Java, from the region which commands the straits of Sunda. 'It is significant' says Vogel in editing these inscriptions, 'that these earliest records of Hindu settlement are found exactly in that part of the island where the Dutch traders first established their "factories" and which became the centre from which the power of Holland has spread over the whole of the Indian Archipelago. The geographical position of the Batavian Coast with regard to the continent of India and Sumatra and the special advantages its figuration offers to shipping and trade are circumstances which will easily account for a coincidence that is certainly not due to mere chance.'⁴⁵ These inscriptions are in very correct Sanskrit, unlike those of Mūlavarman, and are of the same style of writing though perhaps of a little later date say A.D. 450. The author was Pūrṇavarman, King of the Country of Tārumā, a name conserved to this

⁴³ Ch. 48, V. 12.

⁴⁴ Coedès pp. 63-4; and JGIS. XII (1945) pp. 14-7 on the new inscriptions of Mulavarman.

⁴⁵ *Public. Oudh. Dienst Nederl. Indie* i. (1925) p. 15.

day in the name of the river Ci Tarum in the region of Bandung. The inscriptions show that Pūrṇavarman, who mentions his father and his grandfather without naming them, observed Brahmanical rites and concerned himself with promoting works of irrigation in his kingdom. Two of the inscriptions reproduce his foot-prints and another those of his state-elephant. Vogel was puzzled by the foot-prints of the elephant, and explained those of the king saying: 'we may, perhaps, venture the surmise that the Ci-arutōn rock marks the spot of the king's cremation. This would, at any rate, account for the curious position of the inscribed stone in the bed of the Ci-arutōn torrent. In India proper, at least, it is on the bank of some river that cremations preferably take place'.⁴⁶ Stutterheim suggests, more plausibly perhaps, that the foot-prints, the king's as well as the elephant's, are marks of the occupation of the country after conquest, and compares it to the placing of the conquerer's foot on the neck or head of the conquered ruler.⁴⁷ One of the inscriptions mentions the twenty-second year of Pūrṇavarman's reign, and another accompanying his foot-steps mentions his great qualities as a warrior.

Śrīmān dātā kṛtajño narapatir-asamo yah purā Tārumāyām
nāmnā śrī-Pūrṇavarmanmā pracura-ripuśarā-bhedyā-vikhyāta-
varmanmā
tasyedam pādabimbadvayam arinagarotsādane nityadakṣam
bhaktānām yannṛpāṇām bhavati sukhakaram śālyabhūtam
ripūṇām

i.e. "Illustrious, munificent, and true to his duty was the unequalled lord of men—the illustrious Pūrṇavarman by name—who once (ruled) at Tārumā and whose famous armour (*varman*) was impenetrable by the darts of a multitude of foes. His is this pair of foot-prints which, ever dexterous in destroying hostile towns, is salutary to devoted princes, but a thorn in the side of his enemies."⁴⁸ The kingdom of Tārumā evidently continued to exist till the seventh century as embassies are said to have reached China from To-lo-mo during the years A.D. 666-669. It was, as we shall see, absorbed in the growing empire of Śrī Vijaya soon after.⁴⁹

Pelliot located in the island of Java three other kingdoms mentioned in the Chinese sources, of the fifth century A.D. viz. Ye-p'o-t'i (Yavadvīpa) which was touched by Fa-hien in 414 on his return voyage from India to China and where he found ascetics but few traces of Buddhism; Chō-p'o where monk Guṇavarman, originally a prince of Kashmir, preached Buddhism soon after, a little before A.D. 424, and which sent embassies to China between 433 and 435; and Ho-lo-tan which, according to the History of the first Sung Dynasty, was situated on the island of Chō-p'o and which also sent envoys to China between the years 430 and 452. Coedès remarks that the most recent researches seeking to locate these three countries on

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁴⁷ BKL. 89 (1932), pp. 288-9.

⁴⁸ Vogel - *op. cit.* p. 25.

⁴⁹ Coedès p. 65.

the Malay peninsula mark a regression from the conclusions of Pelliot which made them all correspond to Java as a whole or in part.⁵⁰

Sumatra and its most ancient Hindu relic, also a Buddha image of the Amarāvati school as at Java and Celebes, will be discussed fully later. We may note here that Vanga of the Niddesa might well be the island of Bangka on the east coast of Sumatra which was obviously frequented by Hindu navigators from very early times; the island seems to have provided the granite block from which was carved the Buddha image of Sumatra just mentioned. Kan-t'o-li ruled by a king called Śrī-Varanarendra in 454-64 who sent a Hindu Rudra as envoy to China is also usually located on Sumatra; the kingdom was ruled in 502 by a Buddhist king Gautama Subhadra whose son Vijayavarman sent another embassy to China in 519. Kan-t'o-li will also claim our attention again.⁵¹

Thus the first period in the history of Farther India was marked by the rise and growth of several Hindu or Hinduized kingdoms in regions which like the basin of the Irawadi, the valley of lower Mekong and the plains of Central Annam, have remained the seats of powerful states across the stretch of several centuries. They also came up in places like Kedah and the western extremity of Java which have played a prominent part in the history of our own times on account of the advantages of their situation from the standpoint of commerce or strategy. In several instances Buddhism seems to have opened the way for the penetration of Indian culture, and Buddha figures in Amarāvati style found in Thailand (P'ong Tūk and Korat) and Annam (Dong-duōng), in Sumatra (Palembang), in Java and in Borneo proclaim the extreme limits of the domain of Hinduization from the very outset. Śaivism as a sort of state religion with its *linga* cult comes in only later, and we do not hear of Vaiṣṇavism earlier than the fifth century. Of most of these kingdoms we know only the names preserved in Chinese annals which record with dates the embassies sent by them to the celestial court; only Fu-nan and Campā came into early and somewhat intimate relations with China and have also left a rather larger number of early inscriptions than other kingdoms, and in their case something like a continuous history is possible for this early period.⁵² But enough is known of the other regions also for us to form a general picture of the background against which we have to view the rise and fall of the maritime empire which will form the subject of our study in the ensuing lectures.

One question that naturally occurs to us is whether ancient Tamil literature has anything to say of all this colonial activity in the East in which South India is clearly seen to have taken a large part from the evidence on the other side. Surprisingly enough, the answer to the enquiry would be a complete negative but for two references which deserve a brief notice here. One of them occurs in the *Paṭṭinappālai* where the author mentions among the imports that poured into the port of the Cōḷa em-

⁵⁰ Coedés, p. 66.

⁵¹ Ib. pp. 65-6.

⁵² Coedés, p. 78.

porium: *Kālagattu ākkam*⁵³ which the annotator explains with the words: *Kaḍārattil unḍāna nugarum poruḷgaḷum*, i.e. consumable goods which formed the produce of Kaḍāram. The equation of Kālagam with Kaḍāram is found in the geographical section of *Divākaram*, the earliest extant Tamil lexicon. The *Pattinappālai* is a poem of the time of Cōḷa Karikāla, and cannot be placed much later than the end of the second century A.D. Kaḍāram is clearly Kedah on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. The other reference occurs in the *Śilappadikāram*, a work of uncertain date but probably of the fifth or sixth century A.D.; it is more detailed in one sense but by no means direct in its statement. It reads:

ōngirum parappin
vaṅga—vittattut—Tonḍiyōr—ittā
vāgilun—dugilum—āramum vāsamun—
dogu karuppūramuñ—jumanduḍan vanda
koṇḍaloḍu pugundu⁵⁴

The literal meaning of the lines is: 'Having entered together with the east wind that came laden with (the aroma) of aloes, silks, sandal, spices, and camphor put by the residents of Tonḍi on board a fleet of tall roomy ships.' The place of entry in question is Madura, an inland city; that is why the poet is careful to say that the person who entered the city did so with the eastern wind (*Koṇḍal*); and the thought of the eastern wind calls up in his mind the image of an armada of merchantmen laden with the cargo of the precious articles mentioned in lines 3 and 4 of the citation just made. It will be noticed that they are all of them special products of the eastern lands and world war II gave us a sharp reminder of how much we still depend on them for spices and medicinal drugs. The text cited is also proof that the name Tonḍi had been carried over to the Colonies and applied to some place not yet identified.⁵⁵

⁵³ 1. 191.

⁵⁴ Canto 14. 11. 106-10.

⁵⁵ JGIS. XI (1944) pp. 25-8.

II. THE EARLY HISTORY OF SRIVIJAYA

Before 1918 even the name of Śrīvijaya was unknown to modern scholarship. Its Chinese transcription *Che-li-fo-che* was restored into Sanskrit incorrectly as Śrībhōja, and for a time the name Śrīvijaya was mistaken to be that of a king, rather than of a kingdom. The true history of the kingdom was first sketched by Georges Coedès in 1918 in his brilliant memoir *Le Royaume de Śrīvijaya*. Since then this history has been studied from many points of view in a number of papers by Coedès himself and many other writers. It is our object in these lectures to take stock of the results reached in these studies and give a tentative account of the history of the maritime empire of Śrīvijaya.

This empire enters history definitely in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., possibly much earlier. It still ruled over an immense territory in the 13th century and declined subsequently as a result of defeats inflicted on it by the Javanese who invaded Sumatra and the Thais of Sukhodaya who overran the Malay peninsula.

Unlike the Hinduised kingdoms of Jāva and Indo-China the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya has left only a very few inscriptions and fewer monuments. The large Buddhist monuments of Central Java including Borobudur have been attributed by Krom to the influence of Śrīvijaya. Even if we accept this, the almost total absence of archaeological vestiges of Śrīvijaya at Palembang (Śrīvijaya) remains a mystery of which no solution is forthcoming as yet.

Four stone inscriptions usher the kingdom of Śrīvijaya into the full light of history. They were engraved within an interval of four years (A.D. 683-686). They are all written in an unmistakably South Indian script, very similar to that employed in the early inscriptions of the Andhra country and of the Pallavas. Historically these inscriptions are very important, for besides one or two passages in I-tsing's works and the mention of some early embassies in the Chinese annals they form the only source of knowledge for the early history of Śrīvijaya. The inscriptions are also of great linguistic interest. They are the most ancient of Malay texts so far known and together with the early inscriptions of Campā constitute the earliest records in the Malayo-Polynesian group of languages. The first inscription was discovered in 1920 by Mr. Batenburg in a Malay family in the village of Kedukan Bukit on the bank of Sungei Tatang, tributary of the Musi, at the foot of the hill of Bukit Seguntang which rises to the south-west of modern Palembang. The inscription comprising six lines is engraved on a loose boulder about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and less than 3 feet in circumference. The writing is well-preserved except that the end of the last three lines has disappeared owing to the crack in the stone. It states, that on a day corresponding to the 13th April A.D. 683 a king, not named, embarked on a boat to go on a *Siddhayātra* and that on the 8th May he

left the estuary¹ with an army 20,000 strong from some place and arrived at Malāyu, part of the army travelling by boat, and the rest on land in a solemn and joyous procession. Some details are not easy to follow owing to the gaps. The last line reads

Śrīvijaya Jayasiddhayātrā Subhikṣa . ."

which appears to imply the successful completion of a *Siddhayātrā* on behalf of Śrīvijaya.

The second inscription comes from Talang Tuwo about five miles to the north-west of Bukit Seguntang, and was also discovered in 1920. The text comprises fourteen lines engraved on a rock of granite and is very well-preserved except for two or three characters at the end of every line. It is dated in 606 Śaka (A.D. 684) on the second day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. It commemorates the foundation of a park Śrīkṣētra by name by order of king Jayanāśa (Jayanāga?). It also records his *praṇidhāna* dedicating the foundation with all its fruit-trees and all his other good works to the benefit of all beings. The conclusion of the *praṇidhāna* reads as follows :

"That all beings may practise continually liberality, the observance of precepts, and patience, that they may develop energy, application, and knowledge of all the diverse arts; that they may have a concentrated spirit and possess knowledge, memory and intelligence; further, that they may be firm in their opinions, possess *vajra śarīra* (diamond body) of the Mahāsatva, unequalled power (*anupama śakti*), victory, knowledge of previous births (*jātiśmāra*), unimpaired senses (*avikalendriya*), a full form, happiness, laughter, tranquillity, agreeable speech (*ādeya vākya*), and the voice of Brahma (*brahmasvara*). Moreover, that they be born male with an independent existence; that they may be the receptacle of the marvellous stone (*cintamanīnidhāna*), enjoying the mastery over births, works and pain (*Janma, Karma, and Kleśa*), and that they obtain, in the end, the complete and supreme illumination (*anuttarābhisamṃyak-sambōdhi*)".

The third and fourth inscriptions are copies with a few variations of one and the same record. The third was discovered in 1904 at Karang Brahi on a tributary of the Batang Hari or the river of Jambi. The inscription is illegible for the most part and does not contain the last sentence of No. 4, giving the date and purpose of the record. But what can be read of it is enough to establish its identity in substance, with the fourth inscription, which comes from Kota Kapur on the island of Bangka. This last inscription was discovered in 1892 and is very well-preserved. The stone bearing the inscription is cut in the shape of an obelisk. The inscription comprises ten lines, and bears the date Ś. 608 (A.D. 686) first day of the bright half of Vaiśākha. It records an imprecation uttered on the occasion when an army of Śrīvijaya started on an expedition against the land of Java which had not submitted to Śrīvijaya. The opening words are in an un-intelligible idiom, perhaps, cabalistic in nature and

¹ R. A. Kern : B.K.I. 88 (1930-31) p. 510.

apparently meant to have the effect of striking dead any one guilty of the offences named later in the record. Then the gods and other beings watching over Śrīvijaya and its provinces are invoked apparently by its monarch who warns his subjects not to engage in rebellions or plots against him or governors appointed by him and utters threats of condign punishment against rebels and their families and clans while offering the prospect of rewards and prosperity to the loyal and faithful.

Were all these inscriptions issued by one and the same king? This seems probable but we have no proof. A king is actually named only once, Jayanāśa in the second inscription. It is a king who performs the *Siddhayātrā* mentioned in the first inscription, and there can be little doubt that the person who issues a proclamation in almost identical terms in two such different places as Kota Kapur and Karang Brahi, appoints a governor, exhorts the people to be loyal to him, and leads an expedition against the Java-bhūmi is also a king. The omission of his name in three out of the four inscriptions is perhaps deliberate. This feature recurs in another record of Śrīvijaya dated nearly a century later in which the king is referred to only as *Śrīvijayendra rāja*, *Śrīvijayeśvarabhūpati*, and *Śrīmahārāja*, the personal name of the king not occurring once. This may have had something to do with an Indonesian taboo which was perhaps not always inviolable.

The *siddhayātrā* of the Kedukun Bukit inscription claims our attention next. Ordinarily the expression means a pilgrimage for securing the successful completion of a project with the aid of magical or spiritual power.^{1a} But here it is a *Jayasiddhayātrā*—i.e., a *Siddhayātrā* for victory, and the victory was for Śrīvijaya. The mention of a large army travelling by land and water from the mouth of the river upstream to the environs of Palembang suggests the successful completion of a military expedition which is recorded in the inscription. Obviously the performers of the *Siddhayātrā* were Malays who came from across the sea and were already Hinduised. The result of the expedition was their successful overthrow of Malāyu and their settlement in the conquered territory which came thenceforth to be known as Śrīvijaya. In his latest work, "*Des Etats Hindouisés*" Coedès mildly deprecates² the raising of flimsy hypotheses about a stone which is not different from many other inscribed pebble-stones found at Palembang and at Bangka except in the personality of the author of the inscription and the circumstances in which it was engraved. He adds that this stone like its more laconic companions simply commemorates a pilgrimage to a sacred spot for securing spiritual power, and the king who in 683 went there to ensure the victory of Śrīvijaya must have gone there doubtless on the eve of a military enterprise of which he wished to ensure the success. It is true that several inscribed stones with the word *Siddhayātrā* have been found on the site of Palembang, but the reference to Bangka is not quite relevant to the context; for, only one

^{1a} See JGIS-Vol. IV pp. 128-36.

² p. 103.

small inscribed block with the expression *Jayasiddha* has been found three, and it has been rightly observed³ that the fragment probably constituted part of an inscription similar to that of Kota Kapur. Historically there is a great difference between the pilgrimages of private individuals to a sacred shrine and that of a king at the head of a large army. Consequently the importance of the Kedukan Bukit inscription can hardly be exaggerated. If at the end of the journey the king arrived at Malāyu, as suggested by Krom on the basis of his new reading⁴ of the last three letters of line 7, the record becomes doubly valuable as throwing light on a statement of I-tsing that has so far remained obscure.

To turn now to I-tsing's data on Śrīvijaya. In A.D. 671 on his way from China to India he made his first halt after sailing twenty days from Canton at Fo-che (Vijaya) where he spent six months studying the *Śabdavidyā* (Sanskrit Grammar). Then, the king enabled him to go to Malāyu. There he spent two months after which he changed the direction of his journey for going to Kie-tcha (Kedah). "In the fortified city of Fo-che," says I-tsing, "Buddhist priests number more than one thousand, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Madhyadēśa (India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the west in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original Buddhist texts) he had better stay at Fo-che for one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to Central India."⁵

On his return from India after spending ten years at the University of Nālandā, I-tsing spent four years (685-689 A.D.) at Fo-che, copying and translating Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese. In 689 after a brief voyage to Canton whence he fetched four collaborators, he took up his abode once more at Fo-che and wrote his two books on the Buddhist pilgrims and the Buddhist religion of his time. In 692 he sent his manuscripts to China, himself returning there in 695. It is during his last sojourn that he notes in his work on the Buddhist religion that Malāyu which had formed a stage in his journey to India in 671 "is now the country of Śrīvijaya."

How are we to understand this last statement of I-tsing? It may mean one of two things. Either Śrīvijaya conquered Malāyu and annexed its territory to itself, or Śrīvijaya gave up its original abode, and migrating bodily to Malāyu, changed its name to Śrīvijaya, so that not only did Malāyu cease to be an independent state but it lost its name and became Śrīvijaya. There are many circumstances which favour the latter alternative. Though cryptic I-tsing's statement is definite that at the time he was writing Malāyu was Śrīvijaya, not part of it. He is equally definite that in A.D. 671, the date of his first journey to India, Śrīvijaya and Malāyu were different states which marked separate stages in his journey. Secondly, recent research has reached the conclusion that the original state of

³ Chhabra-*Expansion* p. 31.

⁴ *DeHeligdommen Van Palembang* p. 25.

⁵ Takakusu, *Record* p. xxxiv

Malāyu comprised not only the region of Jambi in middle Sumatra but included that of Palembang in south-east Sumatra as well.⁶ This is quite in keeping with I-tsing's statement that while Hinayāna Buddhism of the Sanskrit school of Mūlasarvāstivāda prevailed in all the countries of the southern sea, Malāyu was an exception where "there were a few who belonged to the Mahāyāna"—a statement which he makes almost immediately after saying that Malāyu was then the country of Śrīvijaya.⁷ The presence at Bukit Seguntang of a large stone Buddha in Amarāvati style and the *Pranidhāna* of the Talang Tuwo inscription are clear proofs that the very ancient Mahāyānist centre of Buddhist worship in Malāyu was established at Palembang. Lastly, the new reading of the Kedukan Bukit inscription makes it clear that Malāyu was the destination of the armada and that the occupation of Malāyu and the changing of its name into Śrīvijaya was the success of the king of Śrīvijaya which is recorded in that inscription. In a way therefore, this inscription may still be considered to commemorate, if not the original foundation of Śrīvijaya as a state, at least an important stage in its history in which it gained an important military success, transferred its headquarters to a new centre remarkable alike for its religious associations and for its strategic location. The king who was responsible for these epochal developments was doubtless Jayanāsa.

Next we have to consider what was the original location of Śrīvijaya. There are two statements of I-tsing which are of value here. One is that Malāyu was reached in fifteen days from Śrīvijaya and that from Malāyu it took a man another fifteen days to reach Kie-Tcha⁸. The other is that after coming to Malāyu from Śrīvijaya he changed the direction of his journey for going to Kie-Tcha⁹. Krom has pointed out that on their way from China to India people went first to Ho-ling and then Malāyu, or first to Śrīvijaya and then to Malāyu, but there is no instance of both Ho-ling and Śrīvijaya being taken on the way¹⁰. Now, the Chinese writer Kia Tan, who wrote long after Śrīvijaya was settled at Palembang, says that Ho-ling lay at a distance of 4 or 5 days' sailing from Śrīvijaya towards the east. Ho-ling has generally been located in Java and this may suggest that the original location of Śrīvijaya was also somewhere on that island. On the other hand, Moens emphasises the change of direction at Malāyu mentioned by I-tsing and argues that as the direction of the journey from Malāyu to Kedah was from the south-east to the north-west the journey from Śrīvijaya to Malāyu must have been in the opposite direction, from the north-west to the south-east, a consideration which leads him to locate old Śrīvijaya on the east coast of Malaca in about the same latitude as Kedah, say, 6 degrees N-L. He finds support for this in a statement in the New Tang annals (A.D. 618-906) that on the day of the summer solstice in Śrīvijaya a gnomon of the length of eight feet gave at midday a

⁶ Moens—T.B.G. 1937 pp. 358-9.

⁷ *Record* pp. 10 & 11.

⁸ *Les Religieux Eminents*. p. 144.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 119.

¹⁰ *De Heiligdommen* p. 22.

shadow of the length of 2 ft. 5 inches in a southerly direction, from which it follows that the place must have been located somewhere about five degrees 50 minutes north latitude¹¹. I-tsing, in his turn, states that about the time of the two equinoxes no shadow falls from a man who stands erect at Śrīvijaya at midday¹². This statement cannot be reconciled with that from the Tang annals cited above except on the supposition of a change of location from north to south. Geographical and astronomical data from our sources seem thus to justify the suggestion of Moens that the original location of Śrīvijaya must be sought somewhere on the east coast of Malacca rather than in Java. Only it is somewhat surprising that a fairly developed state which could command a large army and navy to lead an expedition of the character mentioned in the Kedukan Bukit inscription should, after reaching such a stage of development, have gone over bag and baggage to the island of Sumatra. But this objection will hold wherever the original location of Śrīvijaya might have been.

At this point we may consider, briefly, all the references to Śrīvijaya anterior to A.D. 683. A Buddhist work "The Sūtra of the Twelve stages of the Buddha" translated into Chinese in 392 A.D. by the monk Kālōdaka contains a notice of Jambudvīpa, in which we read "in the sea there are two thousand five hundred kingdoms.....The first king is called *Sseu-Li*. This kingdom is devoted only to the Buddha and contains no heretics..... The fourth kingdom is called *Cho-ye*, a land which produces *Pi-Pa*, long pepper, and *Hou-Tsiao* (pepper)". A Chinese glossary of the 6th century interprets the name *Cho-ye* as Sk. *Jaya* (victory). Sylvain Lévi identified *Sseu-li* with Ceylon and *Cho-ye* with Jāva. Ferrand would, however, identify the latter with Vijaya or Śrīvijaya¹³. If this view is correct Śrīvijaya which finds its first mention towards the close of the 4th century remains just a name for the next three centuries during which we seem to hear nothing more of it from any source.

It is possible, however, that we have other references to Śrīvijaya though not under that name in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The Chinese annals of the Ming dynasty give an account of San-fo-tsi generally accepted as the equivalent of Śrīvijaya. This account begins with the following statement. "San-fo-tsi formerly called Kan-to-li sent envoys with tribute for the first time in the reign of the Emperor Hiao-Wu of the first Song Dynasty (A.D. 454-64). During the reign of Emperor Wu (502-549) of the Liang dynasty they came repeatedly; and in the age of the Second Song dynasty (960-1279) they brought tribute without interruption¹⁴." This is confirmed by a long account of the embassies from Kan-to-li in the annals of the Liang dynasty (502-556)¹⁵.

¹¹ Moens *op. cit.* p. 334.

¹² *Record* p. 143. Krom has observed that a literal understanding of this would place Śrīvijaya on the equator, to the north of Palembang; but a less literal interpretation is not improbable. H.J.G. p. 120.

¹³ J. A. 1922: Oct-Dec. p. 210

¹⁴ Ferrand: *Srivijaya* p. 24. Also J.G.I.S. I p. 96.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

“The country of Kan-t’o-li is situated on an island in the southern sea; its customs and manners are about the same as those of Fou-nan and Lin-yi. It produces cloth of variegated colours, cotton and areca-nuts, these last being of excellent quality and better than those of any other country.

“In the reign of the emperor Hiao-Wou of the Song dynasty (454-464), the king of the country, Che-p’o-lo-na-lien-t’o (Śrīvara-narendra) sent a high official of the name Tcheu Lieou-t’o (Rudra, the Indian), to present valuable articles of gold and silver.

“In the year 502, the king K’iu-tan Sieou-po-t’o-lo (Gautama Subhadra) dreamt on the eighth day of the fourth month that he saw a Buddhist priest who said to him: ‘China has now a holy ruler and after ten years more the law of Buddha will greatly increase; if you send messengers to carry tribute and show your reverence, your country will be prosperous and happy, and the foreign merchants will visit it in numbers increased and a hundred-fold. If you do not believe what I say, your country will not enjoy peace.’ The king, at first, could not believe this, but some time afterwards he saw again the priest in a dream, saying to him: ‘As you do not believe me, I must bring you there and make you see the Emperor.’ He then went to China in his dream and had an audience with the emperor. When he awoke he was greatly astonished, and as he was a skilful painter, he made a picture of the emperor’s face as he had seen it in his dream, adorning it with various colours. He then sent an envoy, accompanied by a painter, to carry a letter to the emperor and present precious stones and other things. When the envoys had arrived, they made a picture of the emperor which they took home to their country and, comparing it with the original drawing, it was found to be exactly the same. The king now mounted this picture on a precious frame and honoured it more and more every day.

“Some time after the king died and his son P’i-ye-po-mo (Vijaya-varman?) came to the throne. In 519 he sent a high official, called Pi-yuan-po-mo (Vi.....varman) to present a letter of the following contents: ‘To the ever victorious emperor.....’

“In the year 520 the same king sent again an envoy to present as tribute products of his country.”

The identification of Kan-t’o-li is not without difficulty. The Ming annals are clear that it was the same as the later San-fo-t’si. But this does not enable us to decide if the data relating to Kan-t’o-li apply to that part of Sumatra which, afterwards, became Śrīvijaya or to the land which was Śrīvijaya before Śrīvijaya migrated to Malāyu. Of the several writers who have discussed the location of Kan-t’o-li, Gerini¹⁶ alone has advocated a location for it on the east coast of the Malay peninsula for the specific reason that he finds there a place with a similar name. If this view is accepted, the Sanskrit names of the kings and officials of Kan-t’o-li of the fifth and early sixth centuries and the story of the introduction of

¹⁶ *Researches* p. 602,

Buddhism into that land given in the Liang annals may be referred to the history of Śrīvijaya in its earlier phase in which it had not yet taken the name Śrīvijaya, for that name occurs first in the Chinese records only about 670 A.D., just a year before I-tsing's first sojourn in that city on his way to India. But the generality of scholars locate Kan-t'o-li either at Palembang itself or elsewhere in the island of Sumatra.¹⁷ On this view, the data relating to Kan-t'o-li are of interest as giving some idea of the state of Hinduisation of lands which passed subsequently under Śrīvijaya. In any event, a name like Kan-t'o-li, whatever its exact original form, had absolutely no chance of survival before the nobler form Śrīvijaya.

Embassies from Śrīvijaya to the court of China are recorded in the periods 670-673 and 713-741.¹⁸ It may be noted in passing that the name Malāyu appears for the first time in Chinese annals in connection with an embassy which offered the products of the country to the Chinese court in A.D. 644 or the beginning of 645.^{18a}

To return now to Moens. In his opinion Śrīvijaya first established itself in Malāyu after it had mastered its capital Palembang and driven out the ruling family, and he adds¹⁹ "it established its capital, however, elsewhere in this land Malāyu, namely, more to the north in the direct neighbourhood of the strait which it was to command thereafter." He seeks support for this more northerly position of Śrīvijaya from other sources besides the astronomical data from I-tsing. Kia Tan's statement that Lo-Yue and Śrīvijaya lay on the opposite coasts of the Malacca strait implies, according to Moens, that Śrīvijaya must have been nearer the maritime route rounding Malay peninsula than Palembang.²⁰ Again, the present morassy condition of the Kampar Delta suggests that about twelve centuries ago the coast must have lain much farther to the west than now, and the Arab descriptions (Buzurg, Ibn Said, Abul Feda) of the estuary on which Serbuza (Śrīvijaya) is located tally with this. The capital situated on the Kampar must have occupied an easily defended position behind the labyrinth of water-routes cut up by numerous little islands that could accommodate a large fleet unnoticed by the enemy. The fertile country of the Padang highlands behind it must have put it into easy touch with the ancient port of Priaman on the opposite coast of Sumatra facing the Indian Ocean. The excellence of the site was shown in modern times by the lively trade between Kampar and Singapore which flourished till the rise of a new harbour Emmahaven about 1892. All these factors render it probable in Moens' opinion that the ruins of Muara Takus about 0°20 degrees North Latitude are the remains of Śrīvijaya after its transplantation to Sumatra. There are local traditions here of an extensive city (the round of which a cat took three months to cover) under Rāja

¹⁷ *H-J.G.* p. 84; *J.A.* II, 14, (1919) pp. 238-241.

¹⁸ Ferrand: *Srivijaya* p. 7.

^{18a} *Ibid.* pp. 213-14.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 333.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 336-42.

Bitjau, clearly a corruption of Raja (Śrī)vijaya. There are also traditions of a *Datu* Śrīvijaya living in Kota Baru or near about. It is highly probable, therefore, that the capital city of Śrīvijaya is represented by the ruins of Muara Takus near the confluence of Kampar Kanan and Batang Mahat in the heart of Central Sumatra. A little consideration shows that none of these arguments nor all of them taken together are of sufficient weight to prevail against those which point to Palembang and its neighbourhood as the site of historic Śrīvijaya. The early Buddha statute in stone from Bukit Seguntang and the Kedukan Bukit record itself leave no room for any further doubt in this matter. All the other considerations including the citations from Arab writers are indecisive and may apply as much to Palembang if not better, as to the other site. The ruins of Muara Takus may indeed in part go back to the age of Śrīvijaya²¹ and this is quite intelligible in the light of the epigraphic evidence (to be cited later) pointing to the erection of similar structures in parts of the Malacca peninsula under the hegemony of Śrīvijaya. In fact, the tradition relating to *Datu* Śrīvijaya indicates, as Krom has observed,²² not that the capital city lay here, but only the provincial headquarters ruled by a *Datu* of Śrīvijaya, and that the place stood in the same relation to Śrīvijaya as Bangka and Karang Brahi under the jurisdiction of similar *Datus*. It would thus seem that no case has been made out for locating the new site of Śrīvijaya elsewhere in Sumatra than at Palembang.

Discussing the location of the headquarters of the empire of Śrīvijaya towards the close of the 8th century A.D., R. C. Majumdar put forward some considerations which in his view pointed more to Java or the Malay peninsula as the original seat of authority, rather than to Palembang in Sumatra.²³ More decidedly, Quaritch Wales sought to make out a case for Caiya, later Ligor, on the bay of Bandon on the gulf of Siam being considered the true Śrīvijaya of history.²⁴ Coedès²⁵ subjected both these propositions to a critical review and demonstrated that the attempt to locate the unique and permanent centre of the empire in the Malay peninsula is based on a hasty synthesis, and showed how strong the case for Palembang was both from the geographical and historical points of view. Regarding Caiya he observed: "That Caiya played an important commercial role in the northern provinces roughly corresponding to that of Kaṭāha (Kaḍāram), Kaḷah of the texts, I am quite ready to admit; but that this locality placed in an eccentric position at the bottom of a *cul-de-sac* could have been the capital of a sea-power, whence the Mahārāja supervised and exploited the maritime commerce of the straits—that is a geographical impossibility which seems to me sufficient to condemn the thesis of Dr. Wales." This criticism, Wales²⁶ thinks, is equally

²¹ Krom. *H.-J.G.* pp. 132-3.

²² *De Heligdommen* p. 27, n.2, & *H.-J. G.* p. 116.

²³ *Suvarṇadvīpa* Vol. I, p. 154 & pp. 204-227.

²⁴ *I.A.L.* IX, no. 1.

²⁵ *Malayan Branch R.A.S.* Vol. XIV Dec. 1936. See also the present writer's *Kaṭāha*—*J.G.I.S.* V. 1938; *Notes on Historical Geography*—*Ibid.* Vol. VII, no. 1.

²⁶ *Malayan Branch R.A.S.* Vol. XVIII: Feb. 1940, pp. 74 ff.

applicable to Palembang, but few will agree with him here. But he has also revised his position and sought to maintain first that the empire must have controlled the straits indirectly through Kedah (Kaḍāram) and subsequently by making Kaḍāram itself the capital of the empire and giving it a new location. He now places Kaḍāram in Perak in the Kinta valley. He would explain the almost complete absence of any tangible traces of a large city in that neighbourhood by suggesting that under the local geographical conditions "a great city could have existed as lately as the twelfth or thirteenth century in the Kinta valley and yet have left no noticeable remains owing to the destruction brought about by natural agencies." Others may be pardoned for refusing to follow the revised version of Wales' thesis, for which he seeks support from vague local legends. Thus, in spite of much recent discussion we have to adhere to the old view that the empire of Śrīvijaya had its centre in Palembang in Sumatra.²⁷

Let us now consider the identity of Bhūmi-Jāvā mentioned in the third and fourth inscriptions summarised above. On this Krom remarks: "One sees how easy it is to recognise in this (Bhūmi) Jāvā the island of Java, and to conclude that already in this early period Śrīvijaya had got into armed conflict with Java. The reference to this expedition should, then, be a warning to Baṅka. It may, however, be observed that sometime later the name Jāvā is found localised in the Sumatran part of the Archipelago; therefore, the term may have the same significance in the Baṅka stone (inscription). Śrīvijaya causes this inscription to be engraved as token of its suzerainty in the midst of the part of Java recently punished for its disobedience."²⁸ But a reference to the inscriptions would make it clear that they do not imply the occupation of a country after a campaign, but that, as one of them says distinctly, they were engraved at the moment when the army of Śrīvijaya was about to start on an expedition against the land of Java which had not submitted to Śrīvijaya. Krom finds support for his view that the Kota Kapur (Baṅka) inscription is a proclamation of suzerainty over a conquered land in the fact that a copy of it is found in quite another place Karang Brahi as well. But this is easily explained also on the other view because a king desiring to issue a solemn warning to his subjects while he was about to embark on an important foreign expedition might well cause the warning to be proclaimed in a number of places in his home-territory. In fact, as Coedès has observed "there is no reason for not identifying Bhūmi Jāvā with the island which has borne that name from time immemorial. If, in reality, there was a period in the history of Java when Śrīvijaya exercised sway over a part of the island, probably its beginning is to be traced to this expedition of A.D. 686."²⁹ Either as a result of the success

²⁷ For a more detailed criticism of Wales' views by the present writer see J.G.I.S.—Vol. VIII pp. 1-16.

²⁸ H.J.G. p. 117.

²⁹ B.E.F.E.O. XXX. p. 54.

achieved against Malāyu in 683 or in consequence of further campaigns undertaken immediately afterwards. Śrīvijaya became the mistress of the bulk of the island of Sumatra, and Baṅka. She prepared to follow up these successes by an attack on the neighbouring island of Java. The two inscriptions under reference indicate that governors represented the authority of Śrīvijaya in different provinces whose inhabitants are offered rewards for loyalty to their respective governors and threatened with punishment for any attempt at revolt against them during the period of the campaign against Java. Moens³⁰ has suggested with good reason that the territory attacked by Śrīvijaya was the kingdom of Tārumā in western Java. This kingdom first steps into the light of history, as we have seen, in the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman in the fifth century A.D. It is referred to as To-Lo-Me in the Liang and T'ang annals which record embassies from that state in 528, 535, and between 666 and 669, and say nothing of it thereafter. We thus see that Śrīvijaya was actively extending its power in the north-west towards the strait of Malacca and in the south-east towards the Sunda strait, a clear indication of a determination to control the maritime routes from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea. Malāyu, originally an independent state which sent an embassy to China in 644 to offer the produce of the country, was the first victim of the growing ambition of Śrīvijaya. The rise and lasting power of Śrīvijaya was clearly the result of the cooperation of several factors, geographical, economic, and political. For the navigation of the high seas the ports on the south-east coast of Sumatra were destined to play a great role as trans-shipping and revictualing stations especially when the Arabs joined the Indians in this activity. An Arab colony in Canton is mentioned as early as the fourth century³¹. After the rise of the T'ang dynasty in China the Chinese took actively to seafaring and commerce. The shipping of the Hinduised states of south-east Asia also began to take a hand in all this trade. Quite in accord with this increasing intercourse between the east and west, an embassy was sent to China in A.D. 692 from the Cālukya court of Bādāmi, and in A.D. 720, the Chinese Emperor gave an investiture to the king of Kāñcī. There must have been much competition among the rival ports which struggled to secure the foremost place in this growing traffic. The control of trade routes and the capacity to protect oneself against sudden attacks from the interior were the chief conditions for securing primacy among the rivals. The division of the kingdom into several provinces each under a governor, the attempt to secure the loyalty of the inhabitants by rewards and punishments and the steady pursuit of conquests calculated to secure control of important sea-routes show clearly that Śrīvijaya had grasped firmly all the essentials of a successful expansionist policy.

Śrīvijaya was not only the political but the cultural centre of the Archipelago. If the data on Kan-t'o-li may be referred to Śrīvijaya before its transfer to Palembang, it would appear to have started as a centre of

³⁰ T.B.G. 1937-pp. 362-3.

³¹ Hornell M.A.S.B. 7. p. 199.

Brahmanical Hindu culture and adopted Buddhism a little later. This is in keeping with I-tsing studying only the *Śabdavidyā* (grammar) during his first stay in 671 in Śrīvijaya. But after its transfer to Malāyu (Palembang) it must have developed into a much more important centre of Buddhistic studies than before. Krom has argued that at Malāyu in this period there were two religious centres a Buddha temple on the western side, already some centuries old to which must be ascribed the large stone Buddha statue, the earliest of the Buddhas in Amarāvati style found in the Archipelago, and a *Siddhayātrā* shrine on the eastern side, Indonesian in its origin, but Hinduised under the new influences from India³². But as *Siddhayātrā* or *Siddhiyātrā* is an institution known to early Indian literature and as it occurs in inscriptions from the other Hindu colonies in Malaya and Indo-China, it is, perhaps, not necessary to postulate an Indonesian origin for it. In fact, Stutterheim has suggested that the shrine to which the king of Śrīvijaya went on pilgrimage was no other than the temple of the Buddha on the hill of Bukit Seguntang³³.

It is not clear if I-tsing's statement about the presence of more than a thousand Buddhist priests at Śrīvijaya applies to the period before its migration to Malāyu or afterwards, most probably it is the latter.

We have only stray indications of the stages by which Buddhism came to the Archipelago and spread there. In A.D. 413 Fa-Hien found in Yavadvīpa (Sumatra-Java) so few Buddhists "that it is not worth while to mention them"³⁴.

A little later, the Kashmīri monk Guṇavarman went to the kingdom of Chō-P'o (Java?) and converted the queen-mother and the king after her to Buddhism and saw that religion spread in the country before he was invited to go over to China and reached Nanking in 431. In the beginning of the sixth century the king of Kan-t'o-li was converted as recorded in the Liang annals. These are the only references before the time of I-tsing. But by the close of the seventh century Hīnayāna Buddhism had spread very widely in the Archipelago as I-tsing records, though Malāyu (Śrīvijaya) was an exception and followed the Mahāyāna. The inscription of Talang Tuwo which contains the *praṇidhāna* of Jayanāśa gives a definite date (A.D. 684) for the practice of Mahāyāna in Śrīvijaya. That inscription also shows by some of its expressions like "*Vajra kāya*," "*Kāya-vāk-citta-vajrasādhana*", that the form of Mahāyāna Buddhism that came to Śrīvijaya was Tantric in its character. It has been thought with good reason that Tantric Buddhism which arose from the Mahāyāna school of Yōgācāra developed principally in Bengal from about the middle of the seventh century, and found much vogue in the celebrated monastery of Nālandā. We shall see presently that there is tangible evidence dating from the last quarter of the eighth century of active contact between Bengal and the southern islands. But it is worth noting that from very early times there were

³² *De Heiligdommen*, pp. 21 & 27.

³³ J.O.R. XI (1937) p. 40.

³⁴ Legge—*Fa Hien* p. 113.

celebrated centres of Buddhistic study in South India, Kāñcīpuram, being one of the most noted among them. We know that Dharmapāla of Kāñcī who was domiciled for 30 years at Nālandā, proceeded afterwards to Suvarṇadvīpa, most likely Sumatra. He was a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang and must have preceded I-ting by half a century. Dharmapāla belonged to the school of Dinnāga, the famous Mahāyānist logician, in turn the disciple of no less a divine than Asanga, the founder of the Yōgācāra school. It seems quite probable that Malāyu took to Mahāyāna as a result of the labours of Dharmapāla there. It must be noted finally that the Mahāyāna of Malāyu in this period might not have been Tantric, after all, for Vallée Poussin has stated that the formulae of Jayanāga's *pranidhāna* appear to conform to the plan of such vows prevalent in the Sarvāstivāda school of Mahāyāna^{34b}.

After Śrīvijaya came to be established at Palembang (Malāyu) and Mahāyāna studies found great encouragement there, it became a centre of the study and exposition of holy texts which were translated into Chinese with the assistance of the local idiom so far as was necessary. I-ting himself brought from India 500,000 stanzas of the Tripiṭaka texts, on which he did further work at Śrīvijaya. One of I-ting's contemporary masters of the law was settled there, namely, Śākyakīrti, the author of the *Hastadandaśāstra* translated into Chinese in 711 by I-ting.³⁵ There must have been much silent going over from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna and the process was accelerated by the advent of influences directly from Nālandā and Bengal about a century later. But this was by no means a revolution as the two *yānas* were much more closely allied than is often believed.

Śrīvijaya was, in this period, in regular communication with China on the one side and India on the other. I-ting travelled from Canton to Śrīvijaya in a ship owned by a Persian merchant, and from there to Eastern India on board ships belonging to the king of Śrīvijaya.³⁶ In 717 Vajrabōdhi travelled in a month from Ceylon to Śrīvijaya with a fleet of 35 Persian merchantmen.³⁷

To the position held by Śrīvijaya in Buddhistic cultural studies I-ting's advice to Chinese priests that they should stay for training in Śrīvijaya for a year or two before proceeding to India is a very good index. Ferrand observes: "Such advice (to his fellow monks) by a Chinese monk who speaks with full knowledge of facts, has an evident significance for us. The teaching of Sanskrit and the interpretation of Buddhist texts were organised (in Śrīvijaya) with such care, method, and knowledge that the reputation of the masters of Śrīvijaya led to their being preferred to those of India proper by a Chinese Buddhist so eminent as I-ting." But, I-ting may have only wanted to save his compatriots the inconveniences due to their landing in India with an imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit

^{34b} BEFEO XXX p. 656. Also Coedès *Etats Hindouises* p. 105.

³⁵ *Record* p. 184; Takakusu's introduction p. lviii ff. Nanjio-Catalogue No. 1226 (app I, 54, p. 378). Also H-J.G. pp. 117-8.

³⁶ *Rel. Em.*, pp. 116-120. Also *Record* pp. xl f.

³⁷ BEFEO IV. p. 336.

language, possibly, the only common language between the bulk of Indian monks and their Chinese visitors. This is suggested also by the succeeding observation of Ferrand himself. "I-tsing likewise learnt the indigenous language of Śrīvijaya (Old Malay) and his example was followed by many monks notably Yun-ki of Tonkin and Ta-Tsin of China." Ferrand continues: "But this is not all. This mastery in the teaching of Malay, of Sanskrit and of the law which is a sure index of a high intellectual development, is coupled with an equal mastery in the army and navy attested uncontestedly by the victorious campaigns in Java, (and as we shall see) on the Malay peninsula, and in Kambuja. Commerce and mercantile marine were not less flourishing. Śrīvijaya was, in some way, a necessary calling place on the route from China to India. . . . Such is the position of the Sumatran empire in the seventh century. This brilliant prosperity in all domains is so unlike modern Sumatra that it would have remained unsuspected but for the decisive evidence of foreign historians and geographers. The study and comparison of the texts has revealed to us the existence of a new centre of civilization in the southern seas. The Indian *Alma Mater*, at a remote antiquity carried over to Śrīvijaya, as to Kambuja and to Campā, 'her gods, her arts, her literary language, in short, the whole apparatus of her civilization' and for more than a thousand years of our era these disciples of India did great honour to their educators."

III. SRIVIJAYA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY : SAILENDRAS

For nearly a century after the time of the four Malay inscriptions and of I-tsing our knowledge of Śrīvijaya is confined to the Chinese accounts of the embassies from that kingdom to the Imperial Court. In A.D. 695 a decision of the Imperial Court regulating the supply of provisions to the embassies from different foreign countries ordained that the ambassadors from Śrīvijaya were to obtain provisions for five months like those from Chen-la (Cambōdia) and Ho-ling. Embassies are recorded from Fo-che in the years 702 and 716. Again in 724 an ambassador Kiu-mo-lo (Kumāra, perhaps the crown prince of Śrīvijaya) presented to the emperor two dwarfs, a Zengi (negro) girl (from East Africa), a troupe of musicians, and five-coloured parrots; the Emperor, in his turn, conferred on the Kumāra the title Tcho-Tch'ōng (General) and gave him a hundred pieces of silk before sending him back to his country. A title was also conferred on the King of Śrīvijaya called "Che-li-to-le-pa-me" (Śrīndravarman?). The present of multi-coloured parrots by yet another embassy is recorded in 728. The last of the embassies of this period falls in the beginning of A.D. 742 when another prince of Śrīvijaya visited the Chinese court and the Emperor conferred another title on the King who had sent the embassy.¹

The next important reference to Śrīvijaya occurs in the inscribed stele discovered at the Vat Semā-muang of Ligor. The stele is inscribed on both sides, and there has been discussion about what relation, if any, should be postulated between the inscriptions on the two sides. One side of the stele begins '*Svasti*' and runs into four lines comprising one verse followed by a few words. *Prima facie* these four lines were all that were inscribed on this side and Coedès is quite positive that this side was only incompletely inscribed, (*la face inachevée*).² So too Krom.³ But Chhabra⁴ says: "it is inscribed on both faces. The lettering on one side is considerably damaged with the result that only the first four lines are now legible. On the other side except for a few letters in the centre which are indistinct and a few at the end which are lost the text covering 29 lines is well preserved." Again "M. Coedès indicates the longer portion (29 lines) of the inscription by the letter 'A', and the shorter by 'B'; but we take them in the reverse order. Evidently the writing on both the faces must have originally formed one continuous inscription." This detail is of importance to the correct understanding of the inscription or inscriptions on the stele. A look at the plates of the stele shows that the lettering on the '*Svasti*' side

¹ BEFEO IV. pp. 334-5. Ferrand: pp. 7-8 and 217-18. Also Groeneveldt *Supplementary Jottings*, Toung Pao VII (186) pp. 118-119.

² BEFEO. XXXV pp. 381, 2.

³ *Geschiedenis van Nederlands-Indie*, Deel I, 1938, p. 161.

⁴ *Expansion* pp. 20, 21.

is, if anything, better preserved than that on the fully inscribed face. And Chhabra does not support his conjecture regarding the continuation of the inscription on this side either by a plate or by any attempt to read even a few letters of the supposed continuation. Nor does he offer any explanation as to how the first four lines on this face came to be so well preserved while the rest disappeared so completely as to become quite illegible. We must, therefore, assume with Coedés and Krom that for some reason the inscription beginning with '*Svasti*' was never completed and stopped with the engraving of the first four lines. The inscriptions on the two sides of the stele are two independent inscriptions.

The side fully inscribed, 'A' of Coedés, includes ten Sanskrit verses in various metres, of which the last contains a Śaka date corresponding to Saturday 15th April, A.D. 775. There is nothing to indicate that the inscription is not self-contained, except for the facts that there is no *maṅgalācarana* (benediction) at the beginning and that the very first verse refers to the king of Śrīvijaya by means of the demonstrative pronoun "*yasya*." The first stanza praises the fame of the great qualities of the king, which have surpassed those of lesser kings like the rays of the autumn moon excelling those of the stars. The next verse also dwells on the king's noble qualities and artfully compares him to the peaks of the Himālayas and to the ocean. In the next verse, he is extolled as the refuge of those who seek to escape the raging fire of poverty like elephants resorting to the fragrant coolness of a tank in the midst of a hot day. The fourth verse states that the king was the equal of Manu and that he enhanced the virtues of the good by endowing them with wealth like the spring season bestowing greater beauty on the mango, the *kesara*, and other lordly trees. Such was (states the fifth verse) *Śrīvijayendrarāja* whose behests were carried out by his neighbouring rulers and who was, as it were, a deliberate creation of Brahmā for ensuring the stability of the superior Dharma. This *Śrīvijayeśvara-bhūpati*, the abode of so many virtues, the unrivalled suzerain of all the neighbouring kings of the earth established (according to the sixth verse) three excellent brick buildings, as abodes of Padmapāṇi, Śākyamuni, and Vajrapāṇi. The seventh verse eulogises these shrines dedicated to all the best jinas of the ten quarters and capable of bestowing the highest bliss at all times. The next verse records that the royal chaplain, (*Rājasthavira*) Jayanta, by name, constructed three *stūpas* to the order of the king. Adhimukti, his pupil, became royal chaplain after Jayanta's demise, and made two other brick *caityas* near the three *caityas* mentioned above (v. 9). The last verse states that on the eleventh day of the bright half of the *vaiśākha* month in the Śaka year 697 when the sun rose in the company of Venus and Cancer, the king of Śrīvijaya who resembled Indra and was superior to other kings established these *stūpas* and *caityas*.

This inscription from Ligor attests the further progress of the expansionist policy of Śrīvijaya of which the first indications were given by the earliest inscriptions noticed above and the statement of I-tsing

about Malāyu. The embassies to China noticed above together with this inscription show that Śrīvijaya continued to expand its empire successfully for nearly a whole century till A.D. 775. The policy of Śrīvijaya necessarily involved constantly increasing interference with the rest of the Archipelago in order to control traffic along the straits and establish her supremacy over the neighbouring seas and coasts. After the subjugation of Sumatra and Bāngka and part of western Java, the next step must have been to secure control of the straits by acquiring a foothold on the other side which, in its turn, might become the base for the subjugation of the surrounding land so that there might be nothing to fear from either side. A look at the map will make it clear that one part of the Malay peninsula was bound particularly to attract the attention of any commercial power with ambitions like those of Śrīvijaya. That part is the area where the peninsula is at its narrowest and where it offers scope for curtailing the length of the sea voyage, perceptibly by disembarking on one coast, crossing the isthmus and reembarking on the other coast. For a power established in Sumatra the mastery over the isthmus would secure the control over the commercial route across the isthmus as well as the control of the straits, and the Ligor inscription shows that Śrīvijaya followed this policy with steadiness and success.⁵ The noble personal qualities of the monarch of Śrīvijaya, the excellence of his rule and his outstanding position in the midst of all the rulers of the neighbouring lands in the Malay peninsula and the Archipelago are celebrated in unmistakable terms. The erection of *stūpas* and *caityas* in Ligor by the court chaplain Jayanta, under the orders of the king and the continuation of this work after the death of Jayanta by his pupil and successor, Adhimukti, alike show that the power of Śrīvijaya was sufficiently well established in this part of the Malay peninsula to allow of such continuous and peaceful activity.

We must also note that the increase of the power and influence of Śrīvijaya seems to be accompanied by a progressive increase of Hinduisation, using the term in a broad sense. While the early inscriptions are written in Malay with a considerable admixture of Sanskrit, that of Ligor constitutes a typical and highly ornate Sanskrit *kāvya*. The religion of the rulers of Śrīvijaya continues to be the same type of Mahāyāna Buddhism throughout and the reference in the Ligor record to the *jīnas* of the ten quarters and the salvation of the entire world invites comparison with the *pranidhāna* relating to Śrī Kṣētra in the earlier inscription of Jayanāśa. The mention of two generations of *Rājasthaviras* and their activities in an outlying part of the empire may well indicate a complex and ubiquitous church organization.

The incomplete inscription 'B' of Coedés, on the other side of the Ligor stele brings us to the Śailēndras and all the problems connected with their name. The single verse of this inscription means the following :
 " This supreme king of kings, the only one, comparable to the Sun capable "

⁵ H.-J.G. p. 130.

of dispersing the darkness, namely, the groups of his enemies who, by his splendour, resembles the spotless beauty of the autumn moon, who looks like Manmatha (Cupid) incarnate, who bears the aspect of Viṣṇu in his capacity to humble the pride of all enemies and is unrivalled in his powers, is called Śrī Mahārāja on account of his origin from the Śailendra family." The fragment that follows the verse and ends the fourth line reads:

" tasya ca sakalārā".

that is "and of him all."

Adopting the opinion current till recently Chhabra identified the Śailendra ruler of this verse with the king of Śrīvijaya who erected the *stūpas* and *caityas* and said that he had the personal name of Viṣṇu and the title of Mahārāja. He went further, and identified Viṣṇu with Viṣṇu-Varman of the Perak seal inscription. That inscription on a small red cornelian seal reads "*Śrī Viṣṇuvarmmasya*". We may for the sake of argument agree with Chhabra's statements: "The seal might not have belonged to a commoner, but to a royal personage, as indicated by the use of *Śrī* and *Varman*. The absence of the word '*Varman*' in the Ligor inscription presents no serious difficulty.....The fact that the two sites Perak and Ligor are not very far removed from each other lends support to the above identification." But the real difficulty is palaeographical. The writing on the seal is "box-headed" and obviously much earlier than that of the Ligor stele. Chhabra says: "it may however be admitted that the script of the seal is not exactly similar to that used in the inscription; but can we not conceive of two different characters, one simple and the other somewhat elaborate, existing side by side for two different purposes as in the present instance?" There are instances of digraphism⁶ in the inscriptions of the Pallavas of South India and of the kings of Kambuja in Indo-China, but it is difficult to assume without further proof that we have an analogous case in this instance.⁷

As already hinted, the Śailendra ruler of Ligor inscription 'B' was for a long time identified by scholars with the king of Śrīvijaya of the 'A' inscription, and it was assumed that the Śailendras were ruling in Śrīvijaya from the 8th century onwards. R. C. Majumdar was the first to question this identification. He drew attention to the fact that in inscription 'A' the king of Śrīvijaya is nowhere said to belong to the Śailendra dynasty whereas in inscription B of the Śailendra ruler there is no reference to Śrīvijaya. So he reached the conclusion: "there is nothing to prove that the king of Śrīvijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty".⁸ Coédès has now accepted the correctness of this view. But he went too far, as will become clear presently, when he said: "it is impossible, according to sound methods to affirm that before the eleventh century the kings of Śrīvijaya belong to the Śailendra dynasty" or that the Śailendras reigned at Śrīvijaya.⁹

⁶ Barth and Bergaigne ISCC. p. 346.

⁷ Cf. Coédès—BEFEO. XXXV. p. 382

⁸ *Suvarnavdipa* I p. 207

⁹ J.G.I.S. I p. 65.

We have two inscriptions of the Śailēndras from Java dated within a few years of each other and of the Ligor inscription 'A'. The Śailēndras are also mentioned again in the Nālandā plate of Dēvapāladēva of the middle of the ninth century A.D. or a little later.

The first record from Java¹⁰ is the *Kalasan* inscription dated in Śaka 700 (A.D. 778) and comprises twelve Sanskrit verses in various metres following the opening salutation to Tārā viz, "*Namō bhagavatyai Arya Tārāyai*". The script of the record is not Pallava but pre-Nāgarī. After a *maṅgala ślōka* invoking the blessings of Tārā on the world (1), the inscription records the construction of a glorious temple of Tārā by the *gurus* of the Śailēndra king after they had persuaded the Mahārāja Pañcapaṇa Panamkaraṇa (2). An image of the goddess was installed and a residence built for the venerable *Bhikṣus*, learned in the Mahāyāna of the Vinaya (3). All this was done by the royal officials (*Adēśa śastrins*) with the title *paṅkura*, *tavāna*, and *tīripa* (4), in the prosperous kingdom of the king who was an ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty (5); in the year Ś. 700 the Mahārāja Panamkaraṇa constructed the Tārā temple for honouring the *gurus* (6). The village of Kālāsa was given to the *Saṅgha* and the great men who were local officers (*Dēśādhyakṣas*) viz. *paṅkura*, *tavāna* and *tīripa* were witnesses (7). This gift of land to the *Saṅgha* by the great king was to be looked after by the noble succession of the Śailēndras (8) as also by local officials viz. *paṅkura*, *tavāna*, *tīripa*, and their followers and good *patis* (9). The three concluding verses introduced by the copulative '*api ca*' repeat the founder's request to his successors for the protection of his foundation and gift. The second inscription from Java known as the Kēlurak¹¹ inscription comes from a place near Kālāsan and is written in the same pre-Nāgarī script. It is dated just four years later in Ś. 704 (A. D. 782). There are many gaps in the record due to the wearing out of the stone, and so far as it can be deciphered it begins with a salutation to the three jewels of Buddhism (*namō ratnatrayāya*) and is followed by twenty Sanskrit verses in different metres. The first two verses are devoted to the invocation and salutation of a number of Buddhist deities with names ending in *Īśvara*; verse 3 is unintelligible. Then, it says, that the world is supported by the heroic king Dharaṇīndra by name, an ornament to the Śailēndra *vamśa* (5), whose policy was well guided by *sāmantas*, *mantrins*, and *patis*, whose valour was established by the conquest of rulers in all directions, who was given to attacking great warriors hostile to him (*vairi vara vīra vimardanēna*) and who was ever considerate to the interests of others (4). The *guru* from the Gauḍa-dvīpa (7), Kumārāghoṣa by name, installed an image of Mañjuśrī in Ś. 704 (11). This image of Mañjuśrī is an unsurpassed *kīrtistambha* and *dharmasētu* established for the protection of all living beings (13). Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha could be seen to be ever present in a hidden form in this visible jewel (14). This Mañjuśrī is also Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara, in fact, all

¹⁰ Last edn. by Bosch—T.B.G. 1928 pp. 57-62.

¹¹ Ed. Bosch T.B.G. 1928 pp. 18-22.

gods in one (15). There is more praise of Mañjuśrī in the next three verses (16-18), followed by the usual request to the future kings for the protection of the foundation (19), and a final verse in which only the name Śrī-Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya is legible (20).

These two inscriptions, the earliest dated ones of the Śailēndras, come from Central Java and are written in a new North Indian script (pre-Nāgarī). The Śailēndras long out-lived the employment of the *nāgarī* script which occurs only in a few inscriptions in Java, all belonging to this period and coming from the neighbourhood of the Prambānan plain. They raise a presumption that this dynasty had Java for the original seat of its power. It must, however, be noted that the pre-Nāgarī script is not altogether confined to Java. The presence of several brick-built *stūpas* at Muara Takus in the upper valley of the Kampar on the Padang highlands in Sumatra has already been noticed. In the relic chamber of one of these *stūpas* were found a golden disc and an inscribed stone both adorned with the symbol of the *vajra* and mystical syllables in pre-Nāgarī script, and the antique style of the *stūpas* of this place which resemble those of Ligor mentioned above makes it easy to assign these foundations to the same period. The remains of Muara Takus are by no means unique in Sumatra. Similar remains have been noticed at Tanjong Medan, and a gold disc found there also bears in Nāgarī mystic syllables and the names of Dhyāni-Buddhas which clearly establish the Mahāyānist character of the foundation, and it is quite possible that within the other *biaros* (*vihāras*) of Padang highlands and of Padang Lawas lie hidden other ancient constructions of a similar nature.¹²

Were the rulers of Śrīvijaya also Śailēndras towards the close of the eighth century? The gold discs with pre-Nāgarī script on them and the Ligor inscription 'B' which is in the same South Indian script as inscription 'A' and not far removed from it in date and yet mentions the Śailēndra Mahārāja, and the resemblance in style between the *stūpas* of Ligor and of the Padang highlands are factors which suggest an affirmative answer to this question. But that none of these documents bears a date is a difficulty. A strict regard for the details of the evidence should lead us to say that the Śailēndras had the centre of their power in Java in the last quarter of the eighth century. Either then or soon after they must have had friendly relations with the rulers of Śrīvijaya. They are seen engraving an inscription on a stele already bearing a record of the rulers of Śrīvijaya (Ligor), and lands undoubtedly subject to Śrīvijaya like the Padang highlands welcomed cultural influences closely akin to those accepted by the Śailēndras of Java if not identical with them.

The name Śailēndra (king of the Mountain) is often applied to Śiva. It has been supposed that it might be a Hindu adaptation of Indonesian beliefs which place the residence of gods on the tops of mountains.¹³ But, there is nothing specially Indonesian about this belief which is found in

¹² H.J.G. pp. 132-3.

¹³ Przyluski: J.G.I.S. II (1935) pp. 25-36.

many parts of the world and at different epochs, and the Pāṇdyas of South India who claimed descent from Śiva had the title "*Mūnāṅkita Śailendra*", that is, the Lord of the Mountain who had the carp for his emblem, and the Pāṇdyas always portrayed a pair of carps on their banner. The carp was also the emblem of the Śailēndras. The origin of the Śailēndras has often been discussed with inconclusive results. Hirananda Sastri¹⁴ said: "if a conjecture can be hazarded these Śailēndras were emigrants from Kalinga or say Southern India"; he pointed out that the name "Malaiyamān" was more or less a close rendering in Tamil of Śailendra. This Tamil name was borne by a long-lived line of chieftains who ruled in the South Arcot and Salem districts from the early centuries of the Christian era right up to the thirteenth century. But they were a minor feudatory family in the interior with no maritime traditions and not likely to have been remembered by the colonists of Java. Before Sastri, Venkayya was inclined to connect the Śailēndras with some part of Orissa (Kalinga), but Hirananda Sastri observed: "it will be going too far to connect it (the term Śailendra) with the Śailavamsa or the Śailōdbhavas or other dynasties like Śilāhāra having somewhat similar appellations." R. C. Majumdar, however, suggested that "the Śailēndras originally came from Kalinga and spread their power in the far east through lower Burma and Malay Peninsula."¹⁵ He said that an Indian origin of the Śailēndras would explain the introduction of Nāgarī alphabet in their inscriptions and of a new name Kalinga for Malaysia in the Chinese annals. But the use of Nāgarī may be explained by the presence of Buddhist priests from Bengal which is well-attested by the Kelurak inscription, and the name Kalinga for Malaysia occurs in the Chinese annals even before the appearance of the Śailēndras. Again, Majumdar sees a connection between the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Śailōdbhavas and the Śailas of the Vindhya region and suggests that "the Gaṅga, the Śailōdbhava and Śaila dynasties may all be the source of a name like Śailendra."¹⁶ But in fact Śailōdbhava (born of the rock) is not the same as Śailendra (Lord of the Mountain), but very different from it and the Śailōdbhavas of Vindhya had nothing to do with the Gaṅgas.¹⁷ These and other considerations that weigh against his suggestion Majumdar meets by pointing out that "his view is a tentative one and is not to be regarded as one that can be definitely proved."¹⁸ With more plausibility Coedès traces the title to the early kingdom of Fu-nan in Indo-China. The name of Fu-nan (Khmer-Vṇam) is connected with Phnom (Cambodian) signifying a mountain. According to the Chinese chronicles the Indian monk Nāgasēna, who went as an ambassador from Fu-nan to China at the close of the fifth century gave an account of the Sacred Mount Mo Tan in Fu-nan on which God Mahēśvara descended

¹⁴ Ep. Ind. XVII pp. 314-5 and notes thereto.

¹⁵ *Suvarnavīpa* Vol. I p. 227.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 226.

¹⁷ For a fuller discussion see "Origin of the Sailendras" T.B.G. 1935 pp. 605 to 611.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 227, n. 1.

constantly and received worship ; ¹⁹ and the kings of Fu-nan who had claims to an imperial position are called *Parvatabhūpāla*. Again, about Iṣānavarman king of Kambuja (c. A.D. 620) there occurs the following significant comparison in an inscription :

Śrīṣāna varmā nṛpatih prājñarataika samśrayāt
Ya āsīt krānta bhuvanaś śailarāja samunnatih "

that is, " King Iṣānavarman who found his only pleasure in the company of sages, attained by traversing the earth, the exalted position of the king of the Mountains (the Himālaya) or of a king of the mountain (Śailarāja)." This may well mean that Iṣānavarman completed the conquest of Fu-nan and appropriated to himself the imperial title King of the Mountain. It was in his time or soon after that, according to the Chinese annals, the kings of Fu-nan were compelled to migrate more to the south to the town of Na-Funa. Again, at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. King Jayavarman II returned from Java to Kambuja, and after establishing his authority there he made himself emperor by installing his capital upon Mount Mahēndra instituting the cult of Dēvarāja (Śiva) and declaring in the words of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom that " Kambujadēśa was no more dependent on Java and there was in this kingdom no more than one single sovereign who was Cakravartī." The cautious conclusion reached by Coedés is best stated in his own words: " I do not claim that the Śailēndras of Java were the authentic descendants of the sovereigns of Fu-nan, but after noticing on the one hand a synchronism between the fall of the kings of Fu-nan and the accession of the Śailēndras and stating, on the other hand, that the attitude of Jayavarman II towards Java is understood better if he had to break the ancient bonds and an old tradition of several centuries, I think I have been able to formulate the hypothesis that after the eviction of the kings of Fu-nan from Indo-China, a Javanese princely family having more or less real ties with them, resumed their dynastic title of King of the Mountain, and at the same time made their own the political and territorial claims which this title implied." ²⁰

Przyluski is not inclined to accept the suggestion of Coedés. He says : " No inference can be drawn from the fact that in two distinct lands two dynasties have borne the same name. That these kings were called Śailēndra, Śailarāja, or otherwise is, no doubt, instructive for the history of beliefs and of culture, but we cannot draw from it any conclusion concerning the historical origin of these dynasties." ²¹ He then turns to the mythology of the Bataks of the North-Western half of Sumatra, whose greatest god is Batāraguru residing in Bangdjer Bōlok (City of the Mountain) ; his daughter created the world. The Indian equivalents of this god and his daughter are Himavat, also called Śailēndra and the mighty Pārvatī. Later, under Mahāyāna influences Śiva was confounded with the supreme Buddha. " In short" he concludes : " we discern under the

¹⁹ BEFEO. III. p. 260.

²⁰ JGIS. I (1934) p. 70.

²¹ JGIS. II p. 30.

religious elements furnished by Mahāyāna Buddhism the ancient belief in a deity enthroned upon a high mountain, to whom, therefore, properly belongs the title of Śailendra and who has been successively identified with Śivagiriśa and the Supreme Buddha . . . It is from him, finally, that the Śailendra-vamśa derives its origin and that is why the Great King (*Mahārāja*) has the same nature as the Great God (*Mahādeva*)".²² The flaw in this argument is that we have no clear evidence on the epoch when the Batak inhabitants of the north-west of Sumatra settled there or their mythology took its rise. These apparently primitive tribes might well have been influenced by Hindu notions in relatively late historical times and the actual course of things might well have been the reverse of what Przyluski supposes.

More valuable is Przyluski's demonstration of the significance of the title 'Mahārāja' borne by the Śailendras. This title he compares with the Imperial titles occurring in Kushān inscriptions, viz., *Mahārāja* (Indian), *Rājātirāja* (Iranian), *Dēvaputra* (Chinese), and *Kaisara* (Roman). These titles are related ultimately to an ancient and widespread notion by which the four emperors of China, India, the Roman Empire, and the Yue-Chi, were regarded as the sons of Heaven. In the Ligor inscription 'B', the Imperial title is brought into very intimate relation with the Śailendra dynasty in the statement that the king bore the title *Śrī Mahārāja* because of the mention of his origin from the Śailendra-vamśa.

"Śailendravamśa prabhava nigadatah Śrī Mahārājanāmā."²³ and the Arab writers constantly referred to these rulers only by that title (*Mahārāja*).

Lastly, it may be noted that besides the Pāṇḍyan title "Mīnāṅkita Śailendra" there are other factors which bring Java into intimate relation with South India in this period. At one time it was believed that the Cangal inscription of Sañjaya (A.D. 732) contained a direct reference to South India in its mention of Kuñjarakuñjadēśa. But now it is seen that this is the name not of a region in South India but of a district in Java itself. However there is no doubt that the name of the district is borrowed from South India. Again, the sage Agastya, much venerated in Java, also stood in very intimate relation with the Pāṇḍya dynasty and the country over which they ruled. Unmistakable Pāṇḍyan titles and emblems continued to linger in Java till the 13th and 14th centuries.

To sum up this discussion of the origin and affiliations of the Śailendras. There is no clear evidence directly connecting them with any of the known dynasties of Kalinga, Fu-nan, or South India; that the name Śailendra hides primitive Indonesian notions regarding divinity is also by no means established. On the other hand, it is clear that it has a fairly close connection with the worship of Śiva as the Lord of the Mountain, his position in the cosmos is reproduced on a smaller scale in that of the king in the state, a notion which is traceable in Fu-nan as well as in different

²² Ibid., p. 32.

²³ For the correction of the line by Mus. see BEFEO XXXIX p. 448.

parts of India, particularly among the Pāṇdyas of South India. It is also probable that the political idea of a Cakravartin (Emperor) is also symbolised by the title. Its adoption in some form or other at first by the rulers of Fu-nan in Indo-China, then by the Śailēndras of Java, and again by Jayavarman II of Kambuja when he declared his independence of Java, that is of the Śailēndras, are facts of considerable significance to the political history of the Hinduised states of the Eastern colonies.

The position of the Śailēndras in Java and their relation to Sumatra may now be discussed. For some years after the publication of the Ligor inscriptions Vogel²⁴ and Krom assumed the identity of the Śailēndra of inscription B with the king of Śrīvijaya of inscription A and held that from the beginning the rulers of Śrīvijaya must have been Śailēndras and this position was generally accepted. Krom went further and on the strength of the two Śailēndra inscriptions of Java summarised above postulated a Sumatran period of Javanese history.²⁵ We have already seen how the identification of the Śailēndra king of Ligor 'B' with the ruler of Śrīvijaya of Ligor 'A' has been called in question, and with it the assumption that Śailēndras were ruling in Sumatra from the beginning. From another side this theory was attacked by Stutterheim who discovered an interesting inscription from Keḍu written on two bronze plates and dated Ś. 829 (A.D. 907). His study of this inscription together with the Nālandā copper plate inscription of Dēvapāladēva led him eventually to formulate the theory of a Javanese period in Sumatran history.²⁶ It is not necessary to traverse all the points involved in this interesting controversy. We may note, in general, that though all the conclusions put forward by Stutterheim have not received general acceptance it is well-recognised that his work has put the problem of the Śailēndras and their relations to Java and Sumatra in a new light. We shall briefly indicate the main lines of argument and the most probable conclusions that could be drawn from the data at our disposal.

The Keḍu inscription gives a list of the predecessors of the then reigning monarch Śrī mahārāja rakai Watu Kura Balitung who had Matarām in the southern part of Central Java for his capital. The list reads as follows :

“rakai matarām sang ratu Sañjaya.

Śrī mahārāja rakai panang karan
 Śrī mahārāja rakai panung galan
 Śrī mahārāja rakai Warāk
 Śrī mahārāja rakai garung
 Śrī mahārāja rakai pikatan
 Śrī mahārāja rakai kayu wangi
 Śrī mahārāja rakai watu humalang,
 Śrī mahārāja rakai watu kura.”

The first name in the list, Sañjaya, is well known by his celebrated Cangal

²⁴ B.K.I Vol. 75 (1919) p. 626.

²⁵ Krom—*De Sumatraansche periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1919).

²⁶ Surakarta, 1929.

inscription (A.D. 732) found among the ruins of a Śaiva temple on the hill of Wukir to the south-east of Borobudūr, and commemorating the erection of a līṅga by Sañjaya of Matarām in Kuñjarakuñjadēśa in the island of Java rich in grain and in gold mines.²⁷ After him follow the names or rather titles of eight rulers, including the donor of the Keḍu charter, all bearing in addition to the "rakai" title that of "Śrī Mahārāja". The name next after Sañjaya in the series is Śrī Mahārāja Panamkarāṇa. This leads us at once to think of the Mahārāja Pañcapaṇa Panamkarāṇa of the Kalasan inscription. If we recall the dates of Sañjaya (A.D. 732) and Panam Karāṇa (A.D. 778) there is no difficulty in identifying the Panam Karāṇa of the Keḍu charter with Panamkarāṇa of Kalasan and in accepting Sañjaya as his immediate predecessor. The interval between Sañjaya and Balitung which is 175 years is also suitably filled by the reigns of 7 kings.

But while Panamkarāṇa is called a Śailendra in the Kalasan record this dynastic name does not occur once in the Keḍu charter. But the Mahārāja title occurs both in the Kalasan record and in the Keḍu charter, and in the latter is applied to all the rulers' names with the exception of Sañjaya, and we have already noticed the very special relation in which this title stands to the Śailendra dynasty.

It is quite probable that Panamkarāṇa was also the author of the Kelurak inscription, which resembles the Kalasan record in many ways, and we may assume that while Panamkarāṇa was his personal name, Dharaṇīndra was the consecration name (*abhiṣeka-nāma*) of this Śailendra ruler. It must be noticed also that the period of the establishment of the Śailendras at Java (roughly the second half of the 8th century) begins a great epoch of Buddhist architecture in Central Java in the plain of Keḍu. We know the date of the temple of Tārā built by Panamkarāṇa, now known as Candi Kalasan—A.D. 778. Some years earlier must have been built the stupendous monument of Borabudūr where a whole system, cosmology, and gospel in one, has found expression in stone—a veritable *maṇḍala* adorned with bas reliefs illustrating some of the great texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism (*Jātakamālā*, *Lalita-vistara*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Karmavibhaṅga*), closely allied to the Candi Mendut which enshrines three magnificent images in Gupta style—the Buddha preaching between two Bodhisatvas. Candi Sari, a *vihāra* with a sanctuary, may well be contemporary with Kalasan though possibly a little later. Here, then, is a definite and considerable religious change associated with the Śailendras.

Now, what is the relation between the Śaiva ruler Sañjaya and the Buddhist Śailendra Panamkarāṇa? Sañjaya is not called Mahārāja and

²⁷ Java does not produce gold but no other identification is possible in the context. Moens, however, identifies Java with the Malay Peninsula and supposes that Sanjaya came from India, ruled at first in the peninsula, and then fled to Java where he became the vassal of the Sailendra dynasty driven out of Palembang by Srivijaya, "a romance" "(tout un roman)" as Coedès has justly observed, "*Etats Hindouises*" p. 110. For a detailed criticism of Moens see J.G.I.S. V (1938) pp. 128-46.

there is no indication that he was a Śailendra. Possibly, he was not one, and Panamkarana figures in the tenth century list only because he succeeded Sañjaya in the rule of the country which came to be known as Matarām later. On this finding, the rule of the Śailēndras in Java could be an interlude which led to the displacement of Śaivism from Central Java. Chinese sources²⁸ state that between A.D. 742 and 755 the capital of Ho-ling was transferred from Chō Pō to Pō-Lou-k'ia-Sseu farther east by King Ki-yen. A Sanskrit inscription from Dinaya²⁹ to the north-east of Malang in East Java dated A.D. 760 mentions the foundation of a sanctuary of Agastya by a son of King Dēvasimha named Gajayāna. Gajayāna has been identified with Ki-yen of the Chinese sources.³⁰ The princes of this line were worshippers of Śiva in the form of a līnga named Pūtikēśvara, the embodiment of the essence of royalty. They might have been related to Sañjaya; the Dinaya inscription is the only streak of light in the darkness that envelopes the history of East Java in this period. But it renders probable that the advent of the Śailēndras displaced the royal dynasty of Sañjaya and its Śaivism from Central Java confining it to the east of the island.

This view seems to gain further support from two inscriptions dated in an otherwise unknown Sañjaya era. This era, perhaps, dates from the consecration of Cangal in A.D. 732 and the years 172 or 174 and 176 found in two inscriptions from Central Java would correspond to A.D. 904 or 906 and 908. They would fall respectively in the reigns of kings Balitung and Dakṣa. Other records of Balitung's reign bear witness to a steady spread of his power westward from Kedri into middle Java. It seems, then, that after Sañjaya's time the native power suffered an eclipse and was pushed eastward by the rise of the Śailēndras of Java, and that the recovery of lost ground is celebrated by the indigenous dynasty by a significant though short-lived change from the ordinary reckoning in the Śaka era to another that linked them up with the last indigenous ruler of Central Java, viz., Sañjaya. The list of rulers in the Keḍu charter of 907 is, therefore, not a record of a continuous succession in one and the same dynasty but only an enumeration of successive rulers in chronological order which masks a number of important changes in the political fortunes of the land.³¹ The apparent unity of the Matarām line from Sañjaya to Balitung that is seen in the Keḍu charter is therefore fictitious. It enables Balitung like his employment of his Sañjaya era to legitimise his accession to Sañjaya's throne, but it throws a veil over the rule, in the interval, of the non-Matarām dynasty of the Śailēndras. But the evidence for the view that Balitung recovered for the first time the ground lost to the alien Śailēndras and expanded his power westwards is by no means so strong as the preceding argument would make it appear.

²⁸ Pelliot = B.E.F.E.O. IV p. 225.

²⁹ Bosch-T.B.G. 1916 pp. 410-44, and 1924, pp. 227-286.

³⁰ R.Ng. Poorbatjaraka-*Agastya in den Archipel* (1926) pp. 109-110.

³¹ T.B.G. 69 (1929) pp. 151-6.

The time and circumstances of the disappearance of Śailendra power from Java are even more mysterious than those of its rise. But it happened apparently long before the reign of Balitung. According to Krom³² "a clearly non-Śailendra king of middle Java occurs in A.D. 879 and that is our *terminus a quem*." Again in 863 the cult of Agastya reappears near Prāmbaṇaṇ in the Central Javan stone inscription of Pereng, perhaps sign of the reaction which settled itself sixteen years later. Thus, the Javanese Śailendra period extended, say from 750 to 860. Let us also note that if all the Śrī Mahārājas of the Keḍu list were to be treated as Śailendras Balitung himself would have to be counted among them, a conclusion which none can accept.

Indeed it has been observed³³ that from a chronological arrangement of the known inscriptions of the last prince Balitung, it appears that his more western records follow one another in a geographical order—895 Kediri, 901 Madiun, and 907 Keḍu. The charter of Tadjī (904 or 906) which falls chronologically between the inscriptions of Madiun and Keḍu falls now geographically also between Madiun and Keḍu. Balitung who, as appears from the provenance of his edicts, is originally an East Javanese ruler, thus marches continuously more to the west; as he comes to the Matarām territory to the west of Madiun, he issues his first edict in the Sañjaya era; his next western record namely the Keḍu inscription mentions completely all his Matarām predecessors. But Balitung's inscriptions in fact, show no such steady westward progression from Kediri. The so-called charter of Tadjī is, in fact, of unknown provenance—only a guess of Rouffaer being the authority for its being taken to come from Tadjī near Prāmbaṇaṇ³⁴ and it does not give any king's name³⁵ and the readings of the figures of the dates in the Sañjaya era have not been accepted by so high an authority as Krom who still prefers the older readings of these figures by Brandes³⁶ as 693, and 694 which can have no reference to Sañjaya of the Cangal inscription. Even granting for the sake of argument that the so-called Tadjī inscription belongs to Balitung's reign, still we have evidence of his power in Keḍu in the year 901-2 which is earlier than 904, the earliest date suggested for the Tadjī inscription.³⁷ That the provenance of the charters of Balitung does not give any guidance of a decisive character to the original sweep of Balitung's power or the direction of its spread has been argued at some length by Krom at the beginning of Chapter IV in the *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsche-Indie*.

We know that Panamkarana was a Śailendra, that he was the immediate successor of Sañjaya, and that both ruled in middle Java. These facts may suggest that they belonged to one and the same line of rulers

³² H.-J.G. Ch. VI beginning.

³³ T.B.G. (1929) p. 152; cf. *Festbundel* K.B.G. (1929) Vol. I p. 205.

³⁴ O.J.O. XXXVI intro.

³⁵ H.-J.G. p. 190.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 191 n; at pp. 179-80 of G.N.I.I. Krom is still undecided and even proposes to ascribe to Daksa both the records in the Sañjaya era.

³⁷ H.-J.G. p. 186, G.N.I. p. 174.

and that consequently Sañjaya was not only the founder of the middle Javanese Kingdom of Matarām as it came to be known later but of the Śailendra-vamśa as well. Neither of these names, Matarām and Śailendra appears in the time of Sañjaya, and the name of Śailendra occurs in Java only in the pre-Nāgarī charters of Kalasan and Kelūrak. It may be suggested that the name Śailendra-vamśa like the pre-Nāgarī script stood in a definite relation to the incoming of the new Mahāyāna influences³⁸ and that for this reason, it fails to make its appearance in the Cangal inscription of Sañjaya, and in the Keḍu list of A.D. 907. Sañjaya himself was as we have seen, a Śaiva with probable affiliations to South India. The change to Mahāyāna under the combined influences flowing from Śrīvijaya and Bengal took place most probably under his successors. This change was marked by the temporary use of pre-Nāgarī and the emergence of the name Śailendra for the royal family, a name that has both Śaiva and Buddhist associations and cannot be held exclusively Mahāyānist in character or origin.³⁹ The script fell into disuse early and with the revival of Śaivism in Java the name Śailendra also, except as the designation of a scale in music known as "*Slendro*." The dynastic name was continued by the rulers of Śrīvijaya, who remained adherents of Buddhism for a long time.

Sañjaya was also responsible, according to Stutterheim, for the spread of Javanese power over Sumatra (Śrīvijaya). He cites the late chronicle *Carita parahyangan* which relates the following about Sañjaya after mentioning his conquests in Java⁴⁰. "From here Rahyang Sañjaya crosses to the *deśa* of Malāyu; Kemir is fought, the Rahyang Gana is defeated. Again, Keling is fought, Sang Śrīvijaya is defeated. Barus is fought; the Ratu Jayadana is defeated. China is fought, the Pati Sari-kaladarma is defeated. Then, Rahyang Sañjaya goes back from Sabrang (oversea countries) to Galuh." Stutterheim proposes to understand Kemir and China to be really Kambuja and Campā, and considers that Sañjaya was a great conqueror not only of the neighbouring states of Java (*Vijitāneka sāmanta cakaraḥ*—Cangal. v. 11.) as stated both in the Cangal inscription and in *Carita*, but parts of Sumatra, Malaya and Indo-China. Krom has rightly observed that this is attaching too much weight to a confused source far removed in time from the events treated of. He adds the possibility of overseas expeditions may be recognised, but, as yet, it is no more than a possibility.⁴¹

It is true that there are several references to maritime invasions of Indo-China from Java in this period. In 767 Tonkin was invaded according to Annamite annals by bands of invaders who came from Chō-p'o (Java) and K'ouen-louen (the islands of the South in general); the governor C'ang Po-Yi defeated them near modern Sōn-tay, drove them back into the sea.⁴² In 774, says a Sanskrit inscription from Po Nagar at Nha-trang,

³⁸ H.-J.G. p. 138.

³⁹ J.G.I.S. II pp. 34-5.

⁴⁰ 'A Javanese period' p. 18.

⁴¹ H.-J.G. p. 126.

⁴² Maspero-le Royaume de Campa pp. 97-8.

men born in other lands and living on food more horrible than corpses, frightful, entirely dark, and cruel, terrible and sinful like death, came in ships, and robbed the *linga* and burnt the temple. These wicked enemies were pursued and defeated in a naval battle by the king Satyavarman of Campā; “but he could not recover the *linga* which was cast into the sea by the invaders.”⁴³

In 787 the armies of Java coming in ships burnt another temple.⁴⁴ However, the dates do not favour our thinking of Sañjaya in connection with these raids, but only of his successors. Bosch has said “the possibility is not denied that Sañjaya or one of his successors undertook successful expeditions against the opposite coast, and bossed it, for a time, over Sumatra, farther India and elsewhere. But these plundering raids—and they cannot be held to be anything else—do not furnish us any reason to postulate a permanent subjugation and occupation of the ravaged lands.”⁴⁵ But the dates of the raids taken together with the declaration of Kambujan independence by Jayavarman in A.D. 802 may well justify the inference of a temporary conquest and rule of some parts of Indo-China lasting for some years. We shall see that the Arab writers have preserved the memory of traditions pointing to the same conclusion.

The rule of the Śailēndras in Sumatra (Śrīvijaya) in the ninth century is attested by the Nālandā copper plate of Dēvapāladēva. This edict was issued by the Pāla ruler of Bengal in his 39th year which would correspond to about A.D. 850.⁴⁶ It records the gift of five villages to a *vihāra* founded at Nālandā by the then king Bālaputradēva, who is called king of Sumatra in so many words (*Suvarṇadvīpādhipa mahārāja*). Remarkable is the manner in which the *praśasti* of his family is introduced. First is mentioned the ornament of Śailēndras “*Yavabhūmipālāḥ vīravairi mathanānugatābhidhānaḥ*”. Thus, the king of Jāva whose name agrees with the mighty enemy-queller. This epithet at once recalls the expression *vairivara vīravimardana* of Kelūrak. We seem, then, to have here a king of Java apparently no other than the Śailēndra Paṇamkaraṇa Dharaṇīndra-

⁴³ I.S.C.C. pp. 251 vv. 2 & 3.

“*dēvīśānanalingam anyapurajaiḥ pretāti kaṣṭāśanaīr
bhbhīmābhair ati kṛṣṇarūkṣapurū ṣaiḥ kālograpāpātmaḥkaiḥ
śāke kośanavartuge gataghṛṇaiḥ uddhṛitya potagatair
ddaityaughair iva sāyudhais surapurān dagdhan tad etais tadā
tan nāśam sabhaṭas savīrapuruṣaś śrī satyavarmma nṛipaś
śrutvā tān udadhau supotasahitah pāpātmaḥkān durjjanān
hatvā tad vahanasthitam sivamukhamśaśvan nimagnañjale
tallinge nidhanan gate narapatiś śocan bhaved vyākulah.*”

⁴⁴ I.S.C.C. p. 213.

⁴⁵ T.B.G. (1929) p. 155.

⁴⁶ *History of Bengal* Vol. I-Ed. R.C. Majumdar where Dēvapāladēva's reign placed C. A.D. 810-850.

varman⁴⁷. No proper name is given for his son but only the epithet "Samarāgravīrah", the foremost hero in battle, which perhaps hides the name. He married Tārā, the daughter of Dharmasētu of the Sōma family, and the child of that marriage was Bālaputra, the king of Sumatra.

The name of Bālaputra's mother "Tārā-like Tārā" recalls the Tārā of Kalasan inscription (A.D. 778) in a most unmistakable manner. Though there is no insuperable difficulty in chronology, still one should hesitate to postulate a direct connection between the two, partly because of the length of the interval involved and partly because of 'Tārā' being a very common name for a Buddhist princess.

Bālaputra celebrates his grandfather as the Śailēndra king of Java and this may well throw light on the relations between Sumatra and Jāva in the grandfather's time. Clearly, Java occupied an independent status, and was not subject to the supremacy of a great power like Śrīvijaya. Bālaputra's grandfather was the ruler of a kingdom named Jāva, and that in a way, which made his grandson glory in his descent though the chief seat of his power was no longer Java but Sumatra. This is confirmed also by the extraordinary bloom of architecture and sculpture in Java under the Śailēndras as against which Sumatra has nothing to show. If it be argued that Sumatran buildings have decayed, the natural answer would be that it is hardly conceivable that a Sumatran Barabudur disappeared so completely as to leave no traces behind.

Was Bālaputra, then, the first Śailēndra ruler of Sumatra? So far as direct evidence goes this question must be answered in the affirmative. But the gold discs with pre-Nāgarī inscriptions from the Sumatran highlands and the common style of architecture between those islands and Ligor render it not altogether unlikely that some of the earlier rulers of Śrīvijaya were Śailēndras also. It cannot be supposed that the Śailēndras of Java spread their sway over Sumatra and all the possessions of Śrīvijaya, because the power of Śrīvijaya is also attested in very clear terms in this period by the Ligor inscription 'A'. Whether there were Śailēndras ruling in Śrīvijaya before Bālaputra or not, there can be no doubt that Śrīvijaya and Jāva were on friendly terms and undertook many enterprises together with a view to aggrandise their power and influence in the rest of the Archipelago and over Indo-China. The Ligor inscription 'B' if it was not engraved by a Śailēndra from Śrīvijaya must have been the work of a Javanese. Sailēndra, probably Panamkarana himself, as the epithet "destroyer of the pride of his opponents" in that inscription may lead us to suppose.⁴⁸

The title Samarāgravīra of the Nālandā record has been rightly connected by Krom with a stone inscription from Keḍu dated A.D. 847

⁴⁷ Stutterheim, however, suggested that the "Yavabhumipala, vira vairimathana" of Nālandā was Sanjaya while he identified samarāgravīra with Panamkarana, but this view is open to many objections and has not found acceptance. See T.B.G. (1929) pp. 138-40. Also B.E.F.E.O. XXVIII pp. 515-528.

⁴⁸ Coedès, *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

and mentioning a king *Samarōttuṅga*.⁴⁹ He has also observed that though this may indicate the continuance of Śailendra power in middle Java at least till A.D. 847, we cannot be quite certain of this as the name 'Samarōttuṅga' is borne also by a later East Javanese ruler, a fact which may be cited in support of quite the opposite conclusion.

The identity of Tārā, the wife of Samarāgravīra and of her father, Dharmasētu presents a naughty problem. Stutterheim identified Dharmasētu with the father of Dēvapāla of Bengal, Dharmapāla, "which name, in poetry, could be regarded as a synonym of Dharmasētu". He also held that Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced into Java as a result of this marriage.⁵⁰ Bosch has argued against this hypothesis. He rightly points out that if the king of Bengal was meant this would have been set forth in an unmistakable manner in the Nālandā charter issued by his son. He says also that if Varmasētu is the correct reading of the name,—a reading which Hirananda Śāstri allows and Majumdar considers the only possible one, all talk of Bengal must necessarily fall to the ground.⁵¹ Bosch himself is inclined to see in Tārā a Javanese princess married to a younger prince from the Śailendra dynasty of Sumatra. Apart from the uncertainty regarding the presence of Śailendras in Sumatra in this period, another legitimate objection to the view has been raised by Mus. "If Tārā is a princess of the house of Sañjaya, then Śaivite, her name is somewhat surprising."⁵²

In fact the only reasons for suggesting Bengal as the possible home of Tārā are (1) the mention of Kumāraghōṣa, the *guru* from Gaḍadvīpa in the Kēlūrak inscription and (2) the fact that Nālandā, whence we get the record of the genealogy of Bālaputra lay in Pāla territory. These have led Stutterheim to read more meaning into the expression "*gurupūjārtham Tārābhavanam*" of the Kalasan inscription than it will bear, and to argue that the Tārābhavanam was constructed by the Javanese ruler to do honour to his father-in-law "the greatest and most powerful champion for that sect which the Śailendras received with their Tārā."⁵³ But, while the *Nāgara Kṛetāgama* and Chinese authorities attest the most lively intercourse, commercial and religious, between Bengal and Jāva in this period,⁵⁴ the difficulties, chronological and other, in the way of identifying Dh(V)armasētu with Dharmapāla of Bengal are well-nigh insuperable. Dh(V)armasētu is said to have belonged to the lunar line. The Pālas never connected themselves with the moon, but only with the sun, or the ocean.⁵⁵

A much more plausible course would be to assume with Krom that Dharmasētu was a king of Śrīvijaya and that Samarāgravīra, the Śailendra

⁴⁹ H.-J.G. p. 156.

⁵⁰ *Javanese period* pp. 9-12.

⁵¹ T.B.G. (1929) pp. 141-2 and n.

⁵² BEFEO. XXVIII pp. 525-6.

⁵³ *Javanese period*, p. 11, n. i.

⁵⁴ Cf. Mus-BEFEO XXVIII p. 527.

⁵⁵ *History of Bengal*, I p. 100.

ruler of Java, married his daughter.⁵⁶ Bālaputra, the issue of this marriage, came subsequently to rule in Śrīvijaya, Suvarṇadvīpa, probably because there were no other claimants to that throne at the time. In that case, this would be the beginning of the rule of Śailēndras in Śrīvijaya commencing roughly from the middle of the 9th century A.D. Bālaputra has been taken to mean 'Younger son' and it has been suggested that he ruled Śrīvijaya as Viceroy of his father, the Śailendra ruler of Jāva.⁵⁷ But it may be doubted if the proper name Bālaputra will either bear the meaning or support the inference. But it seems possible that the Śailēndras continued under that name in Java for sometime more, and Vogel's hypothesis of two branches of the Śailēndras ruling simultaneously in Java and Sumatra would be true for this period.

We have still to consider one point urged by Stutterheim in support of his thesis of a Javanese period in Sumatran history. An examination of a list of embassies sent to China from Java and Śrīvijaya shows that these proceed only from Śrīvijaya in the period A.D. 670 to 742, only from Java from 767 to 873, and finally again only from Śrīvijaya from 904 to 1178. This noticeable alternation in embassies from Śrīvijaya and Java is, indeed, worthy of attention, and seems to call for some explanation. But Stutterheim makes an assumption and draws an inference neither of which could be readily accepted. The assumption is that only "leading and supreme countries" sent representations to the Chinese court; the inference is that Java must have had supremacy over Sumatra in the period 767 to 873. Even assuming that the data before us constitute a complete record of all the embassies to China from the islands—which has been doubted,⁵⁸ the fact that Śrīvijaya sent no embassies between 767 and 873 may be due to other causes like a period of strained relations with China of which we have no knowledge. The power of the Śailēndras of Java in this period is indeed very well attested, but so is the importance of Śrīvijaya directly by the Ligor "A" inscription, and indirectly by the Nālandā copperplate. It is not possible, therefore, to assume with Stutterheim that the alternation in the embassies to China implies a period of Javanese supremacy over Sumatra.

Our provisional conclusions on the course of the history of Śrīvijaya in this period and its relation to the Śailēndras may be formulated somewhat as follows. Śrīvijaya continued to maintain its imperial position commanding both sides of the Strait of Malacca; though a part of western Java might have been included in the empire of Śrīvijaya, there arose the kingdom of the Śailendra Mahārājas in Central Java. (The relations between Śrīvijaya and the Sailēndras would appear to have been on the whole friendly, and together they spread their power for a time as far as Campā and Kambuja. This outer empire was short-lived, and at the beginning of the ninth century Kambuja became independent of the southern power.

⁵⁶ G.N.I. I p. 162.

⁵⁷ Coedès : *Op. cit.* pp. 116 & 137.

⁵⁸ by Mus-BEFEO. XXVIII p. 523.

About the middle of that century a Śailēndra prince comes to occupy the throne of Śrīvijaya which then becomes the seat of the Mahārāja. Possibly Śailēndra rule continued in Java for some time longer, and if that be so, there were two branches of this celebrated line ruling in Sumatra and Java for a while. The evidence discussed in detail above may be summed up for ready reference synoptically as follows :

Sumatra.		Java.	Malay Pen., Indochina etc.
A.D.			
685-90 Śrīvijaya v. Java- bhūmi (Malay inscriptions)			
C. 700	...	...	Sanna } Cangal. Sañjaya } Gajayāna (E. Java). (Dinaya inscription).
C. 732	...	...	
760	...	...	
			767-87. Naval raids on Cambodia and Campā from Java.
775	...	...	Ligor A record of Śrīvijaya.
778	...	...	Śailēndra Panamkarana (Kalasan) Ligor B inscription.
			802 Jayavarman becomes independent of Java.
782	...	...	(Dharani) Indravarmān Vairivara Viramardana Kēlurak), Nālandā Record.
			Yavabhūmipāla Varavairimathana.
847	...	...	Dharmasētu Tārā = Samarōttuṅga. Samarāgra.
850 Bālaputra	...	...	Bālaputra's vihāra erected at Nā- landā.
C. 907	...	...	Balitung; Śaiva revival; end of Śailēndra rule in Java (?)

Let us now go back to Śailēndra inscriptions for a while and note the state of religious belief proclaimed by them. The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is identified in the Kēlurak record not only with the *triratna* of Buddhism, but with the *trimūrti* of Brahmanism, and finally, he is declared to be one with all gods, *sarvadēvamayaḥ*. This declaration of the unity underlying all the different gods worshipped by the people led to two conse-

quences. It paved the way for the spread of the new faith in Java by absorption into itself of the pre-existing modes of belief and worship; this is only a continuation in Java of a similar process that had long been at work in India. It led also to a complete syncretism between the new Buddhism and Śaivism in Java, and Buddha and Śiva came to be considered as only different names of the one Highest Being who ruled the universe; it is not merely an alliance between the two religions, but a complete amalgamation. It is also significant that the impulse for this new development comes from Gauda, the land of Kumāraghōṣa. That part of India was not only celebrated in the period for such centres of Buddhist learning as Nālandā, Harikela and Samatāṭa to which pupils flocked from all over Asia, but it was also the region where Buddhism and Śaivism met and mingled on the common ground of Tantric forms of worship and belief.

The Śailēndra inscriptions of Java are limited to the surroundings of Prāmbaṇan and it is also there, on the offshoot of a mountain range lying to its south, that the ruins of a castle survive which tradition ascribes to the legendary *Ratu Baka*. If, indeed, it was a castle and not a temple, as some are inclined to hold, it may well have been the residence of the Śailēndras.⁵⁹

The Śailēndras left their mark on the literature of Java and the Sanskrit work *Amaramālā* was done into the speech of the country by their patronage. That this cultivation of the popular speech is in old Javanese, not old Malay, like the early inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, is one more proof that the Śailēndra who took the initiative here was a ruler of Java. We learn the name of this Śailēndra prince "Jitēndra" from the beginning of the work in which parts of a Sanskrit verse alternate with its translation into Javanese, but more is not known of him or of the manner of his connection with the Śailēndras of the charters.

From the *Amaramālā* translation in its present condition we have little to learn on the social life or even the language of the period. This is due in part, to the nature of its contents and in part to its being available only in a single manuscript. The *Amaramālā* is like similar Indian works a collection of all the names applied to different gods, goddesses, and other beings and to all things, and in such a work there is indeed little to translate. We have, thus, to depend on the translation of the introductory verses in modernised spelling for an idea of the Javanese language of the Śailēndra times. The order of the names of gods soon gets confused and no inference can be drawn as to the preference of one god over another in those days, and we cannot be sure that an idea or thing mentioned in the book is really old, for it may be merely a translation from an Indian original of a thing unknown in Java or a later addition.⁶⁰

We have already mentioned the new musical mode, the 'Slendro' scale, which was most probably introduced in this period, but the greatest

⁵⁹ H-J.G. p. 149.

⁶⁰ H-J.G. pp. 149 f.

achievement of the Śailēndras of Java was doubtless, in the sphere of architecture. In the sphere of religion Śaivism is, to some extent, opposed to Buddhism in Java, and there grows up a special type of Śaivism which is more the folk religion in which Indian and Indonesian elements seem to be inextricably intermingled, as in the conception of Pūtikēśvara. There is no such opposition, however, in art ; by comparing the Mahāyāna monuments we have already mentioned with the contemporary or slightly later Śaiva monuments, we can see clearly the unity of art-opinion underlying a gradual differentiation. In other words, the Śailēndra period in Java is the age of a fresh tradition coming in, and in this Buddhism and Śaivism alike took part. This comprises an enlarging and enrichment, a developed technique, a larger plan of construction, a daring and likewise refined adoption of ornamentation.

All this comes out most remarkably first in Mahāyāna monuments. The period of the Śailēndras is preeminently the period of Borabudūr. But a closer examination shows that this artistic expansion and enrichment occurs also in Śiva temples of the period though on a smaller scale. While Mahāyāna brings together large scale foundations in a few centres, Prāmbaṇan and the Keḍu plain, Śaivism dots the whole land with more modest temples. This, by itself, brings about a difference in course of time, but the principles of construction and decoration are the same at bottom. It is striking to find on the Dieng plateau, the temples of an earlier time in their sober strength side by side with the more stylish products of the New Age.⁶¹

⁶¹ H-J.G. p. 152-4.

IV. SRIVIJAYA IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES: ARAB AND CHINESE EVIDENCE

One fact relating to Java which emerges from the Chinese annals may well have a bearing on the history of Śailēndra power on that island. Embassies are said to have proceeded to China in 813 (or 815) and in 818 from Hō-ling, but those of 820 and 831 are attributed to Chō-p'o.¹ Now, Chō-p'o was the name of the capital of Hō-ling which was abandoned by king Ki-yen (Gajayāna) between 742 and 755 in favour of another town situated more to the east. The change of capital by the Javanese ruler was perhaps necessitated by the advent of the Śailēndras. In that case the reappearance of Chō-p'o from 820 may be interpreted either as a union of the centre of the island with its eastern section under the aegis of the Śailēndras, or, more probably, as the return to the centre of the Śaiva rulers of Java who had migrated to the east earlier. The possibility of a friendly relation between the Buddhist power of the Śailēndras and the Śaiva rulers of Java must not also be lost sight of. The Kelūrak inscription furnishes, as we have seen, evidence of strong syncretic tendencies at work in the field of religion which might have extended to politics also.

From the middle of the ninth century Arab notices of the kingdom of the Mahārāja become important. In them the names of Zābag(j) and Śrībusa occur quite often. The first of these names is obviously a wider term embracing the entire archipelago and possibly also the Malay peninsula while Śrībusa, clearly the Arab form of Śrīvijaya, is applied to the most important island of Zābag, and must thus be taken to stand for Sumatra. Anticipating these Arab accounts by about three centuries or more is the reference to the country of Śāvaka in the Buddhist-Tamil epic *Maṇimekalai*. The poem states that the capital of the kingdom was called Nāgapura, and that it was then ruled by a king named Puṇyarāja who was the son of Bhūmicandra. We are told, further, that from the date of Puṇyarāja's birth rains fell regularly, the earth yielded rich crops, and all living beings enjoyed freedom from disease.² We are obviously in the domain of legend. There is no use attempting to identify Bhūmicandra and Puṇyarāja with any of the historical rulers of the island kingdom.

The earliest Arab writer to make mention of the Mahārāja of Zābag is Ibn Hordadbeh (A.D. 844 to 848). He mentions Zābag on three occasions in his work.³ First, he says, the king of Zābag is called Al-takht (var: Al-fikhat),⁴ the king of the Isles of the Eastern Sea, the Mahārāja.

¹ BEFEO. IV p. 286-7.

² *Maṇimekalai*-Canto XXIV, ll. 169-174.

³ *Ferrand* pp. 52-3.

⁴ The text has *Al-kakht* which is perhaps best emended as above. Takht means "throne" and *Al-takht* may well stand for Mahārāja. For other suggestions of a somewhat far-fetched character see *Ferrand* loc. cit. nn. 2 and 3 and the same writer's *Textes* I p. 23, n. 7.

Then he gives the following travellers' tales about the fauna and flora of Zābag. "In the mountains of Zābag there are enormous serpents which devour men and buffaloes and some which devour even elephants. This country produces gigantic camphor trees; there are trees which can give shade to nearly a hundred persons. To obtain camphor they make an incision at the top of the tree by which the water of the camphor escapes in such abundance as to fill many jars. After collecting it they make another incision lower, towards the middle of the tree, and from this trickles camphor which is the gum of this tree found in the tree itself. After this operation the tree becomes useless and dries up". Lastly, the same author relates the following of the king of the country: "the king of Zābag is named the Mahārāja.....The Mahārāja gathers each day a revenue of 200 *mann* of gold: he has this gold made into a single brick and throws it into the water saying 'look, there my treasury'! Part of this revenue, say 50 *mann* a day, he gets in cock-fights. One of the legs of the victorious cocks belongs by right to the king, and the owner buys it back for gold."

The next author (A.D. 851), either merchant Sulayman⁵ as is generally believed or some anonymous writer edited by Abu Zayd Hasan, says: "Kalāh-bar (formed part of the) empire of Zābag which is situated to the south of India. Kalāh-bar and Zābag are governed by one king." Abu Zayd Hasan⁶ himself (c. A.D. 916) calls Zābag both a town and an island and says that among the states ruled by the Mahārāja of Zābag was the isle of Śrībusa measuring 400 square *parasangs*. He gives a rather long account of the Mahārāja's kingdom repeating the story of the gold bricks cast into the lake with many circumstantial details unknown to Ibn Hordadbeh. He also narrates a story regarding the relations between the kings of Khmer (Kambuja) and of Zābag. He records it as referring to a past age. A young and rash king of Khmer expressed publicly, in spite of warnings from his minister, a foolish desire to see the head of the Mahārāja put before him on a dish. These words passed from mouth to mouth till they reached the ears of the Mahārāja. That king ordered his ministers to get ready an armed expedition against Khmer of one thousand vessels of war, and when everything was ready he went on board his fleet and proceeded with his troops to Khmer. The king of Khmer knew nothing of the impending danger until the troops of the Mahārāja had landed in the neighbourhood of his capital. The Mahārāja thus took the king of Khmer unawares and seized his palace. He had the king brought forth and had his head cut off. After his return to his country the Mahārāja had the head washed and embalmed, and then, putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Khmer. "From that moment the kings of Khmer when they arose every morning turned in the direction of the country of Zābag and prostrated themselves humbly to render homage to the Mahārāja." The story has all the appearance of

⁵ Ferrand p. 53.

⁶ Ferrand pp. 56-61.

folk lore ; still the concluding remark of Hasan may well contain history and point to a period when the kingdom of Khmer was subject to the Śailēndra empire of the Mahārājas. The naval expedition of the story is clearly the legendary counterpart of the horrors of the Javanese expeditions vividly described in the inscriptions of Indo-China at the close of the eighth century A.D. But by the time the Arab writer penned his account, the Khmer country had freed itself from the yoke of the Mahārāja. For Jayavarman II (A.D. 802 to 854) on his return to Khmer from Java had formally declared his independence by setting up his rule at Mahēndraparvata where in the words of the Khmer section of the Sdok-Kak-Thom inscription : "His Majesty invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiraṇyadāma, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tantric rights so that Kambuja dēśa might no longer be dependent on Java and have a paramount ruler Cakravarti of its own."⁷ Whether Java from which Jayavarman declared his independence refers to the island of Java or Sumatra or to both must be left undecided in view of the obscurity that hangs over the relations between the Śailēndras, Śrīvijaya, and Java in this period.

To return to the Arab writers. Masūdī (A.D. 943) says : "In the empire of the Mahārāja is the island of Śrībusa about 400 *parasangs* from the continent, and entirely cultivated. The prince possesses also the Isles of Zābag and of Rāmni and many others besides, which I do not name; further, his dominion extends over all the sixth sea or the sea of Campā (modern Annam)." This last statement so far as we know could not have been true at the time Masūdī wrote but must have referred to a state of things that had prevailed several decades earlier, but the Arab writers had a way of repeating the statements of their predecessors, and perhaps, Masūdī's statement is only an instance of this tendency. In another work of his (A.D. 955) Masūdī⁸ states that the Mahārāja was "the king of the Isles of Zābag and other islands in the sea of China among which are Kalāh and Śrībusa." Al Beruni (A.D. 1030) states : "the Eastern Islands of the Indian ocean which are nearer China than India are the Isles of Zābag called *Sūvarṇadvīp* (Suvarṇadvīpa) in India, that is, Island of Gold."⁹ Edirisī (A.D. 1154) notes that the people of the Islands of Zābag went to the country of Zang (east coast of Africa to the south of Cape Guardafui) in great and small ships for trade particularly in iron and that the peoples of the two regions understood the languages of one another. He adds that among the islands of Zābag is that of Śrībusa with a circumference of 1200 miles and with pearl fisheries and many kinds of spices and perfumes which attract merchants to the island. He commends the integrity and good manners of the people of Zābag and says that trade was carried on briskly there when there were troubles in China or in India.¹⁰ Ibn Said (13th century) says :

⁷ BEFEO. XV no. 2 p. 62 vv. 25-30 & p. 88.

Also Majumdar-Kambuja-desa pp. 76-7. Coedès, JGIS I pp. 69-70.

⁸ Ferrand pp. 62-3.

⁹ Ibid, p. 64.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 65-66.

"The isles of Zābag are celebrated among travellers, the largest is the island of Śrībusa, 400 miles long north to south, and 160 miles broad. It commands easy access to the sea, and its capital, also called Śrībusa, up to which an arm of the sea penetrates, is situated on a river in the centre of the island." The same author again observes: "The isles of the Mahārāja are numerous and are spoken of in books; excellent gold is found there. Their ruler is counted among the richest kings of India and he owns the largest number of elephants. The largest of the islands of this archipelago in which is situated the city of the Mahārāja is 200 miles long and about 100 miles broad."¹¹ Notice the difference in the size of the longest island in the two passages from this writer. This is more or less typical of the geographical data furnished by the numerous Arab writers.

We need not reproduce other writers who, generally repeat more or less the same accounts and have little new to say. But we may notice the observations of the celebrated geographer, Abul Fida¹² (A.D. 1271 to 1331) who brings together data from many earlier writers calculated to show the rough and ready character of the information gathered by them. Thus, we find first "we read in Ibn Said the Isles of Zābag are celebrated by the narratives of merchants and travellers, the largest is the Isle of Śrībusa which is 400 miles long north to south and about 160 miles broad throughout. Arms of the sea penetrate the island. Its capital Śrībusa is situated in its middle on the estuary of a river. Its longitude is 108° 30 minutes¹³ and its latitude 3° 40 minutes." Again, "Isle of Zābag. According to the *Atwāl* (Book of longitudes and latitudes attributed to Al-Faris, 10th century) 115° longitude; in the South of the first climate; in Green Sea. We read in the *Atwāl*: 'there are in the isles of Zābag serpents capable of swallowing a man or even a buffalo, and mountains in perpetual fire. The fire of these mountains is visible at a distance of several days on the sea.'" Lastly, "Isle of the Mahārāja or of Śrībusa—According to the *Kānūn* (of Berūni) 140° longitude 1° latitude; in the south of the first climate; large island of the Green Sea."

From the statements of these Arab writers it would be seen that it is not quite correct to identify Śrīvijaya (Śrībusa) with Zābag as *Ferrand*¹⁴ did. Śrīvijaya was rather the centre of the empire of the Mahārāja which spread over the Archipelago of Zābag. As Coedès rightly points out, the geographical data of the Arab authors do not permit any more precise determination of the extent of Zābag. Politically the term 'Zābag' does correspond to Jāvaka, a name we meet with much later in more or less the same extended sense. Śrībusa and Kalah are described by the Arabs as "dependencies" of Zābag and also as being under one and the same ruler. This pair Śrībusa-Kalah most certainly corresponds to the other pair of

¹¹ Ferrand p. 70.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 74-5.

¹³ This is 88° 30 minutes in Ibn Said as cited by *Ferrand* p. 70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 163-166.

names found in more or less contemporary South Indian inscriptions namely "Śrīviṣaya-Kaḍāram."¹⁵

The name San-fo-ts'i appears in the Chinese annals from the beginning of the tenth century A.D., and continues to be employed till the Ming period at the end of the 14th century. Beyond doubt, Fo-ts'i may well be taken to stand for Vijaya but San-is not easy to explain. It has been suggested that it is a mistake for a very similar Chinese character standing for Che (Śrī)¹⁶. If this is correct, "San-Fo-Ts'i" would be the exact reproduction of Śrīvijaya. Ferrand referred to the late Javanese form "Samboja" very close to San-fo-ts'i and suggested that the rise of the new Chinese notation might have followed a local change of the name from Śrīvijaya to Sambhōja. But he himself pointed out that there was no text, literary or epigraphic, attesting the use of the form Sambhōja at the beginning of the tenth century. Further, the Tamil inscriptions of the eleventh century have the form Śrīviṣaya = Śrīvijaya, showing that the name of the Sumatran empire attested by the early Malay inscriptions continued intact and had not changed even when the new Chinese transcription was adopted.¹⁷

¹⁵ Coedés, *A propos d'une nouvelle theorie sur le site de Srivijaya*, p. 5. Prof. R.C. Majumdar says: 'It is quite clear that Zābag was originally a different kingdom, and had extended its authority over Sri Vijaya at least as early as the tenth century A.D.' *Suvarnadvīpa*, p. 217. I must confess that this is not so clear to me, and that much of his argument both on the geographical and historical sides seems to contain a large measure of special pleading. It would be tedious to go over the whole ground traversed by him in detail. But as he cites the authority of the *Cullavamsa* in support of his position, it may be pointed out (1) that the account of the *Cullavamsa* refers to the thirteenth century and is itself much later and (2) that the vague expression 'Jāvaka-rāja' describing Candrabhānu and 'Jāvaka yodhā' and 'Jāvaka sēnā', applied to his army do not seem to justify the location of 'the kingdom of Zābag proper in the Malay peninsula, probably in the neighbourhood of Ligor'. (M.) I agree with Coedés that Jāvaka and Zābag are variants of the same name applied vaguely to the whole of Malaysia; and in their general accounts neither the Arab writers nor the Ceylonese chroniclers need have aimed at greater precision.

Moens thinks that Zābaj is the same as Cho-p'o and Yāva and locates it in the South of the Malay peninsula (TBG., LXXVII, 1937, pp. 383, 389, 403). I have discussed elsewhere his identifications of Cho-p'o and Yāva (JGIS., VII, pp. 15 ff.), and I do not think that Zābaj of the Arab writers is identical with these. Moens, like Majumdar, draws inferences from the statements of Arab writers which do not seem to me to be quite correct. He says: "From the Arab narratives cited it appears clearly that Sribuza and Zābaj (Sri Vijaya and Sambhoja) are two different kingdoms, the first subject to the second, in the same manner as from the account of Chau Ju-kua of 1225 A.D. one has to infer that San-fo-ts'i and Pa-li-fong (Palembang) do not stand for one and the same land, but that the second was a vassal state of the first." (TBG., LXXVII, 1939, p. 454). In both cases, however, we have good reason to think that the authors concerned used the wider name Zābaj and San-fo-ts'i for the empire state, and counted its capital, Sri Vijaya and Pa-lim-fong, among the divisions comprised in it; I am not sure that 'dependencies' is a correct translation of the words employed by the authors; but I can be no judge of this.

¹⁶ BEFEO XXIII, p. 477

¹⁷ Ferrand—*Op. cit.* p. 169-70,

The fact, however, remains that historically, San-fo-ts'i is the direct counterpart of Śrīvijaya in the Chinese annals, for as we shall see, Cūḍamaṇi-varman and his son Māravijayōttuṅga-varman are called kings of Śrīviṣaya-Kaṭāha in the Leyden grant and kings of San-fo-ts'i in the Song annals; and the list of dependencies of San-fo-ts'i given by Chau Ju-kua in 1225 agrees in many respects with the names of places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription of Rājendra Cōla as parts of the empire of Śrīviṣaya-Kaṭāha.¹⁸

On the position of San-fo-ts'i Chau Ju-kua says that "lying in the ocean, it controls the straits by which the foreigners' sea and land traffic must pass in either direction", that is, from the west to China and *vice versa*,¹⁹ a description that may well apply to Palembang. The identity of San-fo-ts'i with Śrīvijaya-Palembang has been doubted by R. C. Majumdar who following Groeneveldt has argued that Palembang and San-fo-ts'i were different places. First we may note the facts as given by the later Chinese writers on San-fo-ts'i and Ku-Kang as Palembang came to be called in later times by the Chinese:

A.D. 1178. The Kingdom of San-fo-ts'i sent, according to *Ling wai-tai-ta* an ambassador of the kingdom of 'Tchan-Pei with tribute.²⁰

A.D. 1225. Chau Ju-kua counts Pa-lin-fong (Palembang) as a dependency of San-fo-ts'i.

A.D. 1349-50. Wang Ta-yuan in his *Tao-i-chih-liao* writes separate paragraphs on San-fo-ts'i and Ku-Kang (Ch'iu Chiang as Rockhill transcribes it).

A.D. 1374. An embassy from San-fo-ts'i sent by king Ma-na-ha-Pao-lin-pang (Mahārāja Palembang)²¹.

14th Century—*Song-Che*. The king of San-fo-ts'i has the title Tchan-Pei.²² Towards the end of the T'ang dynasty in 905 an embassy went from him to China with "tribute", and the ambassador, who was the governor of the capital, received from the Emperor of China the title of "the general who pacifies the distant countries." In recording the embassies of 980 and 983 the same work applies the title Hia-tch'e (Old Malay Haji, king) to the king of San-fo-ts'i.²³ Under the year 1017²⁴ the title takes the form Hia-tch'e *Sou-wou-tch'a-p'ou-mi* Haji Sumatra Bhūmi (the king of the land of Sumatra). Lastly, under 1156,²⁵ recurs the old title of Śrīmahārāja in the form Si-li-ma-hia-lo-chö.

¹⁸ Coedès, *Nouvelle Théorie* pp. 4-5.

¹⁹ *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 62.

²⁰ Pelliot—D.I. p. 346. Also Ferrand, p. 16, n. 3.

²¹ Pelliot—D.I. p. 347.

²² Ferrand, p. 16. "Pelliot observes that here the name of the country is applied by mistake to its king."

²³ Ferrand, p. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 22.

15th Century. Ma Huan says Kieou-Kiang is the same country as ancient San-fo-ts'i, and it is also called P'o-lin-pang.²⁶

By no means exhaustive these extracts contain all that is relevant to our discussion. Three main facts emerge from them: (1) the name San-fo-ts'i comes into use from the early tenth century; (2) the ruler of San-fo-ts'i is described at different times as ruling the kingdom of 'Tchan-Pei, as ruler of Sumatra and as Mahārājā of Palembang or simply as Mahārāja; (3) Chau Ju-kua and Wang Ta-yuan in 1225 and 1349-50 treat San-fo-ts'i and Palembang (Ku-Kang) as two different places. Any view we take of San-fo-ts'i and its place in history must account for all these facts and fit into the general political history of these lands. These conditions appear to be best satisfied by the following remarks of Pelliot: "On this point, I believe, that Rockhill and Fujita have proposed the only solution which seems to me acceptable; it is that in 1349-50 the princes of Śrīvijaya no longer had their capital at Palembang but at Jambi; and possibly, this was so even in the Song epoch, because in 1225 Chau Ju-kua names Palembang among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i but says nothing of Jambi. We should then take back to a very early date the transfer of the capital to Jambi which is generally held to have been the result of a Javanese campaign in 1377. Before this transfer the Chinese annals knew Jambi very well under its true name (Tchan-Pei) and this state sent embassies in 1079, 1082, and 1088 The name of Kieou-Kiang (Ku-Kang) was perhaps given by the Chinese to Palembang in place of San-fo-ts'i because after the kings of Śrīvijaya had transferred their capital to Jambi, that place became San-fo-ts'i for them. Ma Huan and Fei-Sin have equally good reason to say that Kieou-Kiang (Palembang) is the ancient San-fo-ts'i, because Palembang was for long the capital of Śrīvijaya and continued to form part of Śrīvijaya even after Jambi had replaced it as capital, and at the commencement of the fifteenth century it was Palembang and not Jambi that had still some importance for maritime trade."²⁷

Clearly this explanation satisfies all the requirements of the case formulated above from a study of the data; particularly No. 2. R. C. Majumdar, however, thinks that "this attempt to explain away the difficulty and maintain the identity of San-fo-ts'i and Palembang is not successful."²⁸ His own view is as follows. "The only safe clue for the identification of San-fo-ts'i is to regard it as equivalent to Arabic Zābaj or Zābag. In that case San-fo-ts'i would be located in Malay peninsula and several circumstances support this view."²⁹ Majumdar draws attention to the statement in the Ming annals that Kan-to-li was the old name of San-fo-ts'i; and to Gerini's location of Kan-to-li on the east coast of the Malay peninsula. He points out that Kan-to-li resembles to a great extent

²⁶ Pelliot—D.I. p. 347.

²⁷ *T.P.* XXX (1933) pp. 376-7.

²⁸ *Suvarnadvipa*, Vol. I, p. 219, n. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 220.

Kaḍāra, or Kiḍāra, the Cōḷa name for the kingdom called San-fo-ts'i by the Chinese. "It is thus legitimate to suggest," he continues, "as a not improbable hypothesis that the first Chinese name Kan-to-li corresponds to Kiḍāra while the second Chinese name San-fo-ts'i was equivalent to Arabic Zābaj or Zābag. Except for the addition of a nasal sound in both Kan-to-li and San-fo-ts'i, these two names seem to correspond quite well with Kaḍāra and Zābaj. Further, it is to be noted that corresponding to the variant forms Kaḍāra-Kiḍāra in the Cōḷa records we have Kan-to-li and Kin-to-li in the Chinese annals." To these astounding propositions Majumdar adds a disarming foot-note saying: 'not being a sinologue or a philologist I do not stress these points very much, but merely offer a suggestion to scholars who are competent to deal with them.'³⁰ His citations from the Liang annals and Ma-Twan-Lin and his dependence on Fr. Ricci's Chinese charts even after Coedés' express warning against them do not bring any strength to his arguments.

Moens attaches greater importance to geographical data than to historical or linguistic considerations; and he is inclined to treat San-fo-ts'i and Śrī Vijaya as different and rival states. He cites the statement of the Song history regarding Chō-p'o (Java) saying: 'On the north you reach the sea in four days; and taking the sea to the N. W. we reach the kingdom of P'o-ni (Borneo) in fifteen days; then, in fifteen days, we reach the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i'.³¹ Again in the same annals, San-fo-ts'i is said to lie 'between Tchen-la and Chō-p'o', and both these statements point to some place in the southern end of the Malaka peninsula as the proper location for San-fo-ts'i. Again he cites Abu Zayd's statement that the town (capital, as Moens understands it) of Jāvaka (*ville de Djāwaga*, Ferrand) is situated facing China (*en face de la Chine*), at a distance, with a favourable wind, of thirty days' journey from there.³² This can signify, he says, nothing else than a locality on Malaka's east coast, the side of the peninsula turned towards China. He identifies Zābaj—San-fo-ts'i with Kaḍāram, and finally locates the state on the Ling-ya strait opposite the modern Singapore.

I have examined elsewhere Moens' location of Kaṭāha-Kaḍāram, and expressed my inability to accept his view of the subject.³³ Here I may note that Abu Zayd's data do not seem to be so decisively in favour of his view, even granting that the '*ville de Djāwaga*' is the same as San-fo-ts'i of which there can be a legitimate doubt. For Palembang (Śrī Vijaya), also at a distance of one month from China (I-tsing), may also be described, it seems to me, roughly as '*en face de la Chine*'. It must be granted that the citation from the Song annals does appear to be more favourable to Moens' argument. But, as he knows very well, other views have been

³⁰ *Suvarnadvīpa*, I. pp. 220-221.

³¹ Moens, p. 407 citing Pelliot, D.I., p. 296; see *Notes* p. 142.

³² Moens, pp. 450-1.

³³ JGIS., V, pp. 128 ff. Recently Dr. Quaritch Wales has reached the same conclusion on other grounds. JMBRAS, xviii (i) p. 76.

taken even of this passage; Schlegel suggested that the distances to P'o-ni and San-fo-ts'i were in each case measured from Java; Pelliot, with greater reason as it appears to me, thought that the text only gives the distance from one place to another, and there is no indication that it gives the shortest route for a journey from the point of departure to a given destination.³⁴ And on either of these views, the Song text will favour the location of San-fo-ts'i in Sumatra, and rule out the location proposed by Moens.

It is perhaps necessary to add that Moens' postulate of a conquest of Śrī Vijaya by San-fo-ts'i³⁵ seems to me to be unfounded. Sulayman (851 A.D.) says that Kalāh-bar and Zābag are under one ruler; and Abu Zayd Hasan (916 A.D.) adds that among the possessions of the Mahārāja of Zābag is the island called Śrībuza.³⁶ This seems to be the only ground for Moens' view that San-fo-ts'i conquered Śrī Vijaya between the two dates noted above. We have already stated our view of the relation between Zābag and Śrībuza of the Arab writers to whom San-fo-ts'i is unknown as such.

We hold, then, that the Śailēndras became rulers of Śrīvijaya about the middle of the 9th century, if not earlier. It has been assumed that Bālaputra was the first Śailēndra sovereign of Śrīvijaya and that his name meaning 'young son' implies that he was governing Śrīvijaya as the Viceroy of his father who was emperor in Java.³⁷ But neither of these statements is free from doubt; in particular, the inference from the proper name Bālaputra strikes one as untenable. The history of Śrīvijaya under the Śailēndras is continued in that of San-fo-ts'i; Java ceased to be part of the Śailēndra empire about A.D. 860, but how exactly this happened we do not know.³⁸

The first embassy to China from San-fo-ts'i under that name is, as we have seen, mentioned in A.D. 904-5.³⁹ Whether the change of name from Che-li-fo-ché to San-fo-ts'i in the Chinese annals was in any way connected with the advent of the Śailēndra Mahārājas in Śrīvijaya cannot be determined.

The active intercourse between the powerful empire of Śrīvijaya and the north-east of India, particularly the great monastery of Nālandā is attested by the Nālandā copper plate of Dēvapāla's reign already mentioned. A devout follower of the Buddha, Bālaputra of Śrīvijaya was attracted by the greatness of Nālandā and struck by the mutability of fortune. So in good time he built there a lofty *vihāra* to serve as the abode of the Bhikṣu Saṅgha, and then with the kindly assent of Dēvapālādēva in whose territory the great *vihāra* lay, Bālaputra endowed the new foundation with the income of five villages, to be used towards the

³⁴ D.I., pp. 305-6.

³⁵ P. 451.

³⁶ Ferrand, *Op. cit.*, pp. 53, 56.

³⁷ Coedès, *Etats Hindouises*, pp. 116 & 137.

³⁸ H.-J.G., p. 165. Also Bosch-T.B.G. (1925) p. 524.

³⁹ Ferrand, pp. 14, 17 & n. 1.

worship offered in the temples of Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā and other deities, towards the needs of the Bhikṣus in their health and in sickness, as well as for the copying of the scripture (*Dharmaratna*), and for repairs to the buildings. The value of this charter dating from the middle of the ninth century as evidence of constant contact between Śrīvijaya and the Pāla empire can hardly be exaggerated. The beginnings of this contact are attested about 75 years earlier by the Śailendra inscriptions of Jāva. This foundation of the monastery, therefore, and its endowment are not isolated acts but tangible proof that the numbers of pilgrims, scholars, and the monks going to Nālandā from Śrīvijaya had become so numerous as to justify special provision being made for their material and spiritual needs being met at that great centre.⁴⁰ This is not surprising, for Nālandā was in the holy land of Buddhism, and stood then at the height of its spiritual and intellectual dominance over all Asia.

In his eagerness to see with his own eyes the things that were noteworthy among different peoples, the celebrated Masūdī visited Jāvaka and China among other lands.⁴¹ His testimony on the condition of the empire and its external relations may, therefore, be accepted as that of a contemporary eye-witness. In A.D. 943 he speaks of the mariners of Siraf and Oman who continually perform the voyage to Kalāh and to Zābag, and a dozen years later he writes of "the kingdom of the Mahārāja, king of the Isles of Zābag and other Isles in the sea of China among which are Kalāh and Śrībusa," and says, "they designate all their kings by the title of Mahārāja. This empire (of the Mahārāja) has an enormous population and troops innumerable; voyaging in the most rapid vessel one cannot go round all these isles in two years, and they are all inhabited. The king (of these islands) possesses the largest variety of perfumes and aromatics as no other ruler does. His lands produce camphor, aloes, cloves, sandal, nutmeg, cardamum, cubeb, etc."

Several embassies are mentioned in the Song annals as having been sent by San-fo-ts'i to the imperial court in the course of the tenth century with presents comprising the products of the country. Sometimes the kings who sent the embassies are named but even the restoration of these names to their original forms affords scope for differences. But the descriptions of the embassies give the impression of a regular and systematic intercourse between the two courts from about 960 to 1178, when the emperor ordered that the envoys of San-fo-ts'i should not come to court any more but make an establishment at Chuan Chou in the province of Fukien. On this imperial order, Groeneveldt observes: "At last the Chinese began to find these compliments (in the form of embassies) rather expensive, and relegated their foreign friends to Chuan-Chu to trade there in the ordinary way."⁴² In 960 and 962 the ruler of San-fo-ts'i was Śrī Udayāditya

⁴⁰ Bosch. T.B.G. (1925) p. 562.

⁴¹ Ferrand (*Textes* I. pp. 90-92) doubts this statement, and calls the passage vague; I do not see why.

⁴² Notes, p. 192.

(Varman),⁴³ a name which takes two forms in the Chinese annals viz., Se-li Hou-ta-hia-li-tan, and Cheli-won-a.⁴⁴ The embassy of 962 brought back from China tails of the yak, white porcelain, silver utensils, silk thread, and two sets of saddle and bridle. No name of the ruler occurs in connection with the embassies of 971, 972, 974, and 975. In 980 and 983 the ruler is called Hia-tch'e (Old Malay, Haji-king). In 988 an envoy went to China with "tribute" and "in the winter of 992 information was received from Canton that this envoy who had left the capital two years ago had heard in the South that his country was invaded by Java and had therefore remained a year (at Canton). In the spring of 992 he had gone to Campā with his ship, but hearing no good news there he came back to ask for an Imperial decree", placing San-fo-ts'i under the protection of China. This is confirmed by another entry in the Song annals saying that an ambassador from Java who reached China in the twelfth month of the year 992 related "that his country was in enmity with San-fo-ts'i and that they were always fighting together. (sic.)"⁴⁵

Before discussing the political relations between Śrīvijaya and Jāva at the end of the tenth century let us note the role of Śrīvijaya in the world of culture. From the annals of the second Song dynasty we learn that the Chinese monk Fa-yu returning from India, whither he had gone in search of sacred books arrived at San-fo-ts'i in A.D. 983 and met there the Hindu monk Vimalaśrī (Mi-mo-lo-che-li) who evinced a desire to go with him to China and there undertake the translation of sacred books. The emperor sent thereupon a gracious edict summoning him to his side and he went. Later, Fa-yu proposed to return to India and before he left China, he obtained official letters addressed by the emperor to the Haji, king of San-fo-ts'i, to Sseu-ma-ki-mang, sovereign of the country, Ko-kou-lo; to Tsan-tan-lo (Chandra) of Ko-lan (Quilon), and to Mou-t'o-Sien (Mudrasēna) son of the king of Western India.⁴⁶ The facts thus recorded confirm the impression that San-fo-ts'i continued still to play the important role which Cheli-fo-che did in the days of I-tsing as a halfway house, martime and intellectual, between China and India.

Besides the political and religious contacts thus attested, there was also active commercial intercourse between Śrīvijaya and China as also between Śrīvijaya and India. In 980 a merchant from Śrīvijaya is said to have visited Swatow with a cargo of perfumery, medicaments, herbs, rhinoceros horn, and ivory. In 985 another captain of a ship is said likewise to have gone to China with the products of his country.⁴⁷ The specific mention of such facts may suggest the inference that such occurrences were rare enough to be considered specially note-worthy. This impression

⁴³ Moens, p. 457.

⁴⁴ Ferrand p. 17, Coedès p. 167.

⁴⁵ Notes, p. 144.

⁴⁶ *Rev. de l'hist. des Religions* XXXIV. p. 52 (1896)
Ferrand, pp. 22-24.

⁴⁷ Notes, p. 189.

would, indeed, be correct in so far as inland trade in China was seldom carried on in private ships, but the trade between China and the archipelago was by no means insignificant and was carried on principally in Chinese bottoms.⁴⁸ An envoy from Java related in 992 how a great Chinese merchant who was the owner of many vessels had come many times to his country and how he had availed himself of his guidance to come to the Imperial Court with tribute.⁴⁹

One curious fact recorded in the Song annals⁵⁰ is also of interest in this connection. In the year 971 a merchant shipping office was established at Canton and similar offices were established later at Hang-Chou and Ming-Chou (that is Ning-po). "All Ta-shih Arabs and foreigners from Ku-lo (i.e. Kalah), She-p'o (Java), Chang-Ch'eng (Annam), Po-ni (Borneo), Ma-i (Philippine islands) and San-fo-ts'i (Palembang) exchanged at these places for gold, silver, strings of cash, lead, tin, coloured silks, and porcelain ware their aromatics, rhinoceros horns, tusks of ivory, coral, amber, strings of pearls, steel, turtles' shells, tortoise shell, cornelians, *ch'ih-k'u* shells, rock crystal, foreign textile fabrics, ebony, sapan wood, etc." The Chinese government sought to regulate this traffic by treating trade in the more precious articles as the monopoly of government while allowing free trade in the commoner articles. This is definite evidence of the economic importance of this trade for China and we see that San-fo-ts'i and its neighbours took a prominent share in it.

To turn now to the political relations between Śrīvijaya and Java. The ambassador of Śrīvijaya to China is unable to return to the home country for the best part of two years (990-2). In fact we do not hear of his actual return home, and this is due to a Javanese invasion of Sumatra. Again, the Javanese embassy of 992, apparently the first of its kind for the period⁵¹ seems to be an announcement to the Imperial Court of the newly won victory. Let us also note the attempt on the part of the ambassador of Śrīvijaya, based, doubtless, on longstanding and well-established friendliness between the two countries, to make the Chinese emperor the arbiter in the war with Java or at least to gain his moral support for the cause of his country, we do not know, however, with what result.

Java was apparently ruled at this period by a number of rulers of whom a king of East Java who ruled from A.D. 991 to 1007 was the most celebrated.⁵² The Calcutta stone inscription dated 1041 calls him *Pūrvayavādhipa*, an expression which may mean either ruler of East Java or the former ruler of Java. This ruler followed an ambitious foreign policy, and for a time under his vigorous leadership Javanese power and

⁴⁸ H-J.G. p. 226

⁴⁹ Notes p. 144, H-J.G. p. 228

⁵⁰ Rockhill T. P. XV. p. 420. n. 1

⁵¹ H-J.G. p. 228.

⁵² H-J.G. 225 ff. His name was given till recently as Dharmavamsa Anantavikrama. It has been shown that these are titles of his son-in-law and successor Airlangga (1019-1042). Berg, *B.K.I.* (1938) p. 74-5, Also n. 1. Coedès, *États Hindouïses* pp. 165, 185 and 188.

influence spread over Bali, west Borneo, and Sumatra. We do not know, however, anything of the details of his Sumatran enterprise besides the facts noted above from the Chinese sources. Its success was limited and temporary. The years 990 to 992 were obviously the worst for Śrīvijaya. But the statement of the Javanese envoy that the two islands were always at war with each other and the dispatch of another embassy from San-fo-ts'i to China in 1003 show that Śrīvijaya suffered no permanent injury as a result of the Javanese invasion. In fact the policy of the Javanese ruler ended in disaster, and it appears that Śrīvijaya inflicted a terrible punishment on him for his having presumed to challenge her long-established power. In 1006-7 the capital of the Javanese ruler was laid in ruins and he was himself killed. His successor, Airlangga, had to seek safety in the recesses of forests. The Javanese inscriptions describe the occurrence as a "deluge" (*pralaya*). There is no direct evidence of the responsibility of Śrīvijaya for this disaster. The prince of Vuravari who is named in the inscriptions as the enemy might have been a Javanese ruler or a foreign invader, but everything points to the conclusion that Śrīvijaya must have strongly supported the enemy of the Javanese ruler even if she did not openly figure as such.⁵³

⁵³ Stein Callenfels O.V. 1919 pp. 156-63. G.N-I. I pp. 200-1, H-J.G. pp. 240-42,

V. SRIVIJAYA AND THE COLAS

After mentioning the embassy from Śrīvijaya whose return home was prevented by the Javanese invasion of Sumatra, the Song annals continue¹: “In the year 1003 the king Sè-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-tiau-hwa (Śrī Cūlāmaṇivarmadeva) sent two envoys to bring tribute; they related that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected in order to pray for the long life of the emperor, and that they wanted a name and bells for it, by which the emperor would show that he appreciated their good intentions. An edict was issued by which the temple received the name of Chēng-t'ien-wan-shou and bells were cast to be given to them. Moreover one of the envoys got the title of the ‘General who is attracted by Virtue’, and the other that of the ‘General who cherishes Civilizing Influence.’

“In the year 1008 the king Se-ri-ma-la-p'i (Śrī Māraviṣayottuṅga varman) sent three envoys to present tribute; they were permitted to go to the T'ai-Shan (one of the sacred mountains in China, province of Shan-tung) and to be with the emperor in the audience hall. Ultimately they were sent back with very liberal presents.”

The two monarchs of Śrīvijaya mentioned here are seen to be related as father and son, and to belong to the Śailēndravamśa from the Larger Leiden grant of the reign of the Cōla ruler Rājarāja I. The portion of the grant having the most direct bearing on our subject may be reproduced here: ²

‘He, this Rājakēsarivarman Rājarāja, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot-stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays (emanating) from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty,

‘to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful Cūlāmaṇi-varmavihāra, of (such) high loftiness (as had) belittled the Kanakagiri (i.e., Mēru), which had been built—in the name of his father, by the glorious Māraviṣayōttuṅgavarman, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest (viz.) the learned men, who was the Kalpa-tree to supplicants, who was born in the Śailēndra family, who was the lord of the Śrī-ṣaya (country) who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha, who had the Makara crest, (and) who was the son of Cūlāmaṇivarman that had mastered all state-craft,—at Nāgīpaṭṭaṇa, delightful (on account of) many a temple, rest-house, watershed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (situated) in the division called Paṭṭanakūrā (included) in the big group of districts named Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth,

¹ Groeneveldt, *Notes*, pp. 189-90. The correct identification of the rulers of San-fo-ts'i mentioned in these extracts was made by Coedès in 1918.

² E.I., XXII, pp. 241-2 and 257.

‘the village named Anaimangalam (which had its) four boundaries defined by circumambulation of the female elephant and (which was situated) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūrṇa (included) in the same group of districts (as has been named above).

‘When that powerful (Rājarāja) had obtained divinity, his wise son, king Madhurāntaka, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring edict (to be made) for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king-emperor, and ordered thus :—

‘As long as Śeṣa, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this *vihāra* last in (this) world with its endowment.

‘This lord of Kaṭāha of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings :—

“Protect (ye) for ever this my charity.”

We see thus that the *vihāra* of Negapatam was built by Śrī Māra-vijayōttuṅavarman and named after his father Cūlāmaṇivarman; the grant of the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddha of this *vihāra* was first made in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja’s reign i.e., 1006 A.D., and confirmed by Rājarāja’s son, Rājendra. It should be noted also that in the Tamil part of the record which was evidently drafted at the time of the original grant, the construction of the *vihāra* and *palli* (temple) in it is ascribed to the Kiḍārattaraiyan Cūlāmaṇipanman himself, and in each of the three contexts in which this reference occurs, (ll. 6–7, 13–15 and 200–1) the progressive present tense is used—*eḍuppiḱkinṇa*; the Sanskrit part cited above belongs to the reign of Rājendra and there the past participle *nirmāpitam* is used, and the construction is assigned to Māravi-jayōttuṅavarman. It is thus clear that the structure was begun by Cūlāmaṇivarman about 1006 A.D., he died soon after and was succeeded by his son whom we find ruling in 1008 or a little earlier as the entry in the Song annals indicates.³ Probably the destruction of the capital of the Javanese kingdom mentioned above was one of the earliest achievements of his reign and the friendship of the Śailēndras with the two great powers of China and South India must have stood them in good stead and given them a free hand in the pursuit of this enterprise.⁴

Something must be said at this point on the relations between Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha. Majumdar has argued ‘that the Śailēndra kings were rulers of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra and subsequently extended their suzer-

³ In 1008 an embassy from Māravi ... reached China, so his reign must have started a little earlier. R. C. Majumdar says: ‘The fact that although the formal grant in the Tamil portion was drawn up in the 23rd year of Rājarāja I, yet mention is only made of Cūlāmaṇivarman and not his son, might be taken to indicate that the former died in A.D. 1007-8. But this is somewhat problematical. In any case Cūlāmaṇivarman died shortly after A.D. 1005’. E.I., XXII, p. 283; *Suvarṇadvīpa* I, p. 169. The last statement is nearer the truth than the argument which precedes it. The date in the 23rd year (ll. 322-3) i.e., 163rd day of that regnal year of Rājarāja, was the day on which the necessary entries were made in the official registers (*variṇil ittu kkuḍuttadu*) by the officers who are named just before the date; we have no means of saying if Cūlāmaṇivarman was living on that day. We can only be certain that on the day of the actual grant i.e., 92nd day of the twenty-first year (l. 4) Cūlāmaṇivarman was alive and building the *vihāra*.

⁴ Coedès, p. 180-1.

ainty over Śrīvijaya'.⁵ He finds support for this view in two ways from the Leiden plates. First, except on one occasion, the Śailendra king 'is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha (var. Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra)' no less than five times. Secondly, even in the single context where he is called *Śrīviṣayādhipati*, this expression is followed immediately by the phrase *Kaṭāhā-dhipatyam-ātanvatā*, which according to Majumdar means: 'who extended the suzerainty (i.e., kingdom) of Kaṭāha'. Hence 'no doubt remains that the Śailendras, according at least to the writers of this inscription, were originally rulers of Kaṭāha, and then extended their suzerainty over Śrīvijaya.'

It is however difficult to accept this view for the following reasons:

1. The Song annals call both Cūlamanivarman and Māravi...rulers of San-fo-ts'i, and this name is, as pointed out above, both historically and (with some reservations) phonetically, a continuation of Śrīvijaya. (Cheli-fo-che).

2. Majumdar accepts the identification of Kaṭāha-Kaḍāra with Kedah in the Malay Peninsula. But there is nothing to indicate that Śailendra power in Insulindia started expanding from Kedah as its original seat; the earliest known inscriptions of the dynasty come from Java, and we have given above our view of how it came to rule in Śrīvijaya. And on the very first occasion when he is mentioned, the king is called *Śrīviṣayādhipati* in the Leiden plates.

3. The expression *Kaṭāhādhipatyam-ātanvatā* may well bear the interpretation put on it by Majumdar; but can also very well mean simply 'who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha', as the editor of the plates has taken it to mean. Majumdar says that the primary meaning of *tan* is to 'spread', 'extend' etc.; I would invite attention to the sentence *Harirahi-śayane-yoganidrām tanoti*, which occurs in l. 6 at the very opening of the Leiden plates, and this does not support Majumdar's contention; again, under *ātan*, which is the root with which we are really concerned, Monier-Williams gives the meanings 'to extend or stretch over', 'penetrate', 'overspread', and 'to seek to reach', so that it seems possible to interpret the expression in a sense exactly opposite to that of Majumdar; I really think that, except for the controversy over the original seat of Śailendra power, it would hardly have occurred to any one to read so much significance into this innocent expression as Majumdar has sought to do.

4. It is quite possible, however, that Kaṭāha-Kaḍāra was more familiar to the Tamils than Śrīvijaya, because as Coedès pointed out long ago, Kedah would be the first port of call for them in the eastern lands, and this would explain satisfactorily the greater popularity among them of the title *Kaḍārattaraiyan*. Krom puts the matter neatly: "most remarkable is the manner in which the Cōla king describes these Sumatran potentates: 'King of Kaṭāha and Śriviṣaya (Śrīvijaya), and the Tamil charter even omits altogether the last named part of the kingdom and speaks only of the king of Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra. This is, as Coedès has shown, Kedah. Thus, the

⁵ E.I., XXII, p. 283. Also *Suv.* I p. 170.

transmarine half of the great kingdom that we usually call Śrīvijaya, though clearly for Indians its centre of gravity lay precisely on the Malay peninsula. Already in the days of I-tsing it was possible to travel directly from Kedah to Negapatam, and it goes without saying that for navigation from India the usual route reached Kedah first, whence people took the seaway to the south by the strait of Malacca towards the Archipelago and China, but merchandise which crossed the isthmus was loaded and unloaded. That this land and Śrīvijaya belonged to one kingdom was, as we have often seen, well known to the Arabs, and the Cōla king knew it also very well. But Kaṭāha is for him and his land the most interesting part of the double kingdom.”⁶

There is thus no reason to treat the Śailēndras as other than rulers of Śrīvijaya. The Leiden plates, like the Arab accounts of the empire of the Mahārāja of Zābag, state that Kedah as well as Śrīvijaya (Kalah and Sribuza) were both under the same dynasty of rulers. And we shall see that this is also the position as revealed by the account of Rājēndra's naval expedition against this kingdom contained in the inscriptions of his reign.

As at Nālandā, more than a century earlier, so now at Negapatam the Śailēndra kings erected a *vihāra* and made endowments to it with the permission of the rulers of the country. This they must have done to provide for the amenities of the increasing number of visitors from their country to India. The relics of this *vihāra* are believed to have survived in Negapatam till 1867 when the Jesuits were allowed by the Government of Madras to dismantle them.⁷ The large number of Buddhist bronzes recovered from Negapatam, most of which are now in the Madras museum, also attest the ancient religious importance of this town.

The high position held at this time by Śrīvijaya in the world of Buddhism, and doubtless also its great political power, are attested by a miniature painting in a Nepalese manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century which bears the inscription: *Suvarṇapure Śrī-Vijayapure Lokanāthaḥ*,⁸ where Suvarṇapura stands obviously for Suvarṇadvīpa. Śrīvijaya was still, as in the days of I-tsing, a famous centre of Buddhist studies, and the celebrated Atiśa, who, as Dīpaṅkara Śrijñāna, reformed Tibetan Buddhism early in the eleventh century, spent a dozen years (c. 1011-23) in Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) studying under a Dharmakīrti, chief of the Sangha on the island, and getting one of the books he studied as a present from the ruler of the land, called Dharmapāla which is not a name so much as a title,⁹ perhaps of Māravijayōttuṅavarman or his successor.¹⁰ The Tibetan biography of Atiśa¹¹ says that Suvarṇadvīpa was the chief centre of Buddhism, and that Dharmakīrti, its chief priest, was considered

⁶ H.-J.G. p. 237.

⁷ E. I., XXII, p. 229.

⁸ Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Krom, H.-J.G., p. 247.

⁹ Krom, H.-J.G., pp. 248-9.

¹⁰ Coedès, p. 184.

¹¹ G.N.-I., I, pp. 206-7.

the greatest scholar of his time. It may be added that the Nepalese Ms. mentioned above contains a representation of a Lokanātha from Kaṭāha, and a Buddha Dīpaṅkara from Yavadvīpa, which Krom is inclined to identify with the Buddha of Bukit Seguntang.¹²

The beginning of the eleventh century may then be taken to mark the climax of the growth and development of the empire of Śrīvijaya. The challenge to its power from Java had been met and the Javanese ruler punished severely for his presumption; politics, trade and religion bound Śrīvijaya closely with other great powers of the Asiatic world in India and China. Embassies to China are recorded in the years 1017 and 1028, and the details relating to the first are of sufficient interest to be reproduced here: "In 1017 the king Ha-ch'i-su-wa-ch'a-p'u (Haji Sumatrabhūmi) sent envoys with a letter in golden characters, and tribute in the shape of pearls, ivory, Sanskrit books folded between boards, and slaves. By an imperial edict they were permitted to see the emperor and to visit some of the imperial buildings. When they went back an edict was issued addressed to their king, accompanied by various presents calculated to please him".

It is surprising that this powerful kingdom has left behind no inscriptions or other records calculated to trace even the outline of its history with any approach to continuity. We have to depend upon India and China for most of our knowledge, and what we learn from these sources is necessarily fitful and meagre. The next important reference to Śrīvijaya occurs in the inscriptions of Rājendra Cōla I from the thirteenth year of his reign i.e. from A.D. 1025; here we find recorded in full detail the narrative of a considerable maritime expedition undertaken by the Cōla monarch against Śrīvijaya and of the conquests effected by it in the island empire. We learn nothing, however, of the causes that brought about a change in the close and friendly relations that subsisted between the two empires in the reign of Rājarāja I and the early years of Rājendra I. This was the period when the Cōla empire was developing into a great naval power also¹³ and seeking to maintain commercial and political relations with the imperial court of China just as Śrīvijaya did. But Śrīvijaya, still in the full flood of her expansionist policy, perhaps found herself obliged to apply strict methods of control over the commerce that passed through her territories in order to maintain herself in the privileged position she had obtained by means of her strength and vigilance, and after the realisation of her aggressive designs against Java she had less need to be on friendly terms with the Cōlas. Thus, the rivalry between Śrīvijaya and the Cōlas

¹² *De Heligdommen*, pp. 20-1.

¹³ Following Majumdar Coedès has stated that from A.D. 1007 Rājarāja boasted of his conquest of 12,000 islands. It is perhaps worth noting that this is a reference to the Maldives. (See *Colas* I, p. 220.) Again Coedès mentions two expeditions of Rājendra against Kaṭāha-Srīvijaya, the first in 1017 and the second and greater one, in 1025. This is extremely unlikely. The data on which Majumdar relies for the supposed first expedition are neither reliable nor conclusive. (See *Colas* I, p. 254 and nn.) Rājarāja died in 1014 and for sometime after his death Rājendra was still on friendly terms with Māravijayōttungavarman and confirming the grants made to the *vihāra* at Negapatam in the larger Leiden grant; 1017 appears altogether too early a date for a Cōla expedition against Śrīvijaya, and there is, in fact, no evidence for it.

might have been the result of the intolerance of Śrīvijaya of the emergence of a new naval power in the Indian ocean or of some specific acts on her part to throw obstacles in the way of the increasing intercourse between the Cōla kingdom and the Chinese empire. Or it might have been only the assertion of Rājendra's great maritime strength, a new feature in South Indian, if not in Indian, polity, by the performance of a unique *digvijaya-yātrā* through the extensive territories of a mightily rival across the seas. We do not know. But of this we may be certain; though Rājendra's expedition was attended with considerable success, there is no indication of any permanent Cōla occupation of Śrīvijaya as a whole or even in part; in fact everything points to the conclusion that Śrīvijaya continued more or less the same after the Cōla expedition as before it; whatever damage it sustained during the expedition it repaired soon after and sought to strengthen its political position by a new orientation of its foreign policy possibly due to this very expedition.

The account of the expedition contained in Rājendra's *praśasti* is as follows :

“(Rājendra) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāma-Vijayōttuṅavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured with noise the (arch called) Vidyādharatōraṇa at the war-gate of his extensive capital (*nagar*), Śrīvijaya, with the jewelled wicket-gate adorned with great splendour and the gate of large jewels; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart; Māyiruḍiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilaṅgāsōka undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappālam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Mēvilimbaṅgam guarded by beautiful walls: Vaḷaip-pandūru possessed of Viḷaippandūru (?); Talaitakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; the great Tāmraliṅga (capable of) strong action in dangerous battles;¹⁴ Ilāmuri-dē am, whose fierce strength rose in war; the great Nakkavāram, in whose extensive gardens, honey was collecting; and Kaḍāram of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea ”.

This narrative makes it clear that though Saṅgrāma-Vijayōttuṅavarman, possibly the son and successor of Māra-Vijayōttuṅavarman, was known to the Tamils as king of Kaḍāram, yet the chief seat of his power lay in Śrīvijaya in Sumatra; for after the capture of the king, his elephants and treasure, the inscription records the capture of Śrīvijaya in some detail and then passes on to other places, the two names immediately following being places in Sumatra, and winds up by mentioning Kaḍāram at the end, as the place best known to South Indians and most calculated, to impress them of the grandeur of the achievement of Rājendra.¹⁵

¹⁴ This line is now read by me, in accordance with a suggestion made by my friend Mr. Desikavināyagam Pillai, as follows : *tidamar valvinai Ma-Damar lingamum*; *contra*, Colas, I, p. 263, n.

¹⁵ Cf. Krom. H-J.G. pp. 250-1,

Excepting Śrīvijaya, and Kaḍāram, the two capitals so to say of the empire, it is not easy to explain the order in which the different places are named; this does not seem to follow with any accuracy the actual course of the campaign, but is apparently determined by the requirements of verse. Most of the places have been traced in Sumatra, and Malay peninsula, though some of these names still defy satisfactory identification, particularly Valaippandūru.

Pannai is *Pane* at the mouth of Pana Baroman on the east coast of Sumatra.

Malaiyūr is, doubtless, Malāyu, famous from the seventh century and usually identified with Jambi.

Māyirudīgam and Ilangāsōkam are the Ji-lo-t'ing and Lang-ya-sseu-kia of the Chinese; the latter being called Lanka Śuka in Malay and Javanese chronicles, a name which survives in modern geography as that of a tributary of the upper Perak river; both these places lay on the Malay peninsula.

Māpappālam—has been held to be either in Pegu or the Isthmus of Kra or even in Pahang or Penang.

The identification of Mēvilimbaṅgam and Valaippandūru is not easy. The former is sought in Perak by Rouffaer and in Karmaraṅga (Kalaśapura) on the Isthmus of Ligor by Lévi. Rouffaer suggests that Valaippandūru was the fortress of Paṇḍur(anga), the southern end of Campā, but Krom has rightly observed that these are mere guesses not based on any satisfactory grounds and it is doubtful, in any event, if the Cōla expedition went out as far afield as Campā. Talaitakkōlam is clearly the Takkōla of Ptolemy and of *Milindapanha* on the Isthmus of Kra.

Mādamarlingam, the great Tāmṛaliṅga, is doubtless the Chinese Tanma-ling which had its centre at Ligor.

Ilāmuriḍēśam—the Lāmūri of the Arabs and Lambri of Marco Polo, lies at the northern extremity of Sumatra. Mānakkavāram is surely the islands of Nicobar. That Kaḍāram is Keḍah, and Śrīvijaya is Palembang we already know.¹⁶

Of one thing we may be reasonably certain; the extent of the maritime empire of Śrīvijaya as gathered from this inscription more or less corresponds to impressions gathered from the contemporary Arab accounts of the empire of Zābag, comprising many islands and including both Kalāh (Kaḍāram) and Śrībuza (Śrīvijaya) within its compass. The 'many islands' of the Arab writers, as also the places named in Rājendra's inscription, probably represent vassal states with kings of their own, who had once been independent, were now subject to Śrīvijaya, and might throw off the yoke when they found a suitable opportunity.

The course of Rājendra's campaign is by no means clear; but we

¹⁶ H.-J.G. p. 251-2.

Coedés : 182-3

may assume with Krom : " first an attack on the capital Śrīvijaya in which the king was taken prisoner, followed by the occupation of two important points on the east coast of Sumatra ; then the conquest of the Malay peninsula, and finally Atjeh (Lamri) and the Nicobars on the way back home ; all this summed up in the fall of Kaṭāha ".

This expedition had obviously no permanent political results ; a vague acknowledgment of Cōḷa supremacy was doubtless extracted before the expedition returned to South India ; but of a permanent and continuous subordination of Śrīvijaya to the Cōḷa power, there is no trace whatever. Even in South India, the Cōḷas did not displace the ruling dynasties in conquered territory, but were content with tributes in some cases, and continued to employ the representatives of the old dynasties in administrative offices of more or less responsibility according to circumstances. The policy to Śrīvijaya could not have been different except by the control from the centre, if any, being much lighter than in India. Of the fate of Saṅgrāma-Vijayōttungavarman himself, we know nothing. But within a few years of the Cōḷa expedition, in the year A.D. 1028, an embassy was sent from Śrīvijaya to China by a new ruler Che-li-tie-houa i.e, Śrī Dēva, and was received with particular honours : " The custom was that envoys from distant countries, who brought tribute, got a girdle adorned with gold and silver, but this time girdles entirely of gold were given to the ambassadors of San-fo-ts'i." ¹⁷

It is the Cōḷa expedition that seems to have left a trace in the memory of the Malays of the peninsula whose annals recount how the Tamil Rāja "Cōḷan" (or Suran) destroyed Gaṅganagara on the river Dinding as also a fort on the Lengiu, tributary to the Johore river, and finally occupied Tumasik, the site of future Singapore. ¹⁸

It seems probable that Rājendra's expedition was indirectly the cause of an important change in the political relations between Śrīvijaya and Java. We saw that the attempt of Java to challenge the long established supremacy of Śrīvijaya resulted in protracted hostilities which ended in the destruction of the Javanese capital, the death of its king and the flight of Airlangga. Then came the Cōḷa onslaught ; Śrīvijaya naturally became anxious that a repetition of such an invasion from a distant land should not find her engaged in hostilities nearer home ; we see accordingly a friendly understanding developing between Śrīvijaya and Java in the reign of the celebrated Javanese king Airlangga (1019-1042). After the debacle (*pralaya*) of 1006, the young Airlangga aged 16 at the time, had taken refuge with the monks on the Mount Vanagiri where he stayed for four years. In 1010 the nobles and Brahmans of Java went to him and requested him to accept royal power as successor to his father-in-law, and in 1019 he was crowned officially with the title of "Rake Halu Śrī Lokēśvara Dharmavamśa Airlangga Ananta Vikramōttuṅgadēva." His authority extended, at first, only over a small territory on the south coast

¹⁷ Notes, p. 190 ; Ferrand, p. 20.

¹⁸ Coedès, p. 183, Jour. Malay R.A.S. 1940, p. 77.

of the isle between Surabaya and Pasuruhan. He had to wait for a dozen years more before beginning the reconquest of Java—a task which was rendered easy by the enfeeblement of Śrīvijaya as a result of the Cōla invasion of 1025. Airlangga's campaigns of reconquest accordingly began in 1028-29, and lasted for seven or eight years thereafter. In the end, however, both Airlangga and the rulers of Śrīvijaya realised that their interest lay in developing mutual friendship instead of weakening each other by hostilities.

Airlangga appears to have given expression to this new attitude towards Śrīvijaya in an unmistakable manner. He espoused Sangrāma-Vijaya Dharmaprasādōttuṅga-dēvī, a daughter of Sangramavijayōttuṅgavarman about 1030, and in 1035, the illustrious poet Kaṇva wrote the *Arjuna-vivāha*, an epithalamium on the marriage of Airlangga with the Sumatran princess in the guise of an episode from the Mahābhārata. The queen is mentioned in the inscriptions of Airlangga from 1030 to 1041 as the first dignitary of the court, Rakryan mahāmantri-i-Hino. At her death in 1041 Airlangga founded the monastery of Pucangan (Skt. Pūgavat i.e. Mountain of areca palms) in the delta of the Brantas.¹⁹ Again, the foundation by Airlangga in 1035 of another monastery called Śrīvijayāśrama furnishes further evidence of the friendship between the two states. From this period a certain new equilibrium characterises the relations between Śrīvijaya and Java which had been rivals from about 990 A.D. Śrīvijaya is left free to maintain her political supremacy in the west of the Archipelago, and Java gains a similar recognised position in the east. Contemporary documents show, however, that the commercial relations of Java extended to the west also. We may also note that inscriptions mention the arrival, in the ports controlled by Airlangga and situated at the mouth of the Brantas in the bay of Surabaya and more to the north in Tuban, of merchants of various nationalities such as Kling (Hindus of Kalinga), Arya (Hindus of North India), Gōla (Gaudas from Bengal), Singhala (Ceylonese), Karnāṭaka (Kanarese), Cōlika (Cōlas of the Coromandel coast), Malayāla (Malabars), Paṇḍikira (Pāṇḍya and Cēra), Draviḍa (Tamils from Tondaimaṇḍalam), Campā, (Cams), Remen (Moṅs or Malays of Rāmni i.e. Achin) and Kmir (Khmers).²⁰

Our sources are silent on what passed at Śrīvijaya after the Cōla expedition till 1064. At the last mentioned date the name of a certain Dharmavīra, otherwise unknown, is found inscribed on the image of a Makara bearing clear traces of Javanese artistic influence and found at Solok to the west of Jambi.²¹ In 1067 an ambassador from San-fo-ts'i reached China. He was one of the highest dignitaries of the kingdom and

¹⁹ Berg-BKI. 97, (1938) pp. 1-75. Coedés suggests that the Sumatran princess might have been the widow of Sangrāma-vijayōttungavarman, whom, according to a prevalent custom, Airlangga married to legitimise his eventual pretensions on Śrīvijaya, (p. 187, n. 1).

²⁰ Coedés, p. 186-7.

²¹ Ibid, p. 189.

bore the name Ti-houa-k'ie-lo (Dīvakara) ²² and the Emperor conferred on him the title of "Great General who supports Obedience and cherishes Renovation."

To complete the story of the relations between Śrīvijaya and the Cōlas. Round about 1068 A.D. the Cōla king Vīrarājendra is said to have conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in search of his aid and protection, and to have afterwards handed over the conquered kingdom to his protege. ²³ We have as yet no other evidence that throws any light on the occurrences so briefly alluded to here. It looks as if there was some disputed succession or some other civil strife which sent a prince of Śrīvijaya so far afield as the Cōla court in search of assistance; the mission was apparently successful and the prince gained his object and was restored to the throne of Śrīvijaya. If that was so, he perhaps became, at least for a time, the vassal of the Cōla monarch. It is all the more surprising that a Chinese account preserved by Ma Twan-lin should state that exactly in this period (1068-77) the Cōla was subject to San-fo-ts'i. ²⁴ This can only be explained as the result of wanton misrepresentation on the part of the envoys of Śrīvijaya who perhaps represented the party that gained the upper hand for a time in that country and against whom the other side had appealed to the Cōla emperor, Vīrarājendra. ²⁵ However that may be, the friendly relations between Śrīvijaya and the Cōla empire seem to have been reestablished after Vīrarājendra's expedition, and we have clear evidence of the resumption of peaceful intercourse, commercial and religious, between the two empires. A fragmentary Tamil inscription from Lobo Toewa in Sumatra is dated Śaka 1010 (A.D. 1088) and mentions the celebrated corporation of Tamil merchants, the Tiśai-āyirattu-Aiññāruvar, whose international position and extensive commercial activities form the subject of many *praśastis* in South Indian inscriptions. ²⁶ Again we have the so-called smaller Leiden plates of Kulōttunga I ²⁷ dated A.D. 1090 recording the arrival of two *dūtas* (ambassadors) from the Kidāratraraiyan, ruler of Kidāram (and Śrīvijaya), Rājavidyādhara and Abhimānottunga, who preferred a request for the issue of a copper plate grant (*tāmra-śāsanam pannittaravendum enru*) enumerating the amenities and privileges con-

²² An embassy from Chu-lien (Cōla country) which reached China in 1077 stated that the ruler of the Cōla country at that time was called Ti-houa-kia-lo (Hirth and Rockhill—*Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 100). On the strength of this, I thought at one time that the high Sumatran official who visited China in 1067 was identical with the Cōla ruler of 1077, i.e., Kulōttunga I (*Colas* II, p. 25; B.E.F.E.O. XL, p. 290). I do not believe any more that the early years of Kulōttunga were spent in adventures overseas as I now think he had enough to do nearer home, and that a fairly satisfactory reconstruction of his career is possible without postulating "travels" abroad. I, therefore, accept the usual rendering Dīvakara as the name of the Sumatran official. Why the name of the Cōla emperor of 1077 is also transcribed in Chinese by nearly identical characters I cannot determine, but must leave sinologists to explain.

²³ SII., III, no. 84; *Colas* I, p. 332. The text of 175 of 1894, l. 5 (SII., Texts, V, no. 468) reads; *tan kalaladainda mannavarku Kidaram erindu kuduttaruli*, which sets at rest the doubt expressed by Majumdar in *Suvarnadvipa*, p. 182, n.

²⁴ *Colas*, II, pp. 27-8.

²⁵ See also Krom, H.-J.G., p. 303; G.N.-I., p. 225.

²⁶ TBG., 1932, p. 314; also *Colas*, II, p. 30.

²⁷ EI., XXII, pp. 267-81.

ceded to the Śrī Śailēndra Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra of Negapatam - also called Rājarājapperumbalī and to another *vihāra* - apparently very near it viz., Rājēndraśōḷapperumbalī. This second *pallī* is mentioned only once in ll. 5-7 as follows :

Kiḍārattaraiyan Gēyamāṇikka valanāttu p- Paṭṭanakkūrrattu Śōḷakula-valli paṭṭanattu²⁸ eḍupṭitta Rājēndraśōḷapperum-pallikkum Rājarājapperumpallikkum palliccandam āna ūrgal ;

and then only the Rājarājapperumbalī is mentioned again in l. 14, and ll. 39-40 where it is identified with the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra. A study of the villages named and incomes settled on the *vihāra* by this grant shows that the new grant not only included the whole of the endowment made in the reign of Rājarāja I, but made additions to it which more than doubled the value of the original income to the *vihāra* from the royal endowment. Considering the manner in which Rājēndra śōḷapperumbalī is named first in the initial reference to the '*vihāra* complex' in this record, the despatch of messengers from Kaḍāram to the Cōḷa capital (Ayirattalī), and the extensive additions made to the old grant besides its renewal, the suggestion may be made that the Rājēndraśōḷapperumbalī was a new construction undertaken in Negapatam by the ruler of Śrīvijaya and that it was named after the reigning Cōḷa monarch, Kulottunga who also bore the name Rājēndra.

²⁸ This is clearly Negapatam as pointed out by the editor of the grant in EI.

VI. SRIVIJAYA IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES : LAST DAYS AND FALL

The Song annals¹ record that during the period 1078 to 1085 envoys came to China from San-fo-ts'i "bringing silver, pearls, camphor oil, olibanum, and other products of the country. The letter they brought was first forwarded to the court from Canton where they waited till they were escorted to the capital. The Emperor remembering that they had come from very far gave them liberal presents and then allowed them to return. The next year he gave them sixty-four thousand strings of cash, 15,000 tiels of silver, and favoured the two envoys who had come with honorary titles. One of these envoys asked permission to buy golden girdles, various things made of silver, purple dresses for Buddhist monks, and official tablets² all of which was given him according to his desire.

"In the year 1080 a foreigner from the south arrived at Canton; he said he had the direction of the affairs in his country, and the daughter of the king sent a letter in Chinese characters to the Superintendent of Trade, together with camphor-baros³ and cotton cloth. The Superintendent dared not receive this and he reported it to the throne, whereupon he was ordered to pay the estimated value of the goods; the said functionary, then, bought silks for the amount and gave these to him.

"In 1082 three envoys from San-fo-ts'i came to have an audience from the Emperor and brought golden lotus flowers containing pearls, camphor of Baros, and (they accomplished the ceremony called) *Sa-tien*⁴; they all received honorary titles according to their rank. The third envoy died in China, after he had left the capital; and the government gave a present of 50 pieces of silk for his obsequies.

"In 1083 three other envoys came who all received honorary titles according to their rank.

"In the period Chao-Cheng (1094—1097) they made their appearance once again.

"In the year 1156 the king Se-li ma-hoa-lo-chö (Śrī Mahārāja) sent envoys to bring tribute. The Emperor said 'when distant people feel themselves attracted by our civilising influence their discernment must be praised. It is therefore that I rejoice in it, but not because I want to benefit by the products of their country'. On this occasion the king of San-fo-ts'i had also sent pearls to be presented to one of the ministers who had however died in the meantime; the Emperor gave orders to receive them and to pay in return the estimated value."

¹ Notes, pp. 190-91.

² The meaning of these words is doubtful—Groeneveldt.

³ Camphor of Baros—Ferrand.

⁴ This consisted in spreading camphor and pearls on the steps of the throne of the Emperor—Ferrand, p. 21 & n.

"In the year 1178 they again sent envoys to bring as tribute products of the country: on this occasion the Emperor issued an edict ordering that they should not come to court any more but make an establishment at Ch'üan-chou in the province of Fu-kien."

Ma Twan-lin (13th century) cites another embassy of 1176 and says that the king who sent the embassy of 1178 had begun his reign in 1169 and received an investiture from the Emperor confirming all the titles enjoyed by his ancestors together with presents comprising ceremonial dress, a girdle of gold, horses, saddles, and silks, traditionally accorded to princes of his rank on the occasion of their accession. In 1172 this king asked for the sanction of the Chinese court to buy a ship-load of copper and to engage the services of a number of Chinese workmen who could make tiles of that metal. The Emperor gave his consent on condition that this demand would not be repeated.⁵

Though the embassy of 1178 is the last recorded in the Song annals, the history of the Ming Dynasty states that these embassies came to China without interruption, throughout the period of the second Song, that is, till 1279.⁶

A number of Arab writers continue their notices through the 12th century, generally repeating earlier writers. But the details given by Idrisī (1154) are of some interest. They refer to the trade between Zābag including Śrībusa and the East Coast of Africa, to the superiority of the iron got at Sofala which fetched high prices in India and the islands of the East, and to the settlement of the Chinese in Zābag for trade and the visits made for the same purpose by other foreigners in considerable numbers. These attest in the clearest manner the important position held by Śrīvijaya in the commerce of the Indian ocean and show that the political power of that kingdom was largely dependent on its economic prosperity due to its geographical situation.⁷

Above all we have the invaluable notices in the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of Chou-k'ü-fei which was published in A.D. 1178. At the time he wrote, Java had become more important than San-fo-ts'i, doubtless, owing to the success of Airlangga's policy. The Chinese writer says "of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods none surpass the realm of the Arabs (Ta-shi). Next to them comes Java (Shō-P'o); the third is Palembang (San-fo-ts'i). Many others come in the next rank." The same author states that San-fo-ts'i was an important thoroughfare on the sea-routes of the foreigners on their way to and from China. He gives the sailing directions followed by ships from San-fo-ts'i to China and adds "(traders) coming from the country of Ta-shi (Arabia) after travelling south to Quilon (Ku-lin) on small vessels, transfer to big ships, and, proceeding East, they make Palembang (San-fo-ts'i). After this they come to China by the same route as the Palembang ships".⁸

⁵ *Meridionaux*, pp. 565-6; Coedés, p. 216; Ferrand, p. 22; nn. 1 & 2.

⁶ *Notes*, p. 192.

⁷ Ferrand, *Relations I* pp. 173-6; H-J.G., p. 304.

⁸ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 23-4.

San-fo-ts'i has, according to Chou-k'ü-fei "no natural products but the people are skilled in fighting. When they are about to fight, they cover their bodies with a medicine which prevents swords wounding them. In fighting on land or on water none surpass them in impetuosity of attack; even the Ku-lin people come after them. If some foreign ship, passing this place, should not enter here, an armed party would certainly come out and kill them to the last.

"This country has great store of rhinoceros, elephants, seed pearls and medicinal aromatics. It is a custom of this people to make rafts to float on the water and to live on them".⁹

Writing about half a century later in 1225, Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese inspector of foreign trade at Ch'uan-chou, incorporated in his *Chu-fan-chi* (Record of Foreign Nations) almost everything of value he found in the work of Chou-k'ü-fei, and added many particulars of his own. His book comprises two parts, a description of the lands engaged in the trade between China and Arabia, and secondly a description of the articles entering into that trade. His chapter on San-fo-ts'i is among the most valuable notices of this kingdom that have come down to us. In the second part of his work, Chau Ju-kua points out on several occasions that articles only imported by way of San-fo-ts'i were, in China, often thought to be the products of that country. He says: "Owing to this country (San-fo-ts'i) being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all foreign nations, the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for the trade of foreign ships."¹⁰

There is reason to think that Chau Ju-kua's data especially those relating to political conditions reflect a state of things that was strictly not contemporary but related to an earlier time, and he himself furnishes indications in other parts of his work that go far to confirm this view. But the more general statements on the social and economic life of the people may well be accepted at their face value.

Chau Ju-kua says:¹¹ "the wall of the (capital) city is built of bricks, and measures several tens of *li* round. When the king goes out, he sits in a boat; his body has a *man-pu* (sarong) wrapped round it. He is sheltered by a silk umbrella and guarded by men bearing golden lances.

"The people either lived scattered about outside the city, or on the water on rafts of boards covered over with reeds, and these are exempt from taxation. They are skilled at fighting on land or water. When they are about to make war on another state they assemble and send forth such a force as the occasion demands. They (then) appoint chiefs and

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 63, n. 1. A modern description of Palembang cited by Hirth and Rockhill (p. 64, n. 5) has this: "The city is a large one, extending four or five miles along a fine curve of the river, which is as wide as the Thames at Greenwich. The stream is, however, much narrowed by the houses which project into it upon piles, and within these, again, there is a row of houses built upon great bamboo rafts which are moored by rattan cables to the shore or to piles, and rise and fall with the tide."

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 193.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 60-62.

leaders, and all provide their own military equipment and the necessary provisions. In facing the enemy and craving death they have not their equal among nations.

"They have no stringed copper cash, but use chopped off lumps of silver in their business transactions. During most of the year the climate is hot and there is but little cold weather. Their domestic animals are very much like those of China. They have wine of flowers, wine of cocoanuts, and wine of arecanuts and honey, all fermented though without yeast of any kind, but they are intoxicating to drink.

"In writing documents on official affairs they use foreign (Sanskrit according to Song annals) characters, and the king's signet is used as a seal. They also know Chinese characters, which they use in sending memorials to (our) court.

"The laws of the country are very severe; adultery exposes man and woman to the severest form of punishment (i.e. death).

"When the king dies the common people go into mourning by shaving their heads; his personal followers choose, however voluntary death by leaping into the blazing fire; this is called living and dying together.¹²

"There is (in San-fo-ts'i) a (kind of) Buddha (i.e. image) called 'Hill of Gold and Silver,' and it is cast in gold; each succeeding king before ascending the throne has cast a golden image to represent his person, and they are most particular to make offerings of golden vessels to these images, and the golden images and golden vessels all bear inscriptions to caution future generations not to melt them down. When anyone in this country is dangerously ill he distributes his weight in silver among the poor of the land, and this is held to be a means of delaying death.¹³

"They style their king Lung-Ts'ing (?). He may not eat grain but is fed on *shahu* (sago). Should he do otherwise the year would be a dry one and grain dear. He also bathes in rose water; should he use ordinary water, there would be a great flood. (The king) has a high cap of gold, set with hundreds of jewels and very heavy. At great court ceremonies none but the king is able to wear it; all other people are unable. When the throne becomes vacant, all the king's sons are assembled, the cap is handed them and who is able (to bear its weight) succeeds to the throne."

Among the products of the country are reckoned tortoise shell, camphor, varieties of gharu-wood, cloves, sandal wood and cardamoms. Arab traders brought pearls, frankincense, rose-water, gardenia flowers, myrrh, aloes, asafoetida, patchuk, liquid storax, elephants' tusks, coral trees, cat's eyes, amber, foreign cotton stuffs and sword blades. All these products, native and foreign, were exchanged for gold, silver, porcelain ware, silk brocades, skeins of silk, silk gauzes, sugar, camphor, and so on.

The control exercised on foreign shipping briefly mentioned by Chou K'u-fei, is described more elaborately with a mixture of fact and fable by

¹² For this institution of Companions of Honour, see my *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 128-9.

¹³ This is a variant of the well-known *tula-purusa-dana* of the Hindu Codes,

Chau Ju-kua who says : " This country, lying in the ocean and controlling the straits through which the foreigners' sea and land traffic in either direction must pass, in olden times used an iron chain as a barrier to keep the pirates of other countries in check. It could be kept up or lowered by a cunning device. If a merchant ship arrived it was lowered. After a number of years of peace, during which there has been no use for it, it has been removed and (now) lies coiled upon the shore. The natives reverence it like a Buddha, and vessels coming there sacrifice to it. When rubbed with oil it shines like new. Crocodiles do not dare pass over it to do mischief. If a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack, and all are ready to die (in the attempt). This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre."

Lastly we get a remarkable list of fifteen dependencies (provinces?) of San-fo-ts'i of which the names may be reproduced together with the identifications proposed by modern scholars : ¹⁴

1. P'ong-fōng (Pahang);
2. Tong-ya-nōng (Trengganau);
3. Ling-ya-ssi-kia (Lengkasuka);
4. Ki-lan-tan (Kelantan);
5. Fo-lo-an (South Selangor);
6. Ji-lo-t'ing (Jelutong in Malay Pen.);
7. Ts'ien-mai (Sémang);
8. Pa-t'a (Batak, in Sumatra or Malaya Pen.);
9. Tan-ma-ling (Tāmralinga, Ligor);
10. Kia-lo-hi (Grahi on the Bay of Bandon);
11. Pa-lin-fong (Palembang);
12. Sin-t'o (Sunda);
13. Kien-pi (Kampar, on the e. coast of Sumatra);
14. Lan-wu-li (Lamuri; Atjeh); and
15. Silan (Ceylon).

That this list is by no means an accurate one or a statement of the contemporary situation becomes clear from data recorded by Chau Ju-kua himself elsewhere in his work. Ceylon, for instance, which is here reckoned among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i is said elsewhere to be under the rule of Nan-p'i, i.e., the Nairs of Malabar; which is much more probable. It is, however, possible that a part of Ceylon had already fallen under the occupation of the Jāvakas whose activities in Ceylon we shall soon consider in some detail.¹⁵ Again of (13) Kien-pi we learn elsewhere :

" Formerly it was a dependency of San-fo-ts'i, but after a fight, it set up a king of its own."¹⁶ This statement of Chau Ju-kua is among the few indications we get of the dwindling power of Śrīvijaya at the beginning of

¹⁴ Krom, H.-J.G., p. 307.

¹⁵ H. and R. (p. 75, n. 10) suggest that the different statements of Chau Ju-kua re. Ceylon refer to two different periods or different portions of the island. The latter is more likely.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 71.

the thirteenth century A.D. The mention of (12) Sin-t'o (Sunda) as falling within the sphere of Śrīvijaya is worth noting as an index of the relations between Sumatra and Java; Chau Ju-kua says elsewhere that there was a good harbour in Sunda which also produced the best pepper; the people practised agriculture and lived in thatched houses erected on piles; there was no settled government, and the people were given to brigandage, "on which account foreign traders rarely go there." But this remark as Coëdès has observed, might well be applied to the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i itself which was apparently degenerating from the position of a high and respected naval power to that of a veritable piratical organisation, as the remarks of Chau Ju-kua himself cited above go to show.

Even more remarkable than Chau Ju-kua's statement that Kien-Pi (Kampar) on the east coast of Sumatra set up a king of its own is his omission to include Tchan-pei (Jambi) among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i. But, while Chau Ju-kua has nothing to say of Jambi, we learn from the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*¹⁷ that in 1079 and in 1088 Jambi sent envoys of its own to China. We must also note that Chau Ju-kua has separate notices of other countries besides Ceylon, and Kampar which he includes among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, viz., Tan-ma-ling, Ling-ya-si-kia, Fo-lo-an, Sin-t'o, and Lan-wu-li.

It is thus clear that at the time to which the data of Chau Ju-kua relate the empire of Śrīvijaya comprised a number of more or less distinct political entities some of which at least were beginning to resent their subordination to Śrīvijaya. On the other hand, we have no evidence to show that this was not the normal condition of the empire at all times. But the position of Jambi has attracted particular attention to itself. It does not figure among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i and the Song annals apply the name of Jambi to the ruler of San-fo-ts'i. We have seen already that some scholars are inclined to push back the transfer of the centre of the power of Śrīvijaya from Palembang to Jambi to a period much earlier than that usually assigned to it. It is, perhaps, not unlikely that this transfer had taken place before Chau Ju-kua wrote. And we have no means of discovering either the process of such transfer or of deciding whether it was permanent, for while we hear only of a couple of embassies from Jambi in 1079 and 1088, we have the definite statement in the Ming annals that in the time of the second Song (960 to 1279) embassies from San-fo-ts'i visited China without interruption. Thus, in spite of Chau Ju-kua's occasional references to some dependencies of San-fo-ts'i setting up rulers of their own, Śrīvijaya had not yet lost its leading role though possibly its position was growing weaker than before.

We must now consider one inscription which has been held to provide indirect evidence of the shrinkage of the power of Śrīvijaya at the close of the 12th century. This inscription of 5 lines is in pure Khmer language, like the ancient inscriptions of Kambuja, but, unlike them, it is written in a very different script which strongly recalls that of Sumatra and Java. It

¹⁷ *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 66, n. 18.

is engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Grāhi and is now preserved at Bangkok. The date of the inscription has after much uncertainty been definitely settled as Ś. 1105 (A. D. 1183).¹⁸ The inscription says that on a given day in the year by order of Kamra-ten Añ Mahārāja Śrīmat Trailōkyarāja-mauḷi-bhūṣaṇa-varmadēva, the Mahāsēnāpati Galānai (?), the governor of Grāhi, caused the statue to be made, and gives also the name of the artist and the weight of the image as well as the value of the gold used in gilding it. On this record Coedès observed at first: "This inscription shows us that the country of Grāhi, though it was Cambodian in its civilisation or at least in its language, did not in a political sense form part of the kingdom of Khmer. The name of the king Mahārāja Śrīmat Trailōkyarāja-mauḷi-bhūṣaṇa-varmadēva, is unknown to the dynastic lists of Kambuja. I think it is simplest to go by Chau Ju-kua's testimony and admit that we have here a king of Palembang". This hypothesis, he added, gains some strength from the facts that the Mahārāja title was borne for a long time by the rulers of Palembang and that the paleography of the inscription connects it clearly with Sumatra and Java.¹⁹

But, later, he gave up this view and saw in this inscription evidence of Malāyu (Jambi) having already taken the place of Śrīvijaya as the chief power in Sumatra and its maritime empire. He urged two reasons for this view. First the mention of Palembang among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i and the omission of Malāyu from the list. This fact we have discussed sufficiently above and explained otherwise. The second ground of Coedès for his new view is that the titles of the king of the Grāhi inscription are identical with those of the kings of Malāyu as found in inscriptions from 1286 to 1378.²⁰ True, we hear of two kings of Malāyu bearing the title Śrīmat-Tribhuvana-rāja-mauḷi-varmadēva, one in 1286 and another in 1378. But this hardly justifies the assumption that the king of the Grāhi inscription who lived a century earlier than 1286 was also a ruler of Malāyu and that he had nothing to do with Śrīvijaya. In fact, the titles mentioned in the Grāhi record can be connected as well with those of the earlier rulers of Śrīvijaya as with the later ones of Malāyu (Jambi). Mauḷi-bhūṣaṇa, for instance, is a synonym of Cūḍāmaṇi. This only shows that in some manner the Śailēndravamśa continued to rule the island throughout. Hence we conclude that the king of the Grāhi record was a ruler of San-fo-ts'i in the regular line. The considerations urged by Coedès in favour of his new view are by no means conclusive, and *pace* his affirmation to the contrary, cannot prevail against Chau Ju-kua's direct statement that Grāhi (Kia-lo-hi) was a part of the empire of San-fo-ts'i.²¹

In A. D. 1230 Dharmarāja Candrabhānu, king of Tāmraliṅga (Tāmraliṅgēśvara), causes to be engraved at C'aiya on the ancient site of Grāhi an inscription which has all the appearance of being a record of an independent

¹⁸ B. K. I, 83 (1927), pp. 468-9.

¹⁹ B. E. F. E. O. XVIII (6) pp. 35-36.

²⁰ B. K. I, (1927) pp. 468-70.

²¹ Cf. Majumdar - *Suvarnadvipa*, I. pp. 195-7 and Krom G. N. I. I, p. 228

sovereign. Some years before, Tāmraliṅga and Grāhi were counted as separate dependencies of San-fo-ts'i. Now we find the ruler of Tāmraliṅga includes Grāhi among his possessions, and records an inscription apparently without any reference to Śrīvijaya or its ruler. His kingdom might or might not have continued to be a part of the maritime empire of San-fo-ts'i. But we may assume on the strength of the Ming annals that some sort of connection was still maintained, and that the empire of San-fo-ts'i continued to exist though, perhaps, its hold over its dependencies was not so strong as before.

In the *Cūḷavamśa* of Ceylon, a continuation of the famous chronicle *Mahāvamśa*, under the reign of Parākramabāhu II, there occurs this reference to Candrabhānu :

“ When the eleventh year of the reign of this king had arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of Candrabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha. All these wicked Jāvaka soldiers who invaded every landing place, and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Laṅkā ”.²² Then Parākramabāhu sent his sister's son Vīrabāhu against Candrabhānu, who was defeated in battle and apparently forced to abandon Laṅkā. Again, towards the close of Parākramabāhu's reign, when he had made his son Vijayabāhu IV the ruler of Ceylon, Candrabhānu is said to have made his second attempt against Ceylon. We read in the *Cūḷavamśa* : ²³ “ At that time the Lord of Men, Candrabhānu, formerly beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Paṇḍus and Cōḷas and elsewhere many Damiḷa soldiers representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka army in Mahātitttha. After the king had brought over to his side Tisīhalas dwelling in Paḍi, Kurundi, and other districts, he marched into Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message : “ I shall take Tisīhala ; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth-Relic of the sage, the Bowl-Relic and the royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then, fight.” Once more, Vīrabāhu took the field along with Vijayabāhu and inflicted a decisive defeat on the invader. “ After Vijayabāhu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent the Lord of Men, Candrabhānu, flying defenceless. But, the loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses, the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of victory, the banner of victory, all these he sent to his father.”

According to the revised chronology of Geiger, the reign of Parākramabāhu II lasted from 1236 to 1271. The first invasion of Ceylon by Candrabhānu occurred, therefore in 1247, and the second, probably, in 1270 or 1271. As he is called king of the Jāvakas, and as Jāvaka soldiers formed the core of his army, we are naturally led to think that the invader of

²² Geiger. *Cūḷavamśa*, ch. 83 ; vv. 36 ff.

²³ *Ibid*, ch. 88 ; vv. 62 ff.

Ceylon was identical with his namesake of Tāmraliṅga whose inscription at C'aiya dated 1230 was mentioned above, and obviously the name Jāvaka is used in this context in the same extended sense in which Zābag was employed by Arab writers, and the dates ranging from 1230 to 1270 just make this possible.

Coedès has pointed out that the Pāli chronicle *Jina-kāla-mālinī* of Siam recounts that a king of Sukhodaya named Rōcarāja visited the king of Ligor and that both of them sent a mission to Ceylon to obtain a certain statue from that island.²⁴ It is possible that this account also refers to Candrabhānu's attempts to secure certain Buddhist relics from Ceylon.

But that is not all. A Pāṇḍyan inscription of 1263 from South India mentions the conquest, by Vīra Pāṇḍya, of Ceylon and the Jāvaka, while another inscription of the very next year records further details of Vīra Pāṇḍya's conquest. The relevant passage opens with an appeal from the minister of Ceylon to the Pāṇḍya ruler for help. A Pāṇḍyan invasion of Ceylon follows. One Ceylonese king loses his life in battle, and another is subjugated by Vīra Pāṇḍya. Lastly is mentioned the fact that the son of the Jāvaka (king) who has been recalcitrant for a time made his submission, received rewards, and was restored to the rulership in Ceylon that his father had once enjoyed. To complete the references in Pāṇḍyan inscriptions to Ceylon at this period, we must note that the Pāṇḍyan ruler Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the elder contemporary of Vīra Pāṇḍya, claims that Ceylon was subjugated by him in 1258. But of all this *Cūlavamsa* says nothing.

It is not easy from the data before us to visualise exactly the course of events in Ceylon and the part of the Pāṇḍyas and of Candrabhānu in them. But if we recall that Chau Ju-kua counts Ceylon among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, we may offer the following tentative reconstruction. Ceylon, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, was the victim of many calamities and of the depredations of several tyrannical rulers of foreign extraction in this period. Says the *Cūlavamsa*: "Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place, destroyed by lightning with flames of fire, so Laṅkā which had been harassed by Māgha and others was ravaged anew by the Jāvakas."²⁵ Evidently, the first expedition of Candrabhānu in 1247 was preceded by the settlement of a colony of Malays and Indonesians in some part of the island of Ceylon. In 1247 Candrabhānu went to Ceylon professedly on a peaceful mission, but the Ceylonese suspected his motives and the result was an armed conflict which ended badly for Candrabhānu. Candrabhānu probably left his son behind at the head of the Jāvaka colony and himself returned to his home country. In 1258 Sundara Pāṇḍya effected the conquest of a part of Ceylon, the bulk of the island continuing its independent existence under a number of quarrelsome rulers, among them the Jāvaka colony which had declined to acknowledge Pāṇḍyan suzerainty. In 1263 as the result of an

²⁴ BKI (1927) pp. 470-71.

²⁵ *Cūlavamsa*, 83, 40,

appeal from one of the parties in Ceylon, Vira Pāṇḍya invaded the island, fought a successful campaign, and perhaps increased the area of Pāṇḍyan rule on the island. On this occasion Candrabhānu's son, either himself acknowledged Vira Pāṇḍya as suzerain or was forced to do so. Lastly, in 1270 Candrabhānu made a second effort to achieve his objects in Ceylon, and to ensure success he recruited large numbers of troops in South India to fight on his side in addition to the soldiers he took with him from Malaya. But the result was obviously a more disastrous defeat than on the first occasion.²⁶

Candrabhānu belonged to the Padmavamśa, also called Pañcāṇḍavamśa. His unsuccessful expeditions against Ceylon must have weakened his state very considerably. Regarding his political position we get a hint from Chau Ju-kua. In his notice of Tan-ma-ling²⁷ he states clearly that while this state was under a ruler of its own who was addressed by a special title Siang-kung,²⁸ it was also tributary to San-fo-ts'i, thus confirming his inclusion of Tan-ma-ling among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i in the chapter immediately preceding. Let us also note that unlike in the case of Kien-pi, Chau Ju-kua does not record a fight between Tan-ma-ling and San-fo-ts'i resulting in a cessation of the tributary relation. The weakening of Tāmraliṅga, the most important of the dependencies of Śrīvijaya on the peninsula, must have facilitated the Tai conquest of the region twenty years later. It is even possible that Candrabhānu's bonds with the Sumatran metropolis were becoming looser and that he was developing very friendly relations with the rising power of Sukhodaya; as the narrative of the *Jinakālamālinī* indicates.²⁹ Coedés³⁰ has pointed out that a growing antagonism between the Pāli (Hināyāna) Buddhism of Tāmraliṅga and Sukhodaya and the Mahāyāna of Śrīvijaya had something to do with the establishment of the independence of Tāmraliṅga, its expeditions to Ceylon, for the capture of a celebrated Buddha image or Buddha relics from there, and the final incorporation of Tāmraliṅga in Sukhodaya.

Śrīvijaya still continued its control of the straits and its command over Kaḍāram (Kedah). A few original notices of the Arab writers of the period like Ibn Zaid and Kazwini even when they are not quoting old accounts but writing on their own, vouch that Zābag continued to be an extensive kingdom under a powerful ruler bearing the title of Mahārāja.³¹

The first decisive stroke that brought about the fall of Śrīvijaya was delivered by Java. A tangible proof of the rule of Java over Sumatra is fur-

²⁶ Candrabhānu's expeditions against Ceylon have been the subject of diverse interpretations from different writers at different times. But it is now needless to pursue the tangled, if interesting, history of these discussions. The more recent phases of this question can be followed in Krom—*De ondergang van Crivijaya* (1926) Coedés, *A propos de la chute du Royaume de Crivijaya* (1927), and the present writer's "*Srivijaya, Candrabhanu, and Vira Pandya*" (1937).

²⁷ p. 67.

²⁸ This title is explained by Hirth and Rockhill (p. 68, n. 2) as something like minister of state or *Mantri*.

²⁹ Coedés, p. 240.

³⁰ B.K.I. (1927) p. 471.

³¹ Ferrand, pp. 69-71.

nished by an inscription dated A.D. 1286³² from the banks of the Batang Hari or Jambi river in its upper course. It records that in that year an image of Amōghapāśa Lokēśvara with his thirteen disciples was brought from Java to Suvarṇabhūmi by a board of four high Javanese officials and erected at Dharmāśraya by the command of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛitanagara Vikrama Dharmōttungadēva. This gift we are told was the cause of great rejoicing among all the subjects in the land of Malāyu, Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, and above all, Mahārāja Śrīmat Tribhuvanarāja Mauḷivarmadēva. Now, the father of Kṛitanagara of Java had been deified at Caṇḍi Jago exactly under the aspect of Buddha Amōghapāśa.

This inscription leaves us in no doubt that the Mahārāja of Sumatra was a subordinate of the Mahārājādhirāja of Java. It shows Malāyu not as a city on the east coast of Sumatra but as an extensive kingdom reaching far into the interior of the island. It is not unlikely that the name applied to the whole of the island, but we cannot be sure of this. The name of its ruler, as already seen, shows clearly his Śailēndra affiliations. We have here, then, the real end of Śrīvijaya as an independent power. But as usual, we have no evidence from the side of Śrīvijaya, and the Javanese works, *Nāgara Kṛetāgama* and *Pararaton*,³³ are very sparing of detail. The latter gives Śaka 1197 (A.D. 1275) as the date of the Javanese expedition against Malāyu: it says nothing of its course or immediate results but records that in 1293 the Javanese troops returned with two princesses of the conquered country. One of them, Dara Petak, became a queen of Raden Vijaya, i.e., Śrī Kṛitarājasa, who had come to power in Java after the fall of Kṛitanagara in 1292. The other, Dara Jīnga, espoused a Dēva (ruler) and became the mother of a king of Malāyu. The *Nāgara Kṛetāgama* states that the lands subject to Kṛitanagara comprised Pahāṅg, Malāyu, Gurun, and Bakulapura, adding that it is needless to state that Sunda and Madhura also paid homage to him.³⁴ As Krom observed, the subordination of Sunda to Kṛitanagara was a matter of course to Prapañca, the author of *Nāgara Kṛetāgama*, who naturally thought that the king would not embark on distant campaigns of conquest without mastering his own country. But to us, with the knowledge that Chau Ju-kua counted the Sunda land among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i in 1225, this statement has a special significance implying a further stage in the dissolution of the empire of Śrīvijaya. Pahāṅg was the name applied later to all Javanese possessions in the Malay peninsula. We have to accept it in a similar sense in this context as well. It seems possible, though we can hardly demonstrate it, that even Kaḍāram might have changed hands as a result of Kṛitanagara's policy. With Gurun (East) and Bakulapura (Tanjungpura, Borneo) we have not much concern.

Śrīvijaya (San-fo-ts'i) is not heard of at all in this period. Neither the Javanese accounts of the reign of Kṛitanagara and succeeding years, nor the Chinese annals, have anything to say. An embassy went to China,

³² H.-J.G. pp. 335-6, Coedès, 261.

³³ Cited by *Ferrand*, pp. 226 f.

³⁴ H.-J.G. pp. 337-8.

however, from Malāyu in 1281 led by two Muslims, Sulaimān and Shamsuddin, evidently merchants already engaged in the trade between Sumatra and China, and to be considered, therefore, as *ad hoc* envoys.³⁵ China had then passed under the Mongol rule of Kublai Khan. In 1286 an embassy from Samudra, a North Sumatran state, went to Kublai's court.³⁶

About the time of the Javanese invasion of Sumatra, the southward expansion of the Siamese kingdom of Sukhodaya resulted in the conquest by the Tais of the northern possessions of Śrīvijaya in the peninsula. The Moñ chronicles refer to it about 1280 as also the long Sukhodaya inscription³⁷ dated 1292 of the celebrated ruler Rāma K'āmheng. Ligor or Nagara Śrīdharmarāja and the adjoining coastal district where Candrabhānu was ruling between 1230 and 1270 had definitely become part of the Siamese kingdom by the date of the inscription just mentioned. Thus the simultaneous, if not concerted, action of the Javanese and the Tais despoiled Śrīvijaya of her insular possessions, as well as those on the continent, depriving her at once of the mastery of the straits of Malacca and Sunda on which the whole power of Śrīvijaya was reared.

A third factor which begins to work at the same time is the cultural disintegration that sets in with the advent of Islam on the island of Sumatra, of which we receive the first hint with the employment of Muslim envoys by Malāyu in 1281. Ten years later, when Marco Polo visited the island in 1292, he found a number of small states in North Sumatra, some having already embraced Islam, Samudra, perhaps being among them, as an inscription records the death of a Muslim ruler of that state in 1297; but in the rest of the island Marco found Malāyu holding the chief place. He does not mention Śrīvijaya even by name. He appears, however, to have been quite clear in his mind that he was traversing the ruins of an empire which had been recently a great commercial power in command of both the banks of the Straits. There was no more a Mahārāja, but each of the small states he mentions was a law unto itself. Thus, the eclipse of Śrīvijaya, the break up of its empire involving the loss of many of her possessions overseas, the shifting of the centre of her political and commercial power from Palembang to Malāyu, and the intrusion of Islam, constitute a connected series of events, and they are all closely related to the successful foreign policy of Kṛitanagara of Java. The long campaign of Javanese troops on the island of Sumatra (1272-92) was, perhaps, the most dominant factor in this situation.³⁸

Neither the internal revolution in Java which brought about the fall of Kṛitanagara, nor the Chinese (Mongol) invasion which followed and

³⁵ H-J.G. p. 336, Pelliot D.I. p. 326.

³⁶ H-J.G. p. 337, T.P. XV (1914) p. 441.

³⁷ Ferrand, p. 230.

³⁸ Krom places a heavy discount on Prapanca's account of Kṛitanagara's foreign possessions. (H-J.G. 338). He also thinks that the family of Maulivarmadeva's might have migrated from Grahi to Sumatra in the course of the century following 1183, the date of the Grahi inscription (G N-I. p. 228). I am inclined to allow Kṛitanagara's campaigns and policy a larger part in bringing about the collapse of Śrīvijaya and to treat the Maulivarmadevas as related to the Sailendras,

achieved results contrary to its original aims and assisted in the establishment of the new empire of Majapahit,³⁹ made any difference to the imperialism of Java. The aggressive policy of mastering the entire Archipelago and as much as possible of the Malay peninsula on which Java had been launched by Kṛitanagara continued uninterrupted by these occurrences. The Javanese perhaps established themselves at Tumasik on the site of modern Singapōre about this time.⁴⁰ From the standpoint of Śrīvijaya history the reign of Kṛitarājasa Jayavardhana (1293 to 1309) and his successors is just a continuation of that of Kṛitanagara (1268-92), the last ruler of Singhasāri. The submission offered by Malāyu and the smaller states of Sumatra in 1293 to Kublai Khan's commanders on the occasion of their expedition against Java,⁴¹ was certainly of no protective value in the long run against the increasing might of Java.

Both Malāyu and Śrīvijaya (San-fo-ts'i) continued their separate existence in some form after the return of the Javanese expedition in 1293. But doubtless Malāyu now took the leading place once held by Śrīvijaya and sent embassies to China in 1299 and 1301.⁴² In 1295 Kublai Khan is said to have warned Siam to stop from engaging in hostilities against Malāyu as they had been doing for many years by then.⁴³ We have no means of ascertaining the exact meaning of this imperial order to Siam. But we may suppose that it had reference to the conquests that Siam was making on the Malay peninsula.

In the first quarter of the 14th century we have a number of celebrated Arab writers such as Rashid-ud-dīn (1310), Dimashki (1325) and Abul Fida (d. 1331) dealing with the Archipelago, but they furnish no direct or clear evidence on Śrīvijaya,—proof that Śrīvijaya was already played out as an emporium of international trade. Javanese embassies to China are mentioned in the years 1325-28 together with the name of king Jayanagara (1309-1328).⁴⁴

In 1349 we have the account of Wang Ta-yuan who in his *Tao i ch'io* ⁴⁵ (Description of the Barbarians of the Isles) makes a distinction between San-fo-ts'i and Kieou-kiang giving separate accounts of the two places, states that each of them had a sovereign of its own, and says nothing of the Mahārāja, thus confirming the impression gained from other authorities of the disappearance of Śrīvijaya as a great power and large emporium.

In 1365, the author of the *Nāgarakretāgama*, Prapañca, counts Sumatra among the dependencies of the empire of Majapahit, and places Jambi and Palembang at the head of the detailed list he gives of the various

³⁹ For details see H.-J.G. Chh. 10 and 11, and *Suvarṇadvīpa* I pp. 292-338.

⁴⁰ Coedès, p. 264.

⁴¹ Ferrand, p. 231.

⁴² Pelliot D. I. pp. 243 and 328.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 242 and Coedès 297.

⁴⁴ H.-J.G. 380.

⁴⁵ TP., XVI pp. 134-40 ; Ferrand, pp. 30-2.

states on that island.⁴⁶ This dependence, however, was not inconsistent with a separate existence and some measure of independent action for these states; in fact it meant perhaps little more than a vague acknowledgment of the supremacy of the suzerain signified by a periodical tribute. And there was China above all the 'barbarians' of the southern sea, claiming the right to 'protect' them from their internecine quarrels. In the history of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) we read of San-fo-ts'i: "In the year 1370 the emperor and in the next year the king, who was called Mahārāja Prabhu, sent envoys with a letter written on a golden leaf, and bringing a tribute of black bears, cassowaries, peacocks, parrots of various colours, different kinds of perfumes, *pi*-cloth, blankets of woollen cloth, and many other articles". The envoys were given suitable presents and a vessel with merchandize belonging to them was admitted into Ch'uan-chou by imperial order without payment of any duties.⁴⁷

From the same source, the Ming annals, we learn that there were three kings in San-fo-ts'i in the years 1373-75 all of whom sent envoys to China. In 1376, one of them was succeeded by his son Ma-la-cha (Mahārāja) Wu-li who sent an embassy with presents to China the very next year. "The envoys said that the son dared not ascend the throne on his own authority, and therefore asked the permission of the Imperial Court. The emperor praised his sense of duty and ordered envoys to bring him a seal and a commission as king of San-fo-ts'i."

It is clear that Wu-li sought the support of China against Java, but obviously China was either unable to help or unwilling to entangle herself too much in the affairs of distant lands or undertake hostilities against the empire of Majapahit which had shown its mettle against Chinese troops at its very birth. At any rate the Ming annals add: 'At that time San-fo-ts'i had already been conquered by Java, and the king of this country, hearing that the emperor had appointed a king over San-fo-ts'i, became very angry and sent men who waylaid and killed the imperial envoys. The emperor did not think it right to punish him on this account. After this occurrence San-fo-ts'i became gradually poorer, and no tribute was brought from this country any more'.⁴⁸ The Chinese emperor's reaction to Javanese conduct against his envoys to San-fo-ts'i is reported with a slight difference elsewhere in the same annals in the following terms⁴⁹: "In the year 1379 the king Pa-ta-na-pa-na-bu (Bhāṭara Prabhu by which title the Javanese king was known) sent envoys with tribute, and so he did in the following year. Sometime before imperial envoys had been sent to carry a seal to the king of San-fo-ts'i, and those of Java deluded and killed them; the emperor was highly incensed and detained their envoys more than a month, with the intention to punish them, but ultimately they were sent back with a letter to their king, in which he was reproved for what he had done".

⁴⁶ Ferrand, p. 183.

⁴⁷ *Notes*, pp. 192-3.

⁴⁸ *Notes*, pp. 193-94.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, pp. 161-62; H.-J.G. 401,

What is called the Javanese conquest of San-fo-ts'i, c. 1378 in the Chinese annals was to all intents and purposes a determined effort on the part of the empire of Majapahit to suppress all signs of independence or revolt on the part of its dependencies, to control their foreign relations more closely than before, and to shut out the influence of China. And Java succeeded very well in this enterprise as the Chinese authorities themselves admit.

In several inscriptions⁵⁰ from Central Sumatra in the middle of the fourteenth century we find mention of a "Sovereign of the land of Gold" (*Kanakamēdinīndra*) named Adityavarman, son of Advayavarman. His name appears first at Java in 1343 on an image of Bodhisatva Mañjuśrī, originally placed at Caṇḍi Jago. His presence there indicates that at this date the future king of Sumatra who claims descent from the family of Rājapatni, the queen of Kṛitarājasa, was living at the court of Majapahit. It seems possible that he was also in some way related to one of the two princesses carried away from Sumatra by the Javanese army in 1292, probably he or rather his father was the Śrīmarmadēva of the *Pararaton*, the king of Malāyu and son of Dara Jiṅga by Dēva⁵¹. In 1347 Ādityavarman caused to be engraved at Malāyupura a Sanskrit inscription, on the back of the image of Amōghapāśa which was brought from Java in 1286 and taken later to Rambhan. Here he bears the royal title Mahārājādhirāja Udayādityavarman (or Aditya Varmōdya) Pratāpa-parākrama Rājendra Maṇḍimaṇi Varmadēva, titles which continue to exhibit traces of Śailendra connections. He claims to have belonged to the Kuliśadharavamśa (Family of Indra) and his foundations show him to have been a staunch Tāntric Buddhist of the Kālacakra school. His rule, no doubt, made it difficult for Java to bring Sumatra under strict control, and it seems probable that his death about 1375 was taken advantage of by the rulers of Majapahit to strengthen their position in Sumatra by the military and diplomatic operations of which we have a slight record in the Ming annals cited above. The beautiful Śivabhairava image of Sungai Langsat is clearly a portrait of Adityavarman.⁵²

As late as 1397, San-fo-ts'i is said in the Ming annals to have been in a position to defy Java and China alike in some matters: 'If we send messengers to Java now', the emperor said, 'it is to be feared that San-fo-ts'i will stop them on their way'. So a message was sent to Java through Siam to bring San-fo-ts'i 'to change its evil ways'.⁵³

What immediately follows in the annals is, however, a different story, and perhaps much nearer the true state of affairs. "At that time Java had completely conquered Śan-fo-ts'i and changed its name to Ku-kang. When San-fo-ts'i went down the whole country was disturbed, and the Javanese could not keep all the land; for this reason the Chinese, who

⁵⁰ For details see H-J.G. pp. 392-94 and 413-15. Also: *Suvarnadvipa*, I pp. 314-18.

⁵¹ Ferrand, p. 226.

⁵² Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, p. 8. and plates pp. 13-16.

⁵³ *Notes*, pp. 194-95.

were established there, stood up for themselves, and a man from Nan-hai (Namhoi) in Canton, called Liang Tauming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, followed by several thousand men from Fukien and Canton, was taken by them as their chief. He reigned as master of a part of the country."

It is needless to follow the fortunes of these Chinese pirates, their relations with Cheng Ho or the account of the country given by Ma Huan, a Chinese Muslim who accompanied Cheng Ho on some of his celebrated voyages to the island, to India and further afield. These things do not belong to the history of Śrī Vijaya. The epitaph of Śrī Vijaya is written in the following words repeated more than once in the late annals of China: 'San-fo-ts'i was formerly known as a rich place, but since it was conquered by Java, the capital has been deserted, and few traders go there now'.

The fall of Śrīvijaya dates definitely from the simultaneous attacks on her from the north and east by Siam and Java. The sharply exclusive mercantile policy of Śrīvijaya in the heyday of her power was an inherent source of weakness as it was found to provoke rivalries and conflicts, and the advent of Islam completed the ruin of the Hindu spiritual patrimony of the great empire, which had elicited the warm admiration of I-tsing in the seventh century.

The true inheritors of the commercial prosperity of Śrīvijaya were the Arabs, who monopolised the traffic in spices and became the allies and protectors of the petty Malay States, while China after the great maritime voyages of the period of Yong-lo (1403-1425) withdrew within herself and remained content with the claim of a nominal political suzerainty over the countries of the South.⁵⁴

VII. SRI VIJAYA ART

Sumatra has always been a wild country, and till recently its early history and archaeology were a sealed book. With the revival of interest in the newly discovered history of Śrīvijaya, the last thirty years have been marked by efforts to supplement knowledge derived from foreign sources, literary and epigraphical, by archaeological work on the island itself. This has been rewarded with good results, and the discoveries of Westenenk and Perquin, Bosch and Schnitger have brought important and striking additions to our all too fragmentary knowledge of Śrīvijaya, its history and art. But the time for a connected account of the artistic side of the history of Śrīvijaya is not yet come, and I shall seek to draw attention here to some landmarks in this history and give a tentative account of the influences which played upon it. I shall give my attention to sculpture in stone and bronze, and refer the reader to the works mentioned in the bibliography, particularly Schnitger's *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* for a detailed account of the buildings which are by no means impressive by the side of the celebrated monuments of Java. As Heine-Geldern has aptly remarked: "The marked prevalence of brick buildings as compared with stone architecture, as well as the prominent part of the *stūpa*, are characteristic traits distinguishing Hindu-Sumatrean from Hindu-Javanese art".

The oldest and in some ways the most interesting monument is the large granite Buddha of Bukit Seguntang. The image had been shattered into many fragments, and from these fragments, the shape of the original figure was skilfully reconstructed by Mr. P. J. Perquin of the Archaeological Survey of Netherlands-India in 1928, when it was still headless. Two of the earliest inscriptions of Śrīvijaya studied earlier and engraved in distinctly South Indian characters were also found in the neighbourhood, besides several short votive inscriptions (on loose stones) in the same characters recovered by Schnitger in 1935. In the same year Schnitger identified one of the Buddha heads in the Batavia museum (discovered in 1914) as belonging to the Bukit Seguntang image, and the image in an almost complete form stands now in the Palembang museum, measuring together with its pedestal about 12 feet in height. A casual look might suggest that it was an image from Gandhāra; but a little study shows that it is not directly Gandhāran, but belongs to the class of images doubtless inspired by Gandhāran art in some way, but considerably modified to suit Indian requirements, in fact what may be called the Indianised version of the Buddha image, such as came into use in several parts of India, particularly Mathurā and Amarāvati. Bachhofer thinks that the style of the image with the *sanghātī* reaching up to the neck and covering both shoulders, takes the image to a high antiquity, say 2nd century A.D. when the Amarāvati artists had not yet begun to bare the right shoulder and gather up the hem of the garment on the extended left fore-arm. In fact he

thinks that the image must have been made in Amarāvati and says¹: 'The export of Buddhist sculpture from Vengi overseas to the East must have started as early as the 2nd century A.D., for the small bronze Buddha of P'ong Tuk and the enormous stone Buddha of Seguntang belong to a phase in the development of South Indian sculpture which ended about A.D. 150.' While it is quite probable that small metal images, like the one mentioned by Bachhofer and another found in Celebes some years ago, were transported from India, it may perhaps be better to assume an export of workmen rather than of their work in the case of large stone statues like the Seguntang Buddha. With characteristic caution Krom has well said: 'In mentioning Amarāvati, we wish to be understood that it is not so much the particular locality of that name which is referred to as the whole phase of Indo-Buddhist art usually indicated by that appellation. The palaeographic evidence of the inscriptions, too, to which reference has been made, should not be lost sight of'.² Schnitger says: 'Since there is no granite in Palembang, the image must have been made somewhere else, probably in Bangka because there are great granite rocks in that island..... made in the 5th or 6th century'.³ If the image was made as late as that, it would be a case of extreme conservatism in artistic tradition lingering in Sumatra for many centuries after the corresponding forms disappeared in India; but everything in the history of Hindu overseas colonies points to more or less parallel developments with Indian conditions. Bachhofer's date on the other hand carries the statue back to about five centuries before the date of the earliest record mentioning Śrīvijaya in A.D. 683; this is perhaps not impossible, but if correct, it gives a measure of the still extremely fragmentary character of our knowledge of the early history of these lands.

Thus we see from the statuary and inscriptions that the earliest art of Sumatra is more or less purely and directly South Indian in its characteristics. The torso of a stone figure with cylindrical head-dress found in Kota Kapur on the island of Bangka has led Dr. Stutterheim⁴ to somewhat subtle deductions regarding the site of Śrīvijaya and the nature of Śrīvijaya art and its affiliations. He thinks it is a fragment of a four-armed Viṣṇu figure, the product of an art which 'certainly was neither Javanese nor Cambodian—in short, of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century.' This view, if correct, would show that other influences were at work in Śrīvijaya, besides South Indian; and we have other indications of this too as will be seen below. If Stutterheim's surmise that our figure belonged to the military camp of the invaders of Śrīvijaya is accepted, even that would only support Moen's hypothesis of the transfer of Śrīvijaya from the east coast of the Malay peninsula to Palembang or its neighbourhood, rather than help to localize the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in the Malay peninsula.

Dr. Quaritch Wales thinks that this figure lends support to his views on the role of the northern part of the Malay peninsula in the spread of

¹ JGIS., II (1935), p. 126. Also p. 124.

² ABIA., 1931, p. 32.

³ *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, p. 3 and pl. 1

⁴ *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XI, N.S., pp. 105-9.

Indian cultural influences and says that it combines certain Indian characteristics with a Malay cast of features, and illustrates the process by which Pallava Hindu influences after modification in the peninsula passed on to Sumatra and Java⁵. But not only have his views on the dominant role of the northern part of the Malay peninsula in the spread of culture failed to elicit general approval, but the features of the Bangka image can be explained more simply without so subtle a hypothesis.

A little bronze Buddha head which is distinguished by a twisted fillet decorated with roses which surrounds it is a very pretty piece; the fillet, apparently meant, as Krom says, for a garland of honour, is very effective in association with the traditional curly locks of the Buddha. The height of the head is a little over 5 inches⁶, and it shows decidedly South Indian features; still, as Heine-Geldern has observed: "Considered stylistically and iconographically it is quite unique, thus bearing witness to the existence of an indigenous Sumatran style, besides the styles of South India and Javanese origin."

Another interesting find from Bukit Seguntang is furnished by 'a fragmentary stone statuette, consisting of the lower half of the body, without the feet, and part of the upper half, provided with a broad scarf-like band which must have passed over the left shoulder. The lower part of the body is dressed in a smooth garment, fastened round the waist by means of a flat girdle which is tied in front, a loop and the two ends hanging down together with a small part of the dress' (Krom). Schnitger says that he has found for certain by local research that a fine Bodhisattva head discovered in 1930, which he describes as a good example of Gupta art, must have belonged to this torso.⁷ But to judge from the photographs one may entertain grave doubts of this; and what is surprising, this head is said to be 30 c.m. in O.V. 1930, while Schnitger says it measures 15 from chin to root of the hair (*lengte van kin tot haarwortel 15*). I think it best to leave this head out of consideration in the discussion of the torso. In the effective simplicity of its style, this statuette resembles a large stone statue of Avalokiteśvara, also found in the Palembang division but higher up the Musi river. To quote Krom again: 'Notwithstanding some minor points of difference, such as the girdle being of lesser width, the presence of a tiger-skin, etc., it is obvious that both images, with regard to their style and workmanship, represent one and the same conception'.⁸ Krom recognises the differences in style between them and the earliest images of Java, but remarks that 'as a whole the Avalokiteśvara statue does not seem to be so far removed from Javanese art as the Buddha image or the bronze Buddha head discussed above'. This is perfectly true, but not very helpful in tra-

⁵ *Arch. Researches*, p. 71.

⁶ Schnitger, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁷ *Palembang*, p. 6. At p. 3 (no. 4) of his *Archaeology* Schnitger takes this for granted and describes the head and torso together as 'fragments of a Bodhisattva image'.

⁸ ABIA., 1931, p. 33.

cing the affinities of this group of images; and Krom's conclusion that they 'must be of a later date than the other two pieces from Palembang' can be supported on quite other grounds than the relatively less un-Javanese character of the statues. I think there is much force in Ghosh's view⁹ that 'in the details of iconography, dress and embellishment as well as in the general plastic feeling they definitely recall South Indian types'. The massive, simple and smooth gracefulness of the stone Avalokiteśvara clearly recalls the similar features often noticed in the royal portrait statues of the Pallava monarchs of the Simhaviṣṇu line; and they belong to the seventh and eighth centuries. Heine-Geldern also says that these statues are connected with the artistic style of the South Indian kingdom of the Pallavas of the seventh century A.D.

So far then as the few specimens now available of the earliest phase of Śrīvijaya art enable us to form a judgment, this art was distinctly South Indian in its origin and retained its original features for some time after its transplantation. We do not possess the evidence necessary to trace the subsequent history of this art; but we may note that, as we have seen in our study of the history of Śrīvijaya, live contacts were maintained with South India in many ways throughout the centuries, and it should be no surprise if we come across typically South Indian forms in the later phases of the art of Śrīvijaya. A bronze statuette found in 1930 by Dr. Bosch in a *biaro* (*vikāra*) in Padang Lawas, Tapanoeli, furnishes a notable example of the results of such contacts. This statuette which is over 7 inches high is a very interesting portrait of a woman in typical South Indian style.¹⁰

This and a stone *Bodhisattva* seated in the *lalitāsana* pose raise the question of the extent of South Indian influence in Padang Lawas, its *biaros* and sculptures, and Bosch has suggested the possibility of South Indian colonists present in Pannai in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in sufficiently strong numbers for them to influence the art and architecture of the land watered by the upper part of the Pannai river.¹¹ The use of the *grantha* alphabet in a fourteenth century inscription of Ādityavarman shows that South Indians must have maintained themselves in some numbers continuously in Sumatra.¹²

Next we have to notice some bronzes from Malaya not unrelated to the earliest phase of the art of Śrīvijaya. Perhaps, the earliest known Buddha statuette from Malaya is a small bronze, 8½ inches in height, excavated in Kedah in 1941 by Mrs. Quaritch Wales.¹³ The right hand is in *varamudrā*. The right shoulder is bare, and the robe flung over the left shoulder is gathered in the left hand. The folds of the garment and the low *uṣṇīṣa* clearly relate the image to the Amarāvātī school. These features of the bronze corroborate "the theory that the Krishna-Gōdāvari

⁹ JGIS., I (1934), p. 33.

¹⁰ See *A South Indian Portrait Bronze from Sumatra*, JGIS., III (1936), pp. 104-7.

¹¹ OV., 1930, pp. 145-8.

¹² H-J.G., p. 414.

¹³ IAL, XVI (1942) p. 41.

region was the homeland of the earlier Indian colonists. Stylistically this Malayan bronze joins the select few South-east Asian images that show Amarāvati influences. These may be counted on the fingers of one hand and come from Siam, Annam, the Celebes and Sumatra". This statue is obviously later than the stone Buddha of Seguntang, and may well be as late as the fifth or sixth century A.D.

Then there are a number of Buddhist bronzes brought to light by mining operations in Perak and they have been reviewed so far as they are known by Dr. Quaritch Wales in his '*Archaeological Researches*.' First, a beautiful bronze standing Buddha 18 inches high dredged up at Pengkalan near Ipoh in 1931. There is quite general agreement that this image is in the pure Gupta style and may be dated in the fifth or sixth century. Another Buddha also probably of the Gupta School is a small standing bronze image that was discovered in a mine at Tanjong Rambutan at a depth of some sixty feet. The present whereabouts of the image is not known and not even a good photograph of it is available. More interesting is a fine bronze image of an eight-armed Avalōkiteśvara (31 inches high) dredged up from a mine at Bidor in 1936 and now in the Perak museum. This image is unmistakably South Indian in its appearance, but is much better embellished than the Buddha and the Bodhisattva statues of Palembang and may well be a century or two later. Lastly, there are two bronze Avalōkiteśvaras of the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. with Pāla characteristics. Both come from a tin mine near Sungai Siput, one nine inches high is an Avalōkiteśvara seated on a lotus throne, while the other eleven inches in height—is a standing four-armed figure with pedestal and backing, both cast separately and attached to the figure.

With the coming of the Śailēndras from Java to Śrīvijaya, the way was opened for the advent of definitely Javanese cultural influences, themselves already subject to influences from north-eastern India (Nālandā and Pāla art). Three bronze images of Maitreya, Avalōkiteśvara and Buddha, found in the Komering river near Palembang in 1929, 'which might easily be taken for Javanese bronzes' are among the earliest specimens of this 'Śailēndra art' in Sumatra. Two Śaivite shrines, traceable only in their ruins, and fragments of stone statuary and ornamental pieces of a typically Central Javanese character from Si Mangambat and from the banks of the Lematang river west of Palembang, are also unmistakably of this period and school. The striking contrast between the extent and variety of the monuments in Central Java belonging to this school and the extreme paucity of the relics of this art in Sumatra have often been commented on.

Heine-Geldern mentions two Buddha statues from Jambi whose style corresponds to the North Indian style of the seventh century and clearly is connected with the traditions of Gupta art. These are noticed by Schnitger with some other Buddha figures from the same locality.^{13a} Coedès has illustrated two magnificent statues both damaged and coming from Jaiya which are fine specimens of the Śrīvijaya art of this period.

^{13a} '*Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*' p. 7.

The first¹⁴ is a black bronze, two and a quarter feet high, representing the head and upper half of the body of a Bodhisattva, probably Lōkēśvara, the hands and the lower half of the body being missing. "The benevolent serenity of the visage," says Coedès, "the nobility of the carriage of the shoulders and the magnificence of the ornaments class this unhappily incomplete statue among the masterpieces of the sculpture of India and Indo-China." The second,¹⁵ also a black bronze, smaller and aesthetically less striking than the preceding, has, however, the merit of being more complete. It is also a Lōkēśvara with legs broken off below the knee and the four arms missing, but the coiffure is intact and all the ornaments adorning the neck, the trunk, the hip, and the arms appear in all their details. There is a figurine of Dhyāni Buddha in a small niche in front of the chignon of Indo-Javanese pattern. The Bodhisattva had eight arms.

The later phases of Sumatran art were definitely marked by the dominance of Javanese forms modified by local influences or those of an exotic character like the fresh streams of South Indian influences noticed above. Only three sculptures of outstanding importance belonging to this phase need be noticed here before this necessarily brief and sketchy notice of Śrīvijaya art is brought to an end.

A bronze group of a standing four-armed Avalōkitesvara as Lokanātha between two seated Tārās (one of them has disappeared) comes from Gunung Tua in Tapanœli, and bears an inscription on its pedestal saying that this image of *bhatāra* Lokanātha was made by the master-smith Sūrya in Śaka 946 (1024 A.D.). A Malay word form (*barbwat*) guarantees the Sumatran origin of the image, now in the Batavia museum; otherwise one might easily take it to be a piece from Central Java. The name of Sūrya, the artist, is one of the very few such names known so far from Indonesia.¹⁶ We have already noted the evidence of a Nepalese manuscript on the world famous Lōkanātha of Śrīvijayapura of about the same period.

Then we have the Amōghapāśa group brought from Java in 1286 set up in Dharmāśraya under orders from Kṛitanagara to the gratification of the whole population of Malāyu as well as its king Tribhuvanarāja Maulivarman. This information is supplied by the inscribed pedestal on which the statue must have stood originally and which was discovered by Westenenk near Sungai Lansat on the left bank of the Batang Hari river. Another inscription engraved on the back of the Amōghapāśa group itself is dated A.D. 1347 and it records the removal of the statue to Rambhan where it still continues to be and its reconsecration under the orders of Adityavarman. The statue is described by Schnitger as follows:¹⁷ "The Amōghapāśa itself (1.63 m. high) is a beautiful product of the Singhasāri art of East Java. The head is surrounded by a halo, to the left and right sun and moon are pictured. On the shoulders appear Makara heads with a

¹⁴ *Ars Asiatica*, XII, plates 15 and 16

¹⁵ *Ibid*, plate 17.

¹⁶ Krom, H.-J.G., p. 247; Schnitger, *Archaeology*, p. 32.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. A metre is 39.37 inches.

round eye. Originally the god was eight-armed. At his left side stand Hayagrīva and Bhṛkūṭī, on his right Sudhankumāra and Śyāmatārā. Eight images of Buddhas and Tārās sit on lotus cushions. At the foot of the main image are a few lines of worn script. Underneath, on a vertical border, appear the so called seven jewels (*saptaratnāni*); horse, hurling-disc, queen, jewel, minister, general and elephant". The figures are believed to be portraits of Viṣṇuvardhana and his family. Heine-Geldern suggests that the group is probably "essentially a replica of the principal image of Caṇḍi Jago in East Java, the latter being a portrait of king Kṛitanagara's father, king Viṣṇuvardhana—whose sepulchral temple Caṇḍi Jago had been—in the shape of Amōghapāśa."

Besides the political significance attaching to the inscription on the back of the Amōghapāśa image to which attention has been drawn already, the record is of considerable interest for the history of religious belief and practice in fourteenth century Sumatra. The language of the inscription is a grotesque and corrupt form of Sanskrit, "exceedingly faulty and deficient, an obvious sign of the decay of culture since the seventh century"; and though the metres employed are complex and fairly regular, the meaning of much of the inscription is obscure, and there is no lack of cabalistic expressions. The king bears the epithet *apara-mahāyāna-yogavijñāna vinoda*, and is considered an incarnation of Amōghapāśa. Amōghapāśa is himself called Amōghapāśeśah, and Mataṅginīśa, and thus his *śakti* seems to be called Mataṅginī. His temple is a Jinālaya in the midst of a Vajraprākāra. One of the more easily followed verses of the inscription may perhaps be cited:

bajraprākāramaddhyasthā pratimāyam jinālayah
śrīmānn Amōghapāśeśah harih udayasundarah.

The transfer of the image from its original place to Rambhān was then connected with an important development in the sphere of religion by which the Buddhism of Malāyu assimilated the most striking features of Śaivite Tantrism. In fact the mixing up of Buddhism with Śaivism and of both with Tāntric practices of various forms, is an important feature in the religious development of the Hindu colonies of the East. And in this development the reign of Adityavarman seems to mark an epoch in the history of Sumatra.

A large statue of Bhairava was discovered in 1906 to the west of Sungai Laṅsat. Schnitger's description of this statue may be rendered thus:¹⁸ "On a pedestal of eight skulls, there is a slab, a double lotus cushion (*padmapīṭha*), bearing a lying figure with legs folded under the body. On this stands a short, thickest figure with a knife and a skull in the hands; snakes surround the ankles and wrists, and form arm-bands and ear-ornaments. The girdle is held by a clasp in the form of the head of a monster, and there hangs from its mouth a pearl garland with a bell at its bottom. From the left shoulder where a knot or loop is seen, a broad ribbon falls

¹⁸ *Batang Hari*, p. 9.

obliquely on the chest; another ornamental band is also seen in a similar position. Chest and legs are hirsute; there is also the moustache, and at the corners of the mouth are sculptured little projecting tusks. Slant-eyed *makaras* and flowers with hanging seed-garlands serve as ear-ornaments. In the tall coiffure sits the Buddha Akṣobhya. The statue is 4.41 m. high." Heine-Geldern thinks that this sculpture, also belonging to the sphere of Singhasāri art, was probably brought from Java to Sumatra about the same time as the Amōghapāśa.

Schnitger and Stutterheim, however, agree in thinking that this is probably a portrait of king Adityavarman who had himself initiated as a *bhairava* under the name of Kṣetrajña Viśeṣadharāṇi in 1375, a little before his death.¹⁹ And there are many other indications, like the dancing Heruka²⁰ from the chief temple of Biaro Bahal II in Tapanœli, of the prevalence of what has been called Kāla-cakra Buddhism in Sumatra in this period.

¹⁹ I think that Moens' interpretation of the Suravusa inscription is in the main correct, though, like Krom, I doubt if *suravasavan*, (and even *hasano*) can bear the interpretation suggested by him TBG., LXIV (1924), p. 577 and H.-J.G., p. 414. The sentence *Adityavarmanrpah Ksetrajñah racito viśeṣadharāṇinamna suruvasavan*, seems to be sufficiently clear in itself—'King Adityavarman, ruler of Suravāsa, was made a Ksetrajña under the name of Viśeṣadharāṇi'.

²⁰ OV., 1930, pl. 41.

NOTE ON NEW FINDS IN SAMBAS, WEST BORNEO

In his *History of the Orient*, Otley Beyer drew attention to the name Visaya (Bisaya) current in Borneo and the middle and southern Philippines, and said: 'This term is almost certainly a direct survival of the spread of colonies from the Pre-Buddhist Śrī-Vishaya state into Western Borneo and from there into the central Philippines and probably also into southern Formosa'.¹ But no account could be taken of this suggestion based apparently on purely philological evidence. It was well known from the Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarman (there are now seven of them) in East Borneo, and from other finds in the rest of Borneo including the valley of the Kapuas in West Borneo, that that large island, in fact the largest in the archipelago, fell well within the scope of the Hindu colonization movement (See Ch. I, *ante*). Again Sir Roland Braddell has ably argued that the island in Malaysia which Fahien visited on his voyage from India to China was not Java as is usually believed, but Borneo. The words he wrote towards the conclusion of his argument are well worth citing in view of the present finds: 'We suggest that among the earliest places in Malaysia settled by the ancient Indians must have been the region between Kuching and Pontianak and the region watered by the Kapuas and Sambas' (*Italics mine*).² What was just a surmise, though based on a good balancing of probabilities, has now been made a certainty by the new finds near Sambas city.

In a brief note on the Sambas site, the source of this major contribution to the archaeology of Borneo, Mr. E. H. G. Dobby, Professor of Geography, Raffles College, Singapore, has shown that in ancient times Sambas must have been situated at the head of a gulf fully open to the sea, though its present location far upstream would have made it difficult of approach for heavy sea-going junks exclusively dependent on sails. He is quite definite that coastal changes at that rate have not been uncommon in south-east Asia and they would be hastened in the Sambas area by the long history of mining in the small inland streams.

The town of Sambas now lies on the tributary of a considerable river about 30 miles from the mouth which is 1 degree 12' N.L. and 108 degrees 58' E. Long. A village known as Palangai Sabong some 15 miles from Sambas is the actual spot of the discovery. Some Chinese labourers excavating a mound by the bank of a small stream on the outskirts of the village, dug out an earthen jar about two feet in height. It was covered with a cymbal-shaped disc in bronze, and was standing on a bronze plate of considerable size but badly decayed. The labourers broke the jar, and stood dumbfounded at the contents that poured out of it—nine gold and

¹ Cited by Y. S. Tan in his Preliminary Report on the Discovery of the Hoard of Hindu religious objects, near Sambas, West Borneo—*Journal of the South Seas Society*—Vol. V pt. I June 1948 pp. 31-8 on which this note is based.

² *Journal of the Malayan Branch, RAS.* XIX (1) Feb. 1941, p. 71.

silver images, and a strange bronze vessel all packed in black sand. There was no sign of a building near by though sherds and blocks of clay were noticed. Like the stone images found in the caves of Mount Kombeng (East Borneo), these smaller and more valuable images in precious metal were carefully packed and buried in the ground by their pious worshippers to save them from falling into hands of some impious foe. But we have as yet no means of affirming that it was a common danger that led to similar action both in Eastern and Western Borneo.

The images in the collection are all Buddhist and include four Buddhas and five Avalōkitesvaras. Of the Buddha images two are standing and two seated. The bigger standing image is a silver piece, six inches high, of a Buddha standing on a lotus. The right hand is raised in *vitarka* pose and the left holds the hem of the garment. The 'ūrṇā' is visible on the forehead, the hair is arranged in conventional curls and the *uṣṇīṣa* is low. There is a detachable aureole (*tiruvācci*) fringed with flames behind the image. The smaller standing image, only 3.1 inches high, is of gold. It resembles generally the larger silver image, but its nimbus is fastened to the shoulders, instead of covering the whole image and being detachable. Both the images conform to the iconography of Buddha Dīpaṅkara. The two seated Buddhas are both small and made of gold—1.8 inches and 1.6 inches in height. The Buddhas are seated in *Vajrāsana* on thrones, the bigger one representing *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā* and the smaller one *dhyāna*. The robe is distinguished by lines, and the right shoulder is bare. There is a nimbus in the form of an oval ring fastened to the shoulders.

Of the Avalōkitesvaras the first is a small image of gold with the right hand in *varada* pose and the left holding a lotus with stem; the Amitābha image in the diadem is not distinct. The next is a six-armed image also of gold seated on a lotus with the ring of a nimbus attached to the shoulders, and bedecked with the usual ornaments. The symbols appearing in the arms are: right hands in order from above - *akṣamālā*, *padma*, *varada-mudrā*; the upper left hands hold *pustaka* and *pāśa*, while the lowest rests on the lap. The number of arms and the *pāśa* indicate a tantric form of the Bodhisatva, perhaps that of Amōghapāśa. Next there is a four-armed figure of silver, rather sparingly ornamented with the arms bearing *pustaka*, *varada-mudrā*, *pāśa* and *padma*, and a clear image of Amitābha on the diadem. The fourth is also a four-armed Avalōkitesvara bearing *akṣamālā*, *varada-mudrā*, *pustaka* and *padma*, and ring nimbus attached to the shoulders. The Amitābha in front of the *jaṭā* is clear, and the whole figure is an exceedingly fine specimen of the goldsmith's art, weighing 13 ozs. of gold and being 5.2 inches high. There are projections below the feet to fit into a pedestal which is missing. Lastly, we have yet another four-armed figure, the biggest in the collection, six inches from foot to top of the aureole, and 27 ozs. of gold. A loin cloth with starry designs held by a girdle with a jewelled clasp in front makes it a unique specimen. The image shares the common characteristic of others in the collection *viz.*, that the ornamentation is spare. The upper part of the body is naked except for the *upavīta*

in the usual form of a broad sash ; the hair is braided and gathered up into a *jatāmakuta*, some braids hanging loose on either side. The top of the *jatā* has a trident fringed with flames ; the Amitābha in front of it is indicated. The aureole attached to the back has on top a trident-shape of flame inlaid with a garnet. The arms have the same symbols as the last figure.

Most of the pedestals and throne seats are of bronze and badly oxidized, and often do not match their respective figures. The pedestals are all without legs. We have a very interesting bronze object in perfect preservation. Only the upper part, the roof, of a similar vessel was found in Kedah some time ago and its purpose was by no means clear. The complete specimen now recovered seems to make it clear that we have an incense-burner here. Its roof is two-storeyed and carries a *kalaśa* on top in the centre. There is a cock at each of the four corners and two smaller ones on each side of the roof-top. The base rests on four turtle feet.

Prof. Dobby observes : ' Whether the find implies that there was a local focus of Hindu culture near Sambas or that it was buried in transit from a distance, only further examination of the site will tell'. Pending the results of such examination, I am inclined to think that the first alternative is nearer the truth ; for these holy objects which contain much value in small bulk are most likely, if they had been carried any distance by their owners, to have been carried away with them and not buried with the scrupulous care with which they seem to have been put underground.

Mr. Tan rightly observes : ' The striking affinities of our collection with those found in Malay peninsula are noteworthy. The simplicity of the figures, the general physiognomy, the outline of the head, the treatment of the eyes, lips and ears as well as the modelling of the cheek and chin accompanied by a sense of sharp precision, proclaim the evident kinship between the two examples'. The two standing Buddhas are not difficult to date approximately and must count certainly among the earliest images in the collection. They can be compared with the large stone Buddha from Solok in Batang Hari (Sumatra) figured by Schnitger in Pl. XI of *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* ; the images may well be of the sixth or seventh century A. D. at the latest. The two seated Buddhas likewise invite comparison with the bronze Vairocana from Doorninck's collection also figured by Schnitger in Plate VII of his book mentioned above. The standing Bodhisattvas come nearer the Malayan finds particularly the eight-armed bronze Avalokiteśvara from Bidor. (*Archaeological researches in Malaya*, by Dr. Quaritsch Wales pl. 79). This hoard of images seems to furnish definite proof that West Borneo was included in the empire of Śrīvijaya just like the Malay Peninsula both before and after the advent of the Śailēndras.

My thanks are respectively due to Sir Roland Braddell and to Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, Hony. Secretary of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for sending me the issue of the Journal of the South Seas Society containing Mr. Y. S. Tan's article and for an excellent set of fresh photographs of the finds taken from different angles.

APPENDIX

I. INSCRIPTION OF KEDUKAN BUKIT (PALEMBANG) A.D. 683.

1. Svasti śrī śakavarṣātīta 605 ekādaśi śu-
2. kalpakṣa vulan vaiśākha ḍapunta hiyam nāyik di
3. sāmvaṁ maṇalap siddhayātra di saptamī śuklapakṣa
4. vulan jyeṣṭha ḍapunta hiyam marlapas dari mināṇa
5. tāṁvan mamāva yam vala dualakṣa daṇan ke-
6. duaratus cāra di sāmvaṁ daṇan jalan sarivu
7. tlurātus sapulu dua vañakṇa dātam di malāyu*
8. sukhacitta di pañcamī suklapakṣa vula(n)—
9. laghu mudita dātam marvuāt vanua—
10. śrīvijaya jaya siddhayātra subhikṣa—

BEFEO XXX.

* Krom's reading for Coedès' *mata jap*.

Translation :

Prosperity ! Fortune ! in Śaka, 605 on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha, His Majesty embarked for going in search of magical power (*siddhayātrā*). On the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha the king freed himself from.....He led an army of 20,000 (men); the followers.....to the number of 200 went by boat, the followers on foot to the number of 2312 arrived at Malāyu, with joyous heart. On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of.....light, joyous, came and made the country.....Prosperous (has been) the *siddhayātrā* for the Victory of Śrī Vijaya.

BEFEO XXX Tr. in French by Coedès.

II. INSCRIPTION OF TALANG TUWO (PALEMBANG) A. D. 684.

1. Svasti śrī śakavarṣātīta 606 dim dvitīya śuklapakṣa vulan caitra sāna tatkālāṇa parlak śrīkṣetra ini niparvuāt
2. parvāṇḍa punta hiyam śrī jayanāśa ini praṇidhānāṇḍa punta hiyam savañakṇayam nitānam di sini ṇiyur pinam hanāu rumviya dñan samiśrāṇa yam kāyu nimākan vuahṇa tathāpi hāur vuluh pattum ityevamādi punarapi yam parlak vukan
4. dñan tavad talāga savañakṇa yam vuatku sucarita parāvis prayojanākan puṇyāṇa sarvvasatva sacarācara vare pāyāṇa tmu
5. sukha di āsannakāla di antara mārḡga lai tmu muah ya āhāra dñan āir nimumṇa savañakṇa vuatṇa huma parlak mañek mu-
6. ah ya mamhidupi paśu prakāra marhulun tuvi vṛddhi muah ya jānan ya nīknāi savañakṇa yam upasargga pīḍanu svapnavighna varam vua-

7. tāña kathamapi anukūla yam graha nakṣatra parāvis diya.
nirvyādhi ajara kavuatanāña tathāpi savañakña yam
bhr̥tyāña
8. satyārjjava dr̥dhabhakti muah ya dya yam mitrāña tuvi jānan
ya kapāṭa yam viniña mulam anukūla bhāryyā muah ya
varam sthā.
9. nāña lāgi cūri ucca vadhāña paradāra di sāna punarapi tmu ya
kalyāṇamitra marvvañun vodhicitta dñan maitri-
10. -dhāri di dam hyam ratnatraya jānan marsārak dñan hyam
ratnatraya tathāpi nityakāla tyāga marśila kṣānti marvvañun
vīrya rājin
11. tāhu di samiśrāña śilpakalā parāvis samāhitacinta tmu ya prajñā
smṛti medhāvi punarapi dhairyyamānī mahāsattva
12. vajraśarīra anupamaśakti jaya tathāpi jātismara avikalendriya
mañcak rūpa subhaga hāsin halap āde-
13. yavākya vrahmasvara jādi lāki svayambhu puna(ra)pi tmu ya
cintāmaṇinidhāna tmu janmavaśitā karmmavaśitā kleśavaśitā
14. avasāna tmu ya anuttārabhisamyaksamvodhi||

BEFEO XXX.

Translation :

Prosperity ! Fortune ! In Śaka 606 on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra : it is at this moment that the garden (named) Śrīkṣetra was made under the direction of His Majesty Śrī Jayanāśa. Here follows the prayer (*praṇidhāna*) of His Majesty :

Whatever is planted here, coconuts, areca, sugar palms, sago, and many other trees bearing edible fruit as well as the bamboos *haur*, *vuluh* and *pattum* etc. ; and also the other gardens with the dams, tanks and all the good works made by me, serve for the good of all beings, moving and immobile, and are for them the best means of obtaining felicity. That if they have hunger at the halt or on the way, they should find food and water to drink. That all the clearances and gardens made by them should be full (of crops). That the cattle of all species raised by them and the slaves they possess should prosper. That they be not afflicted by any calamity, nor tormented by sleeplessness. That all that they procreate should have the planets and constellations favourable to them, and be exempt from illness and old age during their undertakings. And further that all their servants shall be faithful and devoted to them, and again that their friends may not betray them and that their women be loyal spouses to them. And above all that, wherever they may find themselves, there be in that place no thieves, no ruffians, no assassins and no adulterers. That moreover they possess a friend of good counsel ; that there arise among them the thought of Bodhi and love of the Three Jewels, and that they be not separated from the Three Jewels. And also (that they practise) continually liberality, the observance of precepts, patience ; that there grow among them energy, application and knowledge of all the divers

arts ; that they have a concentrated spirit, possess knowledge, memory, intelligence. And further that they be firm in their opinions, have the diamond body of the Mahāsattva, unequalled power, victory and also memory of their former births, flawless senses, full form, good fortune, laughter, tranquillity, an agreeable voice--the voice of Brahmā. That they be born male, exist of their own accord (*svayambhū*), that they be recipients of the marvellous stone (*cintāmaṇi*), have mastery over births, *karma*, *kleśa*, and that finally they obtain the complete and supreme illumination.

BEFEO. XXX Tr. in French by Coedès.

III. INSCRIPTION OF KOTA KAPUR (BANGKA) AND KARANG BRAHI* (A.D. 686)

1. *siḍḍha||titam hamvan vari avai kandra kāyet ni*
2. *paihumpaan namuha ulu lavan tandrun luaḥ makamatai ta.*
3. *ndrun luaḥ ninunu paihumpaan hakairu muaḥ kāyet nihumpa u.*
4. *nai tunai umentem bhaktī niulun haraki unai tunai||kita savaṇakta de.*
5. *vata mahar(d)dhika sannidhāna mamrakṣa yam kadatuan śrīvijayaa kita tuvi tandrun*
6. *luaḥ vaṇakta devata mūlāṇa yam parumpahan parāvis kadāci yam uram*
7. *di dalamṇa bhūmi ājṇāṇa kadatuan inī parāvis drohaka hanun samavuddhhi la.*
8. *van drohaka manujāri drohaka niujāri drohaka tāhu dim drohaka tīda*
9. *ya mar(p)pādaḥ tīda ya bhakti tīda ya tatvārjjava diy āku dian di iyam nigalarku sanyāsa datūa dhava vuatṇa uram inan nivunuh.*
10. *ya sumpah nisuruh tāpik ya mulam parvāṇḍan dātu śrīvijaya tālu muaḥ ya dian.*
11. *gotra santānāṇā tathāpi svaṇakṇa yam vuatṇa jāhat makalanit uram makasā.*
12. *kit makagīla mantra gada viṣaprayoga upuh tūva tāmval sarāmvat kasī.*
13. *han vaśīkaraṇa ityevamādi jānan muaḥ ya siḍḍha pulam ka iya muaḥ yam deṣā.*
14. *ṇa vuatṇa jāhat inan tathāpi nivunuh ya sumpah tuvi mulam yam mañuruh marjjahāti yam marjjahāti yam vātu nipratiṣṭha ini tuvi nivunuh ya sumpah tālu muaḥ ya mulam sarambhāṇa uram drohaka tīda bhakti tīda tatvārjjava diy āku dhava vuatṇa nivunuh ya sumpah ini gran kadāci iya bhakti tatvārjjava diy āku dian di yam ni.*

* The italicised part of the text is common to both records ; the Roman part is found only in that of Kota Kapur.

15. *galarku sanyāsa datūa śānti muah kavuatāña dñan gotrasantānāña samrddha.*
16. *svastha niroga nirupadrava subhikṣa muah yam vanuāña parāvis|| śakavarṣātīta 608 dim pratipada suklapakṣa vulan vaiśākha tatkalāña yam mammam sumpah ini nipāhat di velāña yam vala śrīvijaya kalivat manāpik yam bhūmi jāva tida bhakti ka śrīvijaya||.*

BEFEO XXX.

Translation :

Success ! (An unintelligible formula of imprecation). O ! you all the divinities who have gathered and who protect (this) province (Kadatuan) of Śrīvijaya ; you also, Tandrum luah (?) and all the divinities with whom begin all the formulas of imprecation !

When in the interior of all the lands (bhūmi) (subject to this province Kadatuan) people rebel,....., conspire with rebels, give ear to the rebels, admit the rebels, are not deferential, are not submissive, are not loyal to me and to those who are invested by me with the charge of dātu, such people, *authors of those actions**, be killed by the imprecation ; that an expedition (directed against them) be put on the field under the conduct of the dātu of Śrīvijaya, and that they be chastised, together with their clan and their family. Further, that all their bad actions (such as) troubling the spirit of the people, making them ill, making them mad, making use of formulas, poisons, employing the poisons upas and tuba, hemp, sarāmvat, philtres, subjecting others to their will etc., (that these actions) be deprived of success and recoil on those who are guilty of these bad actions, *and also that they be afflicted by the imprecation. In addition, those who incite to damage, who damage the stone placed here, be afflicted by the imprecation and be also punished. That murderers, rebels, those who are not devoted, who are not loyal to me, that the authors of these actions be afflicted by the imprecation.* But if the people are submissive, are loyal to me and to those who have been invested by me with the charge of the dātu, that there be benediction on their enterprises as well as on their clan and their family ; success, ease, health, absence of calamities, abundance for their country.

Śaka 608, the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha, it is then that this imprecation was uttered ; it has been engraved at the moment when the army of Śrīvijaya was about to start an expedition against the land of Javā which had not submitted to Śrīvijaya.

BEFEO XXX Tr. in French by Coedès.

* Expressions italicised occur only in Kotakapur.

rājā rīsañjayākhyo raviriva ya (śasā di)gvidikhyātalaksmī
 ssūnussannāhanāmnassvasura nyāyataśśāsti rajyam || 11
 yasminchāsa(ti sāga)rormmiraśanām śailastanīmmedinīm
 śete rājapathe (jano na) cakitaścorairna cānyairbhayaih
 kīrttyā(dhyairalama)rjītāsca satatandharmmārthakāmā naraih
 nūnam roditi roditīti sa kalirnnāstyāṅśa (śe ṣo yatah) | 12

—Kern, V.G. VII pp. 118-20.

Translation :

1. In the year of the Śaka prince marked by the Veda (4), indriyas (5), and rasas (6) (thus 654), on Monday the thirteenth tithi of the bright half which followed (the tithi) of Bhadra, in (the month) Kārttika, in the kumbha-lagna known as sthīrāṅga, King Śrī Sañjaya installed on the mountain a linga with (all the good) marks for the peace of the land.

2. He who has the moon as the crest-jewel on the coils of the hair on his head tinged by the high waves of the Ganges; on whose body smeared with stripes of bright ash shines the lustre of the garlands of snakes; who is praised by gods with their tender palms joined together in prosperous añjali; may he, Śiva, the sun to the darkness of existence, bestow on you an abundant (measure of) bliss.

3. May the irreproachable pair of lotuses, the feet of the three-eyed (Śiva); of which the toes with their beaming nails at the outer end resemble the petals of the red lotus tinged by the stamen, which are often praised for the attainment of the bliss of heaven by the great sages bowing in devotion, and which are kissed by Indra and other gods who bend their crowned heads and resemble bees (that kiss lotuses); bestow on you everlasting bliss.

4. May that three-eyed (Śiva) protect you,—(Śiva) who being the source of superior aiśvarya (lordship) is the store of many great wonders, who delighting ever only in renunciation causes constant astonishment to the Yogins, who nourishes the universe with his eight bodies out of grace (Karunā) and not for any selfish good, who is the lord of the creatures and has his coils (of hair on the head) adorned by the digit of the moon.

5. May the mighty Brahmā, the respected guru of the world, bestow success on you—(Brahmā) the Yoga-lord of the yogins, the pair of whose lotus feet is saluted by the gods: who bears a golden body with shining locks of hair which look like the flames arising out of the burning of its sins (dross); who has securely fastened to the pillar of the Veda the religion of the world (the institutions of society): and who is the source of dharma, artha and kāma (from whom issues all that is good, useful and pleasant in the world—Kern).

6. May the husband of Śrī (Viṣṇu) bestow prosperity on you—he who with his lotus eyes reddened by yoga lies on the bed of waters as he is praised by the gods for their protection, and who is viewed from a distance by Śrī with furrowed brows and angry looks on seeing the splendour of her own form reflected on the wall of gems on the raised heads of the lord of snakes.

7. There is an excellent unparalleled island by name Yava rich in corn and other seeds, endowed with gold mines. (Rest of line 2 unintelligible owing to a gap). There is a most holy and wonderful shrine dedicated to Śiva for the good of the world, set in the prosperous Kuñjara-Kuñjadeśa and surrounded by Ganga and other holy rivers (tīrthas).

8. On that famous island Java, which is a precious show-piece among all lands, there was a king of very high birth who had attained great fame by the proper use of sāma and dāna, and who ruled all his subjects with love from their birth like a father his child. Sanna was his name and having subjugated his enemies, he long ruled the earth with justice like Manu.

9. When having thus ruled for long the prosperous kingdom in a righteous way, Sanna went to heaven to enjoy the bliss stored up for him (as the reward of his good deeds), the world deprived of its leader was baffled and tossed about in grief.

10. Then there came forth (one) who was rich in good qualities like Meru, for he had the pure (white) colour of the gold melted in flaming fire, had large arms and hips, and had the crown of his head raised very high and had his feet high above the kings (mountains) of good family that were standing on the ground.

11. This king was named Śrī Sañjaya, son of the sister of Sannaha who ruled the kingdom justly; he was glorious, honoured by the groups of learned men, as a scholar in the subtleties of the śāstras, a ruler who had courage and other qualities and had, like Raghu, subdued many neighbouring monarchs; and his fame like the splendour of the sun spread in all quarters.

12. When he ruled the Earth who has the waves of the ocean for her girdle and mountains for her breasts, people slept on the roads without any fear of thieves or other (dangers); and famous men constantly accumulated dharma, artha and kāma, and Kali could indeed only weep that there was not the least share for him.

Kern, V. G. VII Tr. in Dutch.

V. LIGOR INSCRIPTION (A) A.D. 775

visāriṇyā kīrttyā nayavinayaśauryyaśrutaśama
kṣamā dhairyyatyāgadyutimatidayādyakṣayabhuvā
param yasyākrāntā bhuvanakubhubjām krttavisarā
mayūkhāstārāṇām śaradi tuhināṇśoriva ruca||
guṇānāmādharaṣṭuhinagirikūṭādhikaruca
guṇādhyānām pumsāmapi jagati yastunga yaśasām
mañinām bhūrṇām duritabhidudanvāniva mahān
mañijyotirllekhāvalayīśirasāñcāpi phaṇinām||
dhanavikalatābahnijvalāvalikṣapitaśayā
yamabhipatitā ye te svāस्थ्यam param samupagatāh

I

II

hradamiva gajā nityāśoṣyamprasannaśubhāmbhasam savitari tapatyugre sevyam sarojarajo' ruṇam	III
guṇabhṛtamupagamyā yam guṇādhyā (jagati na) rā Manunā samam samantāt madhusamayāmivāmrakesarādyāś- śriyamadhikāndadhate mahīruhendrāh	IV
jayatyayam Śrīvijayendrārājā sāmantarājārccitaśāsanaśrīh praśastadharmmasthiratonmukhena vinirmīto viśvasrjeva yatnāt	V
Śrīvijayeśvarabhūpatireṣa guṇaughah kṣititalasarvvasamantanṛpottama ekah sthāpita aiṣṭikagehavaratrayametāt Kajakara-Mārani-śūdāna-Vajri-nivāsam	VI
santatametattrisamayacaityaniketan daśadigavasthitasarvvajinottamadattam sarvvajaganmalabhūdharakuliśavarān tribhavavibhūtiviśeṣadamamarapadam	VII
punarapi Jayanta-nāmā rajasthavīro nṛpeṇa suniyuktah stūpatrayamasi kurvvityatassa tadidantathā kṛtavān	VIII
svaritesmimstacchiṣyo'(A)dhimuktirabhūcca nāmatah sthavirah iṣṭikacaityadvitayam caityatritayāntike kṛtavān	IX
vṛddhyāpte Śakarāje muninavarasakairmmādhavaikādaśāhe śukle ko līralagne Bhṛgusutasahite cāryyamañjyotirāryye devendrābhena ca Śrīvijayanṛpatinānyaksitīśottamena trailokyaikāgryacintāmañivapuṣa i (va sthā)pitāsstūpa (c)ai(tyāh)	X

BEFEO XVIII (6) pp. 29-30

Chhabra, *Expansion*, pp. 22-3.*Translation :*

- I. His wide-spread glory, the inexhaustible sources of which are (his) prudence, modesty, valour, learning, equanimity, forbearance, firmness, liberality, intelligence, compassion and the like, has completely eclipsed the radiance of the glory of the lesser kings of the world, as the light of the moon during the autumn (does) the rays of the stars.
- II. He is the receptacle of virtues and is also, through (his) lustre that outshines (even) the (snowy) peaks of the Himālaya, (the support) of the virtuous and highly celebrated men in the world, (he is) like the ocean great, a destroyer of evil (and a possessor) of multitudinous gems as well as (the patron) of the Nāgas with their heads haloed by the streaks of the lustre of the gems.*
- III. Whosoever have fled to him with hearts consumed by the multitudinous flames of the fire of poverty, have attained perfect ease

* Referring to the ocean, the words *great*, *possessor*, *patron*, and *heads* may better be replaced by *grand*, *repository*, *abode*, and *hoods* respectively—Chhabra.

in the same manner as the elephants (are refreshed, which), when the fierce sun is burning (resort to) a pleasant lake with pure, serene and perennial water reddened by the pollen of the lotus flowers.

- IV. The virtuous people in the world, having from all sides turned to him, who is endowed with virtues like Manu, display a greater beauty, as mangoes, *kesaras* and other lordly trees on the approach of the spring season (do).
- V. Victorious is the king, the lord of Śrīvijaya, whose sovereignty is recognised and whose commands are obeyed by the neighbouring kings, (and) who has been deliberately created by the Creator of the Universe, as if He had in view the perpetuity of the praiseworthy Law.
- VI. This king, the lord of Śrīvijaya, (who is) the very effusion of virtues, the very best among all the kings around on the surface of the earth, has erected this triad of excellent brick houses, the abode of the Padmapāṇi, of the Māra-slayer (i.e. Śākyamuni) and of Vajrapāṇi.
- VII. This *tri-samaya-caitya* building, which is dedicated to all the best Jinas residing in the ten quarters of the sky, and which is the very thunderbolt for (destroying) the mountains (in the form) of impurities of the whole world, is ever the seat of *Amṛta* (and) the giver of the highest prosperity in the three states of existence (*tri-bhava*).
- VIII. Furthermore, the royal monk (*rājasthavira*) Jayanta by name (being) commissioned by the king: 'Make thou a triad of *stūpas*' has thus made the same accordingly.
- IX. After he (the royal monk) had gone to heaven, his disciple, Adhimukti by name, became the (royal) monk. (He) has made a pair of brick *caityas* in the vicinity of the triad of *caityas*.
- X. The Śakarāja (i.e. the Śaka year), (designated) by the (six) *rasas*, the (number) *navan* and the (seven) *munis* having been completed (Ś. 697-775 A.D.) on the eleventh day of the bright half of the (month) of Vaiśākha, the sun rising in company of Venus in Cancer, the king of Śrīvijaya, superior to other kings, like Indra (who is superior to other gods), has erected the *stūpas* (and the *caityas*) (so beautiful) as if their structures are (made) of the choicest *cintāmaṇi* gems in the three worlds.

Chhabra, *Expansion*, pp. 24-6 (with modifications).

VI. KALASAN INSCRIPTION A.D. 778

Namo bhagatvatyai āryatārāyai||

(1) yā tārayaty amitaduhkhabhavābhimagnam

lokam vilokya vidhivattrividhair upāyaih

sā vah surendranaralokavibhūtisāram

tārā diśatvabhimatam jagadekatārā||

(2) āvarja mahārājam dyāh pañcapanam panamkaraṇam

śailendrarājagurubhis tārābhavanam hi kārītam śrīmat||

(3) guruvājñayā kṛtajñais tārādevī kṛtāpi tadbhavanam

vinayamahāyānavidāṁ bhavanam cāpyāryābhikṣūṇām||

(4) paṅkuratawānatīripanāmabhir ādeśaśastribhīrājñāh

tārābhavanam kārītam idamapi cāpyāryābhikṣūṇām||

(5) rājye pravarddhamāne rājñāh śailendravanśatilakasya

śailendrarājagurubhis tārābhavanam kṛtam kṛtibhih||

(6) śakanṛpakālātītair varṣaśataih saptabhir mmahārājah

akarod gurupūjārtham tārābhavanam paṇamkaraṇah||

(7) grāmah kālasanāmā dattah samghāya sākṣiṇah kṛtvā

paṅkuratawānatīripadeśādhyakṣān mahāpuruṣān||

(8) bhuradakṣiṇeyam atulā dattā samghāya rājasinhena

śailendravanśabhūpair anuparipālyāryasantatyā||

(9) saṁ paṅkurādibhih saṁ tawānakādibhih

saṁ tiripādibhih pattibhiśca sādhubhih|| api ca||

(10) sarvān evāgāminah pārthivendrān

bhūyo bhūyo yācate rājasinhah

sāmānyo yan dharmmasetur narāṇām

kāle kāle pālānīyo bhavadbhih||

(11) anena puṇyena vihārajena

pratītya jātārthavibhāgaviññāh

bhavantu sarve tribhavopapannā

janā jinānām anuśāsanaññāh||

(12) kariyānnapanamkaraṇah śrīmān abhiyācate tra bhāvinṛpān

bhūyobhūyo vidhivad vihāraparaparipālanārtham iti||

TBG. 1928 pp. 58-60

Translation :

Salutation to the Venerable Arya-Tārā.

1. May she who, beholding mankind sunk in the ocean of immeasurably miserable existence, brings deliverance by the right application of the Three Means, may she, Tārā, the world's single load-star direct your course to the desired end: (the attainment) of the essential elements of the might of the divine and human worlds.
2. After the gurus of the Śailendra prince had persuaded the Great King dyah Pañcapaṇa, (the rakryan) Panamkaraṇa, did they build a splendid Tārā-temple.

3. At the command of the guru was (an image of) goddess Tārā made by the great ones, as also a temple for her, and also a house for the venerable monks who have knowledge of the Mahāyāna of the Vinaya.
4. This Tārā temple and this, (dwelling) for the venerable monks were caused to be built by the ādeśāśastrins (armed with commands) named pangkur, tawān and tīrip.
5. In the prosperous kingdom of the prince who is the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty was a Tārā temple built by the competent gurus of the Śailendra prince.
6. After the lapse of seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king, the great king, (rakryan) Panamkaraṇa built the Tārā temple to honour the gurus.*
7. The village of Kālasa is presented to the Congregation after making the pangkur, the tawān, the tīrip and the noble lords of the deśa the witnesses.
8. This incomparable bhura-present (land-gift? bhūdakṣiṇā) given to the congregation by the prince must be protected by the kings of the Śailendra dynasty and by the succession of nobles.
9. as also by the pangkur and his successors, the tawān and his successors, the tīrip and his successors, and by the excellent patis. Further,
10. the prince repeatedly begs all the future kings: may this protective dam of Dharma which is common to all men be maintained by you for all time.
11. By this puṇya born of the foundation of the Vihāra, may all people obtain knowledge of the division of things arising from the chain of causes, become endowed with the three forms of being, and follow the instructions of Jina.
12. The illustrious rakryan Paṇamkaṇa hereby requests the future kings over and over again to maintain the vihāra according to proper form.

* *Gurupujartham* may also mean for 'being worshipped by the gurus' i.e. the gurus persuaded the king (v. 2) to build a temple where they might offer daily worship.

TBG 1928 Tr. in Dutch by Bosch.

VII. KELURAK INSCRIPTION A.D. 782

||namo ratnatrayāya||

jayalokeśvarasugatapadākṣara jayabhadreśvarasugata padākṣara
jayaviśveśvarasugata padākṣara jaya.....śvarasugatapadākṣara|| (1)
dharṣati ye (2) lokeśa(m) dhartu(m) mūrdhnamitābham api lokeś-
varam

praṇamata tam lokeśam sakaladigantāvabhāsanālokeśam||

(2)

yāstasthā *mavacaratayah* śaruman.....

saṅgata...navaratnam mām api (3) bayabhītam avacara(n)tam|| (3)

sāmantamantripatisamskṛtasatkramaṇa dīcakraṛājavijayārjitavi-
kramaṇa

.....*ravairivaravīravimardanena* nityam parārthakaru(ṇa)...mena|| (4)

śailendravamśatilakena maho (4) dayena yasya kramāmbujarajah
śirasā praṇamya

sampūjyate *pravavaratnasaroruhādyai* rājñā dhṛtā dhṛtimatā
dharanīndranāmnā|| (5)

tenendra.....vilokya lokam kṛpāparigatena jagaddhitāya
vai (5) *pulyavipratilakena* tathāgatoktam.....balinā bala...
utena|| (6)

gaudīdvīpagurukramāmbujarajahpūtottamāṅgātmanā ... *ārthavidā-*
mahārddhisahadāsam veda...

.....(6) prāptābhiṣekam śriyā śreyah kāra
.....*vidvadriyā*|| (7)

sarvajñe.....*pradāvo* jvalah

sarvasthākhilaloka.....nīlotpalah

mamjuśrīr ayam aprameyasu (7) *gataprakhyātakirttimahā*

.....*rājaguruṇā* lokārthasamsthapitah|| (8)

dīṣṭah spṛṣṭah smṛtimī.....itah...titāpa...itih sasukhasya.....

setur mmamjughoṣah samtoṣah (8) smāttasmādbhavadbhir.....

satkṛtta...jjapadadrṣṭaratah kīrttistambha...smṛttih|| (9)

prīyam buddha.....

trailokyārcitasamkramasya jagatah (9) trātur vidhātuh śriyah

kṛtvemām pratimām mayā *yadamitam prāptam gurum bhaktitam*

sevā...locanah smarajitah.....mamjuśriyam|| (10)

śakanṛpakālātītair varṣaśataih saptabhiṣcaturbhirapi

varṣaih ku(10)māraghoṣah sthāpitavān mamjughoṣam imam|| (11)

vyatiṣyamvīcināmanisara guru.....

kala...*saptame* mase sthāpitavāñca yathāham...|| (12)

kīrttiṣṭambho 'yam atulo (11) dharmmasetur anuttarah

rakṣārtham sarvasatvānām mamjuśrīpratimākṛtiḥ|| (13)

atra buddhaśca dharmmaśca sanghaścāntargatah sthitah

drṣṭavyo drṣṭyaratne' smin smarārāti (12) niṣūdane|| (14)

ayam sa vajradhṛk śrīmān brahmā viṣṇurmmaheśvarah

sarvadevamayah svāmī mamjuvāg iti gīyate|| (15)

deśasya tasya parārakṣām parasvasya yatnam sthīram(13)

mamjuśrīr ayam atrāste kurvan *tavyokitaśriyā*|| (16)

da...*dhicittamūlah* karuṇāskandho mahākṣamāśakhah

abhivāñchitāśrayalavah kalinavakalpadrūmo ja(14)yati (17)

...smabhūta...sukha.....rājā

tarkṣyo rakṣasi rakṣām mamjuravah sarvabhītiharah|| (18)

yāce tri...caritocitacāruvṛ(15)ttān

agāminah kṣitipatīn ava...sarvān
 yuṣmābhir aprati...mah pratipālaniyah
 śrīdharmmasetur ayam.....bhṛtkumārah|| (19)

śrīsanggrāmadhanamja(16)yanaravarasatkāralabdhaguru...
 kṛtir iyam..... (20)

TBG. 1928 pp. 18-20

Translation :

Full of gaps and therefore not translated. Detailed summary of contents at pp. 45-6 above.

VIII. LIGOR INSCRIPTION (B)

Svasti

yo'sau rājādhirājassakalaripugaṇadhvāntasūryyopamaikas-
 svaujobhih kāntalakṣmyā śaradamalaśaśī manmathābho vapuṣmān
 Viṣṇvākhyo' śeṣasarvvāri madavi. naścādvitīyassvaśaktyā
 so'yam Śailendravanśaprabhavanigadatah Śrī-Mahārājanāmā
 tasya ca sakalarā (the rest is missing)

BEFEO XVIII (6) p. 30 —Chhabra, *Expansion* p. 22.

Translation :

Hail: He who is the supreme king of kings, (who) through his energy (is) alone comparable to the sun for (dispelling) the darkness (in the shape) of the hosts of all his foes, (who) in charming beauty (is) the very spotless, autumnal moon, (and is) like Cupid in person, (who is) called Viṣṇu (who) entirely (annihilates) the pride of all (his opponents) and (who) with (regard to) his prowess is without a second—that self-same is known by the appellation of Śrīmahārāja (i.e. The Illustrious Great king) because of the mention of his origin in the Śailendravanśa.

And of him of all kings (?)

(Chhabra,—*Expansion* p. 24, modified).

IX. THE NALANDA COPPER PLATE OF DEVAPALADEVA
 (A.D. c. 949)

37. Suva(rṇa)-dvīpādhipa-ma(hā)rāja-śrī-Bālaputradevena dūtaka-
 mukhena vāyam vijñāpitāh yathā mayā
38. śrī Nālandāyāmvihārah kārītastatra bhagavato budhabhaṭṭāra-
 kasya prajñāpāramitādi - sakaladharmmanetrīsthāna-
 syārcārthe tāmtri-
39. kabodhi satvagaṇasyaṣṭamahāpuruṣapudgalasya cāturddiśārya-
 bhikṣusaṅghasya bali-caru-satra cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayanā-
 sana-glāna-pratyayabhe-
40. śajyādyartham dharmaratnasya lekhanādyartham vihārasya ca
 khaṇḍa sphuṭita samādhānārtham śāsanīkṛtya pratipāditāh...

52. āsīdaśeṣa-narapālavilola-mauli-mālāmaṇḍidyuti-vibodhitapāda-
padmah / Śailendravamśatilako Yavabhūmipālah śrīvīravairi
mathanā-
53. nugatābhidhānah || (24) harṃyasthaleṣu kumudeṣu mṛṇālinīṣu
śāṅkhendū kundatuhineṣu padandadhānā / niśśeṣa-dīnūmukha
nirantaralabdhaḡītiḡ
54. murteva yasya bhuvanāni jagāma kīrtiḡ || (25) bhrūbhaṅge
bhavati nṛpasya yasya kopānni(rbhi)nnāḡ saha hṛdayair
dviṣām śrīyopi / vakrāṇāmi-
55. ha hi paropaghātadakṣā jāyante jagati bhrśaṅgatiprakārāḡ ||
(26) tasyābhavan nayaparākramā śīlaśālī rājendra mauli
śatadurllalitāṅgrhi-
56. yugmah sūnūr Yudhiṣṡhira Parāśara Bhīmasena Karṇ Ārjunā-
rjḡita-yaśāḡ samarāgravīrah || (27) uddhūtam am(ba)
ratalādyudhi sañcarantya yatsenayāvanirajah pa-
57. ṡalam padottham / karṇṇānilena kariṇām śanakamvitīrṇṇair
gaṇḡasthalīmadajalaih śamayāmbabhūva || (28) akṛṣṇapa-
kṣamevedam abhūdbhuvanamaṇḡalam /
58. kulan daityādhīpasyeva yadyaśobhīranāratam || (29) Paulomīva
surādhīpasya vīditā saṅkalpayoneriva (Prītiḡ) Śailasuteva
manmatha
59. ripor Lakṣmīrmurāreriva/rājñāḡ somakulānvayasya mahataḡ
śrīdharmasetoh sutā tasyābhūd avanībhujō'gramahiṣī Tāreva
Tārāhvayā || (30) Māyā
60. yāmīva kāmādevavījayī Śuddhodanasyātmaḡah Skando nandi-
tādevavṛnda hṛdayah Śambhor Umāyāmīva tasyāntasya
narendravṛnda vinamat pādāravi-
61. ndāsanah sarvorvīpati garvva kharvvaṇa caṇah śrī Bālaputro'-
bhavat || (31) Nālandāguṇavṛnda lubdha mānasā bhaktyā ca
śāuddhodaner budhvā śailasarit taraṅgataralām
62. lakṣmīm imām kṣobhanām / yastenonnata saudha dhāma
dhavalah saṅghārthamitraśrīyā nānāsadguṇa bhikṣusangha
vasatistasyām viḡārah kṛtaḡ || (32) bhaktyā
63. tatra samasta-śatrū-vanītā-vaidagdhya-dīkṣāgurum kṛtvā
śāsanamāhitādaratayā yamprārthya dūtairasau / grāmān pañca
vipaṅcitopari yathoddeśā
64. nimān-ātmanah pitrorlokaḡhitodayāya ca dadau śrī Devapālam
nṛpam || (33) yāvatsindhoh prabandhah pṛthula harajaṡā
kṣobhitāṅgā ca gaṅgā gurvīm
65. dhatte phaṇīndrah pratidinamacalo helayā yāvadurvīm
yāvaccāstodayādri ravituraga khuroddhrṣṡacūḡdamaṇī sta-
stāvat satkīrtireṣā prabhava
66. tu jagatām satkriyā ropayamt || (34)

Translation :

ll. 37—40 : We being requested by the illustrious Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa through a messenger 'I have caused to be built a monastery at Nālandā' granted by this edict toward the income for the blessed Lord Buddha, the abode of all the leading virtues like the *prajñāpāramitā*, for the offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, beds, the requisites of the sick like medicines, etc., of the assembly of the venerable *bhikṣus* of the four quarters (comprising) the Bodhisatvas well versed in the *tantras*, and the eight great holy personages (i.e. the *āriya-puggalas*), for writing the *dharma-ratnas* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery (when) damaged ;

ll. 52—66 : There was a king of Yavabhūmi (or Java), who was the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty, whose lotus feet bloomed by the lustre of the jewels in the row of trembling diadems on the heads of all the princes, and whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes (*vīra-vairi-mathana*). His fame, incarnate as it were, by setting its foot on the regions of (white) palaces, in white water-lilies, in lotus plants, conches, moon, jasmine and snow and, being incessantly sung in all the quarters, pervaded the whole universe. At the time when that king frowned in anger, the fortunes of the enemies also broke down simultaneously with their hearts. Indeed the crooked ones in the world have got ways of moving which are very ingenious in striking others. He had a son who possesses prudence, prowess, and good conduct, whose two feet fondled too much with hundreds of diadems of mighty kings (bowing down). He was the foremost warrior in battle-fields and his fame was equal to that earned by Yudhiṣṭhira, Parāśara, Bhīmasena, Karna and Arjuna. The multitude of the dust of the earth, raised by the feet of his army, moving in the field of battle, was first blown up to the sky by the wind, produced by the (moving) ears of the elephants, and then, slowly settled down on the earth (again) by the ichor, poured forth from the cheeks of the elephants. By the continuous existence of whose fame the world was altogether without the dark fortnight, just like the family of the lord of the *daityas* (demons) was without the partisanship of Kṛishṇa. As Paulomī was known to be (the wife of) the lord of the Suras, (i.e. Indra), Rati the wife of the mind-born (Cupid), the daughter of the mountain (*Pārvatī*) of the enemy of Cupid (i.e. Śiva), and Lakṣmī of the enemy of Mura (i.e. Viṣṇu), so Tārā was the queen consort of that king, and was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu of the lunar race and resembled Tārā (the Buddhist goddess of this name) herself. As the son of Śuddhodana (i.e. the Buddha) the conqueror of Kāmadeva, was born of Māyā, and Skanda, who delighted the heart of the host of gods, was born of Umā by Śiva, so was born of her by that king, the illustrious Bālaputra, who was expert in crushing the pride of all the rulers of the world, and before whose footstool (the seat where his lotus feet rested) the groups of princes bowed. With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nālandā and through devotion to the son of Śuddhodana (the Buddha) and having

realised that riches was fickle like the waves of a mountain stream, he whose fame was like that of Sanghārthamitra,* built there (at Nālandā) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings. Having requested, King Devapāladeva who was the preceptor for initiating into widowhood the wives of all the enemies, through envoys, very respectfully and out of devotion and issuing a charter, (he) granted these five villages whose purpose has been noticed above for the welfare of himself, his parents and the world. As long as there is the continuance of the ocean, or the Ganges has her limbs (the currents of water) agitated by the extensive plaited hair of Hara (Śiva), as long as the immovable king of snakes (Śeṣa) lightly bears the heavy and extensive earth every day, and as long as the (*Udaya*) Eastern and (*Asta*) Western mountains have their crest jewels scratched by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun, so long may this meritorious act, setting up virtues over the world, endure.

—EI. Vol. XVII pp. 325-7.

* This might possibly mean that his wealth befriended the cause of the Sangha.

X. LARGER LEIDEN PLATES—Sanskrit Part

73. So-yam-akhila-kalā-kalāpa
74. pārāvāra-pāradrśv-āśeṣa-nṛpa-cakra-cāru-cāmīkara-kirīṭa-koṭi-gha-
75. ṭiṭ-āneka-māṇikya-marīci-puñja-puñjarīkṛta-pāda-pīṭho Rājarājo Rājakesari-
76. varmmā sva-sāmrajya-varse ekavimśatitame nikhila-dharaṇi-tilakāyamāne Kṣa-
77. triya-śikhāmaṇi-valanāḍu-nāmni mahati janapada-nivahe Paṭṭana-kkūrṇa-nāmni janapa-
78. de-neka-sura-sadana-satra-prap-ārām-ābhirāme vividha-saudha-rāji-rājamāne Na-
79. gīpaṭṭane nija-mati-vibhava-vijita-Suraguruṇā budha jana-kamala-vana-marīcimālin-ā-
80. rithi-jana-kalpapaḍapena Śailendra-vamśa-sambhūtena Śriviṣay-ādhipati-
81. nā Kaṭah-ādhipatyam-ātanvatā Makara-dhvajen-ādhipata-sakala-rājavidyasya Cūlā-
82. maṇivarmmaṇah putreṇa śrī-Māravijayottumaggavarmmaṇā svapitur-nnāmṇā nirmāpitam-adha-
83. rīkṛta-Kanakagiri-samunnati-vibhavam-atiramaṇīyañ-Cūlāmaṇi varmmavihāramadhiva-
84. sate Buddhāya tasminn-eva-janapda-nivahe Paṭṭana-kkūrṇa-nāmni janapa-
85. de kariṇṇ-parikramaṇa-vispaṭṭa-sīmā-catustayam-Anaimaṅgal-abhi-

86. dhānam grāmam-adāt || Itthan-devena dattasya sya-pitrā
cakravarttinā grāmasy-āsyā ga-
87. te tasmin-devabhūyam-mahaujasi/Tat-simhāsanam-ārūḍhas
tat-putro Madhurāntakah
88. śāsanam śāśvatan-dhīmān kārayitv-ādiśa (n)-nr̥pah || Śeṣo-śeṣām
mahīm yava-
89. d-dhatte-śeṣ-orag-eśvarah/stheyāt-tāvad-vihāro-yam
vibhavana sa-
90. h-āvanau || So-yam Kaṭāh-ādhipati (r *)-gguṇānān-nivāsa-
bhūmir-mmahita-pra-
91. bhāvah (*) / āgāminah prātthayate narendrān dharmmam
sademam-mama rakṣateti ||...
100. Kaṭāh-ādhipates-tasya niyogāt Tuvavūravān Aṇukka iti
vikhyātaś-śrīmān Aṭikal-ātmaajah ||
101. Vinīto guṇa-sampannas-svāmi-kārya-hite ratah/śāsanam śāśva-
tam idam acīkarad-udāra-dhīh ||

Tamil Part

1. Svasti śrī || Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-valānāṭṭu-
2. pPaṭṭana-kkūrrattu naṭṭārkkum brahmadēya-kkiḷavarkkum
dēvadāna-ppalli-
3. ccanda-kkāṇi-murrūṭṭu-vettappērr-ūrgalilārkkum nagaṇḡali-
lārkkum
4. namakku yaṇḍu irubatt-onṟavadu nāl tonṇūrr-iraṇḍināl
5. Tañjavūr-ppurambaḍi māligai Rājāśrayanil terkkil maṇḍabat-
6. tu nām irukka-kKidāratt-araiyan Cūlamanipanman
Kṣatriyaśikhā-
7. maṇi-valānāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūrrattu Nāgapaṭṭanattu eḍuppiḡiṇṟa
Cūlā-
8. maṇipanma-vihārattu-ppalliḡḡu vēṇḍum nivandattukku
Kṣatri(ya)śikhāmaṇi-va-
9. laṇāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūrrattu Anaimangalam palḷiccandam
iraṇḡal-ulpaḍa ala-
10. ndapaḍi nīṅgal nīkki nilan tonṇūrr-eḷey-iraṇḍu-mā mukkāṇiy-
araikkā
11. ṇi munderigai kkīḷ-mūṇṟu-mā mukkāṇi munderigai-kkīḷ araiyey-
iran-
12. ḍu-māvināl irai-kattina kānikkaḍan nelli eṇṇāyirattu tooḷḷāyi-
13. rattu nārṟattu mu-kkalane iru-tūṇi-kkuṟuṇi oru-nāḷiyum
Kaḍāratt-ariyan
14. Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-valānāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūrrattu Nāgapaṭṭanatt-
eḍuppi-
15. kkinṟa Cūlamanipanma-vihārattu-ppalliḡḡu iruppad-āga
yāṇḍu irubat-
16. t-onṟavadu-mudal palḷiccanda-irai-iliy-āga variyil-iṭṭu-kkuḍukka-
17. v-enṟu nām śolla.....

196.kō-ttott un-
 197. nappālad evvagaippattaduñ-ko-kkollādēy palliccandattukkē-
 198. y peruvad-āgavum/ippaḍi perṛa vyavasthaiyum parihāramum
 199. perṛa i-nnilaṅ-kārāṇmai mīyāṭchiyu(m) migudi-kkuraikum ullā-
 200. ḍanga-pPaṭṭana-kkūṛṛattu Nāgapattānattu-kKaḍāratt-araiyan
 eḍuppi-
 201. kkinṛa Cūlāmaṇipanma-vihārattu-ppalikkū-ppalliccandam i-
 202. raik-iliy-āga-kkuḍutta i-nnāṭṭu Anaimangalam palliccanda
 irangal-u-
 203. lpaḍa yāṇḍu irubatt-onṛāvadu-mudal piḍi sūḷḷu piḍāgai
 naḍandu kallu-
 204. ṇ kaḷḷiyu (m) nāṭṭi aravōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kṣatriya-
 śikhāmaṇi-va-
 205. lanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṛṛattu nāṭṭōm.....
 322.yāṇḍu irubattu-mūnṛāva-
 323. du nāl nūṛṛ-arubattu-mūnṛināl variyil-iṭṭu-kkuḍuttadu...

E.I. XXII pp. 241-54.

Translation :

Sanskrit Part :

ll. 73—91 : Translation at pp. 75-6 above V (EI. XXII p. 257.)

ll. 100—101 : At the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Śrīmaṇ Aṭikal's son, who was well known as Tuvavūravān Aṇukka, who was modest, endowed with virtues, devoted to his master's concerns and of generous mind, caused to be made this lasting edict.

Tamil Part :

ll. 1—17 : Hail ! Prosperity (This is the order of) Kōnērinmaikoṇ-ḍān (issued) to the *nāṭṭār* (i.e. the members of the Divisional Assembly) of Paṭṭana-kūṛṛam, a sub-division in Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the head-man of *brahmadeyas*, the representatives of the *ūr* in *devadānas*, *palliccanda*, *kaṇimurṛuṭṭu* and *veṭṭiperu* (villages) and the *nagarangaḷilār* (i. e. the body of merchants.)

In the twenty-first year and ninety-second day of our (reign) when we were in the pavilion to the south of the palace of Rājāśrayan (situated) outside Tañjāvūr, we having declared that, (in order to meet) the necessary requirements of the *paḷḷi* (attached to) the Cūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kiḍāra king Cūlāmaṇivarman at Nāgapattānam in Paṭṭana-kūṛṛam (a sub-division) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the income of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, (one) *kurunṇi* and one *nāḷi* of paddy accruing from the payment of land assessment on ninety-seven (*vēli*) two *mā*, one-and-a-half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigai*; and *kēḷi* (i.e. 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi*, and one *mundirigai* and *kēḷi* (i.e. 1/320) of half and two *mā* of land, inclusive of those that had ceased to be *palliccanda* and exclusive of those that had been removed in survey, which formed the village of Anaimangalam in Paṭṭana-kūṛṛam (a sub-division) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu shall be entered in the (revenue) register as a

tax-free *palliccanda* from the twenty-first year (of our reign) and the taxes paid over to the *palli* in the Cūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra which (as aforesaid) is being erected by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapattanam in Pattana-kūrṇam (a sub-division) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-valanādu.

ll. 196—205 : such other fees, as the king could levy and enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this *palli*. For this land, inclusive of its *kārāṇmai* and *mīyātcī* (rights), with all excess and deficiency in measurements and including (such) lands as had ceased to be *palliccanda*, forming the village of Anaimangalam (situated) in this district, which had been granted (subject to) the conditions and privileges (specified) above, as a tax-free *palliccanda* to the *palli* in the Cūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapattanam in Pattanakūrṇam, we, *nāttōm* (i.e. the members of the Divisional Assembly) of (the said) Pattanakūrṇam in Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-valanādu, accompanying the female elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, planted (boundary) stones and milk-bush, drew up and presented the gift deed (to have effect) from the twenty-first year (of the king's reign.)

ll. 322—3 : Entries were made in the Revenue registers and the deed was given (to the donee) on the one hundred and sixty-third day of the twenty-third regnal year.

El. XXII pp. 258, 263, 266.

XI. TAMIL INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA I COLA (Text)

alai kaḍal naḍuvuṭ palakalañ jeluttic-
 Caṅgirāma-vijayōttunga varmma-
 nāgaiya Kaḍārattaraśanai vāgaiyam-
 porukaḍal kumbak-kariyoḍum agappaḍut-
 turimaiyil piṛakkiya puranidip-piṛakkamum
 ārtta-vaganagarp-pōrttolil vāśalil
 viccādirattōraṇamum moyttolir
 punai-maṇip-pudavamum kana-maṇi-kkadavamum
 niṛai śrī-viśai yamum turai-nīrp-Paṇṇaiyum
 vanmalai yūr-eyirron-Malaiyūrum
 ālkaḍal-agaḷ-śūl Māyiruḍingamum
 kalaṅgā valvinai Ilaṅgāśōkamum
 kāppuru niṛaipunal Māpappālamum
 kāvalam puriśai Mevulimbangamum
 viḷappandūruḍai Vāḷaippandūrum
 kalaittakḱōr puḡaḷ Talaittakḱōlamum
 tīdamar valvinai mā Damarlingamum
 kalām udir kaḍundirāḷ Ilāmuriḍēśamum
 tēnakkavārpolil Mānakkavāramum
 toḍu-kaḍar kāvaṛkaḍumuraṭ Kaḍāramum
 mā pporu tandārkoṇḍa kōp-Parakēsarivanmarāna
 Uḍaiyār śrī Rājendraśōḷadevar.

Translation :

See p. 80 (ante) V.

XII. SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES OF KULOTTUNGA I (A.D. 1090)

3. cakka
 4. ravarttigaḷ śrī-Kulottunga-Cōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu irupad-āvadu
 Ayirattaliyāna Ahavamalla
 5. kulakālapurattu kōyilin ullāl ttirumañjana-śālaiyil paḷli (p)
 pīḍam Kālingarājanil eḷundaruḷi irukka Kidārat-
 6. taraiyan Gēyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu pPaṭṭana-kkūrrattu Śōḷakula-
 vallipattānattu eḍuppitta Rājēndraśo-
 7. ḷa-pperum-paḷikkum Rājarāja-pperum-paḷikkum (p)
 paḷliccandam-āna ūrgaḷ paḷam-baḍiy-antarāyamum vīra-
 8. śeṣaiyum panmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭiyum kundāl(i)yum śunga-
 mēramum ulliṭṭanvellām tavirn-
 9. damaikkum munbu paḷliccandangaḷ kāṇiy-uḍaiya kāṇi-ālarai-
 ttavira ippaḷli-ccangattārkke kāṇi-
 10. yāga pperamaikkum tāmra-śāsanam paṇṇi-ttara vēṇḍum-enṇu
 Kidārat taraiyar dūtan Rājavi-
 11. dyādharma-śrī-sāmantanum Abhimānottunga-śrī-sāmantanum
 viṇṇappam śeyya ippaḍi sandhivigrahi-
 12. Rājavallabha-pPallavaraiyanōḍun-kūḍa irundu tāmra-śāsanam
 paṇṇi-kkuḍukkavenṇu adikāri-
 13. gaḷ Rājēndraśīnga-Mūvēndavēḷārkkku-ttirumgam prasādan-ceyd-
 aruḷi vara ttāmra-śāsanam ceydapaḍi.....
 37.i-ppaḷli ccandangaḷ mun-
 38. buḍaiya kāṇi-ālarai ttavira kkuḍi nīkki i-ppaḷli-ccangattārkke
 kāṇiyāga kuḍuttōm enṇum
 39. Gēyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūrrattu cCōḷakulavalli-
 pattānattu śrī-Śailendra Cūḍāmaṇiva-
 40. rmma-vihāram-āna Rājarājapperumapaḷlikku-ppaḷli-nilaiyum
 paḷli-vilāgamum upta(t)ṭa ellai.....

E.I. XXII pp. 276-8.

Translation :

Lines 1—13 : In the 20th year of (the reign of) king Rājakesarivar-
 man *alias* the emperor Śrī-Kulōttunga-Cōḷadēva,

ll. 3—13 : When he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch
 (*paḷlipīḍam*) called Kālingarājan in the bathing hall within the palace at
 Ayirattali *alias* Ahavamallakulakālapuram, the ambassadors of the king of
 Kaḍarām named Rājavidyādharma-Śrī-Sāmenta and Abhimānottunga-Śrī-
 Sāmenta having made the request that, for having been exempted from
 the payment of (the customary taxes) inclusive of *antarāyam*, *vīrasesai*,
panmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭi, *kundāli*, and *śungamera* (all) the villages which were
 the *paḷliccandas* of Rājēndrasōḷapperumpalḷi and Rājarājapperumpalḷi
 constructed by the king of Kaḍarām at Śōḷakulavallippattānam in Paṭṭana-

kkūṛṛam (a sub-division) of *Gēyamāṇikka-vaḷanādu*, for removing the old *kāṇiyāḷars* who were holding the *kāṇis* of the *palḷiccandas* and for investing the *Śāṅgattār* of the *palḷi* with these lands, a copper-plate charter may be made and given, a royal order having been issued (with the approval of the king) to the *adhikārin* *Rājēndrasīṅga-Mūvēndavēḷār* that (he) in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* *Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyan* should draw up a copper-plate charter to this effect, the following is the copper-plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order.

II. 37—40 : the *palḷiccandas* have been freed from their previous *kāṇiyāḷars*, have their tenants removed and have been given by us to the *Śāṅgattār* of this *palḷi* as their *kāṇi*. The boundaries of the site and the surrounding ground of the glorious *Śailendra-Cūdāmaṇivarma-vihāra* *alias* *Rājarājapperumpalḷi* at *Śōḷakulavallipattānam* in *Pattāna-kūṛṛam* (a sub-division) of *Gēyamāṇikkavaḷanādu* are :

E. I. XXII p, 279.

XIII. GRAHI BUDDHA INSCRIPTION OF 1105 (SAKA) (A.D. 1183)

(1) 1105 śaka thoh nakṣatra ta *tapaḥ sakti* kamraten añ Mahārāja śrīmat Trailokyarājamaulibhūṣaṇabarmmadeba pi ket (2) jyeṣṭha noh buddhabāra Mahāsenāpati *Galānai* ta cām sruk Grahi arādhana ta mraten śrī *Nāno* thve pra(3)tima neh damṇon mān samrit bhara mvay tul bir ta jā byāy mās tap tanlin ti ṣṭhāpanā jā prati(4)mā mahājana phoṇ ta mān sarddhā anumodanā pūjā namaskāra nu neh leṇ sa-pān sarvvajñatā(5) -ha ta ja...

B.E.F.E.O. XVIII (6) p. 34.
and B.K.I. 1927 for date.

Translation :

In 1105 Śaka, year of the hare, by order of Kamraten Añ Mahārāja Śrīmat Trailokyarājamāulibhūṣaṇavarmadeva, on the 3rd of the bright fortnight of increasing moon of Jyeṣṭha, Wednesday, the Mahāsenāpati Galanai (?) who governs the country of Grāhi, invited the Mraten Śrī Nāno to make this statute. The weight of the *samrit* is 1 *bhāra* 2 *tula* and the value of the gold (employed for gilding it) is 10 *tamlin*. This image has been erected to afford enjoyment to all the faithful who may adore and worship here . . . obtain omniscience . . .

BEFEO XVIII (6) p. 35.
(Coedès tr. in French)

XIV. JAIYA INSCRIPTION OF CANDRABHANU (A.D. 1230)

Svasti

śrīmatśrīghanasāsanāgrasubhadam yas tāmbralingeśvarah
sa-diya patnavamsajanatām vamsāpradīpotbhavah
samrūpena hi candrabhānumadanah śrīdharmmarājā (hva*) yah
dharmmasokasamānanītinipuṇah pañcāṇ (ḍa*) avamsādhipah ||
svasti śrī kamalakulasamutbhṛttambralingeśvarabhujababala-

11.

pand-

ēval śeyyādīgal śeydirunda
 Śāva(ka*)n maidan talamirundiṛaiñja
 vīrakkaḷal vira(va*)laraic-cuṭṭit
 tirkkoḷam alaivāppaḍan kaḷittu (?)
 vaḷangi aruḷi muḷangu kaḷirēri
 pārmutudairya ūrva-

12.

lañje (y*) vittu

tandai yāṇḍa taḍangaḍal-Iḷam
 maindan per...gummarapena ninaippit
 ṭaraiśiḍa magindu ānūrpuriccu (?) (Anurāpurikku ?)
 viraiyaccelgena viḍaikoḍuttarūḷi

T.B.G. LXXVII (1927) pp. 266-7.

Summary : Account of Ceylon expedition : expedition opens with an appeal from the Ceylonese minister (*mandiri*) to the Pāṇḍya, and the defeat and death of one Ceylonese king (*oruvanai vīḷapporudu viṇmiśaiyēri*) and capture of his paraphernalia, the setting up of the flag of victory on the Kōṇamalai and Trikūṭagiri, and the subjugation of another king (*ēnai vēndanai ānai tiraikonḍu*), and finally (from *paṇḍēval*) comes the reference to Śāva (ka)n-maindan, his initial contumacy, later submission, the rewards he received, the procession on an elephant and his restoration to the kingdom of Ceylon (*taḍangaḍal Iḷam*) once ruled by his father.

T.B.G. 1937 p. 268.

XVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.D. 1347 ON AMOGHAPASA IMAGE

Śubhamastu

śaddharmaśca suvarddhanātmmahimā sobhāgyavān śīlvān
 śāstrajñā suvisuddhayogalaharī śobhā pravṛddhāsate
 saundaryye girikandarānvita-gaje sandhohavāni pra-
 māyāvairi timiśradhikkṛta mahān Adityavarmmodayah || 1 ||
 tadanugṇasamṛddih ssastrasāstrapravṛddhih |

Jinasamayagunābdhih kāryyasamrambhabuddhih

tanumadanavisuddhih atyatāsarvvasiddhih

dhanakanakasamāptih Deva-Tūhan prapātih || 2 ||

pratisthoyam Sugātānām, ācāryyan Dharmmasekarāh

nāmnā Gahanagañjasya, Manjuśrīr iva sauhṛdi || 3 ||

pratisthoyam hitātvāya, sarvvasattvāsukāśraya

Devair Amoghapāsesah, śrīmad Adityavarmmanah || 4 ||

mūla dvau śarane pataṅga carane nardānta sāke suge

bhāsmat karkkaṭake dinair api tayā purnṇenduyogāyate

tārair uttara siddhiyoga ghaṭikā kāruṇa murtta svarāt

jīrnair uddharitā samāhita lasatsambodhamārggārttibhih || 5 ||

Svasti samastabhuvanādhāra hāṭaka bhāvāśramagrāhā biśāradaapāra

Mahāyanayogavijñāna vinoda—apica dharādhipapratirāja bikaṭasamkaṭa

karajakotiratnasanghanitaka maṇidvayanātakakaraṇa-śrīmat śrī-Udayāditya
varmma pratāpaparākrama rājendra maulimāli varmmadeva mahārājadhi-
rāja-sa bijñeyam ājñān karoti—

bihaṅgamātāṅgabilāśasobhite
kāntāra saugandhi surudram ākule
surāṅganā lākhita kāñcanālaye
Mātaṅginīsāsuraḍīrghikāgate || 6 ||
anubhavadhibiśeṣonmādasandoha hāhā
akila Ditisutānān devabidyādharesah
api madhukaragītair narttyabhogāsītīnām
acalati calatirttas sobha Mātaṅginīso || 7 ||
hāhāhūhūgaṇena sambhrama lasat lokārttha bhūmyāgatah
saundaryye sasi pūrṇṇavat kusalabhe hr̥tsobhatālan̄kṛte
nāmṇā Uddhayavarmmagupta sakalakṣṇipatīnāyakah
sah tyaktvā Jinarūpa sambhramāgato Matanginīsūnyahā ||
rakṣan nah kṣāyata vasundharam idam Matanginīpātraya
bhakṣet śattriyaavairimārggacaritā sarvasva samhārakṛt
sakṣet kṣāntibalā bilāsi damane sambhrāntakūlossada
patih pratyadalānane prakṣitakrūrāipalāśannati || 9 ||
bajraprakārmaddhyasthā, pratimāyam Jinālayah
śrīmānn Amoghapāśesah harih udayasundarah || 10 ||
surutaruditapāṇis satyasāṅgītavānih
ripunr̥pajitakīrttiḥ Puṣpadhanvāstramūrtiḥ
Malayapurahitārtthah sarvvakāryyassamarththah
guṇaraśila vibhātih Deva Tuhann apātih || 11 ||
Udayaparvvatasobhitarūpatih
Udayabhakti (?) naresvaranāyakah
Udayavairibalonnata mṛddhyate
Udaya sundarakīrtti mahītale || 12 ||

Kern, V.G. VII pp. 165-75.

Notes :

It is impossible to give a regular translation of this gibberish which has been reproduced to give the reader an idea of the corrupt Sanskrit employed in Sumatra in the middle of the fourteenth century. A few remarks on each verse based on Kern's commentary on the inscription follow.

1. Mentions Adityavarmmodaya and enumerates his virtues.
2. Same topic continued, his devotion to Buddhism specified and his title Deva Tūhan Patih.
- 3 & 4. Ācārya Dharmmaśekhara, compared to Mañjuśrī, installed the image of Buddha under the name Gaganagañja. This image of Amoghapāśa was a gift of Adityavarmma for the good of all beings.
5. The first line gives the date Śaka 1269 (A.D. 1347)-*patange* is sun (*āditya*) i.e. 12; *carana* is *Vedāṅga* i.e. 6; *nardanta* amended

(*nāndānta*) gives 9. Second and third lines contain obscure astronomical data and the last line is quite unintelligible.

The prose passage that follows praises once more the qualities of Śrī Udayādityavarma and after giving his full royal style ends by saying that he issues a command to be taken note of by all.

- 6 & 7. Description of the heavenly abode of Matanginiśa, evidently a demonic form of Amoghapāśa whose śakti must have been Matanginī.
- 8 & 9. Udayavarma (gupta) treated as an incarnation on earth of Amoghapāśa and praise of his qualities. His connection with Matanginī mentioned in v. 9 cannot be made out because the word *pātraya* is unintelligible.
- 10. Description of the temple of Amoghapāśa.
- 11 & 12. Further praise of the king as ruler of Malayapura (Malāyu ?) and Udaya.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA.	...	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Kern Institute, Leyden)
B.E.F.E.O.	...	Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient.
BKI	...	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie.
E.I.	...	Epigraphica Indica.
I.A.L.	...	Indian Art and Letters.
I.H.Q.	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.	...	Journal Asiatique.
JGIS	...	Journal of the Greater India Society.
JOR	...	Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
JPASB	...	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS (Malay Branch)	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Malay Branch).
O.V.	...	Oudheidkundig Verslag.
OZ	...	Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
T.B.G.	...	Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, Bataviaasch Genootschap.
T.P.	...	Toung Pao.

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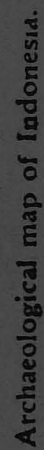
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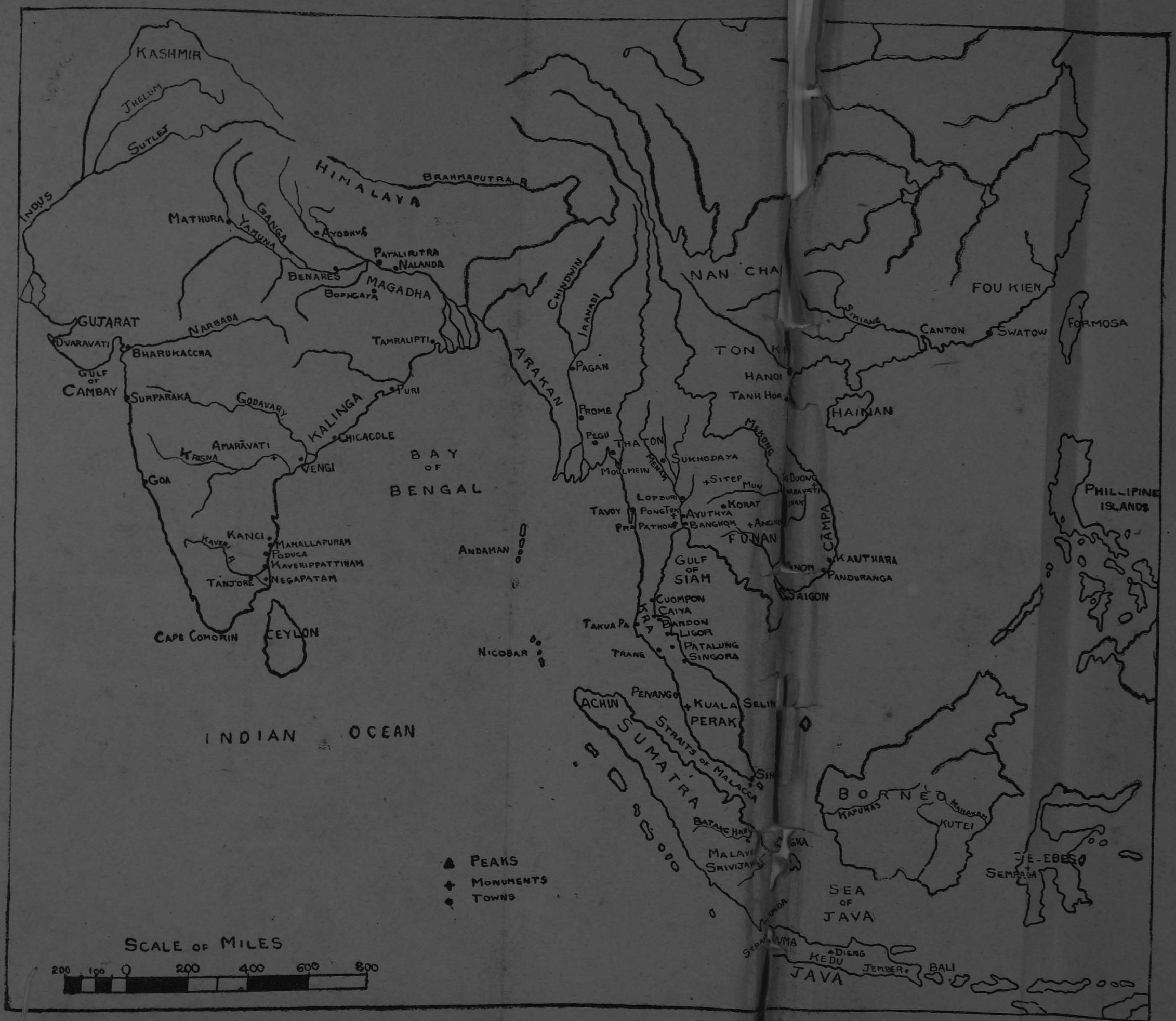
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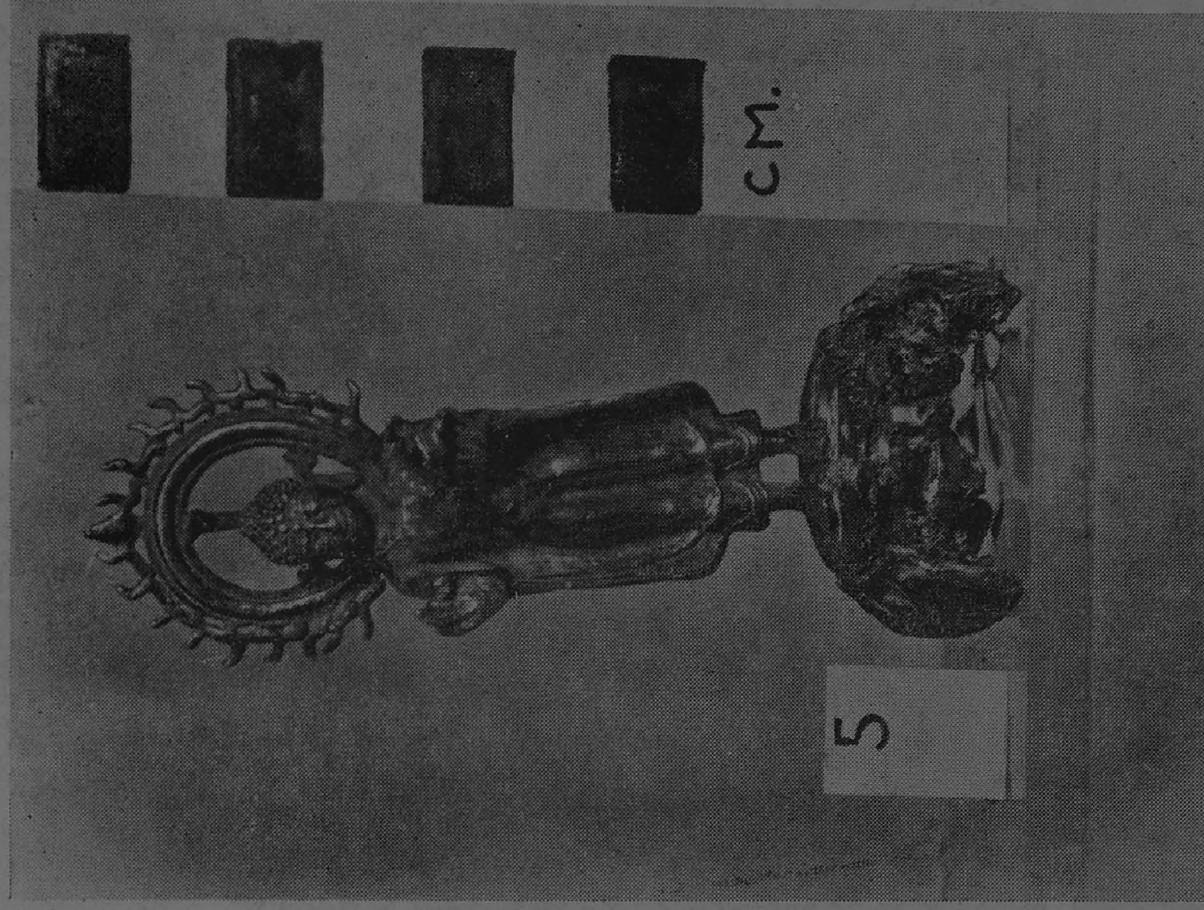




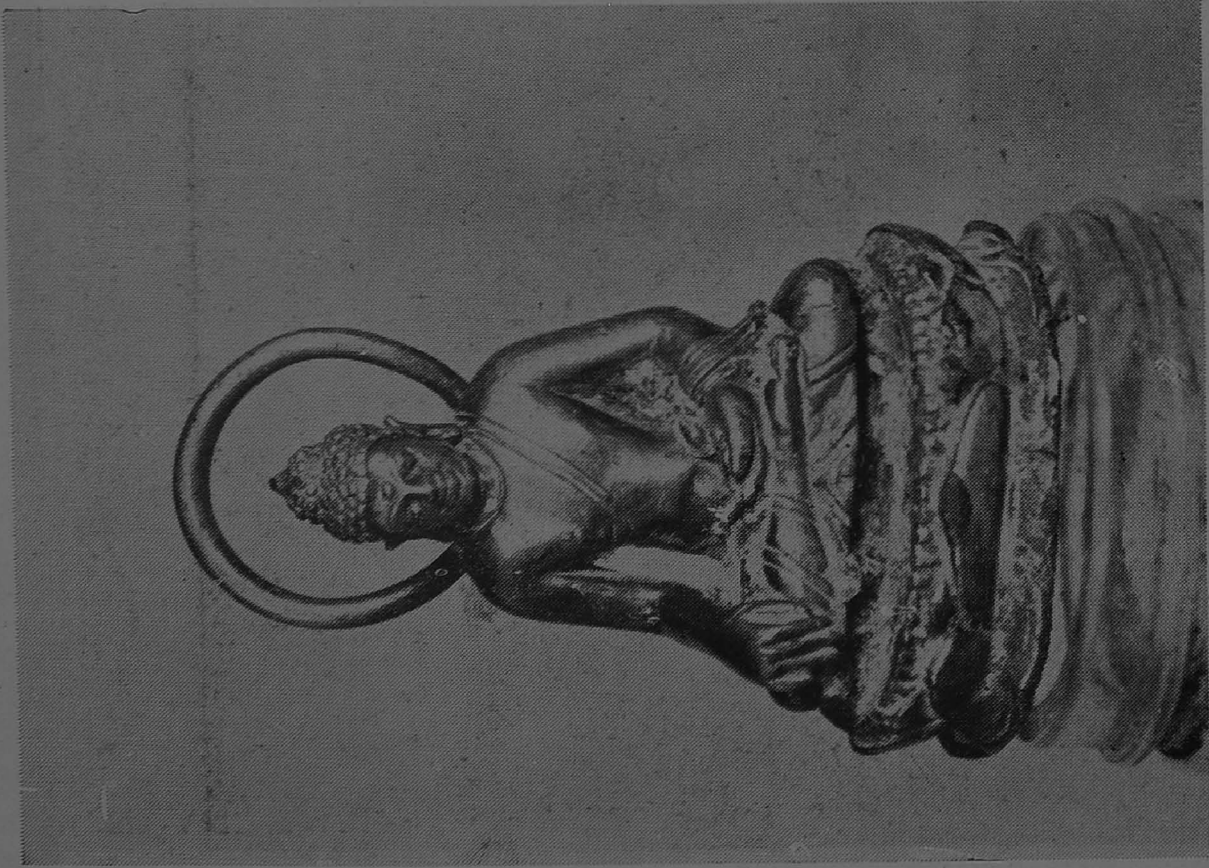
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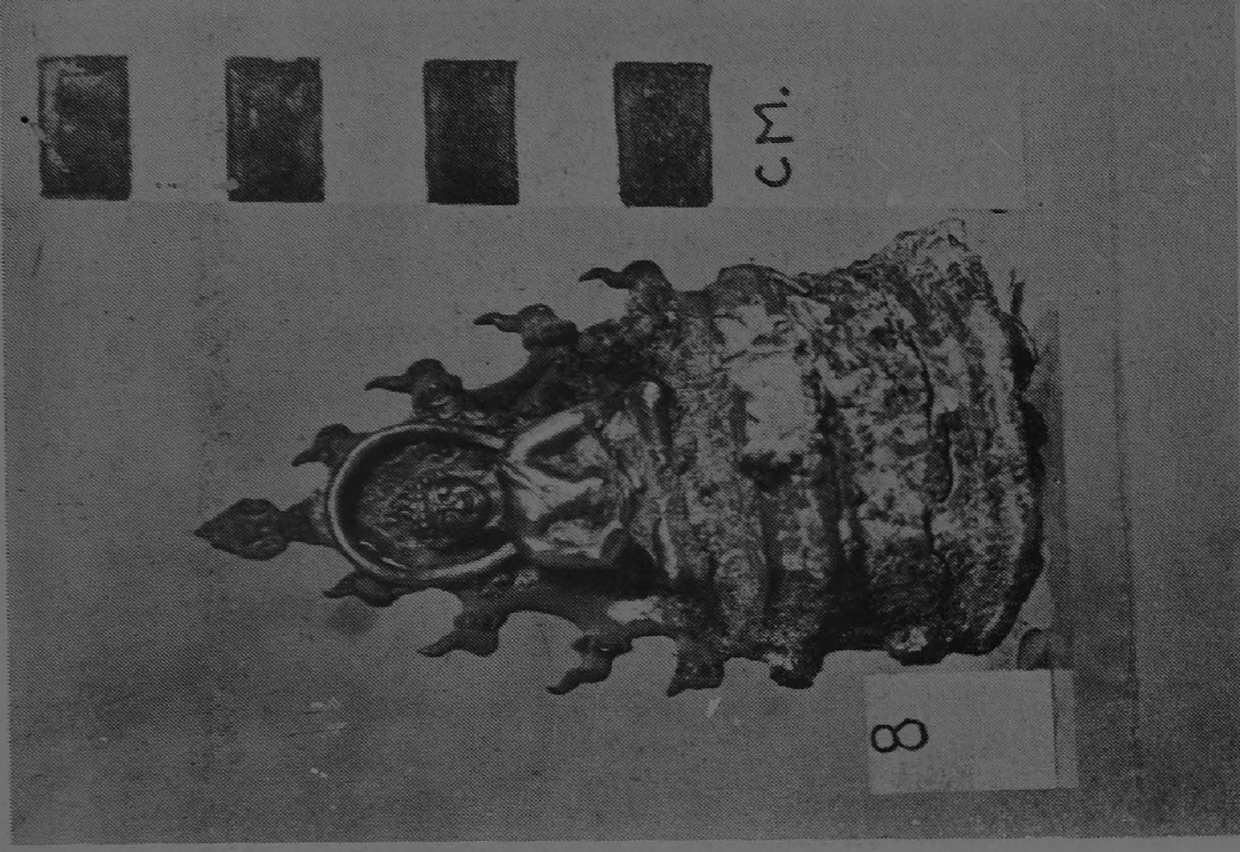
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2. (Gold) Buddha



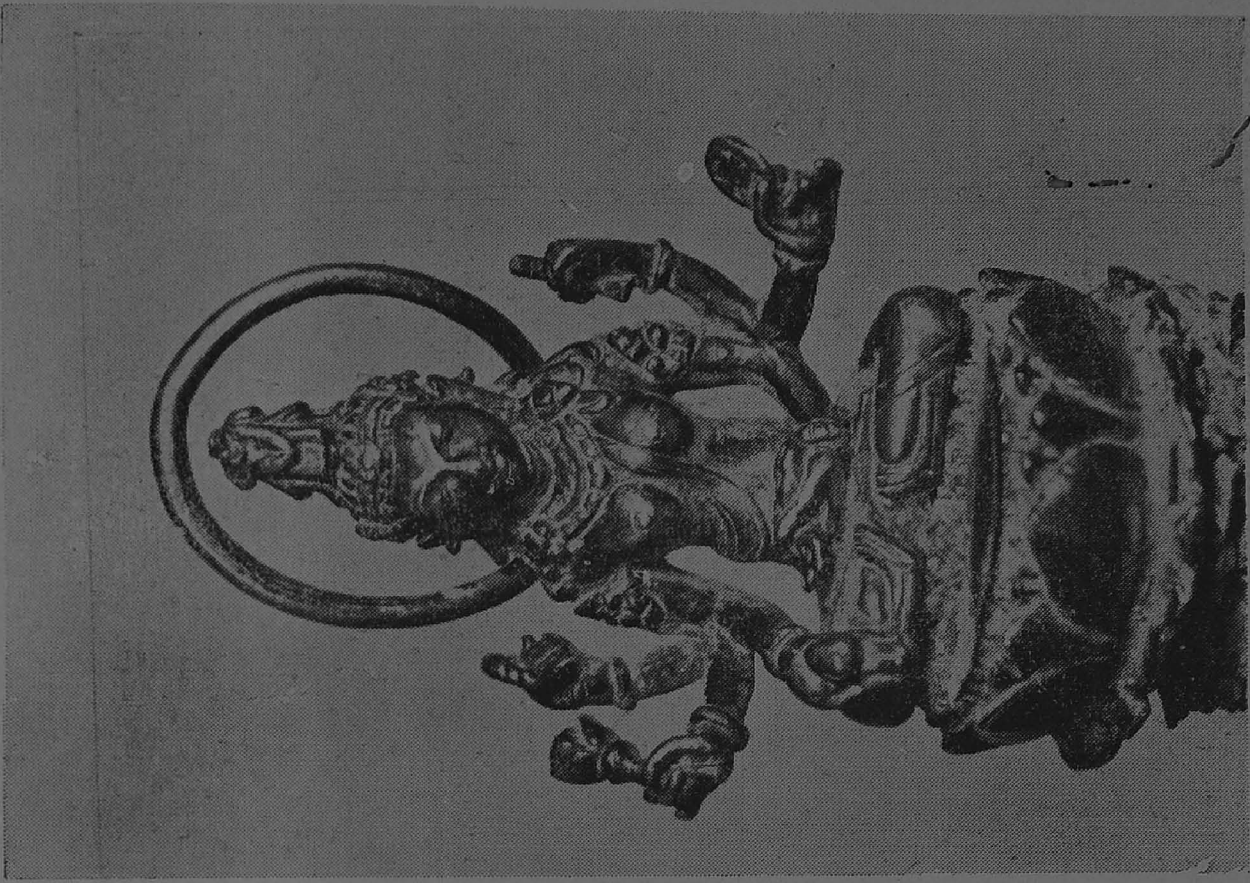
3. (Gold) Buddha. (bhūmisparsa)
(without aureole)



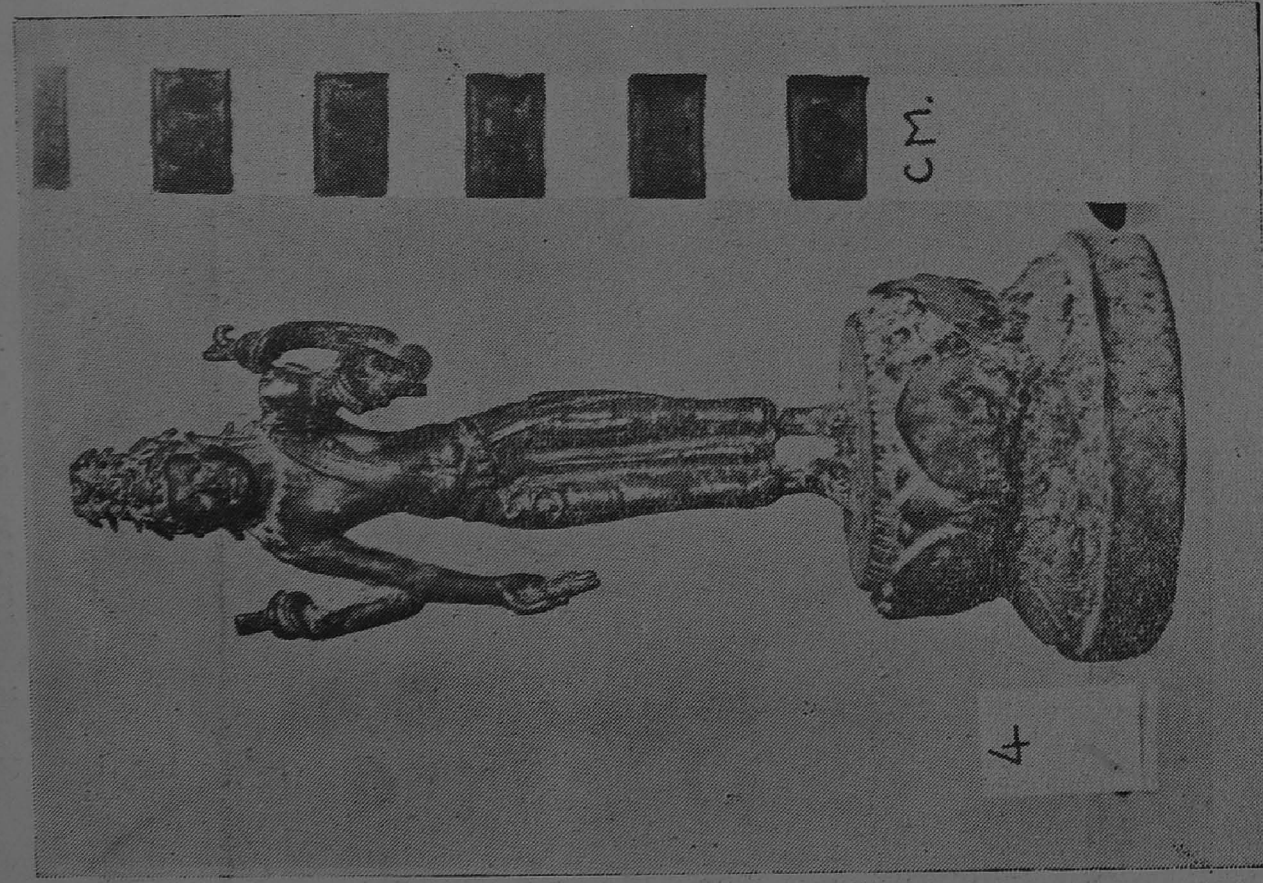
4. (Gold) Buddha (Dhyana)



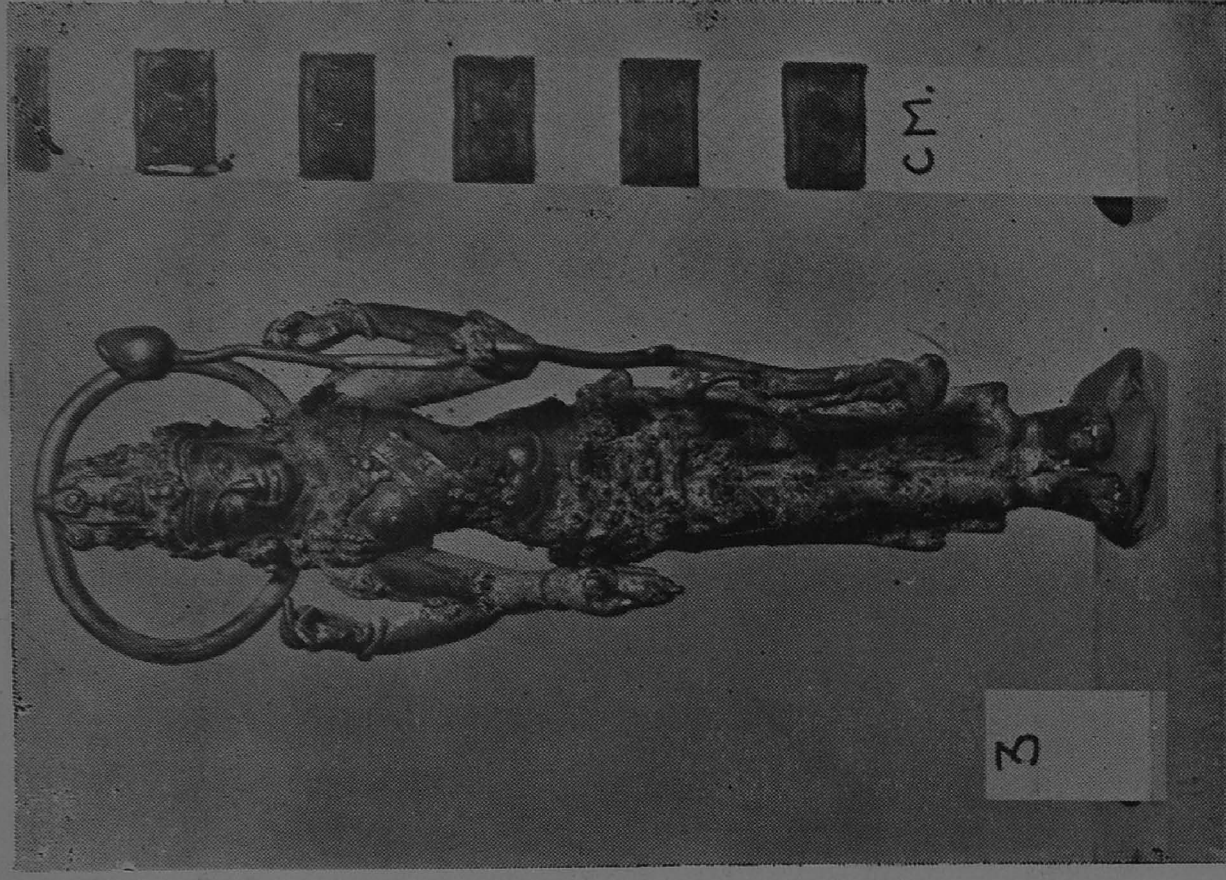
5. (Gold) Avalokitesvara



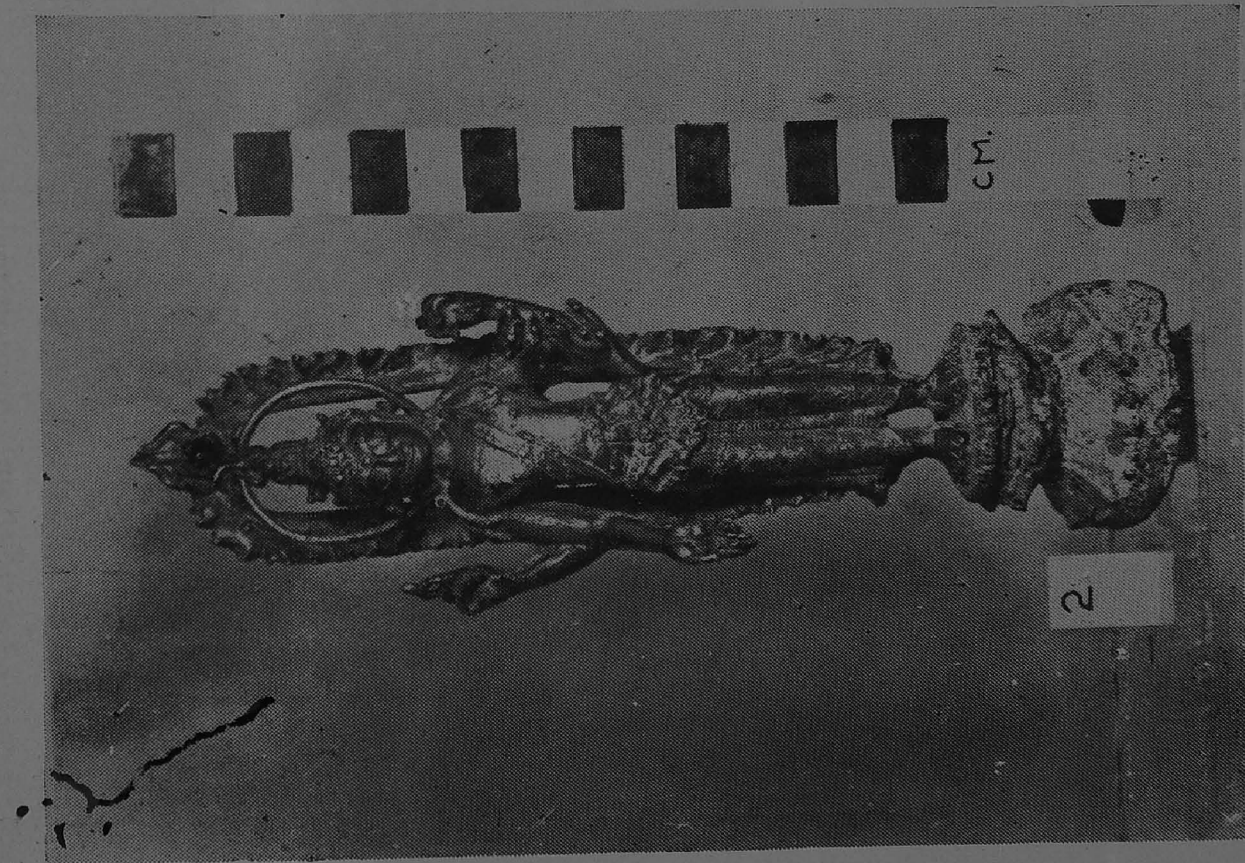
6. (Gold) Amoghapaśa



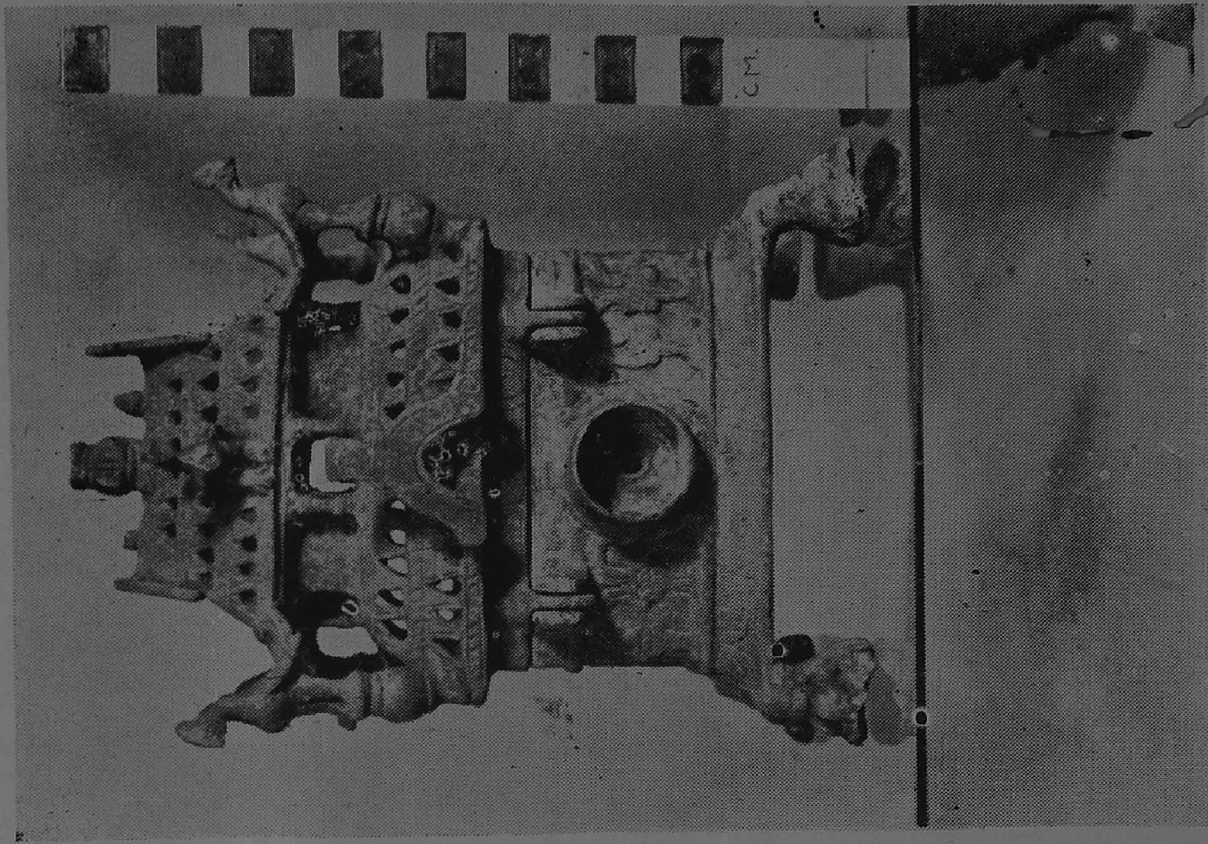
7. (Silver) Avalokitesvara



8. (Gold) Avalokitesvara—5.2"



9. (Gold) Avalokitesvara—6"



10. (Bronze) Incense-burner

