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THE DECLINE OF THE INDIAN KINGDOMS

First Half of the Fourteenth Century

We have seen in the preceding chapter the political repercussions of the coming to power of the Mongols in China. These political changes were accompanied by great changes in the spiritual realm. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Sanskrit culture was in full decline; the last Sanskrit inscriptions date from 1253 in Champa, from around 1330 in Cambodia, from 1378 in Sumatra. In the Menam and Mekong basins, what remained of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism gave way to the orthodoxy of Singhalese Buddhism, which had been introduced on the Indochinese Peninsula by the Mons of Burma and was disseminated further by the Thai. In Sumatra, Islam began to make its appearance. In Java and Bali, Indian Tantrism was strongly influenced by the native Indonesian substratum, at least in its literary and artistic expression.

The Indian period in the history of Farther India was beginning to close following the decrease in cultural exchanges with India proper that resulted from the Muslim invasions that took place there.

1. THE END OF THE THAI KINGDOM OF SUKHOTHAI AND THE FOUNDING OF AYUTTHAYA (1350)

We do not know the exact date of the death of Rāma Khamhaeng. A passage of the *History of the Yuan*¹ seems to indicate that it took place sometime between the embassy of 1295 and that of 1299. In 1299, this history says, "the king of Sien presented a petition to the throne stating that, *when his father was on the throne*, the court had granted him a gift of white horses with saddles and bridles and vestments of gold thread, and he requested that the same be granted to him in conformity with this precedent." This petition, which met with a partial refusal, would seem to have emanated from a new king. However, accession of the successor of Rāma Khamhaeng before 1299 seems difficult to

reconcile with the statement in the *Rājādhirāja*, or *History of Martaban*, that, at the death of Wareru in 1313, his successor received from "Phra Ruang" the title of Rāmapratishtha, i.e., "established by Rama"; this title could scarcely have been conferred by anyone but Rāma Khamhaeng.² Moreover, if the son of Rāma Khamhaeng had succeeded his father before 1299, he must have reigned about fifty years, which seems very long for a king about whom we know so little. It is more probable that Rāma Khamhaeng ceased to reign shortly before 1318, the date at which the king of Martaban invaded Tavoy and Tenasserim.³

If this conjecture is accurate, it was still Rāma Khamhaeng who in 1313 organized the raids on Champa that are mentioned by the annals of Vietnam.⁴ To conduct these raids, his troops had to cross territories that had belonged to Cambodia and that Cambodia had either lost or was no longer able to defend against its formidable neighbor.

Legend claims that Phra Ruang disappeared in the rapids of the rivers of Sawankhalok.⁵ It is difficult to say whether this legend rests on historical fact or even whether it applies to Rāma Khamhaeng or to some other king of his dynasty.

Rāma Khamhaeng was succeeded by his son Loe Thai. Scholars, following an incorrect reading,⁶ for a long time called him Súa Thai, or "the Tiger of the Thai"; this *idolum libri* still appears from time to time in books.

The name of Loe Thai can be associated with only a few historical events.

With respect to Burma, he seems to have taken advantage of the troubles that arose in Martaban to recapture Tavoy and Tenasserim.⁷ But he was less fortunate when he tried to revenge the death of his grandson who had tried to seize power at Martaban: his army was defeated and Martaban ceased to recognize his suzerainty.⁸

It was still Loe Thai, judging from the date, who in 1335 sent a delegation to the Cửa Rao Pass in the Indochinese cordillera to greet the Emperor of Đai Viêt, Trần Hiên-tông, who was then conducting a campaign against the Thai kingdom of Ai-lao (southwest of Yunnan).⁹

Loe Thai designated his son Lư Thai as viceroy at Satchanalai (Sawankhalok) around 1340, and he very probably died in 1347.¹⁰ Loe Thai's devotion to Buddhism and his religious works earned

him the title Dharmarāja or Dharmikarāja, "pious king,"¹¹ which his successors bore after him. We owe to him particularly the construction of many *Buddhapāda*, or imprints of the foot of the Buddha, made in imitation of the one worshipped in Ceylon on the summit of Sumanakūṭa,¹² or Adam's Peak.

The relations between Sukhothai and Ceylon, the main center of Buddhism, became closer during the reign of Loe Thai, in part thanks to the activities of a Thai prince who assumed the yellow robe and made a journey to India and Ceylon, from which he brought back miraculous relics. This prince, who after his journey received the title of Mahāthera Śrī Sradhārājachūlāmuni Śrī Ratanalankādīpa Mahāsāmi, was a grandson of the Pha Mūang who had placed the father of Rāma Khamhaeng on the throne of Sukhothai. After a worldly youth, "now doing good, now doing evil, now laughing, now crying, now winning, now losing, now happy, now unhappy, turning, going and coming, the unquiet heart in the midst of this world of transmigrations," it seems that around the age of thirty he lost a son and this bereavement made him understand that "this world of transmigrations is unstable, ephemeral, illusory." After having "practiced the perfection of liberality," in imitation of the Buddha in his last earthly existence, "he put on the robes and quit the world, carrying the beggar's bowl in a sash slung over his shoulder." Siam has seen many such curious figures of "prince monks" even well into the twentieth century. A long inscription that comes from Sukhothai, and from which the above passages are extracted, gives a detailed account of this prince's career.¹³ He is undoubtedly the same person spoken of in an inscription¹⁴ that tells of a prince's travels in the north to Mūang Fang, Phrae, Lamphun, and Tak, then to India "to the Kingdom of Kalinga, to Pātaliputra, to Choḷamaṇḍala, to the kingdom of the Mallas, and to the island of Lankā [Ceylon] to try to find precious relics."

The religious buildings attributed to this prince by these two inscriptions are designated in too vague a way to be identified with certainty. He was responsible for important works of enlargement and restoration in a monument that corresponds to, and must be, Wat Mahathat of Sukhothai.¹⁵ These labors were executed in part by workers brought back from Ceylon; here is a valuable indication of the possible origins of the Singhalese influence that has been detected in the art of Sukhothai.¹⁶

Loe Thai was succeeded by his son Lū Thai, viceroy at Si Satchanalai (Sawankhalok).¹⁷ This prince was a scholar who in *Traibhūmikathā*, which has come down to us in a little-altered 1345 composed a massive treatise on Buddhist cosmology, the old Siamese translation known as the *Traiphum Phra Ruang*. Modern versions of it today still constitute the basis of popular concepts of Buddhism in Siam and Cambodia.

In 1347, Lū Thai went to Sukhothai, where troubles seem to have broken out, undoubtedly at the death of his father. He seized the city and had himself crowned king there with the title Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmaṛājādhirāja.¹⁹

Once on the throne of Sukhothai, Lū Thai seems to have been more concerned with the morals and religion of his subjects than with military conquests.

"His Majesty," says one of his inscriptions, "has thoroughly studied the sacred scriptures. He has studied the Vinaya and the Abhidharma according to the system of the traditional masters, beginning with the Brahmans and the ascetics. The king knows the Veda, the treatises and traditions, the law and the maxims, beginning with the treatises on astronomy. . . . His knowledge is unequalled. . . . He knows the short years and the years with intercalary months, the days, the lunar mansions. Using his authority, he has reformed the calendar."²⁰

"This king," says another inscription, "reigned by observing the ten royal precepts. He knows how to take pity on all his subjects. If he sees the rice of others, he does not covet it; if he sees the wealth of others, he is not annoyed by it. . . . If he catches people guilty of deceit and insolence, people who put poison in his rice in order to cause him sickness and death, he never kills or beats them, but he pardons all who behave wickedly toward him. The reason why he represses his heart and quells his spirit and does not become angry when it would be proper for him to do so, is that he has the desire to become a Buddha and the desire to lead all creatures beyond the ocean of sorrows of transmigration."²¹

Unfortunately for him, this wise and pious monarch who reformed the calendar and pardoned offenses had a more ambitious neighbor to the south, the kingdom of Lavo. We have only one historical fact about the kingdom of Lavo in the thirteenth century: according to the *History of the Yuan*, which men-

tions it by the name Lo-hu, it sent several embassies to China between 1289 and 1299.²² According to tradition without known historical basis,²³ a Thai chief named Jayaśrī, a descendant of a prince of Chiangsaen, had settled in Phra Pathom and had taken as his son-in-law the chief of Mưang U Thong, an ancient city the remains of which can still be seen in the Suphan region.²⁴ Around 1347, following a cholera epidemic, this prince of U Thong, who meanwhile had succeeded his father-in-law, abandoned his residence and went to found a new capital²⁵ fifty kilometers south of Lavo (Lopburi) on an island of the Menam, at a crossroads of major river routes. He gave it the name of Dvāravatī Śrī Ayudhyā²⁶ at the time of his coronation in 1350 under the name Rāmādhpati. The preceding year, in 1349,²⁷ he had launched an expedition to the north which, without striking a blow, brought about the submission of Sukhothai and its pious king, whose peaceful inclinations perhaps had some influence on the decision of the founder of Ayutthaya. Deprived of his independence, King Lư Thai turned more and more to religion, building temples and monasteries, welcoming monks from Ceylon, and finally entering into the order himself in 1361.

At Sukhothai, between 1250 and 1350, the Siamese were able to develop their own characteristic civilization, institutions, and art. The city was situated on the border between the zone of Khmer influence and the zone of Mon and Burmese influence. Via the Mae Yom River, it was in close relations with Lopburi and the former Khmer provinces of the lower Menam. It was, moreover, situated at the end of the route coming from Lower Burma, which assured its relations with the west, and especially with Ceylon.

During the Sukhothai era, then, the Siamese showed a marked and perhaps deliberate contrast with Khmer civilization in some areas, notably in politics and art.²⁸ On the other hand, from the beginning of the foundation of Ayutthaya, they borrowed from Cambodia its political organization, material civilization, system of writing, and a considerable number of words. The Siamese artists were beholden to the school of the Khmer artists and transformed Khmer art not only according to their own genius but also as a result of the strong influences of their contact with their neighbors to the west, the Mons and the Burmese. From the Mons and the Burmese the Siamese received their legal tra-

ditions, of Indian origin, and above all their Singhalese Buddhism with its artistic traditions.

2. THE FOUNDING OF THE LAOTIAN KINGDOM OF LAN CHANG (1353)

We have seen that, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Thai of Sukhothai had consolidated their authority over all the territory of present-day Thailand with the exception of the eastern provinces, which were still Cambodian. But these in their turn soon fell in part under the domination of another branch of the Thai family, that which we call Laotian.

It will be recalled that at the end of the twelfth century Khmer domination extended up the Mekong to Wiangčhan, a fact that was proved by the discovery at Sai Fong of a stele of one of the hospitals of Jayavarman VII. "We know, moreover," writes Henri Maspero,²⁹ "that Wiangčhan came under Siamese domination in the last years of the thirteenth century, conquered by Rāma Khamhaeng who probably seized it from the Cambodians; unfortunately, the silence of Vietnamese and Chinese documents in the thirteenth century prevents us from establishing the fact precisely. What is certain is that after the loss of Wiangčhan the Cambodians still remained for a long time masters of the country situated downstream from the great bend of the Mekong, and that they still occupied it during the first half of the fourteenth century. It took the formation of a powerful enough Laotian state, formed from the union of the principalities of Mưang Chawa, modern Luang Phrabang, and of Wiangčhan, to drive the Cambodians to the south and to gradually confine them to territories that were Cambodian in population."

The formation of this Laotian state was favored by the weakening of Sukhothai; it is undoubtedly significant that the founding of the kingdom of Wiangčhan by Fa Ngum took place in 1353,³⁰ four years after the submission of Sukhothai to the young kingdom of Ayutthaya.

"Native tradition," writes Louis Finot,³¹ "knows nothing about the period between the mythical Khun Lọ (son of the legendary Khun Bqrom) and the fourteenth century. It only preserves a list of names of chiefs designated first by the title *khun*, then by that of *thao*, finally by that of *phraya*. There were fifteen *khun* and six *thao*. The last of the *thao*, Thao Tavang, had a son,

Phraya Lang, the first of the *phrayas*; it is to him that the memories of Laotians about their history go back."

Phraya Lang, having governed his kingdom badly, was exiled to the mountains (or put in a cage at Pak U, according to another tradition) and replaced by his son Phraya Khamphong. When the latter had a son, he sent a message to the dethroned king to ask him what name he wanted his grandson to be given. The angry old man only answered: "*Phi fa pha*" ("May Heaven strike you down!") Upon receiving this answer, Phraya Khamphong, without further ado, called his son Phi Fa, Spirit of Heaven. This pompous name was hardly justified. Phi Fa had nothing in common with the god whose name he bore except a lively taste for women, which did not stop even at the doors of his father's harem. He was driven out and did not reign. Before his expulsion, he had a son, the future Phraya Fa Ngum, in 1316.

The exiled prince and his son found refuge at the court of the king of Cambodia, who must have then been Jayavarmadiparameśvara, the king who came to the throne of Angkor in 1327.³² The young Fa Ngum was raised by a religious scholar of the capital whom the Laotian chronicles call Maha Pasaman Čhao (Phra Mahāsamana). When he was sixteen years old, the king of Cambodia gave him in marriage his daughter, Princess Kaeo or Yot Kaeo, also known as Kaeo Löt Fa. Then at a date that is unknown, but must have been between 1340 and 1350, the king gave Fa Ngum an army so that he could reconquer the kingdom of his fathers.

The Laotian chronicle *Nithan Khun Bqrom*³³ tells—with a great deal of detail, the historicity of which needs to be confirmed by other evidence—the story of the victorious advance of this expedition along the Mekong Valley through Bassac, Khammuan, Trân-ninh, the Hua Phan (where Fa Ngum negotiated with Đại Việt and fixed the border at the watershed separating the Red River and the Mekong), and the Sip Sọng Phan Na and then the descent on Chiangdong-Chiangthong (Luang Phrabang), where Fa Ngum was proclaimed king. According to the chronicle, Fa Ngum then went back up the Mekong and conducted a victorious campaign against Lan Na, whose king Sam Phaya, after having tried to resist at Chiangsaen, fled to Chiangrai and there negotiated a treaty with Fa Ngum. On his return, Fa Ngum conquered the Kha populations. Thus far Fa Ngum had avoided Wiangčhan. He now seized it by using a classic ruse: he left a stock of gold and silver arrows, feigned retreat, then pounced on his adversaries

when they left their ranks to gather up the precious metal. After taking Wiangčhan, Fa Ngum advanced on the Khorat Plateau to Roi-et; then, having organized all his conquests, he returned by Wiangčhan to Chiangdong-Chiangthong, where his solemn coronation took place. The *Nithan Khun Bqrom*, in its account of all these events, attributes the facility with which Fa Ngum obtained the submission of the chiefs in the conquered countries and the friendship of the neighboring kings to a feeling of a common origin. "Like you, we are descendants of Khun Bqrom," the envoys of Trân-ninh told him. "We are brothers through Khun Bqrom and must not fight with armies between us," affirms a Lú chief of the Sip Sọng Phan Na. The king of Ayutthaya himself, to stop the march of Fa Ngum on the Khorat Plateau, reminded him that they were "brothers since Bqrom," offered him territories, and promised him one of his daughters in marriage. Here is a new example among the Thai chiefs of this feeling of a common ethnic origin that has already been noted in connection with Rāma Khamhaeng.³⁴

Another source, the *Phongsawadan*,³⁵ gives a shorter itinerary for the expedition of Fa Ngum, having him go directly from Trân-ninh to Chiangdong-Chiangthong. The *Phongsawadan* also gives a somewhat different chronological sequence of events: it places after his coronation, rather than before it, Fa Ngum's negotiations with Đại Việt for the delimitation of the border and his campaign on the Khorat Plateau.

However that may be, various texts agree that the solemn coronation of Fa Ngum, which marks the founding of the kingdom of Lan Chang,³⁶ took place in 1353; this date has most probably been transmitted correctly. To my knowledge, the only mention of Fa Ngum in epigraphy is found in an inscription of Sukhothai dating after 1359; this inscription says that Sukhothai had for a neighbor to the east, on the Mekong, Čhao Phraya Fa Ngom.³⁷

The accession of Fa Ngum is important not only because it marks the establishment of a state destined to play a major political role in the central Indochinese Peninsula but also because it resulted in the introduction into the upper Mekong of Khmer culture and of Sinhalese Buddhism through the intermediary of Cambodia. Shortly after his accession, in fact, Fa Ngum sent to Cambodia a mission led by his old religious tutor, Maha Pasaman, and made up of monks and artisans. In addition to a number of

sacred texts, they brought back the famous statue of Phra Bang that was to give its name to the capital of Lan Chang. This mission had all the more success because its efforts were brought to bear on a terrain already marked by the imprint of Cambodian Buddhism.³⁸

3. THE THAI KINGDOM OF LAN NA

We have seen that, in the course of his campaign against Lan Na, Fa Ngum advanced to Chiangrai, where the king of Lan Na, Sam Phaya, had taken refuge. In view of the date, this must have been King Pha Yu, great-grandson of Mangrai.

The death of Mangrai around 1315,³⁹ after a reign of about fifty years, was the signal for competition between his heirs. Of his three sons mentioned in the chronicles, he had passed over the eldest⁴⁰ and had removed the youngest by sending him to the Thai of the upper Salween, where he founded the principality of Mưang Nai (Moné).⁴¹ There remained the second son, Grāma (Khun Kham), or Jayasangrāma, who had taken part in the battle against Yiba, the last king of Haripunjaya.⁴² It was he who succeeded Mangrai. After a few months, however, he had himself replaced at Chiangmai by his son Saen Phu, established two other sons at Mưang Fang and at Chiangkhong, and himself retired to Chiangrai.⁴³

But, when the prince of Mưang Nai received the news of the death of his father, Mangrai, he came to claim the throne, or at least his part of the inheritance. Saen Phu and his brother Nam Thuem, prince of Chiangkhong, took refuge near their father at Chiangrai, while their uncle, the prince of Mưang Nai, occupied Haripunjaya.⁴⁴

What happened afterwards is very confused, and it suffices to note here that Nam Thuem succeeded in driving out the invader and retaking Haripunjaya. But his father did not leave him there; he sent him to Chiangtung⁴⁵ and put Saen Phu back on the throne of Chiangmai in 1322 or 1324.⁴⁶

Saen Phu in his turn soon established his son Kham Fu at Chiangmai so he could go to Chiangrai to care for his father (Jayasangrāma), who died in 1325 or 1327.⁴⁷

Then Saen Phu regained power over the whole territory. In 1325 or 1328⁴⁸ he founded the city of Chiangsaen, which bears his name, on an already ancient site. He died in 1334⁴⁹ and was

replaced by his son Kham Fu, who reigned only a few years and died at Chiangrai.⁵⁰

Kham Fu was succeeded by his son Pha Yu, who was crowned at Chiangrai but at the end of three years established the capital at Chiangmai again. He enlarged and fortified the city of Chiangmai.⁵¹ At its center he built a temple in which to place the ashes of his father;⁵² this temple later took the name of Wat Phra Sing when the statue of Phra Sing, or Phra Sihing, "the Singhalese Buddha," was installed there.⁵³ The date of Pha Yu's death is uncertain.⁵⁴

4. BURMA UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE THAI

The events that took place in Burma in the Thai principalities during the first half of the fourteenth century are complex; it will suffice to give the following facts.

In the south, the assassination of Wareru was the signal for a series of conflicts with the kingdom of Sukhothai to which we have already alluded.⁵⁵ The descendants of the Thai chief, beginning with Binnya U (1353-85), established themselves at Hamsavatī (Pegu),⁵⁶ where they reigned until the conquest of the city in 1539 by the Burmese king of Toungoo.

In the central region, the three Thai brothers, after succeeding in getting rid of the Mongols, made every effort to win their favor and succeeded in getting the Chinese province of Burma abolished in 1303. The youngest brother, Thihathu, who had affirmed his supremacy in 1306,⁵⁷ was crowned king on April 20, 1309.⁵⁸ At the death of the eldest brother Athinkhaya in 1310, he and his other brother were left masters of the situation. In 1312, he chose Pinya, also known as Vijayapura, as his residence.⁵⁹ His descendants continued to reign there until 1364.

One of Thihathu's sons, Athinkhaya,⁶⁰ established himself in 1315 at Sagaing, from which he dominated the north and west. It was an offshoot of this branch from Sagaing, Thadōminbya, who in 1364 founded the city of Ava⁶¹ on the Irrawaddy, at the entrance to the Kyaukse plain, a city that was to remain the capital for five centuries.

Finally, in the east, the powerful city of Toungoo, which had been founded in 1280 and remained the place of refuge for Burmese desiring to escape Thai domination, became the capital of a new Burmese state in 1347 when Thinkhaba took the title of

king there.⁶² It was one of his descendants who in 1539 was to conquer Hamsavatī (Pegu) and found a powerful Burmese state there.

5. CAMBODIA: THE LAST KINGS MENTIONED IN EPIGRAPHY

At Angkor, King Śrīndravarman, who was reigning at the time of the visit of Chou Ta-kuan, remained in power until 1307, at which date "he abdicated in favor of the prince heir apparent (Yuvarāja) and retired into the forest."⁶³ We owe to him the oldest Cambodian inscription in the Pali language,⁶⁴ an inscription commemorating the construction of a *vihāra* and of an image of the Buddha in 1309, two years after the abdication of the king.

We do not know the relationship of the new king to Śrīndravarman; an inscription tells us that he was a relative (*vaṃśa*) without being more specific. On coming to the throne, he took the name of Śrīndrajavarman. He reigned twenty years. He embellished the temple built in the capital by Jayavarman VIII in honor of the Brahman Jayamangalārtha who died during his reign at the age of 104.⁶⁵ Aside from the coming of a Chinese mission in 1320 charged with buying tame elephants in Cambodia,⁶⁶ we know no other events which we can attribute to his reign.

In 1327, Śrīndrajavarman was replaced by Jayavarmādiparameśvara,⁶⁷ whose relationship to him is not known. We know this king only through a Khmer inscription from the Bayon⁶⁸ and through a Sanskrit inscription that is called the Angkor Wat inscription⁶⁹ but was actually found at a site formerly called Kapilapura, to the northeast of the temple.⁷⁰ This Sanskrit inscription, which was composed by the Brahman scholar Vidyeśadhīmant, servant of Kings Śrīndravarman, Śrīndrajavarman, and Jayavarmādiparameśvara,⁷¹ is the last Sanskrit inscription of Cambodia. Completely impregnated with Sivaite mysticism, it proves that, in a country where Singhalese Buddhism must already have made very great progress, Hinduism found a last refuge at the court of the successors of Jayavarman VII. Indeed, even today, six centuries later, it has still not been driven out; the Bakō, or court Brahmans, still officiate in the royal ceremonies of modern Cambodia.⁷²

We do not know how long Jayavarmādiparameśvara reigned. It was undoubtedly he who sent an embassy to China in 1330⁷³

and in 1335 dispatched a delegation to the Cửa Rao Pass to greet the Emperor of Đại Việt, Trần Hiên-tông, a delegation that must have met there the delegation from Sukhothai.⁷⁴ It is impossible for the moment to establish the connection between Jayavarmādiparameśvara, the last king mentioned in the great inscription of Angkor Wat, and the first kings of the Cambodian chronicle, which begins around 1350 with a king bearing the posthumous name Mahānippean or Nippeanbat, i.e., Nirvāṇapada.⁷⁵ The break between the kings of ancient epigraphy and those of the chronicle is for the moment complete.

It is interesting to note that in the middle of the fourteenth century, on the eve of the founding of Ayutthaya and the coronation of the first king of the Siamese dynasty that would bring about the ruin of Angkor, Wang Ta-yüan could still write in his *Tao-i Chih-lioh* that the country of Cambodia was commonly called "Chenla the rich."⁷⁶

6. CHAMPA

In Champa, the "son of Śrī Harijit," that is, of Jayasimhavarman III and Queen Bhāskaradevī, came to the throne in 1307 at the age of twenty-three. Georges Maspero⁷⁷ somewhat arbitrarily gives him the name of Jayasimhavarman IV. The annals of Vietnam call him Chê Chi. Persistent rebellions in the old Cham provinces north of the Col des Nuages that had been ceded to Đại Việt in exchange for the Vietnamese princess⁷⁸ obliged the Emperor Trần Ahn-tông to lead an expedition there in 1312. The expedition resulted in the capture of the Cham king, who was brought back a prisoner and died in Tongking in 1313.⁷⁹ His brother was entrusted with the administration of the country as "feudatory prince of the second rank." It was thus as suzerain protector of Champa that the emperor of Đại Việt defended it in this same year 1313 against the Siamese raid that has been mentioned.⁸⁰

In 1314, Emperor Trần Ahn-tông abdicated in favor of his son Trần Minh-tông, and this provided the "feudatory prince," whom the Vietnamese annals call Chê Nang, the opportunity to try to reconquer the provinces of the north and to make himself independent. He was defeated in 1318 and took refuge in Java.⁸¹

The emperor of Đại Việt then placed a military chief, called Chê A-nan in the Vietnamese sources, on the throne of Champa.

This chief soon attempted in his turn to liberate himself by relying on the Mongols. His victory over Vietnamese troops in 1326 allowed him to cease performing acts of vassalage.⁸² Thereafter he had a peaceful reign. During his reign the Franciscan priest Odoric of Pordenone visited the country; in his account of his journey,⁸³ Odoric devotes a paragraph to the kingdom "which is called Zampa,⁸⁴ and 'tis a very fine country, having great store of victuals and of all good things." He attributes to the king the procreation of two hundred children, "for he hath many wives and other women whom he keepeth." He notes the abundance of the schools of fish that frequent the coast, fish that come "in order to pay homage to their emperor." The most interesting statement in his account is his allusion to the Indian practice called *sati*: "When a man dies in this country, they bury his wife with him, for they say that she should live with him in the other world also."⁸⁵

At the death of Chê A-nan in 1342, his son-in-law, called Tra-hoa Bô-dê in the Vietnamese sources, succeeded in supplanting the legitimate heir Chê Mô, although he had to fight against him for some ten years before he finally eliminated him. The success he achieved over Vietnamese troops brought in by Chê Mô stimulated him to attempt to reconquer the Hué region in 1353, but in this enterprise he failed. His reign was marked by the visit of the Berber traveler Ibn Baṭūṭa, if, as has been suggested,⁸⁶ the country of Ṭawālīsī mentioned by this author in his account really refers to Champa. We do not know when Tra-hoa Bô-dê's reign came to an end.⁸⁷

7. THE MALAY PENINSULA AND SUMATRA: THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

On the Malay Peninsula, the recommendation made by the court of Peking in 1295 to the Thai of Sukhothai to "do no harm to the Ma-li-yü-erh and hold to your promise"⁸⁸ seems not to have been observed for very long if we are to believe Wang Ta-yüan, who writes in the middle of the fourteenth century in his *Tao-i Chih-lioh*:⁸⁹ "The people [of Sien] are much given to piracy. . . in recent years they came with seventy odd junks and raided Tan-ma-hsi⁹⁰ and attacked the city moat. (The town) resisted for a month, the place having closed its gates and defending itself, and they not daring to assault it." The same author also mentions, among others, the states of Ting-chia-lu,⁹¹ P'eng-heng (Pahang),⁹²

Chi-lan-tan (Kelantan),⁹³ Tan-ma-ling (Tāmbralinga),⁹⁴ and Lung-ya-hsi-chiao (Langkasuka)⁹⁵ and various islands; he enumerates their products but does not give any historical details.

At Trengganu, on the east coast of the peninsula, a Malay inscription which is presumed to date from 1326–27, but which could have been later, is the oldest document relating to the Islamization of the peninsula.⁹⁶ On the other hand, around 1345–46 Ibn Baṭūṭa, the envoy of the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammed Ibn Toghluk, who visited Kāḱula⁹⁷ on his way to China, speaks of the Sultan of Mul Djāwa (the name by which he designates the Malay Peninsula) as being an infidel.⁹⁸ We have seen in the preceding chapter that for Sumatra the evidence concerning the introduction of Islam begins about 1281. Ibn Baṭūṭa claims to have been received in the sultanate of Sumuṭra by Malik az-Zāhir, a claim that has been placed in doubt.⁹⁹ However that may be, the account of Ibn Baṭūṭa contains some interesting details. It says that the sultan is a devotee of the sect of the Shafi'ites and that his country is surrounded by infidels. "He makes war often, especially against the infidels. . . His subjects also follow the Shafi'ite rite; they love to fight the heathens, and march willingly with their sovereign. They have been victorious over the neighboring infidels, who pay them tribute in order to obtain peace."¹⁰⁰ The oldest tombstone inscription found at Samudra-Pasai dates from 1320.¹⁰¹

Islam, which seems to have been imported to Sumatra principally by people from Gujarat and the Gulf of Cambay,¹⁰² was still far from having conquered all the small principalities of the north of the island by the middle of the fourteenth century. Odoric of Pordenone in 1321 mentions some of these principalities:¹⁰³ Lamori (Achin), where "all the women be in common" and where the people "eat man's flesh"; Sumoltra, whose inhabitants "brand themselves on the face with a little hot iron in some twelve places; and this is done by men and women both."¹⁰⁴ As for Wang Ta-yüan, he lists the same states under the names of Nan-wu-li¹⁰⁵ and Su-wen-ta-la,¹⁰⁶ and he adds Tan-yang¹⁰⁷ (Tamiang, the Dagroian of Marco Polo?); again he is content to enumerate products without describing the political situation. In the center and south of the island, we know of only two states: San-fo-ch'i,¹⁰⁸ which for Wang Ta-yüan corresponded to the Jambi River Valley,¹⁰⁹ that is, the ancient Malāyu, which, as we have seen, had become in the thirteenth century the center of gravity of the old

empire of the maharaja; and Ch'iu-chiang, "the old estuary,"¹¹⁰ which is undoubtedly Palembang.

For its part, epigraphy shows that Malāyu remained the only Sumatranese state of some political importance and that it had become the refuge of Indian culture in opposition to the sultanates of the north that were already Islamized or in the process of becoming so. But Malāyu's center tended gradually to become more and more distant from the eastern coast of the island, to sequester itself in the interior near what was to be Minangkabau.

Many inscriptions tell us that in this region in the middle of the fourteenth century there was a "sovereign of the Land of Gold" (*kanakamedinīndra*)¹¹¹ named Ādityavarman, son of Advayavarman. His name appears in Java as early as 1343 on an image of the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī that was originally in Chandi Jago.¹¹² Its presence there seems to indicate that at this date the future king, who was somehow related to Queen Rājapatnī, wife of Kṛitarājasa, lived at the court of Majapahit.¹¹³

In 1347 he was at Malāyupura, where he had a Sanskrit text engraved¹¹⁴ on the back of an image of Amoghapāśa. This image, found at Rambahan, was, according to the inscription of Padang Rocho, brought from Java in 1286.¹¹⁵ At Malāyupura, Ādityavarman bore the royal title of Udayādityavarman (or Ādityavarmodaya) Pratāpaparākramarājendra Maulimālivarmadeva, a title in which one scholar believes he can detect an attempt at synthesis of the royal titles traditionally in use in Śrīvijaya and Malāyu.¹¹⁶

This inscription gives, moreover, interesting indications about the Tantric rites that were practiced in Indonesia in the fourteenth century, many of which are perpetuated in Bali to this day.¹¹⁷ The Buddhism of King Ādityavarman, who represented himself as an incarnation of Lokeśvara, like that of the kings of Majapahit, stemmed from the *kālachakra* system.¹¹⁸

Another inscription of the same date, but without historic interest, has been found at Pagar Ruyung, in the heart of Minangkabau.¹¹⁹ This region has furnished many other inscriptions from this long reign that lasted at least until 1375.

8. JAVA: THE KINGDOM OF MAJAPAHIT TO THE ACCESSION OF HAYAM WURUK (1350)

We have seen above that, according to a new chronology,¹²⁰ the reign of Kṛitarājasa, which we had once thought peaceful, was

on the contrary troubled by a series of rebellions, rebellions that were once assumed to have taken place during the reign of his successor Jayanagara. In 1295 there was an abortive revolt in the Tuban region of one of Kṛitarājasa's former companions in arms, Ranga Lawe, who had become one of the highest dignitaries of the kingdom.¹²¹ Then the old Vīrarāja declared himself independent at Lumajang,¹²² situated in the eastern part of Java, immediately south of the island of Madura. The years 1298 to 1300 were taken up with a battle against Sora, another of the king's former companions in arms, who was finally defeated and killed. Then Nambi, a son of Vīrarāja, withdrew to Lembah and fortified himself there. Finally, in 1302, there was a revolt of Juru Demung, one of the accomplices of Sora.¹²³

Kṛitarājasa died in 1309. From his Sivaite funerary temple situated at Simpang¹²⁴ comes the beautiful statue, now in the Museum of Batavia, representing him in the form of Harihara.¹²⁵ His son Jayanagara (the Kāla Gemet of the *Pararaton*) took the reign name Śrī Sundarapāṇḍyadevādhiśvara Vikramottungadeva, a name which emphasized the spiritual relations between Java and the Pāṇḍya country at the extreme south of India, witnessed as early as the era of Sanjaya.¹²⁶ Two years after his accession the elderly Vīrarāja, who had given so much trouble to his predecessors, died. In 1312, the king proceeded with the burial, at Pūrva Patapan,¹²⁷ of Kṛitanagara, who had been dead for twenty years. In the following year Juru Demung, who had revolted in 1302, died, thus ridding Jayanagara of another adversary of his father. But in 1314 a new rebellion broke out, that of Gajah Biru, another of the accomplices of Sora.¹²⁸

After the death of Nambi in 1316 and the submission of the district of Lumajang,¹²⁹ one would think that tranquillity would return, but in 1319 Kuṭi revolted, and this revolt forced the king to abandon his capital temporarily. He was escorted by twenty-five palace guards under the command of Gajah Mada,¹³⁰ whom we will hear more about when we come to the regency period (1328–50).

In spite of these troubles, which are stressed in the chronicle, the power of Majapahit was evident. Odoric of Pordenone, who visited Java in 1321, gives an interesting description of this island, "which hath a compass of a good three thousand miles. And the king of it hath subject to himself seven crowned kings. Now this

island is populous exceedingly, and is the second best of all islands that exist. . . . The king of this island hath a palace which is truly marvelous. For it is very great. . . . Now the Great Khan of Cathay many a time engaged in war with this king; but this king always vanquished and got the better of him."¹³¹

From 1325 to 1328, Jayanagara sent annual embassies without fail to the court of China.¹³² One of the ambassadors of 1325, Seng-chia-li-yeh, must have been identical to the Seng-ch'ia-lieh-yu-lan whom we meet in 1375 as king of Sumatra.¹³³ In 1328 Jayanagara died, assassinated by a noble whose wife he had seduced.¹³⁴ A great part of the Panataran group dates from his reign.¹³⁵

Since Jayanagara had no sons, the crown reverted to the daughter of Kṛitanagara, the Rājapatnī Gāyatrī, first wife of Kṛitarājasa. But she had entered religious orders as a *bhikṣuṇī*¹³⁶ and her daughter Tribhuvanā therefore assumed the regency in her name.¹³⁷ In 1329 or 1330, Tribhuvanā married a noble, Chakradhara¹³⁸ or Chakreśvara, who received the name Kṛitavardhana with the title of Prince of Singhasāri.¹³⁹ She had a son by him in 1334, and this son, Hayam Wuruk,¹⁴⁰ became king at the death of his grandmother in 1350.

The great figure of the regency period was Gajah Mada, whom we have seen above sharing the fortunes of King Jayanagara when he fled before the rebel Kuṭi. At first *pati*, that is, prime minister, of Kahuripan, then of Daha, he became *pati* of Majapahit in 1331.¹⁴¹ His unceasing efforts were devoted to the extension of Javanese supremacy in the archipelago.¹⁴² On Bali, for example, where the accomplishments of the campaign of Kṛitanagara in 1284 had been lost so completely that the island had become independent again, an expedition of 1343 led to the destruction of the local princely family¹⁴³ and a Javanization of the island that was to be intensified during the reign of Hayam Wuruk.

The *History of the Yuan*¹⁴⁴ mentions a Javanese embassy to China in 1332 led by Seng-chia-la, apparently the same person who led the embassy of 1325. Wang Ta-yüan¹⁴⁵ in 1350 describes Java (Chao-wa) as a prosperous, fertile country whose numerous and peaceable people are "foremost of the barbarians of the eastern seas."

The death of the old Rājapatnī in 1350 ended the regency of her daughter, and she made way for her son, Hayam Wuruk, who reigned under the name Rājasanagara.

THE END OF THE INDIAN KINGDOMS

From the Middle of the Fourteenth Century to the Seizure of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511

The middle of the fourteenth century may be considered a turning point in the history of Farther India. The year 1347 was marked by both the founding of the Burmese kingdom of Toungoo, from which the creator of the powerful Burmese state of Pegu was to arise in the sixteenth century, and the founding of the Sumatran kingdom of Ādityavarman, a kingdom that still bore the name of Malāyu but already corresponded to the future Minangkabau. The year 1353 saw both the founding of the Laotian kingdom of Lan Chang by Fa Ngum and the restoration of Haṃsavatī (Pegu) by Binnya U.

By an unusual coincidence, 1350 saw both the accession of Hayam Wuruk (Rājasanagara), the greatest king of Majapahit, the king who extended its suzerainty to its farthest limits, and the accession of Rāmādhipati, the founder of Ayutthaya, the unifier of the countries of Syāṃ (Sukhothai) and Lavo (Lopburi). Ayutthaya and Majapahit, the first continental, the second insular, became the two poles of Farther India, the greatest part of which was thus divided into two zones of influence. The lists of the dependencies of Ayutthaya and Majapahit even overlap to some extent in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.

It is significant that the regrouping of the small states within the spheres of influence of these two great powers took place just at the time of the beginning of the decline of the Mongol dynasty, which had followed the opposite policy of encouraging the creation of numerous small principalities whose obedience was easier to maintain.

The history of the states that arose around 1350—the Thai kingdoms of Ayutthaya and Lan Chang, the Burmese kingdoms of Toungoo and Ava—lies outside the scope of the present work, devoted as it is to the ancient period of Farther India. It will suffice here to follow the Indian kingdoms of Southeast Asia up to

their decline, relating very briefly what happened in Cambodia up to the abandonment of Angkor around 1430, in Champa up to the conquest of Vijaya by the Vietnamese in 1470, in Malaysia and the archipelago up to the seizure of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511.

1. CAMBODIA: FROM 1350 TO THE ABANDONMENT OF ANGKOR IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Cambodia in the middle of the fourteenth century¹ was the only one of these old kingdoms whose kings still resided in their ancient capital; the Khmer kings still occupied Yaśodharapura (Angkor). But they were hardly secure there. As early as 1352, Rā-mādhipati, founder and first king of Ayutthaya, went to lay siege to the city,² where Lampong-rājā, son of Nirvāṇapada (1346–51), was then reigning. If we believe the *Annals of Ayutthaya*, Angkor was seized the following year and the king of Siam placed one of his sons on the throne. This prince died almost immediately. Two other Siamese princes, one succeeding the other, reigned until 1357, when a brother of Lampong-rājā who had taken refuge in Laos reconquered the city and was crowned there under the name of Sūryavaṃśa Rājādhirāja.³

Sūryavaṃśa Rājādhirāja defended his country from new Siamese attacks and seems to have maintained his border at Khorat in the north and at Pračhin in the west. It may have been he who in 1370 received an order from the first Ming emperor to submit and send tribute immediately; the *History of the Ming* calls this king Hu-erh-na.⁴ He reigned about twenty years and was succeeded by one of his nephews, a son of Lampong-rājā, known under the name of Paramarāma.

In 1379, the *History of the Ming*⁵ mentions for the first time King Ts'an-ta Kan-wu-che-ch'e-ta-che (Samdach Kambujādhirāja). This king must undoubtedly be identified with Paramarāma, but we know nothing else about him.

Around 1380, Paramarāma was succeeded by his brother Dhammāsoṅkarājādhirāja,⁶ who appears in 1387 in the *History of the Ming*⁷ under the name of Ts'an-lie Pao-p'i-sie Kan-p'u-che (Samdach Chao Ponhea Kambuja).

In 1393, the King of Siam, Ramesuan (Rāmeśvara), invaded Cambodia and besieged its capital. According to the Siamese annals, Angkor was taken the following year.⁸ King Dhammāsoka

was killed and replaced by a son of the king of Siam, Indarāja, but Indarāja was soon assassinated.⁹

The *History of the Ming*¹⁰ mentions under the date 1404 a King Ts'an-lie P'o-p'i-ya (Samdach Chao Ponhea), whose identity is not known.¹¹ His death was announced at the court of China in 1405, and he was succeeded by his son Ts'an-lie Chao-p'ing-ya,¹² who certainly corresponds to the Chao Ponhea Yat of Cambodian sources.¹³ Chao Ponhea Yat took the glorious name Sūryavarman upon his accession. It was during the course of his long reign of almost fifty years, in 1431, that the decision was taken to abandon the capital because it was too exposed and too difficult to defend. After a short stay at Basan (Srei Santhor), from which he was driven by floods, Chao Ponhea Yat proceeded to establish himself at the Quatre-Bras (Four Branches), on the site of the present-day city of Phnom Penh.¹⁴

2. CHAMPA: FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHÊ BÔNG NGA (1360) TO THE FINAL ABANDONMENT OF VIJAYA (1471)

In chapter nine of his *Royaume de Champa*, Georges Maspero gives an account of the reign of Chê Bông Nga under the title "L'apogée." This term runs the risk of giving a completely inaccurate idea of the importance of this reign. It is true that the reign was rich in military glory, but this glory can be compared to the last rays of a setting sun. In view of the dynamism of the Vietnamese and their centuries-long demographic pressure, the attempts at reconquest by Chê Bông Nga were something of an anachronism and his hold over reconquered areas was doomed in advance to be short-lived.

We do not know the origins of Chê Bông Nga, whom the *History of the Ming* calls Ngo-ta Ngo-che and who seems to have survived in the historic legend of the Chams under the name of Binasuor.¹⁵ His reign must have begun around 1360. By taking advantage first of all of the decline of the Mongols and later coming to an agreement with the first Ming emperor, who recognized him as king of Champa in 1369,¹⁶ he was able to lead a series of victorious campaigns against Đại Việt from 1361 to 1390. These campaigns were almost continuous: in 1361, the pillage of the port of Đa-li;¹⁷ in 1368, the defeat of the Vietnamese in a place called "Cham Cavern" in present-day Quang-nam;¹⁸ in 1371, the invasion of the Tongking Delta and the sack of

Hanoi;¹⁹ in 1377, the defeat of the Vietnamese before Vijaya (Cha-ban) in Binh-dinh and the killing of King Trần Duê-tông, followed by a new invasion of Tongking and a new pillage of Hanoi;²⁰ in 1380, the pillage of Nghê-an and Thanh-hoa;²¹ in 1384, an attack on Tongking by land;²² in 1389, a new victorious campaign in Tongking which brought the Chams to the present-day province of Hưng-yên.²³ "At this point the treason of a low-ranking officer stopped the victorious march of the Chams and saved Annam from an invasion in which its independence might have been destroyed."²⁴ Chê Bông Nga, whose ship was surrounded, was killed (February, 1390), and his troops withdrew.

One of Chê Bông Nga's generals, whom the Vietnamese sources call La Khai and a Cham inscription of Binh-dinh calls Jaya Simhavarman,²⁵ succeeded him after driving out his sons. Jaya Simhavarman had to abandon to Đại Việt all the territory situated north of the Col des Nuages (an area corresponding to the present-day provinces of Quang-binh, Quang-tri, and Thừa-thiên), which had been recovered by his predecessor.²⁶

He died in 1400 and was replaced by his son Ngauk Klaung Vijaya, who first took the name Vīrabhadrarvarman and in 1432 was crowned under the name of Indravarman.²⁷ The *History of the Ming* calls him Chang-pa-ti-lai (Champādhiraia); the Vietnamese annals call him Ba Địch-lai.

His reign began badly, for in 1402, in order to avoid a new war with Đại Việt, he had to cede the province of Indrapura, corresponding to present-day Quang-nam, in the northern part of the territory of Amarāvati.²⁸ This is the region where the heart of ancient Champa beat in the sanctuary of Bhadrēśvara (Mi-sôn). He regained it in 1407²⁹ thanks to the support of China, which had just annexed Đại Việt outright in suppressing the usurping dynasty of the Hồ (1400–1407).

Now safe in the north, the Cham king took vengeance on Cambodia, where Chao Ponhea Yat, the last king of Angkor, was reigning. In 1421 he commemorated his victories over the Khmers by the inscription of Vishnu of Biên-hoa.³⁰

Peaceful relations between Champa and its neighbor to the north were re-established in 1428 with the accession of Lê Lôi, the liberator of Vietnam.³¹

A Javanese tradition that is difficult to reconcile with the last evidence of Cham epigraphy, still completely Hindu, claims that

at the beginning of the fifteenth century Islam was introduced to Java by a Cham princess, a sister of the king, who was married to one of the sovereigns of Majapahit.³² We have, however, no real proof that Islam had penetrated into Champa before the Chams were driven out of Vijaya in 1471.

After the long and relatively successful reign of Ngauk Klaung Vijaya, or Indravarman VI, which came to an end in 1441, the country fell into a rapid decline. In thirty years, five kings succeeded to the throne in the midst of civil wars and Vietnamese invasions of the Lê kings Nhân-tông and Thanh-tông.³³ The Cham capital, Vijaya, in Binh-dinh (Cha-ban) was taken by the Vietnamese in 1446,³⁴ then reconquered by the Chams. In 1471, it fell permanently into the hands of the Vietnamese, who killed 60,000 people there and took away 30,000 prisoners, among whom were the king and 50 members of the royal family.³⁵ From then on, Champa continued to exist for a while, but it was reduced to the territories situated south of Cape Varella, where today are located the last remnants of the Cham people.³⁶

3. JAVA: FROM THE ACCESSION OF HAYAM WURUK (RĀJASANAGARA) IN 1350 TO THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF MAJAPAHIT AROUND 1520

In Java the long reign of Rājasanagara (1350–89) marks the apogee of the kingdom of Majapahit. The reign opened with a bloody drama, the victim of which was a certain King Mahārāja whom an inscription of 1333³⁷ presents as the founder of the kingdom of Pajajaran, a Sundanese kingdom that still occupied the western part of the island of Java at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁸ In 1357 he came to Majapahit, bringing his daughter who was to marry Rājasanagara, and established himself with his followers at Bubad, north of the capital. He thought the marriage was to be a union between equals, but the prime minister, Gajah Mada, insisted on treating the fiancée as a vassal princess brought in tribute. The discussion degenerated into an armed conflict in which the Sundanese king and his followers met their death.³⁹

The expansion of Javanese suzerainty in the time of Rājasanagara is evident from the list of dependencies of Majapahit transmitted by the *Nāgarakṛitāgama*.⁴⁰ Roughly, the kingdom comprised all of what was to become the Dutch East Indies (with

perhaps the exception of the north of Celebes) and a great part of the Malay Peninsula,⁴¹ but it did not extend to the Philippines.

In Bali, the charters of 1384–86 in the name of Vijayarājasa, or Bhre Wengker,⁴² seem to indicate that this uncle of Rājasanagara exercised a sort of viceroyalty, if not true sovereignty, there. The intensive Javanization of Bali in the fourteenth century, the initial cause of which was the conquest of 1343, was more important for the ultimate destiny of the island than the mass Javanese emigration of the following century.⁴³

A Javanese inscription of this period found on the island of Sumbawa⁴⁴ constitutes tangible evidence of the expansion of Majapahit in the east of the archipelago. According to the *Nāgarakṛitāgama*,⁴⁵ the countries maintaining friendly relations with Majapahit were Syangkāyodhyapura ("Siam with Ayutthaya"), Dharmanagarī (Ligor), Marutma (Martaban), Rājapura (?), Singhanagarī (?), Champā, Kamboja, and Yavana (Đai Viêt).

Information on the relations of Rājasanagara with China is provided by the *History of the Ming*,⁴⁶ which mentions between 1370 and 1381 many embassies from King Pa-ta-na-pa-na-wu, or Bhatara Prabhu, which is simply a royal title. Between the entries concerning the embassies of 1377 and 1379 the Chinese text notes that there was on the island of Java a king in the west and a king in the east: the first was named Wu-lao-po-wu, another transcription of Bhatara (or, rather, Bhra) Prabhu; the second was named Wu-yüan-lao-wang-chieh,⁴⁷ which in my opinion represents Bhre Wengker, or Vijayarājasa, whose decrees in Bali in 1384–86 have been mentioned above. If the information given by the *History of the Ming* for 1377–79 is accurate for this period, it seems clear that the division of the kingdom in two, which must have had fatal consequences for the following reign, dates from the reign of Rājasanagara, who entrusted to his uncle the government of one part of his domain.

The *Nāgarakṛitāgama*, a historical poem composed during this reign by Prapancha,⁴⁸ gives some idea of the internal administration of the country at the beginning of the reign.⁴⁹ At the center was the king, assisted by his father, Kṛitavardhana, and his uncle, Vijayarājasa. Below them was a hierarchy of officials headed by a council of five ministers. The most important of these ministers, the *mapatih* (*mahāpati*), was the old Gajah Mada. He disappeared from the scene in 1364, after a half-century devoted

to service of the dynasty. His name is connected with the drafting of a law code of which we have only a later version.⁵⁰

Aside from Prapancha, the author of the *Nāgarakṛitāgama* already mentioned, the reign of Rājasanagara was, from the literary point of view, given luster by the poet Tantular, the author of the *Arjunavijaya* and of the *Purushādaśānta* (or *Sutasoma*). The *Purushādaśānta* is particularly valuable for the information it gives on Siva-Buddha syncretism.⁵¹

The religious monuments of the reign are numerous. The only one worth mentioning here is the central temple of Panataran,⁵² with its famous bas-reliefs representing scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the *Kṛishṇāyaṇa*. It was begun in 1347 during the regency period, but it was completed by Rājasanagara and it was his favorite sanctuary.

Rājasanagara died in 1389. He was succeeded by Vikramavardhana, who was both his nephew and his son-in-law. Vikramavardhana's reign marks the beginning of the decline of Majapahit, a decline that accelerated greatly during the reigns of his successors. The main cause of the decline was the development of Malacca as a commercial center and a nucleus for the diffusion of Islam. Islam, introduced at first on the coast,⁵³ soon penetrated to the interior. The oldest evidence of the presence of Islam in the island is the inscription of Leran, dated either 1082 or 1102,⁵⁴ but it is a completely isolated document. Then comes the inscription of 1419 at Gresik⁵⁵ on the tomb of Malik Ibrahim, who was perhaps a propagator of the new religion.

Another cause of Majapahit's decline was the war of succession between Vikramavardhana and his brother-in-law Vīrabhūmi, a son of Rājasanagara by a concubine. Vīrabhūmi was established in the east as his great-uncle Vijayarājasa (Bhre Wengker) had been. Hostilities began in 1401 and ended in 1406 with the death of Vīrabhūmi.⁵⁶ This war of succession resulted not only in the weakening of the kingdom of Majapahit but also, indirectly, in the founding of Malacca in 1403 if it is true that the creator of this new political and commercial center, Paramēśvara, was one of the protagonists who later fled from Java to take refuge at Tumasik (Singapore).⁵⁷

Still another reason for the decline of Majapahit was the effort China made, under the emperor Yung Lo, to supplant Java as suzerain over the archipelago and on the peninsula: to effect

this was one of the aims of the famous missions of the eunuch Cheng Ho,⁵⁸ which resulted in the sending of various embassies to China from the former tributaries of Majapahit.⁵⁹

Suhitā, the daughter of Vikramavardhana, reigned until 1447 and was succeeded by her brother Bhre Tumapel, or Kṛitavijaya (1447–51).⁶⁰ From this period it seems that the Indian cults, already contaminated by native rites, withdrew before the advance of Islam. They withdrew to the mountains, which were generally the ancient places of the pre-Indian Indonesian cults. There are records of the building of religious edifices connected with Indian cults on the Penangungan in 1434–42, on the Wilis in 1449, on the Merbabu in 1438 and 1449, and on the Lawu in 1437–57.⁶¹

The genealogical relationships among the last kings, Rājāsavardhana (1451–53), Pūrvaviśeṣha (1456–66), Singhavikramavardhana (1466–78),⁶² are obscure, and the dates given for them are subject to revision.

In 1478, Majapahit put down an invasion (the origin of this invasion is disputed),⁶³ and in 1486 there appeared a new dynasty, that of the Girīndravardhana. This dynasty was still Indian in culture, as its charters show.⁶⁴ The last embassy from Java to China was in 1499.⁶⁵ Islam made rapid progress; the last positive evidence of Hinduism in Java dates from 1513–15,⁶⁶ not long after the seizure of Malacca by the Portuguese.

Evidence of the existence of the kingdom of Majapahit ends between 1513 and 1528, but what remained of the kingdom cannot be said to have fallen suddenly under the blows of the Muslims. There was rather a progressive weakening of the capital at the same time that the port establishments in Muslim hands increased in prosperity and power.⁶⁷

Indian culture took refuge in certain districts of the east, and especially on Bali. Thus, this island became, and to the present has remained, an intellectual center preserving the essentials of Indo-Javanese literature and religion which Islam rapidly caused to disappear in Java. Bali played the same role of preserver for Java as Tibet did for Buddhist India.

4. SUMATRA: THE HEIRS OF THE OLD KINGDOM OF THE MAHARAJA IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

In Sumatra, in the region of Minangkabau, Ādityavarman continued to reign at least until 1375, the date of the last inscrip-

tion we have from him.⁶⁸ It is undoubtedly this king, whose fervor for Tantric Buddhism of the *kālachakra* we have seen, who is represented in the form of Śiva Bhairava in the beautiful statue of Sungei Langsat.⁶⁹

His Yuvarāja, or heir apparent, was his son Anangavarman; we do not know if he actually succeeded him.⁷⁰

For the east coast of the island we lack information on the period between 1350, the date of the *Tao-i Chih-lioh*, and 1370, the date when the first Ming emperor sent ambassadors to foreign countries to obtain the tribute of vassalage.

In 1371 the *History of the Ming* mentions a King Ma-ha-la-cha Pa-la-pu (Maharaja Prabhu)⁷¹ of San-fo-ch'i, whose center was then Jambi; in 1373, a King Ta-ma-sha-na-a-che;⁷² in 1376, the replacement of the latter by his son Ma-na-che Wu-li (Maharaja Mauli . . .).⁷³

But at this time the country was divided among three kings;⁷⁴ the two others were Ma-na-ha Pao-lin-pang (Maharaja Palembang), who sent an embassy to China in 1374, and Seng-ch'ia-lieh-yu-lan,⁷⁵ who sent one in 1375. We have seen that the latter was perhaps the former Javanese ambassador who had been sent to China in 1325 and 1332 by the court of Majapahit.⁷⁶

We do not know how the three kings divided the ancient territory of Śrīvijaya. But the title of Maharaja Palembang in itself gives his location, and that of Maharaja Mauli . . . indicates an heir of the Maulivarmadeva of Malāyu and therefore a king reigning in the Jambi region and in the valley of the Batang Hari. In 1376, the latter obtained from the emperor of China the restored title of "King of San-fo-ch'i," but according to the *History of the Ming*:⁷⁷ "At that time however San-bo-tsai [San-fo-ch'i] had already been conquered by Java, and the king of this country, hearing that the Emperor had appointed a king over San-bo-tsai, became very angry and sent men who waylaid and killed the imperial envoys."

The Javanese conquest mentioned here was apparently a punitive expedition against a vassal that was displaying a distressing tendency toward independence.⁷⁸ "After this occurrence," adds the *History of the Ming*, San-fo-ch'i "became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more."⁷⁹ And further on: "At that time Java had completely conquered San-bo-tsai and changed its name to Ku-kang [the old estuary (of the

Musi), or Palembang].⁸⁰ When San-bo-tsai went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land; for this reason the Chinese, who were established there, stood up for themselves, and a man from Nan-hai (Namhoi) in Canton, called Liang Tau-ming, 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."⁸¹

I shall leave off here with the history of the old impoverished Sumatran kingdom, in full decline, fallen into the hands of Chinese pirates. We have seen that the inheritance of its former dependencies had been divided between the suzerainties of Siam and Java. A Siamese law that is dated 1358, but must actually be from the fifteenth century,⁸² cites Uyong Tanah (Johore), Malākā, Malāyu, and Varavāri⁸³ as southern dependencies of Ayutthaya. For its part, the *Nāgarakṛitāgama*, in 1365, enumerates the following as possessions of Majapahit:⁸⁴

On the Malay Peninsula:

Pahang, Hujung Tanah (Johore), Lengkasuka, Sai (Saiburi), Kalanten, Tringgano, Naśor (Pattani??), Paka (south of Dungun), Muwar (northwest of Johore), Dungun (south of Trengganu), Tumasik (Singapore), Sang Hyang Hujung (Cape Rachado), Kelang (Trang), Keḥa, Jere (Gunung Jerai, near Kedah), Kanjap (?), and Nirān (?);

On Sumatra:

Jambi, Palembang, Karitang (south of Indragiri), Teba (i.e., Toba, upper Jambi), Dharmāśraya (upper Batang Hari), Kaṅḍis (north of Dharmāśraya), Kahwas (west of Kaṅḍis), Manangkabo, Siyak, Rekan (Rokan, south of Panai), Kāmpar, Panai, Kampe, Haru (south of Kampe), Maṅḍahiling, Tumihang, Parlāk, Barat (western coast of Achin), Lawas (south of Perlak), Samudra, Lāmuri, Batan (?), Lampung, and Barus.⁸⁵

But the true heirs of the commercial prosperity of Śrīvijaya were the Arabs, who monopolized the spice trade and made themselves the allies and protectors of the little Malay states. China, after the great maritime voyages of the reign of Yung Lo, retreated into itself and from then on was content with a nominal political suzerainty over the countries of the south.

With the Arabs masters of commerce, Islam, which had already obtained a foothold in Sumatra in the state of Perlak (Marco Polo), then in that of Samudra (Ibn Baṭūṭa), spread rapidly over the island. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Ma Huan, the

Chinese Muslim who accompanied the eunuch Cheng Ho on the mission of 1413, noted in his *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* the existence of Islam in the states of A-lu (Haru) and Nan-po-li (Lambri).⁸⁶ The importance of the northern part of Sumatra as a center for the diffusion of Islam stems from the fact that in the thirteenth century Pasai, neighbor of Samudra, had replaced Kedah (on the peninsula) as the commercial center of the area.⁸⁷ In the fifteenth century, Malacca supplanted Pasai, but after the fall of Malacca, Sumatra became, with the rise of Achin, once more the principal Muslim commercial center.⁸⁸

5. MALACCA: FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1403 TO ITS SEIZURE BY THE PORTUGUESE IN 1511

Malacca is not mentioned by Marco Polo or Odoric of Pordenone or Ibn Baṭūṭa or even the *Nāgarakṛitāgama* (1365).⁸⁹ It is possible that there may already have been an establishment of Sumatran origin on this site and that the stone *makara* of St. Paul's Hill is what remains of such an establishment.⁹⁰ But as a political and commercial center, Malacca really dates only from the first years of the fifteenth century.

The founder of Malacca was a certain Paramēśvara, who was, according to Albuquerque, a native of Palembang and who was, in any case, the husband of a princess of Majapahit.⁹¹ He revolted, probably following the death of Hayam Wuruk (1389), taking advantage of the decline of the power of Majapahit which followed that event. He then took refuge at Tumasik (Singapore), which, of all the peninsular possessions of the kingdom of Palembang, was the most distant from the kingdom of Ayutthaya. He slew its Malay chief, who governed in the name of Siam or, more probably, of a vassal of Siam (Pahang or Pattani). After reigning a few years at Tumasik, he was driven out by Ayutthaya and fled first to Muar, then to Bertam, and finally to Malacca, where the eunuch Yin-ch'ing found him established in 1403.⁹² His policy consisted of relying on China. In 1405, he sent an embassy to China, after which the emperor conferred the title "King of Malacca" on him. After the visit of the eunuch Cheng Ho in 1409, he himself visited China with his family in 1411.⁹³ He founded at Malacca the basis of a prosperous settlement⁹⁴ and returned to China for another visit in 1414. He and his family went to China again in 1419⁹⁵ to request support against Siam, with which Ma-

Iacca was in a chronic state of hostility, for the kingdom of Ayutthaya was seeking to substitute its suzerainty for that of weakening Majapahit. He married a daughter of the king of Pasai, whose dynasty may have maintained claims over the former peninsular possessions of Palembang, and was converted to Islam at the age of seventy-two.⁹⁶ From then on he took the name Megat Iskandar Shah.⁹⁷

He was succeeded in 1424 by his son, Śrī Mahārāja, who went to China in the year of his accession. He returned there in 1433 with his family and sent embassies there until 1435.⁹⁸ At his death in 1444, he was replaced by his son Raja Ibrahim,⁹⁹ whom the *History of the Ming* calls Si-li Pa-mi-si-wa-erh-ch'ü-pa Sha¹⁰⁰ (Śrī Parameśvaradeva Shah).¹⁰¹

Raja Ibrahim was killed after two years in the course of a palace revolution that placed his half-brother, Raja Kasim, on the throne. Raja Kasim was the son of a concubine who was the daughter of a Tamil Muslim merchant of Pasai.¹⁰² He took the title of Muzaffar Shah¹⁰³ and reigned thirteen years, until 1459.

Raja Kasim's son Sultan Mansur Shah¹⁰⁴ enlarged his state, incorporating into it notably the tin-bearing districts of the kingdom of Kedah,¹⁰⁵ but he was the victim of harem intrigues.¹⁰⁶ At his death in October 1477,¹⁰⁷ he was succeeded by his son Ala'ud-din Riayat Shah, who died mysteriously in 1488 and was replaced by his younger brother Mahmud, the last sultan of Malacca.¹⁰⁸

Malacca became a first-rate political power that was capable of resisting the pressure of Siam; a great commercial center; and a powerful nucleus of Islamic expansion. This was the era when Vasco da Gama, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Calicut (1498), opening a new route to the spice trade which had made the fortune of the Arabs and Venetians. The Portuguese soon pushed farther to the east, in search of the sources of production of these luxuries so much sought after in Europe. On August 1, 1509, the first Portuguese vessels, under the command of Admiral Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, entered Malacca. On land some members of the expedition were badly treated, and in revenge for this two years later Affonso de Albuquerque, the conqueror of Goa (November 25, 1510), appeared at Malacca. Taking advantage of the unrest that reigned in the city, he seized it on August 10, 1511, a date that marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the countries of the Far East.

CONCLUSION

A review of the fourteen centuries of history treated in this work will help to clarify the sequence of the main events and the relationship between them. And, as I have indicated in the "Introduction," it can be seen at a glance that the twelve chapters devoted to this history (Chapters III to XIV) correspond roughly to as many epochs, each set off by critical dates that are related to developments in India and, even more closely, to developments in China.

The history of the first Indian kingdoms in Southeast Asia begins in the second century A.D. The oldest and best known of these kingdoms, thanks to the Chinese historians, are Funan and Lin-yi. Funan, predecessor of Cambodia in the lower Mekong Basin, extended its conquests to the Malay Peninsula in the second century and seems to have been a sort of empire or federation of small Indianized states whose sovereigns bore the title "King of the Mountain." Lin-yi, or ancient Champa, which had its cradle in the Hué region, sought to expand to the north only to run into the expansive drive of the Vietnamese toward the south and into the political opposition of the Chinese Empire. This was the prologue of a drama that for centuries set the Indianized Chams in opposition to the Sinicized Vietnamese. (Chapter III)

In the middle of the fourth century, the conquests of the emperor Samudragupta in the Ganges Valley and southern India provoked a new exodus to the east that resulted not only in the coming to power of an Indo-Scythian in Funan but also in a general resurgence of Indianization abroad in which southern India, especially the region dominated by the Pallavas of Kānchī, seems to have played a preponderant role. Inscriptions, almost nonexistent before the fourth century, reveal the presence in the fifth century of small Indian kingdoms on Borneo and Java. Such epigraphic evidence permits us to cross-check the data relating

to Funan and Lin-yi contained in the Chinese annals from the fourth to sixth centuries. (Chapter IV)

This whole period is characterized by the supremacy of Funan. It is significant that the period corresponds roughly to a troubled era in the history of China: that of the Three Kingdoms and the Six Dynasties.

In the second half of the sixth century the empire of Funan in the lower Mekong Valley collapsed. The kingdom of the Khmers, or Kambujas, was built on its ruins. At the same time, two new powers appeared in the western part of the Indochinese Peninsula: the Mons in the Menam Basin, cradle of the kingdom of Dvāravatī, and the Pyus in the Irrawaddy Basin. The weakness of the Chinese Chin and Ch'en dynasties facilitated the strengthening of the authority of the Cham kings on the coasts both above and below the Col des Nuages. Java began to enter into history with the appearance of a state called Ho-ling in the Chinese histories. (Chapter V)

The birth and rapid expansion of the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) at the end of the seventh century, an indirect consequence of the dismemberment of Funan, marks the beginning of a new era. In Cambodia, during the whole of the eighth century, there was virtual anarchy, and the country was divided into upper and lower regions; in Champa, the central power withdrew to the south of the country. In central Java during the second half of the eighth century, a Buddhist dynasty abruptly succeeded a Sivaite sovereign. This new dynasty revived the imperial title "King of the Mountain" (*śailendra*), covered the country with great Buddhist monuments, and seems to have exercised a sort of hegemony in the southern seas that extended even to Cambodia. At the same time, a series of maritime raids, conducted from the Sunda Islands, ravaged the coasts of the Indochinese Peninsula from north to south. This agitated period, which followed the accession of the T'ang emperors in China and coincided with the apogee of the Buddhist dynasty of Java, also saw the expansion of Mahayana Buddhism in Farther India under the influence of the Indian Pāla dynasty and the university of Nālandā in Bengal. (Chapter VI)

In the ninth century, the power of the Buddhist Śailendras in Java progressively declined. This decline facilitated the revival of

the Khmer kingdom in 802, its liberation from Javanese suzerainty, and the foundation of the Angkorian royal house, which was to be one of the dominant powers of Farther India for four centuries. The decline of the Buddhist dynasty of Java was accompanied by a Sivaite renaissance in the center of the island, a renaissance that had its origin in the east, to which the princes of the former Sivaite dynasty had retired. The Śailendras did not disappear, however; they established a new center of power in Sumatra at Śrīvijaya, which they had governed in the middle of the ninth century as a dependency, and their power there was to last for many centuries. The two future protagonists of Burmese history, the Mon kingdom of Pegu and the Burmese kingdom of Pagan, founded their respective capitals within the space of a few years during the first quarter of the ninth century. (Chapter VII)

At the end of the ninth century and during the tenth, Angkorian civilization flowered, the center of the Cham kingdom was re-established in the Quang-nam region by the Indrapura dynasty, and the maritime power of Śrīvijaya was built up as a result of its complete mastery of the straits. These developments coincided with the weakening of the authority of China toward the end of the T'ang and during the Five Dynasties. Near the end of the tenth century, China, restored by the accession of the Sung, was once more in a position to interfere in the southern seas and it played a part in the quarrels between the Śailendras of Sumatra and the Javanese sovereigns of the kingdom of Matarām that had been established in the east of the island. (Chapter VIII)

The first three-quarters of the eleventh century was a period rich in strong personalities and events of great consequence. In Cambodia, Sūryavarman I, the founder of a new dynasty in 1002, extended his sovereignty to the Menam at the expense of the Mons who had previously occupied the valley. His reign corresponds almost exactly with that of Airlanga, who drew Java out of the anarchy into which the aggressive policy of Śrīvijaya had plunged it, enlarged the territory of his reconquered states, and took advantage of the temporary weakness of Śrīvijaya following a Choḷa raid around 1025 to confine his old rival to Sumatra and force it to accede to an alliance. Just at the time when Sūryavarman I and Airlanga disappeared from the scene in the middle of the eleventh century, Anôratha, the king of

Pagan, pushed his conquests into the Irrawaddy Delta and brought back to Pagan Mon civilization, including its Theravada Buddhism, which he firmly established in his country. (Chapter IX)

The weakening of the Chinese Sung dynasty at the end of the eleventh century favored the ambitions of the Khmer, Cham, and Burmese sovereigns. In Cambodia, a new dynasty founded in 1080 by the conquering king Sūryavarman II, the builder of Angkor Wat, brought the country to a peak of power for the first time, but the troubles that followed Sūryavarman's death led the country to the brink of ruin and resulted in the seizure of Angkor by the Chams in 1177. In Burma, the successors of Anô-ratha enlarged their state and covered the capital with monuments. In Indonesia, the Sumatran kingdom continued to play the role of a great maritime power, while the kingdom of Kaḍiri in Java, heir of the states of Airlanga, pursued a relatively peaceful policy. (Chapter X)

At the end of the twelfth century, Cambodia, in an almost miraculous recovery, reached a second peak under the Buddhist king Jayavarman VII, the great builder of temples; it annexed Champa for about twenty years and then, after the exertion of this immense effort, began to decline. In Burma, the cultural influence was felt through the intermediary of Ceylon: Singhalese Buddhism, revived in the island by King Parākramabāhu in the twelfth century, penetrated to Burma, a center from which it was to radiate over the Indochinese Peninsula. In Indonesia, Malāyu (Jambi) prepared to assume the inheritance of Śrīvijaya (Palembang), which was beginning to show signs of age and disintegration. On Java, the advent of the kingdom of Singhasāri, which succeeded Kaḍiri in 1222, marked the beginning of the retreat of Indian culture before the resurgence of the Indonesian substratum. (Chapter XI)

The Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century and the attempts of Kublai Khan, successor of the Sung emperors, to establish hegemony over the countries of the southern seas beginning in 1260 had severe repercussions in these countries.¹ The campaigns of the Mongol military chiefs in Champa, Burma, and Java, and the policy of the court of Peking favoring the splitting-up of the old Indian states into small principalities, led in the first half of the thirteenth century to the liberation of the Thai of the middle Menam, who had previously been under the

Khmers, and to the foundation of the Thai kingdom of Sukhothai. The last fifteen years of the thirteenth century saw the fall of the kingdom of Pagan, which was destroyed in 1287 by the Mongols, and the expansion of the Thai into Burma. These years also saw the expansion of the Thai in the valleys of the Menam's upper tributaries at the expense of the Mons and in the lower basin of this river and on the Mekong at the expense of the Khmers. At the same time, the Chams abandoned the provinces north of the Col des Nuages to the Vietnamese. And on Java the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, founded in 1292, exerted a pressure on the Sumatran kingdom that, combined with the expansion of the Thai of Sukhothai in the Malay Peninsula, led to the dismemberment of the old empire of the maharajas. The Muslim invasions in India proper and the spread of Islam in Indonesia sounded the death knell for Indian culture in Farther India. At the same time, Singhalese Buddhism, introduced from Burma to Siam, made rapid progress in the riverine lands of the Menam and the Mekong. (Chapter XII)

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Thai consolidated their hold on the Indochinese Peninsula. Already masters of Burma and the upper Menam Valley (kingdoms of Sukhothai and Lan Na), they founded at the same time the Laotian kingdom of Lan Chang on the Mekong and the kingdom of Ayutthaya in the basin of the lower Menam. The Ayutthayan kingdom soon absorbed its neighbor to the north, the kingdom of Sukhothai. Cambodia, threatened by its former vassals, was able, thanks to the prestige of its former glory, to transmit to the Thai what it had preserved of Indian culture. Champa submitted more and more to Vietnamese pressure from the north. In the south, Majapahit exercised an unchallenged suzerainty, for Śrīvijaya had perished. The Indian period in Farther India was coming to an end. (Chapter XIII)

The decline of the Mongol dynasty in the second half of the fourteenth century facilitated the regrouping of the small states under the spheres of influence of the two great powers: Ayutthaya and Majapahit. The abandonment of Angkor by the Khmer kings in the middle of the fifteenth century and the abandonment of Vijaya by the Chams in 1471 marked the final withdrawal of the two old Indianized kingdoms before the "push to the south" of the Thai and Vietnamese. In Indonesia, Islam triumphed in Java

around 1520, and Indian culture took refuge in the island of Bali. Malacca, heir of the commercial power of the Sumatran kingdoms from the beginning of the fifteenth century, fell into the hands of the Europeans in 1511. (Chapter XIV)

It is apparent from this résumé that Farther India felt the repercussions of political events in India and, even more so, those in China and that it received over the centuries contributions from the great spiritual currents of India.

Although Farther India was the theater of revolutionary changes, these changes had no notable effects on the history of the world, and, except in the realm of the arts, the area did not enrich the intellectual patrimony of humanity with any masterpieces.

It is because of this purely receptive character that Farther India was so long ignored. It has not entered history except to the extent that it was civilized by India. Without India, its past would be almost unknown; we would know scarcely more about it than we know about the past of New Guinea or Australia.

Even though the countries whose history is outlined in this work owe everything from their titles of nobility to their privilege of possessing a history to India, it would be unjust to pass silently over what Farther India contributed indirectly in exchange. First of all, the region gave the Indians the feeling of having been, in the noblest sense of the term, a great colonizing people, in spite of all the ritual obstacles and racial prejudices that would seem to have prohibited them from playing such a role. The expansive power of their culture and the dynamism of their civilization, of which the Indians seem never to have been completely conscious, manifested themselves in all the countries to which they emigrated.

Study of Farther India, then, provides very valuable documentation that cannot help but further our knowledge of ancient India. General observation shows us that colonies preserve in their customs, beliefs, and language many archaic traits that date back to the origin of colonization and fall into disuse in the mother country. Farther India has been no exception to this rule, and the study of ancient India "viewed from the East,"² which has scarcely begun,³ seems to promise rich results.

But the importance of studying the Indianized countries of Southeast Asia—which, let us repeat, were never political dependencies of India, but rather cultural colonies—lies above all in

the observation of the impact of Indian civilization on the primitive civilizations. The present work has no other object than to provide the historical and chronological framework of the implantation of Indian culture and its continued transformation on contact with the native societies. We can measure the power of penetration of this culture by the importance of that which remains of it in these countries even though all of them except Siam passed sooner or later under European domination and a great part of the area was converted to Islam.

Except on the island of Bali⁴ and among some Cham groups,⁵ the Indian cults in their old form—Sivaism, Vishnuism, the Theravada Buddhism that used the Sanskrit language, and Mahayana Buddhism—have disappeared, but not without leaving traces. In Phnom Penh and Bangkok, Brahmans of very mixed blood, Brahmans who follow Buddhism but wear chignons and the Brahman thread, officiate at all the great royal ceremonies, the ritual of which is an inheritance from the Indian epoch.⁶ But these ceremonies are holdovers that interest only the court and do not affect the general population.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the common people received a new contribution from India in the form of Singhalese Buddhism. The penetration of this new faith to the masses cannot be doubted: in Cambodia, Siam, Laos, and Burma, Buddhist cosmogony and cosmology and the doctrines of retribution for one's acts and of transmigration have been deeply implanted in the humblest classes by the teaching of the Buddhist monks.

It is difficult to say what would have happened in Indonesia if Islam had not come to cut the spiritual ties with Brahmanic India. The mildness and tolerance of Islam in Java are often attributed to the character of the Javanese population. But Javanese peoples are not fundamentally different in origin from the other Indonesian peoples, the Bataks of Sumatra, the Dayaks of Borneo, and the mountain people of the Indochinese cordillera, none of whom are known for the gentleness of their ways. So we may ask ourselves if the particular aspect assumed by Islam in Java was not due rather to the influence that Indian religions exercised over the character of the inhabitants of the island for more than ten centuries.

The literary heritage from ancient India is even more apparent than the religious heritage. Throughout the entire Indian

period, the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁷ and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa*, and the *Purāṇas* were the principal, if not the only, sources of inspiration for local literature. In all of the Indianized mainland, in Malaysia, and on Java, this epic and legendary literature, to which was added the Buddhist folklore of the *Jātakas*, still makes up the substance of the classical theater, of the dances, and of the shadow-plays and puppet theater. From one end of Farther India to the other, spectators continue to weep over the misfortunes of Rāma and Sītā and to be moved by the virtues of the Bodhisattva, and the theatrical performances they attend have retained their original character of pantomime: the positions and the movements of the arms and legs and the gestures of the hands constitute a silent language capable of suggesting a subject, evoking an action, or expressing a sentiment, exactly as in Indian choreography.

The influence of Indian law has been no less profound. The *dharmaśāstras*, and especially the most famous of them known as the "laws of Manu," have formed the framework for the ordering of local customs of the Indianized countries in somewhat the same fashion that Latin law served the barbarian societies that were constructed on the ruins of the Roman Empire.⁸

The *arthaśāstras*, or political treatises, have also had an influence. They have contributed to the fashioning of the hierarchical administration of the states of Farther India, an administration that is dominated by the person of the king, whose conduct is still theoretically guided by the precepts of the *rājanīti*, or "royal conduct."

Although the Indian colonists undoubtedly spoke Prakrit dialects or Dravidian languages, it was the scholarly language, Sanskrit, that served and still serves to enrich the vocabulary of the native languages with a considerable number of words. And, Christian Era to the first known monuments, which do not date and abstract terms that were borrowed. Technical terms referring to the material world were also borrowed. And so were grammatical particles, which had the important effect of making the native isolating languages more flexible, enabling them to express thoughts natural to the vehicle of flexible languages.

The native languages have not only been enriched and made more flexible by India; they have above all been stabilized, thanks to the use of Indian script. The common origin of the Mon, Bur-

mese, Thai, Khmer, Cham, Javanese, and Balinese systems of writing is still recognizable.

To turn to another area of knowledge: in spite of the virtually universal adoption of the Gregorian calendar for official purposes, the Indian lunar-solar year is still in popular use; and the dating systems in use, including both the Buddhist era system based on 543 B.C. and the "little era" system based on A.D. 638, are also of Indian origin.

Finally, the beneficial influence of a superior civilization freely accepted was strikingly felt in the realm of the arts. In fact, as Sylvain Lévi has said,⁹ India "produced its definitive masterworks only through the activity of the foreigner or on foreign soil. . . . In architecture, it is in distant Cambodia and Java that we must seek the two marvels born of the Indian genius: Angkor and the Borobudur."

How did the Indian aesthetic, transplanted to Cambodia, Java, and the other countries of Farther India, give birth to Khmer art, Javanese art, and the other Indian arts of the Far East? This is one of the most delicate problems facing archaeologists.¹⁰ In the study of the common Indian origin of these arts, we must not forget that there is an enormous gap in documentation for the period from the start of Indianization around the beginning of the Christian Era to the first known monuments, which do not date back any farther than the sixth century. The very remarkable differences that clearly distinguish the oldest architectural and sculptural monuments of Champa, Cambodia, and Java from those of India proper would undoubtedly surprise us much less if we had the intermediaries we lack, intermediaries that in architecture were undoubtedly made of perishable materials.

The influence of the native substratum on Indian art was mostly formal, external; that is why, from the very first, it is more striking than the internal ties that unite the plastic arts of Farther India to India. We know no monument in India resembling even remotely the Bayon of Angkor Thom or the Borobudur. And yet these monuments are pure productions of the Indian genius, the deep meaning of which is apparent only to the eyes of the Indianist.¹¹

Much the same thing is true in the other domains: religious, literary, and legal. Underneath the diversity of the civilizations of

Farther India, underneath their apparent uniqueness, the cause of which has been defined in Chapter II,¹² lies the imprint of the Indian genius, which gives the countries studied in this volume a family likeness and produces a clear contrast between these countries and the lands that have been civilized by China.

Khmer Story Lovers

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>
ABIA	<i>Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology</i>
ARASB	<i>Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of Burma</i>
ARASI	<i>Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India</i>
BCAI	<i>Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique Indochinoise</i>
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BRM	<i>Bulletin of the Raffles Museum</i>
BSEI	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises de Saigon</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
Cahiers EFEO	<i>Cahiers de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
Et. Asiat. EFEO	<i>Etudes asiatiques. Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris, 1925), 2 vols.</i>
FEQ	<i>Far Eastern Quarterly</i>
IAL	<i>Indian Art and Letters</i>
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
ISC	Auguste Barth, <i>Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge</i> (in <i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques</i> , v. 27, no. 1, Paris, 1885), pp. 1–180. Abel Bergaigne, <i>Inscriptions sanscrites de Campa</i> (in <i>ibid.</i> , 1893), pp. 181–292; <i>Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge</i> (in <i>ibid.</i> , 1893), pp. 293–588.
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>