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CONTENTS

Caste and Class in India : Revolution or Stagnation in Anthropology ? A Critical Appraisal	—Catherine Currie	1
The Homeland of Kauṇḍinya I of Funan and Traditions about his marriage	—H. B. Sarkar	21
Home Rule Movement in Tamilnadu	—P. Rajaraman	33
Tantric Buddhism in Tamil Literature	—S. N. Kandaswami	47
Some Aspects of Semantics in Tolkāppiyam	—S. V. Shanmugam	67
Negative Suffixes in Kasaba Language	—V. Chidambaranathan	75
Cultural Similarities between Japanese and Tamils : A View through their words	—Arunasalam Sanmugadas Manonmani Sanmugadas	83
Women Poets and Musicians of Tamilnadu	—Salem S. Jayalakshmi	113
Mulk Raj Anand's Coolie : A Novel of Structural, Technical and Thematic Excellences	—M. K. Sripathi	141
Kautilya and the Tamil Inscriptions	—S. Soundarapandian	151
The Hindu Elements in the Sukhodaya Kingship and Administration in Thailand	—Amarjiva Lochan	159
Notes		
Swami Vivekananda - A Universal Spirit	—S. Shridevi	163
Are Marxism and Sarvodaya Contradictory ?	—T. M. Gnanapragasam	167
Book Review		
Philosophical Implications of Dhvani : Experience of Symbol Language in Indian Aesthetics	—V. Murugan	171

The Homeland of Kaundinya I of Funan and Traditions About his Marriage:

H. B. SARKAR.

PRELIMINARIES :

It has sometimes happened that when scholars develop a sense of consensus on some naughty problems and set up theories to match the phenomena, long usage or recognition of such theories makes them appear as if these are actual facts of history. In the present paper, I shall take up two such cases : one refers to the almost universal belief, that the Kauṇḍinyas migrated to Funan from the region of Mysore in India. The second one refers to the seemingly conflicting reports about the marriage of Kauṇḍinya I with Lieou-Ye (Willow-Leaf Lady)¹, according to Chinese sources, and with the Nāga princess Somā, according to Sanskrit epigraphic text from Campā, as if the two marriages by the same king are incompatible. None of the views generally held now in respect of these matters can be treated as valid. I shall first of all deal with the problem regarding the homeland of Kauṇḍinya I, the founder of Funan.

1. The Kauṇḍinyas and Their Homeland :

B.R. Chatterji has already drawn our attention² to the fact that the Kauṇḍinyas were "very influential in southern India" in the second century A.D. In this connection, he drew our attention to a second century Mysore inscription of a

1* A Christie has however translated the name in Chinese transcription by "Cocoanut", vide H.B. Sarkar (ed), R.C. Majumder Felicitation Volume (1970) p. 8.

2. *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia* (Calcutta, 1964), pp. 261-62.

Cuṭu Śātakarṇi king³ and a fourth century inscription of a Kadamba king, which record grants of land, in connection with a Śiva-Shrine, to the Brahmins of the Kauṇḍinya gotra.

Now, the earliest inscription cited by Chatterji has been dated in the second century A.D.; this has possibly to be post-dated by at least fifty years, to judge by the palaeography of the said inscription. Now, since this inscription and the second one come long after the foundation of Funan, it is obvious that we cannot postulate the view that the Kauṇḍinyas of the Mysore region were responsible for the foundation of Funan towards the close of the first century A.D. or the beginning of the second. Apart from this chronological difficulty, the other hurdles are that Mysore is an inland-territory with no maritime tradition and that there was no port of international stature on the Coromandel coast in the first or second century A.D. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* composed sometime in the second half of the first century A.D. and Ptolemy's *Geography* composed towards the middle of the second century A.D. underline this position. So the homeland of the migrating Kauṇḍinyas has to be sought for elsewhere.

It is well-known that the traditional homeland of the Kauṇḍinya Brahmins was at Kauṇḍinyapura, lying in the Chandur Taluq of Amraoti (i.e. Amarāvati) in Vidarbha. It comprised modern Berar and a large part of the territory lying within Wardha (Varadā) and the Waingāṅgā. In the north, it reached the Payoṣṇi, a tributary of the Tāpti. This Kauṇḍinyapura lay on the river Wardha, a tributary of the river Godāvarī, which is deemed by Hindus all over India as one of the seven sacred rivers of India⁴. Apart from this, Vidarbha is an impor-

3. *Ibid.* p. 261. An inscription of Cuṭu Śātakarṇi (full name : Hārīṭputra Viṣṇukada Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, which means Śātakarṇi, the son of Hārīṭi, of the Viṣṇukada branch/ locality, (who was) a delight of the Caṭu family has been dated by some scholars to A.D. 200 (Vide *Indian Antiquary*, 1885, p. 331 ; E.J. Rapson, *British Mus. Cat. of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, Western Kṣatrapa Dynasty, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Budhi Dynasty*. pp.iii-iv), but D.C. Sircar in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed), *A Comprehensive History of India II* (1957), p.337, has assigned the Vanavāsi inscription of the said ruler "to the first half of the third century, as its palaeography resembles that of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions".

4. When water has to be sanctified for religious purposes, a pious Brahmin will chant the following *mantra* :

Oum! Gangā ca Yamunecaiva Godāvarī Sarasvatī/
Narmadā Sindhu Kāverī Jalē'hsmin sannidhim kuru//

(From S.M Bhattacharya, *Purohita Darpaṇa*, 1368 B.S., 33rd edn., p. 26) Tr : Aum. O Gangā, Yamunā, also Godāvarī and Sarasvatī, As also Sindhu (Indus) and Kāverī, (deign) Ye to assemble in this water.

tant locality in the political and cultural history of both southern and northern India.

Vidarbha is first mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34). In the *Vaijayanti-koṣa*, Chap. III and IV, which have some geographical particulars of purāṇic type, Maharashtra, in which Vidarbha lay, has been equated by some with Daṇḍaka. This Daṇḍaka was famous in the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as an area of primeval forest, which extended right across the peninsula from the hills of Orissa to the source of the Godāvari, but the purāṇic *Janapada* or inhabited tracts of Daṇḍaka probably referred only to the valley of the Indravati, a left-bank tributary of the Godāvari⁵. In the *Kalpadrumpkoṣa* (Daśaparakāṇḍa I), however, the term Vaidarbha has been understood in the sense of Kuṇḍin, i.e. Kauṇḍīyapura.

A look at the map showing the distribution of forest areas of India in ancient times⁶ will indicate that the region comprising Andhra in the south, Kaliṅga in the north and the plateau of the Deccan in the west, the basins of the lower Godāvari and the lower Kṛṣṇā, vulgo: Kisna anglicised as Kistna, (excluding their deltas and the Pennar), formed a vast geographical entity largely covered by a forest umbrella. Within the regime of this forest, the river valleys with fertile plains provided not only the possible lines of communication with the outside world, but also supported communities or groups of population.

A scrutiny of the map will also indicate that the sources of the two great rivers, namely the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇā, lie about 100 miles apart from each other in southern India. Within the valley of these two rivers lie such world-famous places as Ajaṇṭā, Elūrā and Amarāvati, connected with art and architecture. The first impulse for migration to South-East Asia came no doubt from northern India, as appears from pre-Christian literary references, but the second impulse, more formidable and of longer duration, came from the zone I am discussing here. It comprised Vidarbha, parts of Kaliṅga (Orissa) and a large segment of Andhra. This area was washed by three great rivers, namely, the Mahānadi in the north, the Godāvari in the central part and the Kṛṣṇā in the south. Politically this region had been under various ruling dynasties during the period I am speaking of, namely, the Early Sātavāhanas

5. S M. Ali, *The Geography of the Pūrāṇas* (New Delhi, 1966), p.157.

6. *Ibid*, fig. 12.

(c. B.C. 235-A.D.50), the Kṣaharatas (c. A. D. 35-90) and the later Sātavāhanas (c.A D. 90-c. 200). The empire then disintegrated into five parts⁷, and a period of considerable political turmoil ensued. The first migration of the Kauṇḍīnya and the Kālīṅga people to various places of South-East Asia seems to have taken place on account of the military disturbances caused by the encounters between the Kṣaharatas and the Sātavāhanas between c. A.D. 50 and 150. One can suppose that these migrant Kauṇḍīnya Brahmins sailed down the Varadā and and the Godāvarī or the river Kṛṣṇā and reached the river-mouth on the Bay of Bengal. They could have then sailed for the port of Palurā on the Orissan coast or the port of Tāmrālipti on the Gangetic delta. It is true that the port of Palurā is not mentioned in any document from the first century A.D.⁸ but since international ports do not grow up suddenly out of nothing, it is a valid conjecture that its origin has to be placed not later than the second half of the first century A.D. The flourishing condition of this port in the days of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) envisages such an earlier start.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that Kauṇḍīnyapura of Vidarbha was located in the subdivision called Amarāvati, popularly called Amraoti. In the lower deltaic region of the Kṛṣṇā, there was another Amarāvati, which gave rise to the famous Amarāvati School of Art. A. Foucher had long ago suggested⁹ that there was a port at the mouth of the river Kistna, which "seems to have been one of the great ports of embarkation, from which Graeco-Buddhist influence was exported to Indo-China". The expression Graeco-Buddhist is no longer fashionable, in spite of the Greek influence in the folds of the drapery; it has been replaced by the expression Amarāvati type of sculpture. It is very likely that the port for the despatch of the specimens of this art was from Palurā. There is hardly any doubt that the wide dispersal of the specimens of

7. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed), *A Comprehensive History of India*, II (Calcutta 1957), pp. 324 ff,

8. The main document bearing on the subject from the first century A.D. is the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, but it does not mention Palurā, although this *argumentum silentic* cannot be held to be a valid argument in all cases. Schoff, in his introduction to the translation (pp.7-15) placed its date to A.D. 60, but later on revised it to the close of the first century A.D. (Vide *JARS*, 1917, p.827). On the basis of the data strewn in different parts of the work, scholars have suggested various dates ranging from A.D. 40 to 110-15. It will not therefore be unreasonable to assign this work to the second half of the first century A.D. for all practical purposes.

9. *L'Art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara II* (Paris, 1900), p.617,

this art to Dong-doung (Viet Nam)¹⁰, Korat Plateau (Thailand)¹¹, Sempaga (Celebes)¹², Jember (East Java)¹³ and Palembang (Sumatra)¹⁴, is due to the joint or separate colonizing activities of the Vidarbhan Kauṇḍinyas, the K'um-L'un or Kalinga people¹⁵ and the dispossessed scions of the Ikṣvāku princes of the lower Kistna-valley in various places of South-East Asia.¹⁶

The dislodgement of a large segment of the Kauṇḍinya clan from the Amarāvati tracts of Vidarbha seems to have started in pre-Christian centuries and traces of their movement towards the South are attested by the establishment of mini-Amarāvatis in their trek. One such Amarāvati was located in Southern Orissa, not far off from Bhuvaneswar, marked by mound now, but not yet excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India; it is believed to be medieval, but I have not been able to shake off the idea that at lower levels, it might reveal an ancient stage. Further south lay the famous Amarāvati, now called Amraoti like its name-sake in Vidarbha. It lay on the river Kṛṣṇā, about 18 miles from Guntur and about the same distance from Bezvada. It seems probable that the migrating clan of the Kauṇḍinyas to Funan went from the Andhra Amraoti and not from Kauṇḍinyapura in Vidarbha. There are two grounds for this supposition. First, the specimen of an Amarāvati sculpture found at Dong-duong is not far off from Da-nang, which means Amarāvati in native parlance; it was then under Funan. Similarly, the toponym Binh-dinh, which means *Vijaya*, is a reminiscent of its name-sake in the Kṛṣṇā Valley. Second, B. R. Chatterji¹⁷ has drawn our attention to a Chinese passage which alludes to the name of the home-country of the Kauṇḍinyas in the Ki-country, while

10. Reginald le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam* (Tokyo, 1963, photo no. 5.

11. *Ibid*, photo. no. 4.

12. *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, Lxxiii (1933) pp.495 ff.

13. W. Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des ostens* (Leipzig, 1925) p.28.

14. F.M. Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* (Leiden, 1937) pl. 1.

15. H.B. Sarkar, *Cultural Relations between India and South-East Asian Countries*, (1985) pp. 172-73; H. B. Sarkar, 'South India in old-javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions' in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, 125 (1969) pp. 198-204.

16. —, 'The Kings of Śrī Śailam and the Foundation of the Śailendra Dynasty of Indonesia' in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 141 (1985) pp. 323-338.

17. *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia* (1964) p. 2.

another chronicle refers to it as the Kia-o country. In view of what I have stated earlier, it may not be too rash to throw out the suggestion that *ki*-stands for *Kṛṣṇā*, vulgo *Kisna*, on whose bank stood Vijaya-purr, a famous capital-city mentioned in inscriptions,¹⁸ and *Kia-o* stood for *Kauṇ* (*ḍinyapura*). The indication of toponyms and personal names by their abbreviation had become quite popular in India in later days, as the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* attests¹⁹.

II. Arrival in Funan and Marriage.

I shall now discuss the circumstances connected with the advent of the *Kauṇḍinyas* in Funan and the foundation of the first royal dynasty in that country. It has appeared to me that the account of the Chinese text bearing on Lieou-ye ("Willow-leaf Lady") and the inscriptional evidence on princess *Somā* of the *Nāga* royal family, both of whom are said to have married *Kauṇḍinya* I are not contradictory or anomalous. In fact, it is possible to sort out matters in the light of Hindu laws and rituals connected with the coronation of a Hindu monarch. Let me explain. The Chinese text which makes the earliest reference to the subject has narrated the course of events thus:

Formerly this country had for sovereign a woman of the name of Lieou-ye. Then there was a man of the country of *Ki*, *Houen-t'ien*, who saw in a dream that a god gave him a bow and bade him embark on a junk and go out on the sea. *Houen-t'ien* went to the temple of the god in the morning and found there a bow. Thereafter he embarked on a junk and sailed towards Funan. *Lieou-ye* saw the junk and had her troops stand up against him. But *Houen-t'ien* raised his bow and shot an arrow which pierced the side of a boat, struck down somebody inside. *Lieou-ye* was frightened and surrendered herself. *Houen-t'ien* married her. He covered her with a piece of cloth, as she had no clothings on ²⁰.

Now, it has been stated that *Houen-t'ien* is an exact transcription of *Kauṇḍinya*. I shall now try to show that the kernel of the story is not fictitious at all. By all accounts, the *Kauṇḍinyas* belonged to a vedic clan; it is obvious therefore

18. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* I (1965) p. 235.

19. K.P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, (1934) pp. 33, 35, 39 etc.

20. For this passage, vide P. Pelliot, *Le fou-nan*, in *BEFEO* (iii, 1903) p. 256.

that his "marriage" with a non-Aryan, non-Hindu woman could only be treated as a marriage with a Śūdra woman. In the *Hiraṇyakesin Grhyasūtra*, it has been ordained that, in the marriage of a Brahmin, the girl should not only belong to the same caste,²¹ but should also belong to the same country. The *Manusmṛiti*, which held great sway in south and South-East Asia,²² says (X. B) that a Brahmin can marry such a girl, but the issue of such a mixed marriage can only be a niṣāda, i. e. hunter. It is well-known that the niṣādas constitute a hunters' sub-caste in the social hierarchy of the Hindus. So this story sounds the first ring of truth in the Chinese account described above. This inference is confirmed by the name of the first capital of Funan : it is called T'e-mu, i. e. Vyādhapura or the Hunters' Town.

Now, the marriage of the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya with the Willow-Leaf Lady barred their descendants from royal succession in terms of Hindu laws and sacramental rites. The *Manusmṛiti* (IX, 153) clearly states that the son of such a woman is not entitled to his father's property as a matter of right, except to the extent "whatever his father may give it to him". More serious were religious prescriptions, which guided the twice-born, particularly the Brahmins from birth to death. The *Manusmṛiti* states (III. 16-18) in unambiguous terms that such a marriage makes a Brahmin an outcaste (16), consigns him to hell (17) and "the manes and the gods will not eat the (offerings) of that man who performs the rites in honour of the gods, of the manes, and of guests, chiefly with a (śūdra wife's) assistance, and such (a man) will not go to heaven (18)".

So, under the compulsion of these circumstances and in connection with coronation, the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya had to marry the Kṣatriya princess Somā, of Nāga lineage, apparently from Kāñcī. An echo of this second marriage is to be found in an inscription of Campā dated A.D. 658 in connection with the foundation of Bhavapura, the capital of Kambuja.²³ We read there :

21. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, III. 5, 12, 15 ff.

22. Vide H.B. Sarkar, *Literary Heritage of South-East Asia*, S.V. *Manusmṛiti*. Regarding its sway in Cambodia, vide *Ibid*, pp. 107-110.

23. It has been suggested that the tradition about the marriage of Kauṇḍinya and Somā passed from Kambuja to Campā after the marriage of princess Sarvāṇī, daughter of King iśānavarman of Kambuja (616-C.635), with prince Jagaddharma of Campā.

It was there that Kauṇḍinya, the greatest of the Brahmins, planted the javalin which he had received from Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa. There was the daughter of a Nāga king of the name of Somā who founded the royal race on this earth. The great Brahmin Kauṇḍinya married her for the accomplishment of the rites,²⁴

The significance of the last sentence has been lost by all : it is that Kauṇḍinya had to marry her for the sacramental rites, not only for the coronation and connected rituals, but also to save him from being cast into hell. The latter was a very potent factor for an aristocratic Brahmin connected with the vedic ṛsis. A parallel case has been preserved in the Siṃhalese tradition. It may be remembered that prince Vijayasimha, after reaching Siṃhala, married a yakṣa-lady named Kuvanna, and begot on her a son and a daughter.²⁵ After a kingdom was founded by this Kṣatriya prince, the ministers demanded that Vijaya be consecrated a king, but Vijaya replied, "unless a maiden of a noble house were consecrated as queen (at the same time)",²⁶ he was unable to accept the proposal. So the ministers went to Madhurā (mod. Mādurā), and its king being agreeable to the proposal, the marriage was celebrated between the prince and the princess of equal status and varṇa.²⁷ There are logical procedures in early Hindu marriage, when the social restrictions were severally rigid. The Willow-Leaf Lady had therefore to give the palm of honour to Somā, the princess of the Nāga family. Now, who was this Nāga princess ?

As the Kauṇḍinyas went to Funan from the upper part of peninsular India, it will be reasonable to search for the homeland of the Nāga princess in that part of the world, as she, as queen-elect of Funan will have to perform

24. Vide L. Finot, 'Le inscriptions de Mi-son (no. III)' in *REFED*, iv (1904) p. 923 and G. Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge IV*, (Paris, 1952), p. 88. Although the epigraphic reference to Kauṇḍinya and Somā is rather late, literary reference seems to pertain to the time of K'and T'ai in the middle of the third century A.D. Vide Adhir Chakravorty, *Royal Succession in Cambodia*, (Calcutta, 1982), p. 8 and Wang Gungwu, 'The Nanhai Trade' in *Journ. Mal. Br. Royal As. Soc.* xxi, pt.2 (1958), p. 33, note 10.

It would have been very interesting to examine whether the progeny of the Willow-Leaf lady and that of Somā their common husband Kauṇḍinya created rivalries in regard to royal succession. The Kauṇḍinyas of India seem to have followed a patrilineal line of succession.

25. The *Mahāvamsa*, chapter VII.

26. *Ibid.*, VII. 47.

27. *Ibid.*, VII. 71-74.

certain sacramental rites in terms of Hindu laws and rituals. Our expectations are more than fulfilled, as similar marriage between Brahmin and Nāga families prevailed among several royal dynasties of southern India. The dynastic tradition of the Pallavas indeed embodies in the Rāyakoṇa copper-plates²⁸ a tradition which states that Aśvatthāman, the Brahmin founder of the dynasty, married a Nāga woman and had by her a son called Skandaśiṣya. Other copper-plates²⁹ mentioning the name of Skandaśiṣya grant him the status of an eponymous king Pallava after whom the family came to be known as Pallava. It is generally believed that the Pallavas, like the Kadambas of Banavāsi,³⁰ the Nolambas of Mysore,³¹ the Matsyas of Oḍḍavāḍi (Vizagapatnam district), among others, were the products of mixed Brahmin and Dravidian marriages, as the stories of their origin indicate.

I have said earlier that the Kauṇḍīnyas had migrated from a region where the Sātavāhanas held sway for a long time. Now, these Sātavāhanas were also "Brāhmaṇas with a little admixture of Nāga blood"³² In fact, the *Dvatrimsatputtalika* represents Sālivahana (Prakrit form of Satavahana) as of mixed Brahmana and Naga origin.³³ Although one guess may be as good as another, the discovery of the Dong Duong Buddha of the Amarāvati-style from a vassal state of Funan seems to indicate that the Kauṇḍīnyas maintained close contact with the deltaic region of the Kistna where Amarāvati lay. Not far off from Amarāvati lay the terrain where the Pallavas came to power. D.C. Sircar has stated, "There is epigraphic reference to the marriage of Aśvatthāman, a descendant of the gotrarṣi (Bharadvāja) of the Pallavas and Brāhmaṇa progenitor of the family, with the apsaras Madanī, while the Velūrpālayam inscription distinctly says that an early member of the dynasty named Virakūrcha obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Nāga princess. Although these

28. *Epigraphia Indica* V (1898-99), p.52.

29. K.V.S. Aiyer, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II (1933), p. 353, verses 16-17.

30. J.F. Fleet *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 286 and footnote 2.

31. B.L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (London, 1909) p. 55.

32. Vide in this connection D.C. Sircar in R.C. Majumder (ed), *History and Culture of the Indian People* III (1954) p. 275 and *The Early Pallavas* (Lahore, 1935) pp. 8-13.

33. Vide K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *l.c.*, p. 300.

are mere legends, the Nāga association of the Pallavas may be adduced from Ptolemy's evidence".³⁴

Leaving aside these accounts, which naturally remind one of those in Cambodia,³⁵ another fruitful line of enquiry will be the contemporary and near-contemporary evidence of the *Periplus* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy.

In the days of the *Periplus*, there was an inland terrain in the Cola country called Argalu (sec.59) or Argaru, which has been equated with Uraga-pura, i.e. "the city of Serpents", apparently the capital city of a Nāga ruler. Not long thereafter, in the days of Ptolemy, we find two Nāga principalities firmly established in the region called by Ptolemy Arouapnoi (Aruvānādu), which may be deemed for all practical purposes to be the district around Kāñci.³⁶ It was located in a bigger political canvas called Colamaṇḍala. A king called Sor-nāga ruled over Colamaṇḍala proper, while the northern sector of the said Cola kingdom called Aruvānādu was ruled over by Basaro-nāga. From the available details, it is possible to postulate the view that towards the close of the first century A.D. and the beginning of the second, there were some Nāga ruling families in the Colamaṇḍala and that Kauṇḍinya I married the Nāga princess Somā, apparently of Aruvānādu or Kāñci, which was about 275 English miles south from the mouth of the river Kistna. This is perhaps the best explanation that I can offer regarding the marriage of Kauṇḍinya I and Somā. In passing, I should like to state that the marriage of Kambu and Merā does not concern us in an historical sense as it was devised to explain the names of Kambuja and Khmer respectively.³⁷ The traditions regarding the union of the Cambodian

34. D C. Sircar in R.C. Majumder, *l.c.*, p. 275.

35. Similar stories of co-habitation between a king and a serpent maiden were also current in Bengal and have been reported by Lāmā Tāranāth. Vide Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyay, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India* (Simla, 1970) p. 258.

36. D.C. Sircar, *The Early Pallavas* (Lahore, 1935), p. 6.

37. The story is first mentioned in the epigraphy of Rajendra Varman II (944-58). Hence the tradition is very late.

king with the Serpent maiden³⁸ are equally ridiculous, at least in a biological sense : the mischief was inherent in the Nāga epithet, which seems to have totemistic association.

In the preceding pages, I have tried to show that the Chinese texts bearing on the foundation of Funan are generally trustworthy, but our troubles have hitherto been that we have not been able to comprehend them properly due to some lacunae in our perspective-study of the whole subject. I therefore, conclude, at least tentatively, that the Kauṇḍinyas came to South-east Asia from Kauṇḍinyapura of Vidarbha ; that they set sail along with the K'un-Lun or Kaliṅga people from the port of Palurā and landed in the upper part of the Malay peninsula. Here some of the Kaliṅgans stayed on to found the kingdoms of Tun Sun and P'an-P'an, while others ventured afield. Of such adventurers, a segment of the Kauṇḍinyas went to Funan under the leadership of Kauṇḍinya I, who first married a native woman and then the Nāga princess Somā, apparently from Kāñci. Kauṇḍinya and Somā thus became the founders of the first royal dynasty of Funan.

38. Chou Ta-Kuan relates a story to the effect that, according to native tradition, the king of Cambodia slept at the top of the Phimeanakas with a nine-headed serpent, which "appears every night in the form of a woman. It is with this spirit that the King first sleeps and unites himself" The memoirs of Chou Ta-Kuan have been translated by P. Pelliot under the title 'Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge' in *BEFEO* II (1902), pp. 123-77.