THE KHMER EMPIRE AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

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THE FUNAN PERIOD, CA. 150 — CA. 550

A. The peninsula before the conquests by Funan. The first known contact of the Khmer Empire or any of its antecedents with what is now called the Malay Peninsula[1] occurred when Fan Shih-man of Funan conquered a considerable portion of that peninsula early in the third century; although it is believed, from the terms in which the account of his voyage are expressed, that Hun-t'ien, or Hun-shen (Kaundinya), who conquered the native queen, Liu-yeh (Willow Leaf), and founded the kingdom of Funan about the middle of the first century, came from an Indian settlement on the eastern side of that peninsula.[2]

The earliest known inhabitants of the peninsula were pigmy negritos, represented today by the Semangs of the forests of the northern part of the bulb forming the southern part of the peninsula, and a Veddoid people, called Proto-Australoid by some anthropologists, of whom the Sakai of the central part of the southern bulb are representative.[3] A people speaking a pre-Mon-Khmer Austro-Asiatic language seem to have occupied the mainland adjacent to the peninsula and, probably under pressure from the Mon-Khmers, flooded the peninsula, imposing their language on the Sakai.[4] The Mons occupied the Tenasserim region but apparently never extended to the Isthmus of Kra.[5]

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[1] The term Malay Peninsula as used in this article means the peninsula from where it sets out from the mainland in about 15° 30′ N. latitude.

[2] Paul Pelliot, "Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indochine hindouisée," *Etudes asiatiques* (Paris, 1925), 2:243–49 (hereafter *EA*).

[3] Fay Cooper-Cole, *The people of Malaysia* (New York, 1945), 4–5, 46–47; A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York, 1923), 46–48, 486.

[4] Pater P. W. Schmidt considers the Sakai, like the Nicobarese of the near-by islands, as speaking an Austro-Asiatic language, earlier and less developed than Mon-Khmer; "Les peuples Mon-Khmers," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (hereafter *BEFEO*), 7 (1907), 213–63, and *Die sprachfamilien und sprachenkreise der erde* (Heidelberg, 1926), 135–40.

[5] For a discussion of the racial and language affinities of the Semangs and the Sakai, see W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula* (London and New York, 1906), 1:19–31; 2:466–72.

At the time of Fan Shih-man's conquests, there were already several important trading settlements on the peninsula. They were apparently Indian and did not depend too much on the local inhabitants. They were emporia of commerce — meeting places where traders from east and west met and exchanged commodities. Sometimes they were terminals of transit routes across the peninsula, to avoid the long and sometimes dangerous journey around the tip.

One of the oldest of these settlements was Lang-ya-hsiu, which the *Liang shu* dates as early as the beginning of the second century. Coedès, in his recent book, seems inclined to identify this kingdom with the Ling-ya-ssu-chia of Chao Ju-kua (Chau Ju-kua) and the Langkasuka of the Malay and Javanese chronicles and to place it in the southern part of the peninsula,[6] whereas, in an earlier article, he made a clear distinction between the kingdom of the south on the one hand and the Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang shu* and Lang-chia (Kamalanka) of the Chinese pilgrims,[7] which he follows Pelliot in placing at the base of the peninsula.[8] The author of this article thinks Coedès's first opinion is the correct one and thinks the capital of Lang-chia was located in what is now the Mergui-Tenasserim region. He proposes to identify it with Tun-hsün (see Glossary at end of article).

Takola, identified by Gerini and others with the modern Takua Pa,[9] on the west side of the peninsula opposite Bandon (see map) was described as a great port and market by Ptolemy about the middle of the second century. More than a century earlier, it had been mentioned in the famous Pali text *Milindapañhā* under the name of Takkola.[10] It was doubtless the Chü-li (Chiu-chih) of the *Liang shu* mentioned below. Tāmbralinga, identified with modern Ligor, was mentioned in the famous Buddhist canon *Niddesa* of the second century as Tāmbalingam.[11] Archaeological finds and inscriptions in the vicinity of Kedah, while not certainly dated, indicate the presence of a considerable settlement in that vicinity at an early period.[12]

[6] George Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (Paris, 1948), 72.

[7] Coedès, "Le royaume de Crīvijaya," *BEFEO*, 18, no. 6 (1918), 11–12.

[8] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan et les théories de M. Aymonier," *BEFEO*, 4 (1904), 406–08.

[9] G. E. Gerini, *Researches in Ptolemy's geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and the Malay Peninsula). Asiatic monographs, no. 1* (London, 1909), 92–93.

[10] Gerini, 92.

[11] Sylvain Levi, "Ptolemée, La Niddesa et la Brhatkathā," *EA*, 2:26; Coedès, "Le royaume de Crīvijaya," 15–18.

[12] H. G. Quaritch Wales, "Archeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 18, no. 1 (1940), 1–47, 67–68; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, 72–73.

B. The conquests of Fan Shih-man: Tun-hsün. The account of Fan Shih-man's conquests is found in the *Liang shu.* The following is translated from the French of Paul Pelliot:[13] "(Fan)-man was brave and capable. Again by the force of his arms, he attacked and subdued the neighboring kingdoms. All acknowledged themselves his vassals. He took for himself the title, great king of Funan. Then he had great ships built and, traversing all the Immense Sea, he attacked more than ten kingdoms, including Ch'ü-tu-k'un, Chiu-chih, Tien-sun. He extended his territory more than five or six thousand *li.* Then he wished to subdue the country of Chin-lin (Frontier of Gold). But (Fan)-man fell ill."[14]

Of the first-named kingdoms, nothing certain is known. They seem to have been on the western coast of the peninsula; for Pelliot quotes later texts[15] as saying that, going south from Chin-lin 3,000 *li,* one encounters four kingdoms, including Tu-k'un and Chü-li, which are believed to correspond to the first two kingdoms in the *Liang shu* list. Tu-k'un is said to be mentioned in other Chinese texts as being in the Malay peninsula, more than 3,000 *li* south of Funan. Its identification is not established.[16] Pelliot thinks Chiu-chih is a false reading for Chü-li,[17] and Sylvain Levi long ago proposed that the T'ou-chü-li, from which the Funanese envoy Su-wu sailed for India in the third century, should be identified with Takola.[18] Chin-lin has generally been identified with the Suvannabhūmi of Pali writers — the Thaton-Martaban region. Chin-lin and Tun-hsün were in the Mon

[13] When French translations of Chinese are quoted in English, the Chinese names are transcribed according to the Wade-Giles system.

[14] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," *BEFEO,* 3 (1903), 266. Tien-sun is another orthography for Tun-hsün.

[15] *Ibid.,* 266, note 2.

[16] G. H. Luce, "Countries neighboring Burma," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (hereafter *JBRS),* 14, part 2 (1924), 144–45. The most probable identification of Ch'ü-tu-k'un, or Tu-k'un seems to be Tun-hsün, in spite of the mention of both in the same paragraph of the *Liang shu.* The *Liang shu* says that Tu-k'un is noted for its perfumes *(hsiang).* A Chinese work cited by Berthold Laufer says that only Tu-k'un produces a particular perfume called *ho-hsiang (Journal asiatique,* 115, no. 12 (1918), 26). Laufer cites other Chinese texts to show that the *ho-hsiang* is found at Tun-hsün and shows how the name Tu-k'un could easily be a corruption of Tun-hsün *(ibid.,* 27–28). R. A. Stein (who calls it Ch'ü-tu), from an intimate study of Chinese documents, identifies it with Kattigara and locates it near Baria, on the coast of what is now Cochinchina (Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 71; Briggs, review of Coedès in *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 8 [May 1949], 374–76. The author has not examined Stein's argument, but does not see how it can be reconciled with the statement of the Chinese that both Ch'ü-tu-k'un and Tun-hsün were 3,000 *li* south of Funan, and with other information.

[17] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," 266, note 3.

[18] S. Levi, "Deux peuples méconnus: (1) Les Merundes," *Mélanges Charles de Harlez* (Leyde, 1896), 177; Luce, 145–46; Pelliot, *BEFEO,* 4 (1904), 386.

country, and the boundary between them was probably ill-defined; but from the limits prescribed to the latter, its northern boundary was probably not far above the present Mergui-Tenasserim region.

Tun-hsün (see map) must have been a country of considerable importance. It seems to have occupied both sides of the peninsula; for, according to the *Liang shu,* its eastern coast was in relation with Tonkin, while on the west it communicated with India, Parthia, and other distant countries. It must have included the base of the peninsula and the region at the head of the Gulf of Siam, including at least a part of the Meklong-Menam delta; for the *Liang shu* says *it makes a curve* and extends more than a thousand *li* into the sea. (In the same paragraph it says that the country has not more than a thousand *li.*) A thousand *li* would bring it to the Isthmus of Kra, where it doubtless encountered the kingdom of Chü-li (Takola). The *Liang shu* continues that Tun-hsün was on the southern frontier of Funan, at more than 3,000 *li.* The coast was rugged. The capital was ten *li* from the sea. It had five kings (kingdoms?). All were vassals of Funan. It was the meeting place of the East and the West, and many merchants came there to trade, every day more than 10,000. "Rare objects, precious merchandise, there is nothing that is not found there." The reason was that vessels could not cross the "Immense Sea" and coasted along the shores of Funan until they reached this point.[19] Tun-hsün thus became one of the earlier points of transshipment. It had the advantage of shortening the route of through traffic more than any other port of transshipment. The early Mon settlements of the lower Meklong delta were adjacent to the eastern end of the route.[20] A Roman lamp found at P'ong Tük (Siam) hints that the band of Roman and Greek musicians and acrobats which reached China by sea in 120 A.D. may have made the transfer at Tun-hsün, and the famous Roman embassay of 166 may have followed this route.[21] These settlements communicated with their Mon kindred on the coast across the mountains by alternate routes: (1) over the Three Cheddis Pass to Tavoy, and (2) over the Three Pagodas Pass to Martaban.[22]

Another Chinese document, [23] quoted by Pelliot, says: "The king [of

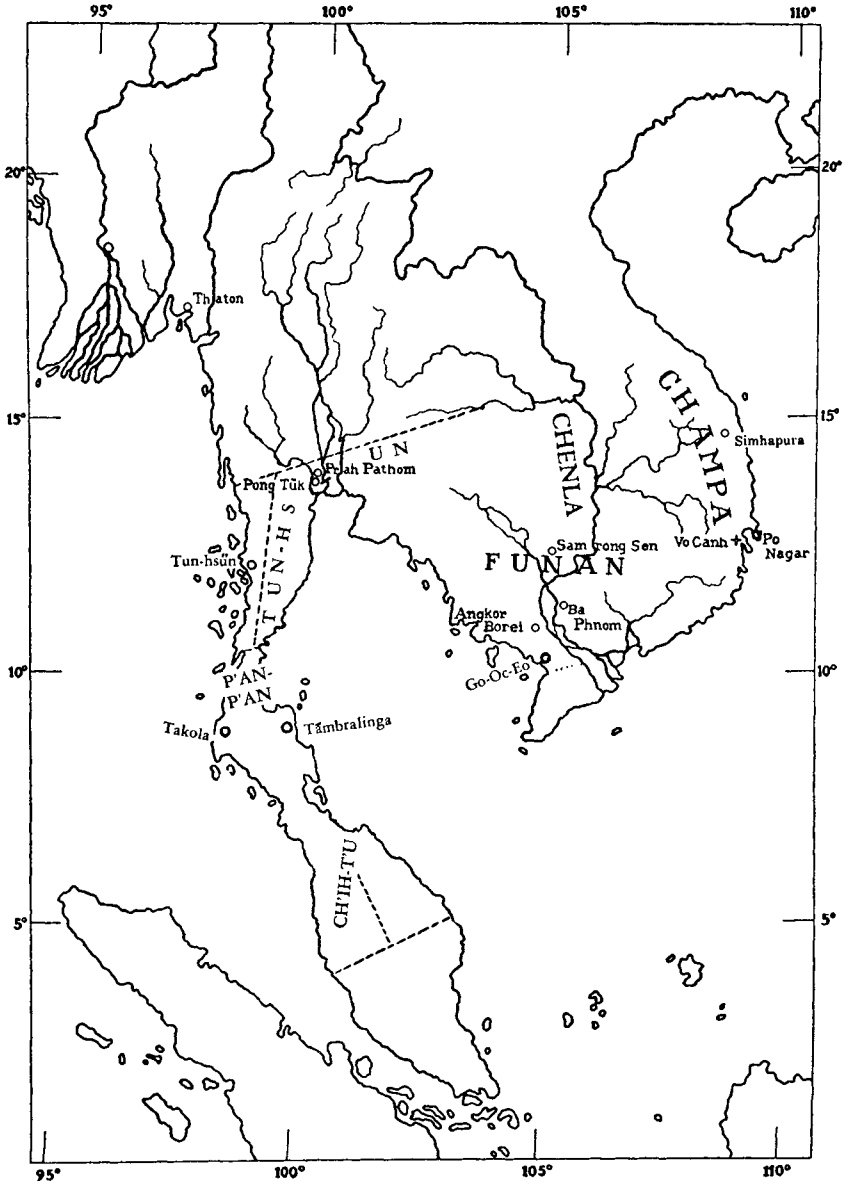
[19] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," 263.

[20] For the various trans-isthmian routes and modern Mergui-Tenasserim, see John Anderson, *English intercourse with Siam in the seventeenth century* (London, 1890), 5–8.

[21] Coedès, "The excavations of P'ong Tük and their importance for the ancient history of Siam," *Journal of the Siam Society* (hereafter *JSS*), 21, part 13 (1928), 195–209; Wales, "Further excavations of P'ong Tük," *Indian arts and letters,* 10 (1936), 42–48.

[22] Lawrence Palmer Briggs, "Dvāravatī, the most ancient kingdom of Siam," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter *JAOS*), 65 (1945), 99.

[23] Said to be of the fifth century; Luce, 149.



The Funanese Empire under Fan Shih-man

Tun-hsün] is called K'un-lun.[24] In this country there are five hundred families of Hu[25] of India, two [hundred?] Buddhists and more than a thousand Indian Brahmans. The (people of) Tun-hsün practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; so, many (of these Brahmans) do not leave. They do nothing but read the sacred books of the heavenly spirits [Brahmanical works] and constantly offer up to them white vases of perfumes and flowers without ceasing day and night. When they are ill, they make a vow to be 'buried by the birds.' " Other forms of burial are by cremation and throwing the ashes into the sea. They make wine of the sap of a tree which resembles a pomegranate.[26] Other accounts say that Tun-hsün produces many kinds of fragrant flowers, including the *ho-hsiang*.[27]

C. P'an-P'an and its relation with Funan in the fifth century. Nearly two centuries after Fan Shih-man's conquests, the *Liang shu* mentions a kingdom in the Bandon region which the Chinese called P'an-p'an. This kingdom is nowhere mentioned among the conquests of that monarch; but it is probably the Chü-li mentioned in the early account and must have included Takola and the Takola-Bandon route and extended to the northern end of the Isthmus of Kra, where it bordered Tun-hsün. P'an-p'an was the name of the last king of the Hun, or first Kaundinya, dynasty of Funan, and Fan Shih-man had been his great general before he succeeded him as king. Luce makes the very reasonable suggestion that, after conquering this region, Fan Shih-man may have named it after his former chief and benefactor.[28]

P'an-p'an first appears in the history of Funan when, some time after 357 — probably about the beginning of the fifth century — an Indian Brahman who took the name of Kaundinya (II) arrived in Funan via P'an-p'an, was chosen king, and Indianized the country. The *Liang shu* says: "Kaundinya was originally a Brahman of India. A supernatural voice said to him: 'You must go and reign in Funan.' Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. He reached P'an-p'an on the south. The people of Funan heard of

[24] Luce thinks K'un-lun here probably represents the old Khmer *Kurung*, which, he says, means "king, regent"; he quotes Pelliot (*BEFEO* [1904], 228–30). This is apparently true; but it scarcely accounts for the frequency with which the king and people of this region are called K'un-lun.

[25] Pelliot thinks the term *hu* means merchants, to distinguish them from Brahmans.

[26] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," 279–80.

[27] W. P. Groeneveldt, "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca," in R. Röst, *Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago* (London, 1887), 1:240.

[28] Luce, 169, note 1.

him. The whole kingdom rose with joy. They came to him and chose him king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India."[29]

P'an-p'an's relations with Funan during the fifth century were anomalous. Kaundinya II's reign is believed to have lasted until 424 or 430; for, beginning with 431, a successor of Kaundinya — whom Georges Maspero calls Jayavarman, but whose name Coedès transliterates as Indravarman or Sreshthavarman[30] — was ruling in Funan. Sometime before 484, a strong king, Kaundinya Jayavarman, of the line of Kaundinya II, came to the throne of Funan and ruled until 514. Little is known about the period between 424 and 484 in Funan; but, during that period, P'an-p'an sent several embassies to the court of China. P'an-p'an was certainly partisan to Kaundinya (II); for the plot which put that monarch on the throne seems to have been hatched in P'an-p'an. Perhaps his immediate successors were not of his line, and P'an-p'an revolted. Its embassies to China ceased in 457–64 — which may mark the beginning of Kaundinya Jayavarman's reign — and did not begin again until the death of that monarch.[31]

D. Lang-chia succeeds Tun-hsün (about 500). About the beginning of the sixth century, Tun-hsün disappeared from history. Nothing further is heard of it. In its place, covering apparently all its territory, at first at least, appears a country called Lang-ya-hsiu by the Chinese. Its first embassy appeared at the court of China in 516. The *Liang shu* says that, according to tradition, it was founded about 400 years earlier, but nothing is known of its history until about the end of the fifth century, when a prince revolted and, aided by some Indians, came to the throne. His successor became independent and sent an embassy to the court of China, and the name Lang-ya-hsiu appeared for the first time in history. But almost 400 years earlier, this same region was conquered by Funan and governed as the dependent kingdom of Tun-hsün until the revolt mentioned above broke out as Funan began to decline.

The *Liang shu* says of this country, according to Ma Tuan-lin: "This kingdom is in the southern sea. It is thirty days march from east to west and twenty days from north to south... Its climate and products are much like those of Funan. It produces a great quantity of perfumes."[32] The *Chiu T'ang shu,* written later, says it joins P'an-p'an.

[29] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," 269.

[30] G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa* (Paris, 1928), 71, note 4; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 97.

[31] Ma Touan-lin, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangères à la Chine... méridionaux,* traduit du Chinois par le Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys (Paris, 1883), 464.

[32] Ma Touan-lin, 466. Luce translates this sentence: "Aloes and camphor are especially abundant" (p. 163).

E. Decline of the Funanese Empire under Rudravarman (515–50?). Kaundinya Jayavarman died in 514. He was succeeded by an illegitimate son, Rudravarman, who reigned until about the middle of the century, when he was succeeded by Bhavavarman I — probably a maternal grandson — who had just come to the throne of the vassal kingdom of Chenla. Rudravarman probably reached the throne by violence and departed in the same manner, and his reign seems to have been accompanied by unrest. At least his distant maritime vassals seem to have exercised a degree of independence. It was at this time that Lang-ya-hsiu made its appearance. It sent its first embassy to the Chinese court in 515, the second year of Rudravarman's reign. Other embassies were sent in 523 and 531. P'an-p'an, whose allegiance to Funan seems to have been fitful, sent embassies to the court of China in 527, 530, and 532.[33] Although, as previously stated, it sent embassies in the fifth century, it was first mentioned in the dynastic history of the Liang (502–573) and later in those of the T'ang. The *Chiu T'ang shu* says of it: "P'an-p'an kingdom lies to the south-west of Lin-i *(Champa)* in a corner of the sea. To the north it is parted from Lin-i by a small sea.... The country is conterminous with Lang-ya-hsiu. They all learn *p'o-lo-men* (brahmanical) writings and pay great reverence to the Buddha's law." The *Hsin T'ang shu* continues: "Their ministers are called [a series of names beginning with K'un-lun] and Ku-lung. The sound of *ku-lung* is similar to that of *k'un-lun.*... There are temples of Buddhists and Taoist priests. The Buddhist priests eat flesh but do not drink wine. The Taoist priests are called *t'an;* they take neither wine nor flesh."[34] Ma Tuan-lin adds: "At this [the king's] court there are many Brahmans, come from India to profit by his munificence. They are much in favor with him.... The provinces are governed by functionaries with titles which correspond to prefects and subprefects."[35]

F. The Dissolution of the Funanese Empire (550?–627+). Funan was a great maritime empire. All its known vassal states except Chenla (which was contiguous to it and above it on the Mekong) were on the sea. The empire was held together by the "great ships" inaugurated by Fan Shih-man. When Chenla replaced Funan about the middle of the sixth century, the empire began to fall apart. Some of the distant maritime vassals seem to have continued their loyalty to Funan for some time, but there seems to be no evidence that any of them ever paid homage to Chenla. Chenla's

[33] Ma Touan-lin, 464.
[34] Luce, 170–71.
[35] Ma Touan-lin, 463–64.

great king, Iśānavarman (ca. 610–ca. 635), seems to have been a great organizer and to have initiated the custom of annexing his conquests and incorporating them into his kingdom. Hereafter little is heard of vassal states. Even Funan, which had continued on as a vassal after its conquest by Bhavavarman I, seems now to have been annexed and to have become an integral part of Chenla. "The kingdom contained 30 cities [provinces], each peopled by many thousands of families, and each ruled by a governor. The titles of the functionaries of the state are the same as those of Lin-i."[36]

After the defeat of Funan, even before its final absorption by Chenla, most of its distant maritime vassals began to renew or to establish relations with the court of China. Lang-ya-hsiu (Tun-hsün) sent an embassy in 568.[37] During the period 605–17, an embassy from P'an-p'an arrived.[38] In 606–07 an imperial embassy went to the court of Ch'ih-t'u (see next section) to establish relations.[39] As a consequence, embassies arrived from Ch'ih-t'u and Kalaśapura. Some time between 627 and 649, the envoys of Po-li-lo-cha (Dvāravatī) came to court, for the first time, with those of Lin-i.[40] Envoys from To-yüan arrived between 644 and 647 (see Section B below).

THE CHENLA PERIOD (ABOUT 550–802)

A. The appearance of new kingdoms: (1) *Ch'ih-t'u.* When the ties that held the empire of Funan together began to weaken, the states on the periphery of that empire began to regroup themselves into new independent units and to look to the Chinese Empire for protection. Our earliest knowledge of these states is the record, in Chinese dynastic histories, of the arrival of their embassies at the Chinese court. The *Sui shu* (589–618) says: "In the years Ta-yeh (605–16), more than ten kingdoms of the southern frontiers brought tribute; but many (accounts) of these events have been lost and are no longer heard of. At present, there are no longer notices on more than four kingdoms."[41] Of these newly-formed states, the more important were Ch'ih-t'u and To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravatī).

Ch'ih-t'u seems to have been located in the region facing the coast between the present ports of Singora and Patani. Although the *Sui shu* says it is a colony of Funan ("issue of Funan") and that its customs resemble those of Funan, it is nowhere mentioned among Funan's conquests and

[36] Ma Touan-lin, 477.
[37] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan et les théories de M. Aymonier," 405.
[38] Ma Touan-lin, 465.
[39] *Ibid.*, 471–75.
[40] Leon de Rosny, *Les peuples orientaux connus des ancienne chinois* (Paris, 1886), 198.
[41] Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan et les théories of M. Aymonier," 389.

does not appear in history until after the close of the Funan period. The *Sui shu* gives a long account of it, which Luce translates in part as follows: "Ch'ih-t'u kingdom is another tribe of Fu-nan. It is in the southern sea. Going by water for over a hundred days, one reaches it. The color of the earth of the capital is mostly red; hence the name. To the east, is Po-lo-la kingdom; to the west, is Po-lo-so kingdom; to the south, is Ho-lo-tan kingdom; to the north, it touches the great sea. The land is several thousand *li* in extent."[42] Ma Tuan-lin gives a long description of the capital city and of the customs of the people. He says the cult of Fo (Buddha) is more ardent here than elsewhere.[43]

In 607, the Emperor Yang-ti, of the Sui dynasty, sent two mandarins, Ch'ang Chün and Wang Chün-cheng, to Ch'ih-t'u to enter into relations with that and neighboring kingdoms. Ma Tuan-lin gives the account of the voyage:

> The two envoys embarked with their suite at the port of Nan-hai [Canton] and, with a favorable wind, after twenty days and nights of navigation, they arrived at Chiao-shih-shan (Burnt Mountain). Passing to the southwest, they anchored at the island of Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to (Lingaparvata), which faces Lin-i [Champa] to the west, on the top of which there is a temple. Continuing their route toward the south, after leaving Shih-tzu-shih [Lion Rock] behind, they passed a continuous line of rocks. After two or three days more, they saw in the distance in the west, the mountains of the kingdom of Lang-ya-hsü [hsiu]. Then, skirting the island of Chi-lung on the south, they reached the shores of Ch'ih-t'u.
>
> The king sent a Brahman with thirty barks to meet the Chinese mission, and the vessel on which they came was moored with a chain of gold. The chief minister came, with two caparisoned elephants and parasols of peacock plumes, and they were escorted, with music of shells and drum, to the king's palace, where they were lavishly entertained, with a wealth of gold plate and ornament, and were granted an audience by the king. On this occasion, the great superior said to Ch'ang Chün: "Now, we are subjects of the Great Kingdom. We are no longer of the little kingdom of Ch-ih-t'u." On the return of the envoys to China, they were accompanied by the chief minister, who was given high honors by the Chinese emperor.[44]

Ch'ih-t'u is one of the ancient countries of southeast Asia whose location was long disputed, and a brief review of the question may enable the novice to avoid pitfalls. J. B. Abel-Rémusat thought Ch'ih-t'u was in the Menam

[42] Luce, 173. Ho-lo-tan may be Ho-ling in Java, although Rosny (199, note) suggests Kelantan. The other places mentioned are not identified and are probably not on the peninsula.

[43] Ma Touan-lin, 469.

[44] Ma Touan-lin, 471–75; Luce, 173–75; Rosny, 205–12.

valley and Aymonier — and, at first, Pelliot — seems to have accepted this location. Rosny was so certain that Ch'ih-t'u was Siam that he so translated it throughout his account of that country.[45] In 1912, Hirth and Rockhill translated Ch'ih-t'u as Siam. Even as late as 1938, Reginald Le May thought Ch'ih-t'u might have been Srīdeb, on an eastern affluant of the Menam.[46] But the account of Ch'ang Chün's voyage makes it quite clear that Ch'ih-t'u could not have been in the Menam valley but must have been in the peninsula, and that its capital was on the east coast, with an approach from the north. Such conditions are found at Patani, where rivers navigable for small craft lead into the red earth of the interior. While the account of the great extent of this kingdom need not be taken too literally, it is reasonable to think that it extended across the peninsula and that it included much of the present Kedah, where the oldest archaeological and epigraphical vestiges on the peninsula have been found.[47] One of these inscriptions, in fifth-century characters, commemorates the gifts of a sea captain named Buddhagupta, who it says was a native of Raktamrittikā, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese Ch'ih-t'u, "Red Earth."[48] This inscription and the description of Ch'ang Chün's voyage fixes the location of Ch'ih-t'u in this region beyond a reasonable doubt. Kern hinted this when he read this inscription in 1884, and Pelliot in 1904 called attention to Kern's opinion and pointed out the objections to the former opinion, which he himself had shared.[49] It is now, the writer believes, generally accepted.[50]

B. New kingdoms: (2) Po-li-lo-cha, To-lo-po-ti, To-ho-lo (Dvāravatī). The first mention of any name in this region which could be transcribed as Dvāravatī occurred during the Cheng-kuan period (627–49, Emperor T'ai-tsung) when the annals of the T'ang dynasty related that envoys from

[45] J. B. Abel-Rémusat, "Notice chronologique sur le pays du Tchin-la," in *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques* (2 vols., Paris, 1829), 2:78, note; E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris, 1904), 3: 349; Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," 272; Rosny, 197–221, 252, 254; Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* (see note 88), 8.

[46] R. S. Le May, *A concise history of Buddhist art in Siam* (Cambridge, 1938), 55–56.

[47] See especially the recent archeological finds of H. G. Q. Wales, note 12.

[48] B. Ch. Chhabra, "Expansion of Indo-Aryan culture during Pallava rule, as evidenced by the inscription," *Asiatic Society of Bengal, journal and proceedings*, 1, no. 1 (1935), 16–20; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa* (Calcutta, 1937–38), 82, 89–90.

[49] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du viii siécle," *BEFEO*, 4 (1904), 231, note 2.

[50] Chhabra, 18; Luce, 178; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, 89. Majumdar would put Raktamrittikā in India; Majumdar, 82–83.

Po-li-lo-cha[51] came to the Chinese court with those of Lin-i.[52] The names To-lo-po-ti and To-ho-lo are also used by the T'ang annals. In speaking of the latter, the *Chiu T'ang shu* says (according to Luce): "On the south it adjoins P'an-p'an, on the north Chia-lo-she-fo, on the east Chen-la (Cambodia); on the west it borders the ocean." It sent embassies to China in 638 and 649. The *Hsin T'ang shu* gives the same boundaries for To-ho-lo, except that Chia-lo-she-*fu* is given instead of Chia-lo-she-*fo*. It adds that To-ho-lo is also called Tu-ho-lo, that it is noted for rhinoceros and had two dependent kingdoms – the island of T'an-ling and T'o-yüan (also called Nou To-yüan) in (on?) the sea southwest of Champa. The *Chiu T'ang shu* had a notice on T'o-yüan, saying it adjoined To-ho-lo on the southeast, that it was conquered by To-ho-lo, and that it sent embassies to China in 644 and 647.[53] The customs of To-ho-lo, it says, are like those of Ch'ih-t'u and Ko-lo. Anther Chinese text says the people of Tu-ho-lo are K'un-lun.[54] Thus, before 647, two kingdoms were formed at the head of the Gulf of Siam, partly from the old empire of Funan: (1) To-ho-lo (po-ti), which extended south along the peninsula on the east coast to P'an-p'an and included the Meklong basin and the coastal strip to the west of it north of the present Tavoy (which Funan seems never to have held), and (2) T'o-yüan, which possibly extended to the boundary of Funan, north of the Chantabun (Chanthaburi) region, but did not include that region, which seems to have become Khmer.[55]

C. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and the Mon country. During the seventh century, two celebrated Chinese pilgrims made visits to the Buddhist holy lands of northern India and wrote accounts of their voyages and of the lands they visited or inquired about. The first of these pilgrims was Hsüan-tsang (Hsüan-chuang), who went and returned by land (629–45). He did

[51] This name does not occur elsewhere. Rosny thought (p. 221) that Ma Tuan-lin abridged his Po-li-lo-cha to Po-lo-cha. Pelliot has pointed out (*BEFEO* [1904], 398) that Aymonier thought this might be the Po-lo-sa, which the *Sui shu* placed to the west of Ch'ih-t'u; and as they all thought Ch'ih-t'u was in the Menam valley, Po-li-lo-cha was naturally placed in the Meklong valley to the west of it. The presumed mission from Po-li-lo-cha during the period 627–49 was probably identical with that from To-ho-lo in 638.

[52] Rosny, 198.

[53] Luce, 179–80; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 360, note 1.

[54] Luce, 180, note 3.

[55] Lang-ya-hsiu probably included the Chantabun (Chanthaburi) region, or at least the northern part of it, to the border of Funan; for we are told that its east-west extent was one and a half times its north-south extent. But three inscriptions early in the seventh century—one of which mentions Iśānavarman of Chenla (about 610–635)—found near Chantabun (*BEFEO* [1924], 352–58), indicate that this region—or at least the southeast part of it—had probably been absorbed by Chenla.

not visit Indochina but made inquiries about it from Samatata, a seaport in eastern Bengal. Of the countries beyond Srīkshetra (Prome in Burma), he says: "Further to the southeast, on the borders of the ocean, we come to the country of Kia-mo-lang-kia (Kāmalangkā); still to the east is the kingdom of To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravatī); still to the east is the country of Mo-ho-chen-po (Mahāchampa), which is the same as Lin-yi"[56] The second of these pilgrims was I-ching, who made the voyage both ways by sea. His voyages fell between 671 and 695. He spent fourteen years in India and visited Śrī Bhoga (Śrīvijaya) twice—in 671 and 691. His *Record* was written there and sent to China in 692. It is an account of the religion as practiced in these regions and does not say much of the countries, but J. Takakusu, who translated and edited it, makes some comments, using all available data, including Hsüan-tsang's account. Hsüan-tsang's Kāmalangkā he calls Lang-kasu, but he gives no Chinese equivalent of Dvāravatī.[57] Later, he wrote his *Memoir*[58] of some sixty pilgrims "who went to search the law in the countries of the west." In this *Memoir,* he mentions a youth from the Annamite country who was taken with his parents to Tu-ho-lo-po-ti (Tou-ho-louo-po-ti), which he says is sometimes called To-ho-lo-po-ti.[59] The *Hsin T'ang shu* mentions a Chuan-lo-p'o-t'i among the vassals of Burma.[60] All these Chinese forms — To-lo-po-ti is perhaps the best English transcription — have been identified with the Sanskrit form Dvāravatī.

These data lead to the belief that, after Funan became subordinate to Chenla, some changes took place in the upper end of the peninsula and the lower Menam-Meklong delta. This region, with the adjacent Thaton-Martaban coast and the eastern part of the Sittang-Irrawaddy delta, had always been predominantly the Mon country — Rāmanyadesa. Mon inscriptions of the eighth century, possibly earlier, have been found at Lophburi (Lopburi). The inscription and image of the Buddha carved on the wall of a grotto near Rājaburi are believed to be of the sixth-seventh century, with traces of both Mon and Khmer influence, and the Buddha is believed to belong to the Dvāravatī school of art;[61] and the inhabitants

[56] Samuel Beal, *Su-yu-ku. Buddhic records of the Western world,* translated from the Chinese of Hsuen Tsiang (London, 1884), 2:200.

[57] J. Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion, as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695), by I-Tsing* (Oxford, 1896), 9.

[58] Edouard Chavannes, *Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident, par I-tsing* (Paris, 1894).

[59] Chavannes, 69 and note; Luce, 179.

[60] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 222–23.

[61] Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam: (2) Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Crīvijaya et de*

of the Tenasserim region were and always had been predominantly Mon.[62] It will be recalled that Fan Shih-man did not conquer Chin-lin (the Thaton-Martaban region, including apparently Tavoy), and this part of Rāmanyadesa seems to have remained free — at least of Funan. The upper part of the peninsula — under the names of Tun-hsün and Lang-ya-hsiu — was a part of the empire of Funan. On the east, Lang-ya-hsiu probably extended to the boundary of Chenla (north of Chantabun), which was on the coast, for the *Liang shu* says that the east-west extension of Lang-ya-hsiu was one and a half times its north-south extension. Inscriptions early in the seventh century show the presence of Khmers in the Chantabun region at that time;[63] and Iśānavarman (*ca.* 610 — *ca.* 635), the great king of Chenla, whose territory, according to Hsüan-tsang reached Dvāravatī in the Menam valley, probably annexed the Chantabun region to Chenla. Thus, by the middle of the seventh century, the kingdom of Dvāravatī seems to have been formed of the following elements: (1) To-lo-po-ti, the eastern part of Lang-ya-hsiu, i.e., the eastern coast of the peninsula south to P'an-p'an and east to Chenla; (2) the early Mon settlements of the Meklong delta, which had existed since the second century and may have been one of the ten kingdoms conquered by Fan Shih-man and one of the five subordinate kingdoms of Tun-hsün; (3) its expansion to the northeast, to include the Lophburi and Korat regions, which were coming into prominence; (4) the Tavoy region and a strip of coast to the northward, which had never belonged to Funan; and, (5) T'o-yüan, in the Chantabun region, which it conquered after 647.

The locations given by Hsüan-tsang and the T'ang annals seem to be explicit; but, apparently because Ma Tuan-lin placed Ch'ih-t'u and its satellites in the lower Menam valley, early orientalists searched elsewhere for a location for Dvāravatī. Hervey de Saint-Denys thought Po-li-lo-cha — as he called it — was a satellite of Ch'ih-t'u, to the west of it. Leon de Rosny accepted this explanation and thought it, like Ch'ih-t'u, was sometimes used to designate Siam as a whole.[64] Beal (1884) confused it with a name sometimes applied to Sandoway.[65] Chavannes (1894), finding the name Dvāravatī in that of Ayuthia (Ayutthaya), thought it was just the Sanskrit

Lavo (Bangkok, 1929), 1–4, 15, 17–19, 33; Pierre Dupont, "Art siamois les écoles," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-chine* (hereafter *BCAI*), 1931–34, 51.

[62] The Mons of Burma are called Talaings.

[63] Coedès, "La extension du Cambodge vers la sudouest au vii siècle," *BEFEO*, 24 (1924), 352–58.

[64] Rosny, 220–21.

[65] Beal, 2:200, note 33.

name of that Siamese capital.[66] For the same reason, Aymonier (1903) placed its capital at Ayuthia.[67] Gerini (1910) believed it was located at Ayuthia and was an alternate capital with Lophburi.[68] Pelliot placed it at Lophburi,[69] which had been the capital of Louvo, a colony of Dvāravatī,[70] or one of the early cities. It was Coedès who translated the Mon inscriptions of this region, grouped its sculptures into a Dvāravatī School, studied the remains at P'ong Tük and other places, and located the center of the earliest Dvāravatī in the Meklong-Menam delta, probably at Nagara Pathom (Nakhon Pathom).[71]

D. New kingdoms: (3) Chieh-ch'a, Ko-lo, Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, Kalaśapura (Kedah). Another fragment of the former Funanese Empire, which came into prominence on the fall of that empire, was called Chieh-ch'a by I-ching, Ko-lo and Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo by the *Hsin T'ang shu* and Kalaśapura by Indian legend. I-ching says that, in his voyage to India, he sailed west from Canton to Fo-shih ([Śrī] Vijaya), where he studied for six months (671–72). Then he went to Malāyu (Jambi), where he remained two months. Then he changed his direction to go to the country of Chieh-ch'a. From there, he went north, and in ten days he arrived at the country of naked men (Nicobars). From there, in more than half a month, going in a northwest direction, he reached Tāmralipta (673), "which is the southern frontier of eastern India." On his return, he sailed from Tāmralipta and again stopped at Chieh-ch'a on his way to Fo-shih. I-ching mentions other pilgrims who visited Chieh-ch'a. One came from Malāyu, arriving after fifteen days, then changed his course, sailed west and after thirty days reached Nagapatam in southern India. Another died at Chieh-ch'a.[72] Thus, Chieh-ch'a seems to have been an important stop between Śrīvijaya or Malāyu and India. Beal, basing his view on similarity of names, thought Chieh-ch'a was Kedah. Chavannes, basing his view on the geography of the voyages, attempted at first to show that Beal's contention was impossible and

[66] Chavannes, 203; for the Siamese custom of incorporating the name of a capital into that of the succeeding capital, see Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 369, and Briggs, "The Hinduized states of Southeast Asia: a review," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 7 (August 1948), 390–91.

[67] Aymonier, "Le Siam ancien," *Journal Asiatique,* 105 (March-April 1903), 229–30.

[68] Gerini, 176.

[69] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 227.

[70] Briggs, "Dvāravatī," 103.

[71] Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam,* 2:1–4; Coedès, "Les collectiones archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok," *Ars asiatica,* no. 12 (Paris, 1928), 19–36; Coedès, "The excavations at P'ong Tük," *JSS,* 31, part 3 (1938), 195–210; Briggs, "Dvāravatī," 106; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 131–32.

[72] Chavannes, 105, 117–21, 125, 144, 158.

favored Achen, in northwestern Sumatra;[73] but later he came to agree with Beal.

In a long and magistral article, which lies at the base of the historical geography of all the countries of Southeast Asia, Pelliot discussed two itineraries prepared during the Chen-yüan period (785–804) by Chia Tan.[74] These itineraries ran from China to India, one by land and one by sea. The latter set out from Canton. Leaving Pulo Condor — Pelliot quotes from the *Hsin T'ang shu* — "after five days' sailing, one arrives at a strait which the barbarians call Tche [Chih]. From north to south, it is 100 *li*. On the northern shore, is the kingdom of Lo-yue [Lo-yüeh]. On the southern shore, is the kingdom of Fo-che [Fo-shih]. . . . Then, toward the west, setting out from the strait, one arrives at the kingdom of Ko-ko-seng-tche [Ko-ko-seng-chih], which is on an island, separated from the northwest corner of Fo-che [Fo-shih]. . . . On the northern shore is the kingdom of Ko-lo. At the northwest of Ko-lo is the kingdom of Ko-kou-lo [Ko-ku-lo]".[75] Chih is evidently the Strait of Malacca, including Singapore Strait at its entrance. Fo-shih here probably means all the coast of Sumatra along the strait included in the empire of Śrīvijaya. Ko-ko-seng-chih was probably an island off the coast of Sumatra.[76] Ko-lo, it is now generally agreed, was Kedah, a seaport somewhere north of the present Penang, probably on what was then a peninsula at the base of Kedah Peak,[77] the Chieh-ch'a of I-ching; later, under the name of Kalāh, it seems to have extended along the coast to, and probably including, P'an-p'an.

The *Hsin T'ang shu* says the name Ko-lo is also written Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, that it is southeast of P'an-p'an and is a kingdom of twenty-four pre-

[73] *Ibid.*, 105.

[74] A few years ago, Chavannes edited and published the two oldest Chinese maps. They were dated 1137 A.D. As a preliminary to this work, he made an inquiry into the development of Chinese cartography. He found that, at the end of the eighth century, Chia Tan, "the most celebrated cartographer of the T'ang dynasty" (*Chung-kuo jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* [1933], 1331.2, says he was Prime Minister), was ordered by the emperor to make a general map of China. In 801, he completed his work, called, "A map of China and the barbarians within the seas." It was an enormous product, 30 feet long and 33 feet high. (A Chinese foot at that time is said to be equivalent to 10 inches.) This gigantic work is said to have disappeared without leaving any trace (E. Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciennes specimens de la cartographie chinoise," *BEFEO*, 3[1903], 244–45). But the *Hsin T'ang shu* has preserved, in a form perhaps a little abridged, a short geographical memoir prepared by Chia Tan. This memoir is in the form of a series of itineraries from China to Korea, Central Asia, India and Baghdad. Chavannes made use of a part of the itinerary to Central Asia. Pelliot used and commented on the two to India (Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 131–132).

[75] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 372–73.

[76] Pelliot suggests one of the Brouwers' islands; *ibid.*, 349.

[77] Wales, "Archeological researches," 2, note 12.

fectures. Its customs are said to be like those of Ch'ih-t'u and To-ho-lo. It sent an embassy to the court of China between 650 and 656.[78] Groeneveldt translated it as Kora Fusara (Great Kora) and identified it with Kora Besar,[79] a village on the west coast, south of P'an-p'an. Gerini identified it with the Ko-li of Ptolemy and located it at Kelantan.[80] Ferrand agreed with Gerini that it must be on the east coast and proposed to locate it at Patani.[81] To this latter solution, however, there are some weighty objections: (1) it is not in accord with the itinerary of Chia Tan; (2) the transcription of Kora = Ko-lo, or Ka-la, is said to be unsatisfactory, if not impossible;[82] and (3) if P'an-p'an extended across the peninsula — which theory we have accepted — Ko-lo (Kedah) is further east than any part of the west coast of P'an-p'an. Thus, Ko-lo, or Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, of the T'ang annals seems to be identical with the Chieh-ch'a of I-ching.

Luce points out that Ferrand, by transposing the third and fourth characters of Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, arrived at an exact transcription of Kalaśapura,[83] celebrated in later Indian legend as a great trading center on the coast between north Indian ports and Suvarnadvīpa (Sumatra?). Now, the *Chiu T'ang shu* says that Chia-lo-she-fo — which Luce says is also a transcription of Kalaśapura — is north of To-ho-lo (see Section B above), and Pelliot says it is the same as the Chia-lo-she-lo which, according to the *Sui shu,* sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 608.[84] He gives reasons for his opinion that the statement of the *Hsin T'ang shu* that Kalaśapura is north of To-ho-lo, is an error for west of To-ho-lo, which, moreover agrees with the reading of another Chinese text. Pelliot thus thinks that Kalaśapura may be a seaport as far north as the mouth of the Sittang. But Ferrand calls attention to the statement of Ma Tuan-lin that Ko-lo, or Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, is very far in the seas to the south and that it joins P'an-p'an on the southeast. Thus, Ferrand thought the Chinese might have known two seaports of this name — one at the north and one at the south;[85] but Luce wisely observes that more probably the Chinese texts, written from various sources

[78] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 350; Ma Touan-lin, 414–16; Luce, 183–84. Groeneveldt (241) says its customs were like those of Ch'ih-t'u. Luce says they were like those of Ch'ih-t'u and To-ho-lo.

[79] Groeneveldt, 241; Gustav Schlegel (*T'oung pao* [hereafter TP], 9[1898], 369) identifies Kora Besar with Malacca.

[80] Gerini, 105–06.

[81] G. Ferrand, "Le Kouen-Louen et les anciennes navigations interoceaniques dans les mers du sud," *JA,* 115 (1919), 237.

[82] *Ibid.,* 237.

[83] Luce, 182, 185, 179–80.

[84] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 360, note 1.

[85] Ferrand, 234.

at different dates without much attempt at integration, may have erred, that the Chinese, who probably first came in contact with To-ho-lo at P'an-pa'n, thought Kalaśapura (Kedah) was west of it.[86] That Kedah should send an embassy in 608 as a consequence of the visit of the Chinese embassy to its neighbor, Ch'ih-t'u, whose early relations with it are ill-understood, is not surprising.

E. New kingdoms: (4) Ko-ku-lo, Ch'ieh-ku-lo, Qaqola (Takola). Chia Tan's itinerary mentions two ports on the west coast of the peninsula — Ko-lo, and Ko-ku-lo to the west of it; but, as Chia Tan considered the peninsula as running east-west, we can understand that Ko-ku-lo was north or northwest of Ko-lo. There is another mention of Ko-ku-lo. The *Hsin T'ang shu* says: "Lo-yüeh, toward the north, is 5,000 *li* from the sea. To its southwest is Ko-ku-lo. It is a meeting-place for merchants, who come and go. The customs are the same as To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravatī). Each year (some of the people) go on junks to Canton."[87] Pelliot points out that 5,000 *li* here is impossible, that it might well be an error for 50 *li* and that, if Lo-yüeh were even 50 *li* from the sea, it could not be a meeting place for merchants. He thought Ko-ku-lo was certainly meant, but that the direction was wrong. This itinerary was a sailing direction, not an actual voyage, and Chia Tan's information was sometimes inaccurate, from different sources, and not well integrated. In 1912, Pelliot placed Ko-ku-lo definitely on the west coast of the peninsula above Ko-lo,[88] which has already been identified with Kedah. Coedès seems to endorse this identification.[89] The name Ko-ku-lo to designate an important commercial country seems to have continued until the tenth century at least. A Chinese document of 983, quoted by Chavannes, says that a Chinese pilgrim going to the Indies was given passports for various countries he was to visit, including Ko-ku-lo.[90]

A Chinese document of the K'ai-yüan period (713–41) says the white cardamon comes from the country of Ch'ieh-ku-lo (Kie-kou-lo) and that in the language of that country it is called *to-kou*. As the Arabic name for cardamon is *qáqulah*, the name of the country is doubtless the same. So Pelliot thinks the Qaqola of Ibn-Batutah and other Arabic writers may

[86] Luce, 183, thought the statement of the *Hsin T'ang shu* that Kalaśapura was southeast of P'an-p'an was an error for southwest (but see above).

[87] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 232; Luce, 186–87.

[88] Pelliot, Review of Hirth and Rockhill's translation of Chau Ju-kua's *Chu-fan chi*, *TP*, 12 (1912), 455.

[89] Coedès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," 15.

[90] *Review of the history of religion*, 34 (1896), 51–52.

be the Ch'ieh-ku-lo of the T'ang writers and the Ko-ku-lo of Chia Tan and is probably equivalent to Takola.[91]

F. The Supremacy of Śrīvijaya under the Śailendra Dynasty. In the latter part of the seventh century, a new people — the Malays — were forming in Southeast Asia. Its first kingdom seems to have been Malāyu (Chinese, Mo-lo-yu), whose center was Jambi in the lower valley of the river of that name near the southeast coast of Sumatra. Its first embassy appeared at the court of China in 644–45. In the period 670–78, according to the *Hsin T'ang shu,* an embassy arrived from Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrīvijaya), whose capital of the same name was located on the site of the present Palembang, a little to the south of Jambi. We have seen that I-ching passed that way on his voyage to India (671–95), and spent some time at both places. On his return, he says the Malāyu country was then the country of Śrī Bhoga (i.e., Malāyu had been conquered by Śrīvijaya). Four inscriptions — two at Śrīvijaya, one in the old Jambi region and one on the neighboring island of Kota Kapur — in Old Malay language, dated 683–86, indicate that Śrīvijaya was in possession of all these regions and was about to undertake an expedition against Java, which had not yet submitted to it. Embassies from Śrīvijaya to the court of China continued until 742.[92]

Little is known, although considerable has been written, about Śrīvijaya's conquests in Java at this time. So many conflicting elements enter into the events of that island during the first three-quarters of the eighth century that its history during that period is uncertain and even confusing. Early settlements in western Java visited by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims are believed to have been strongholds of Buddhim, chiefly Hinayanist. The kingdom of Tarumā, where several inscriptions of about the fifth century have been found, seems to have been Vishnuite and the inscription of Changal, dated 732, was dedicated to a Śivalinga. A Mahayanist dynasty appeared at Ho-ling in West Java before 665. A branch of the Śivaite dynasty of Changal appeared in East Java some time between 742 and 755 — according to the T'ang annals and the inscription of Dinaya (760) — supposed to have been driven there by the Mahayanists of West Java.[93] As early as 767

[91] Pelliot, Review of Chau Ju-kua's *Chu-fan-chï,* 454–55; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 324 ff.

[92] Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922), 157–62; Chavannes, *Mémoire...par I-tsing,* 119, 125; Coedès, "Inscriptions malaises de Çrīvijaya," *BEFEO,* 31 (1931), 29–80; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 141–48.

[93] Takakusu, xxv, xlvii, 10–11; B. R. Chatterjee, *India and Java* (Calcutta, 1933), 2:20–40; Chhabra, 31–37; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 225; N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* (The Hague, 1931), 102–09, 123–27; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa,* 103–15, 233–54; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 136–39, 152–61.

and 774, people from Java raided the Chinese province of Tran-nam (the present Tonkin) and Champa.[94] By whom were the Śivaites of Changal driven east and by whom were these raids made? By the Mahayanists of Ho-ling (central Java), probably newly arrived from the Kalinga coast? By Śrīvijaya which, as has been seen, was preparing an expedition to Java at the end of the seventh century? By the Śailendra dynasty, whose earliest known appearance in Java is 778? These questions are more easily asked than answered.

Still less is known of Śrīvijaya's conquest of the Malay peninsula and its union with the Śailendra. The Sanskrit inscription of Wat Sema Muang, Ligor — sometimes wrongly known as the inscription of Vang Srah — dated 775, records the erection there of several Buddhic stupas by order of the king of Śrīvijaya.[95] This shows that Śrīvijaya was in possession at this time of the Bandon region, including apparently what had been Tāmbralinga and P'an-p'an — the partly Khmerized section, which seemed at that time to owe only nominal allegiance — if any — to Chenla. This region now began to be Malay for the first time. How and when the region to the south, including Ch'ih-t'u and Kedah, came into the hands of Śrīvijaya, we have no exact knowledge. Perhaps the narrowness and ruggedness of the peninsula north of the Bandon region constituting Lang-chia and To-lo-po-ti, and the Mon occupation of it, discouraged the spread of Malays in that direction. From this time — perhaps even from the fall of Funan more than two centuries earlier — the Khmers ceased to exercise any form of political control over the Bandon region; but this region seems to have been considerably affected by Khmer cultural influence.

About this time a new and powerful dynasty — the Śailendra, "kings of the mountains" — suddenly dawned on Southeast Asia. It first appeared in the inscription of Kalasan, in central Java, in 778. In this inscription, the ruler is called "Mahārāja" and "ornament of the Śailendra dynasty." It appeared again in the inscription of near-by Kelurak in 782.[96] About this time it appeared in the Bandon region as unexpectedly as Śrīvijaya had appeared there a few years earlier. An inscription carved on the opposite side of the stele of Ligor sounds the praises of "this supreme king of kings," whom it calls "chief of the Śailendra family" and "Mahārāja." There has been a lively controversy as to the origin of this dynasty, which appeared

[94] G. Maspero, *Champa*, 97–104.

[95] Coedès, *Receuil des inscriptions du Siam*, 2:35–39.

[96] J. P. Vogel, "Het Koninkrijk Śrīvijaya," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandisch-Indie* (hereafter *BKI*) (1919), 629–37; Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa*, 150–52.

so suddenly and gained such complete ascendency in Southeast Asia;[97] but, whatever its origin, it seems shortly after 775 either to have put itself at the head of the empire of Śrīvijaya or to have conquered central Java and the Malay Peninsula from that empire.

The coming of the Śailendra dynasty seems to have done nothing to check the swarming of the Malays all over the coasts of Southeast Asia, which had begun some years before. (Perhaps this dynasty, whose first historical appearance was in Java, was responsible for the earlier raids also.) However, that may be, a Cham inscription says that in 787 — after the known arrival of the Śailendra in Java — a temple of Śiva in southern Champa was burnt by "the army of Java, coming in ships." They may have held southern Champa in subjection for some time; for we hear no more of the Huan Wang kingdom or dynasty in southern Champa and when Champa next appears in history, nearly a century later, the Chinese say that the kingdom of Chen-ch'ang (dynasty of Indrapura) was reigning in central Champa.[98]

The Khmers were not spared. During nearly all the eighth century, Chenla had been divided into Land (or Upper) Chenla, which corresponds approximately to the present Laos (including Siamese Laos), whose relations during this period were mostly with China, and Water (or Maritime) Chenla, which corresponds to the early Chenla-Funan. According to the story which an Arab traveler picked up on the coast of Southeast Asia in the middle of the next century, the Mahārāja, offended by a report which had reached him, set out from his capital, took the Khmer capital by surprise, beheaded its king and ordered a new king to be chosen.[99]

The Khmers did not long remain subject to Java. A Sanskrit inscription of Cambodia, dated two and a half centuries later, says that Jayavarman, a Khmer prince who was either carried off by the Mahārāja or made a visit of homage to his court, returned from Java and began to rule, apparently as a vassal. After ruling in several places, he established his capital at Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen), a low, flat-topped sandstone mountain, about twenty miles northeast of Angkor. Then he sent for a Brahman versed in magic science and invited him to make a ritual "so that Kambujadesa should no longer be dependent on Java but should have a chakravartin sovereign." This occurred in 802. It was the Khmer declaration of independence, the beginning of the Khmer Empire.

[97] R. C. Majumdar, "Les rois Śailendras de Suvarnadvīpa," *BEFEO*, 33 (1933), 120–46.
[98] See note 94.
[99] Briggs, "A sketch of Cambodian history," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 6 (August 1947), 349–50.

THE KAMBUJA OR ANGKOR PERIOD (802 – 1431)

A. The empire of Zābag and the island kingdoms of Zābag, Sribuza and Kalāh. Before the middle of the ninth century, Arab writers began to tell wonderful tales about a country they called Zābag, which was ruled by a Mahārāja. They seem to have used the term Zābag in three senses. (1) It was the great Empire of the Mahārāja, which came to comprise most of the islands of Southeast Asia and also part of the Malay Peninsula, whose settlements were often referred to as islands and kingdoms. Ibn Hordādbeh (844–49), the earliest of these writers, said: "The King of Zābag is called the king of the islands of the eastern sea and Mahārāja". Masudi, who wrote in 955 when the empire had reached its height, said: "The Empire has an enormous population and innumerable armies. One cannot, in two years, with the swiftest vessel, explore all these islands, which are all inhabitable. This king possesses more varieties of perfumes and aromatics than any other king. His lands produce, camphor, aloes, cloves, santals, nutmegs, cardamoms, cubebs. . . ." Among the principal island kingdoms of the empire, Abū Zayd Hasan (916) enumerates Zābag, Sribuza and Kalāh. (2) The island kingdom of Zābag, in which the Mahārāja resided, was, according to Ibn-al-Fakih (902), the last of the islands (to the south). Abū Zayd Hasan said it was very extensive and very fertile. He says it had a surface of 900 (square) *parasangs* and was in the same longitude as the Khmer country. The island kingdom of Zābag seems then, in the ninth century at least, to have been equivalent to the ancient kingdom of Śrīvijaya, in Sumatra; but it may also have included the western part of Java, which it seems to have conquered at the end of the seventh century and even for a while central Java, where at least a branch of the Śailendra dynasty, if not the Mahārāja of the empire, seems to have resided until about the middle of the ninth century. (3) Sulaymān (851) whose account was published later by Abū Zayd Hasan, describes the capital, which was also called Zābag. He says it was located on an estuary, near a freshwater lake and that it faced China. He says that near by is a volcano, which it is impossible to approach; at its foot is a cool spring of potable water. There seems little doubt that the capital of the empire of Zābag at this time was Śrīvijaya (Palembang), but it may also have had a capital in Java.[100]

Sribuza was first mentioned by Abū Zayd Hasan in 916 – a few years after the Chinese mentioned the first embassy from San-fo-ch'i (see Section B below). At that time the empire of Zābag seems to have consisted of the

[100] Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais*, 52–63.

kingdoms of Zābag, Sribuza and Rāmī, or Rāminī — all probably in what is now Sumatra — and Kalāh on the Malay peninsula.[101] Sribuza had an area of 400 *parasangs* and is often mentioned for its export of camphor. From what has been said, it seems to have been north of the kingdom of Zābag. Masudi says (943) that gold and silver were found in the vicinity of Sribuza and Kalāh, thus suggesting their proximity. Alberuni says (about 1030) that the equator crosses [the empire of ?] Zābag between Sribuza and Kalāh. The name Sribuza came later to be applied to the empire also and, as such, seems to have been roughly the Arab equivalent of San-fo-ch'i, as Zābag was of Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrīvijaya).[102]

The island kingdom of Kalāh was mentioned by Sulaymān as the port of call coming from the Nicobars. Other Arab writers speak of ships calling at Kalāh and Zābag — the old itineraries of I-ching and Chia Tan. Kalāh is said to have a surface of 80 *parasangs*. It seems to have been Kedah — I-ching's Chieh-ch'a of two centuries earlier — and with Zābag (and later Sribuza) to have controlled the Straits of Malacca. Abū Zayd Hasan says: "The city of Kalāh is the market where is centralized the commerce of aloes, camphor, santal, ivory, tin, ebony, Brazilwood, all kinds of aromatics and other products, of which detailed mention would be too long. It is to this port that ships from Oman now go and it is from this port that ships leave for Oman." This and the statement that Kalāh was situated halfway between China and Arabia suggest that it was the great trade emporium between the east and the west. There was apparently transshipment of cargo between ships, and there was probably some transportation of passengers and light cargo across the peninsula. But Kedah was not favorably located for such transportation. Ferrand identifies the Kalāh of the Arabs with Kra.[103] It seems that after the Malay conquest of the Bandon region, the Arabs applied the term Kalāh to the whole western coast of the peninsula from Kedah to Kra including both. This was the tin region of the peninsula and many Arab writers say that Kalāh was as celebrated for tin as Sribuza was for camphor. To the Arabs of the tenth and eleventh centuries, it seems that Zābag — and, later Sribuza — meant the Sumatran side of the strait, as Kalāh was the peninsular side. Sulaymān (851) and Ibn-al-

[101] Twenty-five years later (943), Masudi says the empire of the Mahārāja, which is Sribuza, has extended its domination over all the sixth sea, or sea of Champa; see also Masudi's statement in the paragraph above.

[102] In the middle of the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Sribuza seems to have corresponded to the early kingdom of Zābag, for Ibn Said says its area was 160 by 400 miles and gives its latitude as 3° 40′, approximately that of Palembang (Ferrand, 70–71).

[103] Ferrand, 50, note 1; "(Kalāh-bar) = literally, the maritime country of Kalāh = Kera, or Kra, on the west side of the Malay peninsula."

Fakih (902) say that Zābag and Kalāh were governed by the same king. This may not have meant the mahārāja of Zābag, as several Arab writers say each of the island kingdoms had its own mahārāja.

B. The Śailendra in Java and Sumatra: San-fo-ch'i. During part at least of the ninth century, the Śailendra family continued to rule in central Java. Then the Śivaite successors of the old kings who carved the inscription of Changal in 732 and who had been ejected toward the east, probably by the Śailendra, began their resurgence and during the ninth and tenth centuries, they regained at least a foothold in, if not the control of, central Java, where they revived the old kingdom of Sannāha and Sanjaya under the name of Matarām (Chinese, She-p'o) and built the monuments of the Prambanan group, on the plain of Kedu near modern Jokyakarta (Jogjakarta). The return of the Śivaites to central Java is attested by an inscription near Prambanan dated 863, and by embassies to China. The last embassy from Ho-ling (Buddhist, probably now Śailendra) was dated 818, embassies from She-p'o (Śivaite) appeared in 820 and were numerous after 860. There is other evidence that the Śailendra were ruling in central Java at this time and for some time afterward. Coedès suggests that the Śivaites returned under the protection of the Śailendra at first and gradually regained power.[104]

But while the Śailendra was suffering a decline in Java, it was establishing its power in Sumatra. We know the Śailendra imposed its authority over Śrīvijaya in the peninsula and in central Java in the latter part of the eighth century. But the first Śailendra king of which we have any certain record in Sumatra was Bālāputra who built a monastery at Nālandā in north India, to which the Pāla king offered many villages in the thirty-ninth year of his (Bālāputra's) reign — which Coedès thinks was in 850–60. The charter governing this gift, recorded in a copper-plate inscription, says Bālāputra was a great warrior and king of Suvarnabhūmi (Sumatra) and that his grandfather was king of Yavabhūmi (Java) and "an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty." The Śailendra seems to have been established in Śrīvijaya (Palembang) early in the ninth century (811?), but continued to maintain a foothold in central Java. A lively controversy grew up among Dutch scholars as to which of these islands was the original seat of the Śailendra dynasty. Later studies have made it clear that the first certain appearance of the Śailendra in Southeast Asia was at central Java.[105] It was

[104] Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 183–86, 214–20; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 286.

[105] Lawrence Palmer Briggs, "The origin of the Śailendra dynasty. Present state of the question," to appear in *JAOS,* June 1950; Coedès, *ibid.*

just at the time Bālāputra was reigning in Sumatra that the Arabs began to speak of a great empire of Zābag, with its capital on the island of Zābag, equivalent to Śrīvijaya (S. Sumatra, W. Java?). The location of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) made it a meeting place for travelers between India and China. Whereas previously it had been known chiefly as a halting-place for Chinese Buddhist pilgrims on the way to their holy lands in north India, the coming of the Arabs gave it great commercial importance. The ninth and tenth centuries saw the now-certainly-Śailendra Empire of Śrīvijaya at its height.

About the beginning of the tenth century, Chinese dynastic histories began to record that a kingdom called San-fo-ch'i was beginning to send embassies to the imperial court. The first of these embassies appeared in 904 or 905.[106] They appeared again in 960–62, and quite regularly thereafter. The embassy of 962 said San-fo-ch'i was also called San-liu (San-lieou), which Ferrand thinks is an error for Ma-liu (Malāyu).[107] In 988, an ambassador arrived with tribute. On his attempt to return home two years later, he learned at Canton that his country had been invaded by a king of east Java (remnant of the old dynasty of Matarām). So he remained in Canton for a year and then went as far south as Champa, where, receiving unfavorable reports, he returned to China in the spring of 992 and asked that San-fo-ch'i be placed under the protection of China.[108]

Thus, in the ninth-tenth century the San-fo-ch'i of the Chinese seems to have been equivalent to the earlier empire of Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrīvijaya), the Zābag of the Arabs, as well as to the Suvarnadvīpa of Indian writers, and was ruled by the Śailendra king, Bālāputra.

C. The Malay Peninsula during the tenth century. During the tenth century, the peninsula seems to have consisted of three fairly distinct political and cultural regions:

(1) The lower portion up to Kedah, was becoming predominantly Malay, with Indian tin-mining settlements in the interior and Indian seaports along the coast, particularly in the west. As the Khmers seem no longer to have exercised control over this region (if they ever did), it is henceforth outside the province of this study.

[106] In 904–07, according to Chau Ju-kua's *Chu-fan-chï;* in 905, according to the *Sung shih* (Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais,* I4, 17).

[107] San-fo-ch'i was apparently a later Chinese name of the empire of Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrīvijaya); but the capital of the kingdom of Malāyu (Jambi), instead of that of the state of Śrīvijaya (Palembang), may at times have been at the head of the empire of San-fo-ch'i.

[108] Ferrand, *op. cit.,* 17–22, 162–68.

(2) The central portion, known to the Arabs as Kalāh – once Khmer and where Khmer influence, impregnated with Tamil,[109] still continued – was also becoming Malay. This region was probably chiefly Khmer from the earliest times of which we have any knowledge of it. The early inhabitants seem to have spoken a pre-Mon-Khmer Austro-Asiatic language, probably not greatly different from that of the Funanese.[110] This region is celebrated for its tin mines and its transisthmian routes: Kra – Chumphon (Xumphon), Takua Pa – Chaiya, Trang – Batalung, and Kedah-Singora. From the beginning of these trade routes, Khmer settlements undoubtedly existed there.

(3) The part north of the Isthmus of Kra had probably always been Mon, with strong Indian influence in the populous old Tun-hsün – Lang-chia region at the base of the peninsula. In the time of Hsüan-tsang, the peninsula was split into Lang-chia and To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravatī). Lang-chia, or Kamalangka, which names soon disappear from the Chinese histories, seems to have been absorbed by Dvāravatī, as both ends of a transisthmian trade route tend to come under the same rule. This route doubtless continued to be used for trade between north Indian ports and Burma on one hand and, on the other, the growing Mon settlements of the Meklong-Menam delta and the Khmer Empire and China; but it had lost much of its trade with the ports of south India and points to the west, since vessels had learned to cross the Indian Ocean directly by the routes north and south of the Nicobar islands, which open directly on Kra and Kedah respectively.

The Mon settlements in the lower Menam, extending by this time to the upper Mun valley, had become the kingdom of Louvo which, in its turn, had founded the kingdom of Haripunjai on the Meping River. The exact relationship between these Mon kingdoms at this time is not clear, but they all seem to have been members of the loose Mon confederacy of Rāmanyadesa, of which Sudhammapati (Thaton, Burma) seems to have been generally the nominal head and which now dominated at least the eastern part of the Irrawaddy-Sittang delta and what is now the Tenasserim coast, as well as the kingdoms of Dvāravatī, Louvo and Haripunjai.

[109] Tamil inscriptions, dated by Coedès in the 5–6th and 7–9th centuries and in the epoch of the Chola dynasty, have been found at or near the ancient sites of Tāmbralinga and Takola. They have been noted by Aymonier (*Le Cambodge*, 2:76), who thought they were Sanskrit; by Finot (*BCAI* [1910], 147–63; [1912], 157–61), and by Coedès, who translated them into French (*Inscriptions du Siam*, 2:55, 49–50, 57–59).

[110] The inhabitants of Chenla (not Funan) are said by their legends to have been the real Kambuja, or Khmers (Coedès, "La site primitif de Tchen-la," *BEFEO*, 18[1918], 1–3.

A few years ago, Georges Maspero attempted, in a special article, to depict the political geography of Cambodia for 960, the year of the beginning of the Sung dynasty in China.[111] This particular year has no special significance for Cambodia or its relations with its neighbors and, in fact, marks a period in which we are specially lacking in direct information on the subject; for diplomatic relations between Cambodia and China were broken off early in the ninth century and were not resumed until 1116,[112] and the new dynasty had no fresh information on the subject. So Maspero had to depend for his information on four texts, all written two centuries or more after the period of which he was writing: (1) the *Ling-wai-tai ta,* written in 1178 by Chou Ch'ü-fei from notes probably taken in Canton; (2) the *Chu-fan chih,* written about 1225 by Chao Ju-kua (translated as the *Chu-fan-chï* of Chau Ju-kua by Hirth and Rockhill), inspector of foreign trade at the port of Ch'üan-chou in Fukien province (he depended largely on oral information furnished by Chinese and foreign traders and ship captains but sometimes quoted at great length from *Ling-wai-tai ta);* (3) the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao,* written about 1300 by Ma Tuan-lin, who made use of the preceding and other works; (4) the section devoted to foreign countries in the *Sung shih,* written by T'o T'o in the middle of the fourteenth century.[113]

Maspero took as his western boundary of Cambodia the mountain range east of the Salween, which forms the central ridge of the peninsula of Indochina and continues down into the Malay peninsula until it runs out at Victoria Point, forming the present boundary between Siam and the Tenasserim division of Burma. As the southern boundary of Cambodia, he gave Chia-lo-hsi (Kia-lo-hi), a dependency of San-fo-ch'i. This was the old boundary between P'an-p'an or Kalāh on the south and Tun-hsün, Lang-chia, or To-lo-po-ti on the north, in about 10° or 11° north latitude. On the western side of the dividing line, Maspero's map places Nankasi; on the east, it places Chen-li-fu, and above it Louvo, with no mention of To-lo-po-ti or Dvāravatī. These were said to be dependencies of Cambodia in 960.

Time and research have invalidated most of the opinions of Maspero about this region. In the first place, he draws most of his data from texts published at least two centuries after the period of which he wrote, without taking cognizance of the fact that the revolutionary conquests of Sūryavar-

[111] G. Maspero, "La géographie politique de l'Indochine aux environs de 960 A.D." *Etudes asiatiques,* 2:79–125.

[112] Ma Touan-lin, 484–85.

[113] G. Maspero, *op. cit.,* 80.

man I (*ca.* 1002–49) had completely changed the political geography of that region. Coedès has shown that Louvo and Haripunjai were independent Mon kingdoms and not Khmer. Consequently, the western boundary of Cambodia was not the central ridge mentioned above but was somewhere east of the Menam valley. Coedès also located and precised Dvāravatī, which Hsüan-tsang spoke of apparently as an independent kingdom in the seventh century and which appears not to have come under Cambodian rule until the conquest of the Menam valley by Sūryavarman I and his father.[114] Dvāravatī, formed by the union of To-lo-po-ti and Lang-chia, seems to have occupied the Malay peninsula down to Kalāh. The name Chia-lo-hsi seems to have appeared first in the *Chu-fan chih* in 1225, but it was probably taken from the *Ling-wai-tai ta* (1178). It is doubtful if that name was known in 960. Nankasi is an old Mon name for Tenasserim, which probably was never in current official nor popular use. Chen-li-fu seems to have first appeared in *Ling-wai-tai ta,* which mentions it as a dependency of Chenla. Ma Tuan-lin says it was on the southwestern frontier of Chenla, bordered on the south by Po-ssu-lan and on the southwest by Teng-liu-mei (Tāmbralinga);[115] but as neither the Menam valley nor any part of the Malay peninsula belonged to Cambodia at that time, the above direction would place Chen-li-fu in the vicinity of Chantabun (Chanthaburi), which is exactly where Gerini, with an abundance of reasons, has placed it.[116] Hirth and Rockhill, who translated and annotated the *Chu-fan chih,* where the statement from the *Ling-wai-tai ta* appeared, accepted Gerini's location. They equated it with Chan-li-p'o, which Chou Ta-kuan said was a city of Cambodia.[117] Hirth and Rockhill think also that Po-ssu-lan may be the Pa-ssu-li, which Chou Ta-kuan says was one of the ninety vassal governments of Cambodia.[118]

D. A prince of Tāmbralinga seized the throne of Cambodia and conquered the Mons of the Menam and the peninsula (1002–50). The close

[114] Briggs's review of Coedès's history of the Hinduized states of southeast Asia, *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 7 (August 1948), 377, and Briggs, "Dvāravatī," 105–06.

[115] Ma Touan-lin, 487–88.

[116] Gerini, 524, note.

[117] Pelliot, "Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge, par Tcheou Ta-kouan," *BEFEO,* 2 (1902), 125. In 1178, Chantabun may have been an integral part of Cambodia, which it seems to have remained until the Siamese conquest of the lower Menam (Briggs, "Siamese attacks on Angkor before 1430," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 8[Nov. 1948], 4–6); but in 960, it seems to have been a dependency.

[118] F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab trade of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 56, note 10; Pelliot, "Mémoires," 173.

relations between Kambujadesa and the Bandon region are historic. The basic populations of the two regions seem to have been essentially the same, and they seem to have spoken fundamentally the same language. The Bandon region was under the domination first of Funan and then of Chenla from the beginning of the third century until it was conquered by Śrīvijaya in the latter part of the eighth. After that conquest, the region from Kra to Kedah seems to have been known to the Arabs as Kalāh, with a capital at Kedah, while the old partly-Khmerized kingdoms of the Bandon region retained their identity, subject to the suzerainty of San-fo-ch'i (or Sribuza, as the Arabs called it), whose Malay ruler seems to have divided his time between Kalāh and Sribuza.

During the last few years of the tenth century, Southeast Asia seems to have been in great disorder. In Java, several petty kings were striving for supremacy. In Sumatra, Malāyu (possibly now the seat of the empire of San-fo-ch'i [Śrīvijaya]) seems to have begun again to dispute the position of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya as the head of the empire. A new naval power, Chola, was rising into prominence on the Coromandal coast of India, soon to begin its raids on the Malay Peninsula. In 991–92 a king of East Java sent an expedition against Malāyu (San-fo-ch'i). While San-fo-ch'i was thus engaged, a king called Sujita and Vararāja by Siamese annals and Sīvaka by the Pali chronicle *Cāmadevīvamśa,* seems to have made himself an independent king in Tāmbralinga.[119] Ma Tuan-lin says Chou-mei-liu (Tcheou-mei-lieou, Tāmbralinga) sent its first embassy to the imperial court in 1001.[120] The Chinese called this king To-hsi-chi, which is said to be a possible transliteration of Sujita, with the transposition of the last syllable. Little is known of Sujita, but he seems to have married a Cambodian princess of the celebrated family of Saptadevakula, of the maternal line of Indravarman I, to which also Prāna, wife of Rājendravarman II (944–68) belonged.[121] To them was born Sūryavarman, who thus had a vague claim of eligibility to the throne of Cambodia. For some time before 1001, decrees of the government of Bali were issued in the name of Mahendradattā, daughter of a king of east Java,[122] and her consort Udāyana, said to be of a

[119] Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 231; Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental," *BEFEO,* 25 (1925), 23–25, 80, 158 (hereafter "Laos occidental"); C. Notton, *Annales du Siam, chronique de La-p'un* (Paris, 1926) 34–35.

[120] Ma Touan-lin, 584.

[121] A. Barth, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Notices et extraites des manuscrites* [Paris, 1885]):15. Prea Kev A, st 10, and 17. Lovek, st I.

[122] Coedès, "Etudes cambodgiennes: 5. Un inscription d'Udayādityavarman," *BEFEO,* 11 (1911), 400–04.

famous royal line, but apparently a local prince of Bali. They seem to have governed the island jointly from 989 to 1001, apparently under the suzerainty of Mahendradattā's father.

It was in the midst of this turmoil — when thrones were to be had for the snatching — that Jayavarman V of Cambodia died (1001) and was succeeded by Udayādityavarman I, son of a sister of his wife.[123] Asserting his claim to the Cambodian throne, Sūryavarman seems to have landed along the Mekong end of the empire and to have fought his way eastward to the capital.[124] One Jayavīravarman, of whom little is known, but who seems to have been a supporter of Udayādityavarman I, succeeded that king in 1002 and defended the throne for eight or nine years. Sūryavarman I took the capital in 1006 but seems not to have completed the conquest of the country until 1011.[125]

For some time the Khmers seem to have been slowly pressing toward the southwest. The dependent kingdom of Malyang, in what is now the southern part of Battambang, west of the Great Lake which had been conquered by Jayavarmann II, seems to have been restive. Chen-li-fu, another dependent kingdom, probably lay in the Chantabun (Chanthaburi) region where several inscriptions show the presence of Khmer colonists as early as the seventh century.[126] Po-ssu-lan lay on the coast southeast of Chen-li-fu, which appears to have been the last port of call on the way to Tāmbralinga from China, for directions were given from that port. Some time near the beginning of the tenth century or earlier, Khmers seem to have begun to replace Mons in the lower Menam delta. A recently

[123] Coedès, "Ta Kev: 3, epigraphie," *BEFEO*, 34 (1934), 420–27.

[124] Pierre Dupont believes Sūryavarman's campaign against Yaśodharapura (Angkor) was made from Korat, apparently after the conquest of Louvo. "La dislocation du Chenla et la formation du Cambodge angkorien (vii-ix siècle)," *BEFEO*, 43 (1943), 72.

[125] Nothing has been known of either Udayādityavarman or Jayavīravarman before they came to the throne of Cambodia nor of their ultimate fate. In a recent study, the eminent Dutch scholar, Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, has advanced the very reasonable theory that Udayādityavarman was Udāyana of Bali; that through fear for her sons, the infant Narapativīravarman and the unborn Udayādityavarman, their mother fled to East Java about 970, where her sons grew up and the younger married Mahendradattā, became the father of a son, Airlangga, who was to become one of the great kings of Java; that with Mahendradattā, Udāyana ruled Bali from 889 to 1001, when the death of Jayavarman V called him to the throne of Cambodia; that after he abandoned that throne he returned to Bali and again ruled that island from 1011 to 1022 (Bosch, "De laatste der Pandawa's," *BKI* [1948], 541–71). The writer of this article believes that Jayavīravarman was Narapativīravarman and that after his defeat by Sūryavarman I in 1010 or 1011, he too returned to Bali, helped his brother regain his throne and, under the name of Norottama, became the great minister of his nephew, Airlangga (see the author's *The ancient Khmer Empire,* soon to appear).

[126] Coedès, "L'extension du Cambodge vers le sudouest au vii siècle," *BEFEO*, 24 (1924), 352–58.

discovered inscription, in Khmer, dated 937, found at Ayuthia (Ayutthaya), suggests that a Khmer dynasty may have been ruling in that region for some time before that date.[127]

Apparently after Sūryavarman I had established himself on the throne of Cambodia,[128] he and his father decided to conquer the Mon kingdoms of the Menam valley. About this time, San-fo-ch'i was engaged – first with east Java, which invaded Sumatra in 992 (see Section B above), and then with the Cholas of Tanjore, who several inscriptions of 1007 say destroyed many ships and captured 12,000 islands. Possibly Sujita of Tāmbralinga, surprised by one of these raids or fleeing before it, decided to join his son in an attack on the lower Menam; otherwise, why should the king himself with so large an expedition be so far from his capital in such troublous times? Be that as it may, a later Pali chronicle of northwest Laos says Sujita "came from Śridhammarāja nagara[129] with a large army and many ships and seized Labapura."[130] This is the last mention of Sujita. Three years later, his son, called "Kambojarāja" in the chronicle, attempted to take Haripunjai, but was driven back to his capital (apparently Lavapura).[131] Although the chronicle is explicit in saying it was Sujita who seized Louvo, it was clearly Sūryavarman I who retained possession of it. The conquest of Louvo and Dvāravatī seems to have given the Khmers possession of the upper part of the peninsula, south to Kalāh. Sūryavarman I seems also to have inherited the throne of Tāmbralinga from his father. Both Louvo and Tāmbralinga seem to have been held hereafter as dependencies of Cambodia.

E. The struggle between San-fo-ch'i and the Cholas (1006–1119). The struggle between San-fo-ch'i and Java, which resulted in the invasion of Sumatra by the latter in 991–92, was of short duration. In 1003, San-fo-ch'i was able to send an embassy to the court of China without hindrance. In

[127] Coedès, "Une nouvelle inscription d'Ayuthya," *Journal of the Thailand Research Society*, 35, pt. 1 (1944), 73–76; Dupont thinks this inscription refers to the dynasty of Bhavapura, who presumably were vassals of Cambodia ruling in the upper Mun valley (Dupont, 46). The author of this article prefers the former view.

[128] The conquest of the Menam valley is placed *after* that of Cambodia by this writer, chiefly because the Pali chronicle relating the account of it says Sūryavarman was called Kambojarāja "because of his previous exploits (deeds?)" (see note 131).

[129] The term Śrī Dharmarāja nagara was not applied to Tāmbralinga until the inscription of Rama Khamheng in 1292, although Śrī Dharmarāja was applied to Chandrabhānu in the inscription of Jaiya of 1230 (Coedès, *Recueil du inscriptions du Siam*, 2:41–43); the Pali chronicle containing the above account is dated 1516.

[130] Coedès, "Laos occidental" *BEFEO*, 25 (1925), 23–25, 80.

[131] *Ibid.*, 159.

1006–07, a great catastrophe overwhelmed East Java in which the king lost his life and his palace was destroyed. It is not known that San-fo-ch'i was directly concerned with this disaster. It is believed that some Javanese princes took advantage of the situation to begin a revolution. This unrest ended in 1019 in the coronation of the deceased king's son-in-law Airlangga (1019–49) as king of East Java.[132]

Meanwhile the Cholas had conquered all the countries of southeast India and had invaded Ceylon. Under the name of Chu-nien (Chu-lien of Hirth and Rockhill) their embassies began to appear at the court of China in 1015. Their first recorded relations with San-fo-ch'i were friendly. According to the Sanskrit and Tamil copper-plate inscriptions known as the Greater Leiden Grant (or Charter), the Chola king, Rājarāja (985–1014), in 1006, granted the revenues of a village for the maintenance of a *vihara* (monastery), which Chūdāmanivarman and his son, Māravijayottuṅgavarman,[133] kings of Katāha (Kedah) and Śrīvijaya (in Tamil = Kedara and Śrīvisaya), were building at Nāgapatam. But the rivalry of these two powers soon broke into hostility. In a later inscription, Rājendrachola (1012–44) boasted that, in 1007, the Cholas conquered more than 12,000 islands. Rājendrachola seems to have raided the states of San-fo-ch'i on the Malay peninsula in 1017 and 1025. According to the Tamil inscription of Tanjore (1030–31), the king of Kadāram (Śrīvijaya = San-fo-ch'i), Sangrāmavijayathungavarman, was carried off, and most of his strongholds on the peninsula and in Sumatra, as well as other strongholds, were conquered, including San-fo-ch'i, Malāyu, Lankasuka, Takola, Tāmbralinga and Kedah and even Kāmalankā, Pegu, and Pānduranga.[134] These spectacular raids seem to have had no lasting consequences; for an embassy from San-fo-ch'i was able to appear at the Chinese court in 1028.[135]

The war between San-fo-ch'i and the Cholas continued intermittently throughout the eleventh century, with varying fortunes, it seems. An inscription of 1069–70 — the year of Chola Vīrarājēndradeva's reign — says that king conquered Kadāram but restored it after the king of that country

[132] Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, 244–45; N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*, 241–42.

[133] The *Sung shih* mention embassies from San-fo-ch'i in 1003 and 1008, sent by kings whose names correspond to those given above. See Coedès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," *BEFEO*, 18, no. 6 (1918), 1–16, especially 7.

[134] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* (Madras, 1935), 1:142–290; Sastri, "Śrī Vijaya," *BEFEO*, 40 (1940), 280–85; K. V. Subramanya Aiyer, "The larger Leyden plates of Rājarāja I," *Epigraphia Indica*, 22 (1933–34), 213–66; Coedès, *op. cit.*, 5; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa*, 167–90.

[135] Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, 242.

acknowledged his sovereignty.[136] On the other hand, a later Chinese document says that during the period 1068–77, Chu-nien (Chu-lien) was a vassal of San-fo-ch'i.[137] This seems scarcely probable, for a strong king, Kulōttunga-Chola (1070–1119), had just come to the throne of the Cholas. During the reign of this monarch, the two rivals seem to have enjoyed a period of peace; for, in its twentieth year (1088–90), the Smaller Leiden Grant (of Kulōttunga-Chola), in Tamil, says the king of Kadāram asked and received exemption from taxation for the village granted to the Chūdāmanivarma *vihara* (monastery).[138]

The envoy from San-fo-ch'i (San-bo-tsai) to China in 1067 was a high official, called Ti-wa-ka-la by the Chinese. Now, Professor S. K. Aiyangar has pointed out that the Chola king who sent a mission to the Chinese emperor in 1077 was called Ti-wa-ka-lo by the Chinese. As it is known that the Chola king at that time was Rājendra-Deva-Kulōttunga, Aiyangar suggests that before he became king of the Cholas, Rājendra may have conquered Kadāram (San-fo-ch'i), ruled there temporarily, and sent the embassy of 1067.[139]

During the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chola (1070–1119), the peninsula seems to have been free from Chola aggressions.[140] After this reign, the Chola kingdom began to decline. Meantime, a regular succession of embassies from San-fo-ch'i appeared at the Chinese court during the twelfth century until 1178.[141]

F. The peninsula during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181–1215+). The *Chu-fan chih* contains a chapter on Chenla (Cambodia), which is said to have been taken from the *Ling-wai-tai ta*,[142] published in 1178 – three years before the beginning of Jayavarman VII's reign. It says that Cambodia is bounded by Chia-lo-hsi, a dependency of San-fo-ch'i, on the south, i.e., at the Isthmus of Kra. Chia-lo-hsi joined what had been Dvāravatī, or Louvo, conquered by Sujita or Sūryavarman. Of the twelve "foreign" localities mentioned as dependencies of Cambodia, the first named six in

[136] E. Hultzsch, *South Indian inscriptions: Tamil inscriptions of Rājarāja, Rājendrachola and others, in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjavur (Tanjore)*, 2, pt 1, no. 20, Ins. of Rājendrachola, 108–9; Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais*, 44–45; Śastri, "Śrī Vijaya," 289.

[137] Ma Touan-lin, 586.

[138] Aiyer, "The smaller Leiden plates of Kulōttunga I," *Epigraphia Indica*, 22 (1933–34), 267–84.

[139] Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa*, 183–87; S. Krishnarvamin Aiyangar, "Rājendra, the Ganga-konda Chola," *Journal of Indian history*, 2 (1922–23), 317–69.

[140] Śastri, *The Colas*, 2:1–160.

[141] Groeneveldt, 190–91.

[142] Hirth and Rockhill, 52–57, 37.

order are Teng-liu-mei (Töng-liu-mei), Po-ssu-lan (Po-ssï-lan), Lo-hu, San-lo, Chen-li-fu (Chön-li-fu), and Ma-lo-wen (Ma-lo-wön).[143] The other six are believed to have been northwest and north of Cambodia proper and hence do not concern this study.

Teng-liu-mei, said to be west of Chenla and southwest of Chen-li-fu, is doubtless Tāmbralinga. It was formerly a dependency of Funan and was conquered by Śrīvijaya before 775. If Sujita was the To-hsi-chi who sent the embassy to China in 1001 — and it seems more than probable — he made Tāmbralinga independent of Śrīvijaya before that date. There is strong evidence of Khmer culture there before its conquest by Sujita.[144] Sujita conquered the kingdom of Louvo of the Menam valley, and he and/or Sūryavarman seems to have extended the conquest down the peninsula as far as Chia-lo-hsi. All these conquests, including Tāmbralinga, seem to have fallen to Sūryavarman on the demise of his father and to have been governed by Cambodia as the dependencies of Louvo and Tāmbralinga. Along with the other settlements of the peninsula, Tāmbralinga was probably sacked by the Cholas in the early years of the eleventh century, as the inscription of Tanjore says it was; but the conquest seems to have been temporary. As Chia-lo-hsi (apparently, part of Kalāh) intervened between Teng-liu-mei and the conquered territory in the peninsula. Cambodia proper communicated with Teng-liu-mei only by sea, via Chen-li-fu; hence the directions given.

Po-ssu-lan was not located by the *Ling-wai-tai ta*. Hirth and Rockhill think it may be the same as the Pa-ssu-li, which Chou Ta-kuan mentions as a vassal of Cambodia without locating it. Ma Tuan-lin mentions Po-ssu-lan and says it bounds Chen-li-fu on the southeast. His statement that its king, who had then been reigning 20 years, sent an embassy to China in 1200, may well have referred to its suzerain, Jayavarman VII of Cambodia. Chen-li-fu is probably definitely identified as the region of Chantabun (Chanthaburi). Hirth and Rockhill say it was northwest of Po-ssu-lan. Ma Tuan-lin says it was on the southwest frontier of Chenla and was bounded on the southeast by Po-ssu-lan and on the southwest by Teng-liu-mei.[145] Ma-lo-wen is doubtless the Malyang of the inscription of Palhal, which was subdued at the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman II and

[143] *Ibid.*, 53.

[144] Pierre Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'École de C'aiya," *BEFEO*, 42 (1942), 103–08; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Siam*, 2:45.

[145] Hirth and Rockhill, 56; Ma Touan-lin, 487–88. It was not unusual, in giving these directions, to say that two countries bounded each other when a body of water intervened.

which was in revolt again at the beginning of Jayavarman VII's reign.[146] It is believed to be the same as Mu-liang, which Chou Ta-kuan cited as one of the 90 vassal kingdoms of Cambodia.[147] It has been located in southern Battambang.

Lo-hu has been identified by Pelliot and others with the kingdom of Louvo. The fact that it was rated as a dependency at the beginning of Jayavarman VII's reign seems to indicate that up to that time it had not formed an integral part of Cambodia, as it probably never did (Even after the Tai overran the Menam valley late in the thirteenth century, it retained for a long time its identity, and, apparently as an independent state, it sent embassies to China under the name of Lo-hu).[148] In 1178, it seems to have included the old Dvāravatī region, extending south to Chia-lo-hsi. San-lo is believed by Hirth and Rockhill to have been an early Chinese attempt to transcribe the name of the country or the people of the upper and central Menam, which Khmer inscriptions had called Syām and which the Chinese were soon to call Hsien and Hsien-lo. The six vassals mentioned above, most of which were brought into the Khmer Empire by Sūryavarman I, were probably brought into closer relations by Jayavarman VII.

Under Jayavarman VII, the Khmer Empire reached its greatest extent. Its exact relations with the Malay peninsula are not always clear. Aymonier says — on what authority it does not appear — that in 1195 this king seems to have subjugated some little states in the peninsula which had formerly been his allies, and he mentions Ts'an-pan, Chen-li-fu and Teng-liu-mei.[149] The old Ts'an-pan, which Aymonier does not locate, seems to have been a predecessor of Malyang in what is now southern Battambang,[150] and the subjugation of that region in the early part of the reign of Jayavarman VII may be the event referred to by Aymonier. Chen-li-fu has already been located. The case of Teng-liu-mei (French: Teng-lieou-mei) is not so clear. Although the *Ling-wai-tai ta* lists it as a dependency of Cambodia in 1178, an inscription in Khmer language but in characters resembling the Kawi

[146] Coedès, "La stele de Palhal," *BEFEO,* 13, no. 6 (1913), 12–15; Coedès, *Un grand roi du Cambodge: Jayavarman VII* (Phnom Penh, 1935), 11; Coedès, "Quelques suggestions sur la méthode à suivre pour interpreter les bas-reliefs de Bantay Chmar et la galerie intérieure du Bayon," *BEFEO,* 37 (1937), 80, note 1; R. C. Majumdar, *Champa* (Lahore, 1927), pt. 3, 203.

[147] Pelliot, "Mémoires," *BEFEO,* 2 (1902), 172–73.

[148] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 241–43; Briggs, "The appearance and historical usage of the terms Tai, Thai, Siamese and Laotian," *JAOS* (1949), 71, 72. The *Sung shih* mentions Lo-hu and Lo-hua as twenty-five stops northeast of Tan-mei-liu (Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 233).

[149] Aymonier, *Le Cambodge,* 3:528.

[150] Ma Touan-lin, 441, 485, note 48; Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 212 and note 7.

of Java, dated 1183, at the modern city of Chaiya = Jaiya (called Grahi in the inscription, which identifies it with the Chinese Chia-lo-hsi, the region in which it is located) records an order to the governor of Grahi (who has also the title of *mahāsenāpati*) by a king who bears the titles of *kamaraten añ* (Khmer) and mahārāja (Malay).[151] The name and titles of this king resemble those of a line ruling a little later in Malāyu, which Coedès seems to think indicates that Malāyu had succeeded Śrīvijaya as the dominant Malay power and that Tāmbralinga, while still subordinate to the Khmer Empire may have been also in some sort of vassalage to the dominant Malay power; but the use of a Malay title alone is not sufficient to create the presumption of the conquest of this region from Cambodia during the reign of a strong king like Jayavarman VII.[152]

Tāmbralinga seems to have been a dependency of the Khmer Empire during all the reign of Jayavarman VII. The *Sung shih* gives an account of it under the name of Tan-mei-liu.[153] The *Ling-wai-tai ta* lists it as a dependency of Cambodia under the name of Teng-liu-mei. The *Chu-fan chih* lists Tan-ma-ling as a dependency of San-fo-ch'i but devotes a separate chapter to Teng-liu-mei, which Hirth and Rockhill place at the modern Ligor (the site generally assigned to Tāmbralinga), while they think Tan-ma-ling may be an independent kingdom located at the mouth of the Kwantan river in modern Pahang, in the southern part of the peninsula.[154] Ma Tuan-lin's account is said to be an exact reproduction of that of the *Sung shih,* with the name changed to Chou-mei-liu.[155] This inversion led Pelliot to identify the Tan-ma-ling of the *Chu-fan chih* with the Tan-mei-liu of the *Sung shih* and the Teng-liu-mei of the *Ling-wai-tai ta,* as well as the Chou-mei-liu of Ma Tuan-lin.[156] Pelliot points out that the proposal of Schlegel to locate Tan-ma-ling in Sumatra or even that of Hirth and Rockhill or Gerini to place it in Pahang, is confronted by the statement of the *Chu-fan chih* that it was a neighbor of Langkasuka (probably near Kedah), whence it can be reached by sea in six days and also by land.[157] Coedès seems to identify Tan-ma-ling pretty definitely with

[151] Coedès, *Receuil des inscriptions du Siam,* 2:6, 45–47.

[152] Majumdar protests—with some reason, it seems to this author—that these names and titles are not necessarily exclusive to Malāyu and that it cannot be assumed that this king was of a Malāyu line simply because a Malayan king of the same name existed a century or more later *(Suvarnadvīpa,* 195–96).

[153] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 233.

[154] Hirth and Rockhill, 53, 56, 67–68.

[155] Ma Touan-lin, 583–85.

[156] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 233.

[157] G. Schlegel, "Geographical notes" *TP* (1901), 130; Gerini, 601; Hirth and Rockhill, 68.

Tāmbralinga.[158] All these terms seem to refer to the same place, and Chao Ju-kua seems to have been confused when he separated Tan-ma-ling and Teng-liu-mei and placed the former among the dependencies of San-fo-ch'i (Śrīvijaya) in 1225. If it cannot be established that all these terms refer to Tāmbralinga, at least it can be asserted that none of them has been satisfactorily located elsewhere. If these identifications can be accepted, the history of this small state seems to have been as follows: It was conquered by Śrīvijaya before 775 and was part of the empire of Śrīvijaya (San-fo-ch'i also after 900) until some time before 1001, when it was conquered by Sujitarāja and became a dependency of the Khmer Empire, which it remained until after the death of Jayavarman VII. Then it may have been seized and held temporarily by Śrīvijaya; but, if so, it and Jaiya were liberated by Chandrabhānu some time before 1230. The rise of Chandrabhānu seems thus to have been a part of the dissolution of the Khmer Empire after the death of Jayavarman VII. The purported raid of the Mau Shans as far as Junk Ceylon (below Tāmbralinga) may have contributed to the weakening of the power of Śrīvijaya at this time and thus have enabled Chandrabhānu to seize the throne of Tāmbralinga. The friendship of Chandrabhānu and the Tai leaders, which later was to bear fruit, may have begun at this early period.

G. Śrīvijaya, San-fo-ch'i and Malāyu. K. A. N. Sastri says: "Historically, San-fo-tsi [San-fo-ch'i] is the exact counterpart of Śrī Vijaya in the Chinese annals." In support of this statement, he cites (1) that Chūdāmanivarman and his son are called kings of Śrīvisaya-Katāha in the Leyden grant (Section E above) and kings of San-fo-ch'i in the annals of the Sung, and (2) that the list of dependencies of San-fo-ch'i given by Chao Ju-kua in 1225 agrees in many respects with the names of parts of the empire of Śrīvisaya-Katāha given in the Chola inscription of Tanjore (1030–31).[159] Nevertheless, this statement needs some explanation in point of time. Originally, Śrīvijaya was a *kingdom* whose capital of the same name was located at the present Palembang. It was a neighbor of Malāyu, whose capital was probably Jambi and which Śrīvijaya seems to have conquered in the latter part of the seventh century. At that time, Śrīvijaya set out on an expedition to subdue Java and seems to have gained a foothold in the western part of that island. About the same time or a little later it secured a foothold in the Bandon region of the Malay peninsula and thus controlled both sides of the Strait of Malacca. These were the beginnings of the *empire* of

[158] Coedès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," 16.
[159] Śastri, "Śrī Vijaya," *BEFEO*, 40 (1940), 273.

Śrīvijaya. Inscriptions show that in the latter part of the eighth century, the Śailendra dynasty was ruling in central Java and the Bandon region. This was the "Empire of the Mahārāja." Just when this dynasty imposed itself on Śrīvijaya in any particular region, is difficult to precise; but as they were both Buddhists of the Mahayanist faith, the merger probably presented no great difficulties.

In the middle of the ninth century — when the Arab accounts begin — one branch of the Śailendra dynasty was ruling in central Java and another branch in Sumatra and on the peninsula. The exact relationship between these two branches at this time has been a subject of controversy and even now is not perfectly clear;[160] but the Java branch seems to have been in the ascendant, inasmuch as (1) this dynasty first appeared in Java about a century earlier, and (2) the king of Yavabhūmi (Java) then ruling, was the ancestor or elder brother of the king of Suvarnabhūmi (Sumatra), who was called Bālāputra (younger brother) (pp. 279–80).

The Arabs applied the term Zābag to this empire — Śrīvijaya ruled by the Śailendra — which seems, at this time, to have comprised several kingdoms, each under its own ruler. Several Arab writers — Ibn-al-Fakih (902), Ibn Rosteh (903), Abū Zayd Kasan (916) — say that the great king of Zābag is called Mahārāja; but Masudi says (955) that the king of each kingdom is called mahārāja. At the middle of the ninth century, according to Sulaymān (851), the kingdoms of Zābag and Kalāh were governed by the same ruler. This ruler must have been Bālāputra, but the "Mahārāja of Zābag" seems at that time to have resided in Java; for (1) he was the father or elder brother of Bālāputra, and (2) the inscriptions of Champa and Chinese documents say the Malays who ravaged the coast of Annam and Champa came from Java, and the inscription of Sdak Kak Thom says Jayavarman II returned from Java (apparently from a visit of homage to the Mahārāja's court, subsequent to being chosen king in accordance with the Mahārāja's instructions after the beheading of his predecessor), and (3) Jayavarman II caused an elaborate ceremony to be performed and established a state religion to free Cambodia from the domination of Java. As has been seen, the Arabs used the term Zābag in three senses: (1) as the "Empire of the Mahārāja," in which sense it seems to have been equivalent to Śrīvijaya in its widest sense; (2) as the island kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which seems to have been the most southerly of the early island kingdoms of Sumatra, consisting of the present Palembang region and

[160] L. P. Briggs, "Śailendra dynasty," to appear in *JAOS*, June 1950.

probably part of Java; and (3) as capital of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Palembang), which was probably also at times the capital of the Mahārāja. To the north of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya was another island kingdom of Sumatra — or that part of Sumatra lying along the strait — which the Arabs called Sribuza. The island kingdom on the other side of the strait — stretching from the Chieh-ch'a of I-ching to the Ithmus of Kra — the Arabs called Kalāh. These two kingdoms seem at this time to have been governed by the same ruler who, as noted above, does not seem to have been the great Mahārāja, but his son or younger brother, Bālāputra.

About the beginning of the tenth century some changes took place. The capital of the empire seems to have changed from Java (probably at first part of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya) to the city of Śrīvijaya (Palembang, also in the kingdom of Śrīvijaya), or possibly to Jambi, or to the capital of Sribuza. About the same time the Chinese began to apply the term San-fo-ch'i to the country sending embassies from the new capital. The "Empire of the Mahārāja" was called Śrīvijaya in the inscriptions, Shih-li-fo-shih and San-fo-ch'i by the Chinese, and Zābag and Sribuza by the Arabs. All these terms were identical in meaning as applied to the empire; for there could be only one such empire in Southeast Asia at one time; but this identity does not apply to the kingdoms and capital cities which bore those names; for instance, the kingdom of Zābag and Sribuza are several times spoken of in the same paragraph, and different locations and characteristics given to them.

About the beginning of the thirteenth century, it appeared evident that the capital — and probably the island kingdom — of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) was losing its place at the head of the empire of San-fo-ch'i (Zābag) to its neighbor and ancient rival, Malāyu (Jambi). As early as 1079, Jambi had sent an embassy to the imperial court under the name of Chan-pei, which it repeated in 1085 and 1088,[161] seeming to indicate that it was already becoming independent. Not only was Jambi not included as a vassal of San-fo-ch'i in Chao Ju-kua's list in 1225, while Tan-ma-ling (Tāmbralinga?) was included, but some kingdoms like Teng-liu-mei (Tāmbralinga?) and Ling-ya-ssu-chia (Laṅgkasuka) had separate articles devoted to them, and it is specifically mentioned that Kampar (Chien-pi), in Sumatra became independent as the result of a revolt.[162] It has already been noted that the name and titles of the suzerain mentioned in the Khmer inscription of

[161] Hirth and Rockhill, 65, 66, note 18.
[162] Hirth and Rockhill, 71–72.

Grahi (modern Chaiya = Jaiya), dated 1183,[163] bore a resemblance to those of from one to three centuries later in Malāyu. Another inscription at Grahi, in Sanskrit, dated 1230, which begins with a eulogy of Śrī Dharmarāja Chandrabhānu of the Padmavamśa dynasty, who was king of Tāmbralinga, shows that, at that time, this little kingdom, if not completely independent, at least was not dependent on the Śailendra dynasty of San-fo-ch'i. (After Tāmbralinga was made independent of San-fo-ch'i by Sujita, about the beginning of the eleventh century, there is no sufficient reason to think it was ever again subject to that power, except perhaps temporarily.) The mention of Mā-damālingam and other places on the peninsula in the inscription of Tanjore evidently refers to a raid rather than to a conquest or occupation of any length. These seems, then, no good reason to doubt that, from the liberation of that kingdom by Sujita (Section D above) to the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181–1215+) Tāmbralinga was a dependency of Cambodia, as the *Ling-wai-tai ta* specifically says it was. If Tāmbralinga was a dependency of Cambodia in 1178, it should require positive evidence to establish that it was lost during the reign of Jayavarman VII, who is reputed to have pushed Cambodian boundaries to their greatest extent in nearly every direction. It is possible that, after Jayavarman's death (before 1220), San-fo-ch'i may have seized this part of that monarch's crumbling empire for a brief moment (before 1225); but, if so, it was liberated as already noted by Chandrabhānu before 1230.

But although a change of leadership was taking place in the empire of San-fo-ch'i (Zābag), this did not necessarily imply the decline of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) to the advantage of Malāyu (Jambi). It is true that the last embassy to the court of China recorded in the *Sung shih* appeared in 1178. The Chinese emperor ordered the ambassadors not to come to court hereafter but to make an establishment at Ch'üan-chou, in the province of Fukien.[164] This might indicate that San-fo-ch'i was declining in importance; but, in that same year, the *Ling-wai-tai ta* records that San-fo-ch'i was a great center of commerce between China and the west and ranks it third in commerce and wealth, after Ta-shih (the Arabs) and She-p'o (Java).[165]

H. Chandrabhānu, Jāvaka and the invasions of Ceylon (ca. 1230–1270). The Chandrabhānu of the inscription of Jaiya (Chaiya, Grahi) of 1230

[163] Coedès, *Inscriptions du Siam,* 2:6, 45.
[164] Groeneveldt, 191.
[165] Hirth and Rockhill, 23.

seems to have been the king of that name who twice invaded Ceylon, and these two invasions may have had something to do with the later capture of Tāmbralinga by the Tai, although it is doubtful that, as formerly believed, it hastened the downfall of Śrīvijaya, because it is no longer believed that Chandrabhānu had anything to do with Śrīvijaya. The *Mahavamśa* (a chronicle of Ceylon) says Chandrabhānu landed with a Jāvaka army in the eleventh year of the reign of Parākramabāhu and, under the pretext that they were friendly ("We too are Buddhists"), tried to get possession of the country; but they were driven out by the regent Vīrabahu. Several years later Chandrabhānu invaded Ceylon again, with a great army from the Pāndya and Chola countries and some Tamil soldiers, and was again driven out by Vīrabahu. Wijesinha, who made the translation and established the chronology in 1889, translated Jāvaka as "Malay" and gave the dates of Parākramabāhu's reign as 1240–75.[166]

H. Kern was the first to comment on these passages of the *Mahavamśa*. He translated Jāvaka as "Javanese" and thought the last invasion occurred during the reign of Parākramabāhu III.[167] This was corrected by Rouffaer, who went back to the chronology of Wijesinha and fixed the dates of these invasions at 1251 and about 1255.[168] Ferrand accepted Rouffaer's dates and interpreted Jāvaka as "Zābag," whose equivalence with Śrīvijaya he had just established, thus making Chandrabhānu a king of Śrīvijaya.[169] In a more ambitious study, Krom accepted Rouffaer's chronology and Ferrand's belief that Chandrabhānu was a king of Śrīvijaya and placed the second invasion in 1264. He thought Chandrabhānu was killed and that, as a consequence, Śrīvijaya was forced to give way to Malāya about 1280, a century earlier than the date popularly given for the fall of Śrīvijaya.[170]

In criticism of Krom's thesis, Coedès approved of his placing the beginning of the decline of Śrīvijaya a century earlier than previously believed and proposed to set it back another century earlier than Krom's date. This he justified (1) by calling attention to an inscription of Jaiya (Chaiya, Grahi), edited by him and dated 1183, in which a king of Malay name and

[166] L. C. Wijesinha [L. C. Nijayasimka], *The Mahavamśa* (Ceylon, 1889), ch. 83, p. 282, ch. 88, pp. 305–06; W. Geiger, *Culāvamsa*, being the more recent part of the *Mahavamśa* (London, 1929), 2:151–52.

[167] H. Kern, "Twee krijgstoehten uit des Indischen Archipeltegen Ceilon," *BKI*, 46 (1896), 240–45.

[168] F. P. Rouffaer, "Was Malaka emporium voor 1400 A.D. genaamd Malagoen..." *BKI*, 77 (1921), 259–604.

[169] G. Ferrand, *"L'empire sumatranais,"* 172–73.

[170] N. J. Krom, "De ondergang van Çrīvijaya." *Mededeslingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen—afdeeling letterkunde*, Serie A, 58 (1925), 149–69.

title seems to be reigning at Tāmbralinga, and (2) by showing that the Chandrabhānu mentioned in the inscription of Jaiya, dated 1230, was not a king or vassal of Śrīvijaya, but an independent sovereign. He advances two very good arguments in support of this thesis: (1) the title of Śrī Dharamarāja, which appears in the inscription of 1230 for the first time, is peculiar to Tāmbralinga, (2) Chandrabhānu belonged to the Padmavaṁśa dynasty, completely different from the Śailendra of Śrīvijaya. He translated Jāvaka as meaning the "Malays," common to Sumatra and Tāmbralinga. At the instance of Jouvreau-Dubreuil, based on a study of the epigraphy of the presidency of Madras, he concluded that for the end of the twelfth century the dates of Wijesinha's chronology are about fifteen years too high and, making the corrections, he placed the dates of Parākramabāhu II's reign at 1225–60 and the dates of the two invasions at 1236 and 1256. The latter date thus agrees with that of the Pali account of a visit of Rocarāja, Tai prince of Sukhothai, to the court of Śrī Dhamma nagara of Tāmbralinga. Thus, Chandrabhānu being an independent king, these two expeditions to Ceylon have nothing to do with the decline of Śrīvijaya to the profit of Malāyu. But the presence of an inscription of Chandrabhānu at Jaiya shows that he conquered the Bandon region; and Indian epigraphy (Pāndya inscriptions of 1264 and 1265) seem to show that in 1264–65 the Cholas conquered Ceylon, and that they conquered and decapitated the king of Kadāram[171] (Tamil for Kedah, Kalāh). This is strengthened by another inscription which states that a Pāndya king (of south India) took Ceylon between 1254 and 1269. "If in the middle of the thirteenth century," says Coedès, "Śrīvijaya no longer possessed Kadāram, it no longer had complete mastery of the strait and the decadence had already commenced." If, in the inscription of Jaiya dated 1183, a king of Malāyu appears at Jaiya, he argues, it is because Malāyu had already displaced Śrīvijaya there. That this conclusion is in conflict with the testimony of Chao Ju-kua's *Chu-fan chih,* he counters with the observations (1) that the data of the *Chu-fan chih* is not always current, and (2) that Malāyu is not mentioned as a vassal of San-fo-ch'i in 1225, while Palembang is so mentioned, and (3) San-fo-chi's last embassy appeared at the court of China in 1178. But he notes several circumstances foreshadowing the end of the influence of Malāyu at Tāmbralinga, viz.,

[171] The belief that Chandrabhānu was killed rested on the statement of the inscription of the tenth year (1264 A.D.) of the reign of Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāndya (a Pāndya king of south India) that that king took "the crown and the crowned head of the Sāvaka (Jāvaka) king" (Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais,* 48).

(1) the Pali influence of the inscription of 1183, (2) the religion motive of Chandrabhānu's mission to Ceylon, and (3) the flourishing state of Hinayanism at Tāmbralinga as shown by the inscription of Rāma Khambeng (1292) indicating an alliance of Chandrabhānu with the Tai against the Mahayanism of Malāyu.[172]

Coedès's article ultimately drew replies from two eminent Indian historians. In a book published ten years later, R. C. Majumdar[173] doubts that Coedès is justified in assuming that the mahārāja of the inscription of 1183 was necessarily of a Malāyu line because an inscription of a century or more later, found in Malāyu, gives a king of the same name and title (see *infra,* note 152). He questions that the inclusion of Palembang in the list of dependencies of San-fo-ch'i (1225) and the omission of Malāyu from that list meant that Palembang had lost precedence to Malāyu. He thinks Chandrabhānu was not only a ruler of Śrīvijaya, but that he was the last great ruler of the Śailendra and that the fact that he was called king of the Sāvakas (= Jāvaka, see note 171) and felt himself strong enough to send two expeditions against Ceylon discounts Coedès's view of the decline of Śrīvijaya before that time. He thinks the revolts of Chien-pi and Tāmbralinga mentioned in the *Chu-fan chih* (Tāmbralinga is said to be a vassal, but with its own king) are evidence of the beginning of the disruption of the empire of San-fo-ch'i, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Majumdar seems to interpret the inscriptions referred to by Coedès to mean that Chandrabhānu was dethroned and beheaded; for he says that the inglorious end of Chandrabhānu gave Java its opportunity in Sumatra and the peninsula.

In an able article in a Dutch journal in the same year (1937),[174] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri begins by questioning Coedès's reasons for thinking that Chandrabhānu must have been in control of Kalāh (Kadāram) and that Śrīvijaya was no longer in control of the straits. He says the title, king of Kadāram, applied in the tenth century to the Mahārāja of Śrīvijaya, designated, in the middle of the thirteenth century, a king of the Malay peninsula. As historian of Pāndya,[175] fresh from a study of the Tamil inscriptions of the Pāndya country, Sastri maintained that taking "the crown of the Sāvakan [Jāvaka] king together with his crowned head" does not mean the decapitation of that king, but only his submission in open as-

[172] G. Coedès, "A propos de la chute du royaume de Çrīvijaya," *BKI,* 83 (1927), 459–72.

[173] Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa* (Dacca, 1937), bk. 2, ch. 3 and Appendix.

[174] K. A. Nilakanta Śastri, "Śrīvijaya, Chandrabhānu and Vīra-Pāndya," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde,* 77 (1937) 251–68.

[175] Śastri, *The Pāndyan kingdom* (London, 1929).

sembly. He thinks the enumeration of Kadāram in the last of tributaries of King Vīra Pāndya, in the high-flown court poetry of the *praśasti,* has no great historical significance. He says that the significant differences between the two Pāndyan inscriptions of 1264 and 1265, quoted by Coedès — one of which mentions the king of Kadāram and the other the Sāvakan king in such a manner as to assure their identity — do not exist. He dates them as 1263 and 1264 and says that both inscriptions speak of the conquest of the Sāvakan (Jāvakan) king and the second also mentions the king of Kadāram as a vassal (Sastri, 257–58; Coedès as in note 172, pp. 466–67). He also says that the *praśasti* of all Vīra Pāndya's inscriptions, after the fourth year of his reign, mention this list of tributary countries in a more or less set form. Thus the theory of the identity of the Sāvakan (Jāvakan) king and the king of Kadāram is destroyed. Sastri thinks there is not sufficient evidence that the invasion of Ceylon started from the Malay Peninsula. He thinks that, between the two expeditions, the Jāvakas could have established strongholds on the near by mainland. He cites a Ceylonese document which would make Chandrabhānu a ruler of Madras. The *Mahavamśa* says nothing of a Pāndyan invasion, and one cannot be certain that it even refers to the same campaign as does the Pāndyan inscriptions. Against Jouveau-Dubreuil's correction of Wijesinha's chronology, Sastri points out that the chronology of the Geiger translation (note 166), which places the dates of Parāmakramabāhu II's (of Ceylon) reign at 1236–79, is much more satisfactory from the standpoint of South Indian history and epigraphy. On this basis, the dates of the two expeditions would be 1247 and about 1270. There is no reason to think that a Pāndyan invasion of Ceylon coincided with either of these dates. "If the Pāndyan inscriptions of the period are allowed to contain any element of truth, the *Mahāvamsa* account of the reign of this ruler [Parāmakramabāhu II] must be treated as an elaborate piece of pious whitewashing" (p. 264). Sastri thinks the Geiger chronology does not interfere with the connection of Chandrabhānu with the two invasions of Ceylon. He thinks that, after the first invasion, a Jāvaka settlement was established in Ceylon, possibly under a son of Chandrabhānu, and the Pāndya campaign took place in the interval between the two invasions of Chandrabhānu. Sastri thinks the Jāvaka settlement may have been earlier than the first invasion and may have been a cause of either or both of these invasions.

In his article on Śrīvijaya published in 1940, Sastri reiterates his views as given above and expresses the belief that "neither the Grahi [Jaiya] Buddha inscription of 1183 nor even the inscription of Chandrabhānu

of 1230, is seen to contain any tangible evidence of the decline of Śrī Vijaya" and that "there is no evidence to show that Chandrabhānu was the ruler of Kadāram [Kedah]."[176]

In his recent book, published in 1948, Coedès accepts the conclusions of Sastri regarding the Ceylon campaigns; i.e., he accepts the Geiger chronology for the dates of the two invasions, 1247 and 1270, and thinks the Jāvakas established a colony in that island at the time of the first invasion and that the Pāndyas established their suzerainty there in 1258 and again interfered about 1263. But he reasserts his opinion that, from 1178 or 1183, "Malāyu (Jambi) became...the center of gravity of the empire of the Mahārāja at the expense of Palembang."[177]

I. The Tai overrun the Malay Peninsula (thirteenth century). The Tai appeared in the Menam valley, as an organized people, about the middle of the twelfth century. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, they had established several semi-independent principalities there, always recognizing the sovereignty of the government of the Khmer Empire.[178] After the death of Jayavarman VII,[179] the Khmer Empire began to fall apart. Some time early in the thirteenth century, two of these local Tai chiefs overthrew the commander of the Khmer garrison at Sukhothai on the upper Menam[180] and founded there the first Tai kingdom established within the boundaries of what had been the Khmer Empire. One of these chieftains, who had married the daughter of a Khmer emperor – Coedès thinks of Jayavarman VII – and had been given the title of Indrapatīndrāditya, or Indrāditya, granted this title to the other and swore him in as the first king of Sukhothai.[181] The date of this event has generally been given as a little before the middle of the thirteenth century, but Coedès, upon the basis of his recent investigations, thinks it occurred somewhat

[176] Śastri, Śrī Vijaya," *BEFEO,* 40 (1940) 297–98.

[177] G. Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 309–11, 301. The author of this article adds another argument to support the belief that from about this period, Śrīvijaya was not completely in control of the west coast of the Bandon region: The *Ling-wai-tai ta* (1178) says Chenla was bounded on the south by Grahi, which seems to imply that Grahi, which was in the hands of Chandrabānu in 1230, extended across the peninsula at this time.

[178] Briggs, "The appearance and historical usage of the terms Tai, Thai, Siamese and Lao," *JAOS* (1949), 71.

[179] Briggs, in his "A sketch of Cambodian history," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 6 (August 1947), 353, thinks Jayavarman VII died about 1215, basing his opinions largely on the disastrous campaigns in Champa and Annam in 1216 and 1218. Recent investigations of Coedès lead him to fix the date of his death at 1218 or 1219. "L'année de la Lièvre, 1219, A.D.," *India antigua* (Leyden, 1947), 83–87; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 318–19.

[180] Probably the governor of the old dependent state of San-lo.

[181] Coedès, "Les origines de la dynastie de Sukhodaya," *JA* (13), 1920; 233–45.

earlier.[182] According to semilegendary Shan[183] documents (in Pali), the Mau Shan Prince, Sam Lung-pha, *sawbwa* of Mogaung, before he established the Tai kingdom of the Ahoms in Assam in 1229, raided the Menam valley and the Malay peninsula as far as Tawi (Tavoy) and Yansaleng (Junk Ceylon?). This purported influx of armed Tai at this time may have had something to do with the establishment of the Tai kingdom of Sukhothai.

The Pali document mentioned above says that Rocarāja, with a large army, descended by the Menam and the sea to Śrī Dharmma nagara (Tāmbralinga), where the king greeted him and persuaded the king of Ceylon to send him a statue of Sihing, which Rocarāja brought back to Sukhothai. This is said to have occurred in 1256.[184] Rocarāja must be identified with Indrāditya. The same document says his son Rāmarāja ruled after him at Sukhothai. The inscription of Rāma Khamheng, dated in 1292, says that monarch was the third son of Indrāditya and succeeded him after the reign — which must have been short — of an elder brother.[185] No date is given for the accession of Rāma Khamheng. His earliest known date is 1283, the date on which he reduced the Siamese language to writing,[186] when he seems already to have been reigning for some time. The date of his accession has been generally placed at about 1270 or 1275; but in the light of his recent investigations, Coedès is inclined to place it a little earlier.

Some time between the date of his accession and 1292 or a little later[187] Sukhothai got possession of the peninsula as far south as Tāmbralinga at least,[188] for, in his inscription of 1292, Rāma Khamheng lists among his conquests Rājaburi, Petchaburi, and Śrī Dharma nagara (Tāmbralinga), "up to the sea which marks the frontier." This last remark seems to indi-

[182] Coedès now thinks Indrāditya came to the throne about 1220 *(Etats hindouisés,* 328).

[183] Briggs, "Tai, Thai, etc." 67; Ney Elias, *Introductory sketch of the history of the Shans* (Calcutta, 1876), 17–20.

[184] Coedès, "Laos Occidentales," *BEFEO,* 25 (1925), 98–99.

[185] Coedès, *Inscriptions du Siam,* 1:44; C. B. Bradley, "The oldest known writing in Siamese," *JSS,* 6, pt. 1 (1909), 25–26.

[186] J. Burnay and G. Coedès, "The origins of the Sukhodaya script," *JSS,* 21, pt. 2 (1927), 87–102.

[187] Coedès thinks the latter part of the inscription, enumerating the regions conquered, may have been a postscript added a little later than the rest of the inscription and that all these conquests may not have taken place before 1292.

[188] Coedès, quoting Dutch documents, says that, in 1275, taking advantage of the decline of Śrīvijaya, Kritinagara of Singhasari (Java) sent an expedition which established Javanese suzerainty over Malāyu and some places in the Malay peninsula *(Etats hindouisés,* 332). He also says that this expedition was contemporary with the Tai expedition which Mon documents allude to before 1280 *(ibid.,* 338; C. O. Blagden, "The empire of the Mahārāja," *JRAS, Straits branch,* 81[1920] 25).

cate that the Tai conquered the entire peninsula at that time, of which there seems to be other evidence; for, the annals of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty *(Yüan shih)* says that in 1295 an imperial order was directed to the Hsien (Sukhothai), who, it says, had been engaged for some time with the Ma-li-yü-erh (Malāyu) asking the Hsien to keep their promise not to harm their neighbors.[189]

Thus it seems that, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Tai of Sukhothai, whom the Chinese called Hsien (Sien) and who were beginning to call themselves Thai,[190] had pretty definitely overrun the Menam valley and the entire peninsula. Chou Ta-kuan, writing of Cambodia in 1296, says the country had been completely devastated by the Siamese;[191] but the capital seems to have been spared, and no part of Kambujadesa proper was alienated at this time.[192] The partly Khmerized dependent kingdom of Louvo seems to have become independent, for it sent embassies to China under the name of Lo-hu, in 1296 and after;[193] and the inscription of Rāma Khamheng does not mention Louvo among that monarch's conquests; but the upper part of the peninsula, which had once formed part of Dvāravatī — and probably Louvo, before the conquest of that region by Sūryavarman I— seems now to have fallen into the hands of Sukhothai. Thus the Khmer Empire seems to have lost its last footholds on the Malay peninsula — Tāmbralinga to Chandrabhānu before 1230 and the upper end of the peninsula to Rāma Khamheng before 1292.

Sukhothai seems to have conquered the lower part of the peninsula from Malāyu, whose settlements there at this time seem to have been called Ma-li-yü-erh by the Chinese. Thus Malāyu seems to have become temporarily dominant over Śrīvijaya in this region[194] until its control was dissipated by the expeditions of Java and the Tai. By the end of the thirteenth century, both Śrīvijaya and Malāyu had ceased to exist as anything but local states of Sumatra.

[189] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 242.

[190] Briggs, "Tai, Thai, etc.," 72.

[191] Pelliot, "Mémoires," 131.

[192] Briggs, "Siamese attacks on Angkor before 1430," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 8 (Nov. 1948), 3–6.

[193] Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," 242–44.

[194] Coedès, *Etats hindouisés,* 338–41. When Marco Polo passed through this region he says the eight states of Sumatra (which he calls Java Minor) which he enumerates each had a king of its own.

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE AND OTHER ANCIENT PLACE NAMES*

Champa, occupied what is now Annam; *see* Lin-i

占里婆 Chan-li-p'o, see Chen-li-fu

詹皁 Chan-pei (Tchan-pei) = Djambi (Jambi) in Sumatra; *see* Mo-lo-yu, Malāyu

眞臘 Chen-la (Tchen-la), successor to Fu-nan in Cambodia

眞里富 Chen-li-fu (Tchen-li-fou, Chön-li-fu) = probably Chan-li-p'o = present Chanthabumi area of Siam

加羅希 Chia-lo-hsi (Kia-lo-hi) = Grahi = modern Chaiya

迦羅舍佛(弗) Chia-lo-she-fo (fu) = Kalaśapura

羯茶 Chieh-ch'a (Kie-tch'a), *see* Ko-lo

伽古羅 Ch'ieh-ku-lo (Ki'e-kou-lo), *see* Ko-ku-lo

監篦 Chien-pi (Kien-pi) = Kampar on coast of Sumatra

質 Chih (Tche) = Straits of Malacca

赤土 Ch'ih-t'u (Tch'e-t'ou) = Patani-Singora area, probably SW to Kedah

金鄰 Chin-lin (Kin-lin) = Suvannabhūmi = Thaton-Martaban area of Burma

九稚 Chiu-chih (Kieou-tche) = Chü-li = T'ou-chü-li = Takola near modern Takua Pa; *see also* Ko-ku-lo

州眉流 Chou-mei-liu (Tcheou-mei-lieu), *see* Tan-mei-liu

拘利 Chü-li (Kiu-li), *see* Chiu-chih

屈都昆 Ch'ü-tu-k'un (K'iu-tou-k'ouen), *see* Tun-hsün

Dvāravatī, *see* To-lo-po-ti

佛逝(誓) Fo-shih (Fo-che) = Shih-li-fo-shih = San-fo-ch'i = Zābag = kingdom and city of Śrīvijaya, Palembang, Sumatra

扶南 Fu-nan (Fou-nan), first important kingdom in Cambodia

Grahi = modern Chaiya (Jaiya) on Bandon Bay

訶陵 Ho-ling (Ho-ling), a kingdom in Java, sometimes a capital

訶羅旦(呵單) Ho-lo-tan (Ho-lo-tan), probably Kelantan in Malaya; possibly Ho-ling in Java

暹邏(羅) Hsien (Sien) or Hsien-lo (Sien-lo) = Syam = Sukhothai, first Tai kingdom of Siam

Kadāram = Tamil for Kedah and Kalāh

Kalāh = Arab for Kra and coast to Kedah

Kalaśapura = Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo = Chia-lo-she-fo, probably Kedah

葛葛僧祇 Ko-ko-seng-chih (Ko-ko-seng-tche), island in Straits of Malacca

哥谷羅 Ko-ku-lo (Ko-kou-lo) = Ch'ieh-ku-lo = Qaqola = earlier Chiu-chih = Takola near modern Takua Pa

* French or other common Romanization is given in parentheses after the standard Wade-Giles English Romanization. The sign = does not always mean an exact equivalent. The text of the article should be consulted for more complete and qualified identifications. The glossary has been prepared by the editor.

箇羅	Ko-lo (Ko-lo) = Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo = Chieh-ch'a = Kalaśapura = Kedah; also southern Kalāh
哥羅富沙羅	Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo = Ko-lo
郎迦	Lang-chia (Lang-kia) = Lang-ya-hsiu; *see* Tun-hsün
狼牙修(須)	Lang-ya-hsiu (hsü) (Lang-ya-sieou) = Lang-chia
	Langkasuka = Perak-Kedah area; *see* Ling-ya-ssu-chia
臨(林)邑	Lin-i (Lin-yi) = earliest kingdom of Champa
凌牙斯加	Ling-ya-ssu-chia (Ling-ya-sseu-kia, Ling-ya-ssï-kia) = Langkasuka = Perak-Kedah area
羅斛	Lo-hu (Lo-hou) = Louvo = Lopburi area of Siam
落華	Lo-hua (Lo-houa) = apparently Lo-hu
	Louvo = Lopburi area of Siam; *see* Lo-hu
羅越	Lo-yüeh (Lo-yue) = Johore, lower end of the Malay Peninsula
	Malāyu = Djambi (Jambi), Sumatra; *see* Mo-lo-yu
麻里予兒*	Ma-li-yü-erh (Ma-li-yu-eul) = Malāyu; *see* Mo-lo-yu
麻羅問	Ma-lo-wen (Ma-lo-wen, Ma-lo-wön) = Mu-liang = Malyang
	Malyang = dependency of Cambodia in S. Battambang region, probably earlier Ts'an-pan
麼羅游(末遊)	Mo-lo-yu (Mo-lo-yeou) = Ma-li-yü-erh = Malāyu = Chan-pei = Djambi (Jambi), Sumatra
莫良	Mu-liang (Mou-ling), *see* Ma-lo-wen
耨陀洹	Nou-t'o-yüan = T'o-yüan
盤盤	P'an-p'an (P'an-p'an), early kingdom in the Bandon region
八厮里	Pa-ssu-li (Pa-sseu-li), possibly Po-ssu-lan
	Po-li-lo-cha (Po-li-lo-tchah), *see* To-lo-po-ti
波羅剌	Po-lo-la, said to be east of Ch'ih-t'u
婆羅娑	P'o-lo-so, said to be west of Ch'ih-t'u
波斯蘭	Po-ssu-lan (Po-sseu-lan), on coast south of Chen-li-fu
	Qaqola = Takola; *see* Ko-ku-lo
三佛齊	San-fo-ch'i (San-fo-ts'i) = Sribuza, also Shih-li-fo-shih and Zābag
三濮	San-lo, early transcription for Syam
闍婆	She-p'o (Chö-p'o, Shö-p'o) = Java; *see also* Ho-lo-tan and Ho-ling
室(尸)利佛逝(誓)	Shih-li-fo-shih (Che-li-fo-che) = Śrīvijaya; *see* Fo-shih
	Sribuza = Sumatran coast of Straits of Malacca and Arab equivalent of San-fo-ch'i
	Śrīvijaya = a Malayan empire including most of W. Indonesia; capital, Palembang
	Suvannabhūmi = Thaton-Martaban area of Burma; *see* Chin-lin
大食	Ta-shih (Ta-che), the Arabs

* For correct character *yü* see Giles no. 13, 671.

Takola, near Takua Pa; *see* Chiu-chih and Ko-ku-lo

Tāmbralinga = modern Ligor; *see* Tan-mei-liu

曇陵 T'an-ling (T'an-ling)

單馬令 Tan-ma-ling (Tan-ma-ling) = Tan-mei-liu

丹眉流 Tan-mei-liu (Tan-mei-lieou) = Teng-liu-mei = Tan-ma-ling = Chou-mei-liu = Tāmbralinga

登流眉 Teng-liu-mei (Teng-lieou-mei) = Tan-mei-liu

典孫 Tien-sun (Tien-souen) = Tun-hsün

墮和羅 To-ho-lo (T'o-ho-lo) = To-lo-po-ti

墮羅鉢底 To-lo-po-ti (T'o-lo-po-ti, Touo-louo-po-ti) = To-ho-lo = Tu-ho-lo = Po-li-lo-cha = kingdom of Dvāravatī in the Meklong-Menam Delta of Siam

陀(陁)洹 T'o-yüan (T'o-yuan) = Nou-t'o-yüan on coast near Chanthaburi; annexed by Dvāravatī

投拘利 T'ou-chü-li (T'eou-kiu-li) = Chü-li; *see* Chiu-chih

參半 Ts'an-pan (Ts'an-pan), in S. Battambang; *see* Malyang

杜(獨)和羅 Tu-ho-lo (Tou-ho-lo), variant of To-ho-lo; *see* To-lo po-ti

都昆 Tu-k'un (Tou-k'ouen) = Ch'u-tu-k'un; *see* Tun-hsün

頓遜 Tun-hsün (Touen-siun) = Tien-sun = Lang-chia = Lang-ya-hsiu = probably Ch'u-tu-k'un = Mergui-Tenasserim area and north including area in delta of the Menam-Meklong rivers in Siam

Zābag = Arab equivalent of Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrīvijaya)