

BOOK IV

KAMBUJA

CHAPTER I

FU-NAN, THE EARLIEST HINDU EMPIRE

KAMBUJA, from which the name Cambodia is derived, roughly corresponded, in extent, to this modern State with Cochin-China added to it. It thus comprised the valley of the Mekong river with the three provinces of Kampot on the west and Svay Rieng and Thbong Khmum on the east. The last two are, however, watered by the two branches of the river Vaicos which are joined to the Mekong across the vast marshy plains by innumerable canals, both natural and artificial, and may be regarded as its tributaries forming a common delta in Indo-China.

It has been suggested that the name of the river Mekong is derived from *Mā-Gaṅgā*, the Mother-Ganges. Whatever we may think of this, there is no doubt that the Mekong played as important a rôle in the history of Kambuja as the Ganges did in the early history and civilisation of Northern India.

The Mekong is to Cambodia what the Nile is to Egypt. It is its very life. Its banks supply the habitations of the people and its regular annual inundations fertilise the country. The region beyond the reach of the flood-water is nothing but an arid desert.

From the point, below the rapid of Prah Patang, where the Mekong enters Cambodia, it is enlarged, and its bed is nearly doubled, by the large marshy depressions running parallel to its course, which have been mostly formed by the old beds of the river. It covers the country by its ramifications and is joined, near Pnom Penh, by a wide sheet of water, which connects it to the vast lake of Tonle Sap, about 62 miles to the north-west. From this point of junction the river branches off into two wide

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

streams, connected by numerous cross canals and forming islands in the intervening region, till they both fall into the China Sea forming the rich delta of Cochin-China.

When in June the sun-rays melt the snow on the Tibetan plateau and the water comes rushing down the hill streams, the Mekong and its tributaries rapidly rise, cut through their steep banks by numerous sluices, and overflow the whole region right up to the borders of the forest on the 'Highlands.' Then behind the steep river banks, marked by fruit trees, gardens and dwelling houses, one sees only a vast sheet of water submerging beneath it the lakes, the marshes and the plain. It is not till October that the water recedes and the ground becomes dry enough for cultivation.

This vast area of 'lowlands,' annually inundated by the Mekong, forms practically the whole of the inhabited area of Cambodia at the present day. In the region north of Phnom Penh, the people are settled mostly in groups along the bank of the Mekong and its tributaries, or on the borders of the highlands. In the dry season they temporarily settle in the outlying areas for purposes of cultivation, but immediately after the harvest is over they return to their homes on the river in time before it is flooded again.

In the region south of Pnom Penh the habited area is not so strictly confined to the river banks. There the people also spread here and there, wherever there are highlands fit for cultivation. This region abounds in palm-trees, and, viewed from the top of a high temple, looks like a vast palm-forest dotted by marshes or rice-fields. The region to the north and west of the 'lowlands,' beyond the reach of the annual flood, may be termed the highlands, which extends up to the Dangrek mountains in the north. The low grounds of this region are full of muddy depressions, covered with high thick grass, while the higher part, mostly covered by a reddish gravel stone without moss or naked sandstone, is nothing but an arid limitless forest. The whole of this area now lies deserted and uncultivated and is merely haunted by wild animals. But it was in the southern part of this region, called Angkor, that the Hindus built mighty cities and magnificent monuments which still excite the wonder of the world. The Hindu colonists, after a hard struggle with nature, converted it into a flourishing

centre of civilisation. When they passed away, nature triumphed and the region relapsed to its old primaeval condition.

The beginnings of Indian colonies in Cambodia, like those in other parts of Indo-China, are lost in oblivion, but are echoed in local legends and traditions. These legends and traditions cannot, of course, be regarded as true chronicles of events, but they possess historical importance inasmuch as they have preserved the popular beliefs about the foundation of Hindu civilisation, and indicate in a general way the process of Hindu colonisation of these lands.

The earliest Hindu kingdom in Cambodia is known as Fu-nan, the name by which the Chinese called it. It corresponded roughly to Cambodia and Cochin-China. The legend current in Fu-nan, as recorded by a Chinese named Kang Tai in the third century A.D., runs as follows:—

“The sovereign of Fu-nan was originally a female called Lieu-ye. There was a person called Huen-chen of Ho-fu. He was a staunch devotee of a Brahmanical god who was pleased with his piety. He dreamt that the god gave him a divine bow and asked him to take to sea in a trading vessel. In the morning he went to the temple of the god and found a bow. Then he embarked on a trading vessel and the god changed the course of wind in such a manner that he came to Fu-nan. Lieu-ye came in a boat to plunder the vessel. Huen-chen raised his bow and shot an arrow which pierced through the queen's boat from one side to the other. The queen was overtaken by fear and submitted to him. Thereupon Huen-chen ruled over the country.”

The same story is repeated in later Chinese texts, in some cases with additional details, such as the marriage between Huen-chen and Lieu-ye. The names of the king and queen are variously written as Huen-huei or Huen-tien and Ye-lieu. Huen-tien and Lieu-ye may be accepted as the correct forms. Huen-tien and the other variant forms represent the Indian name Kaundinya. Lieu-ye probably means “Leaf of Willow.” It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇas of Kaundinya *gotra* are mentioned in an inscription of Mysore, belonging probably to the second century A.D.

According to the Chinese account, the primitive people of Fu-nan were semi-savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks. Huen-tien, who was a follower of the Brahmanical religion, introduced the elements of civilised life among them; in particular he made the women wear clothes.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

This Huen-tien was most probably a Hindu colonist who came direct from India, though the possibility is not altogether excluded that he might have been a Hinduised colonist from some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. From the accounts of subsequent events his arrival cannot be placed later than the first century A.D. No particulars of Huen-tien's reign are known to us, but his son is said to have been given an appanage of seven towns. His descendants continued to rule for about 100 years. Pan-Pan, the last ruler, left the cares of government to his great general Fan-man, or Fan-che-man. When the king died after a reign of three years Fan-che-man was elected king by the people (c. 200 A.D.).

Fan-che-man was an able ruler and laid the foundations of the greatness of Fu-nan. He constructed a powerful navy and conquered about ten kingdoms. He established his authority over the neighbouring States to a distance of five or six thousand *li* which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. Although the Chinese names of the vassal States cannot all be satisfactorily identified, we may hold in a general way that nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Fu-nan which thus became the first Hindu Colonial Empire in Indo-China. It is held by some scholars that Fan-che-man is to be identified with Śrī Māra, the first Hindu king of Champā mentioned above, and that this kingdom was then a vassal State of Fu-nan. But this view has not gained general acceptance. Fan-che-man assumed the title "Great king of Fu-nan," and was about to lead a campaign against Kin-lin (Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa) when he fell ill and died. During his illness he had sent his eldest son Fan-kin-cheng to take charge of the army, but the general Fan-chan, son of the elder sister of Fan-che-man, taking advantage of the absence of Fan-kín-cheng, declared himself king and put Fan-kin-cheng to death (c. 225 A.D.).

The reign of Fan-chan is of special importance as we know definitely that he established diplomatic relations with both China and India. He sent an embassy to China in 243 A.D., offering as presents a few musicians and some products of the country. He also sent one of his relations named Su-Wu as an ambassador to India. Su-Wu embarked at Teu-kiu-li, probably the famous port of Takkola, and reached the mouth of the great

FU-NAN

river of India (Ganges) after about a year. Having proceeded up the river for 7000 *li* he met the king of India. The latter cordially welcomed Su-Wu and arranged for his visit to the different parts of the kingdom. He sent two envoys to accompany Su-Wu to the king of Fu-nan with a present of four horses of the Yu-che country, and they came to Fu-nan four years after Su-Wu had left the country.

These four years, however, witnessed great political changes. King Fan-chan was no longer on the throne of Fu-nan. He was assassinated by Fan-chang, a younger son of Fan-che-man. Fan-chang was a baby at the time of his father's death, but when he was twenty years old, he collected a few brave persons and killed Fan-chan in order to avenge the murder of his elder brother. It is not definitely known whether Fan-chang ascended the throne, but even if he did so, his reign must have been short. He was assassinated by the general Fan-siun who succeeded him as king of Fu-nan.

It was during the reign of Fan-siun, probably some time between 245 and 250 A.D., that the Chinese ambassadors K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying visited Fu-nan. It was evidently in recognition of the embassy sent by him to China. The Chinese ambassadors met there Chen-song, one of the envoys sent by the king of India.

K'ang T'ai wrote an interesting account of Fu-nan. The only point that need be referred to here is his observation that though the country is beautiful, it is strange that the men went about naked. King Fan-siun, however, stopped this indecent habit.

Fan-siun had a long reign and sent several embassies to China in the years 268, 285, 286 and 287 A.D.

The next reference to Fu-nan in Chinese history is in connection with an embassy sent in A.D. 357 by a Hindu, or Indian, named Chantan. According to the Chinese texts this Hindu took the title of the king of Fu-nan. This indicates a period of political troubles with several claimants for the throne. The name of the Hindu may be restored as Chandana or Chandra: S. Lévi has suggested that this foreign ruler might be a member of the royal Kushāṇa family, who, dispossessed of territories in Eastern India by the Guptas, might have come to Fu-nan to try his fortunes.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the throne of Fu-nan was occupied by Kiao-chen-ju or Kauṇḍinya. The *History of the Liang Dynasty* has preserved the following story about him:

"Kauṇḍinya was a Brahman and an inhabitant of India. One day he heard a supernatural voice asking him to go and reign in Fu-nan. He reached Pan-pan to the south of Fu-nan. The people of Fu-nan cordially welcomed him and elected him king. He introduced Indian laws, manners and customs."

This story preserves an echo of a fresh stream of influence coming direct from India, as a result of which the country was thoroughly Brahmanised. Coedès holds that this is also due to the downfall of royal dynasties, like the Pallavas on the eastern coast of India, on account of the successful military expedition of Samudragupta.

Next we hear of Che-li-to-pa-mo, a successor of Kauṇḍinya, sending embassies, with presents, to the imperial Court in 434, 435 and 438 A.D. The name may be the rendering of an Indian name like Śrī Indravarman or Śreṣṭhavarman.

The Chinese texts tell us a great deal more about another successor of Kauṇḍinya.

"Towards the close of the Song period (420-478 A.D.) king Cho-ye-pa-mo (Jayavarman) ruled in Fu-nan. His family name was Kauṇḍinya. He sent some merchants to Canton for purposes of trade. On their return journey the Indian monk Na-Kia-sien (Nāgasena) joined them for coming back to his country. But a storm forced them to land in Champā whose people plundered all their goods. Nāgasena, however, reached Fu-nan.

In A.D. 484 Jayavarman sent Nāgasena to the imperial court with a long petition, the full text of which is given in the Chinese chronicles. The petition narrates in detail how a rebellious subject of Fu-nan, named Kieu-cheu-lo, fled to Champā, organised a rebellion there and made himself master of Champā. He was there indulging in all sorts of violence and injustice, and what was worse, adopted an attitude of open hostility against the king of Fu-nan, his original master. Jayavarman asked for help from the emperor. Even if the emperor were unwilling to send a powerful army to chastise the king of Champā, Jayavarman requested him to send a small force to help him in punishing the wicked king. Nāgasena proceeded to the imperial capital and gave an account of the manners and customs of Fu-nan, the most interesting point in which is a reference to the dominant cult of Maheśvara. He also presented a poem, which is somewhat obscure but evidently enlogises the god Maheśvara, Buddha and the emperor.

The emperor praised the god Maheśvara and condemned the wicked usurper of the throne of Champā. But then he added: "It is only by the culture and virtue that I attract the distant people, but I do not like to have recourse to arms."

FU-NAN

In 503 A.D. Jayavarman again sent an embassy to the imperial court with presents including an image of Buddha, made of coral. He sent two more embassies to the imperial court, one in 511 and the other in 514 A.D. There is no doubt that throughout his reign a very cordial and intimate relation subsisted between the two countries. This is further evidenced by the fact that two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan settled in China, and translated canonical texts.

Jayavarman's chief queen was named Kulaprabhāvatī. His death in 514 A.D. was followed by a struggle for the throne. His elder son Rudravarman, born of a concubine, succeeded him after having killed the younger son born of a legitimate wife. Most probably this son was Guṇavarman, and his mother was Kulaprabhāvatī, of both of whom we possess Sanskrit inscriptions.

Rudravarman sent no less than six embassies to China between 517 and 539 A.D. He is also known to us from a Sanskrit Buddhist inscription. He is the last king of Fu-nan referred to by name in the Chinese texts. During or shortly after his reign Fu-nan was invaded by the rulers of Kambuja, which was originally a vassal State in northern Cambodia but had become independent and grown very powerful under able rulers. The king of Fu-nan was defeated and removed his capital from Vyādhapura (near Ba Phnom) to Naravaranagara (Angkor Borei), in the southern part. But before the end of the seventh century A.D., Fu-nan was completely conquered by Kambuja and ceased to exist as a separate political unit.

The early history of Fu-nan is a repetition of that of almost every ancient Hindu colony in the Far East. Originally a country of savages or semi-barbarians, it imbibes the element of civilisation from a Hindu or Hinduised chief who establishes his authority either by conquest or by more peaceful methods. Gradually it comes more and more into direct contact with India and Hindu culture and civilisation becomes the dominant feature.

In the case of Fu-nan we can distinctly trace two broad stages of Indianisation, one in the first and another in the fourth century A.D., and in both cases under the influence of its rulers, whose names are supposed to represent the same

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

Indian name, [Kaunḍinya. The earlier, Hu-tien, is said to have followed the Brahmanical cult; but there is no definite information of his original home. There is, however, no doubt that Kaunḍinya of the fourth century A.D. came direct from India, as this is explicitly stated in the Chinese Texts.

The earliest general account of Fu-nan is given in the History of the Tsin Dynasty which covers the period from 265 to 419 A.D. It runs as follows—

“The kingdom of Fu-nan is more than 3000 li to the west of Lin-yi (Champā) in a great bay of the ocean. The country is three thousand li in extent. There are many walled towns, palaces, and houses. The people are black and ugly. They have curly hair and go about naked and barefooted. Their nature is simple and they are not at all given to theft or robbery. They apply themselves to agriculture. They sow one year and gather harvest during next three years. Moreover they love to engrave and chisel their ornaments. They mostly take their food on silver utensils. The taxes are paid in gold, silver, pearls and perfumes. They have many books and there are libraries and archives. In writing they use an alphabet derived from India. Their funeral and marriage ceremonies are like those of Champā.”

Other Chinese texts also contain accounts of Fu-nan. These, along with the three Sanskrit inscriptions so far discovered, leave no doubt that the people of Fu-nan had imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation to a very large extent.

The three principal religions of India, *viz.* Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism all flourished in Fu-nan. Indian philosophical ideas, religious beliefs and mythology were familiar, and the rituals and forms of worship were well-known. Sanskrit language and literature were cultivated and the Indian alphabets were used in writing. The Brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda, Upaveda and Vedāṅga settled there in large number. Indian art also made its influence felt, and temples and images of gods, similar to those in India, were set up in various parts of the kingdom. The caste system, at least in its general form, was introduced, though it appears that even the Brāhmaṇas often adopted various secular professions. The essential elements of Hindu culture were thus thoroughly established in Fu-nan by the sixth century A.D. From this centre they radiated on all sides and this process was facilitated by the conquests of Fan-che-man and other kings.

CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOM OF KAMBUJA

ALTHOUGH Fu-nan was the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom in Cambodia and played a great part in spreading Hindu culture in that region, it gradually passed into oblivion after the seventh century A.D., when Kambuja took its place as the leading State and established its supremacy over the whole country. Since that time Kambuja continued its glorious career for nearly seven hundred years till the inevitable decline set in about the fourteenth century A.D. But although shorn of power and glory, it still continues to be a political entity.

The legendary account of the origin of the kingdom runs as follows:—

In the dim past Cambodia was a desert of sand and rocks. One day Kambu Svāyambhuva, the king of Āryadeśa, found himself in this dreary landscape. The death of his wife Merā, whom the great god Śiva himself gave to him, made him disconsolate and he left his country "in order to die in the wildest desert" he could find. Having reached Cambodia he entered into a grotto. To his horror Kambu found himself in the midst of a large number of huge, many-headed snakes whose piercing eyes were turned towards him. Kambu, however, boldly unsheathed his sword and advanced towards the biggest snake. To the utter amazement of Kambu, the snake spoke in a human voice and asked his whereabouts. On hearing Kambu's story the serpent said: "Your name is unknown to me, stranger, but you spoke of Śiva, and Śiva is my king, as I am the king of the Nāgas, the great snakes. You seem to be courageous too; therefore abide with us in this land you have chosen and end your grief." Kambu remained, and came to like the Nāgas who could take human shape. Several years later he married the Nāga king's daughter. The king of the Nāgas possessed magic power and turned the arid land into a beautiful country like that of Āryadeśa. Kambu ruled over the land and the kingdom came to be called after him 'Kambuja'.

This story is undoubtedly an echo of the beginning of Hindu colonisation in central Cambodia, the early seat of the Kambuja kingdom. But whether its early colonists came from Fu-nan on the sea-coast along the Mekong river, or reached this region

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

by overland route through Siam on the west or Champā on the east cannot be determined. Nor can we fix the date of the foundation of this Hindu kingdom with any degree of certainty. Its earliest historical king is Śrutavarman who founded a royal family, but we do not know the name of any other member except his son Śreshṭhavarman. Kambuja was originally a vassal State, but Śrutavarman or one of his successors established its independence. Śreshṭhapura, the capital of the kingdom, probably named after the second king, was in the immediate neighbourhood of Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos. On the summit of this hill, then called Liṅgaparvata, was a temple of Bhadreśvara Śiva, the tutelary deity of the royal family. For a long time it was believed that the kings of this family were vassals of Fu-nan. But it is now known that a king named Devānīka, probably a ruler of Champā, was in possession of the Mekong Valley above the fall of Khong, *i.e.* the region round Bassac (the real name of which was Cham-pasak), some time before the end of the fifth century A.D. It is therefore likely that the family of Śrutavarman ruled over the plain to the south of the Dangrek mountains and the valley of the Mekong immediately to the south of Khong, and were at first vassals, either of Fu-nan or of Champā. In the sixth century A.D. these chiefs of Kambuja threw off their yoke and extended their authority as far north as Bassac. It is interesting to note that Bhadreśvara Śiva whom they accepted as the tutelary deity was also the tutelary deity of the kings of Champā.

The dynasty of Śrutavarman was followed by that of Bhavarman who was probably connected with the royal families of Kambuja and Fu-nan or Champā. Bhavarman became king about the middle of the sixth century A.D., and, like kings of Fu-nan, he claimed descent from Kauṇḍinya, rather than from Kambu. It has been accordingly suggested that he was connected with the ruling family of Fu-nan. But it is equally, if not more, probable that his association was with Champā rather than Fu-nan. He had his capital at Bhavapura, situated about 20 miles to the north-west of Kompon Thom, *i.e.* within the original limits of the Kambuja kingdom before it was extended to Bassac region. Bhavarman was a great conqueror and considerably increased the power and extent of the

KINGDOM OF KAMBUJA

kingdom of Kambuja. His brother Chitrasena, who assumed the name Mahendravarman on ascending the throne, succeeded either Bhavavarman, or the latter's son who had a short reign. Mahendravarman led many military expeditions against the king of Fu-nan who was either Rudravarman, mentioned above, or one of his successors. Unable to resist the growing power of Kambuja, the king of Fu-nan fled to the south and ruled over a petty State from a new capital city. Mahendravarman, who thus conquered nearly the whole of the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan, died some time before 616 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Isānavarman (or Isānasena). The new king continued the war against Fu-nan and finally subjugated it, probably about 630 A.D. His kingdom comprised the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, and also the valley of the Mun river to the north of the Dangrek mountains. He transferred the capital to a new city, called after him Isānapura, which may be identified with Sambor Prei Kuk. Isānavarman sent an embassy to China in 616 or 617 A.D., and had also probably diplomatic relations with India. His name is also intimately associated with the kingdom of Champā. As noted above (p. 121), Champā was then passing through a series of palace revolutions and political intrigues, and the Kambuja kings, specially Mahendravarman and Isānavarman, took an active part in its affairs. Mahendravarman sent an ambassador to Champā, and Isānavarman's daughter Śrī Śarvāṇī was married to Jagaddharma. Some time before 653 A.D. Prakāśadharmā, son of Śarvāṇī, became king of Champā and restored order and tranquillity. The last known date of Isānavarman is 627 A.D.

The next two kings of Kambuja known to us are Bhavavarman II and Jayavarman I. Nothing of importance is known of them, not even their relationship with each other or with the previous kings. They are described as great and powerful in their records, and probably maintained intact the kingdom of Kambuja. The only known date of Bhavavarman II is 639 A.D. Jayavarman is known to have been on the throne at least from 657 to 681 A.D. and with him ends the royal line founded by Bhavavarman. One of these kings sent an embassy to Kao Tsong, the T'ang Emperor of China, who ruled from 650 to 683 A.D.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

For more than a century after the death of Jayavarman I our knowledge of the history of Kambuja is very meagre and confused. In an inscription, dated 713 A.D., Queen Jayadevi, perhaps the widow of Jayavarman I, laments 'that the times are out of joint'. According to the Chinese chronicles, Kambuja was divided into two States at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. They call them 'Chen-la (the Chinese name for Kambuja) of the land' and 'Chen la of the water'. The former, 'full of hills and dales', probably denoted a kingdom in the northern part of Cambodia proper. This kingdom was a powerful one. It maintained diplomatic relations with China and sent an embassy to the Imperial court in 717 A.D. But five years later it sent military help to an Annamite chief who had rebelled against China, and the combined force defeated the Chinese army. The friendly relations with China were, however, soon restored, and in 753 A.D. the son of the king visited the Chinese court and accompanied the Chinese military expedition against the kingdom of Nan-Chao (Yunnan).

In 771 the king himself paid a visit to the Chinese Emperor. The last embassy was sent to China in 799 A.D. Although details are lacking, we must presume that the Kambuja kingdom of the north, which extended along the middle course of the Mekong, was both extensive and powerful. It is, however, likely that more than one kingdom flourished in this region, corresponding to the old kingdom of Bhavapura.

By the Chen-la or Kambuja of water, covered by lakes and extending up to the sea, the Chinese evidently denoted the southern part of Cambodia proper. But we have no precise knowledge of its history during the eighth century. We know the names of a few kingdoms, such as Śambhupura, Aninditapura and Vyādhapura. The first may be reasonably identified with Sambor on the Mekong, and the third was the old capital of Fu-nap (p. 187); the location of the second is uncertain. We do not know also whether these kingdoms flourished side by side or one after another. The former seems to be the case as king Pushkarāksha, a member of the royal family of Aninditapura, is said to have obtained the kingdom of Śambhupura. It would then follow that southern Kambuja was divided into a number of States. We also know the names of a few kings, such as Nṛipatīndravarman and his son Push-

KINGDOM OF KAMBUJA

karāksha, who ruled over Śambhupura, Bālāditya, who ruled over Aninditapura, and Śambhuvarman and Nṛipāditya who probably ruled respectively over these two kingdoms. The names of some other kings are also known, but we have no idea where they ruled. Only one date is definitely known, viz. 716 A.D. for Pushkarāksha.

It would thus appear that there was a political disintegration in Kambuja, in the eighth century A.D. The situation was rendered worse by the growing power of the Śailendras towards the close of that century, and we know definitely that Kambuja was for some time a vassal State of Java. But we possess no details, and the whole of the eighth century A.D. is a dark period in the history of Kambuja. The mighty kingdom which Bhavavarman and his successors built up by their conquests had slowly crumbled away, and Kambuja had even ceased to be an independent kingdom.

Before proceeding further with the history of Kambuja, it is necessary to refer to a few kingdoms which existed between the Kambuja kingdom on the east and the Mon kingdoms in the Menam Valley on the west, to which reference will be made in Book V, Chapter II.

The most important among these was the kingdom of Chānāśa, in Korat, which existed from 7th to 10th century A.D. Of its kings we know the names of Bhagadatta, Sundaraparākrama, his son Sundaravarman, and his two sons Narapatisiṃhavarman and Maṅgalavarman. The last-named ruled in A.D. 937. At the beginning Buddhism flourished in this kingdom, but it was supplanted later by Brahmanical religion. Inscriptions of 7th or 8th century A.D. refer to two other kingdoms in this region, named Taṅgur and Śāmbuka, and to king Jayasiṃhavarman, without mentioning the name of his kingdom. Whether these kingdoms formed parts of the Khmer-kingdom of Kambuja or the Mon kingdom of Dvāravatī, or were subordinate to them, cannot be determined.

A Sanskrit copper-plate inscription found at U T'ong records the gift of king Harshavarman, grandson of Iśānavarman, to the Śaivite God Āmratakeśvara. On palaeographic evidence the record may be referred to the 7th or 8th century A.D. One is tempted, therefore, to identify Iśānavarman with the Kambuja king of that name, mentioned above (p. 185).

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

Harshavarman would then be a king of Kambuja, otherwise unknown, who either preceded or followed Bhavavarman II. But the inscription presents some features which are not met with in Kambuja inscriptions of the time, and we have no independent evidence to show that the boundary of the Kambuja kingdom extended so far to the west. But in any case, the inscription proves the existence of a kingdom in U T'ong as early as the seventh century A.D. This place so far figured in history only in the 14th century A.D., when it was devastated by an epidemic of cholera and a Thai prince left it in A.D. 1349 to found the kingdom of Ayuthia in Siam. Another mutilated Sanskrit inscription found at Hin Tang in the province of Chaiyaphun refers to a Buddhist king Chandrāditya.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF ANGKOR

THE obscurity which envelops the history of Kambuja for more than a century after the death of Jayavarman I lifts a little with the accession of Jayavarman II at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. With him begins a new era in the history of Kambuja, and we can follow the course of events without a break down to our own days. Jayavarman II figures prominently in the annals of Kambuja and posterity has regarded him almost as a divine hero who was a powerful conqueror and mighty builder. Until recent years modern historians shared this view and gave him credit for building some of the greatest monuments of Kambuja. But recent discoveries have made a great change in our conception of the achievements of the king.

We hardly know anything about the early life of Jayavarman, his family and antecedents. Genealogical accounts of a later age represent his grandmother (mother's mother) as a niece (sister's daughter) of Puskarāksha, ruler of the united kingdoms of Śambhupura and Aninditapura mentioned above, and his queen as a niece (sister's daughter) of king Rudravarman, of whom nothing else is known. One account refers to his maternal uncle as a king. These relationships, even if we accept them as true, are not such as would make him a legitimate heir to the throne. Nor does it appear that he got the kingdom by normal right of succession.

All that we definitely know is that he resided for some time in Java and then returned to Kambuja which was under the domination of Java. He established an independent kingdom in Kambuja in A.D. 802 and invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāma, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tantric rites so that Kambujadeśa might no longer be dependent on Java and have a paramount ruler of its own. This Brāhmaṇa, who probably came from India, performed the Tantrik rites

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

and instituted the cult of Devarāja, which henceforth became the State religion. Hiraṇyadāma initiated the royal priest Śivakaivalya into the mysteries of this cult, and the king ordained that henceforth the royal priest should be chosen exclusively from the members of Śivakaivalya's family. This was followed in practice for at least 250 years, and a remote descendant of Śivakaivalya, who flourished about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., has left a long record of the activities of his family from the time of Jayavarman II when it first came into prominence in connection with the cult of Devarāja. Practically all that we know of Jayavarman II is derived from this record, supplemented by two others of a similar type. We are told that the king first fixed his capital at Indrapura, which has been located, with great probability, in the province of Thbong Khmum, to the east of Kompong Chan. He next launched a campaign of conquest and proceeded to Purva-diśa, to the east of Angkor region. He then changed his capital, first to Hariharālaya (Roluos, about 13 miles to the south-east of Angkor Thom) and then to Amarendrapura, whose identity is uncertain, but which probably was situated close to Angkor. He then fixed his abode on the top of the hill called Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen, to the north-west of Angkor Thom). It was there that the mysterious cult of Devarāja was instituted. Then he returned to Hariharālaya and reigned from this capital till his death.

It would thus appear that Jayavarman gradually changed his capital from the eastern to the western part of Kambuja and finally fixed it in the Angkor region.

The names of the successive capitals indicate that Jayavarman II established his sway over the whole of Kambuja. He ascended the throne in 802 A.D. and ruled till 850 A.D. These were eventful years which saw the rise of Angkor region into importance. Unfortunately we do not know any details. The fact that for four centuries the kings of Kambuja referred to Jayavarman II as a grand and powerful monarch shows the deep impression that his reign and personality made upon posterity. His memory is still preserved under the legendary name of Ketu Māla, and the folk-tradition of Cambodia ascribes to him all the grand temples including Angkor Vat. He was really the son of Indra, so we are told, and was

RISE OF ANGKOR

taken to heaven by his father. He returned with an architect, who was the son of an Apsarā (heavenly nymph) and had learnt architecture in Indra's court from the Devaputras. He built all the monuments of Kambuja. Jayavarman's name is also associated with the sacred sword which is still preserved in the royal palace and put on by each king at the time of coronation. It is still guarded day and night by a class of persons, said to be descendants of old Brāhmaṇas. It is very likely that Jayavarman II built some notable monuments, as his residence in Java must have made him familiar with massive constructions. Unfortunately no existing monument of any importance can be ascribed to him.

Jayavarman II is generally credited by the historians with the conquest of the whole of Kambuja and consolidation of a powerful kingdom with the Angkor region as its centre. But apart from later traditions there is no evidence to support this view. So far as can be judged from available evidence, his kingdom extended from Angkor region and part of Battambang on the west to the Mekong—Indrapura region—on the east. To the north it reached the Dangrek mountains, but in the south it did not probably extend beyond the Mekong Valley at the latitude of Kompong Cham. It is more reasonable to hold that there were other kingdoms, too, in Cambodia rivalling that of Jayavarman II.

The real ground of Jayavarman's posthumous fame probably lies, neither in the large extent of his kingdom nor in the number and magnificence of his monuments, but in the fact that he set himself up as an independent king and received religious consecration as such, at a time when Java exercised suzerainty over Cambodia.

Jayavarman II revived the old tradition of Kambuja as against that of Fu-nan. He traced his origin to Kambu and Sūryavaṃśa and not to Kauṇḍinya and Somavaṃśa. He is referred to as Kambuja-rājendra and guardian of the honour of the solar race of king Kambu. His queen bore the name or epithet Kambuja-rājalakshmī. After him Kambujendra and Kambujeśvara became the official titles of kings and even foreigners refer to the country as Kambuja.

Jayavarman II died in 850 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Jayavardhana, who assumed the name Jayavarman on his

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

accession to the throne. The only thing that we know definitely of him is his inordinate passion for elephant-hunting. He died in 877 A.D. and with him ended the line of Jayavarman II.

Although Jayavarman II and III ruled for less than a century, their reigns constitute an important landmark in the history of Kambuja. According to a Chinese chronicle written in 863 A.D., the Khmer kingdom at that time included the whole of Central Indo-China and touched the frontiers of Yunnan in southern China. The Arab writers also describe the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the king of which receives homage of other kings. In spite of possible exaggerations it may be said that the two kings laid the foundations of the great Kambuja empire which was destined one day to comprise nearly the whole of Indo-China. Considering the great reputation of Jayavarman II, as a powerful conqueror, as mentioned above, he may be credited with the greater part of these conquests, but Jayavarman III might have also a large share in this political expansion. It reflects no small credit upon the two kings that they raised a small subject kingdom to the status of a powerful kingdom in Indo-China.

Secondly, the change of capital to the Angkor region was the first step in the process which led to the growth of the famous capital of Angkor Thom which could vie in grandeur with any imperial capital city that the world had seen before.

Thirdly, the establishment of the cult of Devarāja as the State religion and the predominance given to the family of royal priests by Jayavarman II became a permanent feature of the court-life, and ushered in that sacerdotal influence over the polity and social life of Kambuja which so sharply distinguished it from the other Hindu colonies in the Far East.

CHAPTER IV

THE KAMBUJA EMPIRE

I. THE DYNASTY OF INDRAVARMAN

JAYAVARMAN III was succeeded by Indravarman who ascended the throne in 877 A.D. He was the son of king Prithivīndravarman, and was descended, through his mother, from king Nṛipatīndravarman. The royal genealogy represents him as remotely related to the queen of Jayavarman II. Indravarman's queen, Indradevī, is also said to be descended through her father and mother, from three royal families, of Vyādhapura, Śambhupura and Aninditapura. She was a descendant of king Pushkarāksha, and Indravarman obtained through her the right over Śambhupura. In spite of the labours of the royal genealogists, it is difficult to hold that Indravarman was the legitimate heir to Jayavarman III. We do not know the means by which he secured the throne, but it may be taken for granted that he did not rebel against the ruling family. For his inscriptions and those of his successors refer to Jayavarman II and III with respect, and he appointed as his *guru* (preceptor) the grandson of the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II.

These relationships of the king and queen indicate the division of Cambodia into a number of principalities. Jayavarman II began the task of uniting them under one command. Indravarman, who continued to rule from the capital city of Hariharālaya, pursued the task left unfinished by his two predecessors. He did more than this. He claims in his record that his commands were respectfully obeyed by the rulers of Chīna, Champā and Yavadvīpa. We have no means of verifying how far these claims were justified. He was a great builder, We are told in one of his records, that immediately after ascending the throne he took a vow that within five days he would begin the work of construction. He built many temples,

set up images of gods therein, and excavated big tanks. His temples belong to a type of architecture which has been styled the art of Indravarman.

Indravarman was succeeded by Yaśovardhana who ascended the throne under the name Yaśovarman in 889 A.D. He is said to have been educated by Vāmaśiva, the grand-nephew of Śivakaivalya, and mastered various *śāstras* and *kāvya*s. We possess a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to his reign, some of which are quite long and written in a high-flown *kāvya* style. They indicate that Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular, was highly patronised in his court. In one of these records the king is compared to the grammarian Pāṇini and is said to have composed a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. He built a large number of temples and *āśramas*, and some of his records give detailed regulations for the inmates of the monastic establishments which throw interesting light on the religious and social life of Kamboja, perfectly modelled on Hindu ideals.

The king also distinguished himself by his military campaigns both by land and sea, and is said to have reinstated many vanquished kings and married their daughters. In spite of his preoccupations with religious and literary activities he maintained his hold over the vast empire inherited by him.

Yaśovarman transferred the capital to a new city founded by him, which was at first called Kambupurī, and later, Yaśodharapura. The royal citadel was on the summit of the hill called Yaśodharagiri which is undoubtedly the hill now known as Phnom Bakhen, just outside the southern enclosure of Angkor Thom. To the north-east of the new capital city he dug a vast tank, more than four miles long and one mile broad, known as Yaśodhara-taṭāka, now represented by the dry bed of Eastern Baray. For a long time it was believed that Angkor Thom represented the new capital city of Yaśovarman. But although this view has proved to be wrong, there is no doubt that a large part of Angkor Thom was included within the extensive enclosure of Yaśodharapura which spread on all sides round the Phnom Bakhen. The region round the newly founded capital city of Yaśovarman remained the seat of Kamboja empire throughout the period of its greatness, and he may thus be credited with the foundation of the Angkor civilisation which

KAMBUJA EMPIRE

forms the most brilliant chapter in the history of Kambuja. Yaśovarman ruled over an extensive kingdom which included Bassac (in Laos) in the north, and extended up to Chantabun on the frontier of Siam and Ha-tien on the border of Cochin-China. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, erected several big monuments and founded many *āśramas* or religious institutions to which reference will be made later. Of all the kings of Kambuja Yaśovarman appeals to us most by his personality and achievements, and he must be regarded as a great king in every sense of the term. Perhaps the court-poet did not exaggerate very much when he said that the glory of Yaśovarman was sung, even after his death, by the people "in their games, on their beds and in their travels."

The region periods of Indravarman and Yasovarman saw the completion of the task attempted by Jayavarman. The kingdom of Kambuja was united and consolidated and the word Kambuja came into use as a general appellation of the people.

Yaśovarman died about 900 A.D. and his two sons Harshavarman I and Iśānavarman II ascended the throne one after another. But Jayavarman IV, the husband of a sister of Yaśovarman, rebelled against Iśānavarman II and set up as an independent king, some time before 921 A.D., even before the death of the latter. For seven years the kingdom was partitioned between the two, and it was not till the death of Iśānavarman II, about 928 A.D., that Jayavarman IV reigned as the sole monarch of Kambuja.

Jayavarman IV had from the very beginning fixed his capital at Koh Ker, situated in a wild barren country about 50 miles north-east of Angkor. Even after the death of Iśānavarman II Koh Ker continued to be the capital of Kambuja, and it was adorned by temples, artificial lakes and other monuments by Jayavarman IV. He died in 941 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Harshavarman II. His reign was short and uneventful, and on his death in 944 A.D. the throne passed to his elder cousin Rājendravarman, the son of a younger sister of Yaśovarman. Rājendravarman probably seized the throne by violent means, though we have no definite evidence about this. Rājendravarman re-transferred the capital to Yaśodharapura, and embellished the city which was deserted for nearly a quarter of a century. We possess a large number of inscriptions contain-

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

ing very long eulogies of the king, but they do not supply much historical information. He is credited with victorious campaigns in all directions,—north, south, east and west—but no details are given. These were probably no mere empty boasts. For we know that he invaded Champā and gained some success.

Rājendravarman died in 968 A.D. and his son Jayavarman ascended the throne. He continued the aggressive policy against Champā with equal success. His reign was marked by a predominance of Buddhism. Although the official religion was Śaivism as before, the king issued instructions and regulations for the propagation of Buddhist doctrines. The king also erected some notable monuments such as Hemaśringagiri, but its identification is uncertain. Jayavarman V died in 1001 A.D.

The period of a century and a quarter (877-1001 A.D.) covered by the reigns of Indravarman and his seven successors constitutes an important landmark in the growth of Kambuja empire. The Chinese history gives us a detailed picture of the political condition of Indo-China about 960 A.D., and we find in it a definite evidence of the consolidation and extension of the political power of Kambuja. In the north its hold over the whole of Laos right up to southern China and the Chinese province of Tonkin was secured by the foundation of strongholds and new vassal States. The records of this dynasty refer to China as the boundary of Kambuja, and Indravarman even claims some sort of supremacy over China. The reference, here, is probably not to China proper, but the Thai kingdom in Yunnan in south China. It is very likely that the Kambuja kings gained some success at the cost of this kingdom. The Kambuja authority was also extended to Siam. The country of Lavapurī (Lopburi), comprising the tract between the Gulf of Siam in the south and Kampheng Phet on the north, formed an integral part of the Kambuja empire. The Kambuja kings, however, also exercised political influence over the petty principalities lying to its north. The name Khmera-rāshtra, borne by the northernmost of these States, recalls the suzerainty of Kambuja almost throughout the Menam valley. The Kambujas also established their suzerainty over the northern part of Malay Peninsula up to the isthmus of Kra. This great empire was ruled by a number of aristocratic families. They held the

KAMBUJA EMPIRE

various high offices, the highest being reserved for the members of the royal family.

II. SŪRYAVARMAN I AND II

The death of Jayavarman V was followed by a disputed succession and civil war lasting for ten years. None of the three claimants,—Udayādityavarman, Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarmān—seems to have any legitimate claim to the throne, but each proclaimed himself king, and seems to have actually ruled in some part of the kingdom. Udayādityavarman was eliminated early, but the struggle between the other two continued till about 1010 A.D., when Sūryavarman established his undisputed authority over the whole kingdom. He, however, dated his accession from 1002 A.D., probably the date of the death of Udayādityavarman or his elimination in the struggle for succession.

The antecedents of Sūryavarman I are not definitely known. According to official genealogy he was born in the family of Indravarman's mother, and his queen Vīralakshmī belonged to the royal line of Yaśovarman. Other connections with old royal families are also mentioned, but none gives him a clear title to the throne. On the other hand, according to some later chronicles preserved in Siam, he was the son of a ruling chief in north Malay Peninsula, conquered the lower Menam valley with Lopburi, and then seized the kingdom of Cambodia. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that there was a prolonged civil war in the early part of his reign and he had to engage in many wars. To safeguard his position and prevent future revolts the king instituted a novel system. He made the district officers, more than four thousand in number, take an oath in the presence of the sacred fire, the Brāhmaṇas and the *āchāryas*, offering unswerving and lifelong homage and allegiance to the king and dedicating their lives to his service. These officers solemnly swore that they "shall not honour any other king, shall never be hostile to this king, and shall not be the accomplices of any enemy." It is interesting to note that almost an identical oath is taken by the royal officials of Cambodia even to-day on the occasion of the royal coronation.

Sūryavarman I seems to have established the authority of

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

Kambuja over north Siam on a firm foundation and appointed Kambuja chiefs to rule over the population. From this time Khmer art and culture were firmly implanted in the Menam valley, and Khmer civilisation spread over the north as far as Sukhothai and Savankalok. There are reasons to believe that Sūryavarman overran the whole of Siam and even invaded Lower Burma. But we have no knowledge of the details of the campaign or its results.

Sūryavarman I excelled equally in arts of war and peace. He was versed in *Bhāshyas*, *Kāvya*, six philosophical systems and *Dharmaśāstras*. He was an ardent follower of Buddhism, but did not give up the official religion and constructed both Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples. He issued edicts containing regulation about monasteries in which it was laid down that the ascetics and Buddhist monks should offer to the king the merits of their piety.

On the death of Sūryavarman in A.D. 1050, his ministers placed Udayādityavarman II on the throne. This shows that the latter had no legitimate right to the throne, but owed his succession to the influence of a party in Court. That perhaps explains the series of revolutions that harassed the king throughout his reign. A record gives us a graphic description of three of these rebellious outbreaks and their suppression by the Commander-in-Chief, Saṅgrāma, who was richly rewarded by the grateful king for his loyalty and devotion. The kingdom also suffered much from the invasions of the Chams. The Cham general Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati defeated the Kambuja forces, took the town of Śambhupura on the Mekong, and destroyed all its sanctuaries. In spite of all these troubles the king excavated, to the west of the Capital city, a tank bigger than Yaśodharataṭāka in dimensions. It was about five miles long and one and a half mile wide. It is now represented by the Western Baray.

The king seems to have been an accomplished scholar. The royal priest Jayendrapaṇḍita taught him astronomy, mathematics, grammar, *Dharmaśāstra* and all the other *śāstras*. The king had also another *guru* named Śaṅkarapaṇḍita. We are told that in imitation of the golden mountain of Jambudvīpa (India) where dwell the gods, he had a golden mountain built in the capital city and consecrated a Śiva-liṅga in a golden

KAMBUJA EMPIRE

temple on the summit of the mountain. Śaṅkarapaṇḍita evidently wielded a great influence in the court. For we are told that when Udayādityavarman died in 1066 A.D., Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, along with his ministers, placed his younger brother Harshavarman on the throne.

Harshavarman III was involved in wars with his two powerful neighbours in the east, Annam and Champā. The former comprised Tonkin and the two northern districts of modern Annam and had thrown off the Chinese yoke in the 10th century A.D. In 1076 A.D. the Chinese emperor, having decided upon an expedition against Annam, invited the rulers of Champā and Kambuja to help him. They sent military expeditions which retreated after the defeat of the Chinese. Not long after this hostility broke out between the kings of Kambuja and Champā. A great battle took place at Someśvara, some time before 1080 A.D. The Kambuja forces were defeated and their general, prince Śrī-Nandanavarmadeva, was captured.

Harshavarman III was succeeded by Jayavarman VI in A.D. 1080. Nothing is known about his relationship with the previous kings. Later inscriptions describe him as belonging to a noble family of Mahīdharapura. Probably he was a governor who took advantage of the political disintegration and weakness of the central authority to seize the throne. It is not definitely known whether Jayavarman ever reigned at Angkor, and it is not unlikely that Nṛipatīndravarman ruled in that region till 1113 A.D. Jayavarman VI died in 1107 A.D. and was succeeded by his elder brother Dharaṇīndravarman I. The latter was defeated by Sūryavarman II, the daughter's son of his sister, who ascended the throne in 1113 A.D.

Sūryavarman II proved to be one of the greatest kings of Kambuja. He once more established the unity of the kingdom by defeating the rival king, Nṛipatīndravarman, probably a descendant of Harshavarman III. He resumed diplomatic relations with China which had been interrupted since 8th century A.D., and sent two embassies to the Imperial Court in 1116 and 1120 A.D. The Chinese emperor conferred high titles on the Kambuja king whose dominions are said to have included Lower Burma and the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese give grandiloquent description of the royal tower, and mention that the king maintained 200,000 war elephants.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

Under the inspiration of his *guru*, Divākarapaṇḍita, Sūryavarman performed the *koṭihoma*, *lakshahoma*, *mahāhoma* and various other sacrifices. He was a devotee of Vishṇu and has earned undying fame by constructing the famous Angkor Vat, one of the veritable wonders of the world. This magnificent monument of massive grandeur, which will be described later, was consecrated to god Vishṇu, and its bas-reliefs represent the king and his court, his victorious campaigns, hunting scenes, *etc.*

The Kambuja inscriptions refer in rapturous terms to the victories of Sūryavarman and his triumph over hostile kings. We are also told that the kings of other islands whom he wanted to conquer voluntarily submitted to him.

The king's expeditions against Annam and Champā, however, proved disastrous. He sent an army and a fleet against Annam in 1128, but in spite of initial successes they were forced to beat retreat. Two more expeditions, in 1132 and 1137, proved equally unsuccessful.

Sūryavarman had at first greater success in Champā and reduced its northern part, the kingdom of Vijaya, almost to a vassal State of Kambuja. But Jaya Harivarman, the new king of southern Champā, defeated the Kambuja troops and brought the whole kingdom under his authority, as has already been mentioned above (Bk. III, Ch. V). There are good grounds to believe that Sūryavarman also sent two expeditions against the Mon king of Haripuñyaya (Lampun), who had invaded Lobo, which then formed part of the Kambuja empire. But the Mon king, probably Ādityarāja, successfully resisted the Khmer army which had advanced as far as his capital city. It is to be noted, however, that according to the Chinese account the Kambuja empire extended, about the middle of the 12th century, as far as Pagan in Burma, and the Bay of Bandon in the Malay Peninsula.

The last known date of Sūryavarman II is 1145 A.D., though he probably ruled for some years more. He was succeeded by Dharaṇīndravarman II, of whom we know nothing. The next king, Yaśovarman II, was faced with a rebellion. Evidently the rebellion assumed at one time serious proportions, for we are told that the rebels attacked even the palace, and the royalist troops in the capital took to flight. Prince Śrīndrakumāra, son of the future king Jayavarman VII, came to the

KAMBUJA EMPIRE

rescue of the king. He himself fought in person with the rebels and defeated them.

It is in connection with this fight that we come across the term Sanjak, which presumably means a chief bound by a special oath or obligation to defend the person of the king or a prince. When Śrīndrakumāra came out to fight with the rebels, his body was covered by two Sanjaks, who were killed before his very eyes. The king showed appreciation of their service in a befitting manner. Posthumous honours were bestowed on them and their statues were installed in shrines. The fact that the inscriptions refer to these statues as gods shows that they were deified like kings. Needless to add that the king bestowed wealth, favours and honours on the members of their families.

The rebellion did not seriously affect the solidarity of the kingdom. For Yaśovarman felt powerful enough to send an expedition against the kingdom of Champā, led by the same prince Śrīndrakumāra. At first his enterprise proved successful. He seized the fort which Jaya Indravarman, king of Champā, had built on Mount Vek, and placed a Cham general on the throne of that kingdom. But the re-organised Cham troops caught Śrīndrakumāra in an ambush and surrounded him. On this occasion, too, he owed his life to the deliberate self-sacrifice of two of his Sanjaks who gave their lives in defending his person. As on the previous occasion, the king conferred posthumous honours on the two heroes and installed their statues in a shrine. Though the prince safely returned with his army to his kingdom, the whole expedition was an ignominious failure.

The prince Śrīndrakumāra died, while young, and his statue was also placed in the same shrine where those of his four faithful Sanjaks were installed.

The war with Champā, however, continued, and another expedition was sent to Vijaya (Central Champā) under the future king Jayavarman VII. About this time, and evidently taking advantage of the absence of royal troops in Champā, another rebellion took place in Kambuja, headed by Tribhuvanādityavarman. As soon as he heard of this outbreak, Jayavarman returned with his troops to Kambuja, but he was too late. For Yaśovarman II had been already defeated and

killed, and Tribhuvanādityavarman ascended the throne of Kambuja. This took place before 1166 A.D.

The new king of Kambuja was involved in a prolonged fight with Champā, with disastrous consequences. Jaya Indravarman, king of Champā, invaded Kambuja about 1170 A.D., and the war went on for seven years without any decisive result. At last the Cham king equipped a fleet and sent a naval expedition in 1177 A.D. The fleet sailed up the Mekong river and reached the capital city, and Jaya Indravarman plundered the capital and then retired, carrying an immense booty with him. According to the Kambuja inscription, Tribhuvanādityavarman was killed in this fight, but Kambuja was saved by the heroism of Jayavarman. He defeated the Chams in a naval engagement, and made himself master of the kingdom of Kambuja four years later. He was the son of Dharaṇīndravarman II and Chūdāmaṇi, daughter of Harshavarman III.

III. JAYAVARMAN VII, THE GRAND MONARCH

With the accession of Jayavarman VII in A.D. 1181 we are again on the firm ground. He was the last great king of Kambuja, and we know a great deal about him,—his military campaigns, his religious foundations and his works of public utility.

As regards the first, he attained conspicuous success in his wars with Champā, the eternal enemy of Kambuja. As already noted above (Bk. III, Ch. V), he invaded Champā, dethroned its prince, and put one of his own men in his place, and for long Champā remained a vassal State of Kambuja.

Jayavarman VII was also involved in war with the old enemy, the Annamites. He invaded Annam and a series of battles followed, between 1207 and 1218 A.D., without leading to any decisive result. It is interesting to note that the Kambuja army fighting in Annam not only included Cham soldiers, but also contingents from Siam and Pagan, *i.e.* Burma.

Although Jayavarman VII commanded the resources of an extensive empire, the long-drawn battles with Annam and Champā since 1190 A.D. must have exhausted the kingdom and proved too great a burden for the people. To make matters worse, the Thais in Siam were fast gathering strength

KAMBUJA EMPIRE

and proving a source of alarm and anxiety. So at last the Kambujas evacuated Champā in 1220 A.D. and concluded a peace with her two years later. It is not definitely known whether Jayavarman VII was still alive when this final withdrawal took place, for we do not know the year of his death. He was certainly alive in 1200 A.D., as he sent an embassy in that year to China, and probably ruled at least till 1218 A.D. But in any case, the credit of conquering Champā belongs to him. This brilliant triumph at the end of an age-long struggle extended the frontier of his empire to the China Sea on the east. Jayavarman VII was also successful in his military enterprise on the west. His authority was established beyond the Menam Valley to the northern part of Siam, and he also conquered a considerable portion of Lower Burma. Thus the Kambuja empire reached its greatest extent during his reign and embraced the whole of Indo-China with the exception of Upper Burma, Tonkin and the southern part of Malay Peninsula.

Jayavarman VII planned a new capital city worthy of his great empire. This is the famous Angkor Thom (*Nagara-dhāma*?). The town was surrounded by a high stone wall with a ditch beyond it, 110 yds. wide. The ditch, like the wall, has a total length of nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles and its sides are paved with enormous blocks of stone. The enclosing wall was pierced by five huge gates which gave access to the city by means of five grand avenues each 100 ft. wide and running straight from one end of the town to the other. Each gateway consisted of a huge arched opening more than 30 ft. high and 15 ft. wide, surmounted by figures of four human heads placed back to back (Pl. XVII). The town was square in shape, each side measuring about two miles. The grand avenues converge to the Temple of Bayon which occupies almost the central position of the city, and is justly regarded as a masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. To the north of Bayon is a great public square, a sort of forum, about 765 yds. long and 165 yds. wide, surrounded by famous structures such as the Baphuon, the Phimeanakas, the Terrace of Honour etc., each of which forms a splendid monument by itself.

The religious foundations and works of public utility undertaken by Jayavarman VII were also on a scale befitting the mighty empire over which he ruled. The account of royal

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

donations engraved in a temple makes interesting reading, and reveals the magnitude of his resources and depth of religious sentiments. It is not possible here to record all the details, but a few facts may be noted. Altogether 66,625 persons were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 Professors, and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1409 whose food and other daily necessities of life were supplied. There were altogether 566 groups of stone houses and 288 groups of brick. Needless to say that the other articles, of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion, and included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. The inscription informs us that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom, and these were given every year 117,200 *khārikās* of rice, each *khārikā* being equivalent to 3 *mds.* 8 *srs.* Jayavarman VII also established 121 *Vahni-grihas* which were travellers' rest-houses like the *dharamsālās* of the present day. They were set up along the principal highways of the kingdom for the convenience of pilgrims.

IV. DECLINE AND DOWNFALL

We possess very little definite knowledge of the history of Kambuja during the century following the death of Jayavarman VII. He was succeeded by Indravarman II who died in 1243 A.D. The next king known to us is Jayavarman VIII who abdicated the throne in 1295-6 A.D. in favour of his son-in-law Śrīndravarman. Jayavarman's son, who contested the throne, was defeated. Śrīndravarman, after having mutilated and imprisoned him, ascended the throne in 1296. Some time before this the great Mongol chief Kublai Khan had made himself master of China and asked the rulers of various kingdoms in Indo-China to acknowledge his suzerainty. The Kambuja rulers at first refused to submit but later, in 1285, thought it prudent to send tribute to Kublai Khan. In 1296 A.D. a Chinese embassy came to Angkor Thom, and Cheu-takuan, who accompanied it, has left a detailed account of the manners and customs of the people. Śrīndravarman abdicated the throne in 1307 in favour of Śrīndra-Jayavarman who was

KAMBUJA EMPIRE

related to him. The latter was probably succeeded by Jayavarma-Parameśvara. He ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. and is the last king known from inscriptions, so far discovered in Kambuja.

The subsequent history of Kambuja is only recorded in chronicles which were composed at a very late period and are very unreliable. It is impossible to determine the relation between Jayavarma-Parameśvara and the first king mentioned in the chronicles—only known by his posthumous name Mahānippean—who ascended the throne about 1350 A.D. It is, however, possible to trace the general course of events which led to the decline and downfall of the Kambuja Empire. It appears that the Thais in the northern and western parts of the empire were organised under able military leaders and openly broke into revolt in Siam in the thirteenth century A.D. A Thai chief, Indrāditya, founded an independent kingdom with Sukhodaya as capital some time about 1250 A.D. After the conquest of the Thai principality in Yunnan by the great Mongol chief Kublai Khan in 1254, the newly founded Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya and other Thai principalities in Siam received a tremendous wave of Thai immigrants who fled from Yunnan. Ram Kamheng, the famous Thai king of Sukhodaya towards the close of the 13th century, was a great conqueror. He carried his arms to Lower Burma on the west and to the heart of Kambuja on the east. Cheu-ta-kuan, who visited Kambuja shortly after, mentions that in the recent wars with the Siamese the region round Angkor was utterly devastated. But it is clear from the Chinese memoir that Kambuja was still a mighty kingdom and that Ram Kamheng's invasion was more of the nature of a predatory raid than a regular conquest. The Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya came to an end soon after, and a new Thai dynasty, which founded the kingdom of Ayodhyā (Ayuthia) about 1350 A.D., soon made itself the master of nearly the whole of Siam and Laos. On the east of Kambuja the Annamites gradually conquered nearly the whole of the kingdom of Champā by the fifteenth century. Kambuja was now hard pressed by these two important Thai powers on two sides, who steadily encroached upon its territory. This simultaneous pressure from the two flanks proved the ruin of Kambuja. Its weak and helpless rulers tried to save

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

themselves by playing off their two powerful enemies against each other, but with disastrous consequences to themselves. For centuries Kambuja remained the victim of her two pitiless aggressive neighbours. At last, shorn of power and prestige, Ang Duong, the king of Kambuja, now reduced to a petty State, threw himself under the protection of the French in 1854, and thus the once mighty kingdom of Kambuja became a petty French Protectorate.

CHAPTER V

THE HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

THE Hindu colonists of Kambuja set up a highly organised system of administration on Indian model. The Arthasāstras or Sanskrit texts on political science, like those of Kauṭilya, were regularly studied and mostly followed in practice.

The king's authority was supreme and a divine origin was claimed for him. He was served by ministers and a hierarchy of officers, both civil and military. A long list of these officers is given in the inscriptions, but it is not always easy to define their status and function. The Chinese refer to the pomp, splendour and elaborate ceremonials of the Court. As in India, the posts of ministers and other high offices were often hereditary.

The kingdom was divided into a large number of districts, each under a governor with his headquarters in a city. There were many towns, with Indian names, such as Tāmrapura, Ādhyapura, Dhruvapura, Jyeshthapura, Vikramapura, Ugrapura etc. Many towns were named after their royal founders e.g. Śreshthapura, Bhavapura, Iśānapura etc.

The towns were surrounded by walls and ditches and had big tanks. Many of them had useful public institutions like *Viprasālā* (learned assembly?), *Sarasvatī* (public school), *Pustak-āśrama* (Library), *Satra* (guest house), and *Ārogya-sālā* (hospital). *Vahnigrihas* (*Dharamsālās*) were set up on all principal roads for the convenience of travellers.

The Puranic form of Hindu religion had a strong hold on Kambuja, and Buddhism, comparatively speaking, exercised less influence, except occasionally under kings and ministers who professed that religion. Śaivism was the most dominant form of religion, though worship of Vishṇu was also very popular. The composite god Śiva-Vishṇu, under various names,

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

was also in great favour. The entire Hindu pantheon of Puranic deities was known in Kambuja, and we meet with the Hindu gods in their innumerable names and forms known in India. Even the mystic philosophy of Upanishads and the magical Tantrik rites were not absent. Indeed the Hindu religion, in all its aspects, appears on the soil of Kambuja to such an extent, that to describe it in details would be to recount at length the religious history of India. The study of the Indian Śāstras (sacred scriptures) supplied the basis of the religion, and inscriptions frequently refer to Brāhmaṇas proficient in Veda, Vedāṅga, Sāmaveda and Buddhist scriptures, and kings and ministers possessing a profound knowledge of the Dharmaśāstra. A Sanskrit inscription of the fifth century A.D. describes in eighteen verses the sacred character of Kurukshetra-tīrtha, ablutions in which produce as much merit as the performance of 1000 Aśvamedhas, 100 Vājapeyas, and the gift of 100,000 cows. Naimisha was a sacred place, and so was Pushkara, but Kurukshetra excelled them. Several verses of the *Mahābhārata* occur in this inscription. We learn from another Sanskrit inscription of the sixth century A.D. that arrangements were made for the daily recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, and it was considered a pious act to present copies of these texts to temples. The secular literature was also regularly studied. Inscriptions, earlier than ninth century A.D., refer to many of its branches such as Śabda, Vaiśeshika, Nyāya, Samīksha, and Arthaśāstra. Sanskrit Kāvya was a favourite subject of study.

But the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. saw the highest development of Sanskrit literature in Kambuja. This may be clearly deduced from the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to this period. These are composed in beautiful and almost flawless *kāvya* style, and some of them run to great lengths. Four inscriptions of Yaśovarman contain respectively 50, 75, 93 and 108 verses each, and there are many containing less than fifty. An inscription of Rājendravarman contains 218, and another, 298 verses.

The authors of these inscriptions have very successfully used almost all the Sanskrit metres, and exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody. Besides, they show an inti-

HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

mate knowledge of the Indian Epics, *Kāvya*s, *Purāṇa*s, and other branches of literature, and a deep penetrating insight into Indian philosophical and spiritual ideas; they are also saturated with the religious and mythological conceptions of the different sects of India,—all this to an extent which may be justly regarded as marvellous in a community separated from India by thousands of miles. They were thoroughly conversant with the grammatical treatise of Pāṇini. The *Mahābhāshya* was studied, and according to an inscription of Yaśovarman, the king himself composed a commentary on it. A minister of the king was an expert in *Horāśāstra*. Manu is mentioned as a legislator and a verse from *Manu-Smṛiti* is reproduced *verbatim*. Reference is also made to Vātsyāyana, as the author of *Kāmasūtra*, and Viśālāksha as having composed a treatise on *Nīti*. The famous medical treatise of Suśruta is also mentioned.

The Pre-Rup Inscription contains no less than four verses which are distinct echoes of four verses of the *Raghuvamśa*, repeating sometimes the very words used by poet Kālidāsa. The inscriptions of Yaśovarman refer to Pravarasena and Mayūra as the authors of *Setubandha* and *Sūryasataka*, and to Guṇāḍhya as a writer in *Prākṛit* with allusion to the legend about him contained in *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. The records frequently refer to the *Trayī* or *Vedas*, the *Vedānta*, *Smṛiti*, the sacred canon of the Buddhists and Jainas, and religious texts of various Brahmanical sects and schools of philosophy. As to the Puranic religion and mythology, legends contained in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivamś*, and the allusion, alliteration, simile *etc.*, usually met with in Sanskrit literature, one will meet with them at every step as he proceeds through these inscriptions.

Although we have no Sanskrit texts composed during this period, these inscriptions bear ample testimony to the highly flourishing state of Sanskrit literature in Kambuja during this period.

But apart from their literary merit these inscriptions are invaluable as testifying to the thoroughness with which Indian culture and civilisation, in all its aspects, was imbibed in Kambuja. This is particularly applicable to the religious and spiritual life. The inscriptions give evidence of the minute

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

knowledge of the rules, regulations and practices of religion, particularly of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects, and show a thorough acquaintance not only with the various gods and goddesses in their numerous names and forms, but also with the philosophical conceptions lying behind them. The prominent place occupied by religion in the life of the people is also demonstrated by the large number of temples and images erected and installed by kings and others. Most of the inscriptions refer to these pious foundations, and ruins of many of them are now lying scattered all over the country. But what strikes one more is that we find in Kambuja not only the external forms of Indian religion but that ethical and spiritual view of life which was the most distinguishing feature of ancient Indian civilisation. Anyone who carefully studies the inscriptions of Kambuja cannot fail to be struck with the spirit of piety and renunciation, a deep yearning for emancipation from the trammels of birth and evils of the world, and a longing for the attainment of the highest bliss by union with Brahma, which formed the keynote of their life and is expressed with beauty and elegance in language at once sombre and sincere.

Even the kings, high officials and the nobility of the kingdom were inspired by these high ideals. One of the interesting characteristics of the Kambuja court-life is the very intimate association between the secular and spiritual heads. The kings received their instruction in early life from eminent religious *āchāryas*, and there are many instances where sons of kings and members of the royal family became high priests and *āchāryas*. The intermarriage between the royal and priestly families was also a matter of frequent occurrence. The predominance of the priestly families who supplied royal priests for successive generations, such as that of Śivakaivalya already referred to above, is both an index and a cause of the spiritual outlook of the king and the people. The tutelary deity of the kingdom with the cult of Devarāja, placed in charge of a long line of High Priests who were the *gurus* or preceptors of the kings, must have helped to a great extent in moulding the whole view of life in the kingdom.

But while all these causes undoubtedly operated in developing the religious and spiritual life of the people, its main

HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

source must have been a close, constant and intimate contact with India. Fortunately this is not merely a hypothesis but may be proved by definite examples recorded in inscriptions of Kambuja. We know from an inscription dated 713 A.D. that a daughter of King Jayavarman I married a Śaiva Brāhmaṇa, named Śakrasvāmin, who was born in India. Rājālakshmī, the daughter of Rājendravarman and the younger sister of Jayavarman V, was married to a Brāhmaṇa, Divākara Bhaṭṭa, who was born on the bank of the river Kālindī, sacred with the association of Kṛishṇa's boyhood. Two other Brāhmaṇas are said to have come from foreign lands (presumably India) during the reign of Jayavarman V. They purchased lands and built a temple of Śiva. One of the ancestors of Yaśovarman's mother is said to be a Brāhmaṇa of Āryadeśa, versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas. Another Brāhmaṇa named Sarvajñamuni, versed in the four Vedas and all the *āgamas*, devoted to Śiva, and born in Āryadeśa, came to Kambujadeśa, and his descendants occupied high religious offices. There is also evidence that the learned Brāhmaṇas of Kambuja visited India. The most important instance is that of Śivasoma, the *guru* of Indravarman. We learn from an inscription that Śivasoma was the grandson of king Śrī Jayendrādhīpativarman, maternal uncle of Jayavarman II, and learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat-Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the heads of all the sages. It has been rightly conjectured by the editor of the inscription that the reference here is undoubtedly to the famous Śaṅkarāchārya, and presumably Śivasoma must have come to India to sit at the feet of the venerable Śaṅkara. It may be noted in passing that as Indravarman lived towards the close of the ninth century A.D., Śivasoma must have flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. which agrees with the date generally assumed for Śaṅkarāchārya.

The visit of Kambuja scholars to India may also be presumed on indirect evidence. M. Coedès, while editing the Vat Thipedi Inscription, has pointed out that it exhibits all the characteristics of the Gauda style, described by Sanskrit rhetoricians, in such a striking manner that its author must have either been born in Gauda or lived in that region.

Though we can cite only a few actual instances of the learned Brāhmaṇas of India, versed in sacred scriptures, settling

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

in Kambujadeśa, and the learned priests of the latter country visiting India, they corroborate what may be regarded as the only reasonable hypothesis which offers a satisfactory explanation of the thoroughness with which literary, religious and spiritual culture of India was imbibed by the people of Kambuja.

It appears from the Kambuja inscriptions that the centres of Indian culture in Kambuja, from which it radiated all over the country, were the large number of *āśramas* which were founded by royal munificence and private efforts. These *āśramas* were homes of pious devotees who consecrated their lives to study and meditation. They were constructed by the generous donations of kings and people who made endowments to provide for all their necessities. King Yaśovarman alone is said to have founded one hundred *āśramas* in all parts of his kingdom. Whatever we might think of this number, there is no doubt that there was quite a large number of them in Kambuja and they formed a characteristic feature of her religious and social life. Detailed and definite regulations issued by the king for the conduct of these *āśramas* are found in many records. These throw very interesting light on the actual working of these institutions, and exhibit the high moral and spiritual ideal and the thoroughly humanitarian spirit which guided their activities. They remind us of the hermitages in ancient India which exercised such a profound influence over the lives of all—from the highest to the lowest in State and society. Many of the Brāhmaṇa sages who were the leading spirits in these *āśramas* obtained a dominant position in State and society, and we possess elaborate and lengthy records of quite a large number of such eminent families.

We do not find in Kambuja any literary development akin to the growth of the Indo-Javanese literature. But, with this exception, Kambuja may be regarded as having imbibed Indian culture and civilisation to a much fuller degree than any other colony. In one respect, however, *viz.* art, Kambuja may even be said to have surpassed the motherland.

The monuments and sculptures of Kambuja fall readily into two broad divisions, the primitive and the classic. The latter is associated with Angkor, and dates from about the 10th century. The primitive art began from the age of Fu-nan and was continued by the early rulers of Kambuja which took its

HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

place in the 7th century A.D. As most of the monuments of the early period were made of perishable materials like wood or brick, there are not enough remains to reconstruct the art of Fu-nan. The temples, mostly of brick, consisted of a square or rectangular cella, with plain walls surmounted by a roof which consisted of a number of gradually receding stages. This is a characteristic of the Gupta art. The affinity with the Gupta art is more evident in the sculptures. In recent years a number of sculptures have been discovered in Siam and Cambodia whose style is surprisingly akin to that of the Gupta art. There is, therefore, no doubt that the primitive art of Kambuja was a direct product of the Indian school. Indeed Groslier has even advanced the theory that the original Indian colonists brought with them artists and craftsmen from India and they were entrusted with the task of building temples and images of gods. In short, the scholars are agreed in their view that the art of Fu-nan was purely Indian, and through Fu-nan this Indian Art of the Gupta age spread over a wide territory in Indo-China along with other phases of Indian culture.

This primitive art of Fu-nan was developed, by natural stages of evolution, to what may be called the classical art of Kambuja, the best specimens of which are in the region of Angkor and its neighbourhood, though some are found even in distant places like Bantay Chmar. These monuments, both by their massive character and unparalleled grandeur, furnish undying testimony to the richness and splendour of a civilisation of which the written records form but an imperfect picture.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of most of the monuments, and there is thus considerable difficulty in tracing the stages of evolution of Kambuja art. The old ideas about their chronology have recently undergone a radical change, but we can assign approximate dates, with a tolerable degree of certainty, to some of them.

The most famous of the monuments of Kambuja, *viz.* Angkor Vat, was built by king Sūryavarman II, who ruled between 1113 and 1145 A.D. The Baphuon, another noble monument, was formerly referred to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., but is now referred to the reign of Udayādityavarman II (1050-1066 A.D.). The famous Angkor Thom, with its gate-towers, ramparts and ditches, and the Temple of Bayon in the

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

centre of the city were formerly attributed to Yaśovarman (889-900 A.D.), but are now believed by some to be the work of Jayavarman VII, who ascended the throne in the year 1181 A.D. Another famous monument, that of Bantay Chmar, which was formerly attributed to Jayavarman II (9th century), is also referred by some to Jayavarman VII, and by others to Yaśovarman II about 1160 A.D. In short, whereas the majority of the splendid monuments of Kambuja were formerly placed in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., their date is now pushed forward by nearly two hundred years, and instead of Jayavarman II and Yaśovarman I, the five successive kings, Sūryavarman II, Dharaṇīndravarman II, Yaśovarman II, Tribhuvanādityavarman, and Jayavarman VII, whose reigns practically cover the whole of the twelfth century A.D., appear to be the great builders of Kambuja monuments. We must therefore give up the old idea that the twelfth century was a period of decay in the history of Kambuja, and rather regard it as a period of the greatest glory of Kambuja.

It is not possible to give such a detailed description, even of the most famous monuments of Kambuja, as would convey a fair idea of their nature and artistic excellence. I would, therefore, merely attempt to indicate, in a general way, the special features which characterise them. The earlier series of monuments at Angkor consists of isolated temples which show great resemblance with Indian temples. But gradually a new style is evolved in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., first by the introduction of gallery, and later still by pyramidal construction in several stages. The combination of these two features resulted in a series of concentric galleries, enclosing each successive stage of the pyramid, with a crowning tower at the centre of the top or the highest stage. Similar towers are added at the four corners of each stage of the pyramid, and finally we have the *gopurams* at one or all the four faces, each consisting of a gateway with a vestibule, surmounted by an ornamental tower in the form of a stepped pyramid as we see in South India. The central and corner towers are of the North-Indian or 'Śikhara style. The best and the complete example of this type is Angkor Vat. An innovation was introduced in Bayon, where the towers are capped by four heads facing the four directions.

HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

The gallery, referred to above, is, in its final shape, a long narrow running chamber with vaulted roof supported by a wall on one side and a series of pillars on the other. It has a *verandah* with a half-vaulted roof of lower height supported by columns of smaller dimensions. The walls of these galleries are generally covered with continuous friezes of bas-reliefs and other sculptures.

The wide ditches surrounding the temples and cities, with paved causeways over them, form an important feature of construction, and the figures of long rows of giants pulling the body of a serpent, which serve as the balustrades of the causeway on its two sides, are justly regarded as one of the most ingenious and interesting architectural devices to be seen anywhere in the world.

An idea of the massive character of these monuments may be had from the measurements of Angkor Vat (Pl. XVII). The moat or ditch surrounding the temple and running close to its boundary walls is more than 650 ft. wide, and is spanned on the western-side by a stone causeway, 36 ft. broad. This ditch, like the wall of enclosure which completely surrounds the temple, has a total length of two miles and a half. The broad paved avenue which runs from the western gateway to the first gallery is 1560 ft. long and raised 7 ft. above the ground. The first gallery measures about 800 ft. from east to west and 675 ft. from north to south, with a total running length of nearly 3000 ft. The central tower, on the third or highest stage, rises to a height of more than 210 ft. above the ground level.

These few details would serve to convey an idea of the massive character of Kambuja architecture. But it is not by the massive form alone that they appeal to us: Their fine proportions, the general symmetry of the plan, and above all the decorative sculptures invest them with a peculiar grandeur.

The sculptures in Kambuja, both bas-reliefs and figures in the round, attained to a high level of excellence. Here, again, we find that while the earlier sculptures show a close affinity with Indian models, specially Gupta art, new elements were added in course of time which give a distinctive character to Kambuja sculpture. The peculiar smiling countenance, with half-closed eyes, of divine figures, known as 'the smile of Angkor', has been variously interpreted, and opinions differ on

HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

its aesthetic value. It has been suggested that this unchanging and elusive smile, which mysteriously reflects the illumination of inward *nirvāna* and expresses supreme Buddhist beatitude, is the most notable contribution of Khmer art. But this smile of Angkor is not found in Buddhist heads alone, as is generally supposed. It appears in Brahmanical images, and should therefore be regarded as a divine expression rather than anything peculiarly Buddhist. Although the figures often show traces of Khmer physiognomy, some of the best figures, exhibiting plastic quality of a high order, are marked by the purity of Aryan profile.

The bas-reliefs which adorn the temples of Kambuja form the most important class of Kambuja sculpture. The earlier specimens show the figures in fairly high relief like those of Java and India, but gradually the depth of the relief is diminished till the figures are merely incised or scratched on the surface, and the whole thing looks like a tapestry on stone. But, subject to this limitation, the bas-relief sculptures show balance, harmony and rhythm of a high order. They are marked for their narrative skill and cover a wide range of fields embracing almost all phases of human and animal lives. The scenes, largely drawn from the Indian epics, are full of life and movements, and are graceful without being exuberant. The vast lengths of galleries covered by these interminable scenes display the decorative faculties of Kambuja art at their very best, which, like true art, are subordinated to the architecture.

It is needless to give further details. But whether we look at the massive temples with elegant proportions or the sculptures which adorn their walls, we cannot withhold the highest tribute to their truly classic composition of the highest order.