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STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By

RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

M.A., D.Litt. (Hony.),

Bhārata-tattva-Bhāskara, Vidyāvāridhi



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CALCUTTA

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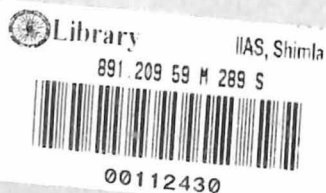
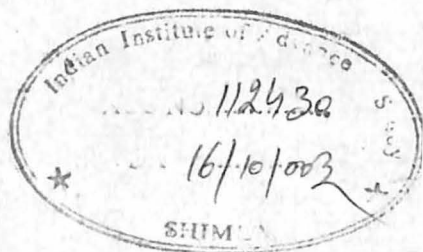
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FOREWORD

The present brochure incorporates the two lectures delivered by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the doyen of Indian historians, on the study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia, comprising Indo-China and Indonesia, at the Sanskrit College Research Seminar in March, 1972. Dr. Majumdar is one of the acknowledged authorities on the political and cultural history of the region under discussion and his voluminous pioneering researches in this field are indispensable source books for all future investigations relating to this particular aspect of Indian culture. In these two lectures, however, Dr. Majumdar gives us a further glimpse into a hitherto neglected side of India's cultural expansion in South-East Asia. The extent of spread of Sanskrit language and literature as the vehicle of Indian culture in South-East Asia is an alluring field of study to which Dr. Majumdar has tried to invite the attention of scholars. He has arranged the evidence bearing on this interesting topic mainly under the following classes-viz., Original Sanskrit Texts, Sanskrit Inscriptions, and Literary texts and inscriptions composed in local dialects, and in so doing has given us a unique opportunity to follow the stages of the gradual migration of India's rich and varied cultural heritage from the mainland into far off regions and its ultimate absorption and metamorphosis into a novel cultural pattern.

It is fervently hoped that serious students of Sanskrit literature and of Indian culture will find these lectures extremely stimulating and derive from them the necessary inspiration to carry on further and more extensive and

fruitful researches in a comparatively neglected but promising domain of investigation in respect of India's Cultural history.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE

CALCUTTA

February 11, 1975

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA

Principal

PREFACE

At the invitation of the authorities of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, I delivered two lectures on the Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia on 21 and 23 March, 1972, under the auspices of the Sanskrit College Research Seminar. The text of these lectures, including some passages which had to be omitted for limitation of time, are published with a short bibliography of some important books on the subject written in English and Bengali. There is, however, an extensive literature on the subject in Dutch and French to which reference will be found in the books mentioned in the bibliography.

The subject-matter of these lectures, though of great importance from the point of view of Indian culture, has not yet received the attention it deserves from Indian scholars. The vast Sanskrit literature and the local literatures developing out of it in South-East Asia, which I have discussed in these lectures, are still practically unknown to the Sanskrit scholars of India who alone can do full justice to this important subject. I hope the publication of these lectures will arouse the interest of the learned Sanskrit scholars whom I had the honour of addressing in the Hall of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. If I have succeeded in inducing at least some of them to devote their attention to this fascinating subject I shall consider my labour successful.

I take this opportunity to place on record my sincere thanks to the authorities of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, for the honour they have done me by inviting me to deliver these lectures.

15 March, 1973
4 Bepin Pal Road,
Calcutta-26

R. C. Majumdar

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STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

INDO-CHINA

FIRST LECTURE

It is a trite saying, but none the less very true, that he does not know India who knows India alone. For one of the most interesting aspects of Indian culture is the deep impact it made upon the growth and development of culture in a large part of the great continent of Asia which may not be unfairly compared with the civilising influence of ancient Greece over the rest of Europe.

The main agent of the influence was the vast Sanskrit literature which was carried into various regions of South-East Asia by the Indians who visited or permanently settled there as traders, adventurers, missionaries, fortune-seekers, etc. I propose to deal with this subject in respect of Indo-China and Indonesia.

We have positive evidence that there was a very high degree of Sanskrit scholarship all over this vast region consisting, mainly, of Malay Peninsula, Siam or Thailand, Kambuja or Cambodia, Laos and Campā (now called Vietnam) in Indo-China, and the various islands of the Indian Archipelago, also called East Indies and Indonesia, specially Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo.

But before discussing these evidences it is necessary to state very briefly the circumstances which led to the intercourse between India and these remote lands beyond the sea.

As in all ages and countries, the prospect of acquiring wealth first tempted the Indian traders and merchants to explore unknown territories beyond their own frontiers. The lands and Islands beyond the sea and the hills on the east were reputed to possess fabulous quantities of gold and precious minerals and were called by them Suvarṇabhūmi or

Suvarṇadvīpa, the land of gold. The spices of the east were also as great an attraction to the Indians as they were to the Europeans fifteen centuries later. In short the Indians were attracted to the east by the same allurements which proved so irresistible to the Arabs in the ninth and tenth and to the Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A. D.

No doubt other forces were at work to speed up the pace of emigration. The missionary zeal of the Brahmans and Buddhists, pressure caused by increasing population, invasion of foreign hordes, and the spirit of adventure of the Kshatriya princes and nobles were added to the commercial enterprise of the merchants and caused a steady flow of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies. Many of these emigrants settled permanently in these foreign lands. They married women of the localities and the influence of their superior culture gradually Hinduised the society. This imperceptible but gradual penetration, often aided by active missionary propaganda, gradually spread Hindu religion, art, literature and social ideas in all directions. Sometimes a military adventurer seized the political power and established a Hindu Kingdom. The fusion between the Indian settlers and the Hinduised local people was so complete that it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. The latter assumed Hindu names and adopted Sanskrit or Pali language and Hindu religion, manners and customs, while the Indians imbibed local habits and social usages and merged themselves into the local communities. Thus grew up the Indian colonial kingdoms which were constantly strengthened by fresh streams of immigration from the motherland.

A contemporary account of a small State in Malay Peninsula by an eye-witness shows such a colony in the making and throws interesting light upon the whole process. It is named Tuen-suin by the Chinese. "Its market was a meeting ground between the east and the west, frequented

every day by more than ten thousand men, including merchants from India, Parthia, and more distant kingdoms who come in large number to carry on trade and commerce in rare objects and precious merchandises. It contains five hundred merchant families, two hundred Buddhists and more than thousand Brahmans of India. The people of Tuen-suin follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brahmans settle in the country and do not go away. Day and night they read sacred scriptures and make offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods."

Archaeological discoveries prove beyond doubt that most of the peoples in South-East Asia, mentioned above, had the neolithic culture when they first came under the influence of Hinduism. It was the case in Sumatra and Java in Indonesia, and Annam, Cambodia and Malay Peninsula in Indo-China. Even in distant Celebes, a bronze image of Buddha of the Amaravati school was found at Sempaga just above the neolithic strata.

It seems almost to be a universal law that when an inferior civilisation comes into contact with a superior one, it gradually tends to be merged into the latter, the rate and the extent of the process being determined solely by the capacity of the one to assimilate, and of the other to absorb. When the Hindus first settled in Suvarṇabhūmi and came into close association with her peoples, this process immediately set in, and produced the inevitable result.

The rulers of most of the States that flourished in South-East Asia during the first fifteen centuries of the Christian Era bore Indian names derived from Sanskrit, and must have been either Indian Settlers and their descendants, or Indianised local people most of whom were probably born of mixed marriages between them and the Indians. In any case the Court language was Sanskrit which thus became the language of the elite. This was undoubtedly the chief cause of the extensive cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature, at least among the higher classes of people.

This was further promoted by the periodical visits of distinguished Indian scholars to South-East Asia and of her scholars to India of which we have got many specific instances, to which reference will be made later.

I may now proceed to discuss the actual evidence of the study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia.

The evidence may be classified as follows :

1. Original Sanskrit texts.
2. Sanskrit inscriptions.
3. Literary texts and inscriptions composed in local dialects, showing an intimate acquaintance with different branches of Sanskrit literature.
4. Literary texts in local dialects based on the theme furnished by the Sanskrit Epics and other Sanskrit books of different categories.
5. Sanskrit loan words used in inscriptions and texts written in various local dialects.

I shall now discuss the evidences of these different categories, separately for Indo-China and Indonesia.

A. INDO-CHINA

1. ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

A text, called the *Purāṇārtha* is referred to in the Myson Stelae Inscription of Jaya Harivarman, king of Campā, dated 1079 Śaka. It says that the identity of king Śivānandana with Uroja is confirmed by the *Purāṇārtha* "which is looked upon as a mine (lit. mountain) of useful information in this world." The Dong Duong Stelae inscription of Indravarman II, date 797 Śaka, describes how Uroja, apparently the first king of Campā, was sent to the earth by Śiva himself. Evidently the *Purāṇārtha* was a text of the Purāṇa type written in Campā.

Similarly we know from the inscriptions in Indo-China, notably in Cambodia, that there were quite a large number of Sanskrit texts also in this region. Apart from well-known

works to be mentioned later, scholars have been able to identify some texts bearing slightly, different names. Reference is, for example, made to the *Parameśvara* in Śaivite contexts in several inscriptions in Cambodia and it has been identified with the *Pārameśvarāgama* which the Liṅgāyats (of India) mention as one of the fundamental texts on which the founder of the sect, Vāsava of the 12th century, relied. The text was probably composed in the 8th century.

The four Śāstras, *Vināśikha*, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Siraścheda* are mentioned in a long inscription as the basis of the cult of Devarāja founded during the reign of Jayavarman who established an independent kingdom in Kambuja after it was under foreign rule for a long time. Jayavarman invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāma, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tāntric rites so that Kambujadeśa might cease to be dependent on Java and have a paramount ruler of its own. This Brāhmaṇa performed the Tāntrik rites and instituted the cult of Devarāja which continued to be the State religion for at least 250 years of which an account is given in an inscription composed in good Sanskrit containing 130 verses. The four texts, mentioned above, which formed the basis of this cult have been identified by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. According to him "the *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya-* and *Uttara-sūtras* which form a part of *Niśvāsataṭṭvasamhitā*, now preserved in a MS. of the 8th century A. D., and probably composed in the 6th-7th century A. D. The *Siraścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadratha-yāmala* and the *Vināśika* seems to have been a supplement to it. The original *Sammoha*, on which the later Tantras of that name were based, still remains to be discovered. All these texts have a pronounced Śaivite Tāntrik character.

2. SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS

By far the best evidence of the high degree of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo China is furnished by the large number

of Sanskrit inscriptions which have survived the ravages of time.

1. A Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A. D. has been found at Mung Si Tep near Pechaburi in Siam along with Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava images.

2. A large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to 4th or 5th century A. D. have been discovered in different parts of Malay Peninsula. Two of them deserve special mention. One of these, inscribed on a clay tablet, contains three Sanskrit stanzas, probably part of a Sūtra of the Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna. Another refers to the *Mahānāvika* (Captain) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Rakta-mṛttikā (the ruins of which have been discovered six miles south-west of Murshidabad in Bengal).

3. A very interesting inscription has been found at Laos describing in verse the sacred character of the holy place, Kurukṣetra, set up in this region.

4. About 125 Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in the region now called Viet Nam, but which bore the name of Campā in ancient times, the oldest being at Vo canh, of probably 3rd cent. A. D.

5. The largest number of inscriptions have been found in what is now called Cambodia but was known to the Hindus as Kambujadeśa. In 1953 I published the text of about 200 Sanskrit inscriptions which were known till then. But many have been discovered since. The French scholar Coedes has published them all.

As the inscriptions of Kambuja furnish the best evidence of the cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature in South-East Asia, I now proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of them mainly from this point of view.

The oldest inscription discovered so far is that issued by Kulaprabhāvatī, the chief queen (*agramahiṣī*) of Jayavarman who ruled from about 475 to 514 A. D. It contains five Sanskrit verses of which four are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The queen is thus described :

Śakrasyeva Śacī nṛpasya dayitā Svāheva saptārciṣaḥ |
Rudrāṇīva Harasya lokaviditā sā Śrīriva Śrīpateḥ ||

The motive behind the pious foundation is thus described :

Jñātvā bhogam-anitya- budbudasamaṁ sa...
Ārāmaṁ sa-taṭākam-ālayayutaṁ...

Anyone who reads these verses must be convinced that the poet who composed them was no novice and that the cultivation of Sanskrit in this region must have begun centuries ago. The latest Sanskrit inscription in Kambuja was issued by a king who had ascended the throne in 1327 A. D. It may thus be safely concluded that the study of Sanskrit in Kambuja had a long history of about 1000 years. It may also be easily imagined that the Sanskrit inscriptions numbering more than 200, known today, probably represent only a small part of the total number, as many must have been lost during this long period.

Generally speaking the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja are composed in beautiful and almost flawless *kāvya* style, and some of them run to great lengths. Four inscriptions of King Yaśovarman contain, respectively, 50, 75, 93, and 108 verses each, and there are many containing more than twenty. An inscription of Rājendravarman contains 218 and another 298 verses and each of these may be regarded as a small *kāvya*, much bigger than *Meghadūta*, the latter being much more than double its size and bigger than *Gītāgovinda*.

Almost all the Sanskrit metres have been successfully used in these verses and they exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody.

Attention may be drawn to the following characteristic features of the literary style noticed in these inscriptions :

1. Play on the different meanings of the same word. This is illustrated in three verses of the Han Chei Temple Inscription. In verse 8 *kara* is used in the sense of hand

and rays of the sun. Similarly the words *kalā* and *rāga* are used in the two following verses :

Avāpya ṣoḍaśakalāśśāsāṅko yāti pūrṇatām |
Asaṁkhyā api yo labdhvā na paryāpta kadācana || 15
Rāgān dadhati bhūpānāncūdā-ratna-maricayaḥ |
Yasya pāda-nakheṣvevamanāgasi na cetasi || 18

2. There are numerous examples of *anuprāsa*, i.e. repetition of the same word or letter, in one and the same verse. The following would serve as examples :

- A. *Dharmapriyā dharmam-imaṁ rakṣatādharmarākṣasāt |*
 B. *Smarāridevyā vijitaṁ smarasya vikṣṭacāpasya śaraḥ*
sahāṅge |
Bhasmīkṛte yā smakṛte ruṣeva smarābhidheyam kurute
smarām ||
 C. *Bhūpendro bhūpatibhūmi-bhūṣaṇo bhūribhānubhāḥ |*
 D. *Guṇair-agaṇitair gorair-api Gaurigurum girim |*
Yo gauravan nu gamayed gaṇanā kānyasadguṇe ||

3. Stereotyped expressions as used in Indian inscriptions :

- A. *Āsīd āsindhuhūpāla—maulilālitaśāsanaḥ |*
 B. *Dviṣadvidhvamsino yasya yāne valavimaradajam rajo*
jītvārkkatejāmsi |

4. Use of long compounds :

- A. *Śrībharttāsaṅkhacakraśīśaravasumatīśakticāpāṅkapāṇir |*
 B. *Vanyadvipendrāhatasindhurasthavirendracāmpādhi-*
parājasimhah |

Coedes has drawn attention to the fact that the constant use of very long compounds, *atyukti* or exaggeration and *anuprāsa* are, according to Sanskrit rhetoricians, the marks of the Gaudī *rīti* or the style of composition in Gaudadeśa (Bengal), and he thinks that the Vat Thipedi Inscription of King Išānavarman II, dated 832 (Śaka) which shows all these characteristics was probably composed by one who was trained in Gauda. This view, if accepted

would prove a very close and continued intercourse between India and Indo-China. This is also proved, in the opinion of Coedes, by the presence of the Box-headed and the so-called Nāgarī alphabets used in Eastern India in the Kambuja inscriptions at a time when the alphabets generally used were local forms developed from the early Brāhmī alphabets of India.

The inscriptions themselves thus offer the best and most direct evidence of the study and deep knowledge of Sanskrit in Indo-China. They also contain indirect evidence of the same to which a brief reference may be made under different categories.

The inscriptions of Kambuja contain frequent references to kings, officials and other individuals as highly proficient in different branches in literature. These include (1) four Vedas in general and specifically Ṛg, Yaju, Sāma and Atharvaveda, sometimes referred to as Mantras, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of the Taittiriya School; (2) Six Vedāṅgas; (3) Six systems of philosophy in general and specifically, Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, and Vedānta; (4) Grammar, with special reference to Pāṇini and Patañjali; (5) Dharmaśāstras, specifically Manu and Yājñavalkya; (6) Arthaśāstra; (7) Astronomy; (8) Astrology (Horāśāstra); (9) Dhanurveda; (10) Gandharvaveda (Music); (11) Religious literature of the Buddhist, Pāsupata, and Pañcarātra sects, Śaiva Tantras.

With reference to Grammar there are allusions to *prakṛiti*, *pratyaya*, *ādeśa*, *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, and *āgama*. It is said of Śrīnivāsakavi, who had served under two kings, that this "Brāhmaṇa had become in his illustrious country the most celebrated of those who knew the Veda" and he was "full of zeal for reciting the Veda" and "the master of the four Vedas." It is difficult to say whether this Brāhmaṇa was a fresh immigrant from India or a local Brāhmaṇa.

The longest Sanskrit inscription containing 298 verses engraved on a stele at Pre Rup, and dated 883 Śaka uses the following metres : Śloka, Varṇasthā, Indravajrā, Upendra-

vajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Sragdharā, and Āryā. Apart from allusion to Epic and Puranic legends and mythology there are references to *Atharvaveda*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, respectively, in verses 64, 207 and 83, while Pāṇini is referred to in no less than six verses. No less than four verses (164, 199, 211, 290) are distinct echoes of four verses of the *Raghuvamśa*, repeating sometimes the very words used by poet Kālidāsa. A new *kāvya* named *Manohara* seems to be referred to in v. 221 and the Yogācāra system is mentioned in v. 275. Other inscriptions refer to Pravarasena and Mayūra as the authors of *Setubandha* and *Suryasataka* and to Guṇāḍhya as a writer in Prākṛt with allusion to the legend about him contained in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Reference is also made to Vātsyāyana as the author of *Kāmasūtra* and Viśālākṣa as the author of a treatise on *nīti*. The medical treatise of Suśruta is also mentioned. An indirect reference is made to Pāṇini in the following verse in Phnom Sandak inscription of King Yaśovarman, dated 817 Śaka :

Saddharmma-nirater-yasya padam rajyena cakrire |
Upasargāḥ kriyāyoge te prāg dhātor-mmuner-iva ||

The two following verses in Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśovarman are quotations from the *Manusmṛiti* :

Ācāryyavad gṛhastho'pi mānanīyo bahuśrutaḥ |
Abhyāgataguṇānāṃ parā vidyeti Mānavam ||
Vittam bandhurvyayaḥ karma vidyā bhavati pañcamī |
Etāni mānyasthānāni garīyo yad yaduttaram ||

The following verse in the Loley Inscription of King Yaśovarman contains a clever reference to Manusmṛitā being the chief source of the Yājñavalkya (Yogīśvara) :

Prajānuśāsano dharmmar-Yogīśvaraparāyaṇam |
Rājanyabandhyacaraṇo yo'bhūnmanurivāparaḥ ||

Eastern Baray Inscription of Yaśovarman refers to the poet Bhāravi and probably also to Vasu (bandhu) (v. 31). Verse 69 refers, besides Guṇāḍhya and Viśālākṣa mentioned

above, to Sūra having triumphed over a rival named Bhimaka and perhas also to Jina as the author of one of the Pūrvas named Kalyāṇa. If the latter supposition, on the authority of Barth, is accepted, this would be the only reference to the prevalence of Jainism outside India.

Refrence to *caturdaśaparakāra vidyā* in the Pre Rup Inscription (v. 135) probably signifies the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Purāṇa, Mīmāṃsā Nyāya, and Dharma.

The two epics were very popular in Indo-China and exercised profound influence on its literature, art and other aspects of culture, including social virtues and moral ideas. The Veal Kantel (Combodia) Inscription of the sixth century A. D. states that the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman, the foremost among those who knew the Sāmaveda, whose wife, the sister of king Bhavavarmn, was a second Arundhati, built a temple of Tribhuvaneśvara. He presented (to the temple) a copy each of the texts of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Purāṇa* and the complete *Mahābhārata* and made arrangements for the daily recitation of them. Another inscription found at Prasat Prah That (Cambodia) and of the middle of the 7th century A. D. states that one Bhavajñāna deposited in a temple a manuscript of the Sambhava Adhyāya which forms a part of the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata*. The popularity of the epics is further indicated by frequent and copious references in inscriptions to the episodes described in them and the profuse illustration of them in the numerous sculptures of the famous Angkor Vat and other temples. But the best evidence of the very great esteem in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* was held in Indo-China is furnished by the Tra Kieu Inscription of King Prakāśadharma (c. 653-87 A. D.). It records the foundation of a temple in honour of Vālmīki who is described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The inscriptions also furnish a striking evidence of the spread of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China by references to the accomplishments of kings and ministers. Thus we are told that the great conqueror and powerful Emperor Yaśovarman (889-c. 900 A. D.) himself composed a com-

mentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and one of his ministers was an expert in Horāśāstra. The inscriptions in Campā (Viet Nam) refer to a number of learned kings. King Bhadravarman, who reigned at the beginning of the fifth century A. D., is said to have been versed in the four Vedas. Jaya Indravarman I (c. 960-972 A. D.), we are told, was proficient in the well-known six systems of philosophy, as well as in Buddhist philosophy, Pāṇini's Grammar with Kāśikā, and the Ākhyāna and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas. King Śrī Jaya Indravarman IV (1168-1180 A. D.) was versed in grammar, astrology, Mahāyāna philosophy and the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradiya and the Bhārgaviya. The extent of literary activity may be judged from the fact that when a Chinese general invaded Campā and sacked the capital city in 605 A. D. he carried away 1350 Buddhist works.

We learn from the inscriptions that the princes received their early training from eminent religious preceptors (*ācāryas*) and there are many instances where princes and other members of the royal family themselves became high priests and *ācāryas*.

One of the reasons for the maintenance of a high standard of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China is the regular intercourse of scholars belonging to India and Indo-China. This is indicated by casual references of visits of high personages from India to Indo-China and *vice versa*. We know from Chinese records that the king of Cambodia sent an ambassador to India between 240-245 A. D. and he reached the mouth of the Ganges at the end of a year. A king of Campā, called Gaṅgārāja, abdicated the throne and went to India in order to die on the banks of the Ganges. The inscriptions of Cambodia refer to a number of learned Brāhmaṇas who came from India (Āryadeśa) and settled in Indo-China, some of them having married royal princess. One of these, Brāhmaṇa Divākara Bhaṭṭa, is said to have been born on the bank of the river Kālindī sacred by its association with the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa. But by far the

most important instance of this kind is furnished by that of Śivasoma, the grandson of a king, maternal uncle of another king, and the *guru* of a third king, Indravarman. An inscription of this king found at Prasat Kandal Dom contains the following verse about Śivasoma :

*Yenādhītāni Śāstrāṇi Bhagavacchaṅkarāhvayāt ।
Niśṣeṣasūrimūrdhālīmālāliḍhāṅghripaṅkajāt ॥*

It means that Śivasoma learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the heads of all the sages. The French scholar Coedes, who edited this inscription, rightly conjectured that the reference is undoubtedly to the famous Śaṅkarācārya of India and the word Bhagavat lends strong support to this. But the real importance of this inscription from Indian point of view was missed by him. For, as I showed more than forty years ago, this inscription furnishes the only authoritative evidence of the date of Śaṅkarācārya, so far known to us. As Indravarman ruled from 877 to 889 A. D., his *guru* Śivasoma may be assumed to have visited Śaṅkarācārya about the middle of the ninth century A. D. It is not a little curious that the only authentic evidence for the date of Śaṅkarācārya, which has been a matter of keen controversy for a long period, would be found in a Sanskrit inscription engraved thousands of miles away from India. Though the actual examples of such intercourse between the scholars of India and Indo-China are very few in number, this alone may satisfactorily explain the thoroughness of the literary, religious and spiritual culture of India imbibed by the people of Indo-China.

An indication of this thoroughness is furnished by the fact that Sanskrit scholarship was not confined to men but also extended to ladies. The best evidence of this is furnished by the Phimnaka Inscription of Jayavarman VII, the Grand Monarch of Kambujadeśa who ruled from 1181 to c. 1218 A. D. The inscription was composed by his second Queen Indradevi, who and her younger sister, the first queen

of Jayavarman VII, were daughters of a Brāhmaṇa named Rudravarman and Rājendralakshmi. The first queen had received her education from her elder sister, but died before her, and the elder sister was then married by the king. This queen Indradevi composed this inscription which is essentially an eulogy of her younger sister. We learn from the inscription that Indradevī was a pious Buddhist and taught the Buddhist nuns of three convents. The inscription contains 102 Sanskrit verses in different metres including Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Varṇāsthā and Vasanta-tilaka. It testifies to her scholarship and knowledge of Sanskrit. The French scholar Coedes, who re-edited the inscription, remarks that the text is remarkably correct and the language is much simpler than that of the other inscriptions composed by the princes and the Paṇḍits.

The statement in the above inscription that queen Indradevī taught the Buddhist nuns in three convents is of more than passing interest. For we have epigraphic evidence of numerous *Āśramas* or hermitages for men and these formed important centres for the propagation of knowledge. These *Āśramas* were homes of pious devotees who consecrated their lives to study and meditation. These were founded by kings and private persons with endowments to defray all necessary expenses. King Yaśovarman of Kambuja is said to have founded one hundred *Āśramas* for Brāhmaṇas, Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and Buddhists. Fortunately we have got no less than twelve inscriptions engraved on stelae scattered over the whole of Cambodia laying down rules and regulations in almost identical terms for these *Āśramas*. There is no doubt that these stelae mark the sites of these *Āśramas*. These regulations, called *Śāsana*, are laid down in thirteen verses.

The necessary qualifications of inmates of these *Āśramas* are laid down as follows :

*Brāhmaṇā vaiṣṇavāś śaivā janāś śiṣṭāśca śilīnaḥ ।
 Śayīraṇ sarre evaite upadhyānasamanvitāḥ ॥*

The endowments are described as follows :

Ratnakāñcanarūpyādīgavāsva mahīśadvipāḥ |
Naranāryo dharārāmā yāni cānyāni kāñcit |
Tāni sarvāṇi dattāni Śrīyaśovarmmahūbhujā |
Svāśrameṣṣminnahāryyāṇi rājñāpi kimutetaraiḥ ||

So the gems, gold, silver, cows, horses, elephants, men and women, land and gardens were granted in perpetuity which even the king, not to speak of others, could take back. Other rules were laid down to the effect that no one, except the king, could enter these *Āśramas* on a vehicle or with umbrella over his head. Provision was made for all kinds of guests, but bad characters were to be excluded.

One interesting fact, to which sufficient attention has not been given, is that in each of the twelve stelae, so far discovered, these ordinances or regulations are written in the current script on one side of each stele and then repeated in a North Indian script on another side. I think this means that men from North India visited these *Āśramas* and it is for these peoples that the rules were written in the script current in North India. For though the script in which the inscriptions were usually written were originally derived from, or were the same as, the Indian alphabet, in the course of five or six centuries they had undergone a change such as, for example, happened in the case of Tamil or Telugu scripts which, though originally derived from Aśokan Brāhmī, would not be understood by a man of North India.

It is therefore a very reasonable inference from these records that there was a regular intellectual intercourse between India and Indo-China through these learned sages, and there can be hardly any doubt that these *Āśramas* served as an important agency for the spread of Sanskrit language and literature as well as Indian religious ideas and other aspects of Indian culture.

In addition to these *Āśramas* the temples also served as centres for the diffusion of Sanskrit and Indian culture.

This will be evident from the following description of the endowments made by King Jayavarman VII, mentioned above, to the Ta Prohm Temple alone.

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 daily food and other necessities of life were supplied. The details of the articles supplied are given and we are told that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom of Kambuja and the quantity of rice supplied was 117,200 *khārikās*, each *khārikā* being equivalent to three maunds and eight seers. It means that more than one thousand maunds of rice were consumed each day by the inmates of the temple. Needless to say that the other articles supplied were on the same scale.

We can now easily understand how Sanskrit and Indian culture obtained a firm footing in these distant lands, thousands of miles across the sea, and endured for more than a thousand years.

We have so far collected evidence of the influence of Sanskrit in Kambuja from inscriptions written in that language. But even when the local Khmer dialect developed into literary form, and it was used side by side with Sanskrit in epigraphic records, we find abundant evidence of the influence of Sanskrit in them. Thus several Khmer records contain the expression “*caturvidy(a)*”. One inscription, found at Bantei Srei, which contains 44 verses in Sanskrit and 11 lines in Khmer, refers in the Khmer portion to a Professor who recited the Vedas every day without interruption. Apart from proving the popularity of the Vedas the actual wordings are also of great interest. It reads as follows: “*Adhyāpaka tve Vrahmasastra leṇ aviechinna pratidina*”. It shows that even in the tenth century A. D. when this inscription was composed, the Khmer language was profoundly influenced by Sanskrit. As a matter of fact in the above expression only the words

thve and *len* are Khmer, but the word *Vrahmasastra* is a slight modification of *Brahmaśāstra*, and the remaining three words, namely *adhyāpaka*, *avicchinna* and *pratidina* are pure Sanskrit. It shows the process of the gradual development of Khmer into a fully developed literary form with the loan-words from Sanskrit. A young scholar, K. K. Sarkar, has recently made a detailed study of the Sanskrit loan-words in Khmer and has classified these under the following categories with numerous instances under each.

1. Geographical names.

A great number of regions, cities, hills, villages, fields, etc. have Sanskrit names, with name-endings like -pura, -sthāna, -ālaya, -āśrama, -āvāsa, -paṭṭana, -deśa, -āyatana, -niketana, -grāma, -taṭāka, -giri, -parvata, etc. The majority of the place-names are connected with the names of divinities, of kings, of dignitaries, and of other persons, such as Śivapura, Śivapaṭṭana, Viṣṇupura, Viṣṇugrāma, Hariharālaya, Rājendrapura, Yaśodharapura, Sūrya-parvata. There are many well-known Indian names, such as Aṅga, Kurukṣetra, Madhyadeśa, Nāgapaṭṭana, Kuśasthali, Puruṣapura, Vikramapura, and Āryadeśa which may be equivalent to Āryāvarta. An analysis of these Indian place-names shows that most of them are in Northern India. This as well as the use of North Indian script in some inscriptions recording rules of *Āśramas*, side by side with the current Khmer script, go counter to the view held by a section of scholars that the emigration to Indo-China was mostly from South India.

2. The names of kings up to the 14th century A. D. were purely Sanskritic and so were the posthumous names applied to them, such as Viṣṇuloka, Sadāśivapada, Brahma-loka, etc. which were intended to denote that the king after death has reached the abode (*loka*, *pada*) of the particular deity preceding these two suffixes. The Indian name-ending Varman was almost universal in the case of Kings of Indo-China. The names of functionaries, professors, etc. were also in many cases purely Indian. Women bore names

ending in *pavitra* or *tirtha*—an unknown thing in India—though these words are purely Indian. The names of the priests often ended in Śiva, such as Sadāśiva, Śikhāśiva, etc. Names of Śiva, which are very rarely found in India, were known in ancient Kambuja such as Utpanneśvara, Acaleśvara, Āmrātakeśvara, etc.

3. Administrative Terms.

Reference may be made to the following administrative terms used in the Khmer inscriptions : Kulapati (Chief of Temple), Kramapāla (guardian of rules and regulations), Devapariçāra, Guṇadoṣadarśi, Rājakulamahāmantri, Grāmapāla, Sāmantagajapati, Vasanapāla, Kāryyādhipati, Rājākārya, Dharmādhikaraṇa, Vyavahāra, Vyāpāra, Apavāda (objection, opposition), etc. Somewhat unusual are the terms Pratyaya, also found in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal, and Pāñji which is explained in the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier Williams as 'a book in which receipts and expenditure are entered.

In addition to the familiar administrative units, grāma, viṣaya, nagara, rāṣṭra and deśa, we have 'pramāṇa' in the sense of Province.

4. Terms relating to Calendar.

The Śaka Era was used in the inscriptions, the earliest example being an epigraph dated 533 Śaka. The dates are expressed as follows: Yāte śaḍbhūta śacchata Śakapariçraha navamī roc jeṣṭha candradivasavāra uttarabhādra nakṣatra. The Sanskrit names of week days are used, though some curious forms are noted such as Vṛhaspatidinavāra, Buddhavāra in place of Budhavāra, Saṁkrānta in the sense of a New Year, etc.

It has been estimated that in the local language used in Campā or Viet Nam, there are even now 700 Sanskrit words. Similarly there are 424 Sanskrit words in Malay language.

Before concluding this discussion on the study of Sanskrit in Indo-China, reference in some detail may be made to a recently discovered inscription in Laos which

is not generally known but is of very great interest from several points of view.

In order to clearly understand its historical importance it is necessary to offer a few preliminary remarks :

The country known as Laos, lying to the north of Cambodia, has come into prominence during recent years as a battleground between the forces of U. S. A. and North Viet Nam. But 10 years ago few Indians even heard the name of this inhospitable region, covered by a tangle of mountain chains, clothed with dense forests and traversed by the small tributaries of the Mekong river. Nearly two thousand years ago the Hindus penetrated into this region as evidenced by images and temples of Hindu gods and inscriptions, written in Sanskrit and in Indian script. The inscription, mentioned above, is engraved on the four sides of a stone shelf in a place called Vat Luong Kau. The inscription, which is well preserved except on one side, is not dated, but may be referred on palaeographic grounds to the second half of the fifth century A. D. It begins with an invocation to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and then refers to the great king (*Mahārājadhīrāja*) Śrī Devānika and compares him with Yudhiṣṭhira, Indra, Dhanañjaya, Indradyumna, Śibi, Mahāpuruṣa, Kanakapāṇḍya(?), the great Ocean and Meru. After referring to the various sacrifices performed by him, the inscription states that bearing in mind the great merits acquired by those who live, take bath, or die in a *Mahātīrtha* (a great place of pilgrimage), the king thought of setting up one, to be known as New Kurukṣetra. The reason for this selection is given in the next fifteen verses (vv. 8-22) eulogizing the virtues of Kurukṣetra.

These verses reminded me of isolated verses in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* containing similar eulogies. All these are, however, mostly isolated verses containing brief references to the holiness of Kurukṣetra, as a place of pilgrimage, but they do not convey any idea of the pre-eminence of Kurukṣetra over the other *tīrthas*. King Devānika, however, cites fifteen verses as authority for taking Kuruk-

ṣetra to be the holy place *par excellence*. These are eulogistic verses such as are found in the Purāṇas in respect of many *tīrthas*, but so far as I know no such long eulogies in regard to Kurukṣetra occur in any Purāṇa or other literature. There is, however, no doubt that Devānīka or his Court Paṇḍitas must have come across such eulogies in Indian literature. This is proved by the fact that several verses in the inscription of Devānīka may be traced in the *Mahābhārata*, and other texts.

Thus the damaged verse XI of the inscription, mentioned above, has been read as follows :

Ta (trai) vāpi Kurukṣetre vāsunā samudīritāḥ |
Mahāduṣkṛtakarmāṇāṁ nayanti paramām gatim ||

This corresponds to the verse 174 of the Āraṇyaka-parva :

Pāṁsavoṇi Kurukṣetre vāyunā samudīritāḥ |
Api duṣkṛtakarmāṇāṁ nayanti paramām gatim ||

Now, the word which has been read as *vāsunā* in the inscription is clearly *vāyunā* in its estampage. The first two letters of the verse are very indistinct as the stone is damaged, and most probably they are *pāṁsa*. Besides, the line in the inscription, *as read*, gives no sense, while the verse in the *Mahābhārata* offers very good meaning. I have no doubt therefore that the first line of the verse in the inscription exactly corresponded to the first line of the verse in the *Mahābhārata*. The difference in the second line—*api* in the *Mahābhārata* and *mahā* in the inscription—is a very minor one, and the letters read as *mahā* are also very indistinct.

The first line of Verse XII of the inscription exactly corresponds to the first line of verse 176 of the *Mahābhārata*, while the second line of verse XII forms the second line of verse 175 of the *Mahābhārata*.

The verse XIII of the inscription corresponds to the verse 173 of the *Mahābhārata*, which also occurs in the

Matsya-Purāṇa (Chapter 109 verse 3). This verse in the inscription has been read as follows :

*Prithivyām naimiṣam puṇyam-anṭarikṣe tu puṣkaram ।
Nṛpānāmapi lokānām Kurukṣetram viśiṣyate ॥*

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have got the following verse :

*Prithivyām naimiṣam puṇyamantarikṣe tu puṣkaram ।
Trayānāmapi lokānām Kurukṣetram viśiṣyate ॥*

As will be seen, the only difference is the first word in the second line. But it appears from the estampage of the record that the word read by the Editor as *nṛpānām* is really *trayānām*. The two verses may therefore be regarded as identical for all practical purposes and proclaim the superiority of Kurukṣetra over all other *tīrthas*. This suits the context very well in the record of Devānīka, for it justifies and explains the action of the King in creating a new Kurukṣetra.

The verse XI of the inscription occurs not only in the *Mahābhārata* but also in several other Indian texts. It seems to be therefore very likely that the eulogy of Kurukṣetra in the inscription is based upon one or more texts of the type of 'Kurukṣetra Māhātmya' which existed before the fourth century A.D. There is actually one such Māhātmya in the *Nārada Purāṇa* (Venkateswara Edition, 1905), but none of the verses in the inscription occurs there. If anyone can trace the text of such Māhātmya containing some of the verses cited in the inscription it would be a very important contribution.

But whether such texts are ever found in India or not, the inscription of King Devānīka holds out before us a very interesting evidence of the spread of Hindu culture and civilization in far distant Laos, a region which never excited any interest in the heart of modern Indians until very recent times.

APPENDIX

The verses enlogising Kurukṣetra in the inscription
found in Laos.

- ५ । ये वसन्ति महातीर्थे तत्र च ये मृता नराः ।
स्नवनं ये च कुर्वन्ति तत्फलं प्राप्नुवन्तु ते ॥
- ६ । यत्तत्पुण्योपमफलं प्रभासादि पुरा कृतैः ।
— — नाम तदेवात्र भवतु धृतमद्य मे ॥
- ७ । ये देवा यज्ञभागार्थमागतारोहिता दिवि ।
ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रश्चराद्यास्ते तन्नाम प्रदिशन्तु वै ॥
- ८ । (इत्ये) वमादिप्रणिधी राज्ञश्चिन्तयतस्तदा ।
नामगतं कुरुक्षेत्रं — — ष्यफलैस्समम् ॥
- ९ । यत्पूर्वाभिहितं स्वर्ग्यं फलं देवर्षिकीर्तितं
(कुरुक्षेत्रे) त्रे तदेवास्तु कुरुक्षेत्रे नवोत्थिते ॥
- १० । ऋषिणा कुरुणा पूर्वं — — क्षेत्रीकृतं सतां । [धर्म ?]
तस्मादिति कुरुक्षेत्रं ख्यातं तीर्थं महाफलम् ॥
- ११ । त (त्रै) वापि कुरुक्षेत्रे वासुना समुदीरिताः ।
महादुष्कृतकर्माणां नयन्ति परमाङ्गतिम् ॥
- १२ । कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् ।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

- १३ । पृथिव्यां नैमिशं पुण्यमन्तरीक्षे तु पुष्करम् ।
नृपानामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ॥
- १४ । तन्नामकीर्त्तनेनापि केन ह्यासप्तमं कुलम् ।
किं पुनर्येन तु सेवन्ते मनुजा धर्मबुद्धयः ॥
- १५ । अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य वाजपेयशतस्य च ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य संम्यग् दत्तस्य यत्फलं ॥
- १६ । तत्फलं तु कुरुक्षेत्रे कुर्वन्ति स्तवनादि ये ।
तत्राप्यहेतु दुष्प्रापं लभन्ते ते ध्रुवं फलम् ॥
- १७ । इत्येवमादि कुशलं पूर्वमुक्तं सुरर्षिभिः ।
तदेवात्र कुरुक्षेत्रे लभन्तु बहवो ज (नाः) ॥
- १८ । यानि तीर्थसहस्राणां कुरुक्षेत्रे फलानि च ।
अत्र निशेषतस्ता (नि) सन्तु सन्निहितानि च ॥
- १९ । अर्द्धयोजनमायामस्य तीर्थस्य कीर्त्ति (तम्) ।
यं यं प्रदेशमागम्य स महापापपावनः ॥
- २० । ये शरीरपरित्यागं कुर्वन्ति स्तवनञ्च ये ।
ये वृष्ण्या च सेवन्ते पिवन्ति च समाहिताः ॥
- २१ । येषामग्निमखादीनां दानानां नैकसम्पदाम् ।
फलानि यान्यशेषाणि प्राप्यन्तां बहुपापतः ॥
- २२ । पापिष्ठाखिलपुरुषा मुच्यन्तां बहुपापतः ।
किं पुनर्धर्मनिरता महातीर्थनिषेवनात् ॥

INDONESIA

SECOND LECTURE

The study of Sanskrit was probably as intense and as popular among the elites of Indonesia as those of Indo-China. But the local dialects in this region became sufficiently advanced to become the vehicle of literature much earlier and in a far greater degree than in Indo-China. As a consequence of this, while in both these regions, in the beginning, Sanskrit was the court language and used in official records, the number of Sanskrit inscriptions in Indonesia was much less and its place was taken by local dialects much earlier. The influence of Sanskrit, however, continued, and is clearly evidenced by the extensive use of Sanskrit loan-words, rhetoric, prosody, and almost exclusive use of themes furnished by Sanskrit literature. This process led to the growth of the vast Indo-Javanese literature to which there is no parallel in Indo-China. We shall therefore study the Sanskrit studies in Indonesia under the following three heads :

1. Sanskrit Inscriptions.
2. Sanskrit texts with or without Javanese translation accompanying them.
3. Indo-Javanese or Old-Javanese literature.

1. The following Sanskrit Inscriptions have been found in different islands of Indonesia.

A. Seven Sanskrit inscriptions, dated about 400 A.D., have been found in the District of Kotei at Muara Kaman, on the Mahakam river, an important sea-port of the island of Borneo, which has acquired today a great notoriety as a land of head-hunters. These inscriptions are engraved on sacrificial stone pillars, seven in number, recording sacrifices

performed and the gifts made to the Brāhmaṇas in the holy place named Vaprakeśvara. Only one or two epigraphic records of Brahmanical sacrifice of such an early date are known in India. The name of the sacrifice is given in the following verse :

*Śri Mūlavarmmā Rājendro yaṣṭvā Bahusuvarṇakam ।
Tasya yaṣṭasya yūpoSyam Dvijendrais-samprakalpitaḥ ॥*

It appears from the above that the name of the sacrifice was Bahusuvarṇaka, though no such sacrifice is known. It may mean a sacrifice in which much gold was distributed. But the Dutch scholar Kern pointed out that a particular type of Soma sacrifice was known as Bahuhiranya and suggests that Bahusuvarṇaka was its synonym. The gift to the twice-borns, resembling fire, who assembled at the most sacred place of Vaprakeśvara for the purpose of performing the sacrifice and erected the sacrificial posts (*yūpa*), consisted, among others, of twenty thousand cows. Mūlavarman, who donated them as sacrificial fee to the Brāhmaṇas, is described as the greatest king (*nṛpamukhya*) and born of Aśvavarman "who like unto the Sun was the founder of a race (*vaṁśakartā*), as Bhagīratha was born of Sagara."

This inscription proves beyond doubt that before, probably long before, the fifth century A.D. Sanskrit was studied in the remote island of Borneo and was inhabited by a large number of Brāhmaṇas well versed in Sanskrit literature. The inscriptions are all composed in Sanskrit poetry, the metres used are *Āryā* and *Anuṣṭubh* and the language is fairly correct. The verses are written in well-shaped alphabets of Indian, probably South Indian, origin, and the verses are so arranged on the stone that each *pada* occupies a line unlike Indian inscriptions where lines are arranged without any reference to the verses.

B. Next in point of date are four rock inscriptions, all of which are situated within the province of Batavia in Western Java. The existence of a fifth inscription in the same area has been reported but it is not deciphered as yet.

Three of these inscriptions refer to King Pūrṇavarman, and the fourth also probably belongs to him. All of them are written in Sanskrit verses and two of them have a pair of footprints engraved beside them. The verse in one of these describes them as follows :

*Vikrāntasyāvanipateḥ śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmanaḥ ।
Tārūmanagarendrasya Viṣṇoriva padadvayam ॥*

The longest of the inscriptions, engraved on a rock at Tugu, refers to Pūrṇavarman's father as *Rājādhirāja* who had dug the Chandrabhāgā which, after reaching the famous city, evidently the capital city, Tārūma, joined the sea. Pūrṇavarman himself dug the charming river Gomatī six thousand one hundred and twenty-two *dhanus* in length, in twenty-one days. The last verse refers to his grandfather as a *rājarṣi* and the gift of thousand cows to the Brāhmaṇas. The inscription uses eulogistic expressions with reference to the king, familiar in Indian inscriptions of a later date, such as *jaya-viśāla*, *dātā*, *kṛitajña* and *pracuraripuśārābhedyavikhyātavarmmo*.

The oldest inscription in Central Java is a single Sanskrit verse in *Upendravajrā* metre engraved on a stone boulder inside the biggest of several watersprings known as Tuk Mas (Golden spring) issuing out of a stony wall in a depression. The inscription is a little damaged, but has been translated as follows : "This (spring ?), sprung from pure white lotuses, in some parts oozing out of stones and sand and in others spreading with clear and cool water—is flowing (? extended) as the Gaṅgā." There is a number of symbols above the inscription. These are a *vajra* and four lotuses to the right and *śaṅkha*, *cakra* and *gadā* to the left of the inscription. The date of the inscription may be about 500 A. D. Evidently it was a Vaiṣṇava place of pilgrimage and the water was regarded as holy as that of the Gaṅgā.

Far more important is the long Sanskrit inscription found at Canggal or Janggal in Central Java commemorating the consecration of a *linga* in the Śaka year 654 (*śrutīndriya-*

rasa, with all the astronomical details given as in Indian inscription). It contains 12 verses in 25 lines of writing and eulogises king Sanna, "who ruled very long with justice like Manu" and was succeeded by his son Sañjaya, whose qualities are described in right traditional style of Indian inscriptions, as the following verse will show :

*Yasmiñchāsati sāgarormmirāsanām śailastanīm medinīm ।
 Śete rājapathe jano na cakitaścorairṇacānyair bhayaiḥ ॥
 Kirtiyād yai ralamajitāścu satatan dharmmārtha-kāmā
 naraiḥ ।
 Nūnan roditi roditā sa kalirṇṇāsyāṅga (śeṣo yataḥ) ॥*

The next inscription, found in Dinaya in East Java, commemorates the establishment of an image of Agastya, made of black stone, by King Gajayāna, son of king Deva-simha, a devotee of the god Putikeśvara in the Śaka year 682. There was an image of Agastya, made by the king's ancestors, of *Devadāru* wood, but the king, the benefactor of Brāhmaṇas and the worshipper of Agastya, who is also referred to as Kumbhayoni, made this stone image. We know from other records also that the sage Agastya was worshipped in Java. The God Putikeśvara mentioned above is unknown in Indian mythology. But the word *pūti* is the name of *Devadāru* tree and as the old image of Agastya was made of this wood, possibly Putikeśvara here refers to Agastya, worshipped by the ancestors of the king. According to this inscription he also built a temple of the sage.

This inscription is written in characters which represent a local development of the South Indian Pallava script in which the earlier inscriptions in Java were written and which gradually led to the development of the present Javanese script.

Another peculiarity of the record is worth noticing. It concludes with some verses which resemble the stereotyped verses which we find for the first time shortly before this period in Indian inscriptions recording similar grants of land and other articles by a king for pious or religious founda-

tions made by him. These verses describe the object of the grant, give a list of the articles granted for the purpose and curse his successor, who resumes the grant or in any way disturbs it, that he would go to hell for this sin, etc., with the request that the future kings should maintain the grant. This shows that there was a constant intercourse between India and these far-off regions and any new literary style in India readily found its way there.

This conclusion is supported by the Pereng stone inscription, dated 785 Śaka, half of which is in Sanskrit and half in local dialect. The Sanskrit version contains five verses in *Āryā* metre. For the first time we find in Javanese records the invocation of a God at the beginning. It reads as follows :

*Yata utpannam viśvam yatra ca jātām vilīnamapi yatra ।
Tasmai namo bhagavate Śivāya Śivakāraṇe tubhyaṁ ॥*

It ends in a prayer or benediction not met with in Indian inscriptions :

*Jagatām śivamastu sadā go-dviṣa-rājñām tathā śivastānām ।
Ati-bhakti-dānadharmīmā bhavantu nārātirāgerṣyāḥ ॥*

Two inscriptions found at Ligor in the Malay Peninsula on two sides of a stele may be included in this list as they were issued by kings who ruled in Sumatra and extended their supremacy over Malay Peninsula. Only one of these inscriptions is important from literary point of view. It is dated in the Śaka year 697 and contains ten verses in six different metres, viz. *Śikharinī*, *Hariṇī*, *Puṣpītāgrā*, *Upendra-vajrā*, *Āryā* and *Sragdharā*. It eulogises the king of Śrīvijaya (in Sumatra) and refers to the construction of three *stūpas* by Jayanta, the *sthavira* of the king, and of two *cāityas* by Ādhimukti, pupil of Jayanta, who became *sthavira* after Jayanta's death.

An inscription found at Kalasan in Central Java, containing 12 Sanskrit verses in five different metres, is of great importance as it is written in a North Indian script.

It records the construction of a temple of the goddess Tārā in 700 Śaka by the preceptor of Śailendra kings of Java who played a great part in the history of Indonesia and ruled over a vast empire in this region. The inscription begins with a salutation to the Bhagavati Āryatārā and a verse in her praise. It concludes with the hope that the merit of this pious act would accrue to all Buddhists and that the future kings would protect it. Another inscription, dated 704 of the Śaka era and written in the North Indian script like the preceding one, contains 15 Sanskrit verses. After the invocation to Lokeśvara there is the eulogy of the King, (*Gauḍidvīpa-guru-kramāmbuja-rajah pūṭottamāṅgā tvan...*) "whose head was purified by the dust of the lotuslike feet of the *guru* from Gauḍidvīpa". The inscription is badly damaged but it is clear that there is a reference to the consecration of an image of Mañjuśrī by the *Rājaguru* in the next stanza, viz. the eighth. In the eleventh stanza we are told that Kumārāghoṣa consecrated the image of Mañjuśrī in 704 Śaka. In the 15th or last stanza Mañjuśrī is identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. There is hardly any doubt that Kumārāghoṣa was the name of the royal preceptor who belonged to Gauḍa (Bengal) and went to Java where he occupied the honourable position of the preceptor of the great Śailendra Emperor.

Another important Sanskrit inscription, dated Śaka 963, is inscribed on a stone which was kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for many years, being probably sent by Sir Stafford Raffles who is known to have sent another stone inscription to Lord Minto when he (Raffles) was the Governor of Java during the temporary British occupation of that island. This latter inscription is composed in Old Javanese with an opening verse in Sanskrit which is found in the *Nāgānanda* by Harṣa. It is dated Śaka 876. The Calcutta Museum stone contained two inscriptions written in the Old-Javanese script on two sides of the stone. Being written in the Old-Javanese script it was not recognized for a long time that one of these inscriptions was composed in Sanskrit. This has

proved to be a very important historical record, being an account of one of the greatest monarchs of Java, named Airlangga, who, after an adventurous career ruled over a vast kingdom from about 1023 to 1042 A.D. The inscription consists of thirty-four verses and uses the following metres : *Āryā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Vasantatilaka*, *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* and *Sragdharā*. The inscription on the other side is a version of the Sanskrit portion in local dialect. The Sanskrit inscription begins with the invocation of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva with a pun on each of the divine names; 'Brahmā who is endowed with the three *guṇas* is *aguṇa* at the time of pralaya; Viṣṇu who is *agaṇita-vikrama-guru* is known in the world as only *trivikrama*; Śiva who is called *sthānu* is really *atitvara*.' It then recounts the various heroic deeds of the fugitive king ending with the recovery of the lost dominion and its extension, and finally the construction of a hermitage for the worship of gods. It concludes with the following prayer : "May the community of citizens wander along the path of the virtuous. May the course of the ministers be just. May the ascetics strive after the good of all beings. Since all these are possible when the king has a long life and governs the earth with justice, therefore, may the king live long."

Next we have a Sanskrit inscription of 19 verses recounting some important historical facts after an invocation of Tathāgata. Then follows a panegyric of a great king Kṛtanagara who ruled from 1268 to 1292 A.D. The object of the inscription is to record the establishment of an image of this king, who was a great follower of Tāntric practices, in the form of Akṣobhya, in the Śaka year 1211. The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a statue of Kṛtanagara in the garb of a monk.

2. As regards Sanskrit text, reference may be made to the following :

A. *Amaramālā*, the Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work which, like the *Amarakośa* and other Indian lexicons,

contains synonyms of different gods, goddesses and other animate and inanimate objects.

It refers to king Jitendra of the Śailendra Dynasty. No such king of this famous royal dynasty is otherwise known, but the composition of the *Amaramālā* may be referred to the period of Śailendra rule in Central Java, namely 775-850 A.D.

B. S. Lévi has shown that a Sanskrit Text in Bali, which is referred to as the *Caturveda*, is no other than the *Nārāyaṇāharvaśirṣopaniṣad*, particularly its four sections respectively known as the 'heads' (*Śiras*) of the *Rg*, *Yajus*, *Sāma* and *Atharva* Veda.

C. Another text in Bali is known as *Veda-Parikrama-sāra-Saṁhitā-kirāṇa*. It gives an account of the daily worship and contains the Sanskrit *Mantras*.

D. A regular series of texts containing *stotras* (hymns) addressed not only to principal deities, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha, Sūrya, Vāyu, Varuṇa and Yama, but also to various minor Brahmanical and Buddhist gods such as Umā, Gaṅgā, Gaṇapati, Soma, Prṛthvī, Rabi, Vāsuki, Śrī and Sarasvatī. There are also *stotras* for the Pitṛs (manes), the syllable Om, etc. The original Sanskrit Texts of some of these have been traced and some of them might have been composed in Java or Bali. Some of these *stotras* are very beautiful and, as S. Lévi remarks, "deserves to be classic even in India."

E. *Buddhaveda*. This is the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Veda and contains a full account of the daily worship by the Buddhist priest. According to Lévi, "the verses and mantras are clearly derived from some Tantra, probably Śaiva Tantra."

F. Scattered verses of moral or semi-religious purport. Reference may be made to a verse which is very well-known in India even today : "*Om Ahalyā Draupadī Sītā Dārā* (for Tārā) *Mandodharī tata / Pancakanyā smarenṇityam*". The substitution of Sītā for Kuntī is worth notice.

The following verse known as *Daśasīla* admirably sums up the Hindu ideal of life :

*Anṛśamsyaṃ kṣhamā satyamahiṃsā dama ārjavam ।
Pṛīṭiḥ prasādo mādḥuryaṃ mārḍavaṃ ca yamā daśa ॥*

Reference may also be made to some mantras which are still recited in the ceremony of Sūrya-Sevana or worship of the Sun in Ball

1. For the consecration of water

ॐ गङ्गा सिन्धु सरस्वती सु-यमुना ।
गोदावरी नर्मदा कावेरी सरयू ।
महेन्द्रतनयचर्मरगवती वेणुकम् ।
भद्र नेत्रवती महासुरनदी ।
ख्यातञ्च य गन्धकी (गरडकी) ।
पुण्य पूर्ण जले समुद्र संहित कुर्वन्ति मे मङ्गलम्

2. For the consecration of sacred thread (यज्ञोपवीत)

(a) भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि (part of the famous गायत्री)

(b) ॐ (शिव सूत्रं) यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं ।

प्रजापतेर्यत् सहजं पुरोस्तात् ।
आयुष्वं अग्रं प्रतिमुञ्च शुभ्रं ।
यज्ञोपवीतं बलम स्तुतेजः ।

(c) Objects which the worshipper had in view

ॐ आयुवृद्धि यशोवृद्धि वृद्धि प्रज्ञा सुखश्रिया ।
धर्मसन्तानवृद्धिश्च सन्तु ते सप्तवृद्धयः ।
यावत् मेरौ स्थित देव यावद् गङ्गा महीतले ।
चन्द्ररेखा गगणो यावत् तावत् भुवि जयी भवेः

(d) Invocation to Śiva to forgive the sins of worshipper

पापोऽहं पापकर्माहं पापात्मा पापसम्भवः ।
त्राहि मां सर्वपापेभ्यः केनचिद् मम रक्षतु ।
ॐ मन्त्रहीनं क्रियाहीनं भक्तिहीनं महेश्वरः ।
यत् पूजितं मया देव परिपूर्णम् ततस्तु मे ।

G. *Bhuvanakośa*, also called *Jñāna-Siddhānta-Sāstram*, and described as a *Parama-rahasya* or an esoteric text, consisting of Sanskrit verses followed by translation in Old-

Javanese prose. It deals with cosmogony and metaphysics after the Purāṇas and Vedānta, and the twelve *tattvas* after the Sāṃkhya and Yoga philosophy. A great part of it is devoted to Tāntrik Mysticism.

H. *Bhuvana-Saṃkshepa*.

It is an Old-Javanese translation of a Sanskrit work with a number of the original Sanskrit *ślokas* interspersed in the text. It deals with the *Śūnyavāda* or the Doctrine of the Great Void and lays down that the *moksha* or final emancipation consists in a negation of all things and ideas.

I. *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahā jñāna*, written in Sanskrit verses followed by Old-Javanese translation and commentary. Attention may be drawn to the following verse describing the sphere of religious activities of different types of peoples.

Āpsu devo dvijātīnām ṛṣīnām divi devatā |

Silākhaṇḍaṇca lokānām munīnām ātma eva devatā ||

J. *Bṛhaspati-tattva*. An Old-Javanese work interspersed with Sanskrit *ślokas*. It enumerates the different religious sects and then discusses the consequences, after death, of the actions in this life. It refers to the *Hasti-nyāya*, the well-known parable of the blind men's description of the elephant to illustrate the incomplete nature of the different conceptions of God. It also refers to the 24 *tattvas*, eight *Aiśvaryas*, and three kinds of *pramāṇa*, the eight kinds of *Siddhi*, the *Pañca-tanmātra*, the *Pañca-mahābhūta*, the *Shad rasa*, etc.

K. The Buddhist text *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, a Mahāyāna text, is a somewhat free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original interspersed with a number of original Sanskrit verses, composed in the ninth century A. D. It is a big work expounding the fundamental principles of Mahāyāna form of Buddhism.

L. Another Mahāyāna text *Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* contains a short preamble, followed by forty-one Sanskrit verses with Javanese commentaries. *Mantranaya* has been identified with the *Mantrayāna* which is a Tāntrik develop-

ment of the *Yoga* phase of Buddhism. It teaches that one can attain the Buddhahood by the mysterious knowledge of *kāya*, *citta* and *vāk*.

It is quite clear from the above accounts of literary texts and Sanskrit inscriptions that a large number of Sanskrit texts were imported into Java and Bali and were regularly studied. With the loss of contact with India, the study of Sanskrit suffered a steady decline and the Sanskrit texts have also mostly disappeared. But the priests of Bali, which is now the only region inhabited by the Hindus, still recite the Sanskrit *Muntras* though they do not understand a word of it and cannot pronounce it very correctly. I attended the worship of Hindu gods in some temples of Bali and could understand without much difficulty that the priests or Padandās were repeating well-known *mantras* with which we are very familiar in India. They have great reverence for India and showed me great respect and honours simply because I went from India which they regard as the source of their religion and other aspects of culture. I particularly mention this fact because I understand that in recent times a change is gradually growing upon the people, mainly due to the influence of foreigners, and the people are loth to admit that India was the fountain-source of their culture, and a section even feels offended if they are reminded of the debt they owe to India.

We may now proceed to give an account of the Old-Javanese literature as the best evidence of the wonderful dominance of Sanskrit studies over the whole range of literary activity in Java.

Generally speaking, the Old-Javanese literature shows the following characteristics: Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, its subject matter is derived mainly from Indian literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses.

There are almost an equal number of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese words in a Dictionary of Old-Javanese words.

The Old Javanese translations of the two epics—the

Rāmāyaṇa and the *Mahābhārata*—and a large number of poetical works based on the themes furnished by them, known as *Kākāwin* from 'Kavi' meaning Kāvya, form the most important part of this literature.

Though the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* is one of the best and most famous works of Indo-Javanese literature, there is a wide difference of opinion among the scholars about its date, authorship, and relation to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki.

There are 1200 different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Java, the most well-known being that attributed to Yogīśvara which seems to be an epithet assumed by the Śaiva Tāntriks after they had reached a certain stage in their *siddhi*. According to Balinese tradition his personal name was Mpu Rājakusum and Kusumavicitra. Opinions differ about the date of the composition of this version, but there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that it was composed in the first half of the tenth century A. D., though some place it before or after this date. The *Rāmāyaṇa Kākāwin* is divided into 26 Cantos and consists of 2774 verses. The author seems to have been a Śaiva, probably a Tāntrik Śaiva. For Daśaratha has been described as a Śaiva, and Rāvaṇa carried away Sītā in the guise of a Śaiva ascetic. The epithet Yogīśvara borne by the author also supports this theory. It is now generally held that this *Rāmāyaṇa* is mainly based on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. It has been shown by a comparative study that two-thirds of the *Rāmāyaṇa Kākāwin* of Java follow the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the remaining portion is also not a translation of the Sanskrit Epic but an adaptation of it. The *Uttarākāṇḍa Kākāwin* is an independent work but may be regarded as the prose translation of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki.

There are several Old-Javanese poetical works—*kākāwins*—based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. One is *Sumanasāntaka* (killed by flower), the theme of which is supplied by the story of Indumatī's death caused by a flower, immortalised by the great poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*. It was composed in the

first decade of the twelfth century A. D. The *Harīśraya* deals with the fight between Viṣṇu and various demons like Vajramuṣṭi, Virūpākṣa, Māli, and Sumāli. The *Arjunaviṣaya* deals with the fight between Rāvaṇa and Arjuna-sahasra-vāhu. It was composed after 1378 A. D.

Special attention may be drawn to the fact that various Sanskrit metres have been used in the *Rāmāyaṇa Kākāvīn* and it has been suggested that as the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* was composed with a view to teaching Grammar, the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was written for the purpose of teaching the different Sanskrit metres to the Javanese.

The *Mahābhārata* was no less popular in Java than the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the preface of the old manuscripts of the Epic, a verse composed in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, a list is given of the eighteen *Parvas*. The list agrees with that of the Calcutta and Bombay Editions, and followed in the Critical Edition, with this difference that the *Anuśāsana-parva* is not mentioned as a separate *parva* but merged in the *Śānti-parva*, whereas a new *parva*, the *Gadā-parva*, has been added between *Sālyā*-and *Sauptika-parvas*. It may be mentioned that in India, too, some recension of the *Mahābhārata* has even 24 *Parvas*, and the Javanese version may be regarded as one of the early divisions into *parvas* current in India.

The Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata* is not a translation of the original Sanskrit epic, "but partly an abridged paraphrase and partly a condensed—very rarely a literal—translation of the original. Occasionally the original Sanskrit verses are added. Whether there was ever a complete Javanese translation of the *Mahābhārata*, it is difficult to say. So far only the *Ādi*-, *Sabhā*-, *Virāṭa*-, *Udyoga*-, *Bhīṣma*-, *Āśramavāsika*-, *Mauśala*-, and *Mahāprasthānika-parvas* have been found. The *Sabhā-parva* is a very recent discovery, and so it is not unlikely that all the eighteen *parvas* were translated, but this cannot be said with any degree of certainty. All the available *parvas* were not translated at one and the same time by a single author. It is, however, definitely known that some of

the *parvas* were translated during the reign of a king named Dharmavarmāśa at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. A manuscript of the *Virāṭa-parva* refers to the year 996 A. D. as the date of its composition. It may be incidentally mentioned here that in some parts of the *Mahābhārata*s, particularly in the didactic passages or those dealing with Puranic legends such as *Jambu-khaṇḍa-vinirmāṇa*, the number of original Sanskrit passages quoted is much larger than in other parts. This is specially noticeable in the translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* section, where are found quite a large number of the oft-quoted verses from the second canto about the relation between the body and the soul. Some scholars have suggested that selection and omission of verses from the *Gītā* in the Old-Javanese version were deliberately made according to a certain plan by its author and particular stress has been laid on those parts which contained sublime philosophical truths, while less important portions or digressions have been omitted. It may also be mentioned that in many cases where the verses quoted or translated differ from the version generally current in India, they agree with the Kashmiri version in some cases. The original Sanskrit verses quoted in the Old-Javanese version include the following verses in the current Indian edition : Canto I, vv. 28, 31; II., 3, 11, 13, 16, 18, 23, 31, 33, 34, 38, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55, 59, 62, 63, 69. There are also other verses from the subsequent Chapters. A new verse is added before v. 62 which is not to be found in any Indian version. It is to the effect that sexual passion and satisfaction of tongue are the two great impulses of men and these two should be looked upon as enemies. We found some of the most well known verses from Chapter IV including the two (7, 8) beginning with *Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānirbhavati Bhārata*, verse 13, beginning with *Cāturvārṇyam mayā sṛṣṭam*, etc. There is a significant change in the famous verse 66 of the last Chapter. In current Indian edition we have "*Sarvadharmān parityajya māmekaṁ śaraṇam vraja*", but in the Javanese quotation the word

"*kāraṇam* is substituted for '*śaraṇam*'. Whether it is an error or a deliberate alteration according to some other version current in India it is difficult to say, but the change makes a difference in meaning, not without substantial importance.

The theme of a large number of poetical works, known in Java as *kākāwins*, has been supplied by the *Mahābhārata*, and some of these exhibit a high degree of poetic merit, earning high applause from the Dutch scholars who have made a special study of them.

Before dealing with them it would be interesting to refer to the views expressed by the great French Savant Sylvain Lévi. He has pointed out that in the eulogy of Vyāsa in introductory portion of the prose translation of the *Ādi-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, there are three verses, the second of which is taken, not from the Sanskrit epic, but from the opening line of the well-known Sanskrit drama, the *Veṇiśamhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa. He then comments: "That a drama, from India, particularly one based on the *Mahābhārata*, was known to Java in the tenth century lends credibility to the theory that the Wāyāng (the shadow play of Java) owes its origin to Indian influence." The Wāyāng is a sort of dramatic show where the actors are puppets made of leather skillfully moved by hand from behind a screen on which their shadows are cast. It is a very popular entertainment even now and its origin is a matter of dispute. Some have traced its origin to the Chāyānāṭaka referred to in Sanskrit works, and this view is supported by Lévi, who further points out that we get the first indication of the existence of Wāyāng in Java from the first original poetical work based on the *Mahābhārata*, namely *Arjunavivāha*, which heralded the golden age of Indo-Javanese literature under the patronage of a succession of rulers of the dynasty founded by Airlangga (1019-42 A. D.) in Kaḍiri in E. Java. It was written by Mpu Kanwa under the patronage of Airlangga. It deals with an episode from the *Mahābhārata* in which Arjuna helps the gods in their fight against Nivāta Kavaca.

Two other poetical works may be referred to the beginning of the Kaḍiri period. The first is *Kṛṣṇāyana* by Tri-ḡṇa. It deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa and his consequent fight with Jarā-sandha.

We next come to the most flourishing period of the old-Javanese literature, viz, the reign of Jayabhaya (c. 1135-1157 A. D.) The greatest work of this period, which has all along enjoyed a very high degree of reputation, is *Bhārata-yuddha*, an independent work based on the *Udyoga-parva*, *Bhīṣma-parva*, *Droṇa-parva*, *Karṇa-parva*, and *Śalya-parva* of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*; in other words, those parts of the great epic of India which deal with the great war. It is written in simple but epic style, and its grandeur, according to eminent critics, is comparable to that of the Greek epics. It was written by Mpu Sedah in 1157 A. D. by order of the Kaḍirian king Jayabhaya. According to one tradition, the poet incurred royal displeasure and the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh.

Mpu Panuluh, who completed the *Bhārata-yuddha*, evidently during the reign of Jayabhaya, also composed another poetical work, *Harivaṁśa*, during the same reign. This book, like its Indian prototype, deals with the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa and the consequent war with Jarāsandha and the Pāṇḍavas who helped the latter. This last episode is not in the original Indian work.

Kāmeśvara II (1185 A. D.) maintained the brilliant literary tradition of the Kaḍirian court. The most famous work written under his patronage was *Smaradahana*. This work is based on the well-known episode of the burning of Smara or the god of Love by Śiva, which has been so masterly dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work *Kumāra-sambhavam*.

The famous *Bhoma-kāvya* is also attributed to the period of Kāmeśvara II. It describes the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma, or Naraka, son of Pṛthivī, and finally his death in the hands of Kṛṣṇa.

Navaruci, a very popular work in Bali, describes the exploits of Bhima.

Next to the Epic literature reference should be made to the Purāṇas. The *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* is undoubtedly the most important of this class of Old-Javanese literature. It closely follows the model of the Indian Purāṇas, including the preamble. We are told that while Adhisimakṛṣṇa was ruling the earth, Romaharṣaṇa, a pupil of Vyāsa, came to the Naimiṣa forest and recited the Purāṇa, composed by Vyāsa. It closely follows an original Sanskrit text somewhat different from the present one and its language and style resemble those of the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata*. Sanskrit words are profusely used and in some pages the ratio of the Sanskrit and Javanese words is 4 : 9. There is a Kākāwin, divided into 18 cantos, based on the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*. There are, besides, a large number of prose works belonging to the Purāṇa class, from the point of view of subject-matter. There is also a vast Old-Javanese literature besides Purāṇik and Epic, dealing with miscellaneous topics, culled from Sanskrit literature. One of the most important among them is *Sārasamuccaya*. This text attained a very high degree of fame as an authoritative treatise on morals and religious ordinances of the type of Indian *Smṛiti* or *Dharmaśāstra* works. We find in a book named *Pūrvādigama* that a judge in a law-court must have a thorough knowledge of the *Sārasamuccaya*. It has been recently edited by Raghuvira and published by the International Academy of Indian Culture in New Delhi. It contains 517 Sanskrit verses, 321 of which have been traced by Raghuvira in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* published in Poona. Some verses also occur in the *Pañcatantra—Hitopadeśa*. The Sanskrit text in each case is followed by the syntax and translation or explanation in Javanese, in right Indian fashion of editing old Sanskrit texts like the *Bhagavadgītā* in modern times. The commentary on the seventh verse refers to its author as Vararuci and adds : “While saluting the Bhagavān Vyāsa Vararuci said that he would now say whatever is the best in the

Bhārata Mahākāvya. The word *sāra* means essence and *samuccaya* means collection. Hence the name of the book is *Sāra-samuccaya*."

No treatise bearing the name *Sārasamuccya* is known in India, though Vararuci is a famous name. The book begins with the words *Om abighnam astu*. In 25 verses it points out the necessity of making *dharma* the protective armour of the body, for after death nothing but *dharma* accompanies the man. Then it refers to *Śruti* and *Smṛti* as the sources of *dharma* which cannot be confiscated by the king or stolen by the thief, and no one has to leave it behind after death. It then describes the duties of the *Caturvarṇa*, the essential duties and virtues of men and the passions to be avoided. Some of the verses are very beautiful. To illustrate how different persons entertain different views about the same thing, the author refers to the breast of a woman looked at by the child and the husband, and her dead body by an ascetic, lover and a dog. The advice to the *nāstik* or unbelievers recalls a very famous modern saying to the effect that wise men should always guard against evil deeds, for if there is no *paraloka* after death, there is no harm, but if there is one, the *nāstiks* would suffer misery. Another statement of the same nature is that whatever is good to all mankind that alone is true and good; everything else is false. Another work of the same type is the *Ślokāntara* consisting of 83 Sanskrit verses each followed by an Old-Javanese commentary. Its nature may be indicated by a few illustrative verses.

Brāhmaṇo vā manuṣyāṇām-ādityo vāpi tejasām |
Śiro vā sarvagātṛeṣu Dharmeṣu satyam-uttamam ||

Commenting on the first half of this verse, namely that the *Brāhmaṇa* is the best among men, the Javanese commentary refers to three classes of *Brāhmaṇas*, namely *Sukla*-, *Savala*- and *Kṛṣṇa-Brahmacārī*. The *Sukla-Brahmacārī* is one who has not married and never talked to women; *Savala-Brahmacārī* is permitted to marry only one wife; and the

Kṛṣṇa-Brahmacāri, only four. Another verse seems to be very well-known, but I cannot recall where I have read it.

Arthā gṛhe nivarttante śmaśāne mitra-bāndhavāḥ |
Sukṛtaṁ duṣkṛtaṁ caiva chhāyāvanugacchati ||

The book refers to five *yamabratas*, namely, *ahiṁsā*, *brahmacarya*, *asteya*, *śuddhi* and *āhāra-lāghava*. The first three are well-known but the last two are not usually met with, though *āhāra-lāghava* is mentioned by Kullukabhaṭṭa in his commentary on v. 204 of Chapter IV of the *Manu-Saṁhitā*. Regarding the qualifications of a high official it is said—

Siṁhākṛtī raṇamādhye śrīmādhye madhuraṁkatha |
Munimādhye tu tattvajñam sa yukto nagaramgataḥ ||

Many other well-known maxims are quoted, sometimes in a slightly altered form. As an instance we may quote the following :

Rājavat pañcavarṣeṣu daśa-varṣeṣu dāśavat |
Mitravat ṣoḍaśavarṣa ityetaṁ putra-śāsanam ||

Another work which belongs to the same class is known as *Nītisāra* in the Bali Island and *Nītiśāstra* in Java. It is also a collection of Sanskrit verses inculcating moral precepts, maxims, wise sayings, etc., such as we find in Sanskrit Indian works like *Nītisāra*, *Pañcatantra*, *Cāṇakyaśūtram*, etc. ; but we do not know of any single Sanskrit text which may be regarded as its source. It contains 120 verses divided into 15 sections and uses various metres such as *Śārāṅgavikṛīḍita*, *vamśapatraputita*, *padmakeśara*, *rāgakusuma*, *kusumavicitra*, *aśvalalita*, *bhannaravilasita*, *pravīralalita* and *Vasantatilaka*. some of its verses have been found in Indian books, but it has nothing in common with the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka which agrees in some respects only with the Old-Javanese *Kāmandaka*.

Another work of this class is *Vratīśāsana* consisting of 37 Sanskrit verses followed by Javanese commentary. It contains the well-known verse ;

*Nāsti vidyāsamanī mitram nāsti krodhasamo ripuḥ ।
Na cāpatya-samaḥ sneho na ca daivāt param balam ॥*

The extensive cultivation of Sanskrit in Java presupposes a deep knowledge of the ancillary subjects like Grammar, Dictionary, Prosody etc. There is evidence that these subjects were studied. There are several Indo-Javanese treatise for teaching grammar and the proficiency in grammar is referred to in inscriptions (*nyāya-vyākaraṇa-śāstra-parisa-māpta*) which also refers to the *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* and that of Pāṇini and Kātantra.

There is a Sanskrit work called *Kāraka-saṁgraha* in 45 verses which concludes with the following verse :

*Kātantram ca mahātantram dṛṣṭvā tena uvāca ।
Bālāvabodhanārthāya kṛtaḥ Kāraka-saṁgrahaḥ ॥*

Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that the definition of the *kāra*kas in this book agrees with that of the *Kātantra Grammar* of Sarvavarmān. According to the Balinese commentator of this work the word *vakābhyaṁ* in the first verse of *Kāraka-saṁgrahaḥ* refers to Viṣṇu and Brahmā and the word *kavindra* in the next verse is Pāṇini. The following verse occurs in a grammatical treatise which deals with *kāraka*, *saṁāsa*, etc.

*Dviguḥ tatpuruṣo dvandvo karmadhāraya tathaiiva ca ।
Bahuvrīhyavyayībhāvaḥ samāsaḥ Pāṇinestu ṣaḥ ॥*

There are several lexicons which give synonyms of different words in the style of *Amarakoṣa*. One such dictionary gives 29 synonyms of Indra, 31 of Agni, 27 of Vāyu, 29 of Kāmadeva, 48 of Chandra, etc., some of which are obvious derivations of Sanskrit, though the spelling is not always correct. Thus the synonyms of Chandra are Śaśi, Sitāṁsu, Sasangu. But some lexicons give good Sanskrit synonyms as the following example shows :

*Amarāstridaśaḥ proktāḥ gīrvāṇā bibudhāḥ surāḥ ।
Bṛndārakā aditījāḥ nīrjarā dānavadrīṣaḥ ॥*

There are sixteen more synonyms of *Deva*.
The synonyms of Śiva are :

Śiva śarva birūpākṣaḥ Mahādevo Maheśvaraḥ |
Śrīkaṇṭhaḥ śaṁkaro Bhargaḥ somadhṛnnīlalohitaḥ ||

This is followed by eight more lines.

The prosody is dealt with in many books of which *Yrta-saṁcaya* is very well-known. It is written in the form of *Sūtra* as in Pāṇini's Grammar and refers to Rāmaśarman, Piṁgala, and Piṁgalaśāstra.

Even the very brief account of the Old-Javanese Literature given above would convey a fair idea of the nature, extent and quality of Sanskrit studies in Java and Bali. Though we possess no direct evidence of a similar nature in respect of the rest of Indonesia, indirect evidence is supplied by the study of loan-words in different parts of Indonesia. This has been summed up by a recent writer as follows on the authority of European scholars.

“Sanskrit loan-words have, however, made deep inroads not only into the vocabulary of Java, but also into that of Malacca, Palembang and contiguous areas of Sumatra, a part of Borneo, several coastal regions of Celebes and contiguous hinterland. Even remote people like the Papuans of North Guinea have some Sanskrit words in the vocabulary. It has however been recognised that its impact has been far-reaching in Old-Javanese. Gonda has pointed out that, in the Old-Javanese-Dutch Dictionary of Juynboll there are 6790 Sanskrit words, while the number of Old-Javanese words does not exceed 6925. In the Buginese vocabulary of South Celebes, there are some Sanskrit words denoting business, utensils, religion, *āgama*, administration and social life. In the Bari-language of Central Celebes, in Bimanese, Rotinese, Mangarai (Flores), Sasak (Dombok) and Busang (Celebes), we find a number of Sanskrit loan-words. If we proceed further to the Philippines, we shall detect in Tagalog about 250 Sanskrit words, of which the majority refers to trade, commerce and material objects.

“If we now turn our attention to the islands lying to the West of Java, we shall indeed find many Sanskrit words in the Achehnese vocabulary. Gonda has stated that there are 155 Indian words in Karo-Batak and 175 in Toba-Batak of Sumatra. The names of Indian week days are current among these people, even as some terms of astronomical and astrological significance. To the further South, in the island of Nias, there are at least 60 Sanskrit words. The neighbouring islands of Mentaway and Simalur have also received, through Nias, some Sanskrit words. Even such a remote island as Madagascar has adopted the names of Indian months.

Reference may also be made to the influence of Indian script in Indonesia as a further evidence of the Sanskrit studies in this region. “The art of writing in ancient Indonesia and Malaysia was derived, at the initial stage, from southern India as a study of the inscriptions of these places would testify. Out of this Pallava-Grantha character was evolved the Old-Javanese script, of which the oldest peculiarities appear in the Dinaya inscription of 760 A.D. The Pre-Nāgarī script also appears in the eighth century A.D. and proto-Bengali script, some centuries later on, but these were severely limited in time and space, and did not permanently affect the evolution of a national script for the countries constituting the Malayo-Indonesian world. The Pallava-Grantha character, as adapted in Java, led to the development of Sudanese, Madurese and Balinese scripts. The Sumatran script of the Middle Ages, as we know it, has also evolved out of this script. The Batak handwriting is merely a variation of the Indonesian Pallava-script. The Rejang and Lampung scripts of south Sumatra bear striking resemblance with the Old-Javanese script which has evolved out of Pallava-Grantha characters” (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIV, part III, No. 132, December, 1966, pp. 653-656).

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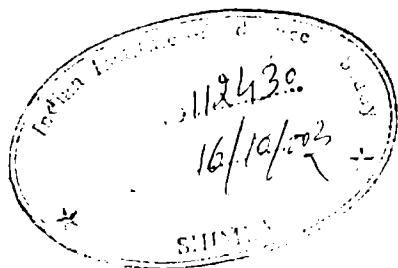
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