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HISTORY OF THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Kanai Lal Hazra

*History of Theravāda
Buddhism in South-East Asia
with special reference to India and Ceylon*

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Preface

THE Theravāda form of Buddhism exists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia and in Laos. Theravāda Buddhism is the tie that binds Ceylon with all these countries of South-east Asia. 'Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries' by S. Paranavitana,¹ 'Ceylon's relations with South-east Asia, with special reference to Burma' by S. Wickremasinghe,² 'The establishment of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Further India' by N.A. Jayawickrama,³ 'Relations between Burma and Ceylon' by C.E. Godakumbura,⁴ 'King Lodaiya of Sukhodaya and his contemporaries' by A.B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara,⁵ and 'Ven'ble Upali's Mission in Ceylon' by Ven. Dr. L. Likhitanonta⁶ may well be regarded as important contributions towards the study of this subject. Besides these works, another notable contribution to this subject has been made by Prof. Jayawickrama, this being an English translation of the *Jinakālamālī*.⁷ His introduction to this book, which contains much historical material relating to the establishment of Sīhala Buddhism in Siam is valuable for the study of Ceylon's links with Siam.

Eminent scholars such as D.G.E. Hall,⁸ R.C. Majumdar,⁹ Reginald Le May,¹⁰ L.P. Briggs,¹¹ G. Coedès,¹² John F. Cady¹³ and

¹JCBRAS, XXXII, no. 85.

²CJHSS, III, no. 1, January-June, 1960.

³CA, May, 1964.

⁴JBRS, XLI, part II, December 1966.

⁵JSS, January 1972, 60, part I.

⁶TMB, 81, May-June 1973.

⁷TSGEC, 1967, London.

⁸AHSEA, 1964, London.

⁹CCE, V, 1957, Bombay, Sd., 1937-38, Dacca; Kambuja KD., 1944, Calcutta.

¹⁰TCSEA, 1954, London; ACHBAS, 1938, Cambridge.

¹¹TAKE, 1951, Philadelphia.

¹²LEHIL, 1948, Paris; TMSEA, 1966, London.

¹³TBLC, 1966, New Jersey.

A.B. Griswold¹ have made fairly detailed studies of the history of South-east Asia. A considerable amount of research has been done on the history of individual countries such as Burma, Cambodia, Siam (Thailand) and Laos. E.T. Aymonier,² N.R. Ray³ and B.R. Chatterjee⁴ have made valuable contributions to this study. Some aspects of the religious and cultural history of South-east Asia have been studied in detail, and the study of Ceylon's religious ties with Burma and Siam has received a certain amount of attention. No attempt, however, has so far been made to show the religious and cultural connections among the countries of South-east Asia as a whole. In this work we shall try to show that Ceylon had strong cultural links with her neighbours in South-east Asia. The period from the eleventh century AD onwards is of special significance for the mutual help and co-operation these countries afforded each other for the restoration of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the study of the Buddhist texts. The chief aim of this work is to examine carefully and to evaluate historically the evidence in the primary sources relating to the religious ties that existed among the Theravāda countries.

The subject has been discussed under three headings i.e., religious intercourse between Ceylon and Burma, Ceylon and Siam and Ceylon, Cambodia and Laos. The main reason for the special emphasis on Ceylon is because from about the eleventh century AD onwards the Buddhist countries in South and South-east Asia looked on Ceylon as the fountain-head of Theravāda Buddhism and modelled their religious institutions on those of Ceylon. From that period onwards the Sīhala Saṅgha and Sīhala Buddhism constitute a strong and vitalising force in the religious history of South-east Asia.

This book is a revised version of my thesis 'Religious intercourse among the Theravāda countries from the 11th to 16th centuries AD,' approved for the Ph. D. degree at the University of Ceylon in the year 1968.

Calcutta

Kanai Lal Hazra

1 January 1982

¹*AA*, II; *PFV*, 1965, Ceylon.

²*LC*, 3 vols, 1900-4, Paris.

³*AISTBB*, 1946, Calcutta University.

⁴*ICIC*, 1928, Calcutta.

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I express my sincere thanks to Prof. Kalyan Kumar Ganguly, formerly Bageswari Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta, Ex-Reader in the Department of Pali, Dr. Haraprasad Chatterjee, Reader in the Department of History of the Calcutta University and Prof. Herambanath Chatterjee, Professor and Head of the Department of Pali, Sanskrit College, Calcutta for their useful informations on various topics.

I must thank my friend Dr. Dipak Kumar Das, Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University for assisting me in the publication of my work. I must thank my friends Dr. Mrinal Kanti Ganguly, Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit and Sri Dilip Kumar Roy, Reader in the Department of Museology of the Calcutta University, for taking personal interest in my book. My hearty thanks are also due to my sister Mrs. Nirmala Hazra and Mrs. Ramola Kumar, and my brother Sri Subodh Kumar Hazra for their keen interest in the publication of this work.

My thanks are also due to the Librarian, Deputy Librarian and

members of the staff of the Library of the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya, the Museum Library in Colombo, the Asiatic Society Library in Colombo, the Calcutta University Central Library and the Asiatic Society Library in Calcutta, who helped me in various ways to utilise books in the libraries.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to all the authors whose publications I have consulted in my present work. I also take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the authors of the works entitled D.G.E. Hall's *A History of South-East Asia*, John F. Cady's *Southeast Asia* and G. Coedes' *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* from which one map has been drawn for the present work.

I like to mention here my special gratitude to the Ministry of Education, Government of India and the Ministry of Culture, Government of Ceylon for providing me a research grant which enabled me to spend the academic years of 1965-1968 in Ceylon and to carry on my research work to complete the study.

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Calcutta, 1982

Kanai Lal Hazra

Abbreviations

<i>A</i>	Asoke.
<i>AA</i>	Artibus Asiae.
<i>ACHBAS</i>	A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam.
<i>ADM</i>	Asoke and the Decline of the Mauryas.
<i>ADPL</i>	A Dictionary of the Pali Language.
<i>AG</i>	Asoke the Great.
<i>AGI</i>	Ancient Geography of India.
<i>AHIL</i>	A History of Indian Literature.
<i>AHS</i>	A History of Siam.
<i>AHSC</i>	A Historical Survey of Ceylon.
<i>AHSEA</i>	A History of South-East Asia.
<i>AHSHM</i>	A Historical Study of the terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.
<i>AHSI</i>	A History of South India.
<i>AHSL</i>	A History of Sanskrit Literature.
<i>AI</i>	Ancient India.
<i>AIBL</i>	Academi des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
<i>AIC</i>	Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon.
<i>AIK</i>	The Age of Imperial Kanauj.
<i>AIS</i>	Asokan Inscriptions.
<i>AISTBB</i>	An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma.
<i>AM</i>	Asia Major.
<i>AMBH</i>	Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna.
<i>AMG</i>	Annales du Musee Guimet.
<i>AN</i>	Aṅguttara Nikāya.
<i>AP</i>	Abhidhamma Philosophy.

<i>APSKID</i>	A Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions of Dhammaceti.
<i>ARASB</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma.
<i>ARASC</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
<i>ARASI</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>ARBRIMA</i>	A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago.
<i>ASR</i>	Archaeological Survey Report.
<i>AV</i>	The Ayodhya version of MS of the Jinakālamālī in Cambodian script, believed to be copied in 1794.
<i>B</i>	Burma with special reference to the relation with China.
<i>BBG</i>	British Burma Gazeteer.
<i>BCLV</i>	B.C. Law Volume.
<i>BD</i>	The Book of the Discipline.
<i>BEFEO</i>	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
<i>Bg</i>	Buddhaghosa.
<i>Bgp</i>	Buddhaghosuppatti.
<i>BHB</i>	Bu-ston, History of Buddhism.
<i>BI</i>	Buddhist India.
<i>BIIA</i>	Buddhism in India and Abroad.
<i>BL</i>	Buddhist Legend.
<i>BO</i>	Buddhism in Orissa.
<i>BP</i>	Buddhaghosa's Parables.
<i>BRWW</i>	Buddhist Records of the Western World.
<i>BS</i>	Buddhistic Studies.
<i>BSI</i>	Buddhist Sects in India.
<i>BSOAS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
<i>BSS</i>	Burma Sketches.
<i>BTLVNI</i>	Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en vol-kenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie.
<i>BV</i>	Bhismaparvan.
<i>BYB</i>	Bapat, 2500 years of Buddhism.
<i>CA</i>	Ceylon To-day.
<i>CB</i>	Chinese Buddhism.
<i>CCC</i>	Ceylon's Coins and Currency.

<i>CCE</i>	Colonial and Cultural Expansion.
<i>CCMT</i>	Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times.
<i>CDV</i>	Cāmadevivaraṃsa.
<i>CHJ</i>	Ceylon Historical Journal.
<i>CII</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
<i>CJHSS</i>	Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies.
<i>CJS</i>	Ceylon Journal of Science.
<i>CLR</i>	Ceylon Literary Register.
<i>CM</i>	Ceylon and Malaysia.
<i>CMC</i>	Code du Mahāyāna en Chine.
<i>CMS</i>	Catalogue of the Museum at Sarnath.
<i>CTPE</i>	Ceylon, the Portuguese Era.
<i>CV</i>	Cūlavaraṃsa.
<i>CVg</i>	Cūllavagga.
<i>DB</i>	Dialogues of the Buddha.
<i>DBU</i>	Development of Buddhism in Uttara Pradesh.
<i>Dda</i>	Dambadenīvaraṃsa.
<i>DEBS</i>	Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha.
<i>DN</i>	Dīgha Nikāya.
<i>DP</i>	Dhammapadam.
<i>DPA</i>	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā.
<i>DPPN</i>	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names.
<i>Dpv</i>	Dīpavaraṃsa.
<i>DV</i>	Divyāvadāna.
<i>EA</i>	Etudes Asiatiques.
<i>EAU</i>	Elu Attanagaluvamsa.
<i>EB</i>	Epigraphia Birmanica.
<i>EFEO</i>	Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
<i>EHSB</i>	Early History of Spread of Buddhism.
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica.
<i>ELLRNT</i>	Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet.
<i>EM</i>	Eastern Monarchism.
<i>EMB</i>	Early Monastic Buddhism.
<i>EZ</i>	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
<i>GB</i>	Gaya and Buddhagaya.
<i>GEB</i>	Geography of Early Buddhism.
<i>GPC</i>	Glass Palace Chronicle.
<i>GS</i>	Girasandesa.
<i>GV</i>	Gandhavarāṃsa.

<i>HAB</i>	Hinduism and Buddhism.
<i>HB</i>	History of Burma.
<i>HBC</i>	History of Buddhism in Ceylon.
<i>HBT</i>	History of Buddhist Thought.
<i>HHB</i>	Harvey, History of Burma.
<i>HHV</i>	Hatthivanagallaviharavamsa.
<i>HLF</i>	Histoire de Laos Francaise.
<i>HS</i>	Haṃsasandesa.
<i>HSP</i>	Hakluyt Society Publications.
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary.
<i>IAL</i>	Indian Art and Letters.
<i>IC</i>	Inscriptions du Cambodge.
<i>ICIC</i>	Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia.
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>IPPA</i>	Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (Rangoon, 1892).
<i>IS</i>	Indological Studies.
<i>ISCC</i>	Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge.
<i>JA</i>	Journal Asiatique.
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JASB</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>JASBNS</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series.
<i>JBRS</i>	Journal of the Burma Research Society.
<i>JCBRAS</i>	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>JKM</i>	Buddhadatta Mahāthera, Jinakalamali.
<i>JPTS</i>	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
<i>JRASGBI</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
<i>JRASMB</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch.
<i>JSEAH</i>	Journal South-East Asian History.
<i>JSS</i>	Journal of the Siam Society.
<i>KA</i>	Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.
<i>KD</i>	Kambuja Desa.
<i>KS</i>	Kokilasandesa.
<i>LC</i>	Le Cambodge.
<i>LCR</i>	Le Concile de Rajagaha.
<i>LEHII</i>	Le Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie.

<i>LHT</i>	Life of Hiuen Tsiang.
<i>LLG</i>	Life or Legend of Gaudama.
<i>Lsbpv</i>	Les sects bouddhiques du petit vehicule.
<i>LV</i>	Lalita Vistara.
<i>LWB</i>	The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa.
<i>MBO</i>	Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa.
<i>Mhv.</i>	Mahāvamsa.
<i>Mhv. tr.</i>	Mahāvamsa (English Translation).
<i>MIB</i>	Manual of Indian Buddhism.
<i>Mkv.</i>	Mahākarmavibhaṅga.
<i>Mlp.</i>	Milindapañha.
<i>MN</i>	Majjhima Nikāya.
<i>MP</i>	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
<i>MRP</i>	Manorathapuraṇī.
<i>MS</i>	Mānāvulu Sandesaya.
<i>MTP</i>	Matsya Purāṇa.
<i>MV</i>	Mahāvagga.
<i>MVT</i>	Mahāvastu.
<i>ORC</i>	Obscure Religious Cult.
<i>PB</i>	Psalms of the Brethren.
<i>PES</i>	The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
<i>PED</i>	The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary.
<i>PFV</i>	Paranavitana Felicitation Volume.
<i>PHAI</i>	Political History of Ancient India.
<i>PLB</i>	Pali Literature of Burma.
<i>PLC</i>	Pali Literature of Ceylon.
<i>PP</i>	The Path of Purification.
<i>PRC</i>	Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612.
<i>PS MK</i>	Pāpañcasudānī Majjhimanikāyatthakatha.
<i>PTS</i>	Pali Text Society.
<i>PV</i>	Pujāvaliya.
<i>PY</i>	Pōṇsavadan Yonok.
<i>NAGB</i>	Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma.
<i>NBD</i>	Nyānatiloka, Buddhist Dictionary.
<i>NCP</i>	Narendracaritāvalokapradipikāva.
<i>NIA</i>	New Indian Antiquary.
<i>Nks. tr.</i>	Nikāyasaṅgraha (English translation).
<i>NS</i>	Nālaka Sutta.
<i>RIS</i>	Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam.
<i>RK</i>	Rājaraṭnakara.

<i>RPGEA</i>	Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia.
<i>RSASB</i>	Report of the Superintendent Archaeological Survey of Burma.
<i>RV</i>	Rājāvaliya.
<i>Sas.</i>	Sāsanavaṃsa.
<i>SBB</i>	Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>SBIB</i>	Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma.
<i>Sbn.</i>	Siṅgabuddharūpanidāna.
<i>Sd.</i>	Suvarṇadvīpa.
<i>Sds.</i>	Saddhammasaṅgha.
<i>SGAMI</i>	Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India.
<i>SK</i>	Sandesakathā.
<i>SL</i>	Sarvāstivāda Literature.
<i>SN</i>	Samyutta Nikāya.
<i>SNP</i>	Sutta Nipāta.
<i>Spv.</i>	Sulupūjāvaliya.
<i>SV</i>	Sāntiparvan.
<i>Svd.</i>	Sāsanavaṃsadīpa.
<i>TAKE</i>	The Ancient Khmer Empire.
<i>TASMS</i>	The Asiatic Society Monograph Series.
<i>TB</i>	An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism.
<i>TBLC</i>	Thailand, Burma, Laos and Cambodia.
<i>TBR</i>	The Buddhist Review.
<i>TBT</i>	The Bhilsa Topes.
<i>TCSEA</i>	The Culture of South-East Asia.
<i>TDFLSH</i>	These pour le doctorat de la Faculte des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Universite de Paris.
<i>TGBI</i>	Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus den Tibetischen Uebersetzt von A. Schiefner, St. Peters, 1869.
<i>TGGIS</i>	The Journal of the Greater India Society.
<i>TGK</i>	The Golden Khersonese.
<i>THCPATC</i>	The History of the Civilization of the People of Assam to the twelfth century AD.
<i>TICS</i>	The Indian Colony of Siam.
<i>TKL</i>	The Kamala Lectures.
<i>TMB</i>	The Mahābodhi.
<i>TMCS</i>	Traites de morales des Cambodgiens du XIVE au

	XIXe siecles.
<i>TMSEA</i>	The Making of South-East Asia.
<i>TPOSS</i>	The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit Series).
<i>TSCC</i>	Temporary and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon.
<i>TSGEC</i>	N.A. Jayawickrama, Pali Text Society, Translation Series, no. 36. The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror, Ratanapañha thera of Thailand with an introductory essay by Dr. Saeng Manavidura.
<i>TSS</i>	The Siam Society.
<i>TSSFACP</i>	The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication.
<i>TSSJ</i>	The Siam Society Journal.
<i>TSUL</i>	Thesis submitted to the University of London.
<i>UCHC</i>	University of Ceylon History of Ceylon, I, 1959-60.
<i>UCR</i>	University of Ceylon Review.
<i>V</i>	Vinaya.
<i>VM</i>	Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa.
<i>VV</i>	Vanaparvan.
<i>WYC</i>	Watters' Yuan Chwang.

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Map

South-East Asia, India and Ceylon

facing 1

Chapter 1

Introduction and Sources

Sources

THE main sources on which our work is based may broadly be classified under the following heads: literary and archaeological. Literary sources include both indigenous and foreign sources. Although the local chronicles and other semi-historical literary works are useful, they suffer from chronological and other defects. In this study the archaeological sources proved more useful and reliable than the literary sources.

The eleventh century AD is significant in the religious and cultural history of south-east Asia. From this period onwards Buddhist countries in south-east Asia came into close contact with Ceylon, which played an important role in the establishment and development of the Theravāda form of Buddhism in south-east Asia. It is evident from our sources that of all the south-east Asian countries Ceylon's relations with Burma were the closest. Among the literary sources for this study, the most important is the Ceylon chronicle, the *Cūlavamsa*.¹ It is traditionally known that the thera Dhammakitti was the author of the first portion of the *Cūlavamsa*. The second portion consists of eleven chapters. It gives a history of kings from the reign of Vijayabāhu II to that of Parākramabāhu IV. Its author is still unknown. The thera Tibbotuvave was the author of the third portion which brings the chronicle down to the reign of Kittisiri-Rājasimha (AD 1767-1782), the last independent king of Ceylon. This portion has ten chapters. The *Cūlavamsa* affords us valuable information regarding religious and cultural ties between Ceylon and Burma. The statements relating to these ties in this book are

¹CV, PTS.