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Back to Early Buddhism: A Look at South East Asia's Historical Exploration

 Tilak Ram Acharya

Abstract

Buddhism is considered to be the great philosophy of influence throughout the region when we look to the Buddhism in South-East Asia. Buddhism is believed to be the era or the span of the earliest Buddhism growth in the region. Buddhism begins primarily and originally from Southeast Asia and from South Asia. In the early days of Buddhism, trade and trade in goods are investigated and distributed. Contrary to numerous studies of the expansion of Islam and Christianity, there seems to have been little interest in expanding Buddhism, which represents the third largest religion in the world in terms of numbers.

Keywords : *Buddhism, great philosophy, influence throughout, era, span, earliest, growth, Asia, studies, expansion*

Background

Reason of the expansion of Buddhism knock some questions recently. World's two religious philosophies Islam and Christianity are in the race of spreading from all of their efforts. For instance, Muslims have and had a special tax (the jizyah) laid down for all non-Muslims, similarly Christians have different expanded organizations, which are working for the creating compression and luring to assume Christianity or their faith. But no similar pattern of compression prevails in Buddhism. There is definitely, a basic contrast between Islam and Christianity on one side and Buddhism on the other, in that Buddhism is not or is not in the first place, an element of faith. Buddhist texts always asserts or imply that Buddhism is above all a matter of understanding the nature of things, which have no existence of their own (asvabhava), since their possible existence depends on a number of factors. The idea which is sometimes expressed but often implied is that one is bound to become a Buddhist if one understands the relations between causes and effects, in particular the origin of evil and of suffering.

The first moderations are covered by an ambience of secrecy; despite they are elaborated in one of the basic Buddhist texts: the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinayapitaka*. They involve Buddha's first disciples and closest friends: Sariputra and Maudgalayana.

It is believed that one of the five human auditors of the First Sermon at Sarnath, the Venerable Ayasma had an encounter with the wandering moral (*paribbajaka*) Sariputta, who asked him a question about the meaning of the doctrine reported by Lord Buddha. Ayasma then proceeded to pronounce what is called the 'terse expression' of the Law propounded by the Buddha (*dhammapariyaya*), viz. the famous verse, inscribed thousands of times in Buddhist countries in Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit, and with minor variations:

*ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam̐ hetum̐ tathāgato āha,
tesam̐ca yo nirodho - evar̥ivādī mahāsamaṇo*¹

Through this verse, the *Mahavagga*, 'there appeared to Sariputta a *dhamma*-vision, dustless, stainless', etc. In other words, an exposure which immediately alternated Sariputta's life, who now understood the origin of suffering and its cessation.

Later Sariputta met another wandering ascetic, viz. Moggallana, and chanted the verse that he had heard from Ayasma. The effect was the same, for Moggallana, too, was adapted to Buddhism. The same again happened to a certain Sanjaya, who subsequently revealed the truth to his disciples.

The story as mentioned is emerge to be its oldest version interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it follows that this popular Buddhist verse was not acknowledged in this form by Buddha Himself; this is considered as the aspect of the doctrine exhorted by the Lord at Sarnath as concluded and interpreted by Assaji. In the second place, however, it should be noted that this supposed Buddhist Creed is actually a very difficult text. Much has been scripted on the significance of the use of *dhamma*. Actually, it gives no interpretation of the causes (*hetu*); hut only states that these have been acknowledged by Buddha. How then could the 'astonishing ascetic' Sariputta, who did not visit the First Sermon, understand it? This is therefore explicit that the entire story of the 'conversion' of the two first disciples is placed on a heroic level, as though Sariputta got a clear intuition of the Truth. It is, at least, what the text of the *Mahamagga* would have us to accept. What actually happened will be a secret in the vacuum of any close-contemporary version. Thirdly, and this is the most important point, it is explicit that these first conversion occur on an creative level. The first devotee turn into Buddhist because they understand the Truth: in special the root of suffering and the appearance in which this suffering can be carried to an end. This intellectual approach with its focus on correct empathetic has always remained the feature of Buddhism. It is no less noticeable in two other 'conversions'.

As to the modification of King Asoka, • who from a brutal fratricide (*Candasoka*) was changed into one of the leading supporter of Buddhism, the account in the *Mahavamsa* motivates little certainty. The version not only indicates philosophical discussion of the type found in the *Milindapanho*, but the most conclusive episode, which filters all the king's ambiguity is the miracle formed by Tissa Moggaliputta who 'caused the earth to tremble' (V-262). The idea that Asoka was changed to Buddhism after the genocide of the Kalinga movement is a modern view.²

Although such illustration favors to assert the creative approach in the process of transformation to Buddhism, it is not believed that was a normal rule. It must have been a significant part. The monks who went as the beggar for their daily food (at least, before this method was organized) were expected to expand the good word in exchange, convey

1 Jayarava, 2011, Visible Mantra: Visualising & Writing Buddhist Mantras, Visible Mantra Books.

2 Cf. *Dipovomsa* VI-18: *AbhisittoTtini Vassani Pasanno Buddha-sasane*.

a little sermon or, rather, replying to some of the queries asked by the householders. In the responses the monks would talk about the adversity of different disease, age, death and rebirth probably in an objectionable state, as well as about the Path which may finally lead to the suppression (*nirodha*) of such forms of suffering.

In this way a subtle linkage between the Sangha and the population in normal could be constructed, which in some situations must have led members to 'seek refuge' in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the Sangha. It is, however, clear that such forms of conversion could only apply to areas where monasteries had already been formed. Additionally, they could only have achieved in regions like South Asia where, ages before the rise of Buddhism, there had been a long culture consecrates the practice of begging.

For Southeast Asia, where such circumstances did not reign, Buddhism is not likely to have spread in this aspect, at least not in its starting stages. Apparently, the examples of king Milinda and Devanampiya Tissa would be more relevant. This remains, however, hypocritical as long as the earliest Buddhist growth is little known. A few early cultures may be debated in detail.

The tale of the two merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka, the first disciples of Lord Buddha, is famous from the Tipitaka. Thus, the Anguttara (I, 24) quoted these two as the first who took refuge, and other texts, recited in Malalasekara's Dictionary of Proper Names, indicates us that the two merchants, 'urged by a deity, who had been their relation, offered the Buddha rice-cakes and honey granted by the Four Regent Gods. They are considered as the first lay disciples of the Buddha'. Here there is therefore a clear superhuman aspect in the story, but no expression is given as to why they became disciples of the Buddha. This conversion would not offer great interest were it not for the fact that it had important practice outside India.

However, the story of Tapussa and Bhallika has another connotation for Southeast Asia since these names have been linked with the support of one of the earliest Buddhist stupas in (present) Myanmar (Burma), viz. the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Pagan. The caption of king *Dhammaceti* (B.E. 847 = AD. 1485)³ links a long tale of Tapassu and Bhalluka, who are there said to derive from Asitanjuna town and, after having moved to the Bodhi Tree, got eight hairs of Lord Buddha which they subsequently preserved in a stupa on top of Mount Tamagutta in their home country (southern Mramma). Yet, thus the caption although there were very important relics in the country, no one was there who knew the *ceti* of the hair-relics and none to pray and appreciate it, thus the Mon part of the caption (B-14 to 15). This only turned in the year 236 after the *Nibbana* (c. 250 B.C.), where the two theras Sona and Uttara came and settled the *Sasana* in the city of Suvannabhumi⁴.

3 C.O. Blagden, '*An Inscription of the Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon*' Ep. Birm. IV, 1936, No. XV, pp. 20- 43, in particular lines B-8 to 13.

4 Ibid.

So far the tradition as laid down in the Shwe Dagon Pagoda caption regarding the initiation of Buddhism in (central) Burma. This is, for sure, a mythical in which an attempt is made to indicate the beginnings of Buddhism back to the time of Lord Buddha or rather of that of Asoka. But, there is no clue to backing such traditions as the earliest clue for the presence of Buddhism in southern Burma date back to around six centuries later, particularly, the end of the fourth century A.D this does not automatically mean that there were no Buddhists in the country before that time, but if there were they left no indication of their existence.

From around the end of the fourth century (a date established on the basis of the palaeography of some captions, not on actual dates) there is clue for the existence of Buddhism in the ancient Pyu kingdom of Sriksetra with its centre at Hmaw-za, not so far from present Prome. The capital city must have been larger, as seems from the city, which still cover much of the ancient spots. As far as the exploration and spreading of Buddhism is focused, the most important data are an extensive number of caption written in a script that looks like that of the Pallavas of South India, but also portrays some specific features.⁵ One of the most interesting caption is that scripted on twenty gold plates, maintained from what is illustrated as Khin Ba's Mound Relic-Chamber. Each plate is scripted with three lines of c. 25 aksaras each (except for No. 19 with four and No. 20 with two lines).

As stated, the type of caption can be interpreted as Pallava, but of a type not raised in this very form in India, where the initial Pallava captions found in present Andhra Pradesh are reported in a cursive type of script, but in Sri Lanka the Ruvanvalisaya Pillar Inscription of king Budadasa (Buddhadasa), son of Jetatisa (Jetthatissa)⁶, who ruled between c. 341 and 370, looks to arrange the adjacent parallel, but there are variations. Thus the three vertical blow of the ha, the third of which is short in the Sri Lankan, are of equal peak in the Hmaw-za script, and a similar quality is obvious in the form of the sa, these and some other appearances may suggest a slightly late date for the Hmaw-za gold plates, which would therefore probably belong to about the starting of the fifth century.

The texts scripted on the gold plates all belong to the Pali Tipitaka. It is again astonishing that Abhidhamma and other 'learned' texts are represented, whereas more popular tales/stories, such as Jatakas, Avadanas, and episodes of the life of Lord Buddha are missing. This clearly recommends the existence in Sriksetra of Buddhist academic from the fifth century A.D., if not prior. Such scholars could not have existed in a vacuum but must have been sustained by a special Buddhist society, apparently containing the royal court. This would indicate that this exclusive would have grasp Buddhism at a time well before these texts were scripted, i.e. by the last of the fourth century A.D. at the

5 Charles Duroiselle, '*Excavations at Hmawza*', Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey of India, 1926- 27:171-83; U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader*, no date: 25-33.21

6 S. Paranavitana, '*The Ruvanvalisaya Pillar of Budadasa*', *Ep. Zeyl.* III, 1931: 120-26 and Pl. 8; B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion*: 12 f. and Fig.2

latest, and well since the time of Buddhaghosa. This again boosts the disputes as to how Buddhism explored and expanded into southern Burma.

Externally from the cultures/tradition of Sana and Uttara, cited above, which would place the initiation of Buddhism half a millennium before the earliest caption, there are, sadly, no written form of data about this valuable progress. This is not amazing since the same covers to the 'expansion of Indo-Aryan culture', to use Chhabra's terms, in general. The spreading/expansion of Buddhism is part of this early exploration and expansion, but with a major variation. The use of Pali in the texts of Sriksetra explicitly shows that this Buddhist 'current' must have from Sri Lanka, where the Tipitaka and many description had been scripted or translated into 'Magadhi'. The same may cover to the caption used in Sriksetra in this initial period. Various scholars, such as Duroiselle,⁷ have prioritized the depiction of this caption with that of the Kadambas of Vanavasi and the Pallavas of Kanci but, as made clear earlier, the adjacent similar feature is with some of the Sri Lankan captions. The caption presents, however, a few special qualities not found elsewhere.

Since most of such Buddhist optimists must have involved in merchant ships to cross the oceans, there was a convenient linkage between Buddhism and trade. This is hardly astonishing since we know that Buddha himself acknowledged much grant/aid and inspiration from wealthy traders. The best known case is that of Anathapindika, the wealthy merchant at Sravasti (*Savatthi*), who contributed to the Sangha the famous Jetavana site of Most of Lord Buddha's discussion. One may therefore expect that the efforts of missionaries were specifically valuable during the periods of lively trade between South and Southeast Asia. The fifth century A.D. must have been such a period, the time of the 'Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule' (*Chhabra*)⁸, when various Indian-style kingdoms rises in several parts of Southeast Asia. A classic illustration of the links between Buddhism and trade is the case of Mahanvika Buddhagupta, dweller of *Raktamrttika*. The latter has taken either as the name of a monastery in Eastern Bengal (present Bangladesh) or as that area in recent Kedah, where he settled. This Buddhagupta has left two scripted stone slabs. The first of these, found at Gunung Meriah close the estuary of the Merbok river, Kedah, Malaysia, carries an amazing illustration of a stupa and several captions, one of which mentions Buddhagupta's name and function.⁹ The term mahanavika apparently points the captain of a merchant ship¹⁰ The script is a king of Pallava script, not unlike that found in various Sanskrit captions of Sri Lanka such as that of Kucchaveli¹¹ and of Western Java (the stone inscriptions of king Purnavarman), which could be dated back to the fifth century A.D.

7 C. Duroiselle, *ibid.*

8 The connexion with 'Pallava rule' is, however, not quite clear, as we already noticed with reference to the Ruvanvalisaya inscription.

9 B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion* etc.: 20-26.

10 *Ibid.*, note 2 top. 23

11 Published by S. Paranavitana, *Ep. Zeyl.* III, 1931: 158-61.

If Buddhagupta was not only a righteous Buddhist but also aspired to spread the Good Doctrine he may have been fortunate, as we find various Buddhist captions in the area which all look to belong to the same period. Still, Buddhism did not make a lasting influence in that part of the Malaysian Peninsula, for the later relics are all Saiva, as far as their religious basis can be determined.¹² At least, no clearly Buddhist sculpture or other badges are found there.

As a whole, the same is true for maritime Southeast Asia. Differently, mainland Southeast Asia, where Pali can be imitated back to the fourth century A.D., not a single Pali text or caption has been found in its maritime part. On the other hand, all known written form of clue for Buddhism is in Sanskrit and exists to Mahayana. This is an impressive division, which is not narrowed to the early period. From the end of the thirteenth century Islam expanded over the most of the part of maritime Southeast Asia, but made some impact on the mainland – except for Campa, which covers a specific place also in other perspectives.¹³ It should be added that those parts of maritime Southeast Asia which were not Islamized by the sixteenth century were mostly changed to Christianity, like southern Maliku and most of the Philippines other than southern Mindanao and the Sulu enclave. Additionally, neither Islam nor Christianity made any real influence on mainland Southeast Asia. The probable reasons of these differences on opinion are no doubt quite vague and cannot be studied here. The only certain point that can be noted is the fact that maritime Southeast Asia, i.e. the recent states of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia (Soekarno's Maphilindo) also constitute a linguistic community in that (almost) all of the languages used in the region belong to the great Austronesian linguistic classification.¹⁴

After this brief deviation it is proper that we should get back to the period under discourse, i.e. the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. It is in about this period that we have to date the supposed 'Amaravati' Buddha sculpture found in different parts of the region. These sculptures form a small group of about eight bronzes found in Sumatra, Thailand, Vietnam, Celebes, and Java. They are always represented standing and are further markable by the many-folded samghati, which, except for one example, leaves the right shoulder open. Such portrayal of Lord Buddha are exclusively known from Amaravati and other sites in Andhara Pradesh, from where they also advance to Sri Lanka.

P. Dupont, in a short article that has rightly become popular,¹⁵ has presented

12 See Alastair Lamb, 'Recent Archaeological Work in Kedah', *Journ. Fed. Mal. St. Mus.*, XII, 1928; 'Report on the Excavation and Reconstruction of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat', *Fed. Mus. Journ.* V. 1960; 'Miscellaneous Papers', *Fed. Mus. Journ.*, VI, 1961.

13 Thus, unlike the other peoples of mainland Southeast Asia, the Cham belong linguistically and culturally to the great Austronesian (Malay-Polynesian) group.

14 The only exceptions are some of the languages of the northern Moluccas (especially Halmahera), of Irian Jaya and of some tribal pockets in the Philippines and West Malaysia.

15 P. Dupont, 'Varietes Archaeologiques. -- Les Buddha dits d'Amaravati en Asie du Sud Est', *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLIX, 1955:631-36, Pl. LVI-LXIV.

that these statues, though closely related, can again be divided into different groups. The most amusing point is that six of these 'Amaravati-style' pictures show qualities which link them to Sri Lankan Buddha pictures. Although the final origin of this style has to be desired in or around Amaravati, there seems to be little ambiguity that the direct precursor was some Buddha images in Sri Lanka of the Anuradhapura period. This carries extensive indication for the chronology. It is normally believed that the direct consequence of Amaravati did not broaden far beyond the fourth century A.D. If the Southeast Asian Buddha images commenced from Amaravati they would possibly belong to the first few centuries of the Christian era. If, apart from that, they were made in, or were directly determined by Sri Lanka, they could well be datable various centuries later. Actually, Dupont differentiate various groups among these supposed Amaravati-Buddhas, some of which not older than the fifth or sixth century.

Dupont also prioritized that these Buddha sculpture were formed either at isolated places or in areas with no new remains (as at Dong-duong, where there is a ninth-century Cham temple). This explicitly recommends that these (bronze) Buddhas were once placed' in wooden temples. In addition, Dupont rightly came to the point that some stylistic qualities leave no doubt that these Buddhas link to Hinayana, which looks to have reigned in the whole of Southeast Asia before the end of the seventh century, when the early Sriwijaya captions argue to the presence of Mahayana Buddhism, which thus, would persist the only form of Buddhism authenticated in maritime Southeast Asia.

Through this scene it is appropriate to indicate the basic religious division in Southeast Asia with Theravada triumphant in mainland Southeast Asia, but the Mahayana of maritime Southeast Asia gave ultimately the direction to Islam in Malaysia, Indonesia and the southern Philippines (the Sulu archipelago and Mindanao). The practice of this dichotomy would boost complication outside the scope of this input.

These sprinkled Buddha sculpture, whatever their priority, can give us insights into the nature and penetration of Buddhist ideas in Southeast Asia. For some areas, as we have seen for Sriksetra, we incline of many more data. This is specifically true for the Mon kingdom of Dvaravati, which expanded from at least the middle of the seventh century till the thirteenth century and laid the supports of Buddhism in present Thailand.¹⁶

Externally, a small number of captions in Mon there is also clue for the practice of Pali, specifically at Nakhon Pathom. After the publication of Dupont's work an important caption was found at Vat Sa Morakot at Prachinburi, dated AD. 761¹⁷. Although the

16 There is much literature on Dvaravati, but the basic work is still Pierre Dupont, *L'Archeologie Mone de Daravati*, Publ. E.F.E.O., 1959, 2 Vols. Cf. also the detailed review of this work by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul in *Essays offered to G. H. Luce*, /1, 1966 and H. G. Quaritch Wales, 'Dvaraati in South-East Asian Cultural History', *J.R.A.S.* 1966: 40-52.

17 Mendis Rohanadeera, 'Telakatahagatha in a Thailand Inscription of 761 A.D., New evidence on cultural relations between Sri Lanka and the Dvaravati Kingdom in Thailand, *Vidyodaya, Journal of Social Science*, I, 1987: 59-73.

caption itself is in archaic Khmer, it consist of three verses in Pali. It is the great advantage of Mendis Rohanadeera that he was able to recognize the Pali verses as attachment to the Telakatahagatha. From this caption the learned author summarized that 'it can now be initiated that the Sri Lankan Theravada literature existed its way to Southeast Asia, even before then 8th century A.D. through Dvaravati, and not in the eleventh century by Ramannadesa as has been normally considered.' Even though we can fully acknowledge with the general tenor of this declaration, there is one difficulty. As has been argued by Dupont, Coedes and others, Dvaravati was a mostly Mon kingdom, but the Prachinburi caption is in Khmer (apart from the Pali quotation). It either exists to Dvaravati, but was outlined in Khmer because this was the language of the local people in the area or, more possibly, it has to be applied to one of the early Khmer kingdoms which monopolized this part of eastern Thailand in the distracted period prior to the movement of Jayavannan-II.¹⁸ . In both cases, however, this valuable document points the easternmost expansion and spreading of Theravada Buddhism before the twelfth century, when the merge of the Sangha during the reign of Parakramabahu-I gave a fresh inclination to the extension of Theravada.¹⁹ .

Likewise, the few captions the numerous destructs of sculptures as well as the rich iconography of Dvaravati, with its featured style of the Buddha image,²⁰ examine to its great concern for the expansion or extension of Buddhism. As often happens in such situations the new faith, once it has been totally formed, became a new attention for other expansion. It not only became the primary faith of the Thai who established a new kingdom at Sukhot'ai (Sukhodaya) in the thirteenth century, but also extended into Cambodia. The influence of Dvaravati in this development can hardly be underestimated.

In comparison to mainland Southeast Asia with its pronounced classification into a variety of linguistic and cultural forms, partially portrayed in the various communities, maritime Southeast Asia indicates an obvious degree of cultural togetherness between the countries establishing Soekarno's Maphilindo. Externally, a few small and historically irrelevant tribal pockets, all the languages used in the area linked to the great Austronesian family. There is also some degree of cultural closeness probable from such areas as customary law. In spite of the convenient relations between many parts of maritime Southeast Asia and South Asia, including Sri Lanka, Theravada does not appear to have utilized any real impact there. Similarly, (some forms of) Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism predominated there in the pre-Islamic time.

While returning to the pre-1000 period, some concerns should be there to central Java, where Buddhism in its Mahayana form found a impressive development during

18 Before the time of Jayavarman II Cambodia was divided into what the Chinese called Cben-la of the Water and Chen-la of the Land, but both of these were again divided into several principalities. In addition to the works by Coedes, see O. W. Wothers, 'Jayavarman II's military power: the territorial foundation of the Angkor empire', J.R.A.S. 1973: 21-30.

19 C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon*, 1961: 262-65.

20 See especially Pierre Dupont 1959, Vol. I: 73-78.

the time of the Sailendra empire. The dignity and beauty of the sculpture developed in this time would make us to leave behind that this immediate blossoming of Buddhist creative activity is mainly limited to less than a century (c. A.D. 775-860). The great Borobudur and the excessive temple groups of Candi Sewu and Candi Plaosan, as well as numerous other statue (such as the candis²¹ (Kalasan, Sari, Sojiwan, Banyunibo) and a rich iconography authenticate to the wealth of Buddhist culture in this period.

A special quality of the Sailendra period is the international introduction of the rulers. This may previously presence from the initial Sailendra caption of Java, the stone of Kalasan, dated A.D. 778, and inscribed with a Sanskrit caption in early Nagari script.²² Through this it can be understood that the temple was attributed to the goddess Tara, 'who helps the people cross (ya tarayati) the ocean of adversity without fear'. It seems possible, even likely, that this formation is an quotation to proper maritime journeys by merchants and pilgrims. Tara actually represents 'Star', and stars were the primary guide for sailors to cross the ocean.

It comes out that the Japanese Buddhists of the Sailendra period existed in closely with South Asian Buddhist World. It seems above doubt that Sri Lanka showed an important part in these connections. There were not only direct relations between the Abhayagirivihara and the Ratuboko plateau, but also the relations with the Indian subcontinent, other than perhaps for those with Nalanda and Bengal, usually crossed through Sri Lanka. It was favorable for the sailors to pause at this island before beginning the big leap in overpass the Gulf of Bengal passage for the Straits of Malacca. They would avoid the coast of Tanasserim and use the Southwest monsoon during the part of the year, where especially the Merugi enclave awarded an ideal refuge for pirates.

In spite of the importance of trade for the extension of Buddhism to broad parts of Southeast Asia we must be careful not to overemphasize this factor. There is a trend among scholars in the trading countries of Western Europe, like the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, to point to trade as the only or the principal way by which religions like Buddhism and Islam expand, but this is dangerous than avoiding the role of trade. Buddhism is based on what is concerned as the actual perception of the various factors of life and on obtaining the consequences of this insight. It is therefore not amazing that accomplished kings, such as Devanampiya Tissa and Menander, were among the first to hold the meaning of the teachings of Lord Buddha. For Southeast Asia we have no clear illustrations of the same development, except for the Kashmiri prince Gunavarman who would have changed the queen of Cho-po to Buddhism. Even though, there are no other parts convenient it looks like that this was a fairly proper pattern, Buddhism generally expanded from the king or the ruling classes to other classification of the population.

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21 Current Indonesian practice of designating all pre-Muslim structural monuments as *candi*.

22 F. D. K Bosch, 'De inscriptie van Keloerak', Tijdschr. Kon. Bat. Gen. 68, 1928: 1-64, in particular: 57-62.