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A History of South-East Asia

D G E Hall

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University of London*

Fourth Edition

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PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

IN preparing this new edition for the press I have been largely concerned to incorporate some of the more recent findings of research into the earlier history of South-East Asia. This has its own particular fascination and notwithstanding the vast amount of material relating to the period after A.D. 1500 I have become more than ever convinced of the importance of the developments before the earliest European impact. My own research has been done entirely in the developments of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and I have come to realize increasingly that without a good background study of the earlier period, one is at a greater disadvantage in interpreting subsequent periods, and in particular in applying suitable criteria to the Western outlook of most of the source material. Furthermore, I have much appreciated the work that in recent years has been done by the specialists in early Mon-Khmer studies into the increasing wealth of epigraphical material, and into the vast resources of indigenous literature.

Since previous editions of this work have made many references to the imported Indian religions without any adequate statement of their fundamentals I have included descriptions of Hinduism and Buddhism in the South-East Asian context.

The part played by the Mons in the civilization of the mainland is a subject about which all students of its early history would welcome more information. How they came to absorb Indian culture so that the Burmans, when they colonized the Irrawaddy Valley, called the Mons Talaings, presumably indicating their cultural connections with Telingana in South India is still an unanswered question. Further discussion of the earliest known history of the Malay Peninsula has also been included and I have attempted to indicate fresh ideas about its importance in communications between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. Unanswered questions about the Malay Peninsula itself include such things as why did King Anawrahta of Pagan seek to get control over the Isthmus of Kra and why later the Thai on gaining control of the Menam Valley also went on to push their way into and beyond the isthmus. The same problem shows itself in the record of Sinhalese interest in the Malay Peninsula and their possible connections with the trading centres in what is now the Gulf of Siam. I hope that some day a new chapter of early South-East Asian history can be

written around these isolated indicators. As the predecessors of the Thai in Siam the Mons have attracted further attention by scholars in recent years. Hence in this edition I have added to Chapter 7 a section dealing with their kingdom of Dvaravati. I have further added a new chapter (Chapter 12) on early South-East Asian monarchical institutions supplementing information already given in the third edition.

The growing importance of the study of Indonesian history is recognized here by (a) a new section on early Javanese life and culture based upon contemporary evidence, (b) further attention to the part played by Tantric Buddhism in, particularly, the thirteenth century, and (c) the indigenous developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The serious impairment of my sight in recent years has made it impossible for me to utilize the growing literature on this last subject. Therefore, I invited Dr Merle Ricklefs to write a new chapter on it for this present edition. He is a recognized authority on this subject through his work on the indigenous texts of Java and the *babad* literature in particular. Since the failure of my sight he has given me much valuable help in other ways in the preparation of this edition, and I gratefully acknowledge his kindness.

I have revised the account of early Burma in Chapter 6 by adding some discussion of the chronicle writings on the subject. This is in line with the point made in the Preface to the First Edition where I stressed that my object was to present South-East Asia as an area worthy of consideration in its own right, and not merely when brought into contact with China, India or the West. I went on to say that its history could not be seen from any other perspective until seen from its own. This has been my main objective in preparing succeeding editions of the work.

The question of the integrity of South-East Asian history has been raised in recent years and in December 1972 I defended it at the American Historical Association's meeting at New Orleans. I drew attention to the point made above in my original preface when I launched the first edition of this work. Writers on South-East Asian history tended to treat the various parts of the area not as independent entities but as cultural or political dependencies. There are notable exceptions to this, but they were rare. My experience as the first head of a separate department of South-East Asian studies gave me a deeper insight into the area's special character. My conviction of this received further confirmation in 1964 when Professor Charles A. Fisher published his *South East Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography*. In it he described the area as one of the great marchlands of the world, a distinctive region within the large unity of the monsoon lands. He goes

on to stress the cultural unity of the lowland peoples forming the vast majority of its population, and the general similarity of their physical and mental characteristics, going so far as to claim that South-East Asia is much more than an indeterminate borderland between China and India but a region with a personality of its own. Thus, South-East Asia has become far more than a geographical expression and my hope is that the present volume demonstrates the validity of the claim I made at the end of my New Orleans lecture, that the integrity of its history is every bit as real as that of European history.

In the Preface to the Third Edition of this work I commented upon the strong vitality of research work into South-East Asian history. This is still strong, notwithstanding the fact that there has been a world depression, coupled with the American withdrawal from most of its undertakings in South-East Asia, and the consequent reduction of the financial aid given by the United States Government to universities and scholars carrying on South-East Asian studies. In the subsequent contraction of opportunities for research and teaching posts available in South-East Asian studies a difficult period has been passed through, though not without some beneficial results, for much dead wood has been cut away.

On the other hand Australia has become increasingly conscious of her position in the Pacific Ocean and this has resulted in a considerable development of South-East Asian studies there. A further significant development has been the foundation of a Centre for South-East Asian Studies in Singapore. Its potentialities for the further promotion and co-ordination of research work in its chosen field would seem to be very hopeful.

THE SPELLING OF PROPER NAMES

The spelling of proper names has presented many problems. Various systems of romanization have been used by European writers. These are discussed on pages 99–104 of the author's section on South-East Asia in C. H. Philips's *Handbook of Oriental History* (Royal Hist. Soc., 1951). Writers of history have tended to vary these according to taste, and usually with the object of avoiding the excessive use of diacritical signs. Moreover, there is no uniformity of practice as between the different states today, so that in a work such as this absolute consistency in the representation of sounds is impossible. Here the method followed has been to simplify spellings and avoid inconsistencies wherever possible. The result may not please the language scholar, but it has seemed the best way out of the difficulty. The following points are a useful guide to pronunciation:

- (i) Vowels have Italian values; consonants generally English ones.
- (ii) In Burmese words a consonant is aspirated by placing 'h' *before* it; in Tai words by placing the 'h' *after* it. But since this may cause confusion in the cases of 't' and 'p', the method used here is to show the aspirated forms by the use of an apostrophe after these letters, except in the case of the word 'Thailand', which is the form officially adopted by that country.
- (iii) Special cases:
 'g' is hard, but the Burmese 'gy' is pronounced 'j';
 initial 'ky' is pronounced 'ch';
 final 'n' in Burmese represents a nazalization of the preceding vowel;
 initial 'ng' is pronounced like the final 'ng' in 'sing';
 'ś' in Sanskrit words, e.g. Śrīvijaya, is pronounced 'sh';
 'ou' is normally pronounced 'oo', but in 'Toungoo', an older form of spelling, it represents 'ow' as in 'plow'.

In the transliteration of Thai 'h' is now used to indicate an aspirated consonant, whereas previously an apostrophe was used; thus U T'ong is rendered U Thong, P'itsanulok is now rendered Phitsanulok, and the present rendering of Ayut'ia is Ayutthaya. In north Thailand Chiangmai is now usually spelt Chiang Mai. Chiengsen is now rendered Chiang Saen.

BOOK SPELLINGS	NEW SPELLINGS
Ayut'ia	Ayutthaya
Chiengmai	Chiang Mai
Chiengrai	Chiang Rai
Meping	Mae Ping
Menam	Mae Nan
P'itsanulok	Phitsanulok
Nakorn Pat'om	Nakhon Pathom
Kanburi	Kanchanaburi
Nakhon Srit'ammarat	Nakhon Sithammarat
P'uket	Phuket
Chantabun	Chanthaburi
U T'ong	U Thong
Chiengsen	Chiang Saen

NOTE BY DR. M. C. RICKLEFS

Indonesian words are spelled according to the official system at the time of the first edition of this book, with some variations. In 1972 a joint Malaysian-Indonesian spelling reform was adopted. Whereas

Indonesian consonants were formerly spelled as they are in Dutch, now they are given as in English, with two exceptions: the consonant *ch* (as in chair) is represented by *c*, and the consonant *sh* (as in share) is spelled *sy*. Thus, Jogjakarta is now spelled Yogyakarta, Aceh is now Aceh, etc. It has not been possible to alter spellings to this new system in the present edition.

D.G.E.H.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

IN introducing the new edition of his pioneer work, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, in 1964 George Cœdès explained that since the publication of the previous edition in 1948 so much progress had been made by research that it had become necessary to rewrite much of the book to bring it up to date. And he went on to predict that within another fifteen years that edition also would become out of date. My own book, of course, covers a much wider area and a much longer period than *Les États*, and this would to some extent explain the need for radical revisions of parts of it within so much less a space of time. But, having said that, I realize that some further explanation is called for of the nature of the advance of knowledge in the field of South-East Asian history that has been responsible for the addition, among other things, of some four hundred titles to the previous bibliography. Some of them, it must be confessed, related to inadequacies in my own knowledge when writing the text of earlier editions. Others represent the results of the strong upsurge of interest, especially in America, in very recent history and current events. Most of them, however, are the outcome of the historian's interest in history for its own sake. They constitute attempts to improve upon the existing record by the discovery of new sources and/or the reinterpretation of existing ones.

Since the earliest edition of this book appeared in 1955 the study of the first fifteen centuries has been enriched by pioneer labours in several fields. In Burma's case Gordon Luce and his disciples Bohmu Ba Shin and Dr. Than Tun have used new epigraphical and archaeological discoveries for radical revisions of the chronicle stories. Some of them are summed up in Luce's paper, 'The Career of Htilaing Min (Kyanzittha), the Uniter of Burma, A.D. 1084-1113', read to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1966 on the occasion of his presentation with the Society's Triennial Gold Medal. His long-awaited *magnum opus* on Burma's history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was in the press when these words were written.

In the Indonesian field also superb work has been done in exploring and interpreting epigraphical sources by J. G. de Casparis and the late L. Ch. Damais.¹ Three important works by leading Dutch archaeo-

¹ See Dr. Buchari's article, 'Epigraphy and Indonesian Historiography' in Soedjatmoko et al. (eds.), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, Ithaca (N.Y., 1965).

logists, W. F. Stutterheim,² F. D. K. Bosch² and H. R. van Heekeren,³ have appeared in English translations, including Bosch's masterly assessment of the respective roles of Indians and Indonesians in the development of Indonesia's pre-Islamic culture. Notable use of Chinese sources has been made by Professor Wang Gung-wu of the University of Malaya in his illuminating study of the early history of Chinese trade with the South China Sea,⁴ by Paul Wheatley in valuable studies of the historical geography of the Malay Peninsula and its environment before 1500,⁵ and by O. W. Wolters in producing the first authentic account of early Sumatran commerce with the outside world.⁶ Among other things Wolters describes the part played by Sumatran Malays in the development of east-west sea communications via the Malay Archipelago, thereby exploding the myth of the predominance of Indian maritime enterprise in that field.

Archaeological studies of the delta of the Mekong by Louis Malleret have helped to fill out our previously sketchy knowledge of Funan⁷ while similar work by B. P. Groslier on the Angkor region⁸ has provided an introduction to the economic data without which it had previously been impossible to form realistic notions of the material basis of its civilization as well as of much of its political thought. These studies, together with Luce's work on the Pagan inscriptions⁹ and van Naerssen's upon those of the Śailendra period in Java,¹⁰ have demonstrated the fact that archaeology and epigraphy can provide essential source material for an understanding of social and economic life, and free the historian from dependence upon the jejune record of dynastic events, wars and supernatural portents provided by court chronicles and similar writings.

In 1955, when the first edition of this book appeared, students of the early history of Indonesia were much concerned with the questions raised by Professor C. C. Berg regarding the historical value of the masterpieces of Javanese literature, the *Arjunavivaha*, the *Pararaton*,

¹ *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague, 1956).

² *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague, 1961).

³ *The Stone Age of Indonesia* (s Gravenhage, 1957).

⁴ 'The Nanhai Trade; A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea.' *JRASMB*, vol. xxxi, part 2 (1958), pp. 1-135.

⁵ *The Golden Khersonese; Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961).

⁶ *Early Indonesian Commerce; A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya* (Ithaca, New York, 1967).

⁷ *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-63).

⁸ *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958).

⁹ 'The Economic Life of the Early Burman', *JBRs*, xxiii (1933), pp. 120-7.

¹⁰ 'Some Aspects of the Hindu-Javanese Kraton', *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, vol. ii, no. 1 (1963).

the *Nagarakertagama* and the *Babad Tanah Jawi*. His own interpretations of them stirred up much controversy, and pertinent criticisms of them have been published by F. D. K. Bosch,¹ J. G. de Casparis,² and P. J. Zoetmulder³ in particular. The non-expert in Old Javanese literature, which is a very big field, is at a great disadvantage in trying to assess the chief issues involved; but it would seem to be begging the question for Damais, followed by Cœdès, to dismiss Berg's approach as 'far too theoretical' without any discussion. Cœdès, indeed, devoted a mere footnote in *Les États* (on pp. 337-8) to Berg's work. The most judicious estimate of it is by de Casparis in his paper contributed to *Historians of South-East Asia*. After pointing out the weaknesses in Berg's use of his own method he writes: 'In spite of these objections, I think that not only Berg's principles (if moderately and carefully applied), but also a number of his results will greatly assist progress on the difficult road towards a new conception of the older history of Indonesia.'⁴

The most weighty general criticism of Berg's method is by Father Zoetmulder, himself, like Berg, a lifelong student of Javanese literature. His main argument is that the use of the concept 'culture-pattern' is dangerous in the case of an extinct culture with no possibility of verification; for it means that in order to interpret the meaning of writings belonging to it one has to use those same writings as the key to understanding the culture itself, yet with a most inadequate knowledge of the language involved. Nevertheless, he declares, Berg's work is proof of the significance of cultural history for Indonesian historiography, for without these disciplines it would be 'simply impossible'. He sums up with the penetrating comment that Berg is far more interested in explaining the character of his Javanese sources than in writing new history.

In his slim volume, *Les Peuples de la Péninsule indochinoise*⁵ Cœdès has made some challenging statements of much interest to every student of South-East Asian history. In the first place he complains—with reason—that writers of South-East Asian history—myself included—have attributed far too much importance to the period from Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca in 1511 onwards, and to European

¹ 'C. C. Berg and Ancient Javanese History', *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* (1965), cxii.

² 'Historical Writing on Indonesia (Early Period)' in D. G. E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South-East Asia*, pp. 121-63.

³ 'The Significance of the Study of Culture and Religion for Indonesian Historiography' in Soedjatmoko, *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, pp. 326-43.

⁴ Pp. 161-2.

⁵ Paris, 1962. The English translation (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966) bears the strangely inappropriate title *The Making of Southeast Asia*. It does not deal with Malaya or the island world of Indonesia and the Philippines.

activities in particular. They have tended, he says, to treat the first fifteen centuries as merely a preamble to the five following ones, and to consider these latter from a European rather than an Asian or national point of view. And he goes on to declare that the repercussions of the Western impact were more important upon European international relationships than upon the political and cultural history of the Indo-Chinese peninsula itself, particularly before the colonial period beginning in the nineteenth century. This last point, of course, is strikingly true of the mainland area he is dealing with; he does well to emphasize how very short was the duration of the European (French and British, to be precise) empires there. The social and cultural effects of the impact hardly show themselves in any real way before the end of the century. But while deeply sympathizing with his dissatisfaction over the disparity in the treatment of the earlier period compared with the later one, I see no justification for reducing the scale of treatment of the later period so as to make it conform more closely to that of the earlier, as he does in his book. The plain fact is that the sources for the study of the last five centuries are many, many times more numerous than those for the earlier period. Moreover, the *apparatus scholasticus* required by the researcher into the earlier period takes a lifetime to acquire, so that the number of workers in the field is extremely limited; and, if that were not enough, the difficulties imposed by the nature of the material, and its lacunae, are often wellnigh insuperable. Nevertheless, let it be emphasized as strongly as possible that the early history of the South-East Asian peoples is of special value to the student, and not only because of its intrinsic interest, great and rewarding though it is. It is vital to an understanding of their later history: one neglects it at one's peril.

In striving to ascribe South-East Asians their proper place in their own history Cœdès propounds a further thesis: that the real turning-point in Indo-China's history came in the thirteenth century, long before the coming of the Portuguese. It shows itself, he thinks, in the decline of Sanskrit culture, the spread of Theravada Buddhism, and in the Mongol invasions with the changes in political geography which they caused, directly or indirectly. The centrepiece of his book is the section entitled 'The crisis of the thirteenth century and the decline of Indian civilization'. The thirteenth century was indeed a watershed in the history of South-East Asia. Nevertheless, when one finds him in the 1964 edition of *Les États hindouisés* describing the two subsequent periods up to 1511 as 'The Decline of the Hindu Kingdoms' and 'The End of the Hindu Kingdoms' one questions whether the use of such

terms betrays a failure to observe the real nature of the political and cultural developments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, namely, the fact that the leading peoples, not only of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, but in Indonesia also, were developing their own highly individual political systems and cultures. Their languages had long been used in inscriptions—a vast corpus—and had become the vehicles for literatures of no mean level. Indeed, what might look like an Indian superstructure was a mere façade. They were absorbing into their cultures various extraneous elements, Chinese and Indian, but at the same time adjusting them to their own requirements and outlook. If it is true, as I wrote in the Preface to the first edition, that South-East Asia's history cannot be safely viewed from any other perspective until seen from its own, something like this is equally true of its culture. For whatever foreign cultural elements the South-East Asian peoples have adopted, they have made uniquely their own.

Some of the most notable advances in knowledge have been made in the field of economic and social history, especially in the case of Indonesia. The publication in English of three works of outstanding importance, J. C. van Leur's *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague, 1955), B. Schrieke's *Indonesian Sociological Studies* (2 vols, The Hague, 1955, 1957) and W. F. Wertheim's *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague, 1956, 2nd ed. 1964), has considerably influenced historical thought. In addition, three authoritative research monographs, Mrs. M. A. Meilink-Roelofs's *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague, 1962), Kristof Glamann's *Dutch Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740* (The Hague, 1958) and G. C. Allen and Audrey G. Donnithorne's *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya: A Study in Economic Development* (London, 1957), have provided the student with a large body of information not available before, and expert guidance in its interpretation. One must also acknowledge such valuable studies as John S. Bastin's *The Native Policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and Sumatra* (London, 1957), J. A. M. Caldwell's masterly essay, 'Indonesian Export and Production from the Decline of the Culture System to the First World War' (in C. D. Cowan (ed.) *The Economic Development of South-East Asia*, London, 1964), Ruth T. McVey's *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, New York, 1965) and Clifford Geertz's *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960). For the neighbouring area of Malaya Dr. Wong Lin-Ken has added much to our knowledge with his *The Trade of Singapore, 1819-69* (JRSMB, vol. xxxiii, part 4) and *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914* (Tucson, Arizona, 1965), the latter of which will long remain

the definitive work on its subject. For other areas valuable additions to knowledge have been made by Father de la Costa's *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), Frank H. Golay's *The Philippines, Public Policy and National Economic Development* (Ithaca, New York, 1961), Hugh Tinker's *The Union of Burma* (London, 1957), D. E. Smith's *Religion and Politics in Burma* (New Jersey, 1965), Winston L. King's *A Thousand Lives Away, Buddhism in Contemporary Burma* (Oxford and London, 1964) and Louis J. Walinsky's *Economic Development in Burma, 1951-1960* (New York, 1962). Besides these, but with more emphasis upon political history, other noteworthy monographs that have made their mark are Le Thanh Khoi's *Le Vietnam, Histoire et Civilisation* (Paris, 1955), John F. Cady's *History of Modern Burma* (Ithaca, New York, 1958), C. Northcote Parkinson's *British Intervention in Malaya, 1867-1877* (Singapore, 1960) and C. D. Cowan's *Nineteenth-Century Malaya, The Origins of British Political Control* (London, 1961).

Some extremely interesting publications of the historian's basic materials must be noted. The G. Th. Pigeaud has provided us with a lavish English edition of Prapanca's Old Javanese masterpiece, the *Nagarakertagama* (*Java in the Fourteenth Century*, 5 vols, The Hague, 1960-3). A welcome new printing of Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce's translation of the early portions of the Burmese *Glass Palace Chronicle* has been issued by Rangoon University Press (1960). From the Dutch records have come two huge volumes of Snouck Hurgronje's *Ambtelijke Adviezen, 1889-1936* (The Hague, 1957, 1959) and Dr. W. Ph. Coolhaas's selection of the Dutch East India Company's *Generale Missieven* for the years 1610-38 (The Hague, 1960). Also in the Indonesian field is C. Skinner's fine English edition of the *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasir* ('The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War, The Hague, 1963) and A. H. Johns's 'Malay Sufism' (JRASMB, xxx, part 2, 1957), an edited translation of eighteen Sufi tracts composed at Aceh in the seventeenth century. From the India Office records in London have come two edited collections of original documents, Alastair Lamb's *British Missions to Cochin China: 1778-1822* (JRASMB, xxxiv, parts 3 and 4, 1961) and my own *Michael Symes: Journal of His Second Embassy to the Court of Ava in 1802* (London, 1955).

Finally, three further features of the advance in South-East Asian historical studies must be briefly mentioned. Interest in the great achievements of South-East Asian art in the past has been much stimulated by the publication of a number of superbly illustrated volumes by such experts as B. P. Groslier (Indo-China), Frits A. Wagner

(Indonesia), A. J. Bernet Kempers (Ancient Indonesia), Alexander Griswold (Burma) and Louis Frédéric. In the second place there has been a marked upsurge of interest in South-East Asian historiography, as, of course, is only to be expected when one realizes how great has been the expansion in the study of South-East Asian history itself. The South-East Asia section of the Conference on Historical Writings on the Peoples of Asia, held at the London School of Oriental and African Studies in 1956, produced and discussed a wide range of papers dealing with historiography, and these were subsequently published under the title *Historians of South-East Asia* (London, 1961). A further symposium entitled *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, edited by Soedjatmoko and three associates, was issued by Cornell University Press in 1965. The two volumes contain a wealth of information. Then in the third place the number of general histories has been increased by John F. Cady's *Southeast Asia ; its historical Development* (New York, 1964), B. R. Pearn's *Outline of South-East Asian History* (Kuala Lumpur, 1963) and Nicholas Tarling's *Concise History of South-East Asia* (New York, 1966).

All the developments so briefly chronicled in this Preface indicate tremendous vitality in the study of our subject, especially in the realm of original research. There is much pioneering in which the discovery and absorption of new material are the important tasks. Moreover, with the establishment of centres and programmes students of different disciplines are coming together in co-operative effort and money is being found for more and more field-work. How vitally necessary this is can only be understood by anyone familiar with the work that was carried on in the days of the colonial régimes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My sincere thanks go to Miss Patricia Herbert, my research assistant during a spell of teaching at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, for taking over much of the burden of preparing the Bibliography in this volume.

D.G.E.H.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE present work, large and detailed though it may appear to the reader unfamiliar with the subject, is a bare outline, perilously compressed and oversimplified in many parts. As an introduction to South-East Asian history, designed as much for the non-specialist reader as for the student intending to pursue the subject further, its story is told with as few distracting footnotes as possible. Special care, however, has been bestowed upon the selection and arrangement of titles for the bibliography. The available literature, it may be remarked, is immense, running to many thousands of books, articles and collections of printed documents. For the earlier periods there are thousands of inscriptions and a great mass of local chronicles still inadequately explored. For the later periods the contemporary accounts, documents and memoirs listed in Section III of the bibliography are of quite unusual interest.

So much research work is in progress, by European scholars and, happily, an ever-increasing number of Asian ones, that it is difficult to keep pace with the progress of discovery and interpretation over the whole field. Hence the treatment of many subjects, especially in the very important pre-European period, must be regarded as provisional only. For instance, Burma's wealth of inscriptions—and she is incomparably richer in this respect than any other region of South-East Asia—is likely soon to yield results of no little importance as a result of the devoted labours of Gordon Luce over many years. These will certainly lead to modifications in the account of the Pagan period given here. Then, also, research by both Dutch and Indonesian scholars during the past twenty years or so is likely to lead to considerable revision of N. J. Krom's version of Old Javanese history. An attempt has been made here to indicate the importance of C. C. Berg's recent series of attacks upon accepted notions regarding the story of Airlangga's division of his kingdom, the reign of Kertanagara and the early Majapahit period. A final pronouncement on these matters is at present impossible, and it is well to take into account the prudent assessment of the situation by J. G. de Casparis in his valuable 'Twin-tig jaar studie van de oudere geschiedenis van Indonesië'.¹

¹ *Oriëntatie*, no. 46, 1954, pp. 638-41.

The early chapters of this book owe much to George Cœdès's *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, to which the highest tribute must be paid, not only as a work of rare scholarship but also for presenting for the first time the early history of South-East Asia as a whole. Previously the history of the individual states had been treated so much in isolation that the significance of their many parallel developments was hardly realized. The attention drawn to them by Cœdès has been immensely stimulating to thought and research.

The work that has been done by European scholars in the discovery of South-East Asian history is beyond praise. Krom's monumental *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, indeed, takes its place among the great works of pioneer research. There are, however, today signs of dissatisfaction on the part of European scholars themselves with their previous approach to the subject, which, it is felt, has been too much influenced by certain preconceptions inherent in their own training and outlook. De Casparis applies the epithet 'Europe-centric' to this approach, and contends that it shows itself clearly in F. W. Stapel's ponderous five-volume *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië*, in which the 'Hindu period' of Indonesian history is treated as if it were a sort of prelude or introduction to the history of Dutch activities. Similarly, Indian writers, who largely through the work of the French and the Dutch have come to discover 'Greater India', may be accused of an India-centric approach. The revolutionary change that has come over South-East Asia since the Second World War has inevitably led to much re-examination of the older conceptions of its history, and to attempts at a reorientation of outlook.

It is in this respect that Berg's work assumes special significance. For not only has he made a lifelong study of Indonesian historical literature, but he has laid down also a method of approach to its interpretation which, though admittedly imposing a heavy task on the historian, is the only one which he believes is capable of giving trustworthy results. He explains it as the need to see a people's history-writing as an element in its culture pattern, which is not isolated, either structurally or in its evolutionary and dynamic aspect, from the remainder. The literatures of the peoples of South-East Asia abound in writings which are either in chronicle form or connected with historical events. Their number is legion; some are of great length. Relatively few have as yet been used by historical writers. The great majority still await exploration and comparative study. The significance of Berg's challenge therefore extends far beyond his own field of research.

This book is in the main based upon lecture courses delivered to university classes in London, Rangoon and Singapore. Parts of it have been used in lectures delivered in the University of Indonesia at Djakarta and the Chulalongkorn University at Bangkok. It was as a result of the experience gained while conducting these classes, and through contacts with students and teachers in South-East Asia, that the author came to realize the need for some such book as the present one. It represents, therefore, a survey of work already published in one form or another. He has, however, incorporated in several chapters—those dealing with Arakan, the background to Singapore and the reign of Bodawpaya of Burma—the results of his own recent researches, not as yet published.

The completely objective history has never been produced, nor are one man's knowledge and judgement adequate for a fully satisfactory treatment of so vast a subject as the present one. What is attempted here is first and foremost to present South-East Asia historically as an area worthy of consideration in its own right, and not merely when brought into contact with China, India or the West. Its history cannot be safely viewed from any other perspective until seen from its own. With the available literature for its present study this is not at all easy, particularly in the case of the period after 1511, the history of which in European writings tends to be rather that of European activities in South-East Asia than of South-East Asia itself. To many of them—though not all¹—de Casparis's epithet 'Europe-centric' applies with special force.

The extent to which this book manages to achieve its declared object is a matter over which opinions may differ, but the writer hopes that the sources of its inspiration—the delight he has had in his long association with South-East Asian students, and the friendship and kindness they have always shown him—have made it possible for him to treat the history of their peoples with sympathy and understanding, and to convey some sense of the intellectual stimulus and illumination to be derived from its study.

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My special thanks are due to Professor W. Ph. Coolhaas, Professor C. H. Philips, Mr. A. H. Christie and Mr. C. D. Cowan, who read portions of my script before it went to the press, and to Mr. H. R. Klieneberger of the Library staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies for checking the entries in

¹ Notable exceptions are the histories of Burma by A. P. Phayre and G. E. Harvey respectively, and W. A. R. Wood's *History of Siam*.

the bibliography. Dr. Coolhaas's detailed notes on my treatment of Dutch activities were of much help, and if we were unable to agree on a number of matters, I am none the less deeply grateful to him for his help.

I must also thank the various institutions and individuals who have kindly allowed me to reproduce illustrations of which they hold the copyright. Their names are recorded in the list of illustrations on pp. xi-xiii. To Mr. A. H. Christie I am specially indebted for permission to use his map of the Prehistory of Eastern Asia, and much help in the preparation of other maps.

My wife has given unstinted help in the preparation of the typescript, and in proof-reading and indexing; and even more in the patience she has shown during many months when all my spare time was devoted to the writing of this book.

D.G.E.H.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

My very grateful thanks must be expressed to Dr. J. G. de Casparis, Professor C. D. Cowan and Dr. O. W. Wolters for the valuable help they have given me in preparing the new material for this edition. The exciting reconstruction of the early history of Sumatra provided by Dr. Wolters comes from his as yet unpublished work *Early Indonesian Commerce and the Origins of Śrīvijaya*, which throws entirely fresh light upon South-East Asian proto-history.

D.G.E.H.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi).
BKI	Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde ('s-Gravenhage).
BSEI	Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises de Saigon.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London).
CEFEO	Cahiers de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi).
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography (London).
FEQ	Far Eastern Quarterly (Ithaca, N.Y.).
FES	Far Eastern Survey (New York).
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files
JA	Journal Asiatique.
J.Am.O.Soc.	Journal of the American Oriental Society (Newhaven, Conn.)
JBRs	Journal of the Burma Research Society (Rangoon).
JGIS	Journal of the Greater India Society (Calcutta).
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
JRASMB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch (Singapore).
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkok).
RAA	Revue des Arts Asiatiques (Paris).
TBG	Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia, now Jakarta).

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