Political History of Ancient Cambodia
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Political History of Ancient Cambodia
from 1st Cent. A.D.
to 15th Cent. A.D.

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या देवी सर्वभूतेषु बुद्धिरुपेण सांस्थिता।
नमस्तस्यनमस्तस्य नमस्तस्यै नभो नमः॥
Dedicated
to
my wife
Smt. Nirmala Sharan
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Abbreviations

AA—Arts Asiatique
AHI—Advanced History of India
AIACFE—Ancient Indian Colonisation in Far East
AKE—Ancient Khmer Empire
BEA—Buddhism in East Asia
BEFEO—Bulletin Études Française d’Extreme Orient
CF—Cultural Forum
CHI—(The) Cultural Heritage of India
CISEA—Colonisation in South East Asia
CPOSEA—(The) Culture of South East Asia
EI—Epigraphia Indica
EIAC—Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture
FEQ—Far Eastern Quartely
HC—History of Cambodia
HCBE—Hindu Colonisation in the Far East
HCHP—History and Culture of Indian People (Series)
HIIA—History of Indian and Indonesian
IAL—Indian Art and Letters
ICIC—Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia
IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly
ISCC—Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge
ISSEA—Indianised States of South East Asia
IW—India and the World
JA—Journal Asiatique
JAOS—Journal American Oriental Society
JBORS—Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBRS—Journal Bihar Research Society
JGIS—Journal Greater India Society
JOR—Journal Oriental Research
JRAASMB—Journal Royal Asiatic Society Malaysian Branch
KD—Kambujadeśa
TRANSLITERATION CHART

a a i i u u e ai o au
अ आ ई उ उ ए ऐ ओ औ
Ka Kha ga gha ṅa
क ख ग घ ङ
cha chha ja jha ṅa
च छ ज झ ङ
ta tha da dha na
t ṇa ठ ड ढ ण
ta th a da ḍha ṇa
t ठ ठ ड ढ ण
P a Pha ba bha ma
प फ ब भ म
ya ra la va śa śa sa ha
य र ल व श ष ष
ṛ or ṛ=ऋ ◌ँ or m=◌ं h=◌ँ or sha◌ँ
Acknowledgements

I express my sincerest gratitude and respects to my father Late Siabar Sharan who encouraged me all through in this work and who was kind enough to go through my manuscript with necessary suggestions. Sitting at his feet this work was completed but alas! he is no more to see it in this form. However, I am confident, his blessings will ever be showered from above upon us all and particularly on this work in which he had so keenly interested.

I have no words to express my gratitude to my Guru Dr Upendra Thakar, Prof. and Head, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya without whose constant encouragement, this work would not have been possible. Moreover, he has laid me under deep obligation by contributing foreword to this volume.

I must mention here the valuable encouragement given me by my teachers Prof. Dr Sachchidanand Sahai and Dr P.C. Roy of the Deptt. of A.I. & A.S. Magadh University.

My respectful thanks are due to the late Dr N.K. Sahu, Vice-Chancellor, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur (Orissa) for his ungrudging help and support whenever needed. I am thankful to Amarajiva Lochan, a Ph. D. Scholar of Delhi University for his help.

My thanks are also due to the great scholars in the field from whose works I have been benefitted much in my present investigation.

I would like to express my obligation to the staff of the National Library Bangkok (Thailand) and National Library Calcutta who very kindly extended to me their co-operation and help during the course of my study by providing me with relevant materials and references.

The publication of the research study has been facilitated by a publication grant from the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and I am grateful to its authorities for all the help and co-operation extended to me in this respect.
And in the end I am thankful to my brothers Dr A.K. Sharan M.A., Ph. D. and Dr R.K. Sharan M.A., Ph. D. and son Shri Manish Kumar Sharan and daughter Manisha Kumari Sharan who helped me much during my research period. I have also to acknowledge my debt to my wife Smt. Nirmala Sharan, M.A. who as usual kept me aloof from the house-hold affairs and left me free to go on with this project.

Finally I must thank Shri Vijayan Pandala, Proprietor, Vishwavidya Publishers, New Delhi for his active encouragement in printing the book in a very short time.

M. K. SHARAN
Foreword

It is my privilege to write this Foreword to Political History of Ancient Cambodia (from 1st cent. A.D. to 15th cent. A.D.) written by Dr Mahesh Kumar Sharan. There was hitherto no full, systematic and elaborate account of the various interesting phases of the political history of Cambodia, though some scholars have shed light on particular aspects of their political and cultural life. But these works were comparatively few in number and I am glad that it is one of my former students who has striven to remove this long-felt want by attempting a systematic and historical study of the country from the advent of Kaunḍinya-I in the 1st century A.D. to the fall of Angkor i.e. 1431 A.D.

The book is a valuable contribution inasmuch as it gives a very detailed information about various facets of early Cambodian political life which resembles that of their early Indian counterparts. Judged in this context it is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Cambodian history. I am confident that the book will receive due appreciation from learned historians and Indologists in India and abroad.

Bodh Gaya

UPENDRA THAKUR
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Preface

History tells us that South-East Asia offers many common points for cultural study. These countries had long and abiding religious, social and commercial relations with India. But it is unfortunate to note that very few Indian scholars have taken up the task of exploring our ancient marvels in this field. Once Dr. R.C. Majumdar, the doyen of our historians, very rightly remarked that the number of Indian scholars who are engaged in serious study of the spread of Indian culture in South-East Asia can be counted on one's fingers. History of the South-East Asian countries is an important subject of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies of the Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya hence the author desires to make use of his knowledge to explore the possibility of constructing a judicious and well-informed history of India's relations with the countries of South-East Asia particularly with Cambodia.

Of all the ancient Hindu kingdoms established by Indian settlers in South-East Asia, the kingdom of Kambuja or Cambodia or Khmer Republic now Kampuchea offers an example of unique achievement of Indians in the field of culture, language, literature, religion, philosophy and art. This country received the Indian impress in the 1st century A.D. Extra-ordinary qualities of the genius of the native peoples is revealed from the study of art produced by these Indianised kingdoms though the expressions and the contents are local. Indian modes provided themes and patterns for transformation opening up before local people avenues of cultural and artistic development.

No adequate and complete work has been done so far on the topic concerned. A detailed history of Cambodia has been dealt here for the first time from the advent of Kauṇḍinya-I in the 1st century A.D. to the fall of Angkor in the 15th century A.D. The present work is the most authoritative one.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter contains a general introduction of the country as well as the geographical position, the discovery of ancient Cambodia and the different periods
of Cambodian history. The second, third, fourth and the fifth chapters are devoted to the Indianisation and political history of Cambodia from Funān, Chenlā and Angkor periods.

I took up the study of the work about ten years back but could not complete it because of certain unavoidable circumstances. I am glad that the work is now complete. Though the present study has its own limitations, nevertheless, I hope that it will succeed in creating some awareness of the subject among serious students of South-East Asian history.

I am painfully aware of the fact that in spite of my care, there are some proof mistakes in the book. I crave the indulgence of the learned scholars for these lapses. I will gratefully acknowledge from readers valuable suggestions for improvement, corrections and additions for their incorporation and inclusion in the next edition.

Gaya 11.6.1986

MAHESH KUMAR SHARAN
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Cambodia or the Khmer Republic (called by the inhabitants Sroc Khmer or Sroc Kampuchea, by the French Cambodge and by the Indians Kambuja—(the land of Rṣi Kambuja)) is a country located in South-East Asia in the south-western part of the Indochinese peninsula between 102°31' and 108°E latitude and 10° and 15°N. longitude. Together with Laos and Vietnam, Cambodia part of what formerly was known as Indo-China. It covers a land area of 69,898 square miles (181,035 square kilometres) and is bounded on the west and north-west by Thailand, on the north-east by Laos, on the east and south-east by South Vietnam, and on the south-west by the Gulf of Thailand. With a population of about 7,000,000 people, Cambodia is an underpopulated, predominantly agricultural country with a largely underdeveloped economy. The peninsula that includes Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam as well as Thailand extends south from China and Burma into the South China Sea.

The peninsula occupied by Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam was long known as Indo-China, a part of the French empire. France lost it at the end of a disastrous conflict during 1946-54. One outcome of the French defeat was that Vietnam (formed out of Tonkin, Annam and Cochin-China shortly after World War II) was carved in to two halves. The northern half, where the native Communists had been strong for some years, became a democratic republic similar to North Korea. Laos and Cambodia, keeping their status of kingdom shook free of French control more amiable. Today they are practically free of French ties.

After the United States and South Vietnamese forces intervened in Cambodia in 1970, the country became increasingly involved in the enlarged war in Indo-China. Control over the country’s territory is now contested on the one hand by the Government of the Khmer Republic, and on the other by Vietnamese communist forces who are assisting Prince Nordom Sihanouk’s Royal Government of National
Union, with headquarters in Peking.

The Landscape (Physiography Relief)

The maximum extent of Cambodia is about 280 miles from north to south and 360 miles from east to west and the central region is a low-lying, densely populated alluvial plain surrounding the Tonle Sap (Great Lake) and the Mekong River Delta. Extending outward from this region are transitional plains, thinly forested and with prevailing elevations no higher than several hundred feet above sea level. The alluvial soil makes the Cambodian plains almost equally fertile like the Indo-Gangetic plains. On the north, along the border with Thailand, the country is plain about a steep sandstone escarpment that marks the southern limit of a mountain range, the Chuor Phnom Dangrek. A southward facing cliff, stretching for more than 200 miles in a west to east direction, rises abruptly from the plain to heights ranging from 600 to 1,800 feet, forming a natural frontier. East of the Mekong the transitional plains gradually merge with the eastern highlands, a region of densely forested mountains and high plateaus that extend northward and eastward into Laos and South Vietnam. In South-western Cambodia, two distinct upland blocks, comprising the Chuor Phnom Kravanh (Gardamomes) and the Chuor Phnom Damrei (Elephant), form another highland region that covers much of the land area between the Tonle Sap and Gulf of Thailand. In this remote and largely uninhabited area is found Phnom Aural, 5,949 feet (183m) the highest peak of Cambodia. The southern coastal region adjoining the Gulf of Thailand is a narrow lowland strip, heavily wooded and moderately populated. It is effectively isolated from the central plain by the south-western highlands.

Drainage

The Mekong River and Tonle Sap are the two most dominant topographical features of Cambodia. Rising in Tibet and emptying into the South China Sea, the Mekong enters Cambodia from Laos and flows broadly southward to the border with South Vietnam, covering a distance of approximately 315 miles. Its annual floods deposit during the rainy season a rich alluvial sediment that accounts for the fertility of the central plain region. It has been suggested that the name Mekong is derived from Mān Gangā (Mother Ganges). The Tonle Sap (lake) joined to the Mekong by the Tonle Sap (river), serves
as a reservoir for the Mekong. It is fed by several rivers and inumerated torrents. During the rainy season, from mid-May to early October, the Mekong’s enormous volume of water backs up the Tonle Sap for a distance of 65 miles and flows into the Tonle Sap lake which covers almost 3,840 sq. miles during high tide and 1,160 sq. miles during low tide and increasing its maximum depth from 7 feet to 35 feet. As the water level of the Mekong falls during the dry season, the process is reversed and the depression empties so that the lake shrinks to an area of 100 sq. miles and its depth falls from 45-48 feet to a of 5 feet. Water drains from the Tonle Sap take back into the Mekong, thereby reversing the directional flow of the Tonle Sap. As a result of this annual phenomenon, the Tonle Sap lake is one of the richest sources of fresh water fish in the world. Tonle Sap probably represents the chief wealth of Cambodia. It supports a fishing population of over 30,000, most of whom are Annamese; the fish, which are caught by means of large nets at the end of inundation, are either dried or fermented for production of the sauce known as nuoc-mam.

About 50,000 tons of fish, half of Cambodia’s annual fresh water catch comes from Tonle Sap or Great Lake. The fishing season extends from October to February every year, the peak being at the end of the season when the Great lake contracts, leaving a dense concentration of fish in a narrowing body of water. There is one peculiarity with this lake; every year flood waters of the river back up into the lake during the rainy season. When the wet season ends again and the moon is full, the water which has accumulated in the Tonle Sap begins to flow out towards the distant Sea. This happens usually in the month of November. The occasion is celebrated with the famous water festival called La Fête des Eaux (in French).

Climate
The climate of the country is tropical with a wet season from June to November and a dry season from December to June. It has a climate governed by monsoonal (rain-bearing) winds and characterized by two major season. From mid-May to early October, strong prevailing winds blow out of the south-west and brings heavy rains and high humidity. From early November to mid-March, winds are from the north-east and are light in velocity. Cloudiness is variable, precipitation is infrequent, and humidity is low. Between these two
seasons the weather is transitional. The range of temperature lies between about 75° and 95°F. The coldest month is January while the warmest is April. The mountain chains to the south give Cambodia a drier and clear climate than that of most lands at the same latitude. Daily minimums are usually 15° to 20° F lower than maximums. The heaviest rainfall is in the month of September. Annual rainfall varies considerably throughout the country from more than 200 inches in the seaward slopes of the south-western highlands to 55 inches in the central lowland region. Between 70 and 80 per cent of the annual rainfall occurs during the months of the south-west monsoon wind.

Vegetation and animal life

Great tracts are covered by forests. About 75 per cent of Cambodia’s land area is forested but exploitation of this natural resource has been limited because of transportation difficulties. Forests provide firewood and timber for houses and boats besides helping in earning foreign exchange. More than half of the timber is hardwood which is cut during dry season and floated across the Tonle Sap during flood time. These dense forests which abound in elephants, rhinoceros, tigers and many varieties of snakes as well as the mountains pose a big obstacle to transportation and settlement.

The central lowland region is covered with rice paddies, fields of dry crops (such as corn (maize) or tobacco), tracts of tall grass and reeds and thinly wooded areas. Savanna (grassy parkland) is the prevailing vegetation of the transitional plains, with grass growing to a height of 5 feet. In the eastern highlands the high plateaus are covered with deciduous forest and grassland. Broadleaf evergreen forests grow in the mountainous areas to the north, with trees 100 feet (30m) high emerging from impenetrable undergrowths of vines, rattans, palms, bamboos and assorted woody and herbaceous ground plants. The main products of the forest industry are timber, firewood and charcoal.

In the south-western highlands forests of pines are found at the higher elevations, while the rain drenched seaward slopes are blanketed with virgin rain forest growing to heights of 150 feet or more. Vegetation along the coastal strip ranges from evergreen forests to nearly impenetrable mangrove forests. Fruits, growing wild or cultivated, include bread fruit, jack fruit, durian, mango, orange, mangosteen and bananas.
Elephants, wild oxen, tigers, panthers, buffaloes, leopards, bears are the main animals. Among the more common birds are herons, cranes, grouse, pheasants, peacocks, pelicans, cormorants, egrets and wild ducks. Four varieties of snakes are especially dangerous, the cobra, the king cobra, the banded trait (an extremely venomous, grooved fanged snake of nocturnal habits) and Russel’s viper. Fish, snakes and insects are equally widespread.

The landscape under human settlement

Cambodia is a country of villages. Only about 10 per cent of the total population lives in urban areas of 10,000 or more inhabitants, the major part of the urban population is concentrated in Phnom Penh, Cambodia’s capital city. Nearly all the people get their living from the land, and their lives have always been centred in their villages. Farming is carried on mostly on small holidays.

About 90 per cent of the country’s total population inhabits the central lowland region. The rural village is second only to the family as the basic societal unit. For most Cambodians it is a miniature world in which they spend their lives, and within which most of their material and physical needs are satisfied. The village is largely autonomous and self-sufficient, made up of ethnically homogeneous people numbering fewer than 300 persons. It is part of a hamlet or commune4 with which it invariably shares one or more Buddhist temples. An elementary school, several small shops and a market place are also there. The Cambodian villages develop in a linear pattern along the waterways and roads. Several represent multiplications of paternal households. They construct houses on high wooden piling with thatch roofs, walls of palm matting and floors of woven bamboo strips resting on bamboo joists. The living, sleeping and cooking quarters are separated. People keep farm implements in their houses. Each house is usually surrounded by fruit trees cultivated by the family. Like India, the village is bordered by rice paddies and farmland.

The civilized Cambodians of the present day dwell on the banks of the Mekong river and around the great lake. The average Cambodian prefers to live a lonely life among his rice-fields. His house is built on tall piles as a protection against tigers and floods. The rural areas are populated principally by Cambodians, while the towns and cities are racially mixed.
There are few large landowners in Cambodia. The typical villager owns and works only enough land to support his family. Any Cambodian can become a landowner by settling on public land belonging to the Government and working it for a period of five years. The tribal people residing in the eastern highland region follow migrant settlement patterns determined by their “Slash and burn,” agricultural practices. After the fertility of the land has been exhausted, the village is moved to a new locality.

The wild tribes of Cambodia are also of the same race as the civilized Khmers. As in the case with the Mois, little is known of them, for they hide themselves from strangers in feverridden jungles. Unlike the Cambodians of the lowland region, the tribal groups frequently build long houses in which several families live. Throughout rural Cambodia the life-style of the population is closely geared to the agricultural cycle. Family members are awake before the first light of dawn, and the major portion of the day’s work is accomplished before high noon, when the sun’s heat discourages further labour in the fields. Following a light meal and a long rest, minor agricultural tasks are performed in the late afternoon. Since electricity is rare in the village areas, the average family is asleep soon after sunset.

During the rice-growing season, all family members work together in the paddies (rice-fields), even the young children are assigned duties. Festivals and marriages usually take place during the dry season.

The urban areas of Cambodia developed as administrative, communication and commercial centres serving the surrounding rural regions. The majority are located at the intersection of river and land routes and are relatively accessible to the communities they serve. Phnom Penh (phnom means “hill”; penh is a woman’s name) is Cambodia’s single metropolis (1971) with a population of 479,000 (excluding refugees). Only ten other localities have populations exceeding 10,000.

The typical city consists of a centrally located commercial and administrative area bordered by private dwellings. Government buildings, Chinese stores, the central market, and commercial buildings are usually two or three storeys high and are of masonry construction. Buddhist temples and shrines are found throughout the city and represent well-known landmarks. Urban architecture is predominantly French, reflecting the influence of France’s 90 year protectorate over
Cambodia.
In addition to Phnom Penh, other principal cities include Battambang (39,000), Kampong Cham (33,000), Kracheh (15,000) and Siemreap (13,000). Located in the rich rice-producing region of western Cambodia, Battambang is Cambodia’s second largest city. Kampong Cham, situated on the Mekong north of Phnom Penh, is the hub of the rubber plantation region. Kracheh, further north, is in an important lumber-producing area. Siemreap, north of the Tonle Sap in west central Cambodia, is one of the most popular tourist sites in South-East Asia. Here are located Angkor Wat and the extensive complex of ruins belonging to the Khmer Empire (802-1432).

In the larger cities, Cambodians, Chinese, and Vietnamese reside in their own ethnic neighbourhoods; in the smaller towns the inhabitants are racially more homogeneous.

| TABLE-1 | CAMBODIA: AREA AND POPULATION |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
|                  | Area             | Population  | 1962 census | 1971 estimate |
|                  | Sq. mi. | Sq. km. | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| **Independent municipalities.** | | | | | |
| Bok Kou          | 0.4     | 1.1    | 1,000      | 1,000          |
| Kampong Saom     | 26.3    | 68.2   | 7,000      | 9,000          |
| Keb              | 17.5    | 45.3   | 8,000      | 9,000          |
| Phnom Penh       | 17.8    | 46.0   | 408,000    | 479,000        |
| **Provinces (Khet)** | | | | |
| Battambang       | 7,407.0 | 19,184.2 | 552,000    | 671,000        |
| Kampong Cham     | 3,783.3 | 9,798.7  | 819,000    | 999,000        |
| Kampong Chhanang | 2,131.6 | 5,520.8  | 273,000    | 333,000        |
| Khampong Spoe    | 2,709.2 | 7,016.8  | 308,000    | 374,000        |
| Kampong Thom     | 10,657.0 | 27,601.6 | 421,000    | 390,000        |
| Kampot           | 2,302.1 | 5,962.4  | 340,000    | 414,000        |
| Kandal           | 1,471.9 | 3,812.1  | 709,000    | 859,000        |
| Kaoh Kong        | 4,309.1 | 11,160.6 | 39,000     | 48,000         |
| Kracheh          | 4,283.4 | 11,094.1 | 126,000    | 154,000        |
| Mondol Kiri      | 5,516.4 | 14,287.6 | 15,000     | 18,000         |
| Otdar Meanchey   | *       | *       | *          | *              |
| Pouthisat        | 4,900.4 | 12,692.1 | 182,000    | 219,000        |
| Preah Vihear     | *       | *       | *          | *              |
| Prey Veng        | 1,885.4 | 4,883.2  | 488,000    | 592,000        |
Table 1—Contd.

<table>
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<td>TOTAL CAMBODIA</td>
<td>69,897.6</td>
<td>181,035.0</td>
<td>5,729,000</td>
<td>6,968,000</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The area and population of the new province of Presh Vihear are included in Kampong Thum.* Area and population of the new province of Otdar Meanchey are included in Siemreab. Areas were published before the latest reorganization and include 1,158,3 sq. mi. (3,000 sq. k.m.) of inland water. Final census figure. Population figures for individual municipalities and provinces are preliminary. Figures do not add to total because of rounding. Source: Official Government figures.

Following North Vietnam’s invasion of Cambodia in 1970 and enlargement of the conflict in Indo-China, Vietnamese Communist forces, aided by small elements of Cambodian dissidents, occupied approximately 50 per cent of the country’s national territory, containing about 20 per cent of the total population. At an early stage, Cambodian Government troops were forced to abandon most of the land area north of a line drawn from Siemreap to Kampong Cham. This included the provinces of Rotanokiri, Stoeng Treng, Mondol Kiri, Kracheh, Preah Vihear, and large parts of Kampong Cham, Kampong Thom, Siemreap, and Otdar Meanchey. In addition to seriously affecting the country’s economy, the war produced a substantial flow of migration as refugees from the occupied areas sought protection and shelter in those controlled by the Cambodian Government. By the end of 1970 it was estimated that Phnom Penh’s population had increased to 1,100,000, nearly double the pre-invasion figure. Other urban areas south of the Tonle Sap also increased rapidly in population as villagers sought to escape insecurity prevailing in the rural regions.

**People and Population**

The Cambodians have a far more marked affinity with their Siamese than with their Annamese neighbours. The race is probably the result of a fusion of the Malay aborigines of Indo-China with the Āryan and the Mongolian invaders of the country.
The nation's first national census as an independent nation was taken in 1962. The population figured as about 5,700,000. By mid-1971 it was estimated to have increased to about 9,968,200 representing an average annual growth rate of 2.4 per cent. Cambodia's population is about one-fifth that of Thailand, less than half that of South Vietnam, and less than a third of that of North Vietnam. Only Laos and Singapore have smaller populations than Cambodia in South-east Asia. Overall population density is 100 persons per square mile; it is high in the south, moderate in the west central area, and low in the north and north-east.

**Ethnic and linguistic Groups**

Khmer (Cambodian) stock accounts for about 90 per cent of the total population. This has produced a homogeneity that is unique among the nations of south-east Asia and has brought about a strong sense of nationalism. Other major ethnic groups include the Chinese (350,000) Vietnamese Cham-Malays (90,000), various Malayo-Polynesian and Austro-Asian hill tribes (50,000), some Tai (300,000), and Europeans, mainly French (5,000). The trading community is principally Chinese while the Vietnamese are generally fishermen and rubber plantation workers. The Thais, Laotians, Chams, Malays, Europeans, Indians, Pakistanis, Japanese, Philippins and Tribal hill peoples are about 2 to 3 per cent of the population.

The Khmers are concentrated mainly in the lowland regions surrounding the Mekong and Tonle Sap, on the transitional plains, and in the coastal area. They belong to the Mon-Khmer ethno-linguistic group. An end product of centuries of intricate cultural and racial blending, the Khmer descended before 200 BC into the fertile Mekong Delta from the Khorat Plateau of what is now Thailand. They were Indianized by successive waves of Indian immigration at the beginning of the Christian era, and in the 8th century AD were exposed to an Indo-Malayan migration from Jâvá. This was followed by Tai migrations from the 10th to 15th centuries, by a Vietnamese migration beginning in the 17th century, and by Chinese migrations in the 17th and 19th centuries. As a result of this racial admixture, the Khmers are generally classified as Austroasiatics linked to the Veddoi, Indo-Australoid, and Mongolid peoples. Their physical characteristics reflect their mixed background. Despite wide variations, they tend to be of short stature (the average height of a male is
about five feet three inches), robust, and muscular. The men are taller and more muscular than the Siamese and Annamese, while the women are small and inclined to stoutness. The face is flat and wide, the nose short, the mouth large and the eyes only slightly oblique. Skin colour is light to brown, and hair is black. In childhood the head is shaved with the exception of a small tuft at the top. In later life it is dressed so as to resemble a brush. Less than 50 per cent show the epicanthic fold (a fold of skin extending from the eyelid over the inner corner of the eye; it is sometimes called the mongolian fold). The typical Khmer family is a five member nuclear unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children. Both sons and daughters usually leave the parental house after marriage to establish their own households.

The Ethnic minorities

Among the ethnic minorities, the Chinese are the most important, for they control the country’s economic life, serving as money-lenders, entrepreneurs, merchants and transporters. The traditional role of the Chinese as the middle-men in the Cambodian economy—the buyers, processors and sellers of the agricultural commodities produced by the rural Cambodian population has had a strong urbanizing effect upon this ethnic minority group. Few Chinese are found in the country side. The Chinese retain a high degree of cultural distinctiveness, but many have been assimilated into Khmer society through intermarriage. The Vietnamese minority occupies a lower status. Before 1970 they numbered about 400,000, but following the outbreak of war in Cambodia, about half the Vietnamese either fled to Communist areas or were repatriated to South Vietnam. Countries of mutual dislike and distrust characterize Vietnamese Khmer relations and intermarriage is infrequent. The Vietnamese, who serve primarily as technicians and mechanics also gravitate toward the urban areas. The Cham-Malay Group, known in Cambodia as Khmer Islam, maintains a rigorous Muslim orthodoxy that discourages assimilation into the Buddhist Khmer ethnic majority. They live in their own villages, chiefly along the banks of the Mekong and Sab rivers, and like the Khmer engage in farming and fishing. The primitive tribal groups, designated upland Khmer (Khmer Lone) and upland Cham are found mainly in small settlements in the sparsely populated eastern highlands. More than a dozen different linguistic groups may be distinguished.
Languages

Cambodian or Khmer, the national language is spoken by some three million inhabitants. Unlike Thai or Vietnamese, Cambodian is a unontonal language; most words are mono-syllabic. French, the second language is used widely in commercial and official circles. The Vietnamese and the Chinese use their own languages; as do the mountain tribes. These two languages are the lingua franca of the market people. Many Cambodians particularly those in the tourist and hotel-business speak English also. Pali and Sanskrit serve as source for the formation of technical and scientific terms in Cambodia. Some Cambodians understand Pali but only those permanent in the bonzehood are able to write it. Sanskrit is reserved exclusively for religious scholarship.

Religious groups

The Khmers are almost universally Theravada (Hīnayāna) Buddhists (i.e. belonging to the earlier of the two great schools of Buddhism, the later school being represented by the Mahāyāna), and Buddhism is officially recognized as the State religion and the King is the Supreme religious authority. Although 90% of the population are Buddhists, most Cambodians are animists as well. Buddhists precepts permeate all levels of Khmer society. The social and psychological characteristics usually ascribed to the Khmer—individualism, conservatism, patience, gentleness and unconcern for material wealth and possession—are largely traceable to Buddhism. The Chinese and most Vietnamese are practicing a traditional mixture of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and ancestor worship. The worship of spirits or local genii is also wide-spread and Brahmanism is still maintained at the court. The Cham-Malay group, as we know, are strict Muslims and follow Quranic law. The primitive tribal groups are mostly animists and spirit worshippers.

The national economy

In the countries of south-east Asia, Cambodia's economy is one of the least developed. It depends upon two major products—rice and rubber—and consequently is vulnerable to profound annual fluctuations caused by vagaries in rainfall and world market prices. Agriculture dominates the economy of the country and employs about 80 per cent of the population and providing more than a third of the total gross
national product. Out of 800,000 families residing in the rural areas, 670,000 are engaged in rice cultivation at present. The tradition of land ownership is strong. Approximately 84 per cent of the rural population are owner cultivators, 6 per cent are tenants or contractual farmers, and 7 per cent belong to unspecified categories. Family landholdings are relatively small: 55 per cent own less than one hectare (2.5 acres), 25 per cent own less than two hectares (five acres), and 12 per cent own less than five hectares (12 acres). In 1969 Cambodia’s gross national product (GNP) amounted to $578,000,000 U.S. representing per capita income of $120 U.S. This figure, however, must be interpreted with the knowledge that the rural mass of the population is largely self-sufficient. One hectare of rice paddy provides for the needs of a family of five persons, and supplementary requirements are satisfied by fishing, cultivating fruit and vegetables, and raising livestock. Famine is extremely rare in Cambodia, but the self-sufficiency factor characterising the rural family, coupled with the fertility of the soil and warm climate, have produced a conservatism that has proved resistant to government efforts to modernize Cambodia’s primitive agricultural methods.

**SOURCES OF NATIONAL INCOME**

*Agriculture*

Rice is Cambodia’s principal food and is comparatively easy because of the flat alluvial soil and wet tropical climate. It is a major crop, and the most important export commodity. This crop amounts to 1,500,000 tons a year. Rice is grown on approximately 85 per cent of the country’s total cultivated land area. This is by far the major Cambodian product with considerable export surpluses of high quality. Three fourths of the area under cultivation are occupied by paddy fields. The principal rice regions surround the Mekong and Tonle Sap, with cultivation particularly intensive in Battambang, Kampong Cham, Takev, and Prey Veng provinces. Lacking sufficient irrigation systems, Cambodia produces one rice crop per year. Planting begins in July and August and the harvest period extends from November to January. The amount of rainfall determines the size and quality of the crop. During the 1960, total annual production ranged from a low of about 2,200,000 tons of paddy (1,200,000 tons of milled rice) to a high of 3,580,000 tons (about 2,000,000 tons of
milled rice). In a typical year approximately 50 per cent of the crop is consumed by the rural population, 34 per cent goes to the domestic market, and the balance is exported. Average paddy (unhusked rice) yield per hectare (2.5 acres) is 1.6 tons—one of the lowest in Asia.

Other food products include corn, beans, soyabean and sweet potatoes. The principal fruit crops, all of which are consumed locally, include oranges, bananas, and pineapple. Pepper, cotton, rubber, sugar, tobacco, indigo and soyabean are other important crops. Vegetables and fruits are also the main source of earning.

Commercial crops such as cotton, tobacco, kapok, sugarcane and oilseeds are grown in limited quantities. The red-coloured basaltic plateaus of Kampong Cham, Kracheh, and Rotanokiri provinces are especially suitable for rubber trees. Rubber exports account for 30 to 40 per cent of Cambodia's total foreign-exchange earnings. By the end of the 1960s, rubber plantations covered 70,000 hectares (173,000 acres), of which 48,000 hectares (119,000 acres) were in production. Total annual later production is about 35,000 tons. Cambodian rubber fields per acre are the highest in the World. Rubber is the main source of export earning and rubber plantations, mostly French owned, are the only major Cambodian enterprises producing exclusively for export market.

Fisheries and Livestock

Fisheries and livestock are important components of the domestic economy. It is, next to farming, the chief source of income of the population. Fish in its various forms—fresh, dried, smoked, and salted—constitutes the single most important source of protein in the Cambodian diet and subsistence fishing is part of every farmer's activity. The Cambodian platou (dried fish) is much in demand in the countries of SEA. The great lake famous as a beauty spot is one of the richest fish reserves in Asia. The annual freshwater catch, which includes perch, carp, lungfish, and smelts, is estimated to be from 110,000 to 130,000 tons. Cattle, particularly water buffalo, are used principally as draft animals in the rice paddies and fields. Hog production amounts to 1,000,000 head per year.

Mineral resources

Cambodia has few known mineral resources. Some limestone and phosphate deposits are found in Kampong province, and precious
stones in limited quantities are mined in Battambang. Iron and coal traces have not justified commercial exploitation. No petroleum resources have yet been discovered. Electrical power sources are mainly dependent upon imported oil. The construction of modest hydro-electric dams at Kirirom and Kamchay has been halted by the war.

**Mining**

Cambodia’s known mineral resources are limited. Iron deposits and traces of gold, coal, copper and manganese have been reported in the Kompong Thom area. Potter’s clay is common, and deposits of jet, phosphates and corundum are found. Zircons and jet are exploited by a group of Cambodians of Burmese descent in Storng Treng and Battambang provinces. Salt is found in the central provinces.

**Industrial development**

Although Cambodia’s industrial development remains at a low level, the Government has made strong efforts to build a modest industrial base suitable to the needs of the country. By the end of 1969 there were some 3,700 small plants and factories in Cambodia, the major portion of which were devoted to agricultural processing.

**Management of the economy**

Cambodia adopted a socialistic policy characterized by nationalisation of the private banking system in 1963 and establishment of a Government monopoly over imports and exports, and extensive state participation in building and managing industrial enterprises were also done. But the policy proved to be unsuccessful, due to defective economic planning, insufficient labour and managerial skills, and rigidly fixed agricultural prices that discouraged production incentive. In 1969, the Government returned to more liberal practices after seeing the pitiable economic condition. There are no trade unions now. The tax system, centrally controlled by the Ministry of Finance (in Phnom Penh) derives most of its revenue from property and sales taxes and from service taxes.

**Foreign trade**

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s Cambodia experienced a chronic foreign trade deficit. In a typical year (1970) exports totalled
$39,000,000 U.S. and imports totalled $54,000,000 U.S. The bulk of Cambodia’s exports, consisting almost entirely of rice, rubber, and agricultural products, go to Asian nations. European nations and Japan provide the major portion of imports, which cover an extensive range of manufactured goods, industrial products, and raw materials. Exports go to Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, and France; and before 1970, mainland China and North Vietnam.

The effect of war on the economy

In 1970 the North Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent occupation of large areas of the country by Vietnamese Communist forces severely crippled the Cambodian economy, ending any immediate prospect of further economic development while the nation remained engulfed in the enlarged Vietnam war. The rubber production had completely ceased within several months and all of the plantations were occupied by enemy forces; many of the trees were destroyed by the fighting. Rice cultivation decreased by 30 per cent as a result of the war and general insecurity. Much of the road network and the two rail-road lines were intermittently cut, isolating the agricultural areas from Phnom Penh and from the port at Kamppong Saom. Under these deplorable circumstances, Cambodia found itself dependent upon foreign aid, principally from the United States, as it struggled for both military and economic survival.

Transportation

The inland waterways and roadways constitute the principal transportation routes. Each is invariably affected by the floods of the rainy season, which result in heavy silting and washouts (flash floods). Railroads rank third in significance. Domestic shipping and civil air facilities are limited. Maritime commerce is carried out almost exclusively by foreign vessels.

The road system, which in recent years has surpassed the country’s inland waterways as the main means for moving cargo and passengers, has an overall extent of 9,300 miles. The network was originally designed by the French during the protectorate period to link the agricultural hinterland with the port of Saigon in South Vietnam; as a result of which the system does not serve Cambodia as a whole. Extensive land tracts in the northern, north-eastern, and south-western parts of the nation are roadless. Of the total road network, about
1,600 miles are paved; other roads are surfaced with crushed stone, gravel, or laterite or are simply graded without being paved. The network contains more than 1,800 bridges of more than 20 feet in length, with load average load capacities of five tons. The country’s longest bridge in a ten-span structure, more than 2,300 feet in length, traversing the Tonle Sap at Phnom Penh.

The inland waterways have a collective extent of 1,200 miles, of which more than 90 per cent are part of the Mekong and Tonle Sap systems. Phnom Penh, located about 200 miles from the mouth of the Mekong, can be reached by oceangoing vessels of less than 13-foot draft. North of Phnom Penh, the Mekong is navigable to Krachêh for rivercraft, but rapids and winding channels in the 117 mile section between Krachêh and the Laos border generally preclude commercial navigation.

The single maritime port of Cambodia is located at Kampong Saom (formerly Sihanoukville) on the Gulf of Thailand. It was completed in 1960, Kampong Saom can provide unlimited anchorage for oceangoing ships, and its main pier can accommodate four vessels of up to 15,000 tons. The port is of strategic importance to Cambodia, and considerable industrial development has taken place in the area. A modern four-lane highway links Kampong Saom with Phnom Penh.

The railroad system comprises about 400 miles of singletrack, metre-guage line and is owned and operated by the Cambodian Government. One line, completed prior to World War II, connects Phnom Penh with Paoy Pet on the Thai frontier—a distance of 239 miles—and facilitates the movement of milled rice from the western provinces of Battambang, Pouthisat, and Kampong Chhnang. The second line, completed in 1969, connects Phnom Penh with Kampong Saom, covering a distance of 168 miles through the provinces of Kandal, Takev, and Kampot.

International air service is available from Phnom Penh to Bangkok, Saigon, Hong Kong, and Singapore via Air Cambodge, the Country's national airline. Domestic flights connect Phnom Penh with Siemreap, Battambang, Kampong Saom, and Kampot.

Since the outbreak of war in Cambodia in 1970 much of the country’s transportation system has either been lost to Vietnamese Communist forces or has been severely crippled. Control over the system is an important military objective for both sides in the conflict.
ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL CONDITION

Administration

Political developments—Cambodia abolished its centuries old monarchy in October 1970 and officially proclaimed itself the Khmer Republic. Now it is known as Kampuchea. This development followed in the aftermath of the deposition of Prince Norodom Sihanouk as chief of state. The deposed leader has since settled in Peking for the purpose of forming a Government in exile. The outbreak of war in 1970 severely disrupted all aspects of Government administration.

The Structure of Government

Executive power is exercised by the President under the constitution adopted by referendum in 1972. The President is elected by direct universal suffrage and promulgates the laws, designates a Prime Minister and a 15 member Cabinet (Conseil des Ministres). He signs foreign treaties, and is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He also presides over the Cabinet, which names ambassadors, provincial governors, and other civil and military officials. Legislative responsibility is vested in a Parliament, which is comprised of a National Assembly of 80 or fewer members, elected for periods of four years, and a Senate of 28 to 40 members, elected for periods of six years. Financial legislation must originate in the assembly.

Local Government

The country is divided administratively into 19 provinces (khet) and four independent municipalities (krung). The province is subdivided into districts (srok), hamlets (khum), and village groups (phum). Provincial governors are appointed by the Cabinet and serve as direct representatives of the Central Government. The various provincial services—public works, agriculture, education, police, health, finance—fall under the Governor’s overall supervision. The hamlets and the chief administrative officers of the districts are responsible to the provincial governor. They execute the laws at the local level, collect taxes, serve as mediators between litigants, and maintain records and statistics. In times of peace they are elected by the residents of the localities in which they serve.
Justice

The judiciary is composed of the Magistracy, the Supreme Court, and the Superior Council of the Magistracy. In addition, there exist a separate constitutional Court and a High Court of Justice, which have the authority to judge members of the Government, the Parliament, and the Constitutional and Supreme Courts.

The armed forces

From a pre 1970 level of 35,000, the Cambodian armed forces were subsequently rapidly expanded by volunteers to 200,000, resulting in a heavy drain upon the country’s financial resources. The army was ill-trained, ill-equipped, and unprepared for the movement of Vietnamese Communist forces out of their sanctuary bases along the border and their rapid occupation of large areas of Cambodia. The Government adopted a defensive strategy to retain the regions under its control until the armed forces could be adequately equipped and trained.

The air force, with an inventory of some 120 aircraft of various types, has an approximate strength of 1,750 men. It is capable of providing only minimal transport and tactical ground support. The navy is responsible for river and lake patrol as well as limited coastal patrol; in 1970 it had almost 90 vessels and a total complement of almost 4,000.

Social Conditions and Services—Education:

The Government has made intensive efforts to expand education, health, and welfare services. Planning has concentrated mainly on providing schooling in order to create a body of skilled and semi-skilled manpower. Between the mid-1950s and 1969, total school enrollment nearly quadrupled, rising from about 300,000 to about 1,000,000 at the elementary level, from 6,000 to 120,000 at the secondary level, from 400 to 7,000 at the technical and professional level, and from more than 100 to 9,000 at the University level. More than 21 per cent of students are enrolled in public schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, and during 1970 education expenditures reached the average of 20 per cent approximately of the annual national budget.
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The Literacy level

Literacy levels in Cambodia have been rising slowly as a result of increased opportunities for schooling, but they remain below those of other south-east Asian nations, with the exception of Laos and South Vietnam. It is estimated that 54 per cent of the population aged ten years and older is literate.

Health

An acute shortage of medical personnel has been a major obstacle in implementing an effective public health programme. In 1969 there were only 440 fully qualified physicians. There were less than 300 health officers in Cambodia in the middle 1960s. Medical services function under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health. By the end of the 1960s the country had 1,400 hospitals, infirmaries, dispensaries, clinics, and maternity centres, although a disproportionate share of them was located in Phnom Penh. The most prevalent diseases are malaria, venereal disease, yaws, leprosy, trachoma, and parasitic infections. In 1966 it was estimated that 20 per cent of the population was affected by tuberculosis. No comprehensive system of social insurance has been established. Primary responsibility for care of the aged, infirm and needy lies within the family circle, with supplementary assistance occasionally provided by the village.

Cultural life and institutions

Contemporary Cambodian culture and artistic expression are overshadowed by the greatness of the past. Although owing much to Indian influence, the achievements of the Khmer Empire represented original contributions to Asian civilization. The magnificent architecture and sculpture of the Angkorean period (802-1432), as seen today in the restored temple complexes at Angkor Wat and Ankor Thom, marked the apex of Khmer creativity. Following the capute of Angkor by the Thai (15th century) and the crumbling of the empire, Cambodia underwent four centuries of foreign invasions, civil war, and widespread depopulation. It was not until the establishment of the French protectorate in 1863 that internal security was restored, the country’s borders stabilized, and efforts undertaken to revive traditional Khmer art forms. After gaining independence from France in 1953, the Cambodian Government placed particular emphasis upon accelerating revival by establishing a national school of music, a
national school of ballet and theatre, and a fine arts university. This coincided with the rapid expansion of elementary and secondary school facilities throughout the country, and the emergence of education as the most important social mobility factor in Cambodian society.

Music and dance forms
Music occupies a dominant place in Cambodian culture. It is practised by all men and women while courting—and invariably is part of the many celebrations and festivals that take place throughout the year at Buddhist temples in the rural countryside. An especially popular pastime is to improvise lyrics for traditional tunes in order to tell a story or comment upon some aspect of the local contemporary scene. Instruments used in full orchestras include xylophones with wooden or metal bars, one and two-stringed violins, wooden flutes, oboes, and drums of different sizes. The Cambodian scale has five tones, compared with seven in the Western scale. Orchestral music has no harmony, in the technically musical sense. The players follow the lead of one instrument, usually the xylophone, and improvise as much as they wish.

Dancing and drama
Dancing and drama are also popular forms of artistic expression. The Royal Ballet in Phnom Penh exemplifies the classic, highly stylized dance form adapted by the Cambodians and Thai from the ancient dances of Angkor. Accompanied by an orchestra and choral narration, the dancers act out stories and legends taken principally from Hindu epics such as the Rāmāyana. In the countryside, folk drama and folk dances are performed at festivals and weddings by wandering troupes. The actors invariably depict stereotyped characterizations familiar to all: the country yokel, the clumsy lover, the beautiful princess, the cruel father, and the greedy merchant. The visual arts reveal the essential conservatism of the Cambodians. Ancient themes are preferred and rarely is there an effort to improve or adapt. The principal crafts are weaving, working silver and gold, making jewellery, and the sculpture in wood and stones. Traditional Khmer literature consists largely of old stories and legends in poetic form. Modern literature, dating from World War II, is beginning to reflect new social values as a result of the influence of young intellec-
tuals sent abroad for University training.

Newspapers, Radio, and Television

The status of newspapers and book-publishing reflects the essentially rural nature of Cambodia. There are approximately 60 newspapers and periodicals in the country, with a total maximum circulation of over 300,000. Most are published in Phnom Penh. Books are available only in the urban areas. Approximately 350 new titles are published each year, but a typical edition consists of only 500 copies. Radio exerts the greatest influence on public opinion. Operated by the Ministry of Information, the Cambodian National Radio broadcasts in Cambodian, French, English, Vietnamese, Laotian, and Thai. It is estimated that there are 1,000,000 radio receivers in the country. Television programming was initiated in 1960. There are 50,000 sets, owned mainly by wealthy people.

Prospects for the Future

As a small and relatively weak country surrounded by more powerful neighbours, Cambodia’s prospects for survival as an independent nation will largely be determined by the outcome of the enlarged Vietnam War, in which it has become involved, and by the effectiveness of any post-war settlement designed to prevent recurrent hostilities in the Indo-China region. Historically, Cambodia has traditionally sought the protection of a larger foreign nation exerting authority in the area or has attempted to negate inimical external influence through a balance-of-power arrangement. The arrival of the French in the 19th century saved Cambodia from partition and possible extinction, while the neutralist policy of the post-independence period proved remarkably effective until the Sihanouk regime deviated from the neutralist line it had originally traced. These basic options are once again likely to influence the country’s leaders. Future prospects must also take into account the substantial damage done to the economy by the war and the consequent need for large scale foreign assistance if Cambodia is to reconstruct and resume the modernization programme of the post-independence period. This in turn will require stable and effective Government carried out within a political system ensuring national unity and social progress.
In the vernacular of the country the region is called Khmer which has been differently pronounced in different languages: in Chinese they called it Kih-mich, in Javanese Kmir and in Arabic Qimara. This name Kambuja originally meant only the northern portion of Cambodia. Under the name Chenla, Cambodia was a Kingdom subordinate to Funan. After the fall of Funan, it was applied to the whole of Cambodia. The Chinese name Funan represents an old Khmer word Vnam or Biu Nam (in modern Khmer Phnom) which means a hill. cf. Coomaraswamy, A.K., HIIA, London (1927), p. 184; JOR (1928), p. 227; Hall, D.G.E., HSEA, London (1964), p. 24; BCAIC (1911), pp. 29-30.

1A fruit with a prickly rind and a highly flavoured pulpy fresh.

1a bright red, oral fruit.

4a smallest officially recognized administrative unit.
CHAPTER 2

Indianization

Spread of Indian Culture
The Khmer nation had already been established when history first began to be recorded. The modern Khmer Republic traces its origins to historical legend. The Hindu state in Funan was flourishing at the time of the beginning of the Christian era. It was at its zenith in the 5th century AD, but after about 100 years it started showing signs of decay. For the next 200 years that followed the Chenla state became dominant. Its boundaries extended over a vast area. The ruins of Isanapura, capital of Sambor Prei Kuk near Kompong Thom which was built by Jayavarman I, constitute a memorable monument of this epoch.

We know of the prevalence of the cult of invocation of Indian Gods like Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasatya among the Hittites and Mitani emperors of Mesopotamia as early as the 14th century BC. This testifies to the prevalence of the Vedic religion in such a distant land. There was a deep impression of our cultural heritage on the ancient civilizations in West Asia, Egypt, Rome, China and Central Asia. Similarly in Indo-China, Indonesia and adjoining islands also we find a far greater impact of our ancient heritage.

It is really unfortunate that we do not have elaborate and detailed mention of this colonization in our historical records and extensive literature. Present-day Indians, who are the successors of those responsible for this great colonization and cultural intercourse, learnt about the marvellous achievements of their forefathers only in the beginning of the 20th century.

French and Dutch scholars are credited with the exploration of the prevalence of Indian culture in the Far East. As a result of their prolonged researches of almost eighty years, they have exhibited the prevalence of Indian culture and art in Indo-China and Indonesia. The history of Cambodia, especially of the ancient period, requires a
great amount of research, to bring to light numerous forgotten chapters of history. Rulers having Indian names administered the vast stretch of land extending from modern Tonkin in the north to Batavia in the south. In the preliminary stage of colonization the Indians established small principalities which later took the shape of large empires. Though they were Indian states colonized and Indianized by Indians from the mainland, they could never become parts of India. This was an exclusive novelty with these colonies.

As a matter of fact, the exact date of the penetration of the Hindus and Hindu culture in Indo-China is not settled. George Coedes believes that the Hindus had already colonized the area during the second and first centuries BC. O.C. Gangoli has supported this view. Some of the ports of the far east bearing Sanskrit names occur in the Indian texts of the 1st century AD and from these it can be inferred that Hindu culture must have reached there at least one or two centuries earlier.

Traders, religious emissaries, cultural delegations, adventurers, travellers, priests, saints, sages, poets, emigrants and other agencies were instrumental in the spread of Indian culture beyond the Indian frontiers. They belonged to both north and south India. "The old Indian trade in beads of semi-precious stones antedated by centuries the coming of the Hindu at the beginning of the Christian era... The arrival of the Hindus in the Malay world was neither sudden, violent nor overwhelming. A ship or so came in the monsoon to exchange beads for gold, tin, camphor etc. Here and there a passenger won regard as warrior or worker in magic. Some married local brides. Priests came with the Sanskrit love. The coming of the Hindu might have been very similar to the later arrival of the Muslim from India and Arabia. "Coming from the different parts of India," says Louis Frederic, "they formed separate groups. The Mon people of Tataings of Burma are said to have come from Telangana coast. Others left the Coromandel area and through trading settled thickly along the coast." The main role was undoubtedly played by the Indian merchant class. They discovered and eventually helped a lot in the colonization of several parts of south-east Asia and they in turn were supported by the Kshatriyas as well as Brahmans.

They faced great hazards during a time when communication was so difficult. The Indian visitors were not unwelcome guests, outside India, for the reason that India as a nation maintained a high position
in the hearts of outsiders. Though these Indian colonies maintained contacts, and kept rapport with the mainland, they never lost their own entity. They were never exploited and treated as Indian colonies in the modern sense of the term of present-day international behaviour. It is evident from the study of the Chola-Śailendra struggle also (which continued for almost 100 years) that although the rulers of Śrīvijaya (Śailendras) considered themselves as Indians, they were always proud of being the rulers of Śrīvijaya, and dauntlessly maintained their resistance to the aggression of the Cholas. According to Coedès, "Indianization must be understood essentially as the expansion of an organised culture that was founded upon the Indian conception of royalty, was characterised by Hinduist or Buddhist cults, the mythology of the Purāṇas, and the observance of the Dharmaśāstras, and expressed itself in the Sanskrit language. It is for this reason that we sometimes speak of Sanskritization instead of Indianization."*

**Beginning**

About the beginning of the 5th century AD, the second Kauṇḍinya is believed to have Indianized Funan to a great extent. He is believed to have introduced the following elements of Hindu culture:

1. Worship of Indian deities (believed to have been introduced by the first Kauṇḍinya).
2. State worship of Śivalīṅga.
3. The law of Manu.
4. Central Indian alphabet.
5. Honorific title of ‘Varman’ to the names of kings and also to persons of exalted religious and political positions.

We know for certain that contemporary Hindus were expert shipbuilders. Ship-building was a well developed and flourishing industry in ancient India. It were these ocean-going ships which carried iron and steel, silk, cloth, spices, luxuries and many other commodities like indigo, dyes etc. outside India to the western markets like Rome and the far east. Generally the colonizers adopted sea-route because of its special charms. The following are the routes believed to have been adopted by Indian traders and settlers:

1. Embarking at Amarāvatī and landing at Martaban in Burma. Many of them settled in Thaton region and in the delta of river Salvin. Some of them later accepted the locality of Pegu (region
of Irrawaddy) while the rest proceeded further south. These people are believed to have a high standard of civilization.

2. Emigrants from India during the Gupta period went to Indonesia and other south-east Asian countries through Tāmralipti or Tāmaluka. This was a port town situated on the Hooghali river.

3. During the Pallava period Indians are believed to have followed a southern route, embarking at Kāṭchiipuram and disembarking at Margui, Tenasserim, Takua pa, Puket island or Trang in Siam and further south in Sumatra, Java, and Borneo islands. This is confirmed by the prevalence of archaeological remains found at these places and also from local traditions.

4. Travellers from India reached Palembang and Java through the open sea route—west of Sumatra.⁹

5. The fifth sea-route comprised of the entire sea routes round the island of Singapore and either up to the Gulf of Siam or across the China Sea to ancient Funan and Champa. This route was not generally adopted by the people."¹⁰

6. Apart from the sea routes there was regular trade by land between eastern India and China through upper Burma and Yunan. We learn from Chinese chronicles about the travels of Chinese merchants from their homeland to Afghanistan and Bactria. We have sufficient historical proof to believe that in 2nd century BC, they travelled across the whole of north India to reach those countries. The twenty Chinese priests for whom an Indian king had built a temple as per description of I-ting, came to India in the 3rd or 4th century AD through this land route.¹¹ Kia Tan, a Chinese writer, also refers to the prevalence of a land route between Annam and India.¹² In the Burmese chronicles also we find the mention of a direct route between eastern India and Burma through Arakan.

Even today persons bearing Indian features reside in the coastal regions of Takua pa. Many residents of the Bay of Bandon region claim their descent from Indian ancestors. They say that their ancestors had come from India following a land route.¹³

References

We have of course, references to prove the existence of considerable military activities on various occasions notable among which are the following:

1. The Mauryas have been referred to by Megasthenes to have a department for admiralty which dates back to about 300 BC.

2. Even earlier to the Guptas, the Sātavāhana kings had their sway over some land beyond the sea which is portrayed by the figure of sailing vessels on their coins.
3. The Pallava king Nandivarman II made conquests in south-east Asia.  
4. In the 4th century AD Samudragupta claimed to have authority over many of these islands.  
5. The Chola emperors fitted out naval expeditions and conquered wide regions of Sumatra and Malay peninsula in the 11th century AD.

R.C. Majumdar also suggests that colonization as a result of military expedition from India cannot be ruled out.

Thus Indian culture in South-East Asia seems to have passed through the following three phases:—

1. The establishments of stations and emporia of Indian traders and mariners along the coastal regions.
2. Foundations of colonies and settlements of the Indian people (Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists) in important localities.
3. The setting up of full Indianized states—characterised by purely Indian civilization in this area.

The process of cultural expansion did not, however, suppress or eliminate the native people rather it was a harmonious blending of the two civilizations. The process gathered momentum from the 2nd century onwards. H.G.Q. Wales has mentioned four phases of this important movement:—

1. Amarāvati—2nd—3rd centuries AD.
2. Gupta—4th-6th centuries AD.
3. Pallava—Middle of the 6th to the middle of the 8th centuries AD.
4. Pāla—Middle of the 8th to the end of the 9th centuries AD.

The aboriginals called Khmers were connected with the Mos who occupied areas situated in the valleys of Irrawaddy and Salvin rivers of south Burma. A mixing of the Mos (who came from Burma) and the Khmers took place in Siam. According to the Chinese chronicles, wearing of cloth and also civilized way of living was taught by the people who came from India along with Kaundinya.

Huen Tsang’s description dated in the 7th century AD contains a mention of five states situated in the coastal regions beyond south eastern Bengal. Out of these ई रंग-न-पु-लो (Iśanapura) and मो हो चेम मो can be identified with Kambuja and Mahā-Champā respectively. In the middle ages also a communication between eastern India, Burma and Indo-China continued as we learn from the Burmese chronicles. The Indians visited Kambuja and Indo-Chinese ports by
sea route in the 1st century BC also.\textsuperscript{20}

A reference has been made in the \textit{Periplus of the Erythraean Sea} about the movement of ships from Indian ports to Malaya. From Malacca there was a definite trade route for going to China. Ptolemy has mentioned the Indian names of Indo-China, Malaya and other islands. Indian envoys visited China by sea routes of the southern Sea.\textsuperscript{21} The existence of Indo-Kambuja contact by sea routes in the 3rd century AD also has been mentioned in Chinese chronicles. This was the time when Indian colonies were flourishing in this region.

About prominent personalities and events initially responsible for the beginning of the process of cultural and allied intercourse, there are very interesting stories:

(1) According to legends prevalent in Funan we learn about a female ruler of Kambuja named Liu-Yeh. She used to rob of any merchant-ship passing through her territorial waters. Once it so happened that a patriot Brāhmaṇa named Hun Tien got divine inspiration in his dreams and as directed by the supernatural, set off for a voyage. He was blessed with a divine bow. His ship reached ports of Funan by the force of wind. The female ruler of Funan came in a boat for plundering the ship. Hun Tien used his divine bow resulting in the surrender of this empress. After this incident Hun Tien became the ruler of Funan. This occurrence has been mentioned in the inscriptions related to the foundation of Bhavapura, the capital of Kambuja in AD 657. Brāhmaṇa Kaunḍinya is mentioned in the inscription to have been married to Somā, the daughter of the Nāga king. Of course it is difficult to say whether he belonged to North India or South India.\textsuperscript{22} In the Chinese chronicles the marriage of Hun Tien with Liu-Yeh has also been mentioned.\textsuperscript{23} This Hun Tien, therefore, can be Kaunḍinya and Liu-Yeh as Somā.

(2) In another similar story a different version is narrated. It is said that having been displeased with his son, the king ruling Indraprastha, banished him. This banished prince came to Funan, defeated the local Nāga ruler and married his daughter. The Nāga ruler, now his father-in-law, helped him in the expansion of his empire.\textsuperscript{24} About the foundation of other kingdoms like Ligor in Malay peninsula, Java, Champā, Burma and Borneo also similar stories are told.

(3) Brāhmaṇa Kaunḍinya has been mentioned as having gone there from India for ruling Funan through Pan Pan, a locality of Malay peninsula. The people elected him as their king. He is also credited with the introduction of Indian laws, manners and customs. This tradition is almost similar to the one noted above, but, this Kaunḍinya is referred to as the second Kaunḍinya though we do not find any clear reference about both of them separately. Upendra Thakur considers this second Kaunḍinya as a probable historical personality.\textsuperscript{25}
The Kauḍīṇyas who were on the scene as early as the 2nd century AD are believed by K.P. Jayaswal to be from the same family. They were from a very respectful family related to the royal lineage. They are mentioned in the Malavalli inscriptions. These Kauḍīṇyas were social leaders in the south and the colonies according to the conjectures of Jayaswal.26

Whatever the fact may be, A. Barth seems to be right, for he remarks:—27

"Kauḍīṇya is the name of a Brāhmaṇa clan and nothing is more common than to see that the royal dynasties connected themselves with a gotra of a priestly caste."

We know about the Cambodian King Kia Chin Jou who took the title of Śrutavarman and founded the first dynasty of Varman Kings of Kambuja. He claimed to have descended from the Lunar race of Indian kings and called himself—Kauḍīṇya (belonging to the gotra of Kauḍīṇya, the priestly caste). He extended Hindu civilization in Kambuja to a great extent. Besides the above, there are many Indian references in which Kauḍīṇyas have been mentioned.28 They are as follows:


We find the presence of suffix—'Varman' for the kings' names as early as the 4th or 5th century AD. It is known to us that this suffix was in common use among the Pallavas and other princes of central and southern India during this period. (EI to EL.) L.P. Briggs is of the
view that this suffix appeared in Cambodia about the 3rd Century AD and in Champă it came later. B.C. Chhabra believes that this was a ritual suffix of the Kshatriya caste as we find similar suffixes in other castes namely Gupta for the Vaiśyas, Dāsa for the Śūdra, Sharman for the Brāhmaṇaś. Almost all the Cambodian kings right from the remote past have traditionally suffixed their names with Varman. Even Kaundinya the second, who ruled Funan about this period (4th century AD), took the name Jayavarman.

(4) In Mison inscription of Champā 30 a dated in the Śaka era 571, a reference has been made to the foundation of Bhavapura as the capital of Kambuja. A Brāhmaṇa named Kaundinya is mentioned to have planted his spear at this place. The spear was given to him by Āsvattāmā, the son of Drota. Kaundinya married a Nāga princess Somā and founded a new dynasty in which later Bhavarvarman became the famous king who founded Bhavapura after his name.

A similar legend has been referred by Georges Coedes. According to him Drota and Āsvattāmā are among the legendary ancestors of the Pallava kings. In support of this he cites two Pallava copper plates. Āsvattāmā is said to have married a Nāgi (Nāga princess) from whom he begot a son, a Tondaiman or Pallava of Kāñchi who became the founder of the Pallava dynasty. Coedes quotes several Tamil works also, mentioning the marriage (the union of some Chola prince and a Nāga princess). R. Gopalan and a few other scholars are also of the same view.

(5) Kambuja sources contain yet another story of the foundation of this kingdom. The king of Indraprastha (near the site of Purānā Quilā, New Delhi) named Ādityasena (Ādityavarṇa) became dissatisfied with his son and banished him. This banished prince is referred to have gone to a place named Kokataloka (the Khmer name of Kambuja nearing the land of the Thok tree) and became the king of that locality after defeating the local rulers. One night the Nāga princess met him on the sea coast. They feel in love with each other and later got married The Nāga King, now father-in-law of the Indian prince, drank the water of the sea and extended the territory of his daughter and son-in-law's kingdom and also got a capital constructed.

(6) According to Baksei Camkron inscription the Kambuja dynasty originated from the union of Kambu Svayambhūva and a nymph named Merā. This Kambu Svayaṃbhūva was an Indian hermit.

Origin of ruling dynasties by the union of Pallava princes of India and Nāga princesses has been mentioned in different texts. From the
study of the traditions about the origin of the Pallava dynasty and of the ruling dynasty of Kambuja which are almost similar, it appears that South Indians played a greater role in the colonization of Kambuja. Names of cities and towns were given Indian names like Mithilā and Ayudhyā. It is evident from a study of other features that colonizers from North India also had contributed a lot.

From Pallava traditions we learn that the legendary ancestor of this dynasty named Skandaśīya was the offspring of Aśvatthama (son of Droṇa) and the daughter of Nāga. The Pallava sovereign of Kāńchī bore the title of Varman and Varman is the title borne by the monarchs of Cambodia, Annam, Borneo and Jávā. The earliest important and dominating emigration must have therefore come from this region of South India.

Some historians believe that the first contact between Cambodia and India was made in the Kuśāṇa period. The Kuśāṇa empire under Kaniśka gave a new impetus to the spread of Indian culture but we have to regretfully accept the lack of concrete archaeological evidence. It appears to be a broad-based programme which being coupled with the foreign trade was open to the sea-going merchant only.

The above accounts of the history of the originators of Indian colonies in the South-East Asian countries contain many historical as well as imaginary descriptions. In spite of their divergent nature they all agree that the Indians had sufficient contact with these countries in the ancient past and that the trading community had their dominant role in the initial stages.

It is a generally accepted fact that culture and civilization follow in the wake of trade and commerce. Indian colonists, majority of whom comprised of businessmen and trading community, established great kingdoms which lasted for more than one thousand years. Many of them continued to flourish long after the end of the Hindu rule in India. Indian emigrants in the beginning founded small colonies and constructed centres and warehouses, wherever they went and allied themselves with the aboriginals and gave them new ideas of culture. They also introduced industries like the manufacture of cotton cloth etc. Originally they propagated Brahmanic religion and respect for the higher caste. They also inculcated in them manners, ideas, usages and rites and institutions besides introducing Indian alphabets, literature and classical Sanskrit language.

The earliest Hindu kingdom of Kambuja can be traced in the 1st
or 2nd Century AD. This kingdom occupied the southern part of Cambodia which the Chinese called Funan. Gradually the kingdom of Funan rose to great power and exercised suzerainty over many small states. In the 6th century AD the supremacy passed to the kingdom of Kambujadeśa which was originally only a vassal state of Funan. It was this Kambujadeśa which gave its name to the whole country and begot many great rulers like Jayavarman I, Jayavarman II, Yasovarman, Sūryavarman I, Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII and many others who ruled for about 900 years. This prosperous Kambuja empire exercised control over Cochin-China, Laos, Siam, parts of Burma and Malay peninsula in addition to the whole of modern Cambodia.

Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia used Śaka era. The language of the dating is in exact accordance with the ancient inscriptions of India proper. Indian terms for the donors and also other phraseologies of Indian votive inscriptions have been used in them. A thorough study of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia throws light on the political activities of the kings and their achievements in the field of art and architecture.

Main Periods of Cambodian History

There are five main periods in the history of Cambodia

1. The Funan Period — From the early 1st century AD to near the middle of the 6th century AD.
2. The Chenla Period — From the later half of the 6th century AD to 802 AD.
3. The Kambuja or the Angkor Period — From 802 to AD 1432.
4. Independent Cambodia — From AD 1432 to AD 1864.
5. The Modern Period — From 1864 to date

The Funan Period

The delta and the lower valley of the Mekong was occupied originally by the Funanese. They probably occupied the coastal region also. The Chams were in occupation of the area situated in the upper regions up to the mouth of the river Se Mun and the coast as well as the Col Des Nuages. The Khmers lived above the Chams on the river. In early periods of the Christian era the Khmers are believed to have conquered the Chams occupying the Mekong valley and after driving
them away they gradually mixed up with other remaining inhabitants who are designated as Indonesians.\textsuperscript{37}

A detailed account of Kauṇḍinya the first and his political activities has already been given in the preceding pages. The union of Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgī princess Somā proved instrumental in the establishment of a dynasty whose characteristic royal symbol was the representation of a nine-headed cobra which has continued down to the modern times and is vividly depicted in the Khmer and Thai iconography.\textsuperscript{38}

Exchange of political envoys and political intercourse with China and Kambuja took place during the 3rd-4th centuries AD. After the visit of Kang Tai and Chu Ying, the two Chinese envoys. Funan also sent several political emissaries. During the reign of the Chinese king Sun Ch’uan of the Wu dynasty, the first envoy from Funan was sent along with some musicians and indigenous products as presents to the Chinese emperor. These Chinese envoys have referred to the Kauṇḍinya dynasty in Funan.

Fan Shih-Man (AD 220—AD 228) extended the boundaries of his kingdom which included the present-day Malay peninsula. It was the greatest achievement of a ruler of this dynasty. The Chinese envoys, Kang Tai and Chu Ying, have given a detailed account of this country and its inhabitants. But, unfortunately it is lost. It was here, that the Chinese envoys came in contact with some Indian envoys.

Tributary missions also afforded an opportunity for a new South-East Asian ruler to seek Chinese authentication of this title, a move which could be especially useful in cases of rebellion or disputed succession. The Chinese dynastic histories from the 4th to the 7th century (the advent of T’ang) reported extensive trade by sea in the products of South-East Asia, Ceylon, India and the near-east, most of which continued to arrive in non-Chinese vessels. Between AD 243 and AD 287, Funan sent five missions to China while others followed at irregular intervals.\textsuperscript{39}

The annals of the Chin dynasty mention the present of trained elephants sent by Chandana, a usurper in AD 357, to China. In the 5th century Jayavarman sent a monk named Nagasena to the court of emperor Wu Ti with many presents which included to ivory stūpas. In successive centuries many other embassies were sent to China.

But in spite of all these political activities Cambodia does not appear to have any deep rooted cultural influence from China.
Scholars unanimously agree that it was India from which Cambodia received its culture.\textsuperscript{40}

The Chinese description of the 3rd century Funan suggests a wide variation of wealth and status. The capital city was protected by brick walls. Important buildings of the capital were constructed of brick covered with lime plaster. Other cities located in the isthmus area were protected only by palisades. The population as a whole lived mainly in bamboo houses resting on pilings, lining the waterways. During this period the ruler is believed to be a patron of Buddhism. Outlying settlements were ruled by their own tribal chiefs. Courts records were maintained in Sanskrit script. For the payment of taxes pearls and perfumed goods were used. Sculptors worked in gold, silver and sometimes in other cheaper metals also.

Friendly relations with China were broken temporarily in AD 270, when Funan joined Champa in attacking Chinese Tongking.\textsuperscript{41} Somehow the second Kaunđīnīya regained the lost favour of China by refusing to aid the neighboring state of Lin Yi (Champā) in a war with China. He also despatched tributary missions to the Chinese. A similar policy was followed by his successors also.\textsuperscript{42}

In the Indianization of Funan a sharp advance occurred during the late 4th and 5th centuries when both Pallava and Gupta influences were much in evidence. Pallava influence was probably transmitted by the immigrants while the Gupta influence was borrowed directly from the cultural sources in North India.

We have already discussed in detail about the other Indian Brāhmaṇa who came to this country in the beginning of the 5th century, assuming the name of Kaunđīnīya and his complete Indianization of the customs of Funan. Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk of India, visited the capital of Funan and submitted a report to the Chinese emperor on the manners of the people. This is the only testimony of the visit of Funan by foreigners at that time.

Funan was the head of an extensive maritime empire, the chief vassal being Chenla situated above it on the river Mekong. In the middle of the 6th century AD, King Bhavavarman, who was son of a vassal king, secured Chenla by marriage alliance. He then sent his brother Chitrasena to seize for him the throne of Funan and consequently Funan became a vassal of Chenla. It remained so till the early 7th century AD when it was annexed.

The old capital of Funan was at Vyādhapura (the city of hunters)
which was located in the delta area during the entire period and was probably at the site of present Phnom on the Mekong near the village of Banam in the present Cambodian province of Prei veng.\(^\text{43}\)

The sea power of Funan dominated the shore of the shallow Gulf of Siam including the northern Malay coasts. It controlled the ports and shipping up to the Annamese coasts as far as Camranh Bay.

Following is the list of the rulers of this period. Important events of their reign have also been briefly recorded against their names:

### The First Kaundinya Dynasty
1. Liu-Yeh (Queen Somä, AD 180-190)
2. Hun Tien (AD 190-198). Kaundinya who came from India, defeated Liu-Yeh, married her and both ruled together.

### P’an Dynasty
1. P’an-H’uang (AD 198-217)
2. P’an-P’an (AD 217-220)  
   Son of the preceding ruler.

### Fan Dynasty\(^\text{44}\)
1. Fan Shih-Man (AD 220-228) General of P’an-P’an, chosen king by the people after the death of the King P’an-P’an.
2. Fan Ching-Sheng (AD 228-230) Son of Fan Shih-Man.
3. Fan Chan (AD 230-240)  
   Cousin of Fan Ching-Sheng whom he murdered.
4. Fan Ch’ang (AD 240)  
   Cousin of Fan Chan whom he murdered.
7. Another unknown ruler (AD 310-357).
8. Chu Chan-t’an (AD 357). His Indian name was probable Chandana. He was an usurper.

### The second Kaundinya Dynasty
1. Chiao Chen-ju (Kaundinya II, AD 420)  
   Usurper from P’an-P’an in Malaya.
2. Che-li-t’o-pa-mo (Śrindravarman, AD 430-440)
3. An unknown ruler (AD 440-470).
4. She-yeh Pa-mo (AD 470-514). His Indian name was Jayavarman. He had his capital at Na-fu-na and Vyādhapura, now Angkor Borei.
5. Liu-t’e Pa-mo (AD 514-545). A Buddhist whose Indian name was Rudravarman. He died in the year AD 545 after which troubles
broke out and many of the vassal states became independent, important among which was Chenla.

The Chenla Period

Chenla was the early centre of the Khmer people. Its first capital was on the river Mekong near the mouth of Se 'Mun. According to the history of the Sui, before the subjugation of Funan, the Chenla capital was situated near a mountain named Ling-Kia-ho-p' O i.e. Liṅga Parvata. There was a temple on the parvata consecrated to the God 'Po-to-li' i.e. Bhadresvara. The king annually offered a human sacrifice during the night to God Bhadresvara. Linguistically and ethnically they were more akin to the Mons. After their mixing these Mon-Khmers lived together but we know about them only after their separation into two branches:

1. The first branch of the Se Mons settled in the Sittang delta (Burma) and in the Mekong-Menom delta (Siam).
2. The second branches (the Khmers) established their kingdom on the Mekong after defeating the Chams. There they were converted into Śiva-worshippers by the Brāhmaṇas from India. It was after this conversion that the Khmers started claiming their descent from the great hermit Kambu Svayambhūva. This hermit founded the royal family which later ruled over the country. A nymph named Merā was given to him as his wife by God Śiva which is recorded in 9th century inscription.

The territory from the Mekong to the great lake Tonle Sap was conquered by Bhavavarman and his brother Chitrasena who succeeded him under the name of Mahendravarman. He also conquered the Se'Mun valley, and celebrated his new conquests by establishing liṅgas dedicated to Giriśa, the lord of the mountain. His inscriptions have been found along the Mekong near the Kratie and Stung Treng and to the west as far as Buriam and Surin. Mahendravarman's son Ṣānavarman established his capital at Ṣānapura. Its site was apparently about 12 miles north of the present city of Kompong Thom. This city is marked by the most impressive group of the ruins of pre-Angkor Cambodia. He also conquered the rest of Cambodia, middle and upper Se'Mun valley and the territory lying east of Amarāvatī chain and west of the Menam valley. But, his large dominion was never peaceful and civil war following his death split the Chenla empire. As he left no heir, there was a lot of trouble in the country for a long time. We learn from an inscription dated AD 713,
that his widow Jayadevi reigned after him. Unfortunately she failed
to stem the separatist movement that challenged the authority of her
husband, king Jayavarman during his life time.

It is significant to note the Jayavarman followed his father’s policy
of conquests and to facilitate this policy he cultivated friendly rela-
tions with Champã by marrying a Cham princess. He is believed to
have ruled until AD 635.

Išänavarman was succeeded by Bhavavarman II. No authentic
information about his relationship with Išänavarman I as well as the
date of reign is available. Only one of his inscriptions can be dated.
Coedes attribute it to AD 639. Jayavarman I succeeded Bhavavarman
II who Coedes considers to be his son but Briggs refutes this and
considers him to belong to the dynasty of Išänavarman. The earliest
date of his reign is given in an inscription dated 657 AD. It is prob-
able that he might have come to the throne a few years earlier. He
reigned for about forty years. No building can be assigned to him but
he was the author of many inscriptions. He conquered the entire
territory lying to the north of Nan Chao (Yunan). The boundary of the
Khmer kingdom was thus extended to the present China in the early
Chenla period.

The Khmers had progressively consolidated their power over the
lower Mekong region and around the Tonle Sap till the reign of
Jayavarman I. They have left sufficient archaeological evidences
bearing on their reign.

In the beginning of the 8th century AD, this Chenlã was divided
into two parts as a result of civil wars. Both these Chenlãs are sup-
pposed to have remained under the nominal control of the successors
of Jayavarman I for quite some time. The rulers of these two Chenlãs
were petty king while Jayavarman’s successors controlled them as
Adhirãjas.

(a) Land Chenla (Upper Chenla)

This part remained separate till the early 9th century. According
to Paul Pelliot, Šambhupura (Sambor) was the capital of Land
Chenla. This view was generally accepted for some time but has
now been challenged by Henri Maspero, G. Coedes and Pierre
Dupont. Whatever we know about the Land or Upper Chenla,
comes from the Chinese record of embassies wherein they have been
called Wen Tan, extending its territorial extent up to Yunan to the
north. M.M. Ghosh does not consider it wrong to identify this capital with Vien tien (Vientiane) which later became the capital of Laos.\textsuperscript{50} The population comprised chiefly of Khas and Tais on the Nan Chao border.

This country sent its first embassy to China in the year AD 717. In the year AD 822 it was one of the powers which fought against the Chinese governor of Tongking but was defeated. In AD 753, when China was at war with Nan Chao and Tibet, the crown prince of Chenla went to the court of China. He was given the title of 'Protector Firm and Preserving.' This crown prince is said to have accompanied the Chinese army which was badly defeated by Nan Chao.

The Viceroy of Wen Tan named Phomi (Bhūmindravarman?) visited the Chinese court in the year AD 771 and presented 10 trained elephants to the emperor who reciprocated his offer with suitable honour. The last envoy of Wen Tan visited the Chinese court in AD 799. It was about this time that Chia Tan wrote an account of his travel to Wen Tan. This marks the end of the history of Chenla which had maintained closer relations with the Chinese empire for a considerable period. During this period the country maintained a stable existence, comparatively better than the Lower Chenla.

(b) Water Chenla (Called also Lower Chenla or Maritime Chenla)

This Chenla gradually consolidated its strength to form the nucleus of the later Khmer empire. Paul Pelliot considers that the capital of Water Chenla was probably at Vyādhuapura but this view has been challenged by Maspero, Coedes and Dupont.\textsuperscript{51}

Water Chenla was attacked by foreign powers in the later part of the 8th century. These invading powers are believed to be Jávā, Sumātrā, and Malay Peninsula. The group islands named Pulo-Condor was seized by them and was converted into a base for further raids in the area extending up to Tongking. Raids were conducted by these powers from this landing pad on Champā and Cambodia also.

From a Javanese inscription we learn that the country was conquered by King Sañjaya. Abu Zaid Hasan, an Arab writer of the early 10th century AD, tells us about a merchant named Sulaiman who travelled in this region in AD 851. He gives an account of the Javanese expedition against Chenla. The inscription, though legendary in character, throws sufficient light on the contemporary history of
the land. According to this description of the Arab merchant, the
ruler of Chenla once made an imprudent remark about the Mahārāja
of Zābāg which is identified with Jávā. He expressed his foolish
desire before his courtiers, to see the chopped head of the Zābāg
Mahārāja. Somehow this reached the ears of the Mahārāja who
entered the capital of Water Chenlas as a friendly visitor, took this
King of Water Chenla by surprise, beheaded him, and installed a new
king on the throne as his vassal. History is not very clear and definite
about the identity of either the Mahārāja of Zābāg or the beheaded
ruler of Water Chenla. Some writers think that the Mahārāja of
Zābāg was a member of the Śailendra dynasty and the beheaded king
was Mahipatīvarman.52

The history of the land is obscure following this catastrophe till the
coming of Jayavarman II from Jávā. About the birth and parentage
of Jayavarman II nothing is definitely known. One inscription which
reads:53

“For the prosperity of the people in this perfectly pure royal race, a
great lotus which no longer has a stalk, he (Jayavarman) rose like
new flowers.”

throws some light on this point. From this inscription we learn that
Jayavarman II was not a person of royal descent and was installed on
the throne in place of the beheaded king by ministers as advised by
the Zābāg Mahārāja. This suggestion does not appear to be reliable
as the ministers could not have thought it prudent to break the tradi-
tional procedure by choosing some one from outside the royal lineage.
He is also considered to be an usurper who remained subordinate to
Jávā for some time and after gathering sufficient momentum and
power declared independence. Whatever it may be, he was a worthy,
powerful and tactful ruler, expert in strategy and it was during his
reign that the glorious Angkor Period emerges into history.

Following is the list of the rulers of this period. Important events
of their reign have also been briefly given against their names:

1. Śrutavarman (c. AD 500). Usurper and first semi-historic king of
   the Kambujas.
2. Śreṣṭhavarman (AD 545-560). Son of Śrutavarman, made his
capital at Śresthapura (now Badom).
3. Rudravarman (AD 560-575).
4. Kambujarājalakshmi (AD 575-580). Female maternal cousin of
   Śreṣṭhavarman.
5. Bhavanarman I (AD 580-598). Usurper, married Kambujarāja- 
lakshmī, descended from a collateral line of the royal house.
6. Mahendravarman or Chitrasena (AD 598-610). Brother and 
General of Bhavavarman I, capital at Bhavapura (Prei Nokor), 
a great general, capital also at Śambhupura (Sambor on the 
Mekong).
7. Īśānavarman I (AD 610-635), Son of Mahendravarman, subdued 
the last territory of Funan, capital at Īśānapura, monument: 
Sambor Prei Kuk (AD 630).
8. Bhavavarman II (AD 635-640) capital at Śambhupura.

Lower Chenla

1. Puṣk-arāksha (AD 716-730). Married the reigning queen of 
Śambhupura, capitals at Śambhupura and Aninditapura.
2. Śarabhuvvarman (AD 750).
3. Rājendravarman I (AD 760).
4. Mahipativarman (AD 780). Son of Rājendravarman I. He was 
beheaded by the king of Zābāg.
5. Jayavarman II (AD 780-802).

The Angkor Period

This period is also called as the Kambuja period because the people 
have been called Kambuja in inscriptions. It starts after the installa-
tion of Jayavarman II as the king of Kambuja in AD 802. It was this 
year when the Khmers declared their independence from Jāvā. It is 
noteworthy in this connection that the name Kambuja appears for 
the first time during the reign of Jayavarman II. He is said to have 
unified the whole kingdom under his rule. One of his queens even 
took the name of 'Kambujalakshmī.'

After coming to the throne Jayavarman II established his capital 
at four different places with different political aims. He was respon-
sible for the unification of the whole empire including upper Chenla. 
These capitals were situated at Amarendraapura (Bantea), Hariharālaya 
(Prah Khan), Mahendraparavata (Beng Melea) and Roluos. All these 
sites are located near the great lake Tonle Sap. It was he who 
initiated the cult of Devarāja. And for the introduction of this cult 
he is said to have invited an Indian Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyaḍāma who was 
intrusted with teaching Tantra to Śivakaivalya—his high priest. 
During his time his kingdom included Land Chenla, whole of present 
Laos and Siam (Thailand) with the only exception of Lauvo and
Haripūnjaya which were Mon kingdom.64

After Jayavarman II to the fall of Angkor in the year AD 1432, as many as 37 rulers came to power one after the other. Among these rulers, Indravarman I, Yasovarman I, Râjendravarman II, and Jayavarman VII were powerful rulers and we will see a detailed history of all these rulers in the succeeding pages.

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CHAPTER 3

The Funan Period

(c. 1st Century AD to AD 552)

The delta and the lower valley of river Mekong were occupied originally by the Funanese. The Funanese also occupied the coastal region. The Chams were in occupation of the area situated in the upper regions up to the mouth of river Se Mun and the coast as well as the Col Des Nuages. The Khmers lived above the Chams on the river. In early periods of the Christian era the Khmers are believed to have conquered the Chams occupying the Mekong valley and after driving them out they gradually mixed up with other, remaining inhabitants who are designated as Indonesians.¹

About Kauṇḍinya, the first and his political activities we have already discussed in the preceding pages. The national birth legend of the Funanese State tells of the arrival of a foreign Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya who overcame and subsequently married a local woman named Willow Leaf and set Funan upon its path to greatness. The legend is suggestive of the early influence of Indian thought and culture in the Indo-Chinese area. From its claimed mythological beginning in the 1st century AD until its incorporation into the successor state of Chenla in the 6th century. Funan was virtually important as a recipient of Indian culture, which shaped the political institutions, art and general culture of later Khmer States. Always regarded by later Khmer dynasties as the state from which they sprang, Funan owed its prosperity to its position on the great east-west trade-route between India and China.

According to Kang Tai, the Chinese ambassador who visited Funan in the 3rd cent. AD the first king of Funan, was a certain Hun Tien (Kauṇḍinya). Coedes thinks that the historical events which were forced to fit this plot could not have occurred later than the 1st century AD, for as early as the following century we find in Funan, historical personages whose exigence is documented by epigraphs and by
Chinese historians. The union of Kaṇḍinya and the Nāgī princess Somā proved instrumental in the establishment of a dynasty whose characteristic royal symbol was the representation of a nine-headed cobra which has continued down to modern times and which is vividly depicted in the Khmer and Thai iconography.

Exchange of political envoys and political intercourse with China and Kambuja took place during the 3rd-4th centuries AD. After the visit of K'ang Tai and Chu Ying, the two Chinese envoys Funan also sent several political emissaries. During the reign of the Chinese king Sun Chu'an of the Wu dynasty, the first envoy from Funan was sent along with some musicians and indigenous products as presents to the Chinese emperor. These Chinese envoys have mentioned about the existence of Kaṇḍinya dynasty in Funan.

The kings took the imperial Hindu title Varman and the common script was Sanskrit during 5th-7th centuries AD. There are no architectural remains from this period with the exception of brick foundations and the Aṣrama Mahā Rosei of Phnom Da. But judging from certain vestiges which are found at OC Eo, the system of roofing buildings was probably similar to that in India, i.e. recessed corbelled storeys adorned with niches, or kudus decorated with heads.

The First Kaṇḍinya Dynasty

We have heard of queen Licou-Yeh sharing the realm with the stranger Hun Tien (Kaṇḍinya) who worshipped the spirits of the ‘genii’ by which name the Chinese designate the gods of the Brahmanic cult. Her name has been translated by the Chinese as Willow Leaf. The names of queen and king are variously written as Ye-Lieu and Huen-Huei or Huen-tien-tionor Houen and Hun-Chen who gave birth to a line. But unhappy to see her naked, he found a piece of material to make a garment through which he had her head passed. He introduced the elements of civilised life among the people.

The time of his coming cannot be later than the 1st century AD. No particulars of Hun Tien’s reign are known to us, but his son is said to have been given seven towns as appanage. The existence or creation of the vassal states was not without danger to the kingdom. However, one of the successors of Hun Tien, also known as Houen-P’an-Houang, Hun-P’an-Huang, Huen P’an Huang, (the first part of his name shows his descent from Hun Tien) succeeded only in reducing the seven towns
and thus succeeded in bringing them under his control. Then he appointed his and grandsons as governors of only a single town. They were called small kings. According to the history of Liang, one of Hun-Tien’s descendants named Hun-P’an-huang, was over ninety years old when he died. This king certainly reigned in the second half of the 2nd century AD. 9

Hun-P’an-huang, was succeeded by his second son P’an P’an in AD. 217. He entrusted the cares of the state to his great general Fan Man or Fan Che-man or Fan Shih Man. When P’an P’an died after a reign of three years in AD 220, the general Fan Shih Man was elected king by the general consent of the people.

Fan Shih Man (AD 220-228)

Fan Shih Man, the great general of the preceding king P’an P’an’ succeeded with popular acclaim to the throne of Funan in the year AD 225. He was an able ruler and laid the foundation of the greatness of Funan. He conquered the neighbouring maritime countries and extended his boundaries to include much of the present Malay peninsula—which according to Briggs was an extent of empire in this direction not again reached until late in the 12th century AD. 10 According to R.C. Majumdar, he conquered the neighbouring states to a distance of five or six thousand Li which henceforth became vassals of Funan. 11 About his greatness, the history of the Leang says in the following manner: 12

“He was brave and able and by force he reduced to submission the neighbouring kingdoms. All (princes) were his vassals. He assumed the title of the Great king of Fu-nan. He had large ships constructed and went all over the great ocean and attached more than ten kingdoms including Ch’u-tu-K’un, Chiu-Chih, Tien Sun (Tun-hsun-Touen sien). He extended his territory by five or six thousand Li. Then he wished to conquer Chin-lin the Golden Frontier—probably the Sonaparânta of the Burmese, which is derived from the Suvarṇabhumi of the Pali texts, which designates the Maulmein-Martaban region (Thaton). But he fell ill. He died shortly afterwards. He seems to have conquered a large part of the Malay peninsula.”

Nothing certain is known of the first named kingdom. They seem to have been on the western coast of the peninsula because Pelliot quotes later texts, as saying that going south from Chin-li, 3000 Li, one encounters four kingdoms, including Tu-K’un and Chu-lin, which are believed to correspond to the first two kingdoms in the Leang-
shu list. Tu-K’un is mentioned in other Chinese texts as the Malay peninsula more than 3,000 li south of Funan. But its identification is not correct and established unto this time.13

Pelliot is of the view that the word Chiu-Chih is a false reading for Chuli and Sylvain Levi proposed that the T’ou Chu-li, from which the Funanese envoy Su Wu sailed for India in the 3rd century AD should be identified with Takola.14

Chin-lin has already been identified with the Suvarnabhūmi, ‘the land of the Gold’ of the Pali texts or to Suvarnakudya the ‘wall of Gold’ of the Sanskrit text—the Thaton Martabon region (lower Burma) or the Malay peninsula. Chin-lin and Tun-hsun were in the Mon country and the boundary between them was probably ill defined, but from the limits prescribed to the latter, its northern boundary was probably not far above the present Mergui-Tenasserim region.

Tun-hsun must have been a country of a considerable importance. It is believed that it occupied both sides of the peninsula. Its eastern coast was in relation with Tongking, while on the west it communicated with India, Parthia and other distant countries. It must have included the base of the peninsula and the region at the head of the Gulf of Siam, including at least a part of the Mekong Menam delta. It makes a curve and extends more than a thousand li in the sea—Isthmus of Kra, where it encountered the kingdom of Chu-li (Takola—modern Takua Pa).15 The same Leang annal continues:

"Tun-hsun was on the southern frontier or Funan, at more than 3000 li. There are five kings (kingdom?). All are vassals of Funan... On its western side it touches India. Merchants come there in great numbers to transact business...... This market is the meeting ground of the east and the west...... Everyday there are in this place more than five thousand persons...... Rare objects, precious merchandise everything is to be found there."

Without reaching this point the vessels could not cross the ‘Immense Sea’ and coasted along the shores of Funan. Tun hsun thus became one of the earlier points of transshipment. It had the advantage of shortening the route of through traffic more than any other post of transshipment.

Schlegal proposes to identify Tunhsun with Tenasserim. In another Chinese document there is a reference to this kingdom of Tun hsun. In this country there are five hundred families of Hu of India, two
hundred Buddhists and more than a thousand Indian Brähmaṇas reside there. The people practise their doctrines and give them their daughters in marriage. They do nothing but read the sacred books of the heavenly spirits (Brahmanical works) and constantly offer up to them white vases of perfumes and flowers without ceasing day and night.

Then another country is mentioned as Pi-Kien which was beyond Tun hsün and 8000 li from Funan. Pelliot says that it was in the Irrawaddy region. It produced gold and golden vessels of enormous size which were sent frequently as presents to the Funanese king by the king of Pi-kien. This king of Pi-Kien is supposed to be a supernatural being. He knew the method of writing books on Indian pattern. The text written by the king had 3000 words and resembled the Sūtras of the Buddha.

We find a detailed picture of an Indian colony in a foreign land from the account of Tuen Hsiun and it shows the process by which Indian colonies grew and exerted their influence over the indigenous population. R.C. Majumdar believes it a usual story of trade followed by missionary propaganda, with Brahmanical and Buddhist, of gradual settlement of Indians in the country and ultimate fusion with the people by intermarriage with the native population.¹⁰

Besides this, Funan itself was an important market town where the Indian and Chinese merchants met together. We find their trade-routes in the Chinese texts. Several Indian embassies went to China through the southern seas during the period AD 147-167. So Funan must have been an important halting station. The History of the Tang dynasty (AD 618-906) of China refers to exchange of diamonds, sandals and other articles between India on the one hand and Funan and Kiao-che (Tong king) on the other. Another Chinese text tells that a big vessel of Funan coming from western India had for sale a mirror of blue Po-li (Sphatika), which had a diameter of 16 feet 5 inches and weighed more than 40 pounds.

Although the Chinese names of these vassal states cannot be satisfactorily identified, we may hold in a general way that nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and Malay peninsula acknowledged the authority of Funan which thus became the first Hindu colonial empire in Indochina.

At the time of his death Fun Shih Man was leading a campaign against Chin-lin (Suvarṇadvīpa or Suvarṇabhūmi). During his illness
he had sent his eldest son Fan Kin Cheng to take charge of his army, but the general Fun chan (a nephew of Fan Shih Man or the son of elder sister of Fan Shih Man) murdered the legitimate heir and declared himself king. Coedes on the basis of Vo Canh inscription (in the region of Nha-trang) considers his name as a transcription of that of the king Srī Mārā mentioned in the same inscription. This inscription was long thought to be Cham but in the year 1927 Louis Finot attributed it to a vassal state of Funan. But Coedes himself is doubtful about it when he says, “if the identification of Srī Māra with Fan Shih Man is correct, the description which emanates from a descendant of Srī Māra who reigned, to judge by the script, in the 3rd century, must be considered as one of the sources for the history of Funan. It is apparent from this inscription that at the time when it was engraved and in the region where it was erected (i.e. present day Khanh-hoa) Sanskrit was the official language of the royal chancellor. But this view has not gained general acceptance.”

Fan Cheng Sheng (Jayasimha Varman) (AD 228-230)

We have seen that Fan Shih Man died, while conducting an expedition against Chin-Lin. His first son Fan Kin-Cheng was asked to take the charge of the army but he was murdered by Fan Chan, the commander-in-chief of the Funanese army. This story is narrated by all the historians on this topic and the last date of Fan Shih Man is given as AD 225.

Walker, while giving a long list of the Funanese rulers, has given the name of Fan Cheng Sheng who ruled from AD 228 to 230. He says that the last date of Fan Shih Man AD 225, as discussed above, is not correct and Fan Shih Man ruled upto AD 228, besides this Fan Cheng Sheng was not murdered by the general Fanchan. This fact is verified by A. Kalyanaraman. He has identified this Fan Cheng Sheng as Jayasimha Varman, “who was the next ruler, apparently a son of Fan Shih Man.” He was succeeded by his cousin Fan Chan (Chandrarvarman) accused of being a regicide in the year AD 230 who ruled upto the year AD 240. Briggs has also confirmed it in the following words:

“When Fan Shih Man fell ill, he chose his son (Fan) Chin Sheng to succeed him. Chan, son of Fan Shih Man’s sister was chief of two thousand men. Thanks to them, he usurped power and proclaimed himself king. He sent some soldiers to trap Chin Sheng and put him
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to death.”

Fan Chan (Chandravarman) (AD 230-240)

Fan Chan came to the throne of Funan in the year AD 230. He was given the Indian name of Chandravarman. and he ruled up to AD 240. A Chinese text of the 5th century AD tells us that a certain Chiahisang li, native of a country Tan Yang which was located, it seems, west of India, reached India and from there to Funan.

King Fan chan, one of the most famous kings of this period, whose conquests are recorded in history, established direct diplomatic relations with India and China. According to San Kuo Che, Fan Chan, King of Fu-nan sent an ambassador to China with presents of a few musicians and some products of the country. After reaching Funan Chia hsiang li gave Fan Chan a sketch of his country:

"He told Chan the customs of India, the spreading of the Law, the gathering of riches, the facility of the land (He told him) that every desirable thing was to be found there and that great kingdoms had for generations respected that one. Chan asked him 'How far is it? How long does it take to go there?" Li answered. 'India must be more than 30,000 Li from here, the journey there and back takes a good three years, it may be four. It is the centre of Heaven and Earth.

This conversation led Fan Chan to send an embassy to India making one of his relative, Su Wu its head. Su Wu sailed from Kin Li in Malay peninsula.

"Due north-west he sailed into many a bay and along many a kingdom. After more than a year he reached the month of the river of India. After sailing up that river or 7,000 Li he finally arrived. The King of India welcomed Su Wu and surprised much and said, "So, on the farthest shores of the ocean there are such men still!"

The Indian king took the foreigners on a tour of his country and then gave an order that they should be shown the different parts of the kingdom. Besides he deputed two men, of whom Ch'en Song was one, to thank Fan Chan and present him with four horses from the country of Yue-tche and he sent back Su Wu and others. At the end of four years, they came back to Funan. This mission from Funan to India took place in the period AD 240-45.

These four years, however, witnessed great political changes. King Fan Chan was no longer on the throne of Funan and in the meantime, a new king ascended the throne of Funan. Fan Chan was
assassinated by Fan Chang, a younger son of Fan Shih Man. When Fan Shih Man died, he had an infant son and this infant son was reared among the people. When he reached the age of twenty he collected a few brave persons and warriors who attacked and killed Fan-Chan in order to avenge the murder of his elder brother. It is not definitely known whether Fan Chang (Sarīkara Varman) ascended the throne, but even if he did so, his reign was very brief. He was also assassinated by the General Fan Hsiun (Fan Hsun) who succeeded him a king of Funan in AD 240.

Fan Hsun (Sūryavarman) (AD 240-288)

Fan Hsun (Sūryavarman) was apparently a usurper but he had a long reign of 48 years. He came to the throne in the year AD 240. It was during the time of Fan Hsun, Probably some time between AD 245 and 250 that the Chinese Emperor of the Wou dynasty Souen K’iuán (AD 222-251) sent K’ang Tai and Chu Ying as the two Chinese ambassadors to the court of Fan Hsun probably a little after AD 240.⁶⁶

The Chinese ambassadors saw Chen Song, one of the envoys sent by the king of India. Besides other things, these two Chinese ambassadors learnt from them that the name of the King of India was Mu-Lun (Murunda). S. Levi believes that the Chinese name Meou-Lun corresponds to Murunḍa and he quotes a Jaina work which name Pātaliputra as the residence of Munedaraja.⁶⁶

The name of the Murunḍa dynasty is found in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa too Murunḍa dynasty ruled in India for 350 years. Ptolemy places the Maroundai on the left bank of the Ganges to the north of the river Sarabos or Sarayu. In the 1st cent. AD, a Jaina saint cured a Murunḍa king and the Murunḍas are mentioned as vassals in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta. Kang Tāi and Chu ying asked several questions about India and Chen Song replied the customs of India:⁶⁷

"That is a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people there are straightforward and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-Loun. The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water supply are divided into a large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city) and thence into a great stream. The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptured and engraved decorations. In the streets the markets, the villages, the houses, the inns and in towns one sees bells and tambours of joyous sound, rich dresses and fragrant flowers. The
merchants come there by land and sea and assemble in great numbers
and offer for sale jewels and all the objects of luxury which the heart
can desire. To the right and left there are six great kingdoms, those of
Kia-wei (Kapilavastu), Che-wei (S‘rāvastī), etc. Several kingdoms even
though situated at a distance of 2,000 or 3,000 li from India, obey the
king, as they consider this kingdom to be situated in the centre of the
universe.”

It is undoubtedly to K‘ang T’ai and Chu Ying that we are indebted
for the first information about the country:

“There are walled villages, palaces, and dwellings. The men are all
ugly and black, their hair freezy, they go about naked and bare foot.
Their nature is simple and they are not at all inclined towards thie-
very. They devote themselves to agriculture. They sow one year and
harvest for three. Moreover, they like to engrave ornaments and to
chisel. Many of their eating utensils are of silver. Taxes are paid in
gold, silver, pearls and perfumes. There are books and depositaries of
archives and other things. Their characters for writing resemble those
of the Hu.”

The Chinese ambassador remarked to Fan Hsun that the kingdom
indeed was beautiful but it was strange that the men were so indecent
that they had no clothing though the women wrapped themselves in
something like a sheet. The king thereafter issued an order that men
should not go about naked. Briggs believes that K‘ang T’ai seems to
have been responsible for the introduction of the custom of clothing
for men into Funan as we have seen that Kauṇḍinya was responsible
for dressing the women. On his return to China, K‘ang T’ai publish-
ed a book containing information on more than a hundred kingdoms
of which he had heard, while his another companion on the mission
Chu Ying published a work on Funan. Unfortunately these books
are lost but they are quoted by several historians from time to time
as regards the early history of Fu-nan. According to R.C. Majumdar,
K‘ang Tai may be compared to Megasthenes because his Indica is
also lost like K‘ang Tai’s work and only fragments of it are preserved
in quotation by later authorities. Its quotations are the main source
of information to later writers on the subject.

This Chinese mission established relations with Funan that resulted
in the despatch by Fun Hsun of a series of embassies to China from
AD 268 to 287. These embassies were sent in AD 268, 285, 286 and
287. These embassies are mentioned in the History of the Chin. The
last three (AD 285, 286 and 287) were perhaps a consequence of the
resurgence of maritime commerce after the reunification of China by
the Chin in AD 280.

We have seen that Fun Hsun reigned for a long time. He made an alliance with Champã. A new and vigorous ruler, Fan Hsiung came to the throne of Lin Yi (Champã) in AD 270. These two kings made an alliance with them and made incessant raids on the territories of Chuen-chen and Chia-Chih. The Wou emperor sent a General Tao Hoang, as Governor of Chiao Chih (Tonkin) and he waged war against them for ten years, to the end of that emperor's reign, but without decisive result. But when the Chin dynasty came to the throne in China (AD 280), the new emperor expressed a desire to reduce the military expenditure. Tao-Hoang, as Governor of Chiao-Chih (Tonkin) prayed that the garrison of Tongking, which formerly consisted 7,000 and now only 2420 men, should not be reduced in future. He gave some satisfactory reasons and pointed out the danger of constant incursions by Champã aided by Funan. Linyi touches Funan on the south. Their friendly bands loan each other mutual aid. Their tribes are numerous and they do not submit to China.  

The Chinese dynastic histories, which are copied from the writings of K'ang Tai and Chuying inform us about the Government of Fun Hsun in the following manner:

"He built belvederes and pavilions, where he was accustomed to take a walk. Morning and noon, he gave three or four audiences. Foreigners and subjects offered him presents of bananas, sugarcane, turtles and birds. The law of the country is not to have prisons. The accused fasts and practices abstinence for three days. Then an axe is heated red and he is forced to carry it seven steps, or a gold ring or some eggs are thrown in boiling water and he must take them out. If he is guilty, the hand is burnt; if he is innocent, it is not. Also crocodiles are kept in the moats of the walls, and outside of the gates there are wild beasts in an enclosure. The accused are thrown to the wild beasts or to the crocodiles; if the wild beasts or the crocodiles do not eat them, they are considered innocent; at the end of three days they are released."

K'ang Tais' book gives us some information on the trade of the Indian ocean during the 3rd century AD. He has given the trade route to Ta-Ch'in and the eastern Mediterranean and states that horses were brought from the Yue Che (central Asia) by sea to the Malay peninsula and Funan. He has also described boat building in Funan, but Funanese boats were only long river boats propelled by oars. Following a Chinese author, Pelloit says that vessels with four to
seven sails, large enough to carry 600 or 700 men and 1,000 metric tons of cargo were engaged in trade in the Indian ocean during that time. These ships belonged to Persian, Indian and Chinese.

Fan Hsun ruled many years after the alliance with Lin Yi. According to the Chin dynastic history, Fan Hsun founded a new dynasty which ended about seventy years later, in a period of unrest. During the time Funan was absorbing Indian culture. Indian leaders and religious persons infiltrated the country. They came mainly from the region between the Kṛṣṇā and Godavari rivers—occupied by the Pallavas—as the sculptures of this period found scattered all over Indo-China and Indonesia as far as Celebes, are of the Amarāvatī style. The sculptures and inscriptions of this period seem to indicate that they were mostly of the southern or Hīnayānist school of Buddhism. I-tsing tells Hīnayānism was predominant in all South-East Asia except in Malayu (i.e. Śrīvijaya).

Chu Chan T'ŭn (Chandravarman) (AD 357-420)

The last known date of Fan Hsun is AD 288. After Fan Hsun, there is a blank of more than 50 years. W.G. Walker has mentioned that during AD 288 to AD 357, there were two kings who came to the throne of Funan. The former reigned from the year AD 288 to AD 310 and the latter ruled from the year AD 310 to AD 357 but Walker has called them 'unknown rulers.' Probably it was a period of anarchy in Funan. Funan fell under the domination of a foreigner in AD 357. According to the dynastic histories of the Chin and the Liang T'ien Chu Chan—T'an offered tamed elephants as tribute in the first month of the year AD 357 to the imperial court of China. T'ien Chu Chan T'an means the Indian Chantan, according to the Chinese texts, this Hindu took the title of the King of Funan. The word Chu indicates his Indian origin; for his name is transcribed in Sanskrit as Chandana and the record indicates that he usurped power to throne of Funan. Following Sylvain Levi, Coedes thinks that Chandana was a royal title among the Yuch chih or Indo-Scythians particularly of Muruṇḍa dynasty of the Kuśāṇas in the line of Kaniśka. Sylovain Levi writes:

"T'ien Chu Chan T'an or Chu Chan-T'an was thus a royal personage who originally came from India; his title Chan-t'an seems to connect him to the same stock as Kaniśka. The connection is not at all surprising. A century before Chu Chan-t'an, in the time of the Wu
(AD 220-64) between AD 240 and 245 according to the calculations of Paul Pelliot, the King of Funan had sent one of his relatives on an embassy to India to the sovereign Mou-Luan (Muruṇḍa) who reigned on the Ganges, and in return Muruṇḍa had sent four horses of the Yuch chih as a present to the King of Funan. We know what close lines united the Murundao with Yuch chih; it has even been maintained that Muruṇḍa was the dynastic title of the Kuṣāṇas. We also know that the Kuṣāṇa extended their domination over the Ganges at least as far as Benares, where they installed a Satrapa. In AD 357, under the great Emperor Samudra Gupta, all of northern India had submitted to the Gupta dynasty; the Scythian invaders had been driven from the banks of the Ganges, sought their fortune beyond the Bay of Bengal, in land of gold (Suvarnabhumi-Chryse) which had been opened to adventures from India.

We do not possess a detailed information about Chandana. We have seen that in the first month of the year AD 357, Chandana presented some tamed elephants to the Chinese king. But by an imperial decree these elephants were returned as it was feared that they might cause harm to the people of the country and the Funanese king was warned that elephants should not be sent as presents in future as the maintenance of these animals entails considerable expenditure. After this there was no embassy from Funan till AD 434. The reign of Chan T'an constitutes a sort of interlude in the history of Funan. The date 357 AD is the only one we know for his reign and there was no embassy from Funan till AD 434.

The appearance of a foreigner, Chandana, on the throne of Funan in 357 AD has been seen by some historians as a re-inforcement of Indian influence and by others as reflecting a link with the Iranian world. Whatever may be the case, under Chandan's successors in the latter part of the 4th century and particularly in the 5th, there is a sense of Indian influence at a much wider level. Sanskrit inscriptions provide a more precise chronology of the reign of Funanese rulers and reveal that Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism coexisted within the state.

THE SECOND KAUNḍIŅYA DYNASTY

Chia-Chen Ju (Kaunḍiṇya)

The history of the Leang tells us that after Chandana, the throne of Funan went to the able hands of Chia-Chen Ju (Kaunḍiṇa). He was an outsider but his arrival in Funan was received with popular
rejoicing and who instituted many reforms based on Indian models of law and administration; and his kingly name was probably ‘Śiva Chadravarman’ with whose name we are already somewhat familiar while discussing the process of Indianization in the present work.

This conqueror is reported by the Chinese to be a Brāhmaṇa sage who hailed from the district of P’an P’an in Malaya which is identified with the region round the Bay of Bandon, where the port of Ligor was situated. We have seen that Indian traders had come to the Malay peninsula for gold and tin. They had formed agricultural settlements there to support the mining settlements. There the trading marts naturally grew. One of these, Takua Pa, on the western side of the peninsula, has been identified as Tokola. Fan Shih Man, the great ruler of the first Kaundinya dynasty is thought to have conquered that region and it is believed to have remained a vassal of Funan. Luce thinks Fan Shih Man conquered P’an P’an and named it after his predecessor. In the 3rd century AD Su Wu sailed from this port to Indian Muruṇḍa king. As an intermediate stopping place Indian immigrants, mainly traders and religious teachers, were probably beginning to spread over the coasts of Indo-China and Indonesia from this region.

“Kaundinya, a Brāhmaṇa of India heard a supernatural voice asking him; ‘You must go and reign in Funan; Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. He reached P’an P’an at the south. The people of Funan heard of him. The whole kingdom rose with joy. They came to him and chose him king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India.”

L.P Briggs believes him a wise Indian Brāhmaṇa because he stayed for sometime in the Funanese dependency of P’an P’an. The political condition of the Funanese empire was not peaceful so he got an opportunity to be a king of Funan. During his stay in P’an P’an his fame had already reached the capital of Funan and due to the disturbed condition of the kingdom, it was probably not difficult for him to make himself king. Originally Kaundinya belonged to Indian origin and not to P’an P’an. This fact is verified by H.G.Q Wales also in the following words:

“The Bay of Bandon was a cradle of further eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the Isthmus of Kra from the west. At the same time, persons of an Indian caste or features are common in the west coast of the Isthmus near Takkولا, while colonies of Brāhmaṇas of Indian decent survive even now at Nagarā Śrī Dharmarāja. It was through the country of P’an P’an
(identified with the Bay of Bandon area) that the Indianization of Funan was completed by the second Kauṇḍinya about the end of the 4th cent. AD."

R.C. Majumdar suggests this story as a fresh stream of influence coming direct from India as a result of which the country was thoroughly Brahmanised. Coedes is of the view that this is also due to the downfall of royal dynasties, like the Pallavas on the eastern coast of India, on account of the successful military expedition of Samudra Gupta.

We do not know the exact date of Kauṇḍinya’s accession to the throne of Funan nor that of his death but his descendants occupied the throne till the 6th or 7th centuries AD . . . . when Funan was absorbed by Chenlā. However, mythical this Kauṇḍinya may have been, the account of his arrival appears to capture correctly the importance of a new infusion of Indian culture. This cultural influence is abundantly apparent in the records that have survived describing the reigns of Funanese rulers during the 6th century.

Che-Li-t’o-pa-mo (Śrīndravarman) (AD 430-440)

The history of the early Sung (AD 428-478) mentions a king Che-li-t’o-pa-mo as successor of Kauṇḍinya the second. The word Pa-mo according to B.R. Chatterji is identified with Varman but the history of the Leang dynasty gives the name as Che-li-to-pa-mo which is identified as Indian Śrīndravarman. Coedes has termed him Shih-li-t’o-pa-mo which is Śrī Indravarman or Śreṣṭhavarman of the Indian texts.

During the reign of the Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty (AD 425-453) this king sent embassies to the imperial court in the year AD 434, 435 and 438 and offered products of his country as a present and was in frequent diplomatic relations with China. The same document also tells us that in the year AD 431 or 432, F-an Yang Mai II—the king of Lin Yi (Champā)—intending to overthrow Chiao Chu (Tonkin). asked for military aid from the Funanese king but he refused to aid with his troops.

She-Yeh-Pa-Mo (Jayavarman) (AD 470-514).

The history of the Southern Tsi (Chi) (AD 479-501) gives us much more information about another successor of Kauṇḍinya. It states:

"About AD 478, the King of Funan has for his family name Kauṇḍinya and for his personal name Jayavarman (Cho-ye-Pa-mo) or She Yeh-
pa-mo). He sent merchants to trade in Canton. On their return, were thrown up on the coast of Lin Yi (Champā), as was the Indian monk Na-Kia-Sien-Nagasena who was on board with them. Nāgasena reached Fu-nan by an overland route and in AD 481 King Jayavarman sent him to offer presents to the Chinese emperor and to ask the emperor at the same time for help in conquering Lin Yi (Champā). Several years earlier a usurper had taken possession of the throne of that country; the texts on Lin Yi call him Tang Ken C'hu'n, son of the king of Funan, but king Jayavarman represents him as one of his vassals named Chiu-Chou Lo. The Emperor of China thanked Jayavarman for his presents but sent no troops against Lin-Yi. The memorial goes on "shall a rat occupy the lion's throne? I request that troops may be sent to overthrow the wicked rebel." Jayavarman asked for help from the emperor. Even if the emperor was unwilling to send a powerful army to chastise the King of Champā, Jayavarman requested him to send a small force to help him in punishing the wicked king. The emperor even recognised him in AD, and granted him the title of 'General Pacifier of the South,' 'Commander-in-Chief of the Military Affairs of the Seashore,' 'King of Lin Yi' but before the envoy reached home Tan Tang had been driven from the throne of Lin Yi. where-upon, the Chinese emperor granted the titles to his successor.

Presents were sent to the imperial court among which was a gold of the throne of the serpent-king (Nāgarāja), an elephant of white sandalwood, two ivory stūpas, two pieces of cotton, two glass vases, and a shell arica plate. In return the king also sent five pieces of silk, with garment and green background and yellow, blue and green designs.

Nagasena, on arriving at the Chinese capital, told that the cult of God Maheśvara flourished in his country. The god had his perpetual abode on Mount Motan where auspicious trees grew in great abundance. From this hallowed place the might of the god descended on the earth and all the people were quiet.

"He spreads goodness in the world and his beneficent influence acts on the living. All the kings receive his benefits and the entire people are calm. It is because this benefit descends on all that his subjects have submissive sentiments."  

Nagasena also presented a poem, which is somewhat obstruse but evidently eulogises the god Maheśvara, Buddha and the emperor. After this eulogy of Maheś-vara Nāgasena turns to the praise of Buddhism.

"The Bodhisattva practices mercy. Originally of humble origin since
he (the Bodhisattva) manifested a heart worthy of Bodhi he has reached the stage which the two vehicles can not attain. The fruits (of his piety) have liberated the masses from worldly ties (Samhāra). The reforming influence of the Buddha extends over ten regions, there is not one who does not receive his aid."

The emperor praised the God Maheś-vara and condemned the wicked usurper of the throne of Champā. The king replied:

"Yes Maheś-vara manifests his marvellous power and confers his gifts on that country (Funan). Though these are foreign customs I praise them from far off with profound joy."

The request of the King of Funan for military aid was transmitted to a tribunal for disposal, but we find that nothing came out of it. The same passage of the history of the southern Tsi (Chi) AD (479-501) gives a paragraph on the people and customs of Funan.

"The people of Funan are malicious and cunning. They take by force the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities who do not render them homage and make them slaves. For merchandise they have gold, silver and silk. The sons of the well-to-do families wear sarongs of brocade. The poor wear a piece of cloth. The women pull a piece of cloth over the head. The people of Funan make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver. They cut down trees to build their houses. The king lives in a storeyed pavilion. They make their enclosures of wooden palisades. At the seashore grows a great bamboo, whose leaves are eight or nine feet long. The leaves are pressed to cover the houses. The people also live in houses raised from the ground. They make boats 8 or 9 Chang (80 or 90 feet) long and 6 or 7 feet wide. The bow and stern are like the head and tail of a fish. When the king goes out, he rides on elephant back. The women can also ride elephants. For amusement, the people have cockfights and dogfights.

"They have no prisons. In case of dispute, they throw rings or eggs into boiling water. They must take them out. Or a red hot chain must be carried in the hand for seven steps. The hands of the guilty are burned, those of the innocent are not. Or they are thrown into the water. He who is innocent, floats; he who is guilty, sinks. They have sugarcane, pomegranates, oranges and much aricanuts. The birds and mammals are the same as in China. The character of the inhabitants is good. They do not like to fight. They are ceaselessly invaded by Lin Yi and have not entered into relations with Chiao-Chou (Tonkin). That is why their embassies so seldom come."

The history of the Leang dynasty which followed the southern Tsi (Chi) in China adds:
"Actually the men of this country are ugly and black, with curly hair. Where they live, they do not dig wells. By tens of families, they have a basin in common where they get water. The custom is to adore the spirits of the sky. Of these spirits, they make images in bronze, those which have two faces, have four arms; those which have four faces, have eight arms. Each hand holds something—a child or a bird, or quadraped, the Sun, the Moon. The king, when he travels rides on elephant. So do his concubines, the people of the palace. When the king sits down he squats on one side, raising the right knee, leftting the left knee touch the earth. A piece of cotton is spread before, him, on which are deposited the gold vases and incense burners. In the case of mourning, the custom is to shave the beard and the hair. For the dead, there are four kinds of disposal: burial by water, which consists in throwing the body into the water; burial by earth, which consists of interring it in a grave, burial by the birds, which consists of abandoning it in the fields; burial by fire, which consists in reducing it to ashes. The people are of a covetous nature. They have neither rights nor property. Boys and girls follow their penchants without restraint.46

It was during the reign of Jayavarman (who ruled from AD 470 to 514) that two famous Buddhist, monks of Funan went to China to translate the Buddhist scriptures. Their translations are said to be still found in Chinese Tripitaka.47 The name of one of them was Samgrhabhara or Samghavarman. He was born in AD 460 and having heard of the Chi dynasty, he came to China in a junk. He knew many languages so that emperor Wu (Wou) of the Leang dynasty ordered him to translate the sacred books from AD 506 to 512 in five different places, one of which bore the name of the office of Funan.48 On the other hand Briggs says that he worked for translating the Buddhist scriptures for about 16 years i.e. from AD 502 to 522.49 He died in the year AD 524.

The other monk from Funan, who went to China at this time to translate Buddhist texts, was Mandra or Mandrasena. He arrived in the Chinese capital in AD 503 and afterwards was commanded by the Emperor Wu to work with Samghapala but he could never acquire good knowledge of the Chinese language. Many other Buddhist monks went from Funan to China.

In AD 503, Jayavarman sent an embassy to the imperial court of China to offer as tribute a coral image of the Buddha and some products of the country. He sent two more embassies to the imperial court in AD 511 and 519 with products of the country. An imperial order was issued:
"The king of Funan, Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman lives in the extreme limits of the ocean. From generation to generation he and his ancestors have governed the distant countries of the south. And their sincerity is manifest even from a distance . . . . . . It is fit to show in return some favour and to confer on him a glorious title. This can be done by the title of 'General of the Pacified south, King of Funan'."

He died in AD 514. The reign of Jayavarman marks for Funan an epoch of grandeur which is reflected in the regard shown by the Chinese emperor above. We have no inscriptions emanating from him, but his first queen, named Kula Prabhāvatī and one of his sons, named Gunavarman, have each left us Sanskrit inscription in the writing of the second half of the 5th century AD. The inscription of Neak Ta Dambeng Dek in the province of Treang in southern Cambodia states that Kula Prabhavati was the legitimate queen of King Jayavarman, who was reigning when that inscription was made, perhaps in the later years of the 6th century AD. Queen Kula Prabhāvatī, desiring to retire from the world, tells of the founding of a hermitage consisting of a dwelling and an artificial lake. The inscription is Visnuitic in character, in a script that appears to be slightly older, which was engraved by order of Gunavarman, son of the king who was "the moon of the Kauṇḍinya line," on the pillar of a small temple at Thap Muoi, in the Plaine des jones in Cochin-China. It commemorates the foundation of a realm wrested from the mud, of which Gunavarman, "although young," was chief and of a sanctuary named Chakrārthasvāmin that contained the foot print of Viṣṇu.

It is probable that the mother of Gunavarman is none other than Kula Prabhāvatī and it is not impossible that Gunavarman was that son of Jayavarman who, according to the history of Leang, was deprived of the throne on the death of his father in AD 514 and assassinated by his elder brother, Liu-t'ē Pa-mo (Rudravarman), the offspring of a concubine. On palaeographic ground and find spots of the inscription Coedes has identified this king with Jayavarman of Funan. He suggests on the joint evidence of the two inscriptions that the young Gunavarman was the son of Jawavarman and Kula Prabhāvatī and his legitimate succession to the throne was prevented by Rudravarman.

_Liu-t'ē-Pa-mo (Rudravarman AD 514-545)_

The history of the Leang says: Liu-t'ē-Pa-mo (Rudravarman, the
son of a cocubine, after slaying his younger brother, the son of a real queen) usurped the throne in AD 514. He came to the throne in an advanced age because his father had reigned some forty years or more and he was older than the legitimate claimant.

Rudravarman sent several embassies to China between AD 517 to 539. These embassies were sent in the years 517, 519, 520, 530, 535 and 539. The envoy sent in AD 517 was an Indian named Tang Pao Lao (Dharmapāla). The tributes sent in AD 519 included an image of Buddha made of Indian sandal wood and pearls or precious stones of India, leaves of the P’o tree, circuma, storax etc. In the embassy of AD 539, he sent a living rhinoceros and offered to the emperor a hair of Buddha 12 ft long which was in his country. The emperor sent a monk to fetch the precious relic. This in the last embassy sent by Funan as an independent state and the last certain date of the reign of Rudravarman.50

Rudravarman was the last King of Funan referred to by name in the Chinese texts. A Sanskrit inscription of the province of Bati says that he was reigning at the time, the Buddhist monuments mentioned in the inscription was constructed. At this time Buddhism was flourishing in Funan and it is also clear from a passage in the history of the Leang that a Chinese embassy was sent to Funan between AD 535 and 545 to ask the king of this country to collect Buddhist texts and to invite him to sent Buddhist teachers to China. The King of Funan chose the Indian Paramārtha or Gunaratna of Ujjayini, who was then living in Funan for this purpose. He arrived in China in AD 546 bringing names Rudravarman as the predecessor of Bhavavarman.

Rudravarman did not reign long after the embassy of AD 539. The same inscription of Ta Prohm of Bati province of Takeo (Southern Cambodia) begins with an invocation to Lord Buddha and mentions both Jayavarman and Rudravarman as kings, the latter of whom seems to have been reigning at the time when this inscription was made. The inscription is undated, but on palaeographical grounds, it seems to belong a little before the middle of the 6th cent. AD.51 Being a Buddhist, he also maintained the state worship of Śiva. He erected a Śiva-Līṅga under the name of Giris’a on the central mount of Ba Phnom, near his capital. For the first time, in the history of Funan, he utilised the services of the two brothers, Brahmadatta and Brahmasimha as court physicians. These two brothers belonged to the famous
family of Ādhyapura, about eleven kilometers south of Ba-Phnom. From this family, ministers were appointed to four succeeding kings.

**Disappearance of Funan**

Rudravarman is the last king of Funan mentioned in the Chinese texts by name. His death may have been the occasion of some disorder. As we have seen that succession in Funanese monarchy soon after presaged some violence and perhaps bloodshed. He was a usurper and there were probably legitimate claimants. Shortly after his reign Funan was invaded by the rulers of Kambuja (Chenla), which was originally a vassal state in northern Cambodia but had become independent and grown very powerful under able rulers. The King of Funan defended and removed his capital from Vyādhapura to Nafuna (Naravaranagara—Angkor Borei). According to Pelliot, the Chinese name may stand for Navanagar or Navanakar and that it may have been in the reign of Kampot. The last embassy from Funan came to the court of a T'ang emperor during the first half of the 7th century with a present of two white men who belonged to a country west of Funan.

Nothing is known of this kingdom during the next three quarters of a century. But we know from the Chinese chronicles that Funan was conquered by Chitrasena, King of Chenlā whose son Īśānasena sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 616-617 AD. But before the end of the 7th century AD, Funan was completely conquered by Kambuja and ceased to exist as a separate political unit. The last reference to Funan occurs in the account of I-tsing who travelled in there regions during AD 671-695 in the following words:

"Leaving Champā and going towards the south-west, the country of P'a-nam is reached. Formerly this was called Funan. In ancient times it was the country of the naked men. The people worshipped many Devas. Then the law of Buddha prospered and expanded. But at the present time a wicked king has completely destroyed it and there are no more monks."

We have seen that Funan was a maritime empire. Some of its vassals states as well as the mother country seem to have paid tribute to China. The conquest of Funan by Chena seems to have resulted in the independence of these vassal states. As long as Funan existed, most of its vassals seem to have remained loyal. It was not until the reign of Īśānavarman that these states, former vassals of Funan,
began to send embassies to the imperial court of China. Funan seems to have lasted for a short time as a vassal of Chenlā with its capital at Vyādhapura under the descendants of its old line of kings. The disappearance of Funan even as a vassal states, seems to have taken place soon after AD 627. After its absorption, the deposed kings may have sent missions of protest to the imperial court. The survivors of the Lunar dynasty of Funan—"the kings of the mountain," according to Coedes may have gone to Jávā or to Jaiya, on the Bay of Bandon where they vegetated awhile, and later appeared as the dynasty of the Šailendra—the kings of the mountains. These suggestions of Coedes are based on the suggestions propounded by Finot.

Funan was the dominating power on the peninsula for five centuries. For a long time after its fall, it retained much prestige in the memories of the following generations. The name Chenlā is used by the Chinese to refer to the kingdom of Kambuja. The Cambodian inscriptions give us a detailed and connected account of the kingdom from the 7th century AD. In the words of R.C. Majumdar:

"There can be hardly any doubt that Kambuja was originally a vassal state of Funan that grew powerful enough in the 7th century AD to assert its supremacy and destroy the suzerain power. Henceforth Kambuja takes the place of Funan and continues a glorious existence for nearly seven hundred years. But before proceeding to deal with the history of this powerful kingdom we should make a broad review of the kingdom of Funan, the first Hindu kingdom in Cambodia, if not in Indo-China, and trace the development of its culture and civilization on the basis of the data supplied by the Chinese chronicles."

The early history of Funan is a repetition of that of almost every ancient Hindu colony in the far east. It was originally a country of savages or semi barbarians, it imbibes the element of civilisation from a Hindu or Hinduised chief, who establishes his authority either by conquest or by more peaceful system. Gradually it comes more and more into direct contact with India and Hindu culture and civilization become the dominant feature.

We can distinctly trace two broad stages of Indianization in the case of Funan, firstly in the 1st century AD and the second in the 4th century AD, and in both cases under the influence of its rulers, whose names represented the same Indian name Kaunḍīṇya. The first Kaunḍīṇya is said to have followed the Brahmanical cult but we possess no definite account of his original home. Some scholars be-
lieves that the first Kauṇḍīṇya was a historical personality and belonged to the regions of Mithilā in the present state of Bihar.\(^5\) There is, however, no doubt that second Kauṇḍīṇya of the 4th century AD came direct from India because this is explicitly stated in the Chinese texts.

The Tong-tien, a text of the nature of an Encyclopaedia, composed at the end of the 8th century contains the following passage:

"In the time of the Suei (AD 581-618), the king had the family name Ku-long. There were many others in the kingdom having the same family name. The old people, when interrogated says that K’uen-luen (Malays) have no family name. (The Kulong) is a corruption of K’uen luen.

Wan-Chen, a scholar in the 3rd century AD, says that the vassal states of Funan, were all governed by Mandarins, and that the great officers of the kingdom were called Kuen-luen. This title was borne by the king and a large number of families in Funan. According to R.C. Majumdar they must have formed the aristocracy and the ruling class, and they were the main instruments of the spread of Hindu culture and civilisation all over the empire. The conquests of Fan Shih Man and the establishments of Funanese empire must have facilitated the natural process by which the culture was spreading in all the directions. The Funanese empire must have extended over Siam, Malay peninsula and a part of Burma in the time of Fan Shih Man.

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CHAPTER 4

The Chenla Period
(c. AD 550—AD 802)

We have seen that after the death of Rudravarman, Funan declined. The last embassy to China by Rudravarman was sent in AD 539, though the New history of the T'ang continues to mention embassies from Funan in the first half of the 7th century. It indicates that meanwhile a great change has taken place in the country.

"The king had his capital in the city T'e-mu. Suddenly this city was subjected by Chenlā, and he had to migrate south to the city of Na-fu-na."

The name Chenlā first appeared in the history of Sui (AD 589-618). The country sent an embassy to China in AD 616-617. At that time Iśānavarman was ruling in Chenlā.

"It was originally a vassal of Funan... Sitrasena (Chitrasena) attacked Funan and subdued it. According to Pelliot, Chenlā was Cambodia.¹ The kingdom of Chenlā is south-west of Lin-Yi. The family name of the king was Ch'a-li (Kshatriya), his personal name was She-to-ssu-na (Chitrasena), his ancestors had gradually increased the power of the country."

The same text says:

"Near the capital is a mountain named Ling Chia-Po-Po, on the summit of which a temple was constructed, always guarded by a thousand soldiers and consecrated to the spirit named P'o-to-li, to whom human sacrifices are made. Each year, the king himself goes to this temple to make a human sacrifice during the night."²

It is thus they honour the spirit. Many of the inhabitants of Chenlā follow the law of Buddha, many others practice the cult of the Tao. The Buddhists and the Taosse place pious images in the houses where travellers stop.

Coedes finds it easy to transliterate Ling-Chia Po-Po (Liṅga Kia Po-Po) as liṅga parvata as liṅga parvata-mountains of the liṅga.
Now Liṅga parvata is referred to in many inscriptions as the mountain on the lower slope of which Vat Phu stands and Bhadreśvara is the name of the god worshipped on that mountain. The mountain of Vat Phu which dominates the site of Bassac bears on its summit a great stone block similar to that which earned Varella the Chinese name Liṅga (liṅga—in parvata and its modern European name which in Portuguese documents, is used to designate Pagoda. As for P’a tol-li we can recognise here the first two syllables of Bhadreśvara which was the very name of the god revered at Vat Phu.

As already known, the name Chenlā is used consistently by the Chinese writers to designate Cambodia. But it remained unexplained. No known Sanskrit or Khmer word corresponds to its ancient pronunciation T'sien-lap. But Chinese historians probably still used the name Chandrapura already known to them as a state to the west of their southern dependency Chandrapura conquered by Chitrasena Mahendravarman during the reign of Bhavavarman.

At the time of the embassy of AD 616-617, Chenlā already had a history perhaps two centuries old. According to Briggs its original dynasty had disappeared, and Īśānavarman was the third king of a new and apparently foreign dynasty.

**Location**

The original site of Chenlā seems to have been in the region of Basak, on the Mekong, in what is now southern Laos, just below the mouth of the Mun river. The early kings extended the territory towards the south. In later times, Bhavavarman and Chitrasena added Funan, the lower Mun valley part of the region south of Great Lake. Īśānavarman added the region north of the Great Lake and apparently all of what is now eastern Siam.

According to Hiuen Tsang, we know that in the middle of the 7th Century Īśānapura (Chenlā) occupied the region between Dvāravatī (the lower Menam valley) and Mahendrapura. At the time of the division into two parts—maritime and upper Chenla at the beginning of the 8th century, Chenla bordered Annam (present Tonkin) on the north-east and the Tai kingdom of Nanchao, in what is now the Chinese province of Yunnan, on the north.

Chenlā, at its greatest extent, consisted of two natural divisions—a northern or upland region, extending from the southern slope of the Dangrek mountains to the border of Nanchao, and a southern or low
region, consisting of the basins of the lower Mekong and the Tonle Sap. The northern division was composed of mountains and valleys, The southern division was low and it was cut up by rivers and dotted with lakes, partly subject to annual inundations and daily tides. About 220 miles above the present mouth of the Mekong at the site of the present capital of Phnom Penh, the river divides into two great forks—the anterior (eastern) and the posterior (western). This is considered the head of the delta, and from here these two forks divide and subdivide into countless branches and channels, which form the network of waterways of the delta.

The founding of Chenlā

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

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

In the eleventh stanza of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription, which is dated 869 Śaka and which gives a long genealogy going back several centuries, occurs the passage:

"Honour Kambu Svayamābhuvā endowed with an eminent glory, whose celebrated lineage, bringing about the alliance of the solar and the lunar race, dissipates the obscurities of all the Sūtras."

In the twelfth stanza, the eulogy of Merā is given:
“The most glorious of Apsaras whom Hari, gave for wife to the
great sage Kambu. The thirteenth stanza states “Those who bear the
burden of the land of Kambu and who have Šrūtavarman for root
(Šrūtavarma mūla), boasting of having delivered the native (or
original) country from the claims of tribute... shine like incarnations
of the long-assumed Hari.”

Šrūtavarman

The Chenlas or more correctly Kambojans, were hardy, energetic
and enterprising, while the Funanese had grown soft with prosperity.
The Chenla line had started with Šrūtavarman (c. AD 500) who was
something of a legendary figure but who claimed descent from the old
kings of Funan. Finally, Šrūtavarman, “the root of the race... delivered the natives from the claims of tribute” i.e. he apparently
forced the Kambuja from the domination of Funan, and Chenlā
became an independent country. The date of this event is not certain,
but it has generally been considered as about the beginning of the
5th century.

Šresthavarman

Šrūtavarman, the first historic and semi-historic king of the Kambu
ja, a descendant of Kambu and Merā was succeeded by his son
Šresthavarman. The Ta Prohm inscription dated 1108 Šaka (AD 1186),
also mentions Šrutavarman as the father of Šresthavarman, the
sovereign (adhirāja) of Šresthapura, and this name still existed in the
Angkorean era—at least as the name of a district located in the region
of Bassac. Coedes is of the view that this city may have been founded
as a consequence of the taking over of the country from the Chams
at the end of the 5th century or beginning of the 6th century. The
memory of this conquest is preserved to our day in the oral tradition
of the Cambodians, according to which their country was originally
constituted at the expense of the Chams of Champasak (Bassac).

In the sixth stanza, of the Ta Prohm inscription, we find about
Šresthavarman described in the following manner:

“He was a king whom the lords of the earth, bearers of the unbreak-
able sceptres of Manu, should honour, excelling among the learned,
the son of Šrūtavarman: Šresthavarman (by name), excelling in pure
glory, the source of a brilliant line of kings.”

The next stanza gives:
"The Sun of the heaven which is the family of Kambu, born on the mountain Jayādityapura, as the Sun rises from Udayagiri, he (Śreṣṭhavarman) caused the hearts of all living creatures to wake up as (the Sun awakens) the lotus, he who is full of spirit and energy, the supreme king of Śreṣṭhapura."

This Śreṣṭhapura (now called Badom) seems to be then, the place of origin of the solar dynasty i.e. of the Kambuja kings (as distinguished from the monarchs of Funan). From the inscription of Vat Phu⁶ we learn that Vat Phu, was in the district (Viṣaya) of Śreṣṭhapura. Therefore, Śreṣṭhapura (and the original Chenlā was in the north—Vat Phu being near Bassac in Laos north-east of present Cambodia. South Laos was the cradle of the early kings of Kambuja. Poul le Boulanger opines that Kambuja or Tchenla (founded by Maharṣi Kambu) covered the northern part of what is Cambodia at present and the whole of Laos including Luang Prabang. His capital, according to Coedes, has been located at the foot of the mountain on which Vat Phu stands, in the present province of Bassac, in what is now in Laos. But Madrolle thinks Śreṣṭhapura was near the present Stung Treng.⁷

For a long time it was believed that the kings of this family (Kambu+Mera) were vassals of Funan. But, according to R.C. Majumdar, we know that a king named Devānika, probably a sovereign of Champā, was in the possession of the Mekong valley above the fall of Khong, i.e. the region round Bassac (the real name of which was Champasak), some time before the end of the 5th century AD. It is, therefore, likely that the family of Śrūtavarmar ruled over the plain to the south of the Dangrek mountains and the valley of the Mekong immediately to the south of Khong, and were at first vassals either of Funan or of Champā.

In the 6th century AD these chiefs of Kambuja threw off their yoke and extended their authority as far north as Bassac. It is interesting to note that Bhadreśvara Śiva, mentioned above, whom they accepted as the tutelary deity was also the tutelary deity, of the kings of Champa.

Kings Śrūtavarmar and Śreṣṭhavarman, broke the ties of tribute in the beginning, that is, they attained a more or less genuine degree of independence from Funan, or, as the Chinese text says, "gradually increased the power of the country." They are known to us only by name. We know nothing else about them.

Rudravarman (AD 560-575) succeeded Śreṣṭhavarman and was
followed by a lady called Kambujarājālakshmī (fortune of the kings of the Kambujas AD 575-580), a cousin of Śreṣṭhavarman. The Ta-Prohm inscription mentions that she was born in the maternal family of the king (Śreṣṭhavarman), where her fame shone like moonbeams on the sea-waves, the first among the chaste women whose splendour was like (or who reigned like) that of Lakshmī herself. She married Bhavavarman (scion of the royal house), who thereupon elevated himself as king in AD 580.

Bhavavarman

The Aug Chummik inscription suggests that Bhavavarman reigned after Rudravarman—who was suzerain, not king of Chenlō. He seems to have come to the throne of Chenlō about AD 550 or later. Bhavavarman built another city—Bhavapura (now Prei Nokor or Priya Nagara) which must have been located on the northern shore of the Great Lake (Tonle sap) about 20 miles to the north-west of Kompon Thom. He was related to the royal family of Funan and became king of Chenlō through his marriage to a princess of this country. This fact enables us to understand why the 10th century inscription quoted above says that the line of descent of Kambu unites the sun race, which it claimed as its own, with the moon race, that of Funan.

We also understand why the line of descent after Śrūṭavarman and the descendants of Kambu shows reigning kings who traced their origin to Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgī Somā and who claimed Rudravarman to Funan as head of their line? Coedes suggests finally that we understand why the kings of Chenlō, successors to those of Funan, adopted the dynastic legend of Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgī. In fact, they were merely preserving their own heritage, since Bhavavarman was himself a prince of Funan. He was not a descendant of the solar dynasty of Kambu and Merā. He claimed descent from Kauṇḍinya, rather than from Kambu, his claim to the throne of Chenla was apparently based solely on his marriage with queen Kambujarājālakshmi. He seized Funan by force and thus ended the independent existence of that famous kingdom set up by the first Kauṇḍinya, circa AD 100.

On the basis of several inscriptions Coedes says that in the 2nd half of the 6th century, Bhavarman and his cousin Chitrasena attacked Funan, pushed their conquests at least upto Kraitie on the Mekong, to Buriram between the Mun river and the Dangrek moun-
tains, and to Mongkol Borei west of the Great Lake. The capital of Funan must have been transferred from T’emenu (Vyādhapura i.e. Ba Phnom) to a locality farther south named Na-Fu-na (Naravarananagar). There are several indications that this city should be placed at Angkor Borei.

In the Hanchei temple inscription, his fame is said to have spread in all directions after his victory over the ‘kings of the mountain’—an expression which, in that context, unmistakably refers to the kings of Funan. After that he could rightfully claim in the Phnom Bantay Nan inscription that he held the two worlds in his hand, meaning, perhaps, thereby his control over both Chenla and Funan.

Rudravarman, the king of Funan seems to have died about the middle of the 6th century. A few undated inscriptions mention Īśānavarman as the king of Chenlā who sent embassies to the imperial court of China in the year AD 616-617, when the Sui dynasty was ruling the country. This Chinese document goes on to say that Īśānavarman’s father Citrasena, seized Funan and subdued it.¹⁰

The Vat Chakret inscription¹¹ tells us that Īśānavarman was reigning in AD 627, another Ang Chumnik inscription¹² gives a series of five kings who ruled one after another. The names of the kings are—Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendrarvarman, Īśānavarman and Jayavarman. The Phu lokkan inscription¹³ says that before Bhavarman came to the throne, Mahendrarvarman—brother of Bhavarman was known as Chitrasena. So it is possible that during the reign of Bhavarman, Chitrasena conquered Funan.

**Genealogy**

Bhavarman was the son of Viravarman, who is mentioned in several inscriptions. The name of his grandfather was Sārvabhauma, which Coedes wrongly identified with Rudravarman.¹⁴ His father seems to have been a vassal king of Funan. According to an inscription, Viravaman engaged in battle with king Ja . . . . . , apparently Jayavarman, who died in AD 514. On the basis of another inscription, we know that his father and mother were living after he became king. Bhavarman and his brother Chitrasena were energetic and ambitious persons. Chitrasena appeared to have been head of the army during all of Bhagarman’s reign and after the death of Bhavarman he succeeded to the throne under the name of Mahendrarvarman. The husband and son of his sister were devout teachers of Śaivism. He
had a son who apparently ruled for a time while Bhavavarman retired to a monastery, during the latter part of his reign.

As we have seen that Viravarman was his father and so he was neither a son nor a brother of his predecessor on the throne of Funan. On this basis Pelliot, very rightly thought that Bhavavarman could not have been a descendant of the king of Funan because Somavarman (Lunar dynasty) was a brāhmaṇa line and he was a kshatriya but Chatterji has pointed out that marriages of this kind occurred in Chenlā. And so his claim to the throne of Chenlā was apparently based solely on his marriage with queen Lakshmi, descendant of the family of the mother of Śreṣṭhavarman. Pelliot thought Bhavavarman may have descended from a collateral line. Finot thought that Viravarman was a member of the Somāvaraṇa and that Bhavavarman’s claimed through him.¹⁵

As to Bhavavarman’s claim to the throne of Chenlā, Briggs, on the basis of an inscription of much later date mentions Śrūṭavarmen as founder of the solar dynasty and names his son and successor Śreṣṭhavarman as having reigned at Śreṣṭhapura and connects Bhavavarman by marriage with a matrilineal branch of this family.¹⁶

A few interpretations are noteworthy for discussion. Aymonier identified Śrūṭavarman with the second Kauṇḍinya and had his reign from about AD 435 to about 495. He was followed by his son Śreṣṭhavarman who ruled from AD 495 to 530. But these dates were intended to approximate according to Briggs.¹⁷ Then followed, in order according to Aymonier, Rudravarman (AD 530-560), Bhavavarman (AD 560-590), Mahendravarman (AD 590-610), Īśānavarman (AD 610-655) and Jayavarman (AD 650-680). According to him, Funan and Chenlā were simply Chinese names for the same country. He thought there was no conquest, but that Bhavavarman simply usurped the throne.¹⁸

On the other hand, Finot considered Chenlā as the beginning of Cambodia and enumerated the four kings as follows:—Śrūṭavarman, Śreṣṭhavarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman assuming that Viravarman was not a king of Chenlā and that Bhavavarman conquered Chenlā on the death of Śreṣṭhavarman and Funan on the death of Rudravarman.

Bhavavarman may have had a claim to the throne of Chenlā through his wife Kambujarājalakshmī and may have been a grandson of Rudravarman as opined by Coedes. One the basis of two inscrip-
tions of Khan İhevada and Phu Lokhan, it is known that Bhavavarman was the grandson of Śrī Sārvabhaumā. Coedes believes that this Sārvabhauma may be synonymous with Adhirāja (universal monarch), and according to him this term applied to the kings of Vyādhapura (Funan), which, if true, in this case could mean none other than Rudravarman. But M.M. Ghosh does not agree with the view of Coedes and he says that ‘Śrī’ is usually prefixed only to a proper name and not to a title or an objective, Śrī Sārvabhauma should be taken as a shorter form of Sārvabhaumavarman.

He was a great conqueror and considerably increased the power and extent of the kingdom of Kambuja. He is mentioned in the 9th stanza of the Ta Prohus inscription in the following manner:

"the Lord of Bhavapura, with effulgent glory illuminating the universe versed in all the acts, like the moon driving away the heat (misery) from which his subjects would have suffered he who was the founder of a line of kings."

Bhavavarman was not only an able warrior; he was rather a great conqueror and considerably increased the power and extent of the kingdom of Kambuja. The Phnom Bantay inscription records that he amassed riches through the efforts of his bow (Sarasan-Odyogajitārtha) and the king held the two worlds in his hands (Karastbaloka dvitena tena). One of his inscriptions says that he conquered kings who had (clever) policy, courage and (considerable) army. Another says that he collected wealth through enterprises carried on with the bow and arrows. The Mysone stele inscription of Prakāśadharma dated in the Saka year AD 594-678 describes Bhavavarman as a powerful ruler who broke the arrogant power of his enemies, by his military strength and excess of heroism (Ksītipates śakti traya slaghino).  

Two inscriptions, Hancley A and Hancley B, give a more gloriing description of his career.

According to these two inscriptions:

"He vanquished the kings of the mountains up to their tops. He captured many large elephants for carrying on war. When in autumn he led expeditions against the enemies, his splendour became more insufferable to the latter whose might be overpowered than that of the autumn sun. The dust raised by his army setting on the cheeks of the enemies' wives who shunned their toilet (out of fear) appeared like powder. After conquering the kings of the mountains, he filled the entire land with the songs about his many sided glory sung by his bards. He exceeded the glory of the other kings of the Aila (the
Lunar) race in conquering an area the limit of which was greater than theirs. Having first conquered the ocean girdled earth by force, in his administration he conquered it a second time by his wild forbearance. The rays of the jewels of the crowns of kings (Prostrate before him) give lustre indeed to his feet but cannot give rise to any pride in his stainless heart."

The conquest of Funan made Bhavavarman the undisputed master of the Mekong valley. In the early part of the 6th century, the empire of Funan, according to Briggs, had become quite extensive and included a spectre of peoples and vassal states, from the sea on the south up into the present Laos on the north, from Champa on the east to the Bay of Bengal on the west and including most of the Malay peninsula. We have seen that it was a maritime empire. Water was the main source of communication to its adjoining vassals. According to the Chinese annals each vassal had its mandarins.\textsuperscript{20}

Of these vassal states, Chenlā was the most powerful one and it was also the nearest at hand. We have seen that by marriage, Bhavavarman acquired the throne of Chenlā. When Rudravarman died, there was probably a disputed succession to the throne of Funan as Rudravarman himself was a son of a concubine and murderer of the legitimate heir. During that time, there was probably legitimate claimants to the throne. Bhavavarman, an ambitious scion of the Funan dynasty, asserted the claim he held through his mother, and his army under the leadership of Chitrasena (his brother) seized the throne for him.

We know from Kdei Aug Chumnik inscription that he came to power by force of arms and from another that he was not the descendant of his immediate predecessor Rudravarman but was the son of Viravarman who does not seem to have reigned.\textsuperscript{21} The history of the Sui dynasty says that Chitrasena attacked Funan and subdued it.\textsuperscript{22} Briggs believes that this probably happened about AD 550 and Coedes also confirms this after saying that it occurred during the second half of the 6th century AD.\textsuperscript{23} Bhavavarman and Chitrasena, pushed their conquest at least up to Kratie on the Mekong, to Buriram between the Mun river and the Dangrek mountains, and to Mongholborei west of the great lake. The capital of Funan must have been transferred from T'e-mu (Vyādhapura i.e. Ba Phnom) to a locality further south named Na-Fu-na (Naravaranagar).

The two brothers Brahmadatta and Brahmesīmita were physicians of Rudravarman and their sister's son Dharmadeva and Sithhadeva
were employed as his ministers. Briggs suggests that the hereditary line of ministers, which had served Rudravarman, continued to serve Bhavavarman without a break though the new capital was situateed very far from Adhyapura."

"These two were his ministers, both of good counsel, experienced, versed in the science of the law and the useful, the just and the personified." 24

According to Hanchey A inscription (V. 12) "Although he conquered first by his arms the land as far as the ocean, he conquered it (again) afterwards by his (good) administration and the clemency (to the conquered kings)."

The find spots of his records suggest that he ruled over the region in the north-west covered by the Battambang district and his empire in the east extended as far as the Kompong Chang and Stung Trang district and in the south as far as Ba-Phnom to the east Mekong and Chaudoc to the west of the river. Bassac or Srethapura in the north east where Srutavarman and Srethavarman are supposed to have ruled, is isolated if the find spots of the records are taken into consideration as authentic. The position seems to be that Bhavavarman had cut a wedge which had isolated the kingdom of Funan in the south and that of Srutavarman and his successor in the north. Bhavavarman first conquered the region ruled by Srethavarman and that accounts for his name in the genealogical list. It is likely that he had married in the family of Srutavarman and after Srethavarman’s death he stepped in as the legal ruler but not probably without a contest with some other person. It is difficult to suggest the date of his conquest of Srethapura. The conquest of Funan in the south-east was a gradual process and it culminated in the time of his brother Chitrasena Mahendravarman. The Chinese are accounts very clear on this point. We may, therefore, suggest that there were, three kingdoms: that of Funan, of Srethapura and the one headed by Bhavavarman which was founded at the expense of the former empire of Funan and it assimilated the second one Srethapura.

Bhavavarman was not only a great warrior but he was a great builder also. Some of the ruins of buildings of the ancient Chenlă region go back to his reign. The territory under his direct administration was probably limited to the region including Hanchey, Thmakre, Vat Chruay Ampil and Veal Kantel where the seven inscrip-
tions assigned to his reign as well as the architectural specimens of Vat Phu, the Brasat Baran, the Āśrama Maharosei and the Hanchey group have been found. His vassal states were situated around this region.

Bhavavarman I was a worshipper of Śiva and installed a līṁga under the name Gamībhīrśvara.

We do not know how long he reigned but we know only that he was king in AD 598.

*Cirasena Mahendravarman*

Bhavavarman was followed by his younger brother Chitrasena (Che-to-Seeu-na according to Chinese) who assumed the name Mahendravarman on ascending the throne. As the date of Bhavavarman’s death is unknown, it cannot be definitely said when Mahendravarman mounted the throne. He was known as the protege of the great Indra. Mahendravarman, according to Phu Lokhong inscription, was the son of Śrī Viravarman. The same inscription tells us that his original name was Chitrasena.

“...He who (is) the son Śrī Viravarman, and (who is) not inferior in power through the youngest brother of Śrī Bhavavarman, he named Śrī Citrasena, who possesses all the marks of the great has chosen the name of Śrī Mahendravarman at his coronation. Having conquered all the country, he has on this mountain established the līṁga of Girls’a (Śiva) and the erection of images of the bull Nandin, to commemorate his victory.”

Śivaliṁga still exists on the peak. Since these līṁgas and images were set up on the occasion of “the conquest of the whole country” we can conclude that Mahendravarman followed the expansionist policies of his predecessor.

In his teens he was the commander-in-chief of Bhavavarman’s army and led many military expeditions against the king of Funan. The Chinese also confirm this fact, telling us that it was he who overthrew Funan in the beginning of the reign of Bhavavarman I, some forty or fifty years before that king’s death.

The history of the Sui quotes him in the following manner:

“Chitrasena (Che-to-seeu-na), king of Chenlā, conquered Funan which was previously the suzerain of Chenlā. He succeeded in conquering nearly the whole of the kingdom and probably even seized its capital. Rudravarman, or his successor who was on the throne of Funan, fled
to the south and his dynasty continued to rule over a petty state in the extreme south of Cambodia with a new capital city. But the struggle between the two powers continued during the reign of Iśānavarman, the son and successor of Mahendravarman also and in the end Iśānavarman finally extinguished the kingdom of Funan, probably about AD 630."

There is some uncertainty about the successor of Bhavavarman I. The Chinese evidence and other epigraphic records, noted above, seem to suggest that he was succeeded by his brother Chitrasesa. On the other hand, Hanchey A inscription mentions that Bhavavarman had a son to whom his subjects joyfully looked up as their future king. It is also mentioned that younger son of Bhavavarman peacefully ascended the throne of his father. Verse 22 of this inscription refers to that the donor mentioned in that epigraphic evidence who is said to have served under both these kings. But if we accept the identity, we must hold that Bhavavarman's son had a short reign. It is impossible to believe whether he had a natural death at a young age or was killed by his uncle Chitrasesa. That such a contingency was not very unlikely is proved by the following observation in a Chinese document—which was recorded not very long after the accession of Chitrasesa:

"The day a new king ascends the throne his brothers are mutilated by their nose or fingers being cut, and they are kept in confinement, each in a separate place."

M.M. Ghosh says that this only son of Bhavavarman died after a very short reign presumably before the coronation of Chitrasesa. The same inscription (Hanchey A) records this prince as Kumāra, whose coronation name is unknown, succeeded his father and was a fighter like the leader of the army of gods. (Senānyam marutām iva).

The undated inscription of Thma Kre, which was found engraved on a great rock in the bed of the river Mekong between Samlak and Kratie mentions only the name Chitrasesa:

"Established by Chitrasesa, with faith in the lord Śaṁbhu and with the approbation of his mother and father, may the Śivalimīga be victorious."

The Champa inscription of 579 Śaka era (AD 658), thus refers to Mahendravarman.
“The king Bhavavarman, boasting of three (different kinds of) power, who curtailed the warlike pride of a host of rivals flushed with martial ardour, had a brother, a hero on this earth, the destroyer of the proud enemy’s ranks, whose spirit extended (the area under) his rule, and whose great power rose like the Sun—this was the illustrious Mahendravarman, equal in might to the king of the gods (Indra). He begot a dear son, the source of felicity, just as in the heart of wise (rises) right conduct—this was Śrī Indravarman whose splendour extended to the limits of every direction.”

Mahendravarman is also referred to in the inscription of Ang-Chumnik along with the other kings of his dynasty and there he is mentioned to have despatched a Brāhmaṇa Siṃhadeva as an envoy to the king the Champa as a token of friendship between the two princes. Aymonier says that this minister was present during the sack of the capital by the Chinese in AD 605; Maspero mentions this embassy, after he mentions the sack of the capital, but gives no dates. R.C. Majumdar opines that in the light of this event Kambuja had deliberately begun to play a part in the politics of the neighbouring kingdom which bore such important results in the next reign. So it is believed that he must have come to the throne late in life and must have had a comparatively short reign.

The two brothers Dharmadeva and Siṃhadeva who had also served his brother Bhavavarman, continued to serve under him. These two brothers belonged to the family of Ādyapura.

Being a good general, Mahendravarman proved, like his brother, an energetic king; so he was praised in the inscriptions, mainly for his warlike qualities. We know that he conquered Funan during the reign of his brother while he was the Commander-in-chief of Bhavavarman’s army and inscriptions show that he conquered the lower Mun valley during his own reign. Briggs is of the view that the actual fighting that gained for Bhavavarman his kingdom was done by Chitrascena as he was called before his coronation. In view of the above mentioned facts this seems to be going too far. It is an established fact that both the two brothers were able fighters, and only the conquest of Funan took place when Bhavavarman came to the throne and Chitrasena acted as his brother’s general. M.M. Ghosh does not agree with the view and says that ‘to a great degree his (Mahendravarmans’) brother’s reign had been his.’

Several inscriptions such as Khan Thevada, Tham Prasat, Pham Pet Thong have been found over a wide area which bear his name before
and after the coronation. They also indicate that he had conquered all the lower Mun valley. His inscriptions show a further extension of his kingdom to the north along the valley of the Mekong up to the region of Cham Nakhon beyond Bassac. But none of his inscriptions has been found to the west of Mongkolborci surin which lies considerably to the east of Tham Pet Thong. The Chinese accounts indicate that he proceeded further south along the Mekong valley towards Funan and conquered the capital of that kingdom situated probably at Ba Phnom but it is difficult to fix the limits of his conquest. To commemorate his victory after the conquest of Funan, he installed a limga under the name of Girls’a during his brother’s reign at Ba Phnom. Briggs assigns two more dated inscriptions to his reign. An inscription of Ak Yom which is dated 609, shows its dedication to Limga named Gāmbhīrēśvara. It is the earliest specimen of the Khmer language and also the first example of the use of Arabic figures on an inscription of Cambodia. The second Angkor Borei inscription is dated 611, in the Khmer language and it records the dedication of slaves to the temple of God Geṇes’a. The title of the official is also given on the inscription as Kamratang an. Another inscription of Bayang dated 604 says that a foot-print of Śiva was surrounded by a border of bricks. Mahendravarman’s reign was a short one and he ruled until AD 610 according to Maspero. The Chinese accounts also enable us to fix his date. His conquest of Funan, his death and the accession of Iśānavarman must all be placed during AD 589 AD 618, the period covered by the Sui dynasty which refers to them.

Mahendravarman died some time before AD 616 but Briggs believed that his death occurred in about AD 611. This date, according to him is the only approximate and purely arbitrary.

Iśānavarman

Iśānasena (protege of the Master Śiva) succeeded his father Mahendravarman and assumed the name Iśānavarman after coronation to the throne. He called himself ‘Suzerain of there ralms (trilokapada), viz. Funan, Kambuja and Dvāravati.

Scholars are of different views about his accession to the throne. R.C. Majumdar opines that he succeeded his father Mahendravarman about 600 AD and elsewhere he also admits that Mahendravarman died some time before 616 AD and was succeeded by his son Iśāna-
varman or Īśānasena. On the other hand, Briggs is of the view that Īśānavarman’s real accession to the throne took place in the year 611 AD and ruled up to AD 635. It is believed that his succession was attended with some trouble.

We know from a Chinese account that Īśānavarman put his brothers in solitary confinement in order to put an end to the rivalry for the throne. This may well account for the disappearance of Bhavavarman’s son who reigned for some time, however short. While dealing with Mahendravarman, we have seen that Bhavavarman had a son whose name was Kumāra and succeeded his father and was a fighter like the leader of the army of gods. It was also a matter of great confusion among the scholars whether he had a natural death at a young age or was killed by his uncle Chitrasena—Mahendravarman. M.M. Ghosh believes that Īśānavarman was responsible for his death before his coronation to the throne because there was the line of the son of Bhavavarman I, whom Īśānavarman’s father appears to have thrust rudely aside some years before and possibly there were descendents of the line of Rudravarman. Coedes has noted that Īśānavarman’s inscriptions ignore Rudravarman. Then the Aninditapura dynasty claimed descent from Kaundinya—Somā and which was apparently about to change its status from an independent kingdom under Bālāditya to that of a line of lords. These are only suppositions according to Briggs.

The main event of the reign of Īśānavarman was the protracted struggle with Funan and the new king finally subdued it in about AD 630. The earliest known date of the reign of Īśānavarman is that of his first embassy to China in AD 616-617 and the latest known date is that of an inscription which names him as the ruling king in AD 627. The old history of the T’ang, which mentions, one after the other, two embassies in AD 623 and 628 AD, encourages us to think that he was still reigning in 628 AD and according to the New history of the T’ang dynasty, he conquered Funan at the beginning of the period AD 627-649. The same text refers to an embassy from Funan during the same period.

But whatever might be the manner of his succession, he proved to be a very capable monarch and continued the war-like traditions of his family. He built a new capital from the vicinity of Vat Phu to Īśānapura, though the city was probably not founded by Īśānavarman I. According to Hiuen Tsang he resided at Īśānapura. He
called Cambodia by this name in the middle of the 7th century AD. Coedes identified this city with the group of ruins at Sambor Prei Kuk—12 miles north of Kompong Thom where the inscriptions of Īśānavarman are particularly numerous and this was the beginning of that shifting of the seat of the political authority towards the west which ultimately led to the establishment of the political centre of Kambuja in the Angkor regions. This effected probably to make it more convenient for him to consolidate his kingdom and further extended it from here.

One inscription mentions Īśānapuri and the first building of Phnom Bayang in the province of Takeo, date from the reign of Īśānavarman. This Īśānapura was in Aninditapura (Bālādityapura) over which several inscriptions say Bālāditya of the Kaundinya—Somā line, was king. Bālāditya was ruling over this kingdom at the time of its conquest, for after him, its rulers were called Īśvaras-lords. This kingdom may have been conquered during the reign of Mahendravarman or Bhavavarman, but more probably during the reign of Īśānavarman. The North group of monuments seem to have belonged to an earlier period. Probably it was Bālāditya's later capital. He does not seem to have survived the overthrow of his kingdom and we have seen that after Bālāditya, the kings were called Lords. They undoubtedly moved their capital to another part of their kingdom, probably to the west.

The Robang Romas Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman which is undated and was found near Īśānapura mentions the granting to new fief to Narasimhagupta, who had been granted the fief of Indrapura in 598 and who, according to the inscription had been vassal to Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman and Īśānavarman. During the reign period of Īśānavarman, Īśānapura must have been a considerable city, far larger than any previous capital. According to Ma Touan Lin:

"This prince made his residence in the city of Y-Chena (city of Īśāna—Īśānapura) which counts more than 20,000 families. The kingdom contains more than 30 other cities, each peopled with many thousands of families, and each ruled by a governor. The titles of the functionaries are the same as Lin Yi. These cities and their surrounding territories were doubtless the provinces into which the kingdom was divided. Several inscriptions were found there—some mentioning Īśānavarman by name and some bearing dates of his reign."
Following the tradition of his three predecessors, he appointed as his ministers Sīrhadeva, who belonged to the famous family of Ādhyapura. His father Dharmadeva and uncle had served both Bhavavarman I and Mahendravarman. An inscription records Sīrhadeva in the following ways:

"Savant to whom Savants still today go to drink the sap of poetic art, he was the excellent minister of king Iṣānavarman." 42

The Chinese account is corroborated by the inscriptions of the king as they are found in the valley of the lower Mekong, both to the east and west of Chaudoc. There is no doubt that his kingdom comprised the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, and also the valley of the Mun river to the north of the Dangrek mountains.

The Chinese chronicles state that his kingdom included thirty towns and that he had a magnificent court. The Vat Chakret inscription says that he, the lord of Tāmrapura, possesses the three cities of Chakraṅkapura, Amoghapura and Bhīmapura. Of these the first has been identified with Chikreng or Chakreng to the south-east of Angkor and north of the Great Lake, the second according to Groslier with the province of Battambang and contained Amarendrapura one of the capitals of Jayavarman II, and the third with Phimai or Vimay on the Se Mun. 43 But there seem to be reasons for placing Amarendrapura near the temple of Ak Yom at the western end of west Baray. So the Angkor region seems to be near the dividing line between Chakraṅkapura and Amoghapura. Chenlă had probably exercised some sort of suzerainty over this region, for there had been some Khmer activity there before this date.

As has been seen, an inscription celebrating a victory found in Battambang, mentions king Bhavavarman and that king probably created a temple to Gaṅbhīreśvara at Ak Yom and possibly the earliest temple at Prasat Kok Po. An inscription dated 609 has been found at Ak Yom, probably in reemploy from a 6th century temple in light material. An inscription of an earlier date had also been found in the upper Mun valley.

The Vat Sabab inscription which is found near Chantaban shows that the region on the border of Siam was included in the kingdom of Iṣānavarman but Lajonquierre did not believe it and says that the Khmers did not extend their power to the Chantaban region till the 9th cent. A.D. 44 But on the basis of that fragmentary inscrip-
tion at Chantaban region which contains the name of Išānavarman and another at Khaleng, in the same region, disproves the view of Lajonquiere. The statement of Huien Tsang that Išānavarman’s kingdom comprised the central part of Indo-China, with the kingdom of Dhāravatī (central Siam) on the west and Mahachampā (Annam) on the east is supported by the epigraphic evidences. The settlements of the two countries may have been separated in places by intervening wild mountain tribes.

Several inscriptions speak of him as a conqueror ruling an extensive kingdom.¹⁴

"The Devaśrī Iśānasena was the master of the earth the equal of Śakra in might."

The S-vai Chno inscription tells us in the following manner.¹⁶

".......... the glorious sovereign of three kings, the mighty possessor of three cities of extensive fame."

The Ang Pu inscription refers to:¹⁷

".......... Victorious also is Išānavarman, famed especially, for his heroism, who supports the earth like a ‘Seśanāgā ..........’ He Śrī Išānavarman, king of man, whose splendour spread in all directions up to the very end."¹⁸

According to Briggs these are not vain phrases.⁴⁹ The first important act of Išānavarman, was perhaps taking steps to curb the power of a few vassals, some of whom were previously enjoying a semi-independent status. He was a great organizer. Išānavarman with his able minister was not to tolerate any vassal state under his suzerainty. So he attacked on Funan and annexed it and in the end the king of Funan was forced to leave his capital To mu (Tāmrapura or Ba Phnom) and migrated to a city called Na-funa-Navapura according to the Chinese and meaning of this may be the newly built. Coedes, as already discussed, translates the name of this capital as Naravaranaagara and thinks it equivalent to Angkor Borei.

We hear no more of vassal states. Each city, according to Ma Touan Lin was ruled by a governor, the titles of the functionaries are the same as those of Lin Yi. As already stated above, Išānavarman sent an embassy to China in A.D. 616 or 617 and had also probably diplomatic relations with India. The name Chenlā first appeared when the history of the Sui (AD 589-618) said that, in the year AD 616-617, Chenla sent an embassy to the imperial court.
The same dynastic history says that the expedition from Chenlā was received with great honour, but that relations were interrupted. Rosny tells that, Chenlā sent ambassadors four times, between AD 618 and 699 to the imperial court of China when the rulers of the T'ang dynasty were on the throne, but he does not give the exact dates of the embassies, nor the names of the kings who sent them.

During the reign of Êsänavarman, Chenlā seems to have reached its apogee. The capital Êsänapura was the greatest conglomeration of buildings of pre-Angkorean Cambodia. He set up beautiful temples, especially the one at Sambor, which is noteworthy. . . . . . . . for its stepped pyramidal towers, built in brick on the model of Indian gopuras. To quote Walker:

"Some of these brick structures, built before the Khmers had acquired the art of raising their immense stone cathedrals, look very much like the Champa shrine whose ruins . . . . are to be seen in lower Annam, and of which perfected types were later evolved at the temple-city of Mison. The Khmer (i.e. the Kambojan) shrine is a tower built over a sanctuary containing either a relic of the Buddha, or an image of Viṣṇu or Śiva. The bricks were held together by a vegetable cement, the secret of which is lost."

For a great number of temples, now in ruins, of his capital, were undoubtedly of his reign where his wealthier subjects installed images of Śiva-Viṣṇu and the Itīṅgas of Śiva and erected temples to house them. Often numbers of such shrines were grouped together in one ensemble, either on a huge common platform or in ascending terraces, suggesting the symbolic idea of Mahameru—the abode of the gods. The design was always square, with an east orientation. In the words of Walker:

"The Kambu rulers seem to have developed early the notion that there was an esoteric relationship between this world and the cosmic order, believing that the works of man were meant to symbolise their cosmological ideal and that in order to ensure prosperity, human works, whether kingdoms, capitals, places or sanctuaries, had to be replicas of divine prototypes, whose delineations were known to the traditional builders and artists."

This concept was carried to such extreme that even the mythical Meru-hill-top, which was reputedly of solid gold was reproduced
at a mundane level. At Ba Phnom and in Bayon there were actually built huge brick towers covered over within sheets of gold.

There are indications of the building activity in other parts of his empire during his reign chiefly in the vicinity of Angkor Borei. A stele inscription at Ang Pu or Vat Phu, in the same locality relates erection of a lin'ga there, an image of Śiva-Viṣṇu (Hari-Hara) and an āśrama to Bhāgavata, by a muni who praises Iśānavarman. It is probable also that the sanctuary of Āśrama Mahārosei, believed to have been built near Kratie, was moved to this region about this time.

The History of the Sui dynasty thus describes the court of Iśānasena:

“Every three days the king goes solemnly to the audience hall and sits on a bed made of five pieces of santal wood and ornamented with seven kinds of precious stones. Above this bed is a pavilion of magnificent cloth, whose columns are of inland wood. The walls are ivory, mixed with flowers of gold. The ensemble of this bed and the pavilion form a sort of little palace, at the background of which is suspended, as at Chih-tu, a disk with rays of gold in the form of flames. A golden incense burner which two men handle is placed in front. The king wears a girdle of Ki Pie (preferably Kapok), cotton, dawn-red, which falls to his knees. He covers his head with a bonnet laden with gold and stones, with pendants of pearls. On his feet are sandals of leather and sometimes of ivory, in his ears, pendants of gold. His robe is always made of very fine white cloth called pe-tre. When he appears bare headed no precious stones are noticed in his hair. The dress of the great officials is almost like that of the king. The great officers or ministers number five . . . . There are many interior officers.”

“Those who appear before the king touch the earth three times with the forehead at the foot of the steps to the throne. If the king calls them and orders them to show their degrees, then they kneel, holding their hands on their shoulders. They go then to sit in a circle around the king, to deliberate on the affairs of the kingdom.”

“When the scene is finished they kneel again, prostrate themselves and return. More than a thousand guards dressed with cuirasses and armed with lances are ranged at the foot of the steps of the throne, in the halts of the palace, at the doors and peristyle. The sons of the queen legitimate wife of the king, are alone eligible to the throne. The day when the new king is proclaimed, all the brothers, are mutilated. A finger is cut off on one, a nose on another. Then their subsistence is provided for, each in a separate place without ever calling any of them to any charge.”

Iśānavarman's name is also intimately associated with the history of
Champa. At that time Champa was then passing through a series of palace revolutions and political intrigues of which the exact nature is difficult to determine. It is quite clear that Mahendravarman and his son Iśānavarman took an active part in its affairs. The Champa inscription states of a certain Jagadhara who went from Champa to the city of Bhavapura in Kambuja” where Kuṇḍanya, the bull among Brāhmaṇas had planted the javeline which he had received from Aśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇa” Then follows the story of the Nāgī with a reference to their descendants among whom Bhavavarman and his brother Mahendravarman are mentioned. Iśānavarman is mentioned there, as the father of the princess Śrī Śarvāṇi, born in the race of Somā destined for an univalled prosperity who is married to a Cham prince named Jagadharma, and that they had a son; named Prakāśadharma, who later returned to Champa and became king of that country in the year AD 653 under the name Vikrāntavarman and also was the author of the inscription in the year AD 657.

Iśānavarman breathed his last in the year 635 AD and at the time of his death the daughter and her husband and son were present.

Bhavavarman II

The inscriptions of Cambodia tell us of a king named Bhavavarman II who ceased to reign around AD 635 after Iśānavarman and whose lines of relationship with his predecessor are unknown. The only dated inscription, we have from this king is of 639 AD and comes from the region of Takeo. We can probably also attribute to him an inscription from the great tower of Phnom Bayang and one from Phnom Preah Vihear at Kompong Chang. It is undoubtedly he, and not Bhavavarman I as was long supposed, who is mentioned in the first two inscriptions published in the collection of Barth and Bergaigne. “Bhavavarman II” according to Briggs, “may, without much exaggeration, be called a gift of Coedes to history.”

In the genealogies of the kings of Chenlā found in the inscriptions, the names of the kings are: Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman Iśānavarman, Jayavarman, and so Iśānavarman, was followed by Jayavarman. The last known date of Iśāvarman’s reign, is as has been seen, 628 AD and the earliest known date of Jayavarman’s accession to the throne is 657 AD so that reign of
Bhavavarman may be placed between 635 AD and 650 AD. Coedes found an inscription of unknown origin but believed to be from the province of Takeo, in the storehouse of the Public Works Department at Phnom Penh mentioning a king Bhavavarman as consecrating an image of Devī Chaturbhujā (the four-armed goddess), through devotion to Lord Śaṁbhū (Śiva) and for the deliverance of his parents.53

An inscription at Phnom Bayang, in the province of Takeo, mentions a donation by king Bhavavarman to Utpaneśvara (probably a form of Śiva). This Bhavavarman has been identified with Bhavavarman II. The same inscription mentions a reference to Kaunḍinya and his queen at the beginning one refers to the ‘descendants of the Lunar race of Śrī Kongvarman. This Kongvarman is otherwise unknown to the historians, but recalls the Gāṅga kings of India.54

Thus the Prasat Bayang was finally completed and dedicated during the reign of this king. It is probable, also, that the temple of Āśrama Mahārosei, believed to have been originally constructed on the Mekong in Chenlā was removed to its present location about this time; when there seems to have been much interest in this region.

About the identity of Bhavavarman II, there is a confusion among the scholars. Briggs says that the succession of a new Bhavayrman, who was not the legitimate successor of Īśānavarman, justify to some degree at least, the suspicion that the successions of Mahendravarman, Īśānavarman and Jayavarman were all disputed.55

“It may not have been just an accident that (I) the unnamed son of Bhavavarman I and (2) Bhavavarman II were the only kings of this period not served by the family of Ādhyapura. In the case of Īśānavarman’s succession the pretender may have been a descendant or relative of Rudravarman possibly Bālāditya which could explain the facts noted by Coedes that the Cham inscription mentioned above and the unedited inscriptions of Tuol Praha and Sambor commence the genealogy of that king with the name of Bhavavarman and ignore Rudravarman.56

As already stated above, Bhavavarman II was not the son and legitimate successor of Īśānavarman I and was not served by the family of Ādhyapura, who served a long time of kings, including his predecessor and his successor. At the time of the death of Īśānavarman, we have seen that his daughter with the Cham husband and their son and Jayavarman—who seems to have been of the line of Jayavarman I, appear to have been present. Very probable, there was
a turmoil and Bhavavarman II seems to have triumphed for a brief period and there was succession by Jayavarman I.

No doubt, there were other claimants to the throne. It is believed that he was a son of the mysterious son of his namesake, who disappeared so completely from history.

The capital of Bhavavarman II was Saṁbhapura. The inscriptions and monuments, we think belong to his reign point to the vicinity of Angkor Borei. The identity of this Bhavavarman II has been established by the two inscriptions mentioned above. But other inscriptions also refer to his identity. An undated inscription from the Phnom Preah Vihear (sometimes called Trapeang Mas) from the village at the foot of that hill, in the province of Kampong Chang (across the Tonle Sap from the city of that name) mentions a Bhavavarman, on palaeographic grounds, Coedes believes him to be Bhavavarman II. This inscription contains invocation to God Saṁhbu and eulogy to King Bhavavarman. This Bhavavarman is said to belong to the Lunar dynasty. The inscription commemorates certain donations to Siddheśa by the Kavi Vidyāpuṣpa—a grammarian, philosopher and royal official who was a Pāśupata Āchārya.⁷⁷

Coeedes is of the view that the inscriptions of Ponhear Hor and Hanchey, which according to Barth—the oldest in Cambodia, belong to the reign of Bhavavarman II. The inscription of Bonhear Hor consists of 17 Sanskrit lines on the left pillar of the door on a square brick sanctuary in the residence of Takeo. The right pillar contains an inscription of 6 lines in Khmer and it is very difficult to decipher. But the name of Bhavavarman can be read. On second part of the inscription mentions an image of Lakshmi, another of Viṣṇu and donations to Dhanvipura and to Viṣṇu Trailokyasāra.

Quite different is the case of the inscription of Hanchey which is located on the Mekong above the forks, in the vicinity of the other inscriptions of Bhavavarman I and not adjacent to the inscriptions of Bhavavarman II. It is difficult to see how the several statements of the Hanchey inscription, praising the warlike powers of the king and which apply so well to the reign of a known conqueror like Bhavavarman II whose conquests are not mentioned elsewhere and whose reign must have been very short and of whom so little is known.

He was a follower of Śaivism as all of his inscriptions say. The Ponhear Hor inscription mentions a Harihara, the Phnom Preah vihear praises Viṣṇu but the inscription also mentions the sect of
Pāṇḍavaputra.

Jayavarman I (AD 640—680).

Jayavarman who succeeded Bhavavarman II was a scion of the line of Bhavavarman I. His relationship with his predecessor is not known. He ‘the protegee of victory’ came to the throne some time between AD 640—the last probable date of Bhavavarman II, and AD 657, his own earliest certain date probably shortly after the first mentioned date. He was on the throne till about AD 681.

He is mentioned in several inscriptions, which refer, in general terms to his great prowess and conquests and manifold virtues. The hereditary family of Ādhya-pura appears again in his time. Śrīhadi-datta, son of Simha-vīra, poet and minister of Iśānavarman, was appointed as his court physician, and then he was subsequently appointed as Governor of his home city of Ādhya-pura in the year AD 667. In commemoration of this occasion Śrīhadi-datta erected a Liniga of the God Śiva under the name of Vijayes’ vara.

Many inscriptions of the reign of Jayavarman I have been found and they praise Jayavarman I for his skill in warfare. He appears to have effected an improvement of the military organisation handed down from his predecessors. The Vat Phu inscription says that he introduced for the first time cavalry in his kingdom and a method of checking the charges of elephants. Then, the inscription tells, he laid aside his bows and arrows as useless; i.e. apparently devoted himself to the arts of peace.

In the beginning of his reign, he seems to have brought under his control, the present central and upper Laos by the might of his arm. According to the Chinese accounts he conquered all the small states up to the border of Nan Chao which is now included in the province of Yunnan in South China. Jayavarman is praised in the following manner in several inscriptions:

“Conqueror of the circle of his enemies glorious lion of kings, the Victorious Jayavarman”

“Victory is to the King Śrī Jayavarman, whose commands are respected by innumerable inclined kings and who in combat is a living incarnation of victory . . . Then this supporter of the earth, punisher of his enemies, governed the earth inherited from his ancestors and increased by the conquest of other lands.”
“Victorious in the king Śrī Jayavarman to whom the fickle goddess of fortune, Lakṣmī, is firmly attacked ... skilful in the task of protecting the world, he is proclaimed by sages to be the thousand eyed god (Indra) in person.”

“His arrow, his excellent bow, which he bends in spite of its double weight, after his long campaigns, he had deposited them as useless; he, the first of those who knew the science of combating the impetuosity of elephants, the force of cavalry, the will of man, he, the incomparable master of all the arts; to begin with those of singing, instrumental music and dancing, he, a true repository of every thing desirable and subtle, an ocean of which science, patience, moderation, cleverness, judgement, liberality, are the jewels ... this master of masters on earth, His Majesty Jayavarman.”

Like his predecessors, Jayavarman I was not a great builder. The circumstances which his aggressive policy gave rise to probably made troubles chronic during his rule of forty years, and he was unable to check it during the closing years of his life. So the reign of Jayavarman I began in revolution and was followed by chaos and it seems that his kingdom lost its peace. Therefore no building can with certainty be assigned to him during his long reign, though he built structures in the region of Baphuon (Vyādhapura) and at old Sanctuary of Limga parvata at Vat Phu.

On the basis of inscriptions, we know that he was interested in the region of around Bantay Prei Nokor. An inscription dated 655 has been on the walls of one of the group of three or four small square brick temples of Prasat Preah Theat. This group, at that time was probably built by Jayavarman I. Banteay Prei Nokor was near the centre of Jayavarman’s empire, judging by his inscriptions, and was accessible to the Mekong at Ba Phnom as well as at Kompong Cham. The Prasat Preah Theat Toc group of temples had been built there probably in the Funan period and the south temple of the Prasat Preah Theat Thom group was built a few metres to the west of it, very early in the Chenlā period, probably during the reign of Bhavavarman I. Jayavarman I probably built the centre and the northern towers and established his capital there, where he built an earthen rampart and moat with the new central prasat as a centre.

The predecessors of Jayavarman I conquered Funan in the south and as far as the valley of the Menam in the west, and the Chinese account tells us that Jayavarman I conquered what is probably now central and northern Laos. But his immediate predecessor had apparently been a usurper and had probably been overthrown by
him and Jayavarman I’s reign was to be followed by the division of the kingdom into three parts. His kingdom lost its peace because civil wars and divisions seemed to have been the rule of the day. The distribution of his inscriptions may throw some light on this topic. Of the nineteen inscriptions assigned to his reign one . . . a doubtful, one, Phuuhu—was far in the south in the delta, near Sadec, the most southerly Khmer inscription yet found far in the north. The only inscription to be found away from the valley of the Mekong was Baset, in Battambang, near the head of the Great Lake, and Preah Kuha Luong, near the sea-coast—south of Angkor Borei. Eight of the other seventeen were strong along the eastern bank of the Mekong, between the region of Phnom and that of Kompong Cham. Of these, three—Vat Prei Vier I and II and Kdei Ang Chumnik II were in the Ba Phnom region, three—Kompong Rusei, Tuol Preet Theat and Snay Pol—were in the province of Prei Veng, a little to the north, one—Prasat Preah Theat—was at Banteay Prei Nokor, still a little further up the river; and one—Tang Krang—was just across the river near Kampong Cham. Two were on the western side of the Mekong, a few hundred Kilometers from the river Vat Barai, or Baray, in the north, Lonv ek, near the Tonle Sap Five-Vat Tnot. Phum Chrei, Tuol and Tnot, Phum Komreing and Tuol Tramung—a little to the north and west of Angkor Borei.

So, none of the inscriptions was found in the immediate vicinity of Iśānapura. It means that the city was no longer the capital. It seems that this seems to lie between Ba Phnom and Banteay Prei Nokor.

Jayavarman I is the last of the five or six kings who are known so far to have ruled over the kingdom founded by Bhavavaraman I. The existence of several inscriptions during his reign leads to the belief that it was a long one Bhavavaraman II’s last known inscription is believed to date about 640. The long gap between that date and the first known date of Jayavarman I’s reign 657 and the character of the change of reigns, hints the probability of a troubled period. The date of the inscription of Baset (the only inscription that got away from the Mekong and its path to the sea) hints that it may have been carved before Jayavarman I was really settled on the throne. The inscriptions seem to indicate that after long campaigns he pacified the country, but the location of his inscriptions hint that he may have made a mistake in keeping his bow and arrows as useless.
The civil wars, which apparently began on the accession of Iśānavarman I and which split the kingdom as under on the death of Jayavarman I, seems to have smouldered during his entire reign. He was able to hold the Mekong region, with his capital apparently at Bantey Prei Nokor and possibly an outlet to the sea-while his rivals stationing apparently at Bālādityapura with a capital probably at Samber Prei Kuk or Angkor Borei, seems to have controlled the western and perhaps the southern part of the kingdom. As far as relations with China are concerned, the old history of the Liang says in very general terms about embassies from Chenlā received by the emperor T'ang Kao Tsuang (AD 650-83), but it gives no precise date.

Jayavarman I died without any issue. He seems to have been succeeded by his wife Jayadevi in the year AD 681.63

Jayadevi and the division of Chenlā (681 AD - 685 AD)

We know that Jayavarman I died without leaving any male issue. After him there is a blank in the history of Kambuja for about a century. After AD 681 we have no dated inscription or other document which refers to a ruler by name for thirty two years. Of course, some inscriptions bearing the date of this period have been found at the West Baray and Angkor Thom which mention a ruler called Jayadēvi. According to Coedes, who had read the inscriptions, she was the widowed queen of Jayavarman I who succeeded her husband after his death in the year AD 680.64

These twenty five or thirty years, according to Briggs65 constitute one of the most confusing periods of Khmer history and it is very difficult to indicate when Jayavarman I ceased to reign or when his wife succeeded him, if she did. In the opinion of M.M. Ghosh,64 if this assumption is correct, then this was very unusual, in view of the custom of royal succession introduced by the first Kauṇḍinya and so for this reason her succession, to the throne must have been challenged by the vassal states. But we find her reigning a full generation after the last mentioned date of her husband. But troubles gathered round the throne and drove her to complain, in a long inscription, how pretenders sprang up and split the kingdom into petty states, which gradually fused into two large units viz upper Chenlā and lower Chenlā. About the same time, piratical raids from Jávā started simultaneously against Champā and Kambuja. But Jayavarman I and his successors ruled from lower Chenlā during the entire period,
for later inscriptions refer to them as Adhirājas (supreme kings).

For more than a century after the death of Jayavarman I, our knowledge of the history of Kambuja is very meagre and confused. Many inscriptions have been found of this early period but they do not give much information regarding political conditions, of these three which came from Sambor: the Khmer inscription of Trapeng Prei dated AD 683, celebrates donations to the God Amareśvara; the Sanskrit inscription of Anlung Prang mentions two dates AD 683 and 708; the undated Ta King I inscription of Khmer language is believed to be of this period, records gifts to the God Maṇḍaleśvara.

The ancient Lunar dynasty of Aninditapura and the newly formed Solar dynasty of Śambhupura were the two most important dynasties of this period which were aspirants for the supremacy. Aninditapura, also called Bālādityapura, since its conquest, apparently early in Iśānavarman I’s reign, had been a dependency of Chenlā and was governed by Iśvara (Lords) of the family of Bālāditya.

The Pre Rup inscription refers to a material niece of Bālāditya—whose name was Sarasvatī. This Sarasvatī was married to a Brāhmaṇa named Viśvarūpa and their son Nṛpatindravarman ruled as king and apparently restored the old kingdom of Bālādityapura with a strip of delta to the sea at the ancient post at Oc Eo and possibly with a capital at Angkor Borei. This Nṛpatindravarman seems to have been a contemporary of Jayavarman I, who ruled during the later part of Jayavarman’s reign.

On the other hand, the dynasty of Śambhupura seems to have broken off from that of Chenlā during the reign of Jayavarman I. Its early centres were located at Sambor and Kratie. This Śambhupura was founded by Śambhuvarman but we do not find and other record of such a person. Briggs believes that he would have been approximately contemporary with Nṛpatindravarman. During the last two decades of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th centuries this region assumed great prominence. Several epigraphic evidences are found from this region. Some of them are dated. Śambhupura may have included, at first, the Khmer settlements beyond the mouth of the Se Mun, including what later became upper Chenlā in what is believed to have been the vassal state of Bhavapura. According to the Chinese annals of the T’ang dynasty, the division into upper and lower Chenlas took place after AD 707 and the first ruler of Śambhupura contained in the inscriptions is a female—presumably a
daughter of the suppositions Sambhuvaraman. She was married with Puskarāksha-the son of Nṛpatindravarman of Aninditapura—and he thus became the ruler of Sambhupura.\textsuperscript{70}

*Lower and Upper Chenlā*

The T'ang dynastic history of China tells us that shortly after AD 706 Chenlā (Cambodia) was divided into two states—Kambuja of the land and Kambuja of the water. The former, called Wentan or Poleu or Pho-Leou, comprising the northern part of Cambodia, full of hills and valleys was also known as upper Chenlā and the latter covering the southern portion, bordering on the sea and abounding in lakes and streams, was known as Chenlā of the water or lower Chenlā.\textsuperscript{71}

Chenlā of the land was 700 Li in width while the water Chenlā was 800 Li in extent. The king lived in the city of Pho-lo-ti-pa.\textsuperscript{72} The Chinese account was taken to mean that the Kambuja proper was divided into two kingdoms, and attempts were made by several scholars to define the boundaries of, or at least to locate these two kingdoms which the Chinese so characteristically mentioned a Kambuja of land and Kambuja of water. The fact, however, appears to be that by Chenlā or Kambuja of the land the Chinese referred to a kingdom to the north of Kambuja proper, including a great part of Laos and touching the Chinese province of Tongking and the Thai kingdom of Yunnan. This kingdom maintained diplomatic relations with China and sent its first embassy to the imperial court of China in AD 717. Its route to the Imperial court doubtless lay across the Annamite chain to Nghean thence to Chiao Chou (Tonkin). In AD 722 this kingdom sent an army to help Mei Hiuen Cheng, the frontier chief of Nghean in Annam who had revolted against the Chinese emperor and was joined by several other chiefs of hilly regions such as Chams. The Kambuja army joined the rebel chief of Annam and defeated the Chinese forces. This indicates that the northern Kambuja kingdoms was a fairly powerful one.

However, the friendly relations of the kingdom with China were soon restored and an embassy was sent in 750 AD. In 753 AD the crown prince of Wentan visited the Chinese Imperial court with a retinue of 26 persons and was received with great honour and given title of Protector Firm and Persevering and accompanied the Chinese military expeditions against Nanchao. In 771 AD the king Pomi—the
Viceroy of Upper Chenlā paid a visit to the Chinese emperor with his wife and presented eleven time elephants. This Phomi was given the grade of second President Inspector of the Palace and was given also the surname os Pin-Han—the guest of the Emperor.

The last embassy to China was sent in 799 AD. In spite of these frequent references, the Chinese accounts do not enable us to precisely determine the location of the kingdom. It appears, however, from the itinerary of Kia tan, that in the 8th century the nominal suzerainty of China, was extended as far Laos, and Wentan, or Kambuja or the land, touched the Chinese province of Tonkin. This proves that Wentan extended along the middle course of the Mekong.\(^{73}\)

The exact location of the capital of these two divisions of Chenlā has been the subject of much controversy. George Maspero, after reading the digraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman I, traced the genealogy of that king back to two lines of kings of this period-one ruling at Vyādhapura, which he identified as Angkor Barei\(^{74}\) and another ruling at Śainbhupura, which is identified as the Sambor. Paul Pelliot in the year 1904, following an old theory of Aymonier, located the capital of Lower Chenlā at Vyādhapura and recognised Sambor as the seat of Upper Chenlā. Generally these identifications came to be true.

But the identification of Sambor as the capital of Upper Chenlā became the matter of great discussion by Aymonier. He expressed the opinion that Sambor was incontestably one of the capitals at the time of the succession,\(^{75}\) but of which part we are not in a position to decide and Pelliot in his review of Hirth and Rockhill's translation of Chau Ju Kua’s Chu-fan-chi modifies his previous opinion as follows: 'There is no doubt of the position of Wentan in Upper Cambodia but it will be necessary to arrive at a more precise determination.'\(^{76}\)

After ten years, in AD 1914, Pierre Lefèvre Pontalis attempted to write a brief account of the history of Wentan. The work is a great interest and a considerable value. Adolf Bastian, a German scholar had transcribed the Chinese name of this state as Wen Chan and had identified it with Vien tian—a later capital of Laos. Gustaf Schlegel transcribed it as Chand and Chandpura is one of the Sanskrit names of Vien tian. Pontalis adopted the theory of Bastian and wove Wentan's embassies to China into the story of the country's struggle with Tibet and the new Tai kingdom of Nan Chao, in what
is now Yunnan. But this theory has been rejected because the phonetic equivalence is considered unsatisfactory and because the necessary archaeological vestiges have not been found in the vicinity of Vien tian.

Maspero took up the study in a serious way. Trang, again the itinerary of Chia Tan over a route which, he thinks, was followed by an expedition of Chenlā against Tonkin in AD 722, located the capital of Wentan in the vicinity of Pakhinun, on the Mekong in central Laos. According to him, it is impossible to locate this capital either at Sambor or at Vien tian, not only because of the distance and the direction, but from the very nature of Chia Tan’s voyage, there being no mention of crossing the Mekong or of ascending or descending it. To the argument that no ancient ruins had been found in that locality, he replied that the buildings were probably ‘a perishable material, that the jungle is dense is that vicinity with few people and that a thorough search has not been made. It should be recalled that Pelliot had admitted that the distance of Sambor was too great to correspond to the Wen tan of Chia Tan’s itinerary. So it seemed to be established that the capital of Wen tan or Upper Chenlā, in the 8th century, was well up into what is now Central Laos. Seidenfaden thought he had located it near the present site of Tha Khek, at the ancient seat of Nakhon Phnom (Nagara Bnam), where he says that ruins of a great city with traditions are found.

Coedes, on the basis of the later inscriptions, says, that Vyādhapura was the capital of Funān and not to that of Lower Chenlā and corresponded to Ba Phnom rather than to Angkor Borei, but Angkor Borei may have been the capital, or one of the capitals, of Lower Chenlā.

So, it seems that both identifications made by Maspero in 1904 were discarded and the capital of Upper Chenlā seemed to have been near Tha Khek and one of the capital of Lower Chenlā might have been at or near Angkor Borei, while another capital seems to have been, at least for a time, at Sambor. The fact that the Chinese speak of Chenlā and Wen tan in the same sentence indicates that Lower Chenlā was considered the true successor of the Chenlā of Jayavarman I.

Pierre Dupont also thought that the Upper Chenlā was the original Chenlā of Bhavavarman. The old homeland of the Khmers, according to him, was the Bassac-Pakse region and the lower part of the
Mun-valley. We know that under Bhavavarman I and his successors, the region to the south was conquered and the name Bhavapura expanding with the kingdom, the original Sreṣṭhapura remained a subdivision. After the secession, the conquered territory—Śambhupura, Vyaḍhapura and Bālādityapura united to form Lower or Maritime Chenlā, while the old homeland under the home of Bhavapura, expanded to the north and the west. We know very little about the dynasty of Bhavapura after the secession, but it was believed to be an offshoot of that of the old Chenlā, as Upper Chenlā claimed to be the legitimate Chenlā. Coedes opines that the king Jayasimhaavarman referred to in the inscription of Phu-Khiao Kao in the Upper Se Mun Valley may have been a king of Bhavapura, i.e. of Upper Chenlā. But in a later time he has advanced the less probable theory that the dynasty mentioned in an inscription of AD 937 found at Ayuthia may have ruled in the same region.

Lower Chenlā

History of Lower Chenlā during the 8th century AD is darker still because we do not possess any recorded account and we have no record of any embassies to the Chinese Imperial Court from Lower Chenlā. But there are a few inscriptions of this period and they particularly belong to the maritime Chenlā. These small number of inscriptions with or without dates give us information mostly about the installation of images of deities.

The inscription of west Baray, written in Sanskrit and Khmer both and dates AD 713, celebrates the foundation to Śīva Tripuran-takesvara by queen Jayadevi—the widow of Jayavarman I and her daughter, who was married to the Brāhmaṇa Śakrasvami. Besides this we do not find any political events on the inscription except that Jayavarman I’s posthumous name was Śivapada.

One undated Sanskrit inscription which is found in the village of Olam in the region of Vat Sree Beng and in the province of Chaudoc in the delta, mentions the name of Bālāditya. A pillar inscription, from a ruin at the foot of Phnom Batte The, or Nui Ba The, which is in Sanskrit and contains no date but believed to be of this period, commemorates the erection of a Vardhamāna Liṅga and a brick chapel for the devotion of Nṛpādityadēva (Nṛpatindravarman).

The door-inscription of Preah Theat Kvan Pir in Sanskrit language (in the province of Kratie, about 50 kilometres south-east of Sambor)
dated AD 716 relates that one Puṣkara had a God Puṣkareśa, consecrated by the ascetics and the Brāhmaṇas. This Puṣkara has been identified with Puṣkarāksha by Finot and Pelliot, who is mentioned in the genealogical accounts of Yaśovarman and Rājendravarman who was a descendant of Bālāditya, king of Aninditapura and obtained (probably by marriage) the kingdom of Śambhupura.

A Sanskrit inscription of Prasat Pram Loveng, undated, but on epigraphical grounds placed in the 8th century, relates the erection of a statue or the foundation of a sanctuary to the deity Puṣkarāksha by one Śambhuvvarman. The temple of Puṣkarāksha is also referred to in the second inscription found in the same place which records the installation of an image of Puspat-vatadvamī in the sanctuary of Mūlasatāna.

A stele inscription of Khmer language dated AD 726 which is found at Prei Mi'en, in the province of Takeo, dedicates a Harihara, under the form of Śrīkāra-Nārāyaṇa. It does not refer to a king. In this region, several other inscriptions, which are undated are found.

An inscription of Preah Theat Preah Srei in Sanskrit and Khmer both and dates AD 770, in the province of Tboun Khmum (residence of Kratie) refers to a king Jayavarman, who is said to have made a foundation there on that date. The inscription of Lobok Srot, in the province of Sambor (residence of Kratie) in Sanskrit and Khmer and dates AD 781, had for its object the consecration of a Viṣṇu foundation by a king Jayavarman of a Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. Coedes says that this king as Jayavarman I. Two other undated inscriptions in the vicinity of Sambor-Tuol Kok Prasat in Khmer, and Sambor (Kratie) in Sanskrit are said to mention a Jayavarman and are assigned by Dupont to Jayavarman I.

The inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy, at Sambor (Kratie), in Sanskrit and Khmer dated 803 AD celebrated a foundation to Śiva by a queen Jayeṣṭhārya, daughter of princess Jayaendrabha, granddaughter of princess Nṛpendradeva, great grand-daughter of a king who received the posthumons name of Śrī Indraloka. This is the first reference of mentioning a posthumous name in an inscription of Cambodia.

From all this it may be assumed that Lower Chenlā during the period was passing through a crisis.

The task of building a history of maritime Chenlā during this
period is more than perilous, but such a task imposes itself and the
following is an attempt to make the most reasonable interpretation
of the facts and hypotheses at hand, cautioning the reader all the
way that there are not the only, or necessary, interpretations.

We have seen that the Jayavarman I was followed by a period of
internal strife and the two new dynasties arose and disputed the
supremacy with that of Vyādhapura. Nripatindrarvarman, Adhirāja
of Aninditapura, apparently restored his ancient kingdom and
controlled a western strip of the delta to the sea of OcEo, probably
established his capital at Angkor Borei, which seems to have been
called Bālādityapura, while the new dynasty of Śambhupura was
building up a kingdom on the eastern land of the Mekong, in the
Sambor- Kratie region. Puṣkarāksha, son of Nripatindravarman,
made a daughter of the king of Śambhupura, and became king
of that country. This probably happened before the demise of his
father, because Puṣkrāksha seems to have been reigning in Śambhu-
pura in AD 706. At that time Aninditapura seems to have been the
greater kingdom. The Supreme kings (Adhirāja) of Vyādhapura)
(successor of Jayavarman I) seems to have been reduced to a short
strip along the Mekong in the vicinity of the old capital of
Jayavarman I, Ba Phnom—Banteay Prei Nokor.

According to Coedes this marriage of Puṣkarāksha with the
heirress of Śambhupura, was a conquest in disguise. This may have
been the cause of the secession of Upper Chenlā. Sometime after
716 AD Puṣkarāksha succeeded his father at Aninditapura, perhaps
leaving his son Śambhuvarman, in charge at Śambhupura. This
family seems now to have ruled nearly the whole delta-region,
because Śambhuvarman seems to have erected an image of his
father there. Śambhuvarman married the heiress to the throne of
the Adhirāja’s of Vyādhapura and thus united all Lower Chenlā.

Śambhuvarman was succeeded by his son; Rajendravarman, in
whom was united the blood of the three great rival dynasty of
Lower Chenlā. This must have taken place after the middle of the
8th century. Rajendravarman I must have reigned until some time in
the last quarter of the 8th Century, when he was succeeded by his
son Mahipatiyarman. The capital was now probably at Bālāditya-
pura (probably Angkor Borei), for the digraphic inscriptions say.
Rajendravarman was also king of Śambhupura, seeming to indicate
that it was not the principal kingdom.
There were other dynasties, perhaps vassals of greater or less importance in Lower Chenlā during this period. Rudravarman, ancestor of all the kings of Cambodia, beginning with Indravarman and uncle of the wife of Jayavarman II, is said by the inscription of Prah ko to be the maternal grand-father of Indravarman I and to have married Narendra Lakshmi, daughter of Nṛpatindravarman. Rudravarman’s daughter, Prthvīndradevi, married Prthvīndravarman, who through his mother was grandson of Nṛpatindravarman. This Prthvīndravarman, father of Indravarman I, was brother of Dharaṇindradevi, wife of Jayavarman II. This Punnāgavarman, son of Rudravarman and Narendra Lakshmi, who founded the Saptadevakula line, must have been a brother of Prthvīndradevi and thus a brother-in-law of Prthvīndravarman. These two men, of the same generation as Jayavarman II, while apparently not kings, are spoken of as men of high rank and great power.

There was the Jayavarman of the inscriptions, Whom Coedes once called Jayavarman I bis. There seems to be no other data to identify him nor to connect him with any royal line, but the genealogical table prepared by Dupont suggests that he was husband and father, respectively, of Jayendrabha and Jayeṣṭhāryā of the inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy. He seems to have represented the Indrapura dynasty, which was apparently a recent off-shoot of that of Śambhupura. Briggs gives the following facts:

(a) that they bear the same name (b) that they were connected with the same regions at approximately the same date and (c) the reasons that probably led Jayavarman II to establish his first capital at Indrapura; are not sufficient to establish Jayavarman I bis as father of Jayavarman II with certainty, but it at least raises a probability and nothing seems to deny it. Perhaps Jayavarman I bis founded a vassal state of Indrapura after the old Śambhupura had been merged into Lower Chenlā while his wife, seems to have been descended from Nṛpatindravarman of Aninditapura. Jayavarman I bis was certainly reigning in the Indrapura region at the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th century and his son would have been a logical candidate to be trained at the Mahārāja’s court to succeed the unfortunate young king who lost his head to the Mahārāja.

Then there was the Jayendrādhipativarman who, a later inscription tells, was the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II and thus descended from the line of Aninditapura. There is nothing to indicate that Jayavarman I bis living on the return of Jayavarman II
from Jávā and Jayendrādhhipativarman may have ruled as vassal king of Indrapura during the minority or absence of the young prince, his nephew.

Dupont opines that the ancestors of Indravarman were vassal rulers of Indrapura. We know that Indrapura was granted as a fief, in AD 598 to one Narasinhagupta, who an inscription of the reign of Iśānavarman tells, held it as a fief during the reigns of Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman and Iśānavarman I. Dupont seems to think that, on the dislocation of Chenlā during or after the reign of Jayavarman I, Indrapura was absorbed by the new dynasty of Sambhupura. According to Briggs seems to have been the situation in Lower Chenlā when an unfortunate disaster overwhelmed the country.

The conquest of maritime Chenlā by the Malays of Java

While the maritime empire of Funān collapsed principally under the pressure of Upper Chenlā, there appeared in Western Indonesia the empire of Śrī Vijaya which exerted an important influence on the course of South-East Asian history of the period. This however, declined after the meteoric rise of the Śailendra dynasty which conquered much of its territory. While Jávā and Malay were thus in turmoil due to a political and military pressure, the island to the south of Lower Chenlā seems to have passed into the possession of a people from overseas regions. Briggs opines that from these islands they carried on depredations on the coasts of champā and Annam. Their depredations constitute a very sorrowful chapter of the History of Champā. While all this was happening, an unexpected assault by a foreign power from the south-west reduced Lower Chenlā to subjugation.

The account of this subjugation is based mainly on the testimony of an Arab merchant, Sulayman, who travelled in AD 851, and has left with the account of his travels. According to it, a king of Lower Chenlā during the closing years of the 8th century once made an imprudent remark which meant a challenge to the authority of Mahārāja of Zābāg (identified with Jávā), and as a result of this the latter set out from his realm, entered the capital of Lower Chenlā as a friendly visitor and took the Khmer king by surprise, beheaded him and placed a new king on the throne as his vassal.

History is silent about the name of this wily Mahārāja of Zābā and the unfortunate king of Lower Chenlā whom he treated with
so much indictiveness. Some scholars opine that the Mahārāja of Zābāg in question was a member of the Śailendra dynasty and the King beheaded under his order was MahipatiVarman. But this is merely a hypothesis. Madrolle felt some difficulty about locating Zābāg (Jāvā) in the south-west and would like to solve the same as follows:92

“The state of Conggal of 732 mentions one Śaiva king of Mataram named Sañjaya, and the Charita Prahyangam speaks of his exploits. From Jāvā Prahayang passed to the country of Malaya (through the straits), he fights the Khmer (Kmir), the Prayang Game is defeated and he fights again Kching.”

After the conquests, the empire of Jāvā extended over the entire Malay-Asia. In fact, in the region of Ligor (name of the Malay Peninsula), has been discovered a stele which mentions Śrī Mahārāja of the Śailendra dynasty. This is the country which the Arab travellers have called Zābāg (Jāvā) and which had one of its political centres in Kedah (Kambuja). Thus the campaign against Cambodia in 780 might be expedition of the monarch taken to be that of Jāvā situated in the peninsula, finally these conquests extended as far as Mekong, since the ancient name of the state of Luang Prabang is Mūong Xua—(Java). This story, thus follows in the following ways:93

“It is said that formerly a king of Khmer was invested with power, he was young and prompt to act. One day he was seated in his palace, which dominated a fresh water river like the Tigris of Irak. Between the palace and the sea the distance was a day’s travel (by river). His minister was in front of him. He was talking with his minister and the question arose of the kingdom of the Mahārāja, its splendour, its numerous population and the islands which were subject to it. “I have one desire,” said the king, “which I would like to satisfy.” The minister, who was sincerely devoted to his sovereign and who knew his rashness in making decisions, asked him, “What is that desire, O king?” The latter replied, “I wish to see before me, on a plate, the head of the Mahārāja, king of Zābāg.”

The Minister understood that it was jealousy which suggested this thought to his sovereign and replied to him:

“I do not wish, O king, that my sovereign should express such a desire. The people of Khmer and Zābāg have never manifested hatred toward—each other, either in words or in acts. Zābāg has
never done us any harm. It is a distant island, not in the neigh-
bourhood of our country. (Its government) has never manifested a
live desire to seize Khmer what the king has said, should not be
repeated."

The king of Khmer was angry (at his minister), he did not listen to
the advice which his wise and loyal counsellor gave him and he
repeated the statement before his generals and the nobles of the
court, who were present.

This statement passed from one mouth to another until it came to
the knowledge of the Mahārāja. The Mahārāja was a powerful
ruler. He was very active and experienced. He had attained a ripe
age. He called his minister and told him what he had heard; then he
added:

"After the statement which this fool has made public wishing to see
my head on a plate because his is young and light, after the divulga-
tion of his statement, it is necessary for me to act. To disregard his
insults would be to harm myself, to debase myself and lower my-
self before him."

"The king then ordered his minister to keep the conversation secret
and to prepare 1,000 vessels of average size, to equip them, to put
on board each of them arms and valiant troops in as great quantity
as possible. (In order to explain these armaments), he declared
openly that he was going to make a pleasure trip in the islands of
his kingdom, and he wrote to the governors of the islands submitted
to him to notify them that he was going to make a pleasure trip to
the islands. The news spread everywhere and the governor of each
Island prepared to receive the Mahārāja in State."

When the orders of the king were executed and the preparations
were finished, the latter embarked and with his fleet and troops set
out for the kingdom of Khmer.

"The king of Khmer did not suspect these events until the Mahārāja
had seized the river leading to his capital and had thrown his troops
into flight. They took the capital by surprise, seized the king and
surrounded the palace. The Khmers fled before the enemy. The
Mahārāja had public cries declare that he would guarantee the
security of everybody, when he seated himself on the throne of the
Khmer king and his minister appears before him. He said to the
Khmer king:

"What caused you to form a desire which was not in your power to
satisfy; which would not have given you happiness if you had realized
it and which would not even have been justified as it was easily realizable?"

The Khmer king did not reply. The Mahārāja continued:

"You have manifested the desire to see before you my head on a plate; but if you had also wished to seize my country and my kingdom or only to ravage a part of it, I would have done the same to Khmer. As you have expressed only the first of these desires, I am going to apply to you the treatment you wished to apply to me and I will then return to my country, without taking anything belonging to Khmer, either of great or small value. My victory (will serve as a lesson) to your successors; no one will be again tempted to undertake a task above his power nor desire more than the share given to him by destiny; one will consider himself fortunate to have health when he can enjoy it. "Then he had the head of the Khmer king cut off. Then he approached the Khmer minister and said to him: "I am going to remove you for the good ministers; for I know well how you wisely counselled your master. (What a pity for him) that he did not listen to you. Look now for some one who will make a good king after this fool, and put him in place of the latter."

Then the Mahārāja left at once to his own country. He did not carry away anything of the Khmers. After the return from the Khmers, he seated himself on the throne which dominated the lake... and had placed before him the plate containing the head of the Khmer king. After wards he invited the high officials of his kingdom and narrated them what had happened and his motives for making the expedition against the king of the Khmer (On learning that), the people of Zābāg wished him all kinds of honour and prayed for their king.

The Mahārāja then had the head of the king of the Khmer washed and embalmed. It was put in a vase and sent to the king who had replaced the decapitated king of Khmer on the throne. The Mahārāja sent a message at the same time saying:

"I have been prompted to act as I have done against your predecessor because of the hatred he manifested against us, and we have chastened him (to give a lesson) to those who wish to imitate him. We have applied to him the treatment he wished to apply to us. We think it wise to send you his head for it is not necessary now to keep it here. We do not draw any glory from the victory we have won over him."

There is no doubt of its significance but the question is where the Mahārāja’s capital was at that time? We have seen that the Mahā-
raja of Zābāg in question was a member of the Šailendra dynasty. Briggs is also of the same view. This is the country which the Arab travellers have called Zābāg (Jāvā) and which had one of its political centres in Kedah (Kataha). Palembang, Jāvā, or the Ligor-Kedah region—each has its adherents. Palembang, is situated exactly in the same meridian as the Upper delta of the Mekong, which would satisfy that statement of Arab writers Jāvā is in the same general direction, but the Bandon region is not.

Either the expedition carried off the successor of the beheaded king or he went to Mahārāja’s capital on a visit of homage, for an inscription several centuries later tells us that a young Kumāra (Prince) returned from Jāvā and was crowned king of the Kambuja and in AD 802 had a ritual prepared so that his country would no longer be depended on Jāvā, however, might mean any of the three regions. The account of Abu Zayd Hasan also says:

“The authority of the Mahārāja is exercised in these islands. His island on which he resides, is as fertile as a land could be and settlements follow each other without interruption. Some one whose testimony is worthy of belief has related that when the cocks of this country start to crow, as they do in Arabia, they answer each other over an extent of 100 parasangs or more.”

There is no doubt that the Mahārāja of Šailendra dynasty conquered the Bandon region and made the second part of the inscription of Ligor and that he reduced Chenlā to submission and set up a vassal king there the documents are clear. But there is a question before the historian that who made the raids of 767 and 774, before the Šailendra were known to history?

On the basis of inscriptions and other documents we know that these raiders came from Jāvā (Da-ba-Cho-Po) and there is no reason to think that they did not mean Jāvā in the strict sense, although some of the ships may have come from other islands of the archipelago. There are two questions in this connection, Did Śrī Vijaya subdue the descendants of Sañjaya, drive a branch of them to East Jāvā, and build the early Buddhist monument of Prambanan and make the earliest raides, before the arrival of the Šailendramake the inscriptions, conquer the Khmers and build the later monuments, including the Borobodur, after the Šailendra had become their ruling dynasty? Or were these later achievements accomplished by a Mahārāja’s empire which had no connection with Śrī Vijaya
but had subdued?

One Khmer inscription says, when Jayavarman a Khmer prince visited Jávā to whom did he visit? Both Śrī Vijaya and the Śailendra dynasty were ardent Mahāyānist, and Jayavarman was Śaivite and, on his return, established the worship of the Liṅga as the State-worship in his new Khmer Empire, partly in accordance with certain ideas if is sometimes though he picked up in Jávā. A temple of Agastya at Dinaya in AD 760 was established by a son of the Ho-ling king of Gresik. According to Coedes, where was guarded a Liṅga, called Putikesvara, which materialised the essence of royalty, a cult which Jayavarman introduced into Cambodia.65 Did Jayavarman, who was presumably hostage at the Mahārāja’s court in central Jávā, visit the Śaivite court at Gresik in East Jávā?

Briggs very clearly answers that young Jayavarman (Later known as Jayavarman II) was taken to the Mahārāja’s court or went there to pay homage as the successor of the beheaded king.66 This event must have occurred in the last few decades of the 8th century. Jayavarman II did not die until A.D. 850. It could not have been the Jayavarman I bis of the inscription Preah Theat Preah Srei and Lobok srot, for he was reigning in AD 770 and 781 at Sambor. His kingdom was apparently a vassal, and his capital too far north to satisfy the geographic conditions. Jayavarman II, apparently a relative, possibly a son, of Jayavarman I bis, seems to have been the successor named by the Khmer minister and approval by the Mahārāja.

The dependence of Kambuja on Jávā during the latter half of the 8th century AD is also indirectly supported by the reference in the inscriptions of Champā to Javanese naval raids on the coast of Annam as far as Tonkin in the north. On the basis of an inscription dated AD 764, it is known that in AD 774 ferocious people of other cities came on ships and burnt a temple of Śiva at Kauthāra (S. Annam) and carried the Mukha liṅga of the god. Another inscription dated 799 AD states that a temple was burnt by the army of Jávā coming by means of ships and became empty in the Śaka year 709 (787 AD). The Chinese annals also refer to an invasion of the northern part of Annam by the people of Daba, which Maspero locates with Jávā in 767 AD. These successive naval raids by Jávā may be taken to indicate some control over the Kambuja kingdom.
The story about the expedition of Zābāg of Mahārāja, already narrated in the previous pages undoubtedly belongs to the domain of folk-lore but may have been based on a real struggle between Zābāg and the Khmer kingdom of Kambuja. It seems to be clear, however, that Jāvā, under either the Śailendras or some other royal dynasty exercised political supremacy over Kambuja attest for a time during the 8th century AD. This sufficiently explains the dismemberment of political fabric that Bhavavarman and his successors had reared in Jāvā. Perhaps the political association between Jāvā and Kambuja also accounts for some of the striking features which we note in the subsequent history of Kambuja, specially the influence of Tāntrika religion and the great building activities—two features which characterize Javanese culture at that time. The removal of the capital of Kambuja from the bank of the Mekong river to inland cities might also, not improbably, have been due to the fear of Javanese naval power. But these are all mere speculations for want of definite details, as the history of Kambuja during this period is shrouded in darkness and no definite conclusion can be arrived at on these and other analogous points.

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11ibid, p. 41, f.n. 4.
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18Ang Chumnik inscription, verse, 6.
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21Quoted by R.C. Majumdar in KD. p. 54.
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28KD, p. 55.
29KCFE, p. 185.
30Aymonier, F, Histoire de L Ancien Cambodge, p. 32.
31JA Ser 10, 9 (13), 1909, p. 481.
32AKE, p. 46.
35Wales, H.G.Q., Siamese State ceremonies, their history and functions, p. 58.
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38ibid, p. 358.
39Vat Chakret ins., Stanza A. 2.
40Verse 21.
41Verse 2—
“स्माताबीय विशेषय श्रेष्ठोऽव भवीमृता ।
रसीज्ज्वलित भोगेन जित श्रीशानवर्मण” ॥
42Majumdar, R.C., AICFE, I, Champa, p. 24.
43AKE, p. 51.
44B.R. Chatterji, translates it—“Perfumed with five sorts of scents” cf, ICIC, p. 45.
45Briggs, L.P. op. cit.  p. 52.
46ISCC, pp. 6, 8.
47BESEO, IV (1904), pp. 691-97.
48JGIS, VI, p. 156.
49Briggs, L.P. op. cit., p. 52.
50ibid.
य: पाकशासन इन विहारों में शासन:
राजा श्री जयवर्धिन विनिताराति मण्डल ।

Ang Chamik ins. V. 16.
Basak (Ramduol) ins. V. 5-7.
Vat Prey Vier V. 1-2
जित ऊतिज्जितशोभ्यों राजाधी जयवर्धिन
वाणिज्य ततो यत्र स्थिराक्षेत्रीरजायत
भृतिष्ठानविद्यो मणक्रक्षण दशिणः
साकातु सहुज्वाला इति ग्राज्यधीमि

Vat Phu ins. V. 2.
ibid; cf. BEFEO, 43 (1943), p. 19.
AKE, p. 57.
HC, p. 78.
Verso 7-9.

या बिश्वविश्वान्तों यो लभे दर्दागगनी सुताम्
पल्ली सरस्वती विप्रो वासिष्ठो ब्रह्मणहो भिव

ब्रह्मणप्रथितावर्तेऽपि पाद पाथ्यादिते तथा:
जगात द्विवेदसहस्य जाता वेदवती तिया

यस्या: पुर्णगृह्यस्य मातुण्डनीं भावसुनुज्जोधिता
रातीश श्री नूपनीवर्धमम तुपतेश श्री यंच शौर्यभवः

BEFEO, 43 (1943), p. 18.
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ibid. p. 5.
ibid. IV (1904), pp. 211-12.
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ibid. 43 (1943), p. 45.
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ibid. 43 (1943), p. 46.
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Lovek A ins. V. 10
BEFEQ, 43 (1943), p. 39.
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Quoted by L.P. Briggs in AKE, p. 67.
AKE, p. 68; cf. FEQ, IX (1950), pp. 274-76.
Les Etats hindouises Ind' Indochine etd' Indonesia p. 157.
AKE, p. 69.
CHAPTER 5

The Angkor Period
(802 AD—1431 AD)

JAYAVARMAN II (802 A.D.—854 A.D.)—The Founder
of the Angkor Dynasty in Cambodia

The Khmer kingdom was at the peak of its power and glory from the 9th to the 12th centuries, and during that period it took in a good part of former Cochin China. The 8th century in Khmer history is almost a complete blank and was evidently a period of great unrest and confusion. It is not until the early 9th century that the whole country comes under the control of a single king, Jayavarman II, who reigned for over fifty years from 802 A.D. to 854 A.D.

Jayavarman II was one of the greatest sovereigns of Indo-China and his accession to the throne in 724 Śaka (802 A.D.) marks the close of a very obscure period of history of Kambuja once more emerges into light, and we can trace her rulers in an unbroken line of succession down to modern times. He figures prominently in the annals of Kambuja and posterity has regarded him almost as a divine hero who was a powerful conqueror and mighty builder. For centuries, his name held conspicuous place in the genealogies of later kings and even now he is the hero of well known Cambodian legends. By the advent of this ruler on the throne of Kambuja, the concept of a unified Cambodian state was established, never to be forgotten by his successor, and a new state religion which established the Khmer ruler as a Devarāja was introduced during his reign.

Briggs believes that Jayavarman II was probably chosen king of the Khmers by the minister or ministers of the beheaded monarch, in accordance with the Mahārāja’s instructions to find a suitable person and make him king.¹ The approval of the Mahārājas was
necessary in this respect and he seems to have paid a visit of homage to that sovereign’s court of Jávā.

We hardly know anything about the early life of Jāyavarman his family and antecedents. Though his reign was a very important and eventful one, the contemporary admirers have left us nothing which might be helpful in this regard. Later inscriptions which mention him, are almost absolutely silent on these points. One of these says.\(^2\)

“For the prosperity of the people in this perfectly pure royal race, great lotus which no longer has a stalk, he (Jayavarman) rose like a new flower.”

Genealogical accounts of a later age represent his grand-mother (mother’s mother) as a niece of (sister’s daughter) Puṣkaraksha—ruler of the united kingdom of Śambhupura, and Aninditapura mentioned above and his queen as a niece (sister’s daughter) of king Rudravarman, of whom nothing else is known. We know nothing about his father, but Jayavarman II apparently came from the region of Śambhupura and, according to the inscriptions of Preah Theat (Preah Srei 770 A.D.) and Lobok Srot (781 A.D.), king Jayavarman had been ruling in that region, apparently as a vassal king and probably as a representative of the ancient kings of Śambhupura, whose crown had been taken by Puṣkaraksha. One account refers to his maternal uncle as a king. These relationships, even if we accept them as true, are not such as would make him a legitimate heir to the throne. Nor does it appear that we got the kingdom by normal right of succession.

Early historians of Cambodia seem to have had difficulty in disposing of Mahipatiavarman son and successor of Rājendravarman I. Bergaigne and Aymonier identified him wrongly with Jayavarman III.\(^3\) Maspero thought Mahipatiavarman had all the rights to the throne, but that he was killed or made prisoner.\(^3\) But the Pre-Rup inscription, says that he was a king.\(^4\) The Mahārāja seems to have solved the problem of the disposal of this prince.

All that we definitely know in that he resided for sometime in Jávā and then returned to Kambuja which was under the domination of Jávā. But the date at which Jayavarman II came from Jávā to rule over Kambuja is an uncertain point, which is full of possibilities, There is not a single record of Jayavarman II and Coedes is of the view that he is almost unique among the kings of Cambodia in that of
he did not leave a single inscription, at least, none has been found.

The earliest reference to him occurs in the inscription of Yaśovarman—who ascended the throne nearly half a century after the death of Jayavarman II. Besides some vague and general expressions about his great power and suzerainty over many kings, the inscription contains two facts of historical importance. As already stated above in the first place the genealogical account contained in them, shows that Jayavarman’s grand mother was a niece of king Puṣaaraṅksha who as already discussed above, was the king of Śambhupura and Aninditapura and Jayavarman’s queen was the niece (sister’s daughter) of king Rudravarman. Secondly, we are told that Jayavarman II fixed his residence on the Mahendra mountain. The Pre Rup inscription of Rājendravarman, who flourished half century after Yaśovarman, adds only the name of the father of Puṣkarāṅkha viz. king Śrī Nṛpatindravarman. Half a century later still an inscription of Sūryavarman (no. 148) mentioned 724 Śaka (802 A.D.) as the date of the accession of Jayavarman II and gives the name of his queen as Pavitrā. On the other hand, on the basis of an inscription of Indravarman (no. 56), Barth infers that Dharanīdradevī was the name of a queen of Jayavarman II. But his arguments are not, however, convincing by R.C. Majumdar, Fortunately, the principal episode of his reign are related in some detail in an inscription of the 11th century on the Stele of Sdok Kak Thom of Udayadityavarman II of 1052 A.D. In view of the importance of this inscription, not only from the point of view of the history of Jayavarman II, but also as throwing very interesting light on the influence of the royal priests in affairs of state.

This important inscription of Sdok-Kak Thom, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer, which gives us the histroy of a family, the heads of which held the post of High Priest of Kambuja for several centuries, devotes considerable number of stanzas to the memory of His Majesty Paramēśvara. This family of High Priest was dwelling in the village Bhadrayogi in the district Vijaya of Indrapura. “His Majesty”, the text tells us, “came from Jávā to reign in the city of Indrapura.”

According to Coedès Jayavarman II’s return from Jávā perhaps motivated by the weakening of the Śailendras on the island, took place around 800 A.D., for we have abundant evidence that the effective beginning of the reign was 802 A.D. He established an in-
dependent kingdom in Kambuja in 802 A.D. because the country was in a state of almost complete anarchy, apparently without a king or divided among many rival principalities and before he could obtain respect for his rights or his pretensions to the throne of Cambodia, the young prince had to conquer at least part of the kingdom.

The most interesting part of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, is the account it gives of the establishment of the cult of Devarāja by Jayavarman II and of the first appointment of a High Priest of this with a royal decree, making the office hereditary in his family. As the whole career of Jayavarman II is narrated in this connection, we way quote the relevant passage in Khmer which runs as follows:

"The family was dwelling in the village of Bhadrayogi in the district of Indrapura. Jayavarman II came from Jáva to reign in the city of Indrapura. The venerable Guru Śivakaivalya became his royal priest. Then His Majesty left Indrapura, and Śivakaivalya accompanied him..... Having arrived at Viṣaya Pūrva desa, he gave lands to Śivakaivalya and his family who followed him there. He also founded a village called Kuṭi and assigned it to them. Then His Majesty reigned in the city of Hariharālaya, Śivakaivalya also settled there with the family..... Then the king forwarded the city of Amarendrapura and Śivakaivalya also settled there for serving His Majesty. Then the king went to reign at Mahendra Parvata. Śivakaivalya also resided there. There His Majesty invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāman, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tāntrika rites so that Kambujadesa might no longer be dependent on Jáva and have a paramount ruler (Chakravarti) of its own. The Brāhmaṇa, who came from Janapada (probably in India), performed some Tāntrika rites (which are described in detail) and the worship of Devarāja. He also initiated Śivakaivalya into these rituals and taught him the sacred books dealing with them. Śivakaivalya, in his turn, taught them to all his relations, and the king took a vow to employ only the family of Śivakaivalya and none else to celebrate the worship of Devarāja, Then His Majesty returned to Hariharālaya and reigned there till his death. Śivakaivalya also died during his reign. His Majesty had brought Devarāja to Hariharālaya and his successors took the god to various capitals which they founded in course of time, as he was regarded as the protector of the realm."

It is obvious at the very outset that Jayavarman II did not inherit the kingdom in a moral way. The fact is that he resided for sometime in Jáva, for reasons or under circumstances not known to us, and then returned to his native land which was under the domination of a foreign power ruling in Jáva. He freed the land from the foreign yoke and even went to the length of performing religious
rites to ensure the continuity of its newly gained independence. It is probable that he was sent by the suzerain power to rule Kambuja as a vassal chief, and found opportunity to proclaim his independence. But we have no definite information on this point, and other explanations are possible. What seems to be certain is that by some means or other he established an independent kingdom in Kambuja.

That Jayavarman II did not secure the throne by right of birth seems to follow also from the genealogical account of Yasovarman and Rûjendravarman to whom reference has already been made above. It is true that according to the genealogy both Jayavarman and his queen were related to the royal families of Kambuja. But the very fact that even the genealogy drawn up in the royal court could show no better claim to throne either for Jayavarman II or his queen amounts almost to a positive evidence that he or this queen had no such claim worth-mentioning. For no body can pretend that these relationship, even if accepted as true, would make Jayavarman II the natural or legitimate heir to the throne. It is probable that they were recorded, perhaps even desired, in later times to give an appearance of legitimacy to the claim of Jayavarman upon the throne of Kambuja which he had actually seized by some means or other. That Jayavarman II did not ascend the throne by right of heredity may be concluded from verse 8 of the Phnom Sandak inscription (no-69) recorded in Śaka 817 (= 895 A.D.). The royal race to which he belonged is therein described as the "great lotus stock which did not rise from the soil, and he is said to have rises, like a fresh lotus for the prosperity of his subjects". Barth has pointed out that this evidently alluded to a change of dynasty, and this view appears quite reasonable.

On the other hand, a casual reference in inscription no. 58 Vat Chakret verse 30 to Jayendrādhipativarman as maternal uncle of Jayavarman II might indicate some legitimate claim to the throne. We do not know exactly the status of Jayendrādhipati, nor have we any idea whether he had any male issue but considering the importance of daughters in matters of succession in Kambuja, Jayavarman II might have some real claim to the throne through his mother. Inscription no 50 dated 803 A.D. records the donations of queen Jyeśṭhāryā and mentions Jayendra, queen Nṛpendrādevī and king Śrīndraloka. On the basis of chronology, Majumdar identified this Jayendra with Jayendrādhipativarman, as the date falls early in the
reign of Jayavarman II. It may be held that the former did not reign long before and in the opinion of the same scholar Jayavarman may be presumed to have had legitimate claim to the kingdom of Śambhupura, the region where this inscription was found, as the successor of Jayendrādhhipatīvarman.

But, however, he might have come to the throne, the most important and interesting point was the frequent change of his capitals. Many inscriptions tell that he established his capital on mount Mahendra in 802 A.D. But he had reigned in three other capitals before that, one of which he is said to have founded. Apparently, he was searching for a satisfactory capital and his stay in each of these places was transient. Presuming that Jayavarman II came from Jāvū about 790 A.D. and was twenty years of age at that time, he would have been eighty years of age at the time of his death in 859 A.D. According to Briggs this date is purely speculative, but it is evident that the year 790 is about as far back as it is reasonable to push the date of his coming. Coedes, as already discussed above, places the date of the coming of Jayavarman II, at about 800 A.D. The evidence seems to favour a date for his coming not much before 800 A.D. If we accept the view of Briggs this would give him twenty years to reside in the three capitals and arrive at the fourth which is more than sufficient when it is evident that none of them satisfied the conditions he was seeking.

In 1904, Coedes created a Jayavarmon I bis to satisfy the exigencies of the inscriptions of Preah Theat Preah Sreī and Lobok Srot (as already discussed). In 1928, on the belief that Jayavarman II's reign ended in 854, A.D. instead of 869 A.D. as was formerly supposed, Finot omitted the opinion that this Jayavarman I bis should be suppressed. Even Coedes conceded that the date Śaka 781 was not too early to assign to Jayavarman II. On the basis of a newly discovered inscription, Jayavarman's death occurred in 850 A.D. In that case, Jayavarman II would have died at eighty years of age. This still leaves us in the dark regarding the Jayavarman of the inscription of 770, which is the date of Jayavarman II's supposed birth.

We are told that Jayavarman II changed his capital at the following four places but first fixed his capital at Indrapura. The location of these towns as his capital is not free from difficulty, and we may briefly refer to the current views on the subject.
Indrapura

Finot, who edited the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, thought Indrapura, was undoubtedly a little principality, situated in the vicinity of the Great lake, and that Jayavarman II extended his kingdom progressively to include the adjoining regions. P. Stern locates Indrapura at Baray near Angkor.

On the other hand Coedes locates Indrapura, on the eastern side of the Mekong between the present sites of Phnom Penh and Kratie and suggests the old capital of Banteay Prei Nokor, nor too far from the site of the inscriptions of Jayavarman I bis of Śāmbhupura. If Jayavarman II was a native of Śāmbhupura, which seems probable, it is reasonable to think that he chose a capital near his old home. The reasons for thinking Jayavarman II came from the region of Sambor, included the following:

1. He or Jayavarman I bis (who was possibly his father) is mentioned in the inscription of 770 and 781, which come from this region.
2. He chose as his first capital Indrapura mentioned by inscriptions of Loley and Phum Mien as in this region.
3. The inscription of Ta King Sambor says that the hereditary servants of the god of Śāmbhupura were relatives of Jayavarman II.
4. The Khmer inscription of Theat Kuk Prasat at Sambor says four of Jayavarman II's relative built the gates of the temple of Sambor.
5. The inscription of Vat Tasar Moroi Sambor dated 803 shows that the custom of giving a posthumous name to a king after his death, which became general in Kam bujadeśa after the reign of Jayavarman II, existed at Śāmbhupura at a very beginning of his reign.
6. The inscription of Preah Theat K. van Pir, in the region, gives the first example in Cambodian history of a king identifying himself with a god, as in the worship of Devarāja, introduced by Jayavarman II.
7. The inscription of Tuol Kuk Prasat (Sambor) says that, at the very beginning of the reign of Jayavarman II, the Devarāja (which was established on mount Mahendra in A.D. 802) was already adored at Śāmbhupura under the very name of Vṛāh Kāmraten añ Tā rāja.

Coedes identifies Jayavarman II with the dynasty of Śāmbhupura and thinks that during the 8th century A.D. that dynasty probably represented the legitimate in Chenlā. By that he probably means they were the legitimate successors of Jayavarman I. The death of
Mahāpativarman probably extinguished the line of Rājennaravarman and Jayavarman I, so Jayavarman II probably came back from Jávā to rule in his native region. He may have claimed through a collateral line through a maternal ancestor who was a minister of Puskarāksha or through his father, whose ancestry is unknown, but who apparently was connected with the Śambhupura dynasty whatever his ancestry, genealogists of later reigns have provided him with a genealogy which meets all the exigencies of long standing customs.

He next launched a campaign of conquest and proceeded to Purva-deśa, to the east of Angkor region. Coedes holds in common with Aymonier, that the name is still preserved in Banteay Kdei, though its famous temple is later in date.10 The ancient Viṣaya of Pūrvadeśa lay to the east of the Siemreap river, near the forth west corner of the later East Baray.

It has been assumed on good grounds that Jayavarman II had not in the beginning Upper Chenlā under his control and had to conquer even Lower Chenlā through different stages. He began this con-
quest after his return from Jávā. This he did not accomplish without trouble. According to, Palhal inscription (dated 1069), he seems to have begun the conquest when he was reigning at Indrapura. The regions of Vṛdhapura (Ba Phnom) and Vrai Krapai,20 which were outlying the city of Indrapura were, however, loyal to him. The two brothers, Śivakaivalya and Śivavinduka belonging to this region accompanied Pṛthvinarendra—burning like fire the enemy troops' and went to Malyang in south Battambang and reduced the country. Either he then fought there actually or might have used his honour and prestige as a Śivāchārya to win over the opposing force. The people were compelled to pay a perpetual tribute.

Pṛthvinarendra solicited a piece of land for these two brothers, apparently in this region which they had helped to conquer, and later, the king also granted it to them.21 These two brothers mentioned above seem to have put him on sure road to success. The very close co-operation which Śivakaivalya offered to Jayavarman II for consolidating his hold upon the kingdom is significant. Jayavarman II's marrying their younger sister, the Śramini Hyang Amrita and hon-ouring him by his appointment as hereditary hotar and purohita of Devarāja, may be taken as an expression of his deep gratitude towards the Brāhmaṇa, who in all likelihood, according to M.M. Ghosh did in the case of Chandragupta, the great Maurya king of
ancient India.22

Hariharālaya

From Indrapura, Jayavarman II shifted his capital to Hariharālaya, (which is identified with Roluos, about 13 miles to the south-east of Angkor Thom) after bringing its vicinity under his control. The region was perhaps a part of Chakravihaphon (Chikreng) conquered by Iśānavarman I during the early part of his reign and when the ruins of temples of an earlier date Svay Pream, Prei prasat, Trapeang Phong Prasat Olak have been found.23

The Sdok Kak Thom inscription follows24 "Then His Majesty was Kurung on the site of the royal city of Hariharālaya. The Steng an Sivakaivalya resided also in the city.25 As for his family, they were made pages of the king."

Aymonier’s identification of this city with Prah Khan, immediately to the north of Angkor Thom had been generally accepted. Coedes pointed out that Hariharālaya corresponds to a group of ruins called the Roluos Groups, situated some 15 kilometres south-east of Siemreap and including a monument Loley. This theory has now been fully confirmed by the inscription of Kok Svay Prahon (nolor)26. On this site were several edifices belonging to the Pre-Angkorian art; Jayavarman II was, by and large, content to make repairs on them, although the construction of some new edifices can be attributed to him. ‘The abode of Harihara’, this Hariharālaya seems to have been in existence before Jayavarman II, made his capital there, as it is not said that he founded it and it draws its name from a divinity, in great favour during the early Chenla period, but whose worship seems to have been already declining.

The exact location of the capital and temple of Jayavarman II is uncertain. Coedes points out that two stages of development of the temple of Trapeang Phong correspond to the two Sojourns of Jayavarman II at Hariharālaya and suggests possible locations of the city one of which was the site of the later temple of Prah Ko.27

The changes of capital were motivated, according to Briggs by two desires.28

1. To find a place more difficult of access and more easily defensible against the Mahārāja and the piratical attacks of his marauding Malays, as well as against internal enemies.

2. To find a suitable eminence for the location of his tower-temple, which he had already apparently conceived, and to establish a
royal god, or Devarāja, which idea he may have borrowed from Jāvā, in imitation of the central mountain and temple of Śiva on mount Kailāśa.

So, he went far up the Tonle Sap and the Great Lake to Hariharālaya, but now positively identified by an inscription as the site of the later Roluos Group of mountains, where food-supply of fish and rice for the citizens was more easily obtainable. But no temple of royal God, which according to an inscription was also shifted here has yet been identified conclusively.

*Amarendrapura*

"After wards, the inscription says, the king went to found the city of Amarendrapura, and the royal chaplain also settled in this city to serve the king. He asked a piece of land of His Majesty Parmesvara near Amarendrapura and founded there the Surk of Bhavālaya. He brought some of his relatives from the Surk of Kuṭi to establish them there. He gave (these) relatives to a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṅgādhra, founded a Śivalimā and assigned it to some serfs."

The identification of Amarendrapura is uncertain, but it was probably situated close to Angkor. Groslier has attempted to revive an old hypothesis of E. Aymonier and identify Amarendrapura with the great temple of Banteay Chamar about 100 miles to the north east of Angkor Thom. But recent researches have shown that this great sanctuary belongs to a much later period of architecture and that the architecture of Jayavarman II like those of Funān and Chenlā, consisted mainly of wood and brick edifices of which little except the ruins remain.

On the archeological and epigraphical evidences, the region tend to locate Amarendrapura in the immediate vicinity of the present Angkor Thom region, on the south side of the west Baray, near the western end. Here Jayavarman II constructed and consecrated to a Liṅga under the name of Gambhīresvara a three stage, five towered pyramid temple, the fore runner of the Khmer terrace temple of the Devarāja which culminated in the famous Viṣṇuite temple of the Angkor Vat.

*Mahendraparvata*

Amarendrapura does not seem to have satisfied Jayavarman II’s
requirements for a new capital and he continued the search. He shifted the capital further to the west, to Amarendraapura, probably when the conquest extended further in that direction. Then continues the inscription, 'the king went to reign at Mahendraparvata, and the Lord Śivakaivalaya brought over his family from Kuṭi where they were settled earlier. Then a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāman, learned in the magical sciences, came from Janapada at the king’s invitation to perform a ritual designed to ensure that the country of the Kambayas would no longer be dependent on Jāva and that there would be no more than one sovereign who was Chakravartin (universal monarch). The Brāhmaṇa performed a ritual according to the sacred Vīnāśikha and established a lord of the universe who was the king (Sanskrit Devarāja), This Brāhmaṇa taught the sacred Vīnāśikha, the Nayottara, the Sammoha and the Śirachchhda. Information is lacking about the exact nature of this ceremony, but the Sanskrit part of the inscription calls these śāstras the four faces of Tumburu, these four śāstras representing the four mouths of Lord Śiva, represented by Gañdharva (divine messenger) Tumburu. Finot first thought these texts as Tāntrika and a group of tantras have been found in Nepal which seems to confirm this opinion."

The Brāhmaṇa recited them from beginning to end in order that they might be written down and taught to Lord Śivakaivalya and he ordained Lord Śivakaivalya to perform the ritual of the Devarāja. The king and the Brāhmaṇa Hiranyadāman took an oath to employ the family of Lord Śivakaivalya to conduct the worship of the Devarāja and not to allow others to conduct it. The Lord Śivakaivalaya, the chief priest (purohita) assigned all his relatives to this cult.

Aymonier identified Mahendraparvata with the Phnom Kulen (to the north west of Angkor Thom—at the shores of the Siemreap river) the sandstone plateau that dominates the northern part of the Angkor plain. But the absence of any monument on the top of this hill led Aymonier to place the city of Jayavarman at the foot of the hill amidst the ruins of Beng Mealea, and only by fiction on top of the hill. For the same reason Finot proposed its identification with Praḥ Khan. But the hill top contains some brick towers (Prasat Damrei Krap and a few other small brick building) intermediate in style between the primitive Khmer act and that of Indravarman.

Coedes says that:

"It is worth while to dwell a monument on what happened at Phnom Kulen, the more so since Jean Filliozat has shown recently that, in southern India, Mount Mahendra was considered the residence of Śiva of king of all the Gods (Devarāja), including Indra Devarāja, and as sovereign of the country where the mountain
stands."

The location of Jayavarman II's city on the top of the Phnom Kulen may therefore, be accepted.⁵⁵ Since the only monument at Phnom Kulen that suggests a pyramid is Krus Preah Aram Rong Chen, it undoubtedly corresponds to the first sanctuary of the Devarāja. When Jayavarman II and his successors ceased to reside on Mahendraparvata they built other temple-mountains at the centre of their subsequent capitals.

If the above identifications are accepted it would follow that immediately after his return from Jávā, Jayavarman II fixed his capital at Indrapura, not far from the ancient royal seat of Śāṁbhupura. It is noteworthy that an inscription found near the city records the construction of gates of the temple of the Lord of Śāṁbhupura by four relations of Jayavarman II.⁵⁶ It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that Jayavarman II himself was a native of that region and naturally set up his first capital in its neighbourhood. But then we find a gradual change of royal seat towards the west, first towards Angkor, than further west towards Battambang, and lastly again back to Angkor. Were these changes merely due to royal caprices or inspired by a desire to find a suitable site for the capital of the newly founded kingdom? It is difficult to accept any of these views, though they have found favour with scholars.

For all we know it may be a sign of weakness or indication of troubles which forced the king to take refuge in different parts of the country. Considering the past history of Kambuja, and the almost certain fact that Jayavarman II had no legitimate claim to this kingdom, nothing is more natural than to suppose that his accession to power was not peacefully secured, and he had to pass many years in constant troubles which forced him almost to a nomadic-court life as Coedes very aptly describes it. In any case, this is not a less reasonable hypothesis than any of the other two noted above. In that case our view about the life and reign of Jayavarman II would undergo almost a radical change. Instead of regarding him as a grand monarch who united the whole of Kambuja into a powerful kingdom, set up successive capitals in different parts of the kingdom, and endowed them with palaces and temples whose ruins lie scattered in the sites of these cities, we have to look upon as an adventures who managed to set up as an independent king but had to strive hard almost the whole of his life to secure the position he had
gained against other possible rivals. What has been visualised as a foundation of beautiful capitals, one after another, may be no more than seeking refuge in distant courses of his kingdom against powerful foes.

The names of the successive capitals indicate that Jayavarman II established his sway over the whole of Kambuja. R.C. Majumdar is of the view that the frequent change of capitals was the result of the chaotic political condition of Kambuja at the time of Jayavarman's return from Java. Perhaps it took him much time to bring the whole kingdom under his control. Beginning with his native kingdom of Śāmbhupura in the east, he gradually proceeded westwards, and the different stages of political consolidation. Ultimately when the whole country was subdued, he fixed his final capital at Hariharālaya in the central part of the kingdom.

R.C. Majumdar attracts our attention to Po-nagar inscription of Harivarman which has generally been overlooked by scholars. The inscription refers to one of the generals of king Harivarman as having ravaged Kambuja and forcibly advanced up to the very heart of the kingdom. This inscription being dated in the year Śaka 739, the incident must have taken place at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. i.e. early in the reign of Jayavarman II. It is not impossible, therefore, that the Cham inscriptions forced Jayavarman to leave Indrapura and even the Angkor region and betake himself to the western part of the kingdom. It was only when that menace was over that he could again come back to the Angkor region and spend his last years in his capital Hariharālaya. The final choice of this capital, in place of the old Indrapura was perhaps also influenced by the same consideration viz. to remove the seat of the capital from the dangerous neighbourhood of the border of Champā. All these are possible interpretation of the few facts that the record of the priestly family has preserved to prosperity and, according as we accept one or the other, we shall have to view the life and reign of Jayavarman II in altogether different lights. Thus if we hold that all the capital cities were in his possession at one and the same time, we must hold that he reigned over the whole of Kambuja and brought about the unity of the country after the lapse of more than a century.

Jayavarman II established his capital on Mount Mahendra (Mahendraparpvata-Phnom Kulen) and from there he declared his independence and renounced the suzerainty of Java in 802 A.D.
Then, for more than six hundred years, the capital of the independent Khmer Empire was in the vicinity of the present Angkor. He traced his origin to Kambu and Sūryavarna and not to Kaundinya and Somavarna. He is referred to as Kambujājendra and guardian of the honour of the Solar race of king Kambu. His queen bore the name or epithet Kambujājalakshmi. After him Kambujājendra and Kambujeśvara became the official titles of kings and at one time, Yaśovarman I gave the name Kambujapurī his capital Yaśodharapurī and even foreigners refer to the country as Kambuja for the first time in an inscription of Champā (Po-nagar (II) 817 A.D.

As already discussed in the previous pages, Jayavarman II, having quit the region and found on Mount Mahendra a satisfactory place for his capital he decided to declare his independence of Jāva. So he invited a wise Brāhmana, versed in magic to make the necessary ritual to establish a Chakravarti (i.e. supreme) Government in Kambujadeśa, hence it should no longer be dependent on Jāva. It was the Khmer declaration of independence. It had the effect of the establishing Supreme Government by divine sanction and of rendering Kambujadeśa independence of Jāva. It marked the most important date of Khmer history.

With the help of devoted and able officers Jayavarman II was able to consolidate his power. He is generally credited by the historians with the conquest of the whole of Kambuja and consolidation of a powerful kingdom with the Angkor region as its centre. But apart from later traditions there is no evidence to support this view. So far as can be judged from available evidence, his kingdom extended from Angkor region and part of Battambang on the west to the Mekong-Indrapura region on the east. To the north it reached the Dangrek mountains, but in the south it did not probably extend beyond the Mekong valley at the latitude of Kampong Cham. It is more reasonable to hold that there were other kingdoms too, in Cambodia rivalling that of Jayavarman II. According to a Chinese chronicle written in 863 A.D., the Khmers kingdom at that time included the whole of central Indo-China and touched the frontiers of Yunnan in southern China. The Arab writer Yakubi also describes the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the king of which receives homage of other kings. Abu Ibu Khordaba (c. 844-848) says the Khmer king forbid both drinking and adultery.
But from a statement of the Chinese history written between 806 and 820 A.D. to the effect that maritime Chenlā brought tribute to China, it has been assumed that Lower Chenlā was outside the authority of Jayavarman II till 813, but this assumption does not seem to be plausible. The Chinese possibly made a mistake in confusing Chenlā of the time with Lower Chenla with which they were more familiar during the preceding thirty years when Jayavarman II brought Lower Chenlā under his control. The tribute of maritime Chenla mentioned in the history of the Chinese might be their way of mentioning an embassy of Jayavarman II carrying presents to the emperor of China whose friendliness he was anxious to obtain. And the Chinese history for some reason or other did not mention his name. It does not seem possible that Jayavarman II could think of assuming Chakravartin power, when his southern flank was still under an independent king who could think of turning hostile.

According to a Champā inscription dated 817 A.D. the Cham army ravaged the cities of Kambuja up to the middle of the country though Maspero thinks otherwise—‘This was probably no more than border raids. R.C. Majumdar thinks that it is not unlikely that this forced Jayavarman II to leave his eastern and central capital and betake himself to the western region and towards the end of his reign, Jayavarman II seems to have gone back to Hariharālaya which was his former capital.’

In order to house his royal liṅga (—symbol of sovereignty) properly, Jayavarman II erected a pyramid temple. He had perhaps observed this form of worship and this type of temple in Jāvā and had started to build such a temple at Amarendrapura before locating his capital on Mahendraparvata. The terraced pyramid was intended to symbolise mount Meru, the abode of the Gods, centre of the universe in Hindu cosmology, Stern has brought to light some thirty temples in a space—five or six miles square on the plateau of Kulen. Most of the temples were when discovered shapeless mounds; but excavations have shown something of their plan and construction. One of the most ancient of the revived temples, Krus Preah Aram Rong Chen, or Rong Chen, near the centre of the city, was a pyramid temple of three gradius, now in ruins. There seems to be little doubt that it was the temple where Jayavarman II established the royal Liṅga. It is the first example in Cambodia of the true pyramid
temple, so intimately associated with the worship of the royal līṅga, later known as Devarāja.43

Until recently it was believed that some of the great monuments of Cambodia—Preah Khan, Banteay Chmar, Bang Melea were built by Jayavarman II to mark the sites of his successive capitals—Hariharaḷaya, Amarendrapura, and Mahendrapavata. Aymonier was the first scholar, who made these identification44 and the temple of Bayon later included in the list. P. Stern, by a close study of the styles of architecture, sculpture and decorations proved satisfactorily that these monuments could not have followed immediately after primitive Khmer art and assigned them to much later date.45 The view given by Stern was universally accepted by the historians but his attempts to fix later dates were not so satisfactory. Almost immediately, Coedes published a series of articles, which fixed the dates of the monuments in question and definitely established the capitals of Jayavarman II with the exception of Amarendrapura.46 Since then, the researches of Coedes, Goloubew, Parmentier, Marchal and others have done much to establish a new chronology; while other studies particularly the excavations of the Mission Stem de Coral at Phnom Kulen and in 1937, have revealed a new city on Phnom Kulen and an act transitional between primitive or Pre-Angkorian Khmer Art and the art of the later classical period.47

Jayavarman thus established the cult of the Devarāja as the official religion of the kingdom. Since the coming of the second Kaṇḍinya, it seems, the official religion of Funan and Chenlū had been the worship of a Śivaliṅga under the vocable of Maheśvara, set up in a temple on a mountain in the capital. Even the earliest kings of Funān apparently worshipped a Śivaliṅga in a temple on a mountain. Jayavarman’s innovation seems to have been to identify the kings with Śiva, a sort of apotheosis of the king during his life. The King-God conceived to be the eternal abstract essence of the king confounded with the divine essence and worshipped in the form of a līṅga under the vocable of the first part of the king’s name plus eśvara (for Iśvara-Śiva). Thus, according to the custom, perhaps not established until later, the royal līṅga enthroned probably at Rong Chen, should have been called Jayeśvara.

This miraculous līṅga, says Coedes, sort of palladium of the kingdom, is generally considered as having been obtained from Śiva by the intermediary of a Brāhmaṇa who gives it to the king founder
of the dynasty. This communication between the king and the God by the intermediary of a priest is made on a holy mountain, natural or artificial, and by this conception we rejoin the old Mesopotamian belief. The sage Bhrgu is said to have performed the same service for Uroja, founding the dynasty of Indrapura in Champū in 835 A.D.48 Agastya seems to have performed a similar service for Jávā in 760 A.D.

In spite of the clear words of the inscription mentioned above, and their obvious implications, some scholars have assumed that the Liṅga was a symbol of the king's Chakravartin power and the ritual was meant for establishing his divine right of kingship. M.M. Ghosh does not follow them and says that according to Hindu tradition, which was then being followed in Kambuja, the king was naturally an assemblage of eternal particles of the eight gods such as Indra, Aila (the mind God), Yama (the God of justice), Arka (the Sun God), Agni (the God of Fire), Varuṇa (the sea-God), Chandra (the Moon God), and Kubera (the God of wealth).49 Hence any ritual for imparting divinity to him was superfluous. This ritual was indeed performed to endow the king with the claiming sovereignty over him. The liṅga was installed as the perpetual guardian of the kindom and the royal power. The Varakhandha (the Preah Khan) or the Gift sword (the sacred sword), the palladium of the kingdom was also probably made and consecrated at the time of installing Devarāja. Hence this sword is still religiously guarded day and night by the Bakos who are descendants of the ancient Brāhmaṇa priests. The sword is preserved to this day in the palace of Phnom Penh. Maspero says that according to the Cambodian traditions it was made by Viśvakarmā—the divine architect of India and was given to the kings of this land.

From the later history of Kambuja, it appears that Devarāja was a source of strength to the throne for a long time. Jayavarman II appointed him old hotar-Śivakaivalya, as pu饪ita of the Devarāja and Hiranyadāman taught Śivakaivalya how to prepare the ritual to create a new Devarāja. Jayavarman and the Brāhmaṇa Hiranyadāman gave benedictions and imprecations enjoining that the line of Śivakaivalya should officiate for the Devarāja and that it should be forbidden for others to so officiate. Thus Jayavarman II made the celebration of the cult of the Devarāja hereditary in the head of this family. This raised Śivakaivalya to the position of supreme pontiff
and established a sort of sacerdotal hierarchy in Cambodia. It was
the firm idea of the Brāhmaṇa and the king that only Yatis or women
born in his (the hotars) mother's line and having learning and
strength, would (in future) be the priest of that (God) and no one
else (would deserve this honour). 50

On the basis of Vat Thinpei B inscription, we know that the
purohita and hotar of Devarāja was not perhaps the priest for ritual
connected with royal household. So Jayavarman II appointed the
sage Pranavatman to that post. Simi'arly, Prasat Takeo (V.II) says
that the Brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇapāla Amarendra, who was also called
Keśavabhaṭṭa and Mahendrārimathana, who married a sister of the
queen, was also hotar. Phnom Prah Vihar inscription, 51 mentions
him purohita but this could not have meant that he was purohita of
Devarāja.

Besides the above hotars and purohitas Jayavarman II had the
following ministers:

1. Nāsā—The Preah Vihár inscription refers to him and says, the
king had a servant named Nāsā, who inspired confidence
by his good conduct. 52

2. Nādhā—Verses 8 and 9 of the above mentioned inscription re-
sfes to Nādhā. In the service of the king he became chief
of the army and got the titles of Nrpendravyaya and Pr-
thvīnarendra. 53

3. Jayendraśā | Trapeans inscription tells these two names who
or served Jayavarman II and whose successors ser-
Jayendravallabh | ved many later kings in various capacities.

As already said in the previous pages Jayavarman II had more than
one queen and one of them as we have seen, was the younger sister of
Sivakaivalya, whose name was Hyang Amta, also called as Nrpen-
dradevi. The names of the other queens were Hyang Pavitra, 54
Dharaṇindradevi, 55 Kambuja Lakṣmī who was also called as
Prāṇa, 56 and Bhās Svāminī. But the first three names as Briggs opines
belonged possibly to the chief queen. 57 Bhās Svārminī was the daughter
of a Brāhmaṇa named Viṣṇu. Dharaṇindradvi is expressly called the
mother of Jayavarman II (originally known as Jayavardhana).

From the Phnom Sandak inscription, 58 his queen was a niece of
Rudravarman, who was ruling at Dviadapura near Lovek in the
latter part of the 8th century and according to the Baksei Chamkrong
inscription,59 she was the paternal aunt of Indravarman I, who dedicated a funerary tower to her at Preah Ko, under the name of Dharaṇidrādevī. An inscription dated 725 Śaka refers to the donation of queen Jyesthāryā to Śiva. As the date falls in the reign of Jayavarman II, she may be another queen of the same name.60

We know from the inscriptions that some of his matrimonial relatives held the post of great importance such as the chief of castes, guardians of the bed—chamber and custodian of the king’s private chamber. An inscription says that Śivavinduka, brother of Śivakaivalya and of Jayavarman II’s wife, Hyang Amṛta, was of great aid to Pāthivinarendra in pacifying the country.61 The Lovek A inscription says, Pannāgavarman, son of Rudravarman of Dviadapura and therefore cousin of the wife of the king, founded the Grāma (village) of Saptadavakula and that the descendants of this line became ministers and priests of the kings.

It was in Hariharālaya that Śivakaivalya—the purohita and hotar of Devarāja died and Jayavarman II also soon followed his great friend and admirer to the other world. It seems that he lived for more than one hundred years. The Tuol Ta Pec inscription mentions that he died in 850 A.D. but those who are unwilling to consider him to be so long-lived, like to postulate one Jayavarman I bis before him. M.M. Ghosh is of the view that Hun Pan Huang—the successor of Kauṇḍinya I died at more than ninety years of age, we can well assume, till the controversy is proved that Jayavarman II lived more than one hundred years.62 He received the posthumous name of Parameśvara (Supreme lord i.e. Śiva). The idea behind this was probably that on his death he merged in Śiva. Thus the custom of granting a posthumous name to a king, of which we had a previous case in Chenlā, became fixed at the beginning of the Kambujā period and this custom, according to Briggs seems to have come from Śāṅbhupura, where Jayavarman’s family seems to have originated.63 Henceforth, after his death a king always referred to in the inscriptions by his posthumous name. M. Finot writes that he was probably a Buddhist in the beginning of his reign.64 This conclusion is based mainly on two grounds viz. that Jayavarman II came from Javā which was a centre of Buddhist and he founded Amarendrapura, now represented by Banteny Chmar whose sculptures are predominantly Buddhist. None of these proves much and the identification in the latter case is open doubt as mentioned above.64
The generally accepted view that Jayavarman II died in 791 Śaka (869 A.D.) is based on Aymonier’s interpretation of the Kok Rosci inscription. This inscription contains a date for the accession of a king, but as the first part of both is missing, we only know that a certain king, whose name ended in Varman, ascended the throne in the Śaka year 91 of an unknown century. R.C. Majumdar believed that Aymonier doubtfully read the first of the name as ‘Jaya’ and argued that as the dates of accession of all the kings bearing the same name Jayavarman except that Jayavarman III, are known, and none of them falls in the year 91 of any century, we must hold that, Jayavarman III ascended the throne in 791 Śaka and consequently his father Jayavarman II died in that year. This view was generally accepted, but Coedes has very successfully demonstrated that the inscription in question must be referred to the reign of Jayavarman II. In support of his view that the 791 Śaka cannot be regarded as the date of accession of Jayavarman III, Coedes has offered a new interpretation of the Prasat Cak inscription of Jayavarman dated the year 791 Śaka. This interpretation was regarded by all, including Coedes, as a definite confirmation of Aymoniers’ view and a expression containing the words ‘16’ years was taken to refer to the age of the king. Coedes now interprets the expression to mean that the inscription was really engraved in the 16th year of the reign, and not when the king was 16 years old. This view to be quite reasonable for while the inscriptions often refer to the regnal year, it is very seldom, if ever, that they refer to the age of the king. Now, according to the new interpretation, 791 Śaka was the 16th regnal year of Jayavarman III, who must have therefore, ascended the throne in 854 A.D. This view has since been confirmed by the discovery of Inscription no. 51 (Phnom Dei Temple) which gives the date 742 Śaka for Jayavarman III. We may thus hold that Jayavarman II ruled from 802 A.D. to 854 A.D.

The real ground of Jayavarman II’s posthumous fame probably lies, neither in large extent of his kingdom nor in the number and magnificence of his monuments, but in the fact that he set himself up as an independent king and received religious consecration at such a time when Jává exercised suzerainty over Cambodia. Though there is no contemporary document on the reign of Jayavarman II, from later inscriptions and other indirect evidence, we can form a dependable picture of this great king. Considered in every aspect he seems
to be the greatest of the Cambodian monarchs. He founded the Khmer Empire and fixed the exalted position of the monarch. He freed his country from the yoke of a foreign Mahārāja who inflicted great humiliation on its people by beheading their king after a cowardly attack. He founded his capital in a region where it remained for more than six hundred years during the entire period of his country's greatness. For this, he will ever remembered by worshippers of freedom in Cambodia. But he not only made his country free, but also made it one of the most powerful states of South-East Asia in his time, and organised his domain so very ably that during more than two centuries which followed Kambuja could develop a culture and civilisation that have evoked the admiration even of modern peoples.

The great efflorescence of architecture and art which the next four century witnessed, had its sure beginning in his reign due to his great piety, initiative and cultivated taste. But in spite of this he was singularly true from human vanity. A unique power and prestige although he enjoyed, he did not let any one praise him in any inscription the absence of which is probably to be accounted for in his express prohibition against doing of the kind.

He established a state religion, which remained for centuries in spite of the personal views of several monarchs and which is not without influence at the present time. No ruler of Cambodia has equalled him in the extent and duration of his influence. One of his successors said in one inscription:67

"He seated himself on the lions which ornament his throne; he imposed his emblems over kings, he established his residence on the top of Mount Mahendra, and with all he had within him no pride."

"There was a king Jayavarman, whose command was placed on the head (as it were an ornament) by rulers prostrate before him, who was invested with a radiant splendour by the goddess of victory. Bearing in his four arms the immovable earth like another Viṣṇu, the god with four arms, knowing the four vedas like a Brahmā (the god with four faces) Come down on earth."68

The Phnom Sandak inscription, which was inscribed during the reign of Yaśovarman in 817 Śaka contains in the second part an eulogy of Jayavarman II:

"There was a paramount sovereign of kings, Śrī Jayavarman, to
whose toes the radiant jewels of the diadenes of prostrate kings gave an increased lustre. For the welfare of the subjects, in this perfectly pure royal race, the great lotus (stalk) which had no connection with the soil, he rose like a fresh lotus maidens, when they saw him, said (to themselves).

"My eyes, you may remain closed—This auspicious person shall not leave my mind for an instant. "Nothing could serve as a comparison of his beauty, as there is some draw-back or other (in all things which could be compared), the moon. e.g. though like his face, is enveloped by Rāhu (suffers eclipse and thus cannot be really compared with him). The earth girdled by the oceans is not too heavy for his arms—even as his death dealing bow string suffices to humble the rulers of the earth. He, whose seat is on the heads of lions, whose orders are laid on the heads of (vanquished) kings, whose capital on the head of Mahendra mountain, and yet who feels no pride."

JAYAVARMAN—III (c. 854 A.D.—877 A.D.)

After the death of Jayavarman II, Jayavardhana succeeded his father under the name of Jayavarman III. From the much damaged Khmer inscription of Neak Ta Bak Ka, we learn that he ascended the throne in 701 Śaka (869 A.D.) and that he reigned only for nine years i.e. upto 799 Śaka (877 A.D.). Scholars like R.C. Majumdar and M.M. Ghosh do not follow the above mentioned date of his accession to the throne. But they agree that he ruled upto 877 A.D. M.M. Ghosh says:60

"As the father seems to have lived to a very good old age the concluding period of his reign was as good as that of the son. Hence when the latter came to the throne in a pretty advanced age he had already the kingdom well-organised and perfectly under control."

We do not know much about Jayavarman III. Inscriptions speak of him as having conquered his enemies (whoever they were) and having ruled his people wisely. It seems that after coming to the throne he extended the boundary of the kingdom he inherited. R.C. Majumdar says in the following ways:70

"According to a Chinese chronicler Man Chu who visitd the kingdom in 861-863, A.D. it includes the whole of Laos in the other and almost touched the frontier of Funan (i.e. the Thai kingdom of Nanchoa.) As the author gathered his information by a personal visit to these regions in 862 A.D., we may regard it as true of the period of Jayavarman-III.71 But like his father whom he must have
initiated, he was lacking in human vanity and has no inscription to sing his praise."

He governed the country from Hariharālaya and lived there till his death. The location of pyramid temple which housed the royal Liṅga during this period has not been determined. During his reign Sūkṣmavindu served as purohita of the royal Liṅga.73

"Under the reign of His Majesty Viṣṇuloka, the Devarāja resided at Hariharālaya. A nephew of the Sten an Śivakaivalya named Sten an Śūkṣmavindu was purohita of Devaraja. His family officiated for the Deyaraja also. He took his relatives (installed) at Bhavālaya and established them again at a site in the Sruk of Kuṭi."73

"The Sten an Rudrāchārya, younger brother of the Sten an Śivakaivalya, went to embrace the religious life in the viṣaya of Jeng-Unam (foot of the mountain), on the mountain called Thko. The Sten an Rudrāchārya asked for this mountain and this land of His Majesty Viṣṇuloka founded a stūk and established his people there. He named the mountain Bhadragiri.74

Though as the king of Kambuja, he was a worshipper of Devarāja (Śiva), his Guru was Śrīnivāsa Kavi of the family of Śreṣṭhapura. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu also. In 857 A.D. he erected a Hari (Viṣṇu) image at Kok Po B and probably the founder of that temple. He was given the title of Pṛthvindra Paṇḍita.

Besides this, he had a minister whose name was Vāsudeva. In the inscription of Trapeang Run, he was known as Ṛṣpandravallabha. From the name he too appears to have been a Viṣṇuite. His devotion to Viṣṇu and his patronage to the followers of this deity, have also been reflected in architectural remains which have been assigned to this period and in represented by the remains of temples which sheltered the images of Viṣṇu and Harihara.

One Prāṇavātmanā continued as his hotar. An inscription Preah Vihar73 tells that Śikhaśinti was royal hotar probably of Indravarman I also. Verse II of the same inscription says.76

"The Brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇapāla Amarendra, called Keśavabhaṭṭa, received the name Arimathana, and became purohita of the king."

The term purohita (chief priest) may have been sometimes applied to the chief priest of another god, but the function of purohita of the Devarāja was reserved exclusively to the family of Śivakaivalya. The Viṣṇuite character of the names of Kṛṣṇapāla suggests that he
may have been the chief priest of the worship of Viṣṇu during the reign of Jayavarman III a Viṣṇuīte king.

The only thing that we know definitely of him is his inordinate passion for elephant hunting. The inscription of Prasat Cak in the region of Angkor mentions in detail a story of his hunting elephants. A Khmer inscription which is found among the ruins of Beng Melea (Mahendraparvata) relates the story of his capturing one of these animals. Another inscription found to the south of the great lake refers to his capturing three elephants. The stele of Prasat mentions the name of a person named Brahmaraśika of Vyādhapura, who was the chief of the royal elephant hunters. This is all that we know of this prince who died a premature death in 877 A.D. without leaving any heir male or female. He received the posthumous name of Viṣṇuloka. According to Briggs, he was the first king of Cambodia of whom, we know the pre-coronation name, the coronation name and the posthumous name and with him ends the line of Jayavarman II.

Ya Kubi, an Arab writer of 875 or 880 A.D. describes the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the king of which receives homage of other kings. Another Arab writer Ibn Rosteh (903 A.D.) refers to the high standard of administration in the Khmer country. "There he says, "eighty judges. Even if a son of the king appears before them they would judge equally and treat him as an ordinary complainant." We are further told by the same writer that the principal revenue is derived from cock-fight which brings the king fifty nans of gold per day. Masudi, who wrote in 943 A.D. but evidently got his information from older writers as he repeats a great deal of their accounts, adds that the Khmer troops consist mainly of infantry because this country is full of hills and valleys, rather than plains and plateaus.

Several Arab writers bestow high praises on the Khmers for their abstinence from wine and adultery (debauchery). Thus Ibn Khordadzneh (844-848 A.D.) says: "The kings and peoples of India abstain from drinking of wine but they do not consider adultery as an illicit act, with the sole exception of the Khmer king who forbids both drinking and adultery."

This is repeated by Ibn Rosteh (903 A.D.) on the authority of an Arab traveller Abdullah Muhammad bin Ishak who lived in the Khmer country for two years, "During this period", says he "I have
never seen a king more opposed to sexual license and more se . . . . . against drinking for he inflicts capital punishment for both the offences. The same view is recorded by Abuzyad (c. 916 A.D.). But the kings had large harems. Ibn Al Fakih (902 A.D.) says that the king maintains four thousand concubines.

INDRAVARMAN—I (877 A.D.—889 A.D.)

Jayavarman III was succeeded by Indravarman in 887 A.D. and with the death of Jayavarman III, ended the direct line of Jayavarman II. He was very remotely related to the queen of Jayavarman II. He was the son of king Śrī Rudravarman and daughter's daughter of king Śrī Nṛpatindravarman. As we have seen king Rudravarman was also the maternal uncle of the queen of Jayavarman II.

The inscription of the temple of Baku tells us:

“The queen (mother), born of a family where kings have succeeded one another, being the daughter of Śrī Rudravarman and the maternal grand daughter of the prince Nṛpatindravarman, became the wife of the prince Pṛṭhvindravarman, who came of a family of Kshatriya, and her son was the ruler of the land—Śrī Indravarman—before whom kings bowed down. Whose right arm (i.e. the arm of the king Indravarman) long and round, terrible in war when it passes (the enemy) with the saringing sword the cause of affliction of the rulers of territories of all the directions, and which is invincible, is yet capable of relenting in two cases—when (the enemy) can face him no longer, or when (the enemy) seeks refuge under his protection. So that his life may be spared. Śrī Indravarman, assuming the royal power in 799 Śaka, has since then rendered his subjects happy and assured their prosperity . . . . . Having acquired the kingdom he vowed first of all that within five days he would begin the work of excavation (of tanks) etc. The creator fired of creating many, kings has created the king, Śrī Indravarman, for the satisfaction of the three worlds . . . . .”

In an inscription of his son and successor, Rudravarman is said to be the younger brother of Jayavarman III's maternal grand-mother. Bergaigne, who translated the inscription and prepared the genealogy, showed Pṛṭhvindravarman as the cousin and Indravarman I as the second cousin, of the wife of Jayavarman-II. But Baksei Chamkrong inscription says that Indravarman I was a nephew of the queen of Jayavarman II. Coedès reconciles the inscriptions by considering Pṛṭhvindravarman as brother and Indravarman I as
nephew of the wife of Jayavarman II. He further says that Indravarman I does not seem to have any tie of relationship with either of his predecessors, but in his ‘Tableau Genealogique’ at the end of his book, he pictures Rudravarman and Nṛpatindravarman as his maternal ancestors without converting them with the king of those names of the line of Batāditya. Coedes says, we know nothing else about these so-called sovereigns. R.C. Majumdar also doubts the kingship of Nṛpatindravarman, Rudravarman and Pṛthvindravarman. According to him, where and when these kings ruled, it is difficult to say. They were either local chiefs ruling before Jayavarmad II or were vassals of the latter. In any case nothing is known of the reign of any of these three.

Indravarman I claimed the throne through the family of his mother; where kings succeeded each other. He said nothing about his relationship with either of his immediate predecessors. However, as has been seen, this Rudravarman’s descendants, who were relatives of the wife of Jayavarman II held office under that king so Indravarman I dedicated temples to Jayavarman II and his wife Dharaṇīndradevi.

Indravarman’s queen Indrādevī, is also said to be descended through her father and mother from three royal families of Vyādhapura, Śāmbhupura and Aninditapura. She was a descendant of Puṣkarāksha and was the daughter of Mahapativarman and the grand daughter of Rājendravarman I, who ruled over united Chenlā about the middle or latter part of the 8th century. Indravarman obtained through her the right over Śāmbhupura. It has been suggested that the marriage of Indrāvarman might have paved the way for his accession to the throne. According to the genealogical account of Yaśovarman (No 60), Indrādevī, the queen of Indravarman was the daughter of Mahapativarman. The same inscription informs us that Rājendravarman was connected with the royal family of Vyādhapura through his mother and was a descendant of Puṣkarāksha who had united the kīrgdoms of Śāmbhupura and Aninditapura under his rule. The mother of Indrādevī, named Rājendradevi was descended from a royal family founded by Agastya—a Brāhmaṇa from Āryadeśa (India).

On the whole, the genealogies of Indravarman and his queen seem to indicate that in addition to the two kingdoms of Śāmbhupura and Aninditapura there were other local kingdoms in Kambuja in the 8th
century A.D., some of which probably continued as vassal states even during the reigns of Jayavarman II and Jayavarman III. We do not know the means by which he secured the throne, but it may be taken for granted that he did not rebel against the ruling family.

It is reasonable to conclude that Indravarman I originally belonged to one of these states and either the absence of any legitimate heir of Jayavarman II, or some other circumstances, of which we have no knowledge, enabled him to secure the throne.

Sūkṣhmaśīvindu continued to serve as the purohita of Indravarman I, while the family served the Devarāja as usual. ‘Under the reign of H.M. Iśvaravaloka,’¹ the Devarāja resided at Hariharālaya. All the members of the family officiated for the Devarāja in the established order.²

The chief adviser and guru of Indravarman I was Śivasoma, who studied thoroughly all the different branches of Sanskrit learning. And besides being a very learned man and brilliant speaker this Brāhmaṇa practised austerities and conquered passions and was looked by people as a holy man. And one additionally important fact about him is that he studied śāstras with Bhagavāna Śaṅkara-the great Indian philosopher and reformer. From the inscription, which speaks of Indravarman and his guru in very glowing terms, one has an impression that the king was the worthy disciple of the worthy master. According to an inscription, he was maternal uncle of Jayavarman III. An inscription dated between 878-887, A.D. celebrates the erection of a Bhadreśvara, at Prasat Kandol Dom about three hundred metres west of Preah ko, by Śivasoma guru of Indravarman I.

Besides Śivasoma, Indravarman I had Vāmaśīva, the grand nephew of Śivakaivalya as the Upādhyāya (tutor) of his son and successor Yaśovardhana (Yaśovarman). And Pranavātmana, who was the hotar at the time of Jayavarman III continued in the same capacity. Besides he had around him other worthy persons such as Śikhāśanti, Vāṣudeva and Amṛṭagarbha as his hotar, minister and purohita respectively.

The Phnom Prah Vihar inscription says that Śikhāśanti was royal hotar and helped his brother-in-law, Rājendra Paṇḍita, to get a piece of land, on which he erected a līṅga of gold in 881 A.D. Vāṣudeva, the minister of the king belonged to the family of Punnagavarman³ and Amṛṭagarbha great grand—nephew of Prthvīndra Paṇḍita was
the head of the sacerdotal family which exercised the funcions of priest of the temple of Kok-Po which was Viṣṇuīte.

He erected the temple of Kok Po D and probabla Kok Po. A Śaivite monastery (Śivāśrama) was founded during the reign of Indravarman I by Śivasoma.94

"The Sten aṅ Śivasoma and the Sten aṅ Vāmāśiva together established the Śivāśrama and founded a sanctuary there. (The location of this Śivāśrama is not given but it was probably near Hariharālīaya). The Sten aṅ Śivasoma was called by the people, the old lord Śivāśrama. When the Sten aṅ Śivasoma died, the Sten aṅ Vāmāśiva was possessor of the Śivāśrama. The people called him the lord of the Śivāśrama, which he already was.

Indravarman-I who was placed on the throne of Kambuja probably due to his superior fitness for this eminent position, proved to be an energetic and capable monarch. Just after ascending the throne he made a promise that within five days counting from that very day, he would begin the work of construction which was designed to hold a reserve supply of water for the use of the city and its temple, and the irrigation of surrounding rice-fields. It was quickly dug and was known as Indrataṭāka, which was also known as the ‘pond of Indravarman.’ It was a rectangular body of water, with its long axis east-west, just to the north of the Bakong. It was probably the first of the irrigation works which were to be such an important feature of the later Yaśodharapura and vicinity.

The Bayang inscription95 tells us that he had constructed according to his own design, a sinhasana (royal throne), the vehicle called Indrāyanā, Indravimānaka and Indraprūśādaka (probably two palaces), all made of gold (haima).

He installed three images of Siva and three of the goddess (Durgā) which were works of his own art. His reign marks an important stage in the development of Kambuja art. Parmentier has made a special study of the monuments that may be definitely ascribed to Indravarman, and in his opinion, the act of Indravarman forms an intermediate stage between the primitive and classical art of Kambuja.

He continued to reign at Hariharālīaya. We do not know what temple was used to house the Devarāja during the first four years of his reign until the completion of the Bakong in 881 A.D. Stern has suggested a sanctuary in light construction on the site of the later
Preah Ko. At the very beginning of his reign, Indravarman I decided to make a bigger and better capital, at least better temples to house the Devārāja and the other divinities connected with the royal worship. Just south of Indratajāka and to the north of the first Hariharālaya, Indravarman I constructed the first two of the three sanctuaries, more imposing than those of any of his predecessors. The first two Preah Ko and Bakong were completed and dedicated during the early years of his reign in 879 and 881 A.D. respectively. (The third Loley, was completed and dedicated by his son and successor in 896 A.D.) These three temples are generally referred to as the Roluos group and their architecture and decorations diverge sufficiently and constitute a sufficient advance to justify their being considered a new style, designated as the style of Roluos or of Preah Ko or the first stage of what has been called the Art of Indravarman I.  

From the building of temples mentioned above as well as from his foundation of āśramas, it is clear that Indravarman I was deeply interested in religious organisation also. Some of the āśramas which he established was in all probability attached to the Indreśvara temple of Bakong which has been wrongly considered to be the abode of the linga named Devārāja. For it seems unlikely that name of the deity, which has the guardian of the kingdom of Kambuja for all time, was narrowed down to mean only the guardian of Indravarman I (i.e. Indreśvara). It was surely a new linga installed by Indravarman to perpetuate his own memory. For unlike, his predecessors, he made undisguised efforts to leave an undying name. The installation of a personal god, was initiated by many other kings of Kambuja. And Devārāja continued to be honoured and worshipped separately as the guardian deity of Kambuja by all kings, and the priests of the maternal line of Śivakaivalya were in the charge. The city of Yaśodharapura and Bayon were probably planned and began in his time.

He was not a worshipper of Śiva, only. According to an inscription, he performed many Vedic sacrifices and distributed gold and other precious gifts to Brāhmaṇas in this connection. In the temple of Bakong, there are also images of Gaṅgā, Umā, Viṣṇu, Indrāṇī, Harihara, Indra and Mahiṣāsuramardini installed by the members of the royal household including his own.

Indravarman I was himself an artist. His taste for beauty and creative art is corroborated by what the specialists have called the
Art of Indravarman. He seems to have built a Viṁśa, or done to the tower of Śiva at Bayon, which is called Śivapura. He also made several donations to this sanctuary including a sacred pound and two āśramas or monasteries known as Indrāśrama.96

It may be concluded from the epigraphic records that the whole of Cambodia had by this time been consolidated into an happy, rich and prosperous kingdom. He claims that his commands were respectfully obeyed by the rulers of China, Champa and Yavadvipa. Such specific claims, according to R.C. Majumdar,97 are not usually met with in the inscriptions of the Kambuja rulers and cannot be ignored as mere bombasts or figments of imagination. As regards Champa, we have already noted that one of its generals advanced up to the heart of Kambuja and ravaged the kingdom early in the 9th century A.D. We may, therefore, presume the struggle between the two kingdoms continued practically throughout the 8th century. Indravarman’s contemporary on the throne of Champā was a king bearing the same name who probably founded a new dynasty. We do not know anything from the history of Champā which would either prove or disprove the claim of the Kambuja king. But we find about this time, references to diplomatic missions from Champā to Jāvā. This latter must be the kingdom of Yavadvipa mentioned by the Kambuja ruler as his vassal state. The diplomatic alliance between two states over both of which the Kambuja ruler claims supremacy may not be without significance. The reign of Indravarman coincided with an obscure period in Javanese history which saw the end of the kingdom of Mataram in Central Jāvā and the shifting of the centre of political authority and Indo-Javanese culture of the eastern part of the island.98 We cannot say to what extent, if any this final abandonment of central Jāvā was due to the rising power of Kambuja.

But, it is not unlikely, that Kambuja, which suffered at the hands of both Champā and Jāvā towards the close of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century A.D., now turned against her old enemies and obtained some success. His claim to supremacy over China is more puzzling. As the inscriptions referred to above, and the Chinese dynastic histories also ignore this, it unbelievable that Indravarman I then came into conflict with China. His war with Champā and Yavadvipa also does not seem to be likely. For one inscription says that Indravarman’s command was held on the head like a garland of jasmine by kings of these countries. Some writers seem to have fal-
len into error by considering this as Kambuja's claim of sovereignty over them. It was nothing of the king. As trading vessels of China, Champā and Yavadvipa had to pass along the sea coast of Kambuja and touch her posts, and Kambuja also offered for them a fruitful field of commercial activities, these countries very prudently were willing to maintain friendly relation with Kambuja and never failed to honour all her legitimate demands.

His authority extended from the region of Chaudoc, where he dedicated a vimāna to Śiva in the old sanctuary of Phnom Bayang, to the region north-west of Ubon, from which comes a Buddhist inscription of 886 A.D., mentioning him as the reigning king. In another words the dominions over which Yasovarman ruled were extensive. On the north it reached the frontiers of China, and on the west, the mountains which from the watershed between the rivers Menam and Salween. The eastern and southern boundaries were formed respectively by the kingdom of Champā and the sea.

Indravarman's rather short reign (from 877 A.D.—to 889 A.D. =12 years only) seem to have been peaceful. Considering the various aspects his reign and his numerous qualities as a scholar, fighter and artist and patron of religion, he should be ranked among the most memorable kings of Kambuja. He seems to have given a fresh impetus to the movement which Jayavarman II inaugurated and his worthy son Jayavarman III continued to make Kambuja a land of beauty and grandeur. He seems to have been an able and active king. The inscriptions praise him for his virtue and his warlike powers. Briggs remark, in this connection that "modesty was not a notable characteristic of Khmer king, and the inscription of Indravarman I's own reign give him a full mead of praise", does not make much sense. On the other hand M.M. Ghosn does not agree with the view of Briggs and says:"

"For this king fully deserves the praise bestowed on him, and if he can be made responsible for what his publicists wrote, then no executive head of any state ancient and modern can escape such criticism."

Several inscriptions praise him in the following words: Lion among kings; prince endowed with all the merits. hero unique.

These are some of the fulsome epithets applied to him. Even the inscriptions of his successors did not overlook him. "when he mounted the throne ... the diadems of kings fell from their heads
at this feet as the stars fall from the sky at the rising of the Sun. We do not find any specific conquests by this monarch. He died at Hariharalaya in 889 A.D. and received the posthumous name of Īśvaraloka and his soul was supposed to have passed on to "the world of the lord."\footnote{101}

**YAŚOVARMAN (889 A.D.—910 A.D.)**

Yaśovardhana, the son of Indravarman I succeeded his father in 889 A.D. After ascending the throne he assumed the name Yaśovarman. His mother's name was Indradevi, a descendant of the ancient royal families of Vyādhapura (Funān), Śambhupura and Aninditapura and the name of maternal grand mother was Rājendra-devī.

He is said to have been educated by Vāmaśiva, the grandnephew of Śivakaivalaya. This Vāmaśiva was the upādhyāya (teacher) of his father—Indravāman and it was in the life time of Indravaman that he was entrusted with the education of Yaśovardhana, who was then quite young.\footnote{105}

We possess a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to his reign, some of which are quite long and written in a high flown kāvya style. They indicate that Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular, was highly patronised in his court. In one of these records the king is compared to the grammarian Pāṇini and is said to have composed a commentary on Pātañjali's Mahābhyṣya.

He was one of the grand monarchs of Kambuja and it was under him that Kambuja architecture reached its highest point. None of the Khmer kings has celebrated his name in so many inscriptions as he, yet he remains a mysterious figure. Early investigators of Cambodian history thought on the basis of epigraphic evidence that he was the greatest of her kings and was a warrior and builder. But later scholars, on the supposed discovery of new facts have disbelieved the testimony of the inscriptions which in their estimation were pompous effusions of his court poets scarcely related to actual happenings.\footnote{106} But on a fresh and careful study of all the relevant data it appears there is no weighty argument for discarding the view of earlier scholars.

The inscriptions, engraved on the stone door panels of the four towers of the temple of Looley, tell us:
"The king of kings, Śrī Yaśovarman, who assumed the (royal) power in the year designated by the Moon, the Moon and eight (811 Śaka era), has given all this-servants, etc. to the supreme lord erected by himself. He, the foremost of donors, asks again and again of all the future sovereigns of Kambuja, that this pious bridge (across the cares of this world) should be preserved. You, who are the incarnations of glory, you, who are ready to sacrifice your lives for the sake of duty, you, who are the first among those who holds high their heads could you covet the wealth of the gods? Guard this (pious) work from persons, who, in the presence of custodians (of monuments) present an honest appearance but who profit by a whole to role the possession of the gods. Even in the age of truth, Rāhu assumed the guise of a god to steal the ambrosia. Just as Viṣṇu, over-powering Rāhu and his like, preserved the gods and ambrosia, so you too, by killing the thieves, should protect the god and his property. I know well that beginning is as death, especially for a king. However, death in a pious cause is praiseworthy for the good. Therefore, I ask you, you who would not refuse me. The royal children, ministers, and others should protect this (sacred monument) by (public) proclamations, etc. To you, who are loving as well as learned, the onerous task of upkeeping (this) is entrusted by the king."

"In the Śaka year 815 Śrī Yaśovarman has erected at the same time these statues of Gaurī and the Lord (Śiva) which he has made himself."\(^{107}\)

Yaśovarman occupies a place of honour in the history of Kambuja and his name has been immortalised by the foundation of a new capital city. His first capital was at Hariharālaya, where his three predecessors had reigned and died. But he transferred the capital to a new city founded by him, which was at first called Kambupurī, and later Yaśodharapurī, the first Khmer city in the Angkor area proper centred on the hill Phnom Bakheng. Finot thinks it was early as the second year of his reign i.e. 890 A.D. The royal citadel was on the summit of the hill called central Mount (Yaśodharagiri) which is undoubtedly the hill now known as Phnom Bakheng (some 6 square miles) just outside the southern enclosure of Angkor Thom. Although this is not the famous city of Angkor Thom, covered with magnificent ruins, as was firmly believed until recent years, it extended round the hill and included a large part of the present site of Angkor Thom and Yaśovarman may still be credited as the founder of Angkor, though in a qualified sense. The region round his newly founded capital city remained the heart of Kambuja power and culture till the last day of its greatness. He may be also said to have laid the founda-
tion of the Angkor civilisation whose glory and splendour from the most brilliant chapter in the history of Kambuja.

The followings were the royal officials during his reign:

**Vāmaśīva**

"Vāmaśīva his old guru, was now the chief of service of the Devarāja and lord of the Śivāśrama. He held the exalted title of Vṛāh Guru, but he seems never to have held the title of Purolita. The king ordered him" to guard all the means of subsistence of the sanctuaries founded by his line. Since Indrapura, at the Srak Bhadragiri in Jeng Vnam." All the family officiated for the Devarāja, as usual.\[108\]

**Śikhāśīva**

"Śikhāśīva, a grand nephew and successor of Pranavātma, exercised his hereditary function of hotar. Śikhāśauti, who served as hotar under Indravarman I, probably confined under Yaśovarman I, Vāsudeva, of the family of Saptadvakula, continued to serve Yaśovarman I, as he had his predecessors. Śiṅkarshana, successor of Vāsudeva of Trapan Run, seems to have served Yaśovarman I in some capacity. According to the much mutilated inscription of Preah Vihear (I), one Salam was minister of War and erected a linga in 893 A.D. Satyāśraya, or Satyādhīpativarman astrologer minister of Yaśovarman I erected an image of Kṛṣṇa in the same year.

As builder too, Yaśovarman was great, and perhaps the greatest. In 893 A.D., he erected a sanctuary in the middle of the Indrataṭāka north of the capital the great artificial laka dug by his father. The sanctuary was composed of four brick towers designed, similar to those of Preah Ko on the same terrace, to shelter the statues of the king’s parents and grand parents. It is the monument known to day under the name Loley. The temple of inscription of Loley shows that these towers were dedicated to the worship of the king’s ancestors—the front towers to Siva under the name of Indravarmeśvara, in honour of the king’s father, and Mahipatiśvara, in honour of his maternal grandfather, the rear towers and Gaurī or Bhavānī, Śakti of Śiva, under the name respectively of Indrādevī and Rājendradevī, the king’s mother and his maternal grand mother.\[109\] So, here also, as in the temple of Baku of the preceeding reign, we have ancestor worship and the worship of the gods combined together.\[110\]

This Loley, although built or atleast completed during his reign, belongs, by its architecture, decorations and sculpture, to the preceeding reign. Its inscriptions too, are exactly like those of the other
monuments of the Roluos group and have nothing in common with the new inscriptions, of which many were being carved during the year in which it was completed.

Like his father, Yaśovarman I caused an artificial lake to be dug—an immense reservoir measuring—seven kilometers long and 1800 metres wide, north-east of the new city. This reservoir, named Yaśodharataṭāka, was bordered by a strong eastern line, in the four corners of which Yaśovarman placed statues with long Sanskrit inscriptions in pre-Nāgarī script reproducing his geneology, developing his panegyric and exalting his work. On the southern bank of this immense body of water, now dry and known by the name Eastern Baray (east of the Siem-Reap river) when it was dug, the Siem-Reap river must have been turned from its course and conducted in straight lines.

The king had a series of monasteries built for the various sects that his religious eclecticism permitted him to divide his favours among the Śaivite Brāhmaṇśrama for the Śaivas, the Pāśupata and the Tapasvins, the Viṣṇuitie Vaiśṇavāśrama for the Pāñcarātras, the Bhāgavatas, and the Sattvatas and perhaps a Buddhist Saugatāśrama, the stele of which, moved from its original site, has been found at Tep Pranam in Angkor Thom. The inscription of Prei Praṣat which commemorate the foundation of the Brahmāśrama, was found, near the edicule which sheltered it, near the south-east corner of the East Baray. Bergaigne and Barth considered it as one of the steles of the Thual Baray and thought it might be the character of the foundation of the Yaśodharāśrama. The inscription of Tep Pranam, commemorating the foundation of the Saugatāśrama, was found in the temple of that name, near the Royal Palace of Angkor Thom, but probably came from an edicule discovered near the other two. The stele of Prasat Komnap, commemorating the erection of the Vaiśṇavāśrama has been found between Prei Prasat and Pre Rup. The lack of a Sīvāśrama in the group was doubtless due to the many Yaśodharāśrama erected in various parts of the kingdom by Yaśovarman I and to the Sīvāśrama erected by his predecessor, probably at Hariharālaya. The monasteries, undoubtedly of wood, have wholly disappeared.

He built a large number of temples and āśramas and some of his records give detailed regulations for the inmates of the monastic establishments which throw interesting light on the religious and social life of Kambuja perfectly modelled on Hindu ideals. It was also during his reign that construction was begun on the Śaivite temple of
Śikhāriśvara (the Śiva of the summit) at Preah Vihear and of Bhadresvara at Śivapura (Phnom Sandak).

According to the so-called Digraphic inscriptions he erected a great āśrama. The inscriptions of Thnal Baray say that he founded one hundred monasteries and was known as the conservator of the monasteries. At these monasteries were erected identical stele inscriptions commemorating the event and announcing the establishment of a Yaśodharāśrama. Twelve of these inscriptions have been found, in various parts of the kingdom, from Treang and Ba Phnom on the south to Basak, in what is now Laos on the north, from Thbong Khmum, east of the Mekong, to Battambang on the present Siamese border. It was at first supposed that these inscriptions celebrated a single monastery, which they called Yaśodharāśrama located some where in the vicinity of Angkor, as well as a local āśrama dedicated to the tutelary deity of the place where the inscription was erected. Barth proposed to locate the Yaśodharāśrama somewhat at the south east corner of the east Baray. Aymonier could identify it with the Bayon. Coedes called attention to the stele inscription of Loley that Yaśovarman 'made to all the cardinal points 100 āśrama.' He thinks a large Yaśodharāśrama at Angkor never existed, but that in many places, wherever the Digraphic Inscriptions were erected, were founded small monasteries, all carrying the name of Yaśodharāśrama.

From the inscriptions which contain the charter of these religious foundations, it appears that he thought of organising the religious life of his subjects as a matter of state policy. As different aspects of people’s social life at that early time were over-whelmingly related to religion, it must have been a very efficient policy. Hence his foundation of four large hermitages (named after him) for the followers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Buddha was more than a mere pious act showing his liberal attitude towards those who had regard for gods other than the officially honoured Devarāja. The sites of the hermitages for the followers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha have been traced, but the āśrama for the followers of Śiva has not yet been definitely located. Aymonier identified this āśrama with Bayon, Coedes thinks that a Yaśodharāśrama dedicated to Śiva never existed at all. But it seems unbelievable that he ignored in this regard to followers of Śiva—the most important deity of Kambuja. And there are good reasons to believe that Loley temple dedicated to Śiva had Yaśodharāśrama attached to it. There may, however, be other reasons
for his apparent indifference to the cult of Śiva.

Although the worship of the Devarāja was the state form of religion, there is an abundance of evidence that other forms of Brahmanic worship, as well as Mahāyana Buddhism, were tolerated and protected during the reign of Yaśovarman I. We have seen that monasteries were built all over the kingdom under his name-Yaśodharāśrama. These were generally dedicated to Śiva—but one—at Ba-Pnom-was dedicated to Viṣṇu. An inscription dedicated the erection of a statue to Viṣṇu. Another inscription commemorated the erection of a statue to Harihara. Monasteries were also established for Brahmā and Buddha as well as for those of Śiva and Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods. Statues of the Hindu trinity were found at Pnom Krom and Phnom Bok. And frontons of Bakheng and Phnom Bok represent heads of the entire thirty three deities of the Hindu pantheon. It would be difficult to find, in all Khmer history, a reign in which tribute was paid to more deities than during that of Yaśovarman I.

One of his inscriptions Eastern Baray ¹¹³ says—Though he followed the cult of Śiva and founded one hundred (of his) āśramas, he is known as an upholder of kingly (Ksatriya) duties because of his establishing the four orders of life Kshātriyadharmā. The implication of this passage has been overlooked by other historians of Kambuja. It is obvious from this, that there was some difference between the cult of Śiva and that of other gods. This difference probably lay in an unrestricted freedom allowed to women by the Śaivas. Yaśovarman I in spite of his being brought up as a follower of the cult of Śiva, somehow felt that the form it has assumed at that time, was not quite healthy for the society. But he did not make any direct attempt to interfere with this cult of Śiva which was already firmly entrenched in Kambuja, and he adopted a clever method. As already discussed he founded throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom one hundred āśramas for the followers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha with ordinance for the same drawn up by himself.

The two notable passages in the ordinance of an āśrama dedicated to Viṣṇu are as follows:

“In this āśrama or an its vicinity, no, worshipper of Viṣṇu should bring a woman even if she be his wife.”¹¹⁴

“Other woman of lower classes and women of coquettish movements also should not be allowed to enter here, even if they might
come as guests.\textsuperscript{115}

"All this would no doubt seem to be very hard to us moderns; but the people of Kambuja probably did not take it like that. For a proverb of theirs forbids one to take a woman as one’s spiritual guide. To question the wisdom of this advice will mean among other things questioning the practice of Roman Catholics who do not allow a living woman in their hierarchy though they are not averse to make a saint of her when she is dead."\textsuperscript{116}

Yaśovarman I’s special attitude to women is probably to be explained by assuming a corruption which probably, set in them among the followers of the cult of Śiva and was one of the causes which led to its final collapse. It seems that he tried to counterbalance the drawbacks of this cult by strengthening that of others, especially that of Viṣṇu. For one of the inscriptions says:

"By Yaśovarman I who has the splendour of Viṣṇu the āśrama for the followers of the deity, has been founded for providing them with food."\textsuperscript{117}

This was probably the reason why he ultimately laid the foundation of the Angkor Vat dedicated to Viṣṇu. But by a strange chance this magnificent monument has been ascribed to a king who came much later and who probably only added and renovated its certain parts.

Before meeting the objections against the later date of the Bayon and the Angkor Vat we have to look back into the history of the cult of Viṣṇu in Kambuja, which at the time of Yaśovarman I became strong enough to influence the reigning king. This cult as we have seen appeared for the first time during the reign of Jayavarman of Funān in the second half of sixth century A.D. During the early medieval period (i.e. Chenlā period), Viṣṇu continued to be worshipped independently or jointly with Śiva under the name of Harihara. But at the time of Jayavarman III in the second half of the ninth cent. A.D., Viṣṇu gained considerable prominence. In spite of his adherence to Devarāja (Śiva), this monarch had for his guru the learned Śrīnivēsa Kavi- the son of Śrī Svēmin who was well-versed in the Veda\textsuperscript{s}, Sanskrit grammar and dialects. The name of this father and the son clearly shows that they were followers of Viṣṇu and besides this Śrīnivēsa installed one image of Viṣṇu. Under Śrīnivēsa’s influence, his royal disciple became at heart an ardent follower of Viṣṇu. As a result of this, Indravarman on his accession to the throne
found himself in a strong believer of Vaiṣṇavism and this had its effect, for we saw that an image of Viṣṇu named Viṣṇusvāmin was installed by him in the temple of Bakong for the welfare of his predecessors Jayavarman III who is said to have gone to Viṣṇuloka. Hence it is no wonder that Indravarman’s son Yaśovarman should have strong leaning, towards the cult of Viṣṇu. That Yaśovarman I was given the posthumous name of Paramaśivaloka does not mean much. This name was given to him after his death probably by the priest of Devārāja. If the departed king had any say in the matter he might have chosen a different name.

Another important event of Yaśovarman I’s reign was the introduction of the Nāgarī alphabet, and closer cultural relation with Eastern India (Bihar and Bengal). The great university of Nālandā under the patronage of the Pāla kings of Bengal radiated its influence over the entire South-East Asia. This university was a centre of Mahāyānism, where Buddhist doctrines, mixed with Śaivism, Shamanism, Tantrism, magic practices and what not, were elaborated. Hence its influence on the predominantly Brahmical Kambuja may be easily assumed. Briggs thinks that the introduction of the Nāgarī alphabet and the king’s claim of descent from Agastya were the results of such influence. The use of Nāgarī alphabet did not, however, outline the reign of Yaśovarman.

As a warrior: Extent of empire

Several inscriptions praise him in the following manner:

Verse 74 of the Loley inscription says ‘Best among kings! The Diagraphic inscription (RCM 76, V 16) says- “unique bundle of splendours, whose power was mortal to his enemies.” Verse 24 of the inscription narrates—“Vanquished by this king, who made justice flourish, injustice fled one does not know where. Verse 26 of the same inscription says—‘In seeing him, the creator was astonished and seemed to say to himself, why did I create a rival for myself in this king? Verse 31 of the same inscription tells us ” In combat, looking at this king whose brilliance was difficult to support, his proud enemies inclined to their heads before him, like so many lotuses saying, ‘It is the Sun’. Verse 33 of the Loley inscription tells us, ‘He broke into three pieces, with a single stroke of the swrod, a large, iron rod, as if to punish it for rivaling the arm.’ In all the sciences and in all the sports, in the acts, the languages and the writings, in
dancing, singing and all the rest, he was a clever as if he had been the first inventor of them."

With all these and many more fulsome plaudits about his excellence as a warrior, we know nothing about any war with Champā in the inscription of Bantay Chmar referred to the reign of Yaśovarman I. We know that the temple of Bantay Chmar was not built until several centuries and that the king referred to in that inscription was Yaśovarman II, who ruled about the middle of 12th century. But he must have been a strong king. The stele of Lolley gives us the boundaries he inherited. The earth which he protected was bounded by the frontier of China and the sea.

The Baksei Cham Krong inscription and the map of George Maspero for the year 960, probably represent the limits of the territory he handed over to his successors. This inscription says that he was—"Supreme master of the territory which had for its limits Sūkshma Kamarata (apparently the Mon kingdom of Thaton or Ramaṇyadeśa), the ocean, China and Champā. Maspero's map extends the boundaries of Yunnan, at the northwest to include the Keng Tung country, now a part of the Burmese Shan states, and on the south-west to Grahi—the old [Pan-Pan-in the Malay Peninsula. In brief his territories reached on the north the frontiers of China, and on the west, the mountains which form the watershed between the rivers Menam and Salween. The eastern and southern boundaries were formed respectively by the kingdom of Champā and the sea.

We do not know exactly the year of his death but Phimeanakas inscription (I) indicates that he died before 910 A.D. or early in that year. He received the posthumous name of Paramaśivaloka.

From all foregoing discussions, it is apparent that he was the most illustrious king of Kambuja. The inscription of Yaśovarman in spite of vague gentilities which they contain, give us many interesting sidelights on the various phases of his internal administration. They hold out a picture of a happy, prosperous and peaceful kingdom need over by an able and wise monarch who took all possible measures to ensure the welfare of the kingdom in all its aspects, political, economic, religious and social. The elaborate regulations framed by him give us an insight into the social and religious condition of the time and the earnest effort made by the king to improve it. Making all due allowances for exaggerations, of court poets we must regard Yaśovarman as a brave general and ideal king-shining equally well
in arts of war and peace. Himself a great scholar, he was a patron of art and science. He was liberal in his religious views and although a devoted follower of Śaivism, he patronised Buddhism in an unstinted manner. He was a great king in every sense of the term. Perhaps the court poet did not exaggerate very much when he said that the glory of Yaśovarman was sung even after his death, by the people “in their games, on their beds and in their travels.”

The power which Yaśovarman accumulated at Angkor enabled him to extend Cambodian domination over a territory as large as Funān’s at the empires height. It is uncertain whether this extension of power was the result of armed conquest of other states to acknowledge the suzerainty of the leading power in the region. Some authorities believe that achievements attributed to Yaśovarman later reigns, but he was certainly a rightly belong to figure of great importance.

HARṢAVARMAN I AND IŚĀNAVARMAN II
(910 A.D.—928 A.D.)

After the death of Yaśovarman I, the history of Kambuja during the next twenty years is somewhat obscure and uncertain. We know that two sons of Yaśovarman I viz. Harṣavarman I and Iśānavarman II ascended the throne one after another. There is no certainty about the date or method of the coming or departure of either of them, and, from first to last, there seems to be a great deal of obscurity about the events of their reigns.

The Khmer portion of the Vat Chakret inscription gives the date 834 Śaka and mentions the name of Harṣavarman.119

“...There was a king of kings .... named Srī Harṣavarman, son of Śrī Yaśovarman, rendered happy by a new prosperity he shone like Srinivāsa (Krṣṇa). This sovereign of Kambuja whose qualities were sung by whole world, has given to the lord (the god) of Aḍrivyādha-pura (the town of the hunters of the mountain) six beautiful female slaves for (service in the temple) every fortnight.

The Sanskrit inscription of Vat Thipdei (Adhipati) contains the eulogy of the kings Yaśovarman, Harṣavarman and Iśānavarman II and then mentions the pious foundations of Śikhāśiva, the minister of Iśānavarman.
Both of these two kings received full mead of praise in the inscription:

"Yaśovarman I had a well-beloved son, Śrī Rudraloka (Harṣavarman I) who caused the joy of the universe and whose feet were lighted by the splendour of the garlands of rubies covering the diadems of the kings of the four cardinal points. Clever at arms, resplendent with glory, (firm as a) pillar in meditation, active to serve others, endowed with a powerful energy, closed to evil.

Then his younger brother, born of the same mother, Śrī Paramanedraloka (Īśānavarman II), victorious, surpassing kāma by his beauty, dissipating the fogs, possessing all the talents, was a moon among kings.¹⁰⁰

Like their father they seem to have had a special leaning to the cult of Viṣṇu to whom the Prasat Kravan built in 921 A.D. was dedicated and the sanctuary of Baksei Cham Krong erected during their reign contained among other gods, Viṣṇu with his two devis. The Phimeanakas inscription of Harṣavarman relates to the erection of an image of Mādhava or Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa. These two kings do not seem to have been as strong as their father. But after building some minor edifices they could still possibly see to the completion of the great monuments which their illustrious father had begun.

Like Vāmaśīva, his nephew, Kumārasvāmin lord of Śivasoma is nowhere mentioned in the inscription as purohita, but he was hotar and officiated during the reigns of the two brothers. He was also the āchāryapradhāna and head of the family (Pradhana ta kule). Coedes thinks the family had become so large that a recognition was necessary.

Under the reigns of H.M. Rudroloka and H.M. Paramarudraloka all members of the family officiated for the Devarāja according to the established order. The Sten aṅ Kumārasvāmin, nephew of the lord of the Śivārama, doyen of the āchārya, was doyen of the family; he established the Sruk of the Parāśara, on a piece of land in Stuk Ransi and organised a service of lotus, which H.M. placed under the authority of the family.¹⁰¹

Śikhāśīva, of the family of Praṇavātmana, who had served as hotar under Yaśovarman I, continued to serve under his two sons. Manaśśīva, nephew of Vāsudeva of the family of Saptadevakula served under Yaśovarman I, Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II. Saṅkarṣana, of the family of Aninditapura, continued to serve under
the two sons of Yasovarman I.

Harṣavarman I seems to have returned to Yasodharapura and to have continued to rule there, for the inscription of Tuol Pei (Residence of Kompong Thom) speaks of Harṣavarman I as ruling there in 921 922 A.D. The inscription of Tuol Kul (Battambang) shows that Ishanavarman II was ruling there in 925 A.D. We do not know, how long the system of rival kings existed, but it seems to have lasted from 921 to 928 A.D. The inscription of Prasat Nang Khman, in the province of Bati (near Phnom Penh), says that Jayavarman IV came to power in 928 A.D. We do not know the exact dates of the deaths of these two kings, but they seem to have expired in about 925 A.D. and 928 A.D. respectively. The former received the posthumous name of Rudraloka; the latter, that of Paramarudraloka.

JAYAVARMAN IV (928 A.D.—941 A.D.)

The next king was Jayavarman IV. He was the husband of Yasovarman’s sister and perhaps he was usurper. During the reign of Ishanavarman II—his nephew, we find him as the adhipati (viceroy of Kohker), the place to which he (Jayavarman IV) removed the capital on ascending the throne ia 850 Śaka. The third stanza of the Kohker inscription which is dated 843 Śaka indicates that Jayavarman IV was associated in royal powers conjointly with his predecessor his nephew Ishanavarman II.

Perhaps he was the Jayasrimhavarman of the Vat Chakret inscription and was regent of the young princes-Harṣavarman I and Ishanavarman II during their minority, or according to Briggs during the latter years of the reign of Yasovarman I, of which we know little. Barth thinks he was the viceroy at Chok Gargyr (Kohker). At any rate, he seems to have revolted and to have set up a new government at Chok Gargyr in 921 A.D. The inscription of Prasat Kravan refers to a Jayaviraavarman, with one Mahidharavarman and a Virendrādhipatiavarman, as founding and donating that sanctuary in that year, while apparently later, in the same year according to inscription of Prasat Thom. Jayavarman revolted, was victorious and returned to Chok Gargyr—(situated in a wild barren country about 50 miles northeast of Angkor), with a purohita and established a Devarāja there.

The “Sdok Kak Thom inscription states:
"The king Paramaśivapada (the posthumous name of Jayavarman IV) left the city of Yasodharapura (Angkor Thom), and went to reign at Kohker (Chok Gargyar) and he took with him Jagata tā-Rāja (the Royal God). The members of the family (of the hereditary priest of the Royal God) served the divinity as before, and the venerable Iṣānamūrti, grand-nephew of Śivaśrama, the high priest (āchārya) on account of being the head of the family, established himself at Kohker."

This is a little confusing, as the old purohita seems to have continued to serve the two brothers at Yasodharapura—as chief priest of the Devarāja, apparently until 928 A.D. Even after the death of Iṣānavarman II Chok Gargyar continued to be the capital of Kambuja and it was adorned by temples, artificial lakes and other monuments by Jayavarman IV. Evidently the new ruler did not like, or think it prudent, to remain at a city which was so intimately with the rulers whose throne he had usurped.

The brief Sanskrit inscription of Prasat Neang Khman gives the date Śaka era 850 (=928 A.D.) for the accession of Jayavarman IV. It seems clear that Jayavarman IV was a usurper, who temporarily conquered Yasodharapura and abandoned it or was driven out and established a new capital at Chok Gargyar (Kohker). The brothers Harṣavarman I and Iṣānavarman II, seem to have reconquered Yasodharapura and to have reigned there several years, while Jayavarman IV was reigning at Chok Gargyar. There seems to have been two royal gods and two chief priests, for as we have seen, Iṣānamūrti established the royal god at Chok Gargyar in 92J A.D., while Kumārasvāmin officiated for the Devarāja under Harṣavarman I, who was ruling at Yasodharapura in 922 A.D. and Iṣānavarman II, who was ruling there in 825 A.D. and perhaps until 928 A.D.

We do not know anything about his genealogy. Verse 35 of the Baksei Cham Krong inscription mentions his wife as a sister of Yaśovarman I. Pre Rup inscription says her name as Jayadevi. The inscription of Prasat Damrei says he had an elder brother "born of the same mother" named Rājendravaran, to whom the king seems to have consecrated the Prasat where the inscription was found.

He was apparently a usurper. As the husband of Yaśovarman I’s sister, and possibly regent during the minorities of Yaśovarman I’s two sons, he tried to seize the throne from the two brothers and succeeded them on their death.
The fact that an inscription of the reign of Jayavarman IV mentions Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II, and gives them their due mead of praise, may also be said, show that there was no hostility between the former and his two predecessors. Hence the assumption about his revolt against the sons of Yaśovarman I seem to be gratuitous. It does not seem to be probable that a person who was hostile to the reigning king was permitted to carry away quietly the līṅga of Devarāja (the guardian deity of the kingdom) installed in the capital, and one of the priestly family accompanied him.

The truth according to M.M. Ghosh seems to be that Jayavarman IV was a vassal king ruling at Chok Gargyar, and was temporarily out of it and lived in Angkor as a member of the court and attained some importance there. But somehow he became unpopular with the ministers of king and left the capital in disgust and carried away along with him a līṅga named Devarāja which he previously installed there and its priest Īśānamūrti followed him. This līṅga was not Jayavarman II’s Devarāja but merely Jayavarman IV’s own family deity renamed later as Tribhuvaneśvara to whom he paid homage after re-installation at Chok-Gargyar in his Prasat Thom inscription dated 921. It seems that Jayavarman IV was granted some autonomy either for his agreeing to leave the court or for some other reasons. This probably gave the author of the inscription an excuse to mention him (Jayavarman IV) as in possession of victory (Vijayir) in this inscription. From this, it is also learnt that he spent for the deity all the best wealth he obtained from his kingdom. The above assumption seems to give justification to Barth who thinks that he (Jayavarman IV) was the viceroy at Chok-Gargyar.

Jayavarman IV as we have seen earlier, had Īśānamūrti as the priest of his tutelary deity and not as the hotar of Devarāja. Hence Śikhāśiva, the hotar of the family of Pranaṅvātmāman had no reason to go to serve Jayavarman IV at Chok Gargyar, evidently because the original Devarāja was at Angkor. If Śikhāśiva did not go to serve Jayavarman IV after the death of Īśānavarman II it was probably due to his extreme old age and he retired from active life. For he served throughout the three reigns of Yaśovarman I and his two sons: Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II. On the other hand, Hṛṣikeśa, evidently the son of a Vaiṣṇava family who served under Īśānavarman II could easily go to serve Jayavarman IV as his Śivācchārya when the latter became the sole king of Kambuja.
Manāśīva and his two brothers of the family of Saptadevakula served under him. Ravinātha, nephew of Sanākarsana, was also in his service. One Virendrārimathana is mentioned as assisting in the erection of the Devarāja in 921 A.D.\textsuperscript{132}

From all this it seems to be clear that Jayavarman IV was never king to be discriminated against by the priest of Yaśovarman I's son on the plea of his assumed antagonism to them.

After coming to occupy the throne of Kambuja in a peaceful way, he proved to be a great king. For an inscription described him as follows:

"(He) who by his own power built a city which was the seat of wealth of the three worlds, who a bearer of burdens carried in his arms the four armed one (Brahmā) as if to relieve the tired Viṣṇu who carried him long on the lotus of his navel."

The testimony of this document composed after about a century of his death cannot be brushed aside. For it cannot be suspected to have emanated from any flatterer. The plain meaning of the passage quoted is that Jayavarman IV built a great city, and in it he gave evidence of his great creative activities. All this is fully corroborated by the monuments he left at Chok Gargyar.

The Prasat Thom which housed Jayavarman IV's tutelary deity was built up in 821 A.D. Its name ending also in 'Thom' seems to suggest that Jayavarman IV had an idea of rivalling the temple (the Bayon) at Angkor Thom. The allusion to his new creations seems to receive support from the following works which he undertook and finished after sitting on the throne of Kambuja in 928:

1. The so-called palaces of the Prasat Thom and their galleries are something unique. Some say that these were residence of the king, while others think that they were used for honoured guests or were places of religious retreat for the king.

2. The enormous statue of dancing Śiva with five faces in that Prasat is also an innovation.

3. The enormous statue of the seven-headed nāgas pursued by Garuḍas is also another such innovation there.

A notable new feature of these images as well as the architecture of Jayavarman IV was their enormous size. For the Prasat Thom was higher than the Bayon built before it. The Angkor Vat, however, was equal to it in height.
Another innovation during Jayavarman IV’s reign was the independent worship of Brahmā. According to Briggs the Prasat Banteay Chan is probably the only monument dedicated exclusively to Brahmā in all Cambodian history.

Probably for reasons stated above, Jayavarman IV ruled Kambuja from Chok Gargyar and did not go back to Angkor. He is described as having destroyed the ruler of Champā. This probably implies renewed hostilities with the internal enemy on the eastern border but he possesses no detailed account of the struggle. He died in 941 A.D. and after his death he received the posthumous name of Paramaśiva-pada.

(HARṢAVARMAN II (c. 941 A.D.—944 A.D.)

Jayavarman IV died in the year 941 A.D. and his son Harṣavarman II succeeded him. He remained in Chok Gargyar and reigned only for two years. One of Harṣavarman II’s inscriptions says that he occupied the throne by the might of two arms; that is, not by the right of inheritance alone. This is corroborated, by an inscription of Rājendravarman II’s who succeeded him. It is possible that some vassals rebelled before Harṣavarman II’s accession and he had to fight them to submission before he could be crowned king.

Ātmaśiva-nephew of Iśānamūrti, was purohita of Devaaāja. Under the reign of H.M. Brahmāloka (posthumons name of Harṣavarman II), the members of the family officiated for the Kāmraten Jagat tā rāja as before. The Stēn aṇ Ātmaśiva, nephew of the Stēn aṇ Iśānamūrti, was chaplain of the Kāmraten Jagat tā rāja and ēchariya homa (hotar) as chief of the family.

A slab inscription found at Prasat Bayang commemorates the erection on the mountains of the monastery Girindrāśrama by a yogin named Nityārauṇīpi. This inscription praises Jayavarman IV and Harṣavarman. It is dated 941 A.D., which seems to indicate that Harṣavarman II was on the throne on that date.

His reign was very short. Whether Harṣavarman died or was overthrown, we do not know. Later inscriptions refer to him by the posthumous name Vrahmalona or Brahmāloka. He was succeeded by his cousin Rājendravarman II, son of an elder sister of his mother and of Yaśovarman I in 944 A.D. The old Khmer story of Prince Baksei (Skt. Pakṣi=bird) Cham Krong (whom the bird covered) is
supposed by Aymonier to refer to this prince. According to the story, he had to fly from the wrath of his brother, the king, whom, according to a prophecy, he was to replace. He had to hide himself in a rock behind the temple of Phnom Baset. It was probably after a bloody fratricidal struggle that Rājendravarman ascended the throne, and in order to get away from a place associated with his brother, he abandoned Kohker and returned to Yaśodharapura (Angkor Thom).

RĀJENDRAVARMAN II (944 A.D.—968 A.D.)

Rājendravarman II came to the throne in 944 A.D. He probably seized the throne by violent means, though we have no definite evidence about it. He was another very great king of Kambuja and in more than one respect he may be compared with Yaśovarman I. He himself very young, but his claims seem to have been more substantial than those of his uncle and his cousin, for he came into the inheritance of Bhavapura through his father, He re-transferred the capital to Yaśodharapura or Yaśodharagiri (the city on the top of the Phnom Bakhens hill) from Chok Gargyar and embellished the city which was deserted for nearly a quarter of a century. In the words of Coedes:

He applied himself immediately to resuming the Angkorian tradition by returning to establish himself of Yaśodharapura, bringing back the Devarāja. Just as Kuśa (son of Rāma and Sītā) had done for Ayodhyā, he restored the sacred city of Yaśodharapura, which had been abandoned for a long time, and made it superb and charming by constructing a palace with a sanctuary of brilliant gold, like the palace Mahendra on earth. The members of the family officiated for the Kāmaraten Jagat tā rāja as before. The Sten añ Ātemāśva was the chaplain of the Kāmaraten Jagat tā rāja āchāryahoma as chief of the family.

Genealogy

According to the Pre-Rup inscription, he was the son of an elder sister of Yaśovarman I and therefore cousin of Harṣavarman II. The Baksei Chamkrong inscription tells that Jayavarman IV married a sister of Yaśovarman I and that Rājendravarman was a brother elder by age and virtue of Harṣavarman II, son of Jayavarman IV.
The Mebon inscription says that Rājendravarman II was the son of Mahendradevi, wife of a king Mahendravarman. Finot, who edited that inscription, concluded that Mahendravarman must be a name Jayavarman IV took before he came to the throne. Coedes advanced the hypothesis that Rājendravarman may have been a son of Mahendradevi by a first husband, Mahendravarman, and that Harṣavarman II may have been her son by a second husband, Jayavarman IV. The foundation stele of Pre-Rup shows that Rājendravarman was son of Mehendradevi, elder sister of Yaśovarman and Mahendravarman, descended from a niece of Bālāditya of the old Aninditapura. While Harṣavarman II was a son of a younger sister of Yaśovarman, Jayadevi and Jayavarman IV. Coedes, who edited the inscription gives a revised genealogy of Rājendravarman II. He thinks Mahendravarman was of a line of chiefs of Bhavapura, cradle of Chenlē, which had maintained an independent existence since the death of Jayavarman I.

The genealogical tables of both Coedes and Dupont picture Mahendravarman as descended, on his father’s side, from Sarasvatī, sister of Bālāditya, through the father of Vedavati, who had married (Vedavati’s mother) a niece of Nṛpatindravarman. Dupont thinks that, at the time of the division into Upper and Lower Chenlē, probably on the accession of Puṣkarāksha of Aninditapura to the throne of Saṁbhupura (between 706 and 716), Bhavapura, including the Mun valley and what is now Siamese Laos, became Upper Chenlē (apparently under the father of Vedavati). Thereafter, it had few recorded relations with Lower Chenlē, which became Kambujadeśa. He thinks that Jayasimhavaran mentioned in the inscription of Phu Khia Kao found near the present Korat, dated about the time of the division, may have been a king of Bhavapura and (what seems less probable) that a king Narapati-simhavaran mentioned in an inscription found at Ayuthia as reigning at Conasapura in 937 A.D. seven years before the accession of Rājendravarman II may also be of the dynasty of Bhavapura. Briggs opines in the following manner:

“Thus these kings, of names somewhat similar and unknown in Cambodian history may have been the first and last kings of the later Bhavapura, or Upper Chenlē. But this is very speculative. The first king of this presumed dynasty seems to have been the father of Vedavati and the last Mahendravarman, father of Rājendravarman II.”
We possess a large number of inscriptions containing very long eulogies of the king but they do not supply much historical information. He is credited with victorious campaigns in all directions—north, south, east and west but no details are given. One inscription twice mentions his victory over the enemies before his seventeenth year, and another speaks of his having conquered them while he was still a prince. From these records it appear that he was associated with the court of Chok Gargyar from the very beginning and probably served in the royal army and distinguished himself as a general while he was still in his teen.

His accession does not seem to have been accomplished without trouble. He seems to have had a better claim to the throne than Harṣavarman II, but Jayavarman III had usurped power and had been able to secure the succession of his own. Harṣavarman II, who was very young, reigned only two or three years, when he was succeeded by Rājendravarman. Some of his inscriptions seem to show that he had to fight his way to the throne. The Mebon inscription speaks.

"Having obtained his throne and dispersed his enemies... The earth up to the ocean was so completely rid of his enemies by him, that still today his glory going alone on all sides, does not falter. the condition of Kshatriya (warrior), born of the arm of the uncreated (Brahmā), which his enemies disputed him he seized (proved) it in battle by the force of his arm, which had no other known origin (than his arm), and which had not yet been manifested elsewhere."

His Guru and Officials

The name of his guru was Rudrāchārya who was a disciple of Śivasoma the learned guru of Indravarman I. Under his instructions he became an accomplished scholar. On the basis of one inscription, we know that he mastered Sanskrit grammar without being twice instructed on any topic, and the same inscription speaks of his having studied the Purāṇas, the Mīmāṃsā and the Buddhist doctrine. And besides this, he could appreciate good poetry.

The great achievements of his rule was probably considerably due to the three able ministers whose devotion and loyalty this talented monarch could enlist in his favor. One of them was the learned Yajñavarāha and the other two Rājakula Mahāmantri and Kavindrārimathana. The former was a remarkable person. In the last year of his reign i.e. 967 A.D., the temple of Tribhuvanamahēśvara of
Iśvarapura (Banteay Srei) was founded by him, who in the Khmer text of the stèle of Banteay Srei, is known as 'holy teacher' i.e. Sten Afi-Vrah Guru. Rājakula Mahāmaṇḍrīn seems to have filled the functions of regent and prime minister, chief administrative officer, through whom orders were issued in the king's name and also chief judge of the highest court. According to Aymonce, the name of Rājakula Mahāmaṇḍrīn became legendary and still lingers in the name of many mountains of the interior. While Kavindrārimathan was a Buddhist minister who directed most of the building construction. Rājendravarman put him in charge of construction work meant to rebuild and to beautify the once deserted Yaśodharapura (Angkor). The Bat Chum inscription speaks of him as dear to the gods, who knew the arts like Viśvakarmā (the divine architect of the Hindu legends). The same inscription speaks that he had Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on the three towers of the monument of Bat Chum founded under his supervision to shelter the images of the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñā.

His purohitā was Ātmāśiva, who was a nephew of Iśanamūrti and who had served under Haršavarman also. It has been seen that the family of Praṇavatman did not serve under Jayavarman IV or his son. The hotar during that period, as has been seen, was Śīrvāchārya, a protege of Śikṣaśiva and he continued to serve for a while under Rājendravarman II. But apparently, early in the reign of the new king, a representative of the family of Praṇavatman, in the person of Śaukara, grand nephew of Śikṣaśiva become royal hotar. The Vat-Thipdei (II) inscription says that Śaukara was purohitā also but this seems to be an error according to Briggs.

These were the representatives of the old houses of Śivakaivalya and Praṇavatman who had served kings since Jayavarman II, but early in the new kings' reign, two other houses which had furnished hereditary functionaries Saptadevakula (Louvek) and Aninditapura (Trapeang Run) became important and a third assumed important hereditary functions. Manaśśiva of the family of Saptadevakula, who had served under Rājendravarman II's predecessors, served also under Rājendravarman II and gave that king as wife his charming and scholarly niece, Praṇā. Ravinātha, of the family of Aninditapura, who had served under Jayavarman IV and Harṣavarman II, continued to serve Rājendravarman II. Paramāchārya, of the house of Haripura, descendant of one of Jayavarman II's lines, Hyang
Pavitrā, was given charge of the hereditary function of Jalangeśa (Śiva) and Kapaleśa (Lord of skuls, i.e. Śiva) a charge which on his death descended to his son.

As we have seen that sometime early in his reign, he moved the capital from Chok Gargyar to Yasodharapura and it is believed that he did not deposit the Devarāja in the temple of Vnam Kantal on Phnom Bakheng because that temple remained unfinished. Parmentier thinks:\textsuperscript{152}

"He erected, as centre of two city, the pyramid of Phimeanakas, analogous to the ‘Prang’ of Kohker and constructed it at the crossing of the axis of the temple of the Bakheng and the East Baray. The Phimeanakas in its first arose to only half of its present highest, part which a five gallery crowns and, in the traditional square, he installed a sanctuary in light construction of which the elongated proportions motivated the rectangular form of the pyramid."

**Builder**

Following the example of Yaśovarman, who had built the sanctuary of Lolei, consecrated to the memory of his parent deified in the forms of Śiva and Umā, in the middle of Indrataṭāka dug by his father Indravarman, he built a temple in 952 A.D., known as the Eastern Mebon in the middle of the Yasodharataṭāka dug by his uncle Yaśovarman. The Baksei Chamkrong inscription says\textsuperscript{153} he has erected, in the pond of Yaśodhara, a līmga and some images. Inscriptions say that in its five brick towers, arranged in a quincunx, he placed statues of his parents in the forms of Śiva and Umā, statues of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and in the centre, the royal līmga Rājendrēśvara. The eight small towers, corresponding. according to Stern, to the eight forms of Śiva, contained each a līmga, like those of Bakong.\textsuperscript{157a}

Nine years later, in 961 A.D., perhaps this time in imitation of Preah Ko, built south of the Indrataṭāka, he built, to the south of Yaśodharataṭāka, the temple mountain of Pre-Rup corresponding (a) in the centre, the līmga Rājendrabhadreśvara, the name of which evokes both that of the king and that of Bhadreśvara a sort of national divinity venerated in the ancient sanctuary of Vat Phu, cradle of the Kambujā, (b) The images in the other four corners represented ancestors and predecessors of Rājendravarman, but none were found in Situ. Two were of Śiva, under the vocables, respecting of Iśvarā Rājendravarmēśvara, in favour of Harṣavarman II.
One, Rājendraviśvarūpa, image of Viṣṇu was associated with the cult of the Brāhmaṇa Vișvarūpa, husband and Sarasvatī and fabled ancestor of the king. One, an image of Umā, represented Jayadevi, wife of Jayavarman IV and aunt of Rājendravarman II and (c) The eight forms of Śiva.

The monuments that are associated with the name of Rājendravarman or that date from his reign are numerous. Most of them were sponsored by officials or high ranking Brāhmaṇa who must have taken advantage of the tender age of the sovereign to assure themselves of privileged positions at the court. This sort of tutelage of the king by great dignitaries also continued in the following reign and undoubtedly for the same reason: the extreme youth of the king at the time of his accession. Among the persons of note during Rājendravarman II’s reign, we must quote in first place Rājakula Mahāmañḍitrīn ‘great adviser of the royal family,’ who seems to have played the role of a regent or prime minister. His religious fervour found expression, as was the case with his predecessors, in the many five temples which are positively to be ascribed to him. These are the monuments at Baksei Chamkrong, Bat Chum, Laknan, Pre Rup, Kutiśvara and the Mebon etc.

Thus being looked after by the king and his good ministers, the people of Kambuja of the time enjoyed a very peaceful life without fear from any quarters.

War with Champā

But in spite of all this learning and virtues he was a man of action. He had to face some fighting at the time of his accession to the throne and an inscription makes a special mention of his war with Champā and the destruction of her capital. Rājendravarman undoubtedly gained some success in his expedition against Champā. An inscription from Champā informs us that the Kambuja had carried away the golden image of the Po Nagar temple and the king of Champā had installed in its place a stone image in the year 887 Śaka (965 A.D.)

Another inscription in the same temple records the installation of the golden image of the goddess Bhagavatī in 840 Śaka (918 A.D.) and the Kambuja invasion must have therefore taken place between these two dates. As the stone image was installed in 965 A.D., and such an important temple as that of Po Nagar was not likely to be
left empty for a long time, the Kambuja invasion mentioned in the Po Nagar inscription probably refers to that of Rājendravarman. It would show that the Kambuja army advanced up to Khan Hoa province and severely defeated the Chams.

There cannot be any doubt that Rājendravarman II, carried a successful war against Champā. The Pre Rup inscription refers to his campaigns and speaks about the deployment of his navy which was undoubtedly sent against Champā. It says:—

"In whose expedition the complete flotilla of (war) boats composed of white and black squadrons appeared in the sea like groups of swan scattered out by the current of the Gaṅgā."

This passage, like a similar one about Yaśovarman I’s navy, has been overlooked by earlier writers.

The following statements, while found in the inscription of even the most important of kings, seem to indicate that Rājendravarman II’s reign might not have been wholly peaceful.

"He cut off the heads of a crowd of kings."

"Shining resplendent, the rays from his toe-nails rivalled those of gems ornamenting the diadems of prostrate kings."

"His toe-nails reflected the rays thrown by the tiaras of enemy kings whose stubbornness and power he had broken and who manifested in some way the desire to obey him, (a desire) paid, in return by their own elevation."

Rājendravarman is also credited in his inscriptions with victorious campaigns in all directions—north, south, east and west but no details are given. Any how, the Khmer empire at this time was undoubtedly made up of many subordinate kingdoms. Some doubtless opposed his accession and war subdued. Others came willingly to offer homage. The only foreign war specifically mentioned was with Champā.

According to Cambodian inscriptions, as already discussed, a Cambodian army invaded Champā and destroyed its capital. "The extent of his soldier, like the fire of universal destruction, burning the enemy kingdoms. beginning with Champā. The Mebon inscription speaks. ‘The city of the king of Châmpâ, haviag the sea for its moat, was reduced to ashes by his warriors, obedient to his orders. Maspero says the Kambuja sustained a bloody defeat and were driven out, and the Cham inscription gives some hint of this. Any way, the
Khmers seem to have retained possession of the goddess, for the Cham king substituted a stone image of the goddess in 965 A.D. Briggs does not agree with the view of Maspero and Majumdar. According to him both of them wrongly place the date of this event before 947 A.D.

Extent of Empire

According to Maspero, during the time of Rājendravarman II the boundaries of Kambujadeśa comprised of Cochin-China and Laos, nearly all of Siam and parts of what are now Annam, China and Burma. Its boundary on the east, according to him, was the Annamite range, on the north, the mountains north of the Sib-Song Pan-na, now a part of Yunnan; on the west, the range east of the Salween river, forming the central ridge of the Malay Peninsula, as far south as the state of Grahi on the Bay of Bandon; and, on the south, the ocean, the Gulf of Siam and the state of Grahi. Among the tributary regions, Maspero enumerated Yonaka Nāgābandhu (Upper Laos), Alavirāṣṭra (Sib-Song Pan-na) Khmerrāṣṭra (Keng Tung, in the southern Shan states), Yonakārāṣṭra (the Yun country—north western Siam), Sukhodaya, Louvo, and Chen- lifu (as running down into the Malay Peninsula).

But Maspero was probably in error in the location of some of his dependencies; for instance Chen-li-fu and it is known that Khmer authority did not extend over all these regions at this time, for instance Yonakārāṣṭra and probably Khmerrāṣṭra.

These boundaries do not differ much from those which an inscription gave to Yaśovarman more than half a century earlier. This shows that the dynastic struggle, which undoubtedly took place during the reigns of the five kings who ruled in Cambodia in the half century after the death of Yaśovarman, did not seriously affect the boundaries of the empire. Although Rājendravarman II was doubtless a vigorous ruler, from the wealth and splendour of the capital as pictured in the inscriptions and the many magnificent temples erected by him and his successor, this must have been a period of peaceful prosperity.

His success as a ruler has been summed up by an inscription saying that he protected his subjects in a manner that excelled the reign of India’s mythical king Manu. He was besides naturally devoted to religion and had the highest regard for the cult of Śiva. The worship
of the liṅga was paramount and many foundations were made. Three of the four great inscriptions record the coronation of royal liṅgas in pyramid temples devoted to the cult of divinized relatives of the king. But he was, however, not orthodox. On this, one inscription says:

"His supreme faith (śraddhā) and devotion (bhakti) free from leaning towards any other deity, eagerly embraced like Gaṅgā and Bhavanī (Uma), Śrī Kaṇṭha (Śiva) the god of gods."

Though his inscriptions begin with an invocation of Śiva, this is always followed by that of some other gods such as Viśnu, Brahmā, Śiva-Viśnu (Harihara); Uma, Gaṅgā and Vāgīśvarī (Sarasvatī).

Although he was a Śaivite, Rājendravarman II was very tolerant of Buddhism. In his early life he seems to have made a deep study of Buddhism and to have decided to remain a Śaivite.

"Nothing was comparable to the amplitude of his virtues. Having studied the Buddhist doctrine, he had no false ideas, even under the influence of other masters." ¹⁶³

But if Rājendravarman II rejected the Buddhist doctrine, he appointed as one of his chief ministers a Buddhist Kavindrārimathana, who made many Buddhist foundations, as well as many works dedicated to Śiva while supervising the construction of the capital and its public buildings. The inscription of Bat Chum dedicates that sanctuary to Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā. It gives a long panegyric to this minister and a list of his donations previous to that date (967 A.D.) which included,

1. a statue of Buddha (Jina) at Jayantadeśa
2. a Lokanātha and two devis at Kuṭiśvara and
3. an image of Jina and a Divyadevi. Prajñāpāramitā with Śrī Vajrapāṇi at the Mebon. Referring Coedes, Briggs opines that this liberation was in line with the current tendency towards the syncretism of Saivism and Mahāyāna Buddhism.¹⁶⁸

His inscriptions show that the worship of other deities was not neglected. A domain was granted to Viṣṇu and Lakshmī and statues of Viṣṇu and Brahmā were erected at Kuṭiśvara.

Considering the great veneration which Rājendravarman II had for Śiva it seems possible that he gave final touches to the Bayon which sheltered the national deity Devarāja.

Another notable event of the reign of Rājendravarman II was an
introduction of perpetuating the memory of ancestors by worshipping deities in images fashioned after their likeness. During his reign, the worship of ancestors appears to have taken a peculiar manifestation. We find pyramid temples, which had never been central mounts, consecrated to the līṅgas of a king after his death and during his life Mebon and Pre Rup the two temples seem thus to have been shrines of the Devarūja during the life of the king and, including the former, funerary temples after his death. The central shrine at Baksei Chamkrong was dedicated to Harṣavarman I after his death, those of Mebon and Pre Rup respectively, to Rājendrēśvara (līṅga of Rājendravarman II) and Rājendrabhadrēśvara (also a līṅga of Rājendravarman II) associated with the tutelary of the Kambuja. The images of ancestors, were here found in the other four towers of the quincunx. These sanctuaries indicate that a pyramid-temple could be devoted, in part at least, to the cult of ancestor worship. It also indicated that more than one image of the Devarūja could exist during one reign and that such an image could be set up and revive a cult in a pyramid temple not the central mount. M.M. Ghosh identifies it with ‘the hall of images’ mentioned in the Pratimā-nāṭaka ascribed to Bhāsa.

Death: After a reign of twenty four years, he died in 968 A.D. and received the posthumous name of Śivaloka.

Estimate: Rājendravarman II was praised lavishly by the following inscriptions:

Verse 40 of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription says in the following manner:

“He surpassed other kings by his royal power.”

Verse 42 of the same inscription narrates:

“His beauty, naturally charming, giving joy to thousands of eyes, much surpassed the beauty of Smara (love), which excited the great anger of Śtva.”

Verse 18 of the Mebon inscription tells:

“From his infancy, he was complete in talent.”

Verse 24 of the same inscription says:

“Like the grace of spring in the gardens, like the fulness of the moon, so arose, ravishing, splendid, the beauty of fresh youth.”

Verse 99 of the same inscription tells:

“Always in movement, attractive, omnipresent, strong, large, opposing order to the turbulent, his glory seemed made of great elements.”
Verse-100 of the same inscription narrates:

"Eloquence, valour, beauty, grace, depth, sweetness, goodness these (virtues) and still others, he was the sole depository of them, and by the creator, he was created still superior in energy and intelligence."

Verse 23 of the Pre-Rup inscription refers to:

"It was play for him to break into three a large bar of iron, by striking it lightly with a single stroke of his sword, as if he had struck a banana stalk. What use to talk (of the stroke of his sword) in the body, made of flesh of the enemy."

JAYAVARMAN V (968 A.D.—1001 A.D.)

Rājendravarman II was succeeded by his son Jayavarman V in 890 Śaka (968 A.D.). He was in fact very young like his father when he came to power. It was not until six years later, in 974 A.D. that he finished his studies under the direction of the Vrāh Guru.

From his inscriptions it is learnt that he was a warlike king, and the enemies had to submit to his victorious arms:167

"Possessing all the qualities, having in his aspect, the whiteness of virtue, eloquent, bearing the sign of the friendship of Indra, sovereign born, master of himself . . . when he puts himself in march under the . . . . of his armies the earth with its mountains is agitated as the sea is disturbed by a tempest with the noisy drums to which are mixed agreeably the sonorous copper cymbals, with the kāradis, the timiles, the lutes, the flutes, the bells ond the tambourines, with the huravas, the timbales, the bheris, the Kahalas and the multitude of shells, he inspires terror in his enemies. When, in his fury, his lion-roar was heard . . . . hostile kings fled to the depths of the forest."

But Briggs opines that the statements on this point "proceeds from the fertile brain of a servile minister rather than from any historical facts of the period."

Many of Jayavarman V's relatives served under him. His wife was related to the family of Śreṣṭhapura and the Senāpati Rājapatiivarman was her elder brother and that his successor Udādityavarman I was the son of her elder sister. Indralakṣmi, the king's younger sister was married to the Indian Brāhmaṇa Divākarabhaṭṭa, who had been born, in northern India on the banks of Yamunā and who was the builder of various Śaivite structures. These foundations, which included an image of her mother were celebrated by inscriptions. Prāṇā,
one of Rājendravarman II’s queen, held an important post under Jayavarman V. Several members of her family, including the famous Kaviśvara, held important religious and administrative post. Two of her brothers were priests of Hemaśrīngesā.

Jayavarman V had possibly to face some rebellion at the time of his accession to the throne. The vassals who challenged Rājendravarman II’s right to the throne or the successors of such vassals, could not have missed the opportunity when they found a young and inexperienced king assuming power. Moreover, the lavish expenditure of the national wealth for the costly monuments which Rājendravarman II left, must have brought in a financially hard time in the closing years of his reign, and uninterrupted peace for a generation must have demoralized the people to some extent. We have clear hints of all this from a passage in an inscription of Jayavarman V, which says:

“The subjects sunk in this deep and terribly difficult sea of evil time, reassumed themselves by finding him who was as it were a very coast.”

Relation with Champā

The condition of the country was surely not ignored by the rebels. There were equally good causes of external war atleast in the case of Champā. For this kingdom an inheritor of warlike traditions as old as that of Kambuja, could not be expected to remain satisfied for long with an inferior position, and must have always thought of revenge. Though the king of Champā showed friendliness to him by sending an envoy at the time of the coronation of Jayavarman V, he could not accept this position as permanent. The fact that the king of Champā sent between 960 A.D. and 971 A.D. as many as six diplomatic missions with a wealth of gifts, to the court of the new Sung Emperor of China can scarcely have any other significance.

But it appears that the Chinese emperor politely avoided any commitment and Champā could not possibly do anything in the matter except making sporadic border raids to encourage Jayavarman V’s vassals to rebel at the beginning of his reign. In view of these conditions M.M. Ghosh says:

“It is fantastic to think that his court poets recorded deliberate lies for the delection of the elite of Kambuja who where in full possession of facts. Hence we may well believe that Jayavarman V had to under
-take some fighting at least at the beginning of his career."

His Officials

Jayavarman V's guru at first seems to have been Yajñavarāha (the grandson of Harṣavarman I). The Banteay Srei inscription refers to him, "first in the knowledge of the doctrines . . . of the Buddha, medicine and astronomy . . . who had seen the other branch of the sciences . . . under the instructions of this guru, Jayavarman V became learned enough to take interest in different branches of literature and philosophy. Yajñavarāha made many foundations during his reign, including, with his younger brother Viṣṇukumāra, the temple of Banteay Srei.

Rājakula Mahāmaṇḍrīn continued to transmit the orders of the king and to act as Judge of the civil court.171 The great Buddhist minister of works, Kavindrārīnathana was succeeded by another Buddhist minister Kīrtti Paṇḍita, who made many foundations.

There were two Senāpatis. Rājapativarman, brother-in-law of Jayavarman V was the victorious general. He died before 979 A.D. and in the same year, the king erected a statue of Śiva under the traits of Rājapativarman—one of the first examples of apotheosis of a persons not a king.172

Virendravarman, who had served under the predecessors of Jayavarman V, played an important role during Jayavarman V's reign. During the early years of his reign, Ātmaśiva, of the house of Śivakaivalya, who had served under the two preceding kings, was his purohitā. His hotar, of the family of Prāṇavātman, was Nārāyaṇa-brother of Saṁkara, who had served in that capacity under Rājendravarman II. Paramāchārya of the house of Haripura, continued to serve as priest of Jalengeśa and Kapileśa. The house of Saptadevakula was becoming of the most important hereditary sacerdotal families. The house of Aninditapura was represented by Pañeagavya, grandson of Ravinātha.173

According to an inscription Brāhmaṇas celebrated for wisdom and well-versed in Vedas, Vedānta, Yoga and Smṛtis came from all directions to meet his court. Among the number of such scholars was Divākarabhaṭṭa to whom his younger sister Indralakshmi was married. During his time several other scholars were also treated with wealth and honour. Jayavarman V recognised the merit of learned woman also. Prāṇā a queen of Rājendravarman II was appointed as his
confidential secretary and one lady was appointed as one of his judges. Hence his reign was one of the most intellectual period of Kambuja.

Religion
Like his father, Jayavarman V was also very favourably disposed towards the Buddhists. The inscription of Srei Santhor (near Phnom Penh) reveals the rapidly rising importance of Buddhism in the state at this period. Kśrtti Paṇḍita had caused it to be engraved verses 51 to 100, contain the instructions of the king, promulgated by the minister, in support of the moral teaching and the doctrines of Buddhism. From the doctrinal point of view, it presented itself as the heir of the Yogācāra school and the representative of the pure doctrines of the void and a subjectivity, restored in Cambodia by the efforts of Kṛrtti Paṇḍita, but in practice it borrowed part of its terminology from Hinduist rituals and involved above all the worship of the Bodhisattva Lokesvara.¹⁷⁴

The worship of Viṣṇu was also common, but seems to have been subordinated to that of Śiva. A wing of the temple of Banteay Srei was dedicated to Viṣṇu. Images of Viṣṇu were established at Dvijendra pura (Siem Reap) by Divākara and Indralakṣmi, the latter of whom seems to have been a devotee of that deity.

He was also a devotee of Śiva. He erected the pyramid temple of the phimeankas and established there his Devarāja-Jayēśvara in the centre of his capital Jayendranagarī. Apart from the state cult of the Devarāja, the worship of the Śivalīrīga was the most important cult. The temple of Bantay Srei and the two little temples associated with it, all to the north and east of the capital, were dedicated to the liṅga under the vocable of Tribhuvanesvara, with whom as well as with Bhadreśvara, they were co-participants in certain revenues.

Like his predecessors, he built up temples and made religious foundation. The temple of Bantay Srei was one of such temples. Though ostensibly erected by Yajñavarāha and his younger brother, it was surely financed from the royal exchequer for the former was the king’s teacher. Though it was started in the last year of the reign of Rājendravarman.II and was dedicated in 968 A.D., its actual completion perhaps took some more years. It is one of the finest specimens of Cambodian architecture. The edifice, named the Phime-
anakas and the palace of Chaturdvāra have also been ascribed to Jayavarman V. Though some think that further was a pyramid temple, its name seems to believe this assumption. The Phimeanakas is equal to Sanskrit Vimānakas, which means a pavilion many storeys high, obviously meant for royal residence. According to the popular legend too, it was a palace. Some authorities think that it was begun by Rājendravarman II, continued by Jayavarman V and completed by Sūryavarman I. This is not unlikely. For such a huge structure must have required many years for its completion.

Among the buildings attributed to him the ‘Tower of the golden horn’ at present known as Baphuon (Hema Śrīnga-giri) is the most note-worthy. He also made additions to the palace which henceforth receives the name of Jayendranagri.

Jayavarman V died in 1001 A.D. and was given the posthumous name of Paramaśivaloka.

SŪRYAVARMAN I AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY
(1001 A.D.—1010 A.D. and 1010 A.D.—1050 A.D.)

Jayavarman V was succeeded by Udayādityavarman a maternal nephew—son of an elder sister of his wife. There ensued a disorder in Kambuja on the death of Jayavarman V. According to Prasat Khnā (II) and Prasat Thom (II) inscriptions, Udayādityavarman, appears as king in 1001 A.D. But it is not known how he ceased to reign. The Khmer epigraphy of the first ten years of the eleventh century shows three kings reigning simultaneously. The relationship between these kings is not clear, but they seem to have been antagonists.

The Prasat Khnā (II) inscription which was edited by Coedes,175 gives his genealogy but does not mention his father. According to this inscription, his mother was descended from the family of Śreṣṭhapura. He had an elder brother Senāpati Rājapatiavarman and a younger sister, who was the wife of Jayavarman. This inscription also mentions Narapativiravarman, elder brother and victorious general of Udayādityavarman. The inscription further states:

"There was in 923 Śaka in the royal dynasty of Kambuja a king of kings foremost in action, Udayādityavarman who with his arrows had vanquished a host of enemies up to the sea coast."
He was only a transient ruler "a phantom of a king who flitted across the throne" as Finot has said.\textsuperscript{176} The only event of any importance during his brief reign, as far as we know, was the dedication by his brother, Narapatiśvaravarm, of "a superb golden statue of Hari (Viśnuit) mounted on Garuḍā" in his own image, at Prasat Khna. This was the occasion of the inscription, of which Narapatiśvaravarm seems to have been the author. It is notable as an example of the apotheosis of a person other than a king, still living.\textsuperscript{173} The final clause of the inscription is interesting and illuminating." (It) is destined to set out (from the sanctuary) on the occasion of fêtes.\textsuperscript{177}

There was another claimant to the throne on the death of Jayavarman V, a prince bearing the name Sūryavarman and the title Kañțvan, which apparently devotes royal ancestry in the female line, is mentioned in an inscription from Sambor on the Mekong and another from the vicinity of Kompong Thom.\textsuperscript{178} He was the most energetic of the Khmer monarchs, who challenged the position of Jayavarman’s legitimate successor Udayādityavarman I, to hold the throne. This Sūryavarman is said to be a son of the king of Ĺambrālimga, a Tamil-Malay state on the Malay Peninsula, formerly under the suzerainty of Śrivijaya. An inscription of Robang Romas says, he was reigning there in 923 Śaka which could mean 1001 A.D. or early 1002 A.D. The inscriptions of Vat-Thipdei B verse 2 and 3 and Takeo A verse 10 say, he came to the throne in 1002 A.D. The former states that he was of the maternal family of Indravarman and the latter also confirms this fact. Other inscriptions indicate that he was reigning in eastern Cambodia on that date\textsuperscript{179}

Thus Udayādityavarman I reigned at the capital of Cambodia in in 1001 A.D. and possibly part of 1002 A.D. but we do not know when and how he disappeared? A king Jayāvīravarman appears from 1003 A.D. to 1006 A.D., according to his inscription.\textsuperscript{180} He had been established on the throne of Cambodia since 1002 A.D. Who he was and how and why he succeeded Udayādityavarman I are questions to which no certain answer has yet appeared. There seems to be no evidence that he was not a legitimate successor of Jayavarman V and Udayādityavarman I and that he did not accede to the throne regularly and without internal trouble.

After this Sūryavarman became the uncontested master in the capital, and in 1011 A.D. he had the oath of allegiance, followed by
long lists of names of dignitaries in the form of signatures engraved on the inner surface of the entrance pavilion of the Royal Palace.

We have seen that the death of Jayavarman V was followed by a disputed succession and civil war lasting for ten years. The accession of Udayādityavarman I in 1001 A.D. led to rivalry between Jayavīravarman who reigned at Angkor at least from 1003 A.D. to 1006 A.D., and Śūryavarman who had established himself in the east. The inscriptions indicate that between 1005 A.D. and 1007 A.D. Śūryavarman led a large scale expedition in which sacred places were damaged. He seized the kingdom from a king in the midst of a host of other kings,” says the Prah Khna inscription. The war lasted nine years and the installation of Śūryavarman, at Angkor must date around 1010 A.D., but later in his inscriptions, he dated his accession in 1002 A.D., that is, the time of the death or disappearance of Udayādityavarman I.

For a long time, it was quite generally accepted that Jayavīravarman was the name carried by Śūryavarman I during the early years of his reign. This belief was based on the following ground: (a) on the statement in many inscriptions that Śūryavarman began to reign in 1002 A.D. and (b) on those of other inscriptions, between 1002 A.D. and 1006 A.D., which mention Jayavīravarman as reigning on those dates. Some facts based on later inscriptions led Coedes to question this belief and to demonstrate conclusively that these two kings reigned concurrently over different portions of Cambodia from 1002 A.D. to 1007 A.D., or perhaps conquered his rival and reigned supreme.

These facts are:
(1) An inscription of later date (Prasat Khna III) mentions a family whose members succeeded each other as fan-carriers for thirteen kings from Jayavarman II to Śūryavarman I inclusive.
(2) An examination of the inscriptions shows that there is no definite date on which the name Jayavīravarman ends and that of Śūryavarman begins.
(3) The geographical distribution of the inscriptions shows that while Jayavīravarman ruled at Angkor, Śūryavarman began in the east and gradually moved toward the capital.
(4) Jayavīravarman’s inscriptions are fine specimens of epigraphy, as if he had the advantage of the royal lapidists, while Śūryavarman’s inscriptions are more crude and sometime contain Malay titles.
The Struggle between Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman

The struggle between Sūryavarman I and Jayavīravarman is said to have lasted nine years. Briggs believes it something more than a mere dynastic struggle. Whatever the value of his rival's claim to the throne, Sūryavarman, it appears, was simply an usurper if not just an alien conqueror. But he almost certainly had strong support from within. The privileged Śivaic families—those of the inscriptions of Śdok Kak Thom, Vat Thipdei B and Takeo B which have the inclusive or hereditary right to furnish purohitas, hotars and certain hereditary priests and judges, probably favoured the reigning kings, whom they may have had something to do with placing on the throne. The ground seems to have been prepared for a Buddhist revolution, possibly specifically for the coming of Sūryavarman. In spite of their Śivaism, Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman V were probably irked by the power of the hereditary Śivaic families' else why did they choose Viṣṇuite and Buddhist judges and ministers and build up the power of these religions? Or perhaps it was the rivalry of the other great houses which were beginning to furnish functionaries to the king and which waxed powerful during the long minorities of Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman V. Probably many of the Buddhist teachings brought in by these kings, came from Tāmbralinga, the great Buddhist centre, which later, received the title Śrī Dhamarāja-nagara—city of the king of the Law; and when Sūryavarman asserted his claim to the throne, they may have helped to pave the way for his accession. Sūryavarman's mother is said to have belonged to the powerful family of Saptadevakula, to which had belonged Prāṇā, a queen of Rājendravarman II and chief confidential secretary of Jayavarman V.

On the basis of Tuol Prasat inscription, it appears that Jayavīravarman was ruling in the Holy Chaturadvāra at Jayendranagarī in 1002 A.D. As has been seen, in the same year Sūryavarman had landed in the east and was moving slowly west-ward. An inscription of 1005, at Dambok Khpos, in the vicinity of Kampong Thom, shows that Jayavīravarman was still reigning there, but it sounds a warming against pulling up boundaries. The Prasat Trapang Run inscription dated 1006 A.D. shows Jayavīravarman still in possession of that region and represents him as ruling at the palace of the Four Doors, Yasodharapura. Finally, an inscription, apparently of the latter part of 1006 A.D. according to Briggs represents Sūryavarman
as king of the Four Sacred Doors. So it would seem that the capital fell into Sūryavarman's hands late in that year. But the struggle continued for some time longer in the south.

Dupont believes that Sūryavarman's campaign against the Cambodian capital was made from the direction of the present Korat, in which direction an ancient causeway led through what is now northern Sisophon.¹⁸⁹ The Sdok Kak Thom inscription depicts the slow Khmer movement in this direction for more than a century before Sūryavarman I's time.¹⁹⁰ Dupont points out that one of Yaśovarman I's digraphic inscription (893 A.D.) and the unpublished inscription of Sanke-Kong (1016 A.D.) show that the connection with the Mebon valley was, at that time, in the direction of Korat rather than the Aranrh valley as at present. He thinks Sūryavarman I made an important campaign in this region in 1002-1004 A.D. In support of this thesis, the following arguments are noteworthy.¹⁹¹

(a) the statement of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom that Sūryavarman made a campaign there against those who had destroyed the monuments and that, when he had been reigning two years, Sivāchārya restored the sanctuaries, but was unable to finish the task of restoration before he (Sivāchārya) died, which would place his death about 1005 A.D. and

(b) the statements of the inscriptions of Vat Thipdei B and Takeo B, which speak of Kīrtindra and Sivavindu as if they were heads of the families of Pranavatmana and Haripura. in 1005 and 1007 A.D. respectively, by which it would appear that Sivāchārya died before those dates.

To these statements, it may be countered:

(a) That the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, which does not say Sūryavarman began to reign in 1002 A.D., may have meant that Sivāchārya began the restoration of the monuments after Sūryavarman had reigned two years at the capital and

(b) that the dates of 1005 and 1007 A.D. are not the dates when those inscriptions were carved, but the last dates mentioned by them.

Dupont's thesis raises some other questions which are not easy to answer:

(1) that Sivāchārya—in whom the sight ecclesiastical sanctuaries centered—should leave the capital and the Devārāja and join Sūryavarman before 1004, seems to be contrary to the nature of that service.

(2) Sivāchārya was interested in Brāhmanical monuments. If this revolution had a religious tinge—which seems probable—it should
be Sūryavarman’s partisans, and not those of Jayavīravarman, who would be interested in the destruction of Śivaic monuments.

(3) Dupont’s thesis presumes that the Menam valley was conquered before Cambodia against which several reasons are advanced.

(4) Several inscriptions already quoted show that Sūryavarman began in the east and fought his way westward. If he had conquered this north-western region in 1002-1004 A.D. with its open approach to the nearly capital, why did it take him so long to be the capital and why was the longer and more difficult approach from the south-east necessary?

(5) The Pāli document says it was Sujita who conquered Louvo. It would be imposing a difficult task on Sujita and Sūryavarman in those troubled times, to hold in check the newly—conquered kingdom of Tāṁbralīmga while, “with a numerous army and numerous ships, they engaged in such distant and difficult ventures as the conquest of the Menam valley, the invasion of Haripuṇḍī and the campaign against the capital of Kambujadesa, at once from Korat and Kompong Thom—all in the years 1001-1006 A.D. The matter is clearer if we can understand the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom to mean that Sūryavarman’s reign began when he took the capital in 1006 A.D. with its Devarāja and sacerdotal and official hierarchy, and that when he had been reigning two years, Śivāchārya restored the sanctuaries, which would place his death a little later.

Inscriptions of Jayavīravarman

Several inscriptions of Jayavīravarman’s reign have been found mostly relating to transfer or confirmation of titles of land. A stele inscription of Tuol Prasat, dated 1003 A.D. in the province of Kampong Thom in Sanskrit and Khmer both relates to the confirmation of a grant in that immediate vicinity. The land was the hereditary estate of one Sahādeva, who seems to have been guardian of sacred property. Sahadeva’s maternal grandfather was Virendravīra, general of Harṣavarman II. His maternal great-grandfather acquired title to this land of Rājendravarman II and it had remained in the family ever since, in spite of several fraudulent attempts to seize it. The disposal of these cases, which were prosecuted by Sahadeva is interesting and instructive. Jayavarman V sentenced the culprits to mutilation of hands and lips. On a later attempt, Jayavīravarman sentenced the guilty to have their heads pressed, of which some died. The inscription begins with invocation to Śiva and Dharmakāya (Buddha) a syncretism becoming not uncommon. It contains an eulogy of Jayavīravarman who, it speaks, came to the throne in 1002 A.D. In 1003 A.D. the request for confirmation of the grant was made to
Jayaviravarman. Among those who participated in the presentation of the request were Kamsten Śrī Vīrendravarman (Inspector of Qualities and Defects), and the Mratānika Khlośrī Pṛthvīndrapaṇḍita, Lakshmīndravarman and Parākramavīra. Jayaviravarman was at the Four gates of Jayendranagarī when Pṛthvīndrapaṇḍita and the tribunal presented to him to record, which he approved and ordered to be inscribed.

A pillar inscription of Kok Po (IV), whose last date is 1004 records some donations. One of these occurred when Jayavarman V was building Hemaśrīṅgagiri and a royal palace. The second donation mentions the chief officials of the assembly called to pass on the transfer of lands.105

A Sanskrit stele inscription found at Preah Ko bears a date equivalent to 1005 A.D. Its most interesting features are its statement that Jayaviravarman was in possession of Roluos on that date and its fulsome praise of that king.

"By his incomparable glory, he has surpassed the glory of Śakra, by his incomparable beauty, he has surpassed the beauty of Kāma." Does the following indicate that he was already on the defense?

"As by desire to save his victory drowned in the blood pouring in floods from the river breasts of his enemies, his arm with the sword has made a bulwark of their several heads."

The stele inscription of Prasat Trapan Run II in Sanskrit and Khmer dated 1006 A.D. records the grant of a piece of land in Aninditapura to Kavindranaṇṇita, the author of the inscription, at the place of where that nobleman had erected a Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) in a temple at Vrai Karang Run. The petition for the application for the grant of land was received by Jayaviravarman at the 'Stone Basin' of Yaśodhara Purī and the inscription speaks of the palace of the Four Doors (Chaturādvāra) where the king was examining a temple which was being built. This inscription is important for several reasons:

1. It locates definitely the stele of Aninditapura.
2. It gives the genealogy of the family of Kavindranaṇṇita—chief minister of Jayaviravarman, whose ancestors had served kings since Jayavarman II.
3. It describes in detail the procedure for the transfer of a piece of land.
4. It shows that Jayaviravarman was reigning at Yaśodharaapurāṇa in 1006 A.D.
During the last few years of the 10th century, the turmoil in South East Asia was great and inextricably confusing. Disorder seems to have reigned everywhere. In Java, many petty kingdoms were striving for supremacy. In Sumatra, Malaya seems to have begun again to dispute Sriwijayas' position as the dominant power. A new naval power—the Cholas—was rising into prominence on the Coromandel coast of India and was soon to begin its raids on the Malay Peninsula. In 991–992 A.D., a king of east Java sent an expedition against Sumatra (Malya). Some time during the confusion, one Sujitara, seems to have made Tumbalimga independent of Sriwijaya and to have sent an embassy to the court of China in 1001 A.D. For some time before 1001 A.D. decrees of the gift of Bati were issued in the name of Mahendradatta, daughter of a king of eastern Java, and her consort Udayana, said to be of a famous royal line but apparently a local prince of Bati. They seem to have governed the island jointly from 989 to 1001 A.D. apparently under the suzerainty of Mahendradatta's father. 196 It was in the midst of this turmoil when throne were to be had for the snatching—that Jayavarman V died and was succeeded by his nephew, Udyañityavarman I. Nothing has been known of the life of this prince before his accession to the throne of Cambodia nor of his ultimate fate. F.D.K. Bosch identifies him with Udayana and advances the plausible and well supported hypotheses that some time earlier about 970 A.D., the future king's mother, elder sister of the wife of Jayavarman V fearing for her sons, the infant Narapativarman and the unborn Udayañityavarman, fled from the Cambodian court and took refuge in East Java. 197 He thinks the similarity of this story and that of the Pándavas pictured in the monument of Jalatonda mentioned in the inscription of 977 A.D., led the Javanese to identify the two stories. The sons were reared in East Java or Bali and Udayana married Mahendradatta-daughter of a king of the old time of Matarakā, and was ruling jointly with her in Bali where they had a son, Airalangga, then about ten years of age, of Udayana is to be identified with Udayañityavarman I and the hypothesis seems highly reasonable—the death of Jayavarman V called him back to Cambodia apparently with his wife and elder brother. The last royal edit of Mahendradatta and Udayana is dated 1001 A.D. The inscription of Prasat Khna of the same year seems to indicate that Narapativarman was Udayañityavarman I's victorious general in Cambodia.
Udayādityavarman I's reign was short, for early in 1002 he was succeeded by Jayavīravarman, of whose identity, nothing is known. But, if we accept Bösch's hypothesis that Udayādityavarman I was Udāyana, it seems to Briggs not only tempting but almost inevitable to conclude that Jayavīravarman was Narapatiavarman and that abandoned the throne of Cambodia to him and returned to Bali to look after his interests there. Jayavīravarman fought Sūryavarman for the throne of Cambodia until 1010 A.D. or 1011 A.D. Meanwhile, in 1006-1007 A.D., an unknown disorder overtook the kingdom of East Javā in which the king met his death and his capital was destroyed. Airalangga—then about 16 who had been called to the court of East-Javā to celebrate his marriage with a daughter of this king (apparently his cousin), escaped and remained in hiding for three years until 1010 A.D., when he proclaimed himself king and with a small band of faithful followers, began the slow task of reconquering his father-in-law's kingdom, to which he was heir.

The edicts of Udāyana in Bali, which ceased in 1001 A.D., began again in 1011 A.D. It is not permissible to recall, that the war between Sūryavarman I, and Jayavīravarman I (Narapatiavarman) ended in 1010 or 1011 A.D. in the complete triumph of the former and that the latter may have returned to Bali—as his brother seems to have done nine years earlier—and again became his brother's great general in the reconquest of that island also that this new acquisition of strength coincided with the reappearance of young Airalaangga from hiding and his proclaiming himself as king?

The edicts of Udāyana lasted until 1022 A.D. when his name disappears from history. Bosch suggests that when Udāyana was succeeded in Bali by Airalangga who was his son—the great minister who served Airalangga there so many years was Narapatiavarman under the name of Narottama. If these two hypotheses are correct and Briggs thinks that they are very reasonable—they provide an interesting sequel to the reign of these two kings.

As already discussed in the preceding pages he was related to the kingly families but his claim to the throne does not seem very well founded. The inscriptions of Takeo II, Vat Thipdei Lovek, Preah vthea III, Prasat Khna III, speak of him that he was directly or indirectly related to the Royal birth. On the other hand, Briggs, says:

“All these claims are remote and indefinite. The genealogies are
probably attempts of the royal ministers to bring him within the
degree of relationship required for eligibility to the throne. His father's
marriage to a princess of the family of Saptadevakula brought him
the support of that powerful family. His own marriage to a princess
of the line of Harṣavarman II or of Rījendravarman II of which Udaya-
ādityavarman I certainly—and Jayaviśavarman probably claimed.”

Coedes seems to think that Sūryavarman’s claims are weakened by
the fact that he was of Solar race while the kings of Kambujadeśa
were of Lunar race,203 On his manner of gaining the crown, however,
the inscriptions are more explicit. The inscription of Vat Thipdei B
says204 Enflamed by Śrī (glory), Śrī Sūryavarman, whose sword broke
the circle of his enemies, obtained, for the prosperity of the earth, the
desired royalty, which is nearly equivalent to saying—what everything
else indicates—that Sūryavarman I was a plain usurper who gained
the throne by force. The inscription of Preah Khan says205

His valour may be inferred from the fact this wise Muni won the
kingdom in battle from a king surrounded by other kings.”

Purohita

When he invaded Cambodia and invited his partisans to join
his standard of revolt against what appears to have been the regu-
larly constituted government, he doubtless found his rivals in posses-
sion of the regular hereditary functionaries and hierarchical officials.
The members of the great hereditary families seem to have continued
in their appointed functions, no matter who was king, and there is
some evidence that this is true of the minor functionaries. It has been
remarked, for instance that Sūryavarman I’s lapidists lacked the skill
and grace of these of his rivals.

At the time of his arrival of Yaśodharapura in the later part of
1006 A.D., he probably found Sivāchārya at the head of three great
hereditary sacerdotal families. Dupont thinks Sivāchārya was with
Sūryavarman in 1004 A.D. or perhaps earlier. This position he had
attained during the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman V. By
inter-marriage and by consanguinary relationship the functions of the
matriarchal families of the inscriptions of Sdok Kak Thom and Vat
Thipdei B and those of the patriarchal family of the inscription of
Takeo B had became centered in one representaive—Śivāchārya.

In the beginning of his reign, he had a famous guru named Yogī-
śvara Paṇḍita, who was descended, in female lines, from Bhās
Svāminī, principal wife of Jayavarman II and daughter of Viṣṇu-
Brāhmaṇa. It was he, who as executor of the works of the king,
erected Pañchaśōla on the Hemagiri (Takeo) and completed many
other works. He was a Vaishnav. He drew his disciple, Janapadā, out
of a girl’s school, gave her as a wife to the Brāhmaṇa Keśava and
made them hereditary priests and guardians of Yogiśvara, apparently
Takeo and vicinity.266

The family of Saptadevakula rose into prominence during his reign.
At its head was the distinguished scholar and poet, Kaviśvara Paṇḍita
who served as preceptor for Jayavarman V. He had married a daugh-
ter of the great minister Vägilśvara. Süravarman made him priest
of the Ṣīṃga of Šambhu, erected on Sūrya Parvata (Phnom Chnhesor).
To this family belonged also the poet and scholar Šaṃkara nephew
of Kaviśvara Paṇḍita and maternal uncle of Süravarman I. He was
made hotar by him early in his reign and rose high in the favour of
that king.267 Later Šaṃkara Paṇḍita was made purohita; apparently
in succession to Jayendra Paṇḍita, who had been given other functions.
Thus Süravarman I seems to have terminated the exclusive eclesiastic-
tical privileges of the family of Sivakaivalya and substituted a puro-
hita of the family to which he himself belonged.

The last known purohita of the family of Šivakaivalya-Jayendra
Paṇḍita was taken out of the religious life married to the queen’s
sister and was appointed chief of works of the first class, with the
title of Rāja-purohita. It is believed that he was succeeded as purohita
of the Devarāja by Šaṃkara Paṇḍita of the house of Saptadevakula.
At least this worthy Paṇḍita, whom the Lovek inscription says—ser-
vived as purohita for three kings, one of whom must have been Sürya-
varman I,268 is the only other purohita mentioned in the inscriptions
during the reign of Süravarman I.

His first great task seems to have been to restore the sanctuaries
which had been devastated in the campaign in which Süravarman
had taken the capital to re-erect and consecrate the deities and to
restore the country which had been devaitated and depopulated.
Coedes thinks that this campaign took place in 1005-1007 A.D.

Early in Süravarman I’s reign Šivāchārya died. The date of his
death may be inferred from the statement of Sdok Kak Thom that he
began the restoration of the temples of the region to the north-west
of the capital when Süravarman I had been reigning two years and
died before it was finished. Upon the death of Šivācharya, the next
in line in the matrilineal varṇas to which Sivâchārya belonged were two nephews—Sadāśiva and Kīrtīndra, who seem to have been brothers. If so, Kīrtīndra was the elder of the two.210 Early in this reign he was appointed preceptor and was apparently placed at the head of the family of Praṇavātman. In 1005 A.D. he re-erected a high liṅga at Vat Thipdei, which originally had been erected by Śikhāśiva, hotar of Yaśovarman I. This was probably the occasion of the inscription of that temple, of which he seems to have been the author. He was given the title of Kīrtīndra Paṇḍita.210

Sadāśiva was appointed as purohita of the Devarāja, in succession to Sivâchārya and became head of the family of Sivâchārya, But later Sūryavarman I took him out of the religious state, married him to a sister of queen Vīralakshmi, with the title of Jayendra Paṇḍita, On his marriage he relinquished the hereditary charge of purohita of the Devarāja and assumed the functions of chaplain of the king and chief of the public works. He seems to have been the last purohita of the family of Sivakaivalya.

Śivavindu—grandson of Śivâchārya succeeded him as their of the family of Hyang Pavitrā, which was not matrilineal. He was hereditary priest of Kapaliśvara and became a great minister of Sūryavarman I with the title of Kṣitindropakalpa. He erected many monasteries, images and liṅgas and dug many ponds.211

"Conformably to the precepts, he erected on a splendid socle (in form) of a lotus, a liṅga, brilliant with jewels, and two liṅgas of Gaurī (wife of Śiva) and Vighneśvara (Ganeśa)."212

This seems to have been the author. Its last date is 1007 A.D.

There are many inscriptions of the early part of the reign of Sūryavarman I and some of them are valuable sources of information about his genealgies and the genealogies of the family of Yogīśvara Paṇḍita, Sivāchārya, Praṇavātman and eulogy of Sūryavarman and also relate the history of a family of dignitaries etc. Besides this some of them narrate the war between Sūryavarman I and his enemies which lasted nine years.

The oath

After subduing all the empires, as Briggs thinks, Sūryavarman I called on all the officials to come to the Royal Palace to take the oath of allegiance to him.213 There is no doubt that there was a pro-
longed civil war in Kambuja during the early part of his reign which probably continued till 1010 A.D. As a safeguard against similar outbreaks in future the king instituted a novel system which is known from ten inscriptions, all dated 1011 A.D., eight of which are engraved on the pillars of the Gopura of the Royal palace of Angkor Thom, in which about 4,000 names may be counted, and two on gateways of a neighbouring building. They contain the text of an oath, and the names of district officers, who took it in the presence of the sacred fire and the Brāhmaṇas and the āchāryas offering unwavering and life long homage and allegiance to the king, and dedicating the lives to his service. Here is the oath: 211

"In 933 Śaka (1011 A.D.) . . . August-September . . . This is the oath, which we, belonging to the body of tamorac (lictor) of the first (second and fourth) category, swear, all, without exception, cutting our hands, offering own lives and our devotion gratefully, without fault, to H.M. Śrī Śuryavarmadeva, who has been in complete enjoyment of Sovereignty since 924 Śaka (1001 A.D.) in the presence of the sacred fire, of the holy jewel, the Brāhmaṇas and Āchāryas. We will not serve another king, we shall never be hostile (to our king), and will not be accomplices of any enemy, we will not try to harm him in any way. All actions which are the fruit of thankful devotion to H.M. Śrī Śuryavarmadeva, we pledge ourselves to perform them. If there is war, we promise to fight and to risk life, with our soul, in devotion towards our king. If there is no war and we die by suicide or sudden death, may we obtain the recompense of people devoted to their masters. If our existence remains at the service of H.M. up to our death, we will perform our task with devotion to the king, whatever may be the time and circumstances of our death. If H.M. orders us to go far away, to obtain information on any matter, we will try to learn the thing in detail and each of us to keep this promise in whatevery concerns us. If all of us who are here in person do not keep this oath with regard to H.M., may He still reign long, we ask that He inflict on us royal punishment of all sorts. If we hide ourselves in order not to keep this oath strictly, may we be reborn in the thirtyscoutd hell as long as the Sun and the Moon shall last. If we fulfil this promise without fault, may H.M. give orders for the maintenance of the pious foundations of our country and for the sustenance of our families, because we are devoted to our master. H.M. Śuryavamadeva, who has enjoyed complete sovereignty since 924 Śaka (1002 A.D.) and may we obtain the recompense of people devoted to our masters in this and the other world."

Some of the expressions are very interesting. The officers swore that they 'shall not honour any other king, shall never be hostile (to
their king) and shall not be the accomplices of any enemy." These seem to refer to the recent civil war between Suryavarman and Jayavarman, though the inscriptions add that Suryavarmadeva has been in complete enjoyment of the sovereignty since 924 Saka (1002 A.D.). Suryavarman seems to have conquered the whole of Siam and even carried his victorious campaign to the Mon kingdom of Thaton in Lower Burma.

Coedes, whose translation we have followed, calls attention to the striking parallel between this oath and the one taken by Cambodian officials at Phnom Penh to day. After nearly a thousand years almost the same words are used. The main difference, he says, is in the substitution of Buddhist or Brähmičal forms.

The later years of Suryavarman I (1011-1050 A.D.) as Buddhist king

As stated above Suryavarman I is said to have been a son of the king of Tāmbralimiga and a Khmer princess of the family of Saptadevakula. A Pāli text of the 16th century A.D. mentions a king of Tāmbralimiga, named Sujītarāja—conquered Louvo and his son made a futile attempt to subdue Haripunjaya. This Tāmbralimiga later called Śri Dhammanagara and Ligor and the king Sujītarāja is also called Jivaka and Vararāja by the chronicles. Jivaka may come from Jayaka, a term some, times applied to Śrīvijaya, of which Tāmbralimiga was a vassal.

According to Briggs,215 the attempt to subdue Haripunjai seems to have happened after Sūryavarman I, who conquered Cambodia, because he is called Kambuja-rāja in the Pāli chronicle. The Cānadevīvānsha says, he was called Kambojarāja "because of his previous merits."216

Louvo (Luo, Lavo) was the old Mon kingdom of Dwāravatī or at least the part of it on the Lower Menam.217 When the Khmers conquered what is now eastern and nort-eastern Siam in the 7th century, Louvo remained free. A little later, it established colonies at Lampun and Lampang, on branches of the Meping, a region occupied by Lawas, a primitive people related to the Mons in race and language. This locality, which also received immigrants from the Mon settlements of Thaton and Pegu, became a kingdom under the name of Haripunjai. All the Mon settlements of the Meklong-Menam and Irrawaddy-Sittang valleys seem sometimes to have banded together into a lose confederacy called Ramañydeśa.
Historically there is close relations between Tāmbralīńga and Cambodia. That locality was under the control of Funān and Chenlū for several years until it was conquered by Śrīvijaya in the latter part of the 8th century. Sujita probably had some extra ties with the Khmer empire. He is said to have married a Khmer princess of a prominent family. With the expansion of the Khmer empire, the Khmers had spread into the Lower Menam valley, where to some degree, they seem to have been displacing the Mons. A Khmer inscription of 937 AD, which was found at Ayuthia, seems to indicate that a Khmer dynasty had been ruling somewhere in that region for some time before that date.¹¹⁸

Apparently after Suryavarman had established himself as king of Cambodia, he and his father seem to have decided to conquer the Mon kingdom of the Menam and its tributaries. Just at this time, Śrīvijaya (San-fo-t’si in Chinese), Tāmbralīńga’s former suzerain, was engaged at first with a remnant of the Javanese kingdom of Matāram (which invaded Sumātrā in 991-992 A.D.) and later with the Cholas of Tanjore, who claim to have conquered Śrīvijaya and most of its possessions on the Malay Peninsula including Tāmbralīńga. An inscription of Tanjore dated 1030-1031 A.D. tells us that the great raid of 1027, which had the above result, was preceded by lesser raids, in which many inscriptions of 1007 say Rājarāja of the Cholas destroyed several ships and 12,000 islands.¹¹⁹ Possibly Sujita, dispossessed by one of these raids or fleeing before it, decided to join his son in an attack on the Mons of the Lower Menam.

At any rate, according to the Pāli chronicles referred to above, while Louvo and Haripuñjai were fighting each other, Sujitarāja ‘came from Śrī-Dhammanagar with a large army and many ships and seized Labapura.’ Three years later, his son Kambojarāja, attempted to take Haripuñjai, but was repulsed and fled to his capital. Although the chronicles are explicit in saying that it was Sujitarāja who seized Louvo, it was clearly Sūryavarman who retained possession of it. Many inscriptions, in Khmer testify that he remained master of Louvo, while later inscriptions of Haripuñjai are in Mon.¹²⁰ Several temples of Khmer type or influence are found within the limits of Louvo which date roughly from this or the following centuries, although the dates cannot be ascertained with sufficient certainly to assign any of them to the reign of Sūryavarman I.¹²¹ Perhaps Sujita died before Sūryavarman I’s attack on Haripuñjai. Sūryavar-
man probably helped his father, conquered Louvo including the Malay Peninsula to the Isthmus of Kra. He seems to have inherited Tămbraliṅga, which the Khmers surely held until about 1220 A.D.

Coming from Tămbraliṅga which was a centre of Buddhist influence, Sūryavarman I was naturally a Buddhist as also his posthumous name indicated—the first Buddhist king of the Khmer empire. But he was a Mahāyānist and he did nothing to interfere with the state religion of the Kambuja. He seems to have introduced, or at any rate, to have protected, Mahāyānist Buddhism, as well as all forms of Brāhmanism in Louvo. Three inscriptions at Labapuri, one of them Buddhist and another one Viṣṇuite date from his reign.

The stele inscription of the monument of Salsung, or Sơn Sung, Labapuri, in Khmer, containing three dates of which the only legible ones are 1022 A.D. and 1025 A.D., is an edict of king Sūryavarman I ordering the Mahāyānist Bhikkhus and the Hinayāna Sthavirās (eders), to offer the fruit of their ascetic meditation to the king. It prescribes that persons who enter these holy places to disturb the meditation of the pious should be brought before the tribunal and punished with sovereignty.

In all holy places, temples, monasteries and hermitages, the ascetics, the sthavira and the Mahāyāna bhikkhus should offer to the king the merits of their piety. But though a Buddhist he did not fail in constructing numerous temples consecrated to Śiva and Viṣṇu. He is also credited with having established the division of castes, for it was through him that the Brāhmaṇa Śivāchārya on account of his excellent faith received the great honour of being placed at the head of his caste."223

Foreign relations

Throughout his reign, he seems to have maintained peaceful relations with his eastern neighbours. 'Sūryavarman I carried on many wars', says Maspero. He contracted an alliance with China and Champā in 1030 A.D. to carry on war against the Annamite Emperor Ly thai Tong, but nothing seems to have come of it.224

Leclere says

"The Chinese annals say that this king made, in 1030 A.D., an alliance with Champā and China and that this alliance lasted 60 years. It had for purpose, in the Cambodian sense, to assure peace with Champā, guaranteed by a third power China, to permit the king of
Cambodia to repress the revolts of his vassal kings, especially those of the principalities situated to the north of the Dangrek Mountains and in the basin of the Menan."

Although these statements of an alliance seem to lack authenticaiton, it seems that peace was maintained on the eastern front during all of Suryavarman I's reign.

Suryavarman I is said to have carried on many wars with his neighbours, but there seems to be no direct mention of any of them in any document or inscription. Aymonier tells that, according to some traditions, he made war against Anauratha, king of Pagan, and that an inscription of 1050 mentions Chams, Cambodians, Chinese, Siam and Yukam (Paganese) among the slaves. But Anauratha, or Anawratha did not come to the throne until 1044 A.D. Pagan then controlled by a little strip along the Upper Irrawaddy and, until his conquest of Thaton in 1057 A.D., well in the reign of Suryavarman I's successor, the Mon kingdom of Sudhamanapura (Thaton), intervened between Pagan and Kambujadesa or any of its dependencies. So accounts of a war with Burma seem to be unauthenticated.

Later in his reign, Suryavarman I seems to have erected a new capital, with its central sanctuary on the site of the present Bayon. Traces of this sanctuary were verified by Trouve and Marchal in 1931 and 1933. It was probably during the reign of Suryavarman I that the capital was provided with the marvellous system of waterways, basins, channels and fountains which made it for several centuries the wonder of all visitors. Since 1932 excavations, mainly by Trouve, Goloubew and Marchal, have brought to light a system of water-basins, some fourteen metres wide and hundreds of metre long, lining both sides of the six causeways. These basins, sometimes lined with brick, are separated at intervals by embankments but are connected with each other and with the later moats by conduits to permit the passage of water. Other basins—more than a thousand of Angkor alone have no connection with the river and depend on rain-water. They are scattered or arranged in plans throughout the city. In addition, every sanctuary had its own basin or basins for its purposes.

Some of these basins were used as fish ponds and to provide drinking water for men and animals but, according to the testimony of the Chinese, they were used mainly for the frequent ablutions made necessary by the extreme heat during the dry season. The earliest
Chinese dynastic histories tell us that in early Funān tens of families used a common basin. Chou Ta Kuan, who visited Cambodia near the end of the 13th century, tells of the many daily baths taken by the inhabitants, in these basins and in the river. The European missionaries who visited Angkor in the latter part of the 16th century, marvelled at the many fountains and canals still to be found there at that time.

Religion

Sūryavarman I, in spite of his excellent spirit of toleration, was undoubtedly a zealous Mahāyanist. He belonged to the royal family of Tāmbraliṅga, whose rulers had been given the title of Śrī Dhammarāja (king of the law). There are reasons to believe that he may have gone further in the establishment of Buddhism in Kambujadeśa than has been generally recognised.

He seems to have abandoned the Phimeanakas as a central temple and to have established a new city with a new central temple — undoubtedly Buddhist on the site of the later Bayon. He apparently discontinued the exclusive privilege granted by Jayavarman II to the family of Śivakaivalya of furnishing purohitas of the Devarāja Śivāchārya was the last member of that family whom the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom mentions as bearing that title. Perhaps this was because this family supported his rival perhaps because it was too intimately tied up with the worship of the Devarāja. At any rate, before the king employed a member of that family, he took the precaution to bind him to the Royal family by marriage, then made him a Royal chaplain and used him in the construction of public works. At the same time, he took Śaṃkara Paṇḍita of the house of Lovek, to which the kings' mother belonged, and made him purohita.

Early in the reign of Sūryavarman I or before he had completed the conquest of the country, all the great hereditary religious families who had furnished priests and ministers to proceeding kings, seem to have terminated these connections. The line of Bhūs-Svāmini, after 1002 A.D., that of Praṇavūtman after 1005 A.D., that of Jayendraśa, after 1006 A.D., that of Hyang Pavitrā, after 1007 A.D. and that of Śivaśakti, in 1047, all carved, their swan-songs and disappeared from history. A representative of the line of Śivakaivalya survived until 1052 A.D. but only after he had been safely attached by marriage to the house of Lovek and then in another capacity.
Early in his reign, Sūryavarman I seems to have deprived the line of Sivakaivalya of its exclusive privilege of furnishing purohitas to the Devarāja. Whatever form the state-worship assumed during the reign of Sūryavarman I, Śaṁkara Paṇḍita, of the house of Lovek, was at the head of it, and when Udayādityavarman II restored the cult of the Devarāja, it was Śaṁkara Paṇḍita and not a representative of the Śivakaivalya line, who became his purohita.

There is nothing to indicate that he ever accepted the worship of Devarāja to the extent of identifying himself with Śiva in a liṅga, as his Brāhmanic predecessors had done. No inscription has mentioned a Sūryeśvara. But he probably did not discard the idea of a king-god. The new king-god established at Bayon was probably a sort of Buddhārāja, and Śaṁkara Paṇḍita, though a Śaivite was probably its chief-priest. The syncretism of Šaivism and Mahāyānism, which had been going on for some time in South-East Asia, makes this quite plausible. Jayendra Paṇḍita continued as Guru for Sūryavarman’s successor, Udayādityavarman II, for some time and probably was the author of the inscription of Šdok Kak Thom in 1052 A.D., after which the family of Śivakaivalya disappeared from history. Śaṁkara Paṇḍita was purohita for Udayādityavarman II and established his Udayādityeśvara in his new central temple of the Baphuon, after which he was to continue as purohita for his successor, Harṣavarman III.

Death

Sūryavarman I’s death occurred in the year 1050 A.D. and he received posthumous name of Nirvāṇapada.

Estimate

From all available data Sūryavarman I appears to be a great king. Though born and brought up in a distant land, he by his natural ability, suitable education and exalted character, could easily win over the heart of his subjects and gave Kambuja a solid organisation which lasted for about four centuries. The power and prestige of Kambuja considerably increased in his time. He is indeed one of the most memorable names of the history of Cambodia.

In the words of Briggs, he was the greatest among all the kings of Cambodia.
“He conquered the throne and consolidated his power. Jayavarman II united and consolidated his kingdom and asserted its independence, but he was placed on the throne to fill the role of puppet for distant overlords. Jayavarman VII was the crown, but he procrastinated a long time. Jayavarman II and Jayavarman VII were Cambodians helping their countrymen to pull the country of hated aliens. Suryavarman I was an alien, of a different religious faith, fighting against Cambodians to replace a king or kings with whom the population was apparently content.”

Suryavarman I helped his father to conquer Louvo. He organised and consolidated it and Cambodia held it for more than two centuries, until its conquest by the Tai. The partial Khmerisation of the Menem-Meklong valley and of the basin of the Se Mun, seems to have begun with the reign of Suryavarman. He is the only Cambodian king who conquered and so organised a foreign country that Cambodia was able to hold it for several centuries.

His reign was one of the great periods of architecture and art. Many new principles and improvements appeared. His greatest work seem to have been the planning and development of the city of Yasodharapura. with its splendid avenues and marvelous water-ways, and the construction of works of irrigation in the surrounding fields. Recent excavations seem to point to him as the real founder of the present Angkor, its central site, its radical axes, its waterways. Inscription and the study of the architecture and art of the period make it practically certain that he excavated the immense reservoir of the West Baray. And the many mentions during his reign of the excavaion of ponds and ditches and the construction of dams, is testimony of his part in the irrigation of the surrounding fields.

On the whole, in his skill as a warrior, organiser and ruler, his fine spirit of toleration, his habit of surrounding himself with scholarly and high-minded advisers. his patronage of art and architecture and his promotion of public improvements, he rates high among the kings of ancient Cambodia.

UDAYADITYAVARMAN II (1050 A.D.—1066 A.D.)

On the death of Suryavarman I in 1050 A.D. his ministers placed Udayadityavarman II on the throne. This shows that the latter had no legitimate right to the throne, but owed his succession to the influence of a party in court. His relationship with his predecessor
is unknown. Even if it was not close, there was no difficulty about his succession. The Lovek inscription says:

“When Sūryavarman I passed to the other world, he endowed with multitude of qualities was consecrated to universal monarch by the ministers.”

Udayādityavarman sometimes called Udayārkavarman in the inscriptions. The new king conferred the semi-royal title of Dhulijeng (dust of the feet) Vṛāh Kāmraten Añ Śri Jayendravarman on the former chief priest of the Devarāja, Sadāśiva Jayendrapaṇḍita, who had married a sister of the queen Viralakshmi and became the king’s spiritual master. The Lovek inscription again speaks:

“Then Udayādityavarman, king of the earth, with the sweet rays of his glory, was born in the race of the masters of the world, as the moon in a new sea of milk.”

Regarding his personal qualities, the same inscription continues:

“His excelled in seducing women to his will by his beauty, warriors by his heroism, sages by his good qualities, the people by his power, Brāhmaṇas by his charity. Endowed with many noble qualities, when Sūryavarman went to the skies, the prince of great energy was sworn universal monarch by his ministers.”

War with Champā

Although Udayādityavarman seems to have been the legitimate claimant and was the choice of the ministers, he appears to have had domestic as well as foreign trouble during the early years of his reign. Kambuja got embroiled in the fight between Pāṇḍuranga and Champā. In about 1050 A.D. Pāṇḍuranga, which was perhaps a vassal state of Champā became hostile to her suzerain, probably with an encouragement and help from Kambuja. A strong king, Jaya Paramēśvara, came to the throne of Champā about 1050 or a little earlier and with his son, the Yuvarāja Mahasenāpati, thoroughly subdued Pāṇḍuranga, according to several inscriptions of Po Klang Garai Phaurang dated 1050. Another Cham inscription, dated 1056, says that the Yuvarāja defeated the Khmers, took the city of Śāmbhupura, destroyed all the sanctuaries and gave the spoils and the captives to the temples of Śri Śāmbhubhadreśvara at Mison. This seems to have occurred in 1050 A.D.

This first revolt took place in 1051 A.D. It occurred in the south
of Cambodia, the old Funan country and its leader was Aravinda-
hrada, who may have been a vassal king of Cambodia, or possibly
a chief from Champâ, made himself master of the whole southern
part of Cambodia. Several Khmer expeditions, under famous generals,
were sent against him, but were defeated. Vanquished by Saŋgrâma—
the great Cambodian general, the rebel fled with the greatest haste
to the city of Champâ, Saŋgrâma donated . . . . to a temple of
Īśvara at a place called Rajatîrtha.

The second rebellion was led by a favourite general of the king
named Kaṃvau: It was in the year 1065. Having collected a strong
army he overran the kingdom and defeated the royal army sent
against him, after killing several renowned generals. He wounded
Saŋgrâma in the jaw before being killed by three arrows. His army
was routed. A broken liṅga in the province of Angkor, north west
of the capital led Barth to suggest that a feeling against the religi-
ous reaction may have been one of the causes of the revolt.236

The third rebellion was quelled in or about the year 1066 A.D. i.e.
towards the very end of the king’s reign. In the east, a man named
Sluat, his younger brother Siddhikara, and a third warrior named
Sasaniṭhuhvana, fomented new troubles. Saŋgrâma quickly put
them down and celebrated his victories by various pious endonments.
The king moved by his fidelity, asked Saŋgrâma to keep them “All
these things which you have conquered, deign to keep them. While
they are my treasures they are certainly yours. What makes me for
ever happy are the striking proofs of your fidelity and not such
riches.”237

But Saŋgrâma prevailed upon the king to accept these spoils as a
gift to the golden image (of the Devarâja) under the vocable of
Udayâditeśvara, which he had just established in his new golden
temple (the Bhphuon) “If I find grace before you, who are grace
itself, deign to make homage of this booty to your invisible me, which
is Īśvara lodged in a liṅga of gold, and my fidelity with have born
its fruit.”238

Thus practically the whole life of the king passed in great troubles.
An echo of these troubles is reflected in several inscriptions. Besides
this, some clash with foreigners seems to have occurred in 1650 A.D. in
the western frontier also, due probably to the activity of Aniruddha
the energetic king of Burma. But the history of this clash is vague
and confusing.
Purohitas, Gurus and Hotars

Udayādityavarman II had the learned Jayendra Pañḍita as his Vrāh Guru. He was granted the new title of Vrāh Kāmraten añi Śri Jayendravaran. The king acquired proficiency in different branches of Sanskrit learning such as Siddhānta, Grammar and Dharmasāstras etc. under him. He celebrated the initiations and performed various religious ceremonies for the king and created many religious foundations which entailed expensive gifts. A person of very high rank mentioned in the early years of the reign of Udayādityavarman II, was Vāgindra Pañḍita of the Srūk of Siddāyatana of Purvadiśa. He was in relation to the paternal side of Jayendra Pañḍita and was apparently his guru. He was given the title of dhulijeng vrāh Kāmraten añi. According to Briggs, this title of dhulijeng, "dust of the feet" is the highest title granted to a Brāhmaṇa up to that time, a title hitherto reserved to members of the royal family. Vāgindra-Pañḍita seems to have died early in this reign and his last funeral ceremony was performed by Jayendra Pañḍita and he himself settled the affairs of his charge; i.e., he regulated the Srūk installed and inaugurated a reservoir and as an offering to the memory of his guru, he erected a monastery and provided it with slaves. After the death of Vāgindra Pañḍita, he seems to have succeeded to his title 'dhulijeng vrāh Kāmraten añi.'

We do not know nothing about the families of Praṇavātmana, Hayang Pavitra, Bhās Svāminī or Jayendraśa. Although the members of the house of Śivakaivalya apparently continued to serve the Devarāja during this period, the only person as purohita during the reign of Udayādityavarman II was Śaṅkara Pañḍita of the family of Saptadevakula. Besides him there were other officials during his time and they were Senaṃati Śaṅgrāma, Vāsudeva, Śaṅkarṣa, Guṇaratasindhu—father of the celebrated Tilakā—was probably a royal pañḍita. Divākara also performed some functions under this reign.

The foundation of the temple of Sdok Kak Thom (Bhadranikutana)

In 1052 A.D., Jayendra Pañḍita founded the Kāmraten-jagat Śivalinga at Bhadranikutana. There seems to have been another linga founded at this place at the same time. The Sanskrit text of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription says in the following manner:

"This magnanimous king, in favour of this (guru) who wished to make a foundation on his land, installed in the place called Bhadra-
niketana this līṅga a donation of gold, of precious stones, of elephants; of horses, etc, expressed this vow for it. “May this Sarva Jayendra Parameśvara project all around it, to dissipate the fogs, its powerful eclat, of a constant splendour, with honour and success, up to the extinction of being” . . . . King Udayāditya has given by devotion to Śarībhū Jayavarmesvara, in having fixed the measure and placing the boundaries on all sides.”

We do not possess much information about the exact nature of the two līṅgas—the Kāmraten jagat Śivalīṅga and the Sarva Jayendra Parameśvara founded by the king. But two other deities were founded here at this time—statutes of the ancestors (founders of the cut of the Devarāja) 1. a Brāhmaṇa in the image of Hiranya-dāman and 2. a Harihara in the joint image of Śivakaivalya and Śivāśrama. The temple of Bhadrani ketana is the most important one. The two inscriptions discovered in this temple are the most valuable in the whole series of Cambodian epigraphs. The inscription, on a sandstone stele found in the gallery of the enclosure of the temple, was indicated probably in the same year, apparently by Jayendra Paṇḍita and give the history of religious foundations of a learned Brāhmaṇa family for two centuries and a half (802—1050 A.D.) and incidentally furnish interesting account of various kings from Jayavarman II to Udayādityavarman II during the time of which they were inscribed.

Śāmkara Paṇḍita was the purohīta of the new Udayāditesvara—(a līṅga of gold). The Lovek inscription says: “

“Seeing that, in the middle of Jambudvīpa, the dwelling of the gods, arises the moutain of gold (Hemādri-Meru), he (Udayādityavarman) made, as by emulation, a mountain of gold (Svarṇādri), in the centre of his city. On the east of this mountain of gold in a temple of gold shining with a celestrial brilliance, he erected a līṅga of Śiva, honoured with ablutions at the, prescribed times. By this king, the sage Śāmkara Paṇḍita, versed in all the sciences, was employed as Guru, in view of the perfect efficacy of his sacrifices. On (this) mountain, the ornament of the three worlds, in the fortunante half of month, this illustrious sage was instituted priest of (this) līṅga of Gold by this protector of the earth.”

HARṢAVARMAN III (1069 A.D.—1080 A.D.)

We have seen that the reign of Udayādityavarman II was a troubled one. He was succeeded by his brother, Harṣavarman III in the year
1066 A.D. But on the basis of two inscriptions which record events of the time of Udayādityavarman II and were engraved in all likelihood later, it has been assumed that the king abdicated in 1065 and lived at least till 1067 A.D. But M.M. Ghosh does not believe it and says "there is no valid ground to think that Udayādityavarman II lived after 1065."245

The new king was coronated by the sage Śaṅkara Paṇḍita, who served as purohita for him, as he had for his two predecessors. The family of Saptadevakula seems to have succeeded that of Śivakaivalya in furnishing purohitas to the king. But Briggs opines there is no evidence that this family furnished any other purohita than Śaṅkara Paṇḍita.246

Rebellion against the throne having been effectively crushed towards the end of the previous reign. Harṣavarman III was a peace-loving king and in this policy he was undoubtedly supported by his old venerable minister Śaṅkara Paṇḍita. The Lovek inscription says.247

"To the people who consumed formerly the fever produced by the devouring and or of Kali, this prince, who united in himself to an incomparable degree, the essences of all the means of success, procured response by strictly observing the duties of the four castes. This master of the earth, with unequalled majesty in this entire earth having acquired as purohita the venerable Śaṅkara, obtained to his extreme satisfaction, in the person of this sage ....... the highest realisation of all one desire in view of this world and the other."

The three inscriptions of his reign do not give us much information about the king. We know that he installed some liṅgas, and images of Viṣṇu and Śiva and some of these were for the restoration of temples deserted by the enemies. Though Briggs thinks otherwise.248

Harṣavarman III died in year 1080, But the manner in which his rule ended is unknown. M.M. Ghosh argues that it terminated probably by death and the king received the posthumous name of Sadāśivapada.

JAYAVARMAN VI (1080 A.D. 1107 A.D.)

Jayavarman VI succeeded Harṣavarman III in 1080 A.D. The genealogy of Jayavarman VI indicates no relationship either with the
dynasty founded by Sūryavarman I or with preceding dynasties. According to one of the inscriptions, he belonged to the noble family of Mahidharapura. It is believed that he had been chosen king by the ministers of Harṣavarman III like Divākara Paṇḍita. As insignia of his rank, the king gave him a gold pañcanührin, a white parasol and carriers for both. But we do not know exactly, how he could occupy the throne. According to Coedes, he was the son of Hiraṇyavarman from Kṣitindragrīma, an otherwise unknown locality, and of Hiraṇyakalakṣmi. Later, the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII say that he belonged to the nobility of Mahīdhara-pura, a city whose site remains unidentified. Perhaps he was a high dignitary, a provincial governor, who taking advantage of the weakening of central authority following the troubled reign of Udayadītyavarman II, became more or less independent in the north, where his establishments and those of his successors are particularly numerous. He seems to have been aided in the realisation of his plans by the priest Divākara Paṇḍita, who, after having been in the service of Harṣavarman III for some time, threw in his lot with the newcomers, conducted the coronation of Jayavarman VI and his two successors received quasi-royal titles from them.

The Preah vihear inscription narrates:

"Then the Brāhmaṇa made sacrifices and numerous donations of goods, beasts, bowls, ewers, gold plate, cuspidors and other sacred utensils; he had basins dug, gave slaves to the Brāhmaṇas and made offerings to all the gods. For his part, king Jayavarman made pilgrimages and adored the God Chaupeśvara (Višnu)"

Aymonier thought that this took place about 1090 A.D. But Coedes says that Jayavarman became king in 1080. Perhaps he was not in possession of the capital at first and was not crowned for some time after his accession. Coedes, apparently basing himself on the location of the inscription, thinks it is not certain that Jayavarman VI ever reigned at Angkor, where he is mentioned only in an unfinished inscription and where Harṣavarman may have been succeeded by a king named Nṛpatindravarman who reigned there until around 1113.

His Officials

Jayavarman VI’s chief advisor was the Viśh Guru Divākara Paṇḍita. This learned Brāhmaṇa was a native of Vnur-Dnang in the district
of Sadya. He had another famous paṇḍita whom he trusted with important missions and charges. His name was Subhadra Murdhashiva. He was given the charge of Inspector of Religions Establishments and arbiter of disputes among the nobility in religious as in civil matters. The title of Bhupendra Paṇḍita was given to him.

Like other great kings of Kambuja, Jayavarman VI was a builder of important monuments. Many architectural remains are the evidences for it. In the year 1107, he died and received the posthumous name of Parama Kaivalyapada.

**DHARANĪNDRAVARMAN I (1107 A.D.-1113 A.D.)**

After the death of Jayavarman VI, his elder brother Dharanīndraravarman I, in spite of his reluctance, had to be placed on the throne. It is learnt that Jayavarman VI designated his younger brother as his successor. But this younger brother died before the king died. Therefore his elder brother came to throne and he was consecrated by the royal guru Divākara Paṇḍita. "Then Dharanīndraravarman, without having desired royalty, when the king, his younger brother returned to the skies, by simple compassion and yielding to the prayers of the human multitude without protector, governed the land with prudence." He continued the building and endowments programme of the preceding reign and pursued traditionalism to the point of taking as a wife queen Vijayendralakshmi, who had first been married to the heir—apparent prince who died before reigning then to Jayavarman VI.

**His Officials**

Divākara Paṇḍita continued as royal Guru. Bhupendra Paṇḍita was the inspector of Magistrates. According to the Banthat inscription, "Friend of Dharma, he (Dharanīndraravarman) wished that he (Bhupendra Paṇḍita), instructed in all the writings, should teach him the Dharma, for ordinarily one takes pleasure in hearing the object of his affections talk." The two notables of his reign were Virendrādhipati Varman and Yogiśvara Paṇḍita. Thus these two dignitaries erected many foundations.

There were several inscriptions during his time and some of them are of considerable importance to the history of the period. From one of them, we learn that one of his officers erected an image with the
name Trailokayvijaya. It seems that the deity was Skanda with a new name. Briggs, however, thinks that it was a Mahāyanist god though works on Mahayanic iconography totally ignore this deity. Temples such as Beang Mealea, Preah Palilay and some part of Bakheng have been assigned to the time of Dharanindravarman I and his predecessor Jayavarman VI.

Dharanindravarman I had reigned for five years when his grand nephew in the female line, 'still quite young', says one inscription, 'at the end of his studies, proved to be the answer to the desires of the royal honour of his family, a family now in the dependence of two masters'. This was Śūryavarman II.\(^{251}\)

**ŚUYYAVARMAN II (1113 A.D.—1150 A.D.)**

Śūryavarman II obtained the throne after fighting a civil war. His reign was a bursy one. According to an inscription, he was an usurper. The Prah Vihear (IV) inscription gives an account of inauguration of Śūryavarman in the following manner:

"Then in 1035 Śaka (1113 A.D.), His Majesty Śūryavarman . . . . grandnephew on the maternal side of their Majesties Jayavarman and Dharanindravarman, mounted on the throne and invited the Vrāh Guru Divākara Paṇḍita to proceed to the royal anointment. The king then performed the sacrifices, beginning with the sacred mysteries, had the solemn fêtes accomplished . . . . and gave rich presents, such as palanquins, fans fly swatters, crown, buckles, pendants, bracelets and rings."

The coronation took place six years later. The name of the mother of Śūryavarman II was Narendralakshmi. She was the grand daughter of Hiraṇyavarman and Hiraṇyalakshmi. Kshitindrāditya was the name of his father.

**His Officials**

Most of the ministers of the previous regime joined him and among them was the most learned Divākara Paṇḍita to whom the king bestowed highest honours. This eminent Brāhmaṇa received the honorific title of Dhlulijeng,—'dust of the feet.' At this time or a little later, he received divine honours, the first Brāhmaṇa in Cambodian history to be so elevated during his life-time. Another learned Brāhmaṇa, named Bhūpendra Paṇḍita also adorned his court and he was the son of Tilakā. He performed civil and religious functions.
About 1128 A.D., he made a foundation at the temple of Banthat, near Vat Phu and took occasion to engrave there an inscription, which gives the genealogy of his family and praises the three kings under whom he served. After the death of Bhūpendra Paññita I, his son Bhūpendra Paññita II served the king as Sabhāpati (President of the Court). He also bore the titles of Rājendrapaññita and Sūryapaññita. He erected an image of his mother, Bhāgavatī, as well as his own and that of his wife. He consecrated also an image of his parents in a village situated at the foot of a mango-tree. The following officials are also mentioned in the inscriptions—Rājendravarman—General of the army of the centre, Virendrādhhipatīvarman and Jayasimhavarman.

Sūryavarman II also renewed tributary and trading relations with China. The new king did not lose any time in renewing relation with the court of China, which had been interrupted, it seems, for several reigns. The history of the Sunga mentions embassies in 1116 A.D. and in 1120 A.D. At the twelfth moon of the sixteenth year Ching-ho (1116 A.D.), the king of Chenlā sent as ambassadors, two great dignitaries of the kingdom. They came with a suite of 14 persons. They were given court clothes and then . . . (one of the ambassadors) said to the Emperor: “From afar, the nations of the south and west have their regards fixed on the changes of the fortune which operate on the peoples by the sacred institutions of the Empire. Scarcely have we arrived to contemplate anear your glory than we are already filled with your benefits. Although we have not yet been able to prove our great attachment nor demonstrate our gratitude, we solicit permission to appear at the Imperial disposition with the clothes you have given us.” The Emperor gave them all they asked and ordered that all the details of that reception should be recorded in the officials annals. The following year 1117 A.D., at the third moon, these foreigners took their leave and returned to Chenlā. The second year Suan-ho (1120), new envoy of the same country arrived again. Their king received investiture with honours equal to those accorded to the king of Chen-Ching (Champā). The third year Kien Yuen (1128), the Emperor conferred high dignities on the king of Chenlā who, was recognised great vassal of the empire. Some difficulties relating to the affairs of commerce were then examined and regulated.

Available inscriptions indicate that he spent much of his time in
the north. They show that he founded temples and made inscriptions there. Possibly strengthened by an alliance with China, Sûryavarman II led in the year 1128 an army of 20,000 against Dai Viet or Annam as it came to be called later on. "After having been driven from Nghe-An by Ly Cong Binh, the following autumn he sent a fleet of more than 700 vessels to pillage the coasts of Thanh-hoa, and from then on he attacked this empire continuously after dragging Champâ along with him, willingly or by force. Thus we see Champâ, which in the beginning of 1131, sent tribute to the Emperor Ly Than Tong, invading Nghe-An the following year together with the Khmers. They were soon driven away, however, by the garrisons of Nghe-An and Thanh-hoa reunited under the command of Duong-Auhnbe. Jaya Indravarman III did not wish to carry these exploits further, and in 1136 he performed his duties of vassalage toward Ly Than Tong. He did not take part in the new campaign that Sûryavarman led against Dai viet. The Khmer sovereign, unsuccessful in this undertaking, turned on him with all his conquering ardor. In 1145 he invaded Champâ, seized Vijaya, and made himself of the kingdom. Jaya Indravarman III disappeared during the war, prisoner of the victor or dead on the battlefield.

But the people of Champâ, however, did not feel cowed down. They made Rudravarman their king, and on his death after a short period they placed his son Jaya-Harivarman I on the throne in the year 1147 at Pânduranga. Sûryavarman II sent an army against him. This army, composed of Khmers and Chams and under the orders of the Senâpati Śāṅkara, was defeated in 1148 A.D. on the plain of Rājapura. Sûryavarman II then sent another large army against him in 1148. But this too was defeated at Vîrapura. Now Sûryavarman II proclaimed Harideva, his brother-in-law, younger brother of his first wife, king of Champâ at Vijaya. But Jaya Harivarman anticipated him and marched on Vijaya and completely destroyed the Cham and Cambodian army and killed Harideva on the plain of Mahisa. The Cham king entered Vijaya and was crowned there in 1149 A.D. That was the end of the Khmer occupation.

Sûryavarman II is said to have made another invasion of Champâ in 1150. The result was even worse than before. The expedition had been sent on its way in the fall without regard for the season. "The rains of September and October were disastrous. Even swept through the troops while they were crossing the Wu-Lien mountains,
that is, the Annamite Chain, and they arrived at Nghe-an so weak that they withdrew voluntarily without even going into action.

We have some indications of the fighting in the west in the chronicles of the Thai principalities of the Upper Menam. These chronicles tell us of struggles between the Kambojas of Lavo (Lopburi) and the Ramaññas (Mons) of Haripunjaya (Lamphun). Haripunjaya was the upper Menam principality, founded in the 7th century by the Mons from Lavo, that had been envolved in the troubles making the accession of Sûryavarman I. Since Lavo had been part of the Khmer kingdom from the preceeding century, we must understand the 'king of Lavo' to have been either a Cambodian viceroy or governor or the Cambodian sovereign himself. The chronicles, moreover, put a certain number of expressions that are pure Khmer into the mouths of the Kambojas of Lavo. The wars were provoked, according to these texts, by Aditirājya, the builder of the Mahabalachetiya (Vat Kukut) and the discoverer of the Great Relic of Lamphun, who came to power at the latest around 1140 after a series of kings whose histories we do not know.

The reign of Sûryavarman II was marked by endowments at Phnom Chisor, Phnom Sandak, Vatphu and Preah Vihear and by a series of buildings including the principal elements of Preah Pithu in Angkor Thom, Chou Say Tevoda and Thomimanon east of the city, and finally the masterpieces of Khmer art, Angkor Vat, constructed during the life time of the king for whom it was to serve as a funerary temple. It was in Angkor Vat that Sûryavarman II was to be deified in the form of a statue of Viṣṇu with the posthumous name Paramaviṣṭuloka. The end of the reign of Sûryavarman II is obscure and the date of his death is still unknown. He reached the year 1149 A.D. only from a Cham inscription, we learn that he was reigaing till this year. According to Coedes, there is every reason to believe that he was the instigator of the campaign of 1150 against Tongking, therefore, that he reigned at least until that date.

He was a Vaiṣṇava and Vaiṣṇavism was supereme during his reign. But it is highly doubtful in view of the testimony of his inscriptions showing his very marked devotion to Śiva. As builder and religious reformer, he rates among the greatest of Khmer kings but his foreign Policies were not so successful.
THE THREE LESSER KINGS (1150 A.D.—1181 A.D.)

After the death of Sūryavarman II in 1150 A.D. till the advent of Jayavarman VII on the throne in the year A.D. 1181 Kambuja had no stable government. Dharanīindravarman—the successor of Sūryavarman II was not his direct descendant, but his cousin. According to the genealogy prepared by the savants of the court of Jayavarman VII, he was a son of Mahidharāditya, brother of Sūryavarman II’s mother, Narendralakshmi, and one Rājapatīndralakshmi. He married Jayarājachudamani, daughter of a kṣat Harśavarman, who descended from Śreṣṭhavarman and Bhavavarman, early kings of Kambuja. Coedes calling attention to the lack of direct filiation, to the change of religion and to the silence about the last years of the reign of Sūryavarman II, thinks Dharanīindravarman may have come to the throne as a result of a planned revolution.

The new sovereign was highly devoted to Buddha. According to Ta Prohm inscription, he was an ardent Buddhist "Finding his satisfaction in this nectar which is the religion of this moon which is the Śakya (Family of the Buddha), putting the best of his power at the disposition of the Bhikshus, Brāhmaṇas and all subjects who implore him, desiring to extract the narrow from this body without narrow, impure sojourn, he honoured without ceasing the fat of Jina the Buddha.

But one cannot be sure whether he completely renounced his adherence to the cult of Śiva Devarāja. Whatever might be the reason, his reign seems to have been an uneventful one. We have no inscriptions of his time but Groslier, Parmentier and others have believed that some of the monuments attributed to Jayavarman VII were built, or at least begun, at the period or earlier, Briggs has very rightly remarked that in a period characterized by revolts, invasions and anarchy it is unlikely that much building was attempted.

On the death of Dharanīindravarman in the year 1160 A.D., he received the posthumous name of Parmanīśkalapada.

Dharanīindravarman II was succeeded by Yaśovarman II whose genealogy is not known. He reigned from about 1160 to 1195 or 1166. An important event of the reign of Yaśovarman II was the revolt of Bharata Rāhu mentioned in the inscription of Banteay Chmar. The translation of Coedes reads as follows:

“When Bharat Rāhu manifested his spirit of treason against the king
Śrī Yaśovarmadeva to take possession of holy (royal) palace; all the troops of the capital . . . fled. The prince engaged the capital . . . fled. The prince engaged the combat. The anak Sañjaka Arjuna and the anak Sanjaka Śrī Dharadevapura fought to defend the Sanetac. They fell before (him). The prince struck the nose of Bharata Rāhu and upset him. In the mean time, order was given to award the title of Vṝh Kāmraten aśi Śrī Nirpasimhavarman to the anak Sanjaka Devapura, son of the anak Sanjaka (Arjuna and Śrī Dharadevapura) and to erect their statues, as to all the members of their families, the prince accorded them riches and dignities."

The reign of Yaśovarman II was marked by a dramatic incident and around 1165, he was overthrown by a mandrin who proclaimed himself king under the name of Tribhuvanaśityavarman. The future Jayavarman VII then in Champā started for Kambuja. But on his arrival there, he found the usurper firmly seated on the throne, Jayavarman kept quiet. Taking an advantage of internal disturbances in Kambuja at this time, the king of Champā invaded Kambuja. But this invasion which came by land having failed. Chams sent a powerful fleet against Kambuja. The expedition was sent in 1177 A.D. Sailing along the coast, the Cham fleet, guided by a Chinese eastway, arrived at the mouth of the Mekong and sailed up to the Great lake, pillaged the capital (Angkor) and disregarding any proposals of peace captured the usurper Tribhuvanaśitya who was killed.

**JAYAVARMAN VII (1181 A.D. - 1215 A.D.)**

Jayavarman VII came to the throne in 1181 A.D. in a very late age. Through his father Dharaṇindravarman II, he was a second cousin of Sūryavarman II and through his mother, Chuḍāmani, he traced his descent from Harṣavarman II. He was a descendant of the kings of the dynasty that had reigned over the country for almost the whole of the 11th century and that was related, on the female side; to the ancient kings of pre Angkorian Cambodia. Coedes has pointed out that he was very probably from before 1130 which would have made him at least fifty one years of age at the time of his coronation in the year 1181. According to R.C. Majumdar he was the last great king of Kambuja and we know a great deal about him, his military campaigns, his religious foundations and his works of public utility.

The accession of Jayavarman VII brought a change. He ranks with Sūryavarman II among the greatest of all Angkorian rulers.
His energy was phenomenal in both the success of his campaigns against the Chams and his devotion to temple construction he reuni-
ified the Khmer empire. As was the case with Śūryavarman II, however, this massive outpouring of energy exacted a heavy cost
Jayavarman's policies so exhausted the state that, once his leadership
had gone, no other ruler was able to maintain it in the same
manner. The most active builder of all the Angkorian monarch, he
left a large number of inscriptions.

His Guru and Ministers

The Ta Prohm inscription mentions a guru, who received the title
of Jaya Maṅgalārthadeva, whom Jayavarman VII showered with gifts
and honours. The king erected an image of this guru and also of
Jayakīrtideva, probably a brother, but possibly another name of the
guru. The Prasat Tor inscription says the author, Bhūpendra Paṇḍita III, nephew of Būpendra Paṇḍita II, was chief of Magistrates
and the first president of the court of Jayādityapura. This family
was Śaivite but it has served Śaivite, Visṇuite and Buddhist kings
since Jayavarman VI at least, Hṛṣikeśa, a young Brāhmaṇa of Burma
came to Kambujadeśa and became Royal chaplain (Hotar) with the
title of Jaya Mahāpradhāna. From the absence of the mention of the
purohita of Devarāja (Śiva) in the inscription of Jayavarman VII,
Briggs has doubted whether such a function was still in existence and
to make up for the deficiency he has assumed that the place of
Devarāja was then taken up by Buddhārāja.

In the very first year of Jayavarman VII's reign (1182 A.D.), he was
called upon to down a revolt of his subjects in the dependent king-
dom of Malayang, in the southern part of the present province of
Battambang. To put it down, he solicited the assistance of a young
refuge Cham prince. The Mison pillar inscription narrates the story
of this prince's life in the following manner:

"In 1104 Śaka (1182 A.D.) Prince Vidyānanda (the young refuge Cham
prince) went to Kambujadeśa. The king of Kambuja favourably and
taught him like a prince all the varied branches of knowledge and
instructed him in the various branches of military science. During
his stay in Kambujadeśa, a dependent town called Malayang, inhabi-
ted by a multitude of bad men, revolted against the king of Kambują-
deśa, The latter, seeing the prince wellversed in arms ordered him to
lead the troops of Kambujadeśa and to take the town of Malayang.
He did all the king desired. The latter, pleased with his valour con-
ferred on him the dignity of Yuvarāja and gave him all the pleasures and the good things which could be found in the kingdom of Kambujadeśa."

Jayavarman VII, attained conspicuous success in his wars with Champa—the eternal enemy of Kambuja. The greatest military achievement of his reign—perhaps the greatest according to Briggs, of the entire history of Cambodia was the capture and sack of the capital of its rich and powerful neighbour Champa. As already seen, he had probably fought in Champa on behalf of Yasovarman II and the war was renewed after he had ascended the throne. He made a long preparation to avenge this action on the part of the Cham king. According to Mison inscription of Champa, we get a very interesting and detailed information about the war between Champa and Kambuja which was begun in 1190 A.D. by the aggressive campaign of Jaya Indravarman Ong vatur king of Champa.

"In 1112 Śaka (1190, A.D. king Śrī Jaya Indravarman Ong vatur made war against the king of Kambujadeśa. The latter sent the prince (Vidyānanda) at the head of the troops of the Kambuja to the Vijaya and defeated the king. He captured the king and had him conducted to Kambujadeśa by the Kambuja troops. He proclaimed Śuryajayavarmadeva Prince in, brother in law of the king of Kambujadeśa—Jayavarman VII, as king of the city of Vijaya."

Vidyānanda took the name Śuryavarmandeva. Ma Tuan Lin says:

"The king of Chenlā (Kambujadeśa) descended, in his turn on the Chen Ching (Champa) at the head of a large army, exterminated the inhabitants, seized the king in his palace, led him into captivity after having killed his counsellors and ministers and put an officer of Chenlā in his place on the throne of Chen-Ching.

The Po Nagar Temple inscription says that he took the capital of Champa and carried off all the limgas.

Jayavarman VII, the king of Kambuja now divided Champa into two portions. We have seen that he placed his own brother-in-law Śuryajayavarmadeva prince—in as king of northern part with Vijaya as capital, while Vidyānanda Śuryavarmandeva, the victorious general carved out a kingdom for himself to the south at Pāṇḍuranga. He defeated a number of thieves or pirates, apparently the adherants of the late regime that had revolted against him and reigned in peace. This state of affairs did not last long and the Chams, however, did
not accept for a long time this subjugation of their country by Kambuja. A revolt in 1191 A.D. at Vijaya drove Prince—In out of Champā and placed a Cham prince called Rashupati, who ruled under the name of Jaya Indravarmanadeva (Jaya Indravarman V),

The Mi-son inscription (vii) narrates in this way:

“In 1114 Śaka 1192 A.D. the king of Cambodia sent Jaya Indravarman IV (ong vatur) to help the prince Vidyānanda Sūryavarmanadeva conquer Champā. They met at Rājapura, took Vijaya, defeated and killed Jaya Indravarman V (Rashupati) and ruled over Vijaya. Then Jaya Indravarman IV fled from the Cambodians and went to Amaravati where he raised revolt and invaded Vijaya, but the prince Sūryavarmanadeva—Vidyānanda defeated him and put him to death. Henceforth, the prince ruled over the whole of Champā without opposition.”

But he had shortly to reckon with the king of Kambuja—Jayavarman VII whom he had so basely betrayed. He, however, did not tolerate this. In 1193 A.D., he sent again an army to Champā, which was defeated. Next year the expedition was repeated on a larger scale which too met with the same fate. Sūryavarmanadeva renewed tribute to Dai viet. In 1198 A.D. he was formally consecrated and sent an embassy to the Chinese court asking for investiture, which he received in 1199. It was not until 1203 that the Cham king’s paternal uncle, the Yuvarāja on Dhanapatigrāma, who was soon joined by a grandson of king Jaya Harivarman I. Prince Aṅgasarāja of Turai—Vijaya, who had been raised at the court of Jayavarman VII and promoted by Jayavarman VII in 1201 to the rank of Yuvarāja, was sent by Jayavarman VII against the nephew—Sūryavarmanadeva. In 1203 A.D. king Sūryavarmanadeva was defeated and the Yuvarāja Ong Dhanapatigrāma ruled over Champā upto 1220. Champā now was a Khmer province. On the basis of the Annamite documents, we know that the defeated king, Sūryavarmanadeva fled to Dai viet. He arrived at the port of Co-La, in what in now northern Annam, with his family and many followers in more than two hundred junks. Sūryavarmanadeva requested for asylum and the Annamite emperor ordered the governor of Nghean to watch him. The Governor decided to get rid of his troublesome guest. Sūryavarmanadeva warned, invited the governor on board of his vessel. While the Annamite guards slept, Sūryavarmanadeva ordered touches thrown among their junks and in the confusion but to sea. According to Maspero this
was the last ever-heard of this clever and interesting character.\textsuperscript{266}

The Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrūma now ruled over Champā, had a hard time before him. Rebellion broke out in several parts of the kingdom the most formidable was one led by Putan Ajīśa Ku, but it was put down by the Yuvarāja. Then Putan Ajīśa revolted. He conquered from Amarāvatī as far as Pidhyan. Jayavarman VII commanded the Yuvarāja to lead the troops of Kambuja and captured Putan Ajīśa. He captured him and sent him to Kambuja according to the desire of the king. Jayavarman VII, pleased at his valour conferred high dignities on him and apparently formally appointed him as the ruler of Champā in 1207 A.D.

It appears, however, that Champā was at this time very hard pressed by the Annamites. According to the Chao Dinh inscription:\textsuperscript{267}

"Then (some time after 1207 A.D.) the Siamese and the Pukam (people of Pugan in Lower Burma) came from Kambuja and a battle took place with the Annamites. The Kambuja generals led the troops which opposed the Annamite and the documents inform us that the Chams aided by the Cambodians attacked Nghe—An in 1216 A.D. and 1218, but the governor of the province dispersed them. It would thus appear that since about 1207 A.D., a series of battles followed, in which victory more often included to the Annamites."

These long-drawn battles must have exhausted the Kambujas. As a matter of fact, the series of warfares in which they were involved ever since 1190 A.D., when they conquered Champā must have proved too great a burden for the people and, to make matters worse, the Thais in Siam at this time began to press them hard from the west. At last in 1220 A.D., the Kambujans evacuated Champā, and formal peace was probably concluded with Ansarīja of Turai Vijaya in 1222 A.D.

But the credit goes to Jayavarman VII for conquering Champā and making it a vassal state of Kambuja. He has extended his empire, or at least his influence, on the south-west and west as well as on the east. It was the ... triumph at the end of an age long struggle which extended the frontier of the Kambuja empire to the China Sea on the east. Aymonier says that in 1195 Jayavarman VII seems to have subdued some little states in the Malay Peninsula which had formerly been simply his allies. But Jayavarman VII did not confine his military activities to the eastern frontier of his kingdom. On the western side, too he appears to have attained some success against the kingdom of Pagan. Since the middle of the 11th century A.D.,
this kingdom grew very powerful and subjugated Ramaṇīdea, there by extending its authority over the whole of central and southern Burma. According to the Chinese annals, Pagan was annexed to Kambuja towards the close of the 12th century A.D. While Chinese documents may have confused Pegu and Pagan, the history of the latter as a dependency of Cambodia may have some basis in fact. Briggs is of the view that it is not at all probable that the Cambodians captured the city of Pagan, far from their border, but the incessant border warfare and threats of warfare may have led the Burmese kings to pay tribute to Cambodia, just as Ma Tuan lin says Cambodia paid tribute to Champā under the weak predecessors of Jayavarman VII.

But in any case it shows a further expansion of the Kambuja empire beyond its western limits in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The credit of this conquest certainly belongs to Jayavarman VII, though unfortunately we have no details in his inscriptions beyond a vague reference that he defeated a king. It must be remembered, however, that the Cham inscription noted above refer to the people of Pukan (Pagan) as having served in the Kambuja army. The Ta-Prohm inscription also tells that the men of Champā and Pukan were employed as servants in the temples. No doubt they were mostly prisoners from Burma and Champā. Maḥavamsa—a Ceylonese chronicle has preserved a story to the effect that a princess sent by king Parākramabahu of Ceylon (1164—1197 A.D.) to Kambuja was seized by the Burmese king who also imprisoned the Ceylonese envoys on the ground that they were sent to Kambuja. It seems to be an echo of the hostility between the kings of Kambuja and Pagan.

Jayavarman VII thus governed on an empire which stretched from the Bay of Bengal to the sea of China. The central region in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the northern part of Malay Peninsula formed part of his empire as in the 10th century A.D. This expansion, even if not wholly proven, doubtless gave Jayavarman VII a more extensive empire than that of any other Khmer king. The list of the dependencies of Kambuja given by Chao Ju Kua in 1225, but borrowed in part from the Ling-wai-Taita of 1178, shows that Cambodia then exercised at least nominal suzerainty over a part of the Malay Peninsula and even into Burma. An inscription of Jayavarman VII dated 1191, tells us that his daily bath-water was furnished by the Brāhmaṇas beginning with Sūryabhaṭṭa, by the king of Jāvā, by the
king of the Yavanas, and by the two kings of the Chams. The Brūhmaṇa Sūryabhaṭṭa was the chief court Brūhmaṇa. The king of Jāvā was undoubtedly Kāmeśvara. The king of the Yavanas was the emperor of Dai Viet who came to the throne in 1175 under the name of Ly Cao—Tong and reigned until 1210. The two kings of Champā were, as we know Sūryajavarmandeva brother-in-law of Jayavarman VII, king at Vijaya (Binh-dinh) and Sūryavarmandeva, the former Prince Vidyānandana, protege of Jayavarman VII, king at Pāṇḍuranga (Phan-rang). We know that the tribute of water was a sign of allegiance. It is possible that the two kings of Champā actually paid such tribute, but it is not certain that the two others did.

His family

His principal wife at the time of his coronation to the throne was, Jdyarājadevi, who in his absent from about 1160 A.D. to 1167 A.D. mourned for him. At Śivapura, she erected piously her three gurus (father, mother and husband) in gold set with jewels, like incandescent guru. She erected everywhere, her father, her brother, friends, relations and members of her family, known to her or of whom she had heard talk. The Ta Prohm inscription says her as the Rājalakshmī (the chief deity of the kingdom) of Kambuja, who was in the forefront of all good wives. The other queen was Rājendrādevī. After the death of Jayarājadevi, he married her talented elder sister Indrādevi who surpassed in her knowledge the knowledge of philosopher and whom he had named principal teachers at a Buddhist monastery, where she taught the women. Queen Indrādevi erected numerous images of Jayarājadevi with images of the king and herself in all the cities. It was she who composed in impeccable Sanskrit the inscription of Phimeanakas. According to an inscription, she was devoted to her husband like Sītā of the Rāmāyana.

He had many sons and the Kambuja inscriptions mention four or five of them. Somtac Srīndra Kumāra died in a very young age. One of his sons Indrakumāra was the governor of Lauvo to whom Jayarājadeva advised against celibacy between 1160 and 1165. Sūrya Kumāra was the author of Ta Prohm and he is mentioned in that inscription as crown-prince. According to Briggs these seem to have been sons of Jayarājadevi. The author of the inscription of Prcah Ḫan—Vikrama Kumāra was the son of Rājendrādevī. Then there
was Indravarman, who succeeded Jayavarman VII, and who may have been one of the above, but it does not seem to be certain that he was a son of Jayavarman VII.

We do not know exactly the date of Jayavarman VII's death but he probably reigned until around 1218. He received the posthumous name Mahāparamasaugata because he was a devout Buddhist. His death which nearly coincides with the closing of the 12th century A.D. constitutes an important landmark in the history of Kambuja. For it is now generally recognised that the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. form the most glorious period in the annals of the great Hindu colony. It saw the greatest expansion of the Kambuja empire which extended from lower Burma to Annam and reached the Bay of Bengal on the west and the China Sea on the east. In the north, most of the Thai principalities in Laos acknowledged its suzerainty and its boundaries touched those of the Chinese empire. In the south it not only comprised the whole of Siam, Cambodia and Cochin China but also a part of Malay Peninsula.

Jayavarman VII was not only a warrior but also a public benefactor and builder of some of important edifices. The religious foundations and works of public utility undertaken by him were on a scale befitting the mighty empire over which he governed. The greatest achievement of his reign, seems to be the establishments of more than one hundred hospitals in the different parts of the country. Of these 102 hospitals the site of 15 can be determined by means of inscriptions which record their foundations. His inscriptions indicate that as early as the 12th century, Cambodia had a system of medical assistance for public in general.

These inscriptions are almost identical and lay down detailed regulations about the hospitals. Personnel as well as accessories for treatment of patients in these institutions have been mentioned there in details. They give us a very good idea of the system of medical treatment organised by the state which were placed under the protection of the creator Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru, Vaiduryaprabhā the master of remedies who has the brilliance of bery, who is still one of the most popular Buddha today in China and Tibet.

The account of the royal donations contained in the Ta Prohm inscription makes interesting reading and reveals the magnitude of the resources and depth of religious sentiments of the king. It concerns the Rājavihāra, i.e. the temple of Ta Prohm and its adjuncts
where the king set up an image of his mother as Prajñāpāramitā. Altogether 66, 625 persons were employed in the service of the duties of the temples and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 professors and 970 scholars reading under them, making a total of 1409, whose all necessities of life including food were supplied by the king. There were altogether 566 groups of stone houres and 288 groups of brick. The other articles of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion and they included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. All these relate to a single group of temples. The same inscription informs us that there were 798 temples in the country and these are given every year 117, 200 Kharikas of rice, each Kharika being equivalent to 3 maunds 8 seers.

Jayavarman VII founded 121 Vahngīnas or dharmaśālas along the main routes within his kingdom for the convenience of pilgrims and other travellers.271 "A very important public work of Jayavarman VII, was building of a net work of roads raised above the water-level when the monsoon was in full-swing, and providing bridges over the rivers and resting places every 15 kilometres (9 ½ miles)."272 These roads are still to be found in the received condition and they were necessary for Jayavarman VII himself because he had to engage himself in several wars. It may be assumed that these roads with resting houses were primarily meant for administrative and military point of view.

As a builder and patron of art and architecture too, Jayavarman VII was great. His personality, which the inscriptions provide only glimpses of, finds full expression in the architectural work he conceived. This work, according to Coedes, consists of Angkor Thom with its walls, its moats, it five gateways and the Bayon in the centre of Angkor Thom, of Banteay Kdei, Ta Preah Khan, Neak Pean and a whole group of sanctuaries of lesser importance, it consists of Banteay Ch'mar in the north west, Vat Nokor at Kampong Cham, Ta Prohm at Bati, almost all characterised by towers decorated with large human faces,273 it consists of the rest houses placed along the raised highways, many of which may have been laid by him, and it consists of 102 hospitals widely distributed throughout the kingdom. The earliest of the monuments, is perhaps Banteay Kdei, according to Coedes, which was constructed east of the capital on ancient site of Kuṭī and directly to the east of which is the magnificent basin, still
full of water in all seasons, i.e. called the Sras Srang, or Royal Bath. Just outside of the outer moat, at the beginning of the causeway running to the basin, is a cruciform terrace of the usual type, with naga-balas-trade. Lacking the stele which would undoubtedly have told us the ancient name, we can suppose that Banteay Kdei corresponded to the Purvata_thigata or Buddha of the East of the inscriptions. Aymonier mentions an inscription in Khmer consisting of three short lines carved on the wall of a gallery and probably belonging to this region. In a little sanctuary of this monument was found, in 1922, a bronze statue, with light heads and eight pairs of arms, dancing on an extended body. Briggs believes it Hevajra.

Ta Prohm (Rājavihāra) and Banteay Kdei are neighbouring monuments, located just to the south of the south-east corner of the East Baray. It was constructed in 1186 A.D. to shelter an image of the queen mother Jayarāja Chuṇāmaṇi in the form of Prajñāpāramitā (the perfection of Insight—mystic mother of the Buddha) and an image of Jayamaṅgalārtha the hotar of the king. Ta Prohm consisted of an inner sanctuary and five enclosures. The sanctuary and the four inner enclosures are believed to have been built early in this region.

In 1191 A.D., five years after Ta Prohm, Jayavarman VII dedicated north of the capital, the temple of Jayaśrī, which today bears the name Preah Khan and which designed to shelter the statue of his father, king Dharaṇindravarman II, defied in the form of the Bodhisattva Lokesvara under the name Jayavarmesvāra. The panels and facades of the gopuras are decorated with devatās and dvārapālas. Several statues of Buddha have been found.

Among the lesser structures of Preah Khan, the foundation stele of the temples mentions the little temple of Rājyaśrī, built in the middle of the great artificial lake dug to the east of the monument. This temple, now known under the name Neak Prean is described as an island, deriving its charm from its lake and cleansing the impurity of sin from those who come to it. Coedes rightly remarks, the central piece of water is a representation, a microscopic replica, of the legendary lake Anavatapta, whose miraculous and curative waters escape in the four directions by gargoyles corresponding to the four stone animal heads by which the Himālayan lake gives birth to the four great rivers."

Among the several religious monuments of the king enumerated in
the stele of Preah Khan are twenty three statues named Jayabuddha-
maḥānātha that have been preserved in many cities, among which
are Lopburi, Suphan, Rataburi, Ahetchaburi and Muang Sing, now
situated in Thailand. The name given to these statues recalls that of
the king. Coedes believes, it was in order to shelter these statues that
some of the provincial sanctuaries, whose style permits us to attribute
them to the reign of Jayavarman VII, were built; for example Vat
Nokor of Kompong Chan and Ta Prohm of Bati.275

From around 1190 A.D. onward, important alterations, particularly
the construction of towers with human faces and of new encircling
galleries, were made in earlier monuments. It was also at the end of
the reign that work was begun on Banteay Chmar and on the Bayon,
or central temple of Angkor Thom. “It is important to note” says
Coehes, “that both the Bayon and the twelve kilometre wall around
the city were new. Although the architectural symbolism of the
Bayon is obscured by the fact that its plan underwent two, or
perhaps three, modifications in the course of its execution, we can
state that its central solid mass corresponds to the central mountain
of the ancient capitals. Instead of the Devarāja of the preceding
reigns represented by a gold liṅga, however, the central sanctuary
sheltered on an enormous stone statue of the Buddharaṅga. This statue
was not only a Buddhist substitute for the Śaivite Devarāja but also
a statue of apotheosis of the founder king, whose features are
undoubtedly also to be seen on the upper parts of the towers in
the form of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara Samantamukha who has faces
in all directions. The interior and exterior galleries of the Bayon are
covered with basreliefs which are invaluable for understanding the
material life of the Khmers in the 12th century.”

The Bayon inscriptions leads further that it was a sort of pantheon
where the family cult of the king and the provincial cults of the
country were centred. Just as the city with its wall and central
mountain represents the universe in miniature, the Bayon represents
the kingdom in miniature. It is the largest temple and the arrange-
ments of the galleries are more complex. Its lowest gallery is about
165 yards long from east to west and 109 yards from north to south.
Four axial avenues extend in the four directions from the Bayon;
these avenues are agnomented by a fifth that begins at the entrance
of the old Royal palace an inheritance from the preceding reigns, and
proceeds to the east. These avenues lead to five monumental gates each
of which reproduces the basic motif of the central temple, that is, the tower with human faces looking towards the four cardinal points. R.C. Majumdar considers the four faces of Brahmā. Bayon contains some of the finest sculptures to be seen in Kambuja. Outside the gates the city is approached by causeways flanked by balustrades in the form of nāgas. These balustrades, according to Coedès, symbolize the rainbow, which in Indian tradition is the connecting link between the world of men and the world of the gods represented on earth by the royal city.

Vat Nokor (also known as Pagoda of the city) is one of the most accessible and best known monuments of Cambodia and shares with Phnom Baset the misfortune of being the most pillaged. The other name of this Vat Nokor is Phnom Bachey and Preah Chei Preah Ar. It is located about 5 Km from the modern city of Kompong Cham, on the west bank of the Mekong river a little above Phnom Penh.

Ta Prohm of Bati is located in the province of Bati between Phnom Penh and Phnom Chisor. It is one of the few monuments of some importance erected in the region south of Phnom Penh during the Angkor period. The original sanctuary was dedicated to the Buddha. Groslier thinks this temple was rebuilt in sandstone, not later than the 12th cent. A.D., the edifice behind the central sanctuary was erected by Hinayānists and the central sanctuary was disaffected. Stern and Mme de Coral Remusat place the central sanctuary in the first period of the reign of Jayavarman VII.

As far Banteay Chmar, it was a temple consecrated to the memory of one of the sons of Jayavarman VII, Prince Śrīndrakumāra and four companions in arms who saved the life of the prince, notably at the time of his combat against the monster Rāhu and in the course of a military expedition in Champā. Later, he added the temples and other parts with face-towers. Here divine honours were paid to Śrīndrakumāra under the traits of Lokeśvara and the vocable of Śrīndradeva. Briggs opines that Banteny Chmar, the citadel of the cat is one of the largest, most interesting and most puzzling monuments of Cambodia. As a city, it rivalled in magnitude the other two cities known to have been founded by Jayavarman VII Preah Khan of Angkor and Angkoe Thom and the great shrine of Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, where enclosure was the most extensive in Cambodia.
Estimate

The accession of Jayavarman VII brought a change in the country. He ranks with Suryavarman II among the greatest of all Angkorian kings. His energy was phenomenal in both the success of his campaigns against the Chams and his devotion to temple construction be reunified the Khmer empire. The most active builder of all the Angkorian kings, Jayavarman VII left a large number of inscriptions. His greatest energies during his reign, as far as external policies were concerned, had been directed towards the conquest and subjugation of the Chams.

"This king" according to Coedes, "of whom scarcely more than the name was known in 1900, is now considered as the greatest sovereign of Cambodia, he who enlarged his country up to its extreme limits, incorporating therein for a time the kingdom of Champā and covered his capital and his states with the most prodigious ensemble of monuments which monarch has even conceived." 277

In physical appearance, Jayavarman VII was a rather corpulent man with heavy features who wore his hair pulled back on top of his head in a small chignon. These details clearly appear on the bas-relief are found on four statues which obviously represent the same person and are akin certainly portraits of Jayavarman VII. He was an energetic and ambitious man, who after long years of waiting and trial, saved the country from ruin and raised it to the height of its power. He was a fervent Buddhist who received this faith from his father Dharaṇindravarman II who has broken with the tradition of his Hindu predecessors and found his satisfaction in this reftar that is the religion of Śākyamuni. Though he was a Buddhist, but Brāhmaṇas continued to play a more than negligible role at court. The Angkor Thom inscription tells us about the curious figuree of a Brāhmaṇa scholar who "having learned that Cambodia was full of eminent experts on the Veda, came here to manifest his knowledge." He was Hṛṣikeśa to whom, we know that he came from Narapatideśa (Burma) where king Narapatisthū was reigning at precisely this time. As we know that this Hṛṣikeśa was made the chief priest (purohita) under the name of Śrī Jaya Mahā Pradhāna and continued to serve under the two successors of Jayavarman VII. Truth in this matter seems to be that Devarāja was still being worshipped and though the king showed favour to Mahāyāna Buddhism, he was far from being hostile to the Brāhmaṇic cults. We know that like his father he had
a deep reverence for Buddha but he did not formally renounce the cult of Śiva Devārūja and other Brāhmanic deities. All this is corroborated by his installation of several deities of this belief. Preah Khan inscription says that Jayavarman VII installed two images of Nātyēśvara or the dancing Śiva, and this inscription further says "Whereas Prayūga"²⁷⁸ (in India) was sanctified by the vicinity of two tīrthas (Gaṅgā and Yamunā) his Jayāśīriṅgarī has three such in the neighbourhood dedicated respectively to Buddha, Śiva and Viṣṇu."²⁷⁹ Among the 430 images of deities which he had installed at the temple of Preah Khan at least 40 were those of Śiva and his associates. Ta Prohm inscription says that provision was made for the worship of Bhagavāna (Śiva) and Bhagavati (Pārvatī).

Jayavarman VII seems to have strong claim to be the greatest of Cambodian monarchs. Nearly half of the great monuments of Cambodia—an ensemble never equalled by any other monarch in any country—are credited to him, as well as the great system of roads to all parts of the country. During his time, the Khmer empire reached its greatest extent. His conquest and subjection of Champā was probably most brilliant military achievement of the history of ancient Cambodia. As a public social worker, his system of hospitals, rest houses and healing shrines place him in the first rank. "This great prince", according to Coedes, "who founded hospitals only by hundreds, distributed rice only by tons and dispensed gold only by hundreds of kilogrammes, was he a megalomaniac whose foolish prodigality was one of the causes of the decadence of the country? In any case, the hasty conception and execution of this formidable ensemble of monuments which constitutes the Art of the Bayon Squares well with the psychology of this personages which they do not do with any other king of ancient Cambodia."²⁸⁰

Though Jayavarman VII had to undertake wars as a part of his royal duties, his devotion to Buddha was most characteristically expressed by his great compassion for his subjects. The Say Fong inscription narrates "He (Jayavarman VII) suffered from the maladies of his subjects more than from his own, for it is the public grief which makes the suffering."²⁸¹

The beautiful statues of Buddha which adorn the temples of Ta Prohm and Preah Khan are among the best of the sculptures of Kambuja. M.M. Ghosh opines there may well be held up as Jayavarman VII’s deep devotion the spirit to Buddhism. It is believed
that the Mahāyāna Buddhism which appeared in Kambuja during the period of Funān, reached the apogee of its glory under Jayavarman VII. 282 Ghosh further says that no other king before him had shown so much devotion to Buddha, for it any attempt to see in Śūryāvarman I a Buddhist king must be announced a failure. It is Jayavarman VII who can be given this epithet in a limited sense. It is this great king of Kambuja who made the later introduction of the Theravāda Buddhism easy. But it would indeed be wrong to assume as Briggs has done, that he replaced the cult of Devarāja with that of Buddhāraja. But the cults of Brāhmānic deities do not seem to have weakened. An invocation to the Aśvatha in the Phimeanakas inscription seems to prove this. The Sanskrit inscription relating to this tree refers only to the Brāhmānic Trimūrti (Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva). That the Khmer counterpart of the inscription refers to it as the Mahābodhi tree, probably shows that the writer of the inscription wished that it should be honoured by the common people who knew only the vernacular and included a large number of Buddhists. Though he was devoted to Buddha, he did not forget his duties as a king which led him to various wars.

CAMBODIA IN THE 13TH, 14TH CENTURIES A.D.
FIRST HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURY A.D.
INDRAVARMAN II (1218 A.D. 1243 A.D.)

Probably in about 1215 A.D. or a little later Jayavarman VII was succeeded by Indravarman II. Briggs thought the death of Jayavarman VII took place some time after 1215 A.D., basing his opinion on reverses in Annam and Champa in 1216. 283 Coedes has reason to think that Jayavarman VII's death occurred in 1219. It is not certain that Indravarman II seems to have been a son of Jayavarman VIII, but he was reigning just before 1243 and Jayavarman VIII's chaplain seems to have served Indravarman II also. The history of the period is obscure to some extent on this point. Finot identified him with the son whom Jayarājadevi advised against celibacy in 1160-1165 but if he was twenty years of age in 1165 he would have been ninety eight at the time of his death in 1243, which is improbable and Coedes tells that the name of this prince was not Indravarman, but (N-r-p-a?) tindravarman. Finally, Coedes suggests that Indravarman II may have been the Śrīindrakumāra of the chapel of Banteay Chmar but
this solution seems to raise the same problem in a slightly lesser degree.

Indravarman II is mentioned in only one inscription, i.e. of Mangaliirtha. This inscription simple says about Sri Indravarman II that in Saka 1165 (1243 AD), after his death, the Brähmana Jaya Mahāpradhīna (Hṛṣikeśa) went to the shrine of Śiva at Bhīmapura (Phimai) to offer prayers for the peace of the king’s soul. We get two things from it that Indravarman II was a Śaivite and that Jaya Mahāpradhīna served him as royal chaplain, as he had served his father during the latter years of that monarch’s reign.

During the reign period of this king the Cambodian empire began to disintegrate. According to M. M. Ghosh the rise of two very powerful neighbours beyond the eastern and western borders of Kambuja should be held responsible for the decline of the great power of Kambuja. The power in the east was that of the Annamites (Dai Viet) who from the north pressed upon the ancient kingdom of Champā and absorbed it finally about the end of the 15th century when their power reached the border of Cochin China—then a Cambodian possession. On the north and north-west, in the valley of Menam and Mekong was also rising another power. It was that of the Thais, one of whose chiefs named Indrāditya or Indrapati Indrāditya founded the first Thai kingdom of Sukhothai in the 13th century, who was married with the daugeter of Jayavarman VII. He with the another Tai chieftain attacked and defeated the Khmer king at Sukhothai. Indrāditya then conferred his title on the other chieftain swore him in, and left him to reign at Sukhothai the first Tai kingdom of Siam.

The repeated attacks and invasion by these two powers on Kambuja, let to the weakening and the final loss of the imperial possessions of Kambuja. These attacks and invasions, according to Ghosh, left woeful tales in wanton disfigurement and desecration of temples together with their statues and basreliefs. In these, some historians without proper reason have found out evidence of religious reaction. They say that Jayavarman VII was a staunch devotee of Buddha and the honour shown by him to Buddha enraged his Śaiva priests who on his death wreaked vengeance upon the Buddhists whom the late king favoured. We have seen while dealing Jayavarman VII, that he showed no exclusive favour to Buddhists and was equally respectful to Śiva and other Brähmanic deities. Ghosh does not agree with the
view that the assumption about a Śaivite reaction at the time of his successor is extremely gratuitous.

The Chinese and Vietnamese sources inform us that in 1216 and 1218 A.D. for the last time Cambodian armies descended on Nghe-An, they came through Champā and with a contingent of troops of that country, the allies were nevertheless defeated again and had to withdraw. In 1220 A.D., Aśvarāja of Turavijaya was placed on the throne of Vijaya (Champā). He was the eldest son of Jaya Harivarman II, who as we have seen, had been raised at the court of Jayavarman VII and had been returned to his country at the beginning of the Khmer occupation.

Tāmbraiṅga was also lost before 1230 A.D. As we have seen that the Ling-wai tai-ta mentioned it a dependency of Cambodia just before the beginning of Jayavarman VII’s reign i.e. in 1178. But in 1295, Chou Ta-kuan lists both Tāmbraiṅga and Grahi as dependencies of San fo tsi (Śrī Vijaya). This may indicate the conquest of Tāmbraiṅga from Cambodia after the death of Jayavarman VII. A Sanskrit inscription of Jaiya (dated 1230) shows that an apparently independent king Śrī Dharmarāja Chandra bhānu of the Padmavahsa (the Śailendra of the San fo tsi was the ruling dynasty at this time) was ruling at Tāmbraiṅga and according to Coedes he may have been under the suzerainty of Cambodia. It seems practically certain that the Khmers lost Tāmbraiṅga before 1230 and that Chandra bhānu won it.

Chou Ta kuan in his book Chu-fan-Chin (which was published in 1295 A.D.), refers to the wars between Cambodia and Champā in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. According to him Cambodia touched on the south Chia-lo-hsi (Grahi), a vassal of san-fo-tsi situated, on the Malay Peninsula at the latitude of the Bay of Bandon. Its dependencies were:

Teng-liu-meii (on the Malay Peninsula)
Po-su-su-lan (on the coast of the Gulf of Siam)
Lo-hu (Lavo, Lopburi)
San-lo. (the country of Siam on the upper Menam ?)
Chen-li-fu- (on the coasts of the Gulf of Siam).
Ma-Lo-wen- (Perhaps Malayang, in the south of Battambang.
Lu-yang ? ?
P'u-kan- (Pagan)
Wa-li- (in upper Burma),
Si-p'eng
Tu-huai-sun

The above list shows that, on the west of the Thai expansion, Kambuja was still master of Menam Basin and of a part of the Malay Peninsula. Its claim over Burma were perhaps based on the fact that Burmese contingents accompanied Cambodian armies in their expedition of 1207 against Dai viet.

Indravarman II died in 1243 A.D. and he was not given any posthumous name like his predecessors.

JAYAVARMAN VIII (1243 A.D.—1295 A.D.)

Indravarman II was succeeded by Jayavarman VIII, perhaps not immediately. We do not know yet the relationship between Jayavarman VII and Indravarman II. But the succession seems to have been regular. He was a Śālvite. The history of Jayavarman VII is related with two great personalities. One of them was priest Jaya-Mahāpradhāna (Hīşikeśa) to whom we know that he was the royal chaplain of Jayavarman VII and probably of Innravarman II too, served the new king in the same capacity, Jaya Maṅgalārtha the other dignitary of the previous regime also continued to serve him as a "Prince of Professor."

The reign of Jayavarman VII enjoyed internal peace in the beginning but the external disturbances caused much to the decline of Angkor Empire. The border momentous events affected the future of the country. One of these was the very hard pressure upon the Tai (Thai) kingdom Nan Chao in the province of Yunnan of China by Kublai Khan in 1253-54. The fugitive Tai people facing before the advancing Mongol army swelled the armies of the Tai chieftain and the Mongols however could set up a Tai vassal in Yunnan to secure his assistance in obtaining the submission of the neighbouring states. We also know, that about the middle of the 13th century a Tai chieftain named Indrāditya who defeated the Cambodian governor of Sukhothai became the first king of the Tai kingdom of that name. In the Pali documents, Indrāditya was called Rocarāja and who is said to have made a voyage to Tāmbralīmga in 1255 and to have entered into some sort of relations with Chandrabhānu, who seems to have secured for him from Ceylon a statue of the Buddha called Śihing.
. RamaKhamheng, the second son of Indrāditya seems to have come to the throne about 1270 A.D. He expanded his power far and wide at the expanse of Khmer empire, He was successful to some extent to win the suzerainty of Pegu and Tenasserim and within 12 years i, e. by 1282 A.D., he became able to send an embassy to the court of China. In this work Shan traders from Thaton whose name was Warean, who eloped with Ramakhamenng’s daughter helped him much. He killed the Burmese governor of Martaban and took his place and then made himself the king of Pegu. As early as 1282, Syam (Siam-Tai) embassies began to appear at the court under the name of Sien by the Chinese.\(^{288}\) By adopting judicious measures he placed his kingdom on the road to progress. One of such measures was the reformation of the Siamese alphabet in 1283 A.D. on the basis of an inscription dated 1222, we know that besides Sukhothai he conquered what are at present Vien Tien (Vieng Cham). Luang Prabang (Mo’ang Jaya), Ligor (Nagara Śri Dhammarāja) and later on his conquest was extended up to the southern part of Malay Peninsula. This growing Tai kingdom (which was called syam by her neighbours), became a menace to Kambuja. We know from Chou Ta Kuan that the country had been completely devastated by the Siamese but the capital seems to have been spared and no part of Kambujadesa proper was alienated at this time.\(^{260}\) But the upper part of the Malay Peninsula, which had once been a part of Dvāravatī and of Lauvo seems now to have fallen into the hands of Sukhothai.

A little before or simultaneously with Mongols obtaining the submission of Sukhothai, Kambuja still maintained her independence from the Mongols. After the death of Kublai Khan his son Timur Khan succeeded him. In the year 1295 an ambassador from China was sent to Kambuja. Chou Ta-kuan, a Chinese, accompanied this embassy and wrote a very interesting and informative book of the capital and the names and customs of the people.

We have no positive date of the nature and extent of an internal resolution occurring slowly in the country. According to M. M. Ghosh, “it was the change of the religion of the people and of the royal family from the Brāhmanism to Theravāda (Hinayāna) Buddhism.”\(^{200}\) But we do not find a huge account on this aspect. Want of relevant data has not however discouraged the historians in this regard. To explain the change, it has been assumed that there were some destructive activities of the Hinayānist monk a reply to the Śāivite
reaction under Jayavarman VIII. It has been noticed before that the idea of Śaivite reaction is absolutely unfounded. And the “fifth column activity” ascribed to the Hinayānīst monks are highly improbable. For the Buddhists unlike the Roman Catholic Christians organised under Papacy, did not form a militant organisation. If as any time people of Kambuja felt attracted to Hinayānī Buddhists, it was only due to the simplicity of its creed and the genuine piety absorbed by the monks in their daily lives. It is possible that the Brāhmanical cults as well as the Mahāyānī developed by that time some corruption, and the Hinayānī Buddhists had the full advantage of this in gaining adherence to their faith and in finally being able to make Hinayānī Buddhism supreme in the land. And there might be other reasons too why they succeeded in this regard so easily. But in spite of the triumph of the Theravāda Buddhism in Kambuja, the Brāhmanical cults are by no means dead. For the royal priests called the Bakos are Śaivite Brāhmaṇas and they, officiate in the coronation and the other rites and ceremonies observed by the royal family. The personal standard of the king of Kambuja still leaves the mark of a Trident which is a symbol of Śaivism. And in one stage of the coronation ceremony the king is to carry in his one hand an image of Śiva and in another that of Viṣṇu. And the queen is still styled the Mahā Kshatriyāñī of the great Kshatriya lady which recalls her traditional association with Brāhmanic social system.

Kambuja retained considerable vitality during the reign of Jayavarman VIII, as we know that who erected a temple in honour of a very learned Brāhmaṇa-Jayamaṅgalārtha probably his own guru and also installed statues of this Brāhmaṇa and his mother who were his relation. He showed great honour also to two other very learned Brāhmaṇas Vidyeśvid and Madhurendra Paṇḍita. According to an inscription of Angkor Vat, the ancestor of Vidyeśvid, a descendant of the Brāhmaṇa Sarvajñānamuni, came from Āradyaśa-Northern India to Kambujadeśa to offer sacrifices of Śiva under the vocable of Bhadreśvara. A granduncle of Vidyeśvid founded a monastery in a region called Madhyadeśa apparently near the capital. Vidyeśvid became hotar of Bhadreśa and it waw this Brāhmaṇa who at the request of Jayavarman VIII, crowned Jayavarman VII’s son-in-law Sundravarman king. There were also other important personages in his family and Madhurendra Paṇḍita was a descendant of Yajñavārāha the famous guru of Jayavarman V, who built the famous
temple of Banteay Srei.

Even at her decline Cambodia during the time of Jayavarman VIII gave an ample proof of culture and repose which, however, were not to last long. The empire being torn of all its dependencies and deprived of the income of an extensive foreign trade and released from intense political activity, the intelligentsia basied themselves with intellectual pursuits of which they had a long past tradition. According to Louis Finot:

"Praśastis in Sanskrit verse were still being written. Scholars abounded there and foreign savants drawn by the reputation of this kingdom of high culture came there. Nowhere was knowledge held more in honour. Scholars were the first charges of the State, they were on terms of intimacy with the kings, their daughters became queens. They themselves were royal preceptors, grand judges and ministers. There was a "king of Professors". Very well, in this society, of theologians, of grammarians and poets, the professor was king, what did I say? He was God? They erected temples to him. He sat on the altars. Olympus was recruited in the University and divinity tended to become hereditary in the professorial families."

At the end of 1295 A.D., or the beginning of 1296 A.D. Jayavarman VIII abdicated the throne in favour of his son-in-law Indravarman III. According to M. M. Ghosh, it appears that during the closing years of his reign, the court was full of intrigue and the king remained in constant fear of assassination. The new king was a soldier who had married the old king's daughter. The daughter stole the sacred sword—the palladium of the country and presented it to her husband. Indravarman usurped the throne after mutilating and imprisoning his brother-in-law, the lawful heir to the throne. But Coedes believes that he went to Ceylon for reading Singhalese Buddhism and had its followers and monks at the time of Chou Ta Kuan's visit to Cambodia. It was believed by some writers that the old king was killed by his own son-in-law when the ministers had to put on the throne. A Burmese chronicle narrates in this way:

"A king's gardener was given by him a spear to protect the sweet cucumbers of his garden for the king only and he was permitted to kill anybody who attempted to steal these fruits. In one dark night, the king went out alone to see whether his gardener was really looking after the fruits, and in a momentary fit of forgetfulness he entered the garden and got killed by his own man. The ministers then had the gardener marriage to his daughter and made him king."
After his death Jayavarman VIII was given the posthumous name of Parameśvarapada.

**INDRAVARMAN III (1295 A.D.-1308 A.D.)**

As we have seen, that at the end of 1295 or early in 1296, Indravarman III usurped the throne of Cambodia and began to reign himself. He married the daughter of Jayavarman VIII. His reign is not of much importance except for the fact that Chou Ta-kuan, who accompanied the Chinese ambassador to Cambodia in 1295, wrote an interesting and informative account of Kambuja. A detailed account of his visit is given in Appendix I. It was translated from Chinese to English by J.P. Abel Remusat and again by Paul Pelliot in 1902.

The only inscription of the reign of Indravarman III gives much information about him speaks as if he reorganised a disunited country.

We know that Indravarman III's wife was the daughter of his predecessor. In one Khmer inscription, she was called as Śrī Śrīndrabhupeśvara Chudra. But he had other wives also, one of whom was a niece of his guru and minister. The Sanskrit part of the inscription says:- "The elder daughter of his (Madhurendrasuri's) sister, Śrī Sūryalakshmi, pure as the full moon, was, among all the woman of the king, dear to the heart of her husband, the king Śrī Śrīndrabharman.

**His Ministers**

According to the Angkor Vat inscription the Brāhmaṇa Vidyeśvid had been made the royal hotar by Jayavarman VIII and had crowned Indravarman III. Indravarman resolved to erect the Iśāna Bhadreśvara and made Vidveśvid hotar of the golden liṅga of Bhadreśvara and of the king. The inscription of Banteay Srei indicates that Madhurendra Paññita was guru and minister of Indravarman III, who married his niece. This is the only inscription of this king. On the basis of this inscription, we know that Dharaṇindrashri and Yaśodhara Paññita were two other companions of the king.

The inscription of Maṅgalartha of the following reign, says that Indravarman III made rich gifts to that temple which seems to have been the charge of the families of Jaya Maṅgalārtha and Jaya Mahāpradhāna. Indeed, he, who apparently had been an impor-
tant personality during the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman VIII seems to have been a patron of culture and to have continued the scholarly atmosphere of that period. Though a worshipper of Śiva, he was equally respectful to to Buddha. Briggs, however, is inclined to see in him a devout Buddhist. But the strong favour he showed to the followers of Buddha may be explained as his recognition of the growing influence of the sect.

He addicated the throne in favour of a Yuvarāja Indravarman in 1308 A.D.

INDRĀ JAYAVARMAN (1308 A.D.-1327 A.D.)

Indravarman²⁸⁷ or Indrajayavarman²⁸⁸ came to the throne in the year 1308 A.D. He was a relative of the predecessor. But we do not know the causes of his abdication in favour of Indrajayavarman. The inscription of Maṅgalārtha calls him Śrīndrajayavarman and calls his capital at Śrīndrajayapura. He reigned twenty year and embellished the temple built in the capitalby Jayavarman VIII in honour of the Brāhmaṇa Jaya Maṅgalārtha who died during his reign at the age of 104.

Pelliot on the basis of Yuan-shib a Chinese document says that a Chinese mission came to Cambodia in the year 1320 to buy elephants. This is the only important event of Śrīndrajayavarman’s reign to us.²⁰⁹

JAYAVARMAN-PARAMEŚVARA (1327 A.D.)

Śrīndrajayavarman was replaced by Jayavarman Parameśvara in 1327 A.D. Coedes calls him Śrī Jayavarmādi Parmēśvara.²⁰⁰ Briggs on the basis of Bergaigne opines that the word adi does not belong to the name, consequently he may be called Jayavarman Parmeśvara and as the Parameśvara is apparently a posthumous name (although in this instance, undoubtedly used during the life-time of the king), it would probably be proper to call him Jayavarman-IX. "Thus the first and last kings of the Angkor period, mentioned in the inscriptions, seem to have borne the same name Jayavarman Parameśvara."

We do not know the relationship with the predecessor. No other certain date of his reign is known and we do not know also how long he was on the throne. Briggs opines that he enjoyed a quite long
reign. We know him only through a Khmer inscription from the Bayon and through a Sanskrit inscription that is called the Angkor Vat inscription but was actually found at a site formerly called Kapilapura, to the north-east of the temple. This is the last Sanskrit inscription of the country composed by a Brāhmaṇa scholar Vidyesadhimant who served three kings viz. Śrīndravarman, Śrīndrajyavarman and Jayavarmādi Parameśvara. Completely impregnated with Śaivite mysticism, it proves that, in a country where Singhalese Buddhism must already have made very great progress, Hinduism found a last refuge at the court of the successors of Jayavarman VII. Indeed six centuries later, even to-day it has still not been driven out, the Bako or court Brāhmaṇas, still officiate in the royal ceremonies of modern Cambodia;

Jayavarman Parameśvara was a follower of Lord Śiva and he erected a temple of Nandiśa (Śrī Bhadreśvara). The inscription at Angkor Vat gives also a hint that Jayavarmādi Parameśvara defeated a king and destroyed his capital. It speaks of his “having torn out like a bristle the city of his enemy.”

It was undoubtedly Jayavarman Parameśvara who sent an embassy to the China in 1330 and in 1335 despatched a delegation to the Cua Rao Pass to greet the emperor of Dai Viet, Tram Hien Tong, a delegation that must have met there the delegation from Sukhothai.

With the reign of Jayavarman Parameśvara, the dark period of the Cambodian history begins. It is believed that after him four kings reigned till 1351 A.D. According to Coedes it is impossible for the moment to establish the connection between Jayavarmādi Parameśvara, the last king mentioned in the great inscription of Angkor Vat and the first king of the Cambodian chronicle, which begins around 1350 with a king bearing the posthumous name Mahanippеan or Nippeanbat, i.e. Nirvāṇapada. The break between the kings of ancient epigraphy and those of the chronicle is the for the moment complete.

The newly risen Thai kingdom of Ayuthia began its series of attacks on Kambuja during 1352 A.D. The cause of this attack was perhaps the military help which the king of Kambuja gave to his son-in-law Phi Fa to gain the throne of Muang Swa (older name of Luang Prabang the capital of Laos). As Ayuthia then defeated Sukhothai the suzerain of Muang Swa and claimed suzerainty over it
This power came into conflict with Kambuja. It was believed for this conflict that Angkor was attacked by the Thais in about 1351 A.D. There are historians who do not agree with this view and they say that it does not seem to be likely that Kambuja then suffered much due to clash with Thais of Ayuthia. For the ruler of Kambuja was at this time exercising through his daughter some influence over his son-in-law in Laos. A Buddhist monk of Kambuja was sent to Laos with a statue of Buddha known as Prabang which later became the name of Muang Swa the capital of Laos to preach Hinayana Buddhism. Fa N gom the grandson of the king of Kambuja was converted to this sect. The installation of the statue of Buddha took place probably in the year 1359 A.D.\(^\text{305}\)

We do not know the date of the end of the reign of Jayavarman Paramēśvara. It is not certain whether this king was reigning from 1370 to 1430 because we see that during that period many diplomatic mission from Cambodia were sent to the Mongol emperors of China. It is learnt from the history of this dynasty that in 1370 A.D., Cambodia sent an embassy to China and in the next year a king of Chenlā (the Chinese name for Cambodia) went to China with some valuable presents. Ten more embassies were sent to China between 1351 and 1403 A.D. The first was sent to China in 1370 A.D. The next envoy reached China on 14th December 1371 with rich tribute. Chinese kings called Cambodia ‘Chenlā the rich’. The Chenlā king who arrived in China in 1371 with tributes was called Houenl-na ly Remusat and Wouch-Kien-No ly leon de Rosny.\(^\text{306}\) Another mission was sent by the king of Cambodia in 1370 which reached on 7th November. On January 6th 1378, Samdach Kambujādhirāja (T'santa kan-wee-che-ch'e-ta-che) of Cambodia presented tribute. He was ruling at least as early as 1377 but this king must undoubtedly be identified with Paramarama and we know nothing else about him. The king described himself as the ruler of Kambuja. The king again sent envoy with presents on 12 November 1380. But the evidence does not indicate that the Chinese treated him as a new ruler. The next envoy with presents was sent on 14th October, 1384. But there is no evidence of the king who sent it. According to Ming records, in October 1386, Liu Min and T'ang Chin were despatched to Cambodia and other countries on a routine imperial gift presenting mission. In Cambodia they were received by a new king Samdae Pao-Pi-Yeh.

The last Khmer mission in the Hung-wee period came in 1389 and
1390 A.D., but unfortunately, the ruler's name is not mentioned. Thus we do not know when Pao-Pi-Yeh ceased to rule or when the fourth ruler known to Chinese Po Pi Yeh succeeded him. We know only one instance of Po-Pi-Yeh, at the end of his life, he sent a mission in 1404 A.D. in response to Yung Lo emperor's mission in 1403 to announce his accession.

During this period much fighting between Cambodia and Siam was taking place on the frontier provinces of Chantabun and Jolburi. It is difficult to ascertain the exact dates of these clashes but the fighting seems to have started in 1390 and continued for several years. According to the annals of Ayuthia, the king of Cambodia invaded the region and carried off about 6,000 inhabitants. The king of Ayuthia drove out the Khmers and left a general named Chainerong with 5,000 men to hold the reign in subjection. Later, when the Chams overran the country, the king of Ayuthia ordered Chainerong to bring all the inhabitants of the region to Siam.

The history of Kambuja between 1403 and 1432 lacks definite informations about the kings who reigned. Nippeanbat (Nirvāṇapada) was possibly a historical person but we know very little about the four kings who are said to have succeeded him. Nippeanbat came to the throne in 1404 A.D., and the king who reigned in 1431-32 was Ponhea Yat (Prajñāyati). On the basis of the History of Ming, we know that a king Ts'jan-lie-Po-Pi-Ya (Samdach chao Pouhea) was ruling in the year 1404 A.D. but his identity is not known. His death was announced at the court of China in 1405 and he was succeeded by his son Ts'jan-lie Chao-p'ing-ya who certainly corresponds to the Chao Ponhea Yat of Cambodian sources. Upon his accession to the throne Chao Ponhea Yat took the glorious name Suryavarman. It was during the course of his long reign of almost fifty years, in 1431 that the decision was taken to abandon the capital because it was too exposed and too difficult to defend. After a short stay at Bassan (Srei Santhor), from which he was driven by floods, Chao Ponhea Yat proceeded to establish himself at the Quarter-Bras (Four Brahmā), on the site of the present day city of Phnom Penh.

The five kings from Nippeanbat to Ponhea Yat probably ruled from 1404 to 1431 but we do not know much about their reigns. The Chams invaded the delta region and the coast as far as Chantabun early in the 15th century. The first definite date on this point seems to have 1414, when the Chinese say the Cambodian envoys of the
years complained that invasions of the Cochin-Chinese had several times prevented the arrival of their embassies in China. The king of China sent an escort with the envoys and ordered the king of Cochin-China (Champā) to withdraw his troops from Cambodian territory and leave his neighbour in peace. But we know from other sources that the king's letter was not sufficient to check the Chams because the Cambodians repeatedly requested the Chinese king for help in 1417 and 1419 respectively probably with a view to seek assistance against the Chams who were pressing on her eastern frontier. From a Cham inscription dated 1421, it is learnt that "the Cham king took possession of kingdom called Braha kanda and after numerous victories, returned to Champā that year and made several pious foundations with the booty he had taken from the Kvir (Khmer)" And from the Cambodian chronicle, we learn that Chams seized many gold and silver Buddhas and attacked Chaturmukha (Phnom Penh) but the Cambodian king defeated them and drove them out. This probably occurred in about 1426 A.D.

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182. *BCAI* (1911), p. 44.
183. Quoted by Briggs in *AKE*, p. 144.
184. *IC*, VI, p. 9, n. 3.
188. Ibid, IV (1904), p. 76.
190. Verse 120.
191. Verse 104.
193. Ibid.
194. *AKE*, p. 146.
195. BEFEO, 43 (1943), p. 72.
197. Verse 91.
199. Verse 40-43.
201. BEFEO, XXXVII (1937), pp. 378-413.
205. 29 *A V*. 10.
206. Verse 1.
207. Verse 1.
211. Verse 2.
212. Verse 7.
216. Ibid, V. 32.
218. Lovek B ins., V. 9.
219. Prea Keo, B ins. V. 16-29.
221. *AKE*, p. 151.
223. *AKE*, p. 159.
226. *JTRS*, 35 (1), 1945, pp. 73-76.
238. Ibid, XXIV, pp. 16-19.
239. Lovek ins., V. 32.
241. Lovek ins., V. 3.
243. Ibid.
244. Majumdar, R.C., *AICFE*, Champa, ins. 3.
245. Ibid.
248. Ibid, D, Verse 27.
249. Sdok Kak Thom Stele ins., VV. 72-74.
251. Sdok Kak Thom Stele Ins., VV. 61-64.
253. Sdok Kak Thom Stele ins., VV. 120-123.
263. Ibid, Sarga III, V. 27.
264. Prasat Tor ins., III, V. 27.
265. Verse 29.
267. Briggs, L.P., op cit., p. 188.
270. Verse 7.
272. Phimeanakas ins., V. 5.
273. Kambujades'a, p. 128.
274. Verse 60-61.
276. AKE, p. 215.
277. Ibid.
278. Ethnographie des peuples e'trangers a' la chinois ...... meridionaux......
Quarrage compose du xiii Siecle de notre ere, par Ma Touan Lin, Er nest Leroux, 1883, pp. 557-58.
281. KD, p. 131.
283. Mahavañsa, Ch, 76; JASB, Vol. XII, pp. 197-201.
286. BEFEO, XII, (1912) p. 347.
289. Quoted by Briggs, in AKE, p. 219.
291. KD, p. 137.
293. Preah Kdam ins., V. 30.
294. Situated at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, modern Allahabad, U.P.
295. Preah Khan ins. V. 33.
298. Ghosh, M.M., op. cit, p. 188.
301. BEFEO, Vol. XVIII (1918) p. 35.
303. Also called Syam by their neighbours.
306. FEQ, VIII, 1948, p. 36.
308. Quoted by Briggs, op. cit., p. 245.
APPENDIX—I

Angkor at the end of the Thirteenth Century

The visit of Chou Ta-kuan, 1296-1297

In the first year of the reign of the new king, Chou Ta-kuan visited Angkor and made a long and valuable report to the Chinese government. A copy of that report was found in the Chinese archives and translated into French by J.P. Abel Remusat in 1810 (677) and by Paul Pelliot in 1902 (658).

As we have seen, Kublai Khan does not seem to have succeeded in getting Cambodia to pay him homage. In the first year of the reign of his successor, Chen-Song, or Timur Khan (1295), an embassy was sent to Cambodia. Chou Ta-kuan 'accompanied this embassy, apparently, as a sort of commercial attache'. The embassy came by sea and arrived at Angkor during the seventh month of 1296, in autumn (August). They left in the sixth month (July), 1297. Chou Ta-kuan says the mission was successful and homage was rendered; but Pelliot quotes a Chinese writer of the next (Ming) dynasty who, writing of 1520, said "During the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty, they boasted of distant expansion; they said Jávā and Cambodia had become well known and very close; to the end of this epoch, these nations did not render homané one single time" (658, 131).

From wen-chou to Angkor

Chou Ta-kuan was a native of Yung-kia in Chekiang, the home of Chou K'iufei, author of Ling-wai-tai-ta (1178). He embarked at Wen Chou, a port of Chekiang, and, sailing southwest, arrived at Chan-ch'eng (Champā). From there, he says, with a good wind one arrives in fifteen days at Chen-pu, the frontier of Cambodia. Then, one crosses the sea of K'un-lun and reaches the mouth of the river (Mekong),
Of the many mouths one can enter only by the fourth. All the others are encumbered with sand banks, which large ships cannot cross. Whichever way one looks, he sees only long rattans, old trees, yellow sands, white rushes. At first glance, it is not easy to locate the true mouth. Even mariners find it difficult. From the mouth one can, with a favorable current, in fifteen days reach at the north a country called Ch'a-nan. Here, one changes to a smaller boat and in ten days, with favorable current, passing via Pan-lu-suen, "half-way village", and Fo-hsuen, "village of the Buddha", and crossing the fresh water sea, one arrives at Kan-p'ang hsui, 50 li from the city (of Angkor).

According to the Description of the Barbarians (in Chu-fan-che), this country is 7,000 li (wide). At the north, one arrives at Champă in fifteen days; at the southeast it is fifteen days from Sien-lo; at the south, ten days from Pan-yu; at the east is the ocean. Formerly, it was a country of native commercial transactions. When the holy dynasty (Mongol) received the august mandate from heaven and extended on the four seas, the general-in-chief, Su-Wu ( Sagatu) was charged to police Champă. He sent two officers (with troops), but they did not return. In 1295 the Holy Emperor sent an ambassador to notify a message and I (Chou Ta-kuan) was charged to accompany him.

Description of the Capital

Chou Ta-kuan does not call the capital by name. He speaks of it always as "the city", "the walled city", "the capital city". The Chinese continued to call the country Chenlă and the inhabitants called themselves Kambuja. Chou Ta-kuan gives a fairly accurate description of the city — its dimensions, walls, gates, moats, causeways, and ramparts. He notes that the causeway across the moat was guarded by nine-headed serpents, says they were supported by fifty-four giants and that over each gate there were five heads of the Buddha, and that the middle one was covered with gold. Near the centre of the city is a gold tower (Bayon), flanked by more than twenty stone towers. On the east side (of the Bayon) are a bridge of gold, two gold lions, (one) each side of the bridge and eight gold Buddhas under stone chambers. About a li to the north of the tower of gold, there is a tower of copper (Baphuon), still higher than the tower of gold, and of which the view is really impressive. At its base
are ten little stone houses. Still a li to the north are the habitations of the sovereign. In the sovereign's apartments of rest, there is another gold tower (Phimeanakas). These are the monuments, we think, which have motivated the praises of Cambodia rich and noble, which merchants who have come here have spread of this country.

Just outside of the south gate there is a stone tower, which, according to Chou Ta-ku'an, Lu-pan-Chinese god of architects—is said to have built in one night. The tomb of Lu-pan, about a league from the south gate, measures nearly 10 li in circumference. There are hundreds of li in circumference. There are hundreds of little stons houses. He describes the East Baray and the North Baray. At the former, he says, is a reclining Buddha in bronze, from whose navel water constantly flows. At the latter, there is a square tower in gold, a lion and a Buddha in gold and an elephant, an ox, and a horse in bronze.

The Palace official. dwellings and house of the Nobles

The palace, the official dwellings and the houses of the nobles are all orientated to the east. The palace, counting from the outside gate, is five or six li around. The tiles of the private apartments are of lead; the others are of yellow earth. The piles of bridge are enormous. Buddhas are sculptured and painted on them. The body of the buildings is magnificent. The long verandas, the covered corridors, are daring and irregular, without great symmetry.

Chou Ta-ku'an describes the magnificence of the council hall, which he says has gold window frames.

At right and left are square columns carrying 40 to 50 mirrors ranged on the sides of the window. Below are represented elephants. I have heard say that inside the palace are many marvelous places; but the defenses are very severe and it is impossible to enter.

Chou Ta-ku'an does not describe the royal throne; but, in a footnote, Pellyot quotes Ma Tuan-lin as saying that the disposition of the throne at Cambodia is the same as at Ch'ih-t'u and, in his chapter on Ch'ih-t'u, Ma Tuan-lin says: "On each side of the royal platform are two great metallic mirrors. In front of each of these mirrors is a vase of gold and before each is an incense burner, also of gold."

The king has five wives, one his private apartment and one for each of the four cardinal points. Concubines and girls of the palace are estimated at 3,000 to 5,000, divided into many classes; but they
rarely cross the threshold. When a family has a beautiful daughter, it brings her to the palace. Chou Ta-kuan says that whenever he got inside the palace, he saw the prince come out with his first wife and seat himself at the gold window of the private apartment. The people of the palace passed in rows on both sides of the veranda to see. He says he could have a look. Below, were the palace servants. They numbered at least one or two thousand. They were married and lived all over the capital. They shaved the head in front and marked this place as well as both sides of the temple with vermilion. Only these women could enter the place. There were always many of them on the roads in front of and behind the palace.

"The habitations of the princes and great officers have another disposition and other dimensions than the houses of the people," Official rank determines the kind of dwelling.

The people: appearance, clothing, houses, sewage

Chou Ta-kuoe says the inhabitants are coarse and very black and know only the habits of the Man (Southern Barbarians). "Whether they live in distant villages, the islands of sea or the most frequented streets, it is the same. In the palaces and great mansions, where they are sheltered from the sun, many of the women are white as jade."

All men and women alike, even the wives of the king, wore only a loin cloth. They ordinarily went naked above the waist and went barefoot. When they went out, they draped a large band of cloth over the smaller one. The character of the cloth used depended on rank. Most of the best cloth, especially silk, came from Siam. They did their hair in a chignon and had no head ornament. They wore gold rings and bracelets, even the working women. "Men and women oil themselves with perfumes composed of santal, musk, and other essences."

The size and material of their houses depended on rank. Only the higher classes could use tile; at first, only for the family temple and private apartment. The houses of the common people were made of thatch. The houses had no toilet facilities nor sewage disposal. By two or three families they dig a ditch which they cover again with grass. When it is filled, they cover it over and dig another one. After having gone to this place, they go to the pond and wash themselves with the left hand, for the right hand is reserved for food.
When they see the Chinese use paper they mock them and close their doors. There are also women who urinate standing. It is ridiculous.

Domestic customs: Childbirth, rite of Chen-t'an.

Chou Ta-kanan describes many domestic customs, including those of childbirth and the rite of chen-t'an, or the deflowering of girls when they reach a certain age, a custom found also in Champā.

In the case of child-birth, the newly confined rolls cooked rice in salt and applies it to the sexual parts. After a day and a night, it is withdrawn. In that way the swelling has no harmful consequences and women guards her youthful air. Chou Ta-kanan says that when he first heard of that, he was astonished and did not believe it at all. But in the family where he lodged a child was born to a young woman and he was thus able to inform himself. The next day, carrying her child in her arms, she went with it to bathe in the river. The women of this country are said to be very lustful. One or two days, after confinement, they unite with their husbands. If the husband does not respond, he is abandoned. If the husband is called away on business, all goes well for some nights. But, after ten nights, the wife is sure to say: “I am not as a spirit. How can I sleep alone”. Thus, their depravation goes up to this point. I have heard that certain ones keep faith. The women age very quickly, doubtless due to early marriage and child-bearing. At twenty or thirty years, they resemble Chinese women of forty or fifty.

Parents with a daughter generally make this prayer: “May you be desired by men. May many men ask you in marriage”: Between seven and nine years for rich girls, sometimes not before eleven for poor girls, a Buddhist or Taoist priest is charged to deflower them. This is called chen-t'an. Each year the mandarin chooses a day in the month which corresponds to the fourth Chinese month and notifies all the country. Each family with a daughter subject to chen-t'an notifies the mandarin. The mandarin sends a candle on which a mark is made. At nightfall of the appointed day, the candle is lighted and when it burns up to the mark, the moment of chen-t'an has arrived. Some time before this date the parents choose a Buddhist or Taoist priest, to suit their taste or convenience. Certain ones have a regular clientele. Bonzes of some notoriety are preferred by the functionaries and the rich. The poor have no choice. Presents, according to the circumstances or generosity of the family, are made
to these bonzes of wine, rice, cloth, silks, arica-nuts, silver objects. When poor girls reach eleven without having the ceremony performed, it is because they cannot afford the expense. There are priests who refuse silver and accomplish the chen-t’an with poor girls. This is called a good deed. A bonze can deflower only one girl in one year.

On the evening of the chen-t’an a great banquet is organized, with music, and the parents and neighbors gather together. Outside the door, and elevated platform is raised, on which clay figurines of men and animals are placed. This is an ancient custom. This evening, with palanquins, parasols and music, the priest is brought. Two pavilions are constructed, of silks of various colours. The girl sits in one, the bonze in the other. No one can understand what is said. The noise of the music is deafening. I have heard it said that, the moment arrived, the bonze enters the girl’s pavilion. He deflowers her with the hand then soaks his hand in wine. Some say that then the father and mother, the relatives and the neighbors all marks their foreheads with it. Some say they also taste it. Some believe also that the bonze really unites with the girl. Others do not. The Chinese cannot easily witness these things; so the exact truth is not known. When day dawns, the bonze is taken away, with palanquins, parasols and music. After that the girl must be repurchased from the bonze with cloths and silks. If not, she remains his property and cannot marry another. Previously, the parents slept beside their daughter. After this ceremony, she is excluded from the apartment and goes where she pleases, without constraint or surveillance. For marriages it is customary to make presents in cloth, but this is a formality without great importance. Many marry woman they formerly had as mistress. This custom is not a subject of shame or astonishments.

Domestic Customs: Illness; Disposal of the dead
Illnesses were common, which Chou Ta.kuan thinks were due to frequent baths and incessant washing of the head. He says the people bathe many times during the day and often several times at night. Each family had a basin or several families had one in common. As we have seen, this custom runs back to the Funan period and these basins formed part of the systems of period and these basins formed part of the system of water distribution of Yaśovarman I and Sūrvarman I. Parliés often frequently went to the river to bathe. Lepers
were common and many were seen along the road. People ate and slept with them without contracting their illness. Chou Ta-kuan says that formerly a king caught it, which shows that the legend of the Leper King is earlier than the end of the thirteenth century. He attributes this leprosy to abuse of the bath and to passionate excess, "At least eight or nine out of ten die of dysentery," he says. The remedies mentioned are drugs and sorcery. They do not use coffins for the dead, but a kind of mat, which they cover with a cloth. In the funeral cortège, they use flags, banners and musical instruments. Along the road they sow grilled rice. Outside the city, in some distant and uninhabited place, they abandon the body and go away. They await for vultures and dogs to come and devour it. If it is all finished soon, they say their parents had merits and have obtained their recompense. If the animals do not eat them or eat them only partially, they say their parents are responsible for this result. Now, there are some who burn their dead. They are descendants of Chinese. When the parents die, the children do not wear mourning. The sons shave the head and the daughters cut the hair in front. It is their mark of filial piety.

The sovereign is buried in a tower, but Chou Ta-kuan did not know whether his body or only his bones were buried.

**Slavery, Savages**

For servants, they buy slaves. Some have more than a hundred. Only the very poor have none at all. The savages come from mountainous solitude. They form a race apart and are called "thieving Chuangs". Brought into the village, they do not dare show themselves outside. They are regarded as animals and are bought and sold for a small price. They can only sit and lie under the house. For service, they can go up into the house, but then the kneel, salaam, and prostrate themselves before advancing. They call their master and mistress father and mother. If they commit a fault and are beaten, they bow the head and do not dare to make the least movement. They copulate freely among each other, but never the master will have sexual relations with them. When a Chinaman lives alone a long time down there and once has commerce with one of these women, if the master finds it out; he refuses next day to sit with him because he has had relations with a savage. If a female slave has a child by a person foreign to the house, the master does not trouble
about the father, but treats the child as a slave. If a slave tries to escape and is retaken, he is marked in blue on the face. Sometimes they are fastened by iron rings on the neck, arms or legs.

There are two kind of savages. One kind understands the current language. They are sold in the cities as slaves. The other kind does not submit to civilization and does not understand the language. They do not live in houses; but, followed by their family, they wander in the mountains, carrying a clay jar on the head. If they meet a wild animal, they kill it with bow or spear, strike fire with a stone, cook the beast and eat it in common, then separate. Their nature is save and their poisons are very dangerous. Within their own band, they often kill each other. In recent times, there are some who cultivate cardamoms and cotton and weave cloth. But their cloth is very coarse and their designs are very irregular.

**Chinese Immigration, homosexuals**

Chinese who follow the sea like this country, where little clothing is necessary. Rice is easy to gain, women easy to find, houses easy to manage, furniture easy to obtain, commerce easy to direct. So, they constantly go to this country.

In this country, there are many homosexuals, who every day wander by in groups of more than ten in the market place. They constantly try to attract the Chinese, for rich presents. It is hideous. It is vile.

**Agriculture: Domestic Animals; Food Products**

Three or four crops were produced a year. The annual overflow of the Great Lake helped to fertilize the soil for the rice crop. They did not use animal manure for fertilization, as the Chinese did. They used plows, hoes, and sickles for cultivation. Cattle were not used as draught animals. (Although he does not say so, they probably used water buffaloes to plow then as they do now). Other domestic animals were small horses, sheep, goats, pigs, chicken, and geese.

Cultivated plants, in addition to rice, included onions, mustard, egg plants, melons, gourds, sugar cane, and taro. Fruits included oranges, pomegranates, peaches, bananas, litchis, plums, apricots, some of which grew wild. Salt was obtained by evaporation on the seashore, at Chen-pu and other places. Vinegar was made of a kind of leaves. They did not know how to ferment grains, but made wine
of sugar cane, honey, rice and tree leaves.

Forest Products: Wild Animals
Forest products included plumes, ivory, rhinoceros horns, beeswax, honey, gambodge, cardamons, pepper, ebony, essences, resin, bamboo, rattan, and many wild fruits. The ivory of elephants killed with a spear is said to be the best; then that found shortly after the animal has died a natural death. Among the animals mentioned were the elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, panther, bear, wild cattle, wild horses, deer, goats, gibbon, and monkeys of several kinds. Wild birds included the peacock, hen, duck, fishermartin, perroquet, falcon, crow, aigrette, sparrow, cormorant, swan, crane, canary. Many kinds of fish were found in the Great Lake, especially carp and eels. Frogs were found in pools along the roadside, but were not eaten. Large iguanas, turtles whose feet are eight or nine inches long and shrimp which weigh a wound or more were used as food. “There are crocodiles as large as boats, which have four feet and are exactly like a dragon, but have no horns; their belly is very delicious”.

Commerce
Most of the commerce was carried on by the women, but there were a few Chinese engaged in business. They had no permanent shops, but used a kind of mat, which they spread on the ground. For a desirable place, rent was paid to the mandarin. In small transactions, payments were made in rice, cereals, Chinese objects and cloth; in larger transactions, gold and silver were used. Chou Ta-kuan gives a list of Chinese products in demand in Cambodia. The products most desired were gold and silver, silk (especially coloured); then some tin, lacquer plates, mercury, vermilion, blue porcelain, paper, sulphur, saltpetre. santal, iris, root, musk, hemp cloth, umbrellas, iron pots, copper plates, oils. sieves, wooden combs, needles, mats. ‘What they desire especially to procure are beans and wheat; but the exportation of these is prohibited”.

Methods of Travel
For short distances the rich travelled in palanquins, made of sculptured wood, covered with gold and silver. To go a great distance, elephants, horses and carriages were used. The horses had no saddles and the elephants had no seats.
They used large boats, made of hardwood with axes and chisels, held together by iron nails, laths and ropes of vines, caked with fish oil and mineral chalk and propelled only by oars. Small boats were dug into a log.

The three Religions
Chou Ta-kuan's account of the religions of Angkor is not very clear. He admits he didn't understand them very well. He says there were three religions which he calls Pan-chi, Chu-ku, and Pa-sseau-wei. He says he does not know that the Pan-chi adore. "They have nothing which resembles a school or any place of instruction. It is difficult to know what books they read. They dress like other men except for the white ribbon they wear around the neck, which is the distinctive mark of the lettered class. Those who enter the king's service reach high functions." They are evidently the Brähmana Pāṇḍits. This ribbon was undoubtedly the Brahmanic cord (Sanskrit upavita) (735).

The Chu-ku shave the head, wear yellow clothing and leave the right shoulder uncovered. For the lower part of the body, they wear a skirt of yellow cloth and go barefoot. Their temples may be covered with tile. The interior contains only one image, entirely similar to the Śākyamuni Buddha, which they call Po-lai. It is dressed in red. Made of clay, it is ornamented with vermilion and blue. The Buddhas of the towers are different and all cast of bronze. There is no bell nor drums, nor cymbals, nor votive offering of silk-pendants, nor canopy. All the bonzes eat fish and meat, but do not drink wine. In their offerings to the Buddha, they use also fish and meat. They make one meal a day, prepared in the family of a host; for in the temples there is no kitchen. The texts they recite are very numerous. All are composed of palm leaves, bound very regularly. On these leaves, they write black characters, but as the use neither pencil nor ink, I do not know with what they write. Certain bonzes have the right to a palanquin and a gold or silver handle parasol. The prince consults them in grave affairs. There are no Buddhist nuns.

The Chu-ku were undoubtedly Hinayanist bonzes. This religion, of which no trace appeared a century before, must progressed rapidly, for Chou Ta-kuan gives the impression that it was the leading religion. He says everybody worshipped the Buddha (735).

The pa-sseau-wei are more difficult. Chou Ta-kuan says, They dress like other people, except for a piece of red or white cloth, which
they wear on the head, like the ku-ku of Tartar women, but a little lower. They worship only a block a stone, like the altar stone of the god of the soil in China. I do not know what they adore either. There are no Taoist nuns. Taoist temples may be covered with tiles. The pa-sseu-wei do not share the food of other people and do not eat in public. They do not drink wine. I have not seen them recite prayers nor accomplish meritorious services for men.

Chou Ta-kuan calls them Taoists, but they were not Chinese Taoists. Finot and Pelliot thought they were probably Pāśupatas, a Śivaite sect. Coedes thinks this was an ascetic cult, worshippers of the linga (478,357,735).

Language; Writing; Astronomy; Festivals
The language resembled those of Champā and Siam, but those people did not understand it. The word order was different from that of Chinses. Each class-mandarins, scholars, priests had their special language. The dialects of the cities and villages differed, the same as in China. In writing, they used a sort of chalk on deer or other skin, coloured black. They wrote from left to right, not from top to bottom like the Chinese. They know astronomy and could calculate the eclipses of the sun and the moon. Each night was divided into five watches. Seven days made a cycle. The women know how to make calculations. The twelve animals of the cycle corresponded to those of China. The first month of their year corresponded to the tenth month of the Chinese year.

On New Year a great festival was held. A great platform, large enough to hold a thousand persons and embellished with lanterns and flowers, was erected in front of the palace.

Wooden stupas more than 20 chang high are erected, sometime five or six in one night. At the summit are placed rockets, which may sometimes be seen 100 li, and firecrackers large as cannon, whose explosion shakes the entire city. The king attends the spectacle and invites the foreign ambassadors. This festival lasts fifteen days. Each month there is a festival. At the fourth month (January?), they “throw the Ball.” At the ninth, the population of the entire kingdom passes in review before the palace. The fifth, the Buddha of all the kingdom are collected and washed in the presence of the sovereign. On the seventh month, when the rice crop is ripe, rice is burned, at the south gate, in honour of the Buddha. Many women go to this
ceremony, in chariot or on elephant, but the king does not go. The eighth month is a dancing festival. Musicians of talent are chosen to come to the palace each day. There are also combats of pigs and of elephants. The prince invites the foreign ambassadors to be present. The fete lasts ten days.

*Functionaries, Vassal, Goversments, Village, Army*
In this country, there are counsellors, generals, astronomers, etc. and below them, all kinds of small employes; only the names differ from ours. Most of the time, princes are chosen for office; if not, those chosen offer their daughters as royal concubines. The insignia and the retinue depend also on rank. The highest dignitaries use a palanquin with gold litter and four parasols with gold handle; then come a palanquin with gold litter and one parasol with gold handle; finally simply a silver handled parasol. There are also those who receive a palanquin with silver litter. These parasols are made of red Chinese taffeta and have fringes falling to the ground. The oiled parasols of green taffeta with short frienges.

There are more than 90 vassal (subordinate) goverments: Chen-pu, Ch’a-nan, Pa-kien, Mou-leang, Pa-sie, P’ou-mai. Pa-sseu li. and others. Each has its own functionaries. A wooden palisade serves as rampart.

Each village has a temple or stupa. However small, each has a police officer. On the great routes there are places of rest like our post relays. In the recent war with Siam, the country was entirely devastated.

The troops go both naked and barefooted. In the right hand, they hold the lance; in the left, the buckler. The Cambodians have neither bows nor arrows, neither ballistias nor cannon, neither armor-plate nor helmets. It is said that in the recent war with the Siamese all the people were obliged to fight. They have neither tactics nor strategy.

*Gall Harvest*
Chou Ta-kuan relates a peculiar custom, which is attested by writers on the history of other countries of Indo-China, particularly Champā (681, 123). This is the annual collection of a jar of human gall, which was presented to the king of that country. The gall was drunk, mixed with wine or was used to wash the heads of the king’s elephants. It must be taken from living persons.
Formerly, at the eighth month, gall was collected ... Each year the king of Champā required a jar of human gall, containing thousands. At night, men were posted at many places in the cities and villages. When they met people out of night, they covered their head with a hood tied by a cord and with a little knife, removed their gall the right side of the back. When they had a sufficient number, they offered it to the king of Champā. But they did not take the gall of Chinamen. That is because one year they mixed a Chinaman’s gall with the others and all the gall in the jar rotted and they could not use it. Recently, this usage has been abolished, but the functionary of the gall bladder still lives in the city, near the north gate.⁷

Audience of the king: Trial and Punishment
Each day the king held audience twice, with great pomp, at the golden window of the palace.

“The disputes of the people, even insignificant, always go to the sovereign.” The trial was often by ordeals, like those of mediaeval Europe. Chou Ta-kuan describes an ordeal called the Judgment of Heaven, in which the so-called Towers of the Cord Dancers (p. 158) seem to have been used:

Two families may be in dispute, without its being known which is wrong and which right. In front of the palace are twelve little stone palaces. Each of the two adversaries sits on one of these towers. Below the two adversaries the two families are watching. After one, two, three, or four hours, the guilty manifests it to some way: ulcers, carbuncle, catarrh, or malignant fever. The innocent does not suffer the least damage. Thus is decided the right and wrong of the case. This is called “celestial judgment.” Such are the supernatural interventions in this country.

Punishments were severe and included fines, whipping, mutilation, and burial alive. To a surprising degree, punishment seems to have been left to the aggrieved party. Criminals do not seem to have been sold into slavery as punishment. Formerly, they did not punish by the bastinado, but only by pecuniary fines. In very grave cases, they did not decapitate nor strangulate; but outside of the west gate, they dug a ditch where the criminal was put and they filled it with earth and stones. Below this, was the removal of the toes and fingers or the amputation of an arm. Drunkenness and gambling were not forbidden; but if the husband of an adulterous wife found her in
fault, he pressed the feet of her lover in a vice until no longer could bear the pain, gave the husband all his gods and thus recovered his liberty. If a dead person was found at the door of a house, it was dragged with cords outside the city to a deserted place; but nothing like a serious inquest existed. Whoever captured a thief might confine him or do violence to him.

Cambodia not Decadent
Although the thirteenth century seems to have been one of reaction and weak government, the Memoirs of Chou Ta-kuan and the few inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not picture a decadent Cambodia. They describe a Cambodia wealthy and prosperous, in the full tide of its magnificence. They tell us that the country was recently ravaged by the Siamese, but they hint that this was due to the weakness of an aged king and that a vigorous young ruler was now keeping the enemy at a distance. To be sure, the territory of the Khmer Empire had been greatly reduced; but the lost territory consisted mainly of vassal states, peopled chiefly by non-Khmers. Kambujadesa proper was still intact.

True, the construction of enormous monuments was a thing of the past and the art was decadent; but this was due to other causes. The decadence of an art is often a part of the evolution of that art and may take place in the most prosperous times. Mme de Coral Remusat is of the opinion that, if its evolution had not been interrupted, Khmer art, in some respects at least, would have developed in a purely native technique, like that of Javā (301, 94). True, knowing the causes of the decadence of this civilization, as we do now, it is possible to trace the symptoms in the testimony of these contemporary witnesses, and even much further back; but the general impression given by this contemporary testimony is not that of a decadent civilization.

The capital seems to have escaped Siamese raids; for, according to Chou Ta-kuan, gold and copper towers, and gold and silver utensils, which most certainly would have been looted by a conqueror, were almost common place at Angkor in 1296. The fabulous wealth of Cambodia was still a common proverb in the Far East.

The Magnificence of the Capital
According to Chou Ta-kuan, the face, towers of the gates of Angkor Thom contained a fifth head which was of gold. There were gold to-
waters at the Bayon, at the Phimeanakas, and at the North Baray. The king often went to see a golden Buddha in front of a little golden pagoda and there were eight golden Buddhas at the Bayon and two golden lions on each side of the golden bridge there. There was also a golden lion at the North Baray. (These towers and statues were probably gilded as they are today in Siam and Burma). The windows of the king’s council-hall, where the king used to show himself (Royal Terrace) were framed with gold. The king wore a diadem of gold and carried a golden sword. He wore bracelets and gold rings on his ankles, wrists, and fingers, and more than three pounds of large pearls around his neck. When he set out from the Palace, he was preceded by the girls of Palace carrying utensils of gold and silver. Then followed goat carriages and horse carriages, all ornamented with gold. More than one hundred parasols were garnished with gold and more than twenty white parasols were garnished with gold and had gold handles. Then followed the king, standing on an elephant, whose tusks were enveloped with gold, holding in his hand the golden sword. If the king was going to a nearby place, he was carried by four girls of the Palace in a golden palanquin.

Nor was all this magnificence confined to the king, The highest dignitaries used a palanquin, with a litter of gold and four gold-handled parasols. The next had a palanquin with a litter of gold and one gold-handled parasol. Certain bonzes had the right to a gold- or silver-handled parasol. A centurion received tablet (seal); a commander of a thousand, one in gold. At anniversaries, which were common, gold and silver vessels were used. The rich drank from gold and silver receptacles and even the working women wore gold bracelets and rings.

(Extract taken from L.P. Briggs book Ancient Khmer Empire)

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1. Chenla feng t’u chi
2. Elsewhere, Pelliot says Cambodia sent an embassy to the Mongol court in 1285 (663, 240 n. 5)
3. Chan ch’eng (—the city of Chan) is the Chinese transcription of Champā-pura (278, 209). The word Champā, applied to this region, first appeared in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Sambhuvarman, at Mi-son, in the fifth century Śaka (347; 533, 3, 12). The first mention of Chan-ch’eng is a couple of centuries later.
4. Probably near the site of the present Baria.
5. Probably between the mainland and the islands of Pulo-Condor, which are called K'un-lun,
6. Coedes believed this was the mytho branch. See also 100, 18-19.
7. Believed to be Kompong Chnang (278, 359, n. 1), but Pelliot suggests Phnom-Penh.
8. Pelliot suggests Kompong Chnang and Babaur (438, n. 9). Coedes thinks Fohsuen is Pursat (278, 355).
9. Kan-p'ang (—Kompong, landing) would be the Angkor landing, at the mouth of the Siemreap river (100, 29-30).
10. Not identified.
11. This means Nagara in Sanskrit, Nakhon in Siamese, corrupted to Nokor or Angkor in Cambodian. A Siamese chronicle (420, 5), under date of 1432, calls this city Nakhon Luang, which is Siamese for Sanskrit “Great City or Capital”. The name Angkor Thom is the modern Cambodian corruption of Pali Nagara dhamma, “Great, or Glorious, Capital,” a name which later came to be applied to this city by the Hinayanists.
12. Chou Ta-kuan thought these were the heads of the Buddha. When Pelliot made this translation, they were thought to represent Brahmā caturmukha, “the four faced Brahmā”. Later, they were thought to represent Śiva. They are now believed to represent the Bodhisattva Lokešvara, under the lineaments of Jayavarman VII.
13. Phnom Bakheng’
15. This is doubtless an error. At the West Mebon, there is such a reclining Vishnu (p. 173). Chou Ta-kuan apparently did not know the Hindu deities very well, called the statue of Buddha,
16. The Elephant Terrace, which supported the royal pavilion.
17. Pelliot adds that the above account neglects the characteristic practice of confinement in Indo-China, which consists in exposing the confined woman to a great fire,
18. The word Taoist here apparently means Brahmaṇa. There were no (Chinese) Taoists in Cambodia,
19. Chou Ta-kuan calls them “cheval de montagne”, mountain horses.
20. It is not known what animals Chou Ta-kuan meant by lions and camels, as neither of these animals ever existed in Cambodia.
22. Siamese chao-ku-sir (278, 357).
23. Had Sivaism developed into this sect?
24. This must be an error.
25. Replicas of images from all the provinces were collected at the Bayon (p, 230).
26. Abbe Bouillevaux says the custom still persisted when he visited Cambodja in 1850 (97, 234),
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