

FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ANGKOR; THE ŚAILENDRAS IN SUMATRA

First Three Quarters of the Ninth Century

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM OF ANGKOR¹: JAYAVARMAN II (802-50)

The liberation of Cambodia from the suzerainty of Java was the work of Jayavarman II, founder of the kingdom of Angkor.

He was only distantly related to the ancient dynasties of pre-Angkorian Cambodia: he was the great-grandnephew through the female line of Pushkarāksha,² the prince of Aninditapura who became king of Śambhupura (Sambor),³ and also the nephew of a King Jayendrādhīpativarman about whom we know nothing.⁴ An inscription from the beginning of the tenth century,⁵ speaking of Jayavarman II's advent to the throne, says: "For the prosperity of the people, in this perfectly pure race of kings, great lotus which no longer has a stem, he rises as a new flower." Official genealogists used metaphors of this sort to veil the occasional disruptions of the regular succession in the dynastic order. Jayavarman II is almost unique among the kings of Cambodia in that he did not leave a single inscription; at least, none has been found. Fortunately, the principal episodes of his reign are related in some detail in an inscription of the eleventh century on the stele of Sdok Kak Thom.⁶

"His majesty," the text tells us, "came from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura." The family of Jayavarman II, which was linked with the dynasties of the eighth century, no doubt took refuge in Java during the disturbances over the succession—unless it had been taken there by force following one of the maritime raids discussed in the preceding chapter.

Jayavarman II's return from Java, perhaps motivated by the weakening of the Śailendras on the island, took place around 800, for we have abundant evidence that the effective beginning of the reign was 802.⁷ The country was in a state of almost complete

anarchy, apparently without a king⁸ 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.

He began by establishing himself in the city of Indrapura. Various epigraphical fragments make it possible to locate a city of this name in the province of Thbong Khmum, to the east of Kompong Cham,⁹ where he perhaps had familial ties. The site may possibly have been Banteay Prei Nokor, the name of which ("Citadel of the Royal City") proves that there was an ancient capital there; its monuments of pre-Angkorian art manifest the style of the ninth century in certain details.¹⁰ But the remains along the western bank of the Western Baray (to be discussed in a moment) are not excluded as a possible site of Indrapura.

It was at Indrapura, it seems, that the young king took into his services as royal chaplain a Brahman scholar, Śivakaivalya, who was to follow him in all his changes of residence and to become the first chief priest of a new cult, that of the Devarāja, or "God-King."

After remaining some time in Indrapura, Jayavarman II left this residence, accompanied by Śivakaivalya and his family, and made his way to a region north of the Tonle Sap, or Great Lake, that regulator of irrigation and inexhaustible fish pond. This region, where the first city of Angkor would be erected a century later, had constituted the fief of Bhavapura, as we have seen before.¹¹ "When they arrived at the eastern district," says the stele of Sdok Kak Thom, "the king bestowed an estate and a village called Kuṭi upon the family of the royal chaplain." The "eastern district" refers to the region to the east of Angkor. The name Kuṭi survives in the name of Banteay Kdei, a late monument which was built near a much earlier one.¹²

"Later," continues the stele, "the king reigned in the city of Hariharālaya. The royal chaplain also settled in this city, and the members of his family were appointed to the corps of pages."

Hariharālaya corresponds to a group of ruins called the "Roluos group," situated some fifteen kilometers southeast of Siem Reap and including a monument, Lolei, the name of which is vaguely reminiscent of the old name Hariharālaya.¹³ On this site were many edifices belonging to pre-Angkorian art: Jayavarman II was, by and large, content to make repairs on them, al-

though the construction of some new edifices can be attributed to him.¹⁴

"Afterwards," 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."

In 1924 Georges Groslier¹⁵ attempted to revive an old hypothesis of Etienne Aymonier¹⁶ and identify Amarendrapura with the great temple of Banteay Ch'mar, but it is now known that this monument does not date farther back than the twelfth century. The geographic arguments advanced for locating Amarendrapura in the northwest of Cambodia are still of some value; however, this region does not possess monuments that can be attributed by their architectural or decorative style to the reign of Jayavarman II. And it is not clear why, after having begun to establish himself in Angkor, he would have chosen another area that was so distant from the Lake and that must always have been relatively barren. On the other hand, the terrain along the western bank of the Western Baray has revealed a series of walls associated with edifices whose style places them at the very beginning of Angkor art, before the art of the Kulèn; it is possible that this group, if it does not represent the Indrapura mentioned above, corresponds in part to the city of Amarendrapura founded by Jayavarman II.¹⁷

"Then," continues the inscription, "the king went to reign at Mahendraparvata, and the Lord Śivakaivalya followed him, establishing himself in this capital to serve the king as before. Then a Brahman named Hiraṇyadāma, learned in the magical science, came from Janapada¹⁸ at the king's invitation to perform a ritual designed to ensure that the country of the Kambujas would no longer be dependent on Java and that there would be no more than one sovereign who was *chakravartin* [universal monarch]. This Brahman performed a ritual according to the sacred *Vināśikha* and established a Lord of the Universe who was the king [Sanskrit: *devarāja*]. This Brahman taught the sacred *Vināśikha*, the *Nayottara*, the *Sammoha*, and the *Śiraccheda*. He 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 Brahman Hiraṇyadāma 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 Śivakaivalya, the chief priest [*purohita*], assigned all his relatives to this cult."

Mahendraparvata (i.e., Mount Mahendra) has long been identified with Phnom Kulèn, the sandstone plateau that dominates the northern part of the Angkor Plain.¹⁹ Recent researches²⁰ have revealed an archaeological group there that undoubtedly shows the skeleton of the religious edifices of the city of Jayavarman II, for its style²¹ lies between that of the last pre-Angkorian monuments and that of the first edifices of Angkor art, grouped not so long ago under the designation of the art of Indravarman.²² It is worthwhile to dwell a moment on what happened at Phnom Kulèn, the more so since Jean Filliozat²³ has shown recently that, in southern India, Mount Mahendra was considered the residence of Siva as king of all the gods (*devarāja*), including Indra Devarāja, and as sovereign of the country where the mountain stands.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the Śailendras of Java appear to have claimed for themselves the title of universal emperor which had belonged in other times to the kings of Funan. This could explain the method that Jayavarman II, upon his return from Java,²⁴ used to restore his authority over Cambodia at the beginning of the ninth century. In order to free himself from the vassalage of the "king of the mountain," whose very title conveys the quality of *mahārāja* or *chakravartin*, it was necessary that he become one himself, receiving from a Brahman, on a mountain, the miraculous linga in which resided henceforth the royal power of the Khmer kings. This was why he established his capital on Mount Mahendra (Phnom Kulèn) and summoned a Brahman who instituted the ritual of Devarāja and taught it to the chaplain "so that the country of the Kambujas would no longer be dependent on Java and so that there would be no more than one sovereign [in this kingdom] who would be *chakravartin*."

If the more or less effective sovereignty of distant Java had been nothing but the result of the expeditions at the end of the preceding century, there would have been no need, it would seem, for all these ceremonies to achieve liberation. But if the Śailendras of Java exercised sovereignty as heirs of the old owners of the soil, that was a different matter, and a new ritual associated with a new mountain became necessary.²⁵

In the Indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia, the Hindu cults developed even further a tendency they had already shown

in India and eventually became royal cults. This was particularly true of the worship of Siva. The essence of royalty, or, as some texts say, the "*moi subtil*" of the king,²⁶ was supposed to reside in a linga placed on a pyramid in the center of the royal city, which was itself supposed to be the axis of the world.²⁷ This miraculous linga, a sort of palladium of the kingdom, was thought to have been obtained from Siva through a Brahman who delivered it to the king, founder of the dynasty.²⁸ The communion between the king and the god through the medium of a priest took place on the sacred mountain, which could be either natural or artificial.

Since the only monument at Phnom Kulèn 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 center of their subsequent capitals.²⁹

The ritual of the Devarāja established by the Brahman Hiraṇyadāma was based on four texts—*Vināśikha*, *Nayottara*, *Sam-moha*, and *Śiraccheda*—which the Sanskrit portion of the stele calls "the four faces of Tumburu." Louis Finot, in publishing the inscription,³⁰ expressed the opinion that these texts were of Tantric origin; two Indian scholars³¹ have confirmed this point of view by pointing out, in a bibliography of Nepal, a group of *tantras* that have titles somewhat analogous to these. They were supposed to have been uttered by the four mouths of Siva represented by the *gandharva* Tumburu, but we do not know their contents precisely enough to give us an idea of the ritual instituted on Phnom Kulèn. This does not prevent us from establishing a relationship, perhaps illusory, between the *Śiraccheda*, "the beheading," and the story of the decapitation of the king of Cambodia by the maharaja of Zābag reported by the Arab voyager.³² If the suzerainty of Java originated in an act of this sort, we can easily understand that the essential act of the ritual designed to end the subjection of Cambodia was the decapitation in effigy of the suzerain king. But another explanation is possible. A rite of suicide by self-decapitation designed to obtain a favor for a third party from the divinity is known in India.³³ It is possible that such a suicide, real or simulated, formed a part of the installation ceremonies of the Devarāja. In any case, the magical role of decapita-

tion, real or simulated, is too well known³⁴ for us to be surprised at finding it at the beginning of the kingdom of Angkor.

We might ask why Jayavarman II did not perform this rite at the beginning of his reign and why he waited until he had already resided in three capitals before declaring his independence. It was because he first had to conquer a part of the kingdom,³⁵ to "reassemble the land" divided among several chiefs, each of whom claimed to be a king, to strengthen his power, to defend himself against the Chams,³⁶ and to re-establish order before daring to let the miraculous linga, the source of sovereign power, descend onto the sacred mountain. His changes of capitals must have been accompanied by military operations, to which an inscription of the eleventh century alludes by saying that the king "ordered the chief officers to pacify all the districts."³⁷ Foremost among these officers was Pṛithivīnarendra, "burning like fire the troops of the enemies," to whom was entrusted the task of reconquering Malyang, i.e., the region south of Battambang.³⁸

In succeeding centuries, the establishment of Jayavarman II on Phnom Kulèn was considered a historical event marking the beginning of a new era: Jayavarman II is most often cited in the inscriptions as "the king who established his residence on the summit of Mount Mahendra." A number of families were to trace their first ancestor back to his reign, and several charters of endowment of land ownership attribute their origin to his reign.

We do not know the duration of Jayavarman II's stay on Kulèn. "Afterwards," the inscription continues, "the king returned to rule in the city of Hariharālaya and the Devarāja was brought back also; the chaplain and all his relatives officiated as before. The chaplain died during this reign. The king died in the city of Hariharālaya where the Devarāja resided."

Several monuments of the Rolôos group seem to date from the second stay of Jayavarman II at Hariharālaya.³⁹ As for the location of the royal residence, there seem to be two possibilities. It could correspond either to the large quadrangle called Prei Monti, the name of which is derived from the Sanskrit *maṇḍira* meaning precisely "royal palace," or to the quadrangle in the eastern district from which rise the towers of Preah Kô, funerary temple of Jayavarman II and of the ancestors of his second successor, Indravarman. This temple, following a custom of which there are other examples, might have been erected on the site of a royal residence.

Jayavarman II died at Hariharālaya in 850, after reigning 48 years.⁴⁰ He received the posthumous name of Paramesvara; this is the first definite example of the use of a name indicating deification for a sovereign of Cambodia.⁴⁴

Jayavarman II's reign made a profound impression on the country. Although his effective authority undoubtedly did not extend beyond the region of the Great Lake, Jayavarman II began the pacification and unification of the country. He sought the site of the future capital in a region near that inexhaustible fish-preserve that is the Tonle Sap, slightly beyond the limit of the annual inundations, about thirty kilometers from the sandstone quarries of Phnom Kulèn, and quite close to the passes giving access to the Khorat Plateau and to the Menam Basin. It remained for his grandnephew and third successor, Yaśovarman, to found there the city of Yaśodharapura, which remained the capital of the Khmer empire for 600 years.

Jayavarman II instituted the cult of the Devarāja in which the sanctuary in a pyramid, erected on a natural or artificial mountain and sheltering the linga of stone or precious metal in which the Devarāja of each reign resides, henceforth marks the center of the royal city: the Bakong at Hariharālaya (Rolôos), the Bakhèng in the first city of Angkor, the great pyramid at Koh Ker, the Phimeanakas, the Baphuon.⁴²

Art during the reign of Jayavarman II, who came from abroad but apparently was anxious to renew his connection with the national traditions, shows the transition between the art of the pre-Angkor period, to which the king was still closely attached, and that of the Angkor epoch, which owed to him some of its new forms. These forms were particularly influenced by the art of Champa and Java.⁴³

Jayavarman II was succeeded by his son Jayavardhana,⁴⁴ a great elephant hunter,⁴⁵ who continued to reside at Hariharālaya. This king, who reigned from 850 to 857 under the name of Jayavarman (III), did some building in the region of Angkor.⁴⁶ At his death he received the posthumous name of Vishṇuloka.

2. SOUTHERN CHAMPA: PANDURANGA FROM 802 TO 854

In Champa, the kings continued to reside in the southern provinces. Harivarman I succeeded his brother-in-law Indravarman I around 802.⁴⁷ In 803 he launched a successful expedition in the Chinese provinces; in 809 he renewed his campaign there with

less success. Around the same time, that is, at the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman II, Cambodia also appears to have suffered from attacks led by a Cham military leader, the Senāpati Pār.⁴⁸ Harivarman I was still reigning in 813⁴⁹ and probably in 817, a year in which the Senāpati made endowments at Po Nagar of Nha-trang. He was succeeded by his son Vikrāntavarman III, about whom we know only that he made a few endowments at Po Nagar of Nha-trang and at Po Nagar of Mong-dúc (854).⁵¹

3. BURMA: KINGDOMS OF P'IAO AND MI-CH'EN;
FOUNDATION OF PEGU (HĀṢAVATĪ) IN 825
AND OF PAGAN (ARIMADDANAPURA) IN 849

In Burma, China's subjection of Nanchao in 791⁵² led to the establishment of relations by land between China and the Pyu kingdom. In 802, the king Yung-ch'iang, surnamed K'un-mo-ch'ang, sent an embassy to China led by his brother (or his son) Sunandana.⁵³ Another was sent in 807.⁵⁴ The information on the kingdom of P'iao given in the accounts of these two embassies in the histories of the T'ang and the *Man Shu* is summarized in the following paragraph.⁵⁵

If the journey is short, the king travels in a palanquin of golden cord; if it is long, by elephant. He has several hundred wives and concubines. The wall of the capital, measuring 160 *li* in length, is made of green glazed brick and is protected by a moat lined with bricks; it is pierced by twelve gates and armed with towers at the corners. Its population includes several tens of thousands of families. The houses are roofed with lead and tin shingles. There are more than a hundred Buddhist monasteries, decorated with gold, silver, and many colors of paint and hung with embroidered cloth. In the palace of the king there are two bells, one gold and the other silver, that are struck in a certain way if the kingdom is threatened by invasion; the sounds the bells make are interpreted as presaging good luck or bad. Near the palace there is a statue of a large white elephant 100 feet high, in front of which all those who have grievances kneel, reflecting inwardly about the justice or injustice of their own causes. In case of public misfortunes, the king himself bows down before the elephant, burning incense and blaming himself for the offenses he has committed. The women pile their hair on top of their head, forming a large knot that they decorate with tin flowers,

pearls, and various stones. They all carry fans, and those of the upper class suspend five or six of them from their girdles. Young boys and girls have their heads completely shaved at seven years of age and are then placed in the temples and convents. They live there until their twentieth year, studying the religion of the Buddha, and then they re-enter the world. Their clothes consist only of a white cotton robe and a girdle whose red color imitates the shade of the clouds that surround the rising sun. They spurn the use of silk because it is necessary to take life in order to procure silk. The inhabitants of the country profess a love of life and a horror of killing. Neither shackles, manacles, nor any instruments of torture are used on accused persons, who are simply tied up. Those who are found guilty receive lashes of bamboo on the back: five blows for grave offenses, three for those less serious. Only murder is punished by death. They use neither tallow nor oil, and make candles of perfumed beeswax. They have silver crescent-shaped money. They carry on commerce with the neighboring nations, to which they sell white cloth and clay jars. They have their own special music and refined dances. (The Chinese sources give considerable detail about these.)

During the entire first half of the ninth century, Nanchao was master of Upper Burma. In 832, it abducted three thousand Pyus from the population of the capital Ha-lin to populate the eastern capital of Nanchao, Cha-tung, which corresponds to the modern Yunnan-fu (K'un-ming). This was the beginning of the Pyu decline.

The depopulation of Prome profited Pagan (Arimaddanapura), a city formed by the union of several villages, well situated close to the confluence of the Irrawaddy and the Chindwin, at the crossroads of the routes leading to Assam, Yunnan, and the region occupied today by the Shan states,⁵⁶ and not far from the rice plain of Kyaukse, which was the cradle of the Burmese and the center of the expansion of these racial brothers of the Pyus who followed the Pyus down from the confines of Tibet at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries.⁵⁷ This was also the place where the Burmese entered into contact with the Mons, who were established there in considerable numbers. The Mons taught them their Indic script and introduced them to the religions of India. Native chronicles date the origin of Pagan back to the second century and give a long list of chiefs of undeter-

mined authenticity; it was one of these, the monk usurper Poppa So-raham, who is supposed to have founded the Burmese era in 638.⁵⁸ Charles Duroiselle⁵⁹ believes that the "Ari" Buddhist sect, rich in Tantric rites including erotic practices, had penetrated to Pagan as early as the eighth century. But we do not hear the *araññika*, or "forest monks," spoken of before the beginning of the thirteenth century, and nothing indicates that at this time they professed any Mahayanist belief or that they practiced Tantric rites; their nonconformity was limited to partaking of meat and alcohol on the occasion of certain festivals.⁶⁰ In 849, Pagan entered definitively into history, if not in epigraphy at least in the annals, with the construction of its city walls by the king Pyinbya.

According to native chronicles, Pagan began as a group of nineteen villages, each possessing its "Nat," or local spirit. When these villages were fused into a single city, the king, in agreement with his subjects, sought to establish the cult of a common "Nat" that would be worshiped by all, which would become superior to the local spirits and the worship of which would unify the various tribes into a true nation. Mount Poppa, an ancient volcano situated not far from the city and already enjoying the veneration of the Burmese, was chosen as the place for the establishment of a pair of spirits: they were a brother and sister who, after, having been unjustly put to death by a neighboring king, were incarnated in a tree. This tree was cut down and floated to Pagan, and the images of Min Mahāgiri, "Lord of the Great Mountain," and of his sister Taunggyi Shin, whose name has the same meaning in Burmese, were carved from its trunk. This legend is interesting because it shows the establishment of a cult of a spirit on a mountain in order to achieve religious and territorial unification and the birth of a nation.⁶¹

At the beginning of the ninth century, the *New History of the T'ang* mentions among the vassal states of P'iao the kingdom of Mi-ch'en, which sent an embassy to China in 805⁶² and was a victim of Nanchao aggression in 835.⁶³ According to an itinerary given in the same text,⁶⁴ Mi-ch'en must have been situated on the Gulf of Martaban, perhaps in the region of old Pegu.⁶⁵

In this period, the center of gravity of the kingdom of Rāmaññadesa, that is, the Mon country,⁶⁶ shifted to the west: a chronicle gives 825 as the date for the foundation of Pegu (Haṃṡavati) by Samala and Vimala, twin brothers from Thaton.⁶⁷ This

date seems to be preferable to the earlier or later dates furnished by other texts.⁶⁸ The chronicles of Pegu, like those of Pagan, give lists of kings⁶⁹ which are impossible to verify. The importance of the Brahmanic remains in lower Burma proves that before this period Buddhism was not the dominant religion. The conversion of the heretic King Tissa to Buddhism was to be accomplished by the queen, who originally came from Martaban.⁷⁰

4. THE MALAY PENINSULA

On the Malay Peninsula, the only document that can be attributed to the first half of the ninth century was found at Takuapa, not far from the Vishnuite statues of Khao Phra Narai, which are perhaps contemporaneous.⁷¹ It is a short inscription in Tamil indicating that an artificial lake named Avani-nāraṇam was dug by Nangur-udaiyan (which, according to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, is the name of an individual who possessed a military fief at Nangur, a village in Tanjore district, and who was famous for his abilities as a warrior) and that the lake was placed under the protection of the members of the Manikkiramam (which, according to Nilakanta Sastri, was a merchant guild) living in the military camp.⁷² Since Avani-nārāyaṇa is a surname of the Pallava king Nandivarman III who reigned from 826 to 849,⁷³ we can deduce the approximate date of this inscription. The inscription merits mention, since it, along with the inscription of Labu Tuwa on Sumatra dated 1088,⁷⁴ is one of the few documents composed in one of the vernaculars of India that has been found in Farther India. These two inscriptions alluding to the commercial activities of guilds known in southern India provide an interesting indication of the nature and geographic origin of the relations between India and Southeast Asia.

5. THE ŚAILENDRAS IN JAVA AND SUMATRA FROM 813 TO 863

Chinese sources list the last embassies of Ho-ling in 813 or 815 and in 818;⁷⁵ embassies of 820 and 831 are attributed to She-p'ō.⁷⁶ She-p'ō, which in the fifth century, it will be recalled, designated all or part of the island of Java,⁷⁷ was in the eighth century the name of the capital of Ho-ling. This capital was abandoned between 742 and 755 for P'o-lu-chia-ssu, situated farther east.⁷⁸ This change of capital was the result of the rise of the Buddhist Śailendras in central Java. The reappearance of She-p'ō

in 820 can be interpreted either as the reunion of the center and the east under the aegis of the Śailendras or, more probably, as the return to power in the center of the island of Sivaite princes who had migrated to the east.

We know little about the successors of Panangkaran, founder of Kalasan, except their names. The inscription of Balitung of 907 already cited⁷⁹ lists, without telling us their genealogical relations, the Maharajas Panungalan, Warak, and Garung. Garung, about whom we have an inscription dated 819,⁸⁰ perhaps took religious vows, which would explain his name Patapān in an inscription of 850.⁸¹

In 824 the ruler was Samaratunga.⁸² Samaratunga is not included in the list of the inscription of 907 because he was one of the Śailendra sovereigns of the Sanjaya dynasty of which Balitung was the heir. Perhaps, in view of the resemblance of the names, we can identify him with Samarāgravīra, brother of the Śailendra king of Java mentioned in the Charter of Nālandā.⁸³

The next to the last king mentioned in the inscription of 907 is Pikatan, for whom we have an inscription dated 850.⁸⁴ According to J. G. de Casparis, he may have begun reigning around 842. He seems also to have been known under the names of Kumbhayoni and Jātingrat.⁸⁵ He married the Princess Prāmodavardhanī, a daughter of the Śailendra Samaratunga, who was himself the husband of the princess Tārā of Śrīvijaya. The salient fact about the reign of Pikatan was his conflict with his brother-in-law Bālaputra, "younger son" of Samarāgravīra, also known as Samaratunga. Pikatan's victory over Bālaputra in 856⁸⁶ was apparently the reason why Bālaputra moved to Śrīvijaya, the country of his mother Tārā. The Charter of Nālandā (ca. 860) informs us that Śrīvijaya at this time was governed by the "younger son" (*Bālaputra*) of Samarāgravīra.⁸⁷ Thus, the earliest mention of the maharaja of Zābag (Jāvaka) by an Arab author (Ibn Khordāzbeh)⁸⁸ refers to a Śailendra reigning in Java rather than to a Śailendra of Sumatra, as will be the case later.

But the decline of power of the Śailendras at the center of Java, accompanied by a renewal of Hinduist worship there that is indicated by an inscription coming from the vicinity of Prambanan (863),⁸⁹ resulted in the strengthening of the power of the Śailendras in Sumatra. This growth of Śailendran power in Sumatra is reflected in the Arab and Persian sources. It is certain in fact that in the

tenth century Zābag corresponded to the San-fo-ch'i of the Chinese, that is, to the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya.

All that we know about Śrīvijaya around the middle of the ninth century⁹⁰ is—and here I repeat some information from the preceding chapter—that the "mahārāja of Suvarṇadvīpa" was a "younger son" (*Bālaputra*) of the king of Java Samarāgravīra (i.e., Samaratunga) and a grandson of the Śailendra "king of Java and killer of enemy heroes" who was probably the Sangrāmadhananjaya of the inscription of Kelurak, that is, the Śailendra mentioned on the second face of the Ligor stele. Through his mother Tārā, he was grandson of a King Dharmasetu—a king whom one scholar has sought to identify with Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal⁹¹ but who was much more probably the king of Śrīvijaya who built the sanctuary that prompted the inscription on the first face of the Ligor stele.⁹² This Bālaputra was undoubtedly the first Śailendra sovereign of Śrīvijaya. He had a monastery built in India, at Nālandā,⁹³ to which the king Devapāla, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign (ca. 860),⁹⁴ offered many villages. This donation was the subject of a charter containing the genealogical information that has been incorporated in the preceding pages.

THE FLOWERING OF THE KINGDOMS OF ANGKOR AND ŚRĪVIJAYA

*From the End of the Ninth Century
to the Beginning of the Eleventh Century*

1. THE KINGDOM OF ANGKOR (877–1001)

After the somewhat surprising silence of Jayavarman II and Jayavarman III, Indravarman, who came to power in 877, resumed the epigraphic tradition of his predecessors of the pre-Angkorian period. Perhaps we owe this fortunate circumstance to the influence of his spiritual master, the Brahman Śivasoma, a relative of Jayavarman II¹ and a disciple of the famous Hindu philosopher Śankarāchārya, the restorer of orthodox Brahmanism.² Apparently, Indravarman was not related to his two predecessors. Genealogists of the following reigns tried after a fashion to make him the grandson or grandnephew of the parents of Jayavarman II's wife,³ but this claim did not appear in any of his inscriptions. He was son of a King Pṛithivīndravarman and, on his mother's side, great-grandson of a King Nṛipatīndravarman; we know nothing else about these so-called sovereigns.⁴ Through his wife Indradevī, descendant of Pushkarāksha, he undoubtedly acquired rights over Śambhupura, where his two predecessors may not have exercised effective sovereignty. He continued to reside at Hariharālaya (Rolúos), and in the first year of his reign, in 877, he undertook to construct north of the capital the Indrataṭāka, the great artificial lake, which is now dry and in the center of which the monument of Lolei was later built. The lake served practical as well as ritual purposes: it was a reservoir for irrigation during the dry season. Thus, Indravarman set an example for his successors, whom we will see exercising great care in the planning of larger and larger reservoirs designed to retain running water during the rainy season and to distribute it at the proper time to the rice fields surrounding the capital.⁵ In 879, he dedicated the six stuccoed brick towers of Preah Kô⁶ to statues of his parents, his maternal grandparents, and Jayavarman II and his wife, deified in the forms of Siva and Devī.⁷ Finally, in 881, he inaugurated the first great monument in

stone, built for the royal linga Indreśvara, the name of which linked, according to custom, the name of the god Íśvara (Siva) with that of the founding king. This was the pyramid of Bakong,⁸ south of Preah Kô.

Indravarman's rather short reign seems to have been peaceful. His authority extended from the region of Chaudoc, where he dedicated a *vimana* to Siva in the old sanctuary of Phnom Bayang,⁹ to the region northwest of Ubon, from which comes a Buddhist inscription of 886 mentioning him as the reigning king.¹⁰ His teacher Śivasoma affirms that with regard to external affairs "his rule was like a crown of jasmine on the lofty heads of the kings of China, Champa and Java,"¹¹ a claim that is certainly greatly exaggerated but gives some idea of the diplomatic horizon of Cambodia in this period.

At his death in 889, Indravarman received the posthumous name Íśvaraloka. He was succeeded by his son Yaśovardhana, whose mother Indradevī was a descendant of the ancient royal families of Vyādhapura (Funan), Śambhupura, and Aninditapura. The new king thus restored the pre-Angkorian legitimacy¹² which had been interrupted by the reigns of Jayavarman II and III and of Indravarman. Moreover, his teacher was the Brahman Vāmaśiva, who belonged to the powerful priestly family assigned by Jayavarman II to the cult of the Devarāja¹³ and who was connected, through his master Śivasoma, to the great Hindu philosopher Śankarāchārya.

The reign of Yaśovardhana I lived up to the promises of this double ancestry, and the building program he realized was later to serve as a model to his successors.

The very year of his accession, 889, he had about a hundred monasteries (*āśrama*) built in the various provinces of his kingdom, near ancient sanctuaries or at places of frequent pilgrimage. Each monastery had a royal pavilion (*rājakuṭī*) reserved for the sovereign during his travels.¹⁴ We know a dozen locations of these lightly constructed monasteries, each marked by the presence of a stele bearing a Sanskrit inscription in ordinary characters on one face and on the other face the same text in a script of northern India (pre-Nāgarī) similar to the script introduced in Java a century earlier.¹⁵ The text of all of these "stone posters," as Bergaigne has called them, is basically the same, differing from one stele to another only in the name of the divinity to which the monastery

was dedicated. After a detailed genealogy of Yaśovarman, and a eulogy of this king who, if the panegyrist is to be believed, combined physical power and skill with the highest degree of intelligence, the inscriptions give the rules of the monasteries, uniformly called Yaśodharāśrama, in the form of a royal ordinance (*śāsana*).

In 893, Yaśovarman erected a sanctuary in the middle of the Indrataṭāka, the great artificial lake dug by his father north of the capital. The sanctuary was composed of four brick towers designed, like those of Preah Kô, to shelter the statues of the king's parents and grandparents;¹⁶ it is the monument known today under the name Lolei, which seems to recall, as I have said earlier, the name of Hariharālaya.

Yaśovarman did not reside in this capital for long, and it is possible that from the moment of his accession he had planned to move the sanctuary of the Devarāja and the seat of the temporal power: "Then," says the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom,¹⁷ "the king founded the city of Yaśodharapura and took the Devarāja away from Hariharālaya to establish it in this capital. Then the king erected the Central Mountain. The Lord of Śivāśrama [surname of the teacher Vāmaśiva] erected the sacred linga in the middle."

For a long time it was thought that this text referred to the foundation of Angkor Thom and of the Bayon. But Philippe Stern, in a monograph that has become a classic,¹⁸ has proved that it is impossible that a monument built and decorated the way the Bayon is could date back to the end of the ninth century, and I for my part have shown that Angkor Thom as it appears today was built not earlier than the end of the twelfth century.¹⁹ The city founded by Yaśovarman has been identified by Victor Goloubew with a vast quadrangle bounded on the west and south sides by a still visible double wall of earth and a moat now transformed into rice fields and on the east side by the river of Siem Reap, which was deflected from its original course.²⁰ The center of the quadrangle is marked by the hill Phnom Bakhèng, crowned by a pyramidal structure built in a style that is certainly of this period; an inscription indicates that it sheltered the linga Yaśodhareśvara.²¹

What reasons provoked this relocation of the capital and determined the choice of the new location?

The site of Hariharālaya, crowded with monuments built during the preceding reigns, undoubtedly did not lend itself to the

realization of the urban projects of the young king. Besides, if, as I believe, the temple of the loyal linga had to become the mausoleum of its founder, it had to be rebuilt at each change of reign, at the same time that the linga changed names or was replaced by a new linga.²² That Yaśovarman might want to surpass his father's Indreśvara by constructing a temple for the linga Yaśodhareśvara on a natural hill would be in no way surprising. Now, of the three hills he had to choose from in the vicinity of Hariharālaya, Phnom Bok was too high and awkward to mark the center of a city, and Phnom Krom was too close to the Great Lake. There remained Phnom Bakhèng. The height and dimensions of Phnom Bakhèng were well suited to the king's purpose, and this is undoubtedly why he chose it. He was satisfied to construct a triple sanctuary dedicated to the Trimūrti on each of the other two hills.²³

At the same time that Yaśovarman laid out his capital and connected it to the old one by a road which went from its eastern entrance to the northeastern corner of the Indrataṭāka, the artificial lake dug by his father, he constructed another artificial lake, an immense reservoir measuring seven kilometers long and 1800 meters wide, northeast of the new city. This reservoir, named Yaśodharataṭāka, was bordered by a strong earthen levee, in the four corners of which Yaśovarman placed steles with long Sanskrit inscriptions in pre-Nāgarī script reproducing his genealogy, developing his panegyric, and exalting his work.²⁴ On the southern bank of this immense body of water, now dry and known by the name Eastern Baray, the king had a series of monasteries built for the various sects²⁵ that his religious eclecticism permitted him to divide his favors among: the Sivaite Brāhmaṇāśrama for the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, and the Tapasvins;²⁶ the Vishnuite Vaishṇavāśrama for the Pāncharātras, the Bhāgavatas, and the Sāttvatas;²⁷ and perhaps also a Buddhist Saugatāśrama, the stele of which, moved from its original site, has been found at Tép Pranam in Angkor Thom.²⁸

It was also during the reign of Yaśovarman that construction was begun on the Sivaite temples of Śikhariśvara ("the Siva of the summit") at Preah Vihear and of Bhadreśvara at Śivapura (Phnom Sandak).²⁹

The foundation of Yaśodharapura, on the site that was to remain the capital of Cambodia until the fifteenth century, must suffice to illustrate the reign of Yaśovarman, since the political

history of his reign is largely unknown. His two-script inscriptions cover a vast area, extending from lower Laos in the north³⁰ to the coast of the Gulf of Siam between the regions of Čhantabun³¹ and of Hatien in the south.³² A campaign in Champa that was attributed to him not long ago on the basis of a text of the twelfth century really took place in the twelfth century.³³ The boundaries assigned to Yaśovarman's kingdom by an inscription of his nephew Rājendravarman³⁴ are the Sūkshma-Kāmratas (on the coast of Burma), the sea (Gulf of Siam), Champa, and China. The "China" must mean Nanchao, which a Chinese text expressly mentions as bordering Cambodia in the second half of the ninth century.³⁵ The mention of a naval victory "over thousands of barks with white sails"³⁶ may refer to the Chams, or perhaps to some new Indonesian raid.

Yaśovarman's reign ended around 900,³⁷ and he received the posthumous name Paramaśivaloka.³⁸

We know very little about his two sons who succeeded him.

The elder, Harshavarman I, who made a donation in 912 in the ancient capital of Funan,³⁹ was the founder of the little temple-mountain of Baksei Chamkrong at the foot of Phnom Bakhèng.⁴⁰ He was undoubtedly still reigning in 922.⁴¹ At his death, which followed shortly afterwards, he received the posthumous name Rudraloka.

About the younger brother, Īśānavarman II, we know scarcely anything except his posthumous name Paramarudraloka. He apparently was reigning in 925,⁴² but it is stated that in 921⁴³ one of his maternal uncles "left the city of Yaśodharapura to reign at Ch'ok Gargyar, taking the Devarāja with him."⁴⁴ It seems likely that there was a usurpation on the part of this uncle, who reigned under the name Jayavarman (IV). A later text gives the date of this uncle's accession as 928.⁴⁵ This was perhaps the date of the death of Īśānavarman II, thanks to which the uncle was finally able to play the part of a legitimate sovereign.

Jayavarman IV built his new residence on the present-day site of Koh Ker,⁴⁶ in the vicinity of a large body of water designed by him. He decorated this site with monuments of colossal dimensions;⁴⁷ the most remarkable of these is the great five-stepped pyramid, on the summit of which one still finds the pedestal of the royal linga Tribhuvaneśvara. The inscriptions designate this linga by the name *kamrateng jagat ta rājya*, "the god who is the

royalty," and describe the raising of the linga to the height of thirty-five meters as an unparalleled wonder.⁴⁸ About twenty years after the construction of this splendid edifice, which undoubtedly constitutes an innovation in the conception of the Devarāja,⁴⁹ the new capital was abandoned in its turn in favor of the old.

Jayavarman IV—whose posthumous name was Paramaśivapada—married a sister of Yaśovarman, Jayadevi,⁵⁰ by whom he had a son who succeeded him in 941⁵¹ under the name Harshavarman II. Harshavarman II—whose posthumous name was Brahmalo—reigned only two or three years.

Another sister of Yaśovarman, an older sister named Mahendradevi, had married a certain Mahendrarvarman whom the genealogists connect to the remote dynasties of pre-Angkorian Cambodia in a loose and highly suspect fashion.⁵² He was chief of Bhavapura, that is, of the nucleus of ancient Chenla,⁵³ which had continued to lead an independent existence after the death of Jayavarman I. A son, Rājendravarman, was born of this union. Rājendravarman was thus at the same time nephew of Jayavarman IV and of Yaśovarman and the elder cousin (the inscriptions say "brother") of Harshavarman II.

The death of Harshavarman II, from natural causes or otherwise, when he was still a child,⁵⁴ brought Rājendravarman to power. Rājendravarman was 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 applied himself immediately to resuming the Angkorian tradition by returning to establish himself at Yaśodharapura, bringing back the Devarāja.⁵⁵ "Just as Kuśa [son of Rāma and Sītā] had done for Ayodhyā, he restored the sacred city of Yaśodharapurī, 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 of Mahendra on earth."⁵⁶ Perhaps this passage refers to a first state of the Phimeanakas, which is situated, as has been noted,⁵⁷ at the intersection of the north-south axis of Yaśodharapura (centered at Phnom Bakhèng) and the east-west axis of the Yaśodharataṭāka (Eastern Baray)—therefore, at the intersection of the axes of the two great accomplishments of Yaśovarman.

Following the example of Yaśovarman, who had built the sanctuary of Lolei, consecrated to the memory of his parents deified in the forms of Siva and Umā, in the middle of the Indrataṭāka dug

by his father Indravarman,⁵⁸ Rājendravarman in 952 built a temple known as the Eastern Mébon in the middle of the Yaśodharataṭāka dug by his uncle Yaśovarman. In its five brick towers, arranged in a quincunx, he placed statues of his parents in the forms of Siva and Umā, statues of Vishnu and Brahma, and, in the center, the royal linga Rājendreśvara (perhaps placed here until it was possible to consecrate a special temple to it in the restored city). This complex was surrounded, as at Bakong, by eight towers sheltering eight lingas of Siva.⁵⁹ Nine years later, in 961, perhaps this time in imitation of Preah Kō, built south of the Indrataṭāka, he built, to the south of Yaśodharataṭāka, the temple-mountain of Prè Rup, comprising (1) in the center, the linga 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 Ph'ū, cradle of the Kambujas;⁶⁰ (2) in the four corner towers of the upper terrace, another linga named Rājendravarmeśvara, "erected in view of the prosperity of the king and as if this were his own royal essence," an image of Vishṇu Rājendraviśvarūpa in memory of his early ancestors, a Śiva Rājendravarmadeveśvara in memory of his predecessor Harshavarman II, and an Umā on behalf of his aunt Jayadevī, mother of Harshavarman II; and (3) the eight forms (*mūrti*) of Siva.⁶¹

The monuments that are associated with the name of Rājendravarman or that date from his reign are numerous.⁶² Most of them were sponsored by officials or high-ranking Brahmans 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's reign we must cite in first place the Rājakulamahāmantri, "great adviser of the royal family," who seems to have played the role of a regent or prime minister;⁶³ the Brahman Śivāchārya, who had been in the service of the kings since Īśānavarman II as a *hotar* (royal chaplain);⁶⁴ and finally the emissary (*chāra*) Kavīndrārimathana, whom the king charged with the construction of his palace and of the sanctuary known as the Eastern Mébon.⁶⁵ Kavīndrārimathana was a Buddhist, and 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. These inscriptions stand chronologically between the stele of Tép Pranam, which tells of the construction of a Buddhist āśrama by Yaśovarman,⁶⁶ and the stele of Vat Sithor.⁶⁷ They prove the continuity, in certain quarters, of Mahayanist Buddhism, from whose adherents the Sivaite sovereigns did not disdain to recruit their officials.

All that epigraphy tells us about the political history of Cambodia under Rājendravarman is that "his brilliance burned the enemy kingdoms beginning with Champa";⁶⁸ this is probably an allusion to the expedition that he sent to Champa about 950, in the course of which, as we shall see presently,⁶⁹ the Khmer armies removed the gold statue from the temple of Po Nagar at Nha-trang.

Rājendravarman's reign ended in 968, and he received the posthumous name of Śivaloka. In the last year of his reign, 967, the temple of Tribhuvanamaheśvara at Īsvarapura (Banteay Srei) was founded by Yajñavarāha, a grandson of Harshavarman I who, in the Khmer text of the stele of Banteay Srei, is known as "holy teacher," i.e. (*Steng An'*) Vraḥ Guru.⁷⁰ It is possible that this was the Brahman scholar who was promoted in the following reign to the dignity of *Kamrateng an' Vraḥ Guru*. In any case, a high dignitary bearing this title appears in numerous inscriptions of Jayavarman V and seems to have played a leading role at the beginning of the reign.

Jayavarman V, son of Rājendravarman, was in fact very young when he came to power in 968, for it was not until six years later, in 974, that he finished his studies under the direction of the Vraḥ Guru.⁷¹ His reign of about thirty years, the political history of which is as little known as that of the preceding reigns, was occupied in part by the construction of a new residence, named Jayendranagarī, work on which was in progress in 978.⁷² Its center was distinguished by the "gold mountain" or the "gold horn" (*Hemagiri, Hemaśringagiri*, classical designations of Meru). We are tempted to place this "gold mountain" at Ta Kèo, an incomplete temple-mountain situated west of the western bank of the Eastern Baray,⁷³ but this monument cannot be earlier than the first years of the eleventh century.

Jayavarman V gave his sister Indralakshmi in marriage to the Indian Brahman Divākarabhaṭṭa, who had been born in India on the banks of the Yamunā and who was the builder of various Sivaite structures.⁷⁴ During Jayavarman V's reign we see two "for-

eign" Brahmins (*paradeśa*), undoubtedly Indians, buying land and founding Sivaite sanctuaries on it.⁷⁵ The great dignitaries revealed by the inscriptions were, in general, like the king himself, adherents of the official Sivaism. But, as during preceding reigns, Buddhism continued to be practiced by some officials of high rank. The inscriptions⁷⁶ give some idea of this Buddhism. From the doctrinal point of view, it presented itself as the heir of the Yogācāra school⁷⁷ and the representative of the "pure doctrines of the void and of subjectivity" restored in Cambodia by the efforts of Kīrtipaṇḍita, but in practice it borrowed part of its terminology from Hinduist rituals and involved above all the worship of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara.⁷⁸

Jayavarman V died in 1001 and received the posthumous name Paramavīraloka. He was succeeded by his nephew Udayā-dityavarman I, who reigned only a few months.⁷⁹

The reigns from Indravarman to Jayavarman V, which occupied more than a century, constituted on the whole a period of grandeur that corresponded in part to a period of anarchy in the history of China lasting through the end of the T'ang and throughout the Five Dynasties. During this stable period of its history, Angkorian civilization, which was to play such an important role in the cultural evolution of the central Indochinese Peninsula and the brilliance of which was to exercise such a great influence on the Thai kingdoms of the Mekong and the Menam, assumed a distinctive form and fixed the characteristics that were to remain its own until its decline in the fourteenth century. It is not my intention to describe this civilization in detail here—especially since the work has already been started by Etienne Aymonier with the sources he has at his command.⁸⁰ Inscriptions by their very nature are incomplete sources; they tell us nothing directly about the life of the people, their material civilization,⁸¹ their beliefs and customs. We must wait until the end of the thirteenth century, until the eve of Cambodia's decline, to find a living picture of Cambodia and its inhabitants in the account of the Chinese envoy Chou Ta-kuan. The inscriptions from the ninth to eleventh centuries tell us mostly about the high clergy of the official religion and the world of the court insofar as their activity was oriented toward the construction of religious edifices. No archives or documents written on hides or palm leaves are extant, and because all Khmer monuments, except for a few bridges, are

religious edifices, the inscriptions engraved on these monuments are above all religious in character and we are obliged to study Angkorian civilization through this distorting mirror.

The king,⁸² "master of all from the highest to the lowest," was the pivot of the whole political organization of the state, the source and sum of all authority. But we must not go so far as to represent the sovereign reigning at Angkor as an absolute despot, ruling only to suit his own pleasure. On the contrary, he was bound by the rules of the princely caste and by the maxims of policy and royal conduct; he was the guardian of the law and established order, the final judge of cases litigants wished to submit to his decision.⁸³ The inscriptions, which by their very nature inform us mostly about the religious side of Khmer civilization, represent the king as the protector of religion, the preserver of religious establishments that were entrusted to his care by donors. He performs the sacrifices and all the ritual ceremonies that are expected to bring divine favor to the country, defends it against foreign enemies, and insures domestic peace by imposing on everyone the obligation to respect the social order, that is, the division between the various castes or corporate bodies. We do not know for certain whether he was considered the ultimate owner of all the land of his kingdom, but we see him distributing unoccupied land and confirming land transactions. The sovereign, for whom reigning consists of "devouring the kingdom" (as a governor "devours" his province), appears less as an administrator than as a god on earth. His capital, with its walls and its moat, represents the universe in miniature, surrounded by the chain of mountains of Chakravāḷa and by the ocean.⁸⁴ Its center is marked by a temple-mountain that represents Meru, and on the summit of this temple-mountain is the Devarāja (*kamrateng jagat ta rājya*), the royal linga received from Siva through the intermediary of a Brahman.⁸⁵ We do not know whether this linga that contained the "royal essence," the "*moi subtil*" of the king, remained the same linga throughout the successive reigns⁸⁶ or whether, on the other hand, each of the various lingas consecrated by the kings upon their accession and bearing their names (Indreśvara, Yaśodhareśvara, Rājendreśvara, etc.) was in its turn the Devarāja. Each king who had the time and means built his temple-mountain in the center of his capital, and we have some reason to think that at his death this personal temple became his mausoleum.⁸⁷ When he died, the sovereign re-

ceived a posthumous name indicating the heaven (*svargata*) to which he had gone and the god in whom he had been absorbed.

The government of the country was in the hands of an aristocratic oligarchy, and the great offices were held by members of the royal family. The offices of chaplain of the king, officiating priest of the Devarāja, and tutor of the young princes were reserved to members of great priestly families, within which offices were transmitted in the female line, the normal heir being the son of the sister or the younger brother. The Brahmanic families were often related to the royal family: the marriages between Brahmins and Kshatriyas seem to have been frequent, these two castes, representing the intellectual element and Indian culture, constituting a class separate from and superior to the masses. We need not conclude, however, that this aristocracy was different racially from the rest of the population; Khmer names were common among the royal family and even among the priests. The inscriptions emanating from this aristocracy, the only literary works that have come down to us, give an idea of the extent of its Sanskrit culture, which must have been renewed from time to time by the arrival of Brahmins from India, already noted.

The inscriptions inform us of a whole hierarchy of officials, which implies a highly developed administration. There were ministers, army leaders, advisers, inspectors, provincial heads, district heads, village chiefs, chiefs of the population, chiefs of warehouses, chiefs of corvée labor, and many other officials whose titles are more or less clear. These officials were divided into four categories, but these categories are not clearly defined.

We know very little about the life of the peasants and the villagers except that they must have been impressed in great numbers as servants in the service of the sanctuaries and monasteries or hermitages with which the piety of the ruling classes continually covered the countryside. The inscriptions give interminable lists of names of these slaves about whom we know nothing but their names, which are often very uncomplimentary epithets ("dog," "cat," "detestable," "stinking") that signify the scorn in which these people were held. These names have weathered the ravages of time and been passed on to posterity.

The religion of the governing classes was never unified.⁸⁸ In the ninth and tenth centuries, Sivaism predominated. It was not

until the twelfth century that, parallel to what was then occurring in India, Vishnuism became powerful enough to give rise to great establishments of the importance of Angkor Wat. Buddhism always had some adherents, and we shall see great kings like Sūryavarman I and especially Jayavarman VII sponsor it officially in the following centuries. This reciprocal tolerance, moving at times toward a true syncretism, which was expressed in sculpture and epigraphy⁸⁹ and was not peculiar to Cambodia,⁹⁰ is explained by the very structure of society in Farther India. As Sylvain Lévi has rightly observed: "In the Indochinese Peninsula, in Indonesia, the presence of the Brahmanic religion in no way threatened the existence of Buddhism. Sivaism and Vishnuism, like Buddhism, were imported things, foreign to the land. The kings, the court, the nobility, were able to adopt them as an elegant and refined culture; it was not a civilization that penetrated deeply into the masses. Social life there continued on without regard to Manu and the other Brahmanic codes. But in India it was otherwise: *Brahmanism was responsible for social order*; the two were identical."⁹¹ This explains India's intolerance with regard to Buddhism, a phenomenon of which there is no evidence in Cambodia until the thirteenth century, after the Buddhist fervor of Jayavarman VII.⁹²

From the ninth to the end of the twelfth century, an uninterrupted line of evidence shows the existence of worship of images that have the attributes of great figures of the Brahmanic and Buddhist pantheons but bear names that recall the titles and appearance of human beings—dead or even living.

Only a few of the innumerable statues of Vishnu, Siva, Harihara, Lakshmi, and Pārvatī and of the Bodhisattvas that ancient Cambodia has bequeathed us are "impersonal" representations of these great figures of the Indian pantheon. The great majority of these images are of kings, princes, or great dignitaries represented with the traits of the god into which they have been or will be absorbed at the end of their earthly existence. The names borne by the statues, usually composed by fusing the name of the human counterpart with that of the god, indicate strongly that what is involved here is a personal cult.⁹³

Most of the great Khmer monuments were consecrated to this aristocratic cult. They did not originate from popular devotion;

they were royal, princely, or mandarin structures which served as mausoleums and in which the worship of deceased parents and ancestors was conducted. They were mausoleums that could be built even during the lifetime and under the direction of the individuals who were to be adored there.⁹⁴

The purpose of these structures explains their architectural symbolism.⁹⁵ The gods of India reside on the summits and move about in flying palaces. The use of the pyramid in architecture is evidently an attempt to evoke a mountain. For want of a high pyramid, five sanctuaries arranged in a quincunx recall the five summits of Mount Meru. As for the flying palaces, it is sufficient that a basement be decorated with *garuḍas* or birds forming atlantes for the idea to be suggested immediately.

Such are the essential traits of this civilization that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, with the temples of Kulèn, Rolûos, and Bakhèng and the great monuments of Koh Ker, Eastern Mébon, Prè Rup, Banteay Srei, and the Khleang, marks a high point from the artistic point of view that will be surpassed only by Angkor Wat.

We have no information about what happened in this period in the lower Menam Basin, site of the ancient kingdom of Dvāravatī. The sole document that comes from this area is a Sanskrit and Khmer inscription found on the island of Ayutthaya.⁹⁶ Dated the year 937, it tells about a line of princes of Chānāsapura:⁹⁷ the first of the line was the king Bhagadatta; then, after an undetermined number of generations, we hear of Sundaraparākrama, his son Sundaravarman, and finally the kings Narapatisiṃhavarman and Mangalavarman, both sons of Sundaravarman. Mangalavarman, the author of the inscription, consecrated a statue of Devī, a likeness of his mother. These names are not found in the epigraphy of Cambodia, but the inscription in the Khmer language, which gives a list of slaves, proves that three-quarters of a century before the area was incorporated into Cambodia the Khmers had replaced the Mon population that had occupied it in the seventh century.⁹⁸

2. THE CHAM DYNASTY OF INDRAPURA

In Champa in 875, after a twenty-year gap in documentation, we are suddenly presented with a new dynasty reigning in the north,⁹⁹ at Indrapura in the modern province of Quang-nam, and at the same time the Chinese historians change the name of the

country once more—this time to Chan-ch'eng,¹⁰⁰ "the Chan city" (Champāpura).

The founder of the dynasty of Indrapura, who took the name of Indravarman (II) at his accession, was called by his personal name Lakshmindra Bhūmiśvara Grāmasvāmin. This was done so that he could pass for a descendant of the mythical ancestor Uroja; cloaking his grandfather Rudravarman and his father Bhadravarman with the title of king, he insists in his inscriptions that "the royalty was given to him by neither his grandfather nor his father but he assumed the sovereignty of Champa solely by means of destiny and thanks to the merit he acquired in numerous previous existences." Indravarman II may have been designated king, at the request of the great men of the kingdom, by Vikrāntavarman III, who died without posterity.¹⁰¹ He seems to have had a peaceful reign. In 877 Indravarman II sent an embassy to China. Two years before, in 875, he had constructed a great Buddhist monument that is the first evidence of the existence of Mahayana Buddhism in Champa: this was the monastery of Lakshmindralokeśvara, the name of which recalls the personal name of the founder. The Buddhist ruins of Đông-dương southeast of Mi-sơn have been identified with this monastery.¹⁰²

At his death, Indravarman II received the posthumous name of Paramabuddhaloka. He was succeeded by his nephew Jaya Siṃhavarman I, for whom we have only two dates, 898 and 903, given by the inscriptions that deal with the erection of statues of apotheosis made during his reign.¹⁰³ Around the same time, a relative of the queen Tribhuvanadevī, Po Klung Pilih Rājadvāra, who was to continue to occupy high offices under the three following kings, went on a pilgrimage (*siddhayātrā*) to Java (Yavadvīpapura).¹⁰⁴ Perhaps this was the beginning of the Javanese influence on Cham art that is found in this period at Kūng-my and at Mi-sơn.¹⁰⁵

The inscription left by this official tells of the successor to Jaya Siṃhavarman I, his son Jayaśaktivarman. We know nothing else about this successor except that he must have had a very short reign. Bhadravarman II, who reigned next but whose family ties with his predecessor are not known, seems to have had a troubled accession. He was reigning in 908 and in 910.¹⁰⁶

Bhadravarman II's son, Indravarman III, whose literary and philosophic knowledge is praised in epigraphy,¹⁰⁷ consecrated a

golden statue of Bhagavatī in 918 at Po Nagar in Nha-trang. During his reign, which lasted more than forty years, he had to repel a Khmer invasion around 950 in the region of Nha-trang;¹⁰⁸ the gold statue was stolen by the invaders "dominated by cupidity and other vices," but the Khmer armies of Rājendravarman finally suffered a bloody defeat.¹⁰⁹ Before his death, which took place around 959, Indravarman III had time to renew relations with China, which had been interrupted during the period of anarchy lasting through the end of the T'ang and throughout the Five Dynasties: in 951, 958,¹¹⁰ and 959, embassies were sent to the court of the Later Chou.¹¹¹

Indravarman III's successor, Jaya Indravarman I, in 960 sent presents to the first emperor of the Sung, whose accession coincided with his. Five embassies sent at intervals from 962 to 971 prove the regularity of the relations between the two countries.¹¹² In 965, Jaya Indravarman I restored the sanctuary of Po Nagar that had been pillaged fifteen years previously by the Khmers and installed a stone image of the goddess there.¹¹³

In 972 a new king appeared on the throne of Champa. We have no inscriptions for him, but his name, judging from the Chinese transcription, must have been Parameśvaravarman.¹¹⁴ He showed great punctuality in relations with China, to which he sent no less than seven embassies between 972 and 979. He was the first Cham king to have trouble with the newly independent Vietnamese kingdom of Đai Cô Viêt. That state had shortly before liberated itself from Chinese domination, and after the founder of the independent Đinh dynasty had been assassinated in 979, a member of the Ngô dynasty took refuge in Champa and asked Parameśvaravarman to help him reconquer the throne that his family had occupied from 939 to 965. A sea-borne expedition, organized in 979, was approaching Hoa-lư, the Đinh capital,¹¹⁵ when it was destroyed by a gale that spared only the junk of the Cham king.¹¹⁶

In the following year, a palace intrigue brought a high dignitary named Lê Hoan to the throne of Đai Cô Viêt. Lê Hoan, founder of the early Lê dynasty, immediately sent an embassy to Champa. When King Parameśvaravarman made the mistake of holding the envoy of Đai Cô Viêt as a prisoner, Lê Hoan organized a retaliatory expedition that cost the life of the Cham sovereign and led to the destruction of the Cham capital in 982. The new king, whose name

in Chinese characters seems to correspond to Indravarman (IV), left Indrapura just in time to take refuge in the southern part of his kingdom, from which in 985 he asked in vain for aid from the emperor of China.

During this time, in the north of the country a Vietnamese named Lưu Kê Tông seized power. In 983 he successfully resisted an attempted invasion by Lê Hoan. On the death of Indravarman IV, he officially proclaimed himself king of Champa, and in 986 he notified the court of China of his accession. This domination by a foreigner led to an exodus of inhabitants, a certain number of whom took refuge at Hainan and Kwangchou.¹¹⁷

In 988, the Chams rallied around one of their own. They placed him on the throne at Vijaya, in modern Binh-đinh, and when the Vietnamese usurper Lưu Kê Tông died in the following year, they proclaimed him king under the name Harivarman II. Scarcely had he been installed when he had to face a new Vietnamese invasion in the north of his kingdom in 990. After a short period of peace, marked by the erection of an Īśānabhadreśvara at Mi-sơn in 991,¹¹⁸ by an exchange of presents with the emperor of China in 992, and by the liberation in the same year of 360 Cham prisoners detained at Tongking, hostilities with Lê Hoan began again, this time because of the activities of the Chams, who in 995 and 997 multiplied their raids along their northern frontier.

Harivarman II reinstalled himself at Indrapura, but his successor, who reigned from 999 and for whom we have only an incomplete name, Yang Pu Ku Vijaya Śrī—,¹¹⁹ finally abandoned this extremely vulnerable capital in the year 1000 and established himself at Vijaya, in the region of Binh-đinh.¹²⁰ Champa never ceased to be subjected to the increasingly strong pressure of its neighbor to the north, and from the eleventh century, in spite of some revivals, the history of Champa was to be no more than the history of the retreat of Indian civilization before that of China.

3. THE JAVANESE KINGDOM OF MATARĀM

The decline of the power of the Buddhist Śailendras in central Java is indicated, as we have seen,¹²¹ by the presence near Prambanan of a Sivaite inscription of 863 that perhaps relates to the cult of Agastya.¹²² The construction of the Hindu monuments

of the Prambanan group¹²³ in the beginning of the tenth century confirms this evidence. But it does not necessarily follow that Buddhism disappeared completely from this region: the Buddhist monuments of the Borobudur,¹²⁴ Plaosan, and Sajivan¹²⁵ prove the contrary, and there are numerous indications that the reciprocal tolerance between Buddhism and Hinduism, and in some cases the syncretism of the two, was as marked in Java as in Cambodia.¹²⁶

The embassies sent to China by She-p'o in 860 and 873 are the principal sources of the information given by the *New History of the T'ang* on the country and its inhabitants:¹²⁷

The people make fortifications of wood and even the largest houses are covered with palmleaves. They have couches of ivory and mats of the outer skin of bamboo.

The land produces tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros-horns and ivory. . . . They have letters and are acquainted with astronomy. . . .

In this country there are poisonous girls; when one has intercourse with them, he gets painful ulcers and dies, but his body does not decay.¹²⁸

The king lives in the town of Djava (Djapa), but his ancestor Ki-yen had lived more to the east at the town Pa-lu-ka-si.¹²⁹ On different sides there are twenty eight small countries, all acknowledging the supremacy of Djava. There are thirty two high ministers and the Da-tso-kan-hiung is the first of them.¹³⁰

From epigraphy we hear of:

in 856–60, Lokapāla, who is sometimes identified with the following:¹³¹

in 863–82, Rakai Kayuwangi, also known as Sajjanotsavitunga;¹³²

in 887, Rakai Gurunwangi, perhaps identical with the preceding;¹³³

in 890, Rakai Limus dyaḥ Devendra, reigning perhaps in the east;¹³⁴

in 896, Rakai Watuhumalang.¹³⁵

All these princes left inscriptions in the Keḍu Plain near Prambanan. It was in this region, where the modern city of Jogjakarta is located, that the center of the state of Matarām was located. The name Matarām, applied retrospectively to the kingdom of Sanjaya,¹³⁶ was adopted in the tenth century as the official name of the country that reunited the center and east of the island under the same authority in order to indicate that the state was

no longer confined to eastern Java. Since all the monuments of this southern region are of a funerary character, it is possible that the *kraton*, or residence of the sovereign, was located farther north.¹³⁷

With the king named Balitung we leave a period that is in general very poorly known and step once more onto firmer ground. Certain indications lead us to think that Balitung was originally from the eastern part of the island, and that he acquired rights to the center by marriage.¹³⁸ It is in the inscriptions of his reign, which occur at intervals between 899 and 910,¹³⁹ that the name Matarām appears for the first time. It seems that Balitung had plans to resume, by means of real or fictitious dynastic ties, the Sivaite tradition interrupted by the episode of the Buddhist Śailendras.¹⁴⁰

Balitung was succeeded around 913¹⁴¹ by King Daksha, who had appeared in the charters of his predecessor as one of the highest dignitaries (*rakryan ri Hino, mapatih i Hino*).¹⁴² Like Balitung, Daksha joined the center and east of Java under his authority and resided in the region of Jogjakarta. Perhaps it was he who had the monument of Loro Jonggrang built at Prambanan as the funerary temple of his predecessor,¹⁴³ whose eastern origin would explain the affinity of the art of this group with that of the eastern part of the island.¹⁴⁴ In any case, it was he who instituted an era of Sanjaya that begins with March 18, 717, and is attested to by two inscriptions, one dated 910 (before his accession) and the other 913.¹⁴⁵

The reign of Daksha was short, and so were those of his successors Tuloḍong and Wawa.

Tuloḍong, for whom we know the dates 919–21, seems also to have reigned over both the center and the east.¹⁴⁶ In 919 the name Rakai Halu, Lord Siṅḍok,¹⁴⁷ appears in one of his inscriptions. Siṅḍok, probably a grandson of Daksha, was to mount the throne ten years later.

Wawa reigned in 927–28.¹⁴⁸ The highest dignitary during his reign was still Siṅḍok. The original location of the epigraphic documents indicates that during Wawa's reign the administrative center of the kingdom was moved to the east; however, we cannot be sure that the central part of the island had already been abandoned. In any case, his inscriptions come exclusively from the east.

It has been claimed, rightly or wrongly, that around 927 Wawa became a priest under the name of Vāgīśvara.¹⁴⁹ If he did, he may have continued to maintain nominal power, for the first act of his successor Siṅḍok¹⁵⁰ is dated 929.

The accession of Siṅḍok marks the definitive transfer of the capital to the east, between the mountains Smeru and Wilis. This move is evidenced in archaeology by the decline and then abandonment of the center and by the multiplication of structures in the east. The reason for this move is not completely clear.¹⁵¹ One scholar has thought that an earthquake or epidemic devastated the center of the island.¹⁵² Others have put forth the hypothesis that a viceroy in the east became independent and absorbed the suzerain state,¹⁵³ as Chenla or the principality of the Kambujas had done with regard to Funan. And still others have envisioned a return to the offensive on the part of the Śailendras from Sumatra or have seen at least a desire of the Javanese sovereigns to remove themselves from dangerous rivals who were always ready to lay claim to the ancient cradle of their power.¹⁵⁴ One thing is certain: abandonment of the center of Java did not mean a spiritual break; the kings reigning in the east continued to invoke the gods of Matarām.

Although Siṅḍok was probably the grandson of Daksha, as I have said, up to the beginning of the thirteenth century Siṅḍok, under his reign name Śrī Īśāna(vikramadharmottungadeva), was always considered the founder of Javanese power in the east of the island. The result of his move of the capital to the east was a new incursion of Śrīvijaya in the west of the island, where we see the Sumatran kingdom re-enthroning a prince of Sunda in 942.¹⁵⁵ The inscriptions of Siṅḍok, which number about twenty and appear at intervals between 929 and 948,¹⁵⁶ constitute one of the most valuable sources for the study of the organization and institutions of Java. They come from the upper Brantas Valley, and we can undoubtedly attribute to Siṅḍok some of the structures in this region (at Belahan, Gunung Gangsir, Sangariti).¹⁵⁷ None of these structures, however, is comparable to the monuments built by his predecessors in the Keḍu Plain.

The Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed a little later in Siṅḍok's reign,¹⁵⁸ and, in spite of the clearly Hindu character of his inscriptions and structures, we still attribute to his reign the composition, by Sambharasūryāvaraṇa, of the work named *Sang hyang Kamahāyanikan*,¹⁵⁹ a Tantric Buddhist treatise that is infinitely

valuable for the understanding of Javanese Buddhism and the interpretation of architecture and iconography.

According to an inscription of Airlanga of 1041,¹⁶⁰ Siṅḍok was succeeded by his daughter Īśānatungavijayā, who was the wife of a certain Lokapāla.

Their son and successor was Makuṭavaṃśavardhana, about whom we know nothing except that his daughter Mahendradattā, as we shall see, married a prince of Bali.

The island of Bali from the eighth or ninth century shows traces of Buddhism that are perhaps of Javanese or Sumatran origin but could also have been brought directly from India. The first dated documents appear in Bali shortly before the accession of Siṅḍok in Java. The inscriptions of 896 and 911 do not bear the name of any king, but that of 914 is in the name of the *adhipati* Śrī Kesarivarma.¹⁶¹ The first inscriptions of Ugrasena (915–39), who reigned at Siṃhamandava or Siṃhadvālapura, appear in the following year. These inscriptions reveal an Indo-Balinese society that was independent of Java, used a dialect peculiar to the island, and practiced Buddhism and Sivaism at the same time.¹⁶²

In 953, an inscription mentions a sovereign who had among his names that of Agni.

Beginning in 955, Balinese epigraphy emanates from a dynasty whose kings all bear names ending in *-varmadeva*:¹⁶³

- 955, Tabanendravaradeva and Subhadrikāvarmadevī;
- 960, Chandrabhayasiṃhavarmadeva;
- 975, Janasādhuvarmadeva;
- 984, Śrī Vijayamahādevī.¹⁶⁴

Then, from 989 to 1011 the inscriptions are in the name of the king Udāyana (Dharmodāyanavarmadeva) and the queen Mahendradattā (Guṇapriyadharmapatnī), who was, as we have just seen, the daughter of Makuṭavaṃśavardhana, the grandson of Siṅḍok. This Javanese marriage resulted in greater penetration of Hinduism in Bali and the introduction of Javanese culture, particularly of Tantrism. It also resulted in the birth in 1001¹⁶⁵ of Airlanga, the future Javanese sovereign whose history will be told in the next chapter.

The most ancient information of Chinese origin concerning the island of Borneo (P'o-ni),¹⁶⁶ which, it will be recalled, had been touched by Indian culture very early, is from this period (977).

But let us return to Java.

Around 990 a son or son-in-law of Makuṭavaṃśa, Dharmavaṃśa Tguḥ Anantavikrama,¹⁶⁷ came to power. It was during his reign, in 996, that the poem *Vitāṭaparva* was composed. Dharmavaṃśa inaugurated an aggressive policy with regard to Śrīvijaya. At least that is what appears from the information given in 992 to the court of China by the ambassadors from Java and Śrīvijaya, who speak of the invasion of San-fo-ch'i by She-p'o and of continual hostilities between the two countries.¹⁶⁸ We will see in the following chapter that this Javanese aggression around 990¹⁶⁹ probably resulted in a counteroffensive on the part of the Sumatran kingdom. There are good reasons for attributing the Sumatran expedition of 1016–17, the death of the Javanese king, and the destruction of his residence ultimately to this Javanese aggression.

4. SAN-FO-CH'I, OR THE SUMATRAN KINGDOM OF ŚRĪVIJAYA

In a passage of his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*,¹⁷⁰ N. J. Krom has characterized very well the measures which the Sumatran kingdom felt forced to take in order to protect its privileged position. The choice of a port for the seamen in this part of the archipelago was limited. The port had to fulfill the following conditions: it had to be a center possessing a certain degree of civilization; it had to be well located geographically; it had to have a well-protected harbor, for example, at the mouth of a river; and it had to have a safe anchorage. But the possession and defense of such a port of call was not possible without perpetual recourse to force. To preserve his monopoly, the master of this port had to neutralize his rivals or make vassals of them; this was necessary in order to maintain the upper hand over the commerce of the straits and make his influence felt on both shores.

For those astute merchants, the Arabo-Persians,¹⁷¹ it was clearly possession of both sides of the straits that constituted the power of the maharaja of Zābag. Throughout their accounts, the affirmation that the maharaja reigned simultaneously over Kalah (on the Malay Peninsula north of the Isthmus of Kra)¹⁷² and over Sribuza (Śrīvijaya = Palembang = Sumatra) is repeated like a refrain. Here is what one of them wrote around 916:¹⁷³

The city of Zābag faces in the direction of China. The distance between the two is a month by sea, and even less if the winds are favorable. The king of this city is known by the name of *mahārāja*. . . . It is said that

the circumference is 900 parasangs.¹⁷⁴ This king is, in addition, the sovereign of a great number of islands that extend for 1,000 parasangs and even more. Among the states over which he rules is the island called Sribuza, whose circumference is 400 parasangs, and the island called Rāmī [Achin, north of Sumatra], the circumference of which is 800 parasangs. . . . Also part of the possessions of the maharaja is the maritime state of Kalah, which is situated halfway between China and Arabia. . . . It is to this port that the ships of Omān come, and it is from this port that the ships leave for Omān. The authority of the maharaja is felt in these islands. The island where he resides is as fertile as land can be, and the inhabited places follow upon one another without interruption. A reliable source reports that when the cocks of this country crow at sunrise, as they do in Arabia, they answer one another over stretches extending up to 100 parasangs and more, because the villages are contiguous and follow on one another without interruption. . . .

In 995, the geographer Mas'ūdī spoke in grandiloquent terms of the "kingdom of the maharaja, king of the islands of Zābag, among which are Kalah and Sribuza and other islands in the China Sea. All their kings are entitled *mahārāja*. This empire of the maharaja has an enormous population and innumerable armies. Even with the fastest vessel, no one can tour these islands, all of which are inhabited, in two years. Their king possesses more kinds of perfume and aromatic substances than are possessed by any other king. His lands produce camphor, aloes, cloves, sandalwood, musk, cardamom, cubeb, etc. . . ." ¹⁷⁵

For the Chinese, Shih-li-fo-shih has become San-fo-ch'i,¹⁷⁶ which from 904–905 on sent numerous embassies to the court of China. All the commerce of China and India is said to have passed through this uncontested master of the straits.¹⁷⁷ After having become a great economic power, however, Śrīvijaya seems to have neglected the spiritual values that attracted the Chinese pilgrim I-ching there in the seventh century. In fact, while the Javanese kings were covering their island with religious buildings, the Śrīvijayan sovereigns were preoccupied with superintending the traffic of the straits rather than with building lasting monuments, and they have left us only insignificant brick towers and a very small number of inscriptions.

Among the Śrīvijayan kings, the *History of the Sung*¹⁷⁸ tells us of Si-li Hu-ta-hsia-li-tan in 960 and of Shih-li Wu-yeh in 962; both these names are probably transcriptions of the same name, Śrī Udayāditya (varman).¹⁷⁹ The accounts of embassies to China in 971, 972, 974, and 975 do not give any king's name; embassies

of 980 and 983 are said to come from a King Hsia-ch'ih, in Malay *Haji*, which is simply a royal title. It was during the reign of this king in 983 that "the priest Fa-yü, returning from India where he had been seeking sacred books, arrived at San-fo-ch'i and there met the Indian priest Mi-mo-lo-shih-li [i.e., Vimalaśrī], who after a short conversation entrusted him with a petition in which he expressed the desire to go to the Middle Kingdom and translate sacred books there."¹⁸⁰

"In 988," says the *History of the Sung*, "an ambassador arrived for the purpose of presenting tribute. During the winter of 992, it was learned from Canton that this ambassador, who had left the capital of China two years before, had learned in the south that his country had been invaded by She-p'o and, as a consequence, had remained in Canton for a year. In the spring of 992, the ambassador went to Champa with his ship, but since he did not hear any good news there, he returned to China and requested that an imperial decree be promulgated placing San-fo-ch'i under the protection of China."

We have seen that the Javanese envoys of the same year, 992, brought corroborative information to China, saying that their country was continually at war with San-fo-ch'i, but what they did not say was that the aggression came from Java.¹⁸¹ Perhaps it was the more or less effective protection of China, or perhaps only its tacit consent, that encouraged Śrīvijaya to undertake reprisals on Java which will be discussed in the following chapter.

5. BURMA

For the period covered by this chapter, the Burmese chronicles continue to furnish, for Pagan as well as for Pegu, lists of kings¹⁸² that are unverifiable because of the lack of cross-references in epigraphy or Chinese annals. The dependence of these chronicles on legend and folklore is obvious. For example, they place a usurper, Nyaung-u Sô-raham, on the throne of Pagan in 931. He was an old gardener who supposedly killed the king Theingo (Singho) because the latter had picked cucumbers in his garden.¹⁸³ The same story, however, has been used for the origin of the present Cambodian dynasty, and other versions of it are known.¹⁸⁴

According to the Burmese chronicles,¹⁸⁵ the gardener-usurper was in turn overthrown in 964 by Kunshô Kyaungphyu, a repre-

sentative of the legitimate line who took over as his wives the three queens of his predecessor. But in 986, the two brothers of the gardener and the two first queens lured this prince into a monastery and forced him to don monk's robes. After a reign of six years, the elder brother, Kyiso, perished in a hunt. The younger brother, Sokkate, who succeeded him in 992, was killed in 1044 by a son of Kunshô Kyaungphyu by his third queen. This son was the famous Anôratha (Aniruddha), whose history will be told in the following chapter.