

THREE GREAT KINGS: SŪRYAVARMAN I IN CAMBODIA, AIRLANGA IN JAVA, AND ANŌRATHA IN BURMA

First Three Quarters of the Eleventh Century

1. CAMBODIA: SŪRYAVARMAN I (1002–50) AND THE EXPANSION TO THE WEST; UDAYĀDITYAVARMAN II (1050–66)

Neither Khmer epigraphy nor Chinese documents give a hint about the developments that led to the accession in Cambodia of Sūryavarman I, that sovereign of the sun race whose family ties with his predecessors may have been entirely fabricated by the official genealogists. The late chronicles of the principalities of the upper Menam Valley, written in Chiangmai in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, deal only with the expansion of Khmer power in the Menam Basin; it would in any case be unwise to give too much credence to this data.

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 nephew of Jayavarman V, Udayādityavarman I, whose only two known inscriptions come from Koh Ker¹ and Mlu Prei,² came to the throne in 1001. In that same year, a prince bearing the name Sūryavarman and the title *kaṃtvan*, which apparently denotes royal ancestry in the female line,³ is mentioned in an inscription from Sambor on the Mekong⁴ and another from the vicinity of Kompong Thom.⁵ In the following year, 1002, we have two more of his inscriptions from the same region.⁶ A King Jayavīravarman appears from 1003 to 1006; according to his inscriptions,⁷ he had been established on the throne of Angkor since 1002. After this, Sūryavarman became the uncontested master in the capital, and in 1011 he had the oath of allegiance, followed by long lists of names of dignitaries in the form of signatures,⁸ engraved on the inner surface of the entrance pavilion of the Royal Palace.

We can gather from these inscriptions⁹ that the accession of Udayādityavarman I in 1001 led to rivalry between Jayavīravarman, who reigned at Angkor at least from 1003 to 1006, and Sūryavarman, who had established himself in the east. The inscriptions indicate that between 1005 and 1007 Sūryavarman led a large-scale expedition in which sacred places were damaged.¹⁰ "He seized the kingdom from a king in the midst of a host of other kings," says one of them.¹¹ The war lasted nine years,¹² and the installation of Sūryavarman at Angkor must date around 1010; but later, in his inscriptions, he dated his accession in 1002, that is, the time of the death or disappearance of Udayādityavarman I.

Sūryavarman claimed to have descended, on the maternal side, from Indravarman¹³ and to be related through his wife Vīralakshmi to the son of Yaśovarman.¹⁴ The first assertion cannot be verified. As for the second, the name of Vīralakshmi seems to indicate that this princess was related in some way to Jayavīravarman, and we may have here an example of the legitimization of power by means of marriage to the wife or daughter¹⁵ of a predecessor.

The favor Sūryavarman accorded to Buddhism earned him the posthumous name Nirvāṇapada. His sponsorship of Buddhism in no way, however, interrupted the continuity of the worship rendered to the Devarāja, thus exemplifying the syncretism we spoke of earlier.¹⁶ "During his reign," says the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom,¹⁷ "the members of the family [of priests of the Devarāja] officiated for the Devarāja as before." He even singled out from this family a nephew of the great priest Śivāchārya, named Sadāśiva, had him quit the religious state, gave him one of his sisters-in-law in marriage, and elevated him to the dignity of Kaṃsteng Śrī Jayendrapaṇḍita, the first step in a career that was to become particularly brilliant during the following reign. Continuing the work begun by his uncle, Sadāśiva-Jayendrapaṇḍita "restored the structures that had been destroyed when the king led forth his army."¹⁸

The installation of Sūryavarman I at Angkor was accompanied, as I have said, by the taking of a solemn oath by certain officials, the formula for which was engraved at the entrance of the palace. It was apparently also marked by the completion of the Phimeanakas, notably its vaulted gallery, and of Ta Kèo¹⁹ and

by the construction of the entrance pavilions (*gopuras*) of the Royal Palace.²⁰ Other important works that can be attributed to him include the temple of Phnom Chisor,²¹ the name of which recalls the ancient name of the hill on which it was built (*Sūrya-parvata*, "mountain of the sun or of *Sūrya*[varman]"), certain parts of Preah Vihear²² and of Preah Khan of Kompong Svay,²³ and the monuments of Vat Ek and of Baset near Battambang.²⁴ All these works are associated with the names of Brahman scholars who occupied high positions and who are known to us from epigraphy.²⁵

It may be that in 1012 or shortly afterwards, *Sūryavarman I*, feeling himself threatened, solicited the aid of *Rājendrachoḷa I* by making him a present of a chariot.²⁶ According to R. C. Majumdar,²⁷ the threat undoubtedly came from the king of *Śrīvijaya*, *Māravijayottungavarman*, established at *Kaṭāha*, against whom we see *Rājendrachoḷa I* launch a first expedition a little later.

The story of the Khmer expansion in the Menam Basin is reported in the following fashion by the various Pali chronicles composed in Chiangmai: the *Chāmadevīvaṃsa* (written at the beginning of the fifteenth century),²⁸ the *Jinakālamāli* (finished in 1516),²⁹ and the *Mūlasāsana*.³⁰ A king of *Haripunjaya* (Lamphun) named *Atrāsataka* (var. *Trābaka*, *Baka*) went to attack *Lavo* (Lopburi), where *Ucch'itṭhachakkavatti* (var. *Ucch'itta*-, *Ucchitta*-) reigned. At the moment when the two sovereigns were preparing for battle, a king of *Siridhammanagara* (*Ligor*) named *Sujita* (var. *Jīvaka*, *Vararāja*) arrived off *Lavo* with a considerable army and fleet. Confronted by this third depredator, the two adversaries fled in the direction of *Haripunjaya*. *Ucch'itṭha* arrived first, proclaimed himself king there, and married the wife of his adversary, who withdrew by boat to the south. *Sujita*, the king of *Ligor*, established himself as master at *Lavo*. At the end of three years, his successor, or perhaps his son,³¹ *Kambojarāja*, went to attack *Ucch'itṭha* again at *Haripunjaya*, but he was defeated and had to return to his capital.

As we have seen, this little drama had three principal actors: two rival kings who disputed the possession of *Lavo*,³² and a foreign king from the south, who settled the quarrel by installing himself there and whose successor, "King of the Kambojas," then launched an unsuccessful expedition against the former king of *Lavo* established in his new state. We are tempted to identify this *Kambojarāja* with *Sūryavarman I*, for even if these conflicts

between Cambodia and the Mon kingdom of *Haripunjaya*, related in the chronicles cited above, are imaginary, we nonetheless still have clear manifestations of Cambodian expansion in the era of *Sūryavarman I* in the region west of the Great Lake, where his inscriptions are particularly numerous. The reclaiming of those lands, until then left fallow or scarcely exploited, was effected by the expedient of setting up religious establishments and making grants of unused land to private persons.³³ This resulted in the creation of villages serving the temples and the cultivation of the soil by means of irrigation works.

Evidence of the Khmer occupation in the lower Menam in the eleventh century is given by a group of inscriptions from *Lopburi*,³⁴ at least one of which emanates from *Sūryavarman I*. How far north did this sovereignty or suzerainty of the king of *Angkor* extend? The local chronicles speak of a Khmer occupation that embraced the whole Menam Basin and the Mekong Basin up to *Chiangsaen* or beyond,³⁵ but the archaeological remains that are attributable to Khmer influence—and these are, moreover, later than the eleventh century—do not go beyond *Luang Phrabang*³⁶ on the Mekong and *Sukhothai-Sawankhalok* on the Menam.³⁷ For the era of *Sūryavarman I*, it is prudent to limit ourselves to the particulars given in the epigraphy of *Lopburi*. An inscription of 1022–25 tells us that during *Sūryavarman I*'s reign monks belonging to two schools of Buddhism (*bhikṣu mahāyāna* and *sthavira*) and Brahmins practicing the exercises of *Yoga* (*tapasvi yogi*) lived side by side in *Lavo*. Another Khmer inscription, the date of which is lost, but which must date back almost to the same era, is *Vishnuite*. "In short, epigraphy attests for us that the various religions practiced in the Khmer empire had their priests and sanctuaries at *Lavo*, but the predominance of Buddhist monuments and images at *Lopburi* proves that, even under Khmer domination, Buddhism preserved the importance there that it had at the time of the kingdom of *Dvāravātī*."³⁸

At the beginning of the year 1050,³⁹ *Sūryavarman I* died and received the posthumous name of *Nirvāṇapada*. He was succeeded by *Udayādityavarman II*. The new king conferred the semi-royal title of *Dhūli Jeng* ("dust of the feet") *Vraḥ Kamrateng An' Śrī Jayendrarman* on the former chief priest of the *Devarāja*, *Sa-dāśiva-Jayendrapaṇḍita*, who had married a sister of the queen *Vīralakṣmī* and become the king's spiritual master.⁴⁰

It was undoubtedly under the inspiration of this high dignitary who belonged to the illustrious family of the priests of the Devarāja that Udayādityavarman II decided to build a new temple-mountain for the royal linga more beautiful than those of his predecessors. "Seeing that in the middle of the Jambudvīpa, the home of the gods, rose the mountain of gold (Meru), he had constructed, as in emulation, a mountain of gold in the center of his city. On the top of this gold mountain, in a gold temple shining with a heavenly light, he erected a Śivalinga in gold."⁴¹ This edifice, "ornament of the three worlds," was none other than the Baphuon,⁴² "the sight of which is really impressive" the Chinese Chou Ta-kuan⁴³ said at the end of the thirteenth century. This monument marked the center of a city whose boundaries coincided approximately with those of Angkor Thom today. The capital did not yet have its permanent walls of laterite, for these walls were a contribution of Jayavarman VII's, but it was furrowed by a great number of canals the network of which has been re-discovered.⁴⁴

At the same time, Udayādityavarman II had a huge artificial lake dug west of the capital. The lake was 8 kilometers by 2.2 kilometers, even larger than the Yaśodharataṭāka of Yaśovarman, or Eastern Baray, which perhaps was already showing signs of drying up. In the center of this Western Baray, he had a temple built on an islet, and beside the temple he placed a colossal bronze statue representing the god Vishnu deep in his cosmic slumbers and resting on the waters of the ocean.⁴⁵

During his sixteen-year reign, Udayādityavarman II had to cope with a series of uprisings. The repression of these uprisings, which was entrusted to a General Sangrāma, is recounted in epic style by a Sanskrit stele⁴⁶ placed at the base of the Baphuon, the temple of the royal linga, to which the conquering general made a gift of his booty.

The first revolt took place in 1051. It occurred in the south of the country, and its leader was Aravindhara, "well instructed in the science of archery, leader of an army of heroes, who forcefully held, in the southern region, the burden of half the land." Vanquished by Sangrāma, the rebel "fled with the greatest haste to the city of Champā."

The year 1065, the last of the reign, saw two other revolts. In the northwest,⁴⁷ "a clever man favored by the king, a valiant

hero named Kaṃvau whom the king had made general of the army, blinded by the brilliance of his grandeur, and secretly planning the ruin of the very one to whose powerful favor he owed this grandeur, left the city with his troops." He wounded Sangrāma in the jaw before being killed by three arrows.

Shortly afterwards, in the east, a man named Sivat, his younger brother Siddhikāra, and a third warrior named Saśāntibhuvana, fomented new troubles. Sangrāma quickly put them down and celebrated his victories by various pious endowments.

We do not know the posthumous name of Udayādityavarman II. He was succeeded in 1066⁴⁸ by his younger brother, Harshavarman III.

2. CHAMPA FROM 1000 TO 1074

In the preceding chapter we saw the first fall of the Cham capital before the Vietnamese thrust from the north. The eleventh century was to see this pressure accentuated to the point of forcing the Chams to abandon their northern provinces. Up to the middle of the century epigraphy is silent, and the historian must rely on Chinese and Vietnamese sources.

The king Yang Pu Ku Vijaya, who came to the throne in the very last years of the tenth century, evacuated Indrapura (Quang-nam) in the year 1000 to establish himself at Vijaya (Binh-dinh).⁴⁹ In 1004-1005 he sent to China an embassy that announced this change of capital.⁵⁰

He was succeeded before 1010 by a king whose name in Chinese characters appears to be a transcription of Harivarman (III). This king reigned about ten years.⁵¹

In 1021, Parameśvaravarman II,⁵² who had sent an embassy to China three years before, saw the northern frontier of his states, in modern Quang-binh, attacked by the eldest son of Ly Thai-tô (founder of the Vietnamese dynasty of Ly), Phât-Ma, who later, in 1028, was to succeed his father under the name Ly Thai-tông. The Chams were beaten and suffered a new invasion in 1026.

Between 1030 and 1041, King Vikrāntavarman IV reigned. Details of his reign are obscure, but it was apparently troubled. In 1042 his son Jaya Sīṃhavarman II⁵³ requested investiture from the court of China. The following year, he went to pillage the coast of Dai Viêt. King Ly Thai-tông prepared, in reprisal, a maritime expedition and took command of it himself in 1044. At the first

encounter, probably in modern Thừa-thiên, the Chams were routed and their king decapitated on the battlefield. Ly Thai-tông pushed on to Vijaya, seized it, and took the royal harem away with him.⁵⁴

The successor of Jaya Simhavarman II was a warrior of noble family who at his accession took the name Jaya Parameśvaravarman I. With his reign, inscriptions appear again in the south. In 1050, when the people of Pāṇḍuranga, "vicious, threatening, always in revolt against their sovereign," refused to recognize him, he ordered his nephew, the Yuvarāja Śrī Devarāja Mahāsenāpati, to go and subdue them.⁵⁵ The Yuvarāja did, and to celebrate his victory, he had a linga erected on the hill of Po Klaung Garai and set up a column of victory.⁵⁶ For his part, the king proceeded the same year with the restoration of the sanctuary of Po Nagar at Nha-trang and gave it slaves, among whom were Khmers, Chinese, and men of Pukāṃ (Burmese of Pagan) and Syāṃ (Siamese, or Thai).⁵⁷ Anxious to remain on good terms with his neighbors to the north, he sent three embassies to China between 1050 and 1056, and five to Đại Việt from 1047 to 1060.⁵⁸

All we know about the next king, Bhadravarman III, is that he reigned for only a brief time and that he was reigning in 1061.⁵⁹ At the end of the same year, his younger brother Rudravarman III succeeded him.

Rudravarman III sent an embassy to China in 1062. He also sent three embassies to Đại Việt—in 1063, 1065, and 1068. But from the beginning of his reign he had been preparing for a war against Đại Việt, and he launched his attack at the end of 1068. King Ly Thanh-tông, quick to respond, led his fleet to Śrī Bandī (Qui-nhơn), near the Cham capital. He defeated the Cham army that waited for him in the interior. Since Rudravarman III had left the city during the night, his people surrendered to Ly Thanh-tông, who made his entry there without difficulty. "He immediately sent troops to follow the fleeing king, who was caught and made prisoner in Cambodian territory (in the fourth month of 1069). The following month, he held a great feast for all his ministers in the palace of the king of Champa and, to show positively that he had conquered him and reduced him to nothing, he executed a shield dance and played a shuttlecock game on the steps of the throne room. At the same time he hastened to announce the news of his victory and of the capture of the king to the Chinese emperor, Shen Tsung. After taking a census, which showed more

than 2,560 families, he ordered that all the houses in the enclosure and suburbs of Vijaya be set on fire."⁶⁰

King Ly Thanh-tông carried King Rudravarman III and his family off to Tongking as prisoners, but he freed them in 1069 in exchange for Rudravarman III's abandonment of his three northern provinces, corresponding approximately to Quang-binh and Quang-tri. We do not know whether, upon his return from captivity, the Cham king was ever able to re-establish his authority over his greatly troubled and reduced country. It is clear, however, that the dynasty that had reigned since 1044 perished with him in about 1074.

3. ŚRĪVIJAYA AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CHOĀS OF TANJORE (1003–30)

We have seen in the preceding chapter that during the last decade of the tenth century Śrīvijaya was subjected to a Javanese invasion and requested protection from China. In the beginning of the eleventh century the king Chūḷāmaṇivarmadeva, during whose reign the master Dharmakīrti composed a commentary on the *Abhisamayāṅkara*,⁶¹ continued to maintain the best of relations with China. "In the year 1003, the king Sê-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-tiau-hwa sent two envoys to bring tribute; they told that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected in order to pray for the long life of the emperor and that they wanted a name and bells for it, by which the emperor would show that he appreciated their good intentions. An edict was issued by which the temple got the name of Ch'êng-t'ien-wan-shou ['ten thousand years of receiving from Heaven'] and bells were cast to be given to them."⁶² Other embassies were sent to China in 1004, 1008, 1016, 1017, and 1018.⁶³

At the same time, around 1005, the king of Śrīvijaya, following the example of his predecessor Bālaputra, who had built a monastery at Nālandā in Bengal,⁶⁴ had a Buddhist temple bearing his name, the Chūḷāmaṇivarmavihāra,⁶⁵ built at Nāgīpaṭṭana (Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast). The Choḷa Rājarāja I offered the revenues of a large village to this temple.

This friendly attitude of Chūḷāmaṇivarmadeva toward the two great powers of the era—China and the Choḷas of Tanjore⁶⁶ (the latter, in spite of their distance, were able, as the future would prove, to become dangerous enemies)—made it possible for his

son Māravijayottungavarman to have a free hand against Java. He certainly took striking revenge for the Javanese aggression of 992, if it is true that the catastrophe that befell Java in 1016, and about which we are so poorly informed, was the consequence of reprisals by Śrīvijaya. We know that Māravijayottungavarman was already on the throne in 1008, for in that year he sent tribute to China.⁶⁷

An inscription known as the "great charter of Leyden,"⁶⁸ made during the reign of Rājendrachoḷa I, which began in 1014,⁶⁹ informs us that the new Choḷa king composed an edict for the village offered by his father Rājarāja to the Chūḷāmaṇivarmavihāra. This inscription styles Māravijayottungavarman the "descendant of the Śailendra family, king of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha [Kiḍāra in the Tamil inscription]." This combined mention of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) and Kaṭāha (Kedah on the Malay Peninsula) confirms startlingly the evidence of the Arab geographers, for whom the maharaja of Zābag is master of Sribuza and Kalah (Kra).⁷⁰ The two poles of the empire, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, are the same in the two cases: the maharaja holds the two shores of the straits.

But the expansionist policy and the commercial methods that the kings of Śrīvijaya were obliged to apply to maintain themselves in this privileged position were bound to put them soon in conflict with the thalassocracy of the Choḷas. The conflict occurred shortly after Śrīvijaya had accomplished its aggressive designs against Java, thus bringing to an end the temporary need for conciliating the Choḷas.

As early as 1007, Rājarāja I bragged of having conquered twelve thousand islands.⁷¹ Ten years later, his son Rājendrachoḷa I may have attempted a first raid against Kaṭāha,⁷² that is, against the peninsular possessions of the Śailendras of Sumatra.⁷³ If this expedition did take place, it was only the prelude to the great raid of 1025, details of which are given in an inscription of Rājendrachoḷa at Tanjore dated 1030–31.⁷⁴ The inscription states that, after having sent "numerous ships into the midst of the rolling sea and seized Sangrāmavijayottungavarman, King of Kadāram," Rājendrachoḷa I conquered successively:⁷⁵

Śrīvijaya (Palembang),
Paṅṅai (Panai on the east coast of Sumatra, facing Malacca),
Malaiyūr (the Malāyu of the seventh century, that is, Jambi),

Māyiruḍṅam (the Jih-lo-t'ing of the Chinese,⁷⁶ some part of the Malay Peninsula),
Ilangāśogam (Langkasuka),⁷⁷
Māppappālam (Papphāla, located by the Sinhalese chronicle, *Mahāvamsa*, on the coast of Pegu),
Mevilimbangam (identified by Sylvain Lévi⁷⁸ with Karmaranga, or Kāmalangka, on the isthmus of Ligor),
Vaḷaipandūru (perhaps Pāṅḍur[anga], in Champa,⁷⁹ preceded either by the Tamil word *valai* ["fortress"] or the Cham word *palei* ["village"]),
Talaitakkolam (Takkōla of Ptolemy and of the *Milindapaṇha*, on the Isthmus of Kra),
Mādamālingam (Tāmbraṅga,⁸⁰ or Chinese Tan-ma-ling, whose center was at Ligor),
Ilāmurideśam (Lāmuri of the Arabs and Lambri of Marco Polo,⁸¹ at the northern tip of Sumatra),
Māṅakkavāram (the Nicobar Islands),
Kaḍāram (Kedah).

It is not certain that the order in which these places are listed indicates the chronology of events, but if it does, it shows that, after the attack on the island capital Śrīvijaya, i.e., Palembang, and the capture of King Sangrāmavijayottungavarman, the Choḷa king occupied a few points on the east coast of Sumatra, then the various possessions of the maharaja on the Malay Peninsula,⁸² then Achin and the Nicobars, and finally Kedah, the continental capital. Perhaps this raid has left some traces in the memory of the Malays of the peninsula, for their annals tell how the Tamil king Raja Cholan (or Suran) destroyed Ganganagara on the Dinding River, as well as a fort on the Lengiu, a tributary of the Johore River, and finally occupied Tumasik, the site of the future Singapore.⁸³

However that may be, the expedition of Rājendrachoḷa I seems not to have had lasting political consequences. At most, the capture of Sangrāmavijayottungavarman resulted in the accession of a new king. In 1028 this new king sent an embassy to China. The *History of the Sung* gives his name as Shih-li Tieh-hua, that is, Śrī Deva (undoubtedly incomplete).⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the shock felt by Śrīvijaya led it to come to terms with its old rival: we will see that the reconciliation with Java was probably even sealed by a matrimonial alliance.

We have seen above that Dharmakīrti lived in Śrīvijaya during the reign of Chūḷāmaṇivarmān. He must have continued to reside there under Māravijayottungavarman, since, according

to the Tibetan Bu-ston,⁸⁵ it was from 1011 to 1023 that Atīśa "went to follow the teaching of Dharmakīrti, head of the Buddhist congregation in the island of Suvarṇadvīpa,⁸⁶ during the reign of King Dharmapāla." This name Dharmapāla does not correspond to any of the royal names that the Chinese texts and epigraphy give us for Śrīvijaya. Perhaps it is the title ("Protector of the Law")⁸⁷ of Māravijayottungavarman or of his successor.

In any case, the persistence of Mahayana Buddhism in Sumatra is evidenced at Tapanuli, on the west coast, by the casting in 1024 of a statue inscribed to Lokanātha, that is, the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, represented standing between two figures of Tārā;⁸⁸ and a Nepalese iconographic manuscript from the beginning of the eleventh century attests to the popularity enjoyed in the Buddhist world by a certain statue of Lokanātha in Śrīvijaya-pura.⁸⁹

4. JAVA: AIRLANGA (1016–49)

We have seen⁹⁰ that the king of Bali, Udāyana, married the Javanese princess Mahendradattā, great-granddaughter of Siṅḍok. A son of this marriage was born in Bali around 1001; this was Airlanga, who in the prime of his youth was invited⁹¹ to come and conclude his betrothal with one of the daughters of the king reigning in the east of Java at that time.⁹² He was at the court of this king at the time of the tragic events of 1016.⁹³ The causes of the disaster that led to the destruction of the capital and the death of the king have been the subject of as many and various conjectures as the transfer of the capital from the center to the east seventy-five years earlier. The most likely and generally accepted hypothesis is that, since Śrīvijaya was at peace with India and more or less effectively protected by China, it took its revenge in 1016 for the Javanese invasion of 992. The restoration of Java did, indeed, coincide with the temporary weakening of the Sumatran kingdom following the Choḷa raid of 1025.⁹⁴ The role of Śrīvijaya in 1016, however, may have been limited to provoking or supporting an internal revolt in the Javanese state. The principal assailant was in fact a prince of Wurawari, who has been regarded as coming from the Malay Peninsula⁹⁵ but who may simply have been a local chief.⁹⁶

After the "debacle" (*pralaya*), as it was called by the Javanese inscription that tells about the events of 1016,⁹⁷ the young Airlanga, then sixteen years old, took refuge among hermits on Mount

Vanagiri, where he stayed four years. Notables and Brahmans came to plead with him to accept the royal power as successor of his father-in-law, and in 1019 he was officially crowned with the title Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Halu Śrī Lokeśvara Dharmavaṃśa Airlanga Anantavikramottungadeva. His authority at that time did not extend beyond a small territory situated on the northern coast of the island between Surabaya and Pasuruhan. He had to wait another ten or so years before beginning the reconquest of his states, a task that was undoubtedly facilitated by the weakening of Śrīvijaya, victim of the Choḷa aggression of 1025.

It is possible that as early as 1022 Airlanga succeeded his father in Bali, where the catastrophe of 1016 had no repercussions,⁹⁸ but this is not certain, and the Dharmavaṃśavardhana Marakaṭapankajasthānottungadeva, whose inscriptions we have in Bali from 1022 to 1026, is undoubtedly an entirely different person from Airlanga, perhaps a viceroy governing in his name.⁹⁹

Airlanga began his campaigns in Java in 1028–29 with the aim of recovering his kingdom, divided among many competitors. He seems first to have attacked Bhīshmaprabhāva, who was the son of a king; then, in 1030, Vijaya, prince of Wengker (on the plain of Madiun), who suffered a temporary defeat. In 1031 he defeated Adhamāpanuda and set fire to his residence. In 1032 he rid the country of a woman "endowed with a formidable power, similar to a *rākshasī*," and devastated the southern region, "which he burned with his tongue like a fiery serpent." Then he may still have had to fight against the prince of Wurawari. As for Vijaya, prince of Wengker, beaten and obliged to flee "abandoning his wife, children, treasures, and royal vehicles," he was seized by his own troops and died in 1035.¹⁰⁰

In 1037, Airlanga, "having placed his feet on the head of his enemies, took his place on the throne of lions, decorated with jewels." Since his states were considerably enlarged, he established his residence in the east, at Kahuripan, the site of which has still not been identified.

Following his victories, Airlanga founded the monastery of Puchangan (in Sanskrit Pūgavat, "the mountain of the areca palms"), not, as has been believed, on Penanggungan,¹⁰¹ but on Puchangan in the delta of the Brantas.¹⁰² It was dedicated in 1041,¹⁰³ perhaps on the occasion of the death of a princess who from 1030 to around 1041 is mentioned in the edicts of Airlanga as first dignitary of the court (Rakryan mahāmantri i Hino).¹⁰⁴ Her

name, Sangrāmvijaya Dharmaprasādottungadevī, closely resembles that of Sangrāmvijayottungavarman, the king of Śrīvijaya who was led away into captivity at the time of the Choḷa raid of 1025. The presence in Java, shortly after these events, of a princess bearing a name that recalls a Sumatran title, and the foundation by Airlanga in 1035 of a monastery named Śrīvijayaśrama,¹⁰⁵ seem to indicate a rapprochement between the two rivals following the weakening of Śrīvijaya and the coming to power of Airlanga. As for the ties that united the princess to her namesake on the one hand and to Airlanga on the other, the most probable theory is that she was the daughter of Sangrāmvijayottungavarman whom Airlanga had married around 1030.¹⁰⁶ From this time a certain balance comes into being between the two states that had been rivals for such a long time, Śrīvijaya maintaining political supremacy in the west of the archipelago¹⁰⁷ and Java in the east. Contemporary documents show, however, that the commercial relations of Java extended also to the west: the inscriptions¹⁰⁸ mention the Kling (Indians of Kalinga), the Ārya (non-Dravidian Indians), the Gola (Gauḍa of Bengal), Singhala (Singhalese), Karṇāṭaka (Kanarese), Cholika (Choḷas of Coromandel), Malyala (Malabars), Paṇḍikira (Pāṇḍyas and Keras), Draviḍa (Tamils), Champa (Chams), Remen (Mons or Malays of Rāmnī, i.e., Achin), and Kmir (Khmers), who must have arrived in the states of Airlanga by the ports situated at the mouth of the Brantas in the bay of Surabaya and, farther north, around Tuban.

Inscriptions that mention the three religious sects of Śaiva (Sivaites), Sogata (Buddhists), and Ṛishi (ascetics) or, on the other hand, of Sogata, Maheśvara, and Mahābrāhmaṇa prove the co-existence, the symbiosis, of Buddhism and Sivaite Hinduism in Java, just as in Cambodia in the same era. But, as his successors were to do, Airlanga represented himself as an incarnation of Vishnu.

From 1042 on, he perhaps entered the religious life, although still retaining his power. At his death in 1049,¹⁰⁹ he was buried at a place called "Bath of Belahan," on the eastern slope of Penanggungan. Once to be seen there was a beautiful statue of Vishnu on Garuḍa between two images of Lakshmi, probably representations of the king and two of his wives, as well as a stone bearing a chronogram which gives in a sort of rebus the date śaka 971, i.e., 1049.¹¹⁰

The reign of Airlanga, which was of such great political importance, was also marked by a certain literary activity,¹¹¹ but works have wrongly been attributed to his reign that were really composed during the reign of his predecessor, Dharmavaṃśa Tguh Anantavikrama, with whom Airlanga has erroneously been identified.¹¹² It is almost certain that the *Arjunavivāha* ("Marriage of Arjuna")¹¹³ was written in 1035 by the poet Kaṇva as an epithalamium for the marriage of Airlanga with the Sumatran princess.¹¹⁴

Before his death, Airlanga divided his kingdom in two, and this division lasted, theoretically at least, until the end of the Indo-Javanese era. We can only make conjectures about the reasons that inspired such a step in a man whose every other action was directed toward unifying his states. We do not know of any legitimate sons of his,¹¹⁵ and we may guess that, to avoid a conflict after his death between two children born of concubines and having the same rights, he resolved to settle the question during his lifetime.¹¹⁶

The frontier between the two kingdoms of Janggala and Panjalu was marked either by a wall, the ruins of which can still be seen between Mount Kawi and the southern coast of the island,¹¹⁷ or by the course of the Brantas.¹¹⁸ Janggala lay to the east and must have included the region of Malang and the Brantas Delta with the ports of Surabaya, Rembang, and Pasuruhan. Its capital was Kahuripan, Airlanga's capital. On the west was Panjalu, better known by the name Kaḍiri, which included the residencies of Kediri and Madiun, with an access to the sea on the bay of Surabaya. Its capital was Daha (present-day Kediri). In fact, although it had precedence and was the theoretical successor of the kingdom of Airlanga, Janggala was soon absorbed by Panjalu.¹¹⁹

For the island of Bali, we have inscriptions from 1050 to 1078¹²⁰ emanating from a person who is known as *anak wungśu*, that is, "younger son" (*bālaputra*) or perhaps "son-in-law"—very probably of the parents of Airlanga; he was, therefore, probably the younger brother or brother-in-law of Airlanga.

5. ŚRĪVIJAYA AND THE CHOḶAS (1067–69)

The sources are silent about what happened in Śrīvijaya from 1030 to 1064. In 1064 the name of a certain Dharmavīra, otherwise unknown, is inscribed at Solok, to the west of Jambi,

on a *makara* image executed in a style that seems to show the influence of Javanese art.¹²¹

In 1067, one of the highest dignitaries of San-fo-ch'i, whom the *History of the Sung* calls Ti-hua-ch'ieh-lo,¹²² the normal transcription of Divākara, arrived in China. Some authors¹²³ see here rather a transcription of Devakula. They base their argument on the fact that the Choḷa king Rājendradevakulottunga (also known as Kulottunga I), who sent an embassy to China ten years later in 1077, is designated in the *History of the Sung* by an almost identical name (Ti-hua-chia-lo).¹²⁴ According to them, it was the same person in both cases: born of a daughter of Rājendrachoḷa and of Rājarāja I of Vengī,¹²⁵ he is presumed to have held many high offices in Śrīvijaya before coming to the throne of the Choḷas in 1070; he himself seems to allude to such a background in the first inscriptions of his reign.

However that may be, the year that followed the embassy of 1067 saw a new aggression of the Choḷas against the Malay Peninsula. In the seventh year of his reign, in 1068–69, Vīrarājendra, son or grandson of the Rājendrachoḷa who had led the expedition of 1025, "conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of the king who had come to ask for his aid and protection and delivered the conquered country to him."¹²⁶ Perhaps it was on the advice of his Choḷa minister Devakula,¹²⁷ if this identification is indeed correct, that the king of Śrīvijaya made an appeal for assistance from Vīrarājendra to repress a revolt or an attempt at secession on the peninsula. Was it also the presence of a Choḷa adviser at the court of Śrīvijaya, and the willingness of the Choḷa king to reconquer territory on behalf of this country, that led Chinese historians to believe that during the period 1068–77 "Chou-lien (Choḷa) was a vassal of San-fo-ch'i"?¹²⁸

6. BURMA: ANŌRATHA (1044–77)

"When a standard history of Burma comes to be written," writes G. E. Harvey,¹²⁹ "it will be necessary to divide the reigns of such kings as Anawrahta into two parts: the first will be The Evidence, e.g., inscriptions showing him to have actually existed and what he did, and the second part will be The Anawrahta Legend." The time has not yet come to write such a history, and in the lines that follow, the data extracted from an epigraphy that

has only recently begun to be utilized¹³⁰ are interwoven with the least improbable elements of the legend.¹³¹

We saw at the end of the preceding chapter that Anōratha¹³² was the son of King Kunshō Kyaungphyu and of one of the three princesses who had previously been married to the regicidal gardener. He spent his youth in the monastery in which his father was in compulsory residence. Getting into a quarrel one day with his cousin, King Sokkate, he killed him in single combat at Myinkaba near Pagan. The throne having thus become vacant, he offered it to his father, but his father refused it, preferring to remain in the monastery.

Anōratha, who became king in 1044,¹³³ increased the territory of the kingdom of Pagan, which at the beginning was still small. In internal affairs, his two most remarkable achievements were the creation of a system of irrigation east of his capital, in the rice plain of Kyaukse, which became the granary of northern Burma,¹³⁴ and the conversion of the country to Theravada Buddhism.¹³⁵

The establishment of Theravada Buddhism in Pagan was, according to legend, the result of a campaign in 1057 against Sudhammavati (Thaton, in Pegu).

Lower Burma, that is, the Mon country, was one of the earliest countries converted to Buddhism.¹³⁶ But numerous vestiges of Hinduism have also been found in this country, and they prove that Buddhism was not the only religion known there. It has been suggested,¹³⁷ not without some probability, that Buddhism could have been introduced or at least fortified by the mass arrival in the first half of the eleventh century of Mons from Haripunjaya who were fleeing from a cholera epidemic and perhaps also from the Khmer armies of Sūryavarman I.

When Buddhism began to decline in India, the Mons maintained spiritual contact with southern India (Kānchī, i.e., Conjeevaram) and with Ceylon, holy land of Theravada Buddhism. In 1056, the monk Shin Arahan,¹³⁸ son of a Brahman of Thaton and undoubtedly a disciple of the Kānchī school, came to Pagan and won the king over to his doctrine.

Desiring to obtain a collection of the sacred writings of the Pali canon, Anōratha sent one of his ministers to Thaton.¹³⁹ His request was refused by King Makuṭa.¹⁴⁰ Anōratha then organized

an expedition against his uncooperative neighbor, and in 1057, after a three months' siege, he took the city of Thaton.¹⁴¹ There he found thirty collections of the *Tripitaka*, which he took back to Pagan along with King Makuṭa, his ministers, monks, and a great number of artisans.

The political result of the conquest of Thaton was the submission of the whole delta¹⁴² and its Indian principalities,¹⁴³ thus opening a window on the sea for the Burmese; the cultural result was the conversion of Pagan to Theravada Buddhism and the decline of Tantric Mahayana,¹⁴⁴ which was undoubtedly obliged to transfer its temples *extra muros*. In sum, the influence of the more refined Mon civilization was brought to bear on the still relatively unrefined Burmese population. The numerous prisoners brought back from Thaton taught the Burmese their literature, their art, and, above all, their script. The first inscription in the Burmese language, written in Mon characters, dates from the year after the conquest, 1058.¹⁴⁵ Two of the most ancient monuments of Pagan, Nan-paya and Manuha, were built by the captive King Makuṭa around 1060.¹⁴⁶

Anôratha was certainly a great conquerer who, not content with having brought all of the Irrawaddy Basin under his domination, turned his forces against his neighbors. Unfortunately, we have very few details concerning the campaigns that dominate his legend. To the west, he conquered the north of Arakan and seems to have pushed on to Chittagong.¹⁴⁷ In the direction of Cambodia, the chronicles of the Thai principalities of the upper Menam¹⁴⁸ attribute a campaign to him, although there is no hint of such a campaign in contemporary Khmer sources. In the north, he is supposed to have gone beyond Bhamo to Ta-li in Nanchao in an attempt to obtain a tooth-relic of the Buddha, and to have returned with nothing but a jade image.¹⁴⁹ One fact is certain: votive tablets in his name have been found from the mouths of the Irrawaddy River in the south to the town of Mong Mit in the north.¹⁵⁰

His reputation having spread to Ceylon, King Vijayabāhu I (1055–56—1110–11)¹⁵¹ at first requested his military aid to repel a Choḷa invasion,¹⁵² then, having succeeded in meeting this threat on his own, contented himself with asking Anôratha in 1071 for monks and canonic texts in order to restore the ravages caused by the war.¹⁵³ In exchange, the Burmese envoys brought

back to Pagan a copy of the famous tooth-relic of Ceylon. This prize was placed in the great temple of Shwezigon, the construction of which had been started in about 1059¹⁵⁴ but was not completed until the reign of Kyanzittha.

Anôratha died in 1077 in a hunting accident. He left a kingdom that extended from Bhamo to the Gulf of Martaban, embracing northern Arakan and the north of Tenasserim, and was defended by a series of fortified cities;¹⁵⁵ a kingdom that had been won over to Theravada Buddhism and refined from the artistic and cultural point of view by Mon influence; a kingdom that was capable of playing the role of a great power on the Indochinese Peninsula.

This chapter has concentrated on Kings Sūryavarman I, Air-linga, and Anôratha. Their reigns had political consequences of great importance, for it was during their reigns that Javanese power was restored and the power of the Mons in the basins of the Menam and Irrawaddy was replaced by the power of the Khmers and Burmese. Moreover, this period marks the retreat of the Chams before the Vietnamese, to whom they abandoned their northern provinces. It also contains the first signs of weakness on the part of Śrīvijaya, which had been shaken by the Javanese invasion of the preceding century and was further shaken by the Choḷa raids. Burma, Cambodia, and Java, taking advantage of the weakness of Sung China, were henceforth to be the three great protagonists in the history of Farther India.

THE MAHĪDHARAPURA DYNASTY OF CAMBODIA, THE PAGAN DYNASTY OF BURMA, AND THE JAVANESE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI

*End of the Eleventh Century and First Three Quarters of the
Twelfth Century*

1. CAMBODIA: THE FIRST KINGS OF THE MAHĪDHARAPURA DYNASTY (1080–1112)

Harshavarman III, who came to the throne in Cambodia in 1066, busied himself with repairing the structures ruined in the wars of the preceding reign.¹ Between 1074 and 1080, he himself had reason to quarrel with the Chams, whose King Harivarman IV is said to have "defeated the troops of Cambodia at Someśvara and seized the prince Śrī Nandavarmadeva, who commanded this army and who had been sent with the rank of *senāpati*."² Perhaps it was on the occasion of this battle that Prince Pāng, younger brother of the king of Champa, and later king himself under the name of Paramabodhisattva, "went to take [in Cambodia] the city of Śambhupura [Sambor on the Mekong], destroyed all its sanctuaries, and gave the Khmers whom he had seized to the various sanctuaries of Śrī Īśānabhadreśvara [at Mi-sōn]."³

"In 1076, the Chinese, having decided on an expedition against Tongking, persuaded the neighbors of this country, Champa and Cambodia, to take part in the battle: while the army of Kuo K'uei moved down on Hanoi by the way of Lang-sōn, the Chams and Cambodians invaded Nghê-an. The defeat of the Chinese led to the retreat of their allies; we have no information about their movements."⁴

Harshavarman III received the posthumous name Sadāśi-vapada.⁵ He was succeeded in 1080 by Jayavarman VI.⁶ The genealogy of Jayavarman VI, as it is given in an inscription of his grandnephew Sūryavarman II,⁷ indicates no relationship either with the dynasty founded by Sūryavarman I or with preceding dynasties. He was the son of Hiraṇyavarman from Kshitīndragrāma, an otherwise unknown locality, and of Hiraṇyalakshmī. Later, the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII say that he belonged to the nobility of Mahādharpura,⁸ a city whose site remains unidentified. Per-

haps he was a high dignitary, a provincial governor, who, taking advantage of the weakening of central authority following the troubled reign of Udayādityavarman 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 realization of his plans by the priest Divākaraṇḍita, who, after having been in the service of Harshavarman III for some time, threw in his lot with the newcomers, conducted the coronation of Jayavarman VI and his two successors, and received quasi-royal titles from them.⁹

It is not certain that Jayavarman VI ever reigned at Angkor, where he is mentioned only in an unfinished inscription¹⁰ and where Harshavarman may have been succeeded by a king named Nṛipatīndravarma¹¹ who reigned there until around 1113. We shall see, in fact, that Sūryavarman II claimed to have seized power from two kings at this date. The first was his uncle Dharaṇīndravarma I, for whom there are no longer any inscriptions remaining in the Angkor group;¹² one is tempted to see in the other king a successor of Harshavarman III who maintained power in the capital through the first decade of the twelfth century.

Little is known about the reign of Jayavarman VI. The inscriptions of his successors, and even more clearly those of the Brahman Divākara, associate his name with some constructions in the Sivaite monuments of Phnom Sandak, Preah Vihear, and Vat Ph'ū¹³ and at the Buddhist temple of Phimai. At his death he received the posthumous name Paramakaivalyapada.

Of his two brothers, the younger, who had received the title of Yuvarāja, or heir apparent, died prematurely,¹⁴ and it was the elder, Dharaṇīndravarma I, who succeeded Jayavarman VI in 1107;¹⁵ he was crowned, as I have already said, by Divākara. "Without having desired royalty," says an inscription, "when the king, his younger brother, had returned to the heavens, through simple compassion and yielding to the prayers of the human multitudes without a protector, he governed the land with prudence."¹⁶ He continued the building and endowment program of the preceding reign and pursued traditionalism to the point of taking as a wife Queen Vijayendralakshmī, who had first been married to the heir apparent prince who died before reigning, then to Jayavarman VI.¹⁷

He had reigned for five years when his grandnephew in the female line, "still quite young," says the same inscription, "at the end of his studies, proved to be the answer to the desires of the royal honor of his family, a family now in the dependence of two masters."¹⁸ This was Sūryavarman II, whose brilliant career we shall see presently.

2. CHAMPA FROM 1074 TO 1113

In Champa, Prince Thāng (Vishṇumūrti, Mādhavamūrti, or Devatāmūrti), who was a descendant through his father of the coconut palm family (*narikelavaṃśa*) and through his mother of the areca palm family (*kramukavaṃśa*), was proclaimed king in 1074 under the name of Harivarman (IV).¹⁹ At the very beginning of his reign, he repulsed a Vietnamese attack,²⁰ and, as we have seen above, he was victorious over the Khmers and carried the war into their country to the Mekong. In 1076, he took part, somewhat reluctantly, in the coalition led by China against Đai Viêt; the following year he sent tribute to Đai Viêt.²¹

Harivarman IV spent a great part of his reign "restoring to Champa its ancient splendor,"²² restoring Champāpura and Sīṃhapura (in Quang-nam) and making numerous endowments at Mi-sôn. In 1080, he had his nine-year-old son, Prince Vāk, crowned under the name Jaya Indravarman (II), and he died in retirement in the following year.²³

Since the young king "did not know how to govern the kingdom properly and did everything contrary to the rules of the government,"²⁴ it was necessary to find a regent at the end of a month. The choice fell on an uncle of the king, the Prince Pāng who had conquered Śambhupura from the Khmers during the preceding reign. He was crowned king under the name Paramabodhisattva. Apparently, he held onto the power to the point of true usurpation, for, after six years of a reign during which the uncle sent tribute to Đai Viêt each year²⁵ and repressed an attempt of the always rebellious Pāṇḍuranga to achieve autonomy,²⁶ the faction of the nephew again got the upper hand and placed him back on the throne by means of a *coup de force* in 1086.²⁷

Upon his re-establishment on the throne, Jaya Indravarman II resumed relations with China. Until 1091 he also sent regular tribute to Đai Viêt. After an interruption of several years, for which he was rebuked, he resumed sending missions to Đai Viêt from

1095 to 1102. In 1103, however, after a Vietnamese refugee had encouraged him to believe he would be able to recover the three Cham provinces in the north that had been lost in 1069, he discontinued the missions again and launched an attack on the provinces. The campaign was successful at first, but he was able to hold the provinces only a few months.²⁸ He then reigned peacefully until around 1113, continuing the restorations of his predecessors and building structures at Mi-sôn.

3. BURMA: THE KINGS OF PAGAN, SUCCESSORS OF ANÔRATHA (1077-1112)

Concerning the descendants of Anôratha who reigned after him at Pagan, late chronicles report many anecdotes—often romantic, sometimes scandalous—that are outside the domain of history. Epigraphy permits us to fix the dates of their accessions and of the edifices they built that made their capital one of the richest archaeological sites of the Indochinese Peninsula.²⁹

Anôratha left two sons when he died in 1077: Sôlu, born of a wife he had married before becoming king,³⁰ and Kyanzittha, son of the Indian or Arakanese princess³¹ Panchakalyāṇī but probably really fathered by a mandarin who had been entrusted with bringing her to Pagan.³² After having barely escaped death in his early years during a "massacre of the innocents" ordered by Anôratha,³³ Kyanzittha, suspected of being the lover of Queen Mañichanda, or Chandadevī, daughter of the king of Pegu, was banished from the court.³⁴

Sôlu, named Mang Lulang, "the young king," in epigraphy, came to power in 1077.³⁵ He began his reign by marrying his stepmother, the Peguan queen, whom he gave the title Khin U. He then recalled Kyanzittha, but Kyanzittha was soon sent back into exile for the same reason he had been banished before.³⁶ Kyanzittha's unequalled bravery got him recalled again to aid in putting down a revolt by a foster-brother of Sôlu's, Ngayaman Kan,³⁷ to whom the king had entrusted the government of Pegu. In spite of Kyanzittha's aid, Sôlu was unsuccessful in putting down the revolt and, after various romantic incidents, was killed by the rebel.³⁸

Kyanzittha, designated in epigraphy by the title Thiluing Mang,³⁹ or King of T'ilaing (in the northeast of Meiktila), was chosen to succeed Sôlu in 1084.⁴⁰ He first had to reconquer his kingdom from the Mons of Pegu. Ngayaman Kan entrenched

himself at a site where the city of Ava was later built. Kyanzittha assembled his forces in the rice plain of Kyaukse and marched on Pagan; he had no difficulty in defeating the Peguans. Ngayaman Kan perished in the retreat.⁴¹

Kyanzittha was then crowned, probably in 1086,⁴² by the venerable Shin Arahan. He took the name Tribhuvanāditya Dhammarāja, a title that was borne from then on by all the kings of the dynasty. Following his predecessors, he in his turn married the Pegan Khin U,⁴³ possession of whom perhaps legitimized the sovereignty of the king of Pagan over the Mon country. His only daughter, Shwe-einthei, born of the queen Abeyadana (Abhayaratanā) whom Kyanzittha had married before his coronation, was married to Sōyun, son of Sōlu.⁴⁴ She had a son by this marriage, the future Alaung-sithu (Jayasūra I), whom from his birth Kyanzittha proclaimed king, declaring himself regent in his name.⁴⁵ In addition, at the time of his exile during the reign of his father Anōratha, Kyanzittha had had a son by Sambhulā, the niece of a hermit whom he had met in the forest.⁴⁶ When she presented herself at court,⁴⁷ he accepted her as fourth queen, with the title Trilokavataṃsikā (Burmese U Sauk Pan),⁴⁸ and entrusted the government of Dhaññavati (northern Arakan) to her son Rājakumāra, whom he gave the title of Jayakhattara.⁴⁹

The great achievement of Kyanzittha, which by itself would have been enough to establish his fame, was the construction of the temple of Ananda (*Anantapaññā*, "infinite wisdom") at Pagan in imitation, legend says,⁵⁰ of the grotto of Nandamūla on Mount Gandamādana. One scholar has tried to identify this legendary grotto with the temple of Udayagiri in Orissa;⁵¹ the king must have heard about this temple from the Indian monks who came to Burma to escape the persecution Buddhism suffered in their country. But it is also possible that the temple of Paharpur, in northern Bengal, served as a model for the architect of the Ananda.⁵² The architect was not allowed to survive the dedication of his masterpiece, which took place in 1090; he and a child were buried alive to serve as guardian spirits of the temple.⁵³

Among other works carried out during the reign of Kyanzittha were the completion of the pagoda of Shwezigon, where Kyanzittha's most important inscriptions were placed,⁵⁴ and repairs on the temple of Bodhgaya in India.⁵⁵ Kyanzittha also undertook irrigation works, built a new palace around 1101–1102,⁵⁶

and had numerous inscriptions engraved in the Mon language, still considered at that time the language of civilization.⁵⁷

There is no doubt that the restorer of Bodhgaya and the founder of the Ananda, where he had his statue placed in the attitude of prayer,⁵⁸ was a fervent follower of Buddhism. He did some proselytizing himself on occasion: he converted a Choḷa prince, who was passing through Burma, by sending him a text on The Three Jewels that he himself had composed and written on a gold leaf. But we still find numerous traces of Hinduism during his reign,⁶⁰ and Brahmans played a dominant role in the royal ceremonies at court.⁶¹ Kyanzittha obviously held the Mons in great esteem, as is shown by his inscriptions in the Mon language and the Mon style of the sculptures and decorations of his monuments.

In 1103, Kyanzittha sent to China the first Burmese embassy that is mentioned in the *History of the Sung*.⁶² Three years later, in 1106, "envoys of the kingdom of P'u-kan (Pagan) having come to offer tribute, the emperor at first gave the order to receive them and give them the same treatment accorded the envoys of Chou-lien (Choḷa), but the president of the Council of Rites made the following observations: 'Chou-lien is a vassal of San-fo-ch'i';⁶³ that is why during the *hsi-ning* years (1068–1077) it was enough to write to the king of this country on heavy paper, with an envelope of plain material. The king of P'u-kan, on the other hand, is a sovereign of the great kingdom of the Fan (the Brahmans; that is, the Indian countries). One must not behave disdainfully toward him. One ought to accord to him the same honors as to the princes of Ta-shih (Arabs) and Chiao-chih (Tongking), by writing to him on silk with flowers of gold, white on the back, a letter which you enclose in a little box ringed with gold, with a silver lock and double envelope of taffeta and satin.' The emperor approved of his observations and decided that it would be thus."⁶⁴ I have cited this passage in its entirety because it shows the prestige that the kingdom of Pagan already—only sixty-two years after the accession to power of Anōratha, who was its real founder—enjoyed at the court of China, which was always anxious to maintain an exact hierarchy among foreign sovereigns.

Kyanzittha died in 1112 or shortly afterward, for it was undoubtedly on the occasion of the illness that led to his demise that his son Rājakumāra, son of the queen Trilokavataṃsikā, had

a gold statue of the Buddha cast and inscribed in four languages (Pali, Pyu, Mon, Burmese); this is the extremely valuable inscription of the pillar of Myazedi, south of Pagan.⁶⁵

4. INDONESIA FROM 1078 TO 1109; THE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI

For the period that includes the last quarter of the eleventh century and the first decade of the twelfth, the only record we have of San-fo-ch'i in the histories is the mention in the *History of the Sung* of a series of embassies it sent to China between 1078 and 1097.⁶⁶ In addition, the relations between Sumatra and southern India are shown by an inscription in Tamil found near Baros on the west coast of the island. This inscription is dated 1088 and emanates from a powerful corporation of merchants of southern India.⁶⁷ In 1089-90, at the request of the king of Kiḍāra, the Choḷa Kulottunga I⁶⁸ granted a new charter to the Śrī Śailendra Chūḍāmaṇivarmavihāra,⁶⁹ that is, to the sanctuary built at Negapatam at the order of Śailendra Chūḍāmaṇivarman around 1005.⁷⁰

During the same period, information is not much more abundant for Java and Bali.

For Java, Chinese evidence of the eleventh century gives so slight an impression of a division of the ancient kingdom of Airlanga into two states that we can suppose that Kaḍiri, the only one that has left epigraphic traces, occupied all the ports of the coast and was the sole representative of She-p'o for the merchants from the Middle Kingdom. Kaḍiri sent an embassy to China in 1109.⁷¹

We have a great number of inscriptions from Kaḍiri that tell us the names of kings with their dates but contain very little else of historical substance. The composition by Triguṇa of the *Kṛishṇāyana*,⁷² an epic poem dealing with the legend of Krishna depicted in the bas-reliefs of Chandi Jago⁷³ and Panataran,⁷⁴ dates from this period.

In 1098, Sakalendukiraṇa, a princess whose complete title⁷⁵ indicates dynastic ties with the family of Airlanga,⁷⁶ appears in Bali.

The *History of the Sung* registers an embassy to China in 1082 from King Śrī Mahārāja of P'o-ni, that is, from the west coast of Borneo.⁷⁷

5. CAMBODIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF SŪRYAVARMAN II (1113) TO THE TAKING OF ANGKOR BY THE CHAMS (1177)

In Cambodia, the accession of Sūryavarman II coincided exactly with the death of Jaya Indravarman II in Champa and that of Kyanzittha at Pagan. If the relationships between all these countries were better known, perhaps we could find a cause-and-effect relationship between the disappearance of these two powerful sovereigns and the assumption of power by this ambitious Khmer king who was to lead his troops to the east as well as to the west.

We have seen that Sūryavarman II had "taken the royalty by unifying a double kingdom."⁷⁸ We are certain that one of the two kings was Dharaṇindravarman I: "After a battle that lasted one day, King Śrī Dharaṇindravarman was stripped of his defenseless kingdom by Śrī Sūryavarman."⁷⁹ The struggle must have been violent: "Releasing the ocean of his armies on the field of combat, he [Sūryavarman II] gave terrible battle; leaping on the head of the elephant of the enemy king, he slew him, just as Garuda swooping down from the top of a mountain kills a serpent."⁸⁰ Dharaṇindravarman I received the posthumous name of Paramanishkalapada. We do not know the name of the other king from whom Sūryavarman II took power; as has been said,⁸¹ he was perhaps a descendant of Harshavarman III. The indispensable Brahman Divākara legitimized the *coup de force* of Sūryavarman II by conducting his coronation in 1113.⁸²

The new king did not lose any time in renewing relations with the court of China, which had been interrupted, it seems, for several reigns. The *History of the Sung* mentions embassies in 1116 and in 1120.

Sūryavarman II was a great conqueror who led the Khmer armies farther than they had ever been before. "He saw the kings of the other countries that he desired to subjugate coming to bring tribute. He himself went into the countries of his enemies and eclipsed the glory of the victorious Rāghu [an ancestor of Rāma]."⁸³ In his *Royaume de Champa*, Georges Maspero gives very precise details on the battles against Đai Viêt and Champa; I can do no better than to reproduce his account⁸⁴ here:

From the time that he took the crown, Sūryavarman II began harassing Champa. In 1123 and 1124, in fact, Đai Viêt constantly gave

asylum to bands of Cambodians or Chams who sought refuge in its territory from the pursuit of their enemy. In 1128, Sūryavarman led 20,000 men against Đại Việt. After having been driven from Nghê-an by Ly Công Bình, 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, often dragging Champa along with him, willingly or by force. Thus we see Champa, which in the beginning of 1131 sent tribute to the emperor Ly Thân-tông, invading Nghê-an the following year together with the Khmers.⁸⁵ They were soon driven away, however, by the garrisons of Nghê-an and Thanh-hoa reunited under the command of Đủng Anh-nhe. Jaya Indravarman III did not wish to carry these exploits further, and in 1136 he performed his duties of vassalage toward Ly Thân-tông. He did not take part in the new campaign that Sūryavarman led against Đại Việt (1138).⁸⁶ The Khmer sovereign, unsuccessful in this undertaking, turned on him with all his conquering ardor. In 1145 he invaded Champa, seized Vijaya, and made himself master of the kingdom. Jaya Indravarman III disappeared during the war, prisoner of the victor or dead on the battlefield.

The Khmer occupation of the northern part of Champa, with its capital at Vijaya (Binh-đinh), lasted until 1149.⁸⁷ When a new king, Jaya Harivarman I, established himself in 1147 in the south at Pāṇḍuranga,⁸⁸ Sūryavarman II sent an army against him. This army, composed of Khmers and Chams and under the orders of the *senāpati* Śankara, was defeated in 1148 on the plain of Rājapura.⁸⁹ An army "a thousand times stronger" met the same fate at Virapura.⁹⁰ At this point Sūryavarman II proclaimed "a Kshatriya, Prince Harideva, his brother-in-law, younger brother of his first wife,"⁹¹ king of Champa at Vijaya. Jaya Harivarman I marched on Vijaya and on the plain of Mahīśa "defeated and killed Harideva, destroyed this king with all the Cham and Cambodian *senāpati* and the Cham and Cambodian troops; they all perished."⁹² The Cham king entered Vijaya and was crowned there in 1149.⁹³ That was the end of the Khmer occupation.

After this defeat, Sūryavarman II resumed hostilities against Đại Việt and "in 1150 sent a new expedition. 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. Fever swept through the troops while they were crossing the Wu-wen Mountains, that is, the Annamite chain, and they arrived at Nghê-an so weak that they withdrew voluntarily without ever going into action."⁹⁴

We have some indications of the battles in the west in the chronicles of the Thai principalities of the upper Menam. These chronicles tell of struggles between the Kambojas of Lavo (Lopburi) and the Ramaññas (Mons) of Haripunjaya (Lamphun). Haripunjaya was the upper Menam principality, founded in the seventh century by the Mons from Lavo,⁹⁵ that had been involved in the troubles marking the accession of Sūryavarman I.⁹⁶ Since Lavo had been part of the Khmer kingdom from the preceding 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.⁹⁷ The wars were provoked, according to these texts, by Ādityarāja, the builder of Mahābalachetiya (Vat Kukut) and the discoverer of the Great Relic of Lamphun,⁹⁸ who came to power at the latest around 1150 after a series of kings whose histories we do not know.⁹⁹ He allegedly came to Lavo to challenge the Khmers but they put his army to flight and pursued it up to the walls of Haripunjaya. The Khmers were unable to take the city and had to turn back, but they returned to the attack on two occasions: the first time, the expedition ended with an agreement with Ādityarāja and with the establishment of the Khmers in a village called Kambojagāma southeast of Haripunjaya; since the pact was not approved by their sovereign, however, the Khmers had to conduct a new expedition, and this one failed completely.¹⁰⁰

Given the unreliability of the chronology, it is not certain that these events all took place during the reign of Sūryavarman II. We cannot help but notice that the war against the Mons of the upper Menam, like the campaigns against the Chams, had an unfortunate end for the Cambodians. But we know of these events only from sources hostile to Cambodia, sources that may have intentionally distorted the facts. However that may be, a great expansion of Cambodian sovereignty on the Indochinese Peninsula in the middle of the twelfth century is recorded in the *History of the Sung*,¹⁰¹ which states that Chenla (Cambodia) was bordered by the southern frontiers of Chan-ch'eng (Champa) in the north, by the sea to the east, by P'u-kan (the kingdom of Pagan) in the west, and by Chia-lo-hsi (Grahī, in the region of

Chaiya and of the Bay of Bandōn on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula)¹⁰² in the south.

In 1128, the emperor of China "conferred high dignities on the king of Chenla, named Chin-p'ou-pin-shen,¹⁰³ who was recognized as a great vassal of the empire. Some difficulties having to do with affairs of commerce were then examined and settled," between 1131 and 1147.¹⁰⁴

With regard to internal affairs, the reign of Sūryavarman II, as it appears in epigraphy, was marked by endowments at Phnom Chisor, Phnom Sandak, Vat Ph'ū, and Preah Vihear and by a series of buildings including the principal elements of Preah Pithu in Angkor Thom, Chau Say Téveda and Thommanon east of the city, and finally the masterpiece of Khmer art, Angkor Wat,¹⁰⁵ constructed during the lifetime of the king for whom it was to serve as a funerary temple.¹⁰⁶ It was in Angkor Wat that Sūryavarman II was to be deified in the form of a statue of Vishnu with the posthumous name Paramavishṇuloka.

The name Paramavishṇuloka is an indication of the favor Vishnuism enjoyed at the court, a favor that manifested itself less in the building of temples dedicated to Vishnu than in the decoration of edifices inspired for the most part by the legendary cycle of Vishnu-Krishna.¹⁰⁷ This fervor for a cult that was more capable than Sivaism of inspiring devotion (*bhakti*), the mystic pouring out of the soul toward the divinity, is found in the same period in Java, where the kings of Kaḍiri all represented themselves as incarnations of Vishnu. It is also synchronous with the religious movement that in India, at the beginning of the twelfth century, inspired Rāmānuja, the founder of modern Vishnuism.¹⁰⁸

The end of the reign of Sūryavarman II is obscure, and the date of his death is still unknown. The last inscription in his name is of 1145,¹⁰⁹ but there is every reason to believe that he was the instigator of the campaign of 1150 against Tongking and, therefore, that he reigned at least until that date.

It is possible that the question of Khmer suzerainty over Lavo (Lopburi) was reopened by the death of Sūryavarman II. This state, which the Chinese called Lo-hu, had already sent a mission to China on its own in 1115, only two years after the accession of Sūryavarman II, at a time when this young king undoubtedly had not yet established his authority over the outlying dependencies of his kingdom. A new embassy in 1155, perhaps following

the death of Sūryavarman II, probably corresponded with a new attempt to cut the ties of dependence to Angkor.¹¹⁰ An inscription of 1167 found in Siam in the region of Nagara Svarga (Nakhon Sawan) mentions a sovereign king, named Dharmāśoka, who may well have reigned in a kingdom of Lavo that had become independent.¹¹¹

The successor of Sūryavarman II, named Dharaṇindravarman II, was not his direct descendant, but his cousin.¹¹² Perhaps he became king as a result of some palace revolution. If he did, this would explain the silence of epigraphy concerning the last days of Sūryavarman II. In addition, the new sovereign was Buddhist,¹¹³ and although the Hindu kings had been tolerant of Buddhism, there had nevertheless been a long tradition of Hindu orthodoxy. This tradition was now broken. All we know about Dharaṇindravarman II is that he married a daughter of Harshavarman III, Princess Chūḍāmaṇi, by whom in about 1125 he had a son who was to reign much later under the name of Jayavarman VII.¹¹⁴ We can, with some probability, attribute the major part of the building of the Preah Khan of Kompong Svay to him.

Dharaṇindravarman II was succeeded at an undetermined date by a Yaśovarman (II) whose genealogy is not known. His reign was marked by a dramatic incident mentioned in an inscription of the temple of Banteay Ch'mar and represented on a bas-relief of the same monument: a mysterious being, to whom the text gives the name—and the sculpture the likeness—of Rāhu (Asura, who devours the sun and the moon at the time of eclipses), attacked the king, who was saved by a young prince, probably a son of the future Jayavarman VII.

Around 1165, Yaśovarman II was overthrown by a mandarin who proclaimed himself king under the name of Tribhuvanādityavarman. The future Jayavarman VII, then in Champa, returned precipitately to defend Yaśovarman, to whom he must have been related, or simply allied, during this troubled period,¹¹⁵ but he arrived too late.

At the same time that this rebel took possession of the throne of Cambodia, another seized that of Champa in 1166–67 under the name of Jaya Indravarman IV. After coming to an agreement with Đai Viêt in 1170, he turned against Cambodia. "Jaya Indravarman, the king of the Chams, presumptuous as Rāvaṇa, transporting his army in chariots, went to fight the

country of Kambu, like to heaven," says an inscription.¹¹⁶ But the struggle was indecisive. Then, changing his plans, Jaya Indravarman tried to take over Cambodia by sea. The expedition was sent in 1177.¹¹⁷ Sailing along the coast, the Cham fleet, guided by a Chinese castaway, arrived at the mouth of the Mekong and sailed up to the Great Lake. Angkor was surprised, the usurper Tribhuvanāditya killed, and the city pillaged. Such a catastrophe, coming after twenty years of internal troubles, would seem to have made it inevitable that restoration of the country could be accomplished only with great difficulty.

6. CHAMPA FROM 1113 TO 1177

King Jaya Indravarman II of Champa died around 1113 and was succeeded by his nephew Harivarman V, who reigned peacefully, continuing the establishments at Mi-sôn and remaining on excellent terms with China and Đai Viêt, with which he exchanged numerous embassies between 1116 and 1126.¹¹⁸ Perhaps for lack of a suitable heir to succeed him, in 1133 Harivarman V seems to have adopted as Yuvarāja a prince of uncertain origin, born in 1106, who succeeded him in 1139 under the name of Jaya Indravarman (III).¹¹⁹

The endowments of the new king at Mi-sôn in 1140¹²⁰ and at Po Nagar in Nha-trang in 1143¹²¹ prove that his authority was recognized in the north as well as in the south. We have seen above¹²² how, after having aided the Khmers in an expedition against Nghê-an in 1131, he reconciled his differences with Đai Viêt and then underwent the Khmer invasion of 1145, in which he disappeared.

Since the capital and the greater part of the country were in the hands of the Khmers,¹²³ the people of Pāṇḍuranga gave asylum to the new king Rudravarman IV, who had been crowned in 1145 and had fled to the south. He never reigned. This king received the posthumous name Brahmaloaka.¹²⁴ His son Ratna-bhūmivijaya, Prince Śivānandana, was a descendant of Paramabodhisattva and had been in exile under Harivarman V and Jaya Indravarman III. "At first he left his country and for a long time he met with fortune and misfortune in foreign countries; then he returned to the land of Champa." He had accompanied his father in the flight to Pāṇḍuranga, where the inhabitants proclaimed him king in 1147 under the name of Jaya Harivarman (I).¹²⁵ It was

he who in 1148 victoriously withstood the attack of Sūryavarman II and in 1149 reconquered the capital of Vijaya from the Khmer Prince Harideva. Immediately after reconquering Vijaya, he had himself crowned there.

But his task had only begun, for during his seventeen-year reign, he was constantly fighting to maintain his authority. First he had to contend with the Kirāṭas, that is, the hill tribes, "Radê, Mada and other barbarians (Mlecch'a)," grouped under the command of his disloyal brother-in-law, Vaṃśarāja.¹²⁶ Vaṃśarāja, beaten in 1150, requested aid from the emperor of Đai Viêt, who gave him five thousand soldiers from Thanh-hoa and Nghê-an.¹²⁷ "The king of the Yavanas [Vietnamese]," says an inscription of Mi-sôn, "because he learned that the king of Cambodia created obstacles for Jaya Harivarman, proclaimed Vaṃśarāja, a man of Champa, king; he gave him many Yavana *senāpati*, with many very valorous Yavana troops numbering a hundred thousand men and a thousand. . . . They advanced to the plains of Dalvā [and of Lavang]. Then Jaya Harivarman led all the troops of Vijaya. The two parties engaged in a terrible combat. Jaya Harivarman defeated Vaṃśarāja. The Yavana troops died in great numbers."¹²⁸ After he had pacified this area, Jaya Harivarman I subdued Amarāvati (Quang-nam) in 1151,¹²⁹ then Pāṇḍuranga in 1160 after five years of battle.¹³⁰

Victorious all along the line, he multiplied the religious establishments at Mi-sôn and Po Nagar,¹³¹ the two great sacred places of the kingdom. He sent an embassy to China in 1155 and a series of embassies to Đai Viêt between 1152 and 1166.¹³²

Jaya Harivarman I had at his court a high dignitary named Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapura, "expert in all weapons; . . . versed in all the *śāstras*; learned in grammar, astrology, etc.; knowing all the philosophic doctrines; learned in the doctrine of the Mahayana, etc.; expert in all the *Dharmaśāstras*, following especially the *Nārāḍīya* and the *Bhārgaviya*; taking pleasure in the *dharma*. . . ." ¹³³ In 1163–65, we see him making endowments at Mi-sôn.¹³⁴

We do not know exactly what happened at the death of Jaya Harivarman I in 1166–67. It is not certain that his son Jaya Harivarman (II) ever reigned.¹³⁵ In any case, Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapura succeeded in supplanting him and requested investiture from the court of China in 1167.¹³⁶

The whole beginning of the reign of Jaya Indravarman (IV) was taken up with hostilities against Cambodia, in anticipation of which he attempted to conciliate the emperor of Đai Viêt in 1170 by sending presents.¹³⁷ In 1177, guided by a Chinese castaway,¹³⁸ "the king of Chan-ch'eng attacked the capital of Chenla without warning with a powerful fleet, pillaged it, and put the king of Chenla to death without listening to a single peace proposal. These events produced a great hatred that bore fruit in the fifth year of *ch'ing-yüan* [1190]." ¹³⁹

7. BURMA FROM 1113 TO 1173

At Pagan, Kyanzittha, who died in 1112 or shortly after, was succeeded by his grandson Alaung-sithu (Chan'sû = Jayasûra), who had been born in 1089. Alaung-sithu was crowned under the name Tribhuvanāditya Pavaradhammarāja. The new sovereign, perhaps of Mon origin on his father's side,¹⁴⁰ was the great-grandson of Anôratha on his mother's side. At the beginning of his long reign of fifty-five years, he had to put down a rebellion in the south of Arakan, and he made his domination felt down to Tenasserim.¹⁴¹

On his return from these expeditions, Alaung-sithu saw the old Shin Arahan die at the age of eighty-one¹⁴²—the man who, about sixty years earlier, had converted Anôratha to Theravada Buddhism and indirectly instigated the conquest of Thaton.¹⁴³

In 1118,¹⁴⁴ Alaung-sithu placed Letyaminnan on the throne of Arakan. Letyaminnan was the son of the legitimate sovereign who had been overthrown by a usurper. In gratitude for this restoration,¹⁴⁵ Letyaminnan had repairs made on the sanctuary of Bodhgaya in India.¹⁴⁶

The *Glass Palace Chronicle* attributes to Alaung-sithu a series of journeys through his states, the construction of various works of public utility, and the erection of a great number of monuments. He supposedly went to Malaya, to the islands of the Arakan coast, to Chittagong and perhaps even Bengal, and to the forests of the Bhamo district. As early as 1115, he is supposed to have sent a mission to Nanchao,¹⁴⁷ and he then went there himself in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the tooth-relic¹⁴⁸ sought previously by his great-grandfather Anôratha.

The principal constructions of his reign in the capital are the temple of Shwegu of 1131¹⁴⁹ and the beautiful Thatbyinnyu

(Sabbaññu, "the Omniscient")¹⁵⁰ of 1150. They mark the transition between the period of Mon influence and the typically Burmese period of the following reigns. The composition in 1154 of the famous Pali grammar *Saddanīti* by the Burmese Aggavaṃsa¹⁵¹ proves that, a century after the introduction of Theravada Buddhism, Pagan had become an important center of Pali scholarship.¹⁵²

The *Glass Palace Chronicle* says that, since the eldest son of the king, Minshinsô, born of the queen Yadanabon, had been exiled because he was violent and insolent,¹⁵³ the second son, Narathu (Narasûra), born of the daughter of a minister of King Kyanzittha, was brought to power. In 1167,¹⁵⁴ when the eighty-one-year-old Alaung-sithu fell ill, Narathu did not hesitate to hasten the death of the old man.¹⁵⁵ Then began a whole series of assassinations. After three years of a bloody reign, marked by the murder of his brother Minshinsô, a great number of nobles, officials, and servants, and the princess of Pateikkaya,¹⁵⁶ Narathu himself died as the victim of an emissary of the princess's father.¹⁵⁷ Before dying, and to calm his remorse, he had time to build the Dhammayan (Dhamaraṃsi), the largest monument of Pagan.¹⁵⁸ The son of Narathu, Naratheinkha (Narasingha), reigned no more than three years, from 1170 to 1173, and was killed by his young brother Narapatisithu (Narapatijayasûra, or Jayasûra II), whose wife he had stolen.¹⁵⁹

This is the *Chronicle's* very romanticized account of the events following the death of Alaung-sithu. But all we can conclude from epigraphy is that Alaung-sithu died a septuagenarian. His successor Narathu died in 1165, assassinated by foreigners, probably Singhalese who had invaded the country the year before.¹⁶⁰ The *Chronicle* claims that Narathu had a son Naratheinkha who, after a reign of three years, supposedly was assassinated in 1173 by his younger brother. This Naratheinkha does not seem to have ever existed. In fact, we know of no kings of Pagan between 1165 and 1173. In 1173, perhaps with the aid of the Singhalese, the dynasty of Anôratha was restored in the person of Narapatisithu.¹⁶¹

8. INDONESIA FROM 1115 TO 1178; THE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI

Compared with the wars of the Khmers and Chams and the dramas of the Burmese, the history of the states of Indonesia during this whole period is singularly colorless.

For San-fo-ch'i, we have only the mention in the *History of the Sung* of one embassy sent to China in 1156 by the king Śrī Mahārāja and another embassy in 1178.¹⁶² Ma Tuan-lin cites a third embassy in 1176 and adds that the king who sent the embassy of 1178 began his reign in 1169.¹⁶³ The Arab geographers continue to speak of Zābag and the maharaja, but they are copying from one another without adding much information to that of their predecessors. Edrīsī, who wrote in 1154, gives, however, an interesting detail: "It is said that when the state of affairs of China became troubled by rebellions and when tyranny and confusion became excessive in India, the inhabitants of China transferred their trade to Zābag and the other islands dependent on it, entered into relations with it, and familiarized themselves with its inhabitants because of their justice, the goodness of their conduct, the pleasantness of their customs, and their facility in business. It is because of this that this island is so heavily populated and so often frequented by foreigners."¹⁶⁴

For Java, we have only the names of a series of kings of Kaḍiri, mentioned in foundation charters:¹⁶⁵

Bāmeśvara (1117–30),¹⁶⁶ who received privileges from the emperor of China in 1129 and 1132.¹⁶⁷

Varmeśvara, also known as Jayabhaya (1135–79),¹⁶⁸ who was perhaps the son of Bāmeśvara. During his reign, in 1157, the poet Sedah began the Javanese version of the *Bhāratayuddha*,¹⁶⁹ a history of the battles of the *Mahābhārata* that was finished by Panuluh, author of the *Harivaṃśa*,¹⁷⁰ a collection of legends about Vishnu.

Sarveśvara,¹⁷¹ who was reigning in 1159–61.

Aryeśvara,¹⁷² who was reigning in 1171.

Kronchāryadīpa (also known as Gandra),¹⁷³ who was reigning in 1181.

For Bali, we have only the names of Śūrādhipa in 1115–19 and of Jayaśakti in 1146–50.¹⁷⁴