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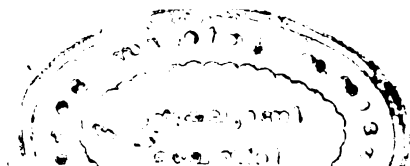
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THE HINDU COLONY
OF CAMBODIA

PROF. PHANINDRA NATH BOSE

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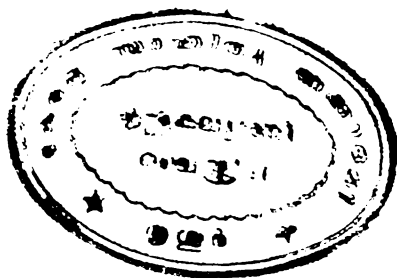
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Cambodia



THE HINDU COLONY OF CAMBODIA

69.
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THE
HINDU COLONY
OF
CAMBODIA

BY
PRF. PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

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*Author of Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, Indian
Teachers of China, Indian Colony of Champa,
Indian Colony of Siam, Principles of
Indian Silpasastra, etc., etc.*

THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE

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1927

PREFACE

It was in 1917-18 that I first got the idea of writing something about that interesting chapter of Indian history now known as Greater India. At that time I contributed a series of articles on *The Foundation of Greater India* in the pages of *The Hindustan Review*, then edited by the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha from Allahabad. The visit of Dr. Sylvain Lévi, D. Litt., as the Visiting Professor of the Visvabharati in 1921-22, gave further impetus to my plan of work. The work of Dr. Lévi in the cause of Greater India is well-known. He had worked under his *guru* M. Abel Bergaigne in deciphering the Cambodian Sanskrit inscriptions. His contribution towards the advancement of our knowledge of Central Asia need not be recounted here. His example inspired me

to carry on my self-imposed work. The result of my investigations in the forgotten domain of Greater India is published in the following books: The story of the activities of Indian pandits in Tibet has been told in my *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities* (published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). These pandits had gone to Tibet from the famous universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila to propagate the gospel of Lord Buddha among the Tibetans. It was followed by *Indian Teachers in China* (published by S. Ganesan, Madras, 1924), in which I have traced the history of the spread of Buddhism in China and the work done by the Indian Buddhist monks for the cause of Chinese Buddhism. In 1926, the Theosophical Publishing House again undertook the publication of my *Indian Colony of Champa*, which gives the story of the Indian colonisation of Champa (modern Annam) and the rise of Indian royal

dynasties with the title of Varman. The remains of the temples, images and monuments in Champa betray their Indian origin. It was followed by my *Indian Colony of Siam*, undertaken by the Panjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. It narrates the account of the Indian royal dynasty, the spread of Indian civilisation and culture, and the propagation of Buddhism in Siam. I have tried to carry that story of Greater India further in my present work. It is based on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia and on the researches of the French savants. I have utilised all the books on the subject available in India, specially in the Visvabharati Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Visvabharati

Santiniketan

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PHANINDRANATH BOSE

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THE HINDU COLONY OF CAMBODIA

ABBREVIATIONS :

- (1) J. A.=Journal Asiatique (Paris).
- (2) B.E.F.E.O.=Bulletin de l'ecole Francaise
d'extreme-orient (Hanoi).
- (3) B.C.A.I.=Bulletin de la Commission Archéo-
logique de l'Indo-Chine (Paris).
- (4) BARTH=Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge
(Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Biblot.
Nat. Paris, 1885).
- (5) BERGAIGNE=Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cam-
bodge (in the same series).
- (6) ANGKOR=Angkor : Ruins in Cambodia, by
P. Jeannerat de Berski (London, 1923).
- (7) ELLIOT=Hinduism and Buddhism, by Sir
Charles Elliot (London, 1921).
- (8) I.H.Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly (Ed. by
Dr. N. Law, Cal.).

CHAPTER I

WORKERS IN THE FIELD OF CAMBODIAN HISTORY

INDIA has natural frontiers, which lead scholars to believe that the people of India and Cambodia were always confined within her natural bounds. Such a conclusion, is, however, far from the truth. Though there are mountains and seas to prevent the free movement of the people of India, yet there are passes in the mountain ranges, which enable the people to go outside India. With boats and ships and a few trained mariners, seas offer splendid passage for communication with other countries. We have got ample

proofs to demonstrate that the people of India always went outside India. In many cases, they took their civilisation and culture, and in other cases, they even founded colonies. These colonies grew up in Southern Asia. The people of South India with the help of boats used to cross over to the islands of the Indian Archipelago, Java, Sumatra and Borneo, and establish colonies there. From Java, they used to push northwards to the mainland of Further India. In the course of the first few centuries of the Christian era, we have the foundation of the Indian colonies in Annam, Siam and Cambodia. This is the Greater India, which grew up in Further India.

Thus, Indian culture and civilisation was not confined within the natural bounds of India, but spread over a large tract of country outside India. Indian culture, according to the poet, is a full-blown flower. With a favourable wind, the seeds of the flower are blown over to

different tracts of land. Wherever the seed could find favourable ground, there another tree would grow up with flowers and buds. Thus, in the Indian cultural empire, the central flower is India, from where seeds have flown to China, Tibet, Korea, Japan, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Bali.

It is rather unfortunate that at present Indians do not possess any knowledge about the spread of Indian culture and civilisation in other countries. It was their ancestors who took Indian culture to foreign countries. But Indians of the present day are studiously ignorant of the beautiful remains of Indian culture abroad. It is a very fascinating chapter of history which we find in the progress and spread of Indian culture in the Far East. The Indians of the present day do not take any interest in the study of the institutions which have been set up by their ancestors. Many are

Our Knowledge
of Cambodian
History.

ignorant of the very existence of this cultural empire of India. They cannot even dream of the glorious past history of their Mother-country. It is mainly through the investigations of the French scholars that the past glory of India in her colonies has been unearthed. It is, however, gratifying to note that very recently one or two Indian scholars have turned their attention to this untravelled field of scholarship. We have a few scholars like Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, who wrote an article on *Hindu Influence on Further India* in the pages of the *Modern Review* (July, 1926) and Prof. R. C. Majumdar, who wrote about *Indian Colonisation in the Far East* in *Visvabharati Quarterly* (July, 1926).

How did the European scholars come to know about Cambodia and her beautiful temples? It was only after the Renaissance that any definite information about the Far East filtered to Europe.

European
Scholars and
Cambodia.

With the new awakening in Europe, there was a desire to know and travel in the East. This led many adventurers to come to the various countries of the East. The merchants and traders of Europe were also anxious to get at the untold treasures of the East. They, therefore, wanted to find out the route to India and other lands of mythical wealth. There was, consequently, a rush of merchants and traders to the East. Along with them came numerous Roman Catholic missionaries, who were responsible for revealing the mysteries of the ever-mysterious East. They penetrated into the innermost part of the East to propagate the Faith of Christ. They were, however, at the same time very careful in collecting the facts and figures of the countries they visited. Of these early travellers special mention should be made of Marco Polo, who came on a mission to the court of the great Emperor Kublai Khan.

Other travellers followed Marco Polo and like him, left interesting accounts of the Eastern countries. Another early European traveller in Cambodia was Gaspar da Cruz, who was a Dominican Friar and who travelled extensively in the Far East. Early in 1569, he wrote his book, *A Treatise of China and the Adjoining Regions*, in which we find mention of Cambodia. Gaspar dedicated the book to Sebastian, the King of Portugal. It is now a rare book.

We find other travellers in the next century. Early in the sixteenth century, we have Christoval de Jaque de Los Rios de Mancaned, who wrote *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et Occidentales, dans lequel on raconte le voyage que les Espagnols qui résident aux îles Philippines du Ponent firent au royaume de Camboge* (1606). He travelled into the East and West Indies and also into the Kingdom of Cambodia.

This book was followed by another book under the title of *The Philippine Islands*,

Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the close of the sixteenth century. It was written by Antonio de Morga in 1609. Of the several Asian countries, he paid a visit to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

For a long time after this, we do not find any remarkable traveller coming to the Kingdom of Cambodia. It was through the accounts of the travellers that we gain a knowledge of these Eastern countries. A few people, however, came from India, which, at that time, under British Rule, had become a centre for searching the little-known countries of the Far East. Three years before the Sepoy Mutiny, an English officer visited Cambodia, where he remained for three months. After his return, he wrote *Three Months in Cambodia* (by a Madras officer) in the *Journ. Ind. Archip.* (VIII, 1854, pp. 285-328).

It is to be noted that many Englishmen began to take interest in Cambodia and her

splendid remains. The Royal Geographical Society of England took up the question of collecting information about Cambodia with great enthusiasm. The Society organised and sent missions to Cambodia to make an investigation, both geographical and archæological. In 1859, Mr. D. O. King went over to Cambodia and published his *Travels in Siam and Cambodia* in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (III, 1859, pp. 365-368). In 1860 his travels appeared also in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. The efforts of the Society did not stop here. In 1866, the Society sent Mr. H. G. Kennedy on a mission to Cambodia. Next year, he submitted a *Report of an Expedition made into Southern Laos and Cambodia in the early part of the year 1866*. This report was published in the journal of the Society. It should be mentioned that H. G. Kennedy was a student-interpreter at the British consulate, Bangkok.

Only five years before (1862) the same journal published *Notes on Cambodia, the Lao Country*, which was written by Henri Mouhot, a French scholar. Other articles of this French scholar were translated under the title of *Travels in Cambodia* (*Proc. Roy. Geo. Soc.*, 1862) and *Cambodia* (*Siam Repository*, January, 1870).

It is very curious that while in the case of other countries in Indo-China, such as Champa or Siam, we do not get the writings of many English scholars and travellers, in the case of Cambodia, we have the accounts of many English writers. We have already considered some of the attempts made by the Royal Geographical Society of London in gaining a knowledge of the geography and people of the Far East. In 1859, James Cambell, a surgeon, read a paper before the Royal Society on *Notes on the Antiquities, Natural History of Cambodia compiled from Manuscripts of the late E. F. J. Forrest Esq., and from information derived from*

the Rev. Dr. House. Dr. Adolf Bastian took great interest in Cambodian antiquities. He paid a visit to Cambodia and saw the magnificent ruins of the country. He embodied the results of his travels in the form of an article, which he read before the Society on February 13, 1865. That article is known as *A Visit to the Ruined Cities and Buildings of Cambodia* (*J. R. G. S.*, 1865). This paper was followed by *The Remains of Ancient Cambodia* (*Journ. North China, B. R. As. Soc. N. S.* II, December, 1865).

Another English scholar, who visited Cambodia about this time was J. Thompson. He wrote about a *Visit to the Ruined Temples of Cambodia* (*British Ass. Adv. Science*, Nottingham, 1866). In 1872 he wrote another article on the *Antiquities of Cambodia* (*Jour. N. C. B. R. As. Soc.*, 1871-1872).

Not only the Royal Geographical Society of England but also the American Geographical

Society took interest in these countries of the Far East. The American Society sent J. G. G. D'Abain, who was ex-Commander-in-Chief of the King of Siam, to investigate into the ruins of Cambodia. It was in 1875 that his *Report to the American Geographical Society of New York on the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Ruins of Angkor and the Kingdom of Siam* was published. In 1878 another article on the *Wonderful Ruins of Cambodia* by Frank Vincent, Jr., appeared in the journal of the American Geographical Society of New York.

It was only when the French conquered Indo-China that the French *savants* began to take interest in Cambodian history. It is due to the researches of the French scholars that we are now able to trace the Indian influence in Further India. The French School at Hanoi has also done valuable work in this direction. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, we have Dr. Jules Harmond, who wrote his

Voyage au Cambodge (Bull. Soc. Geo., 1876) also *Excursion de Bassac à Attopeu* (Ibid., 1877) and *Exploration du Cambodge à l'ouest du Mekong* (Rev. Géog. Int., 1879).

The nineteenth century also witnessed the coming of Capt. Etienne Aymonier to Cambodia. His coming to Further India may be regarded as a turning point in the history of Indo-Cambodian researches. Modern investigations into the past history of Champa and Cambodia were systematically begun by him. It was by a piece of accident that while he was in Indo-China, he came across the inscriptions relating to the ancient history of Champa and Cambodia. He was a military officer, but he took upon himself the task of an archæologist. It must be said to his credit that he discharged his self-imposed task rather creditably. He made a revelation about India's intercourse with Indo-China. For collecting information about the epigraphical and archæological

monuments of Indo-China, he travelled throughout the country and published his results in the following papers :

(i) *Excursion dans le Cambodge Central* (*Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris*, 1882).

(ii) *Exploration au Cambodge* (Saigon, 1883).

(iii) *Une Mission en Indo-Chine Relation Sommaire* (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1892).

He devoted his time to the study of the Cambodian inscriptions, which threw open a new field of research. In 1885, he published the results of his research in *L'Épigraphie Kambodjienne*. He made a thorough study of these Cambodian inscriptions in various journals of oriental research, namely :

(i) *Inscriptions Cambodgiennes* (*Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1877).

(ii) *Quelques Notions sur les Inscriptions en vieux Khmér* (*J.A.*, 1883, pp. 441-505).

(iii) *Les Inscriptions du Preah Pean (Angkor Vat)* J.A., 1899.

(iv) *La Stèle de Sdok Kak Thom* (J.A., 1901, pp. 5-51).

The greatest work of M. E. Aymonier is his history of Cambodia, which he finished in three volumes. In the first volume of his work *Le Cambodge*, he describes the actual Kingdom of Cambodia, in the second, the Siamese provinces, and in the third, the group of Angkor and the history of the kingdom. The first volume of his work appeared in 1900, the second in 1901 and the third in 1904. These volumes were reviewed by scholars like M. A. Barth and others. The work was considered so valuable that in 1911 M. G. Coedés prepared an *Index Alphabétique pour le Cambodge*.

As Capt. Aymonier could not deal with the Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Cambodia, he sent them over to Paris to be deciphered by the scholars working in the Asiatic Society of

Paris. The great Indologist, M. Abel Bergaigne, was given the charge of editing those Sanskrit inscriptions. He was able to decipher and edit them with the help of his two assistants, M. A. Barth and M. Sylvain Lévi. The study of these inscriptions was embodied in his *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge* (*Not. et Ext. des Mss. de la Bib. Nat.*, xxvii, 1re partie, 2e fas. 1893, pp. 293-538). He tried to reconstruct the early history of Cambodia by fixing the chronology with the help of inscriptions. So, we get his articles on :

(i) *Chronologie de l'ancien royaume Khmér, d'après les inscriptions* (*J.A.*, January, 1884, pp. 51-76).

(ii) *Les découvertes récentes sur l'histoire ancienne du Cambodge* (*Journal des Savants*, September, 1885, pp. 546-559).

After M. Bergaigne, mention should be made of his able disciple, M. A. Barth, who had worked with his *guru* in deciphering the

Sanskrit inscriptions sent from Cambodia. In 1885 came out his *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge* in the same series as his *guru's*. These inscriptions form the basis of research in Cambodian history. He has three other articles to his credit, namely :

(i) *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge* (J.A., 1882, pp. 195-230).

(ii) *Inscription Sanscrite de Srey Santhor* (ctes. rendues Ac. Insc. et B.-Let., 1883, pp. 90-92).

(iii) *Une Inscription Buddhique du Cambodge* (Revue Archéologique Mars-Avril, 1883).

Another French scholar of great repute, who devoted his energy to the study of Cambodian inscriptions is M. George Coëdès, Elève de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes and afterwards Pensionnaire de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient. In 1904 he discussed about *Inscription de Bhavavarman II, roi du Cambodge* (561 Çaka).¹

¹ B. E. F. E. O., 1904, p. 691.

It was, followed by his article on *La Stèle de Ta-prohm* in the journal of the French School in the Far East.¹ He rendered valuable service to the cause of the history of Champa and Cambodia by making a list of all the available inscriptions in *Inventaire des Inscriptions du Champa et du Cambodge*.² He also made special study of the following inscriptions :

(i) *La Stèle de Tép Pranam* (J.A., 1908, Mars-Avril, p. 203).

(ii) *Les inscriptions de Bât Cum* (J.A., 1908, Sept.-Oct., p. 213).

(iii) *L'inscription de Bāk-Sei Cām Kron* (J.A., 1909, Mai-Juin, p. 467).

Special mention should be made of his *Etudes Cambodgiennes*, which are very interesting (B. E. F. E. O., 1911). In these studies he has dealt with a large number of problems

¹ B. E. F. E. O., 1906, pp. 44-51.

² *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 37-92.

associated with the political and cultural history of Cambodia. The variety of subjects treated by him shows his deep knowledge of Cambodian history. He has dealt with the following topics :

1. La Légende de la Nāgī.
2. Une inscription du sixième siècle Çaka.
3. Une nouvelle inscription du Phnom Bákhen.
4. La grotte de Poñ Phráh Thvar.
5. Une inscription d'Udayādityavarman I.
6. Des édicules appelés " Bibliothèques ".
7. Seconde étude sur les bas-reliefs d'Ankor-vat.
8. La fondation de Phnom Pen au XV^e siècle d'après la chronique Cambodgienne.
9. Le serment des fonctionnaires de Sūryavarman I.
10. Inscription de Pràsàt Pràm.
11. La Stèle de Pàlhàl (*B. E. F. E. O.*, 1913, No. 6).

Leaving aside these stray articles on Cambodia, we have two systematic attempts in writing the history of Cambodia from its earliest times to the present day. One is from the pen of M. Adhémar Leclère, who was for some time the French Resident in Cambodia. His work is known as *Histoire du Cambodge*, which gives an account of Cambodia from the first century of the Christian era based on Khmer inscriptions, Chinese and Annamite annals and European documents of the last six centuries. It was published in 1914 (Paris) and divided into two books. The first book is entitled *Cambodia: its legends and inscriptions*. It describes Indo-China and its peoples in the commencement of the European era. The first book is sub-divided into ten chapters and describes Fou-nan, its legends, its kings, Kaundinya, Jayavarman I and Rudravarman, the capital, Vyadhāpura and Sāmbhupura, notice of the peoples who had relation with

Cambodia before the eighth century, namely, Champa, Annam-Tonkin, island of Malaca, Siam, India and China, also during the eighth to fourteenth centuries, and the revolution of the fourteenth century. The second book takes the events down to the sixteenth century and is divided into four chapters describing the Cambodia of chronicles and other historical documents.

The other book, written also in French and giving the complete history of Cambodia, is *L'Empire Khmèr: Histoire et Documents* by M. Georges Maspero, Administrator of Civil Service of Indo-China. The book is a very important work on Cambodia, based on up-to-date research. It was published in 1904 and contains chronological tables of the Kings of Cambodia, table of inscriptions and proper names of travellers. Within a small compass, the book contains the complete history of Cambodia.

Cambodia is rich in archæological monuments. The remains of Angkor Vat attracted the attention of many a scholar. The magnificent temples of the place were visited by numerous travellers, who have left valuable accounts. One of the earliest travellers to these ancient ruins is M. L'abbé C.-E. Bouillevaux, who was an apostolic missionary in Indo-China. He wrote about his visit to Angkor in an article in French entitled *Ma Visite aux Ruines Cambodgiennes en 1850*, which appeared in the *Mémoires de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise* in 1879 with an introduction by M. Le Marquis de Croizier, President of the Indo-Chinese Academic Society.

When the French Government came to know of the artistic excellence and magnificence of these Cambodian ruins, they sent missions to report on their artistic excellence. In 1873 M. L. Delaporte was made the chief of the mission of exploration for Khmer monuments.

In 1874, after a careful scientific search for Cambodian monuments, he presented his admirable report to the French Government—*Rapport . . . sur la mission scientifique aux ruines des monuments Khmèrs de l'ancien Cambodge*. Not only this, he tried also to collect the Khmer monuments in one central place. With that object in view, in the course of four years (1874-1878), he organised the Khmer Museum, where the available specimens of Khmer art were collected. The enthusiasm of the French Government, fortunately, over these sculptural and architectural works did not stop here. Again, in 1888, M. Lucien Fournereau was deputed as an architect for further exploration in these territories. In the same year (October 4, 1888), he was able to submit his *Rapport d'ensemble sur la mission archéologique accomplie dans le Siam et au Cambodge*. He made a special study of the Khmer art and wrote about *Les ruines d'Angkor* with special reference

to the historical and artistic excellence of the Khmer monuments of Siamese Cambodia (1890).

The researches of these eminent scholars opened out a new field of archæological importance. A necessity was felt by the scholars for grouping and classifying all the monuments discovered in Cambodia. Accordingly, M. Henri Parmentier, chief of the Archæological Service of the French School in the Far East, made a catalogue of the monuments preserved in the Khmer Museum of Phnom Pén (*B. E. F. E. O.*, XII, 3). Another name to be mentioned here in this connection is that of Capt. Lunet de Lajonquière of the Colonial Infantry, attached to the French School of the Far East. He made a thorough investigation into the Cambodian ruins and published his *Recherche des Monuments Archéologiques du Cambodge* in 1901. For the French School, he prepared archæological maps of Indo-China, of Champa and of

Cambodia. The great work of his life was *Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge*. It is a monumental work published in three volumes and included among the publications of the French School. A few years after, it was found out that the new discoveries in Cambodia required a supplement to the existing catalogue. Henri Parmentier, therefore, brought out *Complément à l'Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge* (B. E. F. E. O., XIII). Another catalogue was prepared by M. G. Coedès under the title—*Catalogue des pièces originales de sculpture Khmère conservées au musée Indo-Chinois du Trocadero et au Musée Guimet* (B. C. A. I., 1910, I). He also wrote about *The Great Temple of Angkor Wat* in the pages of the *Buddhist Review* for July, 1911, and on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat (B. C. A. I., 1911).

Lastly, we must not forget to mention the name of M. L. Finot, the Director of the

French School in the Far East. He wrote about :

(i) *Notes d'Archéologie Cambodgienne* (B. C. A. I., 1912).

(ii) *Un Hôpital Cambodgien au XII siècle* (P. C. I. E. E. O., 1902).

(iii) *Phnom Baset* (B. E. F. E. O., 1903, 1).

A Society has also been formed for the preservation of the monuments of Angkor Vat under the name of Société d'Angkor in 1907. The Society is doing good work in this direction. It has published *Bulletin No. 1, Société d'Angkor pour la conservation des monuments anciens de l'Indo-Chine* (1908). A local sub-committee of the Society was also formed at Phnom-Penh in the year 1907.

It is the French scholars, who have opened up a new field of research in Cambodia. Through the results of their continued research, we know of the influence exercised by Indian culture and civilisation in the Khmer empire

of Cambodia. The history of the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia, which we narrate in the following pages, is mainly based on the researches of the French scholars.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN COLONISATION OF CAMBODIA

THOUGH the later Hindu Sāstras forbid the crossing of the sea for a Hindu, yet it is significant how the Hindus of the ancient days used to frequent the distant countries of Asia. Those people who used to leave their own land were led by diverse motives. The merchants and the traders were the first to cross the ocean. They used to go to the islands of Ceylon, Andamans, Java, Sumatra and other islands and sell their goods there in exchange of the spices and other products of the islands. Thus these merchants and traders were the first to establish commercial relations with islands.

beyond the Indian borders. If a large number of merchants gathered together in one place in a foreign land, they would establish a temple for their daily worship. We have instances of how such temples have been founded outside India by Indian merchants and traders. Through these temples, Indian culture tried to penetrate into those countries. When the ground was thus prepared, adventurers would go and try to establish royal authority there. The second object of the Hindus, therefore, was to plant colonies in lands beyond the seas.¹ We have such instances in Ceylon, Champa, and other countries. The Ceylonese chronicles tell us the story of its Hindu colonisation. We know that the colonisation of Champa by the Indians took place in the first century A.D.² About the same time the

¹ R. Chanda—*Early Indian Seamen*, p. 113 (Asutosh Jubilee Volume).

² See my *Indian Colony of Champa*, p. 20.

country, now known as Cambodia, was also colonised by the Indians. The country was then known as Funan, which maintained its power till the fifth century A.D., when Cambodia rose up from its ruins. Thus we may hold that Cambodia or as a matter of fact Funan had been colonised in the first century of the Christian era. The Indian royal dynasty was established in Cambodia in the sixth century A.D. The first Indian who came to Funan (Cambodia) was Kaundinya, of whom we read in the Chinese books :

“Kaundinya was at first a Brahmin of India. A supernatural voice told him, ‘you must go and reign in Funan.’ Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. In the south he reached P’an-p’an. The people of Funan heard of it. The whole kingdom arose with enthusiasm, came to meet him and chose him as their king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India.” (*Leang Shu.*)

The Cambodians, however, look upon Kambu Svāyambhuva as their ancestor. He was the King of Ārya-desa (India) and he travelled to Cambodia, married the daughter of the Nāga King. Through the power of the Nāgas, the vast deserts became a glorious land. A famous race of men descended from Kambu, and thus, according to the Cambodian tradition, the whole kingdom came to be known as Cambodia, of the sons of Kambu.¹ Kambu Svāyambhuva is, therefore, regarded as the ancestor of the Khmers of Cambodia and also as a Manu in that country.

The Cambodian annals explain the origin of the Cambodian Kingdom thus: "Adityavamsa, King of Indraprastha, was displeased with one of his sons and banished him from the State. He came to the country of Kok Thlok and made himself master of it by defeating the

¹ *Angkor: Ruins in Cambodia*, by P. Jeannerat de Beerski, p. 39.

native king. One evening he was walking on a sand bank when suddenly the tide arose and obliged him to pass the night there. A Nāgī of marvellous beauty came to play on the sand and the king overpowered by her charm agreed to marry her. Then, the Nāgarāja, the father of the betrothed girl, extended the dominions of his would-be son-in-law by drinking the water which covered the country and built a capital for him, changing the name of the kingdom into that of Kamboja.”¹

Both the above legends point to India as the country from where the first colonist had come. In the second legend only the name of the colonist is not given, otherwise both point to the same facts. As we have pointed out, this colonisation took place in the fifth century A.D.

The original inhabitants of Cambodia are the Khmers. They belong to the Mon-Khmer

¹ R. C. Majumdar: *Indian Colonisation in the Far East* (V. Quarterly, 1926, July).

group, which is formed of the Mons of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia. The Mon-Khmer tongues represent a group of languages known as Austro-Asiatic, extending over the whole Malay Peninsula and parts of India.¹ With the wave of Indian colonisation coming over to Cambodia, these Khmers were gradually Indianised.

From which part of India did these colonists cross over to Cambodia? Prof. J. Sarkar holds that these adventurers, merchants, soldiers, and Brahmans departed probably from that coast of Coromandal which faced the East, the coast of ancient Kalinga, of ancient Telingana, particularly the country of the lower courses of Krishna and Godavari.² It seems that the wave of colonisation went both from the South and from the North of India, more specially

¹ Finot: *Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China* (I. H. Q., December, 1925, pp. 600-601.)

² *Hindu Influence on Further India*—*Mod. Rev.*, July, 1926, p. 5.

from the South. The Cambodian Kings bore the title of *Varman*, which reminds one of the Pallava Kings of South India. The magnificent temples of Angkor Vat or of Bayon are similar to the Gopuras of Southern India. Taking all these facts together, as well as the introduction of Natarāja Siva from South India, one thinks that the colonists perhaps came from Southern India. But there were colonists who came from Northern India also. We have the example of the learned doctor Bhaṭṭa Divākara going from the bank of the Kālindi (Yamuna) to Cambodia in the tenth century of the Christian era. Other colonists from India are said to have gone from Madhyadesa, which may also be placed in Northern India. Again, M. Aymonier says that India imprinted on Cambodge not only its two religious and sacred languages, but also its double alphabet, namely, the script of the Aryans of the North and that of the Dravidians of the South. Thus it is clear

that both the North and South of India supplied colonists to the Hindu colony of Cambodia. The whole of India was looked upon by the Cambodians as a sacred land and to them India was known as *Ārya-desa*. We have record of colonists going from time to time from India to Cambodia, but it is very doubtful whether there was any regular communication between the mother-country and the colony.

It must be borne in mind that it was not a kind of Imperialism which India preached in those days. No doubt India sent colonists to plant colonies outside her borders, but those colonies were not bound by any bond, direct or indirect, with the mother-country. India never had a supreme Emperor, who could extend his supremacy to the whole of India and control the migrations of the Indian people. The colonies, therefore, owed nothing to India, though they took their culture and civilisation from India. The merchants, adventurers and

missionaries carried with them the tradition of Indian culture, which was borrowed by the local people. Thus India established only a *cultural empire* outside India and nothing more. Cambodia formed a part and parcel of that Indian cultural empire, which extended over Eastern and Southern Asia.

CHAPTER III

FUNAN AND CAMBODIA

BEFORE we consider the Hindu colony of Cambodia, we have to take into consideration the Kingdom of Funan, which was established to the west of Champa (Annam) in the beginning of the Christian era. This Funan was also a Hindu colony, which maintained its independence for five hundred years, after which the Kingdom of Cambodia became prominent. We do not know of any other name of Funan, but M. L. Finot holds that this name is very likely a transcription of the Khmer word *Vnam* "mountain," written to-day *Blnam*. From the Chinese evidences we know that Funan was a

great Hindu empire having a strong navy and comprising Cochin China, Cambodia, Lower Laos, Siam and Malay Peninsula.¹

Thanks to the industry of Prof. Paul Pelliot we have in his monumental book *Le Funan* (*B. E. F. E. O.*, III) all the available Chinese texts concerning Funan collected, translated and discussed. From these sources we know of the great Hindu colony which preceded our Cambodia. The Hindu colonists, therefore, in the beginning of the first century A.D. established this Kingdom of Funan occupying the same place as Cambodia in later days.

Who was the founder of the royal power of this Kingdom of Funan? According to the local tradition, the founder was a Brahmin, Kaundinya by name, who came from India, and landed on the Cambodian coast. After marrying a Nāgī called Somā, he founded the royal dynasty, which according to the matriarchal

¹ L. Finot—*Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China* (I. H. Q. I.)

system prevailing among them was known as Somavamsa. About the legend of the Nāgī and the local tradition, the readers are referred to the article on the subject by M. G. Coedès in *B. E. F. E. O.*, XI. According to M. Finot this legendary pedigree of Funan was borrowed from the Pallavas of Southern India. It is, therefore, probable that the Indian colonists of Funan came from Southern India.

It is very interesting to note how the colonists of Funan tried sometimes to keep up the relation with their mother-country. In the third century A.D. we hear of a king in Funan named Fan Chan (Candavarman?), who sent an embassy to India and tried to have direct relation with India. The immediate cause of this embassy was the arrival of an Indian trader named Kia-sang-li in Funan. From him, the king learned an account of India, which is preserved in the Chinese chronicles. We know from the Chinese version :

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

When the Indian King of Funan came to know that India, his mother-country, was only 30,000 li away from Funan, he got an idea of sending an embassy to India, so that he might get direct knowledge of the mother-country. In the history of the Indian colony in Champa, we meet with an instance in which an Indian King of Champa left his royal throne in order to pay a visit to India and gain satisfaction by a sight of the holy river Ganges. Here, we

have the case of the trader coming from India and a royal mission sent to India from Funan.

Accordingly King Fan Chan deputed a royal embassy to India with Suwu, one of his relatives, as its leader about A.D. 240—245. The account of the travels of this mission is also preserved in Chinese books, which tell us that the mission started from Kiu-li in Malay Peninsula. The Chinese chronicles continue :

“Due north-west he (Suwu) sailed into many a bay and along many a kingdom. After more than a year he reached the mouth of the river of India. After sailing up that river for 7,000 li, he finally arrived. The King of India was surprised and said : ‘ So, on the farthest shores of the ocean there are such men still ! ’ Then he gave an order that they should be shown about the kingdom. Besides he deputed two men, of whom Ch’en Song was one, to thank Fan Chan and present him with four horses from the country of Yue-tche ; and he

sent back Suwu and others. At the end of four years, they came back. [The emperor] Wu had just then sent K'ang T'ai as an ambassador to Funan (A.D. 244—252). He saw Ch'en Song and others, and asked them for information regarding the circumstances and customs of India."¹

Thus the embassy sent by the Indian King of Funan to India was well received by the King of India, who was known as Mu-lun (Murunda). He was, however, not aware of the Indian colony established in Indo-China; rather he was surprised to find men, specially his own country-men, living in such a distant country. The Indian King also sent another deputation to Funan to thank the King of Funan for taking such a keen interest in India and her peoples.

In the fourth century A.D., we again hear of a second Kaundinya, who reformed the morals of

¹ *I. H. Q.*, I, p. 612.

the people of Funan. The Chinese books tell us that "Kaundinya was at first a Brahmin of India. A supernatural voice told him, 'you must go and reign in Funan.' Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. In the south he reached P'an p'an. The people of Funan heard of it. The whole kingdom arose with enthusiasm, came to meet him and chose him as their king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India".

This is the second time that a wave of civilisation came from India to Funan. We have seen that the founder of the Indian dynasty was a Brahmin from India, who brought with him the civilisation and culture of India. After three centuries, we meet with another Kaundinya, who usurped the royal power and also gave new laws to the people of Funan. Thus batches of colonists were coming from time to time from the mainland in order to keep up the torch of Indian culture in this far-off Indian colony.

In the next century (A.D. 484) we meet with Kaundinya Jayavarman reigning over Funan. It was during his reign that an embassy, with the Indian monk Śākya Nāgasena, was sent over to the Chinese court. This Buddhist monk told the Emperor that the God Mahesvara (Siva) was worshipped in Funan and that the God lived on the sacred mountain Motan. He offered several presents to the Chinese Emperor including two *stupas* of ivory.

We conclude, therefore, that both the Indian religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, had penetrated into Funan in the fifth century A.D. The prevalence of the worship of Mahesvara shows the increasing influence of Saivism. In the monk Śākya Nāgasena, we have the existence of Buddhism in Funan. Among his presents to the Chinese Emperor were two *stupas* of ivory. This shows that Buddhism was also flourishing in Funan. In speaking of the religion of the people of Funan, a Chinese

record says: "They worship the genii of Heaven (the devas). They make bronze images of those genii; those with two faces have four arms, and those with four faces eight arms. Each hand holds something, sometimes a child, sometimes a bird or a beast, or the sun or the moon."¹

We hear of this embassy also in the Chi annals (479-501), where we read that during the Song rule (420-478) the King of Funan had the family name of Kiao-tchen-jou (Kaundinya) and the personal name of Cho-ye-pa-mo (Jayavarman). In 484, Jayavarman sent the Hindu monk S'ākya Nāgasena (Na-Kia-Sien) with a petition to the Chinese Emperor saying: "The King of Funan, your subject Kaundinya Jayavarman, says: Your subject and his people in their country enjoy abundance and superfluity, the four seasons succeed in harmony, the monks and laymen are numerous. This is

¹ *I. H. Q.*, I, p. 613.

only due to the brilliant influence of your Majesty. Your subject had sent ambassadors to offer you presents and to trade with Canton. The Hindu monk Sākya Nāgasena had visited Canton. He told us that your Majesty was saintly and virtuous and governed with benevolence, that you gave great attention to the reform of manners, that the law of Buddha was flourishing and that the monks were numerous in your country. Your subject, therefore, now sends this monk Sākya Nāgasena as an envoy to present this petition to you along with various presents as tribute."

When the monk Nāgasena went to the Chinese court, he presented this petition of King Kaundinya Jayavarman along with a supplementary paper by himself. He said that the custom of the country was to follow the cult of the God Mahesvara, who remains on the mount Mo-tan, which is a marvellous one and where trees prosper in great number.

The God Mahesvara profits by this environment and draws his supernatural power. All the kings receive his beneficence and it extends to all the people.¹

In 503 Jayavarman sent another embassy to the Chinese court with a coral image of Buddha. An imperial order says: "The King of Funan, Kaundinya Jayavarman, lives near the limits of the sea. From generation to generation he and his family governed the southern country. Their sincerity is manifested by their numerous presents of homage. It is necessary, therefore, to confer on them a glorious title. It will be, therefore, the General of the South, King of Funan."

King Jayavarman died in 514 and was succeeded by a son of a concubine named Lieou-to-pa-mo (Rudravarma), who sent an image of Buddha made of Indian sandal to the Chinese court as tribute.²

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1903, pp. 257—262.

² *Ibid.*, III, pp. 269—270.

In the Chinese *History of the Souei* (589-618), composed in the seventh century, we read that the Kingdom of Chen-la was situated to the south-west of Lin-yi. It was originally a vassal kingdom of Funan. The name of the family of the king of this kingdom was Ksatriya (*Tch'a-li*) and the personal name was Citrasena (*Tche-to-sseu-na*). After his death, his son Īsānasena (*Yi-chö-na-sien*) succeeded him. He lived at the city of Īsāna (*Yi-chö-na-tcheng*=Īsānapura).¹ •

So long, we have met only with the Kingdom of Funan, but now we come across two others, namely, the Kingdoms of Chen-la and of Lin-yi. The Sinologists have tried to identify these kingdoms. M. Aymonier wrote a special article on the identification of Funan.² He thought that the Chinese chronicles do not give any help as to the identification of Funan. He,

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, II p. 123.

² *J. A.*, 1903, January-February, pp. 109—150.

therefore, concluded that Funan and Chen-la are the same, occupying modern Cambodia. We, however, think with M. Pelliot that Funan occupied the territory extending considerably towards the west and including Cochin China, Cambodia and Siam.

Before the rise of the historical Kingdom of Cambodia, to the Chinese historians, Cambodia was known as Chen-la and was a vassal of Funan. The Kingdom of Champa was called Lin-yi by the Chinese, and it is said that Funan was 3,000 li away from the Kingdom of Lin-yi (Champa).

We have heard of the greatness of the Kingdom of Funan, which commanded a large tract of country, had a strong navy and maintained diplomatic relations with China and India. We shall presently see how this Hindu kingdom in the seventh century A.D. gave way to another powerful kingdom of the Indian colonists rising in Chen-la (Cambodia). In the middle of the

seventh century, when the King of Funan became weak, he was defeated by the Hindu King Citrasena of Cambodia. From this event dates the beginning of Cambodian supremacy. The Chinese chronicles thus speak of this incident: "Chen-la lies on the south-west of Lin-yi. It was in the beginning a State subordinate to Funan . . . Citrasena conquered Funan and brought it fully within control." (*Suei Shu*.)

Again, another Chinese record says: "In the period Ta-t'ong of the Leang dynasty (A.D. 535—545), [Chen-la] vanquished for the first time the King of Funan and occupied his territory."

Thus fell the great Hindu colony of Funan, and from its ruins rose the magnificent Kingdom of Cambodia, founded by the Hindus.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF CAMBODIA

IN the beginning of the Christian era, adventurers from India came to Indo-China and colonised a vast tract of territory by founding the great Hindu Kingdom of Funan. Side by side, another Hindu colony grew up in Champa (Annam). When these kingdoms were rising up in Farther India, in the mainland of India events were moving faster. The great Maurya Empire of Asoka and his grandfather Chandragupta had fallen into pieces and the dynasties of Sunga and Kanva were ruling over the destinies of the Magadhan Kingdom. The Kingdom of Funan, founded at such a period,

maintained its independence for five hundred years and was finally overpowered by the new Hindu Kingdom of Cambodia.

If we have to trace the history of Cambodia, we have to go back to the days of greatness of Funan, because Cambodia formed a part and parcel of the great Kingdom of Funan. Under the name of Chen-la, Cambodia was a vassal Kingdom of Funan. It is, therefore, natural for some historians to take Chiao-ch'en-ju as the founder of the Indian dynasty of Funan (Cambodia), who 'changed the institutions of Funan (Cambodia) to introduce those of India'. Here, Funan and Cambodia are taken as synonyms, which they are not. From the tradition as preserved by the Chinese chronicles, we learn that there were two Indian invasions of Cambodia (Funan): one by Hun-tien about the first century of the Christian era and another by Kaundinya about A.D. 400. Mr. Elliot is of opinion that the name Hun-tien also represents

Kaundinya, and he as well as M. Finot favour the theory of two Kaundinyas and of two invasions. On the authority of M. Maspero, Elliot suggests that the first invasion came from Java and was part of the movement which founded the Kingdom of Champa.¹

But the real founder of Cambodia was not Kaundinya who established the Kingdom of Funan, inspired by a divine call, and completely Hinduised Funan by reforming the institutions of Funan on the model of those of India. The real founder of Cambodia is mentioned in the Samskrit inscriptions, which have, in large numbers, been discovered in that kingdom. The inscription discovered at Baksey Chang Krang says that it is a certain S'rutavarman, who was the founder of Cambodia.² This inscription was transcribed by M. Sen'art. In his article on *Les Inscriptions Sanscrites du*

¹ Elliot, III, p. 107.

² *J. A.*, 1884, p. 54.

Cambodge, M. Bergaigne gives an account of the above inscription. After invoking the principal Brahmanic Gods, the inscription speaks of a Kambu Svāyambhuva, who was evidently considered as a sort of Manu of Cambodia. Just as in India Manu Svayambhuva is considered as a Prajāpati, from whom the Indians trace their descent, so the people of Cambodia set up this Kambu Svāyambhuva in imitation of the Indian Manu and traced their descent from him. They were known after him as Kāmbujas. The inscription then speaks of the first kings who belonged to the family of this Kambu, (*S'rī Kambubhubharabhṛitah*) and who were independent of all tribute (*apāstabalibandhakṛitābhīmānāh*). Therefore, the mythical personage, from whom the Cambodian kings descended, is Kambu Svāyambhuva. From him we may begin the dynasty of kings in Cambodia. After Kambu, there is another personage, who is looked upon as the earliest

king of this country. He is King S'rutavarman. The kings, who followed him, are known as S'rutāvarmmamūlāḥ (having their origin in the family of S'rutavarman).¹ Accordingly, M. Bergaigne² in *Chronologie de l'ancien royaume Khmér, d'après les inscriptions*, takes S'rutavarman as the first King of Cambodia. He also maintains that this S'rutavarman was the same personage who figures at the head of the genealogy of King Jayavarman VII, as the father of one S'reshṭhavarman, the sovereign King (Aḍhirāja) of S'reshṭhapura.³

We can, therefore, hold that the first mythical personage of Cambodia was Kambu Svāyambhuva, who was followed by the first King S'rutavarman and his son S'reshṭhavarman, the Lord of S'reshṭhapura.

¹ *J. A.*, 1882, p. 152.

² *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Besides these kings, we hear of other kings having descent from a distinct line. The inscription of Baksey Chang Krang, after the above kings, mentions a series of kings, of whom the first was Rudravarman. The inscription speaks of this line of kings as beginning with Rudravarman (*S'rīrudravarm-manṛipatipramukhāḥ*). These kings beginning with Rudravarman perhaps belonged to a second branch of the first dynasty. They are said to take their origin from the daughter of Kaundinyasoma (*S'rikaundinyasomaduhitṛ-prabhavāḥ*). We, therefore, get two early lines of kings: one beginning with Śrutavarman and the other with Kaundinyasoma. The first line seems to be mythical and the second historical.¹

Who was this Kaundinyasoma? Is he to be identified with Kaundinyasoma, the founder of Funan? It remains to be decided whether we

¹ *J. A.*, 1882, p. 152.

can identify this Kaundinyasoma with King Chiao-Chen-ju, the founder of the greatness of Funan in the fifth century A.D. It might be, however, that Rudravarman and others descended from the female line of Kaundinyasoma and became the sovereigns of Cambodia.

M. Barth, however, holds that the first historic King of Cambodia was Rudravarman.¹ In the Ang Chumnik inscription we get a list of Kings of Cambodia with Rudravarman at the head :

- (1) Rudravarman.
- (2) Bhavavarman.
- (3) Mahendravarman.
- (4) Īsānavarman.
- (5) Jayavarman.

The question comes to this : Do these kings belong to the family of Kaundinyasoma ? That these kings flourished in the 'dynasty of Kaundinyasoma seems to be probable, because

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 66.

in the Cambodian inscription it is said that they belong to the family of Kaundinya. In the Prea Eynkosey inscription, we read that these kings were born in *Kaundinyavansi*.¹ Therefore, it seems that Rudravarman was preceded by Kaundinya, who again was preceded by two other kings, S'rutavarman and S'resthavarman, who were more or less mythical kings. Thus, we may reconstruct the chronological table of the early Kings of Cambodia :

- (1) Kambu Svāyambhuva.
- (2) S'rutavarman.
- (3) S'resthavarman.
- (4) Kaundinya. (?)
- (5) Rudravarman.
- (6) Bhavavarman.
- (7) Mahendravarman.
- (8) Īsānavarman.
- (9) Jayavarman.

¹ Barth—*Ins. Sans. du Camb.*, p. 52.

We shall presently see that Cambodia emerged as an independent kingdom only in the time of King Bhavavarman, when his younger brother Citrasena defeated the King of Funan and occupied the kingdom.¹

¹ Finot—*I. H. Q.*, p. 614.

CHAPTER V

EARLY KINGS OF CAMBODIA

THE mythical personage, from whom the Kings of Cambodia trace their descent, is Kambu Svāyambhuva. He is the Manu of Cambodia and may be regarded as the founder of the royal dynasty in Cambodia. M. Finot remarks that as the Kings of Funan claimed to be descendants of the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgi Somā, so the first Kings of Cambodia claimed as their ancestors Mahārṣi Kambu and the Apsaras Merā, hence they were called the *Kambujas*, i.e., born of Kambu.¹

¹ Finot—*I. H. Q.*, p. 614.

In this family of Kambu Svāyambhuva was born Śrutavarman, whom we take as the first Indian King of Cambodia. Just as in Champa, the history of Cambodia begins with an Indian dynasty. Indians had already made themselves masters in Funan and Champa. Through the Indian kings and colonists of Funan, Indian culture had already begun to spread in Cambodia also. With the establishment of another Indian dynasty in Cambodia, Indian manners and customs began to obtain a firm hold in this country. Many scholars take him as a mythical king, but we need not question his existence, though research in this direction might not have thrown much light on his personality. In the Baksey Chang Krang inscription, we find that the later kings are said to have originated from Śrutavarman. It is, therefore, natural to take Śrutavarman as the first Indian King of Cambodia. His

influence might not have been very wide, but later kings fondly kept up his memory by taking him as the head of the Cambodian royal dynasty.

Śrutavarman, the first Indian King of Cambodia, was succeeded by Śreṣṭhavarman. Like his predecessor, he was also a local chief and a vassal of Funan. Cambodia had not yet asserted its independence. He is mentioned in the genealogy of King Jayavarman VII as the *Adhirāja* (sovereign king) of Śreṣṭhapura, which he had established after his own name.¹ This Śreṣṭhapura was the then capital of Cambodia or Chen-la as the Chinese used to call it. This capital lay near Bassac in Laos, on the fifteenth degree north latitude. M. G. Coedes has discussed about the site of Śreṣṭhapura in his article on *Le site primitif du Tchen-la*.²

¹ *I. A.*, 1884, p. 54.

² *B. E. F. E. O.*, XVIII, 9, pp. 1—13.

The reign of Śreṣṭhavarman also witnessed the gradual spread of Indian culture in Cambodia.

It is difficult to say who succeeded King
 Kaundinya. Śreṣṭhavarman. Though we have included Kaundinya in the list of Kings of Cambodia, it is probable that he never came to the throne of Cambodia. The later kings like Rudravarman and others trace their descent through the daughter of Kaundinya. In the Baksey Chang Krang inscription we read that Rudravarman and others were born in the daughter's line of Kaundinyasoma (*Śrī Kaundinyasomaduhitṛprabhavāḥ*).

The original line of Cambodian Kings began
 with Kambu Svāyambhuva, but
 Rudravarman. it suffered a break after Śreṣṭhavarman. Then began a series of kings beginning with Rudravarman. The Baksey Chang Krang inscription speaks of them as "Śrirudravarmanṛpatipramukhāḥ".¹ These kings came

¹ I. A., 1882, p. 152.

by the daughter's line of Kaundinyasoma, so they are said to belong to Kaundinyavaṇsa (the family of Kaundinya) of Funan fame. This line, therefore, may be regarded as the second line of Kings of Cambodia.

Rudravarman was one of the great kings of this period. He is highly praised in the Cambodian inscriptions and compared to the God Viṣṇu and to Dilīpa. He is referred to in the Ang Chumnik inscription, which begins with an invocation to Paramesvara (Siva), who has been described as *ananyasāmānyamahimā* (whose majesty cannot be equalled by any). King Rudravarman was compared to the God Viṣṇu. He is said to be as invincible as Trivikrama (a name of Viṣṇu). The inscription says: "Rājā Śrīrudravarmmāsīt trivikrama-parākramaḥ." (There was a king named Śrī Rudravarman, who was as powerful as Trivikrama). He is also compared to the great King Dilīpa of the Ramayana fame. We have

in the inscription: "Yasya saurājyaṃ adyāpi dilīpasyeva visrutam." (Whose happy reign is even now celebrated as equal to that of Dilīpa).¹

By this time, the Indian medical science had been introduced in Cambodia, and we come across persons who were versed in the Ayurvedic system. The Ang Chumnik inscription tells us that King Rudravarman had in his service two great medical men, named Brahmadatta and Brahmasimha. They were two brothers, the former being the elder and the latter the younger. They were not like the ordinary physicians, but were like the divine doctors Asvinis. These two again had two illustrious nephews (*bhāgineyas*): Dharmadeva, the elder, and Simhadeva, the younger.²

It is not possible to determine with ease the date of Rudravarman. We have no dated inscription belonging to the reign of this king ;

¹ Barth—*Ins. Sans. du Camb.*, p 68. We shall subsequently refer to it as Barth.

² *Ibid.*

the Ang Chumnik inscription is dated Śāka 590=A.D. 668 in the reign of Jayavarman. M. Barth holds that Rudravarman was the first historical name in the annals of Cambodia. This fact is corroborated by the Chinese annals, which say that Cambodia's relation with China commenced from A.D. 616.¹ M. Finot, however, holds that it was Īsānavarman, who sent the first embassy to the court of China in A.D. 616 or 617.² Therefore, Cambodia's relation with China did not commence during the reign of Rudravarman, but of Īsānavarman. We cannot, then, place Rudravarman at A.D. 616, but approximately at A.D. 570.

Thus, in the sixth century of the Christian era, we find Hinduism already gaining ground in Cambodia. As the Ang Chumnik inscription begins with an invocation to Paramesvara (Śiva), the king in the seventh century professed

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

² *I. H. Q.*, p. 615.

Saivism. The other Gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā and Upendra (Viṣṇu), were also known in that land of Khmers. The God Viṣṇu was also known as Trivikrama. The stories of Dilīpa and of Asvins were also familiar in Cambodia.

King Rudravarman was succeeded by Bhavavarman. The predecessors of Bhavavarman ruled only over Chen-la (Cambodia). It was during the reign of Bhavavarman that the frontier of Cambodia was extended by the conquest of Funan, the adjoining Hindu kingdom. The reign of Bhavavarman is remarkable from this point of view. It saw the foundation of the greatness and supremacy of the Hindu Empire of Cambodia. The conquest of Funan not only extended the domain of Cambodia, but helped the Khmer people to absorb the Hindu culture as prevailing in Funan.

The Kingdom of Funan was conquered not by King Bhavavarman, but by his brother

Citrasena. The Chinese records tell us that Citrasena of Chen-la conquered Funan and brought it fully within control by occupying the country. Another record adds: The King of Funan had his capital in the town of Tomou. Suddenly his town was captured by Tchen-la and he had to move southward to the town of Na-fou-na.¹

M. Finot thinks that before Bhavavarman came to the throne and before the Cambodian conquest of Funan, there was a queen on the throne of Cambodia named Kambujarājā-lakṣhmī. A revolution took place and made Bhavavarman the King of Cambodia. This event, continues M. Finot, 'probably made easy the conquest of the country by his younger brother Citrasena, who bore later on the regnal name of Mahendravarman (*B. E. F. E. O.*, III, 442). An inscription incised on the stone of Thma Kre, on the bank of the Mekong, about

¹ Finot—*I. H. Q.*, p. 614.

20° 30' latitude north (i.e., in the central portion of Cambodia) in the name of Citrasena (Sthāpitaṃ Citrasena liṅgaṃ jayati sāmḥavam) shows that the campaign was led by him in the name of brother Bhavavarman'.¹

King Bhavavarman, therefore, did not undertake the campaign against Funan, but entrusted it to his able brother Citrasena. Cambodia now became supreme over Indo-China, excepting Champa.

The king is highly praised by the court poets in the royal inscriptions, of which three at least may be credited to King Bhavavarman. The Han Chey inscription, issued by Rājā Śrī Bhavavarman, tells us about the king and his son. The king was invincible, but magnanimous and sublime as another Mount Meru. He boasted to be the master of the protectors of the earth. He was the first to take the proud title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.

¹ Finot—I. H. Q., pp. 614—615.

Like his predecessors, he traced his descent from the *Somavamsa*, the lunar dynasty, one of the two famous dynasties in the epics of India. All the early kings call them the descendants of the Somavamsa, but some later kings attributed their origin to the solar race, for example, King Sūryavarman of the inscription of Prea Khan, published by M. Kern in the *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, Mai 1880.¹

We have seen already that Bhavavarman was put on the throne of Cambodia by a revolution. His family was, therefore, not the ruling dynasty of Cambodia. Who was, then, his father? We have the Veal Kantel inscription, which gives us the name of his father. It says:

His father,
Viravarman.

S'rī Viravarmmaduhitā Svasā S'ribhava-
varmmaṇah

Pativratā dharmmaratā dvitīyārundhatīva
yā. ||

¹ Barth, p. 11.

There was a daughter of Śrī Viravarman, who was also the sister of Śrī Bhavavarman. Here we find that Viravarman was the father of King Bhavavarman, but we do not get his name in the list of kings as given in the Ang Chumnik inscription, where we find Rudravarman preceding Bhavavarman.¹ The only explanation is that Bhavavarman was not connected with Rudravarman by any blood relation. Bhavavarman came to the throne with the help of a revolution. His father Viravarman did not sit on the throne of Cambodia, hence the absence of his name in the list of kings of the country.

The inscription then goes on to tell us that the daughter of Viravarman and the sister of Bhavavarman was devoted to her husband and was very pious. We find her following the Indian ideal of womanhood. She was regarded as an

His sister and
Somaśarman.

¹ Barth, p. 29.

ideal lady. The writer of the inscription points out that she was like a second Arundhati, the wife of the Sage Vasistha, who was looked upon as the ideal woman in ancient India. It is interesting to note how these writers of early Cambodian inscriptions were conversant with Indian manners and customs. This daughter of Viravarman married one Śrī Somasarman, who was as if a moon among the Brahmins (*dvijendu*) and foremost among those who were skilful in the Sāmaveda. Here we find a princess of the royal family being married to a Brahmin of high order. Was the marriage legal from the Indian point of view? We have seen that the royal family claimed its descent from the lunar dynasty (*Somavamśa*), which was undoubtedly a Kṣatriya family. If the royal family was Kṣatriya, then the marriage was not regular, but was only meant to raise the royal family in the estimation of the subjects. M. Finot

has suggested that Bhavavarman belonged to the race of Kaundinya and Somā, that is, the royal family of Funan.¹ From the Chinese sources, we know that Kaundinya was a Brahmin (*Po-lo-men*) from India. Thus, if the royal family be taken to be Brahmin, then there was nothing irregular in the marriage with a Brahmin. The princess had a son named Hiranyavarman.

Hinduism was now very popular in Cambodia. Not only kings, but other important personages of the kingdom were making temples and images of Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Thus we find the learned Brahmin Somasarman erecting the image of Śrī Tribhuvanesvara (Viṣṇu) with that of the Sun with great honour (*mahāpujā*) and splendid offerings (*atipushkalahakṣhinaṃ*). The offerings he gave included the sacred Indian books, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇa

¹ Finot—*I. H. Q.*, p. 614.

and Bhārata (Māhābhārata), and he also instituted the recitation of these sacred books without interruption.¹ This gift of the holy books and their recitation by capable scholars is the reminiscence of an Indian custom and is said to increase the merit (*punya*) of the donor. The custom survives in India even in the present day.

King Bhavavarman was a great warrior.

His character. He defeated the kings of mountains (*parvatabhūpatān*) and occupied

their countries with the bards singing his praise. Do we find here a reminiscence of the conquest of Funan? The king is said to have surpassed the limit of glory of all the descendants of *Aiḍa* race. The inscription has :

“Yeneyad aidavaṅsyānām maryyādālaṅghanam kritam.” M. Barth takes *Aiḍa* to be a misreading for *Aiḷa*, who is no other than Purūravas, one of the ancestors of the lunar

¹ Barth, pp. 30—31.

race.¹ As a warrior, the king is compared to Kumāra, the God of War and chief of Siva's army, at the head of the Maruts. Sometimes he also appeared in the battle-field as another *Caturbhujā* (the God with four hands, meaning perhaps Viṣṇu).

King Bhavavarman was pre-eminently a Hindu, being a devout follower of the God Siva. During these early reigns Śaivism became very popular in Cambodia. It was in many cases the State religion. Bhavavarman gave a great stimulus to the propagation of the Brahmanic faith in Cambodia. Like Champa, Cambodia also became another stronghold of the Hindu religion, and the monuments are even now regarded as some of the most marvellous in the world. Bhavavarman added many by the erection of new temples and images. He used to worship a *Siva-linga* under the name of Śrī

¹ Barth, p. 18.

Gambhīresvara. He, as the supreme lord of Ugrapura, erected with great devotion another *Siva-linga*, known as *Śrī Bhadresvara*.¹ The Hindu King Bhavavarman did not confine his devotion to the God Siva alone, but extended it to Viṣṇu and Durgā as well. In the Ponhear Hor inscription of Bhavavarman, we read that the king erected a *linga* of Siva, an image of the Goddess Durgā, an image of Śambhu-Viṣṇu and another of Trailokyasāra.² The God *Śrī Trailokyasāra* is simply another representation of Viṣṇu. Thus not only Śaivism, but also Vaiṣṇavism and the Śakti cult had by this time penetrated into Cambodia. The rivalry which prevailed in India among the followers of Siva and Viṣṇu was perhaps unknown in Cambodia. King Bhavavarman paid his homage both to Siva and to Viṣṇu. He tried to combine both the Gods

¹ Barth, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

in one form and paid respects to them in their joint form of Śambhu-Viṣṇu (which in India was known as the image of Hari-Hara). This combined form of the two Gods Siva and Viṣṇu was also very popular in the neighbouring Kingdom of Champa.

The king was, however, not satisfied with this. He had another *linga* established. From the third inscription, attributed to King Bhavavarman and discovered at Phnom Banteai Neang, we know that he erected another *linga* of Tryambaka (Siva). It says :

Traiyambakam lingam idaṃ nṛipeṇa

Nivesitam Śribhavavarmmanāmnā.

(This *linga* of Trayambaka was established by a king Śrī Bhavavarman by name.)

The king's devotion to Siva was so great that he made no less than four *lingas* of Siva.

It is surprising that at such an early period in the history of Indian colonisation of Cambodia, many Indian manners and customs should find

a place in Cambodia. The Indians brought with them their numerous institutions. Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Siva, Viṣṇu and Durgā have become well-known in that country. Indian literature also seems to have been familiar in Cambodia. We hear of (1) Sāma Veda, (2) Rāmāyaṇa, (3) Purāṇa, and (4) Mahābhārata. Thus Cambodia at this early period had known of all the principal sacred books of India. The Cambodians also knew of the institution of *Kathakatā*, i.e., the recitation of sacred books for the benefit of the audience. In this way, Indian culture and civilisation was making rapid strides in this new land of adoption.

What may be the date of the Mahārājādhirāj Śrī Bhavavarman? Unfortunately, we have no dated inscription of Bhavavarman. In the Ang Chumnik inscription, we get a list of Kings of Cambodia. We find from that list that King Jayavarman was the third successor of

Bhavavarman. We know from his inscription that Jayavarman reigned in A.D. 664 and 667. The second successor of Bhavavarman was Īsānavarman, who was on the throne in A.D. 626. Following Kern, M. Barth puts Bhavavarman in the early years of the seventh century, it may be 616 or near about.¹ But we have to take into account the immediate successor of Bhavavarman, King Mahendrarman, whose inscription is dated A.D. 604. So, the date of Bhavavarman should be a little earlier, say, approximately A.D. 590.

The above view is supported by epigraphical evidences. The alphabet, in which the inscriptions of King Bhavavarman were written, is rather archaic and reproduces a Hindu prototype. The mode of writing, as pointed by M. Kern, is similar to the inscription of the temple of Pāhanātha at Paṭṭadakal in the Western Deccan, which is placed in

¹ Barth, p. 11.

the sixth century of the Christian era.¹ The age of these Cambodian inscriptions is also sixth century A.D. M. Abel Bergaigne also puts Bhavavarman in the first quarter of the sixth century of the Śaka era corresponding to the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. (590 or so).²

We can form an idea as to the extent of the kingdom of Bhavavarman, which, by this time, had greatly extended. It comprised not only the lower course of the Mekong, that is, the province of Tréang, but also the province of Stung Trang, where the Phnom Hanchey inscription was found, and the province of Ton Lé Rohon, belonging to the King of Siam, where M. Aymonier discovered the Veal Kantel inscription. Another inscription of King Bhavavarman was found at Phnom Banteai Neang, in the present Siamese province of

¹ Barth, p. 12.

² *J A.*, 1884, p. 56.

Battambang.¹ Thus, in Bhavavarman's time, the Kingdom of Cambodia extended very far and included portions of the modern Kingdom of Siam.

In the Hanchey inscription, Bhavavarman is described as the supreme lord of Ugrapura ; again, in the Ponhear Hor inscription he is said to be the chief of Pasenga.¹ He established a new capital for Cambodia, which was known after his own name as Bhavapura.²

¹ Barth, p. 25.

² *I. H. Q.*, p. 615.

CHAPTER VI

MAHENDRAVARMAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE Kingdom of Funan had been conquered by Cambodia. She now held the
supreme power in Indo-China.
Mahendra-
varman.
We have seen that the conquest of Funan was effected by Citrasena on behalf of his brother King Bhavavarman. Citrasena bore afterwards the regnal name of Mahendrarvarman¹ and succeeded his brother on the throne of Cambodia.

From the Ang Chumnik inscription, we know that King Mahendravarman was the glorious master of the earth (*S'rīmatahprthivīpateh*).
Dharmadeva
and Simhadeva.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

During his reign, the king secured the services of the two illustrious brothers, Dharmadeva, the elder, and Siṃhadeva, the younger, who had served also under his predecessor Bhāva-varman. They continued their services in the present reign and soon became instruments of success in many State affairs.¹ Of these two learned ministers, who were serving the royal family for two generations, the younger Siṃhadeva was honoured by King Mahendrarvarman with the offer of the function of an ambassador and was deputed by the king to the court of the Sovereign King of Champa (*Campādhīpanarādhīpaṃ*) to establish friendly relations with Champa. The Kingdom of Champa had been colonised by Indians in the first century of the Christian era and a Hindu kingdom had been established in A.D. 300. Thus the Indian colonies of Champa and Cambodia entered into friendly relations

¹ Barth, p. 69.

during the reign of Mahendravarman of Cambodia.

The other minister, Dharmadeva, had a son born unto him named Sīṇhavīra, who has been described in the inscription as a *Kulakānana-siṇho* (lion in the family forest).¹

We have a dated inscription which may be placed during the reign of King Mahendravarman or at least before the reign of his successor Īśānavarman. It is the Bayang inscription, bearing the dates 526 and 546 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A.D. 604 and 624. This inscription may be taken as the earliest dated epigraphical record of Cambodia. We have another inscription of King Īśānavarman bearing the date A.D. 627. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that the Bayang inscription falls during the reign of Mahendravarman, whose reign, then, may be dated A.D. 604.

¹ Barth, p. 70.

The Bayang inscription tells us that a son of the Brahmin Dhruva, the grandson of Dhruvapūṇyakīrtti, named Vidyādivindvānta, made or restored a *Sambu-pāda* (foot of the God Sambhu). Not only did he erect it, but also on the mountain, where the *pāda* was made, he made a *tīrtha* for the ablutions of men and had the place purified by the water of another *tīrtha*.

There seems to be some trouble as to the name of the Brahmin Vidyādivindvānta. M. Barth takes it as a Vedantic title¹ and he suggests the name *Vidyāvindvanta* meaning one who has for commencement the *vidyā* and for the end *vinḍu*. He explains *Vidyā* as the Science, the Veda, the Śabdabrahman and the *avarā gatiḥ* of the Upanishads; and *Vinḍu* is the final element and the most immaterial of the mystic syllable *Om*.²

¹ Barth, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

The above inscription throws interesting light on the religious history of the Hindus and adds new information to the history of Indian religions. We have heard of Viṣṇu-pāda and of Buddha-pāda. In India, we have the well-known Viṣṇu-pāda at Gaya. We know of the famous Buddha-pāda on the Adam's Peak in Ceylon and another in Siam. We have, however, nowhere heard of Śiva-pāda. It is the only solitary example of Śiva-pāda that we come across in the history of Cambodia. It is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the history of Indian religions. We can, therefore, put this example of Śiva-pāda by the side of Viṣṇu-pāda and Buddha-pāda in the religious history of India.¹

The invocation of this inscription points to Śaivism, then flourishing in Cambodia. M. Barth prefers to call it Vedantic Śaivism; Śiva is identified with *Paramātmān*, the Absolute

¹ Barth, p. 33.

of the Upanishads. Other names by which the God Śiva was designated in Cambodia were: Girisa, Śambhu, Paśupati and Vibhu.¹

Śrī Mahendravarman had as his successor Īśānavarman. The Chinese record says of him: "His son I-sōh-na-sien (Īśānasena) succeeded to him. He lived in the town of I-shō-na or Īśānapura."² In the Vat Chakret inscription, we find Īśānavarman to be the Lord of the Lord of Tāmrapura. He was also the King of Cakrāṅkapura, Amoghapura and Bhīmapura. His capital, according to the Chinese evidence, was Īśānapura, which may be identified with the ruins of Sambor Prei Kuk, in the north of Kompong Thom, where the inscriptions of Īśānavarman have been discovered.³

¹ Barth, p. 34.

² *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, 124.

³ *B. C. A. I.*, 1912, pp. 184-189.

King. Īsānavarman also has received his share of eulogy from the writers of inscriptions. He has three inscriptions to his credit. He was called *Pr̥thivīsvara* (the lord of the earth), *S'akratulya* (like S'akra or Indra, the King of Gods) and equal to the God Hari in splendour.

During the reign of this king both S'aivism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished in Cambodia. The cult of Śiva seems to have been in favour in the kingdom. The king sometimes paid his homage both to Śiva and Viṣṇu. He erected the images both of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Śankara (Śiva), which shows his devotion to the cults of both the Gods. The invocation of the inscription, however, is to the God Śiva. It reads :

Jayatīndukalāmauli-(ra) n (e) kaṇṇavistaraḥ
Sa ādir api bhūtānā-m anādinidhanas sivaḥ ||

(Victory to the God Śiva, who bears the crescent of the moon as his diadem, who manifests

himself by his infinite qualities, who is the source of all beings and destroyer of *anādi*.)

The Brahmanic faith was accepted not only by the Indian Kings of Cambodia, but also by their subjects. The kings erected the images of Brahmanic Gods, and their example was followed by their vassals and subjects. Thus we see that an image which united the figures of *Sambhu* (Śiva) and *Hari* (Viṣṇu) was set up by the Lord of Tamrapura, a vassal of King Īsānavarman. The foundation took place in the Śaka year designated by the Vasus, the ocean and arrows, that is, in 548 Śaka=A.D. 627.¹ This joint figure of Śiva and Viṣṇu also was very popular in Champa and had already made its appearance in Cambodia.

During the reign of Śrī Īsānavarman, a new institution grew up in Cambodia. It was the foundation of *āśramas*, which seems to be quite different from the Buddhist monasteries. They

¹ Barth, p. 41.

were Hindu institutions, meant to be used by the Hindu monks. Thus, the venerable (*Ārya*) Vidyādeva, who had celebrated many *sattras* or great Vedic sacrifices, established an *āśrama*, where he could retire for meditation.¹ Another great *muni* (sage) made a donation of an *āśrama* to Bhagavat (Viṣṇu).²

In the Svai Chuo inscription, King Īsānavarman has been described as the glorious sovereign of three kings and the powerful possessor of three cities, perhaps Cakrāṅkapura, Amoghapura and Bhīmapura referred to in the Vat Chakret inscription. The lord of the earth, Īsānavarman, was compared to the God Hara. This inscription is very interesting from the point of view of the history of Śaivism in Cambodia. Of all the Gods of the Brahmanic faith, it gives a high place of honour to the God Sambhu (Śiva), who is said to be escorted

¹ Barth, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

by Dhātri (Brahmā), Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and the Rudras.¹

The king was well-known for his heroism, as evidenced by the Ang Pou inscription. He bears the burden of the earth like the great serpent-king Śeṣa. Though the above two inscriptions began with invocations to Śiva, this inscription has an invocation addressed to both Hara (Śiva) and Acyuta (Viṣṇu) and their consorts Pārvatī and Śrī. The king thus shared his devotion between both these Gods.

At this time, there lived a great learned *muni* (sage) in Cambodia. He was known by the name of Īsānadatta and came from an illustrious family (*kula*). He was celebrated for his austerities (*tapas*) and character (*śila*). It was this muni Īsānadatta, who erected a joint image of Śankara (Śiva) and Acyuta

Īsānadatta, the
great muni.

¹ Barth, p. 46.

(Viṣṇu) for the merit of his parents.¹ We have another instance in A.D. 627 of the erection of an image in which both Śiva and Viṣṇu were united. The great muni was not satisfied with this. He erected a *linga* of Viṣṇu and of Isāna Candessvara (Śiva). It is a unique departure in the history of Indian iconography. We have spoken of images combining the two Gods Śiva and Viṣṇu, but we have not come across any instance of a *linga* combining the two Gods. The great muni did not stop here. He made the donation of an *āśrama* to Bhagavat (Viṣṇu); he also gave *dāsa* (servant), *kshetra* (land), *gavādikam* (cows and other things).²

Another interesting inscription may be placed in this period. It is the Ang Chumnik inscription, the first half of which and part of the second half were written by one hand and the rest by another. Intervening between the

¹ Barth, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*

two parts are two lines in Khmer. The first part is dated Śaka 551=A.D. 629. The Vat Chakret inscription is also dated Śaka 548=A.D. 627. Thus the first part of the inscription in question may be placed in the reign of Īsānavarman. The second half, however, mentions King Jayavarman. We have, therefore, to place the second half during the reign of Jayavarman (A.D. 665).

This age saw the birth not only of the learned muni Īsānadatta, but also of another scholar named Ācārya Vidyāvinaya, of whom we get an account from the above inscription. The Ācārya seems to be a learned doctor in the Brahmanic Śāstras and a follower of the cult of Śiva. He, therefore, consecrated and restored a *linga* of Śiva, who is described as *Sarvalokai-kanatha* (the sole master of the whole world). This *linga*, in the words of the inscription, was consecrated when the Śaka year 550 had

passed (i.e., in 551 Śaka year=A.D. 629) and when the moon was found in Rohini.¹ Along with his wife, the Ācārya gave all he had to this *linga*. The Khmer text of two lines in the above inscription gives us more information about the Ācārya, who built a sanctuary known under the name of Rudrāsrama or hermitage dedicated to Rudra.² We have already spoken of the *āsrama* dedicated to Bhagavat. The Rudrāsrama was full of various kinds of trees and there was a temple in the centre.

King Īśānavarman had as his minister
The royal
minister Simha-
vīra.
 Simhavīra, who had served as
 minister also under his prede-
 cessor Mahendravarman. This
 minister was learned (*vidvān*) and from him
 other learned men drank *kavitārasaḥ* (the
 essence of poetry). Like his royal master, the
 minister was known for his endowments. He

¹ Barth, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

erected the images of Hara Śrīnikāmesvara, who fulfils all desires and of Hari, who is the lord of those who aspire to perfection and who gives perfection. When he erected the images of these Gods with deep veneration (*śraddhā*), he gave handsome donation (*dakṣinā*). The minister had a son, who early became attached to the Lord Bhava (Śiva).¹

In the list of the early Cambodian kings, as preserved in the Ang Chumnik
 Bhavavarman II (A.D. 639.) inscription, we find that Īsānavarman was succeeded by Jayavarman I. M. G. Coedés, in his article on *Inscription de Bhavavarman II*, brings in Bhavavarman II between Īsānavarman and Jayavarman.²

The name of Bhavavarman occurs in the inscription of Phnom-penh (now preserved in the museum of Ecole Francaise) and the date

¹ Barth, p. 70.

² B. E. F. E. O., 1904, pp. 691-697.

given is Śaka 561=A.D. 639. Bhavavarman I flourished long before this date and even before King Mahendravarman. We, therefore, take this Bhavavarman of A.D. 639 as Bhavavarman II, after M. G. Coedès.

King Bhavavarman II is said to be the lord of the earth beginning with Manu, and *Yasonidhi* (the treasure of glory), who obtained the lordship of the world by his austerities (*tapasā*). In Śaka 561 (A.D. 639) he established a statue of the Goddess Devī with four arms for his devotion to the God Śambhu and for the deliverance of his parents. He celebrated this foundation with due rites and ceremonies.

King Bhavavarman II was followed by Jayavarman I. We have fortunately dated inscriptions of this king. One of the inscriptions has been discovered at Vat Prey Vier in the district of Mekhong and bears the date Śaka 587=A.D. 665.

Jayavarman
I (A.D. 665).

King Jayavarman has been described as possessed of great heroism and compared to Lakṣmī, the Goddess of fortune. He possessed great foresight (*bhūyishṭhadṛstir*). As he used to protect the earth, he is compared by sages to the God *Sahasrākṣha* (Indra).

The previous Cambodian inscriptions were all Brahmanic in character, but the present one is Buddhistic because the Buddhist bhiksus are mentioned here. Moreover, the absence of any invocation to a Hindu God, as M. Barth points out, leads us to think it to be a Buddhist inscription. This is a positive proof of the prevalence of Buddhism in Cambodia in the seventh century A.D.

During Jayavarman's reign, there lived in his kingdom two excellent *bhik-*
Buddhism in
Cambodia. *sus* (monks), born of the same
 mother (*sodara*). They possess-
 ed virtue (*sīla*), learning (*śruta*), *sama*, pati-
 ence (*kṣānti*), compassion (*dayā*), austerities

(*saṃyama*) and prudence like Buddhist monks. They bore names commencing with Ratna and ending respectively with Bhānu and Siṃha. Their names, therefore, were Ratna-bhānu and Ratnasimha. They had a son of their *bhāgineyī* (the daughter of their sister). His name was Śubhakīrtti, who was known for his good actions. To him was transmitted in totality by the uninterrupted succession of his family (*svakulakarmasantatyā*) and by the command of the king (*bhūpatessāsanena*) all the merit (*puṇya*) and everything acquired by them. The king commanded that none—bipeds or quadrupeds—should take it away from him. This royal order was secured by the residents of the city of first among men (*i.e.*, the capital, *Naravaranaṅgara*) on the tenth day of the month of Māgha in the era of the Śaka King 586 (=A.D. 665).¹

¹ Barth, pp. 61-64.

Here we find that among the Cambodians the Indian law of hereditary succession was followed. Thus, Śubhakīrtti got all the property of his grandfathers Ratnabhānu and Ratnasimha, because he was the son of their *bhāgineyī*. The system of nephews succeeding to the property of their maternal uncle prevails even now in India, specially among the Dravidians of Southern India. This hereditary succession was ratified and confirmed by the *sāsana* (order) of the king. It is also to be noted that though King Jayavarman was a Hindu, he allowed the Buddhists to live unmolested and enjoy their property without confiscating it.

The second inscription of Jayavarman I is the Ang Chumnik inscription, which is dated Śaka 589=A.D. 667. Though in the text we have Śaka 589, it should be Śaka 590=A.D. 668. This inscription preserves the history of the royal family and names the following kings :

Rudravarman,
 Bhavavarman,
 Mahendravarman,
 Īsānavarman,
 Jayavarman.

The inscription also gives the family history of the donor of a Śiva temple. There were two brothers, Brahmadata and Brahmasimha, physicians to King Rudravarman. They had two nephews (*bhāgineya*) named Dharmadeva and^o Simhadadeva, who were successively employed as ministers under Kings Bhavarman and Mahendravarman. Simhadadeva was sent by King Mahendravarman as an ambassador to the court of the King of Champa. Dharmadeva had a son named Simhavira, who was a poet and a minister to King Īsānavarman. Lastly, we have Simhadatta, the son of Simhavira, who was the physician of King Jayavarman I and hereditary Governor of the city of Ādhyapura. It was this Simhadatta who

erected the *Sivalinga*. Here we have the instance of a family serving its royal patrons for four generations, such cases are not rare also in India.

We thus have the following table of the kings and their ministers :

KINGS	MINISTERS OR PHYSICIANS
1. Rudravarman	... Brahmadata, Brahmasiṃha
2. Bhavavarman	} ... Dharmadeva, Siṃhadatta
3. Mahendravarman	
4. Isānavarman	Siṃhavīra
5. Jayavarman	Siṃhadatta

King Jayavarman had as his physician (*vaidyā*), Siṃhadatta, the son of Siṃhavīra. The royal physician was a follower of the cult of Śiva.

When he was young, his mind was inaccessible to envy and had his thought always fixed on the God Bhava (Śiva). In his infancy he was modest, in his youth he controlled his senses and of the three ends in life (*vargas*, namely, dharma, artha and kāmā), he always gave preference to dharma. King Jayavarman,

who is described as a lion among kings (*Rājasimha*), recognising Simhadatta as a capable man and following the order of succession in the family (*kulakramāt*), appointed him with due honour as the Governor of the city of Āḍhyapura. Simhadatta, accordingly, protected the city and procured justice and prosperity to the people justifying the very name of the city, Āḍhyapura (the rich city). Not only was he a good ruler, but also a good physician. He treated his patients with great care. When he saw the malady of the patients, his piety would be doubled. He was also a dutiful son. He resolved that whatever merit he should acquire from the time of his birth, should go to his father. He, therefore, pleased him with an offering to Siva (*Sivayajñena*) and the sages by the study of the Vedas and his ancestors with the offer of *tarpana* water. He also established the image of S'rī Vijayēsvara, the Lord of Victory, with appropriate ceremonies

and donations. He gave away slaves (*dāsa*), gardens (*ārāma*) and other suitable things. It was in the month of Vaisākha (April-May) of the Śaka year 589 (590) that this foundation of the image of Vijayesvara took place.

The reign of King Jayavarman I. saw the erection of another image of Hari-Hara. The Vat Prey Vier inscription, bearing the date Śaka 589 (590), tells us that in the epoch of Śakas marked by nine, the body and the object of senses (*i.e.*, Śaka 589) in the month of Mādhava (Vaisākha) an image which combined the figures both of Viṣṇu and of Īsa (Śiva) was erected by one Kavalitayamin. Thus, the Brahmanic faith began to make progress in Cambodia. The local Khmer people began to adopt Hinduism. Not only the king, but also his ministers; his physicians and the common people began to erect images and endow temples. Indian culture began to be well received by the people of Cambodia.

CHAPTER VII

DARK AGE IN CAMBODIA

THE Indian dynasty begun in Cambodia with Kumbu Svāyambhuva flourished in that kingdom until the end of the seventh century. In the eighth century, after Jayavarman I, we get a dark period in the history of Cambodia. The Cambodian Kingdom was perhaps split up into several smaller principalities and the supremacy of the old kingdom disappeared. In its place there grew up two principalities, that of Sambhupura and of Vyādhapura. We may add to this the Kingdom of Aninditapura. M. Finot says: "In the beginning of the eighth century, Cambodia was divided into two

States: 'Water-Cambodia' and 'Land-Cambodia.' The former probably corresponded to the present Cambodia between the sea and mount Dangrek, and the latter lay northward as far as the region of Vieng Chan (18° lat. north) and possibly further up."¹

This period of confusion continued until we come to the time of Jayavarman II,² who united the two States, ascending the throne in A.D. 802. This Jayavarman II was the chief of a new dynasty and we are fortunate in having his genealogical table in the inscription of his grandson Yasovarman. King Yasovarman begins the enumeration of his ancestors with Pushkarāksha, who traced his descent from the Lord (*Īsvara*) of Aninditapura. He was also the King of Sambhupura by his marriage with the princess of Sambhupura. Thus he

¹ H. Maspero—*The Frontier of Annam and Cambodia* (*B. E. F. E. O.*, XVIII, iii, p. 36).

² *J. A.*, 1882, p. 179.

combined in him the lordship of both Aninditapura and S'ambhupura. Besides this, there was the King of Vyādhapura, who was the overlord of S'ambhupura. But these two principalities were united under Rājendrarvarman of S'ambhupura, who got through his mother the State of Vyādhapura. King Rājendravarman, king both of S'ambhupura and of Vyādhapura, married a princess named Nṛpatīndradevī. Their son, Mahīpativarman, afterwards became known as King Jayavarman II (A.D. 802), and married the princess Rājendradevī. Now, who was this Rājendradevī? We get an account of her ancestors in the inscription of Yasovarman. It is said that there was a Brahmin named Agastya, who came from Āryadesa. Where is this Āryadesa? According to M. A. Bergaigne, it indicates India proper.¹ This Brahmin, Agastya, coming from India married a princess of

¹ *J.A.*, 1882, pp. 180-181.

Cambodia named Yasomati. Their son Narendravarman, took the title of Narendravaryya, which shows that he was a suzerain king. M. Bergaigne thinks that he was the overlord (*Adhirāja*) of Vyādhapura.¹ His daughter Narendralakṣmī was married to King Rājapativarman. Their daughter was Rājendradēvī, who had been married to King Jayavarman II.

It should be said to the credit of Jayavarman II that he united these smaller principalities and again made Cambodia a powerful kingdom.

In this age of confusion, we, therefore, get two distinct dynasties: one of S'ambhupura and the other of Vyādhapura. The kings of these dynasties were:

I. *Vassal Kings of S'ambhupura:*

(1) Pushkarāksha

(2) Rājendravarman

¹ *J.A.*, 1882, p. 781.

- (3) Mahīpativarman
(afterwards Jayavarman II).

II. *Adhirājas of Vyādhapura :*

- (1) Narendravarman.
(2) Rājapativarman.
(3) Nṛpatīndravarman.

CHAPTER VIII

A NEW DYNASTY IN CAMBODIA

THE Kingdom of Cambodia emerges with all its glory and prosperity under ^{Jayavarman II,} varman II. With him the dark _{A.D. 802.} age disappears and clear historical chronology begins again.

In the Prea Kev inscription, we hear of a supreme king of the Kambujas (*Kambujarājendra*), who obtained royalty in the Śaka year designated by the four Vedas, two and seven mountains, corresponding to the Śaka year 724 (=A.D. 802). During his reign the earth enjoyed great prosperity. He had as his principal queen the virtuous *Devi Hyān*

Pavitrā, whose descendants possessed the country of Hāripura.¹

Who might this king be? It was, as we know from other inscriptions, King Jayavarman II, whose date of accession and transfer of capital is 724 Śaka (=A.D. 802). M. Barth holds that the accession of Jayavarman II marks an important epoch in the history of Cambodia, because from this period begins the regular series of epigraphical evidence of the Cambodian history.² Between Jayavarman I, the last king of the ancient dynasty of Cambodia, and Jayavarman II, we have the absence of regular contemporary royal records.³

We have already seen that Rājendravarman
His ancestors. was the father of King Jayavarman II. The grandfather of the king was Bālāditya, of whom we hear in the Prea Eynkosey inscription. Bālāditya was

¹ Barth, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

born in the race (*vaṅśe*) of Kaundinya and possessed all qualities (*nikhilaguṇanidhir*). He is said to be the King of Aninditapura. Just as the sun is adored by the Siddhas, Apsaras, Brahmins and Kinnaras, so he was respected by the powerful kings. He distributed one hundred *lingas* over the earth.

Jayavarman II is looked upon as one of the
His capital. greatest kings of Cambodia.
He was the son of Rājendra-
varman. Originally he was known as Māhī-
pativarman and on his accession he took
the title of Jayavarman II. His first
royal act was to transfer his capital to the
mountain Mahendra.¹ When he transferred
his capital, he built in his new capital a
magnificent palace, the ruins of which can
still be seen at Beng Mealea. We have
a complete description of the palace in the
article *Les Batiments Annexes de Bén Māla* by

¹ Barth, p. 370.

M. Jean de Mecquenem.¹ Many scholars maintain that the mountain Mahendra was near Angkor Thom. M. Aymonier in a letter to M. A. Bergaigne proposed the identification of the mount Mahendra with Phnom Koulen, situated at 40 or 50 kilometres to the north-east of Angkor. But M. Bergaigne thinks that the mount Mahendra was near the present Angkor Thom.² M. Finot supports him when he says that as he (Jayavarman) hailed from Java (Malay Peninsula), he introduced into Cambodia the sandstone architecture, built several strongholds and began the construction of the great capital which bore later on the name of Yasodharapura, modern Angkor Thom.³

Thus, the foundation of the new capital on the mount Mahendra, near Angkor Thom, gives us a positive date as to the beginning of a

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1913, No. 2.

² *J. A.*, 1884, January, pp. 58-59.

³ *I. H. Q.*, p. 615.

series of buildings which resulted in the magnificent Angkor Thom. It is true that no trace of the capital has been found on the mountain. The palace of King Jayavarman II has been discovered at Beng Méaléa. One inscription of Sdok Kok Thom speaks of the palace being placed on the summit (*mūrdhan*).¹

The Phnom Sandak inscription, which pays homage to the God Śambhu, Dhurjatin, who held Gangā and destroyed Tripura, to Hari and to the Goddess Aparnā, describes King Jayavarman as Lord (*Adhīśvaraḥ*) of the kings (*bhūpatīnām*). Just as Brahmā came from the lotus on the navel of Viṣṇu, so he came out of the perfectly pure race of kings for the prosperity of his subjects. It was he who transferred his capital to Mahendragiri.²

The king was highly praised in the royal inscriptions. He is said to have been as brilliant

¹ J. A., 1884, January, p. 59.

² Barth, p. 345.

as the sun. He possessed heroic virtues and was honoured by powerful kings. As he was the master of the earth and acquired great fortune and victory, he received the name of Śrī Jayavardhana, and when he mounted the throne, he took, as we have seen, the title of Śrī Jayavarman.¹ The king married, as the Prea Ngouk inscription tells us, the princess Rājendradevī, the daughter of Rājapativarman and Narendralakṣmī. Rājendradevī became the principal queen of King Jayavarman II.

There is a tradition that Jayavarman II "came from Java," but it seems that he hailed not from the island of Java, but from some locality in the Malay Peninsula. In the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, we read that Cambodia had been dependent on the Kingdom of Java for a long time and that it was not until Jayavarman II came to the throne that he declared the independence of Cambodia. There is

¹ Barth, p. 370.

another tradition, which says that Jayavarman II received the sacred sword of the God Indra, which is said to be preserved at Phnom-penh.

The Indian civilisation had already spread over Cambodia. The Kings of Cambodia were followers of the Brahmanic faith. The cult of Siva was in great favour among the people of the country. Many royal inscriptions begin with invocations to the God Siva. The king erected the images and *lingas* of Siva. The God Viṣṇu, however, was not neglected. In many cases we have the union of the two Gods in the form of Hari-Hara. Buddhism by this time was not unknown in the land of the Khmers. An inscription found in the province of Angkor speaks of Lokeshvara. Another inscription (of Ampil Rolocum), which is anterior to Indravarman, mentions the names of the Bodhisattvas.¹ M. Finot thinks that King

¹ J.A., 1884, January, p. 61.

Jayavarman II was a Buddhist, at least in the beginning of his reign, because most of his pious donations were dedicated to Lokeshvara. "Later on, he probably adopted Śaivism as the State religion and instituted the worship of the *linga* called Devarāja, a national God, whose temple was situated in the centre of the capital and with whom the reigning king was never to part."¹

King Jayavarman II had a son by his queen Indralakṣmī, named Jayavardhana. This prince came to the throne after the death of his father under the name of Jayavarman III (c. 820).²

King Jayavarman III was succeeded by Rudravarman II, who was the maternal uncle of the wife of Jayavarman II. In the Prah Bat inscription, we read that he was the younger

¹ *I.H.Q.*, pp. 615-616.

² Barth, p. 357.

brother of the mother of the mother of Jayavarman III (*Jananījannyājaghanyajo*). He was a man of invincible heroism.¹

From the Lovek inscription we know that King Rudravarman II had a queen named Narendralakṣmī. They had a son named Punnāgavarman. The royal couple were compared to the God Īśvara (Śiva) and the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) and the prince to Guha.²

Though King Rudravarman II had his son Punnāgavarman, yet we find that his son did not succeed him after his death. On the other hand he was succeeded by Pṛthivindravarman, his nephew (son of his sister). It may be that Punnāgavarman did not survive his father, so the throne was occupied by Pṛthivindravarman.

Pṛthivīndra-
varman, A.D. 860-
877.

¹ Bergaigne, p. 365.

² Barth, p. 135.

From the Prah Bat inscription, we know that the new king, Pṛthivīndravarman, was the nephew (*bhāgineya*) of his predecessor, Rudravarman II. He is described as the ocean of pearls of virtue (*guṇaratnasindhu*). He was compared to the Indian mythological King Pṛthu and is said to be the king of the whole earth (*Pṛthivipati*). He married the daughter of the protector of the earth, Śrī Rudravarman, and the grand-daughter of Śrī Nṛpatīndravarman, who was like the daughter of Gods (*Sura-Sundarī*).¹

His marriage with the daughter of Rudravarman II is also referred to in the inscription of the temple of Bakon, to the south-east of Angkor-Vat. It is one of the dated inscriptions of the second period of the Cambodian history. It is said that the king was originally born in a Kṣatriya family. He was also related to the reigning royal family, because he was the son

¹ Bergaigne, p. 370.

of the sister of Rudravarman II. He wanted to make his claim to the royal throne more certain, so he married the daughter of the late king. We do not know whether Punnāgavarman succeeded his father Rudravarman II. Perhaps, he was removed by Pṛthīvindrarvarman, who made himself king; or he might have died in the life-time of his father.

King Pṛthīvindrarvarman had a prince (*kumāra*), who is famous in the Cambodian history as Indravarman I, who was like Indrasīṅha and Nṛsiṅha (Viṣṇu).¹

We have no dated inscription of this king. But we know that his son Indravarman I came to the throne in Śaka 799=A.D. 877, so we can assume that he was reigning before A.D. 877.

Another great personality in the Khmer Empire, who exercised great influence in that land, is Indravarman I. In the second period

Indravarman I
(A.D. 877-889).

¹ Bergaigne, p. 370.

of the Cambodian history, we have few kings, excepting Jayavarman II, who may be compared with him in his manifold activities. He established new cities like Śivapura, he erected images of Śiva, Pārvatī and other Gods. He wanted to honor the memory of his father, so he named an image of Śiva after the name of his father. His reign is rich in epigraphical evidences, which speak of his princely donations.

The inscription of the temple of Boku tells us that after the death of his father Pṛthīvindravarmaṇ, Indra-
 His coronation. varmaṇ I ascended the throne in the Śaka year 799 (=A.D. 877). He was coronated by the same personage, who consecrated the Creator Svayambhū and the Deva-rāja on the mount Mahendra. On his accession, the king took a vow (*pratijñā*): "In five days from to-day, I shall begin *khananādikam* (digging, building temples, etc.)." Accordingly,

in the Śaka year marked by *candra* (moon), *vyoma* (sky), and *vasu* (treasures), that is, in the Śaka year 801 (=A.D. 879), in the eleventh day of the month of Māgha, King Indravarman I erected three statues (*pratimās*) of the Lord Īsa and of the Goddess (*Devī*), which were works of his own art (*svasīlparacitā*).

Indravarman I was regarded as an ideal king of the Indian type. In reading His character. the description of his character we are led to think of some Indian king like Samudragupta. The court poet thus describes his character :

tyāgakshamāsrutaparākrama sīlasaurya-
prāgalbhyasatvavalavuddhigunopapannaḥ
shādguṇyavit trividhasaktiyuto jītātmā
Yogānjugopa[ma] nuvat sunayān ayajñāḥ||

(The king was possessed of liberality, of forgiveness, of learning, of strength, of morality, of heroism, of prāgalbhya, of energy, of force

of intelligence, of the six qualities and the three powers. He conquered his own self and protected the earth as Manu.)

King Indravarman was as if in an ocean of combat, which is very difficult to traverse. He was also like the *setu-bandha* (bridge) for the crossing of his own party. It seems that the Creator created him as possessed of many qualities (*anekagunopeta*) for the satisfaction of the three worlds (*trailokyatṛptaye*). King Indravarman, whose orders other kings bear on their heads, founded a new city, S'ivapura, named after the God S'iva. Through his deep devotion (*bhakti*), he offered a *vimāna* (vehicle) to the great God Paramesvara. This *vimāna* was set with bright jewels (*ratnoj्ज्वालम्*) and was charming like the green leaves and creepers (*lalitapatralatākālāpam*) made of gold (*haimam*). He also gave several other things for the worship of the God (*anyāni sopakaraṇāni*). These objects made of gold and silver were meant for

the *pujā* (worship) of the God Śiva, who has on his forehead the new moon (*navendumauleḥ*). These offerings were given by the virtuous King Indravarman, who was a lion among other kings (*parama dhārmika rājasiṅhaḥ*).¹

The cult of Śiva exercised great influence in the land of Khmers. King
 Saivism in
 Cambodia. Indravarman was an adherent of Śiva. He himself made the image of the God Īsa with his own hand and offered a vimāna to the God Paramesvara. He also erected an image of Śiva named after his illustrious father. From a Khmer inscription found among the Bakong ruins,² we learn that in 801 Śaka (=A.D. 879) on Sunday, the dasamī day of the month of Māgha (January, February) under the influence of Mṛgasira *nakṣatra* (star), His Majesty (Vrah Kamraten añ) Śrī Indravarmanmadeva, who was reigning since 799 Śaka

¹ Bergaigne, p. 316

² *Ibid.*, p. 310.

(A.D. 877), erected a monument in honour of his dead father. In founding this image of the God Śiva Śrī Pṛthivīndresvara, named after his father, he liberally offered numerous presents and slaves.

Here we notice a peculiar practice of naming a God after the name of the donor or that of donor's favourites. The donor in this way tries to identify himself with the God. This practice also prevailed in the neighbouring Hindu colony of Champa.

We have already spoken of the inscriptions in Khmer found among the Bakong ruins. Of these inscriptions, four refer to King Indravarman's foundation of Pṛthivīndresvara. All the inscriptions, therefore, are almost identical. On the central door of the Bakong temple we have the same inscription as the above excepting the name of the God, who is called Vrah Kamraten an Paramesvara. The term *Paramesvara* clearly refers to the God Śiva. The

same observation holds good of the inscription on the left door, which is dedicated to Vrah Kamraten an S'rī Indresvara.¹ After paying homage to the memory of his revered father, King Indravarman wanted to identify himself with the God S'iva. He, therefore, named the God S'iva after his own name as Indresvara. Thus, we have three images of S'iva, namely: (1) Pṛthivīndresvara, (2) Paramesvara, and (3) Indresvara. These three Gods were in the first line. The doors of the second line, very small and ruined, were dedicated to the S'aktis or the wives of the Gods in the first line. The images in the first line are armed with lances and tridents, while the Goddesses in the second line have only flowers in their hands. In one of these inscriptions, we read of S'rī Dharanī Indra Devī.

King Indravarman I is described as the Lord of the Kambujas (*Kamvujesvarah*) and the

¹ J. A., 1883, p. 466.

possessor of all good qualities. In the Prah Bat inscription, the king is compared to the God Nṛsimha (Viṣṇu). From the Lovek inscription, we know that he had a relative of the maternal line, whose name was Vāsudeva. He was really like the glorious God Vāsudeva to his enemies and was a powerful protector of his race.¹ The king had a son, who became famous in the Cambodian history as Śrī Yasovarman.

The king built a temple of stone (*Silāmaye Vesmani*), where he founded the *linga* of the God Īsa (Śiva) under the name of Śrī Indresvara after his own name. We have already noticed another image of Śiva, bearing the name of Indresvara, founded by him. He also erected six other images to Īsa and Devī (Pārvatī) and dug the magnificent tank named Śrī Indrataṭāka. Perhaps these six images have been referred to in the Bakon inscription, where six donations are spoken of. M. Barth

¹ Barth, p. 135.

thinks that this tank Indrataṭāka was situated at Loley. It is, however, difficult to say where the sanctuary of Indresvara was situated. Is it near about Loley? In the Khmer inscription of Loley, the place is spoken of as S'ri Indrapura. Another inscription speaks of two Indrāsramas being founded by Indravarman at the same locality. The temple of Indresvara, therefore, might have been established somewhere near about Loley.

We have already referred to āsramas, a non-buddhist institution making its appearance in Cambodia. These āsramas were not Buddhistic in character. They were founded by the Hindu kings for the use of the Hindu mendicants. King Indravarman also established two such āsramas, known after his own name, Indrāsrama. The foundation of these monasteries was accompanied with liberality, all people being satisfied by the abundance of the necessities of life.

Thus we find that King Indravarman I fulfilled the vow of beginning the construction of temples and images, which he had taken in the beginning of his reign. He built several temples, erected the images of Śiva and Devī, and dug tanks. He erected a monument in honour of the sacred memory of his father. He also established āśramas for the benefit of the Hindu monks. He is regarded as one of the great kings of Cambodia. He had an ideal character, which could hardly be surpassed by any other king. His reign was also rich in epigraphical records, which enable us to fix the date of his accession (A.D. 877) and also of his death (A.D. 889).

CHAPTER IX

THE REIGN OF YASOVARMAN

(A.D. 889-910)

THE great King Indravarman I was succeeded by his illustrious son, S'rī Yasovarman, who occupies a unique position in the history of Cambodia. The reign of this new king, extending over twenty-one years, is crowded with numerous events. It saw the erection of many temples and images and palaces in the Khmer Empire. The rise of Angkor Thom may be traced also to the reign of Yasovarman. We know that this great king ascended the throne in S'aka 811 (=A.D. 889) and brought about the glorious period in the history of Cambodia.

The epoch of King Yasovarman, says M. A. Bergaigne, is characterised from the epigraphic point of view, or rather from an alphabetic one, by a curious phenomenon, namely, the usage of a double writing, the ancient writing of Cambodia, originally of South India, and another writing probably of Northern India. There are inscriptions of Yasovarman with two faces, where the same text is written in different characters. These inscriptions are written in North Indian character. They are inscribed under orders from King Yasovarman or his ministers during his reign or immediately after. Six such inscriptions have been found at Angkor, Battambang and other places.

The illustrious king also received his share of eulogy showered by the court-poet. The king of kings (*Rājendra*) Śrī Yasovarman is said to have been exceedingly beautiful, the Creator (*Dhātā*) himself being responsible for the creation of his beauty. He always looked after the

prosperity of his subjects, because he believed that without the prosperity of his subjects (*prajāvṛddhi*) there would not be any prosperity of his own self (*svavṛddhi*). He was well-known for his military exploits: his *khadgo* (sword) always shone with the marks of the blood of his enemies.

He was among his relatives like the jewel

His character. Kaustubha' on the breast of

Kesava. He was possessed of fortune (*srīman*), naturally amiable, thoughtful (*gambhīra*), possessor of jewels and equal to the ocean (*samudrasamāno*). In the Lovek inscription, King Yasovarman is described as an expert in politics (*rājānītivisāradah*). In another place, he is said to be the king of kings (*Narendrarājah*).

During his reign, there was an excellent

Somasiva, the scholar.

sage (*Munivaro*), who was worshipped by other sages and who was a mine of jewels of Sāstras

(*S'āstraratna-ratnākaro*), named Somasiva. King Yasovarman himself was a disciple of this great scholar, Somasiva, whom he appointed as the instructor (*adhyāpaka*) of knowledge (*jñāna*) in the domain of Śrī Indravarmesvara. The sage Somasiva was a great scholar. He drank the nectar (*amṛta*) of knowledge by churning the ocean of Śivasāstra with the Maṇḍara of his intelligence. The court poet expresses this idea in the following words :

Śivasāstrārṇṇavaṃ buddhi-maṇḍarena vima-
thya yaḥ

Svayaṃ jñānāmṛtaṃ pītvā dayayānyān apā-
yayat.

Again, the sage was expert in the science of grammar (*S'abdasāstra*), so he was a favourite of the Goddess of learning. The inscription says that in his lotus rendered delicious (*manohare*) by the science of grammar, the bee (*madhukarī*) Sarasvatī became engaged (*ratā*).

Somasiva was an ideal Brahmin. He regularly performed the duties imposed by the Sāstras. He was regular in rendering homage (*pujā*) to the Gods, to guru, to the Brahmins (*viprā*), to superiors (*ārya*) and to the guests (*atithi*). He was as modest as a Vaiṣṇava. Though he was a highly accomplished sage and could act as a guru to many superiors, he, as a true Vaiṣṇava, looked like an inferior. This great sage (*Ācārya*) erected a *linga* of the God Īsa (Śiva) in the city of Śivapura. He erected this *linga* with all the prescribed forms (*samyagvidhinā*) under the name of Śrī Bhadresvara in the Śaka year designated by mountain (*saila*), moon (*indu*) and corps (*mūrti*), that is, 817 Śaka (=A.D. 895).¹

Not only the sage Somasiva made this sacred foundation, but King Yasovarman also took a prominent part in making numerous other

Śaiva endowments.

¹ Bergaigne, pp. 338-342.

Śaiva endowments. The king himself was an ardent follower of Śiva and the very year of his accession is marked by the erection of an image of Śiva. An inscription of Yasovarman has been discovered in the temple of Loley, which is situated at 15 or 18 kilometres to the south-east of Angkor Vat. From that inscription, we know that in the Śaka year marked by the moon (*sasāṅka*), *candra* (moon) and eight, that is, 811 Śaka (=A.D. 889), King° Yasovarman gave to the image of Paramesvara (Śiva), many slaves and other things (*kinkarādi*). Curiously enough, the other doors of the temple of Loley contain the same inscription with little literary variations and speak of the date of the king's accession (A.D. 889) and of his pious donation. But the divinity of the south door in the first range is Śiva, while in the two doors of the second range is the consort of Śiva (Bhavāni). After making this pious foundation, the king

exhorted the future kings of the kings of Kamvujas (*Kamvujabhūpatīndrān*): "Protect this work of piety, like the God Viṣṇu, who by his victory over Rāhu and others, protected the Gods." The king, in conclusion, calls upon the royal princes, ministers and others to defend this pious work by ordinances and regulations.

The same stanzas are repeated in the four faces B of the above inscription. It begins in the Indian style with *Srī Siddhi Svastī Jaya* and speaks of the erection of the statues (*pratimās*) of the Goddess Gaurī and of the Lord Śiva. This foundation took place in the Śaka year marked by arrow (*vāṇa*), one and eight, that is, 815 Śaka (=A.D. 393).

The Phnom Sandak inscription, which was found, according to M. Aymonier, in a ruined temple, situated on the mountain of the same name, throws much light on the reign of Yasovarman. The inscription pays homage

to the God Śiva (*Namas' Sivāya*), to Dhurjatin (another name of Śiva), to Mahāvarāha, to Viṣṇu, to Brahmā, to Gaurī and to Sarasvatī. This inscription is, therefore, of considerable value to the religious history of Cambodia. These Gods and Goddesses had by this time gained popularity in Cambodia and were worshipped by the Khmers. A Hindu need not follow strictly the cult of Śiva or of Viṣṇu or of Brahmā. He may pay homage to all of them at the same time, so the writer says in one breath :

- (i) *Namas' Sivāya* (Salutation to Śiva).
- (ii) *Viṣṇuṃ namāmi* (I salute Viṣṇu).
- (iii) *Namantu Brahmanāḥ pādapallavau* (Salutation to the feet of Brahmā).
- (iv) *Vande Gaurīm* (I worship Gaurī).
- (v) *Namo Devyai* (Salutation to the Goddess).

This period thus witnessed the triumph of Hinduism in Cambodia. Hinduism also made

much progress in Champa. But in Cambodia, the Hindu religion flourished with all its forms and cults. The cults of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā became popular in this Khmer land. The people of Cambodia used to worship all the important Hindu Gods and Goddesses without any restriction. The rivalry between the sects which existed in India was fortunately unknown in Cambodia. In many inscriptions we find salutations not only to Śiva, the most prominent of the Hindu Gods in Cambodia, but also to other Gods. In the Phnom Sandak inscription (Face B), we have expressions like the following: *Namo stu sambhave* (Salutation to Sambhu), *Jayati tripuradhvaṃsi* (Victory to the destroyer of Tripura), *Namo stu haraye* (Salutation to Hari), *Svayambhūḥ pātu* (Let Svayambhu protect us), *Vande parṇṇām* (I adore Aparṇṇā). Thus the writer of the inscription pays homage to the members of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā,

Viṣṇu, and Śiva and also to Aparṇā, the consort of Śiva.¹

The most famous inscription of King Yasovarman is that on the stele of Prah Bat or more correctly Vrah Pāda (the sacred foot) on the range of the mountain of Chocung Prey. There are two inscriptions, one written in Sanskrit and the other in Khmer, giving the same identical text. This inscription is remarkable, because it gives the history of the family from which King Yasovarman traced his descent. Here we get the account of the following kings :

I. Vassal Kings of Śambhupura :

- (1) Pushkarāksha.
- (2) Rājendravarman.
- (3) Mahīpativarman.

II. Overlords of Vyādhapura :

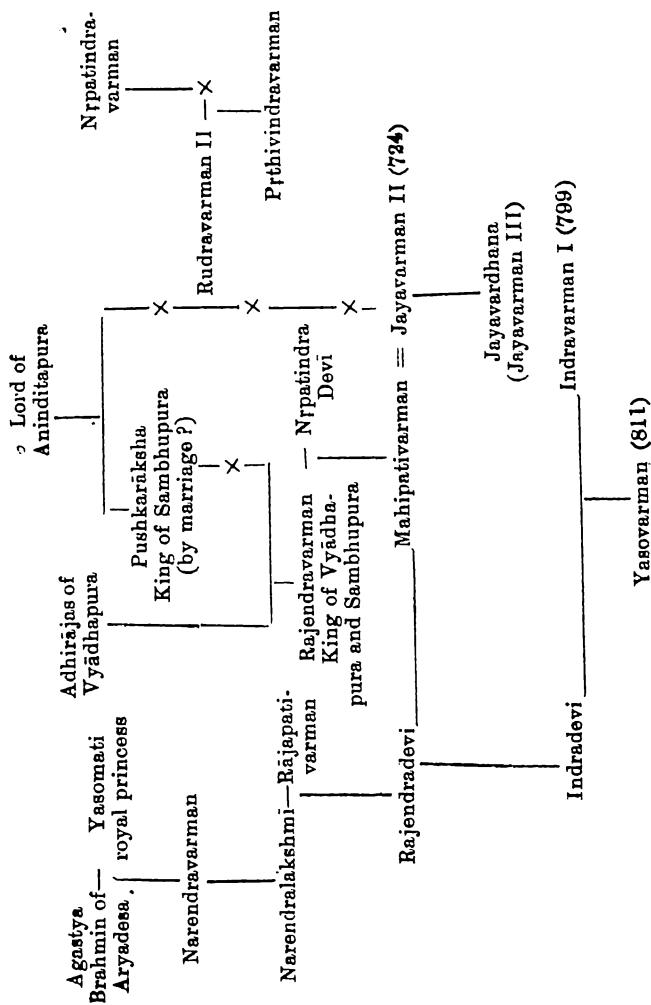
- (1) Narendrarvarman.
- (2) Rājapativarman.
- (3) Nṛpativarman.

¹ Bergaigne, p. 342.

III. Kings of Mahendra mountain :

- (1) Jayavarman II (Mahīpativarman).
- (2) Jayavarman III.
- (3) Rudravarman II.
- (4) Pr̥thivīndravarman.
- (5) Indravarman I.
- (6) Yasovarman.

The following geneological table will make the line of descent of these kings clear :



This inscription begins with a significant *sloka*, which runs thus :

Utpattisthitisaṅhāra karaṇān jagatāṃ patīn
Namantu manmathārātimurāricaturānanān||

Here salutation is offered to the lords of this world, to the causes of creation, preservation and destruction and to the enemy of Manmatha (Śiva), to Murāri (Viṣṇu) and to the four-faced God (Brahmā). Thus homage is paid to the Gods of the Hindu Trinity together, Śiva being given the place of honour.

The inscription says that there was a descendant of the lords of Aninditapura, named Śrī Pushkarāksha, who had obtained the royalty of Śambhupura and who was firm in battle, was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of the king, who established his residence on the mountain Mahendra.

Of the race of this prince and having for ancestors, on the mother's side, the line of the

kings of Vyādhapura was Rājendravarman, who was originally the King of Vyādhapura, but afterwards became the Lord of Sāmbhupura also. By his marriage with the princess Nṛpatīndradevī, he had a son, who became known as King Mahipativarman, the first among warriors in battle and powerful like Garuḍa, the enemy of the serpents.

After this, the inscription reverts to the family history of a Brahmin named Agastya, who was expert in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas (*Vedavedaṅgavid*) and who came from Aryadesa, which is identified with India. After coming to Cambodia, he married the princess Yasomati and had a son named Śrī Narendrarvarman, who again had a daughter like the Goddess Lakṣmī named Narendralakṣhmī. This princess Narendralakṣhmī was married to the King Rājapativarman and had a daughter called Rājendradevī, who looked like a divine girl. This Rājendradevī was married

to the King Mahipativarman, who had a daughter of surpassing beauty, Indradevī by name.

The inscription then refers to King Śrī Jayavarman, who has been identified with Mahipativarman. He had his capital on the mount Mahendra. His son Śrī Jayavardhana on his accession to the throne changed his name to Śrī Jayavarman (III). The inscription continues to speak of—(1) Śrī Rudravarman, the younger brother of the mother of the mother of Jayavarman III, who used to practise pure dharma, (2) Śrī Pṛthivīndravarman, the nephew (*bhāgineya*) of Rudravarman, (3) Śrī Indravarman, who made a *linga* and six images of Īsa and Devī.

At last we come to Śrī Yasovarman, the son of Indravarman and Śrī Indradevī, who were compared to the God Śiva and his consort Durgā respectively, their child being compared to Kārttikeya.

The inscription actually contains a *prasasti* in honour of the great King Yasovarman in *kāvya* style.

For the merit of his father, King Yasovarman erected on the island of Śrī Indratāṭaka, dug by his father Indravarman, four statues of Śiva and his consort. Like his father, he also dug a tank known after him as Yasodharatāṭaka, which added glory to the Kings of Kambujas (Kamvujesān) just as the moon gives beauty to the sky. The institution of āśramas flourished also during his reign. He established a Yasodharāśrama and dedicated it to the God Śiva in the Śaka year 811 (=A.D. 889). The king then issued a decree (Śāsana) in favour of the God Ganesa of Candanādiri. We read in the inscription :

ratnakāñcanarupyādi gavāśvamahishadvipāḥ
 naranāryyo dharārāmāyāni cānyāni kāni cit
 tāni sarvvāṃ dattāni Śrī Yasovarmanmabhuhujā
 svāśrame

King Śrī Yasovarman gave pearls, gold, silver, cow, horse, buffaloes, men, women and other things for his āśrama. When this pious foundation took place, there were present the royal ministers (*mantrins*), his generals (*valādhīpās*), the Brahmins (*dviṣa*), Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas.¹

The reign of Yasovarman is rich in epigraphical records. We have still some more inscriptions which give us almost the identical account as given by the preceding one. Such an inscription is found at Prasat Ta Siou, a locality with a temple in the district of Svai Chek.² After repeating the account as given in the above inscription, it says that it is a decree (*sāsana*) in favour of the Goddess Nidrā, probably Yoganidrā or Mahāmāyā, who according to the Śaivas, is another form of Durgā and according to the Vaiṣṇavas, an emanation of

¹ Bergaigne, pp. 363-376.

² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

Viṣṇu incarnated in Yaśodā, the adoptive mother of the Lord Kṛṣṇa.¹ The date of this inscription is also 811 Śaka=A.D. 889.

The following inscriptions also give the identical account :

(1) Inscription of the stele of Bakon—giving a sāsana to Paramesvara.²

(2) Inscription of the Prasat Prah Neak Buos—giving a sāsana to Gaṇeṣa.³

(3) Inscription of the Prah Theat Prah Srey—giving a sāsana to Pañcaliṅgesvara (Śiva).⁴

(4) Inscription of the Srey Krup Leak—giving a sāsana to Raudraparvatesa (Śiva).⁵

(5) Inscription of the Vat Ha—giving a sāsana to Kārttikeya.⁶

¹ Bergaigne, p. 377.

² *Ibid.*, p. 378.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 384.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

(6) Inscription of the Vat Kandal—giving a *sāsana* to Nārāyaṇa.¹

(7) Inscription of the Moroum—giving a *sāsana* to Śrī Brahmarakṣas.²

(8) Inscription of the Houé Tamoh—giving a *sāsana* to Rudrāṇī.³

It is a strange revelation that so many Hindu Gods and Goddesses had been known in Cambodia. We have already noticed that King Yasovarman erected an image in memory of his father Indravarman, after whom the God was named Indravarmesvara. The inscription on the stele of Loley begins with a salutation to the God Indravarmesvara (*Namas Śrīndravarmesvarāya*).⁴ This inscription also contains a *prasasti* of Yasovarman, who is described as busy with sacrifices and yoga (*homayogā-dinirato*), attached to the Vedas (*Vedāsataḥ*)

¹ Bergaigne, p. 387.

² *Ibid.*, p. 388.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

like Prajāpati and Vidhātār himself. He always followed the advice of Yogīśvara (of Yājñavalkya). M. A. Barth suggests that Yogīśvara was apparently one of the ministers of Yasovarman. The name is rather familiar in the history of Cambodia. We know of another Yogīśvara, who was the minister of of King Sūryavarman.⁷

King Yasovarman appeared like another Manu. In the early period of Cambodian history there was Kambu Svāyambhu, who was regarded as a Manu in Cambodia. In King Yasovarman, we have another instance of a Cambodian Manu. Yasovarman resembled also the divine *Kalpadruma* by satisfying the desires of all people.

The Indian caste system had already been introduced in Cambodia. King Yasovarman tried to reorganise the system by fixing the limits of the four *āśramas* (castes). The old institution

⁷ Bergaigne, p. 405.

of āśramas for holy men was also revived. The king established no less than one hundred excellent āśramas throughout the country. The king was also well-known for his liberality. He wanted to defeat Rama in his charity, who gave the whole earth to Kasyapa by giving to the Brahmins a mountain of gold (the mount Meru). He was expert in the medical science of Susruta. With the help of this excellent medical science he used to cure his subjects of the maladies of this world as well as of the other world. It is very interesting to note that the medical treatise of Susruta was familiar in Cambodia in the age of Yasovarman. The king was also expert (*pāṇḍitaḥ*) in all the sciences and in the art of warfare (*sarvasāstrasāstreshu*), in the arts (*śilpa*), languages (*bhāṣā*), writing (*lipi*), dance (*nṛtta*), music (*gīta*) and other sciences (*viññāneshu*).

The king is also compared to the great Indian epic heroes. The king was not only

like Arjuna in his glory, but also like Bhīma in his impetuosity. He reigned over a vast dominion. The kingdom which he protected was limited by the Chinese frontier and by the sea (*cinasandhipayodhibhyām*). The King Śrī Yasovarman, who was bright with his prosperity (*śrī*), glory (*yaśas*) and dharman, and who was a moon among the kings, whose face was equal to the moon, began to reign in the Śaka year marked by *candra* (moon), *indu* (moon) and *vasu* (treasure), i.e., 811 Śaka=A.D. 889.

The Brahmanic faith had attained great popularity in Cambodia. We hear of pious endowments for the worship of Hindu Gods and Goddesses. King Yasovarman took a leading part in the propagation of Hinduism in the Khmer country. We have already referred to his sacred endowments. For the increase of the merit of his superiors (*gurūṇām punyavṛddhaye*), King Yasovarman established four

Brahmanism
in Cambodia.

images (*pratimā*) of the God Śiva and Goddess Sarvāṇī (consort of Śiva). It is said that these *pratimās* were the works of his own art (*sva-silparacitā*). Should we take it to mean that King Yasovarman was himself an artist and himself made these *pratimās* for their consecration? In other inscriptions also, the images are referred to as works of his art. We may take Yasovarman to be an artist. The king made liberal grants to these Gods. His presents include: (1) ornaments made of various jewels (*vicitraratnaracitaṃ bhūsaṇaṇ*), (2) vestment of gold (*kanokāmbaram*), (3) *karaṅka*, (4) *kāladhauta*, (5) *sivikā* (palanquin), (6) *vyajana* (fan), (7) *chattra* (umbrella), (8) plumes of peacock, and (9) a great many utensils for the *pujā*, made of gold and silver (*vahūṇi haimaraupyāṇi pūjopakaraṇāṇi ca*). He also gave men (*nara*) and females (*varāṅganāḥ*) who were expert in dancing, music and other things (*nṛtta-gītādicature*). The

king also granted many tributary villages (*samagrakaraḍagrāma*) and gardens for the maintenance of this endowment.¹

We hear of many interesting things in these inscriptions, namely, of flower *nandyāvarttam*, of room for dancing (*ṇṛttāgāra*), of cloth dyed with indigo (*nīlacitravasano*). Strict rules regarding admission into the temple were laid down. Only those men and women who would perform the *pujā* with liberal offerings would be allowed to enter the sacred temple. There might be others who could not offer anything; if they are rich in their faith and devotion (*śraddhābhaktimahādhanah*), they would be allowed admission. For their extreme devotion (*paramā bhaktir*), they would enter the temple with the offer of a single flower. There are others to whom admission was refused. They are: (1) *chinnāṅgās*—one with torn or wounded arm, (2) *aṅkitāṅgā*—one with defective arm,

¹ Bergaigne, p. 409.

(3) *kṛtaghnāḥ*—the ungrateful, (4) *kubja*—the hunch-backed, (5) *vāmanāḥ*—the dwarf, (6) *mahāpātakīno*—the criminal, (7) *hīnadesās*—the vagabond, (8) *apare*—the stranger, (9) *kushthādimahāvvyādhi*—one having leprosy and other fell diseases, (10) *pīditāṅga*—one with diseased limb and others.

The rule regarding their admission is very strict. The inscription lays down—“Kadācid api te sarvve na viseyus sīvāṅganam”—(Never all these people should be allowed to enter the courtyard of the Siva temple.) It is strange that these people were prohibited from entering the Siva temple. A temple is for the use of all people. In India, we never hear of such restrictions.

We have another inscription, namely, the *Phimānakas* inscription, which also throws light on this period of Cambodian history. This *Phimānakas*, according to M. Aymonier, is nothing but the Sanskrit *Vimānākāśa*. It is

a sort of construction of pyramidal form, which is found in the midst of the ruins of 'the palace of the kings' of Angkor Thom. We know that King Indravarman (877-899) was responsible for the selection of the site of Angkor Thom as the capital of the Cambodian Empire. But he simply began the magnificent buildings which are still to be found there. It was his son Yasovarman (889-908) who completed the royal palace and built a town known as Yasodharapura (Kambupurī or Mahānagara). We get the reminiscence of Mahānagara in Angkor Thom, Angkor being the corruption of Nakor or Nagara. This Vimānākāsa was also built in the time of Yasovarman. It was an edifice of three stages, almost like a pyramid. We get a description of Phimānakas in the following :

(1) *Explorations et Missions de Dondart de Lagrée* (p. 237).

(2) *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine* (of Francis Garnier, I, p. 69).

(3) *Le royaume du Cambodge*. (by J. Moura, II, p. 33).

(4) *Les ruines Khmères* (by L. Fournereau).

M. Fournereau, however, extends the term *Phimānakas* to all royal palaces. We get an account of the restoration of these monuments in *Voyage au Cambodge* by M. L. Delaporte.

The *Phimānakas* inscription begins with a salutation to the God *Viṣṇu* (*Vande Cintyagatim Viṣṇum*) and to the Goddess *Srī* (*Vande Govindahṛddhārninim Sriyam*). King *Yasovarman* is described as the lord of other kings (*rājendra*), who was equal to *Mahendra* (*Indra*) and *Upendra* (*Viṣṇu*) in heroism. This *rājādhirāja* had a minister named *Srī Satyāsraya*, who was equal to the divine minister (*mantrin*) of *Indra*, and who had traversed the ocean of astrology (*horā-sāstra*). He was devoted to his royal master. For his devotion to his master (*svāmibhakti*), he

Satyāsraya,
the minister.

received several presents from the king, of *karaṅka*, *kalasa* (pitcher), *pātra* (vessel), *sitacchatra* (white umbrella), and *lakṣmī* (fortune). Though King Yasovarman was a staunch Śaiva, his favourite minister was a Vaiṣṇava. The minister, through his devotion (*bhakti*) to Viṣṇu, erected an image of Mādhava (Viṣṇu) under the name of Śrī Trailokyanātha. He also gave as usual gold (*suvarṇa*), silver (*rajata*), field (*kṣhetra*), gardens (*ārāma*), servants (*kiṅkara*), and *striyam* (female slaves) for this new temple. This sacred foundation took place in *dvitryasṭābde*, i.e., 832 Śaka, in the day of Vidhātar of the Madhu month. If the *horāsāstrin* of this inscription was calculated according to the Sūryasiddhānta, the erection of Trailokyanātha took place on the 31st March, A.D. 910.

When did King Yasovarman die? It is not possible to answer this question definitely. The above inscription says that in A.D. 910

(S'aka 832) the king was living. From the other inscriptions we know that the king had two sons: the elder was Harshavarman, and the younger Īsānavarman. Of Harshavarman, we have the Vat Chacret inscription, which in its Khmer portion gives the date as S'aka 834. There is another inscription of Īsānavarman, the second son and successor of Yasovarman, which again gives the date as S'aka 832. How is it then possible for the first son to have an inscription in 834 S'aka and the second son in 832 S'aka if the king himself lived in 832 S'aka? Unless the king was dead, his sons could not come to the throne and issue inscriptions in their own name. M. Bergaigne tries to solve this problem by saying that the stanza 7 of Yasovarman's inscription was not inscribed during the life-time of King Yasovarman. It was finished after his death by his successor. M. Bergaigne holds that we only know of the name of the first successor of Yasovarman, his

elder son Harshavarman and the date 832 S'aka, cited in one inscription which bears the name of his second son Īsānavarman and which was perhaps anterior to the Phimānakas inscription of Yasovarman. Whatever it may be, one of the two brothers was reigning in 832 S'aka, for the Phimānakas inscription, which bears the same date, celebrates Yasovarman in terms which do not permit of the doubt that he was dead in this epoch.¹ Accordingly, we put the death of Yasovarman before A.D. 910.

The reign of Yasovarman witnessed the erection of the magnificent buildings near about Angkor Thom, the ruins of which excite even now the admiration of travellers and art-critics. King Yasovarman would be remembered for his patronage of Hindu religion and of the new school of Indo-Khmer art which grew up in Cambodia. He was also a great builder of temples and palaces. Popular

¹ *J. A.*, 1884, January, p. 64.

Hinduism had gained ground in Cambodia. We find numerous Indian Gods and Goddesses receiving the homage of the Khmer people. We find the following Gods and Goddesses popular in Cambodia : (1) Paramesa (Śiva), (2) Gaṇesa, (3) Pañcalingesvara (Śiva), (4) Raudraparvatesa (Śiva), (5) Kārttikeya, (6) Nārāyaṇa (7) Śiva, (8) Śarvāni (the consort of Śiva). It would be an interesting study to trace out how this popular Brahmanic faith captured the imagination of the Khmer people. In the whole peninsula, excepting in Siam, Buddhism could not be so popular as Hinduism. How are we to explain this anomaly ? In Champa as well as in Cambodia, Hinduism became the State religion, while in Siam Buddhism became the religion of her kings.

CHAPTER X

THE FAMILY OF YASOVARMAN

YASOVARMAN was one of the leading Kings of Cambodia. His family continued to rule over the destinies of Cambodia for a long time. King Yasovarman had two sons: Harshavarman, the elder, and Īsānavarman, the younger. It is difficult to say who succeeded Yasovarman. The younger brother has one inscription dated 832 S'aka, while the elder brother's inscription is dated 834 S'aka. The natural and logical conclusion is that the younger brother came to the throne first in 832 S'aka (A.D. 910) and was followed by his elder brother in 834 S'aka (A.D. 912). We cannot, however, assign

any reason as to why the second brother came to the throne first.

King Īsānavarman, thus, ascended the throne in A.D. 910. As usual with Eastern kings, Īsānavarman had a favourite minister named S'ikhāsiva. The Saiva cult was making considerable progress during this period. We have not only the examples of kings founding temples and images of S'iva, but we have other people following their instance. Here we have the case of the royal minister S'ikhāsiva erecting three *lingas* of the God S'iva. We know this from the Vat Thupestry (Angkor) inscription,¹ which bears the date of 832 S'aka. This date has become a point of controversy, because, how could Harshavarman become king first, if this inscription of the minister of Īsānavarman bears the date of 832 S'aka? This inscription contains the name of Harshavarman,

¹ J. A., 1882, Aout-September, pp. 166-167.

the elder brother, as well as of Yasovarman, the father of the king.

With the cult of Siva, which had gained prominence in Cambodia, popular Hinduism was also in evidence in this kingdom at this time. We have seen that not only Siva, but the other Gods of the Hindu Trinity used to be worshipped by the Hinduised Khmers. The above inscription contains invocations to all the three Gods of the Hindu Trinity as well as to their *Saktis*. It is generally assumed that Hinduism is not a proselytising religion. How could we then explain the spread of Hinduism among the local Khmer people of Cambodia? Hinduism accepted people of other Faiths to its fold and there was no prohibition against the preaching of the Hindu Faith among the Non-Hindus.

As in India, it happened sometimes that a family of ministers continued to serve the royal family for many generations. In India, we

have in the Pala inscriptions such an example of a family supplying ministers for successive generations. During the Muslim rule in India, we had examples of the post of ministers in many cases becoming hereditary. We have already noticed such an instance in the history of Cambodia. Another such example is provided by the Lovek inscription. We know from the above inscription of one Punnāgavarman, the son of the King Rudravarman and Narendralakṣmī. In the maternal line of Punnāgavarman, were born three men, who served as ministers under the Kings Śrī Harshavarman, Śrī Īsānavarman and Śrī Jayavarman. Of these three personages, one became a follower of the Lord Śiva and he declared : "Śiva is my refuge." This seems to be in imitation of the Buddhist saying : " I take refuge in Buddha." As his mind was full of devotion for the God Śiva, he was called " Manassiva ".¹

¹ Barth, p. 135.

It is difficult to ascertain the duration of the reign of Īsānavarman II, who ^{Harshavarman I (A.D. 912).} has got an inscription dated 832 Śaka. His elder brother Harshavarman I also has to his credit an inscription with the date 834 Śaka. It seems that the younger brother reigned only for two years, after which the elder brother Harshavarman I came to the throne.

Harshavarman I has only one inscription to his credit. It was discovered at Vat Chacret, where the inscription of Īsānavarman I (548 Śaka) had also been found. This inscription like those of King Yasovarman is written both in Sanskrit and Khmer.

Like his predecessors, Harshavarman I was also a follower of the God Śiva. The above inscription begins with an invocation to the God Śiva, who is here given the name of Dhurjatin. As usual with the Cambodian Kings, he took the title of *Rājādhirāja* (the

king of kings). The inscription refers to him as the son of Śrī Yasovarman and the favourite of Śrī, the Goddess of Fortune. Sometimes King Śrī Harshavarman was also known as *Kambujendrādhirāja* (the king of kings of Kambujas), whose qualities were chanted by the entire world. The king also appeared as another Śrīvāsa or Krishna. As he was an ardent follower of Śiva, he made a donation of six charming female slaves for each fortnight to the God *Adrivyādhapuresa*, which is a name applied to the God Śiva as the Lord of Adrivyādhapura. Where is this city of Adrivyādhapura, of which Śiva is the presiding deity? Is it the same as Vyādhapura mentioned in the Prea Kev inscription?

In the Khmer part of the above inscription, we get the date: Śaka 834 (=A.D. 912), which enables us to fix the date of King Harshavarman. As his brother Īśānavarman II has the date: Śaka 832 (=A.D. 910), we place

him immediately after King Yasovarman. King Harshavarman perhaps reigned until the year A.D. 928, when Jayavarman IV came to the throne.

The line of Yasovarman continued to flourish in Cambodia. After the reigns of his two sons, their nephew Jayavarman IV (A.D. 928), Jayavarman IV came to the throne of Cambodia. The name Jayavarman seems to be very popular among the Indo-Khmer Kings of Cambodia. We have already seen three Kings of Cambodia bearing the same title and now we come to the fourth king with the same name. According to M. A. Bergaigne, the date of accession to the throne of King Jayavarman IV is S'aka 850 (=A.D. 928). This date, observes M. Bergaigne, is given in a Sanskrit inscription found at Prasat Néang Khamu in the province of Bati.¹

¹ J. A., 1884, January, p. 65.

We have the Koh Ker inscription entirely engraved on a wall in the temple of Koh Ker, situated in the north-west of the Cambodian province of Kompong Saoi. This temple is built of brick and there are two galleries, one in the East and the other in the West. Many inscriptions are engraved on the walls of the left and right galleries and on the pillars of the left gallery of the East. Three other inscriptions found here are written entirely in Khmer. They mention the dates expressly of the Saka era 841 (No. 182 of the Bibliothèque Nationale), 842 (No. 178) and 844 (No. 177).¹ Unfortunately the inscription ascribed to King Jayavarman IV is not dated. The name of the king also is not clear. We have only the ending—*Varman*. According to M. A. Bergaigne, it is certain that the king referred to here was neither Yasovarman nor his sons Harshavarman and Īsānavarman

¹ *J. A.*, 1883, p. 483.

II. The two sons of Yasovarman had for their successor their uncle Jayavarman IV. It is extremely probable that this prince was the author of the Koh Ker inscription. It was posterior to those which bear the dates 841, 842 and 844 S'aka. King Jayavarman IV, according to M. A. Bergaigne, came to the throne in S'aka 850 (A.D. 928).¹ But M. Barth seems to take 843 S'aka (A.D. 921) to be the date of this inscription.

The cult of Śiva continued to flourish in Cambodia. King Jayavarman IV was also a follower of Śiva and paid his homage in due form. His inscription began with a salutation to the God Śiva (*Namas Śivāya*). The King Śrī Jayavarman has been described as *Adhipati* (Lord) of the kingdom (*rājya*) of Cambodia. As a follower of Śiva, he made pious donations of various sacred things to the God Śiva.

¹ Bergaigne, p. 557.

Sri Jayavarman IV reigned until the year A.D. 942 when his son Harshavarman II ascended the throne of Cambodia.

King Jayavarman IV had two sons, namely, Rājendravarman, the elder, and Harshavarman, the younger.

Harshavarman
II (A.D. 942).

After the death of Jayavarman IV, the younger son Harshavarman came to the throne and was known as Harshavarman II. From the Sanskrit inscription of Kedey Char, we know that Harshavarman came to the throne in Śaka 864 (=A.D. 942).¹

From the Baksey Chang Krang inscription and the Prasat Pra Dak, we know the line of succession of kings beginning with Harshavarman I. Following is the list :²

Harshavarman I,
Īśānavarman II (832 Śaka),
Jayavarman IV,

¹ J.A., 1884, January, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, 1882, Aout-September, pp. 184-185.

Harshavarman II,
 Rājendravarman (866 S'aka),
 Jayavarman V.

Harshavarman II was, however, not blessed with a long reign. He reigned only for two years and was succeeded by his elder brother Rājendravarman in S'aka 866 (=A.D. 944).

Though Rājendravarman was the elder son of King Yasovarman, he came to the throne after his younger brother. We are fortunate in getting the date of his accession from his inscription of Prasat Bat Chum found at Angkor Thom. It is S'aka 866. (arirasamaṅgalabhū-dharaḥ)=A.D. 944.

The reign of Rājendravarman opens a new period in the history of religion in Cambodia. It saw the spread of Buddhism in the land of Khmers. We discuss the importance of the reign of Rājendravarman and the place of Buddhism in Cambodia in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER XI

RĀJENDRAVARMAN AND BUDDHISM IN CAMBODIA

THE reign of Rājendravarman (Acc. A.D. 944) is very important in the history of Cambodia. It is the dawn of a new Buddhistic period in this kingdom. From the very beginning of the Cambodian history, Brahmanism was rather strong, though there are traces of the prevalence of Buddhism also in the earlier years. In the face of the royal patronage accorded to Hinduism, the religion of Lord Buddha could not make much progress in the land of the Khmers. So long we had seen popular Hinduism with the cults of Siva and Viṣṇu

prominent. We had the instances of kings and ministers and even ordinary people making images and temples of Śiva and other Gods and Goddesses. This popular Hinduism, however, soon had to give way to a Buddhist revival. It is under the successors of Jayavarman IV that Buddhism began to gain royal favour. This rise of Buddhism in Cambodia did not mean the decay of the Brahmanic faith in that country. The Indian Kings of Cambodia did not confine their patronage to Buddhism alone, but liberally bestowed royal favour on Hinduism also. Thus, in this period of Buddhist revival during the reign of Rājendravarman, Hinduism continued to receive a share, though a limited share, of the royal favour.

While the inscriptions of Yasovarman and his successors begin with invocations to the God Śiva or Viṣṇu or Brahmā or other Hindu Gods and Goddesses, the Prasat Bat Chum inscription of Rājendravarman begins with an invocation

to three Buddhist personages, Jina, Lokesvara and Vajrapāṇi. It shows the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Cambodia in the tenth century of the Christian era.

Like all powerful kings, Rājendravarman also had pretensions to the ancient Indian dynasties. He is described in his inscription as belonging to the lunar dynasty of the Mahabharata fame. In another place, he is said to be born in *Somā Kaṇḍīnya-vaṇsa* (the family of Somā Kaṇḍīnya).¹ He established a new town known as Yasodharapuri, which was like the house of Mahendra, the King of Heaven (*Mahendragṛhopamām*). Though he gave his patronage to Buddhism, he was not ungenerous towards Hinduism. He made a *Śiva linga* and other Brahmanic statues of Devī and other Gods in that new city. Thus, both Buddhism and Hinduism continued to receive his encouragement.

¹ *Barth*, p. 84.

It is interesting to note that his minister Kavindrārimathana was a *Bauddha* (Buddhist). In the same inscription we have the eulogy of the minister along with his royal master. In the inscription (No. 35)¹ we hear of the erection of a Jina, of Divyadevī and of a Vajrapāṇi by the minister Kavindrārimathana in Śaka 875=A.D. 953. He was a devout Buddhist and this was not his first act of foundation of sacred Buddhist images. Previously in Śaka 868 (mūrttirasāshtasake)=A.D. 946, he had erected Buddhist images of Jina and Jayantadesa. His third attempt in pious foundation was in 872 Śaka (netranagāshtasake)=A.D. 952, when he consecrated the image of Lokanātha and of the Goddess (*Devī*) to Kuṭisvara.²

¹ The number refers to that given in *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*.

² *I. A.*, 1882, Aout-September, p. 162.

There are a few more inscriptions relating to this period. The inscription No. 36 contains an eulogy of King Rājendravarman. It was also a Buddhist inscription, because it begins with invocations to Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā. The next inscription (No. 37) is interesting in many respects. It contains the eulogy of King Rājendravarman as well as of his minister Kavīndrārimathana. We know that the royal minister was a Buddhist. It is mentioned again that the minister had great attachment to the Buddhist religion (*Bauddha-dharmmaikatāno*) and was recognised as a leader amongst the Buddhists (*Bauddhānām agraṇir*). Thus, though he was a devout Buddhist, he was not lacking in attachment towards the king. The minister had great devotion (*bhakti*) to Rājendravarman, who was to him a *Paramesvara* (great God). The king gave full confidence to his minister and entrusted him with the charge of beautifying the new

capital of Yasodharapura. The object of this inscription was to record the erection of a statue of Prajñāpāramitā by the minister Kavīन्द्रārimathana.

Like other great kings, Rājendravarman was praised by his court poet. In his inscriptions (Nos. 37-38), after paying homage to Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā, the king is described as the king of kings (*Rājendra*) and *Srīmāna* (blessed by the Goddess of Fortune). As a great king, he fought against the neighbouring kings and defeated them by his force. He also fought against the Indian colony of Champa and other adjoining countries and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. We read in the inscriptions (No. 39-40) :

“Campādipararāshtrāṇām dagdhā Kālāntakṛitih.”

The king was like a fatal fire which burnt the enemy kingdoms beginning with Champa and others. As the Kingdoms of Champa

and Cambodia were neighbouring countries, it is natural that they should come into conflict from time to time.

Like many Indian kings, Rājendravarman was a scholar and proficient in many sciences. He was learned in Panini and followed the advice of Panini in many cases. In inspiring the confidence of his subjects, the king followed the precepts of the great Indian grammarian Panini : *prakāśane kṛta yasya vacasā pāṇinier iva.*

The untiring minister Kavindrārimathana (was he himself a poet that he destroyed the enemy of the poet ?) was not satisfied with his previous work of pious foundation. He, therefore, again founded a Devī, a Buddha and a Vajrapāṇi.

It is not usual to find the name of the poet who writes these Sanskrit or Khmer inscriptions. Fortunately, here we find the signature of the poet in a Khmer line : *taduka sloka neḥ*

vāmarānabhāgavata. The inscription No. 35 also contains the signature of the poet : *taduka sloka neḥ mratañ srīndrapaṇḍita*.

From the historical point of view, the inscription (No. 41) of Prasat Pra Dak (Angkor) is very important. It is also a Buddhistic inscription, because it contains the invocation to three Buddhist ratnas : *Srīghanaratna* (i.e., Buddharatna), *Dharmmaratna*, and *Sanḡharatna*. It also gives the following geneological table of the Kings of Cambodia¹ :

- (1) Jayavarman.
 - (2) Jayavarman II, son of the first.
 - (3) Indravarman, son of the maternal uncle of (2).
 - (4) Yasovarman, son of Indravarman.
 - (5) Harshavarman
 - (6) Īsānavarman
 - (7) Jayavarman.
- } sons of Yasovarman.

¹ *J. A.*, 1882, Aout-September, pp. 165-166.

- (8) Harshavarman } sons of Jayavar-
(9) Rājendravarman } man.

(10) Jayavarman, son of Rājendravarman.

Another inscription, which may be attributed to this period is that of Baksey Chang Krang, transcribed by M. Senart. It is a new departure from the other inscriptions of this period. While other inscriptions of this period are Buddhist, this one is purely Brahmanic in character. It begins with invocations to the principal Brahmanic divinities and traces the origin of the Cambodian royal family to Kambu Svāyambhuva, who is recognised as the Cambodian Manu. In India, we have the Svāyambhuva Manu, the father of mankind. Perhaps, in imitation of the Indian tradition, the Cambodians ascribed the origin of the Cambodian royal family to Kambu Svāyambhuva.

The inscription gives the history of Cambodia from the early period when kings like Śrutavarman, Rudravarman and others reigned to

the time of Rājendravarman, the author of this inscription.

The reign of Rājendravarman would be remembered for the progress made by Buddhism in Cambodia. The king acted as a liberal patron of Buddhism. The royal minister himself was an ardent Buddhist and was recognised as the leader of the Buddhist community in Cambodia. In no other period of the Cambodian history, do we see the foundation of so many Buddhist images. During the reign of Rājendravarman, the images of the following Buddhist Gods and Goddesses were erected :

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) Jina, | (5) Lokanātha, |
| (2) Divyādevī, | (6) Devī of Kutisvara, |
| | and |
| (3) Vajrapāṇi, | (7) Buddha. |
| (4) Jina of Jayantadesa, | |

In one single reign, all these Buddhist images of the Mahāyāna cult were made in

Cambodia. Besides these, Lokeshvara and Prajñāpāramitā were also well known in Cambodia by this time. The Cambodian Buddhists also paid homage to the celebrated three *ratnas* of the Buddhists, namely, Śrīghanaratna, Dharmmaratna and Saṅgharatna. Along with Buddhism, side by side Hinduism also continued to flourish. The Cambodian kings gave their patronage equally to Hindu and Buddhist Gods. The tradition of the Śiva cult continued even during the reign of Rājendravarman, which marked the revival of Buddhism. King Rājendravarman is credited with the erection of a *linga* in the city of Śiva (Śivapura) and another *linga* in the city of Yasodharapura. He also erected a gold statue of Śiva. The date of the above inscription is 866 Saka.¹

On the whole the reign of Rājendravarman is epoch-making in the history of Cambodia. It is rich in epigraphical records. It saw a

¹ J. A., 1882, p. 153.

movement of Buddhistic revival in Cambodia. From the very beginning the cult of Śiva was very popular amongst the Khmer people. It is only in this period that we see the Buddhist images and monuments erected and homage paid to the Mahāyāna Gods and Goddesses.

CHAPTER XII

HINDU REVIVAL IN CAMBODIA

As the reign of Rājendravarman saw the awakening of the Buddhist faith in Cambodia, that of his successor Jayavarman V witnessed a revival of Hinduism in that country. As in the former reign, many Buddhist images had been erected, so in this period numerous statues of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses began to be established. Hinduism again gained the favour of the Indian Kings of Cambodia.

It was M. Abel Bergaigne who was responsible for the hypothesis that Jayavarman V was the son of Rājendravarman. His hypothesis is confirmed by an inscription of Préa

Jayavarman
V (A.D. 968)

Eynkosey, which was studied by M. Barth.¹ We find in this inscription the names and eulogy of both Rājendravarman and Jayavarman. In the first part, we have mention of the name of Rājendravarman, followed by that of Jayavarman. We read in the inscription :

“Mahīpates tasya vabhūva putro.”

That King (Rājendravarman) had a son, who was no other than Jayavarman. After the word *putro*, the text is mutilated, so though the name of Jayavarman does not occur in the same line, we get his name a little after as the victorious Jayavarman. Taking all these evidences together we conclude that Rājendravarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman in Śaka 890=A.D. 968.

With Jayavarman V, the popular Hinduism gained back its influence. The images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and other Gods began to be made again.

¹ *J. A.*, 1884, January, p. 66.

The followers of Hinduism began also to erect new temples to their Gods and Goddesses. The God Śiva continued to receive homage from the Cambodian kings. The inscription gives salutation to the God Śiva: *Vande bhavam* (I salute Bhava or Śiva).

King Jayavarman V also received his share of eulogy from the court poets. He is described as Brahmā himself, who established an excellent order among the various castes and the *āśramas*. When the king used to march with his army, the earth with the mountains used to agitate like the ocean agitated by the tempest. The Cambodian army like the Indian army used to be attended with several kinds of drums. As the army engaged in fight, martial music would be played. In the above inscription, we get the names of several kinds of musical instruments prevailing at this time in Cambodia. Their names are all Indian and lead us to the supposition that

they were introduced from India. They are as follows :

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1) Lāllarī, | (6) Venu, | (11) Bherī, |
| (2) Kaṇsa, | (7) Ghantā, | (12) Kāhala, |
| (3) Karadi, | (8) Mṛdaṅga, | (13) Śaṅkha, |
| (4) Timila, | (9) Purava, | |
| (5) Vīṇā, | (10) Paṇava, | |

Many of these musical instruments are in existence in India even at the present day. In times of war, all these instruments used to be played upon all at the same time. King Jayavarman used to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies by the combined sound of all these musical instruments. It is said that like the fire of sacrifice, he would burn his foes. By such a fire, the great forest (*mahā-vana*) of his enemies was consumed. In his fight against the enemies, the king looked like the Cakrin, Viṣṇu, who with his open *cakra* (disc) cut off the heads of the foes (*arāti*). Sometimes in his

fight, he looked like the Indian epic hero Rāma (*Yathaiva Rāmaḥ*).

It has already been observed that the Cambodian Kings had imbibed Indian tradition. Their court was entirely Indian in character. The Cambodian Kings would be surrounded by pious Brahmins and pandits, mantrins and astrologers. King Jayavarman had also around him several Brahmins, who came from all parts of the kingdom, who were celebrated for their heroism (*khyātavīryyair*), who possessed the essence of the science of Vedānta (*Vedānta-ñān*), who always followed the path of Smṛti (*Smṛtipathaniratair*), who had no sort of attachment (*vītarāgair*), who could not be easily tempted, who were expert in the eight parts of Yoga (*aṣṭāṅgayogaprakāṣi*), who always drank the nectar of meditation (*dhyāna*) and who were learned in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas (*Vedavedāṅgavidhbbhiḥ*). The qualities spoken of above are of a very high order and it

seems that the king was fortunate in getting such men of ideal character in his court. Brahmins of such high order used to come to King Jayavarman and sing his praise by saying: "You are the lord of beings, you are the king of kings (*rājendra*) and you are like Mādhava (*Viṣṇu*)."

King Jayavarman had an accomplished sister, who was also the daughter of the former King Śrī Rājendrarman. She was the celebrated Indralakṣmī. She was married to the chief of the Brahmins. She is for that reason known as *Dvijendramahisī*. This famous princess Indralakṣmī erected with great love and devotion the image of her own mother (*nijamātur arccāṃ prātishthīpat*). The erection of this image took place in Śaka 890. We have heard of the images of Hindu or Buddhist Gods and Goddesses being erected for the merit of the donor. We have also heard of kings like

King's sister
—Indralakṣmī.

Indravarman making images of Gods after the name of their father to commemorate the sacred memory of the father. We have not, however, come across any image of any human being made in Cambodia by any royal personage. The example of Indralakṣmī making the image of her mother stands unique in the history of Indo-Khmer sculpture.

It has been observed before that the princess Indralakṣmī had been married to a Brahmin of high order. This is not the first example in the Cambodian royal family of a royal princess being given in marriage to Brahmins of an ideal character. By such Brahmin alliances, the royal family, perhaps, tried to increase its popularity among the Indianised Khmers. This Brahmin son-in-law (*jāmātā*) of King Rājendrarvarman was known as Bhaṭṭa Divākara, who was a learned doctor in Hindu learning. This Brahmin was also famous for his pious foundations.

He erected three Gods (*devatrayam*) in the *Madhuvana* and consecrated them to the God Siva Bhadrēśvara of King S'rī Jayavarmadeva. On this sacred occasion, he bestowed plenty of gold (*suvarṇa*), conveyance (*yāna*), gifts of various kinds of jewels (*vicitraratna*), ornaments (*ābharana*), vast tracts of land (*prabhuta bhū*), silver (*rajata*), copper (*tāmra*), gold (*hema*), cow (*go*), servants (*dāsa*), maid-servants (*dāsī*), buffalo (*mahiṣa*), horse (*asva*), and elephant (*nāga*) to the God Bhadresvara. He also arranged for the worship of the God with due rites and ceremonies and prescribed six *khārikās* for offering. What was this *khārikā*? We know of *khāri* meaning a plot of land, but M. Barth holds that according to *Līlāvati* it is in usage in Magadha as equal to a cubic cubit.¹

This Bhaṭṭa Divākara was considered as an ideal Brahmin in Cambodia. By his learning and by his character, he gained a high position

¹ Barth, p. 95, note.

in Cambodian society. He followed the Indian tradition quite faithfully. We read of him in the inscription :

“Tyaktvā karmaphalaṃ vijitya vishayān
kāmadidurggakuḷā.”

(He gave up the desire for the fruit of his own *karma* (work), triumphed over the sensible objects and drove away *kāma* and other vices.) Thus, he was following strictly the Indian ideal. When he gave up the desire even for his *karmaphala*, he was pursuing the teachings of the Bhagavad-Gita, where Śrī Kṛṣṇa exhorts Arjuna saying, “you have the right to *karma* and never to its *phala* (result).” It is gratifying to see how the high ideal of spiritual life set up by the Indian thinkers was followed even in the Hindu colony of Cambodia.

The learned Bhaṭṭa Divākara was a great builder of images and temples. He was not satisfied with the erection of the three images already referred to, but again installed at the

same Maḍhuvana the excellent Bhārati, the Goddess of Learning. The Goddess Bhārati may be compared to the Buddhist Goddess Vāgīsvārī. Thus he paid his homage to the God Śiva and the Goddess Bhārati. The God Viṣṇu also had his share. The great Brahmin Divākara, who was known as *Dvijendra*, the chief amongst the Brahmins, as well as *Vidhindra*, the lord of rules of ceremonies, erected, in conformity with the rules, an image (*pratīṣṭā*) of Viṣṇu in the city of Dvijendrapuri. He also established an *āśrama* for the Brahmins.

Thus the revival of Hinduism was greatly benefited by the services of the learned Brahmin Divākara Bhaṭṭa. He himself established the images of Śiva, Bhārati and Viṣṇu. Thus he gave a great impetus to the revival of the Brahmanic faith. This great Brahmin with the titles of *Bhaṭṭa* (Doctor) and *Deva* was a great personality of the time. Where was the birth-place of this Brahmin Divākara? Was he

born in India or Cambodia? The inscription betrays the fact that he was born on the bank of the river Kālindī or Yamunā, where sacrifices used to take place according to the formulas of *rik*, *yajus* and *sāman* repeated to each *savana* (vedic ceremonies performed thrice a day) by thirty-six thousand Brahmins, where Kṛṣṇa, the vanquisher of the serpent, the destroyer of the race of the son of Diti, passed his infancy. If he was born on the bank of the river Yamunā, then we get two suggestions: one, that the Brahmin Divākara was born in India or that there was a river in Cambodia, which was called Yamunā after the Indian river. We do not, however, hear of any such river as Yamunā in Cambodia. Therefore, it is more probable that Bhaṭṭa Divākara came from the bank of the Yamunā to Cambodia. His *Madhuvana* in Cambodia was a reminiscence of that forest in India. Here then we have a peculiar case of an Indian Brahmin going from the banks of

Yamunā in India to the distant colony of Cambodia. There were waves of colonists coming to Cambodia from the mainland of India at certain intervals. We have no definite record of regular intercourse between India and her colonies. In the history of Champa, we have the example of one king coming to India to have the happiness of seeing the sacred river Ganges. In Cambodia, we have already referred to the case of the Brahmin Agastya who came to Cambodia from India. Here, we have the second instance of an Indian Brahmin in the person of Divākara Bhaṭṭa coming to Cambodia from the Indian shores. Thus, in the tenth century A.D., when the Moslems were knocking at the gates of India, this Indian adventurer Divākara crossed over to Cambodia, where he got a position of honour.

Bhaṭṭa Divākara was a man of religious temperament. He was always making some pious foundation or other. He was an enthusiast

not only about Śiva, but also about Viṣṇu. He established an *āśrama* at Madhuvana, favourite of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He is said to have erected the image of Viṣṇu in the name of his dear wife Indralakṣmī in the Śaka year 892 = A.D. 970. Another devotee, Vāsudeva by name, who is described as *prasāntātmā*, also erected a *linga* of Śiva.

The God Viṣṇu also received homage from King Jayavarman, who made a grant of a conveyance of gold (*suvarṇṇayāna*) and of a village (*grāma*) named Madhusūdana to *Harī* (Viṣṇu) in the city of Dvijendrapurī in the Śaka year 890. It is to be noted that the village was known by an Indian name, specially by one of the names of Viṣṇu. We have also the case of Śivapura, the city of Śiva. In Siam and Cambodia, we have the custom of naming villages and towns by Indian names.

We have pointed out how both Hinduism and Buddhism were flourishing side by side in

Cambodia and receiving patronage from the same king. Though Jayavarman was a follower of Viṣṇu and offered villages to him, yet the same inscription, which speaks of the erection of Śiva images, invokes the Goddess Vāgīśvarī, the Buddhist Goddess of Learning. The same inscription also speaks of Bhārati, the Hindu Goddess of Learning. It is curious how in a predominantly Hindu inscription, we can have an invocation to a Buddhist Goddess.¹

• King Jayavarman had several favourites.

Manassiva. From the Lovek inscription we

know that the niece of Manassiva married King Rājendravarman and was placed at the head of the intimate secretaries of King Jayavarman. Of the same family came two poets, who were employed by Jayavarman in the service of Hemasringesa Śiva. Five persons of his maternal side were favourite servants of the king. One of them was

¹ Barth, pp. 89-96.

Kavīśvara, who is described as a *vrahmachārīn* and *mahāmati*. He was given charge of the sacred fire by King Jayavarman.

What is Hemasrīṅgesa? Perhaps, an image of Śiva was erected on the mountain Hemasrīṅgagiri, and that Śiva was known as the Lord of Hemasrīṅgagiri or Hemasrīṅgesa. The erection of this God probably took place in the time of Jayavarman V, because we find him appointing the two poets in the service of this God. Moreover, this God is only heard of in his time. Again, from the Prea Kev inscription, we learn that the *munī* (sage) Śivācārya, a *tapasvī* (ascetic) and an orator (*vāgmī*), was appointed by King Śrī Jayavarman to look after both the qualities and defects on the mountain Hemasrīṅgagiri for the development of the cult of Gods.¹ It is not clear what is meant by the work of looking after both the qualities and defects.

¹ Barth, pp. 112-113.

Another Khmer inscription, which may be attributed to the reign of King Jayavarman refers to *Sivapāda* and *Sivapādakalpana*. It is dated the eleventh day of the full moon of the S'aka year 896, equivalent to 21 August A.D. 974.¹

The reign of Jayavarman thus seems to be particularly rich in epigraphical records. His reign witnessed the revival of Hinduism in Cambodia and the erection of various images of Gods like S'iva and Viṣṇu and of Goddesses like Bhārati. In this age, we also meet with eminent personages like Bhaṭṭa Divākaradeva and S'ivāchārya, who did much to spread the Indian culture in Cambodia.

After Jayavarman V we come to a period in the history of Cambodia, when epigraphical records are not to be found in plenty. Jayavarman V reigned from 968 to A.D. 1001. From

Udayāditya-
varman I (A.D.
1001).

¹ Bergaigne, p. 381.

the inscription of Prasat Khna (Melu Prey), we learn that Udyādityavarman I came to the throne of Cambodia in 923 S'aka=A.D. 1001.

King Udayādityavarman I was succeeded by
 Jayaviravarman in 924 S'aka=
 Jayavīravarman (A.D. 1002). A.D. 1002, when in India, Sultan
 Mahmud was ravaging the
 Punjab. Like his predecessor, his reign
 remains obscure to us.

CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF SURYAVARMAN

(A.D. 1002)

HINDUISM continued to flourish during the reign of Suryavarman, who came to the throne in 924 Saka=A.D. 1002. The cult of Buddha was also in evidence during this period. Numerous new images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha, Ganesa and others were founded. His Prea Kev inscription begins with the adoration of the God Śiva (*Namassivāya*), who would protect all from enemies. The God Śiva thus continued to be the presiding deity of Cambodia throughout its history. Like an

orthodox Hindu, the king had his spiritual guide and *guru*, who was known as Śrī Yogīśvarapandita.

Who was this rāja-guru Śrī Yogīśvarapandita? He was an important personage during the reign of King Śuryavarman. We are fortunate in getting his family history in the above inscription. He descended from the family of a Brahmin (*dvija*) named Viṣṇu, who had a daughter known as Bhās-Svāminī. She was married to a king, Paramesvara by name. Who was this Paramesvara? This title was borne by King Jayavarman II, who came to the throne in 724 Śaka. So, the king to whom this Brahmin daughter was married could not be our Jayavarman II, but must be some other king, who reigned near about the time of Śuryavarman I. Here, we, however, notice the very peculiar custom of a Brahmin girl being married to a Kṣatriya prince. The general

The royal guru
Yogīśvarapandita.

rule is that a Brahmin girl should be married to a Brahmin youth. We have, however, instances in India where such mixed marriages took place. This Brahmin daughter became very dear to her royal husband. In describing her character, the poet gives us the picture of an ideal housewife in Cambodia. She was said to be rich in her virtue, in her talents and possessed of all auspicious signs (*subhalakṣaṇa-samyutā*). She became the favourite principal queen (*agramahishī devī*) of the king, like Gauri to Mahesvara. The queen and the king had a grand-daughter Satyavatī by name. She was married to the Brahmin Bhānuvara. They got a son, who became well-known in Cambodia by the name of Śrī Yogisvarapandita. He afterwards became the *rāja-guru* of Suryavarman. He made the gift of a *rājendrayāna* (conveyance of the king) to the God Śiva. King Suryavarman appointed him as the executor of all work on the mountain Hemagiri.

The royal guru seems to have been a very important personality of the period. In the inscription, after invoking the God *Caturbhujā* (Brahmā), it is said :

“ Siddhisvasti bhaved Deva Śrī Yogīśvara-
pandite.”

(Let success and well-being come to Deva Śrī Yogīśvarapandita.) Again, for the well-being of Deva Yogīśvara and for the maintenance of these pious works, these *slokas* of the inscriptions were pronounced by the assembly of people gathered at Yasodharapura. The royal guru was such an eminent personage of the time that a new city was named after him as Yogīśvarapura. The royal guru had a female disciple named Janapadā, who was married according to the sacred precepts to the Brahmin Kesava as his wife. The new city which was known after the royal guru as Yogīśvarapura and situated in a district of the eastern region, was assigned to Janapadā,

the female disciple of the royal guru, to her husband Kesava and to their sons and grandsons.

We find mention of Yogisvarapandita also in the Vat Praptus inscription. The place Vat Praptus is situated in the province of Chikrāṅg, to the east of Angkor and on the frontier of Siam. In this inscription, the royal guru is described as proficient in *vidyā* and *kalā*. He was also expert in the ocean of difficult *sāstras* and also in the grammar of Śiva. What was this grammar of Śiva? Perhaps, the grammar of Panini of which the revelation is attributed to the God Śiva. Yogisvarapandita also erected a *linga* of Śiva and an image of *Kesava* (Viṣṇu).

Besides this rāja-guru Śrī Yogisvarapandita-
 The sage Śivā-
 cārya. deva, there was another celebrated personality in this period.

He was the great sage (*muni*) Śivācārya. Now, who was this Śivācārya? We get his family history in the Prea Kev inscription. There was one supreme

king of the Kambujas, who obtained his royal authority in the Śaka year marked by the Vedas, two and the mountains (*i.e.*, 724 Śaka=A.D. 802). This king has been identified by M. Barth with Jayavarman II. The king had as his principal queen (*agramahisi*) the virtuous Devī Hyañ Pavitrā, who possessed without interruption the country of Hāripurā. This queen Devī Hyañ Pavitra had a grand-child (daughter's daughter) named the glorious Hyañ Karpūrā, who was given in marriage by King Rudraloka to Divyantara. They had an excellent son of the name of Paramācārya, who was the chief of the sages (*munipuṅgava*) and who was attached to the God Śiva, known under the name Jalāṅgesa and Kapālesa. The grandson of this Paramācārya was the sage Śivācārya, who is described as *vāgmī* (eloquent), *tapasvī* (ascetic) and *vratasīlavān* (one following the Sastric instructions and laws of character). He was

appointed by King Sri Jayavarman to inspect the qualities and defects in the mountain of Hemasringagiri. This sage flourished during the reign not only of Jayavarman, but also of Suryavarman. During the reign of King Sri Suryavarman, the division of caste (*varṇa-bhāga*) was made under the royal patronage, and the great sage Śivācārya for his deep devotion and ideal character was given the honour of being placed at the head of his own caste (*varṇasrestha*).

What was the object of this measure? King Suryavarman by the above measure undertook a re-arrangement of the caste-system. The king, according to the Hindu theory, is the head of the society and he can make a new arrangement of the existing caste-system if he wishes. King Suryavarman, therefore, undertook a new arrangement in the existing Cambodian society. This was not the only example in the history of Cambodia, when the

king made such a new arrangement. During the reign of Jayavarman V, we have such an instance. Like the Creator Brahmā himself, King Jayavarman established an excellent order among the castes and the four *āśramas* of the Brahmanic life.

The king used to favour Śivācārya much. By the order (*śāśana*) of the king, Śivācārya gave to his own family (*svakulam*) the hereditary charge of priest (*hotā*) of Śrī Kapālesa, after having renounced the desire for perishable objects (*viśaya*). The custom of making high posts hereditary was in vogue in Cambodia. In many cases, we find hereditary ministers, and now we have the case of hereditary *hotās*.

Suryavarman was very liberal to his subjects and used to protect them with all his might. He extended his patronage to the sage Śivācārya, who, with royal authority, made a gift of Hāripurā to the God Śiva in the Śaka year

929=A.D. 1007. This Hāripurā was bounded on the east by land consecrated to *Isvara* (Śiva); in the south (in the region of Yama) it extended up to Dejjasthana; in the west up to the mountain; and in the north up to Candrāya. In this tract of land, the sage consecrated a *linga* of *S'ūladhara* (Śivā) by saying: "O King, O Rājādhirāja, for a long time, I am practising asceticism, observing *vrata* and laws of character (*sīla*). Placing on my head the lotus of the feet (*pādapadmam*) of *Isvara*, who is Śrī Suryavarman himself, I have erected here this image with the Goddess. The king is like Indra of the empire of this world. Let him protect the religion, the well-being of my race and our privilege of consecrating a saintly life at the feet of Śrī Kapālesvara."

The sage Śivācārya had a grandson named
 Śivavindu, who obtained the
 name and fame of an illustrious

master and who found pleasure in the Goddess Bhārati. He was the priest (*hotā*) of Śrī Kapālesvara and the director of pious people in austere vows. The maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of his mother bore the title of *Kshitīndropakalpa*. After his death, Śivavindu obtained the same high-sounding title from King Suryavarman. He was a great favourite of the king, who gave him a palanquin (*dolām*) marked with the sign of *ahipatra*. He was also favoured with the charge of the inspection of the qualities and defects on the mountain Hemasringagiri. The king was not satisfied with giving him the above charge and making him a priest to the God Śiva, but soon elevated him to the high post of the first minister to the king (*rājamahāmātya*). After he had been appointed the prime minister, he erected the images of Isvara and of Umā in the village of Matprigrāma. He also revived the old custom of founding monasteries (*āśrama*) by himself

establishing one which was consecrated to the God *Bhadresvara* (Śiva) and another, which was dedicated to *Gaurīsa* (Śiva). He also caused a magnificent tank to be dug, which became known as *Bhadresvaratātaka* (the tank of Bhadresvara). The royal minister was also a great scholar. He was accustomed to see the inner meaning of the sacred scriptures (*sāstra-sandarssanābhyāsād*). He made an offer of a splendid (*rāmaṇīyakam*) volume (*pustakam*) to the God Īsvara of the temple of Bhadresvara.

This *mahāmātya* is known not so much for his administrative works as for his pious foundations. Perhaps the country was enjoying peace, and there was no prospect of any war with any foreign power, so the royal minister busied himself with acts of merit. On a pedestal in the form of a lotus (*padmāsane*), he erected, according to proper rules (*yathā-vidhānam*), a *linga* of *Īsa* (Śiva) in crystal (*sphāṭikam*). He also established the images of

Vighnesa (Ganesa), of *Chandī* (Śiva's wife), of *Īśvara* (Śiva), of Nandin and of Kāla in their proper places. He also gave a vessel adorned with various jewels and a solid reservoir, for water for ablution to the God Śiva who resided at Śrī Kapālakataṭaka. Lastly, he erected a *linga* on *padmapitha*, images of Candi and of Vighnesvara.¹

We have already referred to the rāja-guru, who was well-known for the erection of several Hindu images. Along with the son of the sister of King Suryavarman of the name of Uddhata-vīravarmān and with Stukkak, who by royal order was called Narendravarmān, the Guru Yogīśvarapandita established a *pañcasula*² in the edifice of Hemagiri. Now, what is this *pañcasula*? We are familiar with *trisula* or trident associated with the God Mahādeva, but

¹ Barth, pp. 112-117.

² For a discussion on this point, see the note of Barth, p. 109.

we have no reference to five *sūlas*. The God of love (*Kāma*) has five arrows and not *sūlas*. Does it, then, mean the five pinnacles on the edifice of Hemagiri? or, should we read *sālaṃ* for *sūlas* to mean five rooms in the edifice? It is better to take it to mean the five pinnacles on the edifice of Hemagiri. The royal guru erected the image of Cīracaraṇa, two images of Nandin and of Kāla and *pratimās* of lion. Who was this Cīracaraṇa? M. Barth takes the term in the sense of *Cīravāśas*, meaning a name of Śiva in his quality of the patron of ascetics. Nandin and Kāla were the followers of Śiva, the latter being the personification of time.

King Suryavarman had come to the throne in 924 Śaka=A.D. 1002. He belonged to the old line of King Indravarman. In the brilliant palace (*mandire*) resplendant with the brightness of the splendid precious jewels in the city of Yasodharapura, the king honoured the royal guru. In that same palace, the God *Īśa* (Śiva)

was worshipped by the *hotri* and *guru* of the king, by the premier ministers (*mantrimukhyais*), by the principal members of the royal court (*sabhādhīpaiḥ*), by the Brahmins (*vipraḥ*), with folded hands, with chants and with rites of fire.

Yet another learned man adorned the court of King Suryavarman. The Lovek inscription speaks of that learned sage, who was no one but the great poet S'ankarapandita. He was the *hotrin* (priest) of the king. In his infancy, he followed the rules of the good people and the *vratas*, practised the three obeisances towards his *guru*. He was proficient in Patanjali's *Bhāṣya*. Patanjali, the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, is regarded as an incarnation of the serpent *S'esa*, who bears the earth with his thousand heads. So, Patanjali is said to have explained his *Bhāṣya* with thousand mouths. He could distinguish between the substance (*dravyam*) in

general (*sāmānye*) and in particular (*visesthe*) and also between the quality (*guṇa*) and action (*karma*). Sankarapandita became expert in finding out the means of *dharma* and also in the logic of Kaṇāda. In all the Śāstras, he knew the exact application of the sastric precepts. He practised perfect devotion and found great pleasure in virtue. The sage Sankarapandita, learned in all the sciences, was also appointed by King Suryavarman as his *guru*. We have already noticed that the king had another rāja-guru, Yogīśvarapandita by name. So, Sankarapandita was his second *guru*. It may be mentioned *en passant* that the sage Sankarapandita served not only as the *guru* of the King Suryavarman, but also of Sri Harshavarman and Udayādityavarman.¹

The reign of Suryavarman is thus rich in epigraphical and archæological records. We know how images of diverse kinds were erected

¹ Barth, pp. 138-39.

in this period. The next age, when the successors of Yasovarman reigned, was marked by the presence of numerous Buddhist images. The age of Suryavarman may be characterised as the age which saw the revival of Hinduism. We find mention of the following images during this period :

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Cīracaraṇa (S'iva). | (8) Nandin. |
| (2) Nandin. | (9) Kāla. |
| (3) Kāla. | (10) Linga on Padma- |
| (4) Linga. | pitha. |
| (5) Vighnesa (Ganesa). | (11) Candī. |
| (6) Candī. | (12) V i g h n e s v ā r a |
| (7) Īsvara (S'iva). | (Ganesa). |

A French writer thus summarises the main events of the reign of Suryavarman I. He says :
 “Suryavarman I reorganised the castes, made laws for the boundary provinces, contracted an alliance with China and Champa against the Annamites, and built and repaired numerous

temples, the chief of which are Phnom Chisaur, Prah Vihear, Eukosey, Phnom Sandak and Prah Khan of Kompong Svai.”¹

We know from the Lovek inscription that the great King Suryavarman was succeeded by King Udayādityavarman II. About the date of his accession, M. A. Bergaigne says that thanks to the comparison of a formula explained by M. Aymonier in his essays on the decipherment of inscriptions in the Khmer language, he could interpret the terms of an inscription found at Prasat Roluh in the province of Battambang. He, therefore, at first concluded that the King Śrī Udayādityavarman II came to the throne in Śaka 951=A.D. 1029. But M. Bergaigne modified his views later on and accepted Śaka 971=A.D. 1049 as the date of Udayādityavarman II's accession.²

¹ *Angkor—Ruins in Cambodia*, by P. J. de Beerski, p. 43.

² Bergaigne, p. 527.

His *guru* was the same sage Śāṅkarapandita, who had served King Suryavarman as his priest and minister and who was versed in all the sciences.

The king excelled even the ladies by his beauty, the warriors by his heroism, the sages by his good qualities, the people by his strength and the Brahmins by his gift (*dāna*). When King Suryavarman had gone to heaven, he was consecrated to the universal sovereignty (*cakravarttitve*) by the ministers (*mantribhiḥ*).¹

The Cambodian practice with regard to kingship should be noticed here. Though the kingship was absolute in character, there were his ministers to advise him. As a general rule, the kingship was hereditary, the son succeeding the father. Here we find a singular instance. On the death of the reigning prince, the ministers met together and appointed

¹ Barth, p. 139.

another prince to succeed to the throne. It was like the system of election of the king by the ministers. A similar case we find in India, where Harshavarman was thus elected to kingship by the ministers on the death of his brother Rājyavardhana.

Seeing the residence of the Gods (*surālayam*) in the middle of Jambudvīpa like a mountain of gold, King Udayādityavarman II made a mountain of gold in the centre of the city in imitation of the Gods. In a temple of gold on this mountain of gold, he erected a *linga* of Śiva. The great sage Śankarapandita was appointed by the king to act as priest (*yājakaḥ*) of this golden *linga*.

King Udayādityavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Harshavarman III. In the Lovek inscription, we read that after the death of Udayādityavarman, the great sage Śankarapandita, who had already served under the two

Harshavarman
III (A.D. 1052).

previous kings, Suryavarman I and Udayādityavarman II, with the accord of the ministers (*mantribhiḥ*), consecrated him to kingship, just as the sage Vasiṣṭha coronated Rāma, the descendant of Raghu. Thus we find that the system of election to kingship by the ministers was in vogue in the Kingdom of Cambodia.

This master of the earth obtained to his own satisfaction the realisation of the desire of this world and of the other as well. The royal guru, born on his mother's side in *saptadevakula* and *purohita* (priest) to three successive kings, erected the image of *S'ankara* (S'iva).¹

We have no date for this king, but have one date for his predecessor, namely, Śaka 974=A.D. 1052. If we assume A.D. 1052 to be the limit of Udayāditya's reign, we can then take it to be the date of accession of Harshavarman III.

¹ Barth, pp. 139-140.

The reign of Udayārkavarman witnessed the rebellion of a Chief named Kamvau. His reign was occupied in putting down this outbreak. It required the concentration of the military forces of the whole kingdom.

We are not in a position to know whether any other king preceded Udayārkavarman. We have one inscription belonging to this period. It is the Prasat Prah Khset inscription, found in a small temple of the same name in the Siamese province of Angkor. It was during the reign of King Udayārkavarman in Saka 988=A.D. 1066 that the *linga*, which had been broken by the enemy called Kamvau, was rebuilt. This rebellion of Kamvau is one of the principal events in the history of Cambodia. Who was this Kamvau? He was originally a *Senāpati* (General) of the Cambodian King. For some reason or other, he became dissatisfied

Udayārka-
varman (A.D.
1066).

Revolt of
Kamvau.

with the King and raised the standard of rebellion against him. The Prea Ngouk inscription records the defeat of Kaṃvau by the royal *Senāpati*, Saṅgrāma, who appeared like another Arjuna in the battle-field. This Saṅgrāma was a great General of Cambodia. It is probable that he was a *Senāpati* also under King Udayādityavarman II, because we find that in Śaka 973=A.D. 1051, he defeated an enemy called Aravindahrada. This date (973 Śaka) falls much anterior to the reign of Udayārka-varman, whom we place in Śaka 988. It is, therefore, possible that he was a General in the time of his predecessors Udayādityavarman II and Harshavarman III, and continued to hold that post in Udayārka-varman's time.

When the unconquerable enemy, Aravindahrada, had been defeated by the royal *Senāpati*, Saṅgrāma, he hastened to the City of Campa. He also went to the *Īsvara* of Rājathirtha, who may be taken to mean the king.

The King appointed a great hero (*sura*) Kamvau by name as his *Senāpati*. Every one thought that the new General, by the force of his body, arms, his prudence and his strength, was capable of becoming the lord of the whole earth. Very soon, Kamvau, even like Rāvana, thought of conquering the Gods. He wanted to make himself the master of the kingdom. Finally, he hoisted the flag of revolt against the Cambodian King, who in his turn asked his great Chiefs of the army, Devasrau, Vloñ, Vnur, Gaṃ, Ceṃsrau, Caṃnatt, Rāññ, Khmoññ, to vanquish this enemy of the State. Unfortunately, all these great Generals of the Cambodian King were all defeated by the enemy Kamvau, who carried off the Goddess of Fortune (*Jayasrī*) of the battle. When all the above Generals had been killed, the King asked his remaining Generals: "O, Captains, try a little more." Then the great General (*Camūpati*) Saṅgrāma said: "O King, even the Gods

with Indra at their head suffer defeat. ‘ What to speak of mortals like us? O Mahārāja, please wait a little more. I shall certainly kill him (*niscitaṃ nāśayāmi taṃ*).’ The King became very glad to hear that and encouraged him by saying: “ Well said, O Captain. You know that your desire is mine.” Thus encouraged, Saṅgrāma once more bowed down to the King and hastened to fight against the enemy Chief, who looked like the mountain Mālyavat. On his way, Saṅgrāma, the Commander-in-Chief, with the captains of his army, went to the temple of Śiva of Pṛthusaila and with proper ceremony worshipped the God Śiva with a liberal donation of gold, silver and elephants, and prayed to him for victory over the enemy Chief. When both these two great Generals, Saṅgrāma and Kaṃvau, met, they looked like Rāma and Rāvana of Rāmāyana fame. Both the armies began to use Indian arms like *khadga*, *satāghnī*, *sūla* and *śakti*. We

get a beautiful detailed description of the above fight in the Prea Ngouk inscription. Finally Kaṃvau, the enemy Chief, was sent to the house of Yama (Death) with his army by Saṅgrāma. Thus the royal General, Saṅgrāma, gained unqualified success and fame by defeating the great enemy, Kaṃvau, who aspired to the throne of Cambodia. The General, Saṅgrāma, was grateful to the God Śiva for his victory. On his return from the battle-field, the *Senāpati* came to the temple of Śiva on the Pṛthusaila, prostrated himself on the ground before the Lord Śiva and paid his homage to the God in gratitude for the victory over the enemy Chief. He made several donations to the God including a palanquin (*dolāyānaṃ*) ornamented with the heads of dragons in the Śaka year 988 (=A.D. 1066) on the eleventh day of the month of Māgha (Jan., Feb.).¹

¹ Barth, p. 169.

We have also the Prasat Prah Khset, inscription belonging to this period. It is dated Saka 988 and 989=A.D. 1066 and 1067. The distinguishing feature of this inscription is the absence of all formula of invocation. It relates the restoration of a *linga* by a certain Saṃkarsha, the son of Vāsudeva (surnamed Dvijendravallabha) and of the sister of King Udayārka-varman. This restoration of the *linga* took place during the reign of Udayārka-varman in the Saka year 988 (A.D. 1066). In the next year, the same personage, the royal nephew (king's sister's son) Saṃkarsha, showered his devotion and respect on various Gods, both Hindu and Buddhist. It is a curious association of images, which he now consecrated. He had begun his pious foundations with the *linga* of Śiva and ended with the images of Padmodbhava (Brahmā, born of the lotus of Viṣṇu), Ambhojanetra (the lotus-eyed Viṣṇu) and of Buddha. The *linga* which

was restored by Saṃkarsha had been given before to King Suryavarman by his minister Sarāmasaciva. In this connection *Madhyadesa* is mentioned in the inscription. We are familiar with Madhyadesa of Hindusthan in India. Is that Indian province or a Cambodian province referred to here? M. Barth thinks that Madhyadesa mentioned in the third *pāda* of the first *śloka* in the above inscription is a proper name and refers to Hindusthan.¹

We are not in possession of materials dealing with the reign of Jayavarman VI. According to the chronological list of the ancient Khmer kings of Cambodia, as prepared by M. A. Bergaigne, we find that he became king after Udayārka-varman. We do not know of any incident of his rule. He was the grand-uncle of Suryavarman II, a later king.

¹ Barth, pp. 176-177.

The successor of Jayavarman VI was the King Dharanīndravarmān I. In one of the inscriptions of this king, written in old Khmer, we get the date of 1031 Śaka (=A.D. 1109), which, according to M. Aymonier, is the date of his accession to the throne. He reigned only for three years (A.D. 1109-1112). Another inscription on the stele of Phnom Prah Vihear, written also in the Khmer language, bears the dates 1034 and 1043 Śaka, and also mentions the names of Dharanīndravarmān I and of Suryavarman II. So, here we get the Śaka year 1034 (=A.D. 1112), when the reign of Dharanīndravarmān I came to an end.

We have already come across Suryavarman I, one of the great Kings of Cambodia. We now meet with Suryavarman II. M. A. Bergaigné fixes the date of his accession to the Cambodian

Suryavarman II
(A.D. 1112-1152).

throne in the Śaka year 1034 (=A.D. 1112). Other inscriptions bearing his name are dated 1036, 1060 and 1065 of the Śaka era. His reign, therefore, extends from Śaka 1034 (A.D. 1112) to Śaka 1065 (A.D. 1143). In the interior of the temple Phnom Sandak, a stele gives six fragments of a Khmer inscription of the time of Suryavarman II.

He has been described in the Sanskrit inscription of Ban That as the son of Śrī Narendralakṣmī, the niece of the two Kings Jayavarman and Dharaṇīndravarmān, like the God Kārttikeya, the son of Bhavānī. After he had finished his studies, he became desirous of having the royal dignity of his family. As it was distributed between two Lords, he began a campaign with a large army. Riding on an elephant he fought a terrible battle and killed the royal enemy. Thus he reduced to its normal condition the empire, which had been plunged into a sea of calamities.

After he had gained this decisive victory, he was coronated by the celebrated royal guru Divākara. The king studied the sacred sciences, organised the religious *fêtes*, performed millions of sacred oblations and sacrifices to sages and ancestors. He made liberal grants to the Gods and specially to Śiva, adored under the name of Bhadresvara. He also made gifts to his *guru* and other Brahmans of palanquins, parasols, jewels, bracelets and slaves of both sexes.

He was a great king, who received tribute from the neighbouring peoples. He also led an expedition to the island of elephants and eclipsed by his exploit the glory of Raghava or Rāma. The island referred to is perhaps the island of Malacca and not that of Ceylon, though there is a reference to the exploit of Rāma.

During this reign, we have instances of intercourse between China and Cambodia. In

A.D. 1117, two Cambodian dignitaries, sent by Sūryavarman, arrived at the Chinese court with a following of fourteen persons. One of them was Kieou mo-seng-ko (. . . sinh ?) and the other Mo-kiun-ming-kin-sse. The Chinese Emperor received them cordially, listened to their compliments and ordered the details of their reception to be recorded in the official annals. King Suryavarman seems to have been well pleased with the reception, because four years later he sent another embassy to China under the leadership of his general (or minister) named Ma-la-ma-thou-fang. In 1128, the Chinese Emperor recognised the King of Tchen-la or Cambodia as a great vassal of the Empire.¹ A short account of Tchen-la of this time is preserved in the Chinese annals. It extended from Tchen-tching (Champa) in the east to Phou-kam (Pegou) to the west and touched Ka-la-hi or Kia-lo-hi (Malay) to the

¹ *Le Cambodge*, III, p. 513.

south. It measured 7,000 li. The number of war elephants was highly exaggerated. The fortified cities, small towns and manners of the inhabitants resemble those of Tchen-tching (Champa).¹

In 1145 Sūryavarman united with the King of Vijaya, a small State occupying the plain of Phanthiet, gave battle to the King of Champa, Jayaharivarman, in the field of Pandrang. Perhaps the Cham Prince was victorious, because in his inscriptions, he pretends to have gained the victory over the allies.

Of the religious personages of this period, we have to refer to a great priest of the name of Rhîk, who offered earth and slaves to the temple of Phnom Chisaur, of the province of Bati. Another is the Brahmin Subhadra, also called Pujā-Sīva, the son of the lady Tilaka and the author of the Sanskrit inscription of Ban That. We must not omit the name of the

¹ *Le Cambodge*, III, pp. 513-514.

pandita Divākara, who is known to us as the architect or the principal author of the famous temple of Angkor Vat. It should be remembered that this Divākara was the royal guru of three reigns including that of Sūryavarman II.¹ About the date of the construction of this temple, M. G. Coedés holds that it was associated with the cult of *Paramaviṣṇuloka*, the divine form of a king, either Udayādityavarman II or Sūryavarman II. M. Coedés places the extreme limits of the time of the construction of the temple between A.D. 1050 and 1170.²

The following passage of the Ban That inscription throws some light on the building of this great monument :

“ He (perhaps Sūryavarman) built three high edifices of stone comparable to the three summits of the mount Meru. Like the palace

Le Cambodge, III, p. 520.

B.C.A.I., 1911, p. 220.

of Indra, this edifice can be known by means of the banners that were flying high in the air, by the sound of music and by the group of females dancing and singing. On the occasion of a *S'rāddha* or of a *Dīrghasattra*, the history of the past may be heard."¹

Sūryavarman II was succeeded by Dharaṇīndravarman II in A.D. 1152. The new king bore the title of *Adhāsvara* or universal king and the termination *deva* was added to his name in some inscriptions. He was the first cousin of Sūryavarman II and had married the daughter of one Harshavarman.

His reign witnessed the commencement of the great wars between Cambodia and the King of Champa, Jayaharivarman, who came to the throne in A.D. 1145. Between 1153 and 1156, the Cambodians invaded Champa and brought a part of that kingdom under their

¹ *Le Cambodge*, III, p. 517.

domination, which was put under the prince Harideva. But this conquest did not last long, because the Chams soon recovered that dominion from the hands of the Cambodians.

He was succeeded by his son Jayavarman VII (in A.D. 1182), who is regarded as the last great King of Cambodia.

The last of the great Kings of Cambodia was Jayavarman VII. He was an ardent Buddhist, his posthumous title being *Paramasangata*.

We have a long dated inscription of this king, namely, the inscription on the stéle of Ta-Prohm,¹ which was discovered by the Aymonier Mission in 1882 in one of the rooms of the temple of Ta-Prohm. This inscription was issued by the Buddhist King Jayavarman VII and is dated S'aka 1108 (=A.D. 1186): four years after his coronation. The King had come

¹ *La stéle de Ta-Prohm par M. G. Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., 1906, p. 45.*

to the throne in A.D. 1182 (Śaka 1104) and not in Śaka 1084, as has been proved by M. Barth.¹

The invocation, in Mahāyāna style, renders homage to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, to Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (under the name of Lokeshvara) and to the "Mother of Buddhas" probably meaning Prajñāpāramitā. Thus, homage is given to Buddha: *Vuddhāya bhūtaśaraṇāya namo stu tasmai*. To Lokeshvara, the writer of the inscription says :

Lokeshvaro jayati jaṅgamapārijātaḥ.

In saluting the Mother of Buddhas, he says :

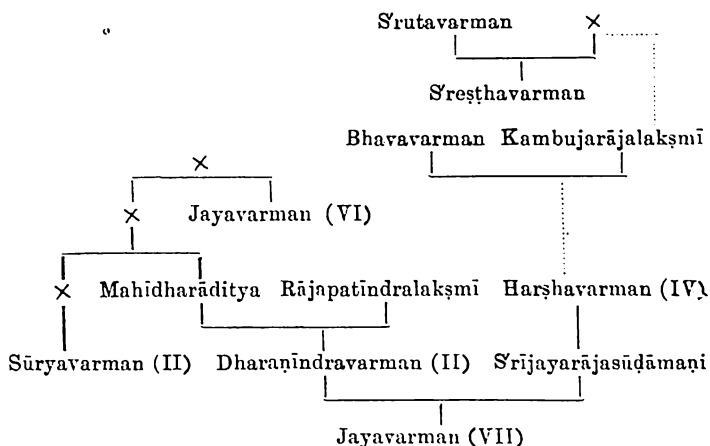
Bhaktiā jīnānām janānām namadhvam.

Just as the inscriptions of the former period had begun with invocations to Śiva or Viṣṇu, so here it begins with a Buddhistic invocation.

The genealogy as given in the inscription is as follows ² :

¹ B. E. F. E. O., III, p. 462.

² *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 45.



Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ, the father of Jayavarman VII, is described in the inscription as one always honoring the Brahmans, as strong as the king of birds (*Garuḍa*) and as beautiful as the moon. He found his satisfaction in the religion of Śākya and always honoured the feet of the *Jina* (Buddha). Thus he was also a devout Buddhist. Just as the God Indra was the son of the Brahmarsi and Aditi, so also King Jayavarman VII was the son of

Dharaṇīndravarman and the daughter of Harshavarman. The prince Jayavarman VII combined in him the power of the Lord Śiva, the heroism of Viṣṇu and the beauty of Kāma.

The war against Champa was continued during the reign of Jayavarman VII, who led a victorious campaign against the King of Champa. Jayavarman took the Cham King prisoner, but released him. The King also extended his victorious arms towards Burma and took many Burmese as prisoners. He also had kept some of the Chams as prisoners, who are mentioned in the inscription.

In the Śaka year 1108 (A.D. 1186), King Jayavarman erected a large number of images, the chief of which were the image of his mother Śrījayarājacūdāmaṇi, who was identified with the Mother of Jina and the image of Śrījayamaṅgalārthadeva and also of Śrījayakīrtideva, the image of his *Guru*. Then

follows a sort of register of things necessary for the daily offering to the image¹:

“tilā ekādasa prasthā droṇau dvau
kuduvāvapi
dvau droṇau kuduvau mudgāḥ kaṅku
prasthās caturdasa
ghṛtaṃ ghaṭī trikuduvam dadhikṣīra
madhūni tu
adhikāny ekasas tasmāt saptaprasthair
guddaḥ punaḥ.”

Tila : 11 *prastha*, 2 *droṇa*, 2 *kuduva*.

Haricots : 2 *droṇa*, 2 *kuduva*.

Millet : 14 *prastha*.

Ghee : 1 *ghaṭī*, 3 *kuduva*.

Curd, *kṣīra* and honey : each provision
7 *prastha* more.

The technical terms met with in the above list have been explained thus by M. G. Coedés :²

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, III, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

1 *drona* = 4 *āḍhaka* = 32 *sères*.

1 *prastha* = 16 *pala* = 2 *sères*.

1 *khārī* = 4 *drona* = 128 *sères*.

1 *kuduva* = 4 *pala* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *sère*.

1 *ghaṭī* = 1 *drona* = 32 *sères*.

The list also enumerates the quantity of rice necessary for the use of the people living with the Professor and Reader, namely,

paddy : 14 *khārī*, 1 *drona*, 5 *prastha* daily.

The inscription then lays down the list of articles necessary for the celebration of the *uposatha*. It then enumerates the pious donations of the King, and of the proprietors of *grāma*. They gave away 3,140 *grāmas*, of which we get interesting statistics. There were 400 men, 18 principal officers, 2,740 officers, 2,232 assistants, among whom were 615 female dancers, making a total of 12,640 persons. To this should be added 66,625 men and females in the service of the Gods, making a grand total of 79,365 persons including the

Chams, .Burmese and others taken captives in wars. It is evident from these figures that in 3,140 villages, there were 66,625 men and females in the service of the Gods and 615 female dancers, who were also perhaps attached to the temples. There were in these villages 566 groups of habitations built of stone and 288 groups of habitations of brick. There were 439 religious saints, who were daily fed at the royal palace and 970 persons living with the Professors, making a total of 1,409 persons, who were dependant on royal charity.

We also get an interesting account of the spring festival which used to be celebrated from the eighth day of the month of *Caitra* to the full moon day, perhaps the festival connected with the *Śaṅkrānti* (last day) of *Caitra*. It used to be celebrated every year, following the tradition of Bhagavatī.

Another redeeming feature of this period is the establishment of a large number of hospitals

throughout the country. We read in the inscription :

ārogyasālā viṣaye viṣaye dve satan tathā.

There were 102 hospitals established in diverse provinces of Cambodia. These hospitals were placed under 798 Gods, who were supposed to preside over diseases. There were perhaps 838 *grāma* (villages) and 81,640 males and females at the disposal of these hospitals. A long list of articles wanted for these hospitals is also given. It seems that there was a highly efficient medical department, which looked after 102 hospitals. These hospitals were dedicated to Buddha Bhaiṣajya-guru for the benefit of patients without any distinction of caste. The *prasasti* of another inscription speaks of the high Buddhist ideal of compassion in the following words :

*dehinām deharogo yan-mano-rogo rujattarām
rāshṭraduḥkham hi bhartrñām duḥkham
duḥkham tu nātmanah.*

“The bodily pain of men became in him a pain of the soul and the more smarting, for it is the suffering of the State which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own.”¹

A new inscription of the Phimānakas, discovered by M. Marchal in August, 1906, may be placed in the reign of Jayavarman VII on epigraphical grounds. It offers a new example of the mixture of Brahmanism and Buddhism often met with in Cambodia. The Buddhist tree is here identified with the Brahmanical Trimurti.²

¹ Finot, *I. H. Q.*, 1925, p. 616.

² *Une Nouvelle Inscription du Phimānaks—B. E. F. E. O.*, 1918.

CHAPTER XIV

DOWNFALL OF CAMBODIA

AFTER Jayavarman VII, the power and glory of the Kings of Cambodia began to disappear. He was the last of the great Cambodian Kings. He was succeeded by a series of weak kings. The history of Cambodia begins to lose interest until we come to the reign of Śrīndravarman (A.D. 1296-1307), who succeeded his father-in-law Jayavarman VIII. During his reign a beautiful Khmer temple of Tribhuvana-maheshvara was built at Īsvarapura, modern Banteai Srei, 25 kilometers north-east of Angkor. In 1296 came the famous Chinese ambassador Chou Ta-Kuan, who has left us an interesting account of Cambodia during the thirteenth century.

His account has been translated into French by M. P. Pelliot under the title *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge*.¹ About the Cambodian King he says : " His Majesty has five wives, one for the private apartment, properly so called, and four for the four cardinal points of the compass. As for the concubines and girls of the palace, I have heard of a number varying from four to five thousand, divided into several classes ; but they rarely cross their threshold. Under them are the women who serve the palace, named *Tchéu-kia-lan* ; they are not less than one or two thousand and, married, live a little everywhere ; but over their brow they shave their hair and there place a mark of vermillion, as well as on both temples. These women alone can go into the palace ; anyone beneath them cannot. "

" The new prince is covered with iron, so that knives and arrows, striking his body, can

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, p. 123.

do him no harm. It is thanks to this precaution that he dares to go out. When he does go out, cavalymen start in front of the escort; then come the standards, the pennons and the band. Some three to five hundred girls of the palace, clothed in embroidered draperies, with flowers in their hair, hold thick candles and form a troop; even in daytime these candles are lit. After these come other palace girls, carrying royal objects in gold and silver, and a whole series of ornaments, everyone of differing shape, the use of which is unknown to me. Yet others follow, armed with lances and shields, who are the private guard of the prince; they also form a troop. Next come the bullock-carts, the horse-chariots, all bedecked with gold. The ministers and nobles ride on elephants and, going forward, gaze far ahead; their red parasols are innumerable. After them the wives and concubines of the king arrive in palanquins, in carriages or on

the backs of elephants. They certainly have more than a hundred gold sunshades. Behind them there is the prince, standing on an elephant and holding in his hand the precious sword. The tusks of the animal are covered with gold. He has more than twenty white parasols decorated with gold and the handles are of the same metal. If the king goes to a spot close by he merely uses a gold palanquin, carried by four girls of the palace.

“Most frequently the king wishes to see a little gold pagoda, in front of which is a gold Buddha. Those who descry his presence must fall prostrate and touch the soil with their brows ; it is called *San-pa*. If they fail to do it, they are seized by the masters of ceremonies, who do not release the offenders before it has cost them something. .

“Twice every day the king gives an audience for the affairs of government. There is no settled list. Those of the officials and of the

people who wish to see the prince sit themselves down on the floor to wait for him. After some time one hears distant music inside the palace, and outside men blow conches as a welcome to the king. I have heard it said that he only uses a gold palanquin and he does not come from afar. An instant later one spies two girls of the palace draw up the curtain with their slender fingers, and the sovereign, holding the sword in his hand, appears at the gold window. Ministers and commoners join their hands and strike the soil with their brows; when the noise of conches has ceased they may raise their heads again. If the king allows them, they also come nearer to sit down. Where one takes a seat there is a lion's skin that is deemed a royal object. When the business is finished the prince turns round; the two palace girls drop the curtain; everybody gets up.

“Disputes between citizens, even insignificant ones, always come to the sovereign. Formerly

they did not have the chastisement of bastinado, but only, it has been told me, pecuniary fines. In grave cases, they neither decapitate nor strangle; they dig a trench outside the western gate, drop the criminal into it and refill the hole with earth and stones, well pressed. For lighter offences they cut the fingers, hands or feet or else amputate the arms. Debauchery and gambling are not forbidden; but if the husband of an adulterous woman finds her at fault, he squeezes between two splinters the feet of her lover, who cannot endure this pain, gives over all his property and then recovers freedom. There are also cheats and swindlers. When somebody loses an object and suspects someone else who denies the charge, they heat oil in a bowl; the accused plunges his hand therein; if he is really the culprit his hand is all burned; if not, the flesh and skin retain their former aspect.

“Now, if two families are at variance, and no one knows who is in the right and who is in

the wrong . . . In front of the palace there are twelve small stone towers; each of the opponents sits on one of these towers; at the bottom of the two towers the two families watch one another. After one, two, three or four days, he who is guilty manifests it in some way; either he becomes covered with ulcers or boils or falls a victim to some catarrh or malignant fever; he who is innocent does not suffer from the slightest complaint. They decide in this way between the just and unjust. It is what they call divine judgment.”¹

The Chinese traveller also gives an account of the capital Angkor Thom, the royal palace and the temples, the copper tower and tower of gold in the capital.

From the thirteenth century onwards we have the gradual downfall of the Cambodian royal power. Wars with Champa and Siam are the main causes of its fall. The Thais of Siam

¹ *Angkor*, pp. 157-159; pp. 161-162.

asserted their independence and began a long-drawn fight with Cambodia until Cambodia was driven into the background. From the fourteenth century, Siam was on the offensive and began to lead military campaigns into the heart of Cambodia plundering the capital Angkor Thom. Finally in the fifteenth century, owing to the constant attacks of the Siamese, the Cambodians abandoned their magnificent capital, Angkor Thom. During the sixteenth century, Lovek succeeded Angkor Thom as the capital of Cambodia, Angkor Thom being abandoned to the Siamese conquerors. In the next century, the European Nations, specially the Dutch and Portuguese, tried to extend their influence in Cambodia. Meanwhile Siam and Annam began to fight for supremacy in Cambodia. By this time Siam had become an independent kingdom. In the end Siam became supreme and by the treaty of 1846, Ang-Duong, a protégé of Siam, was placed on the

Cambodian throne with capital at Oudong. His successor King Norodom made a treaty with the French ambassador Doudart de Lagrée sent by Admiral la Grandière. In 1886 King Norodom transferred his capital to Pnom-penh, which continues to be the capital of Cambodia even in the present day. Next year an important change took place in Cambodian affairs. By the treaty of 1887, Siam transferred her supremacy over Cambodia to France. Siam renounced the claim to tribute from Cambodia, which now came under French influence. In exchange Siam got the provinces of Battambang, Angkor and Laos territory as far as the Mekong. Gradually, the French began to acquire more power in Cambodia and by another treaty the King of Cambodia was reduced to nominal power. In 1906 King Norodom died and was succeeded by his brother Sisowath. Though the King Sisowath is regarded as the Cambodian King, his power is

nominal. The French Resident Superior is supreme in all respects. He presides over the Ministerial Council and is the real ruler of Cambodia. The Resident Superior has also another Council known as the Protectorate Council, composed of the heads of the French administrative departments and one Cambodian noble. For the purpose of administration, the French have divided Cambodia into certain Districts over each of which a Resident rules. These District Residents also preside over the District Councils composed of Cambodians. Really speaking, the French have set up a dual system of government in Cambodia. The French Resident Superior controls the foreign policy of the Government, as well as the Public Works Department, Customs and the Exchequer, while the Cambodian King is in charge of the Police, Taxation and Administration of Justice. This is the status of the King of Cambodia in the present day. Though he can point to a

long succession of powerful kings from the seventh century downwards, yet now he is completely under the French influence. When the coronation of the present Cambodian King, Sisowath, took place (April 23-28, 1906), the French Governor-General put the crown on the head of His Majesty in the name of Gouvernement de la République Française. In 1912, His Majesty Prea Bat Samdach Préa Sisowath, the King of Cambodia, celebrated his 73rd birth anniversary. The details of this celebration are given in *Programme des fêtes royales*.¹ The King of Cambodia is a Buddhist and patronises Buddhism by publishing Pali books and other works on Buddhism.

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1912, p. 184.

CHAPTER XV

CULTURAL HISTORY OF CAMBODIA

THE history of Cambodia begins with the history of Indian colonisation in that land of the Khmers. With the coming of Indians, the Khmer people came in contact with a higher civilisation and were very soon influenced by that culture. From the very beginning of the first century of the Christian era, the Indian colonists had colonised Funan and for five centuries politically dominated that land. From the sixth century onward, the centre of influence was transferred to Cambodia, which became like Champa another stronghold of the Hindu colonists. Indian culture and civilisation began to spread over the whole peninsula

from these centres—Champa and Cambodia. The kings of both these countries became the custodians of Indian culture in these foreign countries. As in Champa, so in Cambodia, the kings were either of Indian origin or had pretension to Indian descent. The founder of the Hindu dynasty in Cambodia might have been an Indian. Other Indians who had assumed royal power might also have come from the mainland of India. But the Indian king had to marry the Khmer princess and Indianise the whole Khmer population. When the Khmers came in close touch with Indian culture, they accepted the Indian manners and customs in many cases, but in some cases, they tried to preserve their old custom or modify the Indian custom with their own beliefs and tradition. Thus grew up the Indo-Khmer civilisation in Cambodia with a distinct Indian stamp on it. The Cambodian king, whether of Indian origin or having pretensions to Indian descent, always

assumed an Indian air. His palace breathed an Indian atmosphere. The whole kingdom was Indianised. In the royal court, we have the Brahmins, astrologers, singers, ministers, generals and a host of other officials as in an Indian court. The principal queen, as in India, had a special position of honor. The *rāja-guru* was there, always advising the king on spiritual matters. Even the religion of the king and his people was Indian. The king used to worship the God Śiva, who became the presiding deity of the kingdom. From the sixth century onward to the twelfth century A.D. we find the God Śiva's popularity in Cambodia unimpaired. Not only Śiva but other Hindu Gods and Goddesses also were introduced into the Khmer country. The manner of worship was quite Indian. The king and other donors used to give liberal grants for the maintenance of the temples and for the worship of the Gods. Priests were specially appointed for these

purposes. Whenever a new town was built, the image of Śiva or of some other God found a place there. The Kings of Cambodia were very fond of building new temples and images. We scarcely meet with any reign which did not witness the erection of a new temple or a new image. From Jayavarman II all the later kings were great builders and they covered Cambodia with magnificent temples and monuments. Of these builder kings, we may mention the names of Indravarman I (877-889), Yasovarman (889-910), Rājendravarman (944-961) and Suryavarman II (A.D. 1112-1152), who erected the magnificent temple of Viṣṇu, known as Angkor Vat.¹ Suryavarman I was also a great builder, he built or repaired various temples such as Phnom Chisaur, Prah Vihear, Eukosey, Phnom Sandak and Prah Khan of Kompong Svai. During the reign of Suryavarman II, the Brahmin Divākara by royal

¹ *I. H. Q.*, p. 616 (1925).

order began 'the building of what is the master-piece of Khmer architecture, Angkor Vat'.¹ In these temples Hindu Gods and Goddesses were enshrined and received homage from the Indianised Khmer people. The Buddhist images were also worshipped. Many Indians of great eminence and learning like Agastya and Bhaṭṭa Divākara went over to Cambodia from the mainland of India to spread Indian culture in that land. The dynasty which ruled over Cambodia was mainly Indian in character and bore the title of Varman like the Kings of Champa. Through the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia, we find the use of Indian literature including the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇa*, the grammar of Pāṇini, the logic of Kanada, the system of Patanjali. Thus in Cambodia, Indian manners and customs even now play an important part. The people of Cambodia even at the present day profess

¹ *Angkor*, p. 44.

Buddhism. The culture they have inherited is purely Indian in character and the Indian colonists helped the Cambodians in the making of the Indo-Khmer civilisation.

INDIAN RELIGIONS IN CAMBODIA

It is very natural that a man should carry with him his religious beliefs and customs even in a foreign country. When the Indian traders and colonists went over to Cambodia or Champa or Java or Sumatra, they also took with them their religious faith. The first Indian, who set his foot on the Khmer land, Soma Kaundinya, was a Brahmin. His followers and those who came after him were all followers of the Brahmanic faith. It was through their efforts that Hinduism found its way into Cambodia and different Gods and Goddesses belonging to the Hindu group were greatly honoured by the Khmer people, who were converted so to say to the Hindu faith.

After Hinduism had made considerable progress, the faith of Lord Buddha was introduced into this country. Buddhism, however, could not command as much influence and popularity as Hinduism.

The first batch of Indian colonists, who went over to Cambodia, were followers of the God Śiva. Even the kings of the early dynasty were Śaivas. It is, therefore, quite natural that the cult of Śiva should have flourished in Cambodia. The other Gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, were also introduced in that kingdom, but they occupied rather a low and inferior position. Though Buddhism had also been introduced, it was the Brahmanical faith, specially the cult of Śiva, which made a deep impression upon the Khmer people.

THE CULT OF ŚIVA

Śiva became the principal God of Cambodia. In fact Śiva was the presiding divinity of the

Khmer country. He became something like the national God in that country. Throughout the Cambodian history, he enjoyed a place of unique honor and veneration. He could not be rivalled either by Brahmā or Viṣṇu. He was known in Cambodia under various names. He was familiar as *S'iva*, *Paramesvara* (the great Lord), *S'amblu*, *Trayambaka*, *Vibhu*, *Girīsa* (the Lord of Mountains), *Jagatputi* (Master of the World), *Īsa* (Lord), *Pasupati*,¹ *S'ankara*, *Hara*, *Rudra*,² *Īsāna*, *Candesvara*,³ *Hara S'rī Nikāmesvara* ⁴ (the Lord of Desires), *Bhava*, *S'rī Tripuradahanesvara* (the Lord of the Burning of Three Worlds), *S'rī Kapālesa*, *S'ula-dhara* (the Holder of *sula*), *Īsvara* (Lord) and *S'rīkantha*.

These diverse names of the God S'iva show his popularity in Cambodia. In Champa too

¹ Barth, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

he was very popular and known by many of the above names. He was also the presiding God of the Kingdom of Champa.¹ The above names were used only to express all the qualities ascribed to him.

Hinduism when taken over to Cambodia had to be preached among the Khmers, to whom it was a new thing. When the Hindu ideas began to be preached among the Khmers, they took a special liking for the God Śiva. As Śaivism began to appeal to them, they took it up with great enthusiasm. They even went further, they changed the names of some of the local Khmer deities, gave them the name of Śiva and identified them with the God Śiva himself. Thus the God Śiva was given by his Khmer followers some local names, which cannot be met with elsewhere. It shows how the Khmers could absorb the Hindu influence and use it in modifying local customs. The God Śiva is

¹ *Vide my Indian Colony of Champa*, p. 93.

thus worshipped in Cambodia under the name of *S'rī S'ikharesvara*, the Lord of the Peak.¹ In the Ang Chumnik inscription, we hear of two *lingas*, dedicated to the God *S'rī Mrātakesvara*. We cannot explain the origin and meaning of this name unless we take it to be a local name of the God *S'iva*.² There was a local God of the Khmers, whose name was finally changed into *Mrātakesvara* and identified with the popular Hindu God *S'iva*. We have another example of the Hinduising of a local Khmer God. In the Prea Kev inscription, we have the name of a God *Jalāṅgesa*, which is again the name of a local Khmer God, afterwards identified with *S'iva*. Thus the process of Hinduising the Khmer Gods and people was going on in Cambodia.

The cult of *S'iva* as introduced in Cambodia was divided into certain groups. Mr. Elliot

¹ Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 113.

² Bergaigne, p. 58.

holds that there are indications to show that the Pāsūpatas and the Lingayats—the two sub-sects of Śaivism—prevailed in Cambodia. Śiva was also known in Cambodia by the name of *Pasupati*. An inscription found at Angkor mentions an *ācārya* of the Pāsūpatas and an *ācārya* of the Śaivas and tells what rank should be offered to these *ācāryas*. It says that after honoring a Brahmin of the *ācāryas* of the Śaivas and of the Pāsūpatas, one versed in grammar should be respected first. Though the Pāsūpatas are only a sub-sect of Śaivism, here Śaivas and Pāsūpatas are taken as two distinct groups. Again, the inscription speaks of *Śaivapāsupatajñāna*¹ (the knowledge of the scriptures of Śaiva and Pāsupata sects).² Here also Śaivas and Pāsūpatas are taken as belonging to two distinct sects.

¹ Bergaigne, p. 428.

² *Ibid.*, p. 423.

Śiva's consort also got her share of homage from the Khmer people. She was also a great favourite with them. She was known in Cambodia as *Umā*, *Bhavānī*, *Gaurī*, *Pārvatī* (the daughter of Himalaya), *Candī* and *Rudrānī*.

Of all the Hindu Gods, Śiva was most popular in Cambodia. He became the national God of the Khmers. The Cambodian Kings used to worship him as the presiding God of Kāmbōja. The early Cambodian Kings were all Śaivas, and under their patronage Śaivism flourished most. The inscriptions of early kings, like that of Rudravarman, begin with an invocation to *Paramesvara* (Śiva). The praise of the Lord Śiva is thus sung in the inscription of the King Bhavavarman :

“*jitaṃ induvataṅsena mūrddhnā gaṅgāṃ
babhāra yaḥ.*”

“Victory to the God, who bore the moon as his diadem and who on his head received the Gangā.”

In the Vat Chakret inscription,^o Śiva is described thus :

“ *Sa ādir api bhutānām anādinidhanas
sivah.*”

“Śiva is the origin (source) of the beings, he has no origin and destruction.” Sometimes, the inscription begins with an invocation to Śiva beginning with the words : *Namas' sīvāya*. He is also addressed by other names, such as *Namas' tryakṣhāya* (Salutation to the three-eyed God). An interesting form of address is met with in the following invocation :

“ *Namas' savdātmanes tasmai sīvāya.*”

“Salutation to Śiva, who represents *S'avdātman*, i.e., the holy word *Om*.”

The tendency of Brahmanism in Cambodia was to extol the God Śiva, who is not only identified with *S'avdātman*, but also in the Bayang inscription with the *Paramātman*, the Absolute of the Upanishads. M. Barth prefers to call this identification of Śiva with the

absolute soul, the Vedantic Śaivism. Śiva is here said to be the same as the absolute omnipresent God. Thus all the qualities of the absolute God are attributed to Śiva, who is known also as *Vibhu* (the Omnipresent), as *Jagatpati* (the Master of the World), *Īśa* (the Lord of Creation).¹

In another place also, we find the identification of Śiva with the supreme God. When the general Sangrāma thought himself identified with Śiva himself,² there the idea of Śiva being the universal God or the absolute being of the Upanishads is also worked out. Śiva is said to be the *antaryāmin*, one who knows everything, and also the principal director of the souls. His *linga* is nothing but the *lingasarīra*. Thus, here again we have what M. Barth prefers to call Vedantic Śaivism.³

¹ Barth, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 172, note.

There was another tendency in Cambodia to apply to the cult of Śiva many Vedic terms. In the Han Chey inscription, we read of *vāndhavā yajamānasya* (the relatives of the donor). The word *yajamāna* probably means one who celebrates a Vedic sacrifice for his own merit. M. Barth observes that the tendency is very marked in the texts of Cambodian inscriptions to apply to Śaivism the terms of the ancient cult.¹ Again, in the Ang Chumnik inscription, we have reference to *Śiva-yajña*. We read :²

“*Śivayajñena yo devān . . . cātarpayāt.*”

“One who satisfied the Devas by an offering to Śiva.” The term *Śiva-yajña* means a sacrifice to Śiva. Here we have the same mentality of having older Vedic terms working in the mind of the writers of the Cambodian inscriptions. In an inscription of Champa, we have *Śiva-yajña-kṣhetra* (the field of sacrifice to Śiva). In

¹ Barth, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

a Khmer inscription, we read of *Siva-kṣhetra-sthala*, the land designed to be *S'iva-kṣhetra*.¹

The God S'iva became so very important in Cambodia that the S'aiva kings would found cities to be named after the sacred name of S'iva. We have the instance of the King Indravarman, who founded a city named *Sivapura* and built a temple of S'iva in that city.

The Kings of Cambodia were very fond of erecting images or *lingas* of their favourite God S'iva. They used to name those images or *lingas* after their own name. They also used to be known by posthumous names after their favourite Gods. Thus, a follower of S'iva would be known as *Sivaloka* or *Sivapada*, or a follower of Viṣṇu would have as his title *Viṣṇuloka*. We are fortunate in having the double names of some of the kings, who had their own personal names, as well as posthumous names after their favourite Gods.

¹ Bergaigne, p. 334.

These double names are found in the Sdok Kok Thom inscription :

Jayavarman II=Paramesvara,

Jayavarman III=Viṣṇuloka,

Indravarman=Īsvaraloka,

Yasovarman=Paramasivaloka,

Harshavarman I=Rudraloka,

Īsānavarman II=Paramarudraloka,

Jayavarman IV=Paramasivapada,

Harshavarman II=Brahmaloka,

○ Rājendravarman=Sivaloka,

Jayavarman V=Paramavīraloka.

Suryavarman I=Nirvāṇapada.¹

The most interesting and original aspect of Cambodian religion, according to Sir Charles Elliot, is its connection with the State and the worship of deities identified with the king or with other prominent personages.² In theory, the king was the head of the religious establishment

¹ *J. A.*, Jan., 1884, p. 72.

² *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 115.

in Cambodia, but the Cambodian kings were not satisfied with that. They wanted to be identified with the Gods whom they used to worship. The State, thus, wanted to be in close touch with the religion in Cambodia. Many kings used to name the *linga* (erected by them) after their own name. In Champa, the kings used to go even further. In erecting *mukhalingas* (which are absent in Cambodia) they used to represent the figure of the reigning king with their peculiar Cham dress. We find the prevalence of *linga* worship in Cambodia in the seventh century A.D., the worship of Siva being a little earlier. King Bhavavarman used to worship a *linga* known as *S'rī Gambhīresvara*. He also erected another *linga* under the name of *S'rī Bhadresvara*. He was so very enthusiastic over his S'iva worship that he made no less than four *lingas*, the last being the *linga* of *Trayambaka*. The practice of naming an image of a God after the donor's

name was begun by King Yasovarman. He erected a statue of Śiva in the temple of Loléy, which he named as *Indravarmesvara* after the name of his father Indravarman. In memory of his mother, he erected another statue of Bhavāni, the consort of Śiva, under the title of *Rājendradevī*, his mother's name being Indra Devī. Then, in honor of his maternal grandfather, Mahipativarman, he made another image of Śiva, known as *Mahīpatīsvara*. It was followed by another image of Śiva, familiar to us as *Pṛthivīndresvara* after the name of King Pṛthivindravarman. Lastly, we get the image of *Rudresvara* after the name of Rudravarman, the maternal uncle of Indravarman. There was another God *Paramesvara* by name. We cannot say after whom this God was named. It may be after the name of Parama-varman, but we do not get any king in Cambodia under the name of Parama-varman.³

¹ Bergaigne, p. 300.

As this cult of Śiva gained in popularity in Cambodia, the Khmer people found the necessity of having scriptures, sacred to Śiva, for their guidance. From an inscription discovered at Angkor Vat, we know of a Śaiva work named *Pāramesvara*. A work with a similar title is mentioned, according to M. Hall,¹ in the *Spandavivṛti*, a book of Śaiva philosophy. *Paramesvara* is also mentioned as an author in the Śaiva *Śaktiratnākara*, which knows also a *Paramesvara Tantra*. All these titles, mainly Śaiva, lead to one source, which is the twenty-fifth of the twenty-eight *Āgamas* of the Śaivas of South India.²

Śakti is regarded as the consort of Śiva, but in a Cambodian inscription, she is spoken of as *Vāgīśvarī*. We know *Vāgīśvarī* to be the Buddhist Goddess of Learning, how could she

¹ *A contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, p. 199.

² For a discussion on this point, see M. A. Barth's note on p. 564.

be identified with Śakti? The inscription reads :

Sā śaktir bhuvanesvarodayakarī vāgīśvarī pātu vah.

“Let the Śakti, who causes the success of the Lord of the World (Śiva), Vāgīśvarī, protect us.”¹

As in India, the God Śiva was attended by Nandin and Kāla.² We have also their images built and worshipped in Cambodia by the Khmer people.

From the point of view of the history of Indian religions, Cambodia contributes an original idea. In the history of Indian religion, we have heard of *Buddhapāda* on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, and of *Viṣṇupāda* at Gaya. But we never came across *Sivapāda*. It was in A.D. 604 that a Brahmin named Vidyādivindvanta established on a mountain in the

¹ Barth, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Kingdom of Cambodia a *Sivapāda*.¹ This famous *Sivapāda* will now find a place beside the well-known *Viṣṇupāda* and *Buddhapāda* in the religious history of India.

The God Śiva was often looked upon in Cambodia as superior to the other Gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. In Champa too, Śiva was given the place of honor among all the Gods. His name was mentioned first in the list of the Gods.² In Cambodia we have several instances where Śiva was given a superior place. In the Ang Chumnik inscription,³ we read of Brahmā and Viṣṇu as standing with folded hands before Śiva (*Brahmopendrāñjali*). Though Śiva is thus given a position of honor among the Hindu Gods, yet in the Phnom Sandak inscription,⁴ he is mentioned

¹ Barth, p. 33.

² See my *Indian Colony of Champa*, p. 94.

³ Barth, p. 66.

⁴ Bergaigne, pp. 338-339.

along with the other Gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Here again, Śiva is mentioned first. The poet first of all gives homage to Śiva, Rudra and Dhurjatin, then to Mahā-varāha and Viṣṇu, and lastly to Brahmā, the Creator. All these factors tend to show the eminent position occupied by Śiva in Cambodia.

Besides his ordinary form, Śiva is popular in Cambodia in his *linga* form. We have instances of numerous kings and ministers, sages and pandits erecting the *linga* of Śiva. We have already referred to some of the *lingas* founded by the early Indo-Cambodian kings. We also know that King Bhavavarman erected a *linga* under the name of *Bhadresvara*. Other kings and sages followed his example. The *linga*, however, was not always made of stone, but sometimes of other metals. During the reign of Bhavavarman, was erected a *linga* having the brilliance of gold (*lingam haimasobham*).¹

¹ Barth, p. 24.

In the Prea Ngouk inscription, we hear of a golden *linga* (*suvarṇamayalinga*).¹ We meet with another kind of *linga*, namely, that of crystal. During the reign of Suryavarman, a sage called Sivavindu established a crystal (*sphātika*) *linga* of *Īśa* (Śiva).² It was followed by *maṇilinga* (*linga* made of jewels). During the reign of Udayādityavarman, a *svaṇṇalinga* was established and Sankarapandita became the priest of this gold *linga*.³

We have seen before how Śiva's name was associated with the name of cities in Cambodia. We have spoken of the City of Śivapura. There was another city in Cambodia known as *Lingapura*.⁴ Another was called *Lingapuri*.⁵ There was a village in Cambodia

¹ Barth, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵ Bergaigne, p. 564.

named *Rudrālaya* (the residence of Rudra or Śiva).¹

This was the cult of Śiva as prevailing in Cambodia. Śiva enjoyed a unique position in that country. He had not that honor and respect even in India.

Śiva at times was associated with Viṣṇu and both have been mentioned together in the Cambodian inscriptions. Thus in the Ang Pou inscription, we have reference both to *Hara* (Śiva), and *Achyuta* (Viṣṇu) with their respective consorts, Pārvati and Śrī. Sometimes, we find an image in which both Śiva and Viṣṇu are represented together. Thus, in A.D. 627 the King Īśānavarman erected an image of Śiva-Viṣṇu, which in India is known under the name of *Hari-Hara*. During the reign of the same King, we have the erection of a *linga* of Śiva-Viṣṇu. We have heard of the *linga* of Śiva, but not of the two Gods united

¹ Barth, p. 134.

together. In A.D. 668 we have the foundation of an image of Viṣṇu-Īśa, which is no other than the popular figure of *Hari-Hara*. It should be noted here that this type of *Hari-Hara* was very popular in the Kingdom of Champa also. In the Barai inscription, we have the name of a God, of which the last four letters have been mutilated. We can, however, accept the restoration suggested by M. Barth, as *S'rī Sankaranārāyaṇa*, which again is the same image of Śiva associated with Viṣṇu. The date of the erection of the above *Hari-Hara* image was A.D. 676.¹ Again, in the inscription found at Vat Praptus, we hear of a *linga* of Śiva-Kesava erected by a member of a Cambodian noble family.²

One of the curious facts associated in Cambodia with the cult of *Hari-Hara*, which is but a compromise between the two rival sects,

¹ Barth, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Saivas and Vaisnavas, is the erection of *lingas* in the name both of Śiva and Viṣṇu. We get the image of *Hari-Hara* in India as well as in Champa, but we have no instance of a *linga*, which is presumably a Śaiva symbol, mixed up with the image of Viṣṇu. The combined image of *Hari-Hara* points to a compromise arrived at between the Saivas and Vaisnavas. It may be that when the compromise was arrived at, it was taken so far as to attribute to the *linga* of Śiva both the forms and qualities of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

THE CULT OF VIṢṆU

Of the Gods of the Hindu Trinity, after Śiva, the Cambodians gave the place of honor to Viṣṇu, who also received patronage from some of the Indo-Khmer kings. Like Śiva, the God Viṣṇu also had his followers in the country of the Khmers. He was known in Cambodia as *Hari*, *Caturbhuja* (the God with

four hands), *Viṣṇu*, *Achyuta*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Upendra*, *Vāsudeva*, *Kesava* and *Murāri*. The God *Viṣṇu* is thus described in a Cambodian inscription :

*Namo murāraye jyāyś svavīryyan darsayan
niva*

*Svarvāsivairiṇo daityāṃ strirūpeṇa jaghāna
yah.*

“Salutation to *Murāri* (*Viṣṇu*), who by his own strength (superiority), by assuming the form of a female, killed the *Daityas*, the adversaries of the inhabitants of heaven.”

In the Ang Pou inscription, we have reference to the God *Acyuta* (*Viṣṇu*) and his consort *Śrī*, the Goddess of Fortune. We also find mention of the God as the presiding divinity of *Vaikuntha* (the residence of *Viṣṇu*). In one inscription, King *Īśānavarman* is compared to *Hari* (*Viṣṇu*) for his splendour.¹ The sage *Punnāgavarman* is said to have established seven images of *Viṣṇu* in memory

¹ Barth, p. 42.

of his mother. We have already spoken of the combined form of *Hari-Hara* in Cambodia, where we get the *linga* of Śiva-Viṣṇu and also of Śiva-Kesava. The Gods *Sankara-Nārāyaṇa* and *Viṣṇu-Īśa* also point to a compromise between the two sects Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas.

During the reign of Bhavavarman, a learned Brahmin named Somasarman erected the image of *S'rī Tribhuvanesvara* (Viṣṇu) with great honor and splendid offerings, which included the gift of sacred Indian books like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Purāṇa* and *Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*).

Unfortunately, Viṣṇu could not claim a large following in Cambodia. The people of Cambodia did not pay so much attention to Viṣṇu and other Gods as they did to Śiva.

THE CULT OF BRAHMA

In India, the God Brahmā is not so popular as other Gods. He has few temples and few

followers even in India and his worship was not extended to any large group. It is, therefore, natural that his name should not be frequently met with in the Cambodian inscriptions, where he is known as *Dhātṛi*, *Prajāpati*, *Caturmukha* and *Brahmā*. As *Dhātṛi*, he is said to be the Creator of the world, and as *Prajāpati*, he is the Lord of the whole creation. He is said to be *Caturmukha*, because he is represented with four faces.

Thus, both *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu* do not occupy a privileged position in Cambodia. They are given a lower position. In one inscription they are said to be standing before *Śiva* with folded hands. In the Phnom Sandak inscription all the three Gods, *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmā*, are mentioned together.

It is, therefore, clear that the cult of *Śiva* became the most popular of Indian sects in Cambodia. It is difficult to account for this success of *Śaivism* in Cambodia. In Champa

also Śaivism carried the day. How the ideals of Śaivism or the character of Śiva appealed most to the Khmer people, is very difficult to say. For many decades, Śaivism continued to be the State religion of Cambodia.

OTHER HINDU GODS AND GODDESSES

Besides these members of the Hindu Trinity, there were other Gods and Goddesses prevailing in Cambodia. They include Umā, Sarasvatī, Vāgīśvarī, Gangā, Śrī, Caṇḍī, Gaṇesa, Lakṣmī and others.

The consort of Śiva was known by various names, one of them being Umā, who also received her share of homage from the Khmer people. From an inscription found at Angkor Vat, we know of the erection of an image of Umā.¹ The river Ganges is highly respected by the Indian people and the image of Gangā

¹ Bergaigne, p. 585.

was also worshipped both in India and Cambodia. She is associated with the God Śiva. In Cambodia, we find an image of Gangā erected under the name of Jāhnavī.¹

Gaṇeśa is the son of the God Śiva, so he also finds a place beside Śiva. King Yasovarman, after he had made a gift of Yasodharāśrama to Śiva, issued a decree (*śāsanam*) for Gaṇeśa of Candanagiri.² Gaṇeśa is also known by the name of Vighnesa. An image of Vighnesa was made by the sage Śivavindu. It was followed by the image of Vighnesvara.³

Another consort of Śiva is Caṇḍī. She also flourished in Cambodia. The sage Śivavindu erected along with other images that of Caṇḍī.⁴

The God Brahmā, who was known also as *Aja*, one having no birth, has as his Śakti the

¹ Bergaigne, p. 585.

² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

³ Barth, pp. 116-117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Goddess Vāgisvarī. We find mention of Vāgisvarī, the Goddess of Speech, in the Vat Praptus inscription.¹ In the Cambodian inscriptions, we find references to other Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Lakṣhmī, Gaurī, Durgā, Śrī, Rudrānī, Bhavānī and Sarvānī.

For the worship of these Indian Gods and Goddesses, there were temples, either built of stone or of brick. The Prah Bat inscription speaks of *silāmaye ves'mani* (the building or temple made of stone). We also hear of *mandira* (temple). To make a pious foundation, the king or the donor, whoever he may be, makes a *pratimā* or an *archā* (image). We hear that King Yasovarman established four images (*pratimā*) of the God Śiva and the Goddess Sarvānī, the consort of Śiva. It is reported that these *pratimās* were works of his own art (*svasilparacita*). It, then, follows that King Yasovarman himself was an artist; of course

¹ Barth, p. 120.

he had to employ other artists also. After the foundation of the *pratimā* with due ceremony (*yathā vidhi*), the king or the donor makes provision for the *pujā* (worship) of the God. With that object, he makes various liberal grants to the God. These gifts remain as the property of the God and no one, not even the king, could revoke those gifts and donations. King Yasovarman made gifts of (1) ornaments or jewels, (2) vestment of gold, (3) palanquin, (4) fans, (5) umbrellas, (6) plumes of peacock, and (7) many utensils for *pujā*, made of gold and silver. He also gave away many male and female slaves, who were expert in dancing and music. To this liberal grant, he added many tributary villages and gardens.¹

Not only this, but many other gifts might be bestowed by the donor. Thus we find Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the son-in-law of King Rājendrarvarman, erecting three Gods and making

¹ Bergaigne, p. 409.

grants of plenty of gold (*suvarṇa*), conveyance (*yāna*), gifts of various kinds of jewels (*vicitra-ratna*), ornaments (*ābharaṇa*), vast tract of land, silver (*rajata*), copper (*tāmra*), gold (*hema*), cow (*go*), servants (*dāsa*), maidservants (*dāsī*), buffalo (*mahiṣa*), horse (*aśva*) and elephant (*nāga*).

To make a gift of a charming book to a God may appear curious to many, but during the reign of Suryavarman (A.D. 1002-1049) the sage Śivavindu made an offering of a splendid book (*pustakaṃ*) to the God Īśvara of the temple of Bhadresā.

Again, after the pious foundation there was the custom of distributing sacred books to various people. Thus, during the reign of Bhavavarman, the learned Brahmin Somasarman erected the image of *Śrī Tribhuvaneśvara* (Viṣṇu) with great honour and splendid offerings, which included the sacred Indian books, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Purāṇa* and *Bhārata*

(*Mahābhārata*). He also instituted the recitation of these sacred books without interruption.

As in India, there were many slaves attached to the Cambodian temples. So, the kings were in the habit of making gifts of slaves to those temples. There were also female slaves, who were expert in dancing and music. Like the *deva-dāsīs* in India, they used to dance before the Gods.

In an old Khmer inscription, we find the following officers attached to the Cambodian temples¹:

- (1) *Rmānām*—dancers.
- (2) Females who play diverse instruments.
- (3) *Klon Sruk*—chief of the village.
- (4) Keeper of gold and silver utensils.
- (5) *Mālākāra*—one who makes garland.
- (6) *Chatradhāra*—one who holds the umbrella.
- (7) Keeper of the sacred fire.

¹ *J. A.*, 1883, Avril-Juin, pp. 472-474.

- (8) Cmāṃdvāra—keeper of doors.
- (9) Cmām Parihāra.
- (10) Mahānasa—one in charge of cooking.
- (11) Pātrakāra—maker of vases.
- (12) Camryyaṇ Stuti—chanters of hymns.
- (13) Gaudharva—musicians.
- (14) Tūryya—other musicians.
- (15) Cmām Vraḥ Sāla—keeper of the sacred *sāla*.

For the worship of these Gods, there were priests, who in many cases used to be appointed by the king himself. Thus King Suryavarman appointed the family of Śivācārya as the hereditary priest (*hota*) of the God Śrī Kapālesa. Again, King Jayavarman employed two poets in the service of Hemasringesa Śiva. Another man Kavīvara by name was given charge of the sacred fire by the same King Jayavarman. The sage Śivācāryya was employed by the same king to look after both the qualities and defects on the mountain

Hemasriṅgagiri for the development of the cult of the Gods.

Hinduism on the whole made a deep impression upon the people of Cambodia, who readily took to the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Candī, Śrī and other Gods and Goddesses. The cult of Śiva was predominant throughout the history of Cambodia, though Buddhism also prevailed.

CHAPTER XVI

BUDDHISM IN CAMBODIA

IN the Northern Asian countries, it was Buddhism which made rapid progress. From the first century A.D., Buddhism began to be preached in China and other Asian countries and in the course of a few centuries, it covered various countries like China, Korea, Japan, Tibet and Chinese Turkistan. It could not, however, make such marvellous progress in the Southern Asian countries, where Hinduism appealed more to the local people. We are not in a position to explain the cause of the failure of Buddhism in its propagation in Southern Asia and the success of Hinduism in

those parts. We do not, however, mean to say that Buddhism was altogether absent in those countries. Though Champa and Cambodia were strongholds of the Brahmanic faith, the gospel of Buddha was also preached in those countries. It was from Cambodia that Buddhism went over to Siam, where it is even now the State religion. In Cambodia itself, Buddhism is now the prevailing religion.

Not only the Brahmanic faith, with the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu, but also Buddhism went over to Cambodia. Brahmanism had the advantage of being first in the field. Buddhism followed in the wake of Brahmanism in the country of the Khmers and gained some influence. It is, however, the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and not Hinayānā that found its way to Cambodia.

The earliest evidence of the prevalence of Buddhism in Cambodia is contained in a short inscription dated the end of the sixth or the

beginning of the seventh century A.D. From this inscription we learn that a person, Pon Prajñā Candra by name, dedicated slaves, both male and female, to Sāstā, Maitreya and Avalokitesvara. M. Aymonier takes these Gods to be Bodhisattvas, though *Sāstā* seems to be a title of Sākyamuni.¹ These Bodhisattvas bear the title of *Vrah Kamratān*, which is given also to the Brahmanic Gods in Cambodia.

Another inscription discovered at Vat Prey Viér, bearing the date A.D. 665, seems to be an early Buddhist inscription of Cambodia. Here we meet with *Bhiksus* and also with the absence of any invocation to Hindu Gods. These led M. Barth to consider it to be a Buddhist inscription, from which we know that during the reign of Jayavarman I, there lived two Buddhist monks (*bhiksus*) in Cambodia. They possessed all the requisite qualifications of monks, namely, *sīla*, *sama*, *kṣhānti* and *dayā*.

¹ Aymonier, *Cambodge*, I, p. 442.

Their names began with Ratna and ended with Bhānu and Sīṅha respectively. They were, therefore, known as Ratnabhānu and Ratnasinha. They were the first Buddhist monks heard of in the Cambodian inscriptions.

After the seventh century, there is a big gap in the history of Buddhism in Cambodia. It was from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries that Buddhism again made a mark in this kingdom. The special feature of this period, however, is that Buddhism was patronised not so much by the Cambodian kings, as by the Cambodian ministers. Thus we have a succession of ministers beginning with Satyavarman, Kavindrārimathana and Kirtipaṇḍita, who encouraged the Buddhist faith in Cambodia.

There were some kings in Cambodia, who patronised both Hinduism and Buddhism. In many cases, kings were making donations both for Hindu and Buddhist Gods. We have the instance of King Yasovarman, who established

a *Brāhmanāśrama* as well as a *Saṅgatāśrama* or a Buddhist monastery. The inmates of both these *āśramas* had the same privileges and duties. The inscriptions recording the foundation of these two *āśramas* are very similar. Both the inscriptions begin with two stanzas of invocation to Śiva, after which the Buddhist inscription adds a stanza in honour of the Buddha.¹

King Rājendravarman had as his minister Kṣavindrārimathana, who was a Buddhist. In A.D. 953, he erected Buddhist images of *Jina* (perhaps Buddha), of Divyadevi and of Vajrapāṇi. This was, however, not his first Buddhist donation. Previously in A.D. 946, he had founded the Buddhist images of Jina and Jayantadesa. Lastly in A.D. 952, he consecrated the image of Lokanātha and of the Goddess to Kuṭisvara.

¹ Coedès—*La stèle de Tép Pranam*, J.A., XI, 1908, p. 203.

The Buddhist minister enjoyed the confidence of his master, who entrusted him with the charge of beautifying the new capital Yasodharapura. The minister had great attachment towards Buddhism and was known as the leader amongst the Buddhists of Cambodia. He was also credited with the erection of a statue of Prajñāpāramitā, the most popular figure in Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the inscriptions of this period, we have invocations to Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā. The minister Kavīndrārīmāthana was not content with his above religious endowments, he next made images of a Devī, a Buddha and a Vajrapāṇi. It, therefore, appears that through the efforts of this Buddhist minister, Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in Cambodia. He is responsible for the erection of the images of (1) Jina, (2) Divyādevī, (3) Vajrapāṇi, (4) Jina of Jayantadesa, (5) Lokanātha, (6) Devī of Kuṭisvara, and (7) Buddha.

Another devout Buddhist minister was Kīrtipāṇḍita, who flourished during the reign of Jayavarman V. From the inscription found at Srey Santhor, we know that through the efforts of the minister Kīrtipandita, the pure doctrine of the Lord Buddha reappeared like the sun at dawn or like the moon covered by the clouds. The minister tried successfully to revive Buddhism in Cambodia. In the above inscription we find the instructions of King Jayavarman V as to the status of Buddhism in Cambodia. We have here a compromise between the two great religions. It was laid down that the royal priest should continue the worship of the God Śiva, but he should be learned in Buddhist scripture and bathe the statue of Buddha on the days of religious festivity of the Buddhists. Kīrtipandita was also responsible for the introduction of some Buddhist books from foreign countries in Cambodia. He introduced among others the *S'āstra*

Madhyavibhāga and the commentary on *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Mr. Elliot thinks the first book to be *Madhyavibhāgasāstra* by the great Indian Buddhist scholar, Vasubandhu. In this connection it is interesting to note the statement made by Taranath in his *History of Buddhism* that Buddhism was introduced into Indo-China by the disciples of Vasubandhu. If the *Sāstra Madhyavibhāga* is to be attributed to the sage Vasubandhu, then we can accept Taranath's statement regarding the introduction of Buddhism into Indo-China by the disciples of Vasubandhu.¹

Buddhism became the State religion of Cambodia during the reign of Jayavarman VII (A.D. 1185), though Śaivism still continued to flourish. The Hindu mythology also began to continue. King Jayavarman VII (A.D. 1181—1201) was a devout follower of Buddhism. His posthumous name, Paramasangata, shows his

¹ Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 122-123.

zeal towards the religion of Lord Buddha. A new inscription, discovered among the ruins of the Phimānaks by M. Marchel in 1906, offers an example of the curious mixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism. Here the Buddhist tree is identified with the Brahmanic *Trimurti*. There is also reference to Śiva, Brahmā and Buddha.¹ It is difficult to explain this peculiar mixture of the two religions. Perhaps, the followers of both these religions were not very orthodox in the matter of following their religious dogmas. The result was the mixture of the dogmas of both the religions. Another long inscription of 145 stanzas, belonging to this reign, has been discovered in the temple of Ta Prohm near Angkor.² It is a Buddhist inscription of the Mahāyāna school, beginning with an invocation to the Buddha, Dharma, Sangha, to Avalokitesvara (under the name

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1918, IX.

² *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 123-717.

of Lokeshvara) and to the Mother of Buddhas (meaning perhaps Prajñāpāramitā). The salutation to the Buddha is as follows :

Vuddhāya bhūtasaraṇāya namo stu tasmai.

The following interesting account about the three religions of Cambodia is from the pen of Chou Ta-Kuan, who visited Angkor in 1296 :

“ The literati are called Pan-ch’i, the Bonzes Chu-ku and the Taoists Pa-ssu-wei. I do not know whom the Pan-ch’i worship. They have no schools and it is difficult to say what books they read. They dress like other people except that they wear a white thread round their necks, which is their distinctive mark. They attain to high positions. The Chu-ku shave their heads and wear yellow clothes. They uncover the right shoulder, but the lower part of their body is draped with a skirt of yellow cloth and they go with bare foot.

Their temples are sometimes roofed with tiles. Inside there is only one image, exactly like the Buddha Sākya, which they call *Po-lai* (=Prah), ornamented with vermillion and blue, and clothed in red. The Buddhas of the towers (images in the towers of the temples?) are different and cast in bronze. There are no bells, drums, cymbals or flags in their temples. They eat only one meal a day, prepared by some one who entertains them, for they do not cook in their temples. They eat fish and meat and also use them in their offerings to Buddha, but they do not drink wine. They recite numerous texts written on strips of palm-leaf. Some Bonzes have a right to have the shafts of their palanquins and the handles of their parasols in gold or silver. The prince consults them on serious matters. There are no Buddhist nuns.

“The Pa-ssu-wei dress like everyone else, except that they wear on their heads a piece

of red or white stuff like the *ku-ku* worn by Tartar women but lower. Their temples are smaller than those of the Buddhists, for Taoism is less prosperous than Buddhism. They worship nothing but a block of stone, somewhat like the stone on the altar of the God of the Sun in China. I do not know what God they adore. There are also Taoist nuns. The Pa-ssu-wei do not partake of the food of other people or eat in the public. They do not drink wine.

“Such children of the laity as go to school frequent the Bonzes, who give them instruction. When grown up they return to a lay life.”¹

¹ Elliot—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 125-126.

CHAPTER XVII

INDIAN LITERATURE IN CAMBODIA

As the Indian religious ideas began to spread in Cambodia, the religious books of India also began to be well-known among the Khmer people. With the worship of Śiva, they came to learn about the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. Buddhist literature was introduced by the followers of Buddhism. The Indian colonists spread in Cambodia all the standard books of Brahmanism. They also spread the tradition as contained in their famous epic poems, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. Indian philosophical works, books on logic and grammar were gradually brought over to Cambodia. Thus the whole Indian literature was transplanted in Cambodia.

The Cambodian inscriptions, which are written in the Sanskrit and Khmer languages, contain references to Indian literature. Let us first take up the Vedas. We hear of the Rig, Yajus and Sāma Vedas in the Prea Eynkosey inscription. The Rāja-guru Bhaṭṭa Divākara had come from the bank of the *Kālindi* (Yamuna), where sacrifices used to be offered with the formulas of *Rig*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*.¹ In the Lovek inscription, we find mention of the Atharva Veda² (*Yotharvvi-nishñāto*=who is profoundly versed in the *Atharvan*). We get reference to the Sāmaveda in the Veal Kantel inscription, where the Brahmin Śrī Somasarman is said to be the foremost among those who were expert in the Sāmaveda³ (*Sāmavedavidagṇiḥ*). Not only this, in the same inscription we find that the

¹ Barth, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

same Brahmin Somasarman made donation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇa* and the complete *Bhārata* (Mahābhārata) to the God Tribhuvanēśvara. He also instituted the practice of reciting the text of those popular books as in India. The Indian epics certainly were very popular in Cambodia. We have so many sculptural illustrations of the various stories of the epics in Cambodia. There are numerous allusions to the prominent personages of the great epics in the inscriptions of Cambodia. In one inscription, we have reference to Bhīṣma as he figures in the battle-field, to Arjuna as he gains glory, and to Bhīmasena.¹ In speaking of ministers, we get the example of Vaśiṣṭha, the famous minister of the descendants of Raghu.² The son of Gādhin (Viśvāmitra), Yudhiṣṭhira and Dhaumya are also referred to.³

¹ Barth, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Again, the fight of the General Saṅgrāmā with the enemy Chief has been compared to the well-known struggle between Rāma and Rāvana.¹ The coming of the same General Saṅgrāmā is also compared to the coming of the son of Raghu with splendour in the forest of Daṇḍaka.² The inscriptions also contain reference to the Pāṇḍava who was insulted in a vain pretext by Śisupāla,³ and also to *Krishnā* (Draupadi), *Suyodhana* (Yudhiṣṭhira) and Duryodhana.⁴

Not only the famous epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* were well-known in Cambodia, but also other Indian philosophical systems of India. In the Prea Eynkosey inscription, we hear of the Brahmins, who possessed the essence of the science of Vedānta (*Vedāntajñānasārais*),

¹ Barth, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ Bergaigne, p. 520.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 521.

who frequented the path of Smṛti (*Smṛti-pathāniratair*), who could manifest the eight examples of Yoga (*Ashtāṅgayogaprakāṭitakaraṇair*) and who were profoundly versed in the Vedas.¹ Here we find mention of (1) Vedānta, (2) Smṛti, (3) Ashtāṅga Yoga—the eight “members” of Yoga which are enumerated in *Yoga Sutra*, II, 29, and (4) the Vedas. We have references to other philosophical systems of India such as those of Kaṇāda and Nyāya. We know that the great sage Śaṅkarapandita was proficient in Patanjali's *Bhāṣya*. It is said that Patanjali explained to the Pandita his *Mahābhāṣya* with thousand mouths. Śaṅkarapandita could distinguish between substances in general (*sāmānye*) and in particular (*viśeṣte*) and also between quality (*guṇa*) and action (*karma*) as enunciated in the logic of Kaṇāda (*tarkke kaṇādavat*).² In the

¹ Barth, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

inscription No. LVII (141), we find reference to the science of *Nyāya* or Logic.¹

We have the opinion of Manu quoted in the Prea Eynkosey inscription in the following verse :

*krūrās' s'āthāti lubdhā ye paradharmmavilopakah.
Te yānti pitribhis sārddham narakam manuravravīt.*

Manu says that the crooked men, the deceitful, the greedy and those who destroy the religion of others go to hell with their ancestors.² Again, in the following verses we have the opinion of Manu referred to :

*ācāryyavad gr̥hastho pi mānaniyo vahusrutah
abhyāgatagunānān ca parā vidyēti mānavam. ॥
vittam bandhur vrayah karma vidyā bhavati
pañcamī
etāni mānyasthānānī garīyo yad yad uttaram. 3 ॥*

¹ Bergaigne, p. 450.

² Barth, p. 88.

³ Bergaigne, p. 423.

Though the first *śloka* is not taken textually from Manu, the last *śloka* is equivalent to Manu II, 136. It shows the familiarity of the Indo-Khmer scholars with the text of Manu.

In the Angkor Vat inscription, we have reference to Yoga, the works ascribed to Vyāsa,¹ to Śaiva Vyākaraṇa and to Jyotisāstra.² In the Phnom Sandek inscription, we hear of Somaśiva, who churned the ocean of Śivasāstra with the *mandara* of his intelligence and obtained the *amrita*, which is the science itself. Along with this *Sivasāstra*, we find mention of *Śabdasāstra*.³ Taking both these together, M. Bergaigne thinks that Śivasāstra refers to the grammar of Pāṇini, which is said to have been revealed by Śiva. We also hear of the grammar of Śiva (*Sivavyākaraṇam*).

¹ Bergaigne, p. 581.

² *Ibid.*, p. 572.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

The doctrine of Pānini was also familiar in Cambodia.¹

It is said that King Yasovarman, with one speech, which was the expression of the excellent medical science as treated by the great Indian writer on medical works, Susruta, remedied the maladies of his subjects. King Yasovarman was thus versed in the works of Susruta, which were consequently familiar also in Cambodia in the time of Yasovarman, if not earlier. The king was also expert in *śilpa*, *bhāṣā* (languages), *lipi* (writing), *nṛtya* (dance), *gīta* (music), and other sciences (*viññāna*).

The medical men of the time of Bhavarman, Brahmadatta and Brahmasinha were said to be versed in the *Dharmasāstra* and *Arthasāstra*.

Thus from the Cambodian inscriptions, we get reference to the following Indian works :

¹ Barth, p. 137.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Vedas</i> in general | (12) <i>Nyāya</i> . |
| (2) <i>Rig Veda</i> | (13) Patanjali's <i>Mahābhāṣya</i> . |
| (3) <i>Yajus</i> . | (14) <i>Manu</i> . |
| (4) <i>Sāman</i> . | (15) <i>Jyotiṣśāstra</i> . |
| (5) <i>Atharvan</i> . | (16) <i>Sivasāstra</i> . |
| (6) <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> . | (17) <i>Śabdasastra</i> . |
| (7) <i>Mahābhārata</i> . | (18) <i>Śiva Vyākaraṇa</i> . |
| (8) <i>Vedānta</i> . | (19) Panini's work. |
| (9) <i>Astāṅga Yoga</i> . | (20) Work of Susruta. |
| (10) <i>Smṛti</i> . | (21) <i>Dharmasāstra</i> . |
| (11) <i>Tarka</i> of Kaṇāda. | (22) <i>Arthasāstra</i> . |

CHAPTER XVIII

KINGSHIP IN CAMBODIA

THE Cambodian king bears the title of *Kamvuja-rājendra*, meaning the supreme Lord of the *Kamvujas* (the descendants of Kambu=Cambodians, the Khmers). Who was this Kamvu, whose descendants the Khmers claim to be? He may be taken as the same as Kambu Svāyambhuva, who is referred to in the Baksey Chang Krang inscription and who is considered as a sort of Manu of Cambodia. From him, the Cambodians trace their origin. The King of Cambodia is, therefore, said to be the supreme Lord of the descendants of Kambu. After the name of Kambu, the whole country of Cambodia is

known as *Kambu-desa*. Thus the Brahmin Sarvajñamuni is said to have come from *Āryadesa* to *Kambudesa* (Cambodia). The king also bore the title of Lord of the Kambu country. The above inscription refers to *Srī Kambubhubharabhrītaḥ*, meaning the King of the Kambu country. So, by the words *Kambudesa* and *Kambubhu*, we understand the country known as Cambodia, over which these Indo-Khmer kings ruled. The Cambodian kings bore other titles. In the inscription on the stele of Prah Bat, he is spoken of as *Kamvujendra* or the King of the Kambujas, as well as *Kambujesa* or the Lord of the Kambujas.¹ Again, in the inscription discovered at the temple of Loley, the king is described as *Kamvujabhupatīndra* or the Lord of the Kings of Kambujas. The King Indravarman took the title of *Kamvujesvara*. Thus the inscriptions are unanimous in calling the Cambodian kings the Lords

¹ Bergaigne, p. 367.

of Kambujas as well as of the Kambu country.

Besides this, the Cambodian kings took other titles. King Harshavarman I had the title of *Rājādhirāja*. He had also the title of *Kambujendrādhirāja*. Likewise, King Śrī Yaśovarman had the title of *Rājendra* (the King of Kings). King Bhavavarman used *Mahārājādhirāja*. Śrī Sūryavarman was known by his title of *Samrāt* (the Supreme Monarch).¹ Another king, Pṛthivīndravarman, had assumed the title of *Pṛthivīpati* (Lord of the Earth). Jayavarman II was described as *Adhīśvara* (Lord of the Kings). Śrī Indravarmadeva I was known by his title *Vraṇ Kamraten Añ*, meaning His Majesty the King. It is interesting to note that the same title was borne by some of the kings of Siam also. The Siamese kings had the title of *Phrak Kamraten*.²

¹ Barth, p. 136.

² See my *Indian Colony of Siam*, p. 42.

Like the Indian kings, the Cambodian kings
°
Their origin. claimed descent from the ancient
Indian dynasties. They did so
to impress their subjects with the nobility of
their ancestry. King Bhavavarman and his
predecessors traced their descent from the
soma-vamśa (the lunar dynasty), one of the well-
known dynasties of India. Many other kings
also claimed descent from the same dynasty,
but King Sūryavarman was not satisfied with
it, but claimed descent from the *surya-vamśa*
(the solar dynasty). Besides the Indian origin,
the Cambodian kings sometimes point to
Kauṇḍinya Soma of Funan fame as the ori-
ginator of the Cambodian line of kings.
Rudravarman and many other kings main-
tained that they belonged to *Kauṇḍinyavamśa*
(the family of Kauṇḍinya). Other kings
point to Kambu Svāyambhuva as their an-
cestor. It is remarked by M. Finot that the
early Kings of Cambodia claimed as their

ancestors Maharsi Kambu and the Apsaras Merā.

Generally the Indian kings belong to the Kṣatriya caste, though there are exceptions to this rule. The mythical ancestors of the Cambodians were Maharsi Kambu and the Apsaras Merā, who were not Kṣatriyas. It is difficult to say whether the early Indo-Khmer kings were of pure Brahmanic origin. But in many cases, we find the royal princesses of Cambodia being married to Brahmins. King Bhavavarman had a sister, who was like a second Arundhatī. This princess was married to Śrī Somasarman, who was like the moon among the Brahmins. We have another instance of Agastya, a Brahmin, coming from *Āryadesa* (India) and marrying the Cambodian princess Yasomati, by whom he had a son named Narendravarman. Again, we have another example, where a Brahmin daughter named Bhāsvāminī was married to a King Paramesvara

by name. They had a grand-daughter named Saṭyavatī, who was given in marriage to the Brahmin Bhānuvara. The daughter of Rājendravarman, Indralakṣmī, was married to the chief of the Brahmins, Bhaṭṭa Divākara. What was the object of these matrimonial alliances with the Brahmins? Perhaps, the Cambodian kings by such alliances tried to increase their popularity and influence among the Indianised Khmers. It also raised them higher in the estimation of their subjects.

The Cambodian inscriptions are full of eulogy of the royal princes. The poets who composed those inscriptions gave high praise to the kings. King Bhavavarman is described as invincible but magnanimous and sublime like another Meru. He boasted to be the master of the protectors of the earth. Another king, Jayavarman I, was said to be possessed of great heroism and has been compared to the

Godness Lakṣmī and to the thousand-eyed Indra. He also possessed great foresight. King Jayavarman II was honoured by the powerful kings. He was as brilliant as the sun and possessed heroic virtues. He was said to be the master of earth and acquired great fortune and victory. The character of Indravarman I is also highly praised by the writer of the inscriptions. He possessed liberality, forgiveness (*kṣamā*), learning, strength (*parākrama*), morality (*sīla*), heroism, energy, force and intelligence (*vuddhi*). Again, King Yasovarman is described as a king of kings (*narendrarajah*). His charming beauty was created by the Creator (*Dhātā*) Himself. He firmly believed that without the prosperity of his subjects, there would be no prosperity of his own. His sword shone with the marks of blood of his enemies. He was among his relatives like the *Kaustabha* jewel on the breast of *Kesava* (Viṣṇu). He was possessed of

fortune, amiable and thoughtful. He was expert in all the sciences and in the art of warfare, in *silpa*, in languages, in writing, in dance, in music and in other sciences.

As in India, the kingship is still hereditary in Cambodia. The King Rājendravarma was succeeded by his son Jayavarman II. Yashovarman was followed by his sons Harshavarman and Īśānavarman, one after another. The general rule is that the king should be followed by his son on the throne. But if the king has no son, what would then happen? It is natural in such a case that the brother of the king should succeed him. We have an instance of this sort of succession in the case of Udayādityavarman II, who was succeeded by his brother. But if the king has no son nor any brother, what would then happen? In that case, the son of the sister (*bhāgineya*) would succeed him. This is a reminiscence of the

Succession to
the throne.

Indian custom, having non-Aryan influence on it. Thus King Rudravarman II was succeeded by his nephew Pr̥thivīndravarman (A.D. 860)

The Cambodian royal court looked much like an Indian court. The court was full of the usual pomp and magnificence. The king was surrounded by a host of high officials. The royal court was crowded with Brahmins, priests, both *purohita* and *hota*, the *rāja-guru*, ministers, generals and other officials. The king had a council of ministers, with whose help he used to carry on the work of administration. The chief of the ministers was

His ministers. known by the title of *rājamahāmātya*. We know that during

the reign of Sūryavarman, the post of prime minister was given to the sage Śivavindu, who originally held the post of priest (*hotā*) to Śrī Kapālesvara. Other ministers were known as *mantrins*. We also hear of *mantrimukhyas* or the chief ministers. The

several kinds of drums. It is said that when King Jayavarman V (A.D. 968) marched with his army, the earth used to agitate like the ocean agitated by the tempest. As the Cambodian army fought, martial music used to be played. We get a list of instruments which used to be played on in times of war. They are :

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>lallari</i> . | 6. <i>venu</i> (flute). | 11. <i>bheri</i> . |
| 2. <i>kaṇsa</i> . | 7. <i>ghantā</i> (bell). | 12. <i>kāhala</i> . |
| 3. <i>karadi</i> . | 8. <i>mṛdaṅga</i> . | 13. <i>saṅkha</i> |
| 4. <i>timila</i> . | 9. <i>purava</i> . | (conch). |
| 5. <i>vīṇā</i> . | 10. <i>paṇava</i> . | |

In an inscription of King Yasovarman, we find mention of his ministers (*mantrins*), generals, (*valādhipas*), Brahmins, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. Medical men (*vaidyas*) also found a place in the royal court. King Rudravarman had in his service two eminent physicians named Brahmadatta and Brahmasiṅha. As in India, it happens sometimes that a family of ministers

continued to serve the Cambodian royal family for many generations. In India, during the rule of the Pala kings, we have such an example of a family supplying ministers for successive generations. Such instances are not unknown in Cambodia also. We have already referred to Brahmadatta and Brahmasiṃha, physicians to Rudravarman. Their nephews Dharmadeva and Siṃhadeva were employed as ministers under the Kings Bhavavarman and Mahendrarvarman. Dharmadatta's son was Siṃhavīra, who became minister to King Īśānavarman. Again, Siṃhadatta, the son of Siṃhavīra, became physician to King Jayavarman I and also hereditary governor of the city of Ādhyapura. Thus, we have the family of Brahmadatta serving their royal patrons for four generations, beginning with King Rudravarman. Thus we have the following table of kings and their hereditary officers.

KINGS	MINISTERS OR PHYSICIANS
1. Rudravarman	Brahmadatta, Brahma- siṃha.
2. Bhavavarman	} Dharmadeva, Siṃha- deva.
3. Mahendravarman	
4. Īsānavarman.	Siṃhavīra.
5. Jayavarman.	Siṃhadatta.

We have another such example of hereditary ministers in the inscription of Punnāgavarman. It is said that in the maternal line of Punnāgavarman were born three persons, who served as ministers under the Kings Śrī Harshavarman I, Śrī Īsānavarman and Śrī Jayavarman IV. Of these ministers one was called Manas-siva. King Īsānavarman had as his favourite minister Śikhāsiva. We do not know whether this Śikhāsiva belonged to the above group of hereditary ministers. Thus, in Cambodia we find the practice of having hereditary officers in many cases.

Besides the ministers and generals, there was an important personage in the Cambodian royal court, who used to be highly respected by the king. He was the *rāja-guru*. He occupied a privileged position in the royal court. The King Sūryavarman had as his *rāja-guru* Śrī Yogisvarapandita Deva, who was a great personality of the time. Another *guru* of Sūryavarman was Śankara Pandita. Thus King Sūryavarman paid his respects to two *gurus*.

A large number of Brahmins used to frequent the royal court. The Brahmins were of high qualifications. They used to come from all parts of the kingdom. They were celebrated for their heroism, possessed the essence of the science of Vedānta, followed the path of Smṛti, were expert in the eight parts of Yoga, were learned in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. The qualifications of these Brahmins were of a high order. It is quite

probable that they were highly honoured not only by the king but also by his subjects.

The Cambodian king was thus surrounded by his ministers, prime minister, generals, his commander-in-chief, his priest, his *guru*, the astrologers and a host of Brahmins. He was the supreme head of the administration, of the army, as well as of justice. His powers were unlimited. He was bound by no constitution, but was expected to rule according to the Indian law books (*Smṛti* works).

The Cambodian kings were great builders.

King's palace. They not only built magnificent temples, but also splendid palaces at Angkor Thom, the ruins of which can still be seen. The king used to marry several wives, but of those wives, he had to choose one as the principal queen, who bore the title of *Devī Hyañ*.¹ The King Jayavarman II married a princess named Rājendradevī, who

¹ Barth, p. 112.

became his principal queen. Another title which was often used by the principal queen was *Agra Mahiṣī*. We hear of another principal queen of a king who reigned in A.D. 802. That queen was named Devī Hyañ Pavitrā. The royal princesses also bore the title of *Hyañ*. Thus the principal queen Devī Hyañ Pavitrā had a grand-daughter named the glorious Hyañ Karpūrā.

CASTE-SYSTEM IN CAMBODIA

As the Cambodians had thoroughly adopted the Indian manners and customs, they introduced also the Indian institution of the caste-system. The king in Cambodia was also the head of the society. He was responsible for any change introduced into the caste-system or any other institution. In the history of Cambodia we meet with instances when the Cambodian king undertook a re-arrangement of the caste-system. During the reign

of Jayavarman V we have such an example. Like the Creator Brahmā himself, King Jayavarman V established an excellent order among the castes and the four *asramas* of the Brahmanic life in Cambodia. This shows that the Cambodians not only copied the Indian institution of caste, but also the four *asramas* into which an Indian's life is divided. Perhaps, the king saw that abuses had grown up in those institutions, he therefore tried to reform both the institutions of castes and of *asramas*. Another re-arrangement took place during the reign of Sūryavarman I (A.D 1002). He again made the division of castes (*varṇa-bhāga*) and gave to the sage Sivācārya the great honour of being placed at the head of his caste (*varṇasrestha*).

ADMINISTRATION OF CAMBODIA

Though the splendour and glory of the old Cambodian kingdom is gone, yet it survives

even now as a kingdom. The modern Kingdom of Cambodia is much reduced in its extent, much of its territory being occupied by Siam, which rose out of the ruins of old Cambodia. The present Cambodian kingdom is under the French influence, it is a French protectorate. The French Resident Superior is supreme. The present King of Cambodia is Sisowath, who came to the throne in 1904.

At the head of the Cambodian Government is the King (*Raj*). He has a council of five ministers. The whole kingdom is divided into fifty provinces. The king has the power to nominate his successor and abdicate in favour of his nominated successor. If the king, however, does not nominate his successor, the five chief mandarins can elect one from among the Brah Vansa. When the king abdicates his royal power, he is called Upayuvrāj (*Obbaiour-each*) and the nominated successor is known as Uparāj (*Obbareach*).

In modern Cambodia, we have the double form of government. Both the king and the French Resident Superior have divided the work of administration among themselves. The control of the foreign policy, public works, customs and exchequer is in the French hands. On the other hand, the control of police, the collection of taxes and administration of justice—all these are in the hands of the Cambodian king. The French Resident Superior is virtually supreme in Cambodia, the power of the king being reduced to a shadow. The Resident Superior presides over the Ministerial Council. He divides the country into several districts for the purpose of administration. Over each district is a Resident, who also presides over the District Council composed of natives. There is also a Protectorate Council of heads of the French administrative departments. The Resident Superior also presides over this Council.

KING'S CORONATION

When the king abdicates his power in favour of his son, or when the king dies, the new king, who comes to the royal throne, is coronated with due ceremonies. The coronation ceremonies of the Cambodian king last for eight days and are splendid. On the eighth day, the actual crowning of the king takes place. All the eight days there is great rejoicing in the capital and the citizens indulge in festivities. As in the coronation of the Siamese kings, the Brahmins play an important part. In Cambodia, the Bakus are said to be the descendants of the Brahmins. They play the chief role during the coronation ceremonies on the eighth day. The chief of the Bakus pour on the head of the King the lustral water of investiture. Why are the Bakus—the so-called Brahmins—allowed to play such an important part? It may be that it was in

imitation of the Indian custom of allowing Brahmins (the priests) to perform the coronation ceremony. At the same time the Buddhist monks pray for the long life of the new king. Then the monks retire, but the Bakus take an active part 'in the role of unconscious representatives of the ancient Brahmanic religion and as trustees of the traditions of a glorious past'. It is the custom in Cambodia to hand over to the new king the resignations of all officials—high and low. When the officials take the oath of loyalty to the new king, he reinstates them all. When the king returns to his palace, he is followed by a party of females carrying parasol, sabre, betel-box and other necessities of his daily life. Another group follows carrying cat, rice, grain, ivory and other symbols of prosperity. Services within the royal palace are all conducted by women.¹

¹ See—*E. R. E.*

CAMBODIAN SOCIETY

At the present day Cambodian society is divided not into castes as in India, but into classes. There are five classes in the society. The highest class (*Prah Vonsa*) is composed of the royal family and other members of the royal family up to the fifth generation. This class gives the place of honour to *Upayuvārāja* or the abdicated king. He is followed by *Uparāja* or the heir-apparent in whose favour the king has abdicated. Then comes *Vararājini* or the queen dowager. Next is *Aggamahesī* or the queen herself. They are the high dignitaries of the kingdom. The second class in the Cambodian society is known as *Phra Von*, who are distantly related to the royal family. The third class is composed of Bakus and Buddhist monks. At the bottom of the society are free men and slaves.

CHAPTER XIX

MONUMENTS IN CAMBODIA

THE kingdom of Cambodia is rich in archæological remains. The whole country is full of Hindu and Buddhist images, temples and palaces. The magnificent temple of Angkor Vat attracts travellers and scholars alike. Throughout the country, there is an abundance of archæological treasures, which were collected by many French scholars. The scholars who pay visits to these beautiful temples and monuments are too numerous to be mentioned here. An archæological mission was undertaken by M. E. Lunet de Lajonquière in Cambodia and the result we find in his valuable book *Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge* in two volumes. In dealing with

the artistic remains of the Indo-Khmer art, we have found great help in that book, from which we have borrowed liberally. That book is supplemented by M. Henri Parmentier's *Complement a l'inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*.¹

As Hinduism and Buddhism began to spread over Cambodia, the followers of these religions wanted to introduce the images of their Gods and Goddesses. The artists who first began making the images were perhaps Indians. They began to train under them a number of Khmers as artists. It is mainly through the efforts of the Khmer artists, influenced by Indian ideal and example, that this art, known as Indo-Khmer art, began to grow up. It is not purely Indian art. We may call it the Indian colonial art or preferably the Indo-Khmer art. The inspiration and training is Indian, but the execution

¹ B. E. F. E. O., 1913.

is Khmer. Both these combined to make the Indo-Khmer art. In this Indo-Khmer art, we have the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ganesa, Indra, Lakṣmī, Pārvatī, Agni and Buddha.

BRAHMĀ

As in India, Brahmā, the Creator, is not very popular in Indian colonies. The Cambodian inscriptions mention him rarely. In sculpture, we find him occupying a secondary position. He figures along with the other Gods of the Hindu Trinity. In the Prasat Sneng Krabei, we find a *fronton* in which the middle place is occupied by the dancing Śiva and on the right is Brahmā with four faces and four hands, and on the left is Viṣṇu.¹ An image of Brahmā has been found at Prasat Samrong.²

¹ *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, II, p. 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

The representations of Brahmā sitting on a lotus coming from the navel of Viṣṇu can be seen at Phnom Krebas and Praḥ Vihear. Another figure of Brahmā carried by a bird (perhaps *Hamsa*) has been discovered at Muang Tam. The Creator is generally represented with four heads and four hands, but at Sang Sung, there is an image of Brahmā with five heads.¹ Not only is he seen among the Brahmanic monuments, but also in certain Buddhist monuments. At Bangkok, there is a monument representing the scene of the birth of Buddha, where Brahmā also appears.

VIṢṆU

The second God of the Hindu Trinity is met with in Cambodia in various forms. In the central sanctuary at Prasat A-Ban, we have the figure of Viṣṇu carried by his vehicle

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 327.

Garuḍa.¹ In some cases, Viṣṇu is given a position lower than Śiva, and is represented as attending Śiva. At Vat Phu, we have Viṣṇu in the form of Narasiṃha. In the temple of Ku Si Cheng, we have the reproduction of the scene of Viṣṇu on the snake Ananta. A similar scene is found at Kampheng Yai. At Banteai Phum Pon, we come across a statue of Phra Narai (*Nārāyaṇa* = Viṣṇu).² A decorative *linteau* at Phnom Krebas bears the scene of Viṣṇu on the snake Ananta; the God lies on the right side, his head is adorned with a *mukuta*, in the left hand he holds a lotus flower. But the principal figure seems to be Lakṣmī, because she occupies the highest as well as the middle place. From the navel of Viṣṇu rises up the throne of Brahmā. There are four followers bearing plumes. The whole scene is full of diverse ornamented motives. M. E. Lunet

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

de Lajonquière observes that though the whole scene is not one of superior execution, yet it testifies to a certain effort at originality which deserves to be pointed out.¹ But the workmanship of a similar scene at Prasat Samrong is not of such high order.² In the museum of Bangkok, there is a bronze image of Viṣṇu, which had been brought from Kampheng Phet by Dr. Ratsmann and of which a photograph was published by M. Fournereau. It is perhaps of the Cambodian school of sculpture.³ In the museum of Ayuthia, on a stele, there is a figure of Viṣṇu, which is represented in high relief. The God Viṣṇu is here seen with ten arms and with a cylindric *mukuta*. The figure is in a standing posture.⁴ Though there are separate statues of Viṣṇu in Cambodia, yet he

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

seems to occupy like Brahmā a position inferior to Śiva. In India, we generally find Viṣṇu with one head and four hands with various auspicious signs like the disc, club, lotus and conch. But in Cambodia, we find the God with four, even ten, hands. It is a wonder how the number of hands increased rapidly in Cambodia. Perhaps the Khmer people thought that the more the number of arms, the more powerful would be the God. Hence the multiplication of hands in the case of the Goṇ Viṣṇu. Just as Brahmā has as his vehicle the Hamsa, so Viṣṇu has Garuḍa as his carrier. We find him carried on the back of Garuḍa.

. ŚIVA

The third God of the Hindu Trinity, Śiva, is the most prominent of the Hindu Gods in Cambodia. In the Cambodian inscriptions he is highly praised and given a place superior to

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Brahmā and Viṣṇu. A common representation of Śiva is the God seated on his vehicle Nandin, as we find at Prasat Sneng Krabei, where by his side his Consort Pārvati is also represented.¹ As Brahmā's vehicle is Haṃsa, Viṣṇu's is Garuḍa and Śiva's Nandin. The well-known form of Śiva is when he is dancing the *tāṇḍava* dance. This *Natarāja* form is also met with in Cambodia. At the above mentioned place, we have a dancing figure of Śiva, with ten hands and occupying the central position and on one of his sides are Brahmā with four heads and four hands and Viṣṇu with one head and four arms and on the other side another personage with four hands.²

It should be noticed *en passant* that the Indian religions underwent a slight modification in the Indian colonies. In Siam, we meet with Buddha-pada. In the Khmer country we come across Śiva-pada and the multiplication

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 25.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

of hands of the Hindu Gods. In Cambodia, we find Viṣṇu with ten hands, and Śiva also dancing the cosmic dance with ten hands. Brahmā too has some peculiarity. He is sometimes seen with five heads and not with four. The artists in Cambodia made this change; they increased the number of hands and heads of the Hindu Gods.

The representations of the dancing Śiva (*Natarāja*) and those of Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandin seem to be very popular in Cambodia. At Prasat Nong Hong, the decorative *linteau* of the principal exterior door of the eastern *gopura* has for its chief personage the dancing Śiva. Though unfortunately it is broken into many parts, it is considered to be a very fine specimen of the Indo-Cambodian sculpture.¹ The *linteau decoratif* on the principal door of the central temple of Kut Suen Teng represents the dancing Śiva also, who is decorated with a

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 222.

mukuta and ordinary jewels. To his left is Brāhmā with four heads and four arms with a rosary in his hand, but on his right we do not find the familiar figure of Viṣṇu, who is replaced by divine females and others.¹ At Thom Ngua Deng, we have the representation of Śiva and Pārvatī riding Nandin. The God Śiva has a trident in his hand. Before the God and his Consort, there are two devotees sitting with crossed legs and crossed arms in an attitude of devotion. Just behind the Nandin are two females bearing plumes. We get a reproduction of this sculptural work in the *Inventaire*.² This example of Indo-Khmer sculpture does not seem to be of high workmanship. Though the Khmer artists produced many fine images, yet this is not one of the best examples of artistic production. Here we miss that hand of a genius which is

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 236.

² See Fig. 75, p. 245 (II).

perceptible in other examples of Indó-Khmer art and sculpture. Small statues of Śiva have been discovered at Ku Sen Talat Yai and Vat Pho. During his tour in the Malay Peninsula, the Siamese Prince Damrong collected many archæological finds, some of which belong to Cambodian group of sculpture. Among the finds is a stele on which several Brahmanic Gods are sculptured. The God Śiva is one of them.¹ In the museum of Ayuthia, there is a statue of Śiva with five heads and ten arms. In India we find Śiva with only one head. This peculiarity is, therefore, noticeable in the case of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—all the three Gods of the Hindu Trinity. This multiplication of heads and hands of these Gods was meant to increase perhaps the divine power of the Gods. It is also a peculiar feature of the Indo-Khmer art and a fresh addition to the history of Indian iconography. Whether this

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 316.

modification was due to Indian or Khmer genius remains still to be decided. The famous figure of *Natarāja* also seems to be very popular in the Indian colonies. It is very common in South India, from where this *Natarāja* form might have gone over to the Indian colonies. The colonists who hailed from the Deccan perhaps introduced this *Natarāja* form in the colony of Cambodia.

The God Śiva was worshipped also in the *śinga* form. In the Cambodian inscriptions we find numerous instances of the erection of *lingas* both by the Kings of Cambodia and the general public. It seems that there was one such *lingā* established at Prasat A-Ban, because the *yoni* has been discovered there, only the *linga* is missing.¹ In the temple of Prasat Thnal Svay, another *linga* of the ordinary type has been found.² Dr. Harmand

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

came across a *linga* in the neighbourhood of Melu Prei.¹ There is another *linga* at Chān Nakhon (=Candranagara), where we get a Sanskrit inscription purporting the erection of this *linga*. According to M. Barth, the inscription belongs to the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era. The *linga* was erected by the King Mahendravarman under the name of the *linga* of Śiva Gīṛisa.² More examples of *linga* are to be found in Cambodia. This shows a very wide-spread worship of the God Śiva, who was the most popular of the Hindu Gods in Cambodia. He received homage from princes and peasants alike.

INDRA

Besides these Gods of the Hindu Trinity, there were other Gods and Goddesses, who

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73

were also worshipped by the Cambodian people. Let us take the case of Indra, the thousand-eyed God of Heaven. His figure appears among the Indo-Khmer monuments. At Prasat Chhō Teal Tua, he figures in the decorative *linteau* as the central figure riding an elephant.¹ He appears in the same posture at the temple of Prasat Sneng Krabei,² as well as at Prasat Kraham.³ At Vat Phu, we find Indra with his *vajra* (thunder) in the left hand riding his favourite elephant.⁴ At Prasat Nong Hong, there are three decorative *linteau*, which represent three great personages like Indra on his elephant, Siva on his Nandin, Viṣṇu on his Garuḍa.⁵ We may form an idea as to the representation of Indra on his elephant from the *linteau decoratif* at Vat Pakham, of which

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

a reproduction is given in the *Inventaire* (Fig. 69).¹ This representation of Indra riding the elephant is very common among the Indo-Khmer monuments.

GAṆESA

The God Gaṇesa, who is regarded as an auspicious God, has also found his way into Cambodia. We learn from the Cambodian inscriptions that the King Yasovarman made an endowment to Gaṇesa of Candanagiri. At Prasat Si Liem, we find a representation of Gaṇesa. A great image of Gaṇesa has been discovered at Phnom Krebas, though there is nothing remarkable in its execution.² Another image of Gaṇesa has been found at Sung Nön. This image is, however, very mutilated, though of considerable height. Among the

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

monuments gathered by the Siamese Prince Dāmrong, there is a stele which represents several Brahmanic Gods including Gaṇeśa.

LAKṢMĪ

In Cambodia, the Goddess Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, is seen along with Viṣṇu. Among the Cambodian sculptures, in the scene depicting Viṣṇu, lying on the serpent Ananta, the Goddess Lakṣmī also appears. She is seen caressing the feet of her husband, as in the sculptural representation at Ku Si Cheng.¹ She is, thus, invariably found along with Viṣṇu in the Cambodian sculptures. There is, however, a few representations, where she appears as the principal figure between the two elephants, as at Sung Nön.² This *Gaja-Lakṣmī* form is very popular in India. She is there represented as the Goddess of Fortune and Prosperity.

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 115.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

PĀRVATĪ

In the Indo-Khmer art and sculpture, just as Lakṣmī is associated with Viṣṇu, so is Pārvatī with Śiva. At Prasat Sneng Krabei, Pārvatī is found riding the bull Nandin with her husband.¹ This representation of Śiva and Pārvatī riding Nandin is very popular in Cambodia and often met with among the Indo-Khmer monuments.

AGNI AND OTHER GODS

Those were not the only Hindu Gods and Goddesses worshipped by the Khmer people. A large number of other Gods may be added to the list already given. We find a curious combination of some Indian Gods on a stele discovered at Vat Klang. There we have a series of nine Brahmanic Gods, of whom the

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 25.

first is the God Surya on a chariot drawn by horses, the second is the God Agni, the third Yama on a buffalo, the fourth perhaps Brahmā on a bird (Hansa?), the fifth Indra on an elephant, the sixth and seventh are riders on buffalo and elephant, the eighth Vāyu and the last Varuna on a monster.¹

BUDDHA

It is a curious phenomenon that though Buddhism did not flourish in both the countries of Champa and Cambodia, in the neighbouring kingdom of Siam it flourished much and is now the State religion. It is very difficult to explain this anomaly. It may be that as the Brahmanic faith was introduced before Buddhism, the latter could not get a stronghold in Cambodia, though a corrupt form of Buddhism is now the prevailing religion of

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 257.

Cambodia. It was only due to the influence exerted by Siam on Cambodia in later days. It should not be, however, supposed that there was in Cambodia the total absence of the Buddhist religion and temples and images. It was far from being so. Both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished in Cambodia, though Buddhism could not gain much influence among the Khmer people. So, in Cambodia, along with the images of Hindu Gods and Goddesses, we find those of Buddhist Gods of the Mahāyāna school. The images of Buddha are seen in plenty among the Indo-Khmer monuments. A great statue of Buddha seated on the Nāga has been discovered at the temple of Prasat Sema.¹ There is another statue of a personage seated on the Nāga in the ordinary posture of the Buddha, but adorned with *mukuta* and jewels ordinarily seen on the Brahmanic images. It is found at

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 22.

Prasat Chieng Meng¹ and it is remarkable that this image like all other Buddhist images is intact escaping destruction from the hands of the image-breakers. This statue was perhaps of Buddha, because the divinity is seated on the Nāga in the posture of Buddha himself. The presence of the Brahmanic decorations on him may be explained as being due to the influence of Hindu artists.

M. Aymonier happened to discover in the pagoda of Ban Sake, a decorative *linteau* containing a figure of Buddha.² Numerous small statues of Buddha have been found at That Bo Phan Kan.³ The Khmer artists were also expert in *terra-cota* work. We have a *terra-cota* representation of the seated Buddha at Ku Muang Kao Ban Thong.⁴ Numerous

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

statues of Buddha are deposited at Phnom Krebas.¹ Besides *terra-cota* work, we have some images built of wood. Such a wooden statue of Buddha seated on the Nāga has been discovered at Vat Tavan Tok Nang Rong.² In the Vat Klang is found a stele on which are sculptured five Buddhas seated on a lotus flower. There is a place in Cambodia known as Phu Phra or the mountain of the Buddhas. On this mountain are sculptured seven images of Buddha in a sitting posture. All these figures are in *dhyāna* (meditation) attitude and appeal most to the devotees.³ Among the fragments collected by the Siamese Prince Damrong, there are some Buddhist sculptures. One fragment represents the birth of Buddha, Māyā Devī standing and holding the branch of a tree. This sculptural piece was brought from

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

Angkor.¹ Among the special collections of the Prince Damrong, there is a statue of Buddha standing, which points to its Cambodian origin. There is also a *Dharmacakra* or the Wheel of the Law, as well as a statue of Buddha in bronze, discovered in the region of Korat.²

TEMPLES OF CAMBODIA³

Of all the provinces in Indo-China, Cambodia is rich in Hindu monuments. We have the remains of numerous temples, palaces, images, inscriptions and *lingas* in Cambodia. We have already referred to the Cambodian images, both Hindu and Buddhist, and *lingas*. We shall now refer to the temples, remains of which exist even now in Cambodia.

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 317.

² *Ibid.*, p. 319.

³ We are indebted to *Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge* for the materials of this section.

The Cambodian temples occupy not an inconsiderable position in the history of Indo-Khmer monuments. The temples of Cambodia resemble those of Southern India and stand in great contrast to the modern pagodas which have grown up by their side. The Indian artists or their Khmer disciples of the ancient period far surpassed the modern Cambodian artists in their skill and workmanship. Most of the older temples are in ruins and have been discovered by the French archæologists. The great and magnificent temple of Angkor Vat still excites the admiration of art-critics and is recognised as one of the splendid monuments of the whole world.

It is necessary first of all to fix the side which the Cambodian temples face. They principally face the East. Though this rule is generally observed, yet in a few cases we meet with exceptions. We come across certain temples which are situated on the North, on

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the West and on the South, that is to say, all the cardinal points. This exception to the general rule, however, is not due to the caprice of the founder of the temple, but to some particular circumstances. In some cases, the smaller temples face the neighbouring important monuments. Thus the temple Prasat Phnom Ponreai faces the West towards Tonlé-sap. Again, the temples of Dong Kuk are situated facing the four cardinal points symmetrically.

The Cambodian temples may be said to have six parts, the chief of which are the sanctuary, the residence of servants, treasure house or library, buildings for habitation, and avenues. They receive successive developments without the original form being modified. All these parts may not be met with in all the Cambodian temples at present. The most important part of the temple is its sanctuary. Though generally the temples were built of stone or brick, yet the

remains in certain southern provinces, such as those of Ba Phnom and others, lead us to the hypothesis that originally some of those temples were built of wood. The remains of the wooden temples, however, cannot now be found in Cambodia, because the monks are in the habit of making new temples taking the materials from the adjoining older temples. Thus the wooden temples had been destroyed by the monks themselves. This theory of original temples built in wood in Cambodia is put forward by M. Lunet de Lajonquiere.¹

The Cambodian temples are sometimes simple, containing one room or sometimes more than one. Of the simple temples, we have examples at Han Chei, Trapeang Kuk and Sambuor. These have one cubic chamber with a single door facing the East. This is like an ordinary small temple in India. It

¹ Introduction, p. XVII.

reminds one specially of the S'iva temple to be met with in any part of India.

The other kind of temple is of the multiple type formed of a variable number of edifices. Sometimes, the group consists of two, four or six *édicules* or they are added to afterwards. Instances of this type we meet with in the group of three sanctuaries at Phnom Trop lying in a line north-south, and in another group of five sanctuaries at Prasat Pram in two lines, in each line there being three edifices. Some sanctuaries present a larger number of edifices, such as the great temples of Koh Ker, Prasat Dang Kuk, Prasat Dap and others. The great temple of Koh Ker is a particular development of the preceding systems and conceived on the initial plan.¹

Prang: There is another kind of religious monument prevailing in Cambodia. It is quite different from other kinds of temples.

¹ Introduction, p. XXV.

They are high rectangular pyramids; formed of various stages and known in Cambodia as *Prang*. They are three in number, namely: (1) Prasat Beng Kêo, (2) Prah Dameri and (3) the Prang of Prasat Thom of Koh Ker. The *chedi* of Vat Sithor, which are veritable *stupas*, may equally be classed in this category.

Sometimes round the Cambodian pagoda, there is a wall with a gate, which is of purely Indian type. The gate is made of wood and reminds us of the famous Indian gates of Sanchi, Barhut and other places. The only difference from its Indian prototype is that we have no sculptural work or design on the Cambodian wooden gate, whereas on the stone gate of Sanchi we have beautiful sculpture. The redeeming feature of the Cambodian temples is the *gopuram*, which has been introduced from South India. In Cambodia, this *gopuram* is also at the entrance of the temple. The building covers a large area. From the outer

wall to the temple there is a considerable distance, 1 mètre in Prasat Beng Keo and 7 to 8 mètres in other monuments. The presence of these *gopuras* in Cambodia shows that the South Indian artists went over to Cambodia from the land of *gopuras* and taught the Khmer artists the art of building the *gopuras*, a notable example of South Indian architecture.

It has been remarked by a French savant that the statues discovered in the ruins of monuments in Cambodia or those that have been preserved in the Cambodian pagodas are very mediocre in their execution and workmanship. Accidentally we find some heads which are of happy execution and workmanship. The Cambodian statues seem to be disproportionate. If the head and bust are passable, the lower parts are generally very small and massive, while the feet are enormous. Thus the Cambodian sculptures may be divided into two groups: Buddhistic

and Brahmanic. The first are less numerous and of mediocre workmanship. They represent the Buddha in diverse ritual postures. The Brahmanic statues in general are artistically superior. They represent various Gods and Goddesses with two or more hands, Gaṇeśa with the human body and the head of an elephant, guardians of temples and personages with human body and head of horses, dogs, lions, elephants, Nāga, Nandin and Makara.¹

The temples of Cambodia are living evidence of the artistic skill achieved by the Indo-Khmer artists. We have not given particulars of all the temples of Cambodia, specially those of Angkor Vat and Bayon, which surpass all others in magnificence and splendour. We shall refer to them in a subsequent section. As remarked by a French savant, the productions of the Indo-Khmer artists are not always of a high order. Some of them are the works

¹ Introduction, p. XCIV.

of a genius, perhaps an Indian or possibly a Khmer trained in the Indian school of art. Many of them, however, do not surpass the ordinary standard of artistic excellence. But in architecture they have exceeded many people of the Malay Peninsula.

CAMBODIAN DECORATIONS

A question has been raised by M. Jean Commaille¹ as to the origin of decorations in Cambodia. The theme of the sculpture in Cambodia is the same as that of India. We have the temples, *gopuras* and images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and other Gods and Goddesses as in India. It has been observed that of the various theories started as to the origin of Cambodian civilisation, that of M. Foucher is the most reasonable. According to him, it is of Hindu origin and the Hinduisation of the kingdom was rather the work of the Śaivas.

¹ *B. E. F. O.*, 1913.

There is no doubt that the temples of ancient Cambodia, according to M. J. Commaillé, present some similarity with their prototypes in Northern India. In their decoration and style, they resemble each other to some extent and the one must have derived its inspiration from the other. It, however, goes without saying that the idea of building temples came from India. With the spread of Hinduism in Cambodia, the Indian colonists began to erect temples as in their own country. In the beginning, there came Indian artists from the mainland of India and trained the local Khmer people to do similar work of architecture in Cambodia. In course of time these local Khmer artists and sculptors became numerous and under the Indian influence and inspiration produced what may be called the Indo-Cambodian art and sculpture. We agree with M. J. Commaillé, conservateur des monuments du groupe d'Angkor, who in his *Notes sur la*

décoration Cambodgienne maintains that both Indian and Indo-Cambodian arts have the appearance of the same family. Both have the same subjects as their bas-reliefs, same kind of images and same ideas expressed. Still, there is one vital difference. The art of Cambodia was not of the same quality as that of India. The Khmer artists learned the technique from their Indian *silpa-gurus*, but in practical application they modified the Indian rules of art. It is quite natural that the Indo-Cambodian art should assume a form little distinct from the parent art of India, drawing its inspiration from the mainland of India.

It is not possible that all the examples of Indo-Cambodian art should be works of great beauty. There might be many works of unskilled hands. In them we notice the absence of ordinary rules of art. Thus at Bayon, there are small domes decorated with four human

faces (very probably of Śiva). They do not present any sign of a rational technique.¹ The artist is ignorant of the rudiments of the art of construction in stone. An examination of the many parts of Angkor Vat would show the same absence of technique in the walls of the galleries and in the gates.²

The Indo-Khmer artists employed as decorative motives the Nāga, Garuḍa, elephant and lion. The Nāga is used by the Cambodian decorators as an invention in the parapet. They give to the head of the Nāga such a gracious curve that its body reposes on the *balustres*. The Nāga is also often met with in India in numerous bas-reliefs. But the Indo-Cambodian artists improved upon the Indian model in a remarkable fashion in utilising it as the motive for sculptural decoration.³

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

In the Cambodian decorations, the number of heads of the Nāgas vary from three to eleven. There is one figure of Nāga, which is associated with Garuḍa. It seems to have fourteen heads, but in reality there are two Nāgas, one with three heads and the other with eleven heads. The dimensions of the head and of the body also vary according to the proportion of the surroundings. The Nāgas of Angkor Thom and of Angkor Vat have large heads. The latter are sculptured in one single block. In ornamental decoration, the Nāga is utilised for beautifying the frontons. This motive, according to M. J. Commaille, is one of the best productions of the Cambodian decorators.¹

Garuḍa is one of the principal actors in
Garuḍa. mythological scenes which are
 illustrated on the walls of Angkor.

Garuḍa is also used as a decorative figure and is seen to represent force. For instance, the small

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 29.

palace representing paradise is supported by Garuḍa. Thus, the Indo-Cambodian sculpture is inspired by the Indian heroic legends, which make this animal a symbol of force.¹

The lion is frequently used as the decorative motive in the Cambodian sculpture. The edifices of Angkor utilised for their exterior decoration numerous statues of lions. It should, however, be remembered that the Cambodian artists never saw the lion (*siṅ*), so there might be defects in the execution of the statues. They only knew the lion by oral tradition and not by actual sight.² The elephant is also used in the exterior decoration of the edifices. They are used in the *Phimānakas*.³

In his book *Inventaire*, M. E. Lunet de Lajonquiere divides the *linteaux decoratifs* into five types. They are :

¹ *Inventaire*, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Type I—One of the most common styles may be termed under the denomination of *linteau decoratif* of *makaras* of which we get a representation in Fig. 194 of his book. In the lower part are the figures of *chapiteaux* under which are the columns. On each of the *chapiteaux* are placed the *makaras*, in the form of monsters. The God who figures in the *linteaux* of this type is always Indra.¹

Type II—The second type, though very rare, presents similar dispositions and is perhaps only a modification of the first. There is found the same *chapiteaux*, but the *makaras* only have disappeared. They are replaced by flowers. The three medallions are also accordingly modified and do not present any figure like the first type. The *linteaux decoratifs* of this type are often supported by the columns. We have an example of this type in Fig. 34 of the *Inventaire*.

¹ Introduction, p. LXXIX.

Type III—The third type is very common. In the centre, a head of the monster is represented (Fig. 35). It supports a *socle* on which is represented either in a sitting or standing posture a Brahmanic divinity, whose attributes are indistinct and identification impossible. Sometimes, we also have the figures of cavaliers, dancers, adorators, lions and other fantastic animals in these decorations.

This type is modified in two manners. The head of the monster supporting the figure of some divinity is replaced by an elephant supporting a representation of the God Indra. The group of Indra on the elephant is sometimes replaced, but very rarely, by that of Śiva on Nandin, of Brahmā on the bird (Hamsa), of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa or of Viṣṇu Narasimha, the rest of the decoration remaining identical.

Type IV—The fourth type comprises the *linteaux decoratifs* of scenes relating to great

personages without ornamentation. They represent the scenes of the churning of ocean, of Viṣṇu lying on Ananta or the episodes of the *Ramayana* as at Chan Lu'ng, Pring Chrom and Kuk Khvet. Unfortunately these bas-reliefs are of mediocre value and without any expression. They cannot be compared, says a French scholar, with the fine sculptures which decorate the monuments of Java, specially of Parambanam.¹

Type V—The fifth type consists of decorative *linteaux* ornamented with leaves, as that of Kvan Pi (Fig. 111). Of these, the decoration has as the principal motive an ornamented human figure.

Thus it seems that the decorative art of Cambodia got its inspiration from Indian art and grew up under the influence of the Indian artists, who crossed over to Cambodia. Like the Indian artists, the Indo-Khmer artists

¹ Introductions, p. LXXXIV.

used the Nāga, Garuḍa, *makara*, elephant and lion as decorative motives. In many cases, they also used the figures of Indra on the elephant, Śiva on Nandin, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa and Brahmā on his Haṃsa. They tried to follow the examples of their Indian *gurus*, but in many cases, they could not give the finishing touch of a genius. The Indo-Cambodian decorations were also a little modified by local influence.

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CHAPTER XX

ANGKOR VAT

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THE most beautiful remains of the Indo-Khmer art and sculpture is Angkor Vat. It has been recognised as the masterpiece of the monuments in Cambodia. It was during the reign of Sūryavarman II that the Brahman Divakara by royal order “began the building of what is the masterpiece of Khmer architecture, Angkor-Vat”.¹

The term Angkor Vat comes from a Sanskrit word. Angkor Vat (=Aṅgar Vāt) is the corruption of Nokor Vat (=Nagar Vat), which

¹ Angkor : *Ruins in Cambodia*, p. 44.

is derived from the Sanskrit *nagaravāṭa* meaning the Buddhist monastery of the royal city. Angkor Vat, therefore, signifies the royal pagoda of the capital of the kingdom. In the inscriptions, which confuse the capital with its great Buddhist temple, we have expressions like this: *Indipāt pūrin nagar vāt sthān*.¹

This Angkor Vat or this "Temple of the City" has attracted the attention of numberless scholars and travellers. The first French scholar who was attracted to this splendid monument is Doudart de Lagrée, who made *moulages* of the temple (in 1863-1866) which were exhibited at Paris in 1867. The Indo-Chinese museum of Trocadéro possesses a good collection of *moulages* of M. Delaporte. They are intelligently chosen and give the essentials necessary for a thorough study of the bas-reliefs. The Aymonier mission took *estampages* of the bas-reliefs of the southern gallery of the

¹ *Le Cambodge*, III, p. 183.

temple. The Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin acquired a good collection of *moulages* in 1904.

Several photographs of the galleries of Angkor Vat were taken by many scholars. In 1866 J. Thompson took photographs and published them under the title of *Antiquities of Cambodia* (Edinburgh, 1867). Works dealing with Cambodia generally published reproductions of the temple. The reproductions given in the works of Garnier, of Moura, of Delaporte and of Aymonier are not of great artistic execution. Lastly, M. Beylié has rendered to Cambodian archæology an inestimable service by taking photographs of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat in 1909.¹

Angkor Vat was situated on the south of the ancient capital Angkor Thom and at 5,000 mètres to the north of Siem Réap. There is a moat about two hundred and twenty yards

¹ *B. C. A. I.*, 1911, p. 171.

broad around Angkor Vat. This moat is said to surround the enceinte, which stretches for two and a half miles on a rectangular plan. The moat is to be crossed in the west by the main causeway. The images of lions are seen in the pathway.¹ From the bridge one comes directly to the chief entrance of the temple Angkor Vat. "The enceinte is open in the centre of each of its sides with monumental gates; of these the northern, southern and eastern are by much the smallest, yet consist of several rooms, and an ordinary earthen bank, perhaps added at a more recent date, is a means of reaching the eastern from the outside. But the western gate would be enough to form a glorious shrine by itself. It is only the antechamber, if one may thus express it, of the largest monument in the world, yet it measures one and a half times the breadth of the moat and comprises three ways for

¹ *Angkor*, p. 242.

foot-passengers and two porches for chariots and elephants.”¹

We get a beautiful pen-picture of the splendid temple from the pen of the French savant M. Foucher. We quote the following from his account: “The rectangular ditch which makes it an island, and could have made it a fortress, is more than 200 yards wide and three and a half miles long. On the principal facade (looking, by exception, to the west), a kind of portico, 250 yards long, gives access through its central tower to a stone causeway, the prolongation of the bridge which crosses the ditch; and this causeway leads through a large park, between rectangular tanks, to the main entrance of the edifice. This again consists of three rectangular galleries encased in one another, the outer one measuring externally 204 by 235 yards. All of them are vaulted by corbelling, *i.e.*, by laying horizontal courses

¹ *Angkor*, p. 243.

of stones, each slightly overlapping the lower one, till at last both sides meet at the summit.”¹

The method employed in building this temple is nothing but Indian. In Southern India we notice the same succession of rectangular enceintes as in the case of Angkor Vat. The Dravidian temples served as the example to the builders of the great temple of Cambodia. The Indian artist who made the plan of Angkor Vat and completed the building of the temple began with the model of the Dravidian temple, but considerably improved upon the Indian model. In the case of the Dravidian temples, the outer enclosures were added as an afterthought as the popularity of the temples increased. On the other hand, Angkor Vat began with a definite plan and the enclosures were not added later on. The two inner galleries rise in tiers and “the centre of each

¹ Foucher—*Influence of Indian Art on Cambodia and Java*, p. 22.

stepped terrace slightly recedes on the middle axis towards the back face". Angkor Vat is, therefore, far more imposing than any Dravidian temple. Though the Cambodian architecture is mainly pyramidal, in Angkor Vat the pyramidal form is "obscured by the slight elevation of the storeys compared with their breadth and by the elaboration of the colonnades and other edifices, which they bear". In spite of this, Angkor Vat looks like a pyramidal temple, where we have the gradual rise of the courts one above the other until the summit is reached. The summit of the central tower of Angkor Vat is 180 feet above the ground. It is, therefore, higher than the famous Javanese pyramidal temple, Borobudur, which is 100 feet high. The temple of Angkor Vat is more imposing and full of sublimity than any Dravidian temple.

Angkor Vat is well-known for its bas-reliefs in its galleries. How many galleries are there?

Angkor Vat consists of storeyed and concentric galleries, which are three in number. They are raised on bases, which are doubled in height at every higher storey. A verandah is attached to the lowest gallery, which is connected with the gallery of the second storey by covered approaches. Inside the galleries are large courts containing libraries. The measurement of the first gallery is two hundred and sixty-five yards from east to west, two hundred and twenty-four yards from north to south. The second gallery is supported by a tower at each angle. From there one passes to the central pile, round which there is a belt of galleries with interior verandahs, as well as four courts and other galleries.¹

All these galleries are sculptured by the Indo-Khmer artists with representations from the sacred books of the Hindus, specially from the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃsa*.

¹ *Angkor*, pp. 246-247.

Some writers like Sir Charles Elliot think that there is too much of decoration in Angkor Vat. He holds that the reliefs in the great corridors of Angkor are purely decorative, and as decoration the work of the artist is successful. But he thinks that the attempt to follow the battles of the *Rāmāyana* or the churning of the sea soon becomes a tedious task, for there is little individuality or inspiration in the figures.¹ But Angkor Vat, as pointed out by another writer, has no ornamentation that can be taken as an end in itself, such as one expects to find too often in India and Java. It is also argued that the said ornamentation is always maintained within the limits of its usefulness; it is always adapted to the piece of construction it is meant to adorn. It should also be admitted that it does not shock by too great an intensity of relief, or by a confusion, which might impair the grandeur of the architectural

¹ Elliot.

entirety.¹ In discussing the drawing of volutes and of curves in Angkor Vat, the same writer continues to remark that the Khmer artist possessed the imagination of the Gothic worker, the gift for harmonious charm of the Greek, the power of the Renaissance craftsman, and that prodigality and wealth of ideas that can exist only in the East.²

In 1911 M. G. Cœdès tried to identify the scenes of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat. He examined not less than thirty-two, of which he identified thirty. He gives the result of his research in his article on *Les Bas-reliefs D'angkor-Vat*. In the bas-reliefs we have scenes from the *Rāmāyana* as well as from the *Mahābhārata*. They are, however, mainly Vaiṣṇavite in character, though there are some Saiva scenes too. M. G. Cœdès classifies the bas-reliefs thus :

¹ *Angkor*.

² *B.C.A.I.*, 1911, p. 170.

(A) The battle of the *Mahābhārata*, with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa in the first rank of the combatants.

(B) Eleven episodes of the *Rāmāyana* :

- (1) the trial of the bow,
- (2) the death of Virādha,
- (3) Rāma pursuing Mārīca,
- (4) the death of Kabandha,
- (5) the alliance of Rāma with Sugrīva,
- (6) the duel between Vālin and Sugrīva,
- (7) the interview of Hanumat with Sītā in Laṅkā,
- (8) the alliance of Rāma with Vibhīṣaṇa,
- (9) the great fight,
- (10) the ordeal of Sītā,
- (11) the return of Rāma in the Puṣpaka chariot.

(C) Five episodes of the Kṛṣṇa legend :

- (1) two *arjūnas*,
- (2) Govardhana lifted up,
- (3) the battle with the army of Naraka,

- (4) the conquest of Maṇiparvata,
- (5) the battle with Bāṇa.

(D) Four other scenes taken from classical legends (mainly Vaiṣṇavite) :

- (1) the sleep of Viṣṇu,
- (2 and 3) two representations of the churning, (4) the fight of the Devas and Asuras.

(E) Four other scenes, not identified, but in which Viṣṇu plays the principal role.

(F) Three scenes consecrated to Śiva . Kāma reduced to ashes, Rāvaṇa overwhelmed and an unknown scene.

(G) The representation of heavens and hells.

(H) The review of Parama Viṣṇuloka.

Thus we have 29 scenes as depicted in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat. These bas-reliefs may be said to be chiefly Vaiṣṇavite. We have two scenes identified as Śaivite. Those two scenes may also be explained as belonging

to, the Vaiṣṇava group. The story of Kāma being burnt to ashes by Śiva may be said to belong to the Viṣṇu legend, because Kāma after his death was born again as Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa and of Rukmiṇī. Again, Rāvaṇa's adventure is connected with the story of *Rāmāyana*, in which Rāma (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu) plays the chief part.¹

The bas-reliefs of the great gallery of Angkor Vat constitute only a part of the legendary scenes sculptured on the walls of the temple. They also exist on *linteaux frontons* and the bases of pilasters. Many of these sculptures are ruined. The frontons and *linteaux* have been described in detail by Mm. Moura and Aymonier.

In the bas-reliefs, the Gods or the heroes of the legends could be easily identified. For instance, in the scene of the churning of the ocean, one can distinguish without

¹ *B.C.A.I.*, 1911, pp. 209-210.

any difficulty the serpent Vāsuki, the mountain Mahendra, Viṣṇu, the Devas and Asuras. The head of Śrī and of the horse Uccaiḥsravas can also be seen clearly. Again, take the two Śaivaite scenes: Śiva dancing between Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Gaṇesa. Above is the famous episode of the *Mahābhārata*, frequently utilised by the sculptors, specially at Bāyon and Bāpuon: Arjuna fighting with Śiva under the guise of a *Kirāta*. We have also episodes from the *Rāmāyana*, such as the fight between Vālin and Sugrīva and the intervention of Rāma resulting in the death of Vālin, mourned by his queen. The death of Vālin is also a favourite theme with the sculptors of Angkor Vat.

Other scenes in the bas-reliefs are :

I. *Rāmāyana* :

- (1) Rāma and Lakṣmana bound by Indrajit.

- (2) Kumbhakarna attacked by the monkeys.
- (3) Hanumat bringing the mountain Mahodaya.

II. *Kṛṣṇa-legends* :

- (1) Kṛṣṇa bearing the mountain Govardhana.
- (2) Kṛṣṇa fighting the serpent Kālīya.
- (3) Kṛṣṇa fighting the elephant Kuvalayāpida
- (4) Kṛṣṇa fighting with the Asuras.
- (5) Viṣṇu fighting with the Asuras.
- (6) Viṣṇu on Garuḍa.¹

Angkor Vat is essentially Vaiṣṇava in character. It was originally a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, though later on the Buddhists replaced Viṣṇu by Buddhist images. The cult of Viṣṇu associated with this temple was that of *Parama Viṣṇuloka*, the divine form of a dead

¹ *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1913.

king. Who was this king? The king was certainly one of the Varmans that we know of. The choice lies between Udayādityavarman II and Sūryavarman II, but it is difficult to settle the question and fix the choice on one or the other. Udayādityavarman II reigned from A.D. 1049 to 1079, and Sūryavarman II from 1112 to 1165-1175. According to M. G. Coedés, the extreme limits between which we can place the time of the construction of the temple of Angkor Vat is A.D. 1050 and 1170.¹ *

¹ *B.C.A.I.*, 1911, p. 220.

CHAPTER XXI

ANGKOR THOM

It is necessary to distinguish between the two Angkors : Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom. The former is the famous temple of Viṣṇu in Cambodia, while the latter is the capital of Cambodia. Angkor Thom is the pronunciation of the words *Angar Dham*. *Dham* is a Khmer word meaning “great,” and *Angar* is the corruption of the Sanskrit *Nagara* meaning the capital. Thus Angkor Thom signifies “the great capital” or *Mahānagara* as we shall have it in Sanskrit. It is meant to signify the royal capital of Cambodia. It was also known as

Kambupuri (the city of elephants or the city of the sons of Kambu). The name *Yasodharapuri* was also applied to the capital, because it had been founded by the King Yasovarman. It was founded by him in the S'aka year 820 (=A.D. 898). Though it had been abandoned by the Kings Jayavarman IV and Harshavarman II for a period of eleven years, it was reoccupied by the King Rājendravarman towards 866 S'aka (A.D. 944). Excepting this short interval Angkor Thom continued to be the capital of the Khmer kings from the ninth century A.D. to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Siamese invasion took place.¹

Angkor Thom is situated to the west of the river Siem Réap and to the north of the temple of Angkor Vat. The capital is rectangular in size and covers an area of five square miles. The whole city is surrounded

¹ *Le Cambodge*, III, pp. 87-88.

with wall built of laterite. The length of the city is seven and a half miles, and inside leaning against the wall, a quantity of earth is heaped up, which served as defence. Thus, Yasovarman, the founder of Angkor Thom, rendered it "impregnable and terrifying". To this city, five gates had been built, each with a distinct name. The roads leading from these gates meet at the centre of the city, where the chief temple, the Bayon, is situated. The northern gate is called *Thvéar Ta Nouk*=*Dhvâr Tâ Nok* (*Dvâra Tâ Nok*?) meaning the "Gate of the Spirit Nok," the western gate *Thvéar Ta Kao*=*Dhvâr Tâ Kao*, meaning the "Gate of the Spirit Kao". These two gates are, therefore, known after the spirits Nok and Kao. The northern gate is the *Thvéar Toulé Om*=*Dhvâr Danle Uru*, meaning the "Gate of the Lake," the north-eastern gate is *Thvéar Chéi*=*Dhvâr Jai* or the "Gate of Victory," and that of the east is

Thvéar Khmoch = *Dhvār Khmor* or the "Gate of the Dead".¹

Near the first gate along the causeway, there are remnants of gorgeous balustrades. Once there were no less than one hundred and eight giants on the balustrades holding under their arms two frightful *Nāgas*. Now, only five giants of the balustrades might be seen. These five giants are "crowned with pointed *mukutas*, their ears, necks, wrists and ankles covered with jewels".²

To describe the royal place in Angkor Thom, one has to take into consideration the "elephants' terrace," which covers the eastern side of the place. This terrace is a rectangle of about one hundred and eighty-two thousand square yards. The gateway of the palace is pure in style and is considered as one of the gems of the capital.

¹ Le Cambodge, III, p. 91.

² *Angkor*, pp. 56-57.

We are fortunate in having the account of Angkor from the pen of the Chinese ambassador Tcheou-Takouan, who had been sent by the Emperor Tcheng-Song to Angkor in 1296. He says that the gates of the city were surmounted by five heads of Buddha, the middle one being ornamented with gold. The gates were open to all except "dogs and criminals who had their toes cut off". Just at the centre of Angkor Thom is the temple Bayon, which is called by him the "Tower of Gold". In that temple around the main dome there were twenty towers of stone and hundreds of stone cells. On the eastern face, the Chinese traveller noticed a bridge of gold (perhaps the terrace) with two golden lions on either side. At the base of the stone rooms there were eight Buddhas of gold. It should be noted here that every statue to him appeared as that of Buddha. So we always find mention of the Buddhas and not of any other image.

Besides the temple of Bayon, there was another—the temple of Baphuon, which the Chinese traveller called the “Copper Tower”. He says that it was of greater height than the “Tower of Gold,” *i.e.*, the Bayon. Besides these temples inside the city of Angkor Thom, there were others outside the city. In one such temple, there was a sleeping Buddha in bronze, whose navel formed a running stream. Another temple was situated five *lis* from the city and contained a gold Buddha, a bronze elephant, a bronze ox and a bronze horse.¹

The Chinese traveller then continues to give a description of the palace. He says: “The palace, official dwellings and noble houses are all set towards the east. The tiles of private apartments are made of lead; those of the other buildings are of clay and yellow. The piers of the bridge are enormous; Buddhas

¹ *Angkor*, p. 156.

are sculptured and painted there. The main building is magnificent; the long verandahs, the covered corridors are bold and irregular, without great symmetry. The Hall of Council has windows with gold frames; on the right and on the left are found square columns carrying from forty to fifty mirrors, arranged on the sides of the windows; underneath elephants are represented. I have heard it said that in the interior of the palace there are many marvellous places, but the defences are very severe and it is impossible to go inside it.”¹

It is necessary to give an account of the two other temples of Angkor Thom—the Copper Tower and the Gold Tower, as the Chinese traveller called them.

In Cambodia we have three temples with bas-reliefs, namely, the Bayon, Banteai Chma, eighty-five miles north of Battambang, and

¹ *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1902.

Angkor Vat. Of these the first two are earlier than Angkor Vat. The Bayon was dedicated to Siva. The design of this temple is of a number of tiers decreasing in size as they increase in height. It rises like a pyramid. The first precincts was a rectangular wall. There were two gates 'placed in the exact line running between the Gate of the Dead and the Western Gate of Angkor Thom'. Inside the wall, was a small park, as well as terraces. The second enclosure is the first tier of the pyramidal temple. On the walls of the galleries, we meet with bas-reliefs, which are intact and look like 'a book dealing with the life and beliefs of the nation'. In the bas-reliefs, we not only see the Apsaras dancing, but also pictures of daily life. The second storey is more complicated than the first. We also come across in the galleries some bas-reliefs of war, peace and religion. "The sanctuary is a dark, oval room with plain walls; it has four doors,

and around it stretches a passage topped by a vault at a great height and without windows or any openings for light.”¹

The holy of holies is in the centre of the topmost storey, which can be reached by a gradual accession. Like the temple of Angkor Vat, the Bayon is also pyramidal in shape. It reminds one more of the *gopuram* of South India. The temples of Cambodia, in one way, are improvements on the South Indian *gopurams*.

The bas-reliefs of Bayon are noteworthy like those of Angkor-Vat. It must not be assumed that all the bas-reliefs are works of artists of high merit. They are some which are of ordinary type. But there are others of a high order. An art-critic thinks that some scenes are so life-like and so true that one cannot believe that the men who used rough tools to fashion these wonders had not

¹ *Angkor*, p. 85.

previously made sketches during their rambles. He continues to say that everything they wished to convey is as intelligible as if they had supplemented the figures with complete inscriptions, and this, no doubt, was what they were particularly ordered to achieve. Most of the scenes have a precious finish. The entire series, which stretches for over half-a-mile, reveals a startling evenness of merit.¹

The other temple of Angkor Thom is the Baphuon, visited by the Chinese ambassador Tcheon-Ta-Kouan in 1296. He says that the Baphuon was then known as the Copper Tower and was higher than the Tower of Gold or the Bayon. It was built by Jayavarman V, who ruled from A.D. 968 to 1002. It is also pyramidal in shape and consists of a series of three storeys raised higher and higher ending with a lofty dome. There are long galleries attached to these three terraces. Every storey would

¹ *Angkor*, p. 98.

increase in height as it proceeded higher from the ground—from thirteen feet of the first, to twenty-three of the second and thirty-three of the third storey. Each storey has eight towers, four at the angles and four at the centres of galleries. The holy of holies, perhaps a *linga*, was under the central dome.¹

The royal capital of Angkor Thom continued to flourish until the rise of Siam as an independent power. With the Siamese invasion in the fourteenth century, the inhabitants of Angkor Thom began to desert the magnificent city. As the Cambodian royal power began to decline from the fourteenth century, the Cambodian kings did not pay much attention to the capital Angkor Thom. They deserted the capital, which soon began to lose much of its attraction. Gradually, the later Cambodian kings, who were dependent on the Siamese kings, built another capital at Phenomphen. Thus deserted

¹ *Angkor*, p. 135.

both by the Cambodian kings and people, the city of Angkor Thom fell an easy prey to the damp, heat, white ants and to natural vegetation. Though the old splendour and magnificence of Angkor Thom has disappeared, yet still it attracts scholars and travellers alike.

CHAPTER XXII

CAMBODIAN PALI MANUSCRIPTS

THE religion of Cambodia at the present day is Buddhism. It is, therefore, quite natural that the Buddhist literature should also flourish there. In the early days, it was Hinduism that became supreme in Cambodia. With the fall of the ancient kingdom of Cambodia, Hinduism also declined. As Siam began to rise, she conquered a large part of the ancient Cambodia. Siam began to profess Buddhism, which received a great impetus from the Ceylonese Buddhists. Buddhism in Siam was, therefore, like the Ceylonese Buddhism, of the Hīnayāna school. Gradually the Buddhism from

Siam spread over Cambodia. Even at the present day, she professes that religion. Her literature also became the Pali literature.

In 1912 M. G. Coédés was deputed to search for the Buddhist manuscripts available in Cambodian pagodas. For that purpose, he came to Phnom Pen, the modern capital of Cambodia. The French Resident Superior had issued a circular to Samdee Prah Mohasaṅkhrac and Somdec Prah Monkol, respective chiefs of the Mohānikay and Thommayut sects, to make a catalogue of their *Sāstras* following a given model indicating the number of fascicules, language employed and contents of each text. The monks responded enthusiastically to this appeal and the *Ecole Française* has now in its possession 1,200 Cambodian manuscripts.

As the result of this search for Cambodian Mss., M. G. Coédés came to the conclusion that the majority of Pali manuscripts of Cambodia is native of Siam or has been copied from the

Siamese original : the two countries are closely related in respect of religion and religious literature. The Pali literature of Cambodia, that is of Laos and Siam, contains works, which escaped the attention of Mrs. Bode, the historian of Pali literature in Burma. Some of the Pali works of Cambodia are :

(1) A series of commentaries (*atthayojanā*) of various *atthakathās* of Buddhaghosa, written at Xieng-Mai about 1495 by Ñānakitti, who is also author of *Kaccāyanarupadipani*.

(2) *Maṅgaladipani*, the commentary of *Mahā-maṅgalasutta* (*Sutta-nipātā*, II, 4) by Sirimangala (1524).

(3) *Pathamasambodhi*, an account of Buddha's life, written at Bangkok under the supervision of Phra Paramanuxit Xinorot. It is regarded as a classical work of the Buddhists.

(4) *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*, composed by Bimalladhamma in Siam in 1788, traces the development of Buddhism in Siam.

(5) *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa*, a rare work, only an incomplete copy is found with Praḥ Mohaphimon in Cambodia.

The library of *Ecole Française* contains the following Pali manuscripts of Cambodia :

- (1) *Visudhimagga*, 1st Part.
- (2) *Visudhimagga*, 2nd Part.
- (3) *Pālimuttakavinayavinicetaya*.
- (4) Its *Tīkā*.
- (5) *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*Silakkhandā* of *Dīghanikāya*).
- (6) *Papañcasudānī* (*Uparipaṇṇāsa* of *Majjhimanikāya*).
- (7) *Maṅgaladīpanī*.
- (8) *Dhammapadōtṭhakathā*, 1st Part.
- (9) *Phāṇ Vāṇ* (=Bhāṇavāra), comprising *Pātimokkha* and other books.
- (10) *Abhidhamma*.
- (11) *Abhidhammathasaṅgaha*.
- (12) *Abhidhammathavibhāvanī*.
- (13) Its *Yoganā*.

- (14) *Mūlakaccāyana*.
- (15) *Pathamasambodhi*.
- (16) *Sārasaṅgaha*.
- (17) *Suttajātakanidānānisam̐sa*.
- (18) *Sakkaṭṭapubbam̐, Mahārājapubbam̐*.¹

¹ *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1912, pp. 178-179.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
CAMBODIAN KINGS

- (1) Kambu Svāyambhuva.
- (2) Śrutavarman.
- (3) Śresthavarman.
- (4) Rudravarman.
- (5) Bhavarman.
- (6) Mahendravarman, A.D. 604-627.
- (7) Īsanavarman, 627.
- (8) Bhavarman II, 639.
- (9) Jayavarman I, 665.
- (10) Jayavarman II, 802—C. 820.
- (11) Jayavarman III, C. 802—C. 840.
- (12) Rudravarman II, C. 840—860.
- (13) Pr̥thivīndravarman, 860—877.

- (14) Indravarman I, 877—889.
- (15) Yasovarman, 889—910.
- (16) Īsānavarman, 910—912.
- (17) Harshavarman I, 912—928.
- (18) Jayavarman IV, 928—942.
- (19) Harshavarman II, 942—944.
- (20) Rājendravarman, 944—968.
- (21) Jayavarman V, 968—1001.
- (22) Udayādityavarman I, 1001—1002.
- (23) Jayavīravarman, 1002.
- (24) Suryavarman I, 1002—1049.
- (25) Udayādityavarman, 1049—1052.
- (26) Harshavarman III, 1052—1066.
- (27) Udayārkaavarman, 1066.
- (28) Jayavarman VI, 1090 (?)
- (29) Dharanīndravarmān, 1109—1112.
- (30) Suryavarman II (1112—1152).
- (31) Dharanīndravarmān II, 1152—1182.
- (32) Jayavarman VII, 1182—1201.

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