

R esolving the Chronology and History of 9th Century Cambodia

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In his article “Considerations on the Chronology and History of 9th Century Cambodia” Dr. Karl-Heinz Golzio has performed a useful service in calling to our attention the defects in the conventional wisdom syntheses surrounding the time of Jayavarman II-III. His total reliance on Sanskrit inscriptions, however, and neglect of Khmer, has prevented him from reaching the best solutions; for R-jendrarvarman he relies exclusively on the Pre Rup inscription, whereas other of that king’s genealogical records show different lines of descent; and the final two paragraphs exhibit confusion about the significance of certain dates.

First, Golzio is quite correct in insisting that the sources for the almost hagiographic biography of Jayavarman II all date from two centuries or later than his period in the 8th-9th centuries, while “in earlier inscriptions Jayavarman II is no extraordinary king who as a hero liberated his country from foreign sovereignty. He is only one king in a line of other kings”, although even in those sources, he is of some special importance “as it was Jayavarman II who founded the nucleus of the later capital Angkor”.

Then, the heart of Golzio’s argument is that “Coedès and his successors did omit [sic] or suppress the kings between Jayavarman III and Indravarman I, viz. Rudravarman and P@hivindravarman”. They, in Indravarman’s inscriptions at Roluos, appear as his father and maternal grandfather; and Golzio avers that they were “‘normal’ kings [and] there is no reason to believe that those rulers were only royal kinsfolk”.

First, if these two ‘normal’ kings were ‘omitted’ and ‘suppressed’, it was not only by Coedès and his successors, but by all of the subsequent Angkor royalty and record keepers. After the inscriptions of Indravarman and his son Yaḅvarman at Preah Ko and Lolei they never appear again. To be sure there are mysterious references to a Rudravarman

who was not the one of Funan in the 6th century, and in at least one case he fits a time slot which could be construed as that of Indravarman’s grandfather, but these late references are no more convincing than the late biographies of Jayavarman II.¹

Golzio has started with an assumption that they must have been real kings, and has gone on from there to criticize accordingly the dates generally associated with Jayavarman II and III. The latter is a worthy effort, for there is indeed much confusion, together with unverified and unverifiable speculation, in the different treatments of those kings, but this is true regardless of how P@hivindravarman and Rudravarman are situated, and resolution of the Jayavarman problems does not help to resolve their case.

Moreover in the genealogies and other records of Indravarman, Yaḅvarman and R-jendrarvarman there are other ‘—varman’ names which do not differ in form from names of kings whom all recognize as ‘real’ or ‘normal’; and if P@hivindravarman and Rudravarman are to be accorded true king status, so should several others.

Just to take names found in inscriptions more or less contemporary with their presumed lifetimes, ignoring the generations going back beyond parents and grandparents of Jayavarman II-III, Indravarman, Yaḅvarman, and R-jendrarvarman, there is King Jayendr-dhipativarman, an uncle (mother’s brother) of Jayavarman II (K.809); and this relationship, seen in comparison with genealogies of elite families in Angkor, suggests that Jayavarman inherited some kind of special status from him. There are also *dhūli jeḍ vra^o kamrateḍ añ b̄ri* Jayendravarman, whose titles are really those of a king, and, probably, his consort, *vra^o kamrateḍ añ* Jayendradevī in K.325 and K.326 D in Roluos. They were probably close relatives of Indravarman and Yaḅvarman. Nearly as high in royal rank was *dhūli jeḍ vra^o kamrateḍ*

añ ĩri ĩᅇvararmma in K.314, also in Roluos².

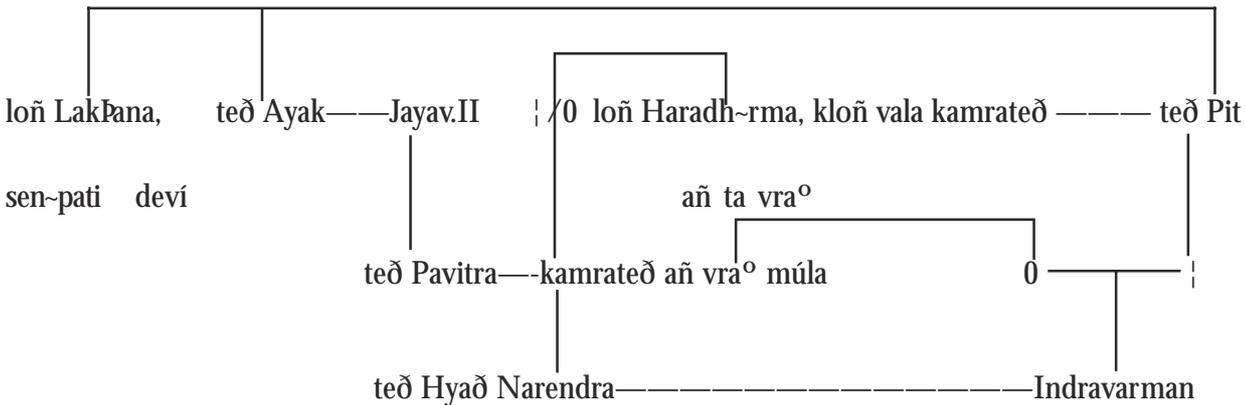
As I showed in an article several years ago, those —*varman* ancestors of Indravarman may easily be explained as post-humous upgrading of the king’s parents, which perhaps already occurred within their lifetimes. Such procedures are known world wide, when new rulers accede to positions superior to those of their ancestors.³

There is a check on Indravarman’s claims about his immediate ancestors in the Khmer inscription K.956 of Vat Saᅇrōᅇ in Ba Phnom. It is the record of an official family apparently written just after the reign of Yaᅇvarman (889-900), that is, by people who had lived during Indravarman’s reign.⁴ Its authors state that in the time of Jayavarman II they had three ancestors on their mother’s, and her mother’s, side - two females and one male, presumably siblings, though this is not stated. The male was a general (*sen-pati*); one female, Teᅇ Ayak, was a queen (*devi*) taken (*kaᅇᅇta*) in, or from, Bhavapura; and the other married a *khloñ vala* (‘chief of troops, or personnel’) of a *kamrateᅇ añ ta vra^o* (a high royal, official, or sacerdotal title) who (the *khloñ vala*) was an ancestor (*aji*) of Indravarman. Jayavarman II brought them from Bhavapura and engendered six children.⁵ Contrary to Coedès’ hesitation in attributing parentage to the children, they can only be the children of Te Ayak and Jayavarman II, since the marriage and family of the other female are treated separately; and this answers the question whether she was queen of Jayavarman II or of another king of Bhavapura. She was queen of Jayavarman II in Bhavapura, or whom he took in/from Bhavapura.⁶ This is a definitive answer to the question of whether Bhavapura was an independent kingdom until R-jendravarman.⁷ It was not, as should have been clear already from the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, in which the family responsible for that inscription wrote that their ancestors of the lineage (*sant-na*) of

Aninditapura were given land in Indrapura by the chief (*kuruᅇ*) of Bhavapura, implicitly at a time when Bhavapura, located at Ampil Rolu’m not far from Sambor Prei Kuk (ĩᅇ-*napura*), would have been under its own family of *-ditya* kings, and not long before the Sdok Kak Thom family joined Jayavarman II, at which time Hirayadma, brother of one of the Bhavapura *-ditya* kings, also followed Jayavarman, and later became officiant at the famous rites on Mahendraparvata, Phnom Kulen.⁸ All of this is sufficient to show that Jayavarman II acquired dominance over Bhavapura early in his career before proceeding to Angkor. If, as the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom says, he ruled in Indrapura, where the ruler of Bhavapura could distribute land to favorites, then certainly Bhavapura had also joined him.⁹

Inscription K.956 then takes the family through three generations in which Indravarman is not only a descendant of one of that family, but also marries a granddaughter of Teᅇ Ayak and Jayavarman II. This can be seen most clearly in schematic form, which shows Indravarman solidly situated in a family both descended from, and related by marriage to, Jayavarman II. The only difference from Coedès’ schema for K.956, within the area of comparability, is to make explicit the marriage of Teᅇ Ayak and Jayavarman II and their parentage of Teᅇ Pavitra, and to insert Indravarman and his father. Although *aji*, the specified relationship of Loñ Haradh-rma to Indravarman, may mean any ancestor beyond the father’s generation, the time span means he must in fact have been grandfather.

Although all of this is clear in Coedès’ translation, he did not discuss it nor direct the reader to its implications, and in his genealogical table he disguised it, no doubt shocked at the way this inscription, studied near the end of his career, exploded the official genealogies which he and his cohorts had so carefully developed over the years.¹⁰



Here then is the ‘secret history’ of Indravarman’s family. It is not totally incompatible with his own official genealogy. His father could still have been named ‘P@hivindravarman’, but he is unlikely to have been a ‘normal’ king; and who, or what, was the *kamrateᅇ añ ta vra^o* whom Indravarman’s paternal grandfather served as *khloñ vala*? On the other side Indravarman’s mother, and her brother the *kamrateᅇ añ vra^o múla*, another enigmatic high title, could have been

children of a ‘Rudravarman’, as in the official genealogy. The latter then, would not be incorrect, except perhaps in the status implied by the names in - *varman*, which by the 9th century no longer denoted kings exclusively, but other dignitaries as well. The official genealogy was rather deliberately incomplete. The lower ranking relatives are excised as is the connection to Jayavarman II, the maternal grandfather of one of Indravarman’s consorts as well as brother-

in-law of Indravarman's paternal grandfather. Indravarman's close connection to his predecessors' family is also emphasized in the Vat Saμroḍ text by the story of a fraternal elephant hunt on which he accompanied Jayavarman III.

The purpose of Indravarman's official genealogy was clearly not to record true ancestry, but was probably a semi-fictional claim to ancient lineage to justify his succession to the kingship over other members of his, and Jayavarman's, family. The necessity for such a claim would derive from the succession rule of the time, of which we know nothing, but which was certainly not patrilineal primogeniture, and about which we may eventually be able to make useful inferences through study of the genealogies as claims to status rather than statements of historical fact.¹¹

There is thus no need to worry about fitting Pṛthivindravarman and Rudravarman as 'normal kings' into a slot between Jayavarman III and Indravarman. Contrary to the supposition of Golzio about their status, K.956 is evidence that the existence of the parents and grandparents of Indravarman was recognized, but they were not considered to merit having their names recorded. In his official family inscriptions, Indravarman, like many dynasts the world over who were not directly descended from previous rulers, posthumously promoted his parents to royal rank.

Golzio then goes on to discuss the putative Jayavarman *Ibis*, to whom Coedès attributed inscriptions K.103/AD770 in Thbaung Khmum, Kompong Cham and K.134/AD781 near ancient Śambhupura, Kratie province. Some years ago Jacques proposed that he was really Jayavarman II, but then reverted to the old view. Golzio seems to be undecided, but as evidence in favor of Jayavarman *Ibis* = Jayavarman II, he says that the Lolei inscription "bears only two, and not three, Jayavarmans, and it seems relatively unlikely that it should not have mentioned a king who is known by his own inscriptions and who ruled in the region of Śambhupura".

Although I favor the view that Jayavarman *Ibis* was really Jayavarman II, Golzio's suggestion does not help the case. No genealogical inscription is exhaustive, while some include invented characters. Of the sixteen named ancestors beyond the parents of the ninth-tenth-century kings named in the genealogical records of Indravarman, Yaṣovarman, and R-jendravarman, none may be identified, except speculatively, with any individual known from the pre-Angkor corpus, while none of the mainstream rulers of the pre-Angkor inscriptions, or the Śambhupura dynasty recorded in K.124 of 803, or any other supra-local chief mentioned in contemporary seventh to eighth century texts finds mention in the genealogies at all.¹²

Golzio's final point concerns the dates and career of Jayavarman II who, in the standard treatment of Coedès returned from Jav~ around 800, reigned in 802, and died in 850, while Jacques, in the article identifying Jayavarman *Ibis* and II, discovered that the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman III, and hence the death of Jayavarman II, should

be imputed to 834.¹³ For Golzio, "it seems rather doubtful whether one of these dates has any value at all", and one may certainly feel sympathy for that view, but we must nevertheless try to determine what they mean in the interests of producing the best synthesis of the records for that time.

The date for the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman II depends on the decision about Jayavarman *Ibis*. If he was really Jayavarman II, the latter began his political activity with a claim to kingship in the Southeast of Cambodia in 770, united his own domain with Śambhupura in 781, was called king in 790 in an unspecified place by some later scribes at Angkor, and must be considered to have died in 834 rather than 850, in order to avoid giving him an unreasonable age of around 100 years at death.

This scenario must be either accepted or rejected, for the written dates in those inscriptions are not in doubt. Acceptance depends on accepting 834, rather than 850, as the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman III, and those dates are found in contexts about which both Coedès and Jacques changed their minds twice each.

The controversial passage is in inscription K.521, and the date was difficult to read. Coedès first thought it was *śaka* 791/AD 869 and that Jayavarman III had then been king for 16 years. Later Coedès re-read the date as 772/850, but revised his translation to 'age 16' when Jayavarman III became king. He was influenced in this by K.834, which stated clearly that Jayavarman III ruled in 850. Inscription K.834, however, is a faked text. Much of the original text was cut away and replaced by new text, in which names of kings and dates were changed, and its fakery is plain in that it makes brothers of 13 officials who served a succession of kings for over 200 years. It will not do to accept, as Coedès did, that "the substitution of one king for another led to a corresponding substitution of date... which is rather proof of the accuracy of the date". The erroneous information is so overwhelming that no detail of this inscription may be taken as valid, as was the conclusion of Claude Jacques.¹⁴

Claude Jacques, in his "La carrière" decided on the reading 'had reigned for 16 years' in 850, then, apparently changed his view, although not explicitly, nor with any explanation (see further below).

It is time now to end this confusion. The sentence in question is simple Khmer, and cannot mean anything but 'reigned for 16 years'; and there is adequate confirmation in other structurally similar phrases in other inscriptions which Coedès consistently read as referring to a period of past time, not the age of the protagonist.¹⁵

K.521: *sveyr-ja* | *chn-μ* | *tap pramv-y*
reigned years sixteen

K697: *vraḍ p-da kamrateḍ añ* | *svey vra^o r-jya* | *chn-μ* | *vyar*
the king reigned years two

Coedès: "His Majesty, in the second year of his reign..."

K353: *khloñ vala addhy-paka* | *thve sre no^o* | *chn-μ* | *dap piy*
(official title) cultivated that rice field years 13

Coedès: “the chief of the population, professor, cultivated this rice field for 13 years”

K235: *Sdok Kak Thom: man vra^o | svey r-ja | chn-μ | 2 gu^o*
when the king had reigned years 2 just

Coedès: “when H.M. had enjoyed royal power (during) two years only”

It is interesting that Khmers today, for instance my students in the Faculty of Archaeology in Phnom Penh, have no doubt about the meaning of the phrase in K.521, and laugh at any suggestion that it could mean the king’s age, at least until some of them in the 3rd and 4th levels have been brainwashed to believe that nothing Coedès wrote may be challenged. Among the latter there are some who insist that it could also mean age, but they are unable to explain how that fits with the structurally identical phrases from other inscriptions, which Coedès agreed meant periods of time, not age.¹⁶

Golzio unnecessarily confused the issue of the dates of Jayavarman III with his remark that “there are other inscriptions mentioning Jayavarman III which contradict his accession date”, and offering K.175 as an example. In that inscription there is no date for the reign of Jayavarman III, who is identified without doubt by his posthumous name *viññuloka*. The inscription simply refers to an event of his reign. The date which Golzio says should be *ḥaka* 902/AD 980 is the date of the inscription in the reign of Jayavarman V. Golzio’s other example concerning Jayavarman III is equally peculiar. The date associated with Jayavarman III in K.774, *ḥaka* 782/AD860-1, refers to an event in his reign, not his accession, and it fits his reign period whether dated from 850 or 834.¹⁷ Golzio’s further remarks about the reign of Jayavarman V are quite irrelevant. The dates in question have nothing to do with his accession, but refer to events within his reign, and thus the date ‘891’ “is [not] in any case wrong”. Of course ‘791’ for that context is wrong, and, *pace* Golzio, Coedès was quite right to revise Aymonier’s reading.¹⁸

Now where does this leave us with “the chronology and history of 9th century Cambodia”, especially if Jayavarman Ibis was Jayavarman II who died and left the throne to Jayavarman III in 834.

The outline of the conventional view *à la* Coedès has been stated above; and since then Claude Jacques has offered three different modifications.

First, in “La carrière de Jayavarman II”, he wrote that soon after his arrival in Cambodia, around AD 770, Jayavarman took power in Indrapura, and probably reigned over Vy-dhapura too; then he took over the kingdom of Śambhupura; after that, between 780 and 802, occurred the conquest of Bhavapura, perhaps, of the kingdom of Aninditapura, which Jacques believed was centered in the region of Angkor, Kuḷi east of Angkor, Harihar-laya, and Amarendrapura in Battambang.¹⁹

Then a few years later, Jacques wrote, “around 770 [AD] a

young prince... seized the kingdom of Vy-dhapura in the Southeast of Cambodia, then that of Śambhupura, to the North of the former, both on the left bank of the Mekong. This prince, who was Jayavarman II, then installed his capital at Indrapura, a site which has been recognized with a certain degree of probability to the east of modern Kompong Cham, that is, between the two conquered kingdoms”.²⁰

Unfortunately, Jacques did not provide notes on his sources, nor explanations for his conclusions, which are very important. We should take note of certain details, such as the words ‘seize’, ‘kingdom’, ‘conquered’.

The date 770 comes from inscription K.103 with a single line legible recording the existence of a king Jayavarman. This inscription was found not far from an ancient walled city now called ‘Banteay Prei Nokor’, where the single pre-Angkor inscription naming Vy-dhapura (K.109/AD 655.) was also found.²¹

But, to say that the prince named Jayavarman in K.103 and K.134 (Śambhupura) ‘seized’ the ‘kingdoms’ of Vy-dhapura (and Śambhupura) goes far beyond the content of the inscriptions. For the first, the hypothesis must be limited to the supposition that Jayavarman II began his career in a locality which may be called ‘Vy-dhapura’, which was perhaps his own country. For the second, nothing permits the conclusion that Vy-dhapura at that time, the end of the 8th century, was a kingdom, unless it be argued that the point is proved by that very K.103 inscription of Jayavarman. Inscription K.109, the only evidence for the existence of Vy-dhapura in the pre-Angkor period (before the 9th century) indicates that Vy-dhapura was only a chiefdom headed by a *kur-k kloñ*, a title which is poorly understood but which was apparently of second rank, although in the Sanskrit part of his inscription he promoted himself to the status of *vy-dhapurevara*, which may be translated as ‘seigneur of Vy-dhapura’.²²

As for Śambhupura, the supposed relations between it and Jayavarman II derive from inscription K.134/AD781 found in the region of ancient Śambhupura, not far to the north of Kratie. But neither does it allow the interpretation ‘seize’. At the time Śambhupura was ruled by its own dynasty of queens passing the throne from mother to daughter until 803, at least, and if Jayavarman II was able to put up an inscription calling himself ‘king’, there is a strong chance that, as was understood by Pierre Dupont, he married one of the queens.²³

Then, according to Jacques, after having united Vy-dhapura and Śambhupura, Jayavarman “installed his capital at Indrapura”. This hypothesis concerning Indrapura is based on the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (K.235/1052), which says nothing about either Vy-dhapura or Śambhupura. Accepting that it is legitimate for a historian to synthesize data from K.103, K.134, and K.235, Jacques’ localization of Indrapura is nevertheless astonishing. That is, “a site which has been recognized with a certain degree of probability to

the east of modern Kompong Cham... between the two conquered kingdoms” follows the interpretation of Coedès who, without taking K.103 and K.134 into consideration, and believing that Vy-dhapura could be placed at Ba Phnom, located Indrapura at Banteay Prei Nokor, precisely at the place where Jacques implicitly proposed, and with which I am in agreement, to locate Vy-dhapura. If Vy-dhapura was really near the location of K.103 in 770, Indrapura may no longer be placed at Banteay Prei Nokor, unless it be argued that both were no more than family domains, not kingdoms or even large chiefdoms.²⁴

A still later synthesis on Jayavarman II by Claude Jacques is somewhat different. It begins in 790, when “a young prince was consecrated as king with the name Jayavarman II”. After coming from Java, which Jacques considers unidentifiable, but “certainly not the island of Java itself”, he “took power in the kingdom of Vy-dhapura”, near the modern town of Prey Veng. There he had a religious ceremony performed to free him from the control of the King of Java (K.956). At the same time or later he took over the kingdom of Śambhupura, near Sambor north of Kratie, and as his capital chose Indrapura, probably at Banteay Prei Nokor, situated on “the presumed boundary separating the two kingdoms” of Śambhupura and Vy-dhapura. Continuing his conquests northward he reached Wat Phu, then “following on the south the Dangrek chain, he finally took the kingdom of Aninditapura [location unspecified] and settled in the city of Harihar-laya”. Wishing to expand his realm westward, he founded Amarendrapura, at an unidentified location, but he must have suffered some reverses, for he soon abandoned it and settled in a city on the summit of Mahendraparvata. There, in 802, he had himself consecrated *cakravartin*. At a later date he returned to Harihar-laya where he died around 835.²⁵

Without explanation, Jacques has implicitly rejected his earlier interpretation of inscriptions K.103/770 and K.134/781 found near Vy-dhapura and Śambhupura, and there is no mention of Bhavapura. The reason for the last is clear. In order to sustain his general hypothesis of multiple Cambodian kings under a King of Kings, Jacques has decided to accept as literal truth R-jendrarvarman’s claim in the Pre Rup inscription (K.806) to be the heir of the kings of Bhavapura and himself King of Bhavapura before becoming king of Cambodia. Neither is there any evidence for ‘reverses’, nor ‘abandonment’ of Amarendrapura, which was simply a place he founded, probably in the Northwest, as part of his actions in establishing a population and a governing elite, for example the family of Sdok Kak Thom, in that rich agricultural region.²⁶

This new synthesis apparently means that inscriptions K.103 and K.134 again refer to a mysterious Jayavarman Ibis. The date of 790,

however, as the beginning of Jayavarman’s reign, is not at all solid, for the badly damaged inscription in question, K.583, says merely that Jayavarman II was ruling at that date, and the purpose of the inscription seems to be to commemorate, not Jayavarman’s accession, but a victory of Jayavarman’s son Indr-yudha over Champa. That inscription, moreover, is from the reign of R-jendrarvarman, and was merely referring to Jayavarman II and his son Indr-yudha as ancestors of the author, an official under R-jendrarvarman.²⁷ The date ‘790’ is as suspect, or as reliable, as ‘802’, but it is important as showing that in 10th-century Angkor there was another tradition about the reign of Jayavarman II.

Now in the English translation of Jacques’ *Angkor* we see one more modification, “In 790 AD a young prince became king, taking the name of Jayavarman II... He had come from ‘Java’ “where he is assumed to have been ‘held prisoner’ with his family”. He established himself first in Vy-dhapura, “in the general area of the town now called Prei Veng”. Jacques added that ‘Java’ was perhaps somewhere on the Malay peninsula, “probably not the island of Java”.²⁸

Typically, there is no scholarly apparatus, nor reference to previous detailed work which would justify these conclusions. We have to assume that they are among the “new discoveries and theories” which this translation, “thoroughly revised and updated,” was intended to “take into account”.²⁹ Golzio was quite correct to remark that the addition of “and his family” is “not derivable from any source at all”. Neither is “held prisoner”, even if it derives from a speculation of Coedès, nor ‘Malay peninsula’.

Unfortunately, Jacques has on three occasions, two of them in what are nothing but coffee-table picture books for tourists, chosen to concoct ever new and different versions of the Jayavarman II story, without telling his readers what the sources are, nor his chain of reasoning about them. This is historical romance, not history.

Finally, it may be wise to consider one of the late and unwisely neglected opinions of Coedès, written long after his histories had been set in stone, as it were. “For Angkorean epigraphy... [the reigns] of Jayavarman II and his son... constitute a semi-legendary epoch, to which the great religious families refer the origin of their sacerdotal office, and the landowners their titles to property.”³⁰ If so, why not carry this hypothesis a step further, and say that perhaps the Jayavarman II myth, a king returning from a mysterious foreign country named Java, is equivalent to the Kauṇḍinya myth of Funan, and to word-wide myths of a young foreign king from overseas marrying a daughter of a local chief and founding a dynasty?³¹



NOTE

1. There is such a reference to Rudravarman in K.136, “Stèle de Lovek”, M.A. Barth and Abel Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge; Inscriptions sanscrites de Camp-*, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Volumes 27, pt. 1, Paris 1885, number XVII, pp. 122-140. That inscription shows ancestors of Súravarman I going back to a Rudravarman at that time. Inscription K.253 (Coedès, “Les deux inscriptions de Vat Thipdei”, *Mélanges Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1911, pp. 213-29), of Vat Thipdei B, also says that Súravarman I descended from “the maternal family of Indravarman”, but without mentioning Rudravarman.

2. See Vickery, “The Khmer Inscriptions of Roluos”, *Seksa Khmer*, No. 1, nouvelle série, janvier 1999, pp.48-88

3. Vickery, “Some Remarks on Early State Formation in Cambodia”, in *South-east Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, edited by David G. Marr and A.C. Milner, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1986, pp. 95-115,

4. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, VII, 128, “Dalle de Vt Saro”.

5. Coedès emendation of the text in his translation, to say that Loñ Haradh-rma brought them, is unjustified. As it is outside the focus of this article, I do not want to discuss it here, but the title *kamrateḍ añ ta vra^o*, suggests one of the variants or predecessors of *kamrateḍ jagat ta r-ja/r-jya*, the mis-named *devar-ja*, of which the variants *kamrateḍ añ ta r-jya* and *vra^o kamrateḍ añ jagat ta r-jya* are noted in Coedès, “Le véritable fondateur du culte de la royauté divine au Cambodge”, *R.C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, Ed. by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar. Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1970; and Jacques, “The Kamrateḍ Jagat in Ancient Cambodia”, *Indus Valley to Mekong Delta Explorations in Epigraphy*, Edited by Noboru Karashima, Madras, New Era Publications, 1985, pp. 269-86.

6. Claude Jacques, ‘Nouvelles orientations pour l’étude de l’histoire due pays Khmer’, *Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien*, vol.XIII, 1-4, Cambodge I, p.48. Teḍ Ayak’s title of ‘queen’ (*devī*) is qualified by *kaḍḍa* which Coedès translated as ‘emmenée’ (‘taken away’). That term seems to be Khmerized pseudo-Sanskrit, for Coedès said it “is unknown in Sanskrit”, and he took it as an incorrect spelling of *kḍḍa* which, he said, “gives an acceptable meaning”. It occurs in a second context in which the “kamrateḍ vra^o mūla *kaḍḍa* (‘took away’) Teḍ Pavitra”, his consort. A third context, however, cannot be translated that way, “kamrateḍ añ kḍḍindradevi (a royal consort) *kaḍḍa* (‘persuaded’ [Coedès’ French, ‘inciter’]) the king to give an order, etc...”. Obviously, this term *kaḍḍa/kaḍḍa* requires further study.

7. Claude Jacques, *Études d’épigraphie cambodgienne VI*, “Sur les données chronologiques de la stèle de Tūol Ta Pec (K.834)”, *BEFEO* LVIII (1971), pp. 163-176. See pp. 172-3.

8. See inscription K.162; and Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia*, Tokyo, The Centre

for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco (The Toyo bunko), 1988, pp. 183, 381-3.

9. I do not want to stray from the main point to argue the case here, but I think these combined data indicate that Indrapura was closer to Kompong Thom, rather than at Banteay Prei Nokor as has generally been hypothesized, and that Aninditapura was also in the Kompong Thom-Kompong Cham region. See Vickery, *Society*, pp. 382-5 (Aninditapura), 414-15 (Indrapura).

10. The symbol ‘0’ indicates female and ‘|’ male; ‘|/0’ means the gender is unknown.

11. See Vickery, “Some Remarks on Early State Formation in Cambodia”, where I showed that most of the Angkor royal genealogies were of this nature. There were some errors in my analysis in that article which I have corrected in Vickery, *Society*, pp. 329, n. 22, 343-4, 399, n. 221.

12. It was once thought that the existence of Puḍkar-kḍa of the genealogies was guaranteed by inscription K.121/716 AD, recording the erection of a Puḍkareḍa by a person named Puḍkara. But as Claude Jacques has pertinently noted, Puḍkara was not a king, but an unidentified person, although no doubt of high rank, Puḍkareḍa is Śiva, but Puḍkar-kḍa is Viḥṅu, and usually means the god, not a human (Jacques, “Cours Année 1986-1987.” Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section, typescript, 1987; and see Vickery *Society*, pp. 103, 386) . Indravarman, though not in a genealogy, commemorated Indr-ṅi, queen of Indraloka, official founder of the Śambhupura dynasty; and Jayavarman VII placed a Bhavavarman among his ancestors, but it is uncertain whether his scribes had a clear idea of Bhavavarman’s true situation.

13. Claude Jacques, *Études d’épigraphie cambodgienne VIII*, “La carrière de Jayavarman II,” *BEFEO* 59 (1972), pp. 205-20...

14. Coedès, “Stèle de Tūol Ta Pec”, *Inscriptions du Cambodge V*, p. 247; Jacques, “Sur les données chronologiques de la stèle de Tūol Ta Pec” p. 175, “Il n’est donc pas possible d’utiliser ce document pour l’histoire du Cambodge”

15. In the illustrations below I have translated Coedès’ French into English.

16. I note that the proposed first session at the CKS Workshop is to be about “The State of Khmer Studies”. One problem with the ‘state of Khmer studies’, and not only in Cambodia, is a too widespread conviction that Coedès, in his work of general synthesis, which first appeared in 1944 and was too little changed thereafter, established, if not all details, at least a general framework valid for all time, and that new work must be suitable for fitting into that framework. Even the Khmer author of the best pre-1975 school manual in any language for the history of Cambodia, Mr. Tru’ng Ngea, did not think to consult original Khmer documents for any period of the country’s past. It is perhaps not sufficiently realized that many of Coedès’ own articles contradict parts of his general framework, and that with respect to the unnecessarily controversial phrase of K.521 he

- changed his opinion twice. At the end of his life Coedès also denied that the important rite conventionally named *devar-ja* was that at all, or that it had been established by Jayavarman II. On some aspects of this problem with Coedès see Vickery, “Coedès’ Histories of Cambodia”, *Colloque George Coedès aujourd’hui*, Bangkok, Centre d’Anthropologie Sirindhorn, 9-10 September 1999, publication forthcoming.
17. Another error by Golzio in this passage is “Parameśvara (= Yaśovarman I)”. The inscription has ‘Paramaśivaloka’, the true posthumous name of Yaśovarman.
18. Although, as I insisted in “Coedès’ histories”, Aymonier correctly saw some things which Coedès missed, there can be no doubt that Coedès’ readings of script and numerals are more reliable.
19. Jacques, “La carrière de Jayavarman II”, *BEFEO* LIX (1972), pp. 219-220. For my views of Aninditapura and Kutī see Vickery, *Society*, pp. 382-5, 402-04.
20. Claude Jacques, “L’empire angkorien: mythe ou réalité”, Conférence à Tokyo, 25 juin 1987. It should be noted that in writing this Jacques, without saying it explicitly, cut Vydhapura from any connection with a capital of Funan, on the significance of which see Vickery, “Funan Reviewed: Deconstructing the Ancients”, *Seksa Khmer*, New Series, No 2, forthcoming.
21. More precisely, inscriptions K.103 and K.109 were at locations not far apart about 30 km west of Banteay Prei Nokor.
22. Vickery, *Society*, p. 344.
23. Pierre Dupont, 1943-46. “La dislocation de Tchen-la et la formation du Cambodge angkorien (vii^e-ix^e siècle).” *BEFEO* 43 (1943-46), 17-55. See pp. 31-32. At the time he wrote, of course, Dupont considered that the Jayavarman in question was Ibis, not II.
24. Note that on another occasion Jacques argued that a certain hitherto unknown place-name was “probably not very distant from the place where the stele [naming it] has been found” (“The Kamrateḍ Jagat in Ancient Cambodia”, p. 283)
25. Jacques, *Angkor*, Bordas, 1990, pp. 43-44.
26. Jacques, “Tùol Ta Pec”, pp. 172-3; and *Angkor*, p. 45.
27. Besides Coedès’ publication of K.583, see Claude Jacques, “La carrière de Jayavarman II”, p. 211.
28. Jacques, *Angkor, Cities and Temples*, Bangkok, River Books, 1997, p. 61.
29. Jacques, *Angkor, Cities and Temples*, Bangkok, River Books, 1997, Introduction, 11.
30. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* VII, 129, “Dalle de Vat Saro”
31. See Jonathan Friedman, Review Essay on *Islands of History* by Marshall Sahlins, in *History and Theory* Volume XIII (1987), pp. 72-99. For some discussion of the Funan myth, see Vickery, “Funan Reviewed: Deconstructing the Ancients”, *Seksa Khmer*, New Series, No. 2, forthcoming. Of course, the reason why Java was chosen as origin of the hero-king from abroad deserves discussion, and involves more careful attention than given by Coedès to the history of Indonesia.