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Pre-Angkor Cambodia: The Transition from Prehistory to History

Jacinta Anne Beckwith

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology At the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

June 2002
Abstract

This study documents the archaeological data, epigraphical evidence and Chinese historical records for the development of the early states of Cambodia. Prior to the first century AD, significant information about Cambodia and Northeast Thailand is based upon inferences from archaeology. Most archaeological work has been undertaken in central and Northeast Thailand, central and southern Vietnam, while very little work has been done within Cambodia itself (Vickery 1998:18). Observations recorded by the Chinese appear from the first century, where visiting embassies and reports from Southeast Asia to the Chinese court were incorporated into official histories of succeeding Chinese dynasties. Chinese travellers visiting Cambodia in the third century also made accounts of their stay (Yung, 2000). Cambodian kings and dignitaries began to set up inscriptions to record their religious foundations towards the end of the 5th century AD (Higham, 2000:32). The inscriptions were written in Sanskrit, and in Old Khmer from 611 AD, and were for the most part engraved on monuments, door frames and walls associated with religious foundations. These records provide us with insight into the nature of kingship, political organization and socio-economic life of the Khmer in pre-Angkor times.

Drawing upon the findings from archaeological excavations at the Bronze Age site of Ban Lum Khao, the Iron Age sites of Non Muang Kao, Noen U-Loke and Phum Snay, and the early historic site of Oc Eo, together with information offered by ancient Chinese Annals and an analysis of pre-Angkor inscriptions, it is contended that insight will be gained into the nature of society of pre-Angkor Cambodia, from the 1st to the early 9th centuries AD. Archaeological and historical data are synthesized for better comprehension of the Khmer cultural, religious, social and political life as the first states developed.
Acknowledgements

There are many people I wish to thank for their role during the course of my study. Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Charles Higham, for his supervision and direction, for introducing me to Angkor, and for encouraging me to give my best. Many thanks to Ian Barber, Ian Frazer and Richard Walter for their time, advice and encouragement. Thank you to Genevieve Vincent, Catherine Waite and Heather Sadler for their helpful assistance, advice, patience and support.

Thank you to my family, friends and fellow colleagues. In particular I would like to thank Kathryn McAuley and Andrew Tagg for boosting morale, for proofreading drafts and for offering suggestions. Thanks to Adrian Taylor for his generosity and thanks also to Ben Beckwith for his technical advice and support. To Dougald O'Reilly, Nigel Chang, James Chetwin, Kate Dommett and Bea Hudson, thank you for keeping me safe and sane during our adventures in Cambodia. Finally, thank you to my Mum, Jane, and to my grandparents, Anne and Gerald, for their belief in me, and their continued love and support. Thanks for the trowel set Grandad!
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<tr>
<td>BEFEO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'Ecole française de l'Extrême-Orient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFEO</td>
<td>l'Ecole française de l'Extrême-Orient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Inscriptions du Cambodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRM</td>
<td>His/Her Royal Majesty</td>
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

During the last two decades there has been renewed interest in the social organization of prehistoric Southeast Asia and the origins of its states (Bayard, 1992; Chetwin, 2001; Higham, 2001; Higham and Thosarat, 2000; O'Reilly, 1999; Talbot, 2000; Vickery, 1998). While many comparative studies of early states throughout the world have been published, very little work has been undertaken on this area, despite it providing one of the richest collections of written records. Moreover, traditional studies of Cambodian history have focused on kings, dynasties and genealogies, ignoring the wealth of information contained in these written documents regarding society and economy.

Perceptions of Southeast Asian prehistory have changed radically since the inception of scientific investigation during the 19th century. Early research tended to focus on the influence of foreign cultures such as India and China on the development of complex society (Cœdès, 1968). The influence of these external factors, although significant, is not sufficient to explain the development of the complex and powerful societies that dominated Southeast Asia from the early centuries of this era. The root of these later polities must be sought in the role played by the indigenous inhabitants.

The history of the early state societies of Cambodia rests upon three principal sources: Chinese historical texts based on early contact between China and Cambodia, the corpus of pre-Angkor Cambodian inscriptions and archaeological evidence. Recent excavations at Iron Age sites in northeast Thailand and Cambodia provide fascinating insight into social organization after 500 BC. The excavation and analysis of material from Bronze and Iron Age sites in Southeast Asia will make possible an assessment of the social, technological and economic life of both an early and a late prehistoric community.
Several factors are thought to have been responsible for the rise of principalities and kingdoms in early Southeast Asia, most importantly, the control of agriculture and maritime trade. Clusters of populations and political power rose where there was agricultural surplus that contributed to trade, and allowed for elite non-producers. This study will investigate the archaeological, epigraphical and foreign literary sources in an attempt to provide insight into the dynamics of early Cambodian society and state.

1.2 History

Before the growth of archaeological research in Southeast Asia, the origins of states were initially accredited to Indian influence. Historians saw the state-building process in Cambodia as the result of Indian initiatives, especially by merchants and brahmans. Coedès (1968) called the process “Indianization”. Two waves of “Indianization” are said to have occurred, brought by the arrival in Southeast Asia of two persons named Kaundinya (brahmans). The first, in the 1st century AD, founded Funan and the second, in the 4th century AD, is said to have modified the law and customs according to those of India (Bénisti, 1970:2). Southeast Asian communities were exposed to contact with India and China, and growth and development have been seen as inextricably linked to external stimulation in economic as well as cultural terms (McCloud, 1995:21).

Others have emphasised indigenous initiatives in the state-building process, and proposed that the Indian court culture was not a dominant process imposed from the outside, but the creation of local rulers who had invited Indian brahmans to serve them and selected what they wanted from Indian ritual, law and literature (Mabbett, 1995:64). Recent epigraphical research by Vickery (1998) also suggests evidence for the development of state societies through indigenous initiative and that the adoption of Indian religious icons, architecture, language and other religious features merely coincided with the development of the first states. In either case, the first states of Southeast Asia developed from Iron Age communities that had engaged in activities contributing to increasing social complexity.
There are various versions of the legend of the origins of Khmer kingship (Briggs, 1951, Sharan, 1974, Mannikka, 1996, Yung, 2000). The story generally follows that a Brahman named Huntien (Kaundinya) came in a trading vessel, defeated the female local ruler Lieu-ye (Soma), married her and ruled over the land. After he and his descendants ruled for about a century, a general called Fan-che-man by the Chinese was elected king by the people. He extended the boundaries of Funan by conquests.

A second version of the legend recorded in an inscription from Mi-son in Vietnam, dated to 648 AD tells of a Brahman named Kaundinya who obtained possession of a special javelin and travelled to Cambodia by boat. He threw the javelin into the ground to mark the site of his future capital, and then married a daughter of the king of the naga named Soma thus beginning the royal line of kings (Mannikka, 1996:2).

A Chinese version of the legend dates back to the middle of the 3rd century AD. It describes a king named Kaundinya who was challenged by the queen of Cambodia, at that time Funan, who was intent on capturing his ship. He frightened the queen by shooting an arrow from his magical bow into her own ship, and she surrendered and married him (Pelliot, 1903:254).

Cambodians tended to mythologize or deify the founders of dynasties and lineages as directly descending from the gods. Kaundinya and Soma were considered the revered founders of the somavamsa (lunar lineage) line of kings. The naga princess symbolized a matrilineal society in which women have some control over the land, water and power structures. In Cambodia, rulers generally claimed ascendancy through a mother, sister or aunt. Soma’s marriage to the Brahman Kaundinya begins this matrilineal system (Mannikka, 1996:2). In the 7th century AD, another legendary couple, Kambu and Mera established the suryavamsa (solar lineage) line of kings.

Khmer history is conventionally subdivided into three major phases, all of which relate to Angkor: the pre-Angkor period, the Angkor period and the post-Angkor period. This thesis takes focus on the pre-Angkor period when the first Khmer states developed, from the beginning of the 1st century AD until the beginning of the 9th century AD. Cambodia is the Europeanised form of the Sanskrit name Kambuja, which originally meant only the northern portion of Cambodia (Sharan, 1974:7).
Chenla was the name introduced by the Chinese, given to the kingdom subordinate to Funan, but after the fall of Funan it was applied to the whole of Cambodia.

Chinese historians called the two earliest states of Cambodia Funan and Chenla. The Funan period began in the early 1st century AD. By the end of the 6th century it was superseded by Chenla, which comprised several agriculturally-based competing polities centred further to the north in the low-lying plains and the Middle Mekong and Tonle Sap. While the wealth and success of the Funanese had relied on trade and exchange, Chenla society was maintained by agricultural surpluses. During the 6th to 8th centuries AD, Cambodia was divided into rival kingdoms until 802 AD, when King Jayavarman II united the country and was declared chakravartin, universal ruler, in a ceremony on Mount Kulen. Thus began the Angkor period that saw the successive rise and fall of many powerful and industrious rulers until its demise in 1432 AD.

While the history of Funan was taken mainly from the Chinese dynastic histories and reports made by visiting Chinese, most information about Chenla has also been obtained from ancient Khmer and Sanskrit inscriptions (Briggs, 1951:42). Toward the end of the 5th century AD, Cambodian rulers began to set up inscriptions recording their religious foundations (Higham, 2000:24). These early inscriptions were written in Sanskrit and Old Khmer from 611 AD and were for the most part engraved on the walls of religious foundations or on stelae associated with religious foundations. The corpus of Chenla inscriptions provides references to kingship and political organisation. Khmer texts offer insight into the social status of those who served the temple and to their duties; and also to aspects of the landscape such as boundaries of rice-fields, water-tanks, paths and orchards (Jacob, 1979). Lists of people and land donated to the upkeep of temples and gifts made to religious foundations are a recurrent theme, as gift-giving and feasting were common ways for measuring status and making merit.

1.3 Previous research

Aymonier prepared the first systematic collection of inscriptions in French-Cambodia based on rubbings prepared under his direction. He translated and summarized the
inscriptions written in the native language of Khmer. Barth and Bergaigne edited the Sanskrit inscriptions in two volumes. At the beginning of the 20th century L’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, a research society of Hanoi founded in 1900, took up the epigraphic work. Finot and Cœdès published a large number of new inscriptions in the Bulletin of this school. Cœdès then edited many inscriptions both in Sanskrit and Khmer (Sharan, 1974:50).

Many authors have used the inscriptional evidence to interpret the structure of the Khmer state organisation, to illuminate state administration and subsequently gain insight into the nature of society. Often studies have focussed on the elite and have treated the Angkor period as a single time unit (for example Sahai, 1970). According to Vickery (1998:95), the Pre-Angkor and Angkor periods did not comprise static societies, instead, statecraft and kingship, administration and land organisation varied over the centuries. The pre-Angkor period is defined based on political criteria, referring to the period up to 802 AD when Jayavarman II, the first king of Angkor is considered to have begun his reign.

Many early studies of the ancient inscriptions were exclusively concerned with the Sanskrit texts and information regarding royal dynastic succession (Cœdès, 1968; Briggs, 1951; Jacques, 1990). Khmer texts comprising information about social and economic conditions have been neglected in favour of refining royal genealogies. The 7th - 8th century inscriptions record assignments of land, animals and personnel, and interactions between officials and foundations, there is no history of events, such as consecrations or battles. This study will examine both Khmer and Sanskrit parts of the relevant texts where possible and will interpret all available evidence for insight into Cambodian society.

Studies of epigraphic detail and archaeological evidence to shed light on economic and administrative histories have already been undertaken elsewhere in India-influenced Southeast Asia (see Barrett Jones, 1984; Bronson, 1979; Naerssen, 1976; Tichelman, 1980) but little work has been done in Cambodia. Vickery (1998) shows that the economic and social history of the Khmer may be studied with little reference to the kings. During the pre-Angkor period the main affairs that can be reconstructed are changes in social and economic relationships.
1.4 Research design

This study will begin with an analysis of Iron Age sites located in the upper Mun Valley in Northeast Thailand and in Cambodia. The large moated site of Noen U-Loke offers the best evidence for the nature of Iron Age society in the area of the later civilisation of Angkor. Radiocarbon dates suggest that Noen U-Loke prospered from about the end of the Bronze Age and continued to thrive until about AD 400. Excavations have provided insight into the nature of Iron Age society and the changes that occurred over time during the development of complex communities to early state societies. The study will continue through the early states of Funan and Chenla, ending at the beginning of the Angkor state in 802 AD.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate cultural change and continuity between Iron Age and state societies by considering archaeological and historic data in conjunction. This research involves the collection and interpretation of archaeological and historical information relating to early Cambodian state and society. The historical information comprises both the Sanskrit and Old Khmer epigraphy, and Chinese accounts. Vickery (1998) demonstrates that there are hundreds of documents in Khmer, in the form of stone inscriptions, from the 7th to the 13th centuries AD, which represent a repository of data regarding Cambodian society, economy and politics. The thesis will present and discuss a corpus of selected inscriptions that describe the nature of Cambodian society. Archaeological evidence will be examined from available sources with particular reference to Noen U-Loke, an Iron Age site which revealed industrial, occupational and mortuary activity, and Oc Eo, an important coastal trading centre which flourished during the Funan period (AD 100 – ca. 550). There will also be evidence from Ban Lum Kao, a Bronze Age site, and Non Muang Kao and Phum Snay, two further Iron Age sites.

This study is essentially based on a culture history approach. It represents the documentation of interpretive interfaces between archaeology and history, drawing upon each source for a better understanding of the transition from prehistory to history during pre-Angkor times. The archaeological data and historical records each represent a unique source of information that must be carefully managed. Adams (1977:156) states that archaeology and history produce different forms or views of
reality, each valid portrayals of the past, and each of which must be tested and reconciled. Correlations between archaeological and historical data can reveal a complementary relationship and can offer a socio-cultural reconstruction. In a recent study by Phillips, (2000), land court records are examined in correlation with archaeological data to assess cultural change and development by Maori in the Hauraki Plains. The study draws together oral histories, written accounts, environmental reconstruction and archaeological excavation and analysis to build a picture of Maori society and culture change over 400 years. The correlation of historically known groups with archaeological manifestations can be used to draw analogies between the archaeological data and the historical record (Charlton, 1981:153). Problems with correlation can occur, however, based on the fragmentary nature of both archaeological and historical data, or based on the inadequacy of the archaeological and historical data specific to the time or place. Overall, the synthesis of archaeological and historical data can provide a cultural reconstruction that can benefit general understanding of culture change.

1.5 Thesis structure

The first chapter has introduced the thesis and subject matter. Chapter Two discusses theoretical approaches to studying state development in relation to the emergence of the first states of Cambodia. Chapter Three presents the three main types of data used in this study: archaeological evidence, ancient inscriptions and Chinese historical documents, and describes how they have been used in this research. Chapter Four outlines the methodology used in the study and provides the analysis of the inscriptions, which comprises summaries for the translated pre-Angkor inscriptions. Chapter Five describes the prehistoric context from which the Cambodian state developed and continues into the historical period, offering a chronological framework for the emergence of the first states of Cambodia. Chapter Six describes the nature of society in Pre-Angkor Cambodia, using archaeological and epigraphical evidence. Chapter Seven will provide further discussion and a conclusion. Full bibliographical references are included, followed by appendices containing an inventory of the inscriptions, the set of translated inscriptions and a glossary of Khmer and Sanskrit terms. Inscriptions referred to in the text are referenced as footnotes for clarity and convenience.
1.6 Summary

Archaeology essentially attempts to piece together past human behaviours and interpret these accordingly. It may provide information on areas where historical records are lacking, while historical records may provide evidence where there is yet no archaeological data. This thesis will address the evidence for the nature of early Cambodian state and society. It will present and examine the archaeological evidence from Ban Lum Khao, Non Muang Kao, Noen U-Loke, Phum Snay and Oc Eo. It will incorporate information from ancient Chinese histories that describe the early Cambodian state societies. This study will attempt to link the prehistoric with the historic, and enrich the reader with insight into the nature of Khmer society at the time of the rise of the first Cambodian states.
Chapter Two

State Formation

2.1 Introduction

Initial studies of early Cambodia assumed that state development in this area came about through the imposition of Indian culture. These studies focus on dynastic succession and religious elements belonging to the foreign culture ignoring the local culture. According to Vickery (1998:5) they were concerned with kings “carving out a realm” without discussing the development essential for making this possible, such as control of people and resources, and political organization. The emphasis on the imposition of the foreign culture may have convinced scholars that Cambodia was uninteresting as an example of state development because it was the result of a dominant foreign culture. Standard orientalist writing particularly neglected the important changes in state and ruling groups that may be seen in the inscriptions.

There is a rich body of historical and ethnological literature on Southeast Asian politics but there has not developed a coherent or focused tradition of anthropological study of states or political systems in this area. It is not always easy to determine which traditional Southeast Asian polities are to be considered ‘states’ and which are not, or alternatively, what the term 'state' means in a Southeast Asian context.

Before the growth of archaeological research, the origin of states in Southeast Asia was ascribed to Indian and Chinese influence and invasion. Research on early Cambodian history lags behind advances in the study of other areas of India-influenced Southeast Asia, such as Burma or Java (see Aung-Thwin, 1976, Barrett Jones, 1984). Pre-Angkor Cambodia represents a type of society unlike those studied thus far. Pre-Angkor Cambodia was a class society, though state development appears weak at first. Archaeology shows that its village community origins lay only some 500 years in the past (Higham, 1989).
2.2 Theories of State Development

In anthropology, “state” in the broad sense refers to society or polity (Cohen, 1978:2). State is the outcome of the formation of classes where the upper or ruling class obtains control over the means of production. The state can be conceived as a social entity marked by greater size and internal complexity than in foraging bands or chiefdoms. As societies become larger and more complex, they need stronger mechanisms of integration, symbols, and more stable leadership.

Although no theory is broad enough to encompass the full range of pristine states, three general types of theories have been offered to explain their development (Haas, 1982:150): firstly the state evolves under conditions of circumscribed and intensified warfare (Carneiro), alternatively, the state evolves when material conditions demand extensive importation or exchange of the basic resources, or finally, the state evolves when a society initiates irrigation agriculture on a large scale (Wittfogel).

Carneiro described the state as "an autonomous political unit, encompassing many communities within its territory and having a centralized government with the power to collect taxes, draft men for work or war, and decree and enforce laws" (1970:733). He suggests that while warfare may be essential, it is not a sufficient condition for the rise of the state. Carneiro (1992:198-199) suggested six processes for the development of a state from chiefdoms. First, neighbouring villages were defeated by force of arms, and then incorporated into the political unit. Prisoners of war were taken and made to work as slaves. Close supporters administered conquered territory if local leaders proved rebellious. Subjects were required to pay tribute periodically and also required to provide fighting men in times of war.

Carneiro (1970) emphasized the importance of population growth and population pressure, leading inevitably to warfare, in state development using examples from South America and the Near East. Expanding populations who could not colonize new lands had to intensify production on lands already being used. Losers of military conflict were assimilated into the victor’s society as a lower class and successful militarists were rewarded with economic wealth, increasing amounts of land, and a conquered class of workers. Historical and ethnographic experience indicates that
warfare of varying intensity and regularity increases with the growth of socio-economic complexity, above all when there are things to fight about (Claessen and Skalnik, 1978:208). Population growth and pressure may create conditions that lead to need, competition and war. Groups organize to control trade routes and markets, to take over land from others, to exact tribute, to capture slaves, or to rebel against oppressors. The rise of the state seems to require some form of military action, or threat of it, to consolidate the power of a leader and bring about the rule of many by a few (ibid:209).

Successful war leadership entails the demonstration of various talents. A leader must succeed in managing human relations, while displaying a certain amount of bravery and tactical ability. A successful leader gains both followers and the appreciation for rewards won from his endeavours, such as cattle, land, trade goods, women and slaves. The leader thus ensures respect, power and esteem. A successful leader tends to surround himself with a loyal armed following as well as necessary officials and dignitaries whom he can reward with the spoils of war at his leisure (ibid:213). Rewards can coerce warrior force.

Alternatively, Childe (1951) suggested that civilization resulted from increasing specialization, made possible by technological innovations that allowed for increased production and the accumulation of surplus. He proposed ten criteria that distinguished the earliest cities from older villages: dense populations, full-time specialization and division of labour, taxation and concentration of capital, social classes, religion and state organization, monumental architecture, writing systems, science, fine arts and trade. Cities were firstly more extensive and densely populated. They accommodated classes of specialists such as craftsmen, transport workers, merchants, officials and priests who were supported by agricultural surplus. Producers paid surplus as tax to a deity or divine king who then concentrated the surplus which was necessary to sustain the specialist activities. Surplus accumulated in the temple could be absorbed by officials who formed the ‘ruling class’ who then conferred benefits on their subjects by providing planning and organization. Ideological devices maintained solidarity between subsistence workers and the ruling class, and the temple was used to hold society together and justify social order. Monuments buildings symbolized the concentration of social surplus. The management of surplus
and administration of revenue compelled societies to invent systems of recording. The invention of writing enabled the development of arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, and calendars allowed for regulation of agricultural economy. Other specialists supported by social surplus, developed artistic expression in conceptualised and sophisticated styles. Social surplus was also used to pay for the importation of materials unavailable locally (Hoopes, 1996).

Brumfiel and Earle (1987) identified three models for state development: commercial, adaptionist and political. The commercial model suggests increasing specialization and intensification of exchange form a major part of the process of economic growth. Division of labour becomes more elaborate, leading to increased social complexity. Technological improvements, surplus goods and differentiation of status lead to the rise of the state to maintain order. The adaptionist model holds that political elites intervene in the economy, organize more effective subsistence economy and effective management of resources, leading to central accumulation and redistribution and a more powerful centralized authority (Service, 1962; Wittfogel, 1957; Rathje, 1971). The political model states that local rulers have an important role in organizing specialization and exchange and are its primary beneficiaries. There is strategic manipulation of trade to create and maintain social inequality. This involves monopolization and manipulation by the ruling elite over food crops, tools, weaponry, wealth, foreign commerce, and profit increasing authoritative power. The control and manipulation of wealth builds political power of the leader and superior rank is displayed by symbols such as weaponry or ornaments, which are monopolized by the elite. Wealth enables the ruler to define the status of others, and wealth distribution plays an important part in maintaining power (Earle, Barnes, and Brumfiel, in Brumfiel and Earle, 1987).

Flannery (1972) described state formation as a highly complex process involving a large number of systematically interrelated variables. Haas (1982:172) described the state as "a stratified society in which a governing body exercises control over the production or procurement of basic resources, and thus necessarily exercises coercive power over the remainder of the population". Similarly, Skalnik (1987:339) described the early state as "a centralized socio-political organization for the regulation of social relations in a complex, stratified society divided into at least two basic strata, or
emergent classes”. He describes these two classes as the rulers and the ruled, defined by political dominance of the rulers and tributary obligations of the ruled. According to Vickery (1998) states develop in one of two ways: firstly by increasing complexity of internal societal structure, whereby a ruling elite emerges, or secondly, through conquest by a more developed power that imposes its culture upon the conquered.

2.3 State Development in Early Cambodia

Several factors are thought to have been responsible for the rise of states in early Southeast Asia, of these, agriculture and maritime trade are considered the most important. Early Southeast Asians were skilled farmers, metallurgists, mariners and musicians. Although society comprised no administrative states of recognisable proportions they were nevertheless a highly accomplished people. They grew domesticated rice and harvested many other crops including sugarcane, yams, sago, bananas and coconuts, and they had domesticated the chicken and the pig (Tarling, 1992:185).

Scholars have debated whether the early states in the region emerged in response to ideological influence, maritime trade or long-term indigenous developments that coincided with Indian contact. Indian culture was adopted because the people saw the new ideas were beneficial and could be incorporated into their way of life. Although Indian literature, philosophy, religion, law, and concepts of kingship were used, the expression was local.

The 7th and 8th centuries have provided us with evidence for elite stratification and formation in pre-Angkor royalty initially ignored in the pre-Angkor inscriptions. The Cambodian inscriptions can be examined for evidence about production and reproduction, the social organisation under which the people lived, the existence of recognizable classes, or hierarchical groups, official or ruling lineages, the conflicts among them, and the replacement of some by others over time (Vickery, 1998:13). The complex hierarchy of Khmer official titles which was already in place at the time of the first detailed inscriptions of the early 7th century proves that the process of stratification and formal ranking had been developing for a long time, and that it was a local process (Vickery, 1998:21). Surviving temples are of increasing size and
intricacy of décor, which demonstrates that the political authorities could command more wealth and labour for their construction (Vickery, 1998:28).

The development of the early states of Cambodia occurred in the flat floodplains of the lower Bassac and Mekong rivers where there was ready access to the sea. The first state, Funan, lasted from the 2nd to 6th centuries AD. Oc Eo represented a major manufacturing centre and trading port for this time. Excavations undertaken by Malleret revealed foundations of stone and brick and unearthed artifacts confirming trade with the Roman Empire, the Mediterranean, China and India.

Chinese records suggest the decline of Funan took place as the inland rulers began to assert independent power. At the same time, waning control over maritime trade, as trade routes changed, lessened Funan’s political power. During the 6th century AD Funan gave way to Chenla, which comprised several competing kingdoms located in the middle reaches of the Mekong Valley and Tonle Sap plains. Chenla was subsequently divided into two main kingdoms, Water Chenla in the south, and Land Chenla in the north. In 802AD, Jayavarman II (770-834AD) united the Khmers under one rule, and declared himself supreme ruler at Angkor.

2.3.1 Indian influence

From the 1st century AD, Indian merchants seeking gold, spices and scented wood visited Funan. The introduction of Indian political and religious ideas provided a new and more extensive framework in which the Southeast Asian political life could develop. Cœdès described the influx of Indian ideas as “Indianization” (1968:16), the over-laying of Indian culture on Cambodia. The Cambodian socio-economic life was influenced by Indian ways but local genius was not destroyed, instead it was modified to produce a more congenial cultural pattern (Sharan, 1974:171). Cambodia accommodated Indian ideas within their lifestyle, and they provided a stimulus for the region’s own dynamism and growth (McCloud, 1995:33).

Towards the end of the 4th century AD or at the beginning of the 5th century AD, a second Kaundinya occupied the throne of Funan who ‘indianized’ the laws and customs of the country. Khmer epigraphs mention Indian Brahmans who held high
position in the state. Many established matrimonial relations in the royal families, thus giving the opportunity to introduce Indian political traditions and modify the prevailing statecraft (Sharan, 1974:149). Inscriptions emphasize Indian influence aside from the Sanskrit language, such as names of Brahman priests, sacred Indian texts, deities, constellations and planets. The inscriptions bear the mark of several crucial elements of civilization that originated in India: Indian religions, mythology, knowledge and arts, the means of expressing these graphically in the form of alphabet and writings, and the notion of time.

During the pre-Angkor period there was considerable fragmentation and sporadic attempts to unify the country (Jacques and Freeman, 1997:53). Successive leaders of elite local families in different areas sought unrivalled positions of eminence and acknowledgment of their superior status. They achieved this by attracting large numbers of followers, the establishment of central courts and large buildings and the deployment of force.

2.3.2 Khmer Statecraft and Kingship

The Cambodian royal court was similar in many ways to the set up of Indian sovereignty including the pomp and magnificence. The king was attended to by a host of officials such as Brahmans, Ministers, Generals, and royal physicians. Some of these constructed great buildings to demonstrate their wealth, splendour and majesty.

A king’s power resided in his ability to fulfil three main roles: firstly as military commander, secondly, as organizer of labour force, and thirdly as the intermediary between gods, ancestors and the people, thus ensuring the prosperity of the nation. The two essential moments in the reign of a king were his consecration, making him supreme protector of the people, thereby making him a sacred person, and his cremation whereby he was incorporated forever among the numerous guardian divinities of his kingdom. At their consecration Khmer kings received their royal name, which involved adding “varman” to the end of their name, which meant shield or protection. Bhavavarman meant ‘protected by Shiva’ and Jayavarman was ‘protected by the god of victory’. The king had the right to impose and realize taxes,
which were paid many forms, such as lands, servants and salt. The king generally appointed his princes as provincial governors.

Government officials swore oaths of allegiance to the king. A later inscription written during the reign of Suryavarman I demonstrates the best example of this. An oath of allegiance was engraved on the central pavilion of the gateway to the inner court of the Royal Palace of Angkor Thom in 1011 AD and was sworn by Suryavarman’s dignitaries. It concerned loyalty, courage in battle and zeal in missions.

The corpus of inscriptions from Chenla provides references to kingship and political organization. The inscriptions shed light on the administrative set-up of the government from the advent of ancient Khmer rulers. Rules regarding provincial government and justice were detailed as was information concerning reverence and military organization. There was much respect for authority figures. The king’s authority was supreme and a divine origin was claimed for him. The king was considered to be either an incarnation of god, or a descendant of a god, or both. Women could also be appointed to high-ranking positions.

Gifts to religious foundations are a recurrent theme in Chenla inscriptions and it is important to understand why they were made. High power and status followed outstanding and visually impressive foundations. Gift giving and feasting were ways of measuring status. In early Javanese states, central overlords lessened the wealth of potential rivals by encouraging them to give feasts, which sapped their resources (Kulke, 1982).

The higher an individual’s status, the more effective they were at tapping the power of the gods and ancestors. The benefits obtained by these people could then be distributed among their followers, and it was this expectation of sharing in a leader’s spiritual endowment: prosperity in this life and better rebirth in the next that attracted followers and defined leadership. The higher one’s status, the more merit one was believed to possess. It was believed that all beings were ranked hierarchically according to the relative proximity of each to the sacred. (Gesick, 1983:1-2).

\[1\] K. 940
2.3.3 Khmer Architecture

The capital city in which the ‘god-king’ lived was a sacred city, the ‘meeting point of heaven, earth and hell’. The main elements of the city, principal temples, king’s palace, city walls and moats were located in a manner designed to reproduce the cosmological heaven (McGee, 1967:34). The palace and principal temples could generally be found in the centre of the city, and about them were located the residences of the elite and functionaries (ibid:35).

Recent investigations (Stark et al. 1999) have revealed a varied pre-Angkor brick architectural tradition, mostly dating from the 4th to 6th Oc Eo culture. Early Khmer temples were made of brick and sandstone and can be dated by their carved sandstone lintels. The use of brick is a feature of Khmer architecture especially in early times, and as with stone, the use of brick was limited to religious monuments. The initial construction of brick structures is linked to the adoption of Indian religious practices.

Other early Khmer brick structures include those built in Chenla times at Sambor Prei Kuk (Higham, 1989:263, Jacques, 1997:57-8) and at Preah Ko during the 9th century (Briggs, 1951:99; Jacques, 1997:67). Sambor Prei Kuk is presumed to have been Isanapura, the ancient capital of Isanavarman (Sharan, 1974:291). It comprised a number of individual cells set within a walled enclosure and contained monuments considered to date from the pre-Angkor period. The cells were constructed around a larger central shrine that probably contained the cult image of a linga. Many linga date from the Funan period, it was in this form that Shiva was primarily worshipped.

Isanapura comprises the largest and most impressive religious monuments from the Chenla period, although several other sites have also revealed brick sanctuaries. Ampil Rolum incorporates three sanctuaries yielding inscriptions, one of which refers to a Buddhist foundation and lists slaves provided for its maintenance. One of the inscriptions refers to “this town of Bhavapura” suggesting that Ampil Rolum could have been the capital of Bhavavarman I or could have been founded by Bhavavarman II.

\[^2\text{See K. 160}\]
Vat Phu is considered to be the earliest known Khmer temple of the country (now in Laos). Its importance lies in the fact that it is entirely of Hindu inspiration and its temple is dedicated to Bhadresvara, known to be the patron saint of the Chams (Briggs, 1951:15). It is thought to have been built by Mahendravarman (600 – 615AD) at the end of the 6th century on a site previously occupied by the Chams (Talbot, 2000).

One of the most impressive remains of pre-Angkor is the temple of Ak Yum, the first real temple mountain known (Jacques and Freeman, 1997:60). It is assigned to the later 8th century but an inscribed door jamb re-used in the main sanctuary door carried a date corresponding to 674 AD\(^3\). Unfortunately, the names of the kings who built and modified the temple are unknown.

### 2.4 Summary

Elements contributing to the rise of states in early Southeast Asia include maritime trade and agricultural surplus, which encouraged clustering of populations and the definition of political power. Trade routes encouraged exchange of ideas and for Cambodia this meant influence from India and China in particular. Funan was strategically well placed through the trade route linking South East Asia with India, China, the Middle East and Europe, and prospered from growing maritime trade.
Control of trade facilitated the emergence of social elites, paving the way for political growth and state development.

While trade and commerce lead to culture and civilization, warfare of varying intensity and regularity increases with the growth of socio-economic complexity. Population growth and pressure can create conditions that lead to competition, conflict over resources and the need for organisation. Groups organize to control trade routes and markets, to acquire and extend lands, to exact tribute, capture slaves, and rebel against oppressors. The maritime peoples of Southeast Asia did come under direct influence of an expansive Chinese state and Indian mercantile exchange, however, instead of the original invasion idea, Indian ideas were incorporated into an already thriving and unique Cambodian political system.
Chapter Three

Research Material

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research material. The thesis incorporates data gained from three primary sources to help clarify the way in which ancient Cambodia developed its earliest states. Firstly, archaeological data are presented and explored for evidence of societal and political intensification at the end of the prehistoric period. Then Chinese historical documents dating from the 3rd century AD are investigated for their documentation of the Khmer. Finally, ancient Cambodian inscriptions dating between the 6th and the 9th centuries AD are examined for information concerning the early Khmer states. While the analysis of the pre-Angkor inscriptions represents the core study of this work, all three resources offer an enriching insight into the ancient history of the Khmer.

This chapter specifically explores the ancient Cambodian texts, which were inscribed on monuments erected by the Khmer over the course of their long history, and are today dispersed through Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. The domain covered by inscriptions is both geographically and temporally extensive. They spread over the entire area of Cambodia, spanning from the 7th to 14th centuries AD. This thesis deals with the pre-Angkor inscriptions, dating from the 7th to the early 9th centuries AD.

3.2 Epigraphy

An important part of Cambodia heritage is the ancient literary resources comprising texts carved in stone, or inscriptions, and texts written by hand either on palm leaves bound in bundles or on strips of paper pleated like an accordion. This thesis will focus on the former group, and in particular, the inscriptions which relate to the time known as the “pre-Angkor” period. The Cambodians wrote their history and named their gods on temple door frames, window frames, foundation stelae, bas reliefs and pedestals. Ancient Cambodian texts have referred to inscriptions on portable surfaces.
such as leaves or paper, of gold or silver kept in treasure rooms, but this kind of inscription has not survived (Pou, 1997:54).

Inscriptional evidence for the early states of Cambodia comprises both Sanskrit and Old Khmer texts originally inscribed on the walls of religious foundations or on stelae associated with religious foundations. It was initially thought that much of the Khmer writing represented paraphrases of the Sanskrit verse (Mabbett, 1983:45) but it can now be shown that the Sanskrit and Khmer texts may each record different information. Sanskrit texts often address the gods and benefactors of foundations, commonly in the form of eulogistic poetry, and these can offer valuable political information. Khmer texts record details such as land dealings, boundaries of rice-fields, rice-field dimensions, ponds and gardens. They also list workers of the land, servants in the temples, dancers, weavers and singers, and offered gifts such as buffalo, oxen, clothes, flowers, gold, silver and copper offerings.

3.3 History of epigraphic scholarship

Researchers from France during the late 19th century studied Khmer temples and the inscriptions carved in stone found in or near them. The work of collecting stone inscriptions by means of rubbings started more than a hundred years ago. Most of the rubbings were brought to Paris, where they were gradually classified, catalogued, and studied. The exact number of inscriptions inventoried is unknown but is thought to be about 1500.

A set of rubbings, among the first to have been collected, came into the hands of Hendrick Kern, an Indologist from Leiden in the late 19th century. Kern was able to decipher the Sanskrit texts and published his findings in The Netherlands in Dutch starting in 1879. These were then translated into French in the *Annals d'Extrême-Orient* (Pou, 1997:58). Kern's writing had a tremendous impact in France, awakening not only a curiosity but also a sense of scientific duty.

Auguste Barth and Abel Bergaigne continued the epigraphic scholarship, equipped with a solid competence in palaeography. To help with the Khmer portion of the inscriptions they obtained the collaboration of Étienne Aymonier who had acquired
the Khmer language while in Cambodia as a colonial administrator. Barth and Bergaigne published dozens of Sanskrit inscriptions and in doing so produced a rough outline of Cambodia's history, concentrating on the genealogy of the rulers, which they were able to ascertain through the texts.

Louis Finot, a renowned Sanskrit philologist also ventured into the study of both the Sanskrit and Old Khmer texts, with the aim of making the history and spirituality of these countries better understood through examinations of their writings and works of art. He advanced Khmer epigraphy a step beyond the work of Aymonier. A further scholar, George Cœdès also studied both the Sanskrit texts and the Khmer writings and from 1904 published them in articles for journals and books, including the eight-volume *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (1937-1966). Cœdès, whose research involved the archaeology and history of Southeast Asia, made a great number of inscriptions publicly available and pointed out the essential information they contained.

Since the first comprehensive lists of all Cambodian inscriptions were published a further hundred have been added and since then, more inscriptions from Angkor Borei have been discovered but remain unrecorded. There are more than 230 Cambodian inscriptions attributed to pre-Angkor times, of which more than forty are unpublished (Vickery, 1998:91). Of the published pre-Angkor inscriptions, 134 were written in Khmer and 52 of these are preceded by or also contain Sanskrit text. According to Cœdès, all undated texts are datable to the 7th – 8th centuries (Vickery, 1998:93).

Some inscriptions are worthless for purposes of historical reconstruction because of damage occurred by weathering, accidental or purposeful damage or theft. Random chance has determined which inscriptions have been preserved for modern research. Some are of value only as attestations to the presence of a god or king while others are useful for the terminology they use. Some details may never be fully understood due to linguistic difficulties.

The corpus of pre-Angkor inscriptions under discussion in this thesis date between 611 and 803 AD, with the last text dating one year after the conventional beginning of the Angkor period in the reign of Jayavarman II.
3.4 Language of the Inscriptions

The inscriptions can be divided into two groups: those written in Sanskrit and those written in Khmer. These two languages are different in all respects; they belong to different language families (Indo-European and Austroasiatic respectively), different language types, and different historical traditions. Both kinds of texts act as vehicles for ideas and reflect two different forms of thought. According to Pou (1997:53), Sanskrit and Khmer play complementary roles in the epigraphy. Khmer language texts are mostly inventories, listing temple goods, lands, cattle, minor servants, furniture, jewellery, ritual objects and rice fields. There is frequent reference to price or the kind of exchange worth. An inscription dating to 573 saka (651 AD) describes a conch as a medium of exchange. This inscription also records the purchase of a paddy field, the price paid for the field in conch shells and it reveals that paddy, coconut palm, cloth, silver and gold were all used for exchange.

The Cambodians considered Sanskrit to be sacred and this language was used for writing royal genealogies, eulogies of founders of monuments and donors. Old Khmer was normally used for the details that followed. From the study of the inscriptions it appears that kings, nobles and priests had Sanskrit names. Cities and provinces often bore Sanskrit names. The majority of the Sanskrit place-names are associated with names of deities, kings, high dignitaries and important personalities (Sharan, 1974:49).

It is important to understand why the ancient Khmer people took so much trouble to engrave texts in Sanskrit and Khmer sometimes with such skill that the stones are works of art. Sanskrit was the learned language of India and probably always remained little used by people outside the temples, but it was the language of the Hindu gods whom they worshipped and for whom they contrived to build their temples. The gods brought them prosperity in this world and beatitude in the next, so they had to be well looked after on one hand and well understood on the other, through the medium of the only language they could understand.

\[K. 910\]
The date in the inscriptions is recorded in *saka*. The *saka* era began in 78 AD, so generally, the addition of 78 years to the *saka* year produces the equivalency for the year AD (Vickery, 1998:92). In the case of the Sanskrit texts, dates are formally given by the year, with numbers indicated by symbols that are widely known in Indian culture. Zero is air or ether, the moon represents one, three is the Ramas, seven the mountains, eight is the eight forms of Shiva. In Khmer texts, a more direct, pragmatic and detailed approach is taken. First, the year of the *saka* era is written out, using either numbers or letters, followed by the day, the month, the lunar phase and the constellation.

### 3.5 Structure of the Inscriptions

The length and quality of the inscriptions vary, but the structure is almost always the same. The inscription often begins by greeting the temple god and those around him. This can be followed by a eulogy to the reigning king, benefactors of the foundation and genealogies or either or both. This may be followed by a description of the foundation and a list of the donations made. If the inscription involves land exchange or purchase, the boundaries of the land in question may be identified. Finally blessings are placed on the foundation’s future guardians and curses are invoked upon those who would attempt to cause harm to it.

The following identifies the typical contents of an inscription, as recognized by Jacob (1979:406) and Vickery (1998:98), listed in the customary order:

For the Sanskrit part:
1. praise to a god
2. praise for a king
3. purpose of the foundation
4. name of the principal donor, or the one directly subordinate to the king, if a king is named
5. the date; often at the end but may also appear at the beginning, or in the middle
For the Khmer part:

1. date or name of the reigning king (or an expression 'royal order')
2. title and names of (principal) donors, (if they are already named in the Sanskrit part they are provided here with a Khmer title which does not appear in Sanskrit)
3. name of the god
4. special personnel attached to principal donor(s)
5. names of donors of land
6. prices paid for land
7. extent, location and capacity of donated rice land
8. names of attached or donated (personnel) with indication of their duties, such as, entertainers, artisans, craftsmen, field labourers
9. details of subsistence to be given to religious personnel
10. other land given to the foundation: orchards, gardens, (by secondary donors)
11. list of precious objects given to the foundation
12. statement that revenues (means of production) are to be combined with another foundation
13. warning of punishments for transgressors of the foundation

3.6 Content of the Inscriptions

The inscriptions of pre-Angkor Cambodia were initially considered to be religious documents comprising lists of temple slaves provided for the upkeep of the temple and service to the gods. On closer analysis of the inscriptions we can see that although many contain a reference to one or more divinities, nearly all pre-Angkor inscriptions are economic documents. They comprise records of exchange between individuals and temples.

Over the centuries, the Khmer engraved records of their meritorious actions and their pious works so that they might be respected by all forever, "so as long as the sun and moon shall last". The sacred nature of the sites on which the carvings were to be made included base of statues, steles, various parts of temples (walls, doors, porticoes, windows, pillars) belonging to every religious monument.
Some inscriptions were invariably intended to glorify the *punya*, a term that refers to both meritorious acts and to the merit that results from such acts. Foundations were established and gifts were offered in order to make merit, meaning, for the good of the donor in a spiritual sense. The donor had the right to share his *punya* with whomever he chose. Empowered by his merits, he would accompany his account with a vow directed at future visitors, in the form of a blessing on the benevolent and a curse on all others.

The founder of an inscription was often a king or dignitary. The inscriptions often mention the names of the king the founder served and may include eulogies. Information concerning the king is useful for historians to make chronological comparisons. Some pilgrims had engravings made on Brahmanic sites to record their passage, their devotion, and the meritorious Buddhist acts they accomplished. Gifts to religious foundations are a recurrent theme. Works were addressed to a god, and were meant to attract attention to the one who had honoured the god by building a shrine or by offering gifts. Blessings are invoked upon the foundation’s future guardians, and curses upon those who might attempt to destroy it.

Various types of inscription include: royal edicts, epigraphs commemorating a king’s achievements, grants to individuals, officials, brahmans and institutions, and also miscellaneous inscriptions which include recording the establishment of temples, installation of images such as *lingas* and other such events. The *linga* was a phallic emblem that symbolized the fertilizing energy of god (see figure below).

*Figure 2. Pre-Angkor period linga (Jessup and Zephir, 1997:24)*
Gifts to religious foundations are a recurrent theme in the inscriptions of Chenla. Inscriptions have proved an invaluable source of information on the political instruments of government. They also contain lists of people and land donated to the upkeep of the temples. Inscriptions recorded land granted by the government to priests, courtiers and other officials in appreciation of their services. They also recorded land purchased and sold between individuals. Decisions of government and governmental gifts of land were inscribed on stone.

3.7 Summary

The primary focus of this study is the research and translation of pre-Angkor inscriptions. This chapter has offered a basic outline of the nature, structure and purpose of the ancient Cambodian texts. The following chapter will present the epigraphical analysis. It will explain the methodology employed during the study and follow with synopses of each pre-Angkorian inscription. It is intended that the integration of this epigraphical research with current archaeological data will provide insight into the transition of prehistory to history during the development of the first states of Cambodia.
Chapter Four

Analysis of the Inscriptions

4.1 Introduction

For this study, it was decided that in order to clarify the nature of society in pre-Angkor Cambodia, it would be necessary to call upon the main resources for this time. The history of the early state societies of Cambodia rests upon three principal sources: archaeological evidence that has been discovered during various excavations, Chinese historical texts based on early contact between China and Cambodia, and pre-Angkor Cambodian inscriptions. While the archaeological evidence and Chinese historical texts have been dealt with in previous chapters, this chapter will now present and assess the information contained within the ancient Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions.

An analysis of the pre-Angkor inscriptions comprises the essential part of this thesis. This chapter outlines the way in which the inscriptions were investigated. It discusses the way in which information was gathered and assembled for analysis. It also presents the analytical problems encountered. The findings are then presented in the form of synopses for each inscription, whereby the main points of the inscription are summarized and important features highlighted. An inventory and full translations of all inscriptions used in this analysis are contained in the appendices.

4.2 Research Method

A list of pre-Angkor inscriptions was extracted from Vickery’s 1998 work *Society, Economics and Politics in pre-Angkor Cambodia*. This selection of epigraphy was then compared with a list of pre-Angkor inscriptions listed Jenner’s (1981) *Chrestomathy of Pre-Angkorian Khmer II: Lexicon of the dated inscriptions*. The final collection of inscriptions examined in this thesis was made based on availability of the inscriptions. Coëdès had translated the original Sanskrit and Old Khmer texts into French in the 1930s and most are published in the BEFEO publication, *Inscriptions du*
Cambodge. The pre-Angkor inscriptions studied were found among the eight volumes of this publication and translated into English by the author. Once the inscriptions were located and translated they were ready to be analysed for content.

4.3 Analytical Problems

Earlier studies of ancient Cambodian inscriptions were exclusively concerned with the Sanskrit texts, which meant that for many inscriptions only the Sanskrit part was translated into French. Early works on the ancient texts were concerned with royal genealogies, dynastic succession and religious themes associated with Indian culture, and overlooked the information contained within the Khmer texts, especially those concerning social and economic conditions (Vickery, 1998).

The corpus of inscriptions investigated in this thesis comprises those that were translated from the Sanskrit and Old Khmer into French and for those inscriptions that were not translated into French, a description of the text is given where possible based on notes from Cœdès (1937-1966) or Vickery (1998). Many of the listed pre-Angkor inscriptions had not been translated into French while others had not survived well, and could only be partially translated. Some inscriptions were ruined over time, from weathering, and possible intentional destruction, thus containing gaps where the engraved stone has worn away or where the writing is illegible. Moreover, some details may never be understood because of linguistic difficulties.

A number of inscriptions listed were not present among the inscriptions contained in Cœdès' *Inscriptions du Cambodge*. They remain to be found among the more obscure texts of the *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*. It was believed that the corpus of texts recovered, translated and examined during this investigation represented an adequate and manageable study sample that could offer substantial evidence and insight into the nature of state and society in pre-Angkor Cambodia.

4.4 The Analysis

A synopsis of each text is provided summarizing the nature and content of the text and highlighting important features. The synopses have been divided into two groups.
The first group comprises the pre-Angkor inscriptions that clearly indicated a date. The second group consists of the pre-Angkor inscriptions that do not indicate a date, or which may bear incomplete dates whereby part of the date had been worn away or is indecipherable. The second group of inscriptions is dated to the pre-Angkor period due to other features such as the recorded reigning king, or the style of writing (Cœdès, 1937 – 1966; Jenner, 1981). The inscriptions examined date between 611 and 803 AD, although some of the undated inscriptions may have dated to the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

Table 1. Dated Inscriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K. #</th>
<th>Title of Inscription</th>
<th>Date (AD)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Stele of Phu-Hu'u</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Stele de Prei Mien</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Stele of Prah Kuha Luon</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Stele of Vat Prei Val</td>
<td>664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53/54</td>
<td>Inscription of Tuol Prah That (Prei Ven)</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Inscription of Vat Prah Nirpan</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Stele of Ta Kev</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Inscriptions of Prah That Prah Srei</td>
<td>770</td>
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<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Stele of Sophas</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Sambor Jamb (Trapan Prei)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Sambor Jamb (Anlun Pran)</td>
<td>692</td>
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<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Lobok Srot Jamsb</td>
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<td>140</td>
<td>Stele of Vat Baray</td>
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<td>145</td>
<td>Prasat Phum Prasat Jamb</td>
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<td>154</td>
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<td>428</td>
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<td>Group of inscriptions in the hills of the Aran region</td>
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</table>
In Cœdès' *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (1937 - 1966), inscriptions are itemized using a “K” number. Each inscription has a unique K number. An inventory of the total inscriptions used in this thesis appears in Appendix A in ascending order of the K numbers. All titles of the inscriptions have been translated from French into English, although some words remain in the original Sanskrit or Khmer. A glossary is provided in the appendices.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>K. #</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>8</td>
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Table 2. Undated Inscriptions
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<td>46</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>Inscription of Prah That Khnai Van</td>
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<td>Inscription of Prasat Prah That</td>
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<td>Stele of Vat Con Ek</td>
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<td>563</td>
<td>Stele of Phum Crei</td>
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<td>New Inscriptions of Koh Ker: Prasat Andon Kuk</td>
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<td>Stele of Vat Po Ron</td>
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<td>Inscriptions of Tham Lekh</td>
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<td>Inscription D 56 of the Phnom Penh Museum</td>
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<td>Vat Kdei Skie Jamb</td>
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<td>761</td>
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<td>Inscriptions of Prasat An Prah That</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>884</th>
<th>Inscription of the Buddha of Trapan Ven</th>
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<tr>
<td>940</td>
<td>Stele of Tuol Nak Ta Bak Ka</td>
<td>6th-7th</td>
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</table>

4.4.1 Dated Pre-Angkor Inscriptions

K. 9 Stèle of Phu-Hu’u

This inscription dates to 561 saka. It begins with a eulogy to Hara, sovereign, bearing the name Sri Viresvara and mention is made of his younger brother Bhoja who governed Tamandarapura. This follows with a long list of gifts of rice fields and gardens including coconut palm trees and areca nut trees from various people, including some pon and some klon.

K. 18 Stèle of Prei Mien

This inscription was engraved on a stele found at Prei Mien. It carries the date of 648 saka. It was written in Khmer and records the donations of lands and slaves to the god Sankaranarayana by a high official named Bhaskarapala. The number of children of the slaves is indicated. Another dignitary, Siddhigana, gave slaves and their infants, and possible lands. A third dignitary, Candrasena made a donation of lands and slaves. It ends with a fragmentary imprecation and further lists of slaves and rice fields.

K. 44 Stèle of Prah Kuha Luon

This inscription dates to 596 saka. The Sanskrit part comprises a eulogy to Isa and to Sri Jayavarman, naming him a “victorious sovereign”. Goods, fields, oxen, buffalo, gardens and servants are given to ascetics to look after. An imprecation warns that any who steal from the foundation will go to hell for “as long as the sun, moon and stars last”. The Khmer part is similar to the Sanskrit part reiterating that donations of male and female slaves, oxen, buffalo fields and gardens are offered to the god. It also gives the date and indicates that the inscription is a royal edict concerning the god Utpannesvara at Cnar. It mentions Sri Rudravarman. It delineates the lands offered.
follows with a more detailed imprecation listing possible crimes that would cause offenders to be punished.

K. 49 Stele of Vat Prei Val

This inscription begins with a eulogy to King Jayavarman I. It names the year as 586 saka (664 AD). King Jayavarman gives an ordo that all slaves, oxen, buffalo, rice fields and plantations given to the divinity, and slaves offered by those associated with the foundation were for the exclusive use of the pon, grandnephew of the founders. It ends with an imprecation.

K. 54 Inscription of Tuol Prah That (Prei Ven)

This Sanskrit inscription records the installation of a Sivalinga named Sri Kedaresvara in the year 595 saka by an official of the king Jayavarman I, who was the President of the Royal Assembly and who received various honours from the king. Donation of a golden covering and diadem, a pitcher and other objects has been mentioned in the text.

Summary

1. A Siva-linga has been erected here in the year 595 (astronomical details follow).
2-4. Eulogy of king Jayavarman
5. That king had a servant
6. who by the favour of his master became the President of the Royal Assembly and was honoured by pitcher, a small vessel, white parasol
7. By him, out of unique devotion to Sambhu, has been established the Svayambhuva Maha-linga of Siva, called Sri Kedaresvara
8-9. A golden covering and diadem, a pitcher and a vessel of silver, fields, gardens, a large number of cows, buffaloes and slaves, and other items were given with respect by the king, out of devotion, for the worship of Sri Kedaresvara.
10. He, along with his two nephews named Uttara and Udaya, has given all this for maintaining the worship of that god.
11. Whoever flees after having taken even a little of the property of the god Sri Kedaresa will go to the twenty-one hells, scorched by the fire of the heavens.

K. 74  **Inscription of Vat Prah Nirpan**

This inscription carries a date of 619 *saka*. It states that a *Pon* gave slaves to the god-image of another *Pon*. It lists the names of the slaves. It describes the first *Pon* as a "keeper of clothes" and says that his offering is made to make merit.

K. 79  **Stele of Ta Kev**

This inscription cites Sri Bhavavarman as king. It carries a date of 561 *saka*. The Sanskrit part of the text continues with astronomical details and ends by mentioning the establishment of a foundation out of devotion for Sambhu. The Khmer text lists a series of gifts offered and rice fields given in exchange for other goods including clothing, rice paddy, silver, an image sculpted in the resemblance of a person and a cow in calf.

*Figure 3. Stele de Ta Kev (Vickery, 1998:Plate 2)*
Inscriptions of Prah That Prah Srei

Jambs of the doorway in front of edicule L.

This inscription was not translated into French. The southern jamb is said to comprise four lines in Khmer only partially readable. The northern jamb contains eight lines in Sanskrit followed by fifteen lines in Khmer, which are completely ruined. That which remained of the Sanskrit text revealed a date of 692 saka, fifth day of the declining moon of Madhava, and the name of the king, Jayavarman.

Stele of Sophas

This inscription carries the date of 587 saka and gives astronomical details. It records the gift from the people and gives a list of slaves, also rice fields given by the Mratan founder.

Inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy

This inscription was written in both Sanskrit and Khmer in 725 saka. It records four generations of royalty. A queen named Jyestharya makes donations to Shiva. Three persons are named, Jayendra, the queen Nprenadradevi and the king who has gone to Srindraloka. These were probably the ancestors of the lady donor. She gave to the god Srimad-Amrataka slaves and Tmon (the name of a tribe) altogether numbering forty, and also gave some vases, plates, pots, and large metal spoons. She also gave a quantity of cotton, honey, wax, sesame, rice and ginger. The donations also included items left by two persons, probably dead, named Utkrsta and guru Suvira. These were cotton, pigs, areca, oil and ginger.
This inscription dates to 605 saka and records a mratan who gave slaves and oxen to the god Amaresvara. The inscription contains a curse on those who would attempt to steal the slaves or rice from the temple. A second mratan also offers slaves. Assigned to the gods Suvarnalinga, Mianisiva and Amaresvara are male and female personnel, cattle, buffalo and there were rations of rice specified for those who served in the temple.
Pre-Angkor Cambodia: The Transition from Prehistory to History

K. 132 Sambor Jamb (Anlun Pran)

This inscription was written in 614 saka. It tells of a Devi (goddess), Sri Vidyadharani, whose image was erected by a doctor who then died in 629 saka.

K. 134 Lobok Srot Jambs

This inscription is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer, both parts are damaged. It records the installation of an image by king Jayavarman of the Brahmaputra family in the year 703 saka. It follows with a list of servants in the temple and records rice fields, lands, vegetable gardens and oxen. The Khmer text provides the list of personnel divided into groups named apparently according to task (Vickery, 1998:103).

K. 140 Stele of Vat Baray

This inscription was engraved on a stele in a temple. It consists of 18 lines, the first two in Sanskrit and the rest in Khmer. The Sanskrit portion records the installation of an image of Shiva in the year 598 saka. It also records astronomical information. The Khmer portion records the names of slaves given to the god Sri Sankara.

K. 145 Prasat Phum Prasat Jamb

This inscription has not been translated into French. It is said to contain 5 lines in both Sanskrit and Khmer in a damaged state. That which remains of the text contains the date 628 saka (706 AD), the name of the donor: Mratan Medhavi, and that of the god: Sankararayana to whom is offered rice fields, slaves, rice, milk for sacrifice. The Sanskrit part appears to have been an imprecation, as it contains the name of the hell of Avici.

K. 154 Stele of Phum Komrien

This inscription was found engraved on two sides of a stele. One side bears the date of 606 saka and mentions a series of gifts offered to a god including rice, clothes, a dish,
service of slaves, oxen, rice fields and paddy. A gathering of *pon* and *mratan* is mentioned and the text ends with an imprecation stating that those who would steal from the place would be charged as if they had committed murder of a Brahman. The second inscription is very similar in nature and text to the first.

K. 341 Inscription of Nak Buos

Two inscriptions were engraved on the northern and southern jambs at Prasat Nak Buos. The inscription on the southern jamb carried the date of 596 *saka* and describes the erection of a *linga* in celebration of the cult at Lingapura. The northern jamb inscription carried a date of 622 *saka* and comprised a royal order for the enclosure of lands, which are delineated. Gifts of slaves, oxen, buffalo, carts, boats, a plantation, lowlands, forests, rivers, rice fields, mounds, pastures, ponds and lakes were offered to god. The text ends with an imprecation stating that those who steal will burn in hell.

K. 428 Polished Stele of Kuk Prah Kot

This fragmented undated inscription comprises a eulogy of a god, the image of whom was honoured with jewels. It carries a date of 683 *saka* and lists buffalo, gardens, lands, slaves and oxen, which may have been offered gifts. The rest of the inscription is fragmentary and is thought to have listed various daily and twice monthly donations.

K. 447 Stele of Baset

The first lines of this inscription were ruined. It may have contained an invocation to the god Trailokysara. The fifth verse mentions Jayavarman “whose commandments are respected by innumerable kings bowing to him, and who is, in combat, a living incarnation of Victory”. The inscription records the founding of an image of god by Dharmapala to increase the merits of his master. The text then records the date, 57x *saka* and follows with astronomical details. It ends with slaves offered as gifts to the god by Dharmapala and the purchase of a rice field.
K. 451  
**Inscription of Prasat Prei Thnal (South)**

This inscription was written onto two jambs. The south jamb bore the date of 502 saka and listed slaves, oxen and a plantation. The inscription names several rice fields, bought and offered to the god, one rice field was given as reimbursement of a debt. The north jamb begins with an imprecation against those who would steal gold, silver, copper, bronze, clothes, rice fields, plantation and oxen from the god, that they will end up in hell with their relations. Those who would cause harm towards the god are also warned. The inscription ends with a list of endowments for the rainy season including clothes, oil, areca, mustard, sesame, honey and decorticated rice.

K. 493  
**Inscription of Tuol Kok Prah**

The stone containing this inscription was found in a paddy field to the east of Tuol Kok Prah. The inscription was written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer. It records the installation of an image of the god Amratakesvara in 579 saka by Jnanacandra, minister of king Jayavarman I, and donation of lands and slaves. The Khmer portion contained a list of donations, mostly rice fields. There is also mention of buffalo, clothes and slaves. Clothes are used for a payment of taxes.

K. 505-507  
**Group of inscriptions in the hills of the Aran region**

This inscription bears the date of 561 saka. It lists slaves and plantations of areca nut trees and coconut trees and the names of their keepers. Treasures of bronze, trays and a bed are listed followed by more slaves.

K. 561  
**Inscription of Tuol An Tnot**

This inscription begins with an invocation to Mahesvara. It mentions Jayavarman and gives a date of 603 saka. It follows with an imprecation and describes the annual offering to god of rice, a servant and clothes. Those who neglect the offering are said to go to hell. The Khmer part of the inscription describes the offerings to god and other income of the god that the Pon gives as taxes including white rice. It lists religious donations including clothes, more white rice and a slave.
K. 582  **Inscription of Tuol Tramun**

This inscription begins with astronomical details, bears a date of 600 saka, and describes the founding of a *linga* by a personage named Brahmasakti. The text then describes gifts offered by a number of officials to the god Kedaresvara including serfs, oxen, buffalo, rice field, coconut palms and areca nut trees. The living places of the serfs and the rice fields are said to join with the taxes allocated to the divinity.

K. 589, 590  **Inscriptions of Tuol Komnap**

The first of two pre-Angkorian inscriptions found at Tuol Komnap comprises four lines of Sanskrit, mostly involving astronomical details. It records the founding of the image of Visnu named Sri Visvarupa by a Brahman in 626 saka. There is no mention of the reigning king. The second inscription is a Khmer text, listing slaves and rice fields, which had preceded a text in Angkorian writing of which nothing remains.

K. 600  **Inscription of Angkor Borei**

The village of Angkor Borei might represent the ruins of an ancient city known as Vyadhapura. A large block of stone was discovered in the centre of the area containing a record dated 533 saka. The first line of the north inscription gives the date, day and astrological information. The text mentions a Pon Uy who gives a number of gifts to Kpon Kamratan An. These gifts include 7 slaves (4 male, 2 female, 1 male infant), 60 oxen, 2 buffalo, 10 goats, 40 coconut palms and rice fields. The south inscription contains a fragmented list of servant names. The east inscription lists slaves, cattle, rice fields and a vegetable garden. It also states that the Mratan Antar joined subsistence means with H.R.M. Kamraten Tem Krom. The slaves include dancers, singers, musicians, and workers for the rice fields. Further slaves and oxen are offered as gifts from the *acarya* Kandin. This is one of a small number of texts in which the principal deity is called *kpon*, a term not found after pre-Angkor times (Vickery, 1998:105).
K. 604  
**Inscription of Sambor Prei Kuk: South Jamb of Tower F3**

There is no translation in French but a description of the inscription is given. The text is said to begin with an invocation to Kadambesvara, followed by a eulogy of king Isanavarman. It makes allusion to the conquest of Funan. A servant of the king named Vidyavisesa, versed in various sciences, erected a *linga* in 548 *saka*, here at the tower F. He offered to him the village of Sakatirtha, and the king made a Brahman of the sect of Pasupata the eternal official.

“And the privilege of this foundation having been fixed, the founder was made by the king the first beneficiary of (god) Tamandarapurasvamin. Hence it came about that Vidyavisesa, who must be a Pasupata Brahman, was made responsible by the king of the official functions of the *linga* founded by him, and that this *linga* bears the name of Tamandarapurasvamin.”

K. 652  
**Inscription of the Sala Srok of Romduol**

This inscription dates to 609 *saka* and records astronomical details and the founding of a *linga*.

K. 666  
**Inscription of Vat Kirivon**

This inscription dates to 592 *saka*. It is written in Sanskrit and contains three lines recording the installation of a Siva-linga. The first part of the text records astrological information and goes on to state that the *linga* is erected according to the rules. It also mentions that Prabhasoma, his sons and grandsons and the wife of Somati obtained freedom.

K. 688  
**Inscription of Prasat Prei Prasat**

This inscription dates to 641 *saka*. It describes delineated rice fields offered to a god.
K. 748  Vat Vihar Tran Jamb

The temple called Vat Vihar Tran contained a sculpture of Shiva and Parvati. There was no translation in French but it is said to have comprised 16 lines in pre-Angkorian writing. The text was badly preserved, especially on the right side where the stone was flaked away. The first four lines form 2 Sanskrit verses, of which the first presents the date of 535 saka, 13th day of the declining moon of Phalguna, and the second, very ruined, mentions the gifts made to a sala of brahmans. These gifts are numbered in the 14 lines of Khmer text: these are female slaves (ku) and male slaves (va), livestock and plantations.

K. 749  Inscriptions of Prasat Ak Yom

Ruins of the brick temples known as Prasat Ak Yom have been found at the bottom and on the slope of the southern embankment of the tank called Western Baray (Majumdar, 1953:7). We learn from several Khmer inscriptions on the door of one of these temples that it was dedicated to Gambhiresvara and founded in the 7th century AD. The oldest of these records, an inscription of 15 lines refers to the endowment by Mratan Kirtigana. The date, very nearly effaced may be read as 531 saka. Another record in the same temple is clearly dated as 626 saka.

K. 753  Inscriptions of Prasat Ak Yom

Piedroit east of the southern door of the central sanctuary

This inscription has not been translated into French. It comprises a text of 25 lines of which only the beginning remains. The date inscribed was 626 saka. It mentions donations offered by one or several mratan to one or several divinities, of whom one appears to bear the name of Yudhesvara.

K. 904  Stele of the Western Baray

The Sanskrit part of this inscription begins with the date of 635 saka and an invocation to Isvara, poet and Brahman. It follows with a eulogy to Jayadevi, daughter
of the king Jayavarman. The inscription states they both founded a god image and showered brahmans with rich gifts. The queen gave lands worth a silver vase to the god, also gardens for the increase of merit. A Brahman and his wife offered slaves, oxen, buffalo, lands, gold, silver, and other gifts. An imprecation then follows. The Khmer part of the inscription delineates lands given by Jayadevi and a Mratan. There is a list of slaves offered to god by the Mratan. Rice paddy and fields are offered by Jayadevi to the Mratan, the produce of which is to go to the god. A list of names follows. Further slaves, oxen and buffalo, fields and gardens are offered to the god. The text ends with another imprecation.

Figure 5. K. 904 Stele of the Occidental Baray (Queen Jayadevi) (Jacques and Freeman, 1997:61)
K. 910  **Inscription of Tuol An Srah That**

This inscription bears a date of 573 *saka* and begins with astronomical details. It mentions gifts offered by a Mratan to a god and lists slaves. The inscription then lists a number of rice fields that are exchanged for goods such as shell. Lowlands with coconut palms and areca nut trees were given by a *pon* in payment of a debt. The *pon* also returned rice paddy, coconut palms, clothes, a silver item, a drain covering, a gold diadem, a copper object and trees. A list of slaves then follows and mention of a purchased rice field.

4.4.2  **Undated Pre-Angkor Inscriptions**

K. 1  **Stele of Vat Thlen**

This inscription is incised on one face of a stele belonging to the temple. The characters belong to the 7th century. The inscription records that the governors of the towns of Jesthapura and Bhavapura with other personages Pon Kumarasanti, Pon Sivadeva and Acarya Isanadatta granted lands together with male and female slaves to the god Sri Sankara at a place called Cmon where they had erected an image of the god. The text mentions four different types of officials: *pon*, *mratan*, *klon* and *acarya*. One of the *pon* had “deposited slaves as a security”.

K. 8  **New Inscriptions of Jayavarman I**

This inscription was written in Sanskrit and begins with an invocation to the god Pingalesa. It follows with a eulogy of Jayavarman who was born as a portion of god Shiva. Mention is made of Kancipuram, probably a town. The rest of the inscription refers to a family of royal officers. Dharmasvami, a learned Brahman, well-versed in the Vedas and Vedanga, who was chief of Dharmapura where, in addition to the temple of Amratakesa, there were a *viprasala* (House of Brahmans), *sarasvati* (library), *satra* (hospital of almshouse) *khata* (canal) and a pond. The elder son of Dharmasvami held many royal offices such as Commander of the Cavalry, lord of Sresthapura, lord of Dhruvapura, full of dense forests and ferocious men and installed a *linga* of Sri Naimisesvara. His younger brother Pracandasimha was also a high
official and held successively the posts of Commander of the Palace guards who had arms in their hands and wore helmets on their heads, Commander of the Navy, and Chief of the thousand soldiers of Dhanvipura. The last lines refer to gifts to the god Amratakesa.

K. 21 Pona Hor Jambs

This inscription describes a number of decorated pieces of jewellery. Items mentioned include a diadem, bracelets, a belt, a gold disc, silver chain, gold anklet and a candleholder. One bracelet is embossed and many items are decorated with stones, probably jewels.

K. 22 Stele of Vat Po

This inscription bears a eulogy to Isanavarman, “descended from an illustrious family” who erected an image of gods Sankara and Acyuta for the benefit of his family. Also erected were images of Visnu, Sandesvara and a linga of Isana. Servants, lands and cattle were offered and a menacing warning is extended towards those who would dare rob from the images. This follows with a list of slaves and a long list of gifts of delineated rice fields.

K. 24 Inscription of Angkor Borei

There is no translation in French for this inscription. All that remains of the text is a list of slaves, ku and va. The writing is said to be of 6th – 7th century AD style.

K. 25 Inscription of Angkor Borei

There is no translation in French for this inscription. All that remains are four incomplete lines in pre-Angkorian characters mentioning the piebald work (punya) by a person who bears the honorific title of Tan An.
K. 30    **Inscription of Camnom**

This inscription was engraved in Sanskrit and Khmer on a single face of a stele found at the village of Camnom. The characters are said to belong to the 7th century AD. The Sanskrit portion records that Krısnamitra established the god Harihara (or Visnu-Shiva), called in the Khmer part Yajnapatisvara. His brother-in-law, called Ci Dok granted a piece of land to the god. Isvarakumara, grandson and grandnephew of these two built at their command a temple to the god and completed the endowments. The details of endowments are contained in the Khmer text. Krısnamitra gave six male and three female slaves. Ci Dok granted a piece of land of which the boundaries are indicated. Several other personages, Rudrabhava, Puspanandana and Vikarananta also contributed lands, the rents of which payable to the temple are specified. Although various persons made the endowments jointly, the merit accruing from them is assigned to Isvarakumara alone.

K. 38    **Inscription of Vat Tnot**

This inscription represents a punya, or work of merit. It comprises a royal edict concerning work, possibly an image erected by Pon Tan. Several categories of personnel are listed, also delineated rice fields and mention is made of Sri Jayavarman. The text contains an imprecation, citing punishment for those who contest the edict. The text also mentions the Mratan governor of Vikramapura, a Mratan Klon, and the nephew of Pon Tan and another Mratan who is a grandson, but the text is too fragmentary to make out any more detail.

K. 41    **Stele of Vat Prei Sva**

This inscription was written in Khmer and the characters belong to the 7th century AD. It gives the details of lands given to the god Sri Pingalesvara (a name of Shiva) by some dignitaries. Some rice fields are given in exchange for clothing and silver.
K. 46  Stele of Phnom Nok

This brief undated inscription lists a number of slaves, cattle and rice lands given by a
mratan and a pon to a god.

K. 48  Inscription of Vat Prei Carek

This short inscription of two lines in pre-Angkorian Khmer writing mentions the reign
of Jayavarman and lists various offerings of coconut palms, oxen and decorticated
rice.

K. 51  Inscription of Vat Kdei Trap

This undated fragmentary inscription indicates the joining of goods between a
Brahman and His Royal Majesty. It lists donations of dancers, rice field workers, and
a plantation and rice field. An imprecation then follows.

K. 66  Inscription of Snay Pol

This short inscription lists servants of the female deity, which includes a mratan and
two klon as well as ku and va. Another mratan is the founder and gives servants to the
Holy Bhagavati. Vickery suggests the inscription shows an effort by a regional chief
to assume royal status during what could have been a period of weak central authority
K. 76 Inscription of Phnom Ho Phnou

This inscription was not translated into French. It is said to have been a text inscribed in pre-Angkorian Khmer characters. The first lines had disappeared and the text began in the middle of a list of slaves. The text continues and ends with a list of delineated rice fields.

K. 80 Stele of Vat Prei Ven, Dite of S vai Chno

S vai Chno is the name of a village southwest of Phnom Penh. The inscription, engraved on a single face of a stele, contains ten lines of writing, the first seven in Sanskrit and the rest in Khmer. It belongs to the time of Isanavarman who is referred to as the suzerain of three kings and lord of three towns. It records the establishment of an asrama by Vidyadeva. Gifts offered included slaves, oxen, areca nut trees and rice fields.
K. 90  
**Inscriptions of Kuk Prah Kot**

This inscription contains a eulogy to the god Prahasitesvara and to the king Isanavarman. It contains an order of the king granting exclusive rights over gifts. An imprecation follows punishing those who would steal from this place or who would disobey the order. It ends stating that an obligation is made to offer fruit and flowers to god on the four annual feast days.

K. 98  
**Paving Stone of Bantay Prei Nokor**

This inscription was not translated into French. It is said to comprise seven letters in pre-Angkorian writing, but the third letter has disappeared. All that remains is “This is the --- of Tan An”. The missing letter is thought to indicate a type of offering made by a skilled woman, Tan An.

K. 107  
**Inscription of Prah That Khnai Van**

This short fragmentary inscription perhaps describes a gift of a delineated pond given to H.R.M. Svayambhu and H.M. Bha Nariyya. The resources of the pond are said to go to H.R.M. Sri Jayadeva.

K. 109  
**Inscriptions of Prasat Prah That**

This inscription is divided into two parts. The first part contains an imprecation against those who would attempt to destroy the foundations. The second part contains a eulogy, astronomical information, and describes a chief of Vyadhapura. A linga is erected and servants, slaves, livestock and lands are offered.

K. 126  
**Stele of Tuol Kok Prasat**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to comprise three incomplete lines in pre-Angkorian Khmer writing. It represents part of a list of gifts offered to a holy master (vrah svami) comprising male and female slaves and a pair of oxen. There is no date and no mention of which ruling king.
K. 133 **Inscriptions of Trapan Thma (Sambor)**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to have comprised two different inscriptions, both in Khmer. The first one gives a list of slaves offered to a divinity, whose name has disappeared, by a chief guide in 7th century writing. It also mentions a technical specialist involved in water transport. The second inscription also gives a list of slaves offered to the god Sri Vimalesvara by a Mratan Rudravindu. It ends with the mention of rice fields worth 80 female slaves, and offered to god. The writing in the second inscription indicated it belonged to the 8th century.

K. 137 **Lonvek Jamb**

This undated inscription records the order of the king charging an individual to take 400 slaves to the Vrah Mratan Kamraten Damdam, a high official and made him responsible for making an inscription recording the gifts. The inscription specifically states that the gods are in the same domain as the god Kamraten Tem Krom, and not in the domain of Samudrapura. A list of servants follows: servants of god and deputy public prosecutors and slaves of god including dancers, singers, fruit pickers, weavers, rice field workers, and various slaves belonging to various foundations.

*Figure 7. Piedroit de Lonvek (Vickery, 1998:Plate 4)*
K. 146  Inscription of Kakoh

This inscription was not translated into French. The writing style suggests it belongs to the 8th century. It comprised fifty lines in Khmer, now in a very bad state. Nothing is legible of the first twelve lines except for mention of the repeated word “sri”, indicating names of divinities. The twelfth line mentions slaves, buffalo and fields. The text then lists generosities of the king to three divinities. There is a list of slaves and further mention of buffalo, oxen, and plantations. The final lines mention coconut palms and rice fields.

K. 149  Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk: South Jamb of Tower N18

This inscription bears a brief astronomical beginning and mentions a gift of slaves from an acarya who has been the title of Mratan An to a god, Sri Ratnesvara. This title has been bestowed by the Royal Majesty Sri Bhavavarman, who obtained it from Mahendravarman, who had obtained it from Isanavarman. Subsistence is said to be given to the chief of the slaves and this is followed by a list of slaves, oxen and buffalo.

K. 163  Inscriptions of Prasat Ampil Rolu’m

This undated inscription records a gift of slaves from a pon to a god and lists the slaves. It also mentions the joining of resources between individuals, possibly divinities.

K. 259  Vat Khnat Jambs

Of the inscriptions found on the jambs at Vat Khnat, four dated to the pre-Angkor period. The first two inscriptions on the southern jamb were engraved during the reign of Jayadevi, and recorded a royal order. It followed with an imprecation but the next passage was ruined. More imprecations followed. The third inscription from the southern piedroit contained a eulogy to Lokanatha, wife of Sri who was sovereign. It mentions Jayavarman and his daughter who was gifted with divine virtues known by the name of Sri Jayadevi. The inscription from the northern jamb mentions a rice field
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and slaves offered to god, and the purchase of a rice field in exchange for paddy and unknown gold items.

K. 357  **Jamb of Prasat Kompon**

This inscription has not been translated into French. The inscription was engraved on the southern jamb of the front door of a temple. The style of the inscription suggested it is pre-Angkorian. It comprised 24 lines, in 7th century writing. It contained a registered list of names of slaves (*va* and *ku*) offered by a woman bearing the title of *ge klon* whose name has disappeared in a break at the beginning of the text, also that of the divinity. These slaves came from localities named Abhayapura, Nandanavana, Vnon, Cok Vinau, and Rampom. Some of the slaves at the beginning and end of the text were not designated as *va* and *ku* but bear names composed of various words followed by the word *an*. This can also be found in other pre-Angkorian inscriptions. The list also mentions some areca nut trees (*sla*) and coconut palms (*ton*).

K. 367  **Stele of Vat Ph’u**

This inscription was not translated into French. It is said to have comprised homage to Shiva and a eulogy to Jayavarman I. There was also a royal order concerning immunity or right of sanctuary and the policing of a sanctuary called *Lingaparvata*.

K. 377  **Inscription of Surin**

This undated inscription concerns Citrasena, who after his coronation was known as Mahendravarmman. It states that he conquered all countries and then founded a bull of stone.

K. 421  **Inscription of Thap Mu’oi**

This inscription was not translated into French. It is said to contain eight lines of characters difficult to decipher, also making it difficult to assign a date. The Khmer text lists nine countries of which the first four bear a name beginning with *chdin* “river”, the following two with *thkval* “elevation” and the three final with *vrai*
“forest”. Each of these countries produces certain quantities of yava “grain”, madhu “honey” and madhucchista “wax”.

K. 422  
**Inscription of Can Cum**

This very short inscription entails a gift of slaves to Sri Vijayesvara.

K. 423  
**Paving Stone of Trapan Thom**

This short inscription is in two parts. The first part mentions a sacrificer and lists va, ku and their children as well as oxen, trees and paddy. The second part names a pon who is the master sacrificer and who is said to pay a price to the religious. This is followed by a list of va, ku and trees.

K. 424  
**Inscriptions of Phnom Mrah Prou**

This inscription lists a group of Pon and describes gifts offered to the god Sri Tungisa. Gifts include perfume, silver flowers, a hut and a copper gong that were bought in exchange for paddy. A list of servants then follows and mention of a coconut palm.

K. 426  
**Stele of Vat Con Ek**

This Khmer inscription is stated to be in writing of 7th century AD. It represents an order given by the unnamed king to Siddhayatna stating that he must join his means of subsistence with Sri Acalesvara. The means of subsistence are listed as slaves, oxen, buffalo, rice fields, paddy, vegetable gardens and lowlands which are said to be given by all the people of god. Punishment will be brought upon those who attempt to steal, scheme, act with insolence, or contest this royal order.

K. 430  
**Inscription of Phnom Pros**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to contain a fragment of an inscription in Khmer, missing the beginning. Eleven incomplete lines constituting the end of the text comprise the end of a list of slaves. It also mentions a piece of land
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(sanre) and a plantation of 128 areca nut trees. Finally, it mentions a new list of slaves offered by a pon. The writing is pre-Angkorian and could date to mid 7th century.

K. 436  
**Inscription of Sambor Prei Kuk: South Jamb of the east door of the exterior enclosure of Group N**

This inscription comprises a eulogy to Shiva, Nilakantha, and the king Rajendravarman, "who shines like the break of dawn in the family of kings of the Kambuja" and piously showered brahmans with gifts. The inscription continues with describing a servant of the king who founded an asrama at Lingapura.

K. 437  
**Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk: N14 Tower Jambs**

This undated fragmentary inscription mentions Sakaramanjari, wife of king Isanavarman who erected an image.

K. 439  
**Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk: Tower N20 Jambs**

Two jambs bear undated fragmentary inscriptions. The south jamb comprises possible eulogies to Shiva and Acyuta, Gambhiresvara and Bhavavarman and his brothers. The North jamb mentions king Jayavarman who "maintained this prosperous land", who was "powerful, favoured among kings". It mentions the founding of a linga of gold. Gifts of oxen, buffalo, fields and gardens were made to the god. An ascetic named Rudrabhakti was put in charge of a cult. The inscription ends with an imprecation.

K. 440  
**Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk: Jambs of the east door of the exterior of the Group S**

This inscription begins with an invocation to the god Prahasitesvara. The unnamed king is described as "the sun in the sky that is the line of venerable sovereigns of the land", emanating a majesty. The lengthy inscription comprises mostly the eulogy to god and king. Towards the end it names Isanavarman, "who had for armour his honour in battle". The king erected a silver image in accordance with the rites.
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K. 482  Inscription of Kok Roka

This undated inscription describes the founding of an image of a god followed by a list of slaves offered as a gift.

K. 483  New Inscriptions of Phnom Bayan

This inscription is very damaged. It contained about 30 verses of which ten are lost and no verse is complete. It records the donation of god Utpannesvara by king Bhavavarman. The first verse refers to his descent from Kaundinya and Soma. Later in the inscription it refers to the establishment of a satra (alms house) in a village called Satragrama.

K. 559  Inscription of Tuol An

This inscription lists gifts from a pon to H.M. Manisiva, which includes a copper parasol, perfume, male and female slaves and their children. It then lists a number of rice fields, and gifts of buffalo, coconut palms and areca nut trees.

K. 560  Inscription of Vat An Khvav

Similarly to K. 559, this inscription also lists a number of gifts given from a pon to H.M. Manisiva, which include a copper parasol, perfumes and slaves. It lists rice fields, buffalo, coconut palms and areca nut trees.

K. 562  Stele of Tuol An K'vav

This inscription lists gifts to a divinity from Mratan and Klon donors who were versed in Sanskrit texts. Gifts include male and female slaves including children and grandchildren. One klon is specified as female. Buffalo, bulls, cows, goats and rice fields are also listed. This is followed by a list of twenty va, forty ku and fifty children. Another Mratan donor gives these slaves, rice fields, vegetable gardens, oxen and buffalo to the divinity. The lands are then demarcated.
K. 563  Stele of Phum Crei

This inscription describes a royal order given by Jayavarman to erect an image of a god. The image was founded by a servant of the king who is said to bear his order in the guise of a crown. The text then follows with a list of slaves donated by the Pon to god. It also lists rice fields, gardens, coconut palms, areca nut palms and oxen. The income of slaves and rice fields are shared between gods Narayana and Kapilavasudeva.

K. 648  Inscription of Nak Ta Tan Ray

This inscription dates to the 6th century, bearing a date 5xx saka. It gives a list of slaves offered to a god; also rice fields, oxen, buffalo, and plantations.

K. 651  Inscription of Phnom Pan Can

This undated inscription pays homage to Shiva who took the form of Brahma at the throne of a lotus and styled his hair in a chignon like the ascetics.

K. 657  Stele of Phnom Prah Lan

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to contain six lines of fairly erased pre-Angkorian characters. It comprises a list of slaves “offered to the cell” and ends with a menacing curse sending hostiles and their families of seven generations to the Arici hell.

K. 664  Stele of Sambuor

This inscription describes gifts of the Mratan Kumarasvami to god Tilakesvara. It gives a list of slaves, oxen and rice fields.
K. 676  **New Inscriptions of Koh Ker: Prasat Andon Kuk**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to have been in Sanskrit and contained the name of Sri Jayavarman.

K. 689  **Stele of Vat Po Ron**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to be of the 7th century and in bad condition. Apart from simple lists of slaves it is difficult to translate because of gaps in the text. The first text begins with a verse in Sanskrit, followed by a listing of taxes owed to the god of Sivapura. Most of the text comprises a list of slaves va and ku, some rice fields and oxen. The second inscription begins with a line in Khmer mentioning a new Sivapura, followed by 5 lines of Sanskrit unable to be translated. This is followed by more text in Khmer indicating the quantities of foodstuffs involved in the composition of caru. It then mentions areca nut trees and coconut palms, clothes and finally ends with another list of slaves.

K. 709  **Stele of Trau Tasar**

This fragmented undated inscription contains three lines in Sanskrit and five lines in Khmer. It describes a Sri Bhupati who is living with ascetics and who is gifted with virtues. It mentions the king, Isanavarman. It also mentions an enclosed garden and gifts of slaves and buffalo made from a Pon.

K. 710  **Inscription of Ta Lo**

This inscription is not translated into French. It contains fragments of 13 lines in Khmer in 7th century writing. From that which remains we are able to infer that the text relates a donation from Santikirti to a divinity who may have been called H.R.M. Caranta and who was associated with H.R.M. Sri Siddhesvara. The donation comprised 17 slaves va and ku, 400 areca nut trees, 50 coconut palms, 100 (measures of paddy).
K. 718, 719  Inscriptions of Popel

These are two fragmented inscriptions from Popel in 7th century Khmer writing. K. 718 comprises 15 lines that list gifts made to a god whose name has disappeared. The Mratan Caranta gives slaves va and ku and 3 rice fields; Pon Adit offers a rice field and Pon Sudeva gives 20 oxen, 1 area (krala), 10 coconut palms, 2 rice fields. The rice fields are measured in pada.

K. 719 comprises 12 lines listing the gifts of a person whose name has disappeared, to a god named ...nesvara. The gifts comprise slaves va and ku, 200 areca nut trees, coconut palms and rice fields.

K. 723, 724  Inscriptions of Tham Lekh

These inscriptions were engraved in a cave at Tham Lekh, north of Vat Phu in Laos. It records the grotto being made for the meditation of ascetics by Vaktrasiva and named Vaktraguha. Two short Khmer inscriptions contain an imprecation against those who would destroy the grotto.

K. 726  Stele of Tan Kran

This undated inscription comprises three texts on three faces of a stele. Face A begins with listing the nine planets and follows with an imprecation against those who take lands illegally. The king is said to have gone to Sivapura heaven. The inscription follows with a list of rice fields exchanged for other goods by various people, including “people knowing their duty”, “chief of the warriors”, and officials. Some land is given as tax and offered to god. Goods exchanged for the lands include silver, clothing, and paddy. The inscription on face B lists several further rice fields exchanged for similar goods and offered to god. The inscription on face C lists more exchanged rice fields and slaves.
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K. 728  
**Inscription D 56 of the Phnom Penh Museum**

This inscription records gifts made by a *klon* to a god including slaves, rice fields, oven, fruits and paddy. The goods of the god are joined with those of another. The interior of the enclosure is said to raise the authority of the religious. The text ends with an imprecation.

K. 733  
**Inscriptions of Phnom Praram Vihar (Kompon Chnan)**

This inscription is written in Sanskrit. It contains an invocation to god Sambhu and eulogy of king Bhavavarman, it records religious donations of Vidyapuspa, an official of king Bhavavarman. The donor was the head (*acarya*) of the Pasupatas, a religious sect, and well-versed in grammar and philosophy. These donations are describes as slaves and other presents, which were offered to Shiva. They included oxen, lands and gold.

K. 749  
**Inscriptions of Prasat Ak Yom**

*South Jamb of the east door of the central sanctuary*

This inscription bears a date of x39 *saka*. It states there is a donation made to a god. It names women, rice, oxen and clothes. Slaves of a *mratan* are given to his children and female slaves are given to another official. The means of subsistence and slaves are given to the god.

K. 755  
**Inscription of the Buddha of Vat Chnah**

There was no French translation for this inscription. It is said to have comprised two lines in pre-Angkorian characters giving a list of *va* and *ku*.

K. 760  
**Vat Kdei Skie Jamb**

The first lines of this inscription have been ruined. It names the king as Rajendravarman and records his founding images of Vishnu and Laksmi. The
inscription delineates lands, mentioning Bhadrapura and Madhavapura and states the boundaries of rice fields given to god.

K. 761 **Ablutions Tank of Prah That Pre Con Srok**

This undated fragmentary inscription mentions a Brahman, delineates a land and contains an imprecation. The rest of the text has disappeared.

K. 764 **Vat An Pisei Jamb**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. The text was found on a fragment of a jamb bearing ten lines in large pre-Angkorian lettering. The only words that can be made out are about ten *ku* and *va*, thus suggesting it was perhaps a list of slaves.

K. 765 **Prasat Nan Khmau Jamb**

This inscription was written in Khmer and contains a list of slaves, with an indication in figures of the number of children of each female slave and fields and gardens given to the god Vrah Yama. The characters belong to the 7th century AD.

K. 770 **New Inscriptions of Koh Ker**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to be a Khmer inscription of forty lines, of which only the left side remains. It gives a list of serfs (*gho, tai, gval*) and the first lines should contain a date, a name of a divinity, which only the words “vrah kamrate[nan]---svara punya dai” remains.

K. 784, 785 **Inscriptions of Prasat An Prah That**

785: There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to comprise three lines in Khmer on a piece of stone in “beautiful pre-Angkorian writing”.
784: There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to comprise a fragment of stele found in the same place as K. 785. It is mounted on a pediment decorated with leafy branches in the form of lotus leaves in pre-Angkorian style. The names of the donator and divinity, which are thought to have been at the beginning of the text, have disappeared while all that remains is a list of slaves.

K. 790  
**Stele of the Lopez Collection (Phnom Penh)**

This inscription simply lists a number of gifts from a *pon* to a *kpon* (deity), including *va* and *ku*, and rice fields, which are identified in the text by name and size.

K. 811  
**Inscription de Nak Ta Tras**

There is no French translation for this inscription. It is said to have comprised eight lines in pre-Angkorian characters listing donations of rice fields and slaves to two divinities bearing the names of Pinakisvara and Shiva.

K. 816  
**Inscription of Tower B of the Monument near Roban Romas**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to be written in pre-Angkorian letters and lists slaves offered to the god Prajasesvara, probably another name for the god Siva.

K. 884  
**Inscription of the Buddha of Trapan Ven**

This inscription has not been translated into French. It was a short inscription engraved on three petals of a lotus, which is serving as a seat for an image of Buddha "*po cas suryya dat"*. It is suggested that Suryadatta is the name given to the image of Buddha, or instead the name of the founder of the image.

K. 940  
**Stele of Tuol Nak Ta Bak Ka**

This stele is incised with an eleven-line inscription in Khmer and can be dated to the pre-Angkor period from palaeographic evidence. Typically for Khmer inscriptions,
the text deals with practical matters of the foundation. An unnamed dignitary ordered that a certain quantity of salt be delivered to the boats of various sanctuaries dedicated to Shiva. It contains the name Sri Bhadresvara, which can be connected to an important god of Lingaparvata (Jessup and Zephir, 1997:174). Lingaparvata was placed at Wat Phu in present-day Laos. An interesting aspect of this stele is the motif carved at the top of the inscription, an image of the bull Nandin, the vehicle of Shiva and also the god’s animal form. Nandin is depicted lying on an open lotus blossom (see figure below).

Figure 8. K. 940 Stele of Tuol Neak Ta Bak Ka (Jessup and Zephir, 1997:21)
4.5 Summary

This chapter introduced and examined a selection of pre-Angkor Cambodian inscriptions. The epigraphical corpus was essentially based on a list contained in Vickery’s (1998) book, *Society, Economics and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia*. The selected texts that could be located and translated appear in the above tables and form the main study sample. More than one hundred inscriptions were translated from the French and placed into two groups, depending on whether they carried an identifiable date. Although some inscriptions were unable to be translated, a description of these inscriptions could be given. It is important to note that the analysis was made on the available inscriptions, located and translated in this study. The nature of each inscription and the information contained within the texts are summarized. Although some pre-Angkor inscriptions offer value mainly for their terminology only (for example, K. 24, 25, 126), and others may be useful only for chronology by simply identifying a reigning king or date, (such as K. 103, 676) most can contribute to the understanding of Khmer society as the first states develop. These results can now be used as epigraphical evidence of the nature of society during pre-Angkor times and can be studied in relation to ancient Chinese documents and archaeological investigations.
Chapter Five

Origins of the Early Khmer States

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the nature of Cambodian society as it approached civilization. It firstly presents the prehistoric context from which the first states developed and then offers an historical overview of the early states of Funan and Chenla. Although the main content of this chapter comes from archaeological investigations, both archaeological data and historical records will be incorporated to give insight into the origins of the early Khmer states.

From 500 BC, autonomous lowland bronze-working communities were developing into iron-working chiefdoms with complex social ranking, craft specialisation, influenced by trade and contact with India and China. Agriculture was probably the most important profession upon which the ancient Cambodian economy was founded. The first major intensification in agricultural methods probably came with the formation of centralised chiefdoms between 500-1BC. By 400-200 BC iron smelting and forging were becoming widespread in Southeast Asia and by 200 BC many peoples in the region possessed a sophisticated metal technology that included bronze, tin and iron (Tarling, 1992:185).

Iron Age sites in the Mun Valley are among the most important and significant in Southeast Asia for documenting the rise of the state. The best evidence for Iron Age society in the area of the later civilisation of Angkor currently comes from northeast Thailand. The Iron Age communities of the Mun Valley witnessed a series of changes that reflect increasing social complexity latent in a transition to the state. These include larger population numbers, a concentration of settlements in favoured low-lying riverine swamplands suited to rice cultivation, the beginning of specialized salt production and exchange, the production and concentration of symbols of wealth and status, and the establishment of iron smelting and forging within settlements.
Agricultural surpluses and the monopoly of trade permitted clustering of populations and augmentation of political power. Ranked, centralised societies grew in complexity and commanded new technologies, craft specialisation, organisation and provision of food and water for large groups, the organisation of people, surplus and writing systems. Various crafts and industries such as weaving, pottery, carpentry, and the fashioning of wood and metal played an important role in the economy. There were also teachers, astrologers, elephant drivers, incense sellers, gardeners, and garland makers who offered flowers in the temples. Many pre-Angkor inscriptions confirm the continuation of these crafts from the prehistory to history.

The earliest historical account of the Khmer can be found in Chinese chronicles that tell of a coastal kingdom called Funan, which existed from about 100 AD. Chinese records describe two successive kingdoms, which they called Funan, from the 2nd to 6th centuries, and Chenla from the 6th to the 8th centuries (ibid:158). Tributes and embassies sent to the Chinese court have been registered in dynastic records. These texts contain names of rulers, geographical information and evidence of traditions and rituals. In the third century AD, the Wu emperor sent Kang Tai and Zhu Ying to gather information concerning the Khmer people and their customs. Funan reputedly contained walled and moated urban centres that housed wealthy rulers and artisans. Among these are Oc Eo (in Vietnam) and Angkor Borei (in Cambodia). Research into both the archaeological evidence from Oc Eo and the Chinese texts can offer valuable insight into the dynamics of this early Cambodian society.

This chapter explores the Iron Age communities of Southeast Asia on the verge of the rise of the first states. Using evidence from recent archaeological investigations of the Bronze Age site of Ban Lum Khao and the Iron Age sites of Noen U-Loke and Non Muang Kao, it examines the nature of society as the first states developed. Chinese records offer a perspective of Cambodian society from a contemporary observer, and this chapter will analyse and incorporate information contained within these texts in order to enhance understanding of early Cambodian civilization.
5.2 Origins of the Civilization of Angkor Project

The Origins of Angkor Project is a joint venture of the Anthropology Department of the University of Otago, New Zealand and the Royal Thai Fine Arts Department. The research programme is designed to provide a basic cultural and chronological sequence for the Upper Mun Valley during prehistory, with special reference to identifying any social, technological and economic changes leading towards the development of states (Higham, 2000). Excavations undertaken by the project cover a number of sites in Thailand and Cambodia, including the Bronze Age cemetery of Ban Lum Khao and the Iron Age sites of Non Muang Kao and Noen U-Loke. Excavations were also undertaken at Phimai, revealing a late prehistoric occupation beneath the remains of a brick temple (Talbot, 2000).

5.2.1 Ban Lum Khao

Excavations at Ban Lum Khao, a prehistoric settlement located near the junction of two small streams revealed a Bronze Age cemetery. The site yielded three cultural layers; the first comprised disturbed agricultural soil, the second exposed the Bronze Age cemetery and the third contained a thin accumulation of occupational material including shellfish and faunal remains (Higham, n.d). The second layer had very little evidence for industrial or domestic activities. Radiocarbon dates suggested that the initial occupation of the area occurred during the second half of the second millennium BC. There were no dates available for the second layer but on the basis of similarities between the style of the pottery vessels at Ban Lum Khao and the mortuary goods at early Noen U-Loke, the final phase of burials are thought to date ca. 600-500 BC.

Artefacts found at the site included possible burnishing stones, pellets, clay moulds, small ceramic animal figurines, worked bone, stone adzes, adze blade fragments, ceramic anvils, spindle whorls and other lithic items such as whetstones or grinding stones. Personal ornaments include shell and stone beads, ivory and stone bangles, clay beads, bangles and earrings, bronze bangles and other bone and ivory artefacts.
5.2.2 Non Muang Kao

Evidence from the Iron Age site of Non Muang Kao "Mound of the Ancient City" suggests dramatic social changes were taking place in the region. Non Muang Kao was situated in a former river channel complex and comprised two mounds ringed by a series of channels (O'Reilly, 1999:135). The site revealed post holes and possible house foundations in the form of plastered floors. Graves were lined and covered with thin layers of plaster and also filled with rice. A variety of decorative jewellery far greater than at Ban Lum Khao was found among burials including glass and agate beads, iron and bimetallic jewellery including finger, ear and toe rings as well as bangles and small bells. Phimai black pottery was discovered but no utilitarian objects such as anvils or spindle whorls were found as at Ban Lum Kao. Radiocarbon dates suggest the area was occupied from 0-400 AD (Higham and Thosarat, 1998:149-150).

5.2.3 Noen U-Loke

Noen U-Loke is an Iron Age moated settlement located in the Mun River Valley on the lower Khorat Plateau. Although principally an Iron Age site, it also includes a Bronze Age component at its base. Recent excavations at Noen U-Loke have revealed occupation beginning in the late Bronze Age (ca. 600 BC) and ending by about 400 AD, the period associated with the transition to early states (Higham, 2000:19). Industrial activity involved the construction of a series of clay-lined furnaces, which may have been made for iron forging, but there is a lack of evidence for hammer scale. Occupational remains include rows of deep postholes, hearths and pits, both of which have provided large sample of carbonised rice and many pottery vessels and potsherds showed evidence for white residue identified as resin of probable dipterocarp origin (Higham and Thosarat, 1997:5).

At Noen U-Loke, it was possible to identify the transition into the early Iron Age at about 500 BC, and on the basis of 126 inhumation graves, and residential and industrial evidence, it was also possible to trace the history of an Iron Age community over a period of 1000 years. The sample of burials from Noen U-Loke is one of the largest to include well-preserved human remains from an Iron Age site.
Excavations at Noen U-Loke provided insight into the nature of Iron Age society with the presence of rich grave goods, including bronze ornaments, iron tools and weaponry, from even the earliest phase. There was a major change about 200 AD which saw very rich graves of men and women associated with unprecedented quantities of bronze, silver and gold jewellery and the development of a very impressive ceramic industry. This was followed by a period when iron weapons and agricultural implements increased, suggesting intensification of rice cultivation and conflict.

Iron rapidly becomes a popular mortuary offering at Noen U-Loke. It is found with both sexes and among most age groups. The types of iron and bimetallic artefacts found at Noen U-Loke include knives, agricultural tools such as sickles, hoes, spades and digging sticks, jewellery and personal ornaments such as bangles, rings and torcs and points used in weaponry such as arrowheads and socketed spears. Ornamental iron artefacts do not occur with utilitarian iron artefacts, which suggests there was a change from ornamental use of iron to a practical use of iron (Connelly, in Higham, 2000:317). Several types of iron artefacts are restricted to mortuary contexts and the large number of bimetallic rings and ridged knives indicate that these items may have played an important part in the mortuary ritual of the local people (ibid). Bimetallic rings were often found in pairs at the neck or shoulder region at the waist or groin area and may have been used to fasten clothing or a burial shroud (ibid:307). Ultimately results show that iron objects played an important role in the mortuary ritual at Noen U-Loke and individuals were involved in a variety of economic activities ranging from agriculture to hunting or warfare. Utilitarian objects buried with infants suggests either the items were important for the mortuary ritual or the relatives that interred them considered the items representative of their own lives (ibid:318).

Grave goods at Noen U-Loke included pottery, animal bones, agricultural tools, weapons and a variety of personal ornaments. Personal ornaments comprise a threefold meaning for the archaeologist. Firstly they function as part of the mortuary ritual, secondly, they contain symbolic or economic value and thirdly, they can represent evidence for technology, subsistence, trade and exchange and craft specialization (Chang, 2001:24). A diverse range of materials, types and styles of
artefacts were found. While bronze was the most common material for ornaments there was also shell, ivory, agate, carnelian, glass, iron, silver and gold. Types of artefacts included beads, pendants, finger and toe rings, bangles, anklets, torcs, belts, earrings, earplugs and bells. Glass, agate, iron, silver and gold were all new materials to appear in the mortuary ritual while bronze artefacts reached a higher sophistication than in the Bronze Age (ibid:181). By the end of the final mortuary phase, there was a possible shift from the accumulation of goods to an increased concentration of crafting individual items.

Burial phases at Noen U-Loke revealed a developing personal ornament assemblage where experimentation with iron was followed by the employment of more raw materials and a greater technological and artistic sophistication. The changing assemblage suggest two possible theories for society; firstly, there was a group who were experimenting with new and innovative personal ornaments which reflected a dynamic culture with an expansive exchange network and who were open to new ideas and influence, and secondly, they were a strong competitive society which was indicated by the display of personal goods as an important component of that competition.

Findings at Noen U-Loke support the hypothesis that the Iron Age communities recognized status differentials in the mortuary ritual. The more energy expended on interment, the richer or higher the status of the individual. Rich graves are associated with a new range of exotic jewellery fashioned from carnelian, agate and glass. Range and quality of bronzes and high degree of skill in iron forgery are compatible with specialized production. Rich burials at Noen U-Loke indicated how prehistoric societies were growing increasingly complex as they approached statehood.

Stone beads fashioned from banded agate and orange-red carnelian first appeared in quantity in Southeast Asia from early in the Iron Age (500 BC to AD 500, Theunissen, 2000). They were generally thought to have been exotic prestige goods imported via long-distance exchange from India where agate and carnelian bead production had existed since the 3rd millennium BC. Because they were assumed to have come from India, archaeologists have initially interpreted the beads as early evidence of organized Indian trade contact. As rare items of personal ornament the
beads are considered to have functioned as prestige goods and worn to symbolize acquired or attributed status of the individual (Higham and Thosarat, 1997).

There is, however, evidence for local production among Southeast Asian sites. By the end of the Iron Age, manufacture of agate and carnelian beads had commenced at coastal sites in peninsular Thailand, and probably also at Oc Eo in southern Vietnam. Excavations at Oc Eo revealed half-finished beads and chips of agate and carnelian thought to have been produced during bead manufacture. Whether an exotic import or local specialist craft product, these beads were rare items of personal adornment and are assumed to have functioned as prestige goods, permitting exchange to foster inter-elite alliances and could have been worn to symbolize status.

5.2.4 Phum Snay

The Origins of Angkor project extended its research to include excavations at Phum Snay, in the Banteay Meanchey Province in Cambodia in February 2001. Archaeological investigations uncovered an Iron Age cemetery containing nine prehistoric burials with more than three hundred artifacts including ceramic vessels, carnelian and glass beads, grinding stones, bronze bangles and iron tools and weaponry (O'Reilly, 2001). One individual was interred with a cache of iron points and an iron sword. This same individual was buried with green glass earrings, bronze rings, glass beads and a large tiger canine around the neck. There was also an unidentified bronze item in the left hand. The site, which is threatened by extensive looting, is estimated to have been occupied during the late Iron Age of Cambodia from 300 - 500 AD. Associated artifacts include spindle whorls, ceramics and glass beads. Unprovenanced artifacts may indicate a militarized society, as iron swords and spearheads have been found in abundance while there are unconfirmed reports of individuals being buried with helmets and breast plates (ibid).

Evidence at Ban Lum Khao, Non Muang Kao, Noen U-Loke and Phum Snay which suggests that there is increasing wealth in Iron Age cemeteries as well as growth of exchange and rise in social friction. The proliferation of military equipment may indicate increased competition over resources, which may have stimulated the development of strongly hierarchical societies.
5.3 Funan

Funan was located in the southern part of Vietnam and Cambodia. “Funan” is thought to have derived from Ba Phnom, the region around the hill of the same name in South Cambodia (Majumdar, 1953:x). The old capital of Funan is thought to have been Vyadhapura (city of the hunter), which was located in the delta area, probably at the site of present-day Ba Phnom on the Mekong (Sharan, 1974:27).
The origin of Funan is ascribed to an Indian Brahman named Kaundinya who in the 1st century AD defeated the local queen, Soma, who was daughter of the king of the Nagas. Kaundinya married Soma and began the royal line (SarDesai, 1994:22). Between thirteen and seventeen kings are reported to have ruled Funan from the early 2nd until the mid 6th century AD, when Bhavavarman I, first king of Chenla came to the throne (Sharan, 1974, Yung, 2000).

During the first six centuries AD, Funan grew rapidly as a maritime trading region, with a ruling class acquiring wealth from this activity (Vickery, 1998:19). The increase in wealth led to greater and more complex social stratification. Elements of Indian religions and politics were adapted into Funanese society. According to Chinese sources a second Kaundinya, from the Isthmus of Kra, was welcomed sometime in the 4th century AD by Funanese who chose him as their king. This second Kaundinya proceeded to modify the Funanese laws to conform to those employed in India (Yung, 2000).

According to Coedès, (1968:43) Funan was neither a political unit nor a unified state but a group of allied coastal and delta-based ports. Hall (1985:62) stated that the archaeological, linguistic and literary evidence suggested that Funan could be referred to as the first Southeast Asian state. In either case, Funan served as an important
economic centre situated on the trade route linking local, regional and long-distance exchange.

5.3.1 Funan Rulers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>early 2nd-early 3rd century AD</td>
<td>Hun Pan Huang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huntien (Kaundinya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pan Pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 225 AD</td>
<td>Fan Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 3rd century AD</td>
<td>Fan Chan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fan Chang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 3rd - mid-4th century AD</td>
<td>Fan Hsun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 4th century AD</td>
<td>Chu Chan Tan (Chandana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 4th - early 5th century AD</td>
<td>Chiao Chen Ju (Kaundinya II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early 5th - mid-5th century AD</td>
<td>Shih Li To Pa Mo (Srutaravarman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 478 - 514 AD</td>
<td>She Yeh Pa Mo (Jayavarman I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>514 - ca. 540 AD</td>
<td>Rudravarman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *Foreign Countries in the Times of the Wu Kingdom*, King Pan Huang who ruled Funan sometime during the early 2nd to early 3rd century AD is described as young and heroic (Yung, 2000:15). He is said to have cleared forests, captured and trained elephants to become his carriage, which encouraged other kingdoms to bow before him (ibid:25).

Funan is said to have expanded under its greatest ruler, Fan Shih Man, the general of the preceding king, Pan Pan. He allegedly promoted shipbuilding, navigation and foreign trade during his rule in the 3rd century AD (SarDesai, 1994:23). Fan Chan ruled Funan in the mid-third century AD and is referred to as the king of Funan by Kang Tai in *The History of the Three Kingdoms* (Yung, 2000:12). The records state that in the sixth year of Chi Wu (243 AD), Fan Chan sent an envoy of musicians and gifts to the Chinese emperor. These presentations of gifts to the Emperors were often
recorded in the Chinese histories. Disputes over kingship among the Funanese, and later the Khmer, may have resulted in the offering of gifts in return for recognition of status.

The *Liang Annals* record Kang Tai and Zhu Ying as being sent to the kingdom of Hsun (Funan) to gather information about the country, during the Chinese Kingdom of Wu (Yung, 2000:12). They reached the court of Funan in the 3rd century during the reign of Fan Hsun. Kang Tai described Funan as comprising walled villages, palaces and dwellings and stated that the principal city was walled with brick (SarDesai, 1994:23; Yung 2000:12). Fan Hsun is said to have built pavilions, where he took walks and gave audiences. He lived in a multi-storeyed palace, while his subjects lived in thatched houses built on tall piles.

Many rulers may have been murdered by their successors. Rudravarman, son of a concubine, allegedly killed his younger brother who was the son of the legitimate queen (Kulaprabhavati) and made himself king. Rudravarman sent six embassies to the Chinese court during his reign (514 AD-540 AD). An embassy sent in 519 AD carried a good luck image in Indian sandalwood, leaves of *G~e p~o* tree, pearls, circuma, storax, and other perfumes. The embassy sent in 539 AD offered in homage a live rhinoceros (Yung, 2000:14). These tribute missions were probably sent in order to consolidate and maintain his position. Rudravarman died in 545 AD after which troubles broke out and many of the vassal states became independent.

In the mid 6th century AD King Bhavavarman, the son of a vassal king, secured Chenla by marriage alliance. He then sent his brother Chitrasena to seize for him the throne of Funan and consequently Funan became the vassal of Chenla and remained so until the early 7th century AD when it was annexed (Sharan, 1974:27).

5.3.2 Oc Eo

The best archaeological evidence for the early state society of Funan currently comes from the excavated site of Oc Eo. During the 1930s, a French geographer named Pierre Paris used aerial photographs to study canal networks that radiated outward from the two sites known as Oc Eo and Angkor Borei. He found that canals may have
linked the two centres and may have also linked them with smaller settlements. These canals may have aided movement of trade goods.

Excavations undertaken by Malleret in the 1940s (1959-63) uncovered brick and stone foundations of Oc Eo, thought to be a major manufacturing centre and trading port of Funan. Many small artefacts found at Oc Eo confirm trade with the Roman Empire, including two medallions dating to the reigns of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) and his successor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180). Many other artefacts found offered much insight into Khmer society, such as jewellery of both Mediterranean and Indian inspiration, a Chinese mirror belonging to the same period as the medallions, and Indian Brahmi script inscribed on rings and seals. The style of the script permitted an estimation of dates of between late 1st to early 2nd century AD. Glass beads were both imported from India and made at local manufacturing centres. Clay crucibles, clay anvils to shape pots and stone double moulds for casting tin pendants were discovered, also engraved jewellery of a wide range of available metals including gold, precious and semi-precious stones (see figure below). What was found at Oc Eo is thus thought to indicate contact with China, India, as well as Iran and the Mediterranean. Malleret’s excavations were interrupted by military and civil disturbances but what was gathered confirmed the information accumulated from Chinese envoys (Vickery, 1998).

Figure 9. Gold ring with figure of bull found at Oc Eo. (Jessup and Zephir, 1997:9)
Towards the end of the 6th century, Chinese chronicles write of a kingdom they call Chenla, which was an inland Khmer state, thought to be originally a vassal state of Funan. There is no confirming epigraphical evidence for the military conquest of one state over another, or that one disappeared and was replaced by another. Funan and Chenla seemed to have existed contemporaneously for some time as neighbouring entities and eventually one was succeeded by the other in having authority over principalities. Funan's economy, which was essentially based on maritime trading, possibly declined because of change in trading routes between China and India. By the early 7th century AD, political power had shifted from the coast and an agricultural rather than maritime trade economy predominated (Vickery, 1998:20). Chinese records claim Chenla conquered Funan during the reign of Isanavarman, but this may have only been a shift in power to a more advantageous position for wealth accumulation (Vickery, 1998:22).

Surviving inscriptions and Chinese records of visiting embassies indicate that Chenla was not one centralised state but comprised several competing regional provinces, each with their own overlord. The corpus of Chenla inscriptions comprises texts honouring gods and leaders, offering information regarding political affairs. Records of people and land donated for the upkeep of temples shed light on the socio-economic life. There are numerous recordings of gifts made to religious foundations. These inscriptions will be addressed in the following chapter.

### 5.4.1 Chenla Rulers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Overlord</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>550-599 AD</td>
<td>Bhavavarman I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-615 AD</td>
<td>Mahendravarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616-635 AD</td>
<td>Isanavarman I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636-656 AD</td>
<td>Bhavavarman II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>657-681 AD</td>
<td>Jayavarman I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pre-Angkor Cambodia: The Transition from Prehistory to History

| 681-713 AD | Jayadevi |
| 713-end of 8th century AD | Rajendravarman |
| | Mahipativarman |
| 802-ca.850 AD | Jayavarman I |

Chenla comprised a number of competing polities each with a king, central city and temple, several main kings were recorded in the Chinese histories and Cambodian inscriptions. The date and number of ruling kings are contested between authors (Briggs, 1951; Sharan, 1974; Yung, 2000), but the order is generally the same. A ruler could have several different names, which could cause confusion.

The territory from the Mekong to the Tonle Sap was conquered by Bhavavarman and his brother Chitrasena. Chitrasena served faithfully as Commander-in-Chief for his brother for a long time and until Bhavavarman’s death he succeeded him on the throne and adopted the name of Mahendravarman (Sharan, 1974:153).

Mahendravarman’s son Isanavarman followed next in the line of kings. Documentation describing an early 7th century AD ruler, probably King Isanavarman, was incorporated in a 13th century AD work by Chinese author, Ma Duanlin (Higham, 2000:36). It describes his court, protected by armed guards, within which he gave an audience every three days in a hall containing a wooden throne embellished with inlaid wood and fine fabrics. The king wore a crown of gold and precious stones, and golden earrings; he had five ministers and many lesser officials (ibid). Higham suggests the court was probably located at Sambor Prei Kuk, east of the Tonle Sap. Inscriptions record that this centre was formerly known as Isanapura, the city of Isanavarman.

Isanavarman was succeeded by Bhavavarman II and in an inscription dating to 639 AD, Jayavarman is said to have succeeded Bhavavarman II. Cœdes considers Jayavarman to be Bhavavarman’s son but Briggs refutes this and suggests instead that he belongs to the dynasty of Isanavarman (Cœdes, 1968; Briggs 1951:53).
His dominion was never peaceful and civil war following his death split Chenla. He left no heir and consequently the country was in turmoil for some time following. An inscription dating to 713 AD states his daughter Jayadevi reigned after him. Two further kings, Rajendravarman and Mahipativarman, reigned during the 8th century AD, until Jayavarman II came to the throne and united the country under one rule.

5.5 Summary

The Iron Age ancestors of Angkor lived in large communities in which some individuals, both men and women, were interred with opulent grave goods and much ritual. Iron was employed not only to increase agricultural efficiency but also to forge weapons of war. Salt processing reached an industrial scale and craft specialists were able to produce for their leaders outstanding ceramic vessels and ornaments of bronze, glass, gold, silver, carnelian and agate. This suggests there was increased competition and conflict, and international trade.

Funan gradually rose to a great maritime power and continued to thrive until about the 5th century AD, at which time international trade moved away from Funan to the Strait of Melaka (McCloud 1995:23). The decline in trade revenue encouraged Funanese leaders to engage in further inland agricultural development and stimulated the adoption of Indian court culture. Political power shifted inland to Chenla, a name given by the Chinese to the group of competing principalities, each with its own overlord, which thrived on agriculture and possible overland trade (Vickery, 1998:20).

This chapter has outlined the prehistoric and early historical contexts from which the first states of Cambodia developed. The following chapter will now delve further into the workings of society at Funan and Chenla incorporating information gleaned from the corpus of pre-Angkor inscriptions. It will then further discuss both archaeological and epigraphical evidence for the early state societies.
Chapter Six

Society in Pre-Angkor Cambodia

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter introduced the prehistoric context from which the first states developed primarily using archaeological data. It also offered an historical overview of the early states from Chinese documents and inscriptional evidence. This chapter will examine the nature of pre-Angkor Cambodian society by exploring information contained in the inscriptions. While archaeological evidence has verified a developing political complexity and a rich material culture leading to the development of the first states, the inscriptions provide information about politics, social structures and the economy.

6.2 Social Structure

Pre-Angkor society comprised three main classes of people: the ruling groups who controlled the economy, functionaries and craft specialists, and *va* and *ku* (slave) labourers. Kings were called *vrah kamraten an xx raja* and among these ruling groups were *pon* and *mratan* who occupied ritual or official functions. Below these chief officials, society recorded in the inscriptions consisted of high-ranking female assistants of *pon* or *mratan* who may have had ritual and scribal functions, temple servants, musicians, dancers and singers, weavers, sewers, down to ordinary field workers. A physician features in one inscription\(^5\), there was also mention of a warrior chief\(^6\), a technical specialist involved in water transport\(^7\), fruit pickers and deputy public prosecutors\(^8\), ministers\(^9\), ascetics\(^10\), *guru*\(^11\), and a President of the Royal

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\(^5\) K. 132
\(^6\) K. 726
\(^7\) K. 133
\(^8\) K. 137
\(^9\) K. 493
\(^10\) K. 44
\(^11\) K. 124
Assembly\textsuperscript{12}. The lowest ranking groups were called *knum*, who most resembled slaves and were listed last in nearly all inscriptions.

Of indeterminate status in the inscriptions are the female temple officials called *klon mratan* and sometimes *tan*, who usually follow immediately after the principal official(s). They could be interpreted as elite females possibly related to the *pon* and *mratan* with whom they worked. Similarly of unclear status are singers, musicians and dancers who are not designated *knum*, but who usually have attractive Sanskrit names, sometime followed "*an*", a word usually indicating high status (Vickery, 1998:251).

Between the noblemen and slaves or servants there were the free men of small and medium fortune. The Chinese describe them, though the inscriptions say very little about them. They were not rich enough to afford their own monuments and inscriptions so their existence was not recorded here. They were the people that lived in the towns, filled the ranks of the army, and provided towns with public service workers. They were farmers, boat builders, carpenters, makers of palanquins and all manner of objects used in everyday life.

Leaders of small communities were called *pon*. Their status was transmitted from uncle to nephew via the maternal line. It could also pass from brother to brother. Although the *pon* rank was inherited through the female line, it could only be held by males (Vickery, 1998:270). Communities may have comprised from several hundred to a thousand people living around or near a pond, growing at least enough rice for self-sufficiency.

*Pon* could also be *mratan*, a title which could be passed either patrilineally (father to son) or could be appointive but not hereditary. One inscription\textsuperscript{13} records donations of rice and cloth from a *pon* to a temple and then donations of personnel and workers to the temple by the same person but under the title of *mratan*. Vickery (1998:112) suggests this is evidence that *pon* and *mratan* were different types of title that could both be held by the same person.

\textsuperscript{12} K. 54

\textsuperscript{13}
As communities developed both politically and economically, *pon* became differentiated into strata and by mid-7th century, *pon* seem to be subordinate to *mratan*. *Pon* appear prominent in some inscriptions\(^{14}\), while in others, *mratan* represent the principal authority\(^ {15}\). *Pon* sometimes features in the middle of the text\(^ {16}\), where the secondary donors are usually named, thus the principal official could have been a *mratan*. *Pon* are associated with ponds and fields, via the donation of fields, which are demarcated with respect to ponds, and *mratan* are mentioned in the secondary position\(^ {17}\). Sometimes the founder is called a *guru* in the Sanskrit text, and *mratan* in the Khmer text, while secondary donors were *pon*\(^ {18}\). Inscriptions from the Kratie region\(^ {19}\), however, suggest *pon* leadership was the dominant authority early in the 7th century and *mratan* were dominant officials by the late 7th century. Inscriptions from the Prek Thnot Valley region show domination of *mratan* from after the reign of Isanavarman (Vickery, 1998).

The earliest dated inscription\(^ {20}\) shows both *pon* and *mratan* as principal officials. The inscription describes three principal officials, all with indigenous names and titles, who made assignments to four gods. There are several categories of people who were assigned to the temple and the number of personnel, animals and fields indicated the economic importance of the establishment: "it is obvious that a food surplus much larger than required for all listed personnel plus a few hypothetical 'priests' would have been produced" (Vickery, 1998:278). In contrast to this inscriptions, another text describes the proportion of field workers to total personnel as much smaller\(^ {21}\). There were artisans assigned here to sew leaves (for thatching or wall material), and to spin and weave cloth, either for the community or for exchange. Ultimately they were producing more than enough for their own needs, and were representative of non-food producers supplying craft goods for themselves and a surplus for others. This is an example of the unity of agriculture and craft production set in motion by the king through the local chief (Vickery, 1998:280).

\(^{13}\) K. 561  
\(^{14}\) K. 44, 163, 559, 561, 709  
\(^{15}\) K. 18, 30, 46, 79, 127, 137, 689  
\(^{16}\) K. 430  
\(^{17}\) K. 76  
\(^{18}\) K. 910  
\(^{19}\) K. 127, K. 132, K. 134, K. 124, K. 600, K. 137, K. 430, K. 126, K. 133  
\(^{20}\) K. 600  
\(^{21}\) K. 137
Lists of servants and the common people assigned to foundations are most often referred to as 'slaves', and may have worked in the temple or fields. Slaves were offered to temples as payment for subsistence (Jacques and Freeman, 1997:220). Slaves in Cambodia were normally of the following three categories: adopted slaves, ancestral slaves or enemies taken captive during war. However they could also be slaves by being born to slave parents, reduced to slavery because of the non-payment of a debt or fine, or simply having been reduced to poverty. Jacques (1986a) suggested knum could not have been slaves since in Hindu society in India, slaves could not enter temples nor have names engraved in inscriptions. This assumed that words translated as 'slave' carried the same meaning across both cultures and that Indian ways were imposed on Cambodia (Vickery, 1998:226). Vickery (1998) avoids the term 'slave' and uses the Khmer terminology or calls them 'serving personnel'.

Jacob (1979) stated knum were given to temples by other people and thus were not free. In the pre-Angkor inscriptions, the most certain cases of non-freedom are represented in K. 1 and K. 493. In lists of knum there is frequent mention of children, and K. 505 contains the longest list of couples with children among knum. Throughout most of the pre-Angkor period the ordinary knum were those without any craft or artistic specialty and were listed as va and ku, si, tai, kantai, gho and ghoda. The term va in modern Khmer is a derogatory or low-rank third person singular pronoun used for small children, animals and inanimate objects, 'it' (Vickery, 1998:239). Pre-Angkor inscriptions include details about kinship and inheritance of status within families of officials such as pon and mratan. Family structures are indicated through the lists of temple personnel or slaves which include their children, and one inscription records four generations of royalty.

6.3 Economy

A society is usually dependent on one or more industries. In the case of Northeast Thailand, on the periphery of Cambodia, the most prosperous prehistoric endeavours were iron smelting, salt making and rice cultivation. The stability of a settlement is dependent on a society’s ability to provide the necessary supporting structure.

K. 357, 388, 657, 904, 505, 24, 137, 149, 155
Sedentary communities are characterized by growing populations, prosperous industries that are typically involved in a trade network and complex social structures that are usually based on a hierarchical stratification system. Developments in social structure are usually attributed to economic, technological, or social stimuli, individually or in combination. Growing populations, environmental restrictions, or contact with a more developed social group may bring this about. The first Khmer inscriptions indicate that Cambodia was in the process of economic transition, although contrary to the corpus of Angkor epigraphy, the pre-Angkor inscriptions imply a society already established in the areas where inscriptions were erected (Vickery, 1998:276).

Economic activities recorded in the pre-Angkorian inscriptions include agriculture, fruit growing and animal husbandry, and crafts such as weaving, leaf-sewing and metal work for jewellery. Many inscriptions also record exchanges and a variety of utensils, pots and ritual items used for worship are referred to in inscriptions. The types of gifts offered to the divinities of the foundations or used for exchange include dishes, vases, trays, plates, pots, spoons and pitchers. There is mention of parasols, a candleholder; gold, silver, bronze and copper items such as a gong. Jewellery such as diadems, a belt, a silver chain, a gold anklet, an embossed bracelet and other decorated items are listed. There is also cotton, honey, wax, sesame, rice, ginger, oil, milk, grain and mustard, as well as perfume, cloth, cattle, servants and slaves, plantations, rice fields and shell. Some texts list jewellery and precious objects belonging to the foundation. Some inscriptions identify these items as being used for tax and one inscription specifies salt as being used as tax.

There are records of complex exchanges involving rice, land and cloth. Some records imply large surpluses, which may have been exchanges with other foundations specializing in other activities (Vickery, 1998:27). Transactions in land and trees could occur as purchase, rental or payment of a debt. Lands are often delineated
using markings such as ponds, certain roads, embankments, rice fields, enclosures and groves\(^{30}\). There is no evidence that the economy was monetized, but even slaves appear to have been used as money, given as security, in payment, in exchange for lands, and offered to gods. Essentially, slaves were treated as goods, and inscriptions suggest exchange of goods was a normal method of buying\(^{31}\).

Salt may have been a prestige good and if there was a monopoly on its production and distribution, it would have been of great advantage to the holder of the monopoly. An undated inscription\(^ {32}\), represents royal intervention into craft specialization and distribution. It contains a royal order using a formula suggestive of Jayavarman I, that deals with the distribution of salt. It lists five gods whose boats were authorized to pick up specified loads of salt from Tirthagrama. Jacques interpreted this as the fixing of taxes in quantities of salt on boats of various sanctuaries for the benefit of Tirthagrama (Vickery, 1998:295).

Khmer texts show that loyal followers of a ruler, who were rewarded with land grants, would construct a temple, dedicating it in honour of their god or leader and endow it with people and goods. The servants of the temple provided a labour force to work the land belonging to the temple. High numbers of servants listed in the inscriptions can indicate the size of structures, which can then reflect importance, wealth and status. Some inscriptions specify that the foundation or gifts to the foundation are offered in order to make merit\(^ {33}\). This meant offerings were made for their spiritual good.

Many texts record donations and a system of exchanges, or a pooling of land and labour by chiefs of neighbouring communities who each received a share of produce\(^ {34}\). Some inscriptions record royal orders\(^ {35}\), and one makes allusion to the conquest of Funan\(^ {36}\). One text\(^ {37}\) describes a technical specialist involved in water transport and lists a number of personnel while another\(^ {38}\) records land tenure and

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\(^{30}\) K. 760
\(^{31}\) See for example, K. 124
\(^{32}\) K. 940
\(^{33}\) K. 25, 38, 74, 447, 904
\(^{34}\) See for example, K. 79
\(^{35}\) K. 38, 44, 49, 90, 341, 367, 426
\(^{36}\) K. 604 (626 AD)
\(^{37}\) K. 133
\(^{38}\) K. 9
exploitation. One records donations of rice land from a yuddhapramukha, or a warrior chief, and lists a series of rice fields with small groups of personnel\textsuperscript{39}.

Types of recreation included dances, singsong, dramas, and the playing of musical instruments. In the earliest record\textsuperscript{40}, there were twenty-two female artists, singers, dancers and musicians. Dancing and weaving formed part of the temple rituals and provided entertainment during festive occasions for the common people who came to offer worship. Pre-Angkorian inscriptions refer to weaving among temple personnel. Spinning and weaving came to be specialist occupations and cloth was increasingly an item of exchange between specialist communities.

While there are no inscriptions in the pre-Angkor corpus with references to the digging of ponds and reservoirs, one inscription records water transport\textsuperscript{41}. In terms of warfare, while archaeological excavations uncovered a tanged spearhead lodged in the spine of an individual at Noen U-Loke, four pre-Angkorian inscriptions refer to possible conflict: one makes allusion to the conquest of Funan\textsuperscript{42}, one mentions combat in the eulogy\textsuperscript{43}, one describes the policing of a sanctuary\textsuperscript{44}, and one mentions the military offices of “Commander of the Cavalry”, “Commander of the Palace guards”, who had weapons and helmets, “Commander of the Navy” and “Chief of the thousand soldiers”\textsuperscript{45}.

6.4 Pre-Angkor Society in Chinese Records

The Chinese description of Funan in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD, suggests that it comprised people of a wide variety of wealth and status. Rulers of Funan are recorded to have sent missions to China from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} to the 7\textsuperscript{th} centuries bearing assorted precious gifts such as gold, silver, copper, ivory, elephants, rhinos, turtles and bird feathers (Yung, 2000). Gift giving was a way of measuring status so Funanese rulers may have sent gifts to China in order for the Chinese Emperor to recognise their majesty.

\textsuperscript{39} K. 726
\textsuperscript{40} K. 600
\textsuperscript{41} K. 133
\textsuperscript{42} K. 604
\textsuperscript{43} K. 447
\textsuperscript{44} K. 367
\textsuperscript{45} K. 8
The upper classes could be distinguished by the quality of their house, such as tiled roofing instead of thatch. They wore clothing of superior quality and moved about in palanquins, sometimes decorated with gold and silver. They dressed their hair in a variety of styles, wore jewellery and had silver mirrors to apply make up. Wealth was generally measured in terms of the number of slaves one had, and wealthy people travelled by slave-borne litters. Chinese documents from the Sui dynasty describe personal adornment of the upper class including a variety of hair styles and a profusion of jewellery, perfumes, rouge, rings and bracelets (Sharan, 1974:193).

Brick walls protected the capital city while palisades protected other cities. Important buildings were made of brick and covered with a lime plaster. The population as a whole lived mainly in bamboo houses resting on pilings and lining waterways. Tribal chiefs (pon) ruled the outlying settlements. Court records were maintained in Sanskrit. Pearls and perfumed goods are said to have been used for payment of taxes (Yung, 2000) and in the inscriptions we can see that salt was also used for tax. Sculptors worked in gold, silver and other lesser metals.

Chinese records describe Funanese men as being naked, and the women wearing garments across their head and wrapped around their waist. The Chinese diplomats reportedly told Fan Hsun that their manner of dressing was strange, and he consequently announced that the men must no longer go about naked, but instead wear cotton garments around their waist (Yung, 2000:13). This proclamation demonstrated that the Chinese ambassadors had some influence over the Funanese king.

Kang Tai described the people as barbarous, ugly and black with frizzy hair. Their agricultural methods entailed sowing for one year and harvesting for three years. They were also involved in metal crafts, engraving ornaments and chiselling. He reported that the Funanese had books and archives. Taxes were paid in silver, gold, pearls, and perfumed wood. Slavery existed, and there was a wide gap between the court and elite, and the common people. Justice was rendered through trial by ordeal, which involved such practices as carrying red-hot iron chain and retrieving gold rings and eggs from boiling water, whereby guilt was indicated by any burns (SarDesai, 1994:23). Accused were also left in enclosures and moats containing wild beasts and...
crocodiles. If they were not eaten they were considered innocent and would be released after three days (Yung, 2000:12).

The *Liang Annals* records that the people of Funan had a custom of tattooing their bodies (ibid:24). Many families shared a water pool. They revered the spirits of the sky, of which they made bronze images. The king and his concubines rode by elephant. Cotton was spread before the king on which was placed gifts of gold vases and incense burners. Foreigners and subjects offered gifts of bananas, sugar cane, turtles and birds. Fan Hsun sent tribute missions to the Chinese court, which included trained elephants (ibid).

The *Southern Qi Annals*, which were composed in the late 5th century AD give more information about the customs of the Funanese (Yung, 2000:13). They describe the people as malicious and cunning neighbouring inhabitants who did not pay homage were made slaves. The Funanese made rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver, and traded in gold, silver and silk. Sons of rich families wore sarongs of brocade while the poor people wore simple pieces of cloth. Trees were cut down to make palisades for wooden enclosures and houses, which were often raised from the ground on tall piles. Bamboo leaves were used for coverings of the houses. The king lived in a storied pavilion, and travelled by elephant. They made boats, the bow and stern of which were made like the head and tail of a fish. Recreational activities included cockfights and hog-fights (ibid).

Classical Chinese texts also record a Funanese embassy travelling seven thousand *li* upriver to India during the mid-third century. The embassy was well received and taken on a four-year tour through India, and returned to Funan with high praise for India and Buddhism (Yung, 2000:15).

During the second half of the 6th century, chiefs organized expeditions northwards with the probable purpose of securing more land and trading goods (Vickery, 1998). After the demise of Funan, inland rulers began to develop their communities through greater organization of land and people, probably stimulated by the accumulation of wealth. As the control of land and people increased in importance, governing families
sought to transmit wealth to their direct heirs. Attempts were made by *pon* families to intermarry and retain communities under their control (ibid:24).

The *Sui Annals* describe a number of customs of Chenla. In the rules of succession, only sons of the queen, the legitimate wife of the king, are qualified to inherit the throne and when a new king is proclaimed, all his brothers are mutilated. For the brothers of the king, maintenance is provided for, each in a separate place, and they are never appointed to office (Yung, 2000:18). This may explain why Rudravarman, a Funanese ruler during the early 5th century AD, killed his brother, who was the more legitimate successor, and made himself king.

The *Sui Annals* also describe Chenla fashion. They describe the Chenla men as of small stature and dark complexion whereas many of the women are of fair complexion, and all roll up their hair and wear earrings (Yung, 2000:18). They washed every morning, cleaned their teeth with poplar wood toothpicks and recited prayers. Their food included a lot of butter, milk-curds, powdered sugar, rice, and also millet. The millet was sued to make a cake that was soaked in meat juices.

The *Sui Annals* also describe funerary customs of the people of Chenla. When parents died, children would fast for seven days, cut their hair and cry. Monks, nuns and relatives would gather together at the dwelling of the deceased and music would be played to accompany the departure of the spirit. Incensed woods were used to cremate the body of the deceased and the ashes would be put into gold or silver pots and sent out to sea, or if the family were poor, painted earthenware pottery would be used (Yung, 2000:18, 26).

The *Liang Annals* also describe mortuary rituals. It was the custom to shave the beard and hair when in mourning. These accounts record four ways of disposing of the dead, throwing the body into water, reducing it to ashes by fire, burying it in the ground or leaving it to birds in a field (ibid:14).

The *Former Tang Annals*, which were written in 944AD, describe battle customs of Chenla (Yung, 2000:19). It describes Chenla as originally a vassal kingdom of Funan. It herded five thousand elephants, which were always fed with meat. During battles,
these elephants would line up at the front, and on their backs wooden towers were erected, mounted by four warriors with bows and arrows. Records state that in 623AD, Chenla sent an embassy to the Chinese court, offering native products as gifts to the Emperor, and in 628AD, Chenla sent another tribute mission.

6.5 Archaeological and Historical Evidence for Pre-Angkor Society

Khmer texts generally record exchanges of fields acquired by or given to the temple in exchange for paddy and cloth. Land was acquired by temples by exchanging it for produce equivalent to a certain quantity of silver plus on occasion cloth. In some cases, land was bought with paddy and cloth without silver. Thus inscriptions suggest pre-Angkor temples were not merely religious centres, but also served as centres of economic integration, agriculture and craft production. They produced surpluses beyond what was needed by the immediate community and engaged in exchange of produce, land and people with members of the elite from surrounding areas (Vickery, 1998:292).

The title of *pon* can often be found in the pre-Angkor inscriptions. While they are sometimes closely associated with kings, they can also be seen in the texts to act on their own authority. *Pon*, chiefs of small communities, could often be mentioned in charge of *travan*, or man-made ponds. This could indicate the control of water management by the elite. *Mratan* gradually replace *pon* and then appear to become more frequent in the inscriptions. The title of *mratan* can be seen in combination with other forms of titles while also increasing in rank and authority.

Archaeological evidence of economic activity include ceramic anvils (four were recovered in archaeological excavations at Noen U-Loke, although none from burials); glass beads; carnelian and agate which all appear in mortuary contexts around the same time; and iron slag, together with facilities for smelting iron ore, the best indicator of a local iron industry. Iron implements found include an iron-socketed hoe. With iron digging implements it became easier to consider hydraulic engineering works to retain and control the flow of water (Higham and Thosarat, 1998:136).

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46 See K. 30, K. 76
Spindle whorls found in prehistoric burials indicate individuals with specialized skills, and the presence of woven fabric at Noen U-Loke was indicated by pseudomorphs surviving on the surface of metal artefacts.

Spindle whorls and cloth remains were found in archaeological excavations, and weaving and sewing are craft activities present in the inscriptions. Cloth is an important item of exchange and is mentioned in many texts. Jewellery is also mentioned in inscriptions although no beads are specified. Iron Age agate and carnelian beads found in Southeast Asia have long been assumed to be evidence for diffusion-orientated theories of Southeast Asian state development that cite Indian influence as a major causal factor. Results of tests of the origin of these beads using geochemical analysis suggest many do not derive from India but involve a likely Southeast Asian manufacture (Theunissen et al., 2000:84).

Salt was particularly important for its use in preservation. Salt-producing mounds were found adjacent to temples in Northeast Thailand and salt is present as an item of exchange in the inscriptions as well as used for tax. Burials filled with rice suggest a rice surplus was being generated, similarly, rice is frequently listed in pre-Angkor texts as gifts and donations. There is also a common theme between inscriptions and the mortuary record regarding the proliferation of bronzes. While no bronze grave goods were found at Ban Lum Khao, there were finds of crucibles and moulds that could indicate bronze-casting. Iron and bronze rings were found at Non Muang Kao, and the excavation at Noen U-Loke revealed graves containing a rich array of grave goods including bronze ornaments and spearheads, iron tools and weaponry. Similarly, at Phum Snay, a rich array of bronze and iron ornaments, tools and weaponry was discovered.

Inscriptions suggest wet-rice agriculture was significant for diet. Butter, milk, millet, honey, sesame, oil, ginger, grain and mustard are also mentioned in inscriptions as well as coconut palms and areca nut tree plantations, but these are all offered as gifts or donations. There is one direct reference to trade that records someone had been 'named chief of merchants'47 but there is no direct evidence from the inscriptions for

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47 K. 259
smithing, carpentry, construction or artisans in pre-Angkor society. However, excavations at Oc Eo by Malleret offered much information regarding everyday life, commercial activities, arts, and the religious life of the Funanese.

6.6 Comparative Study

Some comparisons can be drawn between pre-Angkor Cambodians and the Yao of Malawi. The Yao were long-distance traders in East Central Africa during the 18th and 19th centuries. Increased volume of trade and an increase in slave trading combined to produce a marked growth in the scale of Yao political units, which facilitated the rise of large territorial chiefdoms (Alpers, 1969). Like the Khmer, the Yao were primarily agriculturalists until the expansion of trade led to political and social change. Traders were highly regarded and new prestige provided the possibility of gaining wider leadership. Leaders attracted followers through their prowess as a hunter or trader, but the rise in slave-trading opened new opportunities. The accumulation of slaves provided the means of increasing village populations, and increasing numbers meant increasing power since the number of followers a leader controlled determined power and status. Accumulated wealth and trade goods were only valuable if they enabled a leader to increase their number of followers. A Yao chief was supreme authority in worldly and spiritual realms, for as head of the lineage, it was he who was closest to the ancestors. The identification of ancestors was also sociologically important in pre-Angkor times, and the practice of ranking gods and chiefs in a single hierarchy was prevalent in Cambodia. All members of a society were ranked hierarchically in terms of nearness of descent from a common ancestor, who may have merged with a god (Vickery, 1986).

We can also contrast the pre-Angkor inscriptions with Javanese inscriptions. About 250 stone and copper plate inscriptions from Java have been published. These inscriptions were divided into three groups: those from the 5th to 9th centuries which were written in Sanskrit and contained religious or eulogistic information, those from the 7th to 9th centuries written in Old Malay, and others written from the early 9th century to the end of the 15th century in Old Javanese that comprised social and economic information. More than ninety percent of these were legal documents recording transfers of tax rights by the king or local ruler, whereby the beneficiaries
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were in most cases religious foundations. Inscriptions record a wealth of material culture and list gifts of cloth, silver and gold presented at ceremonies, giving an impression of a very prosperous society (Barrett Jones, 1984).

6.7 Summary

This chapter has explored the nature of Khmer society during pre-Angkor times taking into account the first written records relating to the country and its people. Khmer texts provide particular insight into the social status of those who served the temple and to their duties, and to aspects of landscape such as boundaries of rice-fields, water tanks, paths and orchards (Jacob, 1978, 1979). The inscriptions prove an invaluable source of information for types of personnel, kinship and inheritance, social status, craft activities and the economy. Although the inscriptions represent only a small part of the picture of pre-Angkor Cambodia, combined with archaeological data and written records from China, we can gain much insight into the social and economic life of this time.
Chapter Seven

Discussion and Conclusion

Cœdès’ work of editing and translating the stone inscriptions from Khmer sites has provided a vast body of work for historians to research and interpret. In many studies however, the focus was elite society, and not on the society as a whole. In pre-Angkor society, even apparently small pon-led settlements appear to have been very stratified. The complex hierarchy of Khmer official titles, already established by the early 7th century suggests that stratification and formal ranking were indigenous developments that had been present for a long time.

Pre-Angkor society consisted of small polities comprising at least two classes: rulers who controlled the economy and the ordinary population who were ruled and organized as labourers. Even though nearly all pre-Angkor inscriptions contain reference to divinities, and were consequently originally deemed religious documents (Briggs, 1951; Cœdès, 1968, Wolters, 1979; Jacques, 1990), they can also be considered economic documents because they provide details of people, land and animals assigned to temples by members of the ruling class. They give an indication of who controlled labour, and can show to some extent how wealth may have been distributed (Vickery, 1998).

Archaeological evidence suggests there was a rapidly developing political complexity. Malleret’s brief excavations at Oc Eo, trading port of the early state of Funan, revealed a system of water control, monumental architecture and a rich material culture. Excavations at Bronze and Iron Age sites in Northeast Thailand and Cambodia reveal increasing wealth in Iron Age cemeteries as well as growth of exchange and rise in social friction. The proliferation of military equipment may indicate increased competition over resources, which may have stimulated the development of strongly hierarchical societies. Chinese records offer a history of kings, missions to China, and of contact with Indian traders and Brahmans. The amount of information offered by inscriptions varies. Although some inscriptions show only lists of personnel, we also find other types of foundations. Some foundations were intended to produce an
agricultural surplus, some also produced craft goods, some engaged in exchange of agriculture and craft produce, or in exchange of produce with land for precious metal, while others were intended as support for religious communities. Nevertheless, historical records also indicate a prosperous society with expanding exchange, and increasing stratification and complexity.

The purpose of this study was to document the transition from prehistory to history in pre-Angkor Cambodia from the evidence of epigraphical records and archaeological research. Each inscription was examined for information relating to the development of the early Khmer states. The preceding chapters have discussed the issue of state formation; they have presented the archaeological data and inscriptional evidence. Supplementary information from ancient Chinese histories has also been included.

Although no source of research material is infallible, according to Fucic (1999:5) “epigraphy is the most reliable in answering basic questions concerning the spread and chronology of a civilization”. Epigraphical monuments can reflect historical, ethnic, social and cultural conditions of a society while archaeological evidence can complement, balance, correct or confirm written information. In this study they jointly indicate that the origin and growth of the early Khmer states resulted from natural outgrowth and deliberate imports, which were modified and reshaped to fit indigenous needs and interests. There was an increasing social complexity, increasing craft specialization, rice surplus, and adoption of new ideas. Prehistoric settlements suggest a sophisticated social organization showing evidence of iron and bronze technology, large-scale salt extraction, long-distance trade and ceramics production. Burial sites revealed exotic jewellery, bronze and iron tools, and moats, which may demonstrate that water management had a local origin. Inscriptions similarly provide evidence for a sophisticated social organization and an unmistakable surplus of goods that could sustain increasing craft specialization and population expansion. The texts reveal a wide variety of goods used in exchange and as offerings, indicating a rich and prosperous society. Both the archaeological data and epigraphical evidence suggest an increasing social wealth, increasing specialist production and growing exchange.

This research has endeavoured to provide a synthesis of the prehistoric and historic records using a culture history approach. By analyzing epigraphical texts and
comparing these with archaeological data it has been possible to present a picture of pre-Angkor society as the first states developed. Historians who traditionally attributed the rise of the Khmer states to external, especially Indian, influences, failed to consider the evidence for indigenous genius. As one of the richest sources of human language and culture, India significantly influenced the history of Cambodia but archaeological and epigraphical data suggest strong local traditions leading to the development of the first states. Further evidence, provided through the continued excavation and investigations of Iron Age and early historic sites in Southeast Asia will advance understanding of the dynamics of state development in this area.
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**Website reference:**

Appendices
Appendix A

Inventory of Inscriptions

<table>
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<th>Title of Inscription</th>
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<td>7th</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>New Inscriptions of Jayavarman I</td>
<td>7th</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Stele of Phu-Hu'u</td>
<td>639</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Stele de Prei Mien</td>
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<td>Pona Hor Jambs</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Stele of Vat Po</td>
<td>7th</td>
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Appendix B

Translations

K. 1  Stele of Vat Thlen

(Pon) Sivadeva, in conjunction with Kurak Kanday, took Va Kandos and Ku Tai to offer them to the Mratan Klön of Jesthapura.

At the moment where the Klön of Bhavapura (atmai) the Acarya Isanadatta (ka dhara) and these people went to the Mratan.

These people that Pon Kumarasanti, who is klön of the people (of Mratan Klön), had deposited as a security at the people’s place, the Pon made the Acarya Isandatta responsible for buying them back.

They erected H.R.M. Srisankaranarayana. The Pon (Kumarasanti) gave these people to god.

The vnak and belongings (upakalpa), the Mratan Klön of Bhavapura made Tan Spun, Tan Bho and the Acarya Silabhadra responsible, amac of the vnak of fire Kurak Kanday, of separating them (of those) of Pon Sivadeva.

The nephew kamton of Pon Kumarasanti made the matter known. The Mratan Klön of Bhavapura gave the order to give these people to H.R.M. Srisankaranarayana at Cmon (List of 6 va, 5 ku and one child beginning with Va Kandos and Ku Tai).

(List of rice fields).

K. 8  New Inscriptions of Jayavarman I

Inscription of Tan Kran

I. ... that Sri Pingalesa purifies the world ...

II. Victorious is the unchanging master, who destroys the evil in the world, and whose ... thousand linga ...

III. Victory is with the (king who is an) incarnated portion of this god, to Sri Jayavarman, who wishes to cover the earth ...
IV. By this sun newly risen, the obscurity of the wicked ... until the kings of Kancipura ... far.

V. There was here a learned Brahman, who had studied in depth the Veda and the Vedanga; named Dharmasvamin, he was like Dharma ... become visible.

VI. He (hunted) outside of ..., Fortune cf (other) kings (placed) on an eminent throne, but he installed Eloquence in the palace of his heart.

VII. Gifted with ... Kṛta ... often, the religious practice was not in him the fact of a hypocrite, and the effort ... Kali.

VIII. There was in his (town of) Dharmapura: (the god) named Srimad Amratakesa, a sala of brahmans, Sārasvatī, hospices, ponds and lakes.

IX. His line, and not that of another, had never ceased to occupy the functions of hotar: in her was born the numerous men who were honoured by the kings.

X. He proceeded to his own cremation by lightning; although, in his own body he was without desire, he wished ardently to go to the abode of the brahman.

XI. The elder son of Dharmasvamin was servant of kings; obtaining very enviable responsibility, he was named great horseman.

XII. He was then made responsible of the functions of the chief of Sresthapura, and also received honours, such as a white parasol, etc.

XIII. He erected following the rites the linga Sri Naimisesvara: the only audition of the name of this (god) destroyed all sins.

XIV. Having then received Dhruvapura, full of horrible forests, abode of wild men, he governed this territory, while dismissing the dangers.

XV. His younger brother ..., following (paricaraka) of the king, and named Pracandasimba, was of a sweet character and possessed mastery of self.

XVI. He filled the extremely honorable functions of recruiter (parigraha) of soldiers of the royal guard who bear the helmet ... and have a weapon in hand.

XVII. Then named chief of the servants responsible for all the (royal) badges of the king Sri Jayavarman, he took ... the name of Samantasara.
XVIII. Having then received the title of Samantanauvaha, he was named chief of the oarsmen, he who knew the difference between the groups (of oarsmen).

XIX. Then (he was named) by the order of the king, chief of a troop of a thousand habitants of Dhanvipura, going to war ...

XX. Honored often by him with illustrating honours ... he bore the burden of his own family, difficult to bear for others.

XXI. At the instigation of the king, (he returned) the abode of the venerable Amratakesa remarkable by the numerous and shining riches.

XXII. ... by the noble women, he made it seem like the palace of Kubera.

XXIII. ... a linga, by wish of his own salute.

K. 9

**Stele of Phu-Hu’u**

I. Complete victory is with he whose beginning, middle and end rest in the three unknown worlds of all masters ... even with those who know the three epochs, to this powerful Hara, sovereign of men, destructor of obscurity, bearing the name of Sri Viresvara, who gave to a woman the condition of man difficult to obtain.

II. While Bhoja, younger brother of the master of Rudrapuri, support of his line, governed completely Tamandarapura,

III. At this moment then the limits of the fields and gardens were fixed in view of the prosperity of the foundation, the years of the king of Saka being counted with the (5) arrows, six and the form (= one).

Rice fields given by Kanhen Vrah An Lan Gus to H.R.M. Sri Bhatara Viresvara to Cpar Pares (“deer park”): 100 sanre of rice field.

1 garden of H.R.M. Sri Bhatara Vira, given by Hap An to Van Cak; 80 sanre of rice field.

1 garden given by Kurak Ancan; 40 sanre of rice field.

Gift of Vrah An Jen Kamvan (“foot of the pier”): 20 sanre of rice field.

Gift of Tan Kannen Mrasir: 1 garden; 10 sanre of rice field.

Gift of Tan Kanlah and Pan Dinna: 1 garden Tem Sunnay (“Salvadora capitulata tree”); 10 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Tan Rut: 1 garden Ci Pu Yan; 4 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Hindu (klin) Gunadeva: 20 sanre of rice field.
Rice fields of H.R.M. at Kon Taran: 60 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Pon Mi, collector of these (rice fields): garden Cren; 80 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Nah (responsible for) presenting (to the god of produce) of this garden: 1 (garden) Yon Kmau; 60 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Klon Dmel: 1 garden Karom Tamre (“beneath the elephant”); 10 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Punen Prajnavan: 1 garden Muni; 10 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Klon Tok: 1 garden Kandvar Tok; 100 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Puvan Tamnok: 1 garden; 20 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Pon Din at Tras: 80 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Klon Vnam An: 1 garden of sugar palm trees, at Vnam Tan Klon, 1; 20 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Pon Klon Panjas: 1 garden; 40 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Pon (responsible for) presenting (to god) the produce of these gardens: 1 (garden) Jray Kamput (“shortened fig tree”), 1 garden Suk Gam, 40 coconut palms; 60 sanre of rice field.
Gift of Sra Kundala An: 1 garden Tem Sunnay, again, containing 30 areca nut trees, 20 coconut palms.
Gift of Sugan at Tnan: 1 garden of 123 areca nut trees.
Rice field at Vrah Kantai, gift of Po Sraman: 4 sanre.
Rice field given by Sivadasa: 4 sanre.
Gifts of Puvan Panjas at Mu...: 4 sanre of rice field.

K. 18  

**Stele of Prei Mien**

648 saka, seventh day of the crescent moon of Sravana, Mratan Bhaskarapala gives some rice fields with slaves to H.R.M. Sri Sankaranarayana, piebald work of the Mratan:
Rice field Vrai Kalpau: ... vija.
Rice field Tpen: ... 21 vija.
Rice field Krau Dnal: 12 mas.
Rice field Vrai Damrok: ... mas.
Rice field Jen Cdin: _sare.
Rice field Rdeh Pak: 1 mas, 1 je.
Rice field Rdal S ... :
Rice field Kanlah Vrai: 3 mas.
Female slaves (list of fifteen _ku_ with their children, followed by a list of fifteen names of _ghoda_).

Slaves given by Mratan Siddhigana (list ruined).

... Klon Ame Mratan Candrasena offers to H.R.M. Sri Sankaranarayana; pibald works of the Mratan with ... And those who are chased outside of ... twenty-one hells ... who drive ... The religious _pamjuh_ of god.

(The last six lines, badly ruined, list the slaves and the rice fields with indication of the price [jamnahv], and ends with the name of the god H.R.M. Sri Sankaranarayana).

K. 21  
**Pona Hor Jambs**

In _saka_, lunar house Uttaraphalguni, Wednesday, twelfth day of the crescent moon of Caitra, Kurak ... rice field ... H.R.M. Sri Trailokyasarasvami.

Stones to decorate the diadem (_kirita_): 13; to decorate the _phala_ ... stones to decorate this: 31; 1 bracelet (_kataka_) embossed, stones to decorate it: 54; bracelet ... 11; stone to decorate the _srivatsa_: 1 ... embossed; stones to decorate the surface of the navel: 10; stones to decorate the decoration of belt: 12; 1 ... of silver; 1 gold disk; 1 surface of the Earth in gold; 1 embossed surface; 1 silver chain; x gold anklet; 7 flowers of _jmeh_ in gold, 2 in silver; ... 94 ...; x flowers of _jmeh_ in silver; 3 _saramabhu_; x candle holder.

K. 22  
**Stele of Vat Po**

I. Victorious are Hara and Acyuta, become one for the good of all beings, although, as much as the spouse of Parvati and of Sri, they bear distinct bodies.

II. Victorious is the illustrious and very heroic Sri Isanavarman, who bears the earth like Sesa, whose magnificence [or: crest] shines with jewels.
III. Famous for his austerities, solely devoted to the life of alms and to study, the armed known by the name of Isanadatta, descended from an illustrious family.

IV. Erected this image in that which are joined together in half the bodies of Sankara and Acyuta, for the benefit of his relations.

V. He erected Visnu, Candesvara and a linga of Isana: “that their cult be linked by the participation of the same offerings”, such is his decision.

VI. The goods in the way of servants, lands, cattle and others given to Bhagavat by his worshipper, the impious who, full of insolence, soul simmering with eagerness, would dare to rob them, that, without power atone for his forfeit, it will be ceaseless, in the hells of the various tortures, hit by the servants (of Yama), in the mouth grimacing with anger.

(List of slaves: 11 va, 19 ku, 24 children).

Rice fields that the acarya Ramadeva, as well as Bhadravisesa and Isvaradatta give to god, at Travan Ver (“pond of the otter”), below the kyel of the river of the kadamba tree: 3 mas.

Pon Gopadatta, Pon Kumarasakti who … the rice field, they sell to god: 10 mas.

Klon Pon Din Rudrasambhu sells the rice fields from the pond of Ramapala as far as the pond of Rudrakirti: 3 mas.

Nagavindu sells part of the rice field below the kyel of the pond of Ramapala, he sells to god an area of 3 mas.

From Stuk Sno Samlok the length of the road Pu Yan Tanse, area: 2 sare.
From the road Tmuran the length of the road Pu Yan Tanse, area: 20 sanre.
Rice field below the kyel Vrah Vinaya as far as the pond of the Pon Bhanis: 10 mas.

Rice field below the kyel Vrah Vinaya as far as near the rice fields that are to the west, area: 3 mas.

Rice field to the east of the pond of the Pon Bhagayun, bought from Pon Bhadravisesa, area: 3 je.

Rice field to the west of the pond of the Pon Bhanis, bought, area: 3 je.

Rice field bought at Bhavakirti, below the kyel …, area … following – Kurak Danle Krau.
... the mound that Pon Yaj[n]adeva gave to god at the moment of the foundation, area: 2 je.

... the mound that – His Majesty of the west sells to me, I give it to Vrah Klon An, and I give gold to god of the west, half of the price ...

... the mound below the kyel ... rice field ... to the west, as far as the pond of the guha tree, area: 3 mas.
The va Trayodasi.

K. 24  

**Inscription of Angkor Borei**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. All that remains of the text is a list of slaves, *ku* and *va*. The writing is said to be of 6th – 7th century AD style.

K. 25  

**Inscription of Angkor Borei**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. All that remains are four incomplete lines in pre-Angkorian characters mentioning the piebald work (*punya*) by a person who bears the honorific title of Tan An.

K. 30  

**Inscription of Camnom**

I. That the virtuous Krssnamitra, with his family, be purified by the blessed and powerful Isvara who he set up according to the rule.

II. The named Cidok, brother-in-law of this Krssnamitra … gave a domain to god erected by this last.

III. Chief here even since his youth, Isvarakumara, grandson of these two characters, built this *prasada*, in execution of their order.

IV. In devotion he bought the utensils of sacrifice, a domain at this place, and he made himself a residence that is like a costume…


Rice field given by Cidok to H.R.M. Sri Yajnapatisvara: from Travan Run to Tlon Dik, from Travan Ji Ckey to the pond of the Pon Rudrabhava, to the pond of Cidok.
Other rice fields at Travan Vo, gift of Pon Rudrabhava, of the Pon Rudrantakula and of Pon Puspananda, a rice field (for the price of) 1 pada, to the pond of Mratan Krsnadatta, gift of Pon Puspananda, of Pon Rudrantakula ... and of Pon Vikarananta, a rice field (for the price of) 1 pada. Rice field given by the Pon Vikarananta and ... to the pond of Pon Rudrabhava...

Supplies that are offered to god... pa-ik and clothes of god... an individual, rice field gift of Pon Vrau at Travan Run, rice field (for the price of) 2 mas. Taxes to H.R.M. Everyday supplies: white rice samrat, paddy ... 1 lih, white rice ranac, 2 lih, 2 [areca nuts and 10 betel [leaves], ..., 3 panjut panka, a vera of salt ..., 3 yau of clothes amval. Annual supplies: (following text missing).

K. 38  
Inscription of Vat Tnot

Edict of His Majesty in the subject of H.R.M. Svayambhu, piebald work of Pon Tan of pramathagana. Gifts of Pon ... (to knowledge) the rice field from Stuk Kanlan, to the pond of Kurak, the rice field from the agasti tree: to Kpon Stau and to god... piebald work of the grandfather of Pon Tan and to Sri ganapati, piebald work of Pon Brahmakumara... The rice field given to god, to the West (of the sanctuary) of god, rice field from the pond of Kandin, rice field of Jnan Pna... The... of the Pon Brahmakumara and the slaves that the Pon gave to K.A. Sri Ganapati... the slaves of Pon Tan that he gave to the god Svayambhu, all these gods that... H.R.M. Sri Jayavarman gave them to the Pon Isvaracita and to the Pon of the servants in the pramathagana. Those who prevent this, those who use these here, those who contest the edict of K.A. will be punished. The Mratan governor of Vikramapura prescribes to the Mratan Klon Rajagraha... the people of the god and of the Pon Tan the servants of the pramathagana... Isvaracita, nephew of Kamton Pon Tan... (the Pon) Tan in the pramathagana, before this... to the Mratan Sudarsana Bhagavata, grand-son...

K. 41  Stele of Vat Prei Sva

Rice field of H.R.M. Sri Pingalesvara, gift of Pon Sivabhusana, 1 tlom, 3 ma, exchanged with goods of god (representing) in the inventory deposited (in the temple).
Rice field of the god at Vah Jan, 1 tlon, 3 ma, gift of the Klon Sruk, to begin with Pon Sivaraks, Pon Bhadasakti with all the workers (karmanika): goods of god that they obtained: 5 tamlin of silver;

Rice field of god, given by Pon Muk Kraham ("red face") and Pon Vinaya at Pak Jek, 1 tlon, 5 ma, obtained (in exchange) of goods of god, (namely) 5 yau of clothing;

Rice field of god at Jan, given by the Pon Vinaya, 1 tlon, 5 ma, obtained (in exchange) for goods of god (namely) 5 yau of clothing;

Rice field of the asrama, given, 1 tlon, 1 ma, obtained (in exchange) for goods (namely) 2 yau, 1 pair of clothing;

Rice field given by Sivabhusana and Pon Sivaraks to Tem Slan, 1 tlon, 1 ma, obtained in exchange for 1 yau of clothing;

Rice field at Kanlah Tnal ("part of the road"), given at the same time by Pon Bhadasakti, Pon Sivabhusana, Pon Krs and all the workers, 1 tlon, 6 ma, obtained (in exchange) for goods of god, (namely) 8 tamlin of silver;

Rice field given by Rudracan, 1 tlon, 1 ma, obtained (in exchange) for goods of god (namely) 1 yau of clothing);

Rice field given by various (people), 1 tlon ... obtained (in exchange) for goods of god, (namely) 4 yau of clothing;

Rice fields given ... 1 tlon, 2 ma, obtained (in exchange) for goods of god ...

K. 44

Stele of Prah Kuha Luon

I. Victorious is Isa, who is driven neither by the desire to win, nor by the desire to lose, but whose desire, like a potter's wheel, shaped continually all that moves.

II. This (king), handsome like Love, having by his exploits subjugated the land covered by the Ocean with jewels of the head of his enemies.

III. This Sri Jayavarman, victorious sovereign, faithful to taken engagements, has by fixed edict as following the rules (of this foundation):

IV. The whole of his goods, fields, oxen, buffalo, gardens and servants cannot be taken by the particulars: the ascetics are the proprietors of these.

V. That those who take the goods from the venerable Utpannesvara remain in (obscure hell) Andhatamisra, as long as the sun, moon and stars last.
596 saka, at the residence of Purandarapura, the fifth day of the light fortnight of Karttika, lunar house Purvasadha, a Tuesday: Edict of His Majesty in favour of god Sri Utpannesvara at Cnar, piebald work of His Majesty. Donations from Tan An Klon Ranko and Pon Varahasena made to god at the time of H.M. Sri Rudravarman, slaves male and female, oxen, buffalo, fields and gardens; the area extending from the source until Vrai Tampon, until Thala Can Cara, until the pond of Pas Kmauhv, until the river, until Stuk Tras-nhora-I, as far as the pond of Pon Visnukirti, as far as the pond of Pas Tan Kanmen, until the grotto Po Ampak, the hills, forests, mounds, oxen enclosure, rivers, servants, etc., this here that the edict of His Majesty gives in all propriety (prasiddha), and making him put away these goods that he does not join with Dhanvipura.

Those who call the sampol, those who raise an annual tax, those who ask for something superior, those who call the people lvan, those who cite in justice, etc., those who formulate claims, defences, proclamations, those who snatch the carts, boats, oxen, buffalo, slaves, those who commit larceny concerning the vranen the guarded parasols, (concerning) the snan to pitai cakes in the court of god, (concerning) the religious assuring the cult of god, the religious exercising their functions in this sanctuary of god, the animals living here, the containers of fruit of the people supplying the allowances of this country of god to make a cult to god; those who ask, those who hinder, those who employ all of these, those who contest the edict of His Majesty, they will be punished.

The Pon Totil erected the edict of His Majesty for the country ple dran vnas and the Pon made the goods delivered to Sresthasrama.

K. 46  Stele of Phnom Nok

I. Having greeted ..., he gave this garsen ... H.M. Trapadesvara (piebald work) of mratan Siva.

Slaves of god (list of ku and va).

... 1 pair of oxen. Rice paddy ... 20 coconut trees, 100 areca nut trees ...

here is that Mratan Siva, sacrificer ... Sri Utpannesvara.

II. ... two fields, ten ... bearing many cereals ... to Jnanasiva, he gave a mass of riches ...
Gifts of the Mratan sacrificer and of Pon Jnanakumara to H.R.M. Sri Utpannesvara: male slaves (3 *man*), female slaves (5 *on*, 1 *ku* and her younger sister), 20 oxen, 1 pair of buffalo, 2 *sare* of rice fields, 20 *tron*, 1 *kaol*, *ku* ... child of the *ku* ... given to Kak Pas Jnau of H.R.M. replacing the Mratan sacrificer. Those who steal from here will go to hell. Slaves given ... 1 clothing.

Gifts of the Mratan.

K. 48  
**Inscription of Vat Prei Carek**

During the reign of H.M. Sri Jayavarmadeva ... 10 coconut palms, 2 pairs of oxen, 5 *lih* of decorticated rice, *panjut panka*.

K. 49  
**Stele of Vat Prei Val**

I. (Victorious) is the king Sri Jayavarman, of powerful heroism close to who Laksmi, although she was fickle, (holding) without moving.

II. Gifted with a sight always ... and skilful with protecting the world, he is (proclaimed) by the wise Sahasraksa (=Indra) personally.

III. While he protects the earth conquered by large strides, living in his kingdom two excellent bhiksu, son of the same mother, closed in ...

IV. both of them treasures of viture, knowledge, calm, patience, compassion, austerity, prudence, bearing a name beginning with Ratna and ending with bhanu and simha respectively.

V. The son of the daughter of the sister of these two (brothers) shining with a lively glow, was the pure Subhakirti, devoted with *pures* (actions).

VI. To him is transmitted in totality, according to the uninterrupted succession of his family and also by the commandment of the king, all of this that constitutes the pious foundation (made) by his ascendants.

VII. Bipedals, quadrupeds, park, land, forests, fields and all that constitutes this pious foundation (must be to h:m) returned, and none must be borne there waiting: such is the order of the king of the powerful commandments.

VIII. Being past the year of the king of Saka which is obtained by the meeting of the (5) senses, the (8) Vasu and the (6) tastes, the (second day) of the
clear fortnight of Magha, this order was procured by the venerables who reside at Naravarananagara, Of this that, who must be considered as the same thought of the king, having recognized the true sense ...

Order of His Majesty relative of the foundation (punya) of Pu Cah An Ratnabhanu and of Pu Cah An Ratnasimha at Tem Ske.

All slaves, oxen, buffalo, rice fields, plantations that the Pu Cah An have given to the divinity, and the slaves offered by the people who are also associated with this foundation, the exclusive right of serving all that was attributed exclusively to the divinity, belonging to Pon Subhakitii, grandnephew of the Pu Cah An, confided in his childhood to the guardian of those here originally.

Those who prevent, those who steal, those who ask, those who (cause) … ruin, dispute, difficulty at the house here, those who call the people to break and tear, those who serve this still, those who disobey the order of His Majesty, they will be punished.

K. 51  Inscription of Vat Kdei Trap

H.R.M Sri Madhur … Indradatta joins the goods with those of His Royal Majesty … Purusavadavasi and Svami Caturvidya …

Mratan Indradatta gives dancers (list of ten ku), ple le (list of ten ku), camdak (list of 9 va), people of the rice field (list of 17 va and 5 ku), a plantation at Devasabha, a rice field at … Tralac … Total of all slaves, 51.

(If) … either son-in-law, or grand son-in-law, or a child or a grandchild of the Mratan, either some individual, (if) these people, voluntarily … of H.R.M. … like that, that the fruit of their actions (bad) … come back to them. That they who steal … would go to hell.

That he who wish to take the Brahman Indradatta the goods of the enemy of Mura (Visnu) would go to hell.

That he who aspires to take to Indradatta the goods of god … would go to hell with his ancestors of seven (generations).

K. 54  Inscription of Tuol Prah That (Prei Ven)
I. The year marked by the (5) arrows, aine and the (5) arrows, the horoscope being in Taurus, the moon in conjunction with Punarvasu, the ninth day of the clear fortnight of Caitra, a linga of Isvara was erected here.

II. Victorious is He who is the sole cause of the universe, who procures the supreme beatitude to inclined people, and who burns Kama (the desire), destroyer of the virtue of the universe.

III. Although she had been vanquished by the heroism of he who vanquished (Visnu) bearer of the disc, and who vanquished the group of enemies, the land which had the ocean for boundary, is free in his hand, like in that of Hari.

IV. The king Sri Jayavarman, constant beloved of Fortune, like (Visnu) the wife of Fortune, is dignified with the respect of conqueror kings in a hundred battles and march at the front.

V. This (king) whose order was difficult to disobey for these lions which are the powerful kings, were servant attached to his master, generous, courageous, victor of enemies.

VI. By the favour of his master, he received the title of president of the royal assembly, and was honoured with a gold vase (kalasa), a cup in the form of a skull, a white parasol.

VII. With devotion attached solely to Sambhu, he erected a great linga named Sri Kedaresvara following the rites.

VIII. A girdle and a diadem of gold, a vase and a cup in the form of a skull made of silver, fields, gardens, oxen and buffalo or great number, and troops of slaves.

IX. Various species of goods given with faith by the king full of piety in the intention of honouring Sri Kedaresvara.

X. He gave all of this in conjunction with his two nephews named Uttara and Udaya, for the upkeep of the cult of this god.

XI. Whoever flees after having taken what that this be the goods of Sri Kedaresa, that he roam in the twenty-one hells, scorched by the fire of the heavens.
K. 66  **Inscription of Snay Pol**

A. H.R.M. Sri Salagramasvami ... servants of the goddess, Jen An, Mratan Mitralavi, Klon Tan, Klon Un; those who have ceded to the divinity in all propriety: (followed by a list of ku and va).

B. The Mratan Aidityasvami founded Bhagavati, gives servants to the Holy Bhagavati: Sulak An, Mratan An (followed by a list of ku sometimes accompanied by their children, and va).

K. 74  **Inscription of Vat Prah Nirpan**

619 saka, 13th day ... naksatra Uttaraphalguni, Wednesday, Pon Vastrapala gives some slaves to H.R.M. Sri Kanakalesvara, piebald work of Pon Tnah Kmau. Names of these people (list of ku and va): 14.

... I offer here; the keeper of clothes who ... Pon Tnah Kmau gives to H.R.M. Sri Kanakalesvara ... to have merit. (Followed by names of slaves).

K. 76  **Inscription of Phnom Ho Phnou**

No translation in French. Khmer text consisting of 18 lines, written in pre-Angkorian characters. The first lines have disappeared and the text begins in the middle of a list of slaves. The second line gives the names of 8 men designated as knum rman ta si. This is followed by the women knum ta kantai and knum rman ta kantai. The text continues and ends with a list of rice fields of which are given the dimensions.

K. 79  **Stele of Ta Kev**

I. He is a king, summary of the renamed of the kings whose Manu was the first, treasure of glory, Sri Bhavavarman, possessing grace of the austerities an inexhaustible possession of himself.

II. In the year saka counted by the (5) arrows, the (6) seasons and the face (=1), the rising of the sun was in the Fishes, the half-moon being in conjunction with Virgo, the fifth day of the obscure fortnight of Pusya, was erected a Devi Caturbhuja.
III. In devotion for the blessed Sambhu, for the deliverance of his parents, the (founder) master of the sense erected on the ground with the suitable rites of Devi.

Gifts from Mratan Isananpavitra to Kbon Kamraten An.

Rice field Jen Sruk supplied by Tan Ci Paan for the price of 2 yau, 1 vlah of clothing.
Rice field bought by H.R.M. Lord of the country, at Jlan Kaol, having a capacity of 2 je of ma, price received:

10 tlon of rice paddy for the profit of Pon Sveta; another 10 tlon of rice paddy for the profit of Pon elder brother of Pon Vren; 1 yau of clothing, 1 yau of amval for the profit of Pon Rtu, extra, 1 yau of clothing for the profit of Pon Somavin[du] and of Pon Subhankara; also, a rice field in exchange for this rice field of Jlan Kaol of 2 je of ma.

Rice field of Vnak Srahvan, 1 tlon.
Rice field supplied by Pon Syam: 1 je, for the price of 1 yau of amval clothes.
Rice field supplied by Pon Gunadeva: 1 tlon, price: 3 yau of clothing, 1 yau of amval.
Rice field supplied by Pon Yun: 1 tlon; price: 1 yau of clothing, 1 vlah of amval, 3 tlon and 2 je of rice paddy.
Rice field of Stuk Tlos supplied by Pon Lah An 2 tlon; price: 1 lin of white silver.
The Klon Jhe Vraiy also gave this rice field to god. The Klon received as price an image sculpted in the resemblance of his son Pon Sivacandra, 1 yau and 1 vlah of amval, 1 cow in calf, 3 tlon of rice paddy.

Pon Mano also received 1 yau of clothing.

This rice field is the tmen, which Pon Rudrabhava gives to god.
Rice field supplied b Pon Ap to god: 2 je, price 1 vlah of amval clothes.
Rice field supplied by Acarya Dharmasuddha to god: 1 je.
Rice field given by Pon Vidyakumara to god: 2 je.
Rice field Pran Kantal (dry in the middle): 1 tlon.
Total rice fields: 9 tlon, 1 je.

K. 80 Stele of Vat Prei Ven, Dite of Svai Chno

I. Victory is to god who bears all one half of the moon at his diadem, who rests on the haughty tiara of Akhandala (Indra), who escorts the Creator,
Narayana and the Rudra by millions, irresistible Sambhu whose energy
does not suffer attack.

II. Victorious (also) is the glorious suzerain of three kings, the powerful
protector of three steadfast towns, like Hara, the east of his threesome
Energy, Sri Isanavarman, the master of the earth.

III. (Slaves) numbering ... with a servant; and eight cows, a plantation of areca
nut trees, numbering eighty, with coconut palms counted numbering ...
and a hundred according to the total measure of the domain.

IV. By the honourable Vidyadeva, who famous for (riches) sacrifices, was
established, so that we could temporarily rest there or stay there forever,
this (asrama) populated with religious students below the (four) asrama.

Gifts of Tan Vidyadeva: the va in the habitation, x slaves (list of 8 or 9 ku and one
va), (4) pairs of oxen ... 80 areca nut trees, 1 sanre of rice field. Measure of ...

K. 90  

**Inscriptions of Kuk Prah Kot**

I. Victorious if the charming god Sri Prahasitesvara; the beauty of his face
makes the cardinal points from the lotus ponds.

II. The king Sri Isanavarman, who found pleasure only in the company of
wise men, after having crossed the land, attained the eminent position of
king of the mountains (of Himalaya).

III. That which his servant Bhadrayudha, whose practice of weapons, gave,
even to those who possess sovereignty [or: the quality of Isvara = Siva],
must go to Sauri (Visnu).

IV. ... of the lion of kings, to Sri Prahasitesvara, for the permanence of the cult
of Sauri ... 

Order of the king granting an exclusive right (prasiddhi) on the gifts of the Pon
Bhadrayudha to H.R.M. Sri Cakratirthasvamin. Women ...

... with ... their fruit, with the forest making part of his domain. Those who
prevent, those who steal here, those who disobey the order, they will be punished.
Obligation is made to the people the occasion of the four annual feasts, to offer the
fruit to god with flowers.
K. 98  **Paving Stone of Bantay Prei Nokor**

No translation in French. Inscription of 7 letters or pre-angkorian writing, missing the 3rd letter, "Ceci est le --- de Tan An". The missing letter is thought to indicate a type of offering made by a skilled woman of Tan An.

K. 103  **Inscriptions of Prah That Prah Srei**

**Jambs of the door frame in front of edicule I.**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. The southern piedroit contains four lines in Khmer, only partially readable. The northern piedroit contains 8 lines in Sanskrit followed by 15 lines of Khmer, which are completely ruined. That which remains of the Sanskrit text reveals a date of 692 saka (770AD), the fifth day of the declining moon of Madhava, and a name of the king, Jayavarman.

K. 107  **Inscription of Prah That Khnai Van**

--- pond in the territory (praman) of Vrai Vek, with the Pin Punen near Pin Karohv Gran, the Pin Tallauhv which is giver to H.R.M. Savyambhu as well as to Kpon H.M. Bha Nariyya.

Here is the Pin Stuk Cik which is given to H.R.M. Sri Sankaranarayana; as for the resources which it provides, we make responsible (the temple of) H.R.M. Sri Jayadeva to take them for him ---

K. 109  **Inscriptions of Prasat Prah That**

**Southern Jamb**

I.  (In the year of the) Saka (marked) by the (5) arrows ..., the fourteenth day ..., a manuscript of Sambhava(parvan) was given, in mind of the maintenance of the doctrine of the learned.

II.  That the insane who destroy this which was appointed by Bhavajnana as offering to Vyasa, reside in hell for a long time.
III. That he who, even deceives his own line, destroy the offering to Vyasa, also live in hell for a long time, for as long as the sun and moon shall last.

Northern Jamb

I. Victory is with Mahesvara, beginning and end of beings, who is accessible to the wise by meditation exclusively concentrated on him.

II. In the year marked by the (5) arrows, the (7) mountains and seven, the moon being in conjunction with the beginning of Gemini, the ninth day of the crescent moon of Tapasya, the horoscope being in Aries.

III. so the younger brother of the chief of Druvapura, chief of Vyadhapura, named Vibhu, calm, generous, pure, powerful,

IV. erected here, with all the complete rites, a linga of Shiva, to which the brahmans gave the name of Rudramahalaya.

V. Female and male slaves, livestock, fields, gardens, jewels and lands, he gave all of this to this (linga): that he who takes it will go to hell:

Gifts of Kurak Klon Vyadhapura to H.R.M Sri Rudramahalaya.
Male slaves (si): (list of 42 or 43 va).
Female slaves (kantai): (list of forty ku with their children).
The slaves of Tan Suvarna have totalled with those of Kurak Vyadhapura and (offered) also to H.R.M. Sri Rudramahalaya.

K. 115 Stele of Sophas

In the year counted by the (5) arrows, the (8) forms and the (7) wise men, at the moment where Leo rises in the horizon, where Gemini was in conjunction with the sun, the son of the moon (Mercury), Venus and Ketu, where the son of the sun (Saturn) holds in Capricorn, Mars in Cancer, the private tutor of the gods (Jupiter) in Libra, the moon in the extremity of Citra, the ninth day of the crescent moon of Jyestha, at that time a linga was erected.

Gift from the people of the ge klon Vau An, mother of Pon Nirjitasimha to H.R.M. Srimad Amrata who is given to Pon Candravin(du). Slaves (followed by the list).
Rice field Travan Rhvan, 1 sanre; rice field Bhaskaravin, 1 pada; rice field given by the Mratan founder.

K. 124  **Inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy**

I. Victory is [with Him] whose knowledge manifested in all the completely known worlds, and whose power of action without reduction ...

725 saka, (Kanhen Kamraten An) who is the eldest, daughter of Kanhen H.R.M. Sri Jayendra...bha, granddaughter of Kanhen H.R.M. Sri Npendradevi, great-granddaughter of H.R.M. Sri Indra.oka, offers some slaves to H.R.M. Srimad Amrataka: slaves belonging to the categories of water drivers, ablutions and grinders of perfume; the chief of Krtajnavana, bearing the (personal) name of Kurek Kanyat, bearing the name (= title) of Anak Klon, is their superintendent. (She offers) the goods and all the foodstuffs, the slaves, 9 tmon, the containers in silver with their lids, the copper plates, copper pots and copper ladles.

Subsistance of the tmon:
- Clothes: 20, x yau;
- Cotton: 4 tul, 10 jyen;
- Honey: 3 antvon, 6 mas;
- Sesame: 1 tlon, 1 je;
- Millet: 1 tlon, 1 je;
- Ginger: 3 je, 9 lih;
- Wax: 9 jyen;
- Paddy: 4 tlon, 2 je;

_Anac:_
- Clothes pan-en: 10 yau;
- Drain channel covering: 1 yau;
- Tnas ...: 1 yau;
- Tnas tnal: x yau;

(Clothes) for the rainy season for the religious ta pjuh: 3 yau;

for the religious who cook the caru: 2 yau;

for the religious klon ... who will receive subsistence: 1 yau, 3 lih of ginger.

Foundation of Bhagavat H.M. Utkrsta: 5 yau; cotton, 1 tul; for the water drivers, 1 yau; for the perfume grinders, 1 yau.
Foundation of H.M. Guru Suvira: 1 \textit{yau};
2 \textit{antvon} of honey for making the \textit{caru} and the libations of the five feasts;
1 \textit{antvon}, 6 \textit{mas} of honey for buying the oil;
2 \textit{yau} of clothes for buying the syrup;
1 \textit{tul} of cotton for buying 2 \textit{tul}, 10 \textit{jyen} of oil, for buying \textit{xje}, 6 \textit{lih} of ginger conserve, for buying the areca nut, of the sesame conserve for the \textit{panjut}, of the millet for the \textit{caru}, of the wax for the \textit{san\textdjya}, of the paddy for the sacrifice of the 24 religious who cook the \textit{caru}: 18 \textit{tlon}.

II. This queen named Jyestharya, having made homage to this master Siva, gave all of this to prove her devotion.

III. By the fruits of this meritorious work ... here below ..., but by the abandon of these fruits to Sambhu, may the queen obtain the stay of Isa.

K. 126 \textbf{Stele of Tuol Kok Prasat}

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to comprise three incomplete lines in pre-Angkorian Khmer writing. It represents part of a list of gifts offered to a holy master (\textit{vrah svami}) comprising male and female slaves and a pair of oxen. No date and no mention of which ruling king.

K. 127 \textbf{Sambor Jamb (Trapan Prei)}

(List of slaves)

\textit{Saka} 605, 5\textsuperscript{th} day of the declining moon, \textit{naksatra} ..., Mratan Vidyakirti gave (the slaves) to H.R.M. Amaresvara (1 \textit{amrah} and \textit{te} \textit{va} and \textit{ku} with their children), Ix..., 5 pairs of oxen. Respectable persons living (here): 1 substitute \textit{vari}, 1 special guardian, 1 \textit{pon}... White rice affected (by the substance) of those who live in the temple: 2 \textit{lih}.

The religious \textit{pamjuh} who assure the round of service of the slaves of god who ... went to heaven; the men who withdraw, claim or steal these slaves offered, as well as this rice affected by the substance of those who live in the temple of H.R.M. Sri Amaresvara, all the parents of these people there will suffer in hell for as long as the sun and moon endure.
Slaves given by Mratan Isvaravindu to H.R.M. Suvarnalinga, as well as to H.R.M. Mianisiva, who reunite their taxes with H.R.M. Sri Amaresvara: 2 amrah, 13 va, 8 ku and 19 children. 11 oxen, 4 bulls, 17 buffalo.

K. 132 Sambor Jamb (Anlun Pran)

I. ... the twelveth night, in the obscure fortnight, the moon of Jyestha having risen beyond Libra, in the year 614 passed, this Devi was erected by a doctor.

II. To this goddess, whose famous name, Sri Vidyadharani, should be the object, in the sky and on earth, of the constant meditations and her faithful followers, this liberal man, gifted with a great intelligence, and searching upon this earth to obtain science, has, in view of his own awakening to knowledge, given these varied goods, the mind stretched towards the success of his step in the right path.

III. Having lived a thousand months, the best of the doctors abandoned his body, the first day of the month of Pausa, in the year saka 629 passed.

K. 133 Inscriptions of Trapan Thma (Sambor)

There is no translation in French. There are two different inscriptions, one an inscription in Khmer, 18 lines on a piedroit, the other also in Khmer, 8 lines. The first inscription gives a list of slaves (va, ku and their children) offered to a divinity, whose name has disappeared, by a chief guide (mahanauvaha). The writing is 7th century. The second inscription also gives a list of slaves (va, ku and their children) offered to the god Sri Vimesvara by the Mratan Rudravindu. It ends with the mention of rice fields worth 80 female slaves, and offered to god. The writing for the second inscription indicates it may be more of the 8th century.

K. 134 Lobok Srot Jambs

Om! Homage to the blessed Vasudeva!
I. When the earth surrounded by the Ocean was governed by the king Sri Jayavarman, incarnated portion of Brahma and of Ksatra, whose order was born ceaselessly by the kings bowed before him,

II. ... Paramesvaravallabha, of high lineage, ... gifted with numerous riches, possessing revealed science,

III. ... he founded a god here known (by the name of) Sri Siddhesvara, accompanied by the burning star (the sun) ...

IV. In the year saka marked by the (7) muni, space (0) and the (3) fires ... the moon being in A̅vini, and ... in Libra.

Servants in the temple (list of gho). Total 12. Servants in the temple (list of females) 2 children, 1 slave. Total 28 with children. Servants in the temple ...

Group of Tmo Yol (list of gho). Total: 12 gho. (List of tai). Total 10 tai, 9 children, with rice fields, lands, vegetable gardens.

Group of Ivor (list of 2 gho, and 5 tai, 2 children). Total 7 tai.

Group of Vrah Hin Dam (list of 3 gho and 3 tai), with rice fields and lands.

Group of Cdin Kryel (list of 3 gho, 1 tai, 2 children) with rice fields and lands.

Group of Anjam (list of gho). Total: ... gho (List of tai with 2 children). Total 12 tai with children.

9 pairs of oxen. Vegetable garden ... Lands, rice fields of Tem Lva, Cok Ransi, Cok Svay, Tnal ...

K. 137 Lonvek Jamb

Order of the king charging Pu Nen Sevabhara to take 400 slaves vrau to Vrah Mratan Kamratan Damdam, charged him with making an inscription of all the gifts, and ablutions of water on all the gods, piebald works of the Lord master of the earth. The gods are co-participants with the domain of the god Kamratan Tem Krom and are not with the domain of Samudrapura.

Klon kantai of Mratan Kamratan Damdam that the Mratan gives to H.R.M. the Old.

Servants of god, deputy public prosecutors of the Mratan (list of 11 names nearly all ending with an): total 11.
Slaves of god:

Dancers (5 names), singers (12 names): total 5 dancers, 12 singers.  
*Cmuh ka vrah* (32 names most beginning with *ku*): total 23 *cmuh ka vrah*, 1 boy *lan*, 2 breastfeeding boys, 1 girl *lan*, 4 breastfeeding girls.  
*Tmir slik* (19 names): total 10, 2 boys *lan*, 5 breastfeeding girls.  
Fruit pickers (37 names of *va*): total 37 *ple le*.  
Weavers (7 *ku*, 2 boys *lan*, 1 girl *lan*, 1 breastfeeding girl)  
Ranhvai (11 *ku*, 2 boys *lan*, 1 breastfeeding boy, 1 breastfeeding girl).  

Slaves of the rice fields (constituting the foundation of Po Yajama (3 *va*, 14 *ku*, 2 boys *lan*, 2 breastfeeding boys, 1 girl *der*, 1 girl *lan*);  
foundation of Po Bhanudeva (3 *va*, 13 *ku*, 1 boy *lan*, 2 girls *der*, 1 girl *lan*, 1 breastfeeding girl);  
foundation of Ci Namassivaya (2 *va*, 10 *ku*, 2 boys *lan*, 1 boy *der*);  
foundation of Po Adra (5 *va*, 9 *ku*, 1 boy *der*, 1 girl *lan*);  
foundation of Pon...  

K. 140  
**Stele of Vat Baray**

(In the year) *saka* marked by the (5) arrows, the (9) openings and the (8) bodies, the eleventh day of the crescent moon of Jyestha having arrived, the sun, the son of the earth (Mars), and the son of the moon (Mercury) being in Gemini, (the moon in Libra in company) with Venus, the sun of the sun (Saturn) in Taurus, the private tutor of gods (Jupiter) in Virgo, Capricorn being half risen ... this image placed here by Sri Sambhu.  
Slaves given by the chief of the elephants of the king H.R.M. Sri Sankara ... (list following of slaves, *va* and *ku*, with their children, *kon*).  

K. 145  
**Piedroit of Prasat Phum Prasat**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to have comprised five lines in poor condition. The first three lines and the beginning of the fourth line are in Khmer while the end of the fourth and fifth lines are written in Sanskrit. That which remains of the text contains the date 628 *saka* (706AD), the name of the donator.
Mratan Medhavi, and that of the god: Sankarakarayana to whom is offered rice fields, slaves, rice, milk for sacrifice. The Sanskrit part appears to have been an imprecation, as it contains the name of the hell, Avici.

K. 146  **Inscription of Kakoh**

There is no translation in French. It is said to be an 8th century inscription (suggested by writing) in a very bad state, comprising 50 lines in Khmer. Of the first 12 lines, nothing is legible except the repeated mention of the word sri, indicating names of divinities, while the 12th line mentions slaves, buffalo and fields. The Khmer text then lists generosities of the king to three divinities of whom the first bears a name ending with narayana, and the third has a name ending with esvara, as well as an arama. The fifteenth line begins a list of slaves of which there are many Sanskrit and Khmer names still readable. These slave names are written without the normal precedents va and ku, si and tai. The list ends at line 43 and the following line gives the total of the slaves and writes about buffalo (krapit), oxen (tmur) and plantations (damrin). The final five lines mention coconut palms (ton tem) and rice fields (sre) measured in pada and sare.

K. 149  **Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk: South Jamb of the Tower N18**

Lunar house Jyestha, horoscope in Virgo.

Slaves of H.R.M. Sri Ratnesvara, gift of the acarya gifted with the title of Mratan An, obtained from H.R.M. Sri Bhavavarman, obtained from H.R.M. Sri Mahendravarman, obtained from H.R.M. Sri Isanavarman. Subsistence is given to the chief of the slaves. (List of va).

(List of ku and their children)

Slaves from the donation to Knar Vahv (list of va and ku).

Total oxen 280; total buffalo ...
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K. 154  Stele of Phum Komrien

**Face A**

In *saka* past, six hundred and six, ninth day of the crescent moon of Jyestha, Monday, *naksatra* Uttarabhadra(pada), Mratan Devasvami made a great sacrifice for H.R.M. Sri Kedaresvara, piebald work of Mratan:

3 *lih* of rice, 1 *yau* and 1 *vlah* of clothes, 1 whole dish; the service of the slaves given to god (2 *va*, 2 *ku*, 2 children), oxen, 11 *tlon* of rice fields, four *slik* (=1600 measures) of paddy, - all of this, the Mratan gave to Pon Sankarsana for the service of god from Hamsapura.

The gathering that ... comprised of: Mratan Purusapala Bhaga(vata), Mratan Sudarçana Bhagavata, Mratan Bhavaditya *pamjuh*, Pon Sankaragana, Pon Sankarabhakti, Pon Bhavisara, Pon Visesanan(da)

Those who ... Tan Cnot, Vrac Run, Pon Sruta, Ratnagana, Dharmaraks, Naraya(na), Vice(sa)vin(du), J(n)anamit(ra), the honourable Va Vidagdha and Va Daruna.

Those who do not give, those who prevent, those who steal from here, that with their seven mothers and their seven fathers they would go to the hells Atiraurava and Maharaurava, like those who are guilty of murder of a brahman.

**Face B**

Mratan Devasvami made a great sacrifice for H.R.M. Sri Kedaresvara, other piebald work of the Mratan:

2 *lih* of rice, 1 whole dish, 1 *yau* of clothes, oxen, rice fields, gardens, to the total of 20 rice fields; slaves given to god (2 *ku*, 2 children) – there, Mratan Devasvami gives it to Pon Sruta for the service of H.R.M. Sri Kedaresvara.

The religious *pajuh* at this moment is Mratan Bhavaditya.

The gathering ... comprises: mratan Purusapala, Sudarsana, Sankarsana, Tan Krahap, Tan Cnot, Sandrasila, Sukrtavardhana, Kyok, Sankaragup(ta), Sthanugana, Devasarma, Dharmaditya, Kumaramvesa, Visesavin(du), Visesagana, Udyama, Dharmaraks, Ratnagana, Candragana, Jadharagana, Avai Si Sabha, Aval Sin.
Those who do not give, those who prevent, those who steal for here, that with their seven mothers and their seven fathers would go to the hells Aitirayrava and Maharaurava like those who are guilty of murder of a brahman.

K. 163  
**Inscriptions of Prasat Ampil Rolu’m**

I. Slaves given by Pon Prajncandra to H.R.M Sastar to H.R.M. Maitreya and to H.R.M Sri Avalokitesvara (list of 15 va and 2 ame, 16 ku and 8 children).

II. H.R.M. at -n It joins his resources with H.R.M. Sivapattana. Slaves ... slaves ... Slaves of Pu Cah An Bodhisustha who joins together at ... srama. Slaves given by Pon Vidya ... to H.R.M. Sasta, H.R.M. Maitreya and H.R.M. Sri Avalokitesvara. Names of slaves also given: (illegible list following).

K. 259  
**Vat Knat Jambs**

Southern jamb

[II and III]

In the reign on H.R.M. Sri Jayadevi ... there was an order of H.R.M. Srijayadevi to give to H.R.M. Sri Lokanatha ... sresthin who gives ... H.R.M. Sri Jayadevi --- H.R.M. Sri Lokanatha. Those who seize, those who steal, those who want, those who use this donation of land belonging to H.R.M. (following passage ruined).

That the people do not summon their neighbours, that the people do not seize ... slaves, oxen, buffalo, vehicles ... elsewhere, those who make ..., those who act following their wishes, those who demand, prevent ... all these gifts ... those who disobey the order of H.R.M.: the brahmans will be banished from the country, the ..., tul of gold, the common people will be punished.

[IV]

I. Victory to Sri Lokanatha, wife of Sri, whose sovereignty on the land is ... by those who walk at the front, in view of the deliverance of obstruction.
II. The king name Sri Jayavarman, whose power was well-known, although he was filled ... was like the ocean ...

III. His daughter (devi), gifted with divine virtues if Devi, like Padmalaya (daughter) of the Ocean, was known on earth by the name of Sri Jayadevi.

IV. The master of the king Nrpaditya devoted to Girisa and possessing recognised virtues in abundance ...

V. Named chief of the merchants by this king ... by the queen ...

VI. This great sresthin, gifted with an abundance of unequalled virtues ...

(VII-VIII) (Ruined).

Northern jamb

[II]

(Mention of a rice field and two slaves offered to god).

Here is ... during the reign of H.M. who has gone to ... I, named Lon Ksetra, have bought this rice field ... for the price of 20 (measures of) paddy, 1 vodi, ... of gold ... two, this rice field ... H.R.M. Sri Lokaratha (the rest is ruined).

K. 341  Inscription of Prasat Nak Buos

Southern jamb

I. The place where the Unchanging (Siva) manifested his two feet ... of him who has gone far ... the name is proclaimed.

II. By him, the mountain formerly named Sivapada will be for those who venerate it ... purification, even for those who remember it ...

III. There even, of the same manner, those who drink ... (will obtain) the heaven of the gods ... such is the ... notorious.

In 596 saka, fifth day of the crescent moon of Vaisakha, Monday, an order of Him Majesty of the superior religious (kulapati), prescribed him: to celebrate the cult of god as at Lingapura; to erect a linga of gold; to institute a supply of food comprising 5 prastha (of rice), 2 prastha of beans ...; to demarcate a land to the east touching Lingapura, to the south touching Tpal Amvil (“grove of tamarind trees”), to the west touching ...; to assemble the bricks; to fix all the benefits in favour of the god as at Lingapura, as well.
This here which is just and unjust: those who will satisfy all the people ... again ... those who celebrate the cult ...

(Sanskrit text ruined).

He who gives of the earth rejoices (in heaven) for sixty thousand years ...

Northern jamb

622 saka. Order of His Majesty to enclose a land for H.R.M. Sri Sivapada: to the east Van Haren, to the south Lantau ..., to the west Thmo Vrk, to the north Taran Tannot.

Those who are already linked to god, to begin with the pious people (such as) Pon Myan and Pon Bhuvanaditya, those who come here like H.R.M. Sri Vijayesvara, those who assure the service of H.R.M. Sri Sivapada, who distinguish themselves by their austerity: from this world to the next, that they who are entered into religion obtain the success of supernatural powers, and give compassion, renowned, ..., absence of fear ... to those who depend (on this foundation). All sorts of gifts offered to H.R.M. Sri Sivapada, namely: slaves, oxen, buffalo, carts, small boats, plantation, lowlands, forests, rivers, canhvar, rlam, rice fields, mounds, pastures, ponds, lakes, all that depends on the religious elders who are in the habit of celebrating the cult of god.

Those who steal, those who rob, those who deceive, they will go to hell. For as long as the sun and moon shall last, they will suffer in hell; they will burn in hell ...

So be it.

K. 357 Prasat Kompon Jamb

There is no translation in French. It is said to be an inscription engraved on the southern jamb of the front door of temple. The style of the inscription suggests it is pre-Angkorian. It comprises 24 lines, in 7th century writing. It contains a registered list of names of slaves (va and ku) offered by a woman bearing the title of ge klon whose name has disappeared in a break at the beginning of the text, also that of the divinity. These slaves come from localities named Abhayapura, Nandanavana, Vnon, Cok Vinau, and Rampom. Some of the slaves at the beginning and end of the text were not designated as va and ku but bear names composed of various words followed by the word an. This can also be found in other pre-Angkorian inscriptions. The list also mentions some areca nut trees (sla) and coconut palms (ton).
K. 367  **Stele of Vat Ph’u**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to have comprised homage to Shiva and a eulogy to Jayavarman I. There is also a royal order concerning immunity or right of sanctuary and the policing of a sanctuary called Lingaparvata.

K. 421  **Inscription of Thap-Mu’oi**

This inscription was not translated into French. It is said to contain 8 lines of characters difficult to decipher, also making it difficult to assign a date. The Khmer text lists nine countries of which the first four bear a name beginning with *chdin* “river”, the following two with *thkval* “elevation” and the three final with *vrai* “forest”. Each of these countries produces certain quantities of *yava* “grain”, *madhu* “honey” and *madhucchista* “wax”.

K. 422  **Inscription of Can Cum**

Gift... to the lord Sri Vijayesvara. (List of slaves: *va* (male), *ku* (female), *kon* (children).

... herd, slaves here ... 10 persons, oxen which the lord Sri... isvara... child.

K. 423  **Paving Stone of Trapan Thom**

(A).  ... sacrificer, to H.R.M. the Ancient. Slaves (list of some *va*, *ku* and children), 2 pairs of oxen, 60 *bhai* of (coconut palms?), 80 *bhai* of areca nut trees, 100 *bhai* of measures of paddy.

(B).  The Young Lord ... The Pon Klon Krom who is the master sacrificer, pays (?) the price ... to the religious who ... of the Young Lord. Slaves (list of *amrah va* and some *ku*), 20 coconut palms, 60 areca nut trees ... the master sacrificer who serves the model of the four castes.
K. 424  **Inscription of Phnom Mrah Prou**

... the tenth day of the obscure fortnight of Kartika, the Pon ... to god Sri Tungisa, 3 sare ... habitation there, in the moment where the Pon Gu ... (following a list of Pon:4-9).

To the god Sri Tungisa... 1 camdon, 1 can perfumed support,... 4 flowers dmeh in silver, half ... 1 yau of wide chanda, 1 narrow vlah, 1 hut ... gong of copper tanen ... bought with the paddy of god and the paddy of the Pon ... (following a list of servants ku, va, and their children), 1 coconut palm.

K. 426  **Stele of Vat Con Ek**

Order of his Majesty in the subject of H. R. M. Siddhayatana at Cun Muh, whom he made reunite the means of subsistence with those of H. R. M. Sri Acalesvara: slaves, oxen, buffalo, rice fields, paddy, vegetable gardens, lowlands, bush, given by all the people of god: those who steal from here, those who take the people here, those who scheme inside here, those who give orders here, those who act with insolence here, those who bind and weave ends of sdau here, those who take oxen, transports, boats here, those who contest the royal order, those will be punished.

K. 428  **Polished Stele of Kuk Prah Kot**

... of blessed Sri Campesvara, above that which holds Paramavasudeva residing in the chest marked with the sign of Srivatsa, murderer of enemies of the gods, dignified to be venerated by the group of gods, without end, supreme Spirit, having the cakra for army, eternal ... a composition in sloka arranged for recitation.

... the image of Campesvara, honoured by various jewels, gifted with a superior form ... bringing prosperity ...

The ... day of the bright fortnight of Madhava ... in (the year) saka (marked by) six, eight, three ... installed with joy ...

Buffalo, gardens, lands, male and female slaves, ... oxen ... the eighth day ...

Svamiraja ...

... Acyuta ... installed with joy by the Svamin.
(The rest of the inscription is fragmentary and uncertain but it is thought to have listed various daily and twice monthly donations.)

K. 430  **Inscription of Phnom Pros**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to be a fragment of an inscription in Khmer, missing the beginning. The end of the text comprises the end of a list of slaves, mentioning a piece of land (*sanre*) and a plantation of 128 areca nut trees, and another list of slaves offered by a *pon*. The writing is pre-Angkorian and could date to mid 7th century.

K. 436  **Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk**

**South Piedroit of the east door of the exterior enclosure of group N**

A. There is another field given ...

B. (ruined).

C. Those who, even in thought, take to Siva this field for their own use, that the insane fall into hell beginning with Raurava.

I. (Homage to Siva).

II. Homage to Nilakantha, at whose neck shines the darkness (of the poison *kalakuta*), ... black, who holds the disc of the full moon.

III. Victory is with the god who bears a lotus in his navel, to the conqueror of Madhu and of Kaitabha, who by compassion for the Creator ...

IV. I salute the god of the four faces who makes resonate the four regions of space... the bees of the four Veda who haunt the lotus of his four faces...

V. There was a king, the venerable Rajendravarman, who shines like the break of dawn in the family of kings of the Kambuja, and dispels the profound obscurity of his enemies.

VI. Certainly, it is because he had the mind worn by the distribution of beauty between several (individuals) that Prajapati has created this king in gathering in him all the beauty.
VII. The spouse of Kama having seen this king whose beauty reminded him of the body of (his spouse) without body, no longer diverts his mind of the beauty of his forms.

VIII. This king, at the glare of fire, having instituted the order of Krtayuga, Kali hid himself, as if with fear of hearing his name pronounced everywhere.

IX. While this king, powerful like Prthu, maintained peace among his subjects, (he made sure) the punishment for crimes without distinction between the criminals.

X. When this destructor of enemies travelled, the dust produced by the trampling of his army triumphed in the radiance of the sun and produced obscurity, even in the middle of the day.

XI. The energy of this preceptor of the world, circulating in the regions of space and setting into pieces error, crossed...

XII. Although he was famous for his innumerable sacrifices, he did not divert the practice of sacrifices, and reduced the fame of those who celebrate a hundred sacrifices.

XIII. He piously showered the brahmans with gifts for the occasion of ceremonies ... the practice of the chants of Sama(veda) ...

XIV. There was a servant who was born in the family rejoicing in the favour of sovereigns of the universe, and who behaved like a lion towards the king of the elephants enemies of his master.

XV. He was grandson of the famous Srimad Virendravarman, and son of Sri Nrpendravijaya, servant of Sri Yasovarman.

XVI. Made responsible by the king, he ... by his power the king of Campa ... tax, he gave all his goods to the king.

XVII. To the gods, to the brahmans, to friends, as well as to relatives of the enemies, ... adoration, gifts, respect ...

XVIII. In him who delights in the practice of virtues, liberality, the good, the useful, valour, glory, heroism ... revelation ...

XIX. He made the açrama at Lingapura, at Nagasthanapuri, at Sambhupura ...

XX. ... the cult of Sri Gambhiresvara fell into disuse ...

XXI. ... of Sri Gambhiresvara ...

XXII. This Srimad Vikramasinha who had in battle the appearance of a lion made ... Isanapura.
XXIII. He gave buffalo here ..., slaves ...

XXIV. The insane who, mind free from the fear of the world of Yama, bore suffering of the attributed goods ... as long as they are living, they will be unhappy and have their bodies forever cut into pieces...

XXV. Those who ... think only of dharma ...

K. 437  **Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk**

**Jambs of Tower N14**

(I-II) ruined.

III. In enemy countries burnt by his shining (ardour) ...

IV. His golden fame continually watered by the liqueur running in front of elephants ...

V. Sakaramanjari, beloved spouse of this king named Sri Isanavarman, ...

VI. Out of passionate devotion towards her spouse, and from desire to be reunited with him in the other world, she erected the blessed ...

He who wishes (to appropriate) all the goods, slaves and others, offered by her to perpetuate the cult of this ...

K. 439  **Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk**

**Jambs of Tower N20**

**South jamb**

II. The two gods (Shiva?) and Acyuta who, animated by the same mind ...

III. Sri Gambhiresvara who ...

IV. Sri Bhavavarman, grandson of ...

V. He had as favourite servants two brothers, devoid of egoism ...

VI. Of these two brothers, whose privacy was unprecedented, the elder ...

VII. Named Samudragupta

VIII. Both gifted with the same qualities ...

IX. ... of gold in the sky of the family of the chief of Samlay ...
X. Both of them instituted the cult …

XI. Those who wish to take the goods of these two …

**North jamb**

I. … in the rising of Libra …

II. lotus, although having vanquished Kama, Hara (Shiva) the Incrée, hold in the company of Uma

III. When this king Jayavarman maintained the prosperous land …

IV. … powerful, favoured among kings, (he received) because of his bravery the excellent name of Valadhapi.

V. … she erected here with devotion this linga of gold of Isa, pure (and named), Sri Prabhasomesvara.

VI. … all of gold, silver, and on the outside bronze, copper, etc. (he) had given to her in faith.

VII. … endowed with oxen and buffalo, with fields and gardens, men (constituted) his gifts made in faith.

VIII. … the pious and learned ascetic named Rudrabhakti was made responsible for the divine cult.

IX. That those who, out of greed wish to take (the goods), go to hell with their relations and stay there until the end of the world.

K. 440 **Inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk**

**Jambs of the east door of the exterior enclosure of Group S**

I. Victory is with Sri Prahasitesvara … his radiant body bathes, as it were, land in an ocean of liquid gold.

II. From the (king), who was sun in the sky that is the line of venerable sovereigns of the land, emanated a majesty [or: a warmth] intolerable, even if he was in the middle of his States [or: of a halo].

III. In seeing his charming body, Rati was if as surprised and said: “In truth! It is wrong that for so long I believe myself a widow!”
IV. Although he was young and desirable, the young beauties did not surround him; he liked only the absorbed sciences and even digested by old men.

V. (ruined).

VI. Although he was full of jewels, like the ocean, ... the flanks, even of the king of the mountains [or: the partisans, even the king of kings].

VII. His image had no place among females and in the goods of others, it could be found only in its good conduct, good actions ... and its glory.

VIII. Firmly rooted, difficult to climb, endowed with numerous branches, budding, soaked with consecrated water, producers of kindesses, such were the trees and his victories.

IX. There was the first of men virtuous and dedicated to their relations, even when, by his power, he reached the limit of the domain of his relations.

X. The people of good said of him that he was not a refuge for all, only in the sense that he avoided the frequenting of sins, as of scorn for contact with the enemies.

XI. The pretty girls, seeing the beauty of this seducer, thought that even a wink from him was worth the trouble of being conquered by the enemy.

XII. Having perceived his immense glory, innumerable, and without fault, the Creator laments the smallness of the world which is bearing his work.

XIII. At his approach, the dust (rajas) produced by the trampling of his army on the ground, manifested completely the obscurity (tamas) which hides the distinction between the beings (sattva).

XIV. His politic, gifted with the three elements of power, made foreign kings satisfied of their fall, although they were firmly rooted on their land.

XV. Considering as secondary his own advantage [or: determining the original sense (of another word)], by his eminent conduct [or: by a composed formation of which there was the first term], he produced the advantage of the others [or: another sense (for a designating word) an object], as the manifestation of the word "virtue" [or: of a qualifying].

XVI. The power attributed to Prthu and to other (legendary characters), although it is incredible for the people of the present, theirs appeared as convincing, since they saw his valour in combat.
XVII. Every day, crossfire emanating jewels (decorating) the hairdo of kings, scattered their multicoloured marks on their two feet which were bearing no mark.

XVIII. His incomparable beauty …

XIX. Gifted with the element components of the State [or: of the radical], of experience [or: of suffix], of prediction [or: of substitute], of virtue [or: of a strong degree of a vowel], of prosperity [or: of a most strong degree], of traditional knowledge [or: of increase], his good politics and grammar …

XX. … this king, anxious to obtain the sky, vanquished the elephant of Indra.

XXI. … the enemy … knowledge … in combat …

XXII. … even of those who heard …

XXIII. At the houses of the enemy women … the widowhood … the pleasure of the residence of a friend …

XXIV. By this compassionate king … even a Brahman …

XXV. Having as for fear of Kali, confided their matters to this king that no one has vanquished anywhere, it seems that …

XXVI. He who … by the tears of women … having married a young woman …

XXVII. In hearing, even of the right title,

XXVIII. … his approach … jewels … of the ocean …

XXIX. By this Sri Isanavarman, who had for armour his honour in battle, and who we celebrate the good actions …

XXX. … Sri Prahasite(svara) …

XXXI. these four images of Hari … of the Archer (Siva) united in the body of …, of (Siva) having Taurus as sign …

XXXII. this linga of gold, (Brahma) of four faces, (this image) of Sarva of the members enveloped in the obscurity of night,

XXXIII. This image of Saravati, at that of Nrttesvara, - all of this has been erected by this king in accordance with the rites.

XXXIV. (He) erected this image in silver of (Taurus) Vrsabha, such that the intact image of Dharma at the age of Krta.

K. 447 Stele of Baset

I-II. (ruined)
III. Even by his powers acquired by austerity ... this god named Sri Trailokysara, renamed for his power...

IV. by means of five sacrifices, by the sacrificer observing the five moments, versed in the rites of the Pancaratra sect, and knowing the five elements.

V. Victory is to king Sri Jayavarman, whose commandments are respected by innumerable kings bowing to him, and who is, in combat, a living incarnation of Victory.

VI. Having considered the beauty of his aspect, Rati astonished, had no more reason, in my opinion, to prove the chagrin that the destruction of the body of Ananga caused him.

VII. So that this bearer of the Earth, punisher of his enemies, governed the earth inherited by his ancestors, and expanded by the conquest of other lands.

VIII. (he who) his destiny was born in the family of Bhagavata, whose karman had been suppressed by the observances in the course of innumerable births.

IX. (he) whose conduct and discipline, participant ... made without equal among men, among princes,

X. this Dharmapala famous for his merits, erected here this blessed Acyuta, for the increase of merits of his master,

XI. in running saka marked by the (5) arrows, the (7) horses and .... Venus being in the Bull, the moon in Rohini being in conjunction with Venus,

XII. the Sun being with Mars and Mercury in Gemini, the rise of the Lion, Jupiter being in Aquarius,

XIII. the twelfth day of Suci, lucky day, although it was in the obscure fortnight, Saturn shining in a radiance unsurpassed in Libra.

Gifts of the acarya Dharmapala to H.R.M. ... (3 va and 3 ku).
Rice field to ... bought ... tlon.

K. 451 Inscription of Prasat Prei Thnal (South)

South jamb

In 602 saka, thirteenth day of the declining moon of Jyestha, lunar house Anuradha, Kurun Malen gives slaves to H.R.M Sri Kedaresvara.
Names of these people (list following). General total of adults and children: 58 slaves; 100 oxen, 1 plantation.

The rice field bought at Ci; the rice field Dan Linga, gift that H.R.M. who has gone to Sivapura offered to god; the rice field Amvam Lec; the rice field On Drau that the people gave as reimbursement of a debt; another rice field pnak of Kurun Malen: these are all the rice fields here that Kurun Malen gives to H.R.M. Kedaresvara.

North jamb

H.R.M. Sri Kedaresvara, those who steal the gold of god, silver, copper, bronze, clothes, rice fields, plantations, oxen, this who steal, those who associate with the people who cause the ruin or H.R.M. Sri Kedaresvara in this fashion, will go to hell (with) their ancestors, men and women, with their mother, their grandfather, their children and grandchildren.

Those who cause harm towards god, either grandson, or wife, either relation who starts proceedings, or slave wishing to cause harm towards god, ... to order the people to climb ... great hell.

Endowments for the rainy season: 8 yau of pairs of clothes, 2 anton of oil, ... arec ... narno, ... mustard, ... 1 katti of santal, sesame, honey, 1 tlon of decorticated rice.

K. 482

Inscription of Kok Roka

I. ... faithfully executing the order of the king, Jun Glan ...
II. Next, made responsible by this king ... of Sambhu named Sri Gambhiresvara.
III. As witness to his master an increased devotion, he erected following the rites this Devi Tribhuvanesvari who gives success to men.
IV. By his power ..., she protects marvellously incessantly the ... of land of the mountain named ... srnga.

Gifts of Jun, myself the donator, to Vrah Bhagavati more (following a list of va and ku totalled at the end of the text).
K. 483  **New Inscriptions of Phnom Bayan**

I. ... the queen of Sri Kaundinya, who ...

II. ... become star ...

III. ... the great effort of (Visnu) with four arms became visible ...

(IV to XIX, ruined).

I. ... by the king Sri [Bhava]varman ... to venerable Utpannakesvara.

II. ... of the culminating sun ... on the head ... diadem ... of kings.

III. ... made of ... decorated with all the jewels ... although in the separation with the waters ...

IV. ... a gold seal, bearing the sign of the bull, like his order materialised ...

V. ... in depth, great in circumference like the two vases of milk of Fortune and Eloquence ...

VI. An iron tube (*nalikayasti*), accompanied by a copper vase, leaving to flow out.

VII. Two gold lamps, lit night and day, of shining clarity ...

VIII. By him who does not cause the destruction of the descendants of the lunar race ... Sri Kongavarman ...

IX. By him who made the exterior high wall, constructed of cooked brick, great ... although the Himilaya ... not being the most high.

X. Those who are responsible with receiving the offerings of food m flowers and water, and sweeping the wall ...

XI. For the upkeep of this sanctuary, (he village) Satragrama was founded, filled with limits and ...

XII. That which is offered even by this ... incapable ...

XIII. Those who belong to a group known (?) of the venerable, those who are related to the keeper of the mountain (*sailaraksas*), the keepers of the mountain ...

XIV. The king Sri Bhavavarman gave this ... to Sri Utpannesvara ...
K. 493

Inscription of Tuol Kok Prah

Happiness!

I. Victorious is He who, although possessing half of the body of Uma, is the first of the ascetics, He at the approach of who succumbs Manmatha (Love) acting the spirit of the world.

II. He whose, such Pakasasana (Indra), the kings bear the orders, was the king Sri Jayavarman, conqueror of the circle of his enemies.

III. There was an irreproachable adviser, of high birth, esteemed of the learned, virtuous and knowing how to recognise the virtues of virtuous people, known by the name of Jnanacandra.

IV. He erected with devotion the venerable Amratakesvara, while saying: “Could my devotion to Shiva renew itself in every one of my births!”

V. There was also an ancient god here and the venerable Rudramahalaya. The means of subsistence of these two sanctuaries were joined together.

VI. Sunrise being in Leo, the moon in the middle of Taurus, the twelfth day of the black fortnight of Suci, this venerable Amratakesa was armed with nine arrows.

VII. That he who would rob goods, fields and slaves given with faith to this sanctuary, go to the twenty-one hells.

... two fields of Sri Vyomesvara ... given to this Amratakesvara. The price of purchase of these two fields ... given to this Sri Vyomesvara, that also by the venerable Sri Jayavarman ... All this which was acquired by Jnancandra should be ... of Sri Amratakesvara.

Pon Bha Vinaya delivered a whole buffalo.

Rice fields given by the Pon to the temple: ... mas.

Rice field Phalada bought at Kurak Jmen as well as by Pon Vidyasakti, measuring sare, for the price of 2 female slaves, 1 camdak, 3 yau of double clothes.

And Pon Chan delivered the rice field of Pon that Pon Matisakti, ancient servant of lanas at Kanjrap Amac in Purandarapura, delivered in reimbursement to the people of the Young God (Vrah Kanmen), who asked for an additional 4 yau of double clothes, as payment for taxes.

Rice field Travon Bha Teja, bought by the Pon.
The other rice fields given by the Pon, were bought at Klon Tan and at Pon Bha Slesma, and given in payment to the ancient god, who is joined with H.R.M. Sri Rudramahalaya.

Rice field Tem Amvil: Pon Candra delivered a slave in payment.
Rice field Kamlun Tnal, given by Tan Amvi.
Rice field of Mratan Bha Kusuma given to the Holy Jewel (Vrah Mani) at Kavrpan.
Rice field purchased by the people of the ancient god who ...
Rice field Pon Van, gift of Ci An and of Pon Bhanaprasiddhi.
Rice field Lvan Sanke, gift of Pon Matiprasanti.
The rice field of Pon Chan that Pon Ci had restored, the Pon (Chan?) gave it to Mratan Medhavindu, counselor of the young princes, and this Mratan gave it to god.
Rice field of Mratan ... sold by Jen Sruk Tmi given to the Holy Jewel.

K. 505-507 Group of inscriptions in the hills of the Aran region

In the year of the king of running Saka, (marked) by the (5) senses, the (6) tastes and the moon (=1), the thirteenth day of the declining moon of Isa (=Asvina), the moon in (the house) Hasta rises in Taurus.

Slaves given by the preceding Sinahv at Vihar. Names of these people (list following).
Plantations at Tnon: 105 areca nut trees, 20 coconut palms. Keepers (names following).
General total of adult and child slaves and keepers of the plantation: 32.
Treasure of Vihar: 4 klas of bronze, 2 trays, 20 srageh, 1 bed, ...
Slaves given by myself Sinahv to Vihar (list following). 1 plantation, x areca nut trees ... 10 trees ... at Vihar Run.
K. 518  Stele of Thanh-Dien (Tay-Ninh)

Face D

The people who incite this group of people to abandon (the service) of god, they will go to hell during the ten thousand kalpas with their families because they are destroying the foundation.

K. 559  Inscription of Tuol An

Gifts from Pon Vajrabheda to K. A. Maniçiva: 1 ikam, 1 copper parasol, 1 perfume cara, 1 ka-ol. Male slaves (ghoda), (list following of va) given: 17. Female slaves (ta kantai): ame Sra-ip (list following of ku and children). General total: 31. Rice field Vnak Sruk… Trasek, rice field of Travan Avasa, rice field of Bhramarasila, rice field…, rice field Kamlun Tnal, rice field of Pas Kandon, rice field of Vnur Amvol… 10, 1 yoke of buffalo, 10 coconut palms, 200 areca nut palms.

K. 560  Inscription of Vat An Khvav

Gifts from Pon Vajrabheda to K. A. Manisiva: 1 ikam, 1 copper parasol, 1 cara of perfumes, 1 ka-ol. Male slaves (ghoda), (list following of va) given: 17. Female slaves (ta kantai): ame Sra-ip (list following of ku and children). General total: 31. Rice field Vnak Sruk… Trasek, rice field of Travan Avasa, rice field of Bhramarasila, rice field…, rice field Kamlun Tnal, rice field of Pas Kandon, rice field of Vnur Amvol… 10, 1 pair of buffalo, 10 coconut palms, 400 areca nut trees...

K. 561  Inscription of Tuol An Tnot

I. Victory to Mahesvara, sole protector of all worlds, who scatters among the entire universe the grace of his eight bodies.

II. Jayavarman associated (god) named Sri Khandalinga with Randaparvatesa in saka comprising (6) seasons, space (=0) and 3.
III. This was given to Sri Khandalinga by the sacrificer Bhavacandra should not be taken by neither his children and grandchildren, nor by the other members of his family.

IV. That the wicked men who snatch the good of Sri Khandalinga, go to hell of Avici with their ancestors and their relations.

V. Total: twenty (measures) of rice, one servant, two clothes are given annually from here to Randaparvatesvara.

VI. He who neglects (to give) as is proper, at every feast, white rice, as well as the fixed allowance, goes to this chief in [hell] Tamisra.

Fixing of offerings to god and other income of K. A. Sri Khandalinga, that the Pon Bhavacandra gives as taxes: 1 lih of white rice, 3 lih of vanli, 2 lih of si ple.

Donations to the religious: 2 lih. Donation to the hosts: 1 lih. Donation to the spirits of the ancestors: 1 lih, 4 yau of clothes ple vagrsa doubles, 1 yau of amval, 1 vlah of clothes amval of ancestors. Donation from Klön Mrta: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of clothes amval. Donations from Pon Jnanavincu to K. A. Sri Khandalinga: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of clothes amval. Donation from Pon Jnanapprakasa: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of clothes amval. Donation from Klön Tan: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of clothes amval. Donation from Pon Vidyadhradeva: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of clothes amval. Upkeep of the sampol: 5 thlon of white rice, 1 yau of clothes, 1 slave.

Spread of rice fields of H.R.M. Sri Khandalings: from the pond of Dharmmakirti until the pond of Pon Bhasanti, until the pond of Pon Dharmmadeva, until the place where the pond of Hvac is, until the pond of Pon Kdat, all along the tread of Kurak Danle Krohv until the Alan pond, until the pond of Pon Devadhivas, until the pond of the Mratan Dharmme, until the pond of Pon Vinita, until the pond of Pon Siddhikirtti, until the pond of Pon Candranan, until the pond of Ku Kancan, until the pond of Klön Khe, as far as where [is found] the rice field offered by the Pon Kamvin in the forest of Tlan. Such is the extent of the rice fields of K.A. Sri Khandalinga.

Those who steal this, those who claim this, they will go to the Avici hell with their ancestors and all their relations yet to be born.

... of the Lord, when the bowl is buried, given by the family of Pon Bhavacandra of the agreement with the Pon: twenty slaves. Names of the slaves: (list following of 10
va, 9 ku, 1 amrah va). Slaves that the klon Anrta gives to god: (2 ku, 4 va). Slave which the Pon Chandranna gives to the ancestors (1 ku). Slaves which the Klon Trasok gives to god (2 slaves of which 1 ku). Slaves that the Pon Jnanaprakasa gives to god (1 ku, 2 va). Slaves which the Pon Vinduçakti gives to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga (3 ku, 2 va). Slaves which the Mratan Jnanvindu gives to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga (1 va, 1 ku). Slave that the Klon Tan gives to god (1 ku). Slaves, gift of the Pon Bhavacandra to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga (4 ku, 1 va), that the Pon Bhavacandra charges with the responsibility of managing the rice fields of the sampol, to supply the kaol of the sampol, to supply food for the sampol. Those... more servants of god at Kanjrap who live before H.R.M. Sri Kailasovara, and whom the Pon Vidyakumara joins together the income with those of H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga. Spread of rice fields and other (goods) at Kanjrap: 1 tlón, 1 slave. Supply of income of H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga, 1 tlón of white rice, 1 vlah of clothes amval, annually.

The ku Sam-ap... Kanjrap.

Slaves that the Pon Jnanaprakasa gives in last place still to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga: (names of ku and their children)... reunited with ... those who together assure the supply of white rice to ... 1 vlah (of clothes) amval ... these donations ... those who ...

K. 562 Stele of Tuol An Khvav

Gifts of the Mratan Mahesvarasvami in company with all the Klon donors belonging to the group of Tnah, versed in the four Vedas, to H.R.M. Sri Bhimesvara. Female Klon given: Klon Amogha and 1 child.

Male slaves (1 va amrah and 9 va).

Female slaves (22 ku, 29 children, two grandchildren).


(List of twenty va, forty ku with 50 children).

The group of the Mratan donor ... with the Klon, the Lon give all these slaves to god, as well as rice fields, kaol, areas, vegetable gardens, gardens, oxen, buffalo and all living beings who they offer to H.R.M. Bhimesvara.
This land of god: to the East and to the North-East, the waters of the Naga; to the South, the guardian of the village; to the West and the South-West, Sri ...; to the North-West and to the North, Revati ... 12 ... o: Gangapura ...

K. 563  Stele of Phum Crei

At the same time that Sri Kapilavasudeva, and by order of the king Sri Jayavarman, Vishnu was erected by the sacrificer, servant (o: the king), who bears the order (of the king) in the guise of a crown.

Gifts of the Pon donator to god. Names of slaves (3 va, 6 ku and 1 child).

Rice fields: 10 tlon, 2 mas; gardens: capacity 3 mas; 2 kaol, 50 coconut palms, 200 areca nut palms, 7 pairs of oxen.

H.R.M. Narayana the Old shares his income with H.R.M. Sri Kapilavasudeva, as much for the slaves as for the rice fields.

Gifts from the Pon Nidesotsaha and from the Klon Gotra to H.R.M. Narayana the Old. Names of the slaves (3 ku, 2 va).

The Pon who surveys these assures the service in (the temple) to the place of the Pon Nideçotsaha.

K. 561  Inscription of Tuol An Tnot

I. Victory to Mahesvara, sole protecto: of all worlds, who lavishes the entire universe with his eight bodies.

II. Jayavarman associates the (god) named Sri Khandalinga with Randaparvatesa in saka (6) seasons, space (=0) and 3.

III. That which was given to Sri Khandalinga by the sacrificer Bhavacandra should not be taken by either his children and grandchildren, or by the other members of his family.
IV. That the evil men who snatch the good of Sri Khandalinga go to the Avici hell with their ancestors and relations.

V. Total: twenty (measures) of rice, one servant, two clothes are given annually from here to Randaparvatesvara.

VI. He who neglects (to give) as is proper, at every feast, white rice, just as the fixed allowance, go to this chief in (hell) Tamisra.

Binding of these oblations and other income from H.M. Sri Khandalinga, that the Pon Bhavacandra gives as taxes: 1 lih of white rice, 3 lih of vanli, 2 lih of si ple. Settlements to the spirits of the ancestors: 1 lih, 4 yau of ple vagrsa double clothes, 1 yau of amval, 1 vlah of amval clothes of the ancestors. Settlement from Klon Mrta: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of amval clothes. Settlement from Pon Jnanavindu to K.A. Sri Khandalinga: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of amval clothes. Settlement from Pon Jnanprakaça: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of amval clothes. Settlement from Klon Tan: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of amval clothes. Settlement from Pon Vidyadharadeva: 1 lih of white rice, 1 vlah of amval clothes. Upkeep for the sampol: 5 thlon of white rice, 1 yau of clothes, 1 slave.

Area of rice fields of H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga: from the pond of Dharmmakirti as far as the pond of Pon Bhasanti, as far as the pond of Pon Dharmmadewa, until the place where the pond oh Hvac is, as far as the pond of Pon Kdat, all along the stride of Kurak Danle Krohv until the Alan pond, as far as the pond of Pon Devadhivas, until the pong of Mratan Dharmme, until the pond of Pon Vinita, as far as the pond of Pon Siddhikirtti, until the pond of Pon Candranar, until the pond of Ku Kancan, until the pond of Pklon Khe, as far as where (we find) the rice field offered by the Pon Kamvin in the forest of Tlan. Such is the extent of the rice fields of H.M. Sri Khandalinga.

Those who steal from here, those who demand from here, they will go into the hell of Arici with their ancestors and all their relations yet to be born.

... of the Lord, when we have buried the bowl, given by the family of Pon Bhavacandra together with the Pon: twenty slaves. Names of the slaves: (list following of 10 va, 9 ku, 1 amrah va). Slaves that the Klon Amrta gives to god: (2 ku, 4 va). Slave that the Pon Candranna gives to the ancestors (1 ku). Slaves that Klon Trasok gives to god (2 slaves, of which 1 is ku). Slaves that the Pon Jnanaparakasa gives to god (1 ku, 2 va). Slaves that the Pon Vindusakti gives to H.R.M. Sri
Khandalinga (3 ku, 2 va). Slaves that the Mratan Jnanavindu gives to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga (1 va, 1 ku). Slave that the Klon Tan gives to god (1 ku). Slaves, gift of the Pon Bhavacandra to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga (4 ku, 1 va), that the Pon Bhavacandra puts in charge of the rice fields of the sampol, for supplying the kaol of the sampol, for supplying the food of the sampol. Those ones there ... more servants of god at Kanjrap who reside before H.R.M. Sri Kailasovara, and which Pon Vidyakumara joins taxes with those of H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga. Area of the rice field and other (goods) at Kanjrap: 1 tlon, 1 slave. Supply of taxes for H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga, 1 tlom of white rice, 1 vlh of amval clothes, annually.

The ku Sam-ap... Kanjrap.

Lastly, slaves that the Pon Jnanaprakaça also gives to H.R.M. Sri Khandalinga: (names of ku and their children) ... joined with ... those who together assure the supply of white rice to ... 1 vlh (of clothes) amval ... these donations ... those that ...

K. 582 Inscription of Tuol Tramun

... joined to Leo being on the horizon, Mars, Mercury and the sun in Libra, the moon with Jupiter in Sagittarius, Venus in Scorpio, Saturn in Capricorn, one night (of the month) of Karttika, beneath the naksatra Paurvasadha, (in the year) counted by the (6) flavours and the clear fortnight, Brahmaṣakti erected a good linga here.

Gifts of the Pon Brahmasakti, in company with Klon Jvik So and Makkan, grandmother of the Pon, to H.R.M. Sri Kedareśvara. Male serfs (10 va); female serfs (7 ku), 27 oxen, 1 pair of buffalo, 1 kaol, _ sanre of rice field, 10 coconut palms, 100 areca nut trees. The living places of these serfs and these rice fields join together the taxes allocated to the divinity with those of the divinity and the living places depending on Bhagavat Sankarakirti.

K. 589, 590 Inscriptions of Tuol Komnap

I. The moon finds itself in ..., Jupiter in Capricorn, Venus in Taurus, the Sun, Mercury, Mars and Saturn in Aries, the Brahman named Naga, gifted with faith, versed in the Veda, receptacle of various knowledges, devoted
to his work, treasure of virtues erected with devotion the Lord Hari Sri Viçarupa.

II. At the time of the king of past Sakas, (marked) by the (6) seasons, the (2) Asvin, six, the horoscope being in Scorpio, the charming sixth day of the declining moon of Citra, this Viçveşvara master of worlds, imperishable, blessed, having, although superior to Time, assumed a marvellous and subtle form, held (visible) for all creatures.

The other inscription, which contains three fragments of 12, 9 and 3 lines was not done by the same hand. It is a Khmer text, listing slaves and rice fields, which had preceded a text in Angkorian writing of which nothing remains. No translation in French (K. 590).

K. 600 **Inscription of Angkor Borei**

(North)
533 saka, 13th day of the crescent moon of Magha, lunar house of Pusya, Libra being in a horizontal position. The Pon Uy gave the slaves to Kpon Kamratan An: (4 va, 2 ku, 1 male infant), 60 oxen, 2 buffalo, 10 goats, 40 coconut palms, 2 sanre of rice fields at Ampon. Slaves given by Jam An to H.R.M Mahaganapati: (5 va, 4 ku, 1 infant), 20 oxen, women (kantai) who entered into religion for the sacrificer of Kpon, one who marks the holy days, offers flowers ... sweet-smelling, Ci an, Tan.

(South)
(fragmented list of names of servants).

(East)
Slaves of H.R.M.... svara whose Mratan Antar reunited the means of subsistence with H.R.M. Kamraten Tem Krom: 7 dancers, 11 singers, 2 players vina, kanjan and lahv, 22 cam-uk va for the service of the area of god, [57] slaves for the rice field, 100 oxen, 20 buffalo, 16 rice fields at Kantok, 4 sanre of ricefields at Camrai, 4 sanre of rice fields at Knar Tem, 10 sanre of rice fields at Pin Tvan, 2 sanre of rice fields at Pradul, 2 sanre of rice fields at – 1 Lam an, 1 vegetable garden at Panlan – anan. Names of the dancers: (6 names). Names of the singers: (11 names). Players of kanjan
(2 names), *vina* player (1 name), *lahv* player (1 name). Names of the *cam-uk* (22 names of *va*). Names of the people of the rice field: (18 *va*, 37 *ku*, 2 infants). Slaves of Vrah Maniçvara, gifts from the *acarya* Kandin: (8 *va*), female slaves from Klon Mratan, Lon An, *Ku aras*, ... 10 oxen.

K. 604  **Inscription of Sambor Prei Kuk**

**South jamb of the Tower F3**

There is no translation for this inscription. The text is said to have begun with an invocation to Kadambesvara, followed by a eulogy of king Isanavarman. It makes allusion to the conquest of Funan. A servant of the king named Vidyavisesa, versed in various sciences, erected a *linga* in 548 *saka* (627AD), here at the tower F. He offered to him the village of Sakatirtha, and the king made a Brahman of the sect of Pasupata the eternal official.

"And the privilege of this foundation having been fixed, the founder was made by the king the first beneficiary of (god) Tamandarapurasvamin.

Hence it came about that Vidyaviçesa, who must be a Pasupata Brahman, was made responsible by the king of the official functions of the *linga* founded by him, and that this *linga* bears the name of Tamandarapurasvamin."

K. 648  **Inscription of Nak Ta Tan Ray**

In 5xx *saka* ... Thursday, Kurak Klon Sruk Krau (gives) to H.R.M. Sri Avimuktakesvara (list of slaves following). Total of children and adults ... 20 *sanre* of rice fields, oxen, buffalo, plantations; the rice field *Vaisala*, 7 (*sare*) ... the rice field Tkol Vasen, 2 *sare* ...

K. 651  **Inscription of Phnom Pan Can**

Success! Happiness! Om.

Eternal homage to favourable Siva who, desiring for a long time to bring himself many types of joy, took the form of (Brahma) at the throne of a lotus, of
(Visnu) in the eyes of lotus and of (Siva) hair styled in the chignon of ascetics, in this way producing creation, conservation and destruction.

K. 652  **Inscription of the Sala Srok of Romduol**

I. Pisces being on the horizon, in the year 609 (lunar house) Tisya, the third night of the crescent moon of Asadhā, this *linga* was erected following the rites by the fortification called Vidyavaravindu.

II. That this blessed Sriprabhasomesvara, image of the *linga*, placed here on earth with discernment, happiness and bliss be given to you.

K. 657  **Stele of Phnom Prah Lan**

There is no translation in French. It is said to be an inscription bearing 6 lines of pre-Angkorian characters fairly erased. It contains a list of slaves “offered to a meditation cell” and ends with a menacing curse sending hostiles and seven generations of their families to the hell of Arici.

K. 664  **Stele of Sambuor**

Gifts of the Mratan Kumarasvami to H.R.M. Tilakesvara; it is his Tan who sacrifices to god. Klon Pon, Klon Samvok of Camkar Li, Tan Kanmen (“the young man”), they sacrifice to god, they come down to the feasts.

Slaves of god (list following of *va* and *ku* with their children)

7 *sanre* of rice fields, 20 oxen … to buy at … (list following of rice fields).

K. 666  **Inscription of Vat Kirivon**

I. ... Jupiter in Taurus at its rise, Mercury with Venus in Aquarius, the moon in Pusya, Mars in Libra, Saturn in Aries, this *linga* of Paramesvara was erected following the rules by the sacrificer.

By favour of the king towards him, Prabhasoma, wife of Somati, obtained liberty with his sons and grandsons (in the year marked) by the (5) arrows, the (9) openings and the couple (=2).
K. 676  
**New Inscriptions of Koh Ker**

**Prasat Andon Kuk**

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to be written in Sanskrit and contains the names of Sri Jayavarman and Sri ...ndradhipativarman.

K. 687  
**Inscriptions of Prasat He Phka**

This inscription was found incomplete and in a very bad state and consequently was not translated into French. It is dated to the reign of Yasovarman who is mentioned in stanza VII, and his accession to the throne is given in the following stanzas, [8]11 saka (889 AD). A eulogy to the king is given up to stanza XVII. The king had in his service Somapala who belonged to the vaisnava sect and was a native of Aninditapura. Somapala erected an unparalleled image of Visnu, apparently in the sanctuary where the inscription came from.

K. 688  
**Inscription of Prasat Prei Prasat**

In 641 saka ... Karttika, lunar house Uttarabhadra(pada), Thursday ... Dadhikundasagara offered rice fields to H.R.M. Sri Kadambakesvara, piebald work of the Pon Sarvagupta. Capacity (of rice fields) ... to the west of the village, x tlon; ... to the north of the river, 3 tlon. x je; to the south of the river, 11 tlon. These rice fields ... Dadhikundasagara offered them to H.R.M. Sri Kadambakesvara, piebald work of the Pon Sarvagupta.

K. 689  
**Stele of Vat Po Ron**

No translation in French. 7th century inscription of 19 and 20 lines in bad condition. Apart from simple lists of slaves it is difficult to translate because of gaps in the text. The first text begins with a verse in Sanskrit, followed by a listing of taxes owed to the god of Sivapura. Most of the text comprises a list of va and ku slaves, some rice fields and oxen. The second inscription begins with a line in Khmer mentioning a new Sivapura, followed by 5 _ lines of Sanskrit unable to be translated. This is followed
by more text in Khmer indicating the quantities of foodstuffs involved in the composition of caru. It then mentions areca nut trees and coconut palms, clothes and finally ends with another list of slaves.

K. 709  Stele of Trau Tasar

I. ... with a mind resolved of hesitation, in view of the eternal stability of Sri Bhupati living with the ascetics, gifted with virtues and sacrificer even here ... the king Isanavarman gave ... a field with buffalo, sixty oxen, a land, with power equal to that of Indra.

II. This enclosed garden was given in view of the stability of the Dharma by he who assures the continuity of the commendable work.

Gifts of the Pon Jan, sacrificer, to the residence ... (following a list of va and ku).

Gifts of the Pon Vrau An to the residence ...

Total of all slaves: 10; 2 buffalo ... the slaves, four substances.

K. 710  Inscription of Ta Lo

There is no translation in French. It is a fragmented inscription of 13 lines in Khmer in 7th century writing. From that which remains we are able to infer that the text describes a donation from a Santikirti to a divinity who may have been called H.R.M. Caranta and who was associated with H.R.M. Sri Siddheçvara. The donation comprised 17 va and ku slaves, 400 areca nut trees, 50 coconut palms, 100 (measures of paddy).

K. 718, 719  Inscriptions of Popel

Two fragmented inscriptions of Popel in 7th century Khmer writing. K. 718 comprises 15 lines that list gifts made to a god whose name has disappeared. The Mratan Caranta gives va and ku slaves and 3 rice fields; Pon Adit offers a rice field and Pon Sudêva gives 20 oxen, 1 area (krala), 10 coconut palms and 2 rice fields. The rice fields are measured in pada. K. 719 comprises 12 lines listing the gifts of a person
whose name has disappeared, to a god named ...nesvara. The gifts comprise \textit{va} and \textit{ku} slaves, 200 areca nut trees, coconut palms and rice fields.

K. 723, 724 \textbf{Inscriptions of Tham Lekh}

For the meditation of all those who are rich with ascetism, this grotto named Vaktraguha, built by Vaktrasiva, shines with the power (of this ascetic) on the flank of the mountain Bhadresvara.

No cluttering the grotto, no destroying the partition: (this would be) a mistake.
No living in the grotto.

K. 726 \textbf{Stele of Tan Kran}

Face A

Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rahu, Ketu.

That those who take the land given by him or given by others, be born in the Avici hell with their ancestors and their relations.

During the reign of the king who has gone to Sivapura heaven, to this epoch, here are the acquired rice fields.

Rice field coming from the people knowing their duty: Kvun Tvah Bhadracan(dra) Tpap Isvarasanti, chief of the country of Hastipadaraksa as well as of Kumarasilra Ktam Ktoc ... who are associated aside equally for the acquisition in exchange for rice fields at Tem Hvar Paren ("oil tree") and Tem Mahanavami, whose price is a quantity if paddy of a value of 10 \textit{tamlin} of silver.

Rice field near Travan Devacila (acquired) for the price of a value of 5 \textit{tamlin} of silver and 1 \textit{yau} of clothing; the land is reserved; as for its tax, we offer to H.R.M. Sri Bhogesvara, as well as the rice field near Travan Padmodbhava, acquired in exchange for the capital (representing) a duty of \textit{sampol} women, whose price is a quantity of paddy of a value of 5 \textit{tamlin}; it is this that we offer to god.

Rice field coming from the chief of the warriors Candradeva of Kmau Kamnat as well as the venerable, acquired in exchange for the capital (representing) the offering to god, and whose price is a quantity of paddy of a value of 4 \textit{tamlin}. 
Rice field coming from Kumarasambhu, Makara, Sumitra, Tvar that the venerable have acquired as equivalent to the rest of the liquid butter of god, that the people burn, and whose price is a quantity of paddy of a value of 5 tamlin of silver.

Rice field near Stuk Trac, coming from Bhadrakirti, Bhadrasanti, Bhadracan(dra), Madhava, Tvah Kumaranan(da), Kvun Dharmaviradhe, who are associated in equal parts for acquisition in exchange for what produces the offering of god to the chief of the people (klon ge), and whose price is a quantity of paddy of a value of 1 tamlin of silver.

Rice field near Travan Tman that the venerable have acquired in exchange for the capital (representing) the offering of god. Names of the people: Kandes, Kulabhakti, Kula ..., Bhavaraksa, Visesagup(ta), Valadat(ta), Va Sarasakti, Candrasena, Bha Sakti ... 10 tamlin, x yau of clothing.

Face B

Rice field at Canhor of Tan Ci Vrau coming from the Pon ... data Kandan, Klon Dra Taan, which are associated with the acquisition in exchange for ... whose price is a quantity of paddy having a value of x tamlin of silver.

Rice field coming from ... svara, Klon Kcan, who are associated with the acquisition in exchange for the service of the offering of god ... 4 tamlin of silver.

Rice field coming from the Pon Vidyacan(dra) and the Pon ...(gu)pta who are associated with the acquisition in exchange for 41 (measures) of paddy and 1 yau of clothing.

Rice field coming from ...n Dharma (acquired) for the price of a quantity of paddy having a value of 4 tamlin of silver, and 1 yau of clothing.

Rice field coming from the Pon Isanagupta, Vid(ya)can(dra), Vinayasanti, Kon Dam Vinayagu(pta), Pravaranan(da), Kantan, who are associated with the acquisition in exchange for 100 (measures) and 7 tlon of paddy, 1 yau of clothing ..., 1 yau of amval, 2 baskets of sandak: we are going to reserve the land and offer the fruit to god. Price for the lowland (karom) of Tnal Sruk, 3 yau of amval.

Rice field at Kamvrs (acquired) for the price of 80 (measures) of paddy, 3 yau of amval, 11 yau of clothing, 1 tame bull.

Rice field in the corner of Tnal Sru (acquired) for the price of 15 tlon (of paddy) and 2 yau of clothing.
Rice field near Travan Dami (acquired) for the price of 1 yau of clothing and 11 tlön of paddy.

Rice field at Kamvan Acas (acquired) for the price of 80 (measures) and 13 tlön of paddy, and x yau of clothing.

(Rice field coming from) Pon Isanagupta, Vinayasanti, Vid...

Face C

Rice field at ...han Rmen, coming from Bha Purusa Silacan(dra), ... Rudravin(du) Kansun, who are associated with the acquisition in exchange for the capital (representing) the offering to Vrah Svayambhu, and whose price is a quantity of paddy of a value of 12 tamlin of silver and 1 yau of clothing.

Rice field at Kamvan Isanasarma coming from Bhadrakirti, Kumaranan(da) of Stuk Dharmavira, Madhava, Bhadraçanti, Prasahya, Durmada ... who are associated with the acquisition in exchange for the capital (representing) the service ... fruits, and whose price is a quantity of paddy of a value of 12 tamlin of silver.

Slaves in the service of the other Pon sacrificers, that certain among them give to various asrama, and certain others give to god. Names of these slaves (list of 4 va and 4 ku).

(Slaves) given to the children of each of the people who guard H.R.M. Sri Bhogesvara. Group of slaves of the Klon sacrificer (list ruined).

K. 728  **Inscription D 56 of the Phnom Penh Museum**

Gifts of the venerable Klon of Pancara to Sri Bhadresvara: male slave, Va Kanjuna; female slaves, Ku Agar, Ku Kanjir; 7 mas of rice field, 7 pairs of oxen, 1 kaol of fruits and paddy.

The domain of god, as well as the asrama at Pancara, have their goods joined with those of H.R.M. Vravok. The interior of the enclosure raises the authority of the religious ta pjuh of H.M. Vravok.

Those who steal from here, those who engrave ... of god: the hells Avici, Maharaurava, Raurava, Kumbhipaka, Vaitarani, Kalasutra, Taptaka, Druma, Valuka, Asitimukha, it is there that they will stay with their fathers and mothers.
I. Victory is with Sambhu who spreads himself over the entire universe by means of his eight bodies: moon, sun, heaven, wind, atman, earth, water and fire.

II. After having vanquished the masters of the earth, gifted with skill, heroism and strength, he began to touch the heavens and planted (to this effect) the pillar of his glory.

III. There was a king named Sri Bhavavarman, gifted with an authority unequalled; although belonging to the lunar family, it is the sun destroying the obscurity of his enemies.

IV. There was in his service a poet named Vidyapuspa, master of the sect of Pasupata, who had given a certain sense to grammar, to the Vaisesika doctrine and to logic.

V. Having seen a superior condition and having obtained the king, he made and installed a silver channel for Sri Siddhesa.

VI. Being then part for (visiting) various pilgrimages, sanctuaries and mountains, he was transported here in a dream, by the venerable (Shiva) bearer of the trident.

VII. He (then) saw here, as he had seen them in a dream, the linga of Sankara, the foot, the puddle and the ash on (mount) Tungisaparvata.

VIII. Making donations of slaves and other presents again to this Shiva, he practiced ascetism according to the saiva method...

All of this which was given to this Siva: oxen, lands, gold, slaves, etc., should serve the use of the Pasupata and should not be taken ...

K. 748 Piedroit of Vat Vihar Tran

No translation in French. An inscription of 16 lines in pre-Angkorian writing. The text was badly preserved, especially on the right side where the stone was flaked away. The first four lines form 2 Sanskrit verses, of which the first presents the date of 535 saka, 13th day of the declining moon of Phalguna, and the second, very ruined, mentions the gifts made to a sala of brahmans. These gifts are numbered in the 14
lines of Khmer text: these are female slaves (ku) and male slaves (va), livestock and plantations.

K. 749  **Inscriptions of Prasat Ak Yom**

South Piedroit of the east door of the central sanctuary

x39 saka, first day of the crescent moon of Asadha, Saturday, naksatra Punarvasu, Mratan Kirtigana fixed the donation (satra) to H.R.M. Sri Gambhiresvara. Names of women ..., 2 lih of rice ..., 2 draught oxen, ... oxen ... clothes ... Mratan Kirtigana, Tan ... named ... it is the named K... who is keeper of this which is fixed by Mratan Kirtugana in favour of H.R.M. Sri Gambhiresvara.

Slaves of the Mratan Kirtigana which he gives to his children and to those who serve H.R.M. Sri Gambhiresvara:

He gives to Harigana the female slaves Ku Ame Lamvan, Ku ..., Va Kanroy, he gives to Harivahana the gho Va Srac Ta Bhagya; he gives to Tan Gay the slave Tai Praton. These means of subsistence and the children of the Mratan Kirtigana are at the service of H.R.M. Sri Gambhiresvara.

K. 753  **Inscriptions of Prasat Ak Yom**

East piedroit of the south door of the central sanctuary

There is no translation in French for this inscription. It is said to comprise a text of 25 lines, of which only the beginning remains. It carries a date of 626 saka (704 AD). It mentions donations offered by one or several mratar to one or several divinities, of whom one appears to bear the name of Yudhesvara.

K. 755  **Inscription of the Buddha of Vat Chnah**

There is no translation for this inscription. It is said to comprise two lines in pre-Angkor characters and gives a list of va and ku slaves.
K. 760

Vat Kdei Skie Jamb

I. (ruined).
II. (ruined).
III. ... satisfied, manifested in the world ... deign to be adored by the ..., remove pain ...
IV. ... burning (the land) of kings, licked by his powerful feet, .... Burned by the heat ... on the field of battle, the king named Rajendravarman ...
V. ... in the object of the senses, purified intellect, elevated thanks to the absence of passions ... the stay without sickness similar to a lotus ..., the self applied to yoga ...
VI. Constantly wishing the deliverance of the line of Mahodara and others, he erected with devotion on a portion of his land an image of (Visnu) Tripada and an image of Laksmi.

(Delimitation of lands of) god, here: to the north, the channel going to Subhava; to the west, the road of Bhadrapura going south until the road that comes from Madhavapura, and going west exactly at the northeast angle of the pond of Gamryan, from the north-east angle of the pond until the northwest angle of the pond of Gamryan; crossing pvar Subhava until the pit of bricks; from the pit of bricks going south, to the west and to the southwest of Subhava until solitary samnay and the Kanten pond.

Camdak sta ... : to the south, Subhava ... the embankment that Chlôn Dharmapala erected, to the north; Ugravana; to the southeast, Subhava: from the road of Chlôn Dharmapala which goes to A...pura until the channel, (the limit) descends; from Stuk Jlen ("Pond of leeches"), it climbs until the road of Bhadrapura takes shape; to the east, Kansev.

1 rice field Khpan: to the south of Pangvay Me Tvan; 1 rice field ... named Tem Phnauv ("Baccaurea tree"); to the west of the road which goes to pond nine; 2 seedbeds of rice field to the east of the road; rice field ... to the southeast of god: given 4 sacred rice fields.

Land of rice field that Sten Hyan, Sten Ap ... have taken to give to Sten Las; Sten Las of the country Ay Rha being dead, it was given to god: to the north, it touches the rice field of Ten Vrau; to the south, Dharmapattana until ... that Mratan Sri
Nprendrarimathana ... going to the south of the land of god; to the west ... road from the pond Gos going until Jayataranga and from Jayataranga ... towards the east until touching the rice field Kanchyal; to the east, from the angle of the enclosure of the cell (where we prepare the) devayajna...; to the southwest, descending until the enclosure of the wood of the rice field Tamveh Vrau.

Rice field Pay Khtau ("hot rice"), the grove of mango trees and the pond of gravel, the rice field Rangau Cramuh, the rice field Stuk Jen, and the people producing the taxes that are due, assure the service of god here and produce hot rice at Pin Thmo ("pond of stone").

1 foot of rice field to the south of the pond of mango trees thvun, to the west, the road going to Moksalaya; to the east, the road touching the rice field Lnac Run; to the south, touching the rice field of Ten Hyan; to the north, until the road south of ...

Rice fields Samvar Bhumi Sampar Cyak Ragapura Svay Cakra Kanron, the edict ... the edict, anray of Pin Thmo, dimensions of the limits of these five gods without distinction ... slaves and all the goods.

K. 761  
Ablutions Tank of Prah That Prei Con Srok

A. The Brahman Sridharasvami with Krsnahara ---. To the east --- the boundary marker --- the pond; to the south --- to the west the large ditch.

B. --- Sridharasvami

C. (disappeared).

That the violent men suffer the torments in hell --- beginning with Rayrava, for as long as the sun and moon shall last (until the end of) kalpa.

K. 764  
Vat An Pisei Jamb

No translation in French. Inscription found on a fragment of a piedroit bearing 10 lines in large pre-angkorian lettering. The only words that can be made out are about ten ku and va.
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K. 765  **Prasat Nan Khmau Jamb**

I. The sun ... the moon ... Mercury and Jupiter in Sagittarius ... the second ... Mars in Aquarius, the epoch of the king of Saka being past by the (6) seasons, ether (0) and ... Sri Puskares ...  

II. The named Mahanukrtvikhyata erected here with devotion this linga of Paramesvara with the accessories of the donation.

Gifts of Mahanukrtvikhyata to H.R.M. Puskaresvara: Male slaves (list following of va); female slaves (list following of ku with their children).  

... 1 slik (=400) paddy; (followed by a numbering of rice fields).

K. 770  **New Inscriptions of Koh Ker**

There is no translation in French. It is a Khmer inscription of 40 lines, of which only the left side remains. It gives a list of serfs (gho, tai, gval) The first lines should contain a date, a name of a divinity, which only the words “vrha kamrate[nan]---svara punya dai” remains.

K. 784, 785  **Inscriptions of Prasat An Prah That**

For K. 785 there is no translation in French. It is said to comprise three lines in Khmer on a piece of stone in “beautiful pre-Angkorian writing” but there is no description of the content.

For K. 784 there is also no translation in French. It is a fragment of stele found in the same place as K. 785. It is mounted on a pediment decorated with leafy branches in the form of lotus leaves in pre-Angkorian style. Names of the donator and divinity, which are thought to have been at the beginning of the text, have disappeared while all that remains is a list of slaves.

K. 790  **Stele of the Lopez Collection (Phnom Penh)**

Gifts of Pon Sin, sacrificer, to Kpon Kamraten An:  

Male slaves (followed by a list of 6 va);
Female slaves (followed by a list of 6 ku);
Rice field at Avasa, of which every pada is levied 1 sanrey;
Rice field at Tem Vinau, 3 tlon;
Rice field at Stuk Loc, 3 tlon;
Rice fields at Stuk Sgah, 7 tlon;
Rice field that the Pon Kamvau, having had with the Pon Aksaragup(ta) that he won, to acquire from the Pon sacrificer Sin, 1 tlon;
Rice field at Brahmavira, of which every pada is levied 1 sanrey;
Rice field from Me Hen An, 1 tlon;
Rice field Tem Vren, x tlon;
Rice field Tem Sanke, 1 tlon, 2 je.
Total .... tlon.

K. 811 **Inscription of Nak Ta Tras**

There is no French translation for this inscription. It is said to have comprised eight lines in pre-Angkor characters listing donations of rice fields and slaves to two divinities, Pinakisvara and Shiva.

K. 816 **Inscription of Tower B of the Monument near Roban Romas**

No translation in French. Inscription written in pre-Ankgorian letters listing slaves offered to the god Prajasesvara, probably another name for the god Siva.

K. 884 **Inscription of the Buddha of Trapan Ven**

There is no French translation. It is a short inscription engraved on three petals of a lotus, which is serving as a seat for an image of Buddha "po cas suryya dai". It is suggested that Suryadatta is the name given to the image of Buddha, or instead the name of the founder of the image.
635 saka, fifth day of the crescent moon of Vaisakha, naksatra Punarvasu, Wednesday, at the Kanlon of Kamyarama.

I. Victory is to Isvara who burned Tripura by launching there a lone arrow, and of whom they say that has the aspect of Indra, who is poet, who is brahman and who is great.

II. Victory is to Sri Jayadevi who, although afflicted by the aged Kali, bears the burden of the earth, like the moon bearing the beauty of night.

III. She as for agrasana a Saiva named Sakrasvamin, knowing in depth the doctrines Vedanta and Taittiriya, born in the Madhyadesa

IV. His spouse, vitruous and industrious in the service of her spouse, named Sobhajaya, is daughter of the king Sri Jayavarman.

V. They both founded the god Sri Tripurantakesvara, showering the brahmans with rich gifts.

VI. To this god, the queen, out of devotion towards Sri Bhavesvara, gave the lands worth a silver vase.

VII. Moreover, she gave to the god a cultured with gardens north of the river ... for the increase of merit ...

VIII. Slaves, oxen, buffalo, lands, gold, silver, and other goods (were given) by this brahman and his wife.

IX. He who ... (will be) punished in the two worlds. Such is the order of Sri Jayadevi, which no one should disobey.

... (land) to which is given the name of Sakralaya. Boundaries: to the east it reaches to canhor, in the south until the road of the blackbirds, to the west until the foot of the village of Mratan Dhanasvami, to the north as far as canhor.

The seventh day of the crescent moon of Vaisakha, naksatra Dhanistha, Saturday, to the Kanlon of Kamyarama, H.M. the queen Sri Jayadevi gave a lowland (karom) to Mratan Sakrasvami, agrasana. Boundaries: to the west it begins at (the place) where the plantations of mango trees end, and goes in the east to the corner of the pond; to the south it begins at the river and goes to the north until the edge of the pond.
These are the lands that the Mratan Sakrasvami gives to H.R.M. Sri Tripurantakesvara, pious foundation of the Mratan.

To be appointed to the exclusive service of H.R.M. Sri Tripurantakesvara, Mratan Sakrasvami gives 1 je of decorticated rice, to be employed in the communal service with Kpon H.M. Sri Senamukhavijaya, he gives 1 je and a half of decorticated rice per day.

Names of slaves that the Mratan Sakrasvami gives to god (list of 37 names of va and ku).

Rice paddy and fields the H.M. Sri Jayadevi graciously offers to Mratan Sakrasvami, and whose product is graciously given to H.R.M. Sri Tripurantakesvara ... foot, once offered graciously at the same time as the neighbouring rice fields, every kandan.

(List beginning with the name Içvarakirti and comprising 73 names).

Such is the group of people that the Ge Klon Sundaryayuvati An at Somyapura gives to the Ge Klon Sobhajaya An, daughter of the Ge Klon Do ... of H.R.M. who has gone to Sivapura, (troop) whom the Ge Klon makes a pious donation in conjunction with the Mratan Sakrasvami, agrasana. It is all this troop that the Ge Klon Sobhajaya An (offers) to H.R.M. Sri Tripurantakesvara.

Names of tamna countries (List ending with: a lowland at Sarvapura, a plantation at Crol). All these slaves, male and female, oxen and buffalo, fields and gardens are offered to god for his exclusive use.

Names of slaves of Tan at Puran who are given to god (list of 25 names).

It is all this that the order of H.R.M. (the queen) appoints to the exclusive use of H.R.M. Sri Tripurantakesvara. Those who prevent, those who steal, those who give orders, those who ask for more, those who disobey this order, H.R.M. brahmans will hunt them and inflict upon them thorough bodily chastisements.

K. 910  

Inscription of Tuol An Srah That

The saka period (being marked) by the (5) arrows, the (7) mountains and the (3) Rama, the moon in Capricorn, Jupiter in Virgo at its rise, the Brahman Malava named Ananta erected this linga of the spouse of Uma.

Gifts of the Mratan Anantasvami to H.R.M. Sri Kedaresvara. Slaves (list following of 20 va and 20 ku).
A foot (*pada*) of rice field acquired at the price of a shell to H.R.M. Tnal, (given): to Manlah Vrai ("half of the forest"), 2 *nas*; at Tel Amvol, 2 *mas*. Rice fields coming from Pon Vinayakirti: to Tem Canlon Mratan Duvau, 2 *mas*; in the village, x *sanre*; 400 areca nut trees, 100 coconut palms.

The lowland (given) by Pon Vimala in payment of a debt, the coconut palms and the areca nut trees of this land given also by him, and that which the Pon returned: 140 measures of rice paddy, 17 coconut palms, 17 *yau* of clothes; in silver: 1 *koa* of 2 *katti*, 1 drain covering of ... *katti*; in gold: 1 diadem of ... *lin*, 60 ...; in silver: ...; in *samrit* and in copper: ... 20 trees.

Slaves of Kpon Kamratan (list of *ku* and *va*). Rice field bought for the price of ... at Sre Vrai ...

K. 940  Stele of Tuol Nak Ta Bak Ka

Here is the order of H.R.M.:
deliver to the boat of H.R.M. Sri Pingalesvara 3 *knan* of salt;
deliver to the boat of Kpon R.M. Kamratan Slot, 3 *knan* of salt;
deliver to the two boats of Sarvasrama, 4 *knan* of salt;
deliver to the boat of H.R.M. Sri Bhadresvara, 2 *knan* of salt;
deliver to the boat of H.R.M. Sri Puskaresvara, 2 *knan* of salt.

This is to be distributed to Tirthagrama ("village of the wharf") by order of H.R.M.

Anyone who levies a tax on this, whether on arrival or departure, anyone who infringes this order shall be punished.
pon – Khmer word for chief of a community
prasanat/pagoda – big temple, shrine, sanctuary tower
punya - piebald work
sampot – length of cloth acting as a skirt for the lower body and tied at the waist
sanre - piece of land
sarasvati - library
satra - alms house or hospital
sla - areca nut trees
somavamsa - lunar lineage
sre - rice fields
stupa – Buddhist dome-shaped monument enclosing relics
suryavamsa - solar lineage
viprasala - House of Brahmans
thkval - elevation
tmur - oxen
ton - coconut palms
va – male
varman – shield, protection, protected by
vat - temple
vrai - forest
yava – grain

Weights (Sharan, 1974:208)

Drona: equal to 16 seers; a 7th century AD Sanskrit text mentions Drona as a unit of weight for grains
Prastha: equal to 1 seer
Tlon: this term occurs frequently in the pre-Angkorian inscriptions as a unit of weight for grains
Je: a lower unit than tlon, used for quantities of millet, sesame and paddy
Lih: another unit of weight for cereals, possibly a unit lower than je
Knan: used in a pre-Angkorian inscription for a quantity of salt
Tamlin: an important unit of weight for silver in pre-Angkorian time
Measures (Sharan, 1974:209)

*Fe:* means basket in Old Khmer; designates a measure of weight for grains

*Pada:* about 150 grains, used for measuring butter, curd and honey

*Sisa:* weavers used this measure

*Tula:* equal to 100 pala, used for proportion only

*Pada, sanre* and *sare:* units of measurement of paddy fields. A text for 665 AD records the donation of a plot of land measuring 1 sanre and another plot measuring 1 pada. Another pre-Angkorian inscriptions mentions a paddy field measured in pada and sare. It appears from the epigraphical record that pada was a higher unit of measurement than sare. In Sanskrit, pada stands for a measure equal to 1/100 of the standard land measure.

*Mas:* measurement of land. An inscription of 651 AD refers to a paddy field measuring 1 pada situated at two different places

*Anton:* oil and other liquids were measured in this unit