

Historical Accounts

The Relation Between Cambodia and Indonesia in the 8th to the 9th Century

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Did Jayavarman II, ruler of Cambodia in 802-850 A.D., descend from the Cailendra Dynasty of Indonesia? The author brings up evidence supporting the hypothesis.

Introduction

This paper containing preliminary notes looks more closely at the evidence of the relation between Cambodia and Java at the eighth to the ninth century. The eighth century is a troubled period in the history of South East Asia. In Cambodia it saw the partition of the country into several principalities, grouped, according to Chinese sources, into two kingdoms: Water Chenla, in the Mekong basin and the basin of the Big Lake, and Land Chenla, on Korat plateau and the middle Mekong. It also presents an interesting historical problem. Certain historic aspects remain obscure despite the attention that a great number of scholars have paid to the relation between Cambodia under the reign of King Jayavarman II and Indonesia, in this case Java, at the beginning of the ninth century.

In the history of Cambodia, Jayavarman II was known as a king of ancient Cambodia who ruled between 802 AD and 850 AD. He was also known as the founder of the

Angkor kingdom. Unfortunately, he was almost unique among the kings of Cambodia in that he did not leave a single inscription; at least none has been found up to now. Fortunately, the principal episode of his reign was related in some detail in an eleventh century inscription on the stele of Sdok Kak Thom, which cited the following information: *Man vrah pada paramesvara mok amvi jawa pikurun ni nau nagara indrapura* = His Majesty came from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura.

If this information can be verified, it will raise some questions about the relation between the ruler of Cambodia and that of Java in the beginning of the ninth century. Who was actually King Jayavarman II? Was he related to the ancient dynasties of pre-Angkorien Cambodia? Or was he an Indonesian who came from Java as a conqueror? What was the historical relation between Cambodia and Indonesia from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the ninth century?

Inscription of Jayavarman II

As Jayavarman II did not apparently leave any inscriptions during his reign, information about him should be gathered from sources dating from the period before or after his reign. For instance, some inscriptions from the region of Sambhupura (Sambor), two of which, dated 770 AD and 781 AD,

emanated from a king named Jayavarman. The inscription of 770 AD came from Preach Theat Preah Srei in Thbong Khmum. That of 781 AD was found at Lobok Srot, in the region of Kratie. (G. Coedès, 1970). I am inclined to think that these two inscriptions had been made by King Jayavarman II before he became king of Cambodia. A serious study of these two inscriptions is necessary to establish the identity of the author **Jayavarman's Ancestry**

About the parentage of King Jayavarman II, G. Coedès believed that King Jayavarman II was only distantly related to the ancient dynasties of pre-Angkorien Cambodia. He was the great-grandnephew through the female line of Pushkarakṣa, the prince of Aninditapura who became king of Sambhupura through his marriage with a princess of this state. And he was also the nephew of King Jayendrathipativarman. Further, G. Coedès suggested that the family of Jayavarman II which was linked with the dynasties of the eighth century took refuge in Java during the disturbance over the succession. (G. Coedès, 1968). Palmer Briggs assumed that King Jayavarman II was chosen by the ministers of king Mahipativarman who was beheaded by the Cailendra Maharaja. (P. Briggs, 1951). Historians were inclined to think that king Jayavarman II was a Khmer, but they did not

A reprint from the Majalah Arkeologi, September 1977. The author teaches at the Universitas Indonesia.

know who his father was. All of the opinions cited showed that the parentage of king Jayavarman II remains unknown.

The Cailendra Dynasty

G. Coedès in his "The Making of Southeast Asia" remarked that the history of Cambodia in the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth century could not be understood properly without a knowledge of happenings in Indonesia from the end of the seventh century. (G. Coedès, 1970).

Moreover, Louis Finot's translation of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom: *Alors, S.M. Paramesvara vint de Java pour régner dans la cité d'Indrapura*, inclined us to think that King Jayavarman II was not related to the ancient dynasties of pre-Angkorien Cambodia but, that his forefather came from Indonesia. Hence events in Indonesian history may be helpful in solving the problem of whether King Jayavarman II was in some way related to any Javanese royal family.

Selendra, the Origin of Çailendra

For some time after the discovery of the West Java Purnawarman inscriptions of the middle of the fifth century, no epigraphic documents about Java had been found. The island re-entered the scene in an Old Malay inscription found at the village of Sojomerto near Batang in Central Java. Paleographically, M. Boechari supposed that this inscription dated from the beginning of the seventh century. This inscription bore the name *Dapunta Selendra* which Boechari believed was the "vamçakara" of the Cailendra dynasty. The name Selendra, a personal name, was undoubtedly an Indonesianized form of Çailendra. Selendra was an ardent worshipper of Civa. (M. Boechari, 1966).

If Boechari's opinion can be verified, it will support the opinion of the late Poerbotjaroko that only one dynasty ruled Central Java, i.e. the Çailendras. According to

the latter, the Çailendras were formerly Civaites but for unknown reasons, Sañjaya, a çivaitic Çailendra king who had erected a *linga* temple in 732 AD, ordered his son, Rakai Panamkaran, to abandon the faith of his ancestors and to become a buddhist. (Poerbotjaroko, 1958). Further, in his "Riwayat Indonesia I", Poerbotjaroko proposed that a grandson of King Sanjaya named Gajayana, however, held to the çivaitic religion. Consequently, he had to migrate to east Java where he built a new kingdom in the region of Malang in East Java and, in 760 AD, erected the Agastya temple. (Poerbotjaroko, 1952).

The inscription of Mantyasih enumerates the Javanese kings from Sanjaya to Mahacambhu

The name Sañjaya was also mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription of 732 AD found in Canqaal, Central Java. This inscription told of a çivaitic king called Sañjaya and the erection of a *linga* on the island of Java in the country of Kunjarakunja. The ruins of the Çivaite sanctuary where the *linga* had been erected can still be found today on the hill of Gunung Wukir, southeast of Borobudur.

According to a later tradition, i.e. *Kitab Carita Parahiyangan*, King Sañjaya had sent expeditions to Bali, Sumatra, Cambodia and even China. There seemed to be some truth in this tradition since the Vietnamese Annals recorded that in the year of 767 AD, the delta area was invaded by bands from Java.

The name of Sanjaya was found not only in the inscription of Canggal dated 732 AD and in the *Kitab Carita Parahiyangan* but also in

the inscription of Mantyasih dated 907 AD. This inscription contained a list of Javanese kings who reigned before its author, Çri Mahārāja Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung Çri Dharmodaya Mahaçambhu. The list, which does not give any account of genealogical relation, is as follows:

"Rahyangta rumuhun ri mdang ri poh pitu, rakai matarām sang ratu Sañjaya; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Panamkaran; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Panunggalan; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Warak; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Garung; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Pikan; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi; Çri Mahārāja Rakai Watumalang; lwiha sangkarika landapan yan pakacapatha Cri Mahārāja Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung Çri Dharmodaya Mahaçambhu."

It seemed to indicate that King Sañjaya was the founder of the dynasty. (W.F. Stutterheim, 1927).

The inscription of Kalasan dated 778 AD, however, gave evidence that the successor of King Sañjaya, Mahārāja Dyah Pañcapana Panamkaran or Rakai Panamkaran was a Çailendra king who commemorated the foundation of the Candi Kalasan as shrine to the Buddhist goddess Tara. (F.D.K. Bosch, 1928).

If the information of this inscription can be verified, it will raise some questions in the ancient history of Indonesia from the end of the eighth century to the middle of the ninth century. What happened in the history of Indonesia in that period? Were there two dynasties reigning in Central Java of which one were Çivaite kings and the other adherents of the Buddhist religion? Or was there only one dynasty "the Çailendras" that were formerly adherents of the Çivaitic religion?

Panamkaran, the Successor of King Sanjaya

Some scholars assumed that two dynasties reigned in Central Java from the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century, the Sañjayas and the Çailendras. (Vogel, 1919; Van Naersen, 1947; de Casparis, 1950). According to Vogel's inter-

pretation of the Kalasan inscription, Mahārāja Dyah Pañcapana Panamkarana or Rakai Panamkaran was not a Çailendra king but a vassal of the Çailendra king Vislūnu. (J.P. Vogel, 1919). But if we read carefully the inscription of Kalasan, especially strophe 5 and 6, we undoubtedly would conclude that Maharaja Dyah Pancapana Panamkarana was none other than Rakai Panamkaran, a Çailendra king who had built Candi Kalasan, a sanctuary dedicated to the Buddhist goddess, Tara, located in the plain of Prambanan east of the city of Yogyakarta.

This fact was strengthened by the discovery of the Sojomerto inscription which bore the name Dapunta Selendra as a personal name. It was quite possible that the illustrious Çailendra derived their family name from this person. If this supposition can be verified, it is likely that all the king's name in the Mantyasih inscription dated 907 AD were Çailendras. The inscription also mentioned the name Rakai Panamkaran who was known as the successor of King Sañjaya. Undoubtedly, King Sañjaya was also a Çailendra King who adhered to the Çivaite religion.

Effects of Buddhism

It seemed that after the reign of King Sañjaya, Central Java began to respond to the new influence of Mahayana Buddhism. This sect of Buddhism showed a strong tendency toward assimilation with the Brahmanist cults, especially with that of Çiva. The inscription of Kelurak dated 782 AD told us that during the reign of a Çailendra king known as "the killer of enemy heroes" and crowned under the name of Sangrāmadhananjaya Kumaraghosha, a teacher from the country of Gaudi—India—consecrated in Kelurak an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuçri. It synthesized the Three Buddhist Jewels (Triratna), the Brahmanic trinity (Trimurti), and all the gods. (F.D.K. Bosch, 1928).

However, it was quite probable that the acceptance of Mahayana Buddhism and, perhaps, of the appointment of Mahayanist

teachers from Bengal to the royal household resulted to the disestablishment of conservative Brahmanist interest associated with the previous regime in Central Java. This, at any rate, was the interpretation of the Chinese sources which mentioned the removal of the kingdom of Holing to the east by a king named Ki-yen between 742 and 755 AD as a result of the acceptance of Mahayana Buddhism in Central Java. Ki-yen was none other than prince Gajayana mentioned in the inscription of Dinoyo dated 760 AD from East Java. This inscription commemorated the foundation of a sanctuary, in honor of Agastya. (F.D.K. Bosch, 1924).

It is quite probable that Gajayana, a son of King Dewasimha, was a grandson of King Sañjaya. He tried to escape from Mahayana Buddhist influence in Central Java and to look for a new place in East Java where he could continue his worship to Civa. (Poerbotjarko, 1952).

It was likely that Rakai Panunggalan, another grandson of king Sañjaya and the successor of Rakai Panamkaran according to the inscription of Mantyasih, also tried to escape from the Mahayana Buddhist influence in Central Java and to seek a new place in Cambodia where he could proceed with his faith. This supposition was strengthened by the fact that Rakai Panunggalan, like King Gajayana, did not leave a single inscription in Central Java.

Cambodia's Political Condition

Fortunately, he had the good opportunity to develop his political power in Cambodia which passed through a very troubled period for more than a century after the death of King Jayavarman in 682 AD. Jayavarman I did not seem to have left male heirs and that, probably, among others accounted for the partition of Cambodia. He seemed to have been succeeded by his wife. But nothing indicated when Jayavarman I ceased to reign or when his wife succeeded him, if she did.

An inscription of 713 AD found

Rakai Panunggalan migrated to Cambodia at an opportune time

at West Baray, Angkor Thom reflected that at that time the country was ruled by a woman, Jayadevi. In the opinion of Coedès, she was the widow of Jayavarman I who reigned after his death. (Coedès, 1964: 162; L.P. Briggs, 1951:57). In this inscription, Jayadevi mentioned donations to a sanctuary of Civa Tripurantaka and complained of the misfortunes of the time. A group of petty kings sprang into prominence and the country became divided into a Land and a Water Chenla. Water Chenla itself divided into several kingdoms and principalities which, respectively, strove for supremacy over each other. The T'ang history said the division into Land and Water Chenla took place after 706 AD. (Coedès, 1964: 161; P. Pelliot, 1904:211).

The Conquest of Cambodia

Java might indeed have taken advantage of the partition of Cambodia and launched an expedition against it. The first expedition was more likely sent by King Sañjaya of the Çailendra dynasty in 767 AD. The Vietnamese Annals recorded that the delta area and the southern region of Cambodia was invaded by bands from Java. (Coedès, 1964: 173). This supposition was strengthened by the later tradition of **Kitab Carita Parahiyangan** mentioned before.

The second expedition was more likely led by king Rakai Panunggalan, a grandson of king Sañjaya who left his native country due to political and religious problems in Central Java. Quite probably in 770 A.D., he attacked and occupied the region of Sambhupura, Cambodia, and made this region as the base of his army. This fact was strengthened by the discovery of some inscriptions in this region, two of them dated 770 and 781 A.D. These two

inscriptions were made by a king named Jayavarman, whom G. Coedès named as Jayavarman I (bis). (G. Coedès, 1964: 178). I am inclined to think that king Jayavarman mentioned in those two inscriptions was none other than Rakai Panunggalan who came from Java. It was possible that in order to be accepted by the Khmers, he used the name Jayavarman and placed himself as a valid heir of the Angkor kingdom, especially of Sambhupura.

A Sanskrit inscription of Nha-trang dated 774 AD. told us that a band who came in ships burnt down the temple of Po-Nagar near Nha-trang. But, they were routed and driven back to the sea by the king of Champa. This raid was repeated in the year of 787 AD and another temple of Civa, near Virapura, was burnt down (L.P. Briggs, 1951: 67). I am of the opinion that this invasion was also led by King Rakai Panunggalan who four years before had occupied Sambhupura-Cambodia.

The above account was also confirmed by an early tenth century Arab writer, Abu Zaid Hasan, who told the story of the travels of a merchant named Sulaiman. The latter visited Angkor in the year of 851 AD. and picked up an account of a Javanese expedition against Chenla in the closing years of the eighth century. Although legendary, there is justification in supposing that it may have been inspired by some historical event.

The Coronation of Jayavarman II

Believing that his power was firm enough, Rakai Panunggalan proclaimed himself ruler of the Khmers of the Angkor and took the name Jayavarman II. According to the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, Jayavarman II began his long reign by building his capital named Indrapura at a place identified with the archaeological site at Bantey Prei Nokor, east of Kompong Cham on the lower Mekong. The inscription also tells us that in 802 AD., Jayavarman II held a big ceremony at the summit of Mahendraparwata (the hill of Phnom Kulen) to establish himself as sole sovereign (cakravartin) in *Kambujadeca* and

also to liberate himself from all dependence on Java.

In this occasion, he also held a special ceremony to commemorate the establishment of ritual for the worship of *devaraja*. (Soekmono, 1974: 127, 128). The ceremony consisted of founding a *linga* on the hill. This symbolized that his authority was equivalent to that of Mahendra (Civa), the king of the gods. Jayavarman II instituted the cult of the *devaraja*. A sanctuary in a pyramid was erected on a natural or artificial mountain. It sheltered the *linga* as a symbol of *devaraja*. It is likely that the worship done by King Jayavarman II in Cambodia was an effort to think back to his native country, Java, and to continue the worship proceedings of his ancestor King Sañjaya, a zealous adherent of *linga Girisa*, as was mentioned in the inscription of Canggal in Central Java.

Conclusion

All these accounts strongly indicate that King Jayavarman II of Cambodia was none other than Rakai Panunggalan from the Çailendra dynasty in Central Java. Nevertheless, a search for further evidence to support this hypothesis is still needed. A careful study of Old Javanese and Old Kmer inscriptions and the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom will throw more light upon the forefather of King Jayavarman II and the relation between Cambodia and Indonesia, in this case Java, at the end of the seventh century to the middle of the ninth century.

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The Relation

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Ceramic

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Jiu Gang	Indonesia	Longchuan celadon and big and small jars
Pu Ban	Indonesia	Green-ware rough bowls, and big and small jars
Wen Lao Gu	Indonesia	Green wares, jars and the like
Long Ya Men Hua Mian	Indonesia Indonesia	Longchuan celadon Rough bowls and green Longchuan porcelain
Dan Yang	Indonesia	Rough bowls and the like
Gou Lan Shan	Indonesia	Green wares and the like
Ban Da Li	India	Blue-and-white wares
Man Tuo Lang Nan Wu Li	Unidentified Indonesia	Green wares Blue-and-white wares
Jia Li Na	Iran	Blue-and-white wares
Qian Li Ma Xiao Ba Nan	Unidentified India	Rough bowls Blue-and-white wares
Peng Jia La	Bangladesh	Blue-and-white wares
Tian Tang	Saudi Arabia	Blue-and-white wares
Tian Zhu	India	Blue-and-white wares
Gan Mai Li	Iran	Blue-and-white wares, jars and vases
Wu Die	India	Blue-and-white wares

The above list mentions green porcelains (celadons) fifteen times, Chu hou porcelains five times, blue-and-white floral porcelains sixteen times, blue and white porcelains three times, porcelain ware three times and rough bowls five times. Most of the exports came from the kilns in Jiangxi and Xhejiang provinces and a lesser number from those in Fujian province.

(to be continued)

Footnotes

¹Page 1868, Vol 3, Zhonghua Shuqu edition.

²⁻³Page 2516, Vol 3, Zhonghua Shuqu edition.

⁴⁻⁵Page 4537-38, Vol 13, Zhonghua Shuqu edition.

⁶"Zhu Fan Zhi, Revised and Annotated" Page 5, 1966 edition, Zhonghua Shuqu edition.

⁷Page 7. "Ku Jin Yi Shi" (photomechanical Printing).