

The Khmers in Thailand : what the inscriptions inform us

by Claude Jacques

Ln 1958, Professor George Coedès printed in the *Journal Asiatique* an article entitled "Nouvelles données épigraphiques sur l'histoire de l'Indochine centrale."¹ In that article he mentioned that he published the three new important inscriptions discovered in Thailand. In the 1958 article, he summarized what is known about the Khmer and Mon presence in Thailand until the 13th century. What he termed as "Indochine Centrale" is the centre and the northeast of the present-day Thailand.

That was thirty years ago and it is not surprising that one would like to update the history of that region until the 15th century. This update however necessitates the creation of a new hypothesis, based on a number of newly discovered inscriptions. For ten years I have regularly come to Thailand and I have developed excellent relations with the Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University.

"Liste générale des inscriptions du Cambodge", is a title which is rather perplexing. But one cannot change it without creating great confusion in this scholarly field. Nearly eighty inscriptions have been recently reported or discovered.

As the new hypothesis deals with the first century to the tenth century, I will therefore essentially deal with this period.

On the Khmer presence in Northeast Thailand during the first thousand years, George Coedès wrote: "At the end of the sixth and at the beginning of the seventh century, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bhavavarman and Mahendrarman, the founders of pre-Angkorian Cambodia were discovered at the mouth of the Mun River and in Surin Province. They reveal the political implantation of the Khmers in the extreme east and south of the Khorat plateau. It was however only in 886 A.D. when a Sanskrit inscription of Indravarman was found in the province of Ubon (*Bung Kê*, K 495).

The double inscriptions of Yaśovarman were not found higher than Bassac (*Huei Thamo*, K 362). Yaśovarman is the son of Indravarman and the founder of Yaśodharapura, a town in Angkor. For the tenth century, only three stone inscriptions have been found. The first was found in the province of Ubon (*Ban Tāt Thōng*, K 697). It is an inscription written in the Sanskrit and Khmer languages by the sons of Yaśovarman. The second, discovered near Aranya (K 957), is a 941 A.D. Khmer inscription in the name of Rājendrarman. The third, found in Surin (K 880), is a Khmer inscription. Its script was written in the second half of the tenth century."²

First I would like to make a number of observations on the first sentence of Professor Coedès' summary. I insist that the inscriptions he mentions cannot be said "of Bhavavarman and Mahendrarman". They can only be from Mahendrarman.

One always indicates that Mahendrarman is the "brother of Bhavavarman". But that does not imply that Bhavavarman I accompanied his brother during his conquests. I think there were certain exaggerations in these texts.³

The recent discovery has increased the number of short Mahendrarman inscriptions to nine. They show Mahendra-

Professor Claude Jacques is the Director of Studies, 4th Section, at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris.

This article is based on a lecture given by the Professor, at the Silpakorn University of Thailand, during the first Franco-Thai symposium entitled "Thailand from the Beginning of Its History to the XV Century A.D. : Problems of Research and Conservation." Held from 18 to 29 July 1988, the symposium was organized by the French Embassy in Bangkok and the Silpakorn University.

varman's victories within the present-day Thailand. This is especially evident in K 1102, discovered at Ban Don Sam, about 40 km. north of Khon Kaen. This inscription pushes the victories of this king further up north.

For more than two centuries there was a total absence of inscription from the Khmer kings of Cambodia in this region. This absence, which G. Goedès justifiably points out, makes us think that the "Khmer political implantation" is not very solid. Personally I would rather suppose that after having conquered this important territory, about the end of the sixth century, Mahendavarman went to Sambor Prei Kuk (Cambodia) to assume power after the death of his brother. Then the people of the "land" which Mahendavarman had conquered in the north of the Dangrek Range rapidly gained their independence.

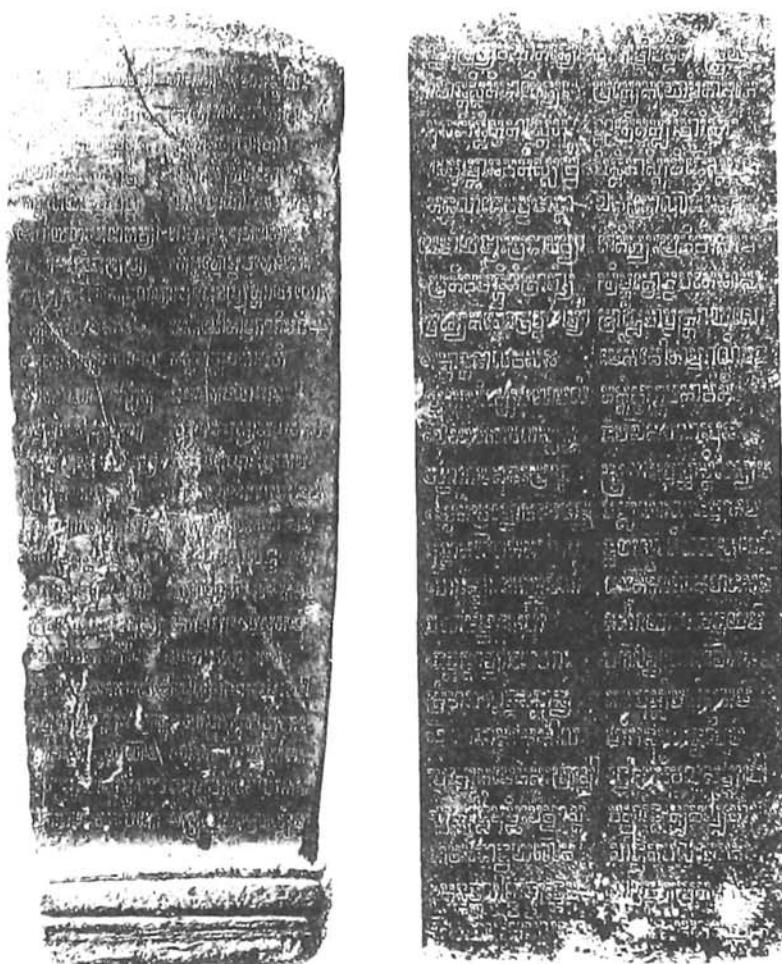
Contrary, it is difficult to explain why no trace of Isānavarman I, son of Mahendavarman, has been discovered in this territory. We can believe however that he had inherited the total empire of his father. But there is now one great question: Who inhabited this region at the time of the reign of Mahendavarman?

Isānavarman I seems to have left, on his own or by force, this conquered territory which is in the northeast of present-day Thailand. We have found, in the province of Prachinburi, the recently discovered inscription no. K 1150. It was uncovered near those already known in the region of Aranyaprathet. This indicates that this zone was the vassal state of Jyesthapura, the head of which was Prince Śivadatta, the son of King Isānavarman I. The king could have extended his power to the vicinity of Chantaburi through this vassal state. This is attested by Inscription K 502, found near the town of Chantaburi.⁴ Nonetheless, nobody ever seemed to consider that Isānavarman I probably attempted to find his way out to the sea through this channel although he could

have also found his way through another one, the Mékong.

I have recently shown that the kingdom of Jyesthapura probably became independent in 628 A.D., after the death of Isānavarman I. Subsequently, in this region the only manifestation of a king, who might have been a Khmer, is found on the bronze plaque of U-Thong. This plaque from King Harshavarman, grandson of King Isānavarman,⁵ has been classified as Inscription K 964. I resist the idea of G. Coedès in that King Harshavarman might have been a Khmer king bearing that name.

Inscription K 1142, discovered in 1983, probably came from the same region. This inscription introduces a new Khmer king: Bhavavarman III, nephew of Jayavarman I. He



Both revealing exactly the same wording, these inscriptions belong to Jayavarman VII. The picture on the left is a stone inscription found at Kok Roka (K 435) while the one on the right is a rubbing of the inscription found at Sai-fong (K 368).

simultaneously reigned on the region and a territory south of Cambodia. This is attested by an inscription of Phnom Bayang.

One should again talk about the site of Si Thep in northern central Thailand. The Sanskrit inscriptions, though undated were discovered in site among the most ancient ones found in the territory of present-day Thailand. One of these, which was found in a very bad condition, gives the name of Bhavavarman who might have been the first Khmer king bearing that name.⁶

Professor Coedès notably deduced that the empire of Bhavavarman I extended to Si Thep. On the contrary, and apart from my interpretation that the inscriptions of Mahendrarvarman is incongruous with the idea that Bhavavarman I could have reached so far into the interior of the present-day Thailand, one should note that the poor condition of the inscription prohibits any definitive conclusion without difficulty.

Another interpretation from this fragmentary text could possibly be that the king of that site, whose name has disappeared, was compared in this text to Bhavavarman I. This means that although the fame of Bhavavarman I extended so far, it does not necessarily mean the same for the boundary of his kingdom. Si Thep's past still remains a mystery.

There are a good number of inscriptions in the northeastern part of Thailand during this period of the silence of the Khmer kings in Cambodia. Professor Coedès has included, for convenience, nearly all of them in his "Liste générale des inscriptions du Cambodge". He did this even if he realised perfectly well these inscriptions do not belong to the "Cambodians". After his death, numerous inscriptions have been discovered and reported. These inscriptions, with or without the Sanskrit text, were sometimes written in Mon instead of the Khmer language. This is a very important statement for the history of this region.

Some of the inscriptions were engraved on large slabs of red sandstone in the form of *sīmā*. These can be regarded as remarkable pieces. These stone slabs, with or without the inscription, have generally been found in small groups. They are often decorated with Buddhist bas-reliefs whose style, like the statues sometimes found with them, is very close to that of Dvāravatī.

Known for a long time,⁷ many of these inscriptions, particularly those recently discovered in the province of Chaiyaphum, have only been closely observed lately. Because they are often badly eroded, deciphering them is not always

easy. But the scripts present some of the characteristics Professor Coedès has well observed and described. They quite differ from the Cambodian script and are nearer to the Dvāravatī. Since the inscriptions bear no date, they can only be approximated to about the 8th century. These inscriptions are sometimes in Mon or in Khmer. But generally, they are in Sanskrit. This quite clearly separates this region from the ancient kingdom of Dvāravatī in the west, where Pāli seems to have been the only known scholarly language.

Some of these inscriptions mention the name of kings. These differentiate them from those at Dvaravati's. The inscribed "pillars" at Hin Khon⁸ do not have the exact *sīmā* form. They have square sections but their arrangement is the same. The inscriptions indicate they celebrate a Rajabhikshu who had the royal title of Nṛpendradhipativarman. He might have reigned in a city called Sro Bra (K 388, face b, 1.10,16; face d, 1.17-18) or Sro Vraah (K 389 face b, 1.9-10; face c, 1.9-10).

We find in K 388 other names of kings, e.g. : Indravarman, Soryavarman. Some of the named kings are qualified as *cakravartin* (*universal monarch*). But this is surely exaggerated. The inscriptions also contain names of "capitals" such as Mr and Tamrañ which are not known anywhere else.

Apart from these, the inscriptions draw attention because of their mediocre Khmer language mixed with Mon. Another large slab-*sīmā* K 404⁹ in Sanskrit mentions a king named Jayasinhavarman, but did not indicate the name of his kingdom.

Bernard-Philippe Groslier traced the area where these inscriptions were discovered and designated it as the "civilization of inscriptions". Of course, after his article was published in 1980¹⁰, new inscriptions were discovered. And in the province of Chaiyaphum, this area has enlarged considerably. It is now interesting to examine the connection, if there is any between inscriptions and the inhabitants of ancient towns, surrounded with moats, existing in the whole region.

The mysterious "kingdom of Śrī Cānāśa", appears on two inscriptions of the same type. The first engraved two different inscriptions¹¹; the older one, in Sanskrit, gives no date and the other, in Sanskrit and Khmer, gives a date equivalent to 868 A.D.

Professor Coedès writes about this kingdom in his article published in *Journal Asiatique*. He claims it is in the region of Khorat (*Nakhon Ratchasima*). In reality, as very little is known about Śrī Cānāśa, one should avoid

imagining it as a large kingdom even if it is one of the only two named "kingdoms" known in that region. The two inscriptions, one of which has probably been moved from its original place, does not allow us to trace the limits of a

**“Professor Coedès used Pali Chronicles
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In the inscription of 868 A.D., there is an interesting allusion to Kambudeśa. Professor Coedès translates the Sanskrit expression *kambudeśāntare* to "outside of Kambudeśa". Using that translation he writes that the region was still independent during that period. But owing to the varied meanings of the word *antara*, this expression could have been better translated as "inside Kambudeśa", which is contrary to the first translation!

This inscription, engraved above a Buddhist text, relates the foundation of a *liṅga* and supports the last translation by showing the arrival of Khmers from Cambodia. Anyhow the mention of Kambudeśa is, historically perhaps, the most ancient. It also shows the appearance (or reappearance) of Khmer influence from Cambodia in this region. The name of Śrī Cānāśapura appears in K 949¹², a later inscription discovered in Ayutthaya. Bearing the date of 937 A.D., it could have originated from the region of Khorat. The inscription gives a series of royal names and refers only to Śrī Cānāśa. This implies the kingdom was still or again independent at that time. In addition, the name Cānāśa (or *Canāśa*), a Sanskrit word, is meaningless in that language, in Khmer, or even, perhaps, in Mon.

There is again a reference, says Professor Coedès, about a kingdom of Śāmbūka. It is mentioned only in inscription K 577¹³ which is engraved on the base of a Buddha image discovered in Lopburi (*This image may have been removed from an original site*). It is possible that the name Śāmbūka might be the same as the one found in an epithet of Śāmbūka-pattana town. Cited in one of Jayavarman VII's¹⁴ inscriptions, it seems like the name of a town in the Chao Praya Valley.

Śāmbūka in Sanskrit is the general term for "shell". Shall we find such a layer in the valley, not far from Lopburi, like for example the name of Samrong Sen in Cambodia? But in this case, would the name be in Sanskrit?

Inscription No. K 1082 was recently discovered in Wat Ban Song Puay, Yasothon Province. Unfortunately, this inscription bears no date. However it informs of king Pravarasena and his "capital" Śāṅkhapura. Śākhha is another name for shell especially of conch shell. This word is not known anywhere else. The inscription also mentions Kroṇcabahu, the king's son, and Dharmasena, the founder of a *liṅga* of Śiva, his grandson. These royal names have no *varman* at the end. But on the contrary they have *senā* at the end, like Citrasena, which is the original name of Mahendravarman.

Engraved on a re-used door-jamb at the great temple of Phimai is Inscription K 1000¹⁵. Although this inscription mentions the name of Śauryavarman, a Buddhist king, its dilapidated state prohibits any conclusion. But since the script used can be dated back to the eighth century, one may use this simple hypothesis. King Śauryavarman, who is unknown anywhere else, might have reigned in the kingdom of Canāśa -- if the region of this kingdom can be precisely identified to include the territory around Phimai.

Another document recently discovered is particularly interesting. It is a short undated inscription engraved on the back of a Buddhist terracotta votive tablet which is now preserved in the National Museum of Khon Kaen. The front side records a scene from the life of the Buddha. The whole text is in the Mon language, except one expression : *kamraten pdai karaum* meaning "lord of the lower surface". This Khmer phrase designates kings in general. While the word *kamraten* is written the same way as in the Angkorian period, the word *pdai* is written in pre-Angkorian form. The elongated form of the word *karom* may be local. This inscription however marks the beginning of the Khmer kings' influence in a Mon zone. These Khmer kings came from Cambodia.

This period could therefore be attributed to the reign of Indravarman I as none of his predecessors seemed to have extended power up to that region. But this again is a working hypothesis.

To summarize, Buddhist bas-reliefs, Sanskrit, Mon or Khmer inscriptions testify the existence, around the eighth century A.D. in the northeast of present-day Thailand, of various small but more or less independent kingdoms. Only two kingdoms are named: Śrī Cānāśa and Śāmbūka; apparently they are Mon. Some "towns" are also named but whether or not these towns had any connection with the

known "kingdoms" is unknown.

The political influence of Cambodia's Khmers which probably appeared in 868, might have arrived a little earlier. This might have been due to Indravarman I, who was consecrated as a *cakravartin* in 877 in the town of Hariharālaya, Cambodia. During that time Indravarman I was not very young. He could have been consecrated as a *cakravartin* only after having conquered a vast territory. But this again belongs to the domain of hypothesis.

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After the publication of Professor Coedès' article, many inscriptions from the epoch of Yaśovarman I have been discovered in the northeast of Thailand. Thus significantly enlarging the domain of this king, corresponding to what Professor Coedès has written.

First of all, inscriptions in two languages have been found. Normally fragmentary, they however satisfactorily attest the presence of many famous *āśrama* (*hermitage*) belonging to Yaśovarman I, in Phanom Rung or Khorat. There is also an inscription engraved upon a lintel from Prasat Phanom Van (K 1065). It was edited by H.R.H. Princess Sirindhorn who reproduced the edict of the same king. This inscription also refers to the authority of Indravarman I.

Long before the reign of Jayavarman VII, the Khmers had already built important constructions on the plateau of Khorat. Given that the Khmers were then the masters of the region, how should one interpret all the royal titles mentioned in Inscription K 949 on the kingdom of Śrī Canasa in 937 A.D.? In reality this inscription does not seem absolutely incompatible with recent discoveries.

The sons and successors of Yaśovarman I: Harshavarman I and Īśānavarman II, were not powerful enough. They did not have the same authority as their father but traces of their reigns were found in Inscription K 1073¹⁶ in the province of Buriram, circa 925 A.D. and in Inscription K 697¹⁷ in the province of Yasothon.

Jayavarman IV, their successor, reigned in 937. Although he is totally unknown in the north of Dangrek Range, his son Harshavarman II is mentioned in K 393¹⁸, an inscription of Phanom Van. This then permits the assumption that the kingdom of Śrī Cānāśa, of which Prasat Phanom Wan might not have been a part, assumed its independence some time during the first half of the tenth century. Kings Narapatisinhavarman and Maṅgalavarman, who were brothers, may have reigned successively. At the same time they may have preserved the Khmer language as an official language

as can be observed on the second face of Inscription K 949.

Rājendravarman took the supreme power at Angkor in 944 A.D. He controlled all the territories of Yaśovarman I. After the death of Professor Coedès, many new inscriptions have been discovered showing the authority of Rājendravarman in the northeast of Thailand. One of these is K 1120¹⁹, at Phanom Rung, which still unedited.

Rājendravarman had a rare but grand title of *dhūli jeṇ kamsterī añ*. This is indicated on Inscription K 957²⁰, bearing the date of 941 A.D., from the region of Aranyaprathet in eastern Thailand. The inscription reports the function of a vassal for an unnamed supreme king. Mention of this same king is found again, among many high dignitaries, on Inscription K 1151. Recently discovered in the same region, this inscription of 943 A.D. indicates that *varman* appears at the end of his name, in the same position, two years later, as that on K 957.

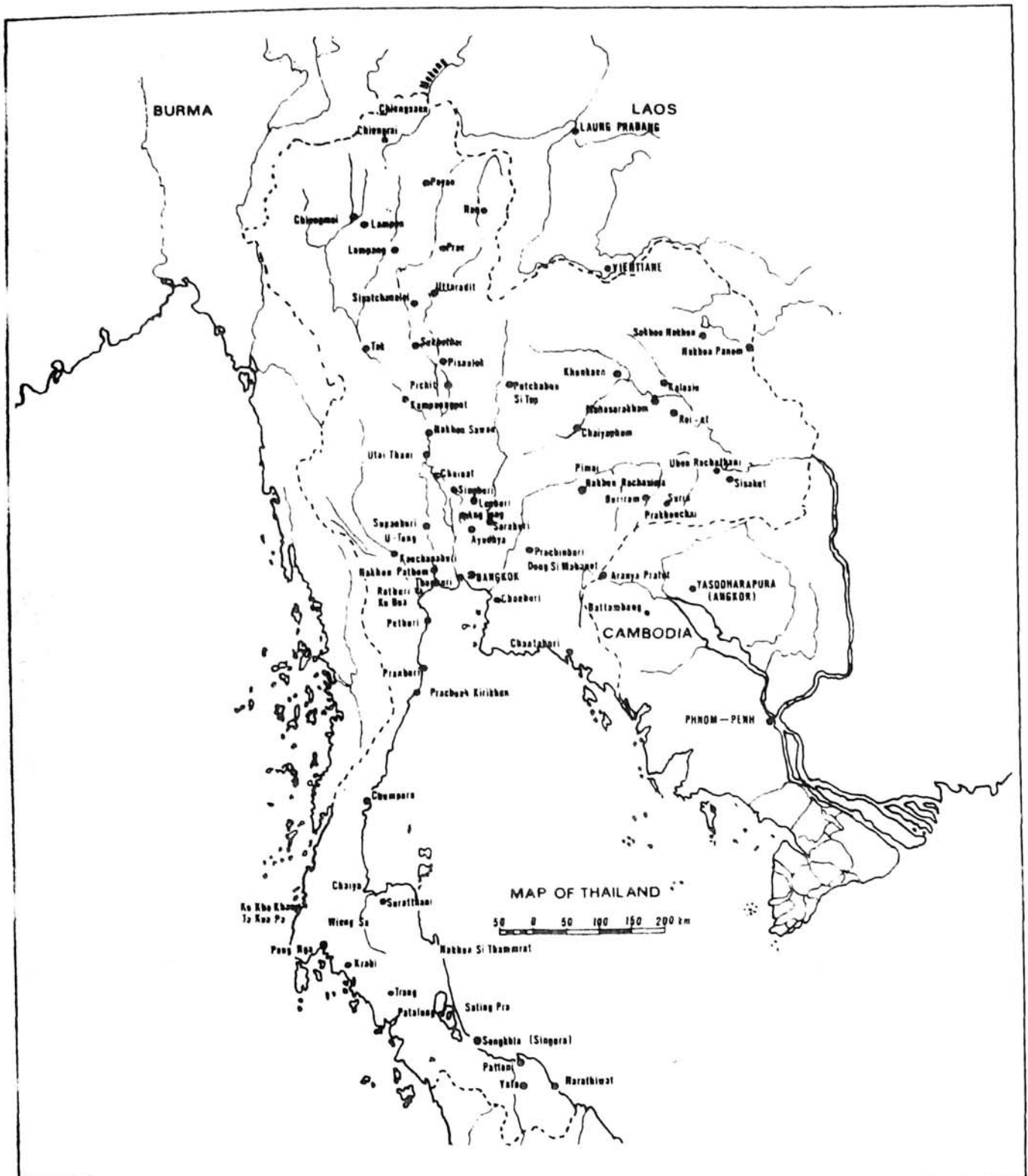
But it is not certain whether or not that unnamed king became the supreme king of the Khmers. During that period Rājendravarman may have been the independent king of Bhavapura, a kingdom situated around Sambor Prei Kuk in Cambodia. He may have not served under Jayavarman IV or Harshavarman II. However a complex political structure may have existed wherein the independent king of Bhavapura was also the master of the Aranyaprathet region. In this case, he could have been a vassal of the supreme king of the Khmers.

Jayavarman V apparently spread his authority on all the possessions of his father on the other side of the Dangrek Range. New discoveries attesting this is abundant. But G. Coedès knew only of two inscriptions naming this king. Found in Thailand, they are K 235 and 990.

Now, there are nine more: K 1063; K 1116; K 1156 of unknown origin; K 1141 from the old town Sema, near Amphoe Sung Noen, Nakhon Ratchasima Province; K 1067 and 1120 from Phanom Rung; K 1094 from Nadun, Khon Kaen Province; and from the region of Aranyaprathet, K 1087 and K 1152.

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In the same article Professor Coedès wrote the following for the rest of the Angkorian period: "With the establishment of the authority of Sūryavarman I on the Menam, at Lopburi, in the second decade of the 11th century, the Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions attesting the Angkorian domination multiply themselves on the plateau of Khorat, from Sakhon Nakhon to Phnom Van (K 369 and 393).



“With the reign of Jayavarman VII which began in 1181, this domination covered the whole plateau, where one has found not fewer than seventeen inscriptions²¹ of the foundation of hospitals, from Sai Fong in Laos (*K 368*) in the north (see picture) to Chaiyaphum (*Vat Ku, K 402*) in the west and at Khonburi in south-southeast of Khorat in the south. This domination also spread to the Menam basin and in the north of the Malay peninsular.

Without the epigraphical documents in these regions, one can know from the inscription of Praḥ Khan of Angkor that Jayavarman VII had his own image under the traits of the Buddha Jayabuddhamahānātha installed in twenty-three towns, many of which are now situated in the territory of the present-day Thailand. This is apparently to affirm his sovereignty in a tangible way”.

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I am not certain how one could have so much confidence. Professor Coedès²² used Pāli chronicles of the 15th century to explain about the Khmers of the 11th century. As Michel Vickery points out in his thesis, one should be prudent with these kinds of texts²³.

It is now known that the many kings Professor Coedès had identified and used in his assumptions are probably incorrect. In order to eliminate his rival, Jayavīravarman, Sūryavarman I had to conquer a lot of land before coming to the capital of Yaśodharapura (Angkor). The famous inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (*K 235*)²⁴ informed, a long time ago, that Sūryavarman I became the master of the Aranyaprathet region. He became so after provoking heavy destructions. He probably came from the region of Sambor, on the Mekong, and moved from the east to the west by following the south of the Dangrek Range. He therefore rested largely on the territory of the Khmer kingdom. Only after he had solidly installed himself in Angkor did he begin to rule what is now actually Thailand. His predecessors used to govern this part of Thailand and inscriptions mentioning his name are not rare.

Recent discoveries of inscriptions at the monument of Phanom Rung, some belonging to Sūryavarman I's reign,²⁵ are numerous. They have been studied by H.R.H. Princess Sirindhorn.

An inscription from Sūryavarman I's reign at Phimai (*K 953*) and one inscription at Phanom Wan (*K 393*) have also been found. Though it is true that an inscription reproducing the edict of Sūryavarman I²⁶ and bearing the date of 1022 A.D. was found in Lopburi, it is not certain whether or not it was found at its original place. As a result, this king's conquest of the Chao Praya Valley in Central Thailand is still open to question.

The name of Udayādityavarman II very rarely appears in the inscriptions discovered in present-day Thailand. His name however is evident in the Sdok Kak Thom Inscription. This king and his guru were much celebrated in that inscription. Inscription K 393, engraved on the door-jamb of Phanom Wan, also mentions his name after Sūryavarman I. As for his brother and successor, Harshavarman III, he has left no trace in the epigraphy of this region.

It is sometimes said that the “dynasty” Mahīdhara-pura came to supreme power with Jayavarman VI in 1080. This dynasty might have originated from the region or even from the town of Phimai. The epigraphy found concerning this “dynasty” contains relatively abundant support to this hypothesis.

K 391, from Phanom Wan²⁷, dating back to 1082 A.D., is the only inscription found in Thailand referring to Jayavarman VI when he was still alive. King Dharañindravarman I, his brother and successor, is referred to in K 397²⁸, the large inscription of Phimai. But this inscription does not show his authority clearly. It only indicates, at the turning of the phrase, that one donor at the temple dedicated a part of his accomplished merit to him.

Sūryavarman II himself is rarely cited. Nevertheless, he is celebrated in a beautiful Sanskrit poem engraved in Inscription K 384 at Phanom Rung.²⁹ This was composed for the glory of Narendrāditya who seems to be a near relative of the king. The relative silence of the inscriptions on the great kings of Angkor in Cambodia leaves us, at this time, no clue on the origin of many temples such as the magnificent Angkor Wat temple, Beng Mealea, the town of Phimai and its beautiful sanctuary. No definite conclusion can yet be made on them.

King Yaśovarman II has left no epigraphy in Thailand. Nonetheless, according to a stanza of Inscription K 288³⁰,

from Prasat Cruh at Angkor, after he returned from Lavodaya or Lopburi in central Thailand he succumbed to a sudden attack in his palace at Angkor around 1165. We know very little about his opponent, Tribhuvanadityavarman the "usurper". In particular, we do not know whether or not he continued to control the north of the Khmer empire.

Khmer historians generally neglect King Tribhuvanadityavarman's reign as well as that of his predecessor. This neglect is probably without reason because these two kings had maintained their powers for a total period of more than twenty-five years. This was until the town of Angkor was captured by the Cham king, Jaya-Indravarman IV, in 1177 A.D.. Furthermore, major Khmer works of art were produced during this period.

Inscriptions discovered in Thailand are not the only ones demonstrating the interest of Jayavarman VII on this part of his empire. The inscription of Prañ Khan from Angkor indicates an itinerary in which Jayavarman VII had the "houses with fire" constructed. Although we cannot precisely identify all the sites, many of these houses were clearly situated in the present-day Thailand.

An inscription on the hospital created by Jayavarman VII was recently discovered in the region of Surin. This makes a total number of seven inscriptions on the hospitals created by Jayavarman VII and discovered in Thailand. The hospital inscriptions found in the Khmer empire now totals to eighteen. Many ritual objects in bronze have been unearthed. On them are engraved the dedication by Jayavarman VII to hospitals or temples, especially Inscriptions K 973, 1052, 1056.

After the reign of Sūryavarman I, it is certain that the Khmer civilization, especially its arts, was brilliantly and largely represented on the territory of present-day Thailand. But no doubt it is more difficult to affirm that the kings of Angkor continued to maintain their power over these territories. Using evidences from inscriptions, many local lords, who in reality might have been Khmers, may have liberated themselves by taking advantage of weaknesses of the Angkorian masters.

Up to this time no traces of the successors of Jayavarman VII were found in Thailand. From their time onwards the inevitable growth of the Thai people soon defeated the Khmer power. The Khmer kings, even with some notable successes, had more and more difficulty maintaining their suzerainty over the territories north of the Dangrek Range.

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I would like to stress again that epigraphy has its own limitation. I personally encounter this every day, and admit that it cannot tell us everything. Epigraphy is often successfully completed through archaeology and art history.

In dealing with epigraphy, one must be careful not to give history more lessons than what it can give. It is certain that sometimes a lot could be learned from Sanskrit inscriptions. They belong to a particular class. On the other hand inscriptions, notably Khmer, did not aim to analyze information.

Normally, Khmer inscriptions only report a particular case. To generalize it imprudently would be misleading. And usually this is the tendency because inscriptions are difficult to find. One should avoid forming too many conclusions on the presence or absence of any inscription.

An inscription reports only what a certain person had done; a fact at a precise site. On the subject of the real boundary of the territory of Śrī Cānāśa, for instance, one cannot infer from the presence of only one inscription *in situ*, which mentions the name of the "kingdom". It cannot be deduced with certainty that the territory of Śrī Cānāśa is a tiny kingdom.

Perhaps one day, one or many inscriptions would be discovered. They could help us understand the area of Śrī Cānāśa better..... I have made here only a provisional opinion and my earnest wish is that it will be outdated very soon. Discoveries of new texts will contradict what I have related and will advance our historical knowledge by filling up one or many of its numerous gaps. ■

— Translated from French to English by Professor MC Subhadradis Diskul.

GLOSSARY

- Dvāravatī** - name of a kingdom, existing in Central Thailand, during the 7th - 11th century A.D.
- linga** - a phallic emblem representing Śiva
- sena** - officials, particularly in the military
- sima** - a sacred stone boundary or marker
- varman** - originally meant a cuirass, this word was later added to proper names as a suffix meaning protected by

List of the Khmer Kings

(from *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* by G. Coedès, 1968)

Funan Period

Kaundinya Jayavarman (*died in 514 A.D.*)

Rudravarman (514 - c. 550)

Pre-Angkorian or Chenla Period

Bhavavarman I (598)

Chitrasena Mahendravarman (*beginning of 7th c.*)

Īśānavarman I (616 - c. 635)

Bhavavarman II (639)

Jayavarman I (657-681)

Jayadevī (713)

Angkorian Period

Jayavarman II (802-850)

Jayavarman III (850-877)

Indravarman I (877-889)

Yaśovarman I (889-900)

Harshavarman I (900 - after 922)

Īśānavarman II (925)

Jayavarman IV (928-942)

Harshavarman II (942-944)

Rājendravarman (944-968)

Jayavarman V (968-1001)

Udayādityavarman I (1001)

Sūryavarman I (1002-1050)

Udayādityavarman II (1050-1066)

Harshavarman III (1066-1080)

Jayavarman VI (1080-1107)

Dharaṇīndravarman I (1107-1113)

Sūryavarman II (1113 - after 1145)

Dharaṇīndravarman II (c. 1160)

Yaśovarman II (- 1165)

Tribhuvanādityavarman (1165-1177)

Jayavarman VII (1181 - c. 1220)

Indravarman II (*died in 1243*)

Jayavarman VIII (1243-1295)

Śrīndravarman (1295-1307)

Śrīndrajayavarman (1307-1327)

Jayavarmādiparameśvara (1327 - ?)

FOOTNOTES

1. *Journal Asiatique* (JA), Vol. CCXLVI, No. 2, 1958, p. 125-142.
2. *Loc.cit.*, p. 126
3. Cf. "Le pays khmer avant Angkor", *Journal des Savants*, January-September 1986, p. 59-95.

4. *Inscription de Wat Sabap et de Wat Thong Thua*, edited by G. Coedès, BEFEO XXIV, p. 353-358
5. Edited by G. Coedès, JA, *ibid.*, p. 129-131
6. K 978, edited by G. Coedès in *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (IC), Vol. VII, p. 156-158

7. Cf. E. Seidenfaden : *Complément à l'inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge pour les quatre provinces du Siam Oriental* in BEFEO XXII (1922), p. 89-90
8. The text of these inscriptions, K 388 and K 389, has been edited by G. Coedès, in IC VI, p. 74 and 78. Hin Khon, "stone marker" is the name of the inscriptions and not the name of a place; cf. E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* II, p. 115.
9. *Inscription of Phu Khiew Kau (or Ph'u Khiao Kau)*, edited by G. Coedès, IC VII, p. 73
10. "Prospection des sites khmers au Siam" in *Coûts et profits en archéologie*, CNRS, Paris, 1980, p. 33-57 + 4 maps.
11. *Inscription of Bô Ika K 400*, edited by G. Coedès, IC VI, p. 83-85
12. Edited in RS IV, No. 117, p. 216-220
13. Edited by G. Coedès, RS II, No. 16, p. 4-5
14. *Inscription of Prañ Khan K 908*, edited by G. Coedès, BEFEO XLI, p. 255-301. The name of Śambūkapattana appears in the stanza CXVI.
15. Edited by C. Jacques, BEFEO LVI, p. 57-61
16. *Inscription of Prasat Prei Bat*, preserved at Khorat Museum, unedited.
17. *Inscription of Ban T'at T'ong*, edited by G. Coedès, IC VII, p. 94-98
18. Edited by G. Coedès, IC VII, p. 63-70. The mention of King Brahmaloka, posthumous name of Harshavarman II is on the southern door-jamb, 1.44.
19. K 1120, unedited.
20. *Inscription of Nong P'ang P'uey*, edited by G. Coedès, IC VII, p. 137-140.
21. This number of seventeen, produced by G. Coedès after a lacuna, was the total number of the hospital inscriptions.
22. Cf. *Les Etats hindouisés...*, p. 251-252.
23. *Cambodia after Angkor*. The chronicle evidence for the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, thesis for Ph.D., Yale University, 1977 (*published on demand by University Microfilms International*). The problem of these chronicles is notably discussed p. 372 sq.
24. Edited by G. Coedès and P. Dupont in BEFEO XLIII, p. 57-134
25. They concern the Khmer inscriptions K 1066, 1071, 1072 and 1090 which one can date only by palaeography and perhaps because they are mutilated, they leave no name of the king to be deciphered.
26. Edited by G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Vol. II, No. XIX
27. Edited by G. Coedès, IC VI, p. 297-299
28. Edited by G. Coedès, BEFEO XXIV, p. 345-352; the name of Dharaṇīndravarman is at 1. 23.
29. The upper half of this inscription, which has been known since a long time, was published by G. Coedès, IC V, p. 297-305. The lower half was recently discovered and studied (*though not yet edited*) by H.K.H. Princess Sirindhorn who could particularly correct the hypothesis proposed by G. Coedès when he could read only the upper fragment.
30. Edited by G. Coedès, IC IV, p. 209-231. It figures in the stanza CVIII which was already studied particularly in BEFEO XXIX, p. 306-307 (*and plate XLVI*) but it was not well deciphered and as a result the name of Lavodaya was not noticed.