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CHAPTER XI

CAMBODIA AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER; THE INTRODUCTION OF SINGHALESE BUDDHISM IN BURMA; AND THE JAVANESE KINGDOM OF SINGHASĀRI

Last Quarter of the Twelfth Century and First Two Thirds of the Thirteenth Century

1. CAMBODIA: JAYAVARMAN VII (1181–CA. 1218) AND THE ANNEXATION OF CHAMPA

Jayavarman VII inherited the difficult task of pulling Cambodia from the "sea of misfortune into which it had been plunged"[1] by the Cham invasion of 1177.

Through his father, Dharaṇīndravarman II, he was a second cousin of Sūryavarman II, and through his mother, Chūḍāmaṇi, daughter of Harshavarman III, he was a descendant of the kings of the dynasty that had reigned over the country for almost the whole of the eleventh century and that was related, on the female side, to the ancient kings of pre-Angkorian Cambodia. He was born at the latest in 1125,[2] during the reign of Sūryavarman II, and he married, undoubtedly while still young, Princess Jayarājadevī, who seems to have had great influence over him.

Jayavarman left Cambodia—just when is not known—to conduct a military expedition in Champa, at Vijaya (Binh-đinh), where he learned of the death of his father, the accession of Yaśovarman II, and finally of the usurpation of Tribhuvanāditya. "He returned in great haste to aid King Yaśovarman," says the stele of the Phimeanakas. We may assume that he also wanted to assert his rights to the throne. "But," continues the inscription, "Yaśovarman had been stripped of throne and life by the usurper, and Jayavarman remained in Cambodia waiting for the propitious moment to save the land heavy with crimes." He had to wait fifteen years.

When the Cham invasion had rid the country of the usurper, Jayavarman realized that the hour had come. But before proclaiming himself king, he had to deliver the country from the invaders. He waged a series of battles against the Chams; especially noteworthy was a naval battle—represented in almost identical fashion

on the walls of the Bayon and of Banteay Ch'mar—that finally succeeded in liberating the country.[3]

By 1181, four years after the invasion of 1177, Cambodia had become calm again and Jayavarman had himself crowned. He then undertook the restoration of the capital, encircling it with the moats and the wall that constitute the enclosures of present-day Angkor Thom.[4]

At the time of the Cham invasion, Jayavarman, in the words of Ma Tuan-lin,[5] "decided to wreak terrible vengeance on his enemies, which he succeeded in doing after eighteen years of patient dissimulation."

But, before keeping his oath and waging war against the Chams, he had to cope with a revolt in the interior of his states that broke out at Malyang, in the south of the modern province of Battambang.[6] To put it down, he solicited the assistance of a young refugee Cham prince, who is described in a Cham inscription of Mi-sơn[7] in these terms:

> When he was in the prime of youth, in *śaka* 1104 [1182 A.D.], Prince Vidyānandana went to Cambodia. The king of Cambodia, seeing that he had all the thirty-three marks [of the fated man], took an interest in him and taught him, like a prince, all the sciences and military skills. While he was living in Cambodia, a city in this kingdom named Malyang, which was inhabited by a throng of wicked men over whom the Cambodians had established their mastery, revolted against the king of Cambodia. This king, seeing that the prince was well versed in military science, charged him with leading the Cambodian troops to take the city of Malyang. He complied completely with the wishes of the king of Cambodia. This king, seeing his valor, conferred on him the high rank of Yuvarāja and gave him all the possessions and good things that could be found in the kingdom of Cambodia.

This young Cham prince served as an instrument of Jayavarman's revenge against Champa. Jayavarman prepared for this revenge, the fruit of long years of "patient dissimulation," by making sure of the neutrality of the emperor of Đai Viêt, Ly Cao-tông, in 1190.[8] He then had only to wait for a propitious occasion. This was offered him the same year by a new attack of the Cham king Jaya Indravarman ong Vatuv.[9]

Did he himself take part in the battle against Champa? We are not certain, although an inscription of the temple of Po Nagar at Nha-trang says that he "took the capital of Champa and carried off all the lingas."[10] In any case, he entrusted the command of his troops to the young Cham prince Vidyānandana. This prince seized the capital Vijaya (Binh-đinh) and King Jaya Indravarman, whom he brought back as a prisoner to Cambodia. In Jaya Indravarman's place he put Prince In, the brother-in-law of King Jayavarman VII, who took the reign name Sūryajayavarmadeva. Vidyānandana carved out a kingdom for himself to the south, at Pāṇḍuranga, under the name of Sūryavarmadeva. Thus Champa was divided between two kings, one of whom was related to the king of Cambodia and the other enfeoffed to him. This state of affairs did not last long. A revolt at Vijaya drove the brother-in-law of Jayavarman VII back to Cambodia and put in his place the Cham prince Rashupati (Jaya Indravarman V). Vidyānandana, i.e., Sūryavarmadeva, master at Phan-rang, took advantage of this revolt to throw off the yoke of the king of Cambodia and reunify the country in his own interest, killing successively the two Jaya Indravarmans, the one from Vijaya (i.e., Rashupati) and the other the former prisoner of Cambodia, whom Jayavarman VII had probably sent against Vidyānandana.

By 1192, Vidyānandana-Sūryavarmadeva was reigning "without opposition" over the unified country.[11] In 1193 and 1194, Jayavarman VII tried unsuccessfully to bring him back to obedience.[12] It was not until 1203 that the Cham king's paternal uncle, the Yuvarāja ong Dhanapatigrāma, in the pay of Cambodia, succeeded in expelling him.[13] Vidyānandana-Sūryavarmadeva requested asylum from the emperor of Đai Viêt; he was turned down, even though the emperor had granted him investiture in 1199, and he disappeared without a trace. From 1203 to 1220, Champa was a Khmer province, under the government of the Yuvarāja ong Dhanapatigrāma, who was soon joined by a grandson of King Jaya Harivarman I, Prince Angśarāja of Turai-vijaya, who had been raised at the court of Jayavarman VII and promoted by him in 1201 to the rank of Yuvarāja.[14] This prince led the Cambodian troops, with Burmese and Siamese contingents, against Đai Viêt in 1207.[15] We shall see that in 1226 he became king of Champa under the name Jaya Parameśvaravarman II. During this reign Khmer art continued to have some influence on Cham art at Binh-đinh.[16]

Jayavarman VII's quarrels with his neighbors to the east did not prevent him from extending the limits of his empire in the north and west. The northernmost of the Cambodian inscriptions,

that of Sai Fọng, on the Mekong across from Wiangčhan, dated 1186, dates from his reign.

The list of the dependencies of Chenla given by Chao Ju-kua in 1225,[17] but borrowed in part from the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* of 1178, shows that Cambodia then exercised at least nominal suzerainty over a part of the Malay Peninsula and even into Burma. Expressing the same general idea, an inscription of Jayavarman dated 1191 [18] tells us that his daily wash-water was furnished by "the Brahmans beginning with Sūryabhaṭṭa, by the king of Java, by the king of the Yavanas, and by the two kings of the Chams." The Brahman Sūryabhaṭṭa was probably the chief court Brahman. The king of the Yavanas was the emperor of Đai Viêt who came to the throne in 1175 under the name of Ly Cao-tông and reigned until 1210. The king of Java was undoubtedly Kāmeśvara. The two kings of Champa were, as we have just seen, Sūryajayavarmadeva, king at Vijaya (Binh-đinh), brother-in-law of Jayavarman VII, and Sūryavarmadeva, king at Pāṇḍuranga (Phan-rang), the former Prince Vidyānandana, protégé of Jayavarman VII. We know that the tribute of water was a sign of allegiance. It is possible that the two kings of Champa actually paid such tribute, but it is infinitely less likely that the two others did.

At the death of Jayarājadevī, the king conferred the title of first queen on her elder sister Indradevī, who "surpassed in her knowledge the knowledge of philosophers" and whom he had named principal teacher at a Buddhist monastery, where she instructed the women. It was she who composed in impeccable Sanskrit the inscription of the Phimeanakas,[19] a panegyric of her sister, from which we draw most of our biographical information concerning the career of Jayavarman VII.

We do not know the exact date of Jayavarman VII's death,[20] but he probably reigned until around 1218.[21] He received the posthumous name Mahāparamasaugata.[22]

In physical appearance, he was a rather corpulent man with heavy features who wore his hair pulled back on top of his head in a small chignon. All these details, which appear clearly on the bas-reliefs,[23] are found on four statues which obviously represent the same person and are almost certainly portraits of Jayavarman VII.[24]

From the exceptionally rich biographical data on Jayavarman VII emerges the image of an energetic, ambitious man who, after

long years of waiting and trial, saved his country from ruin and raised it to the height of its power. The inscriptions represent him as a fervent Buddhist who received this faith from his father Dharaṇīndravarman II, who had broken with the tradition of his Hindu predecessors and "found his satisfaction in this nectar that is the religion of Śākyamuni." [25] Theirs was the Buddhism of the Greater Vehicle. Devotion to Lokeśvara was central in their Mahayanist faith; it was in the form of this compassionate Bodhisattva that individuals, dead or even living, were apotheosized.

Although we can scarcely doubt that Jayavarman VII was personally a Buddhist, we nevertheless observe that Brahmans continued to play a more than negligible role at court. An inscription of Angkor Thom [26] tells us about the curious figure of a Brahman scholar who "having learned that Cambodia was full of eminent experts on the Veda, came here to manifest his knowledge." His name was Hṛishīkeśa; he belonged to the Brahmanic clan of the Bhāradvāja and came from Narapatideśa, "which can be identified with some probability with Burma, where King Narapatisithu was reigning at precisely this time." [27] Jayavarman VII made him his chief priest *(purohita)* and conferred on him the title of Jayamahāpradhāna. He continued to serve under the two successors of Jayavarman VII.

The personality of Jayavarman VII, which the inscriptions provide only glimpses of, finds full expression in the architectural work he conceived. This work consists of Angkor Thom with its walls, its moats, its five gateways, and the Bayon in the center; it consists, in the environs of the capital, of Banteay Kdei, Ta Prohm, Preah Khan, Neak Peân, and a whole group of sanctuaries of lesser importance; it consists of Banteay Ch'mar in the northwest, Vat Nokor at Kompong Cham, Ta Prohm at Bati, almost all characterized by towers decorated with large human faces; [28] it consists of the rest houses placed along the long raised highways, many of which may have been laid out by him; and it consists of 102 hospitals widely distributed throughout the kingdom.

In view of the extensiveness of this work, we may ask ourselves whether in certain cases he might not have finished monuments begun by his predecessors and taken full credit for them himself or whether, on the other hand, the edifices begun by him might not have been finished by his successor. One flaw in the first hypothesis is the fact that from the end of the reign of

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Sūryavarman II, the creator of Angkor Wat, to the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman VII the country was prey to a series of revolutions, a situation scarcely favorable to the construction of large architectural groups.[29] The second hypothesis would have greater validity if there had not been, as I believe there was,[30] a temporary restoration of Sivaite orthodoxy, which encouraged acts of vandalism from which the monuments of Jayavarman VII suffered, preceding the reign of his second successor, Jayavarman VIII, in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The earliest of these monuments is perhaps Banteay Kdei, which was constructed east of the capital on the ancient site of Kuṭi [31] and directly to the east of which is the magnificent basin, still full of water in all seasons, that is called the Sras Srang, or "Royal Bath." Lacking the stele which would undoubtedly have told us the ancient name, we can suppose that Banteay Kdei corresponded to the Pūrvatathāgata, or "Buddha of the East," of the inscriptions.[32]

Rājavihāra, today Ta Prohm, so close to Banteay Kdei that its southeast corner almost touches the northwest corner of Banteay Kdei, was constructed in 1186 to shelter an image of the queen mother Jayarājachūḍāmaṇi in the form of Prajñāpāramitā (the "Perfection of Insight," mystic mother of the Buddhas) and an image of Jayamangalārtha, guru of the king.[33]

Five years after Ta Prohm, in 1191, the king dedicated north of the capital the temple of Jayaśrī, which today bears the name Preah Khan and which was designed to shelter the statue of his father, King Dharaṇīndravarman II, deified in the form of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara under the name Jayavarmeśvara.[34]

Among the lesser structures of Preah Khan the foundation stele of the temple mentions the little temple of Rājyaśrī, built in the middle of the great artificial lake dug to the east of the monument. This temple, now known under the name Neak Peân, is described as "an eminent island, deriving its charm from its lake and cleansing the impurity of sin from those who come to it." It is the architectural representation of Lake Anavatāpta, which, according to Indian tradition, is located in the confines of the Himalayas, and its waters gush out of gargoyles in the form of the heads of animals.[35]

From around 1190 on, important alterations, particularly the construction of towers with human faces and of new encircling galleries, were made in earlier monuments. It was also at the end of the reign that work was begun on Banteay Ch'mar and on the Bayon, or central temple of Angkor Thom, which was situated in the geometric center of the restored city. It is important to note that both the Bayon and the twelve-kilometer wall around the city were new. Although the architectural symbolism of the Bayon is obscured by the fact that its plan underwent two, or perhaps three, modifications in the course of its execution,[36] we can state that its central solid mass corresponds to the central mountain of the ancient capitals. Instead of the Devarāja of the preceding reigns represented by a gold linga, however, the central sanctuary sheltered an enormous stone statue [37] of the Buddharāja. This statue was not only a Buddhist substitute for the Sivaite Devarāja but also a statue of apotheosis of the founder king, whose features are undoubtedly also to be seen on the upper parts of the towers in the form of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara Samantamukha, "who has faces in all directions." [38] The interior and exterior galleries of the Bayon are covered with bas-reliefs which are invaluable for understanding the material life of the Khmers in the twelfth century.[39]

The inscriptions engraved at the entrance of the chapels of the Bayon [40] reveal further that it was a sort of pantheon where the family cults of the king and the provincial cults of the country were centered. Just as the city with its wall and central mountain represents the universe in miniature, the Bayon represents the kingdom in miniature.

Four axial avenues extend in the four directions from the Bayon; these avenues are augmented by a fifth that begins at the entrance of the old Royal Palace, an inheritance from the preceding reigns, and proceeds to the east. These avenues lead to five monumental gates, each of which reproduces the basic motif of the central temple, that is, the tower with human faces looking toward the four cardinal points. Outside the gates the city is approached by causeways flanked by balustrades in the form of *nāgas*. These balustrades symbolize the rainbow, which in Indian tradition is the connecting link between the world of men and the world of the gods, represented on earth by the royal city.

Among the numerous religious monuments of the king enumerated in the stele of Preah Khan [42] are twenty-three statues named Jayabuddhamahānātha that have been preserved in many

cities, among which are Lopburi, Suphan, Ratburi, Phetchaburi, and Mưang Sing, all of which are in Thailand today. The name given to these statues recalls that of the king. Perhaps it was in order to shelter these statues that some of the provincial sanctuaries, whose style permits us to attribute them to the reign of Jayavarman VII, were built: for example, Vat Nokor of Kompong Cham and Ta Prohm of Bati.[43] As for Banteay Ch'mar,[44] it was a temple consecrated to the memory of one of the sons of Jayavarman VII, Prince Śrīndrakumāra, and four companions in arms who saved the life of the prince, notably at the time of his combat against the monster Rāhu[45] and in the course of a military expedition in Champa.

The stele of Preah Khan[46] mentions 121 "houses with fire," or rest houses, about fifteen kilometers apart, built by Jayavarman VII along the routes cutting across the kingdom: fifty-seven are on the route from Angkor to the capital of Champa (Phan-rang or Vijaya in Binh-đinh), seventeen (of which eight have been found) on the route from Angkor to Phimai on the Khorat Plateau, forty-four on a circuit marked by cities the locations of which are still uncertain, one at Phnom Chisor, and two others that are still unidentified. A century later, this system still existed and caught the attention of the Chinese envoy Chou Ta-kuan, who wrote in the account of his voyage: "On the major roads there are rest houses comparable to our post houses."[47]

The creation of rest houses was coupled with the construction of 102 hospitals,[48] distributed throughout the entire country. We are sure of the sites of about fifteen of them, thanks to the discovery *in situ* of their foundation steles, the Sanskrit texts of which are almost uniformly identical.[49] If we add seventeen other monuments that are similar in architectural arrangement to the remains in which the steles were found and that seem to date from the same period, we can say that we know the locations of more than thirty of the 102 hospitals of Jayavarman VII, or close to a third.[50]

The foundation steles give us interesting information on the organization[51] of these establishments, which were placed under the protection of the healer Buddha, Bhaishajyaguru Vaidūryaprabhā, "the master of remedies who has the brilliance of beryl," who is still one of the most popular Buddhas today in China and Tibet.[52]

Such, in short, was the work of Jayavarman VII, a very heavy program for a people who were already exhausted by the wars and the constructions of Sūryavarman II and who henceforth would find themselves helpless against the attacks of their neighbors.

2. BURMA: NARAPATISITHU (1173–1210) AND THE INTRODUCTION OF SINGHALESE BUDDHISM

The Glass Palace Chronicle claims that Narapatisithu (Narapatijayasūra, or Jayasūra II), who became king at Pagan in 1173 after the murder of his older brother Naratheinkha (Narasingha), began his reign by ridding himself of the perpetrator of the crime that he himself had ordered as the principal counselor of the late king.[53] But epigraphy says nothing about these events, although this does not mean that they are necessarily entirely imaginary.

At the beginning of his reign, Narapatisithu had a disagreement with the representative of King Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon, a representative who was established in one of the ports of the delta, probably Bassein. The vexation of the king mounted to such a point that he imprisoned Singhalese envoys and tradesmen and seized their merchandise and finally captured a princess of Ceylon who was crossing Burma on her way to Cambodia. The result was a retaliatory raid launched by Parākramabāhu in 1180. Surprised by a storm, the Singhalese boats were scattered. One of them landed at Kākadīpa ("island of the crows"), five others at Kusumi (Bassein); the one carrying the leader of the expedition reached Papphāla. The Singhalese disembarked pillaging, burning, massacring, and taking prisoners.[54]

This raid did not keep the relations between Ceylon and Burma from drawing closer on the spiritual plane. Panthagu, successor of Shin Arahan as the head of the Buddhist clergy, had left Pagan in 1167 after the first crimes of King Narathu and had gone to Ceylon;[55] he returned to Burma shortly after the accession of Narapatisithu. He died in Pagan at the age of ninety, shortly after 1173, apparently not without having praised the excellence of Singhalese Buddhism, which was then being reinvigorated by King Parākramabāhu I (around 1153–86), who recognized the orthodoxy of the sect of Mahāvihāra.[56] The successor of Panthagu, a Mon named Uttarajīva, embarked for Ceylon in 1180[57] with a group of monks, bearers of a message of peace addressed to the

sovereign of the island.[58] He left there a young Mon novice, twenty years old, named Chapaṭa, who remained in Ceylon for ten years and returned in 1190 with four other monks who, like him, had received ordination according to the rites of the Mahāvihāra; one of them, Tāmalinda, was a son of the king of Cambodia,[59] undoubtedly Jayavarman VII.

Their return brought about a schism in the Burmese church, which, we remember, had been founded by Shin Arahan, a disciple of the Kānchī school,[60] and marked the beginning of the permanent establishment of Singhalese Buddhism on the Indochinese Peninsula.[61] Chapaṭa, also known as Saddhammajotipāla, was the author of a series of works in Pali, notably the grammatical treatise *Suttaniddesa* and the *Sankhepavaṇṇanā*, a commentary on the compendium of metaphysics named *Abhidhammatthasangaha*.[62]

Another Mon monk of the same sect, Dhammavilāsa, who as a monk was known as Sāriputta, was the author of the first collection of laws composed in the Mon country, the *Dhammavilasa Dhammathat,* written in Pali and known through a Burmese translation of the eighteenth century.[63]

In 1197, Narapatisithu received new relics from Ceylon.[64]

Narapatisithu, whose authority extended to Mergui and to the Shan states, seems to have had quite a peaceful and prosperous reign which permitted him to develop his irrigation works.[65] He enriched his capital with several monuments, of which the two main ones were: Sulamani [66] (1183), which marks the final decline of Mon influence; and Gôdôpalin (before 1230).

Before dying in 1210, he chose as heir apparent his young son Zeyatheinkha (Jayasiṃha), whose mother was a concubine,[67] and succeeded in getting him recognized by his elder brothers of higher rank.[68]

3. INDONESIA AT THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY: THE WEAKENING OF ŚRĪVIJAYA (PALEMBANG) TO THE BENEFIT OF MALĀYU (JAMBI)

We have already mentioned the embassy to China from San-fo-ch'i in 1178, the last registered in the *History of the Sung*. This same year saw the publication of the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei, the information in which was reproduced for the most part in 1225 in the *Chu-fan-chih* of Chao Ju-kua.[69] In reading

Chao Ju-kua, we get the impression that the Sumatran kingdom was beginning to break apart by the end of the twelfth century: Chan-pei (Jambi), the former Malāyu, is not listed among the dependencies of San-fo-ch'i, and the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* says that as early as 1079, and then in 1082 and 1088, this state had sent embassies to China on its own initiative.[70] Tan-ma-ling, Ling-ya-ssu-chia, Fo-lo-an, Sin-t'o, Chien-t'o, Chien-pi (Kampe), and Lan-wu-li (Achin), although listed among the dependencies of San-fo-ch'i, were the subject of separate notices,[71] and concerning Chien-pi the text explicitly states that "formerly it was a dependency of San-fo-ts'i, but, after a fight, it set up a king of its own." [72]

If it is premature to speak of the decline of Śrīvijaya as early as 1178,[73] it is nevertheless necessary to take into account new factors in the large island, especially concerning Malāyu (Jambi), which perhaps as early as this period became the center of gravity of the empire of the maharaja at the expense of Palembang.[74] In 1183, a king named Trailokyarāja Maulibhūshaṇavarmadeva cast a bronze Buddha called the "Buddha of Grahi" at Chaiya on the Bay of Bandọn.[75] the name of this king recalls in striking fashion the title system in use in Malāyu,[76] and we wonder if the king responsible for this statue on the Malay Peninsula was not a king of Malāyu.

Whether it had its center at Palembang or at Jambi, the Sumatran kingdom known to the Chinese under the name of San-fo-ch'i was still a great power, "an important thoroughfare," says Chou Ch'ü-fei, "on the sea-routes of the Foreigners on their way to and from (China)," [77] and continued to draw its power from the simultaneous possession of the two shores of the straits.

In Java, during the last two decades of the twelfth century, we know the names of two kings of Kaḍiri: Kāmeśvara and Śṛinga.

For Kāmeśvara we have inscriptions of 1182 and 1185.[78] During his reign Tanakung composed the metric treatise named *Vṛittasanchaya*.[79] It was also during his reign that Dharmaja wrote the *Smaradahana,* a poem tracing the history of Love reduced to cinders by Siva [80] but also a poem written for the times, as its name alone clearly shows.[81] Kāmeśvara's wife was a princess of Janggala, and it was perhaps this royal couple who served as the historical basis for the tales of the Raden Panji cycle,[82] which be-

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came very popular and, under the name *Inao* (Javanese *Hino*), spread to Thailand [83] and to Cambodia [84] and became very popular there also.

For Śṛinga, who will be discussed later under his name Kṛitajaya, we have inscriptions dated from 1194 to 1205.[85]

The commercial prosperity of Java in this period is apparent from a remark by Chou Ch'ü-fei in his *Ling-wai Tai-ta* (1178): "Of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpass the realm of the Arabs (Ta-shï). Next to them comes Java (Shö-p'o); the third is Palembang (San-fo-ts'i). . . ." [86]

In Bali, the inscriptions between 1178 and 1181 are in the name of Jayapangus; [87] those of 1204, in the name of Adikuntiketana and his son Parameśvara.[88] The funerary site and the stone cloister of Tampak Siring, one of the archaeological curiosities of the island,[89] date from this period.

4. CAMBODIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The circumstances in which the critical succession to the throne vacated by Jayavarman VII took place are very obscure. He had many sons, of whom we know at least four: Sūryakumāra, author of the inscription of Ta Prohm; [90] Vīrakumāra, author of the inscription of Preah Khan [91] and son of the queen Rājendradevī; ———indravarman, governor of Lavo [92] and son of the queen Jayarājadevī; and finally Śrīndrakumāra, whose statue, surrounded by those of four companions in arms, was placed in the central chapel of Banteay Ch'mar.[93] Was it Śrīndrakumāra who succeeded his father under the name of Indravarman (II)? The similarity of the names proves little. Moreover, if, as it appears from the inscription of Banteay Ch'mar,[94] Śrīndrakumāra was old enough to aid King Yaśovarman II against Rāhu before 1165, it is difficult to believe that he was still living in 1243, the date of the death of Indravarman II.[95] The lack of epigraphy for the whole beginning of the thirteenth century condemns us to ignorance.

We are informed by Chinese and Vietnamese sources that in 1216 and in 1218 "for the last time, Cambodian armies descended on Nghê-an; they came through Champa and with a contingent of troops of that country; the allies were nevertheless defeated again and had to withdraw." [96] In 1220, the Cambodians evacuated Champa,[97] restoring the throne of Vijaya to the Cham

prince Angśarāja of Turai-vijaya. Angśarāja was the eldest son of Jaya Harivarman II, who, as we have seen, had been raised at the court of Jayavarman VII and had been returned to his country at the beginning of the Khmer occupation.[98] This retreat of Cambodia, contemporaneous with the emancipation of the Thai principalities, was perhaps a consequence of the death of Jayavarman VII.[99]

In his *Chu-fan-chih*, published in 1225, Chao Ju-kua refers to the wars between Cambodia and Champa in the last quarter of the twelfth century and to the annexation of the second by the first.[100] According to Chao Ju-kua, Cambodia touched, on the south, Chia-lo-hsi (Grahi), a vassal of San-fo-ch'i situated, as we have seen, on the Malay Peninsula at the latitude of the Bay of Bandọn.[101] Its dependencies were:

Teng-liu-mei (on the Malay Peninsula),[102]
Po-ssu-lan (on the coast of the Gulf of Siam),
Lo-hu (Lavo, Lopburi),
San-lo (the country of Syāṃ on the upper Menam?),[103]
Chen-li-fu (on the coast of the Gulf of Siam),[104]
Ma-lo-wen (perhaps Malyang, in the south of Battambang),
Lu-yang (?),
T'un-li-fu (?),
P'u-kan (Pagan),
Wa-li (in upper Burma),
Si-p'eng (?),
Tu-huai-sün (?).

This list shows that, on the eve of the Thai expansion, Cambodia was still master of the Menam Basin and of a part of the Malay Peninsula. Its claims over Burma were perhaps based on the fact that Burmese contingents accompanied Cambodian armies in their expedition of 1207 against Đai Viêt.[105]

We know only one date for King Indravarman II, that of his death, 1243.[106]

5. CHAMPA AFTER THE END OF THE KHMER OCCUPATION (1220–57)

That it was impossible for the successor of Jayavarman VII to maintain the unity of the Cambodian empire became clear in Champa as early as 1220. In this year, says an inscription, "the Khmers went to the sacred country and the people of Champa

came to Vijaya."[107] This evacuation, voluntary or imposed, was followed six years later by the coronation, under the name of Jaya Parameśvaravarman (II),[108] of Prince Angśarāja of Turai-vijaya, who, we recall, was a grandson of Jaya Harivarman I and had been brought up at the court of Jayavarman VII.[109] "Thus ends," says Georges Maspero,[110] "this Hundred Years' War between the Chams and the Khmers. The latter, henceforth engrossed with a new enemy, Siam, no longer will dream of the conquest of Champa. They will limit themselves, for centuries, merely to following the events that will occur in this kingdom. Adventurers greedy for booty and glory will go to the head of irregular bands, putting their forces at the service of various pretenders and playing a large part in all the civil wars." A great part of the reign of Jaya Parameśvaravarman II was taken up with the restoration of irrigation works and the rebuilding of ruins that had accumulated in the country during the wars. "He reestablished all the lingas of the south save those of Yang Pu Nagara [Po Nagar of Nha-trang] and the lingas of the north save those of Śrīśānabhadreśvara [Mi-sơn]."[111]

Toward the end of his reign, he came into conflict with Đai Viêt, where a new dynasty, the Trân, had been reigning since 1225. The emperor Trân Thai-tông sent to the Cham king protests against the incessant piracy to which the Chams subjected the coasts of Đai Viêt; Jaya Parameśvaravarman responded by demanding the retrocession of the three provinces of the north, a constant source of trouble between the two countries. In 1252, the emperor of Đai Viêt himself led a punitive expedition that brought back many prisoners, among whom were dignitaries and women of the palace.[112]

This conflict may have resulted in the death of the king, for shortly afterward we find on the throne his younger brother, Prince Harideva of Sakañ-vijaya, who as Yuvarāja had in 1249 conducted an expedition against Pāṇḍuranga.[113] This new king, who "knew all the sciences and was versed in the philosophy of the various schools,"[114] took Jaya Indravarman (VI) as his reign name. He reigned for only a short time; in 1257 he was assassinated by his nephew Harideva.[115]

6. BURMA: THE LAST KINGS OF PAGAN (1210–74)

The Glass Palace Chronicle says that, before dying in 1210, Narapatisithu chose as his heir his young son

siṃha), also known as Nadaungmya, whose mother was a concubine; that his other brothers of higher birth accepted him because "the royal parasol miraculously inclined itself" toward him (hence the name T'i-lo-min-lo by which he is known); and that the new king had the wisdom to relinquish power to his brothers.[116] It seems that in reality things happened differently: Zeyatheinkha resigned only part of his power to his ministers after his accession to the throne in 1211.[117] His reign, which came to an end no later than 1231, was marked by the construction of the last two great monuments of the capital, the Mahabodhi,[118] a replica of the famous temple of Bodhgaya in India, and the T'i-lo-min-lo,[119] built on the spot where "the parasol inclined itself."

If we believe the *Chronicle*, T'i-lo-min-lo was succeeded by his son Kyôzwa, a prince of great piety who abandoned effective power to his son Uzana so that he could spend his days with the Buddhist monks.[120] But, according to epigraphy, Nadaungmya was succeeded first by his eldest son Narasiṃha Uzana,[121] then in 1235 by his younger son Kyôzwa (I).[122] Kyôzwa strengthened internal security and restored finances. His reign was marked by some literary activity, especially grammatical.[123] He died in 1250. Uzana, who was both his nephew and his son-in-law, succeeded him; he reigned only four years and died in a hunting accident.[124]

At Uzana's death in 1256, the legitimate heir, Thingathu (Singhasūra), was supplanted by Narathihapate (Narasīhapati),[125] the sixteen-year-old son of a concubine. He is known by the name Tarukphyi, "he who fled before the Taruks [Mongols]." The *Chronicle* says that the minister Yazathinkyan (Rājasankrama), to whom he owed his elevation, was quickly brushed aside, as one removes the scaffolding once the pagoda is built,[126] but was soon recalled to repress the troubles at Martaban and in Arakan.[127] We have no epigraphic proof of these assertions.

In 1274 the king undertook the construction of the temple of Mingalazedi (Mangalachetiya) as a site for statues of the princes and princesses of the dynasty. Soothsayers predicted that the temple's completion would mark the end of the kingdom.[128] Pagan did in fact soon fall into the hands of the Mongols.

7. ŚRĪVIJAYA ON THE EVE OF ITS DISMEMBERMENT (1225–70)

Despite the portents of its approaching breakup, San-fo-ch'i was still a great power at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

P'eng-feng (Pahang),
Teng-ya-nung (Trengganu),
Ling-ya-ssu-chia (Langkasuka),
Chi-lan-tan (Kelantan),
Fo-lo-an (Kuala Berang),[130]
Jih-lo-t'ing (on the eastern coast of the peninsula?),[131]
Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a (?),[132]
Tan-ma-ling (Tāmbralinga, in the region of Ligor),
Chia-lo-hsi (Grahi, on the Bay of Bandọn),[133]
Pa-lin-feng (Palembang),
Sin-t'o (Sunda, western Java),[134]
Chien-pi (Kampe, on the east coast of Sumatra),
Lan-wu-li (Lāmurī, northern extremity of Sumatra),
Si-lan (Ceylon?).

This list covers all of the Malay Peninsula south of the Bay of Bandọn and all of western Indonesia; the maharaja always drew his strength from the simultaneous possession of the two shores of the strait: Śrīvijaya-Kaṭāha, or Sribuza-Kalah.

This thalassocracy, however, seems to have degenerated into an outright piratical enterprise. "This country," writes Chao Ju-kua,[135] "lying in the ocean and controlling the straits through which foreigners' sea and land traffic, in either direction must pass. . . . If a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack, and all are ready to die (in the attempt). This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre."

We have seen in the preceding chapter that, by the end of the eleventh century, Kampe and Malāyu, on the eastern coast of Sumatra, had broken away from Śrīvijaya. Chao Ju-kua no longer includes Jambi or Malāyu in his list, but he includes Palembang, which, consequently, could no longer have been the capital of the empire.[136] The weakening of the empire's authority is undeniably established in 1230 on the Malay Peninsula. At this date, Dharmarāja Chandrabhānu, King of Tāmbralinga (Ligor), belonging to the "family of the lotus" (*padmavaṃśa*), had an inscription engraved [137] at Chaiya, on the former site of Grahi, which had undoubtedly recently been annexed. This inscription shows every sign of emanating from an independent sovereign.[138] Chandrabhānu is named in the Singhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* with the epithet of the king of the Jāvakas, and it must also have been he who appeared in the epigraphy of the Pāṇḍyas of southernmost India [139] with a title of

Śāvakan. Comparative study of these texts [140] and of the Pali chronicle *Jinakālamālī* [141] permits us to state that in 1247 Chandrabhānu, perhaps with the peaceful intention of obtaining a relic or an image of the Buddha, sent a mission to Ceylon that ended in an armed conflict and the probable establishment of a colony of Jāvakas on the island. Around 1263, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya was called to Ceylon to put down disturbances that resulted from the establishment of the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍyas on the island in 1258 by his brother Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. He had to fight against two Singhalese princes and a Jāvaka prince, perhaps a son of Chandrabhānu, who was established at Ceylon and whose submission he obtained. Around 1270 Chandrabhānu sent a second expedition, this time to demand the tooth relic and the bowl of the Buddha; he suffered a new and serious defeat.[142]

The weakening of Tāmbralinga, the most important of the dependencies of Śrīvijaya on the peninsula, which maintained only very loose ties with the Sumatran mother country, was to facilitate the task of the Thai conqueror some twenty years later. Chandrabhānu, moreover, seems to have maintained friendly relations with the Thai,[143] perhaps already indicating a sort of recognition of the suzerainty of Sukhothai.[144] But the first blow was dealt Śrīvijaya by Java, whose history during the first three quarters of the thirteenth century must now be traced.

8. JAVA: THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI (1222) AND THE BEGINNING OF THE KINGDOM OF SINGHASĀRI (UP TO 1268) [145]

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the throne of Kaḍiri was occupied by Kṛitajaya (also known as Śṛinga).[146] Near the end of his reign (in 1222), an adventurer named Angrok, who had taken over the government of Tumapel northeast of Malang, brought the former Janggala under his power. He then took advantage of the first occasion that presented itself to revolt against his master, the king of Kaḍiri. The founding of a new dynasty at Tumapel in Janggala has been regarded as marking the reunion of the two kingdoms of Janggala and Panjalu (Kaḍiri), which constituted the two halves of the kingdom of Airlanga. Actually, Janggala, we recall, had from the start been absorbed by Kaḍiri [147] and the merger had in fact taken place long before. But, since Janggala contained the old capital, the usurper, in proclaiming himself sovereign in the more important of the two halves of the

kingdom of Airlanga, gave the impression of restoring the traditions of the former Javanese state.

The account of Java in the *Chu-fan-chih* of 1225 reflects the troubled situation in the second decade of the thirteenth century, and the contradictions of Chao Ju-kua are manifestly caused by the rapidity with which events moved, culminating in the final fall of Kaḍiri in 1222.

In his fourteenth chapter,[148] Chao Ju-kua uses the old name She-p'o, which he says is also called P'u-chia-long (Pekalongan), in giving information drawn for the most part from the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* of 1178. He concludes by saying that to prevent the smuggling of copper money outside of China, "Our Court has repeatedly forbidden all trade (with this country), but the foreign traders, for the purpose of deceiving (the government), changed its name and referred to it as Su-chi-tan." And it is under the name Su-chi-tan that Chao Ju-kua describes the Javanese kingdom of his times in his fifteenth chapter.

Su-chi-tan has been identified with several places, the most probable of which seems to be Sukadana, in the immediate vicinity of Surabaya.[149] The territory it covered is very difficult to determine, for the information given by Chao Ju-kua is contradictory. The reason for this is that the information is for various dates and the most recent seems to come after the fall of Kaḍiri. Thus, at the beginning of his chapter, Chao Ju-kua says that Su-chi-tan touches Sin-t'o (Sunda) in the west and Ta-pan (Tuban or Tumapel) in the east, thus giving it an area corresponding roughly to the territory of Kaḍiri without Janggala; this description assumes that Janggala is independent. But in the list of the dependencies of Su-chi-tan,[150] Chao Ju-kua includes Ta-pan and Jong-ya-lu (Janggala or Ujung Galuh, a port in the Brantas Delta), a statement that expresses a former state of affairs. Finally, at the end of his chapter on San-fo-ch'i,[151] Chao Ju-kua writes that this country (which includes Sin-t'o, or Sunda, among its dependencies) touches Jong-ya-lu on the east, which can only mean that Janggala not only became independent but even absorbed Kaḍiri.

Aside from Ta-pan and Jong-ya-lu, Chao Ju-kua mentions among the dependencies of Su-chi-tan: [152]

On the island of Java:
- Po-hua-yuan (?),
- Ma-teng (Medang),
- Hsi-ning (?),
- Teng-che (the eastern cape).

On the neighboring islands:
- Ta-kang (?),
- Huang-ma-chu (?),
- Ma-li (Bali?),
- Niu-lun (?),
- Tan-jung-wu-lo (Tanjong Pura, southwest Borneo),
- Ti-wu (Timor),
- P'ing-ya-i (Bangai, east of Celebes),
- Wu-nu-ku (the Moluccas).[153]

With Angrok, the founder of the kingdom of Tumapel, Javanese historiography assumes a new character that it is to retain until the end of the Indian period. It is in fact based to a great extent on two chronicles in Javanese, the *Nāgarakṛitāgama* of Prapancha (1365) [154] and the *Pararaton* (dating from the end of the fifteenth century).[155] These two Javanese chronicles, like the Burmese chronicles, give detailed biographies of the kings and persons of their entourage, details on their private lives, and accounts of the scandals and dramas of the court that epigraphy ignores.

Angrok was the son of peasants, but he had himself represented as a son of Śiva Girīndra ("Siva king of the mountain"),[156] an epithet that recalls, perhaps intentionally, the old title of the Śailendras. After spending his youth as a highway robber, he entered the service of Tungul Ametung, governor of Tumapel, whom he assassinated and whose wife Ḍeḍes he married.[157] He strengthened his position east of Mount Kawi and then took advantage of a conflict between King Kṛitajaya and the clergy, in which the clergy sided with him, to proclaim himself king under the name of Rājasa.[158]

In 1221 he marched on Kaḍiri and waged a decisive battle at Ganter,[159] the site of which is unidentified. Kṛitajaya fled and disappeared without a trace. Kaḍiri consequently became an integral part of the kingdom of Tumapel, which subsequently became better known by the name of its capital, Singhasāri, at first called Kuṭarāja.

After a reign of six years that seems to have been peaceful, Rājasa was assassinated in 1227 at the instigation of Anūshapati, son of Queen Ḍeḍes and the former governor of Tumapel. Anūshapati thus avenged the death of his father.[160]

Anūshapati, also known as Aṇūshanātha, then succeeded Rājasa and reigned until 1248. In that year, in the course of a cockfight, he in turn was assassinated by Tohjaya, son of Rājasa and a concubine.[161] His funerary temple is Chandi Kidal,[162] southeast of Malang, a monument still completely permeated with the Indo-Javanese classical tradition.

Tohjaya reigned only a few months in 1248 and met his death in a palace revolt fomented by his two nephews, Ranga Wuni, the son of Anūshanātha, and Mahīsha Champaka, the grandson of Rājasa.[163] These two princes reigned together, the first under the name Vishṇuvardhana and the second under that of Narasiṃhamūrti.[164] The main event of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana (1248–68) was the repression of the revolt of a certain Lingapati.[165] By 1254, Vishṇuvardhana had turned over effective power to his son Kṛitanagara, and it was at this time that the capital Kuṭarāja took the name of Singhasāri.[166] At his death, which took place in 1268, Vishṇuvardhana was deified in the form of Siva at Waleri (Meleri, near Blitar) and in the form of Amoghapāśa (one of the forms of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) at Jajaghu (Chandi Jago).[167] The famous temple of Chandi Jago, decorated with bas-reliefs illustrating episodes from various Indo-Javanese poems—the *Kunjarakarṇa*,[168] the *Pārthayajña*,[169] the *Arjunavivāha*,[170] and the *Kṛishṇāyana*[171]—is more Indonesian in style than preceding funerary monuments.[172] This decline of Indian culture, with the return to ancestral traditions of the autochthonous substratum, is a general phenomenon in Farther India in the thirteenth century.

To the internal causes of this decline that have been mentioned previously,[173] we can add two others here: the Muslim invasions in India, which, after having stimulated an exodus of intellectuals abroad,[174] dried up for a time the source on which the Indian colonies depended to reinvigorate themselves; and the Mongol conquests, which brought about the ruin of the old Indianized kingdoms, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Khmer Story Lovers

CHAPTER XII

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE MONGOL CONQUESTS

Last Third of the Thirteenth Century

The thirteenth century found all of Eurasia under the banner of the Mongols. Farther India did not escape their thrust, for from the time of his accession as Great Khan in 1260, Kublai Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan and conqueror of China (where he founded the new dynasty of Yuan in 1280), sought to obtain oaths of vassalage from the foreign sovereigns who had been offering such oaths to the Chinese Sung dynasty. Although in this area the Sino-Mongol armies met with only defeat or short-lived success, their impact produced deep repercussions, the most important of which was the advent of Thai power in the Menam Basin and Burma[1] with all its consequences for Cambodia and for the principalities of the Mekong and the Malay Peninsula.

1. THE THAI

The Thai, established in Yunnan, where for a long time it was believed they had founded the kingdom of Nanchao in the eighth century (it seems that actually a Tibeto-Burman dialect, Lolo or Min-chia, was spoken there),[2] were to achieve their independence only much later in the valleys of the central Indochinese Peninsula and of Burma. One hears occasionally of the "invasion of the Thai," a consequence of the "Mongol pressure" of the thirteenth century. Actually the Thai "invasion" was instead a gradual infiltration along the rivers and streams that had undoubtedly been going on for a very long time, part of the general drift of population from the north to the south that characterizes the peopling of the Indochinese Peninsula.[3] But it is a fact that around 1220, perhaps following the death of Jayavarman VII, which can be placed shortly before that date, there was a great deal of change and unrest on the southern borders of Yunnan. According to traditional dates, given here with a great deal of reservation,

the Thai principality of Mogaung, north of Bhamo, was founded in 1215; that of Moné or Mưang Nai, on a western tributary of the Salween, was founded in 1223; and Assam was conquered by the Thai in 1229.[4] At about the same time, the Thai chiefs of Chiangrung and Ngoen Yang (site of Chiangsaen) on the upper Mekong formed an alliance by means of a marriage between their children.[5] The legendary descent of Khun Bǫrom and the mass arrival of the Thai, via Nam U, at the site of Luang Phrabang probably date back to this same period.[6] By the middle of the thirteenth century, the Thai had already "drowned" the Khmer, Mon, and Indianized Burmese communities of the valleys of the south. And when the Thai had acquired some cohesion, their chiefs seem, in the internal organization of their principalities as well as in their policy toward the old Indian civilizations of the valleys and deltas, to have been inspired by the example of the Mongols, whose epic feats captured their imagination. We shall see that the inscription of Rāma Khamhaeng, the great Siamese conqueror of the end of the thirteenth century, even sounds sometimes like an echo of the exploits of Genghis Khan. For their part, the Mongols, after their seizure of Ta-li on January 7, 1253 and their pacification of Yunnan in 1257, did not look with disfavor on the creation of a series of Thai principalities at the expense of the old Indianized kingdoms, for they believed that these principalities would be easier to maintain in submission to the Middle Kingdom. But this combination of political events seems to have resulted not so much from a sudden change in the population stock of the peninsula as from the seizure of power by a governing class of Thai origin. In Burma, the seizure of Pagan by the Mongols in 1287 resulted in the temporary disappearance of the Burmese kingdom and the division of the country into principalities governed by Thai chiefs. In the upper Menam Basin, a Thai chief from Chiangrai drove the Mon dynasty from Haripunjaya and founded a new capital, Chiangmai, a short distance from the old one. At Sukhothai (Sukhodaya) a proclamation of independence was followed by a rapid conquest that resulted in the substitution of the government of the Thai for the Khmer administration in the Menam Basin and on the upper Mekong.

The Thai first enter the history of Farther India in the eleventh century with the mention of Syāṃ slaves or prisoners of war in Cham epigraphy, where they were included along with Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Burmese.[7] In the twelfth century,

the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat represent at the head of the great procession of the southern gallery a group of warriors who wear a costume entirely different from that of the Khmers and whom two short inscriptions identify as *Syāṃ*.[8] They were very probably Thai of the middle Menam, for it was to the kingdom of Sukhothai that the Chinese applied the name *Sien*, used for the first time by the *History of the Yuan* in connection with an embassy of 1282 sent by sea and intercepted by the Chams.[9]

These "savages," as the Syāṃ of Angkor Wat are sometimes called, were savages only in their dress. They must have had a social organization of which there are still some traces in the social organization of the Laotian principalities,[10] and of which the feudal regime of the Mưangs of upper Tongking and of Thanh-hoa undoubtedly gives an approximate idea.[11] Having lived for a long time in Yunnan in the orbit of Chinese civilization, they not only must have had a considerably advanced material culture but also must have had some contact with India and Buddhism by means of the route that joined India and China through Assam and Yunnan.[12] Such contact would explain the very clear evidence of the influence of the art of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal on the Buddhist art of the Thai in the northernmost part of the Menam Basin.[13] Moreover, the Thai have always been remarkable assimilators: they have never hesitated to appropriate for themselves whatever in the civilization of their neighbors and masters might place them in a position to fight victoriously against them.

The rapid success of the Thai in the Menam Basin was, as we shall see, the consequence of the weakening of Cambodia and also of the decline, then fall, of Burmese power under the blows of the Mongols. We are more and more disposed to believe that the Thai success was less the result of a mass migration than the consequence of the gradual engulfing of the sedentary populations (Mon-Khmer- or Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples) by immigrants who arrived in ever greater numbers and finally imposed themselves as masters over the earlier inhabitants.

2. CAMBODIA: DEFEAT OF A MONGOL INCURSION IN 1282

In Cambodia, Indravarman II was succeeded, perhaps not immediately, by Jayavarman VIII, during whose reign the Mongols made their appearance in Cambodia, although in a rather benign fashion.

In 1268, when the emperor of Đai Viêt complained to Kublai Khan of the attacks by Cambodia and Champa, the Great Khan ordered him to defend himself with the aid of Burmese contingents.[14] But it was only about fifteen years later that Cambodian territory was invaded by a Mongol force dispatched by a General Sogatu, who, as we shall see, was to invade the north and center of Champa in 1283. He sent to Cambodia, probably by the route from Quang-tri to Savannakhet,[15] a chief of a hundred and a chief of a thousand named Sulaymān. They "were captured and never returned."[16] Nevertheless, Cambodia found it prudent to offer tribute to Kublai Khan in 1285.[17] We shall see that Jayavarman VIII was less fortunate with the Thai of the Menam.

3. CHAMPA: THE MONGOL INVASION (1283–85)

In Champa, Harideva,[18] who had "seized the throne," took the royal name Jaya Siṃhavarman, then changed it in 1266 at the time of his coronation to Indravarman (V).[19] Anxious to preserve good-neighbor relations with Đai Viêt, he sent no less than four embassies there from 1266 to 1270. But he soon had to face a Mongol invasion.[20]

In 1278, then again in 1280, Indravarman V was invited to present himself at the court of Peking. He succeeded in avoiding this invitation by sending embassies and presents. But in 1281 Sogatu and Liu Shen were ordered to establish a Mongol administration in Champa. The populace, stirred up by Prince Harijit, son of the king, did not readily accept this protectorateship.

Then Kublai organized an expedition that lasted more than two years (1283–85). The details, which lie outside the scope of this work, are fairly well known. The retreat of the old king into the mountains[21] and the refusal of the Vietnamese to let the Mongol army pass over their territory resulted in a long, drawn-out, difficult battle that was scarcely popular among the assailants. The invasion of Tongking by Toghon, a son of Kublai, although it resulted in the seizure of the capital in 1285, turned out badly for the Mongols, who were finally defeated by Trân Nhân-tông in Thanh-hoa. Toghon was driven to the north, and Sogatu, who had come from the south to join him, after debarking in Champa was killed and decapitated.

"Thus Champa was rid of the Mongols, who lost many men and officers there without gaining any advantage to speak of. Indravarman V, desiring to prevent their return, sent an ambassador to Kublai, who was presented to him on October 6, 1285, at the same time as an envoy from Cambodia."[22]

Indravarman V, who, according to Marco Polo's account, was then "exceedingly old,"[23] must have died shortly afterward.

4. BURMA: FROM 1271 TO THE SEIZURE OF PAGAN BY THE MONGOLS (1287)

The Mongols annexed Yunnan in 1253–57, and in 1271, perhaps at the instigation of Thai intriguers, the governor of this province sent a mission to Burma charged with demanding the tribute of vassalage in the name of Kublai Khan.[24] King Narathihapate (Narasīhapati) did not receive the members of the mission and sent them back with an official bearing a message of friendship for the Great Khan.

In 1273, an embassy from Kublai, which left Peking on March 3, arrived in Pagan with a letter demanding the dispatch of a delegation of princes and ministers to the court of Peking. It is generally believed that King Narathihapate had the ambassadors executed, but it is possible that they were assassinated in Yunnan on their way back to China. The matter was reported to Peking by the governor of Yunnan, but the emperor decided to allow this insult to go unavenged for a little while.

In 1277, the Burmese invaded the State of the Golden Teeth, on the Taping upstream from Bhamo, which had submitted to Kublai. They did it, says Marco Polo,[25] "with such a force that the Great Kaan should never again think of sending another army into that province." The chief asked for the protection of Kublai Khan, who, deciding to act, entrusted the execution of his plans to the local garrisons. The army of Ta-li advanced toward the Burmese and defeated them on the banks of the river, but this was merely a border incident.

"During the winter of 1277–1278, a second Chinese expedition commanded by Nasr-uddin ended in the seizure of Kaung-sin, the Burmese stronghold that defended the Bhamo pass. . . . These two expeditions, however, did not succeed in penetrating beyond the thick curtain of the many small Thai principalities that today still separate Yunnan from Burma proper. The final catastrophe did not take place until 1283."[26]

It was in that year, 1283, that a new expedition commanded by Hsiang-wu-t'a-erh (Sangqudar), after a battle at Ngasaungkyam on December 3, took the fort of Kaung-sin again on December 9

and pushed farther south in the Irrawaddy Valley. It did not, however, reach Pagan. King Narathihapate evacuated Pagan before the imminent approach of the Chinese and fled to Prome. Negotiations for the establishment of a Chinese protectorate were begun after Tagaung was seized (January, 1284). In the following year, the king tendered his submission and sent to Peking an embassy that succeeded in persuading the emperor to give orders to withdraw his troops. The north of Burma became the Chinese province of Cheng-mien and remained so until 1303; the south became the province of Mien-chung, which was abolished as early as August 18, 1290.

King Narathihapate was on the verge of regaining his capital in 1287 when he was poisoned at Prome by his own son Thihathu (Sīhasūra). Unrest followed, and the governor of Yunnan ignored the orders of evacuation.

"In 1287, a fourth Chinese expedition commanded by Prince Ye-sin Timour finally reached Pagan at the cost of considerable losses. We do not know if the capital had to admit the presence of Chinese troops." [27]

The fall of Pagan produced effects on the Thai of Burma which we will discuss later; we shall now proceed to examine its repercussions on the Thai of the Menam.

5. THE LIBERATION OF THE THAI OF THE MENAM IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM OF SUKHOTHAI (FROM AROUND 1220 TO 1292)

It will be recalled that the Menam Basin, originally populated by the Mons, had been the seat of the kingdom of Dvāravatī in the seventh century. In the eleventh the Khmers had established themselves at Lavo, and in the twelfth they had extended their domination to the borders of the kingdom of Haripunjaya, coming into conflict with King Ādityarāja.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Haripunjaya was still governed by a Mon dynasty. One of the kings mentioned in the chronicles of Haripunjaya left inscriptions in the Mon language intermingled with passages in Pali at Lamphun, on the site of ancient Haripunjaya. This king was Sabbādhisiddhi, for whom we have two inscriptions containing the dates 1213, 1218, and 1219. They tell of various endowments to Buddhist monuments,[28] one of which, Vat Kukut, corresponds to the Mahābalachetiya built by Ādityarāja.[29] For the period after the reign of Sabbādhisiddhi up to the time of the Thai conquest, the chronicles provide us with only a list of the names of the kings.[30]

These kings had as neighbors to the northeast the Lao princes of Ngoen Yang (Chiangsaen), the last of whom, Mangrai, born in 1239, succeeded his father in 1261. The following year, moving his capital south, he founded Chiangrai. Then, extending his authority toward the northeast and southwest, he took Chiangkhong in 1269 and founded Mưang Fang in 1273.[31] In 1287, says an ancient text, Mangrai, prince of Chiangrai, Ngam Mưang, prince of Mưang Phayao (on the upper Mae Ing), and Rāma Khamhaeng, king of Sukhothai, "met in a propitious place, concluded a strong pact of friendship, and then each returned to his own country." [32]

It is undoubtedly no mere coincidence that this alliance of the three Thai chiefs took place in the same year that Pagan was taken by Sino-Mongol troops. We shall see that, in the decade that followed, Mangrai ended the Mon domination over Haripunjaya and founded, at some distance from this city, Chiangmai, the "new capital" of the Thai. As for Rāma Khamhaeng, who was to have even more brilliant success, the following paragraphs relate the origins of the dynasty to which he belonged.

On the middle Menam, the Thai, known to their neighbors under the name Syāṃ, had undoubtedly gained a foothold quite a long time before.[33] The Khmer remains that are still to be seen at Sukhothai and at Sawankhalok [34] prove that the Khmers were dominant over this region at least from the time of Jayavarman VII and perhaps from the era of Sūryavarman II. But around the middle of the thirteenth century the Syāṃ of Sukhothai became independent under circumstances that are revealed to us by an inscription of about a century later.[35]

A Thai prince, Pha Mưang, chief of Mưang Rat [36] and perhaps son of the former Thai chief of Sukhothai under Khmer suzerainty, had received the title of Kamrateng An' Śrī Indrapatīndrāditya from the Cambodian sovereign and had married the Khmer princess Sikharamahādevī. He had ties of friendship with another Thai prince, Bang Klang Thao, chief of Bang Yang. Following events that are not clear,[37] the two Thai chiefs came into conflict with the Khmer governor of Sukhothai. After the seizure

of Si Satchanalai (present-day Sawankhalok), the twin city of Sukhothai, the two allies drove the Cambodian governor out of Sukhothai. Pha Mưang installed his friend Bang Klang Thao there, crowning him king and conferring on him his own title of Kamrateng An' Pha Mưang Śrī Indrapatīndrāditya.

We have no precise dates for any of the events that marked the acquisition of political independence by the Thai of Sukhothai and led to the enthronement of Indrāditya. But since Rāma Khamhaeng, his third son, who was his second successor, reigned in the last two decades of the century, we can date the coronation of Indrāditya around 1220. Later, the country of Lavo seems also to have become detached from Cambodia, for from 1289 to 1299 we see it sending embassies to China.[38] We shall see that in the middle of the following century it was governed by a Thai prince.

All we know about Indrāditya and his immediate successor is what we are told by the stele of Rāma Khamhaeng, composed in 1292.[39] This famous inscription in addition gives interesting details on Rāma Khamhaeng's youth that merit citing:

> My father was named Śrī Indrāditya; my mother was named Nang Sưang; my older brother was named Ban Mưang. We were five children born of the same womb: three boys, two girls. My eldest brother died when he was still little. When I had grown and reached the age of nineteen, Khun Sam Chon, chief of Mưang Chọt, came to attack Mưang Tak.[40] My father went to fight him from the left; Khun Sam Chon came from the right and attacked in force. My father's people fled and dispersed in complete disorder. I did not flee, I climbed on the elephant Anekaphon [Anekabala, "immense power"] and drove it in front of my father. I began a duel of elephants with Khun Sam Chon: I smote his elephant named Mat Mưang ["gold of the country"] and put it out of the battle. Khun Sam Chon fled. Then my father gave me the name Phra Rāma Khamhaeng ["Rama the Strong"] because I had smitten the elephant of Khun Sam Chon.
>
> During the lifetime of my father, I served my father, I served my mother. If I caught some game or fish, I brought it to my father; if I had any fruit, acid or sweet, delicious and tasty, I brought it to my father. If I went on an elephant hunt and caught some, I brought them to my father. If I went to attack a village or city and brought back elephants, boys, girls, silver, gold, I gave them to my father.[41]
>
> When my father died, there remained my elder brother.[42] I continued to serve my elder brother as I had served my father. When my brother died, the whole kingdom passed on to me.

We shall soon see the brilliant career of this king, during whose reign the young Thai kingdom was transformed by Singhalese Buddhism and Khmer civilization. During this process of transformation the social structure of the kingdom did, however, retain some characteristics corresponding to those of the Mongols.

Just as in the "family of gold" at the top of the Mongol social structure the Great Khan was the chief and the princes were the sons of the Great Khan,[43] so Rāma Khamhaeng was the *phọ khun* (the father [of the] *khun*) and the princes and high dignitaries were the *luk khun* (sons [of the] *khun*). Just as the Mongol aristocracy, in defining the various social classes, distinguished its own members, "warriors or faithful persons who are free men par excellence," from "the plebians who comprise the common people and, finally, the serfs who are basically of non-Mongolian race," [44] so the Thai military aristocracy distinguished itself at this time from the conquered populations: the ethnic term *Thai* took on the meaning of "free man" in Siamese,[45] thus differentiating the Thai from the natives encompassed in Thai society as serfs. Finally, the division of the Mongol population capable of bearing arms into tens, hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands under the orders of commanders furnished by the aristocracy of the *noyan* [46] is duplicated exactly in the military and administrative organization of the Thai.[47]

We do not know the date at which Rāma Khamhaeng, son of the founder of the dynasty of Sukhothai, succeeded his elder brother Ban Mưang. His inscription [48] mentions only three dates:

1283, the date of the invention of Siamese writing, or more exactly of the type of writing used in the inscription. "Heretofore these characters of Thai writing did not exist. In 1205 [i.e., A.D. 1283], the year of the goat, King Rāma Khamhaeng applied all his energy and all his heart to inventing these characters of Thai writing, and these characters exist because the king invented them." We know that these characters constitute an improvement over a proto-Siamese writing, which was itself an adaptation of Khmer cursive writing of the thirteenth century put to use in writing Thai.[49]

1285, the date of the erection in the center of Si Satchanalai (Śrī Sajjanālaya, i.e., Sawankhalok) of a stupa that took six years to build.[50]

1292, the date of the construction at Sukhothai of a stone throne named Manangsilāpātra,[51] "placed here so that all can gaze on the king Rāma Khamhaeng, son of the king Śrī Indrāditya, sovereign of Mưang Si Satchanalai and Mưang Sukhothai as well as of the Ma, Kao, Lao, the Thai who live

> under the canopy of heaven,[52] and the river-dwelling Thai of the Nam U and the Mekong, coming to render him homage."

This chronological data would indicate that Rāma Khamhaeng came to power before 1283.

And if the date of 1281 for the seizure of power of Makatho at Martaban[53] is correct, it is necessary to date the accession of Rāma Khamhaeng even earlier than that date, since by then he was already powerful enough to be able to grant investiture to one of his protégés in a quite distant region.

6. JAVA: THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF SINGHASĀRI (1269–92); THE MONGOL EXPEDITION OF 1293; AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF MAJAPAHIT

The Javanese king Kṛitanagara, known later under the name Śivabuddha, was king of reunited Janggala and Panjalu, and the inscriptions he has left, notably those of 1266 and 1269, give us some idea of the administration of his times.[54]

Internally, the king was, once again, confronted by rebels: Bhayarāja in 1270, Mahīsha Rangkah in 1280.[55]

Abroad, the reign of Kṛitanagara was marked by a considerable expansion of Javanese power in all directions. In 1275, taking advantage of the decline of Śrīvijaya, he sent a military expedition to the west which established Javanese suzerainty over Malāyu[56] and probably also over Sunda, Madura, and part of the Malay Peninsula, for Pahang is listed among the dependencies of Kṛitanagara in the *Nāgarakṛitāgama*.[57]

After establishing his authority in Sumatra, Kṛitanagara turned toward Bali, whose king he brought back as a prisoner in 1284.[58] Kṛitanagara must have felt himself strong enough, and above all far enough away from China, to resist the demands of the Mongols, who from 1279 had been insisting that a member of the royal family be sent to the court of Peking. The missions of 1280 and 1281 came to nothing. In 1289 it seems that the envoy of Kublai was mistreated by the Javanese, and to avenge this insult the Great Khan decided in 1292 to send to Java an expedition that will be discussed presently.[59]

King Kṛitanagara, whose portrait-statue in the form of the Buddha Akshobhya can be seen at Surabaya,[60] was a personality who is very differently evaluated by the historical sources, the *Nāgarakṛitāgama* and the *Pararaton:* he is represented by one as a fine scholar, by the other as a drunkard. What is certain is that he was a great king, remarkable for his ardor in extending the authority of Java over the neighboring countries and for his zeal for the *kālachakra* form of Tantric Buddhism. This form, coming from Bengal where it had been developed toward the end of the Pāla dynasty, spread to Tibet and Nepal and into the archipelago. It reached its culmination in Java because of syncretism with the worship of Śiva Bhairava. The cult of Siva-Buddha,[61] by applying itself particularly to the redemption of souls of the dead, found receptive ground in Indonesian ancestor worship.

Kṛitanagara met death under dramatic circumstances. He elevated a common man to the rank of Ārya Vīrarāja, but, not feeling sure of him, sent him far from the court and named him governor in the east on the island of Madura.[62] The viceroy of Kaḍiri since 1271 had been a certain Jayakatwang,[63] who very probably was a descendant of the ancient kings and dreamed of supreme power. He joined forces with Vīrarāja and notified him of the propitious moment to attack Kṛitanagara. The battle took place in 1292 and, after various incidents reported by the *Pararaton*,[64] ended in the seizure of the royal residence at Singhasāri and the death of King Kṛitanagara between May 18 and June 15 of that year.

Jayakatwang, master of Java, became in a way the founder of a new kingdom of Kaḍiri. This new kingdom, however, had only a momentary existence, for the Mongol expedition designed to chastise Kṛitanagara actually resulted in restoring the throne to its legitimate possessor.

Jayakatwang, now master of Singhasāri, immediately encountered opposition from Raden Vijaya.[65] This prince, who was a grandson of Mahīsha Champaka and great-grandson of Rājasa and was thus a direct descendant of the founder of the dynasty of Singhasāri, had in addition married Gāyatrī (a *rājapatnī*), a daughter of the King Kṛitanagara who had just been killed in the revolt of Jayakatwang. Together with Ardharāja, a son of Jayakatwang but also a son-in-law of Kṛitanagara, Raden Vijaya commanded in 1292 a corps of troops that Kṛitanagara, before his death, had sent north against the rebels and that Jayakatwang's troops had not yet encountered.

Vijaya attacked Jayakatwang's forces and inflicted three defeats on them. But these successes were only temporary, and the

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situation at first favorable to Vijaya was reversed both by the arrival of reinforcements from Kaḍiri and by the news of the fall of Singhasāri, which had a demoralizing effect on Vijaya's troops.[66] Forced to flee, Vijaya reached the island of Madura to solicit the aid of Vīrarāja, of whose treason he was not aware. Vīrarāja decided it was in his interest to side with Vijaya from then on.

With Vīrarāja's aid, Vijaya returned accompanied by a group of Madurese to establish himself in the lower Brantas Valley[67] on the site of Majapahit, which was to become the capital of the restored Javanese kingdom.

This restoration took place in the last months of the year 1292, when Kublai Khan had already launched his punitive expedition against Kṛitanagara, of whose death he was unaware. On learning of the arrival of this expedition, Vijaya conceived the ingenious idea of using the Chinese to realize his great plans. We shall see how the Chinese fleet sailed along the coast of Champa without being able to land.[68] It then went on to Java by way of the archipelago of the Karimatas. At the little island of Gelam (southwest of Borneo), at the beginning of 1293, the three chiefs of the expedition—Shih-pi, a Mongol, Yi-k'o-mu-su (or Ye-hei-mi-she),[69] a Uighur experienced in overseas voyages, and Kao-hsing, a Chinese—stopped to hold counsel. Before reassembling in the port of Tuban, on the north coast of Java, they sent a messenger to Singhasāri who, on his return, reported the news of the death of Kṛitanagara and the submission of Vijaya.

The Javanese fleet of Jayakatwang, assembled at the mouth of the river of Surabaya, was captured by the Chinese, who then began to penetrate into the interior. Vijaya sent them messages soliciting their aid against Jayakatwang, who was advancing on Majapahit. The Chinese succeeded in stopping Jayakatwang and rescuing Majapahit on March 3, 1293; they then marched on Kaḍiri, with Vijaya in the rear guard. After a long and bloody battle, the troops of Kaḍiri took flight, and Jayakatwang, besieged in his palace, ended by submitting on April 26, 1293.

Vijaya then requested permission from the Chinese to return to Majapahit with a Chinese escort to seek there the tribute promised to the Great Khan. In reality, he was seeking to rid himself of his allies, who were no longer useful to him after the defeat of his adversary. He began, on May 26, 1293, by massacring his escort; then, with his Javanese, he turned against the Chinese establishtd at Kaḍiri and forced them to get back on their ships. On May 31 they sailed again for China, where they arrived on August 8.

When the Chinese chiefs left Java they took with them about a hundred prisoners, among whom were the children of Jayakatwang. As for Jayakatwang himself, he must have died in Java after a brief captivity. The Mongol expedition designed to chastise Kṛitanagara thus had the unintended result of placing his legitimate heir on the throne.

Vijaya, the founder of the kingdom of Majapahit, took the reign name Kṛitarājasa Jayavardhana. His wives were the four daughters of Kṛitanagara.[70] By the eldest, Queen Parameśvarī Tribhuvanā,[71] he had a son Kāla Gemet, who was crowned in 1295 as Prince of Kadiri, with the title of Jayanagara.[72]

Normal relations seem to have been restored with China, for we find mention of four Javanese embassies during the reign of Kṛitarājasa.[73]

With respect to internal affairs, it is now clear that Kṛitarājasa faced various revolts, for a chronology proposed by C. C. Berg[74] has shown that the revolts that were formerly believed to have occurred during the reign of his son Jayanagara actually took place during Kṛitarājasa's reign. These revolts will be discussed in the following chapter.

7. SUMATRA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES AT THE TIME OF MARCO POLO; THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLAM

Tangible proof of the ascendancy of Java over Sumatra is furnished by an inscription found[75] on the upper Batang Hari, the river of Jambi. This text states that in 1286 an image of the Buddha Amoghapāśalokeśvara (in whose form the father of Kṛitanagara had been deified at Chandi Jago) was brought from Java (*bhūmi Jāva*) to the country of gold (*Suvarṇabhūmi*) by four Javanese officials and erected at Dharmāśraya by order of the Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Kṛitanagara Vikramadharmottungadeva and that this statue was the joy of all the subjects (*prajā*) of the country of Malāyu, beginning with the king Mahārāja Śrīmat Tribhuvanarāja Maulivarmadeva.[76]

The ascendancy of Java over its neighbor to the west was contemporaneous with the conquest of the Malay Peninsula by the Thai. This conquest is alluded to by the Mon chronicles before

1280.[77] In addition, the *History of the Yuan* tells us that in 1295 "the people of Sien [the Syāṃ, or Thai, of Sukhothai] and of Ma-li-yü-erh [Malāyur] have long been killing each other." [78]

The simultaneous, if not combined, action of the Javanese and the Thai stripped Śrīvijaya at once of its island and continental possessions and snatched from it the mastery of the straits of Malacca and Sunda. At the same time, the Sumatranese kingdom began to feel the effects of another cause of the disintegration of Indo-Malaysian culture. By 1281, Islam, propagated by merchants, must already have made great progress there, for the court of China chose to send Muslims, named Sulaymān and Chams'ud-dīn, to Malāyu.[79] Ten years later, in his description of Perlak, in the extreme north of Sumatra, Marco Polo [80] notes "that in the kingdom of Ferlec the people were all idolaters, but, on account of the Saracen traders who frequent the kingdom with their ships, they have been converted to the Law of Mahomet." And the Islamization of the principality of Samudra around the same time has been revealed by the discovery of the tombstone of the Sultan Malik al-Sāleh, who died in 1297.[81]

Immediately following his chapter on Champa, Marco Polo gives a very short paragraph on Java, "the largest island in the world," an island which he had not visited himself. His information on the archipelago dates from before the Mongol expedition, for he says of the Javanese that they "pay tribute to no one" and "that the Great Kaan was never able to take it on account of the great distance, and the dangers of the voyage thither." [82] He would not have said that they "pay tribute to no one"—a phrase he repeats later in connection with the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra—after the expedition of 1293, for we know that in 1293 Yi-k'o-mu-su, who left for the Java campaign, "sent Cheng-kuei to announce the imperial orders in Mu-lai-yu and in other small kingdoms; all [the kings of these countries] sent their sons or their brothers to make their submission." [83]

After mentioning the islands of Sondur and Condur (Poulo Condore), Marco Polo speaks of the kingdom of Lochac, that is, Langkasuka on the Malay Peninsula.[84] "They pay tribute to no one, for their land is so situated that no one can enter it to do any mischief. If it were possible to do so, the Great Kaan would soon make it submit to him." [85]

Coming then to the island of Pentan (Bintang) and the city of Malaiur, Marco Polo says: "The city is very large and noble. There is a great deal of trade in spices and other wares. For there is great abundance in that island of such products." [86]

Marco Polo seems not to have known when he was at Malaiur that he was already on Sumatra, which he calls "Java Minor" and on which he says there were eight kingdoms, each having its own king and language. He stopped at six, all of which, except for the last, were located in the extreme north of the island. The six kingdoms were:

Ferlec (Perlak), where he observed, as we have seen, the presence of Muslims: "... only, however, the inhabitants of the city. The inhabitants of the mountains are like beasts." [87]

Basman (Pasaman, on the southwest coast): "... they are people who have no Law, unless it be that of brute beasts. They call themselves lieges of the Great Kaan, but pay him no tribute, as they are so far away that the Great Kaan's armies could never go there." [88]

Sumatra (Samudra, i.e., Pasai): [89] "Here Marco Polo in person resided five months, because the weather prevented him from continuing his voyage." Here the Venetian drank palm liquor, which was "better than any wine or any other drink that was ever drunk." [90]

Dagroian, where he describes cannibalistic rites; [91]

Lambri (Lāmurī, i.e., Achin), where he mentions men with tails; [92]

Fansur (Baros, on the west coast), the country of camphor and of the tree that yields flour used in making bread. "Messer Marco ... repeatedly ate this bread" and found it "very good." [93]

Finally Marco Polo speaks of the Nicobars, the Andamans, and Ceylon.

Marco Polo does not appear to have suspected that he was traveling over the ruins of an empire which, three-quarters of a century before, Chao Ju-kua still spoke of as a great commercial center controlling the two shores of the straits. No longer do we hear of the empire of the maharaja, but of eight states, each of which is a "kingdom by itself." It is true that the six states he mentions were minute principalities grouped at the northern tip of the island. Malāyu, which he mentions only briefly and which he undoubtedly did not visit, must still have constituted a state of some importance: it sent embassies to China in 1299 and

1301.[94] But the Javanese expedition of 1275 had snatched mastery of the straits from the heir of Śrīvijaya.[95] The establishment of the Javanese at Tumasik [96] (located at the site of present-day Singapore) perhaps also dates from this period; the Javanese placed here a stele with a Javanese inscription that has, unfortunately, been destroyed.[97]

We can say that at the end of the thirteenth century the empire of the maharaja (Śrīvijaya, Zābag, San-fo-ch'i) had ceased to exist. With it disappeared the only state that had succeeded in dominating the islands and the peninsula simultaneously. The reason for its power and duration was that, possessing simultaneously the maritime routes of the straits and the land routes of the peninsula, it was absolute master of the traffic between the West and the China Sea. Its fall was caused by the simultaneous pressure on its two flanks of Siam and Java: Siam wrested from it its continental possessions; Java, its island possessions and mastery of the straits. One cause of weakness was the harshness of its commercial policy, which gave rise to rivalry and conflicts. And Islam accomplished the ruin of its Indian spiritual patrimony, which in the seventh century had aroused the admiration of the Chinese pilgrim I-ching.

8. THE THAI KINGDOM OF SUKHOTHAI AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: RĀMA KHAMHAENG

By 1292, the probable date of his stele and also of his dispatch of a golden letter to the court of the Mongols,[98] Rāma Khamhaeng had already created a sort of hegemony over a great number of Thai tribes. A postscript to the inscription, which seems to have been carved after this date, gives details on his conquests:

> Rāma Khamhaeng is the chief and the sovereign of all the Thai. He is the master who instructs all the Thai so that they know in truth the merits and the Law. Among all the men who live in Thai country, one would search in vain for his equal in science and in knowledge, in courage and in endurance, in strength and in energy. He has defeated the throng of his enemies possessing large cities and numerous elephants. In the east he has conquered the country to Saraluang [Phičhit], Sǫng Khwae [Phitsanulok], Lum̧ [Lomsak], Bachai, Sakha as far as the shores of the Mekong, and beyond to Wiangčhan and Wiangkham that mark the border. In the south, he has conquered the country to Khonthi [on the Mae Ping between Kamphaeng Phet and Nakhǫn Sawan], Phraek [Paknam Pho], Suphannaphum, Ratburi, Phetchaburi, Si Thammarat [Ligor], up to the sea that marks the border. In the west, he has conquered the country up to Mư̓ang Chǫt [Mae Sǫt], Hongsawatī [Pegu], and up to the sea that marks the border. In the north, he has conquered the country up to Mư̓ang Phlae [Phrae], Mư̓ang Man, Mư̓ang Phlua [on the Nan River], and from the other side of the Mekong up to Mư̓ang Chawa [Luang Phrabang], which marks the border.
>
> He has established and maintained all the inhabitants of these countries in the observance of the Law, without exception.[99]

That this enumeration of conquered countries was not idle boasting is proved by checking against various foreign sources.

The conquest of former Khmer possessions in the Menam and Mekong basins was apparently the result of a war that, in 1296, Chou Ta-kuan, envoy of the Mongols to Cambodia, spoke of in these terms: "In the recent war with the Siamese, all the Khmer people have been obliged to fight, and the country has been entirely destroyed." [100]

The final conquest of the Malay Peninsula, where Thai penetration had begun as early as the era of Chandrabhānu,[101] must have taken place around 1294. The *History of the Yuan,* after recounting that an envoy from Siam was presented at the court of China in 1295, received a gold tablet, and returned with a Chinese mission, goes on to say that "since the people of Sien and of Ma-li-yü-erh have long been killing each other and are all in submission at this moment, an imperial order has been issued telling the people of Sien: do no harm to the Ma-li-yü-erh and hold to your promise." [102] In order to direct this campaign, Rāma Khamhaeng apparently established himself for a while at Phetchaburi, for in 1294, just before the mention of an imperial order of the seventh month enjoining "the king of the kingdom of Sien, Kan-mu-ting [*Kamrateng,* Khmer royal title], to come to the court," [103] the *History of the Yuan* mentions the arrival in the sixth month of the ambassador from Kan-mu-ting, from the city of Pi-ch'a-pu-li, who came bearing tribute.[104]

The extension of the domination of Rāma Khamhaeng to the west, which will be studied in more detail when speaking of Burma, originated in a romantic adventure. Legend tells of a young merchant from Donwun (near Thaton) of Thai origin and named Makatho who went one day to Sukhothai, where he entered into the service of the king. Very intelligent, he was soon in favor and became governor of the palace. In the absence of the king, he seduced one of the king's daughters and fled with her to Martaban,

where he succeeded, after various incidents, in getting the Burmese governor, Aleimma, assassinated and installing himself in his place. These events took place in 1281, before the fall of Pagan. Having become all-powerful in the country, Makatho asked for investiture from Rāma Khamhaeng, who pardoned him for the abduction of his daughter and granted him the Thai title of Chao Fa Rua: [105] this is the Wareru of the Burmese chronicles, who will be discussed later.

The inscription of Rāma Khamhaeng says that Luang Phrabang marks the border in the north of the country, although, strictly speaking, it is located northeast of Sukhothai. Straight north and to the northwest, the region bordering Rāma Khamhaeng's states was under the control of two Thai princes, Ngam Mưang, chief of Phayao, and Mangrai, chief of Chiangrai, who in 1287, the year of the fall of Pagan, concluded an alliance with Rāma Khamhaeng.

Rāma Khamhaeng himself was involved in a romantic adventure: an amorous intrigue with one of the wives of Ngam Mưang.[106] Ngam Mưang, having succeeded in proving him guilty, hesitated to put him to death, fearing lest the spirit of revenge reign from then on between the two countries. He decided to appeal to the prince of Chiangrai, their mutual friend, to arbitrate: this prince succeeded in reconciling the two rivals, at the price of a fine of 990,000 cowries to be paid by the seducer. Then the three princes renewed their oath of alliance by drinking a brew in which each of them had mixed a bit of his blood; thus they showed the feeling of ethnic unity which was the power of the Thai chiefs in the era of their expansion.[107]

The *History of the Yuan*, which dates the first diplomatic relations between China and Siam back to 1282, mentions embassies from Sien in 1292, 1294, 1295, 1297, and 1299 [108] and up to 1323. We do not know if the imperial order of 1294, enjoining the king of Sien "to come to the court, or, if he had an excuse, to have his son, his brother, and some envoys come as hostages," [109] was indeed obeyed.

Siamese tradition claims that Phra Ruang—the name under which the Siamese confuse the first kings of Sukhothai, although it is applied most particularly to Rāma Khamhaeng—himself went to China once, and perhaps twice, and that he brought back the art of ceramics.[110] On this point, tradition perhaps bears some truth, for

it is hardly to be doubted that some pottery kilns of Sukhothai and Sawankhalok were established by Chinese.[111]

The inscription of 1292 gives a picture of Rāma Khamhaeng's government that is worth reproducing in its entirety:

> During the lifetime of Rāma Khamhaeng, this city of Sukhotai is prosperous. In the water there is fish, in the fields there is rice; the lord of the country does not levy taxes on his subjects who go along the road together, leading cattle to market, riding horses for sale. Whoever wishes to trade in elephants or in horses, does so; whoever wishes to trade in silver, in gold, does so. If a common man, a noble, or a chief falls ill, dies, or disappears, the house of his ancestors, his clothing, his elephants, his family, his rice granaries, his slaves, the areca and betel plantations of his ancestors are all transmitted to his children. If the common people, the nobles, or the chiefs get into disagreement, the king conducts a thorough inquiry, then settles the matter for his subjects with complete impartiality; he does not connive with the thief and the receiver of stolen goods; if he sees the rice of others, he does not covet it; and if he sees the treasure of others, he is not envious of it. Whoever goes by elephant in search of him and places his own country under his protection, he gives him aid and assistance; if the stranger has neither elephants, nor horses, nor servants, nor wives, nor silver, nor gold, he gives him some and invites him to regard himself as in his own country. If he captures warriors or enemy soldiers, he neither kills nor beats them. There is a bell suspended in the embrasure of the palace doorway: if an inhabitant of the kingdom has any grievance or any matter that is gnawing at his entrails and tormenting his spirit and he wants to reveal it to the king, it is not difficult; he has only to strike the bell hanging there. Every time King Rāma Khamhaeng hears this appeal, he questions the plaintiff about his affair and judges it with complete impartiality.[112]

The inscription then describes the city of Sukhothai with its triple wall and its four gates, the pond that marks its center, the "marvelous pond of clear and delicious water like the water of the Mekong in the dry season," the sanctuaries within the walls; then to the west of the city the Aranyika monastery (Wat Taphan Hin), where there lived a learned Mahāthera from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (Ligor); to the east a great lake; to the north the market (*talat pasan*, i.e., bazaar) and a *prasat* which must correspond to the Khmer monument of Wat Phra Phai Luang; [113] to the south, the hill (Khao Luang) on which resided a formidable spirit, Phra Khaphung,[114] "superior to all the spirits of the country. If the prince who is sovereign in Mưang Sukhothai worships this spirit properly and presents it ritual offerings, then this country will be stable and prosperous; but if he does not perform the

prescribed worship and does not present ritual offerings, then the spirit of this hill will no longer protect or respect this country, which will fall into decline." These animistic rites did not prevent the king and his people from practicing the Theravada Buddhism using the Pali language, which, during the reign of Rāma Khamhaeng's successors, was to submit more and more to Singhalese orthodoxy. "King Rāma Khamhaeng, sovereign of this Mưang Sukhothai, as well as the princes and princesses, men as well as women, nobles and chiefs, all without exception, without distinction of rank or sex, devoutly practice the religion of the Buddha and observe the precepts during the period of retreat during the rainy season. At the end of the rainy season, the ceremonies of the Kathin [offering of robes to the monks] take place and last a month." The most important of these ceremonies took place west of the city, at the monastery of the Aranyika, from which the population returned forming a joyous and noisy procession. The end of Kathin coincided with the feast of lights, a rite of Indian origin (Dīvalī or Dīpavalī),[115] which the Chinese envoy Chou Ta-kuan describes at Angkor at the same period.[116] "This Mưang Sukhothai has four gates: an immense crowd pushes in through them to see the king light the candles and to enjoy the fire, and this Mưang Sukhothai is full to bursting with people."

9. THE THAI KINGDOM OF LAN NA: FOUNDATION OF CHIANGMAI (1296)

While Rāma Khamhaeng was establishing Thai domination over the populations of the central Indochinese Peninsula from Luang Phrabang to Ligor, with the exception of Lavo (Lopburi), which was not named in the inscription and which sent a series of embassies to China from 1289 to 1299,[117] his ally Mangrai, who founded Chiangrai in 1262, drove the Mons from Haripunjaya (Lamphun).

As early as 1288, the year that followed the fall of Pagan and the conclusion of the alliance with Rāma Khamhaeng and Ngam Mưang, Mangrai sent to Haripunjaya an emissary who was able to win the confidence of the Mon king Yiba and was given the office of preceptor. When he had sufficiently exasperated the inhabitants with his exactions, he notified Mangrai, who in 1291–92 marched on the town and plucked it like a ripe fruit.[118] The Mon king fled to Khelang (the old site of Lampang), where his son lived; after an unsuccessful attempt at reconquest during which the son was killed, Yiba took refuge at Phitsanulok.[119]

In 1296, Mangrai founded on the Mae Ping, about twenty kilometers north of Haripunjaya, the city of Chiangmai, "the new city." Mangrai and his two allies chose the site as early as 1292 and presided over the construction of the temple of Wat Chiang Man, built to mark the site.[120] The new city had a brilliant destiny not only as a political center but also as a cultural center,[121] and it is even today the second city of Thailand. The state of which it was the capital bore the name of Yonaraṭṭha or Yonakaraṭṭha (kingdom of the Yûon) or of Bingaraṭṭha (kingdom of the Mae Ping) in the Pali chronicles;[122] it is the Lan Na of the Siamese and the Pa-pai-si-fu of the Chinese. Pa-pai-si-fu is mentioned for the first time under the date October 11, 1292, in the *History of the Yuan*.[123]

The chronicle of Chiangmai states that Mangrai went to Pegu and married a princess there and then went to Burma, from which he brought back artisans,[124] but we have no confirmation of these journeys from the Mons or Burmese.

10 THE THAI IN BURMA AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

After the fall of Pagan, the Irrawaddy Basin fell into anarchy, and it is impossible to proceed here with a detailed history of the Thai principalities which, under the nominal authority of China, built themselves on the ruins of the Burmese dynasty. Roughly, the country was divided into three parts: in the south, the delta, peopled by the Mons, under the authority of Makatho, also known as Chao Fa Rua or Wareru, who by 1281 had established himself at Martaban; in the north, Upper Burma, the future kingdom of Ava, where the descendants of the kings of Pagan continued to reign under the tutelage of three Thai brothers, Athinkhaya (Asaṃkhyā), Yazathinkyan (Rājasaṃkram), and Thihathu (Sīhasūra), sons of a Thai chief who had become estranged from his family and around 1260 had established himself at Myinsaing, where he got married; and in the southeast on the Sittang River, the principality of Toungoo, founded in 1280.

We have seen that in 1287, Narathihapate, driven from Pagan by the Mongols, had been poisoned at Prome by his son Thihathu (Sīhasūra).[125] Thihathu then rid himself of some of his brothers

and tried to seize Haṃsavatī (Pegu), but he lost his life in the attempt and the city remained in the hands of the governor Tarabya, who had become independent there even before the fall of Pagan.[126]

Makatho, or Wareru, the Thai chief of Martaban, made common cause with Tarabya, whose daughter he married and to whom he gave his own daughter. The two allies succeeded in occupying the delta after driving out the Burmese governors, but soon discord arose between them and Wareru had to get rid of his rival. After he became sole king of Pegu he continued to reside at Martaban, where he died in 1313, a victim of assassination by the children of Tarabya, who were also his own grandsons. The name of Wareru is associated with a version of the code of laws [127] known under the name of *Wagaru Dhammathat,* which is undoubtedly one of the first vehicles by which the laws of Manu moved into Siam.[128]

What was happening during this period in the center and the east?

At the death of Thihathu (Sīhasūra), killed at Pegu, the throne of Pagan reverted to his elder brother Kyôzwa (II), who had resisted him and who established the Burmese government again at Pagan; he was crowned there at the end of the month of May of the year 1289.[129] In 1297 he sent his eldest son (Siṃhapati) to China to receive investiture in his place. But the court of Peking was apparently following a policy of "divide and rule," and in consequence it crowned as many local chiefs as possible. Thus in 1297, China gave a silver seal and a title to the king and at the same time gave an honorific tablet to Athinkhaya, the eldest of the three brothers who divided the government of the rice district of Kyaukse and who since 1294 had gradually arrogated royal titles to themselves.

These three brothers had been presented by their father to Narathihapate, who had entrusted them with various missions, and they remained in royal favor under King Kyôzwa (II), who turned over to them the administration of the three provinces of Myinsaing, Mekkaya, and Pinle. They also continued to administer a large portion of the rice district of Kyaukse, which they had taken over during the interregnum from 1284 to 1289. The king was poorly repaid for his favor, for in the same year that Athinkhaya received his honorific tablet, in July 1297, he seized the king and held him captive at Myinsaing.

The country was by this time in full revolt: the Mons of the delta were in rebellion from 1289 on, and in 1298 the northern tribes followed suit. The city of Pagan was destroyed and set on fire by the rebels. Athinkhaya went through the formality of replacing Kyôzwa with his son Zo-nit, who gave his first audience on May 8, 1299; he is known in epigraphy by the name Mang Lulang.[130] On May 10, the three brothers had King Kyôzwa and his son Siṃhapati executed. Another son, Kumārakassapa, rival of Zo-nit, was able to flee to China, where he was proclaimed king on June 22, 1300. At his instigation, a fifth and last expedition came down into the Irrawaddy Valley during the autumn of 1300. It besieged Myinsaing during the winter of 1300–1301. Athinkhaya and his two brothers succeeded in raising the siege by bribing the Mongol general staff. The Chinese troops withdrew with Kumārakassapa, the province of Burma was abolished on April 4, 1303, and Zo-nit and his son Zo-moun-nit continued to reign at least in name at Pagan.

11. CAMBODIA AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: ACCOUNT OF CHOU TA-KUAN (1296)

We have seen that, shortly before the Chinese envoy Chou Ta-kuan came to Cambodia in 1296, a disastrous war with the Thai of Sukhothai had ravaged the country. King Jayavarman VIII was elderly at the time of these events: "A land ruled by an old king," says an inscription,[131] "clearly demonstrates the inconvenience of having a superabundance of brambles [enemies]." According to two inscriptions of the following century,[132] he abdicated in 1295 and had the crown bestowed on Prince Śrīndravarman, who had married his eldest daughter Śrīndrabhūpeśvarachūḍā.[133] But, according to the evidence of Chou Ta-kuan, who arrived in Cambodia the following year, the change of reign was more dramatic.

"The new prince," says Chou Ta-kuan, "is the son-in-law of the former; he had pursued a military career. The father-in-law loved his daughter; the daughter stole the golden sword from him and took it to her husband. But then the son deprived of succession plotted to raise troops. The new prince learned of this, cut off the son's toes, and shut him up in a dungeon." [134] An inscription of Śrīndravarman seems in fact to make a discreet allusion to the rivalries that preceded his accession. "The land, once sheltered at the same time and in all parts *under a multitude*

of white parasols of kings, suffered the burning of the sun; now, in the shade of a single white parasol [of the new king] it no longer feels it." [135]

The scanty facts we have concerning the successors of Jayavarman VII have been extracted from epigraphic sources. These inscriptions emanate from Brahman scholars who seem to have wanted to renew the tradition of the great priestly families of preceding centuries, a tradition interrupted by the Buddhist fervor of Dharaṇindravarman II, Jayavarman VII, and their wives. This temporary restoration of Sivaite orthodoxy was undoubtedly responsible both for the iconoclastic violence that was directed toward the monuments of Jayavarman VII's era and resulted in the effacement of innumerable bas-relief images of the Buddha that had decorated the walls and pillars of the temples and for the replacement of these images by lingas or images of ascetics in prayer.

The little that the inscriptions tell us of the reign of Jayavarman VIII, or of him under his posthumous name Parameśvarapada,[136] seems to permit us to impute to him part of the responsibility for these acts of vandalism. One of his wives, Queen Chakravartirājadevī, was the daughter of the Brahman who had come from Burma at the time of Jayavarman VII and had received the title Jayamahāpradhāna.[137] A sister-in-law of this Brahman married a scholar-professor, Jayamangalārtha, by whom she had a son who was awarded the same title. Jayavarman VIII held this son, who was a cousin of the queen, in such favor that in 1295, the same year as his voluntary or forced abdication, he had a temple erected in the capital [138] in which to place a statue of him. (Incidentally, this second Jayamangalārtha must have been over a hundred years old when he died during the reign of the second successor of Jayavarman VIII.) [139] In addition, the last Sanskrit inscription from Cambodia, that is, the one from Angkor Wat, informs us of another Brahman scholar named Vidyeśavid, a descendant of the Brahman Sarvajñamuni who was "born in Āryadeśa [i.e., India] and came through piety to the country of Kambu." [140] It was this Brahman who, at the request of Jayavarman VIII, whose royal chaplain (*hotar*) he was, crowned Jayavarman VIII's son-in-law Śrīndravarman king.[141]

But Singhalese Buddhism, which, as we recall, one of the sons of Jayavarman VII went to study in Ceylon,[142] already had its

followers and monks at the time of Chou Ta-kuan's visit. Chou accompanied the ambassador sent to Cambodia in 1295 in order to try to obtain tribute. He left Wen-chou (Che-chiang) on the twentieth day of the second month of the year 1296 and returned on the twelfth day of the eighth month of the year 1297.[143] "The embassy, according to him, was very successful, and homage was rendered; but perhaps he was too interested in the affair for us to accord full credence to what he says. As a matter of fact, there is no trace of regular officical relations following the mission of 1296." [144]

More important for the historian than the obtaining of tribute, the principal result of the voyage of Chou Ta-kuan was the composition of his famous memoirs on the customs of Cambodia, translated as early as 1819 by J. P. Abel Rémusat,[145] and again by Paul Pelliot in 1902.[146]

After giving the geographic position of the country of Chenla or Chanla, also called Kan-pu-che or Kan-p'u-che (Kambuja), Chou Ta-kuan briefly describes his itinerary: from China to the mouths of the Mekong, then the way up the river and the arm of the Great Lake via Ch'anan (Kompong Ch'nang), Fo-ts'un (Pursat), and Kan-p'ang (Kompong), the port of the capital, to the capital itself. He describes a city that corresponds exactly to the city of Jayavarman VII, present-day Angkor Thom, with its walls and moats, its five gates preceded by bridges with balustrades of *nāgas,* the gold tower (the Bayon) in the center of the city, the copper tower (the Baphuon) one *li* to the north, the Royal Palace another *li* farther north. Outside the city he mentions: to the south, the tower of Lu Pan (Phnom Bakhèng) and the tomb of Lu Pan (Angkor Wat); to the east, the eastern lake (Eastern Baray); to the north, the northern lake (Veal Reachdak, or the Baray of Preah Khan) with the temple of Neak Peân in the middle.

Chou Ta-kuan then describes the various kinds of dwellings, beginning with the Royal Palace in which "there is a gold tower [the Phimeanakas] at the top of which the king sleeps. All the natives claim that there is a spirit in the tower, a serpent with nine heads, which is the master of the soil of the whole kingdom. It appears every night in the form of a woman. It is with this spirit that the king first sleeps and unites himself."

With regard to dress, he notes the fashion for Western materials, and describes the royal costume in this manner: "Only

the prince is allowed to wear closely woven floral materials. He wears a gold diadem, similar to those that are on the head of the Vajradharas. When he does not wear the diadem, he simply winds a garland of fragrant flowers into his chignon. The flowers remind one of jasmine. Around his neck he has nearly three pounds of large pearls. On his wrists, ankles, and fingers, he wears bracelets and gold rings set with cat's-eyes. He goes barefoot, and the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands are tinted red with a red dye. When he goes out, he holds a gold sword in his hand."

With regard to the officials, "ministers, generals, astronomers," and lesser employees, Chou Ta-kuan notes very accurately the character of the aristocratic oligarchy that was Cambodian administration. "Most of the time, those chosen for offices are princes; if they are not, they offer their daughters as royal concubines." He confirms the evidence of epigraphy on the insignia of office: palanquins with shafts of gold or silver, parasols with gold or silver handles. "Officials having the right of a gold parasol are called *pa-ting* or *an-ting* (*mrateng, amteng*); those that have silver parasols are called *ssu-la-ti* (*śresṭhin*)."

The Chinese visitor recognized the existence of three religious sects: the *Pan-k'i* (*paṇḍita*), that is, the Brahmans, "whom we see dressed like other men, except for a strand of white thread that they wear around the neck and that is the distinctive mark of the educated"; the *Chu-ku* (Siamese *chao ku*, "lord," term of address for Buddhist monks), who "shave their heads, wear yellow garments, uncover the right shoulder, fasten a skirt of material around the lower part of the body, go barefoot," worship an image "altogether similar to Buddha Śākyamuni, and which they call Po-lai [Preah]," take only one meal a day, and recite numerous texts written on palm leaves; the *Pa-ssu-wei* ([*ta*]*pasvin*, ascetics), worshippers of the linga, "a block of stone very similar to the stone of the altar of the god of the soil in China."

Chou Ta-kuan professed some scorn for the morals of the "large and very black" inhabitants, but he saw women of the aristocracy "white as jade." According to him, "the sovereign has five wives, one of the private apartment properly speaking, and four of the four cardinal points," not to mention thousands of concubines.

In a long paragraph based on information whose accuracy he does not guarantee ("as Chinese are not allowed to witness

these things, we cannot know the exact truth"), he describes under the obscure name *chen-t'an* a rite of defloration of nubile girls.

Slaves appear to have been recruited almost exclusively among savages, "men of mountain solitudes," who understood the common language; other savages, "who do not submit to civilization, wander in the mountains."

Chou Ta-kuan very exactly characterizes the Khmer language, in comparison with Chinese, by the order of words in a phrase, the modifier following the word modified in reverse of Chinese. The words Chou Ta-kuan cites, numerals and kinship terms, are easily recognizable. No specimens have come down to us of the writings in chalk on blackened skin mentioned by Chou Ta-kuan, but undoubtedly the *krang* on black paper are modern counterparts.

The festivals of the twelve months are the subject of an interesting chapter in which there seems to be some confusion between the numbers of the Chinese months and the Cambodian months. Among these festivals, Chou Ta-kuan mentions a feast of lights, which must have been connected with the feast of the dead; a "throwing of the ball," which in modern times accompanies the alternate chants of boys and girls at the time of the new year; the washing of Buddha images, which also took place at new year's; the survey of the population, a sort of census that was also at one time conducted in Siam; and the burning of rice, an agricultural celebration marking the end of the harvest.

As far as justice was concerned, Chou Ta-kuan notes that "disputes of the people, however insignificant, always go to the sovereign." Beyond this, he speaks only of tortures and ordeals.

Among the illnesses, he cites leprosy, "a malady caused by the climatic conditions of the country. There was a sovereign who contracted this malady; perhaps that is why the people do not consider it with scorn."

On the matter of funeral rites, he mentions hardly anything but the exposure of the body to wild animals. "Now, there are also a few people who burn their dead; these are for the most part descendants of the Chinese. . . . The sovereign is interred in a tower, but I do not know if his body is buried or only his bones."

Chou Ta-kuan then speaks of agriculture, mentioning in this regard floating rice; he then describes the physical configuration of the country, its products, the commerce that took place there,

the Chinese goods in demand there, the plants and animals. He describes the furniture and tableware of the Cambodians, which have always been and still are rudimentary, the vehicles and palanquins, and the boats (junks and canoes).

Among the ninety provinces, he names Chen-p'u, Ch'a-nan, Pa-chien, Mu-liang, Pa-hsie, P'u-mai, Che-kun, Mu-tsin-po, Lai Kan-k'eng, and Pa-ssu-li, very few of which it is possible to identify.[147]

"Each village has a temple or a stupa. Even villages with very few inhabitants have a police officer called *mai-tsieh* (*mé srok?*). On the major roads there are rest houses comparable to our post houses; they are called *senmu* (*saṃnak*)."

After some details on the collection of human bile (which was still practiced at the time when the French protectorate was established), on baths, and on armaments,[148] Chou Ta-kuan concludes his account with a description of an outing of the king that is worth citing in its entirety:

> I have spent more than a year in the country, and I have seen him go out four or five times. When the prince goes out, troops head the escort; then come the standards, the pennants, and the music.
>
> Young girls of the palace, three to five hundred in number, who wear floral materials and flowers in their hair and hold candles in their hands, form one troop; even in broad daylight their candles are lit. Then come girls of the palace carrying gold and silver royal utensils and a whole series of ornaments, all of a very peculiar shape and the uses of which are unknown to me. Then there are the girls of the palace carrying lances and shields, who comprise the private guard of the prince; they also form a troop. Following are goat-carts and horse-carts, all decorated with gold. The ministers and princes are mounted on elephants; in front of them one can see from afar their red parasols, which are innumerable. After them come the wives and concubines of the king, in palanquins, in carts, on horses and elephants. They have, certainly, more than a hundred parasols flecked with gold. After them is the sovereign, standing on an elephant and holding the precious sword in his hand. The tusks of the elephant are also sheathed in gold. There are more than twenty white parasols flecked with gold, with handles of gold.
>
> Numerous elephants crowd around him, and there are more troops to protect him. If the king goes to a nearby place, he uses only gold palanquins carried by ten girls of the palace. Most frequently the king, on his outings, goes to see a small gold tower in front of which is a gold Buddha. Those who see the king must prostrate themselves and touch the ground in front of them. This is what is called *san-pa* (*sampeaḥ*). If they do not, they are seized by those in charge of the ceremonies, who do not let them go until they have paid for their transgression. Twice each day the king holds audience for the affairs of government. There is no fixed agenda. Those officials or commoners who wish to see the sovereign, sit on the ground to wait for him. After some time, one hears distant music in the palace, and, outside, conches are blown in welcome to the king.
>
> I have heard it said that he uses only a gold palanquin. He does not have to go far. An instant later you see two girls of the palace raise the curtain with their tiny fingers, and the king, holding the sword in his hand, appears at the golden window. Ministers and common people clasp their hands and strike the ground in front of them; when the sound of the conches stops, they can raise their heads again. Immediately thereafter the king sits down. In the place where he sits there is a lion skin, which is a hereditary royal treasure.
>
> When business is concluded, the prince returns; the two girls let the curtain fall, and everyone rises.
>
> We see from this that, even though this is a barbarous kingdom, these people know what a prince is.

12. CHAMPA AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In Champa, Indravarman V, already quite old at the time of the visit of Marco Polo in 1285, must have died shortly afterward. He was succeeded by his son, Prince Harijit, who took as his reign name Jaya Siṃhavarman (III). This is the Chê Mân of the Vietnamese.[149]

Jaya Siṃhavarman III, by his firm stance in 1292, when the Mongol fleet passed by on the way to the archipelago to avenge the Javanese insult to the envoys of Kublai and to obtain the submission of the small states of Sumatra, was able to prevent the Mongols from landing on the coasts of Champa.[150]

After marrying a Javanese princess, Queen Tapasī, he sought the hand of a Vietnamese princess, and in 1306 he obtained from the Emperor Trân Anh-tông—in exchange for two Cham provinces situated north of the Col des Nuages[151]—the hand of the Emperor's sister, Princess Huyên Trân, who received the title Parameśvarī.[152]

He died the following year, after having erected at Phanrang the temple of Po Klaung Garai[153] and at Darlac the temple of Yang Prong.[154]

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