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## THE EARLIEST DATED CAMBODIAN INSCRIPTION K. 557/600 FROM ANGKOR BOREI, CAMBODIA: AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY\*

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**Abstract:** The author offers the first complete English translation of the Old Khmer inscription K.557/600 from Angkor Borei, which dates from 611 CE. It is the earliest dated inscription of Cambodia known today. This source was first published by George Cœdès in 1942. He translated the inscription into French but omitted the names of servants. Since his edition there has been no attempt to produce the full translation, except the Russian translation by Anton O. Zakharov in 2016. The inscription sheds light on the ancient Khmer personal names and sobriquets. Names of servants or ‘slaves,’ who were granted to various gods, i.e. religious foundations, by various donors, were of Sanskrit, Old Khmer, Austronesian, and Austroasiatic origin. But servants who bore these names or sobriquets played similar social roles. Thus, names of different origin were not indicators of different social status.

**Keywords:** Cambodia, inscriptions, epigraphy, personal names, servants, donations, slaves, Angkor Borei.

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The early seventh century CE was in some way a dawn of the new era in the history of Cambodia. The beginning of the century saw the first dated inscriptions in vernacular Old Khmer language. These texts supplanted step-by-step local Sanskrit epigraphy. However, Sanskrit had continued in the dating formulae, royal names and eulogies placed inside the Old Khmer texts<sup>1</sup>.

The earliest dated inscription of Cambodia K. 557/600 was found on an elevation Vă Ćrôy on the right riverbank of the Angkor Borei River where an ancient urban site of the same name has been excavated by an American excavation team of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa under the direction of Miriam Stark (2003; 2004; 2006a–d) (see *fig. 1*). The inscription is dated from 611 CE. It is written in Old Khmer with Sanskrit loan-words and engraved in the Early Pallava script—a kind of Brahmi script.

The text is engraved on the three surfaces of a square stone whose height is 0.80 m and whose breadth is 1.20 m. The southern part of the inscription contains three lines. They were published as the Touol Vat Komnou inscription K. 557 in the Volume 5 of the six-volume *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (Finot 1935, pl. XIII)<sup>2</sup>. The northern and eastern parts of the inscription were deci-

\* The Russian translation of the inscription can be found in (Zakharov 2016).

<sup>1</sup> According to scholarly convention, the inscriptions of Cambodia are designated by the letter K whereas the inscriptions of Campā in Central Vietnam by the letter C since the catalogues of George Cœdès (Cœdès 1908: 37–92; Cœdès, Parmentier 1923; Cœdès. 1937; 1942; 1966).

<sup>2</sup> It should be emphasized that the well-illustrated six-volume *Inscriptions du Cambodge* have the same title that the seminal eight-volume edition by George Cœdès. His edition has no pictures whereas the six-volume edition offers

phered and translated into French by George Cœdès (1886–1969, 1942: 21–23) as K. 600. His translation is incomplete. He omitted all the names of dependent persons, or “slaves” (esclaves). The Indian historian Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (1888–1980) in his *Inscriptions of Kambuja* described the content of the inscription following Cœdès (Majumdar 1953: 7–8, 559–560, No. 6)<sup>3</sup>. The American linguist Philipp Jenner published a drawing of the inscription’s part with his commentaries in his *A Chrestomathy of Pre-Angkorian Khmer: Dated Inscriptions from the Seventh and Eighth Centuries* (Jenner 1980: 1–9). Michael Vickery did analyze some terms and fragments of the inscription K. 557/600 in his colossal *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia: The 7th–8th Centuries* (Vickery 1998).

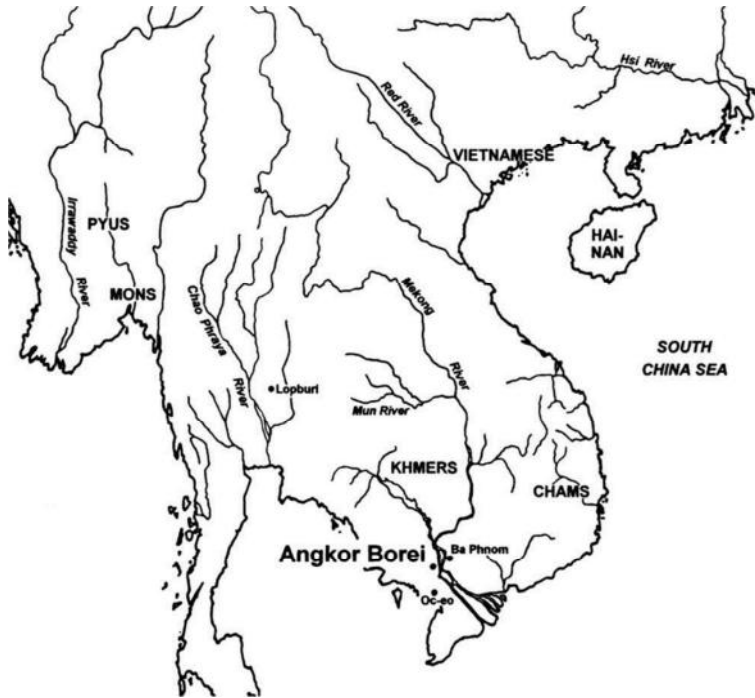


Fig. 1: A map of Pre-Angkorian Cambodia. From (Stark 2003, 89, map III–1).

Jenner rather ironically states that “The analysis of slave lists can be rewarding if one has the stomach for it” (Jenner 1980: 7)<sup>4</sup>. He adds that the personal names in the inscription are of Sanskrit, Old Khmer and other languages’ origin. The most reliable markers of the personal name, in Jenner’s view, are words *va/vā* ‘a man’ and *ku* ‘a woman’. These markers occur immediately before the name or sobriquet. I would add that the inscription K. 557/600 contains an Austronesian and an Austroasiatic name, *Putih* and *Lavo* respectively.

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no transliteration and no translation. On the contrary, Cœdès did translate a huge amount of Cambodian Old Khmer inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> It should be stressed that Majumdar offers an English-language compilation of previous French scholarship. He gives Sanskrit parts of the Cambodian inscriptions in Devanagari script and describes its contents very briefly. Due to these weaknesses, contemporary scholars have rarely mentioned Majumdar’s book. Michael Vickery (1931–2017), for instance, does not mention it at all (Vickery 1998).

<sup>4</sup> The Russian scholar Dega V. Deopik attempted to apply statistical methods to ancient Khmer personal names from the Old Khmer inscriptions (1969; 1972; 1975; 1979; 1983) but his works contain the lists and pure numerical data only, without providing interpretation.

In 1977 Long Seam, a Khmer PhD student at the Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Lomonosov Moscow State University who worked under supervision of Deopik, published a paper on the personal names of pre-Angkorian and Angkorian Cambodia (1977: 111–119). He summarized data from more than one thousand inscriptions. He described the structure, morphology and semantics of Old Khmer personal names. Later Long Seam published a study of Khmer geographic names (1993: 127–147).

Some Old Khmer personal names may have been sobriquets due to their meaning<sup>5</sup>. The inscription K. 557/600 mentions certain *Klapit* ‘to be fettered, confined’, *Lañsoñ* ‘one who has received retribution’, *Sa’uy* ‘To smell bad, stink, reek; stinker’, *Cke* ‘dog’<sup>6</sup>, *Santos* ‘spit’, *Ragāl* ‘diminished, reduced’, *Rapak* ‘broken, ruined’, *Cmā* ‘cat’, *Tvin* ‘twisted, bent, deformed’, *Knāy* ‘device for scraping, grubbing’, *Crañ* ‘bristle’, *Tvoc* ‘small, little’, *Adās* ‘opponent, rival’, *Asaru* ‘bad, evil, ill-disposed’, *Vah Cī* ‘aged (lit. parted of her youth)’, *Knur* ‘leprous (?)’, etc.

Sanskrit personal names in Old Khmer inscriptions are always harmonious but their bearers carried out the same functions as those who had Old Khmer names and/or sobriquets. For example, the inscription K. 557/600 mentions house-serfs *Śivadāsa* (Skr. ‘a slave of Shiva’) and *Sa’uy* (Old Khmer ‘a stinker’), rice-fields workers *Jyeṣṭhahvarmma* (Skr. ‘the best protector’) and *Aras* (Old Khmer ‘living, live’), female dancers *Tanvaṅgī* (Skr. ‘slender’) and *Pit añ* (Old Khmer ‘sealed by me (?)’).

The date of the inscription occupies the first line of its northern part: *traitrīśot-tarapañcaśata śakaparigra[ha] trayodaśī ket māgha puṣyanakṣatra tulalagna* “In the Śaka year 533, thirteenth day of the waxing moon of the month *Māgha* (January–February), when the lunar mansion was *Puṣya* (the sixth lunar mansion), and the Sun entered *Libra*”. The Sanskrit part contains few inaccuracies. It gives *traitrīśottara* instead of *trayastrimśa + uttara*. It uses no cases. It also makes use of the Old Khmer word *ket* instead of Skr. *śuklapakṣa* ‘waxing Moon’.

The transition to Old Khmer in epigraphy looks a bit sudden due to the fact that all earlier inscriptions dated from the sixth century CE are composed in Sanskrit only<sup>7</sup>. They include multiple records of the king Citrasena-Mahendravarman: fragmentary K. 377 from Vat Sumphon in Surin (Cœdès 1953: 3–4), K. 509 from Tham Prasat in Ubon (Cœdès *apud* Seidenfaden 1922: 57–60), both in Thailand; K. 116 from Kruoi Ampil in the Stung Treng Province of Cambodia (Cœdès 1942: 134); K. 122 from Thma Kre in the Kratie Province (Finot 1903: 212); K. 514 from Tham Pet Thong in the Nakhon Ratchasima, or Khorat Province, Thailand (Seidenfaden 1922: 92); K. 363 from Phu Lokhon in the Basak Province of Laos (Barth 1903: 442–446)<sup>8</sup>; K. 496–497 from Pak Mun or Khan Thevada (Cœdès *apud* Seidenfaden 1922: 57–60); K. 508 from Tham Prasat, or Tham Phu Ma Nay in the Ubon Province of Thailand<sup>9</sup>; K. 1102 from Khon Kaen and K. 1106 from Phimai (Vickery 1998: 74–75); K. 969 from Khau Sra Cheng, or Ta Phraya in Thailand (Cœdès 1964: 152; Chhabra 1961: 109). Other examples are the inscription K. 213 from Phnom Banteay Neang in the Battambang Province of Cambodia issued by the king Bhavavarman who was elder brother of Citrasena-Mahendravarman (Barth 1885: 26–28), and the inscription K. 359 from Veal Kantel in the Stung Treng Province of Cambodia. The K. 359 inscription mentions a nephew of female line

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Mark Yu. Ulyanov for that idea.

<sup>6</sup> Long Seam points out that Old Khmer “names of animals were used to denote personal names of lower social classes (*Catégorie sociale inférieure*)” (Long Seam 1977: 118).

<sup>7</sup> The inscriptions of Funan are also written in Sanskrit. They date from the fifth – early sixth centuries as well as the Sanskrit inscription of a certain king Devānīka who ruled in the region of Vat Phou (modern Laos). See Cœdès 1931; 1937b; Zakharov 2015a: 1–23; 2015b: 170–177; 2014: 142–148.

<sup>8</sup> Cœdès calls its find-place Čān Nāk’ōn (1966: 138).

<sup>9</sup> « Chronique de l’année », *BEFEO* 22 (1922), p. 385, section « Laos »; Cœdès 1931, pl. I. While the Sanskrit root *-śarman* occurs unfrequently in royal names, it is synonymous of the root *-varman*: they both mean ‘a protector’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 926, 1058).

of Bhavavarman named Hiraṇyavarman and the latter's father Somaśarman (Barth 1885: 28–31).

The content of the Angkor Borei inscription K. 557/600 is a bestowal or granting which is at the same time a religious merit. All acts of bestowal mentioned in its text concern deities. In fact, the inscription has a dual nature. It is a record of juridical facts and of pious deeds that are inseparable of each other. The inscription gives no information what these merits are except bestowals and donations. The text contains repetitious formulae of land, cattle and rice-fields donations.

Donors and recipients bear personal names or titles. Differentiating names and titles sometimes looks problematic. A certain *poñ* Uy made a gift to *kpoñ kamratān 'añ*. A certain *jaṃ 'añ* made a donation to the god Ganesa or Mahāgaṇapati. A certain *mratān 'Antār* bestowed servants to a deity Kamratān Teṃ Kroṃ. A certain *ācārya* or religious teacher *Kandin* gave a gift to *Mañīśvara* or Shiva. A mixture of Old Khmer and Sanskrit divine names as well as pure Old Khmer titles implies a unique local culture with an Indic stratum.

The objects of bestowing in the K. 557/600 are slaves or dependent peoples – men, women and children; cows and buffaloes, goats, coconut trees in groves and orchards, and rice-fields.

I offer an English translation of the inscription K. 557/600 with a commentary. The basis for any translation is a French one made by Cœdès. I have checked the readings through the prints of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient<sup>10</sup> (See figures 2–4). My commentary is based on the online Phillip Jenner's *Dictionary of Pre-Angkorian Khmer* and *Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer* (Jenner 2009a–b = <http://sealang.net/ok/>). The numbers of lines are given in curly brackets. The square brackets include necessary additions. The round brackets contain my comments of the text.

### The Angkor Borei K.557/600 Inscription of 611 CE

#### The Northern Part



n. 1054-N / K. 600

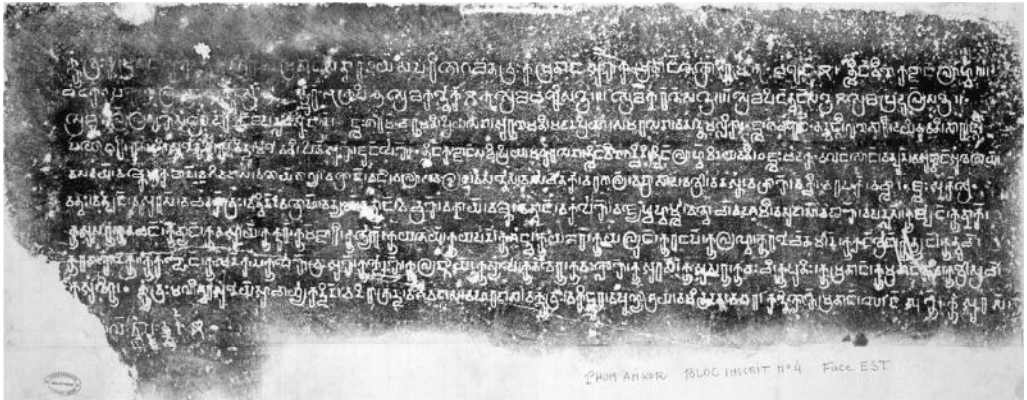
Figure 2. Print n. 1054-N K.600. *Courtesy*: École française d'Extrême-Orient

{1} traitrīsottarapañcaśata śakaparigra[ha]<sup>11</sup> trayodaśī ket māgha puṣyanakṣatra tulalagna poñ uy oy kñuṃ ai ta kpoñ kamratān 'añ va klapit 1 va kantān srān 1 va tloñ 1  
 {2} va kcār 1 ku kantau 1 kon ku va 'alañ 1 ku yaleñ 1 tmur 60 krapī 2 vave 10 toñ tneṃ 40 sre sanre 2 ai 'aṃpoñ kñuṃ 'aṃnoy jaṃ 'añ ai ta vraḥ kamratān 'añ mahāgaṇapati  
 {3} va nñā 1 va kantān 1 va knoc 1 va tmo 1 va daśamī 1 ku koñ vraḥ 1 ku juñ poñ 1 kon ku 1 ku mānra 'añ 1 ku plas 1 tmur 20 kantai ta pos oy (ya)jamāna kpoñ 1 ta cuḥ thai vraḥ jon vñe nñau danhuṃ 1 ci 'añ tāñ 1 ||

<sup>10</sup> I thank Arlo Griffiths who kindly sent them to me.

<sup>11</sup> Jenner already mentioned the omission of [ha] (1980: 6).

## The Eastern Part



n. 1054-E / K. 600

Figure 3. Print n. 1054-E K.600. Courtesy: École française d'Extrême-Orient

{1} kñuṃ vraḥ kamratān 'aṅ...sara<sup>12</sup> man mratān 'antār oy saṃ paribhoga ai ta vraḥ kamratān 'aṅ kamratān teṃ kroṃ ramam 7 camreṅ 11 tmīn vīṇa kañjaṅ lāhv 4  
 {2} cam'uk va pamre kralā vraḥ 20-2 kñuṃ sre 40.. tmur 100 krapī 20 sre ai kantok 10-7 sre ai camrai sanre 4 sre ai knar teṃ sanre 4 sre ai piṅ tvaṅ sanre 10 sre ai pradul sanre 2  
 {3} sre ai..l lam 'aṅ sanre 2 damriṅ ai panlaxanān 1 jmaḥ ge ramam<sup>13</sup> carumatī 1 priyasenā 1 'aruṇamatī 1 madanapriyā 1 samarasenā 1 vasantamallikā 1 jmaḥ ge camren<sup>14</sup> tanvaṅgī 1 guṇadhārī 1 dayitavatī 1 sārāṅgī 1  
 {4} payodharī 1 ratimatī 1 stanottarī 1 rativindu 1 manovatī 1 pit 'aṅ 1 juṅ poṅ 1 tmiṅ kanjaṅ sakhipriyā 1 madhurasenā 1 tmiṅ vīṇa gandhinī 1 tmiṅ lāhv vinayavatī 1 jmaḥ cam'uk va laṅsoṅ 1 va tpuṅ 1 va 'ahvān 'amve ley 1  
 {5} va sa'uy 1 va cke 1 va kañcan 1 va śivadāsa 1 va toy bhāgya 1 va kroṅ 1 va nā 1 va lābha 1 va laxu 1 va santos 1 va soc tarka 1 va ragāl 1 va prāsāda 1 va vrau 1 va ta'ūṃ 1 va krāṅ 1 va kcī 1 va rapak 1 va cmā 1 jmaḥ 'naka<sup>15</sup> sre  
 {6} va tvaḥ 1 va tpaṅ 1 va 'aras 1 va cam'uk vraḥ 1 va tvin 1 va toḥ 1 va tyx 1 va xān 1 va craṅ 1 va knāy 1 va cke 1 va tvāṅ 1 va kampoṅ 1 va jyeṣṭhahvarmma 1 va tvoc 1 va daśamī 1 va 'adās 1 va phāṅ 1 va panlas 1 ku cpoṅ 1 ku vnāk 1  
 {7} ku 'asaru 1 ku tacaṅ 1 ku tvāṅ 1 ku ta'āy 1 ku knur 1 ku mañjarī 1 ku tyor 1 ku yatey 1 ku yapan 1 ku śaṃṅkha 1 ku ya'ir 1 ku yaluṅ 1 ku raṅap 1 ku lahve 1 ku raṃnoc ta mān 1 ku klaṅ vroṅ 1 ku tyuṅ 1 ku tvuc 1  
 {8} ku ravā 1 kon ku 2 ku kañheṅ 1 ku men kan 1 ku poṅ vraḥ 'aṅ 1 ku kpoṅ 1 ku laṅgāy 1 ku syām po 1 ku tamve ru 1 ku vaḥ kloṅ 1 ku 'aras 1 ku 'asaru 1 ku vaḥ cī 1 ku putiḥ 1 ku mratān 1 ku mratān jīva 1 ku vrau srac 1  
 {9} ku 'amvai ru 1 kñuṃ vraḥ mañśvara 'amnoy 'ācāryya kandin 1 va nirākrandā 1 va śivadāsa 1 va haradāsa 1 va kñuṃ vraḥ 1 va kiṅkara 1 va puṇyāśraya 1 va mitradatta 1 va dhara 1 kantai

<sup>12</sup> Cœdès writes *cvara* (Cœdès 1942: 22). But the print Cœdès has no sign *v*.

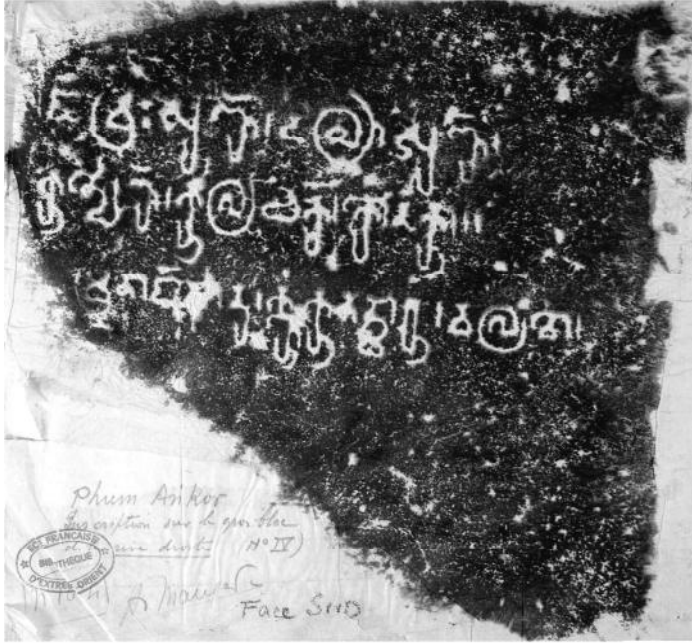
<sup>13</sup> Cœdès and the online corpus of Old Khmer inscriptions give *ram* (Cœdès 1942: 22; <http://www.sealang.net/classic/khmer/>; Jenner 1980: 9).

<sup>14</sup> The word *camreṅ* in the first line of the eastern part of inscription is used without the third person pronoun *ge* (Jenner 1980: 9).

<sup>15</sup> Cœdès offers *nak sre* (1942: 22). But *-ka* is evident.

kloñ mratāñ 1 loñ 'añ 1 ku 'aras 1  
{10} ..! vñā 1 tmur 10 ||

### The Southern Part



n. 1054-S / K. 600

Figure 4. Print n. 1054-S K.557/600. *Courtesy: École française d'Extrême-Orient*

{1} ...'añ vraḥ 'añ 1 dalā 'añ 1  
{2} ...ku tpoñ 1 ku lacak 1 kon ku 3  
{3} ...mratāñ bhānu 1 kñum ku tanmā ru 1 va lavo 1 ||

### Translation

#### The Northern Part

“{1} “In the Śaka year 533<sup>16</sup>, thirteenth day of the waxing moon<sup>17</sup> of the month *Māgha* (January–February), when the lunar mansion was *Puṣya* (the sixth lunar mansion), and the Sun entered Libra, poñ<sup>18</sup> Uy<sup>19</sup> bestowed slaves to Kpoñ Kamratāñ 'Añ<sup>20</sup>: a man [named] Klapit<sup>21</sup>, a

<sup>16</sup> Jenner (1980: 6–7) points out that *traitrīśottarapañcaśata* is *trayastrīṃśa + uttara + pañcaśata*, literally “thirty three after five hundred,” i.e. the year 533. According to Jenner, *Śakaparigraha* means “a year of the Śaka dominion, i.e. a year of the Śaka era” (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, accessed 08.09.2018).

<sup>17</sup> *Ket* is the Old Khmer term for the month which in Sanskrit calls *śuklapakṣa*.

<sup>18</sup> *Poñ* is a court male and, perhaps, female title (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). Deopik supposes that “*poñ* is a small landholder who was not a member of a community but who made use of the labour of the *kñum*” (Deopik 1981: 29). Sachchidanand Sahai holds that *poñ* did not occupy high official posts (1970: 56). Long Seam treats *poñ* as a religious title (Long Seam 1977: 113). According to Jenner, *poñ* is an “unidentified title, presumably of a low rank in the feudal hierarchy” (1981: 197, italics of Jenner). He once translated it as ‘sir’: “Sir Uy has given slaves to the *kpoñ* Our High Lord” (Jenner 1981: 381). Michael Vickery did find evidence that *poñ* may belong to the upper social classes. For example, the inscription K. 90 from Kuk Prasat Kot in the Kampong Cham Province of Cambodia calls a servant of the

man [named] Kantān srān<sup>22</sup>, a man [named] Tloñ<sup>23</sup>, {2} a man [named] Kcār<sup>24</sup>, a woman [named] Kantau<sup>25</sup>, her son [named] 'Alaṇ<sup>26</sup>, a woman [named] Ya leñ<sup>27</sup>, 60 cows, 2 water buffaloes, 10 goats, 40 coconut trees, 2 rice-fields (or 2 rice-fields measuring 2 *sanre*<sup>28</sup>) in<sup>29</sup> a place [called] Ampon<sup>30</sup>. Slaves<sup>31</sup> [whom] Jam 'Añ<sup>32</sup> granted to a deity (*vrah kamratān 'añ*)<sup>33</sup> Mahāgaṇapati<sup>34</sup>: {3} a man [named] Nñā<sup>35</sup>, a man [named] Kantān<sup>36</sup>, a man [named] Knoc<sup>37</sup>, a man [named] Tmo<sup>38</sup>, a man [named] Daśamī<sup>39</sup>, a woman [named] Koñ vrah<sup>40</sup>, a

king Īśānavarman named Bhadrāyudha, *bhṛtya* 'id.' in the Sanskrit part and *poñ* in the Old Khmer part (Cœdès 1953: 26). The inscription K. 54 from Kdei Ang dated from 629 CE a donor gives a property obtained from a certain *poñ* Śivadatta. That Śivadatta is called a son of Īśānavarman and very likely an elder brother of Bhavavarman II in the inscription K. 1150 found in the region of Aranyaprathet, the Prachinburi Province of Thailand, in 1986. Śivadatta also bears the Sanskrit title *svāmīn* 'owner or lord' (Cœdès 1951: 159; Jacques 1986: 79). After 719 CE the title *poñ* disappeared from inscriptions. Its last mention in the inscription K. 1029 dated from 743–744 CE, concerns the generation of the parents of the text authors (Vickery 1998: 190–192: 190. n. 55; 118: 363–365).

<sup>19</sup> *Uy* may denote a slave-name and a verb 'to smell' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). Vickery is inclined to treat the word as a title part (1998: 277).

<sup>20</sup> The title *kpoñ kamratān* also occurs in the inscriptions K. 79 of 639 CE (line 7: '*aṇṇoy mratāñ Īśānapavitra ta kpoñ kammratān 'añ*' "a gift of *Mratāñ Īśānapavitra* to *Kpoñ Kammratān 'Añ*") and K. 910 from Tuol Ang Srah that dated from 651 CE (line 17: *kñuṃ kpoñ kammratān* "slaves of *Kpoñ Kammratān*," whom Jenner identifies with Śrī Kedāreśvara) (Jenner 1980: 50; 1981: 41; <http://sealang.net/ok/>, accessed 08.09.2018). The name *Īśānapavitra* has the same root that occurs in the name of the king of Zhenla Īśānavarman who ruled in the first half of the seventh century. Kedāreśvara is the name of a Shiva's statue in Kashi and of a *tīrtha*, or bathing place in Himalayas (Monier-Williams 1899: 309). *Kpoñ* is a name of female slaves (Jenner 1981: 41). *kammratān 'añ* means "Our High Lord" (Jenner 1981: 381).

<sup>21</sup> *Klapit* means 'fettered, confined'.

<sup>22</sup> *Kantān srān* means a 'handsome servant,' <http://sealang.net/ok/> s.v. 'srān'.

<sup>23</sup> *Tloñ* is a slave name and is also a "unit of measure for paddy and salt".

<sup>24</sup> *Kcār* is a hapax in the corpus of Old Khmer names.

<sup>25</sup> *Kantau* means 'ardent, energetic'.

<sup>26</sup> I translate following Jenner (1980: 8). The meaning of *'alanis* unknown (Jenner 1981: 366).

<sup>27</sup> The meaning of *Ya leñ* is undefined. According to Jenner, *Ya* may denote a female slave of non-Khmer origin (Jenner 1981: 239). However, his online dictionary gives the meanings 'female creature; courtesy title for (presumably older) women' only (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>28</sup> *Sanre* or *sanrey[y]* or *sare* is a 'numeral classifier for rice-field'; *sre sanre* 2 means '2 rice-fields' or 'a rice-field of 2 *sanre*' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>; cf. Jenner 1981: 313). *Sre* means a rice-field (Jenner 1981: 345).

<sup>29</sup> The preposition *ai* here is incomplete. Its complete form is *ai ta* (see line 1 – *ai ta kpoñ kamratān 'añ*, and line 2 – *ai ta vrah kamratān 'añ mahāgaṇapati*).

<sup>30</sup> *Ampon* is a hapax.

<sup>31</sup> The term *kñuṃ/khñuṃ* is a point at issue between the scholars. It usually has been translated as 'slave'. But Claude Jacques expressed serious doubts in this interpretation (Jacques 1976). Vickery points out that *kñuṃ* "in fact belong to several categories, perhaps few of which should be termed 'slaves' in the accepted Western sense" (Vickery 1998: 225). He states that he will call them "serving personnel" (Vickery 1998: 231, 439–440). During the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the European Association for Southeast Asian Studies held in Naples in September 2007, there was a panel "Slaves in the inscriptions of Ancient Cambodia". Its moderator Eric Bourdonneau and its participant Sachchidanand Sahai argued that *kñuṃ* often were not slaves in the sense of Ancient Greek and Roman slavery. (I participated in the conference and attended this session; see my review: Zakharov 2008: 177.)

<sup>32</sup> *Aṇṇoy jam 'añ* literally means 'the gift of the *jam 'añ*' (Jenner 1980: 8). Vickery holds that *jam 'añ* is a title (1998: 277).

<sup>33</sup> See Cœdès 1961; Ferlus 1994. Vickery translates the title *vrah kamrateñ añ* as 'his majesty' (1985: 240, n. 52). Jenner supposes that *kamrateñ añ* is 'Holy Lord' whereas *vrah* means 'celestial or holy being: god, demigod, the Buddha' (1981: 15, 297).

<sup>34</sup> The phrase *vrah kamratān 'añ mahāgaṇapati* is curious due to its combination of Old Khmer and Sanskrit words. *vrah kamratān 'añ* are Old Khmer. *Mahāgaṇapati* is a name of Ganesa in Sanskrit (Monier-Williams 1899: 795).

<sup>35</sup> *Nñā* is a hapax.

<sup>36</sup> *Kantān* means 'designated, appointed'.

<sup>37</sup> The meaning of *knoc* is unclear. According to Jenner, it occurs in the inscriptions K. 138:20 (620 CE, Cœdès 1953: 18); K. 127:7 (683 CE, Cœdès 1942: 89); K. 904B:3 (713 CE, Cœdès 1952: 54). K. 24:1 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 16); K. 149:8 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1952: 28); K. 389B:2 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1954: 78; 1958: 127); K. 424B:7 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 73); K. 502:6 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1924: 353); K. 11:4 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 7) (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>38</sup> *Tmo* means 'stone or precious stone'.

woman [named] Juñ Poñ<sup>41</sup>, her child (*kon ku* 1)<sup>42</sup>, a woman [named] Mānra 'Añ<sup>43</sup>, a woman [named] Plas<sup>44</sup>, 20 cows, religious females [are] givento the priest of the *Kpoñ*<sup>45</sup>, who keeps notes of saint days<sup>46</sup>, presents flowers, incense and perfume<sup>47</sup>; one Ci 'Añ<sup>48</sup>, one Tāñ<sup>49</sup>”.

#### The Eastern Part

“{1} The slaves of the god (*vrah kamratāñ 'añ*)... whom *mratāñ*<sup>50</sup> Antār<sup>51</sup> bestowed<sup>52</sup> to the god (*vrah kamratāñ 'añ*) Kamratāñ Tem Krom (Holy Lord of the tree Krom)<sup>53</sup>: seven dancing girls<sup>54</sup>, eleven female singers, four female players on [musical instruments] *viṇa*, *kañjañ*,<sup>55</sup> and *lāhv*, {2} twenty two domestic servants<sup>56</sup> for the services in a sanctuary(?); 40 – – [57]<sup>57</sup> slaves for rice-fields (*sre*), one hundred cows, twenty water buffaloes, seventeen rice-fields in Kantok<sup>58</sup>, four rice-fields in Caṃrai<sup>59</sup> (or a rice-field measured four *sanre* in Caṃrai)<sup>60</sup>, four rice-fields in Knar tem<sup>61</sup> (or a rice-field measured four *sanre* in Knar tem); a rice-field on a pond with coconuts (or in Piñ Tvañ[measured] ten *sanre*<sup>62</sup>); two rice-fields in Pradul<sup>63</sup> (or a rice-field measured two *sanre* in Pradul); {3} two rice-fields in – l l am 'añ<sup>64</sup>, and an orchard in

<sup>39</sup> *Daśamī* is the Sanskrit word for ‘ten’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 472).

<sup>40</sup> *Koñ vrah* probably means ‘bent by a god’ as *koñ* has meanings ‘bent, twisted, knotted’.

<sup>41</sup> The name *juñ poñ* consists of the two words. The first means ‘subject, dependent’. The second was discussed earlier (see above).

<sup>42</sup> The gender of a child remains unknown (Jenner 1980: 8).

<sup>43</sup> *ku mān ra 'añ* means ‘rich, wealthy’, <http://sealang.net/ok/>, entry ‘mān’.

<sup>44</sup> *Plas* is a hapax but Jenner offers a meaning ‘substitute’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, Jenner 1981: 209).

<sup>45</sup> The translation “religious females [are] givento the priest of the *Kpoñ*” follows Joseph Deth Thach and Denis Paillard (Deth Thach, Paillard 2011: 10).

<sup>46</sup> According to Vickery, the priest of the *Kpoñ* is the “one who records holy days” (1998: 218). He follows Cœdès.

<sup>47</sup> I follow Vickery (Vickery 1998: 217) with a correction. He omits the verb *oy* and translates “*kantai* in cult service (*pos*) with the officiant of the *kpoñ* 1...”

<sup>48</sup> *Ci* means ‘young’ whereas *ci 'añ* is a “court title for young men?” (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). But *ci 'añ* literally means ‘my youth, my young man’ because ‘*añ* is the first person singular (cf. *vrah kamratāñ 'añ* ‘my divine lord, my God’).

<sup>49</sup> *Tāñ* is a ‘title for woman of rank: lady, wife’ or conjecturally ‘a king’s servant’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). It is difficult to say whether it concerns a man or a woman. It is also possible that the word *tāñ* relates to the previous words. As the inscription says *ci 'añ tāñ l*, one may suppose a translation “one young man [named] Tāñ”.

<sup>50</sup> Jenner writes ‘Lord’ (1980: 9) or ‘eminence’ (1981: 237).

<sup>51</sup> *Antār* is a hapax. Jenner once erroneously defined it as a slave-name (1981: 361). But it is equally possible that one should read “the lord of Antār”.

<sup>52</sup> *saṃ paribhoga means* ‘to share the use of with (*ai ta, dañ, droñ*)’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *ge vrah saṃ paribhoga droñ vrah kammratāñ 'añ kammratāñ tem krom voṃ saṃ droñ samudrapura* (K.137:3–4, Cœdès 1942: 116), “The divinities shall share the use [thereof] with My Holy High Lord the high lord of the *krom* tree, [but] not with Samudrapura”. <http://sealang.net/ok/>.

<sup>54</sup> Cœdès rightly points out that the third line of the eastern part mentions only six dancing girls (Cœdès 1942: 23, n. 9). Their names are obviously female (see below).

<sup>55</sup> The term *kañjañ* occurs in this inscription only, here and in the fourth line.

<sup>56</sup> *Caṃ 'uk va paṃre kralā vrah* means “Domestics: males for service in the sanctuary court”(?). Cœdès leaves the term untranslated: “22 *caṃ 'uk va*” (1942: 23). The inscription from Lonvek gives *caṃ 'uk ple le* (K.137:17), ‘domestics [and] upper servants’ (Cœdès 1942: 116).

<sup>57</sup> Only the sign ‘40’ is read with certainty. But as the inscription further enumerates fifty seven names, Cœdès translates “57”.

<sup>58</sup> *Kantok* is a hapax. Possibly it means a ‘small granary’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, referring to Saveros Pou).

<sup>59</sup> *Caṃrai* is a hapax as a place-name. It means an ‘ill omen or sinister’.

<sup>60</sup> I follow Jenner (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>61</sup> *Knar tem* means ‘log palisade, stockade’ and *knar* means ‘protective barrier, earthen embankment or rampart’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>62</sup> *Sre ai piñ tvañ sanre* 10 may be translated as follows: “ten rice-fields on a pond with coconuts”. The word *tvañ* means ‘coconut, *Cocos nucifera* L. (Palmae)’.

<sup>63</sup> *Pradul* is a hapax.

<sup>64</sup> *Lam 'añ* is a hapax.



Panlaxanān<sup>65</sup>. The names of these dancing girls are Carumatī<sup>66</sup>, Priyasenā<sup>67</sup>, Aruṇamatī<sup>68</sup>, Madanapriyā<sup>69</sup>, Samarasenā<sup>70</sup>, and Vasantamallikā<sup>71</sup>. The names of female singers are Tanvaṅgī<sup>72</sup>, Guṇadhārī<sup>73</sup>, Dayitavatī<sup>74</sup>, Sārāṅgī<sup>75</sup>, {4} Payodharī<sup>76</sup>, Ratimatī<sup>77</sup>, Stanottarī<sup>78</sup>, Rativindu<sup>79</sup>, Manovatī<sup>80</sup>, Pit 'aṇ<sup>81</sup>, Juṇ poṇ<sup>82</sup>. [The names] of female players on *kañjaṇ* are Sakhipriyā<sup>83</sup> and Madhurasenā<sup>84</sup>, on *viṇa* is na Gandhinī<sup>85</sup>; on *lāhv* is Vinayavatī<sup>86</sup>. The names of domestic male servants<sup>87</sup> are: Laṇṣon<sup>88</sup>, Tṇun<sup>89</sup>, 'Ahvān 'Aṃve Ley<sup>90</sup>, {5} Sa'uy<sup>91</sup>, Cke<sup>92</sup>, Kañcan<sup>93</sup>,

<sup>65</sup> *Panlaxanān* is a hapax.

<sup>66</sup> *Carumatī* is from Sanskrit *cārumatī* 'lovely' or 'female attendant' (Monier-Williams 1899: 393).

<sup>67</sup> *Priyasenā* is a Sanskrit compound. It may literally mean 'beloved army' or, more likely, 'beloved courtesan' (Monier-Williams 1899: 710, 1246). Интересно, что это имя танцовщицы, возможно *devadasi*.

<sup>68</sup> 'aruṇamatī is from Sanskrit "aruṇama(n)t 'having a ruddy color', < aruṇa 'reddish-brown color', + sfx -ma(n)t, forming possessive adjectives]" (<http://sealang.net/ok/>) or 'ruddy' (s.v. *aruṇa*, Monier-Williams 1899: 88).

<sup>69</sup> *Madanapriyā* means 'beloved of Madana, or god of love' (Monier-Williams 1899: 778, s.v. *madana*).

<sup>70</sup> *Samarasenā* is a Sanskrit compound which means 'spear of battle or Lady of Battle' from *samara* 'battle or missile, spear' and *senā* 'Indra's wife or his thunderbolt personified' (Böhtlingk, Roth: 1875: 1187; Böhtlingk 1889: 184; Monier-Williams 1899: 1246). This name of Indra's wife occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* and *Vaitāna-Sūtra*. Vladimir N. Toporov pointed out that it occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (*Mify narodov mira*, vol. 1, 1980, p. 533); I suppose he bears in mind the *Vaitāna-Sūtra*. Otto von Böhtlingk adds that *Senā* may be an abbreviation of the name of a courtesan Kuberāsenā. Jenner stresses that *Samarasenā* is a hapax referring to an erroneous idea of Saveros Pou (b. 1929, also known as Levitz) that it means a 'soldier' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, accessed 16 September 2018; cf. Jenner 1981: 314).

<sup>71</sup> Skr. *Vasantamallikā* means a 'spring jasmine (Jasminum Zambac)' (Monier-Williams 1899: 793, s.v. *mallaka*).

<sup>72</sup> Skr. *Tanvaṅgī* means a 'delicate-limbed woman' (Monier-Williams 1899: 436).

<sup>73</sup> Skr. *Guṇadhārī* is from Skr. *guṇadhara* 'possessing good qualities' (Monier-Williams 1899: 357).

<sup>74</sup> Skr. *Dayitavatī* means 'beloved'. Jenner writes "Sanskrit fem. of \*dayitava(n)t 'having a husband or lover', < dayita 'husband, lover', + sfx -va(n)t, forming possessive adjectives" (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). But the affix -vat denotes likeness or resemblance, and no belonging (Monier-Williams 1899: 915).

<sup>75</sup> Skr. *Sārāṅgī* means 'having the best body' from *sāra* + *aṅga*, fem. Jenner offers an erroneous etymology: "Sanskrit, fem. of *sāraṅga* 'of variegated color, dappled, spotted; name of a particular Rāga; a kind of spotted antelope; a bee, &c.'" (<http://sealang.net/ok/>; cp. Jenner 1981: 319).

<sup>76</sup> Skr. *Payodharī* is a feminine of *payodhara* 'a woman's breast' (Monier-Williams 1899: 586), or 'big-bosomed'. Cf. Jenner's literal etymology: "Sanskrit, fem. of *payodhara* 'milk-bearing, full of juice', < *payas* 'fluid, juice, esp. milk', + *dhara*" (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, Jenner 1981: 184); he refers to Saveros Pou's version 'containing milk' ("contenant du lait").

<sup>77</sup> Skr. *Ratimatī* means 'glad' (Monier-Williams 1899: 867).

<sup>78</sup> Skr. *Stanottarī* means 'full-bosomed' (Monier-Williams: 1899: 178, 1257 – *stana* 'the female breast or nipple' + *uttara* 'upper, higher, superior, excellent'). Jenner gives an inaccurate reading: "Sanskrit *stanottarīya* 'wearing a breast-cloth', < *stana* 'breast (mamma)', + *uttarīya* 'upper or outer garment'" (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, Jenner 1981: 336).

<sup>79</sup> Skr. *Rativindu* means 'getting sexual pleasure' from *rati* + *vindu*, Monier-Williams: 1899: 876, 972). Jenner translates 'knowing or having pleasure' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, cf. Jenner: 1981: 246 – 'finding or knowing delight').

<sup>80</sup> Skr. *Manovatī* means 'thoughtful' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>; cf. Jenner 1981: 226). It is a female name, a name of an Apsara and of several women; it is also the name of a city on Mount Meru (Monier-Williams 1899: 785).

<sup>81</sup> The Old Khmer name *Pit 'aṇ* consists of two parts. *Pit* means 'closed, sealed' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). *Pit aṇ* may mean 'closed or sealed by me or my virgin' (cf. Jenner 1981: 191).

<sup>82</sup> The name *Juṇ poṇ* also occurs in the northern part of the inscription in a list of donations by a certain Jaṃ 'Añ, line 3. It may mean both that Jaṃ 'Añ and *mratān* Antār are one and the same persons and that there were two women who bore the name *Juṇ poṇ*. The only thing that may argue in favour of the latter is that the northern part tells about her child whereas the eastern part mentions no child of her.

<sup>83</sup> Skr. *Sakhipriyā* means 'a friend's beloved'.

<sup>84</sup> Skr. *Madhurasenā* means a 'sweet courtesan'. Jenner erroneously translates it as 'having missiles of sweet sound, whose weapon is melody', citing Saveros Pou who gives a more appropriate reading 'nice or sweet female servant' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>85</sup> Skr. *Gandhinī* denotes 'odoriferous'.

<sup>86</sup> Skr. *Vinayavatī* means 'well-behaved'.

<sup>87</sup> The names of domestic servants begin with a male marker -va. I omit it for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>88</sup> *Laṇṣon* conjecturally means 'one who has received retribution' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>) and a hapax.

<sup>89</sup> *Tṇun* is a hapax.

<sup>90</sup> 'Ahvān means 'to turn, bend, twist'. *Aṃve* denotes 'act, activity, work'. *Ley* means 'at all'. Jenner offers a translation "he who 'avoids all work' ", <http://sealang.net/ok/>, s.v. 'ahvān or ley).

Śivadāsa<sup>94</sup>, Toy bhāgya<sup>95</sup>, Kroṇ<sup>96</sup>, Nā<sup>97</sup>, Lābha<sup>98</sup>, La[...]ju<sup>99</sup>, Santos<sup>100</sup>, Soc Tarka<sup>101</sup>, Ragāl<sup>102</sup>, Prāsāda<sup>103</sup>, Vrau<sup>104</sup>, Ta'ūm<sup>105</sup>, Krāñ<sup>106</sup>, Kcī<sup>107</sup>, Rapak<sup>108</sup>, Cmā<sup>109</sup>. The names of rice-fields workers<sup>110</sup> are: {6} Tvaḥ<sup>111</sup>, Tpañ<sup>112</sup>, Aras<sup>113</sup>, Cam'uk Vraḥ<sup>114</sup>, Tvin<sup>115</sup>, Toḥ<sup>116</sup>, Ty[...], [...]jāñ, Crañ<sup>117</sup>, Knāy<sup>118</sup>, Cke<sup>119</sup>, Tvañ<sup>120</sup>, Kampoñ<sup>121</sup>, Jyeṣṭhahvarmma<sup>122</sup>, Tvoc<sup>123</sup>, Daśamī<sup>124</sup>, 'Adās<sup>125</sup>,

<sup>91</sup> *Sa'uy* means 'a stinker'. The name occurs in several pre-Angkorian inscriptions K. 28:3 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 24); K. 149:25 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1952: 28); K. 357:19 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1954: 41); K. 548:2 (578–777 CE, Cœdès 1942: 154), <http://sealang.net/ok/>.

<sup>92</sup> *Cke* (*chke*) means a 'dog'.

<sup>93</sup> *Kaṇcan* is a widespread name of an uncertain meaning. It occurs in the inscriptions K. 138:20 (620 CE, Cœdès 1953: 18); K. 149:11 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1952: 28); K. 563:11 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 198); K. 155:9 (578–777 CE, Cœdès 1953: 64).

<sup>94</sup> Skr. *Śivadāsa* literally means 'a slave of Shiva'. But the literal meaning does not necessarily imply a low social rank as a famous writer of the Gupta Age and the author of a play "The Recognition of Shakuntala" was Kālidāsa whose name means 'a slave or servant of the [goddess] Kali.'

<sup>95</sup> *Toy bhāgya* means 'following one's destiny' (*bhāgya* < Skr. *bhāga* 'a part, share'). The person of this name in the K. 557/600 was a man because his name follows a male prefix *va*. The inscription K. 138 from Prasat Toč mentions a woman of the same name *ku Toy Bhāgya* (l. 28, Cœdès 1953: 19). <http://sealang.net/ok/>. Interestingly, the name consists of an Old Khmer *toy* and a Sanskrit *bhāgya* at one and the same time.

<sup>96</sup> *Kroṇ* means to 'weave into garlands'.

<sup>97</sup> *Nā* means 'dear, beloved'. It occurs in the inscription from Prasat Pram Loven K. 8, line 2, as *vā krov nā* (578–777 CE, Cœdès 1942: 79).

<sup>98</sup> Skr. *Lābha* denotes 'gain, profit, acquisition'.

<sup>99</sup> Only the syllable *la* is clear.

<sup>100</sup> *Santos* 'a spit' as a name occurs in the inscriptions K. 357:9 (578–677 CE, C VI:41); K. 956:6 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1964: 128), <http://sealang.net/ok/>.

<sup>101</sup> According to Jenner, *Soc* originates from Skr. *śocya* 'miserable' and *tarka* is from Skr. 'conjecture, speculation, reasoning', so *Soc Tarka* may mean 'a wise Soc' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). One may speculate that the name has a meaning 'source of knowledge'.

<sup>102</sup> *Ragāl* means 'diminished, reduced'.

<sup>103</sup> *Prāsāda* is a temple or sanctuary (< Skr. *prāsāda* 'id.').

<sup>104</sup> *Vrau* means 'pretty, beautiful, handsome'.

<sup>105</sup> The meaning of *Ta'ūm* is obscure.

<sup>106</sup> *Krāñ* means 'disobedient'.

<sup>107</sup> *Kcī* means 'immature, young'.

<sup>108</sup> *Rapak* is a hapax. It supposedly means 'broken'.

<sup>109</sup> *Cmā* means a 'cat'.

<sup>110</sup> *Naka sre* is 'tiller of wet rice-fields, cultivator of wet rice, laborer in ricelands' (Jenner 1981: 345).

<sup>111</sup> *Tvaḥ* supposedly means 'separated, cut off (from home and family)' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>112</sup> *Tpañ* is a hapax. It supposedly means 'protector' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>113</sup> *Aras* means 'alive, living'.

<sup>114</sup> *Cam'ukVraḥ* means 'a domestic servant of a god'. See the beginning of the line 2 on the eastern part of the inscription K. 557/600. In the line 6, it is a personal name because it is preceded by a male prefix *va* and succeeded by a verbal sign or the number '1' after *vraḥ*.

<sup>115</sup> *Tvin* "conjecturally [means] 'twisted, bent, deformed'" (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>116</sup> *Toḥ* means 'released, freed'.

<sup>117</sup> *Crañ* means 'bristle' (?) (cf. <http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>118</sup> *Knāy* is a 'Device for scraping, grubbing' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>119</sup> Another servant named Cke is mentioned in the line 5 of the inscription (see above). If these two Cke were one and the same man, he could be simultaneously a rice-field worker and a domestic servant. If this supposition is correct, Cœdès' calculation of twenty two domestic servants and fifty seven rice-fields workers needs a revision. But it is likely that there were two men of the same name, like two Johns or Bills.

<sup>120</sup> *Tvañ* means a coconut (see above).

<sup>121</sup> While Jenner interprets *Kampoñ* as 'one who is elder or of higher status' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>), I suppose here the name means 'a subject', literally 'one who is not a *poñ*' when *kaṃ* is a negative or prohibition marker.

<sup>122</sup> *Jyeṣṭhahvarmma* is from Skr. *jyeṣṭhavarman* 'the best protector'. There was a poet of this name mentioned in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati* ("The Path of the Poets/Cuckolds") LVIII: 1 (Monier-Williams 1899: 426). Jenner gives no meaning and believes the name is a hapax (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>123</sup> *Tvoc* means 'small, little'. The name occurs in another inscription from Angkor Borei Ka.57:4 (700–750 CE, Vong Sothea, see <http://sealang.net/ok/text.htm>). This text also mentions the name '*Aras*. It is worthy of note that the

Phāñ<sup>126</sup>, Panlas<sup>127</sup>, [female workers<sup>128</sup>.] Cpoñ<sup>129</sup>, Vnāk<sup>130</sup>, {7} 'Asaru<sup>131</sup>, Tacañ<sup>132</sup>, Tvāñ<sup>133</sup>, Ta'āy<sup>134</sup>, Knur<sup>135</sup>, Mañjarī<sup>136</sup>, Tyor<sup>137</sup>, Yatey<sup>138</sup>, Yapan<sup>139</sup>, Saṃṅkha<sup>140</sup>, Ya'ir<sup>141</sup>, Yaluñ<sup>142</sup>, Rañap<sup>143</sup>, Lahve<sup>144</sup>, Raṃnoc ta māñ<sup>145</sup>, Kľañ vron<sup>146</sup>, Tyuñ<sup>147</sup>, Tvuc<sup>148</sup>, {8} Ravā<sup>149</sup>, two girls (*kon ku*), Kañheñ<sup>150</sup> and Men kan<sup>151</sup>, a female of *poñ* Vrah 'Añ<sup>152</sup>, Kpoñ<sup>153</sup>, Laṅgāy<sup>154</sup>, Syām Po<sup>155</sup>, Tamve Ru<sup>156</sup>, Vaḥ kloñ<sup>157</sup>, Aras<sup>158</sup>, Asaru<sup>159</sup>, Vaḥ Cī<sup>160</sup>, Putiḥ<sup>161</sup>, Mratāñ<sup>162</sup>, Mratāñ

names *Tvoc* and *'Aras* belong to men in the inscription K. 557/600 whereas the inscription Ka.57 speaks about women of the same name.

<sup>124</sup> A worker of the same name occurs among the gifts of certain Jam 'Añ in the line 2 of the northern part of the inscription K. 557/600 (see above). There are two possibilities: whether there were namesakes Daśamī or there was a single person of that name. In the latter case, one should explain why this Daśamī was once bestowed by Jam 'Añ and twice by a certain *mratāñ* Antār. One may even suppose that *mratāñ* Antār and Jam 'Añ were really one and the same person. Or might they both have had a right to transmit the workforce of *kṛm̐s* to deities?

<sup>125</sup> *Adās* means an 'opponent'.

<sup>126</sup> *Phāñ* means 'to show, point out'. As a personal name, it is a hapax.

<sup>127</sup> *Panlas* means 'substitute, representative'; cf. early Jenner's "male substitute slave" (Jenner 1981: 182).

<sup>128</sup> From then on follows a list of women-*ku*.

<sup>129</sup> *Cpoñ* means 'older, elder, senior'.

<sup>130</sup> *Vnāk* denotes 'support or servant'.

<sup>131</sup> *'asaru* means 'bad, evil, reprehensible'.

<sup>132</sup> *Tacañ* also occurs in another inscription K. 424 B:7 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 73) and possibly means 'divided'.

<sup>133</sup> *Tvāñ* is a coconut (see above). The name was male and female, like *Tvoc* and *Aras*.

<sup>134</sup> *Ta'āy* occurs in the inscriptions K. 24:11 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 16); K. 137:19 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1942: 115), and K. 149:7 (578–677 CE, Cœdès 1952: 28).

<sup>135</sup> *Knur* mean 'jackfruit' or 'unidentified disease of the scalp' (Jenner gives an incorrect Latin name for jackfruit *Artocarpus integra* instead of correct *Artocarpus Heterophyllus* (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). I suppose *Knur* may mean *mutatis mutandis* 'leprous'.

<sup>136</sup> *Skr. Mañjarī* means 'a cluster of blossoms, flower; pearl'.

<sup>137</sup> The meaning is unknown.

<sup>138</sup> *Ya* denotes 'female creature' whereas *tey* denotes a tree *Pandanus*. The meaning of the name is unclear. Jenner simply says *Yatey* is a name of a female slave (1981: 239).

<sup>139</sup> The meaning of *Yapan* is uncertain. Jenner interprets *\*pan* as 'to pledge' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). The word *pan* occurs in an undated inscription from Neak Ta Svay Damba in the Kandal Province K. 903 B.4 (Cœdès 1954: 70) but its condition is poor and gives no clue to the meaning of the word.

<sup>140</sup> *Saṃṅkha* is a Sanskrit *śaṅkha* 'a shell' (Monier-Williams 1899: 1047).

<sup>141</sup> The meaning of *Ya'ir* is unclear. Jenner (1981: 239) erroneously states that the name occurs in the inscriptions K. 138: 10 (620 CE), K. 54: 14 (629 CE), K. 109N: 22 (655 CE), K. 451S: 9 (680 CE) (see the texts of the inscriptions <http://www.sealang.net/classic/khmer/>). The word is omitted from the online dictionaries of Old Khmer (<http://sealang.net/ok/>, accessed 25 September 2018). The syllable *ya* may be a female honorific title adopted from Old Mon.

<sup>142</sup> *Yaluñ* literally means 'a big woman'.

<sup>143</sup> *Rañap* is a hapax. Perhaps, it means 'waning, dying'.

<sup>144</sup> Jenner holds that *Lahve* may denote a member of a Mon-Khmer ethnic group from the Bolaven Plateau in Laos (Jenner 1981: 262; <http://sealang.net/ok/>). The place-name Bolaven literally means 'a country of Laven'.

<sup>145</sup> *Raṃnoc ta māñ* means 'actual extinction' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>146</sup> *Kľañ vron* means 'strongly brilliant or radiant'.

<sup>147</sup> *Tyuñ* literally means 'charcoal' that may be a denotation of one who has black skin like a charcoal.

<sup>148</sup> *Tvuc* is the same as *tvoc* 'small, little'.

<sup>149</sup> The meaning of *Ravā* is unclear. As *rava* it occurs in the inscription K. 904B: 4 (713 CE, Cœdès 1952: 54).

<sup>150</sup> *Kañheñ* means 'high lady' (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>151</sup> *Men kan* probably means 'strong grip or stronghold'.

<sup>152</sup> See Jenner 1981: 197. One may assume that there is a name *Poñ Vrah 'Añ* meaning 'a Lady of Gods'.

<sup>153</sup> *Kpoñ* denotes 'elder or superior'.

<sup>154</sup> *Laṅgāy* is a hapax of uncertain etymology.

<sup>155</sup> *Syām po* originates from Sanskrit *śyāma* 'black, dark-coloured' + Old Khmer *po* 'Lord'. According to Jenner, *Syām* means 'a division of Thai people' (<http://sealang.net/ok/> s.v. 'po' and 'syām'). The name literally means 'a Black Lady'.

<sup>156</sup> *Tamve ru* means 'a good worker' (<http://sealang.net/ok/> s.v. 'tamve').

<sup>157</sup> *Vaḥ kloñ* means 'separated from her lord'.

<sup>158</sup> Here *Aras* is a female name, cf. the line 6.

Jīva<sup>163</sup>, Vrau Srac<sup>164</sup>, {9} 'Aṃvai Ru<sup>165</sup>. The slaves of Vraḥ Maṇīśvara<sup>166</sup> are the gift of religious teacher (*ācārya*) Kandin<sup>167</sup>: Nirākraṇḍa<sup>168</sup>, Śivadāsa<sup>169</sup>, Haradāsa<sup>170</sup>, Kñuṃ Vraḥ<sup>171</sup>, Kinkara<sup>172</sup>, Puṇyāśraya<sup>173</sup>, Mitradatta<sup>174</sup>, Dhara<sup>175</sup>, Kantai Kloṇ Mratāñ<sup>176</sup>, Loṇ 'Añ<sup>177</sup>, Aras<sup>178</sup>, {10} – ..., ten cows”.

#### The Southern Part

“{1} ...[named] 'Āñ Vraḥ 'Añ<sup>179</sup>, Dalā 'añ<sup>180</sup>, {2} ...[women named] Tpoñ<sup>181</sup>, Lacak<sup>182</sup>, three children (*kon ku*), {3} ... Mratāñ Bhānu<sup>183</sup>, female slave [named] Tanmā Ru<sup>184</sup> и [male slave named] Lavō<sup>185</sup>”.

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Fig. 1: A map of Pre-Angkorian Cambodia. From (Stark 2003, 89, map III-1).

Fig. 2: The inscription K. 557/600 611 CE from Angkor Borei: The Northern Part: Print n. 1054-N K. 600. *Courtesy*: École française d'Extrême-Orient

Fig. 3: The inscription K. 557/600 611 CE from Angkor Borei: The Eastern Part: Print n. 1054-E K. 600. *Courtesy*: École française d'Extrême-Orient.

<sup>159</sup> The name *Asaru* also occurs in the beginning of the line 7. I suppose that these *Asaru* were namesakes.

<sup>160</sup> *Vaḥ cī* means ‘one who is deprived of her/his youth’.

<sup>161</sup> *Putih* is an Austronesian word meaning ‘white’. See, for example, Old Javanese *putih* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1465), Javanese *putih* (Robson, Wibisono 2002: 608), Cham *patih* (Aymonier, Cabaton 1906: 259: 288; Moussay 1971: 268).

<sup>162</sup> Here it is a name or sobriquet and not a title.

<sup>163</sup> *Mratāñ jīva* means ‘the Lord of Life’ (Skr. *jīva* ‘life’).

<sup>164</sup> *Vrau srac* means ‘beautifully made’.

<sup>165</sup> *Aṃvai Ru* means ‘very vigilant or alert’.

<sup>166</sup> That is Shiva.

<sup>167</sup> Skr. *Kandin* denotes *Amorphophallus campanulatus* (Monier-Williams 1899: 249).

<sup>168</sup> Skr. *Nirākraṇḍa* means ‘having no friend or protector’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 540).

<sup>169</sup> The name Śivadāsa occurs among the names of domestic servants bestowed by *mratāñ* Antār to the deity Kamratāñ Teṃ Kroṃ (see above).

<sup>170</sup> Skr. *Haradāsa* literally means ‘a slave of the Destroyer, i.e. Shiva’.

<sup>171</sup> *Kñuṃ Vraḥ* means ‘a slave of the God’.

<sup>172</sup> *Kinkara* is from Skr. *kiṃkara* ‘a servant, slave’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 283).

<sup>173</sup> Skr. *Puṇyāśraya* means ‘religious authority or pure resting-place’.

<sup>174</sup> Skr. *Mitradatta* means ‘given by the god Mitra’.

<sup>175</sup> Skr. *Dhara* means ‘holder, possessor; sword’.

<sup>176</sup> *Kantai kloṇ mratāñ* means ‘a woman of the chief lord’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). Vickery interprets the term *kloṇ* as a certain female title and offers three versions of translation: “*kantai* of *kloṇ mratāñ* [the officiant of the last named god] 1, *loṇ añ* 1, *ku aras* 1”; “female *kloṇ* of the *mratāñ*” or “the female *kloṇ mratāñ* 1, *loṇ añ* 1, *ku aras* 1” (1998: 217). Judging from his spelling of the words, he does not consider them personal names. But interestingly he prescribes titles to women who were bestowed to the god Maṇīśvara by the teacher Kandin (*kñuṃ vraḥ maṇīśvara aṃṇoy ācāryya kandin*).

<sup>177</sup> *Loṇ 'añ* means ‘my high, outstanding, eminent’.

<sup>178</sup> Cœdès leaves the term untranslated: « esclaves femmes du Kloṇ Mratāñ, Loṇ Añ, Ku Aras » (Cœdès 1942: 23). There is the third use of the name *Aras* in the inscription.

<sup>179</sup> *Āñ Vraḥ 'Añ* presumably means ‘My Reliable God’ or ‘a servant of my god’.

<sup>180</sup> Jenner compares *Dalā* with the Khmer word *thlā* ‘pure, perfect, precious’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>). So, *Dalā 'añ* means ‘my precious’. *Dalā* also occurs in the inscription K. 904 B: 19–20: *ku | dalā* 1 ‘a woman [named] *Dalā*’ (713 CE, Cœdès 1952: 54).

<sup>181</sup> *Tpoñ* may mean ‘superior, of high status, senior’.

<sup>182</sup> *Lacak* as a personal name or sobriquet is a hapax meaning ‘a lame person’.

<sup>183</sup> Judging from the eastern part of the inscription K. 557/600, *Mratāñ* may be a personal name.

<sup>184</sup> Jenner translates *Tanmā Ru* as ‘fair endurance’ (<http://sealang.net/ok/>).

<sup>185</sup> Jenner compares the name with a Thai term for Lopburi ๔๓ [lawōo] (Jenner 1981: 261; <http://sealang.net/ok/>). Long Seam believes that Lavō was a native of the city Lavo (1977: 119). But one may suppose that Lavō was a member of the people of Loven from the Bolaven Plateau.

Fig. 4: The inscription K. 557/600 611 CE from Angkor Borei: The Southern Part: Print n. 1054-S K. 557/600. *Courtesy: École française d'Extrême-Orient*

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