Travelers, Dreamers, Adventurers and Agitators:
Common Worlds and Uncommon Lives Across Nineteenth–Century Cambodia

by

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Abstract

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If there is a space for ordinary people in the history of Cambodia, that space has been on the ground, beneath kings and monuments, in the distant background of glory and tragedy. Ordinary people remain placeless, nameless, voiceless, and invisible. But they existed. This thesis aims to redress such élitist historiography by introducing a different historical narrative that is fragmentary and episodic narratives of ordinary people. It explores the role of flesh-and-blood individuals, and the worlds they lived in and imagined, in Cambodia in the nineteenth-century, a period of radical change that remains comparatively unexamined, especially prior to the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1863.

The thesis excavates archival sources, including testimonial narratives and local literature, and pieces together such shards and fragments into vivid narratives of ordinary people who lived at the fringes of society yet traversed vast stretches of Cambodian territory. It is a quilt of the life-stories of individuals –of Khmer, Siamese, Vietnamese, and Chinese descent– who traveled, dreamed, adventured and agitated in order to make their lives better in the here-and-now felt and material world. In that sense, it is a quotidian history. But it is also a history of imagination and belief, and of how the visions of, and quests for, other worlds sustained the everyday practices and decisions of the extraordinary, common folk whose journeys are at the core of this thesis.

The thesis analyzes practices that deviated from élite Buddhist norms and were dismissed as immoral, superstitious, and irrational by authorities. Such practices have been similarly marginalized and neglected in histories of Cambodia. The thesis argues that these practices were more than a survival strategy. They offered a means to a better life rooted in the here-and-now.

The thesis also examines axes of connection between commoner and élites realms, and reveals significant worlds of difference between the commoners and the ruling élites in their motivations for supporting movements that challenged the status quo. One such movement was the rebellions led by Prince Votha in 1876-1890. The thesis offers a new lens on this rebellion, bringing to light the motivations of his supporters. It considers the temporary nature of historical events such as the Votha rebellion, against the permanent and continuous nature of story telling. In examining their testimonies and the multiple journeys they made, the thesis also challenges the primacy of the patron-client model in Southeast Asian studies. It shows

that commoners exercised agency and mobility, and highlights the various factors that determined support for a patron, and that led commoners to switch allegiance from one patron to another, or to move from one village or town or kingdom, to another. The thesis further analyzes testimonies for rhetorical resistance to the imposition of French colonial rule. It also examines the tensions between narratives of the future (prophecy) and the past (as both legend, and history) in Khmer oral and written texts. Finally, it examines how rebels and their memories kept alive different ways of seeing and possibilities for being outside of the authority of the state.

To Bunma and Pavat,
who are my past and future.

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A Note on Transcription

I use a slightly modified version of the Franco-Khmer Transcription System of Franklin E. Huffman use in *Cambodia Culture since 1975: Homeland and Exile* edited by May M. Ebihara, Carol A. Mortland and Judy Ledgerwood for the Romanization of Khmer characters into Roman, outlined in the table below.

Consonants		Transcription	Vowels	Transcription	
1st	2nd			1st	2nd
ក	គ	k		â	o
ខ	ឃ	kh	◌់	ã̆	ŭa
	ង	ng	◌ា	a	ea
ច	ជ	ch	◌ាំ	ă	ŏa/ĕa[b]
ឆ	ឈ	chh/ch[a]	◌ិ	ĕ	ĭ
	ញ	nh	◌ី	ey	i
ដ	ឌ	d	◌ឹ	ŏe	ĕu
ឋ	ឍ	th	◌ឺ	oeu	eu
ណ		n	◌ុ	ŏ	ŭ
ត	ទ	t	◌ូ	au	ou
ថ	ធ	th	◌ួ	uo	uo
	ន	n	◌ើ	aoe	oe
ប		b	◌ឿ	eua	eua
ប៉	ព	p	◌ៀ	ie	ie
ផ	ភ	ph	◌េ	e	é
	ម	m	◌ែ	ae	ĕ
	យ	y	◌ៃ	ai	ei
	រ	r	◌ោ	ao	ŏ
	ល	l	◌ៅ	av	ŏv
	វ	v	◌ុំ	ŏm	ŭm
ស		s	◌ំ	ãm	ŭm
ហ		h	◌ំា	ăm	ŏam
ឡ		l	◌ាង	ăng	ĕang
អ		Ø/'[c]	◌ះ	ăh	ĕah

[a] When followed by another consonant, as in *chnăm* [year]
[b] Before a velar final, as in *nĕak* [person]
[c] When subscript to another consonant, as in *s'at* [clean]

Although this system is similar to that used in many French language works on Cambodia, additional diacritics act to distinguish all of the various vowel sounds. The system is used as printed above, with the following modification:

1. No unpronounced finals are written.
2. Final *ʊ* is written *p*.

The romanization of Thai words in this dissertation follows the Royal Institute of Thailand General System of Phonetic Transcription of Thai Characters into Roman.

Abbreviations

ANOM Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence
- AF Ancien fonds
- Amiraux Amiraux et Gouverneurs de la Cochinchine
- RSC Résident Supérieur du Cambodge

B.E. Buddhist Era, B.E.+543 = A.D.
BMA Bibliothèque municipale d'Alençon, Alençon
BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BSA Bibliothèque de la société asiatique, Paris
FEA Fonds Étienne Aymonier
C.S. Cula Sakkrat [Lesser Era], C.S.+638 = A.D.
Camb Cambodgien
Ch Chinese
EFEO École français d'extrême-orient, Paris
EFEO-FEMC École français d'extrême-orient, Fonds d'Édition des Manuscrits du Cambodge
Fr French
IMA Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor
Kh Khmer
L Lao
Ms; Mss Manuscript
NAC National Archives of Cambodia, Phnom Penh
- RSC Résident Supérieur du Cambodge

NAT National Archives of Thailand, Bangkok
- KT Krasuang kan tangprathet [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]
- KT (L) Krasuang kan tangprathet (akkasan yeplem) [Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Bound document)]
- M Krasuang mahatthai [Ministry of Interior]
- R. V B Ratchakan thi ha bettalet [The Fifth Reign, Miscellaneous]
- R. V M Ratchakan thi ha mahatthai [The Fifth Reign, Ministry of Interior]
- R. V RL-M Krom ratchalekhathikan ratchakan thi ha ekkasan yep lem krasuang mahatthai [Royal Secretariat Office, Reign V, Ministry of Interior]
- R. V RL-SP Krom ratchalekhathikan ratchakan thi ha saraban samut phiset [Royal Secretariat Office, Reign V, Bound Collected Documents]

NLT National Library of Thailand, Bangkok
- CMH R. III Chotmaihet ratchakan thi sam [Record of the Third Reign of the Chakri Dynasty]
- CMH R. IV Chotmaihet ratchakan thi si [Record of the Fourth Reign of the Chakri Dynasty]

Pa Pāli
PRPK Prâchŭm Reuang Préng Khmae [Collection of Khmer Folktales]
R.S. Rattanakosin Sok [Bangkok Era], R.S.+1775 = A.D.
S Sanskrit
Th Thai
V Vietnamese

Introduction

In places where I did my fieldwork, when I was combing through the archives[1] in order to search for documents related to the people's lives and resistance to oppression in nineteenth-century Cambodia, I first met them.

They were individual *reas*, an "ordinary people."[2] Some of them struggled to survive crises during wartime. Many sought to realize their dreams of better lives in this worldly world by participating in uprisings. They had their own faces and names. They were flesh-and-blood people who lived their lives more than a century and left their traces and clues in the archives. They had their own stories to tell.

Many scholars who journeyed deep through such piles of archival documents before me, I believe, glimpsed the individual ordinary people and their lively life-stories, mostly episodic and fragmentary, and then passed over. But those flesh-and-blood people and their life–stories have passionately affected me. Becaue of them, my interest turned to studying the individual instead of the collective in nineteenth-century Cambodian history.

Nineteenth-Century Cambodia and Its History

Nineteenth-century Cambodia was bounded on the west and the north by the Siamese possessions of Phra Tabong (Kh. Bătdâmbâng), Siem Rat (Kh. Siem Reap), Mano Prei (Kh. Mlou Prei), Se Lamphao (Kh. Tonlé Ropŏv), and Chiang Taeng (Kh. Stĕung Treng); on the northeast by the savage tribes (Stieng, Pnong, Möi, and etc.); on the southeast by the Vietnamese possessions of Mekong Delta provinces, later under French colonial control; on the southwest by the Gulf of Siam.[3] It covered approximately half the area of Cambodia today.[4]

But individual ordinary people in this study lived their lives beyond the boundaries of nineteenth-century, and even of the present day, Cambodia. They lived and traveled through the lower central plain of Siam and much of eastern Siam, the Khmer and Lao provinces of Siam that are part of present-day western Cambodia and the southern reaches of the Lao PDR, as well as southern Vietnam (former Cochinchina). That area stretches from Khong in the north to Long Xuyên in the south, from Stĕung Treng in the east to Bangkok in the west.

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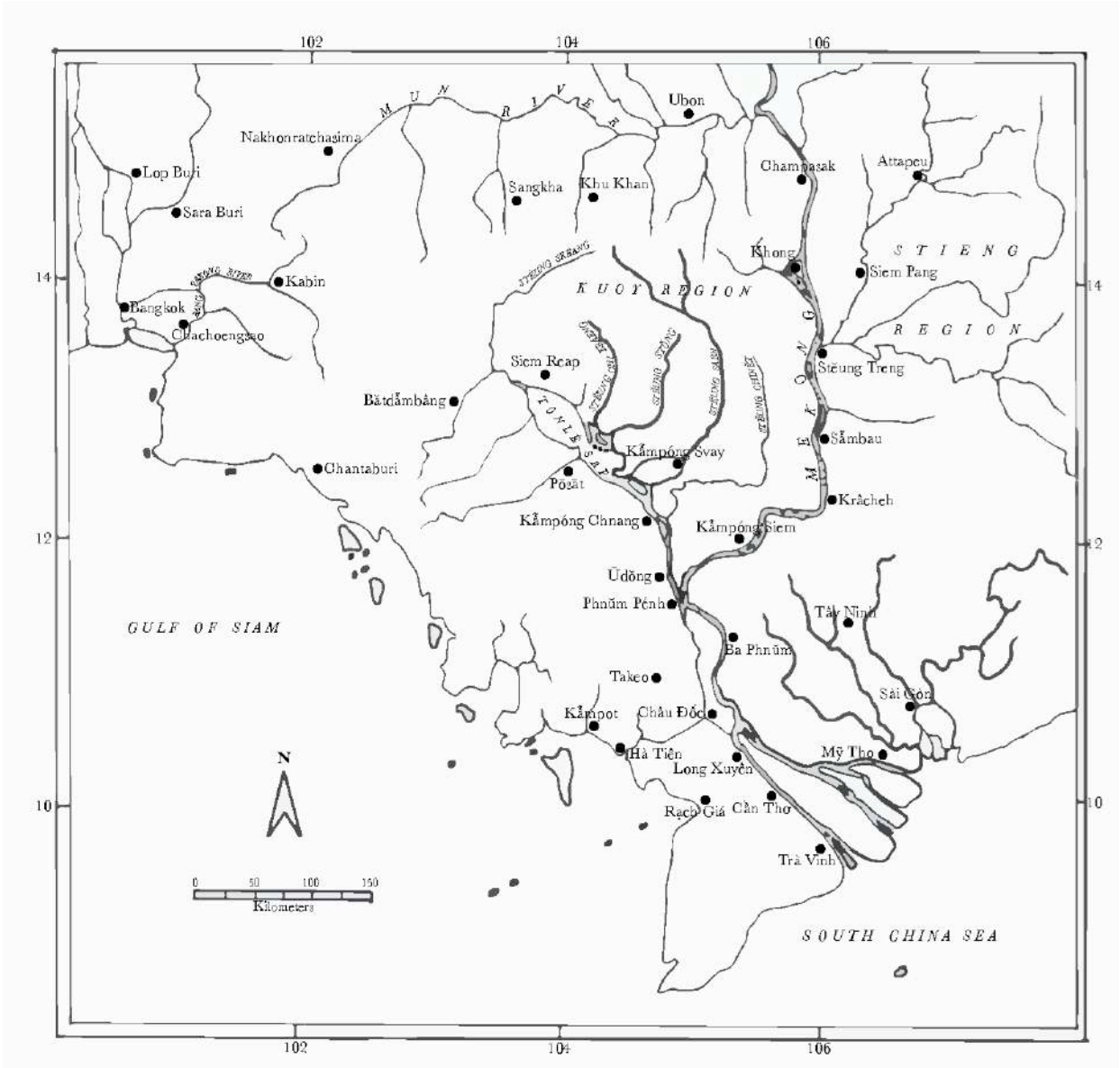
[1] See Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, translated by Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

[2] The word *reas* derives from the Sanskrit *rāshṭrá*, which means a kingdom, realm, empire, dominion, district, country; a people, nation, subjects; any public calamity (as famine, plague, etc.), affection; name of a king (Monier Monier-Willaims, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872), p. 879). Khmer-French dictionaries in the 1870s contain the word *reas*, which is spelled as *réas*, and give its meanings as "peuple, homme du peuple, de la plèbe" (Étienne Aymonier, *Vocabulaire cambodgien-français* (Saigon, 1874), p. 116); "peuple, homme du peuple" (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr-français* (Saigon, 1878), p. 343); and "peuple, population" (Jean Moura, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français* (Paris: Challamel Ainé, 1878) p. 95). A Thai word *ratsadon*, which also derives from the Sanskrit *rāshṭrá*, conveys the same meaning (See Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, *Sappa pachana phasa thai, Dictionarium linguae Thai, sive siamensis interpretatione latina, gallica et anglica illustratum* (Parisiis: Jussu Imperatoris Impressum, 1854), p. 658).

The word *reas* was commonly used in nineteenth-century Cambodian documents. It was not a term associated with a particular social class, but a generic term to mean "people, subjects, population." For further discussion about the term in connection with a Cambodian class structure see chapters 2 and 3.

[3] See Étienne Aymonier, *Géographie du Cambodge* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876), p. 25.

[4] David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2000), p. 99.



Introductory Map 1: Nineteenth-Century Cambodia and Its Environs

Nineteenth century was a century of great political, economic, and social changes. This century might start from the untimely death of King Eng in 1797. Eng had to take refuge in Bangkok in 1782 because of internal troubles in Cambodia. He returned to the then capital city of Ŭdŏng in 1795 under support of the Siamese Chakri court. In exchange, he had to cede the western provinces of Bătdâmbâng and Siem Reap to Siam.

Eng was succeeded by his son Chăn. Contrary to his father, King Chăn resisted Siamese domination and aligned himself with the Vietnamese royal court in Huế, while his three younger brothers, Snguon, Ĕm, and Duong, remained loyal to the Siamese royal court in Bangkok, causing an internal turmoil between opposing factions of the ruling élite (royals and mandarins). When King Chăn appealed to the Vietnamese for protection in 1811, Siamese troops invaded Cambodia. King Chăn had to take refuge in Sài Gòn in 1812. In

1813, the Siamese withdrew after burning down the royal capital of Ŭdŏng, and the trading ports of Kắmpong Hluong and Phnŭm Pénh, and forcibly relocating the people to Siamese-controlled areas. When King Chăn returned from Sài Gòn with Vietnamese troops, Cambodia fell under the protection of Vietnam. The western part of the country, however, remained under Siamese control.

In 1833, Siamese armies were sent to Cambodia in an expedition to recover Siamese supremacy in Cambodia, then under Vietnamese protection, and diminish Vietnamese ability to challenge Siamese domination in Cambodia, whcih marked the beginning of a war that would last until 1847. It was a Fourteen Years War, which known as *Anam sayam yut*, "Annam Siamese War," in Thai documents. After over decades of fighting, Cambodia and its two neighbors reached an accord that placed the country under the joint suzerainty of Bangkok and Hue. At the behest of both countries, a new monarch, Duong, was put into the throne at Ŭdŏng in 1848.

David P. Chandler's dissertation *Cambodia Before the French: Politics in a Tributary Kingdom, 1794-1848*[5] is a major contributor to the study of Cambodian history in the first half of the nineteenth century, which has received little attention. It examines the political history of Cambodia through situations of political and military contestation between the two powerful regional powers, Siamese Chakri and Vietnamese Nguyễn. He begins with the following remark: "Charles Meyer had called the early part of the century the 'darkest period of Cambodia history'," [6] and reasserts this statement in his seminal 1983 work *A History of Cambodia*[7] and his other works.[8] Charles Meyer was a French assistant and advisor on media and public affairs of Prince Norodom Sihanouk during the 1950s and 1960s. Undoubtedly, Meyer's appraisal reflects an opinion of Sihanouk, who referred to the early part of the century as a "painful ... and immense tragedy."[9]

It is not only because "[t]housands of its people were killed and uprooted in a series of ruinous wars... The Thais burned down Cambodia's capital three times... Vietnamese advisors kept the Cambodian monarch a prisoner for fifteen years; and the chronicles are filled with references to plagues, famines, and floods" that make the first half of the nineteenth century "the dark age." It is also because "[d]uring the 1840s, Cambodia all but vanished as an independent state."[10] The darkness disappeared in 1863: "If France had not established its

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[5] David P. Chandler, *Cambodia Before the French: Politics in a Tributary Kingdom, 1794-1848* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973).

This study completed after another work concerning relations of the three countries by Thai scholar (Thanom Amarnwat, *Khwam samphan rawang thai khamen lae yuan nai samai rattanakosin ton ton* [Relations between the Thai, Khmer and Vietnamese in the early Bangkok Period] (M.A. Thesis, The College of Education, 2514 [1971]). It was published in 2516 [1973]. However, while Thanom relied mainly on Thai sources, Chandler grounded his work on both Thai and Khmer sources, and Vietnamese sources have also been used but to a lesser and limited use.

[6] Charles Meyer, "Kambuja et Kirate," *EC* 5 (January-March, 1966), 17, cited in Ibid., p. 1.

[7] David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, p. 117.

[8] David P. Chandler, *The Tragedy of Cambodian History: Politics, War and Revolution since 1945* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1991), p. 3; David P. Chandler, "The Tragedy of Cambodian History Revisited," in his *Facing the Cambodian Past: Selected Essays, 1971–1994* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1998), p. 315.

[9] Norodom Sihanouk, La monarchie cambodgienne (Phnom Penh: Ministere de l'Education Nationales, n.d. [c. 1960], p. 29, cited in David P. Chandler, *Cambodia Before the French: Politics in a Tributary Kingdom, 1794-1848*, p. 1.

[10] Ibid.

own protectorate over Cambodia in 1863, the kingdom would have been divided up between Thailand and Vietnam."[11]

The Cambodian "dark age" and the Protectoate period are narrated under the trope of decline and disappearance and the trope of peace and progress, which were introduced by French scholar-administrators.[12] It became the raison d'etre of the establishment of the French Protectorate in Cambodia.[13] These tropes were translated literally and figuratively into *Bândăm Ta Meas*, "The Advice of the old man Meas,"[14] the first book in Khmer typographic characters, published in a printing press in Phnŭm Pénh in 1908, under the patronage of the French scholar-administrator Adhémard Leclère (1853-1917), then Inspecteur des Services civils.[15] *Bândăm Ta Meas* is a story of an old man, or *ta*, called Meas who stated that he was born in 1828 and was more than 80 years old when he wrote his story in 1907.[16] *Bândăm Ta Meas* narrates a story about the devastation of Cambodia during the invasion of two *měaha sâtrouv*-s (great enemy), namely Siam and Vietnam, in the first half of the nineteenth century, followed by peace and modernity that were brought to Cambodia by the French protectorate in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, Meas gave advices to his Khmer compatriots that, "do not forget *kŭn barăngsaes* (the kindness of the French), and do not insult [the French] by word, or intrigue against them."[17] *Bândăm Ta Meas* was planned to distribute to *vât* (Khmer Buddhist temples) as a pro-French propaganda,[18] which might serve as a French colonial device to win over hearts and minds of the Khmer people. Later, it was used as a historical source in the writing of nineteenth-century Cambodian history.

The trope of decline and disappearance and the trope of peace and progress have formed a structure of historical interpretation and narration of Cambodian history, and have also dominated the Cambodian historiography of the nineteenth century and after, which can be called élitist historiography,[19] a kind of historiography that emphasizes the actions of great

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[11] David P. Chandler, "The Tragedy of Cambodian History Revisited," p. 315.

[12] Adhémard Leclère explicitly saw himself and his country a guardian and savior of Cambodia and the Khmer people who "entrust their fate and put all their hope to us" (Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: Contes et légendes, recueillis et publies en français* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1895), p. i).

[13] See Étienne Aymonier, *Notice sur le Cambodge* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1875), p. 18; Louis. Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: l'architecture khmer* (Paris: Libraire Ch. Delagrave, 1880), pp. 358–359.

[14] BMA Ms 695/4-b Rieung Bandam Ta-Méas; *Bândăm Ta Meas* [Recommandations de Ta Meas], presented with introduction and annotation by Khing Hoc Dy (Phnom Penh: Editions Angkor, 2007).

[15] Khing Hoc Dy, "Introduction," in *Bândăm Ta Meas* [Recommandations de Ta Meas], presented with introduction and annotation by Khing Hoc Dy (Phnom Penh: Editions Angkor, 2007), pp. 6, 7; Grégory Mikaelian, *Un* partageux *au Cambodge: biographie d'Adhémard Leclère suivie de l'inventaire du* Fonds Adhémard Leclère (Paris: Association Péninsule, 2011), pp. 111-114.

The first Khmer typographic characters were cast in Paris in 1877. In around 1886, a printing press was established in Cambodia. But printed works in Khmer in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that used lithography and typography were continuously published in Sài Gòn, Hà Nội, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Paris (Jacques Nepote and Khing Hoc Dy, "Literature and Society in Modern Cambodia," in Tham Seong Chee (ed.), *Essays on Literature and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981), pp. 61-62. See also Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), p. 105).

[16] BMA Ms 695/4-b Rieung Bandam Ta-Méas, p. 3; Khing Hoc Dy, "Introduction," in *Bândăm Ta Meas* [Recommandations de Ta Meas], p. 5.

[17] BMA Ms 695/4-b Rieung Bandam Ta-Méas, p. 25.

[18] Grégory Mikaelian, *Un* partageux *au Cambodge: biographie d'Adhémard Leclère suivie de l'inventaire du* Fonds Adhémard Leclère, p. 356.

[19] The term "élitist historiography" is taken from the Subaltern school of Indian history. See in particular Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of Colonial Historiography of India," in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri

men and great events and concentrates primarily on political élites, both indigenous ruling élites and European colonizers. This kind of interpretation and narration and élitist historiography have been reinforced and inherited by many scholars of colonial and postcolonial Cambodia.[20]

Puangthong Rundswasdisab in her dissertation and essays[21] takes a step forward by arguing that conflicts between the two regional powers, Siamese Chakri and Vietnamese Nguyễn, that led to their military confrontation in Cambodia were principally caused by economic issues: control of trade routes, manpower, and *suai* (tax in kind; i.e. cardamom, bastard cardamom, beeswax) producing regions. She also extends a contested area between the two regional powers to Laos.[22] However, Puangthong repeatedly portrays Cambodia as "a 'weak vassal' of Siam and Vietnam."[23] She also accepts Chandler's trope about the first half of the nineteenth century as "the dark age of Cambodia history."[24]

Even scholars today still work more or less within these frames. As Justin Corfield, for example, states that the French "saved Cambodia from absorption by its two powerful neighbors, Siam and Annam –today's Thailand and Vietnam. Exhausted by civil strife and foreign meddling, Cambodia might well have suffered the same fate as the old empire of

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Chakravorty Spivak (eds.), *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 37-44.

According to the Subaltern school, the élite consists of dominant groups, including both foreign and indigenous. Élitist historiography means a kind of historiography dominated by élitism, both colonialist élitism and bourgeois-nationalist élitism. Both originated as the ideological product of British rule in India, but have survived the transfer of power and been assimilated to neo-colonialist and neo-nationalist forms of discourse in Britain and India respectively. While the colonist and neo-colonist historiographies credited achievements of the Indian nation and the development of the nationalism to British colonial rulers, administrators, policies, institutions, and culture, the nationalist and neo-nationalist historiographies attributed these achievements to Indian élite personalities, institutions, activities and ideas.

[20] Apart from David P. Chandler's works mentioned above see Armand Rousseau, *Le protectorat français du Cambodge: Organisation politique, administrative et financière* (Dijon: Pillu-Roland, Imprimeur, 1904), p. 6; Martin F. Herz, *A Short History of Cambodia: From the Days of Angkor to the Present* (Frederick A. Praeger, 1958) p. 55; Milton E. Osborne, *The French presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859-1905)* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 175 (It was first published in 1969); V. M. Reddi, *A History of the Cambodia Independence Movement, 1863-1955* (Tirupati: Sri Venkateswara University, 1970); Bun Srun Theam, *Cambodia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Quest for Survival, 1840-1863* (M.A. Thesis, The Australian National University, 1981); Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge entre le Siam et le Viêtnam (de 1775 à 1860)* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991 (It was first published in 1982); Judy Ledgerwood, May M. Ebihara, and Carol A. Mortland, "Introduction," in May M. Ebihara, Carol A. Mortland and Judy Ledgerwood (eds.), *Cambodia Culture since 1975: Homeland and Exile* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 1-26.

[21] Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wollongong, 1995); Puangthong Rungswasdisab, "Siam and the Contest for Control of the Trans-Mekong Trading Networks from the Late Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Centuries," in Nola Cooke and Li Tana, (eds.), *Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004). pp. 101-118; Puangthong R. Pawakapan, *Warfare and Depopulation of the Trans-Mekong Basin and the Revival of Siam's Economy* (The Southeast Asia Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong, Working Paper Series, no. 156 (August 2014), pp. 15-21).

[22] About a political and military contestation between Siamese Chakri court and Vietnamese Nguyễn court in Laos see Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn, *Path to Conflagration: Fifty Years of Diplomacy and Warfare in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam, 1778-1828* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998).

[23] Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851*, p. 1.

[24] Ibid.

Champa."[25] These tropes and the élitist historiography were heartedly accepted by colonial and post-colonial Khmer élites[26] who were the "fidèles Cambodgiens"[27] as well. They were also explioted by Cambodian leaders and politicians since Independence in 1953 until the present time.

However, the fact that nineteenth-century Cambodia was a small and weak tributary state of Siam and Vietnam did not necessary end up in its disappearance as a territorial entity. Nor in its peace and progress brought by the French. There are other possibilities: What will happen if the adventurous French naval officers stop themselves within the Cochinchina? What will happen if the French government agrees with the Siamese government to divide Cambodia between them? Legally and practically, from 1863 to 1867, Cambodia set itself up as a "protectorate state" of France at the same time that it played the role of a "tributary state" of Siam.[28] That was a normal practice of smaller kingdoms in pre-modern Southeast Asia.[29] Cambodia before the French also had had to submit itself to two powerful indigenous kingdoms,

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[25] John Tully, *France on the Mekong: A History of the Protectorate in Cambodia, 1863-1953* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2002), p. xxi. See also John Tully, *A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005), pp. 71-79.

[26] Anthony Barnett, "'Cambodia Will Never Disappear'," *New Left Review* 180 (March/April 1990): 101-125.

[27] Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945*, p. 66. See also Harish C. Mehta, *Warrior Prince: Norodom Ranariddh, Son of King Sihanouk of Cambodia* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 2001), p. 8.

[28] According to the first article of the Convention of August 11, 1863, "The Emperor of the French grants his protection to the King of Cambodia" (Marcel Dubois and Auguste Terrier, *Les colonies française, un siècle d'expansion coloniale* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1902), p. 875). The following day, Norodom, then the *Ŏbarach*, issued a letter to a Siamese minister informing him of the signing of the Convention (ANOM AF A30 (6), Traduction of communication de Ang Phra Norodom Maha Uperat à S.E. Chow Phya Kalahome). That letter arrived at Bangkok on October 17, 1863 (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchapongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal Chronicle of the Fourth Reign of the Bangkok Period] (Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing, 2548 [2005]), p. 196). In consequence, the Siamese government sent a protest letter to the French Governor of Cochinchina, Admiral Pierre-Paul de La Grandière (ANOM Amiraux 10225, Chaophraya Phra Klang to de la Grandière, December 11, 1863). At the same time, the Siamese government also influenced Norodom to reinstate the status of Cambodia as a tributary of Siam (*Thai sathapana kasat Khamen* [Thai Crowned Khmer Kings] (Bangkok: The Office of the Prime Minister, 2505 [1962]), pp. 110-114). Its result was a "secret" treaty between Cambodia and Siam dated December 1, 1863. Article 1 of that treaty reads, "Cambodia is a tributary state of Siam" (ANOM AF B30 (1), Traité; Doudart de Lagrée, *Explorations et Mission de Doudart de Lagree* (Paris: Imprimerie et Librearie de Madame Veue Bouchard-Huzard, 1883), pp. 95-101). That secret treaty was sent to Bangkok with a letter from Norodom declaring that, "I remain faithful and loyal to the [Siamese] King as formerly. I desire to remain the servant [of the Siamese King], for his glory, until the end of my life. No change has ever occurred in my heart" (*Thai sathapana kasat Khamen* [Thai crowned Khmer Kings], pp. 111. This passage is also quoted in David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, p. 141).

Amidst quarrels between French and Siamese officials about precedent, protocol, and regalia, Norodom's two overlords both crowned him in June 1864. About two moths after the coronation, on August 20, 1864, an English newspaper published in Singapore reported about that secret treaty between Cambodia and Siam ("Late treaty of Siam and Cambodia," *The Straits Times* (20 August 1864), p. 1; see also ANOM AF B30 (1), Extrait du Journal Anglais "The Straits Times" du 20 Août 1864). Whether the French authorities knew about that secret treaty before the report of *the Straits Times* or not, they accepted that Siam was the overlord of Cambodia just as France. Norodom continued sending tribute to Bangkok as usual (See NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/60 Khatbok ong phra narodom [Copy of dispatch from Norodom]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1227/162 Khat supha akson [Copy of *suphaakson*]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/204 Khatbok mueang udong michai [Copy of dispatch from Udŏng Meanchey]) until the secret treaty was revoked in 1867 by a treaty between France and Siam (Doudart de Lagrée, *Explorations et Mission de Doudart de Lagree*, pp. 121-123; *Thai sathapana kasat Khamen* [Thai crowned Khmer Kings], pp. 131-133. See also Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), p. 94). Strictly speaking, Cambodia was a "French Protectorate" from then on.

[29] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, p. 96.

Siam and Vietnam, in order to survive. That kind of relationship was ambiguous. Thongchai Winichakul states that as a tributary state, Cambodia was "somewhere between independent and dependent... somehow possessed by more than one kingdom at the same time... both Siam and Vietnam claimed suzerainty over Cambodia while the Cambodian monarch always considered himself independent." The notion of the modern "protectorate state" was not the same as the notion of the pre-modern "tributary state." Thongchai points out that "in the eyes of the European in the nineteenth century it had to be decided whether a particular tributary was independent or was an integral part or a colony of another kingdom –not somewhere between independent and dependent nor somehow possessed by more than one kingdom at the same time."[30] However, it seems the French government in Cochinchina consented to an indigenous idea of multiple sovereignties. Strictly speaking, it means that in 1863 the French did not stop Cambodia from disappearance. Even if Cambodia "disappeared," it does not mean that only the French could stop an extinction of Cambodia and bring back peace and progress to the kingdom.

The trope of Cambodia's decline and disappearance, which fits into a Buddhist notion of decline and disappearance of sāsanā[31] and the decline of the Khmer kingdom, gives the possibility for all to present themselves a figure of savoir, i.e. *nĕak mean bŏn*, "a person who has merit," and *prĕahbat thommĭk*, "Righteous ruler," who would come to restrain chaos and reestablish peace and order.[32] Movements of all self-proclaimed saviors that occurred over the whole century failed to do so. There are many studies that contribute to a deep and wide understanding about movements of ordinary people led by these savior figures, which are usually called milenarian movements.[33] We have a better understanding about beliefs, ideologies, causes, and characteristics of such movements. Ironically, however, what is missing from a study about the uprising of the ordinary people is the ordinary people themselves. Who they were? Why did they decide to join in dangerous activities? What did they dream for themselves and families? Their acts against authorities are also evaluated as a thin crack that changed nothing in the course of history.

The ordinary people do not fitted into élitist historiography, which has dominated not only Cambodian historiography, but also the historiography of Southeast Asia.[34] Thus, the negligence of the ordinary people's stories by scholars is easy to undertsand. And we cannot simply turn the élitist historiography down only because it does not concern the ordinary

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[30] Ibid., p. 88.

[31] See for details below in this chapter and also in chapter 4.

[32] Ashley Thomson, "The Future of Cambodia's Past: A Messianic Middle-Period Cambodian Royal Cult," in John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), *History, Buddhism, and the New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 33-35.

[33] David P. Chandler, "An Anti-Vietnamese Rebellion in Early Nineteenth Century Cambodia: Pre-Colonial Imperialism and a Pre-Nationalist Response," in *Facing the Cambodian Past: Selected Essays, 1971-1994* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1998), pp. 61-75; Olivier de Bernon, "Le Buddh Daṃnāy. Note sur un texte apocalyptique khmer," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 81 (1994): 83-96; Olivier de Bernon, "La Prédiction du Bouddha," *Aséanie* 1 (Mars 1998): 48-58; Judy Ledgerwood, "A Preliminary Study of the Buddh Damnay," in *The Proceeding of the 5th Socio-Cultural Research Congress on Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2002), pp. 299-305; Ashley Thomson, "The Future of Cambodia's Past: A Messianic Middle-Period Cambodian Royal Cult," pp. 13-39; Anne Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 55-64; Khing Hoc Dy, "Neak mean boun, «être-de-mérites» dans la culture et la littérature du Cambodge," *Peninsule* 56 (2008): 71-106.

[34] General discussion about a historiography of Southeast Asia see John Legge, "The Writing of Southeast Asian History," in Nicholas (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Volume One, From Early Time to c. 1800* (Singapore: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1-50.

people.[35] This dissertation is not a critique of the élitist historiography per se. Instead, it is an alternative history of nineteenth-century Cambodia. It is a narrative of history from the perspectives of ordinary people. That is what this dissertation is all about.

A Microscopic Perspective From Below

"Without income [from the people], there could be no expenditure [for the government],"[36] stated Oknha Prăk, a former interpreter trained in France, then a *chavvay srŏk* (governor), in his book, *Notre argent* [Our Money].[37] "The income from "l' impôt personnel," the head tax or *prăk pŭan thlai reachka khluon* (called *thlai reachka* in brief), which was a direct tax levied as a fixed sum on every liable individual,[38] was about 27 per cent of the government income in 1910: "Income from *prăk pŭan thlai reachka khluon* that Khmer and *Cham-Chvea* (Chams and Malays) have to pay is 530,000 riel. *Dâmriet* (head tax on foreigners) collected from *Yuon* (Vietnamese) was 45,000 riel. *Dâmriet* collected from Chinese and Indians was 190,000 riel."[39] *Thlai reachka* in 1910 was 2.70 riel for liable men of 20-60 years old. It was reduced for disabled and old men. At least 196,000 Khmer and *Cham-Chvea* paid head tax. With the inclusion of foreigners, who were also subjects of the king, the number of *reas* who paid head tax must have been greater.

Contrary to Oknha Sŏttântâbreychea (Ĕn, 1859-1924), a highly respected Pāli scholar, reformist, and modernist, who regarded *thlai reachka* as "*reach plĭ* (sacrifice to the king),"[40] which

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[35] This reason usually used to legistimize an academic work against the élitist historiography. For example, Sartono Kartodirdjo states that, "My criticism of the conventional approach in colonial historiography is based on the fact that it assigns a very passive role to the people in general and the peasantry in particular. In the first place, colonial historiography dealing with the 19th century places great emphasis on the broad framework of government institutions, and the making of laws and their enactment, and seldom goes beyond the level of formal structures" (Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel, a Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia* ('S–Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), p. 5).

[36] BMA Ms 695/8-a Notre argent, p. 3.

[37] Grégory Mikaelian mentioned that *Notre argent* was composed in 1909 (Grégory Mikaelian, *Un* partageux *au Cambodge: biographie d'Adhémard Leclère suivie de l'inventaire du* Fonds Adhémard Leclère, p. 358). But in the text it is noted that, "This year... is the year 1910 of the European era" (BMA Ms 695/8-a Notre argent, p. 3).

Notre argent was translated into Khmer and published, probably in Phnom Penh in 1940s (*Athibaykae ămpi reuang prăk robăs srŏk yoeng* [Explanation on our country's money], (n.p., n.d.)).

According to Oknha Prăk, *Notre argent* is answers questions concerning the kingdom's budget: Where does the country's money come from? How does the colonial government spend its revenues? Such questions came from Khmer officials, and an *achar* (lay preceptor) who was a "*nĕak brach* (a wise man) with religious knowledge, but less knowledge about affairs of state," while the answers to those questions were based on "the income and expenditure accounts of Cambodia" (BMA Ms 695/8-a Notre argent, pp. 2, 12; *Athibaykae ămpi reuang prăk robăs srŏk yoeng* [Explanation on our country's money], pp. 6, 26).

[38] Cambodia's head tax, or "l'impôt personnel," was created in 1870. It was fixed at 3 piastres (riels) per liable man and 1 piastre for disabled and old men over 60 years of age. It was reduced to 2.5 piastres for liable men of 21 to 50 years of age in 1892. In 1904, some additional payment was added. In 1907, the head tax was 2.70 piastres for liable men of 21 to 60 years of age (Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation Française: Histoire d'une colonization sans heurts (1897-1920)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1980), p. 208).

[39] *Athibaykae ămpi reuang prăk robăs srŏk yoeng*, pp. 7–8. See also BMA Ms 695/8-a Notre argent, p. 3.

[40] Oknha Sŏttântâbreychea (Ĕn), *Kĕatĕlŏk* [Ways of behaving in the world], volume 1 (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 1971), pp. 21-22. The definition of the word *plĭ* in *Vochananŭkrm khmae pheak ti muoy* [Dictionnaire cambodgien, tome I], 5th ed. (Phnom Penh: Édition de l'Institute Bouddhique, 1967), p. 739) is identical with the definition given by Oknha Sŏttântâbreychea (Ĕn) in his *Keatĕlŏk*.

Vochananŭkrâm khmae, which is usually called Choun Nat's dictionary, is the work of a commission created by a royal ordinance of King Sisowath in 1915. Oknha Sŏttântâbreychea (Ĕn), refered as the one who "came from Battambang, when he was an achar" (Ibid., p. to) was appointed as a member of that commission. According to

implied that paying head tax was nothing but a duty that the *reas* had to discharge in order to show their loyalty and gratitude to their king– Oknha Prăk implicitly accepted that the *reas* were an elementary force behind the progress of the country. "Our money" was "*reas*' money," he stated. Without *reas* there would not have been enough money to "enrich the *srŏk khmae* (the Khmer country) and the Khmer *reas* (the Khmer ordinary people)."[41]

Notre argent was a literary prapaganda[42] like *Bândăm Ta Meas* mentioned above. Ironically, until the Cambodian Independence in 1953, it is perhaps only in these two French literary prapaganda that the ordinary people were referred to as the narrator and the maker of history. However, the ordinary people mentioned in *Notre argent* were reduced to numbers and statistics. They were nameless and voiceless. In *Bândăm Ta Meas*, its authorship remains questionable because several stories mentioned in there were not general knowledge and were beyond the knowledge even of the élite. Moreover, Meas' experience was very typical. It means Meas as the ordinary people and his name might be substituted with any ordinary people and any name without making any change in the core message, which is the glorification of the Khmer kings, and the savior-like quality of the French colonizers. Thus, Meas was nameless. In short, the ordinary people in *Notre argent* and *Bândăm Ta Meas* were the collective and anonymous mass.

On this account, these two propaganda books are not too much different from academic works on the social history of Cambodia that contrast with political history by focusing on people but usually treat people as a collective and anonymous mass,[43] except for

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George Cœdès, the Dictionary Commission's advisor, Ĕn "was behind the work of the Commission with his very extensive knowledge of vocabulary and its pronunciation of archaic western Cambodia. It is to him that the dictionary shall have been restored the great number of words with the final semivowel 'r,' which were attested in ancient inscriptions and Siamese loan words, disappeared from the central Cambodia but still pronounced in Battambang" (George Cœdès, "Dictionnaire cambodgien," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 38 (1938): 316). It is most possible that Oknha Sŏttântâbreychea (Ĕn) was the one who defined and provided examples of the word *plĭ* in *Vochananŭkrâm khmae*.

See more about Oknha Sŏttântâbreychea (Ĕn) and his work *Kĕatĕlŏk* in Anne Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*.

[41] *Athibaykae ămpi reuang prăk robăs srŏk yoeng* [Explanation on our country's money], p. 36. The French version reads "toujours pour le bien du srok Khmêr, de ses habitants..." (BMA Ms 695/8-a Notre argent, p. 16).

[42] Grégory Mikaelian, *Un* partageux *au Cambodge: biographie d'Adhémard Leclère suivie de l'inventaire du* Fonds Adhémard Leclère, p. 358.

[43] During the colonial and early post-independence Cambodia, scholars had little interest in studying Cambodia's social history per se. The study of the social history in Cambodia emerged around 1970s. David P. Chandler who partly initiated the study of political history of Cambodia also contributed of the study of a social history of Cambodia (David P. Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest: Perceptions of Order in Three Cambodian Texts," in Anne Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (eds.), *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2008), pp. 31-46 (It was first published in 1978); David P. Chandler, "Normative Poems (*Chbap*) and Pre-Colonial Cambodian Society," in his *Facing the Cambodian Past: Selected Essays, 1971-1994* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1998), pp. 46-60 (It was first published in 1984); David P .Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, chapter 6; Ian Mabbett and David Chandler, *The Khmers* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1996), first published in 1995). William E. Willmott's work on Chinese in Cambodia also contributed to the study of Cambodian social history (William E. Willmott, *The Chinese in Cambodia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1967); William E. Willmott, *The Political Structure of the Chinese Community in Cambodia* (London: The Athlone Press, 1970).

Social history of Cambodia received increasing interest since the last few yeras of the twentieth century. Its period of study spans from colonial era to the present, especially the Khmer Rouge period, including overseas Khmer. See Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, *Khmer American: Identity and Moral Education in a Diasporic Community* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Trudy Jacobsen, *Lost Goddesses: The Denial of Female Power in Cambodian History* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008); Mathieu Guérin, *Paysans de la forêt à l'époque coloniale: La*

an article by Mathieu Guérin[44] that narrates the story of the Chinese Tea Meng Ly who left South China to settle in Cambodia at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Social history is often, but not always, history from below. The notion of "history from below" or "people's history" was brought into the scene by British Marxist historians in the 1960s.[45] Social history and the "history from below" approach attracted attention from historians of former colonial countries that were attempting to break with colonialist and nationalist, or élitist, historiographies.[46] However, Reynaldo Ileto's notion of history "from below" in his 1975 dissertation on the ordinary people's movement in the colonial Philippines[47] does not seems to be influenced by the British Marxist historians.[48] But its genealogy can be back to the 1930s when J. C. van Leur called for perspectival change in observing and writing Southeast Asian history from "the deck of the ship, the ramparts of the fortress, the high gallery of the trading house" to the world of Southeast Asians themselves.[49]

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pacification des aborigènes des hautes terres de Cambodge, 1863-1940 (Association d'Histoire des Société Rurals: Rennes, 2008); *Ethnic Groups in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Center for Advanced Study, 2009); Peg LeVine, *Love and Dread in Cambodia: Weddings, Births, and Ritual Harm under the Khmer rouge* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010); Sokhieng Au, *Mixed Medicines: Health and Culture in French Colonial Cambodia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011); Eve Monique Zucker, *Forest of Struggle: Moralities of Rememberance in Upland Cambodia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013); Erik W. Davis, *Deathpower: Budhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

[44] Mathieu Guérin, "Stratégies d'affaires au Cambodge: Itinéraires croisés d'un négociant chinois et d'une famille de fonctionnaires cambodgiens à l'époque du protectorat français," *Vingtième Siècle Revue d'histoire* 132 (Octobre-Décembre 2016): 77–96.

[45] Jim Sharpe, "History from Below," in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 25, 26. See also Edward P. Thompson, "Preface," in *The making of the English working class* (New York: Vintage, 1966), p. 12. About British Marxist historians see Harvey J. Kaye, "British Marxist historians," in Tom Bottomore (ed.), *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, second edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 58-61.

The recognized starting point of the "history from below" is a publishing of Edward P. Thompson's article in *The Times Literary Supplement* in 1966, which clearly defined and set the agenda for the "history from below" (Edward P. Thompson, "History from Below," in Dorothy Thompson (ed.), *The essential E.P. Thompson* (New York: The New Press, 2001), pp. 481-489). However, British Marxist historians' notion on "history from below," which is virtually synonymous with "people's history," has had a long career. It covers an ensemble of different writings, and has gone under a variety of different names (Raphael Samuel, "Editorial prefaces: People's History," in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1981), pp. xv-xvi).

[46] Michael Adas, "Social History and the Revolution in African and Asian Historiography," *Journal of Social History*, 19, 2 (Winter 1985): 335-348; Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, "History from Below," *Social Scientist* 11, 4 (April 1983): 3-20.

[47] Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, *Pasiõn and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society (ca. 1840-1912)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1975). It was published in 1979 (See Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movement in the Philippines 1840-1910* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979)).

[48] The quotation marks around the words "from below," which was used as a title of the introduction of Ileto's Ph.D. dissertation, was omitted in the book version, indicate that Ileto's idea on history "from below" was not taken from British Marxist historians' notion on "history from below."

[49] J.C. van Leur, "A History of the Netherlands East Indies: Three Reviews," in his *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, second edition (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1967), p. 261.

D.G.E. Hall in 1955 presented a critique of Eurocentrism in his general history of Southeast Asia (Craig J. Reynolds, "The Professional Lives of O.W. Wolters," in O.W. Wolters, *Early Southeast Asia: Selected Essays* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asian Program, Cornell University, 2008) p. 13; Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, "The "Golden Age" of Southeast Asian Studies- Experiences and Reflections," *http://www.meijigakuin.ac.jp/~iism/project/frontier/Proceedings/08%20Ileto%20Speech.pdf* (accessed July 18, 2014)). John Smail in 1961 in his crucial essay on the debate over the writing of Southeast Asian history proposed the idea of "autonomous history" (John R.W. Smail, "On the Possibility of an Autonomous History of Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, 2 (July

British Marxist "history from below" and Ileto's history "from below" share substantial similaity, that is examining the past in terms of the people, and observing the people "from within, that is from the perspective of the masses themselves"[50] in order to do away with "enormous condescension of posterity."[51]

However, to some degree, a portrait of the ordinary people painted by the historians-from-below is not much different from that is painted in the French prapaganda literature *Bândăm Ta Meas* and *Notre argent* mentioned above. Martyn Lyons critiques that the historians-from-below tended to study a collective body, collective practices, or collective mentalities of the people. He proposes a "new history from below" that gives more emphasis on individual experience through the writings of the autonomous and ordinary writers.[52] Contrary to the emigrants from Spain and Italy to the Americas in the early twentieth century and to the French, Italian, and German soldiers of the First World War who left behind millions of personal correspondences, the Khmer *reas* did not left any writing that named themselves as a writer. But their life-stories could be found in testimonial narratives, which are called *châmloey* in Khmer, *khamhaikan* in Thai, and *interrogatoire* in French. They are a questioning and interrogation posed to an informant and particularly an alleged wrongdoer by government officials,[53] which have been ignored by scholars.

Similar to the interrogation and interviewing of "thugs" in British India, the *châmloey*, *khamhaikan* and *interrogatoire* "not only give us a version of the informers' own words, but also the questions posed"[54] by Siamese, Khmer, and French officials. They are "meeting points between orality and script," and between the examinees "as narrator" and the interrogators "as scribe."[55] It is also possible that the alleged wrongdoer would try to outwit the interrogator. Moreover, these testimonial narratives were also often edited and changed.

1961): 72-102) to challenge nationalist historiography, or historical writing from an Asia-centric perspective, which was an indigenous response to Eurocentric history (Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, "The "Golden Age" of Southeast Asian Studies- Experiences and Reflections"). For Smail, "autonomous history" does not assume any kind of centrism, either Europe- or Asia-centric. Harry Benda in his article on "The Structure of Southeast Asian History" (1962) calls for a writing of Southeast Asian history "from within" (Harry J. Benda, "The Structure of Southeast Asian History: Some Preliminary Observations," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 3, 1 (March 1962): 118). In 1980s, O.W. Wolters came up with the idea of "localization," calling for the writing of Southeast Asian history by using "something else outside the foreign materials" (Oliver W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2004), p. 57). And Ileto's inspiration came from his mentor Oliver W. Wolters (Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, "The "Golden Age" of Southeast Asian Studies- Experiences and Reflections"). However, a description of the International Conference on "Historiography and Nation since Pasyon and Revolution" held in 2003, stated that, "Ileto's ideas on "history from below" inspired an entire generation of Filipino historians to critically evaluate historical sources, interrogate long-held theoretical assumptions, and adopt fresh perspectives in the study of Philippine history" (Historiography and Nation since Pasyon and Revolution: Conference in Honor of Professor Reynaldo C. Ileto. *http://www.ateneo.edu/ls/soss/history/news/historiography_and_nation_pasyon_and_revolution_conference_honor_prof_reynaldo* (accessed May 18, 2017).

[50] Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movement in the Philippines 1840-1910*, p. 8.

[51] Edward P. Thompson, "Preface," in his *The making of the English working class*, p. 12.

[52] Martyn Lyons, "A New History from Below? The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe," *History Australia* 7, 3 (2010): 59.1-59.9.

[53] A more discussion about the *khamhaikan* and *interrogatoire* can be found in the section entitled "The People's Archives" of this introductory chapter.

[54] Kim A. Wagner, *Thugee: Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 15-16.

[55] I have taken this idea from Peter Arnade and Elizabeth Colwill, "Crime and Testimony: Life Narratives, Pardon Letters, and Microhistory," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, 1 (January 2017): 148.

Hence, most of them contradicted themselves, and most of the alleged wrongdoers attempted to distance themselves from, or simply denied, the allegations. We sometimes can get the real facts from such documents. But whether real or fictional, the testimonial narratives provide valuable information about how ordinary people lived their lives and survived the hardships of the time. We can actually feel their hopes and fears in some testimonial narratives. Thus, we can do the "new history from below" without any document written by the ordinary people.

The main critique to the "old history from below" is the ordinary people "remained a silent and disincarnated mass without any personal identity."[56] Lyons proposes microhistory, which is closely associated with the "history from below,"[57] as a "source of inspiration" and a "powerful model for the new History from Below."[58] Microhistory came into fashion in the 1970s.[59] The book that marked its beginning is Carlo Ginzburg's *Il formaggio e i vermi* [The Cheese and the Worms] (1976) written before he had first heard of the word *microstoria*,[60] which Lyons uses as the prime example of microhistory.[61] Ginzburg manifests in the first paragraph of the preface to the Italian edition that,

> In the past historians could be accused of wanting to know only about 'the great deeds of kings,' but today this is certainly no longer true. More and more they are turning toward what their predecessors passed over in silence, discarded, or simply ignored. 'Who built Thebes of the seven gates?' Bertolt Brecht's 'literate worker' was already asking. The sources tell us nothing about these anonymous masons, but the question retains all its significance.[62]

"The Cheese and the Worms" narrates[63] the life story of Menocchio, who lived his life as a miller in sixteenth-century northern Italy. It is a close historical observation of a small social unit from a microscopic perspective that emphasizes human agency by active individuals who had desires, possess choice, and make decisions characteristic of microhistory, defined by Ginsburg and Carlo Poni as a "science of real life [*scienza del vissuto*]."[64]

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[56] Martyn Lyons, "A New History from Below? The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe": 59.1.

[57] Andrew I. Port, "History from Below, the History of Everyday Life, and Microhistory," in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, volume 11, p. 108, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978–0–08–097086–8.62156–6* (Accessed August 19, 2015).

[58] Martyn Lyons, "A New History from Below? The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe": 59.2, 59.3.

[59] Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijárto, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 5.

[60] Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," in his *Threads and Traces: True False Fictive*, translated by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), p. 193.

[61] Martyn Lyons, "A New History from Below? The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe": 59.2-59.3.

[62] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenty-Century Miller*, translated by John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. xiii.

[63] Ginzburg writes "The Cheese and the Worms does not restrict itself to the reconstruction of an individual event; it narrates it (Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," p. 204).

[64] Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, "The Name and the Game: Unequal Exchange and the Histriographic Marketplace," in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, translated by Eren Branch (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 8-9.

Microhistory is an experimental approach. It is "essentially a historiographical practice whereas its theoretical references are varied and, in a sense, eclectic,"[65] which is also the nature of "history from below." What makes microhistory different from other history from below is, as might be suggested from its name, the reduction of scale, which is claimed by Italian microhistory.[66] The importance of the reduction of scale is clearly seen in Giovanni Levi's statement.

> Microhistory as a practice is essentially based on the reduction of the scale of observation, on a microscopic analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material. This definition already gives rise to possible ambiguities: it is not simply a question of addressing the causes and effects of the fact that different dimensions coexist in every social system, in other words, the problem of describing vast complex social structures without losing sight of the scale of each individual's social space and hence, of people and their situation in life... For microhistory the reduction of scale is an analytical procedure, which may be applied anywhere independently of the dimensions of the object analysed. [67]

Therefore, for microhistory, what is emphasized is not only the scale of the study unit, but also the process of reducing the scale of observation "for experimental purpose."[68] Reducing the scale will have serious analytical consequences.[69]

In this study, the scale of observation is reduced to individual, an idea that is owing to microhistory. However, while the microhistory disagrees with the French Annales School's emphasis on the *longue durée*, wide geographical areas, and large-scale historical processes,[70] the scale of time and place in this study are expanded to the *longue durée*[71] (stretching across almost a century), and a vast geographical setting (Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam). Furthermore, this study is an observation of the lived practices and experiences of different

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[65] Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), p. 91.

[66] Edward Muir, "Introduction: Observing Trifles," in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, translated by Eren Branch (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. viii.

[67] Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," p. 95.

[68] Ibid., p. 97.

[69] Lila Abu–Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist* 17, 1 (February 1990): 42.

[70] Edward Muir, "Introduction: Observing Trifles," p. vii; Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijárto, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practices*, p. 5.

[71] However, Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijárto in their book introduce an idea of Dale Tomich who argues that "historians should write microhistory as world history seen through the pecspective of an individual. Microhistorians should follow Braudel's advice and turn the hour-glass again; having accomplished a micro-investigation, they should go back to the *longue durée*, to structural time, and recreate world history in the light of the lessons of microhistory" (Dale Tomich, 'The order of historical time: the *longue durée* and micro-history,' paper presented at 'The *Longue Durée* and World-Systems Analysis' Colloquium to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of Fernand Braudel, *Histoire et sciences sociale la longue durée. Annales E.S.C.*, XIII, 4, 1958. 2008 October 24-25. Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY 13902. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www2.binghamton.edu/fbc/archive/tomich102508.pdf> (accessed 13 October 2012), cited in Ibid., p. 73). This paper published in 2011 under the same title (Dale Tomich, "The Order of Historical Time: the *Longue Durée* and Micro-History," *Almanack. Guarulhos* 2 (second semester, 2011): 52-65).

specific individuals, partly because of the scarcity of evidence, and partly because of a spirit of experimental work.

Levi once suggests about microhistory: "this is a self-portrait rather than a group portrait."[72] The ordinary individual's portrait in this dissertation depicts a direct looking face, with somber expression, that is mostly hidden under the shadow. But it can still "represent the subject's social position or 'inner life'," [73] such as his desire and dream, love and fear. The ordinary individual was surrounded by his own world in nineteenth-century Cambodia that went beyond the textual confines of the *châmloey*, *khamhaikan* and *interrogatoire* to "the 'archives' in the fiction –to reverse Natalie Zemon Davis's elegant formulation."[74] However, this dissertation does not present a single portrait of flesh-and-blood *reas*, but a collection of portraits.

It primarily focuses on the individual ordinary people who were hid behind the collective body, or, in other words, the nameless multitude. I call them by their names. What's in a name? A person by any other name would not be the same. He was "a man like ourselves, one of us. But he is also a man very different from us."[75] By specifying their names, the individual ordinary people are resurrected, although we never know as much about their lives. By studying them and identifying them by name, history is rescued from the élite and turned not to impersonal entities but to the individual ordinary people who are able to feel anger and fear, satiation and hunger, hope and despair. To that end, it focuses on the narration of their episodic and fragmentary life-stories and worlds they were constructed.

Uprising in the Archives

In this study, ordinary people of chapter 2 and 4 appear in archival records because they brought themselves to participate in *nĕak mean bŏn* uprisings, usually called millenarian rebellions, which have drawn attention historians and other social scientists of Southeast Asia since the 1970s. Millenarianism became one of the major themes in post-war peasant studies of Southeast Asia.[76] A number of academic studies have been produced. This scholarship concentrates on a millenarian movement in Theravāda Southeast Asia, especially the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 in Northeastern Siam and Southern French Laos and the Saya San Rebellion of 1930-1932 in British Burma.

Tej Bunnag (1967) in his pioneer study of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 indicates that the causes of the Rebellions included the French takeover of Siamese-controlled territories inhabited by Lao people on the left bank of Mekong River in 1893 (which brought down the prestige of the Siamese government), the consolidation of Siamese central government administration in the northeastern region (which diminished the power of the local élite establishment), and economic difficulties of the people.[77]

One of sustaining approaches that frame and underlie scholarship on the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 is to focus on its causes and characteristics. Moreover, political and

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[72] Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," p. 111.

[73] Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 21.

[74] Peter Arnade and Elizabeth Colwill, "Crime and Testimony: Life Narratives, Pardon Letters, and Microhistory": 152. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth–Century France* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1987).

[75] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, pp. xi-xii.

[76] John Legge, "The Writing of Southeast Asian History," pp. 34-35.

[77] Tej Bunnag, "Kabot Phu Mi Bun phak e-san ro. so. 121 [*Phu Mi Bun* Rebellion of the Northeast Siam, R.S. 121 (1902 A.D.)]," *Sangkomsat Parithat*, 5, 2 (June 2510 [1967]): 78-86.

economic discontents are always mentioned as causes of the Rebellions. Linking between religious beliefs and the Rebellions, Charles F. Keyes (1977, first circulated in 1972) reflects that, "Yet, while the economic conditions of the peasantry exacerbated the discontent of the people of the region, the radically changed political order instituted by the Siamese government was more important as a cause of the uprising."[78] Yoneo Ishii (1975) also focuses on the religious aspect of the Rebellion and states that "In the case of the 1902 rebellions... agricultural failure, lack of alternative income sources nearby, and hardship caused by exploitative local officials, had made life in the region intolerable."[79] John B. Murdoch (1974) takes the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 much further by viewing it as a transboundary movement that emerged on both sides of the Mekong River, then a boundary between Siamese and French controlled territories and notes that political and economic changes underlied the outbreaking of the Rebellions.[80] Nonglak Limsiri (1981) mostly agrees with Tej and adds "primitive beliefs and backward social conditions" as another cause of the Rebellions.[81]

Scholarship on the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 with Marxist perspectives also emphasizes economic injustice and political structural abuses as primary causes. As Shigeharu Tanabe (1984) notes, "Defensive practices, and various forms of petition for a reduction of the tax burden, sometimes escalated rapidly into armed uprisings which aimed to overthrow the agents of the central government, and its power structured."[82] Chatthip Nartsupha (1984) in his study of "Holy Men Revolts" in northeastern Siam suggests that, "The causes of these revolts were similar, namely resistance against the Siamese state which tried to control and tax villages, and occasionally resistance against the Siamese people, and an attempt to re-establish the idea of Vientiane and to lead Northeasterners to pay allegiance to Vientiane."[83]

Recent studies of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 retain their focus on the causes and characteristics of the rebellion. Ian Baird (2013) goes further to remark that "rapid destabilizing political and economic change that is frequently linked to millenarian movements in mainland South East Asia."[84] Patrice Ladwig examines the Rebellion through the lens of Pāli imaginaires and notices, "radical social change, transition periods and

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[78] Charles F. Keyes, "Millennialism, Theravada Buddhism, and Thai Society," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 36, 2 (1977): 300.

[79] Yoneo Ishii, "A Note on Buddhistic Millenarian Revolts in Northeastern Siam," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 6, 2 (1975): 124. In the same year, Ishii published an essay "Millenarian Movements in Thailand" in Japanese. It was translated to English and published in 1986 (Yoneo Ishii, "Millenarian Movements in Thailand," in his *Sangha, State, and Society: Thai Buddhism in History*, translated by Peter Hawkes (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), pp. 171-187).

[80] John B. Murdoch, "The 1901-1902 Holy Man's Rebellion," *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 62, 1 (1974): 47-66.

[81] Nonglak Limsiri, *Khwam samkan khong kabot hua muang isan pho. so. 2325-2445* [The Significance of the Rebellion in the Northeastern Provinces of Thailand B.E. 2325-2445] (M.A. Thesis. Silapakorn University, 2524 (1981]), pp. 138-147.

[82] Shigeharu Tanabe, "Ideological Practice in Peasant Rebellions: Siam at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in Andrew Turton and Shigeharu Tanabe (eds.), *History and Peasant Consciousness in South East Asia* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1984), pp. 85-86.

[83] Chatthip Nartsupha, "The Ideology of 'Holy Men' Revolts in North East Thailand," in Andrew Turton and Shigeharu Tanabe (eds.), *History and Peasant Consciousness in South East Asia* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1984), p. 112.

[84] Ian Baird, "Millenarian movements in southern Laos and North Eastern Siam (Thailand) at the turn of the twentieth century Reconsidering the involvement of the Champassak Royal House," *South East Asia Research*, 21, 2 (June 2013): 271.

oppression certainly have a role in the formation and growth of rebellions. He also suggests that, however, "these alone represent insufficient criteria for interpreting the rise of these movements."[85]

In conclusion, scholarship of the *phu mi bun* Rebellion of 1901-1902 have a consensus, though from different points of view, that rapid socio-economic and political changes contributed in varying degrees to the causes of the Rebellions. It should be noted that Chandler of millenarian rebellion in Cambodia,[86] which emerged along Cambodia-Vietnam borders in 1820, shares the same approach.

Apart from socio-economic and political changes, the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 are also elucidated by religious elements, or millenarian traditions to be precised. Keyes (1977), while not denying causes of the rebellion suggested by Tej, explain the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 in terms of popular religious beliefs, i.e. the belief in Metteyya and the belief in "persons-who-have-merit."[87] Ishii (1975, 1986) views the *phu mi bun* Rebellions through popular Buddhist lens and argues that the rebellion emerged around the idea of *phu mi bon*, which was "strongly influenced by popular Buddhist literature such as *Traiphūm*, *Phra Mālai*, and various versions of the *Jātaka* stories, all of which were presented to the populace in multi-faceted ways: paintings, sculptures, recitations, sermons and other means."[88] Murdoch (1974) also mentions ideas on Metteyya and *phu mi bon* but places it as a background.[89] The study of millenarian elements of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions was raised to its peak in Thailand in the 1980s.[90] Ladwig (2014) in his recent study of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 pushes the study further by problematizing the idea of millennialism in relation to revolutionary possibilities.[91]

In his review of the existing scholarship of the Saya San Rebellion, Maitrii Aung-Thwin reaches the same conclusion. The scholarship, he claims, focuses on the causes –colonial and economic discontents– and characteristics of the Rebellion to the extent that they have become one of enduring tropes in the study of the Saya San Rebellion.[92] Aung-Thwin suggests that dominant focus on the causes and characteristics of the Rebellion is a result of "the nature of the colonial sources, the purposes for which these documents were

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[85] Patrice Ladwig, "Millennialism, Charisma and Utopia: Revolutionary Potentialities in Pre-modern Lao and Thai Theravāda Buddhism," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 15, 2 (2014): 325.

[86] David Chandler, "An Anti-Vietnamese Rebellion in Early Nineteenth Century Cambodia": 16-24.

[87] Charles F. Keyes, "Millennialism, Theravada Buddhism, and Thai Society": 301-302.

[88] Yoneo Ishii, "A Note on Buddhistic Millenarian Revolts in Northeastern Siam": 124-125.

[89] John B. Murdoch, "The 1901-1902 Holy Man's Rebellion": 47-66.

[90] Chalong Soontravanich, "Khwamcheu nai rueang phra sri an lae kabot nai phak isan, ['Maitreya Belief' and rebellions in northeastern Thailand]," in Ponpen Hantrakul and Atcharapon Kamutpitsamai (eds.), *'Khwam chue phra sri an' lae 'kabot phu mi bun' nai sangkom thai* ['Metteyya Belief' and 'Holy man rebellion' in Thai Society] (Bangkok: Sangsan, 2527 [1984]), pp. 22-32; Soontri Asawai, *Chak udomkan pra sri an thueng khabot phu mi bun phak isan* [From Maitreya Ideology to Holy Man's Rebellion in Northeast Thailand] (Paper Presented in the Seminar on 'Song sattawat rattanakosin lae khwam plian plaeng khong sangkom thai [Two centuries of Bangkok Era and Changes in Thai Society]' (Bangkok, 2525 [1982]).

[91] Patrice Ladwig, "Millennialism, Charisma and Utopia: Revolutionary Potentialities in Pre-modern Lao and Thai Theravāda Buddhism": 308-329.

[92] Maitrii Aung-Thwin, *The Return of the Galon King: History, Law, and Rebellion in Colonial Burma* (Ohio: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 2011), pp. 20-27.

Political discontents of the *phu mi bun* Rebellion of 1901-1902, which emerged in the Lao-speaking areas, could be described as "internal" colonial discontents. To this aspect, the *phu mi bun* Rebellion is "anti-Siamese internal colonial" or "anti-foreign" rebellion as same as the Saya San Rebellion.

produced."[93] Studies of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902 also rely mainly on "colonial" sources produced by Siamese authorities.[94] Aung-Thwin notes that the scholarship's understanding of the Saya San Rebellion has been based on official reports that based on a problematic evidential foundation. In other words, Aung-Thwin questions colonial historiography and tracks how the history of the Saya San rebellion was created on a colonial reportage and how scholars continue to recycle assumptions from that report, which is a shaky basis. He also notices that a new insight into the Saya San Rebellion emerged when religious elements, or more precisely millenarian traditions, are brought to light.[95]

Focusing on collective causes and characteristics, leadership, and beliefs and ideologies of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901-1902, with the ordinary people viewed as the "masses" or "peasants," has became a standard approaches in studying the so-called millenarian rebellion. Instead, my chapters concerning *nĕak mean bŏn* uprisings (chapter 2 and 4) primarily focus on the individual ordinary people, not the "masses" or "peasants." By seeing history through *châmloey*, *khamhaikan* and *interrogatoire*, this study argues that some if not many of this kind of movement emerged without political and economic resentments. Rather, hope playsed a critical role. Beliefs and ideologies, especially theirs circulation among the ordinary people, are interpreted through perspective from below. Moreover, these chapters go further from Aung–Thwin's project by looking at other sources, i.e. *khamhaikan* and *interrogatoire*, in colonial archives that might be called people's archives in order to understand *nĕak mean bŏn* uprisings through eyes and minds of individual ordinary people.

Nĕak mean bŏn uprisings, as well as everyday practices in chapter 1 and rebellions in chapter 3, can be considered acts of resistance, deviation, and transgression, which were changeable and mutable. In examining these aspects, James C. Scott's ideas on "everyday forms of resistance" serve best as a starting point.

Crossing to the Other Worlds

James C. Scott in his seminal *Weapons of the Weak* (1985), a study of peasant resistance based on his fieldwork in a Malay village, expresses his dissatisfaction with the existing studies of peasant rebellion and revolution, including his own work on the Saya San Rebellion of 1930-1931 in British Burma and the Nghệ-Tĩnh Soviets uprising of 1930-1931 in French Indochina.[96] He criticizes studies of large-scale rebellions by pointing out that what is missing from a great number of studies on popular uprisings and rebellions is the simple fact that "most subordinate classes throughout most of history have rarely been afforded the luxury of open, organized, political activity. Or, better stated, such activity was dangerous, if not suicidal." He also points out that "peasant rebellions –let alone revolutions– are far and few between."[97] He suggests instead a shift of perspective from revolts to "between revolts," and from active resistance to passive resistance, which he terms "everyday forms of resistance" such as footdragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth.[98] By "everyday forms of resistance," Scott means "the prosaic

[93] Maitrii Aung-Thwin, *The Return of the Galon King*, pp. 21.

[94] Ibid., p. 21.

[95] Ibid., pp. 22-24, 167-173.

[96] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 28; James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976).

[97] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, pp. xv-xvi.

[98] Ibid., p. 29.

but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labour, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them."[99]

Scott expatiates on his idea of "everyday forms of resistance" in his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990). To resist the domination of the powerful, the powerless insinuate their resistance into the public transcript[100] through a "hidden transcript" that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant."[101] The "hidden transcript" represents "discourse –gesture, speech, practices– that is ordinary excluded from the public transcript of subordinates by the exercise of power."[102] It is an undeclared form of political resistance, which is "disguised, muted and veiled for safety's sake." These forms of resistance appear in disguised form, e.g., anonymity, euphemisms, grumbling, as well as more sophisticated and culturally elaborate forms of disguise found in oral culture, folktales, symbolic inversion, and rituals of reversal such as carnivals and fêtes.[103]

Scott's ideas of "everyday forms of resistance" and "hidden transcript" have become popular[104] and paved a groundbreaking path for "resistance studies."[105] From the point of view of critics of resistance studies, resistance can mean anything. It stretches across a wide range of behaviors and actions: "cross-dressing, tattooing, women's fashions, dirty jokes, and rock videos are routinely held up as examples of cultural resistance."[106] This suggests it is accepted by scholars of resistance studies without resistance. Rose Weitz, in her discussion of how women use their hair to challenge their subordinate position, writes: "To date, the term *resistance* remains loosely defined, allowing some scholars to see it almost everywhere and others almost nowhere."[107] Thus, the same term used by scholars of resistance studies "may not in fact be talking about the same thing."[108]

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[99] Ibid., p. xvi.

[100] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 136.

The term "public transcript" was used to describe "the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominated," and, undoubtedly, controlled by the dominant. The public transcript is a conventional pattern of both speech, and nonspeech acts, such as gesture and expression, for the dominated, a stylized public performance through which they adopt the forms of deference and respect for the powerful that are needed to avoid conflict with the powerful (Ibid., pp. 2, 18).

[101] Ibid., p. xii.

[102] Ibid., pp. 4-5, 27.

[103] Ibid., pp. 136-182.

[104] Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, "Conceptualizing Resistance," *Sociological Forum* 19, 4 (December 2004): 533-554.

[105] An article in the New York Times called him "an unofficial founder of the field of 'resistance studies,' in which his book 'Weapons of the Weak' (1985), a study of peasant resistance based on fieldwork in a Malaysian village, is a kind of Bible" (Jennifer Schuessler, "Professor Who Learns From Peasants," *http://www.nytimes.com/ 2012/ 12/05/books/james–c–scott–farmer–and–scholar–of–anarchism.html* (accessed March 2, 2014)). A version of this article appears in print in the 5 December 2012 issue, on Page C1 of the New York edition, with the headline: "Professor Who Learns From Peasants."

[106] Michael F. Brown, "On Resisting Resistance," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 98, 4 (December 1996): 729.

[107] Rose Weitz, "Women and Their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation," *Gender and Society* 15, 5 (October 2001): 669. Italic in the original.

Tim Cresswell criticizes in the same way. As he writes, "There has been much talk in contemporary cultural theory about "resistance." Almost any activity from eating to walking to writing books and making films can, it seems, be construed as resistance. There is undoubtedly a degree of romanticization of the everyday going on in this talk" (Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 22).

[108] Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, "Conceptualizing Resistance": 534.

Presently, terms and concepts of "transgression" and "deviance" as theoretical and analytical frameworks are employed in studies concerning acts of resistance, but those terms usually are interchangeable with the term "resistance."[109] Tim Cresswell in his study on space as a site of social conflict chooses to use the term "transgression" in reference to behaviors that are judged as inappropriate for a particular setting, in which some behaviors could be judged "resistance." By contrasting "transgression" and "resistance," he notes, "Resistance seems to imply intention –purposeful action directed against some disliked entity with the intention of changing it or lessening its effect." "Transgression" is not defined by the intent of the actors, but rests "on the 'being noticed' of a particular action." "Everyday forms of resistance," he notes, "depend on being 'not noticed,' as the object is to avoid retribution and to live as decent a life as possible. This resistance occurs behind the backs of those who are being resisted."[110] The term "deviance," which means "something recognizably different about acts that break from established norms," [111] is not Cresswell's choice because "transgression (and the term 'out of place') implies inherent spatiality,"[112] which is more relevant to his project.

However, "resistance and transgression are clearly not discrete sets," Cresswell remarks. "Some actions judged as constituting transgression are intended by the actors and thus also constitute resistance."[113] Therefore, by considering intentionality as the criterion, resistance and transgression cannot be absolutely distinguished. This can also be applied in discussing the different between resistance and transgression as "being not noticed" and "being noticed" respectively. Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, after reviewing social scientists' published works that give a broad span to definitions of the term "resistance," conclude that such acts, which refer to activity that "occurs in opposition to someone or something else,"[114] are intended to be recognized, or concealed, or remain invisible or hidden behind the dominant.[115] Hence, resistance can be both "not noticed" and "noticed."

In fact, these three terms –resistance, transgression, and deviance– share the meaning of "crossing a boundary," which is the literal meaning of the term "transgression." By "boundary" I mean a standard line or lines drawn by norms, rules, and laws. It binds people together in a family, community, and society. By "crossing" I follow the definitions given in the Oxford English Dictionary, which are "go or extend across or to the other side of (an area, stretch of water, etc.)," and "oppose or stand in the way of (someone)." A person who acts in

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[109] About a use of "transgression" in the study of resistance in history see Tyrell Haberkorn, *Revolutionary Interrupted: Farmers, Students, Law, and Violence in Northern Thailand* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); and a use of "deviance" see Will Jackson and Emily J. Manktelow (eds.), *Subverting Empire: Deviance and Disorder in the British Colonial World* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015); Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash (eds.), *Law, Crime and Deviance since 1700: Micro-Studies in the History of Crime* (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

[110] Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, pp. 22-23.

In similar fashion, some have criticized that actions of resistance cannot be simply considered as two separate covert/passive/hidden and overt/active/open forms of resistance. Matthew C. Gutmann argues, "That covert forms of struggle may in certain, even many, historical circumstances be more frequent does not mean that overt forms should no longer be studied. Besides, the emphasis here is wrong; it is not a question of overt or covert in isolation; rather, at least in Latin America today and historically, these forms occur together, alternate, and transform themselves into each other" (Matthew C. Gutmann, "Rituals of Resistance: A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance," *Latin American Perspectives* 20, 2 (Spring 1993): 76-77).

[111] Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, p. 24.

[112] Ibid., p. 26.

[113] Ibid., p. 23.

[114] Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, "Conceptualizing Resistance": 538-539.

[115] Ibid.: 540, 541.

opposition to (or resistance against, or deviance from) someone or something places oneself outside a boundary or boundaries that has/have shaped someone or something one opposes. Without physically going across, that person is crossing a boundary.

Power creates norms, rules, and laws. In other words, power creates boundaries. At this point, a question is naturally raised, from the perspective of the Southeast Asian world: What is power? In the Khmer world, as well as in other Theravādan states in Southeast Asia, *ǎmnach* (power) means "autorité, puissance, pouvoir, crédit, droit autorisation."[116] It is based on *bŏn* (merit, good deeds), and makes use of *bŏn*; on the other hand, power represents and regenerates *bŏn*.[117] One meaning of the word *bŏn* given by the French scholar-administrator – Étienne Aymonier (1844-1929) in his *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, published in 1878– is "puissance."[118] In that dictionary, the words *bŏn* and *ǎmnach* also appear in the compound word *bŏn ǎmnach*. According to *Bândăm Ta Meas*, the French were recognized as "*nĕak mean bŏn ǎmnach*."[119] In a letter to Aymonier, then le représentant du protectorat, three Siamese people requested to depend on his *bŏn ǎmnach*.[120] Furthermore, various powerful persons, such as a Vietnamese general Lê Văn Duyệt (1763-1832), the viceroy of southern Vietnam and Cambodia who was called in Cambodian and Thai documents Ŏng (Kh.)/Ong (Th.) Ta Kun (Vn. Ông Tả Quân),[121] and a Siamese general Chaophraya Bodin Decha (1776-1849), the commander–in–chief in the Fourteen Years War (1833-1847) who often was called *Chav Khŭn* in Cambodian documents, were called *thŭm mean bŏn*, literally "big persons who have merit."[122] In short, not only is *bŏn* a source of *ǎmnach*, *bŏn* is itself a form of *ǎmnach*.

Bŏn, and its opposite, *bap* (bad kamma, evil deeds), both function under the law of kamma. In accordance with the law of kamma of popular Theravāda Buddhism, one who does *bŏn* will get a good result, while one who does *bap* will get a bad result. If kamma, both good and bad, does not give a result in the present life, it gives a result in future lives. The fruits of kamma are inevitable.[123] Beings move through never-ending cycles of birth and

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[116] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr-français*, p. 29.

[117] On the Cambodian conceptions of power see Trudy Jacobsen and Martin Stuart-Fox, *Power and Political Culture in Cambodia* (Asia Research Institute, Working Paper Series No. 200, May 2013), pp. 8-14; Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945*, pp. 68-69; Alaxander Hinton, *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 97-116.

On the conceptions of power of the other Theravadan states of Southeast Asia see Alain Forest, "Le processus traditionnel de legitimation du pouvoir royal dans les pays de bouddhisme *theravâda*," *Journal des anthropologues* 104-105 (2006): 165-189; Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma* (Chambersburg: Anima Books, 1978); Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., "Merit and Power in Thai Social Order," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 64, 6 (December 1962): 1247-1261; Patrick Jory, *Thailand's Therory of Monarch: The Vessantara Jataka and the Idea of the Perfect Man* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016).

[118] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 254.

[119] BMA Ms 695/4-b Rieung Bandam Ta-Méas, p. 24.

[120] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/538.

[121] *Tả Quân*, literally "Left Division," which was an abbreviation of the phrase "the commander of *Tả Quân*," was an alternate name of Lê Văn Duyệt (Choi Byung Wook, *Southern Vietnam under the Reign of Minh Mang (1820-1841): Central Policies and Local Response* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2004), p. 51.

Ŏng and *Ong* are Kh. and Th. for Vn. *Ông*. It was used in Thai document to refer to Vietnamese royals, nobility, and Buddhist monk.

[122] Prĕah Bâtŭm Baramey (Pich), "Sastra Voat Kroch [Menuscit de la pagode de Kroch]," In Khin Sok. *L'Annexion du Cambodge par les Vietnamiens au XIX^{e} siècle: d'après les duex poèmes de vénérable Bâtum Baramey Pich* (Paris: Édition You-Feng, 2002), pp. 132, 155.

[123] On the law of kamma see Charles F. Keyes, "Merit-Transference in the Kammic Theory of Popular Theravada Buddhism," in Charles F. Keyes and E. Valentine Daniel (eds.), *Karma: An Anthropological Inquiry*

rebirth, degeneration and regeneration, until they attain nibbāna, if ever. The law of kamma provides a framework for interpreting differences among human beings throughout the world (i.e. why one has power, while another is powerless, etc.), and for explaining what happens to human beings (i.e. why one who has power may lose his power, and why one who is powerless becomes powerful, etc.).[124] As the basis of moral order, it also provides a guide for actions in the world –how to behave.

The law of kamma binds together, and at the same time separates, the ordinary people and the élite. What made people as they are in this life are the *bŏn* and the *bap* that they have accumulated from their previous lives. The present is determined by the past that cannot be changed. Theoretically, however, people could accumulate merit in order to make changes in this life. Practically, however, that will be virtually impossible if people strictly construe the law of kamma.

A central argument of this dissertation is that acts of resistance, deviance, and transgression of the ordinary people were the crossing of the boundaries essentially created by the élite, who possessed and exercised *bŏn/ăm̃nach* (merit/power), in order to change their unchangeable here-and-now life determined by the past. This point can be made in another way by paraphrasing José Rabasa's words, "The factors that determine individual destinies are 'predetermined but also, secondarily, subject to the agency of and will of others, both human and supernatural'."[125]

By crossing boundaries, flesh-and-blood people did not "*create* a boundary... erasing or moving it" as does the trickster or the "boundary crosser."[126] They instead built an alternative world in its own right. It was the here-and-now world that was reigned by sensual delights, desires, and dreams. It partially imbricated with the normative world, the there-and-then world that sensual delights, desires, and dreams were suppressed by the popular Theravāda

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(Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 261-286. About the law of kamma expressed in *reuang préng* sees Solange Thierry, *De la Rizière à la Forêt* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988), p. 7.

[124] Perhaps, the most influential text that forged an understanding of the law of kamma is *Trai Phum* (On *Trai Phum* see *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, Translation with Introduction and Notes by Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1982)). *Trai Phum* is usually considered a cosmological text. It could be considered, however, a Dhamma teaching through travelling in the Three Worlds with emphasising on Kāmāvacarabhūmi (the Realm of sensual desire). The ultimate destination is nibbāna, which exists beyond the Three Worlds. At the very core of the text lies the concept of kamma.

It is believed that King Li Thai of the Thai state of Sukhothai composed *Trai Phum* in the early fourteenth century (Ibid., pp. 5–7). It was one of the three "key" texts, the other two texts were *Phra Malai* and *Maha Chat*, of both popular and élite traditions of traditional Siam (Charles F. Keyes, *Thiland: Buddhist Kingdom as Modern Nation–Staes* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987), p. 181). This text was also formerly very popular and widespread in Cambodia (Grégory Mikaelian, "Michel Tranet: Gambī trai bhūmi, Traité [de cosmogonie] des Trois Mondes," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême–Orient* 89 (2002): 423). It seems to have been lost during the nineteenth century decades of warfare and political turmoil in Cambodia. In the mid-nineteenth century, King Duong asked the Siamese court for this text and had it translated into Khmer (Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 49). At least 25 copies of that translation of *Trai Bhūm* survive in various monasteries in Phnŭm Pénh, Kândal, and Kăm̃póng Cham (Grégory Mikaelian, "Michel Tranet: Gambī trai bhūmi, Traité [de cosmogonie] des Trois Mondes": 423, fn. 5).

[125] José Rabasa, *Without History: Subaltern Studies, the Zapatista Insurgency, and the Specter of History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), p. 39.

[126] Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Make This Worlds: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), pp. 7-8. Italic in original.

Buddhist beliefs and practices. Again and again, the ordinary people crossed back and forth between these two worlds.

Geographically, the ordinary people in this study also often crossed state boundaries. While the French colonial adminisrators tried to map its colonial territories in Indochina[127] and Siam was mapped and also tried to map its territories,[128] people continually crossed boundaries. It is because not only the state bounadaries remained porous,[129] but also these people remained connected across boundaries. They connected to each other in various relations: familial and relative, economic, religious and belief-based.[130] Their relations formed communities within and beyond "imagined communities."[131]

The People's Archives

One of the many difficulties of writing the history of individuals is the scarcity of evidence. But perhaps a more significant challenge is that such evidence is usually, if not always, fragmentary and episodic, even in the case of large-scale people's uprisings. Ginzburg believes, however, that the scarce evidence still provides us the possibility to "reconstruct a fragment."[132] Indeed, he asserts, "A close reading of a relatively small number of texts, related to a possible circumscribed belief, can be more rewarding than the massive accumulation of repetitive evidence."[133]

Gyanendra Pandey argues that a "fragment of history," which can be found in "a weaver's diary, a collection of poems by an unknown poet, creation myths and women's songs, family genealogies, and local traditions of history" as opposed to official sources, can contribute to "challenging the state's construction of history, in thinking other histories and marking those contested spaces through which particular unities are sought to be constituted and others broken up."[134] But the "fragment of history" produced by the state can also be used against the producer. Ginzburg suggests that by "digging into the texts, against the intentions of whoever produced them, uncontrolled voices can be made to emerge,"[135] in other words "reading against the grain."[136] Thus, both official and popular sources related to ordinary people could offer us "other histories," even though they may be only fragmentary ones.

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[127] See Christopher Goscha, *Contesting Indochinese: Contesting Concepts of Space and Place in French Indochina* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012).

[128] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo–Body of a Nation*.

[129] See Eric Tagliacozzo, *Secret Trades, Porous Borders: Smuggling and State Along a Southeast Asian Frontiers, 1865-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

[130] About the religious relations between people in Siam, Cambodia, and Laos see Anne Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in Cambodia: 1860-1953*; Søren Ivarsson, *Creating Laos: The Making of a Lao Space between Indochina and Siam, 1860–1945* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008)

[131] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

[132] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, p. xiv.

[133] Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," in his *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, translated by John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 164.

[134] Gyanendra Pandey, "In Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today," *Representations* 37 (Winter 1992): 50.

[135] Carlo Ginzburg, "Introduction," in his *Threads and Traces: True False Fictive*, translated by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), p. 3.

[136] See a discussion about the notion of "reading against the grain" in Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 46-51.

This study interweaves two groups of archival sources: testimonial narratives and local literature. The first group consists of the Thai documentary genre *khamhaikan*, literally "interrogation, testimony, statement," the Khmer documentary genre *châmloey*, (interrogation report) and the French documentary genre *interrogatoire*, which document the practices and experiences of ordinary people.[137] We may call *khamhaikan*, *châmloey*, and *interrogatoire* colonial "archives of repression."[138] The worlds and lives of the people according to *khamhaikan*, *châmloey*, and *interrogatoires* are embodied and embellished by the other group of archival sources, which consists of *reuang préng* (folktales), and *tŭmneay* literature (prophetic literature), which may be called, using O.W. Wolters' term, "local literature."[139]

Khamhaikan provides accounts of the customs and traditions of old Siam, and of the current situations, customs and traditions, and geography of the states lying beyond Siam and its tributary principalities. That information was provided by officials who were tasked with "asking witnesses" from various groups, including village elders, Buddhist monks, merchants, travelers, spies, and prisoners of war.[140] *Khamhaikan* was a valuable source of information for the ruling élite, particularly during wartime. In 1834, at the beginning of the Fourteen Years War (1833–1847), the government at Bangkok sent the following order to officials in Siem Reap: "Do not be careless about the situation in Krapong Sawai (Kh. Kãmpóng Svay), which is located next to our territory. Think carefully and then send patrol units... (to patrol) the land routes and waterways to arrest Khmers, Vietnamese, and Chinese... who travel back and forth (between Siam and Cambodia) and who come to reconnoiter (our territory). Arrest them to interrogate them for information."[141] *Khamhaikan* thus included information derived from questioning or interviewing alleged offenders. This meaning was share with the meanings of *châmloey* and *interrogatoire*.

In both Siam and Cambodia the interrogation of prisoners of war –whether combatants or non–combatants who were held in custody by authorities– as well as alleged wrongdoers was usually conducted in the provinces. In Siam, the *kha luang*, a resident representative of the Siamese king who was sent to superintend the administration of a province or town, was usually present at the interrogation. The interrogation would be conducted in Thai, with a translator present if required. A *khamhaikan* would be written in Thai in a descriptive format. It then would be enclosed with a *baibok* (dispatch or administrative report) and sent to Bangkok, sometimes along with the referenced prisoners of war or alleged offenders. *Baibok* usually included a summary of the enclosed *khamhaikan*. In Cambodia, a Khmer official would interrogate the prisoner. A *châmloey* would be written in Khmer in a descriptive format and also a question-and-answer format. Then *châmloey*,

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[137] The *khamhaikan* I refer to in this study are preserved in the National Library and National Archives of Thailand, Bangkok. Some have already been published. The *châmloey* and *interrogatoires* I refer to were found in the Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence.

[138] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, p. xxi; Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," p. 157. See also Kim A. Wagner, *Thugee: Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth-Century India*, pp. 15-24.

[139] Oliver W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, pp. 68-87.

[140] H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphap, "Introduction," in *Khamhaikan chao ang-va* [Testimonies of the people of Ava] (Bangkok: Charoen Phol, 2457 [1914]), p. (2); H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphap, "Introduction," in *Prachum Phongsawadan phak thi chet* [Collected Chronicle, Part 7 (Bangkok: Bamrung Nukulkit, 2460 [1917], pp. kho-cho.

[141] *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi sip chet chotmaihet kiaokap khamen lae yuan nai ratchakan thi sam ton thi nueng* [Collected Chronicles, Part 67: Records on Khmer and Vietnamese in the Third Reign, Section 1] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2481 [1938], pp. 39-40, 75.

accompanied by the alleged wrongdoer, would be delivered to the French Résident. Some *châmloey* would be translated into French. Important alleged wrongdoers, such as leaders of an uprising, would be interrogated again by the French Résident. The interrogation would be conducted French with a formally trained translator. The *interrogatoire* was usually written in French in question-and-answer format.

This study also explores the mentality of ordinary individual people in the past through *reuang préng* (folktales).[142] Most scholars of Khmer literature agree that even though some *reuang préng* were borrowed from Indian tales, most sprang from the creative genius of the Khmer people, which originated entirely on Cambodian soil.[143] For the British scholar Judith M. Jacob, *reuang préng* are "the real literature of Cambodia. They reveal the Khmer character,

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[142] Meaning of the word *reuang préng*, according to *Dictionaire khmêr-français* of Étienne Aymonier who was the prominent Khmer tales collectors, is "contes antiques" (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr-français*, p. 347). However, in his *Textes Khmers*, the first printing collection of Khmer tales also published in the same year with his *Dictionaire khmêr-français*, Aymonier uses a word *roeung niyeay preng* or "contes et légend populaires" instead *roeung preng* (Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers, publiés avec une traduction sommaire* (Saigon, 1878). Joseph Guesdon, another prominent Khmer tales collectors, uses a word *rôůngs Khmêrs*, literally "Khmer tales," in his written manuscripts of Khmer folktales (EFEO Mss Cambodgien P91 Rôůngs Khmêrs). For An, the Khmer who was a member of the expedition team which is part of the Aymonier Mission, uses a word *roeung* to call a story told to him by villagers (?) (BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 8, An no. 2, p. 1). Aymonier gives a meaning of the word *roeung* as "fable, conte" (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr–français*, p. 347). It also means "story."

Khing Hoc Dy and Judith M. Jacob define that *reuang préng* consists of tale and legend (Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la litterrure khmere, volume 1: L'époque classique XV^e–XIX^e siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990), p. 96; Khing Hoc Dy, *Aperçu général sur la littérature khmère* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), p. 80); Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, pp. 14, 15), which closely resemble a usage of Aymonier. However, Than Bunly recently argues that, what villagers considered *reuang préng* is different from that of scholars. For the villagers, *reuang préng* include a broad range of oral narrations, from tale to legend, from *satra lbaeng* (entertainment literature) to jātaka, and épopée (Than Bunly, *The Status of Oral Folktale Narration in Contemporary Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village* (M.A. Thesis, Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2004), p. 64). Thus, what Khing Hoc Dy has considered "entertainment literature (*lbaeng*)," which comprises popular literature (i.e. *reuang préng* (tale and legend), riddle, and song) and scholarly literature (i.e. épopée and *roeung lbaeng* (classical novel, including extra-canonical jātaka-s such as *Paññāsa Jātaka* (apocryphal birth-stories)) (Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la litterrure khmere, volume 1: L'époque classique XV^e-XIX^e siècle*, p. 93-203) has considered by the villagers *reuang préng*. Probably, for the villagers, all stories, both oral and written forms, are called *reuang*. This is a problem of scholarly and popular categorizations of *reuang préng* that I do not discuss here.

Reuang préng is always defined as an oral narration of stories. In his *Textes Khmers*, Aymonier separates tales into two parts, i.e. *roeung niyeay preng* (contes et légend populaires) and *satra khmer boran* (ancien satras Khmêrs, literally ancient Khmer manuscripts.) It seems like that he has classified those tales by expression, *niyeay* (talk, speak) and *satra* (book, manuscript), or oral and written expression respectively. But other criterion was considered too. *Satra Sauphéa Tonsai*, the book of Judge Hare, was subjected to the part of *roeung niyeay preng* because "by its nature, it must be attached to the oral tales" (Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers,* p. 3). Thus, *reuang préng* is not only the oral narration of the stories, but also the written narration of the stories.

Stories I used in this chapter are tales in which I call *roeung preng* and folktale, which are interchangeable. I also count some tales that claim that they are a story of Bodhisatta, or jātaka, but are neither a canonical jātaka nor a *Paññāsa Jātaka*.

[143] Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, p. 4; Léon Feer, "Introduction," in Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: Contes et légendes, recueillis et publies en français*, pp. v-xxii; G. H. Monod, *Contes khmers* (Mouans-Sartoux: Publications Chitra, C.-A. Högman, 1943), pp. 14-15; Solange Thierry, "Le Cambodge à travers sa littérature," *France-Asie* 4, 37-38 (1949), p. 918; Pierre Bitard, "Essai sur la satire sociale dans la littérature du Cambodge," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, Nouvelle Série, XXVI 2 (1951): 189-190; Solange Theirry, "A propos de la littérature populaire du Cambodge: conte inédits," *L'Etnographie*, Nouvelle Série 65 (1972): 87–85; Solange Thierry, *Le cambodge des contes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), pp. 11-64; Solange Thierry, *De la Rizière à la Forêt*, pp. 6-8.

especially their humour and philosophy of life."[144] Khŏem Sẫm-âu and Khing Hoc Dy agree that *reuang préng* comprise a literature of the people.[145] Thus, those "people's ballads" are a highly productive source for the study of the history of the Khmer people, whose worldview is difficult to find in other sources.[146]

Most studies of both literary and historical aspects of *reuang préng*, and also those studies that use *reuang préng* as a source, have used published versions of *reuang préng*, especially those published in the nine-volume set *Prâchŭm reuang préng khmae*, "Collection of Khmer Folktales" (hereafter PRPK), published between 1959 and 1964,[147] and reprinted many times since then. Using published *reuang préng* raises a question of authenticity, as they were usually edited, or "sanitized." Such edited versions of *reuang préng* in PRPK were canonized as part of "national literature" so that a "folk tradition would become generalized into the history of a nation."[148]

Some *reuang préng* in PRPK had earlier appeared in *Kampuchea Suriya*, a magazine published by the Buddhist Institute [of Cambodia], while some others were extracted from Aymonier's *Textes Khmers*,[149] but some had never been published before. *Reuang préng* in those three different published versions are almost identical. But if we compare those published versions with written manuscripts, some obvious differences appear. Among those differences are the following: moral lessons were added,[150] obscene words were replaced with proper words, and bawdy scenes were deleted.[151] However, some *reuang préng* have never been

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[144] Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, p. 15.

[145] Khŏem Sẫm-âu, *Brovot aksorsas khmae* [History of Khmer Literature], 4th printing (n.p., 1961), pp. 50-69. See also Khing Hoc Dy, *Contes et légendes du pays khmer, textes bilingues* (Conseil international de la langue française: Paris, 1989), p. 9; Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la litterrure khmere, volume 1: L'époque classique XVe-XIXe siècle*, p. 96.

[146] However, there is only one academic article that uses *reuang préng* as a source. That is David P. Chandler's seminal article "Song at the Edge of the Forest: Perceptions of Order in Three Cambodian Texts," written in 1978 and first published in 1983 (David P. Chandler. "Song at the Edge of the Forest: Perceptions of Order in Three Cambodian Texts," p. 31.

[147] Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, p. 20.

[148] Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945*, p. 91.

[149] The first issue of *Kampuchea Suriya* was published in 1926. In 1931, the first folktale that was "Reuang khla" appeared on the pages of the magazine ("Reuang khla [Histoire du Tigre],"*Kampuchea Suriya* 4, 1 (1931): 39-41). This tale was extracted from Aymonier's *Textes Khmers* (Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, pp. 9-10 [summarized translation part, in French], pp. 32-34 [full story part, in Khmer]).

On *Kambujasuriya* see Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945*, chapter 8; and George Chigas, "The emergence of twentieth century Cambodian literary institutions: the case of Kambujasuriya," in David Smyth (ed.), *The Canon in Southeast Asian Literatures: literatures of Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, The Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam* (Cornwall: Curzon Press, 2000), pp. 135-146.

[150] A "moral lesson" at the end of a folktale is rarely found in written versions of *reuang préng* from the nineteenth century. Even in *reuang préng* that were selected for publication in *Kampuchea Suriya* from 1931 onward, the moral lesson is still extraordinary. The first *reuang préng* with a moral lesson was published in *Kampuchea Suriya* is *Reaung mnŭs lŏp* [Conséquence d'une cupidité] in 1935 (*Kampuchea Suriya* 7, 5 (1935): 109-112). The moral lesson becomes common practice for the *reuang préng* selected for publication in PRPK.

[151] Obscene language could be found in songs as well. Antoine Cabaton marks in 1901 that it "is sentimental or erotic, often obscene. The natives, however, did not notice that some features might be shocking; their way of seeing this and many other things is quite opposite to ours. The music of these songs, and Cambodian music in general, does not lack for pleasure" (Antoine Cabaton, "Rapport sur les littératures cambodgienne et chame," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 45e, 1 (1901): 66).

Needless to say, obscene language did not make an appearance in printed versions of the songs. On the publications record of Khmer songs see A. Tricon, "Conference sur les Mélodies Cambodgiennes," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises* (1915): 29-64; A. Tricon, *Chansons cambodgiennes* (Saigon: Imprimerie nouvelle Albert Portail, 1921); A. Tricon, "Chansons cambodgiennes," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises* (1923): 35-58.

published and are therefore excluded from the so-called canon of the literature of the people. Therefore, I have consulted instead manuscripts of *reuang préng* that remain in relatively unsanitized form.[152]

There is no consensus among scholars of Khmer literature about the dating of the recording of the *reuang préng*.[153] Such practices of collecting and writing *reuang préng*, were also participated by Frenchmen.[154]

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[152] After the emergence of printed versions of *reuang préng*, especially the PRPK, the Khmer people, especially in urban areas, learned about *reuang préng* from the printed version rather than the oral version (Than Bunly, *The Status of Oral Folktale Narration in Contemporary Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village*. Oral transmission of *reuang préng* still was practiced but it was an idiosyncratic practice in a society imbued with the written form, or, to borrow from Jack Goody, "lecto-oralty" (Jack Goody, *Myth, Ritual and the Oral* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 153-161). However, "sanitization" of the orally transmitted *reuang préng* was more or less dictated by the published version.

[153] Solange Thierry dates it back to the fifteenth century, but it was edited and reedited at the beginning of the twentieth century (Solange Thierry, *Le cambodge des contes*, p. 66). Khing Hoc Dy points out that it was written down during eighteenth and twentieth centuries (Khing Hoc Dy, *Contes et légendes du pays khmer, textes bilingues*, p. 9). However, in another book, he notes that the folktales were written during the Middle period (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries) (Khing Hoc Dy, *Aperçu général sur la littérature khmère*, pp. 80-81). Judith M. Jacob indicates that some were written down at least by the end of the nineteenth century (Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, p. 14). David P. Chandler states that many of the pre-colonial manuscripts came down to the present from the 1850s, when Khmer literature enjoyed a renaissance during the reign of King Duong (r. 1847-1860) (David P. Chandler. "Song at the Edge of the Forest: Perceptions of Order in Three Cambodian Texts," p. 31).

[154] The *reuang préng* I refer to in this study come from collections of the two most prominent collectors, by Étienne Aymonier and Joseph Guesdon, which are preserved in the libraries of the Société Asiatique, Paris and the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, respectively.

Étienne Aymonier (1844-1929) started his career in the military service. He first arrived in Saigon in October 1869 as a *lieutenant d'infanterie de marine* to occupy Cochichina. In 1870, he was appointed as the *inspecteur stagiaire des affaires indigènes*. He began to learn the Khmer language in 1871 when he was the Inspector of Travinh. He was the professeur du cours de cambodgien at the Collège des administrateurs stagiaires in Saigon from 1874 and was appointed Director in 1878 (Georges Cœdès, "Etienne-François Aymonier (1844-1929)," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 29 (1929): 542-548; Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnarie de bio-bibliographie générale, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine français* (Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et colonies, 1935), p. 15; Pierre Singaravélou, "De la découverte du Champa à la École Coloniale: itinéraire d'Étienne Aymonier d'après ses mémoires inédits," in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Angel Pino, and Samaha Khoury (eds.), *D'un Orient l'autre: actes des troisièmes Journées de l'Orient* (Louvain: Édition Peeteers, 2005), p. 239. The Collège des administrateurs stagiaires was founded in 1873. It was transformed from the Centre de formation des interprètes, which was founded in 1867). In the same year, he published his *Textes Khmers*, the first publication of a collection of Khmer tales in lithograph in Saigon (Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*). It is a bilingual text: a summary translation in French with the full text in Khmer.

Joseph Guesdon (1852-1939) was a French apostolic missionary who was sent to Cambodia in 1880 in charge of the christendom of Hoa-Lang in Phnom Penh, which was formed in 1865 and 1866 by Khmer Christians from Ponhea Leu (Jean-Cluade Bouchut, "Mission du Cambodge: Historique et Division des Districts," *Annales de la Société des Missions Etrangères* 95 (Septembre-Octobre 1913), *http://ar.21–bal.com/ law/3446/ index.html?page=4* (accessed September 13, 2014). See also "*Brovot prĕahsahakhom kataulĭk nŏv prĕah reacheanachak kampŭchea* [History of the Catholic Community in Cambodia]," *http://catholiccambodia.org/ commnunity–history* (accessed September 13, 2014). There he probably began to study Khmer language for the Mission's interests, as was the practice with colonial administrators who studied native languages for the colonial interests. Studying the Khmer language and literature in both written and oral forms became the "passion" of his life. He left the mission in Cambodia in 1881 and then left the Mission Étrangère de Paris. He again returned to Cambodia in 1882 and settled down in the pagoda of Kien Svay, located 18 kilometers south-west of Phnŭm Pénh, near the christendom of Meat-Krasa, where his friend Jean-Joseph Lazard was a priest ("Pierre Marie Joseph Guesdon," *http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices–biographiques/guesdon* (accessed September 13, 2014). He stayed there until 1888, studied more about the Khmer language, and more interesting, also collected and copied a quantity of

The onset of millenarian movements in Cambodia coincided with the popularity and circulation of *tŭmneay* (prophecies).[155] *Tŭmneay* comprises a vernacular literature dealing with predictions of future events that were reputed to have been made by the Buddha, various gods, and human beings possessing superhuman powers, such as renowned hermits. It is one of the most prominent genres of popular vernacular literature in Cambodia. Its popularity and durability have led many scholars of Cambodian studies to use it as a source for studying the Khmer people, society, and history.[156] *Tŭmneay* centers around two major themes: the degeneration of the moral order which bring on an age of vice, and the coming of a person who will restore the moral order and herald a golden age. Underlying those two themes is the Buddhist notion of decline and disappearance of sāsanā, "the teaching of the Buddha," in the Buddhist year 5000.[157]

Khmer, and even Lao, manuscripts. Among those manuscripts were *reuang préng*, which he called *rŭŏngs khmérs* or contes cambodgiens.

Guesdon again visited Cambodia in 1892, but he had to return to France in the same year and never came back. Nevertheless, he continued to devote his spare time to studying Khmer language and literature. He continued to keep in touch with his former colleagues in Cambodia. Around the end of the nineteenth century he created a Khmer movable type and published many books in Khmer, including some *reuang préng*, with Plon-Nourrit et C^ie^ in Paris since 1900 (Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnarie de bio-bibliographie générale, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine français*, pp. 183-184; Gérard Moussay et al. (eds.), Mission étrangères & langues orientales: contribution de la Société des missions étrangère à la connaissance de 60 langues d'Asie: bibliographie de 1680 jusqi'à 1996 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), pp. 20-22; Khing Hoc Dy, "Littérature et Edition khmères," *http://www.interedinstitute.com/PDF/Research/4Litt%C3%A9rature%20et%20%C3% A9ditions%20Khm%C3% A8res.pdf* (accessed July 3, 2014) and ("Pierre Marie Joseph Guesdon" *http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices–biographiques/guesdon*).However, most of *reuang préng* were unpublished. It is still in handwritten manuscript form that conserved in the library of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris.

Another prominent *reuang préng* collector was Adhémard Leclère (1853-1917). He left fewer written manuscripts, but published a number of works. Leclère spent the first part of his career in the printing business and then as a journalist in France. In 1886, he began service with the colonial administration in Cambodia as the Resident of Kampot. His first publication of Khmer folktales appeared in 1895 (Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: Contes et légendes, recueillis et publies en français* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1895). It comprises legends, local history, folktales (which were categorized into three kinds, i.e. folktale, judicial folktale, and Malay folktale) and jātaka–s. All stories are in French translation. Considering only folktales, they were never published before, except *L'étudiant de Tissab-Moc*, which was published as part of *Satra Keng Kântray* in Aymonier's *Textes Khmers* (Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: Contes et légendes, recueillis et publies en français*, pp. 161-165; Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, pp. 44, 175-176).

[155] Anne Ruth Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*, pp. 56.

[156] Olivier de Bernon, "Le Buddh Daṃnāy. Note sur un texte apocalyptique khmer," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 81 (1994): 83-96; Olivier de Bernon, "La Prédiction du Bouddha," *Aséanie* 1 (Mars 1998): 48-58; Judy Ledgerwood, "A Preliminary Study of the Buddh Damnay," in *The Proceedings of the 5th Socio-Cultural Research Congress on Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2002), pp. 299-305; Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: history and practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005); Anne Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*; Khing Hoc Dy, "Neak mean boun, «être-de-mérites» dans la culture et la littérature du Cambodge," *Peninsule* 56 (2008): 71-106.

[157] It is thought that sāsanā gradually declines and then disappears at a specific historical time. However, the end time of sāsanā varies from scripture to scripture, from the year five hundred to ten thousand and beyond. On this topic see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991) pp. 27-64.

In Theravāda Buddhist states, five thousand life spans of the sāsanā is the accepted standard. That is mentioned in *Manōrathapūranī*, a commentary of Aṅguttara Nikāya of Sutta Piṭaka, which was composed in the fifth century B.E. by Buddhagōsa, a Buddhist monk who is one of Buddhism's greatest scholars and commentators. Buddhagōsa's timetable is based on the progressive disappearance of the five aspects of sāsanā, which are popularly known as *Pañca Antaradhān*, literally "the disappearance of the five (things)," which are

There are several texts with varying titles in the *tŭmneay* literature (prophetic literature). I categorize these texts into four groups by their contents: (1) "the Sixteen Dreams," the Buddha's prediction about the bad dreams of King Pasendi of Kosala, (2) "Prediction about the Five Buddhas," a narrative about the sāsanā of the Four Buddhas, their degeneration, and the coming of the Fifth Buddha, Metteyya, (3) *Pŭt tŭmneay*, a prediction made by the Buddha concerning the origin of Cambodia, and (4) *tŭmneay*, a prediction concerning the "history" of Cambodia. The *tŭmneay* group, which usually called *pŭt tŭmneay*, is the largest group of the prophetic literature and the most popular one among both the Khmer people and scholars of Cambodia.[158] Most of the items in the *tŭmneay* group do not have the date of composition, or copying. According to many scholars, the *tŭmneay* were composed during the second half of the nineteenth century.[159] But the most probable oldest *tŭmneay* manuscript is *Kpuon buddṃnāy; Kpoun Ind duṃnāy; Kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* (Treatise on the prophecies of the Buddha, the Indrā, the Saṅgha), inscribed around 1834.[160] It is most probably a copy of an older text. The French were also enthusiastic about collecting and studying *Tŭmneay* literature, [161] which coincided with their collecting and studying *reuang préng*.

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disappearance of attainments, disappearance of practice, disappearance of canonical texts, disappearance of signs, and disappearance of the Buddha's relics (Ibid., pp. 56-58).

In Theravāda Buddhist Southeast Asia, the belief that the sāsanā will last for 5,000 years was first stated in Burma, probably in the inscription at the Shwezigon pagoda of King Narapatisithu of Pagan, dated 1184 A.D. (*Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava: translation, with notes* (Rangoon: The Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1899), p. 5). The notion that the sāsanā might flourish during its prescribed period of 5,000 years is also found in many inscriptions of the Pagan period (A.D. 849-1297) and of later periods (Ibid., pp. 53-54, 67-68, 103-104, 118-120, 124-126, 132 (Pagan period); 1-3, 7-8, 8-9, 30-31, 37-47, 47-49, 63-64, 147-148, 152, 156-159, 160-161, 164-165, (early modern period, 1350-1756); 12-22, 23-25, 150-151, 166-169, 169-172 (Konbaung period, 1752-1855); 161-163 (Colonial period)). It was widespread in other Theravāda Buddhist states, including present–day Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.

[158] In modern Cambodia, *tŭmneay* have also been used as a legitimate tool of politics and political commentary, and a source of guidance for the élite. It was mentioned in A.D. 1957 of Prince Sihanouk that, "He has the *Sappurissadhamma* (virtue of a good person), Pāli word Dhammika. It means he is a *Prĕahbat Thommik* (Dhammic ruler) that we heard from *Pŭt tŭmneay*" (*Pŭtsasana 2500* [Buddhism B.E. 2500] (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 2001), p. ngo). In contrast, Lon Nol justified his overthrow of the monarchy in A.D. 1970 by portraying Prince Sihanouk as the immoral king spoken of in the *Pŭttŭmneay* and claimed that he himself was the righteous ruler (Judy Ledgerwood, "A Preliminary Study of the Buddh Damnay", p. 302. Some early followers of Sâmdech Prĕah Mahaghosananda, the Khmer Buddhist monk who is a leader of the *Thommayeatra* (Pāli *Dhammayatra*, peace march) that began in A.D. 1992, believe that Sâmdech Prĕah Mĕahakhŏsananta is the salvation figure who comes from the west mentioned in the *Pŭttŭmneay* (Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice*, p. 208). In addition, the *Pŭt tŭmneay* has been used by politicians in the 1993 election campaign as a reference to claim legitimacy and get a vote (Olivier de Bernon, "Le Buddh Daṃnāy. Note sur un texte apocalyptique khmer": 83; Olivier de Bernon, "La Prédiction du Bouddha": 44).

[159] Judy Ledgerwood and Anne Hansen stated that the *Pŭttŭmneay* was composed in the mid nineteenth century, in the context of rebellions, warfare, and French protectorate in tributary and then colonial Cambodia (See Judy Ledgerwood, "A Preliminary Study of the Buddh Damnay": 299; Anne Hansen, *How to behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*, p. 60n78). Olivier de Bernon mentions that Tumneay literature was composed in the end of the nineteenth century (Olivier de Bernon, "Le Buddh Daṃnāy. Note sur un texte apocalyptique khmer": 92; Olivier de Bernon, "La Prédiction du Bouddha": 44).

[160] EFEO MSS Khmer O 253 Kpuon buddaṃnāy; kpoun Ind daṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy.

[161] In 1887, translated versions of "The Prediction of King Rong" and "The Prediction about the Five Buddhas" (entitled "Prophéties khmères" and "Prédictions bouddhiques") were published by a French scholar-administrator, Jacques Taupin (J. Taupin, "Prophéties khmères (traduction d'anciens textes cambodgiens)," *Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoise de Saigon* (2e semestre 1887): 5-22). Taupin's *Prophéties khmères* is not the same version as "the Prediction of King Rong" with Laung Chumpol's *Naeḥ duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind'*

French enthusiasm for collecting and publishing *reuang préng* and *tŭmneay* literature reached its peak during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. It was the same period as the Golden Age of French folktales and popular traditions, when tens of thousands of tales were collected in France and the French-speaking territories and a number of journals were founded to do research on popular traditions.[162] It was "a time of passion of folklore."[163] It is plausible that such impressive academic movement influenced Étienne Aymonier, Joseph Guesdon, Adhémard Leclère, Jacques Taupin, and other Frenchmen in their research into Khmer folklore. They submitted translations and articles on *reuang préng*, *tŭmneay,* and other literature to academic journals in Cochinchina, France and Germany.[164] Besides, they were also motivated by their own academic ambitions, which were partially inspired and shaped by their experiences in Cambodia. However, the spirit of "cultural colonialism" –which aimed to promote an understanding of the languages, customs, beliefs, and mentalities of the colonized[165] as well as

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(BMA Ms 691/2-b), but not too much different that points out that "the Prediction of king Rong" was copied by many people and was widely circulated among the people.

Taupin arrived in Cochinchina in 1880 and became a professor of Khmer language in the Collège des Interprètes de Säigon in 1887 (Antoine Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens Indo-Chinois&Malayo–Polynésiens* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), p. 186; Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1953), pp. 400-401).

Most of the *Tŭmneay* literature used in this study has been drawn from the collections of Adhémard Leclère, who was enthusiastic in collecting and publishing *reuang préng*, preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale d'Alençon, and the Bibliothèque de l'École Français d'Extrême-Orient in Paris.

[162] Paul Delarue, *Le conte populaire français, Tome premier* (Paris: Éditions Érasme, 1957), pp. 30-31; Robert Darnton, "Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose," in his *The great cat massacre and other episodes in French cultural history* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), p. 16; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, C.A: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 471.

[163] Léon Feer, "Introduction," in Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: Contes et légendes, recueillis et publies en français*, pp. v-xxii. Feer, then an assistant curator for the manuscripts department of the French National Library, was not a folklorist per se, but he had an interest in Buddhist tales, e.g. jātaka, and also in popular traditions (Charles Edwards Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1906), p. 144; H. Bode, "Léon Feer," in Rhys Davids, *Saŋyutta–Nikāya, volume VI Indexes* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1904), pp. x-xii).

[164] J. Guesdon, "La Littérature khmère et le Buddhisme," *Anthropos* 1, 1 (1906): 91-109; J. Guesdon, "La Littérature khmère et le Buddhisme. Le coin d'un paradis buddhique (suite)," *Anthropos* 1, 2 (1906): 278-285; J. Guesdon, "Réach Kol, Analyse et critique du poème khmêr," *Anthropos* 1, 4 (1906): 804-817; J. Taupin, "Etude sur la littérature khmère," *Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoise de Saigon* (1er semestre 1886): 23-47). Also in the same issue that published "Prophéties khmères," Taupin's article on Khmer cosmogony and mythology was published (J. Taupin, "Aperçu succinct et partiel des idées cosmogoniques et mythologiques des Khmèrs," *Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoise de Saigon* (2e semestre 1887): 32-42; Adhémard Leclère, "Un conte pnong," *Revue des Traditions Populaires* XIII, 12 (décembre 1898): 445-466; Adhémard Leclère, "Trois contes cambodgienes dont les données proviennent des aventures de Gourou Paramarta," *Revue des Traditions Populaires* XV, 3 (mars 1900): 129-139; Adhémard Leclère, "Contes et Jatakas," *Revue des Traditions Populaires* XXVI, 9-10 (septembre-octobre 1911): 273–282; XXVI, 11 (novembre 1911): 328-339; XXVII, 1 (janvier 1912): 14-25; XXVII, 2 (février 1912): 84-90; XXVII, 3 (mars 1912), pp. 114-125; XXVII, 4 (avril 1912): 175-180.

[165] Sadahna Naithani suggests that the collecting and publication of folktale in the colonial territories could be considered philological reason, which is a linguistic need of the colonial administration. It is appropriate to describe those practices in the Metropole as well. She further states "'folktales' were seen as texts that made language readily accessible because they carried accessible ideas, and were then seen as exotic vessels of 'other' culture. The philological need here was connected to the anthropological need, that is, as part of the study of man, and folklore herein could be seen as the study of the mind of the communities" (Sadhana Naithani, *The story-time of the British empire: colonial and postcolonial folkloristics* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), p. 21).

to restore, construct, and protect the traditional cultures and reveal them to the world–[166] was also among the driving forces behind the collection and publication of *reuang préng* and *tŭmneay* literature.

Toward a Different Narrative

This dissertation includes references to a number of fragmentary and episodic narratives of ordinary people in nineteenth-century Cambodia. The discussion is limited only to an exploration of some *persona ignota* in some *terra ignota* in extraordinary times. What we have uncovered is a glimpse of the life-stories of those ordinary people.

The chapters in this dissertation form a narrative of fragmented life-stories that happened separately in different places at different times. Each chapter ends in itself. It can be read alone. When the chapters are read together, they offers an alternative history from a playful ordinary and individual perspective. It might be called an episodic history, following Vicente Rafael's approach to Filipino history[167] that is represented as an epic, a "recollection of the 'passion' –the suffering, death, and resurrection– of the Filipino nation." He writes further:

> Where the epic, with its concern for the heroic, seeks to form the very consciousness of the people whom it speaks to and about, the episodic digresses, circling around recurring motifs and recalcitrant obsessions. For this reason, the latter necessarily assumes an ironic relation to the former. Irony forestalls and interrupts the establishment of a single, overarching narrative about the nation. Rather than relay the event of nationhood, episodic histories linger on the thresholds of meanings.[168]

Unlike Rafael's vision of the Philippines, Cambodian history needs to be viewed as a tragedy rather than an epic,[169] but it mainly revolves around heroes and heroic acts. The alternative history from the perspective of individuals may disrupt the establishment of élitist historiography, a singular and overarching narrative of Cambodian history.

This study intends neither to fill the gap in the history by giving a degree of clarity to the blurred picture of the ordinary people in the history, nor to answer "great historical questions," the element of a definition of microhistory,[170] nor looking for answers more far–reaching than that of a case study, as Ginzburg claims,

> ...even a limited case (and Menocchi certainly is this) can be representative: in a negative sense, because it helps to explain what should be understood, in a given situation, as being 'in the statistical majority': or, positively, because it permits us

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[166] Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: Contes et légendes, recueillis et publies en français*, p. i.

[167] Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).

[168] Vicente L. Rafael, "Introduction: Episodic Histories," in Ibid., p. 4.

[169] In writing about Cambodia, David P. Chandler recalls, "The word "tragedy" springs to mind... because of the price its people have been made to pay for their Republic and their liberations, for their alliance and their war with the United States, for independence in the 1840s and French protection after that, for Jayavaraman VII's visionary Buddhism, which swept up so many people in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and for the deeply ingrained notion that there are "big" and "little" people in society, which is in turn woven, rightly or wrongly, in a hierarchical design (David P. Chandler, "The Tragedy of Cambodian History," pp. 297-298.

[170] Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijárto, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practices*, p. 5.

> to define the latent possibilities of something (popular culture) otherwise known to us only through fragmentary and distorted documents.[171]

And as Giovanni Levi points out, "...even the apparently minutest action of, say, somebody going to buy a loaf of bread, actually encompasses that far wider system of the whole world's grain market."[172] Likewise, Dale Tomich argues that the microhistorians' "concern with reduction in scale is not a preoccupation with the local and small-scale systems... Rather, reduction in scale is an experimental and analytical procedure whose purpose is to reveal previously unobserved factors."[173] Answers of microhistorians to the "great historical questions" tend to turn individual subjects, their names, and their life-stories to be odds and ends in the larger canvas of the grand history, the historical approach that is received with incredulity by microhistorians themselves.

This dissertation is rather like Alain Corbin's study of Louis-François Pinagot, a clog maker in nineteenth-century France who was unknown and never played any part in changing the society.[174] His study is a strange experiment, writing a micro-analysis about a randomly selected person.[175] It is used as an example of microhistory from the French perspective[176] but Corbin himself states, "this book is not really an exercise in microhistory, nor should it be seen as an instance of the kind of study that Lucien Febvre used to propose, a sort of geological cross section of the depths of society."[177] He argues, "We will not learn any of the things that would be important to know if our goal were to write a history of the individual subject. But we will at least be attempting, in a small way, to repair the neglect of historians for all those things that are irrevocably relegated to oblivion."[178] I want to go further, in a small way. I argue that being buried in anecdotes[179] in order to resurrect the life-stories and the different worlds of the flesh-and-blood individuals, without considering who they were or what their places in history might be, is moving beyond the existing narratives. It opens to possibilities for different historical narratives to emerge.

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[171] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, p. xxi.

[172] Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," p. 96.

[173] Dale Tomich, "The Order of Historical Time: the *Longue Durée* and Micro-History": 62.

[174] Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog Maker in Nineteenth-Century France*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Colombia University Press, 2001).

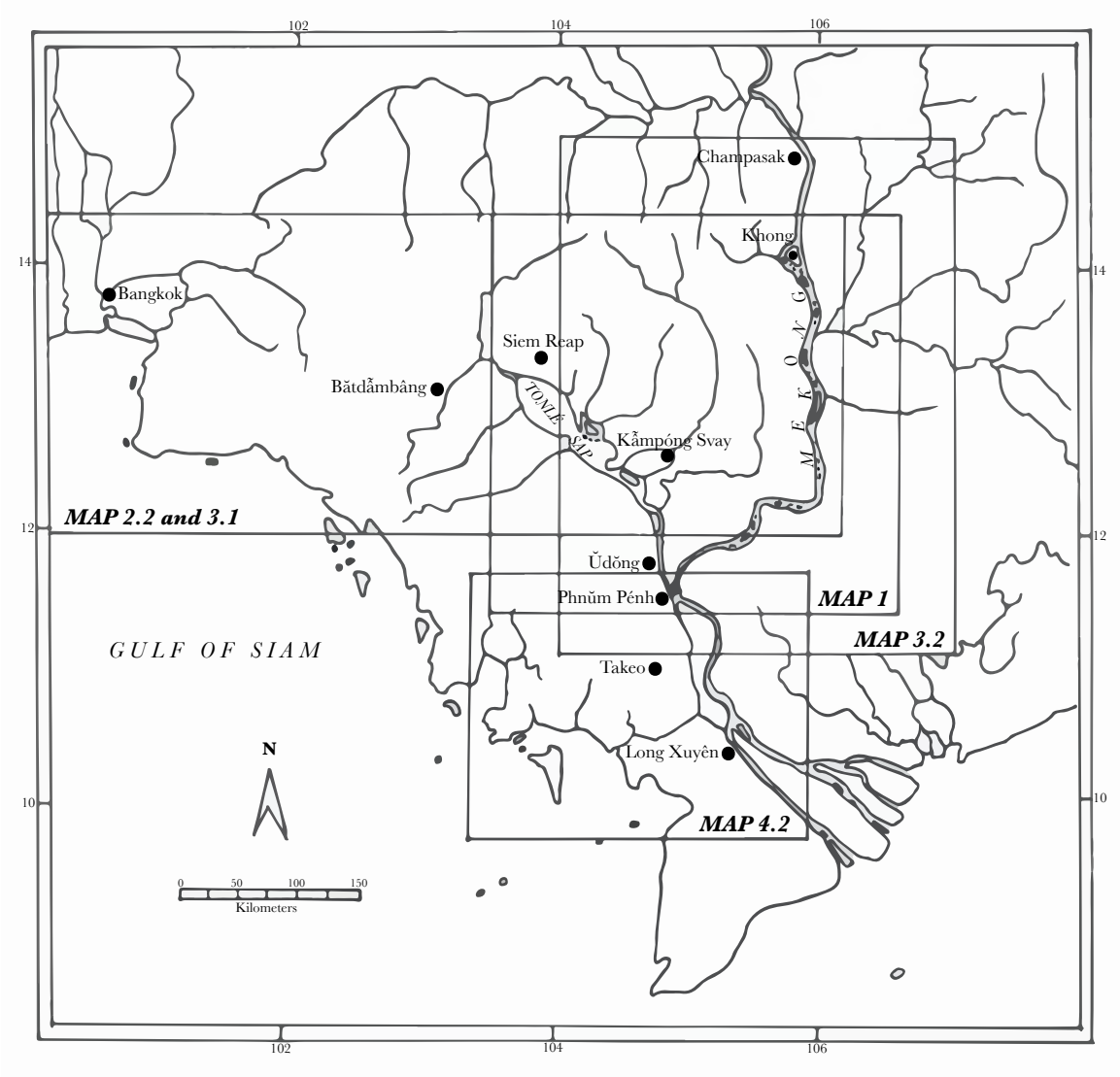
[175] Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijárto, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practices*, p. 28.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, p. ix.

[178] Ibid.

[179] See Lionel Gossman, "Anecdote and History," *History and Theory* 42, 2 (May 2003), pp. 143-168.



Introductory Map 2: Index Map

Chapter One: The Travelers

Once upon a future time, Metteyya, the Buddha-to-be, left his celestial palace in the Tusitā heaven, the abode of the gods atop Mount Mēru, to be born in Jambūdīpa, the world of humankind. "I will go down to the human realm for five days and then return," said the future Buddha to his concubines. He came down to be born on earth as a *nĕak bŏn* (a meritorious man), to restore social and moral order in the earthly realm, which was in chaos.

At that time, *utbât* –phenomena that deviate from the normal, or signs indicating that chaos is due to appear in the world– proliferated: such as the invasion of monkeys, rhinos, and monitor lizards into humankind's territory, mountains collapsing, the earth erupting and spouting blood, women delivering triplets, 12-year-old girls committing adultery, 15-year-old women giving birth, and so on. Kings who claimed to be *Prĕahbat Thommĭk* (righteous rulers) fought against each other. Two thirds of humans were killed. Those who survived and met the *nĕak bŏn* were those who were mindful of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha –in other words, those who were morally upright.

The preceding two paragraphs present an indigenous nineteenth-century Cambodian view of the world. The second of those two paragraphs refers to a *tŭmneay* (prediction; prophecy) entitled *Kpoun buddaṃnāy; kpoun Ind daṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* [Treatise on the prophecies of the Buddha, the Indrā, the Saṅgha]. It was inscribed around 1834, in the reign of King Chăn (r. 1797-1835), by order of Suos, then *Chavfea Tŭalhăh* (prime minister).[1] The surviving manuscript appears to be a copy of an older text probably inscribed in the context of the chaos accompanying protracted war following the ascension of King Chăn to the throne of Cambodia.

King Chăn resisted ongoing Siamese domination and aligned himself with the Vietnamese royal court in Huế. In 1811, Siamese troops invaded Cambodia and burned down the royal capital of Ŭdŏng.In 1820 a "holy man's rebellion" against the Vietnamese emerged along the Cambodia-Vietnam border.[2] In 1827, *utbât*, the fulfillment of dire prophecies, appeared: "Vicious men worked together to steal and loot indisciminately. Killings appeared everywhere, fathers killed their own children, and even children killed their own fathers."[3]

Building on Walter Benjamin's image of the "angel of history," we might define *Kpoun buddṃnāy; kpoun ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* as a "prophecy of history." The prophecy has two faces. One is turned toward the past. The prophet sees nothing but the tragic time of the 1810s and 1820s "which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet."[4] He is blown backwards by tidal misery into the future to see a catastrophic period of destruction and chaos in the Fourteen Years War (1833-1847), and later still what David P. Chandler has called "the Armageddon of the 1970s."[5] The promise of survival was buried together with the *reas* (the ordinary people) under the pile of debris from the chaos and war that "grows skyward."

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[1] EFEO Mss khmer O 253 Kpoun buddaṃnāy; kpoun ind daṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy.

[2] David P. Chandler, "An Anti-Vietnamese Rebellion in Early Nineteenth Century Cambodia: Pre-Colonial Imperialism and a Pre-Nationalist Response," in his *Facing the Cambodian Past: Selected Essays, 1971-1994* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1998), pp. 61-75.

[3] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 170.

[4] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), pp. 257-258.

[5] David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books. 2000), p. 117.

Could men and women who are morally upright survive those periods of destruction and chaos, as promised in the prophecy? By looking into the historical record, we can clearly see an answer. In Cambodia in the first half of the nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands of people, moral and immoral, virtuous and non-virtuous, meritorious and less meritorious, died. Others continued to live. How could they have managed to survive? Underlying this conundrum is a central question of this chapter: a question that probes Cambodian practices, moralities, and spaces.

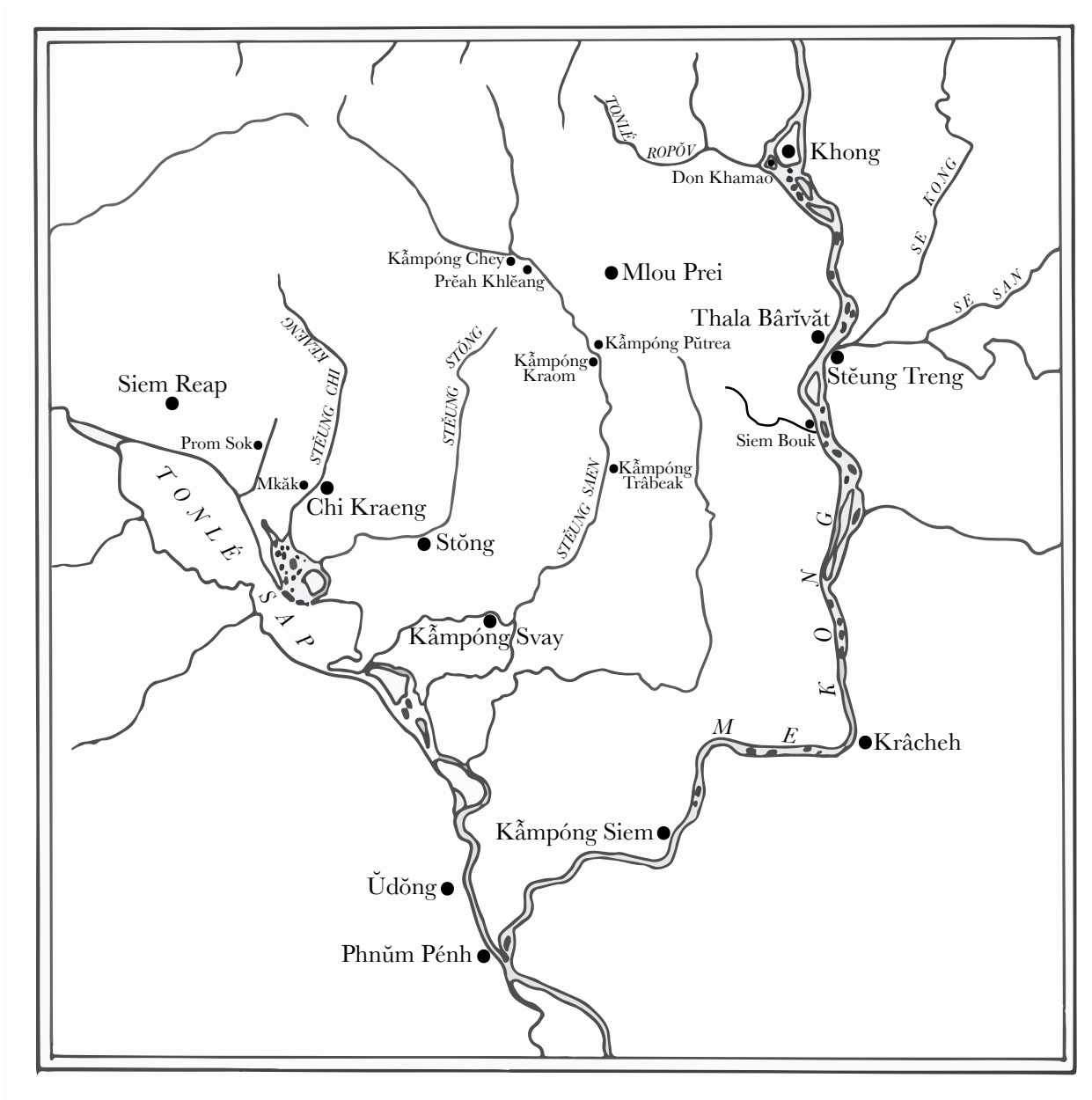
This chapter explores various everyday practices that deviate from hegemonic morality, emphasizing on practice of lying, that were performed by individual ordinary people to help them survive in the presence of a plethora of pressing constraints. Lying, under such circumstances, might be considered what James C. Scott has aptly called an "everyday form of resistance,"[6] which refers to the politics of groups, and the class struggle between "the peasantry and those who seek to extract labour, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them."[7] However, lying usually appears on an individual scale, and has therefore received scant attention from resistance studies scholars. Lying, I would argue, is not only an act of resistance, deviation, or transgression. It also manifests an ordinary morality, which differs from the hegemonic one, one that is the central concern of this chapter. Ordinary morality is not understood here as a set of values, norms, rules, obligations, or "the right thing to do," but instead is considered a "modality of social action or of being in the world."[8] It offers guidance to human choices and actions.[9] Lying, like other resistant, deviant, and transgressed practices, also is a journey across boundaries created by the élite, who hold and exercise merit/power, to another world than that governed by ordinary morality.

[6] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 292; James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, 2 (1986): 24.

[7] Ibid., 6.

[8] Michael Lambek, "Introduction," in Michael Lambek (ed.), *Ordinary Ethics: Anthropology, Language, and Action* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), p. 10.

[9] According to Michael Lambek, morality is "the forms and acts by which commitments are engaged and virtue accomplished –the practical judgments people make about how to live their lives wisely and well and, in the course of making them, do live their lives, albeit in the face of numerous constraints" (Michael Lambek, "The Anthropology of Religion and the Quarrel Between Poetry and Philosophy," *Current Anthropology* 41, 3 (2000): 315).



Map 1: The Geographical Worlds of Suk and Pem

Suk (1801– ?)

It was a late-rainy-season day in mid-October 1833. The *kâthĕn* period, when people offer new saffron robes to the monks after the conclusion of the three–months rains retreat, was coming to an end. There was still rainfall, but it was infrequent and never took the form of a torrential downpour. The roads and paths were dry enough for travelers. Suk, a 32 years old Khmer, and his friends loaded their oxcarts with reams of white and patterned cloth and raw cotton and set out from their homes in the Khong province of Lao, which then was under the control of Siam, to trade in Cambodia.[10]

[10] The story of Suk is drawn from his testimony given in 1835 ("Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of

Suk's home village was Don Khamao (literally "Khamao Island"),[11] an island in the Si Phan Don (literally "Four Thousand Islands"), which is an archipelago in the Mekong River that marks the present-day Laos' southern border with Cambodia. In Suk's lifetime, however, the southernmost Lao township was Stĕung Treng (called Chiang Taeng in Lao and Thai), about 70 kilometers down the Mekong River from Si Phan Don. The overwhelming majority of inhabitants in Khong, as well as in Stĕung Treng, was Lao.

Khmer people once had been the occupants of what is now southern Laos and northeastern Cambodia. By the fourteenth century, however, Lao speakers had become dominant.[12] Khmer people began migrating back to that region around the end of the seventeenth century.[13] From the second half of the eighteenth century, many Khmers came to settle in Khong.[14] In 1810, the Khmer governor of the province of Kâmpóng Svay, Oknha Dechŏ, whose personal name varies from document to document as Meng, Ben, Mueng, and Mĕung (hereafter Oknha Dechŏ (Meng)), and who was usually called in Siamese documents Phraya Phakdi Decho, quarreled with King Chăn. With his younger brother and his son he left Kâmpóng Svay, taking their families and their servants' families to Khong. Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) and his entrourage got a warm welcome from the local nobilities and from the representatives of the Bangkok royal court. Traditionally, people who submitted themselves to Siam were allowed to settle wherever they pleased, so long as they remained under the control of their master.[15] They usually had an obligation to pay *suai* (a tax in kind), and to work for the

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Suk]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi hok sip chet chotmaihet kiaokap khamen lae yuan nai ratchakan thi sam ton thi nueng* [Collected Chronicles, Part 67: Records on the Khmer and Vietnamese in the Third Reign, Section 1] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2481 [1938]), pp. 76-84).

Khong is the former name of Si Phan Don (called Sithandon in Thai) province. Khong was until 1828 under the jurisdiction of the Lao tributary state of Champasak, or Bassac, located about 100 kilometers up the Mekong River from Don Khong (Khong Island). In that year, the province of Khong was renamed Sithandon and came under the direct control of Bangkok (Mom Amonwongwichit (M.R. Pathom Khanechon), "Phongsawadan huamueang monthon isan [Chronicle of the Provinces in Monthon Isan]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi si* [Collected Chronicles, Part 4] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2458 [1915], p. 73.

[11] *Don* is the Lao word for island. *Khamao* is probably derived from Khmer *khmav*, which means black; to be black, dark (colored).

[12] Ian Baird, "Different Views of History: Shades of Irredentism Along the Laos-Cambodia Border," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 41, 2 (June 2010): 188-190.

[13] Those Khmer followed Phra Kru Phon Samet, the Lao monk who established the city of Champasak in 1713, to southern Lao (Mom Amonwongwichit (M.R. Pathom Kanechon), "Tamnan mueang nakhon champasak [Chronicle of Champasak]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi chet sip rueang muang nakhon champasak* [Collected Chronicle, Part 70: Concerning Champasak] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2484 [1941]), p. 26. See also Mom Amonwongwichit, "Phongsawadan hua mueang monthon isan [Chronicle of the Provinces in Monthon Isan], p. 37.

[14] Ibid., p. 58.

[15] H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphap, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi song* [Royal Chronicle of the Second Reign of the Bangkok Period], volume 1 (Bangkok: Kurusapha, 2505 [1962]), p. 130; (Mom Amonwongwichit (M.R. Pathom Kanechon), "Tamnan mueang nakhon champasak [Chronicle of Champasak]," pp. 36-37; "Khamhikan reuang mueang se lamphao [Account on the Township of Se Lamphao]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi chet sip* [Collected Chronicles, Part 70], pp. 231-232.

The Khmer people who followed Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) to Khong were assigned to resettle on the south side of Khong Island, specifically, along the right bank of the Mekong River between the mouth of the Se Lamphao (Lamphao River, called Tonlé Ropŏv in Khmer) and the mouth of the Au Siem Bouk (Siem Bouk Stream) that marked the then-border between Siamese Laos and Cambodia. Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) himself was resettled in Long Pla Village, probably somewhere south of Khong, while his younger brother was resettled in Vean Khong Village, later renamed Thala Bârĭvăt, opposite Stĕung Treng.

According to a Cambodian Royal Chronicle, however, Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) and his younger brother

Siamese government. Generally, however, the Siamese government did not control them strictly and let them serve their master.[16]

Suk was probably born in Kẫmpóng Svay around 1801. In 1810, he was one among several hundreds, if not thousands, of Khmer people who migrated, whether voluntarily or not, with their masters to Khong.[17] Like his father, who died in 1820, Suk became a servant of Oknha Dechŏ (Meng). He could read and write, probably fluently, which he undoubtedly learned while he was in Buddhist monk's robes, most likely in a Lao monastery. He certainly knew both Khmer and Lao, and probably could speak and understand Thai. He had married Leb, about whom we know nothing. They had no children. In 1830, Suk's master planned to escape back to Kẫmpóng Svay.[18] The plan failed, however. Then, the Bangkok royal court ordered Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) and his people to relocate to Bangkok. But a ruler of the Lao tributary state of Champasak (Bassac) asked for those people to resettle in his province, which was located directly up the Mekong River. Suk remained in Don Khamao, and he continued to serve his master as formerly.

According to the French naval officer and explorer Francis Garnier (1839-1873), who visited Khong in 1866, "The location of Khong makes it quite an important commercial center and the trade seems more active than in Stung-treng." The principal traders there, Garnier noted, were Chinese.[19] It is reasonable to specualte that Suk was a *nĕak srae châmka* (rice and plant cultivator) of Khong, where the fertile soil yielded large harvests.[20] Suk was also an itinerant peddler and could afford to pay money or give gifts to his master to substitute for corvée labor. As a trader, he got his master's consent to move from Khong to other towns. Thus, Suk was not just *un paysan* (a peasant), the clichéd view of the Khmer people held by the French colonialists.[21] He was not an "indolent Cambodian" –as portrayed by the French medical doctor and explorer Jules Harmand (1845–1921), who voyaged from Phnŭm Pénh to Khong at the end of 1875– who "simply drops a few seeds in a silt of incredible fertility and waits for the Chinese to come and buy his crop to transport to Pnom-Penh."[22] Suk did what

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Oknha Khaol fled to Khong in 1815 (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 159).

[16] Nuntiya Swangvudthitham, *Kan kuabkum kamlang kon nai samai Rattanakosin kon kan chatkan ken thahan (pho so 2325-2448)* [Control of Manpower During the Bangkok Period Prior to the Introduction of Modern Conscription] (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2525 [1982]), pp. 22-25.

[17] There is no record of the number of people that followed Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) to Khong. But we do know that in 1835 when Oknha Dechŏ (Meng)'s son (who had been sent back to Kẫmpóng Svay in 1830), fled Kẫmpóng Svay to Khong, he brought with him approximately 1,500 men and women ("Khamhaikan reuang mueang se lamphao [Account of the Township of Se Lamphao]," p. 233; Mom Amornvongvijit (M.R. Pathom Kanechon), "Phongsawadan huamueang monthon isan [Chronicle of Northeastern Provinces]," p. 77. See also NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 184). It is therefore plausible to assume that Oknha Dechŏ (Meng), then the governor of Kẫmpóng Svay, brought with him several hundreds, if not thousands, of people.

[18] Mom Amornvongvijit (M.R. Pathom Kanechon), "Phongsawadan huamueang monthon isan [Chronicle of Northeastern Provinces]," p. 77.

[19] Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos: The Mekong Exploration Commission Report (1866-1868), volume 1*, translated by Walter E.J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996), p. 74). See the original French edition in Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'explortion en Indo-Chine* (Paris: Librarie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1885), p. 94.

[20] As noted in 1876, "[Si-tan-dôme] possesses a very rich and very populated territory, formed almost entirely by well cultivated islands which produce rice, cotton, tobacco, corn, and China pottery (l'ortie de Chine)" (Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, sixième série, tome douzième (Juillet–Décembre 1876): 349-350).

[21] Jean Delvert, *Le paysan cambodgien* (Paris: Mouton, 1961), p. 31.

[22] Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge": 337-338.

his ancestors, had done. In short, Khmer people were not indolent and sedentary, but had long been energetic, enterprising, and on the move, long before the colonial era.[23]

Suk did not give any details about his itinerary. Some clues about the route he took can be found in nineteenth-century Siamese map, dated to the early Bangkok period (1794-1851),[24] and the itineraries of French explorers in the 1870s and 1880s.[25] A recontruction of the route taken by Suk is the following:

Suk started his journey at the mouth of Se Lamphao (the Lamphao River, Kh. Tonlé Ropŏv) and headed west, probably along the river.[26] Then he turned south to Ban Prai Tamak (Prai Tamak Village, which in 1845 was renamed Mano Prei (Kh. Mlou Prei)[27] and

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[23] Through the eyes of the French colonialists, however, the Cambodians "were commonly viewed as people trapped in alterior time and suspended in motion." For the arts administrator Goerges Groslier, "it was the French Protectorate which freed Cambodians from stasis, so that they were 'suddenly seized with an excessive wanderlust [and] began in the space often years, to tour around the country and to travel through it'." Penny Edwards used the presence of immobile *sala*, "roofed shelters," which she defined as "sites of passage," to support her argument against that view. She argues that Cambodia was a "highly mobile" society since prior to the arrival of the French (Penny Edwards, "Tyranny of Proximity: Power and Mobility in Colonial Cambodia, 1863–1954," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, 3 (October 2006): 422-423, 424-427). Even without *sala*, however, the stories of the ordinary people we have seen through this study demonstrate the high mobility of the Khmers.

[24] *Khamen Nai Ni* (The Khmer Within [map, scale not given], in Santanee Phasuk and Philip Scott, *Royal Siamese Maps: War and Trade in Nineteenth Century Thailand* (Bangkok: River Books, 2004), pp. 114-115; Southern Isan and Khmer [map, scale not given], in ibid., pp. 124-125, and Muang Ubon/Phanom Pen [map, scale not given], in ibid., p. 138.

These three maps are topographic maps used for military planning and record that contain the locations of human settlements (villages and towns) and buildings (temples and sanctuaries, and forts and barracks), geographical information, and travel routes. Information spresented on these three maps was plausibly collected from officials and traders who had travelled through those regions. But their reliability is questionable, especially for the Kuoy region, which was unknown to Bangkok until at least the 1840s.

[25] Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge": 337-367; Jacques Taupin, "Mission d'exploration et d'études dans la Laos inférieur," *Bulletin de la société de géographie commerciale de Paris* XII (Octobre 1889-October 1890): 448-460.

[26] In 1866, Francis Garnier visited Khong and noted a route to the west that Garnier thought started close to Suk's home village in Don Khamao (Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos, volume 1*, p. 74. See the original French edition, Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'explortion en Indo-Chine*, p. 94). Garnier never set foot on that route but a French medical doctor and explorer, Jules Harmand, who was one of Garnier's companions in the intervention in Tonkin in 1873, did. Harmand made a voyage of exploration from Khong to the west of the Mekong River in the Siamese provinces of Mlou Prei and Tonlé Ropŏv, and the Khmer province of Kâmpóng Svay from the end of 1875 to early 1876 (Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge": 337-367; E. Génin, "Les cing voyages du Docteut Harmand en Indo-Chine, 1875-1877," *Bulletin de la société de géographie de l'Est*, II (1880): 272-281). Harmand arrived in Cambodia in 1875 to conduct a scientific mission. From then till 1877, Harmand undertook five voyages in Indochina and Siam. Virtually the same route was explored by Jacques Taupin in 1887 (Jacques Taupin, "Mission d'exploration et d'études dans la Laos inférieur": 448-460).

[27] On the location of Ban Prei Tamak see Muang Ubon/Phanom Pen [map, scale not given], in Santanee Phasuk and Philip Scott, *Royal Siamese Maps*, p. 138.

Muang Ubon/Phanom Pen Map follows the south-north convention, which is not uncommon for old Thai maps. Almost at the center of the rectangular map is located the four-faces, where the Mekong and Tonlé Sap flow together and then divide. Thus, an area concerning Suk's story, as well as other stories in this chapter, which is the land bound by the Dongrek Mountains on the north, Mekong River on the east and south, and Tonlé Sap and the Great Lake on the west, is on the third quadrant of the map.

In 1845, Ban Prei Tamak, which was renamed Mano Prei (Mlou Prei in Khmer), became the seat of administration of the same name province. Its first governor was the son-in-law of Oknha Dechŏ (Meng). In the same year, Oknha Dechŏ (Meng)'s younger brother's son became the first governor of the newly established province of Se Lamphao (Tonlé Ropŏv in Khmer) (Mom Amonwongwichit (M.R. Pathom Khanechon),

continued southwest to the left bank of Stĕung Saen (the Saen River), then the natural boundary between Siam and Cambodia; he crossed the river at Kǎmpóng Pŭtrea,[28] and continued southward to Sandan (also called Kǎmpóng Trabek) and turned southwest through Ban Phra Klang (Phra Klang Village), Khao Tabaeng (Tabaeng Mount, which probably was Phnŭm Trâbeak (Trâbeak Mount)),[29] to Kǎmpóng Svay, then the seat of the eponymous province. If Suk used this route, when he arrived in Kǎmpóng Svay he would have headed west about 80 kilometers to Stŏng. Another route goes directly to Stŏng from Ban Khlang (Khlang Village, which probably was present-day Prĕah Khlĕang Commune). It heads southwest to Tabaek, and crosses a river, the Stĕung Stŏng, to continue to Ban Khwao (Khwao Village) and Stŏng.[30]

Missing from those nineteenth-century Siamese maps is the Kuoy region, which was described by Harmand as "des pays inconnus (terra incognita)."[31] That hinterland dominated by the local ethnic Kuoy was undoubtedly well known to the Khmer and the Lao. Moreover, it was not isolated from the settlements in the riverine and flooded lowlands of the Mekong River, the Tonlĕ Sap Lake, and their tributaries. On the contrary, the close connections

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"Phongsawadan hua mueang Monthon Isan [Chronicle of the Provinces in Monthon Isan], pp. 84-85; "Khamhikan reuang mueang se lamphao [Account on the township of Se Lamphao]," p. 233.

Establishing a new city, which means the potential ability to control manpower, which is a source of political power and wealth, was a strategic apparatus of the Siamese government in the reigns of Rama II and III to expand its power and influence over areas beyond its traditional boundary, especially in the northeastern region, and also to handle conflicts among the local nobility. Mlou Prei and Tonlé Ropŏv were under Siamese control until 1904. In the following year, France demarcated the border between French Laos and French Cambodia at the Ropŏv River. Thus, Mlou Prei and Tonlé Ropŏv became territories under the jurisdiction of French Cambodia. At the same time, moreover, France also seceded Stĕung Treng, which Siam ceded back to French control in 1893, from Franch Laos to French Cambodia.

[28] Kǎmpóng Pŭtrea is present-day Village and Commune in Chey Saen District, Prĕah Vihear Province. Its name appears in many colonial maps, such as the *Carte du Cambodge, mise à jour par le lieutenant Billes, à l'aide des itinéraires levés par les officiers de 1867 à 1887* (hereafter *Carte du Cambodge*) published in 1896, in which its name is mentioned as "Compong Putrea" (Carte du Cambodge, mise à jour par le lieutenant Billes, à l'aide des itinéraires levés par les officiers de 1867 à 1887 [map]. 1:500,000. *http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53029185v?rk=64378;0* Accessed May 29, 2016)), and in *Circonscription de Kg. Thom, Carte de Mr. Bornet revue et complete*, published in 1981, which spells its name as "K[ompon]g Puttrea" ("Circonscription de Kg. Thom, Carte de Mr. Bornet revue et complete," in M. Dufossé, *Monographis de la Circonscription Residentielle de Kompong-Thom* (Saigon: Imprimerie de l'Union Nguyen-Van-Cua, 1918). This map is also available on Gallica, the BnF digital library (Circonscriptions de K[ompen]g Thom, Carte de Mr. Bornet revue et complétée [map], 1:500,000. *http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530584503?rk=21459;2* (accessed May 29, 2016).

Carte routière du Cambodge, published by Service Géographique de l'Indochine (Hanoï) in 1931, showed a project to construct a road from Kǎmpóng Thŭm to Mlou Prei and Tonlé Ropŏv that would cross Stĕung Saen at K[ompon]g Poutrea (Carte routière du Cambodge (1931) [map], 1:1,000,000. *http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530666921?rk=193134;0* (accessed May 29, 2016). *Carte routière du Cambodge* (1931) that was published by Service géographique de l'Indochine (Hanoï) in 1928, also showed a project of the same route, but the name Kǎmpóng Pŭtrea did not appear on the map. Undoubtedly, that proposed road, in part or whole, was laid over a route that had been in use for centuries. Perhaps, it was the route that Suk took on his 1834-1835 journey.

[29] Sandan or Kǎmpóng Trâbeak and Phnŭm Trâbeak were placenames that appeared in "Circonscription de Kg. Thom, Carte de Mr. Bornet revue et complete," in M. Dufossé, *Monographis de la Circonscription Residentielle de Kompong-Thom*. See also (Circonscriptions de K[ompen]g Thom [map].

Ban Phra Khlang cannot yet be located.

[30] *Khamen Nai Ni* (The Khmer Within) [map, scale not given], in Santanee Phasuk and Philip Scott, *Royal Siamese Maps*, p. 115; ibid., 125.

Prĕah Khlĕang Commune is in Tbaeng Mean Chey District, Prĕah Vihear Province, about 10 kilometers northwest of Kǎmpóng Pŭtrea. Tabaek and Ban Khwao cannot yet be located.

[31] Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge": 349.

between the people of those two areas can be traced back to at least the tenth century through the consumption of the famous Kuoy iron, which was traded continuously over a wide area until the nineteenth century.[32] If the route taken by Suk was an Angkor road, it was not the major route, but a minor one, one among many such routes used after the Angkor period, and later by the French colonizers. Jules Harmand in 1876 and Jacques Taupin in 1887 probably traveled some parts of those routes,[33] to explore the "unknown land" for the sake of colonial interest.

Perhaps Suk also traded with the Kuoy in the hinterlands, but we do not know exactly. His commodities, white and patterned cloth and raw cotton, were probably important products of his hometown and nearby provinces.[34] Suk still had relatives in Kŏmpóng Svay. Those existing relations probably made it easier for him to travel from Khong to trade in Kŏmpóng Svay. On the other hand, the easily traveled trade route helped keep him in contact with his relatives and friends. Those routes also served the many people who wanted to run away from the hardships and recurrent difficulties plaguing Cambodia, as seen above in the cases of Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) and Oknha Norintrea Thĭbdey (Nong), who in 1835 fled Vietnamese troops from Baray in Kŏmpóng Svay to a southern frontier province of northeastern Siam.[35]

Suk arrived in Stŏng on October 28, 1833. This means that he had begun his journey between October 13, which is the first waxing day of that lunar month, and October 18 or 21, since the journey from Khong to Stŏng usually took 7 to 10 days.[36] He went to stay with his relative Bunsri. After Suk had been at Stŏng for about a month, he heard a rumor that Siamese troops "would bring Ong Im [Âng Ĕm] and Ong Duang [Âng Duong] to govern Cambodia together with Ong Chan [Âng Chăn]."[37]

That rumor was partly true. Siamese troops appeared at Stŏng in early January 1834. They advanced eastwards and arrived in Ban Krabue (Krabue Village), about two nights from Stŏng, where they encountered Suk on January 10. The Siamese and Khmer commanders asked Suk, "What village do you belong to? Can you speak Thai?" "I am a servant of Phraya

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[32] Thomas Oliver Pryce et al., "The Iron Kuay of Cambodia: Tracing the Role of Peripheral Populations in Angkorian to Colonial Cambodia via a 1200 Year Old Industrial Landscape," *Journal of Archaelological Science* 47 (2014): 142-163.

Jules Harmand notes that Kuoy "supplies all Cambodia and lower Laos with iron, cutlasses, axes, and currency in use from Compong-thom and Stung-treng to the borders of Bassac" (Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge," p. 358).

[33] Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge" 337-367; Jacques Taupin, "Mission d'exploration et d'études dans la Laos inférieur": 448-460.

[34] Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos,* volume 1, p. 65. See original French edition in Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'explortion en Indo-Chine*, p. 83.

[35] On the story of Oknha Norintrea Thĭbdey (Nong) see Prĕah Bâtŭm Baramey (Pich), "Sastra Voat Kroch [Menuscit de la pagode de Kroch]," in Khin Sok, *L'Annexion du Cambodge par les Vietnamiens au XIX^{e} siècle: d'après les duex poèmes de vénérable Bâtum Baramey Pich*. Paris: Édition You-Feng, 2002. pp. 97-200 (Khmer), 281-326 (French translation). See also the story of Norin Nong and his family in David P. Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest: Perceptions of Order in Three Cambodian Texts," in Anne Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (eds), *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2008), pp. 36-44.

[36] Distance between Khong and Stŏng based on the testimony of Muen Cho Anchit and the testimony of Sao and Khong ("Khamhaikan muen cho anchit [Testimony of Muen Cho Anchit]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi hok sip chet* [Collected Chronicle, Part 67], pp. 75-76; and "Khamhaikan ai sao ai khong [Testimony of Sao and Khong]," in Ibid., pp. 84-87.

[37] "Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of Suk]," p. 77.

Phakdi Decho," Suk replied. "I came to trade and got stuck here." Then, Suk, together with another fifty Thai and Khmer civilians, was conscripted into the Siamese military contingent.[38]

The Siamese armies faced heavy losses when they attacked Sài Gòn, the most important strategic target of the expedition, forcing them to retreat by the end of January 1834.[39] News about the Siamese armies' defeat spread across Cambodia. Uprisings against Siamese forces emerged among conscripted Khmers in those forces and among Khmer *reas* in many areas.[40] In the later half of February 1834 in the province of Kǎmpóng Svay, some "had gathered individually into a cohesive group, without any orders from any masters or nobles" to fight against the Siamese troops.[41] However, many other people chose not to confront the Siamese. Suk, for example, "ran away to hide in a forested area with other people for more than a month."[42] Perhaps he did this because other Siamese troops retreating from Châu Đốc were advancing through Kǎmpóng Svay. Those troops were under order to forcibly move people from Stŏng and Kǎmpóng Svay to resettle in the Siamese provinces of Nakhon Ratchasima, Surin and Sangkha.[43]

Running away is very common during chaotic times. The very nature of such a practice is escaping for a short period of time from any hardships or unhappy situations. It usually involves running away from a place that is civilized, such as a *phum* (village), or *srŏk* (town or city), to what is wild, such as *prei* (forest), which is the unoccupied area outside the bounds of human control,[44] and, at the very same time, the area beyond the state's control. The phrase, "run away to hide in a forest" shares the tradition of flight that is considered an "everyday form of resistance" by James C. Scott.[45] But the tradition of flight can also be considered an escape for groups of people from a settled area to unoccupied areas, which to some extent is an act of migration,[46] usually on a small scale.

Besides running away, Suk used other means of surviving the chaos. In the first half of April 1834, after he had heard that all Siamese troops had retreated from Kǎmpóng Svay, he

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[38] Ibid., pp. 76-78.

Ban Krabue cannot yet be located.

[39] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam* [Royal Chronicle of the Third Reign of the Bangkok Period], volume 1 (Bangkok: Kurusapha, 2504 [1961], p. 148.

[40] Some Khmers said they ambushed Siamese force since they "suffered from Thai troops that had advanced from the west. Those troops frequently subjected daughters and wives of the *Khamen pa dong* to rape" (K.S.R. Kulab, *Anam sayam yut, wa duai kansongkram rawang thai kab lao lae yuan* [Anam Sayam Yut: On the Wars Between Thai and Lao and Annam], volume 2 (Bangkok: Phrea Phittaya, 2514 [1971]), p. 714). *Khamen pa dong* is literally "forest Khmer," and figuratively means "wild Khmer." This term was used to call ethnic Khmer lived in the southern province of northeastern Siam.

[41] Ibid., p. 734.

[42] "Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of Suk]," p. 87.

[43] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam* [Royal Chronicle of the Third Reign of the Bangkok Period], volume 1, p. 148.

[44] On the distinction between *srŏk* and *prei* see David Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, pp. 92, 103; David Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest," pp. 31-46; and Penny Edwards, "Between a Song and a Prei: Tracking Cambodia History and Cosmology Through the Forest," in Anne Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (eds), *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2008). pp. 137-162.

[45] James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance": 5-35. See also James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*; and Michael Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, 2 (1981): 217-247.

[46] James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

came out of hiding and sought refuge at the home of his friend Yot in Ban Krabue. Immediately after that, the Siamese-allied governor of Kǎmpóng Svay was replaced by the Vietnamese–allied Phraya Dechŏ (Ram), who issued an order to wipe out the Siamese military contingents that had been left behind. Suk hid in Yot's house until September of that year, but Yot feared that he probably could not conceal Suk from the authorities' eyes, and handed him over to Phraya Dechŏ (Ram). Suk later recalled:

> Phraya Decho Ram asked me, 'when were you in Cambodia? Did you come with Siamese troops? Tell me the truth.'
>
> I informed him, 'I have come to trade for many years before the coming of the Siamese troops.'

Suk wanted to divorce himself from the Siamese troops by telling a half-truth, which is a milder form of lying.

Suk lied, therefore he lived, and soon received an offer he could not refuse. "Phraya Decho Ram said to me, 'If you willingly want to work with me, come!'." Thus, Suk became a clerk and looked after relatively trivial business matters in the governor's house. He also accompanied his new master to Phnŭm Pénh to have an audience with King Chăn in October 1834,[47] a few months before the death of the king.[48] We know nothing about what happened at the meeting.

By the end of 1834, Cambodia was at peace, but the people of Kǎmpóng Svay remained fearful,[49] and another crisis was taking shape. Toward the end of that year, Phraya Dechŏ (Ram) began to distance himself from Vietnam. When he received an order from the Vietnamese authoroties in early 1835 to go to Phnŭm Pénh, he ignored it. That was rational enough to Suk to leave his master.

On February 23, 1835, Suk told his master that he would "go to ask payment from his debtor in Ban Kandan (Kandan Village) in the province of Kǎmpóng Svay."[50] Instead, he returned home. He reached Ban Mo Pradab (Mo Pradab Village),[51] where the house of Phraya Krai (Mao) was located, on February 26.

> Krai (Mao) asked, 'Where are you going?'
>
> I answered with a fictitious answer, 'I'm following my buffaloes that were stolen by thieves.'[52]

From Ban Mo Pradab, Suk crossed the Saen River to Ban Sae Prathan (Sae Prathan Village) in Khong, which was a border post under the authority of his old master Oknha

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[47] "Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of Suk], pp. 79-80.

[48] King Chăn died on January 6, 1835 (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 181).

[49] See "Khamhaikan muen cho anchit [Testimony of Muen Cho Anchit]," p. 75; "Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of Suk]," pp. 83-84; and "Khamhaikan ai sao ai khong [Testimony of Sao and Khong]," pp. 85–86.

[50] "Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of Suk], p. 82.

Bn Kandan connot yet be locted.

[51] Called in "Khamhaikan ai sao ai khong" Ban Thamo Pradab ("Khamhaikan ai sao ai khong [Testimony of Sao and Khong]," p. 85.

Ban Mo Pradab or Ban Thamo Pradb connot yet be locted.

[52] "Khamhaikan khong nai suk [Testimony of Suk], p. 83.

Dechŏ (Meng).[53] He reached the district administered by Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) on March 3, 1835. After that, Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) sent Suk to Champasak, probably because the Siamese authorities needed to collect information about the situation in Cambodia. The interrogation of Suk was possibly done there.

Suk was not the only *reas* who we know about through his lived experiences, particularly how he survived from troubles during the Fourteen Years War. Another *reas* called Pem also left clues for us to trace his life-story.

Pem (1813–?)

In Kẫmpóng Svay in the early months of 1835, there was no war. But most people, especially in the border townships, found themselves facing hard times. Siam settled its troops in the city of Siem Reap, then under Siamese suzerainty, and set up a border post in Prom Sok.[54] On the other side of the border, Vietnam settled its troops in Chi Kraeng Township of Kẫmpóng Svay, about 25 kilometers southeast of Prom Sok. The vibrant and porous borderland was becoming a region marked by survillance and confrontation.[55] In November 1840, the second battle of the Fourteen Year War took place in this borderland.[56]

In late 1837, Pem, a 25-year-old bachelor and an orphan, left his family in Mkăk Village of Chi Kraeng to farm rice with his uncle in Stŏng.[57] A month later Chan, his father, Dong, his older brother, and Preap, his older sister, together with So, the chief of the Chi Kraeng Border Post, fled from Mkăk to Siem Reap.[58] We do not know when Pem learned about that. It was not until October 1838 that Pem would cross the border to Prom Sok in search of his family. He went to ask for information from Luang Phol, the chief of the Prom Sok Border Post, who was his relative, and found his father and siblings there. After that, Pem came back to Mkăk to take Keo, another older sister, and Dong, his brother-in-law, to reunite with Chan.

Pem returned to Mkăk with Som, a Khmer who lived close to the Prom Sok Border Post. Som asked to accompany Pem on a mission to retrieve his boat from an inhabitant of Mkăk. Som told Pem that, if he could not get his boat back, he would ask the person who had

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[53] "Khamhaikan muen cho anchit [Testimony of Muen Cho Anchit]," p. 75.

Ban Sae Prathan connot yet be locted.

[54] The border post of Prom Sok is possibly located in present–day Dan Rŭn Commune of Saut Nĭkom District, Siem Reap Province. It was called Prom Sak in some documents ("Yo kwam baibok tang tang [Summarize of reports]" in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi hok sip* [Collected Chronicles, Part 67], pp. 165, 167; *Khamen Nai Ni* (The Khmer Within) [map, scale not given], in Santanee Phasuk and Philip Scott, *Royal Siamese Maps*, pp. 114-115; Ibid., pp. 116-129.

[55] For example, in 1834, there was a letter to Siem Reap to instruct explicitly, "We could not be careless about the situation in Krapong Svay [Kẫmpóng Svay], which has a common border with us. [You] have to carefully ponder and send a patrol unit... to seize Khmer, Vietnamese, and Chinese who were habitants of Phanom Pen and other provinces... who go back and forth for making a living and patrolling to interrogate" ("Nangsue luang ratchasena mahatthai thueng phraya nakhon siam rap [Letter from Luang Ratchasena of Mahatthai to the governor of Siem Reap]," in *Prachum phongsawadan pak thi hok sip chet* [Collected Chronicles, Part 67], pp. 39-40).

[56] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong (Kham), *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam, lem song* [The Royal Chronicle of the Third Reign of Bangkok, volume 2] (Bangkok: Kurusapha, 2504 [1961]), pp. 24-25.

[57] According to his testimony, Pem's home village was Ban Makak (Makak village) (NLT CMH R. III, C.S. 1200/94 (kho) Khatbok khamhaikan nai pem wa duai kho ratchakan thap yuan [Copy of a report, testimony of Pem on the issue of the Vietnamese troops]), which is the present-day Mkăk Village, Kŏk Thlok Kraom Commune, Chi Kraeng District, Siem Reap Province.

[58] Ibid.

it to repay him an amount of salt. On the waterway to Mkăk, Pem and Som were detained by several Khmer patrols. They were taken to the Chi Kraeng Border Post.

> The chief of the Chi Kraeng Border Post asked me and Nai Som, 'where are you from? Where are you going?'
>
> I replied, 'I am a Khmer inhabitant of Chi Kraeng, and Nai Som is a Khmer inhabitant of Siem Reap. Nai Som came with me to buy some salt for domestic use.'

Like Suk, what Pem said was only half-true (if Som was truthful about his purpose in Mkăk). Unlike Suk, the Khmer authorities did not believe him. He and Som were suspected of spying for the Siamese. They were each flogged 30 times. Then they were delivered to Vietnamese officials in Chi Kraeng, where they were again flogged 30 times. From Chi Kraeng, they were handed over to Kǎmpóng Svay and Phnŭm Pénh, respectively. They were again flogged, and put in chains in Phnŭm Pénh.

In January 1839, the Vietnamese authorities threatened Pem and Som with death in order to force them to spy in Siem Reap. Pem and Som promised to do so. They were then sent back to Kǎmpóng Svay. There, Som was confined because the Vietnamese authorities worried that if Som went to Siem Reap he would not come back, since he was an inhibitant of Siem Reap, while Pem was released to do as he had promised. Toward the end of January 1839, Pem went to Prom Sok and met Luang Phol. As he tesified later:

> I informed Luang Phol, 'I and Ai Som went together to Ban Makak. When I arrived in the Chi Khraeng Border Post, the chief of the Post caught us and sent us to Ong Tiang Kun and Ong Chan Dao in Phanom Pen. They declared that Ai Som and I had gone to spy in Chi Khraeng. So, they put Ai Som and me in chains and pillories and sent us back to be killed at Chi Khraeng. Then, Ai Som and I broke our chains and escaped from the Vietnamese. I got lost with Ai Som. I did not know where he would go.'

What Pem told Luang Phol conflicts with his previous story. In other words, Pem had lied. Perhaps, he had had to conceal his mission. Regardless, Pem was detained and brought to a Siamese *kha laung* who had been sent from Bangkok to supervise the administration in Siem Reap. There, Pem was interrogated. He admitted at that point that he had been sent to spy in Siem Reap.[59]

The Locality of Lying

Suk and Pem were probably familiar with the following stanzas about lying that are drawn from a well-known Cambodian normative poem *Chbăp koun cav* [Children's code of conduct].

> As for the one who engages in gossip, he has an evil heart and shallow mind, is a cheater and liar, deceives by his words, and brings hateful words to break the friendship of others. That is certainly a wicked, a very stinking bad person, at all

[59] Ibid.

> times. When he eventually goes to the next world, to the *nĭryé* hell, there he will meet suffering.[60]

All sorts of lying are *bap* (bad deeds), according to the Buddhist perspective. Lying is a violation of the fourth precept of the five basic Buddhist precepts (pañcasīla).[61]

Chbăp koun cav had been composed for many centuries and had been memorized from generation to generation. Similar didactic teachings can also be found in the Lao normative poem for children, *Kap pu son lan* (literally "Poem on the teachings of grandfather to grandchildren")[62] which perhaps Suk had memorized as a boy. *Chbăp koun cav* contain some clues that it reflects the knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs embedded in the experiences of the secular everyday life of ordinary people. But it also provides "an idealized picture, suggesting norms of behaviour rather than describing or analyzing the ways in which people behave,"[63] since all *chbăp* are heavily influenced by Theravāda Buddhist beliefs and teachings.

In Cambodia before the twentieth century, vernacular religious texts were an important source of understanding and knowledge about *pŭt sasana* or *sas prĕah pŭt*, Khmer terms that were invariably translated by French scholar-administrators as "Bouddhisme" and "religion du Bouddha."[64] Those texts are allied with the Pāli Buddhist commentaries, not with the Pāli Tipiṭaka.[65] According to the vernacular religious text *Rieung soel pram* [On the five precepts], which also called *Anisâng sil* (literally "good results [of observing the five] precepts,"[66] lying or *kŏhâk*, which was mentioned by vernacular Pāli as *mŭsaveat* (Pa musāvādā),

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[60] "Cpāp' Kūn cau," in Saveros Pou, and Philip N. Jenner "Les cpāp' ou "codes de conduite" khmers. III. Cpāp' Kūn cau," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 64, (1977): 181.

About the dating of *Chbăp koun cav* see Ibid., 167; Saveros Pou and Philip N. Jenner, "Les cpāp' ou «codes de conduite» khmers. I. Cpāp' Kerti Kāl," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 62 (1975): 370-371; Philip N. Jenner, "The Relative Dating of Some Khmer CPĂ'PAP," *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication* 13 (Austroasiatic Studies Part II) (1976): 693-710; David Chandler, "Normative Poems (*Chbap*) and Pre-Colonial Cambodian Society," in *Facing the Cambodian Past: Selected Essays, 1971-1994* (Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai, 1998), p. 46.

[61] The five Buddhist precepts consist of; Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, abstention from taking life; Adinnādānā veramaṇī, abstention from what is not given; Kāmesumicchācāra veramaṇī, absention from sexual misconduct; Mūsāvādā veramaṇī, abstention from false speech; and Surāmeraya majjapamāṭṭhanā veramaṇī, abstention from intoxicants.

[62] *Kap pu son lan, lan son pu* [Poem on the teachings of grandfather to grandchildren, and vice versa] (Bangkok: Charoenphol, 2465 [1922]), pp. 29-30. For the dating and summary of *kap pu son lan* see Bosaengkham Dalavong et al, *Vannakhai Lao* [Lao Literature] (Vientiane: The National Committee of Social Sciences of LPDR, 1987) pp. 223-227.

About Lao didactic literature in the Lan Xang period see ibid., p. 212.

[63] David P. Chandler, "Normative Poems (*Chbap*) and Pre-Colonial Cambodian Society," p. 46. This applied to Lao normative poem too.

[64] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français* (Saigon, 1878), p. 384; and Jean Moura, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français* (Paris: Challamel Ainé, 1878) p. 101.

In Cambodia, as in Sri Lanka, Siam, and Burma, Buddhism is simply referred to as *sāsanā*, literally "the teaching." The term "Boudhism" as a single pan-Asian tradition was first recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1801, changed to "Buddhism" in 1816. The term "Bouddhisme" did not appear in French literature until 1820s (Donald S. Lopez Jr., "Introduction: Impression of the Buddha," in Donald S. Lopez Jr. (ed.), *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) p. 7; Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 7, 143n1).

[65] See NLT CMH R. III C.S. 1211/2 Rang tra [Draft of official letter].

[66] Though *anisâng* means good result of *bŏn* (merit, good kamma, meritorious action), a literature concerning *anisâng* usually describes the results of doing both *bŏn* and *bap* (demeritorious action, bad kamma).

is defined as "an absence from lying, deceiving by words, suppressing the truth by words, to anyone,"[67] and then describes that,

> *Mŭsaveat* comprises four essential elements which are: atthaṅvatthu, the word that will be spoken is not true; saṅvivādanacittaṅ, keeping in mind to [speak] wrong, tajōvayammō, trying to speak wrong; parassatadattaviṇṇānnaṅ, one understands its meaning. When [all four elements are completed], it means that *mŭsaveat* is done.[68]

That passage also appears in the Paramattha-dīpanī (Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā), a commentary on parts of the Suttanta-piṭaka, with some minor misspellings of Pāli words.[69]

Rieung soel pram also states that, "He who lies will undergo suffering for 1,000 years in *Kalsaut norŭak* [Kāḷasutta hell]. He who does not lie will enjoy happiness for 1,000 years in *Tavĕatŏeng suo* [Tāvatiṃsa heaven]." However, *Rieung soel pram* notes that violation of the fourth precept is deemed the least serious of the transgressions of the five Buddist precepts.[70]

Many Western observers noticed differentiated levels of seriousness regarding the five Buddhist precepts. In his *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, the first systematic study of Buddhism in Cambodia, the French colonial scholar-administrator Adhemard Leclère paid more attention to discussing the first precept, "S'abstenir de tuer" (abstinence from taking life), than the other four,[71] just as Simon de La Loubère, an envoy of Louis XIV on French mission to Siam in 1687, did in his *Du Royaume de Siam*, first published in 1691.[72] La Loubère also omitted to describe the second precept, "steal nothing": "I have nothing particular to say upon the second," and the fourth precept, "lie not": "I know nothing concerning the Fourth Precept,

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[67] EFEO Mss camb P53/Rieung soel pram, p. 59.

[68] Ibid, p. 60.

[69] Saṅvivādanacittaṅ and tajōvayammō are the wrong spelling. The correct spellings are visaṅvivādanacittaṅ and tajōvayamō respectively.

[70] Ibid., p. 61.

1,000 years in Kāḷasutta hell equal 12,960,000,000,000 yers in the human world. 1,000 years in Tāvatiṃsa heaven equal 36,000,000 years in the human world (*Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, translation with introduction and notes by Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1982), pp. 66-67, 238.

[71] Adhémard Leclère, *Buddhisme au Cambodge* (Paris: Eenest Leroux, 1899), pp. 311-321).

[72] Simon de la Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*, 2 volumes (Paris: Chez la Veuve de Jean Baptiste Coignard et Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1691). English translated version of *Du Royaume de Siam* was first published in 1693 (Simon de la Loubère, *A New Historical Reltion of the Kingdom of Siam* (London: T. Horne [etc.], 1693). Leclère mentioned La Loubère one time when he discussed about the five precepts in general (Adhémard Leclèle, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, p. 312).

La Loubère gave most close attention to the Buddhist texts about five precepts, which he called the "five negative precepts," "1. Kill nothing. 2. Steal nothing. 3. Commit not any impurity. 4. Lie not. 5. Drink no intoxicating Liquor, which in general they call *Laox*" (Simon de la Loubère, *A New Historical Reltion of the Kingdom of Siam*, pp. 126–129. for the original French version see Simon de la Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*, tome 1, p. 484). Interstingly, words that La Loubère used to call the five precepts, "Cinq précepts négatifs [five negative precepts]," was the same as used by Italian Jesuit Giovanni Filippo de Marini in his *Delle Misioni de' Padri della Campagnia di Giesv Nelle Prouincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino* [Concerning the missionary work of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus in the Province of Japan, and especially of that of Tonkin], first published in Italian in 1663, based on various sources. De Marini noted, with a trivial error, about the five precepts, as following: "The first one is to never kill an animal; the second is never to commit adultery; the third never to lie; the fourth never to steal and the fifth never to drink wine" (G. F. de Marini, *A New and Interesting Description of the Lao Kingdom*, translated by Walter E. J. Tips and Claudio Bertuccio (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998), p. 74. Lao translation version see Humphan Rattanavong, *Pathet Lao nai sum pi kho so 1640* [Lao to 1640 C.E.] (Viangchan: Sathaban Khonkhwa Sinlapa, Vannakhadi, lae Phasasat, 1992), p. 94).

which deserves to be explained."[73] In an account of Jesuit priests in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Buddhist precepts were acknowledged, "To steal and to have relationships with women other than their own (…) are actions rarely performed by the natives of Cambodia."[74] The last two precepts, not to lie and not to drink, were omitted. Failing to mention the fourth and fifth precepts was probably because they were very common practices. Lying and the drinking of intoxicants were considered the least serious violations of the five precepts.

Focusing to the fourth precept, Leclère noted that,

> The lie that is committed by a woman is less serious than the lie commmitted by a man; that of a pregnant woman is less serious than that of a non-pregnant woman; that of a girl who has been in love is no more serious than that of a pregnant woman; and the lying of a child is the least serious of all lies. The most serious lie, after one by the members of a religious order, is that of the king; after that of the king, it is the lie of the dignitaries.[75]

Leclère claimed that his *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge* was a construction of an understanding of the Buddhist practices of the ordinary people in their own view. It was criticized by many Orientalists of the day, however, and Leclère was accorded "second–class status among Orientalists." More importantly, Leclère employed vernacular texts that were considered by those Orientalists as unorthodox, unauthentic, and untrustworthy. In the Protectorate era in Cambodia, the intellectual efforts of French colonial scholar-administrators in recovering or restoring the authentic "Bouddhisme" were more concerned with recovering or restoring the ideal, "with little regard to any understanding the reality,"[76] also based on the religious texts written in the canonical Pāli language of Theravāda Buddhism. In that process, it made Pāli eminently substantial, which was a partial raison d'être of the creation of Pāli schools and the Buddhist Institute, and eventually modern Buddhism in Cambodia.[77] Nearly a century later, however, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge* was reevaluated. Proponents of the revisionist view suggest that amateur Orientalists like Leclère had moved beyond the hegemony of classical and canonical texts that are the foundation of modern Western Biuddhist discourse and the romantic orientalist view that pervaded the study of Buddhism at that time.[78]

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[73] Simon de la Loubère, *A New Historical Reltion of the Kingdom of Siam*, p. 127. For the original French version see Simon de la Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*, tome 1, pp. 489, 491.

[74] *Annua da Provincia do Jappão do anno de 1665*, Jap./Sin., T. 64, fl. 260. Cited in Vanessa Loureiro, "The Jesuits in Cambodia: A Look Upon Cambodian Religiousness (2nd half of the 16th century to the 1st quarter of the 18th century)," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 10-11 (June-December 2005): 216.

[75] Adhémard Leclèle, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, p. 319.

[76] Alain Forest, *Le culte des genies protecteurs au Cambodge: analyse et traduction d'un corpus de textes sur les* neak ta (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992), p. 5.

[77] Anne Ruth Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), p. 131.

[78] On the revisionist view of Leclère's orientalist writings see Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism," in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha: the Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 41, 44. See also Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. vii-viii; Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 108-109; and Anne Hansen, *How to Behave*, pp. 110-111; Alain Forest, *Le culte des genies protecteurs au Cambodge*, p. 5.

On the Western modern discourse of religion see Talal Asad, "The Construction of Religion as an

In the everyday world, bad deeds are not uncommon. The five basic Buddhist precepts, which in Khmer are also called *nĭch sĕl*, literally "precepts that should be observed regularly," are broken regularly. The differentiated levels of seriousness with which the precepts are observed represent a negotiation between the universal doctrinal ideal and local reality, which is first and foremost a here-and-now reality.[79] In the late nineteenth century, Leclère observed that the ordinary people might not strictly observe the five precepts in their everyday life. They sometimes practiced mild lies and deceit while conceding that they contravened the precept. Although "Cambodians are very religious morally and very anxious to observe the sacred precepts,"[80] "The five precepts are observed by the religious person as much as possible, but most laymen are far from observing them with the same rigour."[81]

Living Texts, Living Practices

Knowledge concerning lying is inscribed in a traditional manual called *kboun kŏhâk* [A manual of lies and deceit]. An outstanding example is offered by the exploits of A Kŏhâk Si.[82] In one instance, the naughty behavior of A Kŏhâk Si so vexed his family that it was decided to rid the world of him by drowning. When A Kŏhâk Si was put in a sack to be drowned by his uncle, he cried out,

> 'Dear uncle, take pity on me, because I'm going to die. So, dear uncle, please bring back *kboun kŏhâk* for me. Because when I die and go to hell, if I don't have *kboun kŏhâk* to deceive the ghosts to eat I will die of starvation.'
>
> When the uncle heard his nephew's plea he asked, 'Where do you keep your *kboun kŏhâk*?'
>
> The nephew told his uncle, 'I put it on the house's crossbeam.'
>
> The uncle left A Kŏhâk Si at the riverbank and ran off to pick the *kboun kŏhâk* for him.

Anthropological Category," in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 27-54.

On argument that classical text as a foundation of Buddhism as religion see Raymond Schwab, *Oriental Renaissance: Europe's rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, translated by Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: ColumbiaUniversity Press, 1984); Donald S. Lopez, Jr., "Introduction," in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., (ed.), *Curators of the Buddhas: the Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 7; and Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, p. 23.

[79] Adhémard Leclèle, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, p. vii. See also B.J. Terwiel, "The Five Precepts and Ritual in Rural Thailand," *The Journal of the Siam Society* 60, 1 (1972): 333-343.

[80] Adhémard Leclèle, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, p. 397.

[81] Ibid., p. 312.

May Ebihara, the first American anthropologist to do fieldwork in Cambodia, during 1959-1960, notes that the five Buddhist precepts "do indeed exercise a powerful influence on village behavior, though often they are followed with varying degrees of fidelity" (May Ebihara, *Svay: a Khmer village in Cambodia* (Ph.D Disseration, Columbia University, 1968), p. 389). Her insight resonates with Leclère's *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, which Ebihara praises as an "impressive array of scholarly works." Interestingly, however, although Ebihara suggested that Leclère's works are "mainly of historical interest rather than applicable to the contemporary scene" (Ibid., p. 635), her field observation on practices of the five Buddhist precepts by the villagers is similar to Leclère's elucidation in *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*.

[82] "A" is a Khmer word used preceding nouns or noun phrases, giving them a pejorative, derogatory, or very familiar meaning. It is commonly used in addressing close friends, persons regarded as inferiors, or young boys (Étienne Aymonier, *Vocabulaire cambodgien-français* (Saigon: Collège des stagiaires, 1874), p. 1; Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr-français*, p. 12. See also Robert K. Headley, Jr. et al. *Cambodian-English Dictionary* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977), p. 1398).

While he was left alone, a leper walked past the riverbank. A Kŏhâk Si saw through the sack he had been put in and said loudly; "I came to recover from leprosy in this sack for many days already. I don't know it has been gotten rid of or still remains. But I feel like it is already healed." Because the leper wanted to be cured too he asked to get in the sack. When A Kŏhâk Si's uncle, not having found *kboun kŏhâk*, realized that he had been fooled, he returned to the riverbank in a fury. He beat the leper in the sack, mistakenly thinking that he was A Kŏhâk Si. The leper did not cry out or say any word, as A Kŏhâk Si had explicitly instructed him. Then A Kŏhâk Si's uncle sank the leper in the water. Thus, A Kŏhâk Si escaped death through his clever lie. After escaping death, A Kŏhâk Si was alone in the world, without anyone to help him. When he met someone who knew how to lie and deceive as well he did, he made a pact of brotherhood with that person, and they agreed to "wander together to lie and deceive people from then on."[83]

Kboun kŏhâk is also referred to in the story of Thmenh Chey, in a scene where a *sedthey* (wealthy man) offered Thmenh Chey to the king. The *sedthey* informed the king that

> 'I, Your Majesty's humble servant, have a boy who possesses great intelligence. No one can beat his intelligence, and nobody can *kŏhâk* like him. Now, I, Your Majesty's servant, bring him to offer as a servant under the dust which is beneath the soles of your royal feet.'

When the king heard that, he ordered Thmenh Chey to come close and asked,

> 'A Chey, do you really know how to *kŏhâk*?'
> Thmenh Chey informed him, 'I do.'
> The king said, 'So, show me by doing a *kŏhâk* to me.'
> Thmenh Chey informed him, 'There is *kboun kŏhâk* in your humble servant's house.'
> Then, the king said, 'So, go to bring (*kboun*) *kŏhâk* to show me.'
> Thmenh Chey informed him, 'I beg Your Majesty to order a royal page to bring the *kboun* from the house of me your humble servant.'
> Then, the king ordered one of his pages, 'You, hurry up and bring *kboun kŏhâk* from A Chey's home.'
> The royal page saluted the king and then hastily ran to to A Chey's home. There, he told A Chey's mother, 'Thmenh Chey told me to bring the *kboun kŏhâk*.'
> A Chey's mother heard and replied, 'there is no *kboun kŏhâk* here.'
> The royal page listened and returned to inform the king that, 'I, Your Majesty's servant, went to ask A Chey's mother, and she told me that there is no *kboun kŏhâk*.'
> Then the king asked, 'A Chey, you said that there is *kboun kŏhâk* in your home. I commanded my page to bring it, but your mother told that there is no *kboun kŏhâk* at all.'

[83] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 18ter Conte, Ompī ni ning niyeay roeung preng ompī manu kohoc sie; "A kâhẫk si [Le menteur (pour manger)]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers, publiés avec une traduction sommaire* (Saigon, 1878), pp. 8-9 (Fr), 29-32 (Kh); "Reuang kŏhâk si [Le menteur pour manger]," *Kampuchea Suriya* 9, 10 (1937): 93-100; "Reuang A Kŏhâk Si," *PRPK* volume 1, story 7.

Thmenh Chey informed the king, 'That, your Majesty, is called *kŏhâk*. Please be informed.'[84]

Kboun is a word usually used for a kind of vernacular literature such as documents on medicine, astrology, ceremonies, etc.[85] In that usage, *kboun* means treaty, code of formulas,[86] and has the same meaning as the word *tâmra*.[87] The Cambodian scholar Khing Hoc Dy classifies *kboun* and *tâmra*, which are interchangeable, as "la litterature technique."[88] Sometimes these two neary synonymous words appear together as a compound noun *kboun tâmra*.[89] Therefore, *kboun kŏhâk* –which never in fact existed– was a manual of lies and deceit, or a manual that contains technical and practical knowledge on lies and deceit. It was translated as "traité sur l'art de mentir" in the French collected tales of A Kŏhâk Si and Themnh Chey.[90] Printed versions of the story of A Kŏhâk Si from Aymonier's *Textes Khmers* onward have used the word *chbăp kŏhâk* instead of *kboun kŏhâk*. The word *chbăp* shares some meaning with the word *kboun* but also means custom, mores, law.[91] Moreover, *chbăp* also means "codes of conduct,"[92] or "manuals on how to behave morally." Hence, *kboun kŏhâk* is an oxymoron. It also shows the blurred boundary between the sacred and the profane, and between high and low cultures.

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[84] "Thmenh Cheiy [Thménh Chéy]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers,* pp. 22 (Fr), 75 (Kh); "Reuang Thmenh Cheiy Bândĭt [Histoire de Thmenh Chhey]," *Kampuchea Suriya* 8, 7-9 (1936): 76-77. See also BSA Papier d'Aymonier 9 Thmenh Chey, 7v-8r.

About the translation and study of the story of Thmenh Chey see Pierre Bitard, *La merveilleuse histoire de Thmenh Chey l'Astucieux: Conte populaire Cambodgien* (Saigon: France-Asie, 1956); its summary in English see Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 145-147. See also Jacques Népote, "Variations sur un thème du bouffon royal en asia du sud-est péninsulaire," *Péninsule* 6-7 (1983): 3-11.

The story of Thmenh Chey can also be found in Laos and Thailand, called Siang Miang and Sri Thanonchai respectively. See the roughly comparative study of the various versions of Themenh Chey in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand in Kanyarat Vechasat, *Srithanonchai nai usakhane* [Srithanonchai in Southeast Asia] (Bangkok: The Thailand Research Fund and The Foundatation for the Promotion of Social Sciences and Humanities Textbooks Project, 2541 [1998]).

[85] Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 13; Khing Hoc Dy, *Aperçu général sur la littérature khmère* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), pp. 45-46.

[86] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictinnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 58.

The word *kboun* also means model, rule, doctrine, form, method, example (Étienne Aymonier, *Vocabulaire cambodgien-français*, p. 60; Jean Moura, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français*, p. 68; J. B. Bernard, *Dictionnaire cambodgien–français* (Hongkong: Imprimerie de la société des missions etrangères, 1902), p. 116).

[87] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictinnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 176; J. B. Bernard, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, p. 347.

The word *domra* also means inscription, note; seal (Étienne Aymonier, *Vocabulaire cambodgien-français*, p. 43; Étienne Aymonier, *Dictinnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 176).

[88] Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la litterrure khmere, volume 1: L'époque classique XV^e^-XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990), pp. 63.

[89] Aymonier gives the meaning of the compound noun *kboun tâmra* as "treaty" (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr–Français*, p. 176). See also Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la litterrure khmere, volume 1*, pp. 63, 68-72.

[90] "A kâhâk si [Le menteur (pour manger)]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, p. 8 (Fr); "Thmenh Cheiy [Thménh Chéy]," in ibid., p. 22 (Fr).

[91] Étienne Aymonier, *Vocabulaire cambodgien-français*, p. 20; Étienne Aymonier, *Dictinnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 121; Jean Moura, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français*, p. 45; J. B. Bernard, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, p. 52; Saveros Pou and Philip N. Jenner, "Les cpāp' ou «codes de conduite» khmers. I. Cpāp' Kerti Kāl": 369; Saveros Pou, *Guirlands de Cpāp', tome 1*, (Paris: Cedoreck, 1988), pp. 1-18;

[92] On *chbăp* see Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, pp. 28-32.

One can learn to lie to others even if they have never heard of *kboun kŏhâk*, however. Men and women regularly learn how to lie and deceive in their everyday life, despite the fact that lies are actions against the overarching principles of the Buddhist moral order. As Shari Stone-Mediatore argues, "Everyday experiences also can react against, register the contradictions of, and ultimately constitute the motivation of intervening in ideological process."[93] The learning process of how to behave immorally, such as lying and deceiving, is the same as the learning process of how to behave morally, which is not only learning directly through the written texts of *chbăp* and other writings, but also through imitation and tentative participation in everyday tasks.[94] However, while knowledge of how to behave morally can always be referred to the specific written texts, it has no specific references to knowledge of how to lie and deceive. Definitely, there is no written *kboun kŏhâk*. *Kŏhâk* itself is the *kboun*. It is a living text.

A Kŏhâk Si was admired as one who "has *brachnha* (intelligence, cleverness, wit), whereby he can lie without being caught,"[95] while Thmenh Chey was called a "*nĕak brach* (a wise man, a sage, a man of learning)."[96] Their lies, which might be called lying by using *brachnha*, resemble one of *kâl kŏhâk bey* (three tricks of lying) inscribed in *Kompi nén pŭtthĭnhean*, which was an instruction for royal and nobility.[97] Lying by using *brachnha* is superior to the other two *kâl kŏhâk*-s, viz. lying by using words, and lying by using ideas, because *brachnha* is a quality of "one who will be supreme among all human beings," or the king, and one who "is a brahmin."[98] Thus, lying by using *brachnha* implies that that is the action of a man of merit and of a *nĕak brach*. To this extent, A Kŏhâk Sie and Thmenh Chey are not qualified to lie by using *brachnha*, because they both are *reas*, who never know and never learn *kâl kŏhâk*.

Kompi nén pŭtthĭnhean also endeavers to distinguish between *kâl kŏhâk*, which is considered good lying, and *mŭsa* (a common form for *mŭsaveat*), which is considered bad lying.[99] This distinction is probably an attempt to legitimize the immoral practices of élites, or, in other words, is a negotiation between doctrinal ideal and local reality. All kinds of lying in *Kompi nén pŭtthĭnhean* point out that lying is not an uncommon practice among the élite, too. In sum, both in theory and in practice, *kâl kŏhâk* and *mŭsa* are the same that is *kŏhâk*. The king, the

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[93] Shari Stone-Mediatore, *Reading Across Borders: Storytelling and Knowledge of Resistance* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 2.

[94] I have taken this idea from Maurice Bloch, "Language, Anthropology and Cognitive Science," *Man*, New Series 26, 2 (June 1991): 183-198

[95] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 18ter Conte, Ompī ni ning niyeay roeung preng ompī manu kohoc sie; "A Kâhẫk Si [Le menteur (pour manger)]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, p. 8 (Fr), 32 (Kh); "Reuang kŏhâk si [Le menteur pour manger]," *Kampuchea Suriya*: 100.

[96] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9, Thmenh Chey Neak Prāch.

[97] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/135 Kămpi nén pŭtthĕayien, p. 5.

Nén pŭtthĕayien, or Pŭtthĕayien the novice, is Putthayan, an intelligent Buddhist novice in Thai translated version of the Mon Chronicle *Rachathirat* (Rājādhirājā, "the king of the king"), which was translated into Thai in 1785 by an order of King Rama I of Bangkok.

Khmer *Kămpi nén pŭtthĕayien* is a translation and modification of an instruction of Putthayan's teacher that is knowledge for King, royal, and nobility (*Rachathirat lem 5* [Rachathirat, volume 5] (Bangkok: Rat Charoen, 108 [1889]), pp. 223-238).

[98] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/135 Kămpi nén pŭtthĕayien, pp. 1, 5.

Kâl kŏhâk bey in *Kămpi nén pŭtthĕayien* is mentioned in *Rachathirat* as *khati sam* (three principles), but *khati sam* is completely different from *kâl kŏhâk bey*. *Khati sam* is practicing *kol kot* (trick of cheating) in three different situations: when one wants to kill another, when one wants to make war against another, and when one is in extremely trouble (*Rachathirat lem 5* [Rachathirat, volume 5], pp. 235-236).

[99] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/135 Kămpi nén pŭtthĕayien, pp. 1, 5.

brāhmana, and the *reas* all lie, deceive, and trick in the same way. In that respect, they are not different from one another.

Beyond the Beyond

At this point we need to ask why A Kŏhâk Si was to be drowned by his uncle. In fact, A Kŏhâk Si's mother had asked her younger brother to do just that. What caused her to ask her younger brother to kill her blood son? Lying itself is the cradle of all these stories. A key text reads as follows: Once upon a time, there was a boy who lived with his mother who raised pigs for sale. One fine day, the boy told his mother, "Mom, I want to eat pork. Please allow me to kill a pig to eat with alcohol." His mother refused his request. He always kept his appetite uppermost in mind.

> One day, the boy woke up and went to tell his mother that, '*Tépĕata* came in my sleep to tell me that there is a lot of gold and silver. Mother, you bring me to find it.'
>
> When the mother heard her son say that she asked, 'where is that gold and silver?'
>
> The son replied, 'Come with me, mother, and I'll show you. However, if I ask you to do something, just do what I ask you.'
>
> The son took a basket and led the mother into the forest far from the village. Suddenly, he thrust down the basket upon the ground, pressed it, and called to his mother loudly. 'Mother, help to press on the gold and silver buried here. Firmly press the basket; do not loosen your grip. I'm going to bring a hoe to dig for it. You must press very hard, mother. If you release your hold, all of it will disappear.'
>
> When the mother heard her son tell her this, she tried hard to press the basket firmly to wait for the son's return. The son ran home. When he got home, he killed a pig. Then he invited all his relatives and neighbors to eat, drink and *léng sâbbay* (make merry).[100]

Eventually, the mother realized that she had been fooled. She was so furious that she asked her younger brother to kill her blood son by putting him into a sack and drowning him in the river. We have seen what happened next –a continuous river of lies. In such stories, the boy's personal name is never given. He is always called by his alias Kŏhâk Si, literally "lying to eat," which undoubtedly derives from his behavior.

The appetite for good food that drives A Kŏhâk Si to lie to his mother also actively pushes A Lév, another boy in another Cambodian folktale, to dupe his parents.[101] When A

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[100] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 18ter Conte, Ompī ni ning niyeay roeung preng ompī manu kohoc sie; "A kâhẫk si [Le menteur (pour manger)]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, pp. 8 (Fr), 29 (Kh); "Reuang kŏhâk si [Le menteur pour manger]": 95-96.

[101] Two Khmer-French dictionaries by Étienne Aymonier give a meaning of the word *lév* as "bouton d'habit" (Étienne Aymonier, *Vocabulaire cambodgien-français*, p. 80; Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 353). But the word *lev* also has the other meanings, which is "cheap; low; backward; poor (in quality)" (Robert K. Headley, Jr. et al. *Cambodian-English Dictionary*, p. 1301). *Lév* with latter meanings is a word borrowed from Thai which means "one who wants skill, low, of inferior class, of low people" (Jean Baptiste Pallegoix, *Sappa pachana phasa thai, Dictionarium linguae Thai, sive siamensis interpretatione latina, gallica et anglica illustratum* (Parisiis: Jussu Imperatoris Impressum, 1854), p. 391).

A lév was called "the most famous gourmand of Khmer literature," and "a horrid boy who is greedy for good food"; his behavior favors the latter meaning of his alias *lév* more than the former (Pierre Bitard, "Essai sur

Lév was seven years old, he "had the intelligence to know that his parents were foolish." One fine day, while A Lév was staying with his father in another village to do rice farming, he developed an appetite for desserts. He asked his father for permission to go back home.

> A Lév walked away. On the way he saw a pagoda and a monk. He stopped to pay respect and begged the monk to shave his head. When his head was shaved he saluted the monk respectfully and took his leave. When he came close to his house he covered his head with cloth, pretended to cry, and went into the house.
>
> When his mother saw him sobbing, she asked, 'Why are you crying?'
>
> A Lév pretended to cry even more. His mother saw him cry even more, so she rushed to embrace him. Taking off the cloth covering his head, she saw that his head was shaven. With increasing concern she asked, 'Why did you shave your head and why are you crying like this?'
>
> Then A Lév told his mother, 'My father is dead!'[102]

When his shocked mother asked if his father had been buried, he answered that the neighbors had already helped to do it. So, his mother cooked food and desserts for the funeral rites and said to him:

> 'My child, bring the desserts and food to make merit for your father. I will not go with you. If I see the paddy your father cultivated, the location where your father resided, and the grave your father was laid to rest, those will make me suffer even more. So, go my child.'

A Lév brought all the foodstuffs away. At the midst of the way back, he stopped and ate until he was full. Shaved-head A Lév took the leftover food with a tearful face to his father.

> 'Oh! My poor father, my mother just died!'

His father believed him and vowed never to return to his mother's home for grief.

Not long thereafter, on another fine day, again, A Lév got greedy for desserts. He fooled his parents to get married together in order to have foods and desserts prepared for their wedding ceremony. He succeeded in so doing.[103]

To satisfy their appetite for good food, A Kŏhâk Si and A Lév both violated the fourth Buddhist precept, which led to his breaking other precepts. Although "the lying of a child is the least serious of all lies," both A Kŏhâk Si and A Lév knew right from wrong. The first time that A Lév lied to his parents was when he was about seven years old. Thus, he was

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la satire social dans la littérature du Cambodge," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, Nouvelle Série XXVI, 2 (2e Trimestre 1951): 194; Judith M. Jacob, "The Short Stories of Cambodian Popular Tradition," in David A. Smyth (ed.), *Cambodian Linguistics, Literature and History: Collected Articles* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993), p. 244).

[102] A shaved head demonstrates mourning for the loss of a parent, senior relative, or other respected elder.

[103] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9 Roeung Ā Liav; "A Lév [A Lêv]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers,* pp. 3-8 (Fr), 9-29 (Kh); "Reuang A Lév," *PRPK* volume 1, story 15. See also Oknha Brachnha Thĭbadey (Yĭn), "Reuang A Lév (ti pi) [Légende de A Lêv II]," *Kampuchea Suriya* 13, 1 (1941): 31-33; 13, 2 (1941): 32-35; 13, 3 (1941): 32-34; 13, 5 (1941): 21-26; 13, 6 (1941): 25-26; 13, 7 (1941): 24-26; 13, 9 (1941): 24-26; 13, 10 (1941): 24-26; 13, 11 (1941): 24-26; 13, 12 (1941): 22-26.

recognized by the law as a man of discretion.[104] Both A Kŏhâk Si and A Lév had consciously completed the four essential elements of *mŭsaveat*. Moreover and more importantly, they lied to their mothers, who sit on the altar of the most sacred deities in the hybrid cosmology of the Khmers.[105] *Bât saut kvăn neak* (literally "text for chanting the soul or consciousness of *neak* (the person about to be ordained as a Buddhist monk)"),[106] which would be recited by the *achar* in the ceremony called *hav prolĕung neak* (literally "the calling and gathering of the the soul or consciousness of *neak*") in the evening before the ordination day,[107] has strongly asserted the immeasurable and unreciprocable kindness of mothers to their children,

> Even though you build a *prĕah chetey* [stūpa], with its foundation laid on the earth while its apex is at *Teavĕatŏengsa* [Tāvatiṃsa], *Yeamea* [Yāmā], *Tŏsĕsta* [Tusitā], *Nimanordey* [Nimmānnaratī], or even *Pâranimĭt* [Paranimmita Vasavattī], the result of good deeds from the establishment of that stūpa is totally unable to reciprocate the kindness of one's mother.[108]

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[104] According to *Krâm Saksey* [The law of evidence], children under 7 years old should not be allowed to submit evidence in court Adhémard Leclèle, *Les codes cambodgiens, tome II* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), p. 203.

[105] See Article 11 of *Kram Preas Thomma Anhunhnha* in Ibid., pp. 3-4.

On women's role and power in Cambodian history see Trudy Jacobsen, *Lost Goddesses: The Denial of Female Power in Cambodian History* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), and in Southeast Asia see Barbara Watson Andaya, *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

[106] *Kvăn*, from Thai word *khwan*, means, "an unsubstantial thing supposed to reside in the physical body of a person. When it is there the person enjoys good health and happiness. If it leaves the body the person will be ill or experience some undesirable effects" (Phya Anuman Rajathon, "The Khwan and its Ceremonies," *The Journal of the Siam Society* 50, 2 (1962): 119). It equals the Cambodian concept of *prolĕung*, which means soul, spirit; consciousness; feeling, sensation. On the belief of *prolĕung* see Ang Choulean, *Braḥ Liṅg* (Reyum Publishing: Phnom Penh, 2004), pp. 1-3).

[107] On the ceremony of *hav prolĕung neak* see Ang Choulean, Preap Chănmara and Sŭn Chăndoeb, *Dâmnaoe chivĭt mnŭs khmae moel tam pĭthi chlong vŏay* [Ways of Life of the Khmers According to the Rites of Passage] (Hânŭman Téhsachâ: Phnom Penh, 2007), p. 48; Ashley Thompson, *The Calling of the Souls: A Study of the Khmer Ritual Hau Braliṅ* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute, 1996) pp. 11-12. *Hav prolĕung neak* is equivalent to the Thai ceremony of *tham khwan nak*.

Neak and the ceremony of *hav prolĕung neak* exist only in a Theravāda Buddhist tradition of Southeast Asia. *Neak*, or *nak* in Thai and Lao pronunciations, derived from the Pali word *nagga*, which has roots in a proto–Indo–European term meaning "naked, nude," and was used in reference to native groups (Jit Phumisak, *Kwampenma khong kham sayam thai lao lae khom lae laksana thang sangkhom khong chue chonchat* [Etymology of the terms Siam, Thai, Lao, and Khom, and the Social Characteristics of Nationalities] (Bangkok: Duang Kamol, 2524 [1981]), pp. 395-401). It is used as a term of reference for the person about to be ordained as a Buddhist monk (BnF Mss Indochinois 139 Recuiel de texts, côté A/7 Récit sur l'origine de l'expression «puos nāgg». See also "Reuang préng tĕaktong nĕung tŭmniem b ǎmbuos neak," *PRPK* volume 9, story 5). In other words, *neak* is a naked, wild, and raw person, who will be in transition to a bhikkhu, who is a clothed, tamed, and cooked person. In Thailand, a man who was formerly ordained is called *kon suk* (the cooked).

[108] BnF Mss Indochinois 139 Recuiel de texts, côté A/8 Sūt kvăn nāg.

In Thailand, *tham khwan nak* is the ceremony that celebrates the role and power of a woman before her son is taken from her embrace in the ordination ceremony. It is a ceremony that gives most importance to the mother. During the ceremory, a text describing the immeasurable kindness of the mother is recited. It is a last confirmation of the authority of femaleness before the authority is turned over to the male when the ordinand becomes a monk. No female, even the mother of the monk, can any longer touch the monk (Sujit Wongthes, "Dontri phi phuea chivit khon [Ghost Music for Man's Life]," in Pipad Krajaejun (ed.), *Phi nai lakthan khontai lae khonpen* [Ghosts in the Evidence of the Dead and Living Man] (Bangkok: Thammasat University Press, 2014), p. 15). This is also true for the *hav prolĕung neak* ceremony. On the important roles of females in the history of Cambodia see Trudy Jacobsen, *Lost Goddesses: The Denial of Femal Power in Cambodian History*.

The high status of mothers can also be seen in the legal realm. When a mother–in–law filed a case claiming that her son-in-law had injured her, the judges reached a decision, as described in a letter from Oknha Vongsa Sŏrĭsâk, the Navy minister, to Étienne Aymonier, then the représentant du protectorat,[109] dated July 19, 1880, that, "According to law, if a mother files against either her blood son or her son-in-law, a judge has to believe the mother's statement." The letter continued,

> If a son injures his mother untill she is broken and bruised seriously, he will be tied to a post with a bamboo basket on his face and brought to parade on the street to denounce for three days. He will be flogged with 50 lashes. His properties will be sized for the benefit of the king. Finally, he will be put to death by the Spanish windlass. His wife will be returned to her father and mother. However, if the judge has mercy, he will only be fined.[110]

Those kinds of punishment, except for the death penalty, were presecribed in article 16 of *Krâm Préas Reach Kroet Sang Khorey* (Law concerning Saṅgha Affairs), which was reviewed in 1853.[111]

In the real world, however, many mothers abandoned their children. On July 26, 1880, Mi Thŏv, a Chinese inhabitant of Prei Kâbbas, filed a petition to the représentant du protectorat to complain that he had been insulted by his wife, Neang Ŭy, who probably was a Khmer, with the obscene term "*mé lŭk thaong*." *Lŭk thaong* probably is a Techew Chinese term that means, among other things, "bitch, shake pussy, hit a pussy, smack a pussy." Mi Thŏv had received the reply from Ŭy that, "your mother is a *lŭk thaong*." Uy had then left him and their three children to stay in the house of the governer of Prei Kâbbas. In his one attempt to ask her back home, Mi Thŏv sent the news that his children were suffering from smallpox and asked her to return home to take care of them. Ŭy replied, "I will not go. If the children die, let them die."[112] In the case of A Kŏhâk Si, when his mother realized that she had been deceived, she was very fierce and aked her younger brother to kill her blood son. Despite such exceptional cases, the mother is always vernerated. Her kindness "is absolutely impossible to reciprocate." Thus, one who sues his mother, as well as father and other forebears, is considered by law as "a heretic and ungrateful."[113]

After lying to and deceiving his parents three times, A Lév ran away from home to stay with and depend on a monk. One day, A Lév thought that, "I will deceive any monk who has a lot of money, squeeze it out of him and give it to my parents." He succeeded in doing that. He also got more money from deceiving a Chinese. Then, he returned home with money for his parents.

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[109] Aymonier was in office as the représentant du protectorat from January 6, 1879 to May 10, 1881.

[110] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/259 Letter from Oknha Vongsa Saurisâk to Aymonier, July 19, 1880.

[111] BMA Ms 685/B-7 Krâm Préas Reach Kroet Sang Khorey, pp. 14-15.

Article 16 of *Krâm Préas Reach Kroet Sang Khorey* is the same as article 18 of the French translated version, which was called *Krâm Sânghkrey* or Loi sur les outrages aux moeurs et aux coutumes (Adhemard Leclère, *Les codes cambodgiens*, tome 1, p. 298).

[112] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/449. Petition of a Chinese Mi Thŏv, July 26, 1880.

[113] BMA Ms 685/C-11 Krâm Totuol bândoeng, p. 28.

> When Nĕak Ngéh [A Lév'a father] saw the big sum of money, he lost his grudge about having been deceived by A Lév. The father and mother both embraced A Lév. Nĕak Ngéh asked A Lév,
>
> 'Where did my son get (this money)? What did my son do to gain it?'
>
> A Lév said to his father, '[I got] this money by going to show my *kdo* (cock) to people in the market. Some people gave one *bat* (an ancient monetary unit), others gave two or three. So, I got more money. If father wants to earn a lot of money, you should go to show your *kdo* to the people in the market. You will get more money than you will be able to carry back.'

As expected, when Nĕak Ngéh followed his son's advice, he was beaten and ran home. When A Lév saw his father running home, followed by a Cham merchant and other townspeople, he continued to lie. A Lév called out to his father that the people in the market were following to beat him, so his father should flee across the fields. When the Cham merchant arrived, A Lév told him that the man running across the fields was chasing a deer with a broken leg. If the Cham merchant chased it, the deer carcass would be shared. The Cham merchant left his goods with A Lév, who took them home to his mother.[114]

Immoral Tales/Lives

The stories of A Lév, Thmenh Chey and A Kŏhâk Si are *reuang préng* (Khmer folktales). Unpublished and unedited versions of Khmer folktales usually contain numerous eccentricities and oddities, such as bad manners, odd behavior, black humor, obscene language, and bawdy anecdotes. Some Khmer folktales were considered by Adhémard Leclère as "absolutely immoral."[115] But, as Khing Hoc Dy states, those tales that are "speech's of the people" serve as "a mirror to reflect some characteristics of our Khmer society."[116] It should be noted that, many Khmer folktales are not considered immoral but simply recount a great number of deviations from social norms. Those Khmer folktales could be categorized as immoral tales, or Khmer folktales that contains eccentricity and oddity that are immoral judging by overaching norms of morality.

Immoral practice is not only common in immoral folktales, but also in other literary genres. This can be seen in the story of a handsome and talented young man who fell in love with a beautiful adolescent girl despite the fact that the young man was a novice monk. He asked the abbot of his gtemple to disrobe him so that he could go home to take care for his sick mother. He who is a monastic novice has to observe the ten Buddhist precepts (double the number required of a layman) and absolutely may not lie. However, the abbot saw through the novice's lie. The Abbot shouted at him, "You scoundrel, you are lying to me! You are cowering before a woman's cajoling!"[117] Undoubtedly, the permission he sought for was not granted. Then, he went to his mother.

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[114] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9 Roeung Ā Liav. See a sanitized version in "A Lév [A Lêv]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, pp. 4–5 (Fr), 13-15 (Kh).

[115] Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge: contes, légendes & Jatakas* (Paris: Cedoreck, 1984), p. vii.

[116] Khing Hoc Dy, *Contes et legendes du pays Khmer* (Paris: Conseil international de la langue française, 1989), p. 10.

[117] Prĕah Bâtŭm Therăh (Saom), *Reuang Tŭm Teav* [A Story of Tŭm Teav] (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 2514 [1971]), p. 20; George Chigas, *Tum Teav: A Translation and Analysis of a Cambodian Literary Classic* (Phnom Penh: The Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2005), p. 51.

[He] cried copiously. Tears ran down his face.
He had intended to lie because he was not happy.
'Oh, mother! I cannot eat...
'I'm not well at all.'[118]

This scene reminds us of a very similar scene in the story of A Lév. But in this case the novice monk, whose name is Tum, is not the protagonist in a *reuang préng* (folktales), but a *reuang lbaeng* (classic novel), which used to be a popular genre[119] called *Tŭm Teav*, a type of tragic love story that was popular in the central and eastern regions of nineteenth-century Cambodia.[120]

Having heard Tŭm's lament, his mother went to the abbot to ask permission for him to be allowed to disrobe. There, she learned that her son had lied to her. So, Tŭm changed out of his monk's robes and fled.[121] It is an appetite for love (or lust in many cases) that drove Tŭm to lie to the abbot, who was his preceptor, and his mother, and to run away from the monkhood. That appetite (love, or lust) drives many people to resist, whether actively or passively, whether directly or indirectly, against their parents and other respected adults. As happened in the real world, around the late 1870s, when their love were obstructed by their parents, Chav Ieng and Neang Tés ran away from home together.[122]

In the harsh real world, people lie all the time (as is well known). In his petition to Aymonier, a monk named Nong solicited help in solving his problem. Nong noted that, many years before, Lĕah, a "*Chvea Sângkhareach* (a Malay Imam?)" who lived in Chrŏy Châng va, opposite to Phnŭm Pénh, borrowed money from his uncle. When be was asked to repay the debt, Lĕah repeatedly "*bânchhaot krâhâk* [mod. Kh *bânhchhaot kŏhâk*], which means "trick or lie," to avoid repayment."[123]

When compared with other petitions of the same kind, "trick and lie" as noted in Nong's petition seems not to be only a literary style. In a petition entered by the widow Pot on November 1, 1880, she only mentioned that she "had asked (for debt payment) many times over the course of many years, (but she had) never gotten it."[124] In a version of the story of Thmenh Chey, Thmenh Chey borrowed money with a promise to pay back in two *thngai*-s. When two days, or two *thngai*-s, had passed, the creditor demanded payment of the debt.

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[118] Prĕah Bâtŭm Therăh (Saom), *Reuang Tŭm Teav*, p. 24; George Chigas, *Tum Teav*, p. 55.

[119] Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, p. 36.

[120] In the late nineteenth century, a woman named Sai Pour, perhaps a traveling minstrel, recited the tragic love story of *Tum Teav* to the accompaniment of a *chapei* (a long-necked, two-string lute) in Sithor Kandal in Prey Veng province, and many other places (Kong Somphea, *Botumthera Som: Writer of the 19th Century* (Phnom Penh, 1971), p. 16, cited in George Chigas, *Tum Teav: A Translation and Analysis of a Cambodian Literary Classic*, p. 2).

Like *reuang préng*, *Tŭm Teav* tales were told and retold from generation to generations and later were written and published. Various versions of the manuscript tradition were recorded on palm leaf but they were not popular. The oral version was written down and published by French officials only in the second half of the nineteenth century. *Tŭm Teav* also appeared in the two versions of the Cambodian royal chronicles, namely the P57 version, for which the date of composition and author are not known, and the Vât Tĕuk Vĭl version, which was completed in 1941 by order of the abbot of Vât Tĕuk Vĭl. *Tŭm Teav* was first published under the title *Teav-Tŭm* in 1932. Well-known published versions are Nou Kân's *Teav Êk*, published in 1942; Sântho Mok's *Tŭm Teav*, published in 1960; and Prĕah Bâtŭm Therăh (Saom)'s *Reuang Tŭm Teav*, published in 1962 and used for instruction in schools (George Chigas, *Tum Teav: A Translation and Analysis of a Cambodian Literary Classic*, pp. 2-3, 4–14, 17-21, 27n6).

[121] Preah Botum Thera (Som), *Reuang Tŭm Teav*, p. 26; George Chigas, *Tum Teav*, p. 59.

[122] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/476 Petition of Chav Ieng eand Neang Tés, July 26, 1880.

[123] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/138 Petition of a monk Nong, no date.

[124] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/14 Petition of a widow Neang Pot, November 1, 1880.

Thmenh Chey replied that, at this time, you said two Suns [*thngai*-s].
I see only only one Sun. Didn't see two Suns,
which is what you said.[125]

As seen in petitions to Aymonier, Nong's case was very common. Lying was commonly used to avoid debt payment, which is breaking social norms and the law, and, by using the five Buddhist precepts as criteria, breaking the second and fourth precepts. Lying also was practiced for other purposes, such as when Chavpĕanhea Bâvo (Sŏk) "deceived" to sell the right to collect the tax on specific plots of cultivated land in S'ang province to more than one person to multiply his profit,[126] and when Prĕah Saeng lied to Neang Mi that he was a bachelor in order to marry her.[127]

Prĕah Saeng was an official who apparently was posted to Kâmpóng Siem, which was where Neang Mi lived. What drove him to lie was probably his need for someone to take care of him, including providing sexual pleasure, while he was away from his wife in Phnŭm Pénh. Indeed, pursuit of sexual pleasure was as common in nineteenth-century Cambodia as it has always been the world over. A K'êk, who was accused of having an affair with the king's women, Nĕak Meaha Hong and Nĕak Ngŭn, stated in his testimony that, "He made Nĕak Meaha Hong his principal wife because he fucked her with pleasure. Nĕak Ngŭn gave him an unpleasant fuck, so he made her his minor wife."[128] Interestingly, deceiving for sexual pleasure appears in immoral tales more often than deceiving for good food and money. It should be noted that pursuit of sexual pleasure is not only an action of men, but also of women. In *Meayea Srey*, a female protagonist came to ask *nĕak ta* (spirit of the place, guardian spirit) for the death of her husband in order to live freely with her lover.[129] In *La femme du joueur de guitare*, the story of a poor musician's wife who has an affair with a very handsome young man, the wife deceives her husband many times to meet with her lover.

> One day when both were eating their rice at table, she stood up suddenly. 'Thus see, my friend, as I am distracted, I forgot the ginger; I am going to look for it. Continue your dinner, I'll be back in a moment.'
>
> She went out to find her lover in a nearby field, then returned to her husband: 'Do you know what happened to me?' She said, laughing as a lunatic. 'Oh! You would have laughed if you had accompanied me! In my efforts to root out the ginger, the stalk broke in my hands and I fell on my back. See for yourself, I am quite covered with earth.'
>
> And the naive husband, also laughing with all his heart, gently wiped his wife's back.[130]

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[125] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9 Thmenh Chey, [11v]. *Thngai* also means the Sun.

[126] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/510 Petition of Nay Sau, April 5, 1881.

[127] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/523 Petition of Neang Mi, February 18, 1881.

[128] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/555 Testimony of A K'êk, date not given.

[129] "Reuang meayea srey [La fourberie féminine]," *Kampuchea Suriya* 9, 9 (1937): 327-337; *PRPK*, volume 1, story 6.

[130] Paul Branda, *Ça et la Cochinchine et Cambodge: L'ame khmère-Ang-Kor* (Paris: Librarie Fischbacher, 1886), p. 261; "Reuang srey mieyie dâk khânhi [Une Femme qui trompe son mari]," *Kampuchea Suriya* 7, 3 (1935): 131-134.

Paul Branda was a pseudonym of Rear Admiral Paul-Emile-Marie Réveillère (1829-1908), the Commander of the Navy in Cochinchina from August 1884 to August 1886 (Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnarie de bio–bibliographie*

Doubtless, the poor musician's wife had sex with her lover in the nearby field. We will probably never find an original manuscript of *La femme du joueur de guitare*, so we will probably never know if it contains bawdy scenes, as well as obscene and vulgar language, or not. If there is a bawdy scene, it has absolutely been eliminated, as in the case of the story of A Lév. The following is one of three deleted scenes of the story of A Lév.

> One day, A Lév met an old man and asked to live with him.
>
> 'What is your name?'
>
> A Lév said, 'My name is A Chŏy (literally, 'get a fuck').'[131]
>
> The old man and A Lév sat and talked together for a while. In his mind A Lév wanted to deceive the old man to have sex with his wife. Then the old man ordered A Lév, 'A Chŏy, go and get a piece of areca nut and betel leaf from *Yeay* (grandmothher, old woman) for me.'
>
> When A Lév heard the old man's order he felt glad and thought, 'I will certainly get to get a fuck with the old man's wife.' He went quickly to the old man's house and said to that old woman, '*Yeay*, *Yeay*, *Ta* (grandfather, old man) ordered me come to fuck with *Yeay*.'
>
> The stupid old woman said, 'No! *Ta* did not order anyone to come to fuck with me as you said.'
>
> A Lév replied, 'If *Yeay* does not believe me, wait awhile, *Ta* will remind me to hurry to fuck with you.'
>
> The old woman waited to hear from the old man. And sure enough, the old man soon shouted, '*A chŏy haoey chhab laoeng* [which can means both: 'A Chŏy hurries up' and 'You fuck hurriedly]'.'
>
> When A Lév heard the old man shout like that he turned to the old woman and said, 'That's it! I told you! *Ta* is reminding me to fuck with you, isn't he? *Yeay* can hear it yourself.'
>
> So, the old woman bustled to let A Lév fuck her.[132]

Greshon Legman once suggested that, "sex and its folklore are far more interesting, more valuable, and more important in every social and historical sense than, for instance, the

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générale, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine français (Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et colonies, 1935), p. 323). His *Ça et la Cochinchine et Cambodge, L'ame khmère, Ang-Kor*, published in 1886 and published again in the following year, which to some extent seems like his memoir or travelogue, also contains legends, fables, folktales, poetry, *chbăp*, and proverbs (Paul Branda, *Ça et la Cochinchine et Cambodge, L'ame khmère, Ang-Kor*, pp. 167-178 (Krông Sop Premit. Légende cambodgienne), 181-194 (Peït Mòkot. Légende cambodgienne), 227-240 (Les aigrettes. Fable cambodgienne), 252-254 (Poésie), 260-263 (Le femme du joueur de guitare. Conte cambodgien), 264-278 (Les femmes au Paon Doré), 321-342 (Linh Tang. Légende cambodgienne), 343-367 (Les préceptes de Tray-Net), 368-373 (Ruses de femmes), 374-383 (Proverbes). Some was put under a section entitled "L'ame khmère," (literally "the Khmer soul"). He also dedicated a specific section to a description of his visits to the ruins of Angkor.

[131] *Chŏy* means "coïter." It is a vulgar and rude word. So, *chŏy mday* (*mday* means mother) is a rude, insulting word (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 111; J. B. Bernard, *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français*, p. 66). Headley's dictionary gives as meaning of the word *chŏy*,"to have sexual intercourse, to copulate (of humans)." There also is a notice that this word is an indecent word (Robert K. Headley, Jr. et al, *Cambodian-English Dictionary*, p. 183). In my opinion, the meaning of the word *chŏy* given in the three dictionaries is too polite. The word *chŏy* should be simply translated as "fuck."

[132] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9 Roeung Ā Liav.

balladry of murder, cruelty, torture, treachery, baby-killing, and so forth."[133] Bawdy scenes in Khmer immoral tales often relate to a breaking of the third Buddhist precept, abstention from sexual misconduct, which both in immoral tale and immoral life involve adultery. In a society where polygyny was legal,[134] only women could commit adultery.[135] According to the vernacular religious text *Rieung soel pram*, a violator of the third Budhhist precept will suffer 8,000 years of hell, which is the second most severe punishment for breaking the five precepts.[136] Neang, who committed adultery, was condemned as a woman who "has a vicious mind and lives outside *prĕah sasana* (the august Religion)"[137] In some cases, such as A Lév and A K'êk, the violators were of low social status. In some bawdy scenes, though they appeared in husband-wife relationships, they behaved in an extraordinary and bizarre manner.[138]

Ordinary Morality

What is the meaning of an immoral tale that magnifies immoral life? As *Chbăp* and *Bât saut kvăn neak*, which have been recited again and again by people who usually "are of great moral standing and very anxious to observe the sacred precepts,"[139] immmoral tales have been told and retold, and heard over and over, in day-to-day life for generations. Transmission of these immoral tales is generally the same as with other Khmer folktales, which have been transmitted by both oral and written means through elders, singers, artists, and monks.[140] For example, we know that the story of A Jay Me Rot was told to children by their grandparents and parents.[141] Chor Chanthyda writes, "One of the greatest values of Khmer tales is to provide moral guidance."[142] But what moral value can be learned from an immoral tale? Such tales are told for entertainment. Perhaps they provide "negative images, roles that should not be followed or specific disastrous consequences will result."[143]

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[133] G. Legman, ""Unprintable" Folklore?: The Vance Randolph Collection," *The Journal of American Folklore* 103, 409 (July-September 1990): 265. See also G. Legman, "Introduction," in Vance Randolph, *Unprintable Ozark folksongs and folklore*, voulme 1 Folksongs and Music, Edited with introduction by G. Legman (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1992), p. 5.

[134] See *Kram Tasaphariya* in Adhemard Leclère, *Les codes cambodgiens*, tome1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), pp. 235-289.

[135] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/82 Petition of Neang Ŏch, April 19, 1881; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/170 Petition of Nay Meas, April 6, 1881; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/171 Petition of Moen Chuon, April 4, 1881; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/236 Letter of Chavvay Srŏk of Prei Vĕng to Admiral, April 15, 1880.

[136] EFEO Mss Cambodgien P53/Anisan sil pramn, p. 62.

In terms of level of punishment, the most important precept is the fifth, then the third, the second, the first (in a case of killing four-legged animal), the fourth, and the first.

[137] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/236.

[138] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9 Roeung Ā Liav.

[139] Adhémard Leclèle, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge*, p. 397.

[140] Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la littérature khmere,* volume 1, p. 96; Khing Hoc Dy, *Aperçu général sur la littérature khmère*, p. 80; Solange Thierry, *Le cambodge des contes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), pp. 67-68.

[141] Kaep Srâlŏeng, "Reuang Chăy nĭng Neang Rot [A story of Chăy and Neang Rot]," p. 36.

[142] Chor Chanthyda, *An Analysis of the Trickster Archetype as Represented by the Rabbit Character in Khmer Folktales* (M.A. Thesis, The Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2004), p. 8.

Ther four main functions of folklore are entertainment, validating culture, inculcating morals and values, and maintaining cultural stability (Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 279-298; William R. Bascom, "Four Functions of Folklore," *The Journal of American Folklore* 67, 266 (October-December 1954): 333-349. See also Robert J. Adams, "A functional approach to introductory folklore," *Folklore Forum* 1, 2 (1968): 10-12).

[143] Judy Ledgerwood, *Changing Khmer Conceptions of Gender: Women, Stories, and the Social Order* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1990), p. 69.

"Folklore must not be considered an eccentricity, an oddity or a picturesque element," Antonio Gramsci notifies, "but as something which is very serious and is to be taken seriously."[144] Deviant practices seen through immoral lives should also be taken seriously. Eccentricities and oddities in an immoral tale/life are precisely a deviation from hegemonic moral and social orders that are mainly and deeply rooted in Buddhist beliefs and traditions that have succeeded in the historical process, and an atypical element that unearths other moral and social orders. Hence, an immoral tale/life represents an essential oppositional "conception of the world and life" of subaltern people that exists in a state of tension with official conceptions of the world and life of the dominant or hegemonic classes.[145] This notion of folklore is an approach to discover how the subaltern, or "oppressed classes," see the world.[146] E. P. Thompson, influenced by Gramsci's notion of folklore, also notes that folklore represents the "culture," "way of life," and "values" of men and women that "may be antagonistic to the overarching system of domination and control."[147]

An immoral tale/life also manifests morality that differs from Buddhist-oriented morality, which, according to David P. Chandler, is"based on prescription, memorization, and teaching, largely Buddhist in orientation."[148] Such Buddhist-oriented morality was not morality for those in power, or those who could read, but for "everyone."[149] Thus, an immoral tale/life does not manifest ordinary morality, but another ordinary morality that is "rooted in the real world."[150]

Another ordinary morality is non-Buddhist in orientation. "Religion and morality are not isomorphic or commensurable," writes Michael Lembek.[151] Even in Buddhist communities, Buddhism is not the only source of moral guidance.[152] James C. Scott remarks that some moral values, such as reciprocity, altruism, hospitality, and so on, which were

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[144] Antonio Gramsci, "Observations on folklore," in *The Antonio Gramsci reader: selected writings, 1916-1935*, edited by Davis Forgacs (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 361.

[145] "Folklore should instead be studied as a 'conception of the world and life' implicit to a large extent in determinate (in time and space) strata of society and in opposition (also for the most part implicit, mechanical and objective) to 'official' conceptions of the world (or in a broader sense, the conceptions of the cultured parts of historically determinate societies) that have succeeded one another in the historical process" (Ibid., p. 360).

[146] Kate Crehan, *Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology* (London and Sterling, V.A.: Pluto Press, 2002), p. 105. See also Vladimir Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, translated by Ariadna Y. Martin, Richard P. Martin, and several others (Mineapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 5.

[147] E. P. Thompson, "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History," *Indian Historical Review* 3 (1977): 265.

[148] David P. Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest," p. 44.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Michael Lambek, "Religion and Morality," in Didier Fassin (ed.), *A Companion to Moral Anthropology* (Chichester; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 342.

[152] Fernanda Pirie, "Secular Morality, Village Law, and Buddhism in Tibetan Societies," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12, 1 (2006): 173-190.

In an anthropological study about reciprocity in contemporary Cambodia, which asserted that reciprocity "is directly influenced by Buddhist concepts" and also exists in pre-war era an informant expressed, "This time we help them, and next time, when I need help, they will not say 'no' to me." Another informant said, "Sometimes if you do not have many relatives living in the same village, if you need help or assistance only your neighbours will help you ….. The only way to keep good relations is to be frank and help the one who has helped you and not be selfish." And another stated, "I will not forget their kind support to my family. Now if they need me for anything I must help them in return" (Sedara Kim, "Reciprocity: informal patterns of social interaction in a Cambodian village," in John Marston (ed.), *Anthropology and community in Cambodia: Reflections on the Work of May Ebihara* (Caulfield: Monash University Press, 2011, pp. 159-160, 161, 162). No one said I help the others since it make me feel good and happy, or that it is a kind of merit making.

claimed to be influenced by Buddhist doctrine, were also created as social means to support peasants and their families in periods of disaster, such as times of harvest failure and famine.[153] Marcel Mauss argues that the act of gift-giving in archaic societies creates a social bond between the giver and the recipient. In that context, reciprocity and altruism are enhanced as necessarily moral norms and values.[154]

Another ordinary morality was embedded in daily life, which is "relatively tacit, grounded in agreement rather than rule, in practice rather than knowledge or belief,"[155] while the hegemonic Buddhist-oriented morality is a set of values, norms, rules, obligations, or the right thing to do. Another ordinary morality is not only forms and acts of "an attempt to survive inside the framework of what was going on,"[156] or survival and security ethic, but also practices in pursuit of pleasure in this vulgar life, or the pleasure ethic.[157] In sum, another ordinary morality is grounded in "human motivation and desire rather than detached reasoning."[158] It is the practice of hope for better living and life in this here-and-now world.[159]

Lies can be considered ethical approaches to both survival and secuity, and to pleasure. But lies undermine promise and trust, an essential basis of the social safety net[160] and social orderliness. In this respect, a lie would be irrational. Lies would not only put individuals at risk, but also drag the community to a chaotic state.[161] In Suk's and Pem's cases, however, the people being lied to were not relatives, friends, or other intimates but those in power in wartime.[162] Their lies were rational enough. Moreover, Suk and Pem were confronted with crises. Their lying was very easy to defend.[163] They lied; therefore, they lived.

Living a good life means living in harmony with the laws of nature.[164] Prince Yŭkonthor in his 1900 article "*Deux civilisations* [Two Civilizations]" criticizing and protesting against the French administration in Cambodia, states, "Order gives happiness to all. Disorder can only give unhappiness to all. Disorder no longer allows justice or love. And the law of the Buddha no longer exists."[165] Yŭkonthor had written the article in French.

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[153] James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976).

[154] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 100-101. See also Michael Lambek, "Religion and Morality," p. 344; Marcel Fournier, *Marcel Mauss: A Biography*, translated Jane Marie Todd (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 238-245.

[155] Michael Lambek, "Introduction," p. 2.

[156] David Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest," p. 44.

[157] The idea of survival and secuity ethic and pleasure ethic is taken from Darcia Narvaez, "Triune ethics: The neurobiological roots of our multiple moralities," *New Ideas in Psychology* (2007): 1-25; Richard A. Shweder, Nancy C. Much, Manamohan Mahapatra, and Lawrence Park, "The Big Three of Morality (Autonomy, Community, Divinity) and the Big Three Explanations of Suffering," in Allan M. Brandt and Paul Rozin (eds.), *Morality and Health* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 119-169. See also Shaji George Kochuthara, "*Kāma* without Dharma? Understanding the Ethic of Pleasure in *Kāmasūtra*," *Journal of Dharma* 34, 1 (January-March 2009): 69-95.

[158] Michael Lambek, "Introduction," p. 19.

[159] I have taken this idea from Ibid., p. 4.

[160] Bruce Schneier, *Liars and Outliers: Enabling the Trust That Society Needs to Thrive* (Indianapolis, IN: John Wiley & Sons, 2012).

[161] Michael Lambek, "Introduction," p. 16.

[162] On the relation between moral pressure and close range see Bruce Schneier, *Liars and Outliers*, p. 84.

[163] On lies in a crisis see Sissela Bok, *Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life* (New York: Vintage Book, 1999), pp. 108-122.

[164] Anne Ruth Hansen, *How to Behave*, p. 20.

[165] Prince Yŭkanthor, "Deux civilisations," *Le Figaro* (8 Septembre 1900), p. 1). See also Pierre L. Lamant, *L'Affaire Yukanthor: Autopsie d'un scandale colonial* (Paris: Société française d'histoire d'Outre-mer, 1989), p. 226.

Undoubtedly, he thought of *thommĕa* [Pa. dhamma, or *thorm* [S. dharma] when he wrote the term "the law of the Buddha [loi de Bouddha]." Interestingly, *thommĕa* (Dhamma) also means "justice."[166] The law of nature regulates and determines everything in the universe, viz. the movements of the stars, societal happenings, and human (from King to ordinary people and animals) fate. Moreover, *thommĕa* provides the foundation of moral and rational doing, speaking, and thinking. In other words, the hegemonic Buddhist-oriented morality. But the laws of nature are not only *sĕl* and *thommĕa*,[167] but also the ways of the ancestors, which can be seen through Khmer folktales.

Once upon a time, two neighbors went together to set traps in a forest. One of them set his trap at the base of a tree "because animals always come to eat the fruit that has fallen there." The other man said, "I also want to set my trap at this place. But now you have set yours there already, I will have to set my trap at the top of the tree." After the man who had set the trap at the top of the tree went back home, he pondered with his wife, "Since the days of our ancestors, I have never heard of anyone catching a four-footed animal by setting a trap at the top of the tree."

Early next morning, he returned to the tree and saw that his trap was empty, while the other trap had caught a hog deer. He put the deer into his trap and went quickly back home. Thus, when the two men went together to their traps, the man who had set the trap at the base of the tree got nothing and returned home unhappy, while the other got the hog deer and brought its meat to Judge Parrot. Later, the man who had set his trap at the base of the tree decided to bring a case against his companion to Judge Parrot. Judge Parrot said to them individually that whichever one of the two men were the first to bring a meal for him would win the case.

The next morning, the man who had set the trap at the top of the tree brought a meal to Judge Parrot. The man who had set the trap at the base of the tree was poor, so he could not offer~~ed~~ anything. Fearful of punishment if he lost the case, he fled from his home village to another town, where he met Judge Rabbit, who promised to help him.

Judge Rabbit went with that man to Judge Parrot. When Judge Parrot saw the man, he shouted,

> 'Why did you come so late? You have already lost the case.'
>
> Judge Rabbit said, 'We came late because we were waiting to watch a climbing perch fish fly up to eat a tamarind leaf.'
>
> Judge Parrot replied, 'Since the days of our ancestors, has anyone seen or heard that a climbing perch fish can fly up to eat a tamarind leaf?'
>
> Judge Rabbit replied, 'Since the days of our ancestors, has anyone seen or heard that a trap at the base of a tree cannot catch any animals, but a trap at the top of a tree can catch even a four–legged animal? Have you ever heard of such a thing?'

Thus, the man who had set the trap at the base of the tree won the case.[168]

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[166] Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr-français*, p. 217.

[167] *Sĕl* and *thomma* do not mean only moral practice, Buddhist ethics, Buddhist law, but nature and the laws of nature, which are other meanings of *sĕl* and *thomma* (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire khmêr-français*, p. 217; Robert K. Headley, Jr. et al., *Cambodian-English Dictionary*, p. 1146).

[168] "Reuang Sŏphea Tonsay peak niyeay [Le juge lièvre, partie contee]," in Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, pp. 39 (Fr), 150-153 (Kh); "Reuang nĕak nŏv phâtĕah chĭt khnea [Le voisinage des hommes]," *Kampuchea Suriya*

In this story, what Judge Rabbit used in countering Judge Parrot are the laws of nature: a climbing perch fish cannot fly up to eat a tamarind leaf; a trap at the top of a tree cannot catch a four-legged animal.[169] But it is more important to note that, in this case as in many others, the laws of nature were validated by the ways of the ancestors –this and that never happened "since the days of our ancestors."

In another Khmer folktale, which the entire story has never been published because it "does not conform to Buddhist morality,"[170] there was a man call Sângkom Bey Or. He had fallen in love with a married woman whose husband was away from home. He wanted her very much indeed. So, he went to her and asked,

> 'I would like to sleep with you just a little bit. Do you agree or not?'
>
> When that woman heard Sângkom Bey Or ask her to sleep with him like that, she replied, 'If you promise to sleep just a little bit, I agree.'
>
> Sângkom Bey Or heard her reply and replied, 'Aye, I will sleep just a little bit. If I sleep for a long time, please sue me.'
>
> When that woman heard Sângkom Bey Or speaks like that she brought Songkum Pei Or to sleep in her house. Sângkom Bey Or went to sleep with her and fucked her too.

When her husband came back home, she told him about what had happened to her. Then, the couple decided to sue Sângkom bey or. A judge decided in favor of the couple. Sângkom Bey Or appealed the case and got the rabbit as his lawyer. In defending his client,

> The rabbit asked the judge, 'My lord, if one arranges rice for you, will you eat it?'
>
> When the judge heard the rabbit ask that he answered, 'Why not eat it? It had already been given to me.'
>
> When the rabbit heard the judge say he would eat like that, he continued by asking, 'So, will my lord eat soup and drink water?'

8, 10–12 (1936): 149-153; *PRPK* volume 1, story 1.

[169] Chor Chanthyda in her study on the Judge Rabbit folktales concludes that the chief methods that Judge Rabbit applied in his judgments "are a play on words, humiliation, the use of "spiritual forces," and using a ruse against a ruse" (Chor Chanthyda, *An Analysis of the Trickster Archetype as Represented by the Rabbit Character in Khmer Folktales*, p. 55.

[170] Khing Hoc Dy, *Contes et legendes du pays Khmer*, p. 10.

Undoubtedly, never-published *reuang préng* remained lively in the people's memory. For example, a story of *A Chăy Mé Rot*, which was also called *A Chăy Neang Rot Neang Chaot*, or *Thménh Chéy longông*, which has never been published in Cambodia because it "does not conform to Buddhist morality" (Ibid.), was passed down by memory from generation to generation. It was passed on to Sraloeung, who retold it in the 1980s in Australia, where he lived as a refugee. It was published in Khmer and English in 1985 (Kaep Srâlõeng, "Reuang Chăy nĭng Neang Rot [A story of Chăy and Neang Rot]," in Morag Loh (ed.), *Stories and Storytellers from Indochina* (Victoria, Australia: Hodja Educational Resources Cooperative, 1985), pp. 30-37). Srâlõeng writes that that story "is very popular in the countryside of Takeo Province, where I spent the first twenty years of my life... I've heard that story so often I can't remember where I heard it first. Everyone in my province knows it; it's told by grandparents and parents at social gatherings, and on the radio" (Ibid., pp. 30, 36). Expectedly, some details were added to make the scene more understandable (Ibid., p. 34). But the existence of *A Chăy Neang Rot* through a long historical time period shows the durability of oral texts.

There also are at least two written manuscripts of the story of A Chăy Neang Rot preserved in libraries in Paris: BSA Mss Khmer B.39.5 Thménh Chéy et divers, (3) Ā Jay Neang Ruod Neang Chod) and EFEO Mss camb P91/Contes Cambodgiens no. 2, (1) A Chey Me Rot.

The judge answered that, 'After I eat rice and soup, I will drink water.'

When the rabbit heard the judge say that he replied, 'Oh! Look at my lord the judge, your Excellency will eat rice, soup, and then drink water. Why can you eat it?'

When the judge heard the rabbit speak like that he replied, 'If he has already given it to me, the only thing I can do is eat it.'

The rabbit replied, 'If one gives food to you, you can eat it, but for Sângkom Bey Or, you said he cannot eat it. So, in this case, I decide that Sângkom Bey Or should win the case against that man. What is your opinion?'

When the judge heard the rabbit decide that that man should lose the case he replied, 'I do agree, mister rabbit.'[171]

The way taken by Sângkom Bey Or is (another) way of the ancestors. In this respect, different ordinary moralities are the way of nature, which often provides a moral and rational foundation of doing, speaking, and thinking.

Different Ordinary Spaces

Transmission of these immoral tales is generally the same as with other Khmer folktales, which have been transmitted by both oral and written means through elders, singers, artists, and monks.[172] For example, we know that the story of A Jay Me Rot was told to children by their grandparents and parents.[173] Immoral tales were told on the house's floor and veranda, beside the house, in social gatherings, and so on. They usually were told at twilight and nighttime. At that place and time, David P. Chandler states, those who heard the stories, "could escape the world for an evening by following Rama into an enchanted forest, or they could overturn it, momentarily, by hearing how Thmenh Chey outwitted kings, ministers, and even the Chinese. But there was no real escape from the world outside the stories."[174] Similarly, Sombat Chantornvong in his study of various versions of Sri Thanonchai, the Thai version of the Thmenh Chey cycle, concludes that, "Though they are among the most morally offensive of folktales, their offensiveness exists essentially within the established social order and political worldview."[175] In other words, Thmenh Chey

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[171] EFEO Mss Cambodgien P91 Rŏŭngs Khmêrs no. 11, (1) Chau songkom pey o, pp. 26-44.

The rabbit used a dialogue to make the judge speak publicly himself that "to eat food" means to eat rice and soup, and to drink water. In the same manner, "to sleep" means to sleep and to have sex. The method applied by the rabbit could be called a food simile. I use the term "food simile" after the "chariot simile" of Nagasena in the Questions of King Milinda, since, to some extent, the rabbit's method was the same as Nagasena's method. On the chariot simile see *The Questions of King Milinda*, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1890), pp. 43-45.

[172] Khing Hoc Dy, *Contribution à l'histoire de la littérature khmere*, volume 1, p. 96; Khing Hoc Dy, *Aperçu général sur la littérature khmère*, p. 80; Solange Thierry, *Le cambodge des contes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), pp. 67-68

[173] Kaep Srâlŏeng, "Reuang Chăy nĭng Neang Rot [A story of Chăy and Neang Rot]," p. 36.

When I was about ten years old, I spent a summer vacation away from my hometown in another province as a part-time temple boy to serve my *Luang Ta* (my maternal grandfather [*ta*]), who was in the monkhood. One day, a *Laung Phi* (an informal term for a Buddhist monk in the same age group as one's older brother [*phi*]), who resided in a nearby *kutti* (monk's residence) asked me what is the head that can produce flowing water? "The answer is," the *Luang Phi* answered after I responded to his question with a long silence, "*hua khuay* [dick head]." What subliminal message was he sending me with that scatological bit of so-called humor?

[174] David Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest," p. 44.

[175] Sombat Chantornvong, "Sri Thanonchai: khwamkit roueng amnat panya lae khwammai tang kanmoueng [Sri Thanonchai: Thoughts on Power, Intelligence, and Political Meaning]," in *Botphichan waduai wannakam kanmoeung lae prawattisat [Critical Essays on Political and Historical Literature]* (Bangkok: Kobfai, 2549 [2006]),

exemplifies the villager who is "wise within this own village but accepts the inevitable organization of the outer world in terms of the ruler's hegemony."[176] Immoral tales, as well as Khmer folktales in general, in this sense can be seen as a "safety valve," a relatively harmless way of draining away social tensions and discontents.[177]

Immoral tales share many characteristics with trickster tales, stories of figures in the oral traditions of folktales and myths of many cultures the world over who employ their cunning to lie, deceive, or trick those more powerful than themslves.[178] In their study of trickster tales from Central Asia, Ildikó Bellér-Hann and Raushan Sharshenova note that, "Through breaking social rules and norms, the Trickster draws attention to them, which is why these tales are an excellent vehicle for reaffirming the very same rules that the Trickster challenges."[179] In other words, the world that the folktale creates is ephemeral, which is an echo of Victor Turner's notion of liminality in his early works.[180]

The idea of liminality was first introduced by Arnold Van Gennep in 1909.[181] According to Van Gennep, a rite of passage has a three-fold consequential sequence of stages: separation, transition, and incorporation. As he states, "I propose to call the rites of separation from a previous world, *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage *liminal* (*or threshold*) *rites*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world *postliminal rites*."[182] Van Gennep's notion of liminal phase was borrowed and extended by Turner. In *Liminality and Communitas* (1969), Turner defines liminal entities as "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."[183] He describes the three stages of a rite of passage as follows,

> The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a "state"), or from both. During the intervening "liminal" period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the "passenger") are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. In the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation), the passage is consummated. The ritual subject, individual or corporate, is in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis–a–vis others of a clearly defined and "structural" type; he is expected to behave in

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p. 233.

[176] E. P. Thompson, "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History," p. 265.

[177] Thomas A. Burns, "Folkloristics: A Conception of Theory," *Western Folklore* 36, 2 (April 1977): 124; Robert J. Adams, "A functional approach to introductory folklore": 10. See also Gerry Abbott and Khin Thant Han, *The Folk–Tales of Burma: An Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 12.

[178] Klaus-Peter Koepping, "Absurdity and Hidden Truth: Cunning Intelligence and Grotesque Bogy Images as Manifestation of the Trickster," *History of Religions* 24, 3 (February 1985): 191-214. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), p. 266.

[179] Ildikó Bellér-Hann and Raushan Sharshenova, "Crossing Boundaries, Breaking Rules: Continuity and Social Transformation in Trickster Tales from Central Asia," *Oral Tradition* 26, 1 (2011): 77.

[180] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[181] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2004).

[182] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, p. 21. Italics in the original.

[183] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, p. 95.

> accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of such positions.[184]

This description implies the temporary nature of liminality, or anti-structure. Thus, scholars have interpreted Turner's notion of liminality as a state of being against the rule in the rule. Liminality is not a real threat to the established structure. On the contrary, it reinforces the status quo. It is ocassionally seen as a safety valve.

Turner formulated his idea of liminality based on Van Gennep's threefold consequential sequence of rites of passage and his experience with and study of ritual society.[185] He "focused his early discussion on case studies that tended to support the common conception that ritual conserves the existing social order, assumed to be true a fortiori of religious ritual."[186] This probably is why he perceives liminality as a temporary stage,[187] which is a very functionalist interpretation.[188] Turner offers a more dynamic view of liminality in his later works, however. In *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (1974), he notes, "Recently there was a tendency among many people, especially those under thirty, to try to create a communitas and a style of life that is permanently contained with liminality…. Instead of the liminal being of a passage, it seemed to be coming to be regarded as a state."[189] And in *Flame, Flow, and Reflection* (1979), he clearly states that a carnival as a public liminality "has often been regarded as 'dangerous' by whatever powers-that–be who represent and preside over established structure. Public liminality can never be tranquilly regarded as a safety valve, mere catharsis, 'letting off steam.' "[190] Liminality could be a permanent stage, and should not be recognized as a social safety valve.[191]

Turner quotes Natalie Zemon Davis's argument about carnivals that have a liminal nature to support his argument.[192] "Rather than being a mere 'safety-valve,' deflecting attention from social reality," Davis argues, "festive life can on the one hand perpetuate certain values of the community, even guarantee its survival, and on the other hand, criticize political order." It many cases, carnivals have caused uprisings and rebellions, both partially planned and spontaneous. Moreover, Davis continues, "The structure of the carnival form can evolve so that it can act both to reinforce order and suggest alternatives to the existing order."[193] Similarly, Lewis Hyde in his study of tricksters argues, the "trickster tales serve an analogous double role; usually they bring harmless release, but occasionally they authorize

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[184] Ibid., pp. 94–95.

[185] Charles La Shure, "What is Liminality?," 18 October 2005, http://www.liminality.org/about/whatisliminality/ (accessed October 16, 2013).

[186] Bobby C. Alexander, "Correcting Misinterpretations of Turner's Theory: An African-American Pentecostal Illustration," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, 1 (March 1991): 27.

[187] Charles La Shure, "What is Liminality?"

[188] Raymond L. M. Lee, "Structure and Anti-Structure in the Culture-Bound Syndromes: The Malay Case," *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 5 (1981): 235.

[189] Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphor: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 261.

[190] Victor Turner, "Flame, flow, and reflection," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6, 4 (December 1979): 474.

[191] For a discussion of permanent liminality see also Arpad Szakolczai, *Reflexive Historical Sociology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[192] Victor Turner, "Flame, flow, and reflection": 474.

[193] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 97, 119, 123.

moments of radical change."[194] By hearing how Thmenh Chey outwitted kings, Soth Polin says, "I stole his style of being revolutionary, of indirectly criticizing the king. King Sihanouk had put to death many intellectuals. They were shot and hung up sided own."[195] Arpad Szakolczai notes that, "Tricksters and liminality are closely connected." He asserts that, "liminality will not be restricted to a temporary crisis, followed by a return to normality, but can be perpetuated endlessly."[196]

An immoral tale/life creates a liminal space, whether geographical, social, or cultural, where another ordinary morality is embedded. That liminal space is a space of deviance that manifests and suggests alternatives, possibility, and sometimes, using Davis' term, "promoted resistance,"[197] to hegemonic moral space. It is a different space than is located within the space of normality, which was "a heterogeneous space,"[198] as same as the different itself was. This space of deviance was a permanent but temporary (sometimes momentarily temporary, sometimes long temporary)[199] like a mirror that exists in reality but reflects the one who

Ordinary Travel, Ordinary Trouble[200]

Where two spaces meet, a boundary is created. Boundaries exist only in heterogeneous worlds and spaces, which are not fixed expanses but are fluid and can be erased and recreated. Crossing a boundary commonly means to move from one space to another.

In his lifetime, Suk had often crossed the Saen River, then a natural border that served as the state boundary between Siam and Cambodia. We do not know which crossing point Suk used on his way home in the early dry season of 1835. But we know that at that time at least two garrisons stood on the right bank of the river. One garrison of 100 x 120 meters was set at "Kraphong [Kẫmpóng] Krom," which was located about 10 kilometers south of Kẫmpóng Pŭtrea.[201] Another same-sized garrison was located under supervision of Phraya

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[194] Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Make This Worlds: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), pp. 188–189.

[195] Soth Polin and Sharon May, "Without Words: An Interview," *Manao* 18, 1 (Summer 2006): 113.

[196] Arpad Szakolczai, "Liminality and Experience: Structuring transitory situations and transformative events," *International Political Anthropology* 2, 1 (2009): 155.

[197] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 151.

[198] Michel Foucault, "Of other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, 1 (1986): 23.

[199] Some different spaces exist in a very long temporary time, which in some cases can be considered a permanent when judged by human time scale, i.e. Zomia, the name Scott has given to mountain realms of Southeast Asia that have historically been beyond the control of lowland states (James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*).

Comparatively, however, cases of running away from the state to the stateless Zomia are "few and far between" in occurrence in the same fashion as are peasant rebellions (James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance": 5). Being a bandit or spending one's life in a bandit's den, which is usually located outside social normality, is also not easy.

[200] The term "travel" here alludes to the Old French word *travail*, which means "trouble, suffering, torment," from Latin *tripaliāre*, "to torture."

[201] "Khamhaikan ai sao ai khong [Testimony of Sao and Khong]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak ti hok sip chet* [Collected Chronicle, Part 67], p. 84.

Kẫmpóng Krom is located in present-day Chnuon Village, Ruos Rŏan Commune, Rovieng District, Prĕah Vihear Province.

On the location of Kẫmpóng Krom see "Circonscription de Kg. Thom, Carte de Mr. Bornet revue et complete," in M. Dufossé, *Monographis de la Circonscription Residentielle de Kompong-Thom*; Circonscriptions de K[ompen]g Thom [map]. It was mentioned in *Carte du Cambodge* as "Compong Chnuom" (Carte du Cambodge [map]).

Krai (Mao) at "Kraphong [Kǎmpóng] Chai," about 70 kilometers northwest of Kǎmpóng Pŭtrea.[202]

It is not illogical to assume that Pem had crossed the canal marking the border between Cambodia and Siam to Prom Sok or Siem Reap many times,[203] to visit his relatives or do business. During the Fourteen Years War, control and surveillance of the border was tightened. So, he was arrested by a Khmer border patrol in October 1938 while travelling from Prom Sok to Chi Kraeng. Likewise, he was arrested when he crossed the border from Chi Kraeng to Prom Sok by the end of January 1839. According to his testimony, "I walked through the forest and did not use the ordinary route from Chi Khraeng (to Prom Sok). I walked and slept in the forest for six nights. At night, I arrived in Ban Run at the border post of Prom Sok."[204] In ordinary times, a 30 kilometers route from Chi Kraeng to Prom Sok could be a one-day trip.

The Saen River and the canal in Prom Sok had no meaning as a boundary to such people as Suk, Pem, and others on either side. They could cross the state boundary wherever and whenever they wanted. During wartime, however, that boundary was under increasingly harsh control and surveillance from the ad hoc garrisons, border posts, and militias that were sent to patrol the area. But the boundary was always porous. Suk crossed the Stĕung Sen to a Siamese border post of Sae Prathan, which was under the authority of Oknha Dechŏ (Meng), and he reached the district administered by Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) on March 3, 1835. Pem crossed the canal to Ban Run at the border Post of Prom Sok at the end of January 1839. The fates of Suk and Pem were probably the same. Suk was sent by his master Oknha Dechŏ (Meng) to Champasak, where the interrogation was possibly done. Pem was handed to the Siamese *kha luang* at the citadel of Siem Reap by his relative, the chief of the Prom Sok border post, Luang Phol. Pem was interrogated there. The records of Suk's and Pem's interrogations were sent to Bangkok. Their stories after that are unknown.

Suk and Pem did not only cross physical boundaries, but also moral boundaries between the space of hegemonic morality and the space of deviant moralities. Indeed, they did not just cross, but they moved back and forth frequently, the same as men and women do in other immoral tales/lives. At the moment that one breaks norms, they become detached from the space of hegemonic morality and step into the space of deviant moralities. They remain there temporarily before resuming the norms and precepts that have been broken; that means moving back to the space of hegemonic morality, which they had also formerly temporarily lived in. This process happened again and again.

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[202] "Khamhaikan ai sao ai khong [Testimony of Sao nd Khong]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak ti hok sip chet* [Collected Chronicle, Part 67], p. 84.

Kǎmpóng Chai was probably "Compong Prea Proan" mentioned in *Carte du Cambodge* (Carte du Cambodge [map]) or today's Kǎmpóng Prânak, an administration center of Prĕah Vihear Province.

[203] Two royal Siamese maps, i.e. *Khamen Nai Ni* (The Khmer Within) and Southern Isan and Khmer, show a canal next west to Prom Sak, or (*Khamen Nai Ni* (The Khmer Within) [map, scale not given], in Santanee Phasuk and Philip Scott, *Royal Siamese Maps*), pp. 114-115; and Southern Isan and Khmer [map, scale not given], in ibid., pp. 124–125.) But that canal does not appear in *Carte du Cambodge*, dated 1896 (Carte du Cambodge [map]). The southern part of the canal, called Prĕk Thnâl Dach, is in a flooded area of the Tonlĕ Sap Lake and remains flooded, while the northern part, which cuts through Saut Nĭkom District, is now dry, though the remains of an old earthern levee can be seen explicitly in aerial photo and satellite images. According to its morphology, it is a dug canal, which was probably dug during the Fourteen Year War as a strategic canal. Perhaps, it was no longer maintained as a canal after the end of the Fourteen Year War in 1847.

[204] NLT CMH R. III, C.S. 1200/94 (kho). Ban Run, literally Run Village, most probably is present day Dan Rŭn Commune of Saut Nĭkom District, Siem Reap Province

We know nothing about Suk's life beyond what we are told through his interrogation, which ~~is~~ probably did not elicit the entire truth. We never know why he became an itinerant trader, a way of life that exposed him to more risk than being a sedentary cultivator, but which also gave him a chance to make more money. How did he spend his money? We know that he had to pay his master in substitution for the corvée and other obligations. We know nothing about his relations with Leb his wife, his relatives, and his friends. However, Suk was good enough to be an ordinary good man. He lived his life as an ordinary good man. He lied as ordinary good man did.

Pem did as he was expected to do as a good son, brother, and friend. He crossed the border to search for his disappeared father. He crossed back to bring his sister and in–law to reunite with his father as he promised. He intended to return to Kã́mpóng Svay after spying in Siem Reap, probably to save Som's life. But –viewing his experience from a Buddhist perspective– it seems that *něak bŏn*, the avatar of Metteyya, never helped him. Perhaps, Metteyya had not yet moved down to earth. Perhaps he had been busy with his mission somewhere else. Or perhaps Pem was just a good man without *bŏn*. So he had to commit *bap*, in the eyes of moralists, by lying, and so on.

Traveling between spaces, both physical and mental, needs routes. "Choose the path your ancestors have trod," a Khmer proverb says.[205] In *Chbăp Srei*, women are taught to "follow the old path."[206] What Suk, Pem and many other *reas* did consisted of traveling different paths, but those paths were the paths of their ancestors.

[205] A. Pannetier, "Proverbes cambodgiens," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, XV, 3 (1915): 71. Cited in David Chandler, "Songs at the Edge of the Forest," p. 33.

[206] "Chbăp Srei [Code of Women's Conduct]," in *Chbăp Phseng Phseng* [Collection of Codes of Conduct] (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 1996), p. 22.

Chapter Two: The Dreamers

The full moon hangs over the apex of the *prasat* of Angkor Wat. It was the ninth month, the year of the Rat, the sixth year of the decade, C.S. 1226, which was August 17, 1864. A hundred and more *reas*, an "army of dreamers,"[1] marched under moonlight along the road from lively ruins of Angkor to attack a citadel of Siem Reap, the seat of power and administrative center of the city and the province of Siem Reap, then under Siamese rule. These *reas* were participants of a *nĕak mean bŏn* uprising led by a man called Nori.

Nori came to Siem Reap in the late 1862. In mid-1863, Nori fled Siem Reap together with his followers, to avoid being captured. Nori and Prak was eventually arrested in Khu Khan, the southern frontier province of northeastern Siam on September 25, 1863. Then they escaped imprisonment and came back to Siem Reap where they were captured again on May 16, 1864. They spent almost two months in jail until they were rescued by a band of armed ordinary people. Almost two months later, Nori led a hundred and more *reas* to attack the citadel of Siem Reap.

Nori's uprising is part of the long, rich, and enduring history of *nĕak mean bŏn* Cambodian tradition.[2] This kind of movement can also be found throughout Buddhist Southeast Asia. Studies on such movements usually, if not always, treat people as a collective, and focus on leaders, ideologies and causes. Needless to say, people in such movements were individuals. They had their own faces and fates. They had their own dreams.

At least almost two hundred *reas* actively joined Nori's uprising. Who were those individuals? Why did they take part in the uprising? Were they "an ignorant, an uneducated, a wild and savage people" as portrayed by Siamese authorities?[3] This chapter will study these *reas*, by focusing on particular individuals' experiences, as well as ideas and beliefs underlying Nori's uprising.

Nori (?-1864)

Nori was an outsider to Siem Reap. Moreover, he was not Khmer by blood. Although he was called Sin at birth in Cambodia, his father Keo was Thai, and his mother Thueang was Vietnamese.[4] We know nothing about two of them. Keo was probably one among Thais who came trading and searching for their fortune in Cambodia.[5] This family moved to

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[1] I borrow this term from Luis Lorenzano (Luis Lorenzano, "Zapatismo: Recomposition of Labour, Radical Democracy and Revolutionary Project," in John Holloway and Eloina Peláez (eds.), *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico* (London: Pluto Press, 1988), p. 157, cited in Ana Cecilia Dinerstein, "Hope," in Kelly Fritsch, Clare O'Connor, and AK Thompson (eds.), *Keywords of Radicals: The Contested Vocabulary of Late-Capitalist Struggle* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2016), p. 203).

[2] Khing Hoc Dy, "Neak Mean Boun: «être-de-mérites» dans la culture et la littérature du Cambodge," *Péninsule* 56 (2008 (1): 71-106.

[3] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/45 Rang tra thueng mueang nakhon ratchasima [Draft of letter to Nakhon Ratchasima]. See also King Mongkut, "Prakat waduai kanlaolue kanwa phra phutthamnay koet khuen thi mueang khamen (Pho. So. 2407) [Proclamation on rumors of the Prediction of the Buddha in Cambodia (B.E. 2407)]," in *Prachum prakat ratchakan thi si* [Collected Proclamations of the Fourth Reign] (Bangkok: The Foundation for the Promotion of Social Science and Humanities Textbooks Project and Toyota Thailand Foundation, 2548 [2005]), p. 401.

[4] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181 Khatbok mueang nakhon siamrap rueang chap achar sva ai nori ai prak dai [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap concerning success in capturing Achar Sva, Nori, and Prak].

[5] See for example in a case of Khieu and Chom (NAT R.V RL-SP/25, no. 103). Khieu left Bangkok to trade in Phnom Penh in 1872. There he met Chan, a Siamese who was Phra Phinit Aksorn, an official of the Royal Scribes Department. Khieu was asked to work in that department and granted title Luang Phinit Aksorn. Im,

Bangkok in an unknown year. Keo gave his wife and son new names as Kham and Nori respectively.[6] After the death of Keo, Kham had Nori ordained as a monk at Wat Thepthidaram in Bangkok, probably in July 1861. Nori stayed in monkhood there for two *phansa*-s.[7]

Thai was probably Nori's mother tongue, but he was also able to speak Khmer, and perhaps Vietnamese. If he did not study Pāli during his monkhood, he must have learned at least to recite Pāli chants and incantations. Most likely he learned to perform rituals, and make ritual and sacred magical objects such as a sacred cotton thread, sacred water, an amulet and a talisman.

Khieu's daughter, when was 8 years old, was brought to train as royal ballet in the royal palace. In 1880, Chom, Khieu's younger then a monk went to Phnom Penh. He met Khieu, disrobed, and married with a Khmer woman. Khieu, Chom and their families moved back to Bangkok in 1883.

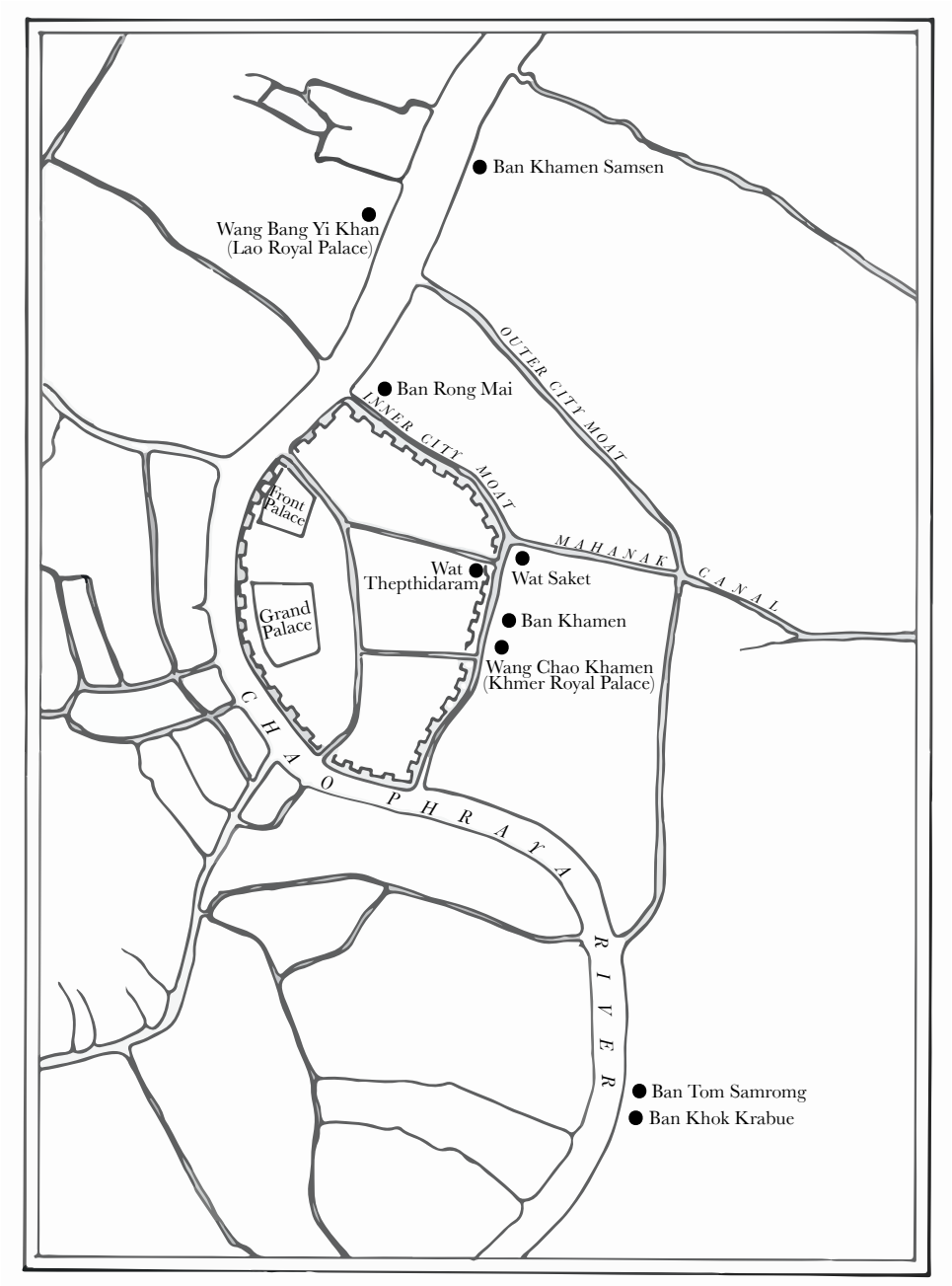
In accordance with Foures, in 1870s the Royal Scripts Department included thirty men, of whom eleven were Siamese (Foures, "Royaume du Cambodge. Organisation Politique" Cochinchina Francaise, *Excursion & Reconnaissances* No. 8 (1880), p.191, cited in David P. Chandler, "The Duties of the Corps of Royal Scribes: An Undated Khmer Manuscript from the Colonial Era," in *Facing the Cambodian Past: Selected Essays 1971-1994* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998), p.159, fn1). Khieu and Chom were two among those eleven Siamese scribes.

[6] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

[7] Ibid.; King Mongkut, "Prakat waduai kanlaolue kanwa phra phutthamnay koed khuen thi mueang khamen (Pho. So. 2407) [Proclamation on rumors of the Prediction of the Buddha in Cambodia (B.E. 2407)]," in *Prachum prakat ratchakan thi si* [Collected Proclamations of the Fourth Reign], p. 401

Phansa (Khmer: *vossa*), from Sanskrit *varṣa*, is a three lunar month long annual retreat observed by Theravada monks. It begins on the first day of the waning moon of the eighth lunar month that usually falls in July. In a year that has adhikamāsa, the extra lunar month that will be added after the (first) eighth month, the *phansa* will begins on the first day of the waning moon of the adhikamāsa, which is the second eighth lunar month (On the Thai and Cambodian calendrical system see J.C. Eade, *The Calendrical Systems of Mainland South-East Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995). *Phansa* ends on the fifteenth day of the waxing moon of the eleventh lunar month, usually in October. During *phansa*, monks remain in one place, typically a monastery.

There are not any documents that show when Nori entered the monkhood. However, we know that Nori stayed in the monkhood for two *phansa*-s before journeying to Cambodia (King Mongkut, "Prakat waduai kanlaolue kanwa phra phutthamnay koed khuen thi mueang khamen (Pho. So. 2407) [Proclamation on rumors of the Prediction of the Buddha in Cambodia (B.E. 2407)]," in *Prachum prakat ratchakan thi si* [Collected Proclamations of the Fourth Reign], p. 401). And we also know that before the beginning of the *vassa* of 1863, which is July 31, Nori was already in Siem Reap. The first mentioned date of Nori is the eighth lunar month, in the year of the Pig, which is from June 16 to July 15, 1863 (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181). It means Nori stayed at Wat Thepthidaram in the *phansa*-s of 1861 (July 23 to October 19) and 1862 (July 12 to October 8). Traditionally, the ordination ceremony would usually be held shortly before the beginning of *phansa* of each year. Thus, Nori perhaps entered the monkhood in July 1861.



Map 2.1: Mid-Nineteenth Century Bangkok and its Khmer Communities

Across from Wat Thepthidaram, outside the city wall and moat, was Ban Khamen (the Khmer quarter), a major Khmer community in Bangkok.[8] Located just south of, and next

[8] Another major Khmer community in the early Bangkok was Ban Khamen Sam Sen (Khmer Quarter of Sam Sen) in the south of the city. It was the community of Christian Khmers who were forced to move to Bangkok (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi nueng* [Royal chronicle of the first reign of the Bangkok period]) (Phra Nakhon: Bamrung Nukunkit, 120 [1901]), p. 31.

On Khmer communities in Bangkok see also M.R. Naengnoi Saksri, et. al., *Ong prakob thang kaiyaphap krung rattanakosin* [Physical Characteristics, Bangkok] (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 2534 [1991]), pp. 86,

to, Ban Khamen was Wang Chao Khamen (the Khmer Royal Palace), which was built as a residence of King Eng of Cambodia (born 1774, reign 1779-1797) in 1786.[9] Staying at Wat Thepthidaram might give Nori more chance to engage with the Khmers in Bangkok.[10]

Nori might have had a chance to converse and exchange news, rumors, and ideas with Khmer inhabitants there. He certainly heard about serious and significant incidents that exploded in Cambodia in the early 1860s: the killing of Phathai Ta Phrom and the fleeing from Cambodia of Norodom, then the *Ŏbarach* and and a heir presumptive.

The killing of Phathai Ta Phrom (Kh. Bânteay Ta Prohm or Ta Prohm Temple) happened on April 28, 1860 at the temple, from which the Siamese King had previously

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89, 91, 93, 96–97; (Edward van Roy, *Siamese Melting Pot: Ethnic Minorities in the Making of Bangkok* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books and ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2017), pp. 200–206). However, Edward van Roy does not mention about Ban Khamen San Sen.

[9] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi nueng* [Royal chronicle of the first reign of the Bangkok period]), p. 104; NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 128. King Eng resided there until he was enthroned in Ŭdŏng again in 1794 with support of the Siamese monarch.

King Eng fled from political strife to exile in Bangkok at around the end of 1782. The Siamese Royal Court set up a royal residence for him, his two paternal aunts, and his entrourage in an area called "Khok Krabue (the Buffalo Stable)." They were moved to a new royal residence, later called Wang Chao Khamen (the Khmer Royal Palace) in 1786 (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi nueng* [Royal chronicle of the first reign of the Bangkok period], pp. 30, 124). Scholars always point out that "Khok Krabue" was close to the present-day Wat Yannawa (Yannawa Temple), which used to be called Wat Khok Khwai and later Wat Khok Krabue.

Krabue is a formal word for *khwai* that means "buffalo." Interestingly, Thai word *krabue* derived from Khmer word *krâbey*, and Khmer word *khvai* derived from Thai word *khwai*. "Khok Krabue"was called in Khmer Royal chronicle "Phoum Khâk Khvai," which means "the village of the Buffalo Stable" (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], p. 123).

According to Thai accounts, in 1782 Nguyễn Phúc Ánh, called in Thai document Ong Chiang Sue (later Gia Long, the first emperor of the Nguyễn dynasty of Vietnam) came to refuge in Bangkok. The Siamese Royal Court allowed Nguyễn Phúc Ánh to settle at the "south of Ban Ton Samrong" (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi nueng* [Royal chronicle of the first reign of the Bangkok period], pp. 32-33), which called in another document "Ton Samrong Khok Khwai" ("Phongsawadan yuan [A Chronicle of Vietnam]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi yi sip paet* [Collected Chronicle, Part 28] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2466 [1923]), p. 11). As same as Khok Krabue area, Khok Khwai area also located along and on the east bank of Chao Phraya River. Khok Khwai area was about 1.5 kilometers north of Khok Krabue area.

However, Edward van Roy proposes that when King Eng (whom he calls Prince Eng) came to Bangkok in 1782, the King, his mother (Dowager-Queen Mean), and three sisters, "received sanctuary in Bangkok' Front Palace under the viceroy's patronage, with their entourages being consigned to a settlement site named Ban Rong Mai... located in the noble quarter directly across the Inner City Moat." In 1783, King Eng moved to a new royal residence... at "Sanam Krabue (the Buffalo Meadows) alongside Ban Rong Mai." Then, in 1786, King Eng moved to "a more elaborate palace, later known as Wang Chao Khamen (the Khmer Royal Palace)" (Edward van Roy, *Siamese Melting Pot: Ethnic Minorities in the Making of Bangkok*, pp. 202-203). But, according to Thai Royal Chronicle, King Eng came with his two paternal aunts and three half-blood sisters. His two half-blood sisters, namely Princesses E and Phao, became consort of the Viceroy (Princess Men, another Eng's half-blood sister died soon after arrival in Bangkok). King Eng himself was under the King's patronage (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi nueng* [Royal chronicle of the first reign of the Bangkok period], pp. 30-31, 180). Thus, it is less possible that King Eng's residence were close to the Front Palace (the Palace of the Viceroy) than the Grand Palace (the Palace of the King).

[10] In 1850s, the Khmer population in Bangkok was 10,000 or approximately 2.5 percents of Bangkok's total population (Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, tome I (Paris: Au profit de la mission de Siam, 1854), pp. 60-61).

ordered the dismantling and removing two stone *prasat*-s to Siam.[11] On that day, while a worship ceremony to the guardian spirits of the temple was being conducted behind the enclosure wall of Bânteay Ta Phrom, around 300 men immediately stormed into the ceremony area. The invaders killed the project supervisor Phra Suphanphisan, his son, and another official, and also took with them Phra Suphanphisan's wife and insignias.[12] From November 1860 to January 1861, 42 culprits, both élites and ordinary people, were arrested and sent to Bangkok. Seven of them faced a life sentence.[13] Eventually, the King's project was revoked.[14]

In July 1861, Norodom the *Ŏbarach* and the heir presumptive left the capital city Ŭdŏng as he fled from a rebellion.[15] It would be unsurprising if news and rumors about this incident became known among the Khmers in Bangkok before the arrival of Norodom on January 24, 1862.[16] The appearance of the *Ŏbarach* and the heir presumptive in Bangkok only confirmed what had been heard. Norodom went back to Cambodia with Siamese troops in February 1862. The rebellion was ended by May. However, the Cambodian throne was still vacant following the death of King Duong on October 19, 1860.[17] Norodom was not coronated until 1864.

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[11] The Siamese King Mongkut's project to dismantle and remove Khmer stone temples to Siam was initiated first in 1859. In October of that years, Siamese officials ordered the governors of Bătdâmbâng, Siem Reap, and Phnŭm Srŏk to conscript corvée laborers, as well as oxcarts and buffaloes, to a King's project to "unearth stone columns, plaques and, animal images" in Phutthaisaman, the Thai name for Bânteay Chhmar, and send it to Bangkok to "decorate Wat Phra Sri Rattana Satsadaram (the Emerald Buddha temple) for the sake of making merit." The project supervisor was Phra Suphanphisan, a supervisor of *suai thong* (tax-in-gold) of Bătdâmbâng (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1221/80 Santra [Official letter]).

In early 1860, the project in Phutthaisaman was replaced by another big one, dismantling two stone temples in Bânteay Ta Prohm to remove to Siam. Two thousand corvée laborers were conscripted from Bătdâmbâng, Siem Reap, and Phnom Sok, into the duty. They were put under the command, again, of Phra Suphanphisan. This project aimed to reconstruct the two stone temples in temples of the King Mongkut's palaces in order to "constitute a great glory" of the King (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period] (Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing, 2548 [2005]), p. 148; Chaophraya Khathathorn Thoranin, *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi sip hok phongsawadan mueang phratabong* [Collected Chronicle, volume 16, Chronicle of Bătdâmbâng] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2462 [1919]), p. 16).

[12] The killing of Phathai Ta Phrom probably originated in a conflict between Phra Suphanphisan and the governor of Bătdâmbâng. See NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/258 Khatbok meuang siamrap khamhaikan rueang phra suphanphisan thuk kha tai [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap, Testimony concerning the Assassination of Phra Suphanphisan]). What interests me, however, is why the two hundreds corvée laborers decided to join with the offenders even though they could have escaped from the scene? Perhaps, they feared the spirits that protect the temple. Or perhaps they wanted to free themselves from forced and unpaid labor that detached them from feeding themselves and their families.

[13] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/266 Rang tra chaophrya chakri [Draft of Chaophraya Chakri's Letter].

[14] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 150.

[15] Ibid., pp. 160-161.

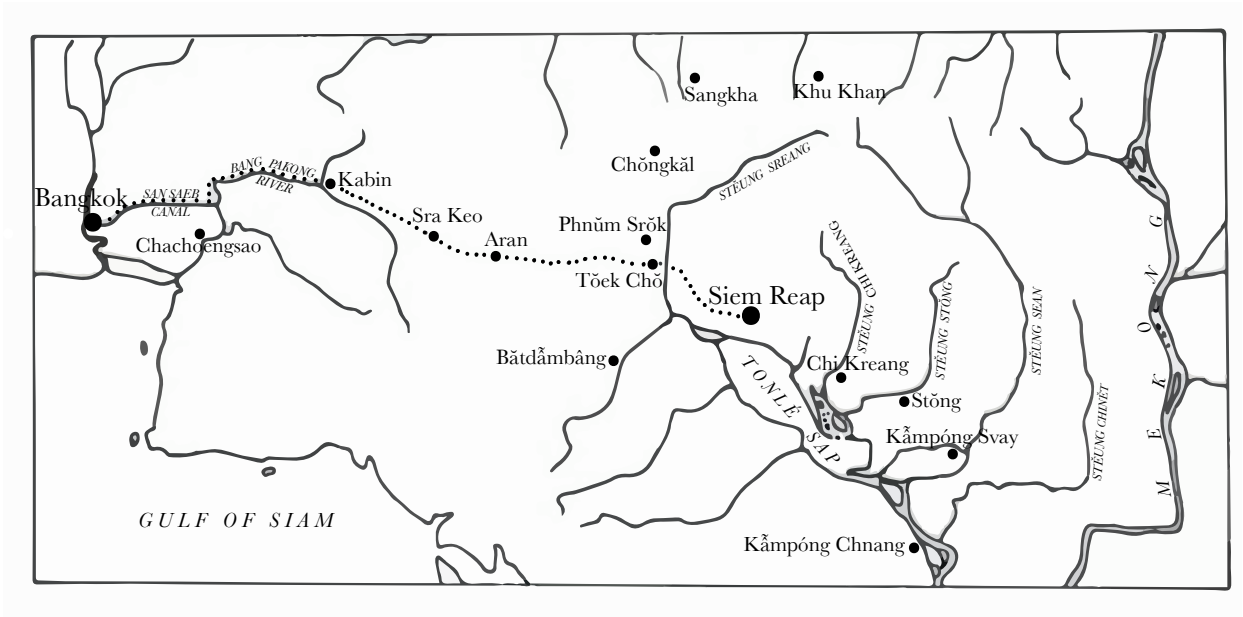
[16] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/63 Rang santra [Draft of Official Letter]; Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 166.

[17] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 236; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75 Khat roi kwam (wa duai kho ratchakan nai krung kamphucha samai mue ong somdet phra harirak prachuan thueng kae piralai) [Copy of various letters [Situations in Cambodia after the death of King Harirak (Ang Duong)], (3) Dispatch from Bătdâmbâng to Bangkok; "Nangsue somdet chaufa thalaha thueng phraya khathathorn thoranin phuchuay ratchakan mueang phratabong [Letter of Sâmdech Chavfea Tăhlăhhăh to Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the deputy (governor) of Bătdâmbâng]" in *Thai sathapana kasat khamen* [Thai

Soon after the end of the *phansa* of 1862, which fell on October 8, Nori left Bangkok for Siem Reap to "worship at Phra Nakhon Wat."[18]

A Journey to Angkor Wat

It is not clear as to which route Nori took to Siem Reap. But the starting point of the shortest route to Siem Reap was less than a half-kilometer from Wat Thepthidaram. One could take a journey through canals and rivers to Kabin in eastern Siam.[19] From there to Siem Reap there was a land route.



Map 2.2: A Supposed Route of Nori's Pilgrimage to Angkor Wat from Bangkok in 1862.

Traveling time on this route varied from about two to three weeks or more.[20] Even for the local people, the journey from Bangkok to Angkor Wat was not easy, safe, and charming

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Crowned Khmer Kings] (Bangkok: The Office of the Prime Minister, 2505 [1962]), p. 57). See also Pierre Lamant, "La date de la mort du roi khmer Ang Duong," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 64 (1977): 217-223.

[18] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1226/181.

[19] In 1840, a new dug canal, which was an extension of an existing canal that began close to Wat Thepthidaram, was opened (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam* [Royal chronicle of the third reign of the Bangkok period], volume 1 (Bangkok: Kurusapha, 2504 [1961]), p. 187). It was intended to use as a logistics path for Siamese troops to Cambodia in the Fourteen Years War (1833-1847). American missionaries who sailed their boat along the new waterway to Kabin at the end of 1840 states that they passed "some nine hundred or a thousand-war boat under sheds, each of them fitted for perhaps forty or fifty oars" (B. J. Terwiel, *Through Travellers' Eyes: An Approach to Early Nineteenth-Century Thai History* (Bangkok: Duang Kamol, 1989), p. 156). Later, it was used as a trade and travel route. That canal ran eastward to connect an ancient water route that ended at Paknam Kabin (a mouth of Kabin River).

[20] In 1863, a German ethnologist Adolf Bastian spent about three weeks, not including the time waiting for oxcarts in Kabin, en route to Siem Reap (Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, translated by Walter E.J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2005), pp. 1-54). An official in 1864 who traveled for official business usually spent a little more than two weeks on that route, as seen for example in a letter from the *kha luang* (commissioner) and the Governor of Siem Reap dated August 23, 1864 that had reached Bangkok on September

as romanticized by Anna Leonowens, an English governess in the royal court of King Mongkut, who had never set foot on the way she accounted in her book.[21] Thus, worshiping Angkor Wat must have been meaningful to Nori.

Angkor Wat was a Vishnavite temple built in the twelfth century CE. Later on, it was turned into a *vât*, a Theravāda Buddhist complex. Apparently, Angkor Wat was reutilized as *vât* after the fall of Angkor in 1431 when Theravāda Buddhism grew tremendously in Cambodia.[22] Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor (hereafter IMA) number 4 recounted a construction of a "braḥ vihāra spāt (vihāra which is an abode)," that consisted of a vihāra (the main building of the temple complex) and residences for Buddhist monks, by a mid-ranking nobleman and his wife. It was commenced in 1555 and completed in 1566. After that, the erection of sīmā-s (sacred boundary markers) and complementary works, such as building Buddhā images, copying canonical texts, and offering some slaves to the monastery, were conducted.[23] It coincided with a project of King Chan (reign ?-1566), which lasted from 1546 to 1564, to complete the "not yet completed" Angkor Wat[24] to "honor sacred beings and accumulate spirit power."[25]

For centuries, royals and noblemen journeyed to Angkor Wat for merit making projects, but apart from IMA 4 there was no record of the construction of any other *vât*. However, a plan of Angkor Wat made by Japanese pilgrims who visited there between 1623 and 1636 located four monasteries/temples at each of the four corners of the second enclosure

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9 of the same year (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/282 Baibok mueang nakhon siamrap rueang chap ai nori kap phuak dai [Dispatch from Siem Reap concerning capturing Nori and his partisans]). The Khmer Prince Votha in 1876 reached Siem Reap from Bangkok in about two weeks (See chapter 3).

[21] Alfred Habegger, *Masked: The Life of Anna Leonowens, Schoolmistress at the Court of Siam* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), pp. 325-329.

[22] Ashley Thompson, "Buddhism in Cambodia: Rapture and Continuity," in Stephen C. Berkwitz (ed.), *Buddhism in World Cultures: Comparative Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2006), p. 131. See also Alain Forest, *Histoire religieuse du Cambodge: Une royaume d'enchantement* (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2012), pp. 111-133.

Ang Eng fragment, an oldest Cambodian chronicle from late eighteenth century, noted the establishment of a vihāra and two temples in Mueang Pisnulok, or the city of Pisnulok, which is another name of Angkor Wat, in the late thirteenth century ("Phongsawadan mueang lawaek [A Chronicle of Lovĕk]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi si* [Collected Chronicles, Part IV] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2458 [1915]), pp. 24-25. However, Michael Vickery convincingly points out that those stories are not true, but borrowed from account of later times (Michael Vickery, *Cambodia After Angkor, the Chronicular Evidence for the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1977), p. 192).

[23] Bidūr Krassem, *Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor* (Paris: Cedoreck, 1984), pp. 13-17, 145-149; Saveros Lewitz, "IV. Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 4, 5, 6 et 7," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 58 (1971): 105-123.

Saveros Lewitz makes a footnote that vihāra-spāt is Sanskrit words vihâra-âspada (Ibid.,: 108). Āspada means place, site, seat, office; rank, station; dignity, authority; business, affair. It often used in compound words (Monier Monier-Willaims, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872), p. 136. See also Ashley Thompson, "The Ancestral Cult in Transition: Reflection on Spatial Organization in Cambodia's Early Theravāda Complex," in Marijke Klokke and Thomas de Bruijn (eds.), *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1996: Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Leiden, 2-6 September 1996* (Hull, Leiden: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, 1998), p. 275).

[24] King Chan's project was mainly to complete the unfinished two bas-reliefs in Angkor Wat (George Cœdès, "La date d'exécution des deux bas-reliefs tardifs d'angkor Vat," *Journal Asiatique* CCL, 2 (1962): 235-244; Jean Boisselier, "Note sur les bas-reliefs tardifs d'angkor Vat," *Journal Asiatique* CCL, 2 (1962): 244-248.

See also on the not yet completed project and the reuse of Angkor Wat in Jinah Kim, "Unfinished Business: Buddhist Reuse of Angkor Wat and Its Historical and Political Significance," *Artibus Asiae* LXX, 1 (2010): 77-122.

[25] Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), p. 25.

of Angkor Wat.[26] Perhaps, one of them was the *vât* built by the mid-ranking nobleman and his wife as mentioned above. In 1632, Angkor Wat, which was called as "biṣṇuloka" and "mahā nagara, "[27] was mentioned in IMA 17 as "braḥ nagaravāt,"[28] literally "the temple city" or "the city of temple(s)." However, the first use of the name "nagaravāt" began prior to 1632.[29]

Angkor Wat was also called "brah jetabal" or "jet bray" by Phra Ratchamuni, a bhikkhu from Ayutthaya who travelled to Angkor Wat to make merit in the second half of the sixteenth century.[30] These words are corrupted words of Jētavana Vihāra, a monastery built for the Buddhā in the Buddhā's time. The Japanese pilgrims who journeyed to Angkor Wat in the early first half of the seventeenth century also called Angkor Wat as Jētavana Vihāra.[31]

In the nineteenth century, Angkor Wat remained a lively worship and pilgrimage site. French explorer Louis Delaporte in his visit to the temple in 1866 noted that, "the pilgrims did not stop streaming to it."[32] But Niam, a Siamese monk, designated by Siamese authorities as a *phu wiset*, literally a "holy man," who took pilgrimaged to sacred places in Siam, Cambodia, and Laos from 1843 to 1860, never visited Angkor.[33] In April 1860, the Siamese monk Phrakru Sitthi Thephabodi visited Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom although his visit was unplanned.[34] In sum, Angkor Wat was not a popular sacred destination for pilgrims from nineteenth-century Siam and was not in Siam's sacred geography.

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[26] Those four monasteries/temples are number 14, 15, 58, and 59 in Plate V. Légende du plan japonais d'Angkor (Noël Péri, "Appendices III. Un plan japonais d'Angkor Vat," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 23 (1923): 119-126; the plan is in between pages 126 and 127).

[27] IMA 2, IMA 3, IMA 6, IMA 8, MA 12 in Bidūr Krassem, *Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 17, 18, 23, 32.

[28] IMA 17 in Bidūr Krassem, *Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor*, p. 43, and Saveros Lewitz, "VIII. Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 et 25," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 60 (1973): 164, 167.

[29] The name nagaravāt was probably first used in *Lpoek Angkor Vat*, dated 1620 (Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers, publiés avec une traduction sommaire* (Saigon, 1878), p. 297. For dating see Saveros Pou, "Note sur la date du poeme d'Angkor Vat," *Journal Asiatique* 263 (1975): 119-124). However, *Lpoek Angkor Vat* was copied over time by several hands. The name nagaravāt was probably added later.

[30] Michael Vickery, "L'inscription K 1006 du Phnom Kulên," *Bulletin de l'École français d'Extrême-Orient* 71 (1982): 77-86).

[31] Ashley Thompson, "Pilgrims to Angkor: a Buddhist "Cosmopolis" in Southeast Asia?," *Bulletin of the Students of the Department of Archaeology* 3 (July 2004): 114; Noël Péri, "Appendices III. Un plan japonais d'Angkor Vat": 119-126; Claude Jacques, "Les derniers siècles d'Angkor," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles–Lettres* 143, 1 (1999): 388).

Ashley Thompson has argued that it does not a geographical misunderstanding. Rather, this phenomenon is a "transposition of sacred geography to the here and now" (Ashley Thompson, "Pilgrims to Angkor: a Buddhist "Cosmopolis" in Southeast Asia?," p. 116). It is not an anomaly in Theravada states of Southeast Asia. As told in Cambodia in the mid nineteenth century, for instance, "Phra Phuttha had been born in Cambodia near countries inhabited by Kha and then move to Siam, where he died in Kusinarai" (Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China* (1864), pp. 47; original version in German see Adolf Bastian, *Reisen in Siam im jahre 1863* (Jena: H. Costenoble, 1867), pp. 66-67), a corrupted word for Kusinara, or Kushinagar, where the Buddhā died, which is believed in the mid of nineteenth century by Siamese that it is located in Siam (Adolf Bastian, *Reisen in Siam im jahre 1863*, p. 150. This passage is omitted from English translated version).

[32] Louis Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: l'architecture khmer* (Paris: Libraire Ch. Delagrave, 1880), p. 230). Deleporte went to Angkor Wat in 1866, during the Mekong Expedition of 1866-1868.

[33] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/235 Khamhaikan nai niam phu wiset [Testimony of Niam, the holy man].

[34] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/173 Khamhaikan khong phrakru thepsitthi thephabodi reuang ratchakan thang mueang khamen [Testimony of Phrakru Thepsitthi Thephabodi concerning situations in Cambodia]. Phrakru Sitthi Thephabodi's journey to Angkor has happened on his land route trip back to Bangkok after spent more than three months in Oudong.

Also in the nineteenth century, the identification of Angkor Wat with Jētavana vihāra seems to be declined. Angkor Wat was perceived instead as a place that enshrined sacred manuscripts from Ceylon.[35] In other words, the meaning of Angkor Wat was shifted from universal history (history of the religion) to local history (history of the religion in Cambodia). Choosing Angkor Wat as a pilgrimage destination was part of the way Nori defined himself. His Identity was fluid and changed from time to time. At that time, he identified himself neither as Thai nor as Vietnamese, but as Khmer.

A Place of, and a Path to be, *Nĕak Nean Bŏn*

Nori probably journeyed to Angkor Wat was by foot, which was one of the usual practices of the ascetic wandering monk (Kh. *lŏk thŭdŏng*; Th. *phra thudong*).[36] *Thŭdŏng*, from Pāli dhutaṅga, which refers to thirteen ascetic practices mentioned in the Buddha's discourses, is a spiritual practice through meditation and self-discipline. It is part of a long tradition of asceticism in Buddhist Southeast Asia. In Cambodia in particular, the Queen Mother Mahākalyānavattī Srīsujātā vowed at the end of IMA 2, dated 1587 A.D., that "I give myself to the practice of thirteen dhutaṅga, exercise of bhāvanā (meditation) on the forty subjects (leading) to the state of arahant, and the catupatisambhidā (the fourfold analytical knowledge); May I enter nirvāna along the Lord Sīāryametrī!"[37] Dhutaṅga could also contribute to iddhi (power) or even abhiññā (higher powers).[38] Craig J. Reynolds notes that "Buddhist asceticism is pursued not so much in the direction of morality and ethics as toward self-knowledge, an aim congruent with the themes of potentiality and perfectibility."[39] Thus, dhutaṅga is normally practiced to pursue arahatship and nibbāna as well as spiritual and magical power.

Nori probably came to Angkor Wat as a *lŏk thŭdŏng*, which, in Cambodia, was "sometimes regarded by the villagers as a quasi-supernatural being." *Lŏk thŭdŏng* possessed

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[35] Stories belong to this legend could be categorized into two major groups. First group told that Angkor Wat was build by *tévĕata*, specifically Pisnukar (C.-E. Bouillevaux, *Voyage dans l'Indo-Chine, 1848-1856* (Paris: Librarie de Victor Palmé, 1858), p. 244; Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864*), pp. 47, 59; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 10, Damnor Prea Putkhosa). The story about Pisnukar built Angkor Wat was told since at least the end of thirteenth century. People of Angkor in the late thirteenth century told to Chinese traveler Zhou Daguan that, Angkor Wat was a "La tombe de Lou Pan (Lu Pan's tomb)." (Tcheou Ta-Kouan, *Mémoires sur les Coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-Kouan*, translated by Paul Pelliot (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1954), p. 11; See English translation version of Pelliot's *Mémoires* in Chou Ta-Kuan, *The Customs of Cambodia*, translated by J. Gilman d'Arcy Paul (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1992) p. 2). It was renarrated in *Lpoek Angkor Vat* (Étienne Aymonier, *Textes Khmers*, pp. 267-297).

Second group told that Angkor Wat was build by King Pathum Surivong (Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, tome I, pp. 31-32; *Rueang phrachao pathumsurivong sang phra nakhon wat nakhon thom* [King Pathum Surivong built the Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2474 [1931]), pp. 3, 8; John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, volume 2 (London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand, 1857), p. 24.

[36] In Northeastern and Northern Siam, *phra thudong* usually leave their *wat* and stay in forests to meditate during the cool season, which begins after the end of *vassa*. They will stop at sacred places while en route to and from meditation (Kamala Tiyavanich, *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in Twentieth-Century Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), p. 37; James B. Pruess, "Merit-seeking in public: Buddhist pilgrimage in northeastern Thailand," *The Journal of the Siam Society* 64 (1971): 196).

[37] Bidūr Krassem, *Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor*, p. 4; Saveros Lewitz, "VI. Texts en khmer moyen. Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 57 (1970): 103, 106.

[38] Patrick Ludwig, "Millennialism, Charisma and Utopia: Revolutionary Potentialities in Pre-modern Lao and Thai Theravāda Buddhism," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 15, 2 (2014): 319.

[39] Craig J. Reynolds, "Power," in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 225.

"formidable power to work miracles."[40] In Siam/Thailand, *phra thudong* often handed out amulets, an objectification and transmission of charisma,[41] and sprinkled *nam mon* (sacred water) to people who came to see them. Even ex-monks who were traveling also practiced them.[42] During his movements, Nori usuall handed over a sacred cotton garland and sprinkled sacred water to people to protect them from epidemic diseases and to make them live well and healthy.[43] The performance of rituals could make the ordinary people believe that Nori possessed magical knowledge and higher and supernatural powers as same as *lŏk thŭdŏng*, and consider Nori as *nĕak sĕl*, or *phu wiset* in Thai, that literally a "holy man."

Sĕl in the words *nĕak sĕl* derives from Sanskrit *śilpa*. A *nĕak sĕl* called Ley learned *sĕl /silp/* from a "golden *tâmra* (treatise)." *Sĕl /silp/* means sciences that allow people who learn them to have superior knowledge and power.[44] Then Ley tattooed *kâng câk* (sharp-edged spinning wheel, a symbol of a chakravartin or a wheel-turning monarch) on his hands and feet with cinnabar, a bright red dye made from mercuric sulfide, and proclaimed himself King Prĕahbat Ley Kâng Câk in 1601.[45]

In 1802, Sĕl Chai, the leader of an uprising was beheaded. Although his title *sĕl* was spelled *seyl*, he was not *nĕak sĕl /qanak sīl/* that means a "virtuous person," but *nĕak sĕl /qanak silp/* that means a "holy man."[46] Interestingly, a royal chronicle accounted that Sĕl Chai claimed to be *nĕak bŏn*,[47] literally a "man of merit." In Aymonier's *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, the word *nĕak sĕl /qanak sil/*, which was a derivative of the word *sĕl* (*sīl*), means "homme vertueux, homme de mérite, puissant."[48] However, the second meaning, "homme de mérite," is a meaning of the word *nĕak sĕl /qanak silp/*. Later, the word *nĕak sĕl /qanak silp/* appeared as a derivative of the world *sĕl /silp/* in the well known Choun Nath Khmer-Khmer dictionary

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[40] Ang Chouléan, "A Place of Animism within Popular Buddhism in Cambodia: The Example of the Monastery," *Asian Folklore Studies* 47 (1988): 39n5.

See more on ascetic wandering monk in Cambodian tradition in Ang Chouléan, *Les êtres surnaturels dans la religion populaire khmère* (Paris: Cedoreck, 1986), pp. 190-191; Alain Forest, "Buddhism and Reform: Imposed reforms and popular aspirations. Some historical notes to aid reflection," translated by David Chandler, in Alexandra Kent and David Chandler (eds.), *People of Virtue: Reconfiguring Religion, Power, and Moral* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), pp. 16-34; Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: history and practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 58-64.

[41] Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *The Buddhist saints of the forest and the cult of amulets: a study in charisma, hagiography, sectarianism, and millennial Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 195-273.

[42] NLT CMH R. III C.S. 1202/1 Khamhaikan nai kon [Testimony of Kon].

See more on ascetic wandering monk in Thai tradition in Kamala Tiyavanich, *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in Twentieth-Century Thailand*; Stanley J. Tambiah, *The Buddhist saints of the forest and the cult of amulets*.

[43] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200 Khamhaikan lem sam rueang ai nori phu wiset haek khuk [Testimonies, volume 3, concerning Nori the holy man had broken a jail].

[44] A meaning of Sanskrit word *śilpa* is "the art of variegating, variegated or diversified appearance, decoration, ornament, artistic work" (Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1073). Nineteenth-century dictionaries prepared by the French scholar-administrators did not collect the word *sel* in their wordlists. In Thai-Latin-French-English dictionary published in 1854, there is not a word *silpa*, but instead *silapasat* that means "various science, several arts" (Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, *Dictionarium Linguæ Thai, sive Siamensis, interpretatione Latina, Gallica et Anglica* (Parisiis: Jussu Imperatoris Impressum, 1854), p. 737.

[45] Eng Sŏt, *Êkâsar mohabŏros khmae, pheak buon* [Document about Cambodian Heroes, part 4], (n.p., 2000), pp. 13-14.

[46] Before a standardization of language through a writing system, which started in the 1920s, the words *nĕak sĕl* are usually spelled *qanak sīl* and *qanak sil*, not *qanak silp*, which sometimes caused a misunderstanding for many modern readers.

[47] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 147.

[48] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français* (Saigon, 1878), p. 387.

which states that the word *nĕak sĕl /qanak silp/* refer to one "who rebels against the country and claims to be a knowledgeable and powerful person, or *nĕak bŏn /qanak puny/*. He will induce fool and ignorant people to follow him and makes them an army (such as for Achar Sva, Po Kombo, for example)."[49] Hence, the word *nĕak sĕl* shared some meanings with the word *nĕak bŏn/nĕak mean bŏn*, and both words were interchangeable.

Nori never claimed to be *nĕak sĕl*, but only *khon mi bun*, a Thai word equivalent to the Khmer words *nĕak mean bŏn*, literally "one who has *bŏn* (merit)" and "homme puissant."[50] It means he was a man of merit/power. But Nori was born as an ordinary man, which indicated that he had less merit/power. However, it was possible that a huge quantity of merit/power would exist in a latent form. It means that *nĕak mean bŏn* could be born as an ordinary man and lived a miserable life. The *nĕak bŏn* in *Kpuon buddaṃnāy; kpoun Ind daṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* was born as an orphan ordinary man.[51] One of the legendary Khmer Kings was born disabled, and orphaned of his mother at birth.[52] In a story of Cav Kângkaep krâ năh, *Cav Kângkaep*, "a frog," was not just an ordinary frog, but also a Bodhisatta,[53] a Buddha-to-be who accumulated *bŏn* through past and present lives going round in the cycle of rebirth. When the time comes, or, in other words, when the latent *bŏn* is awakened, *tévĕata*, normally Indrā, the king of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven and the protector of the sāsanā (the teaching of the Buddha), will descend to the human realm to help those who have merit, as narrated in *Kŏma bong p'aun tĕak mŏan*, the story of the two suffering young brothers:

> At that time, the seat of *Prĕah Ĕn* [Indrā] is so heaten up that it discomforts him. So, *Prĕah Ĕn* thinks that some misfortune must have been happening on earth. Then, he opens his celestial eye to investigate. He finds out that the two young brothers are greatly suffering. So, he thinks, "I have to help them because they are those who have *bŏn* and *ămnach*."[54]

What heated Indrā's seat were *bŏn* and *ămnach*. Interestingly, "warmth, heat" in Sanskrit is *tápas*[55] (Pāli *tapa*), which in Buddhist traditions refers to "meditation practices and/or reasoned moral self-discipline"[56] that are the practices of merit/power gaining usually practiced by *tabâs*, the central figure of an ascetic cult in Cambodia,[57] and *lŏk thŭdŏng*. But Nori

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[49] *Vochananŭkrâm khmae pheak ti pi* [Dictionnaire cambodgien, tome II], cinquième édition (Phnom Penh: Édition de l'Institute Bouddhique, 1967), p. 1354.

[50] Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, p. 254.

[51] EFEO MSS Khmer O253 Kpuon buddaṃnāy; kpoun Ind daṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy, 6b-7a.

[52] NLT P 45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], pp. 44–47.

[53] EFEO Mss camb P 112 Roeung chau ang ap kra nas.

[54] EFEO Mss camb P 91/Rŏŭngs Khmêrs no. 12 Roeung komar bong pa-oun tiak muan.

The seat of Indrā mentioned in *Kŏma bong p'aun tĕak mŏan* was the Paṇḍukambala. It was "soft as a cloth cushion or the comb of a royal golden swan. Whenever Indra sits on this stone slab it is soft and he sinks down to his navel; but when Indra gets up and leaves the stone, hte stone fills in just as it had bee nbefore" (*Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, translation with introduction and notes by Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1982), p. 233).

[55] Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 437.

[56] Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: a social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 32, 46.

[57] John Marston, "Clay into Stone: A Modern-Day Tāpas," in John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), *History, Buddhism, and the New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 179-182.

had insufficient *bŏn/ǎmnach* or merit/power accumulated from his past lives. Indrā never descended to help Nori.

How did Nori become a *nĕak mean bŏn*? In the here-and-now world, human beings could gain a great quantity of *bŏn* through many means. Canonically, *bŏn* could be accomplished by giving (dāna), observing precepts (sīla), and practicing mental development through meditation (bhāvanā).[58] Traditionally and practically, *bŏn* is mostly accomplished by giving, especially material offerings (āmisadāna). In other words, wealth is the most important apparatus in merit making. Great money and great merit are virtually synonymous.[59] In the words of Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., "a rich man is more effective than a poor man and freer from suffering. He commands his chauffeur to drive him to the government office, while the peasant must tramp through the mud to his rice field."[60]

However, great merit/power can also be acquired by using less money, such as worshipping journey, which itself is meritorious.[61] The more sacred a worshipping site is, the more merit/power one will gain. Angkor Wat was, I argue, a great field of merit/power, because it is one of the most sacred sites embellished by associating with the Buddha (Angkor Wat as the Jētavana Vihāra, the abode of the Buddha), the Dhamma (Angkor Wat as the place to enshrine sacred manuscripts from Ceylon), the Saṅgha (Angkor Wat as "the temple city" or "the city of temple(s)"), and the heroic monarch (Angkor Wat as the royal project of King Chan) –all through living tales and stories.[62]

Moreover, the sacredness of Angkor was also reinforced by *nĕak ta*, the central figure of the Khmer ancestor cults.[63] *Nĕak ta* is "spirit of the place," Bernard Philippe Groslier writes.[64] In other words, *nĕak ta*, and other spirits of animism or popular/folk religion, are "cadastral."[65]

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[58] Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto), *Potchananukrom Putthasat Chabab Pramuantham* [Dictionary of Buddhism], 16th printing (Bangkok: S.R. Printing Mass Products, 2551 [2008]), p. 89).

[59] About a relation between merit and money in Cambodia see Adhémard Leclèle, *Le Buddhisme au Cambodge* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), pp. 519-528; Alain Forest, "Buddhism and Reform," p. 24; Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice*, pp. 47, 67-68, 78. In Thailand see Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., "Merit and Power in Thai Social Order," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 64, 6 (December 1962): 1248; Stanley J. Tambiah, "The Ideology of Merit and the Social correlates of Buddhism in Thai Village," in E. R. Leach (ed.), *Dialectic in Practical Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) pp. 41-121; Burma see Melford E. Spiro, *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes*, second expanded edition (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 92-120; p. 47.

[60] Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., "Merit and Power in Thai Social Order": 1248. See also Harry Falk, "Money can buy me heaven: Religious donations in late and post-Kushan India," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 40 (2009): 137-148.

[61] James B. Pruess, "Merit-seeking in public: Buddhist pilgrimage in northeastern Thailand": 169-206; James B. Pruess, *Veneration and Merit-Seeking at Sacred Places: Buddhist Pilgrimage in Contemporary Thailand* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1974); Charles F. Keyes, "Buddhist Pilgrimage Centers and the Twelve-Year Cycle: Northern Thai Moral Orders in Space and Time," *History of Religion* 15, 1 (1975): 83.

[62] An ideal place for cultivating merit is a "field of merit (*puṇṇa khetta*)" which is Saṅgha. Saṅgha is "the comparable field of merit or virtue for the world" (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto), *Potchananukrom Putthasat Chabab Pramuantham* [Dictionary of Buddhism], p. 225. *Vât* also considered a field of merit (See Alain Forest, "Buddhism and Reform," p. 24).

[63] Ang Chouléan, *Les êtres surnaturels dans la religion populaire khmère*; Alain Forest, *Le culte des genies protecteurs au Cambodge: Analyse et traduction d'un corpus de textes sur les neak ta* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992); André Souyris-Rolland, "Contribution à l'étude du Culte des Génies tutélaires ou "Neak Ta" chez les Cambodgiens du Sud," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises* 23, 2 (1951), pp. 161-173.

[64] Bernard Philippe Groslier, "For a geographic history of Cambodia," *Seksa Khmer* 8-9 (1985–1986): 62. *Phi*, an animist spirit in Thai and Lao cultures, also possesses the same nature (John Clifford Holt, *Spirits of the Place: Buddhism and Lao Religious Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

[65] Paul Mus, *India Seen From the East: Indian and Indigenous Cult in Champa*, translated by Ian W. Mabbett

They are bound with a given place.[66] *Nĕak ta* of an ancient temple had a duty to guard and protect the temple. He possessed power to restrain or to stop the intrusion to the temple. As Louis Delaporte wrote:

> The natives never willingly accompany Europeans in the sacred places; so our guides started making every effort to avoid the duty which is imposed on them; along the way, they still try to terrify us by all sorts of tragic stories, and unwind us an unwary traveler obituary killed without mercy by néak-ta (guardian genies) who, in the form of wild tigers, roam ceaselessly in the foot of the holy mountain to forbid the access to the laymen.[67]

Adolf Bastian noted about a temple of Angkor, which he visited in 1864 that "Anyone who touched the sculptures there would become ill, although this seems not to have not deterred the Siamese plunderers."[68] The plundering of Siamese mentioned by Bastian was precisely the attempt of Siamese authorities to dismantle the Bânteay Ta Prohm in 1860 which ended up in the death of the three "Siamese plunderers" mentioned earlier. A governor of Bătdẫmbâng once said, "he could not undertake the task of dismantling the ancient *prasat* because he was afraid of death." The officials of Siem Reap said that Bânteay Ta Prohm was "the ancient temple... People had paid respect [to it]. They could not dismantle [it]."[69] From these perspectives, the cause of this tragic incident could be explained by the power of *nĕak ta* of the temple.

Keiko Miura notes that Angkor Wat is an abode of the royal *nĕak ta* called Ta Reach, "the most powerful *neak ta* in the region, whose power radiates from Angkor Wat to the periphery,"[70] which is represented by an eight-armed Vishnu statue at the south of the

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(Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1975), p. 21.

[66] Their territories vary according to their hierarchical status in the non-human and inanimate world. Some cadastral spirit governs vast territory and possesses impressive power, which not less than the Buddha. *Pūjā kruṅ bālīy*, a manual on an offering sacrifice to the *Krong Peali*, the owner of our world who had lost his world to the Buddha and then became the guardian of the world instead, notes that, if one wants to make merit (such as building a Buddha image and a stūpa, planting the Bodhi tree, ordaining a monk, and building a temple) and build home or any building, "Lord Buddha ordered to offer *bay chaeng* (a kind of *bay sey* (?), an offering made from banana trunk and leaf, decorated by flowers) to *Peali*. If one does not do as per the Buddha's order, *Krong Peali* will curse and uses his tail to wipe out all merits of one who performed those meritorious deeds. So, those merits will not provide any benefits, but will be ruined" (BnF Mss Indochinois 138, no. 9 Pūjā kruṅ bālīy).

On *Krong Peali* see Eveline Porée-Maspero, *Étude sur les rites agraires des cambodgiens, tome 1* (Paris: Mouton&Co., 1962), p. 6; Eveline Porée-Maspero, "Krŏṅ Păli et rites de la maison," *Anthropos* 56, 1/2 (1961): 179-251; 56, 3/4 (1961): 548-628; 56, 5/6 (1961): 883-929.

[67] Louis Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: L'architecture khmer*, p. 50.

[68] Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, p. 47.

[69] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1222/173.

[70] Keiko Miura, "The Need for Anthropological Approaches to conservation and Management of Living Heritage Sites: A Case Study of Angkor, Cambodia," in Elizabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover, and Peter Sharrock (eds.), *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past: Monument, Image and Text* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), pp. 380-381; Keiko Miura, "From Property to Heritage. Different Notions, Rules of Ownership and Practices of New and Old Actors in the Angkor World Heritage Site," in Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin (ed.), *World Heritage Angkor and Beyond: Circumstances and Implications of UNESCO Listings in Cambodia* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2011), p. 111.

According to a local people's belief, which was told in 1990s, Ta Reach's power is "so mighty that even birds flying over it would drop dead and wishes of those who pray to him will always come true." (Keiko Miura, "Social Anthropological Research on 'The People of Angkor': Living with a World Heritage Site," *Siksacakr* 2

western entrance pavilion, and believed to have been originally installed in the central sanctuary.[71] If so, its relocation the Vishnu statue probably took place in the latter half of the sixteenth century when the central sanctuary was turned into a stūpa. However, visitors to Angkor Wat in the 1860s never mentioned Ta Reach. Also its story does not appear in the collection of a history of *nĕak ta*-s in PRPK, part 8. Nevertheless, even if Ta Reach had not been there in the 1860s, Angkor Wat was the abode of many other *nĕak ta*-s. Even if there is no contemporary evidence of *nĕak ta*-s of Angkor Wat, "Logically, Angkor Wat contains more *neak ta* than any other temple."[72] This enhances the sacredness of Angkor Wat over generations.

Merit/power is transferable.[73] Amulets and talismans are objects with magical powers, some of which are transferred from those who make them through a ritual of sacralization.[74] Bunmi, one of the *phu mi bun*-s of the Rebellions of 1901-1902 in northeast Siam and south Laos, claimed, "On August 8, 1902, I got sick and lost consciousness. Then Phi Phraya Thammekkarat (the Dhammik King) came to possess my body… When Phi Phraya Thammekkarat left my body, I regained consciousness. I thought that I myself surely had *bun* (merit)… So, I presented myself as *phu wiset*."[75] Merit/power that Bunmi possessed was transferred from Phi Phraya Thammekkarat through possession during which time he "got sick and lost conscious," which was a liminal time.

Nori did not claim that he received power from *nĕak ta*-s. However, similar to *nĕak ta*-s who can brought bad luck, sickness, and death, to the people,[76] Nori also claimed that he could induce an epidemic outbreak: "wherever *phu mi bon* visits, a contagious disease always comes after him,"[77] "If he [Nori] is chained and barred by whoever, a contagious disease will come to consume people."[78]

(2000): 15).

[71] Western explorers who went to Cambodia in 1860s often note about *roup nĕak ta* or representations of *nĕak ta* in ancient temples. Bastian notes that in a temple in Angkor Thom, "Broken figures depicting *naktha* lay around" (Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, p. 70). Doudart de Lagrée and Francis Garnier mention statues they found in ancient temple that were a representation of "Néak ta, « génies du lieu »" and "Neac Ta" respectively (Doudart de Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, extraits de ses manuscrits, mis en ordre par M. A.-B. Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, 1883), pp. 257–258; Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué pendnt les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, tome premier (Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1873) pp. 72, 86). Louis Delaporte notes worship of a Hindu deity statue, called by worshippers "Néak-Ta" or "génie familier" (Louis Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: L'architecture khmer*, pp. 27, 30).

[72] Keiko Miura, "The Need for Anthropological Approaches to conservation and Management of Living Heritage Sites: A Case Study of Angkor, Cambodia," pp. 380-381; Keiko Miura, "From Property to Heritage. Different Notions, Rules of Ownership and Practices of New and Old Actors in the Angkor World Heritage Site," p. 111.

[73] On the merit-transference see Stanley J. Tambiah, "The Ideology of Merit and the Social Correrates of Buddhism in a Thai Village," in E.R. Leach, *Dialectic in Practice Religion* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 49-52; Charles F. Keyes, "Introduction: The Study of Popular Ideas of Karma," in Charles F. Keyes and E. Valentine Daniel (eds.), *Karma: An Anthropological Inquiry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 1-24; Charles F. Keyes, "Merit-Transference in the Kammic Theory of Popular Theravada Buddhism," in Ibid., pp. 261-286.

[74] Barend Jan Terwiel, *Monks and Magic: Revisiting a Classic Study of Religious Ceremonies in Thailand* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012), pp. 72-75.

[75] NAT R.V M.2.18/11 Rueang phi bun [Concerning *phi bun*], no 14874, pp. 220-221.

[76] Louis Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: L'architecture khmer*, p. 83n1; Sokhieng Au, *Mixed Medicines: Health and Culture in French Colonial Cambodia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 19.

[77] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[78] Ibid.

Apart from Nori, others who claimed to be *nĕak mean bŏn* also visited Angkor Wat. A few years after Nori's uprising, in 1866, Ai Pera planned to establish his kingdom in Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom.[79] In 1877, a monk called Anont journeyed from Angkor Wat to cause a disturbance in Kǎmpóng Svay.[80] In 1895, a man called Ong Phra Sying left a note to the governor of Siem Reap, "We have proceeded to visit various countries and found that this *prasat* is a peaceful and pleased place. We have stopped there for a while. Then, we will proceed onward. We do not want to take any royal palaces."[81]

Therefore, aside from being a sacred site and a place of merit/power, Angkor Wat was also a place of *nĕak mean bŏn*.

A pretender Prince

In the 1860s, two *vât*-s, namely Sukmong Kong and Silachan, located at the ground of the western second enclosure of Angkor Wat, in the north and south sides of the terrace in the front of the first gallery. They functioned as dwellings of the monks who were in charge of taking care of the lively stone temple,[82] and shelters for pilgrims. Nori possibly stayed at one of these *vât*–s when he arrived in Angkor Wat. Then, he went to stay at the house of Luang Sanit Phakdi (hereafter Laung Sanit), who was probably a retired mid-ranking official, in Angkor Thom,[83] probably in a village located in the second quadrant of Angkor Thom, about 10 kilometers north of the citadel of Siem Reap.[84] Laung Sanit and his wife Amdaeng Mom would become Nori's patrons, and later betrayers.

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[79] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/76 Rang santra thueng mueang tang tang [Draft of letter to various provinces]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/88 Samnao baibok mueang nakhon siamrap [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap].

[80] NAT R.V RL-M/13 Khat rang tra tang tang mi pai hua mueang mahatthai (pi chalu nopphasok C.S. 1239) [Copy of draft letter to provinces under administration of the Ministry of Interior (A.D. 1877-1878)], no. 42 and no. 43.

[81] NAT R.V M.2.18/1 Rueang phi bun [Concerning *phi bun*], no. 10984.

[82] Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, pp. 58-59; Louis Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: l'architecture khmer*, p. 230; See also Keiko Miura, "Social Anthropological Research on 'The People of Angkor': Living with a World Heritage Site," p. 16.

When Siam ceded Bătdǎmbâng and Siem Reap to French in 1907, French administrators and archaeologists turned Angkor Wat as a living pilgrimage site to an archaeological park. Monks and their sanctuaries were moved to monasteries which were build further away from the temple building, even were still in the temple compound, because "they supposedly blocked the 'vue général' from the entry gate" (Michael Falser, "From Colonial Map to Visitor's Parcours: Tourist Guides and the Spatiotemporal Making of the Archaeological Park of Angkor," in Michael Falser and Monica Juneja (eds.). *'Archaeologizing' Heritage? Transcultural Entanglements between Local Social Practices and Global Virtual Realities* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), pp. 91-92). At the same time, people were also ousted from the temple compound (Keiko Miura, "Social Anthropological Research on 'The People of Angkor': Living with a World Heritage Site," p. 16). Monks continued to keep their undertaking alive, however. Prince Damrong who went to visit Angkor Wat in 1924 noted that monks "considered themselves to have a duty to clean up and take care of Angkor Wat." He also noted, moreover, "I saw monks, novices, and also devout laymen and laywomen, both Khmers, Vietnamese, and Chinese went continuously, sometime more sometime less, to pay homage to Angkor Wat" (H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Nirat Nakhon Wat* [Journey to Angkor Wat] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2468), pp. 74-75). Thus, Angkor Wat as a dead archaeological park still alive among the people, both Khmers and non-Khmers.

[83] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1226/181.

[84] Carte des environs d'Angcor [map], scale not given, in Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué pendnt les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, tome premier, a page between pp. 24 and 25 (Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1873).

Other villages appeared in the map are a village at the south of the citadel (no name be given), Phok village, Daitchu village, Preadak village, Sena Cream village, Sasiou village (on Prek Seset), and Ben village, on the foot

In the time of Nori, Angkor was not a dead archaeological site, but a lively place where ordinary wooden huts and houses stood side by side with maginificent stone and brick temples which were living sacred and pilgrimage sites. In the memory of the people, before they were expelled from the ancient city, there had been many habitations and villages inside the city wall of Angkor Thom. Those villages existed there at some point of time. Some said his grandfather lived in a village inside Angkor Thom during the period of Siamese control.[85] Francis Garnier's *Carte des environs d'Angcor* showed eight villages in the Angkor complex and the nearby area.[86] In Angkor Wat, about 7 kilometers north of the citadel also included habitations. In the 1860s, apart from the two Buddhist monasteries mentioned above, Angkor Wat also included a village. It was located at the ground of the western second enclosure of Angkor Wat, in the north and south sides of the terrace in the front of the first gallery.[87] In the early twentieth century, approximately twenty families were reported to have been living on the grounds of Angkor Wat.[88] The other temples of Angkor were also sites of habitations and villages.[89]

Interestingly, Luang Sanit and Amdaeng Mom also patronized another *phu wiset* called Achar Sva –Assoa or Assoua in French documents. In many historical records, Achar Sva made his first appearance in 1864 when he mobilized numerous people to rise against King Norodom in southwestern Cambodia and the Vietnamese border region.[90] But we know that in 1859 Sva, a slave of a mandarin in Ŭdŏng, fled his master to Ba Phnŭm to create some disorder there. He was characterized as a "perfectly safe madman." He was arrested there and was sent back to be punished in Ŭdŏng. On the death of King Duong in October 1860, Achar Sva successfully fled to Siem Reap.[91]

We know almost nothing about what Achar Sva did in Siem Reap. What we know is that Achar Sva claimed to be a *nĕak mean bŏn*, Prince Âng Phim, and the heir to the Cambodian throne. He had Luang Sanit and Amdaeng Mom as his patrons. And we know that on October 19, 1862, before the arrival of Nori:

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of Kulen Mountain.

[85] Those villages were: Kok Ta Tru Village, was in the east of where Preah Se-ar Metrei Monastery is presently located; Srah Srei Village, or some called it Angkor Thom Village, was located in the east of Srah Srei or the Women's Pond within the royal palace compound; and Baoeng Ta Trau Village existed to the west of Bapuon. There also were traces of human habitation at Baoeng Senthmie and Baoeng Thom (Keiko Miura, "Social Anthropological Research on 'The People of Angkor': Living with a World Heritage Site," p. 16; Keiko Miura, "Conservation of a 'living heritage site': A contradiction in terms? A case study of Angkor World Heritage Site," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Site* 7 (2005): 9; Keiko Miura, "The Need for Anthropological Approaches to conservation and Management of Living Heritage Sites: A Case Study of Angkor, Cambodia," pp. 379-380).

[86] Carte des environs d'Angcor [map], scale not given.

[87] Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, pp. 58-59; Louis Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge: l'architecture khmer*, p. 230.

[88] Keiko Miura, "Social Anthropological Research on 'The People of Angkor': Living with a World Heritage Site":16; Keiko Miura, "Conservation of a 'living heritage site': A contradiction in terms? A case study of Angkor World Heritage Site": 9.

[89] Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, pp. 71, 72; Keiko Miura, "The Need for Anthropological Approaches to conservation and Management of Living Heritage Sites: A Case Study of Angkor, Cambodia," pp. 379-380.

[90] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 257. A. Bonamy de Villemereuil, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée* (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Vevue Bouchard-Huzard, 1883), p. 78. See also V.M. Reddi, *A History of Cambodia Independence Movement, 1863-1955* (Tirupati: Sri Venkateswara University, 1970), pp. 33-40.

[91] Jean Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge*, tome deuxième (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), p. 151.

> Ai Ariya Sva took a hammock carried by men. In front of him a man held bundles of rattans; another man held a ceremonial umbrella over his head; followed by 11 to 12 men armed with swords and *pkak*-s. He went to reside at the house of Luang Sanit Phakdi and Amdaeng Mom in Angkor Thom. He claimed he was the late Ong Phim, son of Ong Im [Âng Ĕm] who resurrected from death. He was a *phu wiset* who had knowledge on thaumaturgy, and also a man of great merit and fortune. Amdaeng Mom and other people completely believed [his words] and spread these words widely. Monks, novices, and people were constantly going to Ai Ariya Sva.[92]

Immediately after that, toward the end of October 1862, Achar Sva proceeded from Angkor Thom to Angkor Wat, followed by many monks and lay people. From Angkor Wat, Sva proceeded to Tonle Sap by boat in running from the grasp of the Siem Reap governor.[93]

Were Siamese authorities confused Sva with Nori who also claimed to be *nĕak mean bŏn* and Prince Âng Phim, and had Laung Sanit and Amdaeng Mom as his patrons? Many other official reports point out that they were not.

Was Nori Sva's apprentice? Probably he was not. Nori arrived in Siem Reap after the escape of Achar Sva at the end of October 1862. By fleeing from Siem Reap to the northern provinces of Siam during the second fortnight of June or the first fortnight of July 1863 to avoid being captured,[94] Nori missed Achar Sva who reappeared in Siem Reap probably in August 1863 and went to reside at the house of Luang Sanit.[95] On August 30, 1863, Achar Sva and his followers fled Siem Reap again to avoid being captured.[96] However, it is possible that the two *nĕak mean bŏn*-s would finally meet in a jail in Khu Khan where they were captured on September 25, 1863. But Nori claimed to be a *nĕak mean bŏn* and prince Ang Phim beforehand.[97] Beliefs and traditions of *nĕak mean bŏn* are very popular and well known among people in Theravāda Southeast Asia. Nori had probably learned to perform rituals and make sacred and magical objects, which manifested his sacredness as *nĕak mean bŏn*, when he was in monkhood in Bangkok. But it is most likely that Nori got an idea to claim to be Âng Phim when he was in Siem Reap.

Who was Âng Phim? We know that he was born in 1824 and died in Bangkok in 1854.[98] That's all. We know more about his father, Âng Ĕm, who was a younger half-brother of King Chan. Âng Ĕm was conferred the royal rank and title *Ŏbarach* by the Siamese overlord

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[92] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/50 Khatbok mueang nakhon siamrap ai ariya sva tangtua pen phu wiset [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap concerning claiming of *achar* Sva as holy man)].

Pkak is a Thai pronunciation of Khmer word *phkeak*, a kind of long handled knife, resembling a billhook. It formerly used as a military weapon but currently used for chopping or cutting plants.

[93] Ibid. See also Jean Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge*, tome deuxième, p. 151.

[94] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

During the time period from April 17 to June 15, 1863, Nori was possibly in Siem Reap (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/50).

[95] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/50; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

[96] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1225/50; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

[97] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

[98] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 225; Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, *Explorations et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, p. 63. Justin Corfield cited 1855 as the year of death of Ang Phim (Justin Corfield, *The Royal Family of Cambodia*, 2nd edition (Melbourne: The Khmer Language&Culture Centre, 1993), p. 18).

in 1810 without King Chan's acknowledgment,[99] which therefore disappointed him. Tensions between King Chan and Âng Ĕm, and the other two younger-brothers of the king, Âng Snguon the *Ŏphayŏrach* and Âng Duong, erupted in 1811.[100] Âng Snguon, Âng Ĕm, and Âng Duong fled from Ŭdŏng to Pŏsăt. Also in that year, Siamese troops invaded Cambodia, forcing King Chan to flee to Sài Gòn. King Chan came back to Cambodia with Vietnamese troops in 1813, while Âng Snguon, Âng Ĕm, and Âng Duong remained in Bangkok. Âng Snguon died without any children in Bangkok in 1826. In 1833, the first year of the Fourteen Years War, Âng Ĕm and Âng Duong followed the army of Chaophaya Bodin Decha to Cambodia. Âng Ĕm was appointed as the governor of Bătdâmbâng in 1834. In 1841, he was tempted to turn his loyalty to Huế. He fled to South Vietnam and died without any children in Châu Đốc in 1844.[101]

King Chan had only one son, Pŏ Kombo, who died in infancy. After the death of King Chan in 1840, the Vietnamese royal court put his daughter Âng Mi on the throne. Cambodia did not have strict rules of succession. Even if succession to the throne was largely hereditary, a new king was often put onto the throne by his overlord or with support from other royal family members and senior officials. However, being a prince gave an advantage and a legitimacy to be a king, who was theoretically regarded as *nĕak mean bŏn*.[102]

The reason why Achar Sva pretended to be Âng Phim is still in doubt. But perhaps Nori's pretention to be Âng Phim was indirectly influenced by Achar Sva. Nori arrived in Siem Reap when the memory of the people about Achar Sva remained fresh. And Nori's and Achar Sva's patrons were the same. Luang Sanit and Amdaeng Mom probably suggested Nori to pretend to be Âng Phim. However, it is possible that Nori learned about Âng Phim during his time in Bangkok.

Nori claimed to be Âng Phim several times in many different places to many different people. Some of them helped further spread his claim, some hasitated to believe. Mok, a slave of Siem Reap's governor, simply said, "I heard that Ong Phim was already dead."[103] Mok himself probably did not know the details about what happened to Âng Phim. He only "heard that Ong Phim was already dead." It is rational to assume that Mok had never seen or known Âng Phim. Mok's question suggests that he suspected that Nori was probably not a real prince. But if Mok met Âng Phim face to face, did he know who the latter was?

Many people in Siem Reap saw both Achar Sva and Nori. How could they not distinguish differences between the two pretending princes? Their appearances were probably not very different from each other. Some said that Achar Sva claimed he could "make old become young."[104] Nori might claim he could change his appearance on will, or he might

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[99] H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi song* [Royal chronicle of the second reign of the Bangkok period], volume 1 (Bangkok: Kurusapha, 2505 [1962]), p. 115; NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 143.

[100] Ang Sngoun was conferred the rank and title *Mĕaha Ŏphayŏrach* by Siamese overlord at the same time when Ang Im was conferred the royal rank and title *Mĕaha Ŏbarach* (H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhap, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi song* [Royal chronicle of the second reign of the Bangkok period], volume 1, p. 115; NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], p. 143.

[101] Chaophraya Thipakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam* [Royal chronicle of the third reign of the Bangkok period], volume 1, p. 154; volume 2, pp. 9-11; NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [The Khmer Chronicle], pp. 189-190.

[102] Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism*, p. 50. See also May Ebihara, "Societal Organization in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Cambodia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15, 2 (1984): 284.

[103] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[104] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/52 Samnao plae chotmai phraya phra khamen [Copies of Khmer

blame that Achar Sva was an imposter. Also Luang Sanit, Amdaeng Mom, and others knew what the truth was and what the lies were, but they pretended not to know.[105]

There and back again

On the other side of the Tonlé Sap Lake, after Khmer New Year's Day, Prak and Mon, his wife, 33 years old, inhabitants of Kâmpóng Chnăng, were preparing their trip. Between April 18 and May 17, 1863, Prak and Mon, together with their three sons and a daughter: Mok (male, 11 years old), Sok (male, 8 years old), Hun (female, 6 years old) and Kae (male, 2 years old), sailed a boat loaded with goods, probably pottery, from Kâmpóng Chnăng to Siem Reap.[106] At that time, the low water level period of the Tonlé Sap Lake just ended which made a journey easy.[107] When they arrived in Siem Reap, they stopped and anchored in front of Vât Dâmnăk, which was located less than a kilometer down the Siem Reap River from the citadel of Siem Reap. That area, the south side of the city, was where trading activities occurred.[108]

Prak was a *reas*. He probably earned a living mainly as a peddler. But Prak remained a *prei*. The term *prei* is usually translated as "hommes libres," but it also carried a sense of "bondsmen."[109] Legally and traditionally, all *reas* had to be registered as *prei* of a particular *chavvay/neay* (master), the king, the royalty, or the nobility. People could not file a lawsuit unless registered as *prei* first.[110] *Chavvay/neay* would provide his prei with protection. Reciprocally, *prei* was bound to fulfill obligations to his *chavvay/neay* by offering personal

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mandarins' dispatch].

[105] I have found that the following writings useful in thinking about the theme of an imposter and identity theft in an era before photography: Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1983); Jeffrey S. Ravel, *The Would-be Commoner: A Tale of Deception, Murder, and Justice in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin, 2008).

[106] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1126/50 Khamhaikan i mon [Testimony of Mon].

According to Andrew Spooner who went to Cambodia in 1862, "all of the pottery in Cambodia made there [Kâmpóng Chnăng]" (Andrew Spooner, "Rapport sur le Cambodge": 164).

[107] Andrew Spooner, "Rapport sur le Cambodge. Voyage de Sai-Gon à Bat-tam-bang [Reports on Cambodia. A Trip from Saigon to Battambang]," translated by Nola Cooke, *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 1 (2007): 163.

[108] Most merchants were Chinese who came to exchange their products for, among other things, some raw silk, buffaloes skins, and ivory (A. Filoz, *Cambodge et Siam: voyage, séjour aux ruines des monuments khmers* (Paris: Gedalge Jeune, 1889), p. 48).

[109] The oldest use of the word *prei* is probably in the Inscription no. 1 of Inscriptions of Vat Athvea, dated 1611 A.D. (Saveros Lewitz, "VI. Inscriptions en khmer moyen de Vat Athvea (K. 261)," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême–Orient* 64 (1977): 151-166). In her study based on the Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor Vat (IMA), Saveros Lewitz notes that word *prei*, which she transcripted *brai*, usually follows a word "free," and is usually found in the context of an emancipation of slaves. She also compares *prei /brai/* with Thai word *phrai* in the inscription no. 1 of Sukhothai, known as the Ramkhamhaeng inscription, dated 1292 A.D., which conveys the same meaning.

The original meaning of the word *phrai* probably means "free persons," but even in Sukhothai period (13th and 14th centuries), *phrai* carried a sense of "bondsmen" as can be seen in the inscription no. 38 of Sukhothai, dated between 1313 to 1433 (Inscription no. 38, Charuek Kotmai Laksana Chon, *http://www.sac.or.th/databases/inscriptions/inscribe_detail.php?id=118* (accessed January 16, 2017).

In Tai states, *phrai* conveys both the sense of "freeman" and commoner or servant (Andrew Turton, "Introduction to *Civility and Savagery*," in Andrew Turton (ed.), *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), p. 12). *Prei /brai/* in IMA also has a sense of "bondsmen," as seen in IMA 9, dated 1627 (Bidur Krassem, *Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*, p. 25. See also Saveros Lewitz, "III. Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 1, 8, et 9," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 59 (1972): 112, 114).

[110] BMA Ms 685/C-11 Kram totual bandoeng, pp. 9-11.

services or tax in kind.[111] But some *chavvay/neay* preferred his *prei* to pay money as a substitution. In that case, *prei* was de facto free, but remained under obligations to his *chavvay/neay*.[112] He was bound with a long chain. Prak probably was this kind of *prei*.

Prak was not poor, but he did not have his own boat. He had to borrow a boat to come to Siem Reap. Piracy, war, weather, maladies, and so on could always drown him and his family. His life was fragile.

Not long after the arrival of Siem Reap, Mon lost her small silver box. This caused a fight between them. Perhaps their relationship was already uneasy and contentious. Mon suspected that Prak had stolen it. Prak said to Mon that he would find another small silver box to pay her back and got off the boat. Five days later, the boat's owner came to bring it back. Mon had to bring her four children to depend on other folks in the Siem Reap River. Five months later, she heard from Amdaeng Mom that Prak, together with Nori, were arrested and imprisoned in Khu Khan. Then, Amdaeng Mom brought Mon and her four children to stay in someone's house in Angkor Thom.[113]

We know almost nothing about Nori's first movement in Siem Reap. But it is not unusual if Nori showed his power through ritual performances and powerful sacred and magical objects. It tempted people who were in trouble to come to Nori to ask for help. Perhaps, Prak was one among them. Eventually, Prak became one of Nori's followers. He fled from Siem Reap with Nori to the southern frontier provinces of northeastern Siam on a day between June 16 and July 15, 1863.[114] Prak probably heard about Nori since his arrival in Siem Reap. A trade area, or a market, is not only where daily economic life, selling and buying of goods, takes place. It is where people spend their social life: talking and chatting, exchanging news and rumors. It was unusual if a story of Nori was not being talked about.

Nori, Prak and eight other followers fled Siem Reap to avoid being captured. First, they headed north to Nakhon Ratchasima. It was probably not the Nakhon Ratchasima Province, but the Lao province of Phatai Sung, which was a satellite province of Nakhon Ratchasima. After that, he moved eastward to the southern frontier provinces of northeastern Siam, namely, Surin, Sangkha, and Khu Khan, which were called in Thai documents *Hua mueang khamen padong*, literally the "forest Khmer provinces."[115]

We know almost nothing about Nori's movement in the Lao province and the southern frontier provinces of northeastern Siam. What we do know is that Nori styled himself

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[111] May Ebihara, "Societal Organization in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Cambodia," p. 288.

[112] See NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1229/364 Khamhaikan ai sao ai sem ai som [Testimony of Sao, Sem, and Som].

[113] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/50.

[114] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

During the time period from April 17 to June 15, 1863, Nori was possibly in Siem Reap (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/50).

[115] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

Phatai Sung probably was Putthaisong District of present-day Buriram Province. It was established in 1799 and was a satellite province of Nakhon Ratchasima. Surin is present-day Mueang District of Surin Province, Sangkha is present-day Sangkha District of Surin Province, and Khu Khan is present-day Khu Khan District of Si Saket Province. Those three provinces were established around 1760s by the last monarch of the kingdom of Ayudhya. First governor of those three provinces were Suai or Kui that was called in some Thai documents as *khamen pa dong* (forest Khmer). In 1806, Surin, Sangkha, and Khu Khan, which were originally satellite provinces of Phimai, were put under direct control of Bangkok (Mom Amonwongwichit (M.R. Pathom Khanechon), Mom. "Phongsawadan huamueang monthon isan [Chronicle of the provinces in Monthon Isan]." in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi si* [Collected Chronicle, Part 4] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2458 [1915]), pp. 40-41, 59, 60).

nĕak mean bŏn/phu mi bun[116] and circulated *tŭmneay/thamnai* (a prophetic text/saying). Such a clue is found in a proclamation of King Mongkut of Siam, dated September 13, 1864. The King announced to the Thais, Mons, and Laos in the provinces of Phra Phutthabat, Sara Buri, and Chaibadal in the central plain of Siam, and people in the provinces close to Siem Reap, that,

> Recently there was a continually forwarded *nangsue* (letter) that was believed to be *nangsue phut thamnai* (the letter about the prophecy of the Buddha) and *nangsue phu mi bun* (the letter of *phu mi bun*) who was the lord of life. The letter nonsensically predicts this and that. Many people went panicked (after reading it). They made copies and spread the words in that letter. The King already knew about that letter. His Majesty thought that the letter had a Khmer literary style. Perhaps it was the letter composed by the rebellious Khmers of the Nakhon Siem Rat Province (Kh. Siem Reap) to tempt the *khamen padong* and Laos of the east of the Nakhon Ratchasima to join them. That rebel leader was Nori.[117]

Interestingly, that *nangsue* flew far to the provinces of Phra Putthabat, Sara Buri, and Chai Badal in the central plain of Siam.

The proclamation of King Mongkut also provided a summary of what was probably Nori's *nangsue phut tamnay*,

> Rumor spread among the people that the *nangsue* [letter] are a Letter of Phraya In [Indrā], and a Letter of Thao Wessawan [Vessavana or Kuvera, the guardian god of the north, the king of yakkha]. Some people said that *yak* [yakkha or ogre] sent them the *nangsue*, some said they got it from a cave in the jungle. The *nangsue* contains a prediction of the arrival of *yak*, and *phi* [bad spirits], as well as the outbreak of diseases, or war. After the prediction, there is a statement that persuaded people to pray, stop eating fish and meat, observe the five and eight precepts, and respect their elders and their parents. One who believes in and complies with the *nangsue* will live for thousand years. At last, that person [*phu mi bun*] will come.[118]

A letter from Chaophya Chakkri to Chaophya Nakhon Ratchasima, dated September 14, 1864, told another summary of the letter of prediction found in Phra Putthabat.

> On the twelfth lunar month of the year of the Rat, the sixth year of the decade [around November 1864], the Burmese will invade Krung Sri Ayutthaya [the name of the former Siamese capital city that was still used to call Bangkok]. The people of Krung Sri Ayutthaya will contract a deadly disease. Then, a *phu mi bun* will be born. Phra In [Indrā] will go down to visit human beings. If anyone keeps a copy of this letter in his house, he will has a long life and meet the *phu mi bun*.[119]

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[116] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/50.

[117] King Mongkut, "Prakat waduai kanlaolue kanwa phra phutthamnay koed khuen thi mueang khamen (Pho. So. 2407) [Proclamation on rumors of the Prediction of the Buddha in Cambodia (B.E. 2407)]," in *Prachum prakat ratchakan thi si* [Collected Proclamations of the Fourth Reign], p. 401.

[118] Ibid.

[119] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/45.

According to its provenance and date, it was probably Nori's *nangsue phut tamnay*.

The alleged Nori's *nangsue phut tamnay* is a simplistic translation of a long and complicated prophetic text. Trivial matters were deleted, added, embellished, or changed, but the main theme remained unchanged: once upon a time in the future, the world will turn chaotic, then a *phu mi bun* will come to restore order in the world. However, it is not only its sophisticatedly simple characteristic that made the alleged Nori's *nangsue phut tamnay* popular among people in both Cambodia and Siam, but also its deep-rooted nature in traditions of hope. We can assume that Nori's prophetic text/saying spread and circulated in Siem Reap was not much different from the alleged Nori's *nangsue phut tamnay*.

Nori, Prak, and other followers were captured in Khu Khan on September 25, 1863.[120] Nori probably met Achar Sva in jail there. A month or more later, they successfully escaped from imprisonment. After that, Achar Sva appeared in Treang Kroey Krat, also called Treang Traoey Tras, or Treang Traoey Thbaung (Treang du sud), which is Tinh Biên district of Châu Đốc, in January 1864. He set up his new movement in the border provinces of southwestern Cambodia and Cochinchina.[121] His ideal was to sit on the throne at Ŭdŏng. Nori went back to Siem Reap. He planned to establish a new polity with himself as its monarch.[122]

Second Time in Siem Reap

Not until May 13, 1864, did officials notice the presence of Nori in Siem Reap. Interestingly, the one who told the officials about his presence was Luang Sanit,[123] who provided his house to be use as Nori's residence and gave his daughter, Hem, to Nori as his wife.[124] These two practices would insure Luang Sanit and his family's future fortune. However, other sources indicated that, the one who gave the information about Nori was Chim,[125] who might be the same person as Chim, the son of Luang Sanit, who cautioned Nori in June or July 1863 that the governor of Siem Reap had issued an order to capture him.[126]

Phraya Nuphap Traiphop, governor of Siem Reap, sent a group of men, varying in number in different reports from 30 to 60, to capture Nori.[127] Nori and Prak, together with Nori's another follower Som were captured on May 16, 1864. Nori, Prak, and Som were flogged 30 times each and detained in waiting for an order from Bangkok.[128] They were

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[120] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

[121] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/52.

[122] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181.

[123] Ibid.; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[124] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/50.

[125] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[126] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/50.

Chim and another son of Luang Sanit also fled together with Sva on August 30, 1863 (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/50).

[127] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[128] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/284 Baibok song ton nangsue phraya nuphap rueang ai nori haek khuk [Dispatch concerning forwarding a letter of Phraya Nuphap Traiphop concerning Nori had broken a jail].

They also gave testimonies to officials, which were delivered to Bangkok on May 21, 1864. Unfortunately, those testimonies were not among surviving materials. Nori's testimony mentioned in this chapter is a summarized version in a report from Siem Reap to Bangkok. An order from Bangkok to send Nori and his accomplices, including Amdaeng Mom, to Bangkok arrived in Siem Reap on July 10 (Ibid.). It arrived in Siem Reap three days after a breaking of the jail to free Nori and his partisans.

confined in a jail located in front of the governor's residence. The governor compelled 15 *lek samrap mueang*-s into guarding the prisoners each night.[129]

Lek samrap mueang, also called *phrai khong mueang*, was an able-bodied man assigned to work for a provincial or township administration. The Thai words *phrai* and *lek*, which conveyed the same meaning, were equivalent to the Khmer words *prei* and *lĕk*. Basically, the manpower control system of Siam was as same as that of Cambodia. All people (Th *ratsadon*; Kh *reas*) had to be registered as *phrai* of particular masters (Th. *nai* or *munnai*; Kh. *chavvay*, *neay*). In Siam, *phrai* who was ascribed to the king was *phrai luang*, while *phrai* those ascribed to the royalty and the nobility were *phrai som*.[130] However, in the outer provinces like Siem Reap, governors and officials did not usually have their own *phrai som*. They were served instead by a kind of *phrai luang* called *phrai khong mueang*,[131] or *lek samrap mueang*.[132] *Phrai khong mueang* in Siem Reap was obligated to work as a corvée laborer for both the Siamese king and the governor and officials of Siem Reap, or to pay *suai* as a substitution of corvée.[133] In the 1860s, however, *suai* payment in kind in the outer provinces of Siam significantly declined and was replaced by monetary payment, which was spent to hire Chinese coolies for public work in preference to unpaid and unwilling corvée laborers.[134] Nevertheless, *phrai khong mueang* were a source of

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[129] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/50.

[130] See about *phrai* in detail in M.R. Akin Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782–1873* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1969), pp. 15-39.

[131] Piyachat Peetawan, *Kan yokloek rabob phrai nai ratchasamai Phrabat Somdet Phra Chulachomklao Chaoyuhoa (Pho So 2411-2453)* [The Abolition of the Phrai System in the Reign of King Rama V (B.E. 2411-2453] (M.A. Thesis, Srinakharinwirot University, 2523 [1980]), pp. 12-13.

[132] See NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1226/200.

[133] Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wollongong, 1995), p. 187; Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, pp. 48-49.

Suai that Bangkok mostly demanded from Siem Reap was *reo* [bustard cardamom, false cardamom], an inferior grade of cardamom, and beeswax. Siem Reap had to begin to pay *suai* to Bangkok in the reign of Rama III. (Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851*, pp. 104-105, 107; Constance M. Wilson, "The Nai Kŏng of Battambang, 1824-68," in Constance M. Wilson, Chrystal Stillings Smith, George Vinal Smith (eds.), *Contributions to Asian Studies, volume XV (Royalty and Commoners: Essays in Thai Administrative, Economic, and Social History)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), pp. 67-68, 69).

Bangkok's demand on *suai* from Siem Reap and other provinces in western Cambodia and Northeastern Siam sharply increased during the 1830s to 1850s which caused from highly expansion of trade between Siam and China (Junko Koisumi, "The Commutation of Suai from Northeast Siam in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 23, 2 (1992): 276-307; Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851*, pp. 54-55, 107-128; Werapong Yodboonreang, *Kanchatkep phasi nai hua mueang lao fai tawan ok pho so 2367-2433* [The System of Tax Collections in Eastern Laos, A.D. 1824-1890] (M.A. Thesis, Silapakorn University, 2546 [2003]), chapter 4). *Suai* supplied a critical part of the commodities for the royal trade of Siam (Boonrod Kaewkanha, *Kan kep suai nai samai Rattanakosin ton ton Pho. So. 2325-2411* [The Collection of the Suay During the Early Rattanakosin Period (A.D. 1782-1868)] (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2518 [1975]) pp. 20-27.

[134] Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand*, third edition (Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Victoria: University of Cambridge Press, 2014), p. 42; Boonrod Kaewkanha, *Kan kep suai nai samai Rattanakosin ton ton Pho. So. 2325-2411* [The Collection of the Suay During the Early Rattanakosin Period (A.D. 1782-1868)], pp. 37-44; Piyachat Peetawan, *Kan yokloek rabob phrai nai ratchasamai Phrabat Somdet Phra Chulachomklao Chaoyuhoa (Pho. So. 2411-2453)* [The Abolition of the Phrai System in the Reign of King Rama V (B.E. 2411-2453], p. 61.

In Siam proper, people began to pay money as a substitution of corvée labor from 1830s (Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand*, p. 42).

Available records on *suai* payment in the Khmer provinces of Siam show that since 1860 onwards, *reo* was not in *suai* payment register anymore, beeswax remained in the register with little change in numbers, while monetary payment increased sharply from 220 *baht* in 1860 to 1,334 *baht* in 1866 (Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851*, pp. 107, 109). Adolf Bastian noted that *suai* required by

benefit for the governor and officials, as well as *kha luang*, the Siamese King's resident political representative who was sent to superintend the provincial administration. Some Siamese *kha luang* of Siem Reap "considered only his own interests."[135] During the early to the late nineteenth century, the annual corvée work required of *phrai* in Siem Reap was three months, as in Siam proper. Practically, however, their masters usually assigned them corvée work more than their obligation, such as guarding the jail, and the corvée work for the King's project was probably a supplement.[136]

Although Nori was imprisoned, people still came to see him.

> *Ratsadon*, both men and women, as well as servants and slaves of Phraya Nuphap Traiphop, often brought food to Ai Nori. Amdaeng Si, a widow who was around 30 years old, the younger sister of Phraya Nuphap Traiphop, also ordered her slaves to bring food to Ai Nori in jail. Ai Suat and Ai Mok gave food several times to Ai Nori. Then, Phraya Nuphap Traiphop forbade anyone to give anything to Ai Nori. Amdaeng Si and *ratsadon* still often secretly brought food to Nori, however.[137]

Suat and Mok was the slave of the governor. From fragmented and insufficient clues, we know that Suat and Mok were born in 1824 and 1826 respectively. Wherever they lived, they were witnesses of the Fourteen Years War, which began when they were about ten and eight years old respectively. It means that they had lived in certain uncertainty more than half of their lives before they met Nori. For some reason, Suat and Mok sold themselves as slaves.[138] Thus, they were presumably debt slaves, specifically redeemable slaves.[139] Perhaps they, like many other redeemable slaves at that time, willingly sold themselves into slavery because of indebtedness, or to avoid the *suai* payment and corvée obligation.[140]

Ironically, Suat was in the group of men that was ordered by the governor to capture Nori in May 1864.[141] When Nori was in jail, however, Suat and Mok gave food to Nori several times. At last they became Nori's followers when they were persuaded by Keng and Kae, who were conscripted to guard the jail.

Keng was *kha phra* of Vât Kraphumrat, which was called today Vât Prĕah Prohm Rŏat, located about 300 meters south outside of the city wall. Its abbot was the chief of all monks and *vât*–s in Siem Reap and the surrounding area.[142] According to Siamese legislation,

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Siamese authority was "four pounds of beeswax per person" (Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864*), pp. 48-49).

[135] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/266.

[136] For example see footnote 11 in this chapter.

[137] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[138] Ibid.

[139] All slaves in Siam during the early Bangkok period (1782-1873) were debt slave (M.R. Akin Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782-1873*, pp. 106-107). In nineteenth century Bătdâmbâng, most slaves were debt-slaves (Puangthong Rundswasdisab, *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767-1851*, p. 193)

On slavery in Cambodia see Karine Délaye, "Esclavage et représentations coloniales en Indochine de la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} au début du XX^{e} siècle," *Outre-mers* 89, 336-337 (2e semestre, 2002): 283-319.

[140] M.R. Akin Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782-1873*, p. 118; Piyachat Peetawan, *Kan yokloek rabob phrai nai ratchasamai Phrabat Somdet Phra Chulachomklao Chaoyuhoa (Pho.So. 2411-2453)* [The Abolition of the Phrai System in the Reign of King Rama V (B.E. 2411-2453)), p. 65.

[141] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1126/52 Khatbok mueang nakhon siamrap lea mueang phratabong [Copy of dispatches from Siem Reap and Bătdâmbâng].

[142] Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China* (*1864*), pp. 55, 82. Wat Kraphumrat was mentioned

kha phra was a *phrai luang* who was donated to do corvée work for the Saṇgha. The annual corvée work required for *kha phra* was as same as that of *phrai luang*. He was a *phrai* but his status was as same as slave.[143]

Kae was a man from Kẫmpong Svay who came to settle in Siem Reap. He was probably *khoei su*, a husband who resided within his wife's domicile.[144] If so, Kae still theoretically had to perform duties to his master in Kẫmpong Svay even though he lived in Siem Reap.[145] Practically, Kae was under the authority of the governor of Siem Reap. He could be conscripted to do any duties according to the governor's will as he was assigned to guard Nori and other prisoners in jail.

In the night of July 7, 1864, Keng and Kae went to the habitations of Suat and Mok, which were located next to the Governor's residence, to persuade them to free Nori. Suat and Mok were told that

> Ai Nori is indeed Ong Phim. He is a *khon mi bun*. He cannot be killed... If Ai Nori will be the lord of Cambodia, he will go to stay at Prasat Bray Teuk Kla. Treasures will appear. Khmers from many other cities will come to depend on his *bun*. If you help to retrieve Ai Nori from the jail, you will not be poor. It is not necessary for you to pay your creditors.[146]

Mok seemed reluctant to join. He simply showed his doubt by saying that, "I heard that Ong Phim was already dead." An answer he got was,

> That one was an imposter of Ong Phim. When the imposter died, the real Ong Phim got ordained as a bhikkhu in Bangkok. Then Ong Phim went to reside at Mount

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by Bastian Wat "Borommarat" and "Kabommarat."

[143] Piyachat Peetawan, *Kan yokloek rabob phrai nai ratchasamai Phrabat Somdet Phra Chulachomklao Chaoyuhoa (Pho.So. 2411-2453)* [The Abolition of the Phrai System in the Reign of King Rama V (B.E. 2411-2453], pp. 14-15.

In Cambodia, there was a category of people, which was probably the same with *kha phra*, called *khnum preah srey rot trai* (Mod Kh *khnhŏm prĕah srey rottănătrăy*) (BMA Ms. 685/C-11, pp. 58-59), *bal brah sri* (romanized Kh. *pol prĕah srey*), which Aymonier gave a meaning as "esclaves héréditaires des pagodes" (Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome I Le royaume actuel* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), p. 100), and *pol preah* (or *pol prĕah*), and *kyom vihear* (Modern Kh. *khnhŏm vihear*), which Leclère gave a meaning as "les esclaves de pagodes" (Adhémard Leclère, *Recherches sur la législation Cambodgienne (droit privé)* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1890), pp. 240-246). In sum, those terms can be translated as "monastery slave." However, in IMA 9, dated 1627, Me Ob and Me Di were freed from slavery and became to be "*brai* who have responsible for taking care of food of Samdech Mok" (Bidur Krassem, *Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*, p. 25. See also Saveros Lewitz, "III. Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 1, 8, et 9," pp. 112, 114). It means Me Ob and Me Di were *prey*, which is not the same category with slave, who had the obligation to the Buddhist monk. What was their status? *Prei* (an able-bodied man who was registered to a specific master) or *khnhŏm* (servant, slave). Perhaps, status of Siamese *kha phra*, which was *phrai luang* that was donated to do corvée work for the sangha, can be applied to elucidate the Cambodian case as well, but further research is needed.

[144] Uxorilocality or village-uxorilovcality (May Mayko Ebihara, *Svay, A Khmer Village in Cambodia* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1968), p. 108).

[145] On *khoei su* see for example in NAT R. V RL-M/3 Khat rang tra tang tang mi pai hua mueang mahatthai (pi mamia tho sok C.S. 1232) [Copy of draft letter to provinces under administration of the Ministry of Interior [A.D. 1870-1871], no. 165, pp. 394-395.

[146] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

> Lalok. After that he disrobed and went to reside at the house of Luang Sanit, the husband, and Amdaeng Mom, the wife. Later, he was put in jail.[147]

Then, Keng and Kae told Suat and Mok that there were fifty–armed people waiting outside the city wall.[148] Eventually, Suat and Mok decided to join in freeing Nori.

Place of Hope, Hope as Place

Scholars of the *phu mi bun* Rebellions of 1901–1902 in northeastern Siam and southern French Laos, and the Saya San Rebellion of 1930-1931 in British Burma, reach the same conclusion that the causes of these Rebellions were rapid socio-economic and political changes.[149] However, some if not many of this kind of movement emerged without political and economic resentment. In the case of Nori's uprising, those who rose against their masters remained exploited, but their "subsistence ethic" did not seemed to be infringed.[150] There was no large-scale conscription for corvée labor in Siem Reap Province from the killing of Bânteay Ta Prohm in April 28, 1860 to Nori's uprising in 1863-1864. The vacancy of the Cambodian throne and its turbulent consequences, including the questionable legitimacy of Norodom, did not seemed to affect Siamese rule and legitimacy in its Khmer provinces.[151] Thus, why did *reas* take part in Nori's movement? Perhaps it was because of hope.

Hope is a desire for something good and an expectation for better in the future.[152] In nineteenth–century Cambodia, the most common and popular hope was deeply rooted in Buddhist doctrines. Basically, Buddhism promises liberation from all bondages. It is thus a religion of hope. *Reas* were commonly familiar with places that were abundant with happiness and prosperity, such as heavens (in particular Tāvatimsa), the city of Nibbāna (which is the materialization of the abstract nibbāna), and the kingdom of the future Buddha Metteyya, through written and visual texts and ritual practices expressed and transmitted by telling, listening, and seeing.[153] Merit making was usually accompanied by wishes of merit makers. The most common wish was to be born in the heavens, the city of Nibbāna, and the kingdom of Metteyya.

However, the paths to the heavens and the city of Nibbāna were very narrow for *reas* since the quantity of *bŏn*, which was almost synonymous with wealth, was an imperative requirement. In addition, the heavens and the city of Nibbāna were otherworldly places and times. But it was more likely to enter the kingdom of Metteyya.

Canonically, the kingdom of Metteyya will begin after the disappearance of sāsanā of the present Gōtama Buddha in the year 5000. In *Pãnhcha puth pyéakor*, a Khmer translation of *Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna*, literally "the description of the Five Buddha-s' eras," which was

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[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid.

[149] In more detail see "Unrising in the Archives" Section of Introduction.

[150] About the "subsistence ethic" see James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 13-34.

[151] Charles F. Keyes argues that millennial movement "is based on two fundamental premises: (1) that millennial movements emerge during a crisis centering around conceptions of power, and (2) that such movements represent an ideological response formulated in the cultural terms with which that population is most familiar" (Charles F. Keyes, "Millennialism, Theravada Buddhism, and Thai Society": 301-302.

[152] About a definition of hope see Ana Cecilia Dinerstein, "Hope," p. 199, and Bruce Robbins, "Hope," *www.politicalconcepts.org/hope–bruce–robbins/* (accessed March 2, 2016).

[153] On these topics see Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali imagimaire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

considered the prophecy of the present Buddha, the coming of Metteyya is mentioed as follow,

> We all will no longer meet any more Buddha. In the future, when the great Bodhisattva Preah Siārayametri is born, we all will hope to be born in his epoch. O bhikkhu! Preah Siārayametri will live for 80,000 years before entering the paramanibbāna.[154]

However, Metteyya's descending to the earth varies from one scripture to another, from 500 years after the Gōtama Buddha's death to 5,000 years, or 5 million years. Moreover, Meteyya may descend to "assist kings who expand the saṅgha and establish Buddhist kingdoms. Serial interim descent cults feature Maitreya briefly descending during Sakyamuni's kalpa to consecrate a Buddhist cakravartin and spread the Dharma widely in order to facilitate his own final descent from Tusita."[155] We do not know to what extent this belief was spread among the people in Theravāda Southeast Asia, but the corresponding idea of "shortening time of the coming of Maitreya"[156] could also accommodate the appearance of Metteyya before the year 5000. Hence, Meteyya might descend on earth whenever he is needed.[157] And he could descend more than one time before the year 5000. His kingdom would appear again and again in this here-and-now world.

Metteyya described his kingdom on earth as follow,

> In a pleasant way I gave pleasing food and drink: when I attain omniscience human beings will be prosperous. In a pleasant way I gave pleasing clothes: when I attain omniscience human beings will be handsome. I gave to supplicants pleasing vehicles, elephants, horses, chariots, palanquins and litters: when I attain omniscience human beings will be happy. I freed beings from bondage, from hatred and suffering: when I attain omniscience, beings will be free. I practise loving-kindness equally to friend and foe: when I attain omniscience, the ground will be even. I made supplicants happy with food and wealth: when I attain omniscience rivers will be full of cool water.[158]

On the one hand, Metteyya advised one who wishes to enter his kingdom to make merit by offering a huge number of things, i.e. "thousand lanterns, thousand lotuses, thousand water lilies, cotton banners, thousand rice balls." On the other hand, Metteyya offered a ticket to enter his kingdom to the poor by "attentively listening to Maha Vessandon Chadok [Vessantara Jātaka] within one day."[159]

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[154] EFEO Mss camb P 53/Pānhcha puth pyéa karoṇa.

[155] Peter D. Sharrock, "Maitreya First," in Leelananda Prematilleke (ed.), *Abhinandanamala: Nandana Chutiwongs Felicitation Volume* (Bangkok: SPAFA Regional Centre of Archaeology and Fine Arts and the Abhinandanamala Committee, 2010), pp. 361-369.

[156] Somkiat Wantana, *Kansuksa prawatsat thang kwamkit khong thai* [A study of Thai intellectual history] (Bangkok: History Society, 2522 [1979], p. 38.

[157] See for example in EFEO Mss khmer O253 Kpuon buddaṃnāy; kpoun Ind daṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy.

[158] Steve Collins, "The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva," *Journal of the Pali Texts Society* XVIII (1993): 90.

[159] Santani A-buarat, *Kansueksa wannakam isan reaung malai muen malai saen* [A Study of the Northeastern Literature Malai Muen Malai Saen] (M.A. Thesis, Srinakharinwirot University, 2528 [1985]), pp. 241-242.

See this same passage in the other tellings of Māleyya as follows: *Malai Ton Malai Plai* see Udom Rungrueangsri (ed.), *Vessantara chadok chabap maiphai chae riao daeng* [Vessantara Jātaka, maiphai chae riao daeng

Ashley Thompson argues that the Angkor Wat's central sanctuary transformed to stūpa represented Metteyya and the Messianic royal cult, which involved "the imminent arrival of Cambodia's savior –the king, Rāmā, Maitreya, or *anak mān puṇy*– and the restoration of Cambodia's political and moral order" at the center of the cult.[160] We do not know whether *reas* knew such a representation of Angkor Wat. But we do know that Metteyya was known to *reas* through various texts, both written and visual, and rituals.

In ninteenth-century Cambodia, there was a vernacular text called *Anakotvong*, which was translated from the Pāli *Anāgatavaṅ*,[161] an enlarged and expanded version of Metteyya's story.[162] Narratives about Metteyya can also be found in two extra-canonical texts called *Dasabōdhisattu-pattikathā* and *Dasabōdhiuddesa*, which were biographies of ten future Buddha-s, starting with Metteyya.[163] The Pāli *Dasabōdhiuddesa* was called in Cambodia and Siam

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version] (Chiang Mai: Social Inverstment Fund, Government Savings Bank, 2545 [2002]), p. 58; *Phra Malai Kham Luang* see Bonnie Pacala Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1995), p. 211; Pāli *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* in Eugène Denis, "Braḥ Māleyyadevattheravatthuṃ," *Journal of the Pali Texts Society* XVIII (1993): 44-45; and English translation of Pāli *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* in Steve Collins, "The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva": 85.

[160] Ashley Thompson, "The Future of Cambodia's Past: A Messianic Middle-Period Cambodian Royal Cult," in John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), History, *Buddhism, and the New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 13-39, p. 18 for quotation.

[161] EFEO-FEMC 003.III.1-A.05.13.02 Anāgatavaṅ; EFEO-FEMC b.286.III.1 Anāgatavaṅ; BnF Mss Indochinois 170 B Anāgatavuṅ. These manuscripts are not the same *Anāgatavaṁsa* edited by J. Minayeff for the Pali Text Society is based upon four Burmese manuscripts found in Mandalay, Rangoon, and Prome (J. Minayeff (ed.), "Anāgata-vaṃsa," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1886): 33-53.

Anāgatavaṁsa, probably written in Lanka in 12th century (Bimala Churn Law, *A History of Pāli Literature* (Varanasi: Indica Books, 2000), pp. 599-602; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literarture* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 98; G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon* (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd, 1958), pp. 178-179; G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, vol. 1 A-Dh* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2007), p. 551). It was lost during periodic unrest in Lanka. In the mid-eighteenth century, a copy of *Anāgatavaṁsa* was brought from Siam during the revival of the sangha in Lanka (H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Rueang praditsathan phrasong sayamwong nai langka thawip* [On the establishment of the Sayām Nikāya in Lanka] (Bangkok: [s.n.], 2459 [1916], p. 235). See also Oskar von Hinüber, "Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon From Siam in the 18th Century," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XII (1988): 175–183; and Supaphan Na Bangchang, "A Pāli Letter Sent by the Aggamahāsenāpati of Siam to the Royal court of Kandy in 1756," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XII (1988): 184-212).

On the revival of the sangha in Lanka in the eighteenth century see also *Religious Intercourse Between Ceylon and Siam in the Eighteenth Century II: Syāmūpadasampadā, The adaption of the Siamese Order of priesthood in Ceylon, Saka Era 1673 (1751 A.C)*, complied by Siddhartha Buddharakhita Thero (Bangkok: the Committee of the Vajirañāṇa National Library, 1914). The religious intercourse between Lanka/Ceylon and Siam continued to until the end of the nineteenth century (See H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Rueang praditsathan phrasong sayamwong nai langka thawip* [On the establishment of the Sayām Nikāya in Lanka], and Anne M. Blackburn, *Location of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

[162] Metteyya is mentioned once in the Pāli canon that is Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Tathāgata Maitreya," in Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (eds.), *Maitreya, The Future Buddha* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 54-55). He is the only future Buddha mentioned in Tipiṭaka (Kenneth Roy Norman, *Pāli Literature, including the Canonical Literature in Prekrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 161).

[163] *Dasabōdhisattupattikathā* was probably composed in late 14th century probably in Lanka (H. Saddhatissa, *Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas (Dasabodhisattuppatti-kathā)* (London: Pali Text Society, 1975), p. 19. See also Kenneth Roy Norman, *Pāli Literature,* p. 161; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literarture*, p. 99). While *Dasabōdhiuddesa*, probably was written in Ayutthaya in the latter half of 16th century, and influenced, or perhaps imitated, from *Dasabōdhisattupattikathā.* Unsurprisingly, however, *Dasabōdhiuddesa* is the adapted and expanded version of *Dasabōdhisattupattikathā* (Supaphan na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan wannakadi sai phra suttantapidok ti taeng nai prathet thai* [The Development of Pāli Literature Based on the Suttanta Piṭaka Composed in Thailand] (Bangkok:

Anāgatavaṅ.[164] Vernacular translations of *Dasabōdhiuddesa* were called *Tosvong* (*Dassavuṅs*) in Cambodia,[165] but *Anagotavong* (*Anāgatavaṅ*) in Siam.[166] In ninteenth-century Siam, the influence of either Pāli or vernacular *Dasabōdhiuddesa* was limited.[167] A text concerning Metteyya that was more popular which wide and deep influence among peoples was *Phra Malai* (Māleyya), one of the three "key" texts of both popular and élite traditions of traditional Siam.[168]

The legend of Māleyya is about a monk who visited the hells and heavens and came back to preach people about what he had seen and heard.[169] The possible place of origin of the legend of Māleyya was Lanka. Then it came to Burma and other Theravāda states in Southeast Asia.[170] It was widely known in Theravāda Southeast Asia. In Siam/Thailand, it was especially popular with Māleyya being called *Phra Malai*.[171] In Cambodia, where Māleyya was called *Prĕah Mealĕy*, the tellings of Māleyya existed in both Pāli and vernacular Khmer,[172] but in less numbers compared to Siam. Interestingly, two vernacular Khmer versions, *Mahā*

Chulalongkorn University, 2533 [1991]), pp. 193-196, 201-204. See also Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literarture*, p. 98; and Kenneth Roy Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 162). Pharn Wong-Uan proposes vice versa, however. He argues that *Dasabōdhiuddesa*, which he called *Anāgatavaṃsa*, was composed in Northern Thailand during 11th to 13th centuries. It influenced Lankan commentator and scholar in composing *Dasabōdhisattupattikathā* (Pharn Wong-Uan, *Khamphi Anakotwong Uthet ti 1-10: Kan truat chamra lae suksa choeng wikro* [Anāgatavaṃsa Chapter I–X: An Edition and a Critical Study] (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2522 [1979]), pp. 3-8, 231).

[164] François Martini, "Dasa-bodhisatta-uddesa. Texte pâli, publié avec une traduction et un index grammatical," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936): 287. Martini called those two manuscripts "Fonds indochinois, nos 629 et 649," which are now called Pāli 629 Anāgatavaṃsa and Pāli 649 Anāgatavaṃsa respectively.

However, Martini did not give a title of the third manuscript, which borrowed from Siam, he used. It probably is one of 16 manuscripts preserved in the National Library of Thailand that Pharn Wong-Uan used in his study (Pharn Wong-Uan, *Khamphi Anakotwong Uthet ti 1-10: Kan truat chamra lae suksa choeng wikro* [Anāgatavaṃsa Chapter I-X: An Edition and a Critical Study]). The content of Martini's *Dasa-bodhisatta-uddesa* is identical with Pharn's *Anakotwong*.

[165] BnF Mss Indochinois 185 Dassavuṅs. See also Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1953), pp. 190-191; Antoine Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois & Malayo-Polynésiens* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), p. 187.

[166] *Prachum phonsawadan chabap rat phak sam phra anakotwong* [Collected Chronicle, People's edition: Part 3 Phra Anagotwong], compiled by Bampen Ravin (Bangkok: Amarin, 2542 [1999]).

[167] Highest level of the merit making, such as cutting head off offering to the Buddha that is the practice of the emperor Saṅkha who will be Metteyya in the future, and lighting fire on head offering to the Buddha that is the practice of Nārada who will be Rāmā, the future Buddha next to Metteyya (Pharn Wong-Uan, *Khamphi Anakotwong Uthet ti 1-10: Kan truat chamra lae suksa choeng wikro* [Anāgatavaṃsa Chapter I-X: An Edition and a Critical Study], pp. 192-193, 195) bacame models of people in the early Bangkok era. Some set themselves on fire in order to attain the Buddhahood. Some set fire to their arms or hands substituting candle or lamp offering to the Buddha (Saran Thongpan, "Latthi Anakotwong: phutthasatsana prachaniyom yuk ton rattanakosin [The Cult of *Anagatavamsa*: Popular Early Bangkok Period Buddhism]," *Damrong Journal: Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology, Silapakorn University* 8, 2 (2552 [2009]): 105-109).

[168] Charles F. Keyes, *Thiland: Buddhist Kingdom as Modern Nation-Staes* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987), p. 181. The other two are *Maha Chat* (literally "the Great Birth," or Vessantara Jātaka) and *Tri Phum*.

[169] See detailed summary of the legend of Māleyya in Bonnie Pacala Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai*, pp. 7-13.

[170] See discussion about source and origin of the legend of Māleyya Ibid., pp. 25-50.

[171] Ibid, p. 2.

Māleyyadevattheravatthu, the legend of Māleyya in Pāli has been copied over and over again, and its commentary called *Mālayyavatthudīpaṇīṭikā* has been composed (Supaphan na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan wannakadi sai phra suttantapidok ti taeng nai prathet thai* [The Development of Pāli Literature Based on the Suttanta Piṭaka Composed in Thailand], pp. 472-483). And they have been translated to different vernaculars.

[172] EFEO Mss Khmer O 118 Braḥ mālai; EFEO-FEMC 035*.III.1-PP.03.03.03 Mahā laiy; BnF Mss Indochinois 165E Mālaiy debb thèr; BnF Mss Indochinois 400 Mālaiy.

laiy[173] and *Mālaiy debb thèr*,[174] which were probably translations of the same Pāli texts, were significantly different from each other. Both texts promised heavenly rewards.[175]

"The Phra Malai story does clearly encourage the faithful to support the Vessantara Jātaka festival," notes Bonnie Pacala Brereton.[176] In Siam, the tellings of Māleyya will be recited before the preaching of Vessantara Jātaka. In Cambodia, however, it was not part of the Vessantara Jātaka festival,[177] but it was used to *tés* (to preach) in other occasions. In the ceremony of merit making held in Angkor Wat in 1700 by the widow and children of a high-ranking mandarin, *Mahā laiy* was recited. Beliefs related to the tellings of Māleyya were also present in the death rituals. When one is on his deathbed,

> Do invite a monk to recite the precepts to the dying man. When it is seen that he has very little strength, put between his two hands that are placed together at his chest a *sla truoy* (cone–shaped container made of banana leaves that holds areca nut and betel leaves), candle and joss stick. Then, say these words: 'O you, we all made this *sla truoy* for you to carry to offer *Prĕah Cŏllamani* which is in the heaven. Do not be careless.'[178]

In the funeral, *tŭang prolĕung* or soul banner made from white cloth, which will be placed at the head of the corpse, is sometimes decorated with an image of *Prĕah Caulamani Chetĕy*, the stūpa containing the Buddha's hair and diadem in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.[179] The following sacred formula in Pāli is usually inscribed onto the banner,

> I pay homage to Cūlāmaṇī cetiya in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven
> Name and body [embodied existence] are impermanent
> Name and body are painful
> Name and body are without ātman.

At the bottom of the banner, the name of the deceased is usually written with the date of death.[180]

Prĕah bâ̆t, literally "sacred cloth," depicting *Prĕah Mealĕy* in Tāvatiṃsa is preferred to exhibit during the funeral.[181] The probably oldest surviving *prĕah bâ̆t* depicting the tellings of

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[173] EFEO-FEMC 035*.III.1-PP.03.03.03 Mahā laiy.

[174] BnF Mss Indochinois 165E Mālaiy debb thèr.

[175] Bonnie Pacala Brereton classified the tllings of Māleyya into two type, promising heavenly rewards and warning of hellish torture (Bonnie Pacala Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai*, pp. 16-20).

[176] Ibid., p. 63.

[177] Adhémard Leclèle, *Cambodge: Fêtes civiles et religieuses* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1916), pp. 414-418. However, influence of Metteya's instruction in the tellings of Māleyya is obviously seen through the tradition that the recitation of the Vessantara Jātaka must be finished in one day.

[178] BMA Ms 706/4 Naeh kpoun brah paramm sabbh, p. 1. See French translation in Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge, La Crémation et les Rites Funéraires* (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-éditeur, 1906), pp 11-12. See also *Cérémonies privées des cambodgiens* (Phnom Penh: Éditions de l'Institut Bouddhique, 1958), pp. 73-74. These same practice and belief can be also found in Thailand (Sathirakoses (Phraya Anuman Rajadhon), *Prapeni kiaokap chiwit* [Life cycle ceremonies] (Bangkok: Sayam, 2541 [1998]), p. 134.

[179] *Cérémonies privées des cambodgiens*, pp. 74, 77; Ang Choulean, Preap Chănmara and Sŭn Chăndoeb, *Dâ̆mnaoe chivĭt mnŭs khmae moel tam pĭthi chlong vŏay* [Ways of Life of the Khmers According to the Rites of Passage] (Hânŭman Téhsachâ: Phnom Penh, 2007), pp. 86-87.

[180] Erik W. Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism's ritual Imagination in Cambodia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. 57.

[181] Vittorio Roveda and Sothon Yem, *Preah Bot: Buddhist Painted Scrolls in Cambodia* (Bangkok: River Books,

Māleyya dated to the end of the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. It illustrates *Prĕah Mealĕy* in Tavatiṃsa, the most polular theme of the tellings of Māleyya. *Prĕah Mealĕy* is at the center of the scroll devided into two registers. He is seated on a plinth and talking with Indrā on his right-hand side in front of the Cuḷamaṇī Cetiya, which is flanked by banners and surrounded by flying deities coming to worship it. On his left-hand side sits a white-skinned deity and his entourage. Dividing the two parts is a wall surrounding the Cuḷamaṇī Cetiya. The lower register depicts a scene of meditation on corpses.[182]

Although Metteyya is never mentioned, what underlies those practices in the death rituals is precisely belief on Metteyya presented through Cuḷamaṇī Cetiya. To worship the Cuḷamaṇī Cetiya means to worship Metteyya and implies the wish to meet Metteyya in the future. Wishing to be born in Meteyya's epoch can be seen implicitly through ritual practices, and explicitly through inscriptions, manuscript colophons, and oral vows.

The belief of Metteyya, also called the cult of Metteyya cult, with its various manifestations is usually regarded as an elementary cause, or an infrastructure, of millenarian rebellions. Elementarily, it is the belief or cult of hope for a better future life in this world. Even though some *nĕak mean bŏn*, including Nori, did not claimed to be Metteyya, both figures were personifications of hope.[183] For this very reason, a hope created an uprising.

Hope is emotion and feeling. According to Ernst Bloch, it is, "*the most human of all mental feelings and only accessible to men, and it also refers to the furthest and brightest horizon*."[184] Although the land of pleasure, happiness, and prosperity that *nĕak mean bŏn* promised was a "not-yet" prospect, it must have been there because it was felt to be there.[185] During the place and time in between the hearing of the news of the appearance of *nĕak mean bŏn* and the emergence of the promised land, or the liminal place and time, *reas* lived their lives in a singularity of hope. There, laws, norms, and orders would be broken down. To hope meant to free oneself from determistic products of one's past lives. Hope turned a mundane place of obedience and obligation to be a place of hope to which *reas* could attend here and now. Hope was itself a place.

Magic of the Ordinary

The moon had vanished from the sky around three hours ago. It was one o'clock at night of July 7, 1864.[186] The citadel of Siem Reap was falling asleep. A band of armed men was moving quietly under the moonless sky. They came into the citadel by the West Gate and moved counter-clockwise to the east toward the jail in front of the Governor's residence, located on the left of the main gate of the eastern wall.[187] Then, eight folks, namely, Keng,

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2010), p. 17.

[182] Ibid., pp. 8, 93, 94, 140.

[183] Metteyya as a personification of hope see Alan Sponberg, "Introduction," in Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, p. 2.

[184] Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope,* volume 1, translated by Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice and Paul Knight (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), p. 75. Italic is original.

[185] This idea taken from Brian Massumi, "The Future Birth of the Affective Fact: The Political Ontology of Threat," in Anthony Bryanyt and Griselda Pollock (eds.), *Digital and Oter Virtualities: Renegotiating the Image* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010), p. 80. I would like to thank Arthit Jiamrattanyu to introduce Massumi's work to me.

[186] In Khmer traditional time system, a day begin at dawn, sunrise is a mark of new day, not at midnight. Thus, it was July 7 one o'clock at night.

[187] A. Filoz, *Cambodge et Siam: voyage, séjour aux ruines des monuments khmers*, p. 49; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/284.

Kae, Suat, Ok, Kun, Miet, Suat Thong, and Paen, went inside the jail. Some documents reported that they fired two fusil shots and drove out all prisoners and conscripted people who were assigned to guard the prison. Some claimed that conscripted guard collaborated with them. In any case, at least three prisoners, Nori, Prak, and Som were rescued.[188]

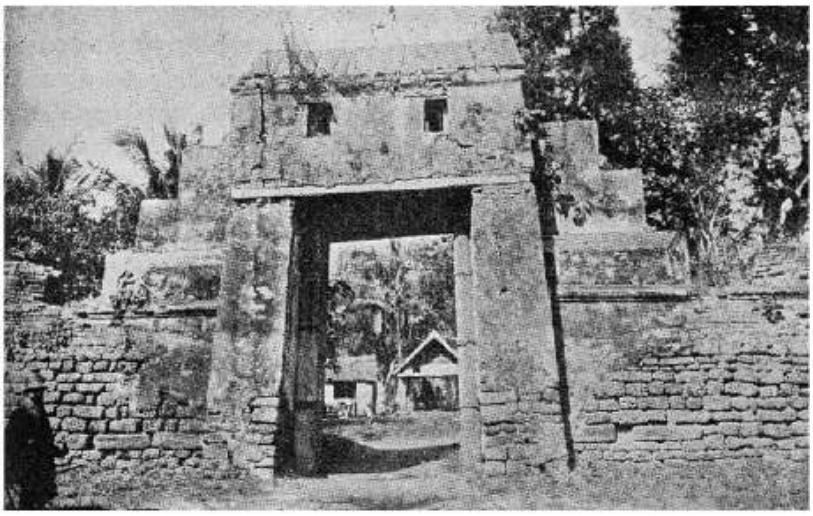


Figure 2.1: A Gate of the Citadel of Siem Reap (Photo by Pestel)
(Source: Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome II Les provinces siamoises* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), p. 355)

The number of people who stormed the jail varies from document to document. It was from 30 to 40 in a report of Phraya Ratchavaranukul (Krut), a Siamese official who was sent to administer Norodom the *Ŏbarach* in Ŭdŏng, dated July 15, 1864, just a week after the incident.[189] In another report dated about a month later (August 23) of Khun Pitsanusaen, a Siamese *kha luang*, and officials of Bătdâmbâng and Siem Reap, the number remained unchanged.[190] It was increased from 40 to 50 in a letter dated in late August 1864,[191] and to about 60 in a report of the governor of Siem Reap dated September 6, 1864, which was based on testimonies of Nori, Saut and Mok.[192] Whatever the number was, who were those people? Unfortunately, apart from Keng, Kae, Suat, and Mok, what we know about the others are only their names and habitations (some of them were inhabitants of Siem Reap; some were inhabitants of Chi Kraeng in Kâmpóng Svay).[193]

After their mission was achieved, the intruders separated into two groups. One group consisted of fifteen folks, including Nori and Keng. Three among them were people who went to the jail to free Nori. Their destination was Kâmpóng Svay. But Nori first led his followers to Luang Sanit's house in Angkor Thom to ask for "European and Japanese hats and a

[188] NLT CMH C.S. 1226/45; NLT CMH C.S. 1226/52; NLT CMH C.S. 1226/200; NLT CMH C.S. 1226/282; NLT CMH C.S. 1226/284.
[189] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/284.
[190] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/282.
[191] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/45.
[192] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/52; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.
[193] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/52; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

blanket." They probably left for the Khmer border township of Chi Kraeng that night. When they arrived at Chi Kraeng on July 10, the number of people in the group increased from fifteen to twenty six. All previous fifteen folks remained except one. However, that one would come to unite with Nori again in the next few days. It is unknown whether the new twelve folks were in the group of armed people who stormed the jail or not.[194]

The other group consisted of eight folks, including Kae, Suat, and Mok. They returned to their dwellings to take clothes and provisions. At that night, they left for Chi Kraeng and stayed at Vât Kon Tian. On July 8, four of them went back to the city of Siem Reap. On the same day, Kae, Suat, Mok, and another one headed to join Nori in Chi Kraeng. They were charged as bandits and captured by local authorities in Chi Kraeng. However, when Nori and the group of twenty-six men arrived in Chi Kraeng on July 10, four of them were released and handed to Nori.[195]

Nori and his followers spent the night of July 10 at the house of Luang Ratchamaitri in Phoum Pravan of Chi Kraeng.[196] Luang Ratchamaitri prepared a meal for them. Moreover, he gave Nori a *Yuon* drum and a *phkĕak* (a long-handled knife), and also ordered two folks, Duang and Keo, to guide Nori to Stŏng. Nori borrowed a full horse from a monk of Vât Krasat. Now Nori was ready. On July 11, Nori left Chi Kraeng for Stŏng in the procession arranged as follow,

> In front, marched Ai So, bearing in hand *pkak* (Kh. *phkĕak*). Ai Paen and Ai Chab slung a sword over their shoulders and bore rattans in both of their hands. Next after, Ai Kae and Ai Kun, slinging a sword over their shoulder, walked on the left and right sides. Ai Nori, draping and pleating *pha pum* (woven fabric used as as a kind of insignia) with a piece of green silk cloth rested upon his shoulder, was on a horseback riding. In front of the horse was Ai Sin with a musket. On the left and right sides of the horse's face line were Ai Suat Thong and Ai Mok Sayo with *pkak*-s. Ai Som the petite, holding a Lao sword without a sheath, walked along the left side of the horse. Ai Kae, holding a Chinese paper umbrella over Nori's head, walked along the right side of the horse. Ai Som the big, beating a *Yuon* drum on his shoulder, and Ai Keo, a folk of Chi Kraeng, blowing a flute, walked after the horse. Ai Suat and Ai Mok, slinging a Khmer sword over their shoulder, walked the left and right sides along with the drums. Ai Keo, Ai Kong, Ai Pok, Ai Tui, and Ai Meng, holding square wood sticks and carrying joss-sticks and candles, walked after the drums.[197]

This procession and his appearance, "draping and pleating *pha pum* with a piece of green silk cloth rested upon his shoulder," manifested that Nori was not a prisoner who escaped from jail, but a *nĕak mean bŏn*, the prince, and the king.

Ideally, those who made *bŏn* from their previous lives will be reborn with a fine-looking physical appearance. In other words, merit/power is made visible to all by physical and bodily appearances. In the real world, however, being a king, prince, and nobleman did not exempted them from ugliness. Thus, the appearances that make people recognize the royal personages, as well as the dignitaries, were not physical and bodily appearances, but decorated

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[194] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/52.

[195] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[196] It probably is present day Baval Village, Ta Yaek Commune, Soutr Nikom District, Siem Reap Province. See U.S. Army Map Service, *Cambodia 1:50,000*, series L7016, sheet 5835 IV Phum Sret.

[197] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

appearances, i.e. apparel, insignia, and appurtenance. As Bastian noted, "*chao muang* appeared to pay me a visit, followed by many retainers, one bearing an umbrella to shade the prince."[198] Also in Siam, "A Traveller" who had visited the Siamese court in the 1850s noted that "His rich dress and the insignia of rank that adorned his person, proclaimed him of royal lineage."[199]

Apparel, insignia, and appurtenance were imperative elements of a government in Cambodia. In 1795, a year after King Eng resumed the Cambodian throne, he enacted a decree on governmental administration that creates "four first-class ministers, each of whom possesses *săk* 10000 and a parasol covered with red silk with triple ornamental fringes. Each wears a red gown and holds a hexagon container that contains insignias of rank when he has an audience with the monarch."[200] Articles 135 to 138 in the *Krâm montirobal* (Palace Law) set out rules for apparel and insignia decoration.[201] Losing apparel, insignia, and appurtenance means losing legitimacy in title and authority. As described in the family history of a Khmer dignitary Oknha Norĭn (Nong), dated 1855, when he, his family, and his people fled Vietnamese troops to Siam in the 1830s, "They left everything –silk clothes, silver, gold, valuable tables and trays– with no regret because they were frightened. They fled without taking anything with them."[202] Among what was left were insignias of rank. Oknha Norĭn (Nong) would resume his status when he became a servant of the Siamese king and was bestowed insignias of rank, i.e. tables, trays, bowls, and dishes.[203] It was an explanation as to why Nori had to go the Luang Sanit's house immediately after escaping from jail to ask for "European and Japanese hats," a kind of insignia. *Pha pum*, a long, rectangular tie-dyed silk cloth woven in weft-patterned, which Nori wore, was used as an insignia of rank for the Siamese nobility.[204] *Pha pum*, also called *sompak* or *sompak pum*, was also used by the Khmer royalty and nobility as well. Wearing *pha pum* and possessing numerous things, such as wives and children, dancing corps, artists and orchestras were materializations and visualizations of merit/power.

Performing a procession was the kind of insignia. King Duong was angry at his son, Norodom the *Ŏbarach* because "when he wanted to go anywhere, he entered the palanquin with 30 men marching in front [of the palanquin] each on the left and right sides, bearing bundles of rattans and carrying sabers. Behind came men bearing insignias, muskets, and lances." Such grandeur procession was considered improper. King Duong himself "was the king of Cambodia for many years (but) when he went anywhere he had with him only ten

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[198] Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, pp. 54-55.

[199] A Traveller, "Life in a Palace; or, Glimpses of Royalty. A Sketch of the Romantic Life of His Majesty Somdet Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu Hua, the present King of Siam," *Southern Literary Messenger; A Magazine Devoted to Every Department of Literature and the Fine Arts* 28, 6 (June 1859): 450.

[200] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], pp. 130-131.

[201] BMA Ms 685/D–22 Krâm montirobal, pp. 97-100.

Krâm montirobal, literally "Code on Guardian of the Palace," was enacted in 1875. It is a revised version of the older code. See French translated version in Adhémard Leclère, *Les codes cambodgiens*, tome I (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), p. 212; and Thai translated version in *Kot Montianban Krung Kamphucha* [Law on Guardian of the Palace of Cambodia] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2462 [1919]), pp. 65-67.

[202] Prĕah Bâtŭm Baramey (Pich), "Sastra Lbaœk Rôba Khsat Phaendey Uday Reachea Ang Chan [Manuscrit recontant la ligneé du roi Outeyréachéa Ang Chan]," in Khin Sok, *L'Annexion du Cambodge par les Vietnamiens au XIXo siècle: d'après les duex poèmes de vénérable Bâtum Baramey Pich* (Paris: Édition You-Feng, 2002), p. 290.

[203] Ibid., p. 294.

[204] In Siam, a first grade *pha pum* mostly came from Cambodia as *suai* payment.

men with rattans sticks and sabers." So, the King prohibited the *Ŏbarach* to do it again. "If Phra Norodom Promborirak, the *Maha Upparat* [Kh. *Měaha Ŏbarach*], wants to go anywhere, he is allowed to have only five men, bearing bundles of rattans and carrying sabers, march in front. *Phra Harirat Danai Trai Keofa* (Kh. *Prĕah Keavfea*, the royal title of Sisowath) is allowed one man bearing bundles of rattans and tow men carrying sabers. If they break the king's order, they will be punished."[205]



Figure 2.2: A Royal Procession of *Prĕah Keavfea* (Sisowath), 1866 (Photo by Emile Gsell). (Source: Gilman Collection, Purchase, The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation Gift, through Joyce and Robert Menschel, 2005)

However, when Henri Mouhot had an audience with Norodom in 1859, he noted the procession of the *Ŏbarach*, whom he recognized as the second king:

[205] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/173.

> [Norodom] entered a sedan-chair or palanquin magnificently carved and painted. His head and feet were bare, his hair cut in the Siamese fashion, and he wore a superb langouti of yellow silk, with a girdle of the same material, but of a lighter shade. The palanquin was borne on the shoulders of four attendants, and another held up an enormous red parasol with a gilt handle upwards of twelve feet long. The youngest prince, carrying the king's sabre, walked beside him... In front marched three lictors, bearing in their hands bundles of rattans (the emblems of power); behind the palanquin came, two and two, the chamberlains and pages, numbering more than thirty, all dressed in red, and bearing on their shoulders pikes, sabres, or guns in cases. In this order we arrived at the outer entrance of the palace of the first king.[206]

Merit/power is intangible.[207] It is tangibilized (or made physical) and presented in multifarious ways, i.e. decorated appearances and performances (ritual, ceremony, and procession). Nori had a very deeply understanding of this nature of merit/power. He decorated himself with a rich dress and insignias and performed more processions en route to Kẫmpóng Svay.

Fear and Love

When Nori reached Ban Dong (Dong Village) on July 11, 1864, he said to Chan, the village's head, and villagers that, "Wherever a *phu mi bon* visits, a contagious disease always comes after him."[208] Nori repeated the same words two times en route to Kẫmpóng Svay.[209] It is reasonable to assume that Nori had spread his threatening words several times before. And those words, with embellished added additions, were also circulated among the people by his followers. On the night of July 7, Keng and Kae said to Suat and Mok that,

> If he [Nori] is chained and barred by whoever, contagious disease will come to eat people. When Phraya Khu Khan imprisoned Ai Nori and Ai Prak, an infectious disease spread and killed people in Khu Khan in a great numbers. Then, insects suddenly appeared to eat trunks, leaves, and fruits of trees.[210]

For many people, Nori's threatening words were real although it did not happen yet. Fear was felt. As Brian Massumi argues, "It will have been real because it was felt to be real. Whether the danger was existent or no, the menace was felt in the form of fear."[211] Interestingly, for Massumi, "The affective reality of threat is contagious,"[212] and the adjective "contagious" was also used to describe the danger caused by *nĕak mean bŏn*. A not yet existent fear exists not only in the time of crisis, such as war and famine, but also in ordinary times. Fear is an elementary aspect of the human condition. Side by side with hope, it is everywhere.

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[206] Henri Mouhot, *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos, during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860*, volume I (London: John Murray, 1864), p. 208.

[207] Benedict Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2006), p. 22.

[208] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Brian Massumi, "The Future Birth of the Affective Fact: The Political Ontology of Threat," p. 80.

[212] Ibid., p. 84.

In the Khmer popular literature *Tŭm Teav*, an abbot taught his disciple Tŭm, "Don't challenge the King's authority. Fear his awesome power."[213] Teav's mother once said,

> His Excellency, Orh-Chhuon, is too important!
> Usually, beneath the sky everything is lower than a mountain.
> Those who have power don't ask.
> They simply cut, stab and beat someone without mercy.[214]

Being a king or dignitary, according to the popular Theravāda Buddhist traditions, is a result of *bŏn* that one accumulated in his previous lives. Thus, the king and dignitaries were those who had merit. Their merit/power made them respectable and, at the same time, dreaded. As Partha Chatterjee points out, "The king was meant to protect and look after his subjects as though they were his children. But the king was also the sovereign, the wielder of daṇḍa or punishment, and the exercise that power was not only his right but in fact his duty, because daṇḍa was the foundation of justice, order, and right conduct to the social world."[215] For *nĕak mean bŏn* such as Nori, he provided protection from daṇḍa (the contagious disease caused by he himself!) to *reas* by making for each of them "a sacred cotton garland and sacred water in order to live well and healthy."[216]

From Dong village, Nori and his followers continue marching east to Kŭmpóng Svay. *Reas* along the way they marched through provided them with meals, shelters, oxcarts, and guides. Perhaps it was because of fear, the fear of the contagious disease and the fear of power that was manifested through armed men in the spectacular procession.

It is clearer that Nori went to Kŭmpóng Svay in order to ask for help from Oknha Dechŏ, the governor of Kŭmpóng Svay. Nori somehow had some relationship and connection with officials in Siem Reap, Bătdŭmbâng, and Kŭmpóng Svay, but we know almost nothing about that. What we know is Nori used to tell Prak, according to Prak's wife Mon, that

> Most of villages' heads and *ratsadon* (Kh. *reas*) in Siem Reap joined him. He could seize the city of Siem Reap anytime he wanted. But he had to wait for a response from Phraya Decho of Krapong Thom (Kh. Kŭmpóng Thŭm), and Chao Krom Em, an official of Udong Michai (Kh. Udŏng Meanchey) who fled to Phratabong (Kh. Bătdŭmbâng). When Phraya Decho of Kompong Thom and Chao Krom Em marched their troops to Siem Rap (Kh. Siem Reap), that was the time to attack the city.[217]

This was possibly boastful. We never know.

In the morning of July 13, when he was in Stŏng, Nori was told that the governor had gone to Udŏng. Nori decided to go to Sarae Kandan in Kŭmpóng Svay. There, Phya Trai

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[213] George Chigas, *Tum Teav: A Translation and Analysis of a Cambodian Literary Classic* (Phnom Penh: The Document Center of Cambodia, 2005), p. 88. For Khmer version see Prĕah Bâtŭm Therăh (Saom), *Reuang Tŭm Teav* [A Story of Tŭm Teav] (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 2514 [1971]), p. 50.

[214] George Chigas, *Tum Teav: A Translation and Analysis of a Cambodian Literary Classic*, p. 74. For Khmer version see Prĕah Bâtŭm Therăh (Saom), *Reuang Tŭm Teav* [A Story of Tŭm Teav], p. 38.

[215] Partha Chatterjee, *A Princely Impostor? The Kumar of Bhawal and the Secret History of Indian Nationalism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), p. 30.

[216] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[217] Ibid.

(whose personal name was Som) set up a temporary building and prepared meals for Nori and his followers. Nori stayed there around 9-10 days, then Suat, Mok, and others went to remind Nori.

> 'We followed to depend on you. But perhaps Phraya Nuphap Traiphop would already put all of our family members in chain. So, how should we do in order to get them back?'
>
> Nori replied, 'Decho did not come back yet from Udong Michai (Kh. Ŭdŏng Meanchey). So, it is unable to think [about that issue] now.'

Then, Nori made three letters. The first letter was written to Khun Thet Anchit, or Khun Thet NuChit, of Siem Reap. In that letter, Nori informed that he already had escaped from jail. But his followers' children and wives were imprisoned in the city of Siem Reap. Nori ordered Khun Thet Anchit to think about rescuing them. The second letter was to Oknha Dechŏ to let him know about Nori's escape from jail. The third letter was sent to Chao Krom Em of Bătdâmbâng to ask for deposited clothes and horse. Several people, among them were Keng and Kae, were responsible for the delivery of those letters.

The letters were written in the name of King "Phra Bantul Ang Kuru Krom Piriraj," and "Phra Bantul Ang Phra Kurudom Krom Piriyaraj," or *Prĕah Bântoul Âng Kŏrŏ Krâm Pĭrĭreach* and *Prĕah Bântoul Âng Prĕah Kŏrŏtâm Krâm Pĭrĭyĕareach* in Khmer respectively. Kings usually dictated their scribe to write letter. We do not know who served Nori as his scribe. Perhaps, Nori who probably could read and write would write those letters himself. Although there was not any mention about the seal, a regalia which is a sign of power, it was most possible that Nori possessed it. The seal should be stamped at the end of those letters as an act of transferring power from the king to the letters. The letters were now representative of the king. Was Nori aware the power of written words and the seal? At least, Nori acknowledged the protocol of the élite and apparently adopted it as his own.

Around July 24, or 25, or 26, Rak from Kâmpóng Thŭm came to inform Nori that Phraya Nuphap Traiphop had sent some troops to capture him. Leaving his fourteen followers at Sarae Kandan, Nori and his four fellows, i.e. Suat, Mok, Paen, and Keo, fled to Kâmpóng Kdei. From there they sailed a boat to the Tonlé Sap Lake. Three days later, they reached Krapong Dong where they exchanged two swords for forty liters of rice, and some folks gave them fish and salt. Then, they continued sailing in the Tonlé Sap Lake to Siem Reap. They reached Pratop pier in the city of Siem Reap two days after. When nightfall came, they got off the boat at the south of the city wall. Suat and Mok went to see their wives and children, found no one, and retuned to Nori. Then, Nori, Suat, and Mok went to see Luang Sanit. They met only Chim.

Around the end of July 1864, Nori, Suat, Mok, Pean, and Keo reached Khun Thet AnChit's house in Prai Bang Village. They found that Khun Thet Anchit was not at home. Sao, who was Khun Thet AnChit's younger brother, prepared a temporary shelter and meals for them. After spending time there for two nights, Nori and his three followers went to Luang Phitak Kotchakrai, an official of Chongkan (Kh. Chŏngkăl), a township under the jurisdiction of Nakhon Ratchasima. Sao assigned his son, Ram, to accompany and guide Nori to Chŏngkăl. They reached Luang Phitak Kotchakrai's house on the same day.

Officials of Chŏngkăl, including Luang Yokkrabat, Luang Phitak Kotchakrai, Luang Promsena, Khun Cha Muaeng, and around 70-80 people, both Khmer and Chinese, both men and women, came to meet Nori.

> Ai Nori said to Luang Phitak that the children and wives of those who come to depend on him were put into jail in the city of Siem Rap (Kh. Siem Reap). Could you all help to rescue them? If you all did not help [me], then a contagious disease will come to eat [you all].
>
> All the officials and people remained in silence, saying nothing.
>
> Then, Ai Nori said to Luang Phitak that he would go to stay in Tuek Kla and ordered Luang Phitak to see him.
>
> Luang Phitak replied that he was busy; he could not manage to go.[218]

Perhaps, without any tangible signs of power, Nori became a naked *nĕak mean bŏn* and could not get any support from officials and *reas*.

So, Nori and Suat, Mok, Paen, and Keo left Chŏngkăl for Tuek Kla, which probably was Tĕuk Thla, another name of the West Baray in Siem Reap. Around 9–10 people brought food, areca nut, betel leaves, and flowers, joss-sticks and candles, to Nori. Some brought him finery clothes.

> Nori said to those people if they would help him or not. If not, a contagious disease will come to eat [you all].
>
> Those people replied to Nori that, if officials of Chongkan committed themselves to help him, they would also help Nori.[219]

It seems those *reas* feared the officials than the naked *nĕak mean bŏn*. On the other hand, offering things to the naked *nĕak mean bŏn* was fine, but following him and helping him were too much. To this respect, *reas* made such a decision not because of their fear of the masters, but by thinking and calculating about their safety in the very near future first.[220] Moreover, *reas* who were followers of the uprisings usually received less punishment than the leaders, if they could prove that they were not in the inner circle, or that they did not provide crucial supports to the uprisings. Following orders of their masters or those who were superior to them were a practice of the keen and the cunning. They were disguised under the mask of "an ignorant, an uneducated, and wild and savage people."[221]

Nori decided to come back to Prai Bang. He went to stay at the house of Sao, the headman of Prai Bang. He ordered Sao to send for the village headmen of Bu Khanun, Bu Nai, and Talok. At last, the four headmen vowed to help Nori. By comparing with officials of Chŏngkăl who refused to help Nori, these inferior headmen had less to lose. Perhaps, they could be tempted by Nori's promise more easily. Whatever their reasons, *reas* followed them in joining Nori.

On August 16, Nori moved a band of 80 men from Prai Bang. 50 of them were inhabitants of Prai Bang, Bu Khanun, Bu Nai, and Talok. These men were conscripted by their village headmen. The other 30 men probably came from the villages nearby. The more

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[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid.

[220] For an argument about safety-first ethic see James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*.

[221] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/45. See also King Mongkut, "Prakat waduai kanlaolue kanwa phra phutthamnay koed khuen thi mueang khamen (Pho. So. 2407) [Proclamation on rumors of the Prediction of the Buddha in Cambodia (B.E. 2407)]," in *Prachum prakat ratchakan thi si* [Collected Proclamations of the Fourth Reign], p. 401.

Nori marched forward, the more *reas* joined him. In the afternoon that day, Nori got seven men from Mud Ranad Village, 18 men from Ta Svay Village, and nine men from Chub Village (which was probably Chẵp). At the end of the day, the number of *reas* in the band reached 115.

On August 17, one hundred and more *reas* moved from Chup to Angkor Thom. Nori went to Luang Sanit, but found only Amdaeng Mom who prepared a meal and lent him three muskets, eight spears, and six swords. There, Suat who had helped rescue Nori from jail and had followed Nori since then was conferred a rank and title as Manosena, together with two other folks who recently joined Nori.

From Angkor Thom, the "army of dreamers" marched southward to stay in Angkor Wat. Around 8 o'clock that night, they marched south toward the city of Siem Reap. They intended to attack the fortified citadel. However, they did not plan to seize the citadel, nor throw out Siamese rule. They simply aimed to "seize back children and wives of Nori's followers from jail in the city of Siem Reap."[222]

As the leader, Nori was required to give his followers, and their families, a protection. It was also a proof of being a man of merit/power. However, Nori was urged to do so by Suat and others. And what drove Suat and others to ask their leader to think about rescuing their children and wives from jail were affections and loves that fundamentally caused the very reasonble plan to attack the citadel of Siem Reap.

Death, but not yet the end

The fullmoon was close to the zenith when the army of dreamers reached the citadel of Siem Reap, seven kilometers south of Angkor Wat. At about 80 meters north from the city wall, they hailed out loud and started to fire guns. Officials in the citadel of Siem Reap had been informed since around 5 o'clock of that day that Nori's army, which consisted of "150 armed men" was reaching Siem Reap. A Siamese *kha luang* then had cannons and guns placed on the city gates and wall. They fired back at the intruders, killing one, injuring several and making the rest dispersed. The deceased's head was exposed in public place on a long pole.[223]

[222] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.

[223] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/282. See also NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/200.



Figure 2.3: Former Citadel (indigenous guard), Siem Reap, 1902
(Photo: National Museum of Cambodia)
(Source: Darryl Leon Collins, "Siem Reap: Then and Now,"
Udaya: Journal of Khmer Studies 7 (2006): 78)

Nori's head was sent back to Siem Reap where it was exposed in public place on a long pole. The fates of Suat, Mok, and Mon and her four children were unknown. But where was Prak? Prak who had followed Nori since the beginning of the movement disappeared from the scene since he was rescued from jail together with Nori. We do not know what happened to him. Perhaps, he accompanied Nori to Luang Sanit's house in Angkor Thom. If so, he would find that his wife Mon and their four children were in someone's house in Angkor Thom. They stayed there since after five months of the disappearance of Prak.[224] Prak might not stay with Mon and their four children who were still in Angkor Thom until August 1864, when Mon and her four children were arrested.

In 1886, there were reports to Bangkok from Siem Reap about Ai Pera who claimed to be a *phu wiset* and his three associates, namely, Snong Sou (who was the same person with Snong Sou who led a rebellion against Norodom in 1864-1865),[225] Achar Prak, and Ai Sok Kok. After a successful attack of the township of Prakhonchai, about 190 kilometers northwest of Siem Reap, in February 1866, they went to Kãmpong Svay and Siem Reap. According to a report to Bangkok from Siem Reap, they planned to establish a kingdom in Angkor Wat, Angkor Thom.[226] Was Achar Prak the same person with Prak? We will never know the answer. But it is not surprising anymore if they were the same person.

Most *reas* who were Nori's followers generally returned to their villages to resume their predominantly rural livelihood before the uprising. They still dreamed for a better living in this world.

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[224] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/50.

[225] See more about Snong Sou in Chapter 3.

[226] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/76; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/82 Samnao baibok mueang nakhon siamrap [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/88; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/93 Samnao baibok mueang phratabong [Copy of dispatch from Bătdãmbâng].

Chapter Three: The Adventurers

In a village in Sântŭk,[1] at six o'clock on December 31, 1891, a man died. He was surrounded by Buddhist monks and a very small number of people. Indeed, he was not just a "man" but a "prince." His name was Votha (1841-1891).[2] Also known as Sivotha,[3] he was the son of King Duong (born 1796, reign 1847-1860). He had spent more than half of his life standing against his older half-brother Norodom and later the French Protectorate. His life as the rebel prince began in 1861. That year, he fought against Norodom, lost the fight, and fled to Bangkok, leaving behind him a rebellion led by his maternal uncle Snong Sou. In 1876, Votha left Bangkok for Cambodia where he stayed until he died in 1891. It is not hard to find Votha's name in historical records and archival documents. But Votha does not get proportional attention from scholars.[4] Moreover, stories of thousands ordinary people who joined and collaborated with Votha have never been studied.

This chapter will focus on the life-stories of those ordinary people who lived in the same time period with and were involved with Votha, while Votha's life-story is examined as a context. Votha's rebellion, which was the violation of the existing political order, triggered the possibility of a new order. A future kingdom with Votha as the monarch seemed more concrete and attainable than Nori's kingdom.

This chapter argues that many more ordinary people felt this possibility and took calculated risks in participating in Votha's project. They were pursuing good fortune and better life. On the other hand, there were, of course, ordinary people who were threatened and forced to join Votha. Their fragmented stories are also included in this chapter.

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[1] Sântŭk is today Srŏk (Commune) in Kŏmpóng Thŭm Province.

[2] NAC RSC 1758 Dossier concernant les agissements de Si Wotha (Si Votha) et sa mort, Resident of Kŏmpóng Thom to Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, Kŏmpóng Thom, no. 11, January 13, 1892.

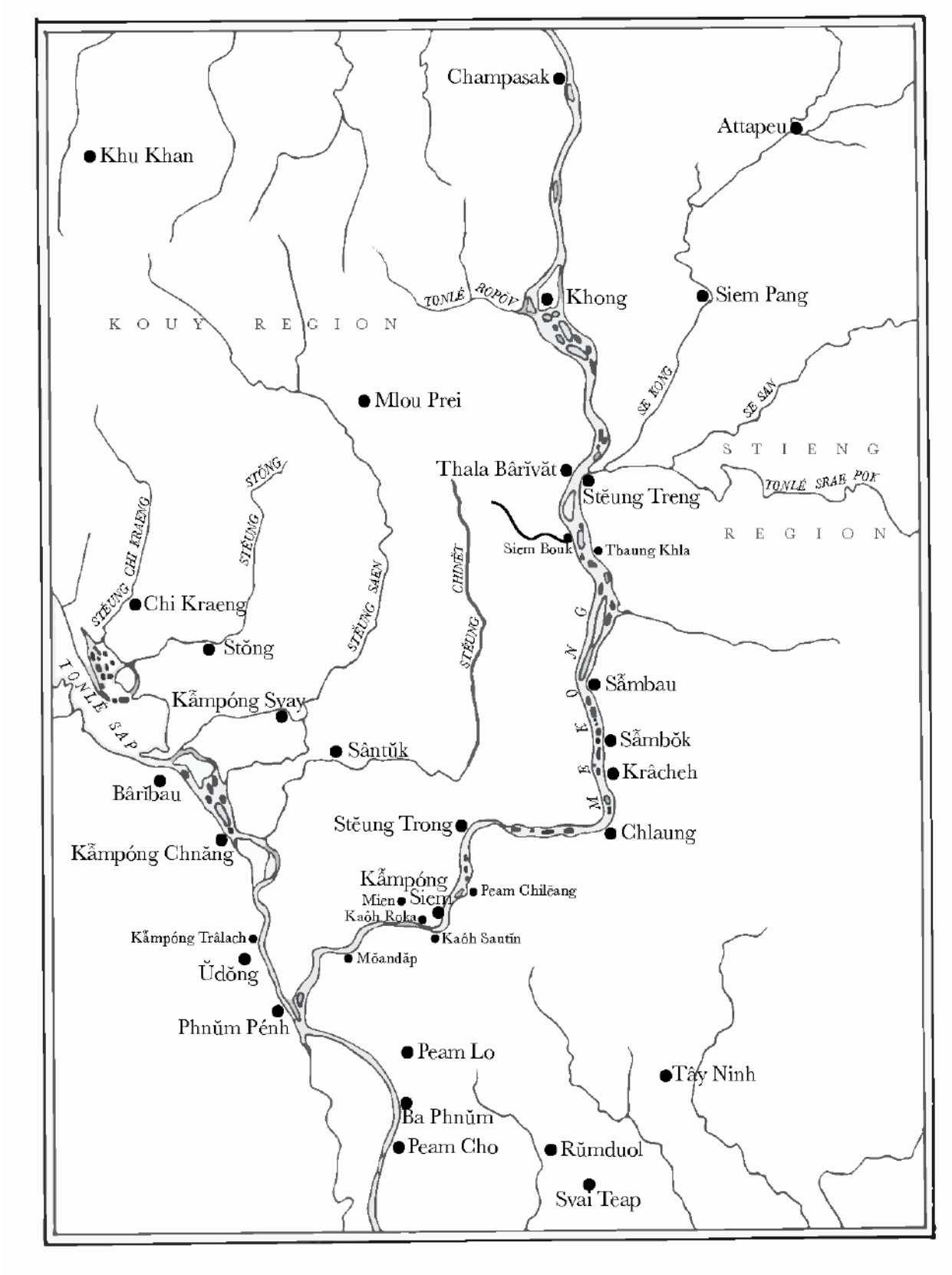
Votha was born in the year of the Ox, the third year of the decade, C.S 1203 (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchapongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam lem song* [Royal chronicle of the third reign of the Bangkok period, volume 2] (Bangkok: Kurusapha, 2504 [1961]), p. 66) which can be both circa 1841 and 1842. Justin Corfield mentions circa 1841 as Votha's birth year (Justin Corfield, Justin Corfield, *The Royal Family of Cambodia* (Victoria: The Khmer Language & Culture Centre, 1993), p. 24).

Thai archival document stated that Votha's death date was "Thursday, the first day of the waxing moon, the second lunar month, which is 30 December R.S. 110 [A.D. 1891]" (NAT, KT 97.2/14 Nak ong wattha thueng kae kam thi mueang krapong thom (2435) [The death of Votha in Kompong Thom (A.D. 1892)], Phraya Sri Singhathep to Phra Pairatphakphakdi, no. 78/1933, July 5, R.S. 111 [A.D. 1892]). But 30 December 1891 was Wednesday.

Justin Corfields supposed that Votha probably died on Laotian-Cambodian border (Justin Corfield, *The Royal Family of Cambodia*, p. 24).

[3] According to Oknha Phipit Isun, the old servant of Norodom, the correct name of Votha was Waiya Votha (H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Nirat nakhon wat* [Travel to the Angkor Wat] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2468 [1925]), p. 117.

[4] See, for example, academic works that mentioned about Votha in Milton E. Osborne, *The French presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: rule and response (1859-1905)* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1997), p. 225; John Tully, *France on the Mekong: A History of the Protectorate in Cambodia, 1863-1953* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2002), pp. 92-93.



Map 3.1: Geographical Worlds of the Odinary people in Votha's Rebellion, 1860-1891

Commoners' way

On the east bank of the Mekong River in Peam Chilĕang in Tbaung Khmŭm, Mao heard "Prince Votha had left Bangkok to stay at Udong Michai (Kh. Ŭdŏng Meanchey)." It was the second fortnight of January or the first fortnight of February 1861. About 70 kilometers down the River, at the very same time, the same words were also heard by Mok, an inhabitant of Mŏandăp of Srey Sânthor Chveng.[5]

A few months earlier, on October 9, 1860 at about 130 and 60 kilometers southwest of Peam Chilĕang and Mŏandăp respectively, King Duong had passed away in Ŭdŏng, then the capital of Cambodia.[6] Votha, the king's son who had resided in Bangkok since 1857 to affirm and assure his father's commitment to the Siamese overlord,[7] was allowed to leave Siam for Cambodia to pay homage to his dead father. He left Bangkok on December 10, 1860.[8] Immediately after his arrival in Ŭdŏng, Votha quarreled with his older half-brother Reachea Votey, whose title was Prĕah Norodom, the *Ŏbarach* and heir presumptive. According to Votha, Norodom had treated him unfairly over the inheritance.[9] According to Norodom, Votha had not followed customs and traditions and had behaved improperly.

In a letter to Bangkok, dated May 2, 1861, Norodom and Sisowath, who was then known as Prĕah Keavfea, made the following complaint against Votha and Sirivong, another of King Duong's son who took Votha's side,

> When Votha came to converse with me [Norodom] he often tucked a small knife into his belt and carried a sword on his back. Phya Mahathep saw that that did not conform to the custom. So, he warned Votha but Votha did not listen and often did again. When Votha came to converse, sometimes he had spoken in a good manner, but when he was drunk, he spoke without respect and claimed this that and the other.[10]

That letter did not give details about what Votha claimed, but according to a Cambodian Royal Chronicle, "Votha had claimed that he came back to Cambodia since His

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[5] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/74 Khamhaikan nai mao nai mok nai mi [Testimony of Mao, Mok, and Mi].

Udong Michai is a Thai pronunciation of Ŭdŏng Meanchey. Peam Chilĕang is present-day Peam Chilĕang Commune, Tbaung Khmŭm District and Province. Mŏandăp is Mŏandăp Village in present-day Mean Chey Commune, Srey Sânthor District, Tbaung Khmŭm Province.

[6] See footnote 17, chapter 2.

[7] Votha was sent in exchange for his two older half-brothers, Reachea Voddey and Sisowath who spent their time in Bangkok since 1848 (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], pp. 212, 229-230, 232-233; Chaophraya Thipakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam lem song* [Royal chronicle of the third reign of the Bangkok period, volume 2], p. 128; Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period] (Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing, 2548 [2005]), p. 131).

[8] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75 Khat roi kwam (wa duai kho ratchakan nai krung kamphucha samai mue ong somdet phra harirak prachuan thueng kae piralai) [Copy of various letters [Situations in Cambodia after the death of King Harirak (Ang Duong)], (6) dispstch from Ŭdŏng to Bangkok.

[9] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/155 Nangsue thueng ong phra narodom rueng hai baeng moradok hai ong wattha [Letter to Norodom on dividing and giving heirlooms to Votha]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75, (10) Official letter to Norodom and Preah Keofea; Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 160.

[10] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/69 Samnao plae baibok Mueang Udong Michai [Copy of a dispatch from Ŭdŏng]. See also almost the same statement in NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75, (11) Letter from Norodom and Prĕah Keavfea to Bangkok.

Majesty the King Chomklao of Ayutthaya [King Mongkut or Rama IV of Bangkok] had ordered him to inspect the hearts and thoughts of all princes and mandarins in Cambodia whether they remained loyal to or wanted to defect from the [Siamese] King."[11] In other words, Votha claimed that he got the authority from the overlord of Cambodia to look after the kingdom. It can be inferred that Votha was selected to take the throne of Cambodia.

Votha also explicitly acted against the authority of Norodom in the case of Snong Sou, the deputy governor of Ba Phnŭm who was Votha's maternal uncle. On March 10, 1861, a letter of complaint from the governor of Ba Phnŭm about Snong Sou's misconduct reached Ŭdŏng. Immediately after that, Snong Sou and his servants went to Ŭdŏng to stay with Votha and Sirivong. Snong Sou never informed the governor of Ba Phnŭm of his departure, nor the *Sâmdech Chavfea Tŭalhăh* (the prime minister), of his arrival. According to a letter of complaint to Bangkok. Votha always refused send Snong Sou to the authorities when asked to do so. Moreover, Votha exercised the same power as monarch in appointing Snong Sou and many others as *oknha*.[12]

Given these circumstances, the following words were probably generated in Ŭdŏng and spread across the country: "if anyone helps Prince Votha succeed, a bondsman will be freed from *phrai luang*, a slave will be a free man, all *reas* who help will be rewarded with rank and title, an indigent *phrai* will be freed from any obligations."[13] Perhaps, those persuasive words, or other words that contained the very same message, the promise of a better life in this world, flew from mouth to mouth until they reached the ears of Mao and Mok. But such words were simplified, or disguised, as, "Prince Votha had left Bangkok to stay at Udong Michai." Mao and Mok decided to give themselves to be a royal page of Votha, as same as other hundreds of people.

As the days passed, the tensions between Votha and Norodom were increased. Votha did not attend the royal ceremony of placing of King Duong's corpse into the funeral urn on March 28, 1861.[14] Next day, Put, a *reas* from Bârĭbau,[15] about 100 kilometers northwest of Ŭdŏng, went to give himself the servant of Votha. Put spent that night at Votha's residence. On the morning of March 30, Put told that he "saw a *nén* (Buddhist novice) who was a disciple of the Phra Maha Sangharaja (the Supreme Patriach, the head of the order of the Buddhist monks; Kh. Prĕah Mâha Sângreach) and Phya (Kh. *Oknha*) Suphathibodi came to inform Ong Wattha that Ong Phra Norodom Phromboriraksa Maha Upparat was sending a group of men to kill Ong Wattha."[16] We know from the Royal Chronicle that Norodom asked Sâmdech Prĕah Mâha Sângreach to be a mediator.[17] Thus, Sâmdech Prĕah Mâha Sângreach probably sent his disciple to warn Votha.

On the morning of March 31, Put continued, "Phya Kalahom, Phya Ratdecha, and Phya Isra Akkhara assembled around 3,000 to 4,000 *phrai* men as an army to besiege Ong

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[11] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], p. 239.

[12] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/69; NLT P45/d, Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], pp. 239-240, 242.

[13] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/69.

[14] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], p. 241.

The delaying of the ceremony of placing Duong's corpse into funeral urn has been caused from the fact that the Royal court of Ŭdŏng had to wait for funeral urn from Bangkok, which had arrived in Ŭdŏng on March 19, 1861 (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/69). The royal cremation was held in 1862.

[15] Bârĭbau is today District of Kâmpóng Chnăng Province.

[16] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/78 (1) Khamhaikan nai put nai pao nai man nai dong [Testimony of Put, Pao, Man, and Dong].

[17] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], p. 242.

Wattha's residence."[18] The number of people that Norodom sent to besiege Votha's residence was raised to 6,000 in Votha's letter of complaint to the governor of Bătdâmbâng.[19] Then, according to Put,

> They thundered out and fired cannons and muskets at the residence's fence. About one hundred of Votha's servants went to fight against the men of Phya Kalahom, Phya Ratdecha, and Phya Isra Akkhara. Then about a thousand and more ordinary people went to help Ong Wattha fight against men of Phya Kalahom, Phya Ratdecha, and Phya Isra Akkhara since morning till around noon. In Wattha's side, four people were killed, and many were injured. I saw two men of Phya Kalahom, Phya Ratdecha, and Phya Isra Akkhara were killed and five to six men were injured. Ong Wattha and his servants, and ordinary people realized that they could not continue to fight much longer.[20]

This incident was also recorded in the Royal Chronicle and in the leter of complaint to Bangkok of Norodom and Sisowath, dated May 2, 1861, with some different details.[21]

It is hard to believe the number of participants in the incident given in Put's testimony and Votha's letter. But we can be completely sure that the incident forced Votha to leave Ŭdŏng. In the afternoon of March 31, Votha headed to Kâmpóng Trâlach,[22] about 10 kilometers north of Ŭdŏng to cross the Tonlé Sap River in order to go to Bătdâmbâng through Kâmpóng Svay. Put was assigned to bring horses to meet Votha in Bătdâmbâng through land routes. Put was captured in Pŏsăt on April 5. But he escaped to Bătdâmbâng on April 8.[23]

Mok left his home village for Ŭdŏng to give himself into a service as royal page of Votha. Perhaps Mok had not yet heard about the flight of Votha. So, Mok failed to fulfill his wish. He remained in Ŭdŏng until he met Mao who left his home village on November 8, 1861, and Mi and Dong who were inhabitants of Ŭdŏng, and Keo. Like Mok, they all wished to be servants of Votha. On January 27, 1862, they left Udŏng for Bătdâmbâng to go after Votha.[24]

We know almost nothing about Mao, Mok, Put, Mi, Dong, and Keo. What we do know, apart from their above mentioned habitations, is this:[25] Mao and Mok were orphans and lived with their relatives. Mi's mother had died and his father was the royal page of the queen mother. Dong was the servant of Phya Kuchen Thibodi (Kh. Oknha Kŏchén Thĭbâdey, a.w. Khûchên Thuppedey),[26] the mandarin *sâmrăp tŏ* (literally "second set," or mandarin of Ŏphayŏrach) who was in charge of royal elephants, but had been included into

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[18] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/78 (1).

[19] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/69.

[20] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/78 (1).

[21] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], pp. 242-243; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/69.

[22] Kâmpóng Trâlach is today Srŏk (District) of Kâmpóng Chnăng Province.

[23] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/78 (1).

[24] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/74.

[25] Ibid.

[26] About Phya Kuchen Thibodi see *Thamniapnam phak thi sam, tammra thamniap banndasak krung kampucha* [Directories, part 3: List of dignitary titles and ranks of Cambodia] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2465 [1928]), p. 19; Doudart de Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, extraits de ses manuscrits, mis en ordre par M. A.-B. Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, 1883), p. 73.

the *sâmrăp ĕk* (literally "first set," or mandarin of the King)[27] since the reign of King Duong. About Put and Keo, we know nothing.

They were all *reas* and *prei*.[28] Practically, "how many persons were so registered, especially in hinterland areas," David Chandler wonders.[29] In the case of these six *reas*, four of them lived in *srŏk*, or probably *kâmpóng*.[30] M.C–E. Bouillevaux visited Peam Chilĕang, during his journey on the Mekong River to Stieng region in 1851, but he did not meet "the Governor General of the country (le gouverneur général du pays),"[31] Oknha Ochŭn, one of the five great *oknha*-s (*sdech trănh*). In 1863 when Henry Mouhot took a journey to Stieng region, he had to stop over in Peam Chilĕang to address the king's letter to the Governor.[32] Thus, Mao lived in the center of local power. Mok also lived not far from a residence of the governor of Srey Sântho Chveng. Mi lived in or nearby the capital city where the power was concentrated. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that these six *reas* were registered as *prei*.

In law codes, *prei* was always followed by a noun that functioned as an adjective, i.e. *prei ngea* and *lĕk prei luong*, or *prei luong*.[33] *Prei luong* was probably the *prei* of the King, as signified by the word *luong*, while *prei ngea*, was probably the *prei* of other *chavvay* and *neay* (master). We will never know what specific kinds of *prei* that Mao, Mok, Put, Mi, Dong, and Keo were.

Changing masters can happen all the time, but it happened with remarkable frequency in a turbulent space and time, which can be considered a liminal space and/or a time that is filled with ambiguity and possibility. For example, the *Kram Preas reach khant*, which was enacted in the reign of King Duong, dated January 25, 1852, noted,

> In the reign of Queen Mei who ruled under the *Yuon* (Vietnamese) period, *Yuon* conscripted *kŏmlaoh* (unregistered men) of the country, (and) all *pŭl kŏmlaoh* (registered able-bodied men) to contribute as *kŏmlăng* (troops) of Kaoe Binh. All of those *pŭl kŏmlaoh* dispersed, no longer under the orders of their *chavvay*, *neay*, *kŏmnăn*, no longer be used as usual. They fled to become *prei ngea* and remained in this condition even under the present reign.[34]

The vacancy of the throne, with or without fighting for it, also signified betwixt and between, or liminality, the fertile ground for change that is less likely to occur during the ordinary space and time. Even if Mao, Mok, Put, Mi, Dong, and Keo heard only the words "Prince Votha had left Bangkok to stay at Udong Michai (Kh. Ŭdŏng Meanchey)," it was probably enough for them to take advantage of the opportunities that emerged in the time of no king. They ran away from their masters that were a big risk, but also a big possible reward.

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[27] On *sâmrăp* see also Étienne Aymonier, *Notice sur le Cambodge* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1875), pp. 23-24.

[28] See more discussion about *prei* in Chapter 2.

[29] May Ebihara, "Societal Organization in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Cambodia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15, 2 (1984): 288, 288n61.

[30] See David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2000), pp. 102-104.

[31] M.C-E. Bouillevaux, *Voyage dans l'Indo-Chine, 1848-1856* (Paris: Librairie de Victor Palmé, 1858), pp. 264-265.

Bouillevaux had spelled Peam Chilĕang as Chelang.

[32] Henri Mouhot, *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos, during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860*, volume 1 (London: John Murray, 1864), p. 235.

Mouhot had spelled Peam Chilĕang as Pemptielan.

[33] BMA Ms. 685/C-11 Kram Totual Bandoeng, pp. 9-10.

[34] BMA Ms. 685/D-24 Kram Preas reach khant, pp. 5-6. See French translated version in Adhémard Leclère, *Les codes cambodgiens,* tome 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), pp. 613-614.

Although we never know that how they encountered difficulties in their lives, it is not unreasonable to assume that they needed a beter life. To be Votha's servant means a possibility to have rank and title, which mean power and privileges, such as possessing a certain number of *prei*, exemption from corvée labor, attending the royal audience, and so on.

According to the *Kram Reach Niti Satth*, he who would be appointed as an official must have the four qualities: "judgment; have no other affairs than those of the king; gaiety and bravery; and know how to think, to think a lot before making a decision."[35] Moreover, "Dignitaries should know the three kinds of *munt* (modern spelling *mon*) that are the *Putta munt* (modern spelling *Pŭtthamon*), *Saya munt* (modern spelling *Saiyamon*), and *Reach munt* (modern spelling *Reachmon*)."[36] King Norodom in his refusal to appoint Colonel de Monteiro as the prime minister in 1899 argued that de Monteiro did not possess the customary qualifications that were,

> *Puthamon*, that is, to be the possessor of knowledge and wise intelligence; *Sayamon*, the necessary to know the intentions of the stars and of the *Phaendey* (the earth, the kingdom)... ; *Reach Montrey*, one must know the laws and know the articles by heart in a precise manner. One must have these three virtues to be an official of the royal court.[37]

Suppose that *reas* like Mao, Mok, Put, Mi, Dong, and Keo possessed these kinds of quality and knowledge, however, it was not a guarantee that they could be appointed as an official since the first of seven virtues of one who want to be the servant of the king was that they "must come from a noble and beautiful family."[38] Indeed, birth and pedigree were the decisive factors.[39] But during the liminal space and time, hegemonic established customs, norms, practices, laws, and rules, were averted. The liminal space and time can also be understood through Giorgio Agamben's notion of the "state of exception," which is "a space devoid of law, a zone of anomie in which all legal determinations... are deactivated,"[40] but which, it is not monopolized by the sovereign. The liminal space and time is a space and time of possibilities. In that space and time, the impossible can become possible.

It seems that only Put could fulfill his wishes, even if just the first step. Mi and Dong probably had a chance to see Votha, while Mao, Mok and Keo appear never to have met Votha, but to have stayed to keep their intentions to be Votha's servant. This is perhaps because the rebellion led by the prince's maternal uncle, Snong Sou, was gaining the advantage. In June 1861, Snong Sou launched a rebellion against Norodom in Ba Phnŭm in eastern Cambodia,[41] where he had been deputy governor. Within two months, one-third of the provinces, almost all in eastern and northeastern Cambodia, including Tbaung Khmŭm and Srey Sântho, had come under the control of and had allied with Snong Sou.[42] Norodom

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[35] Adhémard Leclère, *Les Codes cambodgiens*, tome 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), pp. 82-83.

Leclère gives a Khmer transliteration of the first quality as *vichârôna pânhnhâ* in which I translated as "judgement."

[36] Ibid., p. 79.

[37] AC "Conseil des Ministers," No. 2 (1898–1899), 12 January 1899, 253, cited in Milton E. Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, pp. 242, 345n41.

[38] Adhémard Leclère, *Les Codes cambodgiens*, tome 1, p. 68.

[39] David Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, p. 109.

[40] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 50.

[41] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75, (17) Dispatch from Bătdămbâng to Bangkok.

[42] Eight provinces that were under control of the rebels were Baray, Choeng Prei, Kămpóng Siem, Peam

fled Ŭdŏng in July 1861. He headed to Bătdẫmbâng to ask for shelter from Siamese authority in August 1861.[43] When he arrived in Bangkok on January 24, 1862,[44] he did not resided at his old palace, but another residence arranged for him by the Siamese Royal Court.[45]

Mao, Mok, Mi, Dong, and Keo left Ŭdŏng on January 27, 1862. They journeyed overland to Bătdẫmbâng. When they arrived in Mŏng Rŏessei, they were captured and sent to Bătdẫmbâng, where they were interrogated on March 11, 1862.[46] Their fates after that are unknown, like the fates of most *reas* ever were.

In May 1862, the rebellion led by Snong Sou was put to an end, when Snong Sou was captured and another leader of the rebellion was killed,[47] mostly because of the assistance of Siamese troops that accompanied Norodom from Bangkok.[48] Even Snong Sou could succeed in escaping from custody. He took refuge at the French garrison in Rŏng Dẫmrey, or Tây Ninh, in Cochinchina[49] and would not lead no more movements.

The Kingdom Within

On April 3, 1866, a six-rowers boat plied the Mahanak Canal in Bangkok. Then the boat plied the Saen Saeb Canal, then passed alongside an outermost dried stubble paddy field, and finally plied the Bang Pakong River. The boat carried seven men, namely Votha, Pan, Um, Suk, Thong, Mao, and In.[50]

Cho, Prei Vĕng, Rŭmduol, Svai Teap, and Srey Sântho. Ten provinces that allied themselves with Snong Sou were Chlaung, Kẫmpóng Svay, Kânhcho, Krâcheh, Kien Svay, Prei Ktey, Sẫmbau, Sẫmbŏk, Stĕung Trong, and Tbaung Khmŭm, (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75, (27) Official letter from Bangkok to Phra Keofa).

[43] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], pp. 160-161.

[44] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/63, (1) Draft of official letter to Phraya Mokkha Montri]; Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 166.

[45] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 166.

According to the Royal Chronicle, during Norodom's years in Bangkok, from 1845-1857, he resided in a new palace built for him in the south of Wat Saket (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer chronicle], p. 212), south of Ban Khamen (Khmer quarter). However, Norodom's new palace was most probably built within the enclosure of the Khmer Royal Palace that was built for King Eng of Cambodia in 1786.

[46] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/74.

[47] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1224/96 Khatbok mueang nakhon siamrap (1) kongthap phraya thamma decho kap sanong so rop kan thi mueang baphanom [Copy of dispatch of Siem Reap (1) Troops of Oknha Thomea Decho fought with troops of Snong Sou in Ba Phnŭm].

[48] Norodom left Bangkok for Cambodia by sea in February 1862. He landed in Kẫmpot and then took land route to Ŭdŏng. Siamese troops that accompanied him consisted of 1,500 Thais and 189 Khmers, as well as three steamships, a frigate, and two gunboats (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1223/63; Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], pp. 153, 160, 166, 167-168).

[49] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1224/9 Plae supha aksorn mueang udong michai [Translation of letter from Ŭdŏng]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1224/42 Samnao nangsue atsamiran [Copy of letter of the Admial]; NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1224/93 Khatbok phraya ratchawaranukun (kan than mueang khamen pi cho chattawasok) [Copy of despatch of Phraya Ratchawaranukun (situations in Cambodia in the year of the Dog, the fourth year of the decade (A.D.1862))]; Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 168).

[50] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1227/138 Khamhaikan ong wattha [Testimony of Votha]. Number of people who accompanied Votha given in another document is nine (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/217 Khamhaikan phraya phakdi issara rueang ruam kap wattha [Testimony of Phraya Phakdi Issara concerning association with Votha].

After fleeing from Ŭdŏng, Votha went to Baray, Kǎmpóng Svay, and Chi Kraeng respectively. He crossed the border to Siamese province of Siem Reap on April 30, 1861, together with 151 servants, both men and women.[51] He stayed there for about two months before he left for Bătdǎmbâng on July 10. His followers had increased to 224 men and women.[52] Votha was sent out of Bătdǎmbâng before Norodom would arrive in August 1861,[53] perhaps to avoid a confrontation between the two rival brothers. He should have been sent to Bangkok but for some reason he had to stay in Sĕrey Saophŏan for a few months, and arrived in Bangkok in around October 1861.[54] Votha was assigned to stay at the Wang Chao Khmer, or a "Khmer Royal Palace,"[55] where he had stayed before leaving for Ŭdŏng in 1860. Votha lived off *bia wat* (an annual allowance distributed by the king to the members of the royal family and officials) and monthly rice supply from the Siamese monarch,[56] since his pension was suspended by Norodom.[57] Votha was still a master of many servants. Some of them went to serve him since he was sent to Bangkok in 1858. Some followed him when he fled from Cambodia in 1861. Some stayed with Votha in the Khmer Royal Palace. Some probably resided in Ban Khamen (Khmer Quater). Some settled in Phanom Sarakham, which was under jurisdiction of Chachoengsao.

Votha and his six servants left the Khmer Royal Palace to Chachoengsao on April 3, 1866. They spent about a week on the water ways before arriving in a house of Phraya Phakdi Isara in Ban Ta It, on the west bank of Bang Pakong River, about 60 kilometers east of Bangkok, on April 9, 1866.[58] According to Votha's testimony, Phraya Phakdi Isara was his maternal grandfather. We know, however, that Votha's maternal grandfather was Oknha Thomměa Dechŏ, the governor of Ba Phnŭm.[59] Phraya Phakdi Isara was therefore, probably the brother of Oknha Thomměa Dechŏ. In the reign of King Duong, Phraya Phakdi Isara was appointed as *Chaokrom tamruat khwa nok* (the chief of a royal bodyguard department). He was sent to Bangkok in 1857 to stay with and take care of Votha. In 1865, he left Bangkok to stay in Ban Ta It since, "there were a lot of Khmers who were friends and relatives, and *bao*

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[51] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75, (12) Despatch of Siem Reap.

[52] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/75, (20) Despatch from Bătdǎmbâng to Bangkok.

[53] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], pp. 160-161.

[54] Ibid., p. 163.

[55] For more details about Ban Khamen and the Khmer Royal Palace see Chapter 2.

[56] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/67 Khamhaikan wattha lae phuak [Testimony of Votha and his partisans], (1) Testimony of Votha.

Votha made acquaintance with many royalties and nobilities in Bangkok, which amongst them was Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1862-1943) who had a palace opposite to the Khmer Royal Palace (H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Kwam songcham* [A Memoir] (Bangkok: Siam Nikorn, 2490 [1947]), pp. 82, 118). Damrong would become the Interior Minister from 1892 to 1915 and a prominent figure in the reign of Chulalongkorn, or Rama V (reign 1868-1910).

[57] ANOM Amiraux 11997 Dossier Si Votha (juin-juil 1876), Letter from Chaophraya Bhanuwong Mahakosathibodi, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Governor Commander in Chief of the French Cochinchina, July 3, 1876. See a French translation of this letter in the same dossier.

[58] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1227/138.

Ban Ta It is present day Ban Ta It, Bang Phra Subdistrict, Mueang Chachoengsao District, Chachoengsao Province.

[59] Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchapongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi sam* [Royal chronicle of the third reign of the Bangkok period], p. 66.

(servant) and *phrai* in Chachoengsao."[60] Perhaps, Phraya Phakdi Isara was sent to keep a close watch on Votha's servants there.

Chachoengsao has a long history of settlements by forced migrants from Cambodia and Laos. In the sixteenth century, according to a local legend, Khmers from Bătdẫmbâng were rounded up to resettle in Phanom Sarakham.[61] A major wave of forced migration from Laos and Cambodia to Chacheongsao and Phanom Sarakham, and Siam in general, had occurred in the Thonburi (1767-1782) and early Bangkok periods (1782-1851) as the result of wars between Siam and Laos and Cambodia. Khmer forced migrants were rounded up to resettle in Chacheongsao during the Fourteen Years War (1833-1847).[62] Most if not all able-bodied men among these forced migrants were organized into a unit called *kong*, a unit of manpower control for *suai* payment.[63] Four Khmer *kong*-s were established in 1848.[64]

We do not know how many Khmers resided in Chachoengsao and Phanom Sarakham. We do know that, from 1849 to 1850, there were 384 able-bodied men in four Khmer *kong*-s.[65] We also know that in 1858, Norodom and Sisowath asked to bring back 94 able-bodied men, and 97 children, women, and old age men, to Cambodia,[66] but Phra Kamput Phakdi, the *palat* (deputy governor) of Chachoengsao and the *nai kong* (chief of a *kong*) of the biggest Khmer *kong* had held those Khmers in Chachoengsao. Perhaps, they were registered to the *kong* of Phra Kamput Phakdi. In 1866, those Khmers remained to inhabit in Chachoengsao.[67] However, it seemes likely that servants of Votha were not included in Khmer *kong*-s. Thus, in 1866, there were probably at least 1,000 Khmers in Chachoengsao and Phanom Sarakham.

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[60] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/217.

"Phraya Phakdi Isara" is not in the "*banchi namoeun muk montrey teang as*" [List of all Mandarins and officials of Cambodia] (Doudart De Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, pp. 68-77).

[61] That Khmer community is in today Hua Samrong Village in Plaeng Yao District, Chacheongsao Province Presently, some people, especially the old age people, can speak Khmer language, which, undoubtedly, different from spoken Khmer in Cambodia due to an influence of Thai language. Some rituals were continuously practiced (Lakkhana Chapoo, *Kan suksa choeng wikrao phiti liang phi khamen nai mooban Hua Samrong, Amphoe Plaeng Yao, Changwat Chachoengsao* [An Analytical Study of Khmer Spiritual Worship Ceremony in Hua Samrong village, Plaeng Yao District, Chachoengsao Province] (M.A. Independent Study, Silapakorn University, 2552 [2009]).

[62] Puangthong R. Pawakapan, *Warfare and Depopulation of the Trans-Mekong Basin and the Revival of Siam's Economy* (The Southeast Asia Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong, Working Paper Series, no. 156 (August 2014)), pp. 15-21.

As for instance, around 1834, 24 able-bodied men and 74 children, women, and old men from Pŏsăt were sent to resettle in Chacheongsao ("Baibok Chao Phraya Bodin Decha [Dispatch of Chaophraya Bodin Decha]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak ti hok sip chet chotmaihet kiaokap khamen lae yuan nai ratchakan thi sam ton ti nueng* [Collected Chronicle, Part 67: Records on Khmer and Vietnamese in the Third Reign, Section 1] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2481 [1938], pp. 51-52)

[63] Constance M. Wilson, "The *Nai Kŏng* in Thai Administration, 1824-68," *Contributions to Asian Studies, vol. 15 Royalty and commoners: Essays in Thai Administrative, Economic, and Social History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), p. 44.

[64] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[65] Ibid., p. 53. But number of able-bodied men who paid *suai* was only 300, or 78 percent of number of able-bodied men in Khmer *kong*-s.

[66] When Norodom and Sisowath came back to Cambodia in 1858, they brought back with them 672 servants, both Khmer and Siamese (Chaophraya Thiphakornwong, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi si* [Royal chronicle of the fourth reign of the Bangkok period], p. 131).

[67] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/68 Samnao baibok mueang chachoengsao [Copy of dispatch of Chachoengsao].

According to local officials, Votha informed them that he came to attend the funeral of Phra Kamphuchasuek's father.[68] The testimony of Phraya Phakdi Isara confirms this. But in his testimony, Votha stated that he went to attend the funeral of his other maternal grandfather.[69] If all these statements were true, Votha was a cousin of Phra Kamphuchasuek, the Khmer who probably was, as signified in his title name, the official responsible to control Khmer inhabitants in Chachoengsao, or perhaps the *nai kong*. Votha came too late to the funeral. So, he perform a merit making ceremony for the deceased instead. He invited Mon, the abbot of Wat Dong Noi, and other monks to hold the ceremony. According to Votha's testimony,

> I, the humble servant of Your Majesty, asked Smi (a term used to call Buddhist monk) Mon, 'where is the old abbot?'
>
> Smi Mon replied, 'The old abbot has passed away for long time ago.'
>
> I, the humble servant of Your Majesty, 'What is the title name of the old abbot that was given by Ong Somdet Norodom?'
>
> Smi Mon replied, '[Norodom appointed the old abbot as] Phra Kru Bowon Sattha Nayok, and also changed the name of Wat Dong Noi to Wat Welawan.'
>
> Thus, I, the humble servant of Your Majesty, have appointed Smi Mon as Somdet Phra Kru Maha Sommottitham, hold *sakdina* 1000, and Smi So as Phra Suphansuthisa, *palat*, hold *sakdina* 800, and also changed name of Wat Dong Noi to Wat Nikom Kamphucha Khattiyaram (Royal temple of the Cambodian community).[70]

We do not know for sure what else Norodom has done besides granting title to the monk and renaming the temple. But we can be sure that Votha not only did the same as Norodom, but also granted ranks to Mon and So, which means an establishment of his own autonomous administration for religious affair there. Moreover, Votha also established two administrative units to responsible for religious affair (*krom sanghagari*) and manpower control in Phnom Sarakham. He appointed eleven men to titles and ranks of these *krom*-s.

Votha openly proclaimed himself the king, as explicitly seen in his letter of appointment:

> Let prosperity be! Multiple auspiciousness! Great victory! 1788 Saka [1866 A.D.], the year of the Tiger, the month of *Visak* [the sixth lunar month], the fourth day of the waxing moon, Phrabat Borombopit Isara Ratcha Kamphucha Khattiyawong Naret Narin Mahintara Mahathewarat Kosithibodi Phuwongsakul Vimulthep Thewawong Sommot Isarakrasat Ratchakuman [*Prĕahbat Bârombâpĭt Ĕssărăreach Kâmpŭchea Khâttĕyăvong Nĕarétnĕarĭn Mĕahĕntrea Mĕahatévĕareach Kaoseythībătey Phouvongskâl Vĭmoltép Tévĕavong Sâmmot Ĕssărăksât Reachkŏmea*], that has left Bangkok to stay at a pavilion in Ban Ta It of Phnom Sarakham together with members of the royal family, high-ranking officials, Hora [astrologer] and Brahmin priests, senior pandits, officials, and pages, who come to have an audience as usual, has mercy to appoint *khun dan* (the

[68] Ibid.

[69] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1227/138.

[70] Ibid.

Welawan is a corrupted word of *Weluwan*, which means a bamboo grove, and was a name of the temple (Veluvana) in Rajagaha that was dedicated to the Buddha by King Bimbisara.

chief of a checkpoint) Suat as Luang Phubet Amphol, the *palat khwa* (the deputy of the left section of a department), holds *sakdina* 400 *rai*. When the Royal ceremonies of *Trut* (the festival att he end of the year) and *Sart* (the annual festival of merit making at the end of the tenth lunar month) come, [Luang Phubet Amphol] has to come to drink the water of allegiance. [We] bless Luang Phubet Amphol with four blessing, which are ayu (longevity), vannaṅ (good complexion), sukhaṅ (hapiness), balaṅ (strength), sitthi tejo jayo niccaṅ sabbakammaṅ prasitthite (bless you with the long-live, power and achievement in duty).[71]

Votha left Bangkok without the King's permission. He had also violated law by establishing his autonomous realm in both secular and religious life. In the other words, Votha established his kingdom in the proper territory of the Siamese kingdom, not beyond the teritory of the overlord's kingdom, where a tributary kingdom should be remain. This was considered an act of rebellion. However, the punishment Votha received was only probation.[72] Perhaps, it was because Votha was the favorite of King Mongkut who had strongly defended Votha when he quarreled with Norodom over the inheritance in 1860 and 1861.[73] Or it may have been because his acts were not considered a real threat to, or by, the Siamese monarch.

Monks and men on whom Votha conferred ranks and titles were inhabitants of Ban Dong Noi and the nearby villages. We explicitly know that at least seven of them, namely Mon, So, Suat, Hing, Paen, Mao, and In, were Khmer. Mon, the abbot of Wat Dong Noi, was *lek* or *phrai luang* of *suai reo* in *kong* of Phra Wichit Songkram. So, the other monk, was *lek* or *phrai luang* in *kong* of Phra Kamput Phakdi, but not yet tattooed. They had ordained as Buddhist monk for 9 and 11 *phansa*-s respectively. They were exempted from corvée duty and *suai* payment. But being in the monkhood did not free them from their status as *lek* or *phrai luang*. They had to fulfill their obligation whenever their masters needed them. In that case, they had to disrobe first. Thus, the monkhood, which was a reversal of hierarchies, was a kind of temporary state. While the monks were revered, they must prostrate to the secular demands.

Paen resided in Ban Samrong, which, according to local legend, was a Khmer community established in the late sixteenth century.[74] He was appointed a Phra Wiset Suriyawong, *Chaokrom* (chief of *krom*), *na* 800, the highest *sakdina* rank among those who were appointed by Votha. *Sakdina* was a system of the organization of Siamese hierarchical society. All Siamese people, except the king, were assigned the *sakdina* rank or grade measured in *na* (paddy field), whose unit of measurement is *rai* (the equivalent of 1,600 square meters). There are three main interpretations of the *sakdina* rank: it was relevant to one's right to possess paddy field; it was relevant to one's possession of manpower; it was relevant to the system that determined obligations, source of power, and social status of all people.[75] One who had the

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[71] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/68.

About *sakdina* see the discussion below in this chapter.

[72] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/67.

[73] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1222/155 Nangsue thueng ong phra narodom rueng hai baeng moradok hai ong wattha [Letter to Norodom on dividing and giving heirlooms to Votha].

[74] See footnote 61 above.

[75] Anchalee Susayanha, *Khwam plianplaeng khong rabob phrai lae phonkrathop to sangkhom thai nai ratchasamai phrabat somdet phra chunlachomklao chaoyuhau* [Changes of the Phrai System and their Effects on Thai Society in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn] (M.A. Thesis. Chulalongkorn University, 2524 [1981], pp. 36-40.

sakdina rank of 400 upwards was considered *khunnang* (nobility). It is logical to assume that Paen must have been a local leader who was respected and feared by the Khmer people in Phanom Sarakham.

Suat and Hing were servants of Sisowath who Phra Kamput Phakdi had refused to send back to Cambodia when requested to do so in 1858. Before being appointed by Votha, Suat was a *Khun Dan* (the chief of a checkpoint), which was a low-ranking official appointed by the governor. He was not yet *khunnang*. Mao and In were servants of Votha who accompanied him from Bangkok.[76] The rest of them: Prom, Pan, Pet, Ma, Duang and Nu were probably Votha's servants who lived in Phanom Sarakham.[77] As Votha declared, "Some of those men were my servants, some were Phra Hariratdanai Kraikeofa (Kh. Prĕah Keavfea; the royal title of Sisowath). I, the humble servant of Your Majesty, never grasped *lek kong mueang* to appoint (to titles and ranks)."[78]

These two monks and eleven men presumably wanted to get some benefits, both tangible and intangible, and privileges from officials, as had the aforementioned Mao, Mok, Mi, Dong, Keo, and Put. While Mao, Mok, Mi, Dong, Keo, and Put were expected to provide help to Votha, Prom, Pan, Paen, Hing, Pet, Ma, Suat, Duang, Mao, Nu, and In had to pay money in exchange for titles and ranks, which was not an uncommon practice and was in fact the custom.[79] However, they did not yet harvest the yield on their investment. Shortly after Votha returned to Bangkok, officials in Chachoengsao reported Votha's activities to Bangkok. Then, the clock was turned back. All that had happened in Phanom Sarakham during Votha's presence was wiped out. Undoubtedly, their money was never returned to them.

The name of Wat Dong Noi was changed back to Wat Welawan, today it is known as Wat Koh Keo Weluwan. According to a local legend, long ago, there was a Khmer King named "Yukonthorn" who came to visit and named the temple Wat Koh Keo Weluwan after a big clump of bamboos that grew nearby.[80] That Khmer King must have been Norodom, but the visit should have happened before he went back to Cambodia in 1857, when he was not yet the King. The name Wat Nikom Kamphucha Khattiyaram, the "Royal temple of the Cambodian community," and Votha's presence were lost from local memory.

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[76] Mao, Luang Raksa Pahon, was appointed as Palat Krom Sai, *na* 400; In was appointed as Luang Phithak Ratchakit Chakra, *na* 400.

[77] Prom, a habitant of Ban Ton Tan, was appointed as Luang Raksa Thammakan, Krom Sangkhakari Khwa, *na* 500; Pan, a habitant of Ban Dong Noi, was appointed as Khun Asa Thammakit, Krom Sangkhakari Sai, *na* 400; Pet, a habitant of Ban Dong Noi, was appointed as Khun Raksa Phirot, Palat Krom Sai, *na* 300; Ma, a habitant of Ban Dong Noi, was appointed as Luang Phitak Maharacha, Palat Krom Sai, *na* 400; Duang, a habitant of Ban Bang Kha, was appointed as Luang Asuri Ritthichak, Palat Krom Sai, *na* 400; Nu was appointed as Khun Chonchaenghet, Palat Krom Sai, *na* 200.

[78] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1227/138.

[79] In Siam, persons appointed as *chao mueang* (governor) and other official positions were compelled to pay a fee to the king (Jit Phumisak, *Chomna sakdina thai* [The Real Face of Thai Feudalism] (Bangkok: Chomrom nangsue saeng tawan, 2518 [1975], p. 227). It was the same in Cambodia (See David Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, p. 109; Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 68-69). In *reuang préng* entitled *A chao chĕt chea*, the king promised to confer a title and rank of *chavvay srŏk khaet* (goveror) to person who offer him money (Oknha Brachnha Thĭbadey (Yĭn), "Reuang a chao chĕt chea," *Kampuchea Suriya* 6, 1-3 (1933): 163; *BRPK*, volume 1, story 15).

[80] Prasoet Silrattana and Chinda Nueang-chamnong, *Naenam Changwat Chachoengsao chabab Amphoe Ratchasan* [A Guide to Ratchasan District, Chachoengsao Province] (Chacheongsao: Rajanagharin Rajabhat University of, 2548 [2005]), pp. 75–76.

We do not know much about Votha after he came back from Phanom Sarakham in May 1866. In February 1873, Benoît Garnier, a French consul in Bangkok, had received a report that a Siamese Regent planned to appoint Votha as the governor of Bătdâmbâng. Although that report "does not originate from a very certain source," the French consul requested from the Siamese Regent a written form of explanation. That report was in fact just a rumor. On the other hand, it reveals that French authority gave serious interest to whatever relates to Votha who, as described by the French consul, "formerly revolted against his brother King Norodom."[81]

Royal way

On April 17, 1876, a four-rowers boat plied the Mahanak Canal in Bangkok. Then the boat plied the Saen Saeb Canal, then passed alongside outermost dried stubble paddy field, and finally plied Bang Pakong River. The boat carried Votha and Khăm, his mother, and four servants.

Siamese Mahatthai (a governmental department that was responsible for the provincial administration in northern, northeastern and eastern provinces) officials who were sent to guard Votha in the Khmer Royal Palace had realized on April 21 that Votha escaped from his residence. Two officials with armed guards were sent to follow and take Votha back. But it was too late. On that day, Votha was seen at Don Trabeak in Prachin Province,[82] located on the bank of Bang Prakong River, about 150 kiolometers east of Bangkok. Votha continued his water journey to Kabin. He met his supporters who came to receive him there.[83]

In his letter to Somdet Chaophraya Borom Maha Srisuriyavong, then the Siamese

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[81] ANOM Amiraux 19995 Dossier Si Votha (fev 1873), Letter from Benoît Garnier, the French consul in Bangkok, to Marie-Jules Dupré, the Governor of French Cochinchina, February 20, 1873.

[82] NAT KT (L) 9/38 Nak ong wattha lopni pai ko kankabot thi khamen lae rai ngan kansurop thi koet khuen (C.S. 1237-1239) [Concerning escaping of Votha to set a rebellion in Cambodia and its consequences (A.D. 1875-1877)], Letter from H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, the Mahatthai Minister, to Chaophraya Bhanuwong Mahakosathibodi, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs, April 22, 1876; ANOM Amiraux 11997, Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Nak Ong Wattha. See also NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Chaophraya Bhanuwong Mahakosathibodi, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Benoît Garnier, French consul in Bangkok, April 24, 1876, and ANOM Amiraux 11996 Dossier Si Votha (avr-mai 1876), Letter from Benoît Ganier, the French consul in Bangkok, to Ernest Bossant, the interim governor of Cochinchina, April 25, 1876.

See copy of Votha's two letters, one letter addressed to Somdet Chaophraya Borom Maha Srisuriyawong, then the Siamese ex-Regent, and another addressed to Chaomuen Waiworanath (Chai Bunnag), a grandson of the ex-Regent, in ANOM Amiraux 11996.

In a letter to the French consul in Bangkok, dated April 24, 1876, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed that in Don Trabaek Votha was welcomed by hundred and more of Khmer, which Siamese authorities believed that those Khmer was French subjects, who brought with them some oxcarts, no elephant. However, in the memorandum, which had been handed, probably at the end of June 1876, to the French Consul by the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs, it noted that Votha was found in Don Trabaek with some of eight to ten Cambodians and two elephants (ANOM miraux 11997, Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Nak Ong Wattha).

Don Trabeak, which was called in some document Dong Trabeak, probably is presently Ban Don Trabaek of Sri Mahaphot Sub-district and District, Prachinburi Province.

[83] ANOM Amiraux 11996, Letter from Benoît Ganier, the French consul in Bangkok, to Ernest Bossant, the interim governor of Cochinchina, dated April 28, 1876; NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Luang Chindarak et al. to Bangkok, June 9, 1876. See also ANOM Amiraux 11997, Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Nak Ong Wattha.

ex-Regent, that was one of two letters he left in his residence in Bangkok, Votha claimed that he always kept in mind to return one day to Cambodia and planned to do it many years ago.

> Presently, I just completed a plan three years ago. I sent men to make appointments with the Khmer officials and people to receive me out to fight with Ong Norodom. The Khmer officials and people had come to receive me three times, including this year. If I do not go to them, no one will trust me again.[84]

Votha also claimed that he failed twice to keep appointments with those Khmer officials and people since,

> I kept in mind to pay adieu to His Majesty. I, your humble servant of His Majesty, sent letter to Chao Phraya Bhutharabhai asking him to respectfully inform His Majesty about my plan to leave. But Chao Phraya Bhutharabhai was angry with me. He did not bring my request to respectfully inform His Majesty.[85]

If Votha's claim is true, it means that he had planned to flee from Bangkok in 1874, the year after the second coronation of King Chulalongkorn that marked the end of the Regency period (October 1868 to November 1873).[86] Perhaps, Votha felt that he would not receive any kind of support for his project from the monarch and some high-ranking mandarins as indicated in his letter to the ex-Regent, "I, the humble servant of His Majesty, had to flee because Your Excellency was still alive. If Your Excellency passes away, I have to die in Siam. If I can flee, I will not have anyone help me."[87] It should be noted that another letter of Votha was addressed to Chaomuen Waiworanath (Chai Bunnag), the grandson of the ex-Regent and the high official in the Royal Page Department. Thus, presumably, since King Mongkut passed away in 1868, Votha had then the Regent Chao Phraya Srisuriyavong his patron. Probably, the patron-client relation between the Regent and the prince made the French consul Garnier in 1873 respond with anxiety to the rumor he had received.

From Kabin, Votha and Khăm took a journey eastward on the land route. In the last week of April, Votha crossed Stĕung Sreang (Sreang River) by Spean Sraeng (the Sraeng Bridge), which is approximately 13 kilometers southeast of Phnŭm Srŏk.[88] Then, they traveled

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[84] ANOM Amiraux 11996, Copy of letter from Votha to Somdet Chaophraya Borom Maha Srisuriyavong, the ex–Regent, [April 1876?].

[85] Ibid.

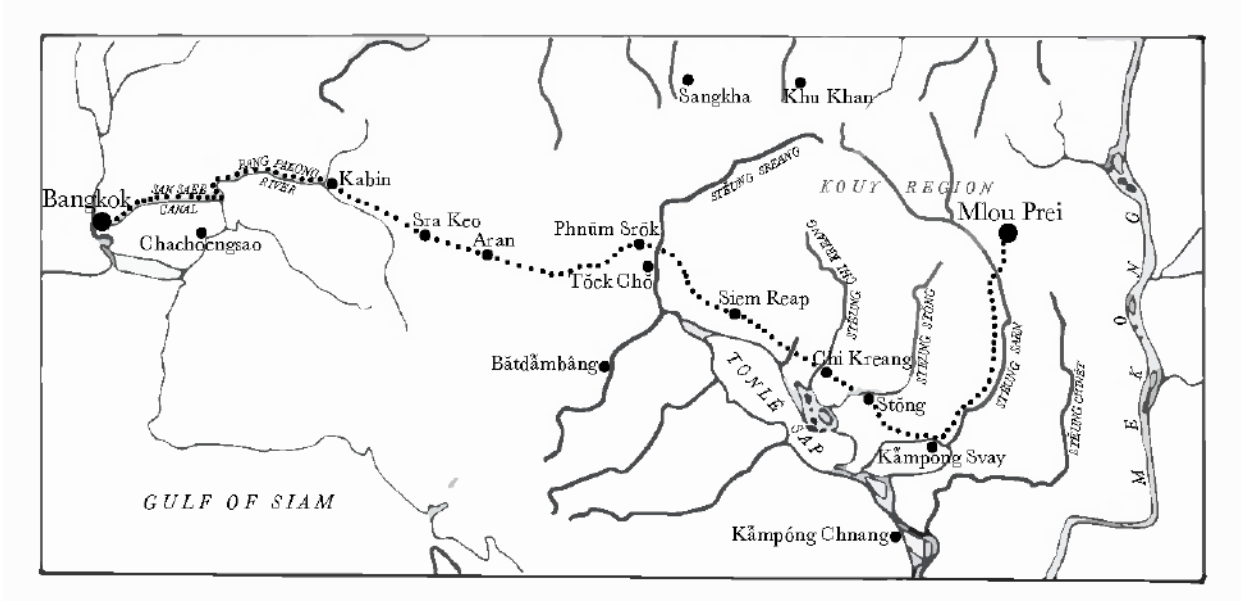
[86] The second coronation of King Chulalongkorn had been held in November 1873, shortly after he reached his legal majotiry at age twenty and spent time in monkhood for half a month.

[87] ANOM Amiraux 11996, Copy of letter from Votha to Somdet Chaophraya Borom Maha Srisuriyavong, the ex-Regent, [April 1876?].

[88] Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the governor of Bătdâmbâng, in a letter dated May 13, 1876, informed Bangkok that there was a report that Votha and Khăm, together with more 20 servants, 2 elephants, and 4 oxcarts, crossed Taphan Saeng (Saeng Bridge) on April 28 (Khmer original version see ANOM Amiraux 11998 Dossier Si Votha (mai-dec 1876; Thai translated version see NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Phraya Kathathorn to Commandant du protectorat in Phnŭm Pénh, May 11, 1876. See also NAT KT (L) 9/38 Letter from Phraya Kathathorn to Bangkok, May 13, 1876). However, the "Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Wattha" stated that Votha's servants were found at "the bridge Seng" on April 26, 1876. They told officials, "the Prince had gone far ahead" (ANOM miraux 11997, Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Nak Ong Wattha).

Adolf Bastian who journeyed through Phnŭm Srŏk in December 1863 stated that, "Nearby two stone bridges crossed the River Stuengsereng, one close to the town of Techo, the other near Chongkang. The former lay on the Great military road that used to lead from Samopuek (near Savaichik) to Nakkon Vat" (Adolf Bastian,

through Siem Reap across the border to Kǎmpóng Svay.[89] They headed northward to cross Stĕung Saen (the Saen River), then the boundary between Cambodia and Siam, to Mlou Prei, then under Siamese control.[90] They most probably journeyed by the same route that had been taken by many other *reas*, including Suk the Khmer from Siamese Lao province of Khong who came to trade in Kǎmpóng Svay, as we saw in chapter 1. That route passed through a region of Kuoy.



Map 3.2: A Supposed Route of Votha's Escape to Cambodia from Bangkok in 1876

On May 7, 1876, Khun Chamnan Phakdi, the official of Saut Nĭkom, then under Siamese control, was led by the official of Kǎmpóng Svay to Votha's house in Kǎmpóng Chok in Mlou Prei. Khun Chamnan Phakdi claimed that he did not go upstairs to meet Votha but waited under the house. He heard Votha say to officials and *reas* that; Chavfea Tŭalhăh

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A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864), translated by Walter E.J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2005), pp. 45-46). "The former" bridge mentioned by Bastian exactly is Spean Sreang. Spean Sreang also was presented in nineteenth-century Siamese maps, dated to the early Bangkok period (1794-1851), entitled "Khamen Nai Ni (The Khmer Within)," which was spelled as Taphan Saeng (In Santanee Phasuk and Philip Scott, *Royal Siamese Maps: War and Trade in Nineteenth Century Thailand* (Bangkok: River Books, 2004), pp. 114-115). Stĕung Sreang is now a boundary between Khaet Bânteay Meanchey and Khaet Siem Reap.

Phnŭm Srŏk, called in Thai document Phanom Sok, according to Bastian, "had been founded 30 years previously, when the Lao had invaded Khorat... The town of Panom Sok or Preeasok was surrounded by a double moat at the foot of the ruins of the old fortifications, which now served as roads, and contained the ruins of a brick palace (*prasat*)" (Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochin-China (1864)*, pp. 45-46).

[89] There was a report that Khăm was seen in Siem Reap on April 29. She was asked to stop but she refused and went ahead. On May 4, Votha was seen in the north of Chi Kreang. See ANOM Amiraux 11997, Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Nak Ong Wattha.

[90] Milton E. Osborne gives very brief information about the escaping of Votha in 1876 that is "Votha left Bangkok, swiftly passed through Bătdâmbâng, and travelled onward to the higher regions of the Mekong" (Milton E. Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 196). Jean Moura notes that Votha left Bangkok to Bătdâmbâng in May 1876 (Jean Moura, *Le royaume Cambodge*, Tome II (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), p. 174).

ordered three retired *okhna*-s to take Votha at the river mouth of Kabin. By Votha's order, officials in his *krom* had already conscripted 700 to 800 men in Kâmpóng Svay, Stŏng, and Chi Kraeng to set up troops, which he will send to suppress cities and towns on the both sides of Tonlé Sap Lake. Votha will lead other troops to suppress the eastern provinces. Votha will reach Phnŭm Pénh, then the capital city, within three months.[91]

In a letter to the Siamese ex-Regent (the original letter is lost, only a copy survives in the archives), however, Votha provided a different version of his story. Votha began his letter with a short eulogy for the Siamese King. And then he continued,

> On reaching Khmer land of Krapong Savay [Kh. Kâmpóng Svay], Khmer nobilities and *ratsadon* [Kh *reas*] who admired me about 3,000 people came to welcome me and complained to me that King Norodom did not follow the ancient customs and traditions. Thus they joined together welcoming me to govern them. I, your humble servant, replied, 'I cannot govern here because there was King Norodom and also had the French protectorate. Hence, I had to go to the ungoverned land in the fringe, in the towns of Kha, Kariang, Kuay, Radae. If I find a cultivable land, I will stop there to do paddy to make a living.' However, those *ratsadon* did not allow me to do that and detained me. I, your humble servant, tricked them that 'I cannot stay here because you all did not obey me even you admired me. If King Norodom knew I were here and sent an army to suppress, we will not be able to withstand them because we had a small number of people. If I will stay, I have to stay in Mano Prei [Kh. Mlou Prei], on the bank of the Sae River [It should be Stĕung Saen or the Saen River], that was under control of Bangkok.' When I moved to stay along the bank of the Sae River, all of those mandarins returned to Krapong Savay. I stayed there for five nights before going to cross the Mekong River to Sombok and Sombo [Kh. Sâmbŏk and Sâmbau respectively], on the east bank (of the Mekong River). When mandarins and *ratsadon* there learned about my arrival, they had attacked and captured the governors of Sombok, Sombo, and Krachae [Kh. Krâcheh]. Then, they, about 2,000 in number, came to welcome me. So, I could not deny them. But when I have a chance, I will go to find Snong Sou's supporters in the land of Kha. I will persuade Kha, Kariang, Kuay, Kaew, and Tae Leo to establish towns. I will make those towns to be dependents of Your Majesty, and will serve and present *suai* to Your Majesty until the end of my life.[92]

Votha's letter agreed in most points with report of Khun Chamnan Phakdi. Two main things, however, were completely different; writing style and future plan. Votha's letter used more humble style. On the one hand, that style shows more respect to the receiver, the Siamese King. On the other hand, it conceals truth by portraying that Votha had no ambition

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[91] NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Luang Chindarak et al. to Bangkok, June 9, 1876. See also ANOM Amiraux 11997, Memorandum of the escape of the Prince Nak Ong Wattha.

[92] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/87 Samnao chotmai nak ong wattha [copy of Votha's letter].

This document has no date. It was classified into CMH R. IV C.S. 1228, which is 1866 A.D. But, by comparison with other documents, it can be clearly seen that what were described in the letter relate to an incident that happened in 1876.

Kha, Kariang, Kuay, Radae, Kaew, and Tae Leo were ethnic groups in Cambodia, Laos, and Siam. See more detail in Glossary.

to be a king but he had to accept requests of *oknha*-s, officials and *reas*. And Votha's plan was not to rule over Cambodia, but to establish the new Kingdom in the land in between.

On May 11, 1876, Votha and Khăm, together with their servants, left Mlou Prei for Sâmbŏk and Sâmbau[93] on the east bank of the Mekong River, about 150 kilometers southeast of Mlou Prei. They spent less than a week on a land route from the hinterland province to the Mekong provinces.

Benoît Ganier, the French consul in Bangkok, had given his opinion of Votha in his dispatch to Ernest Bossant, the interim governor of Cochinchina, in a dispatch dated April 28, 1876. "By himself he [Votha] is only a little dangerous, but his maternal family, native of the Cambodian city of Ba Phnŭm, would be."[94] Ganier's calculation was partly true, as seen in Votha's letter to Bangkok, in which he wrote, "I will go to find Snong Sou's supporters in the land of Kha."[95] But Votha's maternal family and its servants were not his only supporters. Many *oknha*-s, officials, and *reas* in his royal and loyal networks joined his army. Hence, within only a month of Votha escaping from Bangkok, he and his supporters had succeeded in attacking and seizing many Cambodian towns and provinces. Around mid May, Votha's troops had came to suppress the satellite towns of Kâmpóng Svay.[96] A Chinese Ho Chiun Kong who claimed that he was a general of Votha's army, led 150 men to attack Sâmbau on May 18. The next day, Votha's troops marched to attack Sâmbŏk.[97] Also on May 19, Votha's supporters went to threaten the governor of Chi Kraeng who later decided to flee to Siem Reap.[98] Votha had become a more dangerous threat to the French Protectorate in Cambodia.

A week after that, the gunboat Yatagan, which was probably stationed in Cochinchina,[99] appeared on the Mekong River in Stĕung Trong, about 130 kilometers south of Sâmbŏk. Men were conscripted to form troops to suppress Votha and his troops. In

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[93] NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Luang Chindarak, et al. to Bangkok, June 9, 1876.

According to a letter from Phraya Phakdi Decho, the governor of Kâmpóng Svay to Phraya Nuphap Triphop, the governor of Siem Reap, Votha went to stay in Svay Lalaet on May 17 and would be going to Ban Tabaeng on May 21 (NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Phraya Phakdi Decho, the governor of Kâmpóng Svay to Phraya Nuphap Triphop, the governor of Siem Reap, May 14, 1876). Both two places located in the north of Kâmpóng Svay. However, dates given in that letter is not in agreement with given in other documents.

[94] ANOM Amiraux 11996, Letter from Benoît Ganier, the French consul in Bangkok, to Ernest Bossant, the interim governor of Cochinchina, April 28, 1876.

[95] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1228/87.

[96] NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Luang Chindarak, et al. to Bangkok, June 9, 1876; ANOM Amiraux 11997, Analyse des documents envoys le 26 Juin 1876 à M. le Comsul et Commissaire de France par le Minister des Affaires Etrangères de Siam.

[97] ANOM Amiraux 11998, Lettre des Gouverneur de Sombor et aux Chauvai-Sroc de Cratieh et de Conthior, May 21, 1876. See also ANOM Amiraux 11998, letter addressed Monsieur l'inspecteur, Representant du Protectorat Français au Cambodge, May 25, 1876.

In his letter to the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated June 16, the French consul in Bangkok stated that Votha led troops to attack Sombok (Kh. Sâmbŏk) by himself (NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from French Consul to Chaophraya Bhanuwong Mahakosathibodi, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs, June 16, 1876). But Votha denied it, saying "When *Oknha*-s, officials, ans *reas* there learnt about my arrival, they had attacked and captured the governors of Sombok (Kh. Sâmbŏk), Sombun (Kh. Sâmbau), and Kratie (Kh. Krâcheh)" (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1228/87). French archival document above confirms Votha's claim.

[98] ANOM Amiraux 11997, Letter from French Consul in Bangkok à Ministre des Affaires Etrangires de Siam, June 16, 1876; ANOM Amiraux 11997 analyse des documents envoys le 26 Juin 1876 à M. le Comsul et Commissaire de France par le Minister des Affaires Etrangères de Siam; NAT KT (L) 9/38, Letter from Phraya Nuphap Triphop, the governor of Siem Reap, to Phrya Ratchasena, May 21, 1876.

[99] In 1869, *le Yatagan* was in a list of "chaloupe-canonnière" in Cochichine Naval Division (*Annuaire de la Cochinchine français pour l'année 1870* (Saigon: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1869), p. 84).

Tbaung Khmŭm, thousand men were conscripted and sent up the River. Number of conscripted militias was increased when the troops approached Chlaung, about 60 kilometers up the river from Peam Chilĕang. Five hundred men were conscripted from Stĕung Trong.[100] It is reasonable enough to assume that *reas* in other Mekong provinces were conscripted as well. Troops of conscripted militias were also sent to Kŝmpóng Thŭm and its satellite towns.

Many people in such turbulent provinces were arrested by French and Cambodian troops during the suppression. Among such arrested people were nine Khmers and one Chinese. They had been captured in Kŝmpóng Siem, Tbaung Khmŭm, Krâcheh, Sŝmbau, and Kŝmpóng Thŭm and charged with conspiring with Votha.[101] All of them had denied involvement with Votha, except Kae. We know nothing about the life of Kae before he was captured in 1876. In that year, he went to make a living in Sŝmbau where he met, and was forced into Votha's troops. Then he was captured by the governor of Sŝmbau and sent to the prison in Phnŭm Pénh.[102] However, after being flogged, most of them had pleaded guilty because they "felt frightened."[103] Some who did not surrender received more punishment, as the Chinese Tie Ngin described in his petition to the représentant du protectorat au Cambodge, which was then Étienne Aymonier,[104] five years after his arrest and imprisonment in Phnŭm Pénh,

> I, your humble servant, respectfully informed His Excellency Oknha Montrey Phĕakdey [the governor of Kŝmpóng Siem] that, I, your humble servant, did not follow Votha's army. I, your humble servant, went to ask debt payment, then met Votha's army marching onwards and I fled from there. His Excellency Oknha Montrey Phĕakdey did not listen to me. He ordered to tie me up and flog me 20 times. Then, he asked me again. I, your humble servant, replied that I went to ask debt payment. His Excellency Oknha Montrey Phĕakdey ordered to flog me 40 times and asked me again. I, your humble servant, replied the same thing as before. His Excellency did not listen to me and ordered to flog me 90 times. Then, he asked me again. I, your humble servant, replied the same thing as before. At that time, His Excellency did not ordered to flog me more but put me in pillory and chains and handed me to His Excellency Oknha Srey Nokobal [the subordinate of the Justice Minister Oknha Yomreach] who put me in the prison. My children and wife were confiscated by and, made slave of, His Excellency Oknha Montrey Phĕakdey.[105]

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[100] ANOM Amiraux 11998, lettre par le capitaine du Yatagan addressée Monsieur l'inspecteur, Représentant du Protectorat Français au Cambodge, May 25, 1876. See also letters dated May 27 and 28, 1876.

[101] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/113 Petition of Chav Kae, December 29, 1880; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/125 Petition of Chinese Tie Ngin, January 18, 1881; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/95 Petition of Chav Kae, July 29, 1880); BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/119 Petition of Chav Kae and Chav Svay, date not given; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/270 Petition of Chav Nŏk, Chav Sŏk, Chav Tép, and Chav Mŭm, April 5, 1881; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/313 Petition of Chav Kae and Chav Svay, February 11, 1881; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/547 Petition of Chav Kae, Chav Heng, and Chav Ta Ke, date not given.

[102] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/113.

[103] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/95; BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/270.

[104] Étienne Aymonier was in office as le représentant du protectorat au Cambodge from January 6, 1879 to May 10, 1881 (Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnaire de bio-bibliographir général, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine française* (Paris: Société d'Éditions, 1935), p. 15).

[105] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/125.

About a position in the administration of Oknha Montrey Phĕakdey and Oknha Srey Nokobal see Doudart de Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, pp. 71, 75-76.

Tie Ngin was the inhabitant of Sẫmbau Meas in Kẫmpóng Siem.[106] In the year of the Horse [*sic*],[107] when he went to ask payment from his debtor in Chẫmka Loe in Kẫmpóng Siem,[108] he came across Votha's troops and got around them that made him met with troops of Oknha Montrey Phĕakdey, the governor of Kẫmpóng Siem. Tie Ngin was arrested and charged with conspiring with Votha.[109]

Votha and his supporters' troops were suppressed and driven out to frontier provinces. In November 1876, Votha went to stay in Chey Mang in Stieng region, which was already fortified by the lieutenant of Pŏ Kombo.[110] Pŏ Kombo who claimed himself *nĕak mean bŏn* led a rebellion against Norodom and the French Protectorate in the northeastern and eastern provinces during 1865-1877. The rebel forces, which consisted of Khmer, Vietnamese, Cham, Stieng and other ethnic groups had won a series of battles in the second half of 1866. By the end of 1866, the French Administration sent colonial troops from Cochin-China to suppress the rebellion. Pŏ Kombo was captured and beheaded in November 1867.[111]

Also in November 1876, Sisowath the Ŏbarach, who played a leading role in defeating Pou Kombo's rebellion, led an army to suppress Votha. Troops were set to enclose Votha and his partisans in Stieng region.[112] On February 5, 1877, Votha managed to escape from the enclosure of the Ŏbarach. He went to Ba Phnŭm.[113] Troops were sent to capture Votha. But around February 23, Votha managed to escape from encirclement and went to stay in the territory of Stieng.[114] Five months later, around the end of July, he crossed the Mekong River to the land of Kuoy in the north of Kẫmpóng Svay.[115] When Khmer troops were sent to suppress Votha in around October, Kuoy that collaborated with Votha turned against him.[116]

Votha still survived. This is perhaps because of support and assistance from local élites of the frontier provinces of Siam, even the Siamese monarch issued orders to prohibit any

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[106] It probably was present-day Sẫmbau Meas Commune, Kẫmpóng Cham District and Province.

[107] Tia Ngin filed his petition in the fourth day of the wanning moon, the second lunar month, the year of the Dragon, the second year of the decade (C.S. 1242), which was January 18, 1881. The year of the Horse next before the year of the Dragon, C.S. 1242 was C.S. 1232 or around April 1870 to April 1871. At that time Votha remained in Bangkok. Thus, instead of the year of the Horse, it should be the year of the Rat, the eighth year of the decade (C.S. 1238).

[108] It was present-day Chẫmka Loe District, Kẫmpóng Cham Province.

[109] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 3/125.

[110] Jean Moura, *Le royaume Cambodge*, Tome II, p. 177.

[111] Read more about Pou Kombo's rebellion of 1865-1867 in Jean Moura, *Le royaume Cambodge*, Tome II (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), pp. 155-170; Ian Charles Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practices* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 131-132; Anne Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 55-64; Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours, *Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 38-40.

[112] ANOM Amiroux 11997, lettre de l'Obbareach à Moura, Représentant du Protectorat (Novembre 20, 1876); and Croquis montrant les positions de Chrey Thom, Chrey Mang et Chrey Laha par rapport aux grandes fleuve. See also Jean Moura, *Le royaume Cambodge,* Tome II, p. 177.

[113] Ibid., p. 181.

[114] Ibid., p. 182; Milton E. Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 198.

[115] Jean Moura, *Le royaume Cambodge*, Tome II, p. 184.

[116] NAT R. V RL-M/13 Khat rang tra tang tang mi pai hua mueang mahatthai (pi chalu nopphasok C.S. 1239) [Copy of draft letter to provinces under administration of the Ministry of Interior, A.D. 1877-1878], (19) To Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the governor of Bătdẫmbâng, November 20, 1877; (26) To Phraya Nuphap Traiphop, the governor of Siem Reap, no. 26, Decmber 6, 1877.

person from supporting and engaging with Votha,[117] particularly in Se Lamphao (Kh. Tonlé Ropŏv) and Mano Prey (Kh. Mlou Prei), which the governors were Khmer and most of their subjects were Khmer as well.[118] Although those provinces were located in a hinterland, they were not isolated from settlements in riverine and flooded lands of the Mekong River, the Tonlé Sap Lake, and their tributaries. On the contrary, connections between people of both areas could be traced back to at least the tenth century through consumption of the famous Kuoy iron, which was consumed continuously over a wide area until the nineteenth century.[119] During the Angkorean period (ninth to fifteenth centuries), there were two major routes, which were used for economic, political, religious, and social purposes, connecting the Kuoy region with Angkor, on the west, and Vat Phu Champasak (Bassac) and Prĕah Khan Kǎmpóng Svay (and might go further east) on the northeast and east respectively. Doubtless, other minor routes existed.[120] These routes were used until the nineteenth century.

Votha came to settle in a frontier township of Siem Bouk,[121] on the right bank of Mekong River, then was under Siamese suzerain. It located in between the Khmer Provinces of Sǎmbŏk–Sǎmbau, far about 30 kilometers in the south, and the Siamese Lao Province of Stĕung Treng, far about 30 kilometers in the north. On that part of the Mekong there were rapids that form a natural border between Cambodia and Siam. Navigation through those rapids, which were a labyrinth of islets, was virtually impossible that made that area "opposed to any surveillance."[122] Connection with Kǎmpóng Svay, Tonlé Ropŏv, and Mlou Prei also

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[117] Siamese government worried that Votha would drag Siam into conflict with the French Protectorate and the French Governement at Paris. Becuase Votha often used Siam's territory as his rearward. Thus, Siamese government was afraid that the French Protectorate might employ it as a pretext to send a troop into Siam's territory (NAT R.V B.1.2/10, The King to H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, the Mahatthai Minister, no. 682/46, January 18, 1885).

On Siamese assistance see for example in NAT R. V RL-M/13, (26) To Phraya Nuphap Traiphop, the governor of Siem Reap, no. 26, Decmber 6, 1877); ANOM Amiraux 11997, Letter from Chow Phya Bhanuwongse Maha Kosa Dhipoti, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. B. Garnier, Commissaire et Consul du France, June 26, 1876; Analyse des documents envoys le 26 Juin 1876 à M. le Comsul et Commissaire de France par le Minister des Affaires Etrangères de Siam, no. 9; Lettre à Colonel par M. le Comsul et Commissaire de, June 28, 1876.

[118] About Tonlé Ropŏv and Mlou Prei see Chapter 1, footnote 27.

[119] Thomas Oliver Pryce et al., "The Iron Kuay of Cambodia: trcing the role of peripheral populations in Angkorian to colonial Cambodia via a 1200 year old industrial landscape," *Journal of Archaelological Science* 47 (2014): 142-163.

Jules Harmand notes that Kuay "supply all the Cambodia and lower Laos of iron, cutlasses, axes, and currency in use since Kampong Thom and Stĕung Treng until the borders of Bassac" (Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, sixième série, tome douzième (Juillet-Décembre 1876): 358).

[120] On the Angkorian road see Mitch Hendrickson, *Arteries of Empire: An operational study of transport and communication in Angkorian Southeast Asia (9th to 15th CE)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sydney, 2007), and Living Angkor Road Project. *http://larp.crma.ac.th/tikiwiki/tiki-index.php* (accessed May 28, 2016).

The Living Angkor Road Project, (LARP) was the collaboration research project between Khmer-Thai researchers started in 2005. Originally, the study was focus on the royal roads from Angkor to Phimai. The infrastructure, ancient communities, ancient industries, as well as cultures along these royal roads were identified and studied in detail. We then continued to study the royal roads from Angkor to Sdok Kok Thom (West road), Angkor to Vat Phu in Laos PDR (Northeast road) and Angkor to Preah Khan at Kampong Svay (East road).

[121] Siem Bouk was present-day Khŭm (Commune) and Srŏk (District) of Stĕung Treng Province.

[122] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge, l'ame Khmere Ang-Kor* (Paris: Librarie Fischbacher, 1886), pp. 302-303; Paul Branda, *Le Haut-Mékong ou le Laos ouvert* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1889), p. 6; "Cambodge," in *Notices coloniales, publiées à l'occasion de l'exposition universelle d'Anvers en 1885*, tome premier (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), p. 472.

made that area a sanctury for Votha. One person who entered Votha's sphere of influence centered in Siem Bouk was Hui.

Commoners and the King

On the east bank of Mekong River in Lao province of Stĕung Treng, in around May 1881, when the water level was high enough to navigate through the rapids between Stĕung Treng and Sǎmbŏk, Hui the Chinese prepared to make a journey to trade in Cambodia, probably in Phnŭm Pénh. Hui took a route down the river, as he had done many times before. However, that journey was different to past journeys. Hui was stopped and brought to see Votha.[123]

Hui was born in around 1833. Before moving to Ban Hang Ko in Stĕung Treng, he was an inhabitant of Ban Koh Langka in Kǎmpóng Siem, which probably was Kaoh Roka that located on the west bank of the Mekong River, about 10 kilometers down the Mekong River from the modern center of Kǎmpóng Cham.[124] Hui lived there with his mother, wife, and children. Chinese emigrants to Cambodia at this time were almost exclusively young and male, and were married to Khmer women.[125] This means that it is most possible that Hui's mother was Khmer who married with Chinese. If so, Hui was born in Cambodia, and was a *kaun kăt chĕn*, children of China-born Chinese fathers and Khmer mothers. His wife Amdaeng Huai probably was *kaun kăt chĕn* as well.[126]

According to article 100 of the *Kram Srok*, which was promulgated in 1693, "a Chinese *chautéa* is in charge of watching his compatriots."[127] The law gives no details about responsibilities of *chautéa* (a chief of the unit in charge of supervision of foreigners who reported to the Cambodian administration), or about the Chinese who were put under control of the *chautéa*. William E. Willmott cited article 100 of the *Kram Srok* in order to conclude that Chinese in Cambodia were exempted from corvée obligation and personal service.[128] Ordinary Chinese had to pay *dǎmriet* (head tax on foreigner) to the state. Exempt from *dǎmriet* were those Chinese who served as nobility in the administration or who were authorized to do tax farming that were also usually granted nobility titles and ranks.[129]

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[123] NAT M.2.12/21 Baibok mueang tang tang khemmarat champasak nakhon ratchasima chiang taeng yasothorn phuwadonsa-ang (Mar R.S. 104-Nov R.S. 105) [Dispatches from provinces: Khemmarat, Champasak, Nakhon Ratchasima, Chiang Taeng, Yasothorn, Phuwadon Sa–ang, etc. (Mar-Nov 1886)], Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

[124] Ban Koh Langka is probably present day Kaoh Roka Commune, Kǎmpóng Siem District, Kǎmpóng Cham Province.

[125] Penny Edwards, "Ethnic Chinese in Cambodia," in *Ethnic Groups in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Center for Advanced Study, 2009), p. 191.

Francis Garnier noted about Chinese in Siamese Lao province of Khong that "Chinese, long established in the country and intermarried with locals" (Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos: The Mekong Exploration Commission Report (1866-1868)*, Volume 1, translated by Walter E.J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996), p. 74). See original French edition in Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'explortion en Indo-Chine* (Paris: Librarie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1885), p. 74).

[126] On Khmer terms for Chinese see Penny Edwards, "Ethnic Chinese in Cambodia," p. 176.

[127] Adhemard Leclère, *Les codes cambodgiens*, Tome I, pp. 114-115.

[128] William E. Willmott, *The Chinese in Cambodia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1967), p. 67.

[129] BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 11/326 Petition of Prĕah Phĕakdey Sǎm'ang, September 25, 1880.

Chinese in Siam also had to pay a triennial head tax to the state. They would get *pi*, an official wrist tag, to show that they already paid the head tax. They were called *Chin phuk pi* (wrist-tag wearing Chinese) (G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1957), p. 70-71, 75,

For *kaun kăt chĕn*, they have another choice. According to sociologist William E. Willmott,

> In sum, before the French arrival in Cambodia, Chinese who were not born in that kingdom were subject to certain special laws but enjoyed many of the privileges of subjects not enjoyed by other aliens. Chinese born in Cambodia could easily become full subjects of the king by adopting Khmer customs.[130]

To be Khmer did not only mean to be a full subject of the king, but also to be *prei* who was obligated to a particular *chavvay* and *neay* (master) and who was also subject to corvée obligation, which could last up to three months a year,[131] or pay *suai* for substitution. In Siam, this type of Chinese was called *Chin phrai*. To some extent, it was non-sense to renounce their Chineseness in order to become the Khmer subject. But it was not untypical for a Chinese who was subject to the head tax to seek out a Khmer patron.[132] Thus, *kaun kăt chĕn* who did not choose to be *phrai* could be considered *Chĕn*. Socially and culturally, however, they were partially Khmer. They were integrated into the Khmer society mostly through their Khmer mothers. In other words, *kaun kăt chĕn* were the inbetween people.

Kaoh Roka, where Hui lived with his family, is not mentioned in accounts of the nineteenth-century French explorers who took journeys up the Mekong River, but nearby townships and places, such as Kaoh Sautĭn, Phnŭm Bachey, Peam Chilĕang are.[133] The last one, Peam Chilĕang, about 25 kilometers north of the river Kaoh Roka, was the habitual residence of a Governor of Tbaung Khmŭm. Population there consisted of "Khmers, Malay, Chinese and Annamites."[134] That area was the fertile land and was easy to cultivate. The French missionary M.C–E. Bouillevaux on his journey to Stieng region in 1851 noted about the Mekong River's banks before he reached Peam Chilĕang that "The banks of the river are houses of Chinese people devoted to the cotton. This plant grows very well in the sandy land that borders the Mekhong."[135] It is reasonable to apply Bouillevaux's statement to Kaoh Roka. Hui probably participated in cotton cultivation but as commerce.[136] We learn from his testimony that he made his living as a trader.

In general comparison, less and loose obligation of the Chinese who were subject of *chautéa* and paid head tax to the state gave them more advantage in commercial activities than natives, who were all, in theory, *prei*.[137] As we have seen in the cases of Suk and Prak in chapter 1 and 2 respectively, however, some *prei* were bound in the same manner as the

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[130] William E. Willmott, *The Chinese in Cambodia*, p. 68.

[131] Étienne Aymonier, *Notice sur le Cambodge*, p. 43.

[132] For Chinese in Siam see G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, p. 128.

[133] See M.C-E. Bouillevaux, *Voyage dans l'Indo-Chine, 1848-1856*, pp. 264-265; Henri Mouhot, *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos, during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860*, Volume 1, p. 235; Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos*, p. 51.

Étienne Aymonier probably end his journey in central Cambodia on March 1880 at Koah Roka, which he spelled "Ka Roka" (Étienne Aymonier, Itinéraires dans le Cambodge central [map], 1:800,000, *https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55011124b* (Accessed July 26, 2018)), but he did not mentioned this name in his writings.

[134] Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome 1 Le royaume actuel* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), p. 275.

[135] M.C-E. Bouillevaux, *Voyage dans l'Indo-Chine, 1848-1856*, pp. 264-265.

[136] On this topic see William E. Willmott, *The Chinese in Cambodia*, p. 51.

[137] *Jin phuk pi* in Siam also had the same advantage (G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, pp. 96-98).

Chinese who were subject of *chautéa*, and participated in trading activities. Thus, social class was not a decisive factor in participating in trade.

Étienne Aymonier reported that major products of Tbaung Khmŭm province, on the east bank of the Mekong River, opposite Kămpóng Siem on the west bank, were tobacco, cotton, and mulberry trees, which were cultivated on the riverbanks.[138] Perhaps, Hui collected these cash crops and traded them off in Phnŭm Pénh, about 90 kilometers down the river. On the way back, he probably brought goods to sell in Kaoh Roka and nearby places.

Hui's trading route and activity also expanded north to Stĕung Treng, about 280 kilometers from Kaoh Roka. The majority of the population there was Lao, but the trade was in hands of Chinese.[139] According to the French officer and explorer Francis Garnier (1839–1873) who visited Stĕung Treng in 1866, most Chinese there originated from Fujien and arrived in Stĕung Treng by way of Cochichina.[140] As a resident of Kămpóng Siem, Hui was probably the son of Hokkien Chinese from Fujian Province,[141] which was the first Chinese dialect group to settle in Cambodia.[142] Perhaps, being Hokkien made it easier for Hui to do his business there.

Stĕung Treng is situated at the confluence of Mekong River and the three major rivers that converge there, namely Se Kong (Kh. Tonlé Kŏng), Se San (Kh. Tonlé San), and Tonlé Srae Pok. Se Kong was also known as "Attapeu River"[143] and after Attapeu, came the territory of "Kha savages" in the upper reaches of the river northeast of Stĕung Treng. Garnier noted that "Stung Treng is the commercial intermediary between Pnom Penh and Attopeu... Attopeu is the place where formerly there was an important production of gold dust, which today is negligible."[144] The two latter rivers led to the territory of "Stieng savages," also known as Kha, in the east of Stĕung Treng. Thus, almost all goods could be found in Stĕung Treng, namely "cardamon, China nettle cloth, wax, lacquer, ivory, the hides and horns of deer and rhinoceros, peacock feathers and some basketry and woodenworking products that are skillfully produced by these savages,"[145] and other forest products.

After doing business in Stĕung Treng for a few years, Hui married Amdaeng Mali. They had one son and three daughters. His house was in Ban Hang Kho.[146] It was located on the east bank of Mekong River, where the Se San meets the Mekong River. On the east bank

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[138] Étienne Aymonier, *Géographie du Cambodge* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876), p. 32; Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome 1*, p. 281.

[139] Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos*, Volume 1, p. 65). See original French edition in Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'explortion en Indo-Chine*, pp. 82-83.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Kămpóng Cham historically concentrated with Hokkien (Penny Edwards, "Ethnic Chinese in Cambodia," p. 190). However, according to Willaim E. Willmott, the Cantonese usually resided in Phnŭm Pénh, Bătdămbâng, and Kămpóng Cham (William E. Willmott, *The Chinese in Cambodia*, p. 20).

[142] Ibid., p. 26.

[143] Jules Harmand, "Voyage au Cambodge," pp. 345.

[144] Francis Garnier, *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos*, Volume 1, p. 65). See original French edition in Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'explortion en Indo-Chine*, p. 82.

[145] Ibid.

[146] "Khamhaikan phraya mueang ham [Testimony of Phraya Mueang Ham]" and "Khamhaikan phra kamhaeng phonsak [Testimony of Phra Kamhaeng Phonsak]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi chet sip rueang mueang nakhon champasak* [Collected Chronicle, Part 70: Concerning Champasak] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2484 [1941]), pp. 215-216, 217-219.

Ban Hang Ko probably is predent-day Hang Khau Suon Village, or Hang Khau Ban Village, Saměakki Commine, Stĕung Treng District and Province. See U.S. Army Map Service, *Cambodia 1:50,000* Series L7016, Sheet 6135 II Bŏeng Char.

of the Mekong River, about 30 kilometers down river from Hui's house, was where a boundary marker between Siam and Cambodia is located.[147] In Thai documents it appears as Bung Khla, which is Tbaung Khla in Khmer.[148] It seems as though Hui mainly resided in Stĕung Treng. According to his testimony, when he crossed the boundary to trade in Cambodia, which he often did, he always visited his mother and wife in Kaoh Roka.[149] Hui belonged to two places and two lives.

Travelling always came with risks caused by natural and human factors, such as piracy, banditry, and warfare. As seen above, the Chinese Tia Ngin was arrested on charge of collaboration with Votha went he took a travel to Sa̅mbau. Tia Ngin was an inhabitant of Sa̅mbau Meas, which was located up north next to Kaoh Roka. We do not know that where Hui was during the suppression of Votha in 1876. Perhaps, he was staying with his families in Kaoh Roka or Stĕung Treng. When Hui traveled in the comparatively peaceful time of 1881, he faced with a risk.

On his way down the River in around May 1881, when Hui approached Tbaung Khla on the east bank of the Mekong River, about 30 kilometers down the river from his house, he was stopped and brought to see Votha.[150] According to Hui, Votha set his camp there in Tbaung Khla and Siem Bouk on the west bank of the River just opposite Tbaung Khla. Two maps made in 1886 and 1887 also gave a location of "Maison de Sivotha" in Siem Bouk.[151] Then, Votha said to Hui, "come to serve under me, I will give you protection." Hui gave himself over to Votha who conferred upon him the title of Phra Koson Phonpanich.[152]

Tbaung Khla and Siem Bouk were under Siamese suzerainty, but how much actual control did Siamese authority have over these areas? And how did people in such areas reacted to their masters? We know that even in 1900, when the power of Bangkok over most peripheries was consolidated, *reas* in Se Lamphao, Thala Bârĭvăt, and Siem Bouk, all Khmer, "scarcely paid *suai*. They usually resisted orders of authorities."[153] It is not irrational to assume that Votha could control some part of the Mekong River between Cambodia and Siam and its nearby inland areas. Nor it is hard to understand why Hui took the offer of Votha, who controlled the gateway between the two kingdoms. The protection that Votha could provide Hui was most probably the protection from Votha himself. Hui was probably threatened, and so accepted Votha's protection. On the other hand, Hui might have calculated that he would benefit from this protection. He did as he –as both a trader and a Chinese– was taught in

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[147] "Khamhaikan phraya mueang ham [Testimony of Phraya Mueang Ham]" and "Khamhaikan phra kamhaeng phonsak [Testimony of Phra Kamhaeng Phonsak]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi chet sip rueang mueang nakhon champasak* [Collected Chronicle, Part 70: Concerning Champasak] (Bangkok: Phra Chan, 2484 [1941]), pp. 215-216, 217-219.

[148] Tbaung Khla is predent-day Tbaung Khla Village, Au Mrĕah Commune, Siem Bouk Dictrict, Stĕung Treng Province. See U.S. Army Map Service, *Cambodia 1:50,000* Series L7016, Sheet 6135 II Bŏeng Char.

[149] NAT R.V M.2.12/21, Dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

[150] NAT R.V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

[151] "Cambodge (Haut Fleuve)," [map], scale not given, and "Rapide de Khon rivières Attopeu et Chane," [map], scale not given, in Paul Branda, *Le Haut-Mékong ou le Laos ouvert* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1889), a page between pp. 64 and 65, and a page between pp. 72 and 73. "Rapide de Khon rivières Attopeu et Chane," desribed Votha's residence in Siem bok as "Maison de Sirothe."

[152] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, enclosed with a dispatch of Khun Pitsanusaen, no. 36, June 2, 1886); Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

[153] NAT M.57/14 Monthon isan (11 Feb-20 May C.S. 119) [Monthon Isan (Feb 11, 1900-May 20, 1901)], Dispatch from Luang Chindarak to Prince Damrong Rachanubhap, the Interior Minister, July 13, 1900.

Chbăp cĕn, a "Code of conduct for Chinese," which is a claimed translation of Chinese manuscript, or teachings of father to son,

> Learn to be thoughtful
> About in-coming profit
> Will make you happy.
> To buy-in and sell-out,
> Profit will increase
> If my son waits to sell
> Until the goods fetch a good price.[154]

However, there is some evidence that Hui probably knew Votha long before May 1881. Another Chinese, Lia Hi of Stĕung Treng, who received the title of Luang Phanich from the Siamese *kha luang* to Stĕung Treng, around 1877 or 1878, had quarreled with Hui, and Hui had said that he would ask Votha to seize Lia Hi.[155] The credibility of Lia Hi's words can be questioned because it was Hui's implication of Lia Hi as a supporter of Votha that had led to his arrest. But if Lia Hi's words can be trusted, it means that even Votha was in the inland area of Stieng, his power radiated to the riverbank area. In 1879, the Chinese Bun Te of Stĕung Treng claimed that Hui sent a Khmer to buy two jars of liquor for Votha. Bun Te gave them for free, because he "was a Chinese merchant. He was afraid to be oppressed by Votha."[156] Bun Te was also arrested because of Hui. But if his words can be trusted, it means that Votha left Mlou Prei for the Mekong Province since at least 1879. In 1880, when Votha came to Hui's house, he sent his servant to ask for areca nut and betel from Hi. According to Hi, he gave what he was asked for because he "was a Chinese merchant. He was afraid to be oppressed by Votha."[157]

According to Hui, from May 1881 onward, Votha came to stay at Hui's house twice or thrice a year. Votha usually stayed for a few nights. Hui also used to visit Votha in Siem Bouk. Officials in Stĕung Treng had not learnt about appearances of Votha. But, some Chinese in Stĕung Treng came to meet and brought some food and supplies, including opium, to Votha each time when Votha came to stay at Hui's house. Hui implicated ten Chinese for supporting Votha, but only six Chinese were arrested in May 1886, namely Khoi (46 years old), Hi (42 years old), Lin Ki (51 years old), Bun Te (32 years old), Lia Hi (41 years old), and Phuan (32 years old).[158]

All except Phuan were granted noble title by the Governor of Stĕung Treng and the Siamese *kha luang*. All were merchants, except for Lin Ki, who, as suggested by his title "Luang Chamroen Sombat Phasi," was probably the tax, or *phasi*, farmer. Although they already had protections from their masters, the Governor and the *kha luang*, more protections were better. However, all except Phuan, denied the charge of supporting Votha. They said the exact same words, "because he was a Chinese merchant. He was afraid to be oppressed by Votha." In

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[154] EFEO Mss Cambodgien O 240 Cbāp Čen.

[155] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, testimony of Chinese Khoi, Chinese Hi, Chinese Lin Ki, Chinese Bun Te, Chinese Lia Hi, and Chinese Phuan, 6 persons, enclosed with a dispatch of Khun Pitsanusaen, no. 36, June 2, 1886.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

other words, paying not to be oppressed meant paying to be protected. Oppression and protection were two sides of the same coin.

Troubles on the Mekong

> In the seventh lunar month, the year of the Monkey, the sixth year of the decade, the sixteenth year of the reign, I saw a *farang* (Th. European, westerner) nobility and tens of *farang* soldiers arrive in Phanom Penh and stay at a house of *Mongsayer Protectora* (the corrupted Thai words of French "Monsieur (du) Protectorat"). Then, they went in to Ong Phra Norodom for about five hours and left and came back out. I heard Khmer nobles and *ratsadon* say that the *farang* nobility asked Ong Phra Norodom to make an agreement to hand over Phanom Penh to the *farang*. *Farang* will station soldiers in the country and collect *suai* and all taxes and revenues. Ong Phra Norodom asked for a time to take counsel [with Khmer nobility]. The *farang* nobility did not allow [the king to do that] and brought soldiers to threaten Ong Phra Norodom. Ong Phra Norodom was afraid, so he eventually yielded Phanom Penh to *farang*.[159]

Yi Uan gave the above description. He was Cantonese who came to Cambodia after first settling to trade in Sài Gòn. He married a Vietnamese wife whom he had no children. He moved to trade in Phnŭm Pénh after the French had siezed Sài Gòn in 1859.[160] There he married another Vietnamese wife with whom he had one daughter. He became a tax famer for Prei Vĕng, Svai Teap, Rŭmduol, Ba Phnŭm and Peam Cho, and received the title of Luang Phakdi Sombat. He was fluent in Khmer. In 1872, he accompanied Norodom on a visit to Hong Kong and Canton. He did not follow Norodom on to Manila but was assigned to buy a "huge mirror" in his native village in Canton.[161] He stayed on in Canton with his first wife for three years before returning to Phnŭm Pénh and resuming tax farming in the eastern provinces. He was a witness to important events in Cambodia in this radical period of change. He provided us with less detail about such events, but his account is no less valuable.

"The seventh lunar month, the year of Monkey, the sixth year of the decade, the sixteenth year of the reign" mentioned above by Yi Uan was June 17, 1884. On that day, a gunboat *Alouette* anchored in front of the Royal Palace in Phnŭm Pénh, while the Governor of Cochin–China Charles Thomson, accompanied by French marines, entered the palace with a treaty. Norodom had no choice but to sign the treaty in order to keep his throne. The treaty of 1884 made Cambodia a full Protectorate of the French as signified in the article 1, "His Majesty the King of Cambodia accepts all administrative, judicial, financial and commercial reforms in which the government of the French Republic shall judge in the future useful to facilitate the achievement of its protectorate."[162] Yi Uan, who was then in Ba Phnŭm,

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[159] NAT M.2.12/19 Baibok mueang chachoengsao champasak khemmarat saen pang (Dec-Nov R.S. 104 [Dispatches from Chachoengsao, Khemmarat, Champasak, and Saen Pang (Dec 1885-Nov 1886)], Testimony of Chinese Yi Uan, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[160] It is a usual practice of Cantonese in Cambodia. Most of them came first to cochinchina after moving to Cambodia (William E. Willmott, *The Political Structure of the Chinese Community in Cambodia* (London: The Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 6-7).

[161] See EFEO Mss Cambodgien O 141 Nireas Hong Kong.

[162] Marcel Dubois and Auguste Terrier, *Les colonies française, un siècle d'expansion coloniale* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1902), p. 875.

described theFrench program of reforms, as mainly consisted of placing French résidents in provincial cities, abolishing "slavery," and institutionalizing land ownership,[163] as following.

> On the first day of the waxing moon, the second lunar month, the year of the Monkey, the sixth year of the decade (December 17, 1884), I saw four Khmer soldiers of Ong Phra Narodom bring notices in French, Chinese, and Khmer, imprinted with one *prasat* seal and two french seals, to placards in provincial cities. Those notices stated that Ong Phra Narodom already gave Phanom Penh and all territories to *Atmiral Mongsayer Protectora kongsul* (corrupted Thai words of French Amiral, Monsieur (du) Protectorat, consul). Finance official of Phanom Penh and all provinces have to collect money in substitute for *suai*, and all kinds of tax, revenue and custom from *phrai* residing both inside and outside cities, and given-birth-woman revenue, as well as ox, buffalo, horse and elephant revenues, for *Atmiral Mongsayer Protectora*.[164]

On January 1, 1885, according to Yi Uan, two French officers and 40 Annamite soldiers came to the station in Peam Lo in Ba Phnŭm.[165] From there, eight Khmer governors of the newly reorganized province of Banam,[166] were summoned to Peam Lo. They were informed that French authorities already had an absolute power over Cambodia and they had to collect all kinds of tax, revenue and custom for the French Protectorate.[167]

We do not know the exact about contents of the Khmer and Chinese notices mentioned by Yi Uan. They were most probably based on the convention of June 17, 1884, and article 22 of a *Décision relative à l'organisation politique et administrative du Cambodge*, enacted October 27, 1884, which is as follows,

> The Cambodian officials shall continue, under the control of the French authorities, to administer the provinces, except for the establishment and collection of taxes, customs, indirect taxes, public works, and, in general, services which require an only management or employment of European engineers or agents.[168]

What Yi Uan narrated was a retranslated version of a Khmer and Chinese version of the French official reform programs. The strange and awful measure –"given-birth-woman revenue"– was probably added by Yi Uan, but most probably did not exist. However, it could

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[163] David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, p. 144; See also Milton Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, pp. 211-212.

[164] NAT M.2.12/19, Testimony of Chinese Yi Uan, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[165] Peam Lo probably is present-day Peam Ro Commune and District in Prei Vĕng Province.

[166] On October 27, 1884, a Décision relative à l'organisation politique et administrative du Cambodge, which was a reorganization of political and administrative division, was enacted. Eight newly provinces were created. The province of Banam consisted of eight arrondissements, namely Banam, Svai-Romiet, Srey-Santho (Sitho-Chevng), Prey-Veng, Peam-Chor, Pea-Reang, Rom-duol, and Svai Teap (*Organisation du Cambodge* (Saigon: Imprimerie coloniale, 1885), pp. 8, 10. See also "Cambodge," in *Notices coloniales, publiées à l'occasion de l'exposition universelle d'Anvers en 1885*, pp. 474-475).

[167] NAT M.2.12/19, Testimony of Chinese Yi Uan, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[168] "Les fonctionnaires cambodgiens continueront, sous le contrôle des autorités françaises, à administrer les provinces, sauf en ce qui concerne l'établissement et la perception des impôts, les douanes, les contributions indirectes, les travaux publics, et en général les services qui exigent une direction unique ou l'emploi d'ingénieurs ou d'agents européens" (*Organisation du Cambodge*, p. 14).

actually capture the heart of the reform programs: the French was now the real master of the Khmers.

When the governors returned to their provinces, they failed to follow the French orders. Yi Uan continued,

> On a date that I can not remember, a French officer and 40 *Yaun* (Kh. *yuon*) soldiers with full arms went on board six six-rowers boats to Pra Vaeng (Kh. Prei Vĕng). They went to stop at a residence of a governor of Pra Vaeng. Then, *Yaun* soldiers were sent to take servants of the governor down. The governor felt afraid, so he led his children, wife, relatives, and servants to escape to forest areas. The French officer remained waiting for the governor (at the front of the governor's residence). At night around three o'clock, the governor of Pra Veang and his servants, I did not know how many, with arms came to attack and kill the French officer and 17 *Yaun* soldiers.[169]

The above incident was referred to by the French explorer Auguste Pavie who visited Banam in 1885,

> In Prey Veng, on the left bank of Mekong, a chief of the district, considering himself molested by the Annamite agents of the French *résident*, attacked the French *résident* with his people at night when the French *résident* came to arrest him, killed fourteen of Annamite militiamen, the *résident* escaped almost alone and then retreated in the woods.[170]

Apart from the number of people killed, accounts of Yi Uan and Pavie do not contradict each other.

Explicit in Yi Uan's narrative is that the treaty of 1884 was the cause of an incident in Prei Vĕng, which is one of a number of countrywide rebellions that happened in Cambodia in 1885 and 1886. More generally, the treaty was also considered a cause of the rebellion of 1885-1886, namelt that led by Votha.

Immediately after troops were sent to suppress the rebellion in Prei Vĕng and other eastern provinces, Yi Uan together with his son and eight Chinese employees left Ba Phnŭm on March 7, 1885 and reached Stĕung Treng on April 4. Probably, Yi Uan took the same route taken by Votha when he escaped the enclosement of the Ŏbarach in the territory of Stieng east of Stĕung Treng to Ba Phnŭm in 1877. In Stĕung Treng, Yi Uan was arrested and sent to Champasak, where he was interrogated on May 8.

In the trading town of Stĕung Treng during ordinary times, the arrest of Yi Uan cannot be basically considered a usual practice. But at that time, border towns were being extensively watched over as a result of an attack on the French military post of Sãmbau on January 8, 1885.[171] This attack happened at virtually the same place as the assassination of the

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[169] NAT M.2.12/19, Testimony of Chinese Yi Uan, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[170] Auguste Pavie, *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine 1879–1895, Géographie et voyages I, Exposé des travaux de la mission (introduction, premier et deuxième peroides=1879 à 1889)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), pp. 174-175.

[171] ANOM AF A30 (74) Trouble de 1885-1886 (1885-1886), Enquête sur le Evénements du Cambodge, Rapport de Mr Klobukowski, Chef du Cabinet de Mr le Gouverneur Thomson, 23 juillet 1885. See also Felix Julian, *Lettres d'un précurseur, Doudart de Lagrée au Cambodge et Indo-Chine* (Paris: Challamel ainé, 1886), p. 114; Milton Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 213; David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, p. 144;

French engineer Bruel a year earlier on January 10, 1884.[172] In response to Bruel's murder, the French military post of Sẫmbau was established in order to eliminate "piracy and slavery."[173] This military post consisted of 30 *tirailleurs*,[174] who were all most probably Annamites.

Nearly a month after the assassination of Bruel, the Governor of Cochinchina's statement in his telegraph of February 8 was reported in the French newspaper *Journal des débates politiques et littéraires* on February 9, "The survey conducted in Cambodia after the

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John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, p. 83.

In his letter to the Minister of the Navy, the governor of Cochinchina mentioned that the attack of Sẫmbau happened at 5 o'clock in the morning of January 9, 1885 (ANOM AF A30 (67) Cambodge. Convention de 17 Juin 1884 (1884-1885), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, 10 January 1885).

[172] Bruel was a former employee of Cambodia Gold Company. In 1883, he went on a month to explore northwest and southwest regions of Cambodia (See Amiraux 12704 Rapport de l'ingenieur civil Bruel sur son voyage d'exploration dans Nord-Ouest et le Sud-Ouest du Cambodge (6 nov 1883)). In 1884, he was sent by the French government to research an inland trade route to Huế in central Vietnam.

A few days after the assassination, by an order of Governor of Cochin-China, a gunboat *Escoptte* sailed up the River from Phnŭm Pénh carried with it a French Lieutenant and 25 Annamite soldiers, together with 20 days of food and ammunition. Their mission was "to teach a lesson to bands and even the villages involved in the case" ("Nécrologie," *L'Exploration: revue des conquêtes de la civilisation sur tous les points du globe*, XVII, premier semestre, 1884: 476; ("Untitled," *The Straits Times*, February 8, 1884: 2). Number of Annamite soldiers given by a Thai archival source is "three dozens" (NAT, R. V RL-SP/25 Saraban Samut Phiset lem 25 (C.S. 1245-1246) [Bound Collected Documents, volume 25 (A.D. 1883-1885)], no. 90 Despatch from Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the governor of Bătdẫmbâng, to H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, the Mahatthai Minister). It is interesting to note that, most of a reporting on *The Straits Times*, published in the British colony of Singapore, that took from the *Hongkong Daily Press*, was very similar to the report on *L'Exploration*. It probably is because they had the same source. On the other hand, *Hongkong Daily Press* maybe took that report from *L'Exploration* or other French journals.

The Governor of Cochin-China also sent a telegraph to French consul in Bangkok to inform the event to Siam's government and ask for cooperation, to arrest murderers in case they run away to Siam. Letter from the French consul in Bangkok reached the Siam's Foreign Office on January 20 (NAT, R5 RL-SP/25, no. 69, M. le comte de Kergaradec, French consul and commissaire to Bangkok, to Chaophraya Bhanuwong Mahakosathibodi, the Phra Klang Minister for Foreign Affairs). Regarding a practice of Siam's bureaucratic system at the time, the Foreign Office would informed that story, and attached a copy of a related document, to the Interior Ministry that was responsible for a provincial administration. For now, I am not found the letter from the Foreign Office to the Interior Ministry, but I found instead a report sent to Siam's Interior Minister by the governor of Siamese Bătdẫmbâng, Phraya Kathathorn Thoranin (Chum), which mentioned the letter dated January 27 from the Interior Minister informed him about the assassination, and also an enclosure, a copy of letter from the French consul (NAT, R. V RL-SP/25, no. 90 Despatch from Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the governor of Bătdẫmbâng, to H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, the Mahatthai Minister).

[173] A. Bouinais and A. Paulus, *Le royaume du Cambodge* (Paris: Berger-Levrault et C[ie], 1884), p. 17; A. Bouinais and A. Paulus, *L'Indo-Chine française contemporaine, tome premier Cochinchine–Cambodge* (Paris: Challamel ainé, 1885), pp. 480, 568-569. See also "Cambodge," in *Notices coloniales*, p. 472.

[174] A. Bouinais and A. Paulus, *Le royaume du Cambodge*, p. 17.

Lieutenant de vaisseau and capitaine of the gunboat *Alouette* Paul-Alexandre Capion who visited the post of Sambor in August 1884 noted that, "The organization and holding of the post of Sambor are very remarkable, and make the greatest honor to Lieutenant Lamey. This officer, by his wisdom, benevolence, and firmness, has acquired in the country a consideration and an influence which renders to the French cause the greatest service" ("L'organisation, la tenue du poste de Sambor sont très remarquables et font le plus grand honneur à M. le lieutenant Lamey. Cet officier, par sa sagesse, sa bienveillance et sa fermeté, s'est acquis dans le pays une considération et une influence qui rendent à la cause française les plus grands services." (P. Campion, "Voyage de l'aviso l'Allouette de Pnom-Penh à Sambor," *Excursion et reconnaissances* VII (1884): 511. It was reprinted in the same year (P. Campion, *Voyage de l'aviso l'Allouette de Pnom-Penh à Sambor* (Saigon: Imprimerie de gouvernement, 1884).

assassination of Mr. Bruel has established the guilt of culprits led by Sivotha. Two villages at the border, whose participation in the crime was made clear, were destroyed by order of the Cambodian authorities."[175] In accordance with Phraya Kathathorn Thoranin the governor of Bătdẫmbâng,

> Monsieur Burawen (Fr. Bruel) the Frenchman died in a town of Sombok-Sombun (Kh. Sẫmbŏk-Sẫmbau). Those towns were under control of Phanom Penh. From a place Burawen died to a camp of Wattha (Votha) and his followers was about one night's walk. The camp of Wattha and his followers was next to Kha and Khmer territory. French resident of Phanom Penh send a small steamship and three dozens of *Yuan* (Kh. *Yuon*) soldiers up to Sombok-Sombun. They went into the place Burawen died and found about 7-8 houses without people. They also saw Monsieur Burawen's forks, spoons, plates, and cups, dropped on a floor of those houses. Then, the French gave orders to choose guns and burn those abandoned houses. Later, they were down back to Phanom Penh.[176]

Although there was some inconsistency between French and Siamese perspectives, they completely agreed that Votha had got involved in the assassination. Votha himself also claimed responsibility the assassination of Bruel. Stĕung Treng's officials reported to Bangkok that Votha "left a notice that those who killed the French in Sombok consisted of 19 inhabitants of Saen Pang, 10 inhabitants of Se Lamphao, 9 inhabitants of Sombok, and 2 inhabitants of Ban Tan La, in sum 40 men."[177] Most of the culprits came from the provinces under Siamese rule, namely Saen Pang (which was Siem Pang, located up Se San, about 80 kilometers northeast of Stĕung Treng) and Se Lamphao (Kh. Tonlé Ropŏv). If Votha's claim was accurate, it was evidence confirming that Votha could recover and reaffirm his sphere of power, or mandala, in the frontier provinces of both Cambodia and Siam. It is probably the first attack of Frenchmen and on French interests by Votha and his partisans since he moved back to the Mekong provinces. It was most probably an organized attack. And it was a warning message to the French Protectorate. A year later, the military post of Sẫmbau was attacked on January 8, 1885 by 150 armed men. They first burned down a telegraph post and neighboring houses. The French commander and 4 Annamite *tirailleurs* were killed.[178] The attack on the post of Sẫmbau was not spontaneous, but organized.[179] Votha, however, did not command the attack that was taken to mark of the beginning of the rebellion of 1885-1886.[180] He had already left Siem Bouk on Decmeber 19, 1884.

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[175] "Colonie françaises, Cochinchine et Tonkin," *Journal des débates politiques et littéraires* février 9, 1884: 1; Ch. Lamette, "Mouvement géographique," *Société normande de Géographie* VI (mars-avril 1884): 112.

[176] NAT, R. V RL-SP/25, no. 90 Despatch from Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the governor of Bătdẫmbâng, to H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, the Mahatthai Minister.

[177] NAT, R5 RL-M/27 Khat rang tra tang tang mi pai hua mueang mahatthai (pi wok cho sok C.S. 1246) [Copy of draft letter to provinces under administration of the Ministry of Interior, A.D. 1884-1885], (25) Official letter from Bangkok to Luang Phakdi Narong, 24 June 1884.

[178] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, 10 January 1885; ANOM AF A30 (74) Enquête sur le Evénements du Cambodge, Rapport de Mr Klobukowski, Chef du Cabinet de Mr le Gouverneur Thomson, 23 juillet 1885.

[179] John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, p. 83.

[180] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, 10 January 1885. See also ANOM AF A30 (74), Rapport de Mr Klobukowski, Chef du Cabinet de Mr le Gouverneur Thomson, 23 juillet 1885; Milton Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 213; David P. Chandler, *A History of*

Narratives of Uprising

While Yi Uan fled from the battle to Stĕung Treng, Hui left Stĕung Treng to do a battle. Originated on December 17, 1884, when Hui went to see Votha in Siem Bouk. He was asked to join the fight against the French. Two days later, Hui marched south with Votha's troops to Kãmpóng Cham.

Why did Votha ask Hui to go with him? It was perhaps because Hui was no ordinary trader. The rapids between Stĕung Treng, where Hui's house was situated, and Sãmbŏk, where Votha's house was located, was a labyrinth of islets "opposed to any surveillance" and a sanctuary of the pirates of the river, and partisans of Votha.[181] The pirates and partisans were probably the same group of people. In his interrogation, the Chinese Lia Hi of Stĕung Treng, stated that on the way home after going to trade in Krâcheh, he was plundered by Votha's Khmer servants.[182] In his report to the Minister of the Navy, the governor of Cochinchina Charles Thomsom stated that in the early morning of January 1885, the post of Sãmbau was attacked by a band of "Votha's partisans, Chinese pirates, and Cambodians armed with rifles."[183] It is possible that Hui knew the Chinese pirates, or even that he was part of them. But we will never know.

Hui did not join Votha's troops alone. We know that he was accompanied by at least one other man called Keo Asa. Keo Asa was born in 1850 as Mok, perhaps in the Siamese province of Nakhon Ratchasima in the northeastern region. He went to trade in the Mekong provinces of Nong Khai, Nakhon Panom and Mukdahan in northeastern Siam. In 1874, he became a servant of the governor of Ubon who came to suppress the rebellion of Ho (an anti-Qing rebels and quasi-military bandit groups from southern China) in Nong Khai.[184] After that he followed his new master to Ubon, and was appointed as *Pia* (a title of local noble in Lao provinces) Keo Asa. In 1877, Keo Asa's master received a royal order to supervise the administration in the Lao tributary state of Champasak, which its seat of power was located about 170 kilometers east of Ubon. He accompanied his master there and got married. Then, he went to depend on the Chao Ratchabut, the senior nobility of Champasak and stayed with his wife there. After his wife died in 1882, he remained in Champasak. In 1884, he went to Khong to find a culprit who was Tongsu, a.w. Tongsoo, also called Kula, a member of an ethnic group from Burma.[185] His hunt for that culprit at last led him to Stĕung Treng. Then,

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Cambodia, p. 144; John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, p. 83.

Osborne mentioned that the attacking of the post of Sãmbau happened on January 8, 1885 (Milton Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 213).

[181] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge, l'ame Khmere Ang-Kor*, pp. 302–303; Paul Branda, *Le Haut-Mékong ou le Laos ouvert*, p. 6; "Cambodge," in *Notices coloniales*, p. 472.

[182] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Khoi, Chinese Hi, Chinese Lin Ki, Chinese Bun Te, Chinese Lia Hi, and Chinese Phuan, 6 persons, enclosed with a dispatch of Khun Pitsanusaen, no. 36, June 2, 1886).

[183] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 10, 1885.

[184] *Ho* was an anti-Qing rebels and quasi-military bandit groups from southern China that raided widely in northern Vietnam and northern and central Lao from 1865-1890. About *Ho* rebellions in Lao provinces see Nidhi Aeusrivongse, *Kan prab ho lae kan sia dindaen pho. so. 2431* [The Suppression of the Haw Uprisings and the Loss of Thai Territories in 1888] (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2509 [1966]); *Ho* outlaws and rebels in northern Vietnam see Bradley Camp Davis, *Imperial Bandits: Outlaws and Rebel in the China-Vietnam Borderlands* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2017).

[185] See the discussion about Tongsu/Kula and their trade activities in Northeastern Provinces of Siam in Junko Koizumi, "Why the Kula Wept: A Report on the Trade Activities of the Kula in Isan at the End of the 19th Century," *Southeast Asian Studies* 28, 2 (September 1990): 131-153.

he was assigned from local officials to search for information about Votha that made him became an employee of Hui.[186]

On December 19, 1884, according to Hui, Votha and his partisans, six *oknha*-s and 300 armed men departed Siem Bouk. But, according to Keo Asa, a number of men in the Votha's troops were 200.[187] Such troops took a land route on the right bank of the Mekong River.[188] The further south they marched, the more *reas* they conscripted.[189] To paraphrasing Paul Branda, they "weak at first, enlarging on the way, snowball[ed]."[190] They spent almost a month to reach Kǎmpóng Siem. At that time, Kǎmpóng Siem and Stĕung Trong were merged, renamed Kǎmpóng Cham and had become the arrondissement of the newly reorganized province of Kǎmpóng Cham.[191] Arrondissement of Kǎmpóng Cham was also the location of the provincial capital, which located around the modern center of Kǎmpóng Cham.[192] However, the name Kǎmpóng Siem remained in use and mentioned.

On May 6, 1885, Contre-amiral (Rear Admiral) Paul-Emile-Marie Réveillère, the commander of the Marine (Navy) in Cochinchina from Auguat 6, 1884 to August 5, 1866, evaluated the rebllions in Cambodia thus:

> We were not only dealing with pirates who, having plundered and burned a village, withdraw with their booty; we were in the presence of real rebels, with a popular leader at their head; Si-Votha, the brother of the king himself, with a determined program; that of annihilating the French, by going get them until Pnom-Penh.[193]

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[186] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

Keo Asa gave his testimony in Champasak on May 12, 1885.

[187] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886: NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[188] In a telegram to the Minister of Marine in Paris, dated January 22, 1885, the Governor of Cochinchina did not provide number of men in Votha's troops. But he reported that Votha's troops that descended from the Cambodia–Siamese Lao frontier parted into three groups; first group went to Sambour, second group led by Votha himself, and third group marched southward through Kǎmpóng Cham to Kǎmpóng Siem (ANOM AF A30 (67), Telegram from Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Marine, January 22, 1885).

[189] When the troops reached Kǎmpóng Siem, the number of men in troops increased to 2,000 (according to Keo Asa) to 3,000 (according to Hui) (NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886: NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885).

[190] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge,* p. 112.

[191] *Organisation du Cambodge*, pp. 8, 11; "Cambodge," in *Notices coloniales*, pp. 476-477.

Décision relative à l'organisation politique et administrative du Cambodge stated that the *arrondissement* of Kǎmpóng Cham consisted of two *ancien arrondissements* that were Kǎmpóng Cham and Stung Trong. However, it should be Kǎmpóng Siem and Stung Trong, since the name Kǎmpóng Cham never used to name province in Cambodia before October 27, 1884. See names of provinces before 1884 in Doudart de Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, pp. 75-77.

[192] "Cambodge," in *Notices coloniales*, p. 476; E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, tome premier (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), pp. 84.

[193] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 111.

Hence, while Votha's troops were marching southward, all gunboats in Cambodia sailed northward on the Mekong River and more gunboats sailed from Cochinchina to Cambodia.[194]

On January 19, 1885, Votha's troops were approximately within reach of Kâmpóng Cham. A telegram from the Governor of Cochinchina to the Minister of Marine in Paris, dated January 22, warned that 400 of Votha's troops would attack Kâmpóng Cham.[195] According to Keo Asa and Hui, the number was closer to a thousand. [196] Whatever the size of Votha's troops, the French administrative center in Kâmpóng Cham, it seemed was incapable of defending themselves. Thus, an emissary was sent to the gunboat *Alouette* then anchored in Hăn Chey, 30 kilometers north of Kâmpóng Cham. THe *Alouette* departed Phnŭm Pénh on January 17 with 140 soldiers, Cambodian auxiliararies, and two weeks of food supplies, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Miramand,[197] and landed at Hăn Chey on January 18.[198] However, in the morning of January 19, two hours before the emissary from Kâmpóng Cham reached them, Miramand and his soldiers had left and moved inland.[199] A column of men was immediately formed consisting of sailors from the gunboats *Framée* and *Alouette* (M. Jourden), and some Annamite *tirailleurs*.[200]

According to the Governor of Cochinchina, Votha's troops attacked Kâmpóng Cham in the morning of January 19. Gunboats on the Mekong River helped to protect the French residence and pushed the rebels to their camp located about five kilometers from Vât Noko.[201] Réveillère and Keo Asa did not mention this incident but spoke instead of a battle on the afternoon of January 19.

According to Réveillère, Miramand left *Alouette* in the morning; the emissary from Kâmpóng Cham arrived in *Alouette* two hours later; the column of men encountered with Votha's troops only two hours after it was formed. This means that the battle should have taken place around the afternoon of January 19. According to Keo Asa, Votha's troops "had stopped at a paddy field in Kapong Cham (Kh. Kâmpóng Cham), around 2 to 2.4 kilometers from the French camp and had not yet set camp. At around 3 p.m., a vanguard led by Phra Chamnian went to attack *Farang* and *Yuon*."[202] In Réveillère's account, "the small troop (la petite troupe) met the rebel's vanguard 500 meters ahead of the Wat Nocor Pagoda,"[203] located about 3 kilometers east of the French administrative center in Kâmpóng Cham. "A battle happened for a while," Keo Asa continued. "*Farang* and *Yuon* shot and killed a man in Phra Chamnian's troops. In the evening, Phra Chamnian retreated to Votha, who had stopped at such paddy field."[204] The very same scene in Réveillère's account is, "the firing

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[194] Ibid.

[195] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 22, 1885.

[196] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[197] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 22, 1885.

[198] Hăn Chey is predent-day Khŭm in Srŏk Kâmpóng Siem, Khaet Kâmpóng Cham.

[199] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 114.

[200] Ibid.

[201] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 22, 1885.

[202] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[203] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 115.

[204] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

began and the enemy fled with his dead and wounded persons, only one of whom remained in our hands."[205]

According to the Governor of Cochinchina, the French small troop consisted of "twenty militiamen and fifty native auxiliaries."[206] The Governor also gave the number of Votha's troops as 400 men. "It was thus that this column, composed largely of sailors, commanded exclusively by naval officers, had the first one, honor to fight the bands of Si-Votha, and to put them to flight," said the French Rear Admiral.[207] But could we consider the actions of those who were in Votha's troops as courage and bravery?

According to Hui, Votha's troops left Kǎmpóng Cham for Ban Prei Cho.[208] When they reached Ban Mien,[209] which also called Ban Mieng, they encontered with French troops of 300 men.[210] Keo Asa said that French troops consisted of two French, 30 Indians, and 40 Annamites.[211] An incident in Ban Mien, also accounted in a telegram from the Governor of Cochinchina to the Minister of Marine in Paris, dated January 23,[212] which was reported in the pages of French newspapers, both in France and French overseas territory, virtually word for word,[213] and the account of Réveillère.[214] The Ban Mien incident occurred at 5 p.m. on January 21. Keo Asa did not give a date but the time that that battle began, which was 1 p.m. Moreover, Keo Asa also said that, "six men and Votha's pony were shot dead. Votha fell (from his pony) and his leg was pierced by his knife that caused deep wound as long as a rice grain."[215] On the other side, the Governor reported that "about twenty men" were killed and "Sivotha fled on horseback, wounded, say people,"[216] and Réveillère, "There were many dead and wounded, and Si-Votha himself was shot in the leg, and his horse was killed under him."[217]

None of our informants participated in the battle of Ban Mien. They all relied on the accounts of other people. Thomson and Réveillère can be trusted and distrusted just as much as Hui and Keo Asa. But the narratives of people like Hui and Keo Asa, as well as Yi Uan,

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[205] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 115.

[206] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 22, 1885.

[207] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 115.

[208] Ban Prei Cho was present-day Prei Chho Commune and District, Kǎmpóng Cham Province.

[209] Ban Mean was present-day Mean Commune, Prei Chho District, Kǎmpóng Cham Province.

[210] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, enclosed with a dispatch of Khun Pitsanusaen, no. 36, June 2, 1886); Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

[211] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[212] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 23, 1885.

[213] See for example in "Au Cambodge," *Le Radical* 5e Année, N. 25 (Samedi 24 Janvier 1885): 2; "Cambodge," *Le Petit Bengali*, No 8 (Chanderanagor, Mardi 24 Fevrier 1885): 1; "Chine, Tonkin, Cambodge," *Le Petit Journal* Vingt-troisième année, Numéro 8066 (Dimanche 25 Janvier 1885): 2; "Chine et Tonkin. Au Cambodge," *La Lanterne* Neuvième année, numéro 2836 (Dimanche 25 Janvier 1885): 1; "Dernières nouvelles," *Le Temps* Vingt-cinquième année, Numéro 8670 (Samedi 24 Janvier 1885): 4; "Dernières nouvelles. Cambodge," *La Croix* 6e Année, No 495 (Samedi 24 Janvier 1885): 3; "Dernières heure. Cochinchine," *L'Impartial: journal de l'arrondissement de Mostaganem* No 74, Deuxième année (Samedi 24 Janvier 1885): 3; "Depêches. En Cochinchine," *L'Indépendant de Mascara* Deuxième Année, No 63 (Dimanche, 25 Janvier 1885): 3; "La guerre au Cambodge," *La Presse* 50année, numéro 23 (Samedi 24 Janvier 1885): 1.

[214] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 115.

[215] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[216] ANOM AF A30 (67), Governor of Cochichina to the Minister of the Navy, January 23, 1885.

[217] Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 115.

were always ignored. Narrative of the rebellion of 1885-1886, and history of Cambodia in general, was completely based on French archival documents and printed sources, which largely were a repeated reproduction of official and archival documents. Other narratives of Hui, Keo Asa, and Yi Uan suggest that, although story in narratives was not significantly different, the anecdotes make the different.[218] It is not hard to imagine how the "given-birth-woman revenue" would make *reas* angst and furious, or how a knife could cause only a "rice grain long deep wound" and make *reas* think about the vulnerability of Votha.

The Use of Rhetoric

After being crushed in Ban Mien, Votha retreated to Kapong Samo, which probably was present-day Kŏmpóng Thmo Commune.[219] However, in a proclamation issued on January 22, Votha stated that he was in Ban Sano in Sântŭk, which was most probably present-day Snao Village in Kŏmpóng Thmo Commune.

Votha's proclamation revealed his plan. After addressing to "all Phya's Phra's, Luang's Kun's and district officials as well as all *reas*," in Kŏmpóng Svay, Stŏng, Chi Kraeng, and Siem Reap, Votha continued,

> Ong Wattah's (Votha's) thoughts turn to the Cambodian kingdom which from ancient times has always held the Buddhist religion and which now is no longer the kingdom of Cambodia but has been changed and has been become a Kingdom of the unbelievers as you all have seen and noticed. It is observed that of the officials and people some are still loyal to the Buddhist religion and others have gone astray after the unbelievers and are greedy for gain and profit and there is no philosopher or cheif and there are none of the people who have have a solicitude for the Buddhist religion and who are ready to assist in establishing again the Kingdom as a Buddhist kingdom that this religion may not deteriorate.[220]

Although nither French Protectorate or Frenchmen were mentioned, "the unbelievers" clearly referred to the French. In the Thai translated version of the proclamation, the word for "the unbelievers" was *mitchathitti* (Kh. *mĭchchatĕdthĕ*), literally meaning wrong view; false view, and also used to mean error or false doctrine; heresy.

The rhetoric of *mĭchchatĕdthĕ* as the enemy of *sasana* was used more frequently in nineteenth-century Cambodia, especially during the Fourteen Years War (1833-1847). The term *mĭchchatĕdthĕ* was used by Khmer *oknha* to describe Annamites who invaded Cambodia.[221] In 1840, King Rama III of Bangkok said to Votha's father Duong that "I do not need any thing from Cambodia but fame and honor in the future as a person who saves Cambodia, and protects Buddhism in Cambodia from deterioration."[222] This was repeated in a dispatch of

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[218] See Lionel Gossman, "Anecdote and History," *History and Theory* 42, 2 (May 2003), pp. 143-168.

[219] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

Kapong is Thai pronunciation of Khmer word *Kŏmpóng*, and *samo* is Thai word derived from Khmer *Thmo*. Thus, Kampong Samo was most probably present day Kŏmpóng Thmo Commune, Sântŭk District, Kŏmpóng Thŭm Province.

[220] NAT, KT 97.2/6 Rueang mi paima kap kongsun farangset waduay khamen khit khabot to farangset [Letters to French Consul concerning Khmer rebellion], p. 71.

[221] *Chotmaihet rueang thap yuan krang ratchakan thi sam* [Documents concerning the War with Annamese during the Third reign] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2476 [1933]) pp. 17, 41.

[222] King Nangklao Chaoyuhao (Rama III), *Praratchaniphon phrabat somdet phra nangklao chaoyuhao* [Colleted

Chaophraya Bodin Decha, the commander-in-chief of Siam in the fourteen Yers War, to Bangkok in 1841.

> [His majesty the King] sent Phra Ong Duong to govern and succeed the royal lineage in Cambodia to prevent a vanishing of Khmer royals, and to help together in lifting up the august *Putthasatsana* (Buddhasāsanā, the teachings of the Buddha) preventing the disappearing of the august *Putthasatsana*. At this time, however, the *Yuan* (Kh. *Yuon*, the Vietnamese) established in Phanom Penh (Kh. Phnŭm Pénh). Therefore, we have to settle Phra Ong Duong in Phothisat (Kh. Pŏsăt), located close to the Siamese territory, to foster Cambodia until the august *Putthasatsana* will be established again. [We have] to make Khmer officials develop affection and become attached to the august *Putthasatsana* to keep the lineange of *sammatitthe* (right view) and to prevent *Ai Yuan*,who are *micchatitthe*, from dominating Cambodia and destroying the august *Putthasatsana*.[223]

The Vietnamese realized that they were under attack from the Siamese camp in another battlefield of mentalities through the rhetoric of *mĭchchatĕdthĕ*. Thus, in his letter to Khmer dignitaries and *reas* in Ba Phnŭm in 1845, Vian Yang, the Vietnamese Ton Phu (a Vietnamese provincial governor), states,

> Troops of Ong Ton Phu and troops of Ong Ke Dok never destroyed any *vât*-s, houses of *reas*, and fruit trees... Furthermore, when I reached Kampong Sat So, I saw a beautiful *vât*. So I stopped my boat there and ordered my troops to protect (that *vât*) and light candles and joss sticks to worship. In addition, those who ordained as Buddhist monk, do not fear. It is not right (to fear). Come back to stay at their *vât*-s and light candles and joss sticks to worship the Buddha as usual.[224]

In a family chronicle *Sastra Vat Krouch* that also covered the period of the Fourteen Years War, the Vietnamese were called *yuon yĕak tĕrathey* or *yuon yĕak trŏes derathey* "demonic and non-Buddhist Vietnamese."[225] It should be noted that, at in the very same time, *Sastra Vat Krouch* used the words *thŭm mean bŏn*, literally "big (person who) has merit"[226] to signify the status of an Annamite general Lê Văn Duyệt, called in Khmer and Thai documents Ong Ta Kun.

Writings of Rama III] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphatthanakorn, 2472 [1929]) p. 148.

[223] "Baibok Chaophraya Bodin Decha, chabap thi chet [February 15, 1841] [Dispatch of Chaophraya Bodin Decha, no. 7, Februay 15, 1841]," in *Prachum phongsawadan phak ti hok sip paet chotmaihet kiaokap khamen lae yuan nai ratchakan thi sam ton ti song* [Collected Chronicle, Part 68: Records on Khmer and Vietnamese in the Third Reign, Section 2] (Bangkok: Bamrung Nukunkit, 2481 [1938], p. 23.

[224] NLT R. III, C.S. 1207/31 Baibok phasa khamen [Dispatch in Khmer language].

Ton Phu was a Thai word for Vietnamese *Tuần phủ*, which means a provincial governor (See Choi Byung Wook, *Southern Vietnam under the Reign of Minh Mạng (1820-1841): Central Policies and Local Response* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2004), pp. 87-90).

[225] Prĕah Bâtŭm Baramey (Pich), "Sastra Voat Kroch [Menuscit de la pagode de Kroch]," in Khin Sok, *L'Annexion du Cambodge par les Vietnamiens au XIX^{e} siècle: d'après les duex poèmes de vénérable Bâtum Baramey Pich*. Paris: Édition You-Feng, 2002), pp. 141, 192.

Tĕrathey derived from S. *tirthiya* (*tirthika*), Pa. *titthiya*), which is a general term referring to heretics, or non–Buddhists. Khin Sok translated this word "méchants et hypocrites." (Ibid., p. 234.)

[226] Ibid., p. 132.

Besides the terms *mĭchchatĕdthĕ* and *tĕrathey/derathey*, another term used for the enemy of *sasana* is *tmĭl*. *Tmĭl* is widlely known in Theravada Southeast Asia as an enemy of sāsanā through the notable Pāli canon, Mahāvaṃsa. In Cambodia, the term *tmĭl* is found in various texts, in particular *tumneay*. In at least the 1880s, *tmĭl* was also used to refer to Westerners,[227] especially the French. In his letter to the governor of Treang Oknha Pĭsnŭlŏk, dated May 1885, Votha did not use the words *mĭchchatĕdthĕ*, *tĕrathey*, or *tmĭl* for the French, but instead portrayed the French as those who "try to destroy religion and to make the royal family disappear."[228]

While Votha's hope to be a king was steady and substantial, the form and nature of his kingdom changed over time. In the 1860s, he planned to succeed his father in the tributary kingdom. In the 1870s, in case he could not succeed in ruling all the tributary kingdom, he planned to establish a kingdom in the territories of Pnong and Stieng in northeastern Cambodia that would also be the tributary of Siam.[229] In 1880s, as seen through his above proclamation, reestablishing the kingdom, which would be the same as his father's kingdom, as the Buddhist kingdom was Votha's plan and end goal. Such a Buddhist kingdom would most probably be an independent state.

The last part of the king's name and title of Votha in his letter to the Ŏbarach Sisowath in 1876, were not the samename and title he used in 1866, was "*Mĕahathommĭkka Reacheathireach Borŏmneadth Borŏmbopit Vichitsakayavong Bŏmrŭng Sassana Krŏng Kŏmpouchea Ĕntipât Mĕahanorkor*," literally means "the great Dhammic king of the king, the great shelter, the lineage of Shakya the conqueror, the protector of sāsanā, (the king in) the great kingdom of Kamphuchea Inthapat."[230] Not until 1885 would Votha declare in the proclamation that he would establish again "the Kingdom as a Buddhist kingdom" that also meant protecting the sāsanā, a duty of the Dhammic king, or Dhammaraja. Votha also promised that, "If there shall be sufficient merit in the country then we will support and encourage each other and elevate those to rank and fortune."[231]

The proclamation, as well as uprisings in 1885 and 1886, was clearly a consequence of the convention of June 17, 1884. Various govermental reform measures that were enacted during the second half of circa 1884 intended to diminish the power of Khmer dignitaries, but, in the very same time, measures about tax and revenue also affected *reas*. Even when such measures were not yet applied, experiences of feelings through hearing news and rumors could make *reas* panic, anxious, and fearful, and potentially promote uprising. Such respective feelings were felt and turned to words "suffering and distress of *reas*" in Votha's

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[227] J. Taupin, "Prophéties khmères (traduction d'anciens textes cambodgiens)," *Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoise de Saigon* (2e semestre 1887): 10n1.

[228] ANOM AF A30 (74), Votha to Oknha Pusnoulouk, May 1885.

[229] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1228/87; ANOM Amiroux 11998, Votha to the Admiral, December 5, 1876; ANOM Amiroux 12000 Dossier Si Votha (avr-juil) 1877), Votha to the Répresentant du Protectorat, July 14, 1877.

[230] ANOM Amiroux 11999 Dossier Si Votha (août-dec 1876), Votha to the *Ŏbarach*, November 24, 1876.

Full name and title is "Sŏmdach Prĕah Âng Vottha Alăngkar Mĕahinthara Rottanavisŏtth Sâmŭttitévea-vŭng Mĕahantapŭng Âng Ĕsau Krâsât Vorakhattĕyareahcheanikarŏdŏm Borŏmkrâsâtra Thibodi Sĕrilŏka Mĕahathommĭkka Reacheathireach Borŏmneadth Borŏmbopit Vichitsakayavong Bŏmrŭng Sassana Krŏng Kŏmpouchea Ĕntipât Mĕahanorkor." The word "(A)lăngka" in his name was added after his given name "Votha" by King Mongkut in 1858 (NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1220/107 Sanyabat Nak Ong Wattha [Royal letter concerning Votha's name]).

[231] NAT KT 97.2/6, p. 72.

proclamation[232] to mobilize *reas* to uprise against the French authorities.[233] Such "suffering and distress of *reas*" were elucidated through the deterioration of the religion caused from the *mĭchchatĕdthĕ* and Khmers who "are greedy for gain and profit"[234] from the *mĭchchatĕdthĕ*. Thus, the rhetoric of *mĭchchatĕdthĕ* anchored in both this-worldly and not this-worldly experiences.

Votha addressed his proclamation not only to Khmer, but also non-Khmers, viz. "Chinese, Vietnamese, Chvea and Tapun," who probably were "non-Buddhist." Chinese and Annamite were probably non-Theravadan but Mahayanist,[235] while Chvea and Tapun were explicitly non-Buddhist. Chvea as ethnics usually translated Javanese, but it generally means Malays, or Muslim that is collectively referred to as Cham. Sometimes called together as Cham–Chvea. Tapun is Tămpuon, an ethnic minority of northeastern Cambodia. No report about Tămpuon in nortwestern Cambodia. There lived Pŏa in present day Prĕah Vihea province (formerly part of Kămpóng Thŭm Province), and Sămrae live in just north of Siem Reap. "Tapun" in Votha's proclamation probably meant "savage" ethnics in general. Perhaps, he was familiar with the word "Tapun" from his stay in the northeastern provinces. Cham-Chvea and Tămpuon, whether their statuses were, they had resided alongside with the Khmers for generations. They were not alien. Besides, they were not a threat to the religion. More importantly, they were the king's subjects who were usually used to glorify the king as the overlord of all races (ethnics) and languages residing under his prestige.[236] Thus, the faithful non–Buddhist could, and should, help Votha "in establishing again the Kingdom as a Buddhist kingdom." In sum, whatever they were, if they were faithful to Votha, to be Buddhist or not to be was not important anymore. Apart from non-Khmers mentioned in Votha's proclamation, Votha also attempted to persuade Burmese and Tongsu to join him.[237]

Hui and Keo Asa were not with Votha when the proclamation was issued. They had left Votha on the night of January 19. Hui asked Keo Asa to go with him to his house in Kaoh Roka.[238] The next morning, Hui, Keo Asa and seven other Chinese left Kaoh Roka for Votha. Encountering *Cham* and *Yuon* auxiliaries of the French troops, they moved back to Kaoh Roka and stayed there around two weeks. Keo Asa tried to persuad Hui a few times to

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[232] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[233] Anne Hansen, *How to behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*, p. 70.

[234] NAT KT 97.2/6, p. 71.

[235] See about Annamites who joined Votha's movement for example in NAT M.2.12 kho Baibok mueang phanom sok [Dispatch from Phnŭm Srŏk], Dispatch from Phnŭm Srŏk, May 9, 1885; NAT, R. V RL-SP/16 Saraban Samut Phiset lem 16 (C.S. 1246-1247) [Bound Collected Documents, volume 16 (A.D. 1884-1886)], no. 31 Interrogations of Khmers and Annamites concerning Votha.

[236] In Siam, King's proclamations and letter "sometimes began by enumerating of their jurisdiction, and they would then sometimes elaborate on the many peoples composing the kingdom" (Neil A. Englehart, *Culture and Power in Traditional Siamese Government* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2001), p. 50). In accordance with the preamble of Mongkut's royal letter to Queen Victoria in 1855, he stated that he, governs as the overlord of the grand royal capital cities in the north and south of the kingdom, and others nearby territories which were the habitation of various foreigners who speak various languages that are Lao chiang, Lao kao, and Kampucha, Malayu, Kariang, as well as many others in each direction around the boundary of the kingdom of Siam (King Mongkut of Siam, *Phraratchahatthalekha phrabatsomdet phrachomklao chaoyuhua* [Royal Scribes of King Mongkut] (Bangkok: Mahamakut Ratchawittayalai, 2521 [1978]), p. 435).

[237] NAT R. V B.1.2/18, King Chulalongkorn to H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, no. 1093/47, January 8, 1886.

[238] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, enclosed with a dispatch of Khun Pitsanusaen, no. 36, June 2, 1886); Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

go back to Stĕung Treng, but Hui ignored his advice.[239] It can be understood because Keo Asa, who was most probably Buddhist but not Votha's subject, did not intend to serve under Votha. While Hui, who was probably not Buddhist, but Votha's subject, had had some advantages from his master.

Keo Asa took a land route through Baray where he was arrested by Votha's partisans. When he was asked, "where are you going?" he replied, "I am going to Votha." Keo Asa did as he said. He went to Votha in Ban Lamchek.[240] Then he left Votha, saying, "I am going to look for food and supplies in Siem Bok (Kh. Siem Bouk)." On arriving in Siem Bouk, Keo Asa went to Votha's mother. When he was asked, "where did you come from?" he replied, "I came from Votha's camp to look for food and supplies in Stĕung Treng." He ended his journey in Khong where he faced with a charge of supporting Votha and was imprisoned there. He was interrogated on May 12, 1885.[241]

Hui remained with Votha until around April 1886, perhaps not continuously. Various battles between Votha's troops and French's troops occurred during that time. Uprisings against the French Protectorate sprung up in all corners of the kingdom, from Krâcheh in the north to Kâmpot in the south, from Prei Vĕng in the east to Pŏsăt in the west.[242] Hui arrived back in his house in Stĕung Treng after midnight of May 17, 1886. In the twilight of May 21, 1886, Hui was captured charging with violating a royal order that prohibited anyone to give any support to Votha. He was imprisoned in Stĕung Treng where he was interrogated on May 22, 1886. Then, he was sent to Champasak and was interrogated again on June 15, 1886.[243] Why did Hui abandonned his king? Perhaps, Hui had not intended to do so. He said in his interrogation that it was because he "missed his wife." So he came back to Stĕung Treng and was arrested.

At the time when Hui came back home in Stĕung Treng, the trouble in Cambodia was continuing without any signs of ending. The French Government at Paris needed to halt the war, which costed money and men to the France.[244] On July 22 and 23, 1886, the newly appointed governor of Cochinchina visited to negotiated with Norodom promising not to impose all of the conditions of the convention of 1884 and decelerated such proposed reforms.[245] Immediately after that, on July 26, Norodom issued a proclamation calling his subjects to end the rebellions.[246] Such proclamation began in the same manner of Votha's

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[239] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[240] Ban Lamchek probably was present-day Rŭmchek Village, Sŏchĕt Commune, Sândăn District, Kâmpóng Thŭm Province.

[241] NAT R. V M.2.12/19, Testimony of Pia Keo Asa, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammattaya Thibodi to Bangkok, no. 14, May 24, 1885.

[242] Milton E. Osborne, *The French presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, pp. 212–217; John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, pp. 89-91.

[243] NAT R. V M.2.12/21, Testimony of Chinese Hui, enclosed with a dispatch of Khun Pitsanusaen, no. 36, June 2, 1886); Testimony of Chinese Hui, Phra Koson Phonpanich, enclosed with a dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

[244] John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, p. 91.

[245] David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, pp. 144-147; Milton E. Osborne, *The French presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, pp. 206-228.

See also about role of some royalties in supporting organized insurgency against the French authorities in Paul Branda, *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge,* p. 159; Pierre L. Lamant, "L'Affaire Duong Chakr," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre–mer* LXVII, 246-247 (1980): 132; Gregor Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen': The rise of the French rule and the life of Thomas Caraman, 1840-87* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 192.

[246] Khmer version of Norodom's proclamation and Thai translation see NAT R. V B.1.2/23, The

proclamation by addressing "*oknha*, *pnhea*, *prĕah*, and *reas* of all languages." Then, the proclamation continues,

> Because His Majesty has known that for two years that *okya*, *phya*, *phra*, and *reas* of all provinces and villages have had trouble, lost their properties, died, been separated from their family, forced to abandon their houses and home villages, and have had severe difficulty in making a living because of the changing of the administration.
>
> His Majesty has pity and compassion, and decided together with the *Krŏm Prĕah Reachea Vĕang Bâvo Phĕatra Mĕaha Ŏbarach*, the princes, the ministers, dignities, to ask the French government to administer the kingdom according to the ancient customs and traditions.
>
> *Chavvay srŏk* (governor) of all provinces will be appointed by the king to administer and protect all *reas* as previously. Collection of all kinds of tax and revenue will be conducted on behalf of the King to preserve in the Royal treasure according to ancient laws.

Here, the "not-yet" suffering and distress of *reas* in Votha's proclamation were manifested by the "already happened." Both Votha and Norodom pointed to the French Protectorate as the cause of all suffering, but they used different rhetoric. While Votha used the rhetoric of *mĭchchatĕdthĕ* and the deterioration of *sasana*, Norodom used the words *reachka phean prae*, "changing of the administration." Moreover, espressed in different words, their intentions were the same: to re-establish the Kingdom as a Buddhist Kingdom and the Kingdom as Ancient Kingdom.

The King is Dead, Long Live the People

Norodom's proclamation marked the beginning of the end of the uprisings of 1885-1886. Peace returned to the country in 1887.[247] Although Votha continued his rebellion, he never again presented a serious threat of the French Protectorate. After about 15 years in the jungle surrounded by semi-civilized environs and many failures, Votha offered his submission to French in 1891, the last year of his life.[248] He died on December 31, 1891, in Sântŭk in Kẫmpóng Svay.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the proclamation of Norodom as "the Cambodian "victory"." The ancient kingdom would never be the same again.[249] At the same time, it would be wrong to consider the proclamation as a "not-victory." After entering and surviving the uprisings, *reas* –from slave to *prei*, from *nĕak srae châmka* to trader– could again make their living as they had previously. They could know again what would happen in their lives; how they would be exploited. They could live their lives again in some certainty.

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proclamation of King Norodom of Cambodia, July 26, 1884, enclose with letter of Phraya Khathathorn Thoranin, the Governor of Bătdẫmbâng, to H.R.H. Prince Bamrap Porapak, the Mahatthai Minister, no. 35, August 2, 1886. French translated version see ANOM AF A30 (80) Rapports, telegrammes du gouverneur Filippini sur la situation au Cambodge (1886-1887), Copie de la Proclamation de S.M. le roi Norodom, no date, enclosed with letter of the Governor of Cochinchina Filippini to the Minister of the Colonies, August 8, 1886.

[247] Milton E. Osborne, *The French presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 225; John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, pp. 92-93.

[248] Milton E. Osborne, *The French presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 235.

[249] David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, pp. 145-147.

Hui should have been sent to Bangkok, but he remained in Champasak. According to Siamese *kha luang* in Champasak, Hui was an opium addict and was suffering from severe dysentery. So, a Lao ruler of Champasak asked to put Hui in custody in Champasak instead.[250] After he had beed released, if he did not die in custody, Hui would probably return to his family in Stĕung Treng. But living his two lives in two places would have seemed much more difficult than in his previous existence.

[250] NAT R. V R.2.12/21, Dispatch of Phraya Maha Ammat to Bangkok, no. 134, August 5, 1886.

Chapter Four: The Agitators

A thick flock of fierce crows crowded around a corpse on the road along the foot of Phnŭm Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm (Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains) in Trĕang Province of the Résidence of Takeo. The man had just been killed by a rifle. His dead body still had a little flesh remaining. We know nothing about this man, except that he was a Khmer and was accused of thieving.[1] His body was seen in April 1882 by a French Lieutenant d'infanterie de marine in Cochinchina named Joseph-Marie-Ernest Prud'homme, who at that time was in Aymonier's expedition team to explore the "archaeology, geography, and history of Cambodia."[2] Prud'homme remarked on the dead man that "His body will remain without burial; the punishment is terrible for these people who burn their dead with so much care."[3]

16 years later, the French Résident of Ta Keo portrayed that area as reigned by "a bad spirit."[4] This opinion was expressed shortly after the end of an uprising in Takeo in 1898 that centered on Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains. It was also concluded from a long history of crime and resistance against authorities in that region, as we shall see in this chapter.

The uprising in Takeo in 1898 led by a man who had a thin body, with whitish skin and black hair but graying on the left side.[5] He was not a Khmer, but a Vietnamese from "The Khmer Lands of Vietnam."[6] His name was Ngô Prẻp, but he was known among the Khmers as *They* Vinh.[7] He claimed himself to be Sdech Âng Phim, "King Phim," and *Prĕahbat Thommĭk*, a "Dhammic King."

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[1] E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge," *Excursions et Reconnaissances* 13 (1882): 66.

[2] Prud'homme started his journey in Phnom Penh on March 20, 1882. He headed south by land to Takeo and Châu Đốc. Then he turned west to Kẫmpóng Trach, the administrative and trading center of the province of Peam on the Gulf of Siam, which was his destination. He ended his journey on May 10, 1882.

See a short biography of Prud'homme in Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnaire de bio-bibliographie général, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine français* (Paris: Académie des sciences coloniales, 1935), p. 314.

[3] E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge": 66.

Prud'homme's summary at the end of his expedition report concerned geographical characteristics of the explored area and suggested how to make profit from it. He also noted about "the invasion of the Annamites" in that area due to the abolition of the capitation tax that the Annamites used to pay Khmer officials (Ibid.: 71-72).

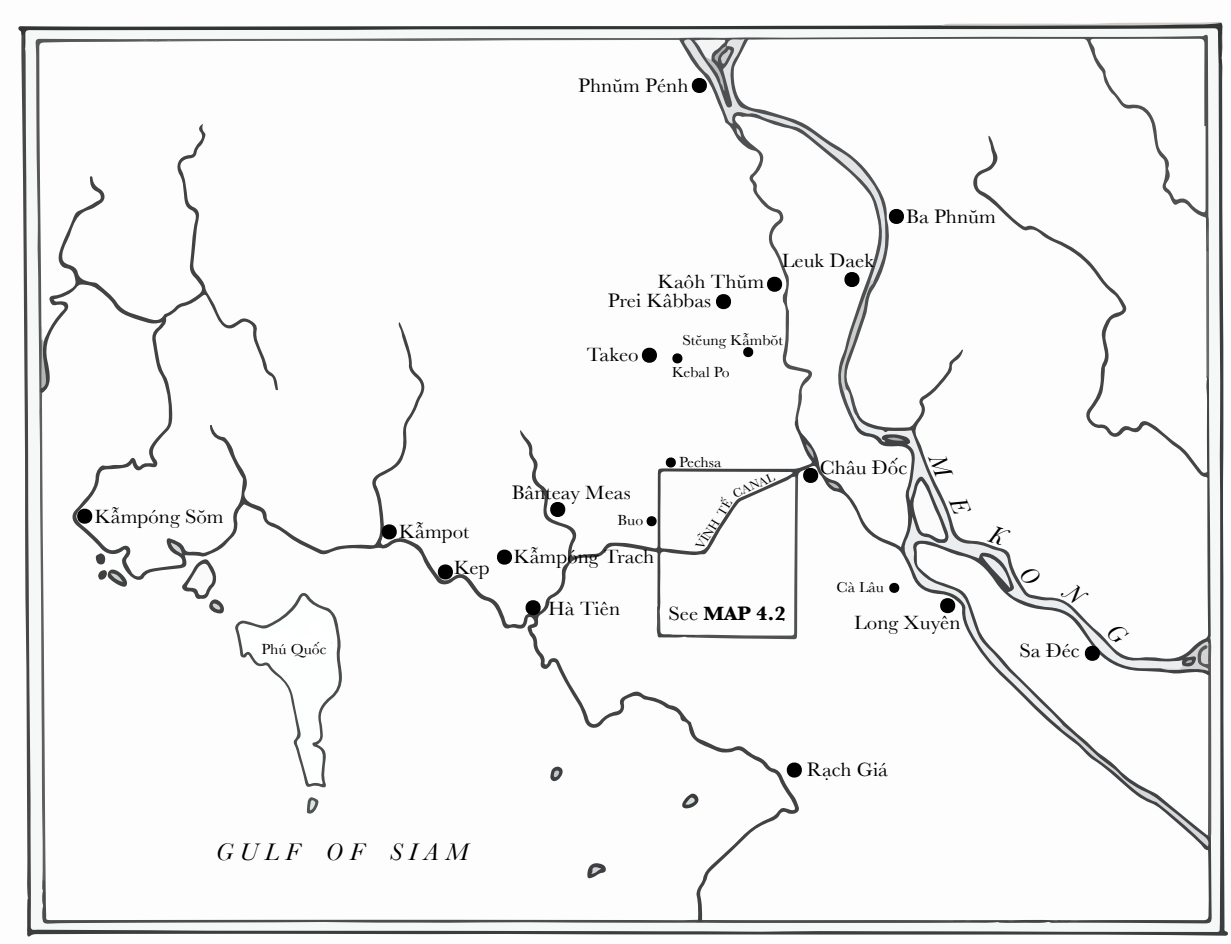
[4] ANOM RSC 404 Complot contre la sûreté extérieure de l'état organisé dans la résidence de Takeo (1898), Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[5] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6, 25, 26, 28.

[6] Philip Taylor, *The Khmer Lands of Vietnam: Environment, Cosmology and Sovereignty* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2014).

"The Khmer Lands of Vietnam" was also known as "Kamphuchea Krom" or "Khmer Krom," terms that were invented in 1950s by then Prince Sihanouk. Those lands were formerly known as "Srŏk Basăk" (Trăng Chhat, *Kâmpŭchea kraom, ămnach khmean khmae kraom* [Kâmpŭchea kraom, but Khmer Kraom does not have power] (Phnom Penh: The Indradevi Publishing, 2005), p. 3).

[7] *They* means "teacher, secretary" (*Vochananŭkrâm khmae pheak ti muoy* [Dictionnaire cambodgien, tome I], cinquième édition (Phnom Penh: Édition de l'Institute Bouddhique, 1967), p. 387). It derived from Vietnamese *thậy* that means "master, teacher."



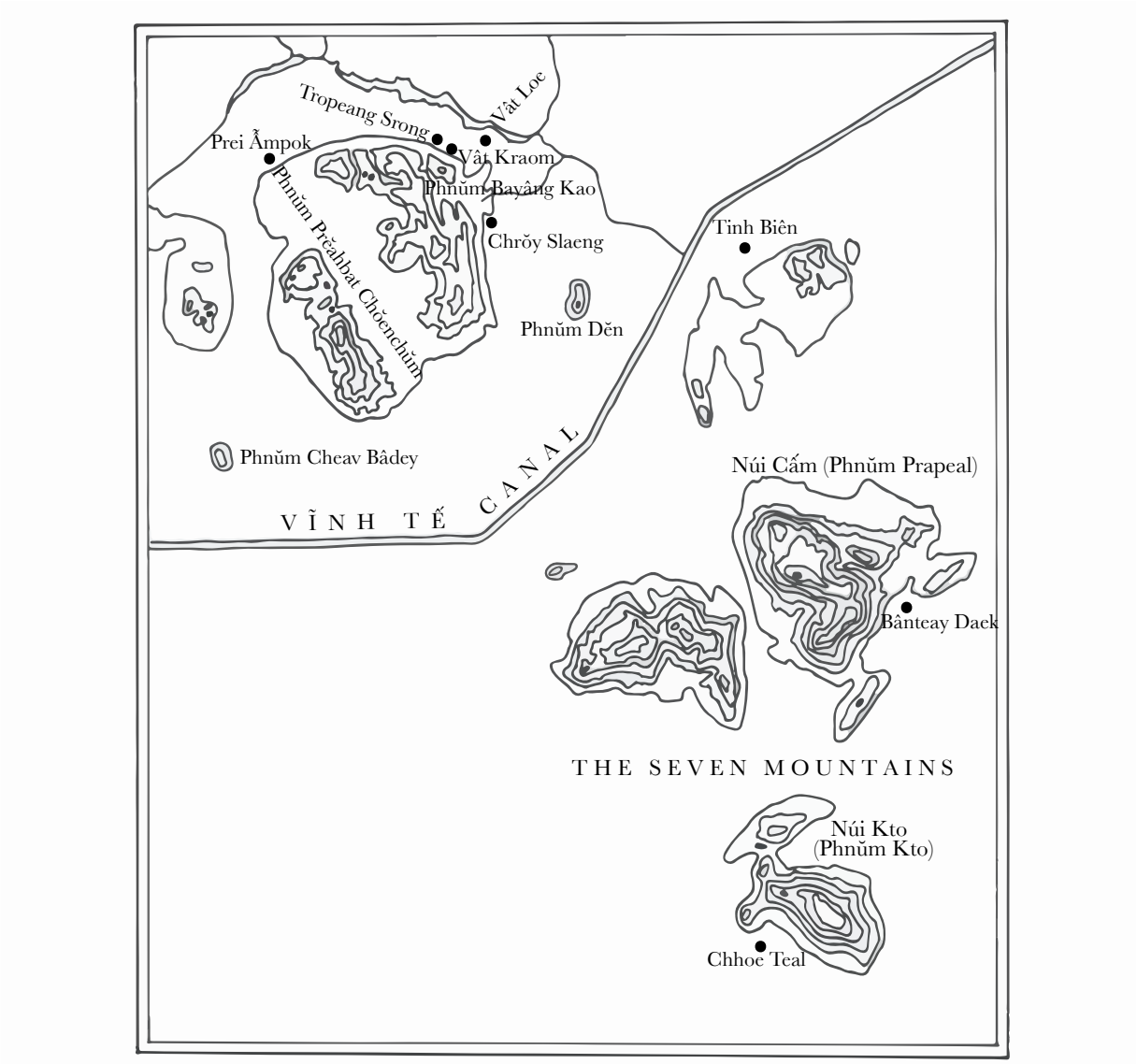
Map 4.1: Geographical Worlds of Ordinary People of the Rebellion in Takeo, 1898

The uprising, which was also called "L'affaire Ngô Prẻp," is examined in Alain Forest's study.[8] Forest bases his analysis on French official documents that is also used in this chapter. L'affaire Ngô Prẻp is also mentioned by many scholars.[9] These works are based on

[8] Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation Française: Histoire d'une colonization sans heurts (1897-1920)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1980), pp. 398-405. See also Alain Forest, "Les manifestations de 1916 au Cambodge," in Pierre Brocheux (ed.), *Histoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est: revokes, reformes, revolutions* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1981), p. 66.

[9] Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 131-132; Ian Harris, "Is Buddhism a Religion of Peace? Reflections on Conflict and the Buddhist Political Imagination," in *Buddhist Approach to Political Conflict and Peace Development*, UNDV Conference Volume, The International Buddhist Conference on the United Nations Day of Vesak Celebrations, 4-6 May 2552/2009, Thailand, p. 21; Ian Harris, "Introduction to Buddhism and the Political Process: Patterns of Interaction," in Hiroko Kawanami (ed.), *Buddhism and the Political Process* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 8-9; and Thomas Borchert and Ian Harris, "In Defense of the Dharma: Buddhists and Politics," in Todd Lewis, Gary DeAngelis (eds.), *Teaching Buddhism: New Insights on Understanding and Presenting the Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 113-114. See also Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours, and Brigitte Bouhours, *Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 43; Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémery, *Indochina: An Ambiguous Colonization, 1858-1954*, translated by Lan Dill-Klein, with Eric Jennings, Nora Taylor, and Noémi Tousignant (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,

Forest's account and analysis. Forest concludes that there are two foundations of l'affaire Ngô Prẻp: Buddhism, which was "an institution and a monolithic doctrine and strictly respected," and an ideology of royalty, which provided rules that were respected by all, or nearly all.[10] This conclusion seems to be applicable to any of the *nĕak mean bŏn* uprising, including the uprising of Nori, as well as that of Achar Sva, who claimed himself in the same way as Ngô Prẻp. Perhaps there was some continuity between these uprisings. But some changes were also taking place.



MAP 4.2: Phnŭm Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm and the Seven Mountaind, and their Environs

2009), p. 286; Chheat Sreang, *The Cambodian* khum *from 1897 to 1919 and its Contemporary Relevance* (M.A. Thesis, Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2004), p. 55.

[10] Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation Française*, pp. 403-404.

Prelude to the Uprising

Ngô Prẻp, also called Nguyễn Văn Nûi or Nûi, was born in 1849 in Cà Lâu of Long Xuyên (Kh. Peam Barach),[11] about 10 kilometers northwest of Long Xuyên, or about 40 kilometer southeast of Phnŭm Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm. Cà Lâu and nearby settlements were described as a settlement of "Camb[ogiens]."[12] It would not be surprised if Ngô Prẻp was able to speak fluent Khmer.



Figure 4.1: Ngô Prẻp's Resident Card (cartes de séjour) of the year 1897
(Source: ANOM RSC 404, file no. 3)

Ngô Prẻp claimed that his father was Nguyễn Văn Loi (or Nguyễn Văn Leui), the governor of Baria (Kh. Baria) who had opposed against the French and was killed in 1861; and that his grandfather was Nguyễn Thủ Phang, the leader of the rebellion of Rạch Giá (Kh. Krâmuon Sâ) on the arrival of the French, and his brother was Nguyễn Cong Thanh, a

[11] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) and (3) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11 and 22, 1898. See also ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

According to the report from the Résident of Takeo to the Résident supérieur du Cambodge in Phnom Penh, Ngô Prẻp was born in "Huê"or "Trakiet (Long Xuyên)."

About the location of Cà Lâu see Carte de la Cochinchine française [map], 1:400,000, *https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53025179v/f1.item* Accessed July 26, 2018, and Untitled [map], Scale not given, in Victor. Duvernoy, *Monographie de la Province de Longxuyên (Cochinchine)* (Hanoi: Édition du Moniteur de l'Indochine, 1924), a page between pp. 44 and 45.

[12] Untitled [map], Scale not given, in Victor. Duvernoy, *Monographie de la Province de Longxuyên (Cochinchine)* (Hanoi: Édition du Moniteur de l'Indochine, 1924), a page between pp. 44 and 45, and La Cochinchine française en 1891, [map], 1:900,000, *https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530575790* Accessed July 26, 2018.

In 1890s, Cà Lâu was a commune in Canton de Bien-Thanh, Arrondissement de Long Xuyên, Circonscription du Bassac (Paul D'Enjoy, *La colonisation de la Cochin-Chine (Manuel du Colon)* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Scientifiques, 1898), p. 323). At least four of five communes in Canton de Bien-Thanh were described as a settlement of "Camb[ogiens]."

general in the army of Mỹ Tho (Kh. Mé Sâ) who also resisted the French.[13] The French Résident of Takeo noted that "It is not possible for me to verify the accuracy of his statements."[14] Forest states that Ngô Prẻp's claim as a descendant of a prestigious family was to legitimize his project.[15] Actually, all Ngô Prẻp's claims are questionable. But they reveal to us that what Ngô Prẻp connected himself with is meaningful and relevant to many people at that time.

Ngô Prẻp declared that he was not married but had a relationship with a woman whose name was Thi Phung,[16] who perhaps was the same woman as Phan Thi Phung who was labeled "firme de Ngô Prẻp." In around July 1898, 31 documents related to the uprising were found in a boat of Phan Thi Phung.[17] But the name Phan Thi Phung did not appear in the list of arrested people. One among those seized documents was a letter written by Ang, a Vietnamese woman, of Sa Đéc (Kh. Phsar Daek) in Cochinchina, dated December 28, 1895. In that letter, Ang stated that she had married Ngô Prẻp and lived together with him in Phnom Penh. But then she and Ngô Prẻp agreed to separate.[18] When Ngô Prẻp was found in early 1897 in Châu Đốc (Kh. Mŏat Chruk), he was reported he "lived with his Vietnamese wife."[19] That woman was definitely Thi Phung.

Ngô Prẻp went to Phnŭm Pénh, then the capital city of Cambodia, when he was 18 years old. He learned to speak Khmer, but he was not able to read and write. He stayed there about 6 to 7 years, as he claimed. He became an itinerant pharmacist and healer in Châu Đốc, Long Xuyên, Trà Vinh (Kh Prĕah Tropeang), Sóc Trăng (Kh Khleang), and Cần Thơ (Kh Peam Rœssey) in Cochinchina. According to the Résident of Takeo, Ngô Prẻp tried to organize an insurrection in Cochinchina in 1889 and 1890, but without success.[20] But Ngô Prẻp in his interrogations never made such claims. Also, Forest warns that the Résident's statement should be read with caution since he intended to make Ngô Prẻp a "hardened rebel."[21]

In returning to Cambodia, Ngô Prẻp journeyed through Leuk Daek, Trĕang, and Ba Phnŭm,[22] where he gained a reputation as a pharmacist, healer, and sorcerer. He also became famous for his leading role in building a *vât* (Buddhist temple), or some structures in a *vât*. He raised funds for his project through Buddhist ceremonies he organized. Perhaps, his construction project at Vât Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt in Leuk Deak Province of the Résidence of Takeo[23] in 1890 was his first one. An abbot of Vât Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt conferred a name *They* Vinh on him by which he would be known among the Khmers in Cambodia.[24]

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[13] Ngô Prẻp's biography is extracted from ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) and (3) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11 and 22, 1898. See also ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[14] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[15] Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation Française*, p. 399.

[16] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, 1898.

[17] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 46 and no. 47. Inventories of those two files dated July 9 and July 17, 1898 respectively.

[18] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47 (10).

[19] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (1) Interrogation of Achar Kae, July 8, 1898.

[20] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898).

[21] Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation Française*, p. 399.

[22] Leuk Daek, Trĕang, and Ba Phnŭm are today District of Provinces of Kândal, Takeo, and Prei Vĕng, respectively.

[23] Vât Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt was in Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt, which was today Village in Angkor Bŏrey Commune and District, Takeo Province.

[24] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) and (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, and August 21, 1898.

At Vât Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt in 1890, Ngô Prẻp met an old man called Kae, transliterated in colonial reports and interrogations as Kê, then 64 years old, an inhabitant of Phoum Tropeang Srong, Srŏk Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, Trĕang Province, Résidence of Takeo,[25] about 40 kilometers south of Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt. Kae was an *achar*, a lay preceptor who made the world intelligible to villagers by performing cyclical rituals in *vat*-s. Perhaps, Achar Kae went to assist the construction project there, but we can never know with certainty. For whatever reasons, Achar Kae's appearance in Vât Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt suggests his high mobility. He did not only serve his *phoum* or *srŏk*, but traveled to many other *srŏk*-s. He would become a major architect of the uprising in 1898. He was categorized into the first category of the rebels. His name was put next after Ngô Prẻp.

In his first interrogation, which was held on July 8, 1898, Achar Kae informed Khmer officials that he first met Ngô Prẻp in early 1897 when he went to Châu Đốc, about 30 kilometers east of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, to buy materials for a ceremony.[26] But in his fifth interrogation given to the French Résident, which held on August 23, after Ngô Prẻp had been interrogated, Achar Kae said that he first met Ngô Prẻp in 1890 in Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt. Also in his fifth interrogation, Achar Kae said that, "Ngô Prẻp asked me whether or not I could find supporters in my country of Trĕang, I told him that it would be difficult because of the presence of the Europeans."[27] If so, it means Ngô Prẻp had a plan to oppose against the French in his mind for a long time before it would actually be executed in 1898. And it also probably means that the Résident of Takeo's statement on his involvement in organizing the insurrections in 1889 and 1890 is true. On the other hand, it is perhaps because of Achar Kae's interrogation that led the Résident to that conclusion.

In 1891, Ngô Prẻp was stopped in "Kebal Po" in Trĕang.[28] According to the Résident, what Ngô Prẻp did made Khmer officials suspect him. He was sentenced to three years in prison in Phnŭm Pénh for seditious agitation.[29] Ngô Prẻp said on the contrary, "I had done nothing wrong, I had given some corn to many people in the year of famine."[30]

After leaving the prison in 1894, he said he journeyed through many provinces, both in Cochinchina (Trà Vinh, Sóc Trăng, Cần Thơ, Long Xuyên, and Châu Đốc) and Cambodia (Ba Phnŭm and Prei Kâbbas[31]), as the pharmacist and healer, together with They Ouk of Long Xuyên, Achar Lek, and Achar Mom of Núi Kto (Kh. Phnŭm Kto).[32] During his time in Ba Phnŭm, he stayed at an ancient monument called Vât Ha.[33] In the 1880s, there were a wooden vihāra and straw huts sheltering a large stone altar, which was surrounded by *seyma*-s (Pa sīmā) or sacred boundary markers,[34] and a wooden Buddha image on an ancient base (made of stone?).[35] In selling his medicine, Ngô Prẻp built up his network of distributors.[36] He also used it in his fundraising activities. According to the French Résident of

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[25] It is today Tropeang Srong Village, Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Commune, Kitivong District, Takeo Province.

[26] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (1) Interrogation of Achar Kae, July 8, 1898.

[27] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (6) Interrogation of Achar Kae, Auguat 23, 1898.

[28] It was today Kbal Pou Village, Sambuor Commune, Trĕang District, Takeo Province.

[29] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[30] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 21, 1898.

[31] Prei Kâbbas is today Commune and District in Takeo Province.

[32] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 21, 1898.

[33] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, 1898.

[34] Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome 1 Le royaume actuel* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), p. 246.

[35] E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, tome primer (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), p. 56.

[36] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47 (4), (5), (8).

Takeo, Ngô Prẻp raised fund through religious ceremonies.[37] For instance, in October 1895, Krou Ouk (who definitely was Ouk of Preah Sdăch), Achar Lek, and Achar Mom were patrons of a *kâthĕn* ceremony that year of Vât Kẫmpóng Chhoe Khmao in Leuk Deak Province, Résidence of Trĕang.[38]

Ngô Prẻp was also a moneylender. One of his debtors was *oknha* who was a governor of Kaoh Thŭm Province, Resédence of Takeo. The governor wrote a letter dated June 9, 1896 to *Lŏk krou* (Ngô Prẻp) and *Ba krou* asking for deferment.[39] That money probably came from his medical business. And it is logical to assume that Ngô Prẻp did not spend all the money he got from fundraisings on religious ceremonies, but kept some for lending, another business that gave him profit and, perhaps more important than making profit, connections with high–ranking officials. Moreover, Ngô Prẻp lent money to officials on their request too.[40]

When he was asked "How come the collection in Baphnom made in your name, and how come in the letters sent to you always spoke about Prabat Thommit?," he answered "I was sent money for the ceremony I performed in Loeukdek." Ngô Prẻp did not answer the second question, but it was not repeated. Instead, a new question was posed.

> Q. You were arrested two years ago by the governor of Prey Krebas because of yours bad appearances.
>
> A. I just gave them medicine.
>
> Q. If you only did this, you would not have been arrested. You tried to impose on the inhabitants.[41]

Clearly, the French officials had, or they believed they had, in their hands some information about Ngô Prẻp's activities. They probably want to confirm what they believed. Then, the questions were shifted to thing that happened in 1898 that made Ngô Prẻp retold his life story.

Ngô Prẻp said that he was very angry because his father, Nguyễn Văn Loi, had been killed in 1861 during the war with the French, and he himself was imprisoned. After leaving the prison in 1894, he went to recruit partisans among the Vietnamese in Cochinchina, but without success, which made him turn to Cambodia. He went to Ba Phnŭm to raise money with help from a monk called Monh. Also, in the year 1894, he went to Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm to meet Achar Kae, whom he claimed to have known for more than ten years. Achar Kae vowed to raise money and recruit partisans for him. Then, he returned to Ba Phnŭm.[42] If Ngô Prẻp's interrogation was reliable, Achar Kae had lied. Achar Kae said that he had not seen Ngô Prẻp after his first meeting with Ngô Prẻp in Stĕung Kẫmmbŏt in 1890 until February 1898.

Ngô Prẻp's story is anachronistic. When did he go to Ba Phnŭm? From the statements above, it seems he went there in 1894. In the same interrogation, however, he said that he was

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[37] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[38] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47 (3).

Kẫmpóng Chhoe Khmao probably is today Village and Commune of Kaôh Thŭm District, Takeo Province.

[39] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 46 (1).

The word *ba* is presumably Vietnamese *bà* that means Mrs. Thus, *ba krou* probably was (Phan) Thi Phung. I owe Trent Walker for his kindly suggestion about the Vietnamese origin of the Khmer word *ba*.

[40] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47 (9).

[41] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 21, 1898.

[42] Ibid.

in Ba Phnŭm in 1896. It is possible that he went there in both 1894 and 1896. In the narrative of the French Résident, Ngô Prẻp's story was rearranged in a chronological, orderly, and logical sequence. In this version, after leaving the prison, Ngô Prẻp put more and more effort to organize an agitation against the French. He went to Ba Phnŭm and made an ally with the monk Monh of Vât Ha. Then, he visited Achar Kae in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm to recruit followers. Later, he returned to Ba Phnŭm to raise fund through religious ceremonies for a purchase of rifles and ammunition. And at last, he was arrested in Prei Kâbbas in late 1896. But he was released shortly after that with help from Oknha Pĭsnŭlŏk (Lek), the governor of Trĕang.[43] According to the French Résident of Takeo, Ngô Prẻp was in Châu Đốc in 1897.[44] A surviving document dated January 7, 1897 shows that Ngô Prẻp obtained permission to search for medical plants in Kẫmpóng Khsach Sâ in Ba Phnŭm province of the Résidence of Prei Vĕng.[45] It indicates that he kept traveling around.

Ngô Prẻp said that he got ordained in Angkor Wat in the month of *Meakhĕah thŭm*, which should be *Meakh*, the third lunar month, of 1898 (January 21-February 19, 1898).[46] However, according to Achar Kae, he said that he was told by Ngô Prẻp himself that Ngô Prẻp got ordained on February 28, 1898, which was the middle of the month *Phâlkŭn*, the fourth lunar month.[47] Achar Kae was probably wrong, as we shall see next in this section. Whether what he said is true or not, getting, or claim to get, ordination in Angkor Wat is very remarkable. It tells us about a significance of Angkor Wat to popular imaginaries. It reminds us of Achar Sva and Nori who started their paths as *nĕak mean bŏn* in Angkor. The French Résident of Takeo accepted Ngô Prẻp's claim about his place of ordination, but asserted that Ngô Prẻp was just a *nén*, a Buddhist novice,[48] since Ngô Prẻp did not have a *chhaya*, which is "the record of the monastic name given to a bhikkhu at ordination, along with the date and time of his ordination ceremony" that "was obviously intended for ritual rather than administrative and identification purposes."[49] When Ngô Prẻp was asked about his *chhaya*, his answer was "I did not know that it was necessary."[50]

In February 1898, Lim Seng, also called Chav Seng, a Chinese métis, said that he met Ngô Prẻp in his monkhood when he went to work probably in a pepper garden in Bânteay Daek, which was probably at the foot and east of Núi Cấm (Kh. Phnŭm Prapeal) of the Seven Mountains in Châu Đốc.[51] Lim Seng was hired to be a cook, at 3 piastres per month, by Ngô Prẻp who said that he was "Ang Sdach Ang Phim buos chea louk sang [*Âng Sdech Âng Phim buos chea lŏk sângkh* or King Ang Phim in monkhood]." Ngô Prẻp then, according to Lim Seng, "was alone; he had only medicine he sold and his monk's robes." In the following night, Lim Seng followed Ngô Prẻp to stay at Vât Chi Kaeng of Phoum Chhoe Teal, probably was at the foot and south of Núi Kto (Kh Phnŭm Kto) of the Seven Mountains, about 20 kilometers from Bânteay Daek.[52] That night they met with Tŏng Tép, an inhabitant of Chi Kaeng, and

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[43] Ibid.; ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898. See also RSC 404, file no. 1bis Interrogation of Lek and Ngô Prẻp, August 24, 1898.

[44] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[45] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47 (1).

[46] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 21, 1898

[47] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (1) Interrogation of Achar Kae, July 7, 1898.

[48] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[49] Anne Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and modernity in colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), p. 115.

[50] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 2, 1898.

[51] See U.S. Army Map Service, *Vietnam 1:50,000*, Series L7014, Sheet 6029 IV Tri Ton.

[52] U.S. Army Map Service, *Vietnam 1:50,000*, Series L7014, Sheet 5929 I Ba Phuc.

Kwek. At around 2 a.m. the four of them left Vât Chi Kaeng, crossed the Vĩnh Tế Canal, and arrived in Vât Kraom in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm,[53] which was 30 kilometers far in the north. It was around the end of February or early March 1898. Achar Kae, Lim Seng, and the abbot Chab of Vât Kraom said the same that Ngô Prẻp stayed at Vât Kraom for three nights.[54]

Ngô Prẻp said that after he met Achar Kae in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, before went to organize a ceremony at Khvek's house in Phnŭm Dĕn (Dĕn Hill) and stayed at the *rŏng* (temporary roofed building) built there. Ngô Prẻp had gone to Phnŭm Rovieng (Rovieng Mountain) before Cheang Ŭk of Banteay Meas invited him to Vât Kaoh Sẫmrong, also called Vât Kẫmpóng Svay, in Kẫmpóng Svay in Banteay Meas Province, where a building was being under construction. It still was the month of *Phâlkŭn* of 1898. Ngô Prẻp was accompanied with monk Ŭch (son of Achar Kae), monk Em, and Chhim,[55] as well as Lim Seng. Lim Seng said that he stayed there with Ngô Prẻp about a month and helped construct the building,[56] while Ŭch and Cheang Ŭk said that they stayed there for ten and four days, respectively.[57]

Around April 1898, Ngô Prẻp returned Dĕn Hill.[58] He organized a religious ceremony at Khvek's house.[59] Apart from Ngô Prẻp's followers and people from various villages in Trĕang, inhabitants of Châu Đốc and Long Xuyên also joined the ceremony, which was held in the latter fortnight of April. Sek, 42 years old, from Yên Cư in Châu Đốc, was told that, "This *lok krou* is a very smart and mighty man. In the next few months, very dangerous epidemics will happen. One who makes merit will survive." Thus, Sek "was afraid and gave a piastre."[60]

Then, Ngô Prẻp and his followers went to Phnŭm Cheou Phdey, which was Phnŭm Cheav Bâdey (Cheav Bâdey Hill), in Trĕang, about 15 kilometers southwest of Dĕn Hill. Next, according to Lim Seng, they went to live in a cave at the foot of "the mountain that is in O de Phu Pras Sbak," which was probably Phnŭm Lebak (Lebak Mountain) in Trĕang. During their 5 days of staying there, a plan to wage war against the French was decided. After that, they moved to Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains.[61]

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[53] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898. See also ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, 1898.

Tŏng Tép in his interrogation also said that he met Ngô Prẻp in the month of *Phâlkŭn* of 1989 (February 19 to March 20, 1898) at Vât Chhoe Teal of Chi Kaeng (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 3 (6) Interrogation of Tŏng Tép, August 24, 1898).

[54] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (3) Interrogation of Achar Kae, July 10, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 21 Interrogation of Monk Chab, August 18 and 27, 1898.

[55] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 21, 1898.

[56] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898.

[57] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 25 Interrogation of monk Uch, August 30, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898.

Ngô Prẻp claimed in his first interrogation that he stayed about two years at Vât Kẫmpóng Svay in Banteay Meas province for a construction project initiated by Achar Kae (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, 1898).

[58] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (2) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 21, 1898. See also ANOM RSC 404, file no. 3 (6) Interrogation of Tŏng Tép, August 24, 1898.

[59] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (6) Interrogation of Achar Kae, August 23, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 29 et 30.

[60] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 29 et 30; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 48 Interrogation of Nuon, July 30, 1898.

[61] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898.

It was late April 1898. It was the year of the Dog, the tenth year of the decade. It was the year before the coming of *nĕak mean bŏn*.

The Year of the Pig, the First Year of the Decade

Achar Kae told Ngô Prẻp in 1890 that *Prĕahbat Thommik* (the Righteous King) would come in the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade. If it did not happen, "I shall break all of my manuscripts," said Achar Kae.[62] That was probably why Ngô Prẻp and his partisans decided to commence their seditious project at the end of April 1898, which was earlier in the year of the Dog, the tenth year of the decade, was the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, which was circa 1899 is coming.

We did not know about Achar Kae's "manuscripts." But we certainly know that books that predict the coming of *nĕak mean bŏn* in the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade belong to *tŭmneay* literature. *Tŭmneay* literature is one of the most prominent genres of popular vernacular literature of Cambodia. It concerns a prediction of what will happen in anytime in the future, not only at the mid-point of the Buddhist temporal cycle, made by the Buddha, *tévoda*, or human being who possesses superhuman powers.[63]

Perhaps, the first *tŭmneay* that refers to the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, as the year that *nĕak mean bŏn* will come, is *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53), which states that, "When the year 2450 of the Buddhist Era, which is the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, comes, all men will see *bŏkkol mean bŏn* (a person who has merit)."[64]

Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa (EFEO P53), which is considered the prophecy of the present Buddha, the Gautama Buddha, is a Khmer translated version of *Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇnā*, literally "the description of the Five Buddha-s' eras," which is an extra story of Paññāsa Jātaka.[65] Paññāsa Jātaka, literally "Fifty birth stories," is a collection of extra-canonical jātaka-s in Pāli. It was composed in Chiang Mai of the Lanna Kingdom, present day province of northern Thailand, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[66] It is also popular in Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, and Laos. These versions are different in number, title, and content of stories.[67] It

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[62] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (6) Interrogation of Achar Kae, August 23, 1898.

[63] See Judy Ledgerwood, "A Preliminary Study of the Buddh Damnay," in *The Proceeding of the 5th Socio-Cultural Research Congress on Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2002), p. 299.

[64] EFEO Mss camb P53/Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa, p. 16.

[65] "Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna," in *Panyatsa chadok phak phasa thai-bali, lem si* [Thai and Pāli versions of Paññāsa Jātaka, volume 4] (Bangkok: The GSB Foundation, 2554 [2001]), pp. 491-493 (Thai language and script), 507-508 (Pāli in Thai script).

Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna provides very short information about the families, trees of enlightenment, heights, and lifespans of the first Four Buddha-s, and also the height and average life span of human beings in the ages of these Four Buddha-s. The ages see a gradual decline in physical strength (height and lifespan) and moral of human beings because they did not follow the teachings of the Buddha-s. Comparatively, the age of Gautama Buddha is described in more details. After the prediction of his death, Gōtama Buddha gave a prediction about the life span of his sāsanā and stages of its degeneration. It ends with the complete disappearance of the sāsanā of Gōtama Buddha in 5000 B.E. and the coming of the new era of Metteyya.

[66] Dorothy H. Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study of the "Paññāsa Jātaka"* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1978), pp. 7-9.

However, some stories existed before the composition of Paññāsa Jātaka. Moreover, there exists a large number of post-canonical jātaka-s in Southeast Asia. Thus, what the composer did was collecting and arranging these post-canonical jātaka-s in one volume and entitled it Paññāsa Jātaka (Ibid., p. 10)

[67] Ibid., pp. 13-25; Niyada Lausunthorn, *Panyassa chadok: prawat lae khwam samkhan ti mi to wannakam roikrong khong thai* [Paññāsa Jātaka; Its Genesis and Significance to Thai Poetical Works] (Bangkok: Mae Khamphang Press, 2538 [1995]), pp. 52-75.

should be noted that the Thai and Cambodian Paññāsa Jātaka are very similar.[68] However, the *Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna* and other two extra stories, *Pañcabuddhapayākaraṇa*, literally "the prediction concerning the Five Buddha-s," and *Anisong phabangsukul*, literally "blessing of (offering) forsaken robe,"[69] are not part of Burmese, Cambodian, and Lao Paññāsa Jātaka. These three extra stories were probably composed independently and later added into the Thai Paññāsa Jātaka.[70]

We do not know exactly how and when *Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna* was brought to Cambodia. We do know, however, that in 1849 when Bangkok sent 80 Buddhist texts to Ŭdŏng by a request of King Doung because "there is a little number of existing Tipiṭaka texts in today Cambodia," one among those texts was Paññāsa Jātaka, which consisted of 17 bundles of palm–leaf manuscripts.[71] However, it is reasonable to assume that *Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna* existed in Cambodia before 1849.

In *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53), words or phrases from the Pāli *Pañcabuddha–sakkarājavaṇṇna* are followed immediately by vernacular Khmer translations. The preamble of the text applies a word-for-word translation, which is probably influenced from a *nissaya* or "lifting word" method of translation that has been widely practiced in Theravāda Southeast Asia.[72] While most of the text, which concerns description about the three past Buddha-s and the present Buddha, as well as the stages of degeneration of the sāsanā, some Pāli words or phrases are placed at the break points, then vernacular translations of those phrases and other omitted phrases and sentences are given. This translation style can be called *såmray*, a translation accompanied with explanation and clarification. The word *såmray* is also used to call text that used this method of translation.[73] *Såmray* tradition is identical to some degree with the Thai tradition of *chunniyabot*, which is normally applied in the translation of *Mahachat*, literally

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[68] Ginette Terral, "Samuddaghosajâtaka. Conte pâli tiré du Pannâsajataka," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 48, 1 (1956): 254; Niyada Lausunthorn, *Paṇyassa chadok* [Paññāsa Jātaka], p. 69.

François Lagirarde notices that Cambodian Buddhist traditions are closely related to Lanna Buddhist traditions (François Lagirarde, "Textes bouddhiques du khmer et du Lanna: un example de parenté," in *Recherches nouvelles sur le Cambodge* (Paris: EFEO, 1990), pp.63-77).

[69] Pañcabuddhapayākaraṇa see *Paṇyatsa chadok phak phasa thai-bali, lem si* [Thai and Pāli versions of Paññāsa Jātaka, volume 4], pp. 482-490 (Thai language and script), pp. 502-506 (Pāli in Thai script). For a French translation and Roman transcription of Pañcabuddhapayākaraṇa see Ginette Martini, "Pañcabuddha-payākaraṇa," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 55 (1969): 131-144. *Anisong phabangsukul* see *Panyatsa chadok phak phasa thai-bali, lem si* [Thai and Pāli versions of Paññāsa Jātaka, volume 4], pp. 494-501 (Thai language and script).

[70] Ginette Martini, "Pañcabuddhapayākaraṇa": 125-126.

[71] NLT CMH R. III R.S. 1211/2 Rang tra [Draft of official letter], (1) Letter of Phrya Ratchanikun Nittayaphakdi to Phra Harirakrama Issarathibodi, the King of Cambodia, September 14, 1849, and (2) Letter of Phrya Ratchanikun Nittayaphakdi to Phra Harirakrama Issarathibodi, the King of Cambodia, September 21, 1849.

[72] For *nissaya* and lifting word as the method of translation see Justin McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

[73] Khing Hoc Dy and Mak Phoeun, "Cambodia," in Patricia Herbert and Anthony Milner (eds.), *South-East Asia: Language and Literature, a select guide* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), pp. 55-56; Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 13, 49-52.

According to Aymonier's *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français*, *sâmrai* means "explication" (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français* (Saigon, 1878), p. 401). Its root is the verb *srai*, which means "délier, dénouer" (Étienne Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmêr-Français* (Saigon, 1878), p. 421). Au Chhieng defines the word *saṃrāy* as "action de dénouer un lien ou une pelote de fils emmêlés, enchevêtrés" (Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1953), p. viii).

"the Great Birth," or the Vessantara Jātaka.[74] The last part of the text, which describes the assemblage and disappearance of the Buddha's relics and the prediction about the future Buddha Metteyya, has only vernacular translation. It should be noted that the Thai translation of Pāli *Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna* contains only vernacular Thai. The use of multiple methods in translating *Pãnhcha puth pyéakor* presumably signifies various sources of Buddhist traditions in Cambodia.

These methods of translation, *nissaya*, *sâmray* and *chunniyabot*, allow for detail adding and modification. As noted by Nhuk Thaem, some vernacular Khmer versions of the Vessantara Jātaka have "some descriptions that do not exist in Pāli and its commentary version."[75] In the case of the Thai translations of the Vessantara Jātaka, they "became even more detailed and elaborate with the aim of enhancing the enjoyment of the audience, and thus grew longer and longer. Different *wat* competed to compose versions that would appeal to the audience by mixing humorous touches, excitement, and pathos with the original text."[76] It is better to call those methods of translation "languaging (the 'shaping of old texts in new contexts')" as Justin McDaniel argues. "Change has been subtle and slow, as change always takes part in lineage, tradition, and community."[77]

There is no significant difference between the Pāli and the two vernacular versions, except for literary styles. But a crucial modification can be seen in *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53) on the year that "the man who has merit (Pāli *puññāvantaṅ puggalaṅ*)" will appear. According to the Pāli version, that year is B.E. 2250,[78] but that year in Khmer *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53) is B.E. 2450. It was probably because the Khmer version was translated after B.E. 2250, the year was changed to meet local reality.

The coming of *nĕak mean bŏn* in the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade is specified in several *tŭmneay*-s. In stanza 38 of *Buddha duaṃnāy* (EFEO P4), it reads,

> Do observe the five precepts
> Correctly and firmly.
> Don't be neglectful.
> Do concentrate mind and body.
> So you will gain merit, and
> Can survive until
> The Year of the Pig, the first year of the decade.[79]

Furthermore, *Duaṃnāy braḥ roṅ* (EFEO P53) and *Tŭṃnãy Préah Rôṅ* (EFEO P40) state,

> In C.S. 1261, the Year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, Indrā's seat will be heated.

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[74] About the *chunniyabot* and translation and recitation of Mahachat see Nidhi Eoseewong, "On the Phetchaburi Version of the Mahachat," in his *Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok*, edited by Chris Baker and Ben Anderson (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005) pp. 204-207.

Chunniyabot (Pa *cuṇṇīyapāda*) means "'a kind of easy prose,' and in translating the word(s) as 'prose'" (K.R. Norman, "Pāli Lexicographical studies III: Ten Pāli Etymologies," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* X (1985): 24).

[75] Nhuk Thaem, "Introduction," in *Mohavéssânttârĕah chietâk sâmrab tés ti muay kân tospor* [Mahāvessantara Jātaka, for sermon, Chapter about Ten Wishes] (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 2509 [1966]), p. gho.

[76] Nidhi Eoseewong, "On the Phetchaburi Version of the Mahachat," p. 207.

[77] Justin McDaneil, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, p. 187.

[78] "Pañcabuddhasakkarājavaṇṇna," in *Panyatsa chadok phak phasa thai-bali, lem si* [Thai and Pāli versions of Paññāsa Jātaka, volume 4], p. 508.

[79] EFEO Mss camb P4 Buddha duaṃnāy.

> He sees through his celestial eyes that the kings of the eight directions are fighting with one another and cause mass death of human beings. Indrā together with Brahma and *tévĕata* from ten thousand universes fly down to Jambudvipa to escort *Prĕahbat Thommĭkkăreach* in a procession.[80]

This scene can be seen in *Prophéties khmères*, which is a French translation of Khmer *tŭmneay*. The year mentioned is A.D. 1889, which is C.S. 1261, but the animal year that is mentioned is "Année du Bœuf" (the Year of the Ox).[81]

In addition, *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9) notes, "From the year of the Monkey, the eighth year of the decade, to the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, Assajit Thera will come to uplift the *sasâna* of Tathakot."[82] According to *Buddha duaṃnāy* (EFEO P4), Assajit Thera is the future Buddha Mettyya.[83] In *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9), only the year of the Pig is referred to as the year that *nĕak mean bŏn* will come: "*nĕak bŏn* will come in the year of Pig, month of *Phâlkŭn*."[84]

In *Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* (EFEO O253), what is mentioned is not the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, but B.E. 2450. "In the year 2450, if (you) hear that *nĕak bon* will be born, believe that it is true, do not stop believing."[85] Indeed, B.E. 2450, or about 1907 A.D., is not the year of the Pig, but the year of the Goat, the ninth year of the decade. But B.E. 2450 mentioned is probably influenced by *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53).

The year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, is also referred to as the year that *nĕak mean bŏn* will be born, as seen in *Tuṃnāy braḥ roṅ* (EFEO P5). This *nĕak mean bŏn* is an orphan.[86] Interestingly, Achar Kae said that Ngô Prĕp "is the orphan king."[87] Some *tŭmneay*-s, however, namely *Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* (EFEO O253), *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9), *La prédiction du roi Roung devinant Préas Ind* (BMA Ms 691/2-a) and *Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind'* (BMA Ms 691/2-b) mention only the year of the Pig as the year that *nĕak mean bŏn* will be born.[88] In *Duaṃnāy braḥ roṅ* (EFEO P53) and *Tŭṃnãy Préah Rôṅ* (EFEO Paris

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[80] EFEO Mss camb P53/Duaṃnāy braḥ roṅ, pp. 27-28; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Tŭṃnãy Préah Rôṅ, p. 27. Those two manuscripts contained the same texts. Perhaps, EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Tŭṃnãy Préah Rôṅ is a copy of EFEO Mss camb P53/Duaṃnāy braḥ roṅ.

[81] J. Taupin, J. "Prophéties khmères (traduction d'anciens textes cambodgiens)," *Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoise de Saigon* (2e semestre 1887): 12–13.

[82] EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, p. 8

[83] EFEO Mss camb P4 Buddha duaṃnāy. However, in this manuscript, Assajit Thera will come to "uplift" the *sasâna* in the year of the Rat, the eighth year of the decade, which is in the mid-point of the *sasâna* (stanzas 30 and 31).

[84] EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, p. 6

[85] EFEO Mss khmer O 253, Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy, 5a. 2460 B.E. is also mentioned as the year that *nĕak bon* will come (Ibid., 4a, 6b).

[86] "In the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, an orphan will be born. His father will die first, then his mother. He will ordain under water and leave the monkhood on the water" (EFEO Mss camb P5 Tuṃnāy braḥ roṅ).

[87] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 18, 1898.

[88] "That person is *Prĕah Srei Sapet* (the Buddha) descends from celestial palace in Dusitā heaven to be born in the womb of an inferior people. That person will be born in the year of the Pig, on the month of *Visakh*, Thursday, seven o'clock" (EFEO Mss khmer O253, Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy, 5a); "That man will be born in the year of the Pig, the fifteenth day of waxing moon, Thursday, the month of *Phisakh*, at 32 *chŏen chhay*" (EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, p. 4); "In C.S. 985, the year of the Pig, there will be a king come from the East. Only his mother is alive. He was born in the year the of Pig, Thursday, the month of Chet, the second day of the waxing moon, *yeam* (time period) 7, 16 *chŏen chhay* (a

P40), the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, is referred to as both the year that *nĕak mean bŏn* will be born and the year he will come.[89]

All of these *tŭmneay*-s above are dateless, except for *Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* (EFEO O253), *Prophéties khmères*, *La prédiction du roi Roung devinant Préas Ind* (BMA Ms 691/2-a), and *Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind'* (BMA Ms 691/2-b). *Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* (EFEO O253) was written in circa 1834 [B.E. 2377], in the reign of King Chan, by an order of Sous, then *Chavfea Tŭalhăh* (Prime Minister).[90] But Suos' manuscript is a copy of an existing text. This means its parent texts were written sometime prior to 1834, probably in the context of chaos and war in Cambodia following the ascension of King Chan to the throne in 1803. *Prophéties khmères* was published in the Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoise de Saigon in 1887 by a French scholar-administrator Jacques Taupin.[91] *La prédiction du roi Roung devinant Préas Ind* (BMA Ms 691/2-a), and *Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind'* (BMA Ms 691/2-b) was copied in 1902 by (an order of) Luang Chumpol who identified himself as a *phuchuay* (deputy).[92] It should be noted that *Prophéties khmères*, *La prédiction du roi Roung devinant Préas Ind* (BMA Ms 691/2-a), *Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind'* (BMA Ms 691/2-b), *Duaṃnāy braḥ roṅ* (EFEO P53), and *Tŭṃnāy Préah Rôṅ* (EFEO Paris P40) are variations in the same group of *tŭmneay* that can be called *Tŭmneay Preah Rong*, or the prediction of King Rong. The variety of manuscripts demonstrates the wide circulation and popularity of *Tŭmneay Preah Rong* among the people.

It should be noted that C.S. 1 that marks the beginning of the new era is the year of the Pig, and the first year of the decade.

We can never know which manuscripts Achar Kae possessed. But it is reasonable to say that Achar Kae used to "hear" words drawn from *tŭmneay* literature. *Pãnhcha puth pyéakor* could be categorized as *sastra tĕs*, which is normally used to read out loud or recite in a ceremony.[93] Thus, *Pãnhcha puth pyéakor* is not only a written text for reading but also for

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traditional unit of time equals to a shadow of one foot). His name is Ang Lee Mea" (BMA Ms 691/2-a La prédiction du roi Roung devinant Préas Ind, pp. 14r-14v. See also BMA Ms 691/2-b Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind', p. 18. BMA Ms 691/2-b, which is a copy of BMA Ms 691/2-a, contains the exactly same words with BMA Ms 691/2-a, but not including "Only his mother is alive").

[89] "There will be a king born in the year of the Pig, Thursday, the seventh day of the waxing moon, *yeam sao*, at 17 *chŏen chhay*" (EFEO Mss camb P53/Duaṃnāy braḥ roṅ, p. 27; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Tŭṃnãy Préah Rôṅ, p. 26).

[90] A note, which probably made by EFEO's staff, on the front side of the first leaf of the manuscript, which was added later, states that the manuscript was written between 1815 and 1824. However, the front side of the second leaf of the manuscript reads, "[it] was already past 2377, left 2622." The sum of these two numbers is 4,999. If the present year is added, the sum will be 5,000, which is the age of the sāsanā of Gautama Buddha. After that, it will be the epoch of Meitreya. Moreover, the colophon on the backside of the second leaf of the manuscript, which in fact is the first leaf of the original manuscript, also mentions that Suos was appointed as *Chavfea Tŭalhăh* in 1824. This means the manuscript must have been inscribed in or after 1824. Sous died around April 1834 (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 180.

[91] J. Taupin, J. "Prophéties khmères (traduction d'anciens textes cambodgiens)": 5-20.

[92] Apart from this information, we do not know anything about Luang Chumpol. He states in the preamble of the manuscript that he "copied *Tŏmneay Sdech Rŏng* in order to extend the age of the Buddhist era." He also wishes to "attend the nibbāna." If his wish does not come true, he wishes to get happiness in his next life instead.

Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind' is a story about King Rong's interpretation of the dream of the god Indrā, the king of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven who dreamed that a precious divine jewel fell from his mouth to the country of Kŏk Thlok. It lit a bright light. It then turned into a splendid palace. Any *tévoda* is not able to interpret the Indrā's dream. So, Indrā had to invite King Rong of Beng-Chong to come to the Tāvatiṃsa in order to interpret the dream for him.

[93] On *sastra tĕs* see J. Guesdon, "La literature khmère et le Buddhisme," *Anthropos* I (1906), p. 99. The word *tĕs*

listening, which underlies the transmission of beliefs and ideas to people. More reasonably, Achar Kae had to hear those words during his engagement in the uprisings.

Narratives of the coming of *nĕak mean bŏn* in the year of Pig (and the first year of the decade) not only existed in written texts but also oral forms of communication such as rumor and telling. Almost all ordinary people probably never saw, or never even heard about, the written text of *Pãnhcha puth pyéakor*. Perhaps, they heard about that narrative from *achar*-s, old folks, monks, and so on, who were considered a respectable and reliable source.

In the real mundane world, *nĕak mean bŏn* also appeared in the year of Pig, as predicted in *Pãnhcha puth pyéakor*. In the year of Pig, circa 1863, which was not the first but the fifth year of the decade, there was a rumor spread among monks and lay people in Siem Reap that in that year, "*phu mi bun* will be the lord of Siem Reap. Siem Reap will be greater than any other countries."[94] The *phu mi bon* in that rumor was probably Achar Sva whose movement in Siem Reap is briefly narrated in Chapter 2. Achar Sva fled Siem Reap on August 30, 1863, to avoid being captured.[95] He was eventually captured in Khu Khan, the southern frontier province of northeastern Siam, on September 25, 1863.[96]

In January 1864, which still was the year of Pig, Achar Sva appeared in Trĕang Kroey Krat Province,[97] which was Trĕang Traoey Tras, or Trĕang Traoey Thbaung (Trĕang du sud), or Tinh Biên district of Châu Đốc[98] (hereafter called Trĕang Traoey Thbaung). Its inhabitants were comprised of Vietnamese, Khmer, Chinese, and Cham. It was located on the southside of Vĩnh Tế Canal, and south of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm. Achar Kae, then 37 years old, joined Achar Sva's movement.

A Land of Bad Spirits

Born in 1827 in the Mekong province of Sẫmbaur, Kae was taken by the Siamese army to Bangkok where he became a monk. If Kae strictly followed an ancient tradition, he had to be a monk in 1847. And if so, he was probably herded up to Siam during the Fourteen Years War (1833-1847). Then, Kae went back to Cambodia. He began his profession as an *achar* in 1855, which means in that year he was no longer in the saffron robes, and had already settled in Phoum Tropeang Srong of Srŏk Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm. He married Tés with three children.[99]

When Achar Sva appeared in Trĕang Traoey Thbaung in January 1864, although Achar Kae did not crossed the Vĩnh Tế Canal, news and rumors about Achar Sva definitely flew over the canal to him. Perhaps, that news conveyed messages such as the following:

> Ai Sva, a Khmer, from where we did not know, came to stay in a Vietnamese camp of Krapong Krabau [Kh. Kẫmpóng Krâbav, which is Tinh Biên township of Trĕang Traoey Thbaung] on the new dug canal [the Vĩnh Tế Canal]. Ai Sva pretended to be

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is Khmer pronunciation of Pāli *dēs(anā)*, literally "instruction, preaching."

[94] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/50 Khatbok mueang nakhon siamrap ai ariya sva tangtua pen phu wiset [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap concerning claiming of *achar* Sva as holy man].

[95] Ibid.

[96] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1226/181 Khatbok mueang nakhon siamrap rueang chap achar sva ai nori ai prak dai [Copy of dispatch from Siem Reap concerning capturing *achar* Sva, Nori, and Prak].

[97] NLT CMH R. IV C.S. 1225/52 Samnao plae chotmai phraya phra khamen [Copies of Khmer mandarins' dispatch].

[98] Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, mis en ordre par M.A.B. de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librarie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, 1883), p. 679.

[99] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (6) Interrogation of Achar Kae, August 23, 1898.

> a medical doctor who knew everything, and could make old people become young. A number of *reas* came to see him... All *reas* believed that he was Âng Phim.[100]

Achar Sva did not just pretend to be Âng Phim when he was in Kẫmpóng Krâbav, but had done so at least since was in Siem Reap in 1862 and 1863. Interestingly, Ngô Prẻp in 1898 also claimed he was Âng Phim. He said,

> Then, as a little boy, I scraped my left shoulder with Cambau's thorns. Achar Kae told me that this scar had the same form as the scar of the real Âng Phim that was made by a peacock. He advised me to claim the name of Prince Âng Phim.[101]

Achar Kae told other people that he knew Âng Phim, who died in Bangkok in 1854,[102] when he lived in Bangkok.[103] If so, Achar Kae probably learned directly about the scar from Âng Phim. It is also possible that Achar Kae learned about the scar of Âng Phim through Achar Sva, whether directly or indirectly.

On February 10, 1864, Achar Sva's troops subdued Trĕang Traoey Thbaung. Then, there was a rumor that Achar Sva would go to suppress Trĕang Choeng Krâchŭm,[104] another name of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, which was a traditional residence of the governor of Trĕang, Oknha Pĭsnŭlŏk.[105] And we do know from a report of a monk who was sent to observe Achar Sva that in March 1864, Achar Sva had already stayed in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm. Specifically, he was in a *rŏng* (temporary roofed building) on Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains.[106] Perhaps, Achar Kae came to see and joined Achar Sva in that place and time, if not in another place and time before.

Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm was a range of thick-forested mountains that were "contiguous, superimposed and form a mass of peaks that are difficult to determine."[107] The name Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm came from a legend related to another *nĕak mean bŏn* whose name was Keav. He was small and round with overly long arms, which enabled him to press his hands at the back opposite to his chest. He was a powerful sorcerer. One day, he tattooed *kẫng câk* (sharp-edged spinning wheel, S. *chakra*; a symbol of *chakravartin* or wheel-turning monarch), on his hands and feet with cinnabar, a bright red dye made from mercuric sulfide. Then he went to Phnŭm Bayâng Kao (Bayâng Kao Mount), located in present day Takeo province, for a magical retreat for one year, seven months, and seven days. Many villagers came to pay respect and worship him. Keav proclaimed himself the King Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm. He suppressed many provinces in southern Vietnam, then Khmer territories, and in southeastern Cambodia. Troops that were sent by the King in Lovĕk to suppress Keav were crushed because of Keav's magical power. Thus, tricks were used to thwart Keav's magical power.

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[100] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1225/52.

[101] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, 1898.

[102] NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 225; Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, *Explorations et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, p. 63.

[103] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 5 (2) Interrogation of *Achar* Tŭm, August 30, 1898.

[104] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1225/52.

[105] Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome I Le royaume actuel*, p. 161.

[106] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1225/253 Nangsue rueang nak phichai chao wat ko yai paisuep pruettikam achar sva [Report on Phichai, an Abbot of Wat Ko Yai, went to observe *achar* Sva's movement].

[107] E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge": 65. See also Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome I Le royaume actuel*, p. 161.

Lastly, Keav was captured and killed.[108] It is claimed that the tale of Keav who was a *nĕak sel* happened in circa 1572 in the reign of King Pârâmĭnreachea. However, apart from *Êkâsar mohabŏros khmae* compiled and edited by Eng Sŏt, the story never be found in any chronicles, neither in royal chronicles nor in family chronicles.[109] Perhaps, Eng Sŏt took that tale from oral tradition, though he never mentioned any oral sources.[110] The tale of Keav probably lived lively in memory of peoples who lived there in the time of Eng Sŏt. Indeed, a village that was claimed to be the location of Keav's palace, which was in the north of Bayâng Kao Mount, was named after the king's title of Keav, Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm.[111]

We do not know on which mountain Achar Sva's *rŏng* (temporary roofed building) was located, but we know that *rŏng*-s of Ngô Prĕp were on Phnŭm (Veal) Rovieng ((Veal) Rovieng Mount). There was a mountain called Veal Lovieng that was located in the west of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains. But some circumstantial evidence indicates that (Veal) Rovieng Mount was not Veal Lovieng Mount, but probably, Bayâng Kao Mount in the north of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains.[112]

Forest suggests that Ngô Prĕp's choice of residing on *phnŭm* (mountains) came from its importance as "a sacred place where the imaginations are inflamed, where contests and legitimations are affirmed."[113] The sacredness of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains was closely tied to legends and monument. According to a legend about the origins of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom, when Indrā brought his three years old human son Prĕah Ketmealea to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, all *tévĕada* were irritated by human's scent. Their complaints shamed Indrā into asking his human son to return. Prĕah Ketmealea refused because he did not want to leave the beautiful and graceful heaven.

> Lord Indrā said, 'Here me, my child. Goes back to the human realm. I shall build for you a city as beautiful as the heaven.' At that day, Lord Indrā took the child to a residence of a Buddhist nun who was the mother of the child. Then, Lord Indrā left his footprint on the rock at the top of a hill. It still appears until today. Thus,

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[108] Eng Sŏt, *Êkâsar mohabŏros khmae, pheak bey* [Document about Cambodian Heroes, part 3], (n.p., 2000), pp. 373-377.

[109] About traditions of Cambodian royal and family chronicle see George Cœdès, "Etudes cambodgiennes XVI. Essai de Classification des Documents Historiques Cambodgiens Conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 18 (1918): 16; David Chandler, *Cambodia Before the French: Politics in a Tributary Kingdom, 1794-1848)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1973), p. 6; Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, p. 13.

[110] Thibodi Buakamsri, *"Ekkasan mahaburut khamen": kansueksa ngan khian prawattisat samai mai khong kamphucha* ["Ekasar Mahaburas Khmaer: A Study of a Modern Cambodian Historical Writing] (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2547 [2004]), pp. 131-138.

[111] Eng Sŏt, *Êkâsar mohabŏros khmae, pheak bey*, pp. 373-374.

[112] Cheang Ŭk who was Ngô Prĕp's accomplice reported that when Ngô Prĕp's accomplices heard at the night of July 3 or 4 that troops from Kǎmpóng Takeo came to suppress them, they left their *rŏng*-s on Phnŭm (Veal) Rovieng to Phnŭm Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898). Pipheak Khvâk, another accomplice reported that Ngô Prĕp and his accomplices left Phnŭm Dop Sva Koy, probably was another name of Phnŭm Veal Rovieng, to the east to stop at the west of Phoum Chrŏy Slaeng, which was about five kilometers south of Phoum Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 20 Interrogation of Pipheak Khvâk, August 2, 1898). If Phnŭm (Veal) Rovieng was Phnŭm Veal Lovieng, east of it was forested mountains. Moreover, if Phnŭm (Veal) Rovieng was Phnŭm Veal Lovieng, it is not rational to walk about 20 kilometers or 25 kilometers around Phnŭm Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm to Phoum Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm or Phoum Chrŏy Slaeng respectively.

[113] Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation Française*, p. 404.

the city located near the hill gets its name as Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm.[114]

Interestingly, on the top of the Bayâng Kao Mount in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains there is a Hindu temple dated to the seventh century A.D. A Sanskrit inscription found there concerns an establishment or restoration of *Sivapāda* (Siva's footprint) on the platform of the mountain in 604 A.D.[115] Perhaps, centuries later, *Sivapāda*, or the story concerning *Sivapāda*, was transformed into *Indrapāda*, as seen in the tale above. Whether footprint of Siva, or footprint of Indrā, Bayâng Kao Mount, and Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountain in general, were perceived by locals a sacred mountain. It is not surprising if Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains were then a pilgrimage site. Étienne Aymonier noted that the name Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, which he translated as "les pieds sacrés foulèrent tout autour (the sacred feet traveled all around)," came from a tradition of a royal pilgrimage made on foot in fulfillment of a vow.[116]

In addition to Prasat Bayâng, there are two other temples on Bayâng Kao Mount. One of them is Prasat Prĕah Kŏ, which is named after a *Prĕah Kŏ* (sacred bull) statue established there.[117] Iconographically, *Prĕah Kŏ* is Nandi, the vehicle of Siva. Legendarily, *Prĕah Kŏ*, and *Prĕah Kaev*, was a lost treasure of Cambodia.

The legend of *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev* is widely known throughout Cambodia.[118] It was a tale about twin brother *Prĕah Kŏ* (sacred bull) and *Prĕah Kaev* (sacred crystal). *Prĕah Kŏ* was an animal possessing a divine power. He had sacred and precious things in his belly. This sacred pair was believed to bring peace and prosperity to the place where they resided. At that time, the King of Siam was attempting to conquer Cambodia and proposed a series of animal fights with the King of Cambodia. The King of Cambodia won all fights with help from *Prĕah Kŏ*, which made the King of Siam want to possess *Prĕah Kŏ*. Finally, a mechanical bull made from iron was presented to fight with *Prĕah Kŏ*. *Prĕah Kŏ* lost the battle and fled with *Prĕah Kaev* to take a refuge in many places. At last, they were captured and brought to Siam.

> Then, they opened up the belly of the statues to get the precious texts, which allowed them to study the contents. For this reason, the Siamese have become superior in knowledge to the Cambodians, and for this reason the Cambodian people are in the state of ignorance and lack knowledgeable people to do what is necessary, unlike other countries.[119]

A sacred mountain range known as the Seven Mountains (Bảy Núi in Vietnamese or Thất Sơn in Sino-Vietnamese) in Tinh Biên (Trĕang Traoey Thbaung), approximately 20 kilometers southeast of Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains, according to locals, was a place of

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[114] *Rueang phrachao pathum suriwong srang phra nakhon wat nakhon thom* [King Pathum Suriwong Built Angkor Wat Angkor Thom] (Bangkok: Sophon Phiphat Thanakorn, 2474 [1931]), p. 3.

[115] A. Barth, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale: 1885), pp. 31-38. See also Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome 1 Le royaume actuel*, p. 164; E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descrriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, tome premier, pp. 3-7.

[116] Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome I Le royaume actuel*, p. 161.

[117] Ibid., p. 162; E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descrriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, tome premier, p. 8.

[118] See different versions of the legend of *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev* in Kimly Ngoun, *The Legend of Preah Ko Preah Keo and Its Influence on the Cambodian People's Perception of the Thais* (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2006), chapter 3.

[119] G. Janneau, *Manuel Pratique De Langue Cambodgienne* (Saigon: Imprimerie, 1870), pp. 85-86, cited in ibid., p. 75. See also David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2000), p. 85.

refuge for *Prĕah Kŏ* and *Prĕah Kaev*. This legendary twin had visited Phnŭm Neang Non (Neang Non Mountain) and Phnŭm Kto (Kto Mountain) of the Seven Mountains before they were captured and brought to Siam.[120] The Seven Mountains were headquarters of the Lam Sam rebellion of 1841.[121] Moreover, it was also a sacred place of followers of the doctrine of Bửu Sơn Kỳ Hương, literally "Strange Fragrance [of the] Jewel Mountain." They believe that Đoàn Minh Huyên (1807-1856), commonly known as Bửu Sơn Kỳ Hương, the first prophet of the doctrine, spent time in meditation there. His teachings were based on the belief about the arrival of Metteyya. The doctrine was continued by Huỳnh Phú Sổ (1920-1947), the founder of the Hòa Hảo sect.[122]

The legend of *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev* was also recorded in some *tŭmneay*. A stanza in *Buddha duaṃnāy* (EFEO P4) implies the legend,

28 When *sasâna* enters the year 2000,
[Cambodia] will be impoverished,
As noted in *tŭmneay*.
Siam will come to carry
Both sacred and normal manuscripts,
Back to Nong Nay,
Leaving nothing behind.[123]

In *Guṃbī pāñcā mahār braḥ sādhdh* (BMA Ms 706/3), when a Siamese king from Ayutthaya invaded and defeated Cambodia, he looted "a bronze statue of *Prĕah Kŏ Ŭsŏphareach* (sacred bull), and statues of *nontĭ yiek*, *neakreach*, *neang kongheng*, *prĕah thorani*, *prĕah sihing*" and brought them back to Siam.[124] The loss of sacred and precious statues described in *tŭmneay* corresponded to the looting of bronze statues by the Siamese after the fall of Angkor in 1431[125] and the fall of Lovĕk in 1594 that was told in the legend of *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev*. In other words, *tŭmneay* is a not only a prediction, but also a reservoir of the people's memory. It is a narrative of the future (prophecy) and the past (history).

The loss of *Prĕah Kŏ* and *Prĕah Kaev* and other precious objects and things were accounted in a *krăng* (*krāṃṅ*; traditional leporello manuscript) entitled *Reuang rav siem khmae chbăng phaendeay lovĕk*, copied in 1873,

182 The Siamese said, they will take all *sastra*,
Tipiṭaka, *kbuon*,
183 Precious *Prĕah Kaev*, the most splendid,
(and) *Prĕah Kŏ* with them.
184 Siamese soldiers searched for all *tâmra*

[120] Philip Taylor, *The Khmer Lands of Vietnam*, pp. 166-167.

[121] Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 7.

[122] About Bửu Sơn Kỳ Hương doctrine and Hòa Hảo sect in Cambodia in Pascal Bourdeaux, "Approche du buddhisme Hòa Hảo au Cambodge," *Siksācakr* 8-9 (2006-2007): 45–54; Anne Hansen, *How to Behave*, pp. 57-60. See also Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam*, p. 7.

[123] EFEO Mss camb P4 Buddha duaṃnāy.

[124] BMA Ms 706/3 Guṃbī pāñcā mahār braḥ sādhdh, pp. 15-16.

[125] See about the memory of the people about the fall of Angkor in Eve Monique Zucker, *Forest of Struggle: Moralities of Remembrance in Upland Cambodia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), pp. 34, 138.

including *nĕak ta sĭngtao* (siṅha or mythical lion sculpture).
185 They would collect all, with dark rampage,
bringing back to their country.
186 Cambodia became tributary to Siam, and was weakened,
until today.[126]

Interestingly, before 1880, according to local tellings, a stone stele from Vât Loe in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm was looted by a Frenchman.[127] For the villagers, the stone stele was neither an epigraphical and archaeological object nor objet d'art, but a sacred object. Stones possessed sacred powers. "These stones are not inert. They grow," writes Paul Mus.[128] Thus, even stones that were not in any image of sacred beings were revered by the villagers. The loss of the stone stele corresponded to the loss of *Prĕah Kŏ* and *Prĕah Kaev*. Real life and mythical legend were blended and blurred.

According to *Tuṃnāy braḥ roṅ* (EFEO P5), "When the august *sasâna* reaches the year 2500, the sacred manuscripts of *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev* will return to Cambodia from Nong Snor."[129] The return of *Prĕah Kŏ* and *Prĕah Kaev* to Cambodia, which means that Cambodia will be great again, was mentioned by a partisan of Achar Sva in March 1864. The monk who was sent to observe on Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains reported that, one of Achar Sva's partisans told him that Achar Sva's troops would go to battle with the French in Phnŭm Pénh. Then, they would go to Ŭdŏng. After that they would go to Siam to "take *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev* back to Cambodia."[130] More than three decades later, the following words were spread in Trĕang and nearby provinces:

> We shall wait until the French have to run away from roads, and the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade; in fact, *Prĕah Kŏ*, *Prĕah kaev* are already, from Siam, returned to Phnom Penh. Then, in the year of Pig, the first year of the decade, the *Prĕahbat Thommĭk* would rise. The Buddha would be followed by the French, Cambodians, Annamites; the king would be the "*Sena Chhveng* [lieutenant of the left]" and the French the "*Sena Sdam* [lieutenant of the right]," and me "*Sena Mouk* [lieutenant of the front]" [131]

"Me" in these words, which can be called *tŭmneay*, was Ngô Prẻp.

Was this *tŭmneay* influenced by the idea flying in the face of popular beliefs during Achar Sva's uprising time through Achar Kae? Or did it was influenced by the legend circulated in that region? If the latter was the case, it probably came from Achar Mom who followed Ngô Prẻp since at least 1894. Achar Mom was an inhabitant of Kto Mountain, which also had a legendary connection with Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm Mountains.[132] Regardless

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[126] BSA FEA XXV Reuang rav siem khmae chbăng phaendeay lovĕk

[127] Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge, tome 1 Le royaume actuel*, p. 162.

[128] Paul Mus, *India Seen From the East: Indian and Indigenous Cult in Champa*, trans. by Ian W. Mabbett (Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1975), p. 13.

[129] EFEO Mss camb P5 Tuṃnāy braḥ roṅ, p. 5.

[130] NLT CMH R. IV, C.S. 1225/253.

[131] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (1) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 11, 1898.

[132] See the legend of Phnŭm Bayâng Kao in *PRPK*, part 5, no. 6, pp. 77-93. Neang Sok Krâ'op who was a wife of Prĕahbat Bayâng Kao, after whom the mountain Bayâng Kao was named, was born on Phnŭm Kto (Philip Taylor, *The Khmer Lands of Vietnam*, p. 166)

of the origin of influence on this *tŭmneay*, the legend of *Prĕah Kŏ Prĕah Kaev* had been implanted in people's minds long before Achar Sva's and Ngô Prẻp's times. It had interwoven people across villages, townships, provinces, or even states into a community of dreams and emotions. Physically, people from both sides of the Vĩnh Tế Canal had regularly crossed the canal, which tore apart the two sacred mountain ranges and would became a borderline between Cambodia and Cochinchina, to visit relatives, do business, trade, make merit at *vât*-s, and so on.

The uprising of Achar Sva covered a vast area of southeastern Cambodia and Cochinchina, namely Trĕang Traoey Thbaung, Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, Châu Đốc, Prei Kâbbas, Bânteay Meas, Peam, Kẫmpot, and Hà Tiên. It was put down when Achar Sva was captured and delivered to the French in August 1866.[133] His partisans were also captured, but not all of them. The rest resumed their ordinary lives. Achar Kae continued his career as an *achar* in his home village in Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm where Ŭch, his only son, was born in 1875.[134]

We do not know much about what Achar Kae did in the years between 1866 and 1898. In his life story he told to the French Résident of Takeo on August 23, 1898, he had taken part in an uprising of Achar Sva in 1864. He had followed Oknha Pĭsnŭlŏk Chhouk, a governor of Trĕang province, in the "Great Rebellion of 1885-1886," in which his brother-in-law and son-in-law were killed. He had engaged in an uprising of Sauvan in 1887. In other words, he lived his life between the two uprisings by engaging in two other uprisings. He, again, was freed after committing such a crime against the state. He was branded "an insurrection professional (un professionnel de l'insurrection)."[135]

"A bad spirit reigns in this part of Cambodia," stated the Résident of Takeo. "The mountain range between Prabat Chonchum (Tamlap) and "Potasuy" to the north, and the Hatien Canal to the south, is like the southern region of Banteay Meas and Peam, populated by former rebels, and all the villain who was the privilege of the border provinces."[136] This was probably concluded from a long history of resistance against authorities in the region.[137] The "bad spirit" not only reigned over Cambodia, but also the frontier provinces along the Vĩnh Tế Canal and trans-Bassac provinces in Cochinchina.[138]

"The Capture of Phnom Penh" in 1898

As we have seen, the prophetic sayings that spread over the region before and during the uprising of Takeo in 1898 were based on *tŭmneay* literature, in both oral and written forms,

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[133] About the uprising of *Achar Sva* in 1864-1866 see Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, pp. 77-79, 136-154; Jean Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge*, tome deuxième (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883.), pp. 151, 155-158, 161; NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 257-258, 262.

[134] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (6) Interrogation of Achar Kê, August 23, 1898

[135] Ibid.

How people against dominated groups in "between the revolt," see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

[136] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[137] The first resistance against authorities in the nineteenth century in that area was probably the rebellion against the Vietnamese authorities in 1820 that emerged along the Vĩnh Tế Canal (see David P. Chandler, "An Anti-Vietnamese Rebellion in Early Nineteenth Century Cambodia: Pre-Colonial Imperialism and a Pre-Nationalist Response," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 6, 1 (March 1975): 16-24).

[138] Thomas Engelbert, "Go West" in Cochinchina. Chinese and Vietnamese Illicit Activities in the Transbassac (c. 1860–1920s), *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 1 (2007): 56-82.

and also various legends. Apart from that, another written text was found in the boat of Phan Thi Phung. It was *kâmnap*, literally "poem," entitled "*une chanson en caractère cambodgien au sujet de la prise de Phnom Penh* [A song in Cambodian Character on the Capture of Phnŭm Pénh],"[139] hereafter *La prise de Phnom Penh*. It was not a *tŭmneay* but rather a historical narrative. However, as noted above, *tŭmneay* is both a narrative of the future (prophecy) and the past (history). The past was used to prophesy the future. To this extent, words and ideas extracted from *La prise de Phnom Penh* could be turned to be prophetic sayings.

La prise de Phnom Penh was written in seven-syllable metre, which was very popular among court poets of the nineteenth century.[140] It was comprised of 54 stanzas; the first stanza is a preamble, the next ten stanzas are a eulogy to sacred beings, and most of the rest are a narrative about what happened in the capture of Phnŭm Pénh in 1884 and its aftermaths. It should be noted that it was said that there is another record of the incident of June 17, 1884, written by Khmer author and called *Sastra lom vĕang*, "the manuscript concerning of the encirclement of the royal palace." It belonged to the Library of the Buddhist Institute in Phnŭm Pénh. After 1968, it disappeared, however.[141] Hence, *La prise de Phnom Penh* is probably the only surviving nineteenth-century narrative about the incident of June 17, 1884, from an indigenous point of view. Unsurprisingly, *La prise de Phnom Penh* narrates a different story of the incident in comparison to that of the French.

Around 4.45 a.m. of June 17, 1884, French troops surrounded the royal palace. At 5.30 a.m., the governor of Cochinchina Charles Thomson, accompanied by staff officers and a detachment of twelve marines, appeared in the royal chambers and woke up King Norodom. Almost four hours later, Thomson emerged with a new treaty already signed by the king.[142] French Commodore Paul Réveillère, who was the Commander of the Navy in Cochinchina from August 1884 to August 1886,[143] told lively anecdotes about what had happened in the royal chamber.

> The governor then opened a window overlooking the river, and said to the unfortunate monarch,
>
> 'You must choose: accept the treaty or abdicate. May your Majesty decide.'
>
> 'And if I do not want either to deal or to abdicate.'
>
> 'Looks at this plume of smoke, Your Majesty,' replied the governor, by pointing a war corvette in front of the palace, 'the *Alouette* is under steam; she is ready to leave, to refuse the treaty is to be taken off and carried on board.'
>
> From time to time the Second King put his nose at the meeting, as if to say, 'I am here. Count on me.'
>
> 'And what will you do with me aboard the *Alouette*?'
>
> 'That is my secret.'
>
> Norodom bent his head and signed.[144]

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[139] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47, doc. no. 6. However, I found it instead in folder of file no. 46.

[140] About seven-syllables metre (*bot peak pram bey*) see Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia*, pp. 53–55, 61.

[141] Khin Sok, "Les chroniques royales khmeres," *Mon-Khmer Studies*, VI (1977): 198.

[142] John Tully, *France on the Mekong: A History of the Protectorate in Cambodia, 1863-1953* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2002), p. 75.

[143] Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnaire de bio-bibliographie général, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine français*, pp. 47, 323,

[144] Paul Branda (pseudonym), *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge, l'ame Khmère Ang-Kor* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1886), pp. 8-9).

The corvette *Alouette*, carried with her 120 French marines, 150 Vietnamese *tirailleurs* and 7 officers from Cochinchina, had anchored in the Quatre Bras since June 14.[145]

In *La prise de Phnom Penh*, after the eulogy, the following is stated,

12/4 The world turned to immense sufferings.
13 When the king, our dear lord, precious of our life,
Occupied the absolutely glorious throne,
For a full twenty-five years,
O, our Monseigneur, our jewel, our divine power.
14 The King, on
The ninth day of the waning moon of the month of *Chés*,
The year of Monkey, the sixth year of the decade,
Turned to be furious.

Then, from stanzas 16 to 19, the French presence in Phnŭm Pénh is described. But it seems to be a description of the arrival of the French Protectorate in 1863 rather than the arrival of the French troops in 1884. Place (Ŭdŏng and Phnŭm Pénh, which became the residence of the King and the capital city since 1866) and time (time between 1863 and 1884) are compressed and merged to prelude the capture of Phnŭm Pénh on June 17, which emerges in stanza 20: "The King was stuck in the royal palace surrounded by the French, amid their strong grip." The trespass of the governor Thomson and his company, and also the dramatic scene in the king's chamber, are not presented in *La prise de Phnom Penh*. Norodom was locked in his palace but he could call the Ŏbarach, *Chav Khŭn*, and Oknha Brâsaoe Sŏrĭvong to meet him in order to consult about how to deal with the kingdom's crisis. King Norodom said to his half-brother the Ŏbarach Sisowath,

23 'There was the general that led troops,
'He strongly wanted to fight with me,
'[The troops] had surrounded my residence, I was woken up.
'So, my brother, what do you think?
24 'He asked from me land and people,
'Taking care of all administrations as a regent,
'Desire to establish himself as a King.
'My brother, what is your opinion, or are you thinking about giving up?'
25 The Měaha Ŏbarach,
Knowing about the power [of the French], is afraid to be disgraced,
If he opposes, he is afraid to be poor,
'My dear King, give him all!'

Sisowath, who was promoted as *Ŏbarach* in 1870, was favored by the French administrators. It seems the French prepared to put him on the throne if Norodom denied signing the new treaty.[146]

Adhemard Leclère reported that Norodom was threatened to deport to Algeria (Adhemard Leclère, *Histoire du Cambodge dupuis le 1er siècle de notre ère* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1914) p. 464).

[145] John Tully, *France on the Mekong*, p. 75.

Advice of *Chav Khŭn* (informal term referring to high-ranking official) was not different from that of Sisowath: "[We] cannot resist [the French], Your Majesty" (stanza 26). Then, Oknha Brâsaoe Sŏrĭvong was called to appear before the king.

34 Prosor lifted his hands to respectfully inform the king,
'Your Majesty, my overlord,
'Resisting and conflicting [with the French] will fail,
'Like an egg that is held tightly in the hand.
35 'Will it survive? Never!,
'[They] don't know the word mercy, my dear Your Majesty,
'They have already reached into the hearth [of the kingdom],
'My dear Your Majesty, give them all!'

We know with certainty that, however, from 5.30 a.m. to 9.15 a.m. of June 17, 1884, Norodom was surrounded by the French in his chamber. His secretary and interpreter Col de Monteiro was taken out of his chamber after the new treaty was read to him.[147] Perhaps, another Khmer that presented in the royal chamber was Son Diep who acted as an interpreter for the Governor Thomson.[148] Sisowath was probably in the royal palace, "put[ting] his nose" into the king's chamber during the meeting between the king and the French.[149] Thus, Sisowath the Obarach, *Chav Khŭn*, and Oknha Brâsaoe Sŏrĭvong never had an audience with Norodom to give him advice in the morning of June 17, 1884. The meetings and advice described in *La prise de Phnom Penh* are fictional, but they have some real foundation as their basis.

Those imaginary dialogues are followed by these following lines, which are worth quoting at length.

36 The king heard Brâsaoe said so,
He feft uneasy in his stomach,
He was disheartened by misfortune,
As heard from *tŭmneay*, it seemed all was already given to them.
37 Dignitaries who depended on the king's merit,
Avoided [to do their duties], or did it carelessly,
They did not think about the country,
Looked for and embraced the danger, sought for their opportunity.
38 They always conscripted *reas* to work, without compassion.
They smoked, ate, and drank alcohol, without conscience.
They corrupted and cheated in the name of merit and power.

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[146] Paul Branda (pseudonym), *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 8; Milton Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859-1905)* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1997), p. 209; Gregor Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen': The rise of French rule and the life of Thomas Caraman, 1840-87* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 187.

[147] Paul Collard, *Cambodge et Cambodgiens: Métamorphose du royaume khmer par une méthode française de protectorat* (Phnom Penh: Cedoreck, 2001), p. 111; See also Milton Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia*, p. 210.

[148] Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 66-67.

[149] Paul Branda (pseudonym), *Ça et là Cochinchine et Cambodge*, p. 8.

Some needed to be *Krâ(la)haom*, *Vĕang*.
39 Made wrong to right, without thinking over it.
Some established new kinds of tax and revenue
To collect much money from all *reas*.
They did not consider affairs of the country.
40 They oppressed Khmer, Chinese, and Cham,
Forbade the poor to unite together.
Fishing in river, lake and pond, to make a living,
was all taxed.
41 Officials intensively checked and collected rice tax,
And head tax. There was no money left over.
Silk tax. Fishing net tax. Island cultivation tax.
There was no saving left over.
42 Thus, the country faced unbearable sufferings.
The coming of *barăng* made the country unrest.
Officials in Phnom Penh did not fight.
Instead, it was a business of *reas* in provinces.

La prise de Phnom Penh not only criticizes the authorities up to the Ŏbarach, but the king as well.

48 O! Kamphuchea,
It used to be in complete darkness,
Lost all, left nothing.
(Then,) France came to nurture and rebuild (Cambodia).
49 The King and the *barăng* made friend with each other,
[Their relation was] full of love and amity.
For a long time, the reigning monarchs depended on,
The merit and glory of *Luong Bârŭmkaot* [the posthumous title of King Duong].
50 Years passed,
(The king) did not act to oppose [the French].
.....

The last verse of the last stanza (stanza 54) of *La prise de Phnom Penh* that reads "That's all we remember" reveals that it is a copy of previously existing text(s), whether written or oral. Original text(s) must have been composed after the capture of Phnom Penh on June 17, 1884. It was possibly composed during the countrywide uprising of 1885-1886, but stanzas 48 to 53 might be added later.

Somehow *La prise de Phnom Penh* was in the hands of partisans of the uprising of 1898. We do not know how it was used during the uprising. But it is not surprising if some stanzas or words –particularly stanzas 37 to 44, which criticizes and attacks the ruling élites by revealing their infidelity, immorality, and misconduct– would be selected to address to people before and during the uprising of 1898. These stanzas are timeless. They can be simply used as a weapon of people against the indigenous Establishment. The collaboration of the king and the French (stanzas 48 to 53) granted enough legitimacy and reason to uprise against the rules of the king and the French.

Aside from reality-based imagination, another source of *La prise de Phnom Penh* was *tŭmneay*, as referred in the fourth verse of stanza 36. We do not know which *tŭmneay* was used

as a source for *La prise de Phnom Penh*. But we do know that there was at least *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9) that contains stories concerning the capture of Phnom Penh in 1884.[150] *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9) claims that it is words of the Buddha given shortly before his death. It begins with a prediction that the sāsanā will last for 5,000 years. Then, a history of the rise and decline of the sāsanā is briefly narrated. The first three stories are a universal history of the sāsanā: the building of stūpa-s to enshrine the Buddha's relics by King Thammasokka [Dhammasokaraja, or Asoka] in B.E. 220, the defeat of King Malintradhiraja [Milinda, or Menanader] by Nagasena in B.E. 620, and the destruction of the sāsanā in B.E. 1420 by *Tmĭl andethey* [a.w. *Tmĭl terathey*], or Tamil heretics, who were later defeated by King Aphai Tossakamani [Abhaya Duṭṭhagāmaṇī]. The next three stories concern the legendary history of Cambodia: the copying of Buddhist canons in Lanka in B.E. 1750 by Buddhagōsa who later brought those copies back to enshrine in Angkor Wat,[151] the enthronement in B.E. 2030 of the king Tossavong who later became a leper and was cursed by Měaha Ruesei [the great hermit],[152] and the chaos in B.E. 2085, which can be seen as a continuation of decline that began after the curse of Měaha Ruesei.

The chaos reached its peak,

> When the august *sasâna* reached 2427 years old, the year of the Monkey, the sixth year of the decade, on Tuesday, the ninth day of the waning moon, the month of *Chés*, in the early morning. *Tmĭl andethey* will come to capture the country.

This date is exactly the same as that in stanza 14 of *La prise de Phnom Penh*. It is June 17, 1884. Obviously, *Tmĭl andethey* refers to the French. Contrary to *La prise de Phnom Penh*, *Put tŭmneay* does not narrate in details, either fact or fiction, about the capture of Phnŭm Pénh in 1884.

Then, three predictions are provided. Prĕahbat Angkŭlireach will come to suppress *Tmĭl andethey* in the year of the Pig, the ninth year of the decade, which is circa 1887. Four *nĕak sel* will fight against each other in "*tonlé buon mŭkh*," the Quatre Bras, in the year of the Dragon, the fourth year of the decade, which is circa 1892. At last, from the year of the Monkey, the eighth year of the decade, which is circa 1896, to the year of the Pig, the first year of the decade, which is circa 1899, Assajit Thera, who is the future Buddha Metteyya, will come to "uplift" the sāsanā.

The exact dating of *Put tŭmneay* is not known, but it must have been composed after the capture of Phnom Penh in 1884. Or at least, it was edited after the capture of Phnom Penh in 1884 by adding the incident into an existing text.

Apart from mentioning the capture of Phnŭm Pénh on June 17, 1884, another thing *La prise de Phnom Penh* and *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9) share together is a new mode of explanation about causes of occurrences and things that already happened and will happen, which also is a new form of criticism against authorities.

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[150] EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, pp. 6-8; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Kboun Pŭt tŭṃnāy, pp. 9-12.

[151] According to the *tŭmneay*, Buddhagōsa was a deity who descended from heaven to be born as a man in the city of *Kouk Thlok*, or Cambodia in the ancient times, in some time after B.E. 1650 [about A.D. 1107]. He would get ordained in Lanka and brought a copy of the sacred texts and commentaries back to *Kouk Thlok* (*Kbuon put tŭmneay* [The Treatise of the Prediction of the Buddha], compiled by Oum Ket ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1970), p. 12; "Brah Pad Dhammikkaraj," in Olivier de Bernon, "La Prédiction du Bouddha," *Aséanie*, 1 (mars 1998), p. 50).

[152] See BMA Ms 691/2–b Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind', p. 18.

Moral attacking

Tŭmneay literature has two main themes; the theme of moral, mental, physical, and social degeneration that will turn the earthly world into the age of vices and the theme of the coming of a person who will restore the moral order and start a new golden era. Underlying this theme is a Buddhist notion of decline and disappearance of sāsanā at the specific historical point in time. In Theravāda Buddhist states, the five-thousand lifespan of sāsanā is accepted as standard.[153]

Moral, mental, physical, and social degeneration is depicted through the motif of deviance, which is broadly defined as any act and phenomenon that deviate from *thommĕa* (dhamma), which means the Buddha's teachings (of morality and ultimate truth), the moral order, and, at the same time, the immanent natural order.[154]

Deviant motifs in *tŭmneay* are broadly classified into two major types pertaining to two characters of *thomma*: morally deviant motif and naturally deviance motif.

In *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53), the following statements are placed before the coming of *nĕak mean bŏn* and the new golden era,

> When 2,000 years and over are past, there will be a king who does not hold dhamma. He will destroy my *sasâna* and will make more evil things to people as seen in *Put Tŭmneay*. After that, virtuous people will abandon dhamma. When the year of the Cow comes, all enemies will kill each other, which destroys both pandit-s and villains. Bad guys and villains will hold weapons to destroy each other. Sasēya sampattē, when the year of the Rabbit comes, obstinate Tamil people will threaten and harm my *sasâna*. People will be heretic. Nāgāsaṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Dragon comes, people will die in great numbers, lying over one another like frogs. Ākāsaṅ dhummaṅkata, the sky will change to darkness before the public eyes. Sappa-saṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Snake comes, obstinate Tamils will be happy, learned man and pandit will be poor and suffer. Assasaṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Horse comes, people will leave towns and villages to go to forests, the forests will be changed to towns; the towns will be changed to forests. Elaka-saṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Goat comes, all human beings will suffer more. They will abandon their children and wives to take refuse elsewhere. Kapisaṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Monkey comes, all monks will leave their monasteries for the forests. Kukkasaṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Rooster comes, all human beings will be anxious, as there is fire in their hearts. Sunakkhasaṅvaccharē sampattē, when the year of the Dog comes, King and mandarins will pay homage to poor people.[155]

All the deviant motifs in *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53), which are underlined above, are morally deviant motifs, except that "the sky will change to darkness before the public eyes" which is a naturally deviant motif. In *Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thwāy braḥ ind'* (BMA Ms 691/2–b), morally deviant motifs are also stated in the same manner as *Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa* (EFEO P53), and some of those motifs are the same.

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[153] See Introduction, footnote105.

[154] See a discussion about the meaning of *thommĕa* (dhamma) in Chapter 1.

[155] EFEO Mss camb P53/Pãnca buddha byākaraṇa, pp. 15-16.

> In the year of the Dragon, human beings will be like frogs... In the year of the Horse, people will suffer and leave towns and villages for forests. In the year of the Goat, mothers and children will be separated from each other. In the year of the Monkey, human's face will look like monkey's. In the year of the Rooster, a king will come and then go back. In the year of the Dog, oxes will do rice farming, dogs will eat rice.[156]

In *Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy* (EFEO O253), almost all the deviant motifs are (un)natural deviant motifs: a cloud turns into a cloud elephant, a monkey comes to a village, a mountain collapses, the earth boils and turns into blood, the summit of a royal hall is broken. These deviant motifs are called *utbât*.[157]

Utbât, from S *utpāta*, means "strange event; presage of doom, sign of evil," is a phenomenon that deviates from normality. It is a sign of bad thing that is happening. Beliefs of *utbât*, as well as the term *utbât*, permeate the everyday lives of both *reas* and élite.[158] Some occurrences in the celestial sphere, according to an astrological manuscript, also signify that an *utbât* will occur.[159] In *Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy*, *utbât* is a sign of kaliyuga. The belief in *utbât* was strongly influenced by Brahmanistic and astrological beliefs and yet mingled with Buddhist ones. It typically appears in treatises on astrology and divination, which are always consulted by almost all people. *Utbât* is caused by eight Hindu deities who are the guardians of directions and the Lōkapāla-s (the world protector guardians), namely Indrā (East), Agni (Southeast), Yama (South), Nārāyana (Southwest), Varuna (West), Vāyu (Northwest), Sōma (North), and Vaisrāvana (Northeast). Thus, *utbât* is classified into eight types after these eight deities.[160]

A naturally deviant motif usually derives from motifs in *utbât*. However, the word *utbât* also refers to a morally deviant motif. As in *Tuṃnāy braḥ roṅ* (EFEO P5), the word *utbât*, and *vĭparĭt* (S. *viparita*, "(1) untrue; changing, unstable; opposing, different (2) perturbation, agitation

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[156] BMA Ms 691/2–b Duṃnāy sḍec' roṅ dāy thvāy braḥ ind', 11v

[157] EFEO Mss khmer O 253 Kpuon buddṃnāy; kpoun Ind duṃnāy; kpoun sāṃṅg daṃnāy, 4b-5a, 12a.

[158] In the story of A Lév, when A Lév went to the village of the five hundred bandits who were tricked by him, he disguised himself as a *haora* (fortune teller). Those bandits' wives came asking A Lév to foretell about their husbands. First, A Lév requested from them candles, joss sticks, areca leaves and betel nuts to offer to his *krou*. Next, he took a slate board to pretend to calculate. Then, he said to the bandits' wives, "Your husbands will arrive tomorrow. But tonight, shaved head and naked *preay*-s will enter your houses and cause a considerable evil." A Lév advised them to suppress *utbât* by using sticks to hit those *preay*-s (BSA Papiers d'Aymonier 9 Roeung Ā Liav). That night, the five hundred bandits who were tricked by A Lév to shave their head and take all of their clothes off arrived in home and were beaten by their wives.

Preay [*Brāy*] is a kind of evil being. About belief of *preay*, see Ang Chouléan, *Les êtres surnaturels dans la religion populaire khmère* (Paris: Cedoreck, 1986), pp. 125-156.

[159] Sunkimmeng Sunseng, "Un manuscrit khmer d'astrologie conservé au Musée Guimet," *Arts asiatiques*, 33 (1977), pp. 57-131.

[160] Michel Tranet, *Tŭmniem tomlŏep nĭng pĭthi pseng pseng roboh khmae* [Khmer Customs and Various Ceremonies] (n.p., 1990), pp. 87-97.

In central Thailand, there is a Thai text called *Aphithaiphotibaht* or *Athithaiphotibaht*, literally "knowledge on presage caused by the great deities" (Perapat Sritula, *Athithaiphotibath: wannakam kham payakorn samai rattanakosin ton ton* [Athithaiphotibath: A Prophetic Literary Work in the Early Rattanakosin Period] (M.A. Thesis (Thai Literature), Kasetsart University, 2555 [2012]) concerning the belief of *ubat*, a Thai term for Khmer *utbât*, which is identical to the Khmer belief. The belief in *ubat* and *ubat* texts can also be found in Southern provinces of Northeastern Siam/Thailand (see Kompi horasas cbab thot doy camera 1, pp. 244-285 in *http://www.elibraryofcambodia.org/kompi_hora_sas_jbab_thort_doy_camera_1/* (accessed November 2, 2016), and Kompi horasas cbab thot doy camera 5 in *http://www.elibraryofcambodia.org/kompi_hora_sas_jbab_thort_doy_camera_5/* (accessed November 2, 2016), which is the same text with *Kompi horasas cbab thot doy camera 1*

of mind, disturbance"),[161] are used to describe deviances, such as nobilities leaving their king or wealthy men turning poor, which are morally deviant motifs.[162] Also in *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9), the chaos that would occur in B.E. 2085 was caused by Indrā;

> When the august *sasâna* reached 2085 years old, the lord Indrā would call a thousand of *preay* from the *Hemapean* forest [himavant] to dwell in human hearts of all cities in Jambudvipa. King, nobilities, and *reas*, both old and young, were made greedy. They killed each other to loot wealth. They obsessed in gambling, drinking alcohol, and smoking opium. Man wanted to seduce woman. Woman wanted to seduce man. Monk did not observe the vinaya. *Achar* did not follow *kbuon* and *chbăp*. [Něak] *sel* emerged frequently. They all claimed themselves the king.[163]

Regarding the cause of chaotic and turbulent appearances described above, they should be considered *utbât prĕah ĕn*, or *utbât* caused from Indrā.[164] But all deviances are morally deviant motifs.

It should be noted that another source of naturally deviant motifs is Solasasupina, literally "the sixteen dreams," or Mahāsupina, literally "the great dream," a story about the dream of king Pasenadi of Kōsala that appears in the Mahāsupina Jātaka in the Sutta Piṭaka, which dating to at least 380 B.C.[165] It reads as follows,

> I had a dream of Usabha bull, trees, cows, ordinary ox, horse, golden dish, jackal, waterpot, a lotus-pond, uncooked rice, sandalwood, dried gourds that sank, stones that swam, small frog chewed huge snakes and ate them, a crow attended by golden mallards, tigers in panic fear of goats. This dream too shall not have its fulfillment in the present time.[166]

This story can found in detail in the commentary of the Mahāsupina Jātaka,[167] which was translated and edited into Khmer in many versions.[168] Motifs in the Khmer version of the

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[161] Robert K. Headley, Jr. et al., *Cambodian-English Dictionary* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977), p. 1461.

[162] EFEO Mss camb P5 Tuṃnāy braḥ roṅ, p. 4.

[163] EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, pp. 6-8; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Kboun Pŭt tŭṃnāy, pp. 9-12.

[164] On *Utbât prĕah ĕn* see Michel Tranet, *Tŭmniem tomloup nĭng pĭthi pseng pseng roboh khmér*, p. 91, See also Perapat Sritula, *Athithaiphotibath* [Athithaiphotibath], pp. 97, 108-109, 196-197, 222-223, 234-235.

[165] The Jataka, Volume I, trans Robert Chalmers (1895), *http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/j1/index.htm* (accessed October 15, 2016)

One night, according to the commentary, king Pasenadi had sixteen bad dreams. Brahmins, on being consulted, said that they presaged harm either to his kingdom, his life, or his wealth, and prescribed all manner of sacrifices in order to avert the danger. Mallikā, the king's wife, heard of this and suggested that the Buddha should be consulted. The king followed her advice, and the Buddha explained the sixteen dreams. The Buddha also predicted that these dreams would not occur at the present time.

[166] Mahāsupina Jātakam (Jātaka No. 77) in Sutta Piṭaka, Khuddaka Nikāya, Jataka (part I), Ekanipāta, Varuṇavagga. See translated version in Khmer in "Meahasoben Ciedakang [Mahāsupina Jātakam]," in *Pŭt tŭmneay soalas nĭmĭt* [The Prediction of the Buddha, The Sixteen Dreams], compiled by Trong Heang (Phnom Penh: Thoammea Bannakie, 2003), pp. 1-2.

[167] Aṭṭhakathā [Commentay] of Mahāsupina Jātakam. See except of translated version in Khmer in "Atthakatha Meahasoben Ciedak [Aṭṭhakathā of Mahāsupina Jātakam]," in Ibid., pp. 3-4.

The authorship of the commentary is disputed. However, some ascribe the authorship to Buddhaghosa, a

commentary of the Mahāsupina Jātaka, which derives from both the commentary and other indigenous texts, also appear in *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43), such as that "a frog does not fear a snake," "a crow wants to fight against an elephant," "a domestic ox goes to live with a herd of monkeys," "a royal golden mallard abandons his nest to live with an egret as lover," and "a domestic ox goes to live together with a white egret as lover."[169]

Deviances in *tŭmneay* occurred in the Buddhist notions of cyclical time, i.e. time was conceptualized as continually reoccurring cycles. It is close to what Walter Benjamin calls the "messianic time," the non–linear conception of time in which past and future occurs simultaneously in an instantaneous present.[170] In the realm of cyclical/messianic time, "what will be" is not yet "what is." Everything is determined. (Thus, *tŭmneay*, as well as astrological knowledge, are not a prediction, but a revelation). No one cannot be blamed for severe calamity that happened, happening, and will happen.

But there is a sign of change in *Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy* (EFEO P9), where unprecedented motifs appear: "[King, nobilities, and *reas*] obsessed in gambling, drinking alcohol, and smoking opium."[171] This sign can also be seen in the second verse of stanza 38 of *La prise de Phnom Penh*, "They smoke, eat, and drink alcohol, without conscience."[172]

These moral motifs were not timeless and placeless, but they were things that happened at a specific time and location, which was Cambodia under French Protectorate, or more specifically, Cambodia after the capture of Phnŭm Pénh on June 17, 1884. These moral motifs were a critique against immoral behaviors of Khmer authorities, which caused the decline of the kingdom. The capture of Phnŭm Pénh was the most obvious representation of the decline. On the other hand, the incident gave birth to a new chapter of *tŭmneay* literature. The best example of that change is *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43).[173]

Similar to *La prise de Phnom Penh*, *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43) was written in seven–syllable metre. It is comprised of 65 stanzas. The first stanza gives the date of composing, which is September 27, 1901.[174] Then, deviances were described.

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buddhist monk who is one of the greatest scholars and commentators in Fifth-century India (Pimala Churn Law, *A History of Pali Literature* (New Delhi, Indica Books: 2000), pp. 390-393, 468).

[168] EFEO Mss camb P16 Supin byākara braḥ duaṃnāy thvāy braḥ pasesanikosala; EFEO Mss camb P53/Sôlâs mâha suboen, pp. 10-12; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Kbuon Sôlasa nĭmĭt, pp. 60-79; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Sôlasa mohsŏbĕn, pp. 93-95; "Pŭt tŭmneay saolâs nĭmmĭt [The Prediction of the Buddha, The Sixteen Dreams]," in *Pŭt tŭmneay* [Prediction of the Buddha], compiled by Thón Hĭn, 2nd printing (Phnom Penh, [n.d.]), pp. 13-24; "Pŭt tŭmneay saolâs nĭmĭt [The Prediction of the Buddha, The Sixteen Dreams]," in *Pŭt tŭmneay saolâs nĭmĭt* [The Prediction of the Buddha, The Sixteen Dreams], pp. 5-23; "Mkŏt kaev [The Jewel Crown]," in *Ĕn tŭmneay* [Prediction of the god Indrā], compiled by Sua Chomreon, 2nd printing (Phnom Penh, 1971), pp. 30–43; "Mkŏt kaev [The Jewel Crown]," in *Pŭt tŭmneay* [Prediction of the Buddha], pp. 73-80.

All of them, except *Mkŏt kaev*, are in prose and derive from *Mahāsupina Jātaka*, which appears in the Sutta Piṭaka, and the commentary. While *Mkŏt kaev* is in verse and is a corrupted version of the vernacular versions of the Sixteen Dreams.

[169] EFEO Mss camb P43 Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār.

[170] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in his *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), p. 263.

[171] EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, p. 8; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Kboun Pŭt tŭṃnāy, p. 12.

[172] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47, doc. no. 6

[173] EFEO Mss camb P43 Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār.

[174] The first stanza reads: "Friday, the full moon of the month of *Photrĕabât* (the tenth lunar month)/ During the *vossa* (Buddhist rain retreat)/The year of the Ox, the third year of the decade/The *sasâna* reached to the late of 2400." There were nine years of Ox from 2400 to 2499. But there was only the year of the Ox that was the third year of the decade. It was B.E. 2444 [A.D. 1901]. However, a colophon of the manuscripts notes that,

2 [I] will state from the kingdom of *Reach Bŏrey*
In this land and kingdom
Extraordinary phenomenon will appear.
Everyone will change in all aspects.
3 Since the masters (or the foreigners) entered
the kingdom of *Kŏk Thlok Reach Bŏrey*
Calamity appeared in the land.
People, both men and women, have suffered.
4 They did not follow ancient customs.
All of them did not follow laws.
(They) were happy bacause of money
No one adhered to traditions.
5 All because of the breaking of the boundary
Of *sasâna*. It was turned upside down,
Which caused people's mind dark.
Everything wrong turned to be right.
6 They did not believe the words of wise men,
Did not follow Khmer traditions and customs.
They refused to listen to advice and claimed to be highly intelligent.
Because of the presence of newcomers.[175]

and more and more.

Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār (EFEO P43) corresponds to *La prise de Phnom Penh* in many aspects. But while *La prise de Phnom Penh* uses the word *barăng*, which generally means Frenchman, *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43) never uses the words *barăng*, but rather *nĕak naey* (a master; a foreigner) and *ké mok nŏv thmey* (a newcomer). Perhaps, the composer, or the copyist, intended to hide the meaning of *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43) from the French by motifs and metaphors, which is rarely seen in *La prise de Phnom Penh*. As noted twice in *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43),

27 Thou!
This is called metaphor,
Or about simile.
Wise men should think through all of these.
.....
45 Thou! decode this question,
That we clearly questioned already.
If one has sharp intelligence,
One will know the meaning of the puzzle.[176]

However, its message, which attacks the French and its collaborators with moral issues, is very clear, even the texts are encoded by motifs and metaphors. Therefore, it is reasonable to call *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43) a "half-hidden, half-opened transcript," or an "inbetween

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"Completed this manuscript on the twelfth day of the waning moon, the seventh month, the year of the Ox, the fifth year of the decade, which is July 1, 1913." That date is probably the date of finishing the manuscript. But it can also mean the date of finishing the copying of the manuscript.

[175] EFEO Mss camb P43 Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār, p. 1.

[176] Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

transcript." Its ambiguity makes it open for interpretation. *Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār* (EFEO P43) was renamed *Ĕn tŭmneay* when it was published in the late 1960s or the early 1970s.[177] In 1983, it was published under the title *Tŭmneay sasana*.[178] It was also known as *Sastra thngai sŏk*.[179] It became probably the most popular and most remembered *tŭmneay* in twentieth-century Cambodia.

Men, Guns, and Dreams

Achar Kae, Tŏng Tép, and Mésrŏk Sâ were former rebels of the rebellion of 1885-1886. Perhaps, life's difficulties caused by the French reform projects in 1884, as described by the Chinese Yi Uan in Chapter 3, motivated them and other folks to uprise against the French authorities. Perhaps, the previously failed uprisings of 1885-1886 left "a memory of resistance and courage" in their minds and hearts that "may lie in wait for the future."[180] In other words, while the movements had failed by common political measures, the former rebels also succeeded in keeping alive different ways of seeing not like a state. The time they were waiting for was coming in the year of Pig, the first year of the decade.

In his letter to the Résident supérieur du Cambodge, dated October 15, 1898, the French Résident of Takeo expressed his wonder,

> You will notice that most compromised and the most faithful were monks and *achar*-s, who are supposed to represent the educated part of the population. Their naivety, which made them believe in a possible success, superstition, that Ngô Prẻp has exploited largely, are not excuses for them. They knew perfectly that while Norodom was on the throne, any attempt of this kind of Ngô Prẻp was only a rebellion; they knew that Cambodian law punishes this crime with the death penalty, confiscation of property, sending whole family to slavery; these considerations have not stopped them.[181]

Undeniably, "superstition," which in this case is a *nĕak mean bŏn* belief, motivated these people, not least monks and *achar*-s, to come to Ngô Prẻp. But it is not fair for Ngô Prẻp if his knowledge, skills, and practices of traditional medicines are not considered. These two different influences have the same nature. They promise a better life. This time, they again armed themselves with guns.

During his stay on Rovieng Mountain, from the end of April to July 4,1898, at least 50 people came to Ngô Prẻp.[182] Lim Seng said that, aside from him, there were other five people

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[177] "Ĕn tŭmneay" in *Ĕn tŭmneay* [Prediction of the god Indrā], pp. 16-29.

[178] EFEO Mss camb P43 Duṃnāy knuṅ sārasnār. It was renamed to *Ĕn tŭmneay* when it was published in the late 1960s or the early 1970s ("Ĕn tŭmneay" in *Ĕn tŭmneay* [Prediction of the god Indrā], pp. 16-29). In 1983, it was published under title *Tŭmneay sasâna* ("Tŭmneay sasâna [Prediction about the Religion]," *Kaun Khmae* [Khmer Children], 2-3 (February-March 1983): 36-38; 4 (April 1983): 49-52; 7-8 (July-August 1983): 15-18; 9-10 (September-October 1983): 54-57).

[179] "Sastra Thngai Sŏk [Book of Friday]," in *Pŭt tŭmneay* [The Prediction of the Buddha], ([n.d.]), pp. 29-34; "Sastra Thngai Sŏk [Book of Friday]," in *Pŭt tŭmneay saolâs nĭmŭt* [The Prediction of the Buddha, The Sixteen Dreams] (Phnom Penh: Thomma Bânnakea, 2003), pp. 32-41.

[180] James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, 2 (1986): 5.

[181] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[182] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (3) Interrogation of Achar Kae, July 10, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (3) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 27, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 17 Interrogation of Chûmtŭp Ân, August 29, 1898; ANOM RSC

who continually stayed with Ngô Prẻp on Rovieng Mountain, from the end of April to July 4,1898, namely Cheang Ŭk, Prĕah Âng Ka Keav (also known as Prĕah Âng Ka Pĭch), Pipheak Khvâk, and They Sim.[183] All these people, as well as many names that were missed, such as Tŏng Tép and They Ŭk, were Ngô Prẻp's old colleagues and partisans, except Cheang Ŭk although he was not a stranger to Ngô Prẻp.

In the month of *Pĭsakh* (April 20 to May 19, 1898), Ŭk left his house in Banteay Meas for Rovieng Mountain. He claimed that he "was taken" by Monk Ŭch of Vât Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm, the son of Achar Kae, and another monk whom he did not know to Vât Prĕahbat Chŏenchŭm. Then, he was brought to Rovieng Mountain.[184]

Ŭk said that when he first came to Rovieng Mountain, he saw two rifles. He did not give any details about those rifles, only "I did not know where those rifles came from."[185] But it is reasonable to assume that those rifles did not work. That was the reason why Ŭk, who was *cheang* (skilled craftsman, artisan) was brought to Rovieng Mountain. Cheang Ŭk made both metal and wooden parts of rifles for the band. He also engraved four seals for Ngô Prẻp.[186] The Résident of Takeo described Cheang Ŭk "the smartest and the most skillful of the band."[187]

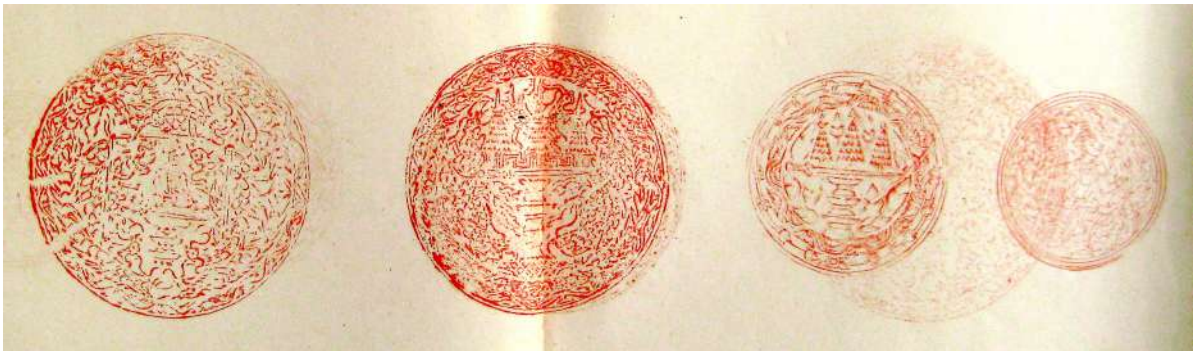


Figure 4.2: Two Great Seals and Two Small Seals Engraved by Cheang Ŭk
(Source: ANOM RSC 404, file no. 53)

Ŭk was born in 1855 A.D. He was probably the same person of Ŭk mentioned by Mésrŏk Sâ. If so, Ŭk was a son of a blacksmith.[188] This explains where metalwork skills and knowledge of Ŭk came from. Besides, he had woodwork and construction skills. He was hired as a carpenter for a building project in Vât Kaoh Sẫmrong in Banteay Meas, which probably

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404, file no. 20 Interrogation of Pipheak Khvâk, August 2, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 27 Interrogation of Svay, July 29, 1898.

[183] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898.

They Sim, who was Vietnamese from Krang Chay (Tulé) in Châu Đốc, went back to Châu Đốc before the coming of the French troops (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 20 (1), (3) Interrogation of Pipheak Khvâk, August 6 and 8, 1898).

[184] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898.

[185] Ibid.

[186] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, august 18, 1898; August 27, 1898.

[187] ANOM RSC 404, Résident of Takeo to Résident supérieur du Cambodge, October 15, 1898.

[188] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (1) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 4, 1898.

brought him into contact with Ngô Prẻp in March 1898. Cheang Ŭk was a nephew of Achar Kae.[189] It was perhaps Achar Kae who introduced Cheang Ŭk to Ngô Prẻp. So, Monk Ŭch was sent to bring Cheang Ŭk to Rovieng Mountain.

Perhaps a plan to make war with France was drafted on Rovieng Mountain. We know a little about that plan. What we know is that their first target to attack was Châu Đốc,[190] and that they agreed to buy guns.[191] Uong, about whom we know nothing, was sent to Phoum Buo (Buo Village) where he could buy two rifles.[192] It was about seven kilometers west of Rovieng Mountain.[193] Three other people, viz. Mésrŏk Sâ, Prĕah Âng Ka Keav, and Lim Seng, were assigned to buy rifles in Peam. According to Achar Kae, Ngô Prẻp gave them money to buy rifles on June 15.[194]

Presumably, those three people had known Peam well. Mésrŏk Sâ and Prĕah Âng Ka Keav were inhabitants of Peam or its adjacent province Kẫmpot,[195] both of which were under the jurisdiction of Résidence of Kẫmpot. The administrative and trade center of Peam was then in Kẫmpong Trach,[196] located about 30 kilometers east of coastal province of Kẫmpot.

Trade activities in Peam and Kẫmpot were not only between cities and provinces in Cambodia and Cochinchina, but also with Tonking, Canton, Hong Kong, Siam, and

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[189] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (5) Interrogation of Achar Kae, August 20, 1898.

[190] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 1 (3) Interrogation of Ngô Prẻp, August 22, 1898. See also ANOM RSC 404, file no. 24 Interrogation of Bântit Uong, August 8, 1898.

[191] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (6) Interrogation of Achar Kae, August 23, 1898.

[192] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (2) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 18, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898. Phoum Buo is present day Buo Village, Prei Rŭmdeng Commune, Kiri Vong District, Takeo Province.

Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ did not specify where Uong bought two rifles. And the French translation of Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk did not mention Uong's name.

[193] See *Soil Type and Geological Maps of Cambodia Provinces, Ta Kaev Province 1:140,000* (Phnom Penh?, 2011).

[194] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (2) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 18, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (3) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 27 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (2) Interrogation of Achar Ke, July 10, 1898.

It was only in Cheang Ŭk's interrogation that the three names were mentioned. In *Mésrŏk* Sâ's interrogation, Lim Seng's name was not mentioned. While Achar Kae mentioned only Lim Seng's name.

[195] Mésrŏk Sâ said that he was an inhabitant of Tropeang Koi in Peam province, Résidence of Kẫmpot (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (3) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 27, 1898). The name Tropeang Koi is similar to present day Tropeang Kŭy Village in Lboek Commune, Chhouk District, Kẫmpot Province. However, Cheang Ŭk said that Mésrŏk Sâ came from Phoum Phnŭm Longeang in Peam (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898). Interestingly, Phoum Tropeang Kŭy was on the bank of "Ang Knout Chrout" River (See Carte du Cambodge, mise à jour par le lieutenant Billes, à l'aide des itinéraires levés par les officiers de 1867 à 1887 [map], 1:500,000, *http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53029185v?rk =64378;0* (accessed May 29, 2016)). The map does not mention the name Longeang, but (P(go)de) Labolk, which probably is in Khŭm Lboek). However, "Ang Knout Chrout" River was also called "rivières de Lanegeon" (*Notices coloniales, publiées à l'occasion de l'Exposition universelle d'Anvers en 1885, tome premier* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), p. 465). However, Pipheak Khvâk in his interrogation said that Mésrŏk Sâ's house was in Phoum Phdau Pen in Peam, which was where he, Mésrŏk Sâ, and ten other people went to stay when they fled from Phnŭm Rovieng (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 20 Interrogation of Pipheak Khvâk, August 2, 1898).

Prĕah Âng Ka Keav's name did not appear in the list of arrested people. There is not his interrogation. Probably, he had not been arrested. Thus, we know about him from other arrested people. According to Mésrŏk Sâ, Prĕah Âng Ka Keav was an inbabitant of Phoum O Popel, Srŏk Kanno, Peam Province (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (2) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 18, 1898), which probably is present day Au Popoul Village, Dẫmnăk Kântuot Khang Choeng Commune, Kẫmpóng Trach Districy, Kẫmpot Province. However, according to *Cheang* Ŭk, Prĕah Âng Ka Keav was an inhabitant of *Phoum* Phnŭm Longieng in Peam, which was the same *Phoum* with Mésrŏk Sâ (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of *Cheang* Ŭk, August 4, 1898).

[196] E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge": 68; *Notices coloniales*, p. 465.

Singapore.[197] Prud'homme who visited Kǎmpóng Trach around the end of April or early of May 1882 noted that pigs were exported to Singapore by Chinese traders.[198] He made no mention of imported goods from Singapore. But we know that from the 1870s to the 1920s, Singapore was renowned as a "weapon emporium" of Southeast Asia. Siam, Cambodia, and Vietnam were used as places to store illicit weapons before distributing them to illegal weapon markets in Southeast Asia and China.[199] A leader of a rebellion in Kǎmpot in 1909 confessed to the French authority that he brought "'two heavy boxes of rifles' from Bangkok and Mytho, and stated that 'numerous' others had been landed on the Kep coast and taken to the caves on Phnŭm Vol and Krol."[200] Probably, the rebel band got those weapons from such an outlaw weapon trade.

Interestingly, Lim Seng, who was born in Mac Prang of Kǎmpot, was arrested for piracy in Kǎmpot in 1886.[201] Apart from raiding and plundering, pirates also smuggled illicit goods, including guns and ammunition. We do not know what Lim Seng did when he was a pirate, but it is believable that Lim Seng's knowledge of and connection with illicit activities could made him accomplish his mission. If rifle from illicit weapons trade was not what Mésrŏk Sâ, Prĕah Âng Ka Keav, and Lim Seng were looking for, knowledge and connection of Mésrŏk Sâ and Prĕah Âng Ka Keav could help. However, we do not know whom Mésrŏk Sâ, Prĕah Âng Ka Keav, and Lim Seng bought rifles from. All we know is that they bought five or six rifles for 60 riels.[202]

Apart from buying, Ngô Prẻp got three rifles each from three different people, viz. Balat Tĭt, Kŭchén Saena Kaoh, and Thea Sângkream Ŭk.[203] Balat Tĭt was an inhabitant of Pechsa. He was then 43 years old, married with two sons and one daughter.[204] Kuchen Sena Kaoh and Thea Sângkream Ŭk had not been arrested. So, we know nothing about them. But their titles, "Kŭchén Saena" and "Thea Sângkream" suggests that they were part of local administration as same as Tĭt who was *balat*, "deputy." It should be noted that Sŏphea Saom and Oknha Vongsa Nong said that they sent Kŭchén Saena Kaoh and two other people to

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[197] E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge": 68, 69: ANC RSC 5181 Histoire de Kampot et de la rebellion de cette province en 1885-1887 par Adhemard Leclère, p. 2.

[198] E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge": 68, 69.

[199] Eric Tagliacozzo, *Secret trades, porous borders: smuggling and states along a Southeast Asian frontier* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 259-316.

[200] John Tully, *Cambodia Under Tricolour: King Sisowath and the 'Mission Civilisatrice' 1904-1927* (Victoria, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1996), pp. 138-139.

[201] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 11 Interrogation of Lim Seng, August 11, 1898. Mac Prang probably is today Phoum and Khŭm Măk Brang of Srŏk and Kheat Kǎmpot.

On piracy in Cambodian and Vietnamese coastal provinces see Thomas Engelbert, "Go West" in Cochinchina," pp. 67-73, and Kitagawa Takako, "Kampot of the Belle Époque: From the Outlet of Cambodia to a Colonial Resort," *Southeast Asian Studies* 42, 4 (March 2005): 394–417.

[202] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (2) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 18, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (3) Interrogation of *Mésrŏk* Sâ, August 27, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August, 4, 1898.

The number of rifles bought from Peam was five in Cheang Ŭk's interrogation and six Mésrŏk Sâ's interrogations.

[203] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (2) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 18, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 2 (5) Interrogation of Achar Kae, August 20, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 13 Interrogation of Balat Tĭt, August 25 and 30, 1898.

Mésrŏk Sâ mentioned all three names, while Achar Kae named only Treasongkream Ŭk and Balat Tĭt, and Cheang Ŭk mentioned only Balat Tĭt.

[204] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 13 Interrogation of Balat Tĭt, August 25 and 30, 1898. Pechsa is today Péch Sa commune in Kaôh Andaet District, Takeo Province.

examine Ngô Prẻp's den on Rovieng Mountain in the second fortnight of June 1898.[205] But Mésrŏk Nŭt of Prei Ǎmpok, where Rovieng Mountain was located, said that in the month of *Chet* of that year (March 22-April 19, 1898), Kŭchén Saena Kaoh came to tell him that he went to ask for medicine from Ngô Prẻp, who was then on Phnŭm Thibdey (Thibdey Mountain).[206]

Now, Ngô Prẻp possessed 13 rifles, which was the same number given by Chûmtŭp Ân.[207] But Mésrŏk Sâ, Pipheak Khvâk, and a military deserter Rot, mentioned 12.[208] Rot just joined Ngô Prẻp on July 5, 1989, a day after Ngô Prẻp and his accomplices left Rovieng Mountain. While Svay said that Ngô Prẻp had 15 rifles, but two of them did not work well.[209] These four people had followed Ngô Prẻp before his stay on Rovieng Mountain and fled with him when the French sent the troops to suppress them.

But who would be Ngô Prẻp's musketeers? Pipheak Khwak and Svay gave name lists of the people who fled the French troops with Ngô Prẻp that consisted of 15 people, not including Ngô Prẻp. 14 of them in both lists were the same.[210] These folks stayed with Ngô Prẻp on Phnŭm Rovieng, from the end of April to July 4,1898. Perhaps, such ordinary people were Ngô Prẻp's musketeers.

Apart from rifles, Ngô Prẻp and his accomplices looked also for ammunition. Several people were sent to Kǎmpóng Trach, Kǎmpóng Treay Tonlap, Châu Đốc, and another place, to buy gunpowder. They also bought firecrackers to tear apart for gunpowder.[211]

It is reasonable to assume that Ngô Prẻp used money from fundraising to buy guns and ammunition. We did not know how much money he had. But the money that was seized from Ngô Prẻp and his accomplices was only 64.9 piastres (riels).[212] This sum of money was probably left after spending on guns and ammunition, which was 69 piastres (riels) plus.[213] Balat Tit said that Ngô Prẻp had to borrow 50 piastres (riels) from him when he came to offer a rifle to Ngô Prẻp on Rovieng Mountain.[214] Svai testified that when fleeing from Rovieng Mountain around early July, Ngô Prẻp had about 500 piastres (reals), which he transferred to Pipheak Khvâk, Mésrŏk Sâ, Cheang Ŭk, and Lim Seng.[215] We cannot cross check and verify Svay's claim, but it affirms a very important roles of these four people in the band.

The rifles, however many they were, never fired any bullets since they were in the hands of the people on Rovieng Mountain. At the night of July 4, 1898, they fled the French troops that were sent to suppress them. "It is not yet a time to make war with the French,"

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[205] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 15 Interrogation of Mésrŏk Chhim, letter of Sŏphea Som and Oknha Vongsa Nong to the Résident of Takeo, July 17, 1898.

[206] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 16 (1) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Nŭt, July 8, 1898.

[207] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 17 Interrogation of Chûmtŭp Ân, August 29, 1898.

[208] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 10 Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 23, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 20 Interrogation of Pipheak Khvâk, August 2, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 8 Interrogation of Rot, August 15, 1898.

[209] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 27 Interrogation of Svay, July 29, 1898.

[210] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 20 (1) Interrogation of Pipheak Khvâk, August 8, 1898; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 27 Interrogation of Svay, July 29, 1898.

[211] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898.

[212] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 51 Inventaire des objets et des armes trourés en la possession de Ngô Prẻp et de ses complices.

[213] 60 piastres were used on rifles (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 6 (2) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 18, 1898) and 9 piastres were used for gunpowder, including firecrackers (ANOM RSC 404, file no. 7 Interrogation of Cheang Ŭk, August 4, 1898).

[214] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 13 Interrogation of Balat Tĭt, August 25 and 30, 1898.

[215] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 27 Interrogation of Svay, July 29, 1898.

Ngô Prẻp said to Mésrŏk Sâ.[216] By the end of July 1898, at least forty-four people were arrested. The uprising was ended.

The Old is Dying

Ordinary people believed in the same *nĕak mean bŏn* but perhaps in different ways. *Tŭmneay*-s and legends formed a body of beliefs of *nĕak mean bŏn*, which bound ordinary people from different places together. Although stories narrated in those *tŭmneay*-s and legends differed, they shared common themes: the theme of degeneration of the sāsanā and the kingdom of Cambodia which made people suffer, and the theme of hope for the revitalization of the sāsanā and the kingdom of Cambodia which meant a better living of the people.

We know that people who visited Ngô Prẻp on Rovieng Mountain, from the end of April to July 4, 1898, brought him rice, tobaccos, areca nuts, betel leaves, and so on. In so doing, some wished from Ngô Prẻp medicine and sacred water to heal maladies. Some came to pay respect to *nĕak mean bŏn* and asked for protection. In short, they hoped and came to pursue a better living. Ngô Prẻp and his partisans, particularly those 14 or 15 folks, were also persuing a better living, but in another way. They chose to arm themselves and wage war against the French protectorate and Cambodian authorities.

Aside from the guns that were never shot, they most probably used Buddhist morality as their weapons. It does not mean that they had more morality than those they attacked. According to interrogations of Mésrŏk Heng, Bântit Chhim, who was one among those 14 or 15 folks, often came down from the mountain to smoke opium.[217] As we have seen, smoking opium was a moral issue used to criticize King, nobilities, and even *reas*.[218] However, it seems there was a differentiated level of seriousness of smoking opium. Smoking opium, and doing other immoral things, by one who had more merit/power was more serious than by one who had less merit/power. It was a turning upside down of the élite's perspective about merit/power that merit/power created the state of exception or, in the other word, impunity, which can be seen explicitly through observing the five basic Buddhist precepts.

John Crawfurd, the British ambassador to Siam, surprisingly noted when he was seated in the feast held for him in Bangkok on April 8, 1822, that, "Pork, beef, venison, and poultry, were served up in profusion, and there was certainly nothing to indicate that we were in a country where the destruction of animal life is viewed with horror, and punished as a crime."[219] Charles–Emile Bouillevaux, an apostolic missionary of the Mission Étrangère de Paris to Cambodia, asked the very same question when he had an audience with King Duong in 1849,

> I also had discussions with the King of Cambodia on the defense to kill animals. He told me that he would never take the life of any animal. "Well, then I asked him, why do you eat meat? It is because of you that we kill animals served on your table;

[216] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 10 Interrogation of Mésrŏk Sâ, August 23, 1898.

[217] ANOM RSC 404, file no. 14 (3) Interrogation of Mésrŏk Heng, July 23, 1898.

[218] EFEO Mss camb P9 Neaḥ kpuon Inda duaṃnāy, p. 8; EFEO Mss camb Paris P40/Kboun Pŭt tŭṃnāy, p. 12; ANOM RSC 404, file no. 47, doc. no. 6 une chanson en caractère cambodgien au sujet de la prise de Phnom Penh.

[219] John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China*, second edition, vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 155.

so you are guilty of the death." This reasoning embarrassed him a little, but he nonetheless persisted in his feeling.[220]

There was no explanation from King Duong, who was portrayed as a religious king.[221] However, the violation of the first basic Buddhist precept, Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, "abstention from taking life," can be understood through the state of exception created by merit/power. This idea was also shared by *reas*, as can be seen through an unpublished *reuang préng*.

In the old days, there was a man called Kŏmpŭk Dâp Sra for he held *kŏmpŭk dâp sra* (an alcohol jug) in his hand since birth. His parents died when he was still young, so he was brought up by his grandmother. Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra was very lazy. He "did nothing to earn a living. He slept all the time. When he woke up he ate, after eating he slept." One day, his grandmother ordered him to cut a bamboo to make a fish trap. He replied,

> 'Aye, Grandmother. If you want me to cut a bamboo, go buy a jug of alcohol, I will go to cut the bamboo.'
>
> When the grandmother heard so, she held a jug to buy alcohol. After buying it she came back home. Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra took (the jug) from his grandmother's hand, got up and drank the alcohol. Then he rushed hastily to bring a big knife and walked away. When he reached the forest, he looked for a bamboo that was big enough, cut it down and carried it on his shoulder back home. He left it in front of the house and went to sleep.
>
> The grandmother, seeing that her grandchild was going to sleep, said to him, 'Ah! My grandson, why did you leave the bamboo you cut? Why didn't you do anything?'
>
> Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra replied, 'My granny. If you buy a jug of alcohol for me, I will chop the bamboo.'

After drinking two jugs of alcohol, Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra still did not finish the bamboo fish trap yet. He asked for the third jug to finish it, and the fourth jug to place the trap to catch fish. He went to the forest and placed the fish trap on top of a banyan tree. Unsurprisingly, Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra needed another jug of alcohol in order to retrieve the trap. What he found in his fish trap were seven *téveăta*-s. The reason why the seven *téveăta*-s were trapped in the fish trap was because "*bŏn* of Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra will make him to be a big man." And "because of *bŏn* of Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra, the *téveăta*-s were unable to go out of the fish trap." Chav kŏmpŭk dâp sra got magical scarfs in exchange for releasing the seven *téveătā*-s. With the magical scarfs, he got married with the king's daughter.[222]

A more emphasis on Buddhist morality suppressed different moralities of *reas*. *Reas* who engaged in the uprisings still made their choices on their different moralities and rationalities. But little by little, the Buddhist morality became dominant.

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[220] C.-E. Bouillevaux, *Voyage dans l'Indo-Chine, 1848-1856* (Paris: Librairie de Victor Palmé, 1858), p. 215.

[221] According to his will after death, King Duong ordered that, "whenever he dies, his flesh has to be cut into pieces in order to give to vultures, crows, and all living creatures, to eat as they please" (NLT P45/d Phongsawadan Khamen [Khmer Chronicle], p. 236).

[222] EFEO Mss camb P91, Rŏŭngs Khmêrs no. 11, (1) Chau kompop dâp sra, pp. 1-26.

Conclusion: Different worlds of the ordinary people

Although each of the ordinary people's life-stories shares several similarities, each of them represents a unique story of it own. Despite their singularity, such individual life-stories were always reduced and transformed into a collective one when incorporated into history. In order to present the ordinary people's stories, we must paint a portrait of each unique indivudual rather than picture them onto a single huge historical canvas. We must narrate their stories in their own right, which is what this experimental study attempts to do.

In nineteenth-century Cambodia, the ordinary people were theoretically bound to their masters through networks of obligation and gratitude. In practical terms, they were bound together in two ways. On the one hand, they were united under a weak manpower control system, partly crippled by the chronic wars and internal conflicts in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, particulary in the nineteenth century, masters increasingly needed "things" in substitute for "services" from their servants. These two key conditions provided a possibility for physical mobility. Thus, many ordinary people were venturesome. They journeyed through terra incognita, sailed their boats through unnavigated rivers, and regularly visited ancient monuments, long before the first French explorers ever set foot to "discover" natural and historical antiquitites of Cambodia. Such ordinary people connected and extended their worlds to other worlds beyond their villages, and beyond the geographical boundaries of the state to which they were assigned.

The ordinary people were also bound together with, and at the same time were separated from, the élite by the popular Theravāda Buddhist belief in kamma, which in short was the idea that present is determined by the past and cannot be changed. Although the Buddha rejected such a fatalistic view, life and world according to the popular Theravāda Buddhist beliefs were considered to be predetermined. However, the narratives we have presented throughout this study demonstrate that life was not completely beyond human control. Ordinary people were both dependent and independent subjects from the deterministic logic of *bŏn* and *bap*. They both surrendered to and struggled against those causal determinants. In so doing, they could depend on animistic powers. But as seen throughout this study, they depended on their own ability to cope with difficulties and determine their own fates. They violated the established norms and orders prescribed by the popular Theravāda Buddhist beliefs, i.e. lying and deception, to fulfill their desires and escape their suffering. They participated in uprisings that promised them a place without obligations, and with an abundance of happiness and prosperity. A dream of having a better life in this here-and-now world should be considered an elementary cause of the uprising rather than political and economic resentment. It should be noted that, asides from dream, fear from the powers that be moved the ordinary poeple to resist against another power. In any case, the uprising opened up for more possibilities, and at the same time more uncertainties, to the extent that some dared to take an adventure to the world of rebels and armed agitation.

"An uprising is like a 'peak experience' as opposed to the standard of 'ordinary' consciousness and experience," Hakim Bey observes. He continues,

> Like festivals, uprising cannot happen everyday –otherwise they would not be 'nonordinary.' But such moments of intensity give shape and meaning to the entirely

> of a life. The shaman returns –you can't stay up on the roof forever– but things have changed, shifts and integrations have occured –a *difference* is made.[1]

James C. Scott reaches a corresponding conclusion when he writes that such uprising gives "a memory of resistance and courage that may lie in wait for the future."[2] Similarly, Patrice Ladwig in his study of *phu mi bun* uprisings in pre-modern Laos and Thailand remarks that even failed uprisings "remind us that revolutionary possibilities are always immanent, and can in the future become effective – even when flaring up only temporarily. The bonds created in such situations might not last, but their memory and the sheer possibility of them surfacing again will keep millennial movements alive."[3]

Unlike uprisings, the breaking of the established norms portrayed in this study, which comprises the telling of immoral tales and the breaking of the five basic Buddhist precepts, could happen everyday. Immoral storytelling in particular can also be considered a permanent liminality. Thus, while an uprising is temporary, the telling of immoral tales and the breaking of the established norms were permanent. They were perpetuated as a part of everyday life.

Like Turner, who later argues that liminality could be a permanent state, Bey also expands his concept of the "temporary autonomous zone (TAZ)" beyond the temporary. He notes that, "we've had to consider the fact that not all existing autonomous zones are 'temporary.' Some are (at least by intention) more-or-less 'permanent'."[4]

Fundamentally, the different worlds of ordinary people, built by the practice of boundaries-crossing, were permanent. They were real physical-geographical, social, and mental arrangements that exist in the same space and time as the normative world. Unlike Bey's TAZ, which was unnoticed and invisible,[5] the different worlds were a visible presence. They were here-and-now worlds that were reigned by sensual delights, desires, and dreams that were suppressed by the popular Theravāda Buddhist beliefs and practices in the normative world.

The élites could also build their own version of the different world, one of sensual delights and desires. However, their breaking of the established norms did not create a different world. Rather, theirs was generated by *bŏn* (merit, good deeds). There was no place for the ordinary people in the different world of the élites.

The different worlds of the ordinary people were a space of uncertainty that opens up possibilities. They were a space where "there exists the possibility of being otherwise."[6] They provided the ordinary people with possibilities to "reach out from their local experience, their lived (as opposed to assumed) values, and offer a more general challenge."[7] To be a boundary-crosser meant a possibility or opportunity to be a wise person outside their own villages. For them, "the world is open, that objectively real possibility exists in it and not merely

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[1] Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z. The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1991), p. 100.

[2] James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, 2 (1986): 5.

[3] Patrice Ladwig, "Millennialism, Charisma and Utopia: Revolutionary Potentialities in Pre-modern Lao and Thai Theravāda Buddhism," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 15, 2 (2014): 328.

[4] Hakim Bey, "Permanent TAZs," https://hermetic.com/bey/paz (accessed August 30, 2016).

[5] Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z.*, p. 101.

[6] Ernest Bloch, "Man as Possibility," translated by William R. White, *Cross Currents* 18, 3 (Summer 1968): 274.

[7] E. P. Thompson, "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History," *Indian Historical Review* 3 (1978): 265.

determined necessity, not merely mechanical determinism."[8] However, the space of uncertainty could also spell peril and danger.

Again and again, the ordinary people crossed back and forth between the normative world and their own different worlds. They were being governed; they were not being governed. They were good; they were bad. They were something in between. They were human beings.

[8] Ernest Bloch, "Man as Possibility": 280.

Glossary

a.w. also written
Ch Chinese
Fr French
Kh Khmer
L Lao
Pa Pāli
S Sanskrit
Th Thai
V Vietnamese

a (Kh *អ*; Th *ai* อ้าย). A designation used before a proper name or generic name of a male person, male animal or thing, giving them a pejorative, derogatory, or very familiar meaning. It is commonly used in addressing close friends, person regarded as inferiors, or young boys.

abhiññā (Pa). Higher power; supernormal knowledge.

achar (Kh *អាចារ្យ*). Lay preceptor; wise man; honorific for a former Buddhist monk. From Pa, S *ācāraya*.

ai (Th อ้าย). See *a* (Kh).

amdaeng (Th อำแดง). A formal title for a common woman, equivalent to Mrs., Miss, Madam; formerly used in formal documents.

āmisadāna (Pa). Donation of requisites, a giving of material things.

ắmnach (Kh *អំណាច*). Power, authority.

anisâng (Kh *អានិសង្ស*). Result of merit. From Pa *ānisaṅsa.*

âng (Kh *អង្គ*; Th *ong* องค์). An honorific title for a royalty; numerative noun for royal and sacred thing.

antĕrĕathey (Kh *អន្តិរេថី*; a.w. *antethey* *អន្តេថ្បី*; modern spelling *ântĕrathey* *អន្យតិរ្ថិយ*). Adherent of another sect; non-Buddhist; heretic. From Pa *aññа-titthiya*. See also *tĕrathey*.

antethey (Kh *អន្តេថ្បី*). See *antĕrĕathey*.

arahant (Pa). Enlightened one; a "perfected person" having attained nibbāna.

au (Kh *អូ*). Stream, creek.

ba (Kh *បា*). From Vn *bà* that means Mrs.

baht (Th บาท). Ancient and modern unit of Thai currency, also means a unit of gold weight that equals to 15 grams; a line of verse.

baibok (Th ใบบอก). Dispatch, administrative report.

balăt (Kh *បាឡាត់*; Th *palat* ปลัด). Deputy.

ban (Th บ้าน). A group of houses, village, used as a place name; home, house, habitation.

bândăm (Kh *បណ្តាំ*). message, recommodation, advice, admonition.

bânhchhaot (Kh *បញ្ឆោត*). To cheat, to dupe, to abuse (someone's) trust or confidence, to delude.

bântit (Kh *បណ្ឌិត*, a.w. *បន្ទិត*). A title for former monk that was implied to be learned man.

bao (Th บ่าว). Servant.

bap (Kh *បាប*; Th *bap* บาป). Bad kamma, bad deed, wrong doing; Pa *pāpa*.

barăng (Kh *បារាំង*, also *barăngsaes បារាំងសែស*). French; France. See also *farang*.

barăngsaes (Kh *បារាំងសែស*; Th *farangset* ฝรั่งเศส). See *barăng*.

bat (Kh *បាទ*; Th *baht* บาท). Ancient unit of Cambodian currency. See *baht*.

bay sey (Kh *បាយសី*; Th *bai sri* บายศรี). An offering made from banana trunk and leaf as well as flowers in conical shape.

bhāvanā (Pa). Mental development; meditation.

bia wat (Th เบี้ยหวัด). An annual allowance distributed by the king to the members of the royal family and officials

bodhisatta (Pa). The Buddha-to-be; those who seek nibbāna.

bŏkkol mean bŏn (Kh *បុគ្គលមានបុណ្យ*). A person who has merit; *bŏkkol* is derived from Pa, S *puggala* means individual, person. See also *nĕak mean bŏn*.

bŏn (Kh *បុណ្យ*). Merit, good kamma, good deed; festival. From S *puṇya*.

bŏn ămnach (Kh *បុណ្យអំណាច*). Merit/power.

brachnha (Kh *ប្រាជ្ញ*). Intelligence, cleverness, wit, wisdom, knowledge. From S *prajña*.

bun (Th บุญ). From Pa *puñña*. See *bŏn* (Kh).

catupatisambhidā (Pa). The fourfold analytical knowledge that comprises the analysis of meaning of words, the analysis of causal relations, the analysis of philological derivations, and the insightful knowledge of that which is known by the above three process.

Caulamani (Kh *ចូឡាមណី*, a.w. *Cŏllamani ចុលឡាមនី*; Th จุฬามณี Chulamani; Pa Cūḷāmaṇi). A stūpa contains the Buddha's hair and diadem that is located in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

chadok (Th ชาดก). See *cheatâk*.

Cham (Kh *ចាម*). An indigenous ethnic group of Cambodia and Vietnam. They are the Malay people and the remnants of the ancient kingdom of Champa.

Cham-Chvea (Kh *ចាមជ្វា*). Ethnic Cham and Malay people of Cambodia; Muslim.

châmloey (Kh *ចម្ងើយ*, a.w. *chămlaoey ចំឡើយ*). Response, answer, reply.

chakravartin (S, Pa chakkavattin). A wheel-turning monarch, universal monarch.

chao (Th เจ้า). Prince, royalty, lord; god; you.

chao krom (Th เจ้ากรม). Chief of an administration unit. See also *krom*.

chao mueang (Th เจ้าเมือง). Governor.

chao ratchabut (Th เจ้าราชบุตร). A title of one of the four most senior ranks of nobility (*aya si* อาญาสี่, a.w. *atya si* อาชญาสี่), which consisted of *chao mueng*, *uppahat*, *ratchawong* and *ratchabut*) of an administration in Lao and northeastern Siam before the Siamese Administrative Reform in 1901; *ratchabut* was often a son of *chao mueng*; *chao ratchabut* was used to call the *ratchabut* of a tributary state.

chaomuen (Th เจ้าหมื่น, a.w. *chamuen* จมื่น). A title of the high official in the Royal Page Department of Siam.

chaophraya (Th เจ้าพระยา). A title of the highest rank of government official of Siam.
chautéa (Ch?). A chief of unit in charge of supervision of foreigners.
chav (Kh *ចៅ*). An affectionate title for a young man who has never been a monk; chief, boss, head.
chav khŭn (Kh *ចៅឃុន*). A personal pronoun used for both the second and third person, referring to an Oknha, or to an Abbot of monastery; from Th *chao khun* เจ้าคุณ.
Chavpĕanhea (Kh *ចៅពញា*). A title for low officials, especially Mékhŭm (*មេឃុំ*) or head of *khŭm*.
chavvay (Kh *ចៅហ្វាយ*). Chief, master.
chavvay srŏk (Kh *ចៅហ្វាយស្រុក*). Governor.
chbăp (Kh *ច្បាប់*). Custom, mores, law, treatise, code of formulas.
cheang (Kh *ជាង*). Skilled craftsman, artisan, smith.
cheatâk (Kh *ជាតក*; Th *chadok* ชาดก). Story concerning the past lives of the Buddha. From Pa Jātaka.
chĕn (Kh *ចិន*). Chinese.
Chés (Kh *ជេស្ឋ*). The senventh lunar month, corresponding to May-June.
chetey (Kh *ចេតី*). See *chetĕy*.
chetĕy (Kh *ចេតិយ*, a.w. *ចេតី chetey*). Stūpa. From Pa *cetiya*.
chhaya (Kh *ឆាយា*). A record of the monastic name given to a *bhikkhu* at ordination, along with the date and time of his ordination ceremony.
Chin phrai (Th จีนไพร่). Chinese who had to perform duty to the king and other masters the same as the natives.
Chin phuk pi (Th จีนผูกปี้). Chinese who wore wrist-tag as a sign of exemption from any obligations.
chlat (Kh *ឆ្លាត*; Th chalat ฉลาด). Brilliant, intelligence.
chŏen chhay (Kh *ជាន់ឆាយ*). Traditional unit of time equals to a shadow of one foot.
chotmaihet (Th จดหมายเหตุ). Record, chronicle, correspondence.
chŏy (Kh *ចុយ*). Fuck.
chûmtŭp (Kh *ជំទប់*). Assistant to a chief of *srŏk* or *khŭm*.
chunniyabot (Th จุณณียบท). A kind of easy prose, and in translating the word(s) as "prose." From Pa *cuṇṇīyapāda*.
Chvea (Kh *ជ្វា*). Java, Javanese, Malay. See also *Cham-Chvea*.

dâmriet (Kh *ដំរៀត*). Capitation tax on foreigner.
dāna (Pa). Gift, offering, generosity.
daṇḍa (Pa, S). Punishment, beating; a stick, a staff, a mace.
derathey (Kh *ដេរថី*). See *tĕrathey*.
don (L ดอน). Isle, island.

farang (Th ฝรั่ง). European, westerner.

hemapean (Kh ហេមពាន្ត). Mythical forest that surrounds the base of Mount Memēru; From Pa *himavanta*.

hluong (Kh) ហ្លួង, a.w. *luong* លួង). See *luang*.

Ho (Th ฮ่อ; a.w. *haw*). Yunnanese who came to Siam overland; Chinese who came to Lao overland; Anti-Qing rebels and quasi-military bandit groups from southern China that raided widely in northern Vietnam and northern and central Lao from 1865-1890.

Hua mueang khamen padong (Th หัวเมืองเขมรป่าดง). "Wild Khmer provinces," the southern frontier provinces of the northeastern Siam.

i (Th อี). Contemptuous prefix for a woman; word designating a female animal.

iddhi (Pa). Power, magical power.

Indrā (S; Pa Sakka, Kosiya). The king of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. See also Tāvatiṃsa.

interrogatoire (Fr). Interrogation, questioning.

Jambūdīpa (Pa; S Jambūdvīpa). One of the four great continents, located at the South of Mount Mēru, which is the center of Cakkavāla (a whole world-system).

jātaka (Pa). Tales of previous lives of the Buddha.

Kaew (Th แกว). Thai word for Vietnamese.

kâl (Kh កល). Trick, ruse, subterfuge, stratagem, maneuver.

Kāḷasutta (Pa). One of the eight large hells, according to Buddhist cosmology.

Kalsaut (Kh កាលសូត). Khmer word for Pa Kāḷasutta large hell.

kamma (Pa; S karma). Action, doing, deed.

kâmmĕa (Kh កម្ម). Action, doing, deed; wrong-doing, badness, wickedness. From P *kamma*.

kâmnap (Kh កំណាព្យ). Poem.

Kamphucha (Th กัมพูชา). Thai word for Kh *kâmpŭchea* កម្ពុជ.

kâmpóng (Kh កំពង់). Port, landing; river town. Common element in Cambodian place names; from Malay *kampong*.

kâng câk (Kh កង់ចក្រ). Sharp-edged spinning wheel, a symbol of chakravartin (S). Kh *câk* ចក្រ. derived from S *chakra*. See also chakravartin.

Kariang (Th กะเหรี่ยง; English *Karen*). Ethic groups primarily reside in southern and southeastern Myanmar, and western Thailand.

kâthĕn (Kh កឋិន; L *kathin* ກะຖิน; Th *kathin* กฐิน). Robes offerings to the Buddhist monk during the *kâthĕn* period, which is one lunar month time period after the end of the Buddhist Lent, usually in October and November.

kaun kăt chĕn (Kh កូនកាត់ចិន). Children of China-born Chinese fathers and Khmer mothers.

kboun (Kh ក្បួន). Treaty, code of formulas.

kdo (Kh ក្តី). Cock, penis.

Kha (Th ข่า; L *Kha* ຂ້ า). A generic term of Mon-Khmer and Malayo Polynesian speaking ethnic groups that live all over Mainland Southeast Asia; means slave or savage in Thai and Lao languages; corresponding to *Pnong* in Khmer.

kha luang (Th ข้าหลวง). Resident political representative of a King.

kha phra (Th ข้าพระ). A kind of *phrai luang* that was donated to do corvée work for the Saṅgha.
khamen (Th เขมร). Khmer, Cambodian.
khamen pa dong (Th เขมรป่าดง). "The jungle Khmer," "the wild Khmer"; using to call ethnic Khmer lived in the southern province of northeastern Siam or *Hua mueang khamen padong*.
khamhaikan (Th คำให้การ). Interrogation, testimony, statement.
khat (Th คัด). Copy, transcribe.
kheat (Kh *ខេត្ត*). Province; region, territory.
khmav (Kh *ខ្មៅ*). Black; to be black, dark (colored).
khnhŏm (Kh *ខ្ញុំ*). I, me, my; servant, slave.
khnhŏm prĕah srey rottănătrăy (Kh *ខ្ញុំព្រះស្រីរតនត្រ័យ*). "Servant of the Three Jewels."
khnhŏm vihear (Kh *ខ្ញុំវិហារ*). "Servant of a monastery."
khoei su (Th เขยสู่). A husband who reside within the wife's domicile.
khon mi bun (Th คนมีบุญ; Kh *អ្នកមានបុណ្យ nĕak mean bŏn*). A person who has merit.
khŭm (Kh *ឃុំ*). Commune. An administrative unit created in 1908.
khun (Th ขุน; Kh *khŭn ឃុន*). Ruler, leader; a royal service title below *luang*.
khun dan (Th ขุนด่าน). A chief of a checkpoint.
khunnang (Th ขุนนาง). Nobility, nobleman in government service, an official.
kŏhâk (Kh *កុហក*). To lie; lie.
kŏmlăng (Kh *កុំឡាំង*; modern spelling *kâmlăng កម្លាំង*; a.w. *កំឡាំង*). Power, strength, force.
kŏmlaoh (Kh *កុំខ្លោះ*, a.w. *កុំមខ្លោះ*; modern spelling *kâmlŏh កំលោះ*; a.w. *កម្ងោះ*, *កំខ្លោះ*). Adult, bachelor.
kŏmnăn (Kh *កុំណាន់*; modern spelling *kâmnăn កំណាន់*; Th *kamnan* กำนัน). Person in charge, master.
kompi (Kh *គម្ពីរ*). Manuscript, treatise; scripture(s), sacred book; code of law, legal principles.
kong (Th กอง). A unit of manpower control for *suai* payment and corvée.
krâm (Kh *ក្រម*). Law; royal decree; code of law, legal text.
krapong (Th กระพง, a.w. *krapong* กระภง). Th for Kh *kâmpóng*.
kraom la'ong thŭli prĕahbat (Kh *ក្រោមល្អងធុលីព្រះបាទ*). Personal pronoun use for a king as the second person, literally "under the dust which is beneath the soles of your royal feet."
krom (Th กรม). Department, an administrative unit.
Krong Peali (Kh *ក្រុងពាលី*; a.w. *Krong Pli ក្រុងពលី*). The King *Peali*, the master of the territory or the master of land and water (*mchăh tĕuk mchăh dey ម្ចាស់ទឹកម្ចាស់ដី*)."
krou (Kh *គ្រូ*). Teacher; healer, folk doctor, local medicine-man; mediating spirit; guardian spirit; sorcerer.
Kuay (Th Kuai กวย). See Kuoy.
kŭn (Kh *គុណ*). Kindness, benevolence, virtue.
Kui (Th กูย; a.w. Kuay, Kuai กวย). Also known in Thai document as *khamen pa dong*. See Kuoy.
Kuoy (Kh *កួយ*). An indigenous ethnic group of mainland Southeast Asia. The native lands of the Kuoy range from the southern frontier provinces of northeastern Siam east to the banks of the Mekong River in southern Laos and south to north central Cambodia.

kvăn (Kh ខ្វាន់; Th *khwan* ขวัญ). Soul; consciousness; from Th *khwan* ขวัญ, which virtually identical with Kh *prolĕung*.

lek (Th เลก; Kh *lĕk* ឡេក). An able-bodied man. It is equivalent to Th *phrai* and Kh *prei*.

lĕk (Kh *lĕk* ឡេក). See *lek*.

lek khong mueang (Th เลกคงเมือง). See *lek samrap mueang*.

lek samrap mueang (Th เลกสำหรับเมือง). An able-bodied man assigned to work for a provincial or township administration.

lĕk prei luong (Kh ឡេកព្រៃលួង). See *prei luong*.

léng (Kh លេង). To play; to do something for fun or pleasure; to act in a play; to joke, flirt; to show off; to deceive; to act rashly.

lŏk (Kh លោក) A word used in addressing one who is respected; sir, mister (commonly used before a title or given name).

lŏk thŭdŏng (Kh លោកធុតង្គ; Th *phra thudong* พระธุดงค์). Ascetic wandering monk.

luang (Th หลวง; Kh *hluong* ហ្លួង, a.w. *luong* លួង). King; royal; great; a royal service title below *phra*.

lŭk thaong (Kh ឡុកថោង). It probably is a Techew Chinese word that means, "bitch, shake pussy, hit a pussy, smack a pussy." It is equivalent to Th *dok thong* ดอกทอง.

Maha Uparat (Th มหาอุปราช). A highest royal rank in Siamese hierarchy; viceroy. See also *Ŏbarach*.

Maha Vessandon Chadok (Th มหาเวสสันดรชาดก; Kh *Vĕssântăr Cheatâk* វេស្សន្តរជាតក). Vessantara Jātaka, or *Maha Chat* มหาชาติ, "the Great Birth." It was the story of Prince Vessantara, who attained the perfection of dāna (generosity) by giving away his fortune, his children, and his wife. It was the last life of the Buddha before he became Prince Siddhattha.

Mahachat (Th มหาชาติ). "The Great Birth," the last story of the Buddha's past lives. See also *Maha Vessandon Chadok*.

Mahatthai (Th มหาดไทย). A governmental department before the administrative reform of Siam in 1894 that was responsible for the provincial administration in northern, northeastern, and eastern provinces and tributary states. Its chief is one of the two Prime Ministers (*Akkramahasenabodi* อัครมหาเสนาบดี).

Maitreya (S). See Metteyya.

mé (Kh ម៉ែ). Mother; term of address for a maid, or any girl, which is equivalent to the masculine *a*; chief, leader, head, master; owner; principle, rule, guideline; leading, main, biggest, most important.

Mĕaha Ŏbarach (Kh មហាឧបរាជ). See *Ŏbarach*.

meakh (Kh មាឃ). The third lunar month, corresponding to January-February.

meakhĕah thŭm (Kh មាឃធំ). See *meakh*.

mékhŭm (Kh មេឃុំ). A chief of commune. See also *khŭm* and *mésrŏk*.

Mēru (Pa). A mountain, forming center of the World.

mésrŏk (Kh មេស្រុក). A chief of *srŏk* that after the creating of *khŭm* in 1908 became *mékhŭm*.

Metteyya (Pa; S Maitreya). The future Buddha. The fifth Buddha of the present eon.

métis (Fr, male). Person of mixed descents.

mĭchchatĕdthĕ (Kh *មិច្ឆាទិដ្ឋិ*; Th *mitchathitti* มิจฉาทิฐิ). Wrong view; false view, and also use in a meaning as error or false doctrine; heresy. From Pa *miccha āditthi*.

moeun (Kh *ម៉ឺន*, a.w. *ហ្មឺន hmoeun*; Th *muen* หมื่น). A lower royal service title below *khŭn* (*ឃុន*; Th *khun* ขุน); son of a high official.

mon (Kh *មន្ត*, a.w. *មន្ត្រ*). Incantation, magic spell or formula.

mueang (Th เมือง). Town, city, province, country.

munnai (Th มูลนาย). Master.

mŭsa (Kh *មុសា*). A common usage for *mŭsaveat*.

mŭsaveat (Kh *មុសាវាទ*). Khmer vernacular Pa *musāvādā*, which means "lying, deceiving by words, suppressing the truth by words."

na (Th นา). Paddy field.

nai (Th นาย; Kh *neay នាយ*). Polite title for a man; master, chief, head, leader, commander.

nai kong (Th นายกอง). Chief of an indefinite unit.

nak ong (Th นักองค์). Thai words for Kh *neak âng*.

nam mon (Th น้ำมนต์; Kh *tĕuk mon ទឹកមន្ត*). Sacred water.

nangsue (Th หนังสือ). Book, letter.

neak (Kh *នាគ*; Th *nak* นาค; L *nak* ນາກ). Title of the person who about to be ordained as a Buddhist monk; from Pa *nagga*.

neak âng (Kh *អ្នកអង្គ*). A Khmer royal title.

nĕak bŏn (Kh *អ្នកបុណ្យ*). Meritorious man.

nĕak brach (Kh *អ្នកប្រាជ្ញ*). Wise man, scholar, sage, man of learning.

nĕak mean bŏn (Kh *អ្នកមានបុណ្យ*; Th *khon mi bun* คนมีบุญ). A person who has merit.

nĕak mean bŏn âmnach (Kh *អ្នកមានបុណ្យអំណាច*). Person who has merit/power.

nĕak sĕl (Kh *អ្នកសិល*; a.w. *nĕak seyl អ្នកសីល*, *nĕak sĕl អ្នកសិល្ប*). Holy man.

nĕak srae châmka (Kh *អ្នកស្រែចម្ការ*). Rice and plant cultivator.

nĕak ta (Kh *អ្នកតា*). Spirit of the place, guardian spirit.

neang (Kh *នាង*). Miss, young lady, girl.

neay (Kh *នាយ*). See *nai*.

nén (Kh *នេន*). Buddhist novice.

nibbāna (Pa; S nirvāṇa). "Extinction"; "freedom from desire." The highest and ultimate goal of all Buddhist aspirations, i.e. absolute extinction of that life-affirming will manifested as greed, hate and delusion, and convulsively clinging to existence; and therewith also the ultimate and absolute deliverance from all future rebirth, old age, disease and death, from all suffering and misery.

nĭch sĕl (Kh *និចសិល*). "Precepts that should be observed regularly;" five basic Buddhist precepts.

Nimmānaratī (Pa). The fifth of the six heavens of sensual desire.

Nĭmannordey (Kh *និម្មានរតី*). Khmer word for Pa Nimmānaratī.

Nimanordey (Kh នីមានរតី). See *Nĭmannordey*.

norŭak (Kh នរក់). Hell.

núi (Vn). Mountain, hill; toponym.

Ŏbarach (Kh ឧបរាជ). Second highest royal rank in Cambodian hierarchy, later the highest royal rank of the nineteenth century Cambodia. See also *Ŏphayŏrach*.

oknha (Kh ឧកញ៉ា; Th *okya* ออกญา). Title of high official traditionally bestowed by the king. See also *phraya*.

Ŏphayŏrach (Kh ឧកញាវរាជ). A highest royal rank in Cambodian hierarchy. This title was given to several princes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the nineteenth century, after the death of the *Ŏphayŏrach* in 1826, this title was no longer given to any princes made *Ŏbarach* replaced the *Ŏphayŏrach* as the highest royal rank.

ong (Th องค์; Kh *ŏng* អុង). A honorific title for Vietnamese royals, nobility, and Buddhist monk; from Vn *ông*.

ong (Th องค์). See Kh *âng*.

palat (Th ปลัด). See *balăt*.

pañcasīla (Pa). Five basic Buddhist precepts.

Pâranimĭt (Kh បរនិមិត្ត). See *Pâranimmĭtvĕasavottĕ*.

Paranimmita Vasavattī (Pa). The highest stage of the six heavens of sensual desire.

Pâranimmĭtvĕasavottĕ (Kh បរនិម្មិតវសវត្តី). Khmer word for Pa Paranimmita Vasavattī.

pha pum (Th ผ้าปูม, also called *sompak pum* สมปักปูม). A long, rectangular tie-dyed silk cloth woven in weft-patterned demand as *suai* from the Siamese court. The king usually bestowed it to high rank officials to wear as a kind of insignia.

Phâlkŭn (Kh ផល្គុន). The fourth lunar month, corresponding to February-March.

phansa (Th พรรษา). Rain, rainy season; year; three month during the period of Buddhist Lent. From S *varṣa*.

phasi (Th ภาษี). Tax, duty.

phkĕak (Kh ផ្តាក់). A king of long-handled knife, somewhat resembling a billhook. Formerly used as a military weapon but currently used for chopping or cutting plants.

phi (Th ผี). Spirit, bad spirit; ghost, devil, demon.

phisakh (Kh ពិសាខ). The sixth lunar month, corresponding to April-May.

phnŭm (Kh ភ្នំ). Mountain, hill; toponym.

Photrĕabât (Kh ភទ្របទ). The tenth lunar month, corresponding to August-September.

phou chhouy (Kh ភូឈួយ). A deputy. From Th *phu chuay* ผู้ช่วย

phoum (Kh ភូមិ). Village, settlement, country.

phra (Th พระ). See *prĕah*.

Phra Hariratdanai Traikeofa (Th พระหริราชดนัยไตรแก้วฟ้า; a.w. *Phra Hariratdanai Kraikeofa* พระหริราชดนัยไกรแก้วฟ้า). See *Prĕah Keavfea*.

Phra Klang (Th พระคลัง, also called *krom tha* กรมท่า). A governmental department before the administrative reform of Siam in 1892 that is responsible for financial and foreign affair, and also provincial administrative in the seaboard provinces near Bangkok.

Phra Malai (Th พระมาลัย; Kh *Prĕah Mealĕy* ព្រះមាលัយ). Māleyya, theBuddhist monk of the Theravāda tradition said to have attained supernatural powers through his accumulated merit and meditation who visited hells and heavens.

phra thudong (Th พระธุดงค์). See *lŏk thŭdŏng*.

phrai (Th ไพร่; Kh *prei* ប្រៃ). Subjects of a king, commoner, peasant; an able–bodied man who was registered to a specific master.

phrai khong mueang (Th ไพร่คงเมือง). See *lek samrap mueang*.

phrai luang (Th ไพร่หลวง). *Phrai* belonged to the king.

phrai som (Th ไพร่สม). *Phrai* belonged to any other master except the king.

phraya (Th) พระยา, a.w. *phya* พญา). A title of high official of Siam traditionally bestowed by the king.

Phraya In (Th พระยาอินทร์). Indrā.

phu mi bun (Th ผู้มีบุญ). A person who has merit.

phu wiset (Th ผู้วิเศษ). A holy man.

phut thamnai (Th พุทธทำนาย). See *put tŭmneay*.

phya (Th พญา). See *phraya*.

pi (Th ปี้). Wrist–tag.

pia (Th เพี้ย; L *pia* เพย). An ancient title of local noble in northeastern Thailand and Laos.

piastre (Fr; Italian *piastra*, a leaf of metal). A coin; unit of currency used in French colonies.

plĭ (Kh ពលី). Sacrifice, offerings, tribute, taxes.

pnhea (Kh ពញា). A former title of high-ranking royal officials, largely replaced by *oknha*.

Pnong (Kh ព្នង). An indigenous ethnic group of Cambodia living in eastern and northeastern Cambodia; savage, barbarian; generic term

Pŏa (Kh ព័រ). An indigenous ethnic group of Cambodia living in western Cambodia.

pol prĕah (Kh ពលព្រះ). It is short for *pol prĕah srey*.

pol prĕah srey (Kh ពលព្រះស្រី). "Hereditary servant of the Three Jewels," a kind of monastic slave.

pongsavadan (Th พงศาวดาร). Chronicle.

pongsavĕadar (Kh ពង្សាវដារ). Chronicle, history.

prăk pŭan thlai reachka khluon (Kh ប្រាក់ពន្ធថ្លៃពជការខ្លួន, also called *thlai reachka* ថ្លៃពជការ). Head tax, poll tax, capitation.

prasat (Kh ប្រាសាទ). A multi-tiered roof building; ancient temple, monument, ruins; sanctuary. (From S *prāsāda*, Pa *pāsāda*).

prĕah (Kh ព្រះ; Th *phra* พระ). Honorific used for monk, royalty; also for royal objects and holy scriptures; a royal service title below *oknha* (Kh), *phraya* (Th).

prĕah bât (Kh ព្រះបត់). Buddhist painted scrolls.

Prĕah Ĕn (Kh ព្រះឥន្ទ). Indrā.

Prĕah Kaev (Kh ព្រះកែវ). Sacred crystal.

Prĕah Kŏ (Kh ព្រះគោ). Sacred bull.

prĕah sasana (Kh ព្រះសាសនា). See *sasana*.

Prĕah Keavfea (Kh ព្រះកែវហ្វា; Th *Phra Keofa* พระแก้วฟ้า). A title for a Cambodian prince.

Prĕah Mĕaha Sângkhăreach (Kh ព្រះមហាសង្ឃរាជ; Th พระมหาสังฆราช). "The king of monks," the head of the order of the Budhist monk, the Supreme Patriarch.

Prĕah Mealĕy (Kh ព្រះមាលัយ). See *Phra Malai*.

Prĕah Srei Sapet (Kh ព្រះស្រីសាពេជ្ញ, *សាពេជ្ញ* is a corrupted spelling of *សារពេជ្ញ*, a.w.*សរពេជ្ញ*). "The omniscience." One of the titles of the Buddha.

Prĕahbat Thommĭk (Kh ព្រះបាទធម្មិក). "The Dhammic king," righteous ruler.

Prĕahbat Thommĭkkăreach (Kh ព្រះបាទធម្មិករាជ). See *Prĕahbat Thommĭk*.

preay (Kh ព្រាយ). A kind of evil being.

prei (Kh) ព្រៃ; Th *phrai* ไพร่). Subjects of a king, commoner, peasant; an able-bodied man who was registered to a specific master; forest.

prei ngea (Kh ព្រៃង៉ារ). A registered able-bodied man belonged to any other master except the king. See also *phrai som*.

prei luong (Kh ព្រៃល្បួង). See *phrai luang* ไพร่หลวง.

prolĕung (Kh ព្រលឹង, a.w. *prĕah lĭng)* ព្រះលិង្គ). Soul, spirit; consciousness; feeling, sensation.

pŭl kŏmlaoh (Kh *ពុលកុំខ្លោះ*, a.w. *ពុលកុំមខ្លោះ*; modern spelling *pol kâmlŏh ពលកំលោះ*). A registered able-bodied man.

pŭt sasana (Kh ពុទ្ធសាសនា). Teaching of the Buddha. See also *sas prĕah pŭt* and *sasana*.

pŭt tŭmneay (Kh ពុទ្ធទុំនាយ; Th *phut tamnai* พุทธทำนาย). A prophecy of the Buddha.

Radae (Th ระแด). A Malayo Polynesian speaking ethnic *Kha* lives in southern Laos, also called *Kha Radae* ข่าระแด).

ratsadon (Th ราษฎร). From S *rashtra*. See *reas*.

reach plĭ (Kh រាជពលី). "Sacrifice to the king," performing the duty of a people such as paying taxes.

reach pongsavodar (Kh រាជពង្សាវតារ). Royal chronicle.

reas (Kh រាស្ត្រ; Th *ratsadon* ราษฎร). Ordinary people; subjects; population. From S *rashtra*.

reo (Th เร่ว). Bastard cardamom.

Résident (Fr). The French chief administrator of a province.

reuang lbaeng (Kh រឿងល្បែង). Classic novel, entertainment literature.

reuang préng (Kh រឿងព្រេង). Folktale, legend.

riel (Kh រៀល). Monetary unit.

rŏng (Kh រោង). Building, shelter.

sâbbay (Kh *សប្បាយ*). To be happy, merry, pleasant, fun; healthy; happiness.

săk (Kh *សក្តិ*). Grade, rank; degree, status.

sakdina (Th ศักดินา). A system of the organization of Siamese hierarchical society; rank or grade measured in *na* นา (paddy field), which its unit of measurement is *rai* ไร่ (the equivalent of 1,600 square meters). See also *săk*, and *na*.

sala (Kh *សាលា*). Roofed shelter.

Sâmdech Chavfea Tŭalhăh (Kh *សម្តេចចៅហ្វាទឝ្លៈ*). The Prime Minister.

sâmpŏat (Kh *សំពត់*). Cloth, fabric, material; wrap–around skirt, sarong.

sâmrăp (Kh *សម្រាប់*). Set of mandarins. All mandarins traditionally divided into four *sâmrăp*-s, which is *sâmrăp ĕk* (*សម្រាប់ឯក*), "the first set," the set of mandarins belonged to *Prĕah Trâng Reach* (*ព្រះទ្រង់រាជ្យ*, the King), *sâmrăp tŏ* (*សម្រាប់ទោ*), "the second set," the set of mandarins belonged to *Ŏphayŏrach*; *sâmrăp trey* (*សម្រាប់ត្រី*), "the third set," the set of mandarins belonged to *Ŏbarach*; and *sâmrăp châtva* (*សម្រាប់ចត្វា*), "the fourth set," the set of mandarins belonged to *Prĕah Teav* (*ព្រះទាវ*, the King's mother).

Sâmrae (Kh *សំរែ*). An indigenous ethnic group of Cambodia living in Siem Reap province.

sâmray (Kh *សំរយ*, a.w. *សម្រាយ*). Translation (accompanied with explanation and clarification); commentary, explanation.

sart (Th สารท). The annual festival of merit-making at the end of the tenth lunar month; corresponding to Khmer *bŏn phchŭm bĕn* *បុណ្យផ្ចុំបិណ្ឌ*; from S *śarada*.

sas prĕah pŭt (Kh *សាសន៍ព្រះពុទ្ធ*). Teaching of the Buddha.

sasana (Kh *សាសនា*). Teaching, practice, doctrine (of the Buddha); from Pa *sāsanā*.

sastra (Kh *សាត្រា*). Text, manuscript; code of laws; arms.

sastra tĕs (Kh *សាត្រាទេសន៍*). Manuscript used for sermon. See also *tĕs*.

sâtrouv (Kh *សត្រូវ*). Enemy. From S *śatru*.

sdech (Kh *ស្តេច*). King.

sdech trănh (Kh *ស្តេចត្រាញ់*). Former high-ranking Cambodian administrative official in charge of a region.

se (L ᩈᩮ). River.

sedthey (Kh *សេដ្ឋី*). Wealthy man; title given by the king to those very wealthy people.

sĕl (Kh *សិល*; a.w. *seyl* *សីល*). Religious rule, precept; morality, moral conduct; virtue; good behavior. From Pa *sīla*.

sĕl (Kh *សិល្ប*). Skill, art, proficiency; mastery, ability; magic. From S *śilpa*.

seyl (Kh *សីល*). See *sĕl*.

seyma (Kh *សីមា*). Limit, boundary, border-line, frontier; sacred boundary maker. From Pa sīmā.

sīla (Pa). Religious rule, precept; morality, moral conduct; virtue; good behavior.

sĭngtao (Kh *សីង្ហតោ*; Standardized Kh *sĕnghtao* *សិង្ហតោ*; a.w. *tao* *តោ*). Siṅha, mythical lion.

sla truoy (Kh *ស្លាឆ្ងួយ*). Cone-shaped container made of banana leaves that hold areca nut and betel leaves.

smi (Th สมี). A term used to call Buddhist monk; a former Buddhist monk who has ben excommunicated as a result of committing the gravest transgression of the Buddhist rules.

snong (Kh ស្នង់). Title of official in the provincial administration.

somdet chaophraya (Th สมเด็จเจ้าพระยา). A title of the highest rank of government official of Siam in the Fourth and Fifth reigns of Bangkok.

sompak (Th สมปัก). Probably derived from Kh *sâmpŏat* សំពត់. See also *pha pum*.

spean (Kh ស្ពាន; Th *saphan* สะพาน, a.w. *taphan* ตะพาน). Bridge.

srŏk (Kh ស្រុក). Town, city; country.

srŏk khmae (Kh ស្រុកខ្មែរ). Khmer country.

stĕung (Kh ស្ទឹង). Small river, stream.

Stieng (Kh ស្ទៀង). An indigenous ethnic group of Cambodia and Vietnam. In Cambodia they live on the Vietnamese border in Tbaung Khmŭm and Mondolkiri provinces.

stūpa (Pa). A usually mound-like structure containing sacred relics associated with the Buddha or saintly persons.

suai (Th ส่วย). See *suoy*.

suai reo (Th ส่วยเร่ว). Tax-in-Bastard cardamom.

suai thong (Th ส่วยทอง). Tax-in-gold.

Suai (Th ส่วย). See *Kui*.

Sumēru (Kh សុមេរុ). See Mēru.

suo (Kh សួគ៌). Heaven, paradise.

suoy (Kh សួយ; Th *suai* ส่วย). A tax in kind.

supha akson (Th ศุภอักษร). Letter from a vassal King.

ta (Kh តា). Old man; grandfather; ancestor; respect term used to address old man.

tabâs (Kh តាបស). Hermit. From Pa *tāpasa*, S *tápasa*.

Tae Leo (Th แตเลว). An indigenous ethnic group.

Tâmpuon (Kh ទំពួន). An indigenous ethnic group living in the hilly northeastern province of Ratanakiri in northeast Cambodia.

tâmra (Kh តម្រា). Treatise, manual.

tápas (S; Pa *tapa*). Warmth, heat; religious austerity, bodily mortification, ascetic practice; mental devotion, self-control, practice of morality.

tathakot (Kh តថាគត). "One who has thus gone" or "one who has thus come," one of the titles of the Buddha; from Pa. *tathāgata*.

Tāvatiṃsa (Pa). The second of the six heavens of sensual desire that stands at the top of Mount Meru. Indrā or Sakka is the king of Tāvatimsa.

teavĕatŏeng (Kh តាវតឹង្ស). Khmer word for Pa Tāvatiṃsa.

tépĕata (Kh ទេពតា). See *tévĕata*.

tĕrathey (Kh) តិរ្ថិយ; a.w. *tĕrathey* តិរថី, derathey ដេរថី). Non-Buddhist, heretic. From S *tirthiya*, Pa *titthiya*.

tĕs (Kh ទេសន៏). Preaching, instruction; to preach. From Pa *dēsanā*.

sastra tĕs (Kh *សាត្រាទេសន៏*). Manuscript used for sermon. (The word *tĕs* is Khmer vernacular of Pāli *dēs(anā)*, "instruction, preaching").

tévĕata (Kh *ទេវតា*, a.w. *tépĕata ទេពតា*). God, divinity, angel, celestial being; from Pa S *devatā*.

thammikkarat (Th ธรรมิกราช). Righteous King, Just King.

thamnai (Th ทำนาย). See *tŭmneay*.

Theravāda (Pa). "School of the elders" of Buddhism –preserved in Ceylon/Sri Lanka, Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam/Thailand– based on the Pāli Canon.

they (Kh *ថី*). Teacher, master; secretary. From Vn *thầy*.

thlai reachka (Kh *ថ្លៃពជការ*). See *prăk pŭan thlai reachka khluon*.

thngai (Kh *ថ្ងៃ*). Day, daytime; sun.

thomměa (Kh *ធម្ម*). The law of the Buddha; the order of things; right, virtue; moral principles; nature; duty. From Pa. dhamma.

thorm (Kh *ធម៌*). From S. dharma. See *thomměa*.

thŭdŏng (Kh *ធុតង្គ*). The thirteen ascetic practices mentioned in the Buddha's discourses. From Pa dhutaṅga.

thŭm mean bŏn (Kh *ធំមានបុណ្យ*). "Big person who has merit."

Tipiṭaka (Pa, Kh *traibĕdâk ត្រៃបិដក*; S tripiṭaka). Pāli canon that form the doctrinal foundation of Theravāda.

tirailleurs (Fr). Colonial infantry in the French Colonial Army troops.

Tmĭl (Kh *ទមិឡ* ; a.w. Tmĭl *ទ្រឹល*). Tamils, an ethnic group from southern India and northern Sri Lanka; cruel, savage, ruthless.

Tong Su (Th ตองซู; a.w. Tongsoo; also called Kula). A tribe closely relate to Shans, known as long distance traders. Also used in 19th century Thai documents as a designation for Karen tribe living on the Thailand-Burma border.

tonlé (Kh *ទន្លេ*). River.

tonlé buon mŭkh (Kh *ទន្លេបួនមុខ*). "The Four Faces River," or "les Quatre Bras," the point where the Sap River and the Mekong River meet, and soon divide again into the Bassac River and the Mekong River, which flow to southern Vietnam to the South China Sea; it became the site of Phnŭm Pénh in the fifteenth century.

Ton Phu (Th ตนพู). Th word for V *Tuần phủ*, which means a provincial governor

Tŏsĕsta (Kh *តុសិតារ*). See *Tŏsĕt*.

Tŏsĕt (Kh *តុសិត*). Khmer word for Pa Tusitā.

trŏes (Kh *ទ្រឹស្ដ*). Theory, doctrine: reasoning.

Trut (Th ตรุษ). The end of the year that is the fifteenth day of the wanning moon of the Fourth lunar month; the festival of the end of the year; a festival. From S *truṭa*.

tŭmneay (Kh *ទុំនាយ*; Th *tamnai* ทำนาย). Prediction, prophecy.

tŭang prolĕung (Kh *ទង់ព្រលឹង*). Spirit flag; a white piece of cloth described as functioning as a passport for the deceased spirit.

Tusitā (Pa). The fourth of the six heavens of sensual desire that is an abode of the future Buddha-s before descending to the world to achieve enlightenment.

utbât (Kh ឧត្បាត). Abnormal; wicked; unfavorable condition. From S *utpāta*.

vât (Kh វត្ត; Th *wat* วัด). Theravāda Buddhist complex, temple, monastery.

Vĕssântără Cheatâk (Kh វេស្សន្តរជាតក). See Maha Vessandon Chadok.

vihāra (Pa). Abode; the main building of the temple complex.

vĭparĭt (Kh វិបរិត). Abnormal, reverse; from S *viparita*.

visak (Th วิสาข). See *phisakh*. From S viśākhā.

visakh (Kh វិសាខ). See *phisakh*. From S viśākhā.

vossa (Kh វស្សា). See *phansa*. From Pa *vassa*.

wang (Th วัง; Kh *Vĕang* វាំង). Royal palace.

wat (Th วัด). See *vât*.

Wessawan (Th เวสวัณ; a.w. Wessuwan เวสสุวรรณ). Vessavana or Kuvera, the guardian god of the north, the king of yakkha.

Yāmā (Pa). The third of the six heavens of sensual desire.

yak (Th ยักษ์). From S *yaksha*. See *yĕak*.

yĕak (Kh យក្ស, a.w. យក្ខ; Th *yak* ยักษ์). Giant, demon, orge; the followers of Vessavana or Kuvera. From Pa *yakkha*.

yeam (Kh យាម). Time; time period that is three to four hours long.

yeamea (Kh យាមា). Khmer word for Pa Yāmā.

yeay (Kh យាយ). Old woman; grandmother; respect term used to address old woman.

yuan (Th ญวน). See *yuon*.

yuon (Kh យួន; Th *yuan* ญวน). Vietnamese, Annamite.

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