

The Persistent Presence of Cambodian Spirits: Contemporary Knowledge Production in Cambodia¹

By Courtney Work

At once permanent and emergent, the spirits in Cambodia inhabit social spaces and ideational fields in ways that this chapter can only begin to explore. Spirits are alive in Cambodia's physical, social, and political landscapes, and their persistent presence denies the truth of their absence preached by the so-called modern world. Well-known spirits of legend remain, altered but not absent from the landscape, and the spirits of families and of the dead from so many wars continue to emerge with the passage of time. "Spirits... [are] always in the background", writes Solange Thierry in a review of Alain Forest's *Les Cultes des Genies Protecteurs au Cambodge* (1992). They appear, she suggests, "more or less specifically" in the literature as a "subjacent subject in all 'Khmerized' research" (Thierry 1999, 368). The spirits of Cambodia are indeed always 'subjacent,' but often obscured by both the deliberate acts of imperial appropriation and by the focused gaze of some researchers. But in Cambodia, eminent scholars contend that "the actual human world cannot be explained without the proper understanding of the other-than-human world in all manifestations (thought, comportment, vocabulary, and creative expression)" (Pou and Ang 1987-90, 61).

I struggled to present this active multiplicity of spirit and the permeable boundaries it engenders and crosses. A chronological approach to the text-based production of knowledge 'about' Cambodia's spirits illuminates the iterative presence and absence of spirit power in the

¹ Forthcoming in "New Routledge Handbook of Cambodia", ed. Simon Springer and Katherine Brickell

chronicles of the colonizer. Early French Indianologists pointed to the deviance of spirits from Buddhist texts and erased them from their studies of Cambodian religion and statecraft, attempting to purify lived practice to more closely match the texts they encountered (Cœdès 1957). Other colonial functionaries who found their absence misleading put the spirits back in (Leclère, 1899; Aymonier 1900, 1920; Mus 1933). Later Cambodian monks and scholars attempted to hold the enlightened line of foreclosure and deviance—denying spirit presence in the Buddhist world, but also reimagining religion and statecraft to reclaim a distinctly Cambodian view of the world (Hansen 2007). In the years after independence, some were swimming against the purifying tide of religion and state (Porée-Maspero 1962) and later still, French ethnography began thinking in and through the vibrant Cambodian social and religious landscapes (Bizot 1994; Condominas 1977). This caused a flood of later spirited engagements with religion, statecraft, and social life (Forest 2012; Baccot 1968) that continues to inform contemporary works (Davis 2008; Thompson 2008; Edwards 2008a; Guillou 2012). This linear trajectory of knowledge production is important to understand as it highlights the scholarly interplay between silencing and giving voice to the power embedded in the ancestors and the stones of the land.

This view privileges linear knowledge, however, and attends only to colonial and post-colonial productions. France was not the first imperial force to silence and bind the power and persistent presence of Cambodian spirits. Contemporary scholarship also acknowledges the work of earlier states whose attempts to civilize spirit power produced few texts, but remain visible in rituals binding the vital forces of people, land, and rice. Spirits with Indic, Cham, Chinese, and Buddhist characteristics continue to communicate through human mediums. In temples, shrines, mosques, and tombs spirit energies continue to flow under the civilizing veneers of empires.

Still, however, this is insufficient, missing as it does the spirits of people who lived among the kings and commoners: doctors, priests, soldiers, artists, citizens, and bureaucrats, some long and others recently dead who remain part of the social landscape in Cambodia. Their knowledge does not die and they still teach students the ways of healing, movement, and sound through dreams and possessions that blur the boundaries between the animate and inanimate, between the corporeal and non-corporeal, and between the living and the dead. Another way to organize this chapter would be to discuss the different kinds of spirits and the ways their human interlocutors experience them. The taxonomic inconsistencies and traditional variants of this lens, however, slip too quickly into complexity for a brief introduction.

Much recent scholarship burshes against the grain of empire in ways that expose the layers of obfuscation to examine the power that underlies religious ritual and practice—as if there were power there (Ang 1995; Forest 1991; Thompson 2004a; Davis 2008b). As if the imposing silences of so-called modernity and the temples of so-called antiquity may be, perhaps, obscuring or attending to *something*. It is around this something that I organize the following paper, not around the thing itself—always unknowable—but, rather around the boundaries created and crossed, covered over, and called into being by humans enacting history within it. Boundaries between the living and the dead are created through Buddhist ritual and crossed by the spirits and their living families. Boundaries between the mineral energy of the soil and the bio energy of plants, animals, and people are in constant states of closure and opening, of blurring and resolving. There is also an obscured boundary between the power of the spirit and the power of the king over which claims to territory and ownership are both mimicked and legitimized.

I will attend to these boundaries, but must omit a discussion of the backward imposition of a state and a territory upon spirits who share common features with land spirits across Southeast Asia (and other parts of the world). This lack limits the full implications of the relationship between spirits and land and I urge my reader to keep this larger territorial view in mind through the following discussion. This chapter will present the spirits through a distinctly contemporary lens focused only on Cambodia, and in so doing tell a particular story about absence, presence, transformation, and the production of knowledge. I begin with the terms that describe and contain spirit power in Cambodian social life, attending to the healed-over scars of imperial appropriation. From rupture, my discussion turns to renewal and the ways that spirits embed what it means to be Cambodian in the twenty-first century. Finally, I explore the porous boundaries between life and death through which new relations with spirits ignite.

Soulstuff and Power: The boundaries of souls and states

Bralyng, viññāṇ, pāramī, and the Owner of the Water and the Land

In Cambodia, spirits have many names and emanate from multiple sources, what I offer here is only the broadest sketch of this complex system, highlighting those entities most embroiled in the boundary work of history. The first of which is owner of the water and the land, *mcâs dyk mcâs ĩ*, (pronounced, maja tuk maja day) this spirit empowers all life and is most recognizably manifest as land spirits and territorial protectors commonly called *`anak tã* (pronounced, neak ta). The second source is called *bralyng* (pronounced, pralung), a plural noun that refers to the 19 independent entities that animate humans and certain objects, plants, and animals. The spirit-

owner of the land and bralyng are known and named variously across Monsoon Asia. The *viññāṇ*, by contrast, is a singular Buddhist entity found only in humans. It refers to consciousness and is one of the five animating strands of energy that connect the human to life, death, and rebirth in Buddhist cosmology (Thompson 2004a). *Pāramī* is another Buddhist term. In common Khmer usage it refers both to a traveling, ever-present, energetic flow that is attached to and moves between powerful places, and also to benevolent spirits connected to Buddhism and to the land (Bertrand 2001). These benevolent spirits are quite often `anak tā, the most powerful and ubiquitous manifestation of the spirit-owner of the land.

Linguistically multiple, mcâs dyk mcâs tī is also `anak tā, honored grandparent, and pāramī, perfected Buddha power. It influences the forces of nature and is implicated in good health, and the proliferations of plants and animals. Like the state, it is territorial, and within a territory it is the arbiter of justice and responsible for the protection and reproduction of social life. Healing and harming according to what seems to be obscure criteria, this is the spirit upon which all economies rest and from which all territories are wrested: proximity is both necessary and dangerous. Today, subsistence farmers cutting new fields from the forest erect a hut, make offerings, and ask permission to farm from the spirit-owner of the land (Work 2014; Arensen 2012). According to stone inscriptions, the earliest Khmer kings purchased land from the `anak tā before which all legal and land related actions took place (Ang 1990, 139-43; Cœdès 1937, 195-211). With this act of territorial purchase, the king takes over attributes of the spirit and becomes the arbiter of justice, the owner of the land, the healer, and the basis from which all economies come (Forest 1991). Like the spirit, the king's touch becomes the healing and protective measure against the very dangers engendered through contact with the king (Thompson 2004c:92).

The gathering of the spirit-owner of the land in the *phjit*, the navel, of the village where the king makes his purchase is accomplished using the ritual elements of a ceremony to call the souls, *hau bralyng* (Thompson 2004a; Ang 2004). The *bralyng* marks another important boundary drawn by the king and constantly crossed by these adventurous entities, "...apt at any moment and in any number to voluntarily or involuntarily abandon the body" (Thompson 2004a, 1). *Bralyng* is the spirit between the village and the forest, and ritual care binds this restless force "against its natural proclivities toward excursion and adventure" (Davis 2012b, 72, 74). Illness or misfortune signals *bralyng* departure, and people call these wild souls away from the forests and foreign lands to return to the village. *Bralyng* must be bound inside the bodies of children as they pass through life stages into adulthood; they must be captured to remain in the main-beam of the house and in the mature grain of the rice. People call the "fecund power of the soil" and bind it using stakes driven deep into the ground at the navel of the village, where subsequent offerings to the protecting spirit, *`anak tā*, are made (Ang 2004, 151).

The *bralyng* has a distinctive linguistic mark in the Khmer language that congeals with Indic terminology. Ang connects the name to Shiva's *linga*, suggesting that this vital force was commandeered by the king who "encourages rice agriculture and eats the fruits of the kingdom" (Ang 2004, 1986, 25). Rituals to call the *bralyng* use technologies of daily life, like cotton string and cooking pots that travel along with the kings and the priests, to scoop, trap, and bind these adventurous spirits to village life, where they may or may not remain domesticated. "Integrity",

Thompson suggests, is “re-established in the wake of corruption” (Thompson 2004a, 3; see also, Davis 2012b, 60).²

Village death also embroils the *bralýng* and Buddhist funeral rites at once separate *bralýng* and *viññāṇ*, and bind them together. The *bralýng* animate all living things and remain among them, but their power is captured by the monk through the words and objects of the ritual. *Viññāṇ* is unlike the western concept of soul as a counterpart to material bodies and rather articulates mind and matter (Rhys Davids 1921, 76 cited in Thompson 2004a, 1). But, like the western soul it departs the material world at death; it does not return to the vital energies of the soil. Associated with karma, it travels away to the multiple Buddhist realms of deities and demons dragging an already bound human consciousness along with it (Davis 2012b, 66). Uncontained and bound to the earthly power of *bralýng*, however, it does return and Buddhicized spirit teachers in the arts of healing and music are often called *Viññāṇ*.

Buddhism captures and transforms the ‘fecund power of the soil’ manifest in another Khmer term for spirit-power, *pāramī*. Common usage of the term implies power. It is experienced in and emanates from certain places in the landscape, *kanlaeng mǎn pāramī*, where the *`anak tā* is merged with the earth (Guillou 2012, 8-9). Both the circulating power and the earth-spirit are called *pāramī*. *Pāramī* also denotes the power of spirit mediums and is the noun attached to the benevolent Buddhist spirits (often *`anak tā*) that possess them (Bertrand 2005, 2004). The first definition of the term *pāramī*, however, is neither power nor energy, but perfection: specifically, the ten perfections cultivated by the Buddha and through which, over

² The integrity of the feminine divine is also being re-established in the wake of colonial obfuscation, for excellent discussions of this see, Thompson 2008; James 2011; Jacobsen 2008; Guthrie 2007.

many lifetimes, he attained nirvana. François Bizot notes the term's transformation as it came to describe the power emanating from statues of the Buddha, power that came directly from the guardian spirit of the village (Bizot 1994, 104) over which Buddhist statues are often placed (Ang 1990). This term, *pāramī*, is the most recent in a long stream of flexible linguistic terms I have laid out here, which “mark a place in the flow of both intimate and imperial power” (Work 2014, 21).

Spirits and Community: Rupture and renewal

Rupture

Peg Levine suggests that of all the hardships Cambodian people bore during the Khmer Rouge (KR) years, ritualicide was the most acute (LeVine 2010). The ultra-modern regime of Democratic Kampuchea dismantled market rituals of the modern state, religious rituals of the former kings, and even attempted to exorcise spirits of land and lineage from people's lives. With the first two agendas they were quite successful, but like the imperial projects before them they could not fully bind the power of spirits. Henri Locard recorded that the KR claimed to be “the master of the water and of the earth” (Locard 1996, 34 cited in Harris 2013, 96), taking the name of the spirit like the kings before them. Nonetheless, *`anak tā* in powerful places continued to be propitiated and stories abound of thwarted KR attempts to destroy potent trees and *`anak tā* abodes (Harris 2013, 96, 194; O’Lemmon 2014, 48). In his work with spirit mediums, Didier Bertrand learned that during the years when possession ceremonies were banned, mediums “maintained close relations with their *pāramī* [spirits] who, they claim, helped them to survive the Pol Pot regime... [and] also helped them to escape arrest under the Vietnamese occupation

by possessing the very policemen who attempted to apprehend their *snang* [medium]” (Bertrand 2001, 44). Alternately, Jean Langford describes spirits who lamented their inability to “protect their constituents” when Buddhist monks and various spirit mediums were harassed and persecuted by authorities (Langford 2013, 73).

While the spirits survived as discrete entities through the destruction of Buddhism during the KR years, the re-establishment of religio-politico rituals again co-mingled spirits of the dead, Buddhist ritual, and state pageantry. This is beautifully illustrated in the state-constructed stupa at the Choeun Ek killing field memorial where an official ceremony calls monks from nearby monasteries to perform Buddhist funerary chants for the dead. Today, as state-sponsored commemorations of the KR dead wane, Anne Guillou notes that local villagers have “put in place new practices of remembrance” (Guillou 2013, 265). These new practices reconstitute a “mythic-historic geography” punctuated by sites full of *pāramī* where spirits and the carnage of war are ensconced in the Cambodian landscape (Guillou 2015a, 17). Spirit power remains subjacent to the KR years, to the sites of French colonization (Chandler 1974), of Thai and Vietnamese occupations (Porée-Maspero 1961; Chandler 1983), and of the many society altering events of the Khmer kings (Thompson 2004b; Chandler 1978).

Renewal

Spirits thus ensconced in the land and lineages of Cambodia absorb history and in so doing, they persist in spaces for renewal and community regeneration. Ang notes that since ancient times the smallest hamlet is defined by *`anak tā* linked in “sacred organization” to each other around a temple (Ang 1990, 153–54). Others meanwhile have found spirits of the land renewing the territory, adapting to, and engaging in the social lives of people cutting new villages from the

forests (Work 2014, 98–140; Arensen 2012). The same is true of family ancestors (LeVine 2010; Davis 2008b; Holt 2011), and of the possessing spirits of soldiers, healers, ascetics, monks, royals, musicians, and dancers (Stock 2004; Trankell 2003; Bertrand 2004; Eisenbruch 1991; Pecore 2014; James 2011). Spirits are present in fights for the forest and land-use rights (Beban and Work 2014; Naren and Vrieze 2012; Harris 2008, 51); they are present at events of mass fainting in Cambodian factories—exclaiming outrage that a building was erected in their space and demanding compensation lest the workers continue to suffer (Eisenbruch 2014; Wallace 2014); and they persist in the still-inhabited archeological “ruins” around Angkor Wat, disrupting attempts at tourist enclosures (Miura 2005).

They also persist in their relationship with governing powers, and the intimacy between king and spirit described above extends into modern times, entwining Prime Ministers and communist dictators alike. After gaining independence from the French in 1953, then Prime Minister Sihanouk built a site for the *`anak tā* Khleang Moeung, and after the 1993 elections his son, the victorious prince Ranariddh made offerings in gratitude at this site (Harris 2008, 52–64). Before a summit to resolve the conflict over the 1998 elections, Cambodia’s king and queen constructed a site for an ancient *`anak tā*, *Yāy Deb* in Siem Reap (Hang 2004, 113–120). Now Prime Minister Hun Sen calls on the power of *`anak tā* (Wallace 2013) and at the tomb of the notorious leader Pol Pot, locals are witness to his “slow transformation into an ambivalent ancestral figure, a ‘master of the earth’” (Guillou 2015a) that will protect future villagers. In death and over time the actual events surrounding a body and the circumstances of its death fade away. All that remains is power.

The dead are expected to remain a powerful force in the Cambodian landscape, and Pol Pot as protective spirit follows this logic. But, the protective power of land spirits also follows

their constituents through spirit mediums. For example, Cambodians in Long Beach, California are visited by *ʼanak tā Khleang Moeung* through a spirit medium (Yamada 2004). Back in Cambodia we find spirits of the Cham royal families and powerful Islamic leaders possessing mediums on the long-sacred hill at Udong (Stock 2007; Trankell 2003) where the bones of Khmer kings are also in residence (Harris 2008, 63). Cambodia hosts spirits from Chinese lineages, too, who continue to infuse their communities with spirit-power. Their assistance goes beyond the Chinese community, however, and they enter human social life by indiscriminately possessing Khmer or Chinese mediums (Davis 2012a). The rites involving land spirits do not require a particular ethnicity: Cham, Khmer, Chinese, Vietnamese are all inclined to acknowledge their subjection to the localized authority of powerful spirits and it is through these relationships that ethnicities merge and co-inhabit territories (Stock 2007, 247; Chandler 2008, 84–5). What contemporary literature on Cambodian spirits brings out is the restorative and healing work of this dynamic history.

Bertrand quotes an *ʼācāry*, a ritual specialist, who says, “the mediums are growing in number because at the moment we must construct and develop the country. The *pāramī* possess the *snang* [medium] so that they will organize festivals, build temples, stairways, flagpoles or homes for monks” (Bertrand 2005, 325). While there are tensions born of modernist notions of proper Buddhist expression (Marston 2008c; Kobayashi 2005), Cambodian mediums (unlike others in Southeast Asia) tend to uphold the Buddhist precepts, adhere to dietary restrictions, and follow the Buddhist holy days. In this context of Buddhicization, spirits change from being purveyors of exceptional, amoral, power and retribution, and they adopt familiar Buddhist values and moral goodness; monks are often spirit mediums (Forest 2012; Kent 2008, 112; Marston

2004).

Relationships between humans and spirits are hierarchal, and the spirit is always more powerful. Nonetheless, these are relationships of mutual care, conducted in the idiom of kinship, which is typical of Khmer relationships in general and central to the moral development of individuals and communities (Davis 2012a, 179; Edwards 2008b; Hansen 2007). Within this moral community, the spirits of Cambodia constitute social spaces, they pass on knowledge, use their power to aid the community, and they protect and punish within their spheres of influence.

Death power: Spirits in life cycles and sacrifice³

There is a reciprocal relationship between the living and the dead in Cambodian society that underlies social and political institutions. Spirits have more power than the living over the energies of the world, and their disapproval and wrath must either be appeased or contained. As already discussed, new fields, homes, and buildings must be built with permission from the spirits of the land and water. The Buddhist death rituals address this problem toward spirits of the recently dead — which are powerful, dangerous, but, “if properly managed, useful” (Davis 2012b, 60). The management of the dead is at once an exercise in dismissing the recently dead from the community, lest they harass the living, and an effort to cultivate positive long-term

³ Deathpower was the name of Erik Davis' first blog and is the title of his first book. It has wonderfully sticky qualities and I use it here in his honor.

relationships of care and reciprocity (Holt 2011; Davis 2008a, 2009). The dead all become spirits, active in the social lives of their communities.

Buddhist funeral rites, as described by Davis (2012b, 2009), are explicitly focused on sending the spirit away from the community, but also on binding the wild force of the bralýng into the Buddhist hierarchy. In a similar vein, offerings made during the annual 15-day celebration to honor the ancestors (Holt 2011) assure continued conviviality between a family and their known ancestors, while also attending to those lost or in hell through Buddhist ritual. Bertrand finds that the marked increase in spirit mediums is often explained by the fact that during the last three decades numerous persons of great virtue died without the appropriate funeral rituals (2001, 38) and these dead have rejoined society. In diasporic communities, funeral rituals can disrupt this re-membling and Jean Langford finds that the denied social presence of the dead harasses the living (Langford 2013). The living need the ancestors to function as guardians and to mediate the space between the living and the dead.

This power of the dead implicates the community in a deep relationship with the soil from which it grows. Forest questions the human origin of the power that comes from the founding ancestors (Forest 1992, 69) and suggests that it is the powerful human that first consolidated the spirit of the soil. In this way, for Ang, it has a double dimension: ancestor and energy of the soil (Ang 1986, 147). Recent research by Guillou pulls these two strands together working among the mass graves of the KR years. She finds that ritual practices performed for the anonymous dead of the mass graves follow two rationales: one, the earth as a living element nurtured by fragments of Angkorian statues as well as by the corpses buried during various times, and two, of the sacred geography of powerful places (Guillou 2013).

Both Davis and Harris tell of virgins and pregnant women sacrificed at the foundation of powerful buildings, whose spirits are then tied into protecting the cult of the often Buddhist structure (Davis 2012b, 68; Harris 2008, 56). The power of the dead is embroiled in the memorials and histories of empires past and present and Langford suggests that these memorials can “stand in for” the dead, “co-opting...material relationships” between the living and the dead (2013, 17). The economy of empire ensnares the energy of both the living and the dead. This energy transforms over time and Guillou traces the dead of mass graves as they moved from being restless, haunting ghosts into sources of protective power that request offerings of food, shelter, and celebrations in exchange. The dead also need the living, whose actions invite and cultivate their wild spirit-power, so they can intervene into the vagaries of living and dying.

Conclusion

This chapter brings together themes that wind through contemporary literature on the subject of spirits in Cambodia. The most resonant and recurring of which is generative power, which traces through the soul-stuff of the soil and the life it supports, through human communities of reciprocity and care, and through the power of elites and empires. This generative power infuses all life, founds states and empires, and animates the social life of people through the creations and disruptions of time. The other important theme is connection: spirits connect people to the land and to their ancestors, and through this to each other by the transmission of important ritual and healing technologies. One important theme that I leave underexplored is the relationship between Buddhism and spirit entities. This relationship is present throughout my discussion, but remains incomplete. Toward a resolution, I quote Thompson, who suggests that it is not simply “contact between two discrete systems — animist and Buddhist.” It is not a “contamination” of

the Buddhist by the animist, but is rather an “organic tie” between them. The spirits come before organized religion and their integration becomes "an indigenous way of making history... in the broadest sense, as a social locus for communal memory and forgetting" (2008, 99). Society emerges through the work of memory and forgetting and new seeds sprout with destruction and cultivation.

Bibliography

- Ang, C. 1986. *Les êtres surnaturels dans la religion populaire khmère* [Supernatural Beings in Popular Cambodian Religion]. Paris: Cedorek.
- . 1990. “La communauté rurale khmère du point de vue du sacré” [Rural Cambodian Community from the Sacred Point of View]. *Journal Asiatique* 278 (1-2):135-60.
- . 1995. “Le sol et l’ancêtre l’amorphe et l’anthropomorphe” [The Soil and Amorphous and Anthropomorphic Ancestors]. *Journal Asiatique* 283 (1):213-235.
- . 2004. *Brah Ling*. Phnom Penh: Reyum.
- Arensen, L. J. 2012. “Displacement, Diminishment, and ongoing Presence: The State of Local Cosmologies in Northwest Cambodia in the Aftermath of War”. *Asian Ethnology* 71 (2):159–178.
- Aymonier, É. 1900 [1984]. *Notes sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des cambodgiens* [Notes on the Superstitious Customs and Beliefs of Cambodians]. Paris: Cedorek.
- . 1920. *Le champa et les Chams* [Champa and the Cham]. Paris: École Française d’Extrême Orient.
- Baccot, J. 1968. On g’nur et cay à O’Russei: syncretism religieux dans un village Cham du cambodge [A G’nur and Cay at O’Russei: Religious Syncretism in a Cambodian Cham Village]. MS thesis EPHE: Paris.
- Beban, A., and C. Work. 2014. “The Spirits are Crying: Dispossessing Land and Possessing Bodies in Rural Cambodia”. *Antipode* 46 (3):593-610.
- Bertrand, D. 2001. “The Names and Identities of the “Boramey” Spirits Possessing Cambodian Mediums”. *Asian Folklore Studies* 60 (1):31–47.
- . 2004. “A Medium Possession Practice and its Relationship with Cambodia Buddhism: The Grū Pāramī”. In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, eds. J. A. Marston and E. Guthrie, 159-69. Honolulu: University of Hawi’i Press.

- . 2005. "The Therapeutic role of Khmer Mediums (*kru boramei*) in Contemporary Cambodia". *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 8 (4):309–327.
- Bizot, F. 1994. *Recherches nouvelles sur le cambodge* [New Research on Cambodia]. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Chandler, D. 1974. *Cambodia before the French: Politics in a Tributary Kingdom*. Ph.D. diss, Yale University.
- . 1978. "Maps for the Ancestors". In *Facing the Cambodian Past*, ed. D. Chandler. Chiang Mai: Silkworm.
- . 1983. "Going Through the Motions: Ritual and Restorative aspects of the Reign of King Duang". In *Centers, Symbols, and Hierarchies: Essays on the classical states of Southeast Asia*, eds. L. Gesick and M. Aung-Thwin, 9-44. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.
- . 2008. *A History of Cambodia*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Cœdès, G. 1937. *Inscriptions du Cambodge* [Cambodian Inscriptions]. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- . 1957. The Traibbumikatha, Buddhist Cosmology and Treaty on Ethics. *East and West* 7 (4, January):349–352.
- Condominas, G. 1977. *We have Eaten the Forest: The Story of a Montagnard Village in the Central Highlands of Vietnam*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Davis, E. W. 2008a. "Between Forests and Families: A Remembered Past Life". In *People of Virtue: Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Morality in Cambodia Today*, eds. A. Kent and D. P. Chandler, 128-45. Copenhagen: NIAS press.
- . 2008b. "Imaginary Conversations with Mothers about Death". In *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler*, ed. D. P. Chandler, 221-47. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.
- . 2009. *Treasures of the Buddha: Imagining Death and Life in Contemporary Cambodia*. PhD diss, University of Chicago Divinity School.
- . 2012a. "Khmer Spirits, Chinese Bodies: Chinese Spirit Mediums and Spirit Possession Rituals in Contemporary Cambodia". In *Faith in the Future: Understanding the Revitalization of Religions and Cultural Traditions in Asia*, eds. T. Reuter and A. Horstmann, 177-98. Leiden: BRILL
- . 2012b. "Weaving Life out of Death: The Craft of the Rag Robe in Cambodian Ritual Technology". In *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, ed. P. Williams and P. Ladwig, 59-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edwards, P. 2008a. "Between a Song and a Prei: Tracking Cambodian History and Cosmology through the Forest". In *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler*, ed. A. Hansen and J. Ledgerwood. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.
- . 2008b. "The Moral Geology of the Present: Structuring Morality, Menace and Merit". In *People of Virtue: Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Morality in Cambodia Today*, eds. A. Kent and D. P. Chandler, 213-37. Copenhagen: NIAS press.

- Eisenbruch, M. 1991. "The Survival of Cambodian Culture through the Traditional Healer: A Responsibility in International Mental Health". In *World Congress; World Federation for Mental Health*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University.
- . 2014. *Mass Fainting in Cambodian Garment Factories*. Phnom Penh. https://www.academia.edu/5740722/Mass_Fainting_in_Cambodian_garment_factories_-_Maurice_Eisenbruch_et_al
- Forest, A. 1991. "Cambodge: pouvoir de roi et puissance de génie" [Cambodia: The Power of the King and the Power of the Spirit]. In *Cultes populaires et sociétés asiatiques: appareils cultuels et appareils de pouvoir* [Popular culture in Asian Society: Objects of Worship and Objects of Power], eds. A. Forest, Y. Ishizawa, and L. Vandermeersch, 185-222. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.
- . 1992. *Le culte des génies protecteurs au cambodge: analyse et traduction d'un corpus de textes sur les neak ta* [The Cult of Protector Spirits in Cambodia: Analysis and Translation of a body of Texts on the Neak Ta]. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- . 2012. *Histoire religieuse du cambodge: un royaume d'enchantement* [Religious History of Cambodia: A Kingdom of Enchantment]. Paris: Indes savantes.
- Guillou, Y. A. 2012. "An Alternative Memory of the Khmer Rouge Genocide: The Dead of the Mass Graves and the Land Guardian Spirits [neak ta]". *South East Asia Research* 20 (2).
- . 2013. "The Living Archaeology of a Painful Heritage: The First and Second Life of the Khmer Rouge Mass Graves". In "Archaeologizing" *Heritage?: Transcultural Enganglements between Local Social Practices and Global Virtual Realities*, ed. M. Falser and M. Juneja, 263–274. Heidelberg and New York: Springer.
- . 2015a (forthcoming). "Le "Maitre de la Terre": les cultes rendus au cenotaphe de Pol Pot (nord du Cambodge)" [The 'Master of the Earth': The Cults Return at the Pol Pot Memorial (Northern Cambodia)]. In *La mort du bourreau: justices et vengeances face aux crimes de masse* [The Death of the Executioner: Justice and Vengeance in the Face of Mass Crimes], ed. S. Garibian. Paris: Pétra.
- . 2015b (forthcoming). "Traces of Destruction and Threads of Continuity in Post-genocide Cambodia". In *Living and Dying in the Contemporary World: A Compendium*, ed. V. Das and C. Han. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guthrie, E. 2007. "In Defense of the Nation: The Cult of Nang Thoranee in Northeast Thailand". In *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*, ed. I. C. Harris, 162-84. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hang, C. S. 2004. "Stec Gamlañ 'and Yāy Deb: Worshiping Kings and Queens in Cambodia Today". In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, eds. J. Marston and E. Guthrie, 113-31. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Hansen, A. R. 2007. *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Harris, I. 2008. *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- . 2013. *Buddhism in a Dark Age: Cambodian Monks under Pol Pot*.
- Holt, J. C. 2011. "Caring for the Dead Ritually in Cambodia". *Southeast Asian studies* 1 (1):3–75.

- Jacobsen, T. 2008. *Lost Goddesses: The Denial of Female Power in Cambodian History*. Copenhagen S., Denmark: NIAS Press, 2008.
- James, S. E. 2011. *The Symbiosis of Image, Monument and Landscape: A Study of Select Goddess Images at Prasat Kravan, Kbal Spean and Banteay Srei in Cambodia*. PhD diss, Cornell University.
- Kent, A. 2008. "Peace, Power and Pagodas in Present-Day Cambodia". *Contemporary Buddhism* 9 (1):77–97.
- Kobayashi, S. 2005. "An Ethnographic Study on the Reconstruction of Buddhist Practice in Two Cambodian Temples: With the Special Reference to Buddhist Samay and Boran". *Southeast Asian Studies* 42 (4).
- Langford, J. 2013. *Consoling Ghosts: Stories of Medicine and Mourning from Southeast Asians in Exile*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- Leclère, A. 1899. *Le buddhisme au cambodge* [Cambodian Buddhism]. Paris: E. Leroux.
- LeVine, P. 2010. *Love and Dread in Cambodia: Weddings, Births, and Ritual Harm under the Khmer Rouge*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Marston, J. 2004. "Clay into Stone: A Modern-Day Tapas". In *History, Buddhism and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, ed. J. M. and E. Guthrie. Bangkok: Silkworm Press.
- . 2008c. "Reconstructing 'Ancient' Cambodian Buddhism". *Contemporary Buddhism* 9 (1):99–121.
- Miura, K. 2005. "Conservation of a 'living heritage site' A contradiction in terms? A case study of Angkor World Heritage Site". *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 7 (1):3–18.
- Mus, P. 1933 [1975]. *India Seen from the East: Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa*. Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Naren, K., and P. Vrieze. 2012. "Forest Destruction Gives Rise to Widespread Community Activism". *Cambodia Daily*: March, 17.
- O'Lemmon, M. 2014. "Spirit Cults and Buddhist Practice in Kep Province, Cambodia". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 45 (01):25–49.
- Pecore, J. 2014. *Sounding the Spirit of Cambodia: The Living Tradition of Khmer Music and Dance-drama in a Washington, DC Community*. PhD diss, University of Maryland.
- Porée-Maspero, E. 1962. *Étude sur les rites agraires des cambodgiens* [A Study on the Agrarian Rituals of Cambodians]. Paris: Mouton.
- . 1961. "Traditions orales de pursat et de kampot" [Oral Traditions of Pursat and Kampot]. *Artibus Asiae* 24 (4):394–398.
- Pou, S. and Ang, C. 1987. "Le vocabulaire khmer relatif au surnaturel" [Khmer Vocabulary related to the Supernatural]. *Seksa Khmer* 10-13:59–126.
- Stock, E. 2007. "Parce que champa et cambodge ne faisaient qu'un...: lorsque les esprits s'emmêlent pour tisser la trame d'une histoire passée sur le métier d'une 'intégration' présente" [Because Champa and Cambodia were One...: When the Spirits Entangle the Thread of a History Past Woven on the Loom of Present 'Integration']. *Udaya*. 243-277.

- . 2004. *De l'hétérogénéité des chams du cambodge: représentations identitaires au travers des diagrammes de protection magiques* [Of the Heterogeneity of the Cambodian Cham: Representations of Identity across Protective Magical Diagrams]. MA Thesis, INALCO-Département Asie du Sud Est
- Thierry, S. 1999. "Review: Le cultes des genies protecteurs au cambodge: analyse et traduction d'un corps de textes sur les neak ta" [Review: The Cult of Protector Spirits in Cambodia: Analysis and Translation of a Body of Texts about the Neak Ta]. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 30 (2):367–369.
- Thompson, A. 2004a. *Calling the Souls: a Critical Edition of the Hau Praloeung, a Khmer Ritual Text*. Cambodia: Reyum Institute of Arts & Culture.
- . 2004b. "The Future of Cambodia's Past: A Messianic Middle-Period Cambodian Royal Cult". In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, ed. J. M. and E. Guthrie, 13-39. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- . 2004c. "The Suffering of Kings: Substitute Bodies, Healing, and Justice in Cambodia". In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, ed. J. M. and E. Guthrie, 91-113. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- . 2008. "Performative Realities: Nobody's Possession". In *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler*, eds. A. Hansen and J. Ledgerwood, 93-121. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Program.
- Trankell, I.-B. 2003. "Songs of Our Spirits: Possession and Historical Imagination among the Cham in Cambodia". *Asian Ethnicity* 4 (1):31–46.
- Wallace, J. 2013. "Fresh Princes of Phnom Penh". *New York Times*.
<http://wap.nytimes.com/blogs/latitude/2013/05/03/prime-minister-hun-sens-dynasty-over-cambodia>
- Wallace, J. 2014. "Workers of the World, Faint!" *New York Times, Sunday Review*.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/18/opinion/workers-of-the-world-faint.html?_r=2.
- Work, C. 2014. *Tides of Empire: Merit, Morality, and Development in Rural Cambodia*. PhD diss. Cornell University.
- Yamada, T. S. 2004. "The Spirit Cult of Khleang Moeung in Long Beach, California". In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, eds. J. A. Marston and E. Guthrie, 113-31. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.