

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF "KHAO PRĀḤ VIHĀR"

An English Translation from Learned French
Sources of all Inscriptions Associated with
the Mountain Temple

by

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INTRODUCTION

I have felt for some time that my work published in the Journal of the Siam Society XLIV, Part 1, 1956, on "The Lofty Sanctuary of Khao Prāḥ Vihār," would not be complete until I had gathered together all references to the inscriptions of the mountain temple under one heading and presented them in English for the records of the Society.

In this considerable work it has been my good fortune to have the guidance of that Master of Sanskrit and Khmer epigraphy, M. George Cœdès, a Past President of the Society. At the outset I had his advice on sources of information and permission to use his works. After I had completed the translation, M. Cœdès read the entire text and gave it his approval.

The works to which I have referred are the following:

Part I "Phnom Prāḥ Vihear"

from

Sanskrit Inscriptions of Campā and Cambodia

by

M. Abel Bergaigne.

Part II "The Stèles of Phnom Sandāk and of Prāḥ Vihār"

from

The Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Volume XLII

by

M. George Cœdès.

Part III "Inscriptions of Prāḥ Vihār"

from

Inscriptions of Cambodia, Volume VI

by

M. George Cœdès.

The stèles translated from the original script into French bear the following Inventory Numbers.

K. 380; K. 381; K. 382; K. 383.

The translation of the first two and last inscriptions is the work of M. George Coedès, and that of K. 382 is associated with M. Abel Bergaigne and M. Auguste Barth.

In the task of translation, the work would not have been possible without the able assistance of Catherine Mary Smith, M.A., Honours in French and German, Edinburgh University and Diplôme Supérieur de l'Université de Rennes. Miss Smith is Head of the Modern Language Department at Stranraer High School, Scotland.

In the first part of my text, which is the work of M. Abel Bergaigne, it will be observed that certain footnotes terminate in A.B. (Auguste Barth). A number of these footnotes, in the original French text, provide a more correct translation than that given by Bergaigne. Where this is the case, at the suggestion of M. Coedès, I have used them in the body of my work—not as footnotes—but to replace the wrong interpretation by Abel Bergaigne. It should be explained that Abel Bergaigne died before he had time to revise his work and in editing Bergaigne's manuscript Auguste Barth introduced many corrections. Out of respect, however, for his deceased colleague he retained Bergaigne's original text.

In part three of my text—Inscriptions of Cambodia, Vol. VI, by M. Coedès—where reference is made to the position of the inscriptions in relation to the temple plan, it will be seen that I have used the letters and numbers shown in the plan drawn by H. Parmentier in his "L'Art Khmer Classique" in preference to those on my own plan attached to J.S.S. Vol. XLIV; 1, 1956.

In the final paragraph of my lecture on "The Lofty Sanctuary of Khao Práh Vihār" I made reference to the work of maintaining and restoring ancient monuments. This gem of a temple, on such a remarkable site, merits attention as soon as the opportunity presents itself, and, if my study of the Sanctuary and work on the Inscriptions provides some impetus in the direction of restoration, I shall be amply rewarded.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF CAMPĀ AND CAMBODIA

by

M. Abel Bergaigne

“PHNOM PRĀḤ VIHEAR”

Taken from accounts and extracts in the manuscripts of
The National Library and other Libraries.

Tome XXVII Part I (page 345)
LXI (152)

PHNOM PRĀḤ VIHEAR¹

Two inscriptions, one only of which is Sanskrit, occupy
the four faces, A,B,C,D, of a broken quadrangular stèle.

Height	Breadth
A, 0 ^m 66	A, 0 ^m 22
B, 0 51	B, 0 22
C, 0 60	C, 0 22
D, 0 63	D, 0 22

The stèle is broken at the top. Each of the four faces
terminates in two lines of Khmer. Apart from this, the traces
of 28 lines in Sanskrit, in different lettering, are to be found on
face A, traces of 21 lines on face B, of 25 lines on face C, and of
27 lines on face D.

Our letters, A,B,C,D, correspond to the Khmer numbers,
3,4,1,2 on the rubbings. The order of these letters is, without
any possible doubt, the same as that followed by the four frag-
ments of the Sanskrit text. The order of the Khmer numbers
on the rubbings differs only at the starting point.

1. This report is by Bergaigne. A.B.

The Sanskrit inscription is written entirely in çlokas anushtubh, at least in the part that has been preserved. Each çloka contains two lines and in each line the pādas are equally spaced. We are given the traces of fourteen çlokas on the first, of eleven on the second, of thirteen on the third, of fourteen on the fourth. These çlokas will be numbered across the face from the first visible fragment. Moreover, it seems obvious that the four faces, like those of the inscriptions of Thuñal Baray, ought each to contain the same number of lines, and in consequence the same number of çlokas, supposing the çloka to be the sole metre of the inscription. In fact the face which has been least mutilated, A, is far from being complete. As it is first, it ought to begin with one or more stanzas of invocation, none of which remains, and we shall see presently that there must be a gap between these supposed invocations and the first çloka, traces of which remain. Therefore, there must be several stanzas missing at the top of face A, and, with greater reason, missing at the top of those that follow.

On this text is engraven the Northern Alphabet, one which seems to have been used exclusively on the monuments of the reign of Yaçovarman and on those dedicated to the reign of this king. It includes the series of Cambodian monuments on which the Northern Alphabet has been found. The name of Yaçovarman is not mentioned, at least on the preserved part; but the last date recorded, 815 (çaka), falls in the reign of this king and is absolutely identical with the date on the foundation of Loléy.

The Khmer text shows the ordinary alphabet of Cambodia, but in a form, which, by itself alone, would reveal a period very much later than Yaçovarman. Moreover, it bears a date in the figures of 969, and mentions the çaka era; this date falls in the reign of Sūryavarman I.²

2. The date of the accession of Udayādityavarman II, given in numbers in the Khmer inscription of Prāsāt Roluh, is not 951, according to the first reading, but 971 (1049 our era), as M. Aymonier has interpreted it. See *Journal asiatique*, January 1884, p. 68, and *Excursions and Reconnaissances*, November—December 1884, p. 291.

Phnom Práh Vihear, where the stèle has been found, is an important monument situated in the province of Melu Prey, on one of the summits of the Dangrêk mountains, between Melu Prey and Koeukan. It consists of several towers and several miniature temples. The stèle was in the main tower.

M. Aymonier collected several other inscriptions in the same monument. On the two sides of the inner door of an inner gallery there are Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions (n° 150 of the National Library) which bears dates from 949 to 960 çaka and the name of King Sūryavarman. The same name is to be found on an inscription partly in Khmer and partly in Sanskrit, (n° 151), on the side of an inner door belonging to a small temple and in front of this temple. Indeed, another inscription bears on two large faces and two small ones a Khmer inscription (n° 153) whose dates run from 1034 to 1043, and on which the names of Dharanīndravarmā I and Sūryavarman II can be read. Both these kings belong to this period, and along with them the names of several of their predecessors appear.

The inscriptions of Phnom Práh Vihear are associated with three periods. The Khmer inscription added at the base of our stèle belongs to the second period. The four fragments ought to be read in the same order as those of the Sanskrit inscription, as can be seen in the relationship of the second line of B with the first line of C, the latter completing the word çrīçikharīçvara, begun in the former. The çikharīçvara, or "lord of the mountain," is apparently an idol of Çiva, the erection, sthāpanā, which was the object of the supplementary inscription. The date contains not only the year, 963 çaka, but the day: this is the tenth, daçamī, of the waxing moon.³ This date has since been verified as the year 969 çaka current, on Thursday the 17th of December (new style) 1046 A.D.⁴ We read also again, besides the word çivājñā, "the order of Çiva," which is several times repeated, the name Yaçodharagiri, "The mount of Yaçodhara," meaning perhaps the summit of the

3. In Khmer, ket. see Aymonier: *Journal asiatique*, April-June 1883, p. 451, note 4.

4. Verified by A.B.

Dangrèk where Phnom Prâh Vihear lies. The only connection between this inscription and the earlier Sanskrit inscription appears to be the name Çivaçakti which remains legible in spite of the erasions on face A.

This name appears last on the Sanskrit inscription, after a number of others which we are going to consider while analysing the text as thoroughly as the fragmentary condition that is left to us will allow.

Let us note, in the first place, that the inscription does not originate from a king, but apparently from this Çivaçakti, the last personage named. We find of course in A, 3, 4, the name of a king, but a much earlier king, Jayavarman II, along with the date of his accession, 724 çaka. He figures on it only as husband of a queen (A, 5) bearing the names of Kamvujalakshmī and Prāṇa⁵ (something like "my life"), belonging no doubt to the family whose genealogy is given in the inscription. She has a brother (A, 6 and B, 6) called Vishṇuvala, who had taken the name of Lakshmīndra and whom Jayavarman had appointed to the ekivatta, that is to say, possibly a position in his private treasury, and she had a son named Dharmavardhana (B, 9). The sister and the brother must have been named for the first time on the part lost from the top of face A. We can still read before the name of Jayavarman that of Keçavabhāṭṭa⁶ as father of one Prabhāvatī, whom we shall meet again later on. The name of the mother of Prabhāvatī has disappeared. But in the first çloka, traces of which remain, we shall read that of Pavitra, which is mentioned again further on.⁷ Another woman named Hyañcandra, must also have figured previously because, in stanza 9, face A, she is introduced as a person already known. The same can be said concerning two men, Praṇavaçarva and Çivātman, and

5. This name has already been encountered above, XVII, A, 22 and 24, where it is borne by a queen, wife of Rājendravarman. A.B.

6. Two Brahmins of the name of Keçava have already appeared above, XV, A, 16 and XVIII, A, 24. A.B.

7. A certain Hyañ Pavitra has already appeared above XV, 3, as the principal queen of Jayavarman II. Pavitra and the diminutive Pavitrikā, are also found in XVIII, A, 11 and 12. A.B.

a third whose name seems to have become lost in a gap which occurs at stanza A, 13, where we can only read the words, "the brother." There was no doubt a bond of relationship between all the persons mentioned above and between all those named afterwards, although much of the information concerning this relationship has been lost from the top of face A.

Praṇavaçarva received the name Çrīṇṇipendrabhoga, and his duty was the burning of the offerings at the sacrifices (A, 12). Çivātman was appointed keeper of the royal chamber (A, 13). Regarding Pavitra, it is recorded only in the preserved fragments that she married Vindvardha (A, 10). Prabhāvati married the brahman Hṛishīkeça (A, 10), and had a son Adhyāpaka (B, 11), who took the name Rājendrapañḍita and received from the king — the name of the king is not given — the office of teacher (adhyāpaka) in the Rudrāçrama (C, 4). He was the brother-in-law of a certain Çikhāçānti, hotar of the king (C, 9), and father of Nāgapāla (C, 12). Concerning Prabhāvati's father, Keçavabhaṭṭa, he also seems to have been called Kṛishṇapāla and Amarendra. He also took the name of Arimathana and become purohita, or chaplain, to the king (A, 11).

To Hyañcandra is attributed the most numerous progeny according to the preserved fragments. Her husband appears to have originally borne the name Nādh and, as general of the army, received the name of Çrī-Nṛipendrappṛithivīnarendra⁸ (A, 8 and 9). She bore a son, Paramārthaçiva, who as the king's favourite got the name of Pṛithivīndropakalpa. He was the brother⁹ of Rudrāñī, Umā, Sāmadeva and Poñ (B, 10 and C, 5).

8. See the note under the translation. The title Pṛithivīnarendra, has already been met with above (XVIII, A, 8 and 12), apparently as cognomen of Jayavarman II, A.B. Note by George Coedès :— This latter assumption is no longer admitted by scholars.

9. This is the relationship adopted by Bergaigne in the translation of the inscription, and Barth verifies it as the correct rendering which makes Paramārthaçiva the brother of Rudrāñī, Umā, Sāmaveda and Poñ, not the father as originally stated in the text.

For the title of pṛithivīndropakalpa, cf. kshitīndropakalpa of XV, B, 18 and 28. A.B.

We shall not again find the names of either Rudrāṇī or Sāmaveda. Poṇ married Purushottama (C, 3) and had three children by him (C, 6): one son, Govinda, and two daughters, Mādhavī and Bhān. One of these, Mādhavī, married Rāmabatta and had three daughters by him, Pañ, Av, An (or Cān?) and one son, Garuḍa (C, 7); the other, Bhān, married Vibhāvasu (C, 8).

Returning to Poṇ's sister, Umā, it certainly seems that it was she who gave birth to the author of the inscription, Āivaçakti (C, 2). She bears the title devī "queen" (*ibid.*); but the name of her husband has disappeared at the top of face C, as also has the name of her son, although this has been assumed from the "play of words" on the part which has remained intact.

The inscription recalls several donations of land by the king — no doubt by different kings — generally on the occasion of the erection of one or more idols by people whose names are given.

In the fragments of the second stanza, traces of which are left at the top of face B, we see for instance, mention of several idols erected in the village of Āvilagrāma. The chief divinity of the place must have been Āiva, invoked under the name of Bhadreçvara. But two divinities must have been mentioned because in stanza (B, 6,) Lakshmīndra, the brother of Queen Prāṇa bestowed new honours. After both these statements¹⁰ royal gifts of lands are mentioned (B, 4 and 7), granted, it would appear, cumulatively to all the persons named in the inscription, up to that point. These particulars include the designation of the lands showing their boundaries in relation to the four cardinal points. Again, fragments of a similar designation are to be found, right at the beginning, in the legible parts

10. Note in any case, after the first, and before the announcement of the donation, a special division mark.

of stanza A, 14. It is concluded from this that the preceding stanza mentioned the donation made probably to all persons aforementioned.

In the enumeration of face A there is included a person by name Nāsā,¹¹ "servant," of Lakshmīndra (A, 7) the legal title of whose family is unknown, but who probably did belong to it either by marriage or affiliation.

Two other donations had been specially made, one to Rājendrapaṇḍita and his brother-in-law Çikhāçānti, who erected on donated ground a linga of gold in the year 803 çaka (C, 9 and 11), and the other to Nāgapāla, son of the first and nephew of the second (C, 12).

The second stanza, traces of which remain at the top of face D, tells of eight sons of a person whose name has disappeared, Then follow the names of four of these sons, Hatati (mira). Nāçi (an indigenous name, the reading of which is not completely clear), Brahmavid and Prabhavajñaka, and in stanza 3, these of their four daughters: Sāvatri, Pañcagavya, Vrau and Mādhavi.¹² These names are not seen again. Those who bore them, doubtless, figure there only as heirs of people who had shared in the donations previously mentioned.

Stanza 4 relates that a certain person, a minister of war named Sālam, erected a new linga of Çiva in 815 çaka at the village of Sthalīgrāma.

The eulogy of Çivaçakti, who had become chief of the masters of the Çivaite doctrine, begins at stanza 5, after a particular dividing mark, and continues to stanza 10, after which it is told that (11) this person fulfilled the duties of keeper of all the properties previously mentioned.

We have noted the confusion of indigenous names with Sanskrit names in one and the same family. The bestowing of Sanskrit names is strange because the type of name does not

11. Regarding this personage see the note under the translation. A.B.

12. See note under the translation; here again the legal title of this family is unknown.

always suit the sex of those who bear it.¹³ This is accentuated still further by compounding these names with the word *ākhyā*; *Nāsū*, for instance, by the masculine compound *nāsākhyā*, *Prāṇa* by the feminine compound *prāṇākhyā*, etc.

Other names, such as place names, names of lands and temples, are met with in the allocation of properties.

The main interest in an otherwise mediocre monument really lies in the names, particularly in those borrowed from the cult of *Kṛishṇa*, *Keçavabhaṭṭa* and *Kṛishṇapāla*.

Note by the translator :

Bergaigne's observations — not shown in this text — referring to (a) the relative inaccuracy of this inscription, (b) the faulty workmanship that is responsible for the majority of the faults, and (c) the substitution of a certain letter *b* in place of *ḅ*, prompt me to stress the following remarks of Auguste Barth on these matters.

“I must say that the characters are not quite the same as in the preceding inscriptions and that the differences do not seem to be simply the result of less careful workmanship. The form itself has changed. The fleuron at the top and the redundant appendages of certain letters, the *m* for instance, have developed. The letters have grown bigger, they are no longer so close against the vertical stroke, which is much less prominent. The *n*, when it is underlined or when it is above an underlined letter comes back almost to its Cambodian shape. The loop of the *v* is often open at the bottom and the letter may be confused with the *t* or with the *m*. The left stroke of the *e* and the *o* has the dimensions of the sign of the *a* and could perhaps be taken for an *ā* belonging to the preceding syllable. These changes, unimportant as they may seem when taken separately, are sufficient, nevertheless, to give a perceptibly different physiognomy to the inscription.”

13. Cf. above, p. 158, note 4, and p. 159, note 10. A.B.

TRANSLATION

A

1. Pavitra

2. gave birth to a daughter who became a woman of virtue, Prabhāvatī, whom she bare to the bhātta named Keçavabhātta, whose thought was fixed on Keçava.

3. There was a king whose commands were a crown for the heads of the kings making obeisance before him, named Çrī Jayavarman, whose splendour was enhanced by the fortune of victory (jayaçrī).

4. Carrying in his four arms the motionless earth (king in the year indicated by four, the arms and the mountains,)¹ like another four-armed god, acknowledging the four vedas as a god with four faces, dwelling upon the earth.

5. This² Kamvujalaksmī named also Prāṇa, younger sister,³ was the queen of this king, as the Earth and Çrī were the queens⁴ of Lakshmī's husband.

6. As for this⁵ vishṇuvala, who received the name of Lakshmīndra, Jayavarman appointed him to the administration of the private treasury.⁶

7. In the pay of this (Jayavarman) was Nāsā, who by his devotion, inspired confidence in the hearts of virtuous men, a mine of precious stones which were wise reflections, a man wise and propitious (bhadra) like another Bhadra.

1. 724.

2. This pronoun indicates that she had already been mentioned. See above, p. 528.

3. Apparently of a person previously mentioned, probably of the mother of Prabhāvatī, stanza 2, and of others.

4. The word means both "queen" and "goddess." The earth was the wife of Vishnu (as of all the kings), in his incarnation in Rāmacandra.

5. The pronoun (asau) would appear to indicate that he had been named even before the first mention of Kamvujalaksmī, or Prāṇa. He was her brother, as we see in par. B, 6.

6. A quite conjectural translation of the term, *ekavitta*.

8. He who was a leader and placed at the head of the army, a hero capable of depriving kings of their fortune, obtained the title of $\text{çrī-Nṛipendravijaya}$,

9. and another title greater still, that of $\text{çrī-Prithivīnarendra}$. As for Hyañ Candra, she became the wife of the noble Ñādh .⁷

10. Pavitra was the wife of Vindvardha of the high intelligence. Prabhavatī was the charming wife of the brahman Hṛishīkeça

11. This brahman $\text{Kṛishṇapāla Amarendra}$,⁸ called Keçavabhaṭṭa , received the name of Arimathana and became purohita of the king.

12. This Pṛaṇavaçarva , being a glorious name $\text{çrī-Nṛipendrabhoga}$,⁹ had as his duty the burning of offerings in the sacrifices....

13. Çivātman was the keeper of the bedchamber and the brother.... of the land¹⁰ Trailokyanātha which the king had assigned to them.

14. Svan and the boundary of the land Trailokyanātha ¹¹ in the south....

7. Or Ñādhato ? But 'ato' should perhaps have been detached and considered as being the Sanskrit adverb. A.B.

8. These two names succeed each other in a rather strange fashion. Yet it is impossible to see anything other than two previous names of Keçavabhaṭṭa , who would therefore have had four, including the new one. The first two had perhaps been given previously, like that of Keçavabhaṭṭa which appears in stanza 2.

9. This is the $\text{çrī-Nṛipendravijaya}$ of stanza 8. A.B.

10. This land had no doubt been given jointly to the persons previously named, like that mentioned in B. 4. The brother's duty might have been similar to that of Çivaçakti . (D. 11).

11. Apparently a sacred estate or domain,

TRANSLATION

B

1.

2. having been erected at Avilagrāma of the melted butter, of a quantity of sixteen prasthas each

3. And of white rice not husked, of a quality of five Khārikās,¹ such is the salary² that has been fixed for each year, out of devotion to Īçvara named Bhadreçvara.

4. By the king's decree they have obtained the land of Mahārathārūṇa, called Vana, along with saçivalingām,³ which was previously unoccupied and where there is a linga of Çiva.

5. The boundaries of this territory are Cetanāpuraka⁴ to the east, Mūshikasthalā⁵ to the south, Lāmpai⁶ to the west, Lāmpai to the north.

6. The brother of queen Prāṇa, Lakshmīndra, zealously restored⁷ these two divinities, honouring them with gifts of slaves and other goods.

7. Loyal to the king and his favourites, obeying his respectful orders, faithful to the law, they obtained the land of Bhavālaya.

8. The boundaries of this land are the river to the east, Rājeçvara⁸ to the south, the town of Havapura⁹ to the west, Devātidevaka¹⁰ to the north.

1. Concerning this term, see LVI, C', 12; D', 2. Concerning prastha, *ibid.*, D', 1.

2. Apparently for the sacred slaves.

3. This abandoned sanctuary contained a Çivalinga and an image of Vaishṇavī, one of the mother goddesses. A.B.

4. The "little town" of Cetanā.

5. Something like "rat hole."

6. Native name.

7. An almost literal translation.

8. Apparently a sacred domain (holy place).

9. Or Dhavapura.

10. Another sacred domain (holy place).

9. Queen Kamvujalakshmī, a woman of virtue, faithful to the duty of women (strīdharmīna), gave birth to a son named Ṣrī Dharmavardhana, who carried out the law (dharmavardhana).

10. Hyañcandra gave birth to a son named Paramārthaçiva, and further, Rudrāñi, Umā, Sāmaveda and a daughter named Poñ.

11. Prabhāvati, beautiful and charming like the moon most brilliant (atiprabhā), had a son named Adhyāpaka, most distinguished of scholars

TRANSLATION

C

1. of the enemy of Tripura

2. the queen named Umā, and like Umā gave birth to, who by his power (çakti) was the first of the powerful (çakibhṛit).¹

3. Poñ, like Lakshmī in her beauty wed the magnanimous Purushottama, relative of the king.

4. The scholar Adhyāpaka, taking the name of Rājendra-panḍita, was appointed by the king professor (adhyāpaka), in the monastery of Rudrāçrama.

5. As for Paramārthaçiva, favourite of this king, he bore a new and illustrious name, that of Pṛithivīndropakalpa, preceded by Ṣrī.

1. This play on words suggests a name containing the word çakti. The missing name is therefore, in all probability, Çivaçakti, who appears further on in stanza D,5, as a person already known.

6. Poñ had by Purushottama: Govinda, Mādhavī, like unto Lakshmī, and another daughter named Bhān.

7. Mādhavī married Rāmabhaṭṭa and, by the power of Çiva, gave birth to three daughters named Pañ, Av and An,² and Garuḍa besides.

8. Bhān, a woman of virtue, became the wife of a very brilliant scholar (vibhāvasu) named Vibhāvasu like the fire,³ (vibhāvasu) incarnate.

9. Rājendrapaṇḍita, in company with his brother-in-law Çikhāçānti, royal hotar, obtained from the king the land of Shadī.

10. The boundaries of this land are one side⁴ of the lake to the east, the small lake of Kuṭi to the south, the land of Çaktadeva to the west.

11. The land of Gandhasāra to the north. The two donees again built and erected on this land a gold linga in the year designated by three, the space and the forms.⁵

12. The most learned Nāgapāla, son of Rājendrapaṇḍita and nephew of Çikhāçānti on the maternal side, obtained from the king the land of Camkā.

13. The boundaries of this land are Suraghṛita⁶ to the east, Samroñ to the south, the land of Lahakāra to the west, the road to the town in the north

2. or Cān?

3. or "to the sun."

4. Literally a quarter, a "foot."

5. 803, naturally of the era çaka.

6. It is difficult to say what "the melted butter of the gods" means here.

TRANSLATION

D

1.

2. eight (children) magnanimous sons: Hatati (mira), Nāci,¹ Brahmaivid, Prabhavajñāka.

3. Sāvitrī, Pañcagavya, Vrau and Mādhavī were the daughters, propagators of the law;² these eight had offsprings who (like them) observed the law.

4. The wise minister of war named Sālam erected in the village of Sathaligrāma a new linga of Īiva in the year designated by the arrows, the moon and eight.³

5. And the master, Īivaçkti, who knew the value of the powers (çakti) of Īiva, who is the special seat of the power (çakti) of Īiva, became the chief of the exponents of the doctrine of Īiva.

6. Thanks to the passionless (nīrajas) mind of this man for whom the thought of virtuous people was a lotus seat. The world was in some way purified by the dust of this lotus, which was the foot of Īivaçkti (that is to say, by his teaching).

7. This wise man eloquent, whose riches was eloquent, has, by his eloquence, made those who desired the brilliance of his knowledge, shine like moons.⁴

8. In this dark world, when he was stopped by a fortress (a difficulty), even surrounded by the host of enemies (by the category of enemies⁵), his whole pleasure, in the midst of the combat, was in appeasement.

1. Reading uncertain.

2. Or "lawful."

3. 815, of the çaka era.

4. Who reflected his own brilliancy.

5. Of inner enemies, that is to say, passions.

9. This yogin, who illuminated all regions of the sky with his glory, darkened them at the same time continually by the smoke raised from the fires of his sacrifices.

10. This virtuous man who knew not the meaning of injustice, had full knowledge of justice; manifestly slow upon the path of error, he was speedy along the path of goodness.

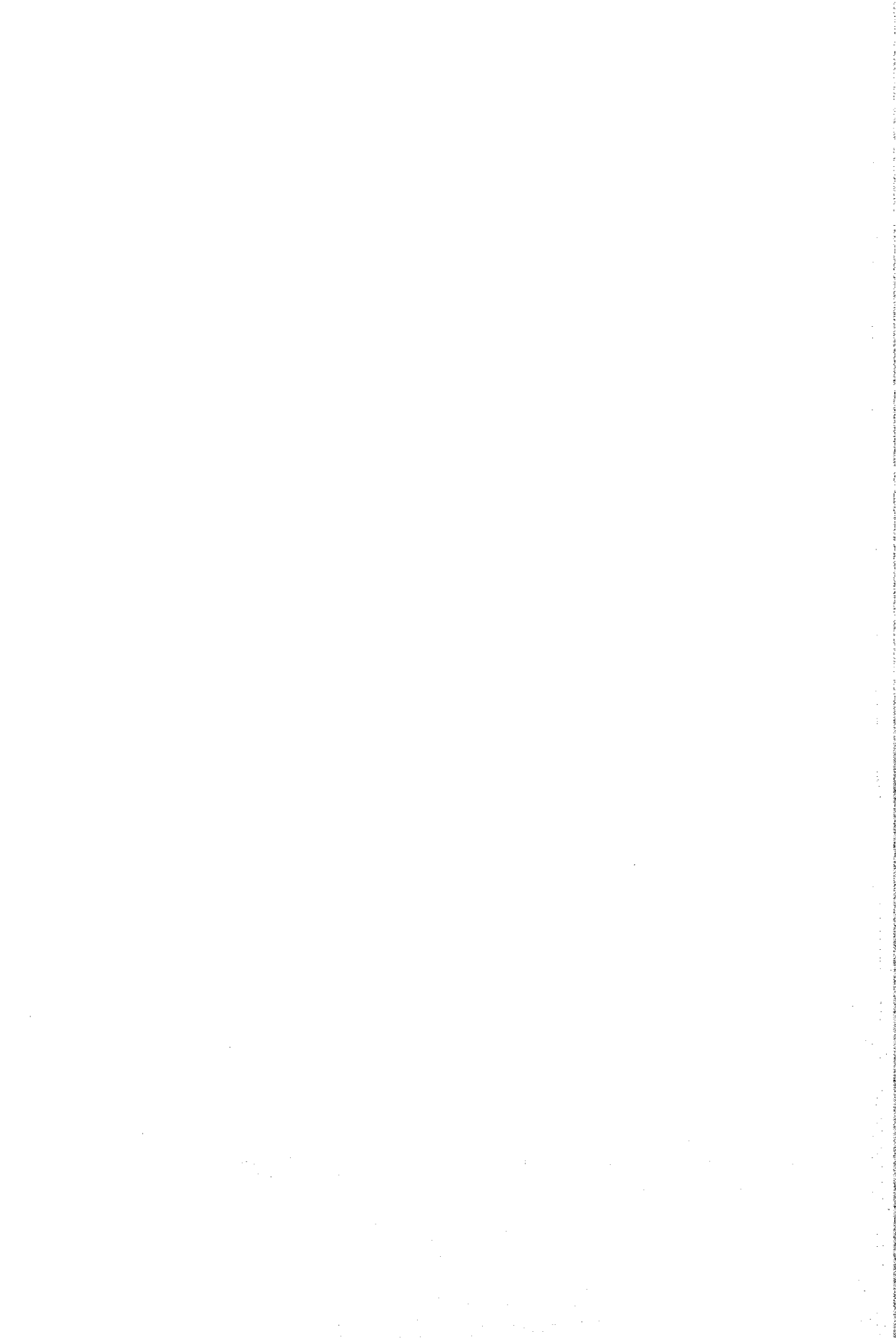
11. Zealously and out of loyalty to the king, he guarded all these properties, devoted himself to the happiness of all by handing them down to posterity.

12. By the power of the Çakti of Çiva (or of Çiva and the Çakti) may the two çaktis of Çiva (or may Çiva and the Çakti) overwhelmed with homage, bring about the salvation of the relatives of the muni Çivaçakti who partakes of the nature of Çiva.⁶

13. A posterity clean of heart, doing pious works continually, is a blessing more precious than the greatest glory: may Brahmā and the other gods protect it.

14. Just as, by his intimate union with Çiva, the Çakti of Çiva gains obedience from Brahmā and the other gods, so, by his intimate union with Çiva, may the muni Çivaçakti, be obeyed because of the merciful kindness of the heart (of men).

6. The sanctuary was consecrated to two divinities (two Çaktis or rather Çiva conceived as ardhanaṛī), mention of which has been lost in the gap preceding stanza 1. A.B.



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by
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THE STÈLES OF PHNOM SANDĀK (K. 194),
AND OF PRĀḤ VIHĀR (K. 383)

Among the inscriptions which have come from Prāḥ Vi-
hār, Aymonier refers,¹ under the heading of "stèle of Sūryavar-
man II," to "a stèle of four faces, two large and two small, found
in front of the sanctuary." "It is," he says, "quite similar in
shape, writing, language and content to another stèle, which this
King left upon the monument of Phnom Sandāk, a province of
Kompong Soay where we found it lying beside the sanctuary."² It
is the same writing, delicate, regular, clearly marked and firm,
with detailed, ornamental floral designs. The proper names, the
expressions, and entire phrases succeed each other in identical
order, including the Sanskrit stanzas which are inserted in
the text in the vernacular. The misfortune that has befallen all
the Khmer texts left behind by Sūryavarman II has again been
manifested here. Not that the stèle has been broken, as its twin
sister of Phnom Sandāk, but the stone which is too delicate, has
been so worn by the ravages of time and weather that even the
lines are at times unrecognisable. In its entirety, the monument
is even less serviceable than that of Phnom Sandāk: the latter
has at least this superiority, that it can offer fragments which
are clearly legible."

"The Chinese rubbings" preserved in the École Française
d' Extrême-Orient are apparently much superior to those Aymo-
nier attempted to decipher. A careful checking of the part com-

1. *Cambodge*, II, p. 213.

2. *Cambodge*, I, p. 395.

mon to both inscriptions, which corresponds with the first three quarters of the written text, contributes to the establishment of an almost complete text. The gaps which exist are almost insignificant and some of them can even be filled in with absolute certainty.

The document thus reconstituted is interesting for more than one good reason. First, it gives a biography of Divākara-pañḍita, the spiritual adviser, protector and establisher of the first kings of that dynasty to which the two great sovereigns of Cambodia belong, namely Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. Then, as previously mentioned, it allows useful comparisons to be made with the inscription of Sdōk Kāk Thom, certain passages of which it explains. Finally, because of its language which is infinitely more precise, more flexible than that of Sdōk Kāk Thom, and which presents no real difficulties of interpretation, it provides a remarkable example of Khmer prose at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The stèle of Phnom Sandāk (K. 194) lay, at the time of Aymonier,³ broken in five fragments beside the nave *B. L. de Lajonquière* counted six,⁴ from which he obtained, by the ancient process, some rubbings of little value and of little use. *H. Parmentier*, in 1924, recovered only four fragments from which he was able to obtain seven Chinese rubbings. He transferred these to the eastern gopura II where the other inscriptions of the monument are preserved.⁵

On this stèle, the common part of the inscription in Khmer, with three Sanskrit stanzas added to it, consists of 69 lines, 49 on the first face, and 20 on the second, where it is followed

3. *Loc. cit.* Therefore it was not discovered in 1900 as *H. Parmentier* wrote in *Art khm̄r classique*, p. 146.

4. Inventory, I, p. 389, fig. 192 conveys the apparently incorrect impression that the repaired fragment provide a complete text. Now, his "rubbings" supply less of the text than those taken by *H. Parmentier* from four fragments only, and these latter do not seem to correspond with a text containing more gaps than the one which *Lajonquière* has analysed,

5. *H. Parmentier, loc. cit.*

by a text of 36 lines spread over 5 columns which are read in the same manner as the columns of a newspaper.

The stèle of Prâḥ Vihār which Aymonier found "in front of the sanctuary,"⁶ and the location of which is not given by L. de Lajonquière,⁷ would, according to H. Parmentier, actually be "in the transept of salle B¹, croisillon O," but there would be in salle L, a pedestal which seems to correspond to it.⁸ The rubbing obtained by Lajonquière, by the ancient process, is quite good and has the particular advantage of having been made before the breaking of the stone which, on H. Parmentier's Chinese rubbing, shows an oblique crack prejudicial to reading.

On this stèle, the common part of the inscription comprises 70 lines, 48 on the first face and 22 on the second, where it is followed by a text of 35 lines arranged in 7 columns. A Khmer text of 7 lines in the same writing is inscribed on one of the narrow faces; on the other are engraved 2 Khmer texts of 10 to 13 lines of slightly later date, in much less careful writing.

The common part begins with a Sanskrit stanza in upajāti (A, 1 - 2)⁹ metre of which only the pāda pairs survive: this was an invocation, probably to Īiva.

The Khmer text begins by a date the number of whose units is indistinct. It would seem to be a I, so that the date must be read 1041 çaka. In this case the inscription would date from the same year as the works mentioned in his last paragraph (B. 20 - 22). As it can be neither before this date nor after 1043 Ç., date of the second post-scriptum of the stèle of Prâḥ Vihār, the margin of error is only one or two years.

6. *Cambodge*, II, p. 213

7. *Inventory*, II, p. 198

8. *Art khmèr classique*, p. 333

9. These references apply to the stèle of Prâḥ Vihār, the lines of which coincide almost exactly with that of the stèle of Phnoṃ Sandâk upon face A. On face B there is a divergence of one to two lines, arising from the fact that the stèle of Phnoṃ Sandâk counts on face A one line more than on that of Prâḥ Vihār (49 instead of 48).

Therefore, in 1041 C., (1119 A.D.) or in the following year, the King Sūryavarman II, in the course of one of those solemn audiences, of which the bas-relief of the south gallery of Angkor gives some idea, ordered the setting up of the inscription in question, a sort of curriculum vitae of Divākarapaṇḍita who at that time bore the title of bhagavat pāda kamraten añ ta guru. This title as we shall see, had been conferred upon him by Jayavarman VI on the occasion of his coronation (A. 15-16), but in 1120 or 1121, he was destined to change it for the higher one of dhūli jeñ kamraten añ, which figures on the post-scriptum of the stèle of Prāḥ Vihār.

The biography of Divākara, native of Vnur Dnañ in the district of Sadyā (two localities equally unknown), and belonging to the caste or sect of karmāntara (A-8), begins in the reign of Udayādityavarman II (A, 9-11). This king appealed to him to establish (doubtless, along with other priests) the cult of the golden linga for which purpose he had constructed the mountain-temple of Bāphūon, in the centre of his capital. Udayādityavarman II having reigned from 1050-1066, and the establishing of the golden linga not having taken place until nearly the end of his reign, c. 1060, or rather shortly afterwards, one may infer that Divākara was born around 1040. It is difficult to establish his birth much earlier, since he was still alive after 1120, and moreover it is not necessary, for the text says he has been dedicated to the cult from his early youth; he must have been, as early as his 20th year, "officer before the royal linga."

Udayādityavarman II's successor, his brother Harṣavarman III, entrusted to Divākara some duty or function, the name of which has been lost in a gap in the inscription of Phnom Sandāk and is incomplete on Prāḥ Vihār: this must be ācāryapradhāna (A, 12-13). Then it seems, he rallied to the cause of a newcomer who had no links with his predecessors, who seized power in 1080, under the name of Jayavarman VI, for it was Divākara who was chosen, by this latter person, to celebrate his coronation in the capacity of vraḥ guru.

From this period dates his good fortune and his attachment to the new dynasty whose spiritual adviser he remains for more than 40 years. In addition to the function of *vraḥ guru*, he obtained from Jayavarman VI, along with the title of *bhagavat pāda kamraten añ ta guru* *Ṣrī Divākarapaṇḍita*, the insignia of his new dignity: golden palanquin, white parasol, bearers (A, 16). The king, moreover, no doubt on the occasion of his coronation, entrusted him with the distribution of the ritual objects made of precious metal, animals and slaves, to the principal sanctuaries in the country, and with the carrying out of various works (A, 16-19); when the sovereign himself set forth on pilgrimages to the holy places of his kingdom, he was accompanied by *Divākara* (A, 16-19).

His brother and successor, *Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ I*, was, like himself, crowned by *Divākara*, whom he likewise entrusted with the distribution of various articles and goods in the temples (A, 21-25). When, by a coup de force, a grand nephew seized power in 1113, *Divākara*, for a second time, legitimised an irregular succession by placing the crown upon the newcomer, who assumed the name of *Sūryavarman II* (A, 26-28). Here the inscription enumerates in terms very similar to those on the stèle of *Sdōk Kāk Thom*, the different phases of the coronation: initiation (*diksa*), study of the sciences (*siddhānta*) and the secret rites (*vraḥ Guhya*), ritual feasts (*ṣāstrotsava*), distribution of gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) (A, 28-33).

On this last point, the inscription of *Phnom Sandāk* and of *Prāḥ Vihār* explains in the most interesting way the parallel passage on the stèle of *Sdōk Kāk Thom* (D, 64-72). While reading the latter, one might indeed wonder whether the gifts offered to *Sadāṣiva-Jayendravarman* by *Udayādityavarman II* were personal gifts, honorariums (that is the meaning of *dakṣiṇā*) or goods simply handed over to *Jayendravarman* for him to distribute among the principal sanctuaries of the kingdom. The first interpretation conforms strictly to the terms of the st. (XCV-CXVIII) of the Sanskrit text which the Khmer

language paraphrases without making explicit the point which interests us. The second might argue the fact that, according to the Sanskrit text (st. CXIX), Jayendravarman, did in point of fact, distribute costly gifts to Bhadreçvara and to the other gods; confirmation of what has just been said may also be found with regard to Divākara who, without any possible doubt, was commanded by Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarman I to distribute goods to the temples. The solution to this problem is supplied to us by the inscription of Phnom Sandāk and of Prāḥ Vihār, which shows that the one interpretation does not exclude the other. We have just seen that, besides the gifts destined for the temple, Jayavarman VI had handed over to Divākara the insignia of his rank. Sūryavarman II did likewise, but besides new insignia denoting promotion (a palanquin with 5 heads, two peacock feather fans with gold handles, to which he as yet had no right, four white parasols instead of one (A, 29-30), he gave to Divākara "for him to keep" (pi duk, A, 31), a whole set of precious metal, the elements of which are almost identical to those presented to Jayendravarman by Udayādityavarman II.) As for the articles distributed to the temples, the enumeration of which is the subject of another paragraph (A, 37-40), they are completely distinct from those presented to Divākara "for him to keep." But although Jayendravarman had consecrated to Bhadreçvara the gifts which Udayādityavarman II had given to him personally (according to the Sanskrit text), we shall see Divākara dedicate to Çikhariçvara (Prāḥ Vihār) the magnificent set which Sūryavarman II had given to him (B, 1-2). Besides, this appears to have been a well established tradition, for this handing over of royal presents to a sanctuary is verified by another well-known document, the inscription of Prāḥ Nôk, according to which General Saṅgrāma presented to the golden linga of Bâphûon the booty which Udayādityavarman II wished to bestow upon him in recognition of his victories.¹⁰

10. *ISCC*, pp. 145, 172.

From what has just been established we can conclude that in the inscription of Sdök Kāk Thom, the goods enumerated must certainly (as the Sanskrit text states) have been presented as personal gifts to Jayendravarman by Udayādityavarman II. Moreover, the king must have known he would not keep them, but, conforming to tradition, would place them in a temple. The same thing happened in the case of Sūryavarman II and Divākara, but the latter was, in point of fact, charged by Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇḍravarmīn I, and Sūryavarman II to distribute to the temples other gifts which had not been allocated personally to him.

One may wonder why the kings did not themselves hand over their gifts to the holy places on the occasion of these pilgrimages (kṣetrādhihama) mentioned here, and especially why Sūryavarman II had a stanza of his own engraved on the precious articles distributed to the temples, ascribing to Divākara the merit of having donated the gifts (A, 40-41).

If this was not simply to ensure special spiritual benefits for the guru, who already was overwhelmed with temporal gifts, it was perhaps because the donations were more efficacious and procured for the sovereigns even greater merits if they were offered to the gods through the intermediary of a holy personage endowed with the power of "transferring" merits (khmèr: chlañ) which in Cambodia has always been the chief aim pursued by the donators.

But let us return to the biography of Divākara.

After the ceremonies of the coronation and the gifts handed over by Sūryavarman II to the guru, the text mentions the great ritual sacrifices (koṭihoma, lakṣahoma, pitṛyajña etc.) over which Divākara presided each year (A, 35-35), and in reference to this subject inserts a stanza (vasantatilakā) attributed to the king (A, 35-36), indicating the efficacy of such sacrifices when celebrated by a competent master.

Next follows a list of goods handed over to Divākara by the king (A, 37), apparently in view of the distribution of them immediately afterwards (A, 38-40). The precious objects destined for distribution bore a stanza engraved upon them (*vasantatilakā*), likewise attributed to the king (A, 40-41), stating that this object was presented in 1083 Ç. (1111 A.D.) to Paçupati by Divākara, King Sūryavarman's guru. The date, three years later than the coronation, makes it clear that it was not a question of a distribution having been made exactly at the time of the accession. If it had any connection with the ceremony, we must conclude either that the ceremony extended over a period of years or that the distribution could have been made at a somewhat later date.

The text next makes a summary of the works carried out by Divākara at the various temples, the gifts that he made to them and the disposal of labour and the services of supply which he instituted in them.

At Bhadreçvara, which here must indicate Wat Ph'u, he constructed a pool to which he gave his name, doubtless the "great pond" situated to the east of the entrance causeway, and he founded an āçrama (a place of worship) to which he allotted villages, goods and personnel (A, 42-44).

At Çikharīçvara, that is, at Prāḥ Vihār, he erected statues and gave villages, the boundaries of which are given in detail on the second face of the stèle of Prāḥ Vihār (B, 23-57), following upon the common text, with the list of slaves attached to these villages and set apart no doubt for the service of the āçrama next mentioned (A, 47-48). The precious objects offered to the god Çikharīçvara by Divākara comprised among other things the set of precious objects which he had received from the king as an honorarium, on the occasion of his initiation (B, 1-2, cf. supra A, 30-32). In addition, he presented to the temple a gold dais, covered the floor of the prasat with bronze plaques, supplied the temple with a complete set of plate

made of precious metal, had the towers, the courts and the main entrance redecorated annually, and distributed emoluments to all the personnel of the temple from the teacher to the humblest servants (B, 3 - 6).

To Çivapura Dandem, that is to say, to Phnom Sandâk, Divākara made identical donations (B, 7 - 12), but these did not include, as can be understood, the gold set he had received as a personal gift and which he had reserved for the sanctuary of Prâḥ Vihār. The boundaries of the villages presented and the list of slaves are inscribed on the second face of the stèle of Phnom Sandâk (B, 21 - 55) following upon the common inscription.

At Cāmpēçvara, perhaps Prāsāt Kók Pô, similar donations are mentioned very briefly and without detail (B, 12 - 13).

The following paragraph (B, 13 - 16) is rather curious. It concerns Īçvarapura, Bantāy Srei, whose foundation is imputed to the vraḥ guru of Jayavarman V (B, 14) in complete agreement with the results obtained by epigraphical research.¹¹ The sacred goods, lands and slaves had been squandered by the "respectable" (pādamūla) chief or guardian, and, when Sūryavarman II offered the temple to Divākara, the latter was obliged to redeem them and restore the cult which had no doubt fallen into abeyance.

The following passage (B, 17 - 20) refers to events which are unknown to us. It concerns lands which appear to have been confiscated from various gurus who had been guilty of some misdeed. Divākara received permission from the king to restore these to their former owners.

The last paragraph (B, 20 - 22) relates that in 1041 Ç. (1119 A.D.), the very year of the erection of the stèles of Phnom Sandâk and Prâḥ Vihār, Sūryavarman II continued the work of the arrangement and improvement of the village of Divākara, who must at that time have been an octogenarian.

11. BEFEO, XXIX, p. 129.

Here ends the common text. As has been noted above, each of the two inscriptions next gives the boundaries of the village and the list of slaves offered to the temple in which the inscription was placed. The stèle of Phnom Sandâk has no inscriptions upon the small faces. That of Prâḥ Vihâr, bears on one of them (C, 1-7) a formula for a curse, partly in ruin, conceived in the usual style. On the other small face it gives two post-scriptum, whose chief interest is to show that between 1041 Ç. (1119 A.D.) and 1045 Ç. (1121 A.D.) Divākara was promoted to the dignity of dhūli jeñ kamraten añ. This is, in effect, the title which these two texts give him, the first of which (D, 1-10), after a date (in ruins), mentions an order by Sūryavarman II, relating perhaps to this promotion, and the second (D, 11-23), dated 1043 Ç. (1121 A.D.), tells of the purchase by Divākara of two pieces of land which he presented to the Çivalinga of Vnur Dnañ, his native country. The linga named kamraten jagat, must have been a "personal" linga like the Jayendravarmeçvara of the stèle of Sdök Kăk Thom.

In the pages which follow we shall first give the common text, followed by its translation, then the text peculiar to the stèle of Phnom Sandâk, which requires no translation because it merely gives the boundaries of villages and lists of slaves, and finally the special text on the stèle of Prâḥ Vihâr on which only some engraved parts on the small sides have been the subject for translation.

TRANSLATION

I. Hommage to thee.... Hommage to thee, a thousand times, ten thousand times, ten million times..., like the current of a river, homage to thee :

3-7. In 1041 çaka, fifth day of moon.... of Çrāvaṇa, a Monday, S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva was in hall...,¹ the lords, Brahmans, the lords members of the royal family (rājakula), princes (rājaputra), great counsellors, generals, the four lord inspectors of qualities and defects,² the four Anak Sañjak, chiefs of the royal treasury, the Anak Sañjak, chiefs of the Vraḥ Lamvānī,³ all were gathered together in audience⁴ at the moment when the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākaraṇḍita was to pronounce the formula of the oblation.⁵ S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva descended upon.... making the añjali, gave orders for this inscription to be set up.

1. Krala, literally "aire = threshing floor," indicated the different halls or rooms of the palace: kralā phdam, "bedroom," krala arcana, "hall for worship," kralā homa, "room for oblation," krala l'avan (?). Further on (last line) we shall encounter krala raṃ, "dance hall."

2. Aymonier understands that it is a question of the fourth (of the ministers), therefore one single person, but by comparison with the four chiefs of the treasury quoted afterwards, I think it must be translated as I suggest. This interpretation is, moreover, confirmed by the bas-relief of the historic gallery of Ankor Vat (mem. Arch., B.E.F.E.O., pl. 526) where the inscription, vraḥ kamrateñ añ guṇadoṣa ta pvan, is connected with a group of four dignitaries.

3. "Service," the function which remains to be determined.

4. Gāl, mod. kāl, "pay a visit to the king, be present at the royal audience."

5. The text is not accurate. Instead of havirvād, one might perhaps read, girvādā, "eulogy, panegyric." Chlañ, "to cross or pass over," being the accepted expression for a ceremony comprising a transfer of merits, or for an inauguration, the reading, havirvāda, (although the word is not found in dictionaries) is more likely.

6. These words are not necessarily applicable to people who might be named in the lacune, for the st. III, *infra*, shows the king himself prostrated and making the añjali before the Guru.

8-9. The venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākarapaṇḍita, from the region of Vnur Dnañ, in the district of Sadyā,⁷ of the sect of Karmāntara, third category,⁸ trained in revealed knowledge(from his) youth never ceased to learn and to teach all the sacred texts (āgama) and to practice asceticism.

9-11. In the reign of S.M. Çrī Udayādityavarmadeva, who ascended the throne in 972 çaka (1050 A.D.), when (the king) erected the K.A. Suvarnalinga⁹.... for the purpose of worship, the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākarapaṇḍita was invited to officiate....

11-13. In the reign of S.M. Çrī Harṣavarmadeva, the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākarapaṇḍita was invited to (to take over the duties of) president (pradhāna)with the rank of precedence¹⁰ in the fourth category.

13-19. In the reign of S.M. Çrī Jayavarmadeva, when, on the occasion of his accession to the holy royalty, he sought for a priest fit in all respects to carry out the functions of Vrah Guru to celebrate the royal coronation, and make the oblations at all the sacrifices. It was the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākara-
paṇḍita who was invited to fulfil the duties of Vrah Guru, to celebrate the royal coronation and to make oblations at all the sacrifices. (The king) conferred upon the title of "Venerable Lord Guru" (bhagavat pāda kamrateñ añ ta guru)¹¹ Çrī Divākara-

7. For this meaning of praçasta, cf. G. Coedès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, II, p. 112, n.1.

8. For karmantara, cf. *ibid.*, p. 62, n. 8.

9. It is a question of the golden linga for which Udayādityavarman II had built the Bâphûon in the centre of his capital and to which Saṅgrāma, after his victories, consecrated the booty which the king had left him (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, pp. 18-23).

10. Literally, "being present at the audience." One should probably substitute acarya pradhana.

11. This title was not peculiar to Divakara. We find it at the same period, borne by two other priests, the bhagavat pāda kamrateñ añ ta guru Vidyavasa (Phnom Aksar, K. 595), and the bhagavat pāda kamrateñ añ ta guru Lampen (inscription of Trapāñ Dón On, K. 254).

paṇḍita. He deigned to present to him a golden palanquin for him to move about in, a white parasol, servants, bearers of the parasol to carry¹² (the palanquin). He deigned to hand over all sorts of goods, such as¹³ gold bowls, stands, goblets, ewers,¹⁴ spittoons, elephants, horses, slaves, men and women altogether,¹⁵ to the venerable lord Guru Ćrī Divākarapaṇḍita so that he might present them to all the temples, make sacrifices, erect (statues), construct pools and distribute goods such as: golden bowls, goblets, ewers, spittoons, elephants, horses to the Brahmans and Pandits of all classes, to the poor and to the helpless in all the (temples).

19-21. When S.M.Ć rī Jayavarmadeva went on a pilgrimage to the temples and to the holy places . . . went to K.J. Ćrī Cāmpēçvara,¹⁶ the venerable lord Guru Ćrī Divākarapaṇḍita was invited to go and make (sacrifices?) in all the temples.

21-25. In the reign of S.M. Ćrī Dharaṇīndravarmadeva, brother of S.M. Ćrī Jayavarmadeva, the venerable lord Guru Ćrī Divākarapaṇḍita accomplished the duties of Vrah Guru to celebrate the royal coronation and perform the oblations at all sacrifices. (The king) deigned to hand over all sorts of goods to the venerable lord Guru Ćrī Divākarapaṇḍita so that he might present them to all the temples, make sacrifices, construct pools,

12. *Señ*, mod. *Sèñ*, "carry by two people, while resting upon the shoulder the pole supporting the load."

13. In the list which follows and in those which appear later the use of the plural in the translation is arbitrary; certain objects may have been one only of their kind.

14. Although the word *vana* does not have the *virama* on the second letter it does not seem to be a Sanskrit term. I identify it as "stand" (On *vat khlās* cf. *Inscr. de Sđók Kăk Thom*, face D, 1, 17).

15. *Damnepre*, at the beginning of the enumeration, has the meaning of "beginning by" and *aval*, at the end, the meaning of "all complete."

16. The name of *Cāmpēçvara* has been borne by various holy places, notably by the sanctuary of *Pràsát Kók Pđ*, to the North of Western Baray at Ankor.

erect (statues), distribute riches, to wit: golden bowls, goblets, ewers, spittoons, elephants, horses, slaves to Brahmans and to Pandits of every category, to the poor and to the neglected.

26–28. In 1035 çaka (1113 A.D.) when S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva, great nephew in the maternal line of S.M. Çrī Jayavarmadeva and of S.M. Çrī Dharaṇīndravarmadeva, acceded to the holy kingship, he invited the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākarapaṇḍita to carry out the functions of Vruḥ Guru in order to celebrate the royal coronation.

28–33. Then His Majesty accomplished the holy initiation (vraḥ dīkṣā), made a study of all the knowledge (siddhānta), beginning by the secret science (vraḥ guhya), celebrated all the ritual feasts (çāstrotsava), made offerings (dakṣiṇā) according to . . . , gave a golden palanquin with five heads for transport, two peacock feather fans with gold handles, four white parasols, . . . set with precious stones, for him to keep, such as: tiara, earrings, ear-ornaments, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, girdles, . . . rings with nine jewels, stands, cups, goblets, ewers, spittoons, cok chlyak,¹⁷ golden bowls, gralon tai, canhvay¹⁸ and . . . to the venerable lord Guru, (objects) of the same type as those which are placed outside the Treasure Room, each day and which the attendants,¹⁹ . . .

34–36. The venerable lord Guru was invited to celebrate the Vraḥ Koṭihoma, the Vraḥ Lakṣahoma, the Vraḥ . . . homa, the sacrifice to the shades of the ancestors (pitryajña), the sacrifice . . . every year, according to the holy stanza of S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva.

II. "Whatever result the oblation poured by the Guru into the fire, in accordance with the strict application of custom,

17. Cok, a word of unknown meaning. Chlyak may correspond to mod. sliak "to clothe the lower limbs." In any case it will be observed that in this text the well-known derivative canlyāk, 11 "clothing, material" is written with a long ā.

18. Words of unknown meaning, appearing on other inscriptions, in a similar context.

19. It is rather difficult to guess what this lacuna (gap) contained.

produces for the benefit of the crops, on account of abundant showers, his ten thousand oblations, on occasion of a koṭihoma complying with strict application, produce (that result) here for the supreme success, in accordance with regulation "20

37. (The King) gave as a present, all sorts of goods, gold, silver, precious stones, stands, cups, ewers, spittoons, villages, slaves, men and women, elephants, horses, sacred brown cows and others, all together.

38-41. Then the venerable lord Guru Āṣṛī Divākara paṇḍita made a pilgrimage to offer goods to all the temples, beginning with K.J. Bhadrēçvara,²¹ following the sacred stanza which S.M. Āṣṛī Sūryavarmadeva composed to be engraven on all the golden palanquins and all the riches enumerated above destined to be presented to all the temples in all places.

III. "Āṣṛī Divākara whose foot rests upon the diadem adorning the head of Āṣṛī Sūryavarman, master of the world, in order to cause to bloom upon it the lotus of the añjali, has given this to Paçupati in (the year marked by) The moon (= 1), the sky (= 0), the (3) fires and the (8) Vasu."²²

42-44. The venerable lord Guru Āṣṛī Divākara paṇḍita constructed the pool of water named Āṣṛī Divākara taṭāka²³ in (the temple of) K.J. Bhadrēçvara, founded an āçrama and placed in

20. The meaning of this stanza seems to be as follows : one simple oblation by the guru being able to cause rain to fall, a Koṭihoma celebrated by him will have a result ten thousand times more important, the "supreme success" must doubtlessly here mean "emancipation," "final deliverance."

21. The name has been borne by many sanctuaries, but here it certainly is the temple Vat Ph'u, which was, on behalf of the kings of the dynasty founded by Jayavarman VI, the object of tireless devotion as appears from the stèle K. 366 (Aymonier, *Cambodge*, II p. 162).

22. 1038 ç. 1116 A.D.

23. This is probably the great basin (artificial reservoir), situated to the east of the temple and which seems to have been built later than the terrace of approach to the monument. (H. Parmentier, *Arch. khmèr classique*, pp. 213-214).

it slaves male and female. He presented the villages of Madhyamaḍeḡa of Taṅkāḷ and the cleared lands appertaining to it²⁴ as well as slaves male and female He provided a service if supplies conforming to this list: husked rice, oil,²⁵ sacred cloth, candles, incense, requisites for the ablution, dancers, singers, buffoons²⁶ and receptacles for flowers²⁷ for the daily worship.

45-48. For K.J. Ćrī Ćikharīḡvara²⁸ . . . , the venerable lord Ćuru Ćrī Divākarapaṅḡita erected the lord who dances, the golden image²⁹ the late queen (*kanlon kamraten añ*).³⁰ He offered goods the villages of (Ćambhu) grāma, Bhavagrāma;³¹ he dug pools in all the villages . . . , founded a place of worship, placed in it slaves male and female, offered goods and

24. *Caṅnat* (from *cat*, mod. *čāt*, "to arrange, to lay out") means on the inscriptions, notably on that of *Sdōk Kāk Thom*, an establishment, a newly created "settlement," therefore a recent clearing of land. *Naya*, literally "conduct," has in Cambodian language, acquired the meaning of "cause, manner, means or justification." I imagine that the portions of cleared land mentioned here served for the upkeep of the villages.

25. Or "melted butter" (*ghṛta*). cf. G. Coedès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, II, p. 54, n. 4.

26. The text does not specify whether the dancing and singing were performed by men or women. The translation of *Smevya* by "buffoon" is conjectural and is based on a connection with *Skt. smetevya*, "funny, amusing."

27. *Chmāp*, a noun derived from *cap*, mod. *čāp* "to take, to seize," might denote a "gatherer" (of flowers). But this meaning is difficult to reconcile with the context of the I.B.9 where the word recurs. That is why I have suggested translating it by "object for holding—receptacle."

28. This is *Prāḡ Vihār* whence comes one of the replicas of this inscription.

29. Probably a dancing Ćiva made of gold.

30. Mentioned in the inscription K. 366 of *Vat Ph'u*, face A, 1.17. This is probably Queen *Vijayendralakṣmī*, who, according to the inscription K. 191 of *Phnom Sandāk*, had been successively the wife of one *Yuvaraja* who died prematurely, of *Jayavarman VI* and of *Dharaṅdravarman I* (*BEFEO*, XXIX, p. 302, n. 1.).

31. The boundaries of these villages and the names of the slaves coming from them are given at the end of Face B on the stèle of *Prāḡ Vihār*.

instituted a service of supplies according to this list: husked rice, oil, sacred cloth, candles, incense, requisites for the ablution, dancers, singers, buffoons, musicians, receptacles of flowers for worship, daily.

48—B3. The articles which the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divākarapaṇḍita presented to K.J. Çikharīvara (comprise) the ornaments:— gold sheath (koça), tiara, earrings, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, girdles, waistlets, ankle rings, sandals, ornamented with precious stones,—which S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva had presented (to him) on the occasion of his initiation,³² including a gold dais decorated with lotus flowers and inlaid with precious stones.

3—5. He covered the floor of the towers with a coating of bronze. He presented: golden bowls, rings, jewels, stand cups, ewers, spittoons, elephants, horses, standards, tiered parasols, white parasols, dlah spittoons,³³ jugs,³⁴ dlah basins, jars, trays, dop phuñ, ³⁵ and innumerable cloth. He covered all the towers, the courts and the causeway, even to threshing floor where the paddy is burned annually.

5—7. He made offerings (dakṣiṇā) to the lord teacher (adhyāpaka), to the lords (priests) who officiate (in turn) each fortnight, to the Court (vraḥ sbhā), to the chief of the district (khlōṇ viṣaya), to the heads of the population (puruṣādhikara), to all the servants male and female of all castes, annually.³⁶

32. These are the objects enumerated above, 11. 30—33.

33. There must be some difference between pratigraha and padigaḥ which appear together in this list. I do not know the meaning of dlah.

34. Kuntikā must be a diminutive (of incorrect spelling) of kuṇḍa which has passed into mod. Cambodian language in the form of kōnti or kanti.

35. Words of unknown meaning.

36. Concerning the agrarian festival referred to here, cf. of A. Léclere, *Cambodge, Civil and Religious Festivities*, p. 318, and (for Siam) H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, p. 228.

7-10. To K.J. Çivapura Dandem³⁷ . . . (he gave) the villages of Carai, Tvai Jên, Khcom,³⁸ dug a pool, built a place of worship, placed in it slaves, both men and women all together, and presented all manner of goods. The daily supplies are: dancers, singers, buffoons, musicians, husked rice, oil, sacred cloth, candles, incense, the requisites for the ablution, four (kinds of) oil, flowers for the cult, receptacles for flowers. The goods offered are: golden bowls, rings, jewels, stands, cups, ewers, spittoons, elephants, horses, white parasols, tiered parasols, dlah spittoons, jugs, dlah basins, jars, trays, tapestries and innumerable cloth. He covered the towers, the courts and the causeway.

11-12. He made presents to the lord teacher, to the lord (priests) who officiate (in turn) each fortnight, to the Court, to the chief of the district, to the head of the people, to all the servants male and female, of all castes, annually.

12-13. For K.J. Çrī Cāmpeçvara, the venerable lord Guru Çrī Divīkarapaṇḍita bought a piece of ground, built a village, founded a place of worship, placed slaves male and female, instituted a service of supplies, in accordance with the list engraved upon the inscription.³⁹

13-17. To K.J. Īçvarapura,⁴⁰ the work of the lord Vrah Guru in the reign of S.M. Paramavīraloka,⁴¹ which S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva gave again to the verable lord Guru Çrī Divīkarapaṇḍita, all the land and the slaves of the temple,⁴² which

37. Phnom Sandāk from where one of the replicas of this stèle comes.

38. The boundaries of these villages and the names of the slaves coming from them are given at the end of the inscription of Phnom Sandāk.

39. No inscription of Divākara has yet been found on one of the monuments bearing any relation to the temple of Cāmpeçvara, notably at Prāsāt Kōk Pô.

40. Banāty Srēi.

41. This is Yajñavarāha, Vrah Guru of Jayavarman V (BEFEO, XXIX, pp. 289-296).

42. Literally " of the divinity " (devatā).

the respectable (pādamūla) had sold to pay other . . . , the venerable lord Guru Ćrī Divākarapaṇḍita bought them all back, and he restored the temple and the Ćivaite cult of this temple as in the days of the lord Vraḥ Guru.

17-20. Concerning the villages and family estates (kula) of the lords Paramagulu who had committed faults,⁴³ such as the village of Vrai Slā, family estate of lord . . . deva, and the village of Kantiñ, family estate of lord Guru Kantiñ, which the kings had given the gods, the venerable lord Guru Ćrī Divākarapaṇḍita made appeal to the royal favour. His Majesty redeemed them all, and the guilty ones . . . again as henceforward.

20-22. In 1041 çaka S.M. Ćrī Sūryavarmadeva commanded the royal artisans of the first, second, third and fourth categories, and the inhabitants of district of Sadyā,⁴⁴ to go and set up⁴⁵ the village of Vñur Dñañ and that sanctuary so that they might be dependant on the lineage,⁴⁶ build⁴⁷ a tower, dig a pool . . . , put a surrounding wall about the town, close in . . . all, including the cell, the dance hall . . . in the pavilion jutting out at the exterior,⁴⁸ in . . . also.

43. This is a reference to an historical fact unknown elsewhere.

44. This is the district to which the village of Vñur Dñañ belonged, native place of Divākara (*supra*, I. A8).

45. Literally, "faire" (to make, to do).

46. This means the lineage of Divākara.

47. Literally "to bind" or "to assemble" (stones or bricks).

48. Skt. mattāvarapa means a construction or part of a construction jutting out (like a watchtower of a fortified castle or cornice). The Khmer word krau, "outside," reinforces the meaning of this architectural term.

SPECIAL TEXT ON THE STÈLE OF PHNOM SANDĀK
AND ON THE STÈLE OF PRĀH VIHĀR

(from Face B)

Translation

C. 1-6 . . . the people . . . who preserve in perpetuity . . . this foundation, these people will enjoy heaven and salvation. Those who destroy this stone inscription, those people will go to the thirty-two hells, as long as the sun and moon endure.

D. 1-10 . . . çaka . . . of the crescent moon of Puṣya, nakṣatra . . . a (pāda) one antvañ dik, three vinādika, at that moment . . . S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva commanded . . . Dhūli Jeñ Kamrateñ Añ Çrī Divākarapañḍita . . . all the goods . . . as an offering.

11-23 . . . 1043 çaka, ninth day of the crescent moon of Māgha, Wednesday: Dhūli Jeñ Kamrateñ Añ Çrī Divākarapañḍita acquired a piece of land in a place called . . . Karol Cyah, placed boundary stones around it, gave it the name of Rudrālaya and presented it to the Kamrateñ Jagat Çivaliṅga of Vnur Dnañ . . . ; in another place, having acquired the land of Them Thkū, placed boundary stones around it, gave it the name of Pañcāyājña and presented it to Kamrateñ Jagat Çivaliṅga of Vnur Dnañ.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PRĀḤ VIHĀR

From Volume VI

INSCRIPTIONS OF CAMBODIA

by

G. Coedès

(Paris, 1954)

(K. 380 – 383)

Aymonier discovered, at Prāḥ Vihār, two stèles and two groups of inscriptions on pillars.¹

The Sanskrit inscription in nāgarī characters (K. 382) was seen by Aymonier “in the sanctuary” and by L. Lajonquière² “in the front of the sanctuary.” H. Parmentier³ assumes that it was originally in the vestibule to the south of gopura II (D), where a square block with mortise may have served as a support. However that may be, this stèle has disappeared. It is perhaps in Siam at Sisāket, provincial capital, 80 kilometers north of Prāḥ Vihār (and not at Vat Sisāket in Bangkok – a mistake for Vat Sāket – as Parmentier says). but research in an endeavour to find it has yielded no result.

The Khmer stèle of Divākara (K. 383) was found by Aymonier “in front of the sanctuary.” H. Parmentier says it is actually placed in the west wing of the transept of the front hall (B'), but he thinks that it may have been originally in the long hall (L) where a rectangular recess in a pedestal seems to correspond to the dimensions of the inscribed stone.

Aymonier is confused in his description of the inscriptions on the pillars. The inscriptions (K. 380) are engraven on the pillars of the door beneath the south porch of gopura II (D). Regarding the inscription (K. 381) which Aymonier places on the pillar east of the preceding door, it is actually engraven on

1. *Cambodge*, II, pp. 207-216.

2. *Inventory*, II, pp. 197 - 198.

3. *Art Khmèr classique*, pp. 332-333.

the south pillar of the door below the west vestibule in the south gallery (H) of the monument, to the east of gopura III (where Aymonier wrongly places the inscription of the east pillar mentioned above).

Since the publication of the Sanskrit stèle by A. Bergaigne,⁴ it is worth repeating that the epigraphy of Prāḥ Vihār begins with the inscription of Yaçovarman, but, as we shall see, there is no reason to attribute to this inscription a date previous to that of the short Khmer inscription which is engraven beneath, that is, 969 ç. (1047 A.D.). In fact, the inscriptions of Prāḥ Vihār belong to two periods, that of Sūryavarman I (K. 380 — 382), and that of Sūryavarman II (K. 383). Although there already existed a sanctuary of Çikhareçvara on the mountain, the region of Sūryavarman I provided a remarkable impetus towards, if not the beginning of, a Çivaite cult. This was due to the fact that the sovereign had already miraculously transferred the Bhadreçvara of Liṅgapura to this mountain summit (K. 380). Everything leads one to believe that the bulk of the construction dates from his reign.

4. *ISCC*, LXI, p. 525.

South Pillar of the West Door of Gallery H

(K. 381)

This inscription contains 21 lines: 9 Khmer lines and 12 Sanskrit lines forming three sragdharā stanzas. The writing, which is big and rather elaborate, has suffered from wear and tear, but apart from one gap at the beginning, can be almost perfectly read.

The date by which the Khmer text begins is probably 946 ç. (1024 A.D.). It mentions a fact which the defaced part prevents us from understanding exactly, but which, from the words of the curse in lines 3-4, was certainly of a religious foundation. The following lines give to an anonymous Vrah Kamraten Æñ, who must be Tapasvīndrapañḍita – named afterwards in the inscription – an exclusive right to certain properties. This person who was the chief of a hermitage bearing his name (Tapasvīndrāçrama) instituted in 948 ç. (1026 A.D.) a disposal of presentations in favour of Çikhareçvara, the principal god of Práh Vihār (ll. 7-9).

The Sanskrit inscription mentions the accession to power of Sūryavarman I in 924 ç. (1002 A.D.) as well as this king's gift of a palaquin and the hermitage Vīrāçrama, corresponding no doubt to the so called "palace" where the inscription is engraved. It is to this hermitage, it seems, that Tapasvīndra gave his name, giving back to the king the fruit of his good works.

Translation

1-4. In 946 of V.K.A. and the land the people who destroy this (foundation) will go to hell, those who let it prosper will go to heaven.

4-7 V.K.A.¹ is reminded: V.K.A. has exclusive right over all the slaves whom the people have given to be kept here,

1. Apparently to Tapasvīndrapañḍita.

as well as over all the suitable objects: they are mentioned in a written agreement² conformable to the foundation of V.K.A. which the king ordained to be carried out in accordance with V.K.A.'s desire.

7-9. In 948 çaka, V.K.A. Tapasvīndrapaṇḍita gave goods as a presentation for the new year to K.J. Çrī Çikhareçvara: 6 gobhikṣa, vat weighing 2 jyañ, 10 liñ, 4 bracelets . . . this collection of trays, basins, cows, buffaloes, elephants, villages, lands and slaves belonging to Tapasvīndraçrama.

10-12. I. He whose glory, like the heavenly tree planted today in the ground, is placed upon the chaste surface of the altar of Agni, grows in the confines of the seven worlds, gladdens the hosts of the inhabitants of heaven by his manifold and renowned fruits, watered continually by the flow of his donations, and covers the cardinal points by the shade of his eminent virtues, the king Çrī Sūryavarman received the excellent kingship (in the year marked) by the (9) openings, the (2) arms and the (4) oceans³.

14-17. II. Having observed the manner of (Agastya)'s giving, (Agastya) who was born in a pitcher, who had drunk then vomited the ocean, this (king) who had in his mouth an ocean of inconceivably great knowledge gave to the best of the wise men who bear a name beginning with Deva, ending with paṇḍita and with tapasvīndra⁴ in the middle, a golden palaquin with supports in the shape of naga heads, and here this fortunate Vīrāçrama provided with goods.

2. The rikta, which might be of gold or silver (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, 11, p. 54) was evidently a plaque similar to the copper leaves on which the charters in India and Java are engraved. The modern equivalent of this word seems to be "rit" which means an "olle" or leaf of a palm-tree. Ritka must be the abbreviation of "riktapattra," signifying "blank or virgin leaf."

3. 924 ç. = 1002 A.D.

4. Devatapasvīndrapaṇḍita, deva being V.K.A.

18–21. III. With ardent devotion the aforesaid Çrī Tapasvīndrapañḍita gave to Çrī Sūryavarman, spiritual master of the three worlds, all the merit acquired by his voice, his mind and his body: lord of the mountain⁵, he gave to this hermitage, ornament of the mountain . . . a famous name ending in āçrama and beginning with Tapasvīndra.

5. Instead of çirā, which seems almost certain, one would prefer çirasi—which would not suit the metre—or çire “at the summit of the mountain.” Çirā (for çirās, nominative) could only apply to Tapasvīndrapañḍita, the expression, dharaṇidharaçiras, is no doubt an equivalent of khloṇ vnam “chief of the mountain,” or, in the less poetical Sanskrit, çailādhipa.

Pillars of the South Door of Gopura D

(K. 380)

These inscriptions are of paramount interest in the history of the monument of Prāḥ Vihār, but Aymonier who has given a summary of them has drawn but scant conclusions from their concrete facts. They comprise several distinct texts, with closely related dates, which have the common characteristics of making reference to the miraculous powers of the holy place. These texts can be divided into three groups.

- I. A Sanskrit inscription comprising 10 lines on the west pillar (ll. 1-10) and 27 lines on the east pillar (ll. 29-55). The reasons which cause me to connect these two separate fragments into one single text are as follows: (1) The writing and spacing of the lines are identical; (2) Assuming that the inscriptions of the two pillars, which are of unequal length, ended almost at the base, at the same level, the first line of the Sanskrit text on the west face is at the same height as the first line of the Sanskrit text on the east face (1-29 of the total inscription); (3) These two fragments, about 20 years previous to the Khmer inscriptions engraven on the same pillars, have no connection with the latter; on the other hand they complete each other very well, with the 10 lines of the west pillar being composed of invocation formulae and the 27 lines of the east pillar containing a eulogy of the king and the announcement of a foundation in 940 ç. (1018 A.D.).
- II. A text of 959-960 ç. (1037-1038 A.D.) which contains 23 lines, 16 in Khmer, 2 in Sanskrit (1 upajāti) and 5 lines in Khmer which is engraven below the Sanskrit inscription on the west pillar occupying lines 12-33.
- III. A Khmer text of 960 ç. (1038 A.D.) which is composed of two parts, the first of which occupies the 28 lines of the east pillar above the Sanskrit, and the second the 13 last lines below the Sanskrit.

IV. A Khmer text of 971 ç. (1049 A.D.) comprising 4 lines engraven at the base of the west pillar.

Here now, is the subject matter of these diverse texts which will be published later, not in the logical and chronological order hitherto indicated, but according to the position which they occupy on the pillars.

I. This Sanskrit inscription, in very bad condition, is composed of 20 stanzas in all, which from the point of view of metre are divided as follows:

āryā: I – V, XVIII – XX
 mālinī: XII – XVI
 sragdharā: IX – XI, XVII
 çārdulavikrīḍita: VI – VIII

The first 5 stanzas, those which are written on the west pillar, contain only invocations, the last of which at least is of vishnuite inspiration. The text engraven on the east pillar is in a poor state of preservation, but by a lucky chance, all too rare in epigraphy, the only passage which gives a complete reading is the one which is really interesting. As a matter of fact, whereas the stanzas VI to XVI are devoted to banal praise of the king, the stanza XVII tells of the foundation by Sūryavarman I of a series of "personal" liṅga Sūryavarṇeçvara, first at Jayakṣetra (Bāsēt) then in 940 ç. (1018 A.D.), simultaneously in three other sanctuaries: Çikhareçvara (Phrah Vihār), Īçānatīrtha (unidentified) and Sūryādri (Phnom Čisór). The three last stanzas are in too much of a ruined state for interpretation. In all likelihood they would contain curses.

II. The inscription of 959–960 ç. (1037–1038 A.D.) has as its principal personage a certain Sukarman bearing the title of Kamsten (in Khmer, Çrī Sukarmā Kamsteni), native of

Kurukṣetra,¹ who carried out the duties of Recorder in the sanctuary of Çikhareçvara (Prāḥ Vihār) and Keeper of the Archives of the Kingdom (ll. 14–21). In recognition of his services, the king in 959 ç. (1037 A.D.) gave him the district of Vibheda, the name of which was changed to Kuruksetra, to remind the people of the origin of the beneficiary (ll. 22–26 and in the Sanskrit text, ll. 27–28). To the occupants of this territory, another was given in exchange, along with the privilege of creating a caste or corporation (ll. 29–31). The last lines (31–33) concern the command given in 960 ç. (1038 A.D.) to engrave this royal decree upon the stone.

- III. The Khmer inscription on the west pillar consists of two parts. The one engraven above the Sanskrit text (ll. 1–28), dated the year 960 ç. (1038 A.D.), seventh day of the waning of the moon of Crāvāṇa, contains a royal decree enjoining five categories of people to come and swear an oath of allegiance to the god Çikhareçvara, in whom the god Bhadreçvara of Liṅgapura (ll. 4–5) has been reincarnated; these two names have been borne by several localities and distinct sanctuaries, which makes it very difficult to determine which is the particular god whose cult was re-established at Prāḥ Vihār by Sūryavarman I.

The oath included especially the pledge to look after the temple, to maintain its upkeep, to defend it against enemies and rebels (ll. 7–17). The five groups called upon to take the oath were :

1st: The people from a number of hermitages (5–9)

1. This is not necessarily Kurukṣetra in India. The stèle K. 365 of Vat Ph'u (*Inscr. du Cambodge* V, p. 9) of which I shall presently be able to give almost a complete text (this text has now been published in *BEFEO*, XLVIII p. 209), tells us in fact that the name of Kurukṣetra had been given to the region situated to the east of Vat Ph'u, on the borders of the Mekong.

- 2nd: Warriors and princes (vīra rājakṣatra) from Vrai Samlañ (ll. 17-19).
- 3rd: The people named "of Vīravarmaṇ" (ll. 19-21).
- 4th: People from Jeñ Vnam forming part, it seems, of the entourage of the Sukarman of the preceding inscription (ll. 21-23).
- 5th: The people from Thpal Samlañ (ll. 23-25). The end of this first part concerns the engraving of this oath on the stone.

The second part, three and a half months later than the preceding one and dated 6th day of the crescent moon of Mārgaṣīra of the same year, contains another royal decree destined to exclude from the obligations and benefits of this oath a section of the people named Pās Khmau,² who had a certain but rather obscure connection with the people of the hermitages constituting the first group of those who had taken the oath. The main interest of this part is that, in lines 58 to 60, it is more explicit than the preceding ones concerning the reincarnation of the god Bhadrēvara of Liṅgapura at Prāḥ Vihār. It was king Sūryavarman I who may have succeeded in bringing about this reincarnation, thanks to the power of his asceticism. In his new sanctuary the god seems to have accomplished all sorts of miracles.

IV. The text of 971 ç. (1049 A.D.) inscribed at the foot of the west pillar is in a bad state of preservation and its meaning is difficult to determine. It may have some connection with the inscription of Sukarman engraved above.

2. Aymonier, *Cambodge*, II, p. 290, translates this expression by "rebelle" = rebel; "noire" = black; "black rebel." If the text of Prāḥ Vihār presents these people on an unfavourable day, an inscription of Bantāy Prāv names a Teñ Tvan Pās Khman (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, III, p. 59) and the inscription of Samron mentions a Khloñ Pās Khmau (*Ibid.*, VI, p. 201-203), from the pre-Angkorian period, the name appears in a toponym, Travāñ Pās Kmauhv, in the stèle of Prāḥ Kūhā Lūoñ, l. 12 (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 11-12).

TRANSLATION

West pillar

I-III. (defaced)

- IV. May you be protected by the palm of the hand... whose surface is red and which has the brilliance of the sun on the summit of the mountain of rubies.
- V. May you be succoured by the disc of Viṣṇu, which at its extremity is reddened by the flow of blood (shed) in a noble battle and whose powerful circle pours forth each day the rays of the rising sun.

11-14. In 959 çaka, the day of the new moon of Māgha falling in Puṣya,¹ lunar mansion Dhaniṣṭha, at noon, V.K.A. Çrī Rājapativarman, grandson of V.K.A. Çrī Rājapativarman, the elder, of the district of Avadhyapura, respectively informed S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva, of the acts of devotion of Çrī Sukarmā Kamsteñ, to begin with, on the occasion of the fortification of places (destined) for K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara and K.J. Çrī Vṛddheçvara.²

14-15. He was zealously keeping the list (of goods received) when the holy çivīte splendour of K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara appeared before his eyes in a manifestation revealing a solid and glorious sacred abode.³

1. The text seems to mean that this new moon, instead of falling on the first day of Māgha, coincided with the last day of Puṣya. But in an inscription of Vat Bāset one year previous to this one (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, III, p.4.), the similar expression, āṣādhā ta jā jyeṣṭhna, seems to have a different meaning (*v. infra*, p. 321).

2. Perhaps Kāmp'eñg Nāi, north of Prāḥ Vihar, where the latter had a sanctuary (*supra*, p. 251).

3. If this translation, which owes much to the suggestions of M. Au Chhieng, is correct, it gives one to understand that the miraculous apparition had for its aim the building of a temple and that the faithful contributed to it by making offerings, an inventory of which Sukarmā kept.

15-19. There is a family which keeps the writings concerning the family of Kambu and the various departments of the royal service, the writings concerning the noble deeds of the sovereigns from S.M. Çrutavarman to those of His Majesty Çrī Sūryavarmadeva, kinsman of S.M. Çrī Indravarman who went to the Īçvaraloka and (as far as those of) Queen K.A. Çrī Vīralakṣmī of Vrac (district) of Vraḥ Sruk, kinswoman of S.M. Çrī Harṣavarmadeva who went to Rudraloka, and of S.M. Çrī Īçānavarmadeva who went to Paramarudraloka.

19-21. The collection of these sacred writings is kept (by his care) on the leaves which are deposited at K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara at K.J. Çrī Vṛddheçvara as well as at Kanlōn.⁴

21. He took the original oath of loyalty according to the same formula as V.K.A. Çrī Rājapativarman.⁵

22-23. Consequently, S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva deigned to bestow his blessing upon Çrī Sukarmā Kamsteñ and graciously to grant royal gifts and the district of Vibheda, the inheritance of Mratāñ Çrī Pṛthivīnarendra forming part of the possessions⁶ of Kamsteñ Çrī Mahīdharavarman of Vraḥ Sruk, to Çrī Sukarmā Kamsteñ.

24-26. (His Majesty) gave orders for (this decision) to be engraved on a pillar of stone at Çrī K.J. Çikharīçvara and ordered it to be engraved on an (other) pillar of stone and to place it in the district of Vibheda, granted graciously by S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva to Çrī Sukarmā Kamsteñ and to the family of Çrī Sukarmā Kamsteñ, installed in the district of Vibheda which henceforth should bear the name of Kurukṣetra.

4. This place where certain holy writings were kept, is mentioned in other inscriptions (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, II, p. 67).

5. Hypothetical translation. The same but more developed expression is to be found on the east pillar, 1. 23. Vaddha has evidently the same meaning as in the expression Vaddhapratijñā in the oath inscribed on the entrance gopura of the Royal Palace (*Ibid.*, III, p. 208).

6. Literally: "à l'intérieur de" = in the interior of.

VI. 27-28. The village named Vibheda given by the king of kings, Çrī Sūryavarman, to Sukarman who came from Kurukṣetra, has, because of that, been called Kurukṣetra.

29-31. As for the members of the family of Vāp Man of Vibheda, people of Kamsteñ Çrī Mahīdharavarman of Vraḥ Sruk, on whose behalf V.K.A. Çrī Rājapativarman appealed respectfully to the king, His Majesty deigned to order the land of Raṅgol to be divided among them and that they should be established there in exchange for the district of Vibheda, and decreed that these people should henceforth form part of the varṇa and of the āgrama.

31-33. In 960 çaka, at the new moon of Vaiçākha, V.K.A. Çrī Pṛthivīndrapaṇḍita, and the president of the court of the first category of the district of Kutī Ruñ, together gave notice of the royal decree to Çrī Samarendrāhipativarman of the district of Avadhyapura, inspector of the royal household at K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara and requested him to engrave it on the sacred pillar of stone in (the temple of) Kamrateñ Jagat.

34-37. In 971 çaka, fifth day of the decrescent moon of Caitra..., K.A. Çrī Gaṇitendrapaṇḍita, astrologer of the district of..., V.K.A. Vyāpāra⁷ of the district of Avaddhyapura..., the young and Kamsteñ Añ... list, to offer the slaves named Tai Kansa, Tai Thñe, Tai... to K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara.... The members of the family who look after must not destroy....

7. Vyāpāra, "a function, employment, occupation," appears in other texts, in connection with the name or title of a dignitary. (*Ibid.*, I, p. 156; II, p. 144; V, p. 90).

East Pillar

I. Om! Homage to the gurus, the foremost of whom is Çiva! Prosperity to Çrī Sūryavarmadeva! Success!¹

1-3. In 960 çaka, seventh day of the decrescent moon of Çrāvāṇa, S.M. Çrī Suryavarmadeva made his way to the audience chamber,² in the town of Çrī Yaçodharapura to notify the following to V.K.A. Çrī Rājapativarman, grandson of V.K.A. Çrī Rājapativarman the elder, of the district of Avadhyapura.

4-5. K.J. Çrī Bhadveçvara of Liṅgapura came and was reincarnated at Çrī Çikharīçvara, manifesting his holy power in visible fashion.

5-9. The people of the hermitages of Prasān Vrai Rmyat Thyen Kāñcanapura Kuruñ Tanmer,³ who belong to the holy family of S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva, assembled at K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara. (The King) gave orders to call . . . the elders and the notables of all these countries and to lead the family and the attendants (relatives)⁴ of these people to K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara to take an oath to be faithfully loyal to the god, likewise as the venerable (guardian of the temple) and to endeavour to serve the god zealously in every way and to maintain the upkeep of his temple.

9 17. At the moment when enemies and rebels draw near,⁵ (let them defend) the god and all his properties. If they know any other thing and finally⁶ if people come . . . (let them

1. A formula similar to that at the beginning of the inscriptions K. 276 & 277 of Tā Kèv (*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 153, 156).

2. Conjectural translation of kralā seva.

3. We do not know how to divide out this list of names. Prasan Vrai Rmyat is mentioned in the inscription of PrāḤ Nōk (*ISCC*, p. 170).

4. In the expression Kulacṛṇḍopaya, the term upāya means, perhaps, the slaves.

5. I translate as if it were akranta instead of akranta which does not fit in with the context.

6. Literally "as far as (this supposition) that."

go) and fight to defend the god and his properties.... royal service.... to begin by inscribing, and guarding what the kings... order the people presented by the king to Çrī Çikharīçvara to cultivate the ricefields. At that place where the people of the hermitages go to cultivate (the ricefields) at the same place that the people presented by the king to Çrī Çikharīçvara.... royal favour.... a command by S.M. Çrī Sūryavar-madeva to the procurator (upakalpa) of K.J. Lingapura orders all the people of the hermitages without exception: that there should be none who do not keep up the service of the foundation.... the people of the district of Nilakanṭha to call all these families, enjoining them to come and swear an oath of allegiance to K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara, on all points.⁷

17-19 In the section of the warriors, princes⁸ Vrai Samlān⁹.... to call all these people and their followers to K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara ordering those, likewise the people presented by the king and the people of Avadhyapura who maintain the foundation.... taxes to K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara.

19-21 In the section of Vīravarma,¹⁰ those who are seen inciting others to try and seize¹¹ of the god, let their families and their followers take an oath of allegiance to the god.

21-23 In the section of Jen Vnam whom Sukarmā....¹² to the god, let the families be brought to swear allegiance to the god also in accordance with this formula. The other members of these families who are residents and the people of the

7. That is to say, "on all points provided for in the formula of the oath."

8. Conjectural translation of vīra nu rājaḥsatra.

9. Follows a series of names partly in ruins.

10. A title borne through the centuries by a great number of personages.

11. Or, "to keep" to guard, if we read "cam."

12. The reading velā, "moment, occasion," is almost certain but gives no admissible meaning. We expect a word expressing an action connecting Sukarmā with (nu) the god.

territory of Jen Vnam who are within reach, are commanded to take the original oath of fidelity to the god,¹³ in accordance with the formula (of the people) of Sukarmā, likewise.

23-25 In the section of Thpal Saṃlāñ, Thpal Saṃlāñ making no effort to show his allegiance towards the god, let them call the families and their people to come and swear an oath of fidelity to the god also.

25-28 It is the lineage of Phalapriya¹⁴ that is entrusted by Āṛī Āḥkharīçvara to make all these people swear allegiance; these five oaths¹⁵ are engraven, upon a stone pillar in (the temple of) the god and preserved on leaves at Kanloñ. These people are commanded to recommend their future descendants to endeavour to give proof of their fidelity to K.J. Āṛī Āḥkharīçvara by submitting to this oath on all points.

VI-XVII. 29-50 (Eulogy of the king which is much defaced).

The linga Āṛī Sūryavarṇeçvara (established) first at Āṛī Jayakṣetra,¹⁶ this Āṛī Sūryavarman later erected it in three places simultaneously: one at the summit of the mountain of Āṛī Āḥkharīçvara, another at Āṛī Īçanatīrtha,¹⁷ another on the incomparable pile of stone at Āṛī Sūryādri,¹⁸ in the year conspicuous for the (9) openings, the (4) oceans and the sky (0).¹⁹

13. Formula similar to the one in the west pillar, 1. 21.

14. Name of a country mentioned in an inscription of Vat Bāsēt, K. 206 (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, III, p. 17). This is the original name of Kavīndrapañḍita, author of an inscription of Prāsāt Khnā (*Ibid.*, I, p. 198).

15. The oaths of five groups of people previously enumerated.

16. Bāsēt in Bāttambañ.

17. Unidentified. An Īçanatīrthaka is mentioned in the stèle of Kapiapura, the so called great inscription of Ankor Vat (*I.S.C.C.*, p. 563).

18. Phnom Āsór. Those who have climbed this hill will note the exactitude of the expression çiloccaya.

19. 940 ç. = 1018 A.D.

XVIII-XX. 53-55 (Ruined).

56-58. In 960 çaka, sixth day of crescent moon of Mār-gaçira, His Majesty deigned to notify V.K.A. Çrī Vāgindra-panḍita, of the district of Vāgindra, whom the people call V.K.A. Rudrā, to charge him to give notice of the (following) royal decree to the elders and the notabilities (of the personnel) who are in possession of the holy hermitages at Prasān Vrai Rmyat Thyēñ Kāñcanapura Kuruñ Tanmer and of the holy pavilion.²⁰

58-62. S.M. Çrī Sūryavarmadeva obtained by the power of his asceticism that K.J. Bhadreçvara of Liṅgapura should come and reign at Çrī Çikharīçvara and manifest his power in visible fashion so that all might see him. He enjoined the people of these different hermitages to try and acknowledge allegiance to K.J. Çrī Çikharīçvara, to act according to what is written on the pillar of stone and to have no doubt (on the question of knowledge) whether His Majesty entrusted (a similar commission) to the descendants of the people of Pās Khmau, because he did not entrust it to them.

63-67. The people of the lineage of Pās Khmau were men of violence under all the reigns, up to that²¹ Vraḥ Kamsteñ Pās Khmau whom His Majesty caused to be condemned. In the future²² the kings will have to use control over the resources of the people of Pās Khmau and merge them with the people of the holy hermitages, His Majesty having no desire to make total seizure of the property²³ of the people of Pās Khmau; in the future, should anyone have knowledge that there are people

20. Regarding mattavārana, see *Inscr. du Cambodge*, V, p. 315, n. 3.

21. Daiy neḥ, "this particular personage."

22. The interpretation of tyañ, "to know," which recurs two lines further on in a similar formula, is apparently not clear.

23. Passage of doubtful meaning. I take ral in the meaning of the modern rāl, "to spread itself," and I assume that instead of making total seizure (100% çatagrahaṇa) the king would content himself with merging them with those of the people from the holy hermitages.

of the lineage of Pās Khmau of the rank of sañjak, then the king should respectfully be informed; in that eventuality the people of the holy hermitages who might find themselves under the patronage of this other lineage (including sañjaks) should advise their respective families to present their petitions (to the king).²⁴

67-68. If S.M. Ārī Sūryavarmadeva has relatives in charge of holy hermitages and in the administration of the goods... he does not desire that they should restore the authority of the people of Pās Khmau.

24. The translation of this passage owes much to the suggestions of M. Au Chhieng.

Sanskrit Inscription in Nāgarī Lettering

K. 382

This inscription has been published by A. Bergaigne and A. Barth,¹ who attribute it to the reign of Yaçovarman. L. Finot did the same for the stèle of Tà Kèv (K. 534) which is closely related to it. But already the publishers of the *Inscriptions of Prāh Vihār* had noted that from the point of view of the writing, as well as from grammatical accuracy, the latter showed, by comparison with the digraphical inscriptions of Yaçovarman, a distinct deterioration.² On the other hand, Aymonier has brought to our notice that, by putting forward the text to the reign of Yaçovarman, too little space is left for the many generations it enumerates, the oldest of which do not date back beyond Jayavarman II.³ For my part, I have shown that the inscription of Tà Kèv could hardly be prior to the reign of Sūryavarman I.⁴ What is certain is that the name of the author of the Sanskrit inscription, Çivaçakti, appears in the Khmer inscription of two lines engraven at the base of the stèle, and that this inscription bears the date of 969 ç. (1047 A.D.), as well as the name of the king, Sūryavarman I. The blanks resulting from the bad condition of the stone prevent us, unfortunately, from grasping the exact meaning of this inscription.

1. *I.S.C.C.*, p. 525.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 532-533.

3. *Cambodge*, II, p. 213.

4. *BEFEO*, XXXIV, pp. 417-418. Cf. *Inscr. du Cambodge*, II, p. 157; and P. Dupont, "Les débuts de la royauté angkoriennne," *BEFEO*, XLVI, p. 127.

TRANSLATION OF TEXT

Order is given to Vraḥ Kaṁsteṅ Phalapriya¹.... then Steṅ Āivaçakti.... on the Yaçodharagiri.² Concerning the other god, there has been a command from Āiva to go and erect this (god) in a place (anrāy) at K.J. Ārī Āikharīçvara, bidding them make the curse upon the command of Āiva.

In 969 çaka, tenth day of the crescent moon of Vaiçākha, V.K.A. respectfully informed this command of Āiva so that S.M. Ārī Sūryavarmadeva should show his approval.

1. Personal name of a dignitary raised later on to the rank of Kavīndrapañḍita (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, I, p. 198; III, p. 17). Cf. *supra*. p. 269, n. 2.

2. Phnom Băkhén.

Khmer Stèle of Divākara

K. 383

This inscription has been published in *BEFEO*, XLIII, p. 134, etc., along with that of Phnom Sandak (K. 194, *infra*, p. 311), of which it is an exact replica. It differs from it only in the lists of slaves presented to the temples, in the boundaries of the villages which vary naturally from one text to the other, and in the presence of two postscripts, the main interest of which is to show that between 1041 ç. (1119 A.D.) and 1043 ç. (1122 A.D.) Divākara was promoted by Sūryavarman II to the dignity of *dhūli jen kamraten añ*.