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**NANDIRĀŚI'S PĀŚUPATA MONASTERY: K. 1352
(590 śaka), a non-royal Sanskrit Inscription in Kampot
from the reign of Jayavarman I**

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*Dominic GOODALL**

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Jayavarman I**

INTRODUCTION¹

In June 2016, my colleagues Dominique Soutif and Bertrand Porte first transmitted to me photographs (taken by Ouk Sokha) of this short and intriguing inscription, now held in the office of culture in Kampot, which had then recently come to the attention of Chea Socheat, the indefatigable expert of the Stone Restoration Workshop in the National Museum in Phnom Penh. I do not know exactly where or when the photographs were taken, but the backdrop is a temporary structure of wooden posts and dried palm-leaves (Figure 2), which is presumably where the inscription was temporarily housed before being moved to the Kampot office of culture. I subsequently learned (in February 2019) from correspondence with Hun Chhunteng, Lecturer at Mean Chey University, that he and his friend Van Vy had been informed in 2015 by Mr. Kong Phalla, Head of the provincial Department of Culture and

* École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondicherry.

¹ This article is offered in gratitude to M. Ang Choulean, whose conversation and hospitality have made my various visits to Cambodia in the past few years especially stimulating and agreeable. The inscription *K. 1352* was mentioned in passing in the first article that he encouraged me to publish in the journal *Udaya*, and so it seems fitting to present and comment upon it in this volume conceived in his honor. I am particularly grateful to Hun Chhunteng for the materials and information he gave to me and to Arlo Griffiths for his useful comments on the first draft of this article, which was prepared in the context of an ERC-funded six-year project (Grant N° 809994) entitled DHARMA (“The Domestication of ‘Hindu’ Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia”).

Fine Art, that the stela was found in 2010 by local people at Tuol Ang Chi Chmar in Khvav Village, Champei Commune, Angkor Chey District, Kampot Province, before being taken on 24th June 2015 to the provincial department of culture.

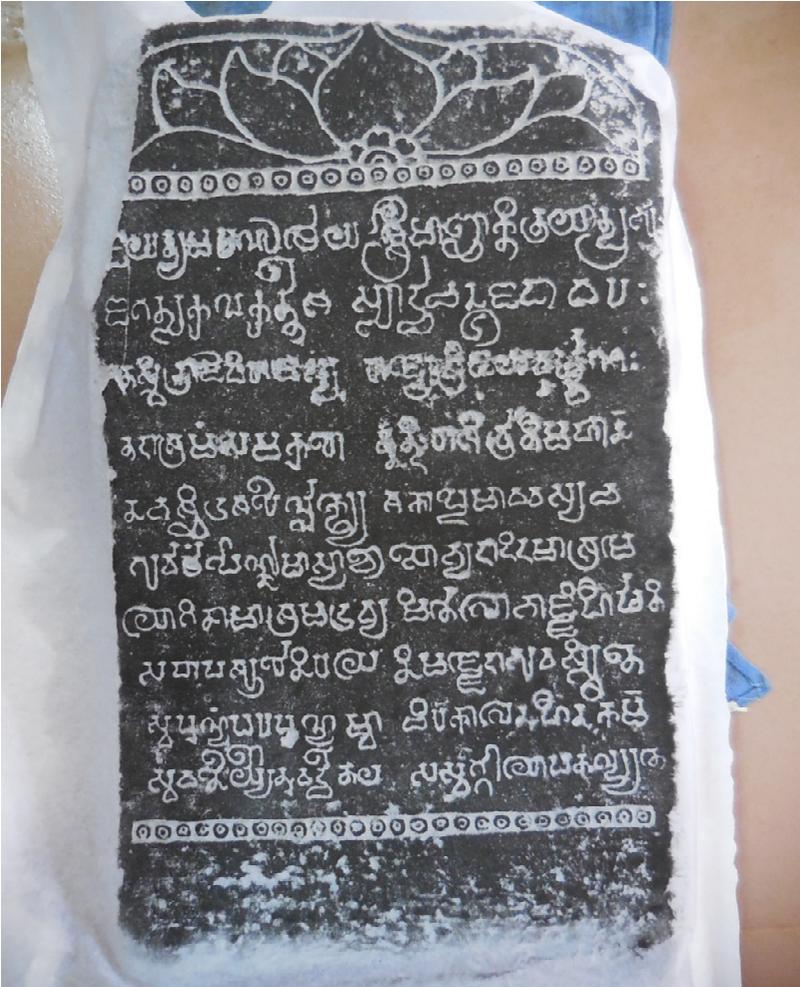


Figure 1. Photograph of August 2015 taken by Vy VAN of the estampage made by HUN Chhunteng of the stela K. 1352



Figure 2. Photograph of June 2015 taken by Ouk SOKHA

In the series of messages exchanged in June 2016, Bertrand Porte remarked that he found the stela to be of “doubtful” production (“Je la trouve de facture douteuse”), which piqued my curiosity. The shape is indeed quite irregular and rough, by the usually high standards of Khmer inscriptions. The upper part of the stone has been crudely cut to form a stela with the faintly observable

outline of a down-turned curly brace, and this part bears on one side an inscription of 10 lines, each giving the text of a half-stanza in *anuṣṭubh* meter. Above and below these lines, a decorative horizontal band of small incised circles within circles (⊙) demarcates the inscribed part of the stone. At the summit is a roughly inscribed line-drawing of an open lotus-blossom seen from the side. At the bottom part, below the inscribed text, we might have expected a tapering tenon for insertion into a stone mortise; but instead the stone there is broader by about a third of the breadth of the inscribed section and on the left side only. A sculpted rim on the right-hand side at the bottom of this broader part suggests that it once formed one corner of a pedestal or layer of a pedestal. In lieu of a tenon, this over-broad base would presumably have been buried in the ground, leaving only the inscribed part of the stela visible. In other words, it is clear that the inscription was engraved on one side of part of a clumsily reworked piece of dressed stone that had once been cut to serve some other purpose. At its tallest point, the whole stone, including the base, measures about 67 cm; at its widest part, the base, it is about 34 cm across; the narrower inscribed portion is about 26 cm across; the inscribed space bounded by the bands of circles above and below the text is about 30 cm in height; in depth, the stone varies between 9 and 11 cm. The letters are not badly formed, but they are not as elegant as those of seventh-century courtly inscriptions, and so the quality of the engraving contributes to a sense that the object is “doubtful”.

But the contents of the text provide a clue that might explain the stela’s rustic character: unlike many other seventh-century non-royal creators of Khmer religious foundations who immortalized their deeds in stone,² Nandirāṣi makes no claim of having held any office in the state or at the court or of having been a loyal favorite of the reigning king. Instead, he mentions only that he “completed” or “put together” (*samakarot*) a monastery (*āśramam*) in the reign of Jayavarman [I]. We are given no idea of how Nandirāṣi might have attained his status—for he mentions not only no office that he held or domain of intellectual expertise in which he excelled, but also no genealogy—or indeed of quite what his status might have been; but it seems likely that he was not closely associated with the court, for he would surely have told us so if he had been.

² For an exploration of such figures, see GOODALL, D., “Nobles, Bureaucrats Or Strongmen? On The “Vassal Kings” or “Hereditary Governors” of pre-Angkorian city-states: two Sanskrit inscriptions of Vidyāviṣeṣa, seventh-century governor of Tamandarapura (*K. 1235* and *K. 604*), and an inscription of Śivadatta (*K. 1150*), previously considered a son of Īśānavarman I”, *Udaya: Journal of Khmer Studies*, n° 14, 2019, pp. 23-85.

His name is, however, a clue to his religious affiliation, for it ends in °*rāśi*, an ending widely associated in Indian literature and inscriptions with the Pāśupatas. As remarked elsewhere,³ this appears to be the only pre-Angkorian instance of a religious name ending in °*rāśi* known to date, and so this inscription may be added to the small corpus of pre-Angkorian inscriptions that indicate an adherence not just to Śaivism in a broad sense, but specifically to a form of Atimārga Śaivism. This might puzzle those who expect, from studying Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtras*, the most detailed known work of an extremely sparse corpus of surviving Atimārga-school prescriptive literature, that Pāśupatas should be exclusively ascetics who, in most phases of their practice, shunned worldly interactions.⁴ But the inscriptional record, both among the Khmers and from different regions of the broad area of Indian influence, reveals that there were also, for instance, Pāśupata temple-priests, and this implies that the narrow prescriptions for

³ Footnote 36 on p. 26 of GOODALL, D., "On K. 1049, a Tenth-Century Cave-Inscription from Battambang, and on the Sectarian Obedience of the Śaiva Ascetics of Non-Royal Cave-Inscriptions in Cambodia", *Udaya: Journal of Khmer Studies*, n° 13, 2015, pp. 3-34.

⁴ For many decades, only two works about the Atimārga and actually produced by Pāśupatas were known to survive, namely the *Pāśupatasūtra* with a commentary by a certain Kauṇḍinya (*Pasupata Sutras with Pancharthabhasya of Kaundinya*, ed. Ananthakrishna Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 143 / Sri Chitrodayamanjari 32 / University Series 1, Trivandrum, University of Travancore, 1940), and the *Gaṇakārikā* with a commentary by a certain Bhāsarvajña (*Gaṇakārikā*, ed. C.D. Dalal, Gaekwad's Oriental Series XV, Baroda, Central Library, 1920). This was the situation when Minoru Haru produced his body of scholarship on the Pāśupatas (HARA, Minoru, *Materials for the Study of Pāśupata Śaivism*, doctoral thesis submitted to Harvard University in 1966, and *IDEM, Pāśupata Studies*, ed. by Jun Takashima, Publications of the de Nobili Research Library Volume XXX, Vienna, Institut für Südasiens-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde/Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 2002). But over the last fifteen years, aside from the discoveries of Alexis Sanderson of important paraphrases of Pāśupata literature that we shall have occasion to mention below, Peter Bisschop has published a further fragment of Kauṇḍinya's work (BISSCHOP, Peter, "Pañcārthabhāṣya on Pāśupatasūtra 1.37-39 recovered from a newly identified manuscript", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, n° 33, 2005, pp. 529-551), and Diwakar Acharya has brought to light three previously unknown Pāśupata manuals of ritual, the first of them being devoted to the topic of initiation (ACHARYA, Diwakar, "The Saṃskāravidhi: A Manual on the Transformatory Rite of the Lakulīṣa-Pāśupatas", [in] D. GOODALL & A. PADOUX (eds.), *Mélanges Tantriques à la Mémoire d'Hélène Brunner. Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*, Collection Indologie 106, Pondicherry, Institut Français de Pondichéry / École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2007, pp. 27-48). For an overview article that takes the latest discoveries into consideration, see *IDEM*, "Pāśupatas", [in] K. A. JACOBSEN, H. BASU, M. A. BASU & V. NARAYANAN (eds.), *Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, Leiden, Brill, vol. n° 3, 2011, pp. 458-466.

professional religious practitioners that we find in Pāśupata-school literature do not accurately reflect a broader diversity of practice in real life.⁵

This, then, is perhaps the principal interest for religious history of this short inscription: it is further evidence of the spread of the Atimārga in the seventh-century Khmer realm. But we should also note that it is to be added to the corpus of inscriptions that record the creation of monasteries (*maṭha*, *āśrama*). Of course, the extremely numerous ninth-century foundations of Yaśovarman spring to mind as the most famous examples of this corpus,⁶ and there are also a great number of post-ninth-century *āśramas* that are recorded in the Angkorian empire. A colorful picture of Yaśovarman's foundations is conjured up for us by the richly detailed charter-inscriptions, and even the physical remains of some have still survived to be examined by archeologists.⁷ Such foundations may seem less prominent in the pre-Angkorian period, for we have so much less detail about them, and little archeological or inscriptional evidence to give us an idea of how large they may have been or how they functioned; but they are present nonetheless, and from the very start of the epigraphical record, for the fifth-century inscription of Kulaprabhāvatī, *K. 875*,⁸ records something that was probably of this nature: a “house for Brahmins” (*viprāṇām bhavanam*, st. III). Similarly, *K. 733* —which belongs to either the sixth or the seventh century, depending on whether one attributes it to the reign of Bhavavarman I or, as Cœdès is inclined to do, on palaeographical grounds, to the reign of Bhavavarman II (*IC*, vol. I, p. 3)—although it makes no explicit mention of the founding of an *āśrama* or a *maṭha*, probably does reflect the existence of one. For its damaged ninth and final stanza reveals that the property donated by the founder, a learned Pāśupata *ācārya* called Vidyāpuṣpa, was in the hands of a group of Pāśupatas:

⁵ Cf. GOODALL, D., “On *K. 1049* [...]”, *loc. cit.*, pp. 28-29, quoting BISSCHOP, Peter, “Śaivism in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Series 3, n° 20 (4), 2010, pp. 477-488.

⁶ For a recent discussion of some aspects of these *yaśodharāśramas*, about which much has been written, see ESTÈVE, Julia & SOUTIF, Dominique, “Les Yaśodharāśrama, marqueurs d’empire et bornes sacrées: Conformité et spécificité des stèles digraphiques khmères de la région de Vat Phu”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient (BEFEO)*, n° 97-98, 2012, pp. 331-355.

⁷ For the report of the examination of one such *āśrama*, see CHEA, Socheat, ‘*Saugatāśrama*’: *un āśrama bouddhique à Angkor (Ong Mong)*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2018, vol. I, 365 p.

⁸ Edited in CÆDÈS, George, “A New Inscription from Fu-Nan”, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, n° 4 (2), 1937, pp. 117-121.

*yāvat pradānam asmai śivāya gobhūhiranyadāsādi
bhogyam pāsupatānām ahāryyam a ...*⁹

Everything that is given to this Śiva – cattle, land, gold, slaves and so forth – is to be enjoyed by the Pāsupatas [and] should not be taken away...

In other words, *K. 733* arguably reflects the existence of a Pāsupata monastery that might have been similar to that recorded in *K. 1352*.

More explicit mentions of *āśramas* are to be found elsewhere, for instance in *K. 1148* (*Ka 79*, in *NIC II–III*, pp. 198-199), a damaged and undated pre-Angkorian inscription in Khmer that concludes with a Sanskrit stanza that was incompletely transcribed in the only edition so far published, but that Gerdi Gerschheimer has corrected in unpublished notes:

*yad dattaṃ śramaṇādibhyo (12) dadato pi na tad dhana(m)
tad ahāryyam nṛpenāpi(13)nāpi ki[m] punas suta*¹⁰ vāndhavai[[h]]* ◎

- a. yad dattaṃ : yaddānato *NIC*
- b. tad dhana(m) : taddhana *NIC*
- c. tad ahāryyam nṛpenāpi : tadahāryya sṛpa nā pi *NIC*
- d. suta*vāndhavai[h] : suta --- vārdhavai *NIC*

That which (*yad*) has been given (*dattam*) to the ascetics and others [connected to this foundation] (*śramaṇādibhyaḥ*), that (*tad*) wealth (*dhanam*) does not belong even to the giver (*dadato 'pi*). That (*tad*) should not be taken away (*ahāryyam*) even by the king (*nṛpenāpi*), not to speak of (*kim punaḥ*) [the giver's] sons and relatives!

Similarly, the Khmer portion of *K. 44* of 596 *śaka* refers to a *śreṣṭhāśrama*, and the fourth stanza states that the land, cattle and slaves donated are to be controlled by the ascetics (*tāpasāḥ*), presumably those belonging to the *āśrama*. Another *āśrama* specifically for Pāsupata ascetics seems to be referred to in *K. 80*, a seventh-century inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman I, whose fourth stanza reads:

⁹ Thus the text of CÆDÈS. In the EFEO estampage n. 928, one can discern the traces of the vowel *ai* before a break in the stone, and so one could perhaps read: *ahāryyam a[ny]ai...*, “should not be taken away by others”.

¹⁰ The asterisk here represents what appears to be a graph (although its discernible shape is too vague to be described, perhaps because of damage to the stone) that cannot be interpreted and that occurs in a place where we do not require another syllable. Could it simply be an inceptive squiggle that the scribe did not fully erase?

(7) ॐ ॐ ॐ – m āryyeṇa vidyādevena sattriṇā
 utkramāvasathāyedam atyāśraminive[ditam]

This (*idam*) [[monastery ? ...]] has been offered (°*nive*[ditam]) to those beyond the [regular] walks of life [viz. to Pāśupata ascetics], for them to stay in when stepping beyond [regular society?] (*utkramāvasathāya*) by the noble Vidyādeva, accomplisher of [multiple] sacrifices (*sattriṇā*).¹¹

I do not claim to provide here an exhaustive list of pre-Angkorian “monasteries”, but one may add also the foundation called Rudrāśrama in *K. 54*, and the *āśramas* mentioned in *K. 728*, *K. 940*, *K. 1155*. Furthermore, some of the undated “cave inscriptions” discussed in an earlier article could also reflect small monastic structures grouped around charismatic individuals. Stanza IV of *K. 371*, for instance, mentions the death, surrounded by ascetic followers, of an astrologer, grammarian and ascetic who may also have been a Pāśupata,¹² and thus the head of a monastic community.

¹¹ This somewhat speculative translation involves the conjecture °*nive*[ditam] where CÆDÈS proposed instead °*nive*[śitam]. His translation instead reads (*IC*, vol. VI, pp. 4-5): “Par l’honorable Vidyādeva, qui célèbre de (riches) sacrifices, a été établi, pour qu’on puisse s’y retirer temporairement ou y demeurer à toujours, cet (ācrama) peuplé de religieux élevés au-dessus des quatre ācrama.” (“By the honorable Vidyādeva, who celebrates [rich] sacrifices, this [*āśrama*], peopled by religious students above the four *āśramas*, has been established, in order that one may be able to withdraw to it temporarily or reside there forever.”) The idea that *atyāśramin* refers to Pāśupatas is partly suggested by the name Atimārga, “the path beyond”, and the fact that there are other Pāśupata coinages that involve prefixing a word with *ati*°, such as *atiyoga*. But there is stronger evidence too, for instance that of Kauṇḍinya’s commentary on *Pāsupatasūtra* 1.1, and the evidence of the description of a Pāśupata religious observance that is referred to as the *atyāśramavrata* in *Niśvāsamukha* 4.88 (in Kaffle’s numbering), which occurs (with the numbering 4.80) in a passage that is quoted and translated on pp. 163-165 of SANDERSON, Alexis, “The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism”, *Indian Philosophical Annual*, n° 24 (2003-2005), 2005, pp. 143-217. The expression *atyāśramin* is also famously used in *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 6.21, where it may have had the same sense, although that is certainly not how it is usually glossed. As Arlo Griffiths has pointed out to me in correspondence, *sattriṇā* here could perhaps be taken to refer to Vidyādeva having been the “creator of hospices”.

¹² The stanza is quoted, translated and discussed by GOODALL, D., “On *K. 1049* [...]”, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

I. EDITION OF THE SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION *K. 1352*

The first transcription made of this inscription was based on photographs sent to me on 21st June 2016 by Dominique Soutif, who had in turn received them from Chea Socheat of the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum in Phnom Penh, from a source unknown to me. On the occasion when this inscription was presented for reading and discussion in the “Tenth International Intensive Sanskrit Reading Retreat” (TIISRR), held at the EFEO Centre in Siem Reap in January 2019, I was delighted to make the acquaintance of Hun Chhunteng, who had made an estampage of the inscription, of which he kindly sent me a photograph taken in August 2015. The photograph of his extremely clear estampage (Figure 1) enabled me to change several square brackets (enclosing conjecturally supplied text) into round ones (enclosing partially legible letters), particularly in stanzas I and II, for it confirmed my confidence in certain “readings” that I had guessed at but could not previously claim quite to be able to “read”. In February 2019, he further sent me his own edition and Khmer translation¹³ and several photographs that were taken of the stela by Van Vy on the same occasion as the estampage was made (including Figure 2). Several of these photographs incorporated a tape-measure, which enabled me to estimate the dimensions of the stela (mentioned above).

Discussion of this stela at the TIISRR proved extremely helpful in other respects too: it formed the context for the suggestions and observations recorded in the following pages that are attributed to Victor D’Avella, Florinda De Simini, Hun Chhunteng, Kataoka Kei and Yokochi Yuko. In the edition below, I have followed the conventions of the CIK (Corpus des inscriptions khmères) project in placing partially legible syllables within round brackets and syllables that I have supplied that are not legible within square brackets. An underscore following a consonant transcribes a *virāma*-mark (at the end of 2b, for instance). Following the suggestion of Vincent Tournier made in connection with another inscription, I have employed a diamond symbol (◊) to indicate the space consistently left after each odd-numbered *pāda*: one advantage of this convention is that it allows one to distinguish the engraver’s spacing, which emphasises metrical structure, from word-spacing, which has of course been introduced by the editor.

¹³ HUN, Chhunteng, “*Silācārīk duol aṅg jī chmār K. 1352*”, *Kambujasuriyā*, n° 4, October-November-December 2018, pp. 44-47.

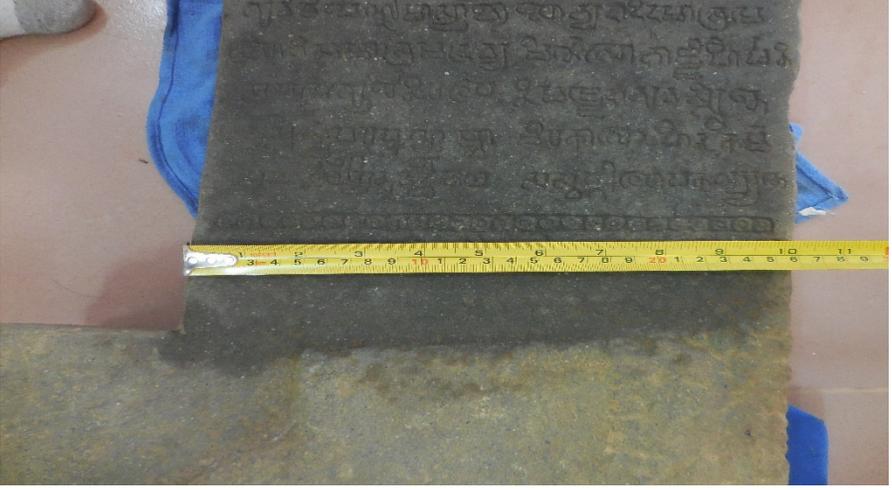


Figure 3. Photograph of August 2015 taken by Vy VAN of the bottom of the inscribed part of the stela K. 1352

- I. (1) (ja)yaty a(m)a(ra)ṇā(rthe) ◊ yaś śrīmāñ chaktitrayāt prabhuḥ
 (2) jagatsakalaka(r)tt(e)śaḍs sārddhacandrajaṭādharaḥ

1a *a(m)a(ra)ṇā(rthe)* should perhaps more properly be transcribed *amaraṇātho*,¹⁴ since, if the final graph represents *rthe*, we would normally expect the final vowel-marker to be placed in front of the raised *r* (as in °*kariteśas* in the following line), rather than before the *th* underneath. But this requires assuming a (not impossible) grammatical anomaly: see note to the translation.

- II. (3) (ta)s(m)i(n) r(ājā)dhiraḥjasya ◊ (rāj)ye śrījayava)rmmaṇaḥ
 (4) tadāśramaṁ samaka(ro)ḍn nandī(rā)śir vratī mahān _
 III. (5) nabhaśchidraśarair llakṣye ◊ śakāpde mādhavasya ca
 (6) gu(rvartha)ṁ paurṇnamāsyāñ ca ◊ so vyadād idam āśrame
 IV. (7) yoginām āśramadravyaḍm ito lobhāj jihīrṣati
 (8) sa pāpaśūro niraye ◊ nimajjed ā bhuvās sthite[h]

4d. For the suppletion of a final *visarga*, of which no trace is visible, see note to the translation below.

¹⁴ This is the reading of HUN, Chh., *loc. cit.*

- V. (9) svapuṇyaṃ parapuṇyam vā ◊ cirakālena hīnakam_
- (10) svadhanair yyo nuvarddheta ◉ ◊ sa svarggāyopakalpyate

5c. At the end of the third quarter-quarter, there is a counter-clockwise spiral which long puzzled me because the meter forbids another syllable here. Hun Chhünteng has kindly supplied the solution: he has explained, in an unpublished paper, that this symbol is used simply to fill space so that the end of this third quarter is aligned with the previous third quarters of the inscription, and he has shown that the symbol is used elsewhere, for instance in another pre-Angkorian inscription that we read at the TIISRR, namely *K. 1417*. Since his pointing this out, I notice that it also occurs in *K. 151* after the third quarter of stanza VIII, where it also evidently puzzled Cœdès.¹⁵

5d. As Kataoka Kei has pointed out, we expect rather °*kalpate*, which would give the intended sense. We have translated as though the text read °*kalpate*.

II. TRANSLATION AND NOTES

1. Translation and commentary for Stanza I

He who (*yaḥ*) is victorious (*jayati*), for the sake of non-death (*amaraṇārthe*), who is glorious (*śrīmān*) [and] all-powerful (*prabhuḥ*) by means of His three powers (*śaktitrayāt*), the all-creator of the universe (*jagatsakalakarttā*), the Lord (*īśaḥ*), whose matted locks [are adorned] with the crescent moon (*sārddhacandrajaṭṭharah*), ... (I)

If we were to read *amaraṇātho* (instead of *amaraṇārthe*), we would have to assume mistaken retroflexion of the initial consonant of the word *nātha*, induced by the *r* in the preceding word in the compound. In that case, the verse would begin “He who (*yaḥ*) is victorious (*jayati*), the Lord of immortals (*amaraṇāthaḥ*), ...”.

The order of the elements in the compound *jagatsakalakarttā* is unusual and it is possible that the emphasis that this oddity gives is intended to point up some other sense. Perhaps conceivable is that Śiva is described as “creator of the universe along with instruments and effects” (in other words, along with embodiments), since *sakala* can be understood to mean “with *kalā*” and *kalā*

¹⁵ CŒDÈS remarks (“Quelques précisions sur la fin du Fou-nan”, *BEFEO*, t. XLIII, 1943, p. 6, fn. 3) “Il y a, à la suite du caractère *gne*, un signe en forme de spirale, qui ne semble pas avoir de valeur”. (“After the character *gne*, there is a spiral-shaped sign that seems not to have meaning”.)

is defined by Kauṇḍinya, in his commentary on *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1, as the totality of instruments and effects: ... *pāśā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ*, “...the bonds are the *kalā*, which are called instruments and effects”.

As for the three powers (*śaktitraya*), various triads suggest themselves. For a king, the most natural would be *utsāhaśakti*, *prabhuśakti* and *mantraśakti*, but for Śiva the most obvious sets might at first blush seem to be either *icchā*, *jñāna*, *kriyā*, or *Vāmā*, *Jyeṣṭhā* and *Raudrī*. The latter group of powers, which have both cosmic and salvific roles, have names derived from the *Vāmadeva-mantra*, one of the five *brahmantras* that are central to the Pāśupata religion (see TAK2, s.v. *jyeṣṭhā*), and so would certainly be a possibility here. As for *icchā*, *jñāna* and *kriyā*, this seems slightly less likely to be the referent here, for, although *icchā* is of course widely represented as a power of Śiva (e.g. *Kiraṇatantra* 3.11), and although the pair of omnipotence (*kriyā*[*śakti*]) and omniscience (*jñāna*[*śakti*]) are ubiquitous and found already in Pāśupata sources, as a triad the group seems less broadly attested (see TAK2, s.v. *jñānaśakti*).

We may note that three *śaktis* also figure as belonging to God in the second stanza of a distinctively Pāśupata inscription alluded to above, *K. 80*. Cœdès there translates without offering any speculation as to what these three *śaktis* may have been, but perhaps there, as here, the likeliest candidate is the triad of *Vāmā*, *Jyeṣṭhā* and *Raudrī*.

That Śiva should be described as “victorious with respect to non-death” no doubt refers to the importance of attaining liberation. For although Pāśupatas typically refer to their final goal as no more than “the end of suffering” (*duḥkhānta*), this state is actually conceived of as the attainment of an immortal state in which the liberated soul enjoys the same powers as Śiva himself. (The mechanism by which this is achieved is much disputed: lengthy discussions may be found in a tenth-century commentary on a seventh-century treatise on rival views of liberation.¹⁶)

2. Translation and commentary for Stanza II

[...] in this (*tasmin*) reign (*rājye*) of the overlord of kings (*rājādhirājasya*) Jayavarman [I], the great (*mahān*) follower of religious observances (*vratī*)

¹⁶ See WATSON, Alex; GOODALL, Dominic & SARMA, S. L. P. Anjaneya, *An enquiry into the nature of liberation: Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti, a commentary on Saḍvojayotih's refutation of twenty conceptions of the liberated state (mokṣa), for the first time critically edited, translated into English and annotated*, Pondicherry, Institut français de Pondichéry / École française d'Extrême-Orient, Collection Indologie 122, 2013, 508 p.

Nandirāśi created/completed (*samakarot*) an *āśrama* of Him. (II)

As mentioned in the introduction to this article, this appears to be the oldest occurrence of a Pāsupata name ending in °*rāśi* in Khmer epigraphy.¹⁷ Also mentioned in the introduction is the pointed absence of any explicit link to the court: unlike perhaps all the most famous Cambodian inscriptions, this one was not produced by royalty, but by someone who makes no claim to any connection with the court other than that he made his foundation in the period of the reign of a King Jayavarman, who receives no eulogy. The date given in stanza III confirms that the king in question is the seventh-century Jayavarman I (and not his eighth-century namesake Jayavarman I *bis*).¹⁸

Although the second part of Nandirāśi's name has been remarked upon above, the first part has not. No long commentary is required, for *Nandi*° will be widely recognized as an appropriately Śaiva naming element. But it is perhaps worth mentioning that this name, as pointed out, for instance, by Gouriswar Bhattacharya,¹⁹ in this period does not refer to Śiva's vehicle, the bull, but instead to an anthropomorphic acolyte who serves as Śiva's watchman (for example in the *Kumārasambhava*) and who has an important role in the transmission of the *Śivadharma* corpus.

The expression *vratī mahān* has been rendered straightforwardly as “the great (*mahān*) follower of an observance (*vratī*)”, but it seems conceivable that an allusion is intended to the *mahāvratā*, “the Great Observance”, an observance involving wearing the accoutrements of the cremation ground, a version of which is described in the *Niśvāsamukha*.²⁰ It is referred to there as the *lokātītavratā*, “the observance beyond [this-]world[-]liness”, but it is clear that the expression may be equivalent to *mahāvratā* from *Niśvāsamukha* 1.51. I have spoken of an “allusion” to the *mahāvratā*, for it is conceivable that the apparent play on words is meant to call the *mahāvratā* to mind without

¹⁷ Later instances are mentioned by GOODALL, D., “On *K. 1049* [...]”, *loc. cit.*, p. 26, fn. 36.

¹⁸ For the confirmation of the existence of Jayavarman I *bis*, see GOODALL, D., “Les influences littéraires indiennes dans les inscriptions du Cambodge: l'exemple d'un chef-d'œuvre inédit du VIII^e siècle (*K. 1236*)”, [in] J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, P.-S. FILLIOZAT & M. ZINK (éds.), *Migrations de langues et d'idées en Asie*, Paris, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2015, pp. 67-80.

¹⁹ BHATTACHARYA, Gouriswar, “Nandin and Vṛṣabha”, [in] *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement III, 2. (XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975), 1977, pp. 1545-1567.

²⁰ 4.88ff in the numeration of Kafle (KAFLE, Nirajan, *The Niśvāsamukha, the Introductory Book of the Niśvāsattvasaṃhitā Critical Edition, with an Introduction and Annotated Translation Appended by Śivadharmaśāstra* 5-9, Doctoral thesis of Leiden University, 2015, 401 p.), but 4.80ff in the edition and translation given by SANDERSON, A., *loc. cit.*, pp. 163-165.

actually making the claim that Nandirāṣi actually had been, was or was about to become a follower of this “Great Observance”.

Note that the *tad* of *tadāśramam* is taken to refer to Śiva, since it appears to be the only pronoun that can serve as a correlative to the relative pronoun (*yaḥ*) that is used in the opening stanza.

As for what Nandirāṣi is described as actually doing to the *āśrama* of Śiva, this is arguably ambiguous. As Victor D’Avella has pointed out, *samakarot* might be expected to mean that “he completed” it. (In order to express the related sense “he adorned it”, one should properly use *samaskarot*.) But there appears to be no other hint given that the monastery had already been begun and only required completion (or adornment) by Nandirāṣi. Bearing this in mind, Florinda De Simini suggested that *samakarot* might have been intended to mean “he put together (*sam*°)”, which would effectively mean “he created”.

3. Translation and commentary for Stanzas III–IVa

In the *śaka* year (*śakābde*) known (*lakṣye*) by void (0 = *nabhaḥ*°), orifices (9 = °*chidra*°), arrows (5 = °*śaraiḥ*), on the full-moon day (*paurṇamāsyām*) of [the second month of spring, namely] Mādhava, he gave, for the merit of his parents (*gurvartham*), this [collection of] monastery goods (*āśramadravyam*) to the Yogins in the *āśrama*. (3-4a)

Following the suggestion of Florinda De Simini, I have assumed enjambement here, which entails that the following sentence begins with *ito lobhāj jihīrṣati* and involves ellipsis of a relative pronoun (*yaḥ*) and of its object (since *idam āśramadravyam* is taken into this sentence).

Other than the ambiguity of the extent of the sentence, and therefore about what is actually given and whether it is given to the monastery (*āśrame* could be locative for dative, as we find commonly in Purāṇas and tantras) or to the Yogins [residing] in the *āśrama*, another uncertainty concerns the expression *gurvartham*. “For the merit of his parents” is certainly a possible interpretation, but *guru* could equally refer to a teacher or to more than one teacher, or to elders or any older and venerable person. Furthermore, it is possible that *artham* here refers not to merit: one could, for instance, interpret the expression to mean rather “for the sake of [the maintenance of the] guru (/gurus)”.

And there is perhaps one other (less likely) interpretation that should be mentioned. The positioning of *gurvartham*, sandwiched between the name of the month and the expression for the full moon day, suggests that what might have been intended was that Nandirāṣi gave whatever he gave (depending on whether *idam* refers to the monastic supplies indicated by the expression

āśramadravyam or to something else unspecified, but perhaps plainly visible before the gaze of whoever might have read the inscription in the seventh century) consciously and deliberately “on the full-moon day of Mādhava (the 2nd month of spring), [an especially propitious day chosen] so that [this gift might increase and become] great”.

4. Translation and commentary for Stanza IVbcd

[If someone] out of greed (*lobhāt*) desires to steal (*jihīṛṣati*) from this [monastery] (*itah*), that ace among villains (*pāpaśūrah*) must sink (*nimajjet*) into hell (*niraye*) for as long as (*ā*) the earth (*bhuvah*) perdures (*sthiteḥ*). (IVbcd)

What has been transcribed as *sa pāpaśūro* should perhaps properly be represented as *saha paśūro*, since the *ā* is more normally attached to the left branch of the first *p* (thus distinguishing the resulting graph from *ha*); but such a transcription would be both unmetrical and nonsensical.

The absence of a relative pronoun in the first half is arguably somewhat clumsy.

A final *visarga* is supplied in the translation, even though no trace of it seems to be visible, on the grounds that the most natural construction seems to require *sthiteḥ* to be an ablative governed by the preposition *ā*. But one could perhaps take the ablative governed by *ā* to be *bhuvah* instead and understand *sthite* as a qualifier of *niraye*: “must sink in a hell that perdures (*sthite*) up to the end of the world”. The use of such formulations as *ā bhuvanasthiteḥ* (in the one-stanza inscription *C. 97*)²¹, however, supports the interpretation chosen. Furthermore, exactly the same concluding formula, *ā bhuvah sthiteḥ*, occurs in two other pre-Angkorian inscriptions (*K. 53*, st. XII, and *K. 60*, st. V), as well as in the last stanza of the celebrated bilingual Sanskrit-Pyu inscription on the socle of the Kan Wet Khaung Mound Stone Buddha Image (*PYU 16*)²².

²¹ GOODALL, D. & GRIFFITHS, A., “Études Du Corpus Des Inscriptions Du Campā, V. The Short Foundation Inscriptions of Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman, King of Campā”, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, n° 56, 2013, p. 424.

²² GRIFFITHS, Arlo; HUDSON, Bob; MIYAKE, Marc & WHEATLEY, Julian K., “Studies in Pyu Epigraphy, I: State of the Field, Edition and Analysis of the Kan Wet Khaung Mound Inscription, and Inventory of the Corpus”, *BEFEO*, n° 103, 2017, p. 99, and <http://hisoma.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/pyu/works/PYU016.xml?&odd=teipublisher.odd>.

5. Translation and commentary for Stanza V

He who, with his own wealth, increases his own or another's merit[orious foundation, on the grounds that such a foundation is] liable to diminish over time, is fit for heaven. (V)

The word-separation and translation here follow Yokochi Yuko's suggestion. One could instead split *cirakāle na hīnakam* and interpret this qualifying phrase proleptically, in other words as meaning "which [as a result] does not diminish for a long time", but this seems less idiomatic than taking *cirakālena* as a single word, for which several parallels can be cited (e.g. *C. 100*, prose before stanza VII)²³.

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Abbreviations

EFEO École française d'Extrême-Orient.
IC *Inscriptions du Cambodge*: see CÆDÈS 1937-1966.
NIC *Nouvelles Inscriptions du Cambodge*: see POU 2002.
 TAK2 *Tāntrikābhīdhānakośa*, vol. n° 2: see BRUNNER, OBERHAMMER & PADOUX 2004.

²³ BERGAIGNE, Abel, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1893, p. 213.

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