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# Tying Down Fame with Noose-Like Letters: K. 1318, A Hitherto Unpublished Tenth-Century Sanskrit Inscription from Kok Romeas

Dominic Goodall

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Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of  
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

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Vincent Tournier, Vincent Eltschinger,  
and Marta Sernesi



Napoli 2020



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*Tying Down Fame with Noose-Like Letters: K. 1318,  
A Hitherto Unpublished Tenth-Century Sanskrit  
Inscription from Kok Romeas*

DOMINIC GOODALL

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This article is a small offering of friendship and admiration intended to honour and divert Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, some of whose learned lectures I attended with great pleasure when I first installed myself in Paris in 2011 after ten years posted in the EFEO's Pondicherry Centre. I would be unable to make a contribution to this volume in any of the core areas of her expertise, but since she enlivened many of the vigorous discussions that took place in the sessions of the seminar of the CIK project ("Corpus des inscriptions khmères"<sup>1</sup>) in the months before I left Paris to return to Pondicherry in April 2015, I feel sure that a contribution throwing light on a Sanskrit inscription that we pored over in that seminar a little earlier, in the beginning of 2013, would be not unwelcome. In January of that year, Gerdi Gerschheimer first began to study the inscription in question from photographs of the stone (see figs. 1 and 2), which proved extremely difficult to

<sup>1</sup> For this project, see Gerdi Gerschheimer's short presentation "Le corpus des inscriptions khmères" (2003–2004) and the dossiers of articles in numbers 100 and 102 of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*. See also the website [cik.efeo.fr](http://cik.efeo.fr).

read in certain patches. Serendipitously, while in Cambodia in January 2013, I attended a reading-session of Khmer inscriptions animated by Ang Chouléan, Julia Estève, and Dominique Soutif at the APSARAS headquarters in Siem Reap, where I met a participant, Heng Than, who had come bringing digital photographs of estampages that he had made of what proved to be the same inscription to show to the group (see figs. 3 and 4). Swathes of text that had until then proved undecipherable and unguessable suddenly became apparent from the photographs of these beautiful estampages, and so we read the inscription once again in the CIK seminar thereafter.

I am therefore now able to present here an edition and translation of K. 1318, a hitherto unpublished stela with two inscribed faces, each bearing 20 lines, on the basis of photographs of estampages kindly presented in January 2013 to Dominique Soutif by Heng Than, to whom I am most grateful. I have not seen the inscribed stela itself, but I am informed that it was found in a temple known as Prasat Top at a place called Phum Kok Prich in the district (Sruk) of Thma Puok, in the sub-district (Khum) of Kok Romeas in Banteay Meanchey Province. Ang Chouléan kindly informed me (personal communication in January 2017) that *kok* is a Northern Khmer term for an area of ground that typically never floods and that *romeas* is a “rhinoceros.” The exact circumstances of the discovery are not known to me, but it seems possible, as will be further explained below, that a mechanical digging machine was involved. In October 2014, with the help of the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, the stela has been installed in the Museum of Banteay Meanchey (see fig. 5). An unpublished report produced in 2013–2014 by T.S. Maxwell reproduces photographs that were taken on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2012, from which we can know that the inscription had come to light in 2012, and it gives the total height of the stela as 91 cm, the width around 36 cm, the depth around 6 cm, and the height of the individual letters as plus or minus 1.25 cm.

The inscription, although not dated, appears to be from the time of the reign of Jayavarman IV and takes the form of a paean of praise of a guru of that king called Sakalavindu, apparently penned by his grandson Sadāśiva. The name Sakalavindu has not, as

far as I am aware, been attested until now in Cambodia, but *-vindu* (presumably the word meaning literally “drop” which is more commonly spelt *bindu*, although one cannot exclude the possibility that it is the word meaning “learned” and written *vindu*) is a not uncommon ending for Khmer names, where it may be preceded by names of Śiva (Īsvaravindu in K. 127 and K. 235, Śivavindu in K. 449, K. 868 and K. 278, Rudravindu in K. 133, Śaṅkaravindu in K. 155) or by what might be the names of Śaiva mantras (Hṛdayavindu in K. 263 and in K. 598, Śikhāvindu in K. 1167, K. 184, K. 690 and K. 1198). It may also occur by itself as a name (e.g., *ku vindu*, a *vilāsini* given as property to the god Maṅḍaleśvara in K. 129 [pre-Angkorian]), or following words that do not seem religion-specific (e.g., Candravindu in K. 115, K. 360 and K. 493 [all pre-Angkorian], Akṣaravindu in K. 1148, Nāgavindu in K. 22 [pre-Angkorian], Vidyāvindu<sup>2</sup> in K. 13 [pre-Angkorian], and Vidyāvaravindu<sup>3</sup> in K. 652 [also pre-Angkorian]). As the above non-exhaustive list suggests, *-vindu* as a final name-element may have no distinctively Śaiva flavour in pre-Angkorian times, but in the Angkorian period it seems to be common as an ending for Śaiva names. Unlike in the case of names ending in *-śiva*,<sup>4</sup> we know of no textual evidence from the Indian sub-continent for Śaiva initiatory names ending in *-bindu*; but it seems not unlikely, on the strength of the above-cited Cambodian examples alone, that Sakalavindu should have been a Śaiva name: the element *sakala* might refer to a particular tantra’s root mantra of Śiva, for instance, or it might refer to an embodied (*sakala*) aspect of Śiva, which, for followers of the Śaivasiddhānta, would refer to the Sadāśiva form. We may note that Sakalavindu’s grandson was called Sadāśiva, the name of the principal deity of the Śaivasiddhānta, but, other than that weak pointer, there is no indication that I can detect in the text—no allusions to distinctive doctrines, for example—of Sakalavindu having adhered to any particular current of

<sup>2</sup> This man’s name, for metrical reasons, is given in the first quarter of stanza VIII of K. 13 thus: *vidyādivindvantagḥitanāmnā*, which led Barth (1885: 33) to suppose that he was called Vidyādivindvanta.

<sup>3</sup> It seems to me, on the basis of an examination of the EFEO estampage n. 719, that one could equally suppose this name to be Vidyādhavindu.

<sup>4</sup> For such names in Cambodia, see the sections on onomastics in chapter 8 of Estève 2009 and see Goodall 2015: 21–25.

Śaivism. Nonetheless, this in itself makes it likely that he should have been a Saiddhāntika, since the Śaivasiddhānta was probably the dominant Śaiva school of the time.

The inscription is in twenty stanzas that are split evenly across the two sides of the stela. All but the penultimate stanza, which is in *triṣṭubh*, are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. The lettering is neat and clear, and the second side is perfectly preserved; the first side, however, has suffered some damage: four thin lines have been scored diagonally from the top right across parts of its right-hand side, which do not much affect legibility, but these are interspersed with three roughly parallel but much thicker marks that judder across the same area like heavy cross-hatching, and those have unfortunately obliterated several letters. In addition, one broad, smooth surface mark moves diagonally across the stela from the left-hand edge of line 8 to the right-hand edge of line 11, again erasing parts of several letters.<sup>5</sup>

The first five stanzas are given over to praises of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Umā and Sarasvatī respectively. There follows a laudatory genealogy of Yaśovarman (st. VI), Harṣavarman (st. VII), Īśānavarman (st. VIII) and Jayavarman [IV] (stt. IX–XII), under whom we learn that a certain Sakalavindu served as guru (stt. XIII–XIV). The gifts he received from them are summarily enumerated (stt. XV–XVII) and then his religious foundations are mentioned (st. XVIII), namely a *līṅga* installed in a place called Śivāsana, which might or might not refer to the place in which the stela was found, as well as an unspecified number of *līṅgas*, sculpted images of worship and *āśramas* elsewhere. The penultimate stanza, XIX, which is the only one in *triṣṭubh* metre, appeals to future kings to protect the foundation, and the final one proclaims that Sakalavindu's fame is tied down here in the letters of the inscription while being paradoxically bruited abroad at the same time by his grandson Sadāśiva. This presumably means that Sakalavindu's grandson composed the poem that forms the text of the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> My colleague Bertrand Porte has suggested to me (personal communication in January 2017) that the rhythmic scarring looks to be the result of the surface of the stone having been scraped by the juddering blades of some heavy machinery: perhaps the stela was discovered by accident when a prospective building site was being cleared with a mechanical digger?

A brief remark on Sakalavindu's grandson's name, Sadāśiva, is called for. It may be tempting to some to equate this man with the most famous Sadāśiva of Cambodian history, namely the Sadāśiva of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (K. 235, st. LXII), who was the son of the sister of the unnamed Sivācārya who served under Jayavarman V and Sūryavarman I, in other words from the end of the tenth into the beginning of the eleventh century. But in that case, why would the sequence of kings praised in our inscription end with Jayavarman IV, whose reign appears to have ended in 942 CE?<sup>6</sup> It seems much more natural to assume that this Sadāśiva was simply a different man. The name, besides being an extremely well-known theonym, was probably quite commonly used as an anthroponym in the Angkorian period, and we are aware of seven other individuals so-named (for a list, see Goodall 2015: 25). Palaeographically too, a mid-tenth century date seems not implausible: compare, for example, the style of writing in K. 286 (EFEO estampage n. 555), of 948 CE.

Whatever ructions and struggles may have accompanied the transitions between the reigns of the four kings praised here, Sakalavindu appears, like the “Vicar of Bray” in the eponymous seventeenth-century song, to have been able to maintain his position throughout. Should one conclude that this was because little in fact changed at the level of the “deep state”? Or was Sakalavindu just far away enough in the North West from turbulence at the heart of the court? Or particularly canny? Or simply lucky?

For all its fustian, our inscription seems not to add anything to the sum of knowledge about Cambodian regnal history. Nothing, I think, can be concluded from the varied choice of kennings meaning “king” applied to the different sovereigns in stanzas VI–IX, for I suspect that there is no difference of nuance intended: the motivation for the choice seems rather to be to achieve alliterative effects. Thus in stanza VIII, *manujeśvara* is clearly chosen to echo the *n* and *j* of the previous word; similarly, in stanza IX, *rājādhirāja* echoes the *j* in the word before it; and in stanza VI, *mahābhūpāla* echoes *bhūpendra* in the preceding quarter-verse.

The poetry of the first five stanzas makes use of familiar tropes but they have been inventively turned. Less effort has been

<sup>6</sup> See the genealogical table between pages 54 and 55 of Dupont 1943.

expended for the praise of the various kings, until we reach the eulogy of Jayavarman IV, perhaps because he was still reigning at the time of the erection of the inscription. The factual portion following that is again relatively unembellished, and the poet then reaches for a higher register for the last two stanzas.

Face A<sup>7</sup>

I

- 1  namaś śivāya yasyākṣi ◊ ṭṭīyaṃ rājate bhṛ(śa)m  
2 arkendunayanottuṅga◊padalābhādarād i(va) ||

Reverence to Śiva, whose third eye shines intensely, as though because of setting great store by taking a position higher than those of the eyes that are the sun and the moon!

Śiva's two ordinarily positioned eyes are the sun and the moon. The third eye, in the middle of his forehead, is fire, which might be supposed to shine less brightly than the celestial luminaries, but the conceit here is that this especially powerful ocular fire, which famously burnt the body of Kāmadeva, shines brighter as though out of pride at being positioned above the sun and moon.

For the initial meandering decorative element () , which may be described as a “*gomūtrikā* symbol,” see the note on the sign preceding the first stanza of Face A of K. 1320 (Goodall and Jacques 2014), and see also the opening liminal sign of C. 217 (discussed by Griffiths and Southworth 2007: 352).

<sup>7</sup> In the edition below, I have followed the conventions of the CIK project in placing partially legible syllables within round brackets and syllables that I have supplied that are not legible (but that probably once were) within square brackets. A capital X indicates an illegible syllable; a capital C indicates an illegible consonant; a capital V indicates an illegible vowel. The sequence ‘(g/d)’ indicates that one might read ‘g’ or ‘d.’ I have not explicitly transcribed the *virāma*-marks (at the end of 1b, for instance, I could have transcribed ‘bhṛ(śa)m.’ instead of just ‘bhṛ(śa)m’), because there seemed to be nothing to be gained from doing so in this particular inscription, since no part of it is in Khmer, whose orthographic latitude may make recording such a detail more often worthwhile. Following the suggestion of Vincent Tournier, 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. (Only between VIc and VI d is such a space not discernible, but the beginning of VI d is nonetheless aligned with the beginnings of the other *pādas*.)

II

- 3 vijitañ cakriṇā bhāti ◊ pāñcajanyañ (śva)[dhū]sarā  
4 saṃsaktamaṇḍaroddhūta◊dhautadu(gdhe)[va] yattan [u]ḥ ||

In the third *pāda*, °maṇḍaro° is a possible Cambodian spelling of °mandaro°.

Victorious is Viṣṇu, whose body shines white [literally: not gray] with the rays from [his conch] Pāñcajanya, as though pure milk splashed up by Mount Mandara [when it was used as a stick to churn the milk-ocean] were [still] clinging to it.

III

- 5 padmāsano vijayate ◊ padmāsanamṛ[ṇā]likā[m]  
6 icchanta iva saṃbhūya ◊ rājahaṃsā (va)hanti ya(m) ||

Victorious is Brahmā, whom royal geese, having gathered together, carry along as though yearning [to reach] for the lotus-fibres of his lotus-throne.

IV

- 7 umāṃ namāmi yannābhi◊dīptiṃ śambh[uka](ra)ḥ spṛśan  
8 (o?)mamiśro namaskāra ◊ iva ta(t)[s](tha)guṇe dhike ||

I venerate Umā, touching the light-rays of whose navel Śiva's hand joins with that of Umā (/ is mixed with flaxen [light]) as though in a gesture of reverence, the positive qualities residing in it being [thus] increased.

The damaged letter at the beginning of line 8 could perhaps be an *o* or an *au*. In any case, what seems to be intended is *aumamiśro*, meaning both “mixed with what belongs to Umā” and “mixed with what is flaxen.” It is possible, but not certain, that we are to imagine Umā fused with Śiva as the left half of his body in the iconographic form known as Ardhanārīśvara. Her flesh is the pale yellow of flax. The flattening of the diphthong *au* to *o* is not infrequent in Cambodian Sanskrit.<sup>8</sup>

The last *pāda* reminds us that the *namaskāra* of Śiva alone would already be potent, because of the powers in his hands, but the *namaskāra* of Śiva and Umā combined must be yet more extraordinary. What is not quite clear is whether the

<sup>8</sup> The scribe of K. 528, for example, has corrected °mauli° to °moli° in stanzas 147, 195 and 198.

Umā-half is actually pressing her hand against the hand of the Śiva-half or whether the flaxen light from her navel gives the impression of her hand pressing against the hand that Śiva is holding at the height of the navel. The use of *iva*, an enclitic particle, at the beginning of the *pāda*, is arguably inelegant, but we find it elsewhere in some of the most ambitious Cambodian poetry (e.g., K. 528, st. XXIVb, XXVIIId [Finot 1925]), and once more in this inscription, in stanza XIX below.

V

9 bhāratī pātu bhava[t](o) ◊ ya(s)yāḥ kāntatarā kalā

10 brahmavān̄mālatīmālā ◊ ma(ka/ṅ) X

C(g/d)V(ra)sām śr[u]tau ◉ ||

As in many other Cambodian inscriptions, florets (transcribed here with ◉) may be used as heavy punctuation, particularly for marking the ends of thematic sections of text. Here they occur after stanza V, thus marking the end of the eulogy of gods off from the royal genealogy that now follows; after stanza XVII, marking the end of the treatment of the particulars that this inscription records; after stanza XVIII, marking the end of the allusions to other foundations elsewhere; after stanza XIX, marking the end of the exhortation to future kings to protect the foundation; and after stanza XX, marking the end of the whole text. In modern Sanskrit, *puṣpikā* (“foret”) is often used to refer to the para-textual statements to the effect that a work or chapter has been concluded (in other words, what many indologists refer to, rightly or wrongly, with expressions such as “internal colophon”), and we find indeed that old Nepalese manuscripts sometimes mark the ends of chapters not with para-textual statements but with just such florets. An example is the ninth-century manuscript transmitting the *Sarvajñā-nottaratantra* that has been microfilmed by the NGMPP under the reel number A 43/12.

May Sarasvatī protect you, whose loveliest part is the jasmine-garland of Vedic utterances (*brahmavān̄mālatīmālā*), juicy with(/as) nectar (*ma[karaṇḍa]rasā*), [resting as an ornament] upon her ear (/residing in our ears/being scriptural revelation).

The above interpretation depends on assuming that the final *anusvāra* on the word °*rasām* is a mistake. The *anusvāra* in question is in fact plainly engraved, using the characteristic hooked shape of the period, so it is impossible to confuse it with an accidental blemish. We would therefore be assuming that the engraver made a mistake, just as he appears to have done with the word *saṃsikta*° in the second stanza. The interpretation also assumes that the damaged word was *maka-ṛaṇḍarasā*. From the estampage, I can discern what might be a *ka* as the second syllable, and then nothing until what might be a subscript *da*. (I have proposed restoring *makaṛaṇḍa* rather than *makaranda*, which would be the regular form in the Indian subcontinent, on the grounds that *makaṛaṇḍa* is the form we encounter in Cambodia, in the second stanza of the hospital inscriptions (K. 290, K. 701,

K. 283, K. 1228.) I could therefore have transcribed the last *pāda* as follows: *ma(ka)[raṇ](da)rasām śr[u]tau*. But the visible parts of the damaged letters could perhaps be interpreted differently and I had earlier been inclined to transcribe *ma(ṇ)[dārāṇ](g)[i]rasām śr[u]tau*, resulting in a rather different interpretation of the verse:

May Sarasvatī protect you, whose loveliest part is the blossom-garland of Vedic utterances (*brahmavāk-*) from the Mandāra trees that are the Atharvan hymns [resting as an ornament] upon her ear (/in scriptural revelation).

The conceit would be that the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* would be the most beautiful part of Speech, personified as Sarasvatī, since they would be like a blossom-garland of blooms from the celestial coral trees (*maṇḍāra* would be a possible Cambodian spelling of *mandāra*) resting upon her ear (*śrutau*) or occupying their place in Vedic revelation (*śrutau*). This reading would also require assuming a small mistake on the part of the scribe, for although we can make out through the damage what could be interpreted as a subscript *g*, we can clearly see above that the apparently undamaged space in which we would expect to find the vowel-sign for a short *i*, and no engraving is to be seen there: if he intended to write °*ṅgirasām*, he forgot to write the vowel *i*. An additional oddity would be such emphasis placed on the *Atharvaveda*, whose importance seems in fact to have been relatively diminished in Cambodia (for a passage where we might expect to see the *Atharvaveda* mentioned and do not, see, for instance, Bhattacharya 1961: 68–69).

For this reason this interpretation now seems to me less plausible. As for the sense of *brahmavāk*, which I have rendered with “Vedic utterances,” it is perhaps conceivable that it refers instead to the final part of the Vedic revelation, the Vedānta or Upaniṣads, since it is there that are held to be found in some concentration statements about the nature of the soul and of *brahman*.

## VI

11 āsīd viśuddhasaundaryyo ◊ yuddhoddhataparākra[maḥ]  
12 bhūpendraḥ śrīyaśovarmmā (ma)hābhūpālavanditaḥ ||

There was once a king, Śrī Yaśovarman, of beauty pure, of proud valour in battle, venerated by great kings.

## VII

13 rājārccitāṅghrikamalo ◊ babhūva vilasa(d)yaśāḥ  
14 tasya śrīharṣavarmmeti ◊ tanayo dha(raṇ)[i]śvaraḥ ||

To him was born a son, [also] a king whose lotus-feet were revered by kings, called (*iti*) Śrī Harṣavarman, whose fame shone bright.

VIII

15 abhavat tasya saudaryo ◊ yo nuj(o) manujeśvaraḥ  
16 śrīśānavarmmanāmāri◊tamo(mā)rttandavikramaḥ ||

He had a younger uterine brother, who was the king called Śrī Īśānavarman: his progress/valour was as that of the sun to the shadows that were his enemies.

IX

17 ājau rājādhirājo y(o) ◊ vidvitpātanapāṭavaḥ  
18 bhūbhṛtas tasya vandhu[ś ś](r)[ī]◊jayavarmmā mahipatiḥ ||

At the end of the fourth *pāda* we must of course understand *mahīpatiḥ*.

The relative by marriage of that king was the king Śrī Jayavarman [IV], who was king of kings, [inasmuch as he was] skilled in felling his enemies in battle,

X

19 kīrttiḥ puṇyāmvunidhijā ◊ sarvvāśāsu priyādhikā  
20 yadīyā śrīsamānāpi ◊ dṛṣṭā kṛṣṇāṅgavarjjiṭā ||

whose Fame, born from the ocean of his meritorious deeds, popular (*priyā*) and ever waxing (*adhikā*) in all directions, was visibly equal even to Śrī, [except that his Fame was] devoid of contact with a black body [viz. the body of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa],

Śrī, being the consort of Viṣṇu, takes the form of a whorl of hair on Viṣṇu's chest called the Śrīvatsa and so clings to Viṣṇu's dark body, whereas the king is here supposed by the poet to be of desirably pale complexion: he is thus not "in contact with" a dark embodiment. For another such trope that plays upon the darkness of Kṛṣṇa's body, see K. 731, st. XXV (as interpreted by Goodall 2011: 52). As Arlo Griffiths has suggested to me, we could equally understand *priyādhikā* as a compound describing the king's personified Fame and meaning "having many lovers."

Face B

XI

- 1 sapravodhe śarady eva ◊ saroṣeva gadādhare
- 2 sarvvarttusupravodhe mā ◊ yasmin saktakarābhavat ||

on whom Lakṣmī (*mā*) came to lay her hand, he being thoroughly awakened in every season, as though she were angry with Him who bears the mace [viz. with Viṣṇu], [since he is] awakened only (*eva*) in autumn [after the *cāturnāśya* of the rains, during which Viṣṇu sleeps].

XII

- 3 kiñ citram astraśastena ◊ śambhunā vijita smaraḥ
- 4 yasya dīptatarā kāntiḥr api strī jitamanmathā ||

In the second *pāda*, we understand that what was intended was *vijitaḥ smaraḥ*. The loss of a *visarga* before a sibilant in ligature with a following unvoiced stop is permissible, but scribes in many regions, such as the Tamil-speaking part of South India, for instance, extend this practice and choose to omit the *visarga* also before a sibilant in ligature with a nasal or semi-vowel.

Is it astonishing that Śambhu, who is renowned for his arrows, should have conquered Love, [given that] his [viz. Jayavarman's] dazzling Loveliness, although a woman [because grammatically feminine], has [by her beauty] defeated Love?

XIII

- 5 teṣāṃ dharāpatīndrāṇāḥm ācāryyo mantriṇāṃ varaḥ
- 6 āsīt sakalavindur yyo ◊ vahupanditavanditaḥ ||

In the last *pāda*, °*pandita*° is one possible Cambodian spelling of °*pandita*°.

These great kings had a preceptor, the best of mandarins, [called] Sakalabindu, who was revered by many pandits,

XIV

- 7 yo vudhānukrame mānyaḥ ◊ śabdaśāstrādīśāstravit
- 8 devarājābhyudayado ◊ vṛhaspatir ivāparaḥ ||

who, knowledgeable in such disciplines as grammar, was revered in the succession of wise men (/gods) as though he were a second Bṛhaspati, in as much as he caused the uplift of princes (/of Indra).

Bṛhaspati was the preceptor of the gods, under the leadership of Indra.

XV

9 dolāṃ hiraṇmayīṃ bhūri ◊ bhājanaṃ katisūtrakam  
10 bhājanaṃ bhasmano haima◊m akṣamālāṃ hiraṇmayim ||

In *pāda* b, we assume that *kati*<sup>o</sup> is a Cambodian spelling of *kaṭi*<sup>o</sup>. At the end of the stanza we must understand *hiraṇmayīm*.

A palanquin of gold, many vessels, a waist-string [of gold], a golden ash-receptacle, a rosary of gold,

XVI

11 aṅgulyābharaṇaṃ hema[ṃ] ◊ padmarāgaśriyādrikām  
12 karṇabhūṣādikām bhūṣāṃ ◊ surasindhuprabhām iva ||

Instead of *hema[ṃ]*, one expects *haima[ṃ]*, as in the previous stanza.  
In the third *pāda*, *kaṃṇa*<sup>o</sup> is a possible Cambodian spelling of *kaṃṇa*<sup>o</sup>.

a golden finger-ring, ornaments whose radiance was like that of the Ganges, and which was made more beautiful by the lustre of rubies, such as earrings,

XVII

13 kalaśaṃ yas sitacchatraṃ ◊ karaṅkaṃ hemanirmmitam  
14 teṣāṃ rājādhirājānāṃ ◊ samavāpa mahādarāt ☉ ||

a pot, a white parasol, a bowl fashioned of gold—[all the above] he received, because of the great respect of these kings of kings.

XVIII

15 śivāsane pure śambhu◊liṅgaṃ sa samatiṣṭhipat  
16 liṅgam anyatra cārccāñ ca ◊ pureṣu vividhāśramam ☉ ||

He installed a *śivaliṅga* in the town [called?] Śivāsana and a *liṅga* and image[s] elsewhere, [and] various *āśramas* in [different] towns.

XIX

17 bhṛśaṃ kṛtārthā puruṣottame śrīṅr ivāmbudhe

rakṣati dakṣavuddhyā

18 dharmmasthitir yyā mahataḥ prasūtā ḍ rakṣākṣatan

tāṃ puruṣottamas tvam ◎

Do you (*tvam*) [future king of this territory], being yourself Puruṣottama [in the sense that you are “best of men”], protect (*rakṣa*) unceasingly (*akṣatam*) this exceptionally (*bhṛśam*) successful (*kṛtārthā*) religious foundation (*dharmasthitih*) that was created (*prasūtā*) by a great man (*mahataḥ*), which is like Śrī while Viṣṇu (*puruṣottame*) [resting] upon the ocean (*ambudhe*) protects (*rakṣati*) [her] with his cunning mind.

Kings may be described as Puruṣottama because, although it is by convention a distinctive name of Viṣṇu, its literal meaning is “best of men.” Furthermore, as Vincent Tournier has privately suggested to me, kings may be so described on the grounds that each king may be regarded as a partial incarnation (*aṃśa*) of Viṣṇu. For an earlier Cambodian instance of an allusion to this idea, see, for instance, stanza XII of K. 1254 (Gerschheimer and Goodall 2014).

XX

19 tasyākṣareṇa vaddhāpi ḍ kīrttiḥ pāsānukāriṇā

20 naptrā sadāśivākhyena ḍ bhṛśaṃ kenāpi digrutā || ◎ ||

Although (*api*) his fame has been tied down [here] by letters, which are like unto nooses, somehow (*kenāpi*) his grandson, called Sadāśiva, has also [at the same time] shouted it out in all directions (*digrutā*) loudly (*bhṛśam*).

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Some of the items in this bibliography are not named in the text above, but they have in fact been referred to here in as much as they give editions and translations of inscriptions that I have consulted and mentioned. Thus, I have used Barth 1885 for K. 278, Bergaigne 1893 for K. 184, Finot 1928 for K. 598, Pou 2001 for K. 1148, and so forth. Several others appear in the *Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC)* of Coëdès, whose eighth volume furnishes a concordance from which it can be determined where the various inscriptions published before that eighth volume have appeared.

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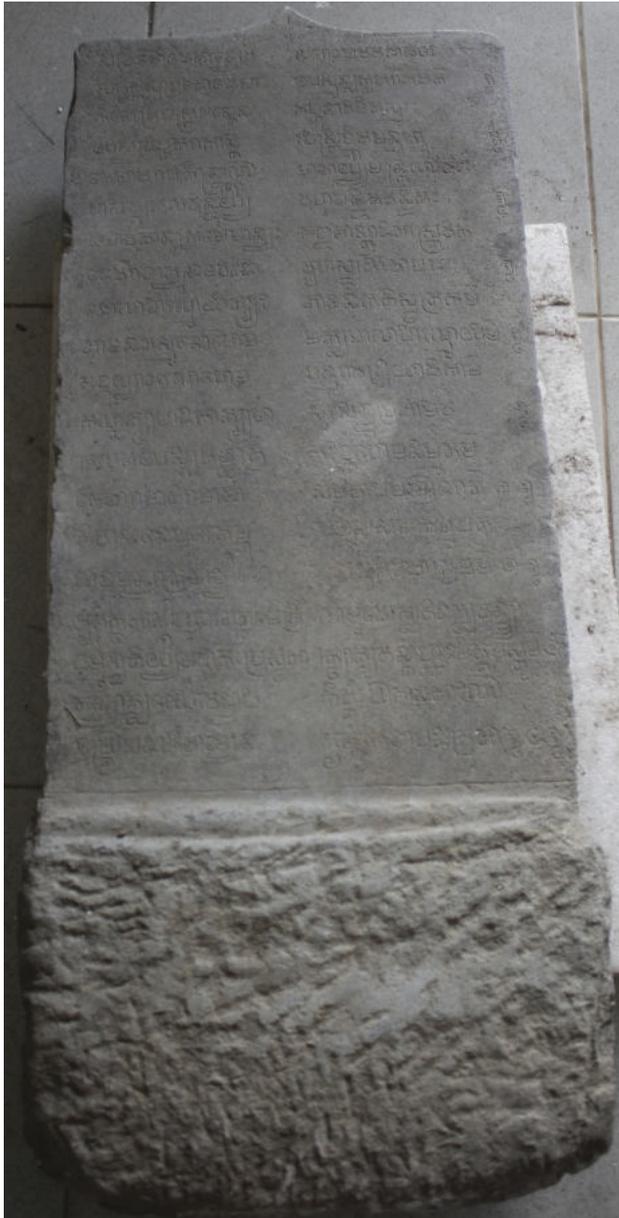


Fig. 1

Face A of K. 1318 before installation in the museum of Banteay Mancheay (also known as the Depot of the Ministry of Culture in Sisophon).  
Photo: Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum, Phnom Penh.

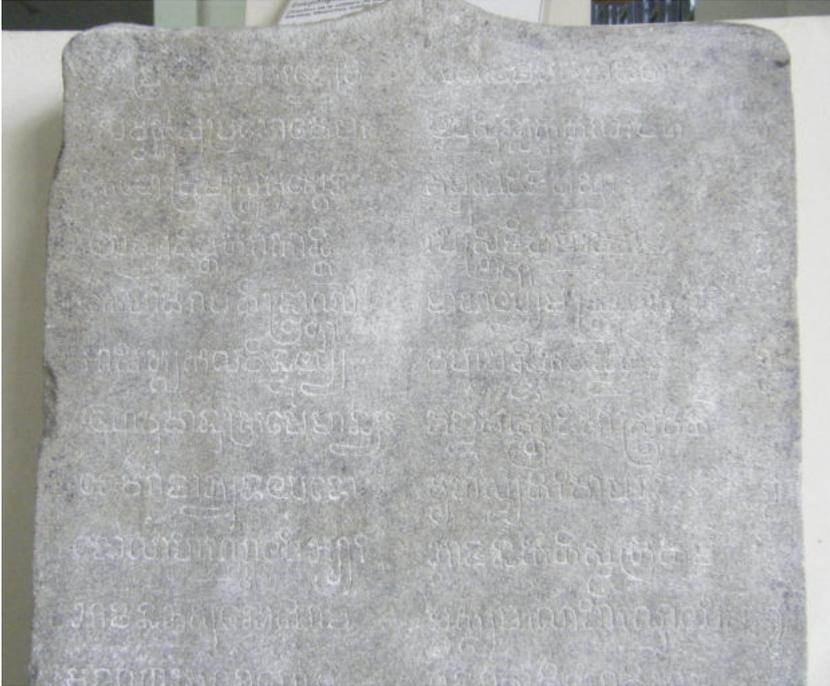


Fig. 2

Detail of Face A of K. 1318. This was one of the photographs on the basis of which Gerdi Gerschheimer began to study the inscription in the seminar on the “Corpus des inscriptions khmères” at the EPHE in Paris in January 2013.

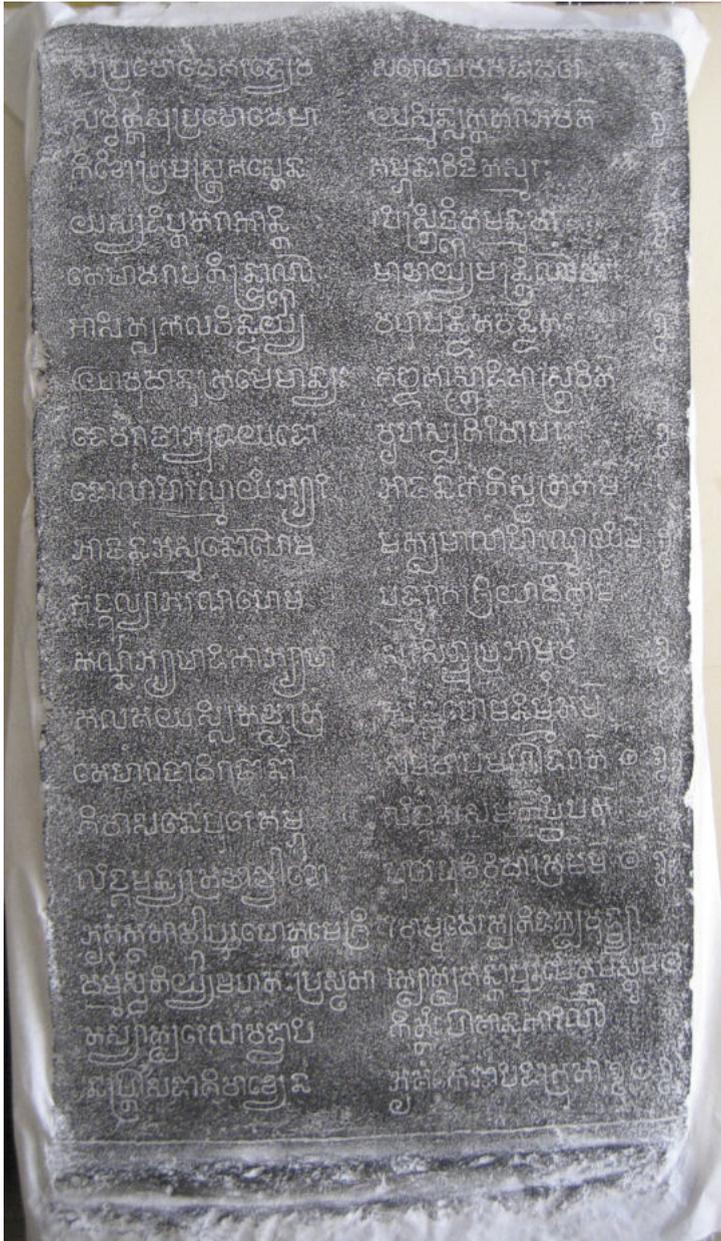


Fig. 3  
Photograph, kindly supplied by Mr. Heng Than,  
of his estampage of Face A of K. 1318.

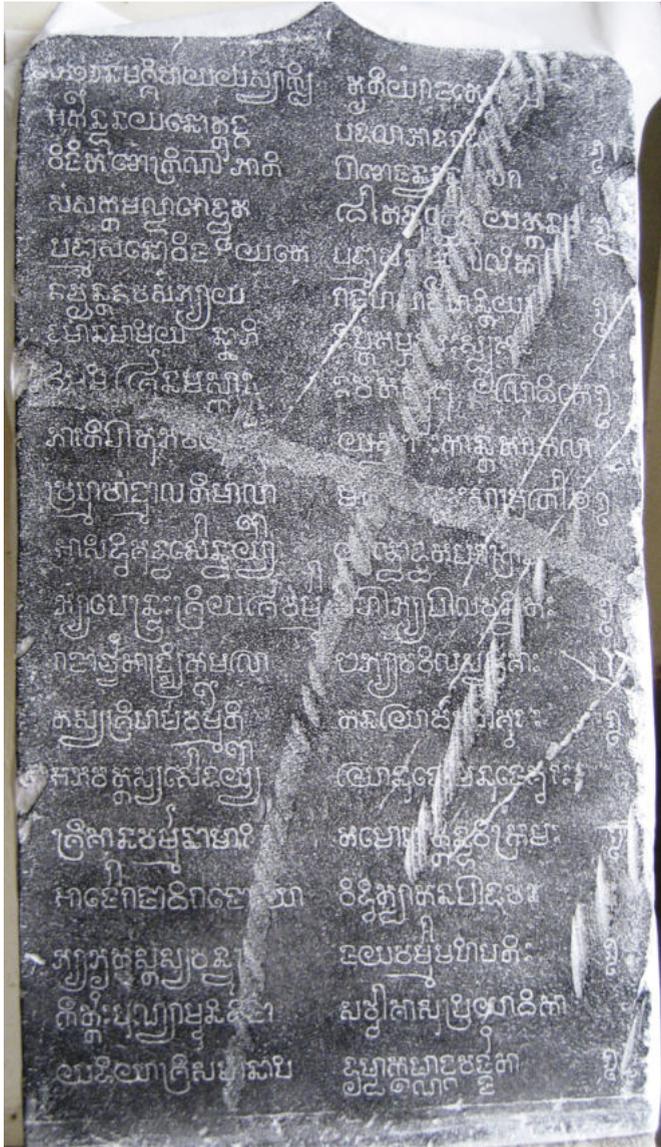


Fig. 4  
 Photograph, kindly supplied by Mr. Heng Than,  
 of his estampage of Face B of K. 1318.



Fig. 5

With some assistance from Socheat and Sok Soda of the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum, Phnom Penh, the stela K. 1318 was installed in the museum of Banteay Manchey in October 2014. Photo: Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum, Phnom Penh.