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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 CAMBODIA¹

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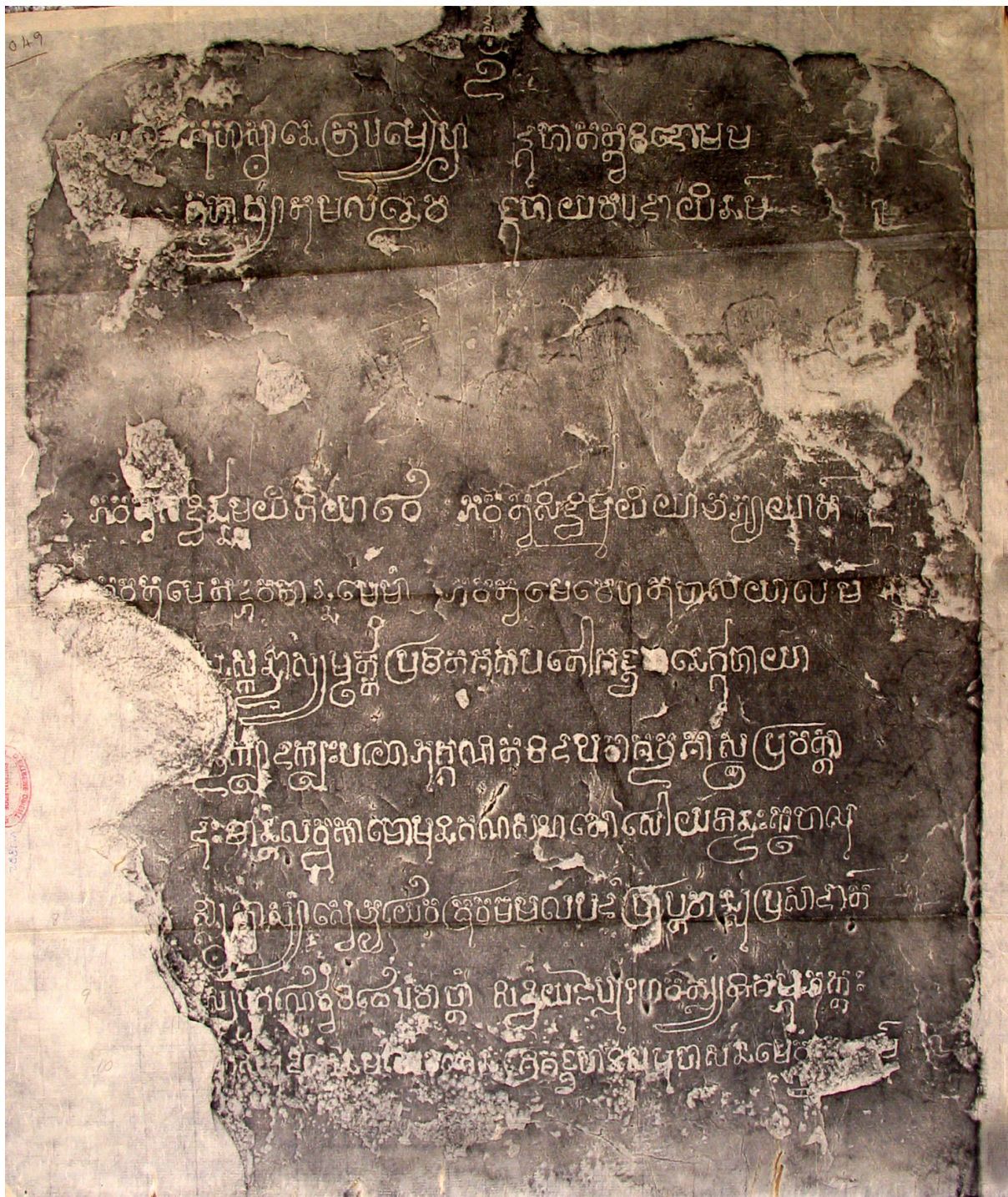
K. 1049 is the number assigned to a short, mid-tenth-century Sanskrit inscription whose existence has been known for several decades, but of which no edition or translation has been published, as far as I am aware. This neglect is probably attributable to the content, for the inscription affords not even a hint of dynastic history and its verses are not easy to interpret.

According to Claude Jacques (1971:183), the inscription belonged to “Phnom Thom (L-Ang Kei)”, in the province of Battambang. In the absence of other indications, it is not possible to be

¹ This article has taken a long time to develop. It began with Gerdi Gerschheimer’s invitation to me to give lectures at the École pratique des hautes études in Paris on alternating Thursdays in the autumn of 2005 in order to fit in with the lecture series he maintained every other Thursday with Claude Jacques, one of the purposes of which was to make progress with the project on the CIK, the *Corpus des inscriptions khmères* (for this project, see Gerschheimer 2004). The experience of preparing and giving these lectures opened new worlds for me — that of Paris and that of Cambodian epigraphy — and for that I am enduringly grateful to Gerdi Gerschheimer. Furthermore, it was he who suggested the theme of caves (“abris rocheux”) and who gave me a list of the inscriptions that might be examined. But it is not only for his initial proposal that I wish to thank him here, but also for his irrepressibly animated company and his enthusiastic and learned encouragement on each occasion that I came from Pondicherry to give lectures in Paris. I wish also to thank my various colleagues in the CIK for their help whenever I have doubts and questions, and for the use of the CIK’s growing electronic corpus of texts of inscriptions, managed by Dominique Soutif, that will I hope soon be placed online. Long after the autumn of 2005, I made attempts to prepare some of this material for publication by giving a paper in the World Sanskrit Conference in Delhi 2012 with the title “Can we identify the sectarian obedience of the Śaiva ascetics of non-royal cave-inscriptions in Cambodia?”, followed by a paper on ‘Evidence for the development of Śaivism from Cambodian Epigraphy’ at the conference on “Epigraphical Evidence for the Formation and Rise of Early Śaivism and Contemporaneous Sectarian Traditions in North India and Nepal 400–800 AD” organised by Natasja Bosma & Nina Mørnig at the University of Groningen in June 2012. Here at last, thanks to yet more encouragement from Ang Choulean, is a modest contribution to the understanding of the Cambodian epigraphical record.

certain that this site is the same as that numbered IK 854,01. In 1971, Claude Jacques mentions the inscription as being *in situ*. But when the prospectors of the project to produce an inventory of archeological sites in Cambodia (EFEO / Ministère de la Culture et des Beaux-Arts du Cambodge) visited IK 854,01 on 27th November 2003, the cave (*l-āñ*), located near the summit of Phnom Thom, contained no vestiges. Inscription K. 1049, if it was ever in that particular cave, seems to have disappeared. I therefore have access to no photographs of the original inscription, which appears to have been engraved upon a stone stela “en accolade”, that is to say an upright slab with a top shaped like a curly brace. The following edition is therefore based only on the estampage kept in the EFEO in Paris (n. 1395), for which see figure 1. I am grateful to Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat for allowing me to consult also a typescript of a transcription and partial unpublished translation prepared by him in 1971–1972, from which I shall quote below. This earlier translation is a fascinating demonstration of how difficult such short texts can be to understand, particularly when there appears to be so little evidence that might serve to contextualise them, for it differs from our translation on many points, but in a manner that is quite as plausible from the points of view of grammar and internal sense. But it is by juxtaposing the text with Cambodian parallels and with Sanskrit Śaiva literature that has been transmitted in India that we have been able to come to a different interpretation about some details of which we can feel more confidence.

The inscription has 10 lines of text, not including the letter *om* written at its summit, and consists of just four stanzas, one being in *anuṣṭubh* (I), one in *upendravajrā* (II), one in *sragdharā* (III) and one in *vasantatilakā* (IV). Between the first two lines, which give the *anuṣṭubh* verse, and the rest, there is a large area left blank, broad enough, probably, to have engraved a further three lines of text engraved in letters of the same size. It is not clear whether or not this space was left blank in order to be able to include further text that was never written, or in order to add some sculpted decoration that was never executed, or whether it merely appears blank because it contained some decoration that could not be reproduced by estampage. The lettering seems unremarkable for Cambodian inscriptions of its period, which we can assume to have been between 938 and 948 CE, since the century and decade of the *śaka*-era date are legible and these are, respectively 8 (*mūrti*) and 6 (*skandāśya*).



n. 1395 / K. 1049

Figure 1. EFEO estampage no. n. 1395 of K. 1049.

- II. Let there be absolutely none of that which is non-success in me; and let the success of attaining Bhavahood (=Śivahood) come about in me; may this *samsāra* not come about for me; O Bhava, you alone, do you protect me completely here in this world (*īha*)!
- III. In the Śaka year 86 ?, that compassionate prince of ascetics who was skilled in initiation, who consumed only milk and who, although knowledgeable in counting, was a teacher of grammar, desirous of obtaining the End of Suffering established himself with a group of sages in this cave of Śaṅkhapāṇi and by the good grace [of God] attained by his own will the pure destiny Dhruva.
- IV. That devotee of Śiva who, desirous of attaining the supernatural power that has been reached by various groups of gods ... , will live [... in this cave ...], ... veneration of Śaṅkhapāṇi...

NOTES ON THE INDIVIDUAL STANZAS

I.

A problem at once encountered when interpreting this inscription is deciding which divinity is venerated. As revealed in our translation above, we have assumed that the ascetic Śaṅkhapāṇi was in some sense a Śaiva and that this first verse is intended as an invocation of Śiva. Filliozat's translation, however, demonstrates that it would be equally possible to understand it as an invocation to Viṣṇu:

Que dans cette belle caverne, la caverne de mon coeur, de moi qui connaît la réalité, se représente secrètement, bien, le dieu (Viṣṇu) qui a satisfait le désir de Guha (le batelier qui a aidé Rāma à traverser la Gaṅgā).

We should note that this assumes a different splitting of the words (*hṛdguhā tattvavido mama*), which allows one to understand the chamber of the heart to be the only “cave” that is referred to here. This seems faintly unsatisfactory since the inscription was apparently found in a real cave: perhaps Filliozat received an estampage and was not actually informed about the situation in which the inscription was found. But even with knowledge of the circumstances of a discovery, it is often difficult, if one does not actually see the inscription *in situ* with one's own eyes, to bear in mind the impact of the context upon the purport of the inscription.

To cite a parallel case, it was not until I saw K. 81 *in situ*, an inscription carved into the doorjambs of the entrance to a shrine that commands an awe-inspiring view of a huge swathe of the Mekong river, that I read its first verse with the understanding that an implicit identification of that river

with the Ganges can hardly not have been intended:⁴

*jitam induvataṛisena mūrddhnā gaṅgāṃ babhāra yaḥ
umabhrubhaṅgajihmormmimalāmālum ivāmālām*

Victorious is He whose diadem is the moon, who bears upon his head the Ganges, like a perfect creeper formed of a garland of waves as crooked as Umā's frown.⁵

Returning to the identity of the deity venerated in our first verse, we may draw help from a close parallel, the second stanza of another non-royal inscription, K. 371 (= K. 431), which appears thus

⁴ Auguste Barth too, when he edited the inscription, would never have seen the view from the spot where this verse is inscribed, but his introduction to his edition of the inscription of course mentions the position of the temple with respect to the river (1885:8): “une vieille tour élevée sur un des contreforts du plateau qui domine la rive droit du Mekong...”.

⁵ Barth interprets the second half rather freely to arrive at this translation (1885:16):

La victoire est au (dieu) qui porte la lune à son diadème ; qui, sur sa tête, reçut la Gangā, dont les flots, dans leur fuite oblique sous le regard courroucé d'Umā, lui formaient comme une guirlande de liane immaculée.

For the angry-brow-like “crooked-ness” of waves, however, see, for example, verse 16 of Dhoyī's twelfth-century *Pavanadūta*:

*yā gaṅgeva prakṛtisubhagā jāyate keralināṃ
kelisnane kaucamalayajaiḥ paṇḍimanāṃ dadhānā
śaśvadgotraskhalanajanitrāsāsalolasya sindboḥ
udvīcibhrus caranāpatanapremavacāṃ rasajñā*

This I understand as follows (pace Mallinson 2006:113):

The naturally beautiful Kāverī (*yā*), turning pale with sandal from the breasts of the Keralan ladies during their bathing games, becomes like the Gaṅgā: with waves as her furrowed brow (*udvīcibhrus*) she delights in the ocean's [actions of] falling at her feet and [addressing her with] affectionate speeches, [while the ocean is] restless with worry caused by his constantly muddling her name [with that of Gaṅgā].

The conceit is as old as Kālidāsa — the influence of whose poetry, as Kielhorn first pointed out (1901:3–4), is already unmistakable in more than one stanza of K. 81 —, for we find it, for instance in the *Meghadūta*, in which the messenger cloud is addressed as follows in stanza 24:

*teṣaṃ dikṣu prathitavidiśalakṣaṇāṃ rājadhānīṃ
gatvā sadyaḥ phalam avikalāṃ kāmukatvasya labdhā
tīropāntastanitasubhagaṃ pāsyasi svadu yasmāt
sabhrubhaṅgaṃ mukham iva payo vetravatyaś calormi*

This, in Mallinson's felicitous translation, is rendered thus (2006:37):

The name of its capital, Vidiśā, is famous everywhere.
Immediately upon reaching there,
you will obtain in full the reward of being a lover:
you shall drink Vetravatī's delicious waters.
Your thundering near her banks will have enriched them,
and in their ripples her face will seem to frown.

in Cœdès' edition:⁶

[guhā pade smin vahudevayukta]hṛdguhā kalātattvavido ma - ha yā
[guhāya janmakṣayasiddhidā]yinaṃ guhā haraṃ smartum alaṃ rarāja sā

It seems difficult to believe that it is just a coincidence that the authors of both inscriptions should have chosen to employ exactly the same rhetorical figure here: a stanza in which each *pāda* begins with the syllables *guhā* employed each time in a different sense!⁷ Cœdès' translation (*IC* V, pp.176–177) reads as follows:

Cachée en ce lieu, la grotte dont le cœur est rempli de nombreuses divinités, qui... de celui qui connaît la vraie nature des arts, suffit par sa splendeur à rappeler Hara qui a réussi à supprimer la naissance pour Guha.

Cœdès furthermore adds the following explanatory footnote to the effect that we have here an “Allusion probable au fait que Guha ou Skanda naquit directement de la semence de Çiva sans l'intervention d'une femme”.

In my view, it is more likely that the allusion to Śiva bestowing boons upon Guha (in both this verse and in ours) is rather an allusion to Śiva having transmitted to Skanda scripture that liberates from the cycle of rebirth. Several surviving scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta present themselves as teachings of Śiva to Skanda, notably the *Sarvajñānottaratantra* and the numerous recensions of the *Kalottaratantra*.⁸ Admittedly, this inscription is probably not, as we shall see below, to be associated with the Śaivasiddhānta, and we cannot identify any scriptures to which this may refer, but it is clear from the survival of several Saiddhāntika scriptures representing Śiva teaching his son that this was probably a widely known cliché by the tenth century. Furthermore, we can improve on Cœdès' interpretation on at least one other point. The pre-penultimate syllable in the first line that Cœdès has not transcribed appears legible to me in the EFEO estampage n. 14 as *mo*. Cœdès had that estampage before him, but he may have hesitated to transcribe in this way because the *m* is awkwardly shaped and because the resulting words, *mama* in sandhi with *ūhaya*, may well have

⁶ *IC* V, pp. 175–177. As Cœdès there explains, the square brackets enclose portions of text that became lost to damage between March 1912, when he first took an estampage of K. 371 in Saigon, and 1936, when a new estampage was taken of the same mutilated inscription that had since been rediscovered and assigned the number K. 431.

⁷ We do not know how common this figure is in Indian poetry: one may find it in *Raghuvamśa* 10:19–21 and in verse 106 of K. 528 (the figure is not actually evident there in Louis Finot's edition in *BEFEO* 25, but it is plain in a forthcoming edition by Csaba Dezső and Dominic Goodall, which makes use of an unpublished transcription by Claude Jacques made at a time when another fragment unseen by Finot had come to light that has now once again been lost).

⁸ For mentions of these works within a discussion of the scriptural canon, see GOODALL 1998:xlvi–xlvii.

seemed a little unlikely. But, juxtaposed with our verse, in which *mama* also occurs, they seem after all plausible.

Having dealt with the two relatively secure improvements that we can bring to Cœdès interpretation, we turn now to the less certain ones, less certain because the other points of doubt can be resolved in various ways depending on how we split the text. We might keep Cœdès' word-splits, or we might, for instance, take *vahudevayuktahṛdguhākalātattvavido* as one compound qualifying *mama*: “of me who know the truth of the divisions in the chamber of the heart which have many deities”. But rather than attempting to spell out all such possibilities, I shall present just one below.

I preface this, however, with a suggestion for the interpretation of the word *kalā*, an extremely labile word that is used as a term of art with very different senses in various disciplines. I have mentioned above that I shall explain below why it seems unlikely to me that this inscription should belong to the religious milieu of the Śaivasiddhānta and I shall therefore skip over a treatment of the possible Saiddhāntika senses of the term *kalā*,⁹ but shall mention directly instead the sense that we encounter in Pāśupata contexts: in the terminology of the Pāñcārthika-Pāśupatas, *kalā* may designate the entire created universe. This is because it is used as a collective term for the totality of instruments (*karaṇa*) and effects (*kārya*) that make up worldly existence. A definition to this effect is found in Kauṇḍinya's commentary (p. 5) on the first of the *Pāśupatasūtras* (1.1): *tatra pāsū nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ*; “Here the bonds are the *kalās*, which are called effects and instruments”.

In the light of the above, here follows one plausible reading of the first line and a possible translation of the whole stanza.

*guhā pade smin vahudevayuktahṛdguhākalātattvavido mamohayā*¹⁰

The cave in this place, which contains many deities in its heart, shines out as being perfect (*alam*) — for me who, through reason (*ubhaya*), know the true secret nature of the totality of instruments and effects —, for meditating secretly (*guhā*) on Hara, who gave the power to conquer [re-]birth to Skanda.

Before moving on from this first stanza of K. 1049, we should observe that different interpretations could be reached by splitting the words or the syntactic units differently. We could, for instance, assume a paratactic structure and take the first quarter as a separate sentence:

⁹ For numerous technical senses, see s.v. *kalā* in volume 2 of the *Tāntrikābhidhānaśāstra*.

¹⁰ Just worth mentioning in passing is the possibility that *mamohayā* might be an error for *mameha yā* (*mama+iha yā*), which would give us a relative pronoun *yā* that would neatly correlate with *sā* in the following line.

[There is] a cave in this pleasant place; a cave is enough for me, who know the truth
[residing in] the cave that is the heart, to meditate upon the God who bestowed
boons upon Skanda.

Another possibility, suggested to us by Diwakar Acharya (messages of 5–6.v.2015), who is suspicious of the archaic use of *guhā* as an adverb, is to understand the *guhā* of *pāda* c to be the cave that is the subject of a sentence that forms the whole stanza, and to read *guhāsthāne* in compound in *pāda* a, perhaps taking it to be a toponym (like Janasthāna in the *Rāmāyaṇa*): “Here in this pleasant place of caves/Place of Caves, [just] a cave is enough for me ...” Diwakar Acharya further points out that one could also read *guhāpade* as a compound in the first quarter of stanza 2 of K. 371 [= K. 431], which we have just examined, and understand Guhāpada as being a variant of the same toponym. Now if K. 371 were known to have come from somewhere in the same region, then this could be considered to clinch the matter; but the provenance of K. 371 is unfortunately not known (see IC V, p.175).

II.

Exactly the same alliterative figure of beginning each quarter of the stanza with the same syllables is employed here, but here a repetition of three syllables, *bhavatva*, has been achieved, rather than just two, as in the previous stanza. Once again, this results in a verse that is a little awkward to interpret. The most awkward point, perhaps, is the interpretation of *bhavatvam* in the third *pāda*. I have assumed here that this is something like “the condition (°*tvam*) of being something that comes into being (°*bhava*)”, similar in sense, therefore, to *saṃsāra* (which might simply have been expressed by the word *bhava*!). Here Filliozat’s translation is the result of similar choices

La *bhavatvasiddhi* dont (je parle quand je dis) “qu’il n’y ait pas d’insuccès pour moi”, et que je
souhaite pour moi, qu’elle ne soit pas mon *bhavatva* (fait d’exister)
(qu’elle soit la nature de Śiva à qui je désire m’identifier); ô Bhava (Śiva), toi-même, protège-
moi bien en ce bas-monde.

Attaining “Bhavahood”, the state of being Śiva, is the shared goal of the various Śaiva traditions, even if theologians differ about how it is attained and as to whether it actually involves becoming merged into Śiva or identical to Śiva but distinct from him.¹¹

Diwakar Acharya (letter of 5.v.2015) has suggested that the sense and rhythm of the verse would

¹¹ For a lengthy treatment of the various Śaiva notions about the nature and about the means of attaining the liberated state according to different Śaiva systems, see Watson, Goodall and Anjaneya Sarma 2013.

be much improved if we were to correct *yā vai* in the first quarter to *yācai*, “let me beg” (a first person singular imperative!). This is certainly true, for “let me beg” could then be taken to preface each of the wishes that the stanza expresses; but the reading *yā vai* is unmistakable. We would need therefore to assume that the engraver made a mistake when copying from his exemplar. Such an error would in fact be easy to make, since it would consist in replacing a rarely encountered form (*yācai*) by two common words that can be made to yield some sort of sense in almost any context, since one is a particle with little semantic force (*vai*) and the other is a pronoun (*yā*). I am therefore almost entirely persuaded that we should indeed correct the text and interpret it as follows:

Let me beg: that there should be no non-success in me; that that success that is the attaining of Bhavahood should come about in me; that this *saṃsāra* should not come about for me; O Bhava, you alone, do you protect me completely here in this world (*iha*)!

III.

The third verse is the richest of the inscription, furnishing us with the century and decade of the *śaka* era in which the ascetic Śaṅkhaṇḍī died (the exact year being lost because of damage to the first word) as well as of much of the most intriguing religious information. It is here that we learn that Śaṅkhaṇḍī belonged to an initiatory religion, since he is described as *dikṣadakṣa*, “skilled in [performing] initiations” (we can probably exclude the less likely interpretation “who was fortunate because of having received initiation”, since it is clear that Śaṅkhaṇḍī was a religious leader). This tells us that he is likely to have been a religious professional of either the Mantramārga or of the Atimārga, in other words a Pāśupata.

We learn, furthermore, that he nourished himself by consuming only milk (*payobhuk*). This is one of several dietary mortifications that are frequently referred to as part of the many religious observances (*vrata*) that are detailed in early Śaiva scriptures primarily for the purpose of gaining mastery over mantras. Here, for example, is a short prose prescription in the *Gubhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* (11:71, f. 84v–85r):

OM DHYĀNĀHĀRĀYA NAMAḤ: anena mantreṇa kṣīrāhāro samvatsaraṇ jāpet; kṣutpipāsaiḥ mukto bhavati; varṣasahasrajīvī bhavati; satatajāpena kalpāyur bhavati.

OM DHYĀNĀHĀRĀYA NAMAḤ: he should perform recitation with this mantra for a year with milk as his [only] sustenance. He will be delivered from hunger and thirst. He will live for a thousand years. By reciting [it in this way] constantly, he will have a lifespan of an eon.

Besides choosing to mention that Śaṅkhaṇḍī drank milk, the stanza further describes him as

a teacher of grammar (*śabdaśāstrapravaktā*) and as *gaṇitavit*, “knowledgeable in counting”. Quite what discipline this last epithet refers to is uncertain. It could simply mean that he was a gifted mathematician; but, while grammar is particularly prized as an intellectual discipline in Sanskrit learning, mathematics does not typically enjoy such respect. Another possibility is that it refers to his knowledge of mystical Śaiva numerology, such as we find, for instance, in the opening of the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣat* (1.4–5) or throughout the *Gaṇakārikā*, a Pāśupata work that arranges its teachings in numbered sets (*gaṇa*) of entities. But perhaps most likely is that it refers to Śaṅkhaṇḍī’s having been skilled in the discipline of calculating with the purpose of making astrological pronouncements. It is worth mentioning that we find the term *gaṇaka* apparently employed in the sense of “astrologer” in K. 692, stanza XXXII:

[metre: *vasantatilakā*]

(27) ° nīlendraṇīlamanīnīrajarāgarāśi-

rociṣpariṣphuritamanditamaṇḍalena

(28) krīddāgrhe¹² dyumaṇineva vivarṇṇabhāva-

bhājādhayo nu gaṇakasya muhuḥ kriyante

In his pleasure-house, since his retinue (°*maṇḍalena*) was adorned with the quivering of rays of a mass of Nīlendra-jewels,¹³ sapphires, and spotless (°*nīraja*°) rubies, he took on a changed colouring, like the sun, and so repeatedly caused confusions (*ādhayaḥ*) for astrologers (*gaṇakasya*).

Finally, the stanza makes two eschatological pronouncements: we learn that Śaṅkhaṇḍī established himself in the cave with the desire of attaining the end of suffering (*duḥkṣhāntaṁ labdhukāmaḥ*) and we learn that he finally reached a pure state (*amalapadam*) called Dhruva thanks to special grace (*suprasādāt*). Those familiar with Pāśupata notions will have recognised at once that *duḥkṣhānta*, the “End of Suffering” is the distinctive label given to the liberated state in the Atimārga. It is illuminating to set our inscription beside the passage of the *Pāśupatasūtra* that speaks of the ascetic’s end. We shall cite a little more than is necessary for our immediate purposes, since it will be useful to us later. It should be born in mind that the *Pāśupatasūtra*, as interpreted by the sole surviving commentary, that of Kauṇḍīya, sees the ascetic’s life as divided into five successive phases in which he lives in the temple, in the world, withdrawn in a cave or abandoned house, in a cremation

¹² This is not the only place in this inscription where a doubled dental d is used where we require a single retroflex one.

¹³ We take *nīlendra* to be the name of a type of jewel, a usage attested, for example, in this list of precious stones in the early *Skandapurāṇa* (76.17cd): *vajravaidūryanīlendramahānīlāmraṇḍallavaiḥ*. Coëdès, not being aware of this usage, suggested instead in a note: “Nīlendra est sans doute un équivalent de Nīleśvara, ville de la côte de Malabar.” Perhaps he based this conjecture on information given by Monier-Williams s.v. *nīleśvara*.

ground and, finally, in the presence of Rudra.¹⁴ In the passage quoted below, which consists of most of the fifth and last chapter of the text, the last three of these phases are held to be referred to. But although the commentary of only one Pāśupata school has survived on the *Pāśupatasūtra*, we know that other schools of the Atimārga that have left few traces behind them must also have followed this religious teaching¹⁵ and that they may not have interpreted these modes of living as strictly successive phases. The *sūtras* that make up the passage in question, when joined together as below, make up a series of verses.¹⁶ The italics pick out some notions that seem significant for us. There follows a translation based loosely upon that of Minoru Hara (1966:394–450).

Pāśupatasūtra 5.9–40:

śūnyāgāraguhāvāsī (9) devanityo (10) jīṭendriyaḥ (11) |
 ṣaṇmāsān nityayuktasya (12) bhūyiṣṭhaṃ saṃpravartate (13) | |
bhaiṣyam (14) pātrāgatam (15) māṃsam aduṣyam lavaṇena vā (16) |
 āpo vāpi yathākālam aśnīyād anupūrvaśaḥ (17) | |
 godharmā mṛgadharmā vā (18) adbhīr eva śucir bhavet (19)
 siddhayogī na lipyate karmaṇā pātakena vā (20) | |
 ṛcam iṣṭām adhīyīta gāyatrīm ātmayantritaḥ (21) |
 raudrīm vā bahurūpīm vā (22) ato *yogaḥ* pravartate (23) | |
 oṃkāram abhidhyāyīta (24) hṛdi kurvīta dhāraṇām (25) |
 ṛṣir vipro mahān eṣaḥ (26) vāgviśuddhaḥ (27) maheśvaraḥ (28) | |
 śmaśānavāsī (30) dharmātmā (31) yathālabdhopajīvakāḥ (32) |
 labhate rudrasāyujyam (33) sadā rudram anusmaret (34) | |
 chittvā doṣāṇāṃ hetujālasya mūlaṃ (35)
 buddhyā (36) svaṃ cittaṃ¹⁷ (37) sthāpayitvā ca rudre (38) |
 ekaḥ kṣemī san vītaśoko (39) ’pramādī
 gacched *duḥkḥānām antam īśaprasādāt* (40) | |

He should live in an empty house or cave, constantly in the presence of God, with his senses controlled. United [thus] constantly [with God] for six months, he will attain most [of the special powers that result from such practice]. He should consume alms that come into his begging bowl, or meat unspoiled by salt, or water, according to the time, as [explained]

¹⁴ Cf. *Gaṇakarikā* 6cd and commentary.

¹⁵ On what we know about the Atimārga schools, see in particular Sanderson 2006.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Peter Bisschop for having pointed this out to me many years ago.

¹⁷ The edition prints *saṃcittaṃ*, a *bapaḥ legomenon*, and *svaṃ cittaṃ* is the conjecture of Alexis Sanderson (2004*): the point is discussed by Bisschop (2006:17), with quotations that lend support to both readings, suggesting that the corruption *saṃcittaṃ* may have arisen early in the transmission.

before. He should live as a cow or as a wild beast. He should perform ablutions with water only. The perfected yogin is not tainted by the [retributive force of good] past actions or by major transgressions. Self-controlled, he should recite the chosen Ṛk [viz. Aghora], [and] the Gāyatrī [viz. Tatpuruṣa], or the Raudrī [viz. Tatpuruṣa], or Aghora [by itself]. From here, the union (*yogaḥ*) begins. He should meditate upon om̐; he should perform meditative fixations in his heart. This [om̐] is the Ṛṣi, the seer (*ṛiprah*), the great one, purified of speech, the Lord. Living in a cremation ground, filled with merit, he should live from whatever he finds. He will attain union with Rudra. He should constantly keep Rudra in mind; he should cut the root of the mass of causes of faults [viz. the body]; with his mind, he should fix his thoughts on Rudra; being alone, secure, free from sorrow, not subject to distraction, he will reach the end of suffering by the grace of the Lord.

We shall return to this passage in connection with another inscription, but for our present purposes, it is enough to note that here too we find reference here to living in a cave, and to a liberated state referred to as “the end of sufferings” (*duḥkḥānām antam* \cong *duḥkḥāntam*), which is attained through divine grace (*śāprasādāt* \cong *suprasādāt*).

When the liberated state is referred to the second time in our stanza, it appears further to be qualified as *dhruvam*. It could be taken as an adjective meaning “firm”, or it could merely be adverbial and mean no more than “certainly”, for we find that invisible promised rewards for religious activities are often described in, for instance, Purāṇas as ensuing “certainly”, as in this example drawn from the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā* (4.16):

pañcayajñam akurvāṇo narakaṃ yāti so dhruvam

One who does not perform the five sacrifices will certainly go to hell.

But in our context, although the subject is an invisible reward, the statement is not rhetorically parallel. Furthermore, Dhruva, a term for the pole-star, because of its fixity, is the name of the ultimate world in the cosmography of the skull-bearing followers of the *lokātītavrata*, the second of the two Atimārga religious groups whose practices are described in the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā*, and who are referred to in the *Svacchandatantra* and in related literature as following a group of Atimārga scriptures known as the Pramāṇas. This has been demonstrated by Sanderson (2006:169–170) and the problems need not be rehearsed here, except to add that the various cosmographic descriptions furnished by different layers of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* show evidence of three iterations of what may have been, for different Atimārga groups, an ultimate world called Dhruva. This can be seen from the comparative cosmographical table given on pp. 290–293 of Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015.

Briefly and simply: it seems that Dhruva was for at least one Pāśupata group the name of the ultimate world of the cosmos and for the god who was its regent. Moreover, for those sceptical about understanding the instance of *dhruva* in our stanza in this light, there is a further piece of relevant evidence, namely another stanza of an inscription upon which we have drawn above, namely K. 371 (=K. 431). For the fourth stanza of that inscription is parallel in numerous regards; it reads as follows:

[yaś śabdaśāstra]viśado vahuśaivavettā
 kṣīraṃ pivan gaṇitavit suśivavratasthaḥ
 [janmāriva]d dhruvanirantarattvabandhuḥ
 sthitvā yuto tra yatibhis sa yayau khaśāntim

Brilliant at grammar, knowing much Śaiva literature, [sustaining himself by] drinking milk, knowledgeable in calculations, a firm (*sm°*) follower of the religious observance of Śiva, as [befits] an enemy of [re-]birth, a friend of [i.e. closely familiar with] the eternal truth/reality-level that is Dhruva, having stayed here together with [his] ascetics, attained the cessation of *kha*.¹⁸

Here, once again, we find an ascetic who nourished himself with milk, who was well-known as a grammarian and (probably) astrologer, who, surrounded by like-minded ascetics, adopted a cave for his religious practice, and who, when he died there, attained a liberated state that appears to have been qualified as a cessation of the retributive consequences of past actions, and perhaps also as being in some sense Dhruva. One can only speculate about what large (*bahu*) body of Śaiva literature he was versed in!

A remark on the expression *suśivavratasthaḥ* might be helpful. It is conceivable, given the plethora of religious observances (*vrata*) detailed in early medieval religious literature, that there was a *vrata* called *suśiva*, but it seems more likely that the text intends to say that he was a firm follower of his

¹⁸ This odd translation of *khaśānti* is a guess that assumes an unusual analysis of the words *sukha* and *duḥkha* (“happiness” and “unhappiness”) as being two sorts of *-kha*. This would make the expression a metrically fitting equivalent of *duḥkhaṇṭa*. It may be observed that such unusual word-analyses are not uncommon in Kauṇḍinya’s commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra*. But one could instead opt for the more conventional understanding “celestial peace”, which is what Cœdès has chosen. His translation of this stanza reads as follows (IC V, p. 177):

“Versé dans la science des sons, très instruit dans la doctrine çivaïte, buvant du lait, expert en calcul, observant scrupuleusement ses vœux envers Çiva, ami de la réalité permanente et ininterrompue, comme (il convient à) un ennemi de la naissance, après avoir séjourné ici en compagnie des ascètes, il est parti pour jouir de la paix céleste.”

chosen religious observance (cf. the widespread cliché *svrāta*) and that that chosen observance was the *śivavrata*. Various differing accounts may be found of the *śivavrata*, but it consists, like most such *vrātas*, in mantra-recitation and in eating and dressing in unconventional but specifically prescribed ways, in this case dressing to look like Śiva.¹⁹ It may be a timed observance, in which case it is, in tantric sources, typically for the propitiation of the mantra, or it may be adhered to for life, as in the case of this cave-dwelling ascetic. Here is a relatively old account of two options for a *śivavrata* that forms the entirety of chapter 18 of the *Sarvajñānottaratantra* (which we know to have reached Cambodia²⁰):

ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi vratānāṃ vratam uttamam
 śivavrateti vikhyātaṃ sadevāsuraṇṇam 1
 viśuddhaṃ pāṇḍaraṃ bhasma śuklavāsonulepanam
 śuklayajñopavīti ca jaṭāmakuṭamaṇḍitaḥ 2
 sarvābharaṇasampannaḥ śuklamālyavibhūṣitaḥ
 carubhug brahmacaryasthaḥ śivāgnigurupūjakaḥ 3
 mantramūrṭiḥ śivasyaiva yathā rūpaṃ prakīrtitam
 tathā vai sādhakendrāṇāṃ vrataṃ jñeyaṃ tadātmakam 4
 śuklakaupīnavāso vā uṣṇīṣākṣakamaṇḍaluḥ
 śivālaye vasen nityaṃ bhikṣābhakṣo jīvendriyaḥ 5
 japadhyānarato maunī śivāgnigurupūjakaḥ
 saṃvatsare vyatikrānte śivatulyo bhaved iti 6

- 1b. vratam uttamam] N; uttamaṃ vratam M • 1cd. °vrateti vikhyātaṃ sadevāsura°] N; °vratam iti khyātaṃ sarvodaśura° M • 2a. pāṇḍaraṃ] N; pāṇḍuraṃ M • 2c. śukla°] N; - - M • 2d. °maṇḍitaḥ] M; °maṇḍitam N • 3a. °sampannaḥ] M; °sampaṇna° N • 3b. °mālya°] N; °mālā° M • 3c. carubhug brahmacaryasthaḥ] M; carabhug brahmacaryastho N • 4a. °mūrṭiḥ] M; °mūrṭi° N • 5c. vasen] N; vasan M • 5d. bhikṣā°] M; bhikṣa° N • 6d. bhaved iti] M; bhaved asauditi N (*unmetrical*)

Next, I shall teach you the supreme observance among observances, called the Śivavrata, which is revered by gods and asuras. [One should wear] pure, pale ash, white garments and unguents; one should have a white sacred thread and be adorned with matted locks bound in a chignon. Eating only [the gruel prepared for ritual known as] *caru*, maintaining

¹⁹ Cf. the *rudravrata* presented and discussed by Sanderson (2006:202–209), who demonstrates a continuity in such observances between the Atimārga and the Mantramārga.

²⁰ The work is alluded to in K. 532, stanza XXXVIII (Finot 1925), as Sanderson has pointed out (2001:7–8, fn. 5), and in K. 1002, stanza XXIV (Jacques 1968).

celibacy, [regularly] worshipping Śiva, the fire and one's guru, one should have [His] mantra as one's body: it is taught that one's form should be that of Śiva Himself; it is in this way the observance that is His should be understood for excellent seekers of power (*sādhakendrāṇām*). Optionally (*vā*), one may be dressed in a white loin-cloth and [equipped with] a turban, rosary and water-pot. One should reside constantly in a Śiva-shrine, subsisting on alms, with one's senses controlled, devoted to mantra-recitation and meditation, silent, [regularly] worshipping Śiva, the fire and one's guru. Once a year has gone past, one becomes equal to Śiva.

To return again to stanza III of K. 1049, since we have been furnishing Filliozat's translation for the other stanzas, we do so again for this one, noting that he read the first quarter and the beginning of the second a little differently: - *[na]skandāsyamūrttiprathitaśakapatan śārikhapāner gubhāyā dakṣādakṣaḥ*. The important differences here is that he saw an ablative rather than a locative of the word *gubhā* and his text contained no reference to initiation (*dikṣā*):

Alors que le maître (de l'année) śaka connu par les 8 *mūrti* (de Śiva), les 6 têtes de Skanda, [règnait] depuis la grotte de Śāṅkhapāṇi, ce prince des ascètes, habile sur la terre, qui se nourrissait de lait, qui, bien que connaisseur des chiffres, enseignait la science des mots, désireux d'obtenir la fin des souffrances, accompagné d'une troupe d'ascètes, compatissant, s'est établi dans cette (grotte) et par sa propre volonté a atteint le séjour pur, éternel par la bonne grace (du Seigneur).

Immediately after this we read "Traduction de Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Paris 1971–72."; but there is in fact, as we have seen, one further damaged stanza. Presumably the damage deterred him from producing a translation, which would have been necessarily incomplete. Furthermore, it is clear that the fourth and final stanza offers little that is new to what we have already learned from the first three. It does tell us, however, that the cave was thereafter to be considered as a hallowed spot suitable for the religious practices of subsequent Śaiva ascetics, which is information of a sort that we can glean from other Cambodian cave-inscriptions. A few of these are worth mentioning in passing here.

A few remarks are called for, to begin with, about K. 176, from the Phnom Kulen, published by Cœdès in *IC* V, pp. 275–277. I shall first quote just three of the stanzas here:

III (9) yaś śaivaśailasaṁsthāyī tapasvī vahupunyakaḥ
(10) *bhaiḥṣāśī* śivasomākhyas so kārayad imā nimāḥ

This ascetic of great merit residing on this Śaiva mountain, *living from alms*, called Śivasoma had these images made.

V (13) śivasomamunir matimān mānyo yaminām yamī *guhāvāsī*

(14) bhagavatpādāmaranād ārjunajaṭilo piṅgāvārī²¹

The wise sage Śivasoma, self-controlled and venerable among those who are self-controlled, *living in the cave* until the death of the venerable one [viz. himself],²² wearing a mass of reddish matted locks and with yellowish robe,

VI (15) sacchīlavaro yogyo yogābhyāso [']*tiyogavinnamitaḥ*

(16) asyām etāḥ pratimāḥ parameśvarabhaktaye kṛtavān

the best among the virtuous, worthy, whose practice was yoga, bowed in reverence before those who know the transcendent yoga,²³ made these images in this [cave] for devotion to the supreme lord.

(17) vrah śivaśoma

Here again, we find a cave inaugurated by an ascetic who dwelled in it (*guhāvāsī*), whose religious diet is alluded to and who appears to have died in the cave before the composition of the inscription. It might, by the way, be supposed that living off alms (*bhaikṣāsī*) was less extreme and therefore less esteemed as an ascetic practice than living off milk (particularly in an area where the population does not typically have the genetic anomaly that accounts for the continued ability to digest lactose in adulthood); but this appears not to have been the case, as evinced by this quotation in Kaundinya's commentary, the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, on *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.9 (p. 32):

dadhibhakṣāḥ payobhakṣā ye 'nye yāvakabhakṣiṇaḥ
sarve te bhaikṣyabhakṣasya kalām nārhanṭi ṣoḍaśīm

²¹ The cadence of this *ārya*-type stanza is unmetrical and the sandhi between °*jaṭilo* and *piṅgāvārī* is irregular, unless we assume an initial privative *a*, which would disturb the sense. One solution that would resolve both problems, creating a cadence that would make the verse a regular *giti*, would be to assume that the engraver miscopied the text of his exemplar and that was intended was rather: *ārjunajaṭilo* [']*piṅgāvārī*. Such a haplographic error would be easy to commit.

²² In Cœdès' translation (*IC* V, p. 277), this is rendered "depuis la mort du Vénérable"; but who would that be?

²³ Cœdès instead splits *tiyogavin namitaḥ* and understands "excellent connaisseur du yoga, incliné". But it would arguably be a little strange to have him described simply as *namitaḥ*, "prostrate", and the *ati*, as we shall explain below, seems more likely to be intended to qualify the yoga than the one who knows yoga.

taptakāñcanavarṇena gavāṃ mūtreṇa yāvakam
pibed dvādaśa varṣāṇi na tad bhaikṣyasamaṃ bhavet.

Those who eat [only] curds or [only] milk, or those others who eat [only] barley—all such people are not worth a sixteenth part of one who nourishes himself by alms. If someone drinks barley [mixed] with cows' urine that has the colour of molten gold for twelve years, this is not equivalent [in merit] to [subsisting on] alms.

There are two further points of interest to note here. The first is that the name of the ascetic, Śivasoma, is of a type that suggests religious affiliation to the Somasiddhānta, in other words to the same group of Atimārga ascetics who regarded Dhruva as the highest reality-level of the cosmos. Names ending in -soma are attested, for example, for the skull-bearing ascetic Satyasoma in the *Mattavilāsaprabasana*, the farce attributed to the seventh-century Pallava king Mahendravarman, and for the members of an Atimārga lineage of gurus named in the seventh-century Malhar Plates of the 57th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta (see Bakker 2000). The second is the use of the expression *atīyoga*. The Pāśupatas, like other theistic traditions (see, e.g., Goodall 2004:380–381), emphasise that yoga is derived from a verbal root meaning “union” (rather than from the supposedly different root meaning *samādhi*) and define it as a union between the soul and God (see Hara 2002a:34). They furthermore favour transforming familiar religious concepts by prefixing them with *atī-*, “transcendent”, in order to appropriate those concepts as Pāśupata: for example, the terms *atidāna*, *atīyajana* and *atitapas* are the subject of an article by Minoru Hara (2002b). Now the term *atīyoga* may not be attested in an extant Pāśupata source,²⁴ but there are precious few of those, and it seems not difficult to extrapolate from other terms beginning with *atī-* that it might well once have been used more widely and that, whether or not it was once widespread, it was intended here as a Pāśupata term emphasising the uniqueness of Pāśupata yoga and designating, effectively, the liberated state.

The final line of K. 176, which simply repeats the name of the ascetic, is not actually positioned at the bottom of the rest of the text, but above the head of a sculpted figure of an ascetic (for an image of the exact location, see Chevance 2015, fig. 7) and might be intended as a label for the sculpture, or it might be intended to indicate that the ascetic had given his name to the cave (see Chevance 2015, in particular fn. 23). Other instances in which caves are named include K. 1325 (edited in Chevance 2015), K. 371 (which is named Indraguhā in stanza 3), K. 723 (which we shall consider briefly below), and possibly K. 1292 (an inscription on a rock shelter at Phnom Banteay

²⁴ There is in fact one attestation, in Kauṇḍinya's commentary on *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.10 (quoted above), but it is insecure. The sentence in question reads: *śvalpātaraṇyavadhane 'pi atīyogabhyasanirantarapraṭīḥ*, but Hara (1966:395) proposes emending *'pi atīyoga°* to *'sati yoga°* and translates as follows: “He becomes able to practise *yoga* constantly without the slightest interruption”.

Neang [Bhnam Pandāy Nāñ], in Banteay Mean Chey province, which Éric Bourdonneau and I intend soon to publish).

Not all the Śaiva cave-inscriptions contain clues as to such more precise affiliations as are afforded by the ones we have considered above and, moreover, among those that do, not all appear to be Pāśupata. The inscription K. 723, engraved on the ceiling of Thām Lekh, a cave on the North flank of Vat Phu, is a case in point. Since its text is very short, and we have one small correction to propose to the reading, we may give it in full here:

- (1) samādhaye sarvvatapodhanāñā(2)m²⁵
 iyaṃ guhā vaktraguheti nāmnā
 (3) sā nirmmitā²⁶ vaktraśivena śaktyā
 (4) vibhāti bhaddreśvaraśailapārśve //
 (5) kaṃ ti chdyās guhā kaṃ ti ruḥ pnāñ doṣa

The Sanskrit verse that forms the first four lines may be interpreted as follows:

For the meditation of all ascetics, this cave, Vaktraguḥā by name, created, to the best of his ability (*śaktyā*), by Vaktraśiva, is resplendent on the side of the Bhadreśvara mountain.²⁷

The clue in this case is the name of the ascetic, Vaktraśiva, since this name has the distinctive form of a Saiddhāntika initiation name, that is to say the name bestowed during an initiation into the Mantramārga (tantric) school known as the Śaiva Siddhānta. The first part of the name is typically “chosen” by the officiating *ācārya* by having the blindfolded initiand cast a flower upon a *maṇḍala* and then seeing which mantra occupies the place upon the *maṇḍala* where the flower falls, in this case the *brahma-mantra* VAKTRA (= TATPURUṢA). For an idea of the sort of *maṇḍala* that might have been used (many details, not just those concerning measurements, vary from text to text), see Figure 3. The second part of the name is formed by the addition of °śiva as a suffix. In some later texts, °śiva is reserved for brahmins and different suffixes are prescribed for members of different *varṇas*, but in the earliest known accounts, such as those of the *Svāyambhuvasutrasaṁ-*

²⁵ Cœdès, in his edition on p. 12–13 of *IC V*, prints *sarvvatapo*°, but the estampage appears to have *sarvvatamo*° (evidently an error for *sarvvatapo*°).

²⁶ *nirmmitā* appears to me to be plainly readable; Cœdès has printed *niṣṭhita*.

²⁷ This interpretation differs only slightly from that of Cœdès: “Pour la méditation de tous ceux qui sont riches d’ascétisme, cette grotte nommée Vaktraguḥā, aménagée par Vaktraśiva, resplendit par la puissance (de cet ascète) sur le flanc du mont Bhadreśvara. Défense d’encombrer la grotte, défense de démolir la cloison : (ce serait) une faute.”

graha and *Sarvajñānottaratantra*, only °śiva is mentioned.²⁸ We may therefore with some confidence assign K. 723 and its cave to the Mantramārga, not the Atimārga, and take it as an attestation of cave-dwelling ascetics of the Śaiva Siddhānta.²⁹ A great many names of this type are attested in Cambodian inscriptions of the Angkorian period, but there is not a single pre-Angkorian instance known to me. The sole exception, however, would be this one, K. 723, if Cœdès is right in his judgment that the lettering is pre-Angkorian (IC V, p. 12). But I suspect that he is not right on this point. The sole criterion for relative antiquity that he mentions is the archaic shape of the letter *ḷ*,³⁰ now there is only one instance of this letter (see Figure 2), towards the end of line 4 and it seems to me particularly unclear. There are, on the other hand, two instances of the letter *bh* at the beginning of the same line, and both of these seem to me to have the “dropped-shoulder” look that is a distinctive feature of the Angkorian-period *bh*, not of the pre-Angkorian one.³¹

This cave at Vat Phu of an ascetic belonging to the Śaiva Siddhānta is therefore probably not pre-Angkorian, and this fits with the pattern that seems to be suggested by the evidence of Mantramārgic initiation-names in other records: they are not otherwise attested in pre-Angkorian inscriptions.

Three comments on this list below are in order. 1) Some of the names contain the distinctive ending °śiva, but their first member is not the name of a mantra. This is a possibility admitted by some prescriptive texts (even if we cannot rule out that some such names, e.g. Paramaśiva and Sadāśiva, might not be initiation-names). Names based on mantras, however, predominate, those based on the *aṛigamantras* and *brahmamantras* being the most common (Astra°, Īśāna°, Mūrdha°, Vaktra°, Varma°, Vāma°, Śikhā°, Sadya[h]°, Hṛdaya°). 2) Some of the names that appear multiple times because they appear in more than one inscription might actually refer to a small number of individuals (e.g. Śikhāśiva). 3) Initiation is typically expensive and prestigious and yet there are

²⁸ The earliest known prescriptive accounts of this name-selection procedure are presented, along with references to the earliest attestations of such names in Indian inscriptions, by Goodall, Sanderson and Isaacson (2015:51–55). See also *Tāntrikābhidhānaśāstra* III, s.v. *dikṣānāman*.

²⁹ Another Saiddhāntika cave-inscription is K. 1269, whose very fragmentary text, transcribed by Arlo Griffiths, has recently been published by Chevance (2015): in that case, the affiliation can be known from the mention of Sadāśiva, the form of Śiva who was the central divinity of Saiddhāntika worship.

³⁰ “La forme du caractère *ḷ*, avec une boucle à sa partie inférieure, est particulièrement archaïque.” (IC V, p. 12, fn. 2).

³¹ I am grateful to my colleague Dominique Soutif for sharing with me his script-tables, which compare the shapes of letters in a range of dated inscriptions, and which are now available online (www.efeo.fr/espace_prive/paleoCIK.html), for it was consulting these that gave me this insight.

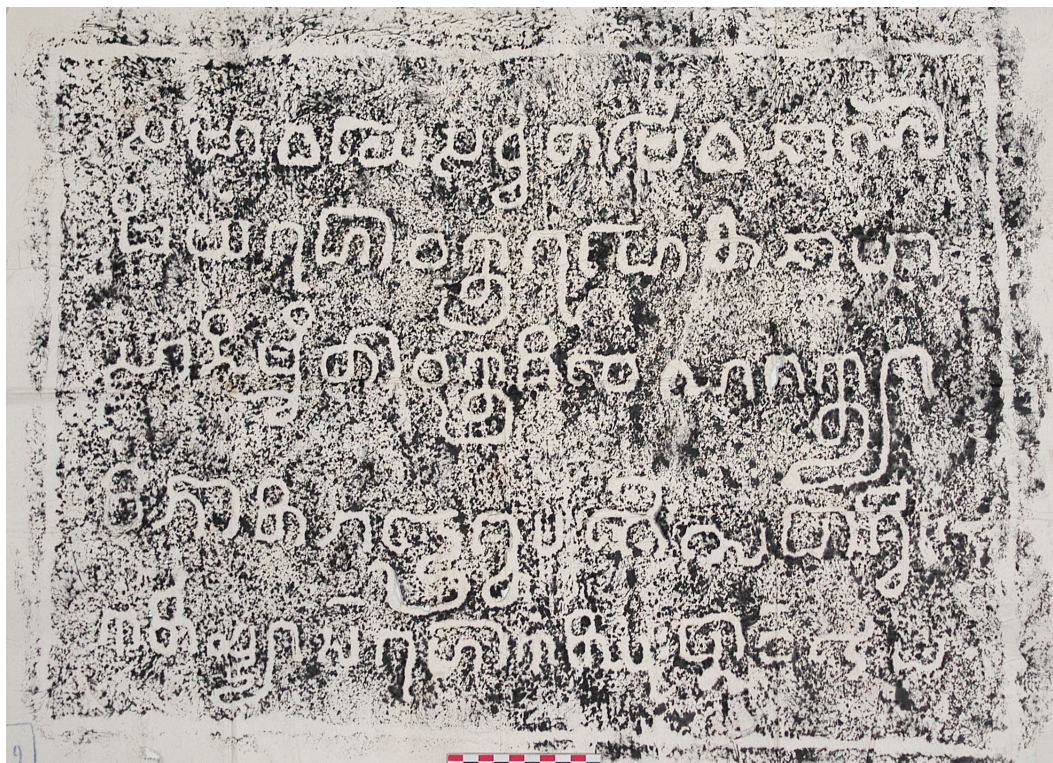


Figure 2. EFEO estampage no. n. 919 of K. 723.

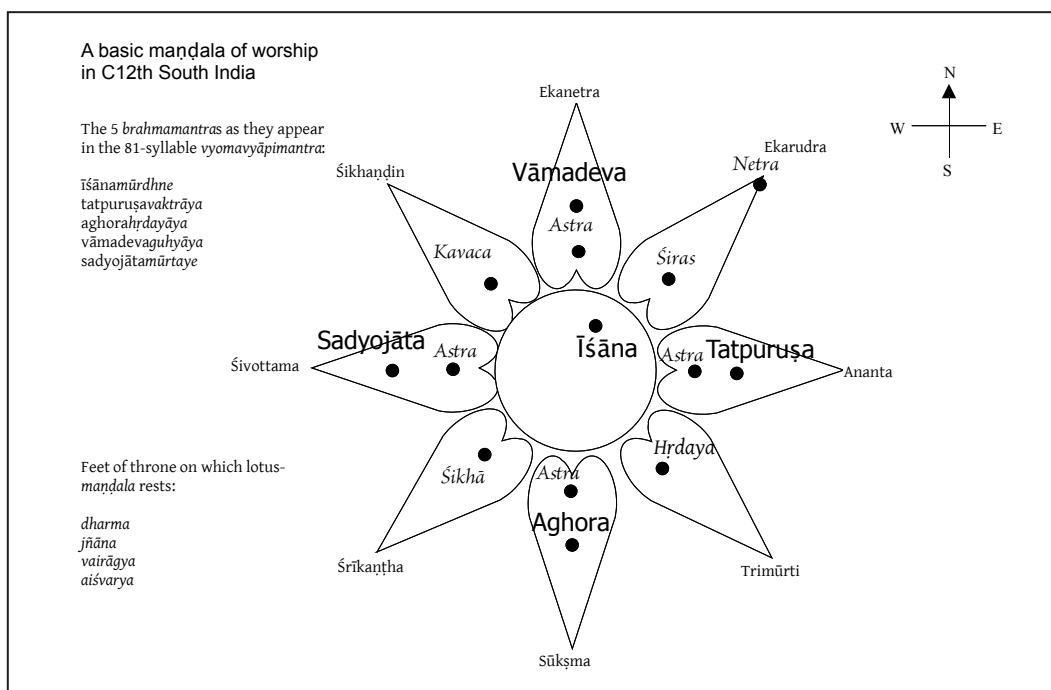


Figure 3. A Saiddhāntika maṇḍala of the type that might have been used for selecting an initiation-name.

“slaves”³² (Gho,³³ Si) among the bearers of these names. Why? Of course it is possible that some “slaves” were actually wealthy and of high status. But another consideration to be borne in mind is that slaves everywhere are often assigned the names of those who control them.

Astraśiva (Loñ) K. 352/C10th?

Ātmaśiva (Vāp, purohita) K. 231/966; (Steñ Añ) K. 235/1052.

Ānantaśiva (Kaṁsteri śrī) K. 125/1001.

Īśānaśiva (Vāp) K. 343/974; (Vāp) K. 1229/979; (Vāp) K. 158/1003; K. 566/C10th or C11th; (Gho) K. 232/1016; (Gho) [thrice!] K. 183/C10th.

Caitanyaśiva (*ācārya* to Harṣavarman II) K.950/949.

Jyotiśiva (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Ni[ra]ntaraśiva (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Paramaśiva (Mrateñ) K. 187/930; (Steñ) K. 265/960; (Vāp) K. 1167/972; (Steñ) K. 1063/974; (Vāp) K. 222/1002; K. 1002/C11th.

Paramaśivācārya (Steñ) K. 143/952.

Paramātmaśiva (Vāp) K. 1167/972.

Paramārthaśiva K. 382/1047.

Pādāgraśiva (Gho) K. 183/C10th; (Si) K. 183/C10th.

Bhadraśiva (Loñ) K. 373/C11th?

Bhasmaśiva (Loñ) K. 933/978.

Madhyaśiva (Loñ) K. 215/949.

Madvyamaśiva (error for Maddhyamaśiva?) (Mrateñ) K. 1087/927.

Madhyamiśiva (=Madhyamaśiva?) K. 824/C10th.

Manaśiva K. 136/?.

[Mah]endraśiva (Gho) K. 182/C10th.

Mūrdhaśiva (aka Subhadra, paṇḍit of Jayavarman VI and his successor Dharaṇīndravarmān II) K. 364/C11th; Gho Mūrdhnaśiva K. 232/1016; (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Vaktraśiva K. 723; (Mrateñ) K. 1050/932; (Sī) K. 824/C10th;

(Vāp) K. 1229/979; (Vāp) *bis* K. 1229/979; (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Varmmaśiva (Gho) K. 192/956; (Gho) K. 669/972; (Steñ) K. 265/960; (Loñ) K. 933/978;

³² A discussion of what status “slaves” may have had in ancient Khmer society and of whether “slave” is an appropriate translation of any Khmer or Sanskrit term would take us too far from our subject. Suffice it to say here firstly that the conditions of what may be called “slavery” naturally vary enormously in different cultural contexts, secondly that some of the early medieval Indian literature that is likely to throw most light on the status of men and women attached to temples as *dāsa* and *dāsī* has not yet been sufficiently studied (I am thinking of the *Śivadharmottara*, for example), and thirdly that a lively discussion of some of the problems of this subject may be found in Vickery 1998:225ff.

³³ For a brief account of this term, see Vickery (quoting Lewitz/Pou) 1998:240.

(Steñ) K. 944/1003; (Vāp) K. 158/1003; (Vāp) K. 221/1011; (Steñ) K. 221/1011; (Gho) K. 232/1016; (Gho) *bis* K. 183/C10th.

Vahniśiva (Vāp) K. 1229/979.

Vāmaśiva (Steñ Añ) K. 235/1052; (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Vidyāśiva (Vāp) K. 353/C11th; (Loñ) K. 741/994.

Vaidyaśiva (Mrateñ) K. 415/877.

Vrahmaśiva (Loñ) K. 373/C11th; (Vāpa) K. 1198/1009; (Gho) K. 232/1016; (Gho) K. 183/?.

Śaktiśiva (Loñ) K. 89/1002.

Śarvvaśiva (Mrateñ) K.1244/?.

Śikhāśiva (*hotr* of Jayavarman II?) K. 253/912; (nephew of, Vinaya, given charge of temple in 944 AD) K. 717; (Vāp) K. 222/1002; (*hotr* of Jayavarma V?) K. 834/C11th; (Loñ) K. 989/1008; (Loñ) K. 1186/1013; (Loñ, descendant of Devikī, queen of Jayavarman II?) K. 889/C11th; (Si) K. 420/C11th; (Gho) K. 843/1025; (Gho?) K. 843/1025; (Loñ) K. 1319/?; (Mrateñ) K. 1090 (= K. 1074)/?.

Śūnyaśiva (Mrateñ) K. 313/879; K. 183/C10th.

Sadāśiva (Vāp) K. 1152/952; (Vāp) K. 720/955; (Vāp) K. 1229/979; K. 834/C11th; K. 175/979–987; (Vāp) K. 1116/992; (Steñ Añ) K. 235/1052.

Sadyaśiva (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Sarvaśiva (Vāp) K. 1152/952 and K.1152/977.

Sūkṣmaśiva (Gho) K. 183/C10th.

Somaśiva (*munivara* under Yaśovarman) K. 190/895; (Mrateñ) K. 1152/977.

Hṛdayaśiva (Gho Hṛdayaśiva) K. 143/952; (Steñ) K. 1063/974; (Steñ) K. 868/974; (Mrateñ Añ) K. 1229/979; K. 105/986; (Gho) K. 182/C10th; (Gho) *bis* K. 183/C10th; (Gho) K. 1198/1009; (Si) K. 420/C11th.

Although, as the above list reveals, initiation-names ending in °śiva make their first appearance in Cambodian records from the late ninth century and only become common in the tenth, this does not necessarily mean that we can conclude with certainty that the Mantramārga only reached the Khmers in the Angkorian period.³⁴ To start with, there is the problem that we have many fewer firmly dated records from the period beginning in the eighth century and ending in the last quarter

³⁴ This might be concluded from a hasty reading of some passages in Sanderson's monumental article of 2004, for instance from p. 444, where, speaking of the range of deities represented in Khmer temples of all periods, he says: "For although the extant Indian textual sources that record this iconography belong[ed] to the Mantramārga, the same iconography, with the exception of the Mantramārga's Sadāśiva, is in evidence among the Khmers in the seventh century, well before the Mantramārga reached their shores."

of the ninth century than we have for the century immediately preceding or the two centuries immediately following that period. In other words, the relatively sparse documentation for the late pre-Angkorian period makes it dangerous to make any sort of statement about religion, politics, literary taste or whatever at that time. Secondly, we may observe that one of the commonest types of name that is characteristic of adherents to the Atimārga in North Indian records,³⁵ namely that ending in the suffix °rāśi, is found only rarely in Cambodia and principally in Angkorian-period records,³⁶ even though we have explicit allusions to the presence of Pāśupatas for the early period.³⁷ A profusion of distinctive religious names in the records is, in other words, not necessarily by itself a sufficient guide to the spread of religious traditions. Having made this observation, I feel that I should at once relativise it by explaining that another Pāśupata naming convention is relatively widely attested in the pre-Angkorian period.

Commenting on an instruction in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to the effect that members of religious orders are to be spoken to in dramas using terms of address that are conventional for their religious traditions,³⁸ Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī* explains by citing an example (p. 381 (GOS edition)): ... *yathā pāśupatānām bhāpūṣan bhāsarvajña ityādi saṁbhāṣaṇam*; "... the form of address for Pāśupatas, for instance, [might be] "Bhā-pūṣan", "Bhā-sarvajña" or the like".³⁹ Here are examples of such names, often accompanied by titles indicative of high social status (such as Poñ and Mratāñ),⁴⁰ in the pre-Angkorian corpus:⁴¹

³⁵ For early attestations of such names and discussion of how they may have originated, see Bakker & Isaacson 2004:30–31.

³⁶ Vrahmanarāśi in K. 165/957 AD; Steñ Añ Tejorāśi in K. 233/C10th; Steñ Añ Tejorāśi in K. 262 and 263/982 AD; Dhūtarāśi in K. 125/1001 AD; Śivarāśi in K. 258/1094. A single unpublished pre-Angkorian instance is known to me, that of a certain Nandirāśi, who records founding an *āśrama* in the reign of Jayavarman I in a 10-line, 5-stanza stela of rough workmanship that is dated to 590 *śaka* and that has been assigned the inventory number K. 1352. I am grateful to Dominique Soutif for sending me photographs of the stela that appear to have been taken in July 2015. Since I learnt of the stela just before going to press, a full discussion of its text must await a subsequent publication.

³⁷ See, e.g., stanza XII of K. 604/627 AD:

(23) dvijaḥ pāśupato rājñādhikṛto devatārcane

(24) idan devakulaṁ bhoktum arhaty ābhūtasamplavam

"A Pāśupata brahmin who is to be appointed by the king for the worship of the god should live off this temple until the destruction of [all] creatures."

(Here the *f* of *dvijaḥ* transcribes an *upadhmāñya*, which Finot, in his edition of 1928, had transcribed as a *visarga*.)

³⁸ *Nāṭyaśāstra* 17.77: *saṁbhāṣyā[h] śakyanirgrantha bhadanteti prayoktṛbhiḥ / āmantrapais tu pāṣaṇḍaḥ śeṣaḥ svasamayāśritaiḥ*; "Protagonists are to address Buddhists and Jains as "Bhadanta"; as for the members of other sects, [they are to be spoken to] using terms of address that belong to their conventions/religious traditions."

³⁹ I am grateful to Peter Bisschop for pointing this passage out to me.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of these titles of status, see Vickery 1998:103ff and 190ff.

⁴¹ For a fuller discussion of what appear to be Pāśupata names in Cambodian inscriptions, see Estève 2009*, pp. 475–

Bhākumāra (Poñ) K. 424/C7th; Bhākusuma (Mratāñ) K. 493/657; Bhāgura (Poñ) K. 76/C7th?; Bhāteja K. 493/657; Bhāpuruṣaśīlacandra K. 726/C8th; Bhāpuṣpa K. 427/C7th; Bhāpra- - (Poñ) K. 424/C7th; Bhāprasanna (Mratāñ) K. 927/C7th; Bhāvinaya (Poñ) K. 493/657; Bhāviśāra (Poñ) K. 154/684; Bhāviśārada K. 927/C7th; Bhāśakti K. 726/C8th; Bhāśānti (Poñ) K. 561/681; Bhāśleṣma (Poñ) K. 493/657.

Now it seems that in India Bhā- might be alternated with Bhāva-, as this pair of mocking verses from the *Kuṭṭanimata*, an eighth-century verse-novel from Kashmir about courtesans, demonstrates:

paśyedaṃ dhavalagrhaṃ pāśupatācāryaBhāvaśuddhena
kāritam Anaṅgadevyā ābharaṇaṃ pattanasya sakalasya 539

“Look at that white-washed upper floor
Which Bhāvaśuddha’s had put up,
The Pāśupata brethren’s guide,
Made for Anaṅgadevī’s use:
It graces all the town.”

te ’tītāḥ khalu divasāḥ kriyate narma tvayā samaṃ yeṣu
adhunācāryāñi tvaṃ Bhāśuddhācāryasambandhāt 753

“Those days, we know, are over now,
In which I billed and cooed with you;
Now you’re *Madame la professeur*,
Because of your relationship
With Bhāśuddha the guru.”

In the second stanza, in place of *bhāśuddhā*^o we find also the readings *bhavaśuddhā*^o and *pāśupatā*^o transmitted, both being metrically possible, and this perhaps suggests that, as well as Bhā- and Bhāva-, the prefix Bhava- might also have been used. If so, then these further cases might be added:

488, who tabulates the names in question on pp. 547–551. As Peter Bisschop has pointed out to me (message of 6.5.2015), it is odd that epigraphs from the Indian subcontinent attest numerous Pāśupata names in Bhāva- and not in Bhā-, whereas Cambodian epigraphs attest numerous names in Bhā- and none in Bhāva-. A possible Indian exception is a certain Bhāśrutasyāmin mentioned (unfortunately without anything that serves to confirm that he was indeed Pāśupata) in a Central Indian copper-plate grant from the fifth or sixth century edited by Dikshit (1956).

Bhavakumāra K. 54/629; (Poñ) K. 424/C7th; Bhavakṣara (Sī) K. 312/879; Bhavacandra (Poñ) K. 561/681; Bhavaruci (Sī) K. 312/879; Bhavāditya (Mratāñ) K. 154/684.

Returning to the question of the moment of the introduction of the Mantramārga into Khmer territory, we cannot know when it arrived, but I have suggested that the earliest hitherto noticed evidence belongs to the middle of the eighth century: it consists in what appears to be an allusion to the initiation into the Mantramārga of Jayavarman I *bis* in stanza IX of K. 1236/763 (Goodall 2013:354–355).

CONCLUSION

The inscriptions considered above give us a vignette of cave-dwelling Khmers who were Śaiva religious professionals. Like other epigraphs, they appear dimly to reflect, as we would expect, the spread of the Śaiva Siddhānta, but they also show that, as in many parts of India, the Atimārga perdured after the arrival of the Mantramārga in Khmer-speaking territory. Since they do not mention royalty, and since they allude to groups of ascetics subsisting on alms that must have been garnered from among local people, they seem to suggest the existence of grass-roots Śaiva devotion among Khmers well-beyond the bounds of the royal court. But of course they cannot be taken as proof of this, since the professional religious figures in question might well all have been close to the court: it is noteworthy that the inscriptions, apparently typically written after the deaths of the persons they celebrate, are in chaste, tastefully metrical Sanskrit (not merely in *anuṣṭubh*) and that, even if they were placed on mountainsides, they are found close to religious centres that were focuses of royal patronage (Vat Phu, Phnom Kulen). Finally, exactly as in the Indian subcontinent, we find that the inscriptions seem to reflect aspects of practice and of social religion about which the surviving prescriptive religious literature seems to give us no information. As Peter Bisschop puts it (2010:485),

The Pāśupata system as outlined by Kauṇḍinya involves a lifelong career of extreme asceticism, which is hard to reconcile with other early references to Pāśupatas, in particular epigraphical records. Thus, for example, the earliest explicit epigraphical references to Pāśupatas that we possess are at the same time among the earliest examples of copper-plate grants recording endowments for temple worship.

He further suggests (*ibid.*), quoting Harunaga Isaacson, that we should perhaps

conceive of a Pāśupata community consisting of three segments: 1) *ācāryas* (such as Kaunḍinya himself), 2) *sādhakas* (practicing the system outlined in the *Pāśupatasūtra* and Kaunḍinya's commentary thereon), and 3) a community of the faithful (consisting of uninitiated, non-ascetic supporters/devotees).

Perhaps we should also add to these the category of Pāśupata temple-priests (unless they are to be subsumed within the first segment), to whose existence the Cambodian epigraphic record also attests.⁴² The Cambodian cave-inscriptions may reflect, obliquely, some members of the third segment, furnishing alms for members of the second, the *sādhakas* who occupied the caves, but these appear to have been *sādhakas* who followed forms of Pāśupata religion that differed from what Kaunḍinya prescribed and they may have been under the authority of an *ācārya*-like figure among them, namely, in the case of K. 1049, a certain Śaṅkhaṇḍi.

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⁴² See again stanza XII of K. 604/627 AD, quoted in note 37 above.

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ABSTRACT

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

Dominic Goodall

Best known among the magnificent Khmer inscriptions in Sanskrit are the huge royal stelae engraved with hundreds of verses in high *kāyā* style that celebrate the achievements of kings of the Angkorian period. Apart from their beauty and their importance for South-East-Asian history, Cambodian inscriptions hold up a hazy but often illuminating mirror to intellectual and religious developments that were taking place in the Indian subcontinent. The focus of this article, however, is K. 1049, an unpublished inscription that belongs to the small corpus of typically non-royal cave inscriptions that attest to the presence over several centuries of Śaiva ascetics dwelling in sculpted mountain caves. It provides some clues that can help to tell us who some of these Cambodian Śaivas were.

RÉSUMÉ

Sur K. 1049, inscription du 10^{ème} siècle d'une grotte de Battambang et sur l'obédience sectaire des ascètes shivaïtes des inscriptions non royales des grottes du Cambodge

Dominic Goodall

Des magnifiques inscriptions du Cambodge en sanskrit, on retient surtout les grandes stèles royales inscrites de centaines de strophes, rédigées dans les plus beaux styles du *kāvya*, célébrant les prouesses des rois angkoriens. A part leur beauté et leur importance pour l'histoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est, les inscriptions du Cambodge contiennent bien des points flous qui sont en même temps autant de miroirs reflétant les développements intellectuels et religieux qui se produisaient dans le sous-continent. Le présent article porte sur K. 1049, une inscription inédite appartenant au petit groupe des inscriptions non royales, inscrites dans les grottes, qui témoignent de la présence des siècles durant des ascètes shivaïtes vivant dans des grottes aménagées. L'inscription fournit des indices qui nous aident à mieux cerner l'identité de ces ascètes.

សង្ខេប

អំពីសិលាចារឹក K.1049 ជេត្តល្អាងភ្នំមួយនៃទេវតាចាត់ដំបង និងអំពីនិកាយ
សាសនាព្រហ្មញ្ញសាសនាដែលមាននិយាយជេត្តល្អាងចារឹកមិនមែនរបស់ព្រះរាជា
ជេត្តល្អាងជាន់នៃកម្ពុជា

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ក្នុងចំណោមសិលាចារឹកប្រទេសកម្ពុជាជាភាសាសំស្ក្រឹត គេតែងចាប់អារម្មណ៍លើផ្ទាំងអក្សរថ្មដែលមាន
សេចក្តីវែងហើយតែងជាពាក្យដ៏ពិរោះ ដែលច្រើនតែលើកសរសើរស្នាដៃត្រចះត្រចង់នានានៃព្រះរាជាផ្សេងៗ
ក្នុងអាណាចក្រអង្គរ។ ក្រៅពីពាក្យពេចន៍ពិរោះនិងសារសំខាន់សម្រាប់ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ សិលាចារឹក
កម្ពុជាតែងមានចំណុចផ្សេងៗដែលពិបាកយល់ឬបកស្រាយ តែជាមួយគ្នានោះចុះបញ្ចាំងពីស្ថានភាពដុះដាល
ក្នុងគំនិតនិងសាសនានៅឧបទ្វីបឥណ្ឌា។ នេះជាការសិក្សាមុនគេ លើសិលាចារឹក K.1049 ដែលស្ថិតក្នុងក្រុម
សិលាចារឹកចារនៅតាមល្អាងភ្នំ ហើយដែលនិយាយពីអ្នកធ្វើតាបស រស់នៅក្នុងល្អាងទាំងនោះ។ សិលាចារឹក
នេះផ្តល់ជាតម្រូវមួយចំនួនជួយឱ្យយើងយល់ថា តាបសធ្វើធម៌ទាំងនោះជានរណា។