The East Mebon Stele Inscription from Angkor

Dominic Goodall

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(K. 528)

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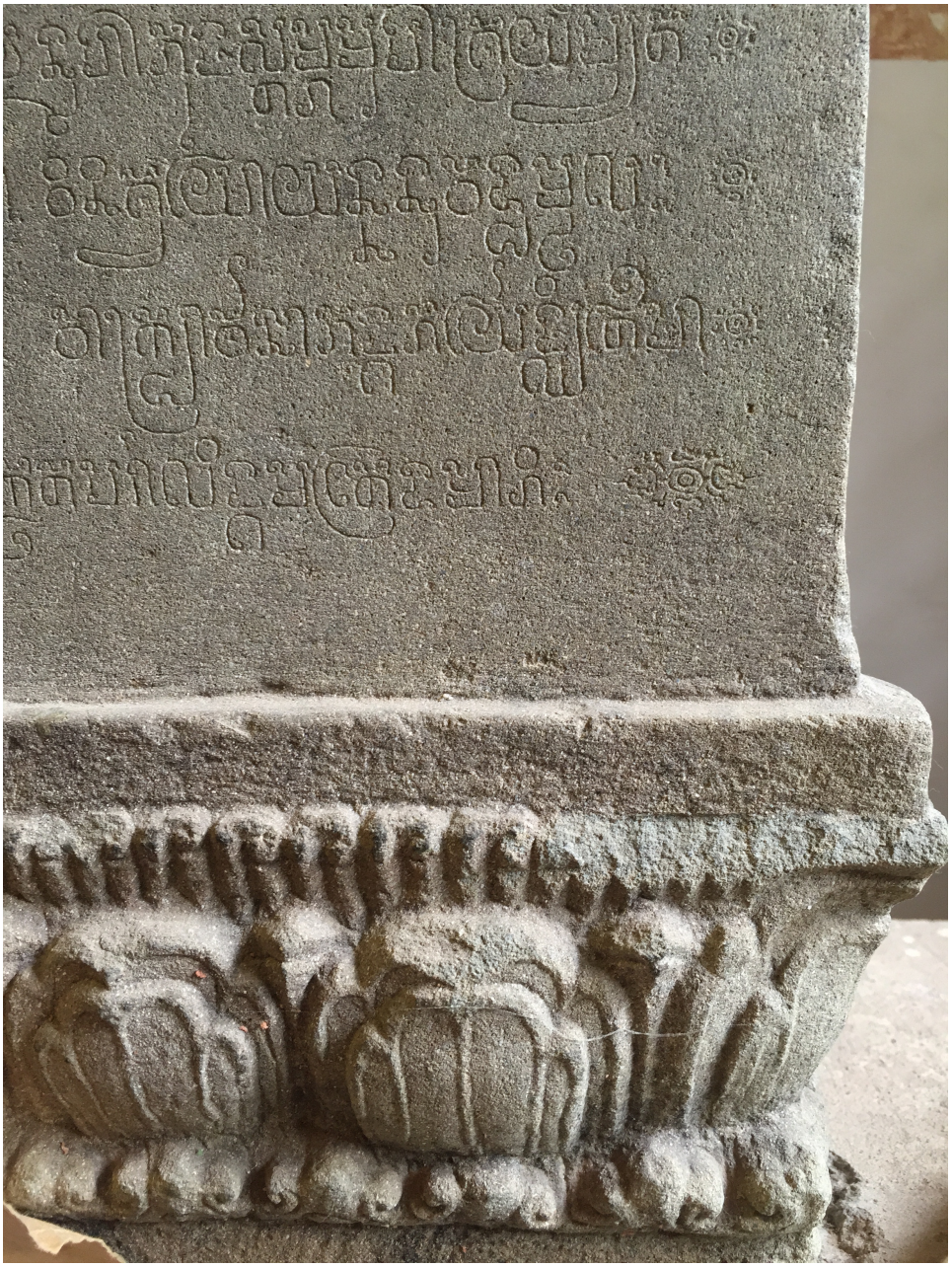
THE ERC DHARMA PROJECT

The present publication is partly the fruit of the project DHARMA *— "The Domestication of 'Hindu' Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia". This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n°809994).*

The project studies the history of "Hinduism" in comparative perspective, focusing on the period from the 6th to the 13th century. During this period, the Bay of Bengal served as a maritime highway for intense cultural exchange. The resulting process of "Indianization", marked notably by the spread of "Hinduism", of an Indian writing system, and of India's sacred language Sanskrit, touched large parts of South and Southeast Asia.

The Sanskrit word DHARMA *can designate the cosmic law that is upheld both by gods and humans. But it is also often used to refer to any of the numerous temple-related foundations made to support this law. The* DHARMA *project seeks to understand the process of "institutionalization" of "Hinduism" by investigating the roles of various agents, from kings and noblemen to priests, monks and local communities. It emphasizes the social and material contexts of "Hinduism". This emphasis requires a multi-regional, multi-scalar and multidisciplinary methodology in order to forge a real synergy of scholarship on premodern South and Southeast Asia. The approach is based on the correlation and contextualization of written evidence from inscriptions and manuscripts, as well as material evidence from temples and other kinds of archaeological sites.*



for Gerdi

Collection Indologie 154

The East Mebon Stele Inscription from Angkor

(K. 528)

A Sanskrit Eulogy

of the tenth-century Khmer Sovereign

Rājendravarman

Dominic Goodall

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Preface

An enormous double-sided stela was dug up in pieces in October 1922 by Henri Marchal from the Eastern Gopura of the great brick temple to Śiva known as the Eastern Mebon, a temple that covered what was once an island in the Eastern Baray, the huge tank whose ancient name echoes that of the ninth-century king Yaśovarman: the Yaśodharataṭāka.

The text is entirely in Sanskrit verse, consisting primarily of a long paean of praise of Rājendravarman (r. 944–968ce), prefaced by elegant and theologically sophisticated invocations of Śiva and Gaurī and of other deities (stanzas 1–7), and followed by an account of the king's religious endowments, including the installation of a *liṅga* of Śiva in the Mebon temple (stanzas 201–218).

Louis Finot, who published an edition and translation of this inscription in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* in 1925, was less than enthusiastic about its merits:

> The true object of the deed only covers 10 verses (cci–ccx): the rest of the stela is filled with laudatory formulae and final curses. The only important pieces of information that we may glean from the interminable panegyric of Rājendravarman concern his antecedents.[1]

Certainly the great Mebon inscription does not provide much material for an event-driven regnal history of the Khmers in the tenth century; but it is nonetheless a rich source of cultural history. It alludes, for instance, to the king's having received tantric initiation in its punning twentieth stanza, and it attests to an awareness of Indian literary works and of Indian evolutions in poetic taste that are in marked contrast with the archaism of pre-Angkorian poetry. Most notable is the prevalence of intricate word-play, allowing many stanzas to have at least two levels of meaning: such dense punning had no place in the fifth-century poetry of Kālidāsa, whose influence deeply

[1] Finot (1925:310): "L'objet propre de l'acte ne comprend que 10 vers (cci–ccx) : le reste de la stèle est occupé par des formules laudatives et les objurgations finales. Les seuls renseignements importants que nous puissions glaner dans l'interminable panégyrique de Rājendravarman concernent ses ascendants."

imbues seventh-century Cambodian Sanskrit compositions. In effect, we can see that Khmer poetry in Sanskrit was evolving in tandem with Indian poetry in this period, and not wholly independently.[2]

One of the consequences of Finot's disenchantment, it seems, is that he did not dwell sufficiently long on the text to remove errors and gaps from his transcription or to hone his translation.[3] In general, the standards of transcription, translation and inventory of the Khmer inscriptional corpus have been extremely high. In this context of excellence, the treatment in print of the Mebon inscription stands out in contrast.

This is especially odd not only because it is such a self-evidently extraordinary document — a huge, beautifully prepared sandstone stela coverered in delicate calligraphic writing, laid out across the stone with care to reflect the metrical structure of the composition, and transmitting a sample of extraordinarily erudite poetry that is the second longest Sanskrit text to survive from all of pre-modern Cambodia. It is odd also because there have actually been no less than three editions: after Finot's first edition of 1925, Ramesh Chandra Majumdar also incorporated it into his 1953 anthology of inscriptions, and Mahesh Kumar Sharan devoted a volume to the Mebon and Pre Rup inscriptions in 1981. But both of these subsequent editions depended on Finot's reading of the Mebon inscripiton. The subsequent editors' primary purpose was to bring Cambodian inscriptions to an Indian readership, first by printing them in Devanāgarī script and, in the case of Sharan, by furnishing an annotated English translation. All that Sharan has done — his edition, his translation, and even the short introduction that he gives to the Mebon inscription — appears closely to follow Finot's work (even down to the remarks about Rājendravarman's genealogy, although these are contradicted by Cœdès's later discussion of the same genealogy, which appears in his introduction to the Pre Rup inscription, which Sharan has also adopted and rendered into English later in the same book). Majumdar and Sharan seem to offer no improvements.

This edition, besides improving upon Finot's text in more than a hundred places, also attempts to bring the text to a wider readership by means of English translation and Devanāgarī, while nonetheless also using Roman transliteration, both for the apparatus and for transcribing the whole. Using Roman letters, it often proves simpler to convey with round and square brackets more precisely what is and is not visible on the stone (or in estampages) than with Devanāgarī. (Of course this would be not the case if I

[2] Cf. the remarks of Goodall 2015:78–80. Perhaps the most common figures are varieties of pun-assisted (*śleṣānuprāṇita*) *upamā* and *utprekṣā*.

[3] To be fair to Finot, it should be observed that the text really is in places difficult both to decipher and to understand, that he worked through it rather fast, publishing it for interested readers within three years of its discovery, and that he did so before the discovery of many other inscriptions that could have afforded context and parallels, most notably the inscriptions of Pre Rup (K. 806, discovered in 1936) and of the Bakong (K. 826, discovered in 1935). I am indebted to Christophe Pottier for these observations.

were writing with a pen, instead of attempting to manipulate an arrangement of strokes and volutes by means of a Roman computer keyboard!). A further reason for keeping Roman script is that it has been widely used for Cambodian inscriptions for more than a hundred years, and so readers familiar with this field will find it convenient to have it maintained.

As for justifying the use of Devanāgarī too, it simply makes sense to do this in order to bring the text to a *kāvya*-reading Indian audience. Of course that audience could also read from a transliteration. But, just as eating from crockery with metal cutlery is simply not as delicious, to some, as eating the same dish from a banana leaf with one's fingers, so too, savouring *kāvya* written in roman characters is manifestly less pleasurable for some than when it is presented in Devanāgarī. For those who wish to savour the poetry without the mediation of any transliteration from the original Angkorian-period Khmer characters, photographs of estampages have also been supplied at the back of the book.

An apparatus is often not required in editions of inscriptions, but in this case, as will be explained below, it seems often necessary to differentiate what Louis Finot read from what Claude Jacques read (in two different unpublished transcriptions), and from what is visible today. The various small deviations from Finot's text that are found in Majumdar's text and in Sharan's have not gone into the apparatus, since neither had independent access to estampages or the inscription.

Much has been bettered. Not only were there numerous gaps and errors in the first published transcription of the portions of the stela that had been unearthed before 1925, but a couple of further fragments of the inscription came to light in the 1970s and were fortunately transcribed by Claude Jacques before one of them again disappeared. His more complete transcription was never published. Here, therefore, a fresh edition and translation has been undertaken that offers a much improved text and that, through translation and annotation, is intended to reveal and contextualise more of the riches of this remarkable document.

Acknowledgements

Before going any further, I should like to acknowledge the help I received from many colleagues in the preparation of the work. First of all, I should particularly like to thank Dominique Soutif and Bertrand Porte, my colleagues from the EFEO, who, as soon as I had clearly expressed my wish to tackle the Mebon inscription, made arrangements for the transportation of the enormous and fragile stela from the depot of the "Conservation d'Angkor" in Siem Reap to the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum of Phnom Penh. Once there, the Workshop team, under the leadership of Bertrand Porte, carefully disassembled the various fragments, which in an earlier attempt at restoration had been patched together with concrete. These were all then meticulously cleaned and reassembled, in a process that took more than a year. I was able to see snapshots of the process on sporadic visits to Phnom Penh, first in January 2013, after the end of the International Intensive Sanskrit Reading Restreat held in Siem Reap, and then when participating in the INALCO's "Université des Moussons" at the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh in 2014 and 2015. In June 2015, I had the pleasure of spending most afternoons of my stay poring over every inch of the stone as it stood in the workshop, while surrounded by the agreeable and stimulating company of Bertrand Porte and his team: Khom Sreymom, Chea Socheat, Sok Soda and, at that time, Sophie Biard. There could have been no better atmosphere for such work! One set of the magnificent estampages that Khom Sreymom's patient wizardry managed to coax from the stela have been used to produce the plates at the back of this book.

My first encounter with the Mebon inscription, however, was in 2004, when Kunthea Chhom, who years later received a doctorate from the École pratique des hautes études in Paris, first came to Pondicherry with a bursary from the EFEO to spend some months reading Sanskrit. In a reading group comprising S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma, Hari Narayana Bhat, S. A. S. Sarma, R. Sathyanarayanan, Kunthea Chhom and myself, we struggled through about half of the text as printed by Finot, coming up with many conjectural emendations to the text and improvements to the interpretation, many of which had to be abandoned (indeed, my recollection is that there were

few stanzas about which we were all in total agreement), but some of which made their way into this final version.

In the autumn of 2005, at the warm invitation of Gerdi Gerschheimer, I came to Paris to give lectures every other week in the seminar of the "Corpus des inscriptions khmères" (CIK), which Gerdi Gerschheimer and Claude Jacques were conducting together, and I expressed my eagerness to work on editing the Mebon inscription, which I had seen to be so much in need of improvement. Gerdi Gerschheimer proposed instead many other fascinating texts and long discouraged me from taking up Mebon on the grounds that Kamaleswar Bhattacharya was intending soon to publish a revised edition. But after Bhattacharya's *A Selection of Sanskrit Inscriptions from Cambodia* was published (2009), it became clear to us that his minimalist approach, almost devoid of annotation, could not be expected to solve the many problems of constitution and interpretation of the text (see the appraisal offered in Goodall 2011a), and so I began to turn some of my attention back to the Mebon inscription after all. When I took up the text in the CIK seminar, I had access to no estampage, but Claude Jacques generously shared his transcriptions and enthusiastically participated in the many sessions of the CIK seminar that were required. His involvement was crucial, and this edition and translation is thus in part an offering of thanks to him. Over the course of 2012 and 2013, we read through the entire inscription in the seminar. Many stanzas gave rise to vigorous discussions, which helped shape the interpretation that is offered here. We also read much of the first half in the course of the International Intensive Sanskrit Reading Retreat held in Siem Reap in January 2013, which included one memorable reading session in which Manjunath Bhatt declaimed some stanzas in the Mebon temple itself. Among other participants, Csaba Dezső, Bill Mak and Yuko Yokochi were present and made several suggestions for improvements.

For a while, the project then languished, but it was reanimated partly because of an interesting email exchange about the manner in which inscribed stelae were originally positioned in Khmer shrines with Christophe Pottier, who kindly furnished the illustration of Figure 1.10.

I should also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers appointed by the Collection Indologie, who in the end revealed their identities, namely Sylvain Brocquet and Arlo Griffiths. They read the submitted manuscript most carefully and gave many useful suggestions and comments.

Finally, while revising the book in 2021, I studied the inscription in biweekly reading sessions organised in the framework of the ERC dharma project, sessions that were chaired by S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma and myself and in which Harunaga Isaacson, Judit Törzsök and Kunthea Chhom also participated. This extremely pleasurable read-through brought countless further improvements, so many and so important, indeed, that this book should really be regarded as a collaborative work, with myself as the amanuensis noting down the ideas and observations of successive teams of careful

readers. Thanks to their help, I feel confidence that this volume makes considerable advances upon earlier scholarship about the prodigious Mebon epigraph.

Recalling all those who contributed directly relevant ideas to thank them is often difficult enough, but I often fail entirely to express gratitude to all those whose contributions in the background make this sort of work possible in the first place. In the closing credits to a film, you would see a screed of names scrolling by after the cast, acknowledging musicians, costume designers, choreographers, make-up artists, specialists of lighting, camera work, hairstyling, digital animation, catering, and on an on — for nearly ten minutes in the longest cases. The confection of a book usually seems a less complex endeavour. But more people contribute to books in various indirect ways than are customarily acknowledged. Conventions are, in other words, quite different in different spheres, and often somewhat topsy-turvy. Douglas R. Hofstadter (1997:353–366) marvels at the relative invisibility of literary translators, whose toil is sometimes not even recorded on title-pages, compared with, for example, concert pianists, whose names on concert programmes often dwarf the names of the composers whose works they interpret! In this book, in contravention of usual practice, I should like to offer special thanks to those who help deal with all the administrative work necessary to maintain this series, most particularly Anurupa Naik at the IFP and Prerana Patel at the EFEO. To Prerana Patel I owe an especial debt of gratitude, since she keeps an uncountable number of administrative tasks under control, while also taking an interest in the projects and activities of the staff of the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO. I am conscious that without her assiduity, sound judgment and invariable helpfulness over the last two decades, I would not have had many hours left in the average week to devote to study.

Introduction

Standing on an artificial island in the Eastern Baray, the vast tank once known as the Yaśodharataṭāka, inside Angkor's archeological park is an imposing temple of laterite, sandstone, brick and stucco surmounted by five towered sanctuaries arranged in quincunx whose images were consecrated in 953 CE. We know this date from the conclusion of the huge inscribed stela that was unearthed in fragments in the 1920s from where it had earlier stood in a roof-tiled lateral wing of the cruciform entrance space inside the eastern *gopura* of the outer enclosure wall (see Figure 1.10). That same document, along with a great deal else besides, for it comprises 218 stanzas in Sanskrit, also tells us that the temple was constructed by Rājendravarman, the then "emperor" of the Khmers, and that it housed, presumably in its central tower, a *liṅga* called, after its patron, Rājendreśvara, and, in the surrounding four towers, statues of Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Giriśa and Brahmā. The Mebon temple and its inscription is sometimes a little overlooked in favour of one of its closest neighbours, which was built and consecrated by the same sovereign just less than ten years later, namely the still larger temple of Pre Rup, with a much better preserved, more polished and still longer foundational inscription of 298 Sanskrit stanzas (K. 806), which was edited and translated by George CŒDÈS. This book, however, is dedicated to the foundational inscription of the Eastern Mebon temple precisely because it has been relatively neglected. This neglect might be partly explained by its text being shorter and less magnificent, but it is probably principally a consequence of its being more damaged and having been, furthermore, edited and translated somewhat cursorily.

1.1 The literary quality of the Mebon inscription

Although the text may indeed have really very little information to offer about tenth-century Khmer regnal history (see preface), and although it is perhaps not the most beautiful tenth-century inscription surviving (such a claim might perhaps be made for one or other of the inscriptions of the three towers of Bat Chum [K. 268], or for the longest Cambodian inscription in Sanskrit, namely the one just mentioned of Pre Rup), it is nonetheless a very remarkable document of intellectual history. It is

the second longest Sanskrit inscription of the Khmer corpus (that of Pre Rup being the longest) and, perhaps in part because of this great length and paucity of narrative and of historical information, it is one of the richest in literary games and echoes, of punning allusions to tantric notions and to Indian works of *śāstra*, and of virtually everything that one might expect to find alluded to in polished Sanskrit poetry of the tenth century.

1.1.1 Sound effects

The style is one of dazzling erudition. For as well as a recondite lexis, an extraordinary range of figures involving elaborate punning (*śleṣa*), and an abundance of literary echoes and allusions, which will be discussed in the next section of the introduction, a richness in the texture of sounds is also unmistakable. In other words, as well as various types of allusions to a broad range of literary, religious and philosophical works, and as well as the deployment of plentiful figures of rhetoric that ornament the sense (*arthālaṅkāra*), attention has evidently also been paid to ornaments of sound (*śabdālaṅkāra*), and alliterative effects (*anuprāsa*) abound. The influential rhetorician Daṇḍin is sometimes seen to be disapproving of this sort of practice, and particularly of the so-called Gauḍī style, which he connects with traits that include the alliteration of harsh-sounding consonantal sounds that are difficult to pronounce (*Kāvyādarśa* 1:72):

> dīptam ity aparair bhūmnā kṛcchrodyam api badhyate
> nyakṣeṇa kṣapitaḥ pakṣaḥ kṣatriyāṇāṃ kṣaṇād iti
>
> The others [*scil.* the Gauḍīyas], thinking that (*iti*) [the effect created is] fiery (*dīptam*) generally concatenate even sounds that are hard to pronounce, in this way (*iti*): Paraśurāma instantly destroyed the army of Kṣatriyas.

We find similarly "fiery" alliteration of *kṣ* in stanzas 126, 153 of K. 528, and to a lesser extent in 65, 74 and 212, and also in the second half of st. 21, where the effect is tempered, or perhaps highlighted, by the alliteration of the sound *pra* / *pṛ*, which occurs five times in the first half. Dense alliteration with voiced aspirated stops is perhaps intended for similar effect, for example in stanzas 122 (*bh*) and 125 (*dh*). There are also some instances that use softer sounds, perhaps to suit a more lascivious mood, as in st. 28, which is full of nasals (particularly *n*) and semivowels.

Stanza 158 provides another example of flamboyant alliteration, but in this case mostly of a class of consonants, labials:

> bhinnebhakumbhanirmuktā muktā yena raṇāṅgane
> rejire vidhavāriśrīvāṣpāṇāmiva vindavaḥ

We first hear a cluster of two instances of *bh* and one of *mbh* in the first quarter, then *nirmuktā* echoed by *muktā* (an alliterative *figura etymologica*, or a very simple *yamaka*), then several nasals in the second quarter, a cluster of instances of *r* in the second and third quarters, and five instances of *v* in the second half, along with two other labials, a *p* and a *m*.

But such very pronounced cases of *anuprāsa* are found only here and there, not thickly deployed throughout the inscription. The less obtrusive sort of density that we find, for instance, in stanza 133, where a mixture of sounds is alliterated, seems more typical:

> mantravīryyaprayogāḍhyaṃ prāpyānanyavareva yam
> kṛtārthā kāmadā pṛthvī karajāmarddamārddavāt

In keeping with the marked but not excessive use of alliteration, there seems also to be little use of *yamaka*, none of it elaborate, nor of the repeated use of only one vowel, nor of other such lipogrammatic writing (mentioned and illustrated by Daṇḍin in *Kāvyādarśa* 3:83ff).

1.1.2 Verschränkung or Concatenation

There is perhaps another sound-related effect consciously affected here that we find attested in high *kāvya*, even if Indian rhetoricians seem not to speak of it, namely what Schubring observed and labelled Verschränkung (1955:333–337), a phenomenon recently returned to — somewhat loosened and redefined — and discussed by Salomon (2016), who calls it "concatenation". In Schubring's presentation (1955:334), almost every consecutive pair of stanzas in the *Meghadūta* is, as it were, threaded together by the repetition of some (often very common) item of vocabulary. Thus stanzas 2 and 3 both contain *megha* and one has the word *śleṣa* and the next *śliṣṭa*, a form derived from the same verbal root. Then 3 and 4 both have the word *vṛtti*, 4 and 6 have *arthin*, 5 and 6 have *prakṛti*, 5 and 7 have *saṃdeśa*, and so on throughout the text. Salomon (after discussing related phenomena in other genres and what has been written about them) slightly widens the criteria for concatenation to include wider leaps, pointing out for instance (2016:52) that *śikharaṃ* in 18 may be intended to echo *śikhariṣu* in 13. I have characterised this stylistic feature as "sound-related", but I should note that Salomon (2016:52–53) emphasises that he only recognises etymological or lexical echoes, whereas Schubring allows also some phonetically similar but etymologically unrelated echoing pairs. As Salomon goes on to observe (2016:53), however one defines this Verschränkung, "there is inevitably a grey area in which the difference between a meaningful concatenation and a mere random repetition must be a matter of individual judgment." So is there "concatenation" in the Mebon inscription? It seems clear from the above that this is not a simple yes-or-no question. Clearly we do not find exactly the phenomenon that Schubring observed in the *Meghadūta*, in

which each tiny cluster of stanzas is interlinked by single repetitions of words throughout the poem, these pairs functioning like short tendrils or like links of a chain that cumulatively join the whole structure together. Nonetheless, we do find some words whose repetitions seem to come in clusters. Consider, for example, the distribution of occurrences of *dviṣ*/*dviṣat* in K. 528:

> *dviṣ, dviṣat* 9, 31, 41, 42, 47, 55, 57, 62, 77, 96, 102, 113, 119, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 136, 138, 141, 151, 186, 188, 189

Of course, since the word means "enemy", we can hardly be surprised at its extreme frequency. And so even if we see a particularly dense clustering from stanzas 126 through 141, we might simply attribute this concentration to the theme of that section of the text being Rājendravarman's prowess in battle. And yet on this point Salomon observes (2016:53):

> Particularly in the case of common words, one could easily assume that their repetition is statistically insignificant. Yet, a close study of Hultzsch's word index to the *Meghadūta* shows that this is by no means always the case. For we find there that many, though by no means all of the occurrences of common words in the *Meghadūta* tend to come in clusters, often quite tightly grouped.

Furthermore, we may note that, while there are of course other common expressions for enemy, such as *ripu* (53, 118, 176), *vairi* (43, 139), *śatru* (67, 86) and *ari* (46, 63, 88, 117, 123, 137, 140, 158, 190, etc.), and these too are used in the inscription, naturally enough, nonetheless, it seems that they may not have been used for "concatenation". One reason for this seems likely to be that the poet was not as interested by the repetition of those sound-patterns as he was by the sounds in the word *dviṣ*. This we can see, or at least imagine that we can see, if we take into account also the distribution of similar and related sound patterns in words that are etymologically unrelated to *dviṣ* and that also crop up in low concentration throughout the text, but often in proximity to clusters of *dviṣ*— words such as *dvipa* (102, 132), *dūra* (18, 42, 67, 91, 102, 119, 132), *druta* (114, 132, 138, 148, 188, 189), *dṛṣṭi* (49, 69, 93,125), *dig*/*diśaḥ* (15, 41, 72, 91, 114, 115, 125, 126, 151, 197) and *dṛṣṭvā* (5, 28, 141). Another factor is that, if concatenation emphasises etymological connections, then it is clear that words like *ripu* and *ari* are less useful for concatenation, since they do not belong to obvious and well-known verbal roots with an easily recognisable sound-pattern.

In any case, another example, one from an entirely different semantic field, might help:

> *kāntā* 3, *kānti* 17, *kānti* 26, *kāntaiḥ* 32, *kānti* 35 (+*saṃkrānta*), *kāma* 105, *kāmataḥ* 107, *kāmataskara* 131, *kāmadā* 133, *kānti* 134, *kāntā* 135,

yathākāmam +kāma 151, *kāmādayaḥ* 177, *kāmaṃ* (the particle) 188, *kāntyā* 196

Here we see that there is clearly a cluster of words derived from the same verbal root in stanzas 131, 133–135. There is also a single "chain-link" between 32 and 35, underlined by the alliterative effect achieved through the use of the etymologically unrelated expression *saṃkrānta°*; and there is another single "chain-link" between 105 and 107, in this case underlined neither by a third instance of the related word, nor by some expression associated by alliteration, but the passage in question is arguably interwoven instead by the use of other links, namely *saundaryya°* in 104 concatenated with *atisundaraḥ* in 105; *vidyā* in 106 and 107; *prajāḥ* and *prajāpati* in 106 concatenated with *prajāḥ* and *prajecchayā* in 108; and perhaps *bhuvane* in 104 concatenated with *bhuvanā°* and *bhūr* in 109, which is in turn concatenated with *bhuvo* in 110, where the word *°bhoga°* is concatenated with *°bhoga°* in 111, and so forth. In other words, there seems, at least in this passage, to be a cluster of tiny links reminiscent of what Schubring observed in the *Meghadūta*. And yet one might suspect here that the links in this case are really the unintended consequence of another stylistic choice, one that we see in later *kāvya*s such as the *Naiṣadhacarita*, namely that of using two consecutive stanzas to give two consecutive explorations of the same trope or of two extremely similar tropes. In other words, the pair *saundarya* and *sundara* may occur together simply because in those two contiguous stanzas the poet was exploring fancies about how the creator came to create Rājendravarman's inconceivable beauty.

In any case, not all passages seem to be threaded together quite so closely and with quite so many links, and some may feel that, while the above examples are suggestive, they may not really be enough for us to persuade ourselves of the poet's use of "concatenation" by lexical or etymological means, occasionally assisted by allitteration. Let us therefore examine a slightly longer and relatively undamaged section and see how closely the stanzas are "knitted" together by such echoes and repetitions. Here are some of the word-echoes and repetitions of verbal roots in stanzas 140–160 (with mention of a few nearby stanzas when useful):

- *guhā* 130, 139, 160
- *drutaḥ* 138, *drutārīn anududrāva* 148, *dravyeṣv* 150
- *vairiṇo* 139, *vīryyaṃ* 141, *vīrair* 146
- *vītarāgāḥ* 139, *campādhirāja°* 146, *rājavidyā* 152 *rejire* 158, *rājāṃśur* 161
- *°yuktaṃ* 141, *niyojyo* 142
- *gaṇaḥ* 141, *guṇair* 145, *guṇeṣu…gauṇyā…gaṇanā* 150

- *dharma* 142, *dhātrī* 144, *dhṛtā°* 145, *bhujoddhṛtā* 147, *dharā* 157, *dharma* 159
- *adāyi* 142, *dānā°* 144
- *vidadhat* 143, *nidheḥ* 149, *vidhiṃ vyadhāt* 155, *ambudha* 156, *vidhātā* 157
- *anala* 144, 148, 156, 162
- *ambu* 144, 156, 159
- *dāha* 144, *vidagdhadhiyam* 152
- *vṛṣṭibhiḥ* 144, *prāvṛṣi* 154, *vṛṣāṅkitā* 157
- *kīrti* 145, 149, 157, 159
- *nirmalā* 147, *malīmasam* 154
- *°bhayād* 148, *nirbhayam* 151, *bhiyā* 160
- *dakṣiṇo* 148, 153 (*kṣīṇo* 149)
- *kalir* 148, 153, 162
- *tejonala°* 148, *tejasā* 156, *tejonala°* 162
- *nīranidher* 149, *°nīradaiḥ* 154
- *mukhyatā* 150, *makhaśate* 154, *°vimukho* 155, 161
- *dhūlībhiḥ* 151, *dhūma°* 154
- *nililye* 151, *līno* 156
- *kulāṅganā* 152, *raṇāṅgane* 158
- *paraśrīṇām* 155, *vidhavāriśrī°* 158, *rājyaśrīḥ* 162

From this sample, I think that we can see that, if we accept Schubring's Verschränkung in the slightly loosened form that is Salomon's "concatenation", where the mutual echoes of the words may be slightly more widely spaced, and if we posit that loose clusters of three or more relatively widely spaced repetitions may also qualify (rather than just pairs), then there seems to be some evidence that this stylistic feature was deliberately used.

Why does it matter? Firstly, since the authors of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* seem to have nothing to say about the phenomemon, this is just one more factor, among many, that demonstrates, as one would expect, that Khmer poets were imitating real poetry and

not simply following some work of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* as a rulebook. Secondly, we see a concern with the cohesion of the text, for this is a device which serves to thread the poem together, providing some continuity in the absence of narrative, and thus somewhat counterbalancing what some see as the disjointedness and structural incoherence of inscriptional *kāvya*.[4]

1.1.3 Expectations of readers of *kāvya*

The style of the poem may not be to the taste of all readers, just as it was evidently not to the taste of its first editor in modern times, Louis Finot, but it will certainly interest enthusiasts of high-flown *kāvya*, which is why it is being published in India and with a transcription not only in roman transliteration, but also a transliteration in Devanāgarī script. Note that this Devanāgarī transcription does not include all the round and square brackets that indicate uncertain or supplied letters, because several of them are not technically possible for me with this typesetting system. Another difference is that *avagraha*-signs, which have not been marked on the stone, are consequently not included in the roman transcription, but they have been introduced in the Devanāgarī transcription to mark the sorts of vowel-elisions that are usually marked with the sign of an *avagraha* in modern editions. In other words, the roman transcription, with its apparatus, is the authoritative one; that in Devanāgarī is intended to offer a point of entry to Indian enthusiasts of *kāvya*.

What I have, however, not attempted here, in my attempt to accommodate *kāvya*-enthusiasts, is to comment exhaustively on the figures recognised by Indian *Alaṅkāraśāstra* that have been deployed in the Mebon inscription. This would doubtless be of interest, and seems only rarely to have been attempted for epigraphical poetry, the only published work that seems to try to do this for Cambodian compositions being that of Mertens, which gives (2005:140–169) a stylistic analysis of the three inscriptions of the three towers of Bat Chum (K. 268), whose literary merits it compares, favourably, with those of a group of tenth-century copper-plate inscriptions that were discovered at Bagumra, in Gujarat.

One reason why this has not been attempted is that the ancient authorities differ in their identification of figures, and we do not know for sure which works of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* would have been studied by the poets of Rājendravarman's court. Of course some certainties are possible. They could not have consulted the treatises that seem most popular in India today, such as the *Pratāparudrīya* or the *Kuvalayānanda* and the work on which that much-taught treatise is based, namely the *Candrāloka*. Using such later

[4] For a collection of comments of various scholars about a supposed lack of logical progession in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription (K. 235), see Au Chieng's article, recently translated into English (2020), on the "…Assocation of Literary Ideas in the Sanskrit Stanzas of the Sdok Kak Thom Inscription…". (On one of his conclusions, about the re-ordering of one stanza, however, see Goodall 2020d.)

works to identify ornaments in a tenth-century work can of course be done, but it may lead us to "recognise" ornaments that are very unlikely to have been intended by the poet, as we have tried to demonstrate in our annotation on st. 21. Conversely, we can be certain that our poet really did know Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, because we find a couple of clear instances of borrowed wording from that work, as I shall explain in the next section. But what about Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and others? We do not know. And so for the moment, although I have identified some ornaments, consciously following Daṇḍin's guidance — and although I acknowledge that doing so has sometimes helped me to refine my understanding of the stanzas that instantiate them —, I have not attempted to do so consistently, preferring to leave this engaging task to subsequent readers of the text.

1.1.4 Literary echoes

Of greater immediate interest for cultural history, it seems to me, is to point up conscious echoes of Sanskrit works that must once have circulated among the Khmers, but that have there been lost centuries ago. Echoes of or allusions to the epics and the *Raghuvaṃśa* are of course superabundant in Khmer epigraphy and have long been well-known, for Kielhorn (1902) drew attention to their presence in the seventh-century doorway inscription of Han Chey (K. 81), when editing the first inscription on the Indian mainland to refer explicitly to Kālidāsa (that of the Meguti temple at Aihole, in Karnataka).[5] The *Mahābhārata* is echoed even earlier, notably in the fifth-century inscription of Devānīka (K. 365: see Jacques 1962).

But what other works can we be certain were known at the tenth-century Khmer court? Instances where we can trace direct literary influences have been touched upon here and there by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, for instance, when he implies (1991:77, § 344) that the term *sausnātika* may have entered Khmer epigraphic usage (K. 692, st. L) from *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:61, or when he discusses (1991:67, § 263) the use of the term *mahīna*, in the sense of 'king', arising as a result of a misunderstanding by modern lexicographers (a misunderstanding perhaps shared also by the Cambodian author of K. 834, st. 55!) in *Raghuvaṃśa* 9:5. Recent editions of some Cambodian inscriptions have pointed out literary echoes from a slightly wider range of texts. Leaving aside plentiful echoes of the epics and the *Raghuvaṃśa*, Goodall 2015, for instance, points out that the eighth-century inscription K. 1236 draws upon Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* (2015:74, fn. 12), and probably upon Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (2015:79, fn. 26). (Further identifiable echoes of other Indian literary works in K. 1236 will be pointed out when the inscription is fully published.) Goodall (forthcoming A), as alluded to above, suggests that K. 570 contains echoes of the *Parākhyatantra* and perhaps the

[5] For a range of examples of echoes of Kālidāsa in the epigraphy of the Indian subcontinent only, without consideration of Southeast Asian epigraphy, see Sivaramamurti 1944.

Kiraṇatantra. Goodall and Jacques (2014) have suggested that there are conscious verbal echoes of the *Mahābhāṣya* in K. 1320, st. 9 (2014:409), of the *Śiśupālavadha* in K. 1320, st. 42 (2014:421; this echo was pointed out by Harunaga Isaacson), and of the *Kumārasambhava* in K. 1320, st. 56 (2014:428).[6]

The Mebon inscription furnishes a particularly rich crop of literary allusions, borrowings and echoes. Beginning with *kāvya*, we of course find plentiful echoes of the *Raghuvaṃśa* (18, 23, 25, 36, 38, 39, 44, 47, 49–50, 64, 76, 92, 102, 108, 111, 114, 158, 164, 174?, 192–194, 199, 203, 212) and a few of the *Kumārasambhava* (2, 26, 32, 91, 217 and perhaps 186). We also detect numerous traces of knowledge of the *Kirātārjunīya* (particularly from the martial sixteenth chapter of that work), which we might indeed expect to appear plentifully in Cambodia in this period, but which have not hitherto been pointed out, as far as we are aware; they may be found in stanzas 32, 47, 66, 72, 106, 169, 175, 215, and 217, and perhaps also in 13 and 23. Unsurprisingly, Bāṇa too seems to have been a writer whose works the author of the Mebon inscription had studied, for we see what seems to be the borrowing of puns from Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in stanzas 49 and 190, of an image from the same work in st. 193, and a faint echo of its opening *maṅgala* in st. 1, as well as an unmistakable allusion to the framestory of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* in st. 165, and perhaps the borrowing of a pun from it in st. 34.[7]

Alaṅkāraśāstra is not an area in which close textual echoes in Cambodia have been noticed hitherto, but, as recently pointed out (Goodall 2015:77, fn. 20), a stanza from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* has been reworked to yield stanza 43 of K. 528. Other echoes of the *Kāvyādarśa* have since been noticed in stanzas 90 and 189, and rhetorical figures (*alaṃkāra*) described by Daṇḍin may have been deployed in conscious echo of his prescriptions in stanzas 18, 21, 115 and 123. Perhaps this influence should not come as a surprise, for Eppling (1989:2–3), noting the existence of early translations from South India, Sri Lanka and Tibet, has suggested that the *Kāvyādarśa* was

> … the single most influential text of the classical Sanskrit tradition — and perhaps the entire Indian literary tradition — viewed in a trans-cultural

[6]This is of course not a comprehensive list of allusions to or echoes of specific works of Indian Sanskrit literature in Khmer epigraphy. Something of this kind has been attempted by Chhom, who tabulates Khmer allusions to Sanskrit disciplines and works in her "Tableau 14 : Liste des doctrines, traités et œuvres littéraires cités dans les sources épigraphiques du Cambodge ancien" (2018:231–238), her "Tableau 15 : Liste des doctrines et ouvrages inférés des sources épigraphiques du Cambodge ancien" (2018:239–243) and her "Tableau 16 : Liste des auteurs de traités et des fondateurs de doctrines philosophiques cités dans les sources épigraphiques du Cambodge ancien" (2018:244). Several more have been identified that have not yet been published, for instance in the twelfth-century inscription K. 1222.

[7]There is also a fainter suggestion of a nod to Bāṇa in st. 30, and an echo of what may be a distinctive word-usage in st. 121: see the annotation thereon.

context — as measured in range of absorption, and literary and specific commentatorial response.

Display is also made, here and there, of knowledge of recondite details of grammatical lore: one may suspect implicit allusions to the *Kāśikā* in 170, 178, 185 and 188, since the poet there uses rare forms that are given in the *Kāśikā* as examples to particular rules of Pāṇini. The apposite use of certain items of choice vocabulary or rare forms — lending to the poetry what some theorists (such as Bhāmaha, in *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 1.14) called *sauśabdya* — may also have been chosen partly to display mastery of *vyākaraṇa*. Examples include the rare adjective *ātmanīna* in st. 28, the unusually formed adverb *pratyurasam* in st. 62, the use of the *ātmanepada* form *nirāsthata* in st. 152. There appear also to be implicit allusions to the *Arthaśāstra* in stanzas 40, 81, and 82, and perhaps also in 83 and 106.

Such are the echoes thus far noticed in K. 528 of particular texts. There are also explicit or implicit allusions to ideas of the Sāṅkhyas in stanzas 25 and 82, to those of Vaiśeṣikas in stanzas 73, 129, 137, 150, and 177, to Buddhist momentariness (*kṣaṇabhaṅga*) in stanza 180, and to some form of Yoga in stanza 53. Mīmāṃsā is noticeable for its almost total absence (see, however, st. 172, which seems to contrast the views of Naiyāyikas, Buddhists and Mīmāṃsakas about the *pramāṇa*s). Such absence is not remarkable in Cambodia generally, but it is in striking contrast to the prominence of Mīmāṃsā in the Pre Rup inscription a decade later (st. 107 of K. 806 alludes to Mīmāṃsā in a way that suggests familiarity with *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 1.1.5 and its *bhāṣya*, and st. 239 explains that the king Rājendravarman himself studied Mīmāṃsā under the brahmin Śrī Someśvarabhaṭṭa). Perhaps Rājendravarman's Mīmāṃsā studies had not yet begun or had not yet sufficiently advanced to be mentioned in 953 CE (assuming that the date of the consecration of the principal *liṅga* of the Mebon temple roughly corresponds to the date of composition and engraving of the text commemorating that event).

1.1.5 Who composed the text of the inscription?

As often with epigraphs, we do not know anything with certainty about its authorship. In some foundation inscriptions, one suspects that the founder himself may have composed the text that he caused to be engraved, as for example K. 604 and K. 1235 (for which see Goodall 2019), and in some rare cases, the poet's authorship is revealed within the composition itself, as in the case of K. 1318 (for which see Goodall 2000a), or in an appended colophon, as in the case of the three inscriptions of Bat Chum (K. 268). In the Mebon inscription, no such indications are present, but we might be justified here in harbouring a suspicion that the author of the composition may have been the celebrated Yajñavarāha, son of the brahmin Dāmodaragupta, and the founder, along with other members of his family, of Īśvarapura, the architectural

jewel known today as Banteay Srei, as well as of the two shrines placed in a relation of shared revenue with it (*miśrabhoga*) that are commemorated by K. 619 and K. 620 (which are in fact two halves of the same text, spread over two doorjambs) and K. 662.

Jacques (1999:84) suggests instead that Divākarabhaṭṭa, who married a younger sister of Jayavarman V, "might have been the author of the exceptionally fine poems that are engraved on the stelae at the Eastern Mebon and at Pre Rup". I can find no evidence in support of this other than that Divākarabhaṭṭa belongs, broadly speaking, to the right period, and that he appears to have been a learned brahmin from a place near Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā river. In other words, this is perhaps simply a reflection of Jacques' suspicion, which he told me was planted in him by studying the Mebon inscription with N. R. Bhatt in Pondicherry, that only an Indian scholar could have produced compositions in such chaste and erudite Sanskrit. I do not share this suspicion — I see no reason why someone born on the banks of the Yamunā should write better Sanskrit poetry than one born on the banks of the Mekong —, but it may be pointed out that Yajñavarāha, although he made no claim to being brahmin himself, was the son of an Indian brahmin called Dāmodaragupta, and that he claimed to be *brahmakṣatra* — both brahmin and *kṣatriya*) by miscegenation — in st. 10 of K. 619 (see Bourdonneau 2016:135, particularly fn. 49).

From the point of view of timing, Yajñavarāha's authorship would be equally conceivable, and we can detect a few resonances with the inscriptional corpus of Banteay Srei. The clearest correspondence is st. 173 of K. 528, which appears identically as st. 4 of the foundation inscription of Banteay Srei, K. 842 (see note on st. 173 below), where it is put to service to describe not Rājendravarman, as in the Mebon inscription, but his successor Jayavarman V.[8] Less obvious, but perhaps more significant, since intricate and arcane religious puns are involved, is the close parallelism between st. 3 of K. 528 and st. 2 of K. 842 (see annotation on st. 3 below). Another arguably telling sign is the use of the peculiar adverbial idiom *yadupakramam* in K. 528, st. 203, thus echoing st. 21 of K. 842. To these considerations, we may add the close verbal echoes between st. 4 of K. 528 and st. 4 of K. 570, a hymn-like composition engraved in a *gopura* situated along the eastern approach to the central shrine of Banteay Srei (see Bourdonneau 2020 and Goodall forthcoming A).

Of course we cannot be certain, in the first place, that Yajñavarāha himself composed the Sanskrit inscriptions at Banteay Srei. But in view of what we learn from them of his extraordinary learning in numerous disciplines, and his vaunted prowess as a poet

[8] A similar shared stanza unites three tenth-century inscriptions of the guru Hiraṇyaruci: K. 675, st. 30; K. 958, st. 7; and K. 355, st. 13. On the other hand, we find another stanza that may be by Yajñavarāha (a somewhat riddling *maṅgala*-stanza invoking Śiva) repeated in an inscription that seems to have nothing to do with him: the opening stanza of K. 1141, an inscription which mentions Yajñavarāha's activity (see Estève 2009:318ff and 520–523) has been reused as the opening stanza on the south face of K. 706.

in Sanskrit, it seems likely that he should himself have wished to compose the text that recorded that it was he who founded this beautiful and politically significant temple. Most of the stanzas of K. 842 were furthermore also reused for two other foundations of Yajñavarāha, namely those recorded in inscriptions K. 619, K. 620 and K. 662. Furthermore, the relative prominence of allusions to the Śaivism of the Mantramārga at Banteay Srei also suggests Yajñavarāha's involvement in the composition. For it is not only evident in the punning opening stanzas, but it is also made clear in st. 12 of K. 842, that Yajñavarāha was the guru who gave Śaiva initiation to Jayavarman V; furthermore, the Sanskrit portion of K. 570 consists of a hymn to Śiva in which some stanzas appear to echo the theology of scriptures of the classical Śaivasiddhānta (see Goodall forthcoming A). Moreover there is another remarkable, if less well-known, inscription connected to Yajñavarāha, and perhaps also authored by him, which echoes ideas of the Mantramārga, namely K. 1141. That inscription is extremely interesting for its account of the history of its site, a history that has clearly been drawn partly from a much older document, namely K. 1155 of the eighth century, as Julia Estève has plainly demonstrated at great length, giving an edition and annotated translation of the relevant portions (2009:311–324 and 518–523). In the preamble to that history, the seventeenth stanza of K. 1141, describing Yajñavarāha, seems to be fully interpretable only if it is alluding to the *tattva*s of the Śaivasiddhānta:

> cakrame sarvvavidyāsu sadguṇeṣu kalāsv api
> yadvuddhir yyuktibhedeva vidyāguṇakaloditā //
>
> … whose mind (*yadbuddhiḥ*) climbed higher (*cakrame*) in all intellectual disciplines (*sarvavidyāsu*), in the virtues that belong to good people (*sadguṇeṣu*), and also (*api*) in the arts (*kalāsu*), as though (*iva*) it had a special connection [with them] (*yuktibhedā*) [in as much as it had arisen] from *vidyātattva*, *guṇatattva* and *kalātattva* (*vidyāguṇakaloditā*).

This appears to be a Saiddhāntika joke: the intellect (*buddhi*) is an evolute from the *tattva* of *guṇa*, and thus it ultimately derives, through the intermediary evolutes that are *kalātattva* and *vidyātattva*, from *māyātattva*. The poetic fancy (*utprekṣā*) is thus that Yajñavarāha must surely have excelled in knowledge (*vidyā*), virtue (*guṇa*) and the arts (*kalā*) because his intellect was an evolute of the *tattva*s of those names. These particular three *tattva*s are taught in works of the Mantramārga, but not in the *tattvakrama* of the Sāṅkhyas.

Bearing all these considerations in mind, it seems rather more likely than not that Yajñavarāha should have composed the Sanskrit texts that were engraved at Banteay Sreay. Whether or not he also composed part or all of K. 528 is more uncertain, but remains a possibility. The evidence is yet more tenuous, but consists in the parallels and echoes adverted to above, and again a prominence of the Mantramārga, which we find

not only in the opening invocations, but also, for instance in the punning Śaiva touches discernible in the above-mentioned stanza 20 of K. 528, which alludes to Rājendravarman's having received tantric inititation (*dīkṣā*), and in stanza 40, where it seems likely that the expression *mahāmaṇḍala* has both a familiar and a technical tantric sense, and in stanzas 59, 88 and 117, and perhaps also in 31 and 133. For further discussion of these tantric resonances, the reader is referred to the annotation on those stanzas.

In attenuation, however, of the strength of this suggestion, it may be pointed out that a few of the same points could be made also about K. 806, the 298-stanza inscription of Pre Rup. There too we find complex opening stanzas that praise Śiva as mantra, as well as numerous allusions to notions characteristic of the Mantramārga. Of course one could therefore argue that K. 806 too might have been the composition of Yajñavarāha. But the poetry of K. 806 seems to be of a higher style — grander, smoother, subtler and more elegant — and, although it is also packed with ingeniously riddling stanzas that require considerable effort to unpack, these tend to seem less crabbed and more satisfying to "solve". In K. 806, furthermore, we learn of the importance in the king's life of another maître who might have been the author of that inscription, namely his teacher Someśvarabhaṭṭa.

We should also be aware of the possibility that both long poems might contain contributions authored or partly shaped by several individuals, one of whom may have been Rājendravarman himself. Cynical readers may balk at this suggestion, suspecting the fulsome praise of Rājendravarman's learning to be the result of pure sycophancy; but sycophancy would not be enough, I believe, to account for Rājendravarman having a record of his studies of Mīmāṃsā engraved in stone, nor would it account for his commissioning such grandiloquent inscriptions in the first place.

1.1.6 Metrics

We have mentioned, both just here and further above, that K. 528 is arguably not the most beautiful of the tenth-century inscriptions. Heavily freighted with erudite word-games and allusions, and long, while being so little aided by narrative drive or by diversity of subject-matter, its text is heavy to digest. The same criticisms might be levelled at the Pre Rup inscription, and yet, as we have just explained, that work seems more elegant. But these are inevitably very subjective judgments.

Another, arguably more objective criterion of literariness would be the degree of metrical variation in the *anuṣṭubh* stanzas. As Jacobi (1885) pointed out in a celebrated article that gathers together his observations about the usage of this metre (some of which appear not to have been recorded by classical or medieval metricians), great poets writing in *anuṣṭubh* tend to vary the cadence of the odd-numbered verse-quarters, a feature that leavens the texture of long sequences in this otherwise potentially monotonous metre. A variant cadence of this kind is called a *vipulā*. There are texts entirely or almost entirely in *anuṣṭubh* with no such leavening *vipulā*s at all, such

as the *Kiraṇatantra* and *Svāyambhuvatantra* (see Goodall 1998:lxx–lxxi), but these are tantric scriptures that do not have high literary pretensions. Such metrical variation is indeed found here in the *anuṣṭubh* passages of K. 528, even if most of the variant cadences are of one type, the *na-vipulā*, as can be seen from the table below:

na-vipulā (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 110a, 111c, 139a, 146c, 154a, 166c, 179a, 179c, 184c, 185a, 187a, 190a, 204c
bha-vipulā (– ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 175a, 193c, 197a, 198a, 205c
ma-vipulā (– / – – ⏒): 182c, 151c, 202a
ra-vipulā: 0
sa-vipulā: 0

Given that the total number of odd-numbered *pāda*s in *anuṣṭubh* stanzas is 202 (in stanzas 104–205), only three of which are damaged in such a way as to make their metrical pattern undeterminable, this is a relatively low percentage (10%). Of course we do not have published statistics for the use of *vipulā*s in any Cambodian inscriptions, and so this information will fall on most readers' ears without any context. Generally, the *na-vipulā* is by far the commonest, followed by the *bha-vipulā* and the *ma-vipulā*; the *sa-vipulā* is not well-regarded at all, and is not usually thought of as an acceptable *vipulā*, but it is found here and there in Cambodian epigraphs (see the remarks of Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015:239 [quoting Tournier, Steiner and Balk]); and the *ra-vipulā* is by far the rarest: Jacobi (1885:443) observed its occasional presence in epic poetry, but never in the poetic compositions of Bhāravi, Māgha and Bilhaṇa, and only once in the entire œuvre of Kālidāsa (in *Kumārasambhava* 6.73). Yajñavarāha's K. 842 also has no instance of a *ra-vipulā* (nor of the "incorrect" *sa-vipulā*). K. 842's metrical variation in its 43 *anuṣṭubh* stanzas is as follows:

na-vipulā (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 7c, 18a, 21a, 23a, 31a, 41a, 41c
bha-vipulā (– ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 12c, 19a
ma-vipulā (– / – – ⏒): 15a, 20a, 38a

There is, however, one *ra-vipulā* in the eleven-stanza praise of Śiva that constitutes the tenth-century inscription K. 570, engraved on one of the doorways along the eastern approach to the main shrine at Banteay Srey,

na-vipulā (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 11a
ma-vipulā (– / – – ⏒): 1a, 1c
ra-vipulā (– ⏑ – ⏒): 8a

The percentage of *vipulā*s in the odd-numbered *pāda*s of *anuṣṭubh* stanzas in the tenth-century inscriptions of Banteay Srei (we may add that there is another *na-vipulā* in Yajñavarāha's one-stanza inscription K. 575) is thus close to 15%.

In the Pre Rup inscription, there are 300 odd-numbered *pāda*s in *anuṣṭubh* stanzas (K. 806, st. 7, 8, 123–270), of which only one is lost to damage, and the *vipulā*s are as follows:

> *na-vipulā* (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 127c, 133a, 133c, 140c, 152a, 157a, 170c, 171c, 172c, 173a, 173c, 174c, 176a, 176c, 178c, 186c, 190a, 194c, 195a, 203c, 209a, 217a, 217c, 220a, 226c, 234a, 237a, 240c, 243c, 244c, 252c, 255a, 266c
> *bha-vipulā* (– ⏑ ⏑ ⏒): 214c, 218a, 228c, 245a, 256a
> *ma-vipulā* (– / – – ⏒): 125c, 131c, 138c, 139c, 161a, 164a, 184a, 192c, 193a, 200c, 207c, 223c, 235a, 238a, 247a

This means that just under 18% of the odd-numbered *pāda*s in K. 806 have *vipulā*s, a markedly higher proportion than in K. 528. This examination of the use of vipulās seems to allow no firmly decisive conclusion, but it is clear that their deployment in the Mebon inscription seems on the low side for such a consciously literary composition.

As for the metres used throughout the Mebon inscription, they are as follows:

> *śārdūlavikrīḍita*: 1–4, 9–10, 12
> *vasantatilakā*: 5–7
> *sragdharā*: 8, 11, 13, 218
> *triṣṭubh* 14–103, 206–217, which may be further broken down into:
>
> > *indravajrā* 14, 22–23
> > *upajāti* 15–21, 24–103, 206–217
>
> *anuṣṭubh* 104–205

1.2 On the discovery *in situ* of the stela

The first terse mention in print of the stela of the great temple of Śiva now called the Eastern Mebon is probably that in the 'Chronique' of 1922–1923 (*BEFEO* 23, p. 505), which simply states that it is one of four inscriptions discovered by Henri Marchal in that year. The report that he sent to the director of the EFEO for October 1922 (kept in Paris, in a handwritten faircopy, and in a typescript at the National Museum in Phnom Penh) has a little more detail, and seems to suggest that evidence of the stela had actually been found a little before then by George Groslier (see Figure 8.2):[9]

[9] I am grateful to Dominique Soutif for pointing out the 'tapuscrit' of this report in the National Museum in Phnom Penh and to Christophe Pottier, for sending me the relevant page of the fair-copy handwritten report from Paris that is reproduced as Figure 8.2 below.

> J'ai fait rechercher, avec succès, le reste de l'inscription dont un fragment m'avait été signalé par Monsieur Groslier (j'ai situé par erreur ce fragment à Pré Rup dans mon dernier rapport).
>
> C'est une stèle, cassée en plusieurs morceaux dont un manque, mesurant pour la partie inscrite, 1.70m de hauteur sur 1.20m de large et 0.13m d'épaisseur. La base est moulurée à décor de pétales de lotus, la partie supérieure est en accolade. Chaque face montre environ 56 lignes de lettres bien gravées de 0.01m de hauteur. Cette stèle fut trouvée dans le passage central du Gopura Est de l'enceinte extérieure en A; la partie basse d'un seul morceau fut rétablie debout en B dans un endroit où le dallage montrait la mortaise correspondant au tenon inférieur, la face trouvée dessous face au Sud. On a retrouvé parmi les déblais un assez grand nombre d'épis de faîtage en terre cuite ainsi que des fragments de tuiles, ce qui peut faire supposer que ce Gopura n'était pas couvert par une voûte.[10]

In fact, as Christophe Pottier pointed out to me, the handwritten notes of Marchal that constitute the *Journaux de fouilles du Conservateur des monuments d'Angkor* tell a slightly different story, according to which Marchal was with Groslier at the moment of discovery (vol. 3, p. 167):[11]

> Mardi 19 [septembre 1922]. […] Trouvé, en allant accompagner Mr Groslier dans une visite à ~~Pré Rup~~ Mebaun oriental, en dehors de l'enceinte extérieure orientale et un peu au nord du gopura d'accès, à même sur le sol un fragment de dalle portant inscription sur les deux faces.[12]

[10] I had a search made, with success, for the rest of the inscription of which a fragment had been reported to me by Mr Groslier (I located this fragment by mistake at Pré Rup in my last report).

It is a stela, broken into several pieces, one of which is missing, measuring for the inscribed part 1.70m high by 1.20m wide and 0.13m thick. The base is moulded with a decorative motif of lotus petals; the upper part is shaped like a curly brace. Each face has about 56 lines of well engraved letters 0.01m high. This stela was found in the central passage of the East Gopura of the outer enclosure in A; the lower part of a single piece was repositioned standing in B in a place where the paving contained the mortise corresponding to the lower tenon, the face found below facing the South. A large number of terracotta crests and fragments of tile were found among the rubble, suggesting that this *gopura* was not covered by a [stone] vault.

[11] I am grateful to Christophe Pottier for informing me about *Journaux de fouilles du Conservateur des monuments d'Angkor*, for locating the relevant pages and for sending me scans and transcriptions of them.

[12] Tuesday 19th [September 1922] Found, while accompanying Mr Groslier on a visit to ~~Pré Rup~~ East Mebaun, outside the eastern outer enclosure and a little north of the access *gopura*, on the suface of the ground a fragment of a slab bearing inscribed text on both sides.

Marchal then returned with a team to search the same spot just over a fortnight later (vol.3, p. 187):

> Jeudi 5 [octobre 1922] : allé organiser une équipe de recherche à l'endroit où fut trouvé le fragment de dalle inscripte [*sic*] près du Gopura E et en dehors de l'enceinte extérieure de Mebaun oriental (cf. p. 167-19)[13]

Two days after that, the team had the idea of searching in the eastern *gopura* and their efforts were crowned with success (vol. 3, pp. 187–188; see also Figure 8.3, which shows Marchal's first sketch indicating the stela's original location):

> Samedi 7 [octobre 1922]. L'équipe mise à la recherche du reste de l'inscription du Mebaun après avoir initialement cherché à la base du Gopura E où avait été trouvé le fragment a eu l'idée de chercher à l'intérieur du dit Gopura de l'enceinte extérieur [sic] et les recherches amenèrent la découverte suivante :[14]
>
> À 0^m20 centim. [sic] environ sous une couche de terre et de quelques blocs de latérite en A dans la partie centrale, reposant sur un dallage en briques, une stèle cassée en plusieurs morceaux de 1^m70 de hauteur sur 1^m20 de large (dimension de la partie portant inscription) et de 0^m18cm d'épaisseur [.] A la base une moulure composé [*sic*] d'un listel, un champ et une doucine à décor de pétales de lotus surmonté des pistils habituels.[15]
>
> Un tenon terminait la base de la stèle. Le caporal fit redresser la partie inférieure de la stèle, la face trouvée dessous face au sud et remettre le tenon dans la cavité qui se trouvait dans le dallage en brique en BC ; les autres morceaux de la partie supérieure terminée en accolade furent placés à côté. Un fragment manque et fera un hiatus dans l'inscription.[16]

[13] Thursday 5 [October 1922]: went to organize a search team at the place where the inscribed stone fragment was found near Gopura E and outside the outer enclosure of East Mebaun (cf. p. 167-19)

[14] Saturday 7th [October 1922]. The team looking for the remainder of the Mebaun inscription, after initially looking at the base of the Gopura E where the fragment was found, came up with the idea of looking inside the said *gopura* of the outer enclosure and the research led to the following discovery :

[15] At approximately 20 cm underneath a layer of earth and of a few blocks of laterite in A in the central part, resting on a brick paving, a stela broken into several pieces of 1m 70cm in height by 1m 20cm in width (dimension of the part bearing the inscription) and 18cm thick. At the base a moulding composed of a listel, a field and an ogee decorated with lotus petals surmounted by the usual pistils.

[16] A tenon terminated the base of the stela. The corporal straightened the lower part of the stela, the face found below facing south, and put the tenon back in the cavity in the brick paving in BC; the other pieces of the upper part culminating in a curly-brace-shape were placed next to it. A fragment is missing and will make a hiatus in the inscription.

> C'est une belle inscription d'environ 56 lignes sur chaque face : lettres de 0^m01 de hauteur ; la face sud est divisée en deux colonnes de 0^m55cm de longueur ; la face nord porte à un endroit une division en quatre colonnes.
>
> En déblayant pour extraire cette dalle on a retrouvé plusieurs épis de faîtage en terre cuite : d'autre part le peu de pierres (latérite) qui constituait les décombres indique que ce Gopura ne devait pas être vouté : les épis de terre cuites [*sic*] (et des débris de tuiles) concluent en faveur d'une couverture en charpente.[17]

Almost all parts were thus found in the stela's original location, attested by a mortise in the paving, in the northern wing of the cruciform central pavilion of the eastern *gopura* that grants entrance through the outer enclosure wall. Given how many inscribed stelae are discovered in circumstances that make it difficult now to reconstruct exactly how they were once positioned and how (if at all) they might have presented themselves to potential readers in ancient times, it is worth dwelling for a moment on this particularly clear case.[18]

As we would expect, the stela was placed with its edges to the East and West, perpendicular to the long axis of the wing where it was located. In other words, as visitors entered the outermost eastern gate of the temple compound, they would have seen a side of the inscription (presumably Face A) to their right, and they would have been able to approach and read all of its lines on both sides without discomfort, for there was not only enough space to walk around it (probably only one person at a time), but there was also a balustraded window on the eastern side of the northern wing of this cruciform space, which would have cast a raking light across both engraved surfaces of the stela.[19]

The positioning of the stela thus echoes that of doorjamb inscriptions in Cambodia, known from every period of Khmer epigraphy: as one enters, one sees on either side of the door an engraved text relating to the shrine's foundation. But whereas

[17] It is a fine inscription of about 56 lines on each side: letters about 1cm high; the south face is divided into two columns 55cm across; the north face has in one place a division into four columns. While clearing to extract this slab we found several terracotta roofing ridge-caps: on the other hand the few stones (laterite) which constituted the rubble indicate that this *gopura* was not vaulted: the terracotta finials (and some tile debris) conclude in favor of a wooden roof frame.

[18] This was impressed upon me by Christophe Pottier, who kindly pointed out to me several details of the positioning of the stela that I had overlooked.

[19] Note that exactly such windows, screened from top to bottom with balusters, are commonly found in some of the so-called "libraries" of Khmer temples, perhaps to give a filtered daylight that was not too strong to read by: see Goodall [quoting Lajonquière] 2017:143–144.

doorjamb inscriptions typically begin on the left of the doorframe as one enters, continuing if necessary on to the right-hand doorjamb, here the entire text is on the visitor's right. Being better covered than a doorjamb, because of the tiled roof to which Marchal alludes in his report (see p. 32 above), it would have been better protected from the extremes of the weather, but sufficiently well lit in the daytime for reading. Quite how unusual it was in this period to install a stela in an entrance *gopura* is not clear. Christophe Pottier (email of 31.vii.2020) has suggested to me that the practice may have been an innovation of Yaśovarman, since, for instance, the stela of Práḥ Ko (K. 713) was discovered by Trouvé in a *gopura* (*IC* I, p. 18), and there may not be any earlier recorded examples. Yaśovarman may also have pioneered the construction of aedicules specially to house stelae, as in the case of the Bakong stela K. 826 (*IC* I, p. 31) and several of his digraphic inscriptions. But we may simply be lacking context for pre-Angkorian stelae, for it is often not clear how or quite where they came to light. We do not know, for instance, how K. 1236 or K. 1417, both of the eighth-century reign of Jayavarman I *bis*, were positioned, and the seventh-century cases known to me are no clearer. In the case of that of Vat Kdei Ang (K. 53), the state of conservation seems so perfect that Barth is led to speculate that it must have been kept in a temple or other edifice.[20]

1.3 On this edition and translation of K. 528

After the discovery of the stela in 1922, the inventory number K. 528 was assigned and an edition was rapidly prepared and published, along with a French translation, by Louis Finot, the then director of the EFEO and a Sanskritist scholar of broad interests (1925:309–352). This edition and translation is the obvious starting point for further work on the Mebon inscription. But, as explained in the preface, I have had the good fortune to be able to use also two unpublished transcriptions by Claude Jacques. The first is an annotated typescript that records 'lu le 19.5.72', handwritten in red ink at the bottom of its 18th and final page (=Jacques^{1}). He kindly lent this to me and allowed me to photograph it in March 2012. The second is a revised version of this transcription typed up as an undated Word file (according to the file's metadata, it was created on 8th July 1994) that Claude Jacques kindly passed to me in the summer of 2012 (=Jacques^{2}). The chief importance of the 1972 transcription is that it was made at a time when two fragments had come to light that had not been seen at the time of Finot's edition of 1925, one of which has since disappeared. This means that among the very many differences between this new edition of today and that of Finot, as well as the more than a hundred small (but often significant) corrections to passages

[20] "La conservation parfaite du document fait d'ailleurs supposer qu'il a dû être bien abrité et que, comme V par exemple [*scil.* K. 13], il se trouvait placé dans l'intérieur d'un temple ou de quelque édifice." (Barth 1885:64–65)

that were already known but mistranscribed, there is quite a bit of the inscription that Jacques was able transcribe in 1972 for the first time: for instance, Finot was not able to transcribe the first two quarters of stanzas 48, 50, 52, and 54, nor the second two quarters of stanzas 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, and 179.

I was also able to consult photographs of estampages made at some unknown date and now apparently held in Hanoi, as well as two fresh sets of estampages made by Khom Sreymom of the National Museum of Phnom Penh after the restoration of the stela by the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum under Bertrand Porte in 2012–2014. One of these two sets now hangs framed in the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO. Finally, I was able to spend several days examining the stone itself in the last fortnight of June 2015.

The old estampages of the 1920s that are in the EFEO in Paris, grouped under the number n. 365 (according to *IC* VIII, p. 163), appear no longer to be traceable, nor do those made after the discovery of extra fragments that Claude Jacques was able to transcribe in 1972.

Finot's transcription places *daṇḍa*s at the end of half-verses and double *daṇḍa*s at the end of the stanzas. This is not what was engraved. Instead, we find florets placed at the end of each stanza on Face A. These differ in shape according to whether they fall in the middle of a line or at the end of one. On Face B, we find florets when they fall at the end of the line, but a symbol that is similar to what seems to be used as a double *daṇḍa* (||) in contemporary Khmer documents. These punctuation-marks can be seen in the plates at the back of the book. We have accordingly transcribed the three types differently: ⊙ is used at the ends of lines, and ᪥ is used in the middles of lines on Face A, whereas || is used in the middles of lines on Face B.

The translation offered here is also very different from that of Finot throughout. Given the hundreds of places in which the Sanskrit text itself has been differently constituted from that of Finot, it would have been tedious to point up all the differences of interpretation between the two translations. Instead, occasional references are made to Finot's translation, particularly when his contains the kernel of a possible alternative interpretation. Often enough, Finot's translation does not seem worth dwelling upon because the text he had before him was simply erroneous or lacunose. It is also worth recalling that Finot was not very interested by the bulk of the inscription, as he effectively admits in a passage of his brief introduction that we have quoted in our preface.

Expressions or passages of text that are deliberately designed to give two or more senses pose special problems for any translator. Some may well object to translations of *śleṣa* in this volume on the grounds that different instances are treated very differently. In some cases, for instance, it suffices just to print in italics a second translation of a short phrase after a forward-slash following the first translation in roman, but sometimes larger parts of the text are translated twice, the different versions distinguished

by italics and indentation, or by a phrase preceded by a forward-slash and delimited by parentheses, and sometimes an entire stanza may be translated multiple times. In answer to the charge of inconsistency, it should be pointed out that different translations suit different situations. The use of *śleṣa* in literary Sanskrit is very far from uniform. To start with, it is generally used in conjunction other figures of speech (*alaṅkāra*), which means that it is used to achieve a variety of rhetorical effects. It follows that there is no 'one-size-fits-all' style of translation that can be adopted everywhere. Some puns are plainly meant to strike readers' minds with a delay, for instance so that readers fully see one interpretation of a stanza before they become aware that there is another, or so that they see a contradictory sense emerge from following the most obvious meanings of the expressions involved, and this then induces them to search for a further interpretation. In order to attempt to convey something of these effects, different strategies of translation must inevitably be deployed.

The above might seem to suggest that a highly literary register of translation has been aimed for here. But, while some pains have been taken to make the English as smoothly readable as possible, the translation aims also to be literal. Furthermore, almost all the Sanskrit words of each stanza have been included in italics in parentheses after each English expression that translates them. The only common exceptions are instances of proper names, which it seemed often unnecessary to repeat in brackets, or cases where expressions recur in second or third renderings of punning passages. This practice does disturb the flow of the text, but it serves to make clear how each word has been rendered, and this seemed worthwhile because many of the most careful readers of Khmer inscriptions are not primarily Sanskritists but rather archeologists and historians, and they may be grateful to be shown as clearly as possible what the evidence is for the interpretations that the translation presents. In these parenthetical repetitions of the Sanskrit words, the most widespread orthography used for Sanskrit editions in India today has been adopted (*b* replaces *v* where required, for instance, forgotten retroflexions are restored, and stops that were geminated in ligature with semi-vowels have been degeminated) and the *sandhi*-final forms of the words have been given. The inflections, however, have been retained unchanged.

In most documents of the Khmer-speaking region, the absence of a phonological distinction between dental and retroflex consonants is reflected by some degree of confusion. In some cases, this has fossilised what might once have been considered aberrant forms but that may now simply be treated as orthographically regular variants used in Khmer-speaking areas: the word usually printed as *vṛnda* in modern editions in Devanāgarī script, for instance, seems invariably to be written with retroflex consonants by Khmer users of Sanskrit. Other words vacillate: *sphuṭa* may appear as *sphuta*, for instance, or *manda* may be written *maṇḍa*. This makes it difficult to decide whether, for instance, *cūdā* (st. 4) or *puraṇḍara* (st. 9) are "errors" or variant spellings. In these cases, and wherever it seems helpful, I have added in the apparatus remarks

such as "Understand: *cūḍā*" or "Understand: *purandara*". This is similar to the practice of Cœdès and other editors.

In other documents from the region, it is common to find that the second element in a ligature that would normally involve two retroflex consonants is not retroflex, or is at least not transcribed by editors as a retroflex. Thus we find such spellings as *maṇdala*, *svarṇna* or *śreṣtha*. In many such instances, however, the script is ambiguous. There is little difference between a *d* and a *ḍ* when it is the second member of a ligature of consonants, and so the choice of transcription may be regarded as open. As for *ṇ* when it is the second member of a ligature, it may look exactly like a subscript dental *n*, but this is probably simply because in its subscript form it has retained the central vertical bar that characterises the retroflex letter in its very earliest pre-Angkorian form. In other words, it is arguable that an archaic form of the *ṇ* has survived when the letter is written in subscript form. This means that we may surely choose to transcribe *svarṇṇa* (rather than *svarṇna*) if we believe that the engraver intended *svarṇṇa*, even if the combination of graphs could also be interpreted as *svarṇna*. There are other such ambiguous combinations in other Indian scripts, where readers are obviously expected to use judgment. In the nineteenth-century form of Grantha script that is used for writing Sanskrit in the Tamil-speaking South, for example, the ligature *ccha* consists of a *ca* with what looks exactly like a *śa* beneath it. Nobody reads this as the impossible combination *cśa*. The combination of graphs used for *rṇṇa* in Angkorian script is an almost exactly parallel case. What makes it different is that there evidently were some script-users who knew no phonological distinction between *t* and *ṭ*, or *d* and *ḍ*, or *n* and *ṇ*, and who consequently sometimes wrote one for the other. Such users might have believed that there was no need to distinguish between *rṇṇa* and *rṇna*, and that the common script convention in words such as *kīrṇṇa* was actually to write *kīrṇna*. Now there are some instances of isolated consonants that are retroflex when we expect them to be dental and dental when we expect them to be retroflex (st. 69 furnishes an instance of each), but I think that we can be clear that the engraver of the Mebon inscription was aware of the difference and is unlikely to have combined a dental and a retroflex in the same ligature. This not just because K. 528 is in every respect a consummately careful document, with few instances of error of any kind. A further consideration is that it has no instances of *ṣt* or *ṣth*. To be clear, these are instances of ligatures where the second element is normally a retroflex consonant, but one whose written form cannot be confused with the written form of the counterpart dental consonant. Whereas elsewhere in the Khmer corpus such slips (for instance *śreṣtha* for *śreṣṭha*) are not uncommon, they do not occur in K. 528. In other words, it seems to me justifiable to transcribe *maṇḍala* (rather than *maṇdala*) and *kīrṇṇa* (rather than *kīrṇna*) when such words occur in this inscription.

1.4 On the physical properties and condition of the stela

About the stone used for the stela, Bertrand Porte, relying partly on Christian Fischer's observations, kindly sent me this description (email of 31.vii.2019):

> Grès compact de granulométrie fine à moyenne et de couleur grise, d'âge triasique. Le grès a une typologie de 'grauwacke' et contient du quartz, des feldspaths et des fragments de roche. Le grès est riche en chlorite et contient aussi un ciment à base de calcite. Il y a en effet une belle inclusion qui affleure sur la face "B" en haut à gauche et qui porte quelques caractères gravés.[21]

This 'inclusion' had been the subject of some discussion between us: it refers to a patch on Face B where it looks almost as though a dab of smooth clay or fine-grained cement had been recently smeared over the surface of the stone and then engraved with letters that looked improbably fresh. Christian Fischer then supplemented this description (email of 1.viii.2019) with the following remarks:

> Pour l'inclusion, la description de Bertrand est tout à fait juste, c'est probablement un galet argileux déformé et un peu métamorphisé, une sorte d'argilite. Sinon, le grès ne vient pas de Siem Reap, mais vraisemblablement de la région entre Kratié et Sambor sur le Mékong (anciennes carrières de Sandan).[22]

This compact sandstone from mines a little East of Sambor Prei Kuk has allowed the engraver to produce finely executed calligraphy in relatively shallowly carved letters. They are not as shallow, however, as those of some twelfth-century stelae, such as those of Phnom Bei/Dei (K. 1222) and Prasat Tor (K. 692). The letters are of about 1cm in height. The first face has 57 lines of Sanskrit text and the second 58. In each case, the layout reflects the metrical structure, such that, for instance, a full line of text contains two complete *anuṣṭubh* stanzas, thus giving the impression of two columns of text for much of the second face. As we have seen from Marchal's report, quoted above (see p. 32), the inscribed portion is 170 cm in height by 120 cm in breadth, and 13 cm thick. All around the base, on the edges as well as along both faces, is a decorative moulding of 18.5 cm in height consisting of a band of stylised lotus-petals surmounted

[21] 'Compact sandstone of fine to medium grain, gray in colour, of Triassic age. The sandstone is of Greywacke type and contains quartz, feldspar and rock fragments. The sandstone is rich in chlorite and also contains a calcite-based cement. There is indeed a beautiful inclusion, which touches the surface on the "B" side at the top left and which bears some engraved characters.'

[22] 'About the "inclusion", Bertrand's description is quite correct: it is probably a deformed and slightly metamorphosed clay pebble, a kind of argillite. Apart from that, the sandstone does not come from Siem Reap, but probably from the region between Kratié and Sambor on the Mekong (the former quarries of Sandan).'

by a fringe of what may be intended to be anther-bearing stamens (see frontispiece).[23] According to Bertrand Porte's measurements, the entire stela, including the tenon, measures 237 cm × 126 cm × 17.5 cm (height, breath, thickness).

Claude Jacques explained to me that he thought that the inscription had been engraved on the stone using a stencil ("pochoir") made of a hide of leather on which the letters were first mapped out, and that the stela was a palimpsest, since he believed that the traces of earlier engraving could still be seen in places. The first of these ideas seems to me conceivable but not proven, as explained in the apparatus to st. 207, but the second is not convincing, as explained below in the apparatus to st. 79.

On side A, as is visible from Figure 3.1, there is an oddly isolated triangular fragment that corresponds to the beginnings of lines 32–38 which requires some comment. It should be stated first of all that it is clear that the fragment does indeed belong there where it is, since its position is determined by the surrounding stone behind and to the sides of it. This is clear, for instance, from Figure 1.11, when the page is being turned, and also from a view of the same broken portion as it appears on Face B (Figure 1.6).

What is, however, especially odd about this triangular fragment is that we can now only see lines 32 and 33 upon it on Face A.[24] Below line 33, a horizontal line seems to have been faintly traced in the stone, below which the surface seems now to be completely unmarked, as though it had been rubbed away. This anomaly was pointed out by Christophe Pottier, who suggested (in email correspondence of 9–10.viii.2019) the possibility that the stone might have been reused for some other purpose before being reunited with the other fragments. In the course of further correspondence between Christophe Pottier and Bertrand Porte in July 2020, it was mooted that the very light attrition that has rubbed away just the very surface of side A of the bottom part of the triangular fragment is instead consistent with its simply having been at the surface, exposed to the elements and walked across. It is unlikely, however, that this fragment was the one lying exposed that Marchal first spotted, since it was not seen by Finot. As for the horizontal line traced beneath line 33, Bertrand Porte spotted that it must after all be the continuation of a hairline crack that we can see further to the right on the stone, beneath the word *pravṛddhaḥ* in st. 52, on line 32. There is, furthermore, another hairline crack above the word *kumudvatīvat* in st. 48, above line 30. Both of these micro-fissures are just visible in Figure 3.2, and are clearly apparent in Figure 1.7.

It was Claude Jacques who read this part for the first time and he gives this note at the beginning of his transcription of line 32 of Face A:

> Ce demi-vers, ainsi que la première partie du vers LIV, se trouve sur un

[23] Bertrand Porte suggested that the upper part of the decorative moulding represents stamens, which seems more likely than that they should be pistils, as Marchal's first description suggests (see p. 33).

[24] On Face B, we can see the ends of lines 31–39: see Figure 6.4.

> fragment découvert depuis la publication de L. Finot. Il a été remis en place. Il contenait des fragments de 7 lignes, soit 32 à 38 incluse.[25]

It at first seemed to me that Claude Jacques might have read a few letters in the following lines from this same triangular fragment. His notes are difficult to understand, and it seems clear from them that he had only the now lost estampages in front of him, not the stela itself. Regarding the 3 syllables that he could read towards the beginning of line 34, he says:

> Elles ne sont lisibles que sur un seul estampage et la partie correspondante a dû être cassée avant même qu'il ne soit recollé sur la stèle.[26]

But for the six syllables he read in this part of line 35, he explains:

> Ce fragment de ligne se trouve sur un morceau d'inscription découvert après l'édition de L. Finot ; ce morceau a été replacé sur la stèle, mais trop bas : sa place exacte, en l'absence de contours suffisamment précis, est déterminée par le mètre.[27]

A conceivable explanation for all this at first seemed to me that a very thin layer of the surface of the triangular fragment survived and was badly glued back on, its impression then being recorded in an estampage which Jacques transcribed, before the entire relevant portion was lost (both the thin layer and the estampage). This thin layer would have corresponded to lines 34–38 and would have become detached below the horizontal line that is now visible below line 33 of the text. But the layer would have to have been so very thin that it is impossible to imagine that it could have been peeled off, let alone glued back on again.

Furthermore, the few letters that Jacques transcribed from the beginnings of lines 34–35 are in fact not from the very beginnings, but from a little way in, which means that there must have been a small fragment, now lost, that fitted in between the triangular one and the large fragment that forms the base of the inscription. Whereas the triangular fragment covers the left-most column of text, this lost small fragment furnished syllables from the second column, in other words from the second verse-quarters of the stanzas covered. It must furthermore have been a surface fragment from face A, since the corresponding part of the surface of face B is not lost. Jacques believed the

[25] This half-verse, as well as the first part of st. 51, is on a fragment discovered since the publication of Louis Finot. It has been put back in place. It contained fragments of 7 lines, 32 to 38 inclusive.

[26] They can only be read on a single estampage and the corresponding part must have been broken even before it was stuck back on the stela.

[27] This fragment of the line is on a piece of the inscription discovered after the edition of Louis Finot; this piece was put back on the stela, but too low: its exact position, in the absence of sufficiently precise contours, is determined by the metre.

fragment to have been stuck back on to the stela too low, which raises the possibility that it was simply in the wrong place altogether. Could it even have belonged, for example, to the conclusions of lines 38–43 of face B? Presumably its shape precluded this possibility. In any case, the consequences for the interpretation of what remains are not important, since so few syllables are preserved that little sense can be made of them anyway.

About the form of the letters, there is little to be added once one has stated that they are typical of well-carved mid-tenth-century Angkorian court inscriptions. The two forms of the letter *r* are both in evidence (see, for example, note on stanza 104), namely the archaic two-barred type (formed of a stroke that descends from the top, then loops back and turns into a parallel ascending stroke a few milimetres to the right) and the more modern form consisting of a single downward stroke.

1.5 Genealogy of Rājendravarman

In one understanding of the punning stanza 29, the claim appears to be made that Rājendravarman's majesty as crown prince came to him not from his mother's side (*a-yonijā*) but from his father (*janakopanītā*). One purpose, presumably, of employing such a trope, was to suggest that Rājendravarman's claim to the throne was more closely in line with the ideals of Sanskrit literature than was often the case among the Khmers, who seem from the earliest recorded past to have rather favoured succession from maternal uncle (*mātula*) to sister's son (*bhāgineya*). In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, that touchstone of Indian ideals of kingship, it is clear that the paradigm was that the king's eldest son should succeed, being first appointed as *yuvarāja*, a Crown Prince, or, more literally, "Young King", a status that allowed and obliged him to share the duties of rule. In other words, succession was patrilineal and ideally one of primogeniture. Thus, for example, in chapter 3 of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, Raghu is declared by his father the king to be *yuvarāja* (*Raghuvaṃśa* 3.38) and he then plays a rôle in governance and in the royal *aśvamedha* sacrifice conducted by his father. This notion too is reflected here in the same punning stanza (29), since what Rājendravarman is said to receive from his father is *yuvarājalakṣmī*, "the Glory of being Crown Prince". There then immediately follows (in stanzas 30–38) a description of his consecration (*abhiṣeka*), in which it is not made clear whether he is being consecrated as *yuvarāja* or as king, an ambiguity that is reinforced by the fact that he is alluded to as mounting his "lion-throne" nearly forty stanzas later (75–76).

What all of this underscores is that the manner of Rājendravarman's accession to this throne of empire, supposedly in 944 CE, is in fact not clear and has given rise to several discussions in secondary literature. FINOT (1925:310) launched the debate by presenting the genealogy of stanzas 8–13 of our inscription as a straightforward matriline, with no generations skipped (after the gap following the mythical ancestors Somā and

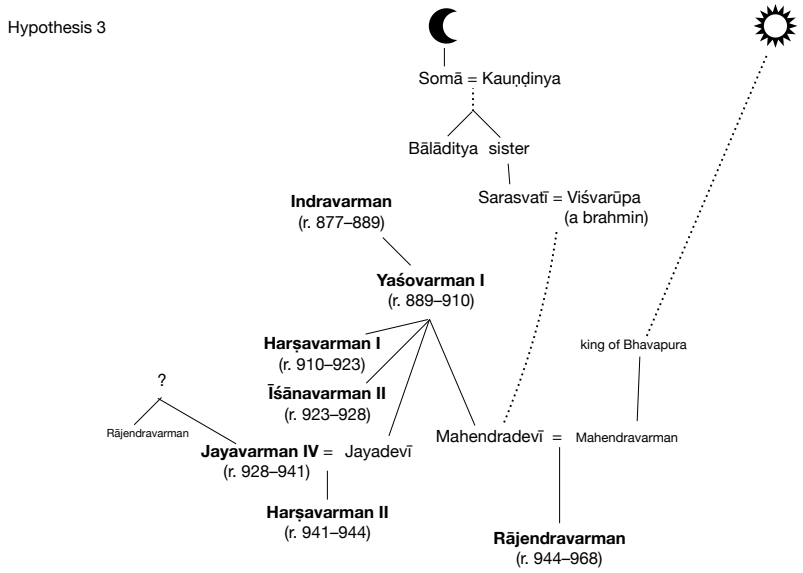

Figure 1.1: **Hypothesis 3.** On the left, the sequence of Angkorian sovereigns (names in bold), presented in chronological order and with what is known (from other inscriptions) of their interrelations, beginning with Indravarman and ending with Rājendravarman. On the right, the matrilineal genealogy of Rājendravarman as sketched in stanzas 8–13 of K. 528, beginning with the mythical daughter of the Moon, namely Somā, and ending with Rājendravarman's mother Mahendradevī. The dotted lines indicate unknown numbers of generations. Note that the Angkorian lineage is lunar, whereas Rājendravarman's father's royal line is said to be solar. Note also that Sarasvatī's descendants are described (stanza 10) as *brahmakṣatra* on the grounds that her husband was a brahmin. Mahendradevī's mother belonged to that lineage, but she is not included here because we do not know whether she was also mother to Harṣavarman I, Īśānavarman II and Jayadevī. For discussion of the different ways in which Mahendradevī's lineage may be reconstructed, see Vickery 1986:106–108 (giving a genealogical table showing hypothesis 4).

Kauṇḍinya), culminating in Mahendradevī, wife of a certain Mahendravarman, giving birth to Rājendravarman. To this family tree, he added the observation (1925:311) that it seemed reasonable to assume that Mahendravarman was the same as Jayavarman IV (r. 928–941 CE), who might have borne the name Mahendravarman before he assumed full control of his territory as sovereign. The reason FINOT gives for this assumption is that Rājendravarman is presented in the inscription of Bàkséi Čˇàṃkrˇòng (K. 286, stanza 40) as the elder brother of Harṣavarman II (r. 941–944 CE), whom he succeeded to the throne and who is everywhere presented (including in K. 286, in stanza 38) as the son of Jayavarman IV.[28] We may call this **hypothesis 1**, that Rājendravarman was born to the same parents as Harṣavarman II and was his elder brother.

CŒDÈS (1928c:134–137) called this into question, pointing out how unlikely it was that Jayavarman IV would have been referred to after his death and by his own son by his pre-regnal name of Mahendravarman. CŒDÈS' suggestion at that time was to understand that Rājendravarman must have been the elder brother of Harṣavarman II by the same mother, Mahendradevī, but not by the same father. He pointed out that this hypothesis was consonant with all the inscriptional evidence then known for Rājendravarman's genealogy, which consistently presented Harṣavarman II as the son of Jayavarman IV (thus also K. 180, st. 9 and K. 339 st. 12, and also, although not then mentioned by CŒDÈS, K. 522, st. 12 and K. 686, st. 16) and consistently presented Harṣavarman II's successor Rājendravarman as the elder brother of Harṣavarman II (K. 180, st. 12 and K. 339, st. 13, and also, although not then mentioned by CŒDÈS, K. 522, st. 13 and K. 686, st. 17). This is **hypothesis 2**, that Rājendravarman was the elder brother of Harṣavarman II by the same mother, namely Mahendradevī, who must have married Harṣavarman II's father Jayavarman IV after she had given birth to Rājendravarman by Mahendravarman.

When he came to publish the inscription of Pre Rup nearly a decade later, CŒDÈS

[28] The two stanzas in question of K. 286 are 38 and 40:

> śrīharṣavarmmā tanayas tadīyo yo harṣadāyī jagatāṃ vijetā
> tejiṣṭhavīryyo yaśasā variṣṭhaḥ prājñaḥ prabhāvād avikhaṇditājñaḥ 38
>
> His son was Śrī Harṣavarman, a victor who gave joy to creatures, of exceptionally intense valour, excelling in glory, wise, whose commands were not broken because of his mightiness.
>
> bhrātā tadīyo vayasā guṇaughair jjyeṣṭho jagadgītaguṇodayo bhūt
> yo rājyalakṣmyā jitarājakaś śrī-rājendravarmmā jagatīpatīndraḥ 40
>
> He had a brother, elder to him both in age and virtues, whose good qualities were lauded by the world, who vanquished other kings by his Royal Fortune: Śrī Rājendravarman, king of kings.

revised his opinion because of a stanza that records that Rājendravarman made a foundation for the merit of Harṣavarman's mother Jayadevī. For among the several foundations recorded towards the end of K. 806, the following two were made for the benefit of Harṣavarman II and his mother:

> śrīharṣadevajananījayadevyās svarjjayāya janitaśrīḥ
> jananījaghanyajāyās teneha sthāpitā girijā 280
>
> He installed here a Pārvatī (*girijā*), generatrix of fortune (*janitaśrīḥ*), so that the younger sister of his mother, [who was] Jayadevī, the mother of Śrī-Harṣadeva, might obtain heaven (*svarjayāya*).
>
> rājendravarmmadeveśvaram īśvaram īśvaro vanīśānām
> śrīharṣavarmmanṛpater anujasya sa bhūtaye kṛtavān 281
>
> This [same] king of kings (*īśvaro 'vanīśānām*) created an Īśvara [called] Rājendravarmadeveśvara for the good fortune (*bhūtaye*) of his younger [brother,] the king Śrī-Harṣavarman.

This resulted in **hypothesis 3**, that Rājendravarman, although he repeatedly styles himself "elder brother", was in fact first cousin to Harṣavarman II, since he was born to Mahendradevī, who must have been the elder sister of Harṣavarman II's mother.[29] Both Mahendradevī and Jayadevī were presumably therefore also sisters or half-sisters to Yaśovarman I, perhaps all fathered by Indravarman. This would mean that the Sanskrit term *bhrātṛ* was used not just for men sharing at least one parent, but also for at least some first cousins, those linked by having mothers who were sisters.[30]

[29] There is a potentially confusing slip in Cœdès presentation of this hypothesis, on p. 75 of *IC* I, since Cœdès there states that Rājendravarman was hitherto thought to have been the younger brother of Harṣavarman II, whereas, as we have seen, several epigraphs present him rather as the elder brother.

[30] This may surprise some, but it may be perfectly natural given different categories of kinship. By way of comparison, the Tamil expressions *aṇṇaṉ* and *tampi* are regularly believed to correspond respectively to the categories of "elder brother" and "younger brother" and are even typically so defined in dictionaries (even the seven-volume *Tamil Lexicon* seems to under-define *aṇṇaṉ* in this way), but these terms also include parallel cousins and thus typically also designate respectively an elder male cousin who is the son of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt and a younger male cousin who is the son of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt (but not of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt). Just as there are no Indo-European terms that perfectly render the Dravidian notions expressed in Tamil by *aṇṇaṉ* and *tampi*, conversely, there is of course no Tamil term that perfectly translates the Indo-European notion of "brother", for *aṇṇaṉ* and *tampi* include both siblings and parallel cousins (but not cross-cousins). For the referents of the terms *aṇṇaṉ* and *tampi*, see the table on pp. 34–35 of Trautmann's 1981 study of *Dravidian*

In addition to the inscriptions considered above, one should also adduce K. 598, whose 25th and 26th stanzas appear to invite us to return after all to hypothesis 1. They read as follows:

> saṃkarṣaṇasya tasyāpi bhāgineyo yaḥ
> ravināthāhvayo bhṛtyaś śreṣṭhaś śrījayavarmmaṇaḥ 25
>
> And the one who was the sister's son of that Saṃkarṣaṇa was the most excellent servant of Śrī Jayavarman [IV], called Ravinātha.
>
> yas tataḥ prāptasanmāno bhṛtyaś satputrayor api
> śrīharṣavarmmabhūpālaśrīmadrājendravarmmaṇoḥ 26
>
> He was then the honour-receiving servant also of [Jayavarman IV's] two true sons, [namely] the king Śrī-Harṣavarman [II] and Rājendravarman.

There seems here to be no wiggle-room, for Harṣavarman II and Rājendravarman are not merely presented as "brothers", which could allow for the possibility that they shared just one parent or were merely first cousins, but they are instead presented as "true sons" of Jayavarman IV. But the context here is significant: the focus is a lineage of courtiers, not of the royal house, and the inscription belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century, decades later. It is possible, in other words, to imagine this to be, for instance, a simple error of understanding in the minds of courtiers of a rather later period for whom the exact relationship between two former royal patrons was no longer a matter of significance. Also conceivable is that the "error" was the result of a

Kinship, which illustrates how the terms of kinship are used among Nanjilnattu Vellalars (an example of a particular community is required since there is no single Dravidian kinship system applied uniformly where Dravidian languages are spoken).

Similarly, the Indo-European terms *bhrātṛ* (brother) and *svasṛ* (sister) when applied to the historical Khmer world apparently not only designated siblings who share both parents, but also, according to Vickery (1986: 107), "half siblings, or even cousins, especially first cousins". By this, if I understand him correctly, Vickery means that they may designate relations who share either parent and also any first cousins (not excluding cross-cousins, who would be excluded in the Dravidian world), and perhaps more. Vickery's hypothesis 4 about Rājendravarman's ancestry, which we shall come to below, assumes that Jayadevī and Mahendradevī need not have been full sisters. And Cœdès (fn. 6 on p. 75 of *IC* I) mentions the possibility that they might even have been cousins. If Jayadevī and Mahendradevī were indeed only cousins (whether cross-cousins or parallel cousins) that would mean that Rājendravarman and Harṣavarman II would only have been second cousins, and it is not clear to me whether or not they could then still be referred to as "brothers" in such royal genealogies, as Vickery (and tacitly also Cœdès) assumes. (Among the Nanjilnattu Vellalars they could still have been *aṇṇaṉ* and *tampi* with respect to each other, if, for example, Rājendravarman were Harṣavarman II's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son.)

deliberate "rewriting of history", perhaps to yield a clearer royal lineage, or for some other purpose.[31] So perhaps this passage does not after all categorically oblige us to return to hypothesis 1.

There is nonetheless one other potentially confusing data-point to be drawn into the discussion, namely the evidence of stanza 19 of K. 677, which appears to present Rājendravarman as the uterine brother of Jayavarman IV, and must presumably be the source of the following puzzling claim on Rājendravarman's wikipedia page (as consulted on 9.vi.2019), which we may call Vickery's **hypothesis 4**: "Rajendravarman II was the uncle and first cousin of Harshavarman." Wikipedia is here drawing upon Charles Higham's generalist work *The Civilization of Angkor*,[32] but we may trace the hypothesis back to Vickery, although Higham does not mention him explicitly here, for K. 677 is probably also the source of the related claim on the same page about Jayavarman IV, about whom it is said that he "was the son of king Indravarman I's daughter, Mahendradevi, and was married to his aunt, a half-sister of king Yasovarman I." I say "probably" because one can trace this assertion back to Higham (2001:70), whose bibliography for that section of his book mentions Vickery 1997, which in turn refers us back (1997:395), for a demonstration that Jayavarman IV and the king Rājendravarman were either brothers or half-brothers, to Vickery 1986:1016–107, where he does not explicitly reveal which are the inscriptions upon which he is drawing. Here are the last two stanzas (19–20) of K. 677, the second only quoted here because a few puns in it are not caught in Cœdès's translation (*IC* I, p. 61).

> tena śrījayavarmmaṇā vijayinā jyeṣṭhasya dharmmasthiti-
> prāptyai liṅgam idaṃ śivasya paratas saṃkalpitaṃ sthāpitam
> saudaryyasya dhṛtaśriyārthayutayā rājendravarmmākhyayā
> khyātasyāgrasarasya kīrttiguṇadhīvīryyāḍhyatāśālinām 19
>
> This same victorious Śrī-Jayavarman installed this *liṅga* of Śiva, made for another (*parataḥ saṃkalpitam*),[33] so that his elder uterine brother, renowned by the glorious and meaningful name of Rājendravarman, who runs out ahead among those who possess a wealth of fame, virtue, intelligence and heroism, might obtain a continuity of merit (*dharmasthitiprāptyai*).

[31] Jacques seems inclined to assume such a falsification (1977:986): "Il serait intéressant d'expliquer comment l'« erreur » de notre inscription, si peu de temps en somme après la mort des intéressés, a été possible, et donc ce qu'elle peut cacher."

[32] "In the Byzantine world of dynastic relationships, he [scil. Harṣavarman II] was succeeded by a man who was both his uncle and his cousin" Higham (2001:73).

[33] Cœdès (*IC* I, p. 61) instead construes *parataḥ saṃkalpitaṃ* with *dharmmasthitiprāptyai* and takes it to refer to another world: "destiné à obtenir dans l'autre monde une juste situation en faveur de son frère ainé".

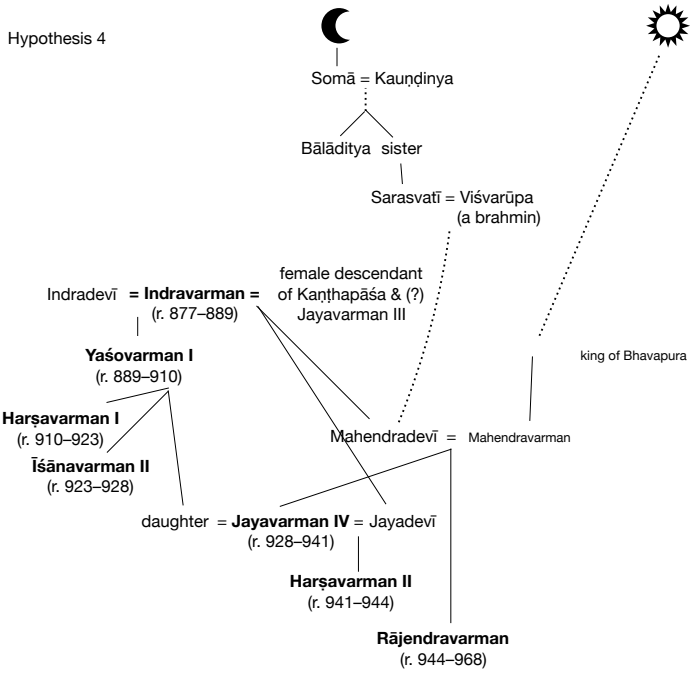

Figure 1.2: **Hypothesis 4.** This shows the hypothesis outlined by Vickery (1986:107). His discussion is appended to an exploration of what can be known of Mahendradevī's family from K. 165. He resumes the epigraphical data that he was trying to square as follows: "1. Jayavarman married an unnamed sister of Īśānavarman's father Yaśovarman; 2. Jayavarman IV had a son Harṣavarman; 3. Harṣavarman's mother was Jayadevī, younger sister of Mahendradevī; 4. Rājendravarman was elder brother of Jayavarman IV by the same mother; 5. Rājendravarman was elder brother (first cousin) of Harṣavarman; 6. Rājendravarman's mother was Mahendravadevī." He adds (1986:108) as alternative possibilities: "1. Mahendradevī and Jayadevī were half-sisters of different mothers; 2. the sister of Yaśovarman whom Jayavarman IV married was not Jayadevī, but another; 3. […] was mother of Mahendradevī, Jayadevī and Yaśovarman; and 4. Mahendradevī married succesively two men, one father of Rājendravarman and another, unknown, father of Jayavarman IV, who would then be half-brother of Rājendravarman."

adita vasusamastaṃ bhaktito smin śive sāv
akṛta ca śikharābhaṃ saudhaveśmādrirājaḥ
aniyatagatim īśañ caikavṛddhokṣam īkṣyaṃ
dhanisakham iva kurvvann ekavāsaṃ dhanāḍhyam 20

Out of devotion (*bhaktitaḥ*) he gave (*adita*) all (*samastaṃ*) his wealth (*vasu*) to this Śiva and created (*akṛta*) a temple [covered] in stucco (*saudhaveśma*) comparable to a peak (*śikharābham*) of the king of mountains (*adrirājaḥ*), [thus] rendering (*kurvan*) presentable (*īkṣyam*) the Lord, who seemed (*iva*) of uncertain gait (*aniyatagatim*), possessing only an old bull (*ekavṛddhokṣam*), [and making him] rich (*dhanāḍhyam*) who only had one garment (*ekavāsam*) [and who could only call himself] the friend of wealthy men (*dhanisakham*) …[34]

who is the goal [whom we all seek, but] that is uncertain [of attainment] (*aniyatagatim*), who represents the one ancient Dharma (*ekavṛddhokṣam*), who has only one residence [namely the entire universe] (*ekavāsam*), and who is a friend of Kubera (*dhanisakham*).

Now it is perhaps just conceivable that both Jayavarman IV and the Rājendravarman who subsequently became king could both have been born to Mahendradevī and that Jayavarman IV then married his own mother's "sister" Jayadevī. But it is not particularly likely. And it seems especially unlikely that the Rājendravarman who became king should have proclaimed in several of his inscriptions that he was in some sense the "brother" of Harṣavarman II if he had been able to base his claim to succession on being the elder brother of Harṣavarman II's father Jayavarman IV. Furthermore, the inscription K. 677, on which this implausible reconstruction depends, appears, although this is not made explicit, to commemorate a foundation made for the merit of a Rājendravarman who had already died. It seems, in other words, that the Rājendravarman

[34] There is an echo, in this trope, of *Kumārasambhava* 5:80:

asampadas tasya vṛṣeṇa gacchataḥ prabhinnadigvāraṇavāhano vṛṣā
karoti pādāv upagamya maulinā vinidramandārarajoruṇāṅgulī

He's no money, he rides on a bull,
but bull-like Indra, whose mount
is the rutting elephant of the east,
dismounts before him
and reddens his toes with the pollen
from the coral tree flowers
blooming on his crown. (Translation of Smith 2005:201).

mentioned in K. 677 was not the Rājendravarman who subsequently became king and built the Mebon temple, but rather an already deceased elder brother of Jayavarman IV who happened also to be called Rājendravarman.

In building hypothesis 4, Vickery did not doubt that K. 677 referred to the Rājendravarman who became king, and the beginning of his peroration suggests that he was perhaps also somewhat hampered by his overriding commitment to demonstrating that Jayavarman IV was not a usurper (1986:108):

> Whatever the truth about the relationships claimed in the various inscriptions relating to Rājendravarman and Jayavarman IV, and however varied the possible genealogies reconstructible from them, one thing is clear. Jayavarman IV belonged to the royal dynasty and was not considered an usurper under the prevailing rules of the time.

There are indeed, as Vickery has mentioned, yet more permutations that could be or have been considered possible. But rather than give an exhaustive presentation, perhaps we may conclude this geneaological discussion with Claude Jacques' **hypothesis** 5, which he presents as a family tree whose links are not all fully discussed (2014:32). Here (as in hypothesis 3) Rājendravarman and Harṣavarman II are still parallel cousins through their mothers, respectively Mahendradevī and Jayadevī, who are still sisters to each other, but they are not sisters to Yaśovarman I. Instead Jayavarman IV is presented as marrying both an unnamed sister of Yaśovarman I and also Jayadevī, upon whom he fathered Harṣavarman II. This is possible, since we only know Jayavarman IV to have been brother-in-law to Yaśovarman I from this stanza of K. 286, which does not reveal the name of Yaśovarman I' sister:

> XXXV.
> pītṛṣvasus tasya patiḥ paṭiṣṭhaś śriyojvalaś śrījayavarmmanāmā
> śriyāṃ vibhūtyā bhuvanatrayasya sthānaṃ purī yena kṛtā mahimnā
>
> The extremely clever husband of the sister of his [viz. Īśānavarman II's] father [namely Yaśovarman I], brilliant with [royal] glory, named Śrī-Jayavarman [IV], created, thanks to his greatness, a city that was the residence of all the glories of the triple cosmos because of its wealth (*vibhūtyā*).

The sister of Yaśovarman whom Jayavarman IV married might therefore have been Jayadevī, or she might not. Jayadevī, the mother of Harṣavarman II, might have been a different wife.

I am inclined to adopt either hypothesis 3 or hypothesis 5, in which the relationships between Jayavarman IV, Harṣavarman II and Rājendravarman remain exactly the same, and what changes is only the ancestry of Jayadevī and Mahendradevī: in

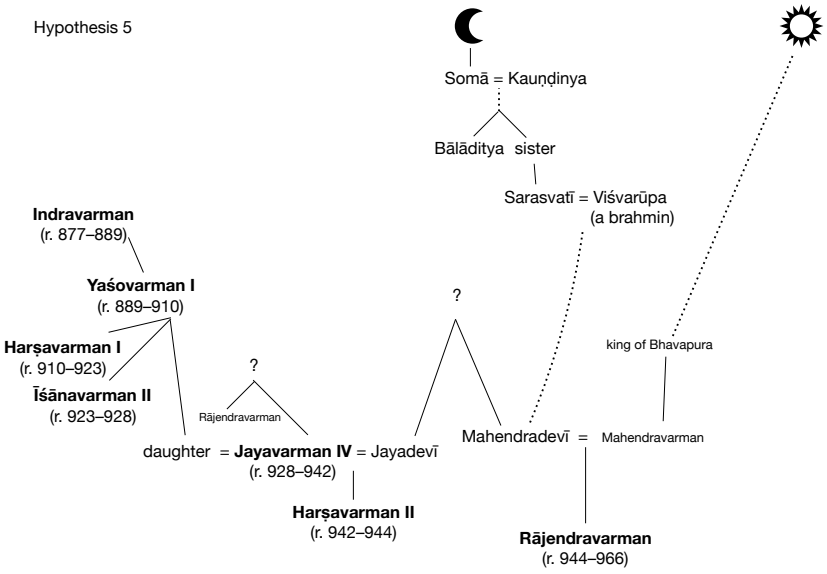

Figure 1.3: **Hypothesis 5.** This is a modified version of the figure showing hypothesis 3, adapted to show the relationships that Claude Jacques tables in his "Schéma des parentés des rois de la première moitié du X^{e} siècle" (2014:32), and using the regnal dates that he there adopts. It is possible that Claude Jacques has fully unpacked all parts of his reasoning behind this in some other publication, or that he regarded his reconstruction of this genealogy as so similar to hypothesis 3 (already defended by Cœdès) as to need little exposition. The text surrounding this "Schéma" is instead dense with speculation about Jayavarman IV's spouses and their relative ages. It reminds us (2014:33) that we know of another spouse of Jayavarman IV from K. 989, namely Narapatīndradevī (not tabled here), who gave birth to a son called Narapatīndravarman. This in turn usefully recalls that, given how many wives Jayavarman IV is likely to have had, it is something of a leap to assume that the sister of Yaśovarman mentioned in K. 286 happened to be the wife called Jayadevī.

hypothesis 3, they are sisters or half-sisters of Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II; in hypothesis 5, they are unrelated to them.

We may now return to the questions raised by our stanza 29. Rājendravarman's claim to have inherited his royal status from his father is a claim to have inherited from Mahendravarman, about whom all we know is that he was the son of a king of Bhavapura and a king in his own right, perhaps also of Bhavapura. If Rājendravarman really enjoyed a period of shared kingship, as *yuvarāja*, then it was presumably not a period of throne-sharing with the immediately previous king Harṣavarman II. This is, in any case, not how the status of *yuvarāja* is supposed to work: the *yuvarāja* should be the first-born son of an ageing king who requires assistance and wishes to assure a "normal" succession by primogeniture. Nor would it have been throne-sharing with Jayavarman IV, since we can be clear that Jayavarman IV was not his father, and since the rule of Harṣavarman II intervened. Rājendravarman might, however, have enjoyed a period of throne-sharing with his father Mahendravarman, but the throne in question would not have been that of an entire empire centred upon Yaśodharapura (Angkor), but rather that of the royal house of Bhavapura, wherever that may have been (a significant question, as we shall see below).

We may conclude then that there is a possibility that his period of being so-called *yuvarāja* was a time spent governing just Bhavapura, and that he regarded himself as acceding to the lion-throne of full power, governing an empire centred on Yaśodharapura, a little later. This full accession to power is presumably what is dated in (for instance) stanza 4 of K. 268 A (southern tower) at Bat Chum:[35]

> āsīt samastabhuvanākararatnasāra-
> tārāsphurakiraṇarañjitapādapīṭhaḥ
> somānvayo rirasamaṅgalabhūdharaś śrī-
> rājendravarmmanṛpatir vvitatāṅgadīptiḥ
>
> There was once a king, Śrī-Rājendravarman, born of the lunar race, the radiance of whose body shone forth all round, whose footstool was tinged with the corruscating rays of the stars that were the most excellent jewels from the mines of all the earth [in the diadems of vassal kings], who bore [the burden of the governance of] the earth from [the *śaka* year marked] 8 (*maṅgala*), 6 (*rasa*), 6 (*ari*).

In any case, the riddling stanza 29 of K. 528 seems after all only to imply, by way of punning word-play, that Rājendravarman's succession followed Sanskritic norms. In fact, his claim to an imperial throne may have been tenuous. It is moreover possible that the repeated claims of being Harṣavarman II's "brother" that we find in the inscriptions

[35] Another inscription that gives Rājendravarman's accession date in a similar fashion is K. 70 (in st. 4), produced by a certain Nṛpendrāyudha.

of his reign, as well as such rhetorical flights as that of stanza 29 of K. 528, were part of a conscious strategy of "spin" aimed at blurring the exact nature of his link to the throne and so creating an impression of greater legitimacy. It is possible that stanza 26 of the much later (early eleventh-century) inscription K. 598, which we examined just above, is thus a reflection of the success of such a rhetorical strategy.

1.5.1 Where was Bhavapura?

Such considerations can be seen to take on an entirely different light depending on where Bhavapura may be supposed to have been. It is possible that the Bhavapura mentioned in Rājendravarman's inscriptions was an entirely different place from the pre-Angkorian city Bhavapura, the "capital" of Bhavavarman I, in which case we have no clue as to its whereabouts. But let us provisionally assume that (as is arguably suggested by st. 9 of the twelfth-century inscription of Ta Prohm, K. 273, edited by Cœdès in 1906) the same place name was maintained through six centuries. Vickery (1998 *passim*) makes several allusions to the pre-Angkorian city of Bhavapura having been situated near Īśānapura (Sambor Prei Kuk), and various other suggestions as to its localisation have been made over the years. Pottier (2017:49–60) gives a magisterial overview of the various theories. Now it might seem that wherever this Bhavapura was situated, it need not have any bearing on Rājendravarman's presentation of his genealogy. But the hypothesis with which Pottier concludes (2017:60) is that Bhavavarman I's "capital city" was in fact centred upon the terraced "mountain-temple" of Ak Yum, now partly buried in the earthen rampart forming the Southern edge of the Western Baray in the Angkor archeological park. In other words, Bhavavarman I's "capital" might in fact have been part of what became the conurbation that came to be called Yaśodharapura. After establishing that archeological digs have revealed that Ak Yum was in fact (contrary to early propositions based on stylistic dating and finds of later epigraphs) founded early enough for this hypothesis to be conceivable, Pottier observes (2017:49–53) that inscriptions tell us that this was a temple of Śiva as Gambhīreśvara. Pottier further adduces the evidence that K. 53 (from Kdei Ang) alludes in stanza 5 to Gambhīreśvara having been the "fruit of the wish-fulfilling tree that was Bhavavarman's reign" (*śrīgambhīreśvaro yasya rājyakalpataroḥ phalam*). He further points out that the various other allusions to a Gambhīreśvara do not indisputably point to there having been also a Gambhīreśvara shrine among the temples of Sambor Prei Kuk. Thus, what appears to have been Bhavavarman's principal religious foundation, which one might reasonably expect to have been in his "capital city", might well have been at "Angkor".

Now if Bhavapura had its centre beside what became the Western Baray, then Rājendravarman's claim through his father Mahendravarman was to a kingdom beside the very place that Rājendravarman restored to the status of "capital city". This would make the presentation of his genealogy here seem a much stronger claim to wielding

power, not just within the confines of the historical city of Bhavapura, but to an empire centred upon the contiguous or enveloping city of Yaśodharapura, which he restored to glory, according to K. 268 A (southern tower), st. 13:[36]

> śrīmadyaśodharapurīñ cirakālaśūnyaṃ
> bhāsvatsuvarṇṇagṛharatnavimānaramyam
> bhūyo 'dhikāṃ bhuvi mahendragṛhopamāṃ yo
> 'yodhyāpurīm iva kuśo 'bhinavāñ cakāra
>
> The glorious city of Yaśodhara, which had long lain empty, he once again made great, delightful because of the jewelled turrets of its houses of gleaming gold, like a city of great Indra upon earth, just as Kuśa renewed the city of Ayodhyā.[37]

This localisation of Bhavapura within what is now the Greater Angkor Area might seem to reinforce Rājendravarman's genealogical claim to power, but it raises other problems. In particular: how are we then to understand the relationship between Bhavapura and Yaśodharapura? Could Rājendravarman's father Mahendravarman really have ruled

[36]Cf. also K. 806, st. 274. Another stanza that might refer to Rājendravarman's restoration of Yaśodharapura, and further to its fortification, is K. 806, st. 18, if we assume that "giver of glory" (*yaśoda*) and "bearer of glory" (*yaśodhara*) may be treated as synonyms:

> durggābhiyogād viphalīkṛtārikāṃkṣaṃ yaśodābhyudayāya dakṣam
> mahendrato labdhamahābhiṣekaṃ rarāja śaurer iva yasya vālyam
>
> His youth (*bālyam*), like that of Kṛṣṇa (*śaureḥ*), shone, having frustrated the desires of his enemies (*viphalīkṛtārikāṃkṣaṃ*) because of [the construction of] fortifications (*durggābhiyogāt*) — [youth] which was skilled in producing happiness for Yaśodā [/skilled in restoring the prosperity of Yaśoda-[pura], after receipt of the great consecration [as king] on the Mahendra[-mountain] [/ after receipt of a heavy shower from Indra / after receipt of great consecration from Mahendravarman].

In the case of Kṛṣṇa, the first line refers to his thwarting such enemies as Jarāsandha by building a new capital, Dvārakā, a *jaladurga* that could not be assailed. In the case of Rājendravarman, it perhaps refers to the fortification of parts of Yaśodharapura. Receiving a heavy shower from Indra refers to the storm unleashed upon the cow-herding people from which Kṛṣṇa protected them by holding up the Govardhana mountain.

For yet another allusion to Rājendravarman's renovation of Yaśodharapura, see stanza 7 of K. 70, quoted below in annotation to stanza 205.

[37]This recalls the story recounted in the opening of chapter 16 of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, where the city of Ayodhyā takes the form of a woman, appears at night in Kuśa's locked bedchamber, recounts her sorry abandoned condition and implores him to return to make Ayodhyā the capital of the solar dynasty once again. This emotive allusion thus serves to make the case that Khmer kings already had an unbreakable family loyalty to this particular place.

over a small town just outside the confines of the "capital" from which the much broader Khmer state was ruled by other sovereigns? Assuming once again continuity of this toponym being applied to the same place across the centuries, perhaps this is not wholly impossible, given that Bhavapura, after being founded by Bhavavarman I as his "capital", seems to have been subsequently administered by governors appointed by seventh-century kings.[38] This might have given it a relatively durable administrative status as a governorship, to which the antecedents of Rājendravarman at some point acquired an hereditary claim. And this might, by the tenth century, have been a relatively lowly rank which Rājendravarman's eulogies exaggerated out of proportion.

In much of the above discussion, it may be noticed that I have tended to put the expressions "capital" and "capital city" within inverted commas, since it seems rather likely that at an early stage of "state-formation" the "capital" was simply wherever the king chose to reside, and that that might often change. By speaking of, for instance, "Les capitales de Jayavarman II" (the title of an article by Cœdès [1928b]), we risk creating in ourselves the illusion of greater stability and centralism than is warranted. Secondary literature speaks of the "founding" of numerous "capital cities" — Bhavavarman I's Bhavapura (perhaps Ak Yum); Īśānavarman I's Īśānapura (Sambor Prei Kuk); Jayavarman I's Purandarapura (location unknown, but perhaps also in the Angkor area: see Soutif 2009b), Yaśovarman's Yaśodharapura, Jayavarman V's Jayendranagarī, and of course the various "capitals" of Jayavarman II discussed by Cœdès 1928b: Indrapura (location disputed), Hariharālaya (Roluos), Amarendrapura (perhaps near Banteay Chmar), and Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen) — but we should keep in mind that they may often have been relatively temporary royal residences that drew a courtly life around them,[39] and not closed spaces defined by heavy fortifications like Angkor Thom, which may be quite different from the capitals that preceded it and a reaction to the realisation that Angkor was no longer invincible.[40] Notice, moreover, that a few

[38] We know this from K. 1 and from K. 1150, for a fresh edition of which see Goodall 2019.

[39] This point is made by Cœdès in conclusion to his article on Jayavarman II's capitals (1928b:123):

> … s'il est vrai que Jayavarman II fut un grand roi en ce sens qu'il refit l'unité du Cambodge et régna longtemps, il dut avoir au retour de son séjour en pays étranger des débuts difficiles, et ses continuels changements de résidence donnent l'impression d'une cour nomade, à la recherche du site favorable à la fondation d'une capitale définitive, et vivant en attendant dans des constructions en matériaux légers dont rien n'est parvenu jusqu'à nous.

Cœdès here appears to connect the nomadism of Jayavarman II's court with the special difficulties that that particular king supposedly faced, but it seems possible that royal courts in this period simply were typically nomadic, and that palaces (which is perhaps what we really mean by "capitals" in this context) were therefore typically constructed of light materials.

[40] Thus Pottier (2003:205):

of the "capitals" in the above list were in or beside what is now the Greater Angkor Area: it seems clear (as we have seen from the above-cited stanza of K. 268) that by Rājendravarman's time at least, and possibly considerably earlier, this area had acquired the reputation of being the proper seat of power for Khmer kings. And whether or not Bhavavarman or Yaśovarman or Jayavarman II could be said to have "founded" it, at least a part of the area in question had come to be known as Yaśodharapura.

1.5.2 Sun and Moon, Patriline and Matriline, Brahmin and Kṣatriya

A further and less significant caveat should also be mentioned. It is certainly tempting to assume that the Bhavapura ruled by Rājendravarman's father was the same as the pre-Angkorian "capital" established by Bhavavarman I, but it should be noticed that Mahendravarman is described (in stanza 12) as belonging to the solar race (*bhāsvadvaṃśa*), whereas his mother Mahendradevī, and therefore also Indravarman, Yaśovarman and the others, belonged to the lunar line (see the pun on Somā/*soma* in stanza 11). And it is only to the lunar race (*somavaṃśa*) that pre-Angkorian kings attached themselves. We see this claim to lunar ancestry made not infrequently from the inscriptions of Bhavavarman II onwards (e.g. K. 733, st. 3), and there is one allusion (in K. 1142) to the lunar race having already been that of Īśānavarman I and of his antecedent Jayavarman, perhaps the unnumbered sixth-century pre-Angkorian sovereign who was the predecessor of the Rudravarman who appears in K. 40 (see Cœdès 1931:8), who might also be the same person as the husband of Kulaprabhāvatī mentioned in K. 875 (published in Cœdès 1937).[41] So if Rājendravarman's claim to belong to the royal house of Bhavapura is intended as an implicit claim to being descended from Bhavavarman, then it would be odd that he should insist on his father Mahendravarman being of solar descent. Could the pretention to solar ancestry be a relatively incidental embellishment added by Rājendravarman and with no antecedence?

It would appear that Rājendravarman's claim to being of lunar descent, through his mother, was more important to him than his being of solar descent, for in his peroration

> À l'opposé, fortement délimitée par son enceinte et sa large douve, Angkor Thom n'apparaît plus guère comme un représentant fidèle de l'urbanisme angkorien. Elle constitue plutôt une rupture brutale qui sonne le glas des déplacements de la capitale, et un achèvement en se fixant dans son enceinte pour plus de deux siècles. Si elle reprend des principes employés dans les cités précédentes, elle invente une nouvelle forme urbaine fermée probablement liée à l'apprentissage dramatique, en 1177, qu'Angkor n'est plus invincible.

[41] These identifications would not be compatible with the interpretation of Claude Jacques, who has published the first seven stanzas of K. 1142 (2007:47–53), but Éric Bourdonneau has shown me (in an email of 13.xi.2006) that the genealogy must certainly be understood differently and we plan to republish that inscription, including the stray fragments that can be read beyond its seventh stanza.

he mentions only his lunar ancestry (stanza 206), and we have seen it emphasised alone in the stanza of K. 268 quoted just above. Of course this may be because, in spite of what is implied about his status being paternal in stanza 29, it was through his mother that he claimed a right to the throne. But it is worth emphasising that even his mother's ancestry is presented as a matriline reaching back to the mythical Somā, daughter (as we learn in K. 1142, st. 1) of the Moon. Why did he not present more of his mother's patriline? One is led to suspect that he thought that his own maternal ancestry was more important, and perhaps that maternal ancestry generally was simply more important anyway.

His claim to being *brahma-kṣatra*, a blend of both brahmin and *kṣatriya*, also comes to him through his mother, apparently because her ancestor Sarasvatī married the brahmin Viśvarūpa (the claim that Somā married Kauṇḍinya, presumably another brahmin, seems not to have been pointed up as relevant). Another celebrated Khmer case from the same period of an important personage claiming the status of *brahmakṣatra* is Yajñavarāha (see K. 619, st. 27), guru of Rājendravarman and then of his son Jayavarman V. But there is also one earlier royal figure who makes the claim, namely Jayavarman I *bis*, the eighth-century monarch whose rule intervened at some time between that of the late seventh-century Jayavarman I and that of the ninth-century Jayavarman II (K. 1236, an inscription of the reign of Jayavarman I *bis*, is dated to 763 CE: see Goodall 2015:74–76). The inscriptions where this claim is made are K. 134 (st. 1), the text that first led Cœdès to suppose the existence of Jayavarman I *bis* (*IC* II, p. 92); K. 1417 (side B, st. III and side A, st. VI, using the expressions *dvijakṣatra* and *viprakṣatra*), an unpublished pre-Angkorian inscription with two sides in Sanskrit and one in Khmer, issued by a Jayavarman, and which seems, on paleographic grounds, to belong to the eighth century; and K. 1294, an inscription on a silver pot published by Dominique Soutif and Julia Estève (forthcoming) that also seems likely to belong to the eighth century and that describes the king, again a Jayavarman, with the expression *vrahmakṣitīśa*.[42]

[42] For further discussion of the way in which several Khmer kings claimed to be both brahmin and *kṣatriya*, see section 5 of Goodall forthcoming B. Such claims are well known from the Indian subcontinent too (see Sircar 1966:61, s.v. *brahmakṣatra*), but they appear sometimes to be based on what Francis (2017:270) calls *dharmasaṃkara* (a mixing of the obligations of brahmins and *kṣatriya*s), rather than on claims of miscegenation, in other words what Francis calls *varṇasaṃkara*: see chapter 8, "Les aïeux mythiques", of Francis 2017 (pp. 331–356). Chattopadhyaya has suggested (2012:74) that *brahmakṣatra* was often a transitional status enabling kings of bramin descent "to legitimize their new *kṣatriya* role".

1.6 Who built the Mebon temple?

This book is not the place for sumptuous photographs and for detailed description and discussion of the architecture and iconography of the Mebon temple. For such an account, readers are referred to the many guide-books that have been produced for visitors of the Angkor Archeological Park, and to the handsome illustrated volumes of, for instance, Claude Jacques (1999, 2004). But we may briefly present here what we know about who constructed the temple. As mentioned above, it was commissioned by King Rājendravarman to house a *liṅga* of Śiva called Rājendreśvara in its central tower, and statues of Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Giriśa (Śiva) and Brahmā in the four outer sanctuary towers of the quincunx (st. 218 and st. 14 of the Southern tower of Bat Chum[43]), these towers all being configured in a quincunx arrangement that has precedents in India, where it is sometimes referred to as reflecting a *pañcāyatana* scheme of worship.[44] Perhaps because the ground would have been softened by its being in the middle of the lake, the height of the terraced mountain upon which these towers sit is considerably lower than, for instance, that of the Pre Rup temple, and its tightly recessed gateways might be another concession to the constraints of building upon an island. Such structural decisions may be attributed to the royal architect, and that architect's name, exceptionally, is known to us, since he has left us another monument, Bat Chum, made up of three sanctuary-towers containing inscriptions on their doorjambs that sing his praises. He was a skilled craftsman of Buddhist allegiance called Kavīndrārimathana, who was commissioned by the king to build a palace in Yaśodharapura and a temple inside the Yaśodharataṭāka (K. 268, Northern tower, st. 34–35):

> yaśodharapure ramyaṃ mandiraṃ vibudhapriyaḥ
> śilpavid viśvakarmeva yo 'nenendreṇa kāritaḥ
> preraṇe sarvalokasya yaḥ śailādikṛtau kṛtī
> yaśodharataṭākasya madhye rājñā niyojitaḥ
>
> That prince [*scil.* Rājendravarman] caused him [*scil.* Kavīndrārimathana], who was as skilled in crafts as Viśvakarman, dear to the learned (/to the

[43] K. 268, southern tower, st. 14:

> śrīmadyaśodharatatākapayodhimadhye meros samānaśikhare svakṛte mahādrau
> prāsādasaudhagṛharatnacite viriñcadevīśaśārṅgiśivaliṅgam atiṣṭhipad yaḥ
>
> In the middle of the water-body that is the glorious Yaśodhara tank, on a great hill that he made, whose peaks are similar to those of Meru, which is set with jewels that are the stucco[-covered] buildings of a temple, he installed Brahmā, the Goddess, Īśa, Viṣṇu and a *śivaliṅga*.

[44] For discussion of examples of *pañcāyatana* temples on the Indian subcontinent dating from the eighth century onwards, see Reitz 1996 and 1998.

> gods), to create an agreeable dwelling in Yaśodharapura. This same (*yaḥ*) skillful man (*kṛtī*) was employed by the king to direct (*preraṇe*)[45] all the people [engaged] in making the mountain and so forth in the middle of the Yaśodhara-tank.

1.7 On the statuary installed in the Mebon temple?

We do not learn much about the principal sculptures from the inscription, and they are no longer at the site. Stanza 207 supplies the information that the statues of Śiva and Gaurī (*śivayoḥ*) were for the benefit of Rājendravarman's parents, and stanza 208 appears to tell us that the statue of Viṣṇu was of a four-armed form, and that there were a further eight *liṅga*s that instantiated Śiva's eight "bodies" (*aṣṭamūrti*). Haendel's article of 2005 usefully brings together all the textual and material evidence that she could find that throws light on the images that would once have been worshipped in the temple. About this last-mentioned set of eight *liṅga*s she explains that they were ranged in small towers in the cardinal and intermediate directions around the central platform (Haendel 2005:218):

> Physical evidence for them is present mainly in the form of pedestals in the eight small brick towers surrounding the central platform. These pedestals are 60 centimeters square and 44 centimeters high, with an octagonal hole in the top piece to fit the octagonal central part of the *liṅga*. At present, these pedestals are in situ in the *prasats* in the east-south, south-west, and west-north towers, with four additional ones in the central sanctuary. Three of them still have a top piece with an octagonal hole (east-south and south-west towers, and one inside the central sanctuary); in 1935 the two eastern towers still bore their *liṅgas*.

One might have expected the central *liṅga* to be a massive object in stone that could have survived with little damage until the present day, but it is lost (Haendel 2005:217):

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[45] Cœdès (1908:251) appears instead to understand that the king was instigated by everybody to employ Kavīndrārimathana:

> À l'instigation de tout le monde, ce serviteur fut chargé par le roi de construire un rocher, et autres (édifices) au milieu de l'étang de Yaśodhara.

Mertens follows him in this assumption but construes the whole slightly differently (2005:108):

> … er wurde als ein (darin) Erfahrener (*kṛtī*) auf Betreiben der gesamten Welt vom König angewiesen, inmitten des Sees von Yaśodhara(pura) einen Berg usz. zu schaffen.

> Nothing remains of the central Śrī Rājendreśvara *liṅga*, and it is probable that it was looted. However, parts of its pedestal were assembled outside the central sanctuary by the restoration team of the Conservation d'Angkor in 1935 from pieces scattered around the platform (fig. 3). The pedestal is 180 centimeters square and 90 centimeters high, and the extant top piece clearly shows an octagonal hole at the center, once intended to hold a *liṅga*. The pedestal would have fit easily into the approximately 190-centimeter-square indentation in the floor of the central sanctuary.

Haendel's figure 3 indeed shows a fragmented, composite pedestal, whose uppermost spouted layer — what Brunner (1998:xviii–xix, 210–212, fn. 82, and 1998b[46]) distinguishes as the *piṇḍikā* proper — was square and had an octagonal hole in its centre.

Of the four sculpted figures that once stood in the four outer towers of the quincunx, we have no images to show (Haendel 2005:217–218):

> As for the images themselves, only evidence for the Brahmā exists. During the restoration of the southeast corner *prasat* a round pedestal was found, similar to those found in the temples of Phnom Krom, Phnom Bok, and Trapeang Pong which supported statues of Brahmā. The remains of the pedestal can still be seen today, as well as its round *yonī* [sic], which lies broken at the base of the central platform (figs. 4a, b). In addition, the restoration reports mention fragments of a Brahmā head with four faces found on the platform north of the southeast tower, and fragments of a male statue south of the east stairs of the central platform. Due to their proximity to the *yonī* [sic] these fragments may be parts of the original Brahmā image. Unfortunately, no photographs exist of either the head or the other pieces, but according to the restoration report of November 1935 the head at least was stylistically contemporary with the temple. When I visited the Conservation d'Angkor it was impossible to find any of these fragments, so a definitive identification of the pieces cannot be made at this point. The inventory of the Conservation d'Angkor also notes that a standing image of Brahmā with four arms was found at the East Mebon. Unfortunately, no further details are given, but the image, now in Siem Reap, may have originally been placed in the southeast shrine.

What Haendel here calls a *yonī* is a multi-layered round pedestal, whose uppermost layer was a spouted collar of stone, like the *piṇḍikā* for a *liṅga*, except that the central hole is round (and not octagonal to accomodate the central octagonal section of the *liṅga*'s shaft).

[46] For further discussion of the *piṇḍikā*, see Goodall 2017b:55ff.

Other than these thirteen objects of worship (nine *liṅga*s and four scultpures) explicitly mentioned in K. 528, there are two other surviving sculptures that may have been worshipped and which Haendel assumes to be contemporary with the foundation, one a statue of Gaṇeśa of 70 cm in height, and the other a block of stone featuring seven seated sages with bands (*yogapaṭṭa*) round their knees on one side, and with a sequence of nine deities and their mounts, of the type sometimes known as *navagraha* on the other side (Haendel 2005:239).[47]

The displaced upper part of one handsome *balipīṭha* has also survived. This block of stone has its flat top carved in delicate shallow relief to show the contours of a pericarp and eight surrounding petals of a stylised lotus. I owe this information, as well as the photograph in figure 1.5, to Sophie Biard, who showed images of this object in her online lecture on the iconography of the Eastern Mebon temple at the Centre for Khmer Studies on 21.v.2021. Examples of such *balipīṭha*s are of course plentiful in South India (though with very different stylisations of the eight-petalled lotus), and may be seen, for instance, at Banteay Srei[48] and in the museum at Vat Phu. There may once have been several such *balipīṭha*s suitably disposed outside the entrances to several of the shrines.[49]

Some iconographically intriguing carving can be found on the decoratively carved sandstone lintels have been preserved, but the tympana above them on the doorways and false doorways of the five towers of the central quincunx, where one might expect to see elaborately carved mythological scenes, are blank expanses of brick. Presumably they were once covered with colourful decoration, but executed in plaster, which has long since been lost.

1.8 Who maintained the Mebon foundation and for how long?

In contrast with slightly earlier grand royal foundations, such as those of Jayavarman IV at Koh Ker (see Chhom 2011 and Jacques 2014) or those of Lolei (see Soutif 2009a), we learn nothing here about the team of slaves (*dāsa* and *dāsī*), distinguished by their various functions (dancers, singers, musicians, chefs, florists, servants, parasol-bearers, cattle-herders, cultivators of rice, and so forth) who must have been attached to this

[47] For further discussion of these "Neuf Devas", see Bhattacharya 1964.

[48] For the shapes and disposition of the *balipīṭha*s at Banteay Srei, see Bruguier, Chevance and Cunin 2020:333–334. In a message of 22.v.2021, Sophie Biard alludes to another, apparently unpublished, that is to be found "déposé au coin nord-est du trapeang au nord du groupe des Preah Pithu à Angkor Thom".

[49] For such "altar"-like stones intended for leaving out *bali*-offerings to appease other potentially threatening divine beings and to draw them away from the principal shrines, see TAK4, s.v. *balipīṭha*.

huge temple for all the innumerable tasks required to keep it running.[50] Such an omission is of course not abnormal for an inscription entirely in Sanskrit. But there is also no accompanying Khmer text detailing the endowment, for either of the two most substantial foundations of Rājendravarman, namely the Śaiva temples of Mebon and Pre Rup. Were such Khmer texts never produced for these temples, or have they simply been lost? Lustig and Lustig observe that there is a generally observable diminution across the whole Khmer region in the tendency to produce long lists of personnel, after a peak in the ninth and early tenth centuries (2013:57–58). In any case, we may assume that Rājendravarman endowed the Mebon temple richly, for he mentions this in a flowery bitextual stanza towards the end of K. 528 (st. 209), and we may assume that this endowment included a large personnel. This assumption is arguably further shored up by stanza 210, which tells us that he laid down the rules of worship in the temple, which were based upon what is taught in Śaiva, Vedic and Smṛti literature, or perhaps by "what is taught in Śaiva scripture and in Smṛti" (*śaivaśrutismṛtyudita*). The implication is that, like certain other Khmer kings, such as Sūryavarman I, he may have actually composed some sort of ritual manual, a *paddhati* or *kalpa* (suggested by the use of the verb *kalpayām āsa*) specifically for the conduct of worship in the Mebon temple.[51] This sort of arrangement naturally implies that he personally involved himself in putting in place the personnel who were to run the temple. Presumably there must have been lands too, to keep the temple supplied with produce, although they cannot simply have been lands immediately surrounding the temple, since it occupied an island.

Nonetheless, it is perhaps worth mentioning another speculative consideration that might explain the absence of mention of slaves, namely that in the case of the conurbation around Yaśodharapura, the lands might all already have received their allotments of slaves a few generations ago, and so the descendants of those slaves might simply have been reassigned, without the need for engraving legal declarations, to man the foundations built in those areas. The great lists of slaves that we find earlier at Lolei and Koh Ker in the ninth and early tenth centuries are so enormous perhaps because they were produced at a moment when hereditary slaves were for the first time being

[50] There is a considerable secondary literature on "slavery" in ancient Cambodia, but a good starting point is perhaps Vickery's enlightening presentation (1999) of the inscriptions of Roluos, where some of the longest lists of personnel (he prefers not to call them "slaves") are to be found, then, particularly for comparison with the evidence in Sanskrit sources from the Indian subcontinent, the remarks of Sanderson (2004:395–401). More recently, there is the essay of Jacques in his book on Koh Ker(2014:44–77), and the broad analytical survey of Eileen Lustig and Terry Lustig 2013.

[51] Sanderson (2004:353–377) discusses three mentions of Cambodian Śaiva *paddhati*s, two of them composed by Khmer kings (one of them being that in a famous passage of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, K. 235, st. 25–29), which he contextualises at some length with some exploration of the sorts of *paddhati*s that were produced in other regions.

apportioned to lands that, although no doubt not all virgin tracts of soil, were freshly being claimed for cultivation and settlement according to a newly ordered pattern.

Comparable moments of settlement or re-settlement might also have been recorded even after the reign of Rājendravarman, for instance for Dvijendrapura (Vat Preah Einkosei, within what is today Siem Reap), but they were perhaps not necessary in Rājendravarman's time for the area to the South of the Yaśodharataṭāka, since that had already been settled and so tied to its teams of bonded labourers.[52] (This line of speculation was suggested to me in conversation by Charlotte Schmid, who observed that similar arguments have been made about donations of land to brahmins, in the form of *agrahāra*-villages, becoming less frequent after the Pallava period because there was so much less virgin land to be claimed for agriculture and animal husbandry.)

How long the foundation remained active is also not clear. For some sites, we have evidence, from later epigraphs or from structural alterations, of a lasting occupation centuries after construction. But perhaps these tend to be sites which were already or soon became magnets of popular devotion. An obvious case is the site of Śiva Bhadreśvara at Vat Phu, which was recognised as a numinous mountain already in the fifth century, as K. 365 bears witness, and its Śaiva shrine clearly continued to attract royal patronage in the seventh-century, as the partly pre-Angkorian structure and K. 367 attest, and was still attracting royal endowments and improvements throughout the Angkorian period, as for example K. 1320 shows, for the reign of Īśānavarman II in the early tenth century, and K. 1222 (West face, st. 26), for the reign of Tribhuvanādityavarman in the mid-twelfth.[53] In the Mebon inscription too (K. 528, st. 203), the hyperbolic boast is made that it seemed as though it was at Rājendravarman's initiative that Bhadreśvara could be said to have become truly endowed for the first time.

[52] The temple of Pre Rup, according to Jacques (1999:75), was built on the site of one of the four *āśrama*s that Yaśovarman built around his great tank, whereas Christophe Pottier (2003:199–208) has hypothesised that the Śaiva *āśrama* that had to be destroyed to construct the temple of Pre Rup did not occupy exactly the same site, but was instead situated on what is now a slightly raised rectangular platform a little to the east of the temple of Pre Rup. The "Mission Yaśodharāśrama", a collaborative archeological project launched in 2010 to clarify the history of the *āśrama*s of Yaśovarman, has, however, not found traces that would indicate the presence of an *āśrama* of the time of Yaśovarman on the site of this low platform: all this is presented, along with a succinct discussion of the sequence of hypotheses of the various archeologists and epigraphists about the functions and locations of these *āśrama*s, by Chea (2018:101–120). Increased density around Pre Rup is in any case certain (Pottier 2000:104).

[53] Much has been written about the centrality of Vat Phu to Khmer religiosity: for a brief but richly detailed discussion, see Sanderson 2004:409–412. For K. 1320, see Goodall and Jacques 2014 and, for an English translation, Goodall 2017. As for K. 1222, a four-faced stela from Phnom Dei or Phnom Bei (just outside the archeological park of Angkor) that bears a Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Tribhuvanādityavarman (a successor of Sūryavarman II who tends not to figure in popular accounts of Cambodian regnal history), an edition and translation have been prepared and will soon be published.

And Rājendravarman's great generosity to Bhadreśvara is reiterated in the Pre Rup inscription (K. 806, st. 270–271, discussed by Sanderson 2004:417–418). Other than such sacred sites, one can imagine that some *āśrama*s, since they were constructed to be self-sustaining socially cohesive communities that supported learning, may have had long lives. Another enduring establishment, perhaps because it too found social usefulness,[54] was evidently Banteay Srei, as the pair of inscriptions K. 568 and K. 569 show, for they date from the beginning of the fourteenth century (1228 *śaka*) and refer back to the tenth-century founder Yajñavarāha.

But what of such vast personal projects of the king as the Eastern Mebon temple, constructed for the merit of Rājendravarman's parents (st. 206–207), perhaps as part of a grandiose configuration in which Pre Rup and the Mebon temple were consciously alligned on a North-South axis, Pre Rup being just a few hundred metres to the South, and the Mebon and the old palace were alligned on an East-West axis, with the old palace (centred on the structure known today as the Phimeneakas) lying a few kilometres to the West.[55] Were such personal projects of kings typically as long-lived?

I do not know what evidence there might be for the longevity of the Mebon as a thriving temple-foundation. In the case of Pre Rup, six extra sanctuary-towers were

[54]The foundational inscription of Banteay Srei, K. 842, reveals that, far from being "just a temple", it had the beginnings of a carefully produced library (st. 30), and that it was to serve both as a place of hospitality and education (st. 38), and also as the seat of whoever should be chosen as the Śaiva chaplain of subsequent kings (st. 39). Since Cœdès' interpretation of this passage is different, it is worth quoting and retranslating stanzas 38–39 here:

> kulasya patyā kartavyam ātithyaṃ bhojanādikam
> adhyāpakena cācchinnaṃ vrahmasatram atandriṇā ||
> yo mataḥ kamvujendrasya śaivācāryyo 'graṇīr guruḥ
> tadadhīnam idan devakulaṃ rakṣyaṃ yathāvidhi ||
>
> The head of the temple (*kulasya*) should perform the duties of welcoming uninvited guests (*ātithyam*), consisting in offering them food and the like, and there should be an unbroken festival of learning (*brahmasattram*) [offered] by an untiring teacher (*adhyāpakena*). This temple (*devakulam*) should be placed under the authority of one (*tadadhīnam*) who is highly regarded (*mataḥ*) by the king of the Kambujas (*kamvujendrasya*), a Śaiva Master, a prominent guru. It should be protected according to due rules.

Note that the second of these stanzas has been quoted and translated in a recent discussion of similar "job-description" stanzas elsewhere in the corpus (Goodall 2020d:196–197).

[55]According to Jacques' speculation (1999:70–71), Rājendravarman "doubtless installed himself in the old royal palace", but he "abandoned Yaśovarman I's capital, perhaps because it was in too ruinous a state after having been deserted for 20 years", to build a palace, now entirely disappeared, on the South bank of the Eastern Baray. That palace may have been sandwiched between the Mebon temple and that of Pre Rup, as Guy Nafilyan's drawing, printed with Jacques' text, seems to suggest.

later added to the East but left unfinished.[56] And a three-stanza Vaiṣṇava inscription in Sanskrit from the end of the eleventh century (at the earliest) proves that at least the sanctuary-tower of the Northeast corner of the summit was still being used for worship a century after Rājendravarman's death.[57] There is also a later inscription in the Southeast tower, but of the seventeenth century and recording acts of Buddhist piety,[58] which shows that the monument was still being used in 1684 CE, but for socio-religious purposes unrelated to the intentions of its founder.[59]

There may be no such strong evidence of the continuity of use of the Mebon temple. Among the sculpted objects of uncertain date that do not correspond to the thirteen iconic and aniconic substrates of worship explicitly mentioned in the conclusion of the inscription, there were fragments of a statue of Pārvatī of 155 cm in height, which was at first taken to be the statue of Gaurī mentioned in st. 207 and 218, but which HAENDEL (2005:240) believes should be dated later, to the Bayon period, on stylistic grounds. If HAENDEL is right about this, then it could be evidence of sustained maintenance of the temple, since it is conceivable that the original image of Gaurī became cracked or damaged and therefore needed replacing, and this might have been the replacement sculpture. But it is of course also possible that this is an unrelated later image of a goddess. Indeed, the presence of one or two such artefacts of later date seems hardly conclusive, since there is a tendency to gather up loose sculptures found lying about and to bring them into temples.

One line of speculation that offers a possible motivation for the gradual abandonment of just the Mebon temple is opened up by STERN (1934:614), who, musing about why Rājendravarman should have wished to construct, at Pre Rup, a second great Śaiva temple just thirteen years after the first, suggests that the island location of the first might have been judged inconvenient for certain ceremonies.[60] But st. 205

[56] Thus JACQUES and LAFOND 2004:201: "Après la mort de Rājendravarman, on a ajouté les six tours sanctuaires, à l'est, restées inachevées."

[57] The inscription in question is K. 527 (CŒDÈS 1943), which is damaged and not dated, but which begins with praise of Viṣṇu and then of Jayavarman VI, whose accession date is mentioned, namely 1002 *śaka* (1080 CE). JACQUES and LAFOND report instead that the inscription in question is in the Southeast corner (2004:201): "Une inscription de la fin du XI^{e} siècle montre qu'au moins la tour de l'angle sud-est du sommet était encore utilisée pour faire le culte." (There is in fact also an inscription in the Southeast corner, which we are about to come to.) In spite of the evidence of the eleventh-century Vaiṣṇava inscription, JACQUES and LAFOND nonetheless speak of the Pre Rup temple having been abandoned already in the reign of Rājendravarman's son (2004:203): "La construction de ce temple d'État a été entreprise par le roi Jayavarman V après l'abandon du temple de Prè Rup."

[58] That inscription is K. 264, published in *NIC* I, pp. 36–39.

[59] Similarly, the central shrine of the Mebon shrine today now houses what appears to be a modern statue of the Buddha that some worship. But this is of course not evidence of continuity of worship from the tenth through into the twenty-first century.

[60] 'La position du Méb˘òn orientale dans une île, position qui devait gêner certaines céré-

(of K. 528) makes this unlikely, since it seems to refer to the *liṅga* and four principal statues of the Pre Rup foundation as already installed, which suggests that the Pre Rup temple was not merely planned but was in fact already well underway at the time of the inauguration of the Mebon. So both temples may have been part of Rājendravarman's original conception.

According to Claude Jacques (1999:81), Rājendravarman's "capital city" beside the Pre Rup temple was soon abandoned by his son Jayavarman V, who constructed a new one, called Jayendranagarī, on the western bank of the same Yaśodharataṭāka. Here he is thought to have begun a "palace, of which nothing now remains apart from the sandstone landing stage built exactly in the middle of the western embankment of the baray" (Jacques 1999:81) and, behind that to the South-West, another "state temple" in the form of a terraced "mountain", the Hemaśṛṅgagiri, known today as Ta Keo. Jayavarman V's own state temple was evidently never finished and appears to have been only half used for a few decades (Jacques 2004:203). Perhaps a short life-span was rather to be expected for such personal royal projects, especially given unstable politics, uncertain successions and a worldview in which the merit incurred by creating a fresh foundation seems to have been greater than that of maintaining an old one. The magniloquent exhortation to future kings of the Kambujas to protect the foundation at the end of the inscription (K. 528, st. 212–217) suggests that Rājendravarman was well aware of the fragility of his bid for immortality through his monuments.

1.9 Rājendravarman and the Khmer "empire"

Along with Jacques' speculations about Rājendravarman's leaving Bhavapura[61] and shifting the centre of power back to Yaśodharapura because of his "admiration" of Yaśovarman,[62] we also find speculation about Rājendravarman's radical administrative reforms and changes to the empire in a section of his 1999 book *Angkor* entitled "The kingdoms became provinces". Basing himself partly on the observation that

monies, le dévéloppement de la cité religieuse dans l'Est de l'Étang, pourraient, tout autant que des conceptions dogmatiques, fournir des hypothèses tendant à expliquer cette construction.' Stern (1934:6214).

[61] Jacques 1999:70: "The small kingdom of Bhavapura, founded by King Bhavavarman around Sambor Prei Kuk in the center of Cambodia during the 6th century, seems to have remained largely independent of the "supreme kings" up till this point. About 940 the king of Bhavapura, Rajendravarman, a ruler who was clearly full of energy and who had succeeded his father Mahendravarman some years earlier, decided that he was going to ascend the supreme throne."

[62] Jacques 1999:70: "A great admirer of Yashovarman I, Rajendravarman planned to rebuild from scratch the capital of the Khmer empire on the site of Angkor." Cf. similar assertions in Jacques and Lafond 2004:201.

"provinces" (*viṣaya*) begin to appear in the epigraphical record around this time,[63] Jacques assumed that their creation was a deliberate policy consciously put in place by Rājendravarman to help him subjugate recalcitrant rivals (Jacques, 1999:71):

> [Rājendravarman] was evidently very badly received right from the start and he had to deal with rebellions throughout his reign. First he had to gain control of those kingdoms that had separated from the empire during previous reigns. Presumably it was because this proved very difficult that he adopted the drastic measure of simply turning all the Khmer kingdoms into *vishaya*, provinces. Doubtless this radical reform was not welcomed by the rulers of these territories, who were formerly his equals.

We do not learn anything specific about any rebellions from the Mebon inscription (only that Rājendravarman was purportedly strong on the battlefield and fought off many enemies, claims that are regularly made for almost every Khmer sovereign), and we learn nothing at all about the administrative units known as *viṣaya*. But we have, since Jacques' book of 1999, learnt that the creation of provinces called *viṣaya* in fact predated Rājendravarman's reign by at least a quarter of a century, since there are five mentions of provincial administrators in K. 1320, the Vat Phu taxation edict of Īśānavarman II (Goodall and Jacques 2014). There we learn of a record-keeper or letter-writer of the province known as a *viṣayalekhaka* (st. 86) and of "such officials as provincial governors" (*viṣayādhipādyaiḥ*, st. 92). Furthermore, it is clear that that inscription is not simply talking of the immediately surrounding region as "the" *viṣaya*, for we hear of provincial governors in the plural (*viṣayādhyakṣaiḥ*), implying the existence of a plurality of provinces, in st. 83, a stanza which mandates exactly what visiting provincial governors should bring as offerings to Bhadreśvara on the occasions when they came to prostrate before him.

Jacques (1999:71) goes on to observe that Rājendravarman "also waged war beyond the frontiers of his empire", citing as example the burning of the city of the king of Campā by soldiers under his orders, which is alluded to in st. 146 of K. 528. Jacques remarks (1999:71) that this "description is very vague, because most Cham cities were not far from the sea, but at any rate the city in question was a long way from Rajendravarman's base". Wherever the city was, it now appears that this was not in fact just an isolated reference to a hit-and-run raid well beyond the frontier, since there are two other allusions to the Chams in K. 528,[64] one to another military encounter

[63] Jacques (1972:199) "…*viṣaya* n'apparaît pas dans l'épigraphie khmère avant le règne de Rājendravarman". In a footnote there, however, Jacques signals that he is aware of an occurrence of the term in st. 11 of K. 853 (of 811 *śaka*), but which he regarded as a non-technical usage.

[64] There are further allusions to Rājendravarman's harrying of Campā in the Pre Rup inscription (K. 806, st. 272) and in that of the central tower of Bat Chum (K. 268, st. 21).

(st. 182), and the other (st. 108, whose end FINOT had been unable to read), appears to claim that Rājendravarman had obtained Chams as additional subjects. This seems to mean that Rājendravarman, at least at the time of the composition of K. 528, boasted regnal control over at least some part of Campā. Whereas for JACQUES (1999:71), Rājendravarman "certainly seems to have managed, without much difficulty, to regain control of all the territory Yashovarman I had ruled", it seems as though here in st. 108 Rājendravarman laid claim to having actually extended the region of control.

1.10 Summary of the inscription

FACE A

1–4 Invocation of Śiva (with Gaurī in st. 3) as both mantra and god of legend.

5 Invocation of Nārāyaṇa.

6 Invocation of Brahmā.

7 Invocation of Gaṅgā.

8–13 Genealogy, culminating in the birth of Rājendravarman from Mahendradevī.

14–19 Praise of Rājendravarman's solar and lunar qualities.

20 As a youth (*kumāra*), he took up a spear (punning allusion to Śaiva initiation).

21–25 Rājendravarman's education and martial training.

26–28 His beauty.

29 Rājendravarman inherited the status of crown prince (*yuvarāja*) from the paternal side.

30–38 Rājendravarman's consecration [as crown-prince?].

39–45 Rājendravarman is described setting out on military campaign.

46–48 He captures cities and vanquishes his enemies.

49–58 Rājendravarman's prowess in battle as an archer.

59 His prowess in battle with a spear (*śakti*).

60–61 His fearlessness in battle.

62–63 His prowess in battle with a sword.

64 ?

65–67 His skill as a tactician.

68–71 Victorious, he was generous; his enemies were abject in defeat, and their territories became jungle.

72–74 His fame spread everywhere and he nourished the earth.

75–76 Rājendravarman ascended his lion-throne in majesty.

77–94 His upright and propitious rule fostered prosperity, justice, learning, etc.

95–102 His beauty and virtues.

103 His exclusive devotion to Śiva.

FACE B

104–111 His similarity to various gods and figures of legend in beauty and virtues.

112 Dharma leans upon him for support.

113–120 His valour in battle earned him the Śrī of his enemies.

121 Viṣṇu is unfavourably compared to him.

122–123 More on his valour in battle.

124 Śiva is unfavourably compared to him.

125–126 His sacrifices.

127–129 Just as he was valorous, so too he was virtuous.

130 His exclusive devotion to Śiva again.

131–132 He was irresistibly beautiful to women, while terrifying to enemies.

133–135 Like a gentle bridegroom, he ruled the earth justly and won the hearts of all, so that the gods could withdraw to rest.

136–141 The glory of his enemies came to him; their cities were emptied and destroyed; they fled to the wilderness.

142 He was generous to brahmins.

143 His good governance is compared to control of correct Sanskrit grammar.

144 His generosity.

145 His fame.

146 He burnt the city of the king of Campā (cf. 108 & 182).

147–149 His good governance.

150 His attachment to virtue compared to his adherence to Vaiśeṣika thought.

151–181 Further ingenious literary tropes alluding to his virtues and good governance, and to the trouncing of his enemies.

182 His conquest of Bhṛgu [viz. king of Campā] (cf. 108 & 146).

183–184 His generosity to friends and suppliants.

185–191 The terror he caused his enemies.

192 Even Indra's wife wept from fear.

193–195 Other kings fell prostrate at his feet.

196 Kāma used him as an instrument to torment women.

197 His fame filled the world-lotus like a perfume.

198 Other kings fell prostrate at his feet.

199 He caused even barren trees to fruit.

200 People praised his virtues unceasingly, just as they praise the *Mahābhāṣya*.

201–202 He installed *liṅga*s and images at Śivapura for his forefathers.

203 He made rich donations to Bhadreśvara.

204 He enriched the foundations of the kings beginning with Indravarman and increased his kingdom (*svamaṇḍala*).

205 He installed Śauri, Gaurī, Īśa and a *liṅga* south of the Yaśodharataṭāka (Pre Rup?).

206–210 He installed and endowed a *liṅga* and deities here [Mebon] for his parents.

211–217 Rājendravarman entreats future kings of the Kambujas to protect the foundation.

218 In 874 *śaka*, he installed the *liṅga* called Rājendreśvara, along with images of Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Giriśa and Brahmā.

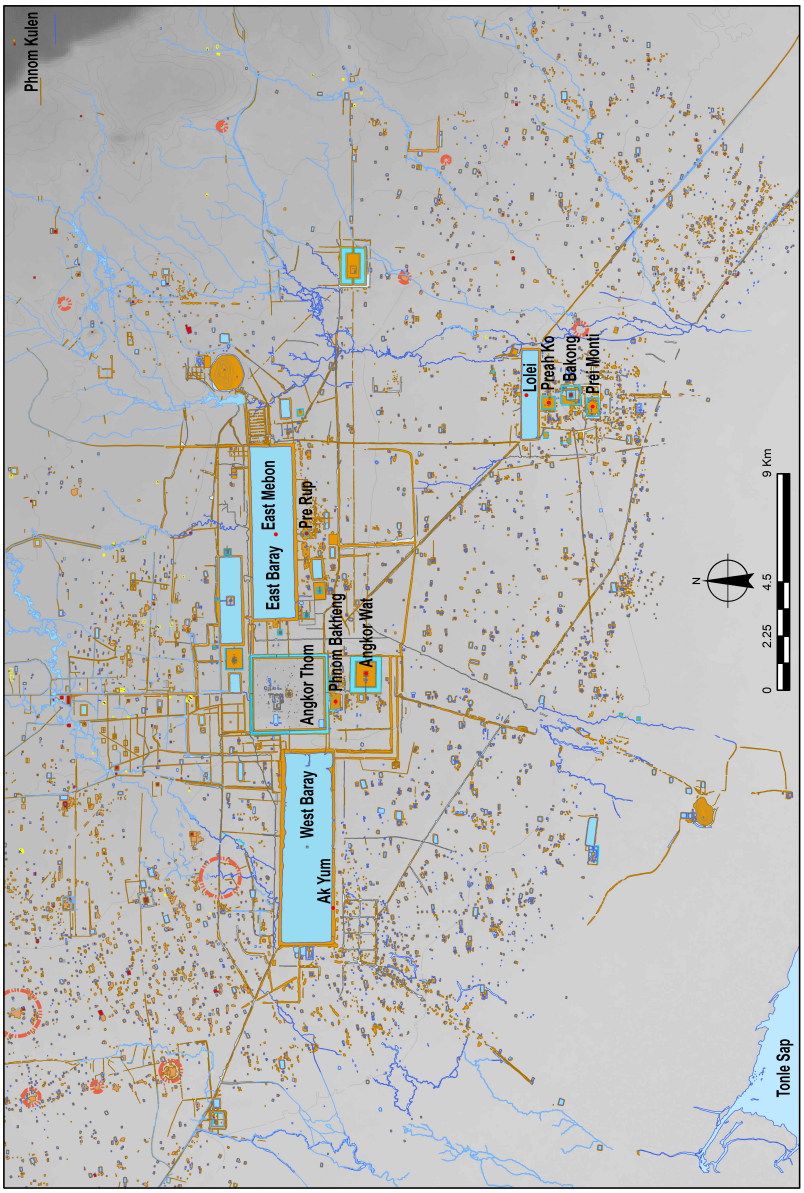

Figure 1.4: Localisation of the principal sites mentioned, based on the archeological map of Greater Angkor (published by Evans, Pottier et al., 2007, and kindly modified by Chea Socheat). In the Eastern Baray (Yaśodharataṭāka) is the Mebon, with Pre Rup on its South bank. Between the barays is Angkor Thom, the walled "Great City" of later date. South of that is Phnom Bakheng, the temple-mountain of C9th Yaśodharapura (which was not walled: see Pottier 2000). To the NE is the Phnom Kulen (Mahendraparvata), and to the SW is the vast lake, the Thonle Sap.

Figure 1.5: The upper part of the *balipīṭha* in the Mebon temple. It seems not to belong to the pedestal on which it rests (photo: Sophie Biard).

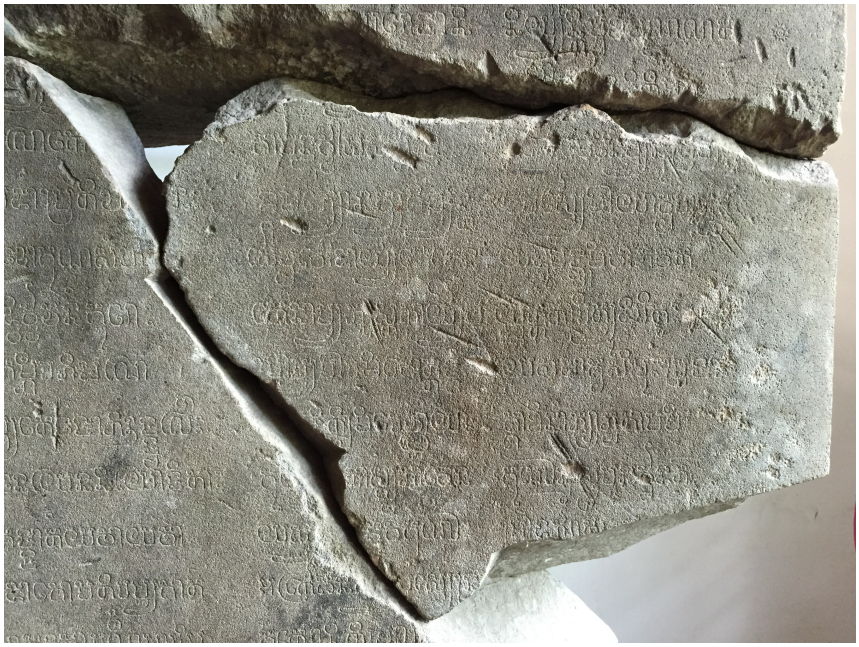

Figure 1.6: Detail of Face B (photo: author).

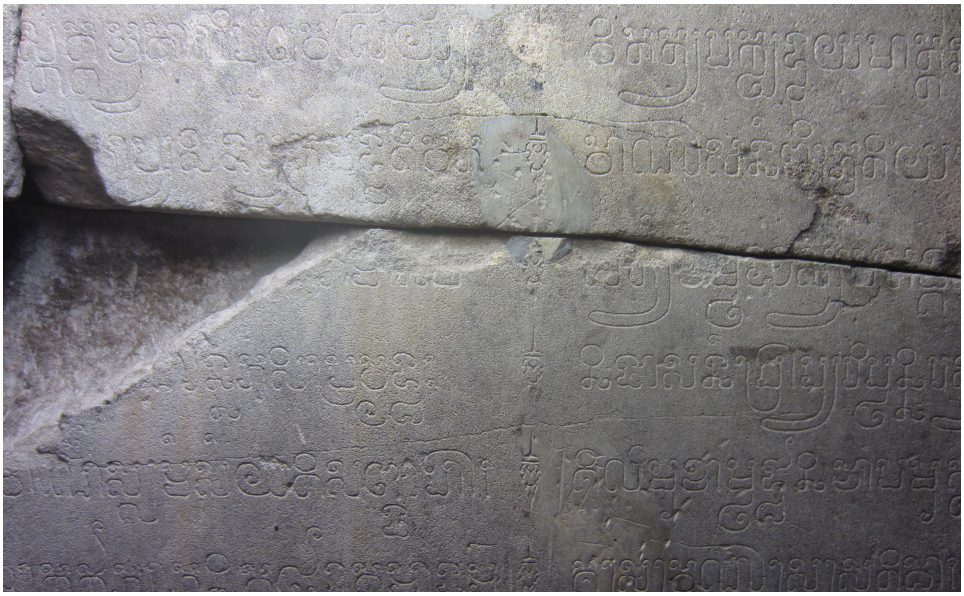

Figure 1.7: Detail showing the hairline cracks above line 30 and below line 32 of Face A (photo: Bertrand Porte).

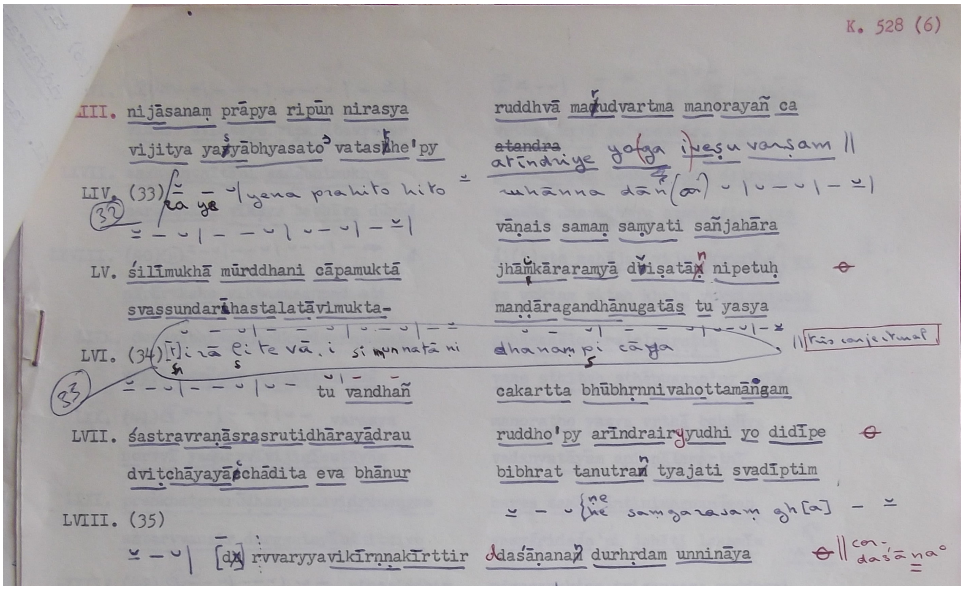

Figure 1.8: Detail of a page of Claude Jacques' typescript transcription of 1972 (Jacques[1]).

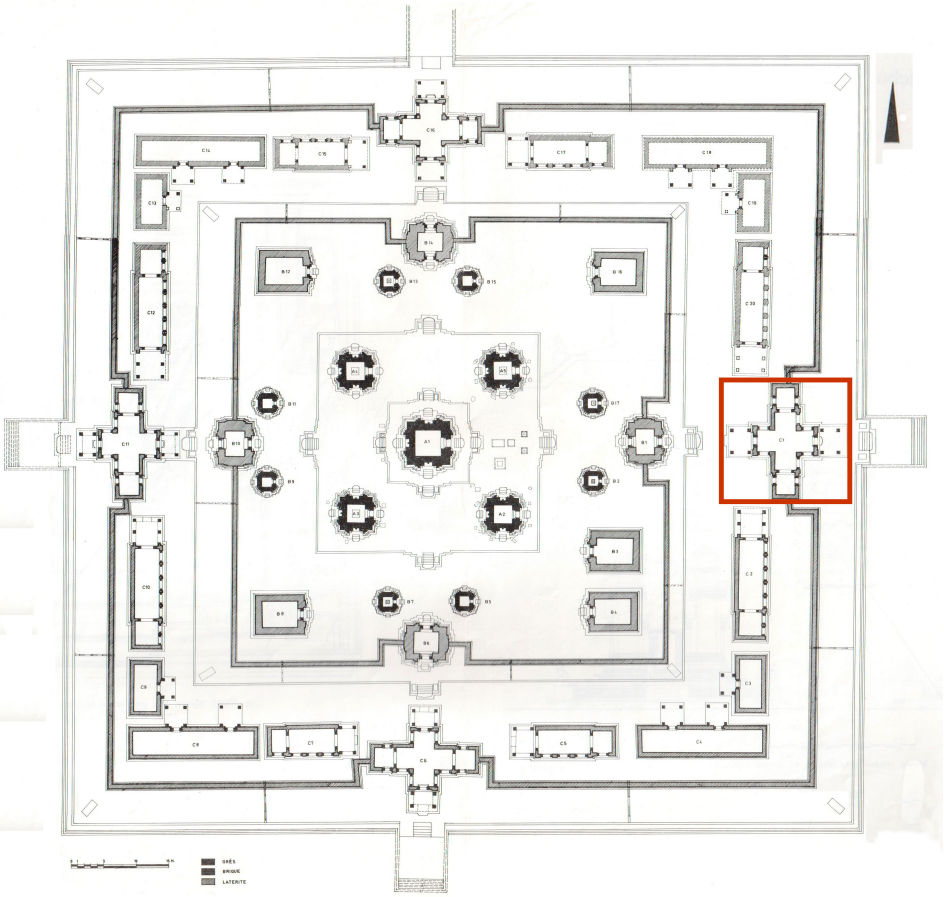

Figure 1.9: Location of the Eastern entrance, where K. 528 was installed, on the plan of the Eastern Mebon temple published by Jacques Dumarçay in 1988 (kindly modified by Dominique Soutif). The deities that occupied the five central towers of the quincunx are mentioned in stanzas 206–208 and 218, namely the central *liṅga* called Rājendreśvara, surrounded by Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Giriśa, and Brahmā, probably in the SE. The directions in which the other deities were placed are not known, but the arrangement may have differed from that in Pre Rup, where Viṣṇu occupied the SE. The goddess could have been in the SW, since at Pre Rup the SW tower bears the traces of eight goddesses in low-relief stucco around it (Petrochenko 2017:132), which I was able to examine *in situ* with Yuko Yokochi in 2019, who pointed out that they are probably a set of eight Mātṛs (a variant of the set commonly known as the Saptamātṛ), for we can distinguish Brāhmī and Vārāhī (Fig. 21 in Haendel 2005). Indian parallels might lead one to expect female consorts to be to the North, but Cambodian sites (such as Preah Ko and Lolei) provide parallels for their being in the West.

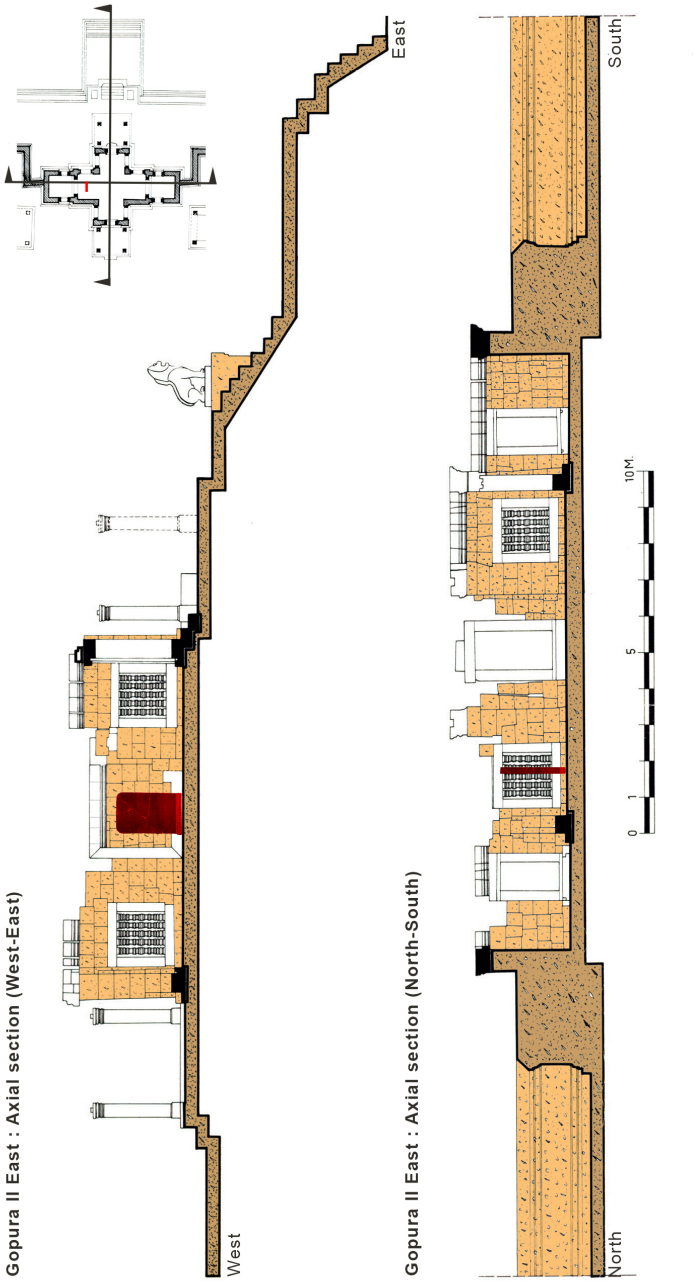

Figure 1.10: This shows the position of the stela K. 528, picked out in red. The upper drawing shows a cut along the line of entrance (West to East) through the Eastern entrance pavilion of the outermost enclosure wall. If one walked up the lion-flanked stairs and turned to look to the right (facing northwards), one would have seen Face A of the stela, its characters picked out by a raking light falling through a balustred window in the outer Eastern wall. That balustred window is visible in the lower drawing, which shows a cut running from North to South along the centre of the same entrance pavilion of the outermost enclosure wall. The drawings were kindly prepared by Christophe Pottier, based on drawings of Dumarçay (1988).

Figure 1.11: Chea Socheat (left) and Bertrand Porte (right) "turning the page" of K. 528 in the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum in Phnom Penh in 2015 (photo: Sophie Biard).

Text and Translation

I. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(1) traiguṇyāḍhyaśikhīndubhāskarakarapradyotanodgīthajair
agryaiḥ padmajakañjadṛktrinayanair adhyāsitaiś śakti(bh)iḥ
saṃrodhasthitisaṃbhavātmarataye bhinnas tridhaiko pi yas
tasmai nityacite śivāya vibhave rājño rthasiddhyai namaḥ ⊙

1a traiguṇyāḍhya°] Jacques; traiguṇyādhya° Finot **1b** śakti(bh)iḥ] Jacques; śakti[bhiḥ] Finot

त्रैगुण्याढ्यशिखीन्दुभास्करकरप्रद्योतनोद्गीथजै-
रग्रैः पद्मजकञ्जदृक्त्रिनयनैरध्यासितैश्शक्ति(भ)ः
संरोधस्थितिसंभवात्मरतये भिन्नस्त्रिधैको ऽपि य-
स्तस्मै नित्यचिते शिवाय विभवे राज्ञो ऽर्थसिद्ध्यै नमः १

1. Veneration (*namaḥ*) to Śiva, the omnipresent (*vibhave*), who is eternal consciousness (*nityacite*),[65] for the sake of accomplishment of the king's goals (*rājño 'rthasiddhyai*)[66]

[65] It is conceivable that this pair of attributes alludes to Śiva consisting of Jñānaśakti and Kriyāśakti, since "consciousness" (*cit*, *caitanya*) is conceived of in the Śaivasiddhānta as power which, although ontologically undivided (see TAK 2, s.v. *caitanya*), may be presented as plural, its most basic division being into the two powers of knowledge and action. As for the likelihood that such a theological notion should be embedded here, it will become clear that these opening stanzas are pregnant with veiled allusions to Śaiva ideas, as are two of the tenth-century inscriptions of Banteay Srei, namely K. 842, which we shall be referring to below (annotation on stanza 3) and K. 570, for which see Goodall forthcoming A, and as is the Pre Rup inscription, K. 806, whose third stanza, quoted just below in the annotation on this same stanza, makes use of the Saiddhāntika notion of *dṛkśakti*, "power of consciousness".

Since every *cit* is eternal, there is arguably no point to describing Śiva as *nityacite*, "[who is] eternal consciousness", but perhaps the point is that he is eternally in control of his consciousness, and may therefore be described as *anādimukta*, "eternally liberated", whereas individual souls other than Śiva have their powers occluded by an innate impurity (*mala*), according to the Śaivasiddhānta.

[66] Alternatively this could be interpreted to mean "for the sake of boosting the king's wealth".

—, [Śiva] who, though he is one (*eko 'pi*), divided himself into three (*bhinnas tridhā*) for the pleasure to himself [to be found] in[67] destruction, maintenance, and creation (*saṃrodhasthitisaṃbhava-*),[68] as the most excellent [gods] (*agryaiḥ*)[69] Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra (*padmajakañjadṛktrinayanaiḥ*), who are presided over by Śaktis (*adhyāsitaiḥ śaktibhiḥ*),[70] born from the syllable oṁ (*-udgīthajaiḥ*), which shines with the rays of fire, moon and sun that abound in [each] the three *guṇa*s [respectively] (*traiguṇyāḍhya-śikhīndubhāskarakarapradyotana-*).[71]

---

[67] Perhaps, since Śiva divides himself into three, one could understand "for the pleasure to his [three] selves [to be found in]". Alternatively one could instead understand the *ātma* in *°ātmarataye* to mean nothing more than that the pleasure "consisted in" destruction, maintenance and creation; but this alternative seems flatter and so less likely.

[68] The order of these functions does not correspond to the order in which the associated gods are given. In fact for the correspondences of the various triads at issue here — *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*; fire, moon, sun; A, U, M; Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra; Jyeṣṭhā, Vāmā, and Raudrī; *saṃrodha*, *sthiti*, *saṃhāra* —, it seems as though we sometimes have structural parallelism (*yathāsaṅkhyam*) and sometimes chiasmus. The reader is expected mentally to restore the expected order from sense.

[69] It is conceivable that rather than meaning simply "excellent" this word alludes to the possibility of dividing up the *praṇava* (namely the seed-syllable OṂ) into several more *kalā*s, three among which are "prominent", namely A, U, and M.

[70] Perhaps these are not the three *śakti*s of Icchāśakti, Jñānaśakti and Kriyāśakti, which are more typical, in an early period, of non-dualist philosophical literature, but rather the cosmic powers Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā and Raudrī, which may be found in the literature of the Mantramārga (see TAK2, s.v. *jyeṣṭhā*), but whose names derive from the VĀMADEVA mantra, and so might also have been known in the Atimārga. An unspecified triad of powers of Śiva figures in two distinctively Pāśupata inscriptions of the pre-Angkorian period, namely in K. 80, st. 2, and in K. 1352, st. 1, for which see GOODALL 2020b. One later inscription, of the beginning of the twelfth century, certainly does allude to the powers beginning with Vāmā (*vāmādi°*), and that is K. 191. This was obscure to CŒDÈS, who evidently wrestled to produce a plausible interpretation of its first stanza (*IC* VI, p. 305): see instead the translation offered by ESTÈVE (2014:177). Another possibility, perhaps, is that *śakti* also (or instead) means [mantra-]*kalā*, that is to say a mantra-division of the kind alluded to in the previous footnote.

[71] Treating Śiva as permeated by the three *guṇa*s of the Sāṅkhyas may have largely passed out of fashion by this time in Indian theistic discourse, where we expect to find God characterised as transcending the *guṇa*s, but it has old precedents, and there might here be a conscious echo here of the opening *maṅgala*-verse of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*:

> rajojuṣe janmani sattvavṛttaye sthitau prajānāṃ pralaye tamaḥspṛśe
> ajāya sargasthitināśahetave trayīmayāya triguṇātmane namaḥ
>
> Veneration to the Unborn One, who is full of the Three [Vedas], who, in as much as He consists of the three *guṇa*s, is the cause of creation, maintenance and resorption [of the universe], being full of *rajas* at the birth of creatures, of the nature of *sattva* during their maintenance, and touching *tamas* at the moment of their resorption!

II. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(2) rūpaṃ yasya navendumaṇḍitaśikhan trayyāḥ pratītaṃ paraṃ
vījaṃ vrahmaharīśvarodayakaraṃ bhinnaṃ kalābhis tridhā
sākṣād akṣaram āmananti munayo yogādhigamyan namas
saṃsiddhyai praṇavātmane bhagavate tasmai śivāyāstu[72] vaḥ ⊙

2b sākṣād akṣaram] sākṣādakṣaram FINOT **2d** praṇavātmane] JACQUES; praṇavātmame FINOT

रूपं यस्य नवेन्दुमण्डितशिखन्त्रय्याः प्रतीतं परं
वीजं व्रह्महरीश्वरोदयकरं भिन्नं कलाभिस्त्रिधा
साक्षादक्षरमामनन्ति मुनयो योगाधिगम्यन्नम-
स्संसिद्धै प्रणवात्मने भगवते तस्मै शिवायास्तु वः २

The parallel in stanza 3 of K. 806 reveals that we should identify Brahmā with *rajas*, Viṣṇu with *sattva* and Rudra with *tamas* (as is no doubt implicit in Bāṇa's stanza):

> vrāhmīm indau savitrīṃ savitari vitatāṃ vaiṣṇavīṃ pālanīṃ yad
> raudrīṃ saṃhārahetuṃ hutabhuji ca kalām arppayat triprakārām
> dṛṣṭan dṛkśaktidṛgbhis triṣu racitavapus sūkṣmam apy eṣu tasmai
> tattvajñānāṃ parasmai parihṛtarajase vrahmaṇe stān namo vaḥ
>
> **3d** namo vaḥ] JACQUES; namo va CŒDÈS
>
> Let there be veneration by you (*vaḥ*) to that (*tasmai*), *brahman*, supreme for those who know the truth (*tattvajñānām*),
>
> > —[*brahman*] from which all stain is far removed (*parihṛtarajase*), which offers up (*arpayat*) its three parts (*kalām…triprakārām*) — [placing] the creative one (*sāvitrīm*) of Brahmā in the moon, the expansive protective Vaiṣṇava one in the sun, and the Raudra one which is the cause of resorption in the fire—,
> > —[*brahman*] which, although subtle (*sūkṣmam api*) is seen by those who see with the eyes of [liberated] consciousness (*dṛkśaktidṛgbhiḥ*) as incarnate in these three [gods, namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra]!

For the Saiddhāntika notion that God can only be seen by liberated souls who use directly their power of consciousness (literally, *pace* CŒDÈS, "those whose eyes are their power of consciousness"), unmediated by faculties of sense, the scriptural *locus classicus* is *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4:42–43, which is paraphrased in *Mokṣakārikā* 109–110b (see GOODALL 2022:337–338).

[72] In his typed transcription JACQUES adds a note here: "Accroché en quelque sorte au signe du *u*, on a un signe de fin de stance, ne correspondant à rien : cette stèle avait-elle déjà servi ?" We suggest rather that this extra volute is a flourish added as decoration, partly because this is part of the grand sequence of invocatory stanzas, where extra decoration is not out of place, and partly because this stanza fills more horizontal space than those nearby, and so the *tu* dangles above a temptingly empty expanse of stone margin.

2. May there be (*astu*) veneration (*namaḥ*) to the Lord (*bhagavate*) Śiva as OṂ (*praṇavātmane*)[73] for your (*vaḥ*) success (*saṃsiddhyai*), whose (*yasya*) form (*rūpam*) is one whose top is adorned by a new moon (*navendumaṇḍitaśikham*),[74] which is understood to be (*pratītam*) the supreme [essence] (*param*) of the Three [Vedas] (*trayyāḥ*),[75] the seed[-syllable] (*bījam*) divided (*bhinnam*) into three (*tridhā*) [mantra-]divisions (*kalābhiḥ*), that gives rise to Brahmā, Hari and Īśvara (*brahmaharīśvarodayakaram*), which the sages (*munayaḥ*) teach (*āmananti*) to be the directly accessible (*sākṣāt*) sylla-

[73] We find Śiva as *praṇava* venerated at the beginning of the Pre Rup inscription as well, in its second stanza, which is worth quoting here since there are a couple of small but significant slips in Cœdès' transcription which have been corrected in an unpublished transcription made by Claude Jacques that he kindly passed to me (K. 806, st. 2):

> oṃkārāditanus tanoti jagatām eko 'pi janmasthiti-
> vyastīr vyaktasamastaśaktinilayo yo yogiyogātmakaḥ
> bhūyo nīrajajanmakañjanayanaśrīkaṇṭhamūrttir vaśī
> śavdāntasthitaye śivāya vibhave śāntāya tasmai namaḥ
>
> **2a** omkārāditanus] Jacques; oṃkārād atanus Cœdès • **2b** °vyastīr] Jacques; °vyastir Cœdès (who proposes that we should understand °*vyaṣṭir*).

I pass over Cœdès' translation, because the text he was interpreting was not quite right. Here, instead, is a translation that reflects how I understand the stanza:

> Who, having as his first body the syllable OṂ, even though He is one, performs the creation, maintenance and destruction of creatures, [since] He is the repository of all Powers made manifest,
>
> — whose nature is the [state of] yoga attained by yogins,
> — who, self-controlled, is in a further sense (*bhūyaḥ*) embodied as Brahmā [=A], Viṣṇu [=U] and Śiva [M],
>
> — to that Śiva, who resides inside the sound [OṂ], who is immanent (*vibhave*), [and yet] at rest (*śāntāya*), veneration !

For another instance of the veneration of Śiva as the *praṇava*, see the opening of K. 842, quoted in the annotation to stanza 3 below.

[74] This attribute, coming at the beginning of the stanza, invites the reader to assume that this is the cliché of an anthropomorphic form of Śiva bearing the crescent moon on his head; but in fact, when one reads on, one sees that this must describe the graphic representation of OṂ, well known from several Cambodian inscriptions, such as K. 1049, for instance, in which there is an ascending crest (*śikhā*) above a *candrabindu* surmounting an *o* engraved in the pointed top of the stela. We could therefore translate, without too much awkwardness, "for whom a crest adorns the new moon [that is his *candrabindu*]".

[75] Perhaps this could instead mean "which is understood from the Three", or, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma suggests, "which is understood to be beyond the Vedas [in its power]". As Bhattacharya remarks (1961:69), K. 806 and K. 528 both seem to accept the authority of only three Vedas, excluding the *Atharvaveda*.

ble (/indestructible entity) (*akṣaram*),[76] accessible through yoga (*yogādhigamyam*).

[76]We could instead perhaps have construed *sākṣāt* with *yogādhigamyam* and translated "whom the sages always revere as indestructible/ who is a syllable (*akṣaram*), who is directly approachable/understandable through yoga". But we have preferred to take *sākṣāt* as an indeclinable adjective, since this makes this use of *āmananti* closely parallel to Kālidāsa's use of the same verb-form with a predicate in *Kumārasambhava* 2:13 and 5:81 (but not 6:31), as has been pointed out to us by Harunaga Isaacson. *Kumārasambhava* 2:13 reads as follows:

> tvām āmananti prakṛtiṃ puruṣārthapravartinīm
> taddarśinam udāsīnaṃ tvām eva puruṣaṃ viduḥ
>
> They say you are primordial matter
> evolving for the sake of spirit,
> and they know that you alone
> are spirit, looking on matter
> with indifference. (trans. Smith 2005:65)

And 5:81:

> vivakṣatā doṣam api cyutātmanā tvayaikam īśaṃ prati sādhu bhāṣitam
> yam āmananty ātmabhuvo 'pi kāraṇaṃ kathaṃ sa lakṣyaprabhavo bhaviṣyati
>
> Though you wished to find fault,
> depraved as you are,
> one thing you said about the Lord
> was well said. He whom they honor
> as cause of Self-born Brahma,
> how can his origin be determined? (trans. Smith 2005:203)

Also possible, perhaps, would be to understand "whom they directly contemplate as syllable (/indestructible)". Note that the opening of the *Vākyapadīya* (1:1–2) may also have influenced the poet here:

> anādinidhanaṃ brahma śabdatattvaṃ yad akṣaram
> vivartate 'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ
> ekam eva yad āmnātaṃ bhinnaśaktivyapāśrayāt
> apṛthaktve 'pi śaktibhyaḥ pṛthaktveneva vartate
>
> Ce Brahman sans commencement ni fin, Parole principielle, Phonême (impérissable), qui se manifeste sous la form des objets et d'où procède le monde anime, Lui qui, révélé comme un, est le support de pouvoir différents et paraît divisé sous l'effet de ses pouvoirs, quoiqu'il soit indivis,… (trans. Biardeau 1964:25 and 29).

Rather than plunging deep into exegesis of this richly complex passage, I will only comment that it uses some of the same vocabulary (*akṣaram*, *brahma*, *āmnātam*), that *śakti* and *kalā* may be used synonymously, and that, although the *praṇava* is not explicitly mentioned, such a layer of meaning suggests itself, and is indeed mentioned in what may be Bhartṛhari's autocommentary, for he there adduces this hitherto untraced quotation: *praṇava evaikas tredhā*

III. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(3) ekā prāk kalahaṃsavibhramagatiḥ kāntonmanā yā satī
bhittvāṅgaṃ gaganodgatātmarataye yātā navatvaṃ punaḥ
padmaṃ mānasasambhṛtan nijaruciprojjṛmbhitaṃ bibhratī
sā śaktiś śivasaṅgatodayakarī gaurī parā pātu vaḥ ⊙

3a ekā prāk] Jacques; ekā .. .. prāk Finot **3a** kāntonmanā] Jacques; kāntonmadā Finot **3b** gaganoº] Understand: *gaganoº*. **3b** yātā navatvaṃ] Jacques; yā tānavatvaṃ Finot **3c** ºsambhṛtan] Jacques; ºsambhṛtaṃ Finot **3d** śivasaṅgatoº] Jacques; śivas[yā]ṅgatoº Finot (*unmetrical*)

एका प्राक्कलहंसविभ्रमगतिः कान्तोन्मना या सती
भित्त्वाङ्गं गगणोद्गतात्मरतये याता नवत्वं पुनः
पद्मं मानससम्भृतन्निजरुचिप्रोज्जृम्भितं बिभ्रती
सा शक्तिश्शिवसङ्गतोदयकरी गौरी परा पातु वः ३

3. Formerly (*prāk*) alone (*ekā*), longing for her beloved (*kāntonmanā*), [she became] Satī,[77] broke forth from her body (*bhittvāṅgam*), rose into the sky (*gaganodgatā*) for her own pleasure (*ātmarataye*) and then (*punaḥ*) renewed herself (*yātā navatvaṃ*) [as Pārvatī]; may that Śakti, [now become] Gaurī [and now no longer alone but] in union with Śiva (*śivasaṅgatā*), protect you (*pātu vaḥ*), she who is propitious for success (*udayakarī*) and who holds (*bibhratī*) a lotus (*padmam*) that she culled by lake Mānasa (*mānasasambhṛtam*)—[78] [a lotus] that has unfolded beneath the [sun-like] radiance of her beauty (*nijaruciprojjṛmbhitam*).

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vyabhajyata. If this is indeed an allusion to the *Vākyapadīya*, then it may be the earliest palpable trace of the study of that work among the Khmers. Other traces may be found in the twelfth-century inscription K. 1222, as I shall show in my forthcoming edition and translation of that stela.

[77] This follows the suggestion of Harunaga Isaacson that we should take *kāntonmanā* as a compound. Earlier, we had proposed the following interpreation: "Formerly (*prāk*), the beloved [of Śiva] (*kāntā*), Satī, who was alone (*ekā*), whose gait has the grace of the swan (*kalahaṃsavibhramagatiḥ*), becoming beside herself (*unmanā*) [with rage when her husband was not invited to the sacrifice of Dakṣa],…"

[78] The nexus of images and puns deployed here (involving the heart and the lake called *mānasa*, lotuses, and the soul or the female water-bird known as *haṃsī*) is of course widespread in Indian poetry from at least the works of Bāṇa. Here, for example, is a stanza of Śrīharṣa's *Ratnāvalī* that speaks of Vatsarāja falling in love with the eponymous heroine of that play (*Ratnāvalī* 2.8 (32)):

līlāvadhūtakamalā kalayantī pakṣapātam adhikaṃ naḥ
mānasam upaiti keyaṃ citragatā rājahaṃsīva

(Cappeller's edition has *ºdhūtapadmā kathayantī*, but *ºdhūtakamalā kalayantī* is the reading

> *Being (*satī*) at first (*prāk*) alone (*ekā*), [pervading the body] up to the head (*kāntā*), the Śakti [of the individual soul], whose graceful movement is that of the sweet-sounding* haṃsa[mantra] *(*kala-haṃsavibhramagatiḥ*), [transformed into the most subtle form of sound, which is called] Unmanā,*[79] *after bursting forth from the body (*bhittvāṅgam*), rises into the sky (*gaganodgatā*) [where she rests in the* dvādaśānta*] for the pleasure of the*

given in the quotation of this stanza in the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (2:369) of Siṃhabhūpāla.)

> Playfully waving a lotus, very much cajoling us into partiality, who is this woman who approaches our heart (*mānasam*), like a royal goose [approaching lake Mānasa] in a painting?

In our stanza, further layers are added, as we shall see below, because the heart may also be the heart-lotus, and the *haṃsa* is also a mantra constantly produced in respiration.

[79] For Unmanā (or Unmanī) as the name of the most subtle level of sonic energy, see for example the meditative enunciation (*uccāra*) of the *praṇava* according to the twelfth-century *Jñānaratnāvalī*, a ritual manual of the Śaivasiddhānta (Madras GOML MS 14898, pp. 94–95), which here quotes the *Svacchandatantra*:

> akārokārādimātrāvācya*pṛthivyādisamanāntapāśajālam atikramya unmanāśaktyatītaparamaśivaparyantam uccārayet. uktaṃ ca—
>
> > akāraś ca ukāraś ca makāro bindur eva ca
> > ardhacandro nirodhī ca nādo nādānta eva ca
> > śaktiś ca vyāpinī caiva samanā unmanā tathā
> > samanāntaṃ pāśajālam unmanyante paraḥ śivaḥ | iti

* °kārokārādimātrāvācya°] *conj.*; °kārekārādimātrāvacya° MS

> One should enunciate [OṂ] traversing the entire network of bonds beginning with Earth and ending with Samanā, these being expressed by the elements [within the mantra] that are A, U, and so forth, culminating in Supreme Śiva who is just beyond the Śakti Unmanā. This is taught [in the *Svacchandatantra*]: The sounds A and U and M, the *anusvāra*, the half-moon, the cessation, the resonance, the end of the resonance, the Vyāpinī Śakti, and [the Śaktis of] Samanā, and Unmanā. The mesh of bonds ends at [the subtle sonic level called] Samanā. Beyond Unmanī is Supreme Śiva.

The quotation is *Svacchandatantra* (4:255–256), where the second stanza appears differently in the edition of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies:

> śaktiś ca vyāpinī caiva samanaikādaśī smṛtā
> unmanā ca tato 'tītā tadatītaṃ nirāmayam

Bhattacharya (1991, pp. 40–41, ¶ 81) also quoted this stanza of the *Svacchandatantra*, among other passages, to suggest that such a sense of *unmanā* was intended in the opening of the roughly contemporaneous K. 842 (quoted in the following footnote), as well as in the first quarter-verse of K. 232 (of 1007 ce), which reads *śivo jayaty unmanayaikadhāmā*, "Śiva is victorious, sharing a single effulgence with Unmanā". Other passages that could be adduced attesting to this sense of Unmanā include *Netratantra* 21:59–60 and the description of the

> *soul (*ātmarataye*) and then (*punaḥ*) having become nine (*yātā navatvaṃ*) [as the 9 śaktis of Śiva's lotus-throne*[80]*] and, [being now] reunited with Śiva (*śivasaṅgatā*), [re-]occupies (*bibhratī*) the lotus (*padmam*) that is held in the heart (*mānasasambhṛtam*), [a lotus] that has opened because of her light (*nijaruciprojjṛmbhitam*)—may she protect you (*pātu vaḥ*), she who brings about [ultimate] success (*udayakarī*).*[81]

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meditative annunciation of the MŪLAMANTRA in the post-twelfth-century *Prabhāvyākhyā* of Nirmalamaṇi (pp. 102–103).

[80] For the nine *śaktis* of Śiva's throne, beginning with Vāmā and ending with Manonmanī, see for instance GOODALL 2004:180–181, fn. 143 and GOODALL et al. 2005:130

[81] Judit TÖRZSÖK points out that *udayakarī* could instead (or as well) refer to the rôle of *śakti* in the "rising" of the mantra (*mantroccāra*). Indeed this second translation assumes that a second tantric sense lurks beneath the surface involving the practice of *mantroccāra*, a contemplative enunciation of a mantra in which the *sādhaka* imagines his soul, fused with his breath, ascending through his central channel, being held in the space twelve finger-breadths above the body, joined with Śiva, and then returning to the heart. Here, the mantra in question is presumably Śiva as the *praṇava*, who was venerated in the preceding stanza. Some readers may at first be suspicious of the need to read such a second meaning, and so it may be useful to adduce the parallel to be found in the opening stanzas of Yajñavarāha's foundation inscription of Banteay Srei, K. 842, engraved about sixteen years later, whose first two stanzas read as follows:

> namaś śavdaguṇāyāstu vyatītendriyavartmane
> viśvato vyaśnuvānāya vyomarūpāya śambhave
> unmanā yā satī kāntā nitāntaśivasaṃgatā
> jagaddhitāya śāśaktu sā śaktir acalātmajā

Now CŒDÈS interprets this without assuming any second sense (*IC* I, p. 152):

> I. Hommage à Çambhu qui possède l'attribut de la parole, qui est au delà de la perception, qui remplit tout, qui à la forme de l'espace.
> II. Que la Çakti, fille de la montagne (l'Himālaya), épouse ardente et fidèle, unie étroitement à Çiva, contribue au bonheur des créatures.

But when one sets this beside the opening of the Mebon inscription, it seems to me that the shared vocabulary (*unmanā*, *satī*, *kāntā*, *śivasaṃgatā*, *śakti*) indicates that a version of the same trope is intended, and so I would rather translate as follows:

> 1. Veneration to Śambhu who is Vyomarūpa* (/whose form is [like] that of ether in as much as): His nature is sound (*śabdaguṇāya*); He is beyond the reach of the senses; He fills the universe.
> 2a. May His beloved Śakti, who [once], longing [for her beloved], (*unmanā*) became Satī, and on becoming closely united with Śiva, is [now] the daughter of Himālaya (*acalātmajā*), be intensely powerful for the benefit of [all] creatures !
> 2b. May [the soul's] Śakti, who is born from the immovable [OṂ] (*acalātmajā*), becoming Unmanā, [and pervading the body] up to the head, [once she is] closely united with ŚIVA be intensely powerful for the benefit of the universe.

Here too Śiva is venerated as ether, in other words in mantric form; but here it seems likely

IV. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(4) yenaitāni jaganti yajvahutabhugbhāsvannabhasvannabhaḥ-
kṣityambhaḥkṣaṇadākarais svatanubhir vyātanvataivāṣṭabhiḥ
uccaiḥ kāraṇaśaktir apratihatā vyākhyāyate nakṣaram
jīyāt kāraṇakāraṇaṃ sa bhagavān arddhenducūdāmaṇiḥ ⊙

4a °nabhasvannabhaḥkṣitya°] Jacques; °nabhaḥsvannabhaḥkṣitya° Finot
4d arddhenducūdāmaṇiḥ] Jacques; ardhenducūḍāmaṇiḥ Finot. Understand: *arddhenducūḍāmaṇiḥ*.

येनैतानि जगन्ति यज्वहुतभुग्भास्वन्नभस्वन्नभः-
क्षित्यम्भःक्षणदाकरैस्स्वतनुभिर्व्यातन्वतैवाष्टभिः
उच्चैः कारणशक्तिरप्रतिहता व्याख्यायते ऽनक्षरम्
जीयात्कारणकारणं स भगवानर्द्धेन्दुचूदामणिः ४

4. May the Lord (*bhagavān*) be victorious (*jīyāt*), Cause of causes (*kāraṇakāraṇam*),[82] whose crest-jewel is the crescent moon (*ardhenducūḍāmaṇiḥ*), who (*yena*) proclaims (*vyākhyāyate*) loudly (*uccaiḥ*), [though] without syllables (*anakṣaraṃ*), his untramelled

that a particular Śaiva mantra is intended, for describing him as *vyomarūpa* is probably a way of saying that his nature is the *vyomavyāpin* mantra (which is an 81-word mantra that incidentally also contains the word *vyomarūpāya*). Of course one could also or instead understand that *vyomarūpa* refers to him as "a body made of [supreme] ether [*vyoma* = *paramākāśa*, the sonic matter out of which the sonic forms of mantras are made]" and therefore refers generically to any mantra that expresses Śiva, or to the commonest mantra of all, namely the *praṇava*, for it is once again the *praṇava* (rather than the *haṃsa*-mantra) that appears to be spoken of in the second stanza, since *acala*, "immoveable", is probably intended (as in st. 1 of K. 449, whose first word is probably [*śrīpra*](*ṇa*)*veśvaraṃ*) to recall the synonym *dhruva*, which is used as a name of the *praṇava* both in Śaiva and Pāñcarātra sources (see TAK3, s.v. *dhruva* [4].)

In short, there are several possibilities, but while stanzas 2 and 3 of K. 528 explicitly refer to the *praṇava* and *haṃsa* mantras respectively, my translation of K. 842 provisionally assumes that its stanzas 1 and 2 refer respectively to *vyomavyāpin* and the *praṇava*.

[82] This recalls the Pāśupata category (*padārtha*) called *kāraṇa*, "the Cause", which refers to Śiva, a terminology echoed in later Saiddhāntika scriptures: see, for example, *Parākhyatantra* 3:2 and the note to the translation thereon (Goodall 2004:205, fn. 221). Following classical Saiddhāntika theology, we do not expect Śiva to be the material cause of other causes, so we could perhaps understand "Cause among causes", since he may be regarded as the Cause *par excellence*, among other causal factors, such as *karman* or *māyā*. This is, however, not regarded as good usage, because of Pāṇini's rule 2.2.10 *na nirdhāraṇe*, which deprecates compound-formation in such cases. Alternatively, we could understand that he is the essential cause since he is the instigating cause (*nimittakāraṇa*), without whose instigation the material cause (*upādānakāraṇa*) cannot act. In other words, he may be the Cause that causes the other causes to act.

(*apratihatā*) power as Cause (*kāraṇaśaktiḥ*),[83] in as much as he sustains (*vyātanvatā*) [all] these (*etāni*) creatures [that make up the universe] (*jaganti*) through his eight (*aṣṭabhiḥ*) "bodies" (*svatanubhiḥ*),[84] [namely] sacrificer, fire, sun, wind, ether, earth, water, moon (*yajvahutabhugbhāsvannabhasvannabhaḥkṣityambhaḥkṣaṇadākaraiḥ*).[85]

[83] For this sort of language, cf. the stanza attributed to Avadhūta that Yogarāja quotes in his commentary on *Paramārthasāra* 9 (p. 30):

> badhnāti kācid api śaktir anantaśakteḥ kṣetrajñam apratihatā bhavapāśajālaiḥ
> jñānāsinā ca vinikṛtya guṇān aśeṣān anyā karoty abhimukhaṃ puruṣaṃ vimuktau
>
> A unique, untramelled power of Him of infinite powers binds the soul with nets that are the bonds of worldly existence; another one cuts away all the strands with the sword of knowledge and turns the soul towards [Him].

An extremely close parallel to this stanza of the inscription is to be found in K. 570, which, given that it is at Banteay Srei and appears to be in lettering of the tenth century, might well be the composition of Yajñavarāha, in st. 4 (quoted here in the revised edition of Goodall forthcoming A):

> kṣityādibhiḥ prasiddhābhis tanubhis tanvatā ja[gat]
> uccaiḥ kāraṇatā khyātā yenānakṣara(m) ātmanaḥ
>
> Who, sustaining the universe with his well-known "bodies", consisting of earth and the others, has proclaimed loudly, [but] without syllables, the fact of his being the Cause.

[84] Here, as elsewhere in the Cambodian epigraphical record (cf. e.g. K. 561, st. 1; K. 733, st. 1; K. 14, st. 1; K. 218, st. 3, and, of course, the just quoted stanza 4 of K. 570), a *figura etymologica* involving *tanu* and the verb *tan* is deployed when referring to these eight cosmic aspects of Śiva (*aṣṭamūrti*). In this case, however, the verb has the prefixes *vi-* and *ā-*, which mean that we could perhaps understand the sense to be "pervades".

[85] The names of the eight *mūrti*s are here chosen and ordered for alliterative effect. Among the many parallels that could be mentioned, compare K. 356, st. 3, in which we propose to restore the first *pāda* to read as follows: *yasyātmendunabho[nabhasvada]nalakṣityamvutīkṣṇāñśubhir*. One inspiration (perhaps indirect in several cases) is probably the opening stanza of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala*:

> yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā pivati vidhihutaṃ yā havir yā ca hotrī
> ye dve kālaṃ vidhattaḥ śrutiviṣayaguṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam
> yām āhuḥ sarvabījaprakṛtir iti yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ
> pratyakṣābhiḥ prapannas tanubhir avatu nas tābhir aṣṭābhir īśaḥ
>
> May God, kindly disposed, protect us with eight manifest bodies: the first creation of the creator, [namely water,] that which drinks the oblation offered in accordance with injunction, the sacrificer, the two which regulate time, that which pervades the universe, audible to the ear, that which is called "the source

V. [*vasantatilakā*]
(5) nārāyaṇan namata yo vibhutāṃ vitanvan
lokatrayan tripadalaṅghitamātram eva
dṛṣṭvā turīyapadam āptum ivādhunāpi
nidrācchalena vidadhāti samādhim abdhau ⊙[86]

5c āptum] Jacques; āpt[u]m Finot

नारायणन्नमत यो विभुतां वितन्वन्
लोकत्रयन्त्रिपदलङ्घितमात्रमेव
दृष्ट्वा तुरीयपदमाप्तुमिवाधुनापि
निद्राच्छलेन विदधाति समाधिमब्धौ ५

5. Bow (*namata*) to Nārāyaṇa, who (*yaḥ*), in spreading out (*vitanvan*) his all-pervasiveness (*vibhutām*), having seen (*dṛṣṭvā*) the triple universe (*lokatrayam*) to have an extent (*-mātram*) that could be crossed (°*laṅghita*°) in three strides (*tripada*°) only (*eva*),[87] is even now (*adhunāpi*) practising (*vidadhāti*) meditation (*samādhim*) upon the ocean (*abdhau*) while appearing to sleep (*nidrācchalena*)[88] as though (*iva*) in order to attain (*āptum*) the fourth [transcendent] state (*turīyapadam*).[89]

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of all seeds," and that which gives living beings their vital energy!" (Translation adapted from Vasudeva 2006:51, who interprets as though water were not listed.)

Here, they follow this order: water, fire, sacrificer, sun and moon, ether, earth and air. Kālidāsa also alludes to them, but without listing them, in the opening invocation to his *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

[86]None of these florets are mentioned in Finot's transcription (see discussion of puncuation on p. 36). As in the line below, this one falls in the middle of the line because that is where the stanza ends. The florets tend to fall at the end of the lines, but this is clearly because that is where stanzas end: at the end of line 5, which falls in the middle of a stanza, there is no floret.

[87]This translation assumes the use of the suffix *mātrac* by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.2.36. Finot instead renders this "à peine eut-il vu les mondes escaladés en trois pas", but this temporal flavour can probably not be expressed by the Sanskrit.

[88]Viṣṇu's "feigned sleep" refers of course to his *yoganidrā*, a state of magical sleep in which he is in fact vigilant. The choice of the word *chala* might be meant to recall to the reader's mind that the three steps of Vāmana were already part of a trick.

[89]The implication of this seemingly jocular stanza (involving the ornaments known as *phalotprekṣā* and *kaitavāpahnuti*) is that Viṣṇu has still not achieved omnipresence in the universe. The 'joke' depends on the use of *pada* to refer both to the strides of Trivikrama and to the fourth state of awareness that transcends those of wakefulness (*jāgrad-daśā*), dreaming sleep (*svapna*), and dreamless sleep (*suṣupti*). This fourth state may be regarded as liberation or as the liberated state attained by someone still embodied (*jīvanmukti*). We shall see later instances

VI. [*vasantatilakā*]
ambhojabhūr jjayati yo vadanaiś caturbhir
oṅkāravāridaravaṃ samam ujjagāra
(6) kṣetrāhitan tribhuvanodayapūraṇārtham
utsūnatām iva nayan nijavījam ādyam ⊙[90]

अम्भोजभूर्ज्जयति यो वदनैश्चतुर्भि-
रोङ्कारवारिदरवं सममुज्जगार
क्षेत्राहितन्त्रिभुवनोदयपूरणार्थम्
उत्सूनतामिव नयन्निजवीजमाद्यम् ६

6. Victorious is (*jayati*) the Lotus-born [Brahmā] (*ambhojabhūḥ*), who (*yaḥ*), with his four (*caturbhiḥ*) faces (*vadanaiḥ*) simultaneously (*samam*) intoned (*ujjagāra*) the thunder (°*vārida-ravam*) of the sound OṂ (*oṃkāra*°),[91] as though (*iva*) bringing (*nayan*) to swollen [fullness] (*utsūnatām*)[92] his own primordial seed (*nijabījam ādyam*) that has been placed in the field (*kṣetrāhitam*) with a view to filling it (°*pūraṇārtham*) with the flourishing of the triple world (*tribhuvanodaya*°).[93]

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that purport to show up Viṣṇu unfavourably beside Rājendravarman (see st. 121), and even comparisons that seem to set Rājendravarman above Śiva (see st. 124), but it is odd that even such an invocatory stanza should seem hardly to praise Viṣṇu. Perhaps Rājendravarman wished to signal that he really was exclusively devoted to Śiva.

[90] This mid-line floret is not mentioned in Finot's transcription.

[91] Or perhaps "by the sound from the cloud that is OṂ".

[92] We assume that this is a variant form of *ucchūnatām* and not, as Finot supposes, for *utsūtatām*. Bhattacharya, apparently following Finot, lists the word as a Cambodian neologism (1991:40, ¶ 78), for he connects it (quoting Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 728) with the root that produces *prasūna*. He therefore translates *utsūna* with "fructifié". This derivation might seem conceivable, and would require understanding *utsūna* to mean "made to flower/flourish", but the many instances in Sanskrit literature of *ucchūna* qualifying *bīja* make it seem unlikely.

[93] It is not entirely clear what the image is here. Is Brahmā's seed his semen, fancied as like plant-seed that will be caused to swell by the rain announced by the rumbling cloud? Or is the rumbling of the cloud itself already supposed to cause seeds to swell? It is possible that there is an implicit allusion to *Muṇḍakopaniṣat* 1.1:8:

> tapasā cīyate brahma tato 'nnam abhijāyate
> annāt prāṇo manaḥ satyaṃ lokāḥ karmasu cāmṛtam
>
> By asceticism *brahman* grows larger, and from that food comes into being. From food comes breath, mind, truth, the worlds and nectar in works.

Cf. Vidyāraṇya's comments on this utterance, which begin with *Anubhūtiprakāśa* 6:22–23:

> brahmaṇo jagadutpatteḥ kramo 'yam avagamyatām

VII. [*vasantatilakā*]
maṇḍāṅśumaṇḍalavinirggatavāridhārā
mandākinī jayati dhūrjjaṭinā dhṛtā yā
mūrdhnā nagendratanayārddhaśarīrasandheḥ
premānuvandham iva darśayitum prakṛṣṭam ⊙

7a maṇḍāṅśu°] Understand *mandāṃśu*°. **7c** The syllable *yā* of °tanayā°, which was visible to Finot and Jacques, is no longer visible today (June 2015).

मण्डाङ्शुमण्डलविनिर्ग्गतवारिधारा
मन्दाकिनी जयति धूर्ज्जटिना धृता या
मूर्ध्ना नगेन्द्रतनयार्द्धशरीरसन्धेः
प्रेमानुवन्धमिव दर्शयितुम्प्रकृष्टम् ७

7. May Gaṅgā (*mandākinī*) be victorious (*jayati*), who (*yā*) is borne (*dhṛtā*) by Śiva (*dhūrjaṭinā*) on his head (*mūrdhnā*), her floods of water having issued from

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vakṣyamāṇena tapasā brahmādāv upacīyate
aṅkurotpādakaṃ bījam ucchūnaṃ syād yathā jalāt
sṛjyasya buddhyā saṃyuktaṃ syād brahmopacitaṃ tathā

Let this order of the creation of the world from brahman be understood. Brahman at the first stage comes to be endowed with *tapas* which is described later on and thereby it becomes efficacious in creating the world. Just as a seed, which is productive of sprout, becomes swollen because of water, in the same way, Brahman associated with the knowledge of the world to be created becomes effective (to bring forth the world). (Translation adapted from Mishra 1992, pp. 190–191.)

Vidyāraṇya is presumably echoing Śaṅkara's *Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhāṣya* on 1.1:8, where we read (p. 133): ***tapasā*** *jñānenotpattividhijñatayā bhūtayonyakṣaraṃ brahma* ***cīyate*** *upacīyate utpipādayiṣad idaṃ jagadaṅkuraṃ bījam ucchūnatāṃ gacchati, putram iva pitā harṣeṇa*.

For another instance of the image, Finot refers forward to stanza 159. For the sowing of the primordial seed in the waters, cf. K. 806, st. 236 and the annotation thereon. For similar language used of Brahmā's creation, cf. Sarvajñātmamuni's *Pramāṇalakṣana*, bottom of p. 13: *avyākṛtanāmarūpaviṣayo brahmaṇo jaḍaśakter ādyo vikāro bījasyevocchūnatā caitanyavyāpto brahmaṇa īkṣaṇam ucyate*, "The primordial transformation, in which sense-objects have not yet developed their names and forms, of the insentient Power [viz. Māyā] of Brahmā, like the swelling of a seed, [but] accompanied by [Brahmā's] awareness, is what we call Brahmā's 'act of seeing'." After quoting from works of Vedānta, it is worth observing that in fact the image equally suits the purposes of the Sāṅkhyas, as this sentence of Vyomaśiva's *Vyomavatī* attests (p. 102): *tathā ca sāṃkhyāḥ pradhānasyādyo vikāro buddhir bījasyocchūnateva*. "And so say the Sāṅkhyas: the first transformation of primordial matter, like the swelling of a seed, is the *buddhi*."

the orb of the moon (*mandāṅśumaṇḍalavinirgatavāridhārā*),[94] as though [he wished] (*iva*) to show (*darśayitum*) his bond of love [for her] (*premānubandham*) to be superior (*prakṛṣṭam*) to his bond with half the body of the daughter of the mountain (*nagendratanayārdhaśarīrasandheḥ*).[95]

VIII. [*sragdharā*]
(7) āsīd ā nīrarāśer avanipatiśiroratnamālārccitāṅghrir
vvālādityābhidhāno py arikulakamalopaplavākhaṇḍacandraḥ
somākauṇḍinyavaṅśāmvaratalatilako bhūpatir bhūrikīrttir
ddorddaṇḍoddyotitāninditapurabharitāṃ rājyalakṣmīṃ vahan yaḥ ⊙

8a avani°] Jacques; avanī° Finot (unmetrical) **8b** vvālādityā°] Jacques; vālādityā° Finot **8c** somākauṇḍinya°] Jacques; S[o]mākauṇḍinya° Finot **8d** ddorddaṇḍo°] Jacques; ddordaṇḍo° Finot

आसीदा नीरराशेरवनिपतिशिरोरत्नमालार्च्चिताङ्घ्रि-
व्वालादित्याभिधानो ऽप्यरिकुलकमलोपप्लवाखण्डचन्द्रः
सोमाकौण्डिन्यवङ्शाम्वरतलतिलको भूपतिर्भूरिकीर्त्ति-
र्द्दोर्द्दण्डोद्द्योतितानिन्दितपुरभरितां राज्यलक्ष्मीं वहन्यः ८

8. There was once (*āsīt*) a lord of the earth (*bhūpatiḥ*) whose feet were worshipped by the crest-jewels of kings (*avanipatiśiroratnamālārcitāṅghriḥ*) up to (*ā*) the ocean['s

[94] For *mandāṅśu* in the sense of "moon", see the remarks of Bhattacharya 1991:66, ¶ 258.

[95] If this interpretation is right, the notion is that the head is higher than the rest of the body and therefore superior to the parts of the body where Umā and Śiva are conjoined as Ardhanārīśvara. Gerdi Gerschheimer suggested that the moon is simply the source of all water and therefore here the source of the water in the Gaṅgā. The point here could simply be that the Gaṅgā comes into contact with the moon of Śiva's diadem and so the moon appears to be the point from which the Gaṅgā flowed. What is strange about this is that Śiva's diadem should usually be a digit of the crescent moon and not its full orb. Nirajan Kafle, however, suggested that we might understand that the expression is parallel to *khaṇḍendumaṇḍala*, but that *khaṇḍa* is elliptically not expressed. But Judit Törzsök suggests instead that the full moon is perhaps intended because the idea might rather be to make clear that it is the celestial Gaṅgā flowing forth before she reaches Śiva's matted locks (where the crescent moon resides).

The conceit here is presumably that Śiva is supposed to be showing to Gaṅgā that his bond of love with her is not inferior to his bond of love with Pārvatī. He does this because Gaṅgā and Pārvatī are typically supposed to be jealous of each other. As Bhattacharya, citing st. 103 of K. 528, remarks (1961:93), Śiva, Umā and Gaṅgā form a sort of trinity in Cambodia. (See also st. 202 below.)

shore] (*nīrarāśeḥ*), who, although (*api*) called "Rising Sun", Bālāditya (*bālādityābhidhānaḥ*), was a full moon that resulted in the destruction of the lotuses that were enemy houses (*arikulakamalopaplavākhaṇḍacandraḥ*), a beauty-mark on [the face of] the sky that was the lineage of Somā and Kauṇḍinya (*somākauṇḍinyavaṅśāmvaratalatilakaḥ*),[96] rich in fame (*bhūrikīrtiḥ*), who (*yaḥ*) bore (*vahan*)[97] a royal glory (*rājyalakṣmīm*) that was full in/by the city of Anindita, [a city] which had been made brilliant by the efforts of his bolt-like arms (*dordaṇḍoddyotitānināditapurabharitām*).[98]

[96]The earliest version of this myth is narrated at the beginning of K. 1142 (and of K. 483, which shares the same opening, but illegibly damaged), which Claude Jacques has partially edited (in Ishizawa, Jacques and Sok 2007:47–53). Those two inscriptions give the genealogy of a Bhavavarman (whom Jacques takes to be a Bhavavarman III, but who, as Éric Bourdonneau has pointed out to me — and as we hope to show in a forthcoming publication — must in fact be Bhavavarman II), and this genealogy begins with a certain Candravarman who was born into the lunar lineage of Somā, daughter of the Moon, and chief wife of Kauṇḍinya, whose name is presumably meant to suggest that he was a brahmin from "India". The first stanza is this:

> āsīt somasya duhitā somā nāma yaśasvinī
> śrīkauṇḍinyasya mahiṣī yā dakṣasyeva vīraṇī
>
> There was once a daughter of the Moon called Somā, renowned, who became the chief wife of Śrī-Kauṇḍinya, as Vīraṇī [was the chief wife] of Dakṣa.

[97]Strictly speaking, we require this present participle to be the main verb of the relative clause, or we must mentally supply a verb-form such as *āste*.

[98]The last quarter could instead be understood to mean "who bore a royal glory rendered full in/by Aninditapura, [a city] which had been made brilliant by the efforts of his bolt-like arm". Such an interpretation would imply that Aninditapura had been made splendid by Bālāditya, but not necessarily founded by him. Nevertheless, Cœdès (in the introduction to the Pre Rup inscription) observes that no king earlier than Bālāditya is associated with Aninditapura. The parallels in K. 806, st. 6b (*rājyaśrīmaṇḍitānināditapuravikasanmātṛvaṃśādhipatyaḥ*) and K. 263, st. 5d and K. 669, st. 6d (*daurdaṇḍadyotitānināditapuravilasadrājyalakṣmīn dadhānaḥ*) are not of decisive help in resolving the question. The interpretation of Finot (1925:332) seems less likely, for he wrongly supposes *bharita* "full" to be an irregular form for *bhārita* "caused to be carried", whereas in fact it is commonly used in the sense of "full" (cf. Renou 1961:199, § 153b), for instance in *nirvacana*-analysis of the name Bhairava, as in this example: *…bhairavo viśvabharitasvabhāvatvāt pūrṇaḥ*, "…[he is known as] Bhairava [in as much as he is] full, since his nature is filled with the universe" (commentary on *Bodhapañcadaśikā* 15, p. 18. The same form recurs in st. 110, where the neighbouring words *bibhrat* and *bhāra* playfully suggest the derivation that Finot supposed, but it is not used in such a way there either.

Given that the king Bālāditya and his cities are located in quasi-mythical time, sandwiched between Somā and Kauṇḍinya on the one hand, and Viśvarūpa and Sarasvatī on the other, it is perhaps in any case not wise to attempt to prise historical conclusions from this and the following stanza. Accordingly, no fresh speculations are offered here on the location of the "kingdom" centred on a "capital city" called Aninditapura. For Claude Jacques, who has

IX. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(8) proddṛptadviṣatān dadhad yudhi vadhūvaidhavyadīkṣāvidhim
vaddhnan yaś śiśirāṅśuraśmiviśadāṃ satkīrttimālāṃ guṇaiḥ
svarggadvārapure puraṇḍarapurapraspardhisaṃvarddhane
sārvvaś śārvvam atiṣṭhipat savibhavaṃ liṅgaṃ vidhānānvitam ⊙

9c puraṇḍara°] Understand: *purandara°*. **9d** sārvvaś] Jacques; sārthvaś Finot

प्रोद्दृप्तद्विषतान्दधद्युधि वधूवैधव्यदीक्षाविधिम्
वद्धनन्यशिशिराङ्शुरश्मिविशदां सत्कीर्त्तिमालां गुणैः
स्वर्ग्गद्वारपुरे पुरण्डरपुरप्रस्पर्द्धिसंवर्द्धने
सार्व्वश्शार्व्वमतिष्ठिपत्सविभवं लिङ्गं विधानान्वितम् ९

9. Bālāditya (*yaḥ*), performing (*dadhat*) in battle (*yudhi*) the rite of initiation into widowhood for the wives (*vadhūvaidhavyadīkṣāvidhim*) of his overweening enemies (*proddṛptadviṣatām*), making (*badhnan*) a garland of his great glories (*satkīrttimālām*) that was white as the beams of the cool-rayed [moon] (*śiśirāṅśuraśmiviśadām*) out of the threads that were his virtues (*guṇaiḥ*),[99] being beneficial to all (*sārvaḥ*)/a devotee of Śiva (*sārvaḥ*)/a universal emperor (*sārvaḥ*),[100] in Svargadvārapura,[101] a city whose pros-

gathered the epigraphical evidence together in his 1972 article "Sur l'emplacement du royaume d'Aninditapura", it was a pre-Angkorian kingdom that covered the Angkor region. The cæsura after Anin reflects the way the name may be abbreviated in Khmer sources, as a note in Jacques' second transcription (Jacques[2]) recalls: "On remarquera, après Barth [à propos d'une stance analogue de K. 263, cf. ISCC, n° XIV, p. 84, n. 5], que, dans cette stance *sragdharā*, la première césure semble n'être pas observée ; or elle couperait dans tous les exemples *aninditapura°* après *anin°* et on peut se demander si, placée ici, la césure n'est pas volontaire. Il faut en effet se rappeler qu'Aninditapura est souvent abrégé en khmer en Anin".

As for Bālāditya, on the basis of the name-ending, Cœdès has suggested a link with the lineage of the otherwise isolated king Nṛpāditya mentioned in K. 3 from the Mekong river delta (1936:11), but this is of course highly speculative.

[99] The word *guṇaiḥ* is effectively translated twice, since it is used punningly both in the sense of "threads" and "virtues".

[100] As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out, because of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.10, the word *sārvaḥ* might most naturally be understood to mean something like "beneficial to all", "who benefits all". The word is used (presumably in this sense; so certainly both Vallabhadeva and Mallinātha) in *Śiśupālavadha* 14:4. We assume that it also stands for *sārvabhaumaḥ*, as well as being a possible synonym of Śaiva (because Sarva may mean Śiva).

[101] As far as I am aware, no place has been identified with this toponym.

perity rivalled that of the city of Purandara (*purandarapurapraspardhisaṃvardhane*),[102] installed (*atiṣṭhipat*) a Śaiva (*śārvam*) *liṅga*, along with rich endowments (*savibhavam*), according to the rules [of revealed literature] (*vidhānānvitam*).

X. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(9) vrahmakṣatraparaṃparodayakarī tadbhāgineyī satī
puṇyan nāma sarasvatīti dadhatī khyātā jagatpāvanī
nānāmnāyagirāṃ gabhīram adhikaṃ pātraṃ dvijānāṃ varaṃ
sindhūnām iva sindhurājam agamad yā viśvarūpaṃ priyam ⊙

10c nānāmnāya°] Jacques; nānāmmāya° Finot

ब्रह्मक्षत्रपरंपरोदयकरी तद्भागिनेयी सती
पुण्यन्नाम सरस्वतीति दधती ख्याता जगत्पावनी
नानाम्नायगिरां गभीरमधिकं पात्रं द्विजानां वरं
सिन्धूनामिव सिन्धुराजमगमद्या विश्वरूपं प्रियम् १०

10. His sister's daughter (*tadbhāgineyī*)[103] was a good woman (*satī*), who gave rise to the lineage that was both brahmin and *kṣatriya* (*brahmakṣatraparaṃparodayakarī*),[104] bearing (*dadhatī*) the meritorious (*puṇyam*) name (*nāma*) of Sarasvatī, famed (*khyātā*) for purifying the world (*jagatpāvanī*), who (*yā*) obtained (*agamat*) as her husband (*priyam*) Viśvarūpa, most excellent (*varam*) among brahmins (*dvijānām*), a deep (*gabhīram*) and large (*adhikam*) receptacle (*pātram*) for the teachings of various traditions (*nānāmnāyagirām*), like (*iva*) the ocean (*sindhurājam*)[, a deep and large receptacle] for the rivers (*sindhūnām*).[105]

[102] The city of Svargadvārapura is of course compared here to the mythical city of Indra (Purandara), often called Amarāvatī; but it is possible that it is also compared to a now unlocalisable historical Khmer city called Purandarapura, which Claude Jacques, among others, thought might have been the capital of Jayavarman I, a possibility very tentatively acknowledged by Vickery (e.g. 1998:239). For a thorough discussion of the evidence and hypotheses advanced to date concerning the occupancy and localisation of a Khmer Purandarapura, see Soutif 2009b.

[103] I have alluded above to the importance in Khmer genealogies of a sister's children, in other words to the privileged nature of the relationship between a maternal uncle (*mātula*) and his uterine nephews (*bhāgineya* / *svasrīya*) and nieces (*bhāgineyī*): see p. 42 of the introduction.

[104] In non-Khmer contexts, the offspring of a brahmin and a *kṣatriya* would in theory not be so regarded. For some discussion of the special status *brahmakṣatra* among the Khmers, see p. 57 of the introduction.

[105] Finot translates: "comme [la meilleure] des rivières va vers l'Océan"; but this would

XI. [*sragdharā*]
(10) somādye sārabhūte nijakulanivahe bhūridhāmni vyatīte
rudropendrāmarendraprabhṛtisuravarais saṅgate nandanārtham
tadvaṅśakṣīrasindhoḥ pravikasitayaśaḥpārijātābhijātā
lebhe janmāvadātaṃ bhuvanahitakarī yā dvitīyeva lakṣmīḥ ⊙

11a nijakulanivahe] Finot; nijakulinivahe Jacques. There is indeed the trace of some hesitation beside the upper final node of the *la*, as though the engraver had either written and then effaced the vowel-marker for an *i*, or as though he had begun to write it and then stopped. But it seems as though *la* was what he intended to leave marked upon the stone, and not *li*. **11a** °dhāmni] Jacques; °dhāmmi Finot **11c** The stone has been deeply worn away so that the letters *rasi* are not visible, and it seems that they were already illegible when the old Hanoi estampage was made, which suggests that Finot might not actually have been able to read them, but supplied them from context. **11c** pravikasita°] Jacques; pravikarita° Finot **11d** janmāvadātaṃ] Jacques; janmāvadātā Finot

सोमाद्ये सारभूते निजकुलनिवहे भूरिधाम्नि व्यतीते
रुद्रोपेन्द्रामरेन्द्रप्रभृतिसुरवरैस्सङ्गते नन्दनार्थम्
तद्वङ्शक्षीरसिन्धोः प्रविकसितयशःपारिजाताभिजाता
लेभे जन्मावदातं भुवनहितकरी या द्वितीयेव लक्ष्मीः ११

11. When a multitude of [members of] her own family (*nijakulanivahe*), who were its core (*sārabhūte*), whose glory was great (*bhūridhāmni*) and whose origin was Somā (/the moon) (*somādye*), had passed away (*vyatīte*) and been joined [variously] (*saṅgate*) with the [heavens of the] greatest of the gods, with Rudra, with Viṣṇu, with Indra and with others (*rudropendrāmarendraprabhṛtisuravaraiḥ*),[106] so that they might there take

involve troubling asymmetry between *upamāna* and *upameya* (for which see Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* 4.2.8 and 4.2.12). More likely is that her husband Viśvarūpa is the deep receptacle of the teachings of various scriptures just as the ocean is the receptacle of the rivers. The word *pātra* also refers to a "suitable person", and thus here the sense that he is a "suitable groom" is also present. Cf. the different but related image of *Raghuvaṃśa* 10:28:

> bahudhāpy āgamair bhinnāḥ panthānaḥ siddhihetavaḥ
> tvayy eva nipatanty oghā jāhnavīyā ivārṇave
>
> All the paths that are means to realisation, although they are numerous because they derive from different traditions, go to you alone, just as all the streams of the Gaṅgā go into the ocean.

[106] This is reminiscent of the Khmer practice of giving posthumous names such as Paramaru-

their pleasure (*nandanārtham*),[107] there took (*lebhe*) pure (*avadātaṃ*)[108] birth (*janma*) a lady as noble as the Pārijāta tree [but] blossoming with fame [for flowers] (*pravikasitayaśaḥpārijātābhijātā*), who had a disposition for bestowing good upon the world (*bhuvanahitakarī*), who was like (*iva*) a second (*dvitīyā*) Lakṣmī,

noble kin (-abhijātā*) to the famous (*pravikasitayaśaḥ°*) Pārijāta tree,*[109]

[produced] from the ocean of milk that was the lineage of that [Sarasvatī] (*tadvaṅśakṣīrasindhoḥ*).

XII. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(11) yā nāmnāpi mahendradevyabhihitā bhūbhṛtsutaiveśvarī
devī divyavilāsinībhir asakṛt saṅgīyamānastutiḥ
bhāsvadvaṅśasamudgato [bhava]purādhīśāvanīśātmajo
yāṃ saṃprāpya mahendravarmmanṛpatis sārthām adhād īśatām ⊙

12c °samudgato [bhava]°] Jacques;[110] ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ Finot. None of these letters is visible today (June 2015). **12d** yāṃ] Jacques; yām Finot

या नाम्नापि महेन्द्रदेव्यभिहिता भूभृत्सुतैवेश्वरी
देवी दिव्यविलासिनीभिरसकृत्सङ्गीयमानस्तुतिः
भास्वद्वङ्शसमुद्गतो [भव]पुराधीशावनीशात्मजो
यां संप्राप्य महेन्द्रवर्म्मनृपतिस्सार्थामधादीशताम् १२

draloka to deceased kings (Jayavarman III, for example, is referred to in posthumous inscriptions as Viṣṇuloka, Īśānavarman II as Paramarudraloka, and Rājendravarman as Śivaloka: see Jacques 2001), but it is perhaps not necessarily a reference to this practice.

[107] One could construe *nandanārtham* with *tadvaṅśakṣīrasindhoḥ*, "[she was born] in order to give pleasure to the milk-ocean of her lineage", but I have decided not to do so because we later rather require the milk-ocean to be ablative.

[108] I have translated "pure", but the word also means "white", and the colour white is indeed suggested also by the words *kṣīrasindhu* and *pārijāta*.

[109] Alternatively, perhaps one could understand *pravikasitayaśaḥ pārijātābhijātā* to mean "was born after the Pārijāta, in such a way as to cause fame to blossom". For the emergence of Lakṣmī from the milk-ocean after the Pārijāta tree emerged (thus making her its sister), see *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 3.9:70ab and 76cd: *mathyamāne tato bhūyaḥ pārijāto mahādrumaḥ… utthitā padmahastā śrīs tasmāt kṣīramahārṇavāt*, "As it was churned, futher [there emerged] from it the great tree Pārijāta … From that ocean of milk arose Śrī, holding lotuses in her hands." Another conceivable possibility, if we understand *pravikasita* to mean "flowers", is that she was "kin to the Pārijāta, with fame as her blossoms".

[110] Aside from being in Jacques's unpublished transcriptions, this restitution also appears in Jacques 1971:172, note 3. It is supported by the mention of Bhavapura in st. 17 of K. 806.

12. Even (*api*) by name (*nāmnā*) [and not just because she was Mahendravarman's Queen] she was called Mahendradevī, a veritable (*eva*) Sovereign/Pārvatī (*īśvarī*),[111] the daughter of kings (/daughter of the Mountain [Himālaya]) (*bhūbhṛtsutā*), a Queen/Goddess (*devī*) whose praises were repeatedly sung (*asakṛtsaṅgīyamānastutiḥ*) by heavenly ladies (*divyavilāsinībhiḥ*).[112] On attaining (*saṃprāpya*) her (*yām*) [as his wife] the king Mahendravarman, the son of the king who was lord of Bhavapura (*bhavapurādhīśāvanīśātmajaḥ*),[113] born of the solar line (*bhāsvadvaṅśasamudgataḥ*),[114] became in a full sense Sovereign/Śiva (*sārthām adhād īśatām*).

XIII. [*sragdharā*]
(12) lakṣmīn tīkṣṇetarāṅśor adhikam adharayan dhvastadoṣāndhakāro
vaddhnan padmānuvandhaṃ prakaṭitatapasā tena patyā prajānām
devyān tasyām [adi]tyān divasakara ivotpāditaḥ kaśyapena
śrīmadrājendravarmmāvanipatir abhavat tejasām ākaro yaḥ ⊙

13a °doṣāndhakāro] Jacques; °doṣāṇḍhakāro Finot

लक्ष्मीन्तीक्ष्णेतराङ्शोरधिकमधरयन्ध्वस्तदोषान्धकारो
वद्ध्नन्पद्मानुवन्धं प्रकटिततपसा तेन पत्या प्रजानाम्
देव्यान्तस्याम[दि]त्यान्दिवसकर इवोत्पादितः कश्यपेन
श्रीमद्राजेन्द्रवर्म्मावनिपतिरभवत्तेजसामाकरो यः १३

13. By this (*tena*) Lord (*patyā*) of subjects (*prajānām*), whose fieriness was plain to see (*prakaṭitatapasā*), was engendered (*utpāditaḥ*) in that royal lady (*devyān tasyām*) a mine

[111] Alternatively, following Finot, we could take *api* as being out of its natural sequence (*bhinnakrama*) and understand "Although by name she was called Mahendradevī, she was a veritable Sovereign (/Īśvarī),…".

[112] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has pointed out, it is conceivable that the mention of her being "praised" by celestial ladies is intended partly as a *nirvacana* of *devī*, since one of the many meanings of the root *div* is "praise", according to *Dhātupāṭha* 4.1: *divu krīḍāvijigīṣāvyavahāradyutistutimodamadasvapnakāntigatiṣu*. It goes without saying that the description fits both the queen and Pārvatī, who is habitually praised not by merely by ladies who are so beautiful that they may be described as "heavenly", but rather by true celestial ladies.

[113] This may be the same as the pre-Angkorian city Bhavapura, the "capital" of Bhavavarman I, which may have had its spiritual centre, the temple of Gambhīreśvara, beside what became the Western Baray. If so, then Rājendravarman's claim to Bhavapura through his father Mahendravarman was a claim to a kingdom in the very place that Rājendravarman restored to the status of "capital city": see the discussion in the introduction on pp. 53ff.

[114] From henceforth, the lineage is thus luni-solar: the moon was mentioned with the expression *somādye* in 11a above.

of fiery light (*tejasām ākaraḥ*) by whom the darkness of all faults was dispelled (*dhvastadoṣāndhakāraḥ*), who, while surpassing (*adharayan*)[115] utterly (*adhikam*) the beauty (*lakṣmīm*) of the moon (*tīkṣṇetarāṅśoḥ*),[116] [and] while forging (*badhnan*) a bond [of affection] with Lakṣmī (*padmānuvandham*), became (*abhavat*) the king (*avanipatiḥ*), the glorious Rājendravarman,

> just as (*iva*) the sun (*divasakaraḥ*), *by whom the darkness of night is dispelled (*dhvastadoṣāndhakāraḥ*), who utterly occludes the lustre of the moon, and who engages the affection of lotuses (*padmānuvandham*),*[117] was engendered (*utpāditaḥ*) in Aditi (*adityām*) by Kaśyapa, *who was a Prajāpati (*patyā prajānām*), and whose ascetic power was manifest (*prakaṭitatapasā*).*

XIV. [*indravajrā*]
(13) dugdhāmvurāśer iva pūrṇṇacandraś
candāṅśuratnād iva citrabhānuḥ
śuddhānvayād yo nitarāṃ viśuddhaḥ
prādurbabhūvākhilabhūpavandyaḥ ⟨⟩[118]

14b candāṅśu°] Understand: *caṇḍāṅśu°*.

दुग्धाम्वुराशेरिव पूर्ण्णचन्द्रश्चन्दाङ्शुरत्नादिव चित्रभानुः
शुद्धान्वयाद्यो नितरां विशुद्धः प्रादुर्बभूवाखिलभूपवन्द्यः १४

[115] This is the present participle of a denominative formed from *adhara*. As pointed out to me by Harunaga Isaacson, the same form is used, for instance, by Bhāravi in *Kirātārjunīya* 16:24.

[116] This expression is recorded as a neologism by Bhattacharya (1991:51, ¶ 163). The sun, as we shall below in the second sense of the pun, defeats the moon because it is obviously brighter, but Rājendravarman presumably defeats the moon because he is simply more beautiful. Of course other ways in which he defeats the moon could be imagined. He defeats it, for instance, in that he is consistently bright, without waxing and waning in successive fortnights, or in that he is spotless, whereas the moon is marked; but since these are not allusively suggested by the context, it seems simplest to assume that Rājendravarman simply defeats the moon by his greater loveliness.

[117] Finot takes this to be "nouant une guirlande de lotus", which seems a curious thing for the sun to do, unless perhaps it is simply understood to mean that the sun creates "strings", which is to say "large numbers" of lotuses.

[118] From here on, a different flourish is used to mark the ends of stanzas that occur in the middle of a line.

14. Like (*iva*) the full moon (*pūrṇacandraḥ*) from the ocean of milk (*amburāśeḥ*),[119] like (*iva*) fire (*citrabhānuḥ*) from the sun-stone (*caṇḍāṅśuratnāt*),[120] he (*yaḥ*) came forth (*prādurbabhūva*) exceptionally (*nitarām*) pure (*viśuddhaḥ*) from a pure lineage (*śuddhānvayāt*), revered by all kings (*akhilabhūpavandyaḥ*).

XV. [*upajāti*]
tejaḥprakāśas tamasāṃ vināśo diśāṃ prasādaḥ sphuṭatā kalānām
yat tigmatejastuhināṅśukṛtyaṃ yenodaye tan nikhilaṃ vitene ⊙

15a °prakāśas tamasāṃ] °prakāśas tamas[o] Jacques; °prakaśas tamaso Finot (*unmetrical*) **15c** yat tigmatejastuhināṅśu°] yattigmatejas tuhināṅśu° Finot

तेजःप्रकाशस्तमसां विनाशो दिशां प्रसादः स्फुटता कलानाम्
यत्तिग्मतेजस्तुहिनाङ्शुकृत्यं येनोदये तन्निखिलं वितेने १५

15. The shining of light (*tejaḥprakāśaḥ*), the destruction (*vināśaḥ*) of darkness (*tamasaḥ*), the serenity (*prasādaḥ*) of the directions (*diśām*), the clarity (*sphuṭatā*) of all the digits/arts (*kalānām*)—all (*nikhilam*) these (*yat … tat*) tasks (°*kṛtyam*) of sun and moon (*tigmatejastuhināṅśu*°) he accomplished (*vitene*) when he rose (*udaye*).[121]

[119] As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out to me, this opening would surely have been expected to remind readers of *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:12:

> tadanvaye śuddhimati prasūtaḥ śuddhimattaraḥ
> dilīpa iti rājendur induḥ kṣīranidhāv iva
>
> In his pure lineage was born, even purer, a very moon among kings, called Dilipa, as the moon was born in the ocean of milk.

[120] This expression is recorded as a neologism by Bhattacharya 1991:48, ¶ 141. See also his p. 26. Both Rājendravarman's lunar and solar properties are thus hinted at.

[121] Finot's translation (1925:333) is muddled here, in part because he decided to introduce a word-break after *tigmatejas*:

> Son ardent éclat dissipait les ténèbres, tandis que la clarté de ses *kalās* (talents ou parties du disque lunaire) apaisait l'horizon : ainsi, soleil, il remplit dès son apparition tout le rôle de la lune.

The first two activities are perhaps easier to associate with the sun and the second two with the moon, but all can be associated with Rājendravarman. Whereas the moon spreads clarity across the sky in all directions, Rājendravarman spreads serenity and peace across the world in all directions. Whereas the moon shows brightness in its digits, Rājendravarman evinces skill in all the arts. Harunaga Isaacson has kindly pointed out a stanza (of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, and therefore much later) that speaks of *diśāṃ prasādaḥ* as one of the effects of the rising of the

XVI. [*upajāti*]
(14) ramyo pi samyak prasavena somyaḥ santānakas santatam udgatena
mahāphalaṃ yaṃ samavāpya bhūmnā ruroha koṭiṃ ramaṇīyatāyāḥ ⟨⟩

16a samyak pra°] samyakpra° FINOT, JACQUES **16a** somyaḥ] JACQUES; saumyaḥ FINOT. Understand: *saumyaḥ*. **16c** bhūmnā] JACQUES; bhūmnaḥ FINOT

रम्यो ऽपि सम्यक्प्रसवेन सोम्यः सन्तानकस्सन्ततमुद्गतेन
महाफलं यं समवाप्य भूम्ना रुरोह कोटिं रमणीयतायाः १६

Although (*api*) [already] properly (*samyak*) lovely (*ramyaḥ*) because of its offspring (*prasavena*) that constantly (*santatam*) arises (*udgatena*)[122] this dynasty (*santānakaḥ*) derived from the moon/Somā (*saumyaḥ*), on reaching (*samavāpya*) Rājendravarman (*yam*) as its great fruit (*mahāphalam*), fully (*bhūmnā*),[123] climbed (*ruroha*) the pinnacle (*koṭim*) of loveliness (*ramaṇīyatāyāḥ*)…

*— a [veritable] kindly (*saumyaḥ*) Santānaka tree, although [already] properly lovely because of its constantly evident and full flowering,*[124] *on producing*

---

moon. It may be found numbered 216 in a section called *Avaśiṣṭānyoktayaḥ* of a collection of his poetical works (SHARMA 1958:147):

yasyodayenaiva diśāṃ prasādas tāpāpanodo 'pi jagattrayasya
cakoracañcūpuṭapāraṇe tu candrasya tasyāsti kiyān prayāsaḥ

On the part of the moon, which clears the quarters and lifts the heat of the triple universe merely by its rising, how much exertion is there to feed the beak of the partridge (*cakora*°)?

(The partridge, curiously not mentioned in what survives of Sanskrit produced by the Khmers, is said to subsist only on moonbeams, and the rhetorical question is presumably to emphasise that the moon does all these things without any effort.)

It is conceivable that all activities in the stanza could be intended to be associated both with the moon and the sun. The idea of *sphuṭatā kalānām* when applied to the sun could reflect that it renders every tiny thing (*kalā*) plainly visible.

[122] Perhaps one could instead translate "by its constantly renewed instances of pure birth".

[123] Here FINOT has read *bhūmnaḥ*, which he takes to be "earth". His translation does not, moreover, bring out the full sense of the stanza, for he does not render the double meanings:

Le bienfaisant Santānaka, bien que charmant par sa fructification propre et régulière, quand il eut obtenu de la terre [ce roi] comme un fruit magnifique, atteignit au plus haut point du charme.

[124] Perhaps one could also add "by ultimate generosity that is constantly in evidence".

its great fruit, fully climbs the pinnacle of loveliness.[125]

XVII. [*upajāti*]
vivarddhamāno nvaham iddhakāntir vvapurvviśeṣeṇa manohareṇa
yas sarvvapakṣodayam ādadhānas tiraścakāraiva himāṅśulakṣmīm ⊙

17a nvaham iddha°] Jacques; nvaha[m i]ddha° Finot **17b** vvapurvviśeṣeṇa] Jacques; vapurviśeṣeṇa Finot

विवर्द्धमानो ऽन्वहमिद्धकान्तिर्व्वपुर्व्विशेषेण मनोहरेण
यस्सर्व्वपक्षोदयमादधानस्तिरश्चकारैव हिमाङ्शुलक्ष्मीम् १७

17. Waxing (*vivardhamānaḥ*) daily (*anvaham*), being of a lambent loveliness (*iddhakāntiḥ*), engendering (*ādadhānaḥ*) success on all sides (/achieving growth in every lunar fortnight) (*sarvapakṣodayam*),[126] he outshone (*tiraścakāra*) indeed (*eva*) the

[125] This could be regarded as an instance of *dhvani* of a simile (*upamālaṅkāradhvani*). As Harunaga Isaacson has suggested, it is just possible that there is a faint echo of *Raghuvaṃśa* 10:79, where Kālidāsa writes that a celestial rain of precisely *santānaka* flowers on Daśaratha's palace celebrates the birth of Rāma:

santānakamayī vṛṣṭir bhavane tasya petuṣī
sanmaṅgalopakārāṇāṃ śobhādvaiguṇyam ādadhe

The rain of *santānaka* flowers that fell on his palace rendered its auspicious decorations doubly beautiful.

[126] As Finot observes (1925:334, note 1), there is a contrast intended with the moon, which grows only in the bright fortnights, not in the darkening ones. Finot's note reads: "Le roi croissait sans cesse, tandis que la lune croît et décroît ; il avait une beauté flamboyante, tandis qu'elle n'a qu'un éclat froid ; il suscitait en même temps tous les *pakṣa* (partisans), tandis qu'elle n'a que des *pakṣa* (quinzaines) successifs : pour ces trois raisons, il était supérieur à la lune."

There is no doubt also a suggestion that Rājendravarman, unlike the moon, waxes not only every day (*anvaham*), but also "all day long". For such conceits, cf. *Kumārasambhava* 7:35 and 7:69, *Meghadūta* 7 and *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:34 (in the reading known to the tenth-century commentator Vallabhadeva). The stanza thus furnishes an instance of *vyatirekālaṅkāra*, which is defined by Daṇḍin in *Kāvyādarśa* 2:180 thus:

śabdopātte prātīte vā sādṛśye vastunor dvayoḥ
tatra yad bhedakathanaṃ vyatirekaḥ sa kathyate

Where similarity exists between two objects — either stated in words or implied — expressing a distinction is called *vyatireka*. (Translation adapted from that of Eppling 1989:863.)

loveliness of the moon (*himāṅśulakṣmīm*) with his particular beauty (*vapurviśeṣeṇa*),[127] which captivated hearts (*manohareṇa*).

XVIII. [*upajāti*]
(15) yaś śaiśave py āśu tathā kalābhiḥ
pūrṇṇo nvahaṃ śabdaguṇe tidīptaḥ
yathā kalāvattvam apīndulabdhañ
jādyānvitan dūram adhaścakāra ⟨⟩

18d jādyānvitan] Understand: *jāḍyānvitan*.

यश्शैशवे ऽप्याशु तथा कलाभिः पूर्णो ऽन्वहं शब्दगुणे ऽतिदीप्तः
यथा कलावत्त्वमपीन्दुलब्धजाड्यान्वितन्दूरमधश्चकार १८

18. Even (*api*) in his infancy (*śaiśave*) he became so quickly (*āśu*) filled (*pūrṇaḥ*) with [all the] arts (*kalābhiḥ*), [and] daily (*anvaham*) grew so (*tathā*) exceptionally brilliant (*atidīptaḥ*) in the qualities of his rhetoric (*śabdaguṇe*),[128] that (*…yathā*) he eclipsed (*adhaścakāra*) by far (*dūram*) even (*api*) the moon's quality of being possessed of *kalā*s (*kalāvattvam*), which is accompanied by coldness/stupidity (*jāḍyānvitam*).[129]

The figure *vyatireka* is a particular favourite with eulogists, who seek favourably to contrast the king they praise with personages of myth, planets or the like. We shall see many other instances below.

[127] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma and Judit Törzsök have observed, we can also understand this to mean that he had a very special body that conformed to all the ideals of *Sāmudrikaśāstra* (cf. st. 25 below).

[128] These are perhaps not formally puns in the first half of the stanza, given that there is no masculine word for the moon to which these attributes could be attached as adjectives; but since the comparison with the moon is implicit (and will be explicitly touched upon in the next half-verse), the reader is expected at once to understand a punning second sense that would apply to the moon: the moon becomes "full with digits" (even if it does not do so at once when it is new and therefore "in its infancy") and it "shines very brightly (*atidīptaḥ*) in the ether (*śabdaguṇe*)", but not every day (*anvaham*). For the use of *śabdaguṇa* to mean "having the special property of sound" and therefore "ether" (a detail that escaped Finot), see *Raghuvaṃśa* 13:1.

[129] The well-known watery "coldness" (*jālya* / *jāḍya*) of the moon is contrasted with Rājendravarman's intelligence because the word chosen to express it here, *jāḍya*, also expresses "stupidity". Finot (1925:334, note 2) instead supposes the coldness of the moon to be contrasted with Rājendravarman's being ardent (*atidīpta*) in the pursuit of beautiful language.

The rhetorical figure, achieved with the help of *śleṣa*, could be regarded as *vyatirekālaṅkāra*, but it seems probable that Daṇḍin would have regarded it as an instance of what he called *pratiṣedhopamā*, and this stanza might even be a conscious riff upon Daṇḍin's definition of that figure (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:33):

XIX. [*upajāti*]
nirasya doṣāvasaraṃ sphurantī prakāśitārthā bhuvane śnuvānā
vidyānavadyena mukhena yasya prāk saṃgatainīva dinasya dīptiḥ ⊙

19a doṣāvasaraṃ] Jacques; doṣā[n pra]saraṃ Finot. Today (June 2015), one can read only *doṣāva … (ra)ṃ*.

निरस्य दोषावसरं स्फुरन्ती प्रकाशितार्था भुवने ऽश्नुवाना
विद्यानवद्येन मुखेन यस्य प्राक्संगतैनीव दिनस्य दीप्तिः १९

19. Knowledge (*vidyā*) early (*prāk*) was united (*saṅgatā*) with his faultless (*anavadyena*) mouth (*mukhena*), just as (*iva*) the radiance (*dīptiḥ*) of the sun (*ainī*) [early[130] joins the mouth of] the day (*dinasya*) —

— [knowledge] which shines (*sphurantī*) having dispelled (*nirasya*) all opportunity for faults (*doṣāvasaram*), which reveals meaning (*prakāśitārthā*) and which pervades [every text's meaning] (*aśnuvānā*) in the world (*bhuvane*).

— *[radiance] which shines after pushing aside the nighttime (*doṣāvasaram*), which illuminates [all] things (*prakāśitārthā*) and which pervades [everything] in the world .*

XX. [*upajāti*]
(16) āsādya śaktiṃ vivudhopanītāṃ māheśvarīṃ jñānamayīm amoghām
kumārabhāve vijitārivarggo yo dīpayām āsa mahendralakṣmīm ⟨⟩

आसाद्य शक्तिं विवुधोपनीतां माहेश्वरीं ज्ञानमयीममोघाम्
कुमारभावे विजितारिवग्गों यो दीपयामास महेन्द्रलक्ष्मीम् २०

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na jātu śaktir indos te mukhena pratigarjitum
kalaṅkino jaḍasyeti pratiṣedhopamaiva sā

The power of the moon, blemished and cold/insentient can never rival your face. This is a comparison of "prohibition".

Gerow (1971:160) distinguishes this from similar figures thus:

This figure differs from *nindā* in that here the mood is the indicative rather than the "optative". In *vyatireka*, the virtue of the subject, rather than the vice of the object, is usually alleged as prohibition.

[130] Alternatively, we could take *prāk* punningly here to refer to the East.

20. As Crown Prince (*kumārabhāve*), after attaining (*āsādya*) the invincible (*amoghām*) power (*śaktim*) of Great King (*māheśvarīm*), transmitted to him by pandits (*vibudhopanītām*)—[a power] replete with knowledge (*jñāna-mayīm*)—, Rājendravarman caused the [royal] splendour of [his father] Mahendra (*mahendralakṣmīm*) to shine (*dīpayām āsa*) after vanquishing his [father's] enemies (*vijitārivargaḥ*).

> *Being [a veritable] Skanda (*kumārabhāve*), after attaining (*āsādya*) the invincible [spear-like weapon called] Śakti from Śiva (*māheśvarīm*) that is impregnated with mantras (*jñānamayīm*) and that was transmitted to him by the god [Indra] (*vibudhopanītām*),*[131] *he caused the splendour of Great Indra (*mahendralakṣmīm*) to shine after vanquishing the enemies [of the gods].*

> In youth (*kumārabhāve*) [itself], having attained Śiva's (*māheśvarīm*) Power (*śaktim*) of Omniscience (*jñānamayīm*) transmitted through [an initiating] Guru (*vibudhopanītām*)—[a power] that never fails [to grant salvation] (*amoghām*)—, he vanquished the [internal] enemies [that are the passions] (*vijitārivargaḥ*) and caused the glory of his great kingship (*mahendralakṣmīm*) to shine.[132]

[131] According to the account of Skanda receiving his weapons from the gods that is given in the *śalyaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, it is Indra who gives him the weapon known as Śakti (*Mahābhārata* 9.45:41):

> tataḥ śaktyastram adadad bhagavān pākaśāsanaḥ
> guhāya rājaśārdūla vināśāya suradviṣām
>
> Then the Lord Pākaśāsana gave to Guha the weapon called Śakti, O tiger among kings, for destroying the enemies of the gods.

[132] As we have explained elsewhere (see Goodall and Griffiths 2013), we believe this stanza to convey, in a fashion that is veiled by *śleṣa*, that Rājendravarman received a salvific initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the Mantramārga. For a brief sketch of initiation and its central importance in the Mantramārga, see TAK3, s.v. *dīkṣā*. For other such oblique references to royal initiations in inscriptions, see Goodall 2004:xix–xx, fn. 17. Receiving a "descent" of Śiva's salvific power (*saktipāta*) is often presented as a necessary prerequisite for the performance of a salvific initiation (see Goodall 1998:xxxii–xxxvi), but another aspect of Śiva's *śakti* is also at work in the initiation itself, and thus initiation is sometimes even described as that "power of Śiva that is called initiation". See, for example, Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary ad *Mokṣakārikā* 44c–46b, where we read *tasya ca karaṇaṃ svaśaktir dīkṣākhyaiva*, "And His instrument [for liberating souls] is nothing other than the Power of His called 'Initiation' ". Cf. also Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary on *Mataṅgapārameśvara kriyāpāda* 7:40–41. It is this sort of usage that is alluded to in this third level of meaning, which is, somewhat unusually, not a second non-contextual reading, but an extra contextual one, describing Rājendravarman and not some figure of myth, but in terms perhaps intended to be incomprehensible to non-initiates. This initiation did

XXI. [*upajāti*]
pṛthupratītaṃ prathitaṃ guṇaughais
sadvaṅśajātaṃ prathane pradhānam
dhanur mmahat kṣatrakulañ ca tulyaṃ
yaś śikṣayā nāmayati sma tuṅgam ⊙

21a pṛthupratītaṃ prathitaṃ] Jacques[2]; pṛthupratīta[pra]thita° Finot (*unmetrical*); pṛthupratītaprathita° Jacques[1] (*unmetrical*) **21c** mmahat] Jacques; mahat Finot

पृथुप्रतीतं प्रथितं गुणौघैस्सद्वङ्शजातं प्रथने प्रधानम्
धनुर्म्महत्क्षत्रकुलञ्च तुल्यं यश्शिक्षया नामयति स्म तुङ्गम् २१

21. Thanks to his training (*śikṣayā*), he bent (*nāmayati sma*) a great (*mahat*) bow (*dhanuḥ*),

> which was tall (*tuṅgam*), broad (*pṛthu*), trusted (*pratītam*),[133] spread wide (*prathitam*), with [a string of] numerous strands (*guṇaughaiḥ*), made of good bamboo (*sadvaṃśajātam*), excellent for dispersing [arrows] (*prathane pradhānam*),

and (*ca*), similarly (*tulyam*),[134] [he caused] the great *kṣatriya* race (*kṣatrakulam*) [to bow],

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not serve "only" for liberation, as the last quarter of the stanza indicates, for we shall see below, for instance in stanza 40, that Rājendravarman also went on to use his access to the ritual technology of the Mantramārga to further glorify his kingship.

Other stanzas that appear to allude to notions familiar from the Mantramārga are: 31, 40, 59, 88 and 117.

[133] This assumes a *sabhaṅgaśleṣa*, the suggestion of Harunaga Isaacson, which enables us to take *pratītam* to mean "trusted". There are of course other possibilities. We could, for instance, keep *pṛthupratītam* as a compound and understand "widely known".

[134] Identifying the ornament here is tricky. We could treat this as an instance of the ornament called *tulyayogitā*, as described in Jayadeva Pīyūṣavarṣa's *Candrāloka* 5:51c–52:

> kriyādibhir anekasya tulyatā tulyayogitā
> saṅkucanti sarojāni svairiṇiivadanāni ca
> prācīnācalacūḍāgracumbibimbe sudhākare
>
> Equal connection with verb and other[qualifier]s of more than one thing is [known as] *tulyayogitā*: When the moon's orb kissed the tip of pinnacle of the mountain in the East, the lotuses, and the faces of willful ladies, contract.

S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma further pointed out that *tulyam* might also mean "simultaneously", and this would allow us to see a further ornament. Normally, we would expect that the warrior would first bend his bow, and then, after he had begun to shoot, various rival *kṣatriya*s would be

which was lofty (*tuṅgam*), famed from Pṛthu onwards (*pṛthupratītam*),[135]

bowed. Here, however, both actions, one the cause of the other, are miraculously simultaneous, which means that we could also regard this as an instance of the figure *akramātiśayokti*, for which see *Candrāloka* 5:41:

> akramātiśayoktiś ced yugapat kāryakāraṇe
> āliṅganti samaṃ deva jyāṃ śarāś ca parāś ca te
>
> If both the effect and the cause are simultaneous, that is [called] *akramātiśayokti*: Your arrows, Your Majesty (*deva*), and your enemies simultaneously embrace the bowstring/earth (*jyām*).

However, the use of *tulyam* to mean "simultaneously" is not obvious or certain, and the ornament *akramātiśayokti* is perhaps not one that is distinguished earlier than in Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, which appears to allude to the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (see Mellins 2004:11–14), which in turn means that it is too late for it to have influenced the composition of K. 528.

If the poet was indeed trying to produce a specific *alaṃkāra* according to some rhetorical precept, then it makes more sense, if we wish to identify it, to turn to the definitions of a rhetorician whom we know to have influenced the composition, and that leads us back to Daṇḍin (see st. 43 below).

Both senses are contextual here and both meanings are not only compared and connected by the use of the same verb, but one is arguably "lower" (that concerning the bow) and the other "higher" (concerning *kṣatriya*s), which means that we could regard this as an instance of what Daṇḍin calls *tulyayogopamā* (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:48–49):

> adhikena samīkṛtya hīnam ekakriyāvidhau
> yad bruvanti smṛtā seyaṃ tulyayogopamā yathā
> divo jāgarti rakṣāyai pulomārir bhuvo bhavān
> asurās tena hanyante sāvalepās tvayā nṛpāḥ
>
> Equating the inferior with the superior in the performance of the same action — this is considered the Upamā of Equalization.
> Indra (*pulomāriḥ*) watches in heaven's protection, you in the earth's. He destroys *asura*s; you [destroy] arrogant kings.
> (Translation, with suppletions and adjusted punctuation, of Eppling 1989:553 and 556.)

[135] For Pṛthu as the first *kṣatriya*, Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out that in *Harivaṃśa* 2:22 he is described as *kṣatrapūrvajaḥ*, "first-born among *kṣatriya*s". Compare also, for example, *Yaśastilaka* (*āśvāsa* 2, st. 14, p. 204):

> tatrāvantiṣu vikhyātā pṛthuvaṃśodbhavātmanām
> asti viśvaṃbhareśānāṃ rājyāyojjayinī purī
>
> There, among the people of Avanti, there is the city of Ujjayinī, famous for sovereignty among/over/of (?) kings of the earth born of the lineage of Pṛthu.

Here the commentator explains the compound with *pṛthuvaṃśe ikṣvākvādikṣatriyakuleṣu udb-*

spread wide (*prathitam*) because of its numerous virtues (*guṇaughaiḥ*), born of excellent stock (*sadvaṃśajātam*), excellent at spreading [itself] (*prathane pradhānam*).

XXII. [*indravajrā*]
(17) śiṣṭopadiṣṭaṃ pratipadya sadyaḥ
kṣetraṃ yam utkṛṣṭam akṛṣṭapacyam
śraddhāmbhasā siktam arukṣad uccaiś
śāstrasya cāstrasya ca vījam agryam ॥

शिष्टोपदिष्टं प्रतिपद्य सद्यः
क्षेत्रं यमुत्कृष्टमकृष्टपच्यम्
श्रद्धाम्भसा सिक्तमरुक्षदुच्चैश्
शास्त्रस्य चास्त्रस्य च वीजमग्र्यम् २२

22. Upon attaining (*pratipadya*) him (*yam*), [who was] an exceptional (*utkṛṣṭam*) field (*kṣetram*) recommended / trained by experts (*śiṣṭopadiṣṭam*) that gave fruit without being tilled (*akṛṣṭapacyam*),[136] the excellent (*agryam*) seeds (*bījam*) both of *śāstra* and (*ca*) of weaponry (*astrasya*), watered (*siktam*) by the waters of faith (*śraddhāmbhasā*), at once grew (*arukṣat*) tall (*uccaiḥ*).

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hava utpattir ātmanāṃ jīvānāṃ yeṣāṃ te, implying that all families of *kṣatriya*s belong to Pṛthu's lineage.

[136]The form *kṛṣṭapacya* is taught in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.114, apparently with the sense "that ripens [without further effort simply] after ploughing" and used of crops. The word is so used, with an alpha privative, in *Kirātārjunīya* 1:17:

> sukhena labhyā dadhataḥ kṛṣīvalair akṛṣṭapacyā iva sasyasampadaḥ
> vitanvati kṣemam adevamātṛkāś cirāya tasmin kuravaś cakāsati
>
> Under his nurturing rule, the well-irrigated land of the Kurus prospers, no longer dependent on rainfall, and yielding abundant grain, harvested with ease as if it had never been cultivated by farmers. (Viswanathan Peterson 2016:7)

One might therefore expect that here too this adjective should be taken with the crop (*bījam*), but Monier-Williams records of *akṛṣṭapacya* that it may by used of the earth and means "giving fruits without having been ploughed". Indeed we find the quarter-verse *akṛṣṭapacyā pṛthivī* used in *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.75:8, in *Harivaṃśa* 5:31, a few times in the *sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, as well as in several *Purāṇa*s.

XXIII. [*indravajrā*]
yas sarvvatas sarvvaguṇān paṭimnā ruces sadā dhāraviśeṣam ujjhan
upādade lokahitāya bhāsvān rasān iva pratyaham astatandriḥ ⊙

23a sarvvatas sarvvaguṇān] Jacques; sarvatas sarvaguṇān Finot

यस्सर्व्वतस्सर्व्वगुणान्पटिम्ना रुचेस्सदा धारविशेषमुज्झन्
उपाददे लोकहिताय भास्वान्रसानिव प्रत्यहमस्ततन्द्रिः २३

23. Tirelessly (*astatandriḥ*)[137] Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) constantly (*sadā*) drew to himself (*upādade*) from all sides (*sarvataḥ*) all virtues (*sarvaguṇān*) because of the acuity of his taste (*paṭimnā ruceḥ*), in order to release (*ujjhan*)[138] [them again in] a special torrent (*dhāraviśeṣam*) for the benefit of the world (*lokahitāya*),

> just as the sun does liquids (*bhāsvān rasān iva*) every day (*pratyaham*) *because of the sharpness of his light (*paṭimnā ruceḥ*)*.[139]

[137]The use of the unusual expression *astatandri* here might be influenced by its use by Bhāravi in *Kirātārjunīya* 1:9.

[138]S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma takes *ujjhan* to be used in the manner envisaged in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.2.126 (*lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ*), which prescribes the use of the present participle to express purpose. The expression thus echoes *uddhariṣyan* in *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:68:

> tataḥ pratasthe kauberīṃ bhāsvān iva raghur diśam
> śarair usrair ivodīcyān uddhariṣyan rasān iva
>
> Then Raghu set out for the region of Kubera, intending to root out the northerners with his arrows, as the sun moves north to draw out the waters with its rays

[139]The use of *dhāra* in the sense of "flood" or "torrent" might seem unfamiliar, for Monier-Williams leads us to expect this sense to be borne only by *dhārā*; but see *Viśvaprakāśa*, *rāntavarga* 89cd *dhāraḥ kvacid ghanāsāravarṣaṇe syād ṛṇe 'pi ca*. H. N. Bhat suggested that we accept a *sabhaṅgaśleṣa* and that, in the Rājendra-*pakṣa*, we understand: *sadādhāraviśeṣaṃ* (a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*), "in order to give in such a way that the particular recipients are good". In the case of the sun, however, it is always (*sadā*) [indiscriminately] giving out a special flood [of rain] (*dhāraviśeṣam*). If we accept such a *sabhaṅgaśleṣa*, which is of course not indispensable, then the stanza is yet a further step away from its probable models, namely such stanzas as *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:68 (quoted in the previous note), and *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:18:

> prajānām eva bhūtyarthaṃ sa tābhyo balim agrahīt
> sahasraguṇam utsraṣṭum ādatte hi rasaṃ raviḥ
>
> He levied taxes from the people, but only for their own prosperity; for the sun draws up moisture only to pour it down a thousand-fold.

XXIV. [*upajāti*]
(18) udyānabhāgasya vasantasaṃpad ivāmṛtāṅśor iva paurṇṇamāsī
āpuṣṇatī yasya viśeṣaśobhāṃ samujjajṛmbhe navayauvanaśrīḥ ◊

24c āpuṣṇatī yasya viśeṣaśobhāṃ] āmuṣṇatī yasya viśeṣaśobhā FINOT; āpuṣṇatī yasya viśeṣaśobhā JACQUES

उद्यानभागस्य वसन्तसंपदिवामृताङ्शोरिव पौर्ण्णमासी
आपुष्णती यस्य विशेषशोभां समुज्जजृम्भे नवयौवनश्रीः २४

24. As (*iva*) the glory of spring (*vasantasampat*) [nourishes the special beauty of] the good fortune of a garden (*udyānabhāgasya*),[140] as (*iva*) the full-moon day (*paurṇamāsī*) [nourishes the exceptional beauty of] the moon (*amṛtāṃśoḥ*), so too the beauty of fresh youth (*navayauvanaśrīḥ*), nourishing (*āpuṣṇatī*) his (*yasya*) exceptional beauty (*viśeṣaśobhāṃ*), blossomed forth (*samujjajṛmbhe*).[141]

XXV. [*upajāti*]
yatrāpi puṃso mahataḥ prakṛtyā nirūpitaṃ lakṣaṇam astaśeṣam
kenāpy asāṃkhyāgamavad vibhāvyam prakāśayām āsa maheśabhāvam ⊙

25a puṃso mahataḥ] JACQUES; puṃlomahataḥ FINOT

यत्रापि पुंसो महतः प्रकृत्या निरूपितं लक्षणमस्तशेषम्
केनाप्यसांख्यागमवद्विभाव्यम्प्रकाशयामास महेशभावम् २५

25. [He was someone] in whom (*yatra*) all the characteristics (*lakṣaṇam*), without exception (*astaśeṣam*), of a Great Man (*puṃso mahataḥ*),[142] naturally (*prakṛtyā*) observable (*nirūpitam*) for some rare people (*kenāpi*), easily conceived of (*vibhāvyam*) in a manner not [requiring philosophical

Instead of being about taxes, here the stanza concerns rather "good qualities", which, because of the acuity of his taste, he draws from all sides, only to give them back in great quantity, perhaps indiscriminately, perhaps not.

[140] I have taken *bhāga* to mean "good fortune" (*bhāgadheya*), but only after hesitating about whether to take it as "part", either because spring might be said to nourish certain plants in a garden and therefore only certain parts of it, or because the gardens encircling a city might be regarded as forming a "part" of that city, its "garden part".

Note that *pāda* b begins with what is normally an enclitic particle, namely *iva*; the same anomaly occurs in 27b below.

[141] FINOT read *āmuṣṇatī* (literally "stealing", rather than "nourishing"), which he took without an object, and so semantically weakened to "ravissante".

[142] FINOT was misled here by a misreading of these words.

knowledge beginning] with the tradition of the Sāṅkhyas (*asāṃkhyāgamavat*), proclaimed (*prakāśayām āsa*) that he was a great king (*maheśabhāvam*).

[He was someone] in whom all the characteristics of the Great Soul [viz. Viṣṇu] without exception,[143] naturally observable, somehow (*kenāpi*) proclaimed his nature as Maheśa (Śiva/a great king), which is to be conceived (*vibhāvyam*) not in the manner [taught] by the tradition of the Sāṅkhyas (*asāṃkhyāgamavat*).[144]

[He was someone] in whom all the characteristics without exception of the soul (*puṃsaḥ*), not discerned (*anirūpitam*) because of the nature (*prakṛtyā*) of the Buddhi (*mahataḥ*), when judged (*vibhāvyam*) by certain particular persons [of rare understanding] (*kenāpi*), [but] not in the manner taught by the tradition of the Sāṅkhyas (*asāṃkhyāgamavat*), revealed (*prakāśayām āsa*) his [ultimate] Śiva-nature (*maheśabhāvam*).[145]

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[143] In this second interpretation, perhaps one could instead understand that he had all the characteristics of Viṣṇu "excepting the [serpent] Śeṣa (*astaśeṣam*)", or "having cast aside the snake".

[144] Following Judit Törzsök's suggestion, we take *asāṃkhyāgamavat* as a free-standing adverb in each interpretation. Alternatively, if we were to ake *a-sāṃkhyāgamavadvibhāvyam* as a single compound in this *pakṣa*, then we could perhaps render it with "[a nature] inconceivable to someone possessing [knowledge only of] the tradition of the Sāṅkhyas". Although theistic versions existed, the tradition of the Sāṅkhyas is usually regarded as atheistic (*nirīśvara*), a duality of souls and matter without a presiding deity. The use of *mahataḥ puṃsaḥ* and *maheśa°* to refer respectively to Viṣṇu and Śiva recalls *Raghuvaṃśa* 3:49:

> harir yathaikaḥ puruṣottamaḥ smṛto maheśvaras tryambaka eva nāparaḥ
> tathā vidur māṃ munayaḥ śatakratuṃ dvitīyagāmī na hi śabda eṣa naḥ
>
> Just as Viṣṇu alone is remembered as "Best of Souls" and the three-eyed Śiva is Maheśvara, noone else, so too sages know me to be Śatakratu: this expression of mine applies to no other person.

This sense contains the figure of *virodha* or *virodhābhāsa*, an apparent contradiction: all his regal qualities make Rājendravarman appear like Viṣṇu, and yet paradoxically these very qualities somehow make him appear like Maheśvara, in other words like Śiva, except that the reader must then reflect and realise that Maheśvara may also mean "great sovereign".

[145] From among the many different translations proposed, we have for the moment retained only three, offering three senses of *pumān*: man, Viṣṇu, and soul. The first alludes to the marks of a great man (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*) of *Sāmudrikaśāstra*, usually said to be thirty-one, thirty-two or thirty-three (for a recent book-length study, see Zysk 2015); the second suggests that he was paradoxically both like Viṣṇu and Śiva; and the third alludes to his having adopted the Śaivasiddhānta (cf. stanza 20) and therefore embraced a doctrine that builds upon

XXVI. [*upajāti*]
(19) vālyāt pravṛddhaṃ prabhṛtiprabhūtaṃ
yad yasya saundaryyam ananyalabdham
dhruvaṃ vidhātāvayavīcakāra
tad rañjayan yauvanakāntim ṛddhām ⟨⟩

26a prabhṛtiprabhūtaṃ] prabhṛti prabhūtaṃ FINOT

वाल्यात्प्रवृद्धं प्रभृतिप्रभूतं यद्यस्य सौन्दर्य्यमनन्यलब्धम्
ध्रुवं विधातावयवीचकार तद्रञ्जयन्यौवनकान्तिमृद्धाम् २६

26. Surely (*dhruvam*) the creator (*vidhātā*), in order to give colour to (*rañjayan*) his youthful beauty (*yauvanakāntim*) [so that it would become] rich (*ṛddhām*), made as a part of it (*avayavīcakāra*) that same (*yat … tat*) beauty of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) that had been abundant from the start (*prabhṛtiprabhūtām*), that had been growing (*pravṛddham*) since his childhood (*bālyāt*), and that was unobtainable by anybody else (*ananyalabdham*).[146]

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but transcends Sāṅkhya ontology, and according to which each soul is innately identical to Śiva, being composed of omniscience (Jñānaśakti) and omnipotence (Kriyāśakti). Because this arcane meaning is perhaps only interpretable to those who have studied Śaiva scripture, it has been placed last, but most readers will arguably first "see" parts of this level of the pun, for the sequence of words *puṃso mahataḥ prakṛtyā*, all technical terms of the Sāṅkhyas, suggests at once that a Sāṅkhya sense is intended, and they are followed by *asāṃkhyāgamavad*, which it is natural to read as an admonition ("not in the sense natural to the tradition of the Sāṅkhyas"), like part of a cryptic crossword clue. Other hidden intended meanings (as well as some that were probably not intended) may lurk here. All three readings of the pun proposed here are contextual (*prakṛtaśleṣa*).

[146] Perhaps one might consider other translations, for instance:

> Surely (*dhruvam*) the creator (*vidhātā*), in order to give colour to (*rañjayan*) Youthful Beauty (*yauvanakāntim*) [such that she would become even more] rich (*ṛddhām*), divided up [and redistributed] (*avayavīcakāra*) that same (*yat … tat*) beauty of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*), which was abundant from the start (*prabhṛti-prabhūtām*), had been growing (*pravṛddham*) since his childhood (*bālyāt*), and was unobtainable by anybody else (*ananyalabdham*).

The stanza would then be a somewhat closer variation upon the well-worked topos that there is just not enough beauty to go around when the creator has to create beautiful things. *Kumārasambhava* 1:35 illustrates this idea in a more familiar form, for there, after creating Pārvatī's calves, the creator must make an effort to produce enough loveliness for all the rest, whereas in the case of Rājendravarman, his growing beauty is such that the creator must borrow from it in order to create Youthful Loveliness herself. The stanza in question of the *Kumārasambhava* reads:

XXVII. [*upajāti*]
n(i)rugnamānas satataṃ manobhūr yyasya sphuṭe nūtanayauvane pi
saundaryyasandarśanajātalajja ivāntikan nopasasarppa darppāt ⊙

27a n(i)rugnamānas] nirudhnamānas FINOT; [nī]rugnamānas JACQUES. Understand: *nirugṇa*°. **27d** nopasasarppa] JACQUES; nopasasarpa FINOT

(ि)नरुग्नमानस्सततं मनोभूर्य्यस्य स्फुटे नूतनयौवने ऽपि
सौन्दर्य्यसन्दर्शनजातलज्ज इवान्तिकन्नोपससर्प्प दर्प्पात् २७

27. Even though (*api*) Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) fresh youth (*nūtanayauvane*) had broken forth clearly (*sphuṭe*), the god of Love (*manobhūḥ*), his pride broken down (*nirugnamānaḥ*) constantly (*satatam*), did not (*na*) approach (*upasasarpa*) nearby (*antikam*) out of vanity (*darpāt*), as though (*iva*)[147] shamed by the sight of his beauty (*saundaryasandarśanajātalajjaḥ*).[148]

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vṛttānupūrve ca na cātidīrghe jaṅghe śubhe sṛṣṭavatas tadīye
śeṣāṅganirmāṇavidhau vidhātur lāvaṇya utpādya ivāsa yatnaḥ

When the Creator had created
her beautiful legs,
not too long,
round and symmetrical,
it was an effort
to produce sufficient beauty
for fashioning her remaining limbs. (trans. SMITH 2005:41)

FINOT has both the *yauvanakānti* and the *saundarya* belong to Rājendravarman, but takes *avayavīcakāra* to mean "divided up":

> Développée depuis l'enfance, riche dès le début, sa beauté, que nul autre ne posséda, a été sûrement morcelée par le Créateur pour embellir le doux éclat de sa jeunesse parfaite.

Among other difficulties, *avayavīcakāra* could be the *cvī*-suffix added to the word *avayava* or to the word *avayavin*. Did the creator make this beauty into an englobing whole or into parts?

[147] For the odd position of this *iva*, which introduces an *utprekṣā*, at the beginning of a *pāda*, cf. 24b above. The idea is of course that when a man reaches the peak of youth he naturally falls in love, whereas in this case Love could not come near Rājendravarman because of his moral superiority, but the cause is fancied to be Kāma's feeling shame before so much beauty.

[148] Here Claude JACQUES had proposed reading *nīrugnamānaḥ*, which, as Yuko YOKOCHI has pointed out to us, could be intended to mean "with pride unbroken". But while the prefix *niḥ* has a negative force when attached to nouns (e.g. *nīruj*, "free of disease"), we are not sure that it can have such a force when prefixed to verbs. We have therefore preferred to assume that the first (partly) readable syllable here is *ni*° and not *nī*°. If we did follow YOKOCHI's suggestion,

XXVIII. [*upajāti*]
(20) yasyāṅgalāvanyam ananyarūḍhan dṛṣṭvā ratiḥ premanimīlitākṣī
manye na mene patim ātmanīnaṃ pinākinetrāgniśikhāvalīḍham ⟨⟩

28a °lāvanyam] Understand: °*lāvaṇyam*. **28a** ananyarūḍhan] Jacques; ananyarūḍhaṃ Finot

यस्याङ्गलावन्यमनन्यरूढन्दृष्ट्वा रतिः प्रेमनिमीलिताक्षी
मन्ये न मेने पतिमात्मनीनं पिनाकिनेत्राग्निशिखावलीढम् २८

28. When Rati beheld (*dṛṣṭvā*) the loveliness of Rājendravarman's body (*yasyāṅgalāvaṇyam*), shared by no one else (*ananyarūḍham*), she closed her eyes out of love (*premanimīlitākṣī*),[149] I fancy (*manye*), and did not believe (*na mene*) that her husband (*patim*), who [alone] was compatible with her (*ātmanīnam*), had been licked by flames (°*śikhāvalīḍham*) of fire from Śiva's eye (*pinākinetrāgni*°).[150]

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then we could understand:

> Even though Rājendravarman's fresh youth had broken forth, the god of love, his pride constantly unbroken, did not approach him, as though…

Perhaps also conceivable would be to take *api* as a coordinating conjunction and not as a concessive particle:

> And (*api*) once Rājendravarman's fresh youthful beauty had broken forth, out of vanity Kāma, his pride broken, would not ever (*satatam*) come near him, as though shamed by the sight of his beauty.

[149]This translation assumes that she closed or half-closed her eyes as though in order to shut in the beautiful vision that she had of him. Harunaga Isaacson instead suggested that she might have been so overwhelmed with emotion that she closed her eyes. He further suggested that, for whatever reason she closed or half-closed her eyes, the result was that she could not then recognise that Rājendravarman was not Kāma. Perhaps an alternative understanding is possible, namely that she only blinked in order to check that what she was seeing was real.

[150]Cf. *Kuṭṭanīmata* 202:

> paśupatinayanahutāśanabhasmitam avadhārya yaṃ vapuṣmantam
> aparam iva kusumacāpaṃ ratirataye nirmame dhātā
>
> … Whom the creator made to be
> Another god of Love, in flesh,
> To pleasure Pleasure (Kāma's wife),
> Hearing of Love reduced to ash
> By fire from Paśupati's eye. (trans. Dezső & Goodall 2012:99)

Numerous other stanzas of this nature could be quoted: cf., for example, K. 70, st. 6, also about Rājendravarman:

XXIX. [*upajāti*]
dhanurvvikarṣapratatoruśaktir yyuvapravīro yuvarājalakṣmīm
ayonijāṃ yo janakopanītāṃ sītāṃ satīṃ rāma ivoduvāha ⊙

29b yyuva°] Jacques; yuva° Finot

धनुर्व्विकर्षप्रततोरुशक्तिर्य्युवप्रवीरो युवराजलक्ष्मीम्
अयोनिजां यो जनकोपनीतां सीतां सतीं राम इवोदुवाह २९

29. Just as Rāma, a hero in youth (*yuvapravīraḥ*), his great powers proclaimed by bending [Śiva's] bow (*dhanurvikarṣapratatoruśaktiḥ*), married (*uduvāha*) the faithful (*satīm*) Sītā, who was born of no human mother (*ayonijām*), led up to him by Janaka (*janakopanītām*),[151]

> so too Rājendravarman, a hero as a youth, his power made broadly famous by the drawing of his bow (*dhanurvikarṣapratatoruśaktiḥ*), "married" the faithful[152] Glory of being Crown Prince (*yuvarājalakṣmīm*), which did not

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> yaṅ kāntavapuṣam vīkṣya kāmakāntā purā yadi
> nūnam īśvaranetrāgnidagdhan naicchan manobhavam
>
> If the beloved of Kāma had seen Rājendravarman (*yam*), who had the beauty of her beloved, surely she would not have considered Kāma to have been burned by the fire from the eye of Īśvara.

[151] Sītā was the daughter of a furrow in the earth and of king Janaka, and Rāma married her after breaking Śiva's bow (as described in *Raghuvaṃśa* 11:37ff).

A second contextual sense, whose translation now follows, seems intended to convey that Rājendravarman was also a *yuvarāja*, which, in the Kālidāsan ideal expressed in many places in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, meant a crown prince who shared the burden of ruling with his father the king. The tortuous manner in which Rājendravarman's claim to this status is conveyed here reflects the oddity of this claim, since we have seen that it is really from his mother's side that Rājendravarman claims lunar descent and thus sovereignty over the Khmers, whereas what he could inherit from his father was solar ancestry and the kingdom of Bhavapura. We have discussed Rājendravarman's ancestry at length in the introduction (see pp. 42 ff), and so we will here content ourselves with observing that this seems to be one of those instances where the presentation of the king is deliberately so contrived as to appear to fit the Indian ideal of kingship as epitomised in Kālidāsa's literary epic, even though the facts do not neatly fit the ideal. For futher discussion of the impact of Kālidāsa's ideals on Cambodian presentations of kingship, see Goodall forthcoming B.

[152] The conceit here is that royal *lakṣmī*/*śrī* is usually fickle, but having found such an extraordinary "husband" she becomes faithful. For the same idea similarly expressed (again involving the word *satī*), see K. 908, st. 8. Instead of understanding "he married" we could take *udu-*

come to him from his mother's side (*ayonijām*), but which was presented to him by his father (*janakopanītām*).[153]

XXX. [*upajāti*]
(21) yadārkkavimvād iva hemakumbhād ambhomṛtenāgalatābhiṣekaḥ
tataḥprabhṛty eva vivṛddhibhājā bhūtaṃ himāṅśor iva yasya lakṣmyā ⟨⟩

यदार्क्कविम्वादिव हेमकुम्भादम्भोमृतेनागलताभिषेकः
ततःप्रभृत्येव विवृद्धिभाजा भूतं हिमाङ्शोरिव यस्य लक्ष्म्या ३०

30. When (*yadā*), by means of ambrosia-like water (*ambhomṛtena*) falling (*āgalatā*)[154] from a golden pot (*hemakumbhāt*) that was similar to (*iva*) the orb of the sun (*arkabimbāt*), his consecration (*abhiṣekaḥ*) [took place],[155] from that very moment onwards

vāha in this *pakṣa* to mean "he lifted up", in the sense of "he took possession of". Harunaga Isaacson points out (electronic message of 19.v.2021) that the form is rare:

> It is in Buddhabhaṭṭa's *Ratnaparīkṣā*, a Buddhist work on gemmology, which is thought to be pre-Varāhamihira (mainly because of the inflation in the price of jewels which is visible when one compares the two). For what it's worth, in the *Ratnaparīkṣā* the meaning seems clearly to be "bore" (the subject being Śacī and the object *garvonnataṃ śiraḥ*, or, if as I suspect Finot's word-division is not the best, *vīrapatnīgarvonnataṃ śiraḥ*).

The passage in question is in *Ratnaparīkṣā* 3 (Finot 1896:3).

[153]In this interpretation, it is the paternal inheritance that is being underlined, thus pointing up the commonness in Cambodia of a certain "matrilineal" inheritance pattern (a man's sister's son may be his heir). But Charlotte Schmid has suggested to us that *yuvarājalakṣmī* is typically the glory of military victory (it being the rôle of the *yuvarāja* to be the king's military general), and that such glory cannot come from the distaff side. On such an interpretation, no allusion need be made to typical Cambodian inheritance patterns. In further support of this observation, S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out that *yuvarājalakṣmī*, since she is a personified abstraction, could simply be described as "not born of a human womb" (*ayonijām*). But, as discussed in the introduction in the section on 'The Genealogy of Rājendravarman', it seems likely that Rājendravarman did indeed claim to have inherited from both his father and mother.

[154]We have assumed that the construction requires *āgalatā* (instrumental present participle), whereas Finot has assumed *agalata* (imperfect third person singular). But *agalata* is not a natural choice of verb if the subject is *abhiṣeka*, for it should rather be the water that falls.

[155]Whether Rājendravarman is described here (stanzas 30–38) as receiving consecration as crown-prince (as suggested by stanza 29) or as king, is unclear. Accounts of the transfer of power in the *Raghuvaṃśa* do not lead us to expect the performance of an *abhiṣeka* for becoming *yuvarāja*, but the invention of such a ritual is perhaps not inconceivable. We shall return to

(*tataḥprabhṛty eva*) Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) splendour (*lakṣmyā*) increased (*vivṛddhi-bhājā bhūtam*), like (*iva*) that of the moon (*himāṃśoḥ*) [which receives ambrosia poured from the orb of the sun].[156]

XXXI. [*upajāti*]
snānāmvubhis tīvram amantravandhyais tejonalo yasya samedhate sma
tatsparddhayevāśrujalaiḥ patadbhir ddviṣāṃ samaṃ śokahutāśano pi ⊙

स्नानाम्वुभिस्तीव्रममन्त्रवन्ध्यैस्तेजोनलो यस्य समेधते स्म
तत्स्पर्द्धयेवाश्रुजलैः पतद्भिर्द्विषां समं शोकहुताशनो ऽपि ३१

31. The fire of his vigour (*tejonalaḥ*) flared up (*samedhate sma*) with intensity (*tīvram*) [paradoxically] because of the waters of the consecratory bath (*snānāmbubhiḥ*), which were not barren of mantras (*amantravandhyaiḥ*), just at the same time as (*samam*) also (*api*) the fire of grief (*śokahutāśanaḥ*) of his enemies (*dviṣām*) [flared up] because of their falling (*patadbhiḥ*) tears (*aśrujalaiḥ*), as though (*iva*) rivalling that [fire of his vigour/ those waters] (*tatspardhayā*).[157]

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the question, without resolving it, once again ad stanzas 75–76, where Rājendravarman is once again spoken of as ascending or re-ascending the throne after military exploits, either because he has just reinforced his regal status and returned to his "capital", or because it is only at that moment that he becomes fully king.

[156]There is an implicit allusion here to the ray called the *suṣumnā* (or *suṣumṇā*) that funnels nectar between the sun and the moon. Bāṇa refers to this ray in his *Harṣacarita*, p. 30, in Fuehrer's edition, where there is also a remark on this ray in Śaṅkara's commentary. Another influence in the poet's mind here is probably *Raghuvaṃśa* 3:22, which also makes allusion to the replenishment of the moon in this way:

> pituḥ prayatnāt sa samagrasampadaḥ śubhaiḥ śarīrāvayavair dine dine
> pupoṣa vṛddhiṃ haridaśvadīdhiter anupraveśād iva bālacandramāḥ
>
> Day by day, because of the efforts of his father, who possessed all riches, the boy grew, with every part of his body auspiciously bright, just like the moon growing with its bright digits, because of the entry into it of the rays of the sun with his chestnut steeds.

As Éric Bourdonneau has pointed out to us, it is likely that the stanza is intended to allude again to Rājendravarman's having a claim to the throne though both lunar and solar ancestry, a theme frequently reiterated in stanzas 8 through 19 above.

[157]The suppositious rivalry could be between both the fires and the waters. Note that *amantravandhyaiḥ* could also be taken to qualify *aśrujalaiḥ*: "futile [because of] being deprived of counsel".

XXXII. [*upajāti*]
(22) alaṃkṛtenākṛtakaiś śrutādyair hṛdyair nnijāṅgaiś ca nisarggakāntaiḥ
agrāmyabhūṣopacayena yena vibhūṣaṇaṃ maṅgalam ity upāttam ⟨⟩

अलंकृतेनाकृतकैश्श्रुताद्यैर्हृद्यैर्न्निजाङ्गैश्च निसर्ग्गकान्तैः
अग्राम्यभूषोपचयेन येन विभूषणं मङ्गलमित्युपात्तम् ३२

32. Rājendravarman (*yena*), since he was adorned (*alaṃkṛtena*) with learning and the like (*śrutādyaiḥ*), which are non-artificial [adornments] (*akṛtakaiḥ*),[158] and that are appealing (/located in the heart) (*hṛdyaiḥ*)[159] and (*ca*) with his own body parts (*nijāṅgaiḥ*), which were naturally lovely (*nisargakāntaiḥ*), had a wealth of adornments that were not vulgar (*agrāmyabhūṣopacayena*), [and he] took up (*upāttam*) ornaments (*vibhūṣaṇam*) [only] with the idea that (*iti*) they were auspicious [and therefore a necessary part of the ceremony] (*maṅgalam*).[160]

[158] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out, it is possible that there was the intention to suggest also that he learned Vedic scripture (*śruta*), which had no human author (*akṛtaka*).

[159] His appealing (*hṛdyaiḥ*), non-artificial ornaments, such as learning are presumably the *ātmaguṇa*s of the king, of which a common list appears to be learning, valour and nobility: *śruta*, *śaurya* and *audārya* (see Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:29). But *praśama* or *śama* seems often also to be included: see, e.g., *Kirātārjunīya* 2:32, which is perhaps consciously echoed here:

> śuci bhūṣayati śrutaṃ vapuḥ praśamas tasya bhavaty alaṃkriyā
> praśamābharaṇaṃ parākramaḥ sa nayāpāditasiddhibhūṣaṇaḥ
>
> Pure knowledge adorns a man's body, acquired by the study of the sacred texts;
> a calm spirit is the ornament of learning; decisive action adorns the calm spirit;
> success achieved through policy based on right conduct is action's ornament.
> (trans. Viswanathan Peterson 2016:29)

hṛdya could be taken with *nijāṅgaiḥ*, or only with *śrutādyaiḥ*, and it could be taken to mean "seated in the heart" as well as "appealing".

[160] The idea expressed here, as well as the last three words of the stanza, are drawn from *Kumārasambhava* 7:20:

> tasyāḥ sujātotpalapatrakānte prasādhikābhir nayane nirīkṣya
> na cakṣuṣoḥ kāntiviśeṣabuddhyā kālāñjanaṃ maṅgalam ity upāttam
>
> The women who were adorning her,
> seeing plainly that her eyes
> had the beauty of full-grown lotus petals,
> picked up the black collyrium
> not with any thought
> of adding beauty to her eyes,
> but because, as they said,

XXXIII. [*upajāti*]
navāṃ navāśyānamahābhiṣeko
yo bhuktaratnābharaṇo babhāra
pītāmbhasaḥ kumbhabhavena lakṣmīm
ambhonidher udgataratnarāśeḥ ⊙

33a navāṃ navāśyānamahābhiṣeko] Jacques; navāṃ navāṃ dhyānamahābhiṣeke Finot **33c** pītāmbhasaḥ] Jacques; pītambhasaḥ Finot

नवां नवाश्यानमहाभिषेको यो भुक्तरत्नाभरणो बभार
पीताम्भसः कुम्भभवेन लक्ष्मीमम्भोनिधेरुद्गतरत्नराशेः ३३

33. [Since he was] wearing jewelled ornaments (*bhuktaratnābharaṇaḥ*), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*), on whom the fresh[ly] poured lustral waters were only partly dried (*navāśyānamahābhiṣekaḥ*), bore (*babhāra*) the fresh (*navāṃ*) beauty (*lakṣmīm*)[161] of the ocean (*ambhonidheḥ*) when its waters had been drunk up (*pītāmbhasaḥ*) by Agastya (*kumbhabhavena*), [and] its heaps of jewels [in consequence] stood out prominently (*udgataratnarāśeḥ*).[162]

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it was auspicious. (trans. Smith 2005:259)

[161]The beauty (*lakṣmī*) is fresh for the ocean, because the ocean usually has water, and it is fresh for Rājendravarman because he has just attained the status of king.

[162]There is perhaps a conscious echo here of the wardress of the harem's description of the Pāṇḍya king in *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:61:

> vindhyasya saṃstambhayitā mahādrer niḥśeṣapītojjhitasindhunāthaḥ
> prītyāśvamedhāvabhṛthārdramūrteḥ sausnātiko yasya bhavaty agastyaḥ
>
> When this king is still wet from his bath at the end of a horse-sacrifice, it is Agastya who, out of affection, plays the ritual role of asking "Have you bathed well?"—that same Agastya who once immobilised the great Vindhya mountain and drank up the ocean to the last drop, then spewed it out.

S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma further suggests that there may be a deliberate suggestion (*dhvani*) of a comparison of Rājendravarman with Viṣṇu, who may described as *bhuktaratnābharaṇaḥ* because he enjoyed the Kaustubha gem, and because he lifted (*babhāra*) Lakṣmī, both having emerged from the milk ocean (*ambhonidheḥ*) when it gave forth its treasury of jewels (*udgataratnarāśeḥ*) after being churned. At that moment, he would have been dripping from being splashed with milk and so describable as *navāśyānamahābhiṣekaḥ*. One could further imagine that the ocean could be qualified as drunk up by Agastya, albeit at another moment in mythological time.

The principal rhetorical figure here could be said to be what Udbhaṭa defines as *vidarśanā* in his *Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha* (5.10, with illustration in 5.*9), in which "a similitude is suggested by attributing to one subject a property which is characterized as really belonging to

XXXIV. [*upajāti*]
(23) uccāvacair uccapadādhirūḍhair grahair bhiyevākṛtavigraho pi
āropito yas svayam apy akāṃkṣas siṃhāsane hāṭakaśailatuṅge ⟨⟩

34b bhiyevā°] Jacques; bhiyeva Finot (unmetrical) **34c** akāṃkṣas] Jacques; akāṅkṣas Finot

उच्चावचैरुच्चपदाधिरूढैर्ग्रहैर्भियेवाकृतविग्रहो ऽपि
आरोपितो यस्स्वयमप्यकांक्षस्सिंहासने हाटकशैलतुङ्गे ३४

34. Even though (*api*) the various (*uccāvacaiḥ*) planets (*grahaiḥ*) had engaged in no strife [with him] (*akṛtavigrahaḥ*),

even when he had not yet [been born and so] taken on a body,

[once they had] climbed to their points of exaltation (*uccapadādhirūḍhaiḥ*) [and therefore risked appearing to set themselves above him], as though (*iva*) out of fear (*bhiyā*), had [effectively] raised him up (*āropitaḥ*) on to the lion-throne (*siṃhāsane*) that was as high as the golden Mount [Meru] (*hāṭakaśailatuṅge*) [and therefore as themselves],[163] although (*api*) he himself (*svayam*) had no desire [for this] (*akāṃkṣaḥ*).[164]

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another" (Gerow 1971:263): the king is praised for having a beauty that cannot belong to him, namely that belonging in fact to the ocean. But it is of course not clear whether the poet would have known Udbhaṭa's account of this figure (a figure apparently not described by Daṇḍin).

[163]The planets are held to revolve around Meru and so are upon the same level.

[164]The planets were elevated at Rājendravarman's birth, thus designating him as one who would inevitably one day become a great king. For the idea that certain planets should be high at the time of a great person's birth, cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 3:13:

> grahais tataḥ pañcabhir uccasaṃśrayair asūryagaiḥ sūcitabhāgyasampadam
> asūta putraṃ samaye śacīsamā trisādhanā śaktir ivārtham akṣatam
>
> Then, at the perfect moment — the five planets were in the ascendant and did not join the sun, portending good fortune in full measure — the queen, Śacī's equal, gave birth to a son, as threefold power gives birth to prosperity undiminished.

Cf. also Bhoja's *Campūrāmāyaṇa* 1:29; *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, *bālakāṇḍa* 3:13c–15; and *Harṣacarita*, *ucchvāsa* 4 (p. 6 of Kane's first edition). As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out, the pun on the word *akṛtavigraha* is used also by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (*ucchvāsa* 4, p. 11), when the brothers Rājyavardhana and Harṣa are described as "having contempt even for the Wind, who, [though] strong, did not make war (/had no body)" (*balavantam akṛtavigrahaṃ mārutam api nindantau*). It is possible that our poet borrowed the pun from there. There is however some slight awkwardness in *akṛtavigrahaḥ* referring to the moment of Rājendravarman's birth, since it properly refers to him as having no body yet made for him, whereas

XXXV. [*upajāti*]
yasyāṅgakānteḥ kva tathānavadyaṃ vidyeta manye py upamānam anyat
saṃkrāntam ādarśatale pi vimvam anarham ādhāravaśān nijaṃ yat ⊙

35a tathānavadyaṃ] Jacques; tathānavādyaṃ Finot

यस्याङ्गकान्तेः क्व तथानवद्यं विद्येत मन्ये ऽप्युपमानमन्यत्
संक्रान्तमादर्शतले ऽपि विम्वमनर्हमाधारवशान्निजं यत् ३५

35. Where (*kva*), I wonder (*manye*), might one find (*vidyeta*) another (*api… anyat*) so (*tathā*) faultless thing with which to compare (*anavadyam upamānam*) Rājendravarman's bodily beauty (*aṅgakānteḥ*), given that (*yat*) even (*api*) his own (*nijam*) likeness (*bimbam*) transferred (*saṃkrāntam*) onto the surface of a mirror (*ādarśatale*) cannot be worthy [of him] (*anarham*) because of [defects in] the support [in which the likeness is reflected] (*ādhāravaśāt*)?[165]

XXXVI. [*upajāti*]
(24) yatrābhiṣikte patatāmbhasārdrā vasundharā vāridhicārukāñcī
ūrdhvīcakāraikam ivātapatraṃ yaśas sphuraccandrakalāvadātam ◊

यत्राभिषिक्ते पतताम्भसार्द्रा वसुन्धरा वारिधिचारुकाञ्ची
ऊर्ध्वीचकारैकमिवातपत्रं यशस्स्फुरच्चन्द्रकलावदातम् ३६

36. When Rājendravarman (*yatra*) was consecrated (*abhiṣikte*), the earth (*vasundharā*), who has as her lovely girdle the ocean (*vāridhicārukāñcī*), being wet (*ārdrā*) with the falling (*patatā*) water (*ambhasā*), raised aloft (*ūrdhvīcakāra*) his glory (*yaśaḥ*), as though

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of course he has a body when he is born. Perhaps in this *pakṣa* we could therefore understand *ākṛta*°, which might allow us to understand that it refers to when "a body for him was formed".

The poet seems not to be giving us an account of the actual confiiguration of the planets at the moment of Rājendravarman's birth. Bill Mak has pointed out that *siṃhāsane hāṭakaśailatuṅge* could conceivably mean when Mercury (*tuṅga*) was at the golden mountain [viz. exalted] in the house of Leo (*siṃhāsane*). But it seems likely to us that it was sufficient to the poet to allude to the planets having heralded Rājendravarman's greatness at his birth, without explaining how they were aligned.

[165] As Yuko Yokochi has suggested, the idea is probably simply that there will inevitably be flaws in the mirror which will mean that his reflected image there will not be perfect. Mirrors of the time were perhaps highly polished (and often slightly domed) discs of metal, which would invariably have small defects, and which might distort because of being convex.

it were (*iva*) a single (*ekam*) parasol (*ātapatram*), white as a coruscating digit of the moon (*sphuraccandrakalāvadātam*).[166]

XXXVII. [*upajāti*]
svalakṣaṇe lakṣitasarvvasaṃpat phalaṃ samākhyāti purovipākam
yasyāśiṣo vipragaṇaprayuktāḥ kṛtānuvādā iva saṃbabhūvuḥ ⊙

37a svalakṣaṇe] Jacques; svalakṣaṇa° Finot (unmetrical)

स्वलक्षणे लक्षितसर्व्वसंपत् फलं समाख्याति पुरोविपाकम्
यस्याशिषो विप्रगणप्रयुक्ताः कृतानुवादा इव संबभूवुः ३७

37. It being the case that his features (*svalakṣaṇe*) announce (*samākhyāti*) the fruit (*phalam*) whose maturation lies ahead (*purovipākam*) and in which success in all things is indicated (*lakṣitasarvasampat*), the benedictions (*āśiṣaḥ*) uttered by groups of brahmins (*vipragaṇaprayuktāḥ*) for Rājendravarman (*yasya*) became (*sambabhūvuḥ*), as it were (*iva*), [benedictions] that had performed [the rhetorical solecism of] repetition (*kṛtānuvādāḥ*).[167]

[166]The image may be that an arc of light reflected off the wet and shiny earth like a parasol. *candrakalāvadātam*, though it refers to brightness, might be intended to suggest shape too: the gleam had perhaps the form of a digit of the moon, thus making it cupped like a parasol. The earth, being grammatically feminine, is thus like an affectionate (*ārdrā*) lady wearing a girdle as beautiful as the ocean (*vāridhicārukāñcī*) and holding a parasol over the king. But perhaps the idea is rather that steam from the hot, wet earth took the white or transparent form of his *yaśas*, and formed, as it were, a single moon-digit-white parasol, a conventional symbol of unchallenged sovereignty. Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 8:3, which the poet may have had in mind:

> anubhūya vasiṣṭhasaṃbhṛtaiḥ salilais tasya mahābhiṣecanam
> viśadocchvasitena medinī kathayām āsa kṛtārthatām iva
>
> Having experienced Aja's great consecration with water brought by Vasiṣṭha, the earth seemed to express her contentment with clear sighs.

[167]In this analysis *lakṣitasarvasampat* seems an unexpected qualifier for *phalam*, since one expects the *phala* simply to consist of *sarvasampat*. Alternatively, one could take *purovipākam* as the substantive, or *vipākam* (with *puraḥ*) as an adverb qualifying "maturation". In that case, one could take *lakṣitasarvvasampatphalam* as a *bahuvrīhi* qualifying it: "Given that his features announce the ripening, having a fruit consisting of all successes that can be known, in the future." But we have not followed this line of interpretation, because of a parallel for *purovipāka* as a *bahuvrīhi* pointed out by Harunaga Isaacson in *Kumārasambhava* 6:89:

> īpsitārthakriyodāraṃ te 'bhinandya girer vacaḥ

XXXVIII. [*upajāti*]
(25) dvirephamālā iva pārijātan dhiyo munīnām iva cātmayogam
vyāpāram anyañ jagatāṃ vihāya dṛśo dvitī[yaṃ] pratipedire yam ‖

द्विरेफमाला इव पारिजातन्धियो मुनीनामिव चात्मयोगम्
व्यापारमन्यज्जगतां विहाय दृशो ऽद्वितीयं प्रतिपेदिरे यम् ३८

38. Like (*iva*) swarms of bees (*dvirephamālāḥ*) upon the Pārijāta tree, and (*ca*) like (*iva*) the minds (*dhiyaḥ*) of sages (*munīnām*) upon [the goal of] union with the Self (*ātmayogam*), the eyes [of all creatures] (*dṛśaḥ*) left (*vihāya*) [all] other (*anyam*) preoccupation[s] (*vyāpāram*) and fell upon (*pratipedire*) Rājendravarman (*yam*), who was without a second (*advitīyam*).[168]

āśīrbhir edhayām āsuḥ puraḥpākābhir ambikām

Rejoicing at the mountain's speech, which nobly expressed the fulfillment of their wishes, they blessed Ambikā, the Mother Goddess, with benedictions soon to bear fruit. (trans. Smith 2005:243)

Similar tropes are found elsewhere, for instance when brahmins bless king Atithi after his consecration in *Raghuvaṃśa* 17:18:

te prītamanasas tasmai yām āśiṣam udairayan
sā tasya karmanivṛttair dūraṁ paścātkṛtā phalaiḥ

Greatly pleased, the blessing which they proclaimed to him was far surpassed by the fruits [already] determined by his past acts [in previous births].

S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma pointed to another instance, namely Rāma's reaction to Vasiṣṭha's blessing in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* 1:10:

laukikānāṃ hi sādhūnām arthaṃ vāg anuvartate
ṛṣīṇāṃ punar ādyānāṃ vācam artho 'nudhāvati (/'nuvartate)

The speech of good people of the world corresponds to facts (*artham*); but facts run to keep up with the speech of primal sages.

[168] Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:6, where Aja is compared to a Pārijāta tree, and 6:7, in which all eyes fall upon him:

teṣāṃ mahārhāsanasaṃśrayāṇām udāttanepathyabhṛtāṃ sa madhye
rarāja dhāmnā raghusūnur eva kalpadrumāṇām iva pārijātaḥ

In their midst, as they sat on priceless thrones, bedecked with splendid ornaments, only the son of Raghu shone out with his lustre, like the Pārijāta among the heavenly wish-fulfilling trees.

netravrajāḥ paurajanasya tasmin vihāya sarvān nṛpatīn nipetuḥ

XXXIX. [*upajāti*]
itas tato vidyud ivādyutac chrīs tāvan nṛpāṇāṃ pracalā prakṛtyā
ramyā śarat prādurabhūn na yāvad yadīyayātrāsamayo nirabhrā ⊙

इतस्ततो विद्युदिवाद्युतच्छ्रीस्तावन्नृपाणां प्रचला प्रकृत्या
रम्या शरत्प्रादुरभून्न यावद्यदीययात्रासमयो निरभ्रा ३९

39. Like (*iva*) lightning (*vidyut*), the fortune (*śrīḥ*) of kings (*nṛpāṇām*), fickle (*pracalā*) by nature (*prakṛtyā*), flashed (*adyutat*) hither and thither (*itas tataḥ*), until (*tāvat … na yāvat*) lovely (*ramyā*) Autumn (*śarat*) appeared (*prādurabhūt*), cloudless (*nirabhrā*), the time of Rājendravarman's military campaign (*yadīyayātrāsamayaḥ*).[169]

XL. [*upajāti*]
(26) tīvrāstranīrājanarājitaśrīr ddīpto mahāmaṇḍaladīkṣayā yaḥ
vidyāṅgamantraiś ca kṛtātmaguptir asā[dhaya]t siddhim udārabhūtim ◊

40d asā[dhaya]t] Jacques; asā[dhāya]t Finot. Today (June 2015), even the letter *sā* has worn away.

तीव्रास्त्रनीराजनराजितश्रीर्द्दीप्तो महामण्डलदीक्षया यः
विद्याङ्गमन्त्रैश्च कृतात्मगुप्तिरसा[धय]त्सिद्धिमुदारभूतिम् ४०

40. With his glory made to shine by the lustration of his fierce weapons (*tīvrāstranīrājanarājitaśrīḥ*), aflame (*dīptaḥ*) with [what was effectively] an initiation to [receive] a vast kingdom (*mahāmaṇḍaladīkṣayā*), and (*ca*) protecting himself (*kṛtātmaguptiḥ*) by means of his knowledge, by the [four] forces [of his army], and by counsel

madotkaṭe recitapuṣpavṛkṣā gandhadvipe vanya iva dvirephāḥ

The rows of the townsfolk's eyes passed over all the other kings and fell on him, as bees leave the blossoming trees and alight upon a rutting forest elephant richly covered with musth.

[169] For the notion that autumn — immediately following the monsoon in North India (which abounds in storms and therefore of course lightning) — is the time for setting out on military campaigns, cf., e.g., *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:21–24. For the oddity of the perpetuation of this trope about autumn in Cambodia, where the monsoon ends in November and where the sequence of six seasons of North Indian convention cannot really be observed, see Goodall 2016.

(*vidyāṅgamantraiḥ*), he accomplished (*asādhayat*) success (*siddhim*) that brought illustrious wealth (*udārabhūtim*).[170]

> With his [innate] glory made to shine by his being illuminated by the intense weapon-mantra (*tīvrāstranīrājanarājitaśrīḥ*), aflame because of his initiation into the *mahāmaṇḍala*,[171] and having protected himself (*kṛtāt-*

[170] This interprets the stanza on the level of *Arthaśāstra*: he protects himself by means of *vidyā* (=*ānvīkṣikī*, *trayī*, *vārtā*, *daṇḍanīti*), *aṅga* (= the fourfold army, or *caturaṅga*, or the sevenfold citizenry *saptāṅga*) and good counsel (*mantra*), and accomplishes success that brings him great wealth, as he shines because of the performance of an autumnal rite of lustration of weapons that effectively serves as an initiation performed as a preliminary to winning a great empire (*mahāmaṇḍala*). But there is an equally conspicuous tantric layer of meaning here, which we shall now also translate.

[171] The *mahāmaṇḍala* is the first *maṇḍala* to be taught in the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (*kriyāpāda* 1:25–43, followed by the *navanābhamaṇḍala* as, apparently, an alternative), and it features in some other sources, e.g. in the list of eight *maṇḍala*s given in the *Bṛhatkālottara* at the beginning of a chapter on the subject (NGMPP B 24/59, f. 67v):

> *maṇḍalāni śivasyāṣṭau vakṣye 'haṃ te śikhidhvaja*
> *sarvatobhadrasaṃjñañ ca navanābhaṃ tataḥ paraṃ*
> *mahāmaṇḍalasaṃjñaṃ ca paṃcākṣaṃ sarvakāmadaṃ*
> *vighnavidhvaṃsanaṃ nāma ariṣṭaghneti kathyate*
> *aghonirmocanaṃ kāryam buddhyādhāraṃ tathāṣṭamam*
>
> I shall teach you the eight *maṇḍala*s of Śiva, O Skanda: the one called *sarvatobhadra* (1), then the nine-naveled (*navanābham*) (2), and the one called *mahāmaṇḍala* (3), the *pañcākṣa* (4), the All-wish-bestowing (*sarvakāmadam*) (5), the one that destroys enemies and is called by name Destroyer-of-dangers (*ariṣṭaghneti*) (6), the one that must be performed [for] liberation from sins (*aghonirmocanam*), and the eighth, [namely] *buddhyādhāra*.

It is referred to implicitly as a salvific *maṇḍala* for *dīkṣā* in *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 414cd: *mahāmaṇḍalayāgeśadarśanād vā viśuddhyati*, "Alternatively, he will be purified by seeing the lord of the pantheon of the Mahāmaṇḍala".

We may note also that the *mahāmaṇḍala* is mentioned in Bāṇa's lengthy description of the Bhairavācārya's body, each element of which underlines the man's power acquired by Śaiva practices (Fuehrer's edition, p. 155):

> *…īṣatkācarakanīnikena raktāpāṅganirgatāṃśupratānena madhyadhavalabhāsendrāyudhenevātidīrgheṇa locanayugalena parito mahāmaṇḍalam ivānekavarṇarāgam ālikhantaṃ sitapītalohitapatākāvalīśabalaṃ śivabalim iva dikṣu vikṣipantam, …*
>
> …with his two eyes, which were extremely long and like rainbows, in that they had slightly yellowed pupils, they sent out a mesh of rays from their reddened corners, and they shone white in the middle, he seemed to be drawing a multicoloured *mahāmaṇḍala* all around, [and] scattering, as it were, *bali*-offerings to Śiva that were dappled with white, yellow and red flags, …

maguptiḥ) by means of the *vidyāṅgamantra*s,[172] he achieved success (*sid-*

[172]The *vidyāṅgamantra*s are a second group of body-part mantras. The primary mantra-set for a major tantric deity typically comprises a Root-mantra, five *brahmamantra*s, which are his five faces, then five (or sometimes six) body-part mantras or *aṅgamantra*s. (To these may also be added a *gāyatrī*. To this primary set may be added a second group of *aṅgamantra*s called the *vidyāṅgamantra*s . If these are added, then the first set of *aṅgamantra*s may be called the *śivāṅgamantra*s. The distinctions seem often to be muddled even in the primary literature (for a discussion, see Brunner 1986). What is expressed in this stanza is that by imposition (*nyāsa*) of these *vidyāṅgamantra*s , in other words by placing each of these body-part mantras onto the appropriate part of his own body, the king protected himself.

Judit Törzsök has advanced the theory that the *vidyāṅgamantra*s may have been used specifically for body-protection, whereas the other *aṅgamantra*s were used for transformation into the deity (see Goodall and Isaacson 2015:13–14 and 45–47). Such a notion might be alluded to in the following account of the consecration by inundation of a *sādhaka*, that is to say of one who seeks particular goals (*siddhi*) through propitiation and master of a particular mantra (*mantrasādhana*) (*Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 16):

> tantrārthajñaṃ jitakrodhaṃ sādhakaṃ hy abhiṣecayet 34
> *vidyāṅgaiś ca susannaddhaṃ* sādhyaikagatacetasam
> śaucopavāsasampannaṃ gurubhaktaṃ dṛḍhavratam 35
> prāguktakalaśāmbhobhiḥ sādhyamantrābhimantritaiḥ
> *nīrājanakapūrvaiś* ca kaiścit pītaiḥ sthitais tathā 36
> dakṣiṇāyāṃ sthito mūrter uttarābhimukho guruḥ
> pūjayet pūrvavad dhīmān sakalīkṛtya sādhakam 37
> pradakṣiṇam athāvṛtya praviśya bhavanaṃ guroḥ
> jānubhyām avanīṃ gatvā saśiṣyo deśikottamaḥ 38
> dhyātvā śivaṃ tathā mantram añjalau sādhakasya hi
> dadyān mantraṃ samudgīrya kuśavāritilākṣataiḥ 39
> tato vijñāpayed devaṃ siddhir astv asya śaṅkara
> avighnena yathāśāstraṃ pravṛttasya śivecchayā 40
>
> One should inundate to consecrate (*abhiṣecayet*) as *sādhaka* one who knows the meaning of the Tantra, who has conquered anger, who has girt himself well with the protection of the *vidyāṅga*-mantras, whose mind is focussed exclusively on his goal, who has been observing purity and fasts, who is devoted to his guru, who is firm in his observances. [One should do so] using waters that come from pots that have been described above, over which the mantra over which mastery is sought has been recited, after they have been lustrated with lamps, after a certain quantity (*kaiścit*) has been drunk, [and a certain quantity] left to stand (?). The guru should situate himself facing north in front of the south side of the [deity's] image. He should first worship [the deity], transform the *sādhaka* into the embodied deity [by imposition of mantras](*sakalīkṛtya*), then lead him in clockwise circumambulation and cause him to enter the guru's house. Getting to the ground on his knees, along with his disciple, the excellent teacher should visualise Śiva and His mantra. Into the cupped hands of the *sādhaka* he should give the mantra by pouring [it] with

dhim) characterised by noble power (*udārabhūtim*).[173]

XLI. [*upajāti*]
yasmin vitatya pracalatpaṭākāṃ paṭākinīṃ digvijayāya yāti
dvidrājalakṣmīḥ pracacāla pūrvvam urvvī tu paścād valabhāragurvvī ⊙

41a vitatya pracalat°] Jacques; vidhaty apracalat° Finot **41c** dvidrājalakṣmīḥ] Understand: *dviḍrājalakṣmīḥ*. **41d** pūrvvam] Jacques; pūrvvaṃ Finot

यस्मिन्वितत्य प्रचलत्पटाकां पटाकिनीं दिग्विजयाय याति
द्विद्राजलक्ष्मीः प्रचचाल पूर्व्वमुर्व्वी तु पश्चाद्बलभारगुर्व्वी ४१

41. As Rājendravarman (*yasmin*) set off (*yāti*) for his conquest of the directions (*digvijayāya*), spreading out [behind him] (*vitatya*) his army (*paṭākinīm*) with its quivering standards (*pracalatpaṭākām*),[174] first (*pūrvam*) the glory of his enemies (*dviḍrājalakṣmīḥ*) trembled (*pracacāla*), but (*tu*) afterwards (*paścāt*) the earth (*urvī*), heavy with the weight of troops (*balabhāragurvī*).[175]

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kuśa grass, water, sesame seeds and unhusked rice. Then he should address the god [saying]: 'Let there be success, O Śaṅkara, for this man, without obstacle, when he is engaged in accordance with Śiva's will [and] following scripture.'

[173] In this tantric interpretation, there are perhaps two ways of understanding *siddhim udārabhūtim*. The author could be recalling the fundamental dichotomy of tantric ritual goals into liberation and the attainment of supernatural powers. In that case, "success characterised by noble power" would refer to liberation, since the pursuit of supernatural powers was typically considered less noble, notably by the exegetes of the Śaivasiddhānta. Alternatively, the implication could be that Rājendravarman achieved supernatural powers (before being ultimately liberated), but used them only for noble ends. It is commonplace, in Śaiva tantras, to hierarchise supernatural powers in this way, and to declare that certain practices or substances employed in ritual are for lofty or lowly aims. The *Kiraṇatantra*, for example, states that, while *liṅga*s made of stone may lead to liberation or supernatural power, those of metals (eight types are distinguished) are to be made for lowly supernatural ends (51.7ab): *dhātujaṃ kṣudrasiddhyarthaṃ kalpyam aṣṭaprakārajam*, "One of metal is to be fashioned for the purpose of lowly powers; it may be of [one of] eight types [of metal]."

[174] The word *paṭāka*, and related words (such as *paṭākinī*) have been lexicalised only with dental *ṭ*, but they occur consistently with a retroflex *ṭ̣* in Khmer records: cf. K. 568, st. 22 and 26; K. 1222, st. S 23; K. 1297, st. 41.

[175] There are echoes here, unsurprisingly, of the *digvijaya* of Raghu described by Kālidāsa in chapter 4 of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, perhaps particularly of 4:26–33.

XLII. [*upajāti*]
(27) niśamya saumitrim ivābhiyāne
bhigarjjitan nirjjitameghanādam
tūryyadhvaniṃ yasya daśāsyatulyair
dūrād dviṣadbhir vvibhayāṃ babhūve ⟨⟩

42d Where FINOT has transcribed *dūrād dviṣadbhir*, what remains visible on the stone today could be transcribed thus: [d]ū[rād dvi]ṣadbhir. • vvibhayāṃ] JACQUES; vibhayāṃ FINOT

निशम्य सौमित्रिमिवाभियाने ऽभिगर्ज्जितन्निर्ज्जितमेघनादम्
तूर्य्यध्वनिं यस्य दशास्यतुल्यैर्दूराद् द्विषद्भिर्व्विभयां बभूवे ४२

42. Hearing (*niśamya*) from afar (*dūrāt*) the sound of his martial instruments (*tūryadhvanim*), which defeated the thunder (*nirjitameghanādam*), roaring (*abhigarjitam*) at his approach (*abhiyāne*), his (*yasya*) enemies (*dviṣadbhiḥ*) were frightened (*bibhayāṃ babhūve*),

— [his enemies who] like Rāvaṇa (*daśāsyatulyaiḥ*)[176] [were frightened hearing from afar the sound of his martial instruments that sounded] like

[176]There are two indicators of comparison here, since this *iva* is used in addition to °*tulyaiḥ*. Daṇḍin allows such a possibility and displays it in his second illustration of what he calls *vākyārthopamā*, which is a simile that revolves around the meaning of the whole sentence and involves the verbal action. It may contain lower-order similes embedded within the overarching simile, exactly as is the case (with *daśāsyatulyaiḥ*) here. Daṇḍin's illustration, using three instances of *iva*, is *Kāvyādarśa* 2:43:

nalinyā iva tanvaṅgyās tasyāḥ padmam ivānanam
mayā madhuvrateneva pāyaṁ pāyam aramyata

I, like the honey-loving [bee], took pleasure repeatedly drinking from the face, which was like a lotus, of the slender-bodied [girl], who was like a lotus-plant.

This use of multiple markers of similes embedded in what can be regarded as a single simile seems to have become less fashionable over time, for we find that the tenth-century Kashmirian commentator Vallabhadeva felt the need to defend Kālidāsa's use of three instances of *iva* in *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:68, adducing parallel instances from the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Śiśupālavadha*. Vallabhadeva refers forward to his defence in his commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:43 (which is quoted below in the annotation to stanza 47 of this inscription), where Kālidāsa's text has two instances of *iva*. In the case of 4:43, however, subsequent commentators either reflect a variant from which the first *iva* has been removed, or they drop the stanza altogether. (We may infer that 4:43 nonetheless reached Khmer readers of the tenth century, since it appears to have inspired the description of Rājendravarman given in stanza 47.) The usage recurs in 6:67, a stanza so famous (for its image of the flame of a lamp illuminating mansions as it passes them in the night) that the transmission has left it untouched, and

Lakṣmaṇa (*saumitrim*), roaring as he approached, by whom Meghanāda was defeated (*nirjitameghanādam*).

XLIII. [*upajāti*]
pratāpavahner iva dhūmajālaṃ valoddhutaṃ yasya rajaḥ prayāṇe
apy aspṛśad vairivilāsinīnām udaśrayām āsa vilocanāni ⊙

प्रतापवह्नेरिव धूमजालं वलोद्धुतं यस्य रजः प्रयाणे
अप्यस्पृशद्वैरिविलासिनीनामुदश्रयामास विलोचनानि ४३

43. Even though (*api*) it was not touching them (*aspṛśat*), the dust (*rajaḥ*) thrown up by Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) army (*baloddhutam*), [looking] like (*iva*) a screen of smoke (*dhūmajālam*) from the fire of his valour (*pratāpavahneḥ*) when he went on campaign (*prayāṇe*), caused the eyes (*vilocanāni*) of the wives of his enemies (*vairivilāsinīnām*) to fill with tears (*udaśrayām āsa*).[177]

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in 15:75, where once again the text commented on by Vallabhadeva has two instances of *iva*, but the first instance has been replaced by another word (*asau*) in the text commented upon by subsequent commentators.

[177] Although the mood is entirely different, this stanza was clearly inspired by the following stanza illustrating a type of *virodha* ("contradiction"), about travellers thinking fondly of their distant wives, by the poet and rhetorician Daṇḍin (fl. c. 700 CE) in his *Kāvyādarśa* (2:338):

udyānamārutoddhūtāś cūtacampakareṇavaḥ
udaśrayanti pānthānām aspṛśanto 'pi locane

Even though it doesn't touch them, the dust of mango blossom and of Campaka, thrown up by the wind that sweeps through gardens, causes the eyes of travellers to fill with tears.

As Eppling explains (1989:1288–1289), this is an instance of contradiction of cause and effect:

> The irritating "pollen" of the Mango trees and Campaka flowers "kicked up by garden breezes" is a perfectly plausible cause of "tears" appearing in "the eyes of travellers." Yet when we are told that this result occurs "without touching"[,] the element of contradiction — how would pollen generate tears without contact? — is introduced.
>
> And again contradiction leads us to infer a more subtle reality. For the presence of pollen indicates the blooming of the Mango and Campaka flowers in all their beauty and the erotic season of spring. For travellers at this time, distant from their lovers, such beauty can only remind them in comparative reflection of their separation and bring tears to their eyes in sadness.

For other echoes of Daṇḍin, see stanzas 21, 90, 123, and 189.

XLIV. [*upajāti*]
(28) kṣamān nipīdya prathamaṃ pravṛttaḥ
srotāᳬ̆ṃsi kāluṣyam atho rajobhiḥ
yāne nayan yasya samutpapāta
saṃghaś camūnām iva vaddharoṣaḥ ⟨⟩

44a nipīdya] Understand: *nipīḍya*. **44b** srotāᳬ̆ṃsi] Jacques[1]; srotāṃsi Finot, Jacques[2] **44d** saṃghaś] Finot; saṃ(gha)ś Jacques. What I would transcribe today (June 2015) is rather this: sa[ṃ](gha)ś.

क्षमान्निपीद्य प्रथमं प्रवृत्तः स्रोताᳬंसि कालुष्यमथो रजोभिः
याने नयन्यस्य समुत्पपात संघश्चमूनामिव वद्धरोषः ४४

44. The congregation (*saṅghaḥ*) of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) armies (*camūnām*) as it first set out (*prathamaṃ pravṛttaḥ*) crushed (*nipīḍya*) the earth (*kṣamām*), then (*atho*) brought (*nayan*) the rivers (*srotāṃsi*) to dirtiness (*kāluṣyam*) with dust (*rajobhiḥ*) as it marched (*yāne*), [then] attacked (*samutpapāta*),[178]

> like (*iva*)[179] an angry man (*baddharoṣaḥ*) who, when first engaged (*pravṛttaḥ*) suppresses (*nipīḍya*) his patience (*kṣamām*), then (*atho*) when in motion (*yāne*) leads (*nayan*) his senses (*srotāṃsi*) into befuddlement (*kāluṣyaṃ nayan*) because of his passions (*rajobhiḥ*) [and then attacks].

[178] For the environmental destruction wrought by the *vijigīṣu*, cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:30–31, in particular 4:31 (text of Vallabhadeva; this stanza is omitted by the commentators Hemādri, Mallinātha, Aruṇagirinātha, Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita and Sarvajñavanamuni):

> purogaiḥ kaluṣās tasya sahaprasthāyibhiḥ kṛśāḥ
> paścātprayāyibhiḥ paṅkaṃ cakrire mārganimnagāḥ
>
> With his vanguard, he sullied the rivers along the way; with the forces that accompanied him, he rendered them thin; with those who followed after him, he turned them to mud.

It is indeed conceivable that this stanza of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, omitted in most editions but preserved in the earliest surviving commentary, might have inspired the composition of this stanza about Rājendravarman. For a parallel case, see st. 47 below.

[179] This assumes that an *upamā* is intended, but it would be possible to take *iva* as marking an *utprekṣā* instead, in which case we could understand that the congregation of armies behaved in this way,

> as though it were angry (*baddharoṣa iva*) [and thus,] when first engaged suppressed its patience, then when in motion led its senses into befuddlement because of its passions [and then attacked].

XLV. [*upajāti*]
kīrṇṇaḥ kvacid bhañjitabhūmibhṛdbhir
anvāsyamānaḥ paravāhinībhiḥ
kvacic ca yasya pratataḥ prayātuḥ
svarvvāhinīmārgga ivāsa mārggaḥ ⊙

45b anvāsyamānaḥ] Jacques; anvasyamānaḥ Finot **45d** svarvvāhinīº] Jacques; svarvāhinīº Finot

कीर्ण्णः क्वचिद्भञ्जितभूमिभृद्भि-
रन्वास्यमानः परवाहिनीभिः
क्वचिच्च यस्य प्रततः प्रयातुः
स्वर्व्वाहिनीमार्ग्ग इवास मार्ग्गः ४५

45. His broad (*pratataḥ*) path (*mārgaḥ*) as he marched forth (*prayātuḥ*), which was sometimes (*kvacit*) thronged (*kīrṇaḥ*) by vanquished kings, sometimes (*kvacit*) joined (*anvāsyamānaḥ*) by other armies, was (*āsa*)[180] like (*iva*) the path of the celestial river [Gaṅgā] (*svarvāhinīmārgaḥ*),

> *sometimes thronged by broken mountains (*bhañjitabhūmibhṛdbhiḥ*), sometimes joined by other rivers (*paravāhinībhiḥ*).*[181]

[180] Note that the use of *āsa* as an independent verb-form is frowned upon by some (e.g. Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* 5.2.27), but that it is used by no less a poet than Kālidāsa in *Kumārasambhava* 1:35 (quoted above in the annotation on st. 26). Less famous instances occur in *Raghuvaṃśa* 11:80 and 14:23. We find it also in stanzas 80 and 203 below.

[181] This stanza no doubt consciously echoes *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:33–34:

> sa senāṃ mahatīṃ karṣan pūrvasāgaragāminīm
> babhau harajaṭābhraṣṭāṃ gaṅgām iva bhagīrathaḥ
> tyājitaiḥ phalam utkhātair bhagnaiś ca bahudhā nṛpaiḥ
> tasyāsīd ulbaṇo mārgaḥ pādapair iva dantinaḥ
>
> Leading his great army as it headed toward the eastern sea, he resembled Bhagīratha leading the Gaṅgā fallen from Śiva's matted hair. As the path of an elephant is clearly visible from the trees stripped of their fruits, or uprooted or broken in various ways, his path was clearly visible because of the kings forced to hand over their wealth, dethroned or vanquished in various ways.

XLVI. [*upajāti*]
(29) viṣvak prasahyāvaraṇañ janānāñ ceṣṭāsv aśaktiṃ vihataṃ prakāśam
yad yat pradoṣas tanute tamobhis tat tac cakārāripure valair yyaḥ ⟨⟩

46a viṣvak prasahyā°] Jacques[1]; viyat ⏑ – – Finot; viśvak prasahyā° Jacques[2]. The bottom halves of these letters are on a fragment unknown in 1925 and now (June 2015) missing again, rendering the letters hard to decipher. Today, one might transcribe: viṣ[va](k) [p](ra)sah(yā)°. **46d** cakārāripure] Jacques; cakārāriṣu Finot (unmetrical)

विष्वक्प्रसह्यावरणाञ्जनानाञ्चेष्टास्वशक्तिं विहतं प्रकाशम्
यद्यत्प्रदोषस्तनुते तमोभिस्तत्तच्चकारारिपुरे वलैर्य्यः ४६

46. Whatever (*yad yat*) nightfall (*pradoṣaḥ*) brings about (*tanute*) with its shadows (*tamobhiḥ*), that (*tat tat*) he (*yaḥ*) accomplished (*cakāra*) in his enemy's city (*aripure*) by means of his troops (*balaiḥ*): surrounding (*āvaraṇam*) people (*janānām*) forcibly (*prasahya*) on all sides (*viṣvak*), rendering them bereft of power (*aśaktim*) to accomplish their tasks (*ceṣṭāsu*), destroying (*vihatam*) the light (*prakāśam*).

XLVII. [*upajāti*]
vitatya pakṣadvayam āttanādaṃ yasmin rayāt tārkṣya iva prapanne
dviṇnāgavṛṇḍaṃ hatavīryyasaṃpad gantavyatāmūḍhatayāvatasthe ⊙

47b tārkṣya] Jacques; tarkṣya Finot **47c** °vṛṇḍaṃ] Understand: °*vṛndaṃ*. **47d** gantavyatāmūḍhatayāvatasthe] gantavyatām ūḍhatayāvatasthe Finot

वितत्य पक्षद्वयमात्तनादं यस्मिन्नयात्तार्द्य इव प्रपन्ने
द्विरणागवृरण्डं हतवीर्य्यसंपद्गन्तव्यतामूढतयावतस्थे ४७

47. When Rājendravarman (*yasmin*) arrived (*prapanne*) speedily (*rayāt*), noisily (*āttanādam*) spreading (*vitatya*) out the two wings [of his army] (*pakṣadvayam*), just as (*iva*) Garuḍa (*tārkṣye*) [arrives speedily, noisily stretching out his wings], the horde of enemy elephants (the horde of snake-like enemies / the horde of snakes inimical [to Garuḍa]) (*dviṇnāgavṛndam*), robbed of their abundance of heroic vigour (*hatavīryasampat*), stood there (*avatasthe*) in a state of puzzlement as to where to go (*gantavyatāmūḍhatayā*).[182]

[182] Once again, as in the case of st. 44 above, it seems possible that a stanza of Kālidāsa's that has been excluded from most editions of the *Raghuvaṃśa* influenced the poet in the composi-

XLVIII. [*upajāti*]
(30) yatraiva saṃvarmmayati pragalbham
uttejasi vraddhna iva [prabhāte]

---

tion of this stanza. For cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:43:

> vāyavyāstravinirdhūtāt pakṣāviddhād ivodadheḥ
> gajānīkāt sa kāliṅgaṃ tārkṣyaḥ sarpam ivādade
>
> [Raghu] snatched up the king of Kaliṅga from amongst his horde of elephants, which had been roiled by his weapon of wind, just as Garuḍa might a serpent from an ocean whipped up by his wings.

Another stanza that seems to have been consciously echoed, pointed out by Harunaga Isaacson, occurs in the *Kirātārjunīya* and describes Śiva (14:31) using the expression *vitatya pakṣadvayam*:

> udūḍhavakṣaḥsthagitaikadiṅmukho vikṛṣṭavisphāritacāpamaṇḍalaḥ
> vitatya pakṣadvayam āyataṃ babhau vibhur guṇānām uparīva madhyagaḥ
>
> Blocking one of the quarters of the sky with his chest thrust high, drawing back and twanging his rounded bow, deploying the two extensive wings [of his army], as the Immanent Lord (*vibhuḥ*) stood in the midst of his Gaṇas, he appeared to rise above them.

As is typical of Kālidāsa, there is no pun in his stanza on the word *pakṣa*, but such a pun certainly might seem to be hinted at, just as it is certainly hinted at, in reverse, in that of Bhāravi, and this pun is made explicit in the stanza describing Rājendravarman. In Kālidāsa's stanza, the wings belong to Garuḍa, who is compared to Raghu on military campaign, and thus flanked, although this is not stated, by the wings of an army; in Bhāravi's stanza, Śiva is flanked by the wings of his army of Gaṇas, but since he appears to soar above them, the reader spontaneously imagines him to be spreading wings that support him in flight.

We have assumed *āttanādam* to be an adverb meaning "loudly". It would perhaps be conceivable to take it as an adverb or adjective meaning the opposite "from which noise had been taken", but this would be unidiomatic and Garuḍa's attack is elsewhere said to be noisy, as for instance in this description of an attack by Arjuna in *Mahābhārata* 8.55:22 (pointed out by Harunaga Isaacson):

> tasya śabdo mahān āsīt parān abhimukhasya vai
> garuḍasyeva patataḥ pannagārthe yathā purā
>
> As he faced his enemies, the sound he made was great, just as it was once upon a time of Garuḍa when he flew down for the sake of [seizing] a serpent.

As for the expression in the last quarter, it appears modeled on the common idiom *kiṃkartavyatāmūḍha*, "confused as to what to do", which we find used, for instance, by Daṇḍin towards the end of the 2nd *ucchvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 98): *… kiṃkartavyatāmūḍhaḥ kṣaṇam atiṣṭham*, "…I stood there for a moment, confused as to what to do".

⏑ – ◡ – (la/ya)ñ [ca] vile vilīl(y)e
⏑ (v/t/k/g/ś/th)āpy asīdac ca kumudvatīvat ◊

48] Finot proposed no transcription of this stanza, since it falls on a fragment unknown in 1925 and lost since Jacques's transcription, as Jacques[2] explains in a note: "Ce demi-vers, ainsi que la première partie du vers L, se trouvait sur un fragment découvert depuis la publication de Louis Finot. Replacé sur la stèle, il a disparu depuis." **48b** iva [prabhāte]] *conj.* Harunaga Isaacson. A note added with a different pen in Jacques[1] suggests *ivāṇḍajātam*, a conjecture not adopted by Jacques[2]. **48cd** ⏑ – ◡ – (la|ya)ñ [ca] vile vilīl(y)e ⏑ (t/k)āpy asīdac] ⏑ – ◡ – – ñ [ca] vile vilīl(y)e k..āpy asīdac Jacques[2] ; ⏑ – ◡ – – yañ [ca] vile vilīlye [ek]āpy asīdac Jacques[1]

यत्रैव संवर्म्मयति प्रगल्भम्
उत्तेजसि व्रद्ध्न इव [प्रभाते]
⏑ – ◡ – (य)ञ् [च] विले विलील्ये
⏑ (ता । का)प्यसीदच्च कुमुद्वतीवत् ४८

48. When he was merely (*eva*) boldly (*pragalbham*) donning armour (*saṃvarmmayati*), emitting radiance (*uttejasi*), like the sun (*vraddhna iva*) [[at dawn (*prabhāte*), [[darkness]] and [[his enemies]][183] disappeared (*vililye*[184]) into crevices (*vile*) and [[their army?]] slumped down (*asīdac ca*), like a pond of water-lilies.[185]

XLIX. [*upajāti*]
vāṇāsanaṃ bibhrati yatra yuddhe śuddhe śaratkāla ivābhidṛṣṭe
itas tato līnatayāśu moghā meghā ivāsan laghavo narendrāḥ ⊙

वाणासनं बिभ्रति यत्र युद्धे शुद्धे शरत्काल इवाभिदृष्टे
इतस्ततो लीनतयाशु मोघा मेघा इवासन्लघवो नरेन्द्राः ४९

49. When Rājendravarman (*yatra*) was seen (*abhidṛṣṭe*) bright (*śuddhe*) in battle (*yuddhe*) carrying (*bibhrati*) his bow (*bāṇāsanam*), the lightweight (*laghavaḥ*) [enemy] kings (*narendrāḥ*) quickly (*āśu*) became ineffectual (*moghāḥ*),

[183] Harunaga Isaacson has suggested that some such words may be missing here. Rājendravarman's girding himself with armour is compared with the sun at dawn. When the sun appears, dark shadows hide themselves in nooks and crannies, just as his enemies do.

[184] Here *vililye* (not *vilīlye*) is the expected third person singular form of the perfect of *vi-lī*.

[185] Convention has it that water-lilies are enlivened by the moon, whereas the sun, their enemy, causes them to close. Rājendravarman's enemies fold just at the knowledge that he was preparing for war, just as water-lilies, by convention, fold at the advent of the sun.

> like (*iva*) the clouds (*meghāḥ*) when bright autumn (*śaratkāle*) appears, bearing the rainbow (/bearing [the flowers of] reeds and Asana trees) (*bāṇāsanam*),[186]

in as much as they disappeared in different directions.[187]

[186] As Yuko Yokochi has pointed out to me, *bāṇāsana* is used, probably with these two layers of meaning, in the *Kādambarī* (p. 39). The Vindhya forest (*vindhyāṭavī*) is there described as: *samarodyatapatākinīva bāṇāsanāropitaśilīmukhā vimuktasiṃhanādā ca*, "like an army ready for battle, arrows fitted to bows, and voicing battle cries, it has bees on its *bāṇa* and *asana* trees, and lions' roars are emitted" (trans. Smith). The implication of Smith's translation is that *bāṇa* refers to a type of tree, which indeed it might, but it is in any case used to refer to reeds, whose tall flowering spikes might well be associated with autumn. As for *asana*, Monier-Williams identifies it as *Terminalia tomentosa*, which appears now to be called *Terminalia elliptica*, but the Pandanus website (`iu.ff.cuni.cz/pandanus/database/`, consulted 18.iv.2021) instead identifies it as *Pterocarpus marsupium*.

[187] This stanza and the next contain echoes of *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:15–16, in which Raghu sets out on military campaign in autumn, with the result that Indra has no need to show his bow, the rainbow, which appears at the end of the monsoon and is thus a distinctive feature of autumn:

> nirvṛṣṭalaghubhir meghaiḥ savitus tasya cobhayoḥ
> vardhiṣṇavo diśāṃ bhāgāḥ pratāpāyeva recitāḥ
>
> It seemed that heaven's unfolding quarters were emptied of clouds, light after the rains, so that both the sun and [Raghu] could spread their fieriness.
>
> adhijyam āyudhaṃ kartuṃ samayo 'yaṃ raghor iti
> svaṃ dhanuḥ śaṅkiteneva saṃjahre śatamanyunā
>
> "This is the time for Raghu to string his bow." As if the god of hundred-fold anger had suspected this, he laid aside his own bow.

We have followed an interpretation suggested by Harunaga Isaacson, but one could perhaps assume a different rhetorical structure, for instance:

> When Rājendravarman (*yatra*) was seen (*abhidṛṣṭe*) bright (*śuddhe*) in battle (*yuddhe*) carrying (*bibhrati*) his bow (*bāṇāsanam*), the [enemy] kings (*narendrāḥ*) quickly (*āśu*) became light (*laghavaḥ*) and vain (*moghāḥ*), in as much as they disappeared (*līnatayā*) in various directions (*itas tataḥ*),
>
> > just as (*iva*) when bright autumn (*śaratkāle*) is seen, bearing the rainbow (/bearing [the flowers of] reeds and Asana trees) (*bāṇāsanam*), the clouds (*meghāḥ*) become light and vain, disappearing in different directions.

L. [*upajāti*]
(31) dadhad dhanuś śakradhanurnnibhaṃ yo
vinad(y)a varṣann iṣuva[rṣam] – ⏑̲
⏑̲ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑̲
⏑̲ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ (ā)bhimānam ◊

50ab FINOT has transcribed nothing for the first half of stanza 50: see note on stanza 48 above. **50b** iṣuva[rṣam]] *conj.* ; iśuva*** JACQUES[1] ; isuva[rṣam] JACQUES[2]. **50d** (ā)bhimānam] JACQUES[1]; ābhimānam FINOT; [a]bhimānam JACQUES[2]

दधद्धनुश्शक्रधनुर्न्निभं यो विनद्य वर्षन्निषुव[र्षम्] – ⏑̲
⏑̲ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑̲ ⏑̲ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ (आ)भिमानम् ५०

50. Wielding (*dadhat*) a bow (*dhanuḥ*) that was like the [rain]bow of Indra (*śakradhanurnibham*), he thundered (*vinadya*), pouring down (*varṣan*) a rain of arrows (*iṣuvarṣam*)…[188]

[188] Harunaga ISAACSON and, independently Yiming SHEN (to whom Harunaga ISAACSON sent the broken stanza), felt that what is preserved is enough to let us conclude that Rājendravarman was compared in this stanza to a cloud, and to suggest that the enemy kings were probably compared to mountains, most likely by means of a pun using a word such as *mahīdhara*, *bhūbhṛt* or the like, and that what their *abhimāna* was compared to may have been a forest-fire (*dāvāgni* or *dāvānala*).

Just to show how this might work, here is one of three possible reconstructions that have been suggested (this one being the second one produced by Harunaga ISAACSON after seeing the reconstruction independently proposed by Yiming SHEN):

> [meghāyamānaḥ śamayāṃ cakāra mahībhṛtāṃ dāvam iv]ābhimānam

Harunaga ISAACSON further tentatively suggested that the final word of the first half-line might be *ugram* (Yiming SHEN proposed instead *ājau*). The resulting stanza might be translated as follows:

> Wielding a bow that was like the [rain]bow of Indra, thundering, and pouring down a fierce (*ugram*) rain of arrows, acting like a cloud (*meghāyamānaḥ*), he quenched (*śamayāṃ cakāra*) the pride (*abhimānam*) of enemy kings (*mahīdharāṇām*), as though it were (*iva*) a forest fire (*dāvam*) *in the mountains* (*mahīdharāṇām*).

Yiming SHEN alluded to the following parallel for the comparison of the fighting king with a cloud, his bow with the rainbow, his arrows with rain, and his enemy with a mountain (*Rāmāyaṇa* 5.45:18):

> tataḥ sa bāṇāsanaśakrakārmukaḥ śarapravarṣo yudhi rākṣasāmbudaḥ
> śarān mumocāśu harīśvarācale balāhako vṛṣṭim ivācalottame

LI. [*upajāti*]
satyaṃ vimūḍhasya pataṅgasāmyaṃ sametya sānanda ivārivarggaḥ
yad(v)āhudaṇḍāraṇijañ jvalantan tejonalaṃ yad vipade bhipede ⊙

51ab The *vi* of *vimūḍhasya* has disappeared from the stone (June 2015), as have the syllables *sametya sānanda i*, but they are visible on an estampage kept in Hanoi. **51a** satyaṃ] Jacques; satya° Finot (*unmetrical*) **51c** yad(v)āhu°] Jacques; yadvāhu Finot **51d** bhipede] Jacques; bhiṣede Finot

सत्यं विमूढस्य पतङ्गसाम्यं समेत्य सानन्द इवारिवर्ग्गः
यद्बाहुदण्डारणिजज्वलन्तन्तेजोनलं यद्विपदे ऽभिपेदे ५१

It is quite true (*satyam*) that a foolish person (*vimūḍhasya*) is like a moth (*pataṅgasāmyam*).[189] For (*yat*), flocking together (*sametya*), his enemies (*arivargaḥ*) have joyously (*sānandaḥ*) approached (*abhipede*), for their own destruction (*vipade*), the blazing fire of his valour (*tejonalam*), born from the fire-drill formed by Rājendravarman's staff-like arms (*yadbāhudaṇḍāraṇijam*).[190]

LII. [*upajāti*]
(32) rayeṇa yena prahito hitorvv(ī)ruhānnadān – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓ ⏓ – ⏑ – ṇān nabhasi pravṛddhaḥ ⟨⟩

52 Finot has transcribed nothing for the first half. Jacques[2] notes: "Ce demi-vers, ainsi que la première partie du vers LIV, se trouve sur un fragment découvert depuis la publication de L. Finot. Il a été remis en place. Il contenait des fragments de 7 lignes, soit 32 à 38 incluse." This fragment survives today (June 2015), but is now very worn. Only parts of lines 32 and 33 can now be read from it. **52ab** rayeṇa yena prahito hitorvv(ī)ruhānnadān] Jacques[2]; raye ⏑ yena prahito hito * hānnadān(ai) Jacques[1]

[189] The foolishness of moths flocking to a flame is of course proverbial. Among the examples pointed out to me by Harunaga Isaacson, this stanza from the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* (5:85) is similar in sentiment:

svalpam apy apakurvanti ye pāpāḥ pṛthivīpatau
te vahnāv iva dahyante pataṅgā mūḍhacetasaḥ

Such wretches as act to the detriment to the king, even in a small degree, are burnt, foolish-minded, like moths in a fire.

[190] Or perhaps "the fire-drill that had his arms for its sticks".

रयेण येन प्रहितो हितोव्वींरुहान्नदान् – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑
⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ ⏑ – ◡ – ग्गान्नभसि प्रवृद्धः ५२

Sent off (*prahitaḥ*) by him (*yena*) with speed (*rayeṇa*) … grew (*pravṛddhaḥ*) in the sky/monsoon (*nabhasi*) …

LIII. [*upajāti*]
nijāsanaṃ prāpya ripūn nirasya ruddhvā marudvartma manorayañ ca
vijitya yasyābhyasato vatasthe py atīndriye yo(ga i)veṣuvarṣam ⊙

53d atīndriye yo(ga i)veṣuvarṣam] Jacques; atantra *** Finot. The letters seem legible today (June 2015).

निजासनं प्राप्य रिपून्निरस्य
रुद्ध्वा मरुद्वर्त्म मनोरयञ्च
विजित्य यस्याभ्यसतो ऽवतस्थे
ऽप्यतीन्द्रिये यो(ग इ)वेषुवर्षम् ५३

53. The rain of arrows (*iṣuvarṣam*) of Rājendravarman] (*yasya*) as he merely (*api*) practised [archery (*abhyasataḥ*),[191] once they had been set to his bow (*nijāsanam prāpya*), destroyed (*nirasya*) his enemies (*ripūn*), blocked (*ruddhvā*) the sky (*marudvartma*), surpassed (*vijitya*) the speed of thought (*manorayam*) and came to rest (*avatasthe*) in a place that was beyond range of the senses (*atīndriye*);

> *just as* (iva) *his* Yoga*, as he practised it, once the appropriate posture had been adopted* (nijāsanam prāpya)*, destroyed the [internal] enemies [that are the passions], blocked the passage of his breaths* (ruddhvā marudvartma)*, overcame the flightiness of the mind* (manorayaṃ vijitya) *and came to rest even* (api) *in that [ultimate reality] which is beyond the senses* (atīndriye).[192]

[191] We have assumed this to be used as the genitive singular of the present participle, which we might expect should rather be *abhyasyataḥ*, and that would not fit the metre. Alternatively, we could understand *abhyāsataḥ* (the noun *abhyāsa* with the suffix *tasi*), but that too would be unmetrical. The form *abhyasataḥ* intended as genitive of the participle occurs, however, in various Śaiva tantras, for instance in *Parākhyatantra* 4:79 and in *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, *yogapāda* 7:40. Such a usage assumes that it derives from the verbal root *as* belonging to the first class.

[192] On the restraint of the senses by the king (a prerequisite for prosperous and effective rule), see, e.g., *Arthaśāstra* 1.6 and *Manusmṛti* 7.44. (I am grateful to Emmanuel Francis for pointing out these passages.) Louis Finot was unable to make sense of what he was able to read here. His interpretation (*BEFEO* 25, p. 337) could be rendered as follows:

LIV. [*upajāti*]
(33) [ś]irāṃsi tejā[ṃ](s)i samun(n)atāni dhanaṃ picāyaṃ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑
⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – (ṣa) vāṇais samaṃ saṃyati sañjahāra ⟨⟩

54 Finot has transcribed nothing for the first half of this stanza: see note on stanza 52 above. **54a** [ś]irāṃsi tejā[ṃ](s)i samun(n)atāni] *conj.*; . irāṃsi tejā[ṃ](s)i samun(n)atāni Jacques[2]; [t]irā l/s i te vā . i simunnatāni Jacques[1] **54b** dhanaṃ picāyaṃ] Jacques[2]; dhanaṃ p/s i cāya Jacques[1]

ि[श]रांसि तेजांि(स) समुन्नतानि धनं पिचायं ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑
⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ (ष) वाणैस्समं संयति सञ्जहार ५४

54. By means of his arrows (*bāṇaiḥ*) in battle (*saṃyati*), Rājendravarman took away (*sañjahāra*) simultaneously (*samam*) the lofty (*samunnatāni*) heads (*śirāṃsi*) and the [lofty] glories (*tejāṃsi*) …[193] [[of his enemies]] …

After having obtained his throne, dispersed his enemies, filled the atmosphere and mastered the violence of the heart, while he tirelessly fired his arrows, there stopped …

Our understanding of the stanza assumes a discrepancy in gender between the two entities compared in the *upamā*, namely *iṣuvarṣam* and *yogaḥ*. This sort of discrepancy came to be regarded as more and more problematic by readers and transmitters of poetry over time (see Goodall 2009, in particular pp. 67–71), but it is clear that Bhāmaha regarded it as unproblematic to juxtapose masculine and neuter entities, as he tells us in *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 2:57, and he offers, for instance, this line as an example (*Kāvyālaṅkāra* 2:51ab): *puñjībhūtam iva dhvāntam eṣa bhāti mataṅgajaḥ*, "This elephant appears like darkness congealed." And Daṇḍin too could tolerate some instances of discrepancy in gender (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:51):

na liṅgavacane bhinne na hīnādhikatāpi vā
upamādūṣaṇāyālaṁ yatrodvego na dhīmatām

Neither a difference in gender or number nor in inferiority or superiority are sufficient to spoil an *upamā* where there is no distaste among the discerning. (Translation of Eppling 1989:560.)

It is odd, however, that the poet did not choose to use the masculine *iṣuvarṣaḥ*, since *varṣa* can be either masculine or neuter. Perhaps Cambodian poets regarded *varṣa* as a neuter noun. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find evidence for them regarding it as being of either gender, since only nominative usages can tell us, and I find only one other, namely in K. 1320, st. 48, where it is again neuter.

[193] Here, instead of *dhanaṃ pi*, one is tempted to assume, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma and Harunaga Isaacson have suggested, that what was written was *dhanāni*, and that Rājendravarman simultaneously took away his enemies' heads, their glories and their wealth.

LV. [*upajāti*]
śilīmukhā mūrddhani cāpamuktā jhaṃkāraramyā dviṣatān nipetuḥ
svassundarīhastalatāvimuktamaṇḍāragandhānugatās tu yasya ⊙

55b jhaṃkāra°] jhāṃkāra° FINOT, JACQUES **55d** °maṇḍāra°] Understand: °*mandāra*°.

शिलीमुखा मूर्द्धनि चापमुक्ता झंकाररम्या द्विषतान्निपेतुः
स्वस्सुन्दरीहस्तलताविमुक्तमराडारगन्धानुगतास्तु यस्य ५५

55. Thrumming agreeably (*jhaṃkāraramyāḥ*), the arrows (*śilīmukhāḥ*), released from the bow (*cāpamuktāḥ*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*), fell upon (*nipetuḥ*) the heads (*mūrdhani*) of his enemies (*dviṣatām*), but (*tu*) followed by the scent (°*gandhānugatāḥ*) of the coral-blossom (°*mandāra*°) dropped from the creeper-like hands (°*hastalatāmukta*°) of celestial beauties (*svassundarī*°).[194]

[194]For the topos of celestial ladies choosing dying warriors as husbands, see, for example *Raghuvaṃśa* 7:51 and 53:

> kaścid dviṣatkhaḍgahṛttottamāṅgaṃ sadyo vimānaprabhutām upetya
> vāmāṅgasaṃsaktasurāṅganaḥ svaṃ nṛtyatkabandhaṃ samare dadarśa 51
>
> A certain warrior, his head lopped off by an enemy's sword, suddenly found himself master of a flying palace, with a celestial lady at his left side, looking down upon his torso dancing upon the battlefield.
>
> paraspareṇa kṣatayoḥ prahartror vyutkrāntavāyvoḥ samakālam eva
> amartyabhāve 'pi kayoś cid āsīd ekāpsaraḥprārthitayor vivādaḥ 53
>
> Even though they were now divinised, a fight broke out between two soldiers who had struck each other and had at the same instant breathed their last, for both had been chosen by one and the same celestial maiden.

In our current interpretation, *tu* is used to mark the contrast between the disagreeable fall of arrows and the agreeable descent of garlands: "arrows fell, but followed by the fragrance of *mandāra* blossom". In *Kirātārjunīya* 16:11, there has apparently been some evolution of the topos, for the selection of dying warriors as husbands there would have been effected by the celestial maidens casting down garlands specifically of *mandāra* on them, and this of course would have had a cooling and soothing effect, which perhaps lends some support to the interpretation we have given to the particle *tu*:

> parikṣate vakṣasi dantidantaiḥ priyāṅkaśītā nabhasaḥ patantī
> neha pramohaṃ priyasāhasānāṃ mandāramālā viralīkaroti
>
> In this battle, wounded heroes are not revived by garlands of heavenly coral flowers falling from the sky, cool as a beloved girl's embrace, on chests gored by elephant tusks. (Translation of VISWANATHAN PETERSON 2016:321.)

> [They were veritable] *bees* (śilīmukhāḥ)*, humming agreeably, following the scent of the coral-blossom* (°mandāragandhānugatāḥ) *dropped from the creeper-like hands of celestial beauties*.[195]

LVI. [*upajāti*]
(34) ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ yo …i ……ca nigu……
⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – tu vandhañ cakartta bhūbhṛnnivahottamāṅgam ◊

56 Finot transcribes nothing for the first half. About the three syllables *ca nigu*, Jacques[2] notes: "Elles ne sont lisibles que sur un seul estampage et la partie correspondante a dû être cassée avant même qu'il ne soit recollé sur la stèle." In fact, the surface of this fragment still survives here, but that surface is now so very worn that no letter is discernible for this and the following lines up to and including 38.

⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ यो …इ ……च निगु……
⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – तु वन्धश्चकर्त्त भूभृन्निवहोत्तमाङ्गम् ५६

56. … he cut through (*cakartta*) the blockage (*bandham*) that consisted in the heads of a mass of [enemy] kings (*bhūbhṛnnivahottamāṅgam*).

LVII. [*upajāti*]
śastravraṇāsrasrutidhārayādrau ruddho py arīndrair yyudhi yo didīpe
dviṭchāyayācchādita eva bhānur bibhrat tanutran tyajati svadīptim ⊙

शस्त्रव्रणास्रस्रुतिधारयाद्रौ रुद्धो ऽप्यरीन्द्रैर्य्युधि यो दिदीपे
द्विट्छायय्याच्छादित एव भानुर्बिभ्रत्तनुत्रन्त्यजति स्वदीप्तिम् ५७

For remarks on further passages, including some from the epics, relating to the theme of *apsaras* and dying warriors, see Hara 2001.

[195] Instead of tacking on a punning translation which would make this an instance of *rūpaka*, we could instead assume that *tu* marks a contrast between what fell on the enemies' heads and what fell on Rājendravarman's head (thus resulting in an instance of the figure *vyatireka*):

> But on Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) *head fell bees* (śilīmukhāḥ)*, humming agreeably, following the scent of the coral-blossom* (°mandāragandhānugatāḥ) *dropped from the creeper-like hands of celestial beauties [to form a celebratory rain of flowers]*.

In this interpretation, however, the position of the *tu* is arguably peculiar, and it is perhaps more disturbing that there is no alternative sense that can be assigned to *cāpamuktāḥ*. Furthermore, there is no indication that we must understand a rain of flowers on the victor, which means that the reader is still left with the lingering thought that the celestial maidens' flowers mark death.

57. With a flood of streams of blood from weapon-inflicted wounds (*śastravraṇāsra-srutidhārayā*), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) shone (*didīpe*) in battle (*yudhi*) upon a mountain (*adrau*),[196] although (*api*) hemmed in (*ruddhaḥ*) by mighty enemies (*arīndraiḥ*); [in contrast,[197]] the sun (*bhānuḥ*), when hemmed in by the shadows of his enemies (*dviṭchāyayācchāditaḥ*)[198] abandons (*tyajati*) his brightness (*svadīptim*), even though he wears (*bibhrat*) a breastplate (*tanutram*).[199]

LVIII. [*upajāti*]
(35) ⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ ⏑ – ◡ ṇ(e) saṃgarasaṃgha – ⏑
⏑ – ◡ (d)[o]rvv[ī]ryyavikīrṇṇakīrttir ddaśāṇanan durhṛdam unninãya ◊

58 FINOT transcribes nothing for the first half of 58. JACQUES[2] adds the following note: "Ce fragment de ligne se trouve sur un morceau d'inscription découvert après l'édition de L. Finot ; ce morceau a été replacé sur la stèle, mais trop bas :

[196]This might be standard royal praise, but one could perhaps suppose there to be an allusion here to a particular battle; cf. stanza 120 below. It is possible that Rājendravarman was often drenched with blood from the wounds of his enemies, but it sounds as if this might be alluding to a particular occasion when he was drenched in his own blood.

[197]The figure here seems again to be *vyatireka* involving comparison with a planet. Cf. st. 17.

[198]The enemies of the sun could simply be clouds, but perhaps here the reference is rather to Rāhu, credited with causing the eclipse of the sun. We could take *dviṭchāyayā* as a *tatpuruṣa*, "the shadow of his enemies". But we may note that Rāhu is described as a "shadow planet" (*chāyāgraha*), for instance in *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* 1.125:40:

> ādityaś caiva somaś ca dvāv etau maṇḍalagrahau
> rāhuś chāyāgrahas teṣāṃ śeṣās tārāgrahāḥ smṛtāḥ
>
> The sun and the moon — these two are orb-planets. Rāhu is a shadow-planet. The rest are held to be star-planets.

However, we find other evidence for the "shadow of" Rāhu. For instance in 930cd of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* of Kṣemendra's *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* we read the following about the sorrowing Daśaratha: *rāhucchāyopagūḍhasya vahann aṃśumataḥ prabhām*, "he wore the lustre of the sun when it is covered by the shadow of Rāhu."

[199]There are various hymns that are known as *sūryakavaca*, "breast-plate of the sun". There is one that is attributed to a *Brahmayāmala*, for instance, in the compilation known as the *Sakalāgamasārasaṅgraha* (IFP T. 351, pp. 280–281), and there is another, attributed to the *Rudrayāmala*, occupying chapter 33 of the *Devīrahasya*. It seems possible that the poet had one or other of such *sūryakavaca*s in mind. The ending *kavaca* suggests that the work in question was also regarded as an *aṅga-mantra* or "body-part-mantra", since the basic set of five *aṅga-mantra*s includes a *kavaca* (also called *tanutra*), and since there is another famous *stotra*/mantra dedicated to the sun that bears a name that also could indicate its role as a body-part-mantra, namely the *Āditya-hṛdaya*, "the heart of the sun" (mentioned in passing by WATSON et al. 2013:262).

sa place exacte, en l'absence de contours suffisamment précis, est déterminée par le mètre. La dernière voyelle peut être autre que *a*." In other words, the letters *ṇ*(*e*) *saṃgarasaṃgha* might actually belong elsewhere. The small fragment in question has not survived, but there is indeed space for a fragment here between the triangular fragment covering the beginnings of lines 32–38 (which is illegiblly worn for lines 34–38) and the large fragment that is the base of the inscription, covering lines 32 to the end (as well as a tiny portion of line 31). **58c** (d)[o](r)vv[ī]ryya°] (d) . r vvīrrya° JACQUES[2] ; (d) . r vvaryya° JACQUES[1] ; [du]rvaryya° FINOT **58d** ddaśāṇanan] JACQUES; daśāṇanan FINOT. Understand: *ddaśānanan*.

⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ ⏑ – ◡ रणे संगरसंघ – ⏑
⏑ – ◡ [दोर्व्वी]र्य्यविकीर्ण्णकीर्त्तिर्द्दशाननन्दुर्ह्रदमुन्निनाय ५८

58. … host of battles (*saṃgarasaṃgha*) … inferred (*unninãya*) … whose fame was scattered wide by the heroism [of the feats] of his arms (*dorvīryavikīrṇakīrtiḥ*) … the bad-hearted (*durhṛdam*) Rāvaṇa (*daśānanam*).[200]

LIX. [*upajāti*]
na svīcikīrṣur yyudhi cakricakraṃ bajrañ ca no bajrabhṛto pi jiṣṇuḥ
yaś śaktiyukto nu maheśvarāstraṃ sudussahaṃ prāpya jitārivarggaḥ ⊙

59a yyudhi] JACQUES; yudhi FINOT **59b** bajrañ ca no bajra°] Understand: *vajrañ ca no vajra*°. Although the letter *b* is rarely used in Khmer epigraphy after the pre-Angkorian period, it is used several times in this inscription, and it is commonly used both here and elsewhere for *vajra* and related words.

न स्वीचिकीर्षुर्य्युधि चक्रिचक्रं बज्रञ्च नो बज्रभृतो ऽपि जिष्णुः
यश्शक्तियुक्तो नु महेश्वरास्त्रं सुदुस्सहं प्राप्य जितारिवर्ग्गः

59. [Naturally] prone to victory / a [veritable] Arjuna (*jiṣṇuḥ*), he did not desire to appropriate (*na svīcikīrṣuḥ*) the discus of Viṣṇu (*cakricakram*) in battle (*yudhi*), nor the thunderbolt (*vajram*) of Indra (*vajrabhṛtaḥ*),

[200]We can discern that there must have been some allusion to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, perhaps a *Rāmāyaṇa*-related pun involving Rāvaṇa, but because of damage we cannot determine much more than that.

Given what is visible today, *dorvīryya*° seems the only possibility, as Harunaga ISAACSON has pointed out to us. (FINOT's suppletion is not possible, since we clearly see the bottom of the letter *d* and the vowel *u* is not attached to it.) Harunaga ISAACSON suggested that one possible completion of the quarter might be *yadīyadorvīryyavikīrṇṇakīrttir*.

for surely (*nu*), equipped with his spear (*śaktiyuktaḥ*), [Arjuna] attained (*prāpya*) the invincible (*suduḥsaham*) weapon of the Lord (*maheśvarāstram*) and conquered his enemies (*jitārivargaḥ*).[201]

for surely (*nu*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*), filled with [the divine] power [that is initiation] (*śaktiyuktaḥ*), attained the invincible weapon[-mantra] of the Lord [as mantra for his *sādhana*] and conquered the group of [six internal] enemies [that are the passions] (*jitārivargaḥ*).[202]

LX. [*upajāti*]
(36) ⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ ⏑ – hinīṃ vītabhayo nivā[ry]y[a]
⏑ –◡ tan tv asya vilāsinīnām abhidyatārād dhṛdayaṃ svayañ ca ◌

60 FINOT transcribes nothing for the first half of this stanza. Once again, the letters of this half of the stanza belong to a fragment that he did not see: see note on 58 above.

⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ ⏑ – हिनीं वीतभयो निवा[र्य्य]
⏑ – ◡ तन्त्वस्य विलासिनीनामभिद्यताराद्धृदयं स्वयञ्च

… fearless (*vītabhayaḥ*), he warded off (*nivārya*) an army ([*akṣau*]*hiṇīm* / [*vā*]*hinīm*)
…
…and (*ca*) far away (*ārāt*) the hearts (*hṛdayam*) of the beloveds (*vilāsinīnām*) of that [enemy] (*asya*) broke (*abhidyata*) of themselves (*svayam*).[203]

[201] The *nu* marks either an *utprekṣā*, implying that these other weapons were not desired because of the reason that is presented in the second half, although that was not actually the reason, or the ornament known as *hetu*, in which a striking relation of cause and effect is presented. Arjuna's obtaining an all-powerful weapon from Śiva (*pāśupatāstra*) is the culmination of the narrative in Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*.

[202] Cf. stanza 20 above, in which we find the first allusion to Rājendravarman having received initiation, and also to stanzas 40 and 88. Here it seems that initiation is again obliquely alluded to, but along with some form of ASTRAMANTRA that Rājendravarman received, perhaps as a mantra for pursuing a *sādhana* of a martial kind.

[203] One could assume that the final *ca* means that the hearts broke not only "far away" but "also" (*ca*) "of themselves". But I have instead assumed that the first half expressed some action of Rājendravarman, probably involving the slaughter of his enemies' armies (we should probably assume that the second quarter had either *vāhinīṃ* or *akṣauhinīm*, for *akṣauhiṇīṃ*), and that the final *ca* linked the breaking of his enemies' wives hearts as something that happened simultaneously. For instance, the first quarter might have expressed the idea that he forcibly killed an enemy king directly, having fearlessly warded off that king's army ([*tadvā*]*hinīm*), whereas the hearts of the graceful ladies of that [enemy king] broke at a distance, and of themselves.

LXI. [*upajāti*]
yo mathyamānas samare rivīrair
ggāmbhīryyayogān na jahau prasādam
hrado hi kāluṣyam upaiti bhogāt
stamveramair amvunidhir nna jātu ⊙

61b ggāmbhīryya°] Jacques; ggāmbhīrya° Finot

यो मथ्यमानस्समरे ऽरिवीरैग्गाम्भीर्य्ययोगान्न जहौ प्रसादम्
ह्रदो हि कालुष्यमुपैति भोगात्स्तम्वेरमैरम्वुनिधिर्न्न जातु ६१

61 Because he possessed great depth (*gāmbhīryayogāt*), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) never lost (*na jahau*) serenity (*prasādam*) when being churned about (*mathyamānaḥ*) in battle (*samare*) by enemy warriors (*arivīraiḥ*). For (*hi*) a lake (*hradaḥ*) may become turbid (*kāluṣyam upaiti*) when enjoyed (*bhogāt*) by elephants (*stamberamaiḥ*), but the ocean (*ambunidhiḥ*) [because of its great depth] never does (*na jātu*)![204]

LXII. [*upajāti*]
(37) ⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ [muhu]r dd[v]iṣaṃ praty[u]rasaṃ bibhe[da]
(v)[i]didyute vidyud iva sphuranty a-jihmāpi jihveva bhujoragasya ◊

62 Finot transcribes nothing for the first half, which was on a fragment that he did not see: see note on 58 above. **62b** rdd[v]iṣaṃ] *conj.*; rddiṣaṃ Jacques. Jacques[2] adds this note: "Ou : *rddipaṃ*." bibhe[da]] *conj.*; bibhe[ti] Jacques **62c** (v)[i]didyute] Jacques[2]; (va)dīdyute Jacques[1]; didyute Finot (unmetrical) **62d** °jihmāpi] Jacques; °jihvāpi Finot

⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑ [मुहु]र्द्विषं प्रत्युरसं बिभे[द]
(वि)दिद्युते विद्युदिव स्फुरन्त्यजिह्मापि जिह्वेव भुजोरगस्य ६२

62. [[His sword-blade]][205] … repeatedly (*muhuḥ*) cut open (*bibheda*) his enemies

[204] The word *prasāda* is commonly used to speak of both the "clarity" of liquids and the "serenity" of the mind, and *kāluṣya* can be its antonym in both contexts. The figure here is *arthāntaranyāsa*, "introduction of another matter", which Gerow defines (1971:118) as "a figure in which a proposition or remark is justified or substantiated by the adjunction of a relevant moral or rationale".

[205] The blade of Rājendravarman's sword seems to be the subject required. As for the wording, Harunaga Isaacson has suggested that the first syllables of the stanza might have been *yasyāsidhārā*.

(*dviṣam*) in the chest (*pratyurasam*) …[206] shone (*vididyute*), flashing (*sphurantī*) like (*iva*) lightning (*vidyut*), as though it were (*iva*) the tongue (*jihvā*) of the serpent that was his arm (*bhujoragasya*), although (*api*) not curved [/deceitful] (*ajihmā*).[207]

LXIII. [*upajāti*]
snigdhāsipātapratighātahāner mmuṣṭer llaghutvāt smṛtivibhramād vā
punaḥprahāreṇa kṛte ripāte bhujāpavādaṃ bubhuje bhṛśaṃ yaḥ ⊙

63a °hāner mmuṣṭer] Jacques; °hāne muṣṭer Finot

स्निग्धासिपातप्रतिघातहानेर्म्मुष्टेर्ल्लघुत्वात्स्मृतिविभ्रमाद्वा
पुनःप्रहारेण कृते ऽरिपाते भुजापवादं बुभुजे भृशं यः ६३

63. When the fall of an enemy (*aripāte*) was caused (*kṛte*) [only] by a second blow (*punaḥprahāreṇa*), either because of the failure (°*hāneḥ*), due to a parrying blow (°*pratighāta*°), of the thrust of his slippery sword (*snigdhāsipāta*°),[208] or because of his hand being [too] light (*muṣṭer laghutvāt*), or (*vā*) because of a slip in his concentration

[206]We cannot see today the fragment that Jacques transcribed, but on the basis of the sense, we see that we need *dviṣaṃ* (and not *diṣaṃ*) and *bibheda* (rather than *bibheti*). Even more convenient would be a form such as *vibhidya*, since we would then have an absolutive that could be smoothly coordinated with the main verb *vididyute* (rather than a second finite verb and no connecting particle), but the syllables *bibhe* are what Jacques read, and this engraver often clearly distinguishes *b* from *v*.

The form *pratyurasam* is an adverb of unusual form that has a *sūtra* of Pāṇini dedicated to justifying it, namely *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.4.82 (*prater urasaḥ saptamīsthāt*). Its use draws further attention to the poet's use of choice grammatical forms (*sauśabdya*). We find the adverb used also in *Śiśupālavadha* 20:48 and in *Kirātārjunīya* 16:9. The latter stanza is worth quoting as a possible source of inspiration since it contains also a verb of cutting, the adverb *muhuḥ* and is about wounds to the chests of enemies:

> asmin yaśaḥpauruṣalolupānām arātibhiḥ pratyurasaṃ kṣatānām
> mūrcchāntarāyaṃ muhur ucchinatti nāsāraśītaṃ kariśīkarāmbhaḥ
>
> In this battle, men hungry for fame as war heroes, wounded in the chest by enemy soldiers, are not constantly revived from fainting — a hindrance to feats of war — by cool water showered like steady rainfall from the trunks of elephants. (trans. Viswanathan Peterson 2016:321)

[207]The break between the third and fourth quarters of the stanzas falls somewhat awkwardly after the first syllable of the word *ajihmā*.

[208]This interpretation assumes that Rājendravarman's sword is slippery because it is covered in the blood of his slain enemies. Sylvain Brocquet has suggested to me that *snigdha* might be intended to mean at the same time that the sword was "brilliant". A similar expression occurs

(*smṛtivibhramāt*), then he intensely (*bhṛśam*) felt (*bubhuje*) blame for [the failings of his] arm (*bhujāpavādam*)…

> *he very markedly (*bhṛśam*) experienced an exception [to the usual efficacy] of his arm (*bhujāpavādam*).*[209]

LXIV. [*upajāti*]
(38) ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – [rg]g .
divyāṅganānām avatāraṇārthaṃ saupānasaṃpattim ivākarod yaḥ ◊

64ab Finot transcribes nothing for the first half of this stanza. The subscript *g* recorded here (perhaps belonging to some form of the word *svargga*) belongs, however, to the large fragment that is the base of the inscription and it must therefore have been visible to him. **64d** saupāna°] Understand *sopāna°*.

⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – र्ग .
दिव्याङ्गनानामवतारणार्थं सौपानसंपत्तिमिवाकरोद्यः ६४

in st. 87 of K. 806:

> snigdhāsipātanakareṇa yathāvakāśaṃ yena sthitāṃ vidalitāṃ svatanuṃ prapaśyan
> śaṅke nivarttanabhiyā dviṣato 'ntarātmā pretasya saṃparivṛto bhṛśam apsarobhiḥ
>
> Beholding his own body wherever it happened to lie after being cut into pieces by Rājendravarman (*yena*), who caused blows with a sword that was slick [with blood], the inner soul of a deceased enemy [soldier], was densely thronged by celestial damsels, I suppose because of their fear that he might [elude them and attempt to] return [to the battle] (*nivarttanabhiyā*).

Judit Törzsök (email of 30.vi.2021) has suggested that *snigdhāsipātapratighātahāner* might instead mean "because he failed to counteract the blow of a slippery sword", in which case it would be the sword of an enemy that was slippery, so that it was difficult for Rājendravarman to counteract, which meant that he had to deliver a second blow.

[209] Without this extra sense (suggested by Harunaga Isaacson), playing on the (usually grammatical) notions of *utsarga* ("general rule") and *apavāda* ("exception"), the stanza would seem flat and without point. The "general rule" implicit here would be that Rājendravarman felled his enemies with a single blow. Finot suggests that Rājendravarman would be reproached by his own arm (1925:338):

> Quand son épée humide [de sang] tombait sur l'obstacle pour le briser, si, par suite de la légèrté de son poing ou d'une distraction de sa pensée, un second coup était nécessaire pour abattre son ennemi, il encourait les vifs reproches de son bras.

Sylvain Brocquet has suggested to me the translation "he would intensely blame his own arm", which is perhaps what is intended. But I have hesitated to adopt this because *bubhuje* suggests to me that he passively suffered the blame for the failing of his arm.

64. He (*yaḥ*) created (*akarot*), as it seemed (*iva*), an opulent staircase (*saupānasampattim*) to allow celestial women to descend (*divyāṅganānām avatāraṇārtham*) from heaven ([*sva*]*rg*[*āt*])…[210]

LXV. [*upajāti*]
randhre bhiyogaṃ nijapakṣarakṣāṃ vibhajya yo dūṣaṇasādhanābhyām
hṛtottaraprakramam ātatāna kurvvan paṭur nniṣpratibhaṃ vipakṣam ⊙

65c °prakramam] Jacques; °prākramam Finot **65d** kurvvan paṭur nniṣpratibhaṃ] Jacques; kurvan paṭun niṣpratibhaṃ Finot

रन्ध्रे ऽभियोगं निजपक्षरक्षां विभज्य यो दूषणसाधनाभ्याम्
हृतोत्तरप्रक्रममाततान कुर्व्वन्पटुर्न्निष्प्रतिभं विपक्षम् ६५

65. Discriminatingly (*vibhajya*),[211] the sharp-witted [king] (*paṭuḥ*) deployed (*ātatāna*) attacks (*abhiyogam*) on [his foe's] weak spots (*randhre*) and protection of his own

[210] Virtual staircases are a topos already in the poetry of Kālidāsa; see, for example, *Raghuvaṃśa* 3:69:

iti kṣitīśo navatiṃ navādhikāṃ mahākratūnāṃ mahanīyaśāsanaḥ
samārurukṣur divam āyuṣaḥ kṣaye tatāna sopānaparamparām iva

Thus the king, whose commands were to be honoured, performed ninety-nine great sacrifices, like a series of staircases, being desirous of climbing up to heaven when his life's breath was spent.

Cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa* 4.27:4:

śakyam ambaram āruhya meghasopānapaṅktibhiḥ
kuṭajārjunamālābhir alaṃkartuṃ divākaram

They could climb up to the sky by flights of stairs formed by clouds, to decorate the sun with garlands of *kuṭaja* and *arjuna* flowers.

For a Khmer example, cf. K. 806, st. 109. As Harunaga Isaacson observes, the restitution *svargāt* is possible, but the ablative is not certain, for it could have been an accusative if it was said, for instance, that the king by releasing a series of arrows which one after the other ascended to heaven (or by building a pile of corpses, or whatever, that rose up to heaven) "seemed to make many stairs [i.e. a stairway] to let the celestial women come down [to the battle-field]." Moreover, we might be seeing a trace of the end not just of the word *svargga* but of some longer alliterative compound such as *svarggamārgga*.

[211] For this semantically weakened, adverbial use of *vibhajya*, without necessarily requiring a direct object, compare Bhāravi's usage in *Kīrātārjunīya* 1:9, 1:11, and 1:15.

side (*nijapakṣarakṣām*), using both destructive and constructive means (*dūṣaṇasādhanābhyām*), thus rendering (*kurvan*) his dim-witted (*nispratibham*) enemy (*vipakṣam*) robbed of [any possible] course of action in response (*hṛtottaraprakramam*).[212]

LXVI. [*upajāti*]
(39) ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ ⏑ – ∪ –(rak)tatayā phalatvam
vidher vvidheye viparītavṛtter vṛttaṃ kṛtī yo nucakāra yuddhe ⟨⟩

66b (rak)tatayā] Jacques; …tatayā Finot. Only the syllables *tayā* seem visible today.

⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ ⏑ – ∪ – रक्ततया फलत्वम्
विधेर्व्विधेये विपरीतवृत्तेर्वृत्तं कृती यो ऽनुचकार युद्धे ६६

66. … creative / accomplished (*kṛtī*), in battle (*yuddhe*) he imitated (*anucakāra*) the conduct (*vṛttam*) of a Creator (*vidheḥ*) [but one] whose mode of activity was reversed (*viparītavṛtteḥ*) in respect of what he had to create/accomplish (*vidheye*)…[213]

LXVII. [*upajāti*]
sakhyānunītāpi sadābhimukhye prāgalbhyam icchaty api śatrusenā
parāṅmukhī vīkṣya babhūva dūrād vadhūr nnavoḍheva samidratau yam⊙

[212] Compare *Kirātārjunīya* 16:23, pointed out to us by Harunaga Isaacson, which must have inspired the poet here:

> parasya bhūyān vivare 'bhiyogaḥ prasahya saṃrakṣaṇam ātmarandhre
> bhīṣme 'py asambhāvyam idaṃ gurau vā na sambhavaty eva vanecareṣu
>
> Not even grandfather Bhishma, or our guru Drona, could match the skill with which this hunter attacks the enemy's weak spots, all the while protecting his own. No mere hunter could command such expertise. (trans. Viswanathan Peterson 2016:325)

What further decorates our stanza is that the poet has deliberately used words which, though they are mainly to be applied to Rājendravarman's battles with enemy kings, naturally suggest the verbal conflict of debates between scholars.

[213] The expression *viparītavṛtteḥ* occurs in *Raghuvaṃśa* 2:53 (quoted below in the annotation to st. 212), in a context that is not parallel, but it is perhaps enough to suggest that the sense here is that in battle Rājendravarman performed the reverse of the expected activity of a Creator, namely that he brought about destruction. Sadly, we cannot guess what the first half of the stanza might have contained.

सख्यानुनीतापि सदाभिमुख्ये प्रागल्भ्यमिच्छत्यपि शत्रुसेना
पराङ्मुखी वीक्ष्य बभूव दूराद्वधूर्न्नवोढेव समिद्रतौ यम् ६७

67. Although (*api*) won over by [their leader's] friendship (*sakhyānunītā*) and wishing (*icchatī*) to be consistently (*sadā*) bold (*prāgalbhyam*) in the face [of battle] (*ābhimukhye*), the enemy army (*śatrusenā*), upon catching sight of him (*vīkṣya*) at a distance (*dūrāt*), turned away (*parāṅmukhī*) from their desire for battle (*samidratau*),

> just as (*iva*) a newly married (*navoḍhā*) bride (*vadhūḥ*), *although (*api*) wishing to be bold when brought along (*anunītā*) by a female friend (*sakhyā*) into the presence of a worthy man (*sad-ābhimukhye*), upon catching sight of him at a distance, turns away in the face of the battle that is the act of love (*samidratau*).*[214]

LXVIII. [*upajāti*]
(40) ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ ś śl[i]ṣṭe mahājau vijayaśriyā ca
nāpārthako vikramasaṃpadeti yo yuktam uktaḥ khalu yuktividbhiḥ ◊

68b vijayaśriyā] Jacques; vijayakriyā[ṃ] Finot

⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ [ि]श्लिष्टे महाजौ विजयश्रिया च
नापार्थको विक्रमसंपदेति यो युक्तमुक्तः खलु युक्तिविद्भिः ६८

68. … he was plainly (*khalu*) appropriately (*yuktam*) declared (*uktaḥ*) "not useless" (*nāpārthakaḥ…iti*)[215] by logicians (*yuktividbhiḥ*), [because of] being embraced (*śliṣṭaḥ*)[216] by Abundant Valour (*vikramasampadā*) and Victorious Splendour (*vijayaśriyā*) in battle (*mahājau*)… (?)

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[214]Note that courtesans in literature, like Vasantasenā in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, typically have names ending in °senā (for examples from Khmer epigraphy, see K. 600, commented on by Goodall 2018:99–103), and that it is therefore possible that Śatrusenā is intended, in the punning second sense, to suggest the idea of a courtesan of that name, although we would rather expect such a lady to be bold, not shy.

[215]Harunaga Isaacson suggests that we expect a pun here, partly because of the use of the expression *śliṣṭe*, and perhaps the expression *apārthakaḥ* could be intended also to mean "without Arjuna" or "not like Arjuna" (by the rule *ive pratikṛtau*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.3.96). In other words, at one level, Rājendravarman could be described as "not unlike Arjuna".

[216]Here we can clearly see *śliṣṭe*, but the stone is broken just above, so it is just conceivable that there was an ascending line emerging from the top left-hand corner of the letter, making this *śliṣṭo*. Kunthea Chhom has however pointed out that the line of the vowel-marker for *e* would probably have had a slightly different shape if it had been combined with a rising line above the letter.

LXIX. [*upajāti*]
durggābhisaṃparkkavivarṇṇadeho guhāṇanālocanaloladṛṣṭiḥ
yasyārisaṃgho mṛgakṛttivāsā vane sthitaḥ sthānusamo py anīśaḥ ⊙

69b guhāṇanā°] Understand: *guhānanā°*. **69d** sthānusamo] Understand: *sthāṇusamo*.

दुग्गाभिसंपर्क्कविवर्ण्णदेहो गुहाणनालोचनलोलदृष्टिः
यस्यारिसंघो मृगकृत्तिवासा वने स्थितः स्थानुसमोऽप्यनीशः ६९

69. The group of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) enemies (*arisaṃghaḥ*), although (*api*) they seemed just like Śiva (*sthāṇusamaḥ*),[217]

who wears a tiger skin (*mṛgakṛttivāsaḥ*),
whose eyes are filled with desire at the sight of the face of Skanda (*guhānanālocanaloladṛṣṭiḥ*),
whose body changes colour from being conjoined with that of Pārvatī (*durgābhisamparkavivarṇadehaḥ*),[218]

they were in fact powerless/not Śiva/deprived of a master (*anīśaḥ*), *immobilised like posts (*sthāṇusamaḥ*)*,[219]

[217] Of course it could also be said that "they seemed like posts".

[218] Alternatively "whose body is [often] discoloured from the contact [with the sandal that has rubbed off the breasts] of Pārvatī". But S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma suggests that a reference to Ardhanārīśvara seems not unlikely here, since Śiva is often a crystalline white (*śuddhasphaṭikasaṃkāśa* is a standard expression used to qualify him), whereas as Ardhanārīśvara he is multicoloured. The expression *abhisamparka* arguably gives further support to this interpretation, as Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out, since it recalls the use of *sampṛktau* (from the same verbal root) in the opening of the *Raghuvaṃśa* (1:1):

vāgarthāv iva sampṛktau vāgarthapratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau

For mastery of word and meaning I venerate the parents of the world, who are entwined together (*sampṛktau*) like word and meaning: Pārvatī and Parameśvara.

With the prefix *abhi°*, the word may, incidentally, be a *hapax legomenon* and it does not appear in our dictionaries. It is, however, unproblematic both in formation and sense. It appears not to have been commented upon by Bhattacharya in his remarks on Sanskrit vocabulary in Cambodian inscriptions (1991).

[219] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out, this is in some respects similar to the following much quoted stanza (which appears for instance as 1472 in the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*):

janasthāne bhrāntaṃ kanakamṛgatṛṣṇāndhita(*em.*; °nvita° Ed.)dhiyā
vaco vai-dehīti pratipadam udaśru pralapitam

[in as much as they had been reduced to a condition in which they were] living (*sthitaḥ*) in the forest (*vane*), clad in animal skin (*mṛgakṛttivāsāḥ*), their eyes roving as they looked out from the mouths of caves (*guhānanālocanaloladṛṣṭiḥ*),[220]
and their bodies were pale from being constantly constrained to inaccessible [hiding] places (*durgābhisamparkavivarṇadehaḥ*).[221]

LXX. [*upajāti*]
(41) ⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – varasya manoratho yasya vṛthā babhūva
norvvī yad urvvī vijigīṣutāyāṃ vadanyatāyām api nālam arthī ☾

70c urvvī vi°] urvvīvi° Finot

⏑ – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – वरस्य मनोरथो यस्य वृथा बभूव
नोर्व्वी यदुर्व्वी विजिगीषुतायां वदन्यतायामपि नालमर्थी ७०

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kṛtā-laṅ-kābhartur vadanaparipāṭīṣu-ghaṭanā
mayāptaṃ rāmatvaṃ kuśalavasutā na tv adhigatā

> I have wandered in places frequented by people (*janasthāne*), my mind blinded by desire for gold which proved a mirage (*kanakamṛgatṛṣṇāndhitadhiyā*); I have indeed (*vai*) muttered tearfully the words "Please give!" at ever step; I have thoroughly (*alam*) performed my business [of begging] (*kṛtā … ghaṭanā*) in front of rows of faces (*vadanaparipāṭīṣu*) of worthless masters (*kābhartuḥ*),

and I have [thus] become Rāma,

> *who has wandered [the part of the forest known as] Janasthāna, his mind blinded by desire to obtain a golden deer (*kanakamṛgatṛṣṇāndhitadhiyā*), has muttered tearfully the word "Vaidehī!" at every step, has shot his arrows (*kṛtā … iṣughaṭanā*) at the row of faces (*vadanaparipāṭīṣughaṭanā*) of the Lord of Laṅkā (*laṅkābhartuḥ*),*

but I have not attained prosperity (*kuśalavasutā*) [*unlike Rāma, who regained Sītā (*kuśalavasutā*)*].

The pun on the final word is possible because we can understand it as a *bahuvrīhi* meaning "she whose sons were Kuśa and Lava". The figure here is perhaps again an instance of what Daṇḍin would call *samānopamā*, for which see annotation on st. 189 below.

[220] Perhaps less likely: "their eyes roving in the hope of glimpsing the mouths of caves".

[221] Alternatively: "their bodies were discoloured from being rubbed against in tight spots".

70. … Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) desires (*manorathaḥ*) were (*babhūva*) frustrated (*vṛthā*), since (*yat*) the earth (*urvī*) was not (*na*) broad (*urvī*) in the face of his desire for conquest (*vijigīṣutāyām*), and (*api*) suppliants (*arthī*) were insufficient (*na alam*) in the face of his generosity (*vadanyatāyām*).[222]

LXXI. [*upajāti*]
preṅkhatprarūḍhasphuṭavidrumaugho hares samākrāntinimagnanāgaḥ
antarvvanair durggatayābdhitulyo yasyārideśo pi jahāti lakṣmīm ⊙

प्रेङ्खत्प्ररूढस्फुटविद्रुमौघो हरेस्समाक्रान्तिनिमग्ननागः
अन्तर्व्वनैर्दुर्ग्गतयाब्धितुल्यो यस्यारिदेशोऽपि जहाति लक्ष्मीम् ७१

71. Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) enemies' country (*arideśaḥ*), although (*api*) it is like the ocean (*abdhitulyaḥ*)[223]

in that it is [now] impenetrable (*durgatayā*) with forests (*vanaiḥ*) within (*antaḥ*),

*in that one cannot penetrate inside it because of its waters (*vanaiḥ*),*

being full of a wealth (*-aughaḥ*) of swaying (*preṅkhat°*), full-grown (*°prarūḍha°*), bright (*°sphuṭa°*), sprouts (*°vidruma-*),

in whose floods (-aughaḥ*) the well-rooted (*°prarūḍha°*), bright coral (*°vidruma°*) sways (*preṅkhat°*),*

[222] For the usage *vadanya* (rather than the better-known form *vadānya*), see the remarks of Bhattacharya (1991:71, ¶ 294). To justify the use of the word *arthin* in the sense of "suppliant", in spite of it being formed with what is usually a possessive suffix, there is a *Vārttika* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.2.135 (namely *arthāc cāsannihite*).

As for the damaged first quarter, S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma first suggested that it might have been something like: *jaye ca dāne ca bhṛśaṃ varasya*, "of [the king] who was especially excellent in conquest and generosity". Harunaga Isaacson pointed out that *varasya* was likely to be preceded by a genitive plural and accordingly suggested for instance *mahīpater dharmavatāṃ varasya* or *kṣoṇīpater dānavatāṃ varasya*, "of the king, most excellent among men of Dharma/generosity".

[223] This interpretation, suggested by S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma, assumes that the *api*, as in st. 69 (another instance of *samānopamā*), has concessive force: "even though the enemies' territory was like the ocean, it lost its wealth". For the ocean never loses its riches (it is, after all, commonly called *ratnākara*) and, as Harunaga Isaacson points out, would never abandon its daughter Lakṣmī. For this interpretation, we need to take *api* with *abdhitulyaḥ*. But we could instead take it with *arideśaḥ*, following the word-order, and understand it to convey that the enemies' territory, just like the enemies themselves, also (*api*) lost its wealth.

in which the elephant [now] hides (°*nimagnanāgaḥ*) at the approach (*samākrānti*°) of the lion (*hareḥ*),

> *in which the serpent [Śeṣa] sinks when mounted upon (*samākrānti°*) by Viṣṇu (*hareḥ*),*

renounces (*jahāti*) its wealth (*lakṣmīm*).

LXXII. [*upajāti*]
(42) ⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – rthasiddhim udyogayuktas trigaṇasya vṛddhyai
diśaś catasro viditaprayāmā jagrāha vidyā iva vālabhāve ☽

⏑ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – र्थसिद्धिमुद्योगयुक्तस्त्रिगणस्य वृद्ध्यै
दिशश्चतस्रो ऽविदितप्रयामा जग्राह विद्या इव वालभावे ७२

72. … the attainment of wealth/meaning (*arthasiddhim*) …[224]
… engaged in effort (*udyuktayogaḥ*) for success (*vṛddhyai*) in the three aims (*trigaṇasya*),[225] he seized (*jagrāha*) the four (*catasraḥ*) directions (*diśaḥ*), whose extent is unknown (*aviditaprayāmāḥ*),[226] just as (*iva*) [he had grasped] in childhood (*bālabhāve*) the [four] sciences (*vidyāḥ*) [whose extent is also unknown].[227]

LXXIII. [*upajāti*]
kṛtāvakāśaṃ bhuvane vibhutvād aspṛṣṭam anyair guṇibhir mmahīyaḥ
saṃvyaśnute śabdaguṇānuvandhaṃ yaśo yadīyaṃ kham ivākalaṅkam ⊙

[224]We cannot confidently construct the missing syllables, but the following suggestion for a possible sequence of syllables that would yield a plausible sense was made by Harunaga Isaacson: [*pūrṇṇāṃ cikīrṣur ya ihā*]*rthasiddhim*. We could then translate: "Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*), being desirous of achieving (*cikīrṣuḥ*) complete (*pūrṇām*) mastery of wealth/meaning (*arthasiddhim*) in this world (*iha*),…" Here the word *iha* might seem weak in sense, and indeed, although the letter immediately before *rthasiddhim* cannot be read, from its right shoulder it looks as though it was not followed by a long *ā* and might rather have been a *śa*, *ga*, *ka* or *ta*.

[225]The use of *trigaṇa* for what is more often known as the *trivarga*, namely *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*, may not be common, but it is parallelled in *Kirātārjunīya* 1:11.

[226]Because of the *sandhi*, one could instead follow Finot and understand *viditaprayāmāḥ*, "dont il connaissait la portée".

[227]The four sciences (*vidyā*) could be understood to be the four Vedas, but it is more probable that these are the four branches of knowledge mentioned in *Arthaśāstra* 1.2.1: *ānvīkṣikī trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiś ceti vidyāḥ*. As we saw above in st. 3, the author of this inscription seems not to recognise the authority of the *Atharvaveda*. For other allusions to this group of four, see st. 40 and 106.

73b mmahīyaḥ] Jacques; mahīyaḥ Finot

कृतावकाशं भुवने विभुत्वादस्पृष्टमन्यैर्गुणिभिर्म्महीयः
संव्यश्नुते शब्दगुणानुवन्धं यशो यदीयं खमिवाकलङ्कम् ७३

73. His spotless (*akalaṅkam*) fame (*yaśaḥ*),

which has made space for itself (*kṛtāvakāśam*) because he is overlord (*vibhutvāt*) throughout the world (*bhuvane*),
which is especially great (*mahīyaḥ*) because it cannot be attained (*aspṛṣṭam*) by other men of virtue (*guṇibhiḥ*),
which is rooted in fine rhetoric (*śabdaguṇānubandham*),[228]

pervades [the universe] (*saṃvyaśnute*), just as does the ether (*kham iva*),

*which is pure (*akalaṅkam*), which is that [element] which creates space [for all else] (*kṛtāvakāśam*),*[229] *because it pervades the world (*bhuvane vibhutvāt*),*
*which is greater [in dimension] (*mahīyaḥ*) [than the other elements], which cannot be touched (*aspṛṣṭam*) by other property-possessing [substances] (*guṇibhiḥ*),*[230]
*which is the basis for the property "sound" (*śabdaguṇānubandham*).*[231]

LXXIV. [*upajāti*]
(43) ⏑ – ⏑ – – kṣayakarśitāṅgīṃ prāk suśrutācāravicāraṇābhiḥ
niśśeṣadoṣakṣapaṇe tidakṣo yaṣ ṣadrasāṅgair dharaṇīṃ puposa ⟨⟩

74a Jacques[2] fills the gap at the beginning of the line with a conjecture suggested by N. R. Bhatt: [doṣānuviddhāṃ]. **74d** ṣadrasāṅgair] Understand: *ṣaḍrasāṅgair*.

[228] Perhaps his fame is "connected with the qualities of [the fine] words [of eulogies]", or perhaps "the continuity of [knowledge about his] virtues [is maintained] through [poets'] words". Or perhaps one could take *śabdaguṇa* as a *bahuvrīhi* meaning effectively *kāvya*.

[229] This function of ether is often characterised as *avakāśadāna*, perhaps under the influence of *Nyāyasūtra* 3.1.30.

[230] Presumably this alludes to the Vaiśeṣika view that something formless and all-pervading cannot have contact with something else in the way that a thing with shape and limits can. Cf., e.g., Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra ad *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 7.2.12 (Isaacson *1995:73 and 127–8). The play on Vaiśeṣika ideas throughout this stanza seems unmistakable, but it is not commented upon by Finot, who suggests instead (1925:339, fn. 1) that there is a play on the grammatical notions of *śabda*, *guṇa* and *anubandha*. There may be such word-play, but I do not see how it could be made to work.

[231] Sound is the peculiar property (*viśeṣaguṇa*) of ether (*ākāśa*) for Vaiśeṣika thinkers.

⏑ – ⏑ – – क्षयकर्शिताङ्गीं प्राक्सुश्रुताचारविचारणाभिः
निश्शेषदोषक्षपणे ऽतिदक्षो यष्षड्रसाङ्गैर्धरणीं पुपोष ७४

74. Being extremely skilled (*atidakṣaḥ*) in destroying all ills (*niśśeṣadoṣakṣapaṇe*), he nourished (*pupoṣa*) the earth (*dharaṇīm*), whose parts had previously (*prāk*) wasted with dissipation (*kṣayakarśitāṅgīm*) …,[232] because of his reflections (°*vicāraṇābhiḥ*) upon good conduct, about which he had learned thoroughly (*suśrutācāra*°), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) nourished (*pupoṣa*) the earth (*dharaṇīm*) using factors conducive (*-aṅgaiḥ*) to obtaining the six flavours (*ṣaḍrasa-*),[233]

> *just as one who is skilled in destroying all ills [of the body] nourishes one whose body is emaciated by consumption (*kṣayakarśitāṅgīm*) by [enjoining certain] behaviour (*-ācāra°*) and by medical preparations (*vicāraṇābhiḥ*) [recommended in the teachings] of Suśruta, in which [foods having] the six flavours are constituent parts (*ṣaḍrasāṅgaiḥ*).*[234]

[232] N. R. Bhatt's restitution *doṣānuviddhāṃ* could be rendered "[and] penetrated by diseases". But, although this restitution would make sense and fit the metre, we are not convinced that it is particularly likely to be close to the lost text, partly because *doṣa* appears in the third quarter. Another possible restitution, suggested by Harunaga Isaacson, is *kaliprabhāvakṣayakarśitāṅgīṃ*, "wasted with the consumption that is the power of Kali".

[233] This interpretation of this phrase is the proposal of S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma, who suggested that such factors as compost might have been intended, since that is conducive to producing good crops with all the richness of taste that may be attained.

[234] The term *vicāraṇā* refers to an oil-based medicinal preparation that a patient is to drink. Commenting on 13:4d (*kati kāś ca vicāraṇāḥ*, "How many and what are the *vicāraṇā*s?") of the *sūtrasthāna* of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, Cakrapāṇidatta defines the term thus: *vicāraṇā dravyāntarāsaṃyuktasnehapānaṃ varjayitvā snehopayogaḥ*, which perhaps means "*vicāraṇā* is the use of oil [in a preparation] while avoiding drinking oil that is not combined with other substances." (The drinking of pure oil uncombined with other substances is also possible, but it is explicitly stated that it is not considered to be a *vicāraṇā* 13:26.) The text of the *Carakasaṃhitā* continues with an enumeration of types of oil (13:9ff), and eventually mentions that, when we factor in all the various differentiating factors and permutations, there are sixty-three varieties of *vicāraṇā* (13:27–28). In order to arrive at this number, an important differentiating factor is combination with the six *rasa*s, which fits with the above interpretation given of the compound *ṣaḍrasāṅgaiḥ*.

Finot (1925:339) understands instead that Suśruta's treatments have contributed to the earth's ill-health. Such a jaundiced view of medical expertise seems unlikely to have been intended here by the poet. Earlier allusions to Suśruta in the Cambodian corpus are known from the ninth-century inscriptions of Yaśovarman (K. 323, st. 27), and doctors with Sanskritic learning, of course, are mentioned much earlier, for instance in the pre-Angkorian inscriptions K. 132, K. 53 (st. 3). But although Suśruta is mentioned here by name, this stanza may perhaps instead be regarded as evidence that the *Carakasaṃhitā* was also studied among the Khmers in the tenth century, since the particular technical sense of *vicāraṇā* that is required to allow the pun to work seems to be attested only in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and not in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

LXXV. [*upajāti*]
tad eva tejo vijitānyatejaḥ
pūrvvaṃ mahan maṇḍalam eva tac ca
bhṛśan didīpe mahad ādhipatyaṃ
yaḥ prāpya bhāsvān iva madhyam ahnaḥ ⊙

तदेव तेजो विजितान्यतेजः पूर्व्वं महन्मण्डलमेव तच्च
भृशन्दिदीपे महदाधिपत्यं यः प्राप्य भास्वानिव मध्यमह्नः ७५

75. It was the same (*tad eva*) fiery energy (*tejaḥ*) that conquered the fieriness of all rivals (*vijitānyatejaḥ*); and (*ca*) it was the same (*eva…tat*) great (*mahat*) territory (*maṇḍalam*) as before (*pūrvam*);[235]

> *It was the same radiance (*tejaḥ*) that conquered the radiance of all other things (*vijitānyatejaḥ*); and it was the same great orb (*maṇḍalam*) as in the East (*pūrvam*);*

[and yet] when Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) attained (*prāpya*) the great (*mahat*) sovereignty [of being king, rather than merely prince[236]] (*ādhipatyam*), he shone (*didīpe*) [even more] intensely (*bhṛśam*),

[235] There is an echo here of *Raghuvaṃśa* 5:37:

> rūpaṃ tad ojasvi tad eva vīryaṃ tad eva naisargikam unnatatvam
> na kāraṇāt svād bibhide kumāraḥ pravartito dīpa iva pradīpāt
>
> The same strong build, the same heroic spirit, the same inborn loftiness — the boy did not differ from the cause that made him, any more than one lamp lit from another.

That stanza emphasises that Aja has the same strengths as his father Raghu. The point in our context, however, is that Rājendravarman retained the same strengths as those he had possessed earlier. But perhaps that stanza of the *Raghuvaṃśa* is expected to echo in readers' minds as they digest this one, with the intention that they are thus led to recall that Rājendravarman shared the qualities of the sun because the sun was his ultimate progenitor.

[236] The earlier description of a consecration, in stanzas 30–38, was perhaps of Rājendravarman's consecration as crown-prince (*yuvarāja*), a status he is mentioned as acquiring immediately before that passage, in stanza 29, whereas here he is now fully king, and his attainment of the throne is spoken of still more plainly in the following stanza. But perhaps it is also possible that, although stanza 29 speaks of him as becoming *yuvarāja*, stanzas 30–38 are meant to describe his consecration as king, and this passage (stanzas 75–76) is meant to refer merely to his enhanced status as an even greater king (*mahad ādhipatyam*) after his return from military campaigns. And yet we learn that the territory (*maṇḍala*) is unchanged. The absence here of any explicit reference to consecration makes it less likely that this is the moment when he formally became king, but perhaps the allusion to mounting the throne immediately below (st. 76) could be taken to be such a reference.

like (*iva*) the sun (*bhāsvān*) [when it reaches] the middle (*madhyam*) of the day (*ahnaḥ*).

LXXVI. [*upajāti*]
(44) [siṃhā](sa)nādrīndram udīrṇṇasi˘mhaṃ
yatrādhirūḍhe sati tīvradhāmni
na tārakāḥ kevalam astabhāso
patan nṛpāṇāṃ maṇimolayo pi ◊

76a [siṃhā](sa)nādrīndram udīrṇṇasi˘mhaṃ] Jacques; – – ⏑ nādrīndram udīrṇṇasiṃhaṃ Finot. But Finot adds: "Il faut probablement restituer *siṃhāsanādrīndraṃ*". **76d** °molayo pi] Jacques; °maulayo pi Finot. Understand: °*maulayo 'pi*. For this spelling, cf. 147, 195, 198, 218.

[सिंहा](स)नाद्रीन्द्रमुदीर्ष्सि˘हं यत्राधिरूढे सति तीव्रधाम्नि
न तारकाः केवलमस्तभासो ऽपतन्नृपाणां मणिमोलयो ऽपि ७६

76. When Rājendravarman (*yatra*), [a veritable sun] whose effulgence was intense (*tīvradhāmni*)[237] climbed upon (*adhirūḍhe*) the lordly mountain that was his lion-throne (*siṃhāsanādrīndram*), upon which lions reared proud (*udīrṇasiṃham*),[238] not only did the pupils [of the eyes] (*tārakāḥ*) of [other] kings (*nṛpāṇām*), their light [now] dimmed (*astabhāsaḥ*), dip down (*apatan*),[239] but also their jewelled diadems (*maṇi-*

[237]The expression is recorded as a neologism for "sun" by Bhattacharya (1991:52, ¶ 165).

[238]When describing the throne, this may refer to its lion-feet or to its prominent lion-symbols, or to rampant lions framing the back-rest; when it describes the mountain, it may refer to its lions that roam there proudly. Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:75, alluding to Raghu upon the Himālaya mountain:

> praśaṃsaṃs tulyasattvānāṃ sainyaghoṣe 'py asambhramam
> guhāgatānāṃ siṃhānāṃ parivṛttyāvalokitam
>
> He praised how the lions in the caves, whose courage matched his own, turned back to look after him, unperturbed even by the din the army made.

Mountains may be humbled by conquering kings, but not the lions that inhabit them, for their equality with the king is mutually recognised. The mountain with which the throne is here compared is of course the *udayagiri* in the East above which the sun rises.

It is perhaps just conceivable that there is again an allusion here, as in stanza 34, to the choice of August, or "when Leo was in the ascendant", for a consecration ceremony.

[239]It would be possible to take *apatan* only with *maṇimaulayaḥ*, as Finot does (1925:339): "non seulement les étoiles perdirent leur éclat, mais les têtes diamantées des rois tombèrent". (Of course it is not literally the heads that "fall", but it is clear that the heads would bow with the diadems that they bear.)

maulayaḥ).[240]

LXXVII. [*upajāti*]
ekatra śubhre pi śaśāṅkaśobhe samuddhṛte yasya mahātapatre
mahīm aśeṣāṃ pravihāya tāpas samāsasāda dviṣatāṃ manāᵕmsi ⊙

77**c** aśeṣāṃ] Jacques; aśesaṃ Finot 77**d** manāᵕmsi] Jacques; manāṃsi Finot

एकत्र शुभ्रे ऽपि शशाङ्कशोभे समुद्धृते यस्य महातपत्रे
महीमशेषां प्रविहाय तापस्समाससाद द्विषतां मनाᵕसि ७७

77. Even though (*api*) Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) [one] great bright parasol (*mahātapatre*) that had the radiance of the moon (*śaśāṅkaśobhe*) was raised up (*samuddhṛte*) in [just] one place (*ekatra*),[241] heat / torment (*tāpaḥ*) left (*pravihāya*) the whole (*aśeṣām*) of the earth (*mahīm*) and resorted (*samāsasāda*) to the hearts (*manāṃsi*) of his enemies (*dviṣatām*).

[240] We assume a pun on *tārakāḥ*, which must refer both to the "pupils" of the eyes of other kings, and also to the "stars". The above interpretation is the suggestion of Judit Törzsök, assuming an instance of the contrastative figure *vyatireka* in which the king is first identified with the sun (*abhedādhyavasāya*) and then contrasted with the sun, since in the case of the sun only the stars (*tārakāḥ*) are dimmed and sink, whereas in the case of Rājendravarman, the eyes (*tārakāḥ*) of rival kings are dimmed and drop down, but so do their crowns as they prostrate themselves. Harunaga Isaacson pointed out that st. 57 is another case in which we suspect the figure to be *vyatirekālaṅkāra* even though there is no particle to mark the contrast, such as a *tu*. (Of course the contrast could be considered to be marked here by the presence earlier of *na kevalam*.) Harunaga Isaacson further suggested that, instead of assuming an instance of *vyatireka*, we might treat this as a case of Rājendravarman being juxtaposed with the sun with complete parallelism. In other words, we might translate thus:

> When Rājendravarman, whose effulgence was intense] (*tīvradhāmni*) climbed upon his great mountain-like lion-throne, upon which lions reared proud, not only did the pupils [of the eyes] (*tārakāḥ*), of [all other] kings, their light [now] dimmed, drop down, but also their jewelled diadems,
>
> > *[just as] when the sun (*tīvradhāmni*) climbs upon the throne that is his lordly mountain [in the East], upon which lions rear proud, not only do the stars (*tārakāḥ*), their light [now] dimmed, dip down, but even the jewelled diadems of kings [as they perform their daily veneration of the sun].*

[241] Alternatively, as Harunaga Isaacson points out, one could understand *ekatra* as completely equivalent to *ekasmin* and qualifying *mahātapatre*: "Even though just the one parasol of Rājendravarman was raised, …".

LXXVIII. [*upajāti*]
(45) c[i]rāya yadrūpanirūpaṇecchā-
sañcoditā nūnam aśeṣalokāḥ
makhair asaṃkhyair animeṣabhūyaṃ
bhūyo bhyavāñchan nijavāñchitāptyai ⟨⟩

78a c[i]rāya] Jacques[2]; [ci]rāya Finot, Jacques[1] **78cd** Jacques[2] notes: "Au-dessus de °*yaṃ bhū*°, il y a des traces d'anciennes lettres." I am not persuaded of this: I can detect no such traces today (June 2015), just a certain unevenness here in the surface of the stone.[242]

[f]चराय यद्रूपनिरूपणेच्छासञ्चोदिता नूनमशेषलोकाः
मखैरसंख्यैरनिमेषभूयं भूयो ऽभ्यवाञ्छन्निजवाञ्छिताप्त्यै ७८

78. Surely (*nūnam*) all people (*aśeṣalokāḥ*), impelled by the wish to gaze (°*nirūpaṇecchāsañcoditā*) at Rājendravarman's beauty (*yadrūpa*°) for ages (*cirāya*), yearned (*abhyavāñchan*) to become unblinking [gods] (*animeṣabhūyam*)[243] by means of countless (*asaṃkhyaiḥ*) sacrifices (*makhaiḥ*) in order thereafter (*bhūyaḥ*)[244] to attain this wish of theirs (*nijavāñchitāptyai*).[245]

LXXIX. [*upajāti*]
lakṣmīn didṛkṣus sahajāṃ suhṛtsu yathākramaṃ saṃkramayāñ cakāra
sadarppaṇāṃ yo maṇidarppaṇeṣu cchāyām iva svāṃ paribhuktabhūṣaḥ ⊙

79b °kramaṃ saṃkramayāñ cakāra] Jacques; °kramam sa kramayāñcakāra Finot **79d** svāṃ] Jacques; svām Finot. Jacques[2] notes: "Au-dessous du *ha* de *sahajāṃ* et du *kta* de *paribhukta*°, il y a des traces d'*anusvara* provenant probablement de l'ancienne inscription." As mentioned above, I am not convinced that the stone was used for an earlier inscription.

[242] My colleague Bertrand Porte, to whom I showed the places where Jacques suspected traces of an earlier inscription (here and in the following stanza), was also not convinced and suggested that Jacques must have been looking at an estampage, because it seems unlikely that he could have based such a judgment on an examination of these places on the stone.

[243] This expression may not be attested elsewhere, but it paraphrases *devabhūya*, which we find used, for instance, in the *Harṣacarita* (*ucchvāsa* 7, Fuehrer's edition p. 302), and it is parallel to the widely used form *brahmabhūya* ("the fact of being a brahmin" or "being Brahmā"). These forms, equivalent respectively to *devatva* and *brahmatva*, are justified by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.107.

[244] Perhaps the sense could be that they now wished to become gods "even more" (*bhūyaḥ*) than they usually wished to become gods.

[245] This poetic fancy (*utprekṣā*) involves indirect praise of him in that it implies that the subjects in his realm were all involved in conducting Vedic sacrifices. It is, in other words, more specifically an instance of *phalotprekṣā*.

लक्ष्मीन्दिदृक्षुस्सहजां सुहृत्सु यथाक्रमं संक्रमयाञ्चकार
सदर्प्पणां यो मणिदर्प्पणेषु च्छायामिव स्वां परिभुक्तभूषः ७९

79. In order to see (*didṛkṣuḥ*) his own natural (*sahajām*) fortune / beauty (*lakṣmīm*) in his friends (*suhṛtsu*), the offering of which should only be made to excellent persons (*sad-arpaṇām*), he caused it, in due order [of their merits] (*yathākramam*), to be transferred [to them by conferring gifts on them] (*saṃkramayāñ cakāra*), just as (*iva*) he, being dressed in jewels (*paribhuktabhūṣaḥ*), caused his own reflection (*cchāyām*),

> *which can only be offered to those [surfaces] that are true (*sad-arpaṇām*),*

to cross over onto jewelled mirrors (*maṇidarpaṇeṣu*).[246]

LXXX. [*upajāti*]
(46) yasyātitejiṣṭhatayāsa nītir nnitāntam ṛjvī na yathā pareṣām
muktvārkkacandrau na gatir grahāṇāṃ pratīpavakrānyatamasya kasya ⟨⟩

यस्यातितेजिष्ठतयास नीतिर्न्नितान्तमृज्वी न यथा परेषाम्
मुक्त्वार्क्कचन्द्रौ न गतिर्ग्रहाणां प्रतीपवक्रान्यतमस्य कस्य ८०

80. Because of his exceptional fieriness (*atitejiṣṭhatayā*),[247] Rājendravarman's (*yasya*)

[246] Or: "in the mirrors that were the jewels [that his friends wore]". Finot (1925:339) instead understands *paribhuktabhūṣaḥ* to mean that Rājendravarman first enjoyed the jewels before giving them away:

> Aimant à voir chez ses amis sa propre Fortune comme dans un miroir, il la leur faisait passer successivement, tel qu'un reflet de lui-même, dans le miroir des joyaux [qu'il leur donnait] après les avoir portés.

There is perhaps a suggestion of an echo here of the second illustration that Daṇḍin gives of the figure that he calls *udātta*, a figure consisting of a conceit that emphasises an unsurpassed greatness of either character or wealth (here wealth) as the thematic focus (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:302):

> ratnabhittiṣu saṅkrāntaiḥ pratibimbaśatair vṛtaḥ
> jñāto laṅkeśvaraḥ kṛcchrād āñjaneyena tattvataḥ
>
> Surrounded by hundreds of reflections on walls of gems, the lord of Laṅkā was identified with difficulty by Āñjaneya. (trans. Eppling 1989:1182)

[247] Bhattacharya (1991:53, ¶ 168) observes that *tejiṣṭha* is a superlative of *tigma* found otherwise only in Vedic literature, in the (consciously archaising) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and in another inscription of the reign of Rājendravarman, namely K. 286 (st. 38). Whether or not the word was uniformly regarded as a superlative of *tigma* (rather than of *tejasvin*), it seems indeed rare, but there are in fact a few other attestations, for instance in *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* 2:37 and *Lakṣmītantra* 29:42. For the use of *āsa* as an independent verb-form, see the note on stanza 45 above.

political conduct (*nītiḥ*) was (*āsa*) utterly (*nitāntam*) upright (*ṛjvī*), unlike (*na yathā*) that of his enemies (*pareṣām*); other than (*muktvā*) the sun and the moon (*arkacandrau*), who (*kasya*) among the planets (*grahāṇām*) does not have (*na*) a course (*gatiḥ*) with unpropitious retrogression (/that is hostile and crooked) (*pratīpavakrā*)?[248]

LXXXI. [*upajāti*]
sanmantramūlaiś caturaś caturbhis sāmādibhir yyo vividhaprayogaiḥ
apāyasaṃrodhibhir abhyupāyair vvedaiś ca saṃsādhayati sma siddhim ⊙

81d vvedaiś] Jacques; vedaiś Finot

सन्मन्त्रमूलैश्चतुरश्चतुर्भिस्सामादिभिर्य्यो विविधप्रयोगैः
ग्रपायसंरोधिभिरभ्युपायैर्व्वेदैश्च संसाधयति स्म सिद्धिम् ८१

81. Skilled (*caturaḥ*), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) attained (*saṃsādhayati sma*) the [threefold] success [taught in the *Arthaśāstra*] (*siddhim*)[249] by means of the four (*caturbhiḥ*) political means (*abhyupāyaiḥ*)

beginning with conciliation (*sāmādibhiḥ*)[250] that have their roots in good

[248] Finot (1925:340) translates "une marche oblique ou rétrograde", in other words he perhaps assumed *pratīpavakrā* to be a *dvandva* of two adjectives. This is no doubt possible as a way of describing, implicitly, the conduct of Rājendravarman's enemies, which was "contrary" or "hostile" (*pratīpa*) and "crooked" or "deceitful" (*vakra*). In *jyotiḥśāstra*, planets seem often to be described as *vakrin*. We see this usage, for instance, in the *Āryabhaṭīya* (1:11), and the commentator Bhāskara observes (p. 39): *vakraṃ yeṣām te vakriṇaḥ. vakriṇaḥ iti anena śaśisavitroḥ agrahaṇam, yena tayoḥ vakrā gatiḥ nāsti. vakriṇaś ca budha-bhṛgu-kuja-guru-śanayaḥ*. "Those which possess retrogression are [described as] retrograde (*vakriṇaḥ*). By saying "retrograde", [it is clear that] moon and sun are not referred to, since they do not have retrograde movement. And Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn can be retrograde." Furthermore *pratīpa* seems widely used of omens to mean "unpropitious". With these considerations in mind, I am assuming that *pratīpavakrā* is a *bahuvrīhi* describing the course of other planets as one in which "instances of retrogression" (*vakra*) are "unpropitious" (*pratīpa*).

[249] *Arthaśāstra* 6.2.34: *evaṃ siddhis trividhaiva: mantraśaktisādhyā mantrasiddhih, prabhuśaktisādhyā prabhusiddhih, utsāhaśaktisādhyā utsāhasiddhiḥ*. "Success, likewise, is threefold: success of counsel to be achieved through the power of counsel, success of might to be achieved through the power of might, and success of effort to be achieved throught the power of effort." Translation of Olivelle 2013:275. Faintly similar to this stanza is *Raghuvaṃśa* 17:67, about king Atithi attaining his goals, although that refers to six stratagems, six types of troops and compares the king to the six-faced Skanda.

[250] The others being *dāna* (gifts), *bheda* (sowing dissension) and *daṇḍa* (military force). These are the translations of Olivelle 2013:81 when the terms occur in *Arthaśāstra* 1.13.25. *Sāma* is naturally first in this list, whereas the *Sāman* is of course not usually the first of the Vedas to be mentioned, a detail which helps to alert us to the other puns in the stanza.

> counsel (*sanmantramūlaiḥ*), that have various applications (*vividhaprayogaiḥ*) and that guard against calamity [to the state] (*apāyasaṃrodhibhiḥ*)

and (*ca*) *he attained success (*siddhim*) [in other domains]* through the Vedas (*vedaiḥ*),

> which are [also] four (*caturbhiḥ*), including the *Sāmaveda* (*sāmādibhiḥ*), whose foundations are the excellent mantras (*sanmantramūlaiḥ*), that are involved in various rituals (*vividhaprayogaiḥ*), that resist destruction (*apāyasaṃrodhibhiḥ*).

LXXXII. [*upajāti*]
(47) sadāpi mūlaprakṛtiḥ pratītaś citraṃ mahat karmma ca darśayan yaḥ
ṣāḍguṇyayogāt triguṇaṃ pradhānam atulyam ācaṣṭa vināpi vācā ⟨⟩

82c ṣāḍguṇya°] Jacques; ṣāḍguṇya° Finot. Understand: *ṣāḍguṇya°*.

सदापि मूलप्रकृतिः प्रतीतश्चित्रं महत्कर्म्म च दर्शयन्यः
षाड्गुण्ययोगात् त्रिगुणं प्रधानमतुल्यमाचष्ट विनापि वाचा ८२

82. Although (*api*) consistently (*sadā*) recognised (*pratītaḥ*) as the principal element of the state (*mūlaprakṛtiḥ*)], and (*ca*) displaying a various (*citram*) and great (*mahat*) activity (*karma*),

> *Although recognised as primal matter (*mūlaprakṛtiḥ*), and displaying great*[251] *and various activity*, …[252]

[251] One could perhaps instead understand a compound, *mahatkarma*, and take *mahat* in one of the technical senses of Sāṅkhya thinkers, namely that of *buddhi*, in which case one might translate "displaying (*darśayan*) the various (*citram*) effects produced out of the *buddhi* (*mahatkarma*)".

[252] Thus far, the poet has shown that the king can be described in the same terms as primal matter. In this interpretation, we assume that the concessive *api* governs the entire first half of the stanza, whose attributes describe both *prakṛti* and the king. Only with *ṣāḍguṇyayogāt* in the second half is the contrast between the two introduced, for *prakṛti* has only three *guṇa*s to the king's six. But one could instead understand a contrast to be introduced already with the second attribute. We could, in other words, understand that Rājendravarman already distinguished himself from matter "by displaying a great and (*ca*) various activity", since the *prakṛti* of the Sāṅkhyas is incapable of any independent agency.

because of his possession of six properties (*ṣāḍguṇyayogāt*),[253] he declared (*ācaṣṭa*) primal matter (*pradhānam*), which has [only the] three properties [of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*], to be unequal [to himself] (*atulyam*) without even speaking (*vināpi vācā*).[254]

LXXXIII. [*upajāti*]
prāyeṇa jihmo pi vidhir vvidheye mantraprabhūtsāhaviśeṣaśaktīḥ
apāyadṛṣṭeḥ pratikūlapakṣe nukūlayām āsa bhiyeva yasya ⊙

83b °śaktīḥ] Jacques; °śaktiḥ Finot

प्रायेण जिह्मो ऽपि विधिर्व्विधेये मन्त्रप्रभूत्साहविशेषशक्तीः
अपायदृष्टेः प्रतिकूलपक्षे ऽनुकूलयामास भियेव यस्य ८३

83. Fate/Brahmā (*vidhiḥ*), although (*api*) generally (*prāyaḥ*) wayward (*jihmaḥ*) with respect to what should be performed (*vidheye*),[255] favoured (*anukūlayām āsa*) Rājendra-

[253] These are presumably the six "properties" taught in *Arthaśāstra* 7.1.6–12: *tatra paṇabandhaḥ saṃdhiḥ. apakāro vigrahaḥ. upekṣaṇam āsanam. abhyuccayo yānam. parārpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ. saṃdhivigrahopādānaṃ dvaidhībhāvaḥ. iti ṣaḍ guṇāḥ*. Olivelle (2013:277) translates as follows:

> Of these, peace pact is a negotiated agreement; initiating hostilities is harmful action; remaining stationary is awaiting patiently; marching into battle is strength; seeking shelter is surrendering to another; and double stratagem is pursuing a peace pact and initiating hostilities at the same time. These are the six strategies.

Collectively, these six form good statecraft. This is clear, for instance, from Vāmana's autocommentary on *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* 1.3.9, in which he speaks of *naya* "good statemanship", as the correct application of the group of these six strategies: *ṣāḍguṇyasya yathāvat prayogo nayaḥ; tadviparīto 'panayaḥ*, "Good statesmanship is the correct application of the group of six strategies; the opposite is bad statesmanship." In the light of this passage, perhaps one could understand °*yogāt* not simply as "possession", but as *prayogāt*, "because of [correct] application".

[254] Perhaps a conceivable, if somewhat forced, alternative translation of *vināpi vācā* might be "excepting in name".

[255] For the waywardness of Fate / Brahmā (the two are indistinguishable here), compare for example the following stanza attributed to Bhartṛhari (*Nītiśataka* 93):

> sṛjati tāvad aśeṣaguṇākaraṃ puruṣaratnam alaṅkaraṇaṃ bhuvaḥ
> tad api tatkṣaṇabhaṅgi karoti ced ahaha kaṣṭam apaṇḍitatā vidheḥ
>
> First it creates a jewel among men, a mine of all good qualities, an ornament upon the earth, and then it makes even him subject to destruction in an instant: oh how wretched is the stupidity of Fate !

varman's (*yasya*) special powers (°*viśeṣaśaktīḥ*) of *mantraśakti*, *prabhuśakti*[256] and *utsāhaśakti*, as though (*iva*) out of fear (*bhiyā*) because of having observed the calamities (*apāyadṛṣṭeḥ*) that befell those on the enemy side (*pratikūlapakṣe*).[257]

LXXXIV. [*upajāti*]
(48) trivarggasaṃsarggasuhṛdbhir ārād
rāṣṭre guṇaughair avabhartsyamānāḥ
doṣā ruṣevāśu vipakṣapakṣam
aśiśriyan yasya guṇāśrayasya ⟨⟩

त्रिवर्ग्गसंसर्ग्गसुहृद्भिरारा द्राष्ट्रे गुणौघैरवभर्त्स्यमानाः
दोषा रुषेवाशु विपक्षपक्षमशिश्रियन्यस्य गुणाश्रयस्य ८४

84. Since they were being threatened (*avabhartsyamānāḥ*) from close by (*ārāt*) [when] in his kingdom (*rāṣṭre*) by the large numbers of his virtues (*guṇaughaiḥ*), which were propitious to the converging of the group of three [human goals, namely *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*] (*trivargasaṃsargasuhṛdbhiḥ*),[258] the vices (*doṣāḥ*), as though (*iva*) in anger (*ruṣā*), quickly (*āśu*) betook themselves (*aśiśriyan*) to the side of the enemies (*vipakṣapakṣam*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*), to whom the virtues resorted (*guṇāśrayasya*).

[256] For the widespread use of *prabhu* in this context, where parallelism with the nouns *mantra* and *utsāha* might have led one to expect *prabhāva*, see Emmanuel Francis 2014.

[257] The conceit here (an instance of *hetūtprekṣā*) is that Fate / Brahmā is scared by seeing the disasters that Rājendravarman inflicts upon his enemies and therefore decides to favour the king's special powers of statecraft, in other words to support the side of Rājendravarman. For this use of *anukūlayām āsa*, clearly chosen to contrast here with *pratikūlapakṣe*, compare *Kumārasambhava* 2:39:

> tatkṛtānugrahāpekṣī pratyahaṃ dūtahāritaiḥ
> anukūlayatīndro 'pi kalpadrumavibhūṣaṇaiḥ
>
> Expecting favours that he would dispense, even Indra is propitiating [the demon Tāraka] with ornaments from the [celestial] wish-fulfilling tree, brought daily by ambassadors.

[258] S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has pointed out that one could also understand: "…the large numbers of virtues, who were friends to the kingdom (*rāṣṭre*) because of the convergence there of the group of three…". Judit Törzsök observes that it is conceivable that the three social groups of brahmins, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* are referred to punningly by the expression *trivarga*.

This is a further instance of *hetūtprekṣā*, and the stanza is ornamented by plentiful *anuprāsa*, particularly of the sounds *r*, *g* and *ṣ*.

LXXXV. [*upajāti*]
nirbhidya sadyaḥ svam avadyam udyan yo nyāyino nyān vininevery yuktyā
tamāˇmsy api ghnan sakalaṃ kalaṅkam upekṣate svaṃ kṣaṇadākaro hi ⊙

85c tamāˇmsy api] Jacques; tamāṃsy api Finot

निर्भिद्य सद्यः स्वमवद्यमुद्यन्योऽन्यायिनोऽन्यान्विनिनाय युक्त्या
तमाˇस्यपि घ्नन्सकलं कलङ्कमुपेक्षते स्वं क्षणदाकरो हि ८५

85. At once (*sadyaḥ*) breaking free from (*nirbhidya*) his own (*svam*) blemishes (*avadyam*) as he rose (*udyan*), he justly (*yuktyā*) disciplined (*vininaya*) others (*anyān*) who were offenders (*anyāyinaḥ*). [Remarkable!] For (*hi*) [even] the moon (*kṣaṇadākaraḥ*) overlooks (*upekṣate*) his own (*svam*) blemish (*kalaṅkam*) entirely (*sakalam*), even (*api*) as he destroys (*ghnan*) darknesses (*tamāṃsi*)?[259]

LXXXVI. [*upajāti*]
(49) suśāsanād avyasanāc ca yasya prajāsu jātā na vipattiśaṅkā
ajātaśatror api rājaputrī duśśāsanāt prāpa parāṃ purārttim ☾

86b prajāsu jātā] Jacques; prajā sujātā Finot **86d** purārttim] Jacques; purārttiṃ Finot

सुशासनादव्यसनाच्च यस्य प्रजासु जाता न विपत्तिशङ्का
अजातशत्रोरपि राजपुत्री दुश्शासनात्प्राप परां पुरार्त्तिम् ८६

86. Because he governed well (*suśāsanāt*) and (*ca*) was free of vices (*avyasanāt*), no fear of disaster (*na vipattiśaṅkā*) arose (*jātā*) among his subjects (*prajāsu*);

[259] S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma preferred taking the particle *hi* here in the sense of *tu*. Such a usage may not be common, but Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out that the commentator Pūrṇasarasvatī understands the particle *hi* in such a way (*his tvarthe*, p. 169) when it appears in *Meghadūta* 109:

> etasmān māṃ kuśalinam abhijñānadānād viditvā
> mā kaulīnād asitanayane mayy aviśvāsinī bhūḥ
> snehān āhuḥ kim api virahe hrāsinas te hy abhogād
> iṣṭe vastuny upacitarasāḥ premarāśībhavanti

Mallinson's translation follows this interpretation of *hi* (2006:97):

> Now that you have learned from this token of remembrance that I am well, don't let idle talk make you distrustful of me, O dark-eyed girl. For some reason people say that affections diminish in separation, but frustration makes them hungrier for what they want, turning them into a store of love.

> even Draupadī (*rājaputrī*), who belonged [as wife] to Yudhiṣṭhira (*ajātaśatroḥ*),[260] formerly (*purā*) suffered (*prāpa*) great (*parām*) suffering (*ārtim*) because of Duḥśāsana /
>
> even Vaidehī (*rājaputrī*) [the wife of Bimbisāra] once received great suffering from [her son] Ajātaśatru,[261] because of his evil command

[260]Instead of taking *ajātaśatroḥ* as genitive here, in parallel with *yasya* in the first half, one could instead take it to be ablative, as Sylvain Brocquet has suggested, since that would be parallel with the interpretation required for the next level of the pun, while still being perfectly consistent with the narrative of the *Mahābhārata*, where the responsibility for Draupadī's downfall lies primarily with Yudhiṣṭhira, since he engaged in the rigged dice game and agreed to bet a wife who was not his alone, an act for which she bitterly reproached him. Thus one could instead translate: "even the princess [Draupadī], because of Ajātaśatru, earlier endured great suffering from Duḥśāsana".

[261]The allusion to this (usually) Buddhist story in a brahminical context may seem surprising, but this Ajātaśatru appears also in the twelfth-century inscription K. 692, st. 52, when describing a Śaiva guru who received the title Bhūpendrapaṇḍita:

> rudrāṅśajātaś śitikeśabhāg yo bhāgyo bhavopāsakavṛddhaputraḥ
> ajātaśatruḥ kuladīptadīpas sute pi sāmānyasamānadoṣaḥ
>
> Born as the partial incarnation of some fearsome being (*rudrāṅśajātaḥ*), having black hair (*śitikeśabhāk*), being of evil fortune (*abhāgyaḥ*), the son of an aged man [Bimbisāra] who was a worldly lay disciple (*bhavopāsakavṛddhaputraḥ*), a lamp [only] because he was brightened by his family (*kuladīptadīpaḥ*), [he was a veritable] Ajātaśatru [/one for whom no rival has been born], having in common [only] the fault that is the shared property (*sāmānyasamānadoṣaḥ*) [that is found] in every son (*sute 'pi*),
>
> > [for] he was born a devotee of Rudra (*rudrāṅśajātaḥ*), he frequented white-haired [sages] (*śitikeśabhāk*), he was of good fortune (*bhāgyaḥ*), the son of an old man who was a devotee of Śiva (*bhavopāsakavṛddhaputraḥ*), a flaming lamp in his lineage (*kuladīptadīpaḥ*).

For the second understanding of *rudrāṅśa*, see Sanderson 20034:354–355, fn. 16. I assume that the descriptions, taken in one sense, describe the king Ajātaśatru, but taken in another describe the Śaiva guru, who in fact has nothing in common with that violent, parricidal and Buddhist king, other than the fact that he was also a son. This interpretation, particularly of the last quarter, is however quite uncertain, and Cœdès' translation of this difficult stanza (*IC* I, p. 247) differs in several particulars.

> Né d'une portion de Rudra, fréquentant les [sages] à cheveux blancs, fortuné, fils d'un viellard devenu *upāsaka*, sans ennemi [Ajātaçatru], brillant comme une lampe dans sa famille, en tant que fils, il présentait un défaut dans son identité (avec le roi Ajātaçatru).

Nonetheless, what seems clear is that the Buddhist king Ajātaśatru is alluded to there. Even so, one might choose not to understand an allusion here to this story, and one might adduce

(*duḥśāsanāt*) [to imprison and starve his father Bimbisāra to death].[262]

LXXXVII. [*upajāti*]
chidrapratīkṣāpragamāttaśīlās
sudurdharāḥ khaṇḍitadhāmabhiś ca
yaṃ pārthivaṃ pātram avāpya lakṣmyas
stheṣṭhā ivāpas suvidagdham āsan ⊙

87a °pragamātta°] Jacques; °praśamātta° Finot **87b** sudurdharāḥ] Jacques; sudurddharāḥ Finot

छिद्रप्रतीक्षाप्रगमात्तशीलास्सुदुर्धराः खण्डितधामभिश्च
यं पार्थिवं पात्रमवाप्य लक्ष्म्यस्स्थेष्ठा इवापस्सुविदग्धमासन् ८७

87. The [Royal] Fortunes [of rivals] (*lakṣmyaḥ*), having obtained (*avāpya*) him (*yam*), the exceptionally sophisticated (*suvidagdham*) king (*pārthivam*), as their fitting vessel (*pātram*), became (*āsan*) utterly stable (*stheṣṭhāḥ*),[263] although they have the tendency

in support of not understanding such an allusion the fact that in st. 83 of K. 806 Ajātaśatru appears as a name only of Yudhiṣṭhira.

[262] A third and general sense of the second half is excluded because of the use of *purā* with the past-tense form *prāpa* in a figure that is intended to be *vyatireka*. Nonetheless it is clear that the stanza is intended to convey that it is not enough for the king to have no enemies (*ajātaśatru*), for he needs also to be someone who rules his kingdom well (*suśāsana* as opposed to *duśśāsana*).

[263] This superlative form of *sthira* is taught by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.4.157 and so lexicalised by Monier-Williams, but it is not common outside grammatical commentaries and lexicons. We find it in one other inscription in the Khmer corpus (st. 29 of K. 287) and in st. 11 (line 11) of a sixth-century stone inscription from central India known as the "Haraha inscription of Sūryavarman" (most recently published in `siddham.uk/inscription/in00142`). The latter instance was pointed out by Harunaga Isaacson in a chat-exchange of 4.viii.2021, along with an instance in the *Durgāvilāsa* (an unpublished *mahākāvya* by one Rāmakṛṣṇa, based like the *Surathotsava* on the story famous from the *Devīmāhātmya*, surviving in MS Chambers 428 in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin):

> dṛśyase tridivavāsavidhāyistheṣṭhapuṇyaparihāṇanipātaḥ
> devavarya iva kāntibhir ādyaḥ* sveṣṭalābhavirahād atidūnaḥ
>
> * I find this word slightly suspect, and wonder if it should be *adya*.
>
> This is part of questions asked by king Suratha, who has lost his kingdom, to a *vaṇik*, attired like an ascetic sage, whom he has met in the forest. The long compound means something like "one who has fallen because of the loss/being used up of very firm/stable/strong merit which brought about habitation in heaven"; he is politely saying that the man looks like a very eminent god (*devavaryaḥ*) who

to quest for faults and to move on further (*cchidrapratīkṣāpragamāttaśīlāḥ*) [towards other kings], and are [therefore] extremely difficult to hold (*sudurdharāḥ*) by those whose glory has been damaged (*khaṇḍitadhāmabhiḥ*),

> just like water (*āpaḥ*), *which, having obtained an extremely high-fired (*suvidagdham*)*[264] *clay (*pārthivam*) vessel (*pātram*) becomes absolutely stable, [although] having adopted the tendency to seek holes and flow away (*chidrapratīkṣāpragamāttaśīlāḥ*), and is [therefore] difficult to hold in vessels the sheen of whose glaze*[265] *is damaged (*khaṇḍitadhāmabhiḥ*).*

LXXXVIII. [*upajāti*]
(50) yaś śaktisi˘mhīṃ paritaś carantīṃ
vidrāvya hi˘msrām arivarggamārgge
vṛṣeṇa yogād uditaprajāṃ gāṃ
puposa lakṣmīṃ mahiṣīm avāpya ◊

88a śaktisi˘mhīṃ] Jacques; śaktisiṃhīm Finot **88b** vidrāvya hi˘msrām] Jacques; vidrāvyahiṃsrām Finot **88c** gāṃ] Jacques; tāṃ Finot

यश्शक्तिसि˘हीं परितश्चरन्तीं विद्राव्य हि˘स्रामरिवर्ग्गमार्ग्गे
वृषेण योगादुदितप्रजां गां पुपोष लक्ष्मीं महिषीमवाप्य ८८

88. Having driven off (*vidrāvya*), in order to hunt down his enemies (*arivargamārge*),

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has fallen from heaven after the longlasting merit that brought about his being a god, dwelling in heaven, had at last been exhausted.

[264]Could this be a reference to high-fired glazed South-East-Asian pottery? Perhaps. According to Coline Lefrancq (personal communication and email of 22.ii.2018), high-fired pottery (stoneware) was not produced in India in this period, and slip was used rather than glazing; but some glazed earthenware pottery had been reaching India, from the Arab world. In the South East Asian peninsula, however, East Asian high-fired stoneware and celadon glazes would have been well-known. The stanza seems to have been composed by somebody who understood the difference between ubiquitous low-fired unglazed earthenware, which is no doubt always to some extent porous, and glazed ware, which is comparatively watertight. Of course such an understanding would also have been possible even if high-fired glazed pottery (or even glazed earthenware) was only known from imports.

[265]This interpretation of °*dhāma*° fits neatly, but is not entirely certain. Perhaps one could instead understand it to refer to "strength", or to the "body" of the pot, in this *pakṣa*?

the violent (*hiṃsrām*) lioness that is the Spear [of warfare] (*śaktisiṃhīm*),[266] which had been roaming everywhere (*paritaś carantīm*), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) nourished (*pupoṣa*) the cow-that-was-the-earth (*gām*), [such that she became] one in whom offspring arose (*uditaprajām*), because of union with (*yogāt*) the bull-that-is-Dharma (*vṛṣeṇa*), after he had attained (*avāpya*) Lakṣmī as she-buffalo (*mahiṣīm*).[267]

> Having driven off the fierce lioness that is [Śiva's] all-pervading (*paritaś carantīm*) Śakti [transmitted to Rājendravarman in initiation], so that she might hunt down the [internal] enemies [that are the passions],[268] he favoured (*pupoṣa*) a discourse (*gām*) by which his subjects were raised up (*uditaprajām*) because it involved Dharma (*vṛṣeṇa yogāt*), after marrying [Narendradevī,[269] a veritable] Lakṣmī, as his chief wife.

LXXXIX. [*upajāti*]
ajīgaṇat sūrigaṇo tirājñāṃ sahasradoṣan dhuri kārttavīryyam
yadā tadā sarvvaguṇair anūne nūnaṃ kathā kā punar eva yasmin ⊙

[266] Perhaps this should rather be "the lioness that is [his own] spear". In that case, we could perhaps take °*mārge* to refer neither to a "path", nor to "hunting", but to a "herd of deer" (a sense recorded by Apte). Rājendravarman could have "driven the lioness that was his roving spear against the herd of deer that were his enemies".

[267] This seems odd and it is possible that it is not correctly understood. S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma suggested that perhaps, after he attains the she-buffalo that is Lakṣmī, he uses her for milk while keeping and nourishing the cow only for offspring. Of course we could instead understand that he attained Lakṣmī as his "chief wife" (*mahiṣīm*). But since a lion, a cow and a bull all play rôles in this level of meaning, it seems likely that *mahiṣī* must refer to a she-buffalo, since that is arguably the primary meaning of the word *mahiṣī*. Driving off a lioness to protect a cow calls to mind the tale of Dilīpa protecting Vasiṣṭha's cow from an apparent lion, narrated in the second chapter of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, but there is no parallel there for the she-buffalo.

Judit Törzsök and Harunaga Isaacson made numerous other suggestions, but no single interpretation convinced everyone. Harunaga Isaacson, for instance, suggested that Rājendravarman might here be likened to a cowherd who chases away a harmful lioness which roams all over on the path(s), obtains a she-buffalo, mates a cow to a bull and thereby lets it calf, and nurtures it. Similarly Rājendravarman put to flight the harmful Power which coursed all over among the group of his enemies, obtained kingly Fortune[/a princess called Lakṣmī as his chief queen?], united the Earth with Dharma and let it thus be fruitful/have prosperous subjects dwelling on it, and nurtured it.

[268] Here we assume that °*mārgge* refers to "hunting", rather than to "a path", but perhaps one could understand that by driving the lioness that is Śiva's (or perhaps his own soul's) power "on to the path" of the internal enemies that are the passions, he effectively directs that power to destroy those enemies. But there is in any case something odd in this expression, since *vidrāvya* usually refers to "driving away" and not to "directing".

[269] He may have had other wives, but Narendradevī is described as the chief wife (*mahiṣī*) of Rājendravarman in st. 16 of K. 56 (*IC* VII, p. 8).

अजीगणत्सूरिगणो ऽतिराज्ञां सहस्रदोषन्धुरि कार्त्तवीर्य्यम्
यदा तदा सर्व्वगुणैरनूने नूनं कथा का पुनरेव यस्मिन् ८९

89. Given that (*yadā*) a host of sages (*sūrigaṇaḥ*) counted (*ajīgaṇat*) Kārtavīrya at the head (*dhuri*) of outstanding kings (*atirājñām*),[270] [although] possessed of a thousand faults (/possessed of a thousand arms) (*sahasradoṣaṃ*),[271] then surely (*nūnam*) what (*kā*) need be said (*kathā*) on the other hand (*punaḥ*) about Rājendravarman (*yasmin*), who was replete (*anūne*) with all virtues (*sarvaguṇaiḥ*)?

XC. [*upajāti*]
(51) divaḥpṛthivyor api gīyamānañ jiṣṇor yyaśo py arjjitavīryyasaṃpat
karṇṇāsukhaṃ śrotrasukhasya śaṅke yasyopamārhaṃ yaśaso na jātam ⟨⟩

90b yyaśo] Jacques; yaśo Finot

दिवःपृथिव्योरपि गीयमानञ्जिष्णोर्य्यशो ऽप्यर्ज्जितवीर्य्यसंपत्
कर्ण्णासुखं श्रोत्रसुखस्य शङ्के यस्योपमार्हं यशसो न जातम् ९०

90. Although (*api*) the fame (*yaśaḥ*) of Arjuna (*jiṣṇoḥ*), in which the acme of heroism is attained (*arjitavīryasampat*),[272] is sung (*gīyamānam*) both in heaven and upon earth (*divaḥpṛthivyor api*),[273] it is not pleasing to Karṇa (/not pleasing to the ears) (*karṇāsukham*). I suspect (*śaṅke*) that it has not become (*na jātam*) worthy of comparison

[270] Once again the poet's choice usage (*sauśabdya*) is in evidence, for we might expect the genitive plural to be *atirājānām*, since *rājan* is typically declined as a thematic stem when at the end of a compound (by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.4.91), but it retains its standard endings after *su*° and *ati*° when used to express praise of the king or kings in question by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.4.69 (*na pūjanāt*).

[271] Kārtavīryārjuna received as a reward for penance the gift of having a thousand arms (*dos*): see, e.g., *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 2.69:9–11.

[272] Alternatively, we could take this *bahuvrīhi* to mean that it is a fame "by which the acme of heroism is attained", assuming this to suggest that fame is necessary for heroism to reach its acme.

[273] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out, this form could be regarded as a solecism because *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.3.29 and 6.3.30, with *anuvṛtti* of 6.3.26 (*devatādvandve ca*), lead us to expect either *dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ* or *divaspṛthivyoḥ* when a *dvandva* referring to deities is intended. Here sky and earth are not really intended as deities and so perhaps we should rather expect *dyuprthivyoḥ*. In fact the forms *divaspṛthivyau* and *dyāvāpṛthivyau* are given, apparently not referring to deities, in a nineteenth and final stanza in the *bhūmivarga* (towards the beginning of the second *kāṇḍa*) that is found in some editions of the *Amarakośa* (for instance in the Adyar edition with the commentary of Appayārya), but most commentators do not include or comment upon that nineteenth stanza. It seems possible, however, that the forms *divaspṛthivyau* and *dyāvāpṛthivyau* were regarded as normalised even when not referring to deities, and it further seems likely that the engraver, and perhaps also the poet, regarded *divaḥpṛthivyoḥ* as simply a variant orthography of *divaspṛthivyau*.

(*upamārham*) with the fame (*yaśasaḥ*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*), which is pleasing to the ears (*śrotrasukhasya*).[274]

XCI. [*upajāti*]
ākrāntadigvyomni payomucīva pragarjite yasya yaśasy udāttam
na kevalaṃ ratnam upāyanan drāk prādād gajādyaṅ ca vidūrabhūmiḥ ⊙

91b udāttam] Jacques; a[n]āttam Finot

आक्रान्तदिग्व्योम्नि पयोमुचीव प्रगर्जिते यस्य यशस्युदात्तम्
न केवलं रत्नमुपायनन्द्राक्प्रादाद्गजाद्यञ्च विदूरभूमिः ९१

91. When the fame (*yaśasi*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*), like (*iva*) a cloud (*payomuci*), filled the directions and the sky (*ākrāntadigvyomni*) and roared (*pragarjite*) loudly

[274]For this figure of "contradiction rooted in double entendre" (*śleṣamūla-virodha*) that involves play on the rivalry between Karṇa and Arjuna, cf. this stanza of Daṇḍin, which illustrates one variety of the figure he calls simply *virodha* (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:339):

kṛṣṇārjunānuraktāpi dṛṣṭiḥ karṇāvalambinī
yāti viśvasanīyatvaṃ kasya te kalabhāṣiṇi

In whom can your eye, O sweetly speaking lady, inspire confidence, [given that it is] black [/Draupadī] (*kṛṣṇā*), white and reddened [/attached to Arjuna] (*arjunānuraktā*), and stretches up to your ear [/relies upon Karṇa] (*karṇāvalambinī*)?

Note, furthermore, that another stanza of Daṇḍin's that clearly influenced this poet earlier (in the composition of stanza 43) was the immediately preceding one (2:338) in Daṇḍin's text. Another variation on this trope is found in K. 806, st. 22:

yasyāstraśikṣāñ caratāḥ praśaṃsā loke karot karṇṇamanaḥprasādam
karṇṇapraṇītā mahatī tu nindānuśrūyate dyāpi dhanañjayasya

The fame (*praśaṃsā*), as he practised his training in weapons, caused pleasure to the ears and minds [of those] in the world [/caused pleasure to the mind of Karṇa], …and yet (*tu*) great censure is still heard even today produced in our ears of [this] Victor of Wealth....

and yet great censure of Arjuna still resounds today, caused by Karṇa

Cœdès there writes that this is an allusion to *Mahābhārata* 7.148, which seems to be the celebrated scene of the death of Arjuna, but S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has suggested that this refers instead to the episode in which Karṇa vanquishes Arjuna in a competition of weaponry, whereupon Kṛpācārya questions Karṇa's right to participate on the grounds that he is neither a *kṣatriya* nor a ruling king. Duryodhana then names him king of Aṅga, so that he has the right to participate. This appears to be narrated in the *Ādiparvan* in chapters 124 ff.

(*udāttam*),[275] the earth upon Mount Vidūra / distant lands (*vidūrabhūmiḥ*) at once (*drāg*) gave forth (*prādāt*) not only (*na kevalam*) jewels (*ratnam*) as gifts (*upāyanam*), but also (*ca*) elephants and such like (*gajādyam*).[276]

[275] Alternatively, we could take this not as an adverb, but as an adjective to *upāyanam*. In either case it is conceivable that the poet is winking at his readers / listeners by using the name of an ornament recognised by Daṇḍin that is used here, namely *udātta*, for which see annotation on st. 79 above.

[276] "Distant lands" (*vidūrabhūmiḥ*) furnished him with elephants and presumably other precious animals and products of the forest. The surface earth of the mountain Vidūra, which is also known as Viḍūra- and Vaiḍūrya-parvata, and, according to Vallabhadeva ad *Kumārasambhava* 1:24, as Vālavāya (the editor has mistakenly chosen the reading Vālavāyāja, "beryl"), is said to split open to reveal shards of jewels, often beryl in particular (the English word "beryl", like the German "Brille" ("spectacles"), is thought to reach us, through Greek and then Latin, from the Sanskrit *vaiḍūrya*), at the sound of the thunder of monsoon clouds. The source, for our author, of this trope is presumably *Kumārasambhava* 1:24:

> tayā duhitrā sutarāṃ janitrī sphuratprabhāmaṇḍalayā cakāse
> vidūrabhūmir navameghaśabdād udbhinnayā ratnaśalākayeva
>
> Giving birth, the mother shone
> all the more with that daughter
> encircled in shining luster,
> like the place where beryl is found,
> with a sliver of the precious stone
> splitting off at each fresh burst of thunder. (trans. of Smith 2005:35)

The popularity of tropes about beryl is no doubt also due in part to the allusion to the formation of the word *vaidūrya* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.3.84. Some stanzas of Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* also take up and develop this image, e.g. 36:10:

> ākarṇitena vacasā bhavato bibharmi yat satyam utpulakapūrabharāṃ svamūrtim
> ko 'py eṣa śabdamahimā jaladasya yena ratnāṅkuraprasavam eti vidūrabhūmiḥ
>
> Since (*yat*) from hearing your voice I truly bear a body covered with an abundance of horripilating hairs, this is [clearly] some special (*ko 'pi*) splendour of sound, belonging [normally] to clouds, which causes the ground of Mount Vidūra (*vidūrabhūmiḥ*) to bring forth jewels [of beryl] as sprouts.

(The commentator Alaka glosses Vidūra with the name Vālavāya.) Another play on the same trope occurs in K. 806, st. 75:

> mandradhvanau garjjati yasya cāpe mukteṣuvṛṣṭāv abhavaj jigīṣoḥ
> ārād ivārād api ratnasūr bhūr vvidūrabhūr eva tu meghabhāre

Cœdès was not familiar with this trope or did not recognise it here, but we may translate as follows:

XCII. [*upajāti*]
(52) lakṣāddhvarotthaiḥ sthagayadbhir āśā
dhūmair nniruddhārkkakarākarair yyaḥ
divañ ca śātakratavīñ ca kīrttim
malīmasatvaṃ yugapan ninā ya ◊

92b nniruddhārkkakarākarair] Jacques; niruddhvārkakarākarair Finot

लक्षाद्ध्वरोत्थैः स्थगयद्भिराशा धूमैर्न्निरुद्धार्क्ककराकरैर्य्यः
दिवञ्च शातक्रतवीञ्च कीर्त्तिम्मलीमसत्वं युगपन्निनाय ९२

92. With the pall of smoke (*dhūmaiḥ*) that rose up from his hundreds of thousands of sacrifices (*lakṣādhvarotthaiḥ*), which choked up (*sthagayadbhiḥ*) the directions (*āśāḥ*) and blocked the mass of rays of the sun (*niruddhārkakarākaraiḥ*), Rājendravarman sullied (*malīmasatvam … ninā ya*) both the sky (*divañ*) and the fame of Indra / Him of a hundred sacrifices (*śātakratavīñ ca kīrtim*) at the same time (*yugapat*).[277]

XCIII. [*upajāti*]
yad dhūmasandarśanato numānam agnes tad evāvyabhicāram uktam
navan tu tad yanmakhadhūmadṛṣṭau vṛṣṭer vvasūnām anumānam eva ⊙

93a vvasūnām] Jacques; vasūnām Finot. In Finot's edition, we find *yaddhūma°* and *yan makha°*.

यद्धूमसन्दर्शनतो ऽनुमानमग्नेस्तदेवाव्यभिचारमुक्तम्
नवन्तु तद्यन्मखधूमदृष्टौ वृष्टेर्व्वसूनामनुमानमेव ९३

When the deep-rumbling (*mandradhvanau*) bow (*cāpe*) of this conquering king (*yasya … jigīṣoḥ*) thundered (*garjati*), resulting in a rain of fired off arrows (*muktesuvṛṣṭau*), the earth (*bhūḥ*), pouring forth jewels (*ratnasūḥ*) even from far away (*ārād api*), as though from close by (*ārād iva*), was truly distant ground / the ground of Mount Vidūra (*vidūrabhūḥ*) [which pours forth jewels of beryl] when the mass of [deeply rumbling] clouds (*meghabhāre*) [roars, resulting in rain].

[277] As we learn from *Raghuvaṃśa* 3, Indra fiercely defended his claim to be the only person to merit the epithet *śatakratu*, "one by whom a hundred sacrifices have been performed". Sanderson 2004:383, fn. 121 sees in this one of the numerous references in epigraphs of the Angkorian period to the practice of offering a Lakṣahoma (see for instance st. 236 of K. 806) or a Koṭihoma (see for instance K. 418, published in Cœdès 1929, and stanzas S6 and O24 of K. 1222 and notes), consisting in a hundred thousand and ten million oblations respectively, a consideration which, as Sanderson remarks (2004:383): "makes the frequent references in the Khmer Sanskrit inscriptions to their kings blocking out the light of the sun with the smoke of their countless sacrifices seem less like poetic exaggeration." Cf. st. 154 below.

93. Only (*eva*) that sort of (*yat …tat*) inference (*anumānam*) of [the existence of] fire (*agneḥ*) from seeing smoke (*dhūmasandarśanataḥ*) has [of old] been taught (*uktam*) to be [one of] invariable [concomitance] (*avyabhicāram*); but (*tu*) this one (*tat*) is new (*navam*), namely (*eva*) the inference (*anumānam*) of a deluge (*vṛṣṭeḥ*) of riches (*vasūnām*) from seeing the smoke (°*dhūmadṛṣṭau*) of Rājendravarman's sacrifices (*yanmakha*°)![278]

XCIV. [*upajāti*]
(53) svayaṃprapannābhir ayācamānaṃ
pūrṇṇaṃ susaṃpadbhir ivādbhir abdhim
rikto pi yaṃ prāpya yatheṣṭapūrṇṇaḥ
punar vvavarṣābhra ivārthisārthaḥ ⟨⟩

स्वयंप्रपन्नाभिरयाचमानं पूर्ण्णं सुसंपद्भिरिवाद्भिरब्धिम्
रिक्तो ऽपि यं प्राप्य यथेष्टपूर्ण्णः पुनर्व्ववर्षाभ्र इवार्थिसार्थः ९४

94. A caravan of suppliants (*arthisārthaḥ*), although (*api*) empty-handed (*riktaḥ*), on reaching (*prāpya*) Rājendravarman (*yam*), who is full (*pūrṇam*) with great riches (*susampadbhiḥ*) that have come to him spontaneously (*svayamprapannābhiḥ*) without his asking for them (*ayācamānam*)

> — like (*iva*) *an empty* cloud (*abhraḥ*) *reaching* the ocean (*abdhim*), *which is filled* with waters (*adbhiḥ*) *that came spontaneously without the ocean asking* —,

has become as full as it desired (*yatheṣṭapūrṇaḥ*) and has then in turn (*punaḥ*) rained forth [upon others] (*vavarṣa*).

XCV. [*upajāti*]
cakṣurmmanohāryy api darśayac ca karāgraśobhām api sadrasārdram
yasyenduvimvaṃ śubharaṅgavṛtter nṛttopamārhan na kuraṅgaduṣṭam ⊙

95a °hāryy] °haryy Finot, Jacques

चक्षुर्म्मनोहार्य्यपि दर्शयच्च कराग्रशोभामपि सद्रसार्द्रम्
यस्येन्दुविम्वं शुभरङ्गवृत्तेर्नृत्तोपमार्हन्न कुरङ्गदुष्टम् ९५

[278] Historically speaking, the inference of rain from clouds is in fact also old, for we find it, as Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out, in the *Nyāyabhāsya* (on *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.5): *yathā meghonnatyā bhaviṣyati vṛṣṭir iti*.

95. It was Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) moon-[like] body (*indubimbam*),[279]

> in that it not only (*api*) pleases the mind with its [beautiful] eyes (*cakṣurmanohāri*), and (*ca*) displays (*darśayat*) grace with its fingers (*karāgraśobhām*) and is also (*api*) suffused with positive dramatic emotions (*sadrasārdram*),

that was worthy of comparison with a dance (*nṛttopamārham*)[280] because of its movement across a bright stage / because it was its nature to have a beautiful complexion (*śubharaṅgavṛtteḥ*),[281] [and] not (*na*) that [lunar orb (*indubimbam*)] which is disfigured by [the mark of] a deer (*kuraṅgaduṣṭam*)

> — *although (*api*) [that orb] pleases the eyes and mind, and displays loveliness in the tips of its beams (*darśayac ca karāgraśobhām*), and although (*api*) it is moist with ambrosia (*sadrasārdram*).*[282]

XCVI. [*upajāti*]
(54) chāyāśrito py anyanṛpo vijetuṃ dṛptadviṣo laṃ kim uta svayaṃ yaḥ
āstāṃ ravis saṃkramitorutejāś candro na kiṃ santamasāny udasyet ⟨⟩

छायाश्रितो ऽप्यन्यनृपो विजेतुं दृप्तद्विषो ऽलं किमुत स्वयं यः
आस्तां रविस्संक्रमितोरुतेजाश्चन्द्रो न किं सन्तमसान्युदस्येत् ९६

[279] This follows Harunaga Isaacson's suggestion, since if we take the expression to mean "the moon's orb [of his face", it is more difficult to explain the presence of fingers (*karāgra°*).

[280] It is perhaps conceivable, if unlikely, given the absence of parallels, that the poet intended instead *nṛtta* as a masculine agentive noun, "dancer", rather than as a neuter action noun. Comparing a thing (the body/face/lunar orb) with an action (dancing) may seem odd, but it is not without parallel. Harunaga Isaacson pointed out that Kṣemendra uses a comparable image in *Darpadalana* 2:2:

> surakṣitaṃ tiṣṭhati nirnimittam arakṣitaṃ tiṣṭhati daivayogāt
> sthitaṃ kadaryasya na copayuktam unmattanṛttopamam eva vittam
>
> [Sometimes] it stays well protected pointlessly; [sometimes] it remains by chance though unprotected; [sometimes] it belongs to a miser and is not used — money is like the dance of a madman.

[281] Further senses are also conceivable here, for instance: "because of his conduct in the realm of pious action" or "because of his bright actions on the battlefield".

[282] This translation reflects one possible rhetorical structure (this one suggested by Harunaga Isaacson). One could instead understand that Rājendravarman's body, although describable in a series of epithets that can equally fit the moon, was, unlike the moon, "not disfigured by a deer / not disfigured by bad complexion" (*kuraṅgaduṣṭam*). None of the interpretations discussed seemed entirely compelling.

96. Even (*api*) by relying on his effulgence (*chāyāśritaḥ*), other kings (*anyanṛpaḥ*) were capable (*alam*) of defeating (*vijetum*) proud enemies (*dṛptadviṣaḥ*); how much more so then (*kim uta*) is he himself capable (*svayaṃ yaḥ*)? Leave aside (*āstām*) the sun (*raviḥ*); does not (*na kim*) the moon (*candraḥ*) dispel (*udasyet*) darknesses (*santamasāni*) because it has had transferred into itself the broad-spreading radiance [of the sun] (*saṃkramitorutejāḥ*)?[283]

XCVII. [*upajāti*]
sandarśayām āsa tathānyabhūṣā na bhūriśobhāṃ maṇidarppaṇañ ca
rājñāṃ yathājñā nijakarṇṇapūrīkṛtā yadīyā nakhadarppaṇaśrīḥ ⊙

97c rājñāṃ yathājñā] Jacques; [r]ājñāṃ yathājña° Finot (unmetrical)

सन्दर्शयामास तथान्यभूषा न भूरिशोभां मणिदर्प्पणाश्च
राज्ञां यथाज्ञा निजकर्ण्णपूरीकृता यदीया नखदर्प्पणाश्रीः ९७

97. Neither (*na*) their other ornaments (*anyabhūṣā*), nor (*ca*) their jewelled mirrors (*maṇidarpaṇam*) could show (*sandarśayām āsa*) rich beauty (*bhūriśobhām*) in the same way (*tathā*) as (*yathā*) Rājendravarman's (*yadīyā*) commands (*ājñā*) and the lustre of the mirrors of his nails (*nakhadarpaṇaśrīḥ*), which had [both] been made the natural ear ornaments (*nijakarṇapūrīkṛtā*) of [his vassal] kings (*rājñām*).[284]

XCVIII. [*upajāti*]
(55) anyo pi san kenacid eva tulyo guṇena no yanmahimānam āpa
nṛttavrato yāti hi nīlakaṇṭho na tāvataiveśvaratāṃ mayūraḥ ⟨⟩

अन्यो ऽपि सन्केनचिदेव तुल्यो गुणेन नो यन्महिमानमाप
नृत्तव्रतो याति हि नीलकण्ठो न तावतैवेश्वरतां मयूरः ९८

98. Others (*anyaḥ*), although being (*api san*) similar to him (*tulyaḥ*) in just some particular (*kena cid eva*) qualities (*guṇena*), could not (*no*) attain (*āpa*) his greatness (*yanmahimānam*). Indeed (*hi*) the peacock (*mayūraḥ*) is wont to dance (*nṛttavrataḥ*) and has a blue throat (*nīlakaṇṭhaḥ*), but by just this much (*tāvatā*) alone (*eva*) he is not transformed (*na yāti*) into Śiva (*īśvaratām*).

[283] For the monthly replenishment of the moon with nectar from the sun, see stanza 30 and our annotation thereon.

[284] His commands became their most natural (*nija*) ear ornaments (*karṇapūra*) because they always listened to and obeyed him; his mirror-like nails could also be said to have become natural ear ornaments, since they were constantly prostrating at his feet.

XCIX. [*upajāti*]
sadāgatiḥ snehakarī vibhutvaṃ bibhraty adabhran dadhatī prakāśam
pṛthvī yadīyā racanāñ jagatsu dhatte mahābhūtamayīva kīrttiḥ ⊙

99b adabhran] Jacques; adabhraṃ Finot **99c** jagatsu] Jacques; javatsu Finot

सदागतिः स्नेहकरी विभुत्वं बिभ्रत्यदभ्रन्दधती प्रकाशम्
पृथ्वी यदीया रचनाञ्जगत्सु धत्ते महाभूतमयीव कीर्त्तिः ९९

99. Rājendravarman's (*yadīyā*) fame (*kīrtiḥ*) takes on (*dhatte*) shape (*racanām*) in the world (*jagatsu*) as though (*iva*) it were made of the gross elements (*mahābhūtamayī*): it is constantly in movement [like the wind] (*sadāgatiḥ*); it creates affection / cohesion (*snehakarī*) [like water] (*snehakarī*); it is all-pervading [like ether] (*vibhutvam bibhratī*); it wears (*dadhatī*) no little (*adabhram*) radiance [like fire] (*prakāśam*); it is broad [like the earth] (*pṛthvī*).[285]

C. [*upajāti*]
(56) vadanyatāśauryyavapurvvilāsagāmbhīryyamādhuryyadayādayo ye
teṣām ivaiko nilayaḥ prayatnadhiyādhiko yo vidadhe vidhātrā ◊

वदन्यताशौर्य्यवपुर्व्विलासगाम्भीर्य्यमाधुर्य्यदयादयो ये
तेषामिवैको निलयः प्रयत्नधियाधिको यो विदधे विधात्रा १००

100. With the intention of making a [special] effort (*prayatnadhiyā*),[286] the creator (*vidhātrā*) made (*vidadhe*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) extraordinary (*adhikaḥ*), as though (*iva*) he were the sole (*ekaḥ*) receptacle (*nilayaḥ*) of such qualities (*-ādayaḥ ye teṣām*) as generosity (*vadanyatā*°), heroism (°*śaurya*°), beauty (°*vapur*°), grace (°*vilāsa*°), profundity (°*gāmbhīrya*°), sweetness (°*mādhurya*°) and compassion (°*dayā-*).

[285] The principal conceit is that fame, which is usually relatively insubstantial, was in this case so extraordinary that it seemed to take on physical structure (*racanā*), as evidenced by the fact that it seemed to have the properties that one associates with the five elements. But perhaps *racanāñ jagatsu dhatte* is intended also to suggest the idea that his fame inspires poetic compositions that circulate among creatures.

The expression *adabhra*, used to mean "plentiful", is not common, but we find it in *Kirātārjunīya* 1:38.

[286] Once again, as in stanzas 26 and 28, there seems to be a conscious echo of *Kumārasambhava* 1:35 (quoted ad st. 28).

CI. [*upajāti*]
pratītavīryyo bhuvi kārttavīryyo vīryyaṃ yadīyaṃ dvibhujorjjitaṃ prāk
vīkṣeta ced ātmabharāya janye manyeta manye svasahasrahastān ⊙

प्रतीतवीर्य्यो भुवि कार्त्तवीर्य्यो वीर्य्यं यदीयं द्विभुजोर्ज्जितं प्राक्
वीक्षेत चेदात्मभराय जन्ये मन्येत मन्ये स्वसहस्रहस्तान् १०१

101. If (*cet*) formerly (*prāk*) Kārtavīrya, who is famed for his heroism (*pratītavīryaḥ*) on earth (*bhuvi*), had seen (*vīkṣeta*) Rājendravarman's (*yadīyam*) heroism (*vīryam*), great [even] with [only] two arms (*dvibhujorjjitam*), he would, I imagine (*manye*), have regarded (*manyeta*) his own thousand arms (*svasahasrahastān*) as creating a burden to himself (*ātmabharāya*) in battle (*janye*).

CII. [*upajāti*]
(57) dūrāt pratāpair ddviṣatāṃ vijetur
yyasya svayuddhan nitarān durāpam
gandhadvipasyeva madotkaṭasya
vitrāsitānyadviradasya gandhaiḥ ◊

102b yyasya] Jacques; yasya Finot

दूरात्प्रतापैर्द्विषतां विजेतुर्य्यस्य स्वयुद्धन्नितरान्दुरापम्
गन्धद्विपस्येव मदोत्कटस्य वित्रासितान्यद्विरदस्य गन्धैः १०२

102. It was very (*nitarām*) hard for Rājendravarman to find (*durāpam*) battles for himself (*svayuddham*), since he vanquished (*vijetuḥ*) his enemies (*dviṣatām*) from afar (*dūrāt*) by reports of his valour (*pratāpaiḥ*),[287] like (*iva*) a scent elephant (*gandhadvipasya*),[288] dripping with musth (*madotkaṭasya*), who drives aways all other elephants (*vitrāsitānyadviradasya*) by his odours (*gandhaiḥ*).

[287]Such a sense, "report of valour", appears not to be recorded by Monier-Williams, but compare Vallabhadeva's standard gloss of *pratāpa*, found, for instance, in his commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:30: *aribhayajananī vārttā pratāpaḥ*, "*pratāpa* is a piece of news that creates fear in the enemy".

[288]The trope in this stanza appears to have been borrowed from *Raghuvaṃśa* 17:68 (thus Vallabhadeva; 17:70 in the numbering of Nandargikar, who reads *gandhabhinnānya*° in the fourth quarter):

prāyaḥ pratāpabhagnatvād arīṇāṃ tasya durlabhaḥ
raṇo gandhadvipasyeva gandhabhagnānyadantinaḥ

Because his enemies were generally broken by reports of his valour, it became difficult for him to find battles, like a Gandha elephant by whose smell other

CIII. [*upajāti*]
vihāya saṅgaṃ paradevatāsu śraddhā ca bhaktiś ca parā yadīyā
śrīkaṇṭham utkaṇṭhatayā prapanne gaṅgābhavānyāv iva devadevam ⊙

विहाय सङ्गं परदेवतासु श्रद्धा च भक्तिश्च परा यदीया
श्रीकण्ठमुत्कण्ठतया प्रपन्ने गङ्गाभवान्याविव देवदेवम् १०३

103. Abandoning (*vihāya*) attachment (*saṅgam*) to other deities (*paradevatāsu*), Rājendravarman's (*yadīyā*) faith (*śraddhā*) and (*ca*) his great (*parā*) devotion (*bhaktiḥ*) eagerly (*utkaṇṭhatayā*) gave themselves over (*prapanne*), like Gaṅgā and Bhavani, to Śrīkaṇṭha, the god of gods (*devadevam*).[289]

FACE B

CIV. [*anuṣṭubh*[290]]
(1) saundaryyasarggama[r](y)y[ādāṃ] vidhātā (da[r]śaya)nn iva
jātarūpamayastambhaṃ yam ekaṃ bhuva[n]e [vyadhāt] ||[291]

104ab °ma[r](y)y[ādāṃ] vidhātā (da[r]śaya)nn iva] °ma[r](yy)[ādāṃ] vidhātā [darśā](ya)nn iva Jacques[2]; °(ma)[ryyādāṃ] vidhātā [kṛtavā]nn iva Jacques[1]; . . . . . vidhātā . . ⏑ – ⏑ – Finot **104cd** °stambhaṃ yam ekaṃ

elephants are broken.

Cf. also *Kirātārjunīya* 17:17. "Scent elephant" is Edgerton's translation (1931:53) of *gandhadvipa* when this superior type of elephant is defined in *Mataṅgalīlā* 1:40. These are elephants born in the spring whose scent (not only when in musth) agitates other elephants.

[289]Speaking of this trinity in Cambodia (for which see also stanzas 8 and 202 and the notes thereon), Bhattacharya (1961:93) cites this stanza. He correctly observes that Finot is wrong to take Śrīkaṇṭha to refer to Viṣṇu, but Bhattacharya's summary correction of *parā yadīyā* to the dual *pare yadīye* (in order to make *parā* qualify not just *bhaktiḥ* but also *śraddhā*) seems an unnecessary intervention. Apart from this detail, his translation seems also possible (*ibid.*):

> Sa Foi et sa Dévotion Suprêmes, rejetant tout attachement aux autre divinités, s'étaient tournées passionnément vers Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva), *comme Gaṅgā et Bhavani (Umā) vers le Dieu des dieux (Śiva)*.

[290]The use of metre in the case of *anuṣṭubh* stanzas will not be remarked upon hereafter, except in the case of any deviation from the regular *pathyā* cadence.

[291]On this face, the ends of stanzas that occur in the middles of lines are marked with a flourish that seems like the conventional form in Angkorian inscriptions for a double *daṇḍa*. Note that all the instances of *ra* in this line of the inscription are of the old-fashioned sort formed of two vertical lines, not one: the engraver (or perhaps engravers?) vacillates throughout the inscription between the two types!

bhuva[n]e [vyadhāt]] *conj.*; °stambhaṃ yamekaṃ bhuva[n]e [śritam] Jacques; °stambha[ṃ] yam eka[ṃ] bhuva – ⏑ – Finot. The bottom right-hand vertical stroke of what appears to be a *t* or a *ta* is visible as the last letter of the word that has been restored as *vyadhāt*.

सौन्दर्य्यसग्गम[र्य्यादां] विधाता (दर्शय)न्निव
जातरूपमयस्तम्भं यमेकं भुवने [व्यधात्] १०४

104. The creator (*vidhātā*) set the unique (*ekam*) Rājendravarman (*yam*) down (*vyadhāt*)[292] on earth (*bhuvane*) as a golden (*jātarūpamaya°*) column (*°stambham*), as though (*iva*) intending to show (*darśayan*) the upper limit (*°maryādām*) [of what was possible] in the creation of beauty (*saundaryasarga°*).

CV.
itthaṃ kṛto mayā kāmo dagdhaḥ kila pinākinā
itīveśvaratān nīto vidhātrā yo tisundaraḥ ⊙

105b dagdhaḥ] Jacques: dagdha[ḥ] Finot

इत्थं कृतो मया कामो दग्धः किल पिनाकिना
इतीवेश्वरतान्नीतो विधात्रा यो ऽतिसुन्दरः १०५

105. 'Kāma, whom I made (*kṛtaḥ mayā*) like this (*ittham*), has been burnt (*dagdhaḥ*), it seems (*kila*), by Śiva (*pinākinā*)!' With this in mind (*iti*), the creator (*vidhātrā*) made (*nītaḥ*) the exceptionally beautiful (*atisundaraḥ*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) into an Īśvara (*īśvaratām*).[293]

CVI.
(2) (cata)sṛṣv a(pi) vidyāsu (ca)turaṃ menire prajāḥ
(ca)tuṣṣaṣṭikalāḍhyaṃ yaṃ caturāsyaṃ prajā[pati]m ||

106ab (cata)sṛṣv a(pi) vidyāsu (ca)turaṃ menire prajāḥ] Jacques[2]; . . . . vidyā . . . . . Finot; ⊔ vidyā sa (ca)turaṃ me - re prajāḥ Jacques[1] **106c** (ca)tuṣṣaṣṭikalāḍhyaṃ yaṃ] Jacques[1]; . . . . Finot; (ca)tuśśaṣṭikalāḍhyaṃ yaṃ Jacques[2] **106d** caturāsyaṃ] Jacques[2]; [ca]turāsya° Finot; caturāsya° Jacques[1] • prajā[pati]m] The bottom right-hand vertical stroke of the *t* of the last syllable of *prajāpatim* is visible.

[292] *Ex conj.* Also possible, instead of the conjectured *vyadhāt*, might be *nyadhāt*, *akarot* or the aorist *akṛta*. But *vyadhāt* seems the most likely, because of the etymological echo of *vidhātā*.

[293] The idea may be that as a second Īśvara ("sovereign" / "Śiva") he would simply be indestructible, or it may be that as a second Īśvara, he would not be subject to attack by the first Īśvara, namely Śiva.

(चत)सृष्व(पि) विद्यासु (च)तुरं मेनिरे प्रजाः
(च)तुष्षष्टिकलाढ्यं यं चतुरास्यं प्रजा[पति]म् १०६

106. His subjects (*prajāḥ*) considered (*menire*) Rājendravarman (*yam*), who was skilled (*caturam*) in all four (*catasṛṣu api*) branches of knowledge (*vidyāsu*),[294] and enriched with the sixty-four accomplishments (*catuṣṣaṣṭikalāḍhyam*), as a veritable Brahmā (/ father to his subjects) (*prajāpatim*) with four faces (/ having an eloquent mouth) (*caturāsyam*).[295]

[294]As in st. 72 above, this could be taken as a reference to the branches of knowledge mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* 1.2.1, namely *ānvīkṣikī*, *trayī*, *vārttā*, and *daṇḍanīti*. These are what are meant in *Kirātārjunīya* 2:6, which uses the same expression:

> catasṛṣv api te vivekinī nṛpa vidyāsu nirūḍhimāgatā
> katham etya matir viparyayaṃ kariṇī paṅkam ivāvasīdati
>
> King, how can your discriminating intellect that has mastered the four knowledge systems — critical reasoning, study of the Vedas, economics, and government — now behave in this contrary fashion, like an elephant sinking in mire? (translation of Viswanathan Peterson 2016:21).

But the reference to Brahmā, shows that the four Vedas are also intended. We may compare this stanza with st. 10 of the historiated stela K. 534, which describes Jayavarman II thus:

> caturbhujācalorvvī[bhṛ]c caturbhuja ivāparaḥ
> caturvidyāsv adhīti yaś caturvaktra ivāvabhau
>
> Holding the earth [such that it was] unshaking with his four arms (/*ruling the earth from 724 [śaka]*), he was like a second Four-Armed [Viṣṇu]; versed in the four branches of knowledge, he shone like a second Four-Faced [Brahmā].

There Finot (1925:303) interprets *caturvidyāsu* to refer to the four Vedas, whereas it probably, as here, refers to the four branches of knowledge in the case of the king, and the four Vedas in the case of Brahmā. Incidentally, Finot also reads only the date from the first quarter, without alluding to the other intended sense, and he supplies *dhṛ* as the missing syllable (1925:300) rather than *bhṛ*, whereas it seems to me unlikely that the poet would have missed the opportunity of enhancing the alliteration of *bh* here.

[295]For this sort of alliterative pattern, in which each *pāda* begins with the first two syllables of a word that can refer to a number, compare *Raghuvaṃśa* 8:30, 10:23, 10:24 (using words echoing the numbers ten, seven and four respectively). Compare also K. 1049, stanzas 1 and 2; K. 534, st. 10 (quoted in the preceding note); and K. 371 [=K. 431], st. 2. Perhaps the use of what appear to be numbers would be regarded as incidental from the perspective of Daṇḍin, who might treat it simply as a type of *yamaka* in which the first syllables of each quarter are (nearly) the same. He illustrates such a *yamaka* with *Kāvyādarśa* 3:29:

> kam aleḥ samakeśaṃ te kamalerṣyākaraṃ mukham
> kam alekhyaṃ karoṣi tvaṃ kamalevonmadiṣṇuṣu

CVII.
lakṣmīṃ vakṣassthale kṣiptvā kīrttiṃ pāre payonidheḥ
vidyayā kāmato reme vṛddhayaiva yuvā pi yaḥ ⊙

लक्ष्मीं वक्षस्स्थले क्षिप्त्वा कीर्त्तिं पारे पयोनिधेः
विद्यया कामतो रेमे वृद्धयैव युवापि यः १०७

107. Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) cast (*kṣiptvā*) Lakṣmī on his chest[296] (*vakṣaḥsthale*) and his Fame (*kīrtim*) upon the further shore (*pāre*) of the ocean (*payonidheḥ*), and then dallied (*reme*) in pleasure (*kāmataḥ*)[297] only (*eva*) with aged (*vṛddhayā*) Knowledge (*vidyayā*), though (*api*) young himself (*yuvā*).

CVIII.
(3) (ju)gopa gāṃ vasiṣṭhasya dilipaḥ prāk prajecchayā
labdhvā prajās svavīryyeṇa bhārgavīṃ yas t[u medi]nīm ||

108a (ju)gopa] Jacques; jugopa Finot **108b** dilipaḥ] Jacques; dilīpa[ḥ] Finot. Understand: *dilīpaḥ*. **108d** bhārgavīṃ yas t[u medi]nīm] bhārgavīyas t[u] – ◡ – m] Jacques; bhārgavīyas t . . . . . m Finot. The *anusvāra* of *bhārgavīṃ* is clear, but was missed by earlier transcribers because it is engraved above the pendent loop of the *y* of *caturāsyaṃ* in the line above.

(जु)गोप गां वसिष्ठस्य दिलिपः प्राक्प्रजेच्छया
लब्ध्वा प्रजास्स्ववीर्य्येण भार्गवीं यस्तु [मेदि]नीम् १०८

„Dein Kopf [glänzt] mit seinen einem Bienen[schwarm] gleichenden [schwarzen] Haaren, [und dein] Gesicht macht den Lotus eifersüchtig; wen bringst du, der Kamalā [d. h. der Göttin des Reichtums] gleichend, nicht dahin, zu denen gezählt zu werden, die [aus Liebe zu dir] verrückt geworden sind?“ (Translation of Dimitrov 2011:257.)

But perhaps that is considered as *yamaka* because three consecutive syllables are repeated, whereas our stanza only repeats the first two in the second, third and fourth quarters.

[296] Clearly this makes Rājendravarman comparable to Viṣṇu, who wears Lakṣmī as the Śrīvatsa on his chest, but is it meant to mean that he was carelessly beautiful, or that he threw riches in the form of ornaments on his breast in a disinterested fashion? In either case, the conceit is that Lakṣmī and Kīrti were beautiful women whom he neglected, favouring instead the aged lady Vidyā. Formally, this is perhaps an instance of *virodha*, for we take a moment to realise that the intended sense is that he paid little regard to fortune and fame, but took pleasure in scholarship.

[297] *kāmataḥ* may of course also mean “deliberately”, a sense often used when speaking of transgressions.

108. Dilīpa formerly (*prāk*) [only] protected (*jugopa*) the cow (*gām*) of Vasiṣṭha out of a desire for progeny (*prajecchayā*); whereas (*tu*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) [protected Campā,] the land (*medinīm*) of Bhṛgu (*bhārgavīm*), after obtaining (*labdhvā*) its subjects (*prajāḥ*) by his own strength (*svavīryeṇa*).[298]

CIX.
bhuvanāplāvanodvele yatkīrttikṣīrasāgare
chāyāvyājena bhūr bhītyā nūnam indum upāśritā ⊙

भुवनाप्लावनोद्वेले यत्कीर्त्तिक्षीरसागरे
छायाव्याजेन भूर्भीत्या नूनमिन्दुमुपाश्रिता १०९

109. When the milk-ocean that was Rājendravarman's fame (*yatkīrtikṣīrasāgare*) swelled beyond its bounds to flood the earth (*bhuvanāplāvanodvele*), surely (*nūnam*)

[298]The first half of the stanza refers of course to the story recounted in *Raghuvaṃśa* 2. For another Cambodian trope involving Dilīpa and the cow, see st. 199 of K. 806:

> prajarddhir adhikā yasya surabhījyām anujjhataḥ
> prajālopo dilīpasya prāg abhūt projjhatas tu tām
>
> His subjects (/progeny) thrived because he did not abandon fragrant sacrifice (*surabhījyām*); once upon a time (*prāk*), Dilīpa lacked progeny because he neglected that [worship of Surabhi] (*tām* [*surabhījyām*]).

The word *gām* immediately conveys the sense "cow", but a further sense, "land", opens the way for the trope that is developed in the second half.

Claude Jacques (during the CIK seminar in February 2014) suggested that *bhārgava* might here be used as an adjective for what belongs to Campā. It is clear that Bhṛgu was held to have founded the city of Campā from, for instance, the third stanza of C. 67, namely what Finot calls the "seconde stèle de Dong-duong" in *BEFEO* 4 (Finot 1904:105–112) and from st. 15 of C. 142, the stela of Hoà Quê, in *BEFEO* 11 (Huber 1911:285–298). The form *bhārgava* is used to refer to the king of Campā in st. 29 of K. 908 and to his subjects in st. 169 of K. 908. (Cœdès (1941:300) takes that second instance too to refer to the king, but since that stanza speaks of a "lake of blood"(*raktahradasya*), it seems more likely that we should understand the qualifier *bhārgavabhāvitasya* to mean "created by [slain] Bhārgavas".) For a further allusion to Bhṛgu in connection with the king of Campā, see st. 182 below. Cf. also *bhṛguja* in K. 692, st. 45.

The claim of this stanza is thus that Rājendravarman extended his rule over territory that was at the time associated with Campā, "traditionally" ruled over by descendants of Bhṛgu, thus enlarging his empire. The claim that Rājendravarman burned the city of Campā (which city has not been determined) will be made in stanza 146, and that he vanquished the descendant of Bhṛgu (and so king of Campā) at the head of an army in 182.

the earth (*bhūḥ*), in fright (*bhītyā*), betook herself (*upāśritā*) to the moon (*indum*) seemingly in the form of a shadow (*chāyāvyājena*).[299]

CX. [a. *na-vipulā*: ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
(4) sahasrabhogabharito bibhra[d bhā]ra[ṃ] bh(u)vo pi yaḥ
anantaguṇayukto pi vinatārttiharo bhṛśam ||

110b bibhra[d bhā]ra[ṃ] bh(u)vo] *conj.*; bibhra * * bhavo JACQUES; va . . . . bhavo FINOT **110d** °haro] JACQUES; °h[ito] FINOT

सहस्रभोगभरितो बिभ्र[द्भा]रं भुवो ऽपि यः
अनन्तगुणयुक्तो ऽपि विनतार्त्तिहरो भृशम् ११०

110. Abounding in thousands of coils (*sahasrabhogabharitaḥ*) and (*api*) bearing (*bibhrat*) the burden (*bhāram*) of [holding up] the earth (*bhuvaḥ*), although (*api*)

[299] FINOT's interpretation, according to which the earth became like the moon, does not seem to be an idea that could be expressed by the Sanskrit. One conceivable possibility, suggested by Harunaga ISAACSON, is that the inscription might here be alluding to a lunar eclipse that took place during Rājendravarman's reign. But most likely is that this instead reflects one of several fanciful notions about the nature of the mark on the moon that are alluded to in this stanza quoted in the *Kuvalayānanda* (p. 51) illustrating the rhetorical figure of *apahnuti* (and also quoted, with variants, in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva as st. 1982):

aṅkaṃ ke 'pi śaśaṅkire jalanidheḥ paṅkaṃ pare menire
sāraṅgaṃ katicic ca saṃjagadire bhūcchāyam aicchan pare
indau yad dalitendranīlaśakalaśyāmaṃ darīdṛśyate
tat sāndraṃ niśi pītam andhatamasaṃ kukṣistham ācakṣmahe

Some people have suspected that the thing as dark as a broken shard of sapphire that one always sees on the moon is a mark; others have thought it to be mud from the ocean; yet others have said that it is a deer; others again have taken it to be the shadow of the earth. We consider it to be the thick black darkness drunk at night that remains in his stomach.

What makes this interpretation seem particularly likely is that the same notion is referred to in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, when Rāma is deciding to abandon Sītā because the citizens are calumniating her (14:40):

avaimi cainām anagheti kin tu lokāpavādo balavān mato me
chāyā hi bhūmeḥ śaśino malatve nirūpitā śuddhimataḥ prajābhiḥ

And I do know that she is faultless; but the reproaches of the people weigh heavier for me. For even the shadow of the earth is seen by men as a stain upon the pure moon.

Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) [thus] had all the qualities of [the serpent] Ananta (*anantaguṇa-yuktaḥ*), he greatly (*bhṛśam*) alleviated the suffering of Vinatā (*vinatārtiharaḥ*)…[300]

> Although (*api*) filled with pleasures in their thousands (*sahasrabhoga-bharitaḥ*) [and preoccupied also with] bearing the burden of [governing] the earth, being also (*api*) possessed of an infinitude of good qualities (*anantaguṇayuktaḥ*), he greatly alleviated the suffering of those who prostrated themselves (*vinatārtiharaḥ*).

CXI. [c. *na-vipulā*: – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
urvīm āvṛṇvatāmbhodhimekhalābhogamaṇḍitām
ekacchatreṇa mahatā merur yyena vṛthā kṛtaḥ ⊙

111c ekacchatreṇa] Jacques; ekācchatreṇa Finot

उर्वीमावृणवताम्भोधिमेखलाभोगमण्डिताम्
एकच्छत्रेण महता मेरुर्य्येन वृथा कृतः १११

111. Rājendravarman (*yena*) has made Meru superfluous (*vṛthā kṛtaḥ*) because of his great (*mahatā*), single parasol (*ekacchatreṇa*) that embraces (*āvṛṇvatā*) the [whole] broad earth (*urvīm*), which is adorned by the expansive curve (*-ābhogamaṇḍitam*) of the girdle that is the oceans (*ambhodhimekhalā-*).[301]

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[300] This is the sense that immediately leaps to the eye, and yet it is an impossible contradiction, since the serpent Ananta and Vinatā (the mother of birds) are sworn enemies. The rhetorical figure presented by this stanza is again *virodha* or *virodhābhāsa*, apparent contraction, where an impossible sense presents itself, and is resolved away by finding another sense, which follows immediately below. For the form *bharita*, see fn. 98 above.

[301] Meru is presumably fancied to have been made redundant by Rājendravarman's parasol of sovereign control because it is thought of as having a parasol-like shape and standing immovably in the middle of the earth. In the *Parākhyatantra*, for instance, we read (5:66ab): *madhye meruḥ suvarṇāṅgaḥ karṇikākāramastakaḥ*, "In the middle is the golden mountain Meru, whose top is the shape of the calyx of a lotus". The shape of the top of the mountain is sometimes said to be like that of a *śarāva*, a shallow cooking dish: see Goodall 2004:295, fn. 549.

Presumably there is an intentional echo here of *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:14:

> sarvātiriktasāreṇa sarvatejobhibhāvinā
> sthitaḥ sarvonnatenorvīṃ krāntvā merur ivātmanā
>
> With his body, whose strength was greater than all others', which surpassed all other radiances, and which was loftier than all others', he stood over the earth like Mount Meru.

CXII.
(5) kalikaṇṭakasamparkkād āskhala[n] (pa)dahānitaḥ
dharmmaḥ kṛtāvatāras tu yaṃ samālamvya susthitaḥ ||

112b °[n] (pa)da°] °[n pa]da° Jacques: °[n pā]da Finot **112cd** kṛtāvatāras tu yaṃ samālamvya] Jacques; kṛtārthatāras tu yaṃ samāgamya Finot

कलिकण्टकसम्पर्क्कादास्खल[न्] (प)दहानितः
धर्म्मः कृतावतारस्तु यं समालम्व्य सुस्थितः ११२

112. Dharma, descending to earth [as a bull] (*kṛtāvatāraḥ*), *which descended in the Kṛtayuga*, stumbling (*skhalan*) from losing his legs (*padahānitaḥ*) as they brush against the thorns [of this age] of Kali (*kalikaṇṭakasamparkāt*), is however (*tu*) firm [again] (*susthitaḥ*), when it leans (*samālambya*) against Rājendravarman (*yam*).[302]

CXIII.
yasya vīryyāniloddhūto dhāmadhūmadhvajo yudhi
dviḍvadhūnāṃ vidhūmo pi vāṣpadhārām avarddhayat ⊙

113a °ddhūto] Jacques; °ddhṛto Finot (unmetrical) **113d** °dhārām] Jacques; °dhāram Finot

यस्य वीर्य्यानिलोद्धूतो धामधूमध्वजो युधि
द्विड्वधूनां विधूमो ऽपि वाष्पधारामवर्द्धयत्

113. When the fire of his energy (*dhāmadhūmadhvajaḥ*) was stirred up by the wind of his valour (*vīryāniloddhūtaḥ*) in battle (*yudhi*), although (*api*) smokeless (*vidhūmaḥ*), it caused the flood of tears (*bāṣpadhārām*) of his enemies' wives (*dviḍvadhūnām*) to grow (*avardhayat*).[303]

CXIV.
(6) acirābhānibhāriśrīs stheyasy ā[sī]d yam āśritā
guṇānuvandhavaddhāpi kīrttiḥ [k]enāpi digdrutā ||

[302] S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma made this suggestion that Dharma "came to earth" and simultaneously "descended in Kṛtayuga", but then, stumbling against the thorns of Kali, lost some feet, before becoming firm again after leaning against the king. But we could also take *kṛtāvatāraḥ* as a *vyadhikaraṇa-bahuvrīhi* and understand that Dharma came to earth, stumbled, but then upon leaning upon Rājendravarman became firm, in as much as he could be said to be once again *having the manifestation that he has in Kṛtayuga*, that manifestation being of course as a bull with all four feet.

[303] The figure is again *virodha*; cf. stanza 43 above.

114ab acirābhānibhāriśrīs stheyasy ā[sī]d] *conj.*; acirābhānibhāriśrīs stheyasyā[śā]d Jacques; acirabhānibhāriśrīs stheyasyā . . d Finot. The bottom left-hand corner of the *s* of *āsīd* is visible, as well as circular surface-damage in the place in which we would expect the *ī*. **114d** kīrttiḥ [k]enāpi digdrutā] kīrttiḥ [ke]nāpi digdrutā Jacques; kīrtti. . . . pradigdrutā Finot

अचिराभानिभारिश्रीस्स्थेयस्या[सी]द्यमाश्रिता
गुणानुवन्धवद्धापि कीर्त्तिः [के]नापि दिग्द्रुता ११४

114. The glory of his enemies (*ariśrīḥ*), which was like lightning (*acirābhānibhā*),[304] became (*āsīt*) extremely stable (*stheyasī*) once it had transferred itself (*āśritā*) to Rājendravarman; his fame (*kīrtiḥ*), though (*api*) bound to his interconnected skein of good qualities (/tethered by a series of ropes) (*guṇānubandhabaddhā*), somehow (*kenāpi*) fled in all directions (*digdrutā*).[305]

CXV.
rūḍhaś śrīnandane yasya raṇe raktāsipallavaḥ
vāhukalpadrumo dikṣu yaśaḥpuṣpam avākirat ⊙

115a rūḍhaś śrīnandane] Jacques; rūḍhaḥ śrinandane Finot

रूढश्श्रीनन्दने यस्य रणे रक्तासिपल्लवः
वाहुकल्पद्रुमो दिक्षु यशःपुष्पमवाकिरत् ११५

115. Growing (*rūḍhaḥ*) upon the battlefield (*raṇe*) that gave delight to Glory / that was a [veritable] glorious paradise of Indra (*śrīnandane*), the wish-fulfilling tree that

[304] The kenning *acirābhā* for "lightning" (literally: "that whose radiance is momentary"), is attested, for instance, in *Kirātārjunīya* 4:24 and in the fragmentary inscription K. 603, which contains (in line 4) the comparable expression *acirābhābhā*, again describing Lakṣmī.

[305] There appears to be a deliberate echo here of *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:22:

> jñāne maunaṃ kṣamā śaktau tyāge ślāghāviparyayaḥ
> guṇā guṇānubandhitvāt tasya saprasavā iva
>
> With knowledge, silence; with power, patience; with giving, the opposite of boastfulness—his virtues linked thus with other virtues all seemed to have begotten offspring.

We have taken *kenāpi* as "somehow", but it could perhaps simultaneously mean "by some [poet]", and thus be a half-hidden boast. As for *digdrutā* used to describe personified Kīrti, this a cliché that we find in several inscriptions: K. 232, st. 5 (=K. 234, st. 8); K. 669, st. 34 (=K. 263, st. 15); K. 532, st. 15; and K. 268, Tour C, st. 6.

was Rājendravarman's arm (*bāhukalpadrumaḥ*), whose shoot was his bloodied sword (*raktāsipallavaḥ*), scattered (*avākirat*) in all directions (*dikṣu*) the blossoms that were his fame (*yaśaḥpuṣpam*).[306]

CXVI.
(7) yadyāne dṛptadantīndradantanirghātatāḍitā
ruṣevorvvī mahāsatvān raja[s]ā sāndram āvṛṇot ||

116cd ruṣevorvvī mahāsatvān raja[s]ā sāndram] ruṣevorvvī mahāsatvān raja[sā] sāndram Jacques; ruṣevo[r]vvī mahāsatvān rajasātandram Finot

यद्याने दृप्तदन्तीन्द्रदन्तनिर्घाततादिता
रुषेवोर्व्वी महासत्वान् रज[स]ा सान्द्रमावृणोत् ११६

116. When Rājendravarman marched (*yadyāne*), the earth (*urvī*), as though (*iva*) out of anger (*ruṣā*) when struck by the blows (°*nirghātatāḍitā*) of the tusks of his proud, lordly elephants (*dṛptadantīndradanta*°), thickly (*sāndram*) covered (*āvṛṇot*) those great creatures (*mahāsattvān*)[307] with dust (*rajasā*).

[306] The wish-fulfilling tree sprouts, of course, in Indra's paradise; its leading shoot, when still young, is red, like Rājendravarman's bloodied sword, and the blossoms it scatters are white, as is, by convention, fame. The figure here is what Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:70) calls *sakalarūpaka* (and other rhetoricians confusingly call *samastavastuviṣayarūpaka*), where the primary identification (of the arm with the tree) is reinforced by secondary identifications (its sword with a shoot, for example). In Daṇḍin's terminology, the *rūpaka*s here are of *samasta* type, which is to say that they are expressed by compounds (*samāsa*) that identify the two elements by a *karmadhāraya* relationship. Daṇḍin's examples of this include *bāhulatā*, "arm-creeper", and *caraṇapallava*, "foot-sprout" (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:66). But there is one exception: when we understand the battlefield (*raṇe*) to be identified with Indra's paradise (*śrīnandane*), the identification is expressed through apposition rather than through a compound, and so is of *asamasta* (or *vyasta*) type. Combined in this way, these different types of *rūpaka* can make a figure that Daṇḍin calls a *samastavyastarūpaka* (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:68). It seems not impossible that our poet, although not closely echoing Daṇḍin here, might have been seeking to illustrate Daṇḍin's *samasta-*, *asamasta-*, *samastavyasta-* and *sakala-* types of *rūpaka* in one stanza.

[307] Instead of understanding it as a *karmadhāraya*, we could take *mahāsattvān* as a *bahuvrīhi*: "those [creatures] of great strength". In either case, this expression presumably refers to the elephants of Rājendravarman's army. The stanzas are not closely similar, but there is perhaps a conscious echo here of *Raghuvaṃśa* 16:28:

> tasya prayātasya varūthinīnāṃ pīḍām aparyāptavatīva soḍhum
> vasundharā viṣṇupadaṃ dvitīyam adhyāruroheva rajaśchalena
>
> As he marched, the earth seemed unable to endure the tread of his armies; it looked as if it was rising up, in the guise of dust, to the realm of Viṣṇu's second

CXVII.
samididdhe kṛpāṇāgnau mantrasādhanavṛṅhitaḥ
hutvārivaktrapadmāni yas sāmrājyam ajījanat ⊙

117c hutvā°] Jacques; hṛtvā° Finot **117d** sāmrājyam] Jacques; sāṃrājyam Finot

समिदिद्धे कृपाणाग्नौ मन्त्रसाधनवृङ्हितः
हुत्वारिवक्त्रपद्मानि यस्साम्राज्यमजीजनत् ११७

117. Strengthened by his propitiation of mantras (*mantrasādhanabṛṅhitaḥ*), Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) won (*ajījanat*) sovereignty (*sāmrājyam*) after oblation of (*hutvā*) the lotuses that were the heads of his enemies (*arivaktrapadmāni*) upon the fire that was his sword (*kṛpāṇāgnau*), which was kindled in the battle (*samididdhe*).[308]

CXVIII.
(8) dṛḍho py adhṛṣyasatvo pi tuṅgo py unmūlito [ri](pu)ḥ
mathane nantavīryyena yena bhūbhṛtkulodgataḥ ||

118b unmūlito [ri](pu)ḥ] Jacques^{2}; unmūlite ⏑ – Finot; unmūlito [hi ya]ḥ Jacques^{1} **118d** yena] Jacques; yo na Finot

दृढो ऽप्यधृष्यसत्वो ऽपि तुङ्गो ऽप्युन्मूलितो [रि](पु):
मथने ऽनन्तवीर्य्येन येन भूभृत्कुलोद्गतः ११८

118. Although (*api*) firm (*dṛḍhaḥ*), although (*api*) of invincible strength (*adhṛṣyasattvaḥ*), although (*api*) lofty (/haughty) (*tuṅgaḥ*)

[and] *not an enemy (*aripuḥ*), the scion of mountains (*bhūbhṛtkulodgataḥ*) [namely Mandara,] was uprooted (*unmūlitaḥ*) by the strength of [the serpent] Ananta (anantavīryeṇa) for churning [the milk-ocean] (*mathane*).*

step [the sky].

[308] Once again, the image is based upon a ritual that has a tantric flavour, alluding as it does to notions typical of the Mantramārga, such as the propitiation of mantras, referred to here by the expression *mantrasādhana*, but which is elsewhere also called by a variety of names, including *pūrvasevā*, *puraścaraṇa*, *vidyāvrata* (see Goodall 2020c): cf. stanzas 20, 40, 59 and 88.

Two expressions can be understood punningly, namely *samididdhe*, which can also mean "kindled with kindling", and *mantrasādhanabṛṅhitaḥ*, which could also mean "strengthened by obtaining counsel [from his ministers]".

his enemy (*ripuḥ*), born of royal family (*bhūbhṛtkulodgataḥ*) was extirpated (*unmūlitaḥ*) by Rājendravarman (*yena*), who is of infinite strength (*anantavīryeṇa*) in the killing [that is battle] (*mathane*).

CXIX.
tṛṣiteva dviṣāṃ lakṣmīḥ pluṣṭā tejogninā bhṛśam
yasya puṣkarajāṃ dhārāṃ prāpya cikṣepa na kṣaṇam ⊙

तृषितेव द्विषां लक्ष्मीः प्लुष्टा तेजोग्निना भृशम्
यस्य पुष्करजां धारां प्राप्य चिक्षेप न क्षणम् ११९

119. As though (*iva*) thirsty (*tṛṣitā*) after being excessively (*bhṛśam*) scorched (*pluṣṭā*) by the fire of his valour (*tejogninā*), his enemies' (*dviṣām*) glory (*lakṣmīḥ*), after reaching (*prāpya*) the torrent (*dhārām*) flowing from the blade of his sword (*puṣkarajām*),[309] did not quit it (*cikṣepa na*) for an instant (*kṣaṇam*).

CXX.
(9) pādāmvujarajo yasya caritānukṛter iva
tuṅgabhūbhṛdvarāṅgeṣu (pa)dan datvā śriyan dadhau ||

120d tuṅgabhūbhṛdvarāṅgeṣu (pa)dan] Jacques; . . . . bhūbhṛdvarāṅgeṣu [pa]daṃ Finot

पादाम्वुजरजो यस्य चरितानुकृतेरिव
तुङ्गभूभृद्वराङ्गेषु (प)दन्दत्वा श्रियन्दधौ १२०

120. When it landed (*padaṃ dattvā*) upon the heads of lofty princes (*tuṅgabhūbhṛdvarāṅgeṣu*), the dust of the lotuses of his feet (*pādāmburajaḥ*), bestowed (*dadhau*) beauty

[309] For this sense of *puṣkara*, for which Monier-Williams cites only 'L[exicographers]' as attestation, see *Amarakośa*, *nānārthavarga* 187:

puṣkaraṃ karihastāgre vādyabhāṇḍamukhe jale
vyomni khaḍgaphale padme tīrthauṣadhiviśeṣayoḥ

Schmidt (1928) points out that it is used in this sense of "Schwertklinge" in *Haravijaya* 13:72 and 44:39. Since *dhārā* can also refer to the blade of a weapon, there seems to be a suggestion of another sense here. But if another sense is really intended, we have not found it, in spite of the polyvalence of the word *puṣkara*.

(*śriyam*),[310] as though (*iva*) in imitation of his feats (*caritānukṛteḥ*), *after he had placed (*dattvā*) his feet (*padam*) there, upon the summits of high mountains (*tuṅgabhūbhṛdvarāṅgeṣu*).*[311]

CXXI.
nidrāvidrāṇadṛk strīvaj jaṭhareṇāvahat prajāḥ
harir yyas tu hṛdaiveśas suvodhasphuṭapauruṣaḥ ⊙

निद्राविद्राणदृक्स्त्रीवज्जठरेणावहत्प्रजाः
हरिर्य्यस्तु हृदैवेशस्सुवोधस्फुटपौरुषः १२१

121. With eyes drowsy with sleep (*nidrāvidrāṇadṛk*),[312] Hari bore (*avahat*) creatures (*prajāḥ*) in his belly (*jaṭhareṇa*), like a woman (*strīvat*);[313] but Rājendravarman (*yas*

[310] The expression *śriyaṃ dadhau* could instead mean that "he received beauty" (rather than bestowing it).

[311] The implication of this appears to be that at least one of Rājendravarman's once famous feats involved a conquest on or of a mountain. Could this be the same episode on a mountaintop as that which appears to be alluded to in stanza 57 above?

[312] Monier-Williams seems to record only *nidrāṇa* (and not *vidrāṇa*) in the sense of "asleep"; Apte records *vidrāṇa*, but in the sense of "kept awake, sleepless". But we find the collocation *nidrāvidrāṇa* used twice at the end of the second *ucchvāsa* of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (pp. 125 and 126 in Fuehrer's edition), and the commentator Śaṅkara there glosses it (p. 125) with *nidrālasaḥ*, "drowsy with sleep". Following this indication, Cowell and Thomas in their translation of 1897 (1993:68) render the compound with "fast asleep". In the edition with the commentary of Raṅganātha, only the first of these two occurrences is found, and there the commentator remarks (p. 118) *vidrāṇaṃ tandrīyuktam*, "*vidrāṇa* [means] drowsy". P. V. Kane is troubled by the word, remarking (p. 303) "But elsewhere *vidrāṇa* is used in the sense of 'awake'." This consideration leads him to suggest two implausible alternative interpretations of *nidrāvidrāṇa*: "not yet gone to sleep" or, assuming *avidrāṇa*, "not awake through sleep". If Kane is indeed right that "sleepy" is not a common sense of *vidrāṇa* elsewhere, then the use of *nidrāvidrāṇa* here could be taken as a further small piece of evidence of the influence of Bāṇa on our poet.

Note that one could take *nidrāvidrāṇadṛkstrīvat* as a single compound, and therefore understand *subodhasphuṭapauruṣaḥ* not as a *dvandva* of adjectives, but as an instrumental *tatpuruṣa*:

> Hari bore creatures in his belly like a woman whose eyes are drowsy with sleep;
> but Rājendravarman, whose manliness was evident because of his wakefulness,
> [bore his subjects] in his very heart.

[313] This alludes to Viṣṇu lying on the milk ocean in a state of watchful sleep while the entire universe has been resorbed awaiting a fresh cycle of creation. One of the earliest surviving Khmer inscriptions, the probably fifth-century K. 875, begins with a stanza that alludes to the

tu), a sovereign/Śiva (*īśaḥ*) who was fully awake and whose manliness was evident (*subodhasphuṭapauruṣaḥ*), *bore his subjects (*prajāḥ*)* in his very (*eva*) heart (*hṛdā*)!

CXXII.
(10) dṛptārīndraṃ vijityājau yo nujagrāha tatkulam
bhṛṅgaiḥ kiṃ hi madabhrānt[ai]r bhinnebhendro mṛgādhipaḥ ||

122a dṛptārīndraṃ vijityājau] Jacques; dṛptārīndra[ṃ] v[i]jityājau Finot
122c bhṛṅgaiḥ kiṃ hi madabhrānt[ai]r] Jacques; . . . . . r Finot

दृप्तारीन्द्रं विजित्याजौ यो ऽनुजग्राह तत्कुलम्
भृङ्गैः किं हि मदभ्रान्तैर्भिन्नेभेन्द्रो मृगाधिपः १२२

122. Once he had vanquished (*vijitya*) a haughty enemy (*dṛptārīndram*) in battle (*ājau*), he bestowed compassion (*anujagrāha*) upon that [enemy's] family (*tatkulam*); for what (*kiṃ hi*) does a lion (*mṛgādhipaḥ*) who has torn apart [the temples of] a lordly elephant (*bhinnebhendraḥ*) [have to do] with the bees (*bhṛṅgaiḥ*) that buzz about it intoxicated (*madabhrāntaiḥ*)?[314]

CXXIII.
nistriṅśa(ṃ) vallabhaṃ vaddhvā guṇayuktais tu mārggaṇaiḥ
ṛjubhir yyo vijityārīn bheje rthān sadguṇair iva ⊙

universe being contained within Viṣṇu's belly:

yuñjan yogam atarkitaṅ kam api yaḥ kṣīrodaśaiyyāgṛhe
śete śeṣabhujaṅgabhogaracanāparyyaṅkapṛṣṭhāśritaḥ
k(u)kṣiprāntasamāśritatribhuvano nābhyutthitāmbhoruho
r[āj]ñ[īṃ] śrījayavarmmaṇo 'gramahiṣīṃ sa svāminīṃ rakṣatu

Engaged in a special unthinkable yoga, may He who lies in a bed-chamber on the milk-ocean, resting on top of a couch that is an arrangement of coils of the serpent Śeṣa, with the triple world residing within his belly, with a lotus rising from his navel, protect the queen, the chief wife of Śrī-Jayavarman, our mistress.

[314]The idea appears to be that Rājendravarman no more bothered about the dependents of the kings whom he conquered than a lion bothers about the bees that buzz about the musth streaming from the temples of an elephant that it has wounded. Normally, for this construction with *kim* we would expect *mṛgādhipaḥ* in the genitive, to be construed with the supplied word *prayojanam*. So perhaps we should instead understand the second half to contain two sentences: "For what [use does he have] with the intoxicated bees [that buzz about the elephant's temples]? The lion tears apart [only] the lordly elephant!"

123a nistriṃśa(ṃ)] nistriṃśa° Jacques, Finot

निस्त्रिङ्शं वल्लभं वद्ध्वा गुणायुक्तैस्तु मार्ग्गणैः
ऋजुभिर्य्यो विजित्यारीन्भेजे ऽर्थान्सद्गुणैरिव १२३

123. Girding on (*baddhvā*) the sword (*nistriṅśaṃ*) that was his favourite (*vallabham*), he conquered (*vijitya*) his enemies (*arīn*) with straight (*ṛjubhiḥ*) arrows (*mārgaṇaiḥ*) that he set to his bow-string (*guṇayuktaiḥ*) and shared out (*bheje*) the spoils (*arthān*) along with his virtues (*sadguṇaiḥ*), as it were (*iva*).

*Punishing (*baddhvā*) friends (*vallabham*) if they were cruel (*nistriṅśam*), he shared his understanding (*arthān*), along with his virtues (*sadguṇaiḥ*), as it were, with meritorious (*guṇayuktaiḥ*) and [morally] upright questers (*mārgaṇaiḥ*), after first subduing [the internal] enemies [of the passions].*[315]

[315] This punning translation is tentative. One problem with Finot's translation, other than that it conveys little sense to us, is that it takes no account of the particle *iva* (1925:344): "Ayant enchaîné son favori, le glaive, et vaincu les ennemis par ses flèches droites munies d'une corde (ou : par ses demandes loyales pourvues de qualités), il distribuait les biens selon les mérites." It is the presence of the *iva* that discouraged us from understanding *bheje rthān sadguṇaiḥ* in the sense of "he shared the wealth with men of good qualities".

Alternatively, we could take the *iva* to mark a link between the two juxtaposed and very different activities of the king that are expressed through *śleṣa* in this stanza: he shared out the spoils just as (*iva*) he simultaneously shared his understanding. This in turn suggests another tenuous link with Daṇḍin. In *Kāvyādarśa* 2:319, Daṇḍin uses two of the same punning words (albeit not with exactly the same senses) in a stanza that illustrates the use of an entirely different figure, a *śleṣa* "with restriction" (*niyamavat*), a figure in which the first sense to spring to mind of a polysemic expression is excluded by restricting the word's sense to another of its meanings:

nistriṁśatvam asāv eva dhanuṣy evāsya vakratā
śareṣv eva narendrasya mārgaṇatvaṁ ca vartate

For this lord of men,
size above thirty finger-breadths / cruelty (*nistriṃśatvam*) applies but to the sword (*asau*);
curvature / deviousness (*vakratā*) but to the bow;
head-shaft feathers / indigence (*mārgaṇatvam*) but to the arrows.
(Translation adapted from Eppling 1989:1233.)

The only evident common feature is that the words *nistriṃśa* and *mārgaṇa* occur and are used punningly. But the immediately preceding stanza illustrates the figure of a *śleṣa* involving incongruous actions (*viruddhakarma*), which might be the figure that our poet intended. *Kāvyādarśa* 2:318 reads:

rāgam ādarśayann eṣa vāruṇīyogavardhitam
tirobhavati gharmāṁśur aṅgajas tu vijṛmbhate

CXXIV.
(11) nipītan nīlakaṇṭhena kaṇṭhālaṅkṛtaye viṣam
vivudhānām .r. .ārthan tu yenodvāntaṃ vacomṛtam ||

124a °kaṇṭhena] Jacques; °kaṇṭhe[na] Finot **124c** vivudhānām .r. .ārthan tu] Jacques; vivudhānā[ṃ] . . . . rthantu Finot. Jacques[2] adds in a note: "Il n'est pas possible de lire plus, il y a une épeaufrure à la cassure de la stèle ; le pandit N. R. Bhatt propose *vratārthan*, *prajārthan* ou *trapārthan*." We have chosen rather to translate *priyārthan*. No upper loop of an *i* is discernible, but these tend to be rather tight and small when attached to the letter *p* in this inscription. **124d** yenodvāntaṃ] Jacques; . . . o dvāntaṃ Finot

निपीतन्नीलकण्ठेन कण्ठालङ्कृतये विषम्
विवुधानाम् .र्. .आर्थन्तु येनोद्वान्तं वचोमृतम् १२४

124. The blue-throated [Śiva] (*nīlakaṇṭhena*) drank poison to decorate his throat (*kaṇṭhālaṅkṛtaye*); Rājendravarman (*yena*), however (*tu*), spewed forth (*udvāntam*) the nectar of his speech (*vacomṛtam*) [[as a favour (*priyārtham*)]] to the learned (*vibudhānām*).[316]

*The blue-throated [Śiva] drank poison, with the result that it adorned his throat, but [in fact] in order to favour the gods (*vibudhānām*); Rājendravar-*

The sun (*gharmāṃśuḥ*), displaying a scarlet (*rāgam*) that has swelled from contact with the western quarter (*vāruṇī°*), declines (*tirobhavati*); while (*tu*) Love (*aṅgajaḥ*), displaying a passion (*rāgam*) that has swelled from contact with wine (*vāruṇī°*), increases (*vijṛmbhate*). (Translation adapted from Eppling 1989:1231.)

[316]This translation assumes that the damaged word was *priyārthan*, "as a favour", or something with that sense. The word *vibudhānām* has been consciously chosen because it may refer both to learned men at Rājendravarman's court and to gods, who were the recipients of ambrosia when the milk-ocean was churned, which was the occasion when Śiva drank the poison that also emerged from the milk-ocean. Śiva drank it to protect the universe, but this mythological feat is here ironically presented as an act of vanity, in order to contrast it with the supposed altruism of Rājendravarman's pouring forth of nectareous wisdom, perhaps in the form of poetic compositions.

Rājendravarman is often favourably contrasted with other gods and mythological personages, but somewhat unusual here is the use of the figure *vyatireka* involving Śiva. And indeed it seems that we are perhaps intended, as Harunaga Isaacson has suggested, to read the stanza first as a standard *vyatireka*, as translated above, implicitly criticising Śiva, however playfully, before doing a double-take and re-reading it in a way that shows that, although the two are contrasted because one swallows poison and the other spews forth a sort of nectar, their motives can actually be reversed, and Rājendravarman is not really shown to be superior to Śiva. A second translation, showing this, is given next.

man spewed forth nectareous speech [in order to adorn his own throat, but in such a way as to please the learned].

CXXV.
sāndrair yyasyādhvare dhūmair ūrdhvagai ruddhadṛṣṭibhiḥ
vraddhno dhunāpi digbhrāntais svadhuryyair bhrāmyate dhruvam ⊙

125b ūrdhvagai] Jacques; ūrdhaga° Finot

सान्द्रैर्य्यस्याध्वरे धूमैरूर्ध्वगै रुद्धदृष्टिभिः
व्रद्ध्नो ऽधुनापि दिग्भ्रान्तैस्स्वधुर्य्यैर्भ्राम्यते ध्रुवम् १२५

125. Surely (*dhruvam*) it is because of the dense (*sāndraiḥ*) plumes of smoke (*dhūmaiḥ*) that rise up (*ūrdhvagaiḥ*) on the occasion of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) sacrifices (*adhvare*) that his draft animals (*svadhuryaiḥ*) have their vision blocked (*ruddhadṛṣṭibhiḥ*), are confused in their sense of direction (*digbhrāntaiḥ*) and cause the Sun (*vradhnaḥ*) to turn round and round (*bhrāmyate*) even today (*adhunāpi*) .[317]

CXXVI.
(12) sandhukṣya dhāmavahniṃ yo dviṭsamidbhis saminmakhe
akṣīṇān dakṣi[ṇāṃ] kīrttiṃ digdvijebhyas samādiśat ||

126a sandhukṣya dhāmavahniṃ] Jacques; sa . . . ya dhāma . . . . . Finot **126c** akṣīṇān] Jacques; [a]kṣīṇān Finot **126d** digdvijebhyas] Jacques[1]; di[g]dvijebhyas Finot; digd(v)ijebhyas Jacques[2]

सन्धुक्ष्य धामवह्निं यो द्विट्समिद्भिस्समिन्मखे
अक्षीणान्दक्षि[णां] कीर्त्तिं दिग्द्विजेभ्यस्समादिशत् १२६

126. After kindling (*sandhukṣya*) the fire of his energy (*dhāmavahnim*) with the pieces of firewood that were his enemies (*dviṭsamidbhiḥ*) in the sacrifice that is battle (*saminmakhe*), he offered (*samādiśat*) his fame (*kīrtim*) as an unstinting (*akṣīṇām*) honorarium (*dakṣiṇām*) to the brahmins that were the directions (*digdvijebhyaḥ*).

[317] The Sun continues roaming for ever, without ever reaching his destination. Perhaps the supposed confusion of his horses alludes to the fact that the sun does not simply move from East to West, but veers to the South in the winter months and back to the North in the summer.

CXXVII.
dviṣatān nyastraśastrāṇāṃ praṇāmaśithilīkṛte
cāpasyaiva guṇe yasya viratir na tu dhanvinām ⊙

127a nyastraśastrāṇāṃ] Understand: *nyastaśastrāṇāṃ*.

द्विषताान्यस्त्रशस्त्राणां प्रणामशिथिलीकृते
चापस्यैव गुणे यस्य विरतिर्न तु धन्विनाम् १२७

127. He set aside (*viratiḥ*) the string (*guṇe*)[318] just (*eva*) of his bow (*cāpasya*), which he slackened in the face of the prostration (*praṇāmaśithilīkṛte*) of his enemies (*dviṣatām*) when they had set down their weapons (*nyastaśastrāṇām*); but [he did] not (*na*) *have any indifference (*viratiḥ*) towards the virtues (*guṇe*)* of [those enemies as] archers (*dhanvinām*).[319]

CXXVIII.
(13) suvṛtto sisuhṛd dhṛdyo bhujo yasya mahībhujaḥ
durhṛdām asuhṛttv[e] pi pratītas sarvvadā raṇe ||

128a si] Jacques; pi Finot. Jacques proposes that one should understand *pi*.
128c asuhṛttv[e] pi] *conj.*; asuhṛ[dāṃ ca] Finot (*unmetrical*); asuhṛt t[v a]pi Jacques[1]; asuhṛt tvapi Jacques[2] (*unmetrical*)

सुवृत्तो ऽसिसुहृद्धृद्यो भुजो यस्य महीभुजः
दुर्हृदामसुहृत्त्वे ऽपि प्रतीतस्सर्व्वदा रणे १२८

The arm (*bhujaḥ*) of this (*yasya*) king (*mahībhujaḥ*) was always (*sarvadā*) understood (*pratītaḥ*) to be well-rounded (/well-conducted) (*suvṛttaḥ*), comely (*hṛdyaḥ*) and a friend to its sword (*asisuhṛd*)[320] in battle (*raṇe*), in spite of (*api*) its being unfriendly /

[318] More literally: "[There was] cessation with respect to the string".

[319] If we did not assume a second meaning of *viratiḥ*, then this could perhaps mean that he did not desist from virtue in his dealings with his soldiers, or that he continued to require that his soldiers be virtuous. Perhaps one could instead understand the whole as follows: "He set aside (*viratiḥ*) the string (*guṇe*) of his bow, which he slackened in the face of the prostration of his enemies when they had set down their weapons, but not when they held onto their bows (*na tu dhanvinām*)." But this seems to have less point and to give no weight to the *eva*.

[320] We had earlier been tempted, following Finot's misreading and Jacques' assumption that the misreading probably reflected the poet's actual intention, to correct *asi°* to *api*. But *asisuhṛt* is in fact an echo of the idea expressed by *nistriṃśaṃ vallabham* in st. 223.

a taker of lives (*asuhṛttve*) for the cruel-hearted (*durhṛdām*).[321]

CXXIX.
ekadravyāśritaṃ bhāvaṃ jñātvā dviḍjñātibhāvitam
kārmmukeṣūcitaṅ karmma saviśeṣaṃ vyadhatta yaḥ ⊙

129b dviḍjñāti°] Jacques; dviḍjāti° Finot

एकद्रव्याश्रितं भावं ज्ञात्वा द्विड्ज्ञातिभावितम्
कार्म्मुकेषूचितङ्कर्म्म सविशेषं व्यधत्त यः १२९

129. Knowing (*jñātvā*) that the thoughts (*bhāvaṃ*) cultivated by his enemies and their relations (*dviḍjñātibhāvitam*)[322] were fixated on wealth alone (*ekadravyāśritam*), he took special action (*saviśeṣaṃ karma vyadhatta*) of a kind suited to his bow and arrow (*kārmukeṣūcitam*), [viz. he fought them].[323]

*He rendered action (*karma*), which belongs (*ucitam*) to entities that are efficacious (*kārmukeṣu*),*[324] *[truly] endowed with its unique particularities*

[321] This falls flat in translation, since its effect depends in large measure on the alliterative patterns: *suvṛtto* chimes with *asisuhṛd* and with *hṛdyo*, *durhṛdām* and *asuhṛttve*, while *bhujo* is echoed by *mahībhujaḥ*. The positive words expressing friendliness in the first line are contrasted with *asuhṛttve*, "being unfriendly", and by splitting that word differently we arrive at the further sense "being a remover of life-breath (*asu*°)".

[322] Alternatively, as Harunaga Isaacson suggests, we could understand "intensely practised (*-atibhāvitam*) by one who knows his enemies (*dviḍjña-*)".

[323] This may seem to go against the spirit of stanza 122, but we must be aware that the poet is here constrained by the need to achieve a stanza that makes some sort of sense on two levels of meaning, one concerning Rājendravarman and his treatment of his enemies, and the other a paraphrase of the Vaiśeṣika definition of *karman*, as Diwakar Acharya has kindly pointed out to us (email of 5.vi.2014). The definition in question is this (*Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 1.1.17): *ekadravyam aguṇam saṃyogavibhāgeṣv anapekṣakāraṇam karma*, which Basu translates as follows (1923:27): "Residing in one Substance only, not possessing Attribute, an independent cause of Conjunctions and Disjunctions — such is the mark of Action."

[324] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has pointed out, we could instead understand a compound still with the meaning "belonging to the bow and arrow" in this second interpretation also. In fact, as Harunaga Isaacson observed, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* actually contains a discussion (5.1.16–18, translated by Basu 1923:158–160) of the particularities of the actions of an arrow impelled by a bow. We could therefore understand the second level of meaning in this stanza to explain that the king "performed the actions proper to bow and arrow having understood the nature [of those actions] (*bhāvam*) in all their particularities/according to [the school of philosophy named after its focus upon] *viśeṣa*s". (Understanding *bhāvam* to mean "nature" and taking it as the object of *jñātvā* is a suggestion of Judit Törzsök.)

*(*saviśeṣam*), in as much as he realised it to be (*jñātvā*) a thing (*bhāvam*) that belongs to only one substance (*ekadravyāśritam*) and that is intent on [making things] disjoined and conjoined (*dviḍjñātibhāvitam*).*[325]

CXXX.
(14) śūlinādhyāsitāṃ bhaktigambhīrāṃ yasya hṛdguhām
tannetrānalabhītyeva viviśur nānyadevatāḥ ||

130d °devatāḥ] Jacques: °devatā Finot

शूलिनाध्यासितां भक्तिगम्भीरां यस्य हृद्गुहाम्
तन्नेत्रानलभीत्येव विविशुर्नान्यदेवताः १३०

In the cave of his heart (*yasya hṛdguhām*), which was inhabited (*adhyāsitam*) by the Wielder of the Trident (*śūlinā*), and which was deep with devotion (*bhaktigambhīrām*), no (*na*) other deities (*anyadevatāḥ*) entered (*viviśuḥ*), as though (*iva*) out of fear (°*bhītyā*) of the fire from His [third] eye (*tannetrānala*°).

CXXXI.
rāmāṇāṃ hṛdayārāme tiṣṭhantaṃ kāmataskaram
prajihīrṣur ivāśrānto yo viveśa muhur mmuhuḥ ⊙

रामाणां हृदयारामे तिष्ठन्तं कामतस्करम्
प्रजिहीर्षुरिवाश्रान्तो यो विवेश मुहुर्म्मुहुः १३१

131. Into the gardens that were the hearts (*hṛdayārāme*) of ladies (*rāmāṇām*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) entered (*viveśa*) again and again (*muhur muhuḥ*), untiring (*aśrāntaḥ*), as though (*iva*) he wished to attack (*prajihīrṣuḥ*) the thief Kāma (*kāmataskaram*) residing there (*tiṣṭhantam*).

CXXXII.
(15) yogodyato pi yaś śāntau nāmnaiva dviḍbhayaṅkaraḥ
dūrād dhi rājasiṃhasya gandhaṃ ghrātvā dvipā drutāḥ ||

[325] This last interpretation is particularly awkward and therefore doubtful. Perhaps one could instead assume, for this sense, a compound of *dviḍbhāva* and *jñātibhāva* to which the suffic *itac* has been added: "characterised by the disjunction [literally 'hostility'] and conjunction [that it causes]". In any case, although it seems certain that this stanza playfully alludes to the ideas of Vaiśeṣikas, a smoothly plausible interpretation for the whole has until now eluded us.

योगोद्यतो ऽपि यश्शान्तौ नाम्नैव द्विड्भयङ्करः
दूराद्धि राजसिंहस्य गन्धं घ्रात्वा द्विपा द्रुताः १३२

132. Even when (*api*) he was ready to engage himself in a treaty (*yogodyataḥ*) of peace (*śāntau*),[326] by his name (*nāmnā*) alone (*eva*) he aroused fear in his enemies (*dviḍbhayaṅkaraḥ*). It is well-known that (*hi*) elephants (*dvipāḥ*) flee (*drutāḥ*) when they [merely] smell (*ghrātvā*) the scent (*gandham*) of a lordly lion (*rājasiṃhasya*) from afar (*dūrāt*).

CXXXIII.
mantravīryyaprayogāḍhyaṃ prāpyānanyavareva yam
kṛtārthā kāmadā pṛthvī karajāmarddamārddavāt ⊙

133b prāpyā°] Jacques; prapyā° Finot

मन्त्रवीर्य्यप्रयोगाढ्यं प्राप्यानन्यवरेव यम्
कृतार्था कामदा पृथ्वी करजामर्द्दमार्द्दवात् १३३

133. The earth (*pṛthvī*), when she attained (*prāpya*) him (*yam*), who was richly endowed because of the deployment of the power of mantras (*/because of the use of good counsel and manliness*) (*mantravīryaprayogāḍhyam*), was as though (*iva*) she had never had a husband before (*ananyavarā*), fulfilled (*kṛtārthā*) and wish-fulfilling (*/love-bestowing*) (*kāmadā*) because of the gentleness of the pressure resulting from his taxes (*/because of the softness (*°mārdavāt*) of the pressure of his nails) (*karajāmarda°*).*[327]

[326] Additionally, we could perhaps interpret the first *pāda* to mean "Even when engaged in Yoga, at peace,…". This would then be the second time that the text of this inscription has spoken of Rājendravarman practising some form of Yoga: the first was in stanza 53.

[327] The trope of the earth flourishing under the new king as though she were a virginal bride is an old one: cf., e.g., *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:7:

> manuprabhṛtibhir mānyair bhuktā yady api rājabhiḥ
> tathāpy ananyapūrveva tasminn āsīd vasundharā
>
> Although the earth had been ruled by kings of good repute beginning with Manu, nonetheless under his reign it seemed as if she had not belonged to anyone else before.

But the poet here has intensified the sexual imagery by alluding, by means of a pun, to the bridegroom impressing nail-marks on the bride during love-making. As in Kālidāsa's stanza, we have assumed an *utprekṣā*, but if it were not for the echo of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, we could, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma suggested, have assumed an *upamā*, understanding "The earth, when she attained him … was like [a bride] who had attained a matchless husband (*ananyavarā*)…"

CXXXIV.
(16) yuktir etāvatā tyaktā kāntiratne pi darśite
yaj jagaccittasarvvasvam āhṛtaṃ yena sarvvadā ||

134d āhṛtaṃ] Jacques; [ā]hṛta[ṃ] Finot

युक्तिरेतावता त्यक्ता कान्तिरत्ने ऽपि दर्शिते
यज्जगच्चित्तसर्व्वस्वमाहृतं येन सर्व्वदा १३४

134. Rājendravarman (*yena*) left logic (*yuktiḥ*) behind (*tyaktā*) in as much as (*etāvatā… yat*), even though (*api*) he proffered (*darśite*) the jewel of his beauty (*kāntiratne*), he stole away (*āhṛtam*) for all time (*sarvadā*) all the property consisting of the hearts of the world (*jagaccittasarvasvam*)!

CXXXV.
nyastaśastro vane supto harir yyogaparo py ajaḥ
kāntārddhāṅgadharo rudro yañ jigīṣuṃ smarann iva ⊙

135c °ṅgadharo] Jacques; °ṅśadharo Finot

न्यस्तशस्त्रो वने सुप्तो हरिर्य्योगपरो ऽप्यजः
कान्तार्द्धाङ्गधरो रुद्रो यञ्जिगीषुं स्मरन्निव १३५

135. As though (*iva*) at the thought of (*smaran*) Rājendravarman (*yam*) set upon victory (*jigīṣum*), Hari abandoned his weapons (*nyastaśastraḥ*)[328] and slept (*suptaḥ*) on the

Puns in the Indian subcontinent about "hands" and "taxes" (*kara*) are common enough (e.g. *Kuṭṭanīmata* 762). In Cambodia, they have occasionally passed unnoticed, perhaps in part because readers are influenced by an awareness that there was no monetary economy. For an example, see K. 762, stanza 3, reinterpreted by Goodall 2011b (*Annuaire de l'EPHE* t. 119, p. 97) and Goodall 2021, p. 19. For what is probably a later variation on the same trope, see, for example, K. 288, st. 33. For *kara* simply in the sense of "tax", see K. 53, st. 20; K. 1320, st. 60; and K. 692, st. 61.

As for the tantric interpretation of mantra, it seems justified here given that there are other indications in this inscription (st. 20, 31, 40, 59, 88, 117) that Rājendravarman had received an initiation into the Mantramārga and that he drew strength from the use of such mantras.

[328] As Judit Törzsök has pointed out, we may take this attribute with each of the gods mentioned.

waters (*vane*), while (*api*) Brahmā (*ajaḥ*) gave himself up to Yoga (*yogaparaḥ*), [and] Rudra took on half the body of his beloved (*kāntārddhāṅgadharaḥ*).[329]

CXXXVI.
(17) sphuṭāsīndīvarasrastaraktamadhvāsavecchayā
dviṭchrīr bhṛṅgīva babhrāma yasya dorhradasannidhau ||

136d dorhrada°] Jacques; dormrāda° Finot

स्फुटासीन्दीवरस्रस्तरक्तमध्वासवेच्छया
द्विट्छ्रीर्भृङ्गीव बभ्राम यस्य दोर्ह्रदसन्निधौ १३६

136. The glory of his enemies (*dviṭchrīḥ*) bumbled about (*babhrāma*) like (*iva*) a female bee (*bhṛṅgī*) in the vicinity of the lake that was his arm (*dorhradasannidhau*),[330] out of a desire for the sweet juice (°*madhvāsavecchayā*) that was the blood flowing down (°*srastarakta*°) from the fully opened water-lily that was his sword (*sphuṭāsīndīvara*°).

[329]This translation reflects the notion that even the gods withdrew when they knew Rājendravarman to be on the war-path. Claude Jacques quoted aloud in the CIK seminar from notes that he took while reading the inscription some decades ago in Pondicherry, that N. R. Bhatt referred to the proverbial notion that one should never attack a man who sleeps, a man engaged in yoga or a woman. This idea may have been cited by N. R. Bhatt in the form of a Sanskrit stanza, which we have not been able to locate, but that might have been similar to a stanza pointed out to us by Devaki Kafle from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (1.7:36):

> mattaṃ pramattam unmattaṃ suptaṃ bālaṃ striyaṃ jaḍam
> prapannaṃ virathaṃ bhītaṃ na ripuṃ hanti dharmavit
>
> One who knows Dharma does not strike an enemy who is intoxicated, inattentive, mad, asleep, a child, a woman, dumb, a suppliant, deprived of a chariot, terrified.

Attacking somebody who has laid down their weapons is not mentioned in this particular list, but the *Mahābhārata* makes frequent mention of the fact that attacking someone who is *nyastaśastra* is not right (e.g. in 7.131:3). The fancy appears thus to be that the gods each assumed some stance that meant that a just king could not attack them.

Alternatively, one could perhaps translate this stanza to reflect the notion that the gods, knowing that Rājendravarman would take the universe well in hand, withdrew to do what they most enjoyed, but this interpretation seems less convincing.

[330]The odd comparison between an arm and a lake seems to be used only because the blood-dripping sword brandished above it is likened to a nectar-dripping water-lily. Perhaps the bluish sheen of the steel blade prompted the choice of a blue water-lily (rather than a red lotus), but perhaps also the sharply pointed shape of the petals.

CXXXVII.
nakṣatrakulasaṃpannaṃ bhūtānām avakāśakṛt
vyomevāripuraṃ yasya śabdamātreṇa lakṣitam ⊙

नक्षत्रकुलसंपन्नं भूतानामवकाशकृत्
व्योमेवारिपुरं यस्य शब्दमात्रेण लक्षितम् १३७

137. [Each] city of Rājendravarman's enemies (*arikulam*) resembled (*iva*) the ether (*vyoma*):

> full of crowds of stars (*nakṣatrakulasampannam*), affording space (*avakāśakṛt*) for the [other] elements (*bhūtānām*) [and] characterised (*lakṣitam*) by the subtle element of sound (*śabdamātreṇa*);[331]

[for these words can also mean:]

> *it was a void (*vyoma*), no [longer] (*na*) filled with clans of warriors (*kṣatrakulasampannam*); it afforded space for ghouls (*bhūtānām*); [because nothing else remained,] it could be known (*lakṣitam*) by its name alone (*śabdamātreṇa*).*

CXXXVIII.
(18) śarākarṣākulo yasya vāhinīdurggasaṃgataḥ
vane khadgasahāyo ris saṃyatsaṃstha iva drutaḥ ||

[331] For Vaiśeṣikas (followed by many other thinkers), the one quality that belongs to *ākāśa* is that of sound, which, for Sāṅkhyas and many theists, is a *tanmātra* ("subtle element"). Sāṅkhyas and others also hold that a distinctive characteristic of ether (*vyoman*) is to furnish space. To suit the *śleṣa*, *śabda-tanmātra* is shortened here to *śabda-mātra*. Alternatively, we could understand "by sound alone". The ornament here is presumably what Daṇḍin would have called *samānopamā* (see notes on st. 189 below), but the pun on *nakṣatra* may have been borrowed from another stanza of the *Kāvyādarśa*, one illustrating a *śleṣa* for which the words have to be split variously (*bhinnapada*), namely (2:312):

> doṣākareṇa saṃbadhnan nakṣatrapathavartinā
> rājñā pradoṣo mām ittham apriyaṃ kiṃ na bādhate
>
> Why does evening (*pradoṣaḥ*), associate of the night-bringing (*doṣākareṇa*) moon (*rājñā*) moving along a path amongst the stars (*nakṣatrapathavartinā*) not torment me, [while I am] thus without my beloved (*apriyam*)?
> *Why does this vicious man (pradoṣaḥ), associate of a king (rājñā) who is a [veritable] mine of faults (doṣākareṇa) and who does not follow the path of warriors (na kṣatra-pathavartinā), not harm me, who am thus disliked by him (apriyam)?*

138a śarākarṣākulo] Jacques; śarākarmākulo Finot, who adds this note: "Corr. çarakarma." **138c** khadga°] Understand: *khaḍga*°.

शराकर्षाकुलो यस्य वाहिनीदुर्ग्गसंगतः
वने खड्गसहायो ऽरिस्संयत्संस्थ इव द्रुतः १३८

138. [Even] in the forest (*vane*), Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) enemy (*ariḥ*) keeps running (*drutaḥ*)[332]

> perturbed by the scratching of the reeds (*śarākarṣākulaḥ*),[333] surrounded by rivers and impassable places (*vāhinīdurgasaṃgataḥ*),[334] having [only] rhinoceroses for companions (*khaḍgasahāyaḥ*),

finding himself situated as though in battle (*saṃyatsaṃstha iva*),[335] [where he was]

> thrown into confusion by the [rapid] drawing of [his opponents'] arrows (*śarākarṣākulaḥ*), [and although] equipped with armies and fortresses (*vāhinīdurgasaṃgataḥ*), befriended [only] by his sword (*khaḍgasahāyaḥ*).

CXXXIX. [a. *na-vipulā*: – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
vairiṇo dhyānaniratā vītarāgā guhāśayāḥ
yasyeśasyāṅghriyogena vinā nālaṃ vimuktaye ⊙

वैरिणो ध्याननिरता वीतरागा गुहाशयाः
यस्येशस्याङ्घ्रियोगेन विना नालं विमुक्तये १३९

139. Rājendravarman's enemies (*vairiṇaḥ*),

[332] As Judit Törzsök points out, we could also understand a simpler *upamā* with the structure "The enemy who had fled (*drutaḥ*) into the forest seemed to be situated [still] on the battlefield." Other construals are also conceivable.

[333] Claude Jacques, following Bhatt, suggested "confus par l'entrave qu'étaient les roseaux". Semantically closest might be "the drag" of the reeds, whose long dense blades would restrict fast movement. S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma suggested that they might have been "confused in the matter of uprooting reeds" for building huts in which to live.

[334] As Harunaga Isaacson points out, we could also take this to mean "he resorted to river fortresses", since *vāhinīdurga* is a type of water-fastness. In that case, we could also understand *vane* to mean "water", and the presence of reeds (*śara*) would be natural.

[335] Conceivably this could instead be a *bahuvrīhi*: "whose condition (*saṃsthā*) is that [in which he would be if we were] in battle".

> *given over to meditation (*dhyānaniratāḥ*), devoid of passions (*vītarāgāḥ*), living in caves (*guhāśayāḥ*),*[336] *were not capable (*na alam*) of attaining liberation (*vimuktaye*) without (*vinā*) resorting to the feet (*aṅghriyogena*) of the Lord (*īśasya*)…*

gave themselves over to [anxious] cogitation (*dhyānaniratāḥ*), were beyond all passion [for luxuries], withdrew into caves [to hide], and were not capable of attaining freedom (*vimuktaye*) without clutching the feet of Rājendravarman (*yasya*), their sovereign (*īśasya*).

> CXL.
> (19) kāhaṃ bharttrā parityaktā śvāpadais sthātum utsahe
> itīvāripurī yasya prāviśad dāvapāvakam ||

> काहं भर्त्रा परित्यक्ता श्वापदैस्स्थातुमुत्सहे
> इतीवारिपुरी यस्य प्राविशद्दावपावकम् १४०

140. 'How can I (*kā aham*)[337] endure (*utsahe*) to remain (*sthātum*), abandoned (*parityaktā*) by my Master (*bhartrā*), among wild beasts (*śvāpadaiḥ*)?' — as though (*iva*) thinking this (*iti*), the citadel of Rājendravarman's enemies (*aripurī*) entered (*prāviśat*) the fire of a conflagration (*dāvapāvakam*).[338]

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[336] Judit Törzsök suggested that *hṛdguhāśayāḥ* was perhaps also hinted at, which might mean "those whose intentions / thoughts concern the heart" or "they resorted to [the meditative internal space that was] the cave [in their own heart]". A suggestion of such a hint may indeed be present (cf. 130 above).

[337] This expression in this meaning is unfamiliar. It should literally mean "who am I…?". Perhaps it could mean: "what sort of a person would I be [if I remained]…?".

[338] The conceit (*utprekṣā*) clearly is that the enemy's city is like a "virtuous woman" (*satī*) who immolates herself, either upon her husband's funeral pyre or upon another fire. I do not know whether any ancient Khmer instances of wives "committing *satī*" by immolating themselves have been published, and so it may be worth mentioning that there appears to be one in the twelfth-century four-sided stela from Phnom Rung celebrating the achievements of Narendrāditya, namely K. 384. At the very bottom of the last face, four scruffily written stanzas have been squeezed in after the rest of the text had been engraved. The second of those extra stanzas records, I believe, Narendrāditya's decease and the self-immolation of his wife. Earlier transcriptions do not give an intelligible text, and so I give below my own text, reconstructed from various photographs. I have prepared a complete edition (recording the readings of earlier scholars) and translation, which will appear shortly, in which this stanza is numbered 5.14 (14th stanza in the fifth and final *paṭala*):

> (21) hiraṇyasū[no](r ja)[na](ke) narendrā-
> (22) ditye gate svas sadane (ja)nanyā(m)

CXLI.
yasya satvavato vīryyaṃ raṇe dṛṣṭvā dviṣadgaṇaḥ
satvepsayeva siṃhādiyuktam anvavasad vanam ⊙

यस्य सत्ववतो वीर्य्यं रणे दृष्ट्वा द्विषद्गणः
सत्वेप्सयेव सिंहादियुक्तमन्ववसद्वनम् १४१

141. Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) enemies (*dviṣadgaṇaḥ*), seeing (*dṛṣṭvā*) the heroism (*vīryam*) in battle (*raṇe*) of this courageous (*sattvavataḥ*) [king], settled in (*anvavasat*) the forest (*vanam*), full of lions and the like (*siṃhādiyuktam*), as though (*iva*) desirous of obtaining courage / beasts (*sattvepsayā*).

CXLII.
(20) madonmatto pi tuṅgo pi niyojyo dharmmasādhane
itībhendragaṇo yena dvijebhyo dāyi bhūriśaḥ ||

मदोन्मत्तो ऽपि तुङ्गो ऽपि नियोज्यो धर्म्मसाधने
इतीभेन्द्रगणो येन द्विजेभ्यो ऽदायि भूरिशः १४२

142. 'Although (*api*) *drunk on alcohol* (/intoxicated because in musth) (*madonmattaḥ*), although (*api*) *haughty* (/tall) (*tuṅgaḥ*),[339] they may be employed (*niyojyaḥ*) for accomplishing Dharma' (*dharmasādhane*) — with this in mind (*iti*), Rājendravarman (*yena*) gave (*adāyi*) noble elephants (*ibhendragaṇaḥ*) in plenty (*bhūriśaḥ*) to brahmins (*dvijebhyaḥ*).

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(23) agnipraveśena divaṅ(?)gatayāṃ
(24) bhaktyā hiraṇyo kṛta (mātṛ)rū(p)[am]

When Narendrāditya, the father of his son Hiraṇya, had gone (*gate*) to the heavens (*svassadane*), and when [thereupon] his mother (*jananyāṃ*) had gone to the heavens (*divaṅgatāyāṃ*) by entering the fire (*agnipraveśena*), Hiraṇya out of devotion (*bhaktyā*) made (*akṛta*) an image of his mother (*mātṛrūpam*).

[339]The point is not that he thought the elephants were drunk or arrogant, but they can be described in terms that appear to mean this: the sthaza implies thus that the elephants seem unsuitable as gifts for brahmins (since they could be described as "drunk" and "haughty"). The figure is thus a form of *virodhābhāsa*, where a first reading yields a contradiction (*virodha*) that is then removed by re-reading the words with a different sense. The stanza is presumably intended primarily to highlight Rājendravarman's generosity to brahmins.

CXLIII.
vibhaktiṃ prakṛtīnāṃ yas saptadhā vidadhat pade
taddhitārthaparaś cāsīd āgamākhyātakṛtyavit ⊙

143a vibhaktiṃ] Jacques; vibhakti° Finot

विभक्तिं प्रकृतीनां यस्सप्तधा विदधत्पदे
तद्धितार्थपरश्चासीदागमाख्यातकृत्यवित् १४३

143. *Employing the seven case-endings (*vibhaktim*) to nominal bases (*prakṛtīnām*) for [forming] word[s] (*pade*), he was engrossed by the meaning of* taddhita*-derivations, and understood about augments, verbs and* kṛtya*-derivations (*āgamākhyātakṛtyavit*).*[340]

Dividing (*vibhaktiṃ vidadhat*) the subjects (*prakṛtīnāṃ*) in his realm (*pade*) into [the classical] seven [categories of subject] (*saptadhā*), he became devoted to achieving what was beneficial for them (*taddhitārthaparaḥ*), knowing what scripture taught to be his duties (*āgamākhyātakṛtyavit*).

CXLIV.
(21) pratāpānalasantaptā śaṅke dāhābhiśaṅkayā
āplāvitāsakṛd dhātrī yena dānāmvuvṛṣṭibhiḥ ||

प्रतापानलसन्तप्ता शङ्के दाहाभिशङ्कया
आप्लावितासकृद्धात्री येन दानाम्वुवृष्टिभिः १४४

144. Fearing a conflagration (*dāhābhiśaṅkayā*), I suppose (*śaṅke*),[341] Rājendravarman repeatedly (*asakṛt*) flooded (*āplāvitā*) the earth (*dhātrī*), who was heated by the fire of his valour (*pratāpānalasantaptā*), with the torrents of waters [poured for the solemnisation] of acts of giving (*dānāmbuvṛṣṭibhiḥ*).

[340] The implication of this non-contextual, grammatical, level of meaning (which in fact, because of the deployment of several technical terms of *vyākaraṇa*, leaps more readily to the eye than the supposedly primary one) is that Rājendravarman was a master of the Sanskrit grammatical system (a point reiterated in st. 171). As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out, in order to form *taddhita* words correctly, one needs to understand about cases-endings (e.g. to apply *tasyāpatyam*), infixes (*āgama*), such as the *ai* used in words such as *naiyāyika*, and also about verbal actions, for instance to form *mātsika*, meaning one "who kills fish".

[341] This interjection is a conventional marker for indicating that this is a figure of exaggerated poetic fancy (*utprekṣā*).

CXLV.
sumanohāriṇī yasya guṇair vvaddhā vikāsinī
lokatrayaśriyādyāpi kīrttimālā dhṛtādhikam ⊙

145a vvaddhā] Jacques; vvad[dh]ā Finot

सुमनोहारिणी यस्य गुणैर्व्वद्धा विकासिनी
लोकत्रयश्रियाद्यापि कीर्त्तिमाला धृताधिकम् १४५

145. Even (*api*) now (*adya*) the Fortune of the triple world (*lokatrayaśriyā*) bears (*dhṛtā*) splendidly (*adhikam*) a garland that is his fame (*kīrtimālā*) created (*baddhā*) by his virtues (*guṇaiḥ*), which is ravishing (*sumanohāriṇī*) and ever-expanding (*vikāsinī*),

*a veritable garland of glory (*kīrtimālām*) tied together (*baddhā*) by strings (*guṇaiḥ*), which carries flowers (*sumanohāriṇī*) and is in full bloom (*vikāsinī*) on her head (*adhikam*).*

CXLVI. [c. *na-vipulā*: – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
(22) yasya sāgaragambhīraparikhā bhasmasātkṛtā
campādhirājanagarī vīrair ājñānukāribhiḥ ||

यस्य सागरगम्भीरपरिखा भस्मसात्कृता
चम्पाधिराजनगरी वीरैराज्ञानुकारिभिः १४६

146. Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) soldiers (*vīraiḥ*), following his orders (*ājñānukāribhiḥ*), reduced to ashes (*bhasmasātkṛtā*) the city of the overlord of Campā (*campādhirājanagarī*), whose moat was as deep as the sea (*sāgaragambhīraparikhā*).[342]

CXLVII.
vivarṇṇau caraṇau yasya nṛpamolimaṇitviṣā
sarvvavarṇṇānuraktā tu nirmmalorvvī bhujoddhṛtā ⊙

147b nṛpamoli°] Jacques; nṛpamauli° Finot. Jacques[2] adds the following note: "Corr. : °*mauli*° ; le lapicide avait d'abord gravé cette leçon, puis il arasa ; on trouve d'ailleurs assez souvent la leçon *moli* dans l'épigraphie khmère."

[342] This stanza seems strikingly empty of elaborate rhetorical figures, either of sound (*śabdālaṅkāra*) or of sense (*arthālaṅkāra*), as though it were perhaps simply relating an event. Its formulation seems to imply that Rājendravarman issued orders from a distance and was not himself more directly involved.

विवर्ष्णौ चरणौ यस्य नृपमोलिमणित्विषा
सर्व्ववर्ष्णानुरक्ता तु निर्म्मलोर्व्वी भुजोद्धृता १४७

147. Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) feet (*caraṇau*) were discoloured (*vivarṇau* by the rays (°*tviṣā*) from the gems of the crest-jewels of [vassal-]kings (*nṛpamaulimaṇi*°); but (*tu*) the earth (*urvī*), raised up by his arm (*bhujoddhṛtā*), was spotless (*nirmalā*) and

> *tinted with all manner of colours*…

favourable to all the *varṇa*s (*sarvavarṇānuraktā*).[343]

CXLVIII.
(23) kalir ekāntavāmo pi dakṣiṇo yasya śāsane
drutārīn anududrāva tejonalabhayād iva ||

कलिरेकान्तवामो ऽपि दक्षिणो यस्य शासने
द्रुतारीननुदुद्राव तेजोनलभयादिव १४८

148. The Kali-era, although (*api*) entirely contrary (*ekāntavāmaḥ*), under Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) rule (*śāsane*) was compliant (*dakṣiṇaḥ*) and ran behind (*anududrāva*) his fleeing enemies (*drutārīn*), as though (*iva*) from fear of the fire of his energy (*tejonalabhayāt*).

CXLIX.
tathā nīranidher yyena kṣoṇī niṣkaṇṭakīkṛtā
nādyāpi skhalitā kīrttir yyathaikā sarvvato gatā ⊙

149b niṣkaṇṭakīkṛtā] niṣkaṇṭakī kṛtā Finot, Jacques Jacques; yathaikā Finot **149d** yyathaikā]

[343] The play on words here makes his feet devoid of *varṇa* (discoloured), while the earth in his hands seems, upon first reading, to be "tinted with all manner of colours", before the reader realises that this must in fact mean that the earth, under his rule, is propitious for all the *varṇa*s, the upper echelons of brahminical society. The figure is thus again a form of *virodhābhāsa*, "appearance of contradiction". Of course one could instead regard the earth as really having every sort of colour, in which case there is no contradiction and the figure is instead *vyatireka*. Harunaga Isaacson has suggested that an entirely different structure might have been intended:

> His feet were made off-colour by the [multicoloured] rays from the gems of the crest-jewels of [vassal-]kings, whereas the earth, multicoloured (/propitious to all *varṇa*s) was made [monochromatically] pure when lifted up by his arms.

तथा नीरनिधेर्य्येन च्चोणी निष्कण्टकीकृता
नाद्यापि स्खलिता कीर्त्तिर्य्यथैका सर्व्वतो गता १४९

149. Rājendravarman (*yena*) made (*kṛtā*) the earth up to (*ā*[344]) the ocean (*nīrani-dheḥ*) so (*tathā*) cleared of thorns (*niṣkaṇṭakī*) that (*yathā*) even (*api*) today (*adya*) his Fame (*kīrtiḥ*), alone (*ekā*), without (*na*) stumbling (*skhalitā*), reaches (*gatā*) everywhere (*sarvataḥ*).

CL.
(24) guṇeṣu mukhyayā vṛttyā gauṇyā dravyeṣv avarttata
gaṇanāpi mataṃ yasya kāśyapīyam anujjhataḥ ||

गुणेषु मुख्यया वृत्त्या गौण्या द्रव्येष्ववर्त्तत
गणनापि मतं यस्य काश्यपीयमनुज्झतः १५०

150. As for his respect (*gaṇanāpi*), it was given principally (*mukhyayā vṛttyā*) to virtues (*guṇeṣu*) and secondarily (*vṛttyā gauṇyā*) to wealth (*dravyeṣu*), for he did not depart from the views of Kāśyapa,[345]

> [according to which] number (*gaṇanā*) is found in a literal sense (*mukhyayā vṛttyā*) among qualities (*guṇeṣu*), and [only] in a secondary sense [by way of inherence] in things (*dravyeṣu*).[346]

CLI. [c. *ma-vipulā*: – – ⏑ – – / – – –]
yathākāman dviṣadkāmaḥ kva nililye nu nirbhayam
yad yasya yāne dhūlībhis sāndhakārīkṛtā diśaḥ ⊙

[344]This one-syllable word has disappeared in *sandhi* with the word *tathā* that precedes it.

[345]In the contextual sense, this may refer to Kaśyapa the author of teachings of Dharma. Perhaps there is no particular teaching or opinion attributed to that Kaśyapa that the author had in mind. The view espoused is common to many authorities, namely that one should accord respect to people primarily for their virtues rather than for their wealth. This view might be characterised as being completely in line with Dharma, and thus in line also with the teachings of Kaśyapa, a well-known authority on Dharma, but one whose name conveniently allows for a punning allusion to Vaiśeṣika thought. Of course *kāśyapīya* might also be an adjectival form from *kāśyapī*, "earth", but it seems difficult to work that construal into a fitting interpretation.

[346]Kāśyapa is also another name for Kaṇāda, the supposed founder of the Vaiśeṣika philosophical school. The property of "number" (*saṃkhyā*) is classed by Vaiśeṣikas (*Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 1.1.5) among the *guṇa*s (and not among *dravya*s). Number "inheres" in *dravya*s by a relation of *samavāya*.

151a dviṣadkāmaḥ] Understand: *dviṣatkāmaḥ*. **151b** nililye] Jacques; nilīlyo Finot **151c** dhūlībhis] dhūlibhis Finot, Jacques (*unmetrical*)

यथाकामन्द्विषद्कामः क्व निलिल्ये नु निर्भयम्
यद्यस्य याने धूलीभिस्सान्धकारीकृता दिशः १५१

151. Where (*kva*), surely (*nu*), could the Kāma that was his enemy (*dviṣatkāmaḥ*)[347] settle down [to rest] (*nililye*) as he wished (*yathākāmam*) without danger (*nirbhayam*), since (*yat*) [all] the directions (*diśaḥ*) were made blind dark (*sāndhakārīkṛtāḥ*) by the dust (*dhūlībhiḥ*) of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) [military] campaigns (*yāne*)?

Where, to be sure, could the enemy Kāma(dviṣatkāmaḥ*) settle down as he wished without danger, since everywhere (* diśaḥ*) was filled with the presence of the enemy of Andhaka (* sāndhakārīkṛtāḥ*) by the dust of Rājendravarman's passage (* yāne*)?*[348]

CLII.
(25) prādhvaṃkṛtā sadā premnā vidagdhadhiyam utsukā
na (n)irāsthata yañ jātu rājavidyā kulāṅganā ||

152a prādhvaṃkṛtā] prādhvaṃ kṛtā Finot **152a** premnā] Understand: *premṇā*. **152c** (n)irāsthata] Jacques suggests that we should understand *nirāsthita*.

प्राध्वंकृता सदा प्रेम्ना विदग्धधियमुत्सुका
न (नि)रास्थत यज्जातु राजविद्या कुलाङ्गना १५२

152. Invariably (*sadā*) bound (*prādhvaṃkṛtā*) by affection (*premnā*), that well-born lady (*kulāṅganā*) Politics (*rājavidyā*), being desirous [of him] (*utsukā*), never (*na…jātu*) rejected (*nirāsthata*[349]) this [king] (*yam*) of polished intellect (*vidagdhadhiyam*).

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[347] One could perhaps instead understand "the desires of his enemies".

[348] The enemy of Andhaka is of course Śiva, who burnt Kāma, and so an implication of this second level of meaning is that Rājendravarman spread his Śaiva faith wherever he went. So *yāne* in this second interpretation refers perhaps not to military campaigning, but to pilgrimages.

[349] We might have expected rather *nirāsthat*, "threw over", a third person singular aorist attested, for instance, in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, from the verb *niras*. Whitney (in his *The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*) cross-refers from *as* to *sthā*, for which the aorist form *āsthat* may also occasionally by attested, but we are not aware of post-Vedic use of the root *sthā* prefixed with *niḥ* (or indeed with *niḥ* and *ā*). It is for this reason also that

CLIII.
sākṣāt prajāpatir ddakṣo dakṣiṇaṃ kṣaṇam akṣiṇot
sakalaṃ sakalaṅkaṃ yaḥ kalidoṣākaraṃ kṛtī ⊙

153a ddakṣo dakṣiṇaṃ] Jacques; dakṣo dakṣiṇa° Finot

साक्षात्प्रजापतिर्द्दक्षो दक्षिणं क्षणमक्षिणोत्
सकलं सकलङ्कं यः कलिदोषाकरं कृती १५३

153. Being a [veritable] creator Dakṣa (/a skilled sovereign) (*prajāpatir dakṣaḥ*) in person (*sākṣāt*), this expert [king] (*kṛtī*) caused to waste away (*akṣiṇot*)

> *…the quarrelsome (*kali-*) full (sakalam) moon (*-doṣākaram*), along with its [deer-shaped] blemish (*sakalaṅkam*) during the inauspicious period [of the darkening fortnight] (*adakṣiṇaṃ kṣaṇam*)…*[350]

we hesitate to assume, with Claude Jacques, that *nirāsthata* is an error for *nirāsthita* (thus a marginal note in Jacques[1]). We assume instead that *nirāsthata* is intended as an *ātmanepada* aorist form from *niras*, for which I have found one attestation in a stanza quoted in an online dictionary of *kṛt*-suffix forms (`https://kosha.sanskrit.today/word/en/-/iso#kridanta-mala`, consulted 29.ix.2021):

> śastrāpagāraṃ calatāṃ padoddhataṃ rajo bhaṭānām adadhat prabhāṃ raveḥ
> kṣvelā ca vāditranināmāṃsalā ghanāghanānāṃ ninadaṃ nirāsthata
>
> The dust thrown up by the feet of the soldiers as they moved, brandishing their weapons (*śastrāpagāram*), covered the radiance of the sun, and their battle-cry, thickened by the clamour of musical instruments, eclipsed (*nirāsthata*) the roar (*ninadam*) of the monsoon clouds (*ghanāghanānām*).

As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out, this is 1:36 in Vāsudevakavi's *Vāsudevavijaya*, a *śāstrakāvya* written in Kerala in the fifteenth century (according to Bhattacharya and Sarkar 2004:1609) to illustrate the rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The form *nirāsthata* is also quoted as the aorist *ātmanepada* of *niras* in Vasu's translation of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (Vasu 1995, vol. 2, ch. IV, § 100, p. 365). Vasu states there the verbal root *as* "preceded by any prefix is conjugated in the Atmanepadi".) But, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has pointed out, the use of either *parasmaipada* or *ātmanepada* for the root *as* (*asu kṣepaṇe*) when preceded by an *upasarga* is allowed for in the *Kāśikā* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.52, following *vārttika* 3 on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.3.29 as it appears in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*upasargād asyatyūhyor vā vacanam*). The same *vārttika* and the rule 1.3.52 are quoted in Vāsudevakavi's auto-commentary, called the *Padacandrikā*.

[350] The moon married Dakṣa's daughters, but favoured only one of them, Rohiṇī, so the others returned to their father's home. Dakṣa, in response, cursed the moon to waste away with consumption. He afterwards modified the curse to allow the moon to recover every other fortnight. See *Mahābhārata* 9.34:38ff. We could also take *adakṣiṇam* here to be an adjective to the moon, who might be described as "not compliant", "not sincere".

the entire (*sakalaṃ*) grubby (*sakalaṅkam*) mass of faults produced by Kali (*kalidoṣākaram*) during the propitious time [of his reign] (*dakṣiṇaṃ kṣaṇam*).[351]

CLIV. [a. *na-vipulā*: ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
(26) sadākṛte makhaśate yas tatair dhūmanīradaiḥ
śarady api nabhaś cakre prāvṛṣīva malīmasam ||

154a sadākṛte] Jacques[2]; (s)adā kṛte Finot; sadā kṛte Jacques[1]

सदाकृते मखशते यस्ततैर्धूमनीरदैः
शरद्यपि नभश्चक्रे प्रावृषीव मलीमसम् १५४

154. His hundred sacrifices (*makhaśate*) never accomplished (*sadā akṛte*),[352] Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) made (*cakre*) the heavens (*nabhaḥ*) dirty (*malīmasam*), even (*api*) in autumn (*śaradi*), with protracted (*tataiḥ*) clouds of smoke (*dhūmanīradaiḥ*), as if it were (*iva*) during the monsoon (*prāvṛṣi*).

CLV.
parastrīvimukho yo pi sadācāravicakṣaṇaḥ
kenāpy ājau paraśrīṇāṃ pāṇigrahavidhiṃ vyadhāt ⊙

As well as its "fiery" alliteration of *kṣ* in the first half (see introduction p. 18), this stanza has a simple *yamaka* in which the first three syllables of *pāda* c are repeated without intervening letters (*avyapeta* in Daṇḍin's terminology), as illustrated in *Kāvyādarśa* 3:6:

> rājanvatyaḥ prajā jātā bhavantaṃ prāpya sāmpratam
> caturaṃ caturambhodhiraśanorvīkaragrahe
>
> On attaining you, your subjects can now truly be said to have become well-ruled by a king, [for you are] skillful (*caturam*) in taking things from the hand of Earth, who wears the four oceans (*caturambhodhi°*) as girdle.

[351] Here, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has pointed out, we could also understand that he destroyed the mass of faults "in an instant" (*kṣaṇam*) and "without compassion" (*adakṣiṇam*).

[352] This assumes *akṛte*, but one could also defend *sadā kṛte*, which could express the idea that his "hundreds of sacrifices" were "constantly [being] performed". It seems to me, however, that the perfect participle seems less natural if the sense has to be continuous. For the trope of the hundred sacrifices, which can be accomplished only by Indra, see fn. 277 on p. 172 above. In that earlier place, however, Rājendravarman is said to have accomplished hundreds of thousands of sacrifices. Nonetheless, it seems conceivable that the poet could in some places regard Indra as unconquerable in this regard, and in others not.

परस्त्रीविमुखो यो ऽपि सदाचारविचक्षणः
केनाप्याजौ परश्रीणां पाणिग्रहविधिं व्यधात् १५५

155. Practised in good conduct (*sadācāravicakṣaṇaḥ*), although (*api*) he [generally] turned his face from (°*vimukhaḥ*) others' wives (*parastrī*°), somehow (*kenāpi*) he performed (*vyadhāt*) the act of taking the hand (*pāṇigrahavidhim*) of enemies' Fortunes (*paraśrīṇām*) in battle (*ājau*).[353]

CLVI.
(27) yasyenasyānyatejāᳬ̆ṃsi tejasā jayatodaye
nūnam aurvvānalo dyāpi līno sparddhitayāmvudhau ||

156a °tejāᳬ̆ṃsi] Jacques; °tejāṃsi Finot **156d** sparddhi°] Jacques; spharddhi° Finot

यस्येनस्यान्यतेजाᳬ̆सि तेजसा जयतोदये
नूनमौर्व्वानलो ऽद्यापि लीनो ऽस्पर्द्धितयाम्बुधौ १५६

156. Surely (*nūnam*) the submarine fire (*aurvānalaḥ*) is hidden (*līnaḥ*) even (*api*) today (*adya*) within the sea (*ambudhau*) because it cannot rival (*asparddhitayā*) the fiery energy (*tejasā*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*), the king / sun (*inasya*), which, upon his rising (*udaye*), vanquishes (*jayatā*) the fires of rivals (*anyatejāṃsi*).

CLVII.
vaddhā vidhātrāhīndreṇa riktā nūnam iyan dharā
yena svakīrttiratnena pūrayitvā vṛṣāṅkitā ⊙

वद्धा विधात्राहीन्द्रेण रिक्ता नूनमियन्धरा
येन स्वकीर्त्तिरत्नेन पूरयित्वा वृषाङ्किता १५७

157. Surely (*nūnam*) this (*iyam*) earth (*dharā*) was tied up (*baddhā*) by the creator (*vidhātrā*) with the [coils of the] lordly serpent [Śeṣa] (*ahīndreṇa*) who squeezed it empty (*riktā*),

bound (*baddhā*) [into servitude] under serpent-like princes (*ahīndreṇa*)
and squeezed empty by them (*riktā*),

[353] In battle, he seizes them by the hand, but the expression *pāṇigraha*°, particularly when followed by °*vidhim*, suggests the taking of a girl in marriage.

[whereas] Rājendravarman (*yena*) filled it (*pūrayitvā*) with the jewels of his fame (*svakīrtiratnena*) and marked it with Dharma / bulls / fertility.[354]

CLVIII.
(28) bhinnebhakumbhanirmuktā muktā yena raṇāṅgane
rejire vidhavāriśrīvāṣpāṇām iva vindavaḥ ||

[354]The rhetorical structure is uncertain here, and other interpretations seems possible. For instance, one could understand the *nūnam* to govern the entire stanza, marking it as an *utprekṣā*:

> Surely this earth, once created (*baddhā*) by the creator, was squeezed empty by Śeṣa, [then] filled by Rājendravarman with the jewels of his fame....

Also possible would be an instance of the figure *vyatireka* in which the king's actions are contrasted favourably with those of both the creator and the cosmic serpent:

> Surely this earth was
>
> > created / bound by the creator,
> > held tight / emptied by Śeṣa,
> > [but] filled by Rājendravarman with the jewels of his fame and marked with bulls / Dharma.

Also possible is that this is intended as a *vyatireka* comparing the king with just one other figure:

> Surely the creator, created this earth and made it empty because of great snakes; [whereas] Rājendravarman filled it with the jewels of his fame and marked it [everywhere, not with snakes, but] with bulls / Dharma.

It seems possible that the expression *ahīndreṇa* is intended to refer on the one hand to Śeṣa, to whom the creator entrusted the bearing of the earth, and to the "serpent-like princes" who were the king's rivals on the other. In the first interpretation, is Śeṣa perhaps fancied to have squeezed the earth in his coils such that she became "empty" (*riktā*)? The snake-like princes may also have squeezed it empty, but it is possible that the sense "hollowed out" is also intended, alluding to the fact that snakes hollow out holes in the earth and hide in them. As for *vṛṣāṅkitā*, it is possible that we have not fully understood what is intended. We imagine that the king establishes Dharma (*vṛṣa*) and that his entire realm is marked by the bulls (*vṛṣa*) that are placed, as the vehicles and emblems of Śiva, in front of *liṅga*s. Rājendravarman is, in other words, supposed to have filled his territory with Śaiva temples out of devotion to Śiva.

Judit Törzsök, however, believes that "serpent-like princes" may not be referred to, and she has suggested yet another interpretation (email of 3.x.2021):

> Surely, this Earth was created/inlaid [=studded with precious stones] by the Creator [and then] emptied [of the jewels] by the Snake King [Śeṣa being also present at the time of creation and perhaps seen as taking the precious stones for himself]. [But] the king filled the Earth with the jewels of his fame and marked it [rather than with a snake, who may take the jewels] with the bull of Dharma [who / which will ensure prosperity].

158b raṇāṅgane] Understand: *raṇāṅgaṇe*.

भिन्नेभकुम्भनिर्मुक्ता मुक्ता येन रणाङ्गने
रेजिरे विधवारिश्रीवाष्पाणामिव विन्दवः १५८

158. The pearls (*muktāḥ*) that Rājendravarman (*yena*) released (°*nirmuktāḥ*) on the battlefield (*raṇāṅgane*) from the split temples of elephants (*bhinnebhakumbha*°) shone (*rejire*) as if they were (*iva*) the drops (*bindavaḥ*) of tears (°*bāṣpāṇām*) of his enemies' widowed Royal Glories (*vidhavāriśrī*°).[355]

CLIX.
kīrttināḍāmvudadhvāna ⏑ ⏑ yaddā(na)[vṛṣṭayaḥ]
[u]p[ta]n tribhuvanakṣetre dharmmav[ī]jam avarddhayan ⊙

159b ⏑ ⏑ yaddā(na)[vṛṣṭayaḥ]] *conj.* Harunaga Isaacson; ……(y)……yadā (na) …… Jacques; …… Finot. Jacques[2] notes, apropos of *yadā*: "Il y a peut-être une consonne souscrite à ce d." **159c** [u]p[ta]n] *conj.*; ⏑ p …n Jacques; …n Finot. Here Jacques[2] notes: "Comme la première syllabe, on pourrait penser à *rā*, ou *ri* (mal écrit), à la rigueur (car il n'y a pas beaucoup de place), à *na*, peut-être avec une consonne souscrite, de toutes façons illisible ; *p* est bien net et il semble bien qu'il y ait un signe souscrit." It seems to me that the broad volute visible at the top of the now lost initial letter is of the kind that one would expect on an *u* (cf. the first letter of stanza 111 in the middle of the 4th line of face B, the first letter of 185c in line 41 of the same face and the first letter of 195a in line 46). **159d** °v[ī]jam] Jacques; °vījam Finot

कीर्त्तिनादाम्वुदध्वान ⏑ ⏑ यद्दा(न)[वृष्टयः]
[उप्त]न्त्रिभुवनक्षेत्रे धर्म्मवीजमवर्द्धयन् १५९

159. … by the thunder (*ambudaddhvāna*°) of the roar of his fame (*kīrtināda*°) …[356]

[355] Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:28:

anena paryāsayatāśrubindūn muktāphalasthūlatamān staneṣu
pratyarpitāḥ śatruvilāsinīnām ākṣepasūtreṇa vinaiva hārāḥ

When he caused his enemies' wives to shed teardrops as large as pearls on their breasts, he returned their necklaces, just without strings.

[356] Judit Törzsök suggested that the two missing syllables could have been °*vyāptā*, agreeing with °*vṛṣṭayaḥ*, but there seems not to be enough space on the stone for these letters. The first missing syllable seems to be a ligature of which the second consonant is a *d* or a *y*. The second syllable must have been narrow, perhaps a *r*. Harunaga Isaacson proposed that something with the sense of *udbhinnaṃ* (agreeing with *dharmmavījam*) would fit. Either °*pyānaṃ* or °*pyātaṃ* (from the root *pyāy* would yield this sense, but they are not common words and may only be attested in pre-classical literature.

the rains of Rājendravarman's generosity (*yaddānavṛṣṭayaḥ*) caused the seed of Dharma (*dharmabījam*) to grow (*avardhayan*) that had been sown (*uptam*) in the field that is the universe (*tribhuvanakṣetre*).[357]

CLX.
(29) siṃho nu nopamānārho yasya śauryyeṇa saṃyuge
tathā hi yadbhiyārātir adhyaśeta guhāṃ hareḥ ||

160a siṃho nu] Jacques[1]; si[ṃ]ho nu Jacques[2]; siṃhena Finot. The *anusvāra* may be difficult to read on estampages, but it is visible on the stone.

सिंहो नु नोपमानार्हो यस्य शौर्य्येण संयुगे
तथा हि यद्भियारातिरध्यशेत गुहां हरेः १६०

160. Surely (*nu*) the lion (*siṃhaḥ*) is not (*na*) a worthy comparison (*upamānārhaḥ*) for him (*yasya*) because of his valour (*śauryeṇa*) in battle (*saṃyuge*), for, to be clear (*tathā hi*), his enemy (*arātiḥ*) out of fear of Rājendravarman (*yadbhiyā*) lay down (*adhyaśeta*) in the caves (*guhām*) of lions (*hareḥ*).[358]

CLXI.
vānīrājīvarājāṅśurā ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ – ◡ ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ rojāni niryyānti mukhamaṇḍalāt ⊙

161a rājāṅśur ā] Jacques; rājāṃśa … Finot **161c** rojāni] Jacques; [sa]rojāni Finot. The letter before *rojāni* could not have been a single *s*, but it might have been a double one, or a ligature ending in *s*.

वानीराजीवराजाङ्शुरा ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ – ◡ ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ रोजानि निर्य्यान्ति मुखमण्डलात् १६१

161. …[359]
… lotuses ([*sa*?]*rojāni*) emerge (*niryānti*) from the orb of his face (*mukhamaṇḍalāt*).

[357] For a similar image, cf. stanza 6 above.

[358] The last quarter of the stanza could also mean "resorted to a temple of Viṣṇu", which might conceivably make sense if a particular enemy with known Vaiṣṇava leanings were intended.

[359] Too little remains to sketch out the idea of this stanza. *vānīrājīva* could describe "one whose livelihood derives from reeds", or *vānī* could be for *vāṇī*, "speech", another name for Sarasvatī, who might be described as "having rays from her lordly lotuses" (*rājīvarājāṅśuḥ*). Also possible is that there is a single compound extending into the second *pāda*, for instance continuing with °*rājita*.

CLXII.
(30) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ pārCā sutejonalasaṃgatā
kalin nyakkurvvatī yasya rājyaśrīr ddamayanty abhūt ||

162a ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ pārCā su°] ..... pār…ā s. . Jacques[2]; – – – – – – – s – Jacques[1]; ..... Finot. Here Jacques[2] adds: "Le *s* appartient peut-être au dernier mot du premier *pāda* ; il semble qu'il y ait un signe souscrit. On pourrait imaginer *sma*." There might have been some subscript consonant, but what is visible is a downward stroke that I have assumed to be what it appears to be: the vowel-sign for an *u*. **162c** kalin nyakkurvvatī] Jacques; kali[ṃ] nyak [ku]rv[v]atī Finot **162d** ddamayanty] Jacques; damayanty Finot

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ पार्[]ा सुतेजोनलसंगता
कलिन्य्यक्कुर्व्वती यस्य राज्यश्रीर्द्दमयन्त्यभूत् १६२

162. …[360]
… his Royal Fortune, who had approached the fine fire of his valour (*sutejonalasaṃgatā*) suppressing (*nyakkurvatī*) [the evils of the age of] Kali (*kalim*), became (*abhūt*) [truly] daunting (*damayantī*)…

> *…became [a veritable] Damayantī, who had approached Nala, who was distinguished by his beautiful energy, (sutejonalasaṃgatā), suppressing [the outward characteristics that made him seem to be] Kali.*[361]

CLXIII.
yaśov[i]stārasa[ṃ]kṣiptā kṣiti[r] yya[s]y[a] ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ … r. āṃ y. ⏑ cikīrṣ. ⏑ [⊙]

163b yya[s]y[a]] Jacques; yya[s]ya Finot **163d** r. āṃ y. ⏑ cikīrṣ. ⏑] Jacques; ..... Finot

[360] The missing quarter presumably contained some expression that would have punningly qualified both Damayantī and Rājendravarman's *rājyaśrī*. As Harunaga Isaacson pointed out, one possibility would have been a phrase that could have expressed both that Damayantī was born of a father called Bhīma and that Rājendravarman's *rājyaśrī* was born of his fearsome (*bhīma*) feats in battle.

[361] This alludes of course to the sinuous tale in the *Mahābhārata* in which Kali, frustrated at having missed the *svayaṃvara* of Damayantī, in which she chose Nala as her husband, took revenge upon Nala by inhabiting and thereby transforming his body to make it unrecognisable. After many vicissitudes, Kali was driven out. Damayantī, like Rājendravarman's Royal Fortune, thus both selected her "husband" and vanquished Kali. For the collocation *sutejas*, cf. st. 15 of face B of K. 280.

यशोविस्तारसंक्षिप्ता क्षिति(र्य्यस्य)ऽ – ऽ ऽ
ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ … र् . ग्रां य् . ऽ चिकीर्ष . ऽ १६३

163. The earth (*kṣitiḥ*) … contracted within the expanse of his fame (*yaśovistārasaṃkṣiptā*) … out of a desire to make (°*cikīrṣayā*)…[362]

CLXIV.
(31) ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ [dṛṣṭ](v)[ā] yam ekam atitejasam
nūnam ullekhitas tvaṣṭrā bhramam āropya bhāskaraḥ ||

164a [dṛṣṭ](v)[ā]] -- Finot, Jacques **164d** bhramam āropya bhāskaraḥ] Jacques; bhramamāro py abhāskaraḥ Finot

ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ [दृष्ट्वा] यमेकमतितेजसम्
नूनमुल्लेखितस्त्वष्ट्रा भ्रममारोप्य भास्करः १६४

164. [[Having seen (*dṛṣṭvā*)]] Rājendravarman (*yam*), who was also of extreme brightness (*atitejasam*), [[to be]] alone (*ekam*) [[so beautifully shaped]],[363] surely (*nūnam*) Tvaṣṭṛ mounted (*āropya*) [his son-in-law] the sun (*bhāskaraḥ*) upon the lathe (*bhramam*) and trimmed him *ullekhitaḥ*).[364]

[362] This assumes that the last letters of the stanza would have been °*cikīrṣayā*. The surviving letters suggest the trope of his expansive fame being broader in extent than the earth. For another take on the same trope, compare for example st. 10 of K. 713 (as interpreted by Goodall 2011a:50–51, quoting Gerschheimer).

[363] We have assumed another instance of the figure *vyatireka* (combined with an *utprekṣā*) is intended here, favourably contrasting Rājendravarman with the sun. This follows Harunaga Isaacson's suggestion of supplying a word such as *dṛṣṭvā* or *samālokya*. We further require an adjective qualifying Rājendravarman as perfectly beautiful in form. Thus something like *samagravapur ālokya*, or *sampannarūpam ālokya*, but the possibilities seem too numerous to make it worthwhile suggesting a particular form of words. We do, however, seem to see the loop of a particularly low subscript *v*, suggesting that the last word of the missing *pāda* might have been *dṛṣṭvā*.

[364] This must be a conscious echo of *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:32:

> avantināth o 'yam udagrabāhur viśālavakṣās tanuvṛttamadhyaḥ
> āropya cakrabhramam uṣṇatejās tvaṣṭreva yantrollikhito vibhāti
>
> This is the lord of Avanti: his arms are long, his chest is broad, his waist is slim and round. He looks like the sun whom Tvaṣṭṛ had placed on his rotating lathe and trimmed with his chisel.

Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter was married to the sun and had complained to her father that the sun was too bright to look at, in response to which Tvaṣṭṛ cut the sun down in size.

CLXV.
yogyaṃ varaṃ yam āsādya marttyaloke [sarasvatī]
śāpan durvvāsasas tīvra[ṃ ma]nye mene py anugraha[m] [⊙]

165b [sarasvatī]] [vasundharā] Jacques; ⏑ – ⏑ – Finot **165cd** śāpan durvvāsasas tīvra[ṃ ma]nye mene py anugraha[m]] Jacques[1]; śāpan durvvāsasas tīvram [ma]nye mene py anugraha[m] Jacques[2]; …… Finot

योग्यं वरं यमासाद्य मर्त्यलोके [सरस्वती]
शापन्दुर्व्वाससस्तीव्रं [म]न्ये मेने ऽप्यनुग्रह[म्] १६५

165. Attaining (*āsādya*) Rājendravarman (*yam*) as a worthy (*yogyam*) bridegroom (*varam*) in the world of mortals (*martyaloke*), Sarasvatī, I fancy (*manye*) must even (*api*) have regarded (*mene*) the fierce (*tīvram*) curse (*śāpam*) of Durvāsas as an act of grace (*anugraham*).[365]

CLXVI. [c. *na-vipulā*: – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
(32) [tā](ra)y[i]trī titīrṣūṇāṃ gambhīrāpanmahānadīm
vedavyāsan na suṣuve yasya vāk satyavaty api ||

[365] The overall thrust is that Rājendravarman is a person of extraordinary eloquence. Sarasvatī can thus be said to be "married" to him, thus escaping her aged husband Brahmā.

Sarasvatī is a conjecture here. Durvāsas is credited of course with having cursed a number of mythological figures. But, because of a parallel in st. 213 of K. 806, it seems likely that Sarasvatī was indeed the one intended by the poet here, which would make this stanza an allusion to the framestory of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, in which Sarasvatī was cursed to become a mortal, and so came down to earth as a princess who gave birth to the line from which Bāṇa sprung. St. 213 in the Pre Rup inscription, although not recognised as alluding to Bāṇa by Cœdès, is clearer still:

śaptā duṣṭasvareṇaitya dadhīcaṃ svarggatā punaḥ
yan tu susvaradattāśīr bhāraty adyāpi bhūratā

Sarasvatī (*bhāratī*), on being cursed (*śaptā*) by Durvāsas (*duṣṭasvareṇa*), approached (*etya*) Dadhīca, went back again to heaven (*svarggatā punaḥ*); but (*tu*) [after approaching] Rājendravarman (*yam*), on being given blessings with a sweet voice (*susvaradattāśīḥ*) remains devoted to the earth (*bhūratā*) even today (*adyāpi*).

In Bāṇa's tale, Durvāsas falters in his recitation of the *Sāmaveda*, provoking Sarasvatī's laughter, for which he then curses her to be born on earth, where she meets Dadhīca, falls in love, has a child by him and then to returns to heaven. Although we have taken *duṣṭasvareṇa* as a *bahuvrīhi* name of Durvāsas, it is perhaps intended that it could simultaneously be construed with *śaptā* to mean "cursed on account of [laughing at] a wrong note [in Vedic recitation]".

166a [tā](ra)y[i]trī titīrṣūṇāṃ] [tāra]y[i]trī titīrṣūṇāṃ Jacques; [tāra]y[i]trī titīrṣūṇā[ṃ] Finot

[ता](र)[ि]यत्री तितीर्षूणां गम्भीरापन्महानदीम्
वेदव्यासन्न सुषुवे यस्य वाक्सत्यवत्यपि १६६

166. Helping those desirous of crossing it (*titīrṣūṇām*) to traverse (*tārayitrī*) the deep great river of misfortune (*gambhīrāpanmahānadīm*), Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) speech (*vāk*),

> *although (api) it was Satyavatī, who habitually helped those desirous of crossing to traverse the great river full of deep-lurking dangers (*gambhīrāpanmahānadī*), did not give birth (*na suṣuve*) to Vedavyāsa…*[366]

being truthful (*satyavatī*) did not produce (*na suṣuve*) a disruption of Vedic tradition (*vedavyāsam*).[367]

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[366] Satyavatī, the mother of Vyāsa, was born from the semen of Upacarivasu to a fish in the Gaṅgā and grew up helping her fisherman father ferry people across the river. The myth is frequently alluded to in Khmer epigraphy: see, for example, K. 282, st. 14:

> dvau gandhavatyor jjanitāv ubhābhyāṃ vyāsaḥ kumāryyāṃ bhuvi kīrttibhāraḥ
> maharṣiṇā yena ca tatra kṛṣṇo dvīpe kṛto nyas tu sitas trilokyām
>
> Two (*dvau*) ["sons"] were born (*janitau*) to two [fathers] (*ubhābhyāṃ*) in two ["ladies" who could be referred to as] "possessed of smell" (*gandhavatyoḥ*): Vyāsa was born to the unmarried girl (*kumāryāṃ*) [Satyavatī, who was also called Gandhavatī because she smelt of fish] by the great sage [Parāśara] (*maharṣiṇā*); and a burden of Fame (*kīrtibhāraḥ*) [was engendered] by this [king] (*yena ca*) in the earth (*bhuvi*) [which is called Gandhavatī because smell is the unique property (*viśeṣaguṇa*) of the element earth]; among these two ["sons"] (*tatra*), the one produced (*kṛtaḥ*) on an island [in the Yamunā river] (*dvīpe*) was dark[-skinned] (*kṛṣṇaḥ*); the other [viz. the burden of fame] (*anyaḥ*), however (*tu*), is white (*sitaḥ*) throughout the universe (*trilokyām*).

In our stanza, there is a mixture of the figures of *virodha*, for we know that Satyavatī did indeed give birth to Veda-Vyāsa, and of *vyatireka*.

[367] Usually *vyāsa* has a positive sense of "organising" and "expounding", but here it must presumably refer to some bad action that Rājendravarman avoids. According to Apte, "A fault in pronunciation" is also a possible sense, and perhaps this sense resonates here in the background, partly because of the tale of Sarasvatī and Durvāsas alluded to in the previous stanza. Judit Törzsök suggested that it might refer to "throwing away", "rejection" or "destruction", like the cognate *vyasana*, which usually has a negative flavour.

CLXVII.
ṛjavo guṇasaṃparkkād āpadāṃ pratigh[āti]naḥ
iṣubhyo na vyaśiṣyanta yasyopāyā vṛhatphal[āḥ] [⊙]

167b pratigh[āti]naḥ] Jacques[1]; pratigh[āṭī]naḥ Jacques[2]; pratighā[takāḥ] Finot **167cd** iṣubhyo na vyaśiṣyanta yasyopāyā] iśubhyo na vyaśiṣyanta yasyopāyā Jacques; …… Finot **167d** vṛhatphal[āḥ]] *conj.*; vṛhatphal[ā] Jacques; … Finot

ऋजवो गुणसंपर्क्कादापदां प्रतिघ[ाति]नः
इषुभ्यो न व्यशिष्यन्त यस्योपाया वृहत्फल[ाः] १६७

167. Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) methods (*upāyāḥ*),

which are direct (*ṛjavaḥ*), which are destructive of misfortunes (*āpadāṃ pratighātinaḥ*) because of the presence of his virtues (*guṇasamparkāt*), which bear great fruits (*bṛhatphalāḥ*),

were no different from (*na vyaśiṣyanta*) his arrows (*iṣubhyaḥ*),

*which are straight (*ṛjavaḥ*), which chastise transgressions (*āpadāṃ pratighātinaḥ*) as a result of [being put into] contact with his bow-string (*guṇasamparkāt*), which have large arrow-heads (*bṛhatphalāḥ*).*

CLXVIII.
(33) jīrṇṇāhīndreṇa vidhṛtā sācaleyañ caled iti
yūni nūnan nyadhād vedhā yatrāhīne vasundharām ||

168c nūnan] Jacques; nūnaṃ Finot

जीर्ण्णाहीन्द्रेण विधृता साचलेयञ्चलेदिति
यूनि नूनन्न्यधाद्वेधा यत्राहीने वसुन्धराम् १६८

168. Surely (*nūnam*) the creator (*vedhāḥ*), with the thought (*iti*) "This one (*iyam*), together with her mountains (*sācalā*), which is held up (*vidhṛtā*) by an aged serpent prince [Śeṣa] (*jīrṇāhīndreṇa*), might wobble (*calet*)", entrusted (*nyadhāt*) the wealth-bearing earth (*vasundharām*)

*to a youthful (*yūni*) king among serpents (*ahīne*)…*

to this (*yatra*) youth (*yūni*), who was undiminished (*ahīne*).

CLXIX.
vibhūtir bhūtapūrvvāpi rājñāñ ca guṇasaṃha(ti)[ḥ]
sauṣṭhavaudāryyabhedena yadupajñam ivābhavat [⊙]

169b °saṃha(ti)[ḥ]] Jacques[2]; saṃha[tiḥ] Finot, Jacques[1] **169cd** sauṣṭhavaudāryyabhedena yadupajñam ivābhavat] Jacques; …… Finot

विभूतिर्भूतपूव्वार्पि राज्ञाञ्च गुणसंह(ति)[:]
सौष्ठवौदार्य्यभेदेन यदुपज्ञमिवाभवत् १६९

169. Although (*api*) wealth (*vibhūtiḥ*) and (*ca*) heaps of virtues (*guṇasaṃhatiḥ*) had existed before (*bhūtapūrvā*) among kings (*rājñām*), it was as though (*iva*) these had come into being (*abhavat*) as Rājendravarman's invention (*yadupajñam*[368]), because of his particular [combination of] grace and beauty (*sauṣṭhavaudāryabhedena*).[369]

CLXX.
(34) saṃbhṛtāḥ kṣmābhṛtāṃ lakṣmīr ā vālyāt kanyakā iva
yathākālam upāyair yyo nirapāyair upāyata ||

संभृताः क्ष्माभृतां लक्ष्मीरा वाल्यात्कन्यका इव
यथाकालमुपायैय्यो निरपायैरुपायत १७०

[368]Cf. the construction in 203. The compound is a neuter *tatpuruṣa* and its use in this sense is prescribed by a *sūtra* of Pāṇini, namely *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.4.21: *upajñopakramaṃ tadādyācikhyāsāyām*.

[369]As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out to us, this recalls *Kirātārjunīya* 1:3, where these qualities qualify speech:

> dviṣāṃ vighātāya vidhātum icchato rahasy anujñām adhigamya bhūbhṛtaḥ
> sa sauṣṭhavaudāryaviśeṣaśālinīṃ viniścitārthām iti vācam ādade

Viswanathan Peterson (2016:3) translates as follows:

> Gaining a private audience with the king, who was eager to act and destroy his enemies, he spoke, delivering a well-founded speech dignified by carefully chosen words, rich in meaning.

It is conceivable that this echo is meant to suggest that the qualities of *sauṣṭhava* and *audārya* are intended to qualify Rājendravarman's speech, which would thus be utterly correct and noble, and that this inspired behaviour in others that resulted in his further accumulating wealth and merits. The collocation *sauṣṭhavaudārya*° occurs also in K. 1297, st. 24, which may also be echoing Bhāravi, but perhaps unconsciously.

170. In due time (*yathākālam*), by irresistible (*nirapāyaiḥ*) stratagems (*upāyaiḥ*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) appropriated (*upāyata*[370]) the Royal Fortunes (*lakṣmīḥ*) gathered (*saṃbhṛtāḥ*) by [enemy] kings (*kṣmābhṛtām*) from their childhood onwards (*ā bālyāt*), as though (*iva*) *he were marriying (*upāyata*)* their daughters (*kanyakāḥ*) *whom they had brought up (*sambhṛtāḥ*) from childhood*.

CLXXI.
śabdaśāstre py adhītī yo vinā dvirvvacanaṃ guroḥ
kenāpy abhyastakāryyeṣu yuktakārīty udīritaḥ [⊙]

171a śabdaśāstre] Jacques; śabdacāstre Finot **171cd** kenāpy abhyastakāryyeṣu yuktakārīty udīritaḥ] Jacques; …… Finot

शब्दशास्त्रे ऽप्यधीती यो विना द्विर्व्वचनं गुरोः
केनाप्यभ्यस्तकार्य्येषु युक्तकारीत्युदीरितः १७१

171. Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*), although (*api*) well-versed (*adhītī*) in grammar (*śabdaśāstre*),

*[which he studied] from his guru (*guroḥ*), was somehow (*kenāpi*) proclaimed (*udīritaḥ*) to be (*iti*) "one who acts correctly" (*yuktakārī*) with respect to reduplicated verbal bases (*abhyastakāryeṣu*) without (*vinā*) using reduplication (*dvirvacanam*) …*[371]

[370]The use of the *parasmaipada* or *ātmanepada* for *upayam* when it means "appropriate for oneself" or "take in marriage" is optional by the rule *vibhāṣopayamane* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.16). One of the example sentences given here in the *Kāśikā* is *upāyata kanyām*.

[371]*abhyāsa* is the technical term for the first syllable of a reduplicated verb and *abhyasta* for both syllables of a verbal base upon which reduplication has been performed (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.1.4–5). We encounter this sort of trope elsewhere, a form of the figure *virodha*, in which the king is said to master grammar, but in a stanza that superficially appears to state that he flouts some rule or rules of grammar, and which one must then re-read on some other level of meaning. See, for example, K. 1320, st. 9 (quoted here with the translation of Goodall 2017):

śabdānuśiṣṭau paṭunāpi śabdaśāstrapraṇetṛprahitādareṇa
sakarmmatā yena bhuvaḥ kṛtādau vinopasarggeṇa sadarthasiddhyai

This [king], who respected the authors of the treatises on grammar, [and] although he was an expert in teaching about [the correct formation of[words, rendered transitive [the verbal root] *bhū* ("to be") without a prefix in front of it (*ādau*), to arrive at the sense "exist"…

Here too the obvious interpretation is disturbingly nonsensical, and one is expected to re-read the stanza and interpret it instead as follows:

> without the guru needing to teach anything twice (*dvirvacanam*) was somehow proclaimed to be "one who acts correctly" in matters that are thoroughly practised (*abhyastakāryeṣu*).[372]

CLXXII.
(35) yasyopamānaṃ sañjātan na kiñcid guṇavistaraiḥ
vuddhvā vauddhaṃ mataṃ mene nyatīrthair api nānyathā ||

यस्योपमानं सञ्जातन्न किञ्चिद्गुणविस्तरैः
वुद्ध्वा वौद्धं मतं मेने ऽन्यतीर्थैरपि नान्यथा १७२

172. For Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) masses of virtues (*guṇavistaraiḥ*) nothing (*na kiñcit*) could be made into (*sañjātam*) a suitable comparison (*upamānam*). Understanding this (*buddhvā*), the followers of other systems (*anyatīrthaiḥ*) also (*api*) regarded (*mene*) the Buddhist (*bauddham*) view (*matam*) [that comparison is not a valid means of knowledge] as not false (*nānyathā*).[373]

CLXXIII.
kāladoṣāmvudhau magnā durgge gambhīrabhīṣaṇe
prāpya pāram ivottuṅgaṃ yaṃ samāśvasiṣuḥ prajāḥ [⊙]

> This [king], who respected the promulgators of laws, and being an expert at commanding by his word, caused the earth to work to obtain true wealth in a manner that was, for the first time (*ādau*), without troubles (*vinopasargeṇa*).

Alternatively, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has suggested, we could take *sakarmatā* in this contextual sense to mean "endowed with rituals". In other words the king in question (in this case Indravarman) would be being commended for filling the earth with Vedic sacrifices.

[372] Perhaps one should understand: "in matters that are [usually in need of being] thoroughly practised" or, if we take this to refer still specifically to the domain of the king's use of language, we could understand it to refer to "in the usages produced by practised persons".

[373] This interpretation is the suggestion of Harunaga Isaacson. Unlike Naiyāyikas and Mīmāṃsakas, Buddhist philosophers do not accept comparison (*upamāna*) as a valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). The conceit here is that other thinkers were forced to lose faith in *upamāna* after discovering that there was nothing with which to compare Rājendravarman's masses of virtues. An earlier interpretation of the second half was:

> Understanding this, even the followers of other religions accepted (*mene*) the Buddhist view and nothing else.

In that case, the "point" of the stanza would be a joke about "nothing" (*na kiñcit*), which must be grasped, upon a second reading, to refer also either to the Buddhist doctrine of *śūnyatā*, or, as Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has suggested to us, to *nāstikatva*.

173cd prāpya pāram ivottuṅgaṃ yaṃ samāśvasiṣuḥ prajāḥ] Jacques; …… Finot

कालदोषाम्वुधौ मग्ना दुर्ग्गे गम्भीरभीषणे
प्राप्य पारमिवोत्तुङ्गं यं समाश्वसिषुः प्रजाः १७३

173. His subjects (*prajāḥ*), sunk (*magnāḥ*) in the ocean of faults of this age [of Kali] (*kāladoṣāmbudhau*), which is hard to cross (*durge*), deep and terrible (*gambhīrabhīṣaṇe*), when they reached (*prāpya*) Rājendravarman (*yam*), who was like (*iva*) the high (*uttuṅgam*) further shore (*pāram*), breathed again (*samāśvasiṣuḥ*).[374]

CLXXIV.
(36) śubhaṃ śubhaṃyunā yūnā manuvartmānuvarttinā
rasāyanaṃ vinābhāvi yena varṣīyasājaram ||

174c vinābhāvi] vinā bhāvi Finot

शुभं शुभंयुना यूना मनुवर्त्मानुवर्त्तिना
रसायनं विनाभावि येन वर्षीयसाजरम् १७४

174. He (*yena*) came to live (*abhāvi*) a great many years (*varṣīyasā*) without being affected by old age (*ajaram*), [while remaining] beautifully (*śubham*) handsome (*śubhaṃyunā*) and young (*yūnā*), following the path of Manu (/not following the path of [ordinary] mortals [*a-manuvartmānuvarttinā*]), without any alchemical preparation (*rasāyanaṃ vinā*).[375]

[374] As Gerdi Gerschheimer has pointed out (séminaire CIK, January 2012), this stanza appears complete as st. 4 of the foundation inscription of Banteay Srei, K. 842 (where Cœdès has mistakenly printed the unmetrical reading *samāśvasīṣuḥ*). In that context, it describes not Rājendravarman, but his successor Jayavarman V. This might seem to suggest that the author of K. 528 was the same as the author of K. 842, in other words possibly Yajñavarāha. But even if we could assume that the whole of K. 528 was the work of a single author, which may or may not be the case, we cannot be certain that the reuse of elements from one inscription to another was not widely practised by different authors borrowing from each other. Many instances of borrowing across inscriptions are known, and the best known cases concern portions of genealogy or, as here, royal eulogy.

[375] This inscription was presumably written in Rājendravarman's maturity rather than in his old age (it precedes, after all, the composition of the Pre Rup inscription by nine years (K. 806, st. 277)), but by poets writing for notional future generations of kings, who are addressed in stanzas 211ff, and who will be looking back upon Rājendravarman as a glorious figure of the past who was the founder of still active religious institutions. Of course his age might already

CLXXV. [a. *bha-vipulā*: – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –]
viṣvag vikīrṇṇair yyugapad yasya tejobhir ujjvalaiḥ
[samā]cikṣipire cchāyāś śākhināṃ bhūbhṛtām api [⊙]

175a viṣvag vi°] viśvag vi° FINOT **175c** [samā]°] *conj.* ISAACSON; [manye] JACQUES; … FINOT. Of *manye*, JACQUES[2] notes: "Supposition proposée par le pandit N. R. Bhatt : elle n'est pas invraisemblable, mais elle ne s'impose pas." **175cd** cikṣipire cchāyāś śākhināṃ bhūbhṛtām api] JACQUES; …… FINOT

विष्वग्विकीर्ण्णैर्य्युगपद्यस्य तेजोभिरुज्ज्वलैः
[समा]चिच्छिपिरे च्छायाश्शाखिनां भूभृतामपि १७५

175. By his bright (*ujjvalaiḥ*) glories (*tejobhiḥ*), spreading (*vikīrṇaiḥ*) simultaneously (*yugapat*) in all directions (*viṣvak*),

*the shadows (*cchāyāḥ*) of trees (*śākhinām*) and even (*api*) of mountains (*bhūbhṛtām*) were completely dispelled (*samācikṣipire*)…*

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have been considered great by the standards of his age.

The notion of the "path of Manu" might seem to be a cliché known from *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:17, which reads, in the text commented upon by Mallinātha, as follows:

rekhāmātram api kṣuṇṇād ā manor vartmanaḥ param
na vyatīyuḥ prajās tasya niyantur nemivṛttayaḥ

But *manoḥ* is actually taken as an ablative governed by *ā*, "from [the time of]" by Mallinātha:

The subjects of that ruler, behaving like the fellies of a wheel, did not stray even a hair's breadth beyond the path trodden from the time of Manu.

Furthermore, the oldest commentator, namely the tenth-century Kashmirian exegete Vallabhadeva, here reads not *ā manor* but *ātmano*: "the subjects did not stray… beyond their own paths [into those of other castes or walks of life]".

Of course it is possible that the text known to the poet of K. 528 had *ā manor vartmanaḥ* and that he instead understood the *ā* to govern the ablative of *vartmanaḥ* (which Mallinātha instead appears to take to be governed by *param*), with *manoḥ* as a possessive genitive: "beyond (*param*) away from (*ā*) the path (*vartmanaḥ*) of Manu (*manoḥ*)".

The main point of invoking the path of Manu here is of course to emphasise that Rājendravarman ruled in accordance with the precepts of Dharma; but the notions that Manu was also an ideal king and someone who lived to a great age may also be hinted at.

Another nearby stanza in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (1:23), also describing Dilīpa, is also called to mind:

anākṛṣṭasya viṣayair vidyānāṃ pāradṛśvanaḥ
tasya dharmarater āsīd vṛddhatvaṃ jarasā vinā

Not seduced by the objects of the senses, having thoroughly mastered all the sciences, fond only of Dharma, he was truly mature without yet being old.

the effulgences (*cchāyāḥ*) of factional (*śākhinām*)[376] kings (*bhūbhṛtām*) were completely dispelled.[377]

CLXXVI.
(37) rājñāṃ kṛtyam iti jñātvā yasya durggasamāśrayaḥ
na dānavabhayād abdhim adhiśete ripur mmadhoḥ ||

राज्ञां कृत्यमिति ज्ञात्वा यस्य दुर्ग्गसमाश्रयः
न दानवभयादब्धिमधिशेते रिपुर्म्मधोः १७६

176. He resorted to fortresses (*durgasamāśrayaḥ*) knowing (*jñātvā*) that (*iti*) such is the duty (*kṛtyam*) of kings (*rājñām*). It is not (*na*) from fear of the Dānavas (*dānavabhayāt*) that [Viṣṇu] the enemy (*ripuḥ*) of Madhu reposes on (*adhiśete*) the ocean (*abdhim*)![378]

[376]This interpretation of this word assumes that they belong to different "branches", in other words "factions", but perhaps one should instead understand that they "possessed subordinates".

[377]Harunaga Isaacson, who has proposed the restoration of the first two syllables of the second line, has pointed out that the stanza includes what we may assume to be a conscious echo of *Kirātārjunīya* 16:47:

> pravṛttanaktaṃdivasaṃdhidīptair nabhastalaṃ gāṃ ca piśaṅgayadbhiḥ
> antarhitārkaiḥ paritaḥ patadbhiś chāyāḥ samācikṣipire vanānām

Viswanathan Peterson (2016:331) translates:

> Those birds, which completely encircled space and obscured the sun, reddened earth and sky with their own brilliance and destroyed the shadows of the forests, like the onset of twilight.

The stanza furnishes another instance of *virodhābhāsa*: it is impossible that the shadows of mountains should disappear because of the king, and so we must re-read searching for a further meaning. As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma explains, by *śabdaśaktmūladhvani*, we understand that the king is like the sun.

[378]The figure here is once again *arthāntaranyāsa*: compare st. 60 above. The stanza seems to imply either that Rājendravarman often moved about staying in different fortified places, or that his capital city was fortified. If Yaśodharapura was not fortified at the time (and indeed the fortifications known today as Angkor Thom are of much later date), then other fortifications elsewhere must be meant. But of course such fortifications need not have been heavy and durable constructions. Judit Törzsök points out that *yasya durggasamāśrayaḥ* does not *necessarily* mean that the king actually went himself to stay in fortresses, he could simply have had such places for the use of his subjects and of himself. But such an interpretation would seem to make the case of Viṣṇu resorting to the ocean less closely parallel.

As for what Viṣṇu's real motivation is for withdrawing to rest on the ocean, no indication is given here, but it is conceivable, as Harunaga Isaacson and S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma sug-

CLXXVII.
api kāmādayo doṣās sthāne yena niyojitāḥ
gu[ṇīkṛ]tās svabhāvena guṇān mā sma punar vvadat [⊙]

177cd gu[ṇīkṛ]tās svabhāvena guṇān mā sma punar vvadat] Jacques; gu … … Finot

अपि कामादयो दोषास्स्थाने येन नियोजिताः
गु[णीकृ]तास्स्वभावेन गुणान्मा स्म पुनर्व्वदत् १७७

177. Rājendravarman (*yena*) made into virtues (*guṇīkṛtāḥ*) even (*api*) the faults (*doṣāḥ*) of desire and the like (*kāmādayaḥ*), since he employed (*niyojitāḥ*) them appropriately (*sthāne*). But of course (*punaḥ*) one need not (*mā sma*) speak (*vadat*)[379] of what are [anyway] naturally (*svabhāvena*) virtues (*guṇān*)![380]

CLXXVIII.
(38) manīṣibhir mmanohatya pivadbhiś caritāmṛtam
atipānād ivodgīrṇṇaṃ yasya kāvyair nnijais saha ||

मनीषिभिर्म्मनोहृत्य पिवद्भिश्चरितामृतम्
अतिपानादिवोद्गीर्ण्णं यस्य काव्यैर्न्निजैस्सह १७८

gested, that there is an implicit allusion to an old joke on the subject, which is found in various formulations, including this one (*Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, st. 12 on p. 364):

asāre khalu saṃsāre sāraṃ śvaśuramandiram
haro himālaye śete hariḥ śete mahodadhau

In this world of transmigratory existence, which is of course (*khalu*) without real essence, the house of one's father-in-law is essential (*sāram*): Hara resides in the Himālaya; Hari lies upon the great ocean.

[379] In the construction *mā sma punar vadat*, the last word is an augmentless imperfect, for which see *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.3.176.

[380] This interpretation follows a suggestion of Harunaga Isaacson. An alternative interpretation of the last words might be: "but (*punaḥ*) let noone (*mā sma*) say (*vadat*) that they are naturally (*svabhāvena*) virtues (*guṇān*)." Part of the "joke" appears to be that desire (*kāma*) here must be used as a synonym for *icchā*, and *icchā* stands at the beginning of a list of emotions that are indeed classed by Vaiśeṣikas as *guṇa*s, a term which may refer to "properties" (the Vaiśeṣika sense), to "virtues", and to that which is "secondary". But while we are sure that this riddling stanza turns upon the ambiguities of the word *guṇa*, we cannot see how to unpack a complete Vaiśeṣika layer of meaning. Perhaps none is intended.

178. The clever (*manīṣibhiḥ*), who drank (*pivadbhiḥ*) the nectar of the deeds (*caritāmṛtam*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*) until they reached satisfaction (*manohatya*),[381] disgorged it forth again (*udgīrṇam*) along with (*saha*) their own (*nijaiḥ*) poems (*kāvyaiḥ*), as though (*iva*) because they had drunk too much (*atipānāt*).[382]

> CLXXIX. [a. *na-vipulā*: – – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – / c. *na-vipulā*: – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ ◡ –]
> doṣāndhakāravahalañ jagaj jātaṃ yathā yathā
> yasya [dīpā] iva guṇāḥ prād[u]rbhū(tā)[s tathā tathā] [⊙]
>
> **179a** °vahalañ] Jacques; °vahulañ Finot **179c** [dīpā] iva guṇāḥ] *conj.*; … va guṇāḥ Jacques; ..... Finot. Speaking of the syllable *va*, Jacques[2], in a note, adds: "Il y a peut-être une syllabe *ma* avant cette syllabe." It seems clear to us that it is rather an initial *i*. **179d** prād[u]rbhū(tā)[s tathā tathā]] prād[u]rbh[ū](tā)[s tathā tathā] Jacques; … … … Finot. The adopted reading is that of Jacques, except that we have reported the syllable *rbhū* as wholly legible, since, even if the bottom is missing, the distinctive curves to the right of the *bh* are such that the only possible reading here is *rbhū*.

दोषान्धकारवहलञ्जगज्जातं यथा यथा
यस्य [दीपा] इव गुणाः प्रादुर्भू(ता)[स्तथा तथा] १७९

179. The more (*yathā yathā*) the world (*jagat*) became (*jātam*) thick with the darknesses of the faults (*doṣāndhakārabahalam*) [of the age of Kali], the more (*tathā tathā*) Rājendravarman's virtues (*guṇāḥ*) appeared (*prādurbhūtāḥ*), like (*iva*) lamps (*dīpāḥ*).[383]

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[381] Claude Jacques has suggested understanding *manohatyā*, but no emendation is necessary, for this form is justified by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.66 (*kaṇemanasī śraddhāpratighāte*), for which the *Kāśikā* quotes these examples, followed by a gloss: *kaṇehatya payaḥ pibati; manohatya payaḥ pibati: tāvat pibati yāvad asya abhilāṣo nivṛttaḥ*.

[382] One implication of the word *saha*, "along with", might be that *caritāmṛtam* refers to the story of Rājendravarman's deeds that had already been transformed into a poem or poems. But one might instead assume that it was really only the nectareous stories of his deeds (not yet in poetic form) that became mixed into the poetic compositions of the poets of his court, so that they poured forth poetry in which the stories about him were mixed.

[383] *Ex conj.* For this rendering of this structure, suggested by Harunaga Isaacson, compare K. 806, st. 53.

> yathā yathāvarddhata yauvanaśrīḥ kālendunā yasya vivṛddhibhājā
> samudraveleva tathā tathoccair uddyoti dṛṣṭaṅ guṇaratnam ṛddham
>
> The more (*yathā yathā*) the glory of Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) youth (*yauvanaśrīḥ*) grew (*avarddhata*) — like the ocean's tide (*samudravelā*) — because of the waxing (*vivṛddhibhājā*) moon that was his age (*kālendunā*), the more (*tathā tathā*) the rich (*ṛddham*) jewels that were his virtues (*guṇaratnam*) were seen (*dṛṣṭam*) to be

CLXXX.
(39) dharmmeṇa saṃskṛtānāṃ yo niṣiddhya jagatām api
vināśahetun nātasthe kṣaṇabhaṅgaprasaṅgitām ||

180ab saṃskṛtānāṃ yo niṣiddhya] Jacques; saṃstūtānāṃ yo niṣiddhya° Finot. Finot adds a note: "*Corr.* samstutanaṃ . . . . niṣidhya . . . ." **180d** kṣaṇa°] Jacques; kṣana° Finot

धर्म्मेण संस्कृतानां यो निषिद्ध्य जगतामपि
विनाशहेतुन्नातस्थे क्षणभङ्गप्रसङ्गिताम् १८०

180. Since through Dharma (*dharmeṇa*) he has blocked (*niṣiddhya*) the causes of calamity (*vināśahetum*) for all cultivated persons (*saṃskṛtānām*) and [all] people (*jagatām api*), he has not supported (*nātasthe*) their being liable to (°*prasaṅgitām*) destruction at every moment (*kṣaṇabhaṅga*°).

> *While denying, in accordance with Buddhist teaching (*dharmeṇa*), that [all] conditioned things (*saṃskṛtānām*), including living beings (*jagatām api*), require a cause for their destruction (*vināśahetum*), he did not accept the position [of Vasubandhu] that it therefore followed (°*prasaṅgitām*) that they must be destroyed at each instant (*kṣaṇabhaṅga°*).*[384]

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brightly (*uccaiḥ*) shining (*uddyoti*).

Compare also K. 806, st. 271, and *Śiśupālavadha* 17:43:

> yathā yathā paṭaharavaḥ samīpatām upāgamat sa harivarāgrataḥsaraḥ
> tathā tathā hṛṣitavapur mudākulā dviṣāṃ camūr ajani janīva cetasā,

which Dundas (2017:585) translates:

> The nearer drew the beating of the drums preceding Krishna, the more the enemy host grew excited and dizzy with delight — it was like a bridegroom approaching a young wife.

[384]Harunaga Isaacson, who has pointed out the allusion to Vasubandhu here, suggested the following single-sentence translation of this punning stanza:

> He blocked, through (/following the) Dharma, the causes of destruction for [all] cultivated persons and [all other] people; but [although the same words punningly could mean: "he (like Vasubandhu) denied, following the Buddha's teaching, that compound entities have/require a cause for their destruction"] he did not accept [Vasubandhu's conclusion] that it therefore follows that [everything] is destroyed each instant.

For the claim of Vasubandhu that things are *kṣaṇabhaṅgin* precisely because they do not have a cause of destruction, cf., e.g., the following statement in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (ad IV.2–3,

CLXXXI.
anekakratur apy uccaiḥpado gopatir apy agāt
akrodhana[s]ya (ya)syen[d]ra[ḥ] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ – ◡ ⏑

181c (ya)syen[d]ra[ḥ]] Jacques; . . . . Finot

अनेकक्रतुरप्युच्चैःपदो गोपतिरप्यगात्
अक्रोधन[स्]य (य)स्येन्(द्र)[ः] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ – ◡ ⏑

181. For Rājendravarman (*yasya*), who was not subject to anger (*akrodhanasya*), Indra went, although he was "Of many sacrifices" (*anekakratuḥ*), "Of lofty place" (*uccaiḥpadaḥ*), "lord of cattle" (*gopatiḥ*) …[385]

CLXXXII. [c. *ma-vipulā*: – – ◡ – – / – – ◡]
(40) bhṛgumātram api prāpya vahneḥ pratihataṃ purā
tejas tv adhākṣīd yasyāpi mahāntaṃ vāhinīpatim ||

182c Jacques[2] adds: "Le *v* a été l'objet d'une correction de la part du lapicide." If so, the subscript *va* would be the *post correctionem* reading; what was written before, if anything, cannot now be discerned.

भृगुमात्रमपि प्राप्य वह्नेः प्रतिहतं पुरा
तेजस्त्वधाक्षीद्यस्यापि महान्तं वाहिनीपतिम् १८२

182. The blocking (*pratihatam*) of Fire (*vahneḥ*) [took place][386] once upon a time (*purā*) even (*api*) when he encountered Bhṛgu alone (*bhṛgumātram*);[387]

p. 194 of Pradhan's edition): *tasmān nāsti bhāvānāṃ vināśahetuḥ, svayam eva tu bhaṅguratvād vinaśyanta utpannamātrā vinaśyantīti siddha eṣāṃ kṣaṇabhaṅgaḥ*. (For the historical development of this argument, see Steinkellner 1969.)

[385]We cannot complete the translation of course, since the stanza is missing its conclusion, but we may suppose that these various attributes might have been intended to apply, when interpreted differently, also to Rājendravarman: he would have had many plans and designs (*anekakratuḥ*), he would have sat upon a lofty throne (*uccaiḥpadaḥ*) and he was lord of the earth (*gopatiḥ*). The verb "went to" (*agāt*) might therefore have had as object something like *upamānārhatvam*, "a state of deserving comparison" with Rājendravarman (*yasya*).

In discussion with S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma and Judit Törzsök, several conceivable completions were mooted, including *tulyatvaṃ tu kadāpi na*, *nopamānārhatāṃ sadā*, *nopamānaṃ tu jātu cit*, and *asūyāto na tulyatām*. But, given that we can see that there was no vowel *o* attached to the last syllable of *pāda* c, perhaps the most plausible suggestion might be that subsequently proposed by Harunaga Isaacson: *upamānaṃ na jātu cit*.

[386]One could, instead supply the subject *tejas* from the next half-line: ''[The fiery energy (*tejaḥ*)] of Fire (*vahneḥ*) was once upon a time (*purā*) blocked (*pratihatam*);…"

[387]This might instead be an allusion to the Vedic notion, referred to in *Ṛgveda* 6.15:2, that

*an obstacle (*pratihatam*) [occurs] for fire even when it merely meets a cliff-edge (*bhṛgumātram*);*

but (*tu*) Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) fiery energy (*tejaḥ*), on the other hand (*api*), burned up (*adhākṣīt*)

*even the great (*mahāntam*) ocean (*vāhinīpatim*)…*

even a mighty [(descendant of) Bhṛgu] (*mahāntam*) who was at the head of an army (*vāhinīpatim*).[388]

CLXXXIII.
vadanyas svaśriyañ cakre suhṛtsādhāraṇīṃ harim
vakṣonikṣiptalakṣm[ī] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑

183c °lakṣm[ī]] Finot, Jacques[1]; °lakṣm[īm] Jacques[2]

वदन्यस्स्वश्रियञ्चक्रे सुहृत्साधारणीं हरिम्
वक्षोनिक्षिप्तलक्ष्म[ी] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑

183. Generous (*vadanyaḥ*), Rājendravarman caused (*cakre*) his wealth (*śriyam*) to be shared in common amongst his friends (*suhṛtsādhāriṇīm*), [[and so put to shame[389]]] Viṣṇu (*harim*), who kept Lakṣmī on his own breast (*vakṣonikṣiptalakṣm*[*īkam*])…

CLXXXIV. [c. *na-vipulā*: – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
(41) tarṣo harṣeṇa saṃprāpya vyanīyata vanīpakaiḥ
yaṃ mahāntaṃ hradam iva prasannaṃ sphuṭapuṣkaram ||

the Bhṛgus befriended fire and enclosed it in wood. But we have assumed instead, as the context seems to suggest, that a single person called Bhṛgu is referred to, and that this is an allusion to the episode recounted in chapters 6 and 7 of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, in which the sage Bhṛgu cursed Agni to be an eater of everything (for revealing to the demon Pauloman that Bhṛgu's marriage with Paulomī had not been peformed according to the required rites), whereupon Agni went and hid himself, with the consequence that no sacrifices could be performed.

[388] This refers to Rājendravarman's conquest of Campā, whose kings claimed to be descendants of Bhṛgu: see, for instance, the prose after st. 6 in C. 141, edited by Huber 1911, pp. 5–10 in *BEFEO* 11. Cf. also our note on stanza 108 above.

[389] These brackets enclose a suppletion of the sort of message that may have been conveyed by the missing syllables. This could have been formulated, for instance, in this way: *vakṣonikṣiptalakṣm*[*īkaṃ hrepayann iva yaḥ sadā*], "as though (*iva*) constantly (*sadā*) causing shame (*hrepayan*) to Hari, who kept Lakṣmī close to his chest".

तर्षो हर्षेण संप्राप्य व्यनीयत वनीपकैः
यं महान्तं ह्रदमिव प्रसन्नं स्फुटपुष्करम् १८४

184. Joyously (*harṣeṇa*) attaining (*samprāpya*) Rājendravarman,

> who was like (*iva*) a great (*mahāntam*) lake (*hradam*), *pellucid (*prasannam*), with blooming lotuses (*sphuṭapuṣkaram*),*
>
> who was serene (*prasannam*) and who kept the sheath [rather than the blade] of his sword clearly visible (*sphuṭapuṣkaram*),[390]

suppliants (*vanīpakaiḥ*) removed (*vyanīyata*) their thirst (*tarṣaḥ*).[391]

> CLXXXV. [a. *na-vipulā*: ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
> asūryyaṃpaśyam asuhṛtstrīvaktrakumudākaram
> uccais saṃkocayām āsa ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓
>
> **185a** asūryyaṃpaśyam] Jacques[2]; asūryyapaśyam Finot, Jacques[1]. It is difficult to be certain today (June 2015) whether or not an *anusvāra* was originally engraved.

असूर्य्यंपश्यमसुहृत्स्त्रीवक्त्रकुमुदाकरम्
उच्चैस्संकोचयामास ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ १८५

185. [[When Rājendravarman appeared]] on high (*uccaiḥ*),[392] he caused the mass

[390] But *puṣkara* could instead refer to the blade of the sword, as in 119. Two further conceivable interpretations were suggested by Judit Törzsök: one could understand *sphuṭapuṣkaram* to mean "who laid his heart open", since *puṣkara* could be the lotus of the heart, or one could take it to mean"who kept his wealth clearly visible", since *puṣkara* = *padma* and therefore perhaps Puṣkarā = Padmā, in other words Lakṣmī.

[391] Cf. Buddhaghoṣa's *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* 1:45:

> dayālum āśritya tam atyudāraṃ vanīpakā nāparam abhyagacchan
> āsādya vārākaram ambuvāhāḥ kāsāram anyaṃ kim u kāmayante
>
> Having reached this compassionate and extremely noble man, beggars did not go towards anybody else: when the clouds reach the ocean, do they desire any other body of water?

[392] Some message of this kind must have filled the last *pāda*. S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma tentatively suggested the completion: *yacchauryamihiradyutiḥ*, which would make the subject "The light of the sun of the heroism of Rājendravarman". But there are so many syllables missing that one could imagine other completions, such as *yatsaundaryyārkkadīdhitiḥ*. Harunaga Isaacson observes that the presence of *uccaiḥ*, which could be an adjective or an adverb, suggests that there might have been a present participle such as *udyan*, "rising", which *uccaiḥ* would have qualified.

of water-lilies (°*kumudākaram*) that were the faces of his enemies' wives (*asuḥṛtstrī-vaktra*°),[393] which [can] never see the sun (*asūryaṃpaśyam*), to fold closed (*saṃkocayām āsa*).

CLXXXVI.
(42) patacchilīmukhacchāyacchannadvidvadanāmvuje
rarāja rājahaˇṃso yaś caran raṇamahāhrade ||

186b °dvidvadanā°] °dviḍvadanā° Jacques, Finot. Understand: °*dviḍva-danā*°. **186c** rājahaˇṃso] Jacques; rājahaṃso Finot

पतच्छिलीमुखच्छायच्छन्नद्विद्वदनाम्वुजे
रराज राजहँसो यश्चरन्रणमहाह्रदे १८६

186. Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) was resplendent (*rarāja*), [like] a royal goose (/a swan among kings) (*rājahaṃsaḥ*)[394] moving (*caran*) across the great lake that was the battle (*raṇamahāhrade*), in which the lotuses were the faces of his enemies (°*dviḍvadanām-buje*), darkened by the shadows (°*cchāyacchanna*°) of the bees / arrows that fell upon them (*patacchīlīmukha*°).[395]

CLXXXVII. [a. *na-vipulā*: – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
saṃmukhīno raṇamukhe yasya nāsīd asīdataḥ
preṅkhatsvakhadgasaṃkrāntaṃ (p)ra ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓

[393]The form *asūryyaṃpaśyam* is justified by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.2.36 (*asūryalalāṭayor dṛśitapoḥ*). An example given in the *Kāśikā* to illustrate this rule is *asūryaṃpaśyāḥ rājadārāḥ*, 'the king's wives do not see the sun'. This stanza may be consciously echoing the *Kāśikā*, the copying of which is mentioned in K. 842.

[394]The pun depends on the *rājahaṃsa* referring either to a particular species of bird or to a king so superlative that he is a veritable "swan amongs kings".

[395]Note that the short vowel at the end of *cchāya* in compound, even though the word is normally the feminine noun *cchāyā*, expresses a nuance recorded in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*2.4.22 (*chāyā bāhulye*), by which rule the neuter is used when the plurality of what causes the shadows is expressed. We find this distinction used to effect, for instance, in *Raghuvaṃśa* 12:50:

> sā bāṇavarṣiṇaṃ rāmaṃ yodhayitvā suradviṣām
> aprabodhāya suṣvāpa gṛdhracchāye varūthinī
>
> Having provoked Rāma, who rained down arrows, to fight, the Rākṣasa army slept, never to wake again, in the shade of vultures.

187cd °krāntaṃ (p)ra ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ – ◡ ⏑] °krāntam [p]ra . . . . . Finot; °krāntaṃ [p]ra[tirājamukhaṃ vinā] Jacques. Jacques[2] notes: "Cette restitution a été proposée par le pandit N. R. Bhatt."

संमुखीनो रणामुखे यस्य नासीदसीदतः
प्रेङ्खत्स्वखड्गसंक्रान्तं (प्र) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ – ◡ ⏑ १८७

187. Since Rājendravarman (*yasya*) did not cede (*asīdataḥ*), there was nobody (*na āsīt*) who fully showed him their face (*sammukhīnaḥ*)[396] in the van of battle (*raṇamukhe*) [[other than (*ṛte*) the reflection (*pratibimbāt*) of his enemies (*ripoḥ*)]][397] transferred onto his swingeing sword (*preṅkhatkhaḍgasaṃkrāntam*).

CLXXXVIII.
(43) dhanurddarśanamātreṇa tīrthadhvā˘ṃkṣā dviṣo dr[u]tāḥ
kāmaṃ puro na yasyājau bhujaṅgārir api sthitaḥ ||

[396]Note that the literal meanings of *yathāmukhīna* and of *sammukhīna* (used also in K. 806, st. 254), according to Pāṇini (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.2.6: *yathāmukhasaṃmukhasya darśanaḥ khaḥ*,), seems to be "facing something in such a way as to reflect it" and "showing the entire face" (since *saṃ* is held to take on here one of the meanings of *sama*, "whole"). The *Kāśikā* on this *sūtra* concludes with these two glosses: *yathāmukhaṃ darśanaḥ yathāmukhīnaḥ. sarvasya mukhasya darśanaḥ sammukhīnaḥ*. In his sub-commentary, the *Padamañjarī*, on this passage, Haradatta (fl. c. 1000 ce) quotes the first half of a stanza that could perhaps have been one source of inspiration for the author of the inscripiton here, namely *Kumārasambhava* 2:57, describing the demon Tāraka:

> saṃyuge sāṃyugīnaṃ tam udyantam prasaheta kaḥ
> aṃśād ṛte niṣiktasya nīlalohitaretasaḥ
>
> Who could withstand him in battle, advancing ready to fight, except a portion of Dark-red Shiva's ejaculated seed? (Translation of Smith 2005:83.)

Instead of *sāṃyugīnaṃ*, "ready to fight", however, Haradatta has *saṃmukhīnaṃ*, "showing his face fully", used, perhaps somewhat loosely, as though it meant "facing head-on", a reading that seems not to be supported by any published commentary on the *Kumārasambhava*. It is possible, however, that the reading *sammukhīnaṃ* was original, or at least more widely attested in Haradatta's time, and that Haradatta himself may have played a rôle in causing it to be supplanted, since he questions the use of the word there, introducing the quotation with the words *kathaṃ tarhi*, "How does it happen, in that case, [that we find this usage]?"

[397]As recorded in the apparatus, Jacques notes that N. R. Bhatt has proposed completing the last *pāda*, with *pratirājamukhaṃ vinā*, which one might translation "excepting the face of rival kings". In our translation, we first tentatively assumed a similar conjecture, proposed by Harunaga Isaacson, namely *prativimvaṃ vinā ripoḥ*. We were then tempted to follow more closely the model of *Kumārasambhava* 2:57, quoted in the previous footnote, and therefore tweaked this conjecture to *pratibimbād ṛte ripoḥ*, which yields the same sense.

188b °dhvā˘ṃkṣā dviṣo dr[u]tāḥ] Jacques; °dhvaṅkṣā dviṣo drutāḥ Finot

धनुर्द्दर्शनमात्रेण तीर्थध्वा˘ङ्क्षा द्विषो द्रुताः
कामं पुरो न यस्याजौ भुजङ्गारिरपि स्थितः १८८

188. Admittedly (*kāmam*) his enemies (*dviṣaḥ*), veritable temple-crows (*tīrthadhvāṅkṣāḥ*),[398] fled (*drutāḥ*) at the mere sight of his bow (*dhanurdarśanamātreṇa*; [but] even (*api*) *the* enemy of snakes [Garuḍa] (*bhujaṅgāriḥ*) would not (*na*) have stood there (*sthitaḥ*) in front (*puraḥ*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*) in battle (*ājau*).[399]

CLXXXIX.
sālakānanaramyāṃ yaḥ sphuṭapuṣpaśilīmukhām
drutebhyaḥ paṭavīṃ dvidbhyo yoddhṛdbhyo ⏑ ˘ – ˘ ⏑

189a Jacques[2] notes that the first instance of the letter *na* has been written *in rasura*. **189c** paṭavīṃ dvidbhyo] Understand: *padavīṃ dviḍbhyo*. **189d** yoddhṛdbhyo ⏑ ˘ – ˘ ⏑] yoddhṛdbhyo . . . . . Finot; yoddhṛdbhyo ['darśayat samam] Jacques, Understand: *yoddhṛbhyo*. For the missing syllables Harunaga Isaacson instead conjectures *vidhadhe (')priyām*.

सालकाननरम्यां यः स्फुटपुष्पशिलीमुखाम्
द्रुतेभ्यः पटवीं द्विद्भ्यो योद्धृद्भ्यो ⏑ ˘ – ˘ ⏑ १८९

[398] This expression is presumably another conscious echo of the *Kāśikā* (cf. 184), for the compound *tīrthadhvāṅkṣa* is the example given in the *Kāśikā* to illustrate the rule *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.1.42: *dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe*, "[A noun with a locative ending may be compounded] with [the word] *dhvāṅkṣa* to express contempt." One could imagine that crows flock to pilgrimage sites to feed off what pilgrims throw away, and that the crows are troublesome but can easily be scared away. Another explanation, given by S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma as the one he was taught, is that crows drink a few sips from each source of water that they approach, and that this is a mark of unsteadiness, comparable to the unsteadiness of students who constantly move about to learn from several different teachers. What is clear is that the word refers to someone who is fickle and unreliable. Haradatta underlines this at this point in his *Padamañjarī*, *yathā tīrthe dhvāṅkṣā na ciraṃ sthātāro bhavanti, evaṃ kāryeṣv anavasthitas tīrthadhvāṅkṣa ity arthaḥ*, "Just as crows do not long remain standing at a sacred site / watering place, so a *tīrthadhvāṅkṣa* is someone who is unsteady in his works. That is the meaning."

[399] What is implied is that even Garuḍa, the greatest of all birds, would not have stood firm and faced him in battle.

189. [[He made[400]]] for fleeing (*drutebhyaḥ*) enemy (*dviḍbhyaḥ*) warriors (*yoddhṛbhyaḥ*)[401] a path (*padavīm*) that was

> *[[agreeable (*priyām*),]] pleasant with groves of Sāla trees (*sāla-kānana-ramyām*), where flowers and bees were in evidence (*sphuṭapuṣpaśilīmukhām*),*

> [[hostile (*apriyām*),]] a night of faces framed with locks of hair [but severed from their torsos] (*sa-alaka-ānana-ramyām*),[402] where blood shone

[400] This translates Harunaga Isaacson's conjectural restoration *vidadhe priyām*, where we assume that both *priyām* and *apriyām* are intended. Jacques's conjectural emendation *'darśayat samam*, if accepted, might be defended as having been intended, through the use of the word *samam*, to allude obliquely to Daṇḍin's use of the term *samānopamā* to refer to this type of rhetorical figure (see the next footnote but one). But his emendation seems less plausible.

[401] We have assumed that *yoddhṛdbhyo* is an error, influenced by the proximity of the ligature *dbhyo* at the end of the previous word, for *yoddhṛbhyo*, "fighters". But, as Arlo Griffiths has pointed out to us, it would be possible to arrive at a forced interpretation of the syllables, for instance by understanding a compound of *aya* and *uddhṛdbhyaḥ*, "those who raise up good fortune".

[402] Perhaps rather: "[strangely] beautiful because of the [disembodied] faces framed with locks of hair". As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out to us, the pun on *sālakānana* is an old one, used by Daṇḍin in his illustration of the figure he calls *samānopamā*, which seems to describe an *upamā* that involves what is now often called *sabhaṅga-śleṣa* (punning that requires different word-divisions to obtain the different levels of sense), but which Daṇḍin rather qualifies (in *Kāvyādarśa* 2:310) as *bhinnapada* (in contradistinction to *abhinnapada*, an instance of which is called simply *śleṣopamā* in 2:28). The definition and illustration of *samānopamā* is as follows (*Kāvyādarśa* 2:29):

> sarūpaśabdavācyatvāt sā samānopamā yathā
> bālevodyānamāleyaṃ sālakānanaśobhinī

As Gerow explains (1971:168), this is a simile "in which the common property is replaced by a play on words", but exactly how this is meant to justify the name *samānopamā* may seem to be a matter of some confusion if one considers past translations. Eppling renders the name as the "Upamā of the Uniform" (1989:505); Belvalkar renders it "Simile of Agreement"(1924:15) and Böhtlingk (1890:24) calls it "ein übereinstimmendes Gleichniss". Bearing all this in mind, perhaps we could render this as follows:

> When [the simile] is expressed by [differing words that when put together have] uniform form, that is called a simile [in which the comparable features are expressed] using the same [expression]: "This string of gardens is like a girl: it is radiant with groves of Vatica robusta (*sāla-kānana-śobhinī*) / she is radiant with a face framed by curling locks (*sa-alaka-ānana-śobhinī*)".

For other unmistakable echoes of the *Kāvyādarśa*, see stanzas 43 and 90 above.

bright on [scattered] arrows (*sphuṭapuṣpaśilīmukhām*)…[403]

*[a path that was, as it were] a beautiful woman (*priyām*) lovely because of her face framed with locks of hair (*sālakānanaramyām*) and where bees were in evidence upon the flowers [that she wore as ornaments] (*sphuṭapuṣpaśilīmukhām*).*

CXC. [a. *na-vipulā*: – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ ◡ –]
(44) prollasatkīcakaśatā kaṅkādibhir upāśritā
śūnyāpy aripurī yena virāṭanagarī kṛtā ||

प्रोल्लसत्कीचकशता कङ्कादिभिरुपाश्रिता
शून्याप्यरिपुरी येन विराटनगरी कृता १९०

190. Having hundreds of rustling bamboos (*prollasatkīcakaśatā*) and inhabited (*upāśritā*) by carrion-eating storks and such like [other birds] (*kaṅkādibhiḥ*),[404] the city of his enemies (*aripurī*), though (*api*) empty (*śūnyā*), was transformed (*kṛtā*) by Rājendravarman (*yena*) into the city of Virāṭa,

*which possessed a hundred brilliant Kīcakas (*prollasatkīcakaśatā*) and was inhabited by Kaṅka and the others [of the Pāṇḍavas] (*kaṅkādibhiḥ*).*[405]

[403] The punning alternative interpretations in italics here are uncertain; but some such game of words must surely be present for the stanza to be convincing. In tantric sources, *puṣpa* may be used to refer to "menstrual blood" (see TAK 3, s.v. *puṣpa*), which leads us to suppose that *puṣpa* might mean "blood" here. Charlotte Schmid has suggested that an alternative might be to take *puṣpa* as referring to wounds.

[404] Dictionaries identify the *kaṅka* rather as a "heron", and this identification seems to be borne out by many passages, for instance about arrows whose flights are made by feathers of the *kaṅka* (e.g. in *Raghuvaṃśa* 2:31). But the word is often also used of carrion-eating birds, which cannot be herons, and Fitzgerald (1998) has proposed that in these cases it refers to carrion-eating storks known as Adjutants.

[405] In the *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa is the king of the Matsya country and Kīcaka is his brother-in-law. He had 105 younger brothers, known as *upakīcaka*, here referred to as Kīcakas for the sake of the *śleṣa*. (The *upakīcakāḥ* are also called *kīcakāḥ*, in the plural, at several places in the *Mahābhārata*, e.g. 4.22:9d, 4.22:18d, 4.22:29ab.) When the Pāṇḍavas disguised themselves and lived at Virāṭa's court, Yudhiṣṭhira took the name Kaṅka. The pun here is probably inspired by a description in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (p. 43): *kvacid virāṭanagarīva kīcakaśatākulā*, "in places it was like the city of Virāṭa, dense with hundreds of bamboos / Kīcakas".

CXCI.
kevalaṃ rājanāgānāṃ vīryyaṃ mantra ivāharat
yo nādyūnatayā prāṇān kṣipan tārkṣya i(va) [k]ṣ[itau] [⊙]

191d i(va) [k]ṣ[itau]] *conj.* Griffiths; i(va) [sthitaḥ] Jacques; i[va] ◡ – Finot. Jacques[2] observes: "On aperçoit ce qui pourrait être la partie gauche du *th* souscrit." Following Arlo Griffiths' suggestion, however, we are inclined to see the bottom lower quarter of a subscript *ṣ*.

केवलं राजनागानां वीर्य्यं मन्त्र इवाहरत्
यो नाद्यूनतया प्राणान्क्षिपन्तार्क्ष्य इ(व) [क्षितौ] १९१

191. Like (*iva*) a mantra, he extracted (*aharat*) only (*kevalam*) the vigour (*vīryam*) from cobras / elephant-like kings (*rājanāgānām*), without (*na*), like (*iva*) Garuḍa (*tārkṣyaḥ*), greedily (*ādyūnatayā*) [extracting also] their life-breath (*prānān*) and casting them (*kṣipan*) on the ground (*kṣitau*).

CXCII.
(45) dṛṣṭvā yasyādhvaraṃ śakrayaśovibhraˇṃśaśaˇṃkayā
dhūmasparśacchalān nūnam udaśrunayanā śacī ||

192b °bhraˇṃśaśaˇṃkayā] Jacques; °bhraṃśaśaṃkayā Finot **192d** śacī] Jacques; śaśī Finot

दृष्ट्वा यस्याध्वरं शक्रयशोविभ्रँशशँकया
धूमस्पर्शच्छलान्नूनमुदश्रुनयना शची १९२

192. Surely (*nūnam*) it was out of fear of Indra's glory perishing (*śakrayaśovibhraṃśaśaṅkayā*) that Śacī had tears welling up in eyes (*udaśrunayanā*), under the pretext that they had come into contact with smoke (*dhūmasparśacchalāt*), when she beheld (*dṛṣṭvā*) Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) sacrifice[s] (*adhvaram*).[406]

[406]This stanza alludes to the familiar trope that Indra jealously guards the honour of being the sole individual to have performed one hundred sacrifices (see fn. 277 on p. 172 and see st. 154). But it is also a variation upon another sacrifice-related trope that we find in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, namely the idea that the king's constant sacrificing obliges the gods to gather to receive the sacrifices, with the consequence that the gods' wives wear the appearance of mourning. Here is *Raghuvaṃśa* 6:23: describing the king of Magadha:

kriyāprabandhād ayam adhvarāṇām ajasram āhūtasahasranetraḥ
śacyāś ciraṃ pāṇḍukapolalambān mandāraśūnyān alakāṃś cakāra

CXCIII. [c. *bha-vipulā*: – – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ –]
193. ruddhānyatejaso yasya pādacchāyām aśiśriyan
meror ivelāpatayas sitacchatratyajoniśam [⊙]

193d °cchatra°] Jacques; °cchātra° Finot

रुद्धान्यतेजसो यस्य पादच्छायामशिश्रियन्
मेरोरिवेलापतयस्सितच्छत्रत्यजोऽनिशम् १९३

193. Kings (*ilāpatayaḥ*),[407] abandoning their white parasols (*sitacchatratyajaḥ*), constantly (*aniśam*) resorted to (*aśiśriyan*) the shadows of his feet (*pādacchāyām*)[408] — he who eclipsed the radiant energy of [all] rivals (*ruddhānyatejasaḥ*)—[409] just as *they live in the shade of the foothills* of Meru, *who eclipses the radiant energy of all rivals*.[410]

He constantly summons thousand-eyed Index to attend the unbroken sequence of his sacrifices and so makes Śacī long wear locks that hang lank beside pale cheeks, devoid of *mandāra* blossoms.

In the inscription, one ornament here is *utprekṣā*, poetic fancy, of the type some call *hetūtprekṣā*, a fancy as to a cause, for here the poet supposes that the reason for Śacī's tears is her chagrin at Rājendravarman being about to rob Indra of his status. Her hiding the real reason by pretending that her eyes are smarting from smoke introduces the further ornament of *apahnuti*, described by Daṇḍin in *Kāvyādarśa* 2:304.

[407] The use of *ilā* for earth outside dictionaries (notably the *Amarakośa*) might be supposed to be virtually never attested, but Arlo Griffiths et al. have pointed out that *irā* and the derived form *aira* occur a few times in the corpus of inscriptions from Campā (Griffiths, Lepoutre, Southworth and Thành Ph'ân 2012:269–270, footnote 140). There are also a few attestations of *ilā* in Khmer epigraphy: e.g. K. 826 (803 *śaka*), st. XXV, and K. 339 (tenth-century), st. IV. In the as yet unpublished epigraph K. 1490, there is an instance of *irāpatim* in the sense of 'king' in st. 3, where it is placed after the word *śivalokaṃ* and appears thus to be a posthumous reference to king Rājendravarman, whose posthumous name was Śivaloka.

[408] This assumes that they tried to touch the underside of his lowest part, to express their obeisance. But perhaps this rather means that kings constantly took on the colour / radiance (*chāyā*) of his feet because they constantly bowed down to that level.

[409] This may be a conscious echo, if faint, of the first prose sentence of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, in which King Śūdraka is compared to Mount Meru, in the shadow of whose foothills everybody lives (*merur iva sakalopajīvyamānapādacchāyaḥ*).

[410] This recalls *Raghuvaṃśa* 1:14:

> sarvātiriktasāreṇa sarvatejobhibhāvinā
> sthitaḥ sarvonnatenorvīṃ krāntvā merur ivātmanā
>
> With his body, whose strength was greater than all others', which surpassed all other radiances, and which was loftier than all others', he stood over the earth like Mount Meru.

CXCIV.
(46) sṛṣṭau candrārkkayor dhātānādarād iva bhinnayoḥ
yam ekan tapanāhlādasamartham asamaṃ vyadhāt ||

सृष्टौ चन्द्रार्क्कयोर्धातानादरादिव भिन्नयोः
यमेकन्तपनाह्लादसमर्थमसमं व्यधात् १९४

194. The creator (*dhātā*), as though (*iva*) because he felt no respect (*anādarāt*) towards his creation (*sṛṣṭau*) of a separate (*bhinnayoḥ*) sun and moon (*candrārkayoḥ*),[411] created (*vyadhāt*) the incomparable (*asamam*) Rājendravarman (*yam*) as one who alone (*ekam*) was capable of both heating and delighting (*tapanāhlādasamartham*).[412]

CXCV.
upāntasevāṃ vāñchantyo yatpādan tīvratejasam
moliratnaprabhāmbhobhir asiñcan bhūpapaṅktayaḥ ⊙

195b °tejasam] Jacques; °tejsam Finot **195c** moli°] Jacques; mauli° Finot. Once again, it appears as though the engraver first wrote mauli° and then rubbed away the downwards vertical stroke that distinguishes a medial *au* from a medial *o* and added a serif-like flourish to what has now become the top of the vowel-sign for the *o*.

[411] S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma instead suggested that the creator felt no "respect" towards his separate creations of sun and moon and therefore decided to create Rājendravarman.

[412] This recalls *Raghuvaṃśa* 4:10:

yathā prahlādanāc candraḥ pratāpāt tapano yathā
tathaiva so 'bhūd anvartho rājā prakṛtirañjanāt

The moon got its name because it delights, and the sun its name because it burns. In just the same way he was rightly called "regal" because he regaled his subjects.

In the description of the hero Nala, Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita* similarly displays the notion that the creator was dissatisfied with his handiwork in creating sun and moon, and it is possible that both this stanza and that of the *Naiṣadhacarita* were drawn from some shared source of inspiration. The stanza of the *Naiṣadhacarita* (1:14) reads:

tadojasas tadyaśasaḥ sthitāv imau vṛtheti citte kurute yadā yadā
tanoti bhānoḥ pariveṣakaitavāt tadā vidhiḥ kuṇḍalanāṃ vidhor api

The Creator draws round the sun and the moon, a halo for a cancelling mark, whenever he thinks, "These two are useless in the presence of Nala's might and fame. (Translation of Handiqui 1956:2.)

उपान्तसेवां वाञ्छन्त्यो यत्पादन्तीव्रतेजसम्
मोलिरत्नप्रभाम्भोभिरसिञ्चन्भूपपङ्क्तयः १९५

195. Lines of kings (*bhūpapaṅktayaḥ*), desiring (*vāñchantyaḥ*) [to offer] their service close beside him (*upāntasevām*), bathed (*asiñcan*) his feet (*yatpādam*), which emitted intense energy (*tīvratejasam*), with streams that were the rays of light from their crest-jewels (*mauliratnaprabhāmbhobhiḥ*).[413]

CXCVI.
(47) navaṃ priyam aho loke yad vihāya dhanus smaraḥ
unmamāthāṅganācittaṃ yatkāntyānupamānayā ||

196a priyam] Jacques; priyaṃ Finot

नवं प्रियमहो लोके यद्विहाय धनुस्स्मरः
उन्ममाथाङ्गनाचित्तं यत्कान्त्यानुपमानया १९६

196. Ah (*aho*)! there is something delightful (*priyam*) that is new (*navam*) in the world (*loke*), for (*yat*) Kāma (*smaraḥ*), abandoning (*vihāya*) his bow (*dhanuḥ*), has begun to churn (*unmamātha*) the hearts of beautiful women (*aṅganācittam*) using Rājendravarman's loveliness (*yatkāntyā*), which is incomparable (*anupamānayā*)!

CXCVII. [a. *bha-vipulā*: ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –]
197. sphuṭāṣṭadikprāntadale hemaśailorukarṇṇike
yaśo gandhāyate yasya bhuvanaikasaroruhe ⊙

197a sphuṭāṣṭa°] Jacques; sphuṭāṣṭa° Finot **197c** gandhāyate] Jacques; gandhāyata Finot. Jacques[2] notes: "Il y a un signe peu clair au-dessus de cette syllabe, trop haut pourtant pour avoir un sens ; peut-être un reste de l'inscription antérieure." I see an irregularity in the texture of the stone but no trace of a letter.

स्फुटाष्टदिक्प्रान्तदले हेमशैलोरुकर्ण्णिके
यशो गन्धायते यस्य भुवनैकसरोरुहे १९७

[413] The fancy here — again an *utprekṣā* of the cause (*hetūtprekṣā*), even though there is no explicit marker (such as *nūnam*), which makes it what some would call *gamyotprekṣā*, "a fancy that must be inferred" —appears to be that the kings wished to approach as close as possible to venerate his feet, but, as though anxious about the intense heat (*tejas*) of his feet, they poured forth the water that was the light from their crest-jewels upon his feet.

197. In the unique lotus that is the world (*bhuvanaikasaroruhe*), whose open petals are the furthest points of the eight directions (*sphuṭāṣṭadikprāntadale*), and whose broad pericarpel is the golden mountain [Meru] (*hemaśailorukarṇike*), Rājendravarman's (*yasya*) fame (*yaśaḥ*) behaves like its fragrance (*gandhāyate*).

CXCVIII. [a. *bha-vipulā*: – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –]
198. (48) udvāntarāgāḥ sphuritā yasyāṅghrinakharaśmayaḥ
asparddhanta natorvvīndramoliratnamarīcibhiḥ ||

198d °moli°] Jacques; °maulī° Finot. Jacques[2] notes: "Corr. : °*mauli*°. Une fois de plus, il est net que le lapicide avait d'abord écrit la leçon correcte, corrigée ensuite en °*moli*°." Cf. notes on 147b and 195c above.

उद्वान्तरागाः स्फुरिता यस्याङ्घ्रिनखरश्मयः
अस्पर्द्धन्त नतोर्व्वीन्द्रमोलिरत्नमरीचिभिः १९८

198. The quivering (*sphuritāḥ*) rays from the nails of his toes (*yasya aṅghrinakharaśmayaḥ*), spilling forth redness (*udvāntarāgāḥ*), vied with (*aspardhanta*) the beams of light (°*marīcibhiḥ*) from the crest-jewels of prostrate princes (*natorvīndramauliratna*°).

CXCIX.
anvaruddhyata yasyājñāṃ phalaprasavasaṃpade
ājanmavandhyaś cūṭo pi vasiṣṭhasya dilīpavat ⊙

199c cūṭo] Understand: *cūto*.

अन्वरुद्ध्यत यस्याज्ञां फलप्रसवसंपदे
आजन्मवन्ध्यश्चूटो ऽपि वसिष्ठस्य दिलीपवत् १९९

199. Even (*api*) mango-trees (*cūtaḥ*) that were barren from birth (*ājanmavandhyaḥ*) were devoted to (*anvarudhyata*)[414] his command (*ājñām*) to flourish in the produc-

[414]The form *anvaruddhyata* may look like an imperfect of the passive, but since it is evidently active and transitive here, readers may feel suspicious, expecting instead *anvarunat* or *anvaruṇddha*, the *parasmaipada* or *ātmanepada* active imperfect.) However the form is grammatically permitted as an active form, because with the prefix *anu* the root can be 4th-class instead of 7th; see *Dhātupāṭha* 4.65 (Westergaard's numbering). As a 4th-class verb, this form can then be an active (*ātmanepada*) imperfect. But note that in the *Dhātupāṭha* the meaning assigned is *kāme*, which is why we have translated "devoted to" (rather than "respected"). We thank Harunaga Isaacson for pointing out and explaining this instance of the poet displaying *sauśabdya*.

tion of fruits (*phalaprasavasampade*), just as Dilīpa [adhered to the command] of Vasiṣṭha.[415]

CC.
(49) sahasramukhasaṃkīrttyaṃ gambhīraṃ guṇavistaram
yasya bhāṣyam iva prāpya vyākhyā khinnāpi dhīmatām ||

200d khinnāpi] Jacques[2]; °khinnāpi Finot, Jacques[1]

सहस्रमुखसंकीर्त्यं गम्भीरं गुणविस्तरम्
यस्य भाष्यमिव प्राप्य व्याख्या खिन्नापि धीमताम् २००

200. Disquisition (*vyākhyā*) would be wearisome (*khinnā*) even (*api*) for intelligent people (*dhīmatām*)[416] on the subject of (*prāpya*) the expanse of the virtues (*guṇavistaram*) of Rājendravarman (*yasya*),

> which was deep (*gambhīram*) and could only be proclaimed by a thousand mouths (*sahasramukhasaṃkīrtyam*),

just as (*iva*) *commentaries are arduous (*khinnā*) even for the learned (*dhīmatā*) on the subject of the* Mahābhāṣya *(*bhāṣyam*),*

> *which is profound and is proclaimed by the thousand-mouthed [serpent Patañjali].*[417]

[415] The first two chapters of the *Raghuvaṃśa* recount how Dilīpa overcame the obstacle to his having a son by following Vasiṣṭha's injunctions. The expressions *ājanmavandhyaḥ* and *phalaprasavasaṃpade* thus both apply also to Dilīpa's case. The obedience of the mango trees to his command is perhaps a faint echo of the literary topos of certain trees flowering in response to the kick of beautiful girls (the Aśoka tree) or to receiving a lady's mouthful of wine spat upon them (the Bakula tree).

[416] The participle *khinna* normally means "weary"; it should be able to give this sense of "causing weariness", but such a usage may not be parallelled. One could therefore instead understand "The commentary even of intelligent people became weary [and desisted]". That interpretation also presupposes the reading *khinnāpi*, but one could also split differently, so as to read *akhinnāpi*, and understand "the commentary of intelligent people [went on and on] unwearied". The problem with that interpretation is that it seems to offer little scope for taking the particle *api* meaningfully.

[417] We find a different trope based on the same notion, namely that the grammarian Patañjali was an incarnation of the cosmic serpent Śeṣa, in K. 136, Face B, stanza 15, describing a certain Śaṅkarapaṇḍita:

> arthyaṃ vaktrasahasreṇa pātañjalir asaṅśayam

CCI.
śrīmatsiddheśvaraṃ liṅgaṃ siddhaṃ śivapure girau
varddhayām āsa yo bhogair apūrvvaiś śivikādibhiḥ ⊙

201a siddhaṃ] Jacques; siddha° Finot (*unmetrical*) **201d** apūrvvaiś] Jacques; apūrvvaiḥ Finot

श्रीमत्सिद्धेश्वरं लिङ्गं सिद्धं शिवपुरे गिरौ
वर्द्धयामास यो भोगैरपूर्व्वैश्शिविकादिभिः २०१

201. He caused to thrive (*varddhayām āsa*),[418] by means of unprecedented (*apūrvaiḥ*) endowments (*bhogaiḥ*), beginning with a palanquin (*śibikādibhiḥ*), the venerable (*śrīmat°*) Siddheśvara-*liṅga* that was [already] established (*siddham*) in Śivapura on the mountain (*girau*).[419]

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bhāṣyārthaṃ vyavṛṇod yas tu tathaikāsyena vismitaḥ

Correcting *pātañjalir* to *patañjalir*, as Barth proposes (1885:131), one may understand (loosely following Barth 1885:138):

> It is natural (*arthyam*) that Patañjali with his thousand mouths could expound faultlessly (*asaṃśayam*) the learning conveyed by his *Mahābhāsya* (*bhāsyārtham*); but that this [Śaṅkarapaṇḍita] did so (*tathā*) with one mouth (*ekāsyena*) makes him an object of wonder (*vismitaḥ*).

[418] S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out that this expression might suggest the making of gifts specifically to celebrate, for instance, the anniversary of one's birth. Cf. the term *vardhāpana*, which may refer to a birthday or other festival when wishes and gifts may be offered.

[419] It is not clear whether we should render *śivapure girau* with "in Śivapura on the mountain", or "on the mountain in Śivapura", or "on the mountain [called] Śivapura". Cœdès notes (*IC* I, p. 3, n. 3 that there are various *liṅga*s called Siddheśa or Siddheśvara in the Khmer epigraphical record. In his note on K. 286, st. 44 (*IC* IV, p. 100, n. 2), Cœdès suggests that the Siddheśvara referred to there is that of Phnom Sandak, since the place is further identified in the stanza in question as Śivapura, which is a name attested for Phnom Sandak in K. 190, an inscription dated to *śaka* 817 that records that a certain Śivasoma restored to worship a *liṅga* that was already there on the mountain in Śivapura (or on Mount Śivapura: there too the ambiguous expression used is *śivapure girau*) and we further learn that he installed a *liṅga* called Bhadreśvara there (Face A, stanzas 23 and 24). Now if the Siddheśvara mentioned in K. 286 (of 948 ce) is indeed that of Phnom Sandak, then it is probable that the Siddheśvara mentioned here is the same, since st. 44 of K. 286 is a stanza that records Rājendravarman having set up images and a *liṅga* on an island in the Yaśodharataṭāka, in other words the images of the not yet completed Mebon temple, as well as a *liṅga* called Siddheśvara in a certain Śivapura:

> śaive pure siddham ajasya liṅgaṃ siddheśvaraṃ siddhavibhūtiśubhram
> dvīpe taṭākasya yaśodharasya niveśitaṃ yena ca liṅgam arccāḥ

CCII. [a. *ma-vipulā*: – – ⏑ – – / – – ⏑]
(50) tatrāpi liṅgaṃ śarvvasya śarvvāṇīpratime śubhe
yas samyak sthāpayām āsa pitṝṇān dharmmavṛddhaye ||

202d pitṝṇān] Jacques[2]; pitṛṇān Finot, Jacques[1] (*unmetrical*). (An extra volute has been added beneath the vowel-sign for a regular short *ṛ*.)

तत्रापि लिङ्गं शर्व्वस्य शर्व्वाणीप्रतिमे शुभे
यस्सम्यक्स्थापयामास पितॄणान्धर्म्मवृद्धये २०२

202. And in that same place (*tatrāpi*) he (*yaḥ*) installed (*sthāpayām āsa*) in the correct manner (*samyak*) a *liṅga* of Śarva and two beautiful (*śubhe*) images (*pratime*) of Śarvāṇī,[420] in order to increase the merit (*dharmavivṛddhaye*) of his ancestors (*pitṝṇām*).

CCIII.
yadupakramam āseva śrībhadreśvaraśūlinaḥ
bhogo nyatrāpi devān yaḥ pūjābhir udamīmilat ⊙

203a yadupakramam āseva] Jacques; yadupakramamāseva Finot

यदुपक्रममासेव श्रीभद्रेश्वरशूलिनः
भोगो ऽन्यत्रापि देवान्यः पूजाभिरुदमीमिलत् २०३

203. It was at his instigation (*yadupakramam*)[421] that the glorious Śiva of Bhadreśvara

In the Śaiva city he established (*siddham*) a *liṅga* of the Unborn [Śiva called] Siddheśvara, which was bright [because invested] with the powers of Siddhas, and he set down a *liṅga* and sculptures on the island in the tank of [the city of] Yaśodhara.

[420] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma points out, we could consider Gaṅgā also to be in some sense a spouse of Śiva, and thus also a Śarvāṇī, in which case what is referred to is a pair of statues of Umā and Gaṅgā, as in some other places (e.g. in st. 103 above; in K. 826, st. 29, referring to the statue discussed in Heitmann 2005; and in K. 1222, S13).

[421] For another instance of this usage, see stanza 169 above. The same expression, *yadupakramam* is used in Yajñavarāha's foundation inscription for Banteay Srei (K. 842, st. 21), in a stanza that he reused also in K. 619. As mentioned ad st. 169, this sort of compound is described by Pāṇini. But its use here might also be partly inspired by Kālidāsa's usages, for example in *Raghuvaṃśa* 15:62 and in *Raghuvaṃśa* 12:42, which recounts the moment when Śūrpanakhā, having had her nose and ears hacked off, returns to her relatives to inform them:

seemed (*iva*) [for the first time] to enjoy endowments (*āsa bhogaḥ*),[422] and elsewhere too (*anyatrāpi*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) [re]awakened (*udamīmilat*)[423] [other] gods (*devān*) with his offerings of worship (*pūjābhiḥ*).

CCIV. [c. *na-vipulā*: ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –]
(51) vivṛddhin dharmmasindhūnāṃ śrīndravarmmādibhūbhṛtām
svamaṇḍalasya ca samaṃ yaś cakre nṛpacandramāḥ ||

विवृद्धिन्धर्म्मसिन्धूनां श्रीन्द्रवर्म्मादिभूभृताम्
स्वमण्डलस्य च समं यश्चक्रे नृपचन्द्रमाः २०४

204. That moon among kings (*nṛpacandramāḥ*) caused (*cakre*) the increase (*vivṛddhim*) of the oceans of merit (*dharmasindhūnām*) of the kings beginning with Śrī-Indravarman (*śrīndravarmmādibhūbhṛtām*), and simultaneously (*samam*) [he caused the increase] of his own sphere (*svamaṇḍalasya*).[424]

CCV. [c. *bha-vipulā*: – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –]
yaśodharataṭākasya dakṣiṇenāpi dakṣiṇaḥ
yaś śaurigaurīśanimāś śambhor liṅgam atiṣṭhipat ⊙

205c °nimāś] JACQUES; °nimāḥ FINOT

prāpya cāśu janasthānaṃ kharādibhyas tathāvidhā
rāmopakramam ācakhyau rakṣaḥparibhavaṃ navam

In this condition, she quickly reached Janasthāna and told Khara and the others of the fresh onslaught upon Rākṣasas that had been begun by Rāma.

[422]We assume this to mean that Rājendravarman's offerings to the already long famous and richly endowed Śaiva temple in Vat Phu were so lavish that it was as though that temple had never really been rich before. For the use, deplored by some stylists, of *āsa* as an independent verb-form (rather than only as an inseparable part of a periphrastic perfect), see stanza 45 above. This oddity led FINOT to split the words wrongly and so to miss the purport of this stanza.

[423]The implication of this word is again that Rājendravarman effectively seemed to be the installer of gods in other places because of the generosity of his acts of worship, since the rite of "opening" their eyes (*netronmīlana*) is often regarded as the central act in the ritual installation of statues (see TAK 3 s.v. *pratiṣṭhā* and s.v. *netrodghāṭana* 3).

[424]The sphere refers of course to the orb of the moon, which pulls the oceans up to higher tides as it becomes full, but also to the region of control of the king. The "oceans of merit" may refer to the plentiful meritorious foundations of Indravarman and others which occupy the city, and which Rājendravarman would have further fostered.

यशोधरतटाकस्य दक्षिणेनापि दक्षिणः
यश्शौरिगौरीशनिमाश्शम्भोर्ल्लिङ्गमतिष्ठिपत् २०५

205. And (*api*) nearby to the South (*dakṣiṇena*)[425] of the Yaśodhara-tank, the skillful (*dakṣiṇaḥ*) Rājendravarman (*yaḥ*) installed (*atiṣṭhipat*) images (°*nimāḥ*)[426] of Śauri, Gaurī and Īśa,[427] [and] a *liṅga* of Śambhu.

[425]This translation "Nearby to the South", follows *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.3.35 (*enab anyatarasyām adūre 'pañcamyāḥ*), which prescribes the use of the suffix *enap* to get the form *dakṣiṇena*, which functions here as a postposition governing the genitive.

[426]This is a usage typical in Sanskrit among the Khmers from the reign of Rājendravarman onwards, according to Bhattacharya (1991:59, ¶ 197).

[427]Finot (1925:351) has missed a statue here: presumably just an accidental oversight. This stanza appears to refer to the *liṅga* and four principal statues of the towers of Pre Rup. It is true that the stela of Pre Rup (K. 806) is dated some years later than ours, but the temple there might have been begun well before the point in time when our text was composed. The Siem Reap-based archeologist Chea Socheat suggested, however, that the images referred to here might be any lost and otherwise unmentioned images and that they might have been installed in buildings of perishable materials to the South of the tank, for instance in one of the *āśrama*s founded by Yaśovarman. In support of such an interpretation, one might underline the oddly unspecific character of this passing reference to mere "statues" representing just three deities, which is arguably not what one would expect if this were an allusion to one of the major construction projects of Rājendravarman's reign. But we have seen just such another passing allusion to the statues of the Mebon in an inscription that predates the Mebon's consecration, namely in st. 44 of K. 286, quoted in the annotation to st. 201 above, and there is perhaps another one in st. 8 in K. 70:

> yaś śrīYaśodharapuran navaṃ kṛtvā yaśodhare
> tatāke tiṣṭhipat pañca devān saudhālayasthitān
>
> Having renovated Yaśodharapura, he installed five deities placed in a stuccoed temple inside the Yaśodhara-tank.

For Cœdès (*IC* II, p. 58), this refers to "la restauration de Yaçodharapura et la fondation des cinq sanctuaires du Méb˘on dans le Yaçodharataṭāka ou Bàràỳ Oriental". Cœdès goes on to mention, however, that K. 70 can be fairly narrowly dated to between 952 (the date given in st. 218 below) and 961 (the date of the installation of the *liṅga* of Pre Rup) precisely because it does not mention Pre Rup. This is not certain, since the temples took years to produce and could evidently be alluded to well before being consecrated.

And there is in fact further evidence that arguably implies that this is indeed a reference to the deities installed at Pre Rup: the inscription of Pre Rup first presents the idols installed as being a central *liṅga* surrounded by four statues that represented only three gods, namely Gaurī, Śauri and Īśvara. The stanza in question reads as follows (K. 806, st. 277):

> sa śrīrājendrabhadreśvara iti viditaṃ liṅgam atredam agryaṃ
> gaurīśaurīśvarāṇāñ catasṛbhir abhirāmābhir arccābhir ābhiḥ
> kīrttiṃ vaktuṃ prasannaṃ mukham iva muditasyordhvam āsyaiś caturbhiś
> śambhor bhāsvadbhir iddhe śikhitanuvasubhi sthāpayām āsa śāke

CCVI. [*upajāti*]
(52) sa somavaṅśāmvarabhāskaraś śrī-
rājendravarmmā tad idan [n]ṛpendraḥ
svarggāpavarggādhigamasya liṅgaṃ
liṅgaṃ pratiṣṭhāpitavān smarāreḥ ||

206b [n]ṛpendraḥ] Jacques; nṛpendraḥ Finot

स सोमवङ्शाम्वरभास्करश्श्री-
राजेन्द्रवर्म्मा तदिदन्नृपेन्द्रः
स्वर्ग्गापवर्ग्गाधिगमस्य लिङ्गं
लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठापितवान्स्मरारेः २०६

206. That (*saḥ*)[428] glorious Rājendravarman, king of kings (*nṛpendraḥ*), a sun in the firmament that is the lineage of the Moon (*somavaṅśāmbarabhāskaraḥ*), installed (*pratiṣṭhāpitavān*) this *liṅga* here (*tad idam*) of the Enemy of Smara (*smarāreḥ*), which is an inferential mark (*liṅgam*) from which we can be sure of the attainment of heaven and liberation (*svargāpavargādhigamasya*).[429]

277a atredam] *corr*. Sanderson (2004:426); atraidam Cœdès

> In the *śaka* year 883, he installed here this excellent *liṅga* known as Śrī-Rājendrabhadreśvara, along with these four beautiful images of [the three deities] Gaurī, Śaurī and Īśvara, as though it were the serene uppermost face of the delighted Śambhu, along with the four radiant [lower] faces, [placed there] to proclaim [Rājendravarman's] fame.

Incidentally, in the interpretation of Cœdès, only the four lower faces proclaim Rājendravarman's fame, but he too must have understood this to be an allusion to the iconography of Sadāśiva, whose four lower faces look towards the four cardinal directions and declaim various branches of the Śaiva canon, and whose uppermost fifth face faces upwards (slightly tilted towards the North East) and declaims the scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta. (See Hanneder 1998:17–19 and 195ff and, for some background to the development of this doctrine, Kafle 2020:39–52.) The subsequent stanzas of K. 806 (st. 278–281) make clear that the four statues of three divinities comprised one statue of Viṣṇu, one of Umā and two of Śiva.

[428] This is the demonstrative pronoun that answers the relative pronouns found in each stanza from st. 13 up to this point.

[429] This refers to the *liṅga* installed in the shrine enclosed by the central tower of the temple. See Figure 1.9 on p. 74. The intention is perhaps that the *śivaliṅga* is on the one hand an inferential mark from seeing which we can know that Rājendravarman must surely attain heaven and then liberation, but on the other also an inferential mark in the sense that all those who see it can be sure that they will thereby attain heaven or liberation.

CCVII. [*upajāti*]
saṃprāptayoḥ prāptayaśās svapitror bhuvaḥ patis so pi bhavodbhavena
sasthānatāṃ sthāpitavān sthitijño nime ime dve śivayoḥ śivāya ⊙

207a Jacques[2] notes: "Il y a sur ce mot un très curieux effet de superposition témoignant, à n'en pas douter, que cette stèle a été gravée à travers un pochoir. Il faut donc comprendre qu'après la gravure, il y eut diverses corrections." What one sees is that the letters *ssvapitro* appear to have been written twice, the second time slightly to the right of the largely effaced letters that were written the first time, perhaps to accommodate a rather narrow and oddly formed *śā* that might also be a modified letter. What this suggests to me is that the engraver first wrote *°yaśas* and that he was obliged to correct this to *°yaśās* after he had completed the entire line of text. This required nudging the remaining letters of the *pāda* towards the right, encroaching somewhat on the gutter-margin that separates this *pāda* from the next. There has certainly been correction here, executed perhaps after the completion of the whole text and certainly after the completion of this line; but whether or not this means that a stencil was used (Claude Jacques explained to me that by "pochoir" he meant a stencil made of an animal hide) is not clear (even if this may be in itself a plausible suggestion). **207c** sasthānatāṃ] Jacques; sa[ṃ]sthānatāṃ Finot. There is indeed a faint mark on the stone that arguably suggests the shape of an *anusvāra* above the first syllable.

संप्राप्तयोः प्राप्तयशास्स्वपित्रो-
र्भुवः पतिस्सो ऽपि भवोद्भवेन
सस्थानतां स्थापितवान्स्थितिज्ञो
निमे इमे द्वे शिवयोः शिवाय २०७

207. And (*api*) for / of his own parents (*svapitroḥ*),[430] who had reached (*prāptayoḥ*) a

[430]We may assume that the genitive here is intended to convey that the statues are both installed "for" his parents, in other words for their merit, and "of" them; in other words, we assume (as does Finot) that Rājendravarman installed images of Śiva and Śivā (Śiva's spouse) that were in some sense "portrait-sculptures" of his parents. Cœdès, in a brief discussion about the dedications of Angkorian royal temples (1928a:93–94) speaks sometimes rather of sculptures of gods that "personify" a king's ancestors, which may be a better way of speaking about such images. But a debate about the difference between images that attempt to capture the unique traits of once-living inviduals (true "portraits"), on the one hand, and figures that represent them without attempting to echo their individuality, on the other, would take us too far from our text.

There are other apparent references to such "portrait-sculptures", for instance the golden portable image of Viṣṇu upon Garuḍa that is said to be modelled on Narapativarman in the eleventh and final stanza of K. 356 (902 *śaka*). Since Cœdès's translation (*BEFEO* 11, p. 404) seems to pass over a couple of details, including an intriguing reference to the sword-blade rite

state of sharing the same world (*sasthānatām*) as Bhavodbhava,[431] this same (*saḥ*) king

of sexual restraint that is mentioned in many tantric works, we give the text again here:

> (20) tasmin dharmmanidhau payodhiraśanāṃ kṣoṇīṃ pradāyānuje
> kāntān nispṛhadhīr yyuvāpi sa vaśī vaddhāsidhārāvrataḥ
> (21) sadbhaktir haraye hariṅ kalijite haimaṃ svamūrttiṃ parāṃ
> prādād utsavayāyinaṃ suracitan tan tāratārkṣyasthitam
>
> After giving the ocean-girdled earth as spouse (*kāntāṃ*) to that treasury of virtue who was his younger brother, this [king], who even as a youth was of a mind devoid of desire, controlled (*vaśī*), a performer of the sword-blade observance, of true devotion, gave to Hari, who vanquishes Kali, a golden Hari, a further image of himself, which is to go out in festival[-procession]s, beautifully fashioned, mounted upon a silver Garuḍa.

For other allusions to portrait-sculptures, see for instance K. 949 (859 *śaka*), st. 8; K. 136 (C11th), st. 12–13; K. 692 (1111 or 1117 *śaka*), st. 25, 57 and 59; K. 384. (1072 *śaka*), st. 5 and 13 of *sarga* 5; K. 1222 (C12th), South Face, st. 12–15. (I am preparing editions of the last two above-mentioned inscriptions). Most of these, it will be noted, date from the twelfth century, for, although there are many earlier inscriptions that record the installation of particular images for the benefit of particular ancestors (e.g. K. 826 of 803 *śaka*), explicit statements that the images were intended as "portraits" are less common. Some of the instances cited by Cœdès in the discussion of dedications mentioned above (1928a:93–94) are not explicit. The oldest occurrence, therefore, may be that of K. 949, of the first half of the tenth century, whose eighth stanza reads (correcting *devī* to *devīṃ* after consulting the EFEO estampage n. 1365) as follows:

> (15) navendriyaiśvaryyaśake devīṃ saṃsthā ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒
> (16) jananīpratimāṃ prauḍhaprīti ⏒ ⏒ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒
>
> In the *śaka* year 859, he [*scil.* Maṅgalavarman, the younger brother of Narasiṅhapativarman, Overlord of Cānāśa] installed the Goddess, who was the image of his mother (*jananīpratimām*), full-blown in affection...

Finally, we may mention that the unpublished twelfth-century inscription K. 1222, an edition and translation of which is now nearly ready for release, appears to make clear that the sculptures of the three tower-sanctuaries of Phnom Bei were intended as portraits, since stanza 11 on the south side of the stela compares the founder's representation of his own guru, installed as an idol of Śiva called Madhurendreśvareśvara, with the legend of Ekalavya. According to *Mahābhārata* 1.123:10ff, Ekalavya wished to learn archery from Droṇācārya, but Droṇācārya refused to take him on the grounds that Ekalavya was an outcaste hunter (*niṣāda*). Ekalavya therefore withdrew to the forest and made an effigy of Droṇācārya, and in front of that effigy he practised archery until he became an unparalleled archer.

[431] This is a name for Śiva that appears primarily to be common because it occurs in the SADYOJĀTA and VYOMAVYĀPIN mantras. There is a passage of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (2:26) that refers to the soul who has been liberated through initiation as being *bhavodbhava-padātītaḥ*, "beyond the world of Bhavodbhava" (or "beyond the worlds of *bhava* and *udbhava*"), but this is perhaps not relevant here. The name may mean: "Source of the Universe".

(*patiḥ*) of [this] world (*bhuvaḥ*),[432] who had earned glory [in his own right] (*prāpta-yaśāḥ*), mindful of good conduct (*sthitijñaḥ*),[433] installed (*sthāpitavān*) these (*ime*) two (*dve*) images (*nime*) of Śiva and Śivā (*śivayoḥ*) for the sake of blessing (*śivāya*).

CCVIII. [*upajāti*]
(53) mahābhujas so pi caturbhujasya nimām imām amvujajanmanaś ca
atiṣṭhipan niṣṭhitarājakṛtyo liṅgāny athāṣṭāv api cāṣṭamūrtteḥ ||

208d liṅgāny athāṣṭāv] Jacques; liṅgān yathāṣṭāv Finot

महाभुजस्सो ऽपि चतुर्भुजस्य निमामिमामम्वुजजन्मनश्च
अतिष्ठिपन्निष्ठितराजकृत्यो लिङ्गान्यथाष्टावपि चाष्टमूर्त्तेः २०८

208. That (*saḥ*) mighty-armed one (*mahābhujaḥ*), in whom the duties of a king were firmly rooted (*niṣṭhitarājakṛtyaḥ*),[434] installed (*atiṣṭhipat*) also (*api*) this (*imām*) statue (*nimām*) of the Four-Armed [Viṣṇu] (*caturbhujasya*), and [another one] (*ca*) of the Lotus-Born [Brahmā] (*ambujajanmanaḥ*),[435] and then (*atha*) also (*api*) eight (*aṣṭau*)

[432] Alternatively we could understand *bhuvaḥpatiḥ* as an *aluksamāsa* meaning "king".

[433] A conceivable sense of *sthitijñaḥ* might be "mindful of the [need for the] continuity [of the religion]", for which see, for instance, *Kiraṇatantra* 6:12. But, as Harunaga Isaacson points out, it is more likely that the sense is that found in this celebrated stanza of the *Kumārasambhava* describing Himālaya's marriage (1:18):

> sa mānasīṃ merusakhaḥ pitṝṇāṃ kanyāṃ kulasya sthitaye sthitijñaḥ
> menāṃ munīnām api mānanīyām ātmānurūpāṃ vidhinopayeme
>
> He was a friend of Meru and married with due rites Menā, mind-born daughter of the *pitṛ*s, for the continuation of his family; she was honored by the sages and worthy of him who knew what makes for stability.

Smith (2005:33) here translates *sthitijñaḥ* with "who knew what makes for stability", which is of course fitting in the description of a mountain, but medieval commentators give glosses that suggest morally correct behaviour: Vallabhadeva has *ācāravit*, Mallinātha has *maryādābhijñaḥ*, and Cāritravardhana has *sthitir lokācāras tāṃ jānītīti tādṛśaḥ*.

[434] Alternatively "by whom the duties of a king were consummately performed".

[435] Here, one could instead understand there to be just one statue, for one could interpret as follows: "That same mighty-armed one, who performed all the duties of a king, installed also (*ca*) this statue of four-armed Brahmā". It is of not common to refer to Brahmā simply as "the four-armed one", but one could assume *caturbhujasya* to be just an extra epithet for the already distinctive label *amvujajanmanaḥ*, "lotus-born", an epithet chosen partly to echo the first word of the stanza, *mahābhujaḥ*.

Finot prefers to understand that this refers to a single statue of both Viṣṇu (*caturbhuja*) and Brahmā, which he takes to be an image showing Brahmā upon the lotus that emerges from

*liṅga*s (*liṅgāni*) of [Śiva,] the one who has eight forms (*aṣṭamūrteḥ*).[436]

CCIX. [*upajāti*]
ratnollasadbhogasahasradīptaṃ sa cāpy ahīnan draviṇasya rāśim
aśeṣam apy eṣv aditeva śeṣan deveṣu devendrasamānavīryyaḥ ⊙

Viṣṇu's navel (*amvujajanmanaś ca*); this does not seem to us to be a natural interpretation of the wording (in particular of the particles).

Our interpretation here assumes, however, that there are two statues, one of Brahmā and one of Viṣṇu, since stanzas 207 and 208 taken together are probably intended to give the identities of the four statues that must have inhabited the corner shrines on the uppermost terrace, surrounding the central *liṅga*. For a plan of the temple, see Figure 1.9 on p. 74. That there were four principal images accompanying the central *liṅga* is of course also confirmed by the final stanza, 218 (see below). On the terrace below that would have been the eight *liṅga*s of the eight *mūrti*s of Śiva, which are just about to be mentioned. This configuration, based on such an interpretation of stanzas 207 and 208, seems to be what Stern must have had in mind when he wrote the following (1934:612):

> Ajoutons qu'au Méb˘òn oriental, d'après la stèle de consécration (*BEFEO* XXV, p. 351, st. 208), le liṅga du sanctuaire central n'était pas le seul. Si les quatre autres sanctuaires du sommet du temple étaient consacrés à des statues d'ancêtres divinisés, huit sanctuaires à l'étage inférieur étaient destinés à huit liṅga correspondant aux huit formes de Çiva. Nous retrouvons là ce chiffre de neuf liṅga érigés également à Liṅgapura (Kòḥ Ker probablement, — inscription de Bàkśĕi Č˘àṃkr˘òṅ, *JA.*, 1909, p. 500, st. 37). Ce chiffre et cette disposition étaient peut-être habituels.

In fact, Cœdès subsequently rethought entirely the interpretation of st. 37 in K. 286 about Kòḥ Ker (see *IC* I, pp. 68–71), but for another instance of a central *liṅga* surrounded by eight others representing Śiva in each of his eight forms, see the next note.

[436]As mentioned in the previous footnote, Stern (1934:612) assumes that each of the eight *liṅga*s corresponded to one of the eight *mūrti*s of Śiva and that these were arrayed in aedicules in the cardinal and intermediate directions on the terrace below the summit (see Figure 1.9 on p. 74, or the more schematic plan on p. 127 of Petrochenko 2017, where they are picked out in colour). This positioning of eight *liṅga*s is indeed confirmed by Haendel (2005:218): see introduction p. 59. It seems likely that we are to understand from st. 25 of K. 826 (in Cœdès' virtuosic reconstruction) that the eight towers around the base of the Bakong similarly housed eight *liṅga*s of Śiva's eight forms (*aṣṭamūrti*):

ilāni[lāgnicandrārkka]sa[l]ilākāśayajvan[aḥ]
rājav[ṛtt]īri[t]eśasya so ṣ[ṭa]mūrt[t]īr atiṣṭhipat

> He installed the eight forms of Śiva, who was named in accordance with royal practice, [— of Śiva who is] earth, air, fire, moon, sun, water, ether and the sacrificer.

209c śeṣan] Jacques; śeṣaṃ Finot

रत्नोल्लसद्भोगसहस्रदीप्तं स चाप्यहीनन्द्रविभस्य राशिम्
अशेषमप्येष्वदितेव शेषन्देवेषु देवेन्द्रसमानवीर्य्यः २०९

209. And this same [king] (*sa ca*), whose strength was similar (°*samānavīryaḥ*) to that of Indra (*devendra*°), also (*api*) gave (*adita*) to these (*eṣu*) gods (*deveṣu*)

> as it were (*iva*), *Śeṣa, the king of serpents (*ahīnam*), a mass (*rāśim*) of strength (*draviṇasya*), who is bright with a thousand hoods that flash with [encrusted] gemstones (*ratnollasadbhogasahasradīptam*), [and yet] who was not Śeśa (*aśeṣam*)…*[437]

[…he gave] in its entirety (*aśeṣam*) the remainder of (*śeṣam*) his not inconsiderable (*ahīnam*) mass (*rāśim*) of wealth (*draviṇasya*), which gleamed with jewels and was brightened by a thousand privileges / revenues (*ratnollasadbhogasahasradīptam*).

CCX. [*upajāti*]
(54) sa kalpayām āsa mahe(n)[d](ra)[ka](lpa)s
sadā sadācāravidhiṃ vidheyam
śaivaśrutismṛtyuditā[ṃ] saparyyāṃ
paryyāptam āsām iha devatānām ||

210a mahe(n)[d](ra)[ka](lpa)s] mahendrakalpas Finot; mahe[ndraka]lpas Jacques[1]; mahe[ndraka](lpa)s Jacques[2] **210d** paryyāptam āsām] Jacques; paryyāptamāsām Finot

स कल्पयामास महे(न्द्रकल्प)स्सदा सदाचारविधिं विधेयम्
शैवश्रुतिस्मृत्युदितां सपर्य्यां पर्य्याप्तमासामिह देवतानाम् २१०

210. He who was similar to great Indra [/to his own father Mahendravarman] (*mahendrakalpaḥ*) formulated (*kalpayām āsa*)[438] the rules of correct conduct (*sadācāravidhim*) that were invariably (*sadā*) to be followed (*vidheyam*), [as well as] the worship

[437] This pun makes this stanza an instance of the ornament *virodha*, since it is impossible that she should give something that both was and was not Śeṣa. What follows is the resolution of the contradiction by furnishing the contextually required sense.

[438] This formulation could be intended to imply that he decreed the conditions of use and the manner of worship for his religious foundations by penning a *kalpa*, a sort of ritual manual. (See TAK 2, s.v. *kalpa* 1, and the various senses of *kalpa* recorded in the NWS: `nws.uzi.uni-halle.de`, consulted 24.xi.2021.) For another allusion to Cambodian authorship of such a work (in K. 692, st. 5), see Sanderson 2001:23, fn. 28. The composition

(*saparyām*), generously [provided for] (*paryāptam*), that is [as] taught in the Śaiva, Śruti- and Smṛti-literatures (*śaivaśrutismṛtyuditām*), for these (*āsām*) divinities (*devatānām*) here (*iha*).[439]

CCXI. [*upajāti*]
sa cāpi vācaspatidhīs sadhīran dharmmānugan dharmmabhṛtāṃ purogaḥ
tān bhāvino bhāvitarājadharmmān idaṃ vaco vocata kamvujendrān ⊙

211a sadhīran] Jacques[2]; s[u]dhīran Finot, Jacques[1]. The stone is undamaged at this point and bears no trace of having once had the vowel-sign for an *u*. Jacques[2] notes here that we should understand *sudhīran*.

स चापि वाचस्पतिधीस्सधीरन्
धर्म्मानुगन्धर्म्मभृतां पुरोगः
तान्भाविनो भावितराजधर्म्मान्
इदं वचो ऽवोचत कम्वुजेन्द्रान् २११

211. And this same man (*sa cāpi*), who has the intelligence of Bṛhaspati (*vācaspatidhīḥ*), foremost (*purogaḥ*) among those who uphold Dharma (*dharmabhṛtām*), firmly (*sadhīram*)[440] addressed (*avocata*) this (*idam*) speech (*vacaḥ*) that is in conformity with

of the same work is referred to again in K. 1222, Eastern Face, st. 20. The verb in question more commonly has simply the sense "do" or "arrange", so one could perhaps instead render this with "he arranged the procedures for correct conduct". As for the difference in sense between *sadācāravidhim* and *saparyām*, one could, as S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has suggested, assume the distinction to be one between *nitya* (implied by the presence of the adverb *sadā*) and *naimittika* worship. Instead, I have assumed that the distinction is between the prescribed rules of behaviour for those who enter the temple on the one hand (comparable perhaps to the conditions of sanctuary and the sumptuary rules laid down for the Liṅgaparvata by Jayavarman I in stanzas 4 and 5 of K. 367) and the details of ritual procedure in accordance with Śaiva scriptures on the other.

[439] Finot has taken *paryāptamāsām* as one word, which he has rendered "s'étendant à tous les mois". We have preferred to follow Jacques, in whose interpretation the adverbial *paryāptam* seems to fit naturally. We could, however, take it to mean "fully". Instead of "Śaiva, Śruti- and Smṛti-literatures", one could perhaps understand the pair of "Śaiva scripture and Smṛti-literature", since Śaiva authors, such as the tenth-century Kashmirian exegete Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, regularly use the expression *śruti* either to refer to Vedic revelation or to refer to scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta. Also conceivable would be to take the expression to refer to *śruti*- and *smṛti*-forms of Śaiva literature.

[440] This interpretation presupposes that the adjective *dhīra* is substantivised to mean "firmness", and the *sa°* is added to make it an adverb. One could also consider emending, following Finot, to read *sudhīraṃ*. But Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out that we find the same usage of *sadhīram* as an adverb qualifying a verb expressing speech (*uvāca*) in Dhanapāla's tenth-century *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 30, line 26.

Dharma (*dharmānugam*) to the (*tān*) future (*bhāvinaḥ*) kings of the Kamvujas (*kambujendrān*), who will have fostered their royal duties (*bhāvitarājadharmān*).

CCXII. [*upajāti*]
(54) rakṣyasya saṃrakṣaṇam – ◡ – (ya)t sa kṣatradharmmo vidito yadā vaḥ
puṇyan tad etat parirakṣateti vijñāpanā sādhayatīva siddham ||

212a (ya)t] Jacques[1]; y.t Jacques[2]; [ya]t Finot. I see just the initial curve of a *y*, but perhaps it was less damaged when Jacques made his transcription.

रक्ष्यस्य संरक्षगम ◡ – (य)त्स क्षत्रधर्म्मो विदितो यदा वः
पुरायन्तदेतत्परिरक्षतेति विज्ञापना साधयतीव सिद्धम् २१२

212. 'Since (*yadā*) you (*vaḥ*) know (*viditaḥ*) that (*yat*) the Dharma of *kṣatriya*s (*kṣatradharmaḥ*) is the protection (*saṃrakṣaṇam*) of what must be protected (*rakṣyasya*) [[in such a way that it suffers no damage (*akṣataṃ* / *akṣayaṃ*)]],[441] therefore (*tat*) the exhortation (*vijñāpanā*) "Protect (*parirakṣata*) this (*tad etat*) meritorious foundation (*puṇyam*)!" [is,] as it were (*iva*), [something that] establishes (*sādhayati*) what is [already] established (*siddham*).[442]

CCXIII. [*upajāti*]
dharmmo yuge smin sthiram ekapāt sa
katham samasthāsyata susthito yam
bhavādṛśāṃ śāstradṛśāṃ sa no cen
mahābhujastambham upāśrayiṣyat ⊙

213b °sthāsyata] Jacques; °sthasyata Finot **213c** bhavādṛśāṃ] Jacques; bhavādṛśām Finot

[441] This translation assumes a *yat* at the end of the first *pāda* and it assumes that the three syllables missing before that might have been *akṣataṃ* or *akṣayaṃ*, understood as an adverb. The idea that protection is the defining duty of a Kṣatriya is famously expressed by Dilīpa when he muses about what must be his course of action in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (2:53):

> kṣatāt kila trāyata ity udagraḥ kṣattrasya śabdo bhuvaneṣu rūḍhaḥ
> rājyena kiṃ tadviparītavṛtteḥ prāṇair upākrośamalīmasair vā
>
> The lofty label "Kṣatra" has become established in the worlds in the sense of "one who protects from harm": if I acted in contradiction of that, of what use would my kingdom be to me? or my life-breath, if stained by ignominy?

[442] In other words, to exhort future kings to protect his foundations must surely be rhetorically pointless repetition, a point to which Rājendravarman's peroration returns below in stanza 216.

धर्म्मो युगे ऽस्मिन्स्थिरमेकपात्स कथं समस्थास्यत सुस्थितो ऽयम्
भवादृशां शास्त्रदृशां स नो चेन्महाभुजस्तम्भमुपाश्रयिष्यत् २१३

213. 'How (*katham*) could Dharma, which in this (*asmin*) æon (*yuge*) is one-footed (*ekapāt*), stand (*samasthāsyata*) firmly (*sthiram*) on a solid footing (*susthitaḥ*), if it did not (*sa no cet*) lean upon (*upāśrayiṣyat*) the pillar of a great arm (*mahābhujastambham*) of the likes of you (*bhavādṛśām*), for whom the *śāstra*s are your eyes (*śāstradṛśām*)?

CCXIV. [*upajāti*]
(56) dharmmāpadas sādhu ⏑ – ⏑ k[o]pi lajjeta karttā kim uta svayañ ca
rakṣādhikārī nṛpatir vviśeṣād iti pratītaṃ bhavatām idan tat ||

214a k[o]pi] kāpi Finot, Jacques. There is damage immediately before the *kā* and this damage might easily have obliterated a *pṛṣṭhamātra* vowel-sign, which would have made the letter a *ko*. Perhaps there is a trace of a subscript *y* belonging to the letter before this.

धर्म्मापदस्साधु ⏑ – ⏑ क[ो] ऽपि लज्जेत कर्त्ता किमुत स्वयञ्च
रक्षाधिकारी नृपतिर्व्विशेषादिति प्रतीतं भवतामिदन्तत् २१४

214. [[Reflecting[443]]] carefully (*sādhu*) upon distresses afflicting Dharma (*dharmāpadaḥ*), anyone (*ko 'pi*) would feel shame (*lajjeta*); and so (*ca*) how much more so (*kim uta*) the founder (*kartā*) himself (*svayam*)? And [even more] especially (*viśeṣāt*) the king (*nṛpatiḥ*) who has the duty of protection (*rakṣādhikārī*)? This (*iti … idam tat*) is something that you (*bhavatām*) have understood (*pratītam*).

CCXV. [*upajāti*]
santo yaśodharmmadhanā na vāhyaṃ dhanaṃ dhanāyeyur ihātmano pi
prāg eva devādidhanaṃ satāṃ vo viniścayo yan nanu vaddhamūlaḥ ⊙

सन्तो यशोधर्म्मधना न वाह्यं धनं धनायेयुरिहात्मनो ऽपि
प्रागेव देवादिधनं सतां वो विनिश्चयो ऽयन्ननु वद्धमूलः २१५

[443] This translation assumes that the three missing syllables are likely to have been *samīkṣya*, as suggested by Harunaga Isaacson. I had first guessed *vicintya*, but we can see that the first consonant did not have the vowel sign *i*, and that rules out not only this guess, but also *vicārya* and *vilokya*.

215. Good men (*santaḥ*), whose [true] wealth consists in their fame and in their Dharma (*yaśodharmadhanāḥ*), should not be greedy (*na … dhanāyeyuḥ*)[444] even (*api*) for their own (*ātmanaḥ*) external (*bāhyam*) wealth (*dhanam*) in this world (*iha*); how much less (*prāg eva*) for the wealth of gods and others (*devādidhanam*)! Surely (*nanu*) this (*ayam*) conviction (*viniścayaḥ*) must have taken root (*baddhamūlaḥ*) in you (*vaḥ*), who are good men (*satām*)!

CCXVI. [*upajāti*]
(57) tathāpi bhūya[ḥ ka](tha)yāmi yuṣmā˘ṃs
tad akṣataṃ rakṣata puṇyam etat
mā hārṣṭa devasvam iti prakāśan
na dharmmahetoḥ punaruktadoṣaḥ ||

216a bhūya[ḥ ka](tha)yāmi yuṣmā˘ṃs] Jacques; bhūya ⏑ – yāmi yuṣmāṃs Finot

तथापि भूय[ः क](थ)यामि युष्मा˘ंस्तदक्षतं रक्षत पुण्यमेतत्
मा हार्ष्ट देवस्वमिति प्रकाशन्न धर्म्महेतोः पुनरुक्तदोषः २१६

216. Nonetheless (*tathāpi*), I tell (*kathayāmi*) you (*yuṣmān*) again (*bhūyaḥ*) explicitly (*prakāśam*):[445] "Protect (*rakṣata*) this (*etat*) meritorious foundation (*puṇyam*) undamaged / uninterruptedly (*akṣatam*)! Do not take (*mā hārṣṭa*) the property of god (*devasvam*)!" There is no (*na*) fault in repetition (*punaruktadoṣaḥ*) [when one speaks] for the sake of Dharma (*dharmahetoḥ*).[446]

[444]The verb to which the optative plural *dhanāyeyuḥ* belongs, meaning "to be greedy for", is formed by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.4.34 (*aśanāyodanyadhanāyā bubhukṣāpipāsāgardheṣu*). Given the other echoes of the *Kirātārjunīya* alluded to above, we may assume that there is a conscious echo here and in stanza 217 of *Kirātārjunīya* 13:56:

> sāvalepam upalipsite parair abhyupaiti vikṛtiṃ rajasy api
> arthitas tu na mahān samīhate jīvitaṃ kim u dhanaṃ dhanāyitum

Cappeller translates (1912:107):

> Wenn die Feinde ihm im Übermut auch nur (eine Handvoll) Staub wegnehmen wollen, gerät er in Aufregung; wenn er gebeten wird, gewinnt der Grosse es nicht über sich, sein Leben, geschweige denn sein Gut hoch anzuschlagen.

[445]Alternatively one could take this word with the final quarter: "clearly (*prakāśam*) there is no fault of repetition…".

[446]Alternatively one could understand *dharmahetoḥ* as a *bahuvrīhi* in the genitive, qualifying a supplied noun such as *śabdasya*. One could then render the last quarter thus: "There is no

CCXVII. [*upajāti*]
abhyarthito sūn api saṃprayacchen mahān mahimnā kim uta svakṛtyam
ataś ca visrambhavalapragalbhā vāk prārthanābhaṅgabhayojjhitaiṣā ⊙

अभ्यर्थितो ऽसूनपि संप्रयच्छेन्महान्महिम्ना किमुत स्वकृत्यम्
अतश्च विस्रम्भवलप्रगल्भा वाक्प्रार्थनाभङ्गभयोज्झितैषा २१७

217. A great man (*mahān*), when asked (*abhyarthitaḥ*), would hand over (*samprayacchet*) even (*api*) his life breaths (*asūn*), because of his greatness (*mahimnā*); how much more (*kim uta*) his service (*svakṛtyam*)?[447] And it is for this reason (*ataś ca*) that this (*eṣā*) speech (*vāk*), which is bold with the strength of confidence (*visrambhabalapragalbhā*), is free from fear (°*bhayojjhitā*) of my request being refused (*prārthanābhaṅga*°).[448]

CCXVIII. [*sragdharā*]
(58) śākābde gaṇyamāne kṛtanagavasubhir mmāghamāsasya puṇye
śuklasyaikādaśāhe nimiṣam api bhave yāti varṣārddham indau
arccābhiś śaurigaurīgiriśakajabhuvāṃ sārddham arddhendumoleś
śrīrājendreśvarākhyaṃ sthitim akṛta parāṃ liṅgam atredam ābhiḥ ⊙

218a mmāgha°] Jacques; māgha° Finot **218c** °moleś] Jacques; °mauleś Finot. For this spelling, cf. 76, 147, 195, 198.

शाकाब्दे गण्यमाने कृतनगवसुभिर्म्माघमासस्य पुण्ये
शुक्लस्यैकादशाहे ऽनिमिषमपि भवे याति वर्षार्द्धमिन्दौ

fault of repetition in [an utterance] that has [the promotion of] Dharma as its purpose".

The figure here is *arthāntaranyāsa*, but of the subtype that Daṇḍin calls *viśvavyāpin* in *Kāvyādarśa* 2:270 (and which he illustrates in 2:272), since, rather than consisting in the juxtaposition of a specific parallel to the context, it consists in adducing a universal rule that applies also to the contextual situation.

[447] Cf. *Kirātārjunīya* 13:56, quoted above in the annotation to stanza 215.

[448] As S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma has pointed out, this expression echoes (and is perhaps intended to recall to readers' minds) *Kumārasambhava* 1:52, about Himālaya hesitating to offer his daughter Umā in marriage to Śiva:

> ayācitāraṃ na hi devadevam adriḥ sutāṃ grāhayituṃ śaśāka
> abhyarthanābhaṅgabhayena sādhur mādhyasthyam iṣṭe 'py avalambate 'rthe
>
> The Mountain could not offer his daughter to the God of gods without his asking for her. Out of fear of his request being refused (*abhyarthanābhaṅgabhayena*), a wise man resorts to neutrality even with regard to an object that he wishes to achieve.

अच्चर्चाभिश्शौरिगौरीगिरिशकजभुवां सार्द्धमर्द्धेन्दुमोलेश्
श्रीराजेन्द्रेश्वराख्यं स्थितिमकृत परां लिङ्गमत्रेदमाभिः २१८

218. In the *śaka* year (*śākābde*) reckoned (*gaṇyamāne*) by [four] dice, [seven] mountains and [eight] Vasus (*kṛtanagavasubhiḥ*), on the meritorious (*puṇye*) eleventh day (*ekādaśāhe*) of the bright fortnight (*śuklasya*) of the month of Māgha (*māghamāsasya*),[449] and (*api*) with the ascendant (*bhave*) entering (*yāti*) Pisces (*animiṣam*), [and] with the moon (*indau*) [entering] the middle of Taurus (?) (*varṣārddham*),[450] this

[449]The eleventh lunar day (*ekādaśī*) of each lunar fortnight is accorded some religious significance and is usually marked by fasting. That of the bright fortnight of Māgha is, for some, the day upon which Bhīṣma chose to die, and so may be known as Bhīṣmaikādaśī. It is also known as Jayā or Jayaikādaśī, for instance in stanza 4 of chapter 45 of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmadmapurāṇa*. That chapter explains the benefits of fasting then and narrates a story that underscores the efficacy of abstinence, even when involuntary, performed on that day.

[450]Billard and Eade in their table of dates of Cambodian inscriptions that appeared in *BEFEO* 93 identify this date (2006:408) as being "28 janvier 953, vers 10 h 51". Bill Mak has pointed out to me, in an email of 6.ii.2015, that

> they must have taken *lagna* at Pisces. The time would be around 9am in Ujjain time. If you take into account the *deśāntara* (meridian difference) of about 30 degrees, you would add about two hours to that and hence around 11am. The calculation is precise, but the exact time is unknown (hence "vers") since a sign continues to rise for about 2 hours everyday…

The interpretation of *bhava* as the *lagna* could be questioned, for one could instead take it to be a *nakṣatra*. Bill Mak, in an email of 5.ii.2015, has suggested to me that the constellation *ārdra*, being associated with Rudra, might be referred to as Bhava, and we might expect that constellation to have been in the moon (*indau*). But it appears here rather to be in the "unblinking [fish]" (this being Gerdi Gerschheimer's ingenious interpretation of *animiṣam*), in other words in Pisces. Furthermore, the word *bhava* seems to be used for the ascendant (*lagna*) in a stanza pointed out to me by Hélène Bouchoir (email of 18.ii.2015) that occurs in more than one inscription: it is, for instance, in stanza 28 of K. 713, and so may be found in *IC* 1, pp. 21 and 27. But it does not there receive much annotation, doubtless because this stanza is also st. 9 of K. 317, and so has received a translation by Bergaigne that is accompanied by copious notes by Barth (Bergaigne 1893:308–310). Note 4 on p. 310 is devoted to justifying the interpretation of *bhava* as referring to the ascendant, in spite of the silence of known lexicographers on this usage.

More problematic still, for two reasons, is *varṣārddham indau*. The first reason is that the moon should in fact have been in Gemini, rather than in Taurus (above-mentioned emails of Hélène Bouchoir and Bill Mak), and the second is that we might find *vṛṣa* or *vārṣa* used for Taurus, but we do not expect *varṣa* to be so used. Of course we could simply assume *varṣā°* to be the engraver's error for *vārṣā°*, but this would solve only the minor problem of orthography.

Even if we were to settle entirely the question of the exact date, it is of course illusory to imagine that the entire temple was conceived and completed in January 953; indeed we find an allusion to the existence of what must be the Mebon temple in an inscription dated to five

(*idam*) *liṅga*, called Śrī-Rājendreśvara, of Him-who-bears-the-crescent-moon (*ardhendumauleḥ*), achieved (*akṛta*) a perfect installation (*parāṃ …sthitiṃ*) here (*atra*),[451] along with (*sārdham*) cult-statues (*arcābhiḥ*) of Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Giriśa and Brahmā (*śaurigāurīgiriśakajabhuvām*).[452]

years earlier, showing that its construction must already have been well underway: the allusion is in st. 44 of K. 286, quoted and translated above in our annotation to st. 201 above.

[451] The *liṅga* itself is the agent of the middle form *akṛta*, which forces one to imagine such a sense, which may seem odd, but is not indefensible. In effect, its installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) is referred to. But perhaps one could instead (or at the same time) understand that the *liṅga* "achieved (*akṛta*) perdurance (*sthitim*) here".

[452] Once again (for see also st. 206–208 above), this clearly refers to the *liṅga* and the four sculptures in the five principal towers of the quincunx (see Figure 1.9 on p. 74).

List of Figures

Plates of the Estampages

The following pages reproduce a beautiful set of estampages of K. 528 produced and photographed by Khom Sreymom in the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum of Phnom Penh, after the restoration of the stela there (2012–2014) by the team of experts working with Bertrand Porte. To read a given stanza from the estampages, one needs to identify the line where it is situated. The line numbers are indicated in the edition within round brackets. To read stanza 74, for example, one finds in the edition that it begins at the beginning of line 43 of Face A. Plates 4.1–4 cover lines 41–57 of Face A, and thus the text of stanza 74 may be found as the third line on Plates 4.1 and 4.2. The following stanza, 75, appears on the third line of Plates 4.3 and 4.4.

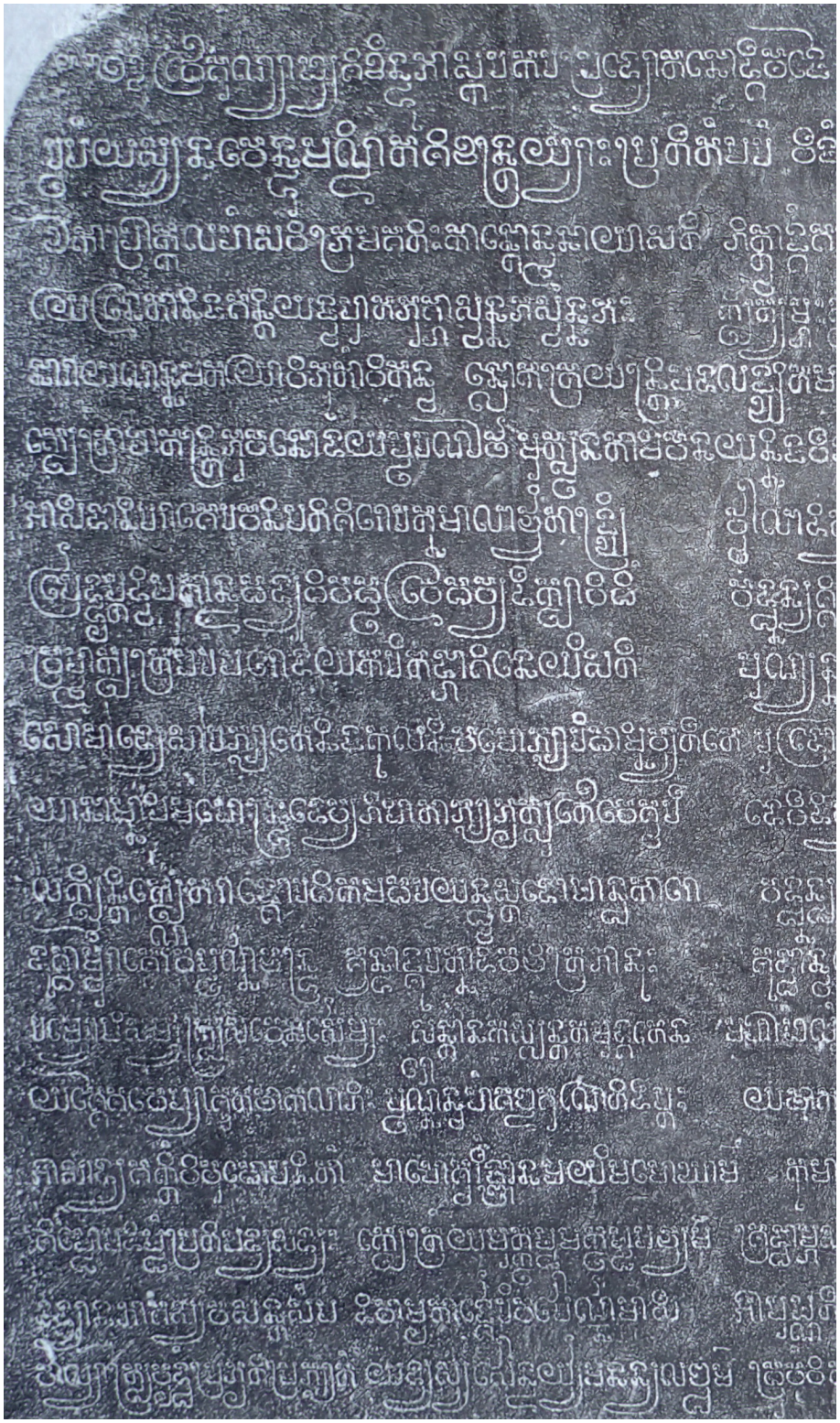


Figure 2.1: Face A, 1st quarter of lines 1–19

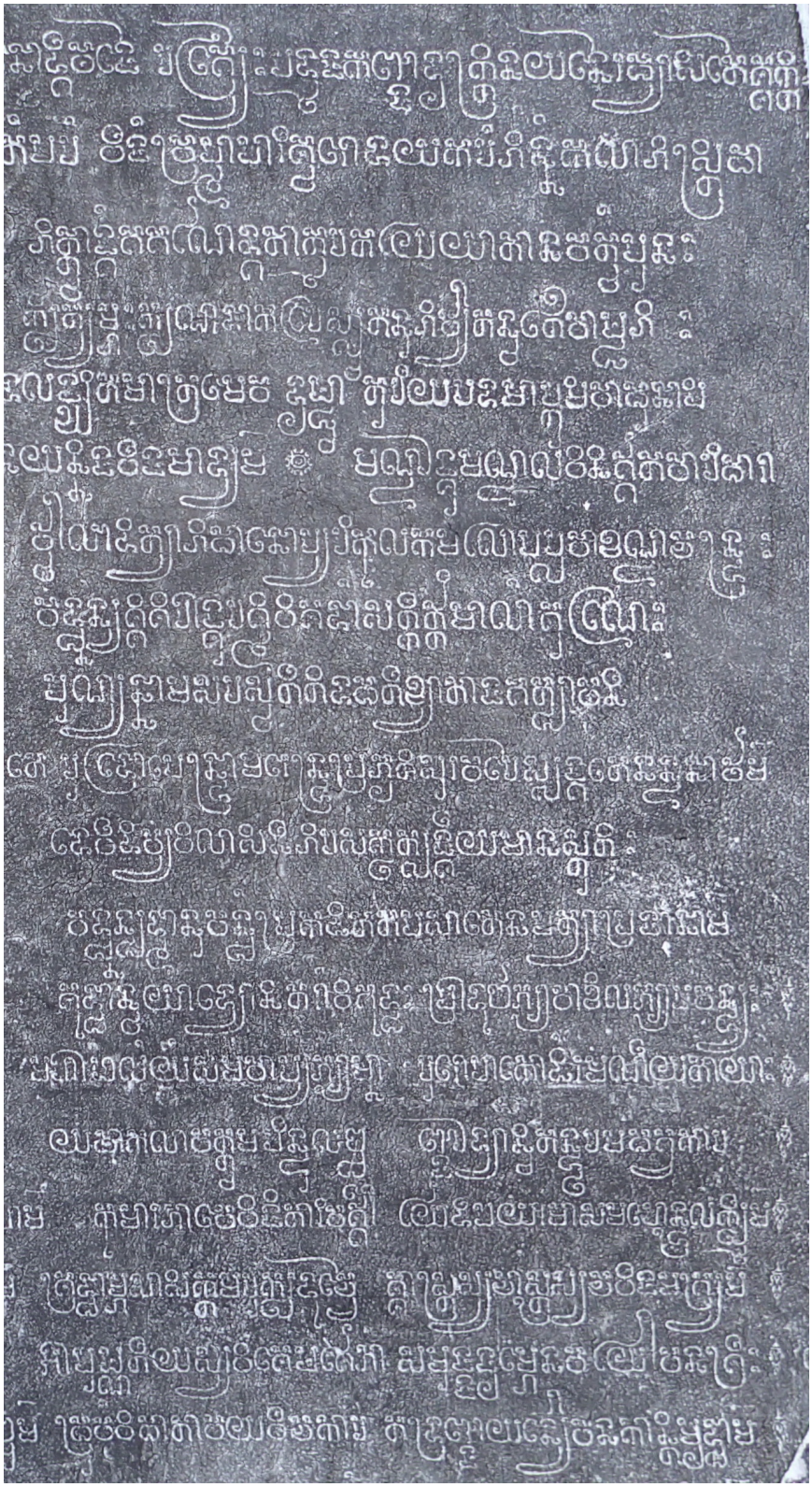


Figure 2.2: Face A, 2nd quarter of lines 1–19

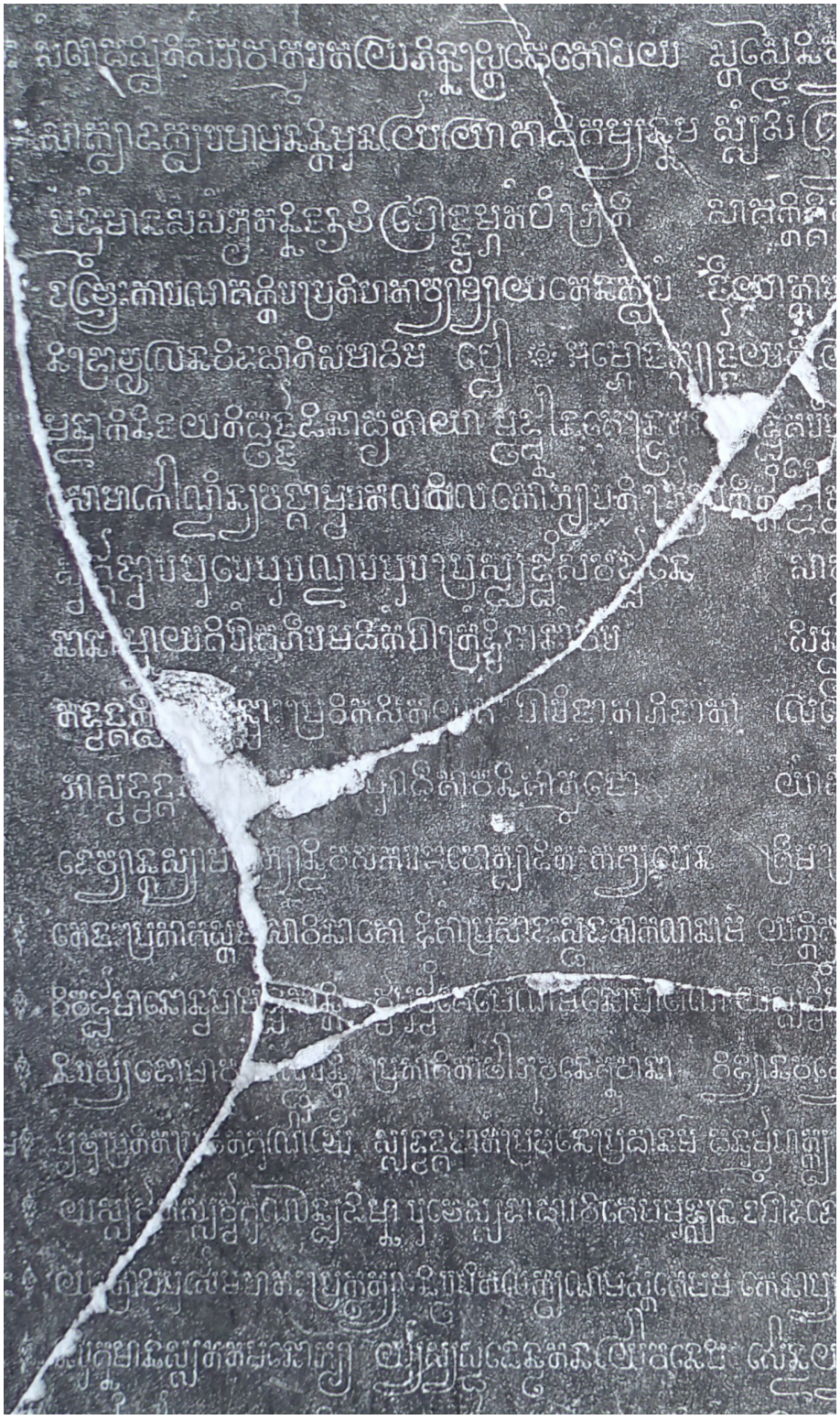


Figure 2.3: Face A, 3rd quarter of lines 1–19

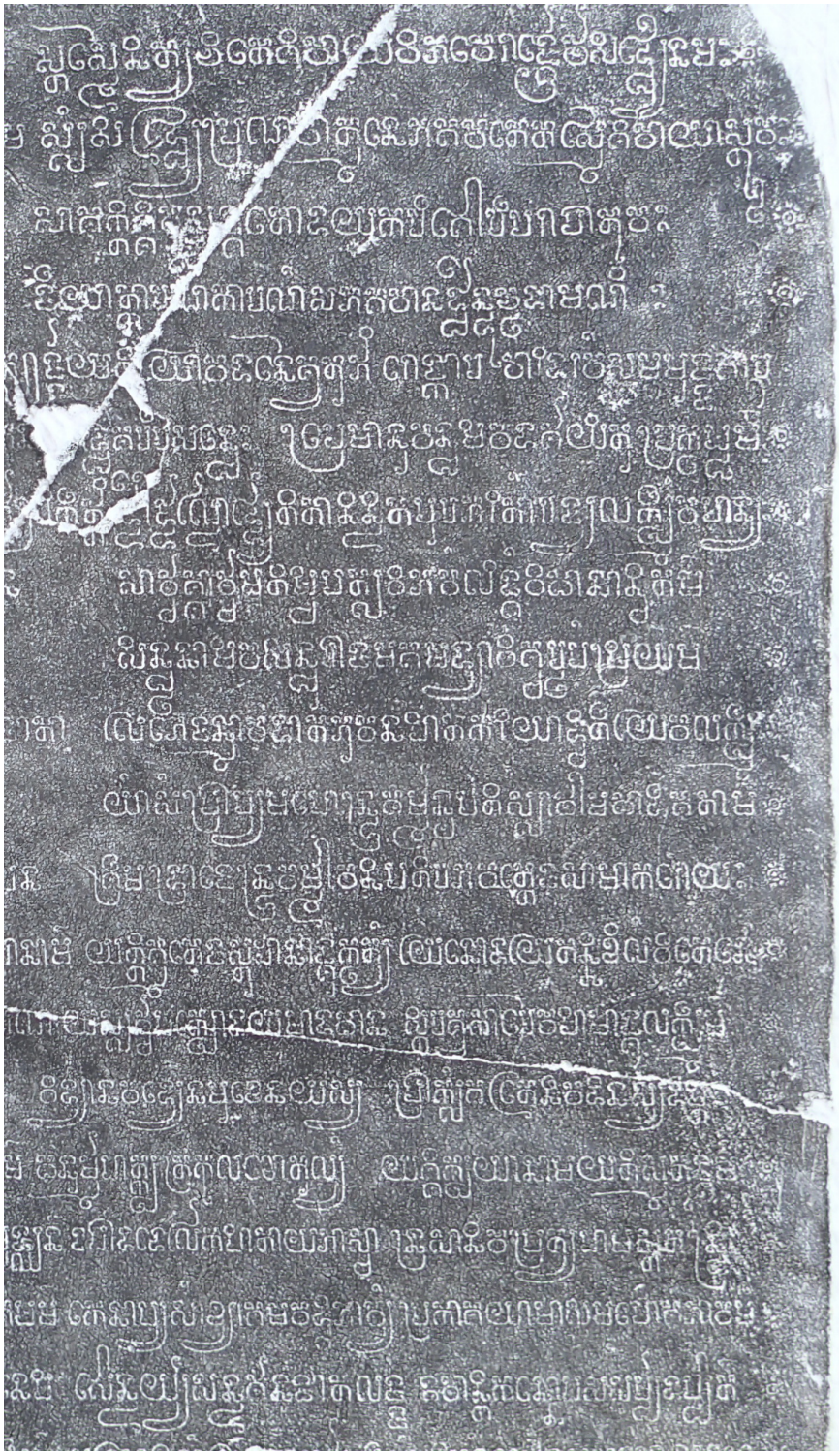


Figure 2.4: Face A, 4th quarter of lines 1–19

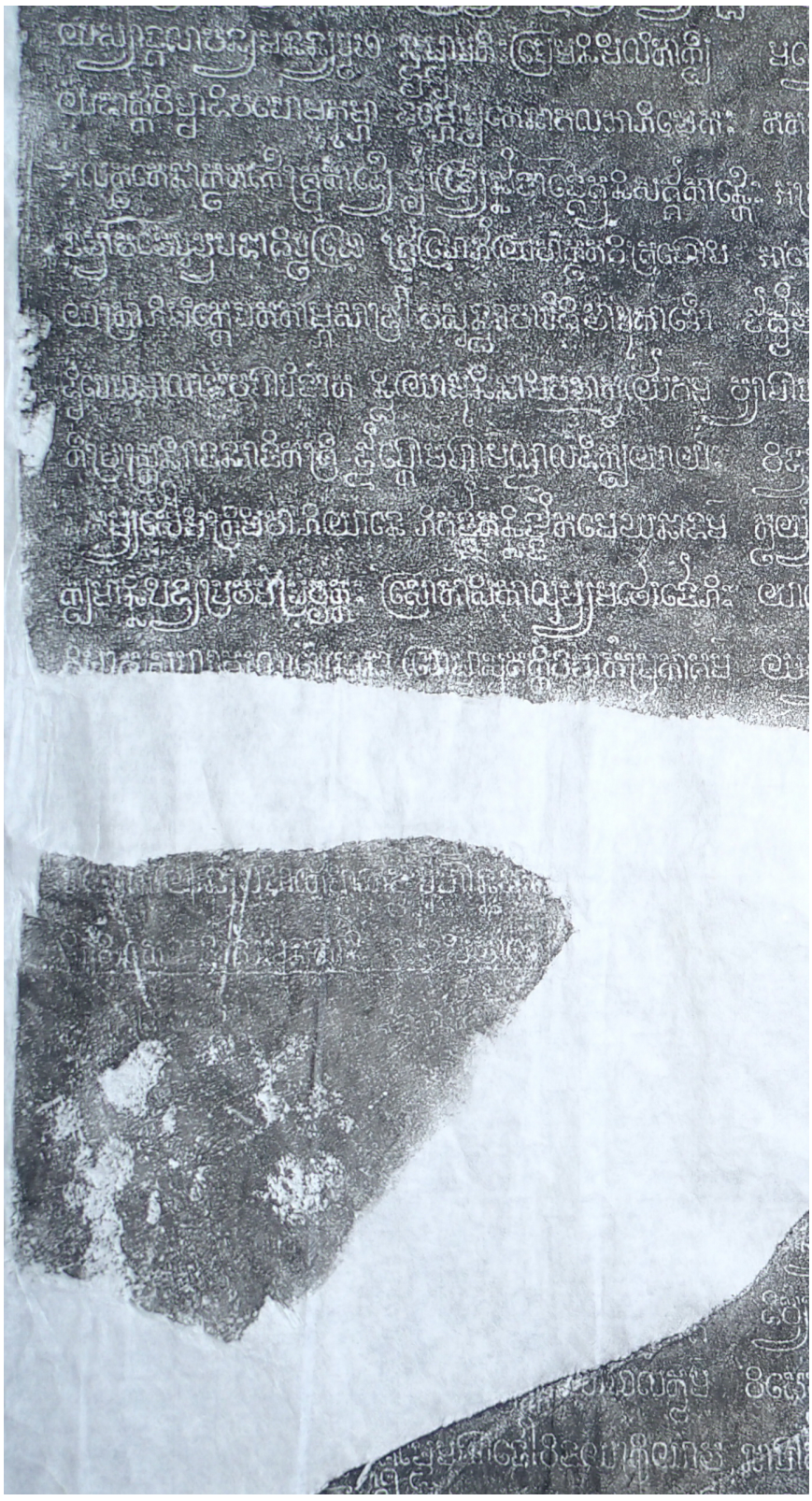


Figure 3.1: Face A, 1st quarter of lines 20–40

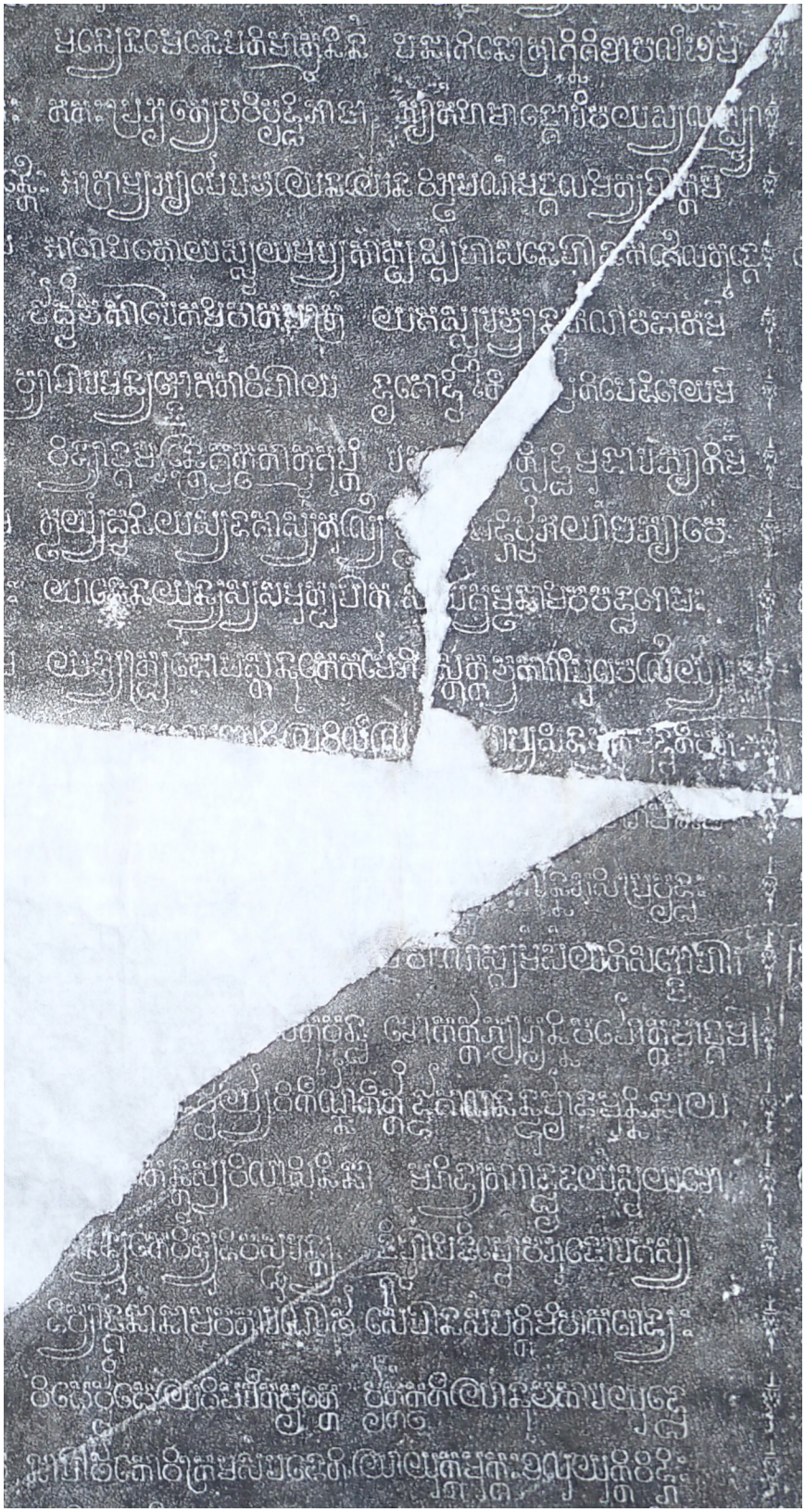


Figure 3.2: Face A, 2nd quarter of lines 20–40

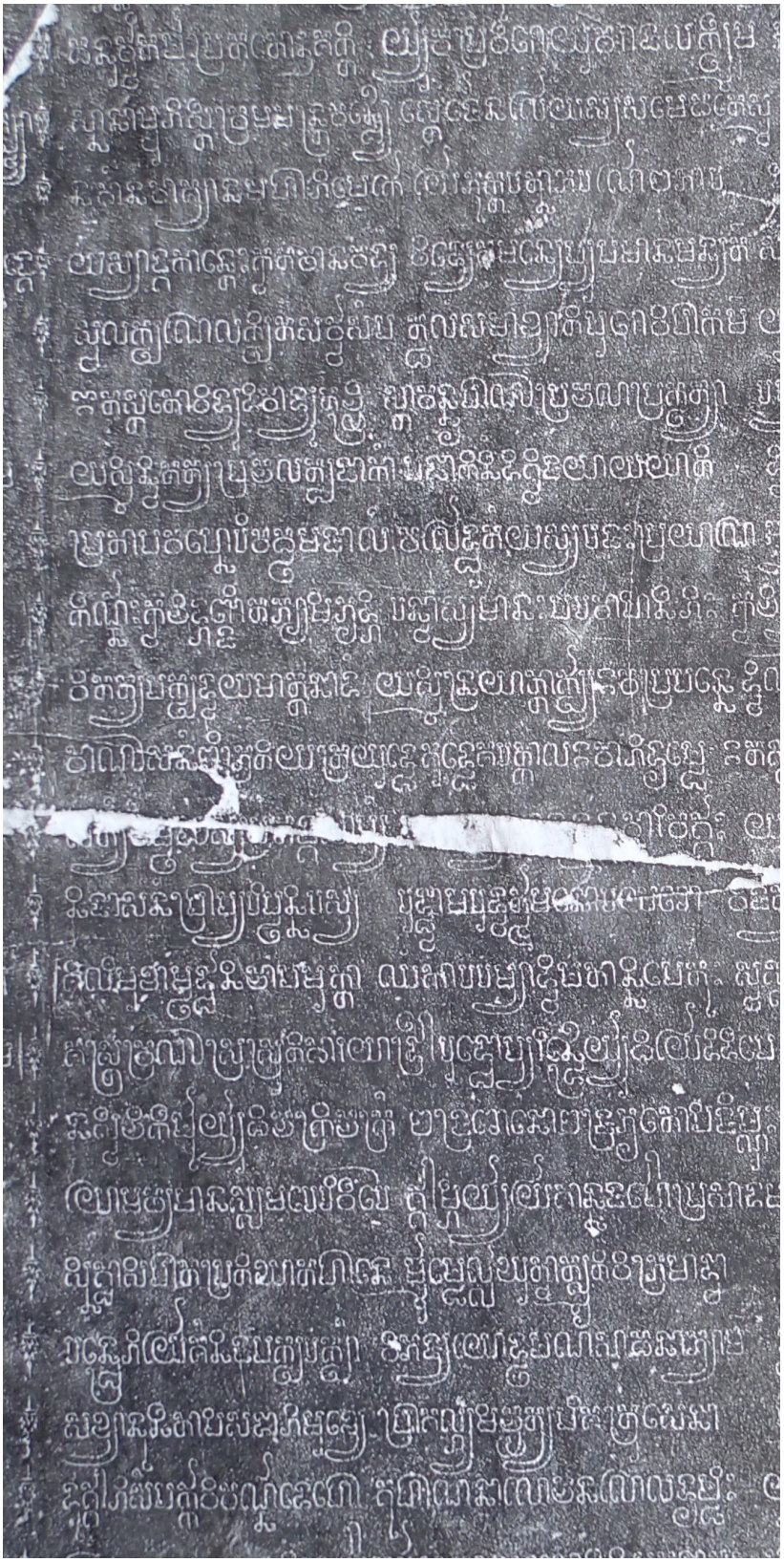


Figure 3.3: Face A, 3rd quarter of lines 20–40

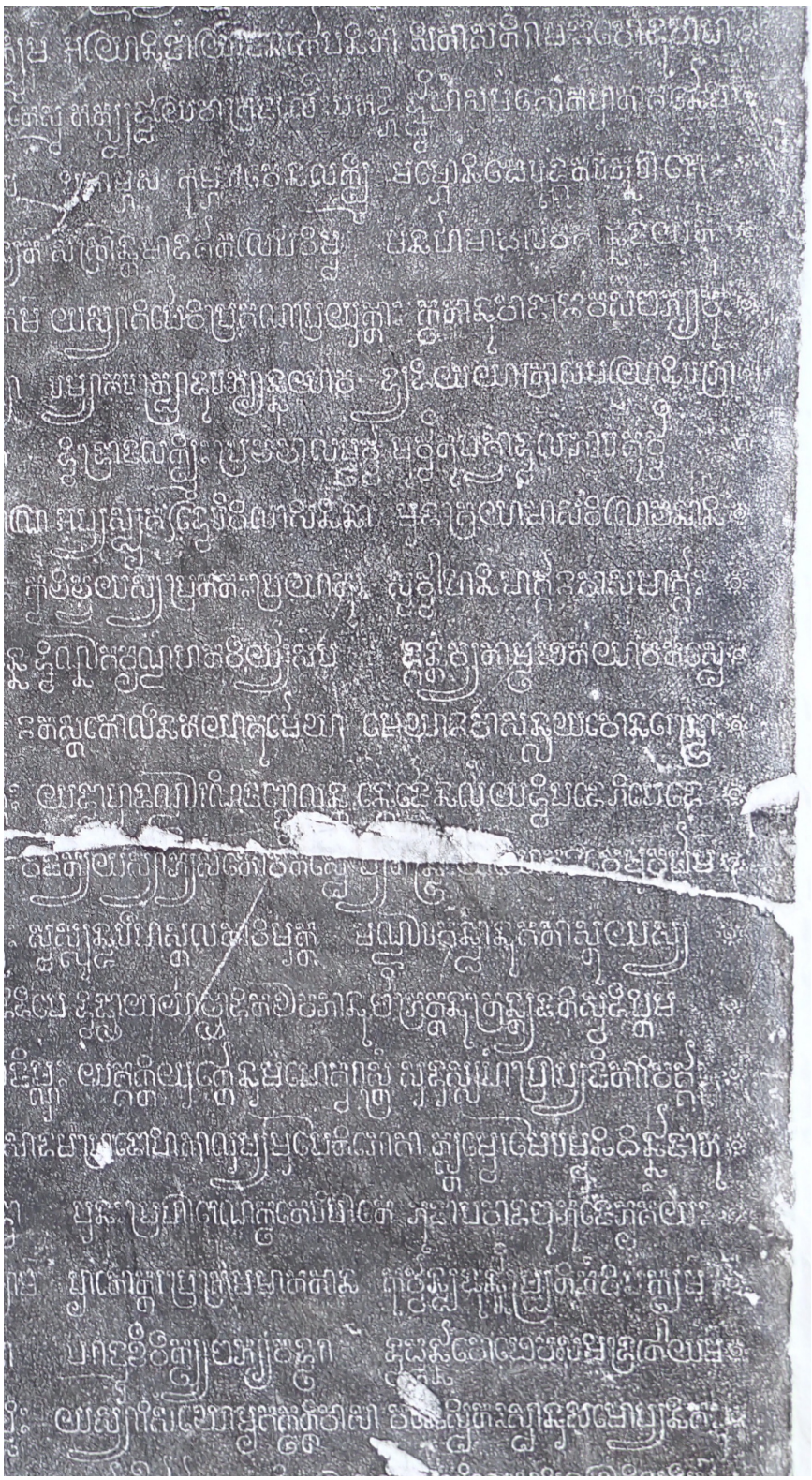


Figure 3.4: Face A, 4th quarter of lines 20–40

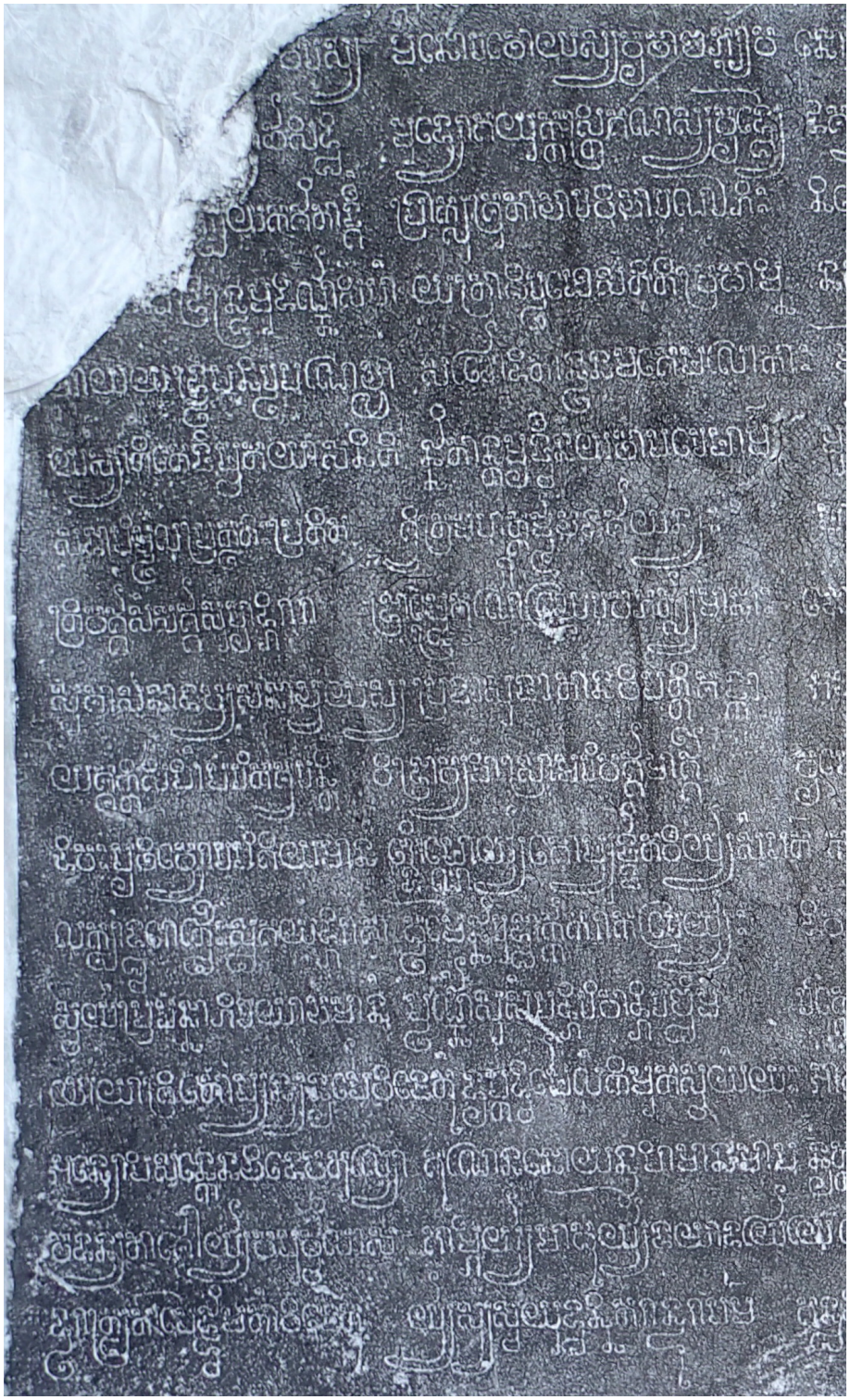


Figure 4.1: Face A, 1st quarter of lines 41–57

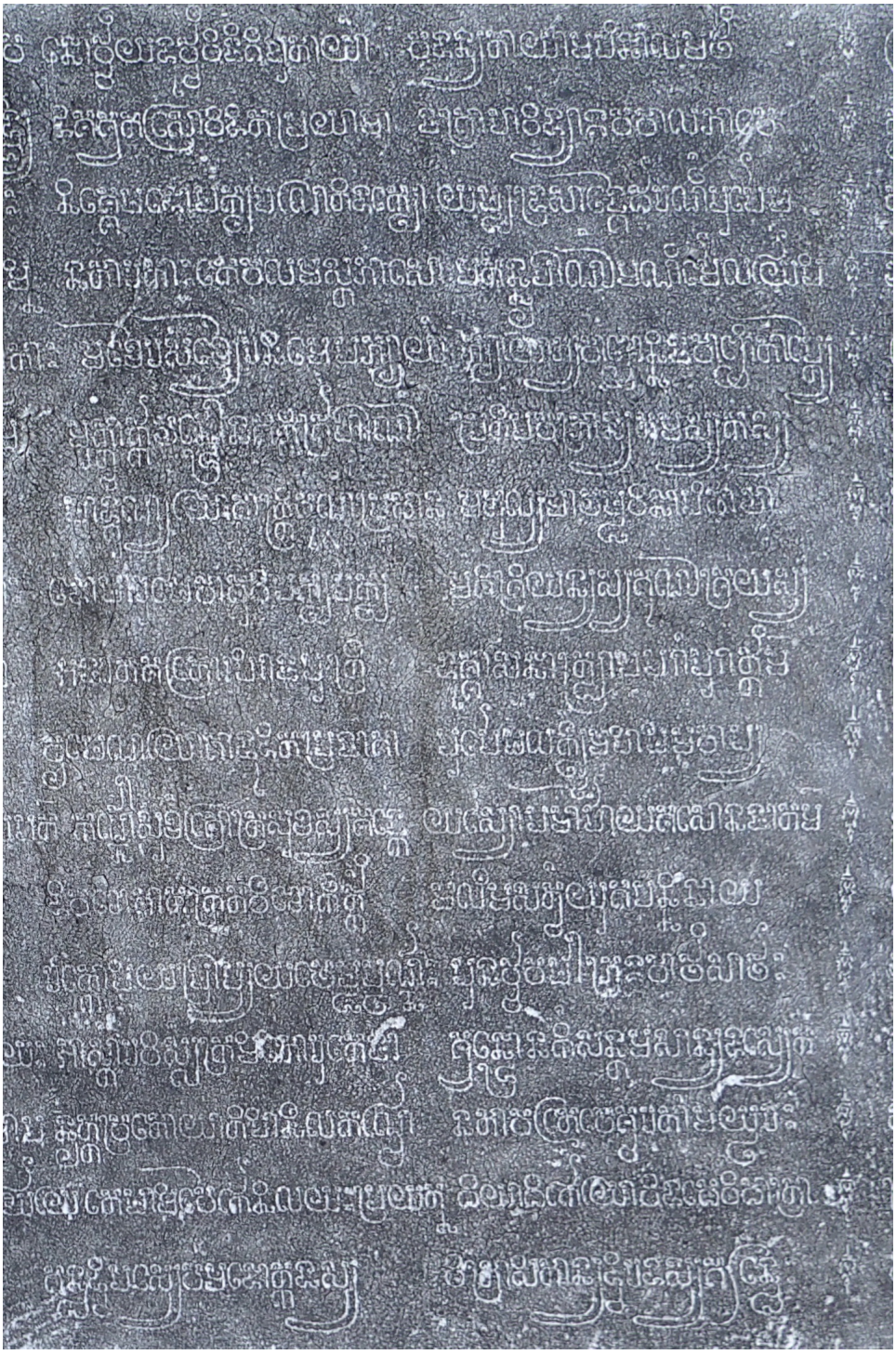


Figure 4.2: Face A, 2nd quarter of lines 41–57

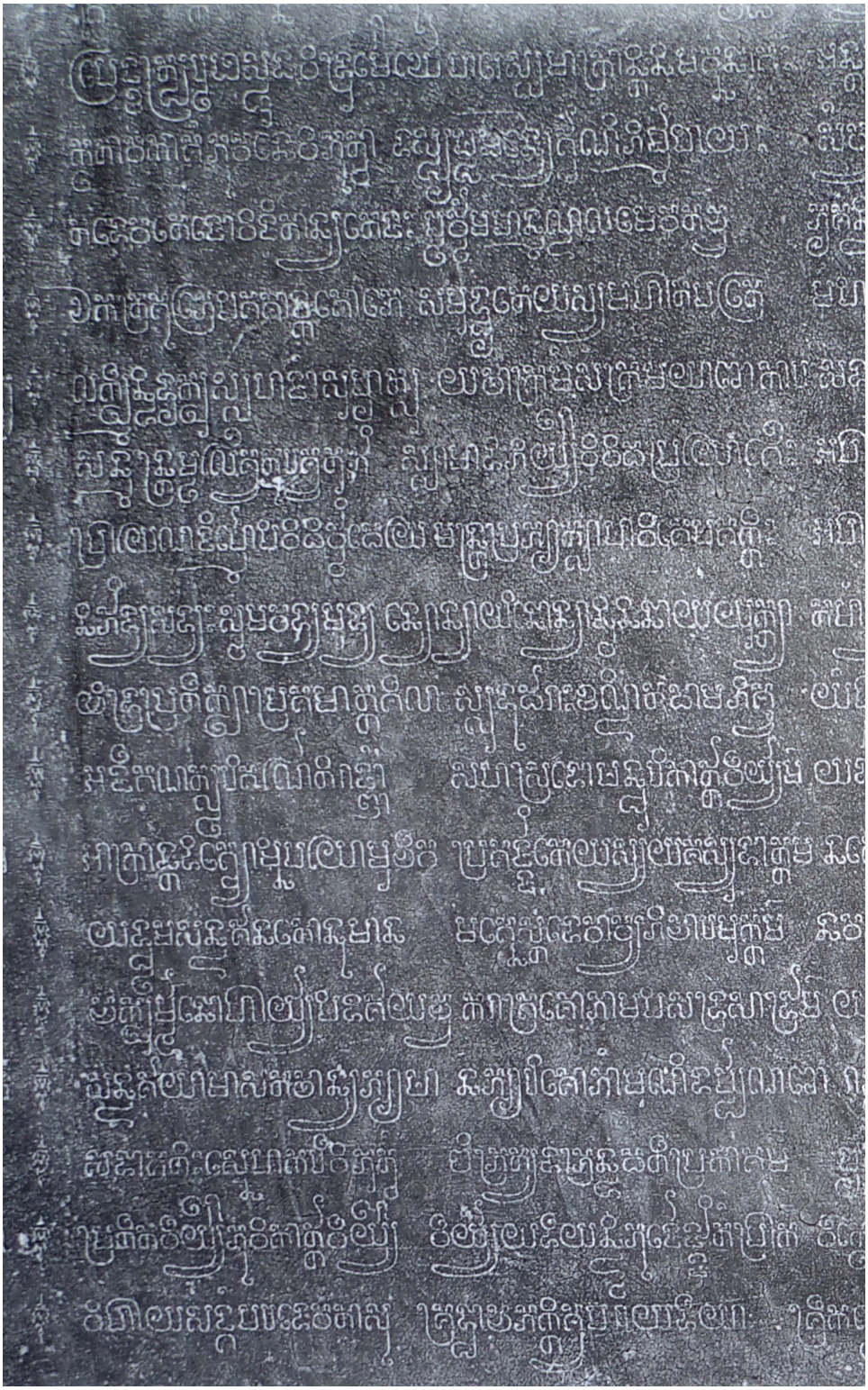


Figure 4.3: Face A, 3rd quarter of lines 41–57

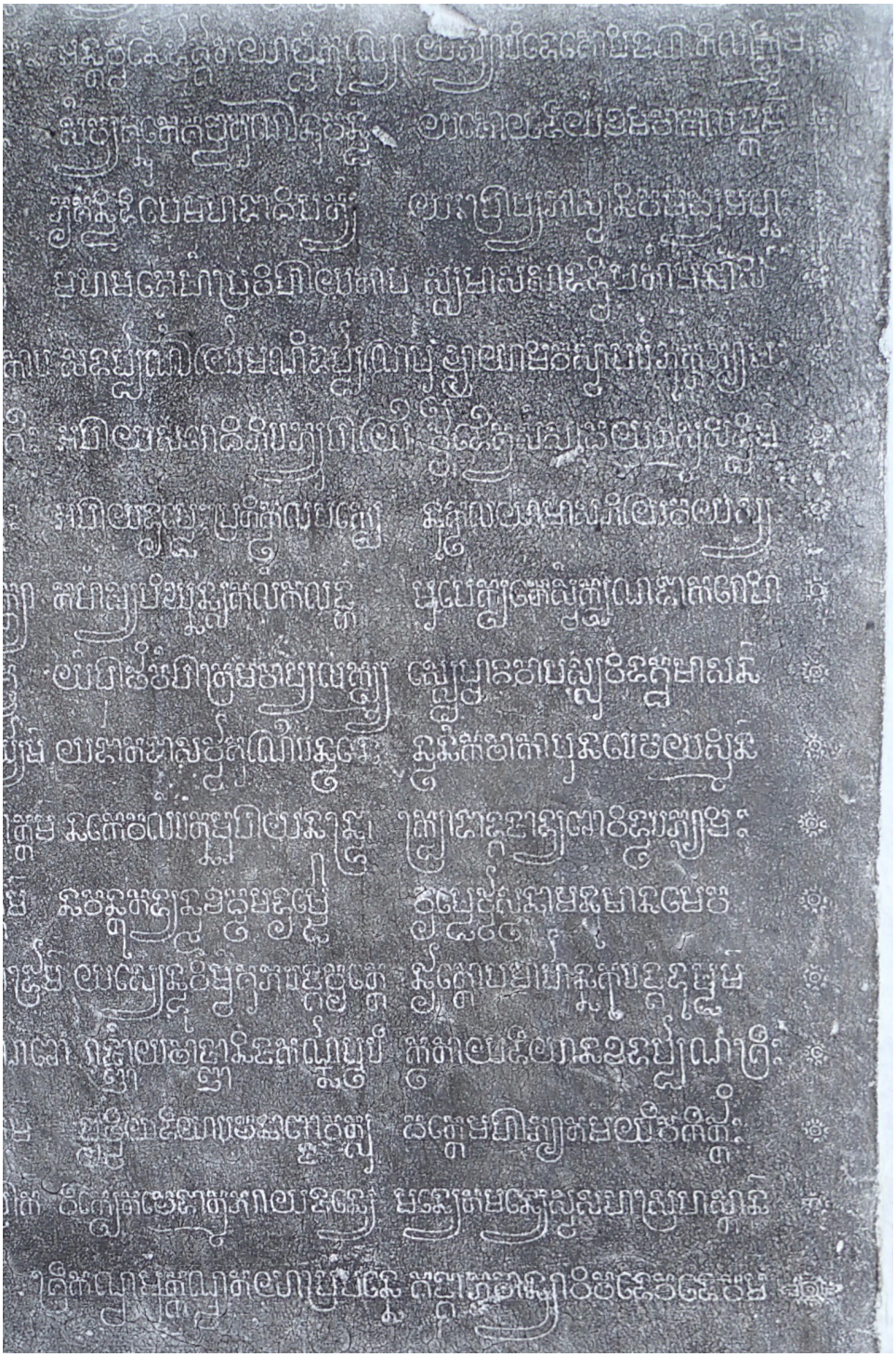


Figure 4.4: Face A, 4th quarter of lines 41–57

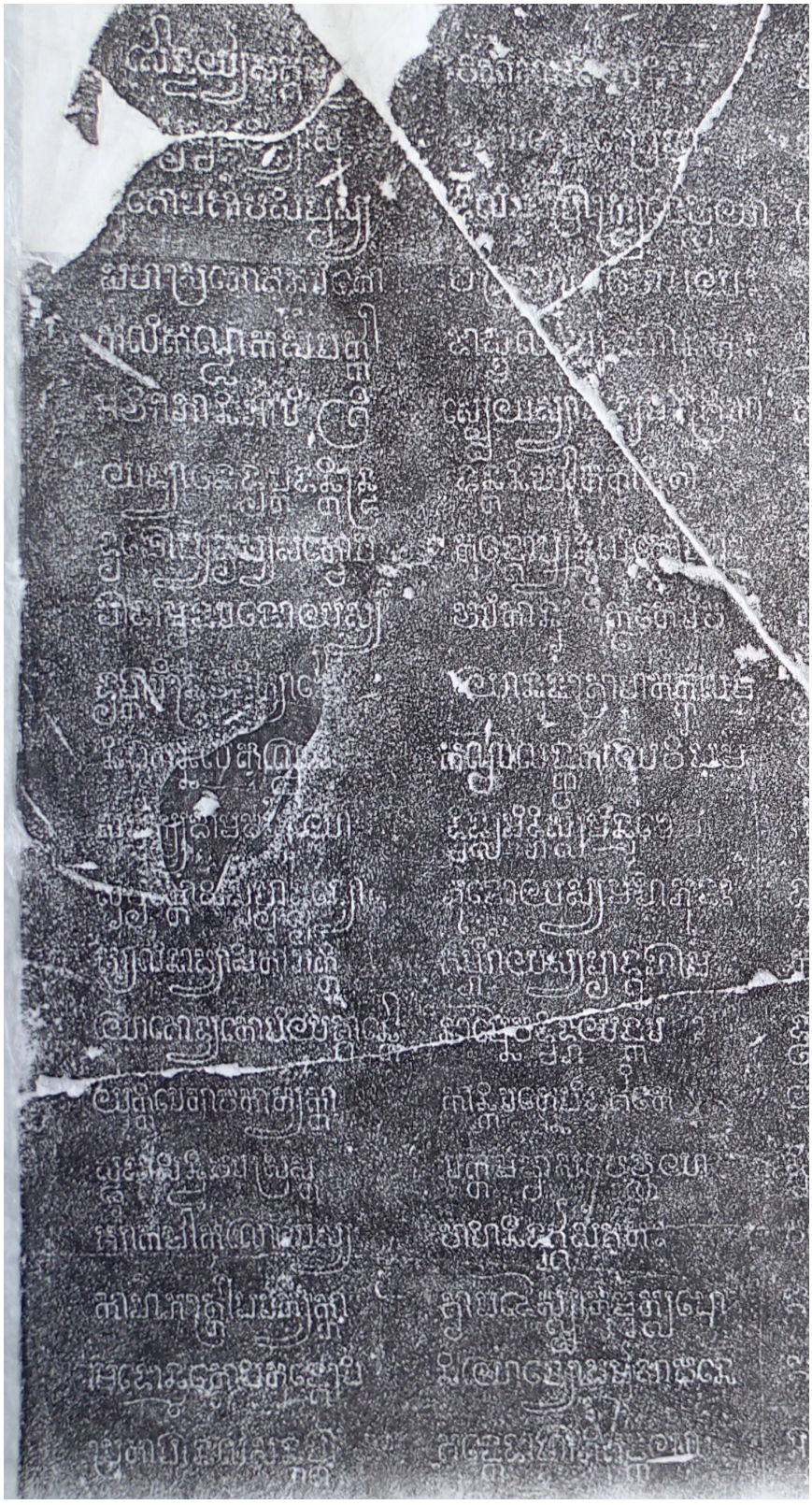


Figure 5.1: Face B, 1st quarter of lines 1–21

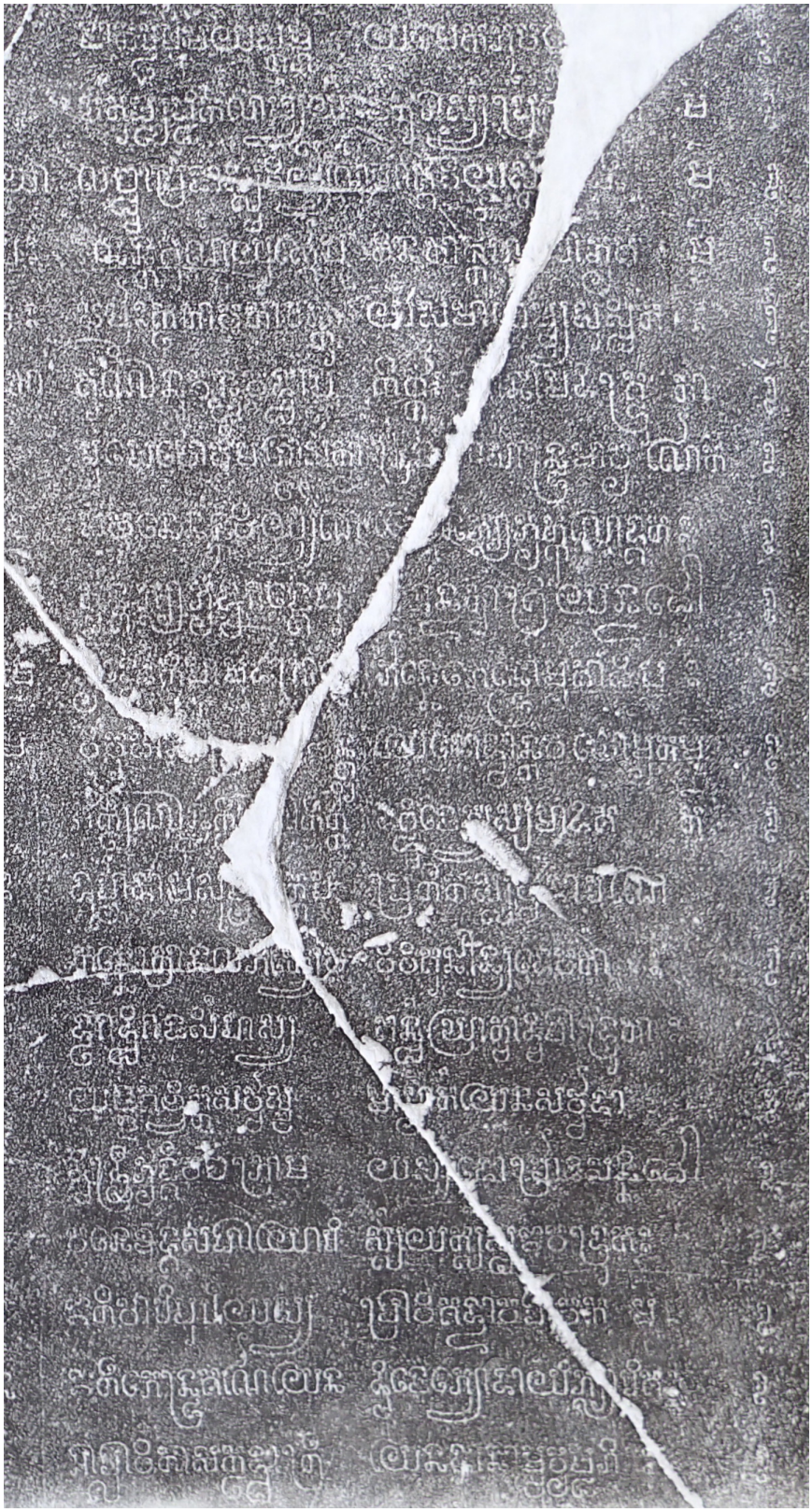


Figure 5.2: Face B, 2nd quarter of lines 1–21

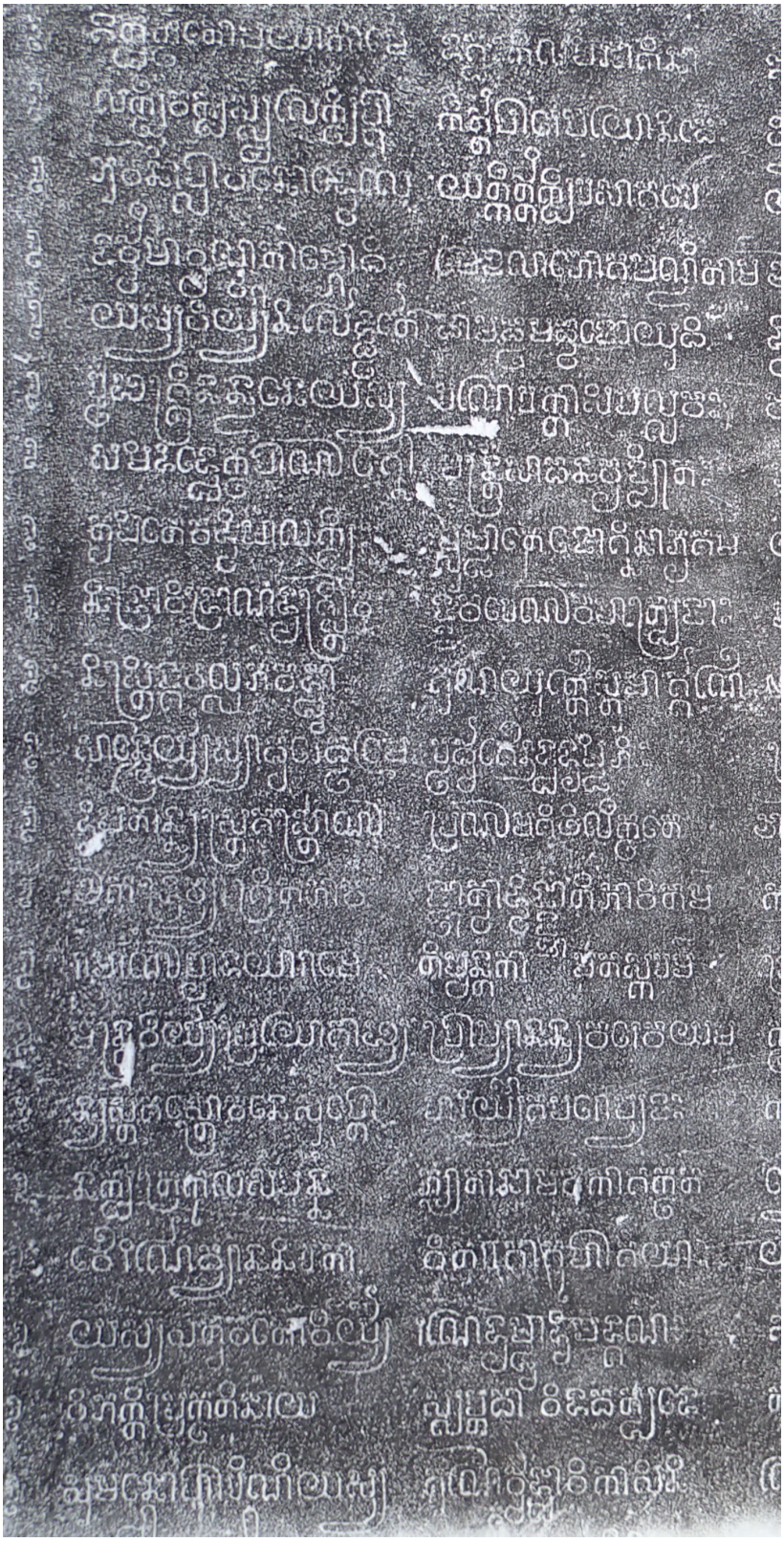


Figure 5.3: Face B, 3rd quarter of lines 1–21

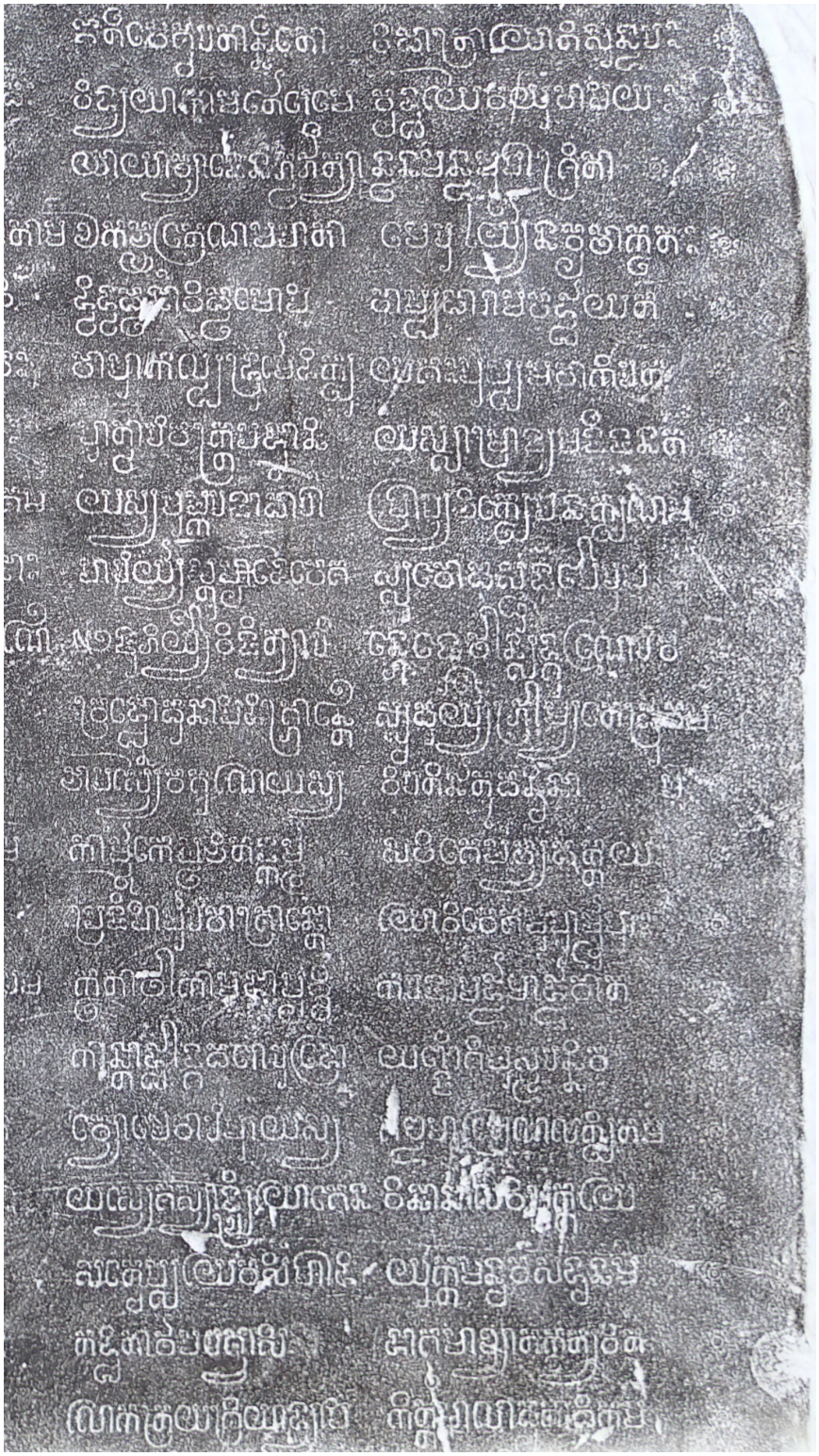


Figure 5.4: Face B, 4th quarter of lines 1–21

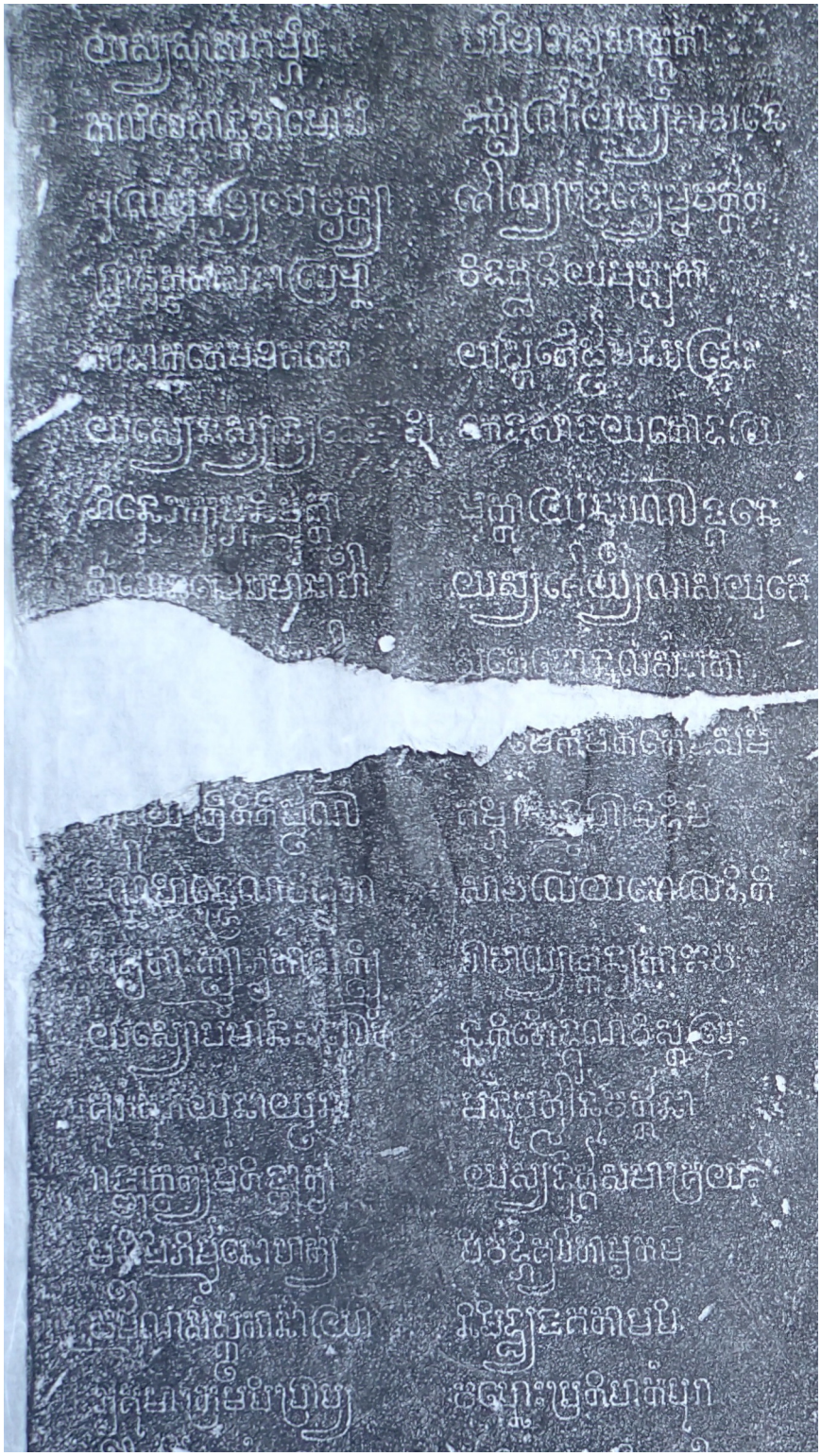


Figure 6.1: Face B, 1st quarter of lines 22–40

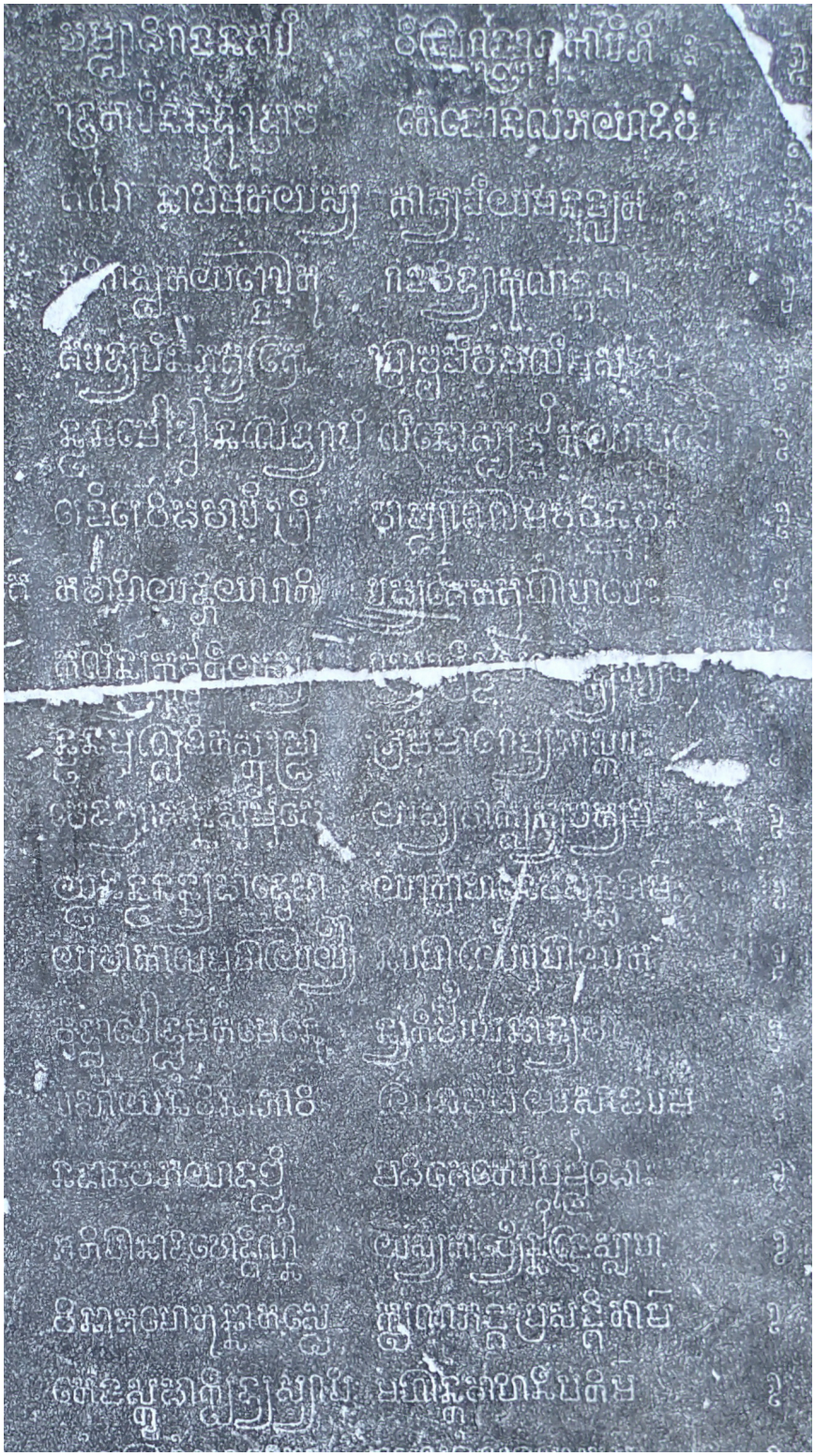


Figure 6.2: Face B, 2nd quarter of lines 22–40

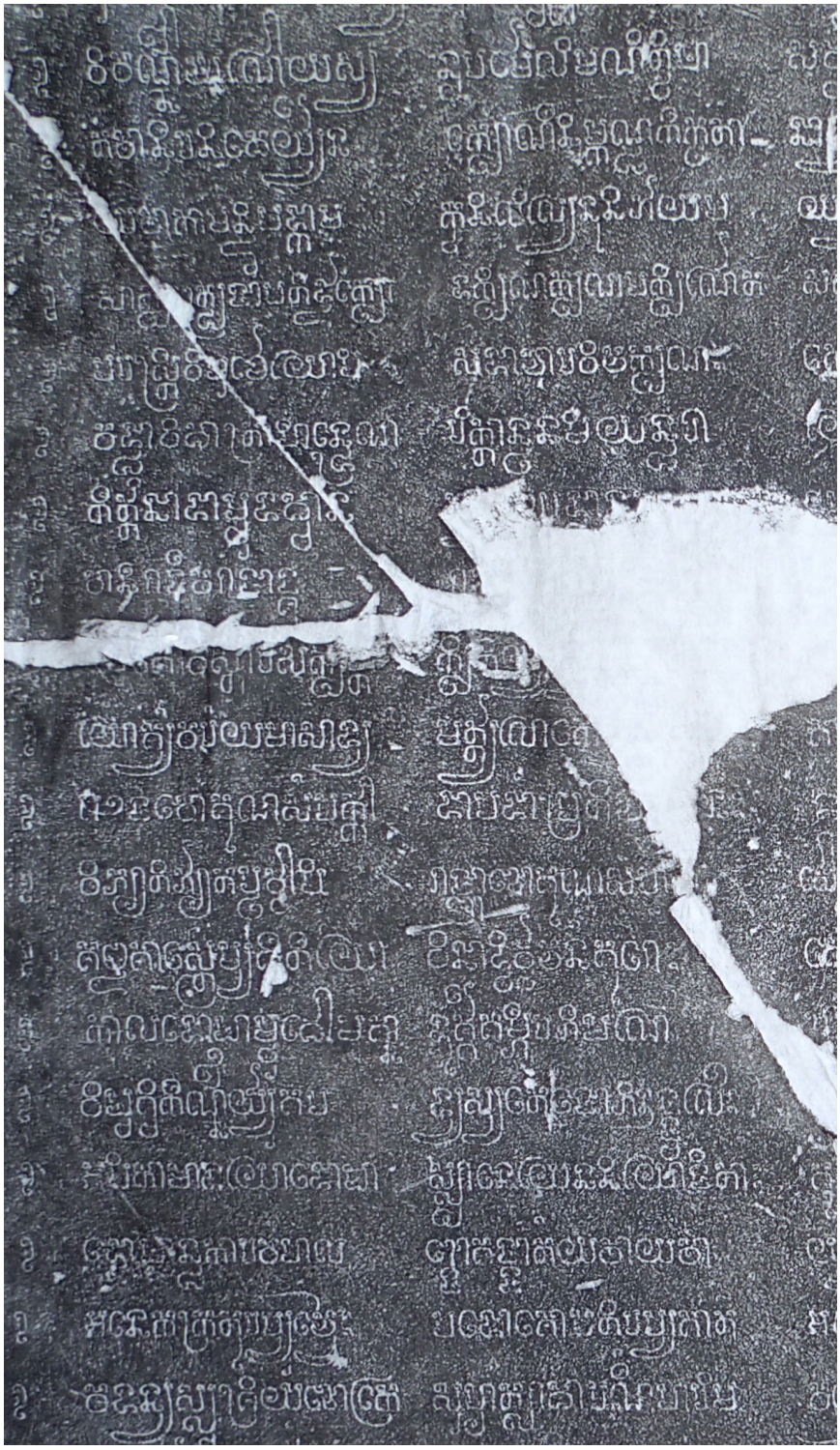


Figure 6.3: Face B, 3rd quarter of lines 22–40

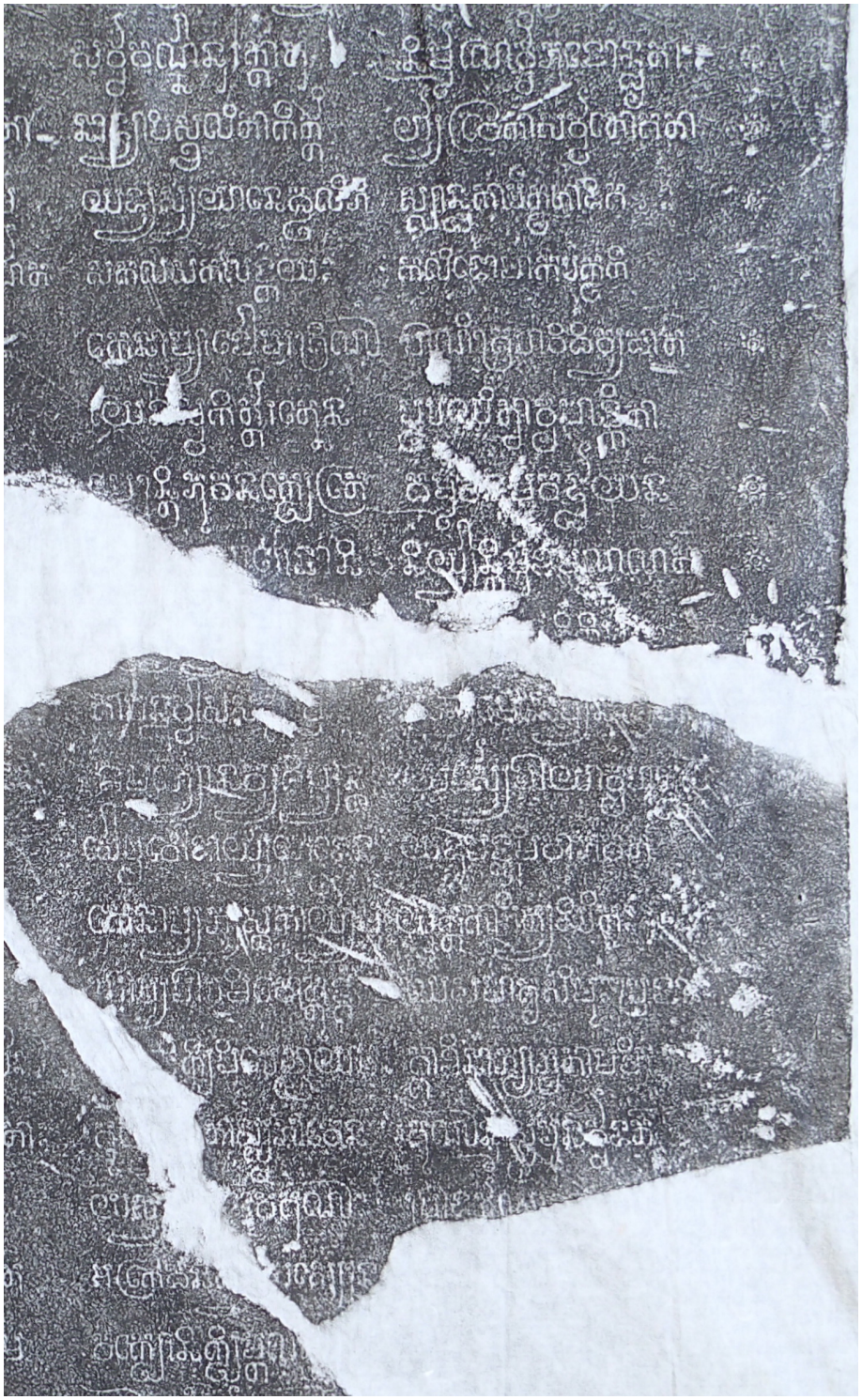


Figure 6.4: Face B, 4th quarter of lines 22–40

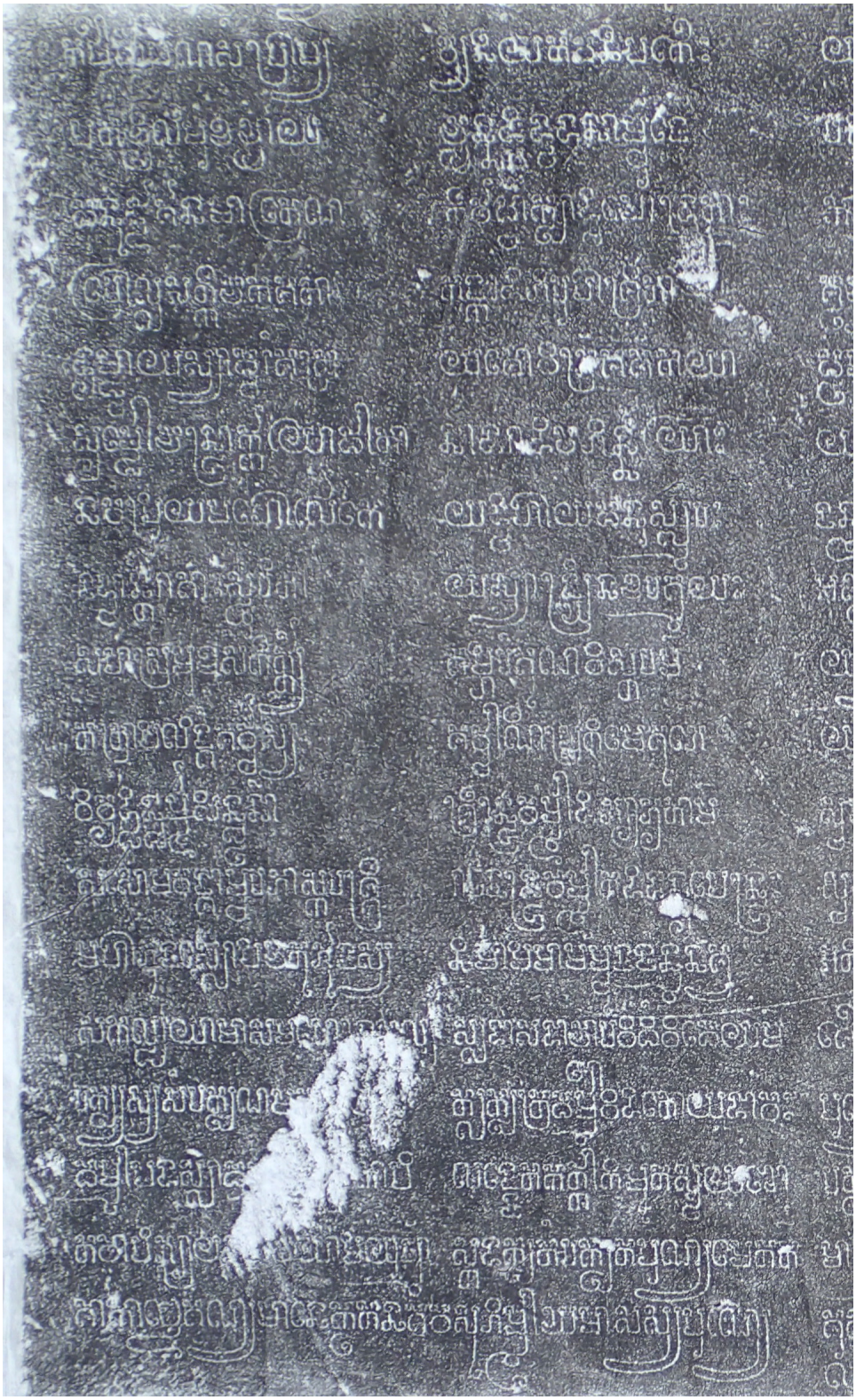


Figure 7.1: Face B, 1st quarter of lines 41–58

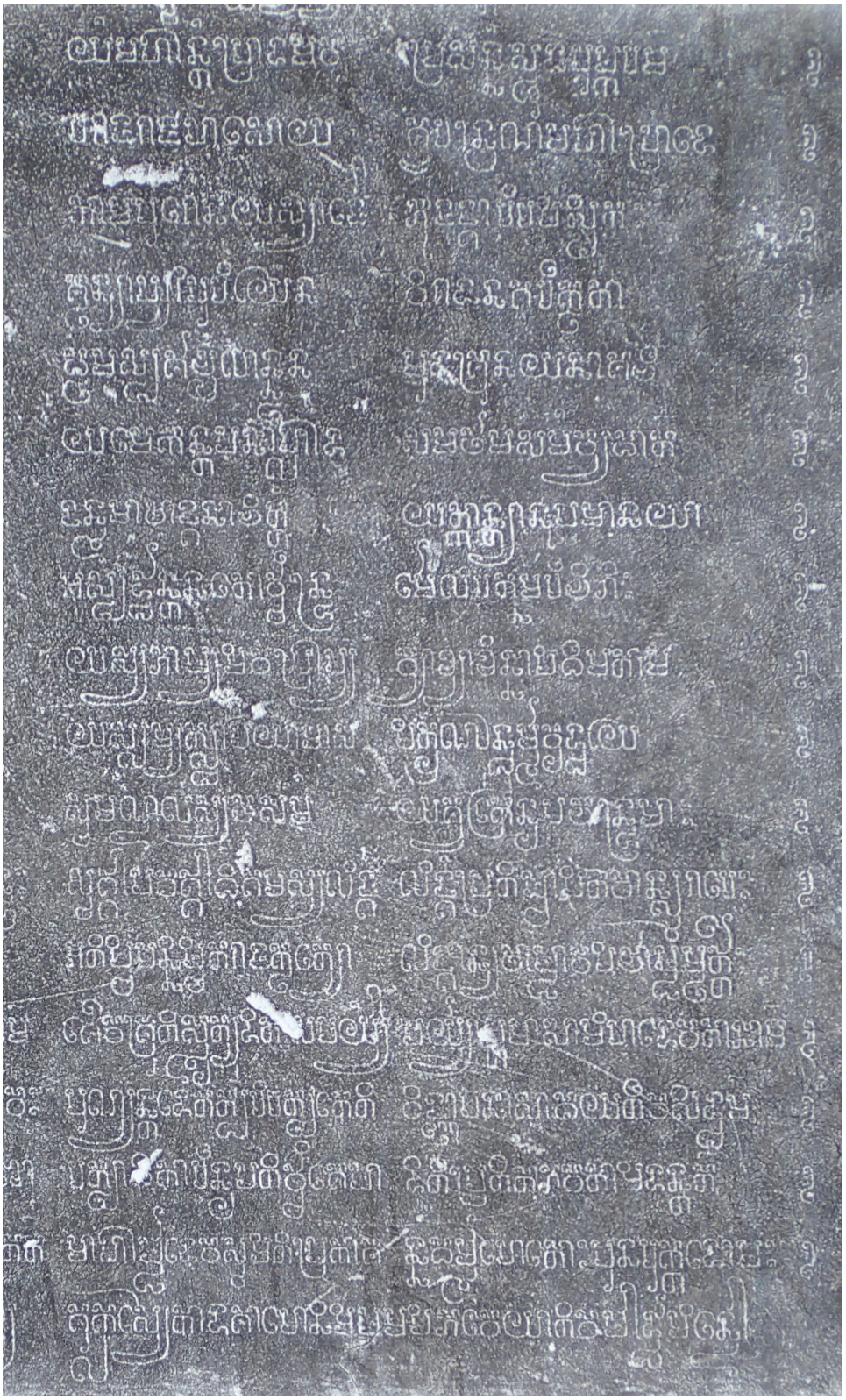


Figure 7.2: Face B, 2nd quarter of lines 41–58

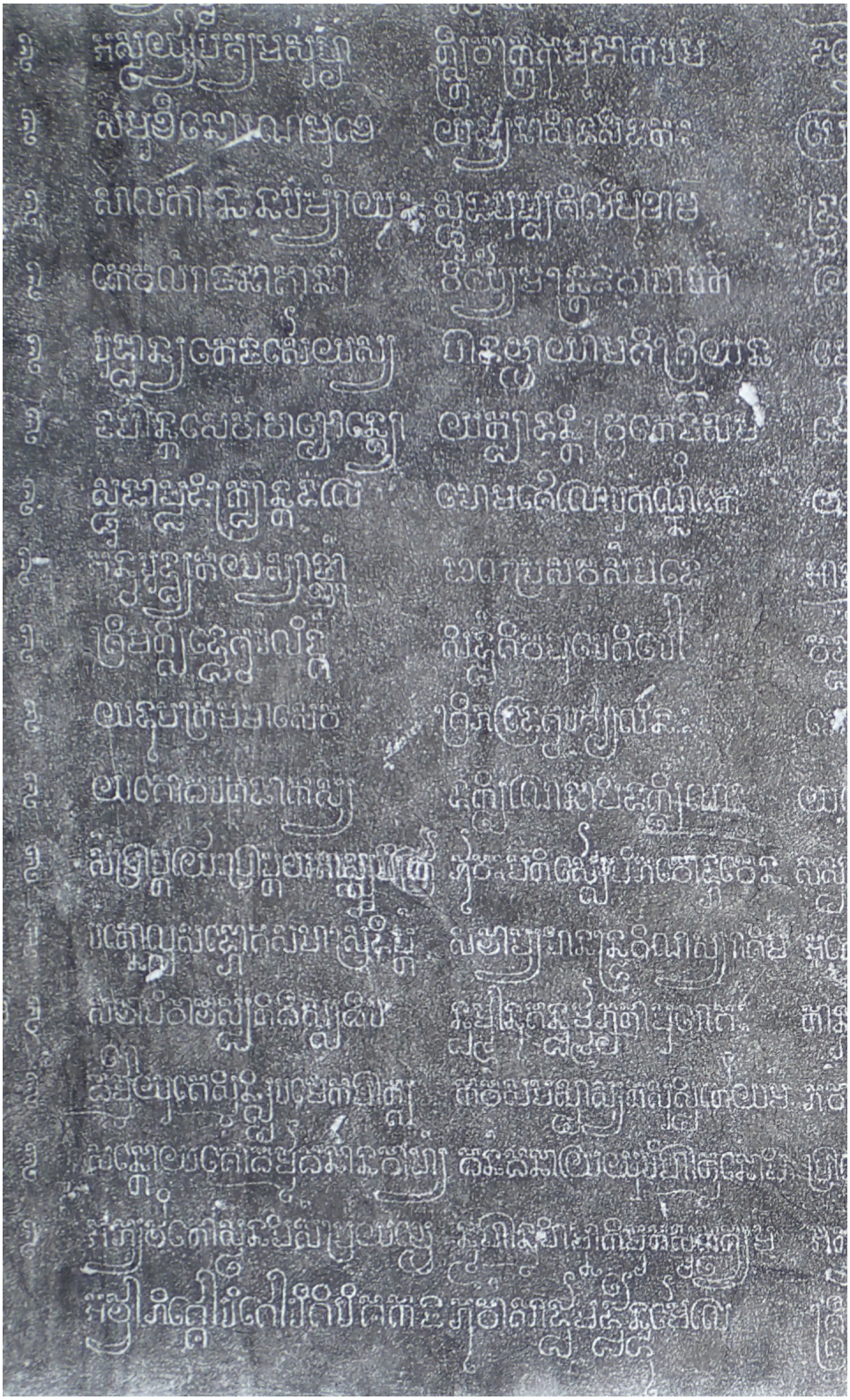


Figure 7.3: Face B, 3rd quarter of lines 41–58

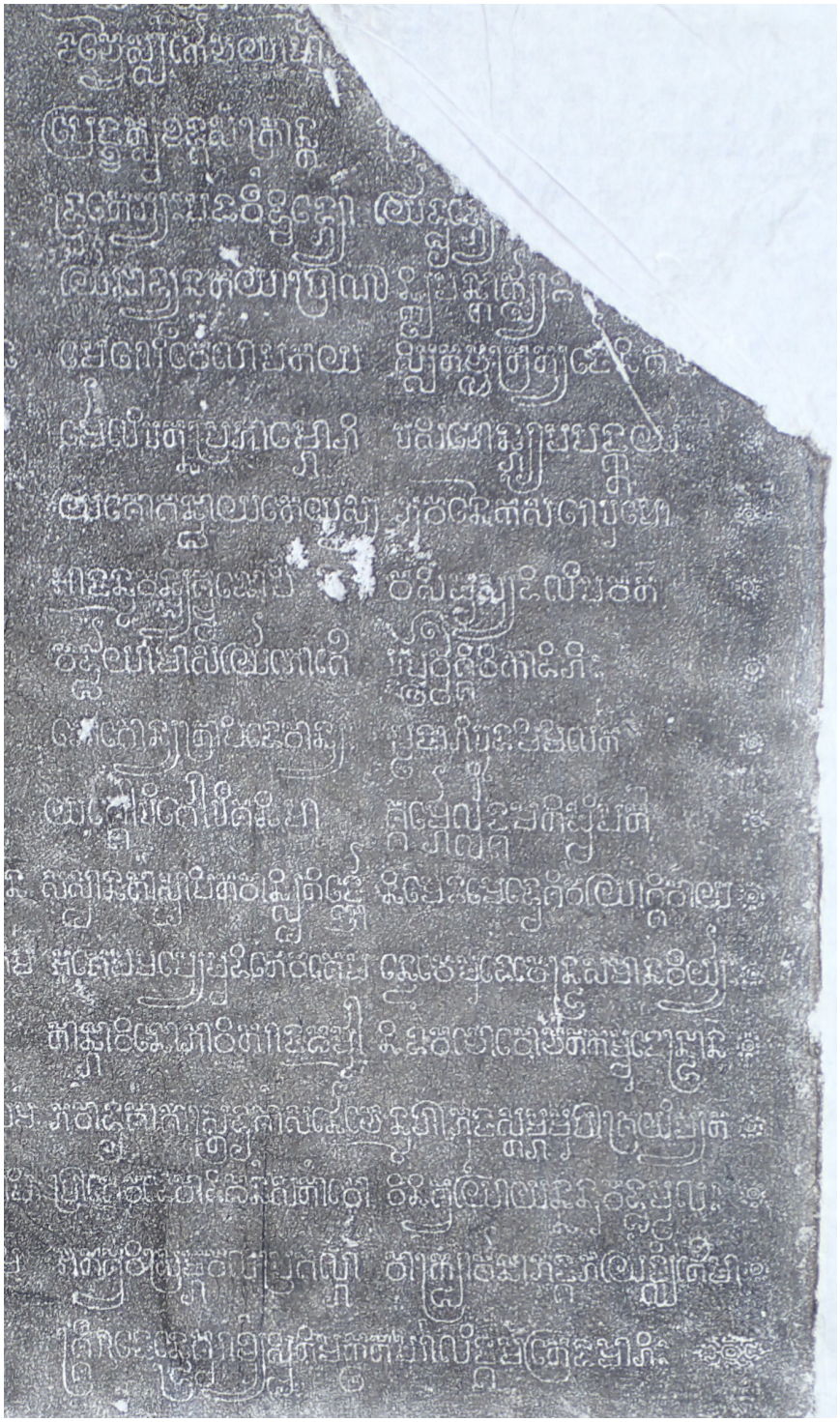


Figure 7.4: Face B, 4th quarter of lines 41–58

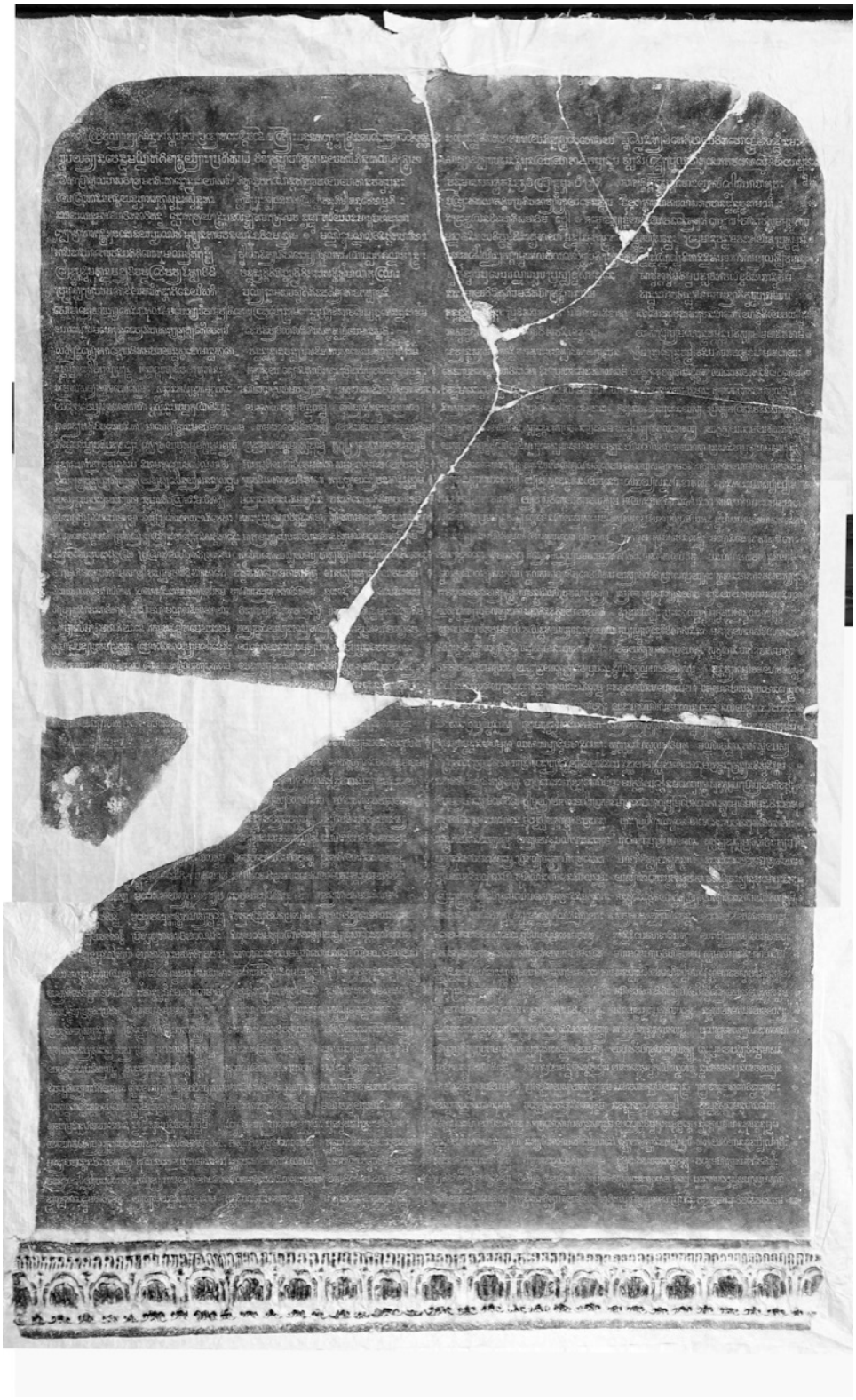
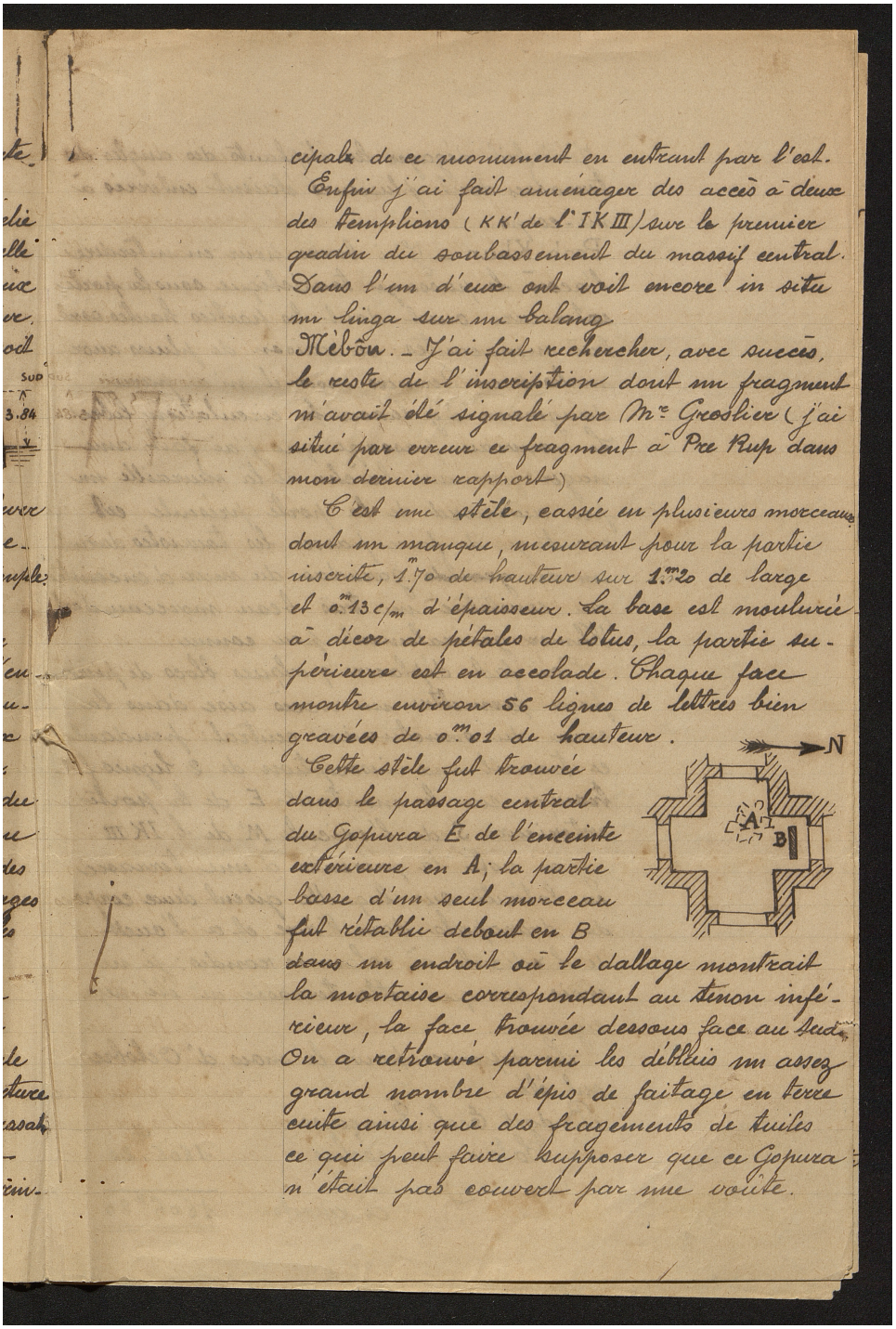


Figure 8.1: Montage (by Christophe Pottier) of Face A from photos of estampages.



cipale de ce monument en entrant par l'est.

Enfin j'ai fait aménager des accès à deux des templions (KK' de l'IK III) sur le premier gradin du soubassement du massif central. Dans l'un d'eux on voit encore in situ un linga sur un balang

Mébon. – J'ai fait rechercher, avec succès, le reste de l'inscription dont un fragment m'avait été signalé par Mr Groslier (j'ai situé par erreur ce fragment à Pre Rup dans mon dernier rapport)

C'est une stèle, cassée en plusieurs morceaux dont un manque, mesurant pour la partie inscrite, 1.m70 de hauteur sur 1.m20 de large et 0.m13 c/m d'épaisseur. La base est moulurée à décor de pétales de lotus, la partie supérieure est en accolade. Chaque face montre environ 56 lignes de lettres bien gravées de 0.m01 de hauteur.

Cette stèle fut trouvée dans le passage central du Gopura E de l'enceinte extérieure en A; la partie basse d'un seul morceau fut rétablie debout en B dans un endroit où le dallage montrait la mortaise correspondant au tenon inférieur, la face trouvée dessous face au Sud. On a retrouvé parmi les déblais un assez grand nombre d'épis de faitage en terre cuite ainsi que des fragements de tuiles ce qui peut faire supposer que ce Gopura n'était pas couvert par une voûte.

Figure 8.2: Extract from the EFEO's monthly Rapport de la Conservation d'Angkor, for the month of October 1922.

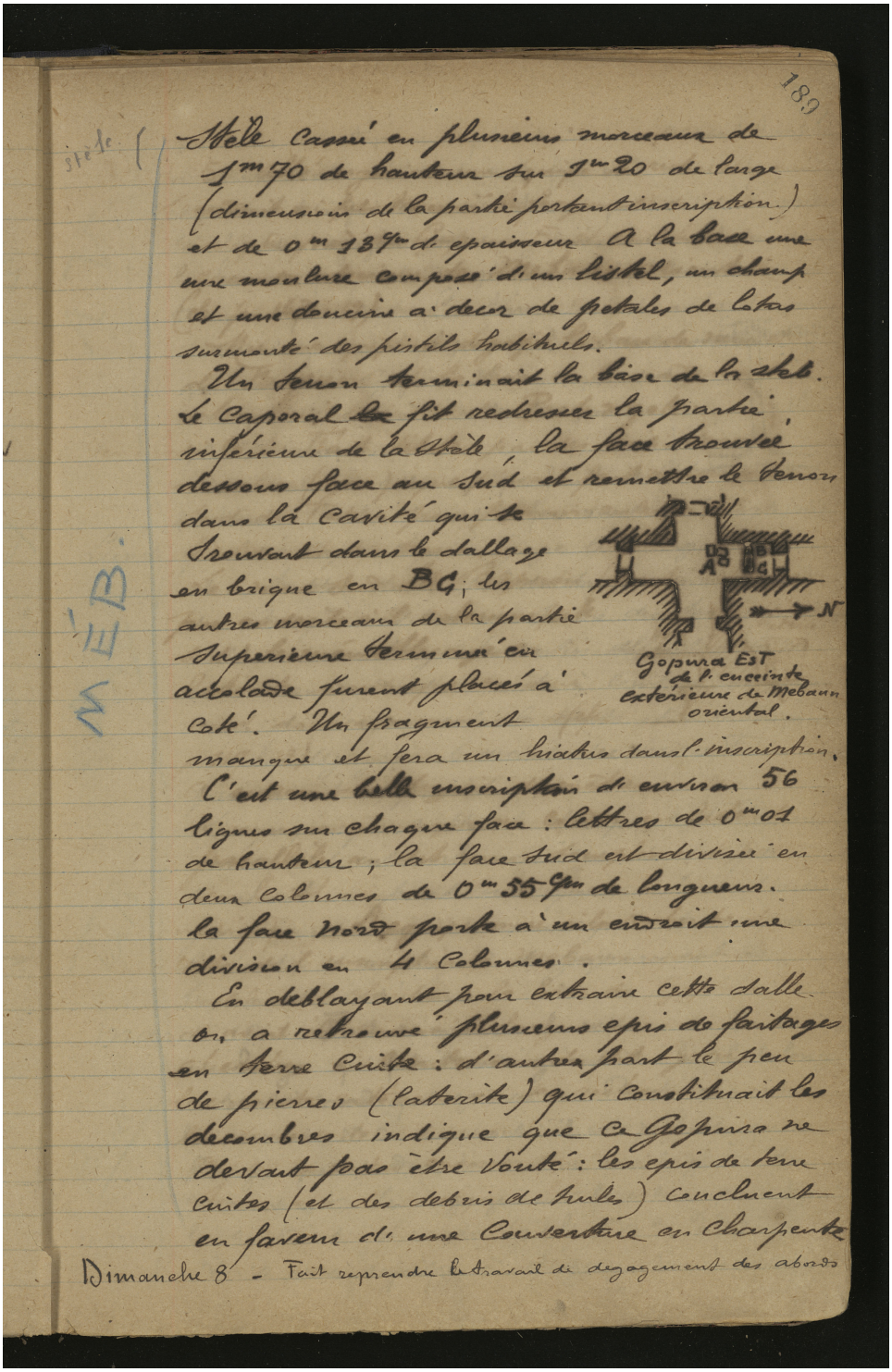


Figure 8.3: Page from Marchal's *Journaux de fouilles du Conservateur des monuments d'Angkor, Volume 3*, showing his first sketch indicating the location of K. 528.

Works Consulted

Abbreviations

BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*

EFEO École française d'Extrême-Orient

IC *Inscriptions du Cambodge*

IFP Institut Français de Pondichéry

NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project

NWS *Nachtrags-Wörterbuch des Sanskrit*, `nws.uzi.uni-halle.de`

NIC *Nouvelles inscriptions du Cambodge*

TAK *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* (q.v. below)

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