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A Glimpse of Classical Saiddhāntika Theology in a Cambodian Epigraph: A Fresh Edition and Translation of the Sanskrit Śaiva Hymn K. 570 of Banteay Srei

Dominic Goodall

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Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

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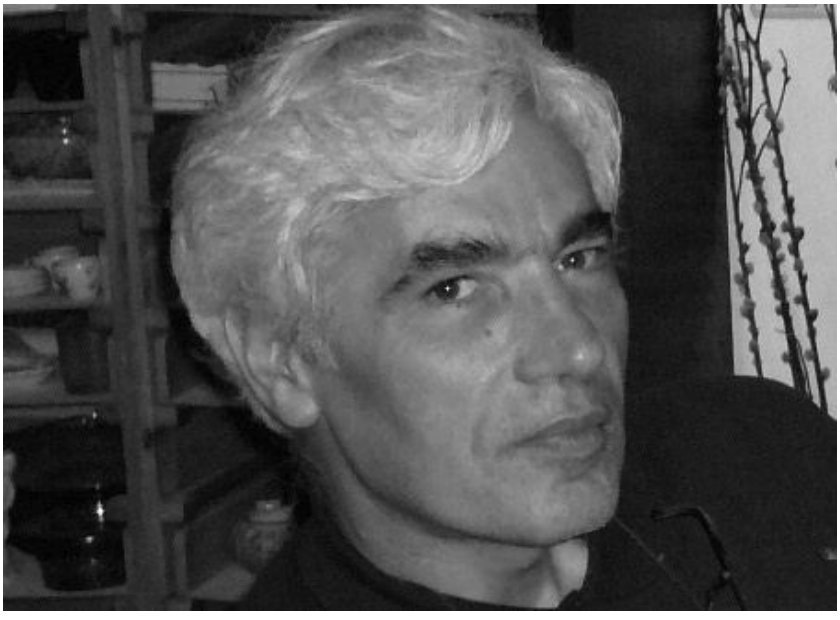

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Dīnanāth Yach and Raffaele Torella in Śrīnagar in the mid-1980s

Raffaele Torella in the countryside near Bracciano with students

A Glimpse of Classical Saiddhāntika Theology in a Cambodian Epigraph: A Fresh Edition and Translation of the Sanskrit Śaiva Hymn K. 570 of Banteay Srei

Dominic Goodall
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My first encounter with Raffaele Torella was as an examiner at my doctoral viva in Oxford in 1996, where he offered, as expected, valuable criticisms and comments. After that was over, since he had been broadly appreciative, I felt emboldened to invite him to dinner the following day, which enabled me to see another side of him than that of the renowned Sanskritist and connoisseur of such subjects as Śaiva thought. For what I remember chiefly about the evening was that soon after he arrived he delivered a sensuous encomium of my brother's curvaceous viola da gamba. Over the subsequent years we meet at the occasional conference and have maintained vicarious contact through his many wide-roaming students. One particularly stimulating article of his spurred me to produce a sort of rejoinder, when I chanced upon further evidence that enabled a refinement of the picture that he had drawn up of the mesoteric *tattva*s of the Mantramārga, namely his 'The *kañcuka*s in the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Tantric Tradition: A Few Considerations between Theology and Grammar' (Torella 1998), but that rejoinder has recently been published (Goodall 2016) and so cannot be offered for this volume. Instead, the following piece, about a short epigraphic text that bears witness to the broad reach

of one part of the Śaiva tradition that Raffaele Torella has spent much of his life studying and expounding, is offered in his honour.

Presented below is a fresh edition and translation, followed by notes, of an eleven-verse Sanskrit hymn to Śiva from a 10th-c. inscription from one of the most beautiful Śaiva temples ever constructed, Yajñavarāha's jewel-like temple of Tribhuvanamaheśvara at Īśvarapura or, as it is known today, Banteay Srei, in Cambodia. So much about the iconography, architecture and dating was misunderstood or still unknown at the time of the first book-length study (Parmentier, Goloubew & Finot 1926) of the temple, and although publications have appeared that have brought our understanding of some aspects of the foundation more nearly up-to-date, such as Bourdonneau 1999 for the iconography, much more could and should be said about the epigraphic corpus of Banteay Srei (K. 568–575, K. 842, K. 869, and the closely related inscriptions K. 619–620 and K. 662) and all the clues it offers for Cambodian history. Several improvements can now be proposed to the readings and interpretations of the other inscriptions, but these will have to appear in subsequent publications, currently being prepared by a team of scholars.[1] What is unusual about the Sanskrit text of the inscription presented in this article (K. 570) is that it contains no allusions to Cambodian temporal power: it appears to be purely a hymn of praise to Śiva. It is therefore of no particular interest for the reconstruction of event-driven political history and appears to have been somewhat cursorily edited and translated into French. The fragmentary text in Khmer that follows it, which begins with the *śaka* date 891, in other words 968 CE, refers to donations made in the name of Jayavarman V and Rājendravarman and has been more carefully scrutinised by Cœdès, in IC I, pp. 144–147. On the face of it, the Sanskrit and Khmer texts of K. 570 could be supposed to have nothing to do with one another, and yet they appear to have been deliberately

[1] In 2019, for instance, the seminar conducted at the EHESS in Paris by Éric Bourdonneau, Grégory Mikaelian, Joseph Thach ('Langue, histoire et sources textuelles du Cambodge ancien et moderne') was devoted to the study of a part of this corpus.

conceived to appear together on the same stone, whose position at the outer entrance of the temple, perhaps the innermost point to which most visitors would have had access,[2] seems to be a significant one. Further reflections on this position and on the way in which the Sanskrit and Khmer texts interact may be found in Bourdonneau (2020). The present article will only treat of the Sanskrit text, in which several readings can be improved, some of them because of an extra missing sliver of inscribed stone that must have been discovered and set in place at some time after the EFEO estampages were made. Other than that its edited text was palpably improvable, what made K. 570 especially intriguing to me is that it alludes to theological debates in a manner that is so abstruse that it is arguable that a couple of its stanzas (II, III and perhaps VI, if I have grasped its meaning correctly) can only really be understood if one has read the discussions of some of the later of the pre-10th-c. Siddhāntatantras, in particular the *Kiraṇatantra* and *Parākhyatantra*.

That such works should have reached Cambodia by the 10th century is not in itself surprising, since we have plentiful evidence, for instance, of Śaiva initiation names ending in °śiva from the Khmer epigraphical record,[3] and we know of allusions to particular Saiddhāntika scriptures. But such hitherto discovered references, even when they are found in inscriptions of later centuries, have all been to scriptures that seem more archaic than the *Parākhyatantra* and the *Kiraṇatantra*,[4] namely the *Sarvajñānottara*,

[2] While we know of several post-12th-c. South Indian works that lay down the rules about the different points in the Chola-period temple-city to which different social groups had access (one minor, pseudepigraphal text on the subject has been edited and translated by Filliozat in 1975, who at the time was inclined to believe the text's claim to have been produced by the 10th-to-11th-c. Kashmirian theologian Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha), the ground-realities in the 10th century among the Khmers are less clear.

[3] For a discussion of initiation-names of the Mantramārga in Khmer inscriptions, see Goodall 2015: 21ff. For the earliest evidence thus far spotted of the spread of the Mantramārga to Khmer-speaking territory, in the form of an allusion to an 8th-c. royal initiation, see Goodall 2012: 354–355, about a century later than the earliest known allusion to a royal initiation in Campā, for which see Goodall and Griffiths 2013: 429 and 432–433.

[4] For an account of the Saiddhāntika canon that is, at least to some extent, chronologically nuanced, see the long preface to Goodall 2004.

the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*[5] and, from the foundation inscription of Banteay Srei itself, the *Pārameśvaratantra*.[6] Conversely, for certain scriptures that appear to have had a huge impact in various parts of India, such as certain recensions of the *Kālottara*,[7] we find no clear evidence of their having been used and studied at all by the Khmers.

Of course it is perfectly possible that such scriptures were widely read among the Khmers too and that they have simply left no detectable trace in the inscriptions hitherto brought to light. Nonetheless, the picture that might seem to have emerged from the epigraphical evidence known thus far was of a relatively conservative (seen in terms of developments in *paddhati*s and commentaries produced in India) form of the Saiddhāntika religion among the Khmers, one that drew upon old scriptures that were no longer of the first importance to Indian theologians and liturgists. For the *Niśvāsa*, *Pārameśvara* and the *Sarvajñānottara* are relatively little quoted as authorities (compared for instance with the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, *Mṛgendra*, *Kiraṇa*, and *Parākhya*) by Indian Śaiva authors from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The *Niśvāsa* and *Pārameśvara* appear indeed never to have received commentaries in this period.[8] The *Sarvajñānottara* evidently did receive commentaries, one of which survives, by the 12th-c. South Indian exegete Aghoraśiva, but this is arguably not because it had never been superseded by scriptures that were theologically or otherwise more up-to-date, but rather for exactly the opposite reason: the *Sarvajñānottara* propounded a central doctrine that had long been definitively abandoned by Saiddhāntika thinkers, namely a form of ontological non-dualism, and it seems therefore to have been commented upon by Aghoraśiva precisely so that he could subvert its teachings by showing that every passage of the scripture that seemed to support out-of-date theological positions

[5] See Sanderson 2011: 7–8, fn. 5.

[6] For the most recent discussion of the reference in K. 842 to the *Pārameśvaratantra*, see Goodall 2017: 136–138.

[7] For the considerable importance enjoyed by the two-hundred-verse recension of the *Kālottara* in the systematisation of Saiddhāntika ritual, see Sanderson 2004: 358.

[8] See the discussion in Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015: 70–71.

could be shown to bear another interpretation in line with classical doctrine.[9]

Now although neither of them has as yet been fully edited, both the *Sarvajñānottara* and the *Niśvāsa* have survived to the present day and we can know what they contain. Only parts of the old *Pārameśvara* have been transmitted to us, thanks to the 9th-c. Nepalese manuscript kept in the Cambridge University library,[10] and the 12th-c. *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva,[11] which incorporates some chapters of the scripture. Judging from the *Niśvāsa* and the *Sarvajñānottara* and from what survives of the *Pārameśvara*, it is clear that a form of the Śaiva religion based just on these sources would be different in important ways from the classical Śaiva-siddhānta of the tenth to twelfth centuries as formulated by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, Bhoja, Somaśambhu, Aghoraśiva and his immediate disciples. For those scriptures, for instance, appear not to have firmly settled on a dualist doctrine, and they do not make reference to what became a central tenet of the system for theologians, namely the idea that an ontologically distinct impurity (*mala*) blocked the potentially infinite powers of knowledge and action of every soul other than Śiva.[12] The testimony of K. 570, however, suggests that the Khmers, from at least the 10th century, did not just have such archaic scriptures on which to base their notions of the doctrines and practices of the Śaiva-siddhānta. In the annotation below, a few echoes in K. 570 of the *Parākhya* and *Kiraṇa* have been pointed up. In some cases, the echoes in question could well be reverberating from other sources too: the image of one moon reflected on many and various water-surfaces, for example, which we encounter in stanza IX, is indeed found in the *Parākhya*, but also in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, the *Haravijaya* and other Cambodian inscriptions, as we note below. But stanzas II and III contain something more distinctive: a dualist argument

[9] Some discussion of this may be found in Goodall 2006.

[10] MS Add. 1049: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01049-00001/1.

[11] A transcription of this work is published as an appendix to Sathyanarayanan 2015.

[12] For a more detailed account of the archaic features of the teachings of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, see Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson, et al. 2015: 30–66. The absence of *mala*, both in the *Niśvāsa* and in other early scriptures, including the *Sarvajñānottara*, is mentioned there on pp. 40–42.

for the proof of a creator god, which could incidentally also have come from other sources, but expressed here in a convoluted manner that calls to mind the ways in which this proof is presented in the *Kiraṇa* and *Parākhya*.

A further consideration makes this short composition seem typical of the classical Śaivasiddhānta: whereas hymns to the divine naturally enough often take the form of emotional poetic effusions, the few surviving pre-12th-c. *stotra*s of the Śaivasiddhānta[13] tend to be pieces of rather dry catechesis, furnishing their users, for instance, with mnemonic versification that helps them remember a sequence of rituals, like Jñānaśambhu's *Śivapūjāstava*, or a sequence of visualisations for daily worship, like Aghoraśiva's *Pañcāvaraṇastava* or Trilocanaśiva's *Dhyānaratnāvali*,[14] or, perhaps most tedious of all, distortive exegesis of the numinous and mysterious words of an ancient mantra to make them encoded with established doctrines, like Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Vyomavyāpistava*. In such compositions, we typically encounter neither the elegant wit nor the emotion of, for instance, Utpaladeva's *Śivastotrāvali*. One reason for this dryness, it seems to me, is built into the religion: the usual means for religious advancement are all of extremely limited soteriological value. Knowledge acquired through meditation, moral rectitude, piously motivated acts that help others, any signal manifestation of devotional fervour, including fasting, pilgrimages, participation in festivals — all these may produce merit (*puṇya*), but it is ultimately only one ritual, that of initiation (*dīkṣā*), that makes salvation possible. Even though a place is found in the Śaivasiddhānta for all the above-mentioned religious phenomena and activities, their importance is inevitably diminished by this almost mechanistic model, which much of the Saiddhāntika literature of the tenth to twelfth centuries is devoted to setting out and defending. It is therefore not wholly surprising that the Sanskrit *stotra* of K. 570 should belong to a didactic school of hymn-writing, in which each stanza scores some theological

[13] Such hymns as survive are alluded on the first page of the introduction to Goodall et al. 2005.

[14] In appendix to their first edition of the last of these texts, R. Sathyanarayanan and S.A.S. Sarma (2012) have usefully gathered together the various hitherto published Saiddhāntika *stotra*s.

point, for Yajñavarāha, the founder of the temple, was clearly a Saiddhāntika.[15]

The door-jamb on which K. 570 is inscribed is situated on the Southern side of the second door frame (as one approaches the temple) of an outer *gopura* along the Eastern approach to the temple. Its location is indicated by Finot (1926: 69) by a '1' on the schematic plan of the *gopura* that he has given as Figure 14.[16] Since the door-frame is narrow and gives access to the temple, which appears to receive hundreds of tourists a day, my inspection of it on the only occasions when I was able to spend time examining it,[17] seemed to be constantly interrupted by visitors entering and leaving. Naturally, they were oblivious to its content and significance, and I overheard several being told that the text was in Pali, a myth that I have also heard repeated by misinformed guides about the Sanskrit inscriptions at Mahabalipuram.

Edition and Translation of K. 570

The text here constituted is based on the edition of Louis Finot (1926: 71–74) and on the examination of the door-jamb *in situ*, as well as of various photographs of the door-jamb and of photographs of the estampages of the EFEO grouped under the number n. 421. I first attempted to edit and annotate the text in January 2012, at the suggestion of Gerdi Gerschheimer, in order

[15] This is revealed not just by the mention of the *Pārameśvara* appearing in K. 842, to which I have referred above, but also by a punning allusion to *mantroddhāra* in the opening verses of K. 842, which I shall attempt to explain in annotation to a forthcoming edition and translation of the contemporary foundation inscription of the eastern Mebon temple (K. 528), which also begins with a pun-veiled allusion to *mantroddhāra*.

[16] As Cœdès points out (IC I, p. 144), the Khmer text of K. 570 continues below this on the same door-jamb and is not engraved on the opposite (northern) door-jamb, as Finot's figure 14 erroneously indicates. Cœdès also alludes (*ibid.*) to the fact that K. 570 had been set back in its place after having been moved for a while to the Museum in Phnom Penh.

[17] The first time I examined it was as a total novice to Khmer epigraphy in 2003 and the second time was in January 2017, when I was fortunate to be in the agreeable and extremely informative company of Éric Bourdonneau, Olivier Cunin and Grégory Mikaelian.

to present it in the seminar jointly chaired by him and by Claude Jacques at the École pratique des hautes études as part of the project 'Corpus des inscriptions khmères.' I am grateful to both of them and to the participants in the seminar for their contributions to the understanding of the text. The single and double *daṇḍa*s added by Finot (*passim*) have been removed, since they appear to be editorial additions. Majumdar also included this inscription in his anthology (1953: 280–281) and a couple of his conjectures have been mentioned in the apparatus below; but, since he does not offer a translation or a discussion of how he interpreted the text and did not consult estampages or the inscription itself, it did not seem useful to note systematically every point of detail in which his text diverges from ours. Note that the edition below does not include the conclusion of the inscription, which is in Khmer and which has been edited and translated by Cœdès (IC I, pp. 144–146).

In the edition below, I have followed the conventions of the CIK project in placing partially legible syllables within round brackets and syllables that I have supplied that are not legible (but that may once have been) within square brackets. The sequence '(dh/v)' indicates that one might read 'dh' or 'v'. I have not explicitly transcribed the *virāma*-marks (at the end of IVb, for instance, I could have transcribed 'jagat_' instead of just 'jagat'), because there seemed to be nothing to be gained from doing so in this particular inscription, since no part of it is in Khmer, whose orthographic latitude may make recording such a detail potentially worthwhile. Following a suggestion of Vincent Tournier, I have employed a diamond symbol (◊) to indicate the space consistently left after each odd-numbered *pāda*: one advantage of this convention is that it allows one to distinguish the engraver's spacing, which emphasises metrical structure, from word-spacing, which has of course been introduced by the editor.

I. [*pāda* a, *ma-vipulā*: ˘ – ˘ – – / – – ˘ ; *pāda* c, *ma-vipulā*: – – ˘ – – / – – –]

(1) ᨿ ᨿ vivicya bhedaṃ paśyanti ◊ yayor dhyānadṛśo niśa(m)

(2) agnyuṣṇatāvad bhūyāstāṃ ◊ śivaśaktī śivāya vaḥ

• a. bhedaṃ] chedaṃ Finot; cedaṃ Majumdar • b. niśa(m)] niśam Finot

May Śiva and Śakti bless you (*bhūyāstāṃ … śivāya vaḥ*), the difference between which, which is like the relation of Fire and Heat, [only] those who see through their meditation, constantly perceive;

II.
(3) ācaitanyād upādāna◊kālāvyaktas(va)karmmaṇā[m]
(4) janmanā jagatāṃ karttā◊numito yaś cidācitaḥ

• b. °kālāvyaktasvakarmmaṇā[m]] °kālāvyaktas svakarmmaṇā Finot
When one examines the stone today, there really appears never to have been a final *m*, but cf. IIIb below: in any case, sense prompts us to imagine that the author intended one. There are a few other cases below of missing final *visarga*s or missing final letters with *virāma*s (IIIb, Vb, VIb, VIIIb): could the text have been copied from an exemplar in which these details were noted with a convention that confused the stone-cutter?

…[Śiva,] who is inferred to be the Creator imbued with consciousness (*cidācitaḥ*) since the [ultimate] material cause, [namely *māyā*,] time, the unmanifest, [which is *prakṛti*, the material cause of the Sāṅkhyas] and [the retributive force of souls'] own actions are [all] insentient (*ācaitanyāt*), because creatures [that make up the universe] come into being;

III.
(5) kartr̥tve yugapan nānā◊kāryyotpādasya darśanā[t]
(6) nityānuttarasarv(v)ārthaṃ ◊ yasya j(ñ)ānam asādhanam

• b. darśanā[t]] darśanān Finot
As in IIb, the stone looks as though it never had a final letter here, and yet there is perhaps a trace of a *virāma*, and Finot reports a final *n*., so perhaps the stone has worn in an unexpected way just at this point
• cd. °sarv(v)ārthaṃ yasya j(ñ)ānam] °sarvārtthaṃ yasya j[ñ]ānam Finot
The body of the *ñ*, below the *j*, is no longer visible because of a break in the stone, but its tail folds underneath and round the letter and the top of this tail is visible in front of the *j* (unless one assumes it to be the mark of a long *ā* attached to the previous letter, thus yielding the reading yasyāj[ñ]ānam, which would be difficult to interpret). For an example of a *jña* the tail of whose *ña*

folds around the letter in this way, see *°lipijña°* in stanza XXI of K. 842, estampage n. 1090 of the EFEO, line 21.

…[and yet] whose [power of] knowledge, which is eternal, unsurpassed, omniscient, cannot be the [sole] instrument for Him to be the creator [of the universe], because [otherwise] we would observe the arising in a simultaneous way of [all] the various effects [making up the universe];

IV.
(7) kṣityādibhiḥ prasiddhābhi◊s tanubhis tanvatā jagat
(8) uccaiḥ kāraṇatā khyātā ◊ yenānakṣara(m ā)tmanaḥ

• b. jagat] ja[gat] Finot • c. khyātā] °khyātā Finot • d. yenānakṣara(m ā)tmanaḥ] yenānakṣaram – ˘ – Finot
The last syllables of *pāda*s b and d are now plainly visible (in 2016) on a fragment of stone that must have been missing when EFEO estampage n. 421 was made, upon which Finot based his edition of the text (thus Finot 1926:70).

…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;

V.
(9) śaktiśaktimator vyaktaṃ ◊ bhedābhedau prada(rśa)ya[n]
(10) * d(dh/v)ā yo dhatta saṃpr̥kta◊m ekaṃ strīpuṃsayor vvapuḥ

• b. prada(rśa)ya[n]] conj. Gerschheimer; pradā[ya] .. Finot
In fact Gerdi Gerschheimer proposed the conjecture *prada-*[*rśayan*] on the strength of the syllables *prada*, which are all that can be read from EFEO n. 421 at this point, but the extra fragment of stone referred to above *ad* IVb and IVd allows one partly to confirm his emendation.
• c. * d(dh/v)ā yo] .... yo Finot

…who, clearly showing the difference and the non-difference between Śakti and the Possessor of Śakti, [created ([*vaddhv*]*ā*) and] bore one body of woman and man conjoined;

VI.
(11) a(nādya)ntapratidvanddvai◊r yyasya dharmmādibhir yutā
(12) vaśi[tā]diguṇān santaḥ ◊ smaranti smaranigrahāt

• a. a(nādya)ntaprati°] .... antaprati° Finot • b. yutā] Understand: yutān or yutāḥ. (No mark is visible on the stone.)
• c. vaśi[tā]°] vaśitā° Finot

…endowed with whose properties of Dharma and the others, [namely Jñāna, Vairāgya and Aiśvarya,] for which there is no beginning, no end, and no opposites [of Adharma, Ajñāna, Avairāgya and Anaiśvarya], Great Persons (*santaḥ*) remember(/meditate upon [and so finally attain]) the qualities beginning with [the power of] controlling others (*vaśitādiguṇān*), because of [His] curbing of Kāmadeva (/because of their curbing of passion);

VII.
(13) mathi[tā]bdhes sudhān datvā ◊ parebhyaḥ pivato viṣa(ṃ)
(14) yasya [mr̥]tyor asadbhāvo ◊ vidvadbhir anumīyate

• b. viṣa(ṃ)] viṣam Finot

…the impossibility of whose death the wise infer, since he drank the poison from the churned ocean, after giving the nectar to others;

VIII. [*pāda* a, *ra-vipulā*: – – ˘ – – ˘ ˘ –]
(15) vāgbeṣacāritraguṇā◊n svīkr̥tyāvayavais sthitā
(16) yasya sarvvātmano [’]nyonyaṃ ◊ vivadante [’]lpavuddhayaḥ

• a. °cāritra°] °caritra° Finot • b. sthitā] Understand: sthitāḥ or sthitān? (No mark is visible on the stone.)

…adopting [particular] speech, dress, conduct and characteristics that belong with (*sthitān*) [particular] aspects/parts of whom, who [in fact] has all things as His nature, people of little intellect dispute among themselves;

IX.
(17) dr̥ṣṭādr̥ṣṭ(ā)rthavidyānāṃ ◊ ya ekaḥ prabhavaḥ paraḥ
(18) vikalpa(bh)edād bhinnānāṃ ◊ sarvvāpām iva candramāḥ

• a. dṛṣṭādṛṣṭ(ā)°] dṛṣṭādṛṣṭā° Finot • c. vikalpa(bh)edād] vikalpa[n n]o dād Finot; vikalpa(bhe?)dād Majumdar
The reading of Finot looks perhaps more plausible in the EFEO estampage n. 421 than on the stone itself.

…who is the one supreme source [shining forth out] of authoritative texts that teach matters that are visible and beyond sight, and that are [only] differentiated in accordance with differences of conception, just as the moon [appears in the reflections] of all water-bodies;

X.
(19) sārtheneśva[ra]nāmnaiva ◊ kṛtsnān aspṛśatāparān
(20) yatsvāmitva[m asa]ndigdhaṃ ◊ khyāpitaṃ bhavacāriṇām

…whose overlordship (*yatsvāmitvam*) is proclaimed beyond doubt to those who move about through existence (*bhavacāriṇām*) simply by his name 'Īśvara,' [a name] with [its full] meaning (*sārthena*), and which applies to no others;

XI. [*pāda* a, *na-vipulā*: – – – – ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘]
(21) jīyāt sa [ś]r[ītri]bhuvana◊maheśvara itīritaḥ
(22) kṛttivāsāḥ kṛ[tāv]āso ◊ liṅgamūrttiś cirād iha

• a. jīyāt] (Majumdar); jiyāt Finot • c. kṛ[tāv]āso] kṛ[ṣṇav]āso Finot; kṛ(tsna)vāso Majumdar

…may He, the animal-skin-clad, long be victorious having made his dwelling here, taking form in the *liṅga*, [where He is] proclaimed as Śrī Tribhuvanamaheśvara!

Annotation

Stanza I

Both stanzas I and V allude to the view that Śiva and his Śakti are ontologically inseparable. This notion is alluded to in a range of Śaiva works, both Saiddhāntika and non-dualist. We find it, for instance, in Sadyojyotiḥ's *Tattvasaṅgraha*, stanza 52 (in the edition of Filliozat):

atra ca śaktidvitayaṃ bodhadhyānāya siddhaye gaditam |
mūrtis tadvāṃś ceti ca leśād uktiś ca śaktiśaktimatoḥ ||

Filliozat's translation (1988: 156) is as follows:

> Et dans cette [doctrine] le couple d'Essences [Śiva et sa Puissance] est mentionné pour la connaissance et la méditation en vue de la réalisation [du but de l'Âme] ; «~corps, possesseur du corps~» est une dénomination en bref de la Puissance et de son possesseur.

It is also to be found in Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi* (3.2c–3):

na śivaḥ śaktirahito na śaktir vyatirekiṇī ||
śivaḥ śaktas tathā bhāvān icchayā kartum īhate |
śaktiśaktimator bhedaḥ śaive jātu na varṇyate ||

> Śiva cannot be devoid of Śakti, nor can Śakti be separate [from Śiva]: Śiva is empowered [with Śakti] and thus strives to create entities by [nothing more than His] desire. In Śaiva [thought], a difference between Śakti and the Possessor of Śakti cannot be described.

One more text is worth quoting from that expresses this idea, namely the *Vijñānabhairava* (18–19b), since, as in the inscription, it compares the relationship between the two as like that between fire and heat:

śaktiśaktimator yadvad abhedaḥ sarvadā sthitaḥ |
atas taddharmadharmitvāt parā śaktiḥ parātmanaḥ ||
na vahner dāhikā śaktir vyatiriktā vibhāvyate |

> Since there is always no difference between Śakti and the Possessor of Śakti, therefore the Supreme Power belongs to the Supreme Soul by a relation of property and its property-bearer. The power [of fire] to burn cannot be conceived of in dissociation from fire.

Perhaps, apart from the allusion here to the Śaiva view that Śiva and Śakti are ontologically inseparable, there is also an allusion to a Vaiśeṣika notion of the cognition of yogins (*yogipratyakṣa*) according to which yogins may perceive such normally impercep-

tible things as the inherence relation (*samavāya*) between a property (here 'heat') and the substance in which it inheres (here 'fire'). See Isaacson 1993 (quoted by Torella 2012) for a translation of the relevant passage of the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*.

In that case, this would be a joke on more than one level, since Saiddhāntika thinkers do not follow Vaiśeṣikas in positing the existence of *samavāya* any more than they believe in an ontological difference between Śiva and Śakti. Both stanza I and stanza V arguably leave the innocent reader in doubt as to whether or not *śakti* and *śaktimān* (or *dharma* and *dharmin*) can at some level be distinguished.

Stanza II

This stanza contains a common proof of the existence of a creator god: the various other factors that are sometimes posited to be causes that might account for the production of the universe are insentient, whereas, since the universe is a complex entity, a sentient being must be posited to account for its ordered nature. Among Śaiva scriptures, we find this position set out, for instance, in *Parākhyatantra* 2.2–3:

> *mūrtāḥ sāvayavā ye 'rthā nānārūpaparicchadāḥ* |
> *sthūlāvayavaśiṣṭatvād buddhimaddhetupūrvakāḥ* ||
> *ato 'sti buddhimān kaścid īśvaraḥ samavasthitaḥ* |
> *pratipannaḥ svakāryeṇa dṛṣṭenātrānumānataḥ* ||

> All things that are endowed with form, that are made up of parts, that have various forms, because they are distinguished by having gross parts, must necessarily depend on a sentient cause.
> Therefore, there exists some sentient [cause]. [And that is] proved to be the Lord. He is known, according to this system (*atra*), by inference, because of His effects, which we directly experience.[18]

I have assumed *cidācitaḥ* in stanza II to mean 'sentient' — literally 'filled with (*ācitaḥ*) consciousness (*cid°*)' —, and so to be the equivalent of *buddhimān* in *Parākhya* 2.3.

For a rejection, on the grounds of its sentience, of the possibility that the retributive force of individual souls' past actions might

[18] Tr. Goodall 2004: 165–166.

account for creation, we may turn once again to the *Parākhyatantra* (2.12), refuting the view that the universe was ever not the way it now is:

> *kṣiter evaṃvidhaṃ rūpaṃ na kadācid anīdṛśam* |
> *tanvādeḥ kāraṇaṃ karma; kalpitena matena kim?* ||
>
> The form of the earth is thus; it was never not thus. The cause of bodies and such (*tanvādeḥ*) is [the retributive force of] past action. Why trouble with some artificial theory (*matena*)?[19]

We may compare this also with *Kiraṇatantra* 3.12, which could be one of the passages echoed with *ācaitanyāt*:

> *sthūlaṃ vicitrakaṃ kāryaṃ nānyathā ghaṭavad bhavet* |
> *asti hetur ataḥ kaścit. karma cet? na hy acetanam* ||
>
> [The universe is] gross, diverse, [and therefore] an effect, like a pot. It cannot be otherwise. And so there exists some [instigating] cause. What if it is *karman* [that is the cause of the universe]? No, because [*karman* is] insentient.[20]

As for the noun *ācaitanya*, formed from *acetana* with *vṛddhi* of both the first and the second syllable, this is common in Śaiva works from those of the 7th-c. thinker Sadyojyotiḥ onwards. An example occurs, for instance, in Sadyojyotiḥ's *Mokṣakārikā* 135ab:

> *ācaitanyaṃ kathaṃ cānye kaivalyaṃ mokṣam ūcire* |
>
> How can some claim that absence of sentience is the state of isolation that is liberation?

Finot's attempt at a translation of this and the following stanza (1926: 73) demonstrates how obscure this inscription may appear to someone not exposed to such above-quoted Saiddhāntika literature:

[19] Tr. Goodall 2004: 169–170.
[20] Tr. Goodall 1998: 273, 278.

> Lui qui, à prendre pour point de départ l'Intellect, est indéterminé par son action propre, du point de vue de la matière et du temps ; qui, condensé par la pensée, est inféré comme agent par suite de la naissance des mondes ;
>
> Lui dont la connaissance, dans son rôle d'agent, issue du spectacle de la production simultanée des divers effets, est stérile pour tous les buts éternels et transcendants ; …

Stanza III

With this stanza, the same line of argumentation is expanded upon in a way that suggests more strongly an indebtedness to the latest of the pre-10th-c. Saiddhāntika scriptures such as the *Kiraṇatantra* and the *Parākhyatantra*, since the stanza would arguably be hard to understand without laying it beside them. We may take first *Kiraṇatantra* 3.9c–11d:

> *vaikaraṇyād amūrtatvāt kartṛtvaṃ yujyate katham?* ||
> *yathā kālo hy amūrto 'pi dṛśyate phalasādhakaḥ* |
> *evaṃ śivo hy amūrto 'pi kurute kāryam icchayā* ||
> *icchaiva karaṇaṃ tasya yathā sadyogino matā* |
> *śalyākṛṣṭikaro dṛṣṭo hy akṣahīno 'pi karṣakaḥ* ||
>
> How is it possible for Him to be a creator, since He lacks the means and is not embodied? [No,] because just as time, although it is not embodied, is known from experience (*dṛśyate*) to bring about results, so too Śiva, although He is not embodied, produces effects by His will. Will alone is His instrument, just as [will] is held [to be the instrument] of a true yogin. Although it is devoid of senses, a magnet is observed to draw out [iron] splinters.[21]

Further verbal echoes (of the words *kartṛtve yugapan nānākāryyotpādasya*) may be discerned in the development of the same argument in the *Parākhyatantra* 2.20–21:

> *pratoda uvāca —*
> *kiṃ kramād yaugapadyād vā bhavet kāryam iha sthitau* |
> *ānantyān na kramo dṛṣṭo yaugapadye 'py asambhavaḥ* ||
> *prakāśa uvāca —*

[21] Tr. Goodall 1998: 270, 272–273.

kartur yat kāryakartṛtvaṃ kāryotpattyā pratīyate |
na kāryaṃ kāraṇābhāvād iti me niścitā matiḥ ||

Pratoda spoke:
Does this effect [that is the universe] come about at a particular point in time or [all] at once in creation (*sthitau*), according to your system (*iha*)? Because [God is supposed to be] infinite [in time], no sequence [in the arising of effects should be] seen; and also if [you maintain that effects are generated] all at once, it is impossible [since it contradicts what we observe].
Prakāśa spoke:
That a creator creates effects is known by the arising of the effects. An effect does not arise without a cause. That is my certain opinion.[22]

I am grateful to Isabelle Ratié for having corrected my interpretation of this stanza. As she observed to me in correspondence (of 9 March 2019), *yugapat* seems to allude to the first part of the classical dilemma used by the Buddhists (echoed in the *Parākhya*) against the proof of Īśvara: if God is eternal and unchanging, he must surely create all effects simultaneously, since there is no reason for any of them to arise before or after the others, but this contradicts experience, since we observe that the various effects in the universe do not occur all at once. And so God's immutable power of knowledge cannot be the sole cause of creation.

Stanza IV

This stanza makes use of an idea that has been much used in invocations since the *Ābhijñānaśākuntala*, namely the notion that the universe is sustained by the five elements, along with the sun, moon and the sacrifice or sacrificer. This formulation is particularly close to that of the foundation inscription of the eastern Mebon temple, K. 528, stanza IV:

yenaitāni jaganti yajvahutabhugbhāsvannabhasvannabhaḥ-
kṣityambhaḥkṣaṇadākarais svatanubhir vyātanvataivāṣṭabhiḥ |
uccaiḥ kāraṇaśaktir apratihatā vyākhyāyate nakṣaram
jīyāt kāraṇakāraṇaṃ sa bhagavān arddhenducūḍāmaṇiḥ ||

[22] Tr. Goodall 2004: 171–172.

> May the Lord be victorious, Cause of causes, whose crest-jewel is the crescent moon, who proclaims (*vyākhyāyate*) loudly (*uccaiḥ*), [though] without syllables (*anakṣaraṃ*), his untramelled (*apratihatā*) power as Cause in as much as he sustains (*vyātanvatā*) [all] these creatures [that make up the universe] through his eight 'bodies' (*tanubhiḥ*), [namely] sacrificer, fire, sun, wind, ether, earth, water, moon.[23]

This close echo need not, of course, lead us to conclude that one and the same poet was involved, since the author of K. 570 may simply have been imitating K. 528. But it is suggestive, and there are other echoes to be found between the more pronouncedly Śaiva verses in the Mebon inscription and another epigraph in Banteay Srei, namely the foundation inscription K. 842, whose opening pair of verses echoes the opening of the Mebon, as I shall explain at greater length in my forthcoming fresh edition and translation of K. 528 (Goodall forthcoming), and whose fourth verse occurs also as stanza 173 of K. 528. It is not inconceivable that all three inscriptions (K. 570, K. 842 and K. 528) should have been produced by Yajñavarāha, but it cannot be ruled out that whoever composed the Sanskrit texts of K. 570 and K. 842 might simply have studied and been influenced by K. 528.

Stanza V

The translation assumes the word *vaddhvā* where the stone is damaged, which is perhaps conceivable, but what is visible looks perhaps most like – *ddhā*, without a further subscript *v*.

Apart from other resonances, some of which have been pointed up in the annotation to the opening stanza of the inscription, this stanza alludes of course to the resoundingly famous opening of the *Raghuvaṃśa* (1.1):

> *vāgarthāv iva sampṛktau vāgarthapratipattaye* |
> *jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau* ||

> For the success of [this composition of] words and meanings I venerate the parents of the universe, Pārvatī and Parameśvara, entwined together like word and meaning.

[23] See the edition and translation of K. 528 in Goodall 2022.

Stanza VI

If this stanza has been correctly interpreted, which is far from certain, there may be a further allusion to a doctrine that we find in the *Parākhyatantra*. For where it is more typical to describe the properties of god in other ways, for instance as being six divine characteristics that find expression in Śiva's six *aṅgamantra*s (a view put forward, for instance, with quotations, in Trilocanaśiva's commentary on the opening of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, see S.A.S. Sarma's forthcoming edition), the *Parākhyatantra* (15.62–68) instead speaks of Śiva (and of the perfected soul) as possessing qualities that are transcendent forms of Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya and Aiśvarya (*saddharma*, *sajjñāna*, etc.), these being usually the names of the four positive properties of the individual soul's intellect (the *buddhidharma*s), with the other four *buddhidharma*s being their opposites (*pratidvandva*).

Stanza VII

This refers to Śiva saving the universe from the Kālakūṭa poison by swallowing it, a myth that is alluded to in *Kiraṇatantra* 1.4.

Stanza VIII

If we were to understand *sthitāḥ*, instead of *sthitān* (where the stone really seems to have *sthitā*), then perhaps we could understand as follows:

> …adopting [particular] speech, dress, conduct and characteristics, remaining (*sthitāḥ*) [dressed with particular] aspects/parts of whom, who [in fact] has all things as His nature, people of little intellect dispute among themselves;

In either case, we assume that the stanza alludes to the imitation of various divinities' supposed forms, which is a common form of religious observance (*vrata*) in classical Indian religions.

Stanza IX

This is certainly not a straightforward stanza, since the parallelism is not strict: the reader is not supposed to understand that Śiva being the source of all scriptures is parallel to the moon being the

source of all water-bodies. What we assume to be meant is rather that the one god Śiva, as the source of all scriptures, however different they may appear to be, can be known in some fashion through those teachings, in spite of the differences in conception that make those scriptures seem mutually incompatible, just as the one moon can be seen reflected variously in the surfaces of an infinite number of different water-bodies. This might make the moon seem both plural and various, according to the varying degrees of stillness or turbidity of the water-bodies in which its reflection appears, but we know it to be in fact one.

Here there is once again an echo of Kālidāsa, for we find a similar image in *Raghuvaṃśa* 10.67:

> *vibhaktātmā vibhus tāsām ekaḥ kukṣiṣv anekadhā* |
> *uvāsa pratimācandraḥ prasannānām apām iva* ||

> The all-pervading Lord, though one, divided himself into many and dwelt in their wombs, as the reflection of the moon divided within patches of clear water.[24]

But the poet might also have been influenced by this passage of the *Parākhyatantra* 1.42–43b:

> *pratoda uvāca —*
> *eka eva sthito vettā dehe dehe svakarmataḥ* |
> *ekadhā bahudhā caiva dṛśyate jalacandravat* ||
> *prakāśa uvāca —*
> *cidrūpatvāt tadekatvaṃ tadbhedo bhinnabhogataḥ* |

> Pratoda spoke:
> [But perhaps] there exists only one knower, [situated] in various bodies, in accordance with his past actions. He appears both as one and as many, like the moon [reflected] in [rippling] water.
> Prakāśa spoke:
> In as much as [all are] of the form of consciousness they are one; [but] they are divided because of their various experiences.[25]

[24] From the forthcoming translation of Csaba Dezső, Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson.

[25] Tr. Goodall 2004: 151.

Furthermore, we should note that the image of the one moon appearing in reflections of the surfaces of different water-bodies occurs in other Cambodian epigraphs, for instance in K. 225, a Buddhist inscription of the end of the 10th century, whose opening stanza reads (IC III, p. 67):

yo ṗy eko bahudhā bhinno v[i]neyāśanurodhataḥ |
śaśīva naikanīrasthavimvo[26] *vuddhas sa pātu vaḥ* ||

Cœdès translates (IC III, p. 68):

> Que Celui qui pour satisfaire les désirs de ses adeptes, bien qu'étant unique, se divise en plusieurs comme la lune se reflétant dans plusieurs eaux, que le Bouddha vous protège.

Cf. also K. 254 of 1051 CE, stanza II (IC III, p. 182):

abhivyākto[27] *yayāpy eko dṛśyate nekadhā śivaḥ* |
candraḥ pratimayevāvyāt sā śaktiś śāmbhavī jagat ||

Cœdès translates (IC III, p. 187):

> Cette énergie, (nommée) Çāmbhavī, protège le monde, elle par qui Çiva, bien qu'unique, est vu dans ses diverses manifestations, comme la lune par son image.

The same image is also similarly deployed in Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (6.45–46):

śaśimaṇḍalaṃ jalataraṅgasaṃhati-
pratibimbitaṃ hara jalāśaye yathā |
drumapallavodavasitāntarāśrayas
tapanātapo nipatitaḥ kṣitau yathā ||
gaganaṃ yathā sthitam ulūkhalādiṣu
sphuṭam eka eva sakalādbhutasthitiḥ |
pratipadyate bahuvidhatvam āśraya-
pratisaṃkramād avikṛtas tathā bhavān ||

[26] Cœdès here reads (IC III, p. 67) *naikanira°*, but, in spite of damage to the top of the letter, the EFEO estampage n. 321 seems to allow the possibility of reading the required *naikanīra°*.

[27] Cœdès here (IC III, p. 182) proposes that we correct to *abhivyakto*.

> Just as the orb of the moon is reflected on the multitudes of waves of water in a lake, o Hara, just as the light of the sun falls on the ground by passing [divided] through the interstices in a house formed by the leaves of a tree, just as ether finds itself [circumscribed] in mortars and such like [vessels], so too You, Your condition being the most extraordinary of all, [although] clearly just One, are perceived as manifold, [although You are in fact] unchanged, because of your passing into several loci.[28]

We should note that the image of the moon multiplied in its reflections is not used here as it is commonly used elsewhere, namely to support a non-dualist ontology, but instead as an image of how Śiva shines out, differently distorted, from every scriptural authority.

For the claim that Śiva is ultimately the source of all authoritative writing, see for example the account of different branches of literature emanating from Śiva's five faces given in the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā*:

> *vedadharmmo mayā proktaḥ svarganaiśreyasaḥ paraḥ* |
> *uttareṇaiva vaktreṇa vyākhyātaś ca samāsataḥ* || 4.41
> *ādhyātmikaṃ pravakṣyāmi dakṣiṇāsyena kīrttitam* |
> *sāṃkhyañ caiva mahājñānaṃ yogañ cāpi mahāvrate* || 4.42
> […]
> I have taught the *dharma* [prescribed in] the Veda which is excellent (*paraḥ*) which leads to heaven and the highest good (*svarganaiśreyasaḥ*). I have explained [all this] in brief, specifically (*eva*) with [my] Northern face (i.e. Vāmadeva).
> [Now] I will teach the [*dharma*] called *ādhyātmika* with [my] Southern (Aghora) face: [namely] the great science of the Sāṅkhya, as well as Yoga, O you who observe the *mahāvrata*.[29]

> *atimārggaṃ samākhyātaṃ dvihprakāraṃ varānane* || 4.131
> *pūrveṇaiva tu vaktreṇa sarahasyaṃ prakīrttitam* |
> […]
> I have taught the *atimārga* in two forms, O beautiful-visaged one! Through the Eastern face I have taught this along with the secret. What further can I teach, O great goddess, O supreme deity?[30]

[28] Translation somewhat adapted from that of Pasedach 2017: 142–143.
[29] Tr. Kafle 2015: 268.
[30] Tr. Kafle 2015: 289.

adhunā tad ato viprās saṃvādam umayā saha |
īśvarasya tu devasya mantramārgaṃ vyavasthitam || 4.134
pañcamenaiva vaktreṇa īśānena dvijottamāḥ |
mantrākhyaṃ kathayiṣyāmi devyāyā gaditam purā || 4.135

Now then, O Brahmins, I shall tell [you] the discourse of the god Śiva (*īśvarasya*) with Umā, called Mantra, which is settled as the *mantramārga* [and] which was formerly related to Devi by the fifth Īśāna face, O best of Brahmins![31]

In a different spirit, a work called *Jñānatilaka*, which, judging from the vocative address to Ṣaṇmukha, may have been a scripture that affiliated itself to the *Kālottara*, is quoted by Umāpati in his *Pauṣkarabhāṣya* (pp. 239–240) to justify the proposition that the contradictions between the different teachings ascribed to Śiva are unproblematic because Śiva taught different levels of 'truth' in accordance with the capacities and expectations of his listeners:

krauñcādiṣu suraiḥ sarvaiḥ mahāmāyāvimohitaiḥ |
ṛṣibhiś caiva bhogārthair mokṣamārgaparāṅmukhaiḥ ||
pṛṣṭo 'haṃ tatra mantrāṇi tapaścaryāvratāni ca |
siddhāntamantravādāṃś ca te 'pi tantrāṇy anekadhā ||
anekabhedabhinnaṃ tu dvaitaṃ pārvatinandana |
tathā hy advaitam apy anye dvaitādvaitaṃ tathāpare ||
pṛcchakānāṃ vaśenaiva proktaṃ śāstram anekadhā |
sādhanāni vicitrāṇi mantrāṇāṃ mantrajātayaḥ ||
yo yat pṛcchati bhāvena tasya tat kathayāmy aham |
kim anyat pṛcchamānasyānyat kathayāmi ṣaṇmukha ||
mayā vimohitāḥ sarve cānekaiḥ śāstrasaṃgrahaiḥ | *iti* |

On mountains such as Mount Krauñca, I have been asked by all the gods, deluded because of cosmic illusion, and by sages desirous of [supernatural] enjoyments,[32] turning their faces from the path of liberation, for mantras and for ascetic practices and religious observances, and for settled doctrines and ways of casting

[31] Tr. Kafle 2015: 289.

[32] When this passage is quoted in Goodall 2006, along with some of Umāpati's introduction to it (p. 111) and with a French translation (p. 101), *bhogārthair mokṣamārgaparāṅmukhaiḥ* is taken instead to mean 'turned away from the path leading to liberation by the objects of the senses' ('détournés de la voie qui mène à la délivrance par les objets des sens'), which now seems to me less likely.

spells.[33] They in turn (*te 'pi*) [received] various sorts of scriptures: [some received a message of] duality, [in which reality is] divided up into many divisions, o Son of Pārvatī; others non-duality; and others again duality-cum-non-duality. In accordance with the capacity of the askers I taught scripture in various ways, [involving] various sorts of power-seeking practices and mantra-inflections for mantras. To each person I teach what they ask in accordance with that person's disposition (*bhāvena*). Can I teach any one thing to someone when they expect quite another, o Ṣaṇmukha? I have deluded everyone with various compositions of scripture.

Stanza X

There seems to be an allusion here to *Raghuvaṃśa* 3.49, in which Indra lays exclusive claim to the name Śatakratu ('Of a hundred rages/sacrifices'), mentioning that Puruṣottama similarly belongs only to Viṣṇu, and that Īśvara, or rather Maheśvara, belongs only to Śiva:

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 'Of a hundred sacrifices': this expression of mine applies to no other person.

Stanza XI

A passage that the 16th-c. South Indian writer Appayadīkṣita presents as a quotation of the *Śivapurāṇa* speaks of how one should visualise Śiva within a *liṅga*, where he takes residence in spite of being omnipresent, and this is explained using, as here, the expression *kṛtāvāsaḥ* ('having made his dwelling [here]'), but once again with a play upon the word, in this case effected by following it with the word *sarvavāsaḥ* ('who wears all forms/dwells in

[33] I was, and still am, suspicious about whether this half-line has been transmitted and therefore did not translate it in Goodall 2006: 101.

everything'). The purported quotation begins (p. 65) with the five following half-lines, which I have not been able to locate in the various voluminous bodies of text that ascribe themselves to the *Śivapurāṇa*. They may serve here as a commentary on the expression *liṅgamūrttiḥ*.

> *liṅge sadāśivaṃ dhyātvā niścalenāntarātmanā* |
> *aṣṭatriṃśatkalānyāsaṃ kṛtvā svasyāṃ tanau yathā* ||
> *abhyarcya gandhapuṣpādyais tyaktvā liṅgātmatāmatim* |
> *tasyāṃ mūrtau mūrtimantaṃ śivaṃ paramakāraṇam* ||
> *prāṇasthānaṃ sadeśasya cintayed aṃbayā saha* |
>
> One should visualise Sadāśiva in the *liṅga*, as the immovable inner soul, by placing [there] the thirty-eight [mantra-]divisions [that make up his mantra-body], just as [one earlier placed them] on one's own body. One should venerate Śiva, the Supreme Cause, as embodied in that 'body,' using fragrant unguents, flowers and the like, after abandoning the notion of its being [nothing but] a liṅga. One should think of it as the locus of the life-breath of Sadāśiva, together with the Mother.

There follow (as though they all formed one quotation) another twenty-one verses, many of which occur in different places in the second chapter of the first half of the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*, ascribed to the *Śivapurāṇa*. We skip here the next four of them, all about how Śiva is to be thought of in this context, as well as the concluding sixteen, and we turn to the verse that furnishes the relevant wordplay (p. 66), which is also one of the verses to be found in the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*:[34]

> *sarvoparikṛtāvāsas sarvavāsaś ca śāśvataḥ* |
> *ṣaḍvidhādhvamayasyāsya sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ* ||
>
> The Lord of this entire universe, which consists in the six-fold [cosmic] path,[35] has made His dwelling above all, and [yet] dwells in all, eternal.

[34] *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* Pūrvabhāga 2.52. For the numbering, I follow here the appendix of Barois 2012, which usefully collates the readings of two earlier editions that have different chapter-divisions and therefore different verse-numbering. Both those editions read *sarvavit* here in place of *śāśvataḥ*.

[35] For the six paths into which the cosmos may be divided, see, e.g., *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* III s.v. *tattvādhvan* and *padādhvan*.

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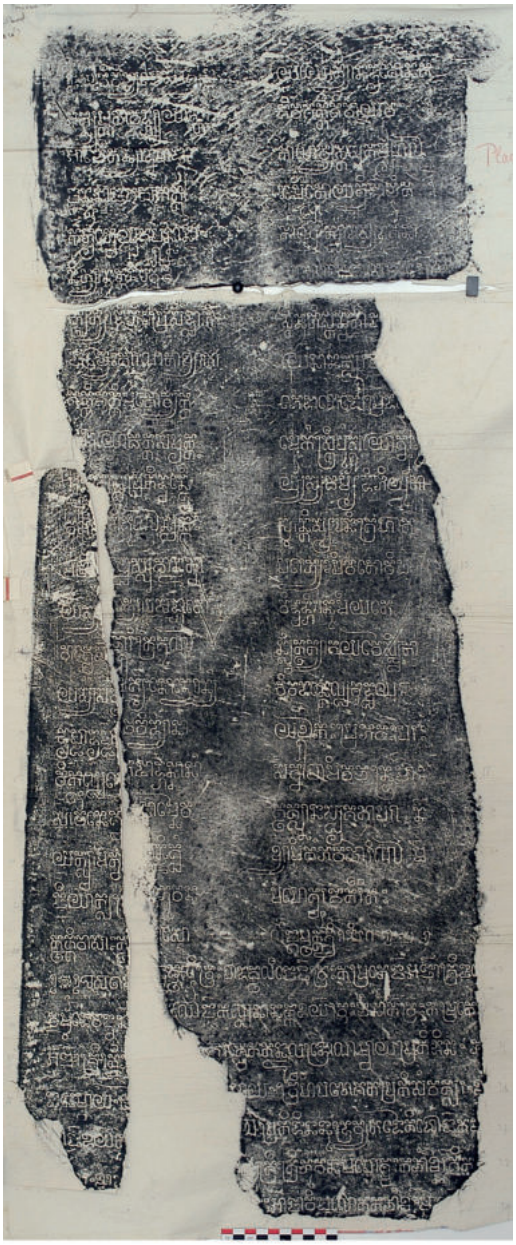
Fig. 1
General view of the 10th-c. temple of Tribhuvanamaheśvara (Banteay Srei)



n. 421 / K. 570

Fig. 2
EFEO photograph of inked estampage no. n. 421 of K. 570 (EFEO, Paris)

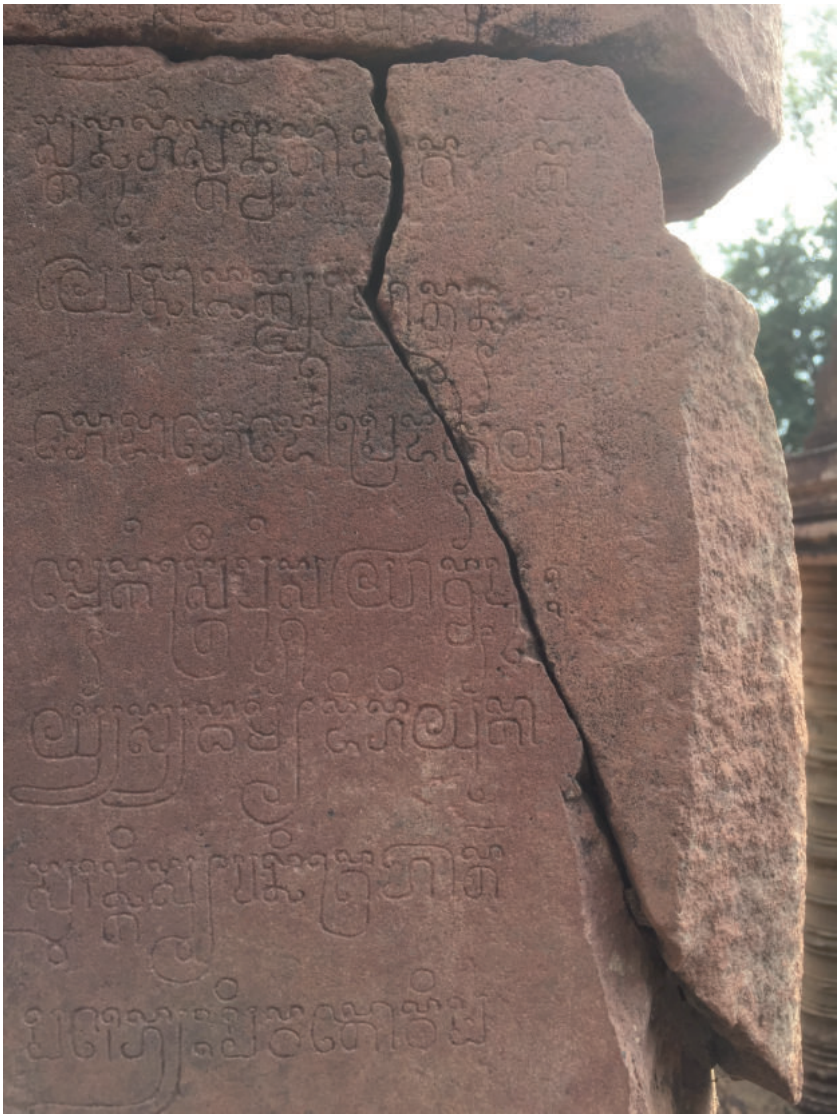


Fig. 3
Photograph taken in January 2017 of a detail of K. 570, showing the slither of stone that was missing when the EFEO estampage (see Fig. 2) was produced (Photo: Dominic Goodall).