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## **Sanskrit Text and Translation of K. 1320, a tenth-century edict of the Khmer king Īśānavarman II about the annual taxes to be paid by Liṅgapura (Vat Phu)<sup>1</sup>**

*Dominic Goodall* \*

In January 2013, the discovery of a beautifully engraved and perfectly preserved four-sided stela at Vat Phu was announced in the press (*Vientiane Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> January). This stela proved to be a document produced at the behest of a Khmer monarch about whom not much else is known called Īśānavarman II, probably in 926 AD, his first regnal year. The circumstances of the discovery of this buried “treasure” were at once written up by my colleague Christine HAWIXBROCK and published in an article in *Aséanie* 32.

An annotated edition and French translation of K. 1320 has recently appeared in *Aséanie* 33 (GOODALL and JACQUES 2014), but, given the importance of the document and its potential appeal for the many visitors to Vat Phu, an English translation seems desirable. For the inscription is not only a major new source for the history of Vat Phu, testifying once again to the centrality of this Śaiva site in the religious landscape of the Khmers, but also the only document hitherto discovered that furnishes any sort of detailed information about taxation for the entire Angkorian period. Now tenth-century taxation might not seem at first blush to be a gripping topic, but because the Khmer empire made almost no use of coinage at any point in its history, the list of items constituting the taxes here actually makes colourful reading.

To summarise briefly the contents of the inscription, it begins with invocations to Śiva and other gods (verses 1-4), followed by short eulogies of three Khmer sovereigns, recording in each case the year of their accession, namely Indravarman I (verses 5-17, accession in 877 AD), Yaśovarman I (verses 18-25, accession in 889 AD) and Harṣavarman I (verses 26-33, accession in 910 AD). After this, there is a longer eulogy, in florid and extremely erudite courtly Sanskrit, of the then reigning monarch, Īśānavarman II (verses 34-59, accession in 925 AD). Thereafter, almost the whole of the fourth and final side of this stela (verses 61-90) is devoted to a list of the annual taxes owed to the king by the town or administrative district then known as Liṅgapura, with explanations to the effect that these taxes are henceforth to be paid instead to the Śiva of Vat Phu. A grandiloquent exhortation to future kings to respect the terms of the edict concludes the text (verses 91-96).

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\* École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO).

1. This editio minor with English translation is based on the editio princeps with French translation of GOODALL and JACQUES (2014).

The one verse that I have omitted from the above summary is that in which there is the clearest statement about the transfer of the annual taxes to Śiva. The verse in question occurs just before the list (bottom of Face C, lines 39–40, verse 60):

In his [first] regnal year, this king of the Kambujas received tribute from vanquished kings; but, being himself vanquished by devotion, he bestowed upon the [God] Śiva in this place the taxes which are to be levied annually from Liṅgapura: ...

The location and extent of Liṅgapura in the first half of the tenth-century are not known. Was it simply the town at the river's edge that we know from an inscription (K. 365) to have been called Kurukṣetra in the fifth century? Or was it a different town or a wider administrative region? Furthermore, the identifications and the quantities of many of the substances to be offered in tax are matters of doubt. But even without being able to pin down what all the items on this intriguing list were, or indeed who exactly was to furnish them, or what proportion of their wealth was required of them, we can nevertheless savour the list's strangeness and enjoy its invitation to wonder at the distant world to which it belonged. Because, as mentioned above, no coinage is involved, it is predominantly a list of products of the river and the forest: nuggets of panned gold, birds, animals, feathers, hides and oleoresins, along with some spices, food-stuffs and medicinal herbs.

Ignoring for a moment the order in which the elements of the list are presented, we have grouped its contents into categories in the tables below.

<b>PRECIOUS METALS</b>		
<i>Gold</i>		
<b>nuggets</b>	600 pala	3.54 kg / 22.5 kg**
<b>red gold*</b>	15.5 pala	91.45 g / 581.25 g
<i>Silver</i>		
<b>goblets weighing</b>	8 kaṭṭikā	960 g / 6 kg

\*The silver and the so-called 'red' gold is to be given in the form of goblets and ornamental lotusses respectively, to be offered on annual visits by 3 classes of administrative official.\*\* On the wildly discrepant equivalences that have been proposed for Khmer units of measure, see GOODALL and JACQUES 2014 and SOUTIF 2009, whose proposed equivalences are reflected in the 1<sup>st</sup> of the two entries given in the right-hand column.

<b>ANIMALS &amp;</b>	<b>ANIMAL PRODUCTS</b>		
<i>Quadrupeds</i>			
<b>boars</b>	160	turtles	200
<b>monitor lizards</b>	200	elephants	10
<i>Birds</i>			
<b>parakeets</b>	100		
<i>Peacock parts</i>			
<b>tail-feathers</b>	12000	wing-feathers	400
<b>neck-pouches (?)</b>	20		
<i>Other animal parts</i>			
<b>elephant tusks</b>	20	rhinoceros horns	12
<b>boar-skins</b>	20		

WEAPONS &	UTENSILS		
<b>Weapons</b>			
crossbows	5	crossbow arrows	100
bows	100	arrows	2000
cuirasses	100	<i>phkāk</i> axes (?)	40
<b>Utensils</b>			
parasols	200	brooms	300
gourds	218	bell-metal goblets	30
rattan poles	800		
<b>Clothing</b>			
Pairs of upper + lower body-cloths	2230		

FRAGRANT SUBSTANCES		
<b>Oleo-resins</b>		
takka (pine-resin)	1300 kaṭṭī	156 kg / 975 kg
taruṣka ('Turkish' Styrax) in 4	forms:	
'Camphor'	2 kaṭṭī	240 g / 1.5 kg
liquid form	3 prastha	3.75 l.
fragments	5 prastha	6.25 l.
powder	2000 vaṅśā	?
<b>Other fragrant substances</b>		
nābheya (musk)	200 kaṭṭī	24 kg / 150 kg
Neem-tree-hearts (?)	2 khārī	160 l.
pracivala (vetiver)	10 khārī	8 hl.

FOODS		
<b>Grains</b>		
Threshed rice	100 khārī	80 hl. (6 tonnes?)
Paddy	2000 khārī	1600 hl. (120 tonnes?)
Sesamum	21 khārī	16.80 hl. (1260 kg?)
Millet	21 khārī	16.80 hl.
māṣaka beans	16 khārī	12.60 hl.
Mung beans	105 khārī	84 hl. (6300 kg?)
<b>Spices</b>		
Ginger	20 kaṭṭī	2.4 kg / 15 kg
Turmeric	5 khārī	240 hl.
Long Pepper	5 kaṭṭī	6 kg / 37.5 kg
Medicinal Roots	Unlimited supply!	

Three metres have been used in the inscription and they have been deployed as follows:

- *anuṣṭubh* : LXI–XC (30)
- *upajāti* : V, VIII–XI, XIII, XVI–XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVIII–XLII, XLV–XLVII, XLIX–LVII, LIX, LX, XCI–XCVI (48).
- *vasantatilakā* : I, II, III, IV (*maṅgala*), VI, VII, XII, XIV, XV, XXIX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXVI, XXXVII, XLIII, XLIV, XLVIII, LVIII (18).

The annotation discussing the niceties of interpretation has been considerably cut down, since this is intended not as a major fresh edition of the inscription, but rather as a scaled down edition for anglophone readers who would prefer to avoid being challenged by a French rendering of often recondite Sanskrit courtly verse. Nor does this English edition intentionally produce a fresh interpretation of the text. Nonetheless, there are one or two verses where the interpretation does differ slightly (verses IX and LXXX) or where a further possible line of interpretation has been alluded to (verses II and LXXXVIII). Otherwise, this edition with English translation follows the text and French translation of Claude JACQUES and Dominic GOODALL, made on the basis of photographs of the stela taken by David BAZIN.

For a fuller discussion of the interpretation of this fascinating document, the reader is directed to the 2014 article in French by Claude JACQUES and myself on the “Stèle inscrite d’Īśānavarman II à Vat Phu: K. 1320”.

## Face A

- I.- (1) // *yasyecchayā nalinajādīṭṭṇāvasāna-* *viśvodbhavasthititirobhavanāni kāle*  
(2) *jāyanta eva nikhilāni namo ’stu tasmai* *caitanyaśaktivapuṣe parameśvarāya //*

Hommage be to the Supreme Lord (*parameśvarāya*), who has as his body the Power that is called “sentience”,<sup>2</sup> in accordance with whose will the creation, maintenance and destruction are produced, each at the appropriate time (*kāle*), of the entire universe, from Brahmā (*nalinajādi*<sup>o</sup>) down to the grass (*ṭṭṇāvasāna*<sup>o</sup>).

- II.- (3) *jīyāt sa dhūrjjaṭir api dyumarutkhagāmbhaḥ-* *kṣmātmānalendutanur uddyutir indumauliḥ*  
(4) *yasyāṇimādibhir alam bhuvanodbhavādau* *bhūyaḥ sphuṭājaharimaulibhir īsa(t)āṅghryoh //*

And may Dhūrjjaṭi (Śīva) be victorious, who has as body the ether, the wind, the sun, water, earth, the self, fire and the moon,<sup>3</sup> who is resplendent, who has the moon as his diadem; whose sovereignty (*īsatā*) — [already] fully (*alam*) [displayed] in his creation of the words and others [of his cosmic acts], [which he accomplishes] through [his yogic powers, such as] the capacity to become as small as an atom, etc. (*aṇimādyaiḥ*) — is further (*bhūyaḥ*) rendered visible (*sphuṭā*) by the diadems of Brahmā and Hari [placed] on his feet (*aṅghryoh*).<sup>4</sup>

2. *Caitanya* (“sentience”) is defined by certain Śaiva texts of the Mantramārga (tantric Śaivism) as the two powers of God: *kriyāśakti* and *jñānaśakti* (omnipotence and omniscience): see volume 2 of the *Tāntrikābhidhānaśāstra*, s.v. *caitanya*.

3. The notion that these are the eight “bodies” of Śīva that sustain the universe is widespread, cf., e.g., K. 528, the stela of the Eastern Mebon temple, stanza IV (FINOT 1925:311). The classical order of these “bodies”, which we find for instance in *Somaśambhupaddhati*, vol. IV (Brunner 1998), pp. 36–37 is rather the following: *kṣmāvahnīyamānārkajalavātendukhāni ca*, “Earth, Fire, the Sacrificer, Sun, Water, Wind, Moon and Ether. This order is abandoned, both here and in the Mebon inscription, for metrical reasons.

4. The prostration of Brahmā and Viṣṇu before Śīva recalls the widespread aetiological myth used to justify *liṅga*-worship, namely the *liṅgodbhava* myth, in which Śīva first appeared as a mysterious column of fire of which Brahmā and Viṣṇu could not find the top or the bottom, before revealing his identity and being worshipped by them. But it is worth recalling, as Pia Conti has reminded me (email of 21.iii.2017), that there may be an echo here of a high-relief sculpture carved into a rock beside the main shrine at Vat Phu of a standing five-faced, ten-armed Śīva (in other words, a Sadāśīva) flanked by Brahmā and Viṣṇu genuflecting in veneration.

- III.- (5) *deyād udāram udayaṃ bhavināṃ bhavānī nītā nijārdhdhatanutāṃ madanāriṇā yā*  
 (6) *pratyakṣam ikṣaṇahutāśadaśārdhdhavāṇa- nirdāhadoṣaparimoṣadhiyeva nītyā //*

May Bhavānī bestow generous prosperity to creatures, she whom the enemy of Love [viz. Śiva] shrewdly (*nītyā*) brought to a condition of being visibly half of his body, as though with the intention (°*dhiyā*) of atoning for the fault of having burnt Love (°*daśārdhabāṇa*°) with the fire of his [central] eye.<sup>5</sup>

- IV.- (7) *pāyād apāraduritād iha śaṅkaraś śrī- bhadreśvaro bhuvanabhadrakaraś ciraṃ vaḥ*  
 (8) *yasyāṅghrinīrajarajo 'vajayad rajāṃsi tejāṃsi tejayati bhaktibhṛt(ā)m adabhram //*

May the Śaṅkara (“the beneficent”) of this place, Śrī Bhadreśvara (“the Lord of what is good”<sup>6</sup>), long protect you from limitless suffering, he who brings about [all] good (*bhadra*) in the world, the dust (/ pollen) of whose lotus-feet, in vanquishing impurities, greatly (*adabhram*) empowers the energies of those who bear devotion [to him].

\*

- V.- (9) *āsīd adhiśo jagatīpatinām urvvīpatīndrānvayajo mahaujāḥ*  
 (10) *nīrandhradhī randhranavādrirājyo yaś śrīndravarmmeti mahīmahendraḥ //*

There was an overlord of the masters of the world, born in a lineage of kings, of great energy, of an intellect without flaw, who ruled in [7] mountains – 9 - [9] orifices,<sup>7</sup> a Great King of the earth, who was called Śrī Indravarman.

- VI.- (11) *yasyollasadguṇagaṇair vviḡatasmayasya mā bhūt samāna iti bhūrivapurvvilāse*  
 (12) *nūnaṃ saroruhabhuvā vihito manobhūr aṅgaṃ vināṃṛtakaro malino mṛgeṇa //*

Given the brilliance of the immense beauty (*bhūrivapurvvilāse*) of this [king] who was beyond pride (*vviḡatasmayasya*) [in spite] of his brilliant qualities (*ullasadguṇagaṇaiḥ*), the Creator surely (*nūnam*) created Kāma without a body (*vināṅgam*) [and] the moon defiled by [the mark of] an antelope (*malino mṛgeṇa*) thinking (*iti*) “Let no one be his equal!”

- VII.- (13) *nirmmucya bhāskarakarair abhitaptam ugrais tāpād ivāmvujavanan nijadhāma lakṣmīḥ*  
 (14) *bhāratyajasraratijātavirodhamuktā yasyāsyāśītakaramaṇdalam adhyuvāsa //*

It was as if Lakṣmī, abandoning because of the heat (*tāpāt*) the lotus grove, her personal abode, overheated by the terrible rays of the sun, had taken refuge in the [lunar] orb of cool rays that was the face of this [king], abandoning her aversion (°*virodhamuktā*) for the boundless passion of Sarasvatī (*bhāratyajasrarati*°) [for this mouth].

5. Śiva burnt Love (Madana), but it is then effectively vanquished Love, or rather Śiva’s love for Pārvatī, that prompts him to share his body with her and become Ardhanārīśvara.

6. Bhadreśvara is of course primarily the theonym, often copied elsewhere in the Khmer-speaking world, of the Śiva of the principal *liṅga* of Vat Phu.

7. 799 śaka, or 877/878 A.D.

- VIII.- (15) *narendravṛndāarakavṛndamauli-* *māṇikyajālāṅśujalaiḥ kṛtāyām*  
 (16) *vāpyām avāpya śriyam ujvalāṃ yo* *vikāsayām āsa nijāṅghripadmam //*

Having obtained a splendid splendour [like that of the sun], he caused the lotus of his feet to blossom in the pond formed by the rays of the mass of sapphires upon the diadems of a crowd of the best of kings [prostrate before him].

- IX.- (17) *śabdānuśiṣṭau paṭunāpi śabda-* *śāstrapraṇetrprahitādareṇa*  
 (18) *sakarmmatā yena bhuvah 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,<sup>8</sup> rendered transitive [the verbal root] *bhū* («to be») without a prefix in front of it (*ādau*), to arrive at the sense “exist” ...

[This is literary figure known as *virodhābhāsa*, “apparent contradiction”: since the above obvious interpretation is disturbingly nonsensical, one is expected to re-read the verse and interpret it instead as follows:]

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*).

- X.- (19) *yasya sphuratpadmam udastadoṣaṃ* *prasannabhāsvatkaramaṇḍalādhyam*  
 (20) *ananyatejassuramārggarāgaṃ* *mukhan dīnasyeva rarāja rājyam //*

– His kingdom shone like the face of the day, which brings forth the lotus (*sphuratpadmam*), which repels the night (*udastadoṣaṃ*), which is enriched by the circle of rays of a favourable sun (*prasannabhāsvatkaramaṇḍalādhyam*), in which the redness of the sky (*°suramārggarāgaṃ*) is of incomparable splendour (*ananyatejah°*)

– His kingdom shone, in which Lakṣmī sparkled (*sphuratpadmam*), from which every fault had been chased away (*udastadoṣaṃ*), which was serene (*°prasanna°*), radiant (*°bhāsvat°*), and enriched by a mass of taxes (*°karamaṇḍalādhyam*), in which the passion of his subjects for reaching heaven was of incomparable ardour.

- XI.- (21) *yasya prayāṇe valavṛmhitāpi* *dhūlīdhutir gharmmaghṛṇiṃ rurodha*  
 (22) *paṭuḥ pratāpo bhujavṛmhitas tu* *mā kīrtiyatām anyatarasvivr̥ṇde //*

In his expeditions the agitation of the dust, augmented by his troops, masked the sun; let us not speak of [the even more intense effects] of his fieriness (*pratāpaḥ*), made more severe by [the might of] his arm, upon the crowd of other violent beings [, namely his enemies]!

- XII.- (23) *āstān dviṣāṃ suvahuśo ‘stramucāṃ mahājau* *pañcatvam astrakṛtinā kṛtam eva yena*  
 (24) *pañcadviṣān tu yugapat prabhidāṃ kṛtaṃ yat* *khadgena tat katham ivānyajanair ajanyam //*

Let us admit that in battle this expert in arms has repeatedly caused his enemies to dissolve back into the five elements as they drop their weapons; but the fact that with his sword he caused five enemies simultaneously to be killed, how on earth (*katham iva*) could he do that, which no one else could accomplish?

8. The expression *śabdānuśiṣṭau* is doubtless a conscious echo of the opening words of the great grammatical treatise of Patañjali, the *Mahābhāṣya*.

- XIII.- (25) *tuṅgādrisaṃsthas sarathāśvasūtas* *sūryyas sahasreṇa karais tamorīn*  
 (26) *padātir ekena kareṇa yas tu* *durggāṇy anāśritya raṇe vijetā //*

With its chariot, its horses and its coachman, installed on a high mountain, the sun is victorious (*vijetā*) over its enemies the shades of darkness thanks to its thousand rays (*karaiḥ*); but he [is victorious] in battle with [just] one arm (*ekena kareṇa*), walking on foot and without seeking refuge in hard-to-reach places (*durgāṇi*).

- XIV.- (27) *majjanmahonnamahībhṛti śastravarṣa-* *saṃvarddhitārirudhirārṇnasi saṃyugābdhau*  
 (28) *dhātā paro 'calitam acyutarūḍham ṛddham* *adhyāsta yaḥ kamalayā vijayāravindam //*

Upon the ocean of the battle, whose streams consisting of the blood of enemies were swelled by the rain of arrows, [and] which engulfed the great kings (/ the great mountains), he sat with Lakṣmī, like a second creator, on a lotus of victory that was splendid (*ṛddham*), stable (*acalitaṃ*) [and] permanently rooted (/ that grew on [the navel of] Viṣṇu).<sup>9</sup>

- XV.- (29) *prānto diśām agunavān arisaṃśrayo 'pi* *tejonalaprasaradāhabhiyā nato 'pi*  
 (30) *dugdhāmvudhīddhayaśasārḍrita eva yena* *nīyaṃ mahān na hi jahāti parārthavṛttim //*

Although the furthest edge of the horizons is the refuge of his enemies and is without good qualities, although it curls up for fear of being burnt by the expansion of the fire of his fieriness, this [king] has bathed it in his glory, which is as brilliant as the ocean of milk; for a great man never abandons conduct which is for the good of others.

- XVI.- (31) *mantraprabhāvapramukhābhyudasta-* *samastaviḡhno 'dhvarasādhanāya*  
 (32) *vasiṣṭhalīlām iva labdhavān yo* *gām nandinīm kāmādughām pupoṣa //*

Having eliminated all obstacles to the fulfillment of sacrifices through [the royal powers of] counsel, force, etc.,<sup>10</sup> he nourished the land (*gām*), which rejoiced (*nandinīm*) and furnished all desires (*kāmādughām*), in such a way that he resembled Vasiṣṭha (*vasiṣṭhalīlām iva labdhavān*), who nourished the wish-fulfilling cow Nandinī for the accomplishment of his sacrifices.

- XVII.- (33) *adrīn samudrān atha kaṇḍarālī<sup>11</sup>* *vvanāni durggāṇi digantarāṇi*  
 (34) *kenāpi vidvidgaṇavad<sup>12</sup> vinidrā* *drāg yasya yātā dayitāpi kūrṭtiḥ //*

His Fame, although she was his beloved, fled swiftly (*drāk*), like the troop of his enemies, without sleeping, no one knows by what [path] (*kenāpi*), towards the mountains, the Seas, and even to cliffs, forests, fortresses, the extremities of the sky (/to foreign countries).<sup>13</sup>

9. The king “seated” upon his own Victory is compared here to Brahmā sitting on a lotus that comes out of the navel of Viṣṇu as he lies on the ocean that submerges the universe between the phases of creation. What is strange in this picture is the fact that Lakṣmī sits beside Brahmā: one would expect her to be massaging the feet of Viṣṇu.

10. This alludes to a triad of powers of the king mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*, namely *mantraśakti*, *prabhuśakti* and *utsāhaśakti*. The formulation is odd, perhaps partly because of metrical constraints, but perhaps also to allow a punning second interpretation of the beginning of the verse: “Since he had removed all obstacles by means beginning with (*°pramukha°*) the power of mantras....”.

11. Understand: *kandarālī*.

12. Understand: *vidvidgaṇavad*.

13. Fame, like the horde of his enemies, flees to all these places, but the last of them must be interpreted in two ways: in the case of his Fame, *digantarāṇi* alludes to the extremities of the sky; in the case of his enemies, the word refers to foreign countries.

\*

- XVIII.- (35) *tasyātmajas tulyagaṇodayaśrīr* *yyaś śrīyaśovarmanarādhipendraḥ*  
(36) *mṛgāṅkacandrāṣṭadhṛtādhirājyo* *'marendratulyo yudhi vikrameṇa //*

His son, whose fortune was due to his [having] qualities that were equal [to those of his father], was the supreme king of kings Śrī Yaśovarman, who took the kingdom into his hands in the [śaka year expressed by] moon - moon - eight,<sup>14</sup> [and who was] like to the king of the gods for his valour in battle.

- XIX.- (37) *mahotsavo lokavilocanānām* *āsīd viśuddho 'titarāṇ mukhenduh*  
(38) *muktas sadā yasya nṛrājasinḥa-* *bhāvād bhayeneva mṛgāṅkanena //*

A great feast for the eyes of the people was the moon of his face [– a moon in everything except that it was] extremely pure, freed forever from the stain of the gazelle, as if his nature of being a lion among kings had frightened it away.

- XX.- (39) *yo 'nanyacetā hatakāmakāya-* *cāritram apy ādarato nukurvvan*  
(40) *kenāpi kāmam parito 'bhipūrṇnam* *aṅgeṣu nirbhaṅgam alaṅ cakāra //*

Although he respectfully followed the observance of the Destroyer of Kāma [viz. Śīva], and of no other [god], he somehow (*kenāpi*) perfectly (*alam*) represented (*cakāra*) Kāma, [except that he was] wholly (*paritaḥ*) complete (*abhipūrṇam*), with limbs (*aṅgeṣu*) intact (*nirbhaṅgam*).

## Face B

- XXI.- (1) *kṛtī patir no 'dhivasaty ajasraṇ* *prītyāsyā hṛtpadmam itīva vidyāḥ*  
(2) *haraṇ manohāritayānuyāntyo* *mukhena yasyāviviśus samastāḥ //*

“Our skillful master (*kṛtī*) resides perpetually with pleasure in the lotus of the heart of this [king],” as though with this thought (*itī*) the sciences, pursuing (*anuyāntyaḥ*) Hara, all entered by the [king's] mouth into his heart, [captivated] by his charm.

- XXII.- (3) *parasparasparddhakaladhvanīnām* *ānamrabhūbhṛnmakuṭonmaṇīnām*  
(4) *prabhābharākrāntir uṣeva tāmrā* *babhūva yasyāṅghriyugāṅghrijālī //*

Red as the dawn was the row of the nails (*-aṅghrija°*) of his two feet, on which beamed the mass of rays from the jewels of the diadems of prostrate kings, their jewels rattling gently in mutual rivalry.

- XXIII.- (5) *śokānalavyājagato 'pi dīpto* *jītdviṣatstrīhṛdayeṣu yasya*  
(6) *strīṅām avadhyatvam itīva bhasmī-* *cakāra nainās saghṛṇaḥ pratāpaḥ //*

His valour, full of pity (/full of ardour), although it blazed in the hearts of the wives of his vanquished enemies, having adopted the form of a fire of sorrow, did not reduce them to ashes, as if recalling (*itī*) the inviolability of women.

14. 811 śaka, or 889/890 A.D.

- XXIV.- (7) *prāyaḥ payobhiś śamam eti vahnir* *atyujjvalo yasya tu roṣavahniḥ*  
 (8) *yudhi dhruvam vismayam ādadhāno* *nadīm madadvidrudhiraiś<sup>15</sup> cakāra //*

A fiercely burning fire is generally calmed with water; the fire of this king's anger in battle, surely arousing (*dhruvam*) astonishment, instead produced (*tu*) a river with the blood of his enraged enemies.

- XXV.- (9) *mahāvarāheṇa ciroddhṛtāyāḥ* *payodhitaś śoṣaṇaśaikayeva*  
 (10) *bhuvah kales tāpam upāgatāyās* *samarppaṇam yena yaśomṛtābdhau //*

As if he feared that it would dry up after being raised [from the water] a long time ago by the great boar [Varāha], this [king] placed the earth, which was suffering from the heat of the Kali age, in the ocean of ambrosia of his glory.

\*

- XXVI.- (11) *sutas tadīyo yamarāmamūrtti-* *dhṛtādhirājyo vanipādhirājah*  
 (12) *śrīharṣavarmanā nṛparājavaryya-* *vañsoditāyām udito mahiṣyām //*  
 The son of this king, who took up the kingdom in [the śaka year marked by] (8) *mūrti* – (3) Rāma – (2) twins,<sup>16</sup> was the supreme king of kings Śrī Harṣavarman, born of a queen from an excellent lineage of kings of kings.<sup>17</sup>

- XXVII.- (13) *trinetrānāladāhyamūrttes* *smarasya sṛṣṭāv anayaṃ vidhātrā*  
 (14) *vuddhveva bhūyas samapādy ajeyo* *vīryeṇa kāntyā madanaḥ paro yaḥ //*

As if he had understood that it would not be politic (*anayam*) to [re-]create Kāma, whose body would be burned by the fire of the eye of the one with the three eyes, the creator produced again (*bhūyaḥ*) another [creature] who was [a veritable] Madana in terms of his beauty, [but] invincible in strength (*vīryeṇa*).

- XXVIII.- (15) *etāvātānanyajapātāvā sā* *sarasvatī nītivalābhilakṣyā*  
 (16) *sthitādhipatyena yadānane yad* *gupte śrīyā pūrvam api priyāsyāḥ //*

It is clear from this (*etāvātā*) that Sarasvatī is of an acuteness that does not occur anywhere else (*ananyajapātāvā*)<sup>18</sup> and distinguished by a political acumen, namely, by the fact that (*yat*) she reigned sovereign (*sthitādhipatyena*) in this [king's] mouth (/face), which was veiled by Beauty (Śrīyā), [Sarasvatī] being dear to him even above (*pūrvam api*) her.<sup>19</sup>

15. Understand: °*divi*°.

16. 832 śaka, or 910/911 A.D.

17. Which ones? Yaśovarman I, who relied on his maternal line for his claim to the throne, must have chosen a spouse from an important lineage in which the queen Vīralakṣmī, wife of Sūryavarman I, would later be born.

18. It is conceivable that this is intended also to express the idea that Sarasvatī possessed the sharpness of intellect characteristic of Brahmā (*ananyaja* = *svayambhū* = Brahmā).

19. Although Intelligence (Sarasvatī) is more dear to him, Beauty (Śrī) appeared on his face / mouth, so as to hide the presence of Intelligence, which was in fact sovereign (in the form of eloquence). We thank Harunaga ISAACSON for suggesting the elements of this interpretation of the stanza. See stanzas VII and XXXIX for similar images.

- XXIX.- (17) *namrāvanāṅdramakūṭārppitapadmarāga-* *rāgāruṅāṅghriyugalo nitarāṃ rarāja*  
(18) *bhāsvatpratāpatapanārkkamaṅīddhavahni-* *jvālākālāpaparirabdha ivādrirād<sup>20</sup> yaḥ //*

With his pair of feet reddened by the colour of the rubies set in the diadems of the prostrate kings of the earth, encircled by the halo of flames of the burning fire of a sun (-*arkamaṅi-*) that was the heat of his brilliant valour, he shone like the king of the mountains [Meru], *which is surrounded by the halo of flames of the burning fire of the sun's disk, which heats (°tapana) by its brilliant ardour.*<sup>21</sup>

- XXX.- (19) *sevāgatānekanarendramauli-* *mālāvākīrṇnāruṅarocirāḍhyaḥ*  
(20) *āsāsv iva drāvītahāṭakādri-* *dravārṇnavo 'pūryyata yatpratāpaḥ //*

Enriched by the red light spreading from the garlands and diadems of the many kings who came to serve him, the fire of his valour (*yatpratāpaḥ*) submerged the directions like an ocean that might have flowed from the melting mountain of gold.

- XXXI.- (21) *tīkṣṇāsīnā santatasauhṛdayyas* *tatāna kīrttiṃ yudhi yasya vāhuḥ*  
(22) *padmasya līlā khalu sā hi vāpyām* *arkkāṅśuprpto yad asau tataśrīḥ*

A constant friend of his sharp sword, his arm in the battle propagated his glory. Indeed, this is the game of the lotus in the pond: it is only when in contact with the rays of the sun that its beauty spreads.<sup>22</sup>

- XXXII.- (23) *yena prasāritayaśomṛtavṛṣṭidhārā-* *saṅghātaśītalatare 'khilabhūmibhāge*  
(24) *asthānatām iva gataḥ sthiratām urassu* *tīvrātapānalagaṇo dviṣatām prapede //*

While all parts of the earth were cooled by the flood of downpours of the rain of the ambrosia of the glory that he spread, intense raging fires, as if they had become without refuge, installed themselves in the breasts of his enemies.

- XXXIII.- (25) *uddiśya māṃ samarasāgaram eṣa tīrṇnas tīrtvā tv arer apahṛtām kamalām upāste*  
(26) *kā satyatābhīmukhatedṛg itīva roṣād* *yatkīrttir amvunīdhipāram aran tatāra //*

“It was for me that he crossed the ocean of battle, but having passed through it, he waits upon Śrī (*kamalām*), whom he captured from his enemies. Is this true fidelity?” — it is as though it were because his Glory had such a thought that she angrily went off far (*aram*) beyond the further shore of the ocean.

\*

20. Understand: *ivādrirād yaḥ*. We thank Harunaga ISAACSON for this suggestion.

21. According to the cosmographic model of the *Purāṇas*, over the course of a day and a night the sun traces a circle around Mount Meru.

22. Presumably it is partly the similarity of colours that inspired this image: the sun spreads a rosy light, just as his sword draws blood. But we are perhaps also expected to remember that the sun's rays may be described as hands.

XXXIV.-(27) *tasyānujo bhūmibhujām adhīśas*                      *sahodaro ropitasarvvasāraḥ*  
 (28) *śrīśānavarmmeti kṛtābhiṣeko*                                      *babhūva saptāmvudhimaṅgalena*

The younger brother of this king, the supreme master of kings, born of the same mother, in whom all the virtues [of his brother] were grounded, was consecrated under the name Śrī Īśānavarman in [the year] 7 - [4] oceans - [8] *maṅgala*.<sup>23</sup>

XXXV.-(29) *saroruhan nityavikāsam indu-*                                      *vimban tathā sādhayato 'kalaṅkam*  
 (30) *sādharmmyadṛṣṭāntam udīryya vaktran*                              *dhruvaṃ yaḍīyan nitarāñ jayas syāt //*

[Only] a constantly blossoming lotus and a [truly] spotless moon disk would surely provide (*sādhayataḥ*) examples of similarity (*sādharmyadṛṣṭāntam*) with which to speak of (*udīryya*) his face: may his victory be entire!

XXXVI.-(31) *nityaṃ vikāsabhr̥t akarkaśakośadaṇḍam*                      *yo 'bhūt tathāpi sadṛśo bhṛśam ambujena*  
 (32) *ucchvāsagandhavisarāt kamalālayatvān*                              *mitrodaye ca parisāritakośabhāvāt //*

Constantly (*nityam*) blossoming (*vikāsabhr̥t*) [whereas the lotus flourishes only by day], in such a way that the [policies of his] treasury (*°kośa°*) and punishment (*°daṇḍam*) were gentle (*akarkaśa°*) [whereas the lotus has a bud (*°kośa°*) and a stem (*°daṇḍam*) that are rough], he nevertheless (*tathāpi*) strongly (*bhṛśam*) resembled a lotus, since he spread abroad the perfume of his breath, since he was the home of Lakṣmī (*kamalālayatvāt*),<sup>24</sup> and since he poured out [the contents of] his treasury (*°kośa°*) for the welfare of his friends (*mitrodaye*) [just as the lotus opens its buds (*°kośa°*) at sunrise (*mitrodaye*)].

XXXVII. (33) *kāntyojasām ajarasān nilayasya yasya*                      *mā bhūd dviṭīya iti dhīr dhruvam āsa<sup>25</sup> dhātuḥ*  
 (34) *sūryyenduyogam ubhayor nnilayan niyogād*                              *astadvayāṃ sa yad asau kuhum ājahāra //*

With respect to this receptacle of [both] inexhaustible beauty and energy,<sup>26</sup> the Creator certainly must have thought “Let there be no second!”, since (*yad*), by his command, he drew the conjunction of the sun and the moon, which are [separately] repositories of [precisely] those two qualities (*ubhayor nilayam*), towards the day of the new moon (*kuhum*), when both [those luminaries] set.<sup>27</sup>

23. 847 śaka, or 925/6 A.D.

24. Lakṣmī, when she is said to reside in the king, refers to wealth and beauty; as for the lotus, it is the throne on which the goddess Lakṣmī is typically shown sitting.

25. This form derived from the verbal root *as*, also used by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava* (1.34), does not exist for Paninian grammar, unless it is part of a periphrastic perfect. Some claim that it is a form derived from another verbal root, or an indeclinable that has the outward appearance of a finite verb (*suptīnantapratīrūpako nipātaḥ*): see GOODALL 2009, pp. 65–66.

26. Beauty (*kānti*) belongs to the moon, energy (*ojas*) to the sun: the dynasty of Īśānavarman is presented as descended from both celestial luminaries and thus possesses both lunar and solar qualities.

27. On the day of the new moon, the moon and the sun are close to one another, seen from the ground. It is, therefore, the day of a natural “conjunction” of the two, which should therefore be, like Īśānavarman, a day where the natural properties of each, namely both of *kānti* and of *ojas*, are found together. But it is also the day when the two both set together and the night is thus devoid of their properties. The poet invites us to imagine that the creator could have ordered their movements precisely so that “there should not be a second repository” of both properties together. We thank Diwakar ACHARYA for having suggested the elements of this interpretation.

- XXXVIII-(35) *ratipriyo lokamanonilīnas* *saundaryyasamṭpattiguṇaikarāśiḥ*  
(36) *na cet sa cāmīkaracārucāpo* *lokair ayañ kāma itīrito yaḥ //*
- Beloved by Rati, hidden in the minds of men, a unique collection of qualities [that epitomise] the perfection of beauty, one would say of this [king] “It is Kāma”, if he did not have this beautiful bow of gold [rather than of sugar-cane].
- XXXIX- (37) *ājñāvidheyān na babhūva kin nu* *yasya trilokair abhivanditāpi*  
(38) *sarasvatī śāsanato yad asya* *prasādhanāny ārabhataiva lakṣmīyāḥ //*
- What was there that his prescriptions could not achieve, since Sarasvatī, according to his orders, although venerated by the three worlds, had indeed begun to do the bidding of Lakṣmī?<sup>28</sup>
- XL.- (39) *yasyāpi dūre vitataiḥ prabhāvair* *ākrāntadhāmnām vasudhādhipānām*  
(40) *kirīṭaratnānśubhir aṅghripīthām<sup>29</sup>* *krāntaṃ pratīkārācīkīrṣayeva //*
- The rays of the jewels of the diadems of the kings of the earth of whom he had invaded the territories (/the bright glories) by his far-flung powerful actions (*prabhāvaiḥ*) invaded his foot-stool, as if in retaliation.

## Face C

- XLI.- (1) *puñjīkṛtaṃ bhūmibhujām ivaujas* *siṅhāsanaṃ yo ’nvayarūḍham iddham*  
(2) *adhyāsta vidhvastasamuddhatadvid<sup>30</sup>* *digantadhautāni dadhad yaśāṃsi //*
- After having annihilated his proud enemies, brandishing (*dadhat*) his acts of glory which shone to the edges of the horizons,<sup>31</sup> he sat on the lion’s throne, inherited from his lineage,<sup>32</sup> which was like the congealed energy of [rival] kings.
- XLII.- (3) *sāndradrumādrīndrasamudradurggām* *urvīm samagrān dadhato ’pi yasya*  
(4) *avāryyavīryasya sunītibhājo* *bheje na bhārañ kvacanāpi vāhuḥ //*
- The arm of this king, although he carried the whole earth, with its thick forests, lofty mountains, its oceans and fortresses, felt no burden at all, for he possessed an irresistible valour and an excellent political intelligence (*sunītibhājaḥ*).<sup>33</sup>

28. It is clear that wealth already belongs naturally to the king; what surprises is that Intelligence (Sarasvatī) inhabits the king on good terms with wealth (Lakṣmī). As Harunaga ISAACSON has pointed out, this is a literary variation on the topos that intelligence rarely accompanies wealth. One could perhaps translate *prasādhanāny ārabhata* “has begun to perform services for”. Note that MONIER-WILLIAMS mentions, among the possible meanings of *prasādhanā*, “embellishment, decoration, toilet and its requisites” and that *prasādhanā* can designate “a lady’s maid”. One could therefore imagine that she “provided services in connection with her toilet”.

29. Understand: °*pīṭham*.

30. Understand: °*divid*.

31. Or should one understand a compound: *vidhvastasamuddhatadiddigantadhautāni*, “who shone to the ends of the directions, where he had annihilated his proud enemies”?

32. This must refer to his maternal lineage, since his mother was the wife of Yaśovarman I, from which the principal wife of Sūryavarman I would later descend.

33. As Harunaga ISAACSON has suggested to us, it is possible that the use of this expression is a conscious echo of the poet Māgha, who uses it in *Śiśupālavadha* 3.25.

- XLIII.- (5) *yādrk pratāpadahano nitarām apāro* *jajvāla yasya nijakṛttisudhārṇnavena*  
 (6) *āplāvitan na yadi nūnam aśeṣam etad* *bhasmāvaśeṣam abhavac caturānanāṇḍam*<sup>34</sup> //

Such was the fire of his ardour blazing without any limit that this egg of Brahmā, if it had not been completely inundated by the sea of the nectar of his personal fame, would certainly have been completely reduced to ashes.

- XLIV.- (7) *uddāmadānakarikumbhavidāraṇasrud-* *asrai raṇe varavadhūr iti rāgam ārdram*  
 (8) *yenādareṇa dadhatodayinī vyadhāyi* *dhātrī dharādharapayodharanirbharaśrīḥ* //

With the floods of blood flowing from the lobes of rutting elephants during his battles (*raṇe*), conscious that she was his bride (*varavadhūr iti*), he respectfully laid (*dadhatā*) upon the earth, whose beauty was enhanced by the breasts that were her mountains, a damp redness (*/* a tender affection) and made her flourish.

- XLV.- (9) *tejasvino 'nye vahavo bhavantu* *yadaṅghripāṅsuprabhavaprasādāt*  
 (10) *anugraho hetur ihaiśavahner* *yyal lohapiṇḍādividāhaśaktiḥ* //

By the grace of the great power of the dust of the [king's] feet, may many other [kings] become inspired by ardour (*tejasvinaḥ*): the cause here is the favour of the fire of the Lord, for (*yat*) the ability to burn [can even be transposed] into iron balls, etc.<sup>35</sup>

- XLVI.- (11) *kāntyā girā vā vinayaiḥ kṛtair vṛvā* *vaśe 'pi yaḥ kartum alaṅ jaganti*  
 (12) *tejaḥ pupoṣaiva parākramādhyam* *vahuprakārā jayinām hy upāyāḥ* //

Although able to subjugate the worlds by his beauty, voice, good manners (*vinayaiḥ*) or his actions, he cultivated (*pupoṣa*) an heroic fieriness (*tejaḥ*) [that he did not actually need]; indeed the ways of conquerors are of many kinds.

- XLVII.- (13) *yātrāvidhau drāgdrutavairikāntā* *sandhānakāntāraguhādidānāt*  
 (14) *yasyābhito bhūrutayā tayeva* *mahī mahībhṛtsahitā cakampe* //

When he embarked on his campaigns, the Earth, with her mountains (*/kings*), beloved by his swiftly fleeing enemies because she gave them forests, caves, etc., allowing them to regroup (*sandhāna*<sup>o</sup>), trembled everywhere as if she were experiencing the same fear [as they did].<sup>36</sup>

34. Understand: *caturānanāṇḍam*.

35. An iron ball does not have an innate ability to burn (*dahana-śakti*): this capacity belongs to fire. But if the ball is heated, the capacity of the fire enters the ball and the ball becomes capable of burning by means of a property that is not its own. Similarly, the Lord's power (*śakti*) acts in the king Īśānavarman, and that *śakti* can in turn be passed on to his subjects. The humility of the king before Śiva will be reiterated in stanza 56 below.

36. It is of course in fact the weight of his army that makes the earth shake during his military campaigns; but one might think, the poet suggests, that she trembles with the same fear as that of rival kings because she is conscious of having helped them to hide.

- XLVIII.- (15) *yuddhotsave 'patijuṣām surasundarīṅām*      *puṣpāñjalīn praṇamanād iva muñcatīnām*  
(16) *yenāsipātadalitād ibhakumbhakoṣād*      *utkīrṇnam arhaṇamater iva ratnavarṣam //*  
At the feast of battle, from the treasury that consisted in the elephant temple-lobes that he had split with his sword, a rain of precious stones poured forth (*utkīrṇam*),<sup>37</sup> as if he intended to honour the heavenly women without husbands (*apatijuṣām*) who were throwing handfuls of flowers as if in worship [of the king].<sup>38</sup>
- XLIX.- (17) *uddāmamaulidyutidurnirīkṣair*      *uddīyamānair*<sup>39</sup> *ddivi vānavegāt*  
(18) *dviṅmūrddhabhīr vviśvam ivoddidhakṣan*      *yo yudhy akālārkaśatam vyatānūt //*  
In battle, by means of the heads of his enemies, which were difficult to look at because of the extraordinary brilliance of their diadems, and which he made to fly (*uddīyamānaiḥ*) by the force of his arrows, he spread (*vyatānūt*) a hundred untimely suns across the sky, as if he wanted to burn the universe.
- L.- (19) *pradarśite yena puraḥ prahartrā*      *cāpasya pṛṣṭhe yudhi kāñcanāñke*  
(20) *vyadarśayat sparddhitayeva pṛṣṭham*      *vikīrṇnakeśāṅkam arātirāśiḥ //*  
When, attacking in the van of battle, he showed the gold-plated back of his bow, the mass of the enemy showed their backs marked by a disheveled hair, as if in emulation.<sup>40</sup>
- LI.- (21) *śāsāka yaḥ krodhakalaṅkam ugram*      *arātirāmānayanāmvunāpi*  
(22) *pramārṣtum adyāpi kalaṅkapaṅkam*      *indus tu naivām vubhir amvurāśeḥ //*  
He was able to wash away the terrible stain of his anger with only the tears of the wives of his enemies,<sup>41</sup> while (*tu*), still today (*adyāpi*), the moon has not been able [to erase] the stain of its mark, [even] with the waters of the ocean.
- LII.- (23) *mumoca yajñe yamabhīmagupte*      *duryyodhanārātiṣu sāmīteṣu*  
(24) *pradakṣiṅkrītya dhanañjayāptam*      *yo dharmmarājō hayaratnam urvyām //*  
When Duryodhana and the enemies had been defeated, Yudhiṣṭhira (*dharmmarājah*), after a circumambulation, for the sake of a sacrifice protected by the twins [Nakula and Sahadeva] and by Bhīma, released on earth an excellent horse that he had obtained from Arjuna (*dhanañjayāptam*).....

37. For the convention that the temple-lobes of elephants contain pearls, see S.R. SARMA 1991.

38. The spectator is said to have the impression of a reciprocal veneration: Īśānavarman pours pearls for the celestial women who, in turn, throw garlands. In fact, Īśānavarman is simply busy killing elephants of the enemy army, while heavenly women seek to appropriate the most handsome warriors who fall in battle. Floating in their flying palaces, the celestial women observe battles and throw garlands on dying heroes to claim them as spouses. For this poetic convention, see, for example, K. 528, stance LV (*śilīmukhā mūrddhani cāpamuktā jhāmkāraramyā dviśatām nipetuḥ / svassundarīhastalatāvimuktamaṇḍāragandhānugatās tu yasya*. “Agreeably buzzing arrows (*śilīmukhāḥ*) shot from his bow fell on the heads of his enemies, [like bees (*śilīmukhāḥ*)] pursuing the fragrance of mandāra flowers fallen from the creeper-like hands of the nymphs of the sky.”). Cf. also *Kirātārjunīya* 16.11 (We thank Harunaga ISAACSON for having corrected our interpretation of this verse).

39. Understand: *uddīyamānair*.

40. Does the poet mean that the shaggy hair of fleeing enemies resembles a tuft mounted on the top of the royal bow? Some archers depicted in the bas-relief sculptures of Angkor Vat shoot with bows surmounted by an object that resembles a small tuft of hair. For tufted bow-tips, see, e.g., JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2007, p. 22, Fig. 12; p. 75, Fig. 58 F; p. 83, Fig. 62 E.

41. In the poet's conception negative emotions sully the mind: the stain of rage that Īśānavarman feels when fighting against his enemies is effaced as soon as their wives mourn their deaths.

[In the above interpretation, the stanza refers to the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) narrated in the 14<sup>th</sup> book of the *Mahābhārata*;<sup>42</sup> to see here a description of the king, it is necessary to reinterpret the verse as follows:]

When his enemies, hard to defeat (*duryodhanārātiṣu*), were vanquished, he who was a king who ruled according to Dharma (*dharmarājah*), for the sake of a sacrifice protected from [demons] as frightful as Death (*yamabhīmagupte*),<sup>43</sup> released upon the earth an excellent horse — a precious object (*dhanāñ*) gained through his victories (*jayāptam*) —, after having circumambulated it.<sup>44</sup>

LIII.- (25) *ghorāśanidhvānaghanāmvuvrṣṭim* *sa vāsavo varṣati tām itīva*  
 (26) *yas praśrayaślāghyarasātihṛdyam* *vavarṣa ratnadviradādivarṣam //*  
 “This Indra rains such a heavy downpour of water, accompanied by thunder and terrible lightning”: as if at this thought, this [king] rained down a very pleasant shower of jewels, elephants, etc., extremely agreeable and laudable because of the affection [that accompanied them].

LIV.- (27) *svasaṃśrayīkrtya mahīm aśeṣām* *aśeṣam ambhonidhim apy agādham<sup>45</sup>*  
 (28) *mahattayā yasya mahāvarāha-* *līlātulālāpam avāpa kīrttiḥ //*  
 By making the whole earth take refuge in it, as well as the whole unfathomable ocean, because of its immense size, his [mass of] Fame has obtained [that we speak of it with] a discourse unmatched [even] by [praise of the] playful act of the Great Boar.<sup>46</sup>

LV.- (29) *dugdhāvdhir iddho nu mahāmahimno* *dhāmnā samāno yadi yasya kīrttyā*  
 (30) *vrahmāṇḍabhittim<sup>47</sup> parito ’pi dūrāt* *karṇaṃ vyatyāyāt kim utātmarodhaḥ //*  
 If the sea of milk had swollen (*iddhaḥ*) under the influence of the [lunar] light (*dhāmnā*) of this [king] of immense magnificence in the same way as his fame has, it would on all sides have far exceeded the [median] diameter (*karṇam<sup>48</sup>*) of the shell (*°bhittim*) of the egg of Brahmā:<sup>49</sup> how much more [would it have overflowed] its own shores (*°rodhaḥ*)!<sup>50</sup>

42. It is obvious that the author has cunningly integrated the names of the Pāṇḍava brothers into the verse. But the story in the epic leads us to expect it to be Bhīma and Sahadeva who remain to guard the town while Arjuna protects the horse. It is possible that an effect of *virodhābhāsa*, “apparent contradiction”, is intended: the reader, puzzled by an incongruity, is driven to seek another interpretation, one concerning Īśānavarman, and this second interpretation, less obvious at first sight, is perceived as the “solution” to the apparent contradiction.

43. Or: “protected by [guards] as terrible as the god of Death”.

44. Are we to suppose that Īśānavarman really performed an *aśvamedha* sacrifice?

45. Understand: *agādham*.

46. In the form of a Great Boar, Viṣṇu gave refuge to the whole earth when it was submerged by the ocean. The spreading Fame of Īśānavarman, on the other hand, is so immense that it encompasses everything, welcoming not only the whole earth, but also the ocean too! Such cosmic acts of Viṣṇu are often portrayed as “games”, partly because they cost him so little effort, no doubt, but also because this expresses the attitude of the Almighty God to the toy that is His creation.

47. Understand: *vrahmāṇḍabhittim*.

48. We thank Diwakar ACHARYA for having suggested that *karṇa* might have this sense here.

49. We must understand that our world is conceived as a disc surrounded by concentric bands of continents and oceans, including the ocean of milk. Vertically, our disc is in the center of the Brahmā egg and thus forms, with the concentric bands that surround it, a circular plane. The fame of Īśānavarman is supposed to have filled the whole egg of Brahmā, both horizontally and vertically. (For this literary convention in Cambodia, see GOODALL 2011, pp. 50-51). If the ocean of milk did the same, we would all be drowned!

50. We assume an accusative of *rodhas* (“shore”) and not a nominative of *rodha*. In this interpretation, proposed by Harunaga ISAACSON, the poet invites us to imagine what would happen if the splendour of the moon-like king swelled the tide not only of his fame, but also of the ocean of milk, which would thus be even more like his fame than it is already. (According to poetic convention, fame is white, like milk.) One could perhaps interpret the verse in this way instead: “If the sea of milk, admittedly brilliant (*iddho nu*), were comparable in splendour

- LVI.- (31) *saṃsādhitā vuddhinayapratāpa-* *vāhuprabhāvair api sarvvasiddhīḥ*  
(32) *sasmāra nityaṃ smaraśāsanānghri-* *pāṅsuprasādair upapādītā yaḥ //*

Although his intelligence, his political sense, his valour and the might of his arm achieved all accomplishments, he always remembered that it was acts of grace of the dust of the feet of the Chastiser of Kāma that brought them to realisation.<sup>51</sup>

- LVII.- (33) *catuṣpadan dharmmam api pravṛddham* *iddhe kṛte yo vaśināṃ variṣṭhaḥ*  
(34) *vidhvastadoṣe svakṛtānuvandhe* *vyadhād asaṃkhyeyapadan dharitryām //*

The uninterrupted series of his own acts being free of any fault, that best of disciplined men provided Dharma with innumerable feet [to stand steady] upon the earth, even though it had been full-sized and equipped with [only] four feet during the brilliant age of Kṛta.<sup>52</sup>

- LVIII.- (35) *traiguṇyayogamahito 'ham ayan tv asaṃkhyaiḥ* *khyāto guṇair nu kalayann iti yaṃ svayambhūḥ*  
(36) *drṣṭvā prajādhīpatitām anayat svakīyām* *premādhikaṃ guṇavatām hi guṇādhikeṣu //*

“I am revered for having gathered [in myself] the three guṇas [of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*]; but he is famous for his innumerable qualities (*guṇaiḥ*)”. It is surely in thinking this (*nu kalayann iti*) that Brahmā, having seen him, raised him to his own state of sovereignty (*prajādhīpatitām*):<sup>53</sup> indeed, the love of people with qualities (*guṇavatām*) is greatest towards those who have even more (*guṇādhikeṣu*).

- LIX.- (37) *yaḥ kīrttidugdhābdhivīsuddhamūrttir* *jjitāricakro dhṛtacārucakraḥ*  
(38) *sannandako 'nantaguṇo 'mvujāksaḥ* *kṛṣṇo 'paro 'krṣṇaguṇodayaśrīḥ //*

He whose body is as brilliant as the sea of the milk of his fame, who has conquered the circle of his enemies, who possesses a fine army (/who holds a fine disc), who gives pleasure to good people (/who possesses [the sword called] Nandaka), whose qualities are infinite (who has the qualities of Ananta-Viṣṇu), who has lotus eyes, is another Kṛṣṇa, [but one] whose beauty is due to a profusion of qualities that are not those of Kṛṣṇa (/which are not black).<sup>54</sup>

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(*dhāmnā*) to the renown of this [king] of immense magnificence, it would have far exceeded the [median] diameter all around the shell of the egg of Brahmā: how much more [would it have have overflowed] its own shores!”

Other uncertainties remain. The word *karṇa*, which usually means “ear”, is also the name of a hero in the *Mahābhārata* and is for this reason frequently used in punning stanzas. We therefore suspect that another interpretation escapes us. Might the poet have wished to express also the idea that the king’s self-control (*ātmarodhaḥ*) surpassed even that of Karṇa, which was legendary: Karṇa, for example, once bore in silence the pain of a beetle burrowing into his flesh so as not to awaken his guru Paraśurāma, who was asleep in his lap?

51. With the verb *sasmāra* and the use of the expression “Chastiser of Kāma” to refer to Śiva, the poet is deliberately echoing *Kumārasambhava* 6.3, which ends with the words *sasmāra smaraśāsanāḥ*.

52. This a variation on the topos that Dharma, like a bull, had four feet in the first of the four ages, but its footing became progressively less secure because it lost a leg in each of the successive ages. Īśānavarman, however, in spite of belonging to the Kali age, made Dharma stand firm.

53. Brahmā may be said to be *prajādhīpati* since he is the creator and therefore the lord (*adhipati*) of creatures (*prajā*); in the case of Īśānavarman, he is lord of his subjects (*prajā*).

54. By means of puns, all the qualifications of the king except the first can also be understood as describing Viṣṇu. In the latter qualification one could interpret *akṛṣṇaguṇa*° differently: instead of referring to unspecified positive qualities, “non-black qualities” could refer to *sattva*, which is white, and *rajas*, which is red, thus excluding *tamas*, which is black.

- LX.- (39) *sa kamvujendro nijarājyaśāke* *jitān nṛpād dāyam upājahāra*  
(40) *jitas tu bhaktyātra hare nuvarṣa-* *labhyaṃ karaṃ liṅgapurād vyatārūt //*

In his [first] regnal year, this king of the Kambujas received tribute from vanquished kings; but, being himself vanquished by devotion, he bestowed upon the [God] Śiva in this place the taxes which are to be levied annually from Liṅgapura:

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- LXI.- (1) *cāmīkarasya cūrṇnāni* *khyātāni palaṣaṭchataiḥ*  
*sārdhṃ palaṃ karṇnabhūṣā-* *suvarṇnam rāgaṣaḍguṇam*<sup>55</sup> //  
600 palas of gold nuggets<sup>56</sup> are declared, one and a half *pala* of gold [of the type known as] *rāgaṣaḍguṇa*<sup>57</sup> for ear-ornaments ;

- LXII.- (2) *śrāddhakālānatau hema* *dvipalaṃ rāgaṣaḍguṇam*<sup>58</sup>  
*kālikārahitam rūpyam* *mitam kaṭṭikayaikayā //*  
during the salutation at the time of the [annual] *śrāddha*,<sup>59</sup> two *pala* of gold [of the type] *rāgaṣaḍguṇa*; unblackened silver measuring one *kaṭṭikā*,<sup>60</sup>

- LXIII.- (3) *suvarṇnānām samāhārah* *palānām atra ṣaṭchati*  
*palānān tritayaṃ cāpi* *palārddhena samanvitam //*  
the total (*samāhārah*) of gold [mentioned up to] here is 600 *pala*, plus 3 and a half *pala*;

- LXIV.- (4) *trayodaśaśatam vastra-* *yugmam aṣṭakarāyatam*  
*śrāddhakālapraṇāme 'pi* *śatatriṅśac ca tat punaḥ //*  
1300 pairs of pieces of cloth of 8 cubits;<sup>61</sup> and, on the occasion of the salutation at the time of the [annual] *śrāddha*, a further 130;

55. Understand *rāgaṣaḍguṇam*.

56. As we have explained at some length in our French annotation, we think that these must refer to gold nuggets panned from the tributaries of the Mekong.

57. This term, which recurs in LXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, and somewhat differently formulated in LXXXIII, appears to mean that the gold is red and possessed of six qualities. No such expression has been noticed elsewhere.

58. Understand *rāgaṣaḍguṇam*.

59. We assume that this is the day of the new moon, which is the last day of the *pitṛpakṣa*, the fortnight of the ancestors, in other words the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādrapāda (of Aśvayuja in the *pūrṇimānta*-system of North of India). This day, known today by several local expressions (for example *mahālaya-amāvāsya* in South India and *phchum ben* in Cambodia), has long been a privileged day for offerings to ancestors (*śrāddha*) in much of the Indian world. It is presumably this day (*pace* Louis FINOT 1903, p. 31, n. 8) that is mentioned in verse XXVIII of the hospital edicts (e.g. K. 368, st. XXVIII).

60. The author of this inscription systematically uses *kaṭṭikā* for a unit of weight called more often *kaṭṭi*: see our annotation on verse LXX below.

61. The gift to a brahmin of a pair of pieces of cloth, one for the lower part of the body and another for the upper part, is often mentioned in Indian texts of several genres, starting, perhaps, from the *Gṛhyasūtras*; and we find some references in Sanskrit in Cambodia, for example, in K. 368, stance XL, where the garments are nine cubits long, and in K. 908, stanzas LXXXIII and CLXII-CLXIII (*devavastrādivāsasāṃ ... yugmāni*), where it would seem that these pairs of clothes are used, among other things, to clothe the statues of the gods (CÉDÈS 1941, pp. 293 et 299), just as in southern India, for example, today. Allusions to pairs of clothing are more frequent in Khmer, with such expressions as *canlek amval vlah*: see, for example, K. 79 and K. 561 and the remarks of CÉDÈS in his notes 7, 8 and 9 to his translation (*IC* II, p. 42).

- LXV.- (5) *eteṣāṃ vastrayugmānām* *samāhāras sahasrakam*  
*catvāri ca śatāny eva* *triṅśac ca parisamkhyayā //*  
the total of these pairs of clothes is 1430 in number.
- LXVI.- (6) *mātaṅgajānām dantānām* *viṅśatiḥ parikīrtitā*  
*viṣāṇāni ca khadgānām* *dvādaśoktāni samkhyayā //*  
There are to be 20 tusks of elephants, as well as 12 horns of rhinoceros;
- LXVII.- (7) *ṣad<sup>62</sup> eva pṛthavo ’lāvvo* *madhyamā dvādaśaiva tāḥ*  
*śatadvitayasamkhyātās* *tanavaḥ parikīrtitāḥ //*  
there are to be 6 large gourds,<sup>63</sup> 12 medium and 200 small ones ;
- LXVIII.- (8) *alāvūnām samāhāro* *dviśaty aṣṭādaśottarā*  
*kaṭṭikā vahniśunthīnām<sup>64</sup>* *viṅśatiḥ parikīrtitāḥ //*  
the total number of gourds is to be 218. There are to be 20 *kaṭṭikā* of dry “fire”-ginger;
- LXIX.- (9) *haridrāḥ pañca khāryyas tu* *daśa khāryyaḥ pracīvalāḥ*  
*nimvagarbhasya khāryyau tu* *dve eva parikīrtite //*  
5 *khārī* of [rhizomes of] turmeric (*haridrāḥ*), 10 *khārī* of vetiver [roots], 2 *khārī* of Neem-tree hearts;<sup>65</sup>
- LXX.- (10) *nābheyaṃ kamvudeśottham* *dviśataṃ parikīrtitam*  
*takkasya kaṭṭikāḥ proktās* *samkhyayā tāś catuśśatāḥ //*  
200 [*kaṭṭikā* (?)] of musk<sup>66</sup> from the region of the Kambus, 400 *kaṭṭikā* of resin of Sumatran pine (*takkasya*);<sup>67</sup>
- LXXI.- (11) *taruṣkasya tu kārpūram* *kaṭṭikādvayasammitam*  
*salilāṅ ca taruṣkasya* *triprastham parikīrtitam //*  
of Styrax resin,<sup>68</sup> 2 *kaṭṭikā*; of water of styrax, 3 *prastha*;

62. Understand: *ṣaḍ*.

63. Before the application of *sandhi*, *lāvvo* would be *alāvvaḥ*, the Khmer orthography of what would be more typically *alāvvaḥ* in several regions of India, in other words the nominative plural of the word *alāvū*, “gourd”.

64. Understand: °*śunthīnām*. Since *śunthi* / *śunthī* is known to refer to dry ginger, we suppose *vahniśunthi* to be a sub-variety.

65. We do not know of any other attestation of this expression. One might suppose it to designate the oil of the Neem (*Azadirachta indica*), which is fragrant and repels insects (except that we would not expect *khārī* to be used as a measure of liquids), or perhaps its resin.

66. We know of no other attestation of the term *nābheya* (literally “of the navel”) used in the sense of the perfume of the musk deer, but the term *nābhigandha* (“fragrance from the navel”) is used, for example, in *Meghadūta* 52. This perfume is, however, mentioned in the Cambodian corpus, for example in verse CI of K. 273 (CEDÈS 1906:64 & 79), with the expression *kastūrikā*.

67. JACQUES has suggested (GOODALL & JACQUES 2014:402–403) that *takka* is the wood or resin of *Pinus mercusii*, known as “pin de Tonkin” in French and as “Sumatran pine”. This product is mentioned in the hospital stelae, in much smaller quantities, in a list of what is to be taken from the royal stores for three annual festivals (K. 368, verse 29 and 41).

68. The translation is hypothetical, but it is clear that we cannot follow the meaning given by MONIER-WILLIAMS for *taruṣkakarpūra*, “consisting of olibanum and camphor”, since our text speaks (verse LXVIII) clearly of a *karpūra* of *taruṣka*, which is subdivided into three formats: liquid (*salila*), fragments (*śakala*) and powder (*taruṣkacūrṇa*). The word *taruṣka* is certainly a variant of *taruṣka*, an expression that reflects the notion that this substance typically came from the “Turkish” world in the broadest sense. Other inscriptions mention *taruṣka* and CORDIER, in his “Note additionnelle sur l’inscription de Ta Prohm” gives this identification (1906:83): “*taruṣka* = *taruṣka*, styrax liquide (Liquidamber orientale, Balsamifluées), parfum souvent confondu avec l’oliban”.

- LXXII.- (12) *taruṣkataruniryāta-  
sahasradvayasamkhyāta-* *niryāsaparimāṇakam  
vini(dh)āpanavaṅśakam //*  
the quantity of resin extracted from styrax trees is [to be] 2000 storage-[tubes of (?)] bamboo  
(*vinidhāpanavaṅśakam*);<sup>69</sup>
- LXXIII.- (13) *taruṣkaśakalāḥ prasthaiḥ  
taruṣkacūrṇavaṅśas tu* *pañcabhiḥ parisammitāḥ  
dvisahasrottarāyutaḥ //*  
5 *prastha* of fragments [of bark/resin ?] of styrax; of powdered styrax, 12000 bamboo tubes(?);
- LXXIV.- (14) *kāṅsāni pānapātrāṇi  
khārikāvīṅśatiḥ proktā* *triṅśatsamkhyāmitāni tu  
tilānām saikakhārik[ā] //*  
30 bronze drinking vessels; 21 *khārikā* of sesame seeds;
- LXXV.- (15) *sapañcakhārikam proktaṃ  
māśakās tu prathīyāmsaḥ* *mudgānām khārikā(śa)tam  
proktāḥ ṣoḍaśa<sup>70</sup> khārikāḥ //*  
105 *khārikā* of mung beans; 16 *khārikā* of coarser beans (*māśakāḥ*);
- LXXVI.- (16) *khārikāvīṅśatiḥ proktā  
tandulānām<sup>71</sup> śataṃ khāryyo* *priyaṅvās saikakhārikā  
vrīhīnām dvisahasrakam //*  
21 *khārikā* of millet are prescribed, 100 *khārī* of husked rice, 2000 of paddy;
- LXXVII.- (17) *śataṃ ṣaṣṭyuttaram proktaṃ  
carmmaṇām vīṅśatiḥ proktā* *varāhāṇāṅ ca samkhyayā  
sirās syuḥ pañcakaṭṭikāḥ //*  
160 boars are prescribed and 20 hides; there should be 5 *kaṭṭikā* of roots of *Piper longum*;
- LXXVIII.- (18) *sammārjjanāś<sup>72</sup> śatāny aṣṭau  
varhadvādaśasāhasraṃ* *jaṭāvetraṃ śatāṣṭakam  
mayūrasya prakīrtitam //*  
800 brooms, 800 canes/reeds(?),<sup>73</sup> 12 000 peacock tail-feathers are proclaimed;<sup>74</sup>
- LXXIX.- (19) *māyūrāṅān tu patrāṅām<sup>75</sup>  
vīṅśatir vvarhinagrīvā-* *uktaṃ śatacatuṣṭayam  
putakāḥ parikīrtitāḥ //*  
400 peacock wing-feathers/wings, 20 peacock neck-‘pouches’;

69. We know of no parallels for this expression outside this inscription (see verses LXXIII and LXXXIX).

70. Understand: *ṣoḍaśa*.

71. Understand: *tandulānām*.

72. Understand: *sammārjjanāś*.

73. We know of no other attestation of *jaṭāvetra*. The word *vetra* could mean “rattan” (*Calamus rotang*), or “reed”, and therefore perhaps “stem”. The word *jaṭā* could refer to several plants (*rudrajaṭā*, *brahmajaṭā*, etc.). The second pada of this stance could therefore mean “800 stems of a plant called *jaṭā*”.

74. Or perhaps “12 000 peacock-tails”.

75. Understand: *patrāṅām*.

- LXXX.- (20) *ekadhārārdhacandrāgra-* *valayāṅkita(p/m)ūlakam*  
*catvāriṅśat sa(mā)khyātam* *āyudhaṃ parisamkhyayā //*  
40 weapons are to be counted whose base (°*mūlakam*?) is marked by a half-moon curve at the front with a single blade [attached];<sup>76</sup>
- LXXXI.- (21) *kavacānāṃ śataṃ proktaṃ* *yantracāpāni pañca tu*  
*iyācāpānāṃ śatañ caiva* *yantrēṣūṅāṃ śatan tathā //*  
100 cuirasses are declared,<sup>77</sup> 5 crossbows,<sup>78</sup> 100 bows with [regular] bowstrings, as well as 100 crossbow-bolts;
- LXXXII.- (22) *phaleṣūṅāṃ sahasre dve* *chatrāṅān tu śatadvayam*  
*oṣadhyānāṃ pādapānāṃ* *mūlāny aniyatāni tu //*  
2000 metal-tipped arrows,<sup>79</sup> 200 parasols,<sup>80</sup> as well as an unlimited number of medicinal tree-roots.<sup>81</sup>
- LXXXIII.- (23) *praṅāme viṣayādhyakṣair* *hemābjaṃ daśabhiḥ palaiḥ*  
*ṣaḍguṇaṃ rāgi sadrūpyaṃ* *bhājanaṃ pañcakatṭikam //*  
At the time of worship by inspectors of the *viṣaya*(s), a lotus of gold, red (*rāgi*) and possessing six qualities (*ṣaḍguṇaṃ*), weighing 10 *pala*<sup>82</sup> and a pure silver vessel weighing 5 *katṭikā*;
- LXXXIV.- (24) *dvādaśāṅgulasamṣyukta-* *pañcahastasamucchrayāḥ*  
*tato vāpy adhikotsedhā* *gajendrā daśa samkhyayā //*  
ten elephants of five cubits and twelve finger-breadths [= 5½ cubits] in height or taller;
- LXXXV.- (25) *ṣoḍaśārdha<sup>83</sup> karāyāma-* *vastrayugmaśatāṣṭakam*  
*upāyanāni cānyāni* *khyātāny aniyatāni tu //*  
800 pairs of cloth of eight cubits in length<sup>84</sup> and other presents for which no limit is specified;

76. We noted in the annotation to our French translation that the verse was not really interpretable to us and we offered a different translation of the words, taking *valaya* as “ring” and observing that *pūlaka* could mean a “bundle”; but we nonetheless suggested that the weapon mentioned here might have been a sort of Khmer axe called a *phkā’k*, the top of whose haft curves back on itself in a crescent just where the blade is attached. For illustrations, see JACQ-HERGOUALC’H 2007:24, Fig. 14. The English translation given here is an attempt to show that the words could indeed be taken to describe a *phkā’k*.

77. Cf. JACQ-HERGOUALC’H 2007:19, Fig. 10.

78. Line-drawings based on bas-relief sculptures showing cross-bows, often mounted on elephants, may be seen, for instance, in JACQ-HERGOUALC’H 2007 (pp. 28–34, Figs. 18–27).

79. Some weapons are mentioned among the presents that Udayādityavarman II offers to his guru (K. 235, verse CXV, FINOT 1915:69 & 86), but bows and arrows are not included.

80. “Parasol” is indeed the usual meaning of *chatra*. But *chatra* can also mean “shelter”: in a military context, it could be a kind of shield. For illustrations of shields, see JACQ-HERGOUALC’H, 2007, pp. 15–18, Figs. 6–9.

81. Given the place of these products on the list, it could be mainly products used to treat the war-wounded. This would be the only reference to health services for the Khmer army.

82. We assume that this is a different formulation of the qualification *rāgaṣaḍguṇa*, which we saw above in verses LXI, LXII, LXXXVI and LXXXVII, and that the two elements, *ṣaḍguṇa* and *rāgi*, therefore describe the gold and not the silver.

83. Understand: *ṣoḍaśārdha*°.

84. Literally: “half of sixteen cubits”. These cloths would therefore have the same length as those mentioned at the beginning of the list, in stanzas LXIV and LXV. It must therefore be assumed that the cloths referred to here are part of the gifts which must be offered to the god during a visit by the inspectors of the *viṣaya* (LXXXIII–LXXXV). (The word *viṣaya* is probably already used here in the sense of one of the large administrative regions whose creation is associated with Rājendravarman a few years later.)

LXXXVI.- (26) *rāgaṣadguṇahemābja-  
nate sadrajatāmatraṃ*

*palaṃ viṣayalekhake  
mitaṃ kaṭṭikayaikayā //*

when a secretary of the *viṣaya* prostrates himself, a lotus in gold [of the type called] *rāgaṣadguṇa* of the weight of one *pala* and a cup of pure silver weighting one *kaṭṭikā*.<sup>85</sup>

LXXXVII.- (27) *taddeśaje janādhyakṣe  
hemapaḍmapalaṃ śubhra-*

*praṇate rāgaṣadguṇam  
rajatāmatrakatṭikā //*

when an inspector from this country prostrates himself, a lotus in gold [of the type called] *rāgaṣadguṇa* of the weight of one *pala*;<sup>86</sup> a cup of pure silver weighing one *kaṭṭikā*;

LXXXVIII.- (28) *(pū)rvvāvatāritā dāyāḥ  
takkakānāṃ nava śatāḥ*

*punar atra niveditāḥ  
kaṭṭikāḥ parikīrtitāḥ //*

The gifts previously offered are [to be] offered here (/in this case [of an inspector's visit]) once again: 900 *kaṭṭikā* of resin of Sumatran pine are proclaimed;<sup>87</sup>

LXXXIX.- (29) *taruṣka(śa)kalā droṇa-  
catussahasrasaṃkhyātāḥ*

*mitās taccūrṇavanaiśakāḥ  
pañcāśat kaṭṭikās sirāḥ //*

one *droṇa* of fragments of styrax [resin] and 4000 bamboo-tubes(?) of powder of that [styrax resin] ; 50 *kaṭṭikā* of Piper Longum roots.

XC.- (30) *kacchapānāṃ śate dve tu  
śukānāṃ śatam ekan tu*

*goḍhānām<sup>88</sup> api kīrttite  
dāyānām eṣa saṃgrahaḥ //*

200 tortoises and as many monitor lizards<sup>89</sup> are proclaimed, as well as 100 parakeets.

XCI.- (31) *śrīśānavarmā sa mahābhṛdindro*  
(32) *dāyān imān atra śive nivedya*

*bhaktiprathimnā kusumopamānān  
bhūyaś śaśāseti jagadvinetā //*

The guide of the world, the king of kings Śrī Īśānavarman, after having offered to the Śiva who is here (*atra*), because of the immensity of his devotion, these presents similar to flowers, further ordained as follows:

85. Brice VINCENT suggested to us (personal communication) that a small sheet of gold-leaf printed with a design recalling the shape of a lotus flower could have had such a light weight.

86. More literally: “a *pala* [in the form] of a gold lotus”. The form of this compound, as well as of the following one, is surprising. The writer of the list probably allowed himself to express himself in such an unclear way partly because the same offerings were mentioned in the preceding verse.

87. In the second half of this verse and in the next, LXXXIX, we find substances listed that have already been mentioned: *takkaka* (= *takka*, mentioned in LXX), *taruṣkaśakala* and *taruṣkakūrṇa* (LXXIII). If this instruction simply means that additional quantities of these substances are to be added to the large list of annual offerings, then this implies that the list had not been fully compiled when the stone-carver began to engrave it. If not, perhaps what is meant is rather that these particular substances are to be offered again on the occasion of an inspector's visit.

88. Understand: *goḍhānām*.

89. It would also be possible to render *goḍhā* with, for instance, “crocodile”. MONIER-WILLIAMS has this to say: “an Iguana (either the Gosamp or the alligator, commonly *gosāpa*)”. If crocodiles were intended, perhaps their precious skin would explain their presence in this list of donations; if they were monitor lizards, then it is perhaps rather their comestible flesh.

XCII.- (33) *ye kiṅkarā lokatamonudaś śrī-* *bhadreśvarasyāpi tadāśramāṅām*  
(34) *te rājakāryyeṣu na yojanīyā* *na dāpyadāyā viṣayādhipādyaīḥ //*

“The slaves of Śrī Bhadreśvara, who push back darkness from this world, as well as those of its ashrams, should not be engaged to perform the works of the king, nor commanded to pay tributes by district governors or by others.”<sup>90</sup>

XCIII.- (35) *deśe varagrāmasamāhvaye tu* *ye santi lokā viṣayādhipādyaīḥ*  
(36) *te dāpitavyā<sup>91</sup> karalabhyadāyās* *te rājakāryye ca niyojanīyāḥ //*

“But the chief of the *viṣaya* and other [official]s, should make the inhabitants of the country called Varagrāma furnish the [above] gifts as tax; those [inhabitants] may be charged with executing the king’s works.”

XCIV.- (37) *upāyanaṃ śakyam idaṃ vidhātum* *mataṅgajendrā viṣayādhipena*  
(38) *yadi svavittais samupārjītās te* *devasvasaṃparkkam anāptavantaḥ //*

“If, in order to make possible the supplying of these gifts, the head of the *viṣaya* has procured noble elephants using his own wealth, those [elephants] are not to be added to the god’s possessions.”

XCV.- (39) *sa cādhirājas sakalārthisārtha-* *saṃprārthanābhūr api yācanākhyām*  
(40) *ajñātapūrvvī prthivīpatīndrān* *bhaviṣyato yācata ity abhīkṣṇam //*

It is thus that this supreme king, although he himself is the first recourse for the requests of a bunch of suppliants of all kinds, although he has never known (*ajñātapūrvvī*) before [even] the term “supplication” (*yācanākhyām*), entertains future [Khmer] kings of kings insistently:

XCVI.- (41) *devasvavuddhyātra niveditaś śrī-* *bhadreśvare liṅgapurākārāyaḥ*  
(42) *mayāsaman dattakam ṛddhapuṇyā<sup>92</sup>* *vandhor hi dharmmas sahadharmmakāraḥ //*

O you who are rich in merit (*ṛddhapuṇyāḥ*), I have given to Śrī Bhadreśvara the revenues (*-āyaḥ*) whose source (*-ākara-*) is Liṅgapura with the idea that they should be the property of the god: [it is an] adoptive [pious action that you must share] with me, for the duty (*dharmāḥ*) of the friend/relative [of a pious work] is something that also creates merit [just as the independent foundation of new religious institutions does].<sup>93</sup>

90. Similar provisions are found in Huei Thamo (K. 362), also in Laos, and Vat Phu (K. 1005), both dated to 889 AD: cf. Estève & Soutif, “Les Yaśodharāśrama...,” *BEFEO* 97–98 (2010-2011).

91. Understand: *dāpitavyāḥ*.

92. Understand: *ṛddhapuṇyā*.

93. Or perhaps: “[This is] an adoptive gift (*dattakam*) [since it will be adopted by you, the future kings,] shared in common [as to merit] with me, because the merit of a friend [of a pious work] (*vandhoḥ*) is equal to the [merit of] the founder of the work.” The technical term *dattaka* appears to have been borrowed from the domain of *Dharmaśāstra*, where it designates an adopted son, and used here in the neuter to designate an adopted thing, namely the donation of the annual taxes of Liṅgapura.

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#### Abbreviations

*BEFEO*, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*.

*IC*, see Cœdès, George, 1937-1966.