

THE STELE INSCRIPTION OF PREAH KHAN, ANGKOR
TEXT WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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Contents of the inscription

1. The deities

- 1.1 Invocation of the Triratna: 1-3
- 1.2 Invocation of Lokeśvara: 4
- 1.3 Invocation of Prajñāpāramitā: 5

2. The king

- 2.1 Genealogy of Jayavarman: 6-18
- 2.2 Praśasti of Jayavarman: 19-31

3. The temple

- 3.1 The foundation of Preah Khan (Jayaśrī): 32-33
- 3.2 Consecration of Lokeśvara and other deities: 34-40
- 3.3 Deities installed in temples outside Preah Khan: 41-43
- 3.4 Provisions for daily worship in the temple: 44-53
- 3.5 Provisions for holy days: 54-60
- 3.6 Provisions from attached villages: 61-77
- 3.7 Provisions from the royal storehouse: 78-94
- 3.8 Inventory of metal objects and gems in the temple: 95-102
- 3.9 Stone structures of the temple: 103-107
- 3.10 Residents of the temple: 108-111

4. Beyond Preah Khan

- 4.1 Deities consecrated by the king elsewhere: 112-121
- 4.2 Fire shrines established across the empire: 122-126
- 4.3 Temples in the provinces: 127
- 4.4 Provisions for the provincial temples: 128-140
- 4.5 Villages attached to the provincial temples: 141-144
- 4.6 Metals and gems in the provincial temples: 145-152
- 4.7 Total constructions: 153-157

5. *Holy water*

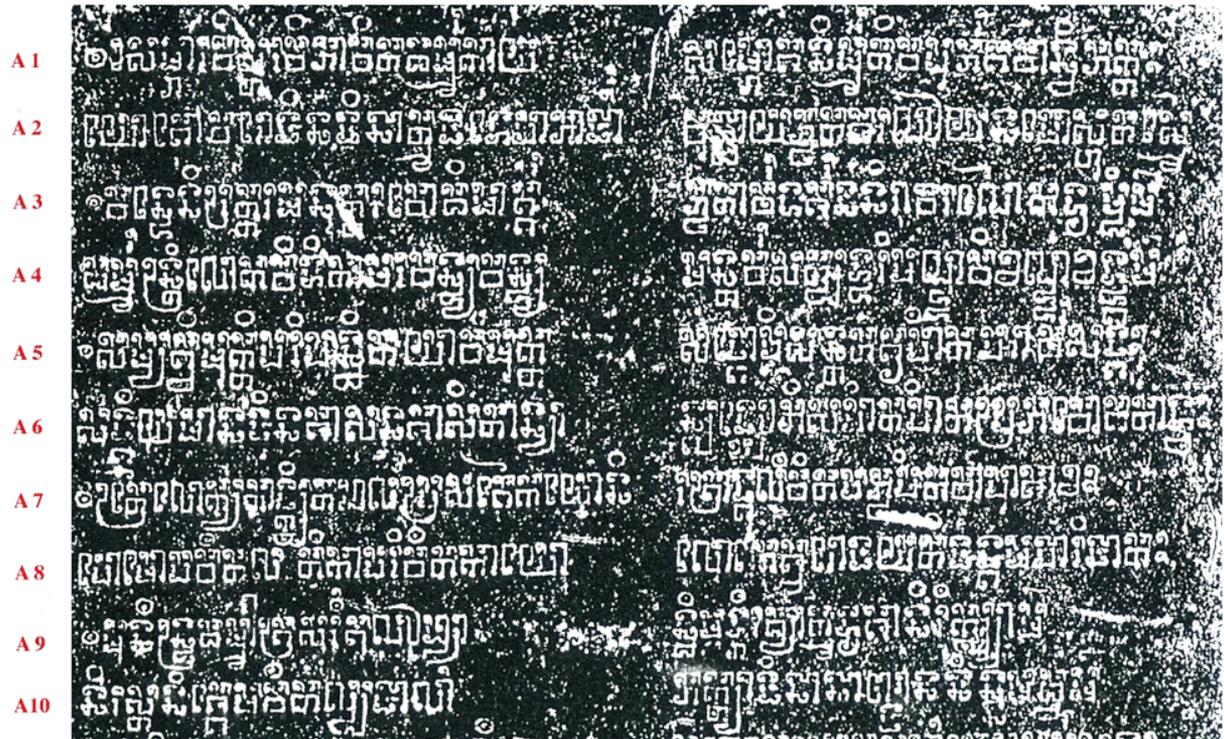
- 5.1 The annual Phālguna festival at Preah Khan: 158-166
- 5.2 The lake Jayataṭaka and its island: 167-170

6. *The king and the temple between past and future*

- 6.1 The transfer of Jayavarman's merit to his father: 171-172
- 6.2 Appeals to the future: 173-178
- 6.3 The king's son, author of the inscription: 179

Text, translation and commentary

Side A



Preah Khan: Foundation Stele: Opening Invocations, verses 1-5 (lines A1-10). BEFEO 41 (1942).

INVOCATION OF THE TRIRATNA (1–3)

BUDDHA

A1

° *sambhāra-vistara-vibhāvita-dharmmakāya-
sambhoga-nirmmīti-vapur bhagavān vibhaktaḥ*

A2

*yo gocaro jīna-jīna^ātmaja-deha-bhājāṃ
vuddhāya bhūta-śaraṇāya namo 'stu tasmai*

1.

The Lord (*bhagavān*) is divided, for his body is the Body of the Law, the Body of Enjoyment, and the Body of Transformations, which are made to appear because of the manifold nature of the merit and knowledge that he bears; he is the sphere of action of embodied Jinās and the sons of Jinās; homage to him, the Buddha, the refuge of [all] beings.

Verses 1–3 invoke the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha (the Buddha-principle itself, the Buddhist doctrine, and the Buddhist community of monks). These are often referred to as the *Triratna*, the Three Jewels of Buddhism. The inscription mentions them in a clear descending order, from the Supreme Buddha principle, to the three “bodies” into which this is divided, and the many incarnate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who operate under this aegis (verse 1), to the Law which runs throughout the universe and is honoured by the gods themselves (verse 2), to the community of monks who perpetuate it on earth, and comes finally to individual readers of the inscription who are directly addressed as “you” (*vaḥ* in verse 3, the last word of line A6).

The very first line of this inscription announces that we are in the world of Mahāyāna Buddhism, for it is the supreme principle of the Mahāyāna that is referred to here as the Lord Buddha (*bhagavān buddha*, here written *vuddha*). The doctrine of his three aspects or “bodies” (*kāya, vapus*) – a widespread concept that developed in Indian Buddhism in the 4th and 5th centuries and was well established in Cambodia by Jayavarman's time – is used to represent him as seemingly “divided” (*vibhakta*) only in order to stress his higher unity. In the Mahāyāna pantheon, the Bodhisattvas are grouped into “families” (*kula*), each headed by a particular Buddha, whence arises the concept in this verse of embodied Jinās (“Conquerors”, another term for Buddhas) and the sons or offspring of Jinās who all operate under the aegis of – within the sphere (*gocara*) of – the one Supreme Buddha.

DHARMA

A3

° *vande niruttaram anuttara-vodhi-mārggaṃ
bhūta^artha-darśana-nirāvaraṇa^ekadṣṭim*

A4

*dharmman triloka-vidita^amara-vandya-vandyam
antarvasat-ṣaḍ-ari-ṣaṇḍa-vikhaṇḍa-khaḍgam*

2.

I praise the highest path, the path of supreme awakening, the one unclouded perception which [enables us] to see things as they are, the Law to be revered by the known gods of the triple universe who are themselves worshipped, the sword that cleaves the tangle of our six indwelling foes.

Like the Supreme Buddha, the Buddhist Law or doctrine (*dharmā*), second of the Three Jewels, is also conceived here in terms of three images: as a path (*mārga*) leading to the highest awareness; as the one way of seeing (*ekadṣṭi*) that reveals reality for what it is; and as a sword (*khaḍga*) to cut down the enemies of this perception, which are six specific ego-centred emotions active within the individual (desire and anger, avarice and delusion, pride and envy). This Law, we are told, like the Supreme Buddha principle, applies to all levels of the universe (*triloka*, the three worlds), where it is respected by the immortal gods (*amara*) just as they themselves are venerated.

SAṄGHA

A5

*samyag-vimukti-paripanthitayā vimukta-
saṅgo 'pi santata-gṛhīta-parārtha-saṅgaḥ*

A6

*saṅgīyamāna-jīna-śāsana-śāsita^anyān
saṅgo 'bhisamhita-hita-prabhavo 'vatād vaḥ*

3.

May the Community [of monks] – the Community which, though it has let go of attachment, since this is the enemy of complete liberation, yet attaches itself to the firm support of the highest goal, the best interest of others; the Community, which teaches others the law of the Jinās that it recites in unison, and which aims to produce good – protect you.

In this verse, formulated as a blessing, a play is made on the term *saṅgha* (the Buddhist community of monks and nuns, third of the Three Jewels) and two similarly-sounding words: *saṅga*, which occurs twice, meaning attachment or attached to, and the verb *gai* prefixed by the particle *sañ* in *saṅgīyamāna*, which means singing or reciting. Attachment – affection or liking in the sense of a negative addiction – is here regarded as another human emotion that is inimical to an individual's liberation from this world, and is hence also described as an “enemy” (*paripanthita*). A monk is free of attachments (*saṅga*) and hence the Buddhist community as a whole (*saṅgha*) is collectively free. If it has an attachment, says the poet, it is to the duty of promoting the welfare of others. Thus this community, reciting (*saṅgīyamāna*)

the teaching of the Buddha and teaching it to others, has only good as its aim. It is the protection of this benevolent assembly that the verse calls down upon the reader of the inscription.

INVOCATION OF LOKEŚVARA (4)

A7

° *trailokya-kāñkṣita-phala-prasava^ekayonir*
agra^aṅgulī-vitapa-bhūṣita-vāhu-śākhaḥ

A8

hema^upavīta-latikā-parivīta-kāyo
lokeśvaro jayati jaṅgama-pārijātaḥ

4.

Lokeśvara stands in triumph, his fingers ornamenting the boughs of his arms like branches, a golden sacred thread encircling his trunk like a graceful tendril, a walking tree of paradise: [for] he is the one womb and source of the fruits desired by the three worlds.

Lokeśvara, also known in this inscription as Lokanātha (verse 31, line A62), both meaning Lord of the World, is another name for Avalokiteśvara, the designation of the Bodhisattva of compassion (“son” of the Red Buddha of the West, Amitābha) having a vast cult following throughout the Mahāyānist world and revered as the supreme saviour in Jayavarman's Buddhism. The verse first explains the nature of Lokeśvara as source of fulfilment for all the desires of the universe, then poetically describes his physical image in the temple, emphasising its many arms and the sacred thread (*upavīta*) around the torso, and finally compares both his nature and his image to the fabulous wish-fulfilling tree said to grow in Indra's heaven, the *pārijāta* (which, like Lokeśvara, descends to earth). A glance at any image of a Hindu or Mahāyāna deity encircled by its multiple arms will show why the visual (as well as the conceptual) simile of a tree would occur to the poet's imagination. By associating this thought with the concept of the legendary wish-granting tree of Hindu-Buddhist culture, he is able to convey the universal benevolence of this Bodhisattva. The identification of the Lokeśvara image in Preah Khan with the spirit of Jayavarman's father is indicated later in the inscription (verse 31, lines A61–62; and verse 34, lines A67–68).

Coedès saw in the expression *jaṅgama-pārijātaḥ* at the end of line A8 a reference to a particular Śaiva sect that rose to prominence in southern India shortly before the date of the Preah Khan inscription. The circumstances in which this Liṅgāyat or Vīraśaiva sect was formed are described at some length in an undated stone inscription (1200 AD or slightly earlier according to Fleet) in Kannada and Sanskrit found at Ablur, Dharwar, Karnataka. This Indian inscription was published in *Epigraphia Indica* (Fleet 1898-99: 237-260, Inscription E) only seven years before Coedès translated the Cambodian verse for the first time in the Ta Prohm stele inscription, and he made use of it in his interpretation (Coedès 1906: 69-70). The opening lines of the Ablur inscription, in Sanskrit, contain an invocation of Śambhu (Śiva) who is compared to the wish-granting tree (*kalpadruma*) or tree of paradise in terms that Coedès found

very close to the description of Lokeśvara in verse 4 of the Ta Prohm and Preah Khan inscriptions. To be precise there are four parallel details in the Indian and Cambodian texts, though they are expressed differently:

Ablur: *śambhukaḥpadruva* / Preah Khan: *lokeśvaro . . . jaṅgama-pārijātaḥ* (“that tree of paradise which is Śambhu” / “Lokeśvara . . . a walking tree of paradise”);

Ablur: *bāhu-śākhā-rāmaṃ* / Preah Khan: *agrāṅgulī-vitapa-bhūṣita-bāhu-śākhah* (“pleasing with boughs that are his arms” / “his fingers ornamenting the boughs of his arms like branches”);

Ablur: *gaurī-latā-liṅgitam* / Preah Khan: *hemopavīta-latikā-parivīta-kāyo* (“embraced by a creeper that is the goddess Gaurī” / “a golden sacred thread encircling his trunk like a graceful tendril”);

Ablur: *ādam rāmaṃgīgartthiyiṃ vāṃchita-phaḷa-cayamaṃ saṃtatotsāhadimdam* / Preah Khan: *trailokya-kāṅkṣita-phala-prasavaikayonir* (“may he give to Rāma [Ekāntada-Rāmayya, founder of Viraśaivism], in particular, with perpetual activity, an abundance of such fruits as are longed for by a petitioner” / “he is the one womb and source of the fruits desired by the three worlds”). As can be seen from these comparisons, except for the concept of both deities as wish-granting trees, the similarities are not so close as to prove that verse 4 is a Cambodian Buddhist imitation of an Indian Hindu original.

Nevertheless, Coedès continued in 1942 (284 n.2) to attribute particular significance to the use of the word *jaṅgama*, and to see in it a definite reference to the Liṅgāyats as a sect (the priests of the Viraśaiva movement are called jaṅgamas), putting this double meaning into his translation of line A8: “Lokeśvara est victorieux, vivante incarnation de l'arbre du Paradis (ou: arbre du Paradis des jaṅgamas)”, and concluding that the Preah Khan inscription at this point deliberately alludes to the identity of Lokeśvara with Śiva. The rapid transmission of concepts from India to Cambodia from early times is well attested (see Maxwell 2007: 74-83 and references) and there is no difficulty in accepting that news of the Viraśaiva movement could have reached Angkor soon after it began. The concept of a deity as a tree is a separate matter. The Buddha was symbolised by a tree long before anthropomorphic images of him were made, and the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, both of which were well known in Cambodia, refer to both Viṣṇu and Śiva being identified with certain trees (Hopkins 1915: 6-8, 208, 219 etc.). The identification of the Buddha, and of Viṣṇu and Śiva, with the Aśvattha tree (*Ficus Religiosa*, symbol of the Buddha's Enlightenment) in one of the Phimeanakas inscriptions, dating from the reign of Jayavarman VII, is discussed below (verse 31). The similarities between the Indian description of Śiva as a tree and the Cambodian description of Lokeśvara as a tree in the Ablur and Preah Khan inscriptions of the 12th century are therefore at least as likely to be coincidence as due to direct contact. Theoretically the word *jaṅgama* can be an adjective signifying “moving” and hence “alive” or “sentient” (its primary meanings), or a reference to Viraśaivism, or (as Coedès would have it) both. However, suggesting the identity of Lokeśvara and Śiva by alluding to Lokeśvara as “the wish-granting tree of the Liṅgāyats” of south India in a royal Buddhist inscription in Cambodia – where there is no formal record of the existence of this Hindu sect (Bhattacharya 1961: 46) – appears more obscurantist than literary in an inscription peppered with identifiable classical references. It is out of character with the rest of the Preah Khan text. If one wishes to assume with Coedès that this particular double meaning really was intended, one has to look for a more specific reason behind the use of the word *jaṅgama* as a sectarian term. Was news of the resurgence of Śaivism in Karnataka under the founders of Liṅgāyatism perceived at Angkor as a parallel (or contrast) to the revival of Buddhism under Jayavarman, for example? Again, there is nothing in the epigraphy to suggest that such a comparison was ever made. If on the other hand we reject the sectarian

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

sense of *jaṅgama* as a noun and take it to mean simply “a living being” – a sense in which the word is used in the *Mahābhārata* – then we have a less problematic, and entirely Buddhist, double meaning (“Lokeśvara, a walking tree of paradise” / “Lokeśvara, the wish-granting tree of [all] sentient creatures”) which accords perfectly with the rest of the verse.

INVOCATION OF PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ (5)

A9

° *muni^indra-dharmma^agra-sarīm guṇa^āḍhyān*
dhīmadbhir adhyātma-dṛśā nirīkṣyām

A10

nirasta-niśśeṣa-vikalpa-jālām
bhaktyā jīnānāñ janānīn namadhvam

5.

Bow your head in devotion to the Mother of the Jinas, she who goes before the Law of the Lord of Sages (the Buddha), replete with virtues; she who is to be seen by the learned with their own eyes, dispelling the web of all doubt.

The “mother” of the incarnate Buddhas or Jinas is not named in this verse, or elsewhere in the inscription. In the pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism, she is known as Prajñāpāramitā, the scriptures conceived of as a goddess who can be worshipped. In the Triratna hierarchy (described in verses 1–3), she is said to arise before the Law, because the Dharma proceeds from the insight and wisdom explained in scripture, which in this sense is its mother. Prajñāpāramitā therefore embodies the intellectual attainment of the learned (*dhīmadbhir* in line A9) and is at the same time a deity to be honoured emotionally, with devotion (*bhaktyā* in line A10). The concept of her as a mother-figure resulted in the identification of Jayavarman VII's mother with this goddess (Ta Prohm stele, verse 36) and leads on, in the the next verses of this inscription, to the official version of Jayavarman VII's maternal ancestry.

GENEALOGY OF JAYAVARMAN VII (6–18)

HIS MATERNAL ANCESTRY (6–12)

A11

° *āsīd akhaṇḍa-manu-daṇḍa-dhara^avani^indra-*
vandyo varaś śrutavatām śruta-varmma-sūnuḥ

A12

śrī-śreṣṭhavarmma-nṛpatiś śucibhir yaśobhiś
śreṣṭho 'vadāta-vasudhā-dhara-vaṃśa-yoniḥ

6.

Once upon a time, Śrutavarman had a son. This son was the most learned of men, and he merited the praise of those kings who preserved the law of Manu [the lawgiver] unbroken. He was Lord Śreṣṭhavarman, the king, preeminent in terms of glowing reputation, from whom sprang a line of excellent kings.

“Once upon a time”: the verse begins with the word *āsīt*, meaning “there was”. This is a traditional method of commencing a Sanskrit narrative in an undefined moment in the distant, or mythic, past. The genealogy of Jayavarman follows on with thematic logic from the subject of the generation of a succession of Buddhas through Prajñāpāramitā in the previous verse. Continuity and succession is a major theme throughout the inscription. The invocations at the beginning indicate that the dynastic history which follows – despite the conventionally Hindu character of the imagery used in narrating it – transpires under the aegis of Buddhist principles. “The law of Manu”: this concept of an unbroken legal tradition, upheld through history by a series of virtuous kings, is expressed in terms of a visual image, that of a *daṇḍa* or rod which Śrutavarman's predecessors held or preserved like a sceptre.

A13

° śrī-kamvu-vaṃśa^amvara-bhāskaro yo
jāto jayādityapura^udaya^adrau

A14

prāvodhayat prāṇi-hṛd-amvujāni
tejo-nidhiś śreṣṭhapura^adhirājah

7.

He was the sun in the sky of Lord Kambu's lineage. Born in the city of Jayādityapura as if on the Sunrise Mountain, this repository of glory, who was paramount king in Śreṣṭhapura, awoke the hearts of the living as if they were lotuses.

The poetic imagery of this verse almost drowns its genealogical content. Only two historical facts are given on the subject of Śreṣṭhavarman: that Jayādityapura (“Victorious Sun City”) was his birthplace, and that Śreṣṭhapura (“Senior City”, named after himself) was the capital from which he ruled. This information is embedded in an extensive poetic image in which the king is likened to the sun and his subjects to lotus flowers whom he, on rising, awakens with his brilliance. The imagery of the quickening power of the rising sun is very old, occurring, for example, in the *Ṛgveda*, in the Hymn to the Sun, known as the *Gāyatrī*, which is recited in their dawn rituals by millions of Brāhmaṇas to this day. In the later language of the inscription, the pervasiveness of this cosmic imagery in connection with King Śreṣṭhavarman is conveyed by the repetition of similar-sounding words such as *kambu* (the legendary founder of Sanskritic kingship in Cambodia), *ambara* (sky), and *ambuja* (lotus); and of identical concepts expressed by different words, such as *bhāskara*, *āditya* (both meaning the sun), and *udaya* (sunrise). In *praśasti* literature, it is the establishment of truth through convincing poetry and the creative play on words that is important, not the listing of historical facts. This is because use of the Sanskrit language was in itself an expression of power – it was considered to be speech of divine origin – and mastery of

it, best demonstrated in poetry, enshrined its content in an aura of absolute authority. Non-Sanskritists often feel that such texts are over-elaborate or “flowery”; for a Sanskritic political culture they were serious exercises in the power of defining reality.

“Lord Kambu”: Kambu was the legendary *ṛṣi* or seer from whose union with the *apsaras* Merā the kings of Cambodia were said to have descended. The name Kampuchea or Cambodia is derived from the Sanskrit expression *kambu-ja*, meaning “born of Kambu”; the term means the Cambodian people as a whole, and hence by extension also their country, sometimes known in the inscriptions as Kambujadeśa, “The Land of Kambu's Descendants”.

“Sunrise Mountain”: This word (*udayādri*, literally “Sunrise Rock”) refers to a mythical mountain stationed in the east, from behind which the sun appears every dawn. The city of Jayādityapura, as birth-place of the sun-king Śreṣṭhavarman, is poetically compared to this apparent origin of the rising sun.

A15

° *jātā tadīye 'navagīta-kīrtti-*
candra^ullasan-mātr-kula^amvu-rāśau

A16

rarāja lakṣmīr iva yā satīnām
agresarī kamvuja-rāja-lakṣmī

8.

Kambujarājalakṣmī, taking precedence among honourable wives, was radiant as [the goddess] Lakṣmī. She was born in his (Śreṣṭhavarman's) maternal family, which was like the ocean [of milk] gleaming under the moon of his ever-renewing fame.

“The ocean [of milk]”: in Hindu mythology, the goddess Lakṣmī was born from the ocean of cosmic raw material when it was churned (as if it were a sea of milk) by the gods and demons in order to bring out the drink of immortality and what other treasures might still remain in it after the creation of the universe. The episode is known as *Amṛta-manthana*, “Churning for Ambrosia.” The queen, King Bhavavarman's wife, is here compared to Lakṣmī, and indeed this was her given name (her full official title, Kambujarājalakṣmī, means literally “The Lakṣmī of the king of Cambodia”). When Lakṣmī the goddess emerged as one of the treasures from the cosmic ocean, she clung to the chest of Viṣṇu, with whom the king, Kambujarājalakṣmī's husband Bhavavarman, is therefore compared by implication. His dazzling renown, says the poet, was like the moon shining upon this ocean, which he compares to the queen's family as a fecund source of treasures. The goddess Lakṣmī is also known as Śrī, the embodiment of the luck and lustre of a successful king, which accompanies him everywhere. A mention of this goddess of royal charisma in conjunction with the reigning king was therefore an important part of his *praśasti*, to confirm his possession of this essential quality.

A17

° bhartā bhuvo bhavapure bhavavarmma-devo
vibhrājamāna-ruci-rañjita-maṇḍalo yaḥ

A18

pūrṇaḥ kalābhir avanīndra-kula-prasūteḥ
karttā[^]amṛta[^]aṃśur iva tāpa-haraḥ prajānām

9.

Her husband, His Majesty Bhavavarman, was lord of the earth (king) in Bhavapura and his radiant splendour brightened the surrounding kingdoms. Replete in all the arts, progenitor of a line of kings, he alleviated the sufferings of his subjects like the moon with its [soothing] rays of nectar.

“The surrounding kingdoms”: the word used in the inscription is *maṇḍala*. This is a term with many meanings, all of which are based, literally or figuratively, on the image of a circle. In connection with a king ruling from his capital city, as here, it refers to the territories, districts, or neighbouring states over which he rules or with which he has to maintain political relations. All princes of Sanskritic kingdoms received an education in the *maṇḍala* system, which was fully explained in ancient texts, and how to operate it in war and peace. In this verse, Bhavavarman is depicted as a man of peaceful and creative character, whose effect on the political landscape of his time was more illuminating than aggressive.

“The moon with its [soothing] rays of nectar”: King Bhavavarman is here compared to the moon, as was his predecessor Śreṣṭhavarman in verse 8. The difference between them, however, lies in two somewhat separate nuances in the poetic view of the moon. Whereas Śreṣṭhavarman's fame and reputation were compared to its radiance, its cooling and soothing qualities are evoked in this verse to emphasise Bhavavarman's care for his subjects. This is conveyed by the use of the term *amṛtāṃśu*, “nectar-rayed”, for the moon. The word *amṛta*, which forms the first part of that term, means nectar or the drink of immortality which strengthens and invigorates the gods. The king, implies the poet, healed the sufferings of his people as if he were dispensing this magical beverage. To stress the cooling or pacifying properties of his actions, the sufferings that he alleviates are described as *tāpa*, meaning heat or oppression. His act of providing relief, moreover, is termed *hara* (in the compound *tāpahara*), which essentially means to seize or destroy, and which is also one of the names of Śiva, the destroying god – who also destroys poison and sickness, and whose emblem is the moon. Taken together with the implied comparison of this king with Viṣṇu in the previous verse, the identification here is between King Bhavavarman and Hari-Hara, the combined form of Śiva and Viṣṇu. His wife Kambujarājālakṣmī, having been compared to the goddess Lakṣmī in the previous verse, is here by allusion compared to the earth-goddess, since the opening words of this verse, *bhartā bhuvo*, a conventional reference to a king, mean literally “husband of the earth”.

It becomes clear at this point in reading the inscription that the poet is building up a divine background for the maternal side of Jayavarman VII's ancestry by means of allusions embedded in the text. In the preceding verse Bhavavarman was compared by allusion to the god Viṣṇu; here, he is likened to Hara

or Śiva, resulting in the identification with Hari-Hara. And before him, the first king mentioned in this genealogy, Śreṣṭhavarman (verses 6 and 7), was identified with the sun-god, Āditya or Sūrya. As we shall see later, his paternal ancestors are not provided with any such association with Hindu deities.

A19

° sarvva^anavadya-vinaya-dyuti-kramo yas
tad-vaṃśājo janita-viśva-janīna-vṛttiḥ

A20

śrī-harṣavarmma-nṛpatir hata-vairi-harṣo
janyaṣu diṇmukha-vikīrṇa-yaśo-vitānaḥ

10.

Born in his (Bhavavarman's) lineage, King Harṣavarman's faultless conduct, beauty, and valour were praised by all, and he conducted himself for the good of all. At war, he crushed the enemy's zeal and spread the canopy of his fame in all directions.

“Crushed the enemy's zeal” (*hata-vairi-harṣo*) in line A20 is a deliberate play on words, *vairi-harṣa* meaning both the “joy” or “zeal” of the enemy – in other words, their lust for war – and also “the Harṣa of the enemy”, that is Harṣavarman's opposite number, the unnamed enemy king. There appears to be no historical reference in this verse.

A21

° mahī-bhujā śrī-jayarājacūḍā-
mañir mahiṣyām udapādi tena

A22

tasyāṃ yaśaś-candra-marīci-gaurā
gaurī^iva gaurī-guruṇā^agra-devyām

11.

It was by this king (Harṣavarman) that Lady Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi, fair-skinned in the moonlight of his fame, was engendered in the chief queen, just as Gaurī was engendered by her father in the highest goddess.

Gaurī (“The White Goddess”) is Pārvatī, consort of Śiva. Harṣavarman's daughter, the princess Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi, is compared to her, and so by extension her future husband is already likened to Śiva, whose skin-colour is also white. The epithet used for Gaurī's father, Gaurīguru, refers to the Himalayan mountain range conceived as a god, with whom King Harṣavarman, father of the princess, is compared. The Sanskrit word Himālaya means “The Abode of Snow”, so that the emphasis on the white complexion of this lineage is reinforced by the comparison. The first three kings having been likened to Manu, Sūrya, and Hari-Hara, the fourth in the lineage, Harṣavarman, is now compared to the god Himavān or Himālaya.

A23

° vāgīśvarī[^]iva[^]atiśayair girāṃ yā
dhātrī[^]iva dhṛtyā kamalā[^]iva kāntyā

A24

arundhatī[^]iva[^]anava-gīta-vṛttyā
tyāga[^]ādinā mūrttimatī[^]iva maitrī

12.

She (Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi) was like Vāgīśvarī in the superior quality of her speech; like Dhātrī in firmness; like Kamalā in beauty; like Arundhatī in the blamelessness of her conduct; and like Maitrī incarnate in her benevolence and other virtues.

Four kings in Jayavarman VII's maternal ancestry having been compared to gods, and two of his female ancestors to the consorts of Viṣṇu and Śiva, the qualities of Princess Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi, his mother, are now compared to the chief characteristics of five goddesses. Vāgīśvarī is the goddess of speech and eloquence (*vāc*, also *vāk* or *vāg*), sometimes identified with Sarasvatī. Dhātrī, she who upholds or supports, is the earth goddess, also known as Bhūdevī, representing stability and firmness. Kamalā, the lotus goddess, is Lakṣmī or Śrī, consort of Viṣṇu and goddess of kingship par excellence. Arundhatī, wife of the legendary sage Vasiṣṭha, is famous as the model of the faithful wife. Maitrī, a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma, is the embodiment of friendly benevolence. It was probably important that this broad spectrum of goddesses and their qualities be associated with Jayavarman's mother for political reasons – the very diversity of these deities would have implied that her son inherited no specific Hindu sectarian affiliation from her. With this verse, the way is being prepared for introducing Jayavarman as a non-Hindu king – not yet in the sense of his being a Buddhist, but with the intention of presenting him as a universal ruler in whom the major religions existing in the kingdom were impartially combined. This verse concludes the list of Jayavarman's maternal ancestors.

GENEALOGY OF JAYAVARMAN VII (6–18)

2. HIS PATERNAL ANCESTRY (13–18)

A25

° śrīmad-yaśodharapure 'dhigata[^]adhirājyo
rājā jīta[^]ari-visaro jayavarmma-devaḥ

A26

ā-vāridheḥ pratidiśan nicakhāna kīrtti-
stambhān mahīdharāpura[^]abhi-jana[^]āspado yaḥ

13.

His Majesty King Jayavarman, his enemies defeated, assumed rulership in the holy [city of] Yaśodharapura (Angkor) and erected pillars of fame in every direction as far as the coast. His family seat was at Mahīdharapura.

The King Jayavarman referred to here is Jayavarman VI of Mahīdharapura, a great-granduncle of Jayavarman VII. With the mention of this little-known figure, the inscription commences the listing of his paternal ancestry. Of the pillars commemorating this ancestor's victories no trace has been found.

A27

° *tad-bhāgineyo vinaya[^]urjitaś śrī-
mahīdharāditya iti pratītaḥ*

A28

*śrī-sūryavarmma[^]avanipāla-mātṛ-
jaghanya-jo yo vijita[^]ari-varggaḥ*

14.

His (Jayavarman VI's) nephew, powerful through his disciplined conduct and conqueror of enemy divisions, was named Mahīdharāditya, whose sister was the mother of King Sūryavarman.

Mahīdharāditya, uncle of Sūryavarman II, was the paternal grandfather of Jayavarman VII.

A29

° *ślāghya[^]avadāta[^]anvaya[^]dīpakena
virājītā rājapatīndralakṣmīḥ*

A30

*vikhyāta-cāritra-vareṇa yā śrī-
suvīravaty-āspada-mātṛ-vaṃśā*

15.

Rājapatīndralakṣmī (Mahīdharāditya's wife) shone out because of him (Mahīdharāditya), the best of those known for their good conduct, a veritable lamp in this praiseworthy and brilliant succession. Her maternal family has its seat at Suvīravatī.

The first half of this verse (line A29) is identical in the Ta Prohm and Preah Khan foundation inscriptions. The second half is different. On the Ta Prohm stele, line A30 does not speak of the maternal family seat of Rājapatīndralakṣmī at Suvīravatī, but of a place called Rājapatīśvaragrāma, perhaps named after herself, which she had made her abode (*kr̥tasthitir*). Claude Jacques explains this on the hypothesis that Rājapatīndralakṣmī was still living when the Ta Prohm text was composed, so that her personal residence

could be named, but had died when the Preah Khan inscription was carved, with the result that her family seat was mentioned instead. The name of the village or *grāma* in which she had been living at the time of Ta Prohm's foundation – Rājapatīśvara – occurs again in the Preah Khan inscription, in the list of deities consecrated by Jayavarman VII across his kingdom, but as the name of a Buddha or Sugata whose image (Sugata Śrī Rājapatīśvara) he erected at Sikaṭā, “The Sand”, together with that of Jayamaṅgalārthacūḍāmaṇi (*sthāpayām āsa sugataṃ sa śrī-rājapatīśvaram jayamaṅga[lārthacū]ḍā-maṇiṅ ca sikaṭā^āhvaye* – see below, line C65, verse 113). Jacques proposes that Sikaṭā could have been the name of the region of Banteay Chmar, that the temple was named Rājapatīśvara, and (citing KJ Śrī Trailokyarājacūḍāmaṇi, *rūpa kanloṅ vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ śrīdharāṇīndra* . . . in the damaged Banteay Chmar short inscription no.8, lines 1-2) that it contained the shrine of the maternal ancestors of Jayavarman VII's father Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ. The Prasat Cruṅ stelae provide yet a further variation on verse 15 of the Preah Khan text. There, Rājapatīndralakṣmī is said to have her “glorious city” (*śrī-matpurī*) in a place called Jayasuvīrapurī, which Jacques seems to think may have referred to the hypothetical shrine at Banteay Chmar. See Ishizawa, Jacques, Khin 2007: 95, 102-105, 110 (n.26).

A31

° *tayos tanūjo mahita-dvijendro*
dvijendra-vego dvija-rāja-kāntaḥ

A32

dik-cakravāla^utkaṭa-kīrtti-gandho
yo 'dhīśvaraś śrīdharāṇīndravarmṃ

16.

They (Mahīdharāditya and Rājapatīndralakṣmī) had a son, the Paramount Lord Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ, who honoured the Brāhmaṇas, was swift as [Garuḍa,] Lord of Birds, beautiful as the moon, and whose immense fame pervaded the whole horizon like incense.

The expression “lord of the twice-born” (*dvijendra*, twice, and *dvijarāja*, all occurring in line A31) is used in three different senses: lord of the higher castes (brahmin), lord of birds (the sun-eagle Garuḍa), and twice-born king (*soma*, also meaning the moon). Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ II was the father of Jayavarman VII, and he was a devout Buddhist. The insistence here on associating him with the twice-born is therefore intriguing. The intention may have been to create a traditional (essentially Hindu) picture of this king first, before announcing his devotion to the Buddha and his generosity to Buddhist monks (see next verse and commentary). Later on in the inscription, the association between him and Garuḍa is extended by implication to his son (see below, commentary on verse 30).

A33

° *śākya^indu-śāsana-sudhā-janita^ātma-tṛptir*
bhikṣu-dvija^arthi-jana-sātṛkṛta-bhūti-sāraḥ

A34

*sārañ jighṛkṣur aśubha^āyatanād asārāt
kāyād ajasra-jina-pāda-kṛta^ānatir yaḥ*

17.

Constantly he (Dharaṇīndravarman) bowed before the feet of the Jina; his personal satisfaction he derived – as if it were nectar from the moon – from the teaching of the Śākya (Śākyamuni, the Buddha). The best part of his substance he gave away to the people – Buddhist monks and Brāhmaṇa priests – who asked for it; he would have liked to take out even the marrow from his own body, that impure sanctuary that has no central core.

For the space of this one verse, describing Jayavarman's father, the tone of the genealogy switches abruptly from traditional Indian (Hindu) speech to the voice of Buddhism. Dharaṇīndravarman worshipped at the feet of the Jina (Buddha), as a practitioner of the Buddhist virtue of generosity he gave even-handedly of his wealth to Buddhist and Hindu holy men alike (*bhikṣu*, *dvija*), and would have given away the core of his being – if he had thought the body to have a centre, which Buddhists do not believe. The term *ātmatṛpti* in line A33 is translated here as “personal satisfaction” (Jacques has “pleine satisfaction”, which does not appear apt, and Coedès leaves *ātma*^o untranslated), because it seems to me that the poet is trying to indicate in these two verses that Dharaṇīndravarman conducted himself traditionally as a Hindu in his official capacity as ruler (verse 16, with its insistent association of him, as *adhīśvara*, with twice-born concepts), but was a Buddhist in his private life (which seems to be the subject of this verse). If true, this dichotomy in his father might suggest personal motives behind Jayavarman's religious policies. The Buddhist contempt for the body is strikingly expressed in describing it as an “impure sanctuary” (*aśubhāyatana*). The words Śākya (a member of the Śākya clan) and Jina (Conqueror) both refer to the historical Buddha.

A35

*°eṣā śrī-jayavarmma-deva-nṛpatin dedīpyamāna^ojasan
tasmād vīram ajījanat kṣiti-bhujaś śrī-harṣavarmma^ātmaajā*

A36

*vrahma^ṛṣer iva devarājam aditir devī sudharmma^āśritam
goptuṃ gāṃ śata-koṭi-heti-vihata^arāti-pravīram raṇe*

18.

By him (Dharaṇīndravarman), King Harṣavarman's daughter (Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi) gave birth to a prince of blazing power, Lord Jayavarman, just as the goddess Aditi bore the king of the gods (Indra the *devarāja*) by a priestly sage (Kaśyapa). Having recourse to justice, to protect the land he (Indra / Jayavarman) slew the enemy prince in battle with the weapon Śatakoṭi.

To record the birth of Jayavarman VII, the text of the inscription reverts emphatically to its Hindu

voice. On the birth and parentage of Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi, see above, verses 11 and 12, where she was compared to six Hindu goddesses; consistently with this, she is here compared to the goddess Aditi. Even her husband, Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ, whose devotion to the Buddha was strongly emphasized in the previous verse, is here compared to a Hindu priestly sage (the *vrahmaṛṣi* Kaśyapa). Their son, Jayavarman himself, is compared by allusion to Indra (named by his title, *devarāja*), king and war-leader of the Vedic gods. To further the analogy between Jayavarman and Indra, the young prince is described as slaying his enemy with the missile of a hundred points (*śatakoṭī*), which is a reference to Indra's own weapon, the lightning-pronged *vajra* or thunderbolt. This description invokes the picture of Jayavarman physically wielding the *vajra* and thus in battle resembling the Vedic Indra (who is the archetype of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, Holder of the Thunderbolt, defender of the Buddhist Dharma). Here at the end of the genealogy there is a change of vocabulary, metre and pace in the poetry. The terminology of militant *kṣatriya* kingship (*devarāja*, *dharma*, *goptuṃ gāṃ*, *śatakoṭihetivihatāratipravīraṃ raṇe*) provides a traditional background for the description of Jayavarman as a heroic prince, but one of exceptional fiery power (*dedīpyamānaujasam vīram*). There is no direct indication of his being a Buddhist, either here or in the *praśasti* that follows.

PRAŚASTI OF JAYAVARMAN VII (19–31)

A37

° *vrahma*^*aṇḍa-kāntim upacitya sudhā*^*abhiṣiktām*
ādhāra-dhāmni ca nidhāya sulakṣaṇaṃ yam

A38

preṃṇā yathā sva-kuśalaṃ vidadhe vidhātā
nūnañ cikīrṣur anavadya-guṇa^*adhirājam*

19.

Now the Creator (Brahmā), wishing to create a supreme king of perfect qualities, made him (Jayavarman), complete with the marks of greatness. He made him by bringing together all the radiance of the new cosmos, bathed in nectar, and placing this for safekeeping in his abode. He made him with love, as though imparting to him his own happiness.

The preceding verses having given us a record of Jayavarman's earthly origins, we are now told of the cosmic source of his greatness, as a prelude to the description of his individual qualities and achievements. One of the ancient Indian creation myths narrates how the Creator, Prajāpati or Brahmā, was able to generate the universe despite being alone at the beginning of time. Solely through the power of his meditations, he produced a golden egg (the Brahmāṇḍa, here conventionally inscribed as *vrahmāṇḍa*) and fertilised it upon the waters of chaos. In the same way did Brahmā create Jayavarman, says the poet, thus setting the birth of this prince on the level of a cosmic act. In the myth, Brahmā's motive in creating the universe is said to have been his desire not to be alone, and this pursuit of happiness is recalled here in the creation of Jayavarman. The “marks of greatness” which Jayavarman, thus

engendered, is said to have borne, are referred to as *sulakṣaṇas*, which can be interpreted to mean fortunate characteristics in a general sense but also, in a very specific sense, the birthmarks associated with an infant destined for greatness, the so-called *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas*. They take the form of certain shapes formed by the lines on the palm of the hand and on the soles of the feet, a curl of hair between the eyebrows, and other markings of this sort. The Buddha Śākyamuni bore these marks at birth.

A39

°lakṣmīś calā^{ity} ātma-guṇair alaṅghyair
vaddhā^{acalā} yena naya^{avarodhe}

A40

āśā-carīṅ kīrtti-sakhīṃ vibhūṣya
ninye dviṣat-kṣattra-kulan digante

20.

He (Jayavarman) bound Lakṣmī, known for her fickleness, with the ropes of his own inescapable qualities, and prudently held her fast in the harem of his good conduct. She (Lakṣmī), [for her part], beautified her friend Kīrtti (Fame) – a [goddess] who moves freely in all directions – and [by this means] attracted the kṣatriya caste of the enemy to the ends of the earth.

Lakṣmī, (also known as Śrī) is the goddess representing the fortune, lustre and charisma of a king; without her, he will lose his majesty and fail in his endeavours. Like the gambler's Lady Luck, however, she is notoriously fickle. Jayavarman therefore, says the poet, kept her close by binding her with cords consisting of his inherent good qualities (the word *guṇa* means both a cord and a quality), and kept her with him, as if in a harem, with his prudence and good judgement in the conduct of policy (*naya*). Lakṣmī, finding herself thus restrained, contrived to help Jayavarman by beautifying (*vibhūṣya*) and mobilising her close friend and confidante (*sakhī*), the goddess Kīrti, emodiment of Renown which travels everywhere untrammelled (*āśācarī*: compare female personifications of the directions such as *dikkanyā*, *digaṅganā*). By this stratagem Lakṣmī, while still remaining at his side, succeeded in luring (*ninye*, literally “led”) the soldiery (*kṣattrakula*, the warrior caste) of Jayavarman's enemy to the far horizon. The ostensible meaning of this verse is that Jayavarman's success in defeating armed opponents depended at least as much upon his personal qualities, and his consequent luck and reputation, as upon military prowess. Lakṣmī's imagined method of scattering of his enemies, through the use of an attractive proxy, might be an allusion to political strategies that Jayavarman employed (see verse 28). The theme of attraction in this verse is rather muted by Coedès (1942: 286), who translates the second part as: “[Lakṣmī], ayant déguisé son compagnon Kīrti (la Renommée) en fille des points cardinaux, attira au bout du monde la famille du roi ennemi” (“[Lakṣmī], having disguised [*vibhūṣya*] her companion Kīrti [Renown] as a girl of the cardinal points [*āśācarī*], drew the family of the enemy king [*dviṣatkṣattrakula*] to the ends of the world”). The participle *vibhūṣya* means “having ornamented” or “beautified”, rather than “disguised”, and the purpose behind this is to enable the mobile goddess Kīrti to attract or seduce, not only the enemy king, but all his officers (rather than his family), away to a safe distance. Coedès' intention in using the word “déguisé” was perhaps to suggest that Lakṣmī wished to disguise the fact that the renown which Kīrti embodied was Jayavarman's own rapidly expanding fame.

A41

° *sādhū-priyas sad-guṇa-vṛddhi-vṛddha-*
saṃjñāḥ kṛtī saṃskṛta-varṇa-rītiḥ

A42

nipātayan dur-hṛdam īśa-vandyo
yo viśrutaḥ pāṇinir ā-kumāram

[The verse as a whole has two distinct meanings:]

21. (1)

He (Jayavarman) was celebrated as a Pāṇini from the days of his youth. Being fond of the classical [language], having full understanding of how to augment basic forms according to [the rules of] *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, being expert in the general usage of regularly-derived words, and able to mark [a word like] *durhṛd* as irregular, he earned the praise of his masters.

(2)

He (Jayavarman) was celebrated as a Pāṇini from the days of his youth, merited the praise of Śiva (Īśa), loved good people, grew in understanding with the increase of virtues, was an expert in the customs of the initiated castes, and overthrew the wicked.

The point of this verse, a demonstration of Jayavarman's intellectual ability, depends on a set of specialised meanings, all relating to Sanskrit grammar, for eight of the words employed: *sādhū*, *sat* (occurring as *sad*), *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, *saṃskṛta*, *varṇa*, *rīti*, and *nipātayan*. The reader is alerted to this in the last line by the appearance of the name Pāṇini, the world-renowned Indian grammarian whose brilliant analysis of the Sanskrit language, known as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, was composed probably in the 4th–3rd century BC. Jayavarman is compared to Pāṇini in order to add to his positive qualities: mastery of Sanskrit was considered an imperative skill for all princes, not only so that they could understand the traditional law-books and other essential texts, but also so that they could communicate within the élite society which they led, for Sanskrit was (and to a limited extent still is) a living tongue as well as the language of authority for charters, land-grants, edicts and all high official matters. The reading of this verse which relates to grammar therefore yields its primary meaning; read in its more general sense, the stanza becomes a mere listing of Jayavarman's good qualities which lacks inner coherency. It is his technical brilliance, already in his youth, in understanding the language of power, its regular forms as well as its exceptions, that is being emphasised here. The double meaning of the verse, composed by one of his sons, is itself a playful demonstration of this kind of skill.

Some of the particular linguistic skills which Jayavarman is said to have mastered can also be understood as relating to two levels of competency. The first aptitude listed, for example, *sādhupriya*, can mean either that he loved the pure, classical language, or that he liked derivative nouns, depending on how one translates the term *sādhū*. Again, the expression *saṃskṛtavarṇarīti* means that Jayavarman was

good at the several different kinds of diction (*rīti*) in Sanskrit (*saṃskṛta*), but it also means that he knew the general usage of words that were regularly derived *saṃskṛta* in a more specialised sense). In the translation I have chosen the latter meaning, because the next skill, expressed by *nipātayan durhṛdam*, tells us that he was also able to separate-out words that are irregular. The compound *sadguṇavṛddhivṛddhasamjñā*, on the other hand, will bear only one interpretation in terms of his grammatical ability, namely that he had mastered the essential basic skill of progressively strengthening vowels. In Sanskrit this process has two stages. The first is known as *guṇa*, in which the vowel is partially augmented, and the second as *vṛddhi*, in which it reaches its strongest form. Thus, for example, the basic vowel *i* or *ī* becomes *e* in the *guṇa* stage, and *ai* in the *vṛddhi*: in the same way, *u* or *ū* becomes first *o* and then *au*. It is the remaining skills which can be understood at two levels of ability, suggesting an analogy between the progress in his learning and the successive stages in the vowel-strengthening process.

A43 [inscribed after erasure of the original line:]

° *bhaktyā svayaṃ yo dita dharmmarāje*
trayodaśa-grāma-sahasrakāṇi

A44 [inscribed after erasure of the original line:]

śatāni pañca^api ca coditas tu
kṛṣṇena pañca^eva na dhārtarāṣṭraḥ

22.

Out of devotion, and of his own accord, he (Jayavarman) donated thirteen thousand, five hundred (13,500) villages to Dharmarāja (Yama); whereas Dhṛtarāṣṭra's son (Duryodhana), [even] under the urging of Kṛṣṇa, did not give even five to Dharmarāja (Yudhiṣṭhira).

At one level, the verse is a play on words and numbers, but its implications are much wider than this. Its frame of reference is somewhat complex, and its meaning was evidently regarded as important, since it was composed to replace the two lines that were originally inscribed at this point.

Dharmarāja is the epithet of two very different characters, one a god, the other a legendary hero. In the second half of the stanza (line A44) the poet refers to an episode from the *Mahābhārata* in which the Dharmarāja who was a legendary king, Yudhiṣṭhira, incarnation of the god Dharma (Justice) and eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers, was offered no power-sharing proposals from the ill-fated warrior prince Duryodhana of the rival Kaurava clan, son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (*dhārtarāṣṭra* at the end of line A44). Duryodhana personifies wrong thought and behaviour. His ingratitude and envy prevented him from adopting the urgent advice of Kṛṣṇa and all his kinsmen to sue for peace with the Pāṇḍavas of whom he was deeply jealous (*Mahābhārata, Udyogaparvan: 124-128*). The legendary *Mahābhārata* war was the result. The number five in this verse of the inscription is an invention of the poet, resulting from the fact that there were five Pāṇḍava brothers: Duryodhana, he implies, would not cede them even a single village each. The noble and saintly Yudhiṣṭhira, known throughout the epic as Dharmarāja, Just King, represents all five Pāṇḍavas for the purposes of the comparison that the poet draws here between the

actions of Duryodhana and those of Jayavarman VII. What was this prince of classical Indian literature, he asks, compared to King Jayavarman, who with devotion and without any persuasion at all (*bhaktvā svayam*) has shared thousands of villages with a higher Dharmarāja? The comparison would have put Jayavarman in a more flattering light, one would think, had the *Mahābhārata* portrayed Duryodhana as a man of positive moral stature, which it decidedly does not. This conceit – at first sight pointless – introduces a further statistic (also given in verse 177) in the first half of the verse: the number of villages (that is, their lands, populations and produce) whose acquisition Jayavarman VII has sanctioned for the upkeep of Preah Khan (5,324 villages – see verse 73) and the provincial temples (8,176 villages – verse 141). It is the temples that are denoted by the term Dharmarāja in this part of the verse. The word literally means “a king ruling in accordance with the righteous law”, but it is also, already in the *Mahābhārata*, the conventional epithet of the god of the dead, Yama, who metes out justice in the afterlife – the 13,500 villages involved, states the inscription, were donated by Jayavarman to this Dharmarāja. What exactly does this mean?

We know from the other references in the inscription (verses 73, 141 and 177) that the number 3,500 represented the total count of villages that Jayavarman had attached to the temples in Angkor and in the provinces. This number is symbolic of all the royally sponsored temples in his kingdom. Similarly, the deity named Dharmarāja, to whom all these villages are said to have been donated, must also be a reference to all of his temples. If the author of the inscription had named any other deity (such as the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, Prajñāpāramitā the Mother of Buddhas, or Bhaiṣajyaguru the Medicine Buddha), then clearly only a fraction of all royal temples would have been indicated. Dharmarāja must have been a common denominator, a god who was present in every temple regardless of which deity was installed in the central sanctuary. Which god was this in fact? It has been suggested that here the epithet Dharmarāja refers to the Buddha (Jacques MS: 7, n.5), but I find this improbable for three main reasons: first, it would be inconsistent with the vocabulary and frame of poetic reference in the inscription text up to this point; second, it would mean that temples dedicated to goddesses and Bodhisattvas, for example, were excluded; and finally the presence of the gods Yama (ruler of the dead) and Kāla (death itself) in Jayavarman's temples generally (*devās sayamakālākāḥ piṇḍitās*) is confirmed in verse 127. There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that here, as conventionally in Sanskrit literature, Dharmarāja means Yama. In what sense are we to understand this universal presence of the god of death in Jayavarman's temples?

Since many of the temple images are said in the inscriptions to have represented gods and goddesses as the sacred forms (*vraḥ rūpa*) of deceased persons, it could be assumed that all Jayavarman's temples were regarded in that sense as dedicated to Yama. Stone images of Yama Dharmarāja certainly existed, for example among the reliefs of Angkor Wat (Maxwell and Poncar 2006: 158-170, 185-189), on inscription stelae (Maxwell 2006: 117), and even as three-dimensional statues (Lobo 2006: 114), and the so-called Kāla masks at the centre of temple lintels may indeed have represented the deity of time as death. But this does not mean that all Khmer temples were funerary monuments. Rituals for the dead were (and are) conducted in a separate place (see for example verse 121 on the *yāga[śālās]* that Jayavarman erected across the river to the south of Preah Khan, on the bank of the Eastern Baray). Why then are the villages attached to the temples said to have been donated to Yama Dharmarāja? The answer must lie in the way in which temples were regarded. Whatever deity was installed in the sanctum, a temple in itself, as a sacred building, was seen as a house of Yama because its entrance symbolically marked the passage

from this life to the world beyond, and in ancient Indian – and Indianised Cambodian – belief, the world of the afterlife was ruled by Yama. There is a very wide difference between considering temples in this way, as gateways or bridges between two worlds, which I think was the ancient Khmer perception of them, on the one hand, and regarding them as serving a death-cult, a proposition for which the inscriptions provide no evidence, on the other. The answer to our question, then, is that the words “Out of devotion, and of his own accord, he donated 13,500 villages to Dharmarāja” is a way of representing (as a religious act) Jayavarman's official conveyancing of these lands to *all* of his temples.

The verse is problematic because it is a replacement for an incorrect or unsatisfactory original stanza that was erased, and, perhaps for this reason, its content is not synchronous with its context. It assumes that Jayavarman is supreme king of Cambodia (who alone could sanction the conveyancing of lands to temples), whereas neither in the preceding verses, nor in those that follow, has he yet attained this status. The explanation for this anomaly is to be found, not in the statement concerning Jayavarman's “donation” of village lands to temples, which on its own would certainly be out of place, but in the reference to the *Mahābhārata* in the second line. In referring to Dharmarāja (Yudhiṣṭhira) and his rival Dhārtarāṣṭra (Duryodhana), leaders of the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava camps, and to Kṛṣṇa, the poet alludes to the battle of Kurukṣetra and contrasts Jayavarman with Duryodhana, leader of the Kauravas. The relevance of this allusion at this point in the inscription consists in the fact that in the *Mahābhārata* Duryodhana's absolute refusal to seek an accommodation with the Pāṇḍavas comes on the eve of the *Mahābhārata* war and is the immediate cause of that war; for the description of Jayavarman's war against the Cham begins in the next verse of this *praśasti* (verses 23-27). This explains the placement of the classical reference. As regards its content, it should be noted that in the *Mahābhārata* Dhārtarāṣṭra is not a legitimate ruler (disqualified by his blindness), but rules the Kurus only because of the death of his younger brother Pāṇḍu, who had legitimately inherited the kingship; and more importantly that Duryodhana, who is Dhārtarāṣṭra's son and therefore automatically disqualified, falsely claims the title of king during the war (Biardeau 2002: vol.1, 957-986, see also vol.2, 820 and 823). The main point of this verse is not Jayavarman's generosity or the number of villages he donated (this information is given elsewhere), but the emphasis on Jayavarman being the very opposite of Duryodhana; the generosity and the statistic are used only as a means of illustrating this. Using his allusion to the *Mahābhārata* as his framework, the poet is casting Jayavarman in the the role of Yudhiṣṭhira (righteous incarnation of the god Dharma and leader of the Pāṇḍavas), and Jayavarman's enemy, the unnamed Cham prince of the inscription, in the role of Duryodhana (incarnation of the demon Kali and false claimant to the kingship); their coming battle on the future site of Preah Khan is therefore to be imagined as a re-enactment of the battle of Kurukṣetra (cf. Siyonn Sopenarith 2006: 62 with regard to uses of the *Rāmāyaṇa*). This extensive image, created with only seven words (*coditas tu kṛṣṇena pañcaiva na dhārtarāṣṭrah*), serves the purpose of interpreting the realities of Jayavarman's accession to supreme power through reference to the legendary situation at the outbreak of the *Mahābhārata* war. It demonises his antagonist (Duryodhana was an *asura* incarnate) and implies that this enemy was not a consecrated king (and thus, in this sense, Jayavarman's equal; Jacques [2007 (2): 37] cites two passages from the Prasat Tor and Prasat Chrung stelae that establish Jayavarman's unconsecrated state and his taking of power by force of arms). Further, it implies that in the battle his enemy falsely claimed sovereignty (presumably over hereditary Khmer territory), and that, also like Duryodhana, this enemy had persistently refused to cede these lands to Jayavarman despite protracted negotiations aimed at achieving a power-sharing agreement.

As in the story of the *Mahābhārata*, this sounds like a real historical situation, and explains the sense in which Jayavarman fought “to protect the land” (*goptuṃ gāṃ*, verse 18). It remains to discover who played the key role of Kṛṣṇa (named in this and other inscriptions) both in the peace negotiations and, when these broke down, in the battle.

A45

aurvva^analo vairi-vala^āma-rāśau
dāvānalaś śastra-vaneṣu yasya

A46

namra^ari-bhūbhṛt-kumudeṣu candro
nārāyaṇa^astra-dyutir eva tejaḥ

23.

His (Jayavarman's) fiery energy, bright as the weapon of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), scorched the raw multitude of the enemy army like the fire of Aurva, ran like wildfire through the forests of weapons, and shone like the moon above the enemy kings who drooped like lotuses at night as they bowed before him.

The weapon of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu is the fiery disk (*cakra*), imagined as a spoked wheel with flames issuing from it, which was hurled like a discus on the battlefield. Jayavarman's energy is compared to this missile, and the image of a ball of fire or disk of light carries through to the end of the verse. In the mythology of the *Mahābhārata*, Aurva was the descendant of a line of *ṛṣis* or seers, saved from being killed in the womb by enemies thanks to his mother's stratagem of concealing him in her thigh. The Sanskrit word for thigh being *ūru*, at birth he was named Aurva (Thigh-Born). From his anger against those who had tried to kill him – the wrath of *ṛṣis* is legendary for its destructive power – was born a fire so intense that it threatened to destroy the world. This conflagration was prevented by diverting the fire into the sea, where it exists in an underwater cave called “The Mare's Mouth” (*Vaḍavāmukha*). It is this fire that will destroy the universe at the end of the current aeon. Jayavarman, says the poet, acted like Aurva's fire on the enemy troops, whom he compares to a heap of uncooked food waiting for the flame. The image of defeated kings bowing (drooping like lotuses) before their conqueror is well-known in the Indian classics, here linked to the light-imagery that is consistently associated with Jayavarman. The carnage in the first half of this stanza provides the counterpoint to verse 20 (lines 39–40), where his other victories are said to be bloodless, being the consequence of his character and conduct alone.

A47

° vidvidbhīr ākṛti-viśeṣam avekṣya yasya
durdharṣam āyudha-yujo yudhi mīlita^akṣaiḥ

A48

srasta^astra-vāhu-bhujagair vigatañ cirān nu
prasthāpana^astram adhunā sthitam eva mene

24.

Seeing the terrible aspect of him (Jayavarman) armed in battle, his enemies – like snakes with their weapons, and their arms, fallen to their sides – shut their eyes, [so that] a spear they had thrown some time before seemed in that moment to stop.

The enemy troops, terrified and demoralised at the sight of Jayavarman wielding weapons on the battlefield, dropped their own weapons and lowered their arms. In this paralysed and seemingly limbless state, the poet compares them to so many snakes, and thus by implication likens Jayavarman to Garuḍa (cf. verse 30). Enemy rulers were classically identified as Nāgarājas or serpent-kings; snakes being the natural prey of eagles, Garuḍa was the emblem of many ancient Indian kings, appearing famously on the standard of the Gupta emperors and as the vehicle of Viṣṇu. The second part of this verse is not easy to interpret. In his treatment of the inscription, Jacques (MS: 8) seems to translate *vigata* as “forgotten” and *prsthāpanāstra* as “the weapon called ‘flight’” (“l’arme appelée ‘fuite’”, presumably taking *prsthāpana* in the sense of *prsthāna*, “start marching” or “move out”), suggesting that the enemy’s only remaining weapon was retreat, and that this was something they had long forgotten. This interpretation does not take into account the emphasis on *sthitam*, which describes the *prsthāpana* -weapon and means “stood still” or, together with *adhunā* and *eva*, “came to an abrupt halt”. A translation more in line with Coedès’ understanding of this passage is preferable: “the throwing-weapon that they had thrown long since seemed to stop in that instant” (“[. . .] l’arme de jet qu’ils avaient lancée depuis longtemps semblait s’être arrêtée à l’instant”: Coedès’ 1942: 286). This is less imaginative, but it does deal with every word of the original text. In my reading (above) the passage seems to mean that, having shut their eyes at the threatening appearance of Jayavarman, they were unable to follow the trajectory of their spears (*prsthāpanāstra*, “weapon for throwing”, but the term could also refer to an arrow or other missile) or to see where they landed, so that not only were they incapable of hand-to-hand fighting (having dropped their weapons and lowered their arms), they also lost track of hostile actions launched (*vigata*) before they were blinded. Their spears, already thrown while they could see, seemed to stop (*sthitam eva*) in flight when Jayavarman’s awesome appearance made them close their eyes. This is a typical *praśasti* conceit, not likely to contain an element of historical reality, which Jacques proposes for his interpretation of the text with *sthitam* omitted (Jacques MS: 8, n.7). It is rather an elaboration of the meaning of verse 20 (that Jayavarman overcomes his enemies by force of personality alone), transferred to the battlefield.

A49

° āścaryamāṇaṃ yudhi yena bhūpā
nīla^asim asra^aruṇa-hema-gauram

A50

purāś tīraś śakra-dhanuḥ-kṛta^agha-
bhi^ity eva dṛṣṭvā^astra-mucaḥ praṇemuḥ

25.

When they saw how his (Jayavarman’s) blue-black sword, [as it moved] miraculously in cut and thrust, became yellowed with gold and reddened with blood in the battle, [enemy] princes seemed to fear harm from

Indra's bow and, abandoning their weapons, bowed [before him].

“Indra’s bow” (*śakradhanuḥ*) means the weapon of the king of the Vedic gods, Indra alias Śakra, but is also an expression for the rainbow. As Jayavarman swung his glittering bloodstained sword on the battlefield, it resembled the rainbow (blue-yellow-red), which is to say that it looked as though it were the weapon of the old Vedic war-god, and it was this eerie phenomenon that the poet imagines to have terrified the enemy. This is the second time that Jayavarman has been compared to Indra in this inscription (see verse 18, where it is the god's thunderbolt, rather than his bow, on which the comparison hinges). The gold (*hema*) mentioned in the text must refer to gold ornaments on the armour and weapons of enemy princes; linked with blood (*asra*), the yellow-red imagery is employed to indicate that Jayavarman personally killed or wounded the Cham leaders.

A51

° *sāndra^astra-varṣaiḥ pihita^ugra-dhāmnī*
pradoṣite raṅga-sarasy agamyē

A52

bhṛṅgī^īva lakṣmīr abhavad vikāsi-
dhāma^amvuje yasya paribhramantī

26.

It was in [that] terrible arena, overcast with dense hails of arrows, an intractable twilight lake of blood, that Lakṣmī hovered like a bee over the blossoming lotus of his glory.

The contrast between the two halves of this verse is obvious, but nevertheless effective. A lotus is itself an emblem in Sanskrit for precisely this kind of contrast, being called, among many other names, *pañkaja*, the blossom whose perfection and beauty are “born from the mud.” Here, the flower grows not from the usual *puṣkara* or lotus pond, but from a lake of blood (*raṅgasaras*). Jayavarman's glory, which is likened to the lotus, is born of the battlefield. The word which I have translated as blood, *raṅga*, can also mean “the field of battle” according to Sanskrit lexicons, and Coedès (1942: 287) took up this possibility for his translation of the verse (“On this lake . . . which is the field of battle” / “Sur cet étang . . . qu'est le champ de bataille”). Needless to say, the use of the word “lake” (*saras*) does not refer to the *baray* of Preah Khan, the Jayataṅka; blood symbolism occurs several times in this inscription, but nowhere is it associated with this sacred lake. The word *raṅgasaras* is used figuratively, to describe real carnage, as in the English expression “a pool of blood” or “bloodbath”, and the image of a lake is linked to the lotus, symbol of Jayavarman's glory, not to an actual structure. Several other words here can also be interpreted differently. For example, *pradoṣita*, which I have rendered as “twilight” to suit the gloomy atmosphere of the context, can also mean “corrupt” or “polluted”, which again is the sense preferred by Coedès. The two parts of the verse are convincingly linked, not only by *saras* (lake or pond, line A51) and *amvuja* (the lotus that grows from it, line A52), but also by different meanings and contrasting uses of one word that is repeated, namely *dhāman* (meaning abode or domain, but also majesty or glory), once in *ugradhāmnī* (in the ugly domain, or terrible arena) and then in *vikāsidhāmamvuja* (the blossoming lotus of Jayavarman's glory). Verses 23–25 form a thematic unity, not a narrative of the battle. True

to *praśasti* convention, the author is making use of the traditional themes of war in order to praise the king; he is not reporting on the battle as a real event.

A53

*pra^uttuṅga-saudha-vilasad-ripu-rāja-rāja-
dhānīs sva-vīri avahe 'ri-vanaṃ mṛgeṣu*

A54

*śaṅke 'diśat sva-vana-vāsiṣu yas sva-dāvaṃ
yuddha^āhrteṣu samatām prathayan vadanyaḥ*

27.

To his own assembled warriors, he assigned the enemy kings' capital cities, gleaming with high stuccoed mansions. To the wild animals living in his own forest, he gave the enemy forest. And upon those men taken in battle, he bestowed his own forest (which was more prone to catch fire) – a generous giver showing, no doubt, his equal-handedness.

The verse is ironic in intent. The word *śaṅke* (line A54), from the root *śaṅk*, to doubt, means “I suppose,” “I think,” “As it seems to me,” or (ironically) “I do not doubt,” and is used here in connection with Jayavarman's kind of equality when it came to dealing with captured enemies. When speaking of his own or the enemy's woods in connection with the transfer of wild animals, the poet twice uses the standard word for forest, *vana*. But when he mentions the resettlement of enemy prisoners, not only does he say that Jayavarman consigned them to his own royal forest – replacing the game that the king traditionally hunts there – he also switches to the word *dāva*, which can indeed mean a forest, but which primarily signifies a conflagration, in particular a forest fire.

A55

*° yas sat-kṛteṣu vibhavair adiśat sva-putrīr
dhīmat-sunīti-nīlayo ruci-lobhānīyāḥ*

A56

*cedi^īśvaro hutavahe tu tad-añśam argham
āhrtya gāḍhir api bhūri-hayān ṛcīke*

28.

He (Jayavarman) is a repository of the wisdom of sages. He gave his own desirably beautiful daughters to those he had (already) honoured with riches. The Lord of Cedi, by contrast, [gave his daughter to the God of Fire] after receiving a part of the Fire-God himself as her price; and Gāḍhi [gave his daughter] to Ṛcīka only after receiving many horses (as her price).

The obscure-looking references in the second part of this verse are to stories told in the *Mahābhārata*.

They are taken as classical cases which parallel Jayavarman's policy of marrying his daughters to powerful contemporaries. These comparisons show Jayavarman to advantage, says the poet, since unlike the figures of legend he demanded no bride-price, but on the contrary showered his allies with gifts.

Cedi was a small but important kingdom of ancient India with Śuktimatī as its capital; the kings of Cedi known to the *Mahābhārata* included Vasu Uparicara and Śiśupāla. It is not clear precisely which story from the epic is referred to here; it may be a variant of one of the numerous stories told by the dying Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira at the end of Book 12. The story of Ṛcīka is better known, in versions preserved in both the *Mahābhārata* (Book 3, Section 115) and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (Section 57). Gādhi (not Gāḍhi), Gādhin, or Gāthin, “The Singer”, was a king in ancient India with a beautiful daughter named Satyavatī, whom the famous sage Ṛcīka (a descendant of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Bhṛgu) wished to marry. Aware, no doubt, of the sage's powers, King Gādhi demanded as bride-price for his daughter nothing less than one thousand black-eared horses. Ṛcīka appealed to Varuṇa, god of waters, whereupon the horses emerged miraculously from the Ganges, the king was satisfied, and the couples were married. Jayavarman, says the verse, is no Gādhi. Classical references such as these show what intimate knowledge of Sanskrit literature the Khmer court possessed.

A57

° rāmaś ca yaś ca viḥita^amara-martya-kāryau
pitṛ^artha-tatpara-hṛdau jīta-bhārgavau dvau

A58

pūrho śmanā vyadhita caṅkramam avdhim ṛkṣair
hemnā paras tu manuḃjais taritum bhava^avdhim

29.

Both Rāma and he (Jayavarman) accomplished works for gods and men. Both were primarily devoted to their fathers, and both vanquished a descendant of Bhṛgu. But the former (Rāma) built a causeway of stone across the sea for monkeys, whereas the latter, [Jayavarman, builds a bridge] of gold for men to cross beyond the ocean of rebirths.

The imagery in this verse is derived from the other great Sanskrit epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Sītā, wife of the incarnation of Viṣṇu, Rāma, was abducted by the demon-king Rāvaṇa and held in his island stronghold of Laṅkā. In order to lead his allies, the army of monkeys, across the sea to Laṅkā in a rescue attempt, Rāma built a causeway of stone blocks. Now Jayavarman, says the poet, has also built a causeway – not of stone but of gold, and not for monkeys to cross the real sea, but to enable men to cross the figurative ocean of rebirths and thus achieve salvation, which consists of permanence in the world of the spirit. The bridge or causeway is the temple of Preah Khan, gateway to salvation, and the gold refers to the huge quantities of the precious metal with which Jayavarman ornamented this structure (see verses 95–97, lines C45–49). For the reference to a “descendant of Bhṛgu”, meaning the Cham king whom Jayavarman defeated on the future site of Preah Khan, see the commentary on verse 169. A famous

mythological descendant of Bhṛgu, Paraśurāma, exterminator of the *kṣatriya* warrior caste, with whose blood he filled five lakes, was himself overcome by Rāma in an encounter related in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The versions of this encounter differ, but all concern the mighty bow of the god Viṣṇu, the *vaiṣṇavacāpa*, with which he once defeated Śiva. After this victory, according to one version, Viṣṇu gave his bow to none other than the sage Ṛcika, mentioned in the previous verse of this inscription. From him it was passed down to Paraśurāma, in whose hands it became the instrument for destroying the *kṣatriyas*. Encountering Rāma after this massacre, Paraśurāma challenged him to bend and string the bow. This Rāma did with ease, but then Paraśurāma further challenged him to draw the bowstring back as far as his ear. This enraged Rāma to such an extent that all the gods and phenomena of the universe appeared upon his wrathful face, including the image of Paraśurāma himself. Rāma then released the arrow, and universal chaos ensued. Humiliated, Paraśurāma admitted defeat, acknowledged Rāma to be the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and retreated to the mountains with his pride extinguished. Such was the epic victory of Rāma over the descendant of Bhṛgu. In this verse of the Preah Khan inscription, Jayavarman is likened to Rāma, held to be the exemplary Hindu king par excellence, on two counts, and declared his superior in the material richness and spiritual purpose of his constructions.

A59

° nāṭyeśvarau svarṇa-mayau purastād
yena[^]arppitau svarṇa-bhujaṅgamasya

A60

sadyo vimuktāv iva rāghavau dvau
bhujaṅga-vandhād vihata[^]indra-pāte

30.

In front of the golden snake he (Jayavarman) placed two gold Nāṭyeśvaras (images of the dancing Śiva), like the two descendants of Raghu (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa) suddenly released from the coils of serpents when struck by the flight of Indrajit's [arrows].

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Indrajit, “Conqueror of Indra,” is an epithet of Meghanāda, son of the demon-king Rāvaṇa. The two heroes indicated in the inscription by the word *rāghavau*, “the two descendants of Raghu,” are Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, incarnations of Viṣṇu. In an encounter related in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Indrajit overcomes the two brothers with his arrows consisting of snakes (*nāgamayaiḥ śaraiḥ*) which pierce and bind them. They are finally released on the arrival of Garuḍa, the sun-eagle, enemy of snakes and Viṣṇu's vehicle. The poet imagines two gold figurines of dancing Śiva, when placed before a gold snake in the temple, to resemble the two brothers on their release from Indrajit's snake-arrows. This imagery depends for its meaning on the fact that the two snake-entwined brothers were released (*vimuktāu* in line A60), and since their release was caused by the arrival of Garuḍa, the implied meaning is that Jayavarman himself is being identified with the Sun-Eagle as he approaches the golden serpent to offer the two gold Nāṭarājas to a Śivaliṅga. Earlier in this inscription (see commentary on verse 24), Jayavarman is identified by allusion with Garuḍa when he appears on the battlefield; and his father, Dharaṇīndravarman, is also compared to the eagle in swiftness (verse 16).

The golden snake (*svaṇabhujāṅgama*) seems to refer to a metal Liṅga-cover (*liṅgakośa*) or similar ritual accoutrement in the form of a cobra. Such objects are well-known pieces of altar equipment in Śaiva shrines. The coils of the metal snake encircle the base of the stone Liṅga, the phallic emblem of Śiva and the chief object of worship in the sanctum, and the serpent's hooded head expands behind and above the top of the Liṅga. It would have been before this Liṅga-and-serpent combination, in a shrine dedicated to Śiva within the precincts of Preah Khan, that Jayavarman placed two gold Nāṭyeśvaras (Naṭarājas) as offerings, on the front part of the *pīṭha* or lustration-socle. It was the appearance of this pattern of sacred objects, twin dancing figures in front of a coiled cobra, that gave rise to the association of ideas which, in the mind of his son who apparently witnessed the ceremony, led to the poetic imagery of this verse. To better understand the appropriateness of the imagery, we have to recall the classic iconography of Naṭarāja, which the two figurines that were presented by Jayavarman would presumably have displayed. The arms of Śiva, Lord of the Dance, are entwined by cobras, just as were the arms of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative. And the movements of Śiva Naṭarāja's legs represent him dancing out of a circle of fire which stands for the cyclical round of rebirths – the dancing god is demonstrating to his devotee the way to salvation, which is liberation (termed *vimukti*, compare this with the word *vimuktau* in the inscription) from that cycle. Thus the gold figurines that Jayavarman placed in the shrine did indeed show two snake-entwined persons about to be set free. The poet, Jayavarman's son, reinterpreted the iconography of Śiva in terms of Vaiṣṇava legend.

The question as to why Jayavarman presented two Naṭarāja images, apparently to a single Śivaliṅga (since only one golden snake is mentioned), is not immediately clear. It seems very likely that such figurines were used as *utsavamūrtis*, literally “festival images.” In Indian Hindu practice, portable icons of this kind are regarded as representatives of deities whose main images or symbols are permanently fixed in their temples. The portable images, which need not visually resemble the main fixed statues which they represent, are carried in procession outside the central temple when, for example, the deity is required to show himself to the people in the streets, or to visit the temples of other gods. On such occasions, the *utsavamūrti* is mounted on a palanquin (*śibikā*, *śivikā*) or chariot (*ratha*) and carried or pulled along a set route, returning after a certain number of days to its original temple. We know that images of dancing Śiva were indeed carried in palanquins in ancient Cambodia: the early 11th century Old Khmer inscription in the west gateway of Prasat Ta Keo (Coedès, *IC* 4: 154-155) lists among the temple donations of a scholar named Yogīśvara “a palanquin in which is placed the ten-armed Lord Nāṭakeśvara (dancing Śiva) with all his ornaments”. To this day in Himachal Pradesh, in the Indian Western Himalayas, almost all Hindu temples own a collection of metal masks – the equivalents of *utsavamūrtis* – which on particular festival days are tied on to a temporary body of the deity, along with his ornaments, and carried on palanquins through the mountains to the shrine of the chief god of the region in order to pay homage and demonstrate loyalty to a supreme authority. No doubt the convocation of deities from widely scattered temples at Preah Khan at the time of the annual Phālguna festival (see verses 158–160 in this inscription) took a similar form, the gods and goddesses from faraway shrines being represented by portable images. The two golden figurines of dancing Śiva that Jayavarman donated would have been intended to play the same role when certain images of Śiva, fixed in their shrines at Preah Khan, were required to visit other shrines in the complex or the temples of other deities located at a distance from it. Jean Filliozat (1981: 59-99) thought that the inscription's reference to “two images of dancing Śiva” (*nāṭyeśvarau*, with the dual ending) in fact meant one Naṭarāja accompanied by an

image of Pārvatī, which is the conventional manner of displaying the god in South Indian temples. However, the graphic comparison of these two images to the legendary brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, makes it clear that the inscription refers to two male figurines.

As to which of the many shrines at Preah Khan was the scene of this royal presentation, it is tempting on iconographical grounds to locate it in the western part of the North Complex. There, on the main axis between the western gateway and the central temple, two carved frontons, both representing Śiva dancing, face each other across a windowed hall. One of these reliefs is set above the entrance to the west wing of the central sanctuary, the other above the eastern doorway leading into the west gate. The latter doorway bears an inscription (N5) on its right-hand upright which lists three images representing human individuals installed by a man named Lord Sarva[n̄]jaya, an Inspector of Rights and Wrongs, who may have been the leader of the servants of Śiva (*khlo[n̄] vala śiva*) in the North Complex. Another possibility is that the two gold figurines were intended to represent two aspects of Śiva that were installed in the south gateway and south-east corner shrine of the same complex. The doorway inscriptions of these two structures (N4 and N3) list, among other deities, Śaṅkareśvara (Śiva) in the south and probably the sacred footprints of Śiva (*śivapāda*) in the south-east.

A61

*° prāptau praśastām pitari stutin drāg
divo 'vatīrṇe kila rāma-bhīṣmau*

A62

*svayambhuve yas tu caturbhujā^āḍhye
sadā^arccite kām iva lokanāthe*

31.

Rāma and Bhīṣma received a superb eulogy when the father of each, it is said, descended briefly from heaven. What kind of eulogy must Jayavarman then receive when his father, as the self-born four-armed Lokanātha – who incorporates Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva – has descended from heaven and is being worshipped perpetually?

Here again the poet reminds us of legendary motifs (in this instance, dead fathers praising living sons) from the heroic past of India, as narrated in the Sanskrit epics, and then contrasts them with the present in Kambuja, in order to show Jayavarman's superiority. The references are to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (in which Rāma's deceased father, Daśaratha, is said to have appeared to his son and praised him) and to the *Harivaṃśa* (in which Śāntanu, the dead father of Bhīṣma, similarly appears to praise his son). The essence of the imagery in this verse consists in emphasizing the brevity of the appearance of the two Indian heroes' departed fathers, who revealed themselves only long enough to deliver laudations of their sons, in contrast to the permanent presence of Jayavarman's deceased father, represented by a statue of Lokanātha (= Lokeśvara) in the central sanctum of Preah Khan. The presence of a deity being dependent, not on the statue itself but on the invocation of the deity in it, the poet stresses the fact that this Lokeśvara is worshipped perpetually (*sadārcīta*). Since the dead father of Jayavarman, says the poet, is thus permanently present, rather than momentarily revealed, his eulogy of his son would be far greater than the classic Indian precedents.

George Coedès (1942: 288) saw, in the words *svayambhuva*, *caturbhujā* and *lokanātha* in the second half of this verse (line A62), a reference to the Trimūrti, the triad of supreme Hindu gods, namely Brahmā (who is also known by his epithet Svayambhuva), Viṣṇu (also known as Caturbhujā, The Four-Armed), and Śiva (also known as Lokanātha, Lord of the World). The interpretation of this reference hinges on the double significance of the name Lokanātha, which can refer to both Śiva and Lokeśvara; at the same time, Svayambhuva can be both an epithet of Brahmā and an adjective describing the nature of Lokeśvara, and Caturbhujā both an epithet of Viṣṇu and a physical description of the Lokeśvara image. However, continued Coedès, verse 34 of this inscription informs us that Jayavarman's father was deified at Preah Khan in the form of an image of Lokeśvara bearing the name Jayavarmēśvara. Therefore, he proposed, this verse has a particular second meaning, one which requires that we understand the term *svyambhuva* in a different sense, namely that the Lokanātha (here signifying the Buddhist Lokeśvara) image was “born of himself”, that is, born of Jayavarman, in the sense that this image was named after himself, not after his father. On the basis of these suppositions Coedès proposed that this verse expresses the concept of the deceased father of Jayavarman, as man, having the qualities of the three leading Hindu gods, and, as an image, as having the attributes of a Lokeśvara with four arms and the name of his son. In the translation above I have taken this suggestion only partly into account. In my view, the essential point that the poet seeks to make through his allusion to the Trimūrti is that Buddhist Lokeśvara subsumes, and is therefore superior to, these three Hindu gods, rather than that Jayavarman's father resembled them. For the poet, comparisons of Jayavarman's father and his paternal ancestors with Hindu gods were irrelevant, as we have seen above in verses 13–16.

THE TEMPLE

1. THE FOUNDATION OF JAYAŚRĪ (PREAH KHAN) (32–33)

A63

° *yatra dviṣad-rudhira-dhāmi jayaśriyaṃ yo
jahre yudhi vyadhita tatra purīn tad-ākhyāṃ*

A64

*hema[^]amvuja[^]upala-virañjita-bhūmi-bhāgā
digdhā[^]adhunā[^]api rudhirair iva yā vibhātī*

32.

There where he seized the glory of victory (*jayaśrī*), in a battle that became the resting place of the enemy's blood, he created a town bearing his victory's name (*Jayaśrī*). This plot of land, reddened as it is by stone and lotuses and gold, seems still to be stained with blood today.

According to the official version of history that is being established in this inscription, the temple of Preah Khan was built on the bloodstained site of a battle in which Jayavarman won an important victory against the Cham (see verse 169, lines D51-52). The word used to describe this triumph (*jayaśrī*,

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

jayaśrīyam, the glory of victory) is woven into the text to explain the origin of the temple's name (*purīn tad-ākhyām*). Today, says the poet, this battlefield, being transformed into the site for a temple, takes on fresh colours. Yet these are but various hues of a single colour – the dark red of the temple stone, the reddish gold of its ornaments, and the redness of lotus flowers in the pools – which to him still look like bloodstains, reminding him of war. The singular effectiveness of the verse lies partly in its elegaic tendency, but more in the details that convey ideas of renewal which are then denied by memory. Thus in the course of the stanza, the vision of the battlefield changes from an abode (*dhāman*, for the enemy's blood), to a town (*purī*, to commemorate the victory), to a foundation and ground-plan (*bhūmibhāga*, for the temple), but these transformations only lead us back to the bloodstains. The word “blood” (*rudhira*) occurs in the first line, and again in the last. There is no such insistence on battlefield symbolism in the description of the founding of Ta Prohm, which Jayavarman had named Rājavihāra five years previously. Verse 35 of the Ta Prohm stele says merely that he established the town of Rājavihāra on the earth (*dhātrī*) he had seized by [the strength of] his own arm (*utpādītā tena bhujā gṛhīṭadhātryām purī rājavihīranāmnī*). This indeed means by conquest, but omits any mention of a battle and the attendant bloodletting, perhaps to avoid overtly associating his mother (identified with Prajñāpāramitā, Mother of Buddhas, whose image he installed in the central sanctuary) with violence. In this inscription, on the other hand, the battle of Preah Khan is deliberately described in more detail, this temple being associated with his father and hence with *kṣatriya* valour. The image of a Buddhist prince mired in blood and wielding a bloodstained sword (verses 24-26) is no contradiction, his primary duty being not to the Dharma of the Buddha, which is the province of the Saṅgha, but to his personal *kṣatriya-dharma*, through the pursuit of which he protects religion.

A65

° *sat-kṛtya tīrtha-dvaya-sannidhānāt*
sādhyo viśuddhyai jagatām prayāgaḥ

A66

kiñ kathyate vuddha-śiva^amvujākṣaḥ-
tīrtha-prakṣṣā nagarī jayaśrīḥ

33.

With piety is Prayāga [the Holy City] to be entered, because beside it there are two sacred watering places which purify mortals; what then shall we say of the City of Jayaśrī (Preah Khan), which is distinguished by [three such] sacred watering places, [dedicated to] to lotus-eyed [Viṣṇu], to Śiva, and to the Buddha?

The city of Prayāga in north India is known today as Illāhābād (Allahabad). It stands at the confluence of the two holy rivers, Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Ganges and Jumna), and is visited by vast concourses of Hindu pilgrims. In Kambuja, however, Jayavarman's holy temple-town of Jayaśrī, site of Preah Khan, is bounded not by two bodies of sacred water, boasts the poet, but by three. Moreover, these three are dedicated to the three most powerful deities – who are Buddhist as well as Hindu. If one enters the Indian holy city with piety, he says, how much greater must be the sanctity and religious atmosphere of Preah Khan? (The poet apparently did not know of the Indian tradition that there is a third river,

subterranean and therefore invisible, in the confluence at Prayāga, namely the Sarasvatī; or perhaps he ignored it.) The inscription contains many such contrasts with India, emphasising the superior qualities and cultural independence of Kambuja and its king. The lakes which the poet says are dedicated to the Buddha, Śiva, and Viṣṇu might be identified as the Preah Khan Baray (or Srah Srang, in front of Ta Prohm), the East Baray (of Śiva), and the West Baray (of Viṣṇu). The sacredness of water, and its constant use in Buddhist and Hindu ritual, is everywhere apparent in ancient Khmer temples with their vast artificial lakes, ponds and moats, all of which must have served as *tīrthas*, sacred watering places, for the performance of numerous rites. For examples, see further references to holy water in this inscription (verses 41, 71, 167-170 and commentaries).

The ostensible meaning of this verse is simply that Cambodia is superior to India in terms of sanctity. However, the text also defines the reason for this superiority as the introduction of Buddhism (which in India was all but extinguished in the 12th and 13th centuries) on the same level of importance as Hinduism. And the positioning of this verse, following on directly from the bloodletting that made the construction of Preah Khan possible (in verse 32), is meant to imply that this re-establishment of Buddhism in Cambodia was the direct result of Jayavarman's victory. This is the first clear indication in the inscription of Jayavarman's own religion, and it is carefully inserted immediately before the verse (34) that describes his personal consecration of a Bodhisattva statue – not of a traditional Hindu image – at the centre of Preah Khan.

2. CONSECRATION OF LOKEŚVARA AND OTHER DEITIES (34–40)

LOKEŚVARA AT THE CENTRE

A67

° sa śrī-jayavarmma-nṛpaś

śrī-jayavarmmeśvara^ākhyalokeśam

A68

veda^indu-candra-rūpair

udamīlayad atra piṭṛ-mūrttim

34.

It was here (in Jayaśrī / Preah Khan) that King Jayavarman, in the year Form-Moon-Moon-Vedas (1113 or 1114 Śaka), opened the eyes of [the Bodhisattva] Lokeśa under the name of Lord Jayavarmmeśvara, [being] the image of [his] father.

Like other South East Asian civilisations, the Khmer also expressed dates in their Sanskrit inscriptions by means of a word-code. In this verse, for the numeral “1”, which has to appear three times consecutively in recording the Śaka year 1113 or 1114, three separate words are used: *rūpa* (meaning “form” generally,

but also “a single example”), *indu* (“moon”), and *candra* (also meaning “moon”). The word *veda* is used for the numeral “3” (or “4”) because the ancient pre-Hindu scriptures, collectively known as the *Vedas* (the *R̥gveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Sāmaveda*, sometimes including also the *Atharvaveda*), are three or four in number. These word-numerals are conventionally written down in what might appear to be the reverse order, lowest units first and highest units last: *veda* (3 or 4) – *indu* (1) – *candra* (1) – *rūpa* (1). Thus the sequence 3-1-1-1 or 4-1-1-1 is to be read as 1113 or 1114. The Śaka era, widely used for political and administrative purposes across South and South East Asia, was founded in India in the year 78 AD; the simplest conversion method is therefore to add this number to the Śaka date (1113 or 1114 + 78 = 1191 or 1192 AD). In other inscriptions these numbers are very often supplemented by detailed astronomical data which make it possible to calculate a precise date; that is not the case here. The statement that Jayavarman “opened the eyes of Lokeśa” (*lokeśam . . . udamīlayat*) requires a brief comment. In Indian temple ritual, a shrine only becomes a consecrated place of worship once the image of the presiding deity has been brought to life inside the central sanctum. This is done by means of a ceremony in which the eyes of the image of that deity, which up to that moment have been left blank, are incised or painted with their pupils. This is known as the eye-opening (*nayanonmīlana*) ceremony, which is still practised today in Cambodia for new Theravāda images (see Bizot 1994: 105-107 and 108 ff), the pupils often being represented by thin disks of black semiprecious stone. In modern Indian Hinduism, this is often done by affixing artificial eyes made of white shell, painted in the centre with a black disk representing the iris and pupil. From that moment on, the statue is regarded as a real presence; the deity whom it represents can then – and only then – be invoked by the priests and invited to take up residence in the image. This is the ceremony which Jayavarman is recorded here to have performed for the statue of Lokeśvara, regarded as a likeness of his father Dharaṇīndravarman, but named after himself as Jayavarmesvara, in the central sanctuary of Preah Khan. Naming this consecration ritual for the central image in connection with the year 1113 Śaka means that Preah Khan became a functioning temple from that date onward.

A69

ārya^avalokiteśasya

madhyamasya samantataḥ

A70

śata-dvayan trayośītis

tena devāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ

35.

Around [this] central Ārya-Avalokiteśa he (Jayavarman) established two hundred and eighty-three gods.

Ārya-Avalokiteśa or Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, the “noble” (*ārya*) form of the Bodhisattva, is a recurrent term in Mahāyāna nomenclature. In iconographic texts, however, mutually contradictory descriptions of his image are given, ranging from single-headed and two- or four-armed, to eleven-headed and thousand-armed. We know from this inscription that the Ārya-Avalokiteśa of Preah Khan was four-armed (*caturbhujā*: verse 31, line A62) and wore the sacred thread (*upavīta*: verse 4, line A8); and from the many available examples of Avalokiteśvara images it is certain that a figure with only four arms would

have been single-headed. The stele inscription attempts to give a very precise record of Jayavarman's achievements in general, and of material quantities involved in the building and operation of the Preah Khan temple in particular. We can be sure that, at the moment it was written, 283 was indeed the officially recognised number of deities under worship in the shrines of the first and second enclosures (the gods in structures of the third and fourth enclosures are dealt with below in verses 36-40) immediately surrounding the Lokeśvara / Avalokiteśa temple at the centre. The number seems extraordinarily high at first glance, but one has to recall that there are over fifty stone structures crowded into this zone, at least thirty-seven of which were inscribed with the names of the deities they contained. Moreover the locations and texts of the surviving inscriptions show that (a) every type of structure could serve as a shrine, (b) that a single structure could be subdivided into multiple shrines, and (c) that within a subdivided structure each shrine room could contain multiple deities. There is no reason to doubt the statistic.

DEITIES IN THE EASTERN COMPLEX

A71

° *vivudhās śrī-tribhuvana-
varmmeśvara-puras-sarāḥ*

A72

*trayaḥ pratiṣṭhitās tena
pūrvasyān diśi bhūbhṛtā*

36.

In the eastern direction he, the king, established three gods, beginning with Lord Tribhuvanavarmeśvara.

“In the eastern direction” (*pūrvasyān diśi*) refers to the projecting eastern gatehouse which leads into the second enclosure at Preah Khan. On modern plans of the site, this cruciform building is referred to as Structure 63. On the right-hand doorpost of its entrance, there is a short inscription (E1). Of its original four lines, only the first three survive, but they are sufficient to confirm the information given in this verse of the foundation inscription. They read as follows:

° *kamrateṅ jagat śrītribhuvanavarmmeśvara ° vraḥ rūpa
vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ mahāparamanirvāṇapada °
[° kamrateṅ] jagat śrīmahīdhararājacūḍāmaṇi . . .*

Translated line for line, this means:

1. The God Tribhuvanavarmeśvara, the sacred image
2. of His Majesty Lord Mahāparamanirvāṇapada.
3. The Goddess Mahīdhararājacūḍāmaṇi . . .

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

In the first two lines, the god (*kamrateñ jagat*) Tribhuvanavarmeśvara (Lord Protector of the Triple World) is said to be the sacred form (*vrah rūpa*) of a deceased king, His Majesty (*vrah pāda*), Lord (*kamrateñ añ*) Mahā-Paramanirvāṇapada (He Who Has Gone To The Great Supreme Nirvana); and in the third line a goddess Mahīdhara-Rājacūḍāmaṇi (Crest-Jewel of the King of Mahīdhara) is listed, being the sacred form of a woman whose name would have been inscribed in the now missing last line. We know that Jaya-Rājacūḍāmaṇi was the name of Jayavarman's mother (see verses 11, 12, and 18), and it is tempting to think that Mahā-Paramanirvāṇapada could have been the posthumous title of her husband, Dharaṇīndravarmaṇ, the father of Jayavarman, and that it was he who was represented by the statue of the god Tribhuvanavarmeśvara. The apotheosised royal couple of a former régime, parents of the king, would thus have been worshipped as one entered the second enclosure, shortly before reaching the halls leading up to the Lokeśvara of Jayavarman at the centre. Alternatively, the name Mahā-Paramanirvāṇapada could be a reference to Paramanirvāṇapada, the posthumous name of Sūryavarman I, who ruled in the first half of the 11th century.

Side B

DEITIES IN THE SOUTHERN COMPLEX

B1

° *kāṣṭhāyān dakṣiṇasyāṃ śrī-*
yaśovarmmeśvara^ādayaḥ

B2

tena pratiṣṭhā devā
viṃśatir dvādaśa^uttarā

37.

In the southern area, he established thirty-two gods, starting with Lord Yaśovarmeśvara.

The god Yaśovarmeśvara was indeed present as a statue in the complex of shrines to the immediate south of the central enclosure, as the short inscriptions there tell us. Four deities were listed in the short inscription (S4) on the right-hand doorpost of the entrance to the western shrine in that complex (structure 85). The name of only one of these deities can be read in full, and that happens to be the Yaśovarmeśvara named in this verse of the stele inscription. The legible parts of the text on that shrine doorframe read as follows:

° *kamra[teñ] jagat teñ jagat śrīyaśovarmmeśvara °*
° *kamra[teñ jaga]t śrīpṛ [rūpa ka]mrateñ añ śrī*
pṛthivīndralakṣmī
° *kamrateñ jagat śrībḥūpe rūpa kamrateñ añ śrībḥū*
pendralakṣmī °

Line-by-line translation:

1. The God(name illegible). The God Yaśovarmeśvara.
2. The Goddess Pṛ.... (name illegible), [being the image of] Lady
3. Pṛthivīndralakṣmī.
4. The Goddess Bhūpe..... (remainder of the name illegible), [being] the image of
5. Lady Bhūpendralakṣmī.

The god Yaśovarmeśvara is not expressly said to have represented any deceased person, but is merely recorded to have been present in the shrine together with another god, whose name can no longer be read; however, these two gods are said to have been accompanied by two goddesses (names illegible) who represented two ladies named Pṛthivīndralakṣmī and Bhūpendralakṣmī. The symmetry of these four deities suggests that they stood for two men and their wives. Although the entrances to all the smaller shrines at the centre of each side of the enclosure wall are inscribed, as is the one in the south-west corner (structures 77, 81, 85, 89, and 83) – these inscriptions listing altogether twelve deities – the name of the principal god enshrined in the southern complex is unknown, because there is no inscription on the central shrine (structure 73). Nor does the stele inscription itself mention the southern deities by reference to the god in the central shrine, but by naming Yaśovarmeśvara in first position, even though he is only the second god listed in one of the peripheral chapels. Nevertheless, in the context of this long inscription, which had to list numerous gods and shrines, Yaśovarmeśvara was for some reason (the name appears in none of the other short inscriptions in Jayavarman's temples) regarded as the one figure prominent or remarkable enough to positively identify the southern complex. This subjective or random method of referencing the locations of shrines (see also verses 38 and 42) might be compared to the formation of traditional Khmer toponyms, which largely name villages by reference to a striking natural or traditional feature of the locality (see for example Lewitz 1967) rather than to some central village institution. This suggests to me that it was a standard Buddhist image, such as the Buddha seated on nāga, that was installed in the uninscribed central temples of the south, west, and north complexes of Preah Khan, dominating the Hindu and personal deities in the surrounding chapels. If these three central images were identical in iconography and nomenclature, we can understand why the author of the stele inscription used the subjective / random referencing method to differentiate between the three complexes. An objective / systematic method of referencing shrines by their location on a notional grid plan of the temple as a whole was introduced later, in the inscriptions of the Bayon (1, 3, 5, 6, 7), where it was used for identifying the *vrah kuṭi* structures erected on the outer courtyard of that temple (see Maxwell 2007 (1): 104, 123, 129-130).

In the south complex of Preah Khan, although the doorway inscription S4 is located in the western gatehouse (“chapelle axiale ouest”, Coedès 1951 (1): 113), as noted above, Claude Jacques associates it with the central sanctuary of that complex and makes two speculative proposals regarding the identity of the god Yaśovarmeśvara: “To the south there were thirty-two divinities with Śrī Yaśovarmeśvara in the centre; this was the temple dedicated to dead kings. Yaśovarmeśvara is a name probably created by Yaśovarman II, which suggests that this king was, for Jayavarman VII, the last ‘legitimate’ ruler at Angkor” (Jacques 2007 (2): 47). It is difficult to agree, on the basis of the epigraphic evidence, that this

south complex was a “temple dedicated to dead kings”. All six of the partially preserved inscriptions in the doorways of the shrines there (S1-S6) name deities who represented human individuals. Of the eleven named persons whose deities stood in these shrines, one was a Sañjak (S1); another was the unnamed brother of a Lord Jayavardhana (S6); three were Paṇḍits or their relatives (S2, S3, S5); two were a god and goddess (Samantaprabheśvara and Bhāratīśvarī) established by a *khloñ vala* and perhaps representing his parents (the second and third statues in S5); and finally, in the western gatehouse, two gods (the second of them being Yaśovarmeśvara) representing deceased men and two goddesses representing two named women who presumably were their wives (S4). A population of this kind on the periphery of the south complex does not suggest a special sanctuary for memorialising former kings; on the contrary, it reflects the same pattern of deified high officials with their gurus and relatives that we find in the structures inside the first enclosure. Even if Yaśovarmeśvara did stand for Yaśovarman II, this king was not installed in the centre of the complex, nor even in the main (east) gatehouse shrine, but in the west gatehouse at the rear.

DEITIES IN THE WESTERN COMPLEX, and DEITIES IN THE NORTHERN COMPLEX

B3

° śrī-cāmpēśvara-vimva[^]ādyas
triṃśat paścimatas surāḥ

B4

kauveryāṃ śiva-pāda[^]ādyās
catvāriṃśat pratiṣṭhitāḥ

38.

In the west, he established thirty gods, starting with the image of Lord Cāmpēśvara; in the north, forty, starting with a Śivapāda.

The word *vimva* (Sanskrit *bimba*) in line B3 literally means an image, shadow, or reflection, and is used frequently in Sanskrit texts to refer to a statue in a temple. Images of the god Cāmpēśvara (Lord of the People of Campā) or Campeśvara (Lord of Campā), both names referring to a form of Viṣṇu which was in one inscription poetically associated with a Khmer victory over the Chams (Bhattacharya 1961: 122), had been installed in many temples of ancient Cambodia from the 8th century onward. The short inscriptions on the shrine doorways of the western group (numbers O1–O10) originally named nineteen deities, nine of which were definitely aspects of the Hindu god Viṣṇu: the god himself as Garuḍavāhana and Nārāyaṇa, his *avatāras* Hayaśira, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Narasiṅha, and Adrivāha (Mountain-Bearer, that is, Kṛṣṇa), and the associated goddesses Śrī (Lakṣmī) and Sītā. Unlike the other named deities in the western complex (such as Vijayādityadeva, Vijayādityadeveśvara, Vijayādityalakṣmī, and others partly illegible), these aspects of Viṣṇu are stated only to be present as images; the shrine inscriptions give no indication that they represented human individuals. The two principal forms of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Garuḍavāhana (respectively the god alone and mounted on the sun-eagle), were installed at each

end of the east–west axis of this group, in the eastern and western gatehouse-shrines (structures 99 and 107; inscriptions O5 and O1). Other aspects of the god – the associated goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī, consort of Viṣṇu) and the *avatāras* Hayaśira, Narasiṅha, and Adrivāha (Kṛṣṇa) – were located in the corner-shrines, respectively in the north-west, north-east, south-east, and south-west (structures 109, 113, 101, and 105; inscriptions O2, O6, O8, and O10). Only the gatehouse-shrines at the centre of the north and south enclosure walls (structures 111 and 103) contained images representing human beings (inscription O3 in the north, number O9 in the south). Where was the god Cāmpesvara located in this scheme? There is only one possibility, namely in the gatehouse shrine at the centre of the northern gallery (structure 111). This shrine was provided, unusually, with two separate short inscriptions, one in the southern entrance giving on to the courtyard, and the other in its eastern doorway which connected with the gallery running along the north side of the enclosure. One of these, the inscription facing the courtyard, is out of place, since in this particular complex all the other short inscriptions are located at entrances which either give access from the outside, or from within the surrounding passage; and this inscription lists three deities (Vijayādityadeva etc., referred to above, all stated to have been established by a man named Vijayāditya) which represent human beings. The true entrance to this north shrine was conventionally located on its eastern side, leading into the north passage. The other short inscription was engraved in that doorway. It consisted of four lines and named four deities, each line beginning with the word *kamrateñ* (meaning Lord, no doubt part of the Khmer god-title *kamrateñ jagat*, Lord of the World). The remainder of the text is unfortunately illegible, with the one exception of the letters *śvara* in the second line. It is therefore only reasonable to assume that the god Cāmpesvara was one of the four listed in this, the original inscription on the north shrine, and that his image once stood here along with three other Vaiṣṇava deities. Vijayāditya's inscription, in the south doorway of the same shrine, is of course intrusive; soon after this structure had been dedicated to Cāmpesvara and three other gods, the man introduced three images of his own, representing himself and two relatives in their apotheosised forms. He was careful to do so, however, on the north-south axis of the complex, evidently the only one on which the installation of divinised mortals was permitted, since the east–west axis was reserved for Viṣṇu himself, and the diagonals for the god's lesser aspects. The association of human beings with the north–south axis is confirmed by the semi-legible inscription in the doorway of the southern shrine (structure 103), which lists three deities, all installed by the same man, who appears to have been called Virendrāyudha, and all bearing the first part of his name. As in the case of the stele inscription's reference to the southern complex (verse 37), no mention is made here in verse 38 to a deity in the central sanctuary of the western complex, which was identified by reference to Cāmpesvara, one of the peripheral forms of Viṣṇu.

The second part of this verse informs us that there were forty deities in the northern part of Preah Khan. The first of those listed was a *Śivapāda*, meaning two footprints carved on a stone slab, which was mounted on a socle and worshipped as an image of the god Śiva. Worship of the feet, or footprints, of a god or king is an ancient religious practice, not only in India and Cambodia but throughout South East Asia, which goes back to the aniconic phase of Buddhist and Hindu art in pre-Christian centuries. The short inscriptions engraved on the doorways of the north complex, all of which are nearly fully legible, name sixteen gods in five shrines. The *Śivapāda* appears to have been installed in the south-east corner shrine of this complex. On the right-hand doorpost of its northern entrance, inscription N3 lists a total of five deities whose images were installed inside it. They were: the god Bhūpendradeva; the god

Bhūpendreśvara; the goddess Bhūpendralakṣmī; the holy Śiva ...; and the Goddess Nārāyaṇī (a variant of, or scribal error for, the Sanskrit form Nārāyaṇī). The inscription states expressly that the shrine contained only one (Old Khmer *mvay*) statue each of the last two deities. The last line declares that these five deities were established by Lord Bhūpendra the Scholar (*paṇḍita*). Following an established pattern, Bhūpendra had installed three images representing himself, his father, and his mother. The last two images were of a god and a goddess as such, not representative of human beings. Of these two, one clearly represented the Vaiṣṇava *śakti* named Nārāyaṇī, counterpart of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa. The name of the other is unfortunately the one word in all the northern inscriptions to be only partly legible. However, given that it begins with the god-name Śiva, it appears extremely likely that originally it named the *vraḥ śivapāda*, the sacred footprints of this god, after which the stele inscription names the north complex. Bhūpendra had thus enshrined himself and his parents in the company of a Vaiṣṇava and a Śaiva deity, in much the same way that Vijayāditya installed three personal images alongside four (probably Vaiṣṇava) deities in the western complex, as discussed in the commentary on the first part of this verse. Apart from these five images in the south-east corner, the remaining eleven that were installed in the north complex were of mixed categories. There were six more deities representing human individuals, with names such as Dhārāpatīndradeva or Kṣitīndreśvara, in the north-eastern corner and the western gateway shrine (short inscriptions N1 and N5); two local Sanskritic deities named General Gāndīva and Lady Sūryaśakti in the eastern gateway shrine (inscription N2); and three of the great deities of the Hindu pantheon – the goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī), Vighneśa (Gaṇeśa), and Śaṅkareśvara (Śiva) – in the southern gateway (inscription N4). Of Śrī, the goddess of royal fortune and consort of Viṣṇu, the short inscription says there were numerous (Old Khmer *ta cren*) images in this shrine, suggesting that it functioned as a special cult centre of this goddess despite the presence of the two Śaiva deities. This evidence does not tend to support the widely-held view that the northern complex of Preah Khan was predominantly Śaiva. It was known in the stele inscription, it is true, for the presence there of the Śivapāda; but as we have seen, these groupings of shrines were not identified by reference to a god at the centre, but to a subsidiary deity. Out of the sixteen deities listed in the short inscriptions here in the north complex, three (the Śivapāda, Vighneśa and Śaṅkareśvara, housed in the south and south-east shrines) are indeed indisputably Śaiva. But three of the others are equally clearly Vaiṣṇava: Śrī Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇī, and Gāndīva (the latter being the name of Arjuna's bow, in Sanskrit Gāṇḍīva, a reference to the Pāṇḍava prince whom Kṛṣṇa accompanied in the battle of Kurukṣetra) in the shrines in the south, south-east, and east, where Sūryaśakti was also installed. The remaining nine – enshrined in the north-eastern, south-eastern and western shrines in three sets of three – were all deities representing human beings, their names not associated with any particular denomination or sect. There is an obvious discrepancy between the number of deities stated in the stele inscription to be present in these complexes and the number named in the short inscriptions at the entrances to the shrines themselves. Of the thirty said to be present in the west complex, only nineteen are named on the shrine doorways; of the forty in the north complex, only sixteen. This can only partly be explained by the loss of some of the shrine inscriptions. Another factor accounting for this difference is the fact that many images were never listed on the shrine doorways (for example the “numerous” images of Śrī mentioned in inscription N4, and the two golden Nāṭyeśvara figurines presented by Jayavarman, recorded above in verse 30). It is also not clear whether the deities depicted on the frontons of the shrines and in the wall reliefs of these complexes were included in the total count.

DEITIES IN OTHER STRUCTURES OF PREAH KHAN

B5

° *eko vr̥hi-gr̥he devaś*
caṅkrameṣu punar daśa

B6

catvāraś ca^upakāryāyām
ārogya^āyatane trayah

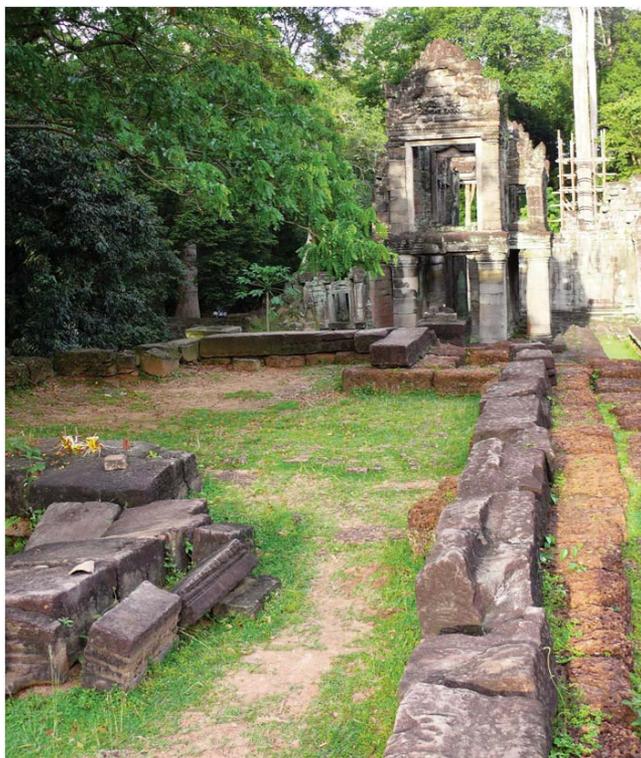
39.

One god at the rice-storehouse, then ten in the ambulatories, four in the staging post, and three in the hospital.

This verse numbers, but does not name, a total of eighteen further deities who were installed in four types of structure within the Preah Khan complex. The terminology associated with these structures is the following:

(1) *vr̥higr̥ha*, literally “rice house”, in which the word *vr̥hi* means freshly cut rice; the word *gr̥ha* (house) therefore means a storehouse for the rice harvest. As only one god (*eko . . . deva*) is listed, there can have been only one permanent structure for this purpose. Coedès proposed identifying it as one of the “coarse laterite constructions” in the third enclosure, and more recently Pottier (1993: 13 n.2) has suggested that it was the “enigmatic pillared edifice of Preah Khan”. Unfortunately the inscription itself gives no direct information on its location, nor on the identity of the deity installed there. I agree with Pottier's hypothesis. It was almost certainly this building, the imposing rectangular pillared structure (no. 146) in the northeast quadrant of the third enclosure, because its architecture is designed to isolate the body of the building from the ground on round unclimbable pillars, there was no permanent stair to the upper floor, and it is provided with more ventilation than any other structure. The god of this rice house – presumably Vraḥ Vaiśrava, the rice-god, of whom stone images certainly existed in the Angkor period (Lobo 2006: 141) – would have been installed in a shrine on the long laterite foundation (structure 144) raised directly in front of it a few paces to the west. The high elevation of this foundation must have been designed to raise the god's statue to the level of the first floor of the *vr̥higr̥ha*, which is where the rice was actually stored. The statue would have faced directly into the rice store that the god protected, since his shrine is situated to the west of it and would have faced east. The shrine itself has disappeared, but sandstone fragments and part of its plinth are still to be seen on the top of the platform.

Being built of stone, well designed, and architecturally imposing, the *vr̥higr̥ha* must have been the principal royal storehouse (*bhūbhṛtkoṣṭha*, verse 78). Its practical functionality seems somewhat limited, given its relatively small storage space when compared with the quantity and diversity of foodstuffs that had to be warehoused (verses 78-94) and its location in the heart of the ritual establishment. It could well have served as distribution centre for the inner enclosures, however, and in this role its symbolic function, representing the king as source and dispenser of the harvest, would have been supremely important. The ritual and practical necessity for rice, as part of the offering made to the gods and



Preah Khan: Remains of presumed rice-god shrine (foreground left) aligned with west façade of the rice storehouse (background centre).

simultaneously as nourishment for the many people living in Preah Khan, is made clear later in the inscription – see verses 44 (lines B15–16), 163 (line D43), and 178 (lines D69–70). Verse 178 specifically states that the rice used to feed the people in Jayavarman's temples should be counted as a sacrifice to the gods (*devayajñagaṇita*). This is in no sense different from the present-day practice in Indian Hindu temples, where offerings of food are made first to the gods, and then consumed by the priests and worshippers as the left-overs from the divine meal, known as the “grace” or “favour” (*prasāda*) of the deities concerned.

(2) *caṅkrama*, meaning “walkway” or “ambulatory”, occurs also in verse 29 (line A58), where it is used to describe Rāma's legendary causeway across the sea to Laṅkā. The word is more conventionally used, in the context of real architectural structures, to describe a covered walkway laid out in a Buddhist monastery where monks can exercise and meditate in seclusion. In this verse (second half of line B5) the term refers to ambulatories or cloisters of that kind within Preah Khan, and it is used in the locative plural (*caṅkrameṣu*), meaning that there were three or more of them. We can identify these with near certainty. The sequence in which the buildings are mentioned in this section of the inscription (verses 34-40) is systematically centrifugal and circular, moving from the centre outwards and clockwise from the east. Thus the central Lokeśa temple is named first (verse 34), then the first enclosure was a whole (35), followed by the east gatehouse in the second enclosure (36), the south, west and north complexes (37 and 38), the rice-house and ambulatories in the third, and the rest-house and hospital beyond them

(39), concluding with the gateways in the outer enclosure walls (40). In terms of this system, the *caṅkramas* must be located clockwise from the rice-house mentioned in the first half of line B5. The building that stands in that location is structure 68, the so-called “hall of dancers”. This modern term derives from the reliefs of dancing yoginīs on the architraves (regarding the iconography of this hall, see Maxwell 2007 [2]: 153-156), it does not describe the function of the building, which is a densely pillared hall whose interior spaces are quite unsuitable for dance performance. The first to identify this building with the walkways of the inscription was Pottier (1993: 32 n.2) followed by Cunin (2004: 359). In my own reading of the architectural remains, the interior of the hall was divided into quadrants by two axial gangways laid out in a cross, each quadrant containing a rectangular sunken court which was open to the sky and surrounded on all four sides by a double row of pillars which formed a covered ambulatory. In other words, this structure was not a dancing hall but a system of four completely sheltered walkways (*caṅkrama*) laid out symmetrically inside a vast walled building for purposes of meditation and physical exercise by the Buddhist monks (and presumably by the Hindu ascetics) of Preah Khan. Similar structures at Angkor formed part of Jayavarman's Ta Prohm and Banteay Kdei complexes.



Preah Khan: South, west and north sides of the southwest *caṅkrama*

(3) *upakāryā*, in epic and classical Indian texts, means a royal tent in an encampment; by extension, it can signify a caravanserai and could therefore also mean a rest-house. The use of the locative singular here (*upakāryāyām*) indicates that there was only one such structure in Preah Khan, and we are told that it contained four deities. If the word does indeed mean rest-house, it would have been built of perishable materials, as such buildings are today, and the deities attached to it would have been installed in an adjacent stone temple or chapel; the same combination – a main complex built chiefly of wood with a permanent shrine made of stone – must also have characterised the hospitals (see below). Specific types of stone building (of laterite or sandstone), found at more or less regular intervals beside the ancient Khmer highways leading from Angkor to the east and the northwest, have long been identified as the chapels of these rest-houses (see Finot 1925, Coedès 1940). They consist of a long, wide vaulted

hall with an entrance at the front and a row of windows along one wall, and sometimes with small ventilation grills above, followed by a windowed chamber at the end having its own entrance in the back wall and surmounted by a temple tower. In Preah Khan, the structure of this type is located beside the east-west axial road in the fourth (outer) enclosure, just before the grand east entrance to the third enclosure inside which the *caṅkramas* and the rice storehouse stand. Elsewhere in this inscription (verses 122, 123, and 125), establishments of this kind along the roads outside of Angkor are referred to as *upakāryāhutabhujāḥ . . . ālayāḥ* (“staging posts with fire” / “gîtes d’étape avec du feu” [Coedès]), or *vahneḥ . . . ālayāḥ* and *vahnigrhāṇi* (both meaning literally “houses of fire”). Another Sanskrit word, *dharmasālā*, was used by Louis Finot in 1925 while interpreting these structures, since he considered the highways to be pilgrimage routes and the buildings beside them religious hostels, and the word has since become current in referring to this part of the Preah Khan complex, but it does not occur in the inscription. In Preah Khan, a royal temple, the inscription calls this structure the *upakāryā*, a word having royal connotations (see above), while buildings of the same type in the provinces are referred to more simply as *vahnigrha*, suggesting that the routes beside which they were built were seen as starting in Angkor and radiating outward. The association of these establishments with Sanskrit words meaning fire (*vahni*, *hutabhu*) has been used to suggest that they were used as halts for the sacred fire (*devāgni*, *vraḥ vleiṇ*) that is shown being carried in procession in the reliefs of Angkor Wat (Jacques 2007: 263; see Maxwell and Poncar 2006: 132-137). The abundance of terms meaning “a house or place for keeping the sacred fire” in Indian Sanskrit texts, such as *agnigrha*, *agnisālā*, *agniyagāra*, *agnyāgāra*, *agnyāyatana*, *agnyālaya* – all literal equivalents of the terms *vahneḥ . . . ālaya* and *vahnigrha* used in the Preah Khan inscription – tends to support this or a similar hypothesis concerning their function. Bhattacharya (1961: 147-148) has identified two other inscriptions from the time of Jayavarman VII in which the terms *vahnnyagāra* and *agnigrha* occur (Prasat Tor K.692 and Phimeanakas K.485, see Coedès 1937: 235, 244 and 1942: 169, 177). Moreover the first half of verse 37 in the Prasat Tor stele inscription makes the function of fire-houses very clear: “The Seven-Flamed (= Agni or Vahni, god of fire), receiving offerings perpetually according to precept in the fire-house (*vahnnyagāra*), rejoices greatly at the *mantras* employed by [the king, Jayavarman VII] and the manifold pure and unprecedented oblations.” A fire-house was a building in which a sacred fire could be lit; into this fire oblations were offered to the accompaniment of *mantras*, a ritual only outwardly similar to the old Vedic rites (some of the items of equipment used had the same names). The *homa* or fire-ritual had been practised also by Buddhists at least since the 10th century in Cambodia (Bhattacharaya 1961: 34), so there is no reason to doubt this interpretation of the function of these buildings under Jayavarman VII on religious grounds. Jacques (*loc. cit.*) denies that the stone structures themselves were used as travellers' halts, and Finot (1925: 421) denied that they were temples in the formal sense. Both of these views are correct. A fire-house was not, or was not only, a *prasat* – with its extra doorway and its emphasis on ventilation, it was clearly designed for additional rituals besides conventional *pūjā*; and it was not a traveller's halt because it was built of stone and the fire to which its designation refers was not for warmth or cooking but for sacrifice. Why then does the inscription also term it *upakāryā*, rest-house or staging post? The answer probably lies in the Angkor Wat relief (see above) showing a small container, shaped like a miniature temple, being carried in procession and described in the accompanying inscription as *vraḥ vleiṇ*, sacred fire. The container is obviously not large enough for a sacrificial fire, and the small amount of fuel it might hold is being consumed as the march proceeds; it must rather contain a flame or ember from a larger fire, which will be used to kindle a second sacrificial fire at the end of the day's march. Each “fire-house”

would thus have provided the fuel and the ritually correct architectural setting for the relighting of the *devāgni* at the end of every stage of a journey, which explains the fairly regular spacing of these structures along the routes. The *agnigṛha* was indeed an *upakāryā*, a staging post, though not designed for travellers, but for the sacred fire whose flame they carried with them. Of course such a fire-house beside the road signified also the nearby presence of a wooden rest-house for travellers, but it is not these structures that have survived, nor is it to them that the inscriptions refer, for they are said to contain deities. The primary ritual function of the fire-houses did not preclude the erection of statues in them. The verse mentions four deities in the staging post, and several stone image pedestals can still be seen in the chamber at the western end of this structure in Preah Khan, beneath the tower. This combination of fire-cult and image-cult in one building was not new in Jayavarman VII's time. It is known from earlier inscriptions, for example the schist slab from Prasat Anloñ Câr (K.950, Coedès 1954: 115-118) in which the *ācārya* Caitanyaśiva and his brother in the 10th century are said to have founded a Viṣṇu temple in which they daily offered a stream of ghee into the Fire (*ghṛtassrotaḥ pratidinaṃ vahnau . . . dadatuḥ*, verse 9); and the 11th century stele from Trapān Dón On (K.254, see Coedès 1951: 183, 187, 188 and Bhattacharya 1961: 147), a Hindu site a few kilometres northwest of Angkor Thom, in which provisions are listed for maintaining the cult of three statues representing Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī together with the Fire: *devatraye savahnau* (verses 13, 14, 19). It was evidently for this kind of mixed cult that Jayavarman's stone fire-houses were designed. The Preah Khan stele gives no information regarding the identities of the four statues in its fire-house. The central figure on the frontons at the eastern and western ends of the structure have been hacked out. Finot (1925: 421-422) observed that the frontons of sandstone fire-houses depicted Lokeśvara, and that this Bodhisattva was among other things the protector of travellers. However, the image of Lokeśvara became such a standard emblem of Jayavarman's constructions that its presence on the frontons cannot support Finot's hypothesis that the fire-houses were *dharmasālās* or rest-houses for pilgrims; nor would it prove that the Bodhisattva was counted as one of the four deities in the *upakāryā* at Preah Khan.

(4) The word *ārogyāyatana*, "health centre," is in the singular, showing that there was a single hospital building at or near the site. The hospital itself was undoubtedly a wooden structure, with a stone temple for the associated deities and the foundation stele. As Coedès (1942: 289 n.8) pointed out, the three deities mentioned in this verse of the Preah Khan inscription almost certainly refer to the Buddhist gods Bhaiṣajyaguru, Sūryavairocana, and Candravairocana (Mahāyāna deities of healing and light), since this trinity is invoked at the opening of all Jayavarman's hospital inscriptions (Finot 1903: 18-33; Barth 1903: 460-466). These refer to the Medicine Buddha (Bhaiṣajyasugata or Bhaiṣajyaguru) as Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharāja (Master-of-Remedies-with-the-Radiance-of-Beryl) and his two assistant deities who are poetically conceived as the sun and moon (Sūrya and Candra) revolving around Meru, the world axis regarded as a mountain in Indian cosmography, to which the Medicine Buddha is indirectly compared. The king, whom the inscriptions metaphorically cast in a medical role (Say-fong hospital inscription, verses 11-14), is credited with the installation of these three images with the hospital laid out around them (Say-fong 16). Bhaiṣajyaguru is said to give peace and health to those who merely hear his name, while both Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana dispel the shadow of illness from mortal creatures (Say-fong 2 and 3). A number of hospital chapels have been identified in Angkor, but a building of this kind that could reasonably be assumed to have served Preah Khan has not been found. In accordance with prevailing convention, it would have been situated outside the outer enclosure; yet in terms of the

centrifugal sequence in which the buildings are listed, the inscription seems to place it (along with the *upakāryā*) inside that enclosure, since the outer gates are mentioned in the following verse (40). This apparent discrepancy between text and reality might suggest that when the inscription was composed a temporary wooden hospital building existed somewhere within the walls of the vast fourth enclosure, but that its final location, along with a permanent stone chapel to house the three deities, had not yet been decided. The general typology of Jayavarman's hospital temples is known (Coedès 1940: 344-347) and Cunin (2004: 347-349) suggests that Prasat Prei, located on a high mound to the north of the main complex, might have served Preah Khan in this capacity, but this remains a hypothesis because it does not fully conform to type, and no hospital stele has been found at the site.

B7

° *dvāreṣu ca catur-dikṣu*
caturviṃśati devatāḥ

B8

ete śatāni catvāri
devās triṃśac ca piṇḍitāḥ

40.

Twenty-four deities in the gateways [located] in the four directions. These put together [with the 283 gods mentioned in verse 35, make a total of] four hundred and thirty gods.

The Sanskrit word *dvāra* (door, entrance) is used here for the cruciform gateway structures erected in the fourth enclosure wall in the four cardinal directions (*caturdikṣu*); the term *gopura*, frequently used in modern times to refer to these buildings, does not occur in the inscriptions. Having commenced this count of the deities in Preah Khan with the Lokeśvara image in the central sanctuary in verse 34, the inscription text has moved gradually outward, and with this last verse of the listing it reaches the outermost enclosure. Like the inner enclosures, this also has four gateways, one in each of the cardinal directions. It is important to realise that a structure which in terms of architectural typology represented a gateway, in fact was usually a shrine, either wholly or in part. The pedestals for the deities installed in many of the entrances can still be seen *in situ*, as can a large number of the doorway inscriptions that identified these statues, and the sacred deposits concealed inside the towers – which prove that these gatehouse buildings were in reality functioning temples – have been discovered. The short inscriptions in the eastern outer gateway, located at the side-entrances to the north and south wings of the structure, are preserved. They list three deities in each wing, giving a total of six. This number multiplied by four would give the total of twenty-four deities (*caturviṃśati devatāḥ*) mentioned in the inscription. Unlike some of the inner gateways, these in the outermost enclosure contained no images in their central compartments, which had to be left clear in order to permit access to the precinct: they functioned as true gateways. The deities installed in the wings of the east gate all represented the divinised forms of human beings, and each group of three appears to have stood for the donor's father, the donor himself, and his mother, in that order. These deities were the following. In the north wing (on the right when entering), stood three statues representing the god Paramahaṅseśvara, the god Haṅseśvara, and the

goddess Hañseśvarī, all three consecrated by a Sañjak named Hañsa Msval (inscription E3); and in the south wing (on one's left when entering), stood images of the god Surendreśvara, the god Surendradeva, and the goddess Surendreśvarī, all consecrated by a venerable Lord named Surendravarman (inscription E4). The only other surviving gateway inscription in the outer enclosure is on the south gate. Located at the entrance to its west wing (on the left when entering), it conforms to the same pattern of father-donor-mother in the form of three deities: the gods Dharādharadeva and Dharādhareśvara, and the goddess Dharādhareśvarī, all three installed by the revered Lord Dharādharavarman (inscription S7). This supplementary evidence from the south gate confirms the count of six deities in each of Preah Khan's four outer gateways, and suggests that the temple complex as a whole was ringed by the divinised spirits of eight noblemen or high officials and their parents. These twenty-four, added to the 283 gods mentioned in verse 35, give the total of 430 (*śatāni catvāri triṃśac ca*) deities (*devās*) said to be present in Preah Khan.

3. DEITIES INSTALLED IN TEMPLES OUTSIDE PREAH KHAN (41–43)



Preah Khan: Foundation stele: Side B, lines 9-12 (verses 41 and 42): the left column, naming Rājyaśrī Island (line B9), the two wells with Yogīndra monastery (10), the temple of the White Sacred Elephant (11) and other towers on the bank of the Jayataṅka (12)

B9

° rājyaśrī-puline liṅga-
sahasreṇa caturdaśa

B10

curi-dvaye sa-yogi^indra-
vihāre ṣoḍaśa^ekaśaḥ

41.

Fourteen [deities] on Rājyaśrī Island with its thousand Liṅgas; [and] sixteen each at the two reservoirs together with the Yogīndra monastery.

It is only reasonable to suppose, with Coedès, that the island called Rājyaśrī (Glory of the Kingdom) is that on which stands the water-encircled temple known today as Neak Pean. The “thousand Liṅgas” (*liṅgasahasra*) mentioned in the inscription as one of its characteristics, clearly refers to the many small cylindrical forms that are crowded together in relief on blocks of sandstone, some of which can still be seen lying on the floor of the moat, on its south side. (This is a further example of the inscription referring to a temple by reference to one of its minor or peripheral features, in this case a Śaiva feature, although the central Buddhist shrine was obviously the dominant structure – cf. verses 36-38 and 42.) Similar configurations are sculpted on the bed of the Siem Reap river on Phnom Kulen and in its tributary stream on the adjacent Phnom Kbal Spean. Not only does the central sanctuary of Neak Pean resemble a circular island rising from the middle of its own small lake, the whole complex is also an island in the middle of the greater lake named Jayataṭāka, which is the *baray* of Preah Khan (verses 168–170, and see also the next stanza, 42). The two temples stand on the same east-west axis, linked by this rectangular body of water, three and a half kilometres long, which stretches from the front of Preah Khan in the west to the back of Ta Som in the east. There is no indication in the inscription as to where the fourteen deities were enshrined on the island. There may have been subsidiary shrines on the edges of the small lake surrounding the central Neak Pean temple before the four stone watering places, which one sees today, were erected. Moreover, the island on which the temple stands – and one has to remember that the inscription applies the name Rājyaśrī to the island (*pulina*) as a whole, not to the Neak Pean temple alone – is a square measuring 350 metres to a side. It had laterite steps rising from the waters of the Jayataṭāka and a wall around the entire perimeter, which enclosed the remains of a number of small ponds outside the well-known sanctuary at its centre. Within this enclosure there was abundant space for numerous water-shrines (*tīrthas* : verse 170, line D53) in addition to the organised complex of four ponds around the main temple, which measured no more than 120 metres at its widest extent. On such a holy islet, where the waters washed away the sins of the devout (verse 170, line D54), there would doubtless have been several minor shrines, now disappeared, each with its own pond and deity.

Here as elsewhere in its listings, the inscription is dealing with a specific category of features centred on Preah Khan, in this case bodies of water and associated structures. After accounting for fourteen deities on the island of Rājyaśrī, the second part of this verse says that there were sixteen at each of two further locations belonging to this category. These are described as a pair of reservoirs or wells (*curi* ; also *curī*, *cūrī*, and *cuṇṭī*, *cuṇṭā*: Monier-Williams 1899: 400), which were attached to a monastery or temple of Yogīndra (Lord of Yogins, the Buddha). This Buddhist monastery or temple (the word *vihāra* had already been used by Jayavarman for the temple of Rājavihāra, now known as Ta Prohm) is mentioned in a compound, *sa-yogīndravihāre*, which is adjectival to the two wells, *curi-dvaye*. These are the two structures of primary interest to the author here, because they continue the theme of water installations, while the *vihāra* which is connected (*sa-*) to them is mentioned secondarily because it leads on to the new theme, which he continues below in verse 42, of stone structures located adjacent to the Jayataṭāka. The focus of his attention has moved from the gatehouses in the outer enclosure of Preah Khan (verse 40) in a straight line to the east, passing over Neak Pean on the island of Rājyaśrī in the first half of the present verse; in the second half, one might reasonably suppose that his mind continues moving in the same direction, in which case the Yogīndravihāra would be Ta Som adjacent to the Jayataṭāka at its eastern end. Inside the outer enclosure of this temple, the east-west axial footway, leading from the main east gatehouse to the second enclosure, is flanked by two rectangular laterite ponds (structures

28 and 29, measuring approximately 22 x 16 metres each) which could very appropriately be described in Sanskrit as a *curi-dvaya*, a matched pair of reservoirs. They are today overgrown with light forest and therefore seldom noticed by visitors, but originally these two artificial ponds (each with its sixteen deities) would have been the first stone structures to attract pilgrims after they had entered the outer enclosure from the east. Since Ta Som is the only temple in the vicinity of Preah Khan to have been designed with this dual-reservoir feature, its identification as the Yogīndravihāra of the inscription seems conclusive.

As mentioned in the analysis of this verse at the top of the preceding paragraph, it is at the Yogīndravihāra that the transition in the focus of the author's attention – from water installations to stone towers – takes place. Having mentioned the two reservoirs with their thirty-two deities, he comes secondarily to the central complex with its sixteen deities, as first of the towered-shrine complexes (the *valabhis* of verse 42) on the bank of the Jayataṭāka. The main image in the central temple of Ta Som / Yogīndravihāra represented the Buddha seated in meditation under the sheltering hood of the serpent. We know this for certain because the statue, facing east, was excavated in August 2001 by the World Monuments Fund from under the floor of the central sanctum, where it had lain buried beneath the pedestal, which is still in place, for a (later) Śivaliṅga. A zodiac circle was inscribed on the back of this Buddha image, but the planetary data which would have given the date of installation were omitted (Maxwell 2002: 14-18). However, the Ta Som central sanctuary also contained the image of a goddess named Indreśvarī, who represented the spirit of a lady called Indralakṣmī; this information is inscribed on the doorframe of the north entrance (as usual there is no sanctum inscription naming the central Buddha, but this image was presumably known by the name in the stele inscription, Yogīndra). The other doorway inscriptions at Ta Som tell us that the four peripheral deities in the gatehouse shrines of the first enclosure were, in the east, Tribhuvanadeva (God of the Triple World, perhaps representing the deceased father of Jayavarman VII, whose statue was also erected in Preah Khan, in four different shrines for regional deities in the Bayon, and again at Banteay Chmar), in the south Vṛddheśvara (The Old God, known in Khmer as Vraḥ Kamraten Añ Ta Acas in inscriptions dating back to the 7th century), in the west Dharmasenāpatīndra (representing the spirit of a Paṇḍit of the same name, who erected images for his parents and spiritual mentor in Banteay Kdei) and in the north Sugatarāja (*Sugata* being a title of the Buddha). The spirit of another man, whose name is now illegible, was represented by a god named Narendradeva, the image of whom was installed in the northern courtyard shrine (the unrestored “north library”). We thus know the names, and a little about the the identities, of six out of the sixteen deities in the Yogīndravihāra, or seven including the Yogīndra Buddha in the central tower. Along with the thirty-two at its two eastern ponds, Ta Som as a whole would have contained forty-eight deities.

B11

° *gaura-śrī-gaja-ratnasya*
caitye ca valabhīṣu ca

B12

tīre jayataṭākasya
viṃśatir dve ca devatāḥ

42.

And twenty-two deities in the shrine-room (*caitya*) of the jewel[-house] of the white sacred elephant and in the towers (*valabhis*) on the bank of the Jayataṭāka.

The inscription now continues to give the number of deities installed in other temples located around Preah Khan. Apart from Yogīndravihāra (verse 41), only one of these is given a name (*Gauraśrīgaja*), the others being merely referred to by their location around the Jayataṭāka. The temple of the white sacred elephant is not termed a *valabhiprāsāda* or a *śilāgrha* – architectural terms that we are to encounter later on in the inscription (see verses 103 and 153) – but a *ratna*. This word means “jewel,” and I assume that it occurs here as an abbreviation for *ratnagrha*, “jewel-house,” which was a standard Indian Sanskrit term, from at least the early fifth century onwards, for a temple housing Buddhist images or symbols, referred to as *ratnas* (Chhabra and Gai 1981: 66, 250, 251 n.7, 252; on other abbreviations of this kind in Cambodian inscriptions, see Bhattacharya 1991: 20-21). The equivalent expression in Old Khmer, *grha ratna*, was used in the long doorway inscription at another of Jayavarman's Buddhist temples, Banteay Chmar, to denote its sanctuary (K.227, line 1, *ta vraḥ grha ratna ti kantāl*, see Coedès 1929: 309-315). The second term for an architectural structure in line B11, *caitya*, is also Buddhist and refers to a sacred object, such as a *stūpa*, or the space in which it is enshrined. The word *caitya* is in the locative, and *ratna* in the genitive case, so the expression *ratnasya caitye* in this line means “in the Buddhist shrine of the Buddhist temple”. The question is, which temple, and which shrine of that temple, is meant? The inscription refers to it in terms that must have had very specific meaning at the time, but which are difficult to understand today: the shrine was at the temple of the *gaura-śrī-gaja*. There has been some recent confusion over the reading of this term. Certain authors transcribe it as “gaurī-śrī-gaja” (or “gaurī-śrī-gaja”), a reading that is definitely wrong. On the stele itself, the word *gaura-śrī-gaja* is perfectly clear. This means literally “white sacred elephant”, as in the translation given above.



Preah Khan: Foundation inscription, line B11-1: Gaura-Śrī-Gaja, the White Sacred Elephant

In a Hindu context, a white elephant is one of the possessions of an emperor and symbolic of the elephant Airāvata of Indra, king of the Vedic gods (see Ta Prohm stele inscription, verse 21, where the term is *sita-dvirada*, “white two-tusker”, without the prefixed honorific *Śrī* as here in the otherwise synonymous *gaura-śrī-gaja*). In a Buddhist context, the concept of a white *sacred* elephant refers to the dream of Māyā, mother of the Buddha Śākyamuni, at the moment when she conceived: she saw a white elephant (symbol of the Bodhisattva) descending and entering her womb (Rockhill 1884: 15; Waldschmidt 1929: 33 f; Foucher 1949: 35 ff). The scene is famous, being frequently depicted in early Indian reliefs and subsequently in Buddhist art generally. Close by Preah Khan, the inscription says, there was a Buddhist shrine or *caitya*, in a temple of this sacred elephant, which contained an unspecified number

of deities out of the total of twenty-two present in the vicinity of the Jayataṭāka. In trying to identify which temple is meant by this, we find only the most slender evidence, but evidence nonetheless. After examining the reliefs that still remain on the prasats near the former lake, I was able to find only one iconographic correspondence. This is a small relief, 12 cm. high, outside the west entrance of the single (east) gatehouse of Prasat Krol Ko, at the centre of the north bank. On the south side of this doorway stands a carved pilaster with relief work, supported by a lion, representing a vertical spiral of foliate tendrils that enframe seven deities, each shown against the background of a lotus blossom. This is a common motif among the reliefs on Jayavarman's temples, but the deities represented in it are variable and often difficult to identify. At Krol Ko, the sixth frame from the base, above single images of Lokeśvara and Dharaṇī, depicts two figures: a standing female, her hands joined in the *namaskāramudrā*, and to her left, advancing towards her in the air, an elephant. This extraordinary scene can scarcely



Krol Ko: East gatehouse: Māyā and the white sacred elephant

represent anything other than Māyā worshipfully greeting her vision of the white elephant representing the future Buddha seeking birth in this world. Of course one small relief among several does not prove conclusively that Krol Ko was the white elephant temple of the inscription, but it does show that this scene was relevant to that temple, and to that temple alone, for it does not appear on any other prasat near the lake. Moreover, we have already seen how the stele inscription tends to refer to shrines by certain of their peripheral features, rather than by the principal deity (see verses 36–38, on the shrine complexes of Preah Khan's second enclosure, and commentary). Unfortunately the short inscription on the north jamb of the shrine doorframe inside this gatehouse at Krol Ko, which would have named the deity erected there, is eroded and completely illegible.

The remainder of the twenty-two deities (*devatāḥ*) mentioned in the second half of this verse (line B12) are said to have been installed in other “towered shrines on the bank of the Jayataṭāka”. The abbreviation used here for towered shrines (*valabhi*, standing for *valabhiprāsāda*) is in the locative plural form (*valabhīṣu*), which in Sanskrit indicates that three or more temples are meant. In addition to the central sanctuary of Krol Ko, the other temples of Jayavarman which stand close to the lake are, from west to east, Prasat Prei and Banteay Prei (neither of which have inscriptions) by the north-west corner, and Ta Som (already dealt with as Yogīndravihāra, verse 41) standing about midway down the eastern end of the lake. The first three of these structures are probably the further lakeside towered shrines referred to. Somewhat further removed, and probably to be excluded from the category of lakeside towered shrines, are Prasat Phtu to the northwest of the lake and Ta Nei (in which the surviving shrine inscriptions name seventeen deities, see Maxwell 2007 (1): 124-125, 132) to the south, across the Siem Reap river. The information gleaned from Ta Som and Krol Ko suggests that the same mixture of cults was practised in the lakeside temples as in Preah Khan itself – cults centering on the Buddha in various manifestations (including the Nāga-Buddha, Lokeśvara, and the Gauraśrīgaja), Hindu deities such as Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (prominently depicted as Govardhanadhara on a major fronton at Krol Ko), and personal deities of the Khmer élite.

B13

° *ekaś ca viśvakarmma^ākhyā*

āyasthāna-gr̥he suraḥ

B14

sarvve pañca śatāny ete

daśa pañca ca piṇḍitāḥ

43.

And one god, called Viśvakarman, in the revenue building.

All these together make five hundred and fifteen [deities].

The word *āya* means revenue, and *āyasthānagr̥ha* means the revenue-office building. The chief function of this office would have been to control the temple provisions – chiefly in the form of agricultural and dairy products such as rice, sesame seeds, milk and so forth – brought in from the lands attached to Preah Khan. This is confirmed by the fact that the long list of provisions consumed by the temple begins in the next verse. The revenue office itself must have been the source of these precise and detailed statistics (verses 44-60). The location of this building is not given in the inscription, but being the last structure listed it would have been sited at considerable distance, outside the orbit of the main Preah Khan temple and the peripheral shrines around the lake, at the boundary between the ritual complex and the countryside. At this building, says the inscription, there was only one god (*ekaś ca . . . suraḥ*), called Viśvakarman. The name means “he who performs all work” and refers to an Indian deity who is the god of artisans and of all manual and artistic activity, including architecture, often identified or compared with Brahmā as the organising creator of the universe. In this sense he may have been seen as the appropriate presiding deity for the interface between the officials of the temple administration and the people who worked on the land and in the villages to support it. An esoteric understanding of the word *āya* in this verse has also been proposed (Filliozat 1981: 96-97). According to this interpretation, which is based on references in two Indian Sanskrit texts (*Ajitāgama* and *Mayamata*), the terms *āya* and *vyaya* (“profit and loss”) can describe certain divination formulae that were used to calculate the positive and negative effects on the builder of the proportions used in constructing a house. Similar explications involving orientation, proportion and many other factors, often with the use of mandalas, are still undertaken in Cambodia today for interpreting personal destiny and architecture. Taking into account the public religious, administrative and practical functions of the other structures listed in the Preah Khan inscription, however, it seems on the face of it improbable that this sort of esoteric activity would have been accorded a special stone building as part of the official temple complex. The addition of Viśvakarman as god of the *āyasthāna* brings the number of deities in the buildings around Preah Khan to eighty-five, and the total number in the entire complex to 515 (the 430 deities of the temple itself, mentioned in verse 40, plus the 85 said to be installed in adjacent structures).

4. PROVISIONS FOR DAILY WORSHIP IN THE TEMPLE (44–53)

B15

° lokesvara^ādi-devānām

pūjā^aṅgāni dine dine

B16

droṇa[^]arddhan tandulāḥ pākyāḥ
khārikāḥ pañca-saptatiḥ

44.

The daily amounts for the worship of the gods, starting with Lokeśvara, [are the following:]

Rice – 75 *khārikā* [and] one half-*droṇa*;

The provisions listed here are the foodstuffs required for people living in and immediately around the temple, as well as for pilgrims visiting the holy site. Although intended for human consumption, this food is regarded as an offering or sacrifice to the gods (see the commentary on verse 39: the note on *vṛihgrha*). After the opening half-verse (line B15), the remainder of this section of the inscription (verses 44–53) was written as a continuous list.

The names of most of the weights and measures used in this inscription are known from India. However, exactly how these Sanskrit units were applied in ancient Cambodia is not clear. Nor is there any certainty about the imperial or metric equivalents of these units. Moreover, the values of these ancient weights and measures often vary in India itself. In view of the lack of standardisation and the untranslatability of these terms, they have to be left in the original language. The quantities concerned can be converted to metric values based on researches conducted by Dr. P. Cordier, who made reference to Sanskrit texts, and some of whose work was appended to Coedès' edition of the Ta Prohm inscription (Cordier 1906: 82-85). It must be emphasised, however, that these equivalents are not certain and that we therefore do not know the precise amounts involved. That the quantities of food involved were truly huge need not be doubted. We have only to recall that at the Venkateśvara temple at Thirupati in South India 70,000 sweetmeats are said to be prepared daily by thirty cooks using three tonnes of urad dhāl (a pulse like mung or moong, see verse 45), six tonnes of sugar, and 2.5 tonnes of ghee (*ghṛta*, see verse 46), while 400 kilos of rice-dishes are cooked in the main kitchen – or that at the Jagannātha temple in Puri, Orissa, one thousand cooks are reported to work daily at 750 hearths to prepare one hundred different dishes for the gods who are fed five times a day – to realise the scale and importance of cooking in the great traditional temples. The breakdown of the measures used in the Preah Khan and Ta Prohm inscriptions is the following.

Measures of grain

1 *khārikā* = 4 *droṇa* = 95 kg, 539 gr.

1 *droṇa* = 16 *prastha* = 23 kg, 884 gr.

1 *prastha* = 4 *kuḍuva* = 1 kg, 422 gr.

Measures of liquid

1 *ghaṭikā* = 16 *prastha*

1 *prastha* = 4 *kuḍuva*.

(Cordier wrote that none of the metric equivalents that he found for these liquid measures would be anything but absurd if applied to the temple provisions listed in this inscription.)

Measures of weight

1 *bhāra* = 20 *tulā* = 186 kg, 600 gr.

1 *tulā* = 100 *pala* = 9 kg, 330 gr.

1 *kaṭṭikā* (or *kaṭṭi*) = 5 *paṇa* = (metric equivalent unknown).

1 *paṇa* (or *pāṇa*) = 5 *guṇja* = 728 mgr.

1 *māṣa* = 2 *paṇa* = 10 *guṇja* = 457 mgr.

B17

° *khārikā* [^]*ekā tilāḥ pañca*

prasthā dvau kuduṅvāv api

B18

mudgā droṇa-dvayaṃ prasthāś

catvāraḥ kuduva-dvayaṃ

45.

sesame seeds – one *khārikā*, five *prasthas*, and two *kuduvās*;

mung beans – two *droṇas*, four *prasthas*, and two *kuduvās*;

The list of foodstuffs required by the temple begins in this verse with grains and pulses, continuing below with liquids. The translation of *tila* as sesame seeds, and of *mudgā* as the pulse known as mung (moong) or green gram, would apply if this were an Indian inscription. The sesame seeds, apart from their ritual use as one of the nine sacred grains (*navadhanya*), were used there in cooking to flavour rice, vegetables or milk, roasted and pounded to form the basis for fried *parpata* (*pāpaḍ*), mixed with sugar-cane syrup to make sweets, and crushed to yield oil (see verse 48, line B23). Mung was boiled to produce a soup or a porridge-like accompaniment for rice, and could also be ground and fried, boiled and crushed, heated and puffed; it is known to be one of the three very ancient pulses of Indian culture (along with *māṣa* and *masūra*), and unlike *masūra* lentils it was not forbidden as a divine offering. But we do not know whether these seeds and pulses were in fact grown in ancient Cambodia. It may be that indigenous crops and spices were used, to which classical Sanskrit names were assigned, although the local varieties were in reality different. This kind of “indigenisation” of Sanskrit concepts in other countries to which Sanskritic culture extended, is a known historical phenomenon, and applies also to other categories besides food. The adaptation process is clearly indicated, for example, in the descriptions of landscape in the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which contain the names of local (Javanese) trees, replacing those named in the poetry of Indian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Khmers adhered far more closely than the Javanese to Sanskrit terminology, but whether these terms always applied to exactly the same material objects as in India is sometimes doubtful. In Khmer usage, the original Indian Sanskrit word *kuḍuva* became *kuduva*.

B19

° *ghṛtasya tv eka-ghṛtikā*
tathā prasthās trayodaśa

B20

dadhnaś caturdaśa prasthā
ghṛtikā kuduva-dvayam

46.

ghee – one *ghṛtikā*, thirteen *prasthas*;

curd – one *ghṛtikā*, fourteen *prasthas*, and two *kuduvās*;

The word *dadhnaḥ* (occurring in line B20 as *dadhnaś*) is the genitive form of *dadhi*, whence the modern Hindi term *dahi*. It means curdled milk or yoghurt, which is very widely used in Indian cooking and as a dish on its own. In India, curd and ghee (Sanskrit *ghṛta*, usually translated as “clarified butter”) are regarded as foods essential for good health.

B21

° *kṣīrasya triṁśad ekonā*
prasthā dvau kuduvāv api

B22

madhv ekaviṁśatiḥ prasthā
guḍas tv ekonaviṁśatiḥ

47.

milk – twenty-nine *prasthas* and two *kuduvās*;

honey – twenty-one *prasthas*;

molasses – nineteen (*prasthas*);

The word *guḍa* (“molasses” in the translation) refers in Sanskrit, as in modern Hindi, to the thick coagulated brown treacle, taking the form of soft sticky sugar when it cools, which results from boiling sugar-cane juice.

B23

° *ṣaṭ prasthās sa-tri-kuduvās*
tailan taru-phalasya tu

B24

snehaṃ prasthau dvi-kuduvau
snāna[^]upakaraṇais saha

48.

sesame oil – six *prasthas* and three *kuduvās*;

ointment from the fruits of trees – two *prasthas* and two *kuduvās*, together with toilet requisites.

The word *taila* means “derived from sesame [seeds],” and hence literally means “sesame oil,” but in general use it can refer to all vegetable oils. Sesame oil and mustard oil were and are widely used for frying in India. In the same class, but of a different category, is the next substance, *sneha*, which here means grease or ointment for applying to the body; it is required, says the verse, along with the articles needed for bathing (*snānopakarāṇais saha*, referring to such items as skin-scapers and combs, perhaps), which were to be delivered simultaneously. Identifying this substance is problematic because the precise meaning of the term *taruphala*, from which the ointment is said to be derived, has not yet been clarified. The term as it stands means simply “the fruit (*phala*) of trees (*taru*)”, but evidently it was understood to refer to the fruit of a specific tree which yielded a cleansing agent. Many Khmer inscriptions refer to images of gods being bathed, and it is still normal practice in many parts of South and South East Asia to provide the deities with oils, combs, mirrors, or miniature boxes containing sets of toilet articles.

B25

° *pūjā^upakarāṇy atra*

phala-śāka-mukhāni tu

B26

na^uktāny ati-prasiddhatvād

vijñeyāni yathā^ucitam

49.

Articles used for ritual worship – fruit, vegetables and so forth – are not mentioned here because they are so well known; they are to be understood in the usual sense.

This verse appears to mean that items used for worship (*pūjā*) such as fruit and vegetables, which were spontaneously brought into the temple by worshippers and placed as offerings before the gods' altars, are not quantified in the list given above (verses 44 – 48) because they did not constitute officially regulated supplies, the amount in each offering being a matter of convention or personal judgment. The mention of this distinction is interesting as an indication of the meticulousness with which the lists were drawn up.

B27

° *deva^arha-vasana-śveta-*

rakta-kamvala-śāṭikāḥ

B28

śayyā^āsana^ādibhiḥ pañca-

catvāriṃśac chatāni ṣaṭ

50.

Six hundred and forty-five [sets of] lower and upper garments, white and red in colour, suitable for the gods, together with (cloth coverings) for their couches, thrones, and so forth.

The images of the gods in the shrines of Preah Khan were clothed in red-and-white garments, each image being provided with a lower garment and a covering for the torso, in these colours. Their pedestals, whether regarded as a throne (see verse 167 and commentary) or, in the case of images represented lying down, a couch, were also covered with cloth. The list of supplies given in the inscription of the Ta Prohm temple (verse 43), which contained 520 deities (verse 37), indicates that the images there were similarly dressed, and that a similar quantity of cloths was required: “Six hundred and forty pairs of cloths for the clothing of the gods (*devavastra*) etc., and additionally two half-pairs.” How the 645 cloths were distributed among the 515 deities in the Preah Khan complex (verse 43), or 640 among 520 at Ta Prohm, is indicated by the word *śayyāsanādibhiḥ* – evidently the extra 120 cloths at Ta Prohm, and the 130 extra at Preah Khan, were for covering the pedestals of a select number of deities, as appears to have been the case also with the silk mosquito-nets in verse 51. The custom of ritually dressing images of deities still obtains in India and in the Buddhist and Hindu parts of South East Asia, even though the statues themselves are sculpted as clothed figures.

B29

° *lokeśa^ādy-aṅghri-vinyāsa-*
maśaka^artha-prasāritāḥ

B30

ṣaḍ-uttarā ca pañcāśac
cīnā^amśuka-mayāḥ patāḥ

51.

Fifty-six cloths made of Chinese silk spread out against mosquitos, to cover the feet of Lokeśa and other [deities].

In extension of the concept of clothing the images as if they were human beings, silk mosquito-nets were spread out to cover their feet, since the lower garment left them exposed. However, the total of only 56 such silk cloths indicates that, compared with the amount of clothing required (verse 50), only a relatively small number of images were provided with this luxury, suggesting the existence of an élite within the pantheon.

B31

° *sattrāny-adhyāpaka^adhyeṭṭ-*
vāsinān tandulāḥ punaḥ

B32

dronau dvāviṃśatiḥ khāryo
'nvahaṃ prasthāś caturdaśa

52.

Free meals for persons dwelling with the religious teachers and their students [in the form of] rice – twenty-two *kharīs*, two *droṇas*, and fourteen *prasthas*;

The people living with the teachers (*adhyāpaka*) and students (*adhyetr*) in the temple were presumably assistants or servants. The fact that the rice given to them is not categorised along with that offered to the gods in verse 44, but placed here at the very end of the list, supports this supposition. The translation of *sattrāni* as “free meals” is rather loose, but since it was rice that was given to these people, this seems to be its intended meaning. The word *sattra*, as Coedès remarked, really signifies a Vedic sacrifice, but it can also mean good works which merit the same reward as a sacrifice, and hence generosity or liberality in general. The rice quantified in this verse was therefore a limited payment in kind for low-grade (or at any rate non-religious) personnel servicing the educational side of the temple's activities, which would chiefly have been concerned with religious matters.

B33

° *eka^ekasmin dine deva-*
pūjā^aṅgais tandulair ime

B34

ṣaṭ prasthās sapta-navatiḥ
khāryo droṇa-trayan tathā

53.

this [weight of rice], along with the provisions for worship of the gods, on a daily basis [amounts to] ninety-seven *kharīs*, three *droṇas*, and six *prasthas*.

It is the total daily amount of rice (*tandula*, usually written *taṇḍula*) required for the whole temple that is being given here. At the beginning of this list of provisions, in verse 44 (line B16), the amount of rice needed for the worship of the gods was stated to be 75 *khārikās* and one-half *droṇa*; adding to that the 22 *kharīs*, 2 *droṇas*, and 14 *prasthas* for paying the subordinates in the educational establishment, the total daily rice requirement for the temple is the amount given in this verse. In checking the calculation, one has to remember that there are 16 *prasthas* in one *droṇa*, and 4 *droṇas* in one *khārikā* or *kharī* (see the commentary on verse 44).

5. PROVISIONS FOR HOLY DAYS (54–60)

B35

° *caturdaśī-pañcadaśī-*
pañcamī-dvādaśīṣv api

B36

aṣṭamyām pakṣayos sārddham
saṅkrānta[^]aṣṭadaśa[^]utsavaiḥ

54.

On the fifth, eighth, twelfth, fourteenth, and fifteenth nights of each half-month, at the new year festival, and on eighteen [other] festival days . . . [continued in next verse]

In the text of the inscription, the holy days of each fortnight are numbered in a different sequence (14th, 15th, 5th, 12th, and 8th) from that given in the translation, in order to fit the words into the metre of the verse. This does not affect the meaning.

B37

° khāryaḥ pañca sahasrāś ca
sa[^]aṣṭāśīti śata-trayaḥ

B38

varṣe varṣe daśa prasthā
viśiṣṭāḥ pākya-tandulāḥ

55.

. . . every year, best-quality rice for cooking [in the amount of] five thousand, three hundred and eighty-six *khārīs* and 10 *prasthas*;

This is the additional quantity of rice (over and above the daily amount given in verse 53) that was required on each of the holy days celebrated in Preah Khan.

B39

° catussaptati-khārikās
tri-droṇāḥ kuduvas tilāḥ

B40

mudgās trayodaśa-prasthais
tri-droṇaiś ca tato 'dhikāḥ

56.

sesame seeds – seventy-four *khārikās*, three *droṇas*, and two *kuduvas*;
mung beans – thirteen *prasthas* and three *droṇas* more than that [that is, seventy-five *khārikās*, two *droṇas*, thirteen *prasthas*, and two *kuduvas*];

B41

° *nava-prastha* ^ *adhikā pañca-*
saptatir ghaṭikā gḥṛtam

B42

dadhy aṣṭāṣaṣṭi-ghaṭikā
āḍhakaṃ kuduva-dvayam

57.

ghee – seventy-five *ghaṭikās* and nine *prasthas*;
curd – sixty-eight *ghaṭikās*, one *āḍhaka*, and two *kudavas*;

B43

° *sapta-prasthā dvi-kuduvau*
ghaṭikā navasaptatiḥ

B44

kṣīraṃ madhu punaḥ prastho
ghaṭikāḥ pañcasaptatiḥ

58.

milk – seventy-nine *ghaṭikās*, seven *prasthas*, and two *kudavas*;
honey – seventy-five *ghaṭikās* and one *prastha*;

B45

° *catuḥ-prasthā dvi-kuduvau*
ṣaṣṭis ca ghaṭikā guḍaḥ

B46

ghaṭikās tu tri-pañcāśat
tailaṃ prasthās tathā daśa

59.

molasses – sixty *ghaṭikās*, four *prasthas*, and two *kudavas*;
sesame oil – fifty-three *ghaṭikās* and ten *prasthas*;

B47

° *mahī-ruha-phalānān tu*
snāna ^ *upakaraṇa-kṣamaḥ*

B48

snehaḥ prasthās ca catvāraḥ
ghaṭikās ca trayodaśa

60.

ointment from the fruits of trees, suitable for use in bathing – thirteen *ghaṭikās* and four *prasthas*.

Compare verse 48. Note that the ten vegetarian items required for the continuous worship of the gods every day (verses 44-48) were exactly the same as those required on holy days (verses 54-60), when the quantities were increased, and that the increase was the same on the five fortnightly holy days and on the eighteen annual festival days.

6. PROVISIONS FROM ATTACHED VILLAGES (61–77)

B49

° *eka^eka-vatsare deva-*
pūjā^aṅgaṃ piṇḍitaṃ punaḥ

B50

sañcayāya dvi-guṇitaṃ
grāma^argha-ākara-sambhavam

61.

Now every year, the total of the provisions used for worshipping the gods has, in order to make up its full quantity, two sources, [one of which consists of] the accumulated amounts from the villages [which are to be the following:]

The meaning of this verse is not entirely clear. The term *sañcayāya* is the dative singular of the word *sañcaya* or *saṃcaya*, which means “accumulation” or “quantity”: in the dative form, as here, it has the sense of “in order to have more”. The most obvious meaning of this passage is therefore that the annual total (*piṇḍitaṃ*) of the ritual provisions is to be doubled (*dvi-guṇitaṃ*), in order to provide more. This however makes little sense, as noted by Coedès, who preferred to understand *dvi-guṇitaṃ* with *-sambhavam*, giving the meaning “double source” with respect to the temple provisions, which indeed come from (a) the attached villages and (b) from the royal storehouses, as the ensuing inscription text shows (from verses 62 onward and from 78 onward, respectively). The term *sañcayāya* would then be independent of *dvi-guṇitaṃ* and could mean something like “in respect of quantities”. It is clear from the structure of the text that Coedès is right, and I have translated in accordance with his interpretation. I find the composition of *grāma^arghā-kara-sambhavam* problematic because of the long *ā* between *argha* and *kara*, which is very clearly marked (see the rubbing of side B in *BEFEO* 41: Pl. 39). The two words separately present no difficulty, *argha* meaning “price” or “value”, and *kara* meaning “tax” or “revenue”, but a feminine form of the first (*arghā*) is not attested. A long *ā* would result if the second word were not *kara* but *a-kara*, which is well attested in Indian inscriptions in compounds such as *a-kara-da* and *a-kara-dāyin*, meaning “not paying tax”, “exempt from tax” (Jha 1967: 46-48), but that is a different construction. The alternative possibility is that the third element of the compound is not *kara* but *ākara*, meaning “accumulation”, “plenty” (and hence also “mine”, another term often occurring in Indian inscriptions dealing with taxation). Coedès translated *arghākara* as “prestations”.

B51

° *vṛihīṇān niyutañ ca^ekaṃ*

khāryo 'yuta-catuṣṭayam

B52

ṣaṭ sahasrāṇy aṣṭaśatāny

ekānavatir eva ca

62.

New rice – one hundred and forty-six thousand, eight hundred and ninety-one *khārīs*;

The term *vṛihī* means paddy, the rice as harvested from the fields.

B53

° *khāryas sapta sahasrāṇi*

śatāny aṣṭau ca tandulāḥ

B54

catvāriṃśat tathā^aṣṭau ca

śrāddha-māgha^āpaṇa^ādiṣu

63.

rice [to be supplied] on *śrāddha* [-days], on the Māgha market[-days] etc. – seven thousand, eight hundred and forty-eight *khārīs*;

Śrāddha-days are auspicious days on which deceased relatives and distant ancestors are honoured; part of the rite consists of offering rice-balls called *piṇḍas* into a fire to sustain the dead in the afterlife. The structures in which these rituals were performed would have been the *yāga[-śālās]* on the lakeside mentioned in verse 121. The month of Māgha corresponds to January-February; the market held at that time is mentioned again in verse 130.

B55

° *khāryas śatāni catvāri*

trayastrimśat tilās tathā

B56

tan-nyūnā daśa-khārībhir

mudgā droṇena piṇḍitāḥ

64.

sesame seeds – four hundred and thirty-three *khārīs*;
mung beans – ten *khārīs* and one *droṇa* less than that [that is, four hundred and twenty-two *khārīs* and three *droṇas*];

B57

° *śatāni pañca ghaṭikās*
catvāriṃśac ca pañca ca

B58

prasthās sapta ghṛtaṃ sārddhā
dadhi sapta śatāni tu

65.

ghee – five hundred and forty-five *ghaṭikās* and seven and one-half *prasthas*;
curd – seven hundred and . . . [continued in next verse]

B59

° *ghaṭyo 'ṣṭāsaptatiḥ prasthāḥ*
punar daśa payāṃsi tu

B60

ṣaṭ chatāni navatrimśat
saṅkhyās ṣaṭ-prastha-samyutāḥ

66.

. . . seventy-eight *ghaṭīs* and ten *prasthas*;
milk – six hundred and thirty-nine [*ghaṭīs*] in number, and six *prasthas*;

B61

° *śatāni catvāri catuḥ-*
pañcāśad ghaṭikā madhu

B62

pañca prasthās tato nyūno
ghaṭibhis tiṣṭbhir guḍaḥ

67.

honey – four hundred and fifty-four *ghaṭikās* and five *prasthas*;
molasses – three *ghaṭīs* less than that [that is, four hundred and fifty-one *ghaṭikās* and five *prasthas*];

B63

° *tailam prastha-trayaṃ pañca-*
daśa ghaṭyaś śata-trayam

B64

aṣṭa-prasthās taru-sneho
ghaṭyo navadaśam śatam

sesame oil – three hundred and fifteen *ghaṭīs* and three *prasthas*;
oil from trees – one hundred and nineteen *ghaṭīs* and eight *prasthas*;

B65

° *ayute dve sahasre ca*
deva-vastra^ādi-vāsasām

B66

ṣaṭ chatāni tathā^aśītir
yugāni dve yuge api

69.

cloths for clothing the gods etc. – twenty-two thousand, six hundred and eighty-two pairs;

Coedès gives the reading *yugāni* in line B66; it has the same meaning as *yugmāni* (“pairs”).

B67

° *ekā tulā taruṣkasya*
navatīr dvau tathā pañāḥ

B68

śrī-vāsasya^eka-bhāro dve
tule ca daśa kaṭṭikāḥ

70.

storax resin – one *tulā* and ninety-two *paṇas*;
pine resin – one *bhāra*, two *tulās*, and ten *kaṭṭikās*;

Of these two fragrant resins, storax or styrax (*taruṣka*) is from the tree *Liquidambar orientalis*. The terms may refer to balsams or ointments perfumed with these substances, or to the resins themselves, which were burnt in small quantities along with other fragrant products such as chips of eagle-wood (see verse 71) to produce a pervading perfume.

B69

° *kṛṣṇa^eka-bhāras tri-tulās*
trayodaśa ca kaṭṭikāḥ

B70

śata-bhārās tule siktham
sārdha^ekādaśa kaṭṭikāḥ

71.

black-veined eagle-wood – one *bhāra*, three *tulās*, and thirteen *kaṭṭikās*;
 beeswax – one hundred *bhāras*, two *tulās*, and eleven and one-half *kaṭṭikās*;

The word *kṛṣṇa* in this verse (and again in verses 88, 136, and 165) refers to a wood known in English as eagle-wood, agal-wood, agila-wood, agalloch, agallochum, agalocus, and aloes-wood; in French it was called bois d'aigle or calambour, and in Portuguese pao d'aguila. It is named *aguru* and *agaru* in Sanskrit, also *garu* or *kalēmbak* in Old-Javanese texts (perhaps corrupted to aguila, agal, eagle, etc.) and Fragrant Aloe in English, its Latin classification being *Aquilaria agallocha*. But in Indochina several different kinds of this wood were recognised, and there existed special terms to describe various parts of a particular specimen; among the Chams eagle-wood had great cult significance and the regular searches for it in the forest were conducted in a ritualised manner. The resinous heart-wood is said in some descriptions to have a bluish-purple colour, which might account for its being termed *kṛṣṇa* (meaning dark-blue or black in Sanskrit) in this verse; however, Cabaton (see below) refers to a black-veined type of eagle-wood known as *kè nam* in Vietnam and as *kṛṣṇa* (*krēsna*) in Khmer terminology, which is the more likely meaning of the word in the Preah Khan inscription. It has a fragrance that has made it much sought-after since ancient times; it was used in ancient Campā, and in Java, being mentioned in the tenth-century Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, for example in the passage *agaru gugula dhūpa satata kumukus* (“eagle-wood and aromatic resin as perfumes were smoking constantly”, O.J. *Rāmāyaṇa* 24.29; for this and other literary references see Zoetmulder 1982: 24, under *agaru*). Writing on the religious customs of the Cham of Binh Thuan (the region of ancient Pāṇḍuraṅga in Vietnam) in the late nineteenth century, Etienne Aymonier (1891) described the wood and the ritual “hunt” for it. “This precious species, perfumed, brown or black in appearance, which the Cham call *gahlao*, serves . . . for a host of religious or superstitious ceremonies. It served for the offerings made by their kings, and is now used in ceremonies performed by the King of Annam” [49]. “The *gahlao*, eaglewood, is a parasitic outgrowth or a pathology that grows in bumps and veins and under the bark of a large tree with a soft pit, called *goul*, which grows only on mountains. The tree is common, but the precious outgrowths are scarce. As soon as a trained eye suspects the presence of eaglewood, the tree is lightly nicked at the base, and traces and veins, which run under the bark, indicate the searched-for commodity. Certain indications thus having confirmed expectations, the deities are immediately venerated and thanked at the base of the tree” [50]. Much of the eagle-wood collected by the Chams of Binh Thuan in Aymonier's time was presented as tribute to the Annamese Prefect of Panrang; but it was also used among the Cham themselves, in their agricultural and ancestor rites, to perfume water used for ritual purposes, and burned as incense, as Aymonier's following three observations show: “During several [ceremonial] events, grains of roasted or crushed rice are sown, but the use of three holy waters is more general: the water from eaglewood,

obtained by rasping this precious wood in water; the juice of a lime, made by cutting and soaking slices in water; and the water of potash from earth collected in the country” [39-40]. “The ancestors, at the *kut*, are also occasionally adored to obtain a special favour or fulfill a vow made during an illness, for example . . . In addition to these foodstuffs displayed before the stones, are placed: a bowl of water in which are soaked a few flowers attached to the leaves of *ralang* herbs (the Sanskrit *kusha*), and a brazier containing a few glowing pieces of coal in which snippets of eaglewood and a wooden platter bearing flasks of liquor and two lit candles are thrown” [45]. “Having eaten the rice of the first fruits, the owner takes the three stalks cut in the middle of the field, passes them over smoking eaglewood, and hangs them in his house while awaiting the next sowing. They will be the seeds for the three ceremonial furrows. All these ceremonies completed, the master occupies himself with harvesting this field and then the others” [48]. (These extracts are quoted from an English translation by Tips [2001]; the bracketed references are to page numbers in this edition.) A decade after Aymonier, Antoine Cabaton spent several months in Binh Thuan to study the Chams and published further detailed information on the uses of eagle-wood, the hereditary skills needed to find it in dense mountain forest, the organisation of the Cham “hunt” for it, and the rituals and prayers employed on these occasions (Cabaton 1901: 11-12, 49-54, 179-181 and 209-210). – In Preah Khan and other ancient Khmer temples, eagle-wood was in all probability used for the same traditional purposes as those which Aymonier and Cabaton recorded in Vietnam: to burn as perfume or incense (as also in ancient Java), to perfume lustral water (known in Cham as *iea galao*) for sprinkling with an aspergill when making offerings to the gods, and to drink for medicinal purposes.

The large quantity of beeswax (*siktha* or *śiktha*, also sometimes called *madhuja*) required for the Preah Khan temple – one hundred times the amount of eagle-wood and fragrant resins mentioned previously – suggests that it may have been used as the medium when making unguents or ointments (*sneha* in verses 48 and 60) in which the resins were contained. It might also have been used for making lamps (*dīpa*) for lighting the extensive interiors of the temple. Wax was also used for bronze casting and by goldsmiths as an underlay when producing hammered repoussé work, but it is not known to what extent the towns surrounding temples such as Preah Khan included their own metal workshops.

B71

° *chāgāś śatāni catvāri*
viṃśatiś ca trayas tathā

B72

kapoṭa-varhi-hārītās
samāś ṣaṣṭiś śata-trayam

72.

goats – four hundred and twenty-three;

pigeons, peacocks, and *haritāla*-pigeons – three hundred and sixty of each.

Side C

C1

° [grāmā]ḥ pañca sahasrāṇi
tri-śatāni ca viṃśatiḥ

C2

[catvāro] bhūbhṛtā dattā
grāmavadbhiś ca bhaktitaḥ

73.

Five thousand, three hundred and twenty-four (5,324) villages have been piously donated by the king and village landowners.

C3

nava^ayutāni sapta^api
sahasrāṇi śatāni tu

C4

aṣṭau strī-puruṣās tatra
catvāriṃśac ca piṇḍitāḥ

74.

[These contain] altogether ninety-seven thousand, eight hundred and forty (97,840) men and women,

C5

° abhavat pramukhās teṣān
narāś śatacatuṣṭayam

C6

catvāriṃśac ca catvāraḥ
pācaka^ādyās tu ṣaṭchatāḥ

75.

of whom four hundred and forty-four men are chiefs;

C7

° catussahasrāḥ puruṣāḥ
ṣaṭ ca^atha paricārikāḥ

C8

isahasre dve śate ca^aṣṭā-
navatiś ca^atha nāṭikāḥ

76.

four thousand, six hundred and six (4,606) men are cooks and the like;
two thousand, two hundred and ninety-eight (2,298) are servants; one thousand of them are dancing girls;

The words translated as “six hundred . . . cooks and the like” (*pācakādyās tu śaṭchatāḥ*) are carried over from the end of verse 75. The words “one thousand of them” (*nāṭikāḥ*, dancing girls) are in verse 77, at the beginning of line C9 (*sahasran tāsṅ*).

C9

° *sahasran tāsṅ atho sapta-*
catvāriṃśat sahasrakāḥ

C10

catuśśatāś ca śaṭtriṃśad
deva-pūjā^ādi-dāyinaḥ

77.

and there are forty-seven thousand, four hundred and thirty-six (47,436) providing for worship of the gods and so forth.

According to the statistics given in this part of the inscription (verses 73-77), there were on average only eighteen individuals in each unit regarded as a village (*grāma*) who had a training in leadership, service, or performing arts – skills of use to the operation of the temple – and they numbered only 7,348 or about one-thirteenth of the total population of these villages. Apart from them, nearly fifty percent (47,436 persons out of 97,840) are said to have contributed in other unspecified ways to the formal worship of the gods (*devapūjā*) “and so forth”, which presumably means to the maintenance of Preah Khan as a religious institution and in other respects. On *-dāyin* as suffix, see Monier-Williams 1899: 474 and Bhattacharya 1991: 78-79. I am not satisfied with my translation (“providing for” / “contributing to”), which is interpretation. But if we take *devapūjādīdāyin* to mean actively “performing *devapūjā* etc.”, this would imply that around half of the rural population was sanskritised in the sense that their religious practices were the same as those of the Khmer élite who worshipped the *devas* in stone temples such as Preah Khan, a proposition which few scholars would accept. Coedès 1942: 293 however has “individus offrant l'oblation”, whereas Jacques MS: 18 prefers “personnes donnant [ce qui est nécessaire pour] la pūjā aux dieux, etc.” which accords with my interpretation.

7. PROVISIONS FROM THE ROYAL STOREHOUSE (78–94)

C11

° *pratyavdan tandulā grāhyās*
sahasran tri-śatā apī

C12

*khāryo 'ṣṭāvīmśatir bhūbhṛt-
koṣṭhād droṇa-dvayan tathā*

78.

To be taken every year from the royal storehouse:

rice – one thousand, three hundred and twenty-eight *khārīs* and two *droṇas*;

C13

*° mudgās tu saptapañcāśat
khāryo droṇa-trayan tilāḥ*

C14

*catuṣ-prasthās trayo droṇā
navavīmśati-khārikāḥ*

79.

mung beans – fifty-seven *khārīs* and three *droṇas*;

sesame seeds – twenty-nine *khārikās*, three *droṇas*, and four *prasthas*;

C15

*° ghaṭikā vimśatis tisraṣ
ṣaṭ prasthās ca tathā ghṛtam*

C16

*triṃśat tu ghaṭikāḥ prasthā
nava dvau kuduvau dadhi*

80.

ghee – twenty-three *ghaṭikās* and six *prasthas*;

curd – thirty *ghaṭikās*, nine *prasthas*, and two *kuduvau*;

C17

*° ekatriṃśat payo ghaṭyaṣ
ṣaṭ prasthā madhunaḥ punaḥ*

C18

*ṣaṭ prasthāḥ kuduvau ghaṭyaṣ
ṣaḍaśītiś śata-trayam*

81.

milk – thirty-one *ghaṭīs* and six *prasthas*;

honey – three hundred and eighty-six *ghaṭīs*, six *prasthas*, and two *kuduvās*;

C19

° *ghaṭikāṣ ṣoḍaśa guḍaṣ*

ṣaṭ prasthāḥ kuduva-dvayam

C20

tila-tailan tu catvāraḥ

prasthāṣ ṣaḍ ghaṭikāṣ tathā

82.

molasses – sixteen *ghaṭikās*, six *prasthas*, and two *kuduvās*;

sesame oil – six *ghaṭikās* and four *prasthas*;

C21

° *sahasra-tritayam sapta*

śatāni dvādaśa^api

C22

deva-vastra^ādi-yugmāni

śataṃ śayyās trayodaśa

83.

pairs [of cloths] for clothing the gods – three thousand, seven hundred and twelve;

couches – one hundred and thirteen;

C23

° *tri-śatā maśaka^arthās tu*

cīna^aṃśuka-mayās trayah

C24

viṃśatiś ca^upadhānāni

punar dvābhyāñ ca viṃśatiḥ

84.

[sheets] made of Chinese silk against mosquitos – three hundred and twenty-three;

pillows – twenty-two;

C25

cīna-śayyāḥ punas tistras
tṛṇajā viṃśatis tathā

C26

maricānāṃ punaḥ prasthā
dvādaśaikā ca khārikāḥ

85.

Chinese grass sleeping mats – twenty-three;
black pepper[corns] – one *khārikā* and twelve *prasthas*;

Translated word for word, the expression *cīnaśayyāḥ . . . tṛṇajā[ḥ]* means “Chinese beds made of grass”; sleeping-mats of woven grass seem be meant. These twenty-three items are categorised together with the cushions or pillows, mosquito nets, and couches or cots listed in the preceding two verses.

C27

° dvau bhārau dve tule siktham
sārdḍha^ekādaśa kaṭṭikāḥ

C28

lavaṇānāñ catasraś ca
khāryo droṇa - - - -

86.

beeswax – two *bhāras*, two *tulās*, and eleven and one half *kaṭṭikās*;
salt – four *khārīs* and [number illegible] *droṇas*;

C29

° candanasya punar bhāra
ekaḥ pañca - - - -

C30

śrī-vāsasya^eka-bhāraś ca
tri-tul- - - - -

87.

sandalwood – one *bhāra* and five [units illegible];
pine resin – one *bhāra*, three *tulās*, and [remainder illegible];

C31

kṛṣṇa^eka-bhāraś ca tulāṣ

ṣaṭ tra-----

C32

sārdha-tri-katṭyaḥ karppūraṃ

mā[ṣ]e-----

88.

eagle-wood – one *bhāra*, six *tulās*, and [remainder illegible];

camphor – three *katṭīs*, [number illegible] *māṣas*, and [remainder illegible];

For eagle-wood, see verse 71.

C33

°ṣaṭ kaṭṭikā daśa paṇā

C34

tri-katṭyaḥ krimi-jaṃ sūtra

89.

[illegible] – six *kaṭṭikās* and ten *paṇas*;

silk thread – three *katṭīs*, [remainder illegible];

C35

°hema^aṅgulīya-gobhikṣā

C36

māṣau tri-pādā dvādaśa

90.

gold rings and bowls – [illegible], two *māṣas*, three *pādas*, twelve [remainder illegible];

C37

°samudga^amatra-kalaśaṃ

-----yam

C38

paṇā aṣṭau trayah pādā
— — *mās sa^aṣṭa-vimvakaḥ*

91.

boxes, drinking vessels, and vases [illegible] – eight *paṇas*, three *pādas*, [illegible], and eight *bimbakas*;

C39

° *tulā^amatra^ādi-tāmrāṇi*
— — — *kaṭṭikāḥ*

C40

paṇās ca pañca^atha tule
— — — *pañca-kaṭṭikāḥ*

92.

copper drinking vessels and the like – one *tulā*, [illegible] *kaṭṭikās*;
and [illegible] – five *kaṭṭikās*, two *tulās*, and five *paṇas*;

C41

° *atha pañcaśatās cīna-*
[sa]mudgā viṃśatis tathā

C42

hema-śṛṅga-khurā dhenuḥ
kapilā^āstarāṇa^anvitā

93.

Chinese boxes – five hundred and twenty.

A brown cow, its horns and hooves gilt, provided with a [cloth] covering,

C43

° *catvāro varṇa-turagās*
catvāro dantinas tathā

C44

dāsyau dve mahīṣau ca dvau
dāpyā rājñā^anuvatsaram

94.

four horses of [good] colour, four elephants, two female slaves and two buffaloes, are to be donated by the king every year.

8. INVENTORY OF METAL OBJECTS AND GEMS IN THE TEMPLE (95–102)

C45

° *prāsāda^ādīni haimāni*
śate pañcāśatā tribhiḥ

C46

ayutan tu karaṅka^ādi-
bhogā aṣṭasahasrakāḥ

[Lines C45 – C49, dealing with objects made of gold, have to be read as one continuous passage:]

95.

Two hundred and fifty-three *prāsādas* and other objects made of gold;
skull-cups and other goods [numbering] eighteen thousand, [continued in next verse]

The text seems to be making a distinction here between *prāsāda* and *bhoga*: between temples as structures and the objects placed inside them. The word *prāsāda* (Khmer *prasat*) means an elevated seat, the highest storey of a building, and also a mansion, palace, or temple. Coedès suggested that in this context it could refer to a miniature tower or shrine, or perhaps a reliquary in this form; he also wrote that, in view of the many small holes found in some of the interior wall surfaces of Preah Khan, the word might refer to plates of gold which were affixed to them (Coedès 1942: 294 n.1). The latter proposition is pure speculation. A miniature building, particularly a model temple, is the only sense which accords with the known usages of the term *prāsāda* on its own. If the word was used here as an abbreviation for a well-known compound, however, such as *prāsāda-śrīṅga* (meaning the pinnacle of a palace or temple), it could well refer to gold finials and other ornaments (*prāsāda^ādi*) for the exterior of temple towers (on the use of abbreviations, see commentary to verse 42). The quantity of these gold objects, 253, is comparable to the number of gods said to have been established by Jayavarman in the inner enclosure of Preah Khan (283: *śata-dvayan trayośītis*, line 70), which might suggest a connection between these gold *prāsādas* and the shrines of the most sacred deities. The word *bhoga* (translated here as “goods”), on the other hand, means literally “objects of (the god's) enjoyment”, and refers to durable items or goods – aesthetically pleasing ritual utensils such as the gold cups mentioned in the text – placed within the temple and used by the priesthood to worship the deity. *Karaṅka* means “skull” and can refer to a cup in the shape of a cranium made from half a coconut shell, hence “skull-cup” in the translation.

C47

° *śataṃ ṣaṣṭis tathā teṣāṃ*
karaṅgaṃ kāñcanaṃ punaḥ

C48

tulā dvādaśa bhārās tu
tri-śataṃ sa-tri-kaṭṭikam

96.

one hundred and sixty (18,160); the gold for their manufacture [weighing] three hundred *bhāras*, twelve *tulās*, three *kaṭṭikās*, [continued in next verse]

C49

° *caturdaśa paṇā eka-*
pādo māṣau sa-vimvakau
rajatan tu śataṃ bhārās
saptatṛiṃśad dvi-kaṭṭike

97.

fourteen *paṇas*, one *pāda*, two *māṣas*, and two *bimbakas*.

The [quantity of] silver [amounts to] a hundred and thirty *bhārās* and two *kaṭṭikās*.

C50

° *vajra-vaidūrya-raktās ca*
mukhāny aṣṭaśatāni ca
pañcātrīṃśat sahasrāṇi
saptabhis trīṃśatā saha

98.

Thirty-five thousand, eight hundred and thirty-seven (35,837) gemstones [consisting of] diamonds, beryls, and rubies,

Mukhāni (line C50), literally “faces”: here the *mukha* seems to be a unit for referring to gems in general, like the English “stone” or “gemstone”. Coedès (1942: 294 n.3) suggests that it is used as a Sanskrit equivalent of Khmer *thboñ* meaning “head” and also “precious stone”.

C51

° *niyutañ ca^ayutañ ca^api*
dve sahasre ca mauktikāḥ
tāmrāṇāṃ saptabhir bhārās
trayaḥ kaṭṭi-trayan tulā

99.

and one hundred and twelve thousand (112,000) pearls.

Seventy-three *bhāras*, one *tulā*, and three *kaṭṭis* of copper objects;

C52

° ayutaṃ ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi
kaṃsānān daśa sa – –
bhārā dve ca tule ekā
kaṭṭī daś paṇās tathā

100.

sixteen thousand ... and ten (16, [hundreds illegible]10) *bhāras* two *tulās*, one *kaṭṭī*, and ten *paṇas* of bronze objects;

Jacques (MS: 20 n.3) thinks that such a great weight of this metal (*kaṃsa*) must mean that it was used to make plaques affixed to the walls of the central sanctuary of Preah Khan. Coedès thought that the golden *prāsādas* of verse 95 (see commentary) could have been used for this hypothetical purpose. Like *tāmra* in verse 99, *kaṃsa* is in the genitive plural (*tāmrāṇām*, *kaṃsānān*), meaning that unspecified numbers of unspecified objects made of copper and bronze are being quantified by gross weight in these two verses (unlike the references to tin, lead and iron in verses 101 and 102, where these metals are mentioned in the singular, since they were not used to make objects of intrinsic or symbolic value). The word *kaṃsa* in its oldest general sense means a metal drinking vessel or cup; in a technical sense it is usually defined as brass, bell metal, or base metal alloy in general; both Coedès and Jacques translate it as “bronze”.

C53

° tri-kaṭṭiyas tri-tulās svarṇa-
paṭalānām śata-dvayam
bhārā bhārā navaśatāḥ
pañca kaṭṭiyas tule trapu

101.

Two hundred *bhāras*, three *tulās*, and three *kaṭṭīs* of gold coverings.

Nine hundred *bhāras*, two *tulās*, and five *kaṭṭīs* of tin;

“Gold coverings” (*svaṇṇapaṭalānām*; cf. *svaṇṇapaṭalasya*, verse 148): Coedès (1942: 294, also 298) translated *paṭalānām* (genitive plural again) as “bowls”; Jacques (MS: 20, also 29) has “placage” (facing, plating) which accords better with the usual senses of *paṭala* (roof, cover, veil, skin, membrane) and suggests the gold on the temples (verses 29, 32, 95, 168, 169) and on the statues (verses 4, 30, 127) and their pedestals (verse 167).

C54

° catvāro vi[ṃ]śatis sīsaṃ
bhāra navaśatas ta[thā]

*catus-tulās tri-kaṭṭayo 'yaś
ṣaṣṭir bhārās catuśśatāḥ*

102.

nine hundred and twenty-four *bhāras* of lead;
four hundred and sixty *bhāras*, four *tulās*, and three *kaṭṭis* of iron.

9. STONE STRUCTURES OF THE TEMPLE (103–107)

C55

*° piṇḍī-kṛtās tu valabhi-
prāsādā dvau śatan tathā
śilā-grhāṇāṃ khaṇḍās tu
pañcāśītiś catuśśatāḥ*

103.

A total of one hundred and two towered shrines;
four hundred and eighty-five clusters of [other] stone buildings;

The Sanskrit term *valabhi-prāsāda*, literally “temple with upper storey(s)”, appears to correspond exactly to the English architectural term “towered shrine”, this being the typical structural type for sacred buildings within a temple complex.

C56

*° sahasre dve śate ca^aṣṭā-
triṃśat sthāneṣu pañcasu
vyāma[s sama]n[ta]to vaprāś
śarkarā^ogha-śilā-mayāḥ*

104.

two thousand, two hundred and thirty-eight (2,238) arm-spans of enclosure wall made of laterite, in five locations;

Compare verse 154, line D34. The Sanskrit term *vyāma*, used as a measure of length, is, like the old British fathom, the distance between the fingertips when both arms are extended laterally. If one takes the English fathom of approximately six feet or 1.83 metres as a rough equivalent of the *vyāma*, Jayavarman's count of 2,238 *vyāmas* can be converted to 4,095 metres of laterite enclosure walls surrounding the Preah Khan temple. The word *śarkarā* is old, meaning gravel, shingle or pebbles, and

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

ogha-silā literally means “river-stone”. Here, the whole compound, *śarkaraughaśilā*, clearly refers to the rough laterite of which the enclosure walls were mainly built. (By comparison, laterite is not a building material in India; on the uses of the word *śarkarā* in Indian texts relating to architecture and iconography, see Banerjea1956: 227-228.) The expression “in five locations” (*sthāneṣu pañcasu*) with regard to the enclosure walls could refer to the three massive walls surrounding enclosures 2, 3 and 4, plus the double wall of the innermost enclosure, which takes the form of a roofed gallery or corridor around three sides of the sacred centre. However Coedès, who took only the outermost enclosure wall of Preah Khan into account, thought that the remainder of the 2,238 *vyāmas* must refer to the enclosure walls of other temples near the Jayataṅka: Coedès 1942: 264.

C57

°----- *vyāmās*
sahasre pañcasaptatiḥ
----- *ni*

105.

two thousand [illegible] and seventy-five (2,075) arm-spans [the remainder is illegible];

[The inscription is damaged from here down to line C64. Dashes indicate portions of text that are illegible.]

C58

° *śarkarā[^]ogha-silā-vaddha-*
tarāṇy etāni sarvvataḥ

106.

bridges built of laterite in all directions [- - -];

All the attested meanings of the word *tara* (here in the plural form, *tarāṇi*) relate to passage or crossing in the sense of a ferry-crossing, as in *tara-paṇya* = ferry-money; *tara-sthāna* = landing stage; *tara[^]andhu* = a large flat-bottomed boat. Coedès and Jacques both translate *tarāṇi* as “passages”, but the passageway or gallery in the inner-enclosure walls of the temple has already been covered in verse 104, where the *samantato vaprās*, “walls [extending] all around” are dealt with. In this verse, *tara* means, not “passage” in the sense of “corridor”, but “crossing”, and I therefore propose to understand it, as Coedès suggested in a footnote to his translation (“vraisemblablement les chaussées traversant les douves”, 1942: 294 n.6), to refer to the laterite foundations of the *nāga*-causeways which, as parts of the great axial approachways to the shrines within the temple precincts, traverse the encircling moat. After the word signifying laterite, *śarkaraughaśilā*, the author has inserted the word *vaddha*; this participle (normally written *baddha*)

fundamentally means “bound, fixed, fastened” but is also classically attested in the particular sense of “built, constructed (as a bridge)” and “embanked (as a river)” (Monier-Williams 1899: 720).

C59

° *kuṭyaś śatāni catvāri*
navatrimśac ca piṇḍitāḥ

107.

and a total of four hundred and thirty-nine additional rooms (*kuṭis*) [- - -].

The word *kuṭi* basically denotes a hut, shelter, cottage, or monk's cell. In a stone temple context they were additional, subsidiary structures built on the temple courtyards adjacent to or abutting parts of the main buildings. The best-known examples were the sixteen rectangular structures erected on the outer courtyard of the Bayon, identified as *kuṭis* by the inscriptions, which show that they were used to house large numbers of statues, and subsequently demolished. Many *kuṭis* were probably also created by subdividing the interior spaces of stone structures with wooden partitions.

10. RESIDENTS OF THE TEMPLE (108–111)

C60

° *ekaś ca ^adhyāpakaḥ pañca-*
daśa ^upādhyāpakā api

108.

One religious teacher and fifteen assistant religious teachers [- - -];

Coedès (1942: 294) translates *adhyāpaka* as “professeur”.

C61

° *dharmma-dhāri-tapaś-śīla-*
dharmma-bhāṇaka-yoginaḥ

keśa -----

109.

yogins who maintain the [Buddhist] Doctrine, living lives of religious austerity, and who recite the [Buddhist] Doctrine [- - -];

C62

° *sarvve te tri-śatās triṃśad*

aṣṭau śaivāḥ punaś --

navatrimśac ca ---

110.

all these [number] three hundred and thirty-eight; whereas there are - - - and thirty-nine Śaivas (followers of the Hindu god Śiva) [- - -];

C63

° *grhīta-sthitidānās te*

sarvve piṇḍī-kṛtāḥ punaḥ

sahasran -----

111.

all those receiving assistance [number] one thousand, [- - -].

“Those receiving assistance” (*grhītasthitidānās te*) in the sense of “those who are to be provided with assistants”, like the Buddhist and Śaiva teachers of religion mentioned above. On the interpretation of the word *sthitidāna*, “assistance” (also *sthitida*, *sthitidāyin*, “assistant”) as a technical term occurring only in inscriptions of Jayavarman VII, see Bhattacharya 1991: 78-79.

BEYOND PREAH KHAN

1. DEITIES CONSECRATED BY THE KING ELSEWHERE (112–121)

C64

° *śrī-vīraśaktisugatam*

rājā sa udamīlayat

---- *atiṣṭhipat*

112.

The king has opened the eyes of the Lord Buddha Vīraśakti; he has established [- - -];

On the eye-opening ceremony, see verse 34.

C65

° *sthāpayām āsa sugataṃ*
sa śrī-rājapatīśvaram
jayamaṅga[lārthacū]ḍā-
maṇiṅ ca sikaṭā^āhvaye

113.

he has established the Lord Buddha Rājapatīśvara and [the deity] Jayamaṅgalārthacūḍāmaṇi at [the place] called Sikaṭā (The Sand);

C66

° *śrī-jayantapure vindhya-*
parvate ca markhalpure
ratna-trayaṃ sthāpitavān
eka^ekasmin sa bhūpatiḥ

114.

he, the king, has established the *Ratnatraya* (the Three Jewels) [in three places], at holy Jayantapura, on the Vindhya-parvata, and at Markhalpura.

The words *ratna-traya* and *tri-ratna* have the same meaning: see verses 1-3.

C67

° *śrī-jayarājadhānī śrī-*
jayantanagarī tathā
jayasiṃhavatī ca śrī-
jayavīravatī punaḥ

115.

Holy Jaya-Rājadhāni, holy Jayanta-nagarī, Jaya-Siṃhavatī, holy Jaya-Vīravatī,

Lines C67-D1 have to be read continuously as one sentence.

C68

° *lavodayapuram svarṇa-*
puram śamvūkaṭṭanam
jayarājapurī ca śrī-
jayasiṃhapurī tathā

116.

Lavodayapura, Svarṇapura, Śambūkapura, Jaya-Rājapurī, holy Jaya-Siṃhapurī,

C69

° *śrī-jayavajrapurī śrī-*
jayastambhapurī punaḥ
śrī-jayarājagiriś śrī-
jayavīrapurī tathā

117.

holy Jaya-Vajrapurī, holy Jayastambha-purī, holy Jaya-Rājagiri, holy Jaya-Vīrapurī,

C70

° *śrī-jayavajravatī śrī-*
jayakīrttipurī tathā
śrī-jayakṣemapurī śrī-
vijayādipurī punaḥ

118.

holy Jaya-Vajravatī, holy Jaya-Kīrttipurī, holy Jaya-Kṣemapurī, holy Vijaya-Ādipurī,

Vijayādipurī: alternatively, “the *purī* beginning with Vijaya”, i.e. Vijayapurī (Jacques MS: 23 n. 8).

C71

° *grāmāś śrī-jayasīṃha[^]ādyo*
madhyamagrāmakas tathā
grāmāś ca samarendra[^]ādyo
yā śrī-jayapurī tathā

119.

holy Jayasiṃhagrāma, Madhyama-grāmaka, Samarendragrāma, and holy Jayapurī,

C72

° vihāra[^]uttarakaś ca[^]api
pūrvva[^]āvāsas tathā[^]eva ca
trayoviṃśati-deśeṣv eṣv
eka[^]ekasminn atiṣṭhipat

120.

also Vihārottaraka, and Pūrvāvāsa – in each of these twenty-three places [beginning from Jaya-Rājadhāni in verse 115], he established [continued on side D, verse 121]

Side D

D1

° jayavuddhamahānāthaṃ
śrīmantam so vanīpatiḥ
yaśodhara-taṭākasya
tīre yāgāḥ punar daśa

121.

he, the king, established the glorious Jayabuddhamahānātha.

In addition, [he established] ten [structures for] sacrifices on the bank of the Yaśodhara Lake.

Under Jayavarman VII, the long historical integration of Hinduism with Buddhism in Cambodia was taken up and accelerated as a matter of royal policy. The objective was to cause Buddhism to dominate other cults in the same way that, before Jayavarman's accession, Hinduism had dominated Buddhism. One of the instruments of this policy appears to have been the creation of the official Jaya[buddha]mahānātha cult. The first two elements of the name of these Buddhist images, Jaya-Buddha, is a combination of part of the king's name, Jayavarman, with the name of the Buddha; in the same way, his many Hindu predecessors had combined part of their names with the word Īśvara, referring to Śiva. The Jayabuddhamahānātha images were thus representations of the Buddha as a deity associated with the king personally. The second element of their name, Mahānātha, means “The Great Lord”; *nātha*, “Lord”, is a term that in Indian Sanskrit usage could refer to several Hindu deities including, for example, Śiva (as Jagannātha) and Kṛṣṇa (as Govindanātha). The whole name therefore means “The Great Lord Buddha of King Jayavarman”, where the word for “Lord” has a clear Hindu resonance and the whole termination, Mahānātha, appears to be an assertion that this Buddha is to be regarded as the principal deity of the temple into which it is introduced. It therefore looks as if these twenty-three Buddha images, all with the same name, were intended to be set up in hitherto Hindu establishments in many different locations throughout the kingdom – by the time verse 159 was written, there were twenty-five of them in as many provinces.

We find the record of one of these images being established in a Hindu shrine at Banteay Chmar. Short inscription 12 of that temple lists the deities set up in one of the shrines as follows:

1. ° *vraḥ kānti kamrateñ añ śrījayamahānātha* °
2. ° *dakṣiṇa* ° *vraḥ bhagavatī śrī* ° *vraḥ bhagavatī nārāyaṇī* °
3. ° *uttara* ° *vraḥ kamrateñ añ nārāyaṇa* °

“ [1.] The sacred image (*vraḥ kānti*) of Lord Śrī-Jayamahānātha.
[2.] In the south [of the shrine; or, on the proper right of the Śrī-Jayamahānātha statue], the Holy [Goddess] Śrī (=Lakṣmī), [and] the Holy [Goddess] Nārāyaṇī.
[3.] In the north [or to the proper left of Jayamahānātha], the holy Lord Nārāyaṇa (=Viṣṇu).”

Here at Banteay Chmar we have one of the images of Jayamahānātha installed at the centre of the shrine, flanked on one side by two Vaiṣṇava goddesses (Śrī, that is Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu; and Nārāyaṇī, the *śakti* of Viṣṇu), and on the other by the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) himself. The three Viṣṇuite images in themselves constitute a conventional Hindu triad of the god Viṣṇu flanked by two of his chief goddesses as wife and *śakti*, and this was no doubt the original symmetrical configuration of the images in this shrine. That Hindu triad has here been assymmetrically repositioned such that the three images serve as accompanying figures for an image of the Buddha, the image of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa placed to the Buddha's left and the two goddesses to his right. This process of Buddhicisation of a Viṣṇu cult under Jayavarman is the exact reversal of the kind of Hinduisation of Buddha images that used to take place before Jayavarman's reign, for example by integrating the Buddha of the Bamboo Grove into a Śiva cult (Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 2: 112, n.7 and *ibid.*, 3: 181, n.3). In both cases, an original Hindu triad was expanded into a tetrad by the addition of a Buddha image. The difference is that at Banteay Chmar under Jayavarman this addition resulted in an assertion of Buddhist supremacy. There would have been an obvious political advantage in subordinating Hindu centres in this way, replacing the central image with a figure of the Buddha and, presumably, placing their Hindu priesthood under the direction of a Buddhist administration. Exactly the same marginalisation of Hinduism is seen in the physical layout of the Preah Khan temple complex itself (verses 37-38).

The word *yāgāḥ* is the nominative plural of *yāga*, meaning a sacrifice, offering, or oblation to the gods. It refers primarily to fire rituals of the Vedic type, which normally take place in an open-sided temporary structure under a roof of perishable material; such a temporary structure is usually called a *śālā* (hall) or *maṇḍapa* (shed). The word *yāga* as used here is an abbreviation for *yāgaśālā* or *yāgamaṇḍapa*, just as, for example, *valabhi* is used as the abbreviated form of *valabhi-prāsāda* (compare verse 42 and commentary with verses 103 and 153) in the case of a stone temple. On the use of such abbreviations in Indian texts and in Cambodian Sanskrit inscriptions, see Bhattacharya 1991: 20-21. Structures of this temporary kind, provided with a fire-pit, would have been used for the rites for the dead on *śrāddha*-days (see verse 63). The inscription usually records Jayavarman's stone structures, however, and these *yāgaśālās* may have been attached to a stone temple, for example Ta Nei, whose location is otherwise difficult to understand. They are said to be located on the banks of a lake, but not on the lake of Preah Khan itself. The Yaśodhara-taṭāka is the Eastern Baray, the huge reservoir created by Yaśovarman I in the late 9th century. Its northwestern corner (where Ta Nei is located) lies just across the east-west stretch of the

Siem Reap river (an area of no temples), not far south of the Jayataṭāka, the Victory Lake of Preah Khan, and closely parallel to it. In making use of this older, adjacent reservoir for the location of the ten *yāgāśālās*, Jayavarman's motive may therefore have been to keep the death-rites strictly separated from the much vaunted sacred waters of his new temple at Preah Khan (verses 168-170).

2. FIRE SHRINES ESTABLISHED ACROSS THE EMPIRE (122–126)

D2

° *yaśodharapurād yāvac*
campānagaram adhvasu
upakāryā-hutabhujas
saptapañcāśad ālayāḥ

122.

On the roads from Yaśodharapura (Angkor) to the [capital] city of Campā (Vietnam), there are fifty-seven buildings that are staging posts with fire.

Compare verse 39, line B6, and note 3 on *upakāryā* in the commentary.

D3

° *purād vimāyapuraṃ yāvad*
vahnes saptadaśa ālayāḥ
purāj jayavatī[m] tasyāḥ
jayasimhavatī[m] tataḥ

123.

[On the road] from the city (Angkor) to Vimāyapura (Phimai, in north-east Thailand), there are seventeen houses of fire.

[On the road] from the city (Angkor) to Jayavatī, and from thence to Jayasimhavatī,

D4

° *jayavīravatī[m] tasyā*
jayarājagiri[m] punaḥ
jayarājagirer yāvac
chrī-suvīrapurī[m] tathā

124.

thence to Jayavāravatī, thence to Jayarājagiri, and from Jayarājagiri to holy Suvīrapurī,

D5

*° tasyā yaśodharapuram
yāvad vahni-grhāṇi ca
catvāriṃśac ca catvāri
ca^ekam śrī-sūryaparvate*

125.

and thence up to Yaśodharapura (Angkor), there are forty-four fire-houses; and there is one on holy Sūryaparvata,

D6

*° ekam śrī-vijayāditya-
pure kalyāṇasiddhike
ekaṅ ca piṅḍitāny eka-
vimaty uttarakam śatam*

126.

one at holy Vijayādityapura, and one at Kalyāṇasiddhika.
Altogether, there are one hundred and twenty-one.

3. TEMPLES IN THE PROVINCES (127)

D7

*° rai-rūpya-kaṃsa^āśma-mayā
devās sa-yama-kālakāḥ
piṅḍitās te prati-kṣetram
ayute dve catuśśatā*

127.

The gods, whether made of gold, silver, bronze, or stone, and including [the gods] Yama and Kāla, total twenty thousand, four hundred (20,400) in all the provinces.

Compare verse 22.

4. PROVISIONS FOR THE PROVINCIAL TEMPLES (128–140)

D8

° *piṇḍitāny atra devānām*
pūjā^aṅgāny anuvatsaram
sārdham adhyāpaka^adhyeṭ-
vāsinām parikalpitaiḥ

128.

Annually, the portions for the worship of these gods [totalled in the preceding verse], along with those for persons dwelling with the teachers and their students, are in total:

On the persons dwelling with the teachers and their students, see verse 52.

D9

° *vrihīṇān nīyutañ ca^aṣṭāv*
ayutāni ca khārikāḥ
tathā trīṇi sahasrāṇi
navatyā ca^adhikaṃ śatam

129.

new rice – one hundred and eighty-three thousand, one hundred and ninety *khārikās*;

The word *vrihi* refers to fresh or recently harvested rice (paddy), not yet prepared for cooking; compare this with *tandula* in the next verse.

D10

° *catussahasrakāḥ pañca-*
śatās tandula-khārikāḥ
trayastrīṃśat tathā bhādra-
pada-māgha^āpaṇa^ādiṣu

130.

dry rice, at such times as the Bhādrapada and Māgha markets – four thousand, five hundred and thirty-three *khārikās* ;

The word *tandula* (normally written *tanḍula*) refers to the rice grains after it has been harvested and prepared: rice ready to be cooked. The market held in Māgha (January-February) is mentioned also in verse 63; the month of Bhādrapada corresponds to August-September.

D11

° *dvi-sahasrā navaśatāḥ*
khāryas tīraś ca viṃśatiḥ
[mu]dgās tribhiś śatair aṣṭā-
saptatyā^ūnās tatas tīlāḥ

131.

mung beans – two thousand, nine hundred and twenty-three *khāris*;
sesame seeds – three hundred and seventy-eight [*khāris*] less than that [that is, two thousand, five hundred and forty-five *khāris*];

D12

° *sahasraṃ gḥṛta-ghaṭyas tu*
ṣaṭchatāṣ ṣaṣṭir eva ca
catasraś ca tathā prasthā
daśa dvi-kuduva^adhikāḥ

132.

ghee – one thousand, six hundred and sixty-four *ghaṭīs*, ten *prasthas*, and two *kuduvās*;

D13

° *sahasran tu dadhi-kṣīre*
ghaṭyas sapta śatāni ca
ṣaṣṣaṣṭiś ca same prasthās
trayo madhu-guḍau punaḥ

133.

curd and milk – one thousand, seven hundred and sixty-six *ghaṭīs* and three *prasthas* of each;
honey and molasses – [amount given in next verse]

D14

° *sahasraṃ ṣaṭchatā ghaṭyas*
trayonavatir eva ca
ṣaṭ prasthās ca^ekaśas tailaṃ
punaḥ pañca śatāni ca

134.

one thousand, six hundred and ninety-three *ghaṭīs* and six *prasthas* of each;

sesame oil – five hundred [continued in next verse]

D15

° *ghaṭyaś caturdaśa prasthau*
snehan taru-phalasya tu
ghaṭyaś śate dve ṣaṭtrimśat
sārdham prastha-catuṣṭayam

135.

and fourteen *ghaṭīs* and two *prasthas*;

oil from the fruit of trees – two hundred and thirty-six *ghaṭīs* and four and one half *prasthas*;

D16

° *śrī-vāso viṃśatir bhārās*
tulāḥ pañca dvi-kaṭṭike
paṇāś ca daśa kṛṣṇa^api
tat-tulyā candanasya tu

136.

pine resin – twenty *bhāras*, five *tulās*, two *kaṭṭikās*, and ten *paṇas*;

eagle-wood – the same weight;

sandalwood – [continued in next verse]

For eagle-wood, see verse 71.

D17

° *eko bhāras tulā kaṭṭī*
ca^aṣṭādaśa paṇā api
karpūras tu tulā kaṭṭī
sārdhā pañca paṇās tathā

137.

one *bhāra*, one *tulā*, one *kaṭṭī*, and eighteen *paṇas*;

camphor – one *tulā*, one and one half *kaṭṭīs*, and five *paṇas*;

D18

catus-tulā taruṣkasya
caturdaśa ca kaṭṭikāḥ

*tri-pañās ca^api sikthasya
bhārās tu tri-sahasrakāḥ*

138.

storax – four *tulās*, fourteen *kaṭṭikās*, and three *pañas*;
beeswax – three thousand, [continued in next verse]

D19

*° dve śate ca tathā tisraḥ
kaṭṭyo daśa paṇā api
ayutāni punas sapta
deva-vastra^ādi-vāsasām*

139.

two hundred *bhāras*, three *kaṭṭīs*, and ten *pañas*;
cloths for dressing the gods and other purposes – seventy thousand [continued in next verse]

D20

*° dve sahasre tathā pañca-
viṃśatis śata-pāñcakam
śayyā^ādyās tu sahasraṃ ṣaṭ-
chatās ṣaṣṣaṣṭir eva ca*

140.

and two thousand, five hundred and twenty-five (72,525);
couches and the like – one thousand, six hundred and sixty-six.

5. VILLAGES ATTACHED TO THE PROVINCIAL TEMPLES (141–144)

D21

*° rājñā dattās svayan dattā
grāmavadbhiś ca bhaktitaḥ
grāmā aṣṭau sahasrāṇi
śataṃ ṣaṣaptatis tathā*

141.

The villages piously donated by the king and the village landowners [number] eight thousand, one hundred and seventy-six (8,176).

D22

° *strī-puṃsā niyute ca[^]aṣṭau*
sahasrāṇi śatāni ca
pañca dvātriṃśad-adhikāny
atra deva-bhujīṣyakāḥ

142.

[In these villages there are] two hundred and eight thousand, five hundred and thirty-two (208,532) male and female servants of the gods [attached to the provincial temples].

D23

° *teṣv adhyakṣā navaśatā*
viṃśatiḥ puruṣās trayah
kāriṇas ṣaḥ sahasrās tu
pañcaṣaṣṭiś catuśśatāḥ

143.

Among them, nine hundred and twenty-three men are supervisors, six thousand, four hundred and sixty-five (6,465) are workers,

D24

° *catussahasrās tri-śatās*
striyo dvātriṃśād eva ca
sahasran tāsū natakyas
saṭchatā viṃśatir dvayī

144.

and four thousand, three hundred and thirty-two (4,332) are women, among them one thousand, six hundred and twenty-two (1,622) dancing girls.

The inscription has the word *trayo*, “three”, without doubled *-s-*, at the beginning of the second foot of this verse (see the rubbing of side D in *BEFEO* 41, Pl.41), which yields no sense; Coedès is certainly right in amending it to *striyo*, “women”, to balance *puruṣās* in the previous verse.

6. METALS AND GEMS IN THE PROVINCIAL TEMPLES (145–152)

D25

° *prāsāda[^]ādi-karaṅka[^]ādi-*

karaṇaṅ ca^atra kāñcanam
śatan triṃśat tathā^aṣṭau ca
bhārā dvādaśa kaṭṭikāḥ

145.

The gold [used] for making the *prāsādas* and so forth, and the skull-cups and similar objects [for the provincial temples, weighs] one hundred and thirty-eight *bhāras* and twelve *kaṭṭikās*;

For gold *prāsādas*, see verse 95.

D26

°rajatan tu śataṃ bhārā
ekāvīṃśatir eva ca
kaṭṭikā daśa ca dve ca
sārdhdhan daśa-ṇair api

146.

the silver [used weighs] one hundred and twenty-one *bhāras*, twelve *kaṭṭikās*, and ten *ṇas*;

D27

°tāmrasya tri-śatā bhārās
trayovīṃśatir eva ca
tulā^ekā kaṭṭikā^ekā ca
ṇaiḥ pañcabhir anvitā

147.

the copper weighs three hundred and twenty-three *bhāras*, one *tulā*, one *kaṭṭikā*, and five *ṇas*;

D28

bhārāḥ pañcasahasrāṇi
kaṃsasya tri-śatāni ca
ṣaṣṭiś ca dve tule kaṭṭyau
suvarṇa-ṇaḥ tu

148.

the bronze weighs five thousand, three hundred and sixty *bhāras*, two *tulās*, and two *kaṭṭis*;
the gold coverings [continued in next verse]

D29

° *śate bhārās tulā kaṭṭī*
sārdhāṃ ṣoḍaśabhiḥ paṇaiḥ
bhārās caturdaśa tula
catasraḥ kaṭṭikās trapu

149.

weigh two hundred *bhāras*, one *tulā*, one *kaṭṭī*, and sixteen *paṇas*;
the tin [used weighs] fourteen *bhāras*, two *tulās*, and four *kaṭṭikās*;

D30

sīsaṃ sahasran dvi-śatā
bhārāḥ pañca tulā api
bhārās sahasre lohaṃ ṣaṭ
kaṭṭyas sapta tulās tathā

150.

the lead weighs one thousand, two hundred *bhāras* and five *tulās*;
the iron weighs two thousand *bhāras*, seven *tulās*, and six *kaṭṭīs*.

D31

° *nava^ayutāni sapta^api*
sahasrāṇi śata-trayam
ratnāni padma-rāga^ādīny
aṣṭaviṃśatir eva ca

151.

The number of jewels, consisting of rubies etc., is ninety-seven thousand, three hundred and twenty-eight;

D32

° *muktā-phalāni niyutam*
ekaṃ ṣaḍ ayutāni ca
sahasrāṇi nava dve ca
śate dvāviṃśatis tathā

152.

the pearls number one hundred and sixty-nine thousand, two hundred and twenty-two.

7. TOTAL CONSTRUCTIONS (153–157)

D33

° *śatāni pañca valabhi-*
prāsādās tu caturdaśa
dve sahasre śilā-veśma-
khaṇḍāṣ ṣaṣṣaṣṭir eva ca

153.

[There are] five hundred and forty towered shrines;
and two thousand and sixty-six (2,066) clusters of [other] stone buildings;

The term *śilā-veśman* becomes *śilā-veśma* in compounds and means “stone house” (compare *śilā-grha* in verse 103). It clearly refers to an architectural concept distinct from, and more numerous than, the towered-shrine units or *valabhi-prāsādas* mentioned in the previous line. The secondary category of structures of which a Khmer temple complex is composed, after the towered shrines, comprises barrel-roofed buildings such as the so-called “libraries” and free-standing courtyard structures. These, and other buildings whose functions are still not fully understood, are presumably referred to here as *śilā-veśman*. The *veśman* or *grha* category does not include enclosure walls, since these are not three-dimensional structures, and they are built not of stone but laterite.

D34

° *ayutaṃ ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi*
vyāmāś śata-catuṣṭayam
prākārā navatiś ca ^api
śarkarā ^ogha-śilā-mayāḥ

154.

sixteen thousand (“ten thousand, six thousand”), four hundred and ninety (16,490) fathoms of enclosure-walls built of laterite;

Compare verse 104.

D35

° *ayute dve sahasrāṇi*
catvāri ca śatāni ṣaṭ
vyāmā viṃśatir aṣṭau ca
dīrghikāṇāṃ samantataḥ

155.

twenty-four thousand, six hundred and twenty-eight (24,628) arm-spans around the perimeters of rectangular lakes;

The word *dīrghā* has the meaning of “an oblong tank”, *dīrghikā* being defined as “an oblong lake or pond”, from the Sanskrit of the epics onward (Monier-Williams: 481, 482). The moats surrounding the temples must be meant, perhaps including also the smaller ponds and reservoirs within the enclosures.

D36

° *vyāmā jayataṭāka^ādi-
taṭākānān nava^ayutāḥ
tri-sahasrāḥ pañcaśatās
tathā sapta samantataḥ*

156.

ninety-three thousand, five hundred and seven (93,507) arm-spans around the perimeter of lakes such as the Jayataṭāka (Victory Lake);

D37

° *kuṭyas sārddham sahasran dvā-
daśa ca^adhyeṭṭ-vāsinaḥ
dvi-sahasrā navaśatā
navāśītīś ca piṇḍitāḥ*

157.

and one thousand, five hundred (“one and a half thousand”) and twelve (1, 512) additional structures. Altogether there are two thousand, nine hundred and eighty-nine (2,989) residents and students.

HOLY WATER

1. THE ANNUAL PHĀLGUNA FESTIVAL AT PREAH KHAN (158–166)

D38

° *atra^adhyeṣyā ime devāḥ
phālguṇe prativatsaram
prācyo muni^indraś śrī-jaya-
rājacūḍāmaṇis tathā*

158.

Every year in the month of Phālguṇa, these gods [from other temples] will be accessible here [in Preah Khan]:
Munīndra (King of Sages, the Buddha) of the East;
the Goddess Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi;

The month of Phālguṇa (normally written Phālguna) corresponds to February-March. The word *adhyeṣyā[ḥ]* (future participial form of *adhi* + √ *i*, usually meaning to observe, memorise, study), relating to “these gods” (*ime devāḥ*), was translated by Coedès (1942: 298) as “should be brought” (“doivent être amenés”); Jacques (MS: 31) has “one should display” (“on doit exposer”). I have translated it as “will be accessible, approachable” through comparison with *adhi* √ *gam* and the forms *adhigamya*, *adhigantavya*, “attainable”; compare in verse 158 (line D58) *vodhiṃ parānadhigatām*, “an enlightenment not attained by others”. These deities clearly were brought from other temples, as Coedès’ interpretation emphasises, but it is difficult to reconcile the wording of his translation with the text. On the representation of immovable images installed in temples by portable “festival images” (*utsavamūrtis*), see the commentary on verse 30. Only thirty-two such gods are listed by name in verses 158–160, but a further ninety, not named here, also came to Preah Khan for the Phālguna festival, making a total of 122 deities (verse 160). Their *utsavamūrtis* were no doubt carried from their home temples in the provinces and elsewhere in Angkor on palanquins or wagons (*śibikās* or *rathas*); several inscriptions refer to this practice, and one of the third-enclosure reliefs at Banteay Chmar shows a standing image of Viṣṇu being carried in this way. Many of these deities must later have been housed in the *vraḥ kuṭi* structures on the outer courtyard of the Bayon; the inscriptions at their entrances have long lists of gods from many localities. Where they were housed at Preah Khan during the festival, if not in the *kuṭis* there (verse 107), is not known. The two deities named in this verse at the head of the list seem to have represented the parents of the king. The Buddha of the East was most probably Tribhuvanavarmēśvara from the eastern complex of Preah Khan itself (verse 36), and the goddess Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi was certainly Prajñāpāramitā, representing Jayavarman’s mother, from the temple of Ta Prohm (Rājavihāra, K.273, verse 36). The two would have been reunited in death, as it were, through the co-participation of their images in the festival.

D39

° *jayavuddhamahānāthāḥ*
pañcaviṃśati-deśakāḥ
śrī-vīraśaktisugato
vimāyasugato 'pi ca

159.

the Jayabuddhamahānāthas of twenty-five provinces;
the holy Buddha Vīraśakti;
and the Buddha of Vimāya;

On the Jayabuddhamahānāthas, see verses 115-121, where twenty-three are listed; apparently two more were set up while work on the inscription proceeded. The Buddha Vīraśakti is named also in the

Ta Prohm stele inscription (K.273, verse 85) as participating, along with other deities, in a triple circumambulation on the full moon day of the spring festival. Vimāya is the Sanskrit form of Phimai in Northeast Thailand.

D40

° *bhadreśvara-cāpeśvara-*
ṛthuśaileśvara^ādayaḥ
śatadvīṃśatis ca^ete
piṇḍitāḥ parivārakaiḥ

160.

Bhadreśvara;

Cāpeśvara;

Ṛthuśaileśvara, and the rest –

all these, with their attendant deities, amounting to one hundred and twenty-two.

Bhadreśvara and Ṛthuśaileśvara are forms of Śiva, Cāpeśvara is a form of Viṣṇu (see verse 38).

D41

° *tadā grāhyāṇi pūjā^aṅgāny*
etāni nṛpater nidheḥ
catuṣ-pala^adhike svarṇan
dve kaṭṭyau rajataṃ punaḥ

161.

At that time, these portions for worship are to be taken from the king's storeroom:

– of gold, four *palas* and two *kaṭṭis*;

– of silver, [continued in verse 162]

D42

° *kaṭṭyaś caturdaśa śveta-*
trapuṇas tu catus-tulāḥ
catuśśatāni pañcāśad
deva-vastra^adi-vāsasām

162.

fourteen *kaṭṭis*;

– of white tin, four *tulās*;

– four hundred and fifty-nine sets (“pairs”) of clothing for the deities, and other clothing;

The words for “nine” and “pairs” (*nava yugmāni*) are given in the first foot of the following stanza, verse 163.

D43

° *nava yugmāni pākyās tu*
śatan tandula-khārikāḥ
śataṃ gandha-samudgāś ca
catvāriṃśat trayo 'pi ca

163.

– rice for cooking, one hundred *khārikās*;
– one hundred and forty-three perfume boxes;

D44

° *ghṛtaṃ madhu guḍaś ca ^ekā*
ghaṭī prasthā daśa ^ekaśaḥ
ekā tulā tathā pañca
madhu ^ucchiṣṭasya kaṭṭikāḥ

164.

– ghee, honey, and molasses, one *ghaṭī* and 10 *prasthas* of each;
– beeswax, one *tulā* and five *kaṭṭikās*;

D45

eka ^ekaśaḥ punaḥ pañca
tulās śrī-vāsa-kṣṇayoḥ
ghaṭikā ^ekā dadhi-kṣīre
daśa prasthās tathā ^ekaśaḥ

165.

– pine resin and eagle-wood, five *tulās* of each;
– curd and milk, one *ghatikā* and 10 *prasthas* of each.

For eagle-wood, see verse 71.

D46

° *dvijāś śrī-sūryabhṭta ^ādyā*

java^indro yavana^isvaraḥ
cāmpa^indrau ca prati-dinaṃ
bhaktiyā snāna^amvudhāriṇaḥ

166.

Those who piously carry the water for the [ritual] bathing [of the deities] every day [during the festival] are the Brahmans, Sūryabhaṭṭa and others, and the king of Java, the king of the Yavanas, and two kings of the Chams.

“Those who carry the water for the [ritual] bathing” (*snānāmbudhāriṇaḥ*) are the Brahmans of the temple and four foreign kings. The word *java* or *javā* in the inscription could mean Java as we understand it, but this is far from certain; a location on the Malay peninsula, for example, is also possible. *Yavana* meant Annam, the kingdom in what is now northern Vietnam, and *Campā* (the inscription has *cāmpa*, meaning the people of *Campā*) on the east coast to the south. These three countries are said to have been represented at the Phālguna festival in Preah Khan by four kings because two rulers of the Cham are mentioned (*cāmpendrau*). None of these kings is named and it is not clear whether this verse refers to some real historical circumstance. On the face of it, it seems extremely improbable that any ruler would have risked leaving his kingdom for the purpose of attending a spring festival abroad, and the concentric symbolism in the description of this alleged event is almost too blatant to be true (convergence on Preah Khan of eight most powerful national deities – two Buddhist from within Angkor representing the parents of the king, plus three Buddhist and three Hindu gods from the provinces – and of four rulers from states outside Kambuja as regents of the four quarters of the world). But we do not know what political factors may have been involved, nor what representation the four kings may have had at Angkor, and the inscription does not say that these kings were to attend the festival every year (*prativatsaram*, verse 158), but only that they carried the water every day (*pratidinaṃ*), perhaps referring to a unique event in the year named in the inscription, at the founding of Preah Khan. The purpose of the assembly of gods from the Khmer provinces was no doubt to demonstrate the solidarity of the kingdom, and the convergence of kings or their emissaries would have been equally a demonstration of fealty to the superior power in Angkor. The ritual bathing (*snāna*) of a sacred image is an act of great religious importance. Those who bring the water are highly privileged, and their act of washing the image is a confirmation of their devotion to the god as his servants. If this event really happened, it is very likely that the foreign kings, and the priests from the provincial temples, brought with them holy water from their home shrines, to pour it on the central *Lokeśvara* of Preah Khan, in whom the deities of the Khmer provinces and the surrounding states were thus symbolically subsumed. The Phālguna festival was, and was clearly intended to be seen internationally as, a demonstration of political unity expressed through the symbolism of religious ritual.

2. THE LAKE JAYATAṬĀKA AND ITS ISLAND (167–170)

D47

° *ekaṅ kāṣṭhakaṭaṃ vitīrya mṛgayur vuddhe 'jitendro 'nvabhūd*

aiśvaryan divi bhairava^asura iti khyāto nṛpe kā kathā

D48

*tasmin svarṇa-maṇi-dvipendra-radana-prāsāda-bhadrāsanam
saṃvuddha^ādi-sura-dvija^ādi-yatiṣu prājyan diśaty ādaraiḥ*

167.

The hunter Ajitendra is said to have attained supremacy in heaven as Bhairavāsura after giving the Buddha a single wooden board for a seat; what then shall we say of [our] king, who with respect and a lavish hand bestows temple thrones made of gold and jewels and ivory upon the Supreme Buddha and the other divinities, and upon Brahmans and other ascetics?

The theme of holy water is tacitly continued in this section of the inscription. This stanza focusses on the pedestals (*bhadrāsanas*) on which sacred images are set up for worship. These pedestals serve a practical ritual function: when the image is washed (in the bathing ritual, *snāna*, referred to in verse 166), the water must not be allowed to accumulate at its feet, and so it is made to collect within a raised rim around the surface of the pedestal and is conducted away from the shrine by means of a spout (*praṇāla*) projecting usually from the north side. This spout, or a prolongation of it (sometimes in the form of a channel cut in the shrine-room floor), continues through the north wall (or under the north-east corner) of the sanctum to emerge outside the sanctuary, where the holy water can be collected. The poet is not concerned with this functional aspect of image-pedestals, but with the richness of their ornamentation and their use to honour all deities irrespective of sect or category. The subject is thematically consistent with the verse above and with those which follow, however, because of their function.

This verse compares a legend, concerning a simple piece of wood which served as a seat for the historical Buddha, with the situation in Preah Khan, where not only images of the Buddha, but also of Hindu gods and revered holy men were all placed on magnificent pedestals of gold and ivory. The stanza depends on this extreme contrast for its effect. The further contrast is between the legendary Ajitendra, a hunter, and the king, Jayavarman VII. The poet asks rhetorically: if a mere hunter could achieve entry into heaven by the gift of a piece of wood, how much greater must be the destiny of this magnanimous king? The implication is that Jayavarman, as reward for his intrinsically more valuable and far more abundant gifts to the whole religious community, will enter a state infinitely higher and more absolute than the temporary deification in heaven which Ajitendra achieved. The verse states specifically that the hunter's reward was to be transformed into a violent deity, the demonic form of Śiva named Bhairava, as befitted his bloody profession in life; the transformation of the king in the afterlife, implies the poet, will be into an infinitely more perfected being. The hunter, Ajitendra, although he made his gift of wood to the Buddha, received his reward as a Hindu god in a Hindu heaven; the king, Jayavarman, makes his gifts alike to Buddhist and Hindu deities and to their holy men, and will therefore surely be rewarded in the highest of all spiritual states. Sanskrit court poetry relies upon suggestion and implication of this kind to make its point. The bald statement that the king was a future Buddha would have been unacceptable, but in this stanza that very idea finds expression through allusion and the contrast of ideas; the intended meaning unfolds, not in the written text, but through a response in the mind of the reader, who is induced to supply the poet's meaning himself.

D49

° *su-ruci-viracitāyā bhūmi-mahiṣyās samasta-
prakṛta-sukṛta-keśa-śrī-jaya-śrī-kavaryām*

D50

*upala-kanaka-mālā-rañjitāyām śriyā^āḍhyaṃ
vyadhita jayataṭāka^ādarśam eṣo 'vani^indrah*

168.

Holy Jayaśrī (Preah Khan) is like a beautiful braid [on the head] of the kings radiant bride, who is the Earth herself; a braid in which the hair is perfectly arranged and plaited together, and which is highlighted with stones, gold, and garlands. In that braid (Preah Khan), this king, lord of the earth, has placed the mirror of the Jayataṭāka (Victory Lake), abounding in beauty.

With this verse we move from the small qualities of water required for bathing individual images (the theme of verses 166 and 167) to the great source of holy water provided by Jayavarman in the form of his Preah Khan lake, the Jayataṭāka. Concerning the compound *upala-kanaka-mālā-rañjitāyām*, “highlighted with stones, gold and garlands”: compare this coloration of the Jayaśrī (Preah Khan) site, likened to a beautifully-tressed bride's braid of hair, with that given in verse 32 (line A64), where we also read that it was *hema^amvuja^upala-virañjita*, “newly coloured by stones and lotuses and gold”, but where, by contrast, these same colours reminded the poet of the blood of the battlefield. The scene is the same, but the mood has changed from remembrance of the anarchic gloom of war to the organised festive brilliance of a wedding: the symmetry and coordination of parts in the temple is likened to the perfectly arranged and plaited hair of the Earth-goddess. Resonances such as this expand the historical vision of Preah Khan as a site and contribute to a sense of literary unity in the inscription as a whole.

The marriage of the king to the earth is an ancient concept: the king is he who masters the earth, conceived as a beautiful woman, and enjoys her. The temple of Preah Khan is compared to a braid in the hair of the Earth-goddess who has been beautified for her wedding to the king (*avanindra*, literally “lord of the earth”), Jayavarman. And in this braid on the head of his bride (*mahiṣi*, his first wife) he places a mirror-like (*ādarśa*) ornament which is Victory Lake, the *jayataṭāka*, as it were the finishing touch which perfects her radiant beauty. Through the completion of this temple and its lake, the marriage is consummated and Jayavarman becomes truly king in his own domain. Yet the blood imagery is never far away, as the next verse shows.

D51

° *ambhoja-rāga^añjita-śāta-kumbha-
prāsāda-bhāsa^aruṇita-amvu-rāśiḥ*

D52

*vibhrājate bhārgava-bhāvitasya
rakta-hradasya^ākṛtim udvahan yaḥ*

169.

The lake shines, alight with the gleam of golden temples and reddened with lotuses, raising the spectre of the pool of blood flowing from the descendant of Bhṛḡu.

Here again, as in verse 32 (line A64), we have the vision of the flourishing temple juxtaposed with the sombre recollection of the battlefield on which it stands. Though this frisson of memory has an undeniable elegaic element to it poetically, the repeated blood symbolism is first and foremost a political statement of ownership: Jayavarman won the land by slaying the enemy king. This enemy was “the descendant of Bhṛḡu” (see also verse 29, *jītabhārgavau*), a reference to the king of Champā, which borders on the the Khmer kingdom to the east. Bhṛḡu, in Hindu mythology, is the name of an exceptionally famous ṛṣi of ancient origins, said to be the author of one of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, one of the first ten *maharṣis*, and founder of the Bhārgava lineage. In Vietnam, the stele of Dong Duong with the inscription of Indravarman II of Champā, dated 797 Śaka (875 AD), relates in its opening verses that both Bhṛḡu and the mythical first king of Champā, named Uroja, were sent down to earth by the god Parameśvara or Śambhu (Śiva): - - - *bhṛḡuḥ proṣitaś ca* - - - (line 6), and *śambhus . . . proṣita^uroja eva* (line 11). The inscription goes on to say that Bhṛḡu obtained a Liṅga, made by Śiva himself (*idaṃ liṅgam īśasya kāryyaṃ*: verse 10), directly from the god, and that Uroja in turn obtained it from Bhṛḡu. Uroja established it in Champā (verse 12), where it became the centre of the kingdom and the symbol of continuity for a succession of kings known in the Cham inscriptions as the *bhṛḡuvaṃśa* or *bhṛḡuvaravaṃśa*, the Bhṛḡu Dynasty. This dynastic myth is the origin of the references in the Preah Khan inscription to the Cham king as Bhārgava, “the descendant of Bhṛḡu.” Jayavarman won, or won back, Khmer territory from the occupying Chams (Bhārgavas) in the battle which took place on the site of Preah Khan.

D53

° *yasya^antare tīrtha-jala^eka-rāśi-*
khāta^abhirāmaṃ pulinaṃ para^arddham

D54

saṃsparśināṃ kṣalita-pāpa-paṅkaṃ
vahitra-bhūtan taraṇaṃ bhava^avdheḥ

170.

Far out in [the lake] is an island whose charm lies in its artificial pond filled with a single body of water from sacred bathing-places. [The island] washes away the mud of sin from those who make contact with it; it is a boat for crossing beyond the ocean of worldly existences.

This stanza concludes the treatment of the theme of holy water, introduced in verse 166. Rājyaśrī is the island in the Jayataṭāka on which the temple of Neak Pean stands, surrounded by its moat and sacred pools (see verse 41). Coedès (1942: 300) did not translate all elements of the compound *tīrtha-jalaikarāśikhātābhirāmaṃ*; Jacques (MS: 34) also notes this omission and consequently arrives at a translation similar to mine: “qui regroupe (en un lieu) unique les eaux de [tous] les tīrtha”. The theme of salvation which begins here is continued in the next two verses (Rājyaśrī Island is “a boat for crossing

the ocean of worldly existences”, and in verse 172 Jayavarman prays that the enlightenment of his father might result in “all creatures crossing the ocean of worldly existences”). The likening of Rājyaśrī to the boat of salvation implies that the Jayataṭaka is compared to the *bhavāvḍhi*, the ocean of existences, and therefore that the pilgrims' crossing from the eastern quay at Preah Khan to Neak Pean was regarded as a metaphor for escape from the cycles of rebirth. Verse 172 then extends the symbolism by suggesting that the return crossing, back to the entrance of Preah Khan, was seen in the same light, since Jayavarman's enlightened father was enshrined there as Lokeśvara.

THE KING AND THE TEMPLE BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

1. THE TRANSFER OF JAYAVARMAN'S MERIT TO HIS FATHER (171–172)

D55

° *kṛtvā prakṛṣṭa-sukṛtāny amitāny ajasram*
arthāya so 'vani-patir nikhila^asu-bhājām

D56

kurvvaṃs tv imāni kuśalāni piṭṛ-prakṛṣṭa-
bhaktyā viśeṣata iti praṇidhiṃ vabhāṣe

171.

Having constantly performed eminent good works without number for the sake of all creatures that live and breathe, [and] doing these good deeds out of great devotion to his father in particular, the king utters this prayer –

D57

° *puṇyair amībhir ubhaya^avarāṇa^andhakārān*
prajñā^arka-raśmi-visarair vinihatya sadyaḥ

D58

vodhiṃ para^anadhigatām bhajatām bhava^avdher
uttāraṇāya jagatāñ janako madiyaḥ

172.

“These meritorious works shine forth, for by my actions I have destroyed in one stroke all that eclipsed the radiant sun and blinded the wisdom they reflect. Because of this, let my father rejoice in an Enlightenment such as others have not attained, so that [all] creatures may cross the ocean of worldly existences”

These two verses (171-172), couched in terms of a personal statement, present the official rationale behind Jayavarman's actions as king, represented by his vast temple building programme. As new

buildings his temples shine in the rays of the sun, as new institutions they sparkle with the religious perception (*prajñā*) that he introduced. The driving force behind this work is characterised as devotion to his dead father, whose enlightenment Jayavarman hopes to achieve in the afterlife by virtue of these Buddhist establishments as a whole and Preah Khan in particular. Through this enlightenment conferred posthumously on Dharaṇīndravarman – a unique enlightenment (*vodhiṃ parānadhigatāṃ*) because earned through the uniquely massive architectural works of his son – all creatures may be helped toward salvation.

2. APPEALS TO THE FUTURE (173–178)

D59

° vaddhvā[^]āgamaís ciratayā ca parasya bhagnān
dharmma-sthitim sugati-setum iti[^]idam āha

D60

rakṣiṣyatas sthitim anāgata-bhūmipālān
agresaro 'vani-patis sthiti-rakṣiṇām saḥ

173.

Using sacred knowledge (or scriptures) from the past, the king has built this bridge to ultimate happiness for someone else – a bridge which he regards as the continuity, long interrupted, of the Doctrine. As the first to safeguard this continuity, he says this to kings yet to come, who will safeguard this continuity in the future.

Jacques notes (MS: 35) that Coedès (1942: 300) seems to have left the word *parasya* (genitive) untranslated. Admittedly it is not easy to reconcile the first line of Coedès translation with the text. However in his version Jacques takes *parasya* in an instrumental sense together with *bhagnān* (= *bhagnām*) and understands it to refer either to Tribhuvanīdityavarman or to a “foreigner”, the Cham king Jayavarman IV, who broke the stability of the Dharma. I take *parasya* together with *vaddhvā* . . . *sugatisetum* and understand it to refer to “another person” for whom the king built the bridge (= Preah Khan), namely for his father, thus transferring the merit as in verse 172. To my mind this makes better sense of the genitive and of the verse as a whole, and it is also consistent with the context (the preceding verse speaks of Jayavarman's father attaining enlightenment by virtue of his son's temple-building, and the following verse mentions parents, wives and children). The word *iti* in the second part of line D59 means that the text immediately preceding it is what the king thinks – namely “*dharmmasthitim sugatisetum*” (“the bridge to ultimate happiness is the continuity of the Dharma”) – as he addresses kings of the future concerning the preservation of his foundations and with them the Doctrine. The key concept in this context is *sthiti*, continuity. It occurs three times, once in the first half and twice in the second half of the verse, with reference to the perpetuation of Dharma. The meanings of *dharmma* in this verse and elsewhere were discussed at length by Coedès (1940 (3): 328); his subsequent translation in *BEFEO* 41 remained substantially the same, except that he appears to have decided in favour of a definite Buddhist meaning (“la Loi”). The verb used for the king's building activities in this verse is *bandh* (in the participial form *baddhvā*, the first word of the verse), which basically means to bind or fasten, but

which has also an old attested sense of build or construct in association, as here, with the noun *setu* (meaning a dyke or bridge). Nouns such as *setu-bandha* and *setu-bandhana* (the building of a bridge) stem from this association, for example in referring to the legendary episode of the building of the bridge or causeway to Lañkā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

D61

° *prāṇāt priyeṣv api cirāya mṛteṣu putra-
dāreṣu satsu ca pareṣu nṛṇām akhedah*

D62

*pitros tu kāla-gatayor ati-dīrgha-kālam
eva^asator aparayor ati-mātram ādhiḥ*

174.

“When those who are dear as life itself – wives and children – have been dead for a long time, and others are there [replacing them], one forgets his grief. But when parents have died, even long since, there being no others [to replace them], one's grief is beyond measure.

D63

° *tat tau smarann upakṛtiṅ ca tayor amūlyāṃ
kuryām imāni sukṛtāny ati-mātra-bhakyā*

D64

*etāni rakṣitum alaṃ kṣitipāḥ kṛtajñā
dharmmasya kartur adhikāni phalāni lavdhum*

175.

“I have done these good works with the greatest devotion in memory of them (my parents) and of their kindness which is beyond price. For kings who [likewise] acknowledge [their indebtedness to the past], it is enough that they safeguard these [good works of mine] to obtain the abundant rewards of one who propagates the Doctrine.

Jayavarman declares that he built his temples as a son devoutly aware of his debt to his deceased parents; and that the merit he acquired in doing so – the merit of a Buddhist propagating the Doctrine – will be transferred to future kings if, like sons similarly mindful of their debt to him, they will merely conserve and protect the religious institutions that he has founded.

D65

° *bhūpās ca pālana-vidhiṃ vidadhaty avaśyam
abhyarthanām api vinā vidhinā niyuktāḥ*

D66

*tad bhūddharā viditavān api mat-pratiṣṭhā
rakṣā[^]utsukān svayam atṛptatayā[^]arthaye vaḥ*

176.

“Kings will in any case put into effect the work of protecting [the foundations of their predecessors] without being asked, as they are bound by precept [to do so]. I am aware of this, yet I request you, kings [of the future], to be – of your own accord – insatiably zealous in protecting my foundations.

Jayavarman acknowledges that it is the prescribed duty of all kings to protect and conserve the temples of earlier rulers, and that therefore the future of his religious institutions is already assured. But this alone is not sufficient to give him peace of mind, no doubt because of the emphatic Buddhist character of his creations; he clearly fears their neglect or destruction under future rulers. In the second half of the verse he therefore makes an insistently-worded appeal to his successors, not merely to follow convention in this respect, but on their own initiative to be restlessly zealous and never satisfied (*rakṣā[^]utsukān svayam atṛptayā[^]*) in safeguarding his institutions.

D67

*° atra strī-puruṣās sa-cāmpa-yavanās sārddham pukāṃrvvañjanair
rakṣyantān tri-śatā iha tri-niyutās te ṣaṭ sahasrā api*

D68

*ṣaṣṭir dvādaśa ca[^]ayutan tu gaṇitās sārddham sahasra-trayaṃ
grāmāḥ kiñ ca na deva-kāryya-karaṇaṃ kāṣṭha[^]upala[^]ādy akṣatam*

177.

“May the men and women, including the Chams and the Yavanas together with the Pukāṃ and the Rvañ people, of whom there are 306,372 here (attached to my foundations), and the villages numbering 13,500, and whatever [objects], made of wood or stone or other material, that are used for worshipping the gods – may all these be preserved unharmed.

The Yavanas were probably Vietnamese; the Pukāṃ and Rvañ people may have been Burmese and Mon according to Coedès (1942: 301 n.1). The statistics are consistent with those given in verses 73, 74, 141 and 142.

D69

*° eteṣv atra ca deva-yajña-gaṇitā eka[^]eka-varṣe dṛḍham
khāryas santu śatañ catur-niyutikāṣ ṣaḍviṃśatis tandulāḥ*

D70

*yās ca[^]argha[^]ākara-bhūmayo 'tra nihitās tatra[^]aniyojyā ime
nyāyya[^]arghād adhika-pradāna-vacaso ye deva-pūjā-cchidaḥ*

178.

“Let there be, every year without fail, 400,126 *khārīs* of rice for these (people), to be counted as a sacrifice for the gods.

The attached lands are sources of revenue [for the temple], and one should not employ on them those who claim to contribute more than the real amount: they disrupt the worship of the gods”

Evidently false declarations were a major problem, resulting in shortfalls in the quantities required for the operation of the temple.

3. THE KING'S SON, AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTION (179)

D71

*° agryā śrī-jayavarmma-deva-nṛpate rājendradevī satī
śreṣṭhaṃ yaṃ samajījanac chrutavatām agresaraṃ yodhinām*

D72

*kāntyā^anaṅga-jitaṅ kalā-sukṛtinām vandyam varan dharmmiṇām
sa śrī-vīrakumāra-vivṛuta idaṃ śastaṃ praśastaṃ vyadhāt || ° ||*

179.

He who is known as Lord Vīrakumāra – first-born of the first wife of King Jayavarman, Rājendradevī, most distinguished of learned men, foremost of warriors, conqueror of the God of Love by virtue of his beauty, respected by those who cultivate the arts, and best of the followers of Dharma – has composed this excellent eulogy.

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The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

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សង្ខេប

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

លោក Maurice Glaize បានរកឃើញសិលាចារិកព្រះខ័ននៅឆ្នាំ១៩៣៩ ដែលកាលនោះដួលដេកនៅលើដី ដោយមានថ្មច្រើនដុំទៀតរលំគ្របលើនៅត្រង់មុំយ៉ាងក្លោងទ្វារកណ្តាល (ខាងកើត) ដែលបាញ់មករកកំពែងក្នុង។ ផ្ទាំងនេះ មិនខុសពីសិលាចារិកតាព្រហ្ម ដែលចារប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំមុននោះបន្តិចឡើយ គឺមានប្លង់បួនជ្រុងស្មើដែលមួយជ្រុង។ ប្រវែង៩៨ ស.ម. ព្រមទាំងកំពស់១៨៩ ស.ម.។ នៅខាងគល់ផ្ទាំងមានល្បាក់ស្តើងៗ ឯខាងលើវិញ មានចម្លាក់ផ្កាឈូកបន្តប ជាក់ពូល។ គេបានយកមកតម្កល់ទុកនៅអភិរក្សអង្គរ តែស្ថានភាពដែលតម្កល់នោះមិនអាចឱ្យយើងមើលផ្ទាំងផ្នែក A បានឡើយ។ សិលាចារិកនេះ ជាការព្យាស្រ្តិតដែលមាន១៧៩ល្បះ ហើយកាលបរិច្ឆេទជាមហាសករាជ្យគឺ១១១៣ (ឬ ១១១៤) ត្រូវនឹងពេលណាមួយរាប់ពី គ.ស.១១៩១ ដល់១១៩៣ ហើយដែលគេយល់ថាជាពេលដែលព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី៧ ធ្វើពិធីឆ្លងព្រះរូបដែលតម្កល់នៅកណ្តាលប្រាសាទ។ ចារិកនេះផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានច្រើន មិនត្រឹមតែអំពីប្រាសាទព្រះខ័នប៉ុណ្ណោះ ទេ គឺថែមទាំងមាននិយាយពីសំណង់សាសនាផ្សេងៗទៀត ដែលសាងតាមបញ្ជានៃព្រះរាជា។ ការសិក្សានេះ ចែកចេញ ជា ៖ ១/ សេចក្តីចារិកដែលបង្ហាញជាអក្សរឡាតាំង តាមក្បួនច្បាប់សិក្សា ដែលមានកែលំអក្រោយៗមកទៀត។ ឧទាហរណ៍ ពាក្យសំស្ក្រឹតខ្លះមានស្រះប្រទាក់តគ្នាច្រើន ខ្ញុំយកមកញែកឱ្យដាច់គ្នា ដោយប្រើសញ្ញាដូចរូបដួន ដើម្បីឱ្យអ្នកសិក្សា ល្មម។ ដែលពុំមែនជាអ្នកប្រាជ្ញភាសាសំស្ក្រឹត អាចបើករកន័យតាមវចនានុក្រមបានងាយ ; ២/ សេចក្តីប្រែជាអង់គ្លេស; ៣/ អត្ថាធិប្បាយភ្ជាប់នឹងការវែកញែកផ្សេងៗ ព្រមទាំងកំណត់យោងផង។ ការវិភាគលំអិតជ្រៅមែនទែននោះ មានម្តង ម្កាលទេ ពេលដែលមានការចាំបាច់ ហើយម្យ៉ាងទៀត ខ្ញុំចៀសវាងពុំទាញសន្និដ្ឋានអ្វីទាំងអស់ទៅលើប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ។ គោល បំណងធំគឺធ្វើយ៉ាងឱ្យស្របទៅតាមវិជ្ជាខ្មែរ ដូចជាវិជ្ជាសិលាចារិក ដែលគេកាន់តែយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ខ្លាំងទៅៗ ក្នុងពេល បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ។ ខ្ញុំពុំចាំបាច់បញ្ជាក់អ្វីវែងឆ្ងាយទេ គឺខ្ញុំយកសេចក្តីប្រែជាបារាំងនៃលោក George Coedès មកធ្វើជាគោល។ ក្រៅអំពីនេះ ខ្ញុំយោងទៅលើការបកប្រែថ្មីមួយទៀតជាភាសាបារាំងដែលពុំទាន់មានការផ្សព្វផ្សាយ ហើយដែលធ្វើដោយ លោក Claude Jacques ដែលមានសមាមាតិក្នុងខ្ញុំមើលសំណេររបស់លោកទាំងស្រុង។ កាលណាការយល់របស់ខ្ញុំខុស ពីគេ ខ្ញុំប្រាប់បញ្ជាក់នៅក្នុងអត្ថាធិប្បាយ។

Abstract

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

The stele of Preah Khan at Angkor was discovered by Maurice Glaize in 1939. It lay on the ground under fallen masonry in the western salient of the main (east) gatehouse at the entry to the inner enclosure of the temple. Like the stele of Ta Prohm, whose inscription was written a few years earlier, it is square in cross-section, each side being 58 cm. wide, and measures 185 cm. in height. The base has narrow mouldings and a lotus is carved at the apex. It was removed to the Conservation d'Angkor in Siem Reap, where it can be seen today. Because of its positioning in the depot, side A cannot now be read. The inscription consists of 179 Sanskrit verses and contains the date 1113 (or 1114) of the Śaka era, corresponding to a year between 1191 and 1193 AD, which is when the central image of the temple is said to have been consecrated by Jayavarman VII. It contains much information concerning Preah Khan and other shrines and temples built at the command of this king. The present article contains: (1) the text of the inscription transcribed in accordance with modern convention, in which words that in Sanskrit are coalesced have been separated as far as possible (e.g. the separation of coalesced vowels by use of the circumflex) to enable non-Sanskritists to refer to dictionaries for definitions of the terms used in the text; (2) an English translation; and (3) a commentary with discussion of the subject matter and references. Detailed text analysis is only occasionally entered into where the meaning is in doubt or open to interpretation, and historical speculation has been avoided. The chief purpose of the article is to make this remarkable inscription accessible to a wider readership in response to an increasing interest in Khmer culture and civilisation including the epigraphy of ancient temples such as Preah Khan. It goes without saying that I have referred constantly to the French translation of George Coedès, and also to a new French translation, unpublished, by Claude Jacques, who very kindly placed his draft at my disposal. Those points on which my reading of the Sanskrit differs from theirs are indicated in the commentary.

Résumé

The Stele Inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor

La stèle de Preah Khan a été découverte par Maurice Glaize en 1939, sous les décombres de l'entrée principale (est) qui mène à l'enceinte intérieure du temple. Comme la stèle de Ta Prohm, inscrite peu de temps auparavant, elle est de plan carré de 58cm de côté, et haute de 185cm. La base comporte d'étroites moulures, tandis qu'un lotus est sculpté sur le sommet. Elle fut emmenée à la Conservation d'Angkor, à Siem Réap, où on peut la voir aujourd'hui. Telle qu'elle est positionnée dans le dépôt, la face A ne peut être atteinte par le regard. L'inscription contient 179 stances sanskrites et porte la date de 1113 (ou 1114) śaka, année comprise entre 1191 et 1193 AD, où il est dit que Jayavarman VII consacra l'idole

centrale. Elle renferme une riche information sur Preah Khan et sur d'autres fondations religieuses érigées sous les ordres de ce roi. Le présent article contient : (1) le texte de l'inscription transcrit selon les conventions modernes, où l'on essaye autant que faire se peut de séparer les mots sanskrits attachés (par exemple séparer les voyelles attachées par un circonflexe) afin de faciliter la consultation des dictionnaires par les non sanskritistes ; (2) une traduction en anglais et (3) un commentaire avec discussion et références. On procédera à une analyse détaillée du texte seulement de temps à autre, lorsque se présentent des doutes, ou des points ouverts aux interprétations ; de même on évitera toute spéculation historique. L'objectif premier de l'article est de rendre accessible cette remarquable inscription à un large public, en réponse à un intérêt croissant que suscitent la culture et la civilisation khmères, y compris l'épigraphie des temples anciens tel que Preah Khan. Il va sans dire que je me suis constamment référé à la traduction française de George Coedès, et aussi à une nouvelle traduction française non publiée de Claude Jacques qui a eu l'obligeance de mettre son manuscrit à ma disposition. Les points de différence dans ma lecture du sanskrit sont signalés dans le commentaire.

