ADMINISTRATIVE ZONES FOR PIOUS FOUNDATIONS UNDER ĪŚĀNAVARMAN I ? EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE SEVENTH-CENTURY SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION K. 1418

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Sometimes years of mulling over an inscription are necessary before a sense of its purport and significance emerge. Although only twelve stanzas long, written in the short *anuṣṭubh* metre and in not particularly elaborate Sanskrit, K. 1418 still baffles me. But there is a point when no improvements to the text and no further ideas about its interpretation seem likely to present themselves. That moment may be now, and so it seems worth passing on to others, in the form of this article, an account of what I have been able to understand and what remains most doubtful.

As I shall explain below (in the annotation to st. 6), K. 1418 was composed or commissioned by an administrative officer of the reign of Īśānavarman I called Vidyācandra who was, it seems, given authority over all administrators (*tantrādhyakṣa*) of meritorious foundations (*puṇya*) to the South of a certain Gambhīreśvara temple. Taken together with a statement in another seventh-century inscription of the same reign (K. 482, st. 2) that appears to speak of an officer with authority to the East of a Gambhīreśvara temple, this suggests that Īśānavarman I's realm might have been divided into administrative zones to the North, South, East, and West of Gambhīreśvara. There are of course several problems with this tentative hypothesis, not the least of which is that there may have been more than one Khmer shrine to Śiva under the name Gambhīreśvara. There seems, however, to have been one very significant one from early times, since Bhavavarman I appears to refer to a Gambhīreśvara as the focus of his realm (K. 53, st. 5, discussed below). Whether or not this Gambhīreśvara was the Gambhīreśvara of Ak Yum, the pre-Angkorian temple now largely submerged within the embankment of the Western Baray in the Angkor Archeological Park, is unclear.

In 2003, the inscribed stone K. 1418 was already located in the monastery Vat Chrânouk, according to Bruno Bruguier's description on the CISARK website (consulted on 3.ix.2022). That site is numbered CISARK 1452 (N° IK 146), and situated (according to CISARK) 1.5 kilometres

to the North-East of Pr. Phnom Ponnaraey (also IK 146[1]) and 50 metres to the North of the road towards the villages of Lech and Kandal. Phnom Ponnarey is described by Lajonquière (1902:201–202) as a gently sloping hill that marks the northern end of the foothills of the Tuk Meas massif, a mountain that has several tumuli and archeological remains on its edges (IK 143–146): see Figs. 1 and 2.

Fig. 1. Map of Phnom Ponnarey (kindly prepared by Christophe Pottier)
showing the locations of several tumuli and archeological remains on its edges (IK 143–146).

Fig. 2. Map (kindly prepared by Christophe Pottier)
showing Vat Chrânouk (CISARK 1452) and the probable site of provenance of K. 1418.

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[1] The CISARK website, as consulted on 3.ix.2022, gives the identification IK 176, but this seems to be a mistake for IK 146, for it is under the number 146 that Lunet de Lajonquière (1902:201–202) describes the sites on and beside Phnom Ponnaraey.

The inscription was still very much there beside the monastery of Vat Chrânouk when I visited it on 26th May 2019 in the company of Ang Aline, Chea Socheat and my EFEO colleague Bertrand Porte, the latter two both of the Stone Restoration workshop of the National Museum of Cambodia in Phnom Penh. The CISARK webpage (https://cisark.mcfa.gov.kh/core/showsite. php?id=1452&keyword=) records that the inscribed stone originally came from a nearby site to the East of the hill Phnom Ponnareay (and thus still on the northern edge of the Tuk Meas massif) called Tuol Balang (CISARK 3429). That site, Prasat Balang, is described as a tumulus of brick where part of a sandstone doorway was found.[2] Unfortunately, this tumulus is not described by Lunet de Lajonquière in his publication of 1902, nor by Parmentier when he mentions IK 146 (1935:89), and the CISARK website does not mention whether the doorway was oriented East-West or North-South, which, as we shall see below, might have been useful information for interpreting K. 1418. Nor did I see the doorway myself when I visited Phnom Ponnaraey in 2019. According to the director of the bureau of culture for the province of Kompong Chnang, whom Chea Socheat of the MNPP kindly consulted for me in September 2022, there is only debris remaining at the site of the tumulus and it is not now possible to determine which way the doorway faced without conducting digs.[3] The stone was reportedly moved from Prasat Balang to Chrânouk in 1996.

The twenty-seven photographs on the CISARK 1452 webpage include images showing the inscribed stone already set in a concrete base in front of a modern balustrade outside the monastery building (see Fig. 4), which is where it still stood in 2019 (see Fig. 5), but there are also images that show the inscribed stone apparently leaning against the bole of a large tree, presumably

Fig. 4. Photograph AMPP 007672.jpg, taken in May 2009, showing the inscribed doorjamb K. 1418 (at the top of which a tenon is visible) in front of the monastery Vat Chrânoul. Photo: EFEO/ Musée National à Phnom Penh.

Fig. 5. The same view of K. 1418, now covered with a roof and shaded by a frangipani tree, in 2019. Photo: Dominic Goodall.

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[2] "Tertre de brique où a été trouvé un élément de porte en grès." (https://cisark.mcfa.gov.kh/core/showsite. php?id=3429, consulted 3.ix.2022). As for its location, it is said to be "A 1km à l'Ouest du village de Ai Lech, dans la partie Nord du massif de Kâmpong Leng et à 800 m au Nord-Est de Phnom Ponareay ou Phnom Thveu Bon." The only further information available on the restricted access part of the website, as Christophe Pottier pointed out to me, is that in 2003 it was being used for mortuary rites: "En 2003, le site sert de lieu de sépulture."

[3] As Bertrand Porte wrote to me (22.ix.2022), "… il ne reste plus grand chose sur le Tuol Balang, seulement quelques débris. Il est impossible de comprendre l'orientation du temple d'origine. Seule peut-être une fouille pourrait nous renseigner."

at some time after it had reached the monastery, but before it had been secured in a concrete stand. The website describes K. 1418 as a stela of sandstone ("une stèle en grès qui mesure 120 x 50 x 20 cm"), but its shape, with a stone tenon protruding from the top, suggests that it was not originally a stela, but rather a doorjamb or the upper part of a doorjamb, presumably therefore one belonging to the stone doorway whose remains are found at the tumulus of Prasat Balang.

The text of K. 1418, comprising twelve Sanskrit stanzas, is engraved in twenty-four neatly written lines of Khmer lettering that is typical of the seventh century, each line consisting of a hemistich of *anuṣṭubh*. The writing is somewhat weathered, and while only very few syllables have been deemed wholly illegible (e.g. in the beginning of st. 7), there are many places where the reading is not very clear and where *akṣara*s have therefore been enclosed within round brackets. To the extent possible here, the transliteration conventions of the ERC DHARMA project have been followed, described in detail by Balogh and Griffiths (2020). In addition, a bullet-point (•) has been used to denote the horizontal space left by the engraver in the middle of each line to mark off the odd-numbered *pāda*s from the even-numbered ones.

An edition was begun some years ago by Gerdi Gerschheimer, based on photographs of the stone (AMPP 007673.jpg and AMPP 007674.jpg, respectively Figs. 5 and 6), as well as on a photograph of an estampage (AMPP 007527.jpg: Fig. 7). In addition to these photos, belonging to the Stone Restoration Workshop of the National Museum of Phnom Penh and taken on a field-trip of Bertrand Porte and Chea Socheat on 7th May 2009, there are photographs taken some years earlier by Bruno Bruguier and now belonging to the Cambodian government, twenty-seven of which are locatable, as mentioned above, on the CISARK website for the site CISARK 1452.

At the suggestion of Dominique Soutif, Dominic Goodall began to revise Gerdi Gerschheimer's incipient edition in May 2018. A draft text and translation were read and discussed in the course of the Tenth International Intensive Sanskrit Reading Retreat (TIISRR) in Siem Reap in January 2019. As mentioned above, I examined the stone myself and took numerous photographs on 26th May 2019. I also read through the text with two different DHARMA project reading-groups, once in June-July 2019 and then in February 2021. I am grateful to the participants of those reading events for their suggestions, some of which are mentioned below.

SUMMARY OF K. 1418

1. *maṅgala* of Śiva, but perhaps punningly also a glorification of Īśānavarman

2–5. Glorification of Īśānavarman

6–7. His chief of administrative officers [to the south?] of south-facing Gambhīreśvara.

8. That man, a yogin, called Vidyācandra, installed Prabhāsasomeśvara.

9. Declaration of shared revenue with a north-facing Śiva (?).

10. A god described as *tantrānubandhaka* (theonym?) is bound [in a revenue-sharing arrangement]

to that [other god].[4]

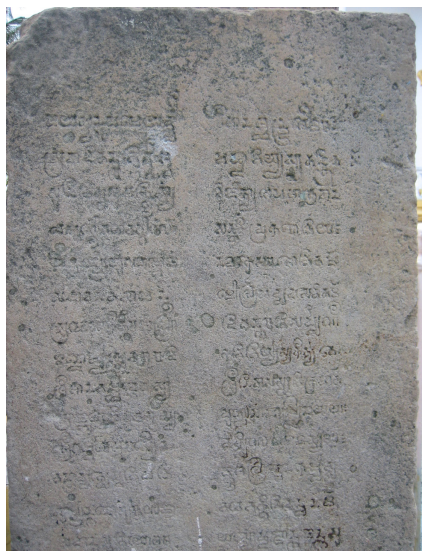11–12. Curse on those who steal from the foundation.

Fig. 5. Photograph AMPP 007673.
jpg of the upper part of the inscribed
doorjamb K. 1418: Photo: EFEO/
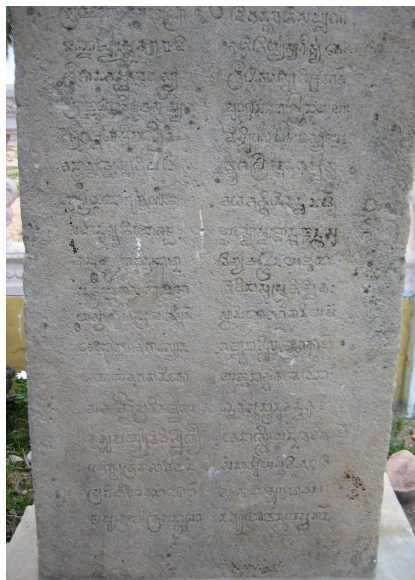Musée National à Phnom Penh.

Fig. 6. Photograph AMPP 007674.jpg
of the lower part of the inscribed
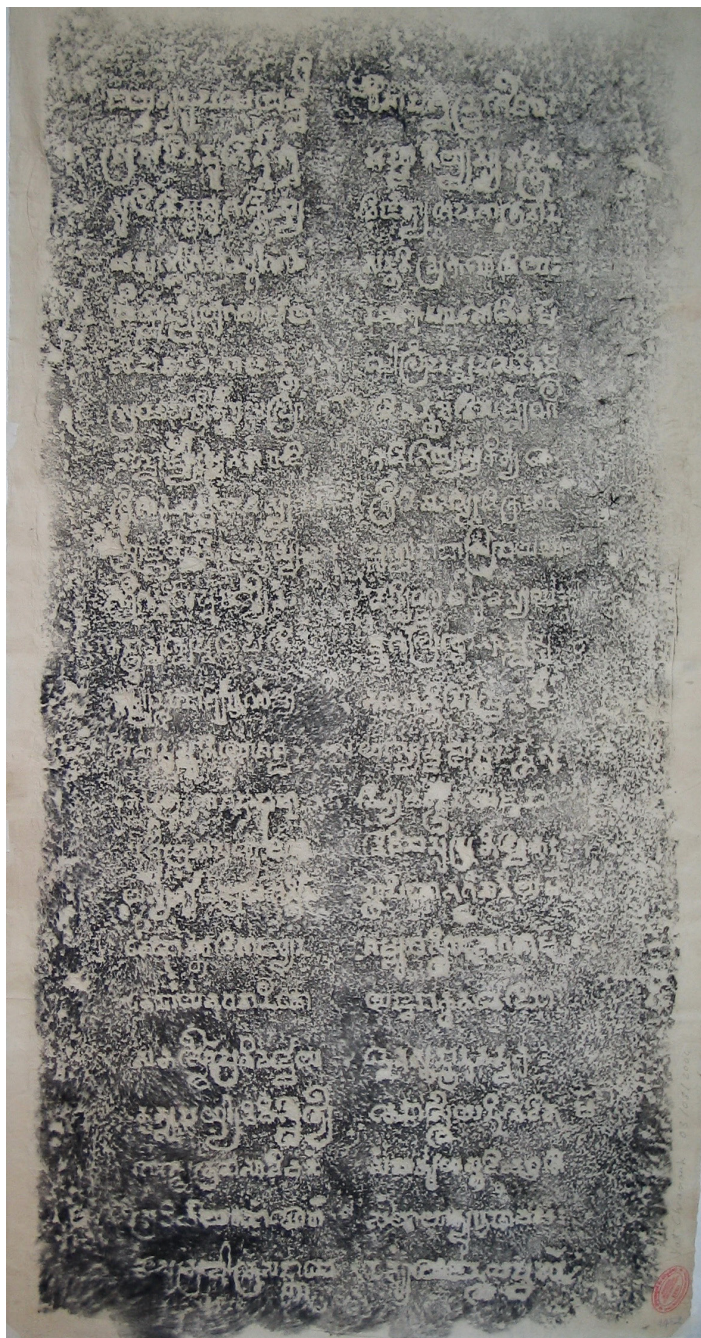doorjamb K. 1418: Photo: EFEO/
Musée National à Phnom Penh.

Fig. 7. Photograph AMPP 007527.jpg of an estampage of K. 1418.
Photo: EFEO/Musée National à Phnom Penh.

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[4] This is not entirely clear. Perhaps Prabhāsasomeśvara is bound to the north-facing Śiva, or another god [a Viṣṇu called Tantrānubandhaka?] is tied to Prabhāsasomeśvara.

EDITION & TRANSLATION

I.

(1) jayaty anupameyarddhi•r īśānaś candraśaikharaḥ

(2) a(n)ādi tanubhir vviśva•m aṣṭābhir yyasya tantritam

Victorious is He with the moon diadem, of incomparable power, the Lord, whose eight forms control (*tantritam*) the beginningless universe !

The reading *anādi* is not entirely clear, indeed Gerdi Gerschheimer had at first tentatively transcribed *avādi*, but *anādi* seems possible and fits better. Perhaps one could consider treating *anāditanubhir* as a *karmadhāraya* compound ("the universe is controlled by his beginningless bodies"). The eight "bodies" in question are of course the five gross elements, along with the sun, moon and the soul/sacrificer/ sacrifice. As for the use of the *vṛddhi*-grade of the vowel in the first syllable of °*śaikharaḥ*, I am not able to interpret it and I assume that one should simply understand *candraśekharaḥ*. This lunar attribute is perhaps chosen in part to resonate both with the founder's name, Vidyācandra, and with the theonym Prabhāsomeśa: see remarks on st. 8 below.

It seems certain that the use of *tantritam* is intended to resonate with the founder's job-title, for he is described in st. 6 as *tantrādhyakṣeṣv adhipatiḥ*. As we shall see below (annotation on st. 6), the expression *tantra* may refer to the army or to the administration of a state. Given this resonance in a stanza referring to divine activity, which recurs in what is either a name or a description of Viṣṇu in st. 10 (*tantrānubandhakaḥ*), it seems more likely that *tantra* refers to administration than to military activity.

It is further possible that the entire stanza is intended to be primarily a *maṅgala* about Śiva, but also, by *śleṣa*, a description of the ruling sovereign Īśānavarman I (for comparable cases, see K. 80, st. 2; K. 1150, st. 1; and K. 1419), who could be referred to as Īśāna, and could be described as having the moon as his emblem, (*candraśekhara*), or indeed as being "a pinnacle [among those descended] from the moon", in as much as he was a king belonging to a lineage of lunar descent (see Goodall and Revire 2022:270). As for the eight "bodies" in this punning sense, perhaps this could be taken to refer to an *Arthaśāstra*-related list of elements of state by means of which the state could be said to be controlled and sustained (*tantritam*) by Īśānavarman. Now it is true that the commonest such list counts seven constituents of the state, as for instance in this formulation of the *Manusmṛti* (9.294):

svāmyamātyau puraṁ rāṣṭraṁ kośadaṇḍau suhṛt tathā |
sapta prakṛtayo hy etāḥ samastaṁ rājyam ucyate ||

Lord, official, capital, realm, treasury, army and ally — these seven
are said to form a complete kingdom. (trans. Olivelle 2005:205).

In the *Amarakośa*'s formulation, however, it is possible to understand
the inclusion of an eighth constituent (2.7:96):

svāmyamātyasuhṛtkośarāṣṭradurgabalāni ca
rājyāṅgāni prakṛtayaḥ paurāṇāṁ śreṇayo 'pi ca

Lord, officials, allies, treasury, realm, fortifications, army— these
limbs of the state are its constituents (*prakṛtayaḥ*). And also the rows
of citizens.

And this is indeed how the commentator Bhānujī Dīkṣita understands the
stanza in his *Rāmāśramī* commentary, for he remarks *pauraśreṇibhiḥ sahāṣṭāṅgam api
rājyam iti darśitam*, "It is demonstrated that, along with the rows of citizens, the state
can also be said to have eight constituents". Also relevant, as Harunaga Isaacson
has pointed out to me, is *Mahābhārata* 12.122:8cd (ed. Sukthankar et al.): *aṣṭāṅgasya
ca rājyasya papraccha kuśalaṁ tadā*, "Then he asked after the health of the eight-part
state".

Now it is true that neither Īśānavarman's state nor its constituents can be
said to be "beginningless", but we could understand *anādi* in compound to mean
"timeless", thus conveying the notion that the state, wherever it is formed, is always
conceived in terms of these constituent parts.

Alternatively, one could understand that Īśānavarman fostered Śaivism
within his state and so it could be said of him that his entire kingdom (*viśvam*) was
controlled by the beginningless eight forms of Śiva.

In other words, even if we choose not to regard this stanza as a formal *śleṣa*
— a figure which Kālidāsa, and therefore also early Cambodian poets composing
under his influence, used only sparingly —,[5] we can see this suggested second sense
hovering close beneath the surface:

Victorious is Īśāna[varman], whose [family] crest is the moon, of
incomparable power, by whom everything is controlled (*tantritam*)
by means of the timeless (*anādi°*) eight bodies [that constitute the state].

II.

(3) sunīti(pṛthu)śaktibhyāṁ • vijityāśeṣaśātravān

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[5] We can see, from K. 1236, that much more prolific use of *śleṣa* becomes evident in Khmer epigraphs of the eighth
century onwards: see Goodall 2015: 78–80.

(4) (catu)rṇṇāṁ ga(ṇa)varggāṇāṁ • santatiṁ prakaroti yaḥ

 Having conquered all his enemies by means of his shrewd polity (*sunīti°*) and broad-reaching power (*°pṛthuśakti°*), he who fosters (*prakaroti*) the progeny of [all] four groups of society (*gaṇavargāṇām*), …

 The stone is worn and the syllables *pṛthu* ("broad") are not easy to read and I long puzzled over them in the expectation of being able to find a noun here, so as to be able to understand *sunīti* as the first of two *śakti*s and with the syllables now read as *pṛthu* naming the second. But it seems that the dual occupying the first quarter must instead be understood as being formed of *sunīti* and *śakti*. The choice of the verb *prakaroti* at first struck me as surprising, until I noticed that it is the verb that is used to justify the substantive *prakṛti* when used to mean "element that forms/constitutes/fosters [the state]" (for instance by Bhānujī Dīkṣita when commenting on the portion of the *Amarakośa* quoted in the annotation on the previous stanza). Here Īśānavarman I, introduced by the relative pronoun *yaḥ*, is portrayed as sustaining all groups of society, once again, a theme that echoes the employment of the founder Vidyācandra. Presumably these four (perhaps literally "groups of multitudes", *gaṇavargāṇām*) are groups of brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, but perhaps one could instead assume them to refer to *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, *vānaprastha* and *saṁnyāsin*. Another possibility, suggested to me by Christophe Pottier (email of 16.ix.2022), might be to take these four groups of society to be those grouped by the four administrative sectors in the four cardinal directions from the viewpoint of Gambhīreśvara (see st. 6 and annotation thereon).

 Also conceivable would be to assume that what was intended (or written but illegibly damaged) was *guṇavargāṇāṁ*, in which case Īśānavarman would be presented as fostering "four collections of virtues (*guṇa°* ?)", perhaps groups of virtues conducive to the tetrad of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa or to the tetrad of Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya and Aiśvarya. But although the stone is damaged, it does not look as if it once had *guṇa°*.

III.

(5) ya(s)yāṅghriyugalāmbhojaṁ • nakhak(e)saraśobhitam_
(6) sadāvanatasāmanta•mauliṣaṭpadasevitam_

 … the lotus of whose pair of feet, decorated with the filaments that were the toenails, was waited upon by the bees that were the diadems of constantly prostrating vassal kings, …

 The image of the diadems of the prostrate vassal kings hovering like bees over the lotus-like feet of the principal sovereign is ubiquitous. For further remarks on

*sāmanta*s in the seventh-century Khmer realm, see Goodall 2019, particularly p. 76.

IV. [a. na-vipulā: ~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ - ; c. na-vipulā: - - - - ~ ~ ~ -]

(7) amo(gha)[k]ī(r)t(t)ir a(ma)lā • digantaravisarppiṇī

(8) indor jy(o)tsne(v)a (ka)rajā • kavibhir yyasya kīrtyate

… whose (*yasya*) unfailing fame (*amoghakīrtiḥ*) is praised (*kīrtyate*) by poets (*kavibhiḥ*) [as being] pure (*amalā*), spreading out in all directions (*digantaravisarpiṇī*), emanating from his hands (*karajā*), just like (*iva*) the moon's (*indoḥ*) moonlight (*jyotsnā*) *born of its rays* (*karajā*),

> The attributes of his fame all apply equally to the moon's moonlight. Only for one of them, *karajā*, is this achieved by resorting to a second sense. The poet presents Īśānavarman's "undying fame" (*amoghākīrtiḥ*) as "emanating from his hands" perhaps because it was based upon the generous gifts from his hands (the suggestion of S.L.P. Anjaneya Sarma), or because it was based upon the valorous deeds of his arms, or because it was based on both.

V.

(9) śrīśānavarmmadevasya • śrīnivāsasya vikramāt _

(10) ājñay(ādhi)[k](ṛta)s tasya • puṇyānāṁ pālanāya yaḥ

… — by the command (*ājñayā*) of that Śrī-Īśānavarmadeva, a [veritable] Viṣṇu [/a repository of splendour] (*śrīnivāsasya*) because of his broad stride [/because of his valour] (*vikramāt*), there was a person who (*yaḥ*) was appointed (*adhikṛtaḥ*), for the protection (*pālanāya*) of his merit[orious foundation]s (*puṇyānāṁ*).

> The attributes here apply equally to Īśānavarman and to Viṣṇu. The verse thus playfully equates the king with Viṣṇu on account of his "valour"/"broad stride" (*vikramāt*) — an allusion to the Trivikrama myth —, and on account of his being the resting place of Śrī (*śrīnivāsa*).
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> The termination °*varmadeva* is more common in Khmer than in Sanskrit, except in later epigraphs. Perhaps there is therefore a special reason for the use of °*varmmadevasya* here, since it is otherwise so rare in the seventh century, namely to underline that Īśānavarman was, in a sense, a *deva* ("god" / "majesty"), thus emphasising one more respect in which he was comparable to Viṣṇu. In other words, perhaps we should interpret "this [veritable] God (°*devasya*), Śrī-Īśānavarman, who is a veritable Viṣṇu".
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> The expression *puṇyānāṁ pālanāya* might allow the alternative possibility that he was appointed "for the protection of [public] morals"; but this seems less plausible

to me. I provisionally assume that *puṇya* means what *dharma* often means in these inscriptions, namely "a [founding act that earns] merit", in other words a religious foundation or endowment or the like.

VI. [c. na-vipulā: - - - - ~ ~ ~ -]

(11) śrīgambhīreśvara(syaiva) • dakṣiṇā(śā)mukhasya yaḥ

(12) tantrādhyakṣeṣv adhipati•ḥ kuśale(ṣv eva) karmmasu

He who (*yaḥ*) was the overlord (*adhipatiḥ*) of administrative officers (*tantrādhyakṣeṣu*) for the South-facing ŚrīGambhīreśvara, specifically (*eva*) in respect of auspicious (*kuśaleṣu*) deeds (*karmasu*), …

This stanza introduces as servant of Īśānavarman, whose name, as we learn from st. 8 below, is Vidyācandra.

I have understood *tantrādhyakṣeṣu* here not as "military officers" but as "administrative officers", since that seems to fit the context, for it would be consonant with the various allusive echoes of administration in stanzas 1, 2 and 10, as well as with the reference to the "protection of meritorious foundations" in st. 5. Sircar's epigraphical glossary (1961) contains entries for related terms such as *tantrapāla, tantranāyaka, tantrādhipa, tantrādhyakṣa, sarvatantrādhikṛta, tantrādhikārin, tantrapati*, etc., and these suggest that something like "administrative officer" might be an appropriate interpretation. Several of these administrative titles are recorded also in Ritti's *Glossary of Administrative Terms in Ancient Karnataka* (2000:13–14). Curiously, although Ritti et al. give the translation "office in charge of administration" for *tantrapāla*, they then quote (2000:13) the definition *tantraṁ caturaṅgabalam* ("*tantra* is the army of four parts [elephants, cavalry, infantry, chariots]") from Somadeva's tenth-century *Nītivākyāmṛta* (18.12). But the *Nītivākyāmṛta* also records an administrative sense for *tantra*, as is recorded in the *Dictionary of Law and Statecraft* recently published by Olivelle et al. (2015:172–173), namely "section of Nītiśāstra dealing with the governance of one's own kingdom (opposed to *āvāpa*). Somadeva, *Nītivākyāmṛta* (30.45– 47): *tantrāvāpau nītiśāstram / svamaṇḍalapālanābhiyogas tantram / paramaṇḍalāvāptyabhiyoga āvāpaḥ*."[6]

Of course sometimes *tantra* in epigraphical contexts (as in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*), might refer to an army or to a division of an army, in particular the infantry (suggested privately by Walter Slaje, as mentioned in a message of Martin Gansten to the Indology bulletin board of 4.vii.2022). Lexicons (such as that of Monier-Williams) also record *tantra* for "army" and *tantrin* for "soldier". Here, however, we

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[6] "Administration and Acquisition make up the discipline of Politics. Application to the task of protecting one's own territory is Administration (*tantram*). Application to the task of acquiring the territories of others is Acquisition (*āvāpaḥ*)."

assume that it does not refer to an army.

Palaeographically the *le* of *kuśaleṣv* is unusual, since the *e-mātrā* is neither horizontally to the left of the consonant *l*, nor underneath it to the left, but comes instead above the core of the letter and yet inside the outermost loop. We do not know of parallels for this position. And what is meant by *kuśala* here ? It is perhaps conceivable that it could refer rather to "celebratory" tasks, but it seems more likely that it is used here as a synonym of *puṇya*, and indeed its sense may be "meritorious" according to Edgerton's 1953 dictionary of "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit". (Cf. *puṇya* in st. 5 immediately above.)

The theonym Gambhīreśvara is of a familiar type, and we find it assigned to a Śiva in Benares in the eighth-century Kashmirian novel of Dāmodaragupta, the *Kuṭṭanīmata* (st. 743, Dezső and Goodall 2013:278–279, 400, n. 75). In Khmer history it has a particular significance because it is the name of the Śiva to whom one a king Bhavavarman (presumably Bhavavarman I) claims a particular devotion in K. 53, st. 5. The stanza in question is oddly phrased and not entirely clear:

> svaśaktyākrāntarājyasya rājñaś śrībhavavarmmaṇaḥ
> śrīgambhīreśvaro yasya rājyakalpataroḥ phalam

> For this (*yasya*) king Śrī Bhavavarman, who had conquered his kingdom by his own might,[7] Śrī Gambhīreśvara was the fruit of the wish-fulfilling tree that was his kingdom.

Barth (1885:69, n.2) suggests that Bhavavarman must have founded a *śivaliṅga* called Gambhīreśvara. This and the various other hitherto published allusions to Gambhīreśvara in the epigraphical record have been discussed in some detail by Pottier (2017:49–53), but since we now have a freshly discovered allusion in K. 1418, it is worth going over some of the ground again. The general assumption had long been that the principal deity of the northern group of temples at Sambor Prei Kuk (= Īśānavarman I's "capital city" Īśānapura) was called Gambhīreśvara (thus, for instance, Cœdès, *IC* IV, p. 30), but Pottier has shown that there is in fact no conclusive evidence that there was a Gambhīreśvara at Sambor Prei Kuk. One piece of supposed evidence is a ten-stanza door-jamb inscription in the northern group (Tour N20) that mentions Gambhīreśvara in its second stanza (K. 439, st. 2), a prominent position that might suggest that the epigraph commemorated the installation of a Śiva called Gambhīreśvara (for a list of other such pre-Angkorian instances where the theonym of the deity installed seems to be mentioned in the

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[7] Among other considerations, this attribute ("who had conquered his kingdom by his own might") implies that this was the first Bhavavarman of the lineage, and not Bhavavarman II.

opening of the commemorative inscription, see Goodall and Revire 2022:271). But K. 439 is so damaged that we cannot tell what it commemorates, other than that it seems to have been some meritorious foundation connected with two brothers who were servants of a Bhavavarman. According to Cœdès (*IC* IV, p. 30), this was Bhavavarman II, but perhaps we should rather assume (with Pottier 2017:50) that it was Bhavavarman I, given that he is described as the grandson (*naptā*) of someone whose name probably began with an S (K. 439, st. 3), in other words perhaps Sārvabhauma (cf. K. 359 and the inscriptions of Citrasena-Mahendravarman). Of course it is possible that there were several deities installed over time who were assigned the name Gambhīreśvara, just as there are many called Bhadreśvara or, as we shall see below, Prabhāsasomeśvara.

But one place where there certainly was a Gambhīreśvara in pre-Angkorian times is Ak Yum, once a terraced "mountain" temple that is now largely buried in the earthen rampart forming the Southern edge of the Western Baray in the Angkor archeological park. We know this from K. 749 of 647 CE. It is therefore conceivable that Bhavavarman I's Gambhīreśvara was in "Angkor" and that it was the focus of his "capital city" Bhavapura (on Bhavapura and on "capitals", see again Pottier 2017 and, quoting him, Goodall 2022: 53–56).

But why the mention of Gambhīreśvara as South-facing here ? Neither the supposititious Gambhīreśvara of K. 439 in Tour N20 at Sambor Prei Kuk, nor the Gambhīreśvara of Ak Yum seems to have faced South in the conventional sense, for these shrines did not open to the South. Indeed, built shrines (as opposed to excavated ones) to Śiva in a *liṅga* almost invariably open to the East or the West, not to the North or the South. One explanation that at first suggests itself is that the deity is regarded as South-facing if one approaches from the southern side. Undertaking important activities while facing North towards the South-facing side of the *liṅga* has a long history. Ritual instructions in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, for instance, may include the formulation *dakṣiṇasyāṁ mūrtau*, or some equivalent thereof, meaning "[presenting oneself so that one is] in front of the southern side of the image" (see the discussion in TAK 3, s.v. *dakṣiṇāmūrti*). Perhaps the deity might therefore be South-facing here only in the sense that Vidyācandra positioned himself facing North towards the deity, in order to be next to the deity's Southern side ?

Another hypothesis is that Gambhīreśvara might be thought of as turned towards the South in the sense that it was situated somewhere to the North of the site where K. 1418 was erected. If this was the Gambhīreśvara of Ak Yum, in what is now Angkor, it would indeed be to the North and might therefore be described as looking southwards also to of Sambor Prei Kuk, the centre of "empire" under Īśānavarman. As for stanza 9, where we learn that some divinity is to share offerings

with a North-facing Śiva, could this then be a reference to the Gambhīreśvara of Sambor Prei Kuk, which would be far to the South of Ak Yum? If so, then perhaps two Gambhīreśvaras were seen as bracketing the heartland of Īśānavarman's kingdom at its Northern and Southern ends? But, as we have noted above, Pottier (2017:49–53) casts doubt on whether there ever actually was a Gambhīreśvara at Sambor Prei Kuk.

At this point in our deliberations, it is worth introducing another (damaged) account of an officer (perhaps again of Īśānavarman I) being employed (*niyuktaḥ*) in an unclear capacity, but again with reference to a certain direction (in that case East, *pūrvam*) with respect to Gambhīreśvara. The inscription in question, K. 482, although of the seventh century, was found reused in a hospital of Jayavarman VII at Kok Roka, so its original location is unknown, but it seems reasonable to assume that it was not far from Kok Roka. As Christophe Pottier has observed to me (correspondence of 16.ix.2022), Kok Roka is located at an East-South-East position with respect to Ak Yum, at an orientation of 125°, and is thus in the eastern quadrant, which extends up to 135°, and which thus contains Sambor Prei Kuk, whereas K. 1418 is located to the South-East of Ak Yum, at an orientation of 137° and thus in the southern quadrant. If the Khmers were aware of this in the seventh century, this shows a high level of spatial knowledge, since this is a difference of just 2° at a distance of about 150 km! The relative positions of the site are illustrated in Fig. 8 (kindly furnished by Christophe Pottier).
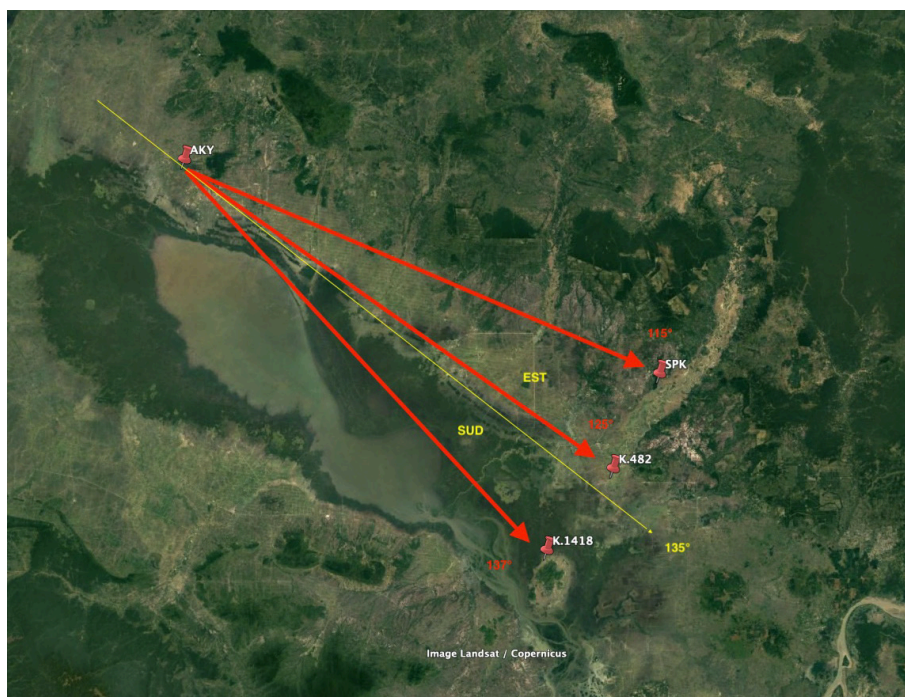

Fig. 8. Map (prepared by Christophe Pottier) indicating the relative positions of K. 1418, K. 482, Īśānapura (Sambor Prei Kuk) and Gambhīreśvara (Ak Yum).

The second stanza of K. 482 (*IC* V, p. 28) reads:

> (3) bhūyo mahībhujā tena niyukto (y)= ~ - ~
>
> (4) śrīgambhīreśvarākhyasya śambhoḫ pūrvvamu(kh)[as](y)[a] =

The final (y) of the first half and the last two syllables of the second half are not transcribed by Cœdès, who instead prints the last word thus: *pūrvvam u - ~ -*. But the left part of a *kh* seems to be visible in the EFEO estampage n. 186, and perhaps also the left-hand tip of the loop of a subscript *y* attached to the letter after it, thus making this parallel to our inscription in one further point, namely the addition of *mukha* to the direction (or as part of the designation of the direction). Adding the evidence of K. 482, perhaps we either have at least two deities, namely an East-facing Gambhīreśvara and a South facing one, or perhaps we have two references to a single deity who faces out into those directions. In both known cases, namely here (K. 1418, st. 6) and in K. 482, the direction of Gambhīreśvara's gaze seems to define a region in which an officer is employed. One could imagine that Gambhīreśvara was held to face in all directions because he was installed in a *liṅga* or a *caturmukhaliṅga*, like the Śiva called Prahasiteśvara installed in the central shrine of the Southern group in Sambor Prei Kuk (K. 440, K. 442, st. 1 and 28).

There is another tantalising Angkorian reference to Gambhīreśvara (other than the Angkorian-period references in stanzas 21 and 22 of K. 436), namely in st. 11 of K. 148, and it is again juxtaposed (in st. 12) with some remark about the Southern direction; but more than half the syllables of each stanza are illegible because of damage, and we can deduce very little from the passage.

References to administrative districts named according to whether they lie to the East, South, West or North of somewhere unspecified are as common in Khmer territory as they are elsewhere. Dominique Soutif has pointed me, for instance, to Jenner's entry, under *tarāñ*, for *jeṅ tarāñ* (K. 713:7; K. 878:2; K. 238A:8; K. 466:5; K. 235D:70; K. 175N:7), which seems to mean "Northern district", and which he defines as a "toponym, unlocated *viṣaya*".[8] Similarly, under *karoṃ*, Jenner mentions *viṣaya karoṃ* (K. 235D:98), which he defines: "'the *viṣaya* (district) of Karoṃ', presumably 'South'." And Jenner records "Pūrvadiśa ('the East'), name of a territory east of the Great Lake," and he further remarks in a footnote that *pūrvadiśa* is sometimes referred to as a *viṣaya*, and sometimes as a *pramān*, another term for a district: "Designated a *pramān* (K. 878:5; K. 669B:5; K. 235D:97) and a *viṣaya* (K. 235B:5, D:25, 55, 64). None of these attestations is early, for these inscriptions are all of the Angkorian period, and it is of course possible that the reference point

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[8] I have used the online *Dictionary of Old Khmer* (consulted 4.x.2022), which "explores and maintains" Jenner's dictionaries of Angkorian and Pre-Angkorian Khmer (2009a and 2009b).

is indeed the lake, rather than Gambhīreśvara, who may have been waning steadily in importance, and to whom the latest references seem to be in K. 148 and K. 436, both apparently of the tenth-century reign of Rājendravarman.

In short, nothing seems certain about this interpretation, but my best guess, at the moment, is that the four directions of the gaze of the Gambhīreśvara of Ak Yum may have defined four administrative regions. We shall return to the issue in the annotation on st. 9 below.

VII.

(13) [hṛ](ṣyan ma)no gurūṇāñ ca • bhave bhaktinivandhanam_

(14) sadānusmṛtiyogaś ca • yasyeṣṭañ janmajanmasu

For whom (*yasya*) what was most desired (*iṣṭaṁ*), in birth after birth (*janmajanmasu*), was a happy (*hṛṣyat*) disposition (*manaḥ*) towards his gurus, firm attachment to devotion (*bhaktinibandhanam*) towards Śiva (*bhave*), and constant immersion in recollection [of Śiva] (*sadānusmṛtiyogaḥ*),

This describes the founder, Vidyācandra, whose name is introduced in the following stanza. Another conceivable interpretation might be:

> ".. .. who possessed a happy disposition towards his gurus, firm attachment to devotion (*bhaktinibandhanam*) towards Śiva (*bhave*), and constant immersion in recollection [of Śiva] (*sadānusmṛtiyogaḥ*), [and] the most desirable (*iṣṭam*) birth (*janma*) among [all possible] births (*janmasu*), ..."

But *janmajanmasu* or *janmajanmani* in the sense of "in birth after birth" is a well-established idiom, particularly in *Purāṇa*s, and the expression of a pious wish seems in any case decidedly more likely. There is, furthermore, a parallel in an inscription of 579 *śaka* (657 CE) recording the pious act of Vidyācandra's namesake, Jñānacandra, namely K. 493. Indeed this echo of K. 1418 is one of two uncanny resonances in the same inscription (the other we shall treat in the annotation on st. 9 below) that could make one wonder whether Vidyācandra, the servant under Īśānavarman I might not be the same man as the minister (*amātya*) Jñānacandra of Jayavarman I. He would, however, have to have lived a long and active life for this to be possible, if indeed he installed Prabhāsasomeśvara before 620 CE, at least thirty-seven years earlier, as is suggested by K. 138. Furthermore, there is other evidence that makes the identification of Vidyācandra and Jñānacandra still more unlikely, namely an unpublished two-sided stela, K. 1431, in Sanskrit and in Khmer, of which Hun Chhunteng and I produced a preliminary transcription in May 2019. Beginning with praises of Jayavarman I, K. 1431 records an endowment of an *āśrama* called Puṇyāśrama by Jñānacandra and is dated to 608 *śaka*. It seems conceivable that

K. 493 and K. 1431, only twenty-nine years apart, were produced by the same Jñānacandra, in which case an identification with Vidyācandra would be impossible. Be that as it may, stanza 4 of K. 493, which reads as follows, similarly juxtaposes a statement about the act of installation with a pious wish to have devotion to Śiva in birth after birth:

> teneha sthāpito bhaktyā śrīmān āmrātakeśvaraḥ
> yathā mama śive bhaktiḥ pratijanma bhaved iti

> This [Jñānacandra] installed here with devotion the venerable Āmrātakeśvara with the thought (iti): "May I have devotion to Śiva in every rebirth!"

VIII.

(15) (ten)[ā](t)ra (yoginā) nāmnā • vidyācan(dre)na yajvanā

(16) sa śrīpra(bhā)saso(meśo) • vidhinā supratiṣṭhitaḥ

8b. vidyācan(dre)na] Understand: *vidyācandreṇa*.

In this place (*atra*) by that (*tena*) yogin, by name Vidyācandra, the founder (*yajvanā*), this [god] Śrī Prabhāsasomeśa was correctly installed (*supratiṣṭhitaḥ*) in accordance with [scriptural] injunctions (*vidhinā*).

This stanza introduces the name of the founder, Vidyācandra. For a brief discussion of the possibility that male names beginning with Vidyā- in seventh-century Khmer inscriptions might suggest some sort of affiliation with Pāśupatas, see Goodall 2019: 27–28. This inscription furnishes no determinative evidence on this question. It seems unusual in this period, however, that the founder should describe himself as a Yogin, which perhaps suggests a relatively high level of religious practice for a seventh-century bureaucrat. For the interpretation of *yajvanā* as meaning simply "founder/agent [of an act of merit]", see Goodall 2019:42–43.

As for the name of Śiva here, Prabhāsasomeśa/Prabhāsasoma (we are grateful to Yuko Yokochi for having discerned the syllables °*someśo*) is a theonym that we meet in five other pre-Angkorian inscriptions, namely K. 138, K. 439, K. 652, K. 1030 and K. 1259 (cf. also K. 666). The name is that of a famous ancient Śiva, now in Gujarat (Sanderson 2004:408), and its adoption is another instance of the transplantation of sacred geography onto Khmer soil. Among the inscriptions that allude to deities with this name in Khmer territory, K. 138 belongs to the same immediate neighbourhood as K. 1418 (only 8 km distant and also from one of the sites around the Tuk Meas massif) and may refer to the very same deity. This in turn suggests that K. 1418, although undated, belongs to before 620 CE, since 542

śaka is the date of K. 138, which records the endowment of Prabhāsasomeśa with personnel.

Note also that, as Sanderson observes (2004:408, fn. 213), the Śiva of Prabhāsa in India is variously called Someśvara, Somanātha, Śaśibhūṣaṇa, and Śaśiśekhara, so there is a lunar resonance with the name of the founder, Vidyācandra, as well as with the name of Śiva used in the opening *maṅgala*-verse. (One may note, however, that most inscriptions of the reign of Īśānavarman that begin with a *maṅgala* praising Śiva allude in some way to Śiva's lunar diadem.)

IX.

(17) yasya (bhū)m(ipradeśe) smin_ • sthāpito bhagavān iyam_

(18) tenottaradigāsyena • śambhunā sthira(bhoga)tām_

May the Bhagavān [Viṣṇu] installed [here] in this same piece of ground of Him [viz. Prabhāsasomeśa] (*yasya*) go to a relationship of fixed [shared] revenue with that same Śambhu [namely Prabhāsasomeśa], who faces North [with respect to Gambhīreśvara?].

Unfortunately, this stanza and the next, which seem intended to give some information about how the finances of the foundation were to be managed, are extremely difficult to understand, partly because there is an apparent corruption (*iyam* in 9b), partly because two syllables of 10a are illegible, and partly because some of the expressions used are not exactly paralleled elsewhere in the corpus (*sthirabhogatām* in 9d; *tantrānuvandhakaḥ* in 10d). We must therefore resort to setting out the conceivable interpretations that have occurred to us.

The feminine pronoun *iyam* seems really to be what is written, which would seem, at first blush, to be an obvious copying error for the masculine nominative pronoun *ayam*. But perhaps, after all, we may suppose it to be a copying error for the optative *iyāt*, "may he go", for we seem to require a verb of going so that it can govern the object, namely the accusative expression *sthirabhogatām*. If, instead, we were to correct to *ayam*, then perhaps we would also have to correct *sthirabhogatām* to *sthirabhogatā*.

The point seems to be that two divinities are to share offerings (cf. instances of such expressions as *miśrabhoga*, *ekabhoga*). Unfortunately, although there are several parallels for *miśrabhoga*, there are none for *sthirabhoga*. Nonetheless the expression might mean the same here, for it could be intended as giving essentially the same sense, given that it is to be construed with the instrumental phrase (*tenottaradigāsyena śambhunā*), but also with an optative (*iyāt*) expressive of a pious wish, here a wish both for the sharing of revenue and for the longevity of the arrangement.

Furthermore, it may be observed that the sharing of revenue is in fact expressed in a variety of ways in pre-Angkorian records. Beginning with the most readily recognisable, we may cite, for instance, K. 1419, st. 6, with the translation of Chhom 2019:51:

guros svabhaktyā bhaginīṁ murāreḥ śrīśarvvagovindam atiṣṭhipat saḥ

svayambhudevībhavakeśavānāṁ tenāpi saṁsthāpita ekabhogaḥ (||)

Out of personal devotion (*svabhaktya*) toward his spiritual master, he installed the sister (*bhaginīm*) of Murāri [as well as] Śrī Śarva and [Śrī] Govinda. He also (*api*) established single enjoyment [of offerings] (*ekabhogaḥ*) among (these three deities, namely) Svayambhudevī, Bhava and Keśava.

It makes little difference to the question at issue here, but as an aside, although my suggestions are graciously acknowledged for the translation of this inscription, I now think it slightly more likely that Śarva-Govinda is one deity, a Harihara, and that this stanza should rather be interpreted thus:

Out of personal devotion toward his spiritual master, he installed the sister (*bhaginīm*) of Murāri [as well as] Śrī Śarva-Govinda. He also established single enjoyment [of offerings] (*ekabhogaḥ*) among [these three deities, namely] Svayambhu [=Puṣkareśa], Devī, and Harihara [= Bhavakeśava].

Also relatively clear on the matter of the sharing of revenue, even if the expression used is different, and even if the identities of the deities are again the subject of debate, is K. 22, st. 5:[9]

viṣṇucandeśvareśānaliṅgaṁ tena pratiṣṭhitam
ekabhoganivaddhāstu tatpūjety asya niścayaḥ

He [scil. Īśānadatta] installed a Viṣṇu, a Caṇḍeśvara and a Śivaliṅga. This was his decision: "Let their worship be connected by enjoyment of the same offerings".

Differently formulated again is the arrangement mentioned in st. 2 of K. 561:

śrīraṇḍāparvvateśena kṛtaṁ śrījayavarmmaṇā
miśraṁ śrīkhaṇḍaliṅgākhyaṁ trivyomartuyute śake

Śrī Jayavarman made [the revenue of the deity] called Śrīkhaṇḍaliṅga mixed (*miśram*) with [that of] Śrī Raṇḍāparvateśa in the *śaka* year 603.

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[9] Quoted here is the translation printed in Goodall 2009:409 (quoting Sanderson 2004:438, fn. 317). The suggestions of Barth and Cœdès are laid out in *IC* III, pp. 145–146.

Finally, we should consider st. 5 of K. 493, of Jñānacandra, who just might have been Vidyācandra in old age:

> ihāpi bhagavān pūrvvaḥ śrīmān rudramahālayaḥ
> ubhayor ddevakulayor ekatvam upabhogataḥ

> In this place there are also the old (*pūrvaḥ*) Bhagavān and the venerable Rudramahālaya. [There is hereby declared to be] union (*ekatvam*) in respect of their revenue (*upabhogataḥ*) of these two sanctuaries [with the revenue of Āmrātakeśvara (?)].

The installation of Āmrātakeśvara was mentioned in the preceding stanza of K. 493, as we have seen in our annotation to st. 7 of K. 1418 above. It is possible that Cœdès intended this interpretation, but it is possible also that he supposed that only the revenues of Bhagavān and Rudramahālaya were united, for he translates as follows (IC *II*, p. 151):

> Il y a aussi l'ancien dieu et le vénérable Rudramahālaya. Les moyens de subsistance de ces deux sanctuaires ont été réunis.

As Cœdès there explains, the Khmer text of K. 493 enables us to exclude the possibility that *pūrvaḥ bhagavān* and *rudramahālayaḥ* were one and the same, since it distinguishes Rudramahālaya and "the old god" (*vraḥ kamratāñ cas*).

Juxtaposing these passages helps us to see that revenue-sharing in the pre-Angkorian period may involve a mix of Śaiva and non-Śaiva deities who happen to be in proximity to each other, and that they do not seem to involve, as we find commonly in the Angkorian period, cases of revenue-sharing with far distant and more famous shrines that share the same sectarian affiliation, a common Angkorian type being the linking of Śaiva shrines with the Bhadreśvara of Vat Phu. It also helps us to see that the expressions in pre-Angkorian inscriptions referring to revenue-sharing are quite various. Only in Khmer passages do we find fixed expressions: *saṁ paribhoga* or *psaṁ paribhoga* being the most common, encountered for instance in K. 6, in K. 51, in K. 137, in K. 155, in K. 163, in K. 426, in line 35 of the Khmer portion of K. 561, in K. 582, in line 1 of the East face of K. 600, in K. 818, in line A20 of K. 904, in K. 926, in K. 1028, in K. 1275. A variant of this expression is *psaṁ upabhoga*, used twice in K. 127.

Less common, at least in this early period, is the more readily recognisable term, namely *miśrabhoga*, in K. 563, in K. 728 and in line 24 of the Khmer portion

of K. 1236. But the Sanskrit expressions are so various that we might not easily understand individual cases without having parallels to lay beside them. The use, therefore, of *iyāt … sthirabhogatām*, which seemed at first glance surprising, is no more anomalous than *ekatvam upabhogataḥ*. Nor should it now be quite as surprising to find deities seeming to have a different sectarian affiliation and being ambiguously or insufficiently identified. Here, for instance, in K. 1418, a Bhagavān who may or may not have a name that is mentioned is linked in revenue with a Śiva. The reason, presumably, is that more precise identification seemed unnecessary because the deities at issue were simply close by to one another, not distant famous deities such as Bhadreśvara.

Having concluded that this stanza may plausibly refer to an arrangement of revenue-sharing, we may turn to other difficulties of interpretation.

The translation printed above assumes that the *yasya* refers to Prabhāsasomeśa, which is not only the last mentioned noun but is also preceded by a demonstrative pronoun and put in the nominative. This assumption entails the further assumption that Bhagavān refers to another deity, which could be a Śiva, but in the absence of other evidence, might be assumed to be a Viṣṇu, since *bhagavat* is more commonly used of Viṣṇu. We would expect a theonym, and there isn't one, unless we assume that Tantrānubandhaka, in the following stanza, is intended as a name of Viṣṇu. All this is quite problematic, and becomes more so when we draw into the picture the issue of the orientation of Śiva.

As already mentioned above, Śiva, when worshipped in the *liṅga*, is generally approached from the East and the West, not placed in a shrine that opens from the North or the South. Having a North-facing *liṅga* would be extremely unusual, and perhaps unparalleled. Of course it is possible that Prabhāsasomeśa here inhabited an anthropomorphic sculpture of Śiva rather than a *liṅga*, and in that case perhaps a North-facing shrine might be possible. We may note that the fierce Vīrabhadra form of Śiva occupies the principal North-facing shrine in the sixteenth-century temple at Lepakshi, in Andhra Pradesh. North-facing shrines in pre-Angkorian Cambodia may be rare, but there is at least one famous example, namely the North-facing basalt shrine known as Asram Moha Russei (IK 19; for an illustrated description, see Bruguier and Lacroix 2009:134–140). But we do not know today which divinity was once installed there. Another probably non-Śaiva example is the principal shrine of Phnom Da (IK 18), a brick-clad laterite construction of the twelfth-century, but which replaces a more ancient structure that, as was pointed out to me by Christophe Pottier, was probably oriented in the same way. Perhaps the only Śaiva North-facing shrine is that of Preah Vihear. Again, the surviving fabric of that temple is of the Angkorian period, but there may once have been an earlier North-facing shrine there. In the case of Preah Vihear, the terrain may have dictated the orientation

(thus Bruguier and Lacroix 2013:527, quoting Parmentier).

One way out of this difficulty might be to assume that "North-facing" refers after all not to the orientation of the opening of the shrine (and thus of the deity inside the shrine), but rather to the fact of the deity's Southern geographical location with respect to Gambhīreśvara. In other words, perhaps it could be described as being turned towards the North, in spite of being in a shrine opening to the East or the West, simply because Gambhīreśvara was in the North and was regarded as a site of central importance.[10]

Alternatively, assuming a correction of *iyam* to *ayam* and a correction of *sthirabhogatām* to *sthirabhogatā*, perhaps one could imagine that the following sense was intended:

> On this same ground of his [viz. of Prabhāsasomeśa], this Bhagavān [Viṣṇu] has been installed. [There should be] stable sharing of revenue (corr. to *sthirabhogatā*) between this [Viṣṇu], who faces North, and the Śiva.

Or instead, keeping *iyam* and correcting *sthirabhogatām* to *sthirabhogatā*, with which *iyam* would then agree, perhaps we could arrive at this understanding:

> On this same ground of his [viz. of Prabhāsasomeśa], a Viṣṇu (*bhagavān*) has been installed. Here is (*iyam*) a stable sharing of revenue (*sthirabhogatā*) between this [Viṣṇu], who faces North, with the Śiva.

All the translations discussed above make different assumptions about the syntax and the nature of the corruption, but they come down to essentially the same interpretation, namely that there was also a Viṣṇu installed somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the Śiva called Prabhāsasomeśvara (referred to with *yasya*), who may or may not have been a *liṅga* but was in some sense "North-facing", and the founder wished the two deities to share revenue.

But it is perhaps conceivable (though syntactically less likely), that the *yasya* once again refers back to Vidyācandra.

> May the Lord who is installed in this place of this man's [viz. Vidyācandra's] (*yasya*) village go (*iyāt*?) to a state of stable [sharing] of revenue with that Śiva whose face turns towards the northern direction.

In that case, there might be only one deity installed in this place, referred to both as Prabhāsasomeśa and as Bhagavān, and that deity's revenue would be linked

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[10] Christophe Pottier has suggested to me (email correspondence of 16.ix.2022) that if the kingdom was still centred upon Gambhīreśvara Ak Yum, this might go some way to explaining why there was no "temple-mountain" in Sambor Prei Kuk.

with the revenue of an unspecified North-facing Śiva. This would certainly be odd, but perhaps it is conceivable if we supply the name Gambhīreśvara, since that theonym was mentioned above (st. 6) in connection with facing the South. But then would this be the same Gambhīreśvara (possibly the one in Ak Yum), or might it be a different Gambhīreśvara, for instance one in Sambor Prei Kuk ? If it were the Gambhīreśvara of Ak Yum, then why would it be described as North-facing in an inscription that is situated far to the South? Of course if the Gambhīreśvara of Ak Yum was originally a four-faced *liṅga*, then one could imagine that each of the four faces might have had an independent revenue, but this seems unlikely.

On balance, this last interpretation, even if it is arguably no more awkward syntactically than the others, seems the most awkward to square with other considerations, and this is why we have not adopted it.

X.

(19) tenāyaṁ (bhu)[vam] ānīto • yajvanā kṛtavedinā

(20) sa tasmai prativaddho ya•n devas tantrānuvandhakaḥ

By that same (*tena*) founder (*yajvanā*), who was conscious of favours rendered to him (*kṛtavedinā*), this (*ayam*) deity (*devaḥ*) Tantrānubandhaka [/who protects the administration (*tantrānubandhakaḥ*)] was brought (*ānītaḥ*) to the earth (*bhuvam*) here and was attached [fiscally (?)] (*pratibaddhaḥ*) to that (*tasmai*) [other deity (?)].

The reading of 10a is especially tentative. In place of (*bhu*)[*vam*] *ānīto*, which I persuaded myself was just possible as a reading when I was standing in front of the stone itself in May 2019, all that I can now distinguish of that verse-quarter from the various estampages and photographs at my disposal is this: *tenāyaṁ* (*tu/bhu*) (*ga*) (*t/v*)*ānīto*.

In 10c *prativaddho* was earlier transcribed as *prativarddhe*, which is perhaps also conceivable as a reading of what was engraved, but it appears to make little sense. The reading *prativaddho*, however, could be regarded as comparable to the expression °*nivaddhā* in K. 22, quoted in the annotation on the previous stanza. For the adjective *kṛtavedin*, widely used of high-ranking officials of Bhavavarman I and his lineage, see Goodall 2019, pp. 36 and 76–77.

As the translation above indicates, it seems conceivable that *tantrānuvandhakaḥ* might be intended as a theonym, perhaps a name of Viṣṇu, chosen to echo the founder's function, for Vidyācandra is a supervisor (*adhipati*) of administrators (*tantrādhyakṣa*). It is further conceivable that stanza 10 is intended as a statement that labels stanza 9 as the direct speech of Vidyācandra. In that case, perhaps we

could interpret:

> With this [above speech] (*tena*) this god [Viṣṇu called] Tantrānubandhaka, after being brought to earth, was bound [fiscally] to that [Prabhāsasomeśvara] by the [same] grateful founder [Vidyācandra].

But such an interpretation involves an unnatural usage of *tena*, and so it should perhaps be discounted out of hand.

If we do not take *tantrānuvandhakaḥ* as a theonym, then we could understand it to be a description of the god as one "who arranges affairs" or "who causes the maintenance [of the affairs of the universe]". Whether it is a name or a description phrase, it contains another deliberate resonance with Vidyācandra's job-description in st. 6.

XI.

(21) tatsaparyyāvidhisthityai tenāsmai yan niveditam_

(22) gokṣetradāsādidhanaṁ • saṁhartuṁ yas tad icchati

XII.

(23) avicīyātanāṁ ghorāṁ • sa (yāyā)t puruṣādhamaḥ

(24) saputrapautrasantāno • na (bh)ū(yo ja)n(ma) lapdhavān_

12a. avicī°] Understand: *avīcī°*.

12d. lapdhavān] Understand: *labdhavān*.

Whoever should wish to take the wealth of cattle, fields, slaves and so forth that have been given to this [god] for the stable maintenance of the performance of worship of that [Śiva], may that worst of men go to the terrible punishment of [the hell called] Avīcī, along with his line of sons and grandsons, while never attaining [human] birth again.

We could perhaps take the active past participle *labdhavān* either as a finite verb with optative sense ("may he attain") or as a perfect participle with future sense ("he will be one who has attained"). The last quarter implies that the miscreant should stay in the hell of Avīcī forever. The form labdha is erroneously spelled lapdha also in three other pre-Angkorian epigraphs: in st. 7 of K. 53, st. 7 of K. 60, and st. 3 of K. 1247 (unpublished).

CONCLUSION

What all this suggests to me is that, in addition to a class of tax-collecting city-governors (discussed at length in Goodall 2019), Īśānavarman's administration contained a group of officers who supervised the temples and other religious foundations of the realm that had royal sanction. These foundations might at least in some cases have been exempt from whatever taxes in kind the governors levied. This is implied not only by Angkorian-period inscriptions that speak, for instance, of regional bureaucrats not levying tax from temple staff nor using them for corvées (e.g. K. 1320, st. 90, quoted, along with other examples, by Goodall and Wareham 2017:182), but also by the many pre-Angkorian (and also Angkorian) references to particular deities sharing revenue (such as we seem to see here in stanzas 9–10 above, since these imply the possibility of a discrete economy maintained across the network of temple-foundations. And indeed Ian Lowman (quoted by Goodall and Wareham 2017: 184–185) has suggested that the plethora of temples named Bhadreśvara after the Śiva in the sacred centre at Vat Phu are evidence of a continuation of this sort of practice in the tenth-century and beyond, since they imply that, by adopting an affiliation with the Śiva of Vat Phu, "provincial temples were required to donate a certain portion of their production and personnel to Vat Phu, and in exchange they were promised independence from power-holders at the level of the *viṣaya* or administrative district."

Given a sufficient number of temples and other meritorious foundations that enjoyed royal approval, some sort of centralised administrative oversight must have seemed required. And this inscription arguably provides evidence of this need. It furthermore suggests that the administrative oversight of religious foundations may have been divided into zones to the South and East of a shrine to Śiva Gambhīreśvara, and therefore possibly also to the North and West. (In Īśānavarman's reign, one obvious northern outpost was the Bhadreśvara of Vat Phu, and to the West we may now add as evidence K. 1563, a fragmentary inscription from Mueng Phaniat, near Chanthaburi in Thailand: see Goodall and Revire 2022:266–272).

The location of the central Gambhīreśvara is uncertain. If it were in Īśānavarman's capital, Īśānapura, then it would have been rather southerly in relation to the totality of Īśānavarman's territory. But it might have been the Gambhīreśvara at Ak Yum, perhaps the site of Bhavavarman I's capital (see Pottier 2017), within today's Angkor Archeological Park. Either location would arguably be consistent with Vidyācandra, the founder immortalised in K. 1418, being in charge of temple-administrators in the district falling beneath the southward gaze of Gambhīreśvara (see st. 6). But the location of Kok Roka, in Kompong Thom province, the site of K. 482, which seems to speak of an administration of the district falling under Gambhīreśvara's eastern gaze, would fit better with the hypothesis that the central point was Ak Yum, since Kok Roka seems to be South-West of Sambor Prei Kuk. Since Ak Yum was not Īśānavarman I's capital and may instead have been that of Bhavavarman I (Pottier 2017), this in turn implies that this administrative arrangement might in some form have predated the reign of Īśānavarman.

This in turn reminds us that this inscription, apart from the evidence it provides about

zoning and about the continued importance of Gambhīreśvara, is also significant because it provides evidence of a class of administrators previously unattested in the Khmer epigraphical record, namely the *tantrādhyakṣa*s, apparently invested with some sort of authority over religious foundations, and a transregional overseer (*adhipati*), appointed by the king, of those *tantrādhyakṣa*s. To our still extremely fuzzy picture of the hierarchy of the seventh-century state, we may therefore add that there were not only regional tax-collecting governors of towns (a class of administrators discussed in Goodall 2019), but also a transregional network of administrators of pious foundations. Of course we do not know exactly what they did or how many they were, and the fact that they appear in no other inscriptions suggests that this may not have formed a long-lasting administrative structure. Of course it is conceivable that they do in fact appear in other inscriptions, but under other names or descriptions. One could hypothesise, for instance, that *tantrādhyakṣa* might be intended to designate persons appointed to be in charge of the running (protection, upkeep, maintenance of worship) of just one particular temple or *āśrama*, in other words, to the persons who in later epigraphs are typically known by the designation *kulapati* (where *kula* is short for *devakula*, "temple"), e.g. in st. 45 of K. 95. In faint support of this, we may note that, whereas *kulapati* is common in passages in Khmer in inscriptions of the Angkorian period, it is less so in passages in Sanskrit, where there seems to be no single privileged term for such a person, and less so in pre-Angkorian Khmer.[11] Similarly, the Khmer expression *khloñ vnaṃ*, "head of a sanctuary, Superior" (thus Jenner), is common in the Angkorian period, but we seem to find only one pre-Angkorian instance (of *kloñ vnaṃ añ*, line 25 of K. 9). A couple of examples where such religious superiors are described in Sanskrit rather than named are discussed in Goodall 2021, and a pre-Angkorian case is to be found in st. 12–13 of K. 604 as interpreted by Goodall (2019:46 and 51–52).[12] If the *tantrādhyakṣa*s mentioned here were thus indeed simply the heads of different individual temples and pious foundations, then the only transregional officer would have been their overseer (*adhipati*), namely Vidyācandra.

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[11] In K. 44 (of 596 *śaka*), line 5 of side B, for example, simply the word *adhikāra* seems to be used to refer to the superintendent of a temple of Utpanneśvara and of a Śreṣṭhāśrama (foundations which the same inscription appears to associate with the patronage of Rudravarman in the sixth century). Jenner (s.v. *adhikāra*) observes that the usage is without parallel ("hapax").

[12] It is possible that the phrase *ya[ḥ] śrīcāmpeśvaraharer arcako 'rcayatāṃ varaḥ* in st. 6 of K. 1457 is intended to assert that Kṛṣṇapāla was the head of the Cāmpeśvara temple in the reign of Jayavarman III.

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CISARK	*Carte interactive des sites archéologigues khmers*
IC	*Inscriptions du Cambodge.* See Cœdès 1937–1966.
IK	Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge:
	see Lunet de Lajonquière 1902
MNPP	Musée National à Phnom Penh
TAK3	*Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. 3. See Goodall and Rastelli 2013.

Amarakośa. See Dādhimatha 1997.

Manusmṛti. See Olivelle 2005.

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