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► **To cite this version:**

Dominic Goodall, Arlo Griffiths. Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā, V. The Short Foundation Inscriptions of Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman, King of Campā. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 2013, 56 (3-4), pp.419-440. 10.1163/15728536-13560307 . halshs-01909934

**HAL Id: halshs-01909934**

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Submitted on 9 May 2022

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## Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā. V. The Short Foundation Inscriptions of Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman, King of Campā

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### Abstract

The string of territories called Campā, lying in what is today Vietnam, has yielded about two hundred and fifty inscriptions spanning over ten centuries, from ca. 400 well into the fifteenth century CE. These inscriptions have not yet drawn much attention from the point of view of the shared religious history of South and Southeast Asia. In the present contribution, we focus on a group of seven short Sanskrit inscriptions issued by a king named Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman who ruled in the seventh century. A careful reading of these texts, in parallel with related Sanskrit texts from South Asia, reveals something of the intellectual and religious cosmopolis of which the poets behind these inscriptions were a part, suggesting for instance that tantric Śaiva scriptures had reached Campā by the late seventh century.

### Keywords

Campā; Vietnam; Sanskrit; inscription; Prakāśadharman; Vikrāntavarman; Rāmāyaṇa; Skandapurāṇa; Mantramārga

### Introduction

Several noteworthy publications of the last decade, especially those of Alexis Sanderson, have drawn attention to the valuable data for the history of Indian religions, especially of Śaivism, that are preserved in the epigraphical record of Southeast Asia, especially of Cambodia. In ancient times, Campā was one of Cambodia's principal neighbours. This string of rather loosely connected territories, lying in what is today Vietnam, has yielded about two hundred and fifty inscriptions spanning over ten centuries, from ca. 400 well into the fifteenth century CE. These inscriptions have not yet drawn much attention from the point of view of the shared religious history of South and Southeast Asia. This is no doubt partly because the overall number of Campā inscriptions is much less than that of the Cambodian corpus, and what there is admittedly seems less rich from the perspective of the history of Śaivism and other Indian religions. But the specific period on which we concentrated during the Groningen symposium is a relatively rich one by Campā standards, and current epigraphical research

on both long known and recently discovered inscriptions has yielded some new and interesting data.

Working within the EFEO research project *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Campā* (*CIC*), Arlo Griffiths has had the honour of publishing (in *ECIC* I and II) two remarkable, recently discovered inscriptions issued by the king Satyavarman, who ruled in the southernmost territory of Campā in the late eighth century. An attempt was made in those two articles to bring out the importance of these inscriptions (C. 216 and C. 217),<sup>1</sup> beautifully engraved on small stelae, for the history of Śaivism in Campā. In an even more recent publication (Griffiths et al. 2012b), he has had occasion to attempt to produce improved editions of two stela inscriptions (C. 81 and C. 87) issued by the earlier king Prakāśadharman, whose consecration name was Vikrāntavarman. This king is commonly assumed to have ruled for at least thirty years in the seventh century CE, between 579 Śaka (inscription C. 96, see Finot 1904: 918–925) and 609 Śaka, the date of the well-preserved stela inscription C. 87. But the upper limit of this king's reign may have to be extended quite a bit farther, depending on whether some inscriptions datable to the ensuing decades and issued by a king Vikrāntavarman may be attributed to the same person, or to a namesake. A future publication of the *CIC* will go into this issue of the length of Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman's reign, and will try to settle whether one needs to postulate two kings bearing the name Vikrāntavarman as responsible for the inscriptions under discussion here, which contents and paleography indicate belong very closely together. For the sake of convenience, it is here assumed that there was only one. But this issue is immaterial for the purposes of the present article, for which the general chronological place—in the late seventh and early eighth centuries—of the groups of inscriptions issued by king(s) using these names is sufficient.

Besides the above-mentioned stela inscriptions C. 81 and C. 87 (both held in the Museum at Đà Nẵng), there is the short prose inscription C. 127, which is an outlier both geographically and in terms of its contents.<sup>2</sup> The principal inscriptions, however, are the fundamental stela inscription C. 96, which details the genealogy of our king (on which, see p. 434 below), and the stela inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> On the inventory of Campā inscriptions in general, and for these newly assigned numbers in particular, see *ECIC* III.

<sup>2</sup> For the text and translation of this inscription, see *ECIC* III, pp. 461 and 463–464. For a plausible interpretation of its very eccentric location, hundreds of kilometres to the South of the area where all other inscriptions of Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman have been found, see Southworth (2011: 111).

tion C. 99. Both are still standing near monuments of the E–F group at M̃y S̃on. The *CIC* has not yet found time to study either of these with the concentration they deserve, as this requires *in situ* reading, the available estampages not allowing verification of all problematic readings. We have started investigating the stela inscriptions C. 73 (only its face B pertaining to our period), C. 74, C. 77, as well as the fragment C. 111. But all these four inscriptions are in a deplorable state of preservation, so that it is a test of patience to obtain anything coherent from them. And finally there is a group of six short verse inscriptions (C. 79, C. 80, C. 97, C. 135, C. 137, C. 173) plus one prose inscription (C. 136) that is in type of content very similar to the former six. In the present contribution, we will focus on this last group of seven short inscriptions, almost all metrical, issued by a king named Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman.

No new inscriptions issued by this king have been discovered since C. 173, which Paul Mus published in 1928. Most of the information relevant to the history of religion contained in these inscriptions has been carefully summarized by Boisselier (1963: 34–40). So what then is the justification for this article? A careful re-reading, in parallel with related Sanskrit texts from South Asia, allows for clear improvement both in the constitution and the interpretation of their texts, and reveals something of the intellectual and religious cosmopolis of which the poets behind these inscriptions were a part.

### C. 79. Pedestal from M̃y S̃on (Figs 1–2)

This inscription on a low square pedestal, comprising two *anuṣṭubh* stanzas, was first published, with French translation, by Finot (1904: 928) and then reproduced, with significantly improved translation into English, by Majumdar (1927, nr. 14). We have checked the text against the EFEO estampage n. 2071.

(1) [siddham]

I. maheśvarasakhasyedaṃ kuverasya dhanākaraṃ  
prakāśadharmanṛpatiḥ pūjāsthānam akalpayat-

II. (2) ekākṣapīṅgalety eṣa devyā darśānadūṣitaḥ<sup>3</sup>  
saṃvarddhayatv īśadhanaṃ pāyāc cāhitatas sadā ||<sup>4</sup>

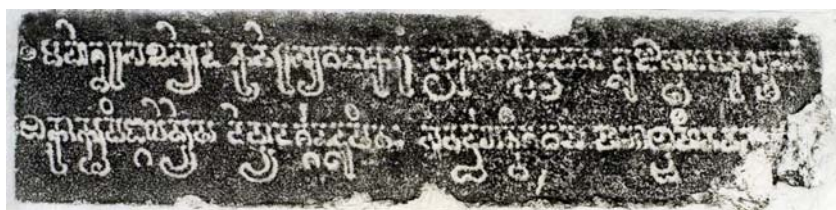
I. The king Prakāśadharman has fashioned [this] place of worship, a mine of riches, for Maheśvara's (i.e. Śiva's) companion Kubera.

<sup>3</sup>) *darśānadūṣitaḥ*: *darśānadūṣitaḥ* Finot. In conformity with his general practice, Finot here applies silent normalization.

<sup>4</sup>) Finot omits the punctuation sign.



**Figure 1.** Photograph of the pedestal bearing inscription C. 79, displayed upside-down, and surmounted by an unrelated finial. Taken at Mý Sơn by Arlo Griffiths on 27 September 2009.



**Figure 2.** Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 2071.

II. Spoiled in [one] eye by the goddess, [such that he became known] as Ekākṣapiṅgala, may he cause the property of the Lord to increase, and may he always protect<sup>5</sup> from what is untoward (*abitataḥ*).

Early versions of the myth of Kubera's companionship of Śiva are recounted in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.13.29) and in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, at 29.169 (see Bakker & Isaacson 2004). Finot understood *ekākṣapiṅgalety* as *ekākṣapiṅgalā ity* but was forced to admit that the (feminine) evil spirit Ekākṣapiṅgalā was not known to him from any other source. As was seen by Majumdar, it has to be understood as *ekākṣapiṅgala ity*,<sup>6</sup> and so the name in question is (masculine) Ekākṣapiṅgala, which is a name of Kubera, e.g. in the *Himavatkhanda* (19.4). He appears as Ekākṣapiṅgala in the old *Skandapurāṇa* (29.149). That is also the form of the name in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.13.30, 7.36.17), which perhaps gives the earliest known version of the myth. For Vettam Mani's version of it, see his § 13, s.v. Kubera. Our interpretation of the two modal verbs in the second stanza as both being predicates to a single subject (*eṣa*) disagrees with Finot's, following instead Majumdar's. But we differ from the latter scholar in our interpretation of *darśanadūṣita*, for, following *Skandapurāṇa* 29, in which Pārvatī becomes angry and wants to harm him after realising he had looked at her, this must surely refer to an impairment of the eye (of Kubera), rather than by the eye (of the Goddess).<sup>7</sup>

By contrast with Majumdar, who translates 'the wealth of this king', we consider it likely that *īśadhana* here denotes primarily the wealth of Śiva (*devadvavya*) endowed to his temple, and that a subsidiary shrine to Kubera was installed near it for protective purposes.

<sup>5</sup> This translation assumes that there is no explicit object to *pāyāt* and that Kubera is therefore invited to protect everybody. Alternatively, one could assume the same object as is governed by the previous verb: 'may he protect [the Lord's wealth]'; but in this case it might be judged odd that he should protect it 'from what is untoward' (*abitataḥ*), since that suggests rather that the object of protection should be sentient. A third possibility would be to assume, following Majumdar, that *īśadbanam* meant rather 'the wealth of the king', in which case we might understand 'and may he protect [the king]':

<sup>6</sup> For such a sandhi involving a *prātipadika* followed by an *iti*, cf., for instance, Cambodian inscription K. 524, st. I, beginning with: *vidyāvāseti nāmāhaṃ tejasvī bhuvī viśrutāḥ* (IC III, p. 134); and the second half of *Harivaṃśa* 12.16: *yathopannas tathaivāhaṃ kumāra ity viddhi mām | tasmāt sanatkumāreti nāmaitan me pratiṣṭhitam ||*.

<sup>7</sup> An interpretation assuming the genitive *devyāḥ* ('spoilt by looking at the goddess') is perhaps not impossible, for the poet may have had in mind rather the simpler story-line of the *Rāmāyaṇa* version: there Kubera's eye gets spoiled merely by the *prabhāva* of Pārvatī when his gaze falls on her (7.13.24), and there is no suggestion of her becoming angry and consciously injuring him.

### C. 80. Pedestal from Mý Sōn (Figs 3–4)

The text of this inscription of one line engraved on the edge of a round section of a multi-layered pedestal, comprising an incipit plus one *anuṣṭubh* stanza, was first published, with French translation, by Finot (1904: 929) and then reproduced, with translation into English, by Majumdar (1927: 36, nr. 18). We have checked the text against the inked EFEO estampage n. 2089.

namas suvarṇākṣāya  
campāvanibhujāreceyaṃ kāñcanī tatvavedinā  
vikrāntavarmmaṇā bhaktyā sthāpitā pārameśvarī ||<sup>8</sup>

Homage to the Golden-eyed (Śiva)! This golden image of Parameśvara (Śiva) was piously erected by Vikrāntavarman, king of Campā, knower of truth.

Our translation is essentially the same as those proposed by Finot and Majumdar. The name Suvarṇākṣa (or Svarṇākṣa) occurs both as a sanctuary and as an epithet of Śiva in Indian Sanskrit sources. On its use as the name of a Śaiva sanctuary, we may mention for instance the old *Skandapurāna*, on which see Bisschop (2006: 221). A myth explaining why Śiva himself came to bear the name, after creating a golden-eyed goddess, is recounted in this text at 9.22–29. One might therefore be inclined to speculate as to whether the statue whose erection this inscription records was one of the goddess (Parameśvarī) rather than of Śiva (Parameśvara) himself. Perhaps the incipit makes this less likely.

### C. 97. Pedestal from Mý Sōn (Figs 5–6)

The text of this inscription of one line engraved on the surface of the central cylinder of a multi-layered pedestal, comprising one *anuṣṭubh* stanza, was first published, with French translation, by Finot (1904: 930), and then reproduced, with translation into English, by Majumdar (1927: 36, nr. 19). We have re-edited the text here from the inked EFEO estampage n. 331.

sthāpito rājasinhena<sup>9</sup> śrīmadvikrāntavarmmaṇā  
vāmeśvarasya koṣo yaṃ stheyād<sup>10</sup> ā bhuvanasthiteḥ ||<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup>) Finot omits the punctuation sign.

<sup>9</sup>) *rāja*<sup>o</sup>: the estampage seems to show *rājā*, which would be unmetrical and very unlikely for a number of other reasons too. Rather than presuming an error, we assume that the stone has suffered slight damage here, so that the impression of an *ā*-vocalization after *j* given by the estampage is misleading.

<sup>10</sup>) *stheyād*: *stheyān* Finot. The form ending in *-n* supposed by Finot (and retained unquestioned by Majumdar) could be interpreted (as the comparative form of the adjective *sthiraḥ*), but would be awkward. Cf. also C. 96, st. XXX.

<sup>11</sup>) Finot omits the punctuation sign.



**Figure 3.** Photograph of the pedestal section bearing inscription C. 80. Taken at Mý Son by Arlo Griffiths on 30 September 2009.



**Figure 4.** Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 2089.





Figure 5. Photograph of the pedestal bearing inscription C. 97.  
Taken at Mỹ Sơn by Arlo Griffiths on 27 September 2009.



Figure 6. Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 331.

This sheath (*kośa*) for (the *liṅga* of) Vāmeśvara was placed by the illustrious Vikrāntavarman, lion among kings. May it remain as long as will remain the earth!

This inscription records the installation of a *liṅga*-sheath, now missing, of a Śiva called Vāmeśvara.<sup>12</sup> Finot and Majumdar take this name to be no more than a synonym of Śiva. But in his notes on the inscriptions of Campā, kindly put at our disposal, Alexis Sanderson has observed that it must be the name of the deity of a specific *liṅga*, surely that listed with Īśāneśvara, Śambhubhadreśvara and Prabhāseśvara in C. 81, face c, ll. 1–3 (see Griffiths et al. 2012b: 227–228).

### C. 135. Rock in the Riverbed at Thạc Bích (Figs 7–8)

This inscription of two lines engraved on a rock wall, emerging above the water only during part of the year, in the bed of the river Thu Bồn (called *mahānadi* in inscriptions C. 72, face A l. 6, and C. 147, l. 4), comprises one *āryā* stanza. Its text was first published, with French translation, by Huber (1911: 261) and then reproduced, with translation into English, by Majumdar (1927: 15, nr. 10). We have re-edited the text here from the incomplete set of inked EFEO estampages under n. 260, the EFEO photograph of the rock wall kept with that set of estampages, and a colour photo furnished by Trần Kỳ Phương. These materials unfortunately do not enable us to determine the reading of the last *akṣaras* of line 2.

(1) śrīcampeśvaravijayī<sup>13</sup> (m)ahāmatis śrī(2)prakāśadharmmeti<sup>14</sup>  
sthāpitavān amareśa(m) mahā {4–5}<sup>15</sup>

The illustrious conqueror, king of Campā, of great wisdom, called Śrī Prakāśadharman, has established Amareśa, the great ...

As noted above, the materials at our disposal are insufficient to establish the whole text at this time, but what is clear is that it concerns the installation of an Amareśa. On the famous Indian *liṅga* after which this foundation has been named, see Bisschop (2006: 33 with n. 79). Huber, and after him Parmentier (1918: 439, 587), supposed that a *liṅga* was carved into the riverbed at this site.

<sup>12</sup> On the *kośa* in the epigraphical and archaeological records of Campā, see the references cited in *ECIC* I, p. 366 and in *ECIC* II, p. 298.

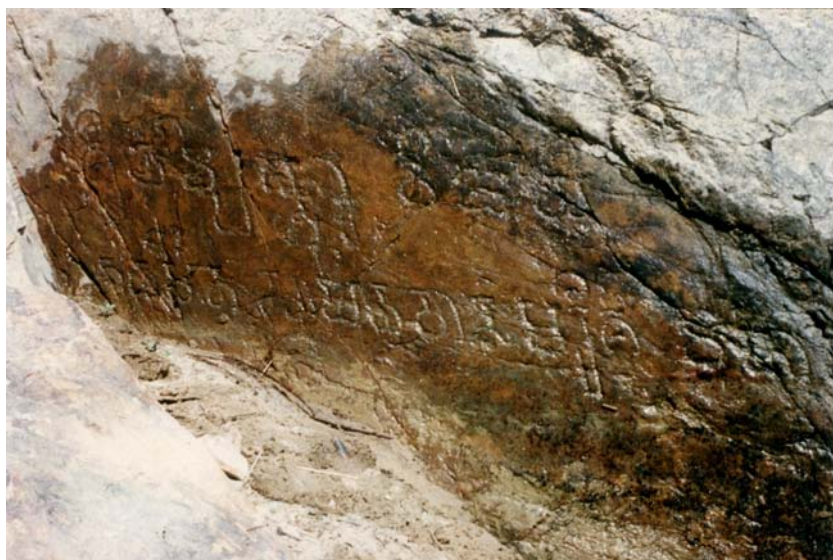
<sup>13</sup> *śrīcampeśvara*<sup>o</sup>: *śrī campeśvaro* Huber.

<sup>14</sup> (m)ahāmatis śrī<sup>o</sup>: mahīpati ... śrī Huber.

<sup>15</sup> amareśa(m) mahā {4–5}: amareśam iha ... Huber.



**Figure 7.** Photograph kept with EFEO estampage n. 260 showing the rock wall bearing inscription C. 135, just above the water level.



**Figure 8.** Photograph of the inscription C. 135 taken by Trần Kỳ Phương on 5 March 2003.

### C. 136. Pedestal from Duõng Mông (Figs 9–10)

This inscription of two lines, engraved on one face of a low square pedestal, is in prose. It is included here because both the type of object on which it is engraved and the contents of the inscription place it in the same category as the otherwise metrical inscriptions presented in this article. Its text was first published, with French translation, by Huber (1911: 262) and reproduced, with English translation, by Majumdar (1927: 15, nr. 11). We have checked the text against the EFEO estampage n. 160.

(1) idaṃ bhagavataḥ puruṣottamasya viṣṇor anādinidhanasyāśeṣabhuvana(2)guroḥ pūjāsthānam.<sup>16</sup> śrīprakāśadharmmaṇā kāritam· ||

This place of worship of lord Viṣṇu, the Puruṣottama, without beginning or end, who is the teacher of all worlds, has been made to the order of Śrī Prakāśadharman.

The epithets of Viṣṇu found here may be compared to those found in C. 173 (see below); the installation of a *pūjāsthāna* is a recurrent theme in these inscriptions (see C. 79 and C. 173).

### C. 137. Pedestal from Trà Kiệu (Figs 11–12)

This inscription of four lines on one face of a cube-shaped pedestal, comprising two *āryāgīti* stanzas, was first published, with French translation, by Huber (1911: 262–264) and then reproduced, with English translation, by Majumdar (1927: 13–14, nr. 9).<sup>17</sup> We have re-edited the text here from the EFEO estampage n. 159.

(1) [siddham]

I. śaktiḥ parasya na ripuṃ kṣapayati gamitāpi daṇḍabhedabhayena

(2) yasya tv adaṇḍabhedā sakalam arim abhīr bhinatti śaktibhṛta iva ||

II. (3) sa śrīprakāśadharmmā nṛpatiḥ kandarppadharmmaṇo dharaṇibhujah

(4) s[v]apitāmahīpitur<sup>18</sup> idaṃ sthāpitavān arcanāya pādūkayugalam.<sup>19</sup> ||

<sup>16</sup> °*sthānam*·: °*sthānam* Huber.

<sup>17</sup> Majumdar rather too vaguely identifies the metre of the two stanzas as *āryā*.

<sup>18</sup> *s[v]apitāmahīpitur*: *prapitāmahīpitur* Huber. Although Huber (who used the same estampage as we do) marked no uncertainty of reading, no trace is visible of the subscript *r* under the consonant that he reads as *p*. This consonant must, however, quite certainly be read as *s*, for it shows the distinctive diagonal bridge between the two verticals. Although damage to the stone just below the *s* has removed every trace of a subscript consonant, the only contextually permissible reading seems to us to be *sva*°, so we have restored the now invisible subscript *v* in place of *r*. This makes Kandarppadharman the father of Prakāśadharman's paternal grandmother (rather than the father of his paternal great-grandmother). See our discussion of this point below.

<sup>19</sup> *pādūka*°: *baṭaka*° Huber (unmetrical). This misreading has caused quite a lot of ink to be



**Figure 9.** Photograph showing the pedestal bearing inscription C. 136. Taken in the Hanoi Museum by Arlo Griffiths on 17 September 2009.



**Figure 10.** Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 160.

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spilled in the subsequent literature (e.g. Majumdar 1927: 14 n. 2; Boisselier 1963: 36 with n. 2).



Figure 11. Photograph of inscription C. 137. Taken in the Hanoi Museum by Arlo Griffiths on 17 September 2009.



Figure 12. Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 159.

I. The power (*śakti*) of [his] rival destroys no enemy, even when it is impelled by the fear of [political manoeuvres such as] punishment or sowing of dissension.

—But the one whose dauntless [spear (*śakti*)], like that of the spear-wielder [Skanda himself], destroys every enemy without its shaft ever breaking (*adaṇḍabhedā*),

—But the one whose [mere] gesture of protection (*abhī*), without need of resorting to [the political manoeuvres of] punishment or the sowing of dissension, has brought low every enemy, as though he were in fact holding a spear (*śaktibhṛta iva*),

—But the one who is like Skanda and for whom [the power (*śakti*) of Śiva, in initiation (cf. the term *śaktipāta*)], arousing no fear and resorting to neither punishment nor sowing of dissension, has broken every [internal] enemy,

II. namely the king Śrī Prakāśadharman, has installed this pair of footprints in order to praise king Kandarpadharman, the father of his own paternal grandmother.

We assume three levels of punning (*śleṣa*) in the first stanza. The first two play on the possibility of taking *śaktibhṛt* either literally, or as epithet of Skanda; on the possibility of interpreting *abhī* in two different ways; and on the different possibilities of analyzing the compound *adaṇḍabhedā*. The third sense may be less obvious to most readers. But in a footnote in the Preface to his 2004 edition of the *Parākhyatantra* (p. xix, n. 17), Dominic Goodall has discussed Śaiva punning on the words *śakti* (spear or power, of king, Skanda or Śiva) and *ari* (enemies, worldly or internal) in a late-seventh-century inscription of the Pallava king Narasiṃha II. He has there provided textual references in support of taking *arivarga* ‘group of enemies’ as denoting the human senses or passions (a theme also alluded to in C. 173), and referred to a passage illustrating the (descent of) divine power (*śaktipāta*) as a crucial element in Śaiva tantric initiation. In further support of the assumption of this third sense, we may adduce here a stanza from a somewhat later Cambodian inscription, K. 528 (Eastern Mebon, 953 CE, edited by Finot 1925: 309–352). Its stanza XX, about King Rājendravarman, is also probably intended to be interpreted on three levels and comprises three crucial elements that we see in ours:

āsādyā śaktim vivudhohanitām<sup>20</sup> māheśvarim jñānamayim amoghām  
kumārabhāve vijitārivarggo yo dīpayām āsa mahendralakṣmim ||

As Crown Prince (*kumārabhāve*), after attaining (*āsādyā*) the invincible (*amoghām*) power (*śaktim*) of Great King (*māheśvarim*), transmitted to him by pandits (*vibudhohanitām*)—[a power] replete with knowledge (*jñānamayim*)—, Rājendravarman caused the [royal] splendour of [his father] Mahendra (*mahendralakṣmim*) to shine (*dīpayām āsa*) after vanquishing his [father’s] enemies (*vijitārivargah*).

<sup>20</sup> Understand *vibudhohanitām*. Most Cambodian inscriptions do not distinguish between *v* and *b* and use only the graph for *v*.

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

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

As well as being able, at a stretch, to mean simply 'king,' Mahendra is both the name of King Rājendravarman's father, Mahendravarman, and a name of the god Indra, whose enemies Skanda destroyed. So there must here be a reference to Skanda deploying his famous weapon, called Śakti (though not always clearly a spear), and destroying Indra's enemies (which was the reason for his birth being plotted by Indra in the first place). As for Skanda having received Śakti from some other god, in *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3.2.12, Viśvakarman is said to have fashioned Guha's Śakti using bits of radiance of the sun; according to the old *Skandapurāṇa* 163.58, a passage where various gods offer weapons etc. to Skanda on the occasion of his *abhiṣeka*, he receives it from Agni.<sup>21</sup> Whoever may have been the god(s) intended in *vibudhohanītām*, what is plain is that on another level of meaning the verse refers to Rājendravarman, like Prakāśadharman, having received Śiva's salvific grace (*śakti*), in other words tantric initiation.

A second significant detail of religious history, one revealed by the new reading *pādūkayugalam* proposed here, is that the nature of the installation, thus far obscure because of Huber's misreading *haṭakayugalam*, is now significantly clearer: it concerned a pair of footprints. Although it is not said explicitly, it seems safe to assume that we are dealing with a pair of Śivapādas. The worship of Śiva's footprints was not previously attested in the history of Śaivism in Campā, but, thanks to the recent publication of C. 211 (899 CE, see Griffiths et al. 2012b: 263–270), we now know of two inscriptions recording the erection of Śivapādas in honour of revered ancestors (see C. 211, face A, st. II–V and face B, st. VIII).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The verse reads as follows: *dviṣatprāṇaharām gurvīm amoghām havyavāhanah | arciṣmatim dadau cāsmāi śaktim śaktāya sūnave ||*. Note that the spear here receives the same qualification *amoghām* as it does in the Cambodian inscription. We owe the reference to this verse to Peter Bisschop.

<sup>22</sup> On the worship of Śivapādas in ancient Cambodia, see the report recently published in *BEFEO* 95–96 (2008–2009), pp. 424–429, of a panel devoted to this topic at the twelfth international conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists (Leiden 2008); see also Sahai 2011.



Turning briefly to dynastic history, our new reading *s[v]apitāmahīpitur* requires a revision of the published interpretations of Prakāśadharman's genealogy.<sup>23</sup> The *CIC* hopes to study this issue in greater detail in a future publication concerning C. 96, which gives a much more elaborate presentation of that genealogy, and so we limit ourselves here to stating that our provisional reading of that inscription supports our new reading of C. 137. The relevant antecedents mentioned in C. 96 are, to begin with, king Kandarpadharman (stanza VII), from whom descends a daughter of unknown name (st. XI) married to Satyakauśikasvāmin, from which couple in turn are born three sons called Bhadrēśvaravarman, Anaṅgarūpa and Viśvarūpa (st. XIV). Immediately after this we learn that someone famous by the name (*prathitah*) Śrī Jagaddharma goes to the Khmer city of Bhavapura (st. XV). There is then a hiatus in the account of this lineage. What we next learn is that Śrī Jagaddharma marries the Cambodian princess Śrī Śarvāṇī (st. XXIII) and that the couple begets Prakāśadharman. Rather than assuming, as previous scholars have done, that Jagaddharma was a hitherto unmentioned individual whose immediate ancestry is not explained but who belonged to the generation after the three sons, it seems to us more plausible to assume that Śrī Jagaddharma is an alternative name for one of the three sons, perhaps a first given name, or perhaps, as might arguably be suggested by the use of the word *prathitah* in st. XV, a glorifying soubriquet (*birudā*). The most likely candidate for bearing the name Jagaddharma would be Bhadrēśvaravarman, who is mentioned first among the three, and whose name has the kind of ending that might make it a royal consecration name (*abhiṣekanāman*), like the name Vikrāntavarman acquired by Prakāśadharman (prose after st. XXV). If this solution is adopted, then the reading *s[v]apitāmahīpitur* fits perfectly.

The Kandarpadharman mentioned here as the father of Prakāśadharman's paternal grandmother is perhaps the person after whom the deity Kandarpapuresvara mentioned in C. 111 was named, just as Prakāśadharman may have been connected, as temple-founder, with the deity Prakāśabhadresvara mentioned in C. 142, face B, l. 16 (cf. Huber 1911: 260).<sup>24</sup>

### C. 173. Pedestal from Trà Kiệu (Figs 13–15)

This inscription comprises four *anuṣṭubh* stanzas running over two lines along two of the four vertical faces of a low square pedestal. The text, running from face A (“left”, two lines) to face B (“right”, two lines), was published, with French

<sup>23</sup> See Finot (1904: 902); Huber (1911: 264); Finot in *BEFEO* 1915 (2), p. 189; Maspero (1928: 89–90).

<sup>24</sup> For this Indian practice of establishing a deity under a name incorporating a name, or some part of a name, of its founder, see Sanderson 2004: 415 and n. 250.



Figure 13. Photograph of inscription C. 173 in three-quarter view. Taken in the Hanoi Museum by Arlo Griffiths on 17 September 2009.



Figure 14. Photograph of the left half of EFEO estampage n. 508.



Figure 15. Photograph of the right half of EFEO estampage n. 508.

translation, by Mus (1928), hence too late to be included by Majumdar (1927). We have re-edited the text here from the EFEO estampage n. 508.

*Face A*

(1) [siddham]

- I. *yasya śokāt samutpannaṃ ślokaṃ*<sup>25</sup> *brahmābhipū(jati)*  
[vi](ṣnoḥ) *puṅsaḥ*<sup>26</sup> *purāṇasya manu(jasyāt)marūpiṇaḥ*<sup>27</sup>  
II. (2) [rāmasya] (ca) *ritaṃ kṛts[n]am*<sup>28</sup> *kṛtaṃ (yenābhisādhanam)*<sup>29</sup>  
*kaver ādyasya maharṣṣer vv(ā)lmikeś cāvaner iha*<sup>30</sup>

*Face B*

- III. (1) (pūjāsthānam)<sup>31</sup> *punas tasya kṛta – Cy* ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪<sup>32</sup>  
*prakāśadharmmanṛpatis sarvvāriṅaṇasūdanaḥ*<sup>33</sup>  
IV. (2) *vidyāśaktikṣamālakṣ(m)ikīrttidhairyya[guṇā]n(v)i(taḥ)*  
*(jaya)ty eṣa*<sup>34</sup> *jagatkāntaś śārade ntarite [v]i[dhau]*<sup>35</sup>

Having restored<sup>36</sup> here the place of worship for the primordial poet and great[est] sage of the earth, Vālmiki, from whose anguish was born the verse that Brahmā praised, (and) who composed the complete, ... (*abbisādhanam*)?<sup>37</sup> acts of Rāma, the human

<sup>25</sup> *ślokaṃ*: *ślokaṃ* Mus.

<sup>26</sup> *puṅsaḥ*: *pumsaḥ* Mus. Doubtless a printing error for *puṅsaḥ*.

<sup>27</sup> *manu(jasyāt)ma*<sup>o</sup>: *mānuṣasyātma*<sup>o</sup> Mus.

<sup>28</sup> [*rāmasya*] (ca) *ritaṃ kṛts[n]am*: × × × × *ritaṃ kṛtyam* Mus. Our restoration presupposes that this *pāda* is directly based on Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.2.30a.

<sup>29</sup> (*yenābhisādhanam*): *yenābhiṣecanam* Mus.

<sup>30</sup> *cāvaner iha*: *śru* ∪ – *r iha* Mus.

<sup>31</sup> *sthānam*: *sthānam* Mus.

<sup>32</sup> *kṛta – Cy* ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪: *kṛta* × × *y* ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – Mus. Compared to Mus, we assume one *akṣara* less before and one more after the one bearing a subscript *y*, on the supposition that one may restore something like *kṛtavān ya* ...

<sup>33</sup> *sarvvāri*<sup>o</sup>: *sarvāri*<sup>o</sup> Mus.

<sup>34</sup> (*jaya*) *ty eṣa*: × × *ty eṣa* Mus.

<sup>35</sup> [*v*] *i[dhau]*: [*r*] *i[pau]* Mus. It seems unlikely that the enemy (*ripu*) would be equated with the autumn, as Mus' reading implies. This is precisely the season associated with beauty of the moon (*vidhu*) due to its proverbial clear skies. The idea rather seems to be that the autumn moon itself would be eclipsed by the king.

<sup>36</sup> The translation 'restored' assumes taking *punaḥ* closely with the damaged verbal form *kṛta* ...; but we cannot rule out that it might have been intended as a contrastive particle, perhaps flagging the change of logical subject. It is possible, therefore, that the inscription records a new foundation rather than the restoration of an already existing one.

<sup>37</sup> If *abbisādhanam* is indeed the correct reading, perhaps it can be understood either as an adjective with the sense 'propitiating' (cf. Monier-Williams s.v. *abbisidh*) or as a noun, 'propitiation', in apposition to *caritam*. We therefore tentatively propose interpreting this quarter-

own/bodily form of the ancient male, Viṣṇu, this king Prakāśadharman, who subdues all (worldly and internal) foes, who, being endowed with the virtues of knowledge, power, forbearance, wealth, fame, and patience, is victorious as the beloved of [all] creatures, the autumnal moon having been eclipsed (by his glory)!<sup>38</sup>

The text alludes to, and even directly replicates phrases from, the *Bālakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. This was already noted by Mus (1928). But the new reading of stanza II presented here adds significantly to the extent of our poet's dependence on Vālmīki, and simultaneously removes the need to presume, as did Mus, that Vālmīki is being identified as Viṣṇu. For the significance of the expression *arigaṇa*, see our commentary on C. 137. The collocation 'ancient male' as a 'name' of Viṣṇu appears only in some editions of the *Amarakośa*, such as that of Sardesai and Padhye (1940), where it appears in a verse enclosed in unexplained quotation-marks between 1.1.22 and 1.1.23 (just after *puruṣottama*, in 1.1.21, an epithet which we saw in C. 136); but it is ancient nonetheless, for we find it, for instance, in *Mahābhārata* 3.187.52.

Since the word *pūjāsthāna* in the inscriptions of Prakāśadharman seems to refer each time either to the inscribed pedestal itself or to the place where that pedestal was installed (see C. 79 and C. 136), we cannot follow the reasoning that leads Trān Kỳ Phương (2000) to identify this 'place of worship' as the different and more famous pedestal from Trā Kiệu that is decorated with elaborate sculptural reliefs.

## Conclusions

Even such a small collection of texts reveals how thoroughly royal ideology and foundation policy in seventh-century Campā was coloured by cosmopolitan Sanskrit learning, and by the specific texts that we know to have dominated the Śaiva priestly and intellectual landscape in that period in other parts of the Indian world. It is certain that Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* was read by poets in Campā,<sup>39</sup> and it

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verse to mean: 'who composed, [as an act of] worship/propitiation, the complete Acts of Rāma'.

<sup>38</sup> The moon (and therefore particularly the bright autumn moon) is held to be named for its quality of pleasing people, for the word *candra* is regarded as being derived from a verbal root that expresses this quality: see, for example, *Raghuvamśa* 4.10 (numeration of the edition of Goodall & Isaacson), to which our verse may be obliquely alluding. By outclassing the moon, therefore, Prakāśadharman becomes one who is, *par excellence*, 'beloved of all creatures'.

<sup>39</sup> See Griffiths et al. 2012b: 237–239 for further epigraphical and sculptural evidence of the ninth/tenth centuries, none of it conclusive, however, as to the specific *Rāmāyaṇa* text that was being followed. In all likelihood, it was Vālmīki's also in that period.

is also certain that Śaiva mythology of the type recorded in the old *Skandapurāna* was read there, perhaps—although this cannot be proven—from that very text. Furthermore, the initiation alluded to in C. 137 implies that tantric Śaiva scriptures too—we cannot be certain which ones—had reached Campā by the late seventh century, considerably earlier than the earliest evidence hitherto published that points to knowledge of the Mantramārga in the Cambodian inscriptional record, since that evidence belongs to the Angkorian period.<sup>40</sup>

### Abbreviations

<i>BEFEO</i>	Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.
<i>ECIC</i> I and II	"Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā" I and II, see Griffiths & Southworth 2007 and 2011.
<i>ECIC</i> III	"Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā III", see Griffiths et al. 2012a.
<i>EEPC</i>	<i>Études épigraphiques sur le pays Cam</i> , see Jacques 1995.
<i>EFEO</i>	École française d'Extrême-Orient.
<i>IC</i>	<i>Inscriptions du Cambodge</i> , see Cœdès 1937–1966.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> .

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<sup>40</sup> Sanderson (2004: 444) alludes to the Mantramārga not having reached Khmer territory until well after the seventh century, but the earliest evidence for its presence there appears not to have been discussed till date and is a matter which Dominic Goodall (forthcoming) has discussed briefly in annotation to verse 9 of a hitherto unpublished eighth-century inscription from near Phnom Bayang in Takeo Province: K. 1236 of śaka 685 (763 CE).

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