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East and West — New Inscriptions from Funan, Zhenla and Dvāravatī

Dominic Goodall & Nicolas Revire*

Mots-clés : shivaïsme ; bouddhisme ; épigraphie sanskrite ; histoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est ; paléographie ; Dvāravatī ; Funan ; Zhenla.

Keywords: Śaivism; Buddhism; Sanskrit epigraphy; Southeast Asian history; palaeography; Dvāravatī; Funan; Zhenla.

Introduction

This article presents a handful of early inscriptions recently discovered in Cambodia and Thailand,[1] and discusses their implications for our understanding of the religious and sociopolitical landscape of "Funan", "Zhenla", and "Dvāravatī". The epigraphical evidence presented here, moving back in time and from east to west, consists in: 1) a label and two stanzas inscribed in handsome seventh-century lettering (K. 1455) on the base of a standing statue of the Buddha from Angkor Borei, a site which occupied a pre-eminent position in one of the most important polities in early Southeast Asia, called Funan by Chinese sources; 2) a group of fragments found in Mueang Phaniat, Chanthaburi province, one of which mentions the seventh-century Khmer sovereign Īśānavarman I, seemingly as the then ruling king (K. 1563), adding support to the hypothesis of Zhenla's extension into eastern Thailand during this period; and 3) an inscription with splendidly florid calligraphic lettering of a slightly earlier period that was discovered at Wat Phra Ngam in Nakhon Pathom, in central Thailand, and that mentions the city name Dvāravatī [map 1]. Since that inscription (N.Th. 21) contains no discernible evidence of belonging to a Khmer polity, it has not been assigned a K. inventory number.

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1. In the editions in this article, we generally use the transliteration conventions for the ERC-DHARMA project which are laid out at some length by Balogh & Griffiths 2020. Thus, for instance, in the immediately following inscription, capital letters are used to transcribe independent vowels, the *ḫ* represents a *jihvāmūlīya*, and *ḥ* represents a *upadhmānīya*. But, to suit print conventions, we have changed some details. To indicate the small gaps that the engraver leaves to mark the divisions between metrical units, for example, we use a large central dot (•). To indicate an illegible syllable, we use an asterisk (*); to indicate an illegible consonant, we use a capital "C"; to indicate an illegible vowel, we use a capital "V". Any *avagraha* is editorial.

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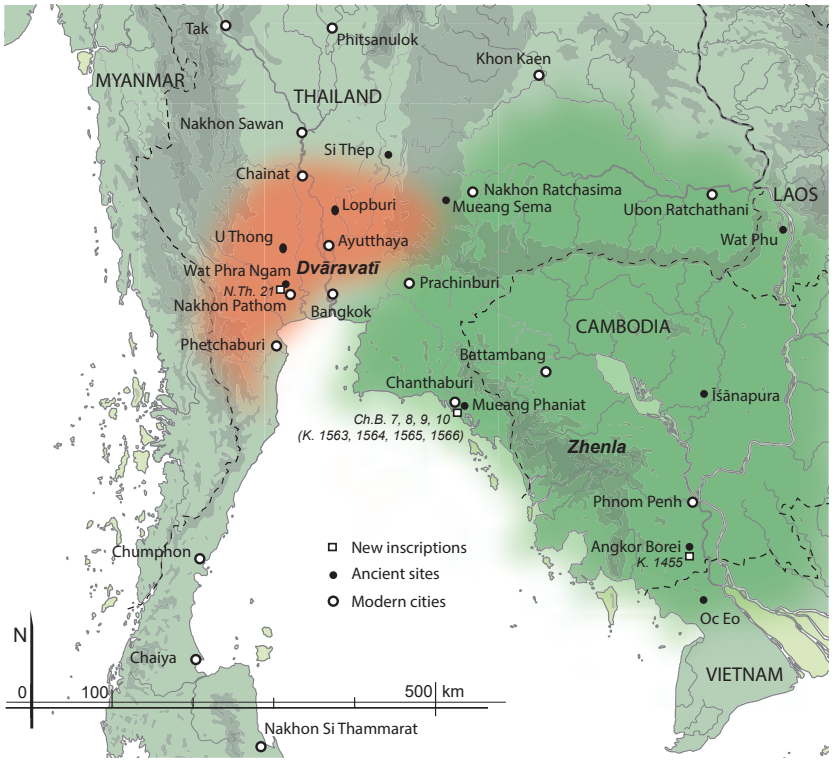

Map 1 — Locations of pre-Angkorian sites and new inscriptions discussed in the article (map: © Nicolas Revire).

1. An inscribed Buddha image from Angkor Borei (Cambodia)

1.1. Provenance and context

This inscribed Buddha image in sandstone was discovered on June 23, 2018 by Mr. Proeun Houn at his home, located about 500 m north of Wat Kompong Luong outside the moat of the ancient city of Angkor Borei in Takeo province, southern Cambodia. Mr. Proeun Houn acquired this land along the road to Phnom Penh in 1986. The small mound (Tuol Phnom Touch) where the statue was discovered is situated on this land between his house and the road. The area around the mound was frequently flooded. In 2018, Mr. Proeun Houn decided to destroy the mound in order to backfill a walking path and thus facilitate access to his house from the main road. It was then that the Buddha image was discovered under a concrete slab. The Khmer Rouge had installed a rice huller on this mound and the huller rested on this concrete slab. We owe the above information to Chea Sambath, director of the site museum at Angkor Borei.

Soon after its discovery, the sculpture was handed over to the authorities of the provincial museum in Takeo, where it is locally registered as Ka. (ñ) 170. The standing statue is broken across its base and the Buddha's right foot [pl. 1]. Faint traces of possibly recent restorations are visible on the base and the right forearm (now partly lost), and many small perforations (about 4 mm

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Plate 1 — Standing pre-Angkorian Buddha from Tuol Phnom Touch in Angkor Borei, Ta Keo province, with inscription K. 1455 on its base; sandstone; 169 × 39 × 15 cm (with tenon); *circa* mid-7th century; Provincial Museum of Ta Keo, inv. no. Ka. 170 (photos: © MNC-EFEO Phnom Penh).

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in diameter) can be seen across the statue, piercing through the lobes of the ears, the border on the left flank of the robe, on both sides of the feet, and at the back of the head. Many of these perforations were certainly added later, after its first creation, perhaps to facilitate attaching ornaments or cloths to the statue. It was recently restored by the sculpture conservation workshop team of the National Museum of Cambodia (NMC) led by Chea Socheat in partnership with Bertrand Porte of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO). The inscription on its base has been inventoried as K. 1455 [pl. 3].

1.2. Stylistic and iconographic description

This idiosyncratic statue displays much of the naturalism that is typical of early Khmer sculpture (Boisselier 1955; Dupont 1955). The Buddha image has a long oval face with large hair curls (spiralling counter-clockwise) and a very prominent cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*). On the forehead, traces of a circular tuft of hair (*ūrṇā*) can be seen within a regular incised circle within which the stone is abraded and matt-finished. Joined "wing-shaped" eyebrows flow into the bridge of a rather pronounced triangular nose and highlight half-closed downcast eyes that have no indication of irises or pupils. This peculiar trait of wing-shaped eyebrows relates stylistically with that found on two other Buddha images from Tuol Lean and Tuol Chan in the region of Angkor Borei. These images are classified in Group #3 of early Cambodian Buddha sculptures by Nancy Dowling, which she dates to *circa* 650 CE (2000: 124–126, figs. 8, 10, Table 2).

A flamboyant moustache passes between the nose and thin upper lip. It is rare for a Buddha image to sport a moustache, widely perceived as untidy and in violation of Vinaya rules, at least those in the Pali Canon as they are usually interpreted.[2] Although they are less common, there are some relatively early examples of Buddhas depicted with a conspicuous moustache from Northwest India (Rhi 2008), Central Asia and China (Rhie 1999–2010), and sporadic ones also from mainland Southeast Asia, though perhaps not as early as the one with which we are concerned here.[3] Later Khmer examples are also found in the Baphuon style of Angkor, in Cambodia (Baptiste & Zéphir 2008: cat. 57–58), and in the Mon-Haripunchai style of Lamphun in northern Thailand (Sirisak *et al.* 2561). Below the thick lower lip is a barely visible chin. Chin-length distended earlobes flank the heavy neck, which has the prominent triple folds that are typical of Buddhist statuary [pls. 1a, 1b, 1c].

As regards the naturalistic modelling of the torso and legs, it appears to derive mainly from a northern Indian artistic tradition. The transparent robe worn in open mode leaves the right shoulder and arm bare and closely

2. See the section on "Beard and Hair of the Body" in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* in Pali: *na bhikkhave massuṁ kappāpetabbaṁ* (Cv.V.27.4 = Vin II 134), "Monks, you should not cause your beard [or moustache] to be dressed/trimmed".

3. Some relevant stone and metal images from Thailand, Cambodia or Vietnam are preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (acc. nos. 1980.526.3, 1982.220.5, 1993.387.6). Thanks are due to Paul Lavy for these references.

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follows the contours of the Buddha's slender body. The arrangement of the drapery over his left forearm shows that the figure apparently did not hold the end of the robe in his hand (now lost). The slightly fleshy abdomen is delimited by an incised line suggesting the edge of his undercloth. The robe is held up by a belt with a long loop visible at the left hip below the waist, possibly in imitation of metal, again an unusual — if not extravagant — feature for an early Southeast Asian Buddha image [pl. 1b]. Below the robe, the long legs are realistically represented, while the feet stand on a plain, thin, rectangular base, below which extends a long narrow tenon for anchoring the sculpture into a socle. The under garment is pleated at the sides and attached to the ankles, with the matrix of the stone block greater on the left than it is on the right. The heels and ankles remain firmly attached to the stone block. The fan-shaped feet in high relief have a second toe noticeably longer than the first [pl. 1e]. This detail recalls other Phnom Da sculptures (although the feet of those tend to be much more finely executed), traditionally considered to date to the sixth century, or perhaps as late as the mid-seventh century (Dowling 1999).

In terms of iconography, it is relevant that the Buddha stands in a rigid pose while his two hands were probably held up symmetrically performing the same gesture [pls. 1b, 1d]. Some art-historians call this gesture *kaṭakahastamudrā*, which consists of holding an attribute between the fingers and thumb, together forming a "ring" (*kaṭaka*), in the manner of many representations of Sūrya (Brown 1994: 19). These features can be compared with other standing Buddha images in the round from pre-Angkorian Cambodia, and from the Dvāravatī region in central Thailand [pl. 2]. Given its style and iconography, the sculpture may date from the seventh century CE, an approximate dating corroborated by palaeography (see below).

Plate 2 — Standing pre-Angkorian Buddhas with given provenance, 7th–8th centuries: **1.** Tuol Preah Theat, Kompong Speu province, Cambodia (photo: © Nicolas Revire); **2.** Phnom Banan, Battambang province, Cambodia (photo: © EFEO CAM02894_2); **3.** Wat Mahathat, Lopburi, Thailand (photo: © Nicolas Revire); **4.** Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (photo: © Nicolas Revire).

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a

b

Plate 3 — The inscription K. 1455 on the stone pedestal (a), and estampage (b) (photos: © Nicolas Revire & EFEO-MNC Phnom Penh).

1.3. Edition and translation of K. 1455

The inscription K. 1455 appears engraved on the upper edge and on the front of the undecorated base, between and below the feet.[4] The inscription was read *in situ* in the sculpture conservation workshop of the National Museum of Cambodia in Phnom Penh by Dominic Goodall in 2019 and has been checked against photographs of the stone pedestal taken in July 2019 by Nicolas Revire [pl. 3a], and of an estampage prepared by Khom Sreymom (NMC), kindly sent to us by Bertrand Porte and Dominique Soutif in June 2020 [pl. 3b].

Edition:

(**1**) bhagavāñ chākyamuniḥ

I. [*āryā*]
(**2**) dharmamr̥garājanāmnā • sthavireṇa kr̥tā muner iyaṁ pratimā • sthaviram mātulamātula•bhadantajinabhadram uddiśya ||

4. For comparative purposes, we may mention that the other inscriptions found on early Buddhas that we know of from Cambodia and Thailand are K. 577, K. 755, K. 820, K. 884, and K. 1000. In addition, at least one other inscription mentions a statue of the Buddha (K. 1009), and a few other pre-Angkorian epigraphs are clearly Buddhist in inspiration (K. 40, K. 49, K. 132, K. 163, K. 244, K. 389, K. 400 A, K. 505, K. 1148, K. 1330, K. 1355, K. 1426).

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II. [*anuṣṭubh*]
(**3**) duḫkhaṁ duḥkhasamuppādo • duḥkhassa ca Atikramo •
Aïro caṭṭhaṅgiko maggo • khemopaśamagāmiko ||

Translation:

(**1**) Lord Śākyamuni

I. (**2**) This (*iyaṁ*) image (*pratimā*) of the Sage (*muneḥ*) was made (*kr̥tā*) by the Elder (*sthavireṇa*) called Dharmamr̥garāja, having indicated [as the recipient of the resulting merit] (*uddiśya*)[5] the Elder Venerable (*bhadanta*°) Jinabhadra, who was his maternal uncle's maternal uncle (*mātulamātula*°).

II. (**3**) Suffering, the arising of suffering, and the transcendence of suffering, and the eightfold path of the Noble Ones, leading to the cessation of suffering that brings peace (*khemopaśamaḥ*).

1.4. Commentary

Palaeographically, K. 1455 seems to belong to the early seventh century: it furnishes an unostentatious but elegant specimen of pre-Angkorian lettering, with long descendants on such characters as *ka* and initial *a*. More telling features that suggest that it belongs towards the beginning rather than the end of the seventh century are perhaps the *jihvāmūlīya* (the sign that may replace a *visarga* before an unvoiced guttural stop and that fell out of use among the Khmers in the course of the seventh century) above the second *akṣara* of the third line, and the relatively archaic form of the vowel-markers on the consonants *khemo* in the third line.

As for the content of the inscription, composed in Sanskrit (line 1, first stanza in line 2), and in Middle Indo-Aryan (second stanza in line 3), it is unusual for the base of a statue of this period. The first line appears to be a label-inscription, a type more typical of a modern museum, but not wholly without parallel in pre-Angkorian Cambodia.[6] As far as we are aware, this is the first time for this period and region that a Buddha is clearly identified by a label as Śākyamuni. The closest parallel is perhaps the standing Buddha found long ago at Wat Mahathat in Lopburi, central Thailand. The Sanskrit inscription K. 577 inscribed on its lotus-shaped pedestal [pl. 2.3], first read and translated by George Cœdès (2504/1961: 4–5), mentions the installation of a *pratimā muneḥ* ("image of the sage [Śākyamuni?]") by a certain *nāyaka* Ārjava, son of the king of Śāmbūka, of the Taṅgur people. The early use of such a label in K. 1455, taken together with the statue's discovery in a near perfect state of presentation and its unusual stylistic features, may lead one, at first glance, to suspect the object's authenticity. But the rest of the inscription suggests that it is genuine.

5. Vincent Tournier (2018: 40) proposes the following translation for *uddiśya*: "having assigned [the merit] to".

6. Compare, for example, K. 474, a pair of footprints carved on a stone and labelled *śivapādadvayāmbhoja*, "Śiva's pair of lotus-feet". See Guy 2014: 159–160, cat. 83.

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The second of the three lines gives an unexceptionable stanza in *āryā* metre, which is not something one might expect a forger to produce. It further emphasises a relationship that is often privileged in early Khmer genealogical successions, namely that between maternal uncle (*mātula*) and sororal nephew (*bhāgineya*).[7] Here the establisher of the statue, the Elder Dharmamr̥garāja, "Lion of Dharma", could be regarded as the most direct heir of the man for whose intention he established it, namely the Venerable Jinabhadra, since Sthavira Dharmamr̥garāja was the sororal nephew of Bhadanta Jinabhadra's sororal nephew. The emphasis on this relationship, seemingly less well-known or less commonly emphasised until the writings of Michael Vickery, further suggests authenticity. It also implies that the two figures mentioned, in spite of their Sanskritic names, were likely to have been of Khmer ancestry. Nonetheless, the fact that even the non-formulaic part of the dedicatory inscription is in Sanskrit (and not in a vernacular language), may reflect the relatively high social status of the donor (Sthavira Dharmamr̥garāja), perhaps already before he became ordained. His ordination as a monk is indicated by the title Sthavira, "Elder", which is however not enough to indicate that he belonged to the Theriya lineage, for which the scriptural language was essentially Pali, not Sanskrit nor other forms of Middle Indo-Aryan. Sthaviras are in fact presented in all Buddhist schools, and many monks are identified as Sthaviras in donation inscriptions on stone sculptures from India, and even possibly from the Mekong Delta.[8] The circumstance that the donor dedicates the statue to a great uncle, also ordained, suggests that Sthavira Bhadanta Jinabhadra was already deceased at the time when the text was engraved. Numerous later Khmer epigraphs attest to the practice of installing statues of Śiva, Viṣṇu or the Goddess in the name of (and sometimes in the likeness of) deceased relatives.[9]

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7. On this subject, see for instance Goodall 2019, quoting copiously from Vickery 1998, who uses rather the expression "uterine nephew".

8. See for example the inscribed Buddha K. 884, which reads *po cas āryya dat* in Old Khmer (formerly read as *po cas sūryya dat* by Cœdès), i.e., "the Elder Āryadatta" (*po cas* = **sthavira*). See Chhom & Griffiths, and also Revire, both forthcoming. Vickery (1998: 220–222) observed that honorific elements such as *pu*/*pū*/*po* used in some Old Khmer epigraphs usually denote a title for an official of high rank, a king or a god.

9. Clear indications that certain statues are in some sense representations of deceased ancestors are mostly found in twelfth-century records, but mentions of statues being for the benefit of deceased ancestors may be found, for instance, in ninth-century records. Stanzas XXX and XXXII of K. 826 furnish examples. The Viṣṇu whose installation is recorded in st. XXX is "for the merit" (*bhūtyai*) of the Jayavarman who has gone to Viṣṇuloka, in other words for Jayavarman III (*IC* I, pp. 33 and 35). A somewhat ambiguous pre-Angkorian example is furnished by st. III of K. 1173 (unpublished transcription by Gerdi Gerschheimer from the photograph published by Jacques & Lafond 2004: 101). That stanza reads:

> sa śrīkr̥tāntapāśasya pitr̥vyasya śilāmayam
> vr̥ṣabhaṁ sthāpayām āsa yaśaḥkīlam iva s(th)iram
>
> He [Mahendravarman] established this stone bull, as though it
> were a stable pillar of victory, for his paternal uncle Śrī Kr̥tāntapāśa.

Here the bull could be marking the victory of his paternal uncle, but it seems more likely to us that it marks, as it were, Mahendravarman's own victory, while at the same time being intended for the merit of Kr̥tāntapāśa.

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As for the concluding third line in the second stanza, it cites the *duḥkha-samuppāda* verse in *anuṣṭubh* metre. This verse, which is a summary of the Four Truths of the Noble Ones, has a close parallel in Pali (*Dhammapada* 191) and it is found in some early Pali inscriptions of Thailand (Revire 2014: n. 29). It has also been discovered in the epigraphy of Andhra Pradesh (EIAD 218; Skilling 1991), and in the Mekong Delta (K. 1330; Skilling 2542/1999) in so-called "Prakrit". It appears here, however, in a form of Middle Indo-Aryan that seems slightly shaded by a knowledge of Sanskrit (note for instance the ligature *kr* in *atikramo*, the uses of *jihvāmūlīya* and *visarga* in the word *duḥkha*, and the use of both dental and palatal sibilants). This inscription from Angkor Borei thus furnishes another testimony to the importance of other forms of Middle Indo-Aryan — in addition to Pali — for Buddhist "citation inscriptions" found in mainland Southeast Asia during the mid-to-late first millennium CE (Skilling 2002).

It also brings to the fore the important historical question of the presence of certain Buddhist lineages or *nikāya*s, such as the Saṁmitīyas and the Theriyas, in the region during the seventh century. As far as we know, the Theriya monks were the only ones using Pali as their scriptural language in South and Southeast Asia. To date, however, only one pre-Angkorian inscription in Pali (K. 1355) is known to have been found at Angkor Borei in the Mekong Delta, and it does not contain the *Dhammapada* verse at stake (Skilling 2019a). The aforementioned inscription K. 1330 from Go Xoai in southern Vietnam, and the newly discovered K. 1455 from Angkor Borei, both composed in Middle Indo-Aryan and dating to the seventh or eighth century CE, thus instantiate another recension of the *duḥkhasamuppāda* verse (listing the Four Truths in the nominative case), which may or may not be related to the Saṁmitīyas, and which is also distinct from that of the Pali *Dhammapada* 191 (listing the same truths in the accusative). The fact that the language of K. 1330 and K. 1455 — to which we can probably also add the short *ye dhammā* epigraph K. 820 whose redaction belongs to the *avaca* group (Skilling 2542/1999), also found in the Mekong Delta region at Tuol Preah Theat on the back of a standing Buddha image [pl. 2.1] — in some respects "resembles the language of the Patna *Dhammapada*" (Skilling 2542/1999: 176), a text now securely attributed to the Saṁmitīyas, may be additional epigraphical evidence in this regard.[10]

Besides the testimony of this growing corpus of Buddhist inscriptions from the Mekong Delta,[11] we should not ignore here the brief description

10. One should note that the aforementioned *duḥkhasamuppāda* verse corresponding to *Dhammapada* 191 is not present in the edition of the "Patna *Dharmapada*" composed centuries later in northern India (Cone 1989: 160). These Southeast Asian inscriptions, however, may draw from an earlier and/or a separate canonical recension of the Saṁmitīyas, now lost, and which originally included the verse (pers. comm. with Vincent Tournier). See also Sferra 2020.

11. There are to date very few maps of ancient Buddhist inscriptions from early mainland Southeast Asia. Two exceptions dealing essentially with Cambodia and Thailand may be mentioned. The first one is published by Ian Harris (2005: 3), the second by Nicolas Revire (2014: 248). These maps do not, however, include the corpus of inscriptions unearthed from the Mekong Delta in southern Vietnam.

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of the travelling Chinese monk Yijing (義淨, ca. 635–713) in his *A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas* (南海寄歸內法傳, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*), who is also unequivocal about the predominance (多) of the Saṁmitīyas (正量[部]) in seventh-century Linyi (臨邑), in other words in a neighbouring region now part of Vietnam, possibly Campā (*T.* 2125, 54: 205b22–23; trans. Li 2000: 13).

As for the date, taking the stylistic and palaeographic evidence together, this inscribed Buddha from Angkor Borei appears likely to have been produced in the first half of the seventh century CE.

2. Fragments from Mueang Phaniat, Chanthaburi province (Thailand)

2.1. Provenance and context

Four fragments of inscribed sandstone (?) are currently kept in the Wat Thong Thua museum, near the ruins of the ancient city named Mueang Phaniat in Chanthaburi province.[12] These fragments were discovered in the early 2000s, during (or on the fringes of) excavations conducted by the Thai Fine Arts Department (FAD) and they were therefore unknown to Cœdès and the international community until recently (Mollerup 2012: 14–16). They have been inventoried as Ch.B. 7 to 10 (จบ ๗–๑๐) by the National Library of Thailand [pl. 4]. To date, only Ch.B. 7 has been published, in Thai transliteration and with a Thai translation (*CNPT*/FAD 2559). The others are too fragmentary to yield sense, but it is worth at least providing illustrations of them here, for it is conceivable that they are all fragments from the same stone, even though two are in Old Khmer whereas one is in Sanskrit (Ch.B. 10), and those in Khmer use a different style of script from the one in Sanskrit. Some explanation of how this could be possible must be given. Ch.B. 7 itself has two contiguous inscribed faces, one at a right angle to the other, and on these it bears two quite distinct inscriptions, one being the Sanskrit text that we have edited below, and the other, in Khmer, written in lines that run perpendicularly away from the top of the Sanskrit one, on what would once have been the upwards-pointing surface above it [pl. 4.1a]. It seems likely therefore that Ch.B. 7 was originally part of a stela of dressed stone made in order to receive a Sanskrit charter of the reign of Īśānavarman I (616–639?), and that somebody later reused the stone, or part of it, in order to add a Khmer inscription in later lettering on the uppermost surface. In other words, this is not one bilingual inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman I, but two inscriptions carved on different parts of the same stone at different times.

The script of the other Khmer fragments Ch.B. 8 [pl. 4.2] and Ch.B. 9 [pl. 4.3] is slightly looser, more cursive and more airily spaced, and it is similar to the script used on the upper face of Ch.B. 7. The extra Sanskrit

12. For a preliminary description of the site, see no. 885, "Phamniep", *IMC* III, pp. 457–460.

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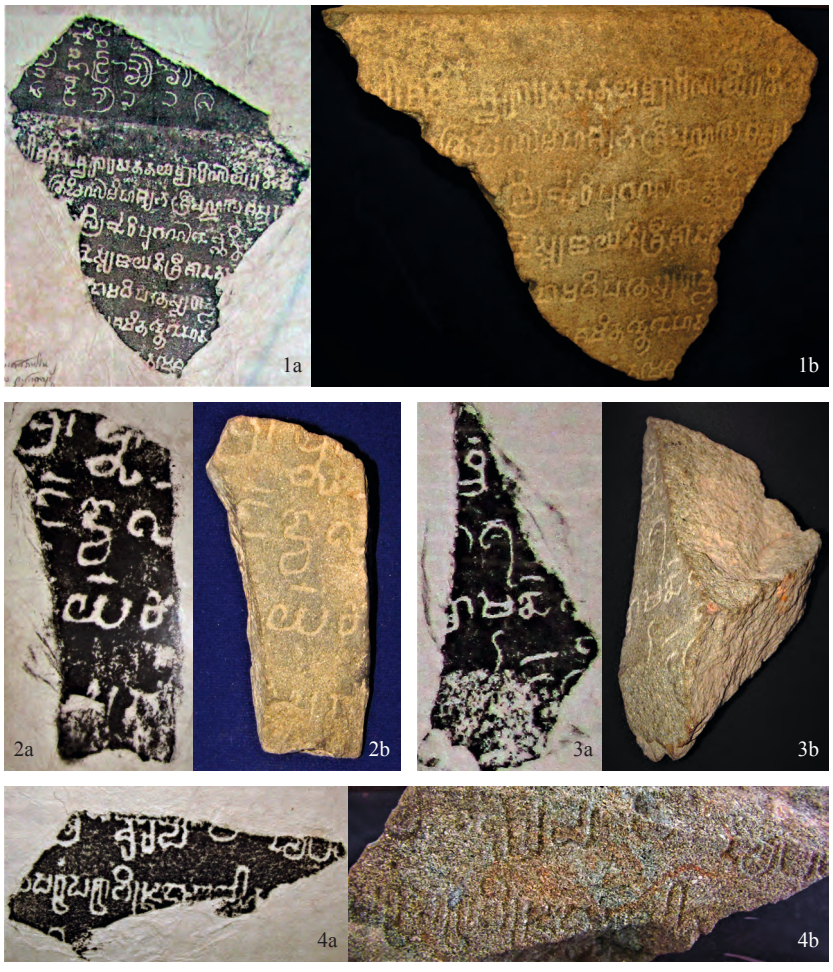

Plate 4 — New fragments of pre-Angkorian inscriptions from Mueang Phaniat, now in the custody of Wat Thong Thua museum (photos: © Nicolas Revire): **1.** Ch.B. 7 (K. 1563), estampage (a) and photograph (b); **2.** Ch.B. 8 (K. 1564), estampage (a) and photograph (b); **3.** Ch.B. 9 (K. 1565), estampage (a) and photograph (b); **4.** Ch.B. 10 (K. 1566), estampage (a) and photograph (b).

fragment, Ch.B. 10, is written in a denser pre-Angkorian hand which is somewhat similar to that of the Sanskrit face of Ch.B. 7. Parts of the *akṣara*s of three consecutive lines can be discerned on Ch.B. 10, but only a few *akṣara*s from the middle line can be fully transcribed with certainty. The legible sequence of the middle line seems to read as follows: *paraṁparābhir adado* ("with/by sequences/generations …"). Having observed that the script is similar to that used for the Sanskrit in Ch.B. 7, we should note that one repeated character in that short legible sequence has a distinctive trait that we cannot find in Ch.B. 7. For in Ch.B. 10 [pl. 4.4], the very bottom of the descending loop of all three instances of the *r* swells outwards to the right. We find this nowhere in Ch.B. 7, and this makes it unlikely that Ch.B. 10 belongs to the same inscription. The possibility cannot, however, be excluded, for the same idiosyncratic stylistic feature is after all found

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Plate 5 — Pre-Angkorian sculptural fragments from Mueang Phaniat, 7th–8th centuries (photos: © Nicolas Revire): **1.** head of a Harihara, Prachinburi National Museum; **2.** one of the lintels, Sambor Prei Kuk style (600–650 CE); **3.** another lintel, Prei Khmeng style (650–700 CE).

on some, but not on all, of the instances of *r* in K. 1254 (see p. 145 of the palaeographic table of Gerschheimer & Goodall 2014) and on some, but not all, of the instances in the Wat Phra Ngam inscription edited further below. In other words, we can find at least two instances of scribes who uses this feature inconsistently.

As for fragments Ch.B. 8 and Ch.B. 9, we have said that they are in Khmer, but there is in fact rather little to judge by. Nonetheless, amongst the tiny number of graphic elements preserved, we see three *virāma* marks in Ch.B. 8 and two in Ch.B. 9. Furthermore, those in Ch.B. 8 fall on characters on which we would not expect to find them commonly used in Sanskrit, namely *y*, *l* and maybe *ṅ*. Perhaps the only legible complete words in Ch.B. 8 are *man* and *dval* ("hill" / "to receive on the head").

On the upper Khmer face of Ch.B. 7 [pl. 4.1a] we can see the beginnings of six lines. The first may begin with *dāra*, "to receive", the second line may begin with *so nuva qnak*, the third line starts with the Khmer word *cralo* ("to advance, to bow"), the fourth line with *paryyaṅ*, "oil", the fifth line probably with the same, although we can now only see *paryya*, and at the beginning of the sixth line we can see just the initial vowel *e*. Such small fragments can be hard to date palaeographically, but here the sharp point at the bottom left-hand corner of the *c* of *cralo* is a feature that appeared in the Angkorian period. On the other hand, the *ra* of *dāra* in the first line (if indeed it is *ra*) consists of two vertical bars, not one. The single vertical bar does not seem to have entirely replaced the double one before the end of the tenth century.

To recapitulate, Ch.B. 7 probably comes from a seventh-century stela produced specially to receive a Sanskrit inscription of Īśānavarman I, but a less formal Khmer document was later engraved on the upper face, perhaps

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in the early tenth century. The other inscribed fragments of the same provenance — namely Ch.B. 8, Ch.B. 9 and Ch.B. 10, which appear to have been written respectively in Khmer, Khmer and Sanskrit — may or may not once have been fragments of the same stela.

At our request, these fragments have been given the following K. numbers: K. 1563, K. 1564, K. 1565 and K. 1566 respectively for Ch.B. 7, Ch.B. 8, Ch.B. 9 and Ch.B. 10. They can thus be added to the corpus of Khmer inscriptions already known from the region (see *infra*). We may mention in passing that a small sculpted head of Harihara and some pre-Angkorian lintels were also found in the surroundings of Mueang Phaniat (Mollerup 2012: 8–14) [pl. 5]. The Sanskrit text of Ch.B. 7 (K. 1563) seems Śaiva, but we do not know whether it, or other fragments, might have alluded also to the installation of a Harihara in the ancient city.

2.2. Edition of fragment Ch.B. 7 (K. 1563)

The reading of Face A (composed in Sanskrit) is from photographs of the stone and of an estampage sent to Dominic Goodall by Nicolas Revire in June 2020 [pl. 4.1].

Edition:

I. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*: – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – / – – ◡ – – ◡ ⩲]
(**1**) – – – śaśinaś cakāra satataṁ yaḫ pāriṇāyī[ṁ] rati(m)
(**2**) – – – ◡ [hi]taiṣiṇām iha śubhaṁ śrīmaṇḍaleśas sa ⩲
(**3**) – – – ◡ ◡ – lino ripugaṇā necchanti – – ◡ ⩲]
(**4**) – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ nais sa jayati śrīśānava[r](m)[mā nr̥paḥ]
II. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita* (?): – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – / – – ◡ – – ◡ ⩲]
(**5**) – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ dām adhipates sa(ṁ)rā(ṣṭ) – – ◡ ⩲]
(**6**) – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ śamitan teneha saṁ – ◡ ⩲]
(**7**) … vameśa …

Apparatus:

(**1**) śaśinaś **:** śaśinaṁś *CNPT*
(**2**) [hi]taiṣiṇām **:** … taiṣiṇām *CNPT*
(**4**) nais **:** n(ai)s *CNPT* • °va[r](m)[mā nr̥paḥ] **:** °va(rmma) *CNPT*
(**5**) sa(ṁ)rā(ṣṭ) : sarā(ṣṭ) *CNPT*

2.3. Commentary

Regarding the first of the above two stanzas, enough survives for us to be certain that it is in the well-known metre *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, which has nineteen syllables per quarter, of which we have cited the metrical pattern of light (◡) and heavy (–) syllables, punctuated by a caesura (/) seven syllables before the end. This enables us to determine how many syllables are probably missing, which in turn enables us to see that this must be the opening stanza and that it appears to be of a type that punningly praises both the then

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ruling sovereign, presumably Īśānavarman I, who "is victorious" (*jayati*), and at the same time the deity Śrī-Maṇḍaleśa.

As a theonym, Maṇḍaleśa seems almost certainly to be a name of Śiva. We find it used in two other pre-Angkorian inscriptions, both of them in Old Khmer, namely K. 129 (*IC* II, p. 83) and K. 1464, published as Ka. 118 by Saveros Pou & Grégory Mikaelian in *NIC* IV (p. 13).[13] The expression is used in various texts of the Mantramārga to refer to the central deity worshipped in a *maṇḍala*; but it is also the name of one of the worlds (with eponymous ruling Rudras) forming the *pañcāṣṭaka* ("five ogdoads"), in other words the list of forty Śaiva sacred sites on earth that are linked to homonymous heavens in the Śaiva cosmos. If one dies on earth in any one of them, then one is miraculously transported to the heaven of the same name.[14] It is therefore an unsurprising choice for a Śaiva theonym, one that follows an established pattern of filling the Khmer landscape with sites of a Śaiva sacred topography.[15] In addition to these considerations, the name Maṇḍaleśa might have been chosen because of a lunar resonance, the term *maṇḍala* referring, among other meanings, to the "orb [of the moon]". Īśānavarman I regarded his lineage as lunar,[16] and the first visible word of this inscription is evidently part of some trope in which the king's lunar qualities (brightness, beauty, kindliness) are alluded to. For other arguably comparable cases, in which there is a suggestion of praise of Īśānavarman I half-concealed behind praise of Śiva, see K. 80, st. II; K. 1150, st. I; K. 1418, st. I (edition in preparation); K. 1419, st. I (the last two also contain lunar symbolism).[17]

As for Maṇḍaleśa being conceivably also a punning description of the king, this would depend on the use of *maṇḍala* to refer not merely to the

13. Arlo Griffiths has pointed out to us that the theonym Bhadramaṇḍaleśvara is found in Campā, Face B of C. 142.

14. See *TAK*2, s.v. *guhyāṣṭaka* and, for instances in the Indian sub-continent, see Bisschop 2006: 19, and Ibid.: 27ff. for a much fuller account.

15. See Sanderson 2003–2004: 403–409, a section of his long article that is entitled "The Śaivization of the Land".

16. In point of fact, Īśānavarman I does not seem to emphasise this in his epigraphs, but we find the claim to lunar ancestry made for his antecedent Candravarman in the opening of K. 1142. Claude Jacques (in Jacques *et al.* 2007: 49–52) did not understand Candravarman to be an antecedent of Īśānavarman I, but as Éric Bourdonneau has pointed out to Dominic Goodall in a private communication, and as the two hope to show in a fresh edition and translation of K. 1142, this is what emerges from the genealogy presented in the inscription, if one carefully disentangles the confusing sequence of relative and correlative clauses.

17. The same phenomenon is arguably found at the beginning of K. 53, an inscription from the reign of Īśānavarman I's successor Jayavarman I. Clearly, it is a *maṅgala* invoking Śiva:

> jayaty ananyasāmānyamahimā parameśvaraḥ
> brahmopendrāñjalinyāsadviguṇāṅghriyugāmvujaḥ
>
> The Supreme Lord is victorious, his greatness shared by no other, the lotus of his pair of feet doubled by the placing of the clasped hands of Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

But the initial *jayati*, adumbrating the name Jayavarman, and the generic vocabulary alert us to the possibility that it is also intended to resonate with this possible extra meaning:

> The Supreme Sovereign is victorious, his greatness shared by none other, the lotus of his pair of feet doubled by the juxtaposition of the clasped hands of brahmins and subsidiary princes.

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small regions headed by chieftains (*maṇḍalin*), but rather to the wider area of twelve concentric regions dominated by a great king aspiring to conquer all rivals around him (*vijigīṣu*). This would be the wider area known in some theoretical literature on statecraft as the *dvādaśarājaka*, "the group of twelve kings".[18] A similar punning use of this wider sense is to be found in another inscription of Īśānavarman I, namely in K. 440, st. II, and indeed Īśānavarman often presents himself as an imperial sovereign surrounded by vassal kings (*sāmanta*), as for example in K. 1419, st. IV (for which see Chhom 2019).

We have mentioned above that we can see how many syllables are "probably" missing, and the reason for this hedging is that we cannot exclude the possibility that the inscription was engraved on a wide piece of stone and that lines 1–4 in fact contained two stanzas in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. In that case, only the second stanza would have been about Īśānavarman I, and the first would have been a separate *maṅgala* invoking the protection or blessing of Śiva, using the theonym of the particular Śiva whose installation the inscription no doubt recorded (Maṇḍaleśa), which is a pattern we find in some contemporary epigraphs, for instance, in K. 3, st. I (Vardhamānadeva), in K. 440, st. I (Prahasiteśvara), in K. 604, st. I (Kadamveśvara), and in K. 1239, st. I (Yajñapatīśvara, unpublished).

Perhaps the chief interest of this fragment (Ch.B. 7/K. 1563) is that it mentions Īśānavarman, who, as the sparse clues in the above lines of discussion suggest, was probably the great king of Zhenla, a figure mentioned in a few other epigraphs from what is today Thailand. We should note that K. 1563 appears not to be a part of the same inscription as another fragment also mentioning Īśānavarman from the same region inventoried much earlier as K. 502 (Ch.B. 3 and 4) and published by Cœdès (1924: 352ff.).[19] In other words, it provides further testimony to the broad spread of Īśānavarman I's rule. Nor can it be a part of K. 479 (Ch.B. 2) which is a later digraphic inscription of the reign of Yaśovarman dated 811 *śaka* (*IMC* III, pp. 456–457).[20] This is self-evident in the case of K. 479, since it belongs to a quite different period. As for K. 502 and K. 1563 (Ch.B. 7), that they cannot belong together as part of one inscription is clear because we have what seems to have been the very beginning of each. In the case of K. 502, we have a Khmer-language edict beginning with the word *ājñā* ("Command: …"), as appears to be typical of edicts of Jayavarman I (r. ca. 654–691),[21] and in the case of the new inscription Ch.B. 7/K. 1563, we have part of what must be the opening stanza in

18. See, for example, Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Raghuvaṁśa* 4.4, in Goodall & Isaacson 2003.

19. See EFEO estampage n. 1364; SAC (The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre) database: https://db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/inscribe/detail/521.

20. See EFEO estampage n. 1351; SAC database: https://db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/inscribe/image_detail/347.

21. The dates of the reign of Jayavarman I are a long-standing riddle. They are often given as 657–681, and there are indeed two epigraphs dated to 579 *śaka* (657 CE), namely K. 447 and K. 493, but an as yet unpublished epigraph from his reign, K. 1201, dates a foundation to the spring immediately following the completed *śaka* year 576 (654 CE). As for 691 CE, this reflects the date (612 *śaka*) given at the beginning of K. 1004, which, as Claude Jacques pointed out (1982: 231), may be the latest recorded date in Jayavarman I's reign. Inscriptions bearing much later dates may

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Sanskrit. According to Vickery (1998: 131–132, 338), K. 502 probably rather dates from the later reign of Jayavarman I, and refers only retrospectively to his grandfather Īśānavarman I.[22] What we can still read of the phrasing in the new fragment Ch.B. 7/K. 1563, however, suggests that it actually belongs to the reign of Īśānavarman I.

3. Inscription of Wat Phra Ngam, Nakhon Pathom (Thailand)

3.1. Provenance and context

This beautifully calligraphic stone inscription in Sanskrit was discovered on October 2, 2019, on the northern side of a *stūpa*-mound, at the ancient site of Wat Phra Ngam in Nakhon Pathom, about 60 km west of Bangkok.[23] The slab of blueish limestone (?)[24] on which it is engraved measures 50 × 96 × 14.5 cm and is locally registered as N.Th. 21 (นฐ ๒๑). It has been studied and published first by Thai scholars of the Fine Arts Department (Kongkaew 2563), and was displayed for the first time to the public during a special exhibition on Prince Damrong held at the Bangkok National Museum in autumn 2020 (FAD 2563: 96). A further edition with translations into Thai and English — by Chirapat Prapandvidya with Willard van de Bogart, published by Sombat Mangmeesukhsiri (2564: 328ff.) — came to our knowledge after this article was first submitted to the *BEFEO*. The first editors dated the inscription tentatively to the seventh or eighth century, presumably on palaeographic criteria, whereas the second editors (Sombat 2564: 329) suggest just the seventh century, and we believe that palaeographic considerations place it rather in the sixth century, as we shall explain below.

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in some cases earlier have been supposed to date from his reign, but these are now regarded as belonging instead to the reign of Jayavarman I *bis* (Goodall 2015b: 75–76).

22. A hitherto unpublished Sanskrit inscription has come to light recently at Wat Pa Pathom Chai, in Nakhon Pathom province, that may belong to the reign of Jayavarman I and that also implicitly mentions Īśānavarman I retrospectively. The inscription was donated to the Thai temple a few years ago with no recorded provenance. However, it probably comes from eastern (or northeast?) Thailand. From our preliminary inspection of what seems to be Face B, it appears that the unnamed hero of the inscription (st. I and II) served as a soldier under a certain Jayavarman's grandfather [viz. Īśānavarman I?], but was only rewarded later by that Śrī Jayavarman himself, presumably Jayavarman I (st. III). The various pious projects that the hero had begun in his lifetime but which he could not complete himself were also completed by that king. We thank Rungroj Phiromanukul for sharing an estampage of one face. The stele is also inscribed on the other face, which we have not yet been able to examine.

23. Here are the links to two local press articles (in Thai) that discuss its discovery during the excavations of Wat Phra Ngam in late 2019 with some additional photos: https://www.silpa-mag.com/news/article_39959; and https://www.matichon.co.th/education/news_1703766 (accessed on November 2, 2021).

24. The Thai FAD considers this inscription to be engraved on "granite" or "rhyolite" (Disapong Netlomwong, pers. comm.), but we find this assertion unlikely. No other inscriptions of early Southeast Asia were ever engraved on this type of stone because of its scarcity in the region and relative hardness. The stone bearing this inscription is in fact very similar to the stone used to carve the many wheels of the law and other sculptures from the Dvāravatī realm. The scientific analysis of a rock sample coming from an ancient quarry near Nakhon Pathom and conducted by Christian Fischer in 2009 determined the material to be "micritic limestone" (Bertrand Porte, pers. comm.).

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In this inscription, the famous city-name Dvāravatī appears in the middle of a list of cities, thus yielding only the second early epigraphical reference to Dvāravatī found in Thailand (the other inscription — K. 1009, most fully reconstituted in Skilling 2019b: 67 — comes from the province of Nakhon Ratchasima), to which may be added the numismatic references (the so-called "votive medals"). It may thus help in further narrowing down the probable location of Dvāravatī to the Tha Chin Valley, between U Thong and Khu Bua (Revire 2016: map 1, 397).

It should be admitted, however, that the purport of the text is unclear at this point, and it seems as though Dvāravatī may only be mentioned here as a mythological city of the past, partly because it is placed next to *hastinākhyā purī* — the fabled Indian city (often called Hastināpura)[25] identified with a site in the north of Delhi where the great assembly of Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas took place (*Mahābhārata* 2) — and partly because it is qualified by the attributes "great in wealth" (*vibhūtimahatī*) and "belonging to Viṣṇu" (*vaiṣṇavī*). This would seem to make it the legendary city that is Kṛṣṇa's capital in the *Harivaṁśa*, presumably located originally on the western coast of India, in other words the city after which the Southeast Asian polity of Dvāravatī was no doubt named; but of course that polity might also have described itself as *vaiṣṇavī*.[26] It is futhermore conceivable that, even if it is the mythical city that is designated, its mention here may have been motivated by the proximity of a Southeast Asian polity of the same name, if that was already in existence at the time, which would thus in effect also be alluded to obliquely. But the word that appears to link the phrase mentioning the two mythological cities of Dvāravatī and Hastināpurī with the rest of the sentence is the comparative particle *yathā*, "like", and this suggests that the stanza named an existing Southeast Asian city (or perhaps more than one), which it then compared in splendour with the two mythological cities of Hastināpurī and Dvāravatī. And indeed the stanza opens with a string of twelve clearly legible syllables that could be interpreted as one long toponym (Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgamapratipuraṁ), or as two toponyms (Śrīyānaṁ Dimiriṅgamapratipuraṁ, perhaps with Śrīyāna compared to Hastināpurī and Dimiriṅgamapratipura compared with Dvāravatī), or as one toponym and an adjective (Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgam apratipuraṁ, "Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅga, which is rivalled by no comparable city"). Even this list does not exhaust the possibilities, as we shall see below.

The site of Wat Phra Ngam (probably an ancient *stūpa*) has also yielded some important archaeological pieces, including a beautiful terracotta head and torso discovered at the end of August 2019 during the same excavations

25. This version of the name figures in K. 1198, A38, column 1, although only to indicate the origin of a woman. Incidentally, K. 1198 mentions the Mons (Rāmanya) people who inhabited the region of Lopburi (Lavapura) in the first half of the eleventh century.

26. In Inscription no. 2 of Sukhothai, dated to the fourteenth century and written in Khmer, there is a passage that mentions a *cetiya* called "Braḥ Dhaṁ" and which was built in the middle of "Lord Kris's city". This could be a straightforward reference to the Phra Pathom Chedi in Nakhon Pathom, which would then be directly equated with Dvāravatī, the legendary city of Lord Kṛṣṇa (Woodward 2014: 23).

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Plate 6 — Terracotta fragments from Wat Phra Ngam, 8th–10th centuries (photos: © Nicolas Revire): **1.** terracotta torso of a deity (*dvārapāla*?), Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum; **2.** head of Buddha, Bangkok National Museum; **3.** miniature moulded tablets, Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum.

carried out by the FAD Second division of Suphanburi.[27] The headed torso in terracotta bears what seems to be an elaborately decorated *yajñopavīta*. His fierce face and furled brow suggest that he might be a *dvārapāla* or door-guardian (FAD 2563: 95) [pl. 6.1]. Another head found there earlier has a face similar in size and style, which supports this identification, since it suggests that the torso and heads are what now remains of a pair of guardians. While the above inscription unmistakably records a Śaiva endowment, several Buddhist terracotta sculptures and objects have also been found previously in the ruins of Wat Phra Ngam, including a beautiful head of the Buddha (FAD 2563: 94), and fragments of small clay tablets [pls. 6.2, 6.3]. These various pieces, however, may date to the eighth to tenth centuries, later than

27. See the Thai news report of the excavations: https://mgronline.com/qol/detail/9620000082219 (accessed on November 2, 2021).

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the inscription found in the same premises at Wat Phra Ngam. New stone fragments of a seated meditating Buddha with both hands resting palms upwards in his lap, presumably originating from the late first millennium CE, were also discovered in early June 2021 in the vicinity.[28] No doubt there are still further archaeological discoveries to be made at Wat Phra Ngam.

3.2. Edition and translation of N.Th. 21

The following edition is based on a preliminary transcription and translation largely resulting from discussion between Dominic Goodall, Diwakar Acharya, Chloé Chollet, Kunthea Chhom, and Nina Mirnig during their weekly online seminar in the framework of the ERC-DHARMA project. Numerous photographs were used, including those published in the *Silpakorn Journal* (Kongkaew 2563) [pl. 7], several taken by Nicolas Revire in June and November 2020, and one kindly furnished through the good offices of John Guy.

The apparatus records deviations from the readings published in the first edition by the FAD, which appeared, along with a Thai translation, in the *Silpakorn Journal* (Kongkaew 2563: 14–15). Where they differ, the readings of that edition (including all the dots, long dashes and brackets deployed by the editors) are given marked with the siglum *FAD* in our apparatus to each stanza.[29] The readings of the edition published in Sombat 2564, where they differ, are marked with the siglum *SU* (for "Silpakorn University").

Edition:

I. [*mālinī*]
(**1**) jayati kamalayoneḥ śubhraraśmipratānaṁ •
pragalitatanudīptyā krāntadiṅmaṇḍalo yaḥ •
dharaṇidharanitambe sammate 'smi[n] (ma) [.] rCe
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ – – ◡ – –

•1a. °pratānaṁ **:** °ghṛtānaṁ *FAD* •1c. °nitambe sammate 'smi[n] (ma)[.]rCe **:** °ṇitam dhesammatesmi — *FAD* ; °ṇitambe sammatasmi … *SU*

II. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(**2**) saṁgrāmeṣu mukhendunā svadaśanajyotsnāmṛtasyandinā •
senodyogaviśāradaḥ priyaraṇo dātā nayajñaś śuciḥ •
śrīmadvaṁśadhurandharaḥ pṛthuyaśā – – ◡ – – ◡ ◡̲
– – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – / – – ◡ – (rmur) n(ṛ)pa[ḥ]

•2b. senodyogaviśāradaḥ **:** [sanatyoga]viśāradaḥ *FAD* ; (yat)nodyogaviśāradaḥ *SU* •2b. dātā nayajñaś śuciḥ **:** dātānayajñaśśucī *FAD* •2c. śrīmadvaṁśadhurandharaḥ **:** … śrīmadvaṅśadhurandhaṁraḥ *FAD* •2d. (rmur) n(ṛ)pa[ḥ] **:** — *FAD* ; … *SU*

28. See the reporting in Thai local news: https://siamrath.co.th/n/253186?fbclid=IwAR3toPLACFga0zOh1lylbVNSow4zI1AfwnLH02nemmL2_1eEJQgU45D7PZU (accessed on November 2, 2021).

29. The version in roman transliteration (p. 15) has been followed here. The two versions in Thai transliteration (p. 14), which in any case differ very little, either from each other or from the roman transliteration, have been ignored.

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III. [*vasantatilakā*]
(**3**) Adhyeṣitāvataraṇas tridaśaiḥ pr̥thivyāṁ •
(sat)kāra(ni)grahakr̥te sadasajjanānā[m]
*(nn)Vya (U)ddharat(i) kārttayug(ī)[na] – –
⏑̯ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ⏑̯

•3b. (sat)kāra(ni)grahakr̥te sadasajjanānā[m] **:** … (t) kāranigrahakr̥tesadasaj (mma) nānā *FAD* ; (sat)kāranigrahakr̥te sadasajjanānāṃ *SU* •3c. *(nn)Vya (U)ddharat(i) kārttayug(ī) [na] – – **:** … (yā) d edharatakārttayugi — *FAD* ; … d dheratikārttayugi … *SU*

IV. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(**4**) tenātyadbhutapauruṣeṇa hi mayā tīrtvā pratijñārṇṇavaṁ •
bhuktvā sadvijayā(bh)idhānam amr̥taṁ (p)ī(tvā) (pra) – – ◡ –
kr̥tvādarśagr̥heṣv iva pravitatāṁ l – – ◡ – – ◡ ⏑̯
– – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – / – – ◡ – – ◡ ⏑̯

•4a. hi mayā **:** himayā *FAD*, *SU* •4b. (p)ī(tvā) (pra) **:** . ī . ā .. — *FAD*, *SU* •4c. °gr̥heṣv iva pravitatāṁ l **:** ° gr̥hesvivapr̥avitatāṁ — *FAD* ; kr̥tvādarśagr̥heṣv iva praviśatāṁ l … *SU*

V. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(**5**) śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgam apratipuraṁ sā hastināḱhyā purī •
sā ca dvāravatī vibhūtimahatī khyātā yathā vaiṣṇavī •
Etac [c]āpi ◡ C(au) ◡ – [k](ṣa)(k/r)aCvV – / – – ◡ – – ◡ –
CrV CvV CyV [(g)da/ṭṭa]rasadma Cr̥ ◡ – / – – C(ka) nāmnā mayā

•5a. Same readings, but different word-spacing in *FAD* & *SU*: śrīyānaṁ dimiriṅgama pratipuraṁ sā hastināḱhyāpurī *FAD* ; śrīyānaṁ dimiriṅgam apratipuraṁ sā hastināḱhyāpurī *SU* •5b. dvāravatī vi° **:** dvāravatīvi° *FAD* •5c. Etac [c]āpi ◡ C(au) ◡ – [k](ṣa)(k/r)aCvV – : — etac . āpi — *FAD* ; eta(c) cāpi … *SU* •5d. CrV CvV CyV [(g)da/ṭṭa]rasadma Cr̥ ◡ – / – – C(ka) nāmnā mayā **:** — nām (nā) myā *FAD* ; nāmnā mayā *SU*

VI. [*śārdūlavikrīḍita*]
(**6**) kośārtthaṁ (su)vibhūṣaṇaṁ paśupates triṅśacchataṁ kāñcanaṁ •
kṣetras(y)āpi śatatrayaṁ (ma)[h]i[ṣ]i(ka)[ṁ] (sa)ṁkhy[ā]ta[m] (e)ka(ṁ) śat(aM) •
dhenūnāñ ca catuśśataṁ ṣaḍadhikadvyarddhaṁ śatañ c[e]ṭakā •
Ity etat para(me)śvarasya (likhitaṁ) dā(naṁ) śilāpa(ṭ)ṭak(e)

•6a. (su)vibhūṣaṇaṁ **:** suvibhūṣaṇaṁ *FAD* & *SU* •6a. triṅśacchataṁ **:** triṅśacūtaṁ *FAD* •6b. kṣetras(y)āpi śatatrayaṁ (ma)[h]i[ṣ]i(ka)[ṁ] (sa)ṁkhy[ā]ta[m] (e)ka(ṁ) śat(am·) **:** k (ṣe) t (ra) s [thā] pīśatatrayaṁ . i . i ... (saṁ) khyāta . kaśata … *FAD* ; k(ṣ)etras(th) āpiśatatrayaṁ ma(hiṣikā)saṃkhyā(tayaikaṃ) śatam *SU* •6c. °dvyarddhaṁ śatañ c[e] ṭakā **:** °dvyaddhaṁ śa (ta) ñ cvṭaṭaka *FAD* ; °dvyarddhaṁ śatañ ceṭakā *SU* •6d. para(me) śvarasya (likhitaṁ) dā(naṁ) śilāpa(ṭ)ṭak(e) **:** parameśvarasya li . taṭā (naṁ) śilāpaṭṭaka *FAD* ; parameśvsarasya likhitaṁ dānaṁ śilāpaṭṭak(e) *SU*

Translation:

I. Victorious is (*jayati*) the expanse of bright rays (*śubhraraśmīpratānam*) of lotus-born [Brahmā] (/ lotus-navelled [Viṣṇu]), by whom the [whole] circle of the directions has been bestridden (*krāntadiṅmaṇḍalaḥ*) because of the radiance streaming from his body (*pragalitatanudīptyā*) onto this (*asmin*) revered (*sammate*) haunch of a mountain (*dharaṇidharanitambe*) ...

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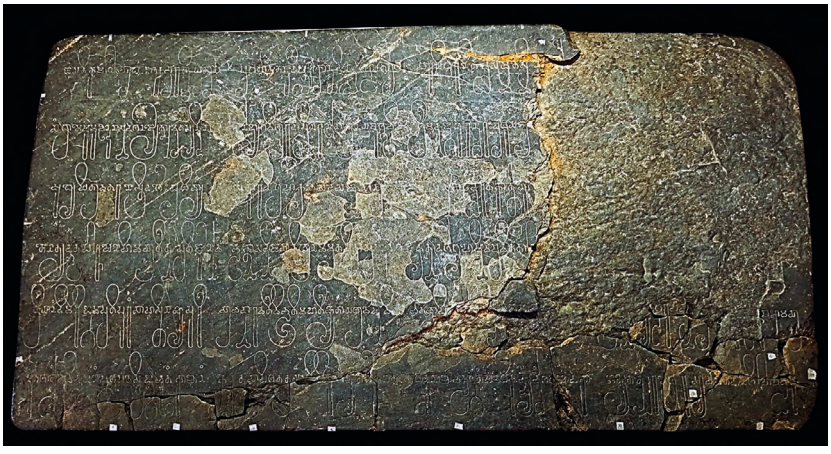
a



b

Plate 7 — Sanskrit inscription of Wat Phra Ngam, Nakhon Pathom, 6th century (?) (source: Kongkaew 2563: 5–6): **a.** after excavation on October 2019; **b.** after cleaning and restoration, February 2020.

II. Skilled in inspiring his army (*senodyogaviśāradaḥ*) in battles (*saṁgrāmeṣu*) by means of the moon of his face (*mukhendunā*), which dripped with the nectar that was the moonlight of his teeth (*svadaśanajyotsnāmṛtasyandinā*), fond of battles (*priyaraṇaḥ*), generous (*dātā*), politically astute (*nayajñaḥ*), pure (*śuciḥ*), who bore the yoke of his glorious dynasty (*śrīmadvaṁśadhurandharaḥ*), of broad fame (*pṛthuyaśāḥ*) … [this] king (*nṛpaḥ*) …

III. … whose descent upon the earth was desired (*adhyeṣitāvataraṇaḥ*) by the gods (*tridaśaiḥ*) for the sake of honouring good people and punishing bad ones … raises up (*uddharati*) … … belonging to the Kṛtayuga …

IV. Being one of astonishing heroism, I here (*tena ... mayā*) have indeed (*hi*) crossed the ocean of my promises, have enjoyed the ambrosia that is called true victory, have drunk … … spread out, as it were, in houses of mirrors …

V. Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅga has no city comparable to it (*apratipuram*); she (*sā*) is [also] the city called Hastinā, and she (*sā*) is also (*ca*) Dvāravatī, just like

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(*yathā*) the [city] of Viṣṇu [of that name] (*vaiṣṇavī*), … and this (*etac cāpi*) … seat (… *sadma*) … called (*nāmnā*) … by me (*mayā*), …

VI. For the treasury (*kośārttham*), beautiful ornaments (*suvibhūṣaṇam*) for Paśupati [equivalent in weight to] one hundred and thirty [coins] (*triṅśacchatam*) of gold (*kāñcanam*); three hundred [units] (*śatatrayam*) of land (*kṣetrasya*); a herd of female buffalos (*mahiṣikam*) numbering (*saṁkhyātam*) one (*ekam*) hundred (*śatam*); and four hundred (*catuśśatam*) cows (*dhenūnām*); two hundred and fifty-six slaves — these are the gifts to the Supreme Lord recorded in writing on [this] slab of stone.

Notes to the edition and translation (stanza by stanza):

I. The first stanza is in *mālinī* metre, and we first supposed that the one who was victorious was Brahmā. The expression *kamalayoni* would then be a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning "whose source/womb is a lotus", thus alluding to the birth of Brahmā from the lotus that grows from Viṣṇu's navel while Viṣṇu rests upon the coils of the serpent Ananta/Śeṣa, floating on the ocean of milk during a period of cosmic resorption. But highlighting Brahmā in the opening benediction, thus suggesting that he may have been the chief deity of the installation that this inscription recorded, may be unparalleled and would therefore be surprising. It is true that the opening stanza of K. 13 (of 624–625 CE) might appear to be such an invocation, but it is rather *brahman* as an impersonal "inner light" (*āntaraṁ jyotiḥ*) that is addressed there, and not Brahmā as a personified and mythologised being.

Elsewhere, the personified Brahmā is typically only included in inscriptional invocations as a member of a larger set of deities, and most commonly as a member of the cosmogonic triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, who respectively create, preserve and resorb the universe. Of course, the other members of the triad could conceivably have been mentioned in the damaged last quarter of the stanza, except that there is then rather little space left for glorifying what are normally the triad's two most important figures. Also possible would have been to praise the other two in subsequent stanzas. But the second stanza seems rather to be about a temporal king. One might argue again that its missing last part could have identified that king with Viṣṇu and thus introduced the second member of the triad. But even then, beginning the eulogy of the triad with a whole stanza about Brahmā would be strikingly unusual. This raises doubts as to whether some other understanding of the stanza should be sought. Could Viṣṇu be revered instead?

Admittedly, one could conceivably assume *kamalayoneḥ* to be a *tatpuruṣa* compound meaning "[Viṣṇu,] who is the source of the lotus [from which Brahmā is born]". Or, taking a slightly different tack, one might argue that Kamala could itself be a possible name of Brahmā, since we find instances of Ambhoja, Kañja and Kaja (all of which should properly mean "water-born", and therefore "lotus") apparently used to refer to Brahmā (Goodall 2004: xx, n. 17). Taking the expression thus to mean "source of Brahmā" would allow us to understand it as a kenning for Viṣṇu. And perhaps we could even understand "the one in whom the source [of

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the universe] is the lotus [in his navel]" (cf. K. 1254, st. III, Gerschheimer & Goodall 2014: 120).

But to some, all of this may seem too far-fetched, and they may after all prefer to assume that the stanza, surprising though this is, is a unique instance of an opening invocation to Brahmā.

One further analysis of the stanza, however, may be mentioned that would enable us to assume this to be praise of Viṣṇu. We have provisionally taken *śubhraraśmipratānaṁ* to be the subject of the verb *jayati*, but if we assume instead that it is a *bahuvrīhi* adverb qualifying that verb then we could instead interpret as follows:

> Victorious (*jayati*) is the one who (*yaḥ*) conquers the full circle of the directions (*krāntadiṅmaṇḍalaḥ*) with the radiance streaming forth from his body (*pragalitatanudīptyā*) in such a way as to result in an expanse of rays that was bright (*śubhraraśmipratānam*) [emanating] from the lotus that is the source [of the universe] (*kamalayoneḥ*) on this (*asmin*) revered (*sammate*) buttock of a mountain (*dharaṇidharanitambe*) ...

II. This second stanza seems straightforward in structure, consisting largely of a string of attributes of the king in the nominative. The first surviving quarter supplies the context, in which the king animates his army, namely "in battles", and an instrumental noun *mukhendunā*, "by means of the moon that was his face", which is further qualified as dripping with nectar. Only from the very last syllables of the line do we learn that this is a description of the king (*nr̥paḥ*), and these syllables are not visible in the photos published in the *Silpakorn Journal*. But they are visible on the photographs taken by Nicolas Revire in June and November 2020. And even without seeing the word *nr̥paḥ*, the nature of the description would have led us to assume this to be a description of a human hero, not a god.

III. Not enough survives of this third stanza to propose more than a small fragment of syntactically connected translation. But what does seem clear is that the stanza presents the king as a partial incarnation (*avataraṇa*) of Viṣṇu, yearned for by the gods because he will solve the problems of the world. Several pre-Angkorian inscriptions furnish examples of this trope, but particularly clear is the presentation of Jayavarman I *bis*[30] as embodying Viṣṇu in K. 1254 (Gerschheimer & Goodall 2014; see stanzas XII–XIV).

IV. Once again, too much is missing for a comprehensive reconstruction. The presence of the word *mayā*, "by me", along with the particle *iva*, which could introduce a simile ("like …") or an *utprekṣā* (an "as if …" poetic fancy), suggests that the king is imagined comparing himself to some figure of legend who speaks with pride of having crossed an ocean. Perhaps the king is comparing himself here to Hanumān? Or could this be an allusion instead to Garuḍa successfully stealing ambrosia? Or is some other legendary

30. We mention here no date-range for the reign of Jayavarman I *bis*, but the dated inscriptions belonging to his reign date to 763 CE (K. 1236, see Goodall 2015b), 770 CE (K. 103), 775 CE (K. 1417, edition by Dominic Goodall, Diwakar Acharya, Kunthea Chhom, and others under preparation), and 781 CE (K. 134).

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figure intended? The reference to a promise or promises (*pratijñā*) suggests that the king's reaching this place and making an endowment here is to be presented as the closing of the arc of a story, and perhaps as the culmination of a life of heroic action.

V. In this analysis, the repeated deictic pronoun *sā* would refer back to the city of Śrī-Yānaṁdimiriṅga, but take its gender from the feminine nouns that are used as predicates. This assumes an identification of all three cities mentioned in the first half of the verse.

It is conceivable that what is intended by the identification is the figure *rūpaka* (metaphor): "she is [a veritable] Dvāravatī! she is [a veritable] Hastināpurī!". Also conceivable is that the city really had many names, just like many ancient sites in India, such as Benares, which is known variously as Kāśī, Avimukta, and Vārāṇasī, or like Cīrkāḻi in Tamil Nadu, which is reputed to have twelve names, some Sanskrit, some Tamil, or like Madurai, again in Tamil Nadu, which has both the Sanskrit name Mathurā, which is "borrowed" from northern religious geography, as well as Tamil ones (Vaikai, etc.), thus making it arguably comparable with the city in question here, whose Sanskrit names may have been "borrowed" from Indian sacred geography.

Indeed, as we have explained when introducing this inscription, the interpretation is not at all certain and it is not even clear how to divide up the first twelve syllables of the stanza. Could it begin with a single toponym: Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgamapratipuraṁ? Or is *apratipuram* intended to mean "without a [comparable] counterpart city", in which case Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅga could be the toponym? And is *śrī* a detachable honorific, in which case Yānaṁdimiriṅga could be the name? Perhaps this is most likely, since *śrī* is recognisably Sanskrit, whereas the following elements of the name seem not to be. For Patrick McCormick, when we asked him, the toponym did not seem likely to derive from Old Mon[31] and, as far as we are aware, there are no early toponyms known to date from first-millennium documents in Old Mon from central Thailand, with the one noticeable exception of Anurādhapura, found on a cave inscription from Saraburi province (Bauer 1988: 170).

Of course, many will assume that this stanza is further evidence of Dvāravatī as the name of the principal city of the period and region. But this is not unambiguous evidence, since one could instead understand that the first city mentioned, Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅga, is in fact the only regional city named here, and that the other cities, Hastināpurī and Dvāravatī, are only mentioned for comparison. A small consideration that makes this interpretation seem likely, as we have mentioned above, is the adjective *vaiṣṇavī*, since that strongly suggests that we are intended to think of Viṣṇu's legendary city Dvāravatī, which in turn makes us think of Hastināpurī as Indra's legendary city. In that case we might translate as follows:

31. We note, however, that the SU translators proposed that the term "Dimiringa" may originate from the Mon word *damring* (ဒမြိင်; /DAMRIṄ/) or, in modern usage, *demrien*, which means "thunder", and they speculate that the city of "Dimiringa – Thunder" was the original name of Nakhon Pathom in Old Mon (Sombat 2564: lv-lvi).

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> Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgapratipura, like (*yathā*) that [famous] (*sā*) city called Hastinā, and (*ca*) that [famous] (*sā*) Dvāravatī belonging to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavī*), …

It is, however, also possible that we have an enumeration of regional cities, the name of the first of which being either Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅga or Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgapratipura, then Hastināpurī and Dvāravatī, and then a fourth place introduced with *etac ca*, the deictic pronoun being used to indicate to readers of the inscription that they are standing "here", at the site of the fourth place. Although the photographs of Nicolas Revire contain, as we have mentioned, a fragment at the end of the second line that is not in the photographs published in the *Silpakorn Journal*, there is conversely a fragment that Revire's photographs do not show that is in one of the photographs published in the *Silpakorn Journal* [pl. 7b]. That fragment has the tops of what are probably the syllables *gdarasadma* in the fourth quarter of stanza V. This could be the end of a neuter singular compound noun in apposition to *etac ca*: "and this … seat of …". In that case, the translation might be as follows:

> Śrīyānaṁdimiriṅgamapratipura (?) … [and] this city called Hastinā, and this Dvāravatī, great with prosperity (*vibhūtimahatī*), belonging to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavī*), and also this (*etac cāpi*) … seat (… *sadma*) … called (*nāmnā*) … by me (*mayā*), …

Finally, we should also mention the interpretation of Chirapat Prapandvidya and van de Bogart (Sombat 2564: 340), which assumes one city with several qualifiers, including *śriyānaṃ*, understood to mean "vehicle of Śrī":

> The unrivaled city named Dimiriṅga was the vehicle of the Goddess of Fortune. That city was exactly the city named Hastinā and that city was also exactly the same as prosperous and great city of Viṣṇu named Dvāravatī.

VI. There are numerous points of doubt concerning how to transcribe here. We are assuming, for instance, that the vowel-marker for *e* (in *ekaṁ śatam*) is written above the *akṣara* like part of an *ai*. Furthermore, we seem to see a miniaturised final *m* dropped beneath the line at the end of *śatam* [pl. 8.1d]. For such dropped miniaturised characters, see our discussion of the palaeography below. Particularly tentative is the reconstruction of the word *mahiṣikam* (which is lexicalised as *mahīṣika*, whereas we have tentatively assumed the possibility of an alternative form in which the first *i* is short).

The expression *parameśvarasya* has been rendered here with "to the Supreme Lord", partly because the word *paśupateḥ* in the first quarter already indicates donation to Śiva. But one could instead take the genitive *parameśvarasya* to refer to the ruling sovereign, the donor.

The expression *kośārttham* has been rendered "For the treasury", but perhaps equally possible would be to assume that it means "for the sake of [making a] sheath [for the *liṅga*-](*kośa*)". We could then interpret the first quarter to mean "One hundred and thirty gold [coins] for the sake of [making a *liṅga*-] *kośa* for Paśupati", or "Gold of one hundred and thirty [units of weight] for the sake of [making a *liṅga*-]*kośa* for Paśupati". For a reference to another early *liṅgakośa* being offered in the same time-period and area, see K. 964 (from

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U Thong), stanza III, where the nephew (*naptā*) of Īśānavarman I is recorded as making a donation of such an object to a *śivaliṅga* called Śrīdhāreśvara:

> (**5**) paścāc ca śāmbhava[ṁ] kośaṁ vah(u)prakaraṇair yyutam
> (**6**) sa śrīdhāreśvare dadyān nāṭyagītādisaṅkulam
>
> And (*ca*) afterwards (*paścāt*) he gave (*dadyāt*) a Śaiva (*śāmbhavam*) sheath (*kośam*), together with many treatises (*bahuprakaraṇaiḥ*), to Śrīdhāreśvara, to the accompaniment of dancing, singing and the like (*nāṭyagītādisaṅkulam*).

Here, the interpretation of *vah*(*u*)*prakaraṇair*, the reading of Jacques (1970: 231), is guesswork. "Treatise" is a common sense of the word *prakaraṇa*, but one expects it to refer to a literary composition rather than to a physical book. If we were instead to retain Cœdès reading, *vaddhaprakaraṇaiḥ*, then we might tentatively interpret "together with its attached fittings", which might refer to fittings that enabled it to be fixed in place over the *liṅga*, or it might refer to faces and other ornamentation attached to the central shaft.[32] The donation of books to religious foundations is perhaps not particularly common, but there is an old parallel, namely K. 359.

Unfortunately, we do not know what unit of weight is intended. Gold coinage among the Khmers in this period is attested only by one coin (Cribb 2013), so if this stanza does indeed refer to coinage (which is, incidentally, not beyond doubt), then it is yet another indication (beside the palaeography and provenance) that this inscription is not particularly likely to belong to the Khmer cultural region.

The reason we did not favour this interpretation is that we might expect that if the donor had wished to give a *liṅgakośa* he would simply have given a *liṅgakośa* (as in K. 964, st. III, and also K. 55, st. XII; K. 762, st. VIII; K. 162, st. XX; K. 485, st. LXXXIV), rather than giving a stipulated quantity of gold for making one.

The final stanza, combining as it does a mere list of donations with a highly literary Sanskrit mode of expression, one that uses the grand and lengthy metre *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, is perhaps again untypical of contemporary inscriptions from the Khmer-speaking area and more reminiscent of the Mon-speaking one in northeast Thailand. We may compare, for instance, the old inscribed face of K. 400 A, which lists donations in the even longer and grander metre *sragdharā*. Since Cœdès' edition of K. 400 (*IC* VI, pp. 83–85) can be improved upon in a few details, we give a fresh text and translation below, prepared by Diwakar Acharya, Dominic Goodall, Chloé Chollet, Kunthea Chhom, and Nina Mirnig on the basis of the EFEO estampage n. 1366:

> [lambasta]ny(o) mahiṣyaḥ pr̥thughanavapuṣo viṅśatir bbāla[vatsāḥ]
> [pa]ñcāśad dhenavaś ca stanabharaguravaḥ puṣṭavatsānuyā[tāḥ]
> [dā](s)īdāsā daśaiva pramuditamanaso ṣṭārddhasaṁkhyā (d)[v]i[pānāṁ]
> dattās saṅghāya bodhipraṇihitamanasā śrīcanāśeśva[reṇa]

32. For a discussion of early *liṅgakośa*s, see Kafle's long note on *mukhakośa* (2020: n. 481 on pp. 263–265).

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a. [lambasta]nyo **:** - - t . nye *IC*
b. stanabharaguravaḥ **:** stanabharaguravat + *IC*
c. °saṁkhyā (d)[v]i[pānāṁ] **:** °saṁkhya ~ - - *IC*
d. dattās **:** dattas *IC*

Twenty female buffalos with pendant udders (*lambastanyaḥ*) and having baby calves, and fifty milch cows, heavy with the burden of their udders, followed by their well-nourished calves, ten female and male slaves, happy in their minds, and four elephants were given to the [Buddhist] community by the king of Canāśa, whose mind was fixed upon awakening.[33]

3.3. Commentary

The Wat Phra Ngam inscription in six Sanskrit verses in elaborate metres begins (st. I) with praise of a deity, perhaps Viṣṇu or Brahmā, then (st. II) praises of a king, whose name is lost to damage, then (st. III) further praise of the king in which he is likened to a manifestation on earth of Viṣṇu (Kr̥ṣna?), then (st. IV) what may be still further praise of the king likening him to Hanumān (?), then (st. V) praise of a city or cities named apparently using a language that is neither Sanskrit nor Old Mon. That city (or pair of cities) may be either compared with Hastināpurī and Dvāravatī, or it stands at the head of a list in which Hastināpurī and Dvāravatī are also included. The final stanza (VI) enumerates the gifts of gold, cattle, lands and slaves that the king gave to Paśupati (which suggests that there was either a Śaiva statue or a *liṅga* at this place). A few *śivaliṅga*s have indeed been found in Nakhon Pathom (Revire 2016: 405).

It is unfortunate that the king's name is lost. As a result, we still do not know the name or names of any "lord" or "lords of Dvāravatī". In Claude Jacques' words (2009), Dvāravatī, politically speaking, is still virtually a "kingdom without history".

3.3.1. Palaeographic analysis

The calligraphic style of the Wat Phra Ngam script is unusual. While the lettering is similar to that of seventh-century Khmer epigraphs, it has particularly elongated descending and ascending strokes, and expansive volutes and flourishes. The *ā-mātra*, for instance, is sometimes short and business-like, but sometimes is allowed to descend well below the body of the character to which it is attached and to loop underneath it [pl. 8.1a].

33. Cœdès' translation differs only in details: "Vingt bufflesses au corps large et replet, avec leurs bufflons, cinquante vaches alourdies par le poids de leurs mamelles avec leurs veaux bien gras, dix esclaves des deux sexes à l'esprit joyeux ... au nombre de quatre ont été donnés à la Communauté par le souverain de Çri Canāça, ayant en vue l'Illumination". Instead of *lambastanyo* one could equally substitute some similar feminine plural *bahuvrīhi*, such as *kuṇḍastanyaḥ* or *bṛhatstanyaḥ*. Instead of Cœdès' conjecture *bbāla*[*vatsāḥ*], one might also conjecture *bbāla*[*vatyaḥ*]. The masculine plural °*guravaḥ*, where we require a feminine, is perhaps a case of metrical considerations trumping grammatical ones. Cœdès appears to read °*guravatḥ* (the + is his transcription of *upadhmānīya*), but this is presumably just a typesetting error.

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This style, heavy with decorative arabesques, recalls eighth-century records, such as K. 1254.[34]

But the archaic shape of most instances of the retroflex *ṇ* (with a central vertical line), instead recalls fifth-century records such as K. 875, which commemorates the pious foundations of Kulaprabhāvatī. We can see that this Brāhmī-like *ṇ* disappeared in Cambodia at the very beginning of the seventh century [pl. 8.1b]. Another archaically shaped letter is the *ya*, which here does not invariably begin with a broad volute spiralling anticlockwise outwards to the left, as it does already in early seventh-century Khmer records.[35] Instead, in the Wat Phra Ngam inscription, the *ya* typically begins with a small, low hook at the bottom left of the *akṣara* [pl. 8.1c], rather as we see in fifth-century records such as K. 875 (of Kulaprabhāvatī) or in K. 365 (of Devānīka: see Cœdès 1956: 211).

Arguably another archaism is the dropped miniaturised final *m*, apparently with a *virāma* beneath it, in the last line [pl. 8.1d]. Such miniaturised characters dropped below the level of the other characters of the line are found in old records from various parts of the Sanskritic world—for instance in the early inscriptions of the Maitrakas, Kadambas, Aulikaras, etc. in Western India, or the Licchavi inscriptions from the Kathmandu Valley—, but are almost entirely absent from Khmer records. An account of miniaturised consonants that are dropped below the line in early Southeast Asian epigraphy is given in Griffiths *et al.* 2017 (§1.5.3.15). To summarise, the phenomenon is found, besides being in the Pyu corpus, in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Mūlavarman (Borneo) and Pūrṇavarman (West Java), and in early Campā inscriptions too.[36] To this collection, we may add K. 5 of Guṇavarman, and now the miniaturised *m* of this old inscription of Wat Phra Ngam (N.Th. 21), and perhaps also those less pronounced in another inscription from presumably the same region, namely K. 407,[37] which are formally similar to a few instances in K. 365 (mentioned by Cœdès 1956: 211). K. 5 uses a slightly smaller *ta* dropped well below the line to indicate the absence of an attached vowel in the expression *guṇaśauryyayogāt* at the end of line 13 [pl. 8.2]. More difficult to see in the estampages are the dropped miniaturised instances of final *m* at the ends of lines 14, 15 and 19.[38]

34. A script table illustrating the fine lettering of K. 1254 is appended to Gerschheimer & Goodall 2014.

35. See, for example, the later form of the retroflex *ṇ* and the *akṣara ya* in the inscriptions of Citrasena-Mahādeva, such as K. 496; EFEO estampage n. 1339.

36. See Griffiths *et al.* 2017: n. 95, citing Bhattacharya on the Vo Canh inscription (C. 40). See also C. 174.

37. The so-called Wat Maheyong inscription, K. 407, is traditionally said to come from Nakhon Si Thammarat in southern Thailand (Cœdès 2504/1961: 34; Skilling 2017); *contra*, see Fournereau (1895: 125–130), who reports it to come from Nakhon Chaisi/Nakhon Pathom. See also Barth 1893: 64. Sombat (2564: lvi) similarly observes that the stone slab of the Wat Maheyong inscription is "strikingly identical to that of Wat Phra Ngam".

38. As noted by Chollet & Goodall (2020: 390, n. 55), there seems to be a dropped final *m* at the end of the second line of K. 341-S; but all the characters in the first few lines there are somewhat irregular and of varying heights, which leaves open the possibility that this is simply a slightly ill-formed and misplaced letter.

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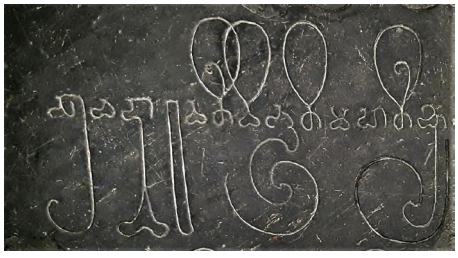

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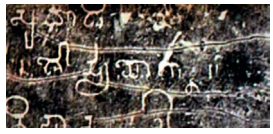

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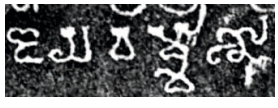

5

Plate 8 — Palaeographic details and comparisons: **1a.** N.Th. 21, l. 5: *sā ca dvāravatī vibhūtimahatī khyā* (photo: © Nicolas Revire); **1b.** N.Th. 21, l. 1: *dharaṇidhara* (photo: © Nicolas Revire); **1c.** N.Th. 21, l. 2: *priyaraṇo* (photo: © Nicolas Revire); **1d.** N.Th. 21, l. 6: *śat*(*aM*) *dhenūnā* (photo: © FAD); **1e.** N.Th. 21, l. 1: *ntadiṅmaṇḍalo yaḥ* (photo: © Nicolas Revire); **2.** K. 5, l. 13: *ṇaśauryyayogāT* (photo: © EFEO estampage n. 15); **3.** K. 407: note the miniature *m* surmounted by a *virāma* at the centre of lines 2, 3, and 5 (photo: © EFEO estampage n. 1367); **4.** K. 365: note the final *m* at the ends of lines 13 and 15 of Face C (photo: © EFEO estampage n. 918 C); **5.** K. 875, l. 4: *jayavarmmaṇo* (photo: © EFEO estampage n. 1135).

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In K. 407, we find three instances of final *m* just before the central gutter of lines 2, 3 and 5 [pl. 8.3]. Each is surmounted by a horizontal stroke (*virāma*) and the body of the *akṣara* is in each case slightly smaller than the body of the preceding ones in the same line, and markedly smaller than the bodies of the instances of *m* without *virāma*. These very slightly miniaturised characters are not dropped below the line. Instead, the bottom of each sits on the line formed by the bottoms of the bodies of the surrounding letters. But the effect is similar. Most of the final consonants in K. 365, the supposedly fifth-century inscription of Devānīka from the bank of the Mekong below the mountain of Wat Phu in southern Laos, are so worn away that they are no longer clearly readable, but two plainly decipherable comparable instances of final *m* may be seen at the ends of lines 13 and 15 of Face C [pl. 8.4]. Here too the bottoms of the consonants seem to sit on the bottom line of the bodies of the other characters in the line, but the letter is somewhat smaller, thus leaving space for a bar above it that is more or less level with the tops of the bodies of the other *akṣara*s in the line.

We may therefore consider K. 365 and K. 407 as furnishing instances of an attenuated version of the same old convention, or, to put it in another way, as a transition between the older convention of marking the *virāma* just by miniaturising and lowering the consonant, and the newer convention of marking the *virāma* just by using a horizontal stroke above the consonant. One may further surmise that the horizontal bar above the consonant used as a "*virāma*-sign" probably originated as a graphic convention indicating that the consonant was intended to be read as though it were dropped below the regular line of *akṣara*s.

We have alluded now to three archaic features in the Wat Phra Ngam inscription, namely an old-style *ṇa*, an old-style *ya* and an old convention for representing the *virāma*. A fourth archaism is the manner of attachment of the vowels *e*, *o*, and *ai* (there are no instances of *au*). The loop indicating an *e* (or part of an *o* or *ai*) that is attached before the consonant to which it is attached is, in the cases where it is attached at the top of the letter, extremely small, for it does not descend to the bottom of the consonant, but at most half way down. This is again a feature that we see in what are generally regarded as being fifth-century inscriptions of ancient Cambodia, such as K. 875.[39] And there are also archaic instances of these vowels attaching to the lower part of certain *akṣara*s: compare, for instance, the *ṇo* of *priyaraṇo* in line 2 of the Wat Phra Ngam inscription [pl. 8.1c] with the *ṇo* of *jayavarmmaṇo* in line 4 of K. 875 [pl. 8.5]. In both places, a loop is attached to the left side of the bottom of the central stalk of the Brāhmī type retroflex *ṇ*.

Having said all of this, we should observe that there is some palaeographic discrepancy between the first line of the Wat Phra Ngam inscription and the succeeding lines. For in the first line we note that both forms of *ya* are used: we find there not only the archaic form with a small, low initial

39. To this may be added K. 499 (*ya*, *ṇa*, *la*, voyel *e*, *m* miniaturised) and perhaps also K. 978 (only *ya* can be seen); both inscriptions are from Si Thep in Phetchabun province.

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1 2 3

Plate 9 — **1.** Miniature stone *stūpa* from Nakhon Pathom; **2–3.** engraved with Pali *ye dhammā* inscription (N.Th. 2), Bangkok National Museum, 7th–8th centuries (photos: © FAD).

volute, but also the typical seventh-century form with an initial volute that is as high as the central body of the *akṣara*. Furthermore, instead of Brāhmī-style retroflex *ṇ* with its central stem (like a roman capital "I"), we see in the word *maṇḍala* the later undulating type typical of the seventh century [pl. 8.1e]. We note also the wobbliness of the volutes in the first line, in contrast with their confident shapeliness in the subsequent lines. Do these various anomalous features in the first line suggest that it was added later or by a different hand? Or could the first line simply have been partly retraced later after becoming worn in places?[40] Or is it more economical to assume that the entire inscription was produced at the same time but that the craftsman was still perfecting his technique when engraving the first line? This would explain the clumsiness of the execution of several *akṣara*s, but what of their shapes? Perhaps the script was simply at a point in its evolution when both forms of *ya* and both forms of *ṇa* could be used interchangeably.

This raises the question of whether some script features that disappeared earlier in the Khmer region continued to linger in the "Dvāravatī-area" somewhat longer. The small initial upper loop to indicate the attached vowel *e*, for instance, might have been retained longer in this region of Nakhon Pathom (?). Indeed we can see its presence throughout K. 407 — which we have had occasion to mention above in connection with dropped, miniaturised instances of *m* — and also in the inscription at the base of a *stūpa*-like stone object from the same region that is now housed outdoors in an open courtyard of the Bangkok National Museum [pl. 9]. Both those Buddhist inscriptions, although not dated, are generally spoken of as belonging to the seventh or eighth century. The feature may also be found in the undated inscription that mentions the Buddhist patronage of a daughter of the lord of Dvāravatī (K. 1009).

On balance, it seems to us that this newly discovered epigraphical treasure from Wat Phra Ngam, presumably of local composition, is very unlikely to be as late as the eighth century CE (as proposed in FAD 2563: 96). No

40. Note that the shapes are more assured in the last characters of the first line that are now legible.

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dogmatic assertion about its date can be made. But we suspect, given that it has features distinctively typical of fifth-century epigraphs, along with one or two that came to predominate later (both earlier and later forms of the letters *ṇ* and *y*, for example), that it may belong to the sixth century, a period for which we have very few certain parallels from anywhere in Southeast Asia.

3.3.2. Religious affiliation

As we have seen above, the text does not begin with an invocation of Śiva, and yet in the final stanza we learn that endowments are made for Paśupati. Some may therefore leap to the conclusion that this is a Pāśupata endowment. But such a conclusion may not be warranted.

While Paśupati is the name of Śiva from which the form Pāśupata derives, it is clear that it is not exclusively used by Pāśupatas, for we find it in later inscriptions that we know to belong to the milieu of the Śaivasiddhānta, for instance the twelfth-century inscriptions of Ban That (K. 364, st. LI) and Phnom Bei/Dei (K. 1222, East face, st. I, soon to be published in an edition by Dominic Goodall). We also find it in pre-Angkorian inscriptions that are broadly speaking Māheśvara, that is to say that record pious acts by people with a devotion to Śiva, but for which there is no recognisable evidence of a narrower sectarian affiliation to a Pāśupata school, such as K. 13 (st. X), K. 77 (st. I and III), and K. 1155 (st. I). By contrast, we seem not to find the name Paśupati used in the few inscriptions that actually do mark a Pāśupata affiliation in other ways, such as K. 604 (Goodall 2019), K. 733, K. 1049 (Goodall 2015a), and K. 1352 (Goodall 2020). On the other hand, it is true also that the Śaiva religions whose specialists would have performed the installations of *liṅga*s might all have belonged to some Atimārga school that could be called Pāśupata, since there is no evidence to suggest the spread of the Mantramārga this far east before the eighth century (Goodall 2015b; Goodall & Griffiths 2013: 438).

Still on the same topic, we may note that there is one low-relief panel from Nakhon Pathom that shows the Buddha enthroned in *bhadrāsana*, flanked by listeners [pl. 10a]. Here the Brahmanical ascetics on the Buddha's left, almost naked, are capped with chignons and wear long beards [pl. 10b], while the figures on his right have their heads shaved and wear monastic clothes. The scene carved on this stone block, preserved at the Phra Pathom Chedi National museum, is commonly interpreted as a depiction of the First Sermon of the Buddha at Sārnāth, with the five ascetics (*pañcavargīya*) on his proper left representing his former companions, led by Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, during his years of asceticism and preceding the complete awakening and, on his right, the same five disciples after Buddhist ordination.[41] The assumption seems plausible, particularly if we consider that this stone fragment belongs to a single unit intended originally to support

41. Lunet de Lajonquière (1909: 36) erroneously supposed that the devotees on the right-hand side represented Thais while those on the left, Hindus. For more discussion on this relief, see Revire 2012: 100–102, figs. 5–6.

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a

b

Plate 10 — Low-relief from Nakhon Pathom, Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, 7th–8th centuries: **a.** the Buddha preaching the First Sermon; **b.** detail of seated Brahmanical ascetics (photos: © Nicolas Revire).

a pillar on which a wheel of the law (*dharmacakra*) sculpted in the round, symbolising *par excellence* the First Sermon, would have stood. Art historians generally assign a date of around 700 for this piece (Brown 1996: 31–32; Woodward 2003: 71–72). If the relief shows hermits and monks simultaneously paying homage to the Buddha, then the relief bears witness to an atmosphere of religious harmony in the region at the time. But even if it is intended to show the conversion of the figures on the Buddha's proper left to Buddhism, it nonetheless shows familiarity with both Buddhist and

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Brahmanical conventions of dress and by this, as well as by the mood of the scene, suggests religious concord.[42]

3.3.3. "Epic" toponymy

Whereas the pre-Angkorian inscriptions of the long seventh century map out across Khmer territory a Śaiva religious landscape by reproducing Śaiva theonyms from celebrated sacred sites on the Indian sub-continent, as has been demonstrated in some detail by Sanderson (2003–2004: 403–409), the religious landscape suggested by the (admittedly limited) toponymy of the Wat Phra Ngam inscription is quite different. The cities mentioned here — Dvāravatī and Hastināpurī — suggest rather the transfer of a non-sectarian religious landscape, one that belongs to the world of the epics.

Such toponymy may not have many parallels in the Khmer corpus, but one comparable case immediately comes to mind, and that is an inscription that is anomalous in several regards and that is generally ascribed to the fifth century, namely the inscription of Devānīka from the bank of the Mekong below the mountain of Wat Phu. There, Devānīka records that he named that site on the bank of the river Kurukṣetra, a name evidently chosen in order to identify the place with the scene of the war of the *Mahābhārata* and to assert that it was equally imbued with spiritual power (see st. IX of K. 365). The selection of sites famous from the epics is thus arguably suggestive of an early date. Instead of transposing a Śaiva sacred geography, such as we find attested throughout the seventh-century Khmer corpus, this inscription might be said to belong to an earlier period in which the chosen literary and religious allusions are rather those of the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*.

Another possible case might seem to be Lobpuri/Lavapurī, since it could be considered to be named after the city founded by Lava, one of the two sons of Rāma, the other being Kuśa, who founded the city of Kuśāvatī. The ancestral city of the lineage of the sun, Ayodhyā, being thus abandoned. But although Lavapurī seems to have been used to designate the city of Lava, and has been identified by some with present-day Lahore in Pakistan, since the name may actually be a form modified by phonetic changes of "Lavapura", Lava's city seems not to be so named in ancient Sanskrit sources. In the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for example, we read that "the wise Rāma made [Kuśa's city] Kuśāvatī by name, and the lovely city of Lava, [because it was] 'famed (*śrāvitā*)' he called Śrāvatī" (*Rāmāyaṇa* 7.98: 4c–5b):

> kuśāvatīti nāmnā sā kṛtā rāmeṇa dhīmatā
> śrāvitā ca purī ramyā śrāvatīti lavasya ca

The critical apparatus, however, shows that the manuscripts are not unanimous. A common variant form is Śrāvastī, and this is the name of the city both in the Kumbhakonam edition and also in *Raghuvaṁśa* 15.96 as

42. The presence of *ṛṣis* recurs frequently in ancient low-relief sculptures in central Thailand, for example at the cave called "Tham Ruesi" in Ratchaburi province, on which see Revire 2012: 94ff. Interesting comparisons can also be made with the abbreviated high-relief scene of the First Sermon from the Selagiri *stūpa* in Arakan, Burma/Myanmar (Gutman 1998: 106, fig. 3).

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transmitted by the tenth-century Kashmirian commentator Vallabhadeva. In the commonly printed text of the *Raghuvaṁśa* known to the commentator Mallinātha, however, the city is instead called "Śarāvatī".[43] Nonetheless, given that Lahore is sometimes identified with Lava's city on the ground that the name seems to derive from Lavapura, it seems reasonable to assume that Lopburi in what is today Thailand could have been intended to be named after the city of Lava (Lavapurī). Unfortunately, we do not know how old this Lavapurī is. A silver coin discovered in a deposit of coins near U Thong in 1966 has the syllables *lava* on one side and the syllables *pura* on the other, and this has been taken as evidence that this Lavapura/Lavapurī/Lopburi existed and was so named by the seventh century (Boeles 1967). The seventh-century date, however, appears to be based only on palaeographic assumptions, which of course can never give very precise dates, and in this case, there are no letters that have a particularly distinctive datable aspect. If anything, the *la* looks more recent, as does the *ra*, apparently consisting of a single vertical stroke rather than being looped back on itself as would be typical in seventh- and eighth-century lettering.[44]

One other epic toponym in today's Laos belongs to a place that could be considered another "Dvāravatī", namely Kuśasthalī, the seat of the family of the learned Śaiva Subhadra, who received the initiatory name Mūrdhaśiva and the sobriquet Bhūpendrapaṇḍita. His family's history is reflected in three twelfth-century inscriptions, namely those of Ban That near Wat Phu in Laos (K. 364), of Prasat Tor at the western edge of the Eastern Baray in the Angkor Archaeological Park (K. 692), and of Phnom Bei/Dei (K. 1222, unpublished), beyond the Park towards the north. Kuśasthalī and Dvārakā are both alternative names of Dvāravatī,[45] but Subhadra's family's Kuśasthalī cannot be the great city of the "Dvāravatī civilisation" in what is today central Thailand, firstly because it is described as a village (*grāma*) in st. LVI of K. 692 and secondly because it is too far to the east, for it is described as being "here near the foot of the mountain [marked] with Śiva's feet" (*śaivānghriśailanikaṭe 'tra kuśasthalīti*) in st. XIX of *sarga* 2 of K. 364, which suggests that it may have been the village of Ban That itself, from which the mountain range in which the peak of Wat Phu sits is visible nearby.

In general, however, the names of the cities known from the pre-Angkorian inscriptions of the Khmers seem not to be named after places in the epics, or indeed to have obvious literary associations of any kind. This can be seen at glance from a comprehensive list of cities to which governors were appointed (Goodall 2019: 71–73). To that list, a handful of other pre-Angkorian city-names can be added that are not connected to governors'

43. Vallabhadeva's commentary for this chapter is being edited by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Dezső and Csaba Kiss. For Mallinātha's commentary, see Nandargikar 1971. Śrāvastī is identified with a Buddhist site in the southern foothills of the Himālaya in today's Uttar Pradesh, towards the border with Nepal.

44. Bauer (1988: 167–170) also discusses this inscribed medal and places it rather in the eighth century.

45. See for instance *Harivaṁśa* 25.16, and verses relegated to the apparatus of 85.29; see also *Mahābhārata* 12.326.83.

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inscriptions, such as Īśānavarman's Īśānapura, Kurumbanagara (in K. 875) and Khaverupura (in K. 1028),[46] and none of those seem to be drawn from the world of the epics either.

In short, the use of toponyms drawn from the literary epics seems compatible with an early date, since such names, at least in Khmer-using areas, seem untypical from the seventh century onwards, but there are unfortunately too many exceptions and doubts for this to be adduced as compelling evidence, and furthermore, we would need to draw into the picture the data from a wider area, notably including Java and Campā, in order to test this hypothesis, and that is beyond our scope here. Nonetheless, we may suggest that the use of toponyms here is faintly corroborative of the impression created by the archaic appearance of the lettering of the Wat Phra Ngam inscription.

4. Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism from east to west

The detailed study of the above inscriptions and artefacts, found recently in Cambodia and Thailand, allow us to review old assumptions about a Hindu-Buddhist dichotomy and to fill in, if only slightly, our picture of the complex religious and sociopolitical landscape of Funan, Zhenla, and Dvāravatī.

In general, we note that Buddhist sculptures (for example at Angkor Borei) are not lacking for the pre-Angkorian period, but that Buddhism appears only relatively rarely in the epigraphs of Funan and Zhenla, that is in early Cambodia and eastern Thailand, in contradistinction to the Dvāravatī area in central-western Thailand. Furthermore, early Buddhist inscriptions are for the most part relatively modest (non-royal) records, linked with figures of whom no clear connection with the court is displayed, except in the cases of the more or less unknown kingdoms of the northwest of Cambodia, such as that of Śāmbūka and of Cānāśa/Canāśa (cf. K. 400 A, K. 577). K. 1455 studied above, from Angkor Borei, is a welcome addition to the corpus. Once again, it mentions no clear connection to the court.

We do find Buddhist installations in eastern Thailand during this period as well, but mostly on the fringes of other Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava foundations (cf. end of K. 1155). In contrast, we find a significant number of courtly Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava inscriptions in grandiloquent Sanskrit. K. 1563, and perhaps also the other new small fragments from Chanthaburi (K. 1564, K. 1565, K. 1566), provides further material of this kind.

How to explain this pattern? By its very structure, Buddhism probably had more popular roots and may therefore have left fewer traces in durable materials. Could other early Buddhist inscriptions have been lost because of the vagaries of chance or because of periods of persecution? A recently discovered inscription from Kon Kramom (K. 1457) commemorates

46. The Khmer text of the two-sided stela K. 1028 has been published by Saveros Pou in *NIC* II, pp. 25–26. But the toponym appears on the still unpublished Sanskrit face, of which Dominic Goodall intends soon to publish an edition.

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(posthumously) a Vaiṣṇava endowment of the Khmer king Jayavarman III (r. 835–877) and mentions that he chased Buddhists (*jainān*) from his kingdom. Here is the stanza in question, from the edition of Goodall, Hun, Acharya, Chhom, Chollet and Mirnig (2021):

> **III.**
> (**5**) prakr̥tyā dhārmmiko dhiraḥ • kenā(pi kupi)to jine
> (**6**) jainān nirasya sarvatra • śaivi(r) yyaḥ (p)rākka(ro)(d|ṅ) prajāḥ ||
>
> **IIIa.** dhiraḥ] Understand: dhīraḥ. **IIId.**] Understand: śaivīr yyaḥ prākarot prajāḥ.
>
> By nature (*prakr̥tyā*), he (*yaḥ*) was righteous (*dhārmikaḥ*) and firm (*dhīraḥ*), [but] being for some reason (*kenāpi*) angry (*kupitaḥ*) towards the Buddha (*jine*), he drove (*nirasya*) Buddhists (*jainān*) out everywhere (*sarvatra*), and made (*prākarot*) his subjects (*prajāḥ*) followers of Śiva (*śaivīḥ*).

There may have been sporadic persecutions here and there, but is it representative of the situation in the whole realm? The possible large-scale persecution of Buddhists during the pre-Angkorian period, to try to explain the relative paucity of Buddhist inscriptions (but not of sculptures) in Funan and Zhenla, has been advanced by several scholars, often citing the sometimes-questionable account of Yijing, travelling in maritime Southeast Asia in the seventh century. Yijing, however, spent most of his time in Shilifoshi (室利佛逝 or 屍利佛誓), that is, Śrīvijaya in today's Palembang in Sumatra. He did not visit Zhenla in person and some of his second-hand information was probably inaccurate or out of date. He recorded numerous Buddhists fleeing "the country of Banan" (跋南), formerly known as Funan (Zhenla?), where a "wicked king" was said to have seized power and persecuted all Buddhists (trans. Li 2000: 13).

Some, including Nancy Dowling (2000: 129), have attempted to identify this "wicked king" with Jayavarman I. But we are not totally convinced by this scenario. In Dvāravatī, a predominantly Buddhist domain, we also do not find court-connected Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit, with the notable exception of K. 1009 of Wat Chantuek, which mentions a "queen" and a possible marital alliance (Skilling 2019b: 66). And no other evidence so far uncovered indicates that the so-called "Lord (or Lords) of Dvāravatī" briefly mentioned in numismatics and inscriptions, was (or were) Buddhist(s). The newly discovered Wat Phra Ngam inscription of Nakhon Pathom alludes to a king there, but that king appears to be likened to a manifestation of Viṣṇu and is recorded as endowing a Śaiva foundation.

Such facts show why one cannot qualify Dvāravatī as solely a "Buddhist kingdom" or say that Buddhism had the status of a "State religion".[47] The inscription of Wat Phra Ngam seems to provide further evidence of the prominence of non-Buddhist endowments in that polity, even though it was found in the ruins of what is now regarded as a Buddhist monument. It

47. This view still reverberates in some modern scholarship. See, for example, Guy 2014: 19.

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is possible that the inscription was brought there at a later time, or that the Buddhist remains we see *in situ* were established on an older and originally Śaiva foundation, or that, like many other sacred sites (including for instance the environs of Wat Phu), it harboured Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist shrines and institutions simultaneously.[48]

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48. Particularly relevant to this discussion is K. 407, which we assume, following Barth and Fournereau, came from a Dvāravatī site in Nakhon Pathom (see *supra*, note 37), and which records donations to the monastic community apparently in conjunction with donations to brahmins.

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Following Thai usage, Thai authors' publications are cited using their first names and appear ordered under those first names below. Publications in Thai are furthermore given in Buddhist Era (+543), as for example in Kongkaew 2563.

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CNPT — *Charuek nai prathet thai* / จารึกในประเทศไทย [*Inscriptions of Thailand*, 5 volumes]. See FAD 2559.

EIAD — Early Inscriptions of Āndhra Deśa (http://hisoma.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/EIAD/about.html).

FAD — Fine Arts Department (กรมศิลปากร) of Thailand.

IC — *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 8 volumes. See Cœdès 1937–1966.

IMC — *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*. See Lunet de Lajonquière 1902–1911.

NIC — *Nouvelles inscriptions du Cambodge*, 4 volumes. See Pou 2001, and Pou & Mikaelian 2011.

*TAK*2 — *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* 2. See Brunner, Oberhammer & Padoux 2004.

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