



Vibrancy in Stone

Masterpieces
of the Đà Nẵng
Museum of
Cham Sculpture

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Võ Văn Thắng
Peter D. Sharrock

Photographs by Paisarn Piemmettawat

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Editors: Trần Kỳ Phương, Võ Văn Thắng, Peter D. Sharrock
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5 THE PĀŚUPATA SECT IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA AND CHAMPA

SWATI CHEMBURKAR AND SHIVANI KAPOOR

The exquisitely carved M̄y S̄on E1 temple pedestal is remarkable for multiple carvings of ascetic figures performing several functions. As in the art of neighbouring cultures, they are usually described rather vaguely as ascetics, sages or *r̄ṣi*s. They appear in such profusion that our eye skims over them as ornamental elements, intermingled with the floral and vegetative motifs that adorn the temples. But M̄y S̄on E1 is different. It clearly portrays ascetics performing the acts of meditation, preaching, conversing, dancing, playing musical instruments, and so on, and thus giving us a unique glimpse of their daily lives. Given the lack of Cham or Khmer texts offering to throw light on the Śaiva ritual practices of the period, this pedestal is an important and precious source of information. [Fig. 1, 2, 3]

Here the depictions of the ascetics are indeed so close that several activities can be aligned with what we know of the oldest Śaiva sect of Pāśupatas, who left epigraphic traces on the Austroasiatic mainland from the turn of the 7th century. The existence of an Indian Pāśupata sect in ancient Cambodia was first commented on by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya in 1955:

'L'existence de la secte indienne des Pācupata au Cambodge ancien a été reconnue depuis longtemps. Mais nos données, que nous devons exclusivement à l'épigraphie, sont encore dispersés. Le but de ce travail est de rassembler toutes ces informations éparées et d'étudier les problèmes qu'elles posent.'¹

Following on from Bhattacharya's exploratory paper, we look at the Śaiva textual material,



Fig. 1 M̄y S̄on E1 pedestal ascetics playing flute; drums and dancing. (River Books)



Fig. 2 M̄y S̄on E1 pedestal ascetics in the forest or a hermitage setting and teaching or conversing. (River Books)



Fig. 3 M̄y S̄on E1 pedestal ascetics in the forest or a hermitage setting teaching or conversing, meditating with a rosary in hand and playing a musical instrument (possibly a zither). (River Books)

Khmer and Cham inscriptional records and Indic literature to grasp the doctrine and ritual practices of Pāśupata Śaivism that spread across India as well as outside India. Indic literary and textual material is essential, as the Khmer inscriptions that identify Sanskrit texts as the basis for their ceremonies and ritual practices in the pre-Angkorian and Angkorian period have survived only on the subcontinent. Manuscripts of pre-Theravādin times have perished in Cambodia and Vietnam. We then look at key practices of Pāśupata ascetics such as bathing with ashes, performing temple dance and music rituals and bearing the mark of a *liṅga* to become '*liṅgadhārī*', in order create the perception of a visual Pāśupata identity in the community.² This is achieved by applying ash to the body, wearing flowers from the deity, wearing a single cloth, marking or merging the body with the *liṅga* or Śiva.

The Mý Sôn E1 temple pedestal is the most written about Cham piece of art as can be seen from the scholarly references and even the entries in this catalogue. It was probably constructed by king Vikrāntavarman, whose inscription was found in the sanctuary. It once provided a base for a Śivaliṅga at temple E1, in the valley of Mý Sôn.³ On top of the pedestal there are Sanskrit syllables beginning with *kā*, *ki*, and ending in *kha*, *khā*... engraved on each stone block, which show how they were lined up, while also attesting to the use of Indian alphabet in Champa.⁴ Mý Sôn, situated at the middle of the Thu Bon river valley, is one of the oldest temple complexes in Vietnam comprising several Śaiva temples. The site's importance can be gauged from the fact that in a period when there were only a few scattered inscriptions, we find 20 Sanskrit inscriptions in or near Mý Sôn.

The Śaiva sect: Pāśupata

One of the earliest organized, successful, and widely distributed ascetic orders of the medieval period (6th to 12th centuries),⁵ was the Pāśupata school of Śaivism, who worshipped Śiva under the name Pāśupati, 'Lord (*patī*) of the beasts (*paśu*= souls)'. The life of a Pāśupata ascetic is divided into five successive stages in which he first inhabits the temple performing requisite rituals; in the second stage he moves into higher stages of spiritual meditation; in the third he goes into the world (discarding his external marks) and courts ridicule and abuse as a way of shedding bad *karma*; then finally dwelling in an empty cave or cemetery to attain the ultimate presence of Rudra

(Śiva).⁶ The first stage is of particular interest here as the ascetic lives on the temple precinct and performs sacred acts.

Two most important sectarian source texts on the Pāśupatas are the *Pāśupatasūtra* (*PS*), traditionally attributed to its founder, Lakuliśa, and composed in c. 2nd century CE⁷, with its commentary, *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (*PABh*), composed by Kaundinya⁸; and Haradaṭṭa's *Gaṇakārikā* (*GK*) along with a lucid commentary called *Ratnaṭīka* (*RT*) by *Bhāsarvajña*.⁹ Recently, few articles referring to the parts of forthcoming editions of *Niśvāsattvasaṃhitā*, an old-surviving Śaiva tantra of the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition containing information about the early history of the Śaiva religion have been published by Harunaga Isaacson, Dominic Goodall, Diwakara Acharya, Andrea Aciri and others.¹⁰

Another important work is the *Skandapurāna*, composed between the end of 6th and the early 7th century in the Pāśupata milieu of Vāraṇāsī, north India, which elaborates on the sect's history and stresses the prominence of goddess worship, female deities in the world of Śaiva mythology and yogic practices.¹¹ Thus we have two textual groups, *PS* and *PABh* on one hand and *GK* and *RT* on the other. Both, *PS* and *GK* mention the process or *vidhī* for the attainment of liberation through five main sacred acts in the first stage of the ascetics' career, when he lives in the temple. From the *PABh* verses 1 – 1.9 we learn that the observances of the ascetic in the first stage are: purifying himself by *bhasmanā snānam* or besmearing with ash three times a day, sleeping in ash, supplementary bath with ash, wearing a single garment and wearing flowers taken down from the deity (*nirmālya*). He resides in the temple, which is a holy place of Maheśvara (*Āyatana*),¹² and performs these duties:

*'Hasita-gīta-nṛtta-duṇḍukāra-namaskāra-japyopahāreṇo-patiṣṭhet'*¹³

(One should worship Maheśvara with the offering of laughter, song, dance, a sound made in the throat, homage, pious incantations of Japa and offering of himself)

The *RT* elaborates on the procedure – the aspirant walks to the temple after the ash bath, chanting the *Sadyojāta* mantra; there he bows to Śiva and proceeds to the interior, where he kneels to the right of the image (*Dakṣiṇamūrti*), laughing loudly, meditating, singing and dancing while producing the auspicious sound *huḍukkāra*. In this way he goes around the deity three times singing

and dancing, and completes his meditation and worship with single-minded concentration.¹⁴ Song is performed according to the Brahmanical musical rules in the *Gāndharvaśāstra* in which stories relating to Śiva are sung in public (*PS* and *GK*). Dance is performed according to *Natyāśāstra* comprising all possible motions of the hands and feet, accompanied by a song.¹⁵ The *Natyāśāstra* also instructs aspirants on how to address the religious orders in dramas.¹⁶

In the *Niśvāsamūkha*, the introductory book of *Niśvāsattvasaṃhitā*, where sages ask how *liṅga* worship is to be performed and what is the fruit of worshipping with singing and dancing, Śiva *Nandiśa* reveals how they will obtain the infinite pleasures of the *Gaṇas*, supporters of Śiva who reside with him on mount Kailāsa.¹⁷ The *liṅga* worship so important for the Pāśupatas appears to be attested on the Mý Sôn pedestal, where an ascetic performs *liṅgapūjā*. (Fig. 4) The iconographic representation of *liṅga* worship with dance and music by Śaiva ascetics [possibly Pāśupatas] is often found in Indian stelas.¹⁸ (Fig. 5)

Based on his study of the Indian inscriptions, David Lorenzen has noted emblems and instruments of the *Kāpālika* ascetics who later emerged within the Pāśupata sect. These are: *khatvāṅga* or skull-sticks, drums, trumpets or other musical instruments, *karnikā* or earrings, necklaces, ashes, and sacred threads.¹⁹ Nirajan Kafle's translation of *Niśvāsamūkha* (4.2) also mentions these markers for the unorthodox *Atimārga* system of the Pāśupatas.

Indic mediaeval Sanskrit dramas such as *Mattavilāsaprahasana* (c. 600-630 CE)²⁰, *Mālatī Mādhava* (c. 725),²¹ *Kuṭṭanimata* (9th century),²² *Caṇḍakauśika* (c. 900-950)²³ *Prabodhacandraloka* (c. 1050-1100)²⁴ all frequently mention Pāśupatas and their successors the *Kāpālikas*/ *Kālamukhas* and their practices. *Mattavilāsa* portrays a Pāśupata by the name of Babhrukalpa,²⁵ Satyasomā, a *Kāpālika* (as Mahāpāśupati) and his partner a dancing *Kāpālīnī* called *Devasomā*. It describes how the hedonist was engaged in wild dances, parties involving the consumption



of meat, alcohol, and enjoying sexual intercourse with his partner.²⁶ It also describes a Pāśupata (*v. 20*):

His robe is tattered and second-hand,
His hair a wild and tangled mess,
Around his neck a withered garland,
His body covered with dust and ash,²⁷

Kuṭṭanimata tells us the fondness of Bhāvasuddha, a Pāśupata *ācārya* from Vāraṇāsī for dancing girls and building a magnificent mansion for the dancer Anaṅgadevī. People tauntingly called her *ācāryani* ('wife of the *ācārya*') due to her relations with *ācārya* Bhāvasuddha.²⁸ Given the nature of the worship of the Pāśupatas, these *ācāryas* needed women for the rituals that gave importance to dance and music.

The literary accounts create a Pāśupata landscape that includes dance, music, dancers, and musicians along with the practitioners. Indian epigraphy attests the involvement of Pāśupatas in dance and music rituals in temple worship across India.²⁹ Several other *Kālamukha* priests are described as experts in drama and music.³⁰

Spread of Pāśupata cult

In spite of the Indian law books prohibiting Brahmins from overseas travel, which was considered to be ritually polluting,³¹ several Indian inscriptions testify to the fact that the Pāśupata ascetics emigrated from North India

Fig. 4 Mý Sôn E1 Pedestal relief of a possible Pāśupata ascetic performing *liṅgapūjā*? (River Books)



Fig. 5 *Liṅga* worship with dance and music, Chandella period, 11th-12th century Khajuraho, M.P. India. (w- 235cm X ht- 32cm) National Museum Delhi [Acc no. 82.226].

to the southeast (Nepal, Bengal),³² the south (Karnataka, Tamilnadu) and possibly further south to Southeast Asia from 4th century onwards.³³ There are at least six pre-Angkorian/Angkorian inscriptions in Cambodia that mention the sect, which indicate a wide spread dissemination of their religious system.³⁴ Khmer inscriptional records clearly mention the presence of Indian Brahmins marrying into the Khmer royalty.³⁵

The inscriptions indicate that Pāśupata missionaries were willing to travel and populate the countryside in return for land.³⁶ The missionary nature of the sect is indicated by the example set by their founder Lakuliśa, who is recorded as walking to Ujjain and initiating four disciples to launch a tradition of propagation. The inscriptions mention similar activities by Pāśupata ācārya.³⁷ The re-creation of a Śaiva landscape of Indic sacred sites in Cambodia is seen as early as 6th century CE. As Alexis Sanderson comments:

‘The effect of the practice is to transfigure the Khmer realm by creating a Śaiva landscape whose sacred enclaves could be seen as doubles of those of the religion’s homeland.’³⁸

Śaivism became intimately connected with the Khmer land. Many names of Śaiva sites and sanctuaries recorded in the pre-Angkorian inscriptions are borrowed from the holy places of the Indian tradition.³⁹ Bhadreśvara, the benevolent form of Śiva well known in Indian sources, became the state god of not only the Khmers at Sambor Prei Kuk, but also of the Chams at Mý Són. Sanderson has argued that there were at least eight Pāśupata Śaiva sites such as Amareśvara, Prabhāsa, Siddheśvara present in Cambodia.⁴⁰

By the 7th century Pāśupata teachers had been able to secure a place for themselves in the Khmer royalty and we may assume in the Cham domain as well. These priests would have played a key role in the royal sphere during the early period and maintained a powerful hierarchy similar to that which was theirs in India. Legitimation was not only the attraction of Hinduism for tribal leaders. O. W. Wolters has argued:

‘In Khmer “Hinduism” the man of prowess, with his ascetic advisors, was now Śiva’s foremost worshipper. What can be said of the “Hinduism” of his “servants”, those who had come under his influence?’⁴¹

The highly developed system of magical power derived from meditation (*tapas*) must

have been revered in the Khmer domain. Ascetics are indeed mentioned under several terms in the Khmer inscriptions, such as *muni*, *mahāmuni*, *rṣi*, *maharṣi*, and *tapasvin*, *tapasvindrapaṇḍita*⁴², and among them are Pāśupatas. They are placed in charge of temples, presumably as the first stage of the aspirant’s life and many a times are beneficiaries of land grants.⁴³

Pāśupatas in Khmer and Cham epigraphy

The Pāśupatas played an important role at the Khmer royal courts, obtaining the confidence of kings. An important figure mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* with respect to the history of Pāśupatas is Somaśarman, who was initiated by the Lord Śiva into a branch of the Pāśupata order.⁴⁴ The importance of Somaśarman in the religious history of the time is seen in two pre-Angkorian inscriptions.⁴⁵ The early inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk are landmark inscriptions for our understanding of the Pāśupata sect, especially Īśānavarman I (617-35) who entrusted one of them with the care of a temple⁴⁶, and Bhāvarman II (r.?- ca 657) who employed another one as a poet; he practiced asceticism according to the Śaiva method.⁴⁷ One of the earliest Cambodian inscriptions K. 604 clearly states how a Pāśupata Brahmin who is to be appointed by the king for the worship of the god should be the beneficiary of the foundation.⁴⁸ Pāśupatas must have played a significant role during the reign of Indravarman I (r. 877-889) and Yaśovarman I (r. 889-ca. 910). The Prasat Prei inscription of Yaśovarman I clearly differentiates Śaiva and Pāśupata ācārya and their doctrinal differences (Śaiva-Pāśupata – Jñāna).

‘Then (after the king), the Brahmin should be honoured above all others; if there are many, their qualities and their learning should be taken into consideration. The royal prince, the minister, the commander of army, and eminent people should be honoured a Śaiva ācārya and a Pāśupata ācārya. The ācārya who is most learned among the scholars of Śaiva and Pāśupata doctrines and of grammar, that professor is to receive the highest honours in this great āśrama.’⁴⁹

The first dated Cham inscription (C 96) is from 658 CE, which documents a marriage between a Cham prince and a daughter of king Īśānavarman I who founded the capital of the kingdom of Īśānapura, identified with the modern archaeological site of Sambor Prei Kuk.⁵⁰ This is the first local inscription that records the

name ‘Champa’ and is contemporary with the Cambodian inscription K. 53 of 667 CE that notes an envoy was sent to the ‘ruler of Champa.’⁵¹ Given these royal connections between the Cham and Khmer polities during the 7th century and the several Pāśupata inscriptions of Sambor Prei Kuk, we can assume that similar practices took place in Mý Són.

Pāśupati is mentioned in the Mý Són stele inscription of Vikrāntavarman⁵², and Bang An stele inscription of Bhadravarman III.⁵³ The latter mentions Pāśupati wearing white ashes like the foam of the ocean. The practices of the sect are possibly mentioned in the 9th century Po-Nagar inscription of Vikrāntavarman II that discusses ‘those who protect the famous Rudrakṣetra (field of Rudra) for the lord of ascetics would go to heaven [world of Rudra?];’⁵⁴ as well as in another inscription of the same period, stele of Glai Lomov of King Indravarman I. It describes the practices such as ‘white ashes, yoga, muttering and *humkāra*’ of this religious order and the ultimate goal to be one with Rūdra in concurrence with the *Pāśupata-sūtra*.⁵⁵

Art historical evidence of the Pāśupata sect

A 6th century stele from Mekong delta depicts Śaiva trident, axe, and vase of plenty. The trident has a generic resemblance to that depicted on an inscribed pilaster attached to a well shrine from Mathura and suggests that it possibly belonged to a long Pāśupata tradition.⁵⁶

Another early example of the depiction of Khmer kings and their Pāśupata (?) Brahmin priests is found on a 7th century lintel from Wat Eng Khna, where a group of men identified as ‘Brahmins’ (as they wear the sacred thread) is performing a consecration ritual for a king, who is seated directly below a *Śivalinga*. A group of musicians and male dancers accompany the Brahmins. (Fig. 6)

Yet another example of long-haired, bearded holy men appear on a sandstone lintel from Sambor Prei Kuk with a scene of Garuḍas slaying human adversaries. It displays six ascetics with piled up, braided hair and beards, wearing simple dhotis and sacred threads, playing instruments and dancing ecstatically in celebration. (Fig. 7)

Cœdès’ analysis of commonalities and differences between Vaiṣṇava, (K. 701) Buddhist (K. 290) and Śaiva (K. 279) āśramas of Yaśovarman in Angkor, observes the quantity of ash needed for Śaiva ascetics to clean their

buns and its absence in Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist āśrama records.⁵⁷ This inscription of Prasat Prei,⁵⁸ describing the regimen at the Brahmāsrama, (āśrama founded by Yaśovarman I for ‘Śaiva and Pāśupata’), specifically directs that each initiate should be given; one ādhaka of ash, one ādhaka of pungent ash in a vase to clean the bun, a burning perfume, a stove etc. All these objects will be given every four months individually to the Brahmins (*dvija*), the aged masters and ascetics (*tapasvin*).⁵⁹ The term ‘ādhaka’ is a measure by weight, of food grains etc., and in the Khmer context, according to Claude Jacques; it would be equal to 5 kilograms.⁶⁰ So each person in the āśrama required 10 kilos of ashes, every four months.⁶¹

As we have seen above, the injunctions for the Pāśupata rituals constantly reiterate the importance of the use of plentiful ash, and this inscription provides the evidence of the continued observance of this ritual in these lands. But, these practices were to be performed secretly, ‘*Gūḍhavrataḥ*’ – away from the public gaze, according to the *Pāśupatasūtra*.⁶² So despite



Fig. 6 Lintel depicting Liṅgodbhavamūrti myth and a royal consecration ceremony found at Wat Eng Khna, Mid 7th century, Central Cambodia, National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka 1774). Photo Courtesy: Kunthea Chhom



Fig. 7 Lintel depicting Śaiva ascetic celebrants found at Sambor Prei Kuk S1, 7th century, National Museum of Cambodia Phnom Penh (Ka 1748). Photo Courtesy: Kunthea Chhom

Fig. 8 Saiva ascetics at the Baphuon appearing to churn, drink and vomit milk. (Swati Chemburkar)



Fig. 9 My Son E1 pedestal relief depicting a disciple attending to his guru. (River Books)



Fig. 10 My Son E1 pedestal relief with ācārya performing some ritual. A yogapaṭṭa is tied around his knees. (River Books)

the epigraphic evidence, there is no trace of this ritual in iconography, but it does help us to identify the ascetics depicted with hair piled up on their heads, in buns, as Pāsupata ascetics.

Besides *liṅga* worship, initiation rituals, and ash bathing the ascetics are also seen in hermitage or forest settings such as the 11th century Baphuon temple reliefs following dietary practices referred to in early Śaiva scriptures for the purpose of gaining mastery over mantras. These reliefs depict ascetics churning milk, and drinking it along with butter, a practice attested in three Khmer caves inscriptions.⁶³ (Fig. 8)

An image on the My Son pedestal shows an ascetic reclining, and a disciple touching his legs, this practice of service to the teacher is established in the sūtra,⁶⁴ the disciple performs certain duties such as rubbing oil, cleaning the guru's feet etc., basically following a guru like a shadow to show devotion, and good conduct, in order to receive instruction. (Fig. 9)

We see another image of a *ācārya* on the pedestal wearing a *yogapaṭṭa* (cloth band) across his knees and instructing a practitioner. The final aim of a Pāsupata practitioner is to merge with Śiva, through yoga.⁶⁵ A great emphasis is placed

on this attainment through yogic practices, comprising of *Prāṇāyāma*,⁶⁶ or control and suspension of breath, holding a posture for long hours by wearing a *yogapaṭṭa* etc. The *yogapaṭṭa* is closely associated with the imagery of Lakuliṣa and by wearing it this *ācārya* follows the Lakuliṣa lineage in attaining the highest stage of Pāsupata yoga. (Fig. 10)

The concept of eight forms of Śiva (*aṣṭa-mūrtis*) associated with the Pāsupata cult and its worship is mentioned in several Khmer inscriptions, including the 10th century Mebon, Pre Rup stele inscriptions of Rājendravarman and foundation stele of Bakong.⁶⁷ There is no doubt that the eight forms of Śiva were symbolized by eight *liṅgas*.⁶⁸ The cylindrical Śaiva bun found in the Bayon during the restoration work clearly displays this eight-fold arrangement. (Fig. 11) On the front side is a syllable or a *bijamantra* that resembles 'om' probably indicating certain practices within the sect. Similar ascetic figures are depicted on the Bayon and Banteay Chhmar reliefs. Fig. 12 shows bearded Brahmins conducting a fire ritual on the eastern gallery of Banteay Chhmar. The concept of the eight-fold manifestations of Śiva is also found in the



Fig. 11 Drawing of Śaiva chignon found at the Bayon that possibly depicts a *bijamantra* and stored at the Siem Reap Conservation (original record no. DCA. 40/ new no. N. 1213).

epigraphy of My Son. At least 3 Stele inscriptions of Prakāśdharmā-Vikrāntavarman I describe the eight forms of Śiva.⁶⁹

Some images in Cham art depict the ascetics with a smooth, high-domed shaped object placed on their heads. This is distinctly different from piled up hair or buns, as the strands of hair are not seen. In fact a strand of beads is placed between the hair and this dome shaped object to differentiate the two. Even though, the image is been labelled as Śiva, the usual iconographic traits: crescent moon and third eye are missing. We feel, the dome shaped object resembles a *liṅga*, in front of which a flower is placed. It reminds us of the concept of the 'liṅgadhārī' (one who wears a *liṅga*) ascetic. The earliest evidence on Pāsupata goes back to the Mathura Pillar inscription (380 CE) that traces the lineage of teachers, the tenth being Uditācārya. It relates the establishment of two *liṅgas* by a disciple in memory of his two *ācārya*.⁷⁰ D.C. Sircar describes this establishment as representations of the teachers bearing *liṅga* on their heads.⁷¹ These Pāsupata Brahmins played an important role in Khmer as well as Cham courts as ritual officiants and successfully associated themselves with powerful patrons.

Inscription No. 62 recording the donations of king Harivarmā mentions artists, men versed in different branches of learning, skilful in dancing, wise men and musicians.⁷² From pre-Angkorian and Angkorian Khmer epigraphic records, it emerges that the Brahmins not only carried magico-religious functions but also had a role in dance and music based temple worship. Khmer epigraphic records sometimes acknowledge these Brahmin priests as authorities on art and music donating musicians and dancers to pre-Angkorian and Angkorian temples.⁷³ 10th century K. 181 mentions an elite man *upādhyāya Thmoñ*, or a professor of percussion music.⁷⁴ It should be noted that these early period inscriptions mentioning the donations of musicians and dancers is also the period when Pāsupata references occur in plenty. The tradition of offering dancers and musicians continued as Yaśovarman (889-910), according to the inscription, offered a great number of beautiful dancers, singers, reciters, musicians, and a great number of handsome, mature men skilful in dance and other arts.⁷⁵ He himself was an accomplished dancer.⁷⁶ It is still impossible to know whether these dancers, musicians and singers were members of the working population with special skills



Fig. 12 Brahmins with similar buns at Banteay Chhmar. (Swati Chemburkar)



Fig. 13 Ascetic with *liṅga* in hair c.11th century. (Courtesy NMCP Ga5288)

or belonged to the same class who produced ruling officials or a particular sect. But they must have been an important part of the royal and sacred sphere as when the temple of Śrisanbhadreśvara was plundered in Champa, dancers and musicians were taken as booty.⁷⁷

Fig. 14 Śaiva ascetics or Pāśupatas with dancers are depicted in a hermitage setting on the north-east corner pavilion of Angkor Wat. (Swati Chemburkar)



Khmer inscriptions mention the words *vāca*, *kinmara* and *gandharva*, indicating reciters performing divine services – a class of performing artists and singers in the temples.⁷⁸ Based on these records, Saveros Pou argues for the *gandharvas* of ancient Cambodia being living creatures unlike the mythical persons of Indian literature, who performed at temples.⁷⁹ Does it mean a category of Pāśupatas who performed the singing as per *Gandharvaśāstra*? Are the depictions of ascetics, playing musical instruments and performing dance on the Mý Són pedestal characteristics of Pāśupata?

Sometimes, these ascetics or *rṣīs* are depicted in the company of women/dancers as seen at Phnom Rung, Angkor Wat, Bayon temple. The depictions of ascetics in the company of women/

dancers are intriguing. What is he doing with women? Is he an owner or a teacher of these women/dancers? (Fig. 14)

A 10th century Bhadrāśrama inscription K. 450 from Yaśovarman's reign mentions musicians, singers, and instrument players assigned to the hermitage and a chief of worship for Śiva was accompanied by the actors,⁸⁰ presumably following ritual offering of dance and music. If we compare the Śaiva K. 279 Prei Prāsāt, Vaiṣṇava K. 701 Prāsāt Komnap, and Buddhist āśrama K. 290 Tep Pranam inscriptions, the company of women, even if she is the legitimate wife is strictly prohibited for Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist hermits of the āśramas. No such prohibitions apply to Śaiva hermits. We can then logically assume that the depictions of the ascetics in the company of women are all Śiva ascetics.

In the early 13th century, Jayavarman VII's Buddhist Bayon temple displays several Śaiva ascetic figures in the inner galleried enclosure. The exact nature of their ritual practices during the king's reign are not recorded in the epigraphic corpus, but the records mention over 3,000 dancers performing in the temples throughout his kingdom.⁸¹ There is evidence to suggest that the dance was a temple offering. The offering of music to the dancing Śiva is seen on the 8th century tympanum from the Cham Mý Són C1 temple and kept at the site museum. It depicts several musical instruments that are observed by Lorenzen as emblems of the Kāpālika cult that emerged within the Pāśupata. (Fig. 15). The offering of dancers and musicians to Śrisanbhadreśvara along with the necessary articles for the worship is mentioned in the Mý Són pillar inscription of Harivarman II.⁸²

Fig. 15 Dancing Śiva tympanum found in Mý Són C1. (Photo: Trần Kỳ Phương)



Jayavarman VII offered two gold dancing Śivas to the *liṅga* of Preah Khan.⁸³ In fact Swati Chemburkar has argued that the dancing Hevajra playing a similar role to Śiva Natarāja, in Jayavarman's Buddhist kingdom/court hinting the continuation of Śaiva practices.⁸⁴ The entire inner gallery of the Bayon temple depicts several Śaiva ascetics, sometimes in the forest settings and sometimes as a part of an orchestra holding a harp-like instrument and sometimes holding a book or a manuscript like object as seen on the Mý Són pedestal (Fig. 16) and on the Khmer temple reliefs. (Figs 17, 18)

If we follow the emblems listed by Lorenzen, it is easy to identify Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas with *khatvāṅga* or skull-sticks depicted in their hands as seen at Someśvara temple, Mukhaliṅgam, Andhra Pradesh, India. But how does one recognise a Pāśupata? Many Pāśupata ācāryas are known to have propagated the religion as several Pāśupata inscriptions have been found in north, central, western and southern India as well as Nepal, Bengal and further south in Southeast Asia.⁸⁵ In the spread of any cult, transmission of teachings and knowledge is important. When the reputation of *Skandapurāṇa* spread to Nepal, a copy was asked from India which was brought and was well treasured.⁸⁶ We assume, similar scenario happening during the spread of Pāśupata, where the *sūtra* must have played a key role as an emblem of the cult. Is the figure holding a book that we see on the Mý Són pedestal a Pāśupata ascetic holding his *sūtra*? Similar figures are depicted at Phnom Rung, Angkor Wat, and the Bayon.

The Pāśupata cult and its integration into the Khmer court must have remained important as even though the temple epigraphy drops



Fig. 16 Mý Són E1 pedestal. Pāśupata Brahmin, wearing his sacred thread and holding a text. (River Books)

any mention of them post 10th century or Yaśovarman reign, the Chinese traveller Zhou Daguan mentions them in his eye witness account of Angkor. He spent a year (1296-7 CE) in Angkor as an envoy of Temur Khan of the Yuan dynasty, mentions ascetics called 'Basiwei' or 'Pa-sseu-wei' [Pāśupata?] wearing tall headdress [*jaṭā*], making offerings to stones and not icons [*liṅgas*], and wearing red or white cloth on their head.⁸⁷

Conclusions

The paper argues for the involvement of Pāśupata ascetics not only in the purely religious sphere but also in the royal. Their prominence in the politico-religious landscape is attested by the presence of ascetic imagery on the Khmer and Cham temples. Following the textual, literary and inscriptional evidence in India, Cambodia and Champa, the paper claims the depictions of ascetics may be taken as evidence of the presence of the Pāśupata sect.



Figs. 17, 18 Ascetics possibly holding a sutra/scroll at the Bayon and Angkor wat. (Swati Chemburkar)

- 1 Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, 'La Secte Des Pāsupata dans L'ancien Cambodge', *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 243, No. 2, 1955, p.479. 'The existence of the Indian Pāsupata sect has long been recognized in ancient Cambodia. But our data, which we owe exclusively to epigraphy, is still scattered. The aim of this study is to gather all the dispersed information and study the problems this presents.'
- 2 *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (PABh) verse 1.6. *Pāsupatasūtras* with *Pañcārtha-bhāṣya* of Kaunḍiḥya, ed. Ananthakrishna Sastri. Trivandrum: Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 143, 1940 p. 12.
- 3 Inscription no. C 96, Anne-Valerie Schweyer, Chronologie des inscriptions Publiées du Campa, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, 86 (1999), p. 326 and Thomas Maxwell, (2001:442) The Analysis of Cham and Khmer Sanskrit Temple Inscriptions. In *Proceedings of Papers, International Sanskrit Conference on Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures*. Bangkok: Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University, 2001, p. 442.
- 4 C. 230 bas-reliefs blocks from Mý SónE1. See Arlo Griffiths et al., The Inscriptions of Campā at the museum of Cham Sculpture in Đà Nẵng, Vietnam: VNUHCM, 2012 pp. 277-9.
- 5 *Pāsupatasūtra* is the oldest surviving text. Minoru Hara's in depth study on this religious school clearly demonstrates the wide spread of the Pāsupatas all over India during the medieval period. Minoru Hara, Materials for the study of Pāsupata philosophy. Ph. D. diss. Harvard University, 1966.
- 6 Dominic Goodall, 'On K. 1049, a tenth-century cave inscription from Battambang and on the sectarian obedience of the Śaiva ascetics of non-royal cave inscriptions of Cambodia', *UDAYA: Journal of Khmer Studies*, 13 2015: p. 12, *Pāsupatasūtra* 5.9-40 mentions the last 3 stages. See Hara, 1966: 394-450.
- 7 Hara, 1966: 6.
- 8 PABh is been variously dated from 4th through early 6th century. See R. A. Sastri, 1940:12-15, Cf. Hara, 1966:129-30.
- 9 GK and RT can be dated to the 8th and 10th centuries respectively. See Hara, 1966: 136-37. The later text is of *ācārya* Bhāsarvajña on *Gaṇakārikā* the eight-verse by Haradaṭṭa (with four appendices including the *Kāravana-Māhātmya*). Edited by C. D. Dalal, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 15. Baroda: Oriental Institute Baroda, 1920, reprint, 1966. Prior to publication of all these texts (PS, PABh, GK and RT), the only available source for the study of Pāsupata Saivism was Madhava's 14th century account entitled *nakulīśa-Pāsupata-darśanam* in the sixth chapter of his Sarva-darśana-samgraha (SDS).
- 10 A single 9th century Nepalese manuscript transmits what appears to be the oldest surviving Śaiva tantra, called the *Nīśvāsattattvasaṃhitā*. The manuscript consists of 5 separate books: *Nīśvāsamūkha*, *Mūlasūtra*, *Nāyasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra* and *Guhyasūtra*. Goodall and Isaacson have dated the text to 45-550 CE. Workshop on the *Nīśvāsattattvasaṃhitā*, in the Newsletter of *Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project* (NGMCP), Vol. 3, pp. 4-6
- 11 Hans Bakker, *The World of Skandapurāna Northern India in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 7. ; SP, IIA p. 52. Peter Bisschop, *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāna: Sects and Centres*, Gröningen Oriental Series 21, Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 2006 p. 14, n. 31.
- 12 PABh; 1.7, pp. 12: Āyatana-vāsi.
- 13 PABh; 1.8, pp. 13.
- 14 Dalal, RT, pp. 17-19.
- 15 Hara, (1966): 182.
- 16 *Natyāśāstra* 17.77 says 'protagonists are to address Buddhists and Jainas as 'Bhadanta'. As for the members of the other sects, they are to be addressed using the terms that belong to their convention/religious tradition'. See *Natyāśāstra of Bharatamuni with the commentary Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavaguptācārya*. Chapters 8-18. Vol. II Edited with an introduction and Index by Late M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A., Revised and critically edited by V. M. Kulkarni and Tapasvi Nandi. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 68, Vadodara: Oriental Institute, 2001 p. 381.
- 17 Nirajan Kafle, *The Nīśvāsmukha, the introductory book of the Nīśvāsattattvasaṃhitā*: critical edition, with an introduction and annotated translation appended by Śivadharmasaṅgraha, PhD. diss. Leiden University, 2015 pp. 204, 205, 219, 220.
- 18 Regarding the importance of *liṅga* for Pāsupatas, see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣnavism, Saivism, and Minor religious Systems*, reprint; Varanasi, 1965, pp. 119-24; H. Chakraborti, *Pāsupata Sūtram* (Calcutta, 1970) Appendix I, 'On Liṅga Worship and the Pāsupatas', pp. 194-203.
- 19 David Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two lost Śaivite sects*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidaas, 1972 revised 1991 p. 220, Kafle, 2015 pp. 273, 281.
- 20 *Mattavilāsa* seems to address a *Kāpālika* as *Mahāpāsupata*. See Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat eds *Mattavilāsaprahasana (The farce of Drunken Sport) by king Mahedravikramavarma*, Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1981.
- 21 Bhavabhuti. *Mālatī Mādhava*. With Jagaddhara's commentary. ed. and Trans. C. R. Devadhar and N. G. Suru Poona, 1935. Act I vs. 15; Act V, vss. 3-4; 25.
- 22 *Kuṭṭanimatam* by Damodaragupta 9th century translation by A. H. Shastri *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanimata of Damodar Gupta*, 1st edition 1975, reprint 1995) Cf. Csaba Deszö and Dominic Goodall, *Dāmodaraguptaviracitam Kuṭṭanimatam: The Bawd's counsels: Being an Eighth-century Verse Novel in Sanskrit*. Newly edited and translated into English. Gröningen Oriental Series XXIII. (Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 2012)
- 23 Kṣemīśvara's *Caṇḍakaśika*. ed. and trans. Shibani Das Gupta. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1962. Act IV, vs. 26; 34.
- 24 Kṛṣṇamiśra. *Prabodhacandraloka*. With Candrikāvyaḥyā & Prakāśaṭikā commentaries. Ed. V. L. Panshikar. 6th ed. Bombay: Nirya Sagar Press, 1965. In the play, a Kāpālika ascetic and a Kāpālīni are brought on the stage and Kāpālika practice is described and illustrated with great vividness. Act III, vs. 13, vs. 22.
- 25 According to *Athārvavedaparīśiṣṭa* 5.1, 'babhru' denotes Śiva; see Bisschop/Griffiths, 'The Pāsupata Observance (*Atharvavedaparīśiṣṭa* 40)', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 46, 2003, p. 336. The name Babhrukalpa, 'equal to Śiva', seems suitably chosen for an adherent of a tradition whose highest goal is rudrasāyujya, "union with Rudra/Śiva. (cf. Hara 1966:14).
- 26 D. N. Lorenzen, 'A Parody of Kāpālikas in the Mattavilāsa'in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. Gordon White, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 94.
- 27 *Mattavilāsaprahasana* ("The Farce of Drunken Sport") edited and translated by Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat, (Chennai: Christian Literature Society, 1981), verse 20.
- 28 *Kuṭṭanimatam* v. 539 and 753 in Sastri, 1995: 68, 123. See, ed. and trans. Csaba Deszö and Dominic Goodall.
- 29 8th century, Lodhiā copper plates of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna mention the land grant by a king under Pāsupata *ācārya*, Pramāthācārya for the repair of the temple, which specified endowment for the provision of ancestors and deity along with dance and music – OHRJ, Vol. 1, pp. 63-64; *Epigraphia Indica* (EI), 1950, Vol. 1-XXVI page 319-325. (Cf. Rajguru S. N. Inscription of Orissa (IO) 4, Bhubaneswar: Orissa State Museum, 1966: 70, 86-87); For 9th century Sirpur grants- see A. M. Shastri, Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvasiṃs and Somavasīṃs. 1995, Part II: 376-379 (2 Vols. Part I: Introduction, Part II: Inscriptions) In an article in *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 18 (1992:15-23) he discusses the content of these charters in more detail; The 1058 CE Nāgeśvara temple inscription no. 93 at Sudi, Karnataka built by Nāgadeva mentions the 'ones acting for the god's enjoyment and dancers graced the four pillars'. Further on, the inscription also mentions the beneficiary assigned to the performance rituals in the temple, which include Pāsupata *ācārya* Somesśvara I, a flute player and dancing women. See EI, 15, pp. 80-94.
- 30 Lorenzen, 1972, revised 1991, p.187.
- 31 Based on her studies of *The Laws of Manu, Dharmasāstras* and some of the *Purānas*, Vasudha Narayanan mentions the prohibition of overseas travel. See 'Creating a South Indian "Hindu" Experience in the United States' in Raymond Bradley Williams ed. *A Sacred Thread, Modern Transmission of Hindu Tradition in India and Abroad*, Chambersburg, PA: Anima publication, 1992:147.
- 32 One such example is the famous Pāsupatī temple near Kathmandu in Nepal, bears an inscription from the reign of Jīśnugūpta (c. 630 CE) that mentions the gifts to *ācāryas* in congregation of the Mundasrinkhalika-Pāsupatācārya. Ed. And trans. B. Indrajī and G. Bühler, Inscriptions from Nepal, *Indian Antiquity* (IA), IX, (1880): 174.
- 33 A Sanskrit inscription from Bakong temple reads: 'Brahmin who knows all the Vedas came here to purify the praiseworthy country of Kambu'. See K. 923 (Cœdès, IC, IV, st. XV, p. 39). Cf. Bhattacharya, (1955): 479-490.
- 34 K. 604, st.12 IC, IV, p. 17; K. 13, ISCC, pp. 31 and Bhattacharya, *A Selection of Sanskrit Inscriptions from Cambodia*, 2009, page 22; K. 733, v. IV IC, I, p. 4; K. 701 ISCC, C1, verse 7 p. 423. Based on his readings of 10th century, K. 1049 (stanza III) Goodall (2015: 12) has argued that Śāṅkhaṇḍī, the religious leader would have been of the Pāsupata school. K. 80 IC, VI, p.3; ISCC VII, p. 44; K. 258, IC, IV, p. 175.
- 35 See inscriptions K. 438; K. 809; K. 904; K. 95, v.5; K. 323, v.6; K. 263, v. 30; K. 910; K. 923, v. 14; K. 300, v. 7-10 in George Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, (IC), vols. I-VIII (Hanoi and Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient [EFEO], 1937-1966. See Auguste Barth for inscriptions K.263 v. 30, K. 95 v. 5 and K. 323 v. 6, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Cambodge* (ISC) 'Notices et extrait des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale', 27, 1, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885 pp. 77-97 and 391-411. The Chinese source of the 5th century cited in the *Taiping yulan*, the general encyclopedia (*leishu*) published by Li Fang and others in 984 CE, reports that there were more than 1000 Indian Brāhmins in Dunsun, a principality in the same area and a dependency of the early kingdom of southern Kambojajadeśa that the Chinese called Funan. People of Dunsun followed the Brahmanical religion and practices, see Paul Pelliot, 'Le Fou-nan', *BEFEO*, 3, 1903, pp. 258-303. Cf. Sanderson, 'The Śaiva religion among the Khmers', *BEFEO* 90-91, 2003-4: 401.
- 36 Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidaas, 2004, p. 85.
- 37 12th century Somnāthpattan Praśasti mentions Pāsupata *ācārya* Srimad Bhāva Br̥haspati, from Kanyakubja (Kannauj), who "travelled over India for converting kings to his doctrine and to make them undertake the protection of religious places". V. G. Ozha with an introduction by G. Bühler, The Somnāthpattan Praśasti of Bhāva Br̥haspati, (dated to 1169 CE.) *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. 3, 1(889):1-19.
- 38 Sanderson, 2003-4: 403.
- 39 Michael Vickery's analysis of some 200 pre Angkorian inscriptions observes 50 names, most ending in Īśvara, seem to be Śaiva, 14 Vaiṣṇava and 8 Śiva-Viṣṇu combined, *Society, Economics and Politics in Pre Angkor Cambodia*, Japan: The centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1998, pp. 140-41. Sanderson, 2003-4: 405-6.
- 40 Sanderson, 2003-4, p. 405.
- 41 O. W. Wolters, 'Khmer "Hinduism" in the Seventh Century', *Early Southeast Asia: Selected Essays*, Ed. Craig J. Reynolds, Cornell Southeast Asia Programme, 2008 p. 184.
- 42 ISCC, p. 49 v. 3.
- 43 ISCC, p. 19 v. 33; IC, IV, p. 32, vvii; IC, II, p. 12, v. iv.
- 44 Somaśarman is mentioned in *Skandapurāna* (131.2) Peter Bisschop, *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāna: Sects and Centres*, (Gröningen Oriental Series 21, Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 2006) pp 43. and Bakker, 2014:140. The Somnāth Pāsupata tradition is recorded in the Bhadrakālī temple inscription at Somnāthpattan (also known as Devpattan and Prabhāspattan). See Ozha, 1889, page 1-19. The inscription names the chief priest Bhāva Br̥haspati of the temple.
- 45 6th century Vat Kantel inscription K. 359, st. 3 (ISC, IV, page 30); K. 54/K. 55 (ISC, IX, page 56) and (IC, III, p. 159). Dominic Goodall has drawn attention of Hans Bakker to this stanza - mentioning 'together with a statue of Śrī-Somaśarman'. Statues of Somaśarman have not yet come to light, or have not yet been recognized. Cf. Bakker, (2014): 142-143.
- 46 K. 604, st. XII refers to *Pāsupato*, IC, IV, pp. 17-19.
- 47 Bhattacharya, 1955: 480.
- 48 K. 604, stanza 12. IC, IV, pp.17-19
- 49 Prasat Prei inscription IC, IV, page 64; ISCC pages 393-396. Also see stela of Thnal Baray, ISCC, LVI-LX, C1 stanza 6, 7 and 10, pages 243 248, 423, 428 and Cœdès, *BEFEO*, 32 pages 97-103.
- 50 Cœdès, 'Note sur deux inscriptions du Champa', *BEFEO*, 12, 8 1908: 15-7.
- 51 K. 53, ISC, no. XI, p. 64
- 52 No. 17 M. Finot (*BEFEO*, Vol. IV, p. 930), No. IX. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. III, 'Champa', 1927, pp. 31-35.
- 53 No. 42 M. Huber (*BEFEO*, Vol. XI, p.5); Cf. Majumdar (1927 v. X, p. 127).
- 54 No. 30 edited by M. Bergaigne, (Corpus No. XXIV, p. 231) and noticed by Aymonier (J. A. 1891, part 1, p. 24). Cf. Majumdar (1927, pp. 71-74).
- 55 Glai Lomov inscription XXIII (393), St. V, side A. See Abel Bergaigne, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge* (ISCC), Paris, page 43-46; K. Bhattacharya points out the use of ashes and the practice of yoga, muttering and *humkāra* are peculiar to the Pāsupata regimen. See K. Bhattacharya, 1955, p. 481.
- 56 M. C. Choubey, *Lakulīśa in Indian Art and Culture*, Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 1997, p. 174-6, pl. 3.
- 57 Cœdès, 'Études Cambodgiennes' *BEFEO*, 32, p. 107). The record gives the quantity of scissors and razors needed for Viṣṇu āśramas, possibly to cut their hair, and the absence of these tools from the records of Śaiva āśramas.
- 58 K. 279 (IC, IV, p. 64); 'Stele of Thnal Baray', LVI – LX, face D, line 4 & 5 (ISCC p. 413).
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Personal communication with Claude Jacques on email dated 19th June 2017.
- 61 Based on the quantity of ash required by an ascetic and number of ascetics in a *āśrama*, Shivani Kapoor argues for the construction of a ritual structure for ash-related rites in the Khmer temples, which are until now described as 'fire shrines'. Shivani Kapoor, 'Material Evidence of Pāsupata sects in pre Angkorian Cambodia' forthcoming, 2018. No such structure has yet been signalled in Champa.
- 62 PABh, 4.2; the practitioner should keep his religious duties concealed. p. 24.
- 63 *Nīśvāsmukha* chapter III, Observance of fasts discusses dietary restrictions of consuming milk and only milk or clarified butter. See Kafle, (2015: 252, 255); K. 431, v. 4, (IC, V, p. 175) tells us how the ascetic of Indraguhā sustained on only milk diet; K. 91 (IC, II, p. 126) mentions that the guru of Sūryavarman I, lived on clarified butter K. 156, v. 10cd, v. 16ab, (IC, V, p. 178). K. 1049 mentions the ascetic Śāṅkhaṇḍī consuming only milk as a part of his discipline. Based on the early Śaiva scriptures, Goodall points out the dietary practice as a religious observance. Goodall, 2015:12.
- 64 PABh, 1.9 st.7 p. 27.
- 65 PABh, 1.20 p. 41.
- 66 PABh, 1.16 p. 38
- 67 Eight forms of Śiva are Rudra, Śarva, Ugra, Bhāva, Pāsupatī, Mahādeva, Īśana are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Śatapatha* and *Kausītaki Brāhmaṇas* add Aśani to this list, and they are associated with eight elements. See V. S. Pathak, 'History of Śaiva cults in

- northern India from Inscriptions (700 A.D. to 1200 A. D.)' *Studies in History, Culture and Archaeology*, (1980): 18. This concept is found in Cambodia too. See Coedès, Phnom Preah Vihear inscription (*IC*, I, page 4 verse 1); Tuol An Tnot inscription K. 561, v. 1, (*IC*, II, p. 40); Bakong foundation stele K. 826, v. 25 (*IC*, I, p. 33); Coedès, Sdok Kok Thom inscription, v. 67 (*BEFEO*, XLIII, p. 182). Cf. Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, 'The Aṣṭa-mūrti concept of Śiva in India, Indo-China and Indonesia', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ed. Narendra Nath Law, Vol. XXIX, no.1, 1953, p.237-240.
- 68 Bhattacharya, 1953, p. 238.
- 69 Inscriptions dated to 657 CE C. 96 B I 17, st. XXVII, 687 CE C. 87 B. I, 9b, st. X. and 732 CE C. 74 A I.2 refer to Śiva's eight forms. See Majumdar, (1927), No. 12, v. 27, p. 16; No. 17 v. 3, 4, p. 31, No. 21 v. 1, p. 38.
- 70 The inscription neither mentions Lakuliśa nor Pāśupata but traces the origins of the ācārya to Bhāgvat Kuśika, who is generally identified as the first pupil of Lakuliśa. D. R. Bhandarkar, (ed. & trans.) Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II: *Epigraphia Indica (EI)* vol 21, 1931-2 : 1.
- 71 D. C. Sircar, 'A Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Chandra Gupta II'. *Indian Historical Quarterly*; vol. 18, p. 271.
- 72 M. Finot, *BEFEO*, Vol. IV, p. 933, No. XII. Cf. Majumdar, (1927): 161
- 73 See K. 138 (*IC*, V, pp. 18-19); K. 137 (*IC*, V, pp. 115-118); K. 155 (*IC*, V, pp. 64-8); K. 713 (*IC*, I, p. 28); K. 323, Side A, v. 63 (*ISCC*, p. 391); K. 270 (*IC*, IV, pp. 69-70). Rājendrarman's guru Yajñavarāha was well versed in dance and music K. 842, st. 20 (*IC*, I, p. 147); Divākarapandita, chief priest of Sūryavarman II installed dancers, singers and musicians at Wat Phu, Preah Vihear and Phnom Sandak (K. 194); K. 383 (*BEFEO*, XLIII 1943-6, pp. 134-54); Sūryavarman's guru Sadāśiva was a skilled musician who donated beautiful women and musicians to temples. K. 235 lxxii, cxii-cxiii, ('Inscription de Sdok Kak Thom', ed. Louis Finot, *BEFEO*, 15, no. 2, 1915, pp. 83, 86) are a few examples. K. 181 (*IC*, VI, p. 140) reports of a high-ranking man termed *upādhyāya thmoī*, which Saveros Pou has translated as a professor of percussion music. (Saveros Pou, 'Music and dance in Ancient Cambodia as evidenced by Old Khmer epigraphy' *East and West*, 47, 1-4, 1997: 243. Based on the 11th century Sdok Kok Thom inscription (K. 235), Groslier describes the role of 'Brahmanas as authorities on art and music in the royal court.' (See Bernard Philippe Groslier, 'The Angkor Kings (preface)' in *Royal Cambodian Ballet*, Phnom Penh: Cambodian Information Department, 1963, pp. 3-5).
- 74 K. 181 (*IC*, VI, p. 140). Cf. Pou 1997: 243.
- 75 K. 713, Claude Jacques, 'The Inscriptions of Cambodia', *Nokor Khmer* 2 Jan-Mar 1970: 280.
- 76 K. 282, C, 27, Auguste Barth, 'Steles du Thnal Baray', (*ISC*, p. 474) and 'Stele de Lolei' (*ISC*, p. 319). Books. He came from the same lineage as Śivakaivalya of the SKT inscription. And so did Vāmaśiva, Yaśovarman's (887-910) priest. SKT, Louis Finot, *BEFEO*, 15, no. 2, 1915.
- 77 No. 61 edited by M. Finot, *BEFEO*, Vol. IV, p. 941, No. XIV. Cf. Majumdar, 1927: 159-60.
- 78 Based on the inscription K. 356 Saveros Pou translates the word *vāca* as a reciter performing a divine service. See Pou, (1997): 242. For *Kinnara* see Coedès (*IC*, I, 171: 26); for *gandharva* see K. 842, st. 20 (*IC*, I, p. 147).
- 79 Pou, 1997: 242.
- 80 K. 450, st. 32-42 (*IC*, III, p. 109); K. 258 (*IC*, IV, p. 175).
- 81 See T. S. Maxwell (v. 76), p. 51 and (v. D24), p. 69, 'The stele inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor', *UDAYA: Journal of Khmer Studies*, 8, 2007; (K. 908, CXLIV); George Coedès, 'La stele du Preah Khan d'Angkor', *BEFEO*, 41, 2 1941: 297.
- 82 No. 61 edited by M. Finot, *BEFEO*, Vol. IV, p. 941, No. XIV. Cf. Majumdar, 1927: 159-60
- 83 See v. A59 and A60 in T. S. Maxwell, (2007: 21) mentions "The two Lords of the dance, made of gold, placed by the king before the Serpent."
- 84 Swati Chemburkar, 'Dancing Architecture at Angkor: "Halls with Dancers"', in Jayavarman VII's temples', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 46, 3, 2015: 532-535.
- 85 Hara 1966: 11.
- 86 Hans Bakker 2014: 21.
- 87 Peter Harris, *Zhou Daguan: A Record of Cambodia: The land and its people*, Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 2007 pp. 52, 53, 104.