

**The Temples of King Rājendravarman –  
Tenth Century Architecture  
at Angkor**

**Vol. 1 – Text**

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## Abstract

The thesis is a detailed analysis of the two main temples of King Rājendravarman, consecrated in the mid-tenth century, focusing on their architecture and epigraphy. The background to this study is Philippe Stern's classification of Angkorean temples into ancestor and state temples, which is examined critically.

Chapter 2 provides the general background, introducing the Indian religions, both theoretically and as practised in Cambodia. Brahmanical Temple Architecture is briefly presented, followed by a detailed description of the East Mebon and Pre Rup. The methodological background is given in chapter 3. The development of Cambodian studies is examined, most importantly the theories of Ph. Stern. Subsequently, the methodologies utilised for this study are introduced.

Chapter 4 analyses in depth the architectural features of the individual buildings within the temple complexes, which has not been done up to now, and formulates an internal building sequence. This is completed in chapter 7 by the application of general architectural theory and the regulations given in the Indian *śāstras* to suggest the function of the individual buildings.

In chapter 5 the foundation inscriptions of the two temples are analysed. First a general introduction to the Sanskrit epigraphy of Kambujadesa is given, presenting the most important religious concepts expressed in the inscriptions. The main part of the chapter deals with the three main inscriptions of King Rājendravarman. The analysis of the texts comprises the study of the religious ideas expressed, and of the information regarding the temples themselves contained in the texts. This analysis is refined in chapter 6 to examine whether the images mentioned in the inscriptions were founded, and where they were placed.

Overall it is argued that the East Mebon and Pre Rup are part of one building programme, to legitimise King Rājendravarman and secure his spiritual and political position. Due to their fundamental similarities it is not warranted to classify them in two separate categories of temples. The necessity for detailed studies is stressed, instead of attempting to impose pre-conceived categories on them.

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## Note

The material of this thesis is bound in three volumes. Volume 1 contains the text, and bibliography. Volume 2 consists of the textual appendices, and Volume 3 the illustrations.

Volume 1 contains the text, and only a few in-text Overviews for easy reference. More detailed tables are included in Volume 3 with the illustrations. The transcription used in this thesis follows the standard spelling of words in old Khmer and Sanskrit. If Sanskrit terms are quoted from inscriptions, the transcription as found in the stanza is used, even though they might in places contain irregularities.

In Volume 2 the inscriptions of Baksei Chamkrong, the East Mebon and Pre Rup are included to enable easy access to the original Sanskrit and French translations of L. Finot and G. Cœdès. It was decided to scan the inscriptions, rather than type them, to keep the original pagination, even though overall the inscriptions are incorporated into the pagination of the thesis. Within the analysis of Volume 1 for all stanzas examined English translations are used. Most of these translations were done by Prof. K. Bhattacharya, an eminent Sanskritist, whom I was very fortunate to meet, and who very kindly agreed to translate most of the stanzas for this thesis. As discussed in chapter 3, the existing translations are not entirely reliable, and led to misinterpretations in the past. Of course, the achievements of L. Finot and G. Cœdès are invaluable, but the problems with their translations persist. Thus, Prof. Bhattacharya's translations have allowed me a new interpretation. The interpretations of the stanzas are mine, and any mistakes contained in this thesis are my own responsibility as well. In those cases where the French translations are correct and were approved of by Prof. Bhattacharya, the English translation was done by me from the French. Even though I do have some knowledge of Sanskrit, it is far too rudimentary to attempt my own translations from the original texts.

Prof. Bhattacharya's translations of the inscriptions of Roluous, and Sdok Kak Thom used in this thesis were done in Bonn, within a project organised and directed by Prof. T.S. Maxwell. Both of them very kindly allowed me to use these new translations, which were most helpful for my argument.

Volume 3 contains the illustrating material. The material is sorted by chapters, rather than type of illustration. This was thought to be the most practical order for referencing the various kinds of illustrations. The photographs used are, if not indicated otherwise, the author's. The plans used are copies of the plans accompanying the monthly reports of the Conservation d'Angkor to Paris. Mrs. Isabelle Poujol of the Phototèque of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris very kindly allowed me to make prints of the plans, which are scanned on microform. Because the original plans were scanned without enhancing them digitally, the quality of some of the plans is somewhat wanting. Nevertheless, these drawings are very detailed, and contain a lot of information about the temples. Moreover, they have not yet been

published; therefore, it was decided to use these originals instead of producing new ones, which, due to the quality of the French ones, could not have shown additional information.

This thesis is an architectural and epigraphic analysis of the East Mebon and Pre Rup. Until now the restoration reports, which were never published, are the only detailed architectural study of the two temples, and in the published literature only short descriptions exist. It was deemed necessary to undertake such a study within this thesis, to ensure a thorough interpretation of their purpose. Consequently, because of the limited space available, it was decided to focus on the temples as religious foundations. Of course, religion and politics were entwined in Kambujadesa. Undoubtedly, the temples were political power statements as well. However, for a detailed study of this aspect one would have to focus on the general history of 10<sup>th</sup> century Angkor, which would have resulted in a rather different project.

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(Pl. 28. Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, *Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor*. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.)

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(Pl. 30. Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, *Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor*. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.)

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(Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, *Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor*. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, plan 30.)

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(If not indicated otherwise, all photographs are the author's own.)

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Included separately inside back cover of Volume 3.
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(Pottier, Ch., 2003, About Yaçovarman's Buddhist *açrama* in Angkor, *The Buddhist Monastery: A cross-cultural survey*, (ed. by P. Pichard and F. Lagirarde), pp. 199-208. École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, p. 201.)
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### Chapter 4

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- Fig. 4.69 Pre Rup – link between sandstone platform and central towers.
- Fig. 4.70 Pre Rup – mouldings of inner halls and enclosure wall.
- Fig. 4.71 Pre Rup – distance between outer halls and inner terrace.
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- Fig. 4.73 Pre Rup – distance between brick towers in outer enclosure and the enclosure walls.
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b east door.

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Fig. 5.2 East Mebon – inscription.

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(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, n. 365.)

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(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, n. 1037.)

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- Fig. 6.15 East Mebon – pedestal inside M-5.
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- Fig. 6.18 Vajimukha.  
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- Fig. 6.20 Stone of the nine *devas*, Khleang style.  
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- Fig. 6.22 Nine *devas* in the Baphuon style.  
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- Fig. 6.23 East Mebon – fourth deity of the carving of M-B.
- Fig. 6.24 Carving of the nine *devas* from Kuk Rokar.  
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- Fig. 6.25 East Mebon – sandstone block for carving of nine *devas* in M-A.
- Fig. 6.26 East Mebon – mother goddess found in 2 Gop W.  
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- Fig. 6.39 Avalokiteśvara of Banteay Chmar in Bayon style.  
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- Fig. 6.52 Pre Rup – fragment of carving with the nine devas.  
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- Fig. 6.54 Varuṇa from Prasat Kuk Don.  
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- Fig. 6.55 Head of Viṣṇu from Phnom Bok.  
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- Fig. 6.56 Pre Rup – female image found in 2 Gop N.
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- Table 6.1 East Mebon – the images mentioned in the inscription and physical evidence found.
- Table 6.2 Pre Rup – the images mentioned in the inscription and physical evidence found.

## Chapter 7

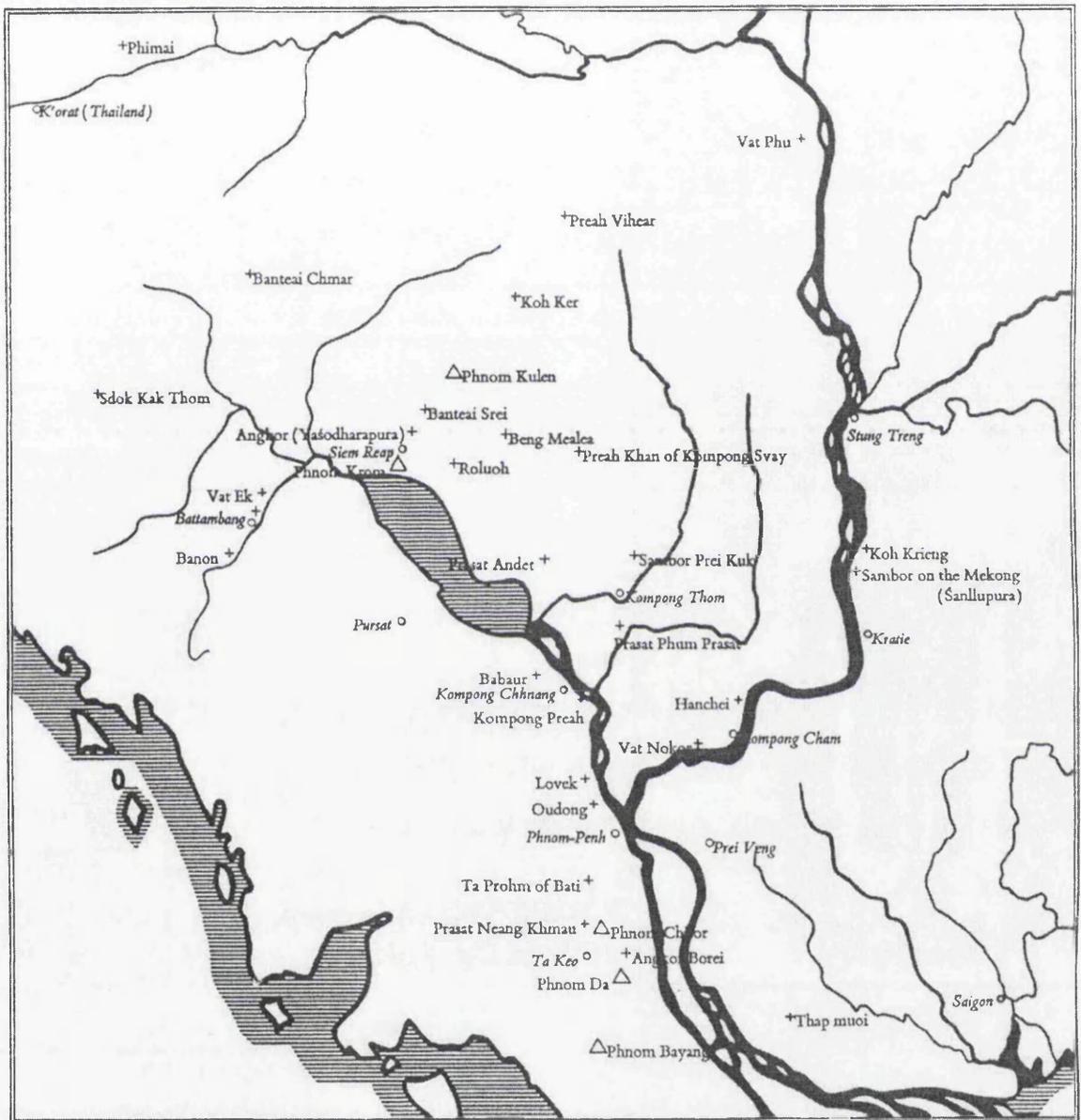
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Map of present-day Cambodia with ancient sites



(Pich Keo & Smith, N. (1996) *Khmer Art in Stone*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, p.13. Originally published in Giteau, M. (1965) *Khmer Sculpture and the Angkor Civilisation*, pp. 259-62.)

## 1. Introduction

The starting point for the present thesis was Philippe Stern's theory, classifying Angkorean temples into two categories: ancestor and state temples.<sup>1</sup> This classification is still in use at the present time. Even though Ph. Stern's work is a most valuable attempt to clarify the conceptual background of the Angkorean temples, and explain – to a certain degree – their layout, it does have obvious shortcomings, some of which were already realised by Ph. Stern himself. In developing his definitions, Ph. Stern analysed the architecture in combination with the information given in the temples' inscriptions. Two temples which do not correspond to this classification are the East Mebon and Pre Rup, built under King Rājendravarman in the mid-tenth century CE.

Upon embarking on the present study, it was hoped that the examination of the East Mebon and Pre Rup would enable the author to define new, more accurate categories. However, the detailed study of the two temples showed that for this aim to be realised it will be necessary to analyse each temple and each pair of ancestor – state temples individually. Even though the temples at Angkor do symbolise a limited number of religious concepts, most importantly Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain and axis mundi, their significance is not limited to these notions, but do incorporate a wide variety of additional ideas. Hence, it was decided to limit the present study to the interpretation of Rājendravarman's temples, and broaden the explanatory scope afterwards through separate studies of other temples. Moreover, the two temples have not been subjected to a detailed analysis so far – apart from the restoration projects, the reports of which were regrettably never published – although both of them are large and beautiful foundations.

Consequently, an interdisciplinary approach was chosen to analyse the two temples closely in relation to Ph. Stern's categories, and to examine two main aspects of the foundations: their architecture and the epigraphy, i.e. the foundation steles. In what follows I will examine the East Mebon and Pre Rup temples using empirical, structuralist, hermeneutic, and phenomenological methods to allow the two temples to speak for themselves, and move "from

what [they] say to what [they] talk about”<sup>2</sup>, instead of trying to impose pre-conceived categories on them. The overall layout of the temples, their architectural and decorative scheme, and the religious concepts and other information contained in their inscriptions suggest a deep similarity between the two foundations, which does not warrant their classification in two distinct categories.

In order to place the temples within a wider context, their detailed description will be preceded by an introduction to the Indian religions both in India and Kambujadesa<sup>3</sup>, and by a brief section on temple architecture. Kambujadesa was heavily influenced by the religions, language, and art and architecture of India, expressed through the Khmer temples with their sculpture and inscriptions. These influences have to be introduced to enable a discussion as to how closely they were followed.

In chapter 3 the methodological background of this thesis will be given. The development of Cambodian studies is introduced, followed by a detailed summary of Ph. Stern’s publications dealing with the classification of temples to familiarise the reader with the development of the categories. Fundamental components of these definitions to be examined in the chapter include the *devarāja*, the images founded in the temples, the category of temple mausoleums, and the layout of the East Mebon. Some of these concepts will be redefined, for instance the *devarāja*, or analysed utilising later evidence than was available to Ph. Stern. Moreover, drawing parallels with India will enable a more accurate interpretation to provide the setting for the discussion in subsequent chapters.

During my fieldwork in Cambodia in 2002 it soon became obvious that the conceptual background of the temples needed clarification, but also that the architectural remains themselves had not been studied in sufficient depth. Consequently, an empirical analysis was done, which has resulted in the clustering of buildings within the two complexes, and the establishing of an internal building sequence, which is given in chapter 4. The significance of

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<sup>1</sup> Stern, Ph. (1934) Le Temple-Montagne Khmèr, le Culte du Linga et le Devarāja. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 34, 611-616; Stern, Ph. (1947-1950) Diversité et Rythme des Fondations Royales Khmères. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 44, 649-687.

<sup>2</sup> Ricoeur, 1976:87-88.

<sup>3</sup> The name 'Kambujadesa', 'land of the Kambu' is being used to denote ancient Cambodia. 'Kambujadesa' was chosen because it was the term used by the Khmer themselves as a name for their country, as evident in the inscriptions. In later ones it was abbreviated to Kambuja, which is the origin for the modern name Kampuchea. Thus it seems to be the most appropriate, and least controversial and problematic designation within this thesis.

this analysis is twofold. Firstly, until now the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century temple complex known as the Bayon has been the only temple believed to have had major alterations and additions, whereas the other complexes were seen as one unit. Showing that other temples underwent changes over time as well adds to our knowledge of how temples were conceived and used in Kambujadesa. Secondly, the internal building sequence also allows us to make inferences regarding the purpose of individual buildings, which subsequently makes them comparable to buildings in other temples. This is of particular significance firstly because it has never been properly established how Angkorean temples were *used*. Secondly, Ph. Stern's classification of the temples implies a differing function of temple complexes in the two categories. Hence, establishing similarities or discrepancies in the supposed use of individual buildings, and their resulting comparability will help us to clarify the overall purpose of the temples.

Because the inscriptions were the basis for much of what has been written about the temples, chapter 5 studies them in detail. The chapter focuses mainly on the inscriptions of the East Mebon and Pre Rup, but also uses other contemporary or earlier inscriptions for purposes of comparison. By evaluating the contents of the inscriptions I argue that in this field the differences between the temples are not as significant as the similarities: the religious concepts expressed are the same, and the information given about the temples, and the ways it is presented are very similar.

The epigraphic material from the pre-Angkor through the Angkor era is extensive, but the claims made in the inscriptions have often been taken at face value, with no attempt to verify them using empirical data. I have examined those statements most closely which pertain to the temple itself, i.e. the stanzas mentioning the images founded there. For this purpose the statements made in the inscriptions were compared to the physical remains still at the temples.

The results of this study, presented in chapter 6, were somewhat unexpected. Firstly, comparing the two temples, at the East Mebon physical evidence for all the images mentioned in the inscriptions could be found. The situation at Pre Rup is radically different, with a survived rate of only about 50%. Secondly, the inscriptions of both temples only mention the central images, whereas several other images, which are contemporary with the temple, are left out of the written record. And thirdly, at both temples significant later additions were found, some dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE, but others in the style of the Bayon. These results suggest

several tentative conclusions. Firstly, the statements of the inscriptions regarding the temples themselves could be confirmed, and locations allocated to the individual images. This placement of images has two functions. Religiously, it represents the outflow of spiritual power from the centre into the surrounding landscape, and politically – as indicated in the names, which combine the king's name with Śiva – it confirms the king as the centre of his kingdom, and the outflow of political power. Secondly, the later sculptures found at both temples indicate a continued religious and possibly even political significance of King Rājendravarman's foundations to the generations that followed. Although the political aspects of the temples are not examined closely in this thesis for reasons of space, this subject might be fruitful for separate research projects. Overall, this chapter focuses very much on the central part of the temples, their sanctuaries.

In order to incorporate the rest of the temple compounds, which constitute the majority of buildings, chapter 7 analyses the function of all buildings of the two compounds. To understand these buildings, which are not mentioned in the inscriptions, I have used two main approaches: general architectural theory, and the Indian treatises on architecture, the *vāstu śāstras*. A close architectural analysis of all of the buildings with regards to layout, their degree of openness, and elaborateness reveals significant similarities between both foundations. Even though some of the conclusions drawn are of course hypothetical, I have tentatively suggested purposes for certain buildings. I have discovered that similar buildings with presumably similar functions can be found in the same location at both temples, and sometimes in other temples as well. More generally, the overall spatial conception of the two foundations appears to have been the same.

The thesis, in other words, argues that the similarities between the East Mebon and Pre Rup, in terms of architectural features as well as the epigraphic evidence, far outweigh their differences. The temples' layout is unique, because King Rājendravarman was the only monarch at Angkor to build two representations of Meru with a quincunx of *prasats* at their centre. However, this can be explained when considering the circumstances of his reign. Before his return to Angkor the former capital of Yaśovarman had deteriorated, and somewhat lost its significance because of the relocation of the capital to Koh Ker. Upon Rājendravarman's return he not only restored Yaśodharapura, as mentioned for instance in st. CCLXXV of the Pre Rup

stele, he also founded a temple at the centre of that king's *baray*, the East Mebon. This had twofold significance. Spiritually, it equalled the recreation of the microcosm with Mount Meru at its centre, surrounded by oceans. Moreover, the king as the spiritual centre of the kingdom was established, mirroring Indra, king of the gods and his role as master of the elements, on top of Mount Meru. This relates directly to the political dimension of the East Mebon as asserting the king's legitimacy by linking him to the earlier king, and his prowess in recreating the universe. Pre Rup was the state temple, and thus could be expected to be built with a quincunx of towers at its centre to embody the axis mundi.

Overall, it will be reasoned that the temples were part of one building programme, designed to affirm King Rājendravarman's spiritual and political power. A classification of the temples into two separate categories of temples as proposed by Ph. Stern is thus not warranted. A further conclusion which will be drawn from the analysis of the two temples is that even though the temples at Angkor often express certain recurring concepts, for instance their representing Mount Meru, they all are very individually conceived and planned. Hence, in order to propose a system of classifying the temples one would have to examine each temple individually, and only after studying a large number of them would it be possible to attempt and define larger categories of temples. This study represents such an individual examination of two temples.

## 2. The Conceptual Context

This introductory chapter will summarise the issues most significant for this thesis. The culture of ancient Cambodia was influenced extensively by that of India. It is not known when relations with India started, but this was probably during the first millennium BCE, through trade linking China via Southeast Asia with India, and then as far towards the west as the Mediterranean. It is not possible to determine exactly when the Indian religions started to become influential in Cambodia, in all likelihood sometime around the beginning of the Common Era.<sup>1</sup> Physical evidence in the form of inscriptions, sculpture and the temples themselves can be found in Cambodia dating from around the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, when the Indian religions, Brahmanism<sup>2</sup> and Buddhism, had already established themselves firmly in the region. That Indian texts were well known in Cambodia is evident in the inscriptions in three ways. Firstly, these explicitly mention a number of Indian texts; for instance st. III of the inscription of Prasat Anlon Car, dating from the reign of King Rājendravarman, mentions a Caitanyaśiva, well versed in the Śivaite *śāstras*.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, concepts dealt with in the Indian texts are referred to and followed. For instance, the *aṣṭamūrti* concept can be found embodied in many Khmer temples in the form of eight *lingas* around the central shrine. Moreover, inscriptions bear reference to a number of notions known from India, for instance st. CCX of the East Mebon inscription mentions 'śrutī' and 'smṛtī'.<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, even though certain texts might not be referred to explicitly, the Cambodian epigraphy bears clear evidence of their knowledge. Thus, the Pre Rup inscription shows influence from Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, among others in st. LIX, LXV or CLXIV.<sup>5</sup> This familiarity with Indian religious and philosophical texts allows the hypothesis that the Khmer were familiar with other texts as well, such as the *śilpa śāstras* dealing with architecture and sculpture.

In order to make evident possible deviations from the Indian model, both the Indian background, and the more particular situation in ancient Cambodia will be described. The specific circumstances prevalent during the reign of King Rājendravarman will then be referred to in the relevant chapters later on.

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<sup>1</sup> Hall, 1985:21-35.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'Brahmanism' is being used with various meanings in the literature. In this thesis it is a generic term for Śivaism and Viṣṇuism together.

<sup>3</sup> Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (below IC), Vol. VI:116/117.

<sup>4</sup> Finot, 1925a:330/351.

<sup>5</sup> Bhattacharya, 1991:4, n. 16.

This chapter will deal with the following issues. First of all, an overview of the Indian religions, mainly Śivaism and Viṣṇuism will be given. Following the part on the religions is a brief introduction to Indian temple architecture. Not only the concepts represented by the architecture, but also special layout and building techniques will be presented. Finally, the main temples of King Rājendravarman will be described in some detail.

## 2.1 The Indian Religions

The main Brahmanical deities venerated in Kambujadesa were Śiva and Viṣṇu. Notwithstanding that both gods appear already in the Vedas, it is only during the time of the later Upaniṣads, from about the 8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, that beginnings of a Brahmanical theism become evident. Especially the Śvetāśvatara and Mahānārayana Upaniṣads show theism, this “idea that there is a supreme, distinct God (*Bhagavān*) or Goddess (*Bhagavati*) who generates the cosmos, maintains it, and finally destroys it, and who has the power to save beings through his grace”<sup>6</sup>. Within this development especially two deities rose to prominence: Śiva and Viṣṇu.

In the following a short introduction will be given to the historical development of these two deities. Śiva and Viṣṇu were the main Brahmanical deities venerated in Kambujadesa, and are significant within the context of East Mebon and Pre Rup. Both temples are dedicated to Śiva and contain images of Viṣṇu – in stanza IV of Pre Rup he is even being invoked as the Supreme Deity. Summarising the development of these two gods in India provides the background for an examination of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism in Cambodia in the subsequent section.

### 2.1.1 Śivaism and Viṣṇuism

#### Śivaism

The origins of Śiva are traceable to the Ṛg Veda and its minor deity Rudra. To him only three hymns are dedicated, but “the rich ambivalence of his character is the basis of an important line of Indian theology that culminates in the Hindu god Śiva”<sup>7</sup>. The Vedic Rudra is destructive, and he is feared by humans and asked to spare them from his malevolence; he is the spreader of

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<sup>6</sup> Flood, 1999:114.

<sup>7</sup> O’Flaherty, 1981b:221.

disease and fevers, but at the same time is the healer and bringer of medicines.<sup>8</sup> Rudra does have a clear-cut character, albeit a complex one, and position of his own, with physical characteristics which will remain, e.g. his braided hair and being clothed in a skin. He is the chief of numerous partial manifestations of his own character. These traits are developed and manifested further in the Brāhmaṇas, where Rudra dwells in forests and the wilderness, and is the lord of wild animals. His region is the north, associated with dangerous mountains, and he is excluded by the other gods from the *soma* cult. Consequently, he has his own sacrificial rites and has to be appeased by humans.<sup>9</sup> With the composition of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, around the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Rudra-Śiva has come to be identified as the Supreme Absolute. Therefore, this stage forms the transition between the monism of earlier Upaniṣads, and the theism of later traditions. In the Śvetāśvatara God is the cause of the Universe; he creates it through his power and sustains it, and into him it is absorbed at dissolution<sup>10</sup>:

- 1           The One who, himself without color, by the manifold application of his power  
Distributes many colors in his hidden purpose,  
And into whom, its end and its beginning, the whole world dissolves –  
He is God (*devā*)!  
May he endow us with clear intellect!
- 9           ...This whole world the illusion-maker (*māyīn*) projects out of this  
[*Brahmaṇ*].  
And in it by illusion (*māyā*) the other is confined.
- 10          Now, one should know that Nature (*Prakṛitī*) is illusion (*māyā*),  
And that the Mighty Lord (*mahaśvara*) is the illusion-maker (*māyīn*).  
This whole world is pervaded  
With beings that are parts of Him.<sup>11</sup>

This Upaniṣad seems to have been compiled by those who were unsatisfied with the rituals of the Vedas, and longed for the help of a personal god for their salvation. In consequence, not only knowledge of God, which is only attained by very few, but also God's grace (*prasāda*) is necessary for salvation.<sup>12</sup> Manifesting this development later texts have a tendency to stress Śiva's benevolent aspects, and bring him closer to the other gods. This emphasis on the God's benevolence is immediately obvious in his new name, Śiva, which

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.:221. See appendix 2.1 for a hymn to Rudra in the Ṛg Veda.

<sup>9</sup> Gonda, 1976:3f.

<sup>10</sup> Flood, 1999:153.

<sup>11</sup> Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, IV.1.9-10. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:91.

<sup>12</sup> Gonda, 1976:21.

means 'benign' and 'auspicious'. Originally it had been applied as a quality to several Vedic gods, and is only used as a name for Rudra after his assimilation to the Vedic cult.<sup>13</sup>

In the epic period Śiva – as well as Viṣṇu – is ambiguous, and on one side shows heroic traits, and on the other rises to supramundane dignity, representing the Supreme Being. Both gods are endowed with all divine qualities, and are the central characters in mythical tales, and adored by the other gods. Śiva in the epics is still a much feared and ambivalent god. Even though the early epic stresses his ascetic aspect, he is willing to grant boons and confer favours upon his worshippers.<sup>14</sup> During that period the epic-purāṇic system of the eight names of Śiva, the *aṣṭamūrti*, was developed in detail. Origins of the concept are present already in the Śatapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas but were only developed further in the Purāṇas.<sup>15</sup> These forms are the *aṣṭa-sandhi*, the 'eight points of union'<sup>16</sup>, the all-pervading components of the universe:

The world is a product of his eight forms, it consists of them, and can only exist and fulfil its task because these forms co-operate. Since also the microcosmos of our own body is composed of the same five elements and the three other realities the god Śiva is believed to make up, in eightfold manifestation, the corporeal frame and the psychical organism of every living being.<sup>17</sup>

An overview of the *aṣṭamūrti* is given below.

Overview 2.1: The *aṣṭamūrti* – the respective elements and names of Śiva.<sup>18</sup>

Element		Name
Earth	<i>ksiti</i>	Śarva
Water	<i>jala</i>	Bhava
Fire	<i>agni</i>	Rudra
Air	<i>vāyu</i>	Ugra
Ether	<i>ākāśa</i>	Bhīma
Sun	<i>sūrya</i>	Īśāna
Moon	<i>soma</i>	Mahādeva
Sacrificer	<i>yajamāna</i>	Paśupati

Within the various Śivaite cults Śiva is seen as the Great Teacher, Mahāguru, of arts, sciences, ritual and spiritual wisdom.<sup>19</sup> He embraces the two-fold ascetic ideal; he is at the same time the orthodox renouncer, highly respected and the ideal of a male householder, and

<sup>13</sup> Maxwell, 1998:42.

<sup>14</sup> Gonda, 1976:12f.

<sup>15</sup> Bhattacharya, 1953:233.

<sup>16</sup> Maxwell, 1998:48.

<sup>17</sup> Gonda, 1976:41.

<sup>18</sup> After Bhattacharya, 1953:234f.

the unorthodox ascetic, openly polluting and living in the cremation ground. Śiva combines in his person both the ideal householder – with his wife Parvatī – and the ideal ascetic. This process of absorption of non-vedic rituals and ideas into mainstream Brahmanical orthopraxy can be found in Viṣṇuism as well. Within Śivaism, though, the focus is more on asceticism, even within the context of the householder.<sup>20</sup>

## Viṣṇuism

The root of the name Viṣṇu may be  $\sqrt{viś}$ , 'to enter', which makes Viṣṇu 'he who enters, pervades the universe'<sup>21</sup>. In the R̥g Veda the most fundamental of his characteristics are already present: his association with the sun, the roles of warrior, spacemaker, and orderer of the universe, and the pregnant, containing aspect of his nature.<sup>22</sup> Although Viṣṇu is not mentioned very often in this text, he has a well-defined character which hardly changes in later sources. In his anthropomorphic form he is a youth, associated with mountains, and very significantly he is beneficial to human interests, benevolent, and fights the demons. His most prominent feat is to take three strides, with which he traverses all of space, which contains all living beings, up to the highest realm, the heavens.<sup>23</sup> The third stride, the *paramam padam*, the Highest Standpoint of Viṣṇu, is beyond the reach of man and his conception, although a way into this 'death-kingdom' is possible through the Vedic code of morality. The three strides expand through time and space and define Viṣṇu's nature as the embodiment of the universal order.<sup>24</sup> This pervasiveness and spatial and temporal extensiveness results in the close relation to the axis mundi, and Viṣṇu may even represent this pillar. Viṣṇu is present in all three parts and has close relations to Aditi, the universal creator, because he creates the space in which creation can take place. The three strides are not necessarily to be understood as the tripartition of the universe. What is important is that Viṣṇu pervaded the whole universe, and humans are safe within it; thus humans contribute to the existence and maintenance of the universe. Viṣṇu himself remains the "active promoter of positive values and beneficial processes in this world"<sup>25</sup>,

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<sup>19</sup> Maxwell, 1998:55ff.

<sup>20</sup> Flood, 1999:149.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.:114.

<sup>22</sup> Maxwell, 1998:72.

<sup>23</sup> Gonda, 1976:2f. See appendix 2.2 for the hymn in the R̥g Veda.

<sup>24</sup> Maxwell, 1998:73.

<sup>25</sup> Gonda, 1976:9.

and in his veneration the hope is expressed that his activity will continue to create space and safety for both gods and humans.

Viṣṇu's recognition as the Supreme monotheistic God begins with the later Upaniṣads, which were compiled during the last several centuries BCE.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the

early history of the development of Viṣṇu and his worship is highly complex. In this history Viṣṇu becomes fused with other, originally independent deities, and the traditions which focused upon these deities become merged in the Vaiṣṇava tradition.<sup>27</sup>

During the early period three deities are important: Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla, and Nārāyaṇa. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla were tribal gods, who might originally have been deified kings or heroes, later identified with Viṣṇu. The origin of Nārāyaṇa is less clear, but he is identified in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with *puruṣa*, and in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata he is the resting place of men, whereas the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad praises him as the Absolute and highest deity who dwells in the heart.<sup>28</sup>

The most important text in the development of Viṣṇu as the Supreme Deity is the Bhagavat Gītā, compiled in the last few centuries BCE, which forms part of the Mahābhārata, and

integrates into a comprehensive synthesis the different elements of the Vedic cult of sacrifice, the Upaniṣadic teaching of the Absolute *brahman*, the Bhāgavata theism, the Sāṅkhya dualism, and the Yoga meditation.<sup>29</sup>

A very important concept of this text is *bhakti*, God's grace. In the Bhagavat Gītā is also the first formulation of the *avatāra* doctrine:

7           For whenever of the right  
              A languishing appears, son of Bharata,  
              A rising up of unright,  
              Then I send Myself forth.

8           For protection of the good,  
              And for destruction of the evil-doers,  
              To make a firm footing for the right,  
              I come into being in age after age.<sup>30</sup>

Through offering three ways to salvation, *jñāna-yoga*, the way of knowledge, *bhakti-yoga*, the way of devotion, and *karma-yoga*, the way of action<sup>31</sup>, the Bhagavat Gītā bridged the gap

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.:5-11.

<sup>27</sup> Flood, 1999:117.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.:119ff.

<sup>29</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:101.

<sup>30</sup> BG, IV.7-8. Edgerton, 1997:23.

between ascetic morality and the exigencies of daily life. Even though the Bhagavat Gītā contains no reference to the *vyūhas*<sup>32</sup>, God's nature is divided. His lower nature comprises an eightfold division into the five elements (earth, water, fire, air, and space) and the three elements of Sāṃkhya psychology, namely *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaṃkāra*. God's higher nature is the life, which upholds the universe.<sup>33</sup>

In Viṣṇuite literature Viṣṇu is the transcendent Lord dwelling in his highest heaven Vaikunṭha on top of the cosmic egg, where his devotees will go upon liberation. In the world, he manifests himself in three ways: as his ten *avatāra*, in icons (*mūrti*, *arcā*) in temples and shrines, and within the hearts of all beings as their inner controller (*antaryāmin*). The *avatāra* are manifestations of Viṣṇu in times of darkness, and even though the concept is first mentioned in the Bhagavat Gītā, it was only developed in greater detail in the later epic literature. By the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE their established number is ten.<sup>34</sup> The *avatāra* are Matsya (the fish), Kūrma (the tortoise), Varāha (the boar), Narasiṃha (the man-lion), Vāmana (the dwarf), Paraśurāma (Rama with the axe), Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, and Kalkī, and sculptural representations of most of them can be found within Khmer temples on lintels or in reliefs.

### 2.1.2 The Brahmanic Religions in Cambodia

Evidence for the existence of the Indian religions in Cambodia is found through inscriptions, sculpture and the temples. Already the very early inscriptions from that region bear witness to the existence of all three major religions: Śivaism, Viṣṇuism, and Buddhism. The earliest inscription, of Vo-canh in what is now southern Vietnam, dates from around the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.<sup>35</sup> Although this inscription was found somewhat outside the realm of Kambujadesa it is testimony of the presence of the Indian influence in the region, and indicates that similar developments might have taken place in ancient Cambodia. The earliest surviving inscriptions from Kambujadesa date from the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Two of these

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<sup>31</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:102.

<sup>32</sup> I.e. successive emanations from God, which are part of His essential nature, and emphasise the evolutionary aspect of the relation the One – the many. In Vedic times the term *vyūha* entailed the composition of the parts as a coherent whole, and was later used by the monotheistic Pāñcarātras, perhaps as an attempt to unite various adorable manifestations of God into one personality. See Gonda, 1976:53.

<sup>33</sup> Gonda, 1976:53.

<sup>34</sup> Flood, 1999:116.

<sup>35</sup> Bergaigne, 1885a:192ff. So far it has not been determined with certainty whether this inscription is Buddhist or Brahmanical in character.

inscriptions, both Viṣṇuite, form the oldest proof for the existence of the Pāñcarātra<sup>36</sup> in Cambodia. The third inscription is Buddhist and dates from the reign of King Rudravaman. Rudravarman's reign particularly shows the mutual tolerance of the religions at the time. Even though Śivaism seems to have been the 'state religion', both Viṣṇuism and Buddhism were accepted and practised. The centre of Viṣṇuism seems to have been Phnom Da, where the cosmic Viṣṇu Hari Kambujendra, Lord of the Kambuja, was founded, together with a *liṅga* and a Harihara.<sup>37</sup> This coexistence of religions is the most significant attribute of the belief system of Kambujadesa and characterised it until the decline of Angkor several centuries later.

The following general synopsis of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism in Kambujadesa provides the setting for the discussion of the religious background of the East Mebon and Pre Rup to follow in later chapters. The specifics of the two temples can thus be interpreted within a wider framework.

### Śivaism

The earliest evidence for Śivaite speculations are the inscriptions of Phnom Bayan, dated 604 and 624 CE. Śiva is both the Absolute, *brahman*, and a personal god who bestows his grace on his followers. Śiva is the interior light (*āntarañ jyotiḥ*), which represents his body, and in which form he appears as the *yogin*. This concept of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad of Śiva as the subtle material of the Universe, the transcendental Absolute and personal god is evident in inscriptions throughout Cambodian epigraphy. The immanent Śiva is invoked through the *aṣṭamūrti*, with the sacrificer (or *ātman*) as the essence of Śiva.<sup>38</sup> This concept is most important in Cambodia, and can be found throughout in the form of eight *liṅgas* surrounding the central image, or a garland of eight flowers. Interestingly, in Indian temples seven *liṅgas* surround the eighth *liṅga* at the centre, whereas in Cambodia there is an additional ninth one at the centre. One possible interpretation for this composition might be that the ninth *liṅga* represents the transcendental Śiva, the *paramātmān*.<sup>39</sup> Hence the *liṅgas* would symbolise both aspects of Śiva united in one building, with the Highest, the Absolute at the central point of the compound, also the highest physically. This is also evident in the rite of the 'first bricks', when the process of building a

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<sup>36</sup> See below in section on Viṣṇuism.

<sup>37</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:12ff.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.:57f.

temple is begun and eight bricks are arranged around a ninth one which represents the Supreme Śiva.<sup>40</sup> Another interpretation sees the central *liṅga* as representing the unity between king and Śiva – as is evident in the inscriptions, which accord the *liṅga* a name combining the king's name with –Īśvara, Śiva.<sup>41</sup> The concept of the *aṣṭamūrti* can be found at both East Mebon and Pre Rup where the central images are surrounded by eight *liṅgas* representing the immanent Śiva.

The transcendental Śiva on the other hand is the *para-brahman*, and *paramātmān*, he is *kevala*<sup>42</sup> (unique), *niṣkala*<sup>43</sup> (without parts), and *nirguṇa*<sup>44</sup> (without qualities). Even though Śiva is unique, he is also multiple: creation exists due to his *śakti*, it is the cause of the Universe, its continuation and its end. In monism creation is not different from God's substance; external conditions, names and forms cause the perceived difference.<sup>45</sup> In truth, identity exists in difference, *bhedābheda*, a term used in King Rājendravarman's Prasat Khna inscription<sup>46</sup>. *Prakṛti* (matter) is an integral part of God, the efficient and material cause of the Universe. Thus, the Universe is identical with God; the phenomenal Universe is a 'reflection' of God, and Śiva, the Absolute, is pure conscience. In Cambodia there is also evidence for the concepts used within the dualism of Sāṃkhya, although somewhat transformed, and not necessarily expressing a dualist notion, as in st. VI of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription. In dualism the manifest Universe, *prakṛti*, is external to the Supreme Deity, and is reabsorbed after the dissolution of the Universe.

Various other concepts are highly important in Śivaite speculations in Kambujadesa as well. Firstly, the *praṇava*, the sacred syllable *om*.<sup>47</sup> Its three parts are identified with various other elements, and this will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.2.2 in relation to the inscriptions of the East Mebon and Pre Rup. There is also evidence of the *yoga* doctrine, for instance the inscription of Banteay Srei mentions that Yajñavaraha practised *yoga*. The Pre Rup inscription states that Śiva has as his essence the *yoga* of the *yogin* (*yogiyogātmaka*), and

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<sup>39</sup> Bhattacharya, 1970:80.

<sup>40</sup> Kramrisch, 1941:175f.

<sup>41</sup> Stern, 1934:611f, Coedès, 1928:93.

<sup>42</sup> St. I, Lolei. Bhattacharya, 1999c:30/40.

<sup>43</sup> St. I, Preah Ko and Bakong. Bhattacharya, 1999b:1/7, 13/18.

<sup>44</sup> Coedès, 1936b:8/9, st. IV.

<sup>45</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:59-60.

<sup>46</sup> Coedès, 1911f:405, st. I.

<sup>47</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:61-67.

resides at the end of the syllable (*śabdānta-sthitaye*)<sup>48</sup>, i.e. Śiva is the Absolute. God manifests himself in the *yogin* through the interior light, the universal *ātman*, or *sarvātman*. Through this perception of the immanent principle comes forth the transcendental principle – the *parabrahman*, *paramātman*.<sup>49</sup> The worshiper identifies himself with Śiva through the element –*īśvara*, a practice which became widespread in India only during the Middle Ages, although already mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad: “Whoever worships a divinity as other than the self, thinking ‘He is one, and I another’ knows not.”<sup>50</sup>

Sculptural representation of Śiva in Kambujadesa was mostly in form of a *liṅga*, and only rarely in anthropomorphic form, although this becomes more frequent during the Angkor period. Thus at the East Mebon and Pre Rup there are both kinds of representation: one *liṅga* in the sanctum sanctorum representing the transcendental Śiva, eight *liṅgas*, the *aṣṭamūrti*, around, and anthropomorphic representations in the corner towers.

Geographically, Cambodian Śivaism was influenced from the whole of India, as is evident in texts cited in the epigraphy which are known from both North and South India. Various texts alluded to in Cambodian inscriptions are known exclusively in North India, and some appellations of Śiva found in Cambodia are entirely unknown from India and must have been developed locally.<sup>51</sup>

## Viṣṇuism

The first mention of Viṣṇuism in Kambujadesa is in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE and by the time of King Yaśovarman (r. 889-900 CE) Viṣṇuism had become one of the main religions of Kambujadesa, its followers being known as Vaiṣṇava, Pāñcarātra, Bhāgavata, and Śātvata. The most important sect were the Pāñcarātra, whose central doctrine were the *caturvyūha*, the four emanations of Viṣṇu<sup>52</sup>, which are the highest level of creation, i.e. pure creation, whereas below are the intermediate, and the material, impure creation.<sup>53</sup> This concept is referred to in various inscriptions, for instance the Pre Rup inscription<sup>54</sup>, where Viṣṇu is likened to the Absolute. Other doctrines of the Pāñcarātra alluded to in Cambodian epigraphy are the five rites performed at

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<sup>48</sup> St. II, Pre Rup. IC I:77/105.

<sup>49</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:75f.

<sup>50</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, I.4.10. Coomaraswamy, 1934:6-7.

<sup>51</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:95.

<sup>52</sup> Bhattacharya, 1955b:112f.

the five moments of the day, and the five elements. This five-fold division is evident in the name Pāñcarātra, 'five-night', which might be derived from the 'five night sacrifice' in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa performed by Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa to become the Highest Being.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, there is evidence for the doctrine of the Bhagavat Gītā in which God does not intervene in creation directly; he merely guides the action of *prakṛti*. *Prakṛti* resides inside God, it is emanated at the creation, and re-absorbed at the dissolution of the Universe. Hence, there is a unity of *prakṛti* in God, and a diversity in the Universe. God is both the material and the efficient cause of the Universe. In this matter Viṣṇuite theology approaches Śivaite theology: Viṣṇu is devoid of all form (*nirastasakalākāra*), and *guṇa* (*nīstraiguṇyaguṇa*), and is identified with the Absolute *brahman*. He is unique and multiple, transcendent and immanent, he is the universal self (*parātman*), and the individual self (*sarvātman*).

Sculpturally, Viṣṇu is represented mainly by four-armed Viṣṇu images, with the four attributes: a disk in his upper right hand, conch in his upper left, staff in the lower left, and a ball representing the Earth in his lower right hand. Various depictions represent him as the eight-armed transcendental Viṣṇu, most famously the one from Phnom Da and the wall carvings at Prasat Kravan.

As with Śivaism in Cambodia, Viṣṇuism originated from all of India, although the region of Mathurā, the cradle of Bhāgavatism, seems particularly important for Cambodia. For instance, under King Rājendravarman the Brahmin Divākarabhaṭṭa from Mathurā, very likely a Viṣṇuite, married the king's daughter.<sup>56</sup>

## Buddhism

The third main Indian religion in Cambodia was Buddhism, which shall be introduced only briefly. The temples dealt with in the present study are Śivaite, but since Buddhism did flourish at the time of Rājendravarman it shall be mentioned here as well. The earliest evidence might be the Vo-canḥ inscription (see above), indicating Mahāyāna Buddhism. From the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE there is evidence for Theravada Buddhism as well. However, Mahāyāna Buddhism

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<sup>53</sup> Flood, 1999:121.

<sup>54</sup> St. IV. IC I:77/105.

<sup>55</sup> Flood, 1999:121.

<sup>56</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:101, 123.

remained the more important direction during the pre- and Angkor periods.<sup>57</sup> During this time Buddhism was characterised by its dynamic nature, as was Brahmanism, reflecting changes taking place in India, but due to spatial limitations these cannot be dealt with in detail here, and moreover have no bearing on the present discussion. Even though few kings themselves were Buddhist, most famously King Jayavarman VII in the late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, Buddhism was practised and tolerated. For instance, King Rājendravarman's main architect Kavīndrārimathana was a prominent Buddhist.

Generally the religious climate in Kambujadesa was a very tolerant one: the various religions were practised side by side, and there is even evidence of syncretism between the religions: both between Śivaism and Viṣṇuism, and Brahmanism and Buddhism. Evidence for this can be found in the inscriptions<sup>58</sup>, and in sculptural representations.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.:17.

## 2.2 Hindu Temple Architecture

In the following the conceptual background of the temples will be introduced. First, a brief presentation of Indian cosmology will be given, outlining both the Brahmanical and the Buddhist worldview. Because both cosmologies differ only in minor details, they can be reviewed together. Since temples are a representation of this macrocosm, it is necessary to familiarise the reader with its basic elements. Subsequently, a summary of the architecture of the temples follows, both the symbolic connotations and a very brief introduction to their basic layout, as given in the *āgamas* and *śilpa śāstras*. Even though the texts were probably known in Cambodia, Khmer temples do not follow their instructions to the letter. Nevertheless, those elements which can be found in Khmer temples will be introduced here. An analysis as to how closely these regulations were followed in the two temples will be given in chapter 7.2.

### Brahmanical and Buddhist cosmology

Despite the large number of descriptions of the cosmos in both Brahmanical and Buddhist texts they are very similar overall and will be dealt with together.<sup>59</sup> The accounts portray the cosmos as contained in the cosmic egg of sheer infinite size. The Śivaite texts limit their number to 224, whereas the Viṣṇuite ones mention an infinite number. Its structure is very similar in all texts, with the seven celestial levels of *bhūr*, *bhuvar*, *sva*, *maha*, *jana*, *tapa*, and *satya* at the top. Beneath is the world of men, below which are another seven levels of *pātāla*, inhabited by divine beings, e.g. *nāgas*, and of equal beauty as the heavens. Finally, beneath those are the seven inferior levels of *naraka*. At the centre of the cosmic egg is Mount Meru, the axis mundi, on top of which is located the city of Indra and those of the eight *dvārapāla*, which contain immeasurable riches. Even though the description of the areas surrounding Mount Meru differ somewhat, ultimately this has no repercussion on the representation of cosmology in the temples as they represent the cosmic mountain which in any case is surrounded by landmasses, oceans, and mountain ranges. According to the Mahābhārata Mount Meru is surrounded by four islands, *dvīpa*, with oceans in between. The southern of these continents is the dwelling place of humans, *manusyaloka*, Jambudvīpa, which name derives from Jambu, the

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<sup>59</sup> See for instance the inscriptions of the East Mebon and Pre Rup.

rose-apple tree at its centre. In contrast, the Purāṇas place Jambudvīpa at the centre of the world with Mount Meru at its centre, surrounded by seven concentric mountain ranges, divided by concentric oceans, around the outermost of which is the mountain range Lokāloka.<sup>60</sup>

The most important element of these descriptions is Mount Meru, linking “the realm of gods, mortals, and creatures of the underworld”<sup>61</sup>. Its central peak is surrounded by four buttress mountains and then many others. The material Mount Meru is made of, according to the Mahābhārata and Buddhist cosmology, is gold, although in other sources different materials and colours can be found.<sup>62</sup> The symbolism and importance of the cosmic mountain was easily accepted at Angkor because the mountain did already possess a spiritual significance. It was the abode of the ancestors and highly venerated.<sup>63</sup> The mountain was the place where all potency of the earth and thus all life is concentrated.<sup>64</sup>

One important part of this cosmology is the king, described by Manu in the following way:

[3] For when this world was without a king and people ran about in all directions out of fear, the Lord emitted a king in order to guard this entire (realm), [4] taking lasting elements from Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, the Moon, and (Kubera) the Lord of Wealth. [5] Because a king is made from particles of these lords of the gods, therefore he surpasses all living beings in brilliant energy, [6] and, like the Sun, he burns eyes and hearts, and no one on earth is able even to look at him. [7] Through his special power he becomes Fire and Wind; he is the Sun and the Moon, and he is (Yama) the King of Justice, he is Kubera and he is Varuṇa, and he is great Indra. [8] Even a boy king should not be treated with disrespect, with the thought, ‘He is just a human being’; for this is a great deity standing there in the form of a man.<sup>65</sup>

Thus a king, although human, has superhuman traits, and is the centre of the kingdom, equated with Indra, the king of the gods on top of Mount Meru. Together with the temples, the king was the representation of the macrocosmos in this world, and could even be associated with Mount Meru itself, as both are the immovable centres of the moving world around them: “The king, his palace, his central shrine, and his capital city therefore belong to the same cycle of equivalences as does Meru. In a sense, the ruler is Meru.”<sup>66</sup> Practically, his main duty is *prajāpālana*, protection of his subjects, as stated for instance in Manu 7.144: “The supreme duty

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<sup>59</sup> See Kirfel, 1967 for a meticulous research.  
<sup>60</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:546-547.  
<sup>61</sup> Jessup, 1997:101-102.  
<sup>62</sup> Kirfel, 1967:93f.  
<sup>63</sup> Nidhi Aeusrivongse, 1976:119.  
<sup>64</sup> Bhattacharya, 1997:38ff.  
<sup>65</sup> Manu-smṛti, 7.3-8. O’Flaherty/Smith, 1991:128.  
<sup>66</sup> Mabbett, 1983a:80.

of a ruler is to protect his subjects, for a king who enjoys the rewards described above [taxes] is bound to (that) duty."<sup>67</sup>

The temporal principles of Indian cosmology are summarised in the concept of the *yugas*, the four ages of different duration. Even though this thesis deals mainly with the concept of space and its representations in the temples, the temporal aspect shall be introduced here as well, because it will be part of the discussion of the inscriptions. The *yugas* are closely linked with *dharma*, morality, and humanities' abiding to these rules. The longest age is the *kṛta yuga*, the golden age. The number four represents totality, and this is represented by the bull of *dharma* having all its four legs. During this age humans live according to *dharma* without effort or even being aware of it. A first step of decline is present in the *tretā yuga* during which the laws of *dharma* are not followed in their entirety anymore, but only to three-quarters, and have to be learned. During the next age, the *dvāpara yuga*, only half the *dharma* is being followed, and symbolically the bull of *dharma* only has two legs left. The worst time, however, is the *kali yuga* during which only one quarter of the *dharma* remains. This is the period which humankind has been living in for several thousand years already. The four *yugas* have, as mentioned above, different durations. This duration is measured in divine years, one of which consists of 360 human years. The longest is the *kṛta yuga* with a duration of 4,000 divine years, plus a dusk and dawn of 400 years each. The *tretā yuga* is 3,000 years long with dusk and dawn of 300 years each, the *dvāpara yuga* 2,000 years and the *kali yuga* 1,000 years plus dusk and dawn, all together 12,000 divine years – or 4,320,000 human years, which constitute one *mahāyuga*.<sup>68</sup> Each *mahāyuga* ends in *pralaya*, dissolution, upon which follows darkness of the same length, and a new creation. After the one-thousandth cycle, the great dissolution follows, the *mahāpralaya*. These 1,000 *mahāyugas* are being called a *kalpa*, and 14 of these constitute one *manvantāra*, governed by a Manu. One *kalpa* equals one day of Brahmā, and another one one night. The life of this god is made up of one hundred years which equal 311 thousand billion human years.<sup>69</sup> But, as we know from the texts, gods are not immortal, but are part of the cycle of rebirth. Consequently, the Indian view of time is eternal, and cyclical.

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<sup>67</sup> O'Flaherty/Smith, 1991:142.

<sup>68</sup> A meticulous study as to whether and how these concepts are expressed in ancient Khmer temples was done by E. Mannikka at Angkor Wat (Mannikka, 1996, *Angkor Wat: time, space, and kingship*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu).

<sup>69</sup> Eliade, 1991:63ff.

Within Indian philosophy, the notions of space and time are unimaginably large, albeit limited. Space is contained within the cosmic egg, and time is cyclical. These notions will be discussed in relation to the methodological background of this thesis in chapter 3.3.

### Architectural requirements

The cosmology described above is expressed architecturally in the temples. The ground plan of the temple is based on cosmological principles and has to be planned meticulously. This Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala, a geometric diagram which determines the layout of the temple, is seen as a microcosmic representation of the universe, and a representation of the Hindu pantheon, as each sub-square is identified with a particular deity. The plan is created on the cosmic man, the *puruṣa*, whose body parts are associated with certain parts of the grid, for instance his navel with the centre, or his head with the northeast and east. The most important part is its centre, which corresponds to the cosmic mountain and in the temple to the central image. The actual laying out of the *maṇḍala* on the ground is determined astrologically, and thus represents a meeting of space and time. The fundamental layout of the temple is oriented along the cardinal directions, most importantly east-west.<sup>70</sup>

That the temple is intended as a representation of the cosmic mountain is evident in its names: it is called Meru, Mandara and Kailāsa in the texts. Physically, the mountain is represented by the *prāsāda* or *vimāna*, the superstructure. Its axis leads from the highest point down to the *garbhagrha* and the icon placed there, but also traverses the top of the temple up towards the sky. Inside the temple is the square cella denoting *prakṛti*, the primordial Substance. It is the centre of the temple, mirroring both the centre of the *puruṣa*, the navel, and of humans, the heart, in all of which dwells the Essence.<sup>71</sup> The reduction from diversity to unity is represented in the superstructure by its leading from the square base of the *garbhagrha* to a single meeting point at the top.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Michell, 1988:71f.

<sup>71</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:161-169.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.:220ff.

The symbolism of the mountain has effects on the devotee as well. By visiting the temple the worshipper accrues as much merit as he would have done had he visited the sacred mountain itself.<sup>73</sup>

Symbolically, three kinds of allegory are represented in the temples, which are interrelated and work together and correspond to differing degrees of abstraction: formal, representational and associational symbolism:

- formal: architecture is a direct expression of its meaning, e.g. doors as thresholds
- representational: meaning is not expressed in architecture directly but only symbolically, e.g. the superstructure as the cosmic mountain, and
- associational: symbolism is culturally determined, e.g. a lotus flower as a symbol for the centre.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, a short description of a typical temple layout is given. The Hindu temple, whose basic elements are the cella and image, is a "dwelling intended for a god whose permanent presence is ensured by regular worship executed on a material representation, which can be an image or a symbol."<sup>75</sup> Temple sites should be rectangular, and only those at the city centre square, with given dimensions. These measurements of whole sites and all their elements are largely determined by the height of the principal Deity. At the centre of the compound is the *garbhagr̥ha*, the 'womb-chamber', which houses the main image. Entry to this cella is through a number of *mandapas*, with the *dhwaja stambha*, the flagstaff, and the *bali pīṭha*, an altar, outside, opposite the main deity. This innermost compound should be surrounded by a number of *prākāras*, enclosures, with *gopuras* at the cardinal directions. To complete the basic arrangement, the temple needs a water tank either within or next to the compound.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>

Michell, 1988:69.

<sup>74</sup>

Hardy, 1998:129.

<sup>75</sup>

Dagens, 1994:260.

<sup>76</sup>

Sastri/Gadre, 1990: xxxviii, lxiv-lxxiv.

## 2.3 The Temples of King Rājendravarman

This chapter is a purely descriptive introduction to the two main temples this thesis deals with, East Mebon and Pre Rup. A more general introduction to Khmer temple architecture will be given first to set the temples in a wider context of layout and building materials. This is necessary because in subsequent chapters references will be made to earlier but also later temples to show how far the East Mebon and Pre Rup conform to the general model outlined here. Moreover, a short section regarding water management at Angkor is included. Water and its control was a significant part of the everyday life in Kambujadesa, but also of the cosmology.

### Khmer temple architecture

Khmer temples of the early periods are brick towers on platforms. They had a square, rectangular or, at Sambor Prei Kuk, octagonal chamber which housed either an image or a *linga*. Their exterior was elaborately decorated, consisting of stucco moulded onto the brickwork, and sandstone elements like the doorframes, windows, and sometimes the lintels, even though these were carved in brick and then plastered at various temples.

The early temples in the Angkor region have in common a characteristic style, which was introduced at the temples of Roluos and is called the style of Indravarman<sup>77</sup>. The sanctuary towers are generally made of brick and coated with stucco. Inserted into the brickwork were blocs of carved sandstone for the lintels, niches with guardian figures, and the doors. The square towers are in general single cell shrines with a four-tiered superstructure and one real door to the east and three false ones (Fig. 2.1). The guardian figures of the shrines dedicated to male ancestors were *devās*, holding a lance or trident, the *prasats* for female ancestors were guarded by *devatās* with fly-flaps or flowers. The complexity of the layout of the temples increased during that period as well, evolving from single towers towards complex compounds. Even though at Sambor Prei Kuk several sanctuaries were built within a common enclosure wall (Plan 2.1), they seem to have been individual *prasats*. Under King Indravarman, however, compounds were built where buildings relate to each other.<sup>78</sup> At the centre we find the sanctuaries – be they in rows as at Preah Ko, or a central one on top of a pyramid as at Bakong

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<sup>77</sup> Rémusat, 1933:190f.; for a detailed description see Parmentier, 1919:1-91.

– surrounded by subsidiary buildings, both halls and shrines, and concentric enclosure walls (Plan 2.2/2.3). The main axis of these temples runs east – west, with the east being the main direction.<sup>79</sup>

The building materials used for these early Khmer temples were laterite, the most important sandstone, brick, and for the decorations stucco. Laterite develops through “leaching followed by deposition”<sup>80</sup>, and forms a soil horizon. After being exposed to air, induration takes place. If cut into blocks, which can be done easily due to its soft consistency as a soil horizon, and kept well drained while exposed, ripe laterite will indurate in one to two seasons.<sup>81</sup> Laterite is very suitable for small gravity structures, e.g. walls, or single course block construction, such as stone-faced courtyards.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, because of its honeycomb structure it enables easy water drainage, and is a good deterrent to rising damp due to its low capillarity.<sup>83</sup> Because of all these characteristics, the Khmer used laterite for the enclosure walls, foundations, and in the early temples the pyramidal terraces and even whole buildings.

Sandstone, on the other hand, is a clastic sedimentary rock formed of sand grades of sediment, cemented into solid rock by silica (SiO<sub>2</sub>) or calcium carbonate (CaCO<sub>3</sub>).<sup>84</sup> Sandstone is generally granular, porous, and hard, and can be resistant to weathering, with the qualities being determined by the cementing material: if it is not silica but calcite or iron oxide the sandstone is more easily weathered<sup>85</sup> – as is the case at the Khmer temples. Sandstone is a very soft stone and can be carved almost like wood or ivory – e.g. at the great *stupa* at Sanchi in India one panel was donated by the guild of ivory-carvers of Vidisa.<sup>86</sup>

The third very important building material used in the early temples was brick which was readily available and could be produced in large quantities locally. The binding element was not mortar but vegetable glue, for which the recipe is so far unknown.<sup>87</sup> Usually, the brick and laterite parts of the temples were covered in plaster and stucco. Unfortunately, most of the

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<sup>78</sup> Earlier exceptions exist, like Ak Yum built in a quincunx and dating from the pre-Angkor period.  
<sup>79</sup> Even though the East seems to have been the most important direction in earlier periods as well, sanctuaries were not necessarily oriented east. For instance, at Sambor Prei Kuk sanctuaries were oriented towards all directions, and not necessarily in relation to each other.  
<sup>80</sup> Belhomme, 1918:17.  
<sup>81</sup> Persons, 1970:1ff.  
<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*:37f.  
<sup>83</sup> Sanday, 1997:86.  
<sup>84</sup> Strahler/Strahler, 1978:210ff.  
<sup>85</sup> Gabler/Sager/Wise, 1991:313ff, 402ff.  
<sup>86</sup> Mehta, 1980:1f.  
<sup>87</sup> The Italian restoration team at Pre Rup has been experimenting with various ingredients and amounts, and the combination used now consists of rock lime, sand, organic clay, brick powder, and cow glue (gelatine) in water.

stucco decoration has now disappeared, but from what remains it seems that the lowest layer of plaster, which was moulded to form the decorations, was quite coarse. A second less coarse layer was applied and the finish was an almost watery layer of stucco (Fig. 2.2).

Closely related to the temples are the extensive water management structures at the Angkor capital district, i.e. the *barays*, moats, and canals. Initially, they were interpreted as irrigation structures, a hypothesis developed to its fullest by B.-P. Grolier<sup>88</sup>, who developed a complex theory about how large an area the *barays* could irrigate to support how many people. However, the concept of the hydraulic city has been disregarded over the years, and at present long-term research on this issue is conducted by a multi-disciplinary team, the Greater Angkor Project. The preliminary conclusion suggests that the intricate system of canals, which surrounds and includes the water management structures at the capital district, was for among other purposes irrigation. The system seems to have been very similar to what we find in other parts of Southeast Asia, small scale, and locally organised. This might also be the reason for lack of mention in the inscriptions, because once the large structures were built, the central government did not oversee the use anymore.<sup>89</sup> Irrigation was only one purpose amongst others, those being both practical, like flood-control and drainage, and religious, as clearly evidenced in the inscriptions of the time.<sup>90</sup>

#### The layout of King Rājendravarman's capital

In this brief section the layout of King Rājendravarman's capital shall be described. This will serve two purposes. Firstly, it will familiarise the reader with the wider setting of the two temples, and relate them to their surroundings, of which they were part. Secondly, this information will be referred back to in the discussion of the physical and spiritual relationship between the two sites in chapter 7. Generally, the layout of a capital city is described in the Indian *śāstras*, which base the city grid on cosmology. At the centre is supposed to be Mount Meru, represented by the central temple, as the axis mundi, oriented along the cardinal directions. This temple, the

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However, whether this mixture is similar to the original one is not clear. Personal communication with Valter Santoro, responsible for the project, in July 2002.

<sup>88</sup> Grolier, 1979:161-202.

<sup>89</sup> Lecture given at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient Siem Reap by Prof. Roland Fletcher in January 2003.

Sāntamūrti temple, "grants happiness, long life, sound health to the people and victory and prosperity to the king of the country"<sup>91</sup>. The outflow of power towards the four directions is symbolised by four roads radiating out from the central temple.<sup>92</sup> This layout can be found at the capital of King Rājendravarman. Two causeways have been found north and east of Pre Rup (Fig. 2.3), both elevated as protection against flooding.<sup>93</sup> The one east of Pre Rup is 5.4 metres wide, made of laterite,<sup>94</sup> and continued after about 100 metres by an earthen one, and flanked by border stones (Fig. 2.4).<sup>95</sup> Near this causeway the remains of a brick structure and tiles were found, as well as a lion, similar to those at the outer eastern *gopura*. These finds prompted the scholars of the Conservation d'Angkor to assume the former existence of an additional *gopura*, perhaps of light material.<sup>96</sup> This is not necessarily the case, however, as the remains could originate from other types of buildings, but due to the lack of detailed information in the report, no hypothesis can be formulated answering this question. North of Pre Rup, another causeway was found made of sandstone and laterite slabs,<sup>97</sup> linking it with the southern dike of the *baray* (Fig. 2.5). Next to this causeway, a small laterite terrace was unearthed, as well as a small elevation, covered with tiles, and a brick structure of 80 centimetres depth. West of the causeway one statue of a *neak tā*, an ancestor spirit, albeit in bad condition, and sculpted sandstone blocks were discovered.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, on either side of the walkway two basins were exposed (Map 2.1<sup>99</sup>),<sup>100</sup> together with a sandstone pillar.<sup>101</sup> Regarding the tanks, these are not unusual for a Khmer settlement. As we know from excavations in other areas, satellite images, and Chou Ta-Kuan's account<sup>102</sup>, within Khmer villages a few families shared one tank for their household purposes. As can be seen in Map 4.1, the basins were located about 160 metres north of Pre Rup. The western tank seems to have been 65 x 54 metres in size, and the eastern one 60 x 30 metres, lined with laterite. These tanks do not necessarily date from King Rājendravarman's reign. Conversely, if they do, they might possibly be associated with Pre Rup

<sup>90</sup> For a direct comparison of the East Baray with the ocean surrounding Mount Meru see st. A:XIV of the Bat Chum inscription. Coëdès, 1908:228/239.

<sup>91</sup> Rao, 1997, I-1:25.

<sup>92</sup> Mayamata, X. Dagens, 1970:148-181.

<sup>93</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:179.

<sup>94</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1933:1.

<sup>95</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1929:590; 08/1930:7; 09/1930:11.

<sup>96</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1933:2f.

<sup>97</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 04/1932:4.

<sup>98</sup> Trouvè, 1932:72-83.

<sup>99</sup> Because of the large size of this map it is included separately inside the back cover of Volume 3 of this thesis.

<sup>100</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:180.

<sup>101</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 07/1934:3.

<sup>102</sup> Chou Ta-Kuan, 1987:section 37.

and be the water tank(s) every temple should have. Alternatively, they might have been part of the palace which could – or even should – have been located within the capital. Unfortunately, this issue cannot be solved conclusively until excavations have been carried out around Pre Rup, and those around the Phimeanakas, where the palace is traditionally assumed to have been, are finished.

The two main axes are also stressed by the fact that along both other buildings can be found. On the east-west axis, about 400 metres south of the dike of the *baray* and parallel to it, the temples of Prei Prasat, Prasat Komnap, Pre Rup, and Prasat Ong Mong can be found. Between Prasat Ong Mong and Pre Rup there seems to have existed a 'road', which might have been continued from Pre Rup to Prasat Komnap, where an earthen elevation can be discerned. Continuing the alignment of these four temples is Kutisvara, where King Rājendravarman founded images as well (Map 2.2). The difference of the distance of the central sanctuaries of Kutisvara and Pre Rup from the dike is a mere 10 metres.<sup>103</sup>

The second axis is emphasized through the East Mebon due north of Pre Rup at the centre of the *baray*. Since both temples are nearly equally distant from the southern dike, it acts almost as a mirror, and intensifies the feeling of symmetry even more (Fig. 2.6).

Having put the East Mebon and Pre Rup in their wider context within the capital of King Rājendravarman, in the following the temples themselves will be described in detail, first the East Mebon, as it was consecrated earlier, followed by Pre Rup.

### 2.3.1 The East Mebon

The East Mebon was built by King Rājendravarman as his first great foundation after he had returned the capital to Angkor (Map Angkor<sup>104</sup>).

Dumarçay puts forward the hypothesis that the East Mebon was actually founded by King Yaśovarman.<sup>105</sup> According to him the first East Baray was smaller than the present one, with dikes of a height of two metres. The founder, who might not have been Yaśovarman, decided also to change the course of the Siem Rep river, a unique example in Khmer landscape

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<sup>103</sup> Trouvé, 1932:61-71.

<sup>104</sup> Because of the large size of this map, it will be included separately inside the back cover of Volume 3 of this thesis.

<sup>105</sup> Dumarçay/Royère, 2001:xxii.

changes. Furthermore, he states that at the centre of the *baray* a Mebon was built.<sup>106</sup> Under a later king, possibly Yaśovarman, the *baray* was enlarged – the south dike moved southwards – and the dikes heightened by 2.5 metres, so that the water level inside the *baray* rose by about two metres, submerging the temple. At that time the inscriptions of Yaśovarman were put up in their new locations. Finally, Rājendravarman built the East Mebon as we see it today.<sup>107</sup> However, this assumption is based on a mistranslation of st. CCLXIX of the Pre Rup inscription, which Coedès translates as “In the tank of Yaśodhara established by Śrī Yaśovarman, this active king caused to appear a meritorious work which was yet invisible.”<sup>108</sup> What the stanza in fact means is “In the tank of Yaśodhara established by Śrī Yaśovarman, this active king showed visually the *dharma* which was invisible [the East Mebon].”<sup>109</sup> Thus it was not the temple which was invisible, but the *dharma*, made visible in the form of the East Mebon. Regrettably, Dumarçay’s hypotheses are not supported by substantial evidence, whereas there is evidence to support King Rājendravarman as founder.

Firstly, this is mentioned in various inscriptions. For instance, st. VIII of the stele of Romduol, probably written between the founding of the East Mebon and the founding of Pre Rup, proclaims: “[h]aving restored Yaśodharapura, he [Rājendravarman] erected in the pond of Yaśodhara five gods in five sanctuaries, riveting with stucco.”<sup>110</sup> St. XV of the inscription of Kuk Sla Ket states: “Of the Yaśodharatatāka, filled with the water of his good deeds, he made a mirror, making it possible to see the *dharma* that one had not yet seen.”<sup>111</sup> This stanza is very similar to stanza CCLXIX of the Pre Rup inscription mentioned above. A different kind of evidence for King Rājendravarman as the founder of the East Mebon is the temple itself. In its present state it is impossible to determine whether the island had been enlarged or not. Looking at the landing terraces and the platform surrounding the outer enclosure wall there is no enlargement discernible. Moreover, architecturally and stylistically, the buildings we find nowadays are very similar to the ones at other temples of Rājendravarman’s reign, most significantly Pre Rup. Hence, even if one assumes there had been an earlier foundation, what we see now is the deed of King Rājendravarman.

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<sup>106</sup> Dumarçay, 2001:37.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.:38.

<sup>108</sup> IC I:101/138.

<sup>109</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>110</sup> IC II:59/60.

<sup>111</sup> IC V:121/122.

The East Mebon was erected on an artificial island made of laterite blocs in the middle of the East Baray and consecrated on January 28<sup>th</sup> 953 CE<sup>112</sup>. Its layout shows the characteristics of a Khmer temple of the Angkor period: two concentric enclosures and a central platform with five towers in a quincunx. This shape of a stepped pyramid in the middle of a *baray* resembles the description of the universe and the placement of Mount Meru as given in the Indian texts. This likeness to Mount Meru is referred to in, e.g. the Bat Chum inscription: "In the middle of this ocean, which is the sacred pond of Yaśodhara, on a mountain erected by him, a summit like the one of Meru, covered with *prasats*, palaces, houses and joy, he erected a Viriñca, a Devī, an Īśa, a Śārṅgin, and a *liṅga* of Śiva."<sup>113</sup>, and in another stanza the same inscription says: "At the centre of the pond of Yaśodhara, on a mountain enflamed by Śrī, resembling Meru, he erected ..."<sup>114</sup>. The East Mebon was restored between 1935 and 1939 by H. Marchal and M. Glaize.

#### Layout and decoration

The East Mebon consists of two concentric enclosures on a terrace and is oriented towards the east (Plan East Mebon<sup>115</sup>, Plan 2.4-6, Fig. 2.7). The first enclosure<sup>116</sup> and also the central platform are not at the centre of the island, but placed slightly to the west on the east-west axis. The decoration of the East Mebon is in the style of Indravarman, mainly at and around the doors and in interpilaster spaces, with exquisitely carved lintels and doors. The following description follows the path a devotee would have taken to reach the central sanctuary, from the outermost to the innermost areas, and in a clock-wise direction around them.

#### Outer enclosure

The 6.45-meter wide outer terrace has four landing stages of equal size, 6.45 metres wide and 5.55 metres deep (Plan 2.7), at the cardinal directions. The outer terrace, which is 120 meters square, rises four metres above the bottom of the *baray*, and the base of the *gopuras* is six metres higher than the surroundings<sup>117</sup> (Fig. 2.8). The laterite terrace is plain; the only

<sup>112</sup> Golzio, 2003:179. Usually, the date of the consecration of the East Mebon is given as 952 CE. However, a close examination has shown that in fact it falls in the year 953 CE.

<sup>113</sup> A:XIV. Cœdès, 1908:228/239.

<sup>114</sup> C:XXV. Ibid.:235/250; the rest of the stanza is damaged.

<sup>115</sup> To ensure easy use, this plan will be included separately inside the back cover of Volume 3 of this thesis.

<sup>116</sup> The numbering of the enclosures starts at the centre, being the first one, and then progresses outwards.

<sup>117</sup> Rapports sur les travaux exécutés dans le groupe d'Angkor, February 1937 (in the following Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1937):4.

decoration being four sandstone elephants (Fig. 2.9) placed diagonally at the corners. Entrance to the second enclosure is through four identical cruciform *gopuras*<sup>118</sup> inserted into the 2.05 metre high laterite wall at the cardinal directions. All *gopuras* (Fig. 2.10) show the same building technique: the lowest layer is laterite, followed by one layer of carved sandstone. The walls are built of laterite and only the topmost layer is carved sandstone again. On top of this a wooden roof construction was added, covered with ceramic tiles. All 2 Gops consisted of one main entrance (the opening of the doors being about 2.10 x 1.10 metres<sup>119</sup>) and two side entrances (their door openings are about 1.65 x 0.8 metres). Inside, the *gopuras* were divided into three chambers: a main one with sandstone windows with five balusters next to its entries, and two side chambers with doors but no windows (Fig. 2.11). Sandstone portals linked these three rooms, and their floor was made of brick. Originally the *gopuras* had lintels above the outer and inner entrances, but none of them remains. Due to its function as the main entrance, the eastern *gopura* is set back a little, its steps being 1.3 metres from the steps leading up from the landing stage, whereas the steps of the other *gopuras* form almost continuous stairs with the steps from the landing stages.

The second enclosure contains sixteen halls<sup>120</sup>, parallel to the enclosure wall, in a symmetrical arrangement. All the halls show several common characteristics: their walls and foundations are built of laterite, and they all contain certain sandstone elements, such as the doorframes, windows with balusters and frames carved at the outside<sup>121</sup>, and the columns of their vestibules.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, they were covered by a wooden roof with ceramic tiles (Fig. 2.12); the monthly restoration reports of the Conservation d'Angkor mention these tiles, or fragments of them, in great numbers.<sup>123</sup> In the following every hall is described individually.

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<sup>118</sup> The four outer *gopuras* will in the following be called 2 Gop E (for east), 2 Gop S (for south), 2 Gop W (for west), and 2 Gop N (for north). See Plan 2.4, which shows the individual designations of all buildings.

<sup>119</sup> If measurements are given it is height x width, and east-west x north-south.

<sup>120</sup> These halls will subsequently be called M-a – M-r, M-a being the first building south of the east *gopura*, and the others following in a clock-wise direction.

<sup>121</sup> Windows are referred to in the French reports. One window is mentioned for M-d (Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1938:6), M-e (Rapport d'Angkor 08/1938:7), and M-r (Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1937:6). Two windows are mentioned for M-a (Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1938:4), M-h (Rapport d'Angkor 05/1938:9), and M-i (Rapport d'Angkor, 04/1938:5). For the side chambers of M-m and M-n no windows are mentioned, which was due to the bad condition of these halls (Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1938:6 and 02/1938:6).

<sup>122</sup> An overview of the features of these halls, which will be analysed in detail in chapters 4.2.1 and 7.2.2, is given in Table 4.1 and Table 7.2.

<sup>123</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1937–11/1938.

M-a (Fig. 2.13) has one layer of sandstone inserted in between its laterite foundation and the laterite wall; the top layer, into which the timber roof construction was set, is sandstone as well. Facing 2 Gop E is a vestibule consisting of one layer of sandstone on one layer of laterite and six carved sandstone columns. Entrance into the hall proper is through a sandstone portal. The interior space is subdivided into one main room with five windows, and one side chamber with two windows, all of them facing east. The floor of both vestibule and hall is of brick laid on the laterite foundation.

M-b (Fig. 2.14) is constructed entirely of laterite, and has one vestibule built into the enclosure, with a roof supported by four sandstone columns. The vestibule was linked to the hall by a door opening inwards. The hall is not subdivided and has three windows facing east, all containing five balusters, and a laterite floor.

M-c (Fig. 2.15), again a laterite building, has two vestibules facing north with four sandstone columns each. Entrance to the undivided interior was from both vestibules through doors opening inwards. The hall has three windows on its north, and five windows on its south side. None of the windows has balusters inserted, but seven sandstone slabs instead. These slabs are in a very bad condition, but from the frame it is obvious that they were placed there originally, and are not a later modification. The slabs of the westernmost of the southern windows show elaborate carvings at their outward facing side (Fig. 2.16), but because of their very bad condition it is impossible to say whether all slabs had been carved this way. The building's floor is made of laterite.

M-d (Fig. 2.17) is very similar to M-a, albeit smaller. Its vestibule, facing 2 Gop S, has one layer of sandstone above the laterite foundation and four sandstone columns, and entrance into the building is through a portal. The bottom and top layers of the laterite wall are carved sandstone. Its interior is subdivided into one main chamber with three windows, and one side chamber with one window, all facing south. The floor of both vestibule and hall is made of brick.

M-e (Fig. 2.18) is identical to M-d, apart from its orientation, its vestibule facing 2 Gop S as well, hence being oriented towards the east.

M-f (Fig. 2.19) is almost symmetrical to M-c. Again it has two vestibules with four sandstone columns each on its northern side and consists of just one large room which can be entered from the vestibules through doors opening inwards. Like M-c this hall contains three

windows on its northern and five on its southern side. All windows have five balusters (Fig. 2.20), not the sandstone slabs of M-c. The floor of vestibules and hall is made of laterite. Inside, the French researchers found a bronze *nāga* with three heads, a 5.6 cm high pestle, and a conch.<sup>124</sup>

M-g (Fig. 2.21), again a laterite building, has one vestibule with four sandstone columns at its eastern side, providing entrance into the undivided hall through a door. Next to the vestibule are two windows with five balusters. The floor consists of laterite.

M-h (Fig. 2.22) and M-i (Fig. 2.23) are identical, apart from their orientation, as both their vestibules face 2 Gop W. Both vestibules have a sandstone layer at the bottom and six sandstone columns for carrying the roof. The walls of the halls themselves have collapsed, but the sandstone layer inserted above the laterite foundation is still in place. Moreover, parts of the sandstone layer at the top still remain next to the buildings. The interior is subdivided into one main chamber with five windows and a side chamber which might have contained two windows, all facing east. The number of windows can be determined from the carvings of the sandstone layer onto which they were placed (Fig. 2.24). The floor of both halls is made of brick.

The buildings M-k to M-p are in very bad condition, and to determine what they looked like originally one has to examine what still remains in place, and the debris next to them<sup>125</sup>. Most of this consists of the top sandstone layer onto which the wooden roof construction was added, and a few balusters.

All that is left of M-k (Fig. 2.25) is its laterite foundation, parts of the sandstone doorframe, and the sandstone columns of its vestibule in the east. Due to lack of debris it is not possible to determine how many windows this building had. Judging from M-g however, it might be likely that M-k had two windows facing east as well.

M-l (Fig. 2.26) is in equally bad condition. It has two vestibules at its south side with four sandstone columns each and two doors linking them to the main hall. As at M-k there is not enough debris left to determine how many windows M-l had, nor where they were placed.

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<sup>124</sup>

Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1936:298.

<sup>125</sup>

If it was not possible for the restoration teams to put the original material back in place, e.g. because the building was too damaged, they placed it next to the building where it came from. This should ensure that everybody knew the origin of the material (Rapport d'Angkor, 12/1936:320). The lintels which could not be put up again were dealt with in a similar manner, and placed at the foot of the building they originate from (see for instance Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1940:4).

M-m (Fig. 2.27) nowadays consists of its laterite foundation, one layer of sandstone on top of it, and a brick floor. It has a vestibule with four sandstone columns facing 2 Gop N, and one layer of sandstone above the laterite foundation. Judging from the debris its roof was constructed on a sandstone layer. Looking at the carvings of the lower sandstone layer, and some of the frames still lying around, there was definitely one window in the southern wall of the side chamber, and one in the southern wall of the main room. The floor was covered with brick, which is still in situ.

M-n (Fig. 2.28) seems to have been very similar to M-m, with its vestibule with four sandstone columns facing 2 Gop N as well, and the floor covered with brick. Today it is in very bad condition, and the debris next to it is not very conclusive either. However, it seems M-n was very similar to M-m, again with a sandstone layer inserted between the laterite base and wall, and a sandstone layer on top. The number of its windows cannot be determined from the debris.

All that remains of M-o (Fig. 2.29) is its laterite foundation layer and two columns. The hall is somewhat exceptional, as there is no indication of vestibules in front of it. On the contrary, the columns seem to have been placed within the wall (Fig. 2.30). Unfortunately, there is no debris left at all, so the original look of the hall can only be inferred.<sup>126</sup>

M-p (Fig. 2.31) consists of its laterite foundation, parts of its sandstone doorframe and four columns of its vestibule. There is not sufficient debris left to determine the number of windows or their location.

M-r (Fig. 2.32) has a vestibule with six sandstone columns on one layer of laterite and one layer of sandstone facing 2 Gop E. Its walls show a sandstone layer as well, on which the windows were placed. The interior was subdivided and the floor covered with brick. The number of the windows cannot be determined with certainty, but it seems there were five in the main room, and two in the side chamber, all facing east. Around M-r several unusual features are visible. Firstly, there are five rows of five holes each between M-r and the inner terrace (Plan 2.8, Fig. 2.33), with an additional three holes at the base of the terrace, and two on top of it (Fig. 2.34). Secondly, there are two rows of four and five holes in between M-r and the inner vestibule of 2 Gop E, which are no longer discernible. All these structures might have been

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<sup>126</sup>

A very detailed analysis of this building will be given in chapter 4.2.1 and 7.2.2.

created for wooden posts, and are probably later modifications, as some of them actually damage the original hall M-r (Fig. 2.35).

#### Inner enclosure

Within the second enclosure rises the terrace of the first one, measuring about 80 by 60 metres and 2.25 metres high, with a 1.5 metre high laterite wall on top of it (Fig. 2.36). The enclosure wall is punctuated by four *gopuras* in the cardinal directions<sup>127</sup> (Fig. 2.37). They consist of laterite walls built on one layer of uncarved sandstone, and a brick superstructure. Entry is through sandstone doors with lintels<sup>128</sup> above. The lintels of 1 Gop E depict Indra on Airāvata in the east and Kṛṣṇa killing Kaliya in the west (Fig. 2.38). The lintels of the southern *gopura* are no longer in situ, and both are badly weathered. The motif of the southern one is no longer discernible, and the northern lintel might depict Kubera on two lions (Fig. 2.39). The lintels of 1 Gop W show Narasiṃha slaying the demon Haranyakaśipu in the east, and probably Varuṇa with a halter in his right hand on *kāla* in the west (Fig. 2.40). 1 Gop N has two lintels depicting Garuda (Fig. 2.41). Inside 1 Gop E the restoration team found a great number of tiles with a lotus petal design (Fig. 2.42) identical to the one used at Pre Rup<sup>129</sup>, which is a bit unexpected, as the inner *gopuras* seem not to have had wooden tiled roofs, while the outer ones do.

Within the first enclosure are eighteen buildings, which will be dealt with in three groups. The first group consists of five laterite buildings in the corners<sup>130</sup>. Four of them, M-B to E, are symmetrically arranged and face each other east-west, the fifth one, M-A, being placed north of the one in the southeast corner (Fig. 2.43-2.46). The buildings consist of one foundation layer of uncarved sandstone, laterite walls, and a brick superstructure. Remnants of the superstructure can still be seen at M-D and M-E (Fig. 2.47), and it is also mentioned in the French reports for M-A<sup>131</sup> even though it is no longer visible. M-B and M-C differ slightly from the three other laterite buildings, as they have a raised floor, and two sandstone layers leading up to the door (Fig. 2.48). All buildings have one door, M-A, M-B, and M-E towards the west, and M-C and M-D

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<sup>127</sup> The four inner *gopuras* will be called 1 Gop E (for East) and so on for the four cardinal directions.

<sup>128</sup> An overview of all the motifs depicted on the lintels in the inner enclosure is given in Table 2.1.

<sup>129</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1936:163.

<sup>130</sup> Subsequently these buildings will be called M-A – M-E, with M-A the building south of the east *gopura*, and the others following in a clock-wise direction.

towards the east, with a lintel inserted above them showing different central motifs surrounded by horizontal garlands and foliage. Those motifs are:

- M-A: deity, possibly Varuṇa, on a *kāla*
- M-B: not in situ, badly weathered and the central motif is no longer evident
- M-C: *deva* on *kāla*
- M-D: three lions
- M-E: Gajahlakṣmī (Fig. 2.49-2.53).

The sides opposite the doors are plain, both inside and outside. From the remains it seems none of the buildings had a ceiling. The floor appears to have been laterite, apart from M-A which clearly had a brick floor (Fig. 2.54). M-B might have had a brick floor as well, but that cannot be determined with certainty. During restoration works were found several images inside these buildings. M-A contained a pedestal, two images of Ganeśa, one 20 cm<sup>132</sup> the other 70 cm high, and a stone carved on both sides, one showing nine deities, the other what looks like seven *ṛṣis*<sup>133</sup>. This stone was placed on a sandstone slab parallel to the eastern wall, about one metre from it (Fig. 2.55). M-B contained a sandstone block with a carving of nine *devas* as well, placed in the same way as the one in M-A (Fig. 2.56).<sup>134</sup> Inside M-E were two stone fragments, and the fragment of an inscribed stele. Unfortunately, the report<sup>135</sup> does not give any more details about either of these objects. Nowadays there is a 2 x 2 metre hole inside M-E, which might indicate the placement of the stele (Fig. 2.57).

The second group of buildings consists of eight four to five metre high brick towers<sup>136</sup> surrounding the central pyramid, with two towers on each side next to the *gopuras*. The towers have a side length of 3 by 3 metres, and are built of brick on one layer of sandstone, with one door towards the east and three false doors on the other sides, carved in brick, and a superstructure probably four-tiered (Fig. 2.58). Inside, each had a wooden ceiling. During restoration work the French found some *liṅgas*, e.g. in M-1 and M-8<sup>137</sup>, and there are still

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<sup>131</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 1936:184.

<sup>132</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 04/1936:184.

<sup>133</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:200.

<sup>134</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:201.

<sup>135</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 06/1936:222.

<sup>136</sup> The towers will subsequently be called M-1 – M-8, with M-1 being the tower south of the east *gopura*, and the others following in clock-wise direction.

<sup>137</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1936:174.

pedestals in situ in towers M-1, 3 and 5. In addition to these bases, there are four in the central sanctuary, of which one still has the top layer, which identifies it as a *liriga*-base (Fig. 2.59). Although the towers are identical the central motifs of their lintels are not the same. Tower M-1 shows a Gajahsiṃha, towers M-2 and M-8 depict a central lion holding the garlands, and towers M-3 to M-7 show Indra on Airāvata, although in different variations (Fig. 2.60-2.67).

Within the first enclosure there are several other features worth mentioning. West of the northern steps of the inner platform, next to M-6, is a 1.04 metre high *bali pīṭha*. Its top is square and has alternating Garudas and *nāgas* carved at its sides, and a lotus flower on top (Fig. 2.68). The base of this object is 52 cm square. Near the bottom of the eastern, western and northern stairs leading to the central platform are indentations in the laterite. The eastern one measures 44 x 45 cm, and the western one 49 cm east-west. Unfortunately, its north-south dimension cannot be determined due to damage. The northern indentation is 45 cm square (Fig. 2.69-2.71). Although these indentations seem too small for the base of the *bali pīṭha*, which does not appear to have a tenon carved at its base small enough for these holes, one of them might have been intended for the *bali pīṭha*.

The last group of buildings in this enclosure is the central towers<sup>138</sup>, erected on a platform which is 2.75 metre high and 32 metres square, coated with carved sandstone (Fig. 2.72). The towers are arranged in a quincunx, and the central sanctuary is elevated on an additional 1.75 metre high base (Fig. 2.73). The *prasats* are built of brick on two layers of carved sandstone. Each has four sandstone doors, one real door towards the east, and three false ones, surmounted by a sandstone lintel with differing central motifs. All five *prasats* have a four-tiered superstructure with brick carvings, and once had wooden ceilings inside. On the two eastern and the central tower, male guardians are carved in the brick next to the doors, and the two western towers show *devatās*. The walls of the towers were originally plastered, with most of the decorative details moulded in stucco; hence the brick carvings visible today are merely outlines of the original decoration of the towers, which was probably quite elaborate. The lintels of M-CS show the guardians of the directions mounted on their *vāhanas*. Indra on a three-headed

Airāvata in the east, Yāma on his buffalo in the south, Varuṇa on a *haṃsa* in the west, and Kubera on a lotus-throne in the north (Fig. 2.74). The corner towers divert from this pattern, except in the east where they all seem to depict Indra on Airāvata. The eastern lintel of M-SE is very badly weathered, but the central motif might be Indra on Airāvata as well. In the other directions are depicted Yāma on a buffalo in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and a lion on an elephant in the north (Fig. 2.75). At M-SW the southern lintel is completely weathered, and in the north Kubera is represented on a three-headed lion (Fig. 2.76). The lintels of M-NW show a *deva*, possibly Yāma, on a lion in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and Indra on Airāvata in the north (Fig. 2.77). M-NE depicts in the south two lions, in the west a *kinnara*, and in the north Garuda (Fig. 2.78).

St. CCXVIII<sup>139</sup> of the Mebon inscription mentions the dedications of the five towers: they were consecrated to the *līṅga* Śrī Rājendreśvara, accompanied by images of Śauri, Gaurī, Giriśa, and Brahmā. The placement of these images will be discussed in chapter 6.1.

At the base of CS, between NE and SE, two large pedestals can be seen. The southern one (Fig. 2.79) is 1.8 metres square and 90 cm high, and, although broken, was clearly meant for a *līṅga*, which can be seen at the top layer which contains an octagonal hole. North of this pedestal and due east of the central *prasat* is a rectangular base, 2 x 1.2 metres, and 44 cm high (Fig. 2.80) which probably bore a statue of *nandin*. East of these pedestals carved in the sandstone platform are three indentations (Plan 2.9, Fig. 2.81). The western one measures 1.1 x 1.03 metres, the northeast one 88 x 84 cm, and the southeast one 95 x 100 cm.

### 2.3.2 Pre Rup

Pre Rup was built by King Rājendravarman at the centre of his new capital and consecrated in 961 CE. The temple lies about 500 metres south of the south dike of the East Baray and due south of the East Mebon, to which it is very similar, though larger. Its modern name, which caused much confusion about the temple's original purpose, is interpreted as 'turning the

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<sup>138</sup> The abbreviations for these towers will be: M-CS for the central sanctuary, M-SE for the southeast, M-SW for the southwest, M-NW for the northwest, and M-NE for the northeast towers respectively.  
<sup>139</sup> Finot, 1925:331/352.

corpse', indicating a funerary ritual during which the corpse is turned to all cardinal directions.<sup>140</sup>  
This issue will be dealt with in chapter 3.2.2.

### Layout and decoration

The temple consists of two enclosures and a stepped pyramid with three terraces at the centre (Plan Pre Rup<sup>141</sup>, Plan 2.10-12, Fig. 2.82). It is oriented towards the east; the central sanctuary and first enclosure are placed slightly to the west of the centre of the east-west axis. The style of the decoration is very similar to that of the East Mebon, albeit not in as good a condition. The lintels are very richly decorated and depict Hindu deities. In niches next to the doors of the five *prasats* are carved guardians: *devās* on the central and eastern and *devatās* on the western towers. Pre Rup was restored by H. Marchal and G. Trouvé between 1930 and 1935. The following description will again start at the outermost part, moving inside and around in a clockwise direction.

### Outer enclosure

The wall of the second enclosure is about 120 by 130 meters long<sup>142</sup> and is pierced by four almost identical cruciform entrance *gopuras*<sup>143</sup> (Fig. 2.83). They are built on a foundation of two laterite layers, with the main structure made of brick, and two open sandstone vestibules along the main axes. Each has one central entrance with two side chambers, and an additional passageway at either side. The two side chambers of the main entrance of 2 Gop E have two windows each with five balusters, which were replaced by false windows facing outwards at the three other *gopuras* (Fig. 2.84), emphasising the fact that 2 Gop E is the main entrance. The inner spaces of all four *gopuras* could be locked by doors below the inner lintels, and at the side entrances. Hence each *gopura* consisted of three rooms: the main one with additional side chambers, and two open vestibules (Fig. 2.85). Originally, all *gopuras* had four lintels each on the main axis, one above each of the outer entrances, and one above the entrances to the inner chamber. Unfortunately, most of these lintels are no longer in situ, but in the following a

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<sup>140</sup> Aymonier, 1904:5f.

<sup>141</sup> For easy use, this plan is included separately inside the back cover of Volume 3 of this thesis.

<sup>142</sup> Glaize, 1993:201.

<sup>143</sup> The four *gopuras* will subsequently be called 2 Gop E (for east) and so on, following a clock-wise direction. See Plan 2.8 for the designations of the individual buildings.

description will be given of those still in place, and also the ones lying on the ground.<sup>144</sup> 2 Gop E has only the inner eastern lintel left in situ. At the bottom the head of a *kāla* can be seen, so it is probable that on top of it a deity was shown. The outer eastern lintel is on the floor now, broken in two pieces. The central motif shows a kneeling Indra above foliage scrolls. The western lintels are no longer in situ. The inner one depicts Varuṇa on a *kāla*, and the outer one shows Varuṇa on *haṃsa* (Fig. 2.86). 2 Gop S is in very bad condition, and no lintels are found in situ. From the southern lintels only the outer one exists and probably shows a deity on a *kāla*. The inner northern lintel is lying upside down at the bottom of the door and its central motif no longer visible. The badly damaged outer lintel is at the base of the *gopura*, and the central motif seems to depict Kubera (Fig. 2.87). 2 Gop W still has all four lintels, even though one is on the floor. On the western side, there is a devotee on *kāla* on the inner lintel, and on the outer one Indra on Airāvata. The outer eastern lintel shows a deity, probably Indra, on a *kāla*, the inner one – on the ground – is badly weathered, but seems to depict Indra on Airāvata (Fig. 2.88). Of 2 Gop N all four lintels still exist, two of them in situ, and all badly damaged. The inner northern one might depict a *kāla*, and the outer one, lying upside down on the floor, Kubera. The central motif of the inner southern lintel is impossible to identify. The outer southern lintel is at the base and badly weathered, but it may depict a *kāla* (Fig. 2.89).

Within the second enclosure one can distinguish two groups of buildings. The first one consists of eight halls<sup>145</sup> parallel to the inner enclosure wall, built on a 9.2 metre wide laterite platform around the wall (Fig. 2.90-2.95). These halls are all built of laterite, with wooden roofs, which no longer exist. Moreover, each of their vestibules consists of one layer of sandstone and usually four carved sandstone columns supporting the roof. Although some of the buildings are badly damaged it is possible to say that they all had windows with five balusters on the outside, the number of them varying between three (PR-c and PR-f) and possibly five (PR-b and PR-g). Two exceptions in this group of halls are PR-d and PR-e (Fig. 2.96/97), parallel to the western wall. Neither building has vestibules on either end, but only one facing the *gopura*, the other one was closed to form a small side chamber. Moreover, they have windows on each side, three on

<sup>144</sup>

An overview of the lintel motifs depicted in the outer enclosure is given in Table 2.2.

<sup>145</sup>

These buildings will be called PR-a, starting with the one at the southeast corner, to PR-h in a clockwise direction. Their architectural details, which will be discussed in chapter 4.2.2 and 7.2.3, can be found in Tables 4.2 and 7.4.

either side in the main room, and one on either side in the side chamber. The remaining vestibule is larger than those of the other halls, with six columns supporting the roof, not just four. Another difference is that both halls have a sandstone layer on top of the laterite wall on which the roof was placed. This sandstone layer had been substituted for a laterite layer, hence the overall height of all buildings is the same. The roof was added using the same technique as at the buildings made entirely of laterite (Fig. 2.98).

The second group of buildings is the five large brick towers on the eastern side of the enclosure<sup>146</sup>. They are built in two groups of two towers in the north and three in the south part of the enclosure on common laterite platforms of six layers. The side towers are erected on two additional uncarved layers of sandstone, whereas the central ones (PR-II and PR-IV) have four sandstone layers, hence are higher overall (Fig. 2.99). The superstructure of all *prasats* is built of brick, with sandstone having been used for the doors and lintels. That the towers are unfinished is clearly visible at the lintels, which show various stages of completion, with only the eastern ones almost finished. The motifs depicted on the eastern lintels are the following: PR-I seems to show Vajimukha. PR-II depicts Viṣṇu on his *vāhana* Garuda, PR-III Rāma on Hanuman, PR-IV Indra on Airāvata, and PR-V Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Narasiṃha slaying Haranyakaśipu (Fig. 2.100-2.104). Apart from PR-IV all the lintels show Viṣṇuite motifs, but because of the lack of images in the cellas or an inscription it is not possible to determine whether they were dedicated to Viṣṇu, or just depict this god for other reasons. The towers are not mentioned in the Pre Rup inscription, and because of their unfinished state are assumed in the literature to be later additions. This issue will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.2.2, and 7.2.3.

#### Inner enclosure

The inner enclosure is built on a two metre high terrace, with a two metre high wall (Fig. 2.105), measuring 84 metres east-west and 72 metres north-south<sup>147</sup>, and containing four square *gopuras*<sup>148</sup>. The eastern and western *gopuras* have additional passageways on either side,

<sup>146</sup> The five towers will in the following be called PR-I to PR-V, from the northernmost to the southernmost tower.

<sup>147</sup> Lunet de Lajonquiere, 1911:217.

<sup>148</sup> These *gopuras* will afterwards be called 1 Gop E (for east) and so on for the different cardinal directions.

whereas the northern and southern ones consist of just one main entrance, the side ones being replaced by false windows facing outside. All *gopuras* are built from brick on one layer of sandstone and two layers of laterite, with the side passageways of the east and west *gopuras* built on a sandstone base (Fig. 2.106/107). Both 1 Gop E and W have sandstone vestibules added at the outside (Fig. 2.108). All the *gopuras* had inward opening doors, and 1 Gop E and W had doors at their side entrances. Hence, the inner enclosure as well as the inner spaces of the *gopuras* could be closed. All *gopuras* contained lintels<sup>149</sup> over their entrances, of which a few remain. Both east lintels of 1 Gop E show Indra on Airāvata. The western lintel is lying on the floor and depicts Varuṇa on *haṃsas*. The *gopura* also had lintels over its side entrances, the northern one no longer exists, and the southern one shows Indra on Airāvata (Fig. 2.109). Both lintels of 1 Gop S are no longer in situ and show a *deva* on *kāla* (Fig. 2.110). The lintels of 1 Gop W depict Indra on Airāvata in the east. The inner western one, lying on the floor inside the vestibule, depicts Varuṇa on *haṃsa*, and the outer western one, which is badly weathered, might have shown a *kāla*. As the eastern *gopura*, this one also had lintels above the side entrances, probably depicting a deity on *kāla* (Fig. 2.111). 1 Gop N still has both lintels, the southern one depicting a deity on a *kāla*, and the northern one a scene which looks like a dancing deity (Fig. 2.112). A similar looking lintel in the Koh Ker style is in the Phimai Museum (Fig. 2.113), originating from Muang Khaek. The Phimai lintel clearly depicts Trivikrama, so the Pre Rup one might have depicted the same motif, albeit in less elaborate detail.

The first enclosure contains 30 buildings, which will be described in four groups. The first group is the ten halls built parallel to the enclosure wall<sup>150</sup>. All the halls are laterite buildings with sandstone elements: the vestibule with its columns, doors and portals, the balustered windows, and the interior subdivisions. The window frames are carved at the outside, but are plain on the inside. Entrance into the halls is from their vestibules through a 2 x 1 metre large door opening inwards. Inside, all halls are subdivided by 1.8 metre high and equally wide sandstone portals

<sup>149</sup>  
<sup>150</sup>

An overview of the lintels in the inner enclosure is given in Table 2.3.

The halls will consequently be called PR-A, starting with the hall south of the eastern *gopura*, up to PR-K in a clockwise direction. An overview of their details, analysed in chapter 4.2.2 and 7.2.3, is provided in Table 4.2 and 7.3.

into two side and one main room with a laterite floor. The side rooms seem to have had lower walls than the main room. A wooden beamwork roof with ceramic tiles covered all halls.<sup>151</sup>

PR-A's (Fig. 2.114) vestibule consists of one layer of sandstone and six columns. The windows are all on the eastern side, facing the enclosure wall, with one window with three balusters in each side room, and three windows with five balusters in the main room.

PR-B (Fig. 2.115), the longest of the halls, shows several unusual features, shared only by PR-C. The vestibule, constructed on one layer of laterite and one layer of sandstone, is not added along its long axis, but on its northern side at the centre of the main room. Its roof is supported by only four columns. This reduction in size seems to be necessitated by the hall's proximity to the central pyramid. A larger vestibule would have reduced the space left between the building and the base of the pyramid. The main room has on its northern side eight windows, and on the southern side nine. The two side rooms contain one window each, opposite the entrance, which is carved not only on the outside but on the inside as well. All windows have five balusters. Both side rooms seem to have been open with a portal. The main room could be closed by three doors, one to each of the side rooms, and one to the vestibule. Within PR-B the French found a pestle and a roller ( $\varnothing$  11.5 cm, 35 cm long)<sup>152</sup>.

PR-C (Fig. 2.116) is very similar to PR-B, albeit smaller. Its vestibule is built in the north on one layer of laterite and one layer of sandstone, with four columns carrying the roof. The main room has four windows facing north, and five facing south. Again, the side chambers have only one window, and show the same 'open' conception as in PR-B. All windows have five balusters, and the two in the side chambers are carved on both the inside and outside. The main room can be locked by three doors, in the same way as PR-B (Fig. 2.117).

PR-D (Fig. 2.118) and PR-E (Fig. 2.119) are similar buildings, both facing 1 Gop W. Both vestibules are erected on one layer of sandstone with six columns supporting the roof. Their inner space is subdivided into one main and two side rooms each of which contains one window facing east at the centre. The main room's window has five, the side rooms' three balusters. Entrance to both halls is through doors from the vestibule. Inside PR-D, the French found a stone pestle and roller (28 cm long), and five wheels with six spokes each, made from flat

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<sup>151</sup> A large number of tiles was found by the team of the Conservation d'Angkor during the restoration, e.g. at PR-A (Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1933:2/3).

<sup>152</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 12/1932:2.

iron<sup>153</sup>. PR-D is also the only hall with a brick floor (Fig. 2.120), although PR-E might have had a brick floor as well. Unfortunately, because of the condition of the hall this cannot be said with certainty.

PR-F (Fig. 2.121) and PR-G (Fig. 2.122) show the same features as PR-D and -E, even though PR-F is longer, and PR-G shorter than the two other buildings. Both buildings' vestibules face 1 Gop N.

PR-H (Fig. 2.123) has a 4.75 metre wide vestibule at the centre of its southern side built 2.3 metres into the courtyard. The hall can be entered through an open portal, supporting the roof with four columns, built on one layer of laterite and one layer of sandstone, with both layers functioning as steps. It does not seem to have contained windows or doors. The foundation stele was found in this hall, measuring 2.65 x 1.3 metres, with a thickness of 15 cm. It was inscribed on both sides, 66 lines à 1.25 metres on each which add up to an astounding 175 metres of inscription. Around the stele five smaller pieces of inscriptions were found, but no details are given about these in the reports of the Conservation d'Angkor.<sup>154</sup>

PR-I (Fig. 2.124) is a very unusual building, built entirely from laterite. It is 2.7 metres square and 3.2 metres high<sup>155</sup>, and contains a sandstone indentation with a water outlet towards the east. Three laterite monoliths form each of its four corners. It is open on all four sides and has two steps on both the southern and western sides, but none in the north (Fig. 2.125).

PR-K (Fig. 2.126) shows all the features of PR-A, the only difference being the orientation of the vestibule towards the south.

The second group consists of only two buildings<sup>156</sup>, usually called 'libraries' (Fig. 2.127/128). They were built parallel to the six centimetre elevated walkway linking 1 Gop E and the eastern stairs of the pyramid. The brick buildings were erected on two plain layers of sandstone, with one real door facing the pyramid and a false one carved in brick on the eastern side. Both buildings have on their north and south sides three rows of openings, with eight, eight, and ten holes starting from the top (Fig. 2.129). In PR-N the French found the feet and

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<sup>153</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 12/1933:3.

<sup>154</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1934:2/3.

<sup>155</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1922:152.

<sup>156</sup> They will in the following be called PR-N and PR-S for the northern and southern building respectively.

tenon of a statue<sup>157</sup>, which are still there, and a 90 centimetre high *linga*, its three parts being 30 cm each<sup>158</sup>. At present there is also an elongated sandstone slab (Fig. 2.130), however, due to the bad state it is in, the original purpose is difficult to determine. Moreover, the building contains a *linga* base with *yoni*, 45 centimetres square and 25 high (Fig. 2.131). Inside PR-S the French found a laterite slab (2.00 x 0.48 metres) carrying a carved sandstone block depicting the seven ascetics.<sup>159</sup> This block, 2.8 x 0.2 metres, can still be seen today, however it is made from sandstone (Fig. 2.132). Originally, a lintel was placed over the buildings' doors, but neither of them remains in situ. The lintel of PR-N is badly weathered. The French identified it as Brahmā on *hamsa*<sup>160</sup>. However, given that the door faces west, it is more likely that the deity depicted was Varuṇa on *hamsa*. The lintel of PR-S depicts Varuṇa on three lions (Fig. 2.133).

Two more features need mentioning here. At the bottom of the east staircase of the pyramid is a rectangular sandstone feature, 3.7 x 2.3 metres, which is a *nandin* base (Fig. 2.134). At the bottom of the northeast corner of the central pyramid is a very unusual feature. The laterite blocks of the floor are not laid parallel to the halls, but in a clearly distinguishable rectangle, 1.25 metres wide and 3.5 metres long (Fig. 2.135). During the restoration process, the laterite of the floor was only cleaned but not removed, hence this element must be original, as it is properly set into the surrounding floor. The reason for this unusual placement of the laterite blocks is not clear, as they do not seem to be the base for an image or other sculpture.

The main element of the inner enclosure is the stepped pyramid, measuring 46 metres square at the bottom, and 34 metres square at the top<sup>161</sup>, with three terraces of different heights: the lowest is 6.4 metres, the second three, and the third 2.9 metres high. The terraces have staircases at the centre of the four sides, which are flanked by seated lions on either side at every level. The pyramid is built of laterite blocks and only the topmost layer is faced by carved sandstone (Fig. 2.136).

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<sup>157</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:4.

<sup>158</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:5.

<sup>159</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1932:2.

<sup>160</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:5.

<sup>161</sup> Lunet de Lajonquiere, 1911:214.

The third group of buildings consists of twelve small towers<sup>162</sup> on the lowest terrace. They are built of brick on one layer of uncarved sandstone, with a side length of 2 metres. Their superstructure is now missing, but the original height of their four storeys might have been between three and four metres (Fig. 2.137/138). They have one door facing east, with an opening of 85 x 44 centimetres, and three false ones carved in brick. At present, PR-1 and 6 contain *liriga* bases, and PR-2 and 5 bases for images. This issue will be discussed in detail in chapters 5.2.3 and 6.1. Each of the towers has a lintel with differing central motifs over the 0.8 metre high door. The four eastern towers, PR-1, PR-2, PR-11 and PR-12 depict Indra on Airāvata (Fig. 2.139-2.142). Towers PR-4 to PR-8 and PR-10 show a *kāla* (Fig. 2.143-2.148), and only PR-3 and PR-9 are in such bad condition that they no longer contain lintels at all (Fig. 2.149/150). The lintel of PR-3 was found by the team of the Conservation d'Angkor, and is now in the Conservation d'Angkor in Siem Reap. It clearly shows a *kāla* (Fig. 2.151).

The fourth group of buildings consists of the five sanctuaries<sup>163</sup> on top of the pyramid (Fig. 2.152), built of brick on three layers of carved sandstone, with a four-tiered *vimāna*. The *prasats* are arranged in a quincunx, with the central sanctuary on an additional four meter high double sandstone base. Unlike at East Mebon, most of the lintels of the central *prasats* are in a very bad condition, and the motifs are no longer recognisable. The central sanctuary only has the northern lintel left intact which shows Indra on Airāvata (Fig. 2.153). This placement is unusual, as Indra is the guardian of the east. The lintels of PR-SE portray Indra on Airāvata in the east, and Kubera on *kāla* in the north (Fig. 2.154). The only central motif of the lintels of PR-SW still visible is the southern one showing three lions below Yāma seated on a three-headed bull (Fig. 2.155). The eastern lintel of PR-NW represents Indra on Airāvata, the western one might show a *kāla*, and the northern one a *kāla* as well (Fig. 2.156). The eastern lintel of PR-NE shows Indra on Airāvata, and the northern one might depict Garuda (Fig. 2.157). Although it is badly damaged, a hand, palm facing outwards, can be clearly seen at the centre. Usually, Garuda is depicted in this stance hence it is assumed that originally the lintel showed him.

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<sup>162</sup> Subsequently they will be called PR-1 to PR-12, starting with the one south of the eastern stairs, and the others following in a clock-wise direction.

<sup>163</sup> The *prasats* will consequently be called PR-CS the central sanctuary, PR-SE the southeast tower, PR-SW the southwest tower, PR-NW the northwest tower, and PR-NE the northeast tower.

The dedication of the towers is mentioned in st. CCLXXVII to st. CCLXXI of the Pre Rup foundation stele. St. CCLXXVII mentions the *linga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara, founded in the central *prasaḍ*, and the four images of Gaurī, Śaurī and Īśvara. St. CCLXXVIII gives PR-SE, the region of Agni, as the location of Īśvara Rājendravarṃeśvara, and the following three stanzas mention Rājendraviśvarūpa as an image of Viṣṇu, an image of Umā for Jayadevī, the king's maternal aunt, and Īśvara Rājendravarṃadeveśvara commemorating Śrī Harśavarman. The placement of these images will be discussed in chapter 6.2.

One more feature needs mentioning here. In front of the central sanctuary is a slight indentation in the floor (1.83 x 0.9 metres), which seems to have been the location for an additional *nandin*-base (Fig. 2.158). To have two *nandins* placed outside the inner sanctum is not unusual, and can be seen in Indian temples as well (Fig. 2.159). Unfortunately, neither the base of the *nandin* nor the image itself, which might have been cast from bronze, remains.

### 3. Methodological Considerations

After having examined in detail the most important issues dealt with in the present thesis in the previous chapter, in this one an appraisal of the theoretical background is given. The first part will deal briefly with the research undertaken by the French scholars since the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is necessary because the material published by the French forms the background of the present study, and has to be evaluated critically in order to determine the degree of its reliability. The second part of the chapter deals in detail with Philippe Stern's theory classifying the temples into ancestor and state temples, and temple mausoleums, as this is the central issue being examined. The third part evaluates the methodology used by the author in order to move beyond what has been said about the temples so far. In this chapter the methodologies will be introduced in a somewhat broad and general way, with a more specific and detailed analysis in the chapters to follow, making specific reference to what is being dealt with in the respective section of the thesis.

#### 3.1 The Development of Cambodian Studies

Ever since Angkor and the other temples in Cambodia were rediscovered in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the French, whose colony Cambodia was at the time, conducted the majority of the research on these buildings. Although several early publications dealt with Cambodia in a very broad manner, e.g. Aymonier's *Le Cambodge*<sup>1</sup>, or Lajonquiere's *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*<sup>2</sup>, most accounts reflect the disciplinary interests of the respective scholars.

In the discipline of epigraphy<sup>3</sup> the first Sanskrit inscription was deciphered by Hendrik Kern in 1879, and between 1882 and 1885 Abel Bergaigne and Auguste Barth transcribed and translated a multitude of inscriptions and published them in Barth's *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*<sup>4</sup>, and Bergaigne's *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*<sup>5</sup>, and *Inscriptions Sanscrites du*

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<sup>1</sup> Aymonier, E. (1900, 1901, 1904) *Le Cambodge*. 3 Vols. Ernest Leroux, Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Lunet de Lajonquière, E. (1902, 1907, 1911) *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*. 3 Vols. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 4, 8, 9. École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

<sup>3</sup> The focus here will be on the Sanskrit epigraphy, since this is what is being dealt with in the present study. With respect to inscriptions written in ancient Khmer the development took a slightly different form.

<sup>4</sup> Barth, A. (1885) *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.

*Cambodge*<sup>5</sup>, all of them published in 1885. This work was continued from 1903 onwards by Louis Finot, joined in 1906 by George Coédès. Coédès translated most of the inscriptions of Kambujadesa – both in Sanskrit and old Khmer, and in addition to those printed in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* published between 1937 and 1966 the eight volumes of the *Inscriptions du Cambodge*<sup>7</sup>, which contain both Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions.

With respect to the examination of the temples themselves various scholars were influential. Henri Parmentier, an architect, made a close analysis of the technical aspects of the architectural features. Questions of style and architectural origins were examined by Philippe Stern, Pierre Dupont and Gilberte de Coral-Rémusat, and the sculpture by Jean Boisselier, continued by Madelaine Giteau. One of the most significant publications in this field was Ph. Stern's *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Évolution de l'Art Khmer – Étude et Discussion de la Chronologie des Monuments Khmers*<sup>8</sup>, in which he developed the chronology of the temples which has been followed until the present day. This chronology is based on style, not technique, and thus brings with it some problems regarding the dating of some temples. However, overall this work was a breakthrough for the architectural study of Khmer temples. George Coédès and Philippe Stern were also among the few scholars who attempted to combine analysis of the architecture and the epigraphic material in their interpretations of the temples. Ph. Stern's most significant publications in this field are the two articles *Le Temple-Montagne Khmèr, le Culte du Linga et le Devarāja*<sup>9</sup>, and *Diversité et Rythme des Fondations Royales Khmères*<sup>10</sup>. These pieces contain his structuralist analysis of the temples, and result in the development of three categories of temples: ancestor temple, state temple or temple mountain, and temple mausoleum. A more detailed discussion of these issues will be given in the second part of this chapter.

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<sup>5</sup> Bergaigne, A. (1885a) Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā. *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, pp. 181-292. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.

<sup>6</sup> Bergaigne, A. (1885b) Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge. *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, pp. 293-588. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.

<sup>7</sup> Coédès, G. (1937, 1942, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1964, 1966) *Inscriptions du Cambodge*. 8 Vols. École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi/Paris.

<sup>8</sup> Stern, Ph. (1927) *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Évolution de l'Art Khmer – Étude et Discussion de la Chronologie des Monuments Khmers*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris.

<sup>9</sup> Stern, Ph. (1934) Le Temple-Montagne Khmèr, le Culte du Linga et le Devāja. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, **34**, 611-616.

## Critical Evaluation of French scholarship

Regarding the examination of the temples by French scholars, various problems have to be mentioned. The very basic difficulty is that most of them focused only on their field of expertise, without attempting to broaden their argument by incorporating findings of scholars working in other disciplines. While this ensures a most thorough analysis in the respective field, it also limits the interpretation of the buildings. As will be discussed below, this form of empirical and structuralist study can create a detailed knowledge pool, but it does not enable interpretation and the exploration of meaning.

Regarding epigraphy, since the publication of Coedès' eighth volume of the *Inscriptions du Cambodge* in 1966 only a limited number of new translations of Sanskrit inscriptions has been published, be that translations of newly discovered inscriptions, even though that happens more or less regularly, or revised renderings of previously translated inscriptions. This poses significant interrelated problems. Firstly, the fact that existing translations were not worked on again means new findings were not used to achieve a deeper and more detailed interpretation of, or to clarify problems or uncertainties which existed in, the old translations. The second problem entails the continuing existence of mistakes in the translations, which could be rectified in new renderings. Examples to illustrate this are Bergaigne improving on Barth's translations, and the few cases in which Coedès went back to inscriptions he had translated previously to work on them again. In most instances the second version clarifies or even solves problems which existed in the earlier versions. One example is G. Coedès' translation of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription. In the second rendering<sup>11</sup> he improves upon the previous translation<sup>12</sup> of various stanzas, for example st. XXXII. The first translation

XXXII For the accroissement of the dharma and following the example of his ancestors, he [King Harśavarman] founded here, at the foot of the mountain of Indra, golden images of two Īśvara (Śiva), as well as those of the enemy of Mura (Viṣṇu) and two Devīs.<sup>13</sup>

is modified into

XXXII For the augmentation of the dharma of his parents he [King Harśavarman], according to the rule, founded here golden images of

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<sup>10</sup> Stern, Ph. (1947-1950) Diversité et Rythme des Fondations Royales Khmères. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 44, 649-687.

<sup>11</sup> IC IV:88-101.

<sup>12</sup> Coedès, 1909a.

<sup>13</sup> Coedès, 1909a:492/500.

two *Īsvara* (*Śiva* and *Umā*), and at the foot of the *Indrādri* images of the enemy of *Mura* (*Viṣṇu*) and two *Devī*.<sup>14</sup>

As Cœdès explains in note 3 on p. 99, the repetition of '*ihārcāh ... pratimāc ca*' in the Sanskrit prompted him to modify the translation and assume two locations for the images founded, instead of just one as in the first translation. This modification therefore substantially alters the interpretation, as previously all five images would have been founded in Baksei Chamkrong, whereas now only two images of *Śiva* and *Umā* were established there. The remaining three *Viṣṇu*ite images need to be looked for at other sites, possibly near *Mahendraparvata*, as Cœdès himself suggests, based on the name of the hill given as *Indrādri*.

The second, and even more fundamental problem with the translations made by the French is the fact that none of them was a Sanskritist. Even though the achievements of French scholars cannot be overvalued, lack of familiarity with both the intricacies of the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit culture resulted in numerous mistranslations, as repeatedly pointed out by K. Bhattacharya<sup>15</sup>, a prominent Sanskritist. While some of these mistakes are of no serious consequence, and only distort the understanding of individual inscriptions, others have significant implications. Much of the theoretical analysis and interpretation of the temples was built on these translations, and thus resulted in mistaken conclusions because of the mistakes contained in them. Consequently, in order to be able to interpret the temples properly, a huge task lies ahead, as all of the inscriptions will have to be worked on again. This will ensure that new evidence can be used in their interpretation, but also that theories about the temples will be founded on a solid base, and thus be reliable.

With respect to the architectural analysis, with the exception of the work of Stern and Cœdès, this field has been limited to the amassing of data, without moving further into the task of interpretation due to the lack of interdisciplinary approaches. Of course this data is a most valuable source for ongoing research, as it forms the foundation of most work, but so far only limited attempts have been made to go beyond a very descriptive study of the temples. This descriptive perspective contains two further problems. Firstly, in their analysis of the temples the French scholars, for instance Stern and Dupont, had in mind the linear development of the styles of European art. This resulted in the formulating of 15 styles of Khmer art, one following

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<sup>14</sup> IC, IV:92/99.

the other in a chronological order, bearing the name of a temple – usually the state temple of the respective period.<sup>16</sup> From the list of styles, given in appendix 3, it becomes clear that several of them only span the reign of one king, and seem to reflect more the personal likes and dislikes of that king which resulted in minor stylistic alterations, rather than fundamental changes of more general features. For instance, the styles of Pre Rup and Banteay Srei differ only in minor details, partly due to the use of different building materials. Overall, though, the decorative programme is very similar and the lack of discernible change of techniques thus does not warrant the grouping in separate styles.

These evolutionary interpretations entail development towards a goal, or a climax, thus misinterpreting and devaluing culture. Generally, a perhaps 'useful' or transitional developmental stage cannot be termed 'higher' or 'lower'.<sup>17</sup> This problem is reflected in the issue of styles: usually the style of Angkor Wat is called the classical style and the summit of Khmer art. Hence, previous developments are seen as moving towards this climax, without evaluating their own achievements properly. One facet of this matter is the negligence of techniques and their changes over time at the Angkorean temples. However, their close examination would give valuable insights into the ability of the Khmer craftsman and builder to deal with the materials in an appropriate way. For instance, examining the techniques used for carving the lintels, we can see that the lintels of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century are up to twelve centimetres deep, and very elaborate. In order to achieve this depth, a small drill has to be used, which creates small holes so that part of the sandstone can be broken away. Traces of these holes can still be found at lintels of that period (Fig. 3.1). The application of this technique requires very fine skills, because if the drill is not used carefully, the sandstone can break easily, and the whole lintel would be unusable. Examining temples of later periods, this technique seems to have been lost because we only find bas-reliefs of up to two centimetres depth which were done by using small chisels. The carving of sandstone with chisels, though it does require skill and practice, is not as delicate because the stone cannot break away. Hence, the lintels of the ninth and tenth centuries bear witness to a much more refined technical capability than those of the so-called summit of styles, Angkor Wat. For this reason, an examination of

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<sup>15</sup> See for instance Bhattacharya 1984, 1985-86, 1994, and 1997.

<sup>16</sup> This naming of styles after the main temple entails another problem, namely that these labels were being used for both architecture and sculpture. This problem will not be discussed in greater detail here, though, as this would go beyond the scope of the present thesis.

techniques allows a valuable insight into the building process of the temples, and a more refined evaluation than merely a consideration of style.

What the purely stylistic interpretations tend to neglect as well is the fact that art in ancient Cambodia was religiously motivated, and instigated by the king; *art pour l'art* did not exist. Because art in the form of the temples was ordered by the king one very important element has to be taken into account: the personal taste of the king. Although the temples followed strict treatises with regards to their basic layout, dimensions and decorative elements, there was scope for variation. For instance, if the eastern lintel of sanctuary towers was supposed to show Indra on his elephant Airāvata as the guardian of that direction it could be executed in a number of ways – as is clearly visible in the numerous lintels depicting this motif at the East Mebon. Hence, even though the subject of a motif might not change due to religious requirements, the way in which it was represented could vary considerably. Moreover, recourse could be taken to earlier styles as is clearly visible in the pediments of the large brick towers in the outer enclosure of Pre Rup (see chapter 4.2.2).

For the interpretive analysis another feature, lacking from studies so far, is the consideration of the Indian texts in relation to the Khmer buildings. As we know from the inscriptions, a multitude of Indian texts was known in Cambodia, and even though the architectural treatises of the *āgamas* and *vāstu śāstras* are not mentioned explicitly in the inscriptions, they were certainly known and used. Hence, a detailed study of Cambodian temples in relation to these texts will need to be done. This will enable scholars first of all to establish the degree of deviation of Khmer temples from the 'ideals' given in the texts, and secondly allow a more detailed understanding as to how individual buildings in the temples were used.

To sum up, even though the findings of French scholarship on Angkor cannot be overestimated, a continuing close examination of the temples is necessary to move beyond the initial, descriptive work and into the realm of interpretation and meaning.

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<sup>17</sup> Layton, 1994:9.

## 3.2 Philippe Stern's classification of the temples

In section 3.2.1 Philippe Stern's theories regarding the temples and their classification as ancestor temples, temple mountains and temple mausoleums will be examined in depth. As mentioned in the introduction, this theory and classification was the starting point for the present study and thus needs to be given in order to critique it and develop it further in subsequent chapters. To familiarise the reader with the theory it will be summarised in the order Stern developed it, as this allows an insight into the evolutionary<sup>18</sup> process of the classification and Stern's process of elaborating on it.

Section 3.2.2 will introduce the criticisms of Stern's work by the present author, which will form the background for the analysis to follow in subsequent chapters.

### 3.2.1 Summary of Ph. Stern's theories

Stern's approach was a structuralist one, distinguishing and examining the various elements which constitute the temple, most importantly the sanctuary tower and the stepped pyramid. After having made this distinction in his first article dealing with these issues in 1933<sup>19</sup>, he goes on to examine them further in an article published only one year later<sup>20</sup>, dealing mainly with temple mountains. Even though Khmer temple architecture was influenced by the Indian tradition, it shows a particular and rapid development of its own: the placing of the sanctuary tower on top of the pyramid. This central structure is then surrounded by galleries and subsidiary buildings which all together form the compound. The temple is a representation of the cosmic mountain, whose significance is evident in the inscriptions as well; it is placed at the centre of the various capital cities.

The temple mountain is also closely related to a *liṅga*, founded in the main sanctuary, as is mentioned in various inscriptions, e.g. in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription of 1052 CE. This *liṅga*, not the only sculpture consecrated at some of the temples, bears a name combining the name of the founding king and *Īśvara* (*Śiva*), as is evident in the *Śrī Indreśvara* of the Bakong,

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<sup>18</sup> In this context 'evolutionary' is used in the sense of 'developing further', and does have the connotation of 'improving upon'.

<sup>19</sup> L'Évolution de l'Architecture Khmère et les Transformations de la Ville d'Angkor. *Journal Asiatique*, 222, 352-354.

<sup>20</sup> Le Temple-Montagne Khmère, le Culte du Linga et le Devarāja. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 34, 611-616.

Yaśodhareśvara of Phnom Bakheng, the Śrī Rājendreśvara of the East Mebon, and Rājendrabhadreśvara of Pre Rup. Moreover, the inscription of Lovek, probably related to Baphuon, mentions the 'subtle and invisible self' (*sūkṣmāntarātman*) of King Udayadityavarman II. Stern then goes on to wonder whether these *liṅgas* might be identical with the *devarāja*<sup>21</sup>, mentioned in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, and refers to Cœdès' earlier article, where he established three types of buildings<sup>22</sup>: 1) temples of the *devarāja*, 2) temples dedicated to Śiva represented by a *liṅga* which bears the name of the king, and 3) temples dedicated to the parents and other relatives of the king.<sup>23</sup> Taking into account the two features of a Khmer temple, the *prasat* and the pyramid, Stern subsequently hypothesises that Cœdès' first two categories of temples might in fact be two sides of the same coin. The temple which housed the *devarāja* might thus have been the temple at the centre of the capital, and the *devarāja* the *liṅga* which bore the king's name combined with Śiva's.<sup>24</sup> However, according to Stern this concept creates numerous problems with respect to both epigraphy and archaeology. One possible solution might be the postulation that a new temple mountain was built during each reign, with a new *liṅga* bearing a new name, which was at the same time the *devarāja*. However, this assumption cannot be applied to the East Mebon and Pre Rup, which are both temple mountains, built by the same king less than a decade after each other. Consequently, a new temple mountain might not necessarily indicate a new reign, and the *devarāja* might not necessarily be the *liṅga*, but the cult performed around it.<sup>25</sup> In the following part of his article, Stern supports his postulation that the *devarāja* might indeed be a ritual by a close examination of the statements made in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription about the origin of the *devarāja* under Jayavarman II. He concludes that in the central sanctuary of the temple mountain (almost) always was placed a *liṅga*, which (almost) always bore the name of the king combined with Īśvara. This temple in all likelihood represented Mount Meru, the centre of the universe, at the centre of the capital. As for the *devarāja*, this seems to have been a ritual performed around the *liṅga* bearing the royal name rather than a *liṅga* having its own particular temple, as Cœdès had

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<sup>21</sup> The issue of the *devarāja* will be discussed in greater detail in section 3.2.2.

<sup>22</sup> Stern, 1934:611-612.

<sup>23</sup> Cœdès, 1928a:93.

<sup>24</sup> Stern, 1934:612-613.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.:614. We see, already in this early stage of his speculations Stern encounters the limits of his hypotheses when considering King Rājendrarvarman's temples.

suggested.<sup>26</sup> Another point he makes here is that Pre Rup and the other foundations nearby are evidence that after the sojourn at Koh Ker Rājendravarman founded a new capital east of Yaśovarman's capital around Phnom Bakheng.<sup>27</sup>

These thoughts on temple mountains are developed further and integrated into a wider classification of temples in Stern's long article published in 1947-1951<sup>28</sup>. Here he states that due to the results of ongoing work in history and philology on the one side, and archaeology and art history on the other, new perspectives have been opened up. In this text Stern for the first time defines the two different types of temples: ancestor temple and temple mountain, and develops his classificatory system. Ancestor and state temples seem to have been built in pairs at the respective capitals: Preah Ko – Bakong, East Mebon – Pre Rup, Ta Prohm and Preah Khan – Bayon. The ancestor temples are dedicated to direct relatives of the king who are united with their deity in an image. In this definition Stern explicitly excludes earlier unrelated kings, and royal or remote mythical ancestors.<sup>29</sup> In this context the images of kings bear a posthumous name, possibly to distinguish images of the deceased from *lirigas* dedicated to living kings. These temples seem to have been founded at locations related to preceding reigns, for instance Yaśovarman founds his ancestor temple on an island at the centre of his father's *baray*, as does Rājendravarman at the centre of Yaśovarman's *baray*.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to the ancestor temple is the temple mountain, which is built as a stepped pyramid, representing the cosmic mountain at the centre of the capital. At the centre and the top of this temple is the main sanctuary housing a *liriga* which bears the name of the king combined with Śiva. Surrounding the *liriga* are the eight *mūrti*, the manifest forms of Śiva, which might be linked to the eight *lokapāla*, and thus symbolise the king's domination of all directions – the idea of the *cakravartin*. A ritual may have been performed at every temple mountain to install the king as *cakravartin*, which would also be in accordance with what the Sdok Kak Thom inscription says. Thus the characteristics of a temple mountain are: the stepped pyramid, the

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<sup>26</sup> Stern, 1934:615.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.:616.

<sup>28</sup> Diversité et Rythme des Fondations Royales Khmères. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, **44**, 649-687.

<sup>29</sup> "Si, comme nous le croyons, le 'temple aux ancêtres' est réservé aux ancêtres directs (ou par alliance quand ils sont haut placés), en seraient exclus les rois antérieurs non ancêtres et les ancêtres royaux et mythiques lointains." Stern, 1947-1951:651.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.:650-652.

central *līnga* uniting the king with God, and the surrounding eight *līngas*, symbolising the material universe. Moreover, subsidiary sanctuaries are founded, housing images of deities, but also humans, either relatives, or mythical ancestors.<sup>31</sup> See Overview 3.1 for the characteristics of the two temple categories.

Overview 3.1: The characteristics of state and ancestor temples according to Ph. Stern.

<b>Characteristics of State Temples</b>	<b>Characteristics of Ancestor Temples</b>
Towers in quincunx on top of stepped pyramid representing Mount Meru	Towers in rows on a common platform
<i>Līngas</i> combining the name of the king with Śiva	Statues to represent ancestors of the king
Dedicated to the king's personal God	Dedicated to the ancestors
<i>Nāga</i> balustrades	
<i>Aṣṭamūrti</i> around the central images	

A third category of buildings are the public works, such as the *barays* and other hydraulic works, monasteries, hospitals and resthouses, and restorations of previous capitals. All these works carried great significance, and were meant to increase the welfare of the people. Particularly the water works, though, had symbolic significance as well, as they are part of the representation of the macrocosmos, signifying the oceans around Mount Meru, to which they are likened in the inscriptions.<sup>32</sup>

These different kinds of foundations appear to have been built in sequence, as usually the public works seem to have been undertaken first, followed by the ancestor temples, and finally the temple mountains. These features can be observed in four great reigns, those of Indravarman, r. 877-890 CE (Indratatāka – Preah Ko, 880 CE – Bakong, 881 CE), Yaśovarman, r. 890-900? CE (East Baray – Lolei, 893 CE – Bakheng, c. 900 CE), Rājendravarman, r. 944-968 CE (East Mebon, 953 CE – Pre Rup, 961 CE), and Jayavarman VII, r. 1181-12?? CE (Ta Prohm, 1186 CE and Preah Khan, 1191 CE – Bayon, c. 1200 CE). Both Rājendravarman and Jayavarman VII undertook public works as well, as Rājendravarman restored the old Yaśodharapura, and Jayavarman VII built the *barays* of Preah Khan and Neak Pean, plus the hospitals and resthouses.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.:652-654.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.:654-655.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.:655.

The problem with this sequence is how to fit in the new concept of temple mausoleums, introduced by Coédès' article of 1940.<sup>34</sup> The formation of this category is based on the discovery of 'sarcophagi' at various temples at Angkor, or local legends, and very significantly on Chou Ta-Kuan's account dating from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, it seems that several temple mountains, for instance Pre Rup and Angkor Wat, were transformed into temple mausoleums after the king's death. There seems to be a break with this practice during the reign of Yaśovarman, as the kings preceding him seem to have been honoured in a funerary context at the ancestor temples built by their successors, whereas this practice cannot be discerned for later kings. One explanation might be the transformation of the state temple on Phnom Bakheng into a temple mausoleum, which might be evident in the fact that Yaśovarman's capital, Yaśodharapura, bears the name of a human, rather than a deity, as did the previous capitals. The temple mausoleum of Jayavarman IV, who reigned at Koh Ker, was the large stepped pyramid Prasat Thom. His son, Harśavarman II, built neither an ancestor temple, nor a temple mountain, and is, together with his mother but not his father, commemorated in Rājendravarman's Pre Rup. Generally, during the ninth century the mausoleum of a king seems to have consisted of a sanctuary founded for him by a later king in his ancestor temple. Moreover, it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that the transformation of temple mountains into temple mausoleums was the reason that successive kings felt the need to build ever larger and new temple mountains. This might also be the reason why Rājendravarman united the two concepts of ancestor temple and temple mountain in the East Mebon, and why a cult had already existed for four years before the consecration of the temple.<sup>35</sup>

In the part that follows, Stern explores the possible origins of these concepts, and follows Coédès' hypothesis that they might originate in the royal cult of the soil in China. There every new dynasty has to found a new God of the soil, which is placed at the centre of the palace opposite the ancestor shrine.<sup>36</sup>

Sources for these speculations are the inscriptions, mainly of the four great reigns, which also allow inferences about reigns from which neither temples nor inscriptions remain, for instance the inscription of Baksei Chamkrong mentions the foundations of several preceding

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<sup>34</sup> La Destination Funéraire des Grands Monuments Khmers. Études Cambodgiennes, no. 33, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 40, 315-343.

<sup>35</sup> Stern, 1947-1951:655-657.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.:657-658.

kings. The inscriptions also bear evidence of the overall development of the concepts which are already present in initial forms in the pre-Angkor period but are only fully developed during the ninth century. The most complex stage is reached under Rājendravarman, who unites the concepts of ancestor temple and temple mountain in the East Mebon, and temple mountain and temple mausoleum in Pre Rup. After his reign the concepts cannot be found, apart from the realisation of temple mountains, i.e. Ta Keo, the Phimeanakas, Baphuon, and Angkor Wat, until the time of Jayavarman VII, who transforms and enriches the concepts again. Parallel to this development of the concepts were changes in the architecture which becomes ever more elaborate and larger in scale.<sup>37</sup>

The next part of Stern's article examines closely the individual reigns and their buildings. In order to shorten the summary somewhat, we will not discuss the early reigns, but start with King Jayavarman IV at Koh Ker, who precedes King Rājendravarman. From the reign of Jayavarman IV no inscriptions mention the foundation of either an ancestor temple, or a temple mountain, although Prasat Thom is the temple mountain par excellence in terms of its architecture (Fig. 3.2).<sup>38</sup>

The reign of King Rājendravarman is one of the most unusual with respect to the foundations, as two temple mountains were founded within nine years. His public works are not too obvious, but might consist in the restoration of the old Yaśodharapura, and Baksei Chamkrong, as mentioned in the inscriptions, which would also be in accordance with the hypothesis that the public works were executed at the beginning of a reign. Turning to Rājendravarman's ancestor temple, the East Mebon was consecrated in 952 CE<sup>39</sup> although the images had been founded several years earlier, and both its inscription and the one from Baksei Chamkrong from 948 CE mention earlier foundations. Still, the East Mebon is the first large foundation of the king, built with five sanctuaries on top of a pyramid – albeit not a very high one. Stern goes on to state “[t]hat this temple is an ancestor temple, we cannot doubt it”<sup>40</sup>, as is evident in the inscription, particularly stanza CCVII, which mentions the founding of an image of Śiva and Parvatī for the benefit and in the likeness of his father and mother. The terms used are the traditional ones, and even though Rājendravarman's parents do not seem to have reigned

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.:658-661.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.:672-674.

<sup>39</sup> Ph. Stern uses the date of 952 CE, which is usually given.

<sup>40</sup> “Que ce temple soit bien un ‘temple aux ancêtre’, nous ne pouvons en douter.” Stern, 1947-1951:675.

at Angkor, they might have reigned at a different place. Rājendravarman's mother, like the wife of Jayavarman IV and mother of Harśavarman II, was a sister of King Yaśovarman. Another argument for the East Mebon being Rājendravarman's ancestor temple is its location at the centre of Yaśovarman's *baray*, which links it directly to the earlier king's reign. What is unusual about the East Mebon, however, is that though it corresponds to the definition of an ancestor temple it does show characteristics of a temple mountain: the quincunx of towers on top of the pyramid, with the central *liṅga* bearing the name of the king combined with –Īśvara, which is moreover surrounded by the eight *mūrti* of Śiva. Why this combining of the two concepts? Why is the ancestor temple also a temple mountain? Why this hastening to build a state temple? It might have been the case that the previous transformation of Bakheng and Baksei Chamkrong into temple mausoleums prevented the celebration of the cult of the royal *liṅga* at these places. According to the Baksei Chamkrong inscription, a *liṅga* and four images had been founded at the East Mebon four years prior to its consecration. This might indicate that because the above mentioned temples were unsuitable Rājendravarman had to build a somewhat transitional shrine, possibly in perishable material, in order to be able to perform the royal cult. However, even if this hypothesis is correct, why would he then unite the two concepts in the East Mebon?

Pre Rup, consecrated nine years after the East Mebon, shows all the characteristics of a 'proper' state temple. The central *liṅga* is surrounded by statues representing not just blood relatives – Harśavarman II and Jayadevī – but also the distant ancestor Viśvarūpa. One of the towers, the southeast one, houses the Rājendravarmeśvara, a name which, according to Coedès, hints at funerary practices, because of the inclusion of the element '–varman'. This element added to a name was only included in *liṅga* or image names at ancestor temples, e.g. Preah Ko, or state temples which were later transformed into temple mausoleums, as was Bakheng. This funerary connotation seems also to be evident in the modern name, Pre Rup, 'turning the corpse', which denotes a funerary practice. Moreover, Rājendravarman's son and successor, Jayavarman V, built his own temple mountain, possibly because the previous temple was no longer suitable for the royal cult. Additionally, one has to consider Prasat Thom, which had been transformed into a temple mausoleum, and the fact that an image of Jayavarman IV was founded neither at the East Mebon, nor at Pre Rup, whereas images for both his wife and son are present at Pre Rup. East Mebon unites the concepts of ancestor temple and temple

mountain. Pre Rup, on the other hand, is purely a royal temple mountain. Why then did Rājendravarman build a second temple mountain? Maybe to return to a traditional conception of ancestors, or possibly to prepare his own temple mausoleum? Without doubt it must be difficult, if not impossible to transform an ancestor temple into a temple mausoleum? Possibly the location of the East Mebon at the centre of the *baray* was unsuitable for the rituals performed at the central temple and thus necessitated a second one which could be reached more easily. Judging from the foundations south of the *baray*, Rājendravarman built a large 'capital of the East' in that area, and might have wanted to have a beautiful and impressive temple mountain at its centre.<sup>41</sup> Concluding his section on this king Stern states that "[w]e thus see several arguments which could have prompted Rājendravarman, by building Pre Rup, to duplicate his preceding foundation of the East Mebon."<sup>42</sup>

The rest of Stern's article is devoted to periods after the reign of King Rājendravarman, mainly King Jayavarman VII, who was the next, and at the same time last, king to follow the building programme outlined by Stern.

This very detailed summary of Stern's two most significant texts was deemed necessary in order to familiarise the reader with his line of argument. Moreover, it is hoped that it has become clear that Stern himself saw a problem with integrating the East Mebon and Pre Rup into his classification. Now a discussion will follow of those aspects of Stern's theory which to the present author seem to be inconsistent.

### 3.2.2 Critical evaluation of Ph. Stern's theory

This section will deal with criticisms of Stern's theories by the present author, in the order in which they appear in Stern's texts. As mentioned above, Stern's articles were summarised in the order in which they were written, not according to issues, as that clarifies the thought process. This is also the reason why the evaluation below follows Stern's line of argument. The discussion of these criticisms given here is not exhaustive and will be continued in the following

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.: 674-678.

<sup>42</sup> "Nous voyons ainsi plusieurs arguments qui pouvaient avoir poussé Rājendravarman, en construisant Prè Rup, à dédoubler sa fondation précédente du Mébôn oriental." Ibid.:678.

chapters. However, it was felt necessary to include the critique here, in order to familiarise the reader with the background of the thesis.

The concept of the *devarāja*

At the heart of the problem regarding Ph. Stern's definition of temple mountains is the concept of the *devarāja*, mentioned in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, written in 1052 CE by the *brahmin* Sadāśiva. Contents are the genealogy of his family which had served the *devarāja* since its foundation by Jayavarman II under the priest Hiraṇyadāma who later appointed the priest Śivakaivalya, Sadāśiva's ancestor, as officiator of the cult.<sup>43</sup> This entails two main problems. Firstly, the inscription was written two and a half centuries after the actual event, and secondly for the specific purpose of legitimising a priest whose family had been linked to the *devarāja* from the beginning. Regarding the nature of the *devarāja* no consensus has been reached so far as to whether it was a *linga*<sup>44</sup>, a movable cult, as postulated by Ph. Stern, or a *calanti pratima*, a movable image.<sup>45</sup> Regarding the reign of Rājendravarman, the *devarāja* appears to have been of no great significance during that time. The term is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions, and even the Sdok Kak Thom inscription itself only refers to foundations of the officiating priest:

- LVII Priest of Rājendravarman (II), he [Ātmaśiva] founded in the territory of Vaṃśahrada the towns of Śānti(pura), Kaṭuka(pura) an Brahmapura.
- LVIII In those three villages he erected one image of Hara, one of Viṣṇu and one of Sarasvatī for the sake of property.<sup>46</sup>

It therefore appears that the concept of the *devarāja* is not helpful in the attempt to analyse the layout and spiritual background of the East Mebon and Pre Rup. For this task, other notions need to be considered instead.

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<sup>43</sup> For translations of this inscription see Finot, 1915:53-105; Coédès/Dupont, 1943-1946a:56-158; Majumdar, 1953:362-382; Chakravarti, 1978-1980.

<sup>44</sup> Finot, 1915:57-58. Coédès/Dupont, 1943-1946:61-62. Beginnings of Coédès' analysis of the *devarāja* can already be found in 1911g, and the discussion leads like a red thread through many of his publications.

<sup>45</sup> Filliozat, 1966:101-103.

## Images founded at the temples

The second issue which needs critical attention relates to the images installed at the temples. One of the most fundamental criteria in the definition of an ancestor temple is that it houses images dedicated to relatives of the king. Stern excludes earlier unrelated kings, and royal or remote mythical ancestors, and explains this by stating that these persons seem to have had more royal than ancestral connotations, as images for them can be found in *prasats* in state temples. The example he uses is the cousin of a king, which alludes to Harśavarman II at Pre Rup.<sup>47</sup> However, Stern is inconsistent with the application of the classification: at Preah Ko, an ancestor temple according to Stern, the central towers were dedicated to King Jayavarman II and his chief queen, a paternal aunt and uncle of Indravarman, the founder of the temple. Thus, precisely the presence of these images of royal ancestors would not qualify Preah Ko as an ancestor temple, or vice versa, qualify Pre Rup as ancestor temple. Consequently, this definition entails problems not just at the East Mebon and Pre Rup, but at other temples as well, as to determining which relative or ancestor has which status, predominantly royal or ancestral. This leads to arbitrariness, as has just been demonstrated.<sup>48</sup>

## The issue of temple mausoleums

A third problem arises with respect to temple mausoleums. In his discussion Stern follows Coëdès' argument regarding the 'sarcophagi' found at various temples at Angkor<sup>49</sup>, i.e. that they contained the ashes of the founding king who was put to rest at his former state temple. This entails various difficulties. First of all, even if the objects found at the temples are indeed sarcophagi they do not have to be contemporary with the temples. During the restoration work at the temple in 1931 at an unspecified location were found: "a series of small terracotta urns, with or without glaze, some of which contained the centres or debris of burnt bones."<sup>50</sup>, which gave rise to the assumption that Pre Rup was in fact a tomb. This seemed to be confirmed in late 1932 through the discovery of pottery in between the west porch of PR-c and the outer enclosure wall: "It is there obviously a funerary place which cannot go back very far because

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<sup>46</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999a:10-11/25.

<sup>47</sup> Stern, 1947-1951:651.

<sup>48</sup> The images founded at the temples will be discussed in chapter 5.2.3, 6, and 7.2.

<sup>49</sup> Stern, 1947-1951:655f.

certain Chinese potteries do not appear to be very old ...”<sup>51</sup> Even though the urns and pottery were indeed evidence for Pre Rup having been used as a funerary place, the objects are not necessarily contemporary with the temple – as indeed is stated for the Chinese pottery. That Pre Rup was linked to funerary practices in later times is evident in the stupa built for a monk of Wat Bo<sup>52</sup> just south of PR-NE<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 3.3). Moreover, in connection with the theft of a Buddha image from PR-SW is mentioned that the image had been venerated as a *neak tā*, an ancestor spirit.<sup>54</sup> Both these links date from a much later time than Pre Rup, so they cannot be used as proof for funerary practices at the time of King Rājendravarman.

Secondly, and more importantly, we have to remember that these temples were Hindu foundations. Within the Hindu temple tradition death and its rituals are kept separate from the main temple, either at the cremation ground, or a special temple outside the settlement. This means that neither of the temples could have been transformed into temple mausoleums, and housed the ashes or bones of the former king. Significantly, the evidence for funerary practices referred to above originates from a Buddhist context. Within Buddhist Wats it is acceptable and everyday use to enshrine the ashes of deceased kings or monks. This is a significant difference to Hindu foundations, and has to be remembered when talking about temples dating from the Angkor period. That Pre Rup had been transformed into a Buddhist foundation by at least the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is evident in K. 264 consisting of 16 lines in Khmer, carved on the door jambs of the southeast sanctuary. It dates from 1606 *śaka*, 1684 CE, and mentions an assembly and the foundation of a golden Buddha image.<sup>55</sup> Thus the data indicating funerary practices mentioned above might well date from around this period.

A third aspect which has to be considered with respect to Pre Rup as temple mountain turned temple mausoleum is that the name does not necessarily mean ‘turning of the corpse’ and denote a funerary practice. According to Prof. Ang Choulean it means ‘sacred image’, and derives phonetically from *‘preaŋh* or *‘vrah ruŋ*. Due to the phonetic shortening of the first syllable

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<sup>50</sup> “une série de petites urnes en terre cuite, avec ou sans couverte dont quelques urnes contenaient des centres ou des débris d’os calcinés.” Rapport d’Angkor, 03/1931:7.

<sup>51</sup> “C’est là évidemment un lieu funéraire qui ne peut remonter très loin car certaines poteries chinoises ne paraissent pas très anciennes ...” Rapport d’Angkor, 11/1932:4.

<sup>52</sup> Wat Bo is one of the most important Wats in Siem Reap.

<sup>53</sup> Rapport d’Angkor, 08/1931:7.

<sup>54</sup> Rapport d’Angkor, 08/1950:6.

<sup>55</sup> Aymonier, 1904:8f.

to '*pré*', a quite frequent development in Khmer, the French misinterpreted the name, and this is still being followed today.<sup>56</sup>

Following from the above discussion, the concept of temple mausoleums – at least within the context of Pre Rup – seems to be highly questionable. Consequently, without this concept a significant part of Stern's argument is missing, and his assumption that the transformation of earlier temple mountains into temple mausoleums had necessitated the combining of ancestor and state temple in the East Mebon is no longer valid.

#### Translation of st. CCVII of East Mebon

The next problem to arise is the translation of st. CCVII of the East Mebon inscription. Finot's translation, which Stern uses, reads that the king founded images of Śiva and Parvatī for the merit of his parents, in their likeness.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, this translation is incorrect. What the stanza in fact means is that the king established images of Śiva and Parvatī for the good of his parents who had attained Śiva's heaven.<sup>58</sup>

Within the context of Khmer temples the issue of portrait statues has been discussed by G. Coëdès, who concludes that the images were not sculpted in the likeness of the person commemorated, but were indeed representations of the divinity with all their characteristics.<sup>59</sup> This is also in accord with the Indian regulations, according to which devotees of a deity may be honoured in the form of images as well. In the case of Śivaite worshippers they can be represented by anthropomorphic images, images of Śiva himself, or even *lingas*.<sup>60</sup> Anthropomorphic images of the devotees can be "sculpted as singing, dancing, or doing *pūjā*"<sup>61</sup>, or seated on a throne. Images who embody the devotee in form of the deity, on the other hand, seem not to be supposed to show individualised features, but be an appropriate representation of the deity.

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<sup>56</sup> Personal communication with Prof. Ang Choulean, to whom I would like to express my gratitude for alerting me to this issue.

<sup>57</sup> Stern, 1947-1951:675.

<sup>58</sup> See the detailed examination of this issue in chapter 5.2.3.

<sup>59</sup> Coëdès, 1960:181. A comparison with images in Javanese temples, which is drawn frequently in the literature, is excluded in this thesis for two main reasons. Firstly, the images founded in Khmer temples before King Jayavarman VII were not portraits of the person commemorated. Secondly, a comparison with Javanese images, and thus the examination of cross-influences between the two regions, calls for extensive research which would go beyond the scope of this thesis. In order to examine these links, a future research project is already in planning.

<sup>60</sup> Rao, 1997, II-2:474.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.:475.

Consequently, commemorative images in Khmer temples were not fashioned in the likeness of the person they were intended for, but done according to the regulations pertaining to the carving of deities.

#### Layout of the East Mebon

Even though Stern himself considers the layout of the East Mebon in the form of a temple mountain to be a problem<sup>62</sup>, he does not modify his definitions. His explanation is that Rajendravarman united two concepts in one building, but as we have seen above, his argument is not very coherent.<sup>63</sup>

However, there is an alternative explanation for the layout of the East Mebon. Taking into account the references made to the East Mebon in other inscriptions of King Rajendravarman, as introduced in chapter 2.3.1, they all mention the five towers or even their likeness to Mount Meru rising from the ocean. The East Mebon seems to have been intended as a very literal representation of the macrocosm, which could be achieved easily given its location at the centre of the East Baray. Consequently, in order to represent Mount Meru and its peaks, the temple needed a quincunx of towers at its top. An earlier temple in a comparable location is Lolei, founded by King Yaśovarman at the centre of the Indratatāka at Hariharālaya. At that temple four *prasats* were built, according to st. LIX dedicated to commemorate the king's ancestors:

LXI            these four images of Śiva and Śarvāṇī, made by his own art, were erected together for the increase of merits of his ancestors.<sup>64</sup>

The sanctuaries at Lolei were placed as two pairs, without a central tower (Fig. 3.4). Contrary to the East Mebon, Lolei was not likened to Mount Meru in the inscriptions, and this immediate parallel appears not to have been intended by King Yaśovarman.

Consequently, the parallel between Mount Meru surrounded by the ocean and the East Mebon at the centre of the East Baray seems to have been a very significant part of the temple, and the reason for the quincunx of towers at the centre.

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<sup>62</sup> Stern, 1947-1951:676.

<sup>63</sup> This matter will be analysed in chapter 4.2 and 7.2.

<sup>64</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999c:36/44.

## Significance of Koh Ker

Throughout his explanations regarding the East Mebon, Stern refers to Jayavarman IV and Prasat Thom at Koh Ker.<sup>65</sup> The reasoning, which never becomes really coherent, seems to be that because Jayavarman IV had his temple mausoleum at Prasat Thom, there was no need for an image for him at either of Rājendrarvarman's temples, whereas his wife and son, not commemorated so far, were honoured through images at Pre Rup. Regrettably, Stern never expounds on this thought, and the argument as to how this influences the East Mebon or Pre Rep remains rather vague.

Following from the above thoughts it is evident that Stern's classification of the temples, and particularly the East Mebon and Pre Rup, is not very coherent. In order to evaluate his findings and reach a more accurate understanding of the temples a twofold examination is being undertaken in the present study, following Stern's example. Firstly, the architecture of the temples will be analysed in detail in order to establish differences and similarities not just in layout and outer form, but also in the likely use and function of individual buildings and the whole temple complexes. Secondly, the inscriptions will be studied closely. The analysis of the religious concepts evident in them, but also the statements made about the temples themselves will enable a comparison between them. The findings of the two analyses will subsequently be drawn together to produce a new and more accurate interpretation of the temples.

The following section of this chapter is an appraisal of the theoretical background of this study.

### 3.3 Methodology of the Present Study

The central issue of this part of the chapter is the validation of our findings about East Mebon and Pre Rup and their integration into the existing body of knowledge. The main aim of this study is the critique of Ph. Stern's classificatory system of ancestor and state temples with regards to the two main temples of King Rājendravarman. Due to Stern's focus on the central and other shrines this system is limited to the interpretation of the cosmological representation of the temples. As has been discussed in the previous section, this focus on the *prasats* does not allow a deeper understanding of the sites, or inferences as to their intended purpose or usage. Consequently, to go beyond the existing reading, various analytical threads will be combined in this study.

Fundamentally, the approach taken here draws on Stern's by interweaving the analysis of the physical remains with a textual one, studying the inscriptions. The architectural analysis extends the existing interpretation to include all buildings within the temple compounds, not just the sanctuaries. The study of the epigraphy will comprise of the religious concepts expressed in the texts, but also the information given about the temples themselves, an analysis not undertaken so far. In addition to these two means of evidence, India will be included as a cultural reference. As has been established in chapter 2, the influence of India on the culture and religions of ancient Cambodia has been significant. An examination of Indian religious and architectural texts will help illuminate not just the architectural features of ancient Khmer temples, but also the concepts represented in them. Moreover, due to the significant historical continuity evident in India, parallels to present-day practices there will be made. By interweaving these approaches it is envisaged that it will not only be possible to interpret individual temples in greater depth than hitherto possible, it will also become possible to compare different temple compounds.

In any case, a hypothesis gains plausibility with increasing data in support of it. Ultimately, one has to be able to connect previously unconnected or unconnectable data. In this process we have always to remember that "structures need not be universal, and their proposed universality should not be a major part of the validation procedure"<sup>66</sup>. For instance, similar

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<sup>65</sup> Stern, 1947-1951:656, 677f.

<sup>66</sup> Hodder, 1986:52.

buildings need not have the same function and vice versa, and meanings cannot be automatically transferred between different places and times.

### 3.3.1 Towards a Definition of (Sacred) Space

Sacred is defined as something 'dedicated to a god' or 'connected with religion', as being 'inviolable' and 'safeguarded or required, esp. by tradition or religion'.<sup>67</sup> In short, an object considered as sacred has value because of religious or traditional reasons. Eliade gives as a first and most fundamental definition of the sacred as it being "the opposite of the profane"<sup>68</sup>, established in the world through hierophanies, whose dialectic "tends endlessly to reduce the spheres that are profane and eventually to abolish them"<sup>69</sup>. This is clearly visible, for instance, in the doctrine of the unity of *ātman-brahman* as stipulated in the Upaniṣads. The most significant formulation in this respect is '*tat tvam asi*', 'that art though', which can be found, for instance, in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI.ix.4. Ultimately, the sacred is that which is real, what "exists in an absolute manner"<sup>70</sup>.

Space can be conceptualised in two ways: the empirical and the phenomenological one. Both complement each other, as will become clear in the following, and will therefore be utilised together in this thesis. In the empirical view – and this is the way most people perceive space without thinking about it – space is seen as existing *per se* in the form of a container in which all other things exist. Objects within 'space' would then be perceived in relation to the boundaries of this container, which also exists without any other objects as an empty container. This notion of space is reflected in the architectural analysis undertaken in chapters 4 and partly in chapter 7. Here, buildings and the space created by them will be measured and analysed in their physical, bounded dimensions. The second conception, the phenomenological one, sees space as existing because of perceivable things. An object within space is hence perceived in relation to other objects. Space does not exist on its own, but needs objects for its own coming into existence. Arnheim uses the example of a ball in emptiness: only when a second object exists does an axis between the two come into being, along which 'distances, directions and velocities' can be measured. This becomes even more complex with the addition of a third element, which

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<sup>67</sup> Elliott, 1997:668.

<sup>68</sup> Eliade, 1998:14.

<sup>69</sup> Eliade, 1993:459.

creates a two-dimensional triangle.<sup>71</sup> In this view of space the human body and its perception of space is central. The body is the means through which we experience space, and inhabit it.<sup>72</sup> Although Martin Heidegger's primary interest was time and temporality he did also enquire into space, which he sees as an *a priori* category – space is already there when Dasein<sup>73</sup> enters into the world. One of the important features of Dasein is its thrownness into the world alongside other Dasein, and space is the place for the Dasein to be. Space is created by places, but within space there are no places: "Space [Raum] is in essence that for which space has been made, that which is let into its boundaries. That for which room is made is always granted<sup>74</sup> and hence is joined, that is, gathered, by virtue of a locale ... *Accordingly, spaces receive their essential being from locales and not from "space".*<sup>75</sup> Another very important characteristic of space was discussed by Foucault, namely its historicity, and its specificity to society: "fundamental ideas of place and space vary widely from era to era – and from society to society. There are no constants in this conjoint history; "space" and "place" ... [are] ever-altering, never the same."<sup>76</sup> This means that space – and also place – is something special: "Space is perceived only as places. ... Through the cultural artefact of a name, undifferentiated *space* is transformed into marked and delimited *place*."<sup>77</sup> Consequently, space is culturally experienced and patterned, which makes it difficult for the researcher of our day and age to examine space of past cultures, as our consciousness and minds are very differently moulded than those of the cultures examined. Space is not fixed but dynamic! This conception will become evident in the analysis offered in chapter 7 which focuses on the intended purpose of the sites. Central to this examination will be people's movement through the compounds, and how they actively made use of them as lived religious sites.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.:459.

<sup>71</sup> Arnheim, 1977:10ff.

<sup>72</sup> The notion of habitation was developed by Merleau-Ponty, following Husserl's concept of the 'null-body', the here. Casey, 1997:217; 229-233.

<sup>73</sup> In this text the term 'Dasein' will be used. In the opinion of the present author the English translation 'Being' does not express exactly the connotations of 'Dasein'. 'Being' does have the meaning 'existence', whereas 'Dasein' really means 'being *here* (and now)', rather than just exist as such. This stress on the here and now seems to have been intended by Heidegger, as he could have easily used the term 'Sein', which does not have this connotation but simply means 'Being'.

<sup>74</sup> The word used in the original, 'gestattet', does not only mean 'granted' in the sense of allowed, permitted, but has a strong connotation of 'place' as well, since it derives from 'Statt', 'place, stead'. Concordantly, in this context, even though the word granted does capture part of the sense, this additional connotation has to be remembered.

<sup>75</sup> Heidegger, 2000:149. Transl. by Krell, 1978:356; slightly amended by the present author.

<sup>76</sup> Casey, 1997:298.

<sup>77</sup> Pearson/Richards, 1994:4.

## Space in the Indian literature

In the Indian literature we find two conceptions of space. Fundamentally, space is infinite and unbounded. Even though one universe is constituted of a cosmic egg, the infinite number of those eggs float in infinite space, which itself is not enclosed. That space already exists prior to creation, and has no beginning or end in time. Within this infinite space creation of the other, the bounded and measurable space takes place, as detailed in numerous instances. Common to the accounts is that this bounded space is created by a divine being, be that the *puruṣa*<sup>78</sup>, or a god like Viṣṇu<sup>79</sup>, and its tripartite division into heavens, the world of humans and the netherworlds. This created space is subsequently meticulously measured. These dimensions are used to measure anything, be that the universe, the cosmic mountain or human dwellings and temples. Thus, everything can be related, and is integrated into an interrelated whole.<sup>80</sup>

One characteristic of the conception about space is particularly important in the context of temples: the significance of the centre. Cosmologically the centre is demarcated by the cosmic mountain, Mount Meru, represented in the microcosm by the temple. Because spiritually every temple is called the centre of the world, there is an unlimited number of these centres, all of which embody the only real space, the sacred one.<sup>81</sup> Here, the three worlds meet: Mount Meru reaches the spheres of the divine, continues down to the world of humans, and is rooted in the netherworld. Because the temple represents the *axis mundi* its building is also a cosmogony, an act of creation, which mirrors the act of creation of the Universe from the centre outwards.<sup>82</sup> Through this creation of the microcosm parallel to the macrocosm humans are enabled to live within the sacred realm.

## Space in Architecture

The special characteristic of the art of architecture is its functionality, "it confines space so we can dwell in it, creates the framework around our lives"<sup>83</sup>, and is like a theatrical scene for our lives. Architecture has two different conceptions: one is to build material, and although space is

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<sup>78</sup> Rg Veda 10.90.14. O'Flaherty, 1981b:31. See appendix 2.3 for the whole *Puruṣa Sūkta*.

<sup>79</sup> See appendix 2.2 for Rg Veda 1.154 about *Trivikrama*.

<sup>80</sup> Acharya, 1918:2-3; Chakrabarti, 1998:38. See chapter 7.1.2 for a list of measurements used.

<sup>81</sup> Eliade, 1991:39-41.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.:51f.

<sup>83</sup> Rasmussen, 1997:10.

enclosed building something is the main aim.<sup>84</sup> The other has as its main aim to create space and the material around it is only a means to define that space.<sup>85</sup> For the analysis of the temples of Angkor we have to take into account both conceptions. The aim to build something is realised in the temple overall as a re-creation of Mount Meru, and in individual buildings. This conception will be analysed mainly in chapter 4. The second notion is realised in the usage of the temple – how the space created through built material was actively appropriated by the devotees. The examination of this aspect will be undertaken in chapters 6 and 7. Important to mention is, that whichever aim prevails humans always perceive architecture as an entity of built material and created space. This might be adequately expressed in the German word 'Raum-Gefühl', the "sense or conception of the defined space"<sup>86</sup>.

Because humans' primary aim for building is to create order in our environment by assigning particular roles to certain places, Heidegger's notion of 'dwelling' is particularly relevant within the field of architecture: "[t]o dwell is how the mortals are in this world"<sup>87</sup>. The building which enables dwelling is a thing that gathers the fourfold<sup>88</sup> and allows a locale for it – it makes space.<sup>89</sup> Space is therefore "created by a particular constellation of natural and man-made objects, to which the architect contributes. ... every architectural constellation establishes its own spatial framework."<sup>90</sup> These spatial systems can be found in any architectural setting, and their degree of order determines how easily they are perceived and understood. This not only includes the buildings themselves but also the space around them. Although it is primarily the setting, i.e. the features of the surroundings, which determines where an object, i.e. a building, is placed, subsequently the existence of a new element changes the dynamics of the space. Looking from one building to another is a dynamic activity, in which the space in between is part of the whole.<sup>91</sup> It is important not only that the object changes the space but that they influence each other. Partly because of this three-dimensionality, but also because of the

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<sup>84</sup> One example here would be the erection of a bridge. Although there certainly exists 'space' on the bridge, the main goal is to build the object bridge itself.

<sup>85</sup> This would be the case in a church or a house. Primarily we are interested in the space that is created within the concrete walls of the buildings. The walls themselves are just a means of delineating this space.

<sup>86</sup> Rasmussen, 1997:48.

<sup>87</sup> Heidegger, 2000:142.

<sup>88</sup> Earth, sky, divinities, and mortals. These four constitute a primal oneness, and belong together as the four 'boundaries' of our being, which are inseparably linked with us: we live on earth, under the sky, exist before divinities, and alongside other human beings. Heidegger, 2000:143f.

<sup>89</sup> Here again we see Heidegger's notion that space develops out of places.

<sup>90</sup> Arnheim, 1977:13.

<sup>91</sup> This interspace establishes relations between the buildings, according to its size and the size of the buildings – they can be drawn closer together and felt as a unity or on the contrary be divided by this space. Ibid.:17ff.

phenomenological perception of space as being created by objects, the interstitial space is not empty but filled with gradients arising from the ultimately dynamic activity of looking at objects in space.

The surroundings of a building have to be taken into account for a second reason as well: Foucault's notion of historicity. A building is erected on a 'site' which is linked to human history and can be already a 'place' with meaning before the building process commences. Because of these pre-existing connotations, but also because of what has been said above, a building cannot be treated as an isolated entity: it stands in an environment which has to be considered. The relation of a building to this environment can be twofold: it can be seen as an outgrowth of nature, conforming to nature, or alternatively it can be seen as a rational shape, as a means to an end, to transcend nature and possibly even make nature itself conform to human's ideal.<sup>92</sup> This second viewpoint is evident in the architecture of the Khmer, who undertook enormous efforts to modify their surroundings to make them conform to their world-view and be as close a representation of the macrocosm as possible. One just has to think of the *barays*, the largest one 8 x 2 kilometres in size, to see how important it was for the Khmer to change the microcosm as much as possible to mirror the macrocosm.

### 3.3.2 The Interpretation of (Sacred) Space

How can we now identify meaning in architecture? In order to deepen the existing interpretation of temples, several methodologies will be interwoven in the hermeneutic circle, in which guess and validation are circularly linked as subjective and objective approaches. The hermeneutic circle has two poles: the whole and the parts of the object of understanding which are "bound together in a relationship of mutual clarification"<sup>93</sup>. The information contained in this circle is constantly increased which means that a "progressive development of new insights"<sup>94</sup> is possible. It is important, however, not only to remember that we believe something, but also why we believe something, as the new belief that we form should be founded on as much information as possible. Thus the hermeneutic circle incorporates two important factors. Firstly, the amount of information available is constantly increased without losing old information, and

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<sup>92</sup> Arnheim, 1977:13f.

<sup>93</sup> Bontekoe, 1996:3.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.:3.

secondly this new information is continuously integrated into the already existing body of knowledge.<sup>95</sup>

In practice, the hermeneutic circle starts with a set of prejudices which determine the questions asked. These, however, are revised in the light of the text's answers, and new questions are asked. The main problem for the interpreter is to find the right questions for the answers of the text. The reader must be sensitive to what the text tells him, which "requires a conscious process involving the assimilation of one's own fore-meanings and prejudices."<sup>96</sup>

To start the research process at the East Mebon and Pre Rup, we had to establish as accurate as possible an account of the temples, the buildings, their features, the spatial organisation, the layout of a building, and building complexes. To establish a very detailed description of the temples empirical methods were utilised.<sup>97</sup> The buildings were recorded in great detail, for instance in terms of the building materials, and layout, and their various parts, such as doors and windows, measured carefully. The data collected in this way forms the basis for the subsequent examination of the temples.

Subsequently, a structuralist approach was employed to examine networks of relationships within and in between temple compounds.

Utilising this approach the researcher has to be aware of the following problems. Firstly, the object of investigation is not only an object but can also be a sign for a concept.<sup>98</sup> Secondly, structuralism only sees individuals as passive, whereas in fact they use structure to create new structures and thus an active individual must be considered.<sup>99</sup> Another critique against structuralism is its being ahistorical. On the one hand this is implied by the arbitrariness of signs: any object can define any concept at any time. On the other hand, structuralism cannot explain how structural changes occur due to the "inadequate linkage between structure and process and from the minimal role given to the active individual in the creation of structures"<sup>100</sup>. Post-structuralist critique is yet another one. As the meaning of a signifier is defined by its difference

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<sup>95</sup>

Ibid.:3f.

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Gadamer, cited in Tilley, 1991:118.

<sup>97</sup>

See chapters 2.3, 4 and 7.

<sup>98</sup>

A word can be the signifier for an object, e.g. 'bead', but this object 'bead' might itself be the signifier for what a 'bead' is.

<sup>99</sup>

This, however, should not happen in a normative way, as each individual has a different role in society.

from other signifiers, an endless chain from signifier to signifier is created and the whole system can easily be deconstructed.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, structuralism does not capture polysemy, that an object might possess various possible meanings and cannot be incorporated in a system of binary opposites.<sup>102</sup>

Regarding the present study, the structuralist approach can help to examine the microrelations within the temple complexes, linking the buildings together, and the macrorelations between various temple complexes. As we have seen above, Stern has used this approach for his analysis of the temples. The microrelations are important when considering parts of the buildings, and the relationship of individual buildings within the temple compound to each other. Questions asked are 'how do parts of buildings relate to each other?', 'where can we find certain buildings?', and 'how do they relate to other buildings of the compound which are not necessarily near them?'. Macrorelations on the other hand concern mainly the relation between the East Mebon and Pre Rup and their placement within the capital, but also their relations with other foundations – earlier and contemporary, and environmental features, such as hills or the *baray*. The structuralist examination of the temples can be found mainly in chapter 4.2, when through the formulation of a list of criteria the individual buildings are grouped in categories, and a building sequence is developed. It is important, though, not to overestimate what can be achieved through the application of this method. Certainly relations between buildings can be established, which can be utilised for determining their purpose. However, it is not possible to discern that purpose just from the structural analysis which is merely a tool to be integrated into a wider methodology.

A further approach to be applied was hermeneutics, which is "[t]he method of interpretation first of texts, and secondly of the whole social, historical, and psychological world."<sup>103</sup> Two most important developers of hermeneutics were Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. Hans-Georg Gadamer's primary interest in hermeneutics was "to establish how it is that understanding can be arrived at in the human sciences as they are actually practiced"<sup>104</sup>. In his opinion the author should be treated "as someone who *possesses* understanding which

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<sup>100</sup> Hodder, 1986:50.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.:50.

<sup>102</sup> Tilley, 1989:191.

<sup>103</sup> Blackburn, 1996:172.

we may come to share"<sup>105</sup>, like a partner in a conversation, in whose absence his text speaks for him. Our intention when reading a text should be to know not the author's intention but what the text has to say to us.

Gadamer's ontological maxim was the situatedness of the reader in time and space which makes interpretation a process of reinterpretation from the starting point of the present. Subjectivity, the historical situatedness of the reader, is inherent and unavoidable in the process. In the present study, this situatedness has to be taken into account in a twofold way. First of all, the present author is spatially, temporally, and culturally far removed from the Kambujadesa of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, the situatedness of the French scholars, themselves in a situation different from that of the temples and the present author, has to be acknowledged. The understanding of a text in the form of a conversation is fully realised with the 'fusion of horizons' of reader and text, which creates something new which is common, neither the text's nor the reader's.<sup>106</sup> This implies again that a constant reinterpretation is possible: the present author cannot just reinterpret the Angkorean temples but must also reinterpret what has been written by previous scholars.

However, the reader has to acknowledge not only the preconceptions they have, but also which of those influences are being avoided:

... given a defined framework, the interaction between the object and its context has objectively establishable effects. This framework must include not only the conditions outwardly presented to the perceiving mind but also those prevailing in the viewer himself: his mental preparation, his intentions and goals, his ways of looking at things, and so on. For a valid analysis one has to make explicit both the framework that is being considered and those potential influences which are being bracketed out.<sup>107</sup>

However, we not only have to interpret a text, we also have to make sure that our interpretation is adequate. Hence we have to do a certain amount of historical and linguistic research. Furthermore, we have to take into account earlier interpretations which are originals in their own right. In hermeneutics this means that all of these are taken as valuable, but we still have to strive to find the genuinely correct one. We will have to bear in mind, however, that in the end no interpretation can capture the full meaning of a text.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.:92.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.:101.

<sup>106</sup> Tilley, 1991:117. Dilthey's quest for the transporting of the reader into the situation of the author is not possible. We can only broaden our horizon to enable this fusion.

<sup>107</sup> Arnheim, 1977:68.

<sup>108</sup> Bontekoe, 1996:114ff.

Paul Ricoeur developed Gadamer's hermeneutical discourse further, to include material culture. Hence, even though in the following summary the term 'text' is being used – Ricoeur himself develops his ideas in relation to written texts – it can also be read as 'material culture'.

A text always fixes meaning in a material form; it is an archive for the memory of an individual and a collective. The text can be divided into three layers: the locutionary constitutes a proposition with a meaning, the illocutionary includes the grammatical paradigms, and the perlocutionary is responsible for the effects on the reader which entails the very important aspect that the text is distanced from the intentions of its author and its meaning goes beyond these. The text receives a plurivocal character: because the reading of a text is related to the socio-historical conditions of the reader, there are unlimited possibilities of readings.<sup>109</sup> One important point for Ricoeur is validation. The validation of our interpretation of the text can only happen through probability and invalidation: a certain interpretation is probable in the light of what we know and more probable than another one. This implies that understanding is an active process: the hermeneutic circle.<sup>110</sup> It is this process into which Ricoeur attempted to incorporate structuralist and semiotic methodology. In structuralism the text has only an interior and stands for itself. The aim is to enquire into the structure to bring out the logic and to constitute "the structural law"<sup>111</sup> of the text. This enables an in-depth semantics, and opens up the non-ostensive references. For understanding the text, however, one has to move "from what the text says to what it talks about"<sup>112</sup>, a process which can only be mediated by structuralism, but not achieved by it.

In the present thesis, Ricoeur's theories are not just applied to the analysis of the buildings (in chapter 4), but also – in a way closer to his writings – to that of the inscriptions (in chapter 5). These are analysed on Ricoeur's three levels. Firstly, the obvious statements of the inscriptions are discussed, a task which is not easily achievable, given the problems elaborated on above regarding their translations. Secondly, the internal grammar of the inscriptions is being examined, what is being said where, and in relation to which other statements. The third aspect studied is their meaning which goes beyond the obvious: what does the examination of the

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<sup>109</sup> This is reinforced through the notion that the meaning of a text goes beyond the social conditions of its production, it decontextualises itself from them as it is addressed to an audience with undefined boundaries.

<sup>110</sup> Ricoeur, 1976:78f .

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.:84.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.:88.

various stanzas tell us about the religious background of the inscriptions? And what do the inscriptions tell us about the temples themselves?

Even though the methodologies discussed so far already allow a very detailed insight into the temples, one further approach is necessary for a balanced view: the phenomenological one. The vantage point from which to perceive space is the human body. Space is seen as medium, inseparably involved in human action, and socially produced. "It follows that the meanings of space always involve a subjective dimension and cannot be understood apart from the symbolically constructed lifeworlds of social actors."<sup>113</sup> Space always has a relational dimension between people and places. These places are "fundamental to the establishment of personal and group identities and the formation of biographies."<sup>114</sup> They are inherent in space: no space exists without 'localised' places in it, which are identifiable through the names given to them. Here we find Heidegger's central concept of 'dwelling', which can only take place in space, and actually creates space. In examining space in relation to architecture two forms of space are especially important:

- existential space: the lived space, "experienced and created through life-activity, a sacred, symbolic and mythic space replete with social meanings wrapped around buildings ..., providing reference points and planes of emotional orientation for human attachment and involvement."<sup>115</sup> Important here are the boundaries for structuring this space, which in the case of the temples at Angkor are not only the internal boundaries, such as thresholds of buildings or enclosures, but also the external ones which separate the temple from its surroundings. Important in this respect is also the consideration not just of physical boundaries, but also those which are culturally determined, and do not exist in physical form.
- architectural space: "Architecture is the deliberate creation of space made tangible, visible and sensible."<sup>116</sup> Regarding the temples, this includes individual

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<sup>113</sup> Tilley, 1994:11.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.:18.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.:16-17.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.:17.

buildings within the temples, but also the whole complexes, and their relation to each other.

With respect to the temples examined in this study, it is important to examine how space is being perceived. For this aim we have to remember that the perception of space is culturally determined, and that the way a current researcher perceives space is not necessarily identical with how the Khmers perceived it at the time when the temples were being built.

The approaches mentioned above are incorporated into the hermeneutic circle. Findings regarding both architecture and inscriptions are examined together and integrated to find a meaning of the temples which goes beyond that which can be inferred from studying either aspect on its own. Following Ph. Stern's approach to the issue, the architectural features of the temples will be analysed first, followed by the inscriptions, bringing both aspects together in subsequent chapters. The next chapter will examine closely the physical remains of the temples, and establish an internal building sequence.

## 4. Architectural Evidence

This chapter will study closely the physical evidence of the temple buildings themselves. As explained in the last chapter, our discussion of Stern's theory will comprise of both the architectural features and epigraphic information. It was decided to put the chapter dealing with the physical remains first, as that will familiarise the reader with the temples before a more abstract discussion of them follows in chapter 5 analysing the inscriptions.

Ph. Stern's representational interpretation of temple compounds has mainly focused on the shrines, the one element which changes least in Angkorean temples. Those areas of temple compounds which show the most significant variations over time are the subsidiary buildings, which have hitherto received little attention. A detailed analysis of their features therefore enables a deeper interpretation of the sites overall than hitherto offered. For the in-depth analysis of the features of all edifices a list of criteria was developed, as outlined in chapter 4.1, and subsequently applied to all buildings within the sites. Over time, many parts of the temples have disappeared, mainly due to weathering. Nevertheless, the physical remains are still indicative of the original state of the temple. Another element the present author had to be aware of is the fact that both sites were in parts heavily restored during the 1930s. In order to rule out wrong conclusions based on restored features, the restoration reports of the Conservation d'Angkor were consulted. These documents constitute the most detailed study of the compounds so far; however, they have remained unpublished.

The rigorous application of the criteria results in several conclusions. Firstly, our general knowledge about the East Mebon and Pre Rup can be extended significantly, as the examination offered here goes far beyond the descriptive introduction to the sites given in chapter 2.3. This is particularly significant as this thesis represents the first detailed study of the two sites. A related aspect is that the analysis does not focus on decorative elements alone, but takes into account techniques utilised as well. Again, this is lacking from the literature so far. Secondly, the criteria applied to the East Mebon and Pre Rup can be utilised for an analysis of other temple complexes as well, and thus establishes the comparability of not just individual buildings, but whole compounds. Thirdly, and more importantly to our study, an internal building sequence becomes obvious. Establishing whether a building – or group of buildings – was

constructed early on, supports the inference that the purpose they served was significant for the upkeep of the site, and had to be accommodated from early on in the use of the site. Examples might be the storage of the ornaments of the deities. Vice versa, buildings added subsequently appear to have housed activities which could have either been carried out in temporary structures of perishable material, or in the open. These include, for instance, dance performances, or recital of texts. Although establishing a building sequence has no immediate bearing on the meaning of the temples in itself, it does allow inferences as to the usage of the site. This discussion will follow in chapter 7.2, where the analysis of the physical remains will be interwoven with that of the epigraphy.

In the following, first the theoretical background will be elaborated on in some detail, and the list of criteria explained. In part 4.2 and 4.3 the application of the criteria to first the East Mebon and second Pre Rup will be undertaken. This sequence was chosen because the East Mebon was built and consecrated first.

#### 4.1 Theoretical Background of the Architectural Analysis

Both the East Mebon and Pre Rup have been described in earlier publications<sup>1</sup>, but these descriptions are not very detailed and only mention the basic layout, a few selected lintels, and other decorative elements. Moreover, they do contain mistakes. For instance, Glaize identifies the southern lintel of the central sanctuary at the East Mebon as Śiva on *nandin*, whereas in fact it is Yāma on his bull, and the western lintel as Skanda on the peacock, whence it depicts Varuṇa on a *haṃsa*. Consequently, it was necessary to conduct a meticulous empirical study of both temples, and several others, which are important for the study.

The very first, and somewhat crude, step of the examination process at East Mebon and Pre Rup was to catalogue the state of preservation of all buildings, and to create a complete list of lintels and their central motif. This was necessary to move to a more accurate understanding of the temples in terms of their architecture. During this period, it became obvious that not all parts of the buildings – let alone the whole temple complexes – were built in one 'go', as is usually assumed. After compiling this very basic preliminary overview of the state of preservation and lintels, and because it was intended to establish an internal building sequence,

I developed a catalogue of criteria according to which the buildings were examined in greater detail (see list below). The initial and most obvious criterion was the combination of building materials, on which already the restorers of the Conservation d'Angkor in their reports comment: "The Khmer at that time liked to mix materials, without an apparent valid reason."<sup>2</sup> This feature was looked at in conjunction with the layout and spatial arrangements of the individual buildings, and the internal division(s) of the buildings and the material used for them. Later on, several more points were added: details about the vestibules (location, number of columns, whether they had a door or a portal), particulars about the windows (size, number of balusters, location), and minutiae of sandstone carvings (windows, columns, and other parts of the buildings) and laterite mouldings. The full list of criteria was the following:

1. combination of building materials, and for which parts they were used
  - laterite
  - sandstone
  - brick
2. internal division, and material used for it
3. vestibules
  - location
  - number of columns
  - door or portal
4. windows
  - number and direction they are facing
  - number of balusters
  - size of opening: height x width, the frame is usually 25 cm thick
5. sandstone carvings
  - windows
  - columns
  - other elements
6. laterite mouldings

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Glaize (various editions), Briggs (1951), and Parmentier (1936) for the most detailed descriptions.  
<sup>2</sup> "Les khmers à cette époque aimaient mélanger les matériaux, sans raison valable apparente." Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1931:6.

Although for some temples very detailed studies do exist, predominantly for Angkor Wat and the Bayon, detailed surveys of smaller temples are very limited, particularly of earlier non-sandstone temples. This made it necessary for me to develop my own list of factors, considered suitable for the exhaustive analysis of the architecture of these particular temples. Aims in mind were the creation of an internal building sequence, and ultimately the establishing of the purposes of the individual buildings. The analysis of the elements as listed above took place sequentially, working from the most obvious (the combination of building materials and layout) to more detailed aspects, such as the windows or carvings to reach an increasingly exhaustive knowledge of the buildings. Ultimately, the criteria interrelate and are all necessary for this understanding. Of course, there are other possible elements, for instance the technique(s) used for window and door constructions, the method of inserting the wooden door leaves into the frames, and the types of tiles found. Those criteria were examined as well; however, because all variations of these criteria were used at all buildings, they do not add to our attempt to construe a building sequence within the temples. These points are of greater value for establishing an external building sequence of different temples, to investigate how techniques changed over time. All the findings were documented photographically. In addition, measurements were taken of windows, doors, parts or the entirety of individual buildings, and the terraces. This was deemed necessary because the measurements given in the literature, as well as the restoration reports, were found to be inaccurate and incomplete at times.

This study in situ was complemented by a detailed analysis of the restoration reports of the Conservation d'Angkor, copies of which are held in the library of the National Museum in Phnom Penh. These reports not only explain the restoration work that was undertaken, but mention the (fragments of) images and other objects found in or around the buildings of the temples as well. Unfortunately, not all these objects were photographed, and some were not even given an inventory number, which means that it is impossible to trace them. Another valuable component of these reports are the thousands of photographs which accompany them, spanning a period of about 70 years. These photographs often contain information not mentioned explicitly in the reports. For instance, photographs of lintels, which are no longer recognisable today due to weathering enable a definite identification of their central motif. The photographs also allow us to reach an understanding of how the temples changed over time.

Therefore, the combination of reports and photographs provided an extra wealth of information which so far has not been utilised adequately.

## 4.2 The East Mebon

### Application of criteria

The strict implementation of the criteria listed above to all building within the East Mebon showed that the buildings could be grouped into four clusters, due to the congruence of their architectural features. Moreover, the internal building sequence could be established. The process of this analysis will be described below, starting at the central towers, and moving outwards. This sequence was chosen because most architectural features visible at the edifices at the centre can be found at the buildings in the outer enclosure as well. To start with the central towers, therefore, allows references back to those, which would otherwise not be possible. This results in a more straight-forward analysis than the sequence following the *pradakṣiṇā* would have allowed.

### Inner enclosure

The four-tiered superstructure of the five *prasats* was originally decorated in stucco, and only the outlines of these motives were carved in brick (Fig. 4.1). Unfortunately, the brick is too damaged to determine with certainty what was depicted. For determining this, we have to compare the East Mebon with earlier and other contemporary temples. At the storeys of the *vimānas* of Preah Ko (877 CE) some of the stucco is still in place (Fig. 4.2). Another example is Lolei which again shows false doors at the centre of the tiers of the *vimāna*, and niches in the interpilaster spaces (Fig. 4.3). These are badly damaged, so it cannot be said whether they contained only faces or possibly even the torso of an image. A contemporary temple is Banteay Srei<sup>3</sup>, where the sandstone carvings are still in very good condition, allowing a detailed study of the motifs of the superstructure. At the centre is a false door surmounted by a pedestal, decorated with various motifs, e.g. a *kāla* on the second level. The corners are decorated with miniature versions of the *prasats*, and in between are niches with figures looking out (Fig. 4.4). Taking into account these examples, the decorative programme seems to have been false

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<sup>3</sup> Banteay Srei was consecrated in 968 CE, one year after Rājendravarman's death, hence is traditionally listed under his son's, Jayavarman V, foundations. However, even though the temple was consecrated under his successor, it must have been built during Rājendravarman's reign to be consecrated only one year after his death, and is in this paper treated as a foundation contemporary with the East Mebon and Pre Rup.

doors or architectural elements at the centre of the storeys, and niches with faces in the interpilaster spaces.

As for the superstructure of the East Mebon, it seems at their centre the storeys contained false doors, because the brick remains are very similar to door frames with a central, vertical projection (Fig. 4.5), framed by pilasters and a pediment. The space between the pilasters and the corners is plain now but, judging from what remains at other temples like Preah Ko and Banteay Srei, might have contained mouldings of faces, or decorative elements, such as floral motifs or garlands. The corners might have carried miniature *prasats*, or perhaps only flat antefixes. Because much of the brick has broken away it is difficult to determine how deep the terraces were, how much space was available for protruding decorations, and if they existed which material they were made of. The conservators of the Conservation d'Angkor do not mention antefixes in their reports, but of course if they were made of stucco they would not have survived all this time.

The walls of the towers show horizontal bands carved in the brick at the top and the bottom (Fig. 4.6) which in itself was not a new element and did vary in the combination of wide and narrow bands. The upper carvings consist of three bands and a top band which is very broad, all together acting as a cornice for the superstructure. The same mouldings can be found at the top of the columns carrying the pediments, albeit somewhat less high. These bands of the top of the walls are mirrored at the bottom, the *adhishthāna*, where they look like a continuation of the carved sandstone, the *upapīṭha*, functioning as a dais for the tower. All five towers were originally covered with plaster and stucco but, unfortunately, none of this decoration remains nowadays. Thus, the details can only be guessed at when looking at the stucco remaining at Pre Rup and the sandstone carvings of Banteay Srei.

The plinths of all *prasats* consist of two layers of sandstone (Fig. 4.7), the lower one carved with bands of geometric and floral patterns, and acting as the real dais. The upper layer is made up of only two main rows of patterns. The lower one is a band of a diamond shaped floral pattern, and the upper one consists of lotus petals. Above was a narrow band of pattern, possibly a row of lotus buds or just horizontal lines, which is now almost completely weathered away.

To stress its significance, the central sanctuary is raised on an additional base, 1.75 metres high, and carved with broad horizontal bands (Fig. 4.8). The lowest sandstone layer is uncarved, followed by a band of diamond shaped flowers, and possibly a row of lotus petals. The central band, which probably was carved with lotus petals, is framed by a row of lotus buds on either side, and the top carving is a floral pattern. Unfortunately, the base is heavily weathered, so that not all the decorative details are visible anymore.

The central platform, on which the five towers stand, is carved in broad bands as well, such as the base of the central *prasat*. Due to its very weathered state, the details can only be guessed at (Fig. 4.9). The overall structure of the bands is the same, and it does not seem they were carved. Then again, the carvings might have weathered away.

The eight surrounding brick towers were in all likelihood small versions of the central *prasats*. However, because they are in a very poor condition, it is impossible to see the decorative features of the superstructure nowadays<sup>4</sup>. As for the walls, the horizontal band carvings are almost identical to the central *prasats*, as is the sandstone layer. This layer is somewhat exceptional, because it is carved to look like two: one lower, uncarved half, and the upper one carved (Fig. 4.10). The reason for this was probably the small size of the towers.

When we now consider the five corner buildings of the inner enclosure, M-A to E (Fig. 4.11), they suggest a radically different building programme: they are laterite buildings on a sandstone *upapītha*, with a brick superstructure. Unfortunately, not much remains of the brick, and it is difficult to say which form the superstructure had. Some of the roofs at Banteay Srei are constructed from brick as well, however, they are built in between two sandstone walls (Fig. 4.12). In contrast, the superstructure of the buildings at the Mebon was freestanding, and might have been similar to the *vimāna* of PR-N and S (Fig. 4.13), found in similar locations at Pre Rup. Because the superstructure no longer exists, it is difficult to say whether it contained holes, or was carved at the outside, as for instance the corner buildings at Preah Ko or Bakong (Fig. 4.14/15). Inside, the laterite buildings seem not to have had a ceiling, as there is no ledge at the top of their laterite walls (Fig. 4.16).

In spite of these fundamental differences, there are certain similarities to the brick towers and central platform. First of all, the sandstone layer on which they are built is plain, resembling a proper foundation, such as the lower sandstone layer of the central platform, the base of the central *prasat*, and the small towers. Moreover, the moulded bands of the laterite walls resemble the brick carvings of the *prasats*. They are somewhat simplified because laterite can not be moulded in as fine a way as sandstone, but they also show five horizontal bands, at least at the bottom. The top part of most of these buildings is badly damaged; however, what little remains looks very similar to the bottom mouldings (Fig. 4.17).

Some of the features of the laterite buildings are also present at the inner *gopuras*. These too have a brick superstructure, built on laterite walls on one layer of uncarved sandstone. Due to the fact that part of the superstructure of the gates is still in place, it can clearly be seen that this part was originally about three metres or higher. The horizontal mouldings of the *gopura* walls are very similar to the ones at M-A to E. They consist of five bands, curving inwards overall to give the impression of a proper base. These bands are repeated at the top of the walls, outward curving. The carvings of the brick superstructure seem to have been very similar to the lower laterite part. Again at the bottom and top we find bands, and the walls seem to have had redented corners, as the laterite walls below. Inside, the brick was carved to look like an arched wall – no wooden ceiling was used, but it is impossible to tell how high the brick part was. Because the lower laterite mouldings are about 1.6 metres high, they are even higher than the enclosure wall (Fig. 4.18), which gives a slightly awkward impression. Also in relation to the small brick towers these mouldings are very high, because they finish at about the same height as the doors. However, overall these bands are made to resemble the carvings of the brick towers of this enclosure. The mouldings of the *gopuras* are more detailed than the ones of M-A to E, which results from their greater height, and also the fact that in the upper part they were carved in brick.

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<sup>4</sup> This was not possible at the time of the restoration either, so neither the reports nor the old photographs are of

## Outer enclosure

Regarding the halls in the second enclosure<sup>5</sup>, the most obvious difference between the various buildings is whether the halls are built entirely of laterite, or whether their walls show a combination of laterite and sandstone. When looking at Table 4.1 and Plan East Mebon it becomes clear that the buildings whose walls consist entirely of laterite can be found on either side of the corners: M-b and c in the southeast, M-f and g in the southwest, M-k and l in the northwest, and M-o and p in the northeast corner respectively. Four of the halls, built along the north-south axis, M-b, g, k, and M-p, are smaller than the others, and have only one vestibule, whereas M-c, f, and M-l have two, all of them built into the courtyard. Even though the sizes of the vestibules vary somewhat, the doors tend to be about 90 centimetres wide, and about 1.9 metres high<sup>6</sup>. In general, the vestibules of the halls with two are larger than the others, which are not as deep, because access to the halls next to them had to be enabled. All of the vestibules originally had four sandstone pillars supporting the roof. The upper end of these columns was carved with a band of horizontal lines, a row of lotus petals at the centre, and a row of diamond shaped flowers on top, whereas the rest of the columns was plain. The laterite walls were decorated with plain horizontal bands both at the top and bottom. Entry into the undivided interior was through doors opening inward, whose wooden leaves have long since disappeared. Even though all the halls contained windows, with openings of about 0.55 x 1.2 metres, because of the balusters the interior was probably never very bright (Fig. 4.19).

Halls consisting of a combination of laterite and sandstone for their walls can be found on either side of the four *gopuras*. Their vestibules are added onto the long side, facing the *gopura* next to the respective hall. The number of the vestibules' columns differs, the four halls facing the eastern and western *gopuras*, M-a and r, and M-h and i respectively, have six columns supporting their roofs. In contrast, the halls next to the southern and northern *gopuras*, M-d and e, and M-m and n, only have four columns. As a consequence, these vestibules are somewhat smaller than the other four: they are about 1 to 1.5 metres less deep. Because of the asymmetry of the East Mebon, resulting from the fact that the north-south axis was not at the

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help in answering this question.

<sup>5</sup> An overview of the building characteristics of the halls in the outer enclosure is given in Table 4.1.

<sup>6</sup> For the measurements of the vestibules and doors see Table 7.2.

centre of the east-west axis but west of it, the western half is less wide than the eastern one. Hence there is less space for the halls, which might have necessitated smaller vestibules for M-e and M-m. However, M-d and M-n, which were constructed in the larger eastern half, could have been built with longer vestibules. For this reason, it seems likely that the halls facing the east and west *gopuras* respectively were deemed more important and built with larger vestibules, indicating a greater importance of the east-west axis, compared to the north-south one. This would also be in accord with the orientation of the temple towards the east as the main direction as that of the rising sun and Śiva, and the direction from which the temple should be entered. This issue will be taken up again in chapter 7 in the discussion of the rituals having taken place in the temples.

The carvings of the columns of these halls are identical, but different from those in the eight laterite halls. In addition to the horizontal carvings of the other columns, they have a frieze of hanging lotus flowers (Fig. 4.20). The pattern of this additional band can be found at the base of the central sanctuary, as well as at other temples of Rājendravarman, e.g. Pre Rup (Fig. 4.21). The same carvings are repeated at the top layer of sandstone which carried the roof. The sandstone layer at the bottom of the wall and the vestibule is carved with a row of lotus petals, lotus buds and horizontal lines (Fig. 4.22).

One feature which seems to be unrelated to any other characteristic is the positioning of the windows. In general it is possible to say that the halls along the north-south axis, i.e. M-a, b, g, h, k, and M-r had their windows towards the east, which might be an orientation towards the rising sun, and also possibly Śiva, associated with this direction. All the halls along the east-west axis in the southern half, M-c, d, e, and M-f, have windows facing towards the south, and M-c and M-f, the corner buildings, have windows on both sides. The northern halls, M-l, m, n, and M-o are in a very bad condition, with no windows left in situ. However, the base layer of M-l, m and n seems to indicate southward facing windows as well. This would also be in accord with the debris lying around the halls. M-o does not seem to have contained any windows, but had a wide opening, subdivided by two freestanding sandstone columns.

Overall, the number of balusters inserted into the window frames seems consistently to have been five, with one exception: M-c, where the windows do not contain balusters at all, but

seven sandstone slabs. The window frame is identical to the frames of the other halls, but it never contained balusters. This is clearly visible by studying the frame – there are no holes like the ones used for balusters. That these windows might have been changed later on seems unlikely due to the way they are integrated into the laterite wall: at the sides, the frames actually are locked into the laterite work. The slabs of the westernmost window on the south side show carvings at their outer side: diamond shaped flowers which are very similar to the carvings found at other places of the temple, e.g. at the bases of the lions, and the horizontal bands of the platform and base of the central tower (Fig. 4.23/24). Unfortunately, the rest of the slabs are in very bad condition, which makes it impossible to determine whether they all had been carved with the same design. A very similar feature is visible at BS-E (Fig. 4.25), the long northern hall at Banteay Srei. Here the windows are made of laterite blocks with long, narrow loopholes, very similar to the openings resulting from the sandstone slabs at M-c. At both temples there is only one building showing this particular feature, which is not really comparable to other temples' windows, which usually contain balusters. Because Banteay Srei was built after the East Mebon, it seems unlikely that this feature indicates an earlier technique. Rather it appears that the windows with slabs indicate a different, possibly even special use of these buildings. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 7.2.3.

The combination group shows several features, which reappear at the outer *gopuras*. These show the same layering: one layer of laterite, one layer of carved sandstone, a laterite wall and a top layer of carved sandstone. The carving of the lower sandstone layer of the *gopuras* and the halls of the combination group is identical, showing a row of lotus petals, lotus buds and horizontal lines, but different from the carvings of the sandstone foundation layers of other buildings of the East Mebon, which are either uncarved or have a more elaborate floral pattern. The windows of the outer *gopuras* are the same size as the windows of the combination halls, with an opening of about 1.35 x 1.25 metres, containing five balusters. The columns of the *gopuras* have the same carvings as those of the combination halls: a decorative band with upturned lotus flowers beneath. The internal division between the main room and the rooms of the side passageways was constructed of four sandstone slabs, linked to the walls with laterite blocks (Fig. 4.26).

According to their architectural characteristics the buildings of the East Mebon can be classified in four groups. The first group consists of the central platform with its five *prasats*, and the eight smaller brick towers. The *prasats* of this group show the same combination of building materials, and identical decorative elements.

The second group includes the five corner buildings of the first enclosure and the inner *gopuras*. This group of buildings shares an identical building programme in terms of combination of building materials, and decorations. The combination of sandstone foundation layer – laterite wall – brick superstructure is very unusual, and not repeated anywhere else in the temple. Moreover, the decorative bands, moulded in laterite and carved in brick are very similar, and made to resemble the bands of the central *prasats*.

The laterite halls in the second enclosure form the third group. Their combination of materials is different from any other buildings, as is their spatial layout: they have an undivided interior, and smaller vestibules in a different location than the other halls. Regarding their laterite mouldings these are made to resemble the brick carvings of the central towers, as are the carvings of their columns.

The fourth group comprises the combination halls of the second enclosure and the outer *gopuras*. These buildings show the same combination of building materials, as well as identical decorative carvings. Even though some of these carvings were in general use at the time, the combination is unique to these buildings, and clearly distinguishes them from any others at the East Mebon.

Even though the buildings form four clearly distinguishable groups, certain elements are present everywhere, and made to resemble each other. This was probably done to achieve a certain degree of unity within the temple. One example is the uncarved sandstone layer of the *upapīṭha*. This appears at the base of the central sanctuary, the central platform, the lower half of the sandstone layer of the small towers, at M-A to E, the inner *gopuras*, but also the laterite of the enclosure walls and inner terrace. Hence, even though this seems to be an insignificant element, it contributes to the overall effect the temple has on the visitor, which is one of meticulous planning and harmony. Another example is the laterite mouldings and brick carvings which form horizontal bands. Even though the minute details might vary, partly because laterite

cannot be moulded as finely as sandstone and brick can be carved, the horizontal bands are made to resemble each other.

### Building sequence

The basic layout of the East Mebon is determined by the laterite terrace, built in the *baray*. It is unknown when the construction of the terrace commenced, but the Baksei Chamkrong inscription of 948 CE mentions in st. XLIV "... he [Rājendravarman] installed ... on an island in the basin of Yaśodhara a *liṅga* and images."<sup>7</sup> Consequently, building of the terrace may well have started as soon as the king had ascended the throne in 944 CE.

The design of the temple is asymmetrical – the inner enclosure and with it the central platform are moved west on the east-west axis. This asymmetry was intended right from the beginning, which can be seen in the off positioning of the northern and southern landing stages which are in line with the central sanctuary. This enlarging of the eastern part of the temple is not new, and can be found at earlier temples, e.g. Preah Ko, and the Bakheng. A generously proportioned eastern half might have been necessitated by several facts. First of all, the east is the direction of Śiva and the temple was dedicated to and oriented towards him. Secondly, entrance to almost all buildings is from the east, which means more space was needed to enable easy access. And thirdly, the rituals taking place probably meant that quite a few people were present who would have entered the temple from the east – after all this was one of the most important temples in the kingdom. This issue will be dealt with in greater depth in chapter 7, where the activities having taken place in the temple will be discussed.

The laterite terraces were the first parts to be constructed, and form the foundation for the rest of the buildings. What was built immediately after them was the sandstone face of the central platform and the central tower. When looking at how the towers and the base of the central tower were constructed, it is obvious that these sandstone blocks were carefully set in pre-carved indentations of the sandstone façade (Fig. 4.27). Moreover, the sandstone face of the central terrace is very well integrated with the laterite of the inner enclosure. Hence, even though the sandstone face of the inner terrace might look somewhat awkward considering how

much laterite and brick was used for the buildings around, it is no doubt contemporary with the temple. It would have been a huge effort to add the sandstone face later on, because the bases of the central towers would have had to be removed. However, looking at the sandstone base of the *prasats* this was never the case, because they are not a façade but a real plinth for the brick structures (Fig. 4.28). Consequently, we know that the sandstone face was finished even before the towers were started.

After the sandstone face was finished, the central towers were begun – or at least their bases. St. XLIV of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription of 948 CE mentions a *līnga* and images founded on an island in the pond of Yaśodhara. Even though this was four years before the consecration of the temple, it is possible that the images were already in place. Within Śivaism this was perfectly acceptable, as we know from Indian examples. One of the best documented ones, which also happens to be almost contemporary to Rājendravarman's temples, is the great temple in Thanjavur, built by King Rājarāja (Fig. 4.29). In his extensive inscriptions he mentions that the building of the temple commenced in 1003/4 CE, when he also handed over the copper *kalaśa* for the finial. Three years later, after the *adisthāna* was finished, but before the *garbhagrha* was built, he already worshipped the central *līnga*,<sup>8</sup> even though the temple was officially consecrated only in 1009 CE.<sup>9</sup> Transferring to Cambodia this assumption that images and *līngas* were installed before the towers were finished is also supported by the fact that most of the pedestals are far too big to fit through the doors easily. For instance, the pedestals of the five corner *prasats* were 1.2 metres square, and about 84 centimetres high, whereas the doors are only 97 centimetres wide. The building sequence must thus have been first the foundation and terraces, then the bases of the towers, subsequently the pedestals of the images or *līngas* were installed, and only then the towers built.

That the central towers were built very early on is also supported by the fact that the inscription mentions both the central *prasats* as well as the eight smaller ones. Hence, all of them should have been finished by 953 CE. Using this as the basic assumption, gives us a starting point for establishing the overall building sequence of towers and halls at the East Mebon.

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<sup>7</sup> IC IV:93/100.

<sup>8</sup> Meister/Dhaky, 1983, I:234.

<sup>9</sup> Rao, S., 1993:63.

The next unusual feature about the layout of the East Mebon is the fact that for the inner *gopuras* to be met by the enclosure wall at the centre of their sides, the wall has to have a double bend (Plan 4.1, Fig. 4.30). The only side, which has a straight wall, is the western one. Here the surrounding walkway is 5.4 metres wide, whereas the other paths are three metres more narrow. However, when measuring the walls next to the other *gopuras*, the terrace is 5.4 metres deep in the east, 5.15 metres in the south, and 5.45 metres in the north, i.e. as deep as the western part. Therefore, why does the enclosure wall contain bends on three sides? In theory the enclosure wall could have been moved in three metres on these three sides to avoid a bend. Practically, this was not possible because of the placement of M-A. The position of this building is only possible if the five laterite buildings were planned together. The four halls in the corners, M-B to E, are placed symmetrically, facing each other. Because both the laterite halls and the small towers are opening towards the east, there is no problem positioning M-C and D in the western half. Their west sides can be fairly close to the enclosure wall because there is no entrance into the halls from this side. Even for M-B and E the placement would not be difficult because there is enough space between the central platform and the northwest corner of M-B and the southwest corner of M-E respectively to enable easy passage in between platform and buildings. However, this changes dramatically with M-A. In order for the enclosure wall to be straight, M-A would have to be moved towards the northwest by about three metres, which is not feasible. First of all, the distance to M-1 would be very short, but secondly, and more importantly, there would not be enough space between M-A and the platform in order to enter the building, which opens towards the west, comfortably. Consequently, because five buildings were planned and M-A could not be placed in a significantly different location the placement of the other four towers followed as a necessity. Hence, because of M-A we know the building sequence for the inner enclosure which was central towers and small towers first, then the laterite buildings, probably at the same time as the *gopuras*, and finally the enclosure wall. There might have been a delay in between building the brick towers and the laterite buildings (M-A to E, and *gopuras*), but that is difficult to determine. The laterite buildings were built after the brick towers, or possibly at the same time, whereas the *gopuras* and the wall were probably constructed last. This is reasonable to assume because the materials for the other buildings had to be brought in, which would have been quite difficult had the *gopuras* and wall

existed already. This building sequence also explains why the laterite halls and the inner *gopuras* are so similar in their building concept: they must have been built at the same time, and were probably seen as a unit. The fact that they are built in large part of laterite seems to indicate a preference of the king. When we look at his other foundations, there is a lot of laterite used as well, e.g. at Pre Rup and even Banteay Srei.

Regarding the laterite buildings another issue has to be raised: the 'missing' sixth building, mirroring M-A south of M-E. Examining the laterite floor where that building would have been placed, there is no indication that it was ever begun. Thus it seems only five buildings were planned even though they make for a somewhat awkward layout.

When we consider the outer enclosure, we are dealing with two groups of buildings: first, the eight laterite halls in the four corners, and second, the eight combination halls next to the *gopuras* with the *gopuras* themselves. Again we have to consider the placement of the halls to establish a building sequence and explain the bends in the enclosure wall (Plan 4.1). Four halls have to be considered in particular for this task: M-d and e, and M-m and n. Looking at the placement of M-e and M-m, the halls are literally squeezed in between M-f and M-l and the respective *gopuras*. The southeast corner of M-e's vestibule touches the corner of the enclosure wall (Fig. 4.31), and the distance in between the northeast corner of the vestibule of M-m and the *gopura* was minimal as well (Fig. 4.32). Because of the damaged condition of this vestibule the exact distance cannot be measured. Comparing these halls' position with M-d and n, it is obvious that there was a lot more space available for the latter two halls (Fig. 4.33). The distance to the *gopuras* is larger, and their vestibules are about one metre deeper than the other halls' vestibules, even though they have four columns as well. Moreover, the distance to the corner buildings is larger than the one at M-e and m. The only way for M-e and m to be in such a placement is if they were built later than the halls adjacent to them. If we look at the laterite halls in the corner they were obviously planned with their current layout: the ones on the north-south axis with one central vestibule, and the others with two vestibules. The 'corner' vestibules of M-c, f and l are somewhat close to the vestibules of M-b, g, and k respectively (Fig. 4.34-36). Nonetheless, if the former halls were supposed to have two vestibules, possibly due to their greater length, this is the only way these vestibules could be realised. The presupposition

that the laterite halls were built first is also supported through a comparison with the carvings of the columns at Pre Rup. These carvings are identical to the ones of the columns of the combination halls. Given that Pre Rup was consecrated and built later than the East Mebon, it seems likely that this somewhat more detailed and elaborate motif was developed slightly later than the simpler one used at the laterite buildings. Moreover, the walls, even though they show simple mouldings, are very plain, whereas the other halls show a more refined composition, with carved sandstone layers at the bottom, and the top for placing the roof.

As seen above, the combination halls form one group with the *gopuras*. In all likelihood the *gopuras* were built somewhat later than the halls, to enable easy transport of the building materials. Their cruciform layout can be found for instance at the outer *gopuras* of Preah Ko, the Bakong, and also Banteay Srei. This design seems to have been fairly standard, and will be explained in depth in chapter 7.2.1. The spatial options to realise it were not many. The *gopuras* could not have been built further towards the centre because of the halls near them. And apart from 2 Gop E they could also not have been built further out, because there would have been no space for their vestibules because of the landing stages (Fig. 4.37). As a result, their placement necessitates the bend in the wall next to them so that the wall actually meets them at the centre of their sides. Because of the placement of the halls M-f to I, the western wall had to have bends, because the western walls of the halls are in line with the centre of the *gopura* (Fig. 4.38). This is the case on the southern side as well. On the other two sides, the wall could have been built further in, but at least in the east that might not have been desirable because the windows of the halls face towards the east, so that there might not have been too much light available with the wall too close (Fig. 4.39). Taking into account all these aspects, the building sequence in the outer enclosure must have been laterite halls, followed by the combination halls and *gopuras*, and finally the wall.

As for timing the building of the laterite halls in relation to the inner enclosure, it seems likely that they were built roughly at the same time. All of these halls contain doors, rather than open portals, and could have been used as safe storage space, or even living quarters of the priests. Regarding the overall length of time used for erecting all the buildings at the East Mebon, it appears to span fifteen to twenty years. It seems plausible that the temple was begun

fairly soon after the king's coronation in 944 CE. As we know from the Baksei Chamkrong inscription of 948 CE, at that time statues had already been founded at the East Mebon. Due to the carvings of the columns of the combination halls in the outer enclosure and the outer *gopuras*, which are identical to those of Pre Rup, these buildings seem to have been erected at a time when Pre Rup might have been started already, possibly even later. Since Pre Rup was consecrated in 961 CE, building might have started about five years earlier, when the East Mebon had already been consecrated several years. Thus, the building process at a temple was not finished with its consecration, but did continue afterwards. One possible reason for this development might have been the need for additional space. The use of individual buildings will be discussed in chapter 7.2.2.

### 4.3 Pre Rup

#### Application of criteria

The buildings of Pre Rup were analysed using the same criteria as were utilised at the East Mebon. The application of these criteria showed that at Pre Rup, even though the building programme is far more unified in terms of architectural and decorative elements than the East Mebon's, and the buildings at Pre Rup do not show as significant differences as the ones at East Mebon, four groups of buildings could be distinguished. The analytical process, starting at the central *prasats*<sup>10</sup> and then continuing outwards, will be given below. This sequence has already been discussed in the section on the East Mebon.

#### Inner enclosure

The decorative elements of the superstructure of the central *prasats* were carved in outline in brick, moulded in detail, and then covered with stucco. At the centre of all four storeys and sides was a false door, framed by columns and a pediment, the details of which have weathered away. The false door leaves were decorated with stucco as well, some of which is still in place. In between these false doors and the corners figures in niches were carved and moulded. They seem to have been standing females, possibly holding something in their hands. Because females are represented at the superstructures of all towers they might have represented *apsaras* or other heavenly beings. This would be in accord with what was practised during later periods, most famously at Angkor Wat. However, they are so badly weathered that no details are visible anymore, and even the basic stance of the figure can only be guessed at (Fig. 4.40).

Unfortunately, the top part of the towers is badly damaged, so that the particulars of the brick carvings of the walls cannot be seen any longer. Yet, they seem to have consisted of three bands of horizontal carvings, getting broader and more elaborate towards the top. Above seems to have been an outward curving band, very broad and consisting of several bands of horizontal lines (Fig. 4.41). These details seem to have been repeated at the top of the columns, which carry the pediments (Fig. 4.42). The bottom of the walls shows the same bands, mirroring the upper ones. Below the brick carvings is one sandstone layer, carved with a row of lotus petals.

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<sup>10</sup> For an overview of the characteristics of the buildings in the first enclosure see Table 4.2.

Beneath this layer is the proper sandstone base of the towers which is quite weathered. This *upapīṭha* was carved with two rows of lotus petals with probably a row of lotus buds in between (Fig. 4.43).

Originally, all the towers were covered with moulded plaster and stucco, most of which has weathered away. This layer is best preserved on the eastern half of the north side of PR-SW. Here the *devatā* is set in an arcature, designed like the superstructure of a building, which is very similar to the *vimāna* of the *prasats* (Fig. 4.44). The building has six levels, all with what seems to look like antefixes, and elaborate decoration of their sides. On either side of the top storey of the tower two heavenly beings are floating in the air, and above the tip of the building a triangular floral motif was moulded. This decorative scheme portrays a heavenly scene, the *devatā* surrounded by a palace-like building within a beautiful natural setting, attended to by the two small figures. All around this scene are floral motifs. No space was left undecorated. At the sides of the columns carrying the pediments the same tile pattern as at Banteay Srei can be found (Fig. 45/46), whereas the front of the columns shows floral scrolls, which we find carved in sandstone in later temples. This decorative scheme is not new, and very similar to what we find at, for instance, Preah Ko or Banteay Srei (Fig. 4.47).

The central *prasat* is elevated on a four metre high sandstone base, divided into two parts. The lowest layer of the upper part is uncarved, as is the top bit. The middle part has three protruding bands at its top and bottom and centre, all of them framed with upturned lotus flowers. The protrusions themselves were probably carved with lotus petals, and the top with diamond shaped flowers. Due to heavy weathering these details are almost impossible to make out. The lower part of this base seems to have been carved like the upper one, but because of the heavily weathered condition it is in, the carvings can only be guessed at (Fig. 4.48).

Most of these structural and decorative elements were possibly used at the twelve brick towers as well. What remains of them indicates a great similarity to the central *prasats*. Although the sandstone base layer is uncarved, the brick carvings of the *adhīsthāna* correspond to the ones at the central towers. They consist of three main bands, more elaborate towards the bottom, and a broad band beneath, comprised of several horizontal lines. The top carvings

probably mirrored these, but have broken away. The carvings at the top of the columns which support the pediments consisted of five bands, curving outwards, and somewhat less elaborate than the ones at the central *prasats*. About the superstructure of the towers not much can be said, because all of them are in a very bad condition. However, they probably consisted of four tiers, which were carved and decorated in a similar fashion to the central towers (Fig. 4.49).

The three terraces of the pyramid show different carvings and mouldings. The top storey, which is faced in sandstone, resembles the two parts of the *pītha* of the central sanctuary. The top and bottom are uncarved and protrude outwards, acting like a frame for the central part. This shows three prominent rows with horizontal lines carved next to them. Hence, the composition of the elements is the same as at the central base, but the carvings are missing – which could partly be due to weathering. The second layer of the pyramid, consisting of laterite, is somewhat simpler. The top and bottom protrude outwards, and the central part is not moulded at all. The lowest terrace of the pyramid has two parts. The lower one, which acts as the dais for the whole pyramid, is a plain base, with mouldings only hinted at. The upper part is very similar to the second level, albeit higher. The top and bottom protrude out, with horizontal inward curving mouldings towards the plain central part. The staircases of this level are somewhat special, because the mouldings of their sides are divided into two identical parts. Both of them are very similar to the second level of the pyramid and the upper part of the lowest one. They have a protruding top and bottom and plain centre. However, because at the staircases the two parts are of equal height (3 metres each), whereas the lower part of the sides of the lowest level of the pyramid is lower (1.5 metres), the link between walls and staircases looks somewhat odd. One other feature, which results from this split at the staircases is that there is an additional level for positioning lions on either side of the staircase. Consequently, even though the pyramid itself has only three terraces, there are four levels of lions (Fig. 4.50). This feature is a *trompe l'œil* and makes the pyramid look higher than it actually is, as do the staircases by decreasing in width with each level towards the top.

Both, PR-N and S are in quite a bad condition which makes it difficult to examine the details. Their superstructure might have consisted of four storeys, rising to a height of more than

ten metres. On the north and south sides two of these storeys and the main wall have long narrow openings, the two upper rows eight, the lowest one ten. The other two, narrower sides had false doors carved at their centre, with the space to the corners uncarved. The walls of the buildings, constructed on uncarved sandstone, show the usual horizontal bands carved at the top and bottom, consisting of four bands on a broad inward curving band, which is made to resemble a plinth (Fig. 4.51). Inside, the buildings do not have a ceiling. These two buildings will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 7.2.3.

All the halls in the inner enclosure of Pre Rup show a very unified building concept as to their architectural and decorative features. They are laterite buildings with sandstone only used for the layer of the vestibule and its columns, the windows, doorframes, and internal divisions. The roofs of all the halls, except PR-I, which has a laterite roof, was constructed on top of the top laterite layer as a wooden beamwork construction and covered with ceramic tiles. The bottom of the laterite walls is moulded to form the base of the buildings. The lowest layer is plain, as is the second one, moved inwards a bit. The third layer, moved inwards even further, is moulded with horizontal bands, as is the fourth layer. Above is the plain wall, which shows horizontally moulded bands again at its top. The sandstone layer of the vestibules is uncarved, even at PR-B, C, and H where it is placed on an additional laterite layer. The window and doorframes and internal divisions are all carved with lines. The top of the sandstone columns of the vestibules show the same patterns as the columns of the combination group and outer *gopuras* at the East Mebon: below the plain top a row of lotus petals, a row of lotus buds, and finally a band of upturned lotus flowers (Fig. 4.52).

Even though the basic building concept is quite unified at the halls there are exceptions. Both PR-B and C have their vestibules built into the courtyard, raised on an additional layer of laterite. Moreover, they have open side rooms, with a very wide open entrance: 4.55 and 4.75 metres at PR-B, and 4 metres at PR-C (Fig. 4.53). Another exception is PR-H, again with a 7.5 metre wide open entrance which not only spans the vestibule but also 2.25 metres on either side at the south wall (Fig. 4.54). The most unusual building is PR-I, the square laterite building in the northeast corner. It only consists of four corners, constructed of three laterite monoliths each, and the laterite roof (Fig. 4.55). The differences in these buildings seem to be due to their

function, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 7.2.3. For instance, PR-H seems to have housed the inscription, whereas PR-B and C appear to have served administrative purposes.

Characteristics which were examined but are not indicative of a building sequence are how the doors were added, and the link between doorframe or internal divisions and walls. Doors, and subdivisions are made of four sandstone slabs – as at the East Mebon. The doorframe was not put right next to the wall, because that was too wide, but about one metre inside. Usually, this space was, as the space between the subdivisions and walls, filled with brick. Exceptionally, at PR-F the space was filled by laterite (Fig. 4.56). Overall PR-F is similar enough to the other halls to conclude that they were built at the same time, so this feature might show an experiment with building materials. Ultimately, the material used for these links was of no consequence, as it was covered with plaster, and not visible.

One feature of the halls which might again be linked to their use is the windows, both in terms of their positioning, and also their size<sup>11</sup>. The halls along the north-south axis have their windows facing east, while PR-F and G have windows towards the south. In contrast to all these halls with windows on only one side, PR-B and C have windows facing both north and south. For most halls, the sizes of the windows are about 0.52 x 0.93 metres in the side chamber, and 0.58 x 1.37 metres in the main room. Exceptions are PR-A and K which have larger windows in the main room, 0.79 x 1.47 metres in PR-A, and 0.68 x 1.28 in PR-K. The windows of PR-B and C have different dimensions as well (Fig. 4.57). The windows of PR-B are about 0.7 x 1.6 metres in the north wall, and 0.7 x 1.5 metres towards the south. The windows in the side chambers are about 0.7 by 1.14 metres. All the windows of PR-C in the main room are about 0.7 x 1.5 metres, and those in the side chambers 0.7 x 1.2 metres.

One other structure of the inner enclosure should be mentioned as well: the *nandin* base at the bottom of the eastern staircase. The sides of the rectangle show a five-fold partition in their carvings. Both the top and the bottom are uncarved, and the central part is three fold. At the centre are simple horizontal lines, flanked by two protruding rows of lotus petals. This same pattern can be found at the bases of the central *prasats*. The inside of the structure is not

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<sup>11</sup> For an overview of the window sizes see Table 7.3.

carved, because it was not meant to be seen anyway. The top is somewhat unusual, because it has a five centimetre wide little trench carved into it (Fig. 4.58). This same feature can be seen at the base of the northern lion in front of PR-SE (Fig. 4.59), and seems to have been an alternative technique for placing sculptures on their bases.

The superstructure of the inner *gopuras* was probably very similar to the central towers, with four tiers. Unfortunately, not much is left of these buildings; so that most of their decoration and brick carvings has to be guessed at. The *gopuras* are built on two layers of unmoulded laterite. Above is one layer of sandstone, carved with a row of lotus petals, on which rests the brick building. The *adhithāna* of the brick walls seems to be very similar to the towers' with three horizontal bands, which become more intricate and broad towards the bottom. The top carvings probably mirrored the lower ones, but because of the bad condition of the *gopuras* it is difficult to say nowadays. The side passages of 1 Gop E and W are linked to the main part of the *gopuras* by a brick wall, carved with horizontal bands at the top and bottom. The side passageways themselves consist of one layer of uncarved sandstone which acts as the base, and has the two steps carved into it, the sandstone door, and one out-facing lintel. These lintels were placed over the door using a different technique than was used for the lintels of the *gopuras*. The latter ones are locked into the brick at the sides as well, however the lintels above the side entrances do not show the side extensions necessary for this technique (Fig. 4.60). Moreover, they are much longer and narrower than the other lintels. Stylistically, those lintels date from the period when Pre Rup was built. Thus, the different size and alternative technique used to place them over the doors seems to have been necessitated by their differing placement. Contrary to the lintels above the main passageway, it was not possible to lock them into the surrounding brickwork on either side, but they could only be fixed to the door construction below. Thus, the side extensions were not necessary.

1 Gop E and W have sandstone vestibules added to their outer side. These vestibules are built on two layers of uncarved sandstone, with a third one carved with a band of lotus petals. This layer is supposed to continue the sandstone layer, carved with lotus petals as well, of the *gopura*. However, the layer of the vestibule is not at the same level, which makes it look somewhat awkward. Most of the vestibule is not carved, apart from the outward facing corner

and side. Above the lotus row are horizontal bands, carved to mirror the brick ones of the *gopura*. a dais, curving inwards, above a row of lotus buds, and two more horizontal bands. Around the bays the usual frame of lines is barely visible, and the rest of the structure uncarved. Architecturally, the vestibule is not well integrated with the laterite base, as it is merely put on top of it. Despite these features, the sandstone vestibules of 1 Gop E and W are contemporary with the brick part of these structures. This is clearly visible at the backside of the sandstone blocks next to the brick wall. These show carvings at the back mirroring the rows of brick (Fig. 4.61) which can only be achieved if the sandstone blocks are erected first, then carved, and then the brick added.<sup>12</sup>

The two metre high terrace of the inner enclosure, which carries the *gopuras* and enclosure wall, is very similar to the lower part of the lowest level of the central pyramid, and represents a dais on which the enclosure sits (Fig. 4.62).

#### Outer enclosure

The halls in the outer enclosure<sup>13</sup> have all been built on one common laterite platform, with two steps leading up to it. Halls PR-a, b, c, f, g, and h show one building programme: they all have two open vestibules with four sandstone columns, and portals leading into their undivided interior. Apart from PR-c the halls are in such bad condition that it is impossible to say how many windows they had and the direction they faced. It seems that PR-a, b, g and h had five windows facing outwards, and PR-c and f three, due to their smaller size (Fig. 4.63). All the windows were placed right on top of the moulded base of the halls. A rather different concept is seen at PR-d and e. Both halls have not two but one vestibule, and one side chamber. Moreover, their vestibules have six columns, and are larger than the other halls' vestibules. Another differing feature is the fact that both halls have windows on either side, in the same position, just on top of the moulded base. A further difference is that the top layer of the wall was carved sandstone not laterite. However, the technique used to add the roof construction was the same as at the laterite layers (Fig. 4.64).

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<sup>12</sup> I am very grateful to Dr. Christophe Pottier for explaining this feature to me.

PR-I to V seem to have had a four-tiered superstructure like all the other towers. The carvings, which remain, indicate false doors at the centre of the sides, framed by columns and a pediment, with the space to the corners plain. The pediments show a somewhat special feature because they have architectural features at their centre. Because of the weathered state these elements can no longer be distinguished in great detail, but their outlines are clearly visible. The brick walls had horizontal carvings at the top, which almost do not exist anymore. However, they might have mirrored the carvings at the bottom, consisting of two broad bands on an inward curving dais-like band. These bands are a lot cruder and broader than the ones of the central towers, which might indicate a later construction date of these buildings. The bases on which these towers are constructed are massive (Fig. 4.65): they consist of six laterite layers and two sandstone layers, for PR-II and V even four, beneath the brick towers. These bases are not decorated at all, just assembled.

The outer *gopuras* are in a very bad condition, with most of their superstructure crumbled away. However, from what is left, it seems that they must have been very high buildings with a superstructure more than three metres high. Inside, the brick is carved to look arched, and the *gopuras* did not contain a ceiling. Outside, the brick was carved with four horizontal bands at the bottom, and probably at the top as well. Because of the bad condition of the buildings only parts of these carvings are still visible. In the wall linking the main entrance to the side entrances a window is inserted at each side. It is positioned right above the laterite foundation layer. However, the wall is linked very well to the *gopura* proper, with continuous brick layers in both parts. Concordantly, the walls and their windows were contemporary. The side entrances themselves consist of a sandstone door built on top of the two laterite foundation layers which can be seen around the building (Fig. 4.66). These entrances were linked to the laterite enclosure wall very well, which makes them all contemporary.

All outer *gopuras* have sandstone vestibules added onto their main axes. These structures were built on one layer of laterite, which is not well integrated with the two laterite layers of the *gopuras*. Most of the sandstone structures are uncarved, probably because they were not finished. Only the outward facing corners are carved with horizontal bands. The usual

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<sup>13</sup> For details see Table 4.2.

frames around the bays were never started. Of the brick superstructure of these vestibules nothing is left, so it is not possible to determine how this part was integrated with the brick superstructure of the *gopura* itself, or how high it was. The lintels of the vestibules are inserted using the same technique as for the ones over the side entrances of the inner *gopuras*. As the sandstone vestibules of the inner *gopuras*, these structures are contemporary with the temple and show the same carvings for the brick layers (Fig. 4.67).

Following from this analysis, it is evident that the buildings at Pre Rup show a much more coherent and integrated building programme than the ones at the East Mebon. Taking into account the list of criteria, several groups of buildings can be distinguished, due to the combination of building material used, rather than other major differences. The first group is comprised of the brick towers, both the five central and the twelve smaller ones, PR-N and S, and the *gopuras*. Not only do all these buildings consist of brick, they also show identical brick and sandstone carvings, even though the sandstone bases of PR-N and S show no decoration, whereas the other towers' sandstone is carved.

The second group, which can be made out, comprises of the halls of the inner enclosure. Even though several differences can be found, as mentioned above, these seem to be due to the different purposes of the buildings. Overall, they are very similar, not just the combination of their building materials. They have identical columns, and the way their windows are inserted is very similar, even though the sizes vary somewhat. Moreover, the laterite mouldings of their walls are identical.

The third group of buildings are the laterite halls on the east-west axis of the outer enclosure, i.e. PR-a, b, c, f, g, and PR-h. All these halls not only show the same building materials, and carvings of their sandstone parts, but an identical spatial arrangement as well. The remaining two halls in the outer enclosure, which are quite similar but show several differing developments, are PR-d and e. They have windows on both sides, and one vestibule is closed off to form a side chamber. Hence, even though these two halls do not form a totally separate group, they will be dealt with separately below.

The fourth group of buildings are the five large brick towers, PR-I to V. Even though they show certain similarities to the central towers, their building programme is somewhat different.

First of all, their size dwarfs the rest of the buildings, not just because the towers themselves are much larger, but also because they were built on massive bases. The combination of building materials for these towers is also somewhat different from the others: common laterite base, sandstone plinth, brick building. Moreover, the carvings differ from the other carvings, even though they are to some degree meant to resemble those.

#### Building sequence

The layout of Pre Rup is asymmetrical, as is that of the East Mebon, with the north-south axis moved west on the east-west axis. This plan had been designed right from the beginning, as is visible in the off positioning of the pyramid in the 1<sup>st</sup> enclosure. The terrace of the first enclosure was the first structure to be constructed, followed by the pyramid. The sandstone face of both the uppermost terrace of the pyramid and the double base of the central *prasat* are contemporary, and were finished with the pyramid. This can be seen because they are very well incorporated with the rest of the building, which would have been almost impossible to achieve had they been later additions. First, the sandstone of the upper tier of the pyramid is integrated well with the laterite of the lower level, which was moulded to receive the sandstone blocks (Fig. 4.68). This same detail is clearly visible at the base of the central tower, which is set into carvings of the sandstone terrace. Moreover, on top of the upper base the sandstone blocks of the *prasat* are set in carved indentations of the base (Fig. 4.69). As we have seen in the section on the East Mebon, the bases of the towers, both of the five central ones and the twelve small *prasats*, were constructed early on, and then the pedestals were installed before the rest of the towers was finished. For instance, the door opening of the central sanctuary is 2.4 x 1.2 metres, but the indentation for the pedestal is 1.7 metres square<sup>14</sup>, which would have made it difficult to install it after the tower was finished. Hence, taking the towers with their carvings and combination of materials as the starting point in the building sequence is already a valuable conclusion.

Comparing the materials and the carvings with the sanctuary towers, it is obvious that PR-N and S must have been built at the same time. Their brick carvings are identical to the central towers. Moreover, their positioning in the enclosure is very balanced, not just because

they are at the centre in between enclosure wall and pyramid, but because in the west their long walls end in line with the stairs of the pyramid, and in the east with the *nandin* base (Plan 4.2). Consequently, pyramid, PR-N and S, and *nandin* base seem to have been planned together and in relation to each other.

As for the halls in the first enclosure, they seem to have been conceptualised together. As seen above, their building concept is very similar, and differences seem to be caused by differing needs for their various functions. As at the East Mebon, I suggest these halls were built before the enclosure wall, because it would have complicated the building process enormously had the wall and *gopuras* been in place already. Even though the laterite halls express a totally different concept, they show characteristics which link them to the brick buildings. First of all, the sandstone layer of their vestibules is uncarved, such as the ones of PR-N and S and the small brick towers. Secondly, their columns show carvings, which can be found at the sandstone bases of the pyramid, PR-CS, and the corner towers and the bases of the lions. The position of PR-A and K seems to be a little too close to PR-S and N correspondingly. However, this should not have created problems because PR-N and S were entered from the west, and had only a false door towards the east. The entrance to PR-A and K was from the north and south respectively; thus the closeness to the two brick buildings did not disturb goings-on in this area of the enclosure. Another reason why these halls were probably built early on lies in their purpose. Because they all had doors and could be locked, they may have provided a safe space to store the objects that were needed for every-day activities in the temples. This issue will be elaborated on in chapter 7.2.3.

The building period of the inner enclosure wall and the *gopuras* was probably shortly after the inner halls, because otherwise it would have been very difficult to transport the building material. The mouldings of halls and enclosure wall are identical (Fig. 4.70), and create a unified impression. The *gopuras* show the same carvings as the central towers, not just on the brick bands, but also on the sandstone layer. The row of lotus petals can be found at the central towers, and links back to them.

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<sup>14</sup> This issue will be examined closely in chapter 6.2.

In the outer enclosure it seems that the halls along the east-west axis were built first, but after the enclosure wall of the inner enclosure due to their proximity to the inner terrace (Fig. 4.71). Had the outer halls been built first, the erection of the enclosure wall would have been hindered. The halls are built entirely of laterite, and have two vestibules leading into the undivided main room through portals. Moreover, they only have windows on one side. PR-d and e, however, seem to be a further development of these halls. One vestibule has been closed and transformed into a side chamber with windows, and the remaining vestibule is larger and not as squeezed in as the vestibules of the other halls. Another element, which seems 'evolved' from the earlier halls, is the windows. Not only do PR-d and e have windows on two sides, the windows themselves have a more balanced proportion and placement in the wall as well. Also, the top row into which the roof construction is put is carved from sandstone, not moulded in laterite, which adds to the more pleasant look of the two halls.

Because of the large available space in the other enclosure, the enclosure wall and outer *gopuras* might have been built at the same time as the halls, or possibly even earlier, as there is enough space to store the building material (Fig. 4.72). However, the large open spaces might have been used for wooden constructions, and the wall and *gopuras* built after everything inside was finished.

As for the five large brick towers at the eastern side, they seem to have been built after the main temple, possibly quite late in the reign of Rājendravarman. They are not mentioned in the inscriptions, although this does not necessarily mean that they were erected later. However, they are shrines, and did contain images or *lingas*, which could have been mentioned in the inscriptions. Taking into account just the sheer size of the towers, they were no simple annexes, but major foundations, and might have been mentioned. Since the towers do not contain inscriptions, and neither of their lintels is finished, their dedications are difficult to determine. Looking at the eastern lintels, the only ones in a semi-finished state, four of five show Viṣṇuīte scenes, and the fifth one Indra on Airāvata, a neutral motif. Hence, they might have been Viṣṇuīte foundations, and contained images of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. This issue will be examined in detail in chapter 7.2.3.

With regards to the dating of these towers, due to the lack of inscriptions it is purely inductive. Several factors have to be considered for this purpose. The most obvious one to consider is their size and placement. Because of their expansiveness they are far too large for the space available in the outer enclosure, which not only makes them look squeezed in but in fact creates problems with their accessibility. There is only very limited space to walk past the base of the steps of PR-II and IV to reach the furthest towers PR-I and V. The distance at their western side to the terrace of the inner enclosure is only a few centimetres and it is impossible to pass through (Fig. 4.73).

Secondly, one has to consider how they are integrated with the rest of the temple complex. As can be seen in Fig. 4.74 the towers were built on a laterite platform, which was continued from the wall. Unfortunately, the report does not mention whether this laterite platform is continuous with that of the halls in this enceinte, or whether it is separate.<sup>15</sup> Considering how well integrated wall, platform, and towers are they seem to be part of the same construction process which would make PR-I to V contemporary with the rest of the compound.

The third factor to take into account is their state of completeness. Looking at the lintels, not one of them is finished, not even the eastern ones above the entrances to the shrines. The carving of some of the others had not even begun before the building process was abandoned (Fig. 4.75).

The most important indication, though, that the towers were not finished is the lack of the sixth one: the southernmost one of the northern row. The laterite base for this tower had already been built, so that it was obviously planned but never finished (Fig. 4.76). In order to explain this peculiarity, the restorers of the Conservation d'Angkor brought forward the hypothesis that the material was later re-used for other buildings.<sup>16</sup> However, given the fact that the towers were built from brick this is very unlikely, as the glue used to bind them together is very strong, and does not allow for single bricks to be removed. Besides, there is no indication where these bricks might have been used. This hypothesis seems not to be too convincing, and the most likely explanation seems to be that the tower had not been started.

The final point to be discussed is the architectural features of the towers. Firstly, their carvings are similar to those of the other brick towers, but not identical. More important, though,

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<sup>15</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:6.

are the building techniques, which are very similar to the other buildings. The joints used for the doorframes and the insertion of the lintels are identical to the ones used at the other buildings. Hence, even though stylistically the buildings and their carvings are not identical, the techniques used are the same overall.

One feature of the towers which strongly indicates that they were part of the original plan are the pediments. At their centre they show architectural elements (Fig. 4.77), which is a feature characteristic for the period of Sambor Prei Kuk (7<sup>th</sup> century CE). At many of those temples, the interpilaster spaces were decorated with so-called 'flying palaces' (Fig. 4.78). These buildings usually have a tiered superstructure and are crowded with people. Since most of the carvings are in a not very well preserved state it is difficult to clarify who these people are but probably divine beings, and possibly even deities. By the tenth century, decorative elements were carved in brick only in outline but not in greater detail anymore, and usually the ornamentation of the pediments was moulded in plaster. Regrettably, none of these embellishments remain, so that it is impossible to say what the pediments might have depicted. Through a comparison with other temples, it is evident that pediments tended to be quite elaborately decorated, and depicted not only individual deities but whole stories. As an example the pediments of Banteay Srei, a contemporary and well-preserved temple, shall be used. These represent individual deities on their *vāhanas*, for instance the eastern pediment of the vestibule in front of the central shrine or whole stories. Thus the west pediment of the southern library depicts Kāma, the god of love and desire, shooting Śiva on top of Mount Kailāśa, his abode. Kāma is depicted to the right of Śiva, who has a frightened Parvatī, his spouse, on his left. *Yakṣas*, divine beings guarding the residence, are populating the mountain flanks below (Fig. 4.79). Assuming that this was the case at the pediments of Pre Rup as well, the ones of the five large brick towers would deviate drastically from this convention. The use of this 'archaic' feature at secondary shrines of Pre Rup does thus highlight the modern-ness of the rest of the compound. The pediments of the central shrines were beautified in the fashion en-vogue at the time. Heightening this fact even more recognisably those of the towers at the periphery of the temple are decorated in an older style.

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<sup>16</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1935:119.

Because of the factors discussed above, the five towers seem to be part of the original plan of the temple. Due to their unfinished state it seems likely that they were begun after the main part of the temple was completed. Pre Rup was consecrated in 961 CE, so these *prasats* may have been built after this date, and could originate from quite late in Rājendrarvarman's reign. Bearing in mind that the king died in 967 CE, this would also explain why the sixth tower was never begun, even though the others were already finished, and the decorations carved in parts.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

From the examination of the architectural characteristics of the temples several conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, both temples show a very unified building programme which seems to indicate a meticulous planning process in accord with the spatial requirements of the *śāstras* (see chapter 7.2). With respect to the technical features of the buildings we can say that even though for some features various techniques were used simultaneously, these are very consistent. Variations are very limited, and the most important construction characteristics for assembling door and window frames, and inserting the lintels into the brickwork were not altered.

Secondly, the application of the list of criteria as outlined in part 4.1 results in a detailed understanding of all buildings within the compounds. Going beyond the existing descriptions, which limit themselves to the decorative elements, technical similarities and difficulties could be established. This resulted in the clustering of edifices into distinct groups. Overall, the differences between these groups are not major, but they do show variations regarding technical features, such as the combination of materials, or decorative elements, e.g. carvings. Since the fundamental technical aspects, e.g. the ways used for assembling the door and window frames, or inserting the lintels into the brickwork, are the same throughout the temples, the changes which have been charted do not seem to reflect a further development in technical possibilities, but rather changing preferences of the builder. This allows the claim that all buildings within the two temple compounds are part of the same building plan, and were erected under King Rājendravarman.

Thirdly, an internal building sequence was developed, which only partly results from the necessities of the building process. The very first stages of this process are the same at both temples: the laterite foundations which form the base for the rest of the buildings, followed by the bases of the sanctuary towers. More difficult to ascertain was the order of the surrounding halls. For this purpose not only the architectural features had to be taken into consideration, but the layout and practical reasons as well. Architectural features indicative of the building order are combination of building materials and the decorative details. At the East Mebon these vary in different buildings, and a comparison with later temples of King Rājendravarman helps in ascertaining their temporal sequence. Even though the differences at Pre Rup are not considerable, variations do exist which have repercussions on the sequence. For instance,

though similar to the other halls in the second enceinte, PR-d and e clearly show an overall evolution, for instance the transformation of the vestibules facing the corners into side chambers, or the additional windows at the inner side. In terms of layout, the most unusual feature of the East Mebon are the bends in both enclosure walls. These can only be explained through the placement of specific buildings, which thus indicates a building sequence. Practically, at both temples the halls could not have been built after the enclosure walls next to them as that would have hindered their construction considerably.

In itself, the building sequence allows no inferences as to the usage of the individual buildings. As has been discussed in chapter 3.3.2, empirical and structuralist methodologies can only be a tool, but do not allow inferences as to meaning. Nevertheless, these approaches are necessary if we want to go beyond a descriptive examination of the sites. Temples were places of worship, which could only be carried out properly if certain pre-conditions were met. For instance, for icons to be worshipped properly they had to be adorned, and praised. Both activities involve objects like ornaments or vessels for the offerings which had to be kept at the sites. Since these objects do possess sacred connotations in themselves, a proper storage place would have been essential. Consequently, when ascertaining the intended purpose of individual buildings in chapter 7.2 it will be most helpful to know when in the building process they were constructed.

Having established a detailed architectural analysis, the next chapter will examine the contents of the inscriptions found at the two temples. Aspects investigated will be the religious concepts expressed, and the information given about the temples themselves.

## 5. Information Provided by the Epigraphy

Having analysed the architecture of the temples closely in the last chapter, this one will investigate the inscriptions of East Mebon and Pre Rup. Issues dealt with are the religious concepts expressed in them, but also the information given about the temples themselves. In order to place these inscriptions within a wider framework, first a general introduction to the Sanskrit epigraphy of Kambujadesa will be given. Here the most important religious concepts expressed in inscriptions throughout ancient Khmer history will be presented. Because these religious notions originate in Indian religious and philosophical texts, these will be introduced briefly as well. Not only do they form the background of the discussion, it will also become apparent how deep and varied the knowledge of Sanskrit culture was in ancient Cambodia. The elucidations of the first part of the chapter will thus form the conceptual background of the more specific discussion of King Rājendravarman's inscriptions in part 5.2.

### 5.1 General Introduction to the Sanskrit Epigraphy of Kambujadesa

The Cambodian Sanskrit inscriptions show a very rich vocabulary and are grammatically correct. Indeed, often they are better than the inscriptions found in India itself.<sup>1</sup> Because of the large numbers in which they were composed, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambujadesa form an important part of Sanskrit epigraphy generally, and bear evidence to a very sound knowledge of Sanskrit and its literature, as is evident in many allusions in the inscriptions. Quite frequently they do use words which are not used in Indian texts, but which are part of the local Sanskrit vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> The foundation charters of ancient Cambodian temples comprise of very similar contents as the Indian ones. In India, various types of inscriptions can be found, e.g. donative and panegyric inscriptions, but also memorial inscriptions or land charters.<sup>3</sup> These typologies are also evident in Kambujadesa, again, as in India, not as clearly separated inscriptions, rather subsequent parts of the same text. The inscriptions in ancient Cambodia were mainly written in conjunction with foundations or donations, on either stone stelae or door jambs.

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<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya, 1991:2.

<sup>2</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:171-172. For a detailed analysis of these words see K. Bhattacharya (1991) *Recherches sur le Vocabulaire des Inscriptions Sanskrites du Cambodge*. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient CLXVII, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Salomon, 1998:110ff.

The basic structure of a Cambodian inscription is first the invocations, followed by the genealogy and eulogy of the reigning king and founder, the description and enumeration of his foundations, and finally a warning against the destruction of the foundation.

The invocations deal not so much with the temples themselves, but are important mainly for understanding the religious ideas prevalent at the time. The invocations found in the Cambodian inscriptions are a lot more philosophical than the Indian ones. Due to their dealing with religious ideas, they do not contain much historical information. However, because of expressing these ideas, they do provide evidence for continued contact with India, which can thus be used in a historical context:

[t]he Sanskrit epigraphy of Cambodia abounds in such allusions to technical ideas – grammatical, philosophical, religious. They have no bearing on history, in the customary sense. But the fact that these ideas were expressed in ancient Cambodia is of no little interest from the point of view of the history of cultural relations between India and Cambodia.<sup>4</sup>

Generally, though, the introductory stanzas of the inscriptions should only be used with great caution for a historical analysis, as their overall purpose was religious.

The genealogy of the king does not necessarily have to be very detailed, but can be. In the case of King Rājendravarman, he gives three versions of his genealogy, the first in the inscription of Baksei Chamkrong in 948 CE, the second one in the East Mebon inscription 953 CE, and the last one in the inscription of Pre Rup 961 CE. The eulogy of the king and founder can take up most of the inscription. Usually, the king is described as the most powerful ruler of all times, the most learned and wisest man, excelling in all the various disciplines the righteous ruler has to command. These *praśastis* can be very philosophical and poetical, as st. XVII of the East Mebon shows:

XVII            Science, in his infallible mouth, was similar to the brilliant glare of the day which appears in the East: it was splendid after having drawn aside the defects (darkness), revealed the significance of the things (illuminated the objects), and it was spread throughout the world.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>            Bhattacharya, 2003:3.

<sup>5</sup>            Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. K. Bhattacharya, who very kindly agreed to work on the inscriptions with me, and translate those stanzas which are analysed in this thesis. The interpretations resulting from these new translations are entirely mine, and do not necessarily reflect Prof. Bhattacharya's opinion. Possible mistakes are also entirely the author's.

The inscription of Lolei proclaims the following about King Yaśovarman:

XXXIII The god of Love, however beautiful he may be, would not, I think, be comparable to him [Yaśovarman], even if he, with all his limbs intact, was not burnt like a moth in fire.<sup>6</sup>

Regarding the prior foundations, these are not described in detail, but merely listed. For instance, Kavīndrārimathana's inscription of Bat Chum says that

XX In the *śaka* year 868 he founded at Jayantadeśa a statue of the Jina; in *śaka* 872 at Kuṭīśvara a Lokanātha and two Devīs.<sup>7</sup>

Because of this vagueness it can be quite difficult at times to establish where the foundation was actually placed. For instance, st. CCV of East Mebon states that King Rājendravarman founded statues of Śauri, Gaurī and a *linga* of Sambhu south of the East Baray, without mentioning the name of the temple. Thus, it has not been determined so far where these sculptures were placed.

The concluding part of the inscriptions usually contains a warning against the neglect and destruction of the foundation, such as st. CXXX of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription:

CXXX Those who by speech, thought or action destroy any property of Śiva such as land, gold, silver, servants, are subjected to torments in the two worlds.<sup>8</sup>

In various cases in addition to the warnings supplications to protect the foundation are given, as in King Yaśovarman's inscription of Lolei:

XC Śrī Yaśovarman adjures the future kings of Kambuja: You should protect this meritorious work, you who have merit for wealth.

XCI This, indeed, is the burden for the kings established by the Supreme Being: protection of those who are to be protected and punishment of those who are to be punished.

XCII Of these, those who steal the goods should be punished by the king, and let them go to hell. Those who protect, may the king protect them, and let them attain the highest status.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999c:33/42.  
<sup>7</sup> A:XX, Coedès, 1908:228/240.  
<sup>8</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999a:20/30-31.  
<sup>9</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999c:39/46.

The inscriptions mainly dealt with in this thesis, i.e. the inscriptions of Baksei Chamkrong, East Mebon, and Pre Rup, do follow this general structure. A short characterisation of their contents is given in Overview 5.1 below. A more detailed summary of these inscriptions is to follow in section 5.2.1.

Overview 5.1: Internal structure of the main inscriptions of King Rājendravarman.

<b>Type</b>	<b>Baksei Chamkrong</b>	<b>East Mebon</b>	<b>Pre Rup</b>
<b>Invocations</b>	St. I – XII	St. I – VII	St. I – V
<b>Genealogy</b>	St. XIII – XLIII	St. VIII – XII	St. VI – XII, CCLXXX
<b>Eulogy</b>		St. XIII – CC	St. XIII – CCLXVII
<b>(Previous) foundations</b>	St. XLIV – XLV	St. CCI – CCX	St. CCLXVIII – CCLXXXV
<b>Supplication</b>	St. XLVII – XLVIII	St. CCXI – CCXVII	St. CCLXXXVI – CCXCVIII

## Literature

As has been established above, the inscriptions express religious and other philosophical ideas. These are mainly derived from three sources: the Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and Āgamas. Sometimes these texts are mentioned by their name; for instance st. XXX of the inscription of Banteay Srei mentions explicitly the Kāśikāvṛtti, the Śivasamhitā, and the Pārameśvara. The first is the famous commentary of Pāṇini, and the last the Pārameśvarāgama. The second, in contrast, is more difficult to identify, and could be one of a number of possibilities: the Tantric text on *yoga* bearing the same name, which however is quite late, possibly another Tantric text with that name, or the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is also known as the Śiva or Śaiva Purāṇa, and called Śivasamhitā.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately, K. Bhattacharya does not identify the Śivasamhitā, and in general this is a good example illustrating the difficulties in establishing the Indian texts referred to.

In the following the main groups of source texts will be summarised. A more detailed and specific analysis of the issues dealt with in them will be given when specific stanzas of the inscriptions are analysed.

## Upaniṣads

The Upaniṣads are philosophical and mystical scriptures, believed to be divine revelation (*śruti*). Even though some authorities accept 108 Upaniṣads, fourteen of them can be regarded as Vedic: the Brhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Aitareya, Kauṣītaki, Kena, Taittirīya, Īśa, Kaṭha, Śvetāśvatara, Mahānārāyaṇa, Muṇḍaka, Praśna, Māṇḍūkya, and Maitrī Upaniṣads. The term Upaniṣad is derived from √*upa*, 'near to', √*ni*, 'near', and √*śad*, 'to sit', denoting groups of disciples sitting near their teacher, and '*upanīṣad*' could thus be rendered as 'mystic doctrine'. The oldest of these texts date from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>11</sup> Even though this group of texts is within the Vedic tradition and continues the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, their focus shifts away from the ritual itself to the knowledge of esoteric correspondences, and they are concerned with "reinterpretation of the ritual process and an elucidation of its inner meanings"<sup>12</sup>. Thus they do go one step further, and the deeper meaning of a ritual receives precedence over its actual performance. The Upaniṣads are part of the *jñānamārga*, the way of knowledge, not of the *karmamārga*, the way of action,<sup>13</sup> as the earlier texts had been. Despite being part of *śruti*, revelation, the Upaniṣadic authors are not known, although some texts are associated with renowned sages.<sup>14</sup> One important feature of the Upaniṣads is the relationship between *guru* and student, and often they are composed in the form of a dialogue.<sup>15</sup>

The central issue of these texts is speculations illuminating means of attaining spiritual freedom, and the ultimate goal is not rebirth in a higher world, but cessation of rebirth. This quest for liberation is visible in the four main concepts discussed:

- *brahman*, the deepest essence of all being which is identical with the individual self, *ātman*
- *ātman* which will stay bound in *saṃsāra* because of ignorance of this fundamental truth
- *mokṣa* which theoretically is possible through the realisation of identity of *ātman* and *brahman*, and

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<sup>10</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:48.

<sup>11</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:37.

<sup>12</sup> Flood, 1999:83.

<sup>13</sup> Renou/Fillozat, 1947-49:295.

<sup>14</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:37.

<sup>15</sup> Flood, 1999:83.

- o practically, liberation can be reached through detachment from the material world, and the gaining of the direct inner knowledge through meditation (*dhyāna*); this later developed into *yoga*.<sup>16</sup>

One of the *mahāvākyas*<sup>17</sup>, the four great sentences, of the Upaniṣads is '*tat tvam asi*', 'that art thou': "*Brahman* (the ultimate as discovered objectively) is *Ātman* (the ultimate as discovered introspectively)."<sup>18</sup> Initially *ātman* meant breath, as for instance in Ṛg Veda 10.168, where *ātman* is the breath of the Gods.<sup>19</sup> Later on it developed to stand for the individual self, and only in the Upaniṣads is its essence identified with the *brahman*.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, although a distinction is made between the pure and essential Self, beyond manifestation, and the individual, manifest Self, ultimately the two are the same.<sup>21</sup> In the Tīśā Upaniṣad, the Absolute is described in the following way:

5            It moves. It moves not.  
              It is far, and It is near.  
              It is within all this,  
              And It is outside of all this.<sup>22</sup>

Of utmost significance is the knowledge of this identity; if this knowledge is reached *mokṣa*, liberation, can be accomplished. Consequently, rituals are regarded as inferior, and only asceticism is seen as some help. The ultimate knowledge can only be attained by a few, and the rest of humanity is bound in the cycle of rebirth. In the inscriptions of Kambujadesa knowledge of this doctrine is evident in their general monist stance. Creation is seen as one with the Absolute, and all individual Selves as united, and ultimately identical with the Brahman. Most obvious is this doctrine in the supplications at the end of the inscriptions, which implore future kings to protect the founder's dharma, i.e. the temple. This is stated exactly because the Selves of the individual kings are ultimately one, thus by protecting an earlier foundation the king will gain as much merit as by constructing his own foundation.

The philosophy of unity necessitates the concepts of *karma* and *saṃsāra*. The term *saṃsāra* is found for the first time in the Katha Upaniṣad.<sup>23</sup> Regarding the doctrine of *karma*, it

<sup>16</sup> Werner, 1994:166.

<sup>17</sup> Hiriyanna, 1962:36, n. p.9, l.16.

<sup>18</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:38.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.:15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.:69.

<sup>21</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:340.

<sup>22</sup> Tīśā Upaniṣad, verse 5. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:40.

cannot be found in the Vedas, which bear evidence to the idea of re-death, rather than re-birth.<sup>24</sup> Also in the Brāhmaṇas we only find a hint of it, because even though the notion of re-death prevails, there is a belief in the consequences of ritual action after death. This notion is broadened in the Upaniṣads to refer to actions influencing the rebirth. The term '*karma*' derives from the root √kr, 'to do'; *karma* being 'what was done', 'deed', 'action'; and the later meaning included not only the actions themselves but also their consequences.<sup>25</sup> A necessary precondition for this concept is an ethical element, the retribution of good and bad deeds. Through this the act becomes a moral act, which results in positive or negative consequences. An overview of the characteristics of the law of *karma*, and the differences to the law of universal causation is given in Overview 5.2 below.

Overview 5.2: The differences between the law of *karma*, and the law of universal causation.<sup>26</sup>

<b>Law of <i>karma</i></b>	<b>Law of universal causation</b>
Effects of action impinge upon doer	Effects regardless of whom they affect
Effects due to intention + action	Effects only due to action
Like causes produce like effects	Effects are not like causes
Causal feature is a moral one	Moral judgements irrelevant
Effects manifested in some (distant) future	Two events are temporally conjoined

Important in this system is the notion of an objectively measurable ethic, a moral law, so that actions can be measured independently, and according to their good or bad value they result in respective consequences.<sup>27</sup> This system is explained by Yājñavalkya in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. After death the body dissolves, but the self passes through the stages of a fivefold sacrifice, after which there are two paths: the path of the gods, the *devayāna*, which leads to salvation, or the path of the fathers, the *pitṛyāna*, which results in rebirth according to the accumulated merits.<sup>28</sup> By the time the 'heterodox' systems developed, the doctrine of *karma* had fully evolved, and was generally accepted.<sup>29</sup> Reference to the ancient Cambodian kings following the *pitṛyāna* can only be found indirectly. For instance, st. CCVII of East Mebon, which will be discussed in detail below, refers to Rājendravarman's parents as

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<sup>23</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:341.  
<sup>24</sup> O'Flaherty, 1980:3  
<sup>25</sup> Reichenbach, 1990:197, n. 2.  
<sup>26</sup> After Reichenbach, 1990:24-25.  
<sup>27</sup> Reichenbach, 1990:2.  
<sup>28</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:342.

having attained the same status as Śiva (*sastānatā*). This seems to indicate strongly, that the parents were reborn in Śiva's heaven, and had not reached *mokṣa*, which would mean the cessation of *saṃsāra*.

## Purāṇas

Together with the epics and Tantras, the Purāṇas are *smṛti*, tradition, contrary to *śruti*, revelation.<sup>30</sup> The term '*purāṇa*' means 'ancient account'. The texts are sacred books of Brahmanism, and form an inferior Veda. The 18 main Purāṇas contain about 400,000 verses, and form a *purāṇasaṃhita*, a term already present in the Vedas.<sup>31</sup> The 18 major Purāṇas and 18 subordinate texts, the so-called Upapurāṇas, are classified according to the three *guṇa*, qualities.

Overview 5.3: The classification of the 18 main Purāṇas according to the members of the *trimūrti*, and the *guṇa*.<sup>32</sup>

<b>Purity – <i>sattva</i> – Viṣṇu</b>	<b>Passion – <i>rajas</i> – Brahmā</b>	<b>Darkness – <i>tamas</i> – Śiva</b>
Viṣṇu Purāṇa	Brahma Purāṇa	Śiva Purāṇa
Bhāgavata Purāṇa	Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa	Līṅga Purāṇa
Garuḍa Purāṇa	Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa	Matsya Purāṇa
Narāḍīya Purāṇa	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa	Kūrma Purāṇa
Padma Purāṇa	Bhaviṣya Purāṇa	Skanda Purāṇa
Varāha Purāṇa	Vāmana Purāṇa	Agni Purāṇa

The content of the Purāṇas does not necessarily follow this classification, although most of them are centred on a particular god.

The Purāṇas were compiled over a long time span, and bear witness to the growth of sectarian worship of certain deities from about the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE through the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium CE. This goes hand in hand with a decline of the importance of the Vedic sacrifice, as is already evident in the Upaniṣads, paralleled by an increase of devotional worship (*pujā*) as the expression of love and devotion (*bhakti*) to a personal God (*Bhagavān*) or Goddess (*Bhagavati*). Consequently, the period of the epics and Purāṇas sees the rise of Viṣṇu, Śiva,

<sup>29</sup> Reichenbach, 1990:13.  
<sup>30</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:381.  
<sup>31</sup> Ibid.:412.  
<sup>32</sup> After Flood, 1999:109.

and the Goddess. This is evident in the inscriptions of ancient Cambodia. For instance, st. CIII of East Mebon, which will be examined more closely in section 5.2.2 states that King Rājendravarman's 'supreme faith and devotion (*śraddhā ca bhaktiś ca parā*) ... is passionately turned towards Śrīkaṅṭha'.

The main period during which the Purāṇas were established is that of the Gupta, c. 320 – c. 500 CE, but the texts were changed until medieval times.<sup>33</sup> Even though they are fundamentally religious in character, the Purāṇas show influence of the *kṣatriya* class, and some of them, e.g. Agni and Garuda Purāṇa, are outright encyclopaedias, with legends, royal genealogies, and historical accounts. Generally, the main issues dealt with, the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, the five characteristics, are the following:

- *sarga*. the creation of the universe
- *pratisarga*. the re-creation after the periodical dissolution
- *vamśa*. genealogies of deities and saints
- *manvantara*. the deeds of Manu
- *vamśānucarita*. the history of the dynasties.

These categories, however, form only part of what is dealt with in the texts, and additional topics are:

- *samsthā*. the organisation of the universe
- *raksā*. conservation
- *pralaya*. dissolution
- *hetu*. cause, i.e. the self ignorant of the cause of the universe
- *apāśraya*. support, i.e. the universal self.

In addition, the Purāṇas also contain discourses on religious philosophy, in the form of *gītā*, or chants, which glorify or develop further the Bhagavat Gītā. Furthermore, they adopt Vedic ideas and expand on them. In a more practical way they also insist on actual deeds and *yoga*, both *karma*- and *jñānayoga*, and draw a lot on the philosophy of Sāṃkhya. As hinted at already above, parts of the Purāṇas deal with practical problems of governance, administration,

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<sup>33</sup> Flood, 1999:103-110.

legal, fiscal and commercial matters, questions of grammar, metre, lexicography, architecture, medicine etc.; but religious matters are always predominant.<sup>34</sup>

A few concepts as described in the Purāṇas shall be briefly summarised below. With regards to cosmogony, various Vedic ideas are reduced to a comparatively simple schema. The universe is interpreted as born from the eternal substance *prakṛti*, a "material continuum which covers space and carries in itself the three *guṇā*"<sup>35</sup> *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. These compose the whole phenomenal creation in different combinations, and even the gods are made up of them.

Moreover, we find a further development of the concepts of *karma*, *dharma* and *saṃsāra*, which become increasingly complex and cannot be examined separately. Fundamentally, the Purāṇas attempt to reconcile two extreme stands on *saṃsāra*, the cycle of rebirths: the positive attitude, seeing it as an opportunity to be reborn in a better existence, and the negative one, which wants to terminate *saṃsāra* through the practice of *yoga*.<sup>36</sup> These two attitudes are the ideals of the householder and the ascetic respectively, which were coalesced in the system of the *āśrama*, the system of the four stages of life<sup>37</sup>. Regarding *karma*, this entails two notions regarding action: the ideal of action, *pravṛtti*, and the ideal of cessation of action, *nivṛtti*, again characteristic for the two different stages of life.<sup>38</sup>

Closely related to these thoughts is the concept of *dharma*, deriving from the root √*dhṛ*, 'maintaining, sustaining, supporting', with '*dharma*' being 'what is firm and durable, what sustains and maintains, what hinders fainting and falling'.<sup>39</sup> Origins of the concept are already in the Vedic period, during which the laws of the universe are identified with the laws of the sacrifice. Later on this concept was widened to include the norms of conduct, and the universal *dharma* was equated with "the eternal laws which maintain the world"<sup>40</sup>. Two kinds of *dharma* can be distinguished: the external *dharma*, which is the action of man to realise his destiny, and the internal *dharma*, the obligation to submit oneself to the laws governing the universe. Thus the recurring focus is on fulfilling one's duty, which is laid down in the *varṇāśrama dharma*,

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<sup>34</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:413ff.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.:545.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.:545-560.

<sup>37</sup> These stages are *brahmacārya*. celibate student, *gṛhastha*. householder, *vanaprastha*. hermit, and *saṃnyāsa*. renouncer.

<sup>38</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:557.

<sup>39</sup> Lingat, 1998:3.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.:3.

which details the duties of the *varṇas*, the four classes of society, and the *āśramas*, the four stages in life.<sup>41</sup> The concept of *varṇāśrama dharma* thus unites religious and social duties, and proclaims that man's welfare is in his works.<sup>42</sup> This notion is particularly evident in the supplications of the inscriptions of Kambujadesa, which implore future kings to protect the *dharma* of the founder, i.e. his temple. In the inscriptions discussed in this thesis it is made most explicit in st. CCXI-CCXVII of the East Mebon. Here it is repeatedly stated that the future kings will adhere to *dharma*, and thus protect the temples. This issue will be explored in greater detail in section 5.2.2.

At the other end of the spectrum is *mokṣa*, salvation, and its goal is not the increase of merit through a life according to *dharma*, but liberation. The way to reach *mokṣa*, a state 'full of life', is *yoga*, and the final state is one without consciousness, like a stone, in which the self ceases to be enchained by the body. In the theistic systems, liberation is reached through the grace of God, and *mokṣa* is equated to a state of being one with the divinity. Even though in principle *mokṣa* can only be attained after death it is possible to reach *mokṣa* during ones life, and be *jīvanmukta*, e.g. like Śiva. In this state one is freed from all ritual obligations and according to Tantra possesses the eight signs of realisation, which coincide with the eight powers of *yoga*.<sup>43</sup>

## Āgamas

The Āgamas contain mythological, epical and philosophical ideas, and are regarded as the 'fifth Veda' by their sectarian followers.<sup>44</sup> They were compiled from around 600 CE onwards, with most of them having been composed by the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE, and by the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE a vast body of material had been created. Usually they take the form of a dialogue between the Highest Being, depending on their religious leaning Śiva, Viṣṇu or the Goddess, and their spouse as the disciple who asks the questions. This literary form resulted in the significance of both the *guru*, and the initiations performed by him. The main issues dealt with in the Āgamas are:

- practice (*sādhana*), including initiation (*dīkṣā*), ritual and *yoga*

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<sup>41</sup> Flood, 1999:58.

<sup>42</sup> Lingat, 1998:4.

<sup>43</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:562.

- ritual structure, involving hand gestures (*mudrā*), *mantra* repetition, and the construction of sacred diagrams (*yantra*, *maṇḍala*)
- cosmology
- the divine body, which contains within it the cosmic hierarchy, and the cosmic polarity between the male deity and female energy
- attaining of magical powers (*siddhī*), and experiencing of bliss in higher worlds (*bhoga*)
- possession (*āveśa*) and exorcism.<sup>45</sup>

### Advaita Vedānta

One more religious strand should be taken into consideration, which has influenced Cambodian inscriptions: Advaita Vedānta. This ideology originates between 500 and 200 BCE, and appraises the speculations of the Upaniṣads. The main text, the Vedānta Sūtra, explains the aim of the Vedānta. It is also called the Brahma Sūtra because it deals with the doctrine of Brahman, and Śāṅkara Sūtra because of its expositions on the unconditioned Self.<sup>46</sup> The greater influence, though, have had the commentaries written on this text. One of the main commentators is Śaṅkara, or Śaṅkarācārya, who is usually dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup>/early 9<sup>th</sup> century CE. He sees *brahman* as the sole reality, and the manifest Universe as the result of a superimposition, *adhyāsa*, on *brahman* by the mind. The most famous example used in this context is that of a rope taken to be a snake in twilight.<sup>47</sup> This illusion, *māya*, hinders us to realise that the self, *ātman*, is identical with the Absolute, *brahman*. In order to reach salvation, the ignorance has to be removed and the self be realised as “the witnessing subject identical with *brahman*.”<sup>48</sup> Such knowledge is liberation, *mokṣa*. In the inscriptions discussed here, this is expressed most explicitly in st. CCLXXXVIII of Pre Rup. The author states that ‘a distinction is made between the agents ... based on extraneous superimpositions; but that distinction is secondary and should be dispelled by the knowledge of the highest truth’.

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<sup>44</sup> Werner, 1994:24.

<sup>45</sup> Flood, 1999:158ff.

<sup>46</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:506.

<sup>47</sup> Werner, 1994:23-24.

## 5.2 Concepts Expressed in the Epigraphy of King Rājendravarman

This section of the chapter will deal with the inscriptions of King Rājendravarman, particularly the three main ones, from Baksei Chamkrong (948 CE), the East Mebon (953 CE), and Pre Rup (961 CE). Firstly, the inscriptions will be summarised, followed by an analysis of the religious ideas expressed in them, and in the third part those stanzas containing information regarding the temples themselves will be studied.

King Rājendravarman was a Śivaite himself, as is evident not only in the invocations of his inscriptions in which Śiva is appealed to as the Supreme Deity, but also throughout the inscriptions. For instance, st. CIII of East Mebon says that

CIII            His supreme faith and devotion, rejecting all attachment to other divinities, is passionately turned towards Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva), like Gaṅgā and Bhavānī (Umā) to the God of gods (Śiva).<sup>49</sup>

Despite this strong conviction, Rājendravarman protected the other main religions as well. The inscriptions of Kuk Sla Ket<sup>50</sup>, Wat Kdei Skie<sup>51</sup>, and Thvar Kdei<sup>52</sup> mention Viṣṇuite foundations, and the inscription carved on one door jamb later re-used at Banteay Kdei indicates the good relations between the Śivaite and Viṣṇuites: the Śivaite guru Hrsīkeśa is the descendant of a Viṣṇuite family, evident in his Viṣṇuite name. Despite his Viṣṇuite family background he became a Śivaite and even rose to the position of the king's *guru*.<sup>53</sup> With respect to Buddhism, this was a strong period as well. The king's minister Kavīndrārimathana was a prominent Buddhist, who built the Buddhist temple of Bat Chum, dedicated to the Buddha, Vajrapani and Prajñāpāramitā. A relative of Kavīndrārimathana, Vīrendravikhyāta, another Buddhist, founded the temple at Kdei Car, for which the king himself donated images of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā, as mentioned in the inscription.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the inscription of Prasat Ben Vien<sup>55</sup> mentions that one of the king's brothers-in-law, a brother of his wife, was Buddhist as well.<sup>56</sup> Two more inscriptions bear witness to the good relations between the

<sup>48</sup>

Flood, 1999:241.

<sup>49</sup>

Bhattacharya, 1961:93.

<sup>50</sup>

IC V:122/123, st. XXXI.

<sup>51</sup>

IC V:116/117, st. VI.

<sup>52</sup>

IC VI:133-134/137, st. I-VI.

<sup>53</sup>

Finot, 1925c:359/362, st. XXXV.

<sup>54</sup>

IC VI:125/127, st. XIII-XIV.

<sup>55</sup>

IC V:100/102, st. XVII-XVIII.

<sup>56</sup>

Bhattacharya, 1961:31.

Śivaites and Buddhists. The one of Don Tri<sup>57</sup> mentions the foundation of a Śiva Parameśvara together with an Ārya Maitreya, and the inscription of Prasat Pram<sup>58</sup> cites that the Buddha installed there is venerated by the Śivaites as well.<sup>59</sup>

In order to familiarise the reader with the main inscriptions of King Rājendravarman's reign, those of Baksei Chamkrong (948 CE), the East Mebon (953 CE), and Pre Rup (961 CE), short summaries of them will be given below.

### 5.2.1 Summary of the Inscriptions

#### Baksei Chamkrong (K. 286)

The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong<sup>60</sup>, dated 869 *śaka*, was translated by, among others, George Coëdès in 1909, and then again published in the fourth volume of the *Inscriptions du Cambodge*. This translation will be used for the present thesis. The inscription was carved on the two jambs of the eastern door; 42 lines in 21 stanzas on the southern and 54 lines in 27 stanzas on the northern one.<sup>61</sup> Its very beautiful and clear writing can still be read today, due to its good state of preservation (Fig. 5.1).

In the following short overview of the contents of the inscription its internal structure will become evident as well. At the beginning are the invocations. Stanzas I, and II invoke Śiva, followed by Viṣṇu (st. III), Brahmā (st. IV), Śiva-Viṣṇu (st. V), Śiva-Devī (st. VI), Devī (st. VII), Vāgīśvarī (st. VIII), Gaṅgā (st. IX), Lakṣmī (st. X), Kambu Svāyambhuva (st. XI), and finally Merā (st. XII). Subsequently, a long genealogy of King Rājendravarman is given, which also mentions the foundations of the earlier kings Indravarman (st. XXVI), Yaśovarman (st. XXIX), Harṣavarman I (st. XXXII), and Jayavarman IV (st. XXXV and XXXVII). Subsequently, Rājendravarman's own foundations up to that time are listed (st. XLIV and LXV). Finally, the date is given as 869 *śaka*<sup>62</sup> (st. XLVI), and Rājendravarman's successors are implored to protect this *dharma* (st. XLVII-XLVIII).

Thus, the special significance of this inscription lies in the detailed account of the history of Khmer royalty, harking back to its origins, up to King Rājendravarman. Most important are the

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<sup>57</sup> IC VI:148/149, st. II.

<sup>58</sup> Coëdès, 1913:21/25, st. XLII.

<sup>59</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:32.

<sup>60</sup> This inscription is included in appendix 1.1 in Volume 2 of this thesis.

<sup>61</sup> Coëdès, 1909a:468.

stanzas on Kambu and Merā, which are mentioned here for the first time, although Kambu will be mentioned again in the inscriptions of Sūryavarman I at Preah Vihear, and Jayavarman VII at Tā Prohm. The meaning derives from Kambu-ja, a Sanskrit name denoting “descendants of Kambu”<sup>63</sup>, and this king, uniting in his person the solar and lunar dynasties, represents the solar one, whereas Kaundinya, the usual founder king given in the inscriptions, represents the lunar.<sup>64</sup> Equally important is the inscription’s mentioning the foundations of the kings from Indravarman onwards.

#### East Mebon (K. 528)

The foundation stele of the East Mebon<sup>65</sup> is dated 874 *śaka*, which corresponds to 953 CE, and was found in October 1922 by H. Marchal in the outer eastern *gopura*. The only translation was done by L. Finot in 1925<sup>66</sup>. The stele is 1.7 metres high, 1.2 metres wide and 13 centimetres deep (Fig. 5.2), and is carved very finely, only 1 millimetre deep. The base of the stone is carved with lotus petals, as is the top (Fig. 5.3). The text, Sanskrit verse, covers both sides, 57 and 58 lines respectively, adding up to 218 stanzas, the second longest inscription known. At present the stele is kept at the Conservation d’Angkor in Siem Reap.

The invocation consists of seven stanzas, dedicated to the following deities: to Śiva (st. I and II), Gaurī, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Gaṅgā. This is followed by the genealogy of the king which comprises of st. VIII to XII. Subsequently, the eulogy follows, which includes st. XIII to CC. St. CCI to CCX list the previous foundations of King Rājendravarman, and also some at the East Mebon (st. CCVII and CCVIII), followed by the supplications in st. CCXI to CCXVII. The final stanza, CCXVIII, deals with the East Mebon and the images founded there.

Another inscription found at the East Mebon is K. 867, a fragment of a stele, found in June 1936 in M-SW. K. 867 only consists of six lines, badly damaged, in Khmer, and mentions a royal decree for a *kamsten*, and the name Śrī Arimathana. It dates from the reign of King

<sup>62</sup> The exact date corresponds to Wednesday, 23 February 948 CE. IC IV:101, n. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Coédès, 1909a:473.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.:474.

<sup>65</sup> This inscription is included in appendix 1.2 in Volume 2 of this thesis.

<sup>66</sup> Mebon. Inscriptions d’Angkor, no. 4. *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient*, 25-314, 309-352. An English translation was published by Sharan, M.K. (1981) *Select Cambodian Inscriptions – The Mebon and Pre Rup Inscriptions of Rajendra Varman II*. S.N. Publications, Delhi. However, this is merely the translation of L. Finot’s article, and has not been used for this thesis.

Rājendravarman.<sup>67</sup> This inscription is an indication that even more inscriptions might have been written at the East Mebon under King Rājendravarman, which might have disappeared in the meantime, be that because of weathering or looting.

Pre Rup (K. 806)

The foundation stele of Pre Rup<sup>68</sup> dates from 883 *śaka*, 961 CE, and was found in October 1934 in PR-H, in situ. Its only translation was published by G. Coédès in 1937<sup>69</sup>. The stele is 2.21 metres high, 1.34 metres wide, and 20 centimetres deep (Fig. 5.4). The text, Sanskrit verse, is written on both sides, each containing 66 lines, and is carved as finely as the East Mebon inscription. The inscription consists of 298 stanzas and is the longest Sanskrit inscription not only in Cambodia, but possibly the whole Indianised world<sup>70</sup>. The stele is kept at the Conservation d'Angkor in Siem Reap.

The invocation of Pre Rup is only five stanzas long, praising Śiva (st. I and II), the *trimūrti* (st. III), Viṣṇu (st. IV), and Nārāyaṇī (st. V). The genealogy of the king is given in st. VI to XII, and st. CCLXXX, followed by the *praśasti* in st. XIII to CCLXVII. Other foundations are mentioned in st. CCLXVIII to CCLXXVI (st. CCLXIX mentions the East Mebon), with those at Pre Rup listed in st. CCLXXVII to CCLXXXV. The final part of the inscription is formed by the supplication in st. CCLXXXVI to CCXCVIII.

Other, shorter, inscriptions were found at Pre Rup as well. The only other inscription which seems to be contemporary with the temple is K. 777, which only consists of fragments, showing single words. These fragments have never been translated or published.<sup>71</sup> Again, as at the East Mebon this is an indication that more inscriptions were written at the time of King Rājendravarman, and have disappeared in the meantime.

K. 527, dating from 1002 *śaka*, 1080 CE, contains six lines in Sanskrit, carved – according to Coédès – on the northeast tower.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, it is badly damaged. This

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<sup>67</sup> IC VI:152.

<sup>68</sup> This inscription is included in appendix 1.3 in Volume 2 of this thesis.

<sup>69</sup> La Stèle de Fondation de Prè Rup. *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. 1, pp. 73-142. Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi. Again, an English translation was published by Sharan, M.K. (1981) *Select Cambodian Inscriptions – The Mebon and Pre Rup Inscriptions of Rajendra Varman II*. S.N. Publications, Delhi. However, as with the East Mebon inscription, this is merely a translation of G. Coédès' article, and has not been utilised for this thesis.

<sup>70</sup> There are problems connected with the use of the term 'Indianisation'. However, for the present purpose, it shall be used in the sense of 'areas under the influence of the Indian culture'.

<sup>71</sup> IC VIII:196/197.

<sup>72</sup> Coédès, 1943-1946c:15.

inscription is the only evidence for King Jayavarman VI at Angkor, and will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 7.2.3.

K. 264, consisting of 16 lines in Khmer, is carved on the door jambs of the southeast sanctuary. It dates from 1606 *śaka*, 1684 CE, and mentions an assembly and the foundation of a golden Buddha image.<sup>73</sup> Through this inscription we know that by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century Pre Rup had become a temple used by the Buddhists.

## 5.2.2 Religious Notions Prevalent at the Time

As has been mentioned already, King Rājendravarman was a Śivaite, and this is evident in his inscriptions, all of which invoke Śiva as the Supreme Being. That the Indian concepts were familiar ones, is evident throughout, as the inscriptions use the specific terms, e.g. st. CCX of the East Mebon mentions '*śrutī*' and '*smṛtī*', and throughout the inscriptions Indian texts are either explicitly mentioned or alluded to through individual phrases or stories mentioned.

In the following, the inscriptions will be analysed with respect to the religious notions expressed through them. The most fundamental concept of all the inscriptions of King Rājendravarman is the monist stance, the unity between the Supreme Deity and the Universe, and will be discussed first. Subsequently, the invocations will be examined closely, and the religious ideas expressed in them studied in detail. Moreover, other ideas articulated throughout the inscriptions will be elaborated on. These two inscriptions are the longest in Khmer epigraphy, 218 and 298 stanzas respectively, and would warrant an extended study on their own. However, because the main aim of this thesis is the analysis and interpretation of the temples of East Mebon and Pre Rup the study of the inscriptions does reflect this aim, and will not examine every stanza of the texts, but focus on the relevant ones.

### Monism

Throughout Cambodian epigraphy the conception of Śiva as both the personal God and the transcendent Absolute is evident, a concept which originates in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. In monism creation is seen as not distinct from its substance; *prakṛti* is an integral part of God, who is both the efficient and material cause of Universe. Thus the Universe is identical with God, the

phenomenal Universe is a 'reflection' of God – in this case Śiva – who is pure conscience.<sup>74</sup> But also the unity of *ātman* and *brahman* is significant, and expressed in the Upaniṣadic '*ayam ātmā brahmā*', 'this self is *brahman*'.<sup>75</sup> This monist stance, the unity between the Supreme Deity and the Universe, is evident in the inscriptions of not just the East Mebon and Pre Rup, but also that of Baksei Chamkrong, most significantly in the supplications at the end of the texts, imploring the king's successors to protect his *dharma*. The length of these supplications varies, the one of Baksei Chamkrong is only two stanzas long (st. XLVII-XLVIII), that of the East Mebon seven (st. CCXI-CCXVII), and Pre Rup's twelve – nine of them elaborating on the actual request given in st. CCLXXXVI-CCLXXXVIII.

#### Baksei Chamkrong

The supplication of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription is very general, and appeals very much to the future kings being righteous:

- XLVII "The just one supports the *dharma*, the unjust one destroys it, but the strongest of both is the first", it is with this thought that he who has a spirit without limits [Rājendravarman] did not supplicate the future virtuous kings (to maintain his foundation).
- XLVIII If the goods of the gods are destroyed in consequence of bad practices in the observance of the *dharma*, good people are innocent, according to repeated proclamations of the kings.<sup>76</sup>

These two stanzas seem to imply that a righteous king will adhere to the *dharma* anyway, without needing a supplication, thus to give one would be futile, because not necessary. This tautology alludes to *siddhasādhana*, a logically incorrect realisation of something which is already realised.<sup>77</sup> However, since the inscription is not dealing with logic, this seeming mistake is acceptable, and the unnecessary supplication included in the inscription. The second stanza refers to the fact that determining for the fulfilment of one's *dharma* is the intention with which an act is done, not the result. Thus, even if the result is a negative one, the positive intention prevails, and will be determining for the future *karma*.

<sup>73</sup> Aymonier, 1904:8f.

<sup>74</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:61.

<sup>75</sup> Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV.iv.5. Sinha, 1991:1.

<sup>76</sup> IC IV:93-94/101. Translation of st. XLVII amended by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

Monism is evident in a different part of the Baksei Chamkrong inscription, namely in its invocation:

VI I venerate the two Bhava [Śiva and Umā], the cause of the Universe, united in one body, but divided in multiple conditions, like *avyakta* and *buddhi*, leading like the two paths of *dharma* to heaven and to liberation (respectively), pleasing to the heart, shining like the mountain of gold and the mountain of snow united.<sup>78</sup>

This stanza actually seems to refer to the dualism of Sāṃkhya, in its alluding to the evolution of *prakṛti*. In Cambodian inscriptions the influence of Sāṃkhya is evident, for instance the one of Trapan Don On, from 1129 CE.<sup>79</sup> Sāṃkhya proposes a dualism God (*puruṣa*, spirit) – *śakti* (*prakṛti*, nature), which is reabsorbed after the dissolution of the Universe: “[a]ll experience is based on the duality of the knowing subject, *puruṣa*, and the known object, *prakṛti*.”<sup>80</sup> *Prakṛti* creates the material universe by using her three *guṇas*. The *puruṣa* ultimately identifies with his material body, and is ‘captured’ in creation. Only through the recognition of this situation and a subsequent mental discrimination can the *puruṣa* free himself from this materiality, and reach liberation, *kaivalya*,<sup>81</sup> which is “the discriminative knowledge that pure consciousness is eternally distinct from primordial matter”<sup>82</sup>. In the Baksei Chamkrong inscription, however, this idea is not being followed, rather used to prove itself wrong. The comparison Śiva – *avyakta*, the *mula-prakṛti*, non-manifest, and *śakti* – *buddhi*, the *mahat*, establishes *śakti*, the manifest aspect of Śiva, as *buddhi*, the primary evolution of *avyakta*. This image of *buddhi* as the evolute of *avyakta* is used purposefully to verify the identity of God and his creation, rather than show the dualism of Sāṃkhya. What is most interesting about this equation is that Sāṃkhya himself admits that *buddhi* is the first evolute of *avyakta*. “*Prakṛti* is the state of quiescence [equilibrium] of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. From *prakṛti* evolves *mahat* (intellect) ...”<sup>83</sup>

Another allusion used here refers to the two branches of *dharma*, that of knowledge, *jñānamārga*, represented by Śiva, and that of action, *karmamārga*, represented by *śakti*.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Bhattacharya, Ch., 1966:146, 153f.

<sup>78</sup> IC IV:89/94.

<sup>79</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:66.

<sup>80</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:424.

<sup>81</sup> Werner, 1994:136-137.

<sup>82</sup> Flood, 1999:234.

<sup>83</sup> Sāṃkhya-Pravacana Sūtra, I.61. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:447.

<sup>84</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:67.

## East Mebon

The supplication of the East Mebon alludes only indirectly to monism, and is also interesting because of the other concepts contained in it.

- CCXI        And this king who had the intelligence of Vācaspati, who marched at the head of kings adhering to *dharmā*, addresses to the future kings of Kambuja, who perform the royal duties, these words, firm and conforming to the *dharmā*.
- CCXII       The protection of that which is to be protected ... Since you know this duty of kings, protect this pious work: this injunction realises, as it were, what is already realised.
- CCXIII       *Dharma*, it is certain, has only one leg during this *yuga*. how could it have stood erect in front, if it had not been supported by the pillar who are the great kings like you who have the knowledge of the *śāstras*?
- CCXIV       The distress of *dharmā* would be a shame to the author (of the work) himself, and particularly to the king who has the duty of protecting it: that is well known to you.
- CCXV       The sages, who have for richness virtue and glory, do not want for themselves, in this world, an ephemeral richness: it is therefore the strongest reason, if this richness is that of the Gods, etc. You who are sages, will you not have this deeply engrained in you?
- CCXVI       Nevertheless, I entreat you clearly: watch over this work scrupulously. Do not remove the good from the gods! In the interest of the *dharmā*, there is no harm in repeating.
- CCXVII       A magnanimous king, supplicated, would abandon in the greatness of his soul his very life, all the more his projects: this is why my word, resolved under the influence of confidence, is free from apprehension of seeing its request repulsed.<sup>85</sup>

We see the supplication itself is in stanzas CCXII and CCXVI, based on the future kings' adhering to *dharmā*, rather than the explicit declaration of a monist attitude. Again both stanzas allude to *siddhasādhana*, as does st. XLVII of Baksei Chamkrong. This focus on the righteousness of the future kings is even more apparent in the rest of the stanzas, which appeal exactly to this trait of their character. In these stanzas several other concepts are mentioned as well. First of all we find in st. CCXIII the notion that in this *yuga*, the *kali yuga*, the bull of *dharmā* only has one leg. As explained in the introductory chapters, the idea of time and its everlasting cycles is closely related to the notion of *dharmā*. Through the procession of the four *yugas* in

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<sup>85</sup>

Finot, 1925:330-331/351-352.

each the bull of *dharma* stands on one leg less than the previous one, and is only followed by a few.<sup>86</sup> Consequently, if righteous kings adhere to *dharma*, and thus strengthen it by being an additional pillar, this symbolically equals the return to a better time, and then *dharma* will not stand on only one leg anymore. Moreover, the same stanza refers to the knowledge of the *śāstras* the (future) kings (will) have. In all likelihood the *śāstras* referred to here are the *dharma-* and the *arthaśāstras*. The king had to follow a meticulously planned schedule for his education, as prescribed for instance in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and the Śukranīti.<sup>87</sup> Manu states that

[f]rom those who have the triple learning he [the king] should acquire the triple learning, the eternal science of politics and punishment, philosophy, and the knowledge of the soul; and from the people (he should learn) the trades and enterprises.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, the king had to be familiar with the various treatises in order to be a good king, which is assumed here, as the future kings will adhere to *dharma*, i.e. be righteous.

Pre Rup

The supplication of Pre Rup is the most elaborate one, which clearly expresses Rājendravarman's monist attitude. Moreover, here the plea is not simply stated, but explained in subsequent stanzas.

CCLXXXVI The King Rājendravarman, well informed and generous, incessantly (generously) implores the future kings of Kambuja 'protect this foundation (*dharma*) as yours'.

CCLXXXVII It is the one (same) *ātman* which is the agent and enjoyer in different bodies (in bodies which are divided in various ways), so may you increase the fact that the sages in all foundations see their own foundation.

CCLXXXVIII In order to make a distinction between the fruits of actions a distinction is made between the agents, this is based on extraneous superimpositions (*upādhi*); but that distinction is secondary and should be dispelled (pierced) by the knowledge (intelligence) of the highest truth like the darkness (of untruth) is dispelled by the light of the sun.<sup>89</sup>

The request of st. CCLXXXVI expresses the same idea as that of the Lolei inscription of King Yaśovarman, in almost the same words:

<sup>86</sup> This was introduced in section 2.2.

<sup>87</sup> Altekar, 2001:100.

<sup>88</sup> Manu-smṛti, 7.43. O'Flaherty/Smith, 1991:7.

XC Śrī Yaśovarman adjures the future kings of Kambuja: You should protect this meritorious work (*dharma*), you who have merit (*dharma*) for wealth.<sup>90</sup>

The Lolei inscription only contains this one stanza regarding the protection of the *dharma*, and the subsequent ones continue the warning against the destruction of the foundation which is dealt with in st. LXXVIII to LXXXIX. Pre Rup, however, does not just give the request, but goes on to explain why the kings should adhere to it – because of the monist conviction of King Rājendravarman. Stanza CCLXXXVII refers to the unity of *ātman-brahman*, the Vedānta ideology of *ātmaikatva*, according to which “[t]he *ātman*, the One, is impersonal or suprapersonal”<sup>91</sup>, as already explained above. Thus, if ultimately we all are part of the same Self, the good deeds done by one will affect everyone else in the same way. In other words, if a king protects a predecessor’s foundation, he will reap the same fruits as if it was his own foundation. The explanation of this follows in st. CCLXXXVIII which uses the terms *upādhi* and *bheda*. The perceived difference between *ātman* and *brahman* results from external conditions, *upādhi*, names and forms. Ultimately, it is an ‘identity in difference’, *bhedābheda*, a term used in the inscription of Prasat Khna<sup>92</sup>, where Śiva is called ‘*bhedābhedaātman*’, ‘he, whose essence is unity in difference’.<sup>93</sup> This concept is also described in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad: “[a]s the flowing rivers disappear in the sea, having lost their name and their form, thus a wise man free from name and form goes to the divine Person who is greater than the great.”<sup>94</sup> The difference, *bheda*, is perceived through external conditions, and can be overcome through knowledge. Moreover, it is important to note that the difference is only temporary, and thus the state is in fact one of difference-cum-non-difference, *bhedābheda*. Of great significance in overcoming this difference, as is also stated in this stanza, is the knowledge of the highest truth, as explained for instance in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad: “[t]hat which is the finest essence – this whole world has that as its self. That is Reality. That is *Ātman*. That art thou [*Tat vam as*], Śvetaketu. ...”<sup>95</sup> Thus it is evident that stanza CCLXXXVIII of Pre Rup is an expression of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, and of Vedānta, which both adhere to this unity. Consequently, it is very meritorious

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<sup>89</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>90</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999c:39/46.

<sup>91</sup> Bhattacharya, 1971:101.

<sup>92</sup> Coëdès, 1911f:405, st. I.

<sup>93</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:61.

<sup>94</sup> Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, III.ii.8. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:517.

for King Rājendravarman's successors to protect the earlier king's *dharmā*, and this work connects them. In India the same idea can be found, and

[t]he *dharmā* is transmitted from generation to generation. The foundation, which incarnates it, is, in some sort, a 'bridge of merit' (*dharmā-setu*): by protecting it, the future generations will ensure the life of the *dharmā* and will themselves participate in the *dharmā*.<sup>96</sup>

The following nine stanzas, apart from st. CCXCIV, which contains the warning against misconduct, praise the future kings as being righteous and adhering to *dharmā*. This is already evident in the inscription of the East Mebon (st. CCXV, CCXVII), but is here developed even more. The aim of this praise seems to have been to somewhat charm the successors to follow this request.

The concluding stanza, which is the last one of the inscription, forms a sort of synopsis of what has been said before.

CCXCVIII It is said by the virtuous with reason that the supplication is the death of kings, when it has for its purpose the realisation of their desires. But that (supplication) which is being intended for the prosperity (increase) of *dharmā* is the immortality which one should follow. That is why I supplicate through passion for *dharmā*.<sup>97</sup>

This stanza confirms that kings should not express supplications, if they aim at fulfilling personal desires. However, because the sole aim of Rājendravarman's is the upholding of *dharmā* his one is a legitimate request, and should be followed. Through adhering to it, future kings will become immortal, because all *ātman* is one, so that their good deeds are one with the good deeds of the founder king, and will add to their own good *karmā*. What one has to remember in this context is that the kings did follow the *pitṛyāna*, the path of the fathers, resulting in a rebirth according to the accumulated merit.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the aim was to do as many good deeds as possible to ensure as high a rebirth as possible.

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<sup>95</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VI.ix.4. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:69. Śvetaketu is the son of the philosopher Uddālaka Āruṇi, who explains the central teaching of the text, the identity of *ātman* and *brahman*.

<sup>96</sup> "Le *dharmā* se transmet de génération en génération. La fondation, qui l'incarne, est, en quelque sorte, un "pont de mérite" (*dharmā-setu*): en la protégeant, les générations futures assureront la vie au *dharmā* et participeront elles-mêmes au *dharmā*". Bhattacharya, 1991:57.

<sup>97</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>98</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:342.

What has to be mentioned in this context as well is the use of the word '*dharma*', which is used in the inscriptions to refer both to merit, but also the foundation itself.<sup>99</sup> Drawing comparisons with the temples in Java and their inscriptions, Coédès concluded that referring to a Khmer temple it seems to indicate a funerary monument as well, housing statues which contain the person's *dharma*, perpetuating their glory.<sup>100</sup> Regarding the funerary connotations of Pre Rup, Coédès draws on st. CCXCIII of its foundation stele:

CCXCIII That like the beautiful (Sāvitṛī) wife of Satyavat, your decision [or: Dhṛti (wife of Dharma)], obeying the duty [or: being approached by Yama], charming through her observance of the rules [or: by Niyama], procuring knowledge to the ignorant [or: the sight with the blind man (Dyumatsena)], gives the life to the *dharma* [or: in (her husband) Dharma ] in my body of glory.<sup>101</sup>

He interprets it to mean that "the descendants of the king, through the favour of funerary rites and of the consecration of an image, will have to animate his *dharma*, to give him the life in this image which will perpetuate his glory (*yaśas*)."<sup>102</sup> However, this is not quite the case. What the stanza in fact means is that his successors should protect his foundation after his death as his body of glory (*yaśaḥśarīra*) materialising the *dharma*.<sup>103</sup> The term *yaśaḥśarīra* suggests an imperishable, eternal accomplishment which remains after a person's death. This does not have to be a temple, by nature a rather permanent achievement, but might also be a poem.

Thus, the term *dharma* in the Pre Rup inscription, as in any other inscription, does not denote a funerary connotation, but instead has to be interpreted as referring to merit or a work of merit.<sup>104</sup>

#### Invocations

As indicated above, the invocations are mainly significant because of the religious concepts expressed. In all of them Śiva is invoked as the Supreme Deity, and many concepts within

<sup>99</sup> Bhattacharya, 1991:20.

<sup>100</sup> Coédès, 1940a:324ff.

<sup>101</sup> CCXCIII Que telle la belle (Sāvitṛī) épouse de Satyavat, votre décision [ou: Dhṛti (épouse de Dharma)], obéissant au devoir [ou : s'étant approchée de Yama], charmante par son observance de règles [ou : par Niyama], procurant la connaissance à l'ignorant [ou : la vue à l'aveugle (Dyumatsena)], donne la vie au dharma [ou : à (son époux) Dharma] dans mon corps de gloire.

IC I:104/142.

<sup>102</sup> "les descendants du roi, à la faveur de rites funéraires et de la consecration d'une image, devront animer son dharma, lui donner la vie dans cette image qui perpétuera sa gloire (*yaśas*)." Coédès, 1940a:326.

<sup>103</sup> Bhattacharya, 1991:57.

<sup>104</sup> See also the discussion in chapter 3.2.2.

Śivaism are evident. In the following, the stanzas will be analysed in the order they appear, looking at the inscriptions of the East Mebon and Pre Rup at the same time, if these concepts are evident in both of them.

One stanza which is a very straight-forward praise of Śiva as the Supreme Deity is stanza IV of the East Mebon, and shall thus be considered first:

IV            To Him who created the worlds through his eight forms, being the sacrificer, the fire, the sun, the wind, the sky, the earth, the water and the moon; to Him, the cause of causes, who proclaims loudly, although without words, the irresistible power of his action; the Highest who has as a diadem the crescent moon, victory!<sup>105</sup>

Śiva is invoked as the Supreme Deity, who has created the world through his eight manifest forms. This is a literary expression of what is physically represented in the eight small sanctuaries surrounding the central shrines, containing eight *lirigas* (see the section on the architecture below, and chapter 6.1). This stanza – as the architectural features – expresses the dual concept of Śiva as both transcendent and immanent. The transcendental Śiva, the one at the centre, the cause of causes, brings forth creation through his all-pervading eight forms, physically represented by *lirigas*. Contrary to this 'simple' stanza, most of the others contain allusions to various concepts, and are thus more complex and highly philosophical.

The first stanza of the East Mebon is the following:

I            Śiva, the eternal consciousness, omnipresent, who, although one (unique), to give himself the place of creation, preservation (and) destruction, has divided himself into three through the powers presided over by the supreme gods, the one born of the lotus [Brahmā], the one who has lotus-like eyes [Viṣṇu] and the one who has three eyes [Śiva]; gods born of the syllable *om* (*udgītha*), rich with the triad of *gunas*, and making shine the rays of the sun, moon and fire, homage be rendered for the realisation of the aims of the king!<sup>106</sup>

Here, Śiva is invoked as the Supreme Deity, the Absolute, and likened to eternal consciousness. The stanza gives various comparisons between Śiva as Supreme Deity, who divided himself into the members of the *trimūrti* (which is also stated in the second stanza), and other elements. Firstly, the three gods as emanations of the transcendental Śiva are equalled to

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<sup>105</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

the *udgītha*, the sacred syllable *oṃ* (*aum*). This speculation on the *udgītha*, the *praṇava*, is a recurring issue in the Cambodian inscriptions. The term '*praṇava*' derives from the root  $\sqrt{nu}$ , 'to sound', and indicates the primeval sound.<sup>107</sup> This concept is already present in the Yajurveda, and was divinised in the Upaniṣads.<sup>108</sup> The *praṇava* is a most important concept as it is the symbol of the cosmos, represented by the three elements a-u-m. In the first stanza of East Mebon, the three gods of the *trimūrti* are likened to the three elements of the *praṇava*, although not explicitly to a specific element. However, this identification should be a – Brahmā, u – Viṣṇu, and m – Śiva.

Another parallel is drawn between the three gods and the three *guṇas*, which would be Brahmā – *rajas*, Viṣṇu – *sattva*, and Śiva – *tamas*. And they are likened to the rays of the sun, moon and fire – an allusion also present in stanza III of Pre Rup. An overview of the links between the gods and the other concepts is given in Overview 5.4.

Overview 5.4: The correspondences mentioned in st. I of East Mebon.

<b>Gods</b>	Brahmā	Viṣṇu	Śiva
<b><i>Praṇava</i></b>	a	u	m
<b><i>Guṇa</i></b>	<i>rajas</i>	<i>sattva</i>	<i>tamas</i>
<b>Rays</b>	Moon	Sun	Fire

The significance of the *praṇava* is also evident in stanza II of the East Mebon:

II            Whose form with the crest adorned with the new moon, known to be beyond the triple Veda, the seed which, divided into three elements, produces Brahmā, Hari and Īśvara, which (the form) the saints declare to be the Absolute itself to be apprehended through *yoga*, to that Lord Śiva, consisting in the *praṇava* (the syllable *oṃ*) [*praṇavātman*], may homage be rendered for your success!<sup>109</sup>

In this stanza Śiva is explicitly called the '*praṇavātman*', 'He, who has the syllable *oṃ* for his essence'. This refers to Śiva as the Supreme Being, who is also the *śabdātman*, 'He, who has as his essence the *śabda* = *praṇava*, and *śabdadeha*, 'He, who has for his body the *śabda*'.<sup>110</sup> Thus, the two stanzas have to be seen as one unit. The first stanza mentions the

<sup>106</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>107</sup> Werner, 1994:123.

<sup>108</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:566.

<sup>109</sup> Finot, 1925:311/331.

<sup>110</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999d:1/38.

dividing of the Supreme Being into the three elements of the *trimūrti*, which parallel other concepts as well, and the second stanza then moves back from these three elements to the Absolute.

This identification of Śiva the Absolute with the essence of the *praṇava* is also evident in st. II of Pre Rup, which ends with the exclamation "...to Śiva residing at the end of the syllable *om*, omnipresent, alleviated, homage!"<sup>111</sup> Śiva is at the end of the *praṇava*, '*śabdānta-sṭhitaye*' which is equal to the *bindu*, the *anusvara*, which is "the ultimate echo of the *praṇava*"<sup>112</sup>. This fourth, and transcending element of the *praṇava* is silence, emptiness, the Absolute Brahman, with which Śiva is identified as the Absolute, which is without qualities, *nirguṇa*.<sup>113</sup> An explanation for this concept is given in the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad:

8            With respect to syllables, OM is this very self (*ātman*); whereas with respect to the constituent phonemes of a syllable, it is as follows. The constituent phonemes are the quarters, and the quarters are the constituent phonemes, namely, 'a', 'u', and 'm'.

12           The fourth, on the other hand, is without constituent phonemes; beyond the reach of ordinary transaction; the cessation of the visible world; auspicious; and unique.<sup>114</sup>

This idea is also mentioned in the inscription of Phum Da, from 976 *śaka*, 1045 CE, in which Śiva is called the '*jātibindū*', '*bindu* by birth', '*bindugarbhā*', 'whose matrix is the *bindu*', and '*bindu-antar-jvālītaujaś*', 'whose force shines in the interior of the *bindu*'.<sup>115</sup> Thus, the *bindu* surpasses the elements of the syllable, and this void thus represents something still higher, the Absolute Brahman.

A further element of the second stanza of the East Mebon needs mentioning: that Śiva is superior to the three Vedas, not four. This concept is also evident in stanza one of Pre Rup, thus the two of them shall be discussed together later on.

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<sup>111</sup> IC I:77/105.

<sup>112</sup> Bhattacharya, 1970:87.

<sup>113</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:75.

<sup>114</sup> Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad 8, 12. Olivelle, 1996:289f.

Turning now to Pre Rup, its inscription begins with the following stanza:

I To this Śambhu, brilliant, illuminating the region of Indra (the East) by means of the R̥g, manifested through the deployment of beams of flames, the South by means of the Yajus restless with the wind, the West by means of the Sāman, illuminated by the mass of rays of the Sun, the region of Kubera (the North) by the three Vedas reunited, homage to Him!<sup>116</sup>

Here, as well as in st. II of the East Mebon, only three Vedas are mentioned, which are likened to the directions, and elements of creation. An overview of these parallels is given in Overview 5.5 below.

Overview 5.5: Correspondences referred to in st. I of Pre Rup.

Direction	Veda	Element	Deity
East	R̥g Veda	Fire = earth	Indra
South	Yajur Veda	Wind = atmosphere	
West	Sāma Veda	Sun = heaven	
North	Three Vedas united		Kubera

These parallels allude to the omnipresence of God, symbolised by the four faces of Brahmā, which in turn symbolise the four cardinal directions and the four Veda: R̥g – east, Yajur – south, Sāman – west, Atharva – north. This concept is very old, and can be found in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad III, 1-4 and the Viṣṇudharmottara III, 46, 8. What is remarkable in these two stanzas is that the Atharva Veda is not referred to, only the other three. Instead of the Atharva in the north, the other three Vedas united are mentioned. Thus the authority of the Atharva Veda does not seem to have been accepted at the time of King Rājendravarman.

These various parallels given in the East Mebon and Pre Rup inscriptions derive from Indian texts. The comparisons are mentioned in various texts, thus it is not possible to determine, which ones exactly were used as models for the inscriptions. The parallels drawn in stanza I of the East Mebon (trinity – *praṇava* – *guṇa* – rays) can be found in the Maitri, Dhyānabindu, Brahmavidyā, and Yogacūḍāmaṇi Upaniṣads, the Agni, and Liṅga Purāṇas, and the Kūmarasambhava.

<sup>115</sup> Bhattacharya, 1970:87.

<sup>116</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:68.

The analogies mentioned in stanza I of Pre Rup (direction – Veda – element – deity) are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Chāndogya, Dhyānabindu, Maitri, and Brahavidyā Upaniṣads, and the Agni, Liṅga, and Vāyu Purāṇas.<sup>117</sup> Thus, these concepts are old ones, expressed for the first time in the Upaniṣads, some even already in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and where later developed further in the Purāṇas.

A different concept is expressed in stanza II of Pre Rup, that of *yoga*.

II He, whose primeval body is the syllable *om*, who although unique performs the creation, preservation and dissolution of beings, (to Him) who is the place where are manifested all the powers, who has for his essence the *yoga* of the *yogin* (*yogiyogātmaka*), and who moreover is manifested master of himself, in the form of the God born of the lotus [Brahmā], of the god with the lotus eyes [Viṣṇu] and of Śrī Kaṅṭha [Śiva] – to Śiva residing at the end of the syllable *om*, omnipresent, appeased, homage!<sup>118</sup>

*Yoga* derived from the root  $\sqrt{yuj}$ , 'to contemplate',<sup>119</sup> and is a discipline of asceticism, and meditation which lead to liberation from the material world through a deep insight into the nature of experience.<sup>120</sup> *Yoga* is already mentioned in the Upaniṣads, e.g. the Maitri Upaniṣad, as a method of achieving unity with *brahman*. "The precept for effecting this [unity] is this: restraint of the breath, withdrawal of the senses, meditation, concentration, contemplation, absorption. Such is said to be the sixfold *yoga*."<sup>121</sup> Further developed into a proper system was *yoga* by Patañjali, to whom is attributed the fundamental text of *yoga*, the *Yoga Sūtra*, composed some time between 100 BCE and 500 CE. This text is a codification of *yoga* ideas and practices developed over centuries,<sup>122</sup> and according to Patañjali "*yjyoga* ... is a methodical effort to attain perfection, through the control of the different elements of human nature, physical and psychological."<sup>123</sup> To the six methods of *yoga* mentioned in the Maitri Upaniṣad he adds abstention and posture. Through practising this eightfold method the suppression of mental states is reached, and the self is restored to its free and pure state and reaches salvation, *kaivalya*.<sup>124</sup> *Yoga* is one of the six *darśanas*, the systems of Brahmanical philosophy, and was revealed to

<sup>117</sup>

Ibid.:68f.

<sup>118</sup>

IC I: 77/105. Slightly amended by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>119</sup>

Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:454.

<sup>120</sup>

Flood, 1999:94.

<sup>121</sup>

Maitri Upaniṣad VI.18. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:96.

<sup>122</sup>

Flood, 1999:96.

<sup>123</sup>

Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:453.

man by Īsvara, and although over time several systems of *yoga* developed, they all share certain requirements, such as the significance of moral discipline, dedicated concentration, and the attainment of knowledge.<sup>125</sup> The central concern of *yoga* is the transformation of consciousness, and the inner states of consciousness. And even though *yoga* adopts the dualistic metaphysics of Sāṃkhya, and its distinction between self and matter,<sup>126</sup> *yoga* does accept God as a special self, *puruṣa*, who is unaffected by *prakṛti*, and can be the focus of meditation.<sup>127</sup> God can be incorporated into *yoga* by viewing devotion as a form of knowledge, and grace a supplementing effort. Overall, however, *yoga* is a non-theistic system, and liberation can only be attained through the unrelenting endeavour of detaching the self from the material world through meditation and asceticism. In contrast, within theistic systems liberation can be reached through the grace of God. In *yoga* liberation from *samsāra* is the realisation of the self's solitude and transcendence, a complete detachment from matter, and not the realisation of the self's identity with *brahman*.<sup>128</sup>

The close connection of this system and Śivaism is evident in stanza II of Pre Rup. Here Śiva is said to have for his essence the *yoga* of the *yogin* (*yogiyogātmake*), and resides at the end of the syllable (*śabdānta-sthitaye*) – an issue already discussed above. In the context of the Pre Rup inscription *yoga* is seen within a theistic system, in which the Absolute Śiva is not accessible through *yoga*. Instead, the God manifests himself through the interior light, the universal *ātman*, the *sarvātman*, in the *yogin*. And through this perception of the immanent principle comes forth the transcendental principle, the *parabrahman*, *paramātman*.<sup>129</sup> This notion was expressed already in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad: "He, who considers the divinity as 'the other' – 'God is one, and I am another' – he knows not."<sup>130</sup> This identification of the worshipper with Śiva is made visible through the element –Īsvara, added onto the worshipper's name.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.:453-454.

<sup>125</sup> Wemer, 1994:182-183.

<sup>126</sup> Flood, 1999:97.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.:235.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.:93-98.

<sup>129</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:74ff.

<sup>130</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, I.4.10. Coomaraswamy, 1934:6-7.

<sup>131</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:75.

Several of the equivalences drawn in st. I of East Mebon are given in st. III of Pre Rup as well:

III To Him, who placed his three parts: that which is Brahmā, the creator, in the moon; that which is Viṣṇu, the maintainer, in the sun; and that which is Rudra, the destroyer, in the fire. To Him, whose body manifested in these three gods is, although thin, distinguished by the eyes of those, gifted with supernatural sight, who know the reality, this supreme *brahman*, free from passion, homage!<sup>132</sup>

Again Śiva is seen as tripartite in the manifest world: as Brahmā the creator in the moon, Viṣṇu the maintainer in the sun, and Rudra the destroyer in the fire. These correspondences are given in Overview 5.6 below.

Overview 5.6: Equivalences given in st. III of Pre Rup.

<b>God</b>	Brahmā	Viṣṇu	Rudra
<b>Function</b>	Creator	Maintainer	Destroyer
<b>Manifestation</b>	Moon	Sun	Fire

### Viṣṇuism

In this section the co-existence of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism shall be explored further.

The fifth stanza of the East Mebon inscription will be discussed first, which is dedicated to Viṣṇu.

V Bow down to Nārāyaṇa who, unfolding His omnipresence, having seen the three worlds merely crossed in three steps, as if for conquering the fourth abode (*turiyapadam*), practises even now, on the ocean, meditation in the guise of sleep.<sup>133</sup>

Interesting in this stanza is the reference to the fourth abode, which is called '*turiyapadam*'. This alludes to the concept of the four states of consciousness. These states are:

- *jāgrat*. the waking state, in which the self knows, and enjoys external objects through external sense-organs; the self is called *viśva*, or *vaiśvānara*

<sup>132</sup> IC I:77/105. Corrected in Bhattacharya, 1961:68, n. 1.  
<sup>133</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999d:1/38.

- *svapna*. dreaming state, in which the self knows, and enjoys subtle or internal objects through the internal organ, the mind; the self is called *tajjasa*
- *susupti*. dreamless sleep, in which the self exists as consciousness and bliss, but is not yet freed from ignorance; the self is called *prājiñā*
- *turiya*. the self exists as pure transcendental consciousness freed from ignorance; it is called *ātman*, the real nature of self.<sup>134</sup>

Originally only three states are mentioned, e.g. in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad<sup>135</sup>, and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, one of the oldest texts: “Now, when one is sound asleep; composed, serene, and knows no dream – that is the Self (*Ātman*),” said he. ‘That is the immortal, the fearless. That is Brahman...’<sup>136</sup> Thus the third stage, the dreamless sleep, was seen as the highest one, but because of the fact that one does wake up unaltered, remembering what had happened before, subsequently a fourth stage, *turiya*, was added, e.g. in the Maitri Upaniṣad.<sup>137</sup> This fourth stage is now seen as alone real, and is no longer part of the individual self, but the Absolute. The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad gives this definition of *turiya*.

Not inwardly cognitive, not outwardly cognitive, not both-wise cognitive, not a cognition-mass, not cognitive, not non-cognitive, unseen, with which there can be no dealing, ungraspable, having no distinctive mark, non-thinkable, that cannot be designated, the essence of the assurance of which is the state of being one with the Self, the cessation of development, tranquil, benign, without a second (*a-dvaita*) – [such] they think is the fourth. He is the Self. He should be discerned.<sup>138</sup>

Thus this state is identity with the Absolute, from whence there is no return to the material world.

The most unusual occurrence is in stanza IV of Pre Rup, which is part of the invocations, and in which Viṣṇu is praised with the Absolute:

IV            To Him, who, in spite of having reached for eternity the supreme world in the condition free from *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, appears (in this world) under diverse manifestations, through the quadruple triad of qualities, and who, in spite of having abandoned all forms, shines in the form of the Omnipresent, to that god Vāsudeva, primordial and eternal *puruṣa*, let our homage be rendered.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Sinha, 1991:3.

<sup>135</sup> Renou/Fillozat, 1947-49:340.

<sup>136</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VIII.xi.1. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:68.

<sup>137</sup> Renou/Fillozat, 1947-49:342.

<sup>138</sup> Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, 7. Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:56.

<sup>139</sup> Bhattacharya, 1955b:115.

Vāsudeva, Viṣṇu, is the *ādīpuruṣa*, the Supreme Being, and given that both the inscription and the temple are Śivaite, this is quite unusual. However, this doctrine of identification is also recognised in Indian texts, for instance the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhita of the Pāñcarātrāgama, the Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and the Īśvaragītā.<sup>140</sup> In this instance, the identification could be derived from the Pāñcarātrāgama, most important text of the Pāñcarātra sect.

Within Pāñcarātra doctrine, the first phase of manifestation of Creation is *Suddhasṛṣṭi*, pure creation, which is characterised by the emanation of the six attributes constituting the Supreme Deity Vāsudeva. These six ideal *guṇas* are knowledge (*jñāna*), lordship (*aiśvarya*), potency (*śakti*), strength (*bala*), virility (*vīrya*), and splendour (*tejas*).<sup>141</sup> Subsequently, three emanations come forth from Vāsudeva, which are each associated with a creative and moral activity, mediated by the *guṇas*. These four beings are the four *vyūha*, which derives from *√ūh*, 'to shove', and the preposition *vi*, 'asunder', "and apparently refers to the 'shoving asunder' of the six Guṇas into three pairs"<sup>142</sup>. From Vāsudeva comes forth Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is associated with *jñāna* and *bala*. At this stage Non-pure Creation becomes manifest in its initial condition without internal distinctions. Through Pradyumna, related to *aiśvarya* and *vīrya*, the first appearance of the duality of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* takes place. He creates the Group Soul, Primordial Matter and Subtle Time. Finally, under Aniruddha, who is connected with *śakti* and *tejas*, creation of Manifest Matter, Gross Time, and the Mixed Creation takes place.<sup>143</sup> Significant in this context is that the six ideal *guṇas* are *aprākṛta*, not part of nature, because they constitute the Supreme Being before the existence of nature. The three *guṇas sattva, rajas* and *tamas*, therefore, are different concepts, and they constitute nature. Consequently, as Schrader states,

the old dogma that God is necessarily 'free from [the three] Guṇas' (*nirguṇa*) does not exclude His possessing the six ideal Guṇas which, on the contrary, m u s t be ascribed to Him, because without them there could be no Pure Creation, and, all further evolution depending thereon, no creation at all.<sup>144</sup>

Examining the present stanza, we have to note the following. Vāsudeva is said to appear in diverse manifestations in this world, through the quadruple triad of qualities. This phrase

<sup>140</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:168.

<sup>141</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:649; Schrader, 1916:31ff.

<sup>142</sup> Schrader, 1916:35.

<sup>143</sup> Schrader, 1916:37f.

<sup>144</sup> Schrader, 1916:32.

seems to contain two allusions to the Pāñcarātra. Firstly, the diverse manifestations (*vividhābhivyaktir āvirbhavan*) suggest the concept of the four emanations of Viṣṇu, the *caturvvyūha*, although these are not mentioned explicitly. However, given that Vāsudeva is seen as the Supreme Being within this doctrine, who establishes himself in four manifestations, this seems to be a legitimate inference. A second allusion can be found in the quadruple triad of qualities, although this would express a diversion from the orthodox teachings. As elaborated on above, Vāsudeva is comprised of the six ideal *guṇas* which are different from the three *guṇas* of nature, as the six exist prior to nature. In st. IV of Pre Rup, however, clearly a triad of *guṇas* (*traiguṇyena caturvidhena*) is referred to as attributes of Vāsudeva, not six qualities. This allows the conclusion that the author does in fact refer to the three *guṇas* of nature. What cannot be inferred from this stanza, however, is the reason for this diversion from orthodox doctrine; whether this was a genuine mistake or misinterpretation of the doctrine by the author of the inscription due to his being a Śivaite, or whether a change in interpretation had taken place in ancient Cambodia.

Because of the invocation of Viṣṇu as the Supreme Deity, the *ādipuruṣa*, in this stanza within a Śivaite inscription we find here a true case of syncretism. The parallel worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu is evident on many occasions. For instance, at both East Mebon and Pre Rup images of Viṣṇu are founded in the corner towers, together with Śiva and Parvatī. However, in both temples, these images are founded around a central *liṅga*, which represents the transcendental Śiva, thus even though tolerance prevails, Śiva is the Highest.

## Buddhism

A final examination of the religious concepts evident in the inscriptions of King Rājendravarman concerns the relations with Buddhism. As mentioned in the introduction, the overall climate was a very tolerant one, with the king's architect, Kavīndrārimathana, a Buddhist, and the king founding Buddhist images in his brother-in-law's temple.

In the inscriptions of East Mebon and Pre Rup several allusions to Buddhism can be found. The most prominent example is stanza CLXXII of East Mebon:

CLXXII Thanks to the expansion of his qualities, nothing was comparable to the king, even the other teachers, having considered the Buddhist doctrine, did not think otherwise.<sup>145</sup>

This stanza was translated by Finot as: "Nothing was comparable to the width of his virtues: having understood the Buddhist doctrine, he had no false ideas, even under the influence of other masters (?)", and – as obvious in the question mark – he did not quite know what to make of it. Subsequently, this stanza was interpreted as meaning that the king studied Buddhism. For instance, Briggs writes:

[I]n his early life he seems to have made a deep study of Buddhism and to have decided to remain a Śivaite. "Nothing was comparable to the amplitude of his virtues. Having studied the Buddhist doctrine, he had no false ideas, even under the influence of other masters."<sup>146</sup>

As we see, this stanza is a very good example for how mistranslations influence the formulation of ideas regarding the temples and kings of Angkor.

The Pre Rup inscription contains several stanzas referring to Buddhism. Interesting about all of them is that they are very critical of Buddhism, rather than demonstrating the more neutral stand of the East Mebon stanza. This is visible in stanza LXXVI, which also contains an interesting aspect of Indian logic:

LXXVI In the battle he proved that the caste of ksatriyas was born of the arm(s) of the Unborn – a fact denied by others – from the might of his arms which was seen and heard of and which was not born of anything else but which was impossible otherwise.<sup>147</sup>

The fact that the class of the *ksatriyas* originates from the arm of the *puruṣa* is proven through the might of King Rājendravarman's arm in battle. The background to this stanza is the denial of the origin of the four *varṇas* from different parts of the *puruṣa* by the Buddhists, which, in contrast, is assumed by the Śivaites.<sup>148</sup> This stanza's argument is that Rājendravarman's strength cannot be explained, unless the class of *ksatriyas* originates from the arms of the *puruṣa*. This way of arguing seems to be a vicious circle. However, presumption, *arthāpatti*, is an accepted form of proof employed by some schools of Indian philosophy, for instance Pūrva-

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<sup>145</sup> Bhattacharya, 1994:227-228.

<sup>146</sup> Briggs, 1951:131.

<sup>147</sup> Bhattacharya, 2002:3/4.

Mīmāṃsā, and Advaita-Vedānta, to explain a fact that cannot be explained otherwise. The classic definition of *arthāpatti* is given in Śabara's Bhāṣya:

Presumption is the supposition of a thing on the ground that a thing, heard or seen, is otherwise not possible: for instance, through finding that Devadatta, though alive, is not at home (there arises) the supposition of his being out – a thing which we do not know by actual experience.<sup>149</sup>

Hence, this stanza contains a reassertion of Brahmanical orthodoxy against Buddhist criticism – as proven by Rājendravarman. The terminology used in this stanza “seems to reflect the author's adherence to Vedānta (rather than Mīmāṃsā of the Bhāṭṭa school).”<sup>150</sup>

The fact that the origin of the classes from the *puruṣa* is proven by the force of Rājendravarman's arms refers also to the notion that the ruler has to be “physically strong: he has to be able to protect by his own strength”<sup>151</sup>, represented by his long and strong arms. Thus, he is able to fulfil his primary duty as a king: the *prajāpālana*, protection of his subjects.

A further reference to Buddhism can be found in st. CLXIII:

CLXIII        'All composed (compound) things are impermanent' it was as if to refute this doctrine that he held permanently his own glory adorned with (composed of) heroism.<sup>152</sup>

Coedès, who translated the second part of this stanza “it is as if for refuting this sentence that he made permanent his own glory which was composed of heroism”<sup>153</sup>, missed the double meaning of *saṃskṛta*. In fact, though, the stanza again argues against Buddhist doctrine, which denies the permanence of all conditioned things. According to Theravādic scholasticism the basic reality of all existing things are *dharma*s, ‘factors of existence’, divided into two groups. The smaller group is formed by the Non-conditioned *dharma*s (*asaṃskṛta*), which are eternal and form the state of liberation. The vast majority of *dharma*s, however, is Conditioned (*saṃskṛta*).<sup>154</sup> These Conditioned *dharma*s “are transitory and without substratum ... [and] in a process of continuous disintegration, renewal and rearrangement”<sup>155</sup>. Due to the incessant

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<sup>148</sup> The *puruṣa*, the cosmic man, is the origin of the four classes. During the primeval sacrifice, which is being described in Rg Veda 10.90, the *puruṣa* is being divided, and from his arms were made the warriors. See appendix 2.3 for this hymn.

<sup>149</sup> Randle, 1976:320.

<sup>150</sup> Bhattacharya, 2002:6, n.9.

<sup>151</sup> Gonda, 1966:5.

<sup>152</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>153</sup> IC I:94/127.

<sup>154</sup> Schumann, 1973:86.

<sup>155</sup> Schumann, 1973:122.

nature of these changes taking place, there is no permanence. However, in the stanza dealt with here, this doctrine is proven wrong through King Rājendravarman's glory. This glory was permanent, although the word is a compound, i.e. conditioned, and could thus not exist, if this Buddhist doctrine was in fact true.

A final stanza raising the issue of Buddhism is stanza CCLXXV:

CCLXXV The just supplication of King Yaśovarman which had remained meaningless (*artha*) (or: devoid of object = *ārthasūnyā*), like the thought (consciousness) taught by the Yogācāras, was brought to meaningfulness like the triple Veda by him [Rājendravarman], who was eager to uphold his own duty (*svadharma*).<sup>156</sup>

This stanza again contains the double meaning of *artha*, as object and meaning, which Cœdès did not realise. Instead he translated:

Thanks to this king, raised up by the elevation of his duties (or: his *dharma*), the just prayer of King Yaśovarman, who was deprived (of the idea) of profit (*artha*) like the request pronounced by an ascetic (or: who had as object the void like the thought, *vijñapti*, of the Yogācāra), has acquired a signification (*artha*) like the triple science (or: a reality like the Buddhist triad).<sup>157</sup>

What the stanza means, however, is that King Yaśovarman's supplication had not been followed – Yaśodharapura had been abandoned – and was thus as meaningless as the teachings of the Yogācāra, the Buddhists, are objectless. In contrast, Rājendravarman gave meaning to them again through his restoring the old capital. The way of reasoning in this stanza indicates a familiarity with the idealist-meditative school of Buddhism, whose central ideology is that the Absolute is Thought. The Absolute was to be "sought not in any object at all, but in the pure subject which is free from all objects"<sup>158</sup>. A prominent representative of this ideology was Kīrtipaṇḍita. He founded the sanctuary Vat Sithor (Srei Santhor) in 947 CE (st.: XLIX), the inscription of which<sup>159</sup> mentions his efforts in restoring Buddhism (st. XXVI-XXIX), and his good deeds, e.g. the consecration of images, the founding of *āśrama*, and the restoration of damaged images (st. XXXVII-L).

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<sup>156</sup> Bhattacharya, 2002b:6-7, n. 11.

<sup>157</sup> IC I:102/139.

<sup>158</sup> Conze, 1975:163.

<sup>159</sup> IC, VI:195-211.

### 5.2.3 Information Regarding the Temples Themselves

Generally, the inscriptions contain only very limited information about the buildings they were written to inaugurate. Usually, the only aspect of the temple mentioned is the images founded, although their location is normally not given. In the following first the inscription of the East Mebon and then Pre Rup will be analysed with this issue in mind. This chapter is founded on the premise that the images mentioned in the inscriptions were indeed installed. The issue of proofing their existence, and determining their location will be dealt with in chapter 6. For reasons of simplicity, the locations argued for there, will already be used in this chapter.

#### East Mebon

In the inscription of the East Mebon, three stanzas mention images: st. CCVII and CCVIII, and the last one, st. CCXVIII. The last stanza gives the overall dedication of the temple, and mentions the five images of the central towers.

The first stanza to name images is st. CCVII:

CCVII      This glorious king, knower of stability, established these two images of Śiva and Parvatī for the good of his parents who had attained the same status as Śiva (*sasthānatā*).<sup>160</sup>

This stanza contains several words which need to be examined. '*Sasthānatā*' denotes the same place or status as Śiva, which the parents of King Rājendravarman had reached upon their death. In this system of unity of God and deceased relatives four stages with differing degrees of closeness can be distinguished:

- *sālokya/salokatā*. participation of the deceased in the divine realm
- *sāmīpya*. proximity to the deity
- *sārūpya*. communality of form of deity and deceased
- *sāyujya*. being one with the divine.<sup>161</sup>

The level indicated, *sasthānatā*, can be identified with either *sālokya* or *sāyujya* in this instance. If *sthāna* was intended to denote place, then the status of the parents would be

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<sup>160</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.  
<sup>161</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:562.

*salokatā*. However, if *sthāna* was intended as status, then it would refer to *sāyujya*, unity. These four stages can already be found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and are ancient concepts, which do not indicate ancestor veneration within the context of the East Mebon inscription at all. In the Brāhmaṇas three stages, *salokatā*, *sārūpya*, and *sāyujya* are mentioned,<sup>162</sup> with the fourth one added later on. Dasgupta refers to an additional element, *sārṣṭī*, having the same power as the divinity. It is part of *sāyujya* rather than an additional stage.<sup>163</sup>

With regards to the images erected, the Sanskrit says '*nime ime dve Śivayoś śivāyā*', and because of the dual '*Śivayā*' it is clear that there were erected an image of Śiva and Parvatī for Rājendravarman's father and mother respectively.

The following stanza mentions several more images:

CCVIII      And the great warrior, who accomplished the duties of a king, erected this statue of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, together with eight *lingas* of the eight forms of Śiva.<sup>164</sup>

Regarding the image of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, because the Accusative object of the sentence is in the singular, Finot translated it as one image. Thus one would expect an image sculpted in the round similar to the carvings showing the 'birth of Brahmā' (Fig. 5.5). This representation would be somewhat unusual, as the birth of Brahmā seems to have been mainly carved on lintels and pediments, rather than in free-standing images. As will be argued below, the Viṣṇu and Brahmā mentioned in this stanza appear to be two of the images founded in the central shrines, and their mention a repetition. The grammatical form used here, the singular, seems therefore to be somewhat unusual, as the dual could have been used without changing the rhythm of the verse. Grammatically, the names of the two images 'Mahābhujas' and 'Caturbhujasya' are in the Genitive, and thus qualify closer the object:

The fundamental notion of the genitive or sixth sense is to mark the *belonging to, partaking of* ... [and be used] as the case to put in such substantives as are wanted to qualify other substantives.<sup>165</sup>

Given that in this verse only one Accusative is present both Genitives can be seen to relate to it. The comprehensibility of the verse is not compromised because the internal relations are clear due to the logical grammatical relationship between the different elements:

<sup>162</sup> Deussen, 1899:291/308.

<sup>163</sup> Dasgupta, 1955:318f.

<sup>164</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>165</sup> Speijer, 1886:81-83.

Because the grammatical (and logical) relationship between the elements of a sentence is already entirely determined by the grammatical form in ancient Indian, an entirely unbound syntax without consideration for comprehensibility can be used.<sup>166</sup>

Therefore, even though the object is in the singular, *nimām imām* 'this image', it seems to refer to both Viṣṇu and Brahmā as two separate objects, and this stanza appears to refer to the foundation of an image of Viṣṇu, and an image of Brahmā – as would be confirmed in st. CCXVIII, which mentions the images again.

The second part of the stanza mentions eight *līngas* of Śiva having eight *mūrti*, '*lingān yathāstāv api cāstamūrtteḥ*'. These were founded in several temples, and even though they are sometimes referred to as images, they always were represented by *līngas*.

The final stanza of the inscription gives the overall dedication of the temple, and mentions five images.

CCXVIII In the *śaka* year counted by the Vasus, the mountains and the dice (874), on a propitious day, the 11<sup>th</sup> of the fortnight of the Māgha, (the *karaṇa*) Bhava (having commenced) since an instant, the moon arriving in the middle of the Taurus, this *līnga* of Śiva, called Śrī Rājendreśvara, has found here a perfect stability, (together) with these statues of Śauri (Viṣṇu), Gaurī, Girīśa (Śiva), and Brahmā.<sup>167</sup>

Thus the images founded here were the *līnga* Śrī Rājendreśvara, together with images of Śauri (Viṣṇu), Gaurī, Girīśa (Śiva), and Brahmā, which were presumably installed in the central towers. The name of the central *līnga*, Śrī Rājendreśvara, which combines that of the king with Śiva will be discussed in greater detail in the section on Pre Rup below.

Overall, the inscription mentions the five images of the central towers, plus sculptures of Śiva and Parvatī, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and eight *līngas*. The question that arises is as to whether two pairs of Śiva and Parvatī, and Viṣṇu and Brahmā were founded, or whether the inscription mentions them twice. As a preliminary conclusion, it seems likely that the images were in fact mentioned twice, the first instance representing a short explanation of them, with the final stanza of the inscription containing a simple enumeration. This issue will be dealt with in greater

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<sup>166</sup> "Da im Ai. die grammatische (und logische) Beziehung der Satzglieder schon durch die grammatische Form völlig bestimmt ist, so sind einer völlig freien Wortstellung durch die Rücksicht auf Verständlichkeit keine Schranken gezogen ..." Thumb, 1905:470-471.

<sup>167</sup> Finot, 1925:331/352.

detail in the section on Pre Rup below, as parallels will have to be drawn with the latter inscription.

To sum up, the inscription mentions all together thirteen images, but does not give any details as to what they looked like or where they were placed – issues discussed in chapter 6.1.

## Pre Rup

The inscription of Pre Rup contains all together six stanzas referring to images founded at the temple: st. CCLXXVII to st. CCLXXXII. A somewhat unusual, but very helpful, aspect of st. CCLXXVIII is its mentioning the location where the image was placed.

St. CCLXXVII gives the overall dedication of the temple, and mentions one *linga* and four statues:

CCLXXVII The king established here the *linga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara, as if it was the smiling face of Śiva, glad (happy) to proclaim highly his glory with four shining faces, with these 4 ravishing images of Gaurī, Śaurī and Īśvara, in 883 *saka*.<sup>168</sup>

The *linga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara in all likelihood was the central icon of the temple, surrounded by the other four. The name 'Rājendrabhadreśvara' refers to Bhadreśvara, who is "in some sort the national divinity of the Kambuja"<sup>169</sup>. The name Bhadreśvara as an epithet of Śiva can be found in Indian sources, for instance, in the Śabdakalpdruma, and was also quite popular in India during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Another culture where Bhadreśvara was significant was Champa, where King Bhadravarman had founded a Bhadreśvara at Mi Son. Thus it is somewhat unclear whether the Khmer received the notion of Bhadreśvara from India or Champa, where Bhadreśvara was the national divinity as well.<sup>170</sup> Important to consider in the context of Pre Rup is that Bhadreśvara is used as an epithet of Śiva, and has nothing to do with King Bhadravarman of Champa. As stated before, Bhadreśvara was very common in India as well, and adopted in Cambodia like many other names for Śiva. Bhadreśvara is called the

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<sup>168</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.  
<sup>169</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:21.  
<sup>170</sup> Ibid.:21.

'national divinity' of Cambodia due to the frequency with which it is mentioned in Cambodian inscriptions of all periods, and the particular sanctity ascribed to his shrine at Wat Phu<sup>171</sup> (Fig. 5.6). This place, which is also called Liṅgaparvata<sup>172</sup>, received its sanctity from the combination of two natural features. One is the *svāyambhuvaliṅga* on top of the mountain behind the temple (Fig. 5.7), and the second is the natural spring, which never dries up, right next to the shrine (Fig. 5.8). *Svāyambhuvaliṅgas* are regarded the most holy and potent ones, as they represent a natural manifestation of Śiva.<sup>173</sup> This fertility is also ascribed to water, thus the combination of the two of them at this particular hill in southern Laos was one of the most sacred and potent places throughout Kambujadesa. Moreover, Wat Phu was generally regarded as a place for asceticism and meditation. Rājendravarman combines his name with that of the deity Bhadreśvara to associate himself with Śiva, and placed this icon in the most important sanctuary of his reign because of its correlation to Wat Phu and its particular sacredness.<sup>174</sup>

The name of the central *liṅga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara needs examining in a further context: that King Rājendravarman founded two *liṅgas* combining his name with Śiva: one here at Pre Rup, and the other at the East Mebon. The name Śrī Rājendreśvara of the East Mebon can be directly compared to earlier *liṅgas*, namely the Śrī Indreśvara of King Indravarman at Bakong, and the Yaśodhareśvara on Phnom Bakheng. Contrary to Rājendravarman, the earlier kings had only founded one *liṅga* which could be explained in terms of the state cult centred on the state temple.<sup>175</sup> Thus, the question is why Rājendravarman founded two *liṅgas* bearing this type of name. As seen in chapter 3.2.2 the foundation of two representations of Meru can be explained due to the symbolic significance of the temples, as can the *liṅgas*. Their names, however, seem to have had political significance. Even though this issue is not examined in detail in this thesis due to restrictions of space, it needs mentioning here. As seen in the section on cosmology in chapter 2.2 the king was at the centre of his kingdom, mirroring Indra, the king of the gods, on top of Mount Meru. To make this clearly comprehensible, his central *liṅga*

<sup>171</sup> One of the earliest references to Wat Phu is in the History of the Sui, which refers to a human sacrifice performed annually by the king on top of the mountain, and mentions the spirit 'P'o-to-li', the Bhadreśvara founded in the sanctuary. Coedès, 1964:65f. This bears witness to the significance Wat Phu and its Bhadreśvara had over centuries.

<sup>172</sup> One of the earliest references to this name at Wat Phu is K. 367 from the sixth century CE, which contains a eulogy of Jayavarman I, and mentions the name Liṅgaparvata, probably in reference to Wat Phu and its sanctuary. IC II:78.

<sup>173</sup> Rao, 1997, II-1:80ff.

<sup>174</sup> The continuing importance of the Bhadreśvara of Wat Phu is clearly evident in the fact that King Sūryavarman I removed the Bhadreśvara and brought it from Wat Phu to Angkor.

<sup>175</sup> Stern, 1934:611-613; Coedès, 1928a:93.

received not just the name of Śiva, to whom it was dedicated, by also that of the king.<sup>176</sup> The outflow of religious power from the centre of the kingdom out into its furthest reaches was paralleled by an outflow of political power – these two could not be separated, as the king was at the same time the political and the religious centre of the kingdom. The king's main duty was the creation of an auspicious kingdom, as the mediator between the divine and human realms.<sup>177</sup> We have already seen in chapter 2.2 that the king was composed of particles of various gods,<sup>178</sup> and was ideally the *cakravārtin*, 'the one who is at the centre of the wheel', 'the ruler of the universe'. Consequently, he is a deity in human form, and the central and highest point of the kingdom, from where his power descends to the whole kingdom.<sup>179</sup> This is expressed in the name of the Śrī Rājendreśvara of the East Mebon. Regarding the Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara of Pre Rup the notion is re-confirmed, and even extended to include the national divinity of the Kambuja, Bhadreśvara, both as an epithet of Śiva, and a reference to the most sacred sanctuary at Wat Phu. Even though this was not necessarily intended to indicate Rājendravarman's political sovereignty over this area – though that was probably the case – it makes explicit the spiritual prowess of the king, who can incorporate that name within the name of one of his central *lingas*.

Another noteworthy aspect of this stanza is that it explicitly mentions four images, but only names three of them: Gaurī, Śaurī and Īśvara. Thus who is the fourth image? One possible explanation lies in the internal structure of the section on the images. As will become clear in the following, the subsequent stanzas are more detailed descriptions of the images merely enumerated here. The four images described in st. CCLXXVIII-CCLXXXI are one Parvatī, one Viṣṇu and two images of Śiva. Mentioned in st. CCLXXVII are a Parvatī, a Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Comparing this, it might be possible that the two images of Śiva were only mentioned once, thus even though four images were installed the introductory stanza only names three.

As already indicated above, st. CCLXXVIII is somewhat unusual as it gives the location of the statue mentioned:

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<sup>176</sup> The religious connotations of this issue have been discussed in chapter 3.2.2, in the section on the *devarāja*.  
<sup>177</sup> Flood, 1999:67.  
<sup>178</sup> O'Flaherty/Smith, 1991:128. Manu-smṛti, 7.3-8.  
<sup>179</sup> Flood, 1999:68.

CCLXXVIII For his own prosperity he placed this Īsvara Rājendravarmeśvara in the region of Agni, provided with the divine attributes such as tenuity and accompanied by the eight other gods (*dikpālakās*), beginning with Indra – who was, as it were, his own kingly appearance (*bhūpālabhāva*).<sup>180</sup>

The king founded the image Īsvara Rājendravarmeśvara for his own good, and installed it in the southeast (corner) tower. Coédès translated this part of the stanza as “as if it [the image] had been his [the king’s] own royal substance”<sup>181</sup>, and thus assumed the resemblance of the image to the king. However, this is not the case, and rests on a misinterpretation of the stanza. As we have seen in chapter 3.2.2 the issue of portrait statues has been resolved by Coédès himself later on, when he states that commemorative images were not carved resembling the person they commemorate.<sup>182</sup>

Another question, as will be seen in chapter 6.2, regards the representation of the *dikpālakās*. They are not described further, and their placement can only be guessed at.

The following stanza explicates on the image of Rājendraviśvarūpa:

CCLXXIX And he has constructed also this Rājendraviśvarūpa, Hari, lovely, having the aspect of the Omnipresent, here in this temple which is like an accumulation of all the beauty of the three worlds.<sup>183</sup>

This image of Viṣṇu seems to have been founded in commemoration of Viśvarūpa, a somewhat mythical ancestor of the king. In the genealogy of the king given in the Pre Rup inscription he is mentioned as the husband of Sarasvatī, a *kṣatriya* (st. VII). And st. XIV, following the one mentioning Rājendrarvarman’s parents and himself, states that Viśvarūpa studied the Vedas.

XIV Thanks to the study of the Veda practised and to the triple asceticism endured formerly by the *brahmin* Viśvarūpa, by Dviveda with his wife (Vedavatī, see st. VIII), and by all the kings of their descent, thanks to all that, he [Rājendrarvarman] was in his family like Hari, the Supreme God, of the descendants of the solar race.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>181</sup> IC I:102/140.

<sup>182</sup> Coédès, 1940a. This only changes under King Jayavarman VII, when indeed portraits can be found.

<sup>183</sup> IC I:103/140.

<sup>184</sup> IC I:79/107.

These are the only occurrences of the name, and it seems to be the same person, a *brahmin*. However, it is not entirely clear why he would be commemorated in this temple, and the most plausible explanation seems to be that Viśvarūpa appears to have been the instigator of the asceticism the accumulation of which ultimately made possible the birth of Rājendravarman like a Hari in his solar family.

Contrary to this slightly nebulous relation to Viśvarūpa the two following stanzas and their images are dedicated to close relatives of the king.

CCLXXX He erected here the daughter of the mountain, producer of fortune, for the benefit of Jayadevī, mother of Śrī Harśavarman, and younger sister of his mother, who had attained heaven.<sup>185</sup>

This image of Parvatī is thus devoted to his maternal aunt Jayadevī, the wife of former King Jayavarman IV, who had ruled at Koh Ker. Her son is mentioned in the next stanza:

CCLXXXI This king of kings founded this Īsvara Rājendravarmadeveśvara for the prosperity of his younger relative, the king Śrī Harśavarman.<sup>186</sup>

Thus, the image of Īsvara Rājendravarmadeveśvara commemorates the former King Harśavarman II, who only reigned for two years before Rājendravarman himself ascended the throne.

The images mentioned in these stanzas are all commemorative, for the good of the person for whom they were founded. What is noteworthy about these is the fact that the three male ones have part of King Rājendravarman's name combined with their own, and Harśavarman's is even omitted completely. This practice is acceptable, and the images do not necessarily have to carry the name of the person commemorated. What is more important in this respect is the intention of commemorating a person, so the image does not have to bear their name. Moreover, all stanzas actually mention for whom the image is founded.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>186</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

<sup>187</sup> Personal communication with Prof. K. Bhattacharya, to whom I would like to express my gratitude for raising this issue.

One more stanza mentions images founded at Pre Rup:

CCLXXXII Charming with (accompanied by) the bright (brilliant) images of Śarṅgin and other gods, he erected the eight images of the god *aṣṭamūrti* (= god with eight forms), charming, recognisable by their ten particular marks, to some extent pouring with profusion the nectar spread by the moon on the head of Śiva.<sup>188</sup>

This stanza definitely indicates the installation of eight *līṅga* of Śiva, but also possibly that of several other images. The 'brilliant images of Śarṅgin and other gods' can refer to the images of the preceding stanzas. However, they might also be different images, possibly founded in the smaller sanctuary towers. As will be argued in the following chapter, the second alternative seems more likely, as there is in fact evidence for more than the eight *līṅgas* in the small brick towers on the first level of the pyramid.

According to the Pre Rup inscription, the number of images founded was 25: one central *līṅga*, surrounded by four images, and the eight *dikpālākās* in the southeast tower, plus eight *līṅgas* and another four images of Śarṅgin and other gods.

### 5.3 Conclusion

Even though the concepts expressed in the inscriptions of Kambujadesa allow historical inferences regarding the contact with India these texts are predominantly religious in nature. The inscriptions dealt with in this chapter show various common characteristics. Fundamentally, they portray the adherence of King Rājendravarman to Śiva, and more specifically the monism of Vedānta. This is most evident in the supplications in which King Rājendravarman implores his successors to protect his foundations. Part of the requests are dealing with the future kings' adhering to *dharma*, but this is within the context of monism, as their righteousness will result in their following Rājendravarman's plea. This will also result in them reaping the same fruits as if they had built the temple themselves. The most detailed of these supplications can be found in the Pre Rup inscription, and they all clearly show a deep familiarity with the teachings of the Upaniṣads.

The invocations of the inscriptions are highly complex and evidence the profound awareness of their author with Sanskrit culture. Not only is their grammar and style impeccable, they also contain numerous religious notions, and allude to a variety of philosophical and grammatical Indian texts. Moreover, they, like the sculptures in the temples themselves, show the religious tolerance prevalent at the time. All of them invoke not just Śiva as the main deity, but Viṣṇu and Brahmā as well – together with other deities, and st. IV of Pre Rup even invokes Viṣṇu as the Supreme Being, the *āḍipuruṣa*.

Interesting within this context is the relationship to the Buddhists. King Rājendravarman was very tolerant, and it is thus worth considering the statements particularly in the Pre Rup inscription regarding this faith. Whereas the East Mebon inscription is fairly neutral, the stanzas in the inscription of Pre Rup referring to Buddhism are quite critical, and intent on ascertaining the supremacy of Brahmanism. One possible explanation for this was brought forward by Dr. Christophe Pottier<sup>189</sup> who hypothesised that perhaps the most prominent Buddhist, Kavīndrārimathana, had died by the time the Pre Rup inscription was composed. Thus he could no longer exert his influence, and it was possible for King Rājendravarman to put down

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<sup>188</sup> Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.  
<sup>189</sup> Personal communication in May 2003.

somewhat critical remarks. It is not known when Kavīndrārimathana died – he is only mentioned in one inscription, that of Bat Chum, dating from 960 CE – so this hypothesis cannot be confirmed. What seems a more likely explanation is that King Rājendravarman was indeed tolerant towards Buddhism, but was nevertheless a devout Śivaite himself. Consequently, he did express this faith in the two most important inscriptions of his reign, dedicated to his two main foundations, which were both Śivaite. Being tolerant does not exclude that the own religious conviction is seen as superior, and it seems natural that this would be made explicit in the most significant religious texts of the reign.

Regarding the temples themselves, the inscriptions do not state much about them. The only feature mentioned are the images founded, albeit without further details, such as their placement. About the buildings constructed within the compounds, the rituals performed there, or whether and how often the king visited the temples nothing whatsoever is mentioned.

Overall, the religious issues dealt with in the inscriptions are very similar. Both express King Rājendravarman's Śivaite faith, alluding to many complex notions. With respect to the temples, as indicated before, not much is said. However, what is mentioned about them is very similar. Both inscriptions mention only the statues founded: *liṅgas* at the centre, surrounded by four images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Parvatī and at East Mebon Brahmā in the corner towers, again surrounded by eight *liṅgas* representing the *aṣṭamūrti*. What is noteworthy is that two of the images of East Mebon, and four at Pre Rup were dedicated to the benefit of relatives of the king: his parents at the East Mebon, and at Pre Rup to himself, his maternal aunt, a cousin, and a somewhat nebulous relative. Contrary to previous translations and interpretations none of these images was done in the likeness of the person commemorated. The commemorative aspect of the images of the East Mebon resulted in its classification as an ancestor temple. However, as already discussed in chapter 3.2.2 this results in arbitrariness, as the images at Pre Rup are of commemorative nature as well.

For their proper interpretation we have to bear in mind the adherence of King Rājendravarman to the monism of Advaita Vedānta, which proclaims the unity of *ātman* and *brahman*. This is mostly visible in the supplications at the end of the inscriptions, addressed to

future kings. However, it is also directly related to the foundation of the commemorative images, because this unity of *ātman* also refers back to the past. The foundations for the relatives at Rājendravarman's temples increase the merit of both the king himself as the founder of the images, and that of the persons commemorated. This is explicitly stated in the stanzas, saying that the respective image was founded 'for the good of' the relative. For the explanation as to who was commemorated, not just one reason seems plausible. The founding of images for parents appears to have been quite common, as we see at Preah Ko, and Lolei, but also later foundations of King Jayavarman VII. The choice of images at Pre Rup might have been partly influenced by political reasons. The somewhat mysterious Viśvarūpa and his studies of the Vedas seem to have been seen as the ultimate reason for King Rājendravarman's being like a Hari in his family, as stated in st. XIV. These deeds, the study of the Vedas, and the asceticism of subsequent relatives resulted in this birth, enabled through the accumulation of so much good *karma* in one person, King Rājendravarman. The foundation of an image of Jayadevī seems to have been motivated because she was on the one hand the king's aunt – younger sister of his mother – and on the other the mother of his predecessor. King Harśavarman seems to have been commemorated exactly for this reason. In a certain way these two people are directly responsible for King Rājendravarman ascending the throne. Overall, all people commemorated did contribute to Rājendravarman's existence. Consequently, we find in these images a confluence of spiritual and political elements: spiritually they and King Rājendravarman himself are linked through the unity of the Self, and politically they were a prerequisite for Rājendravarman being king.

The repercussions of the findings of this chapter on the overall purpose of the two temples will be discussed in the conclusion. In the following chapter those statements made about the temples themselves, the images founded, shall be scrutinised by using the physical evidence still remaining at the temples.

## 6. Examination of the Epigraphic Information in Relation to the Physical Remains

When examining Angkorean temples closely it is essential to compare the architectural and sculptural remains with what the inscriptions tell us about the temple. As has become clear in my discussion of French scholarship in chapter 3.1 this task has only been attempted by a few scholars. Overall, art historians and architects worked on the architectural remains, whereas epigraphists tended to focus on the inscriptions. However, both need to be studied together for a thorough interpretation of the temples. The specific issue to be examined in this chapter is to establish the degree of consistency between inscriptions and architecture, focusing on the reign of King Rājendravarman. Examining the reliability of the inscriptions with respect to the architectural remains can provide insights into the trustworthiness of these texts. Unquestionably, the inscriptions contain certain passages which are fairly standard, and do not necessarily help clarify a particular king's buildings or reign. Examples are the stanzas of the eulogies claiming the respective king to be the most beautiful, wisest and most learned man in the country, to be the greatest warrior and most perfect in mastering all the intellectual and physical disciplines expected from a king. Other parts of the inscriptions cannot be taken at face value, which is immediately obvious with respect to the founder couples. The wives of these couples were *nāgī* princesses, female serpents, which undoubtedly never existed. These couples are named as the founders of the respective dynasty, more with the intention to legitimise the ruling king rather than to give an accurate account of the dynastic past. Nevertheless, past scholars have taken most of what has been said in the inscriptions as historical information, and attempted to identify these mythical couples with kings whose names are known from other inscriptions. However, this information was accepted without being based on empirical evidence. Consequently, it is necessary to start a process of verifying the claims made in the inscriptions.

### Methodology

With regard to the architecture and the images mentioned in the inscriptions this process of examining the inscriptions seems to be comparatively easy to achieve because we have the

physical remains available today. Although the foundation inscriptions of all temples mention the images founded there, they usually do not give more details about these sculptures or where they were placed. In this respect only st. CCLXXVIII of the Pre Rup inscription is an exception because it gives the location of Ísvara Rājendravarmesvara as 'the region of Agni', the southeast. Concordantly, in order to determine whether the images mentioned in the inscriptions did in fact exist, and if yes, which image was placed where, various methods had to be utilised.

A first step was to compile an inventory of objects, mainly pedestals or their remains, still in the temples. These were then analysed regarding which kind of sculpture – a *linga*, an image – they could have supported in terms of shape, and size. Subsequently, these findings were compared to the names given in the inscriptions, to compose a preliminary list of potential correspondences. In order to substantiate this, the restoration reports of the Conservation d'Angkor were investigated with respect to images found, and their location. Unfortunately, not many images had survived until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but examining the existing photographs resulted in some unexpected conclusions as to the date of various sculptures. A final step was to determine not just which images had actually been founded, but also where they were installed. One way of determining this was the analysis of the pedestals, as their top layer allows inferences about the kind of image they supported. For instance, usually pedestals intended for *lingas* have an octagonal hole to fit the octagonal central part of the *linga*. In contrast, pedestals for images have square holes for the tenons. Another feature allowing assumptions about the placement of images are the decorative elements of the sanctuary towers. These are the guardian figures carved in the interpilaster spaces of the towers: those with male guardians housed male divinities, and those with female ones female goddesses. This statement has to be qualified somewhat, as will be discussed below, as towers with female guardians seem to have housed male deities as well, but not vice versa. This limitation, however, simplifies the process, as the female deities can be attributed in a fairly straightforward manner. Overall, the process of scrutinising the inscriptions was somewhat more straightforward at the East Mebon, mainly because more pedestals were still in situ than at Pre Rup, and overall the temple housed fewer images. An overview of the images mentioned in the

inscriptions and the physical remains found at the temples is given in Tables 6.1 (East Mebon) and 6.2 (Pre Rup).

However, there are various problems the researcher has to face. One is the looting, which has gone on for centuries. By the time the French restorers of the Conservation d'Angkor found most of the temples, the depositories with their precious objects had been dug up, images were gone, and even parts of the temples themselves had been cut out, such as the Garuda-head of the southern lintel of the inner northern *gopura* at the East Mebon. However, in the reports accompanying their restoration work, the restorers mention the objects they found in the various buildings, and most of the time took pictures of them. Particularly at Pre Rup the team of the Conservation d'Angkor found many fragments of all sorts of objects, most of which were not mentioned in the inscriptions. Hence, even though none of the items, be that parts of images, pedestals, and ritual or practical implements, is in situ anymore we know of them from the reports and their accompanying photographs. Proper documentation was thus of utmost importance. Unfortunately, the documents dealing both with the restoration, and the images are not complete. For instance, several reports were missing, which might have clarified matters regarding items for which photographs exist. Additionally, the documentation for the objects brought into the Conservation d'Angkor in Siem Reap, both at the time when they were found, and nowadays is very deficient. In 1997 the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* published an inventory of all objects stored in the Conservation, giving a short description and the location. Unfortunately, not only are individual entry forms missing, the inventory lacks them by the hundreds. This somewhat wanting documentation can make it difficult to trace the history of specific items from when they were found until where they are kept nowadays. Another difficulty is presented by the situation at the Conservation itself. Since the inventory was compiled, objects have been moved again, which makes it difficult if not impossible to find certain pieces. Nevertheless, combining the references in the reports, the photographs, and the inventory forms the researcher does have a valuable database with a lot of information which so far has not been utilised to its fullest.

## 6.1 The East Mebon

Several stanzas of the Mebon inscription mention the founding of images, without stating their exact location. By examining the physical remains at the temple, it is possible to determine how many images definitely existed, and also in part where they were placed. In the following, the process of trying to identify the existence and placement of images will start at the central towers and move outwards.

### Stanza CCXVIII

According to stanza CCXVIII, “this *linga* of Śiva, called Śrī Rājendreśvara, has found here a perfect stability, (together) with these statues of Śauri, Gaurī, Gīrīśa and Brahmā”. When we look at the remains inside or near the central *prasats*, there is evidence for these images. In front of the central sanctuary part of a pedestal can be found which was compiled there by the restoration team. When they started restoring the temple they only found the pieces scattered around<sup>1</sup>, and placed them in front of the sanctuary. Unfortunately, they did not find enough parts to reconstruct it completely, but what remains gives a good impression of what the pedestal looked like originally. It is 1.8 x 1.8 metres square and 90 centimetres high, and the still existing parts of the top layer clearly show an octagonal hole at the centre (Fig. 6.1). Hence this base originally bore a *linga*. At the centre of the floor inside the central sanctuary is an indentation for a pedestal, with a side length of about 1.9 metres (Fig. 6.2). This congruence allows the conclusion that the pedestal outside the tower was originally placed inside, and supported the Śrī Rājendreśvara *linga*. Of this *linga* nothing remains, but since the pedestal supports the claim of the inscription, we can safely assume that it once existed, and has been looted in the meantime.

Regarding the four statues mentioned in the stanza, we have the best evidence for the image of Brahmā. During the restoration of M-SE was found a round pedestal (Fig. 6.3) inside the tower, which was very similar to the ones found in the temples of Phnom Krom, Phnom Bok, or Trapeang Pong (Fig. 6.4), which supported images of Brahmā. Remains of the pedestal can still be seen today, as well as the round *snanadroni*, which belongs on top of it. Unfortunately,

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<sup>1</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1935:121.

the *snanadroni* is broken and lies at the base of the central platform (Fig. 6.5). The top of the pedestal contains alveoli into which offerings in form of gold leaves were placed. In addition to the pedestal and *yoni*, the reports mention fragments of the head of Brahmā with four faces as well, found on the platform north of M-SE<sup>2</sup>. With the *snanadroni*, south of the east stairs of the central platform, were also found fragments of a male statue<sup>3</sup>. Due to their proximity to the *yoni*, which obviously belongs to M-SE, these fragments might be parts of the Brahmā image. Unfortunately, no photographs exist of either the head or the other pieces, but according to the report at least the head was stylistically contemporary with the temple. According to the inventory of the Conservation d'Angkor<sup>4</sup>, a standing image of Brahmā with four arms was found at the East Mebon. Unfortunately, the form does not give details of the location where it was found, but it is possible that the image now in Siem Reap is actually the one of M-SE. While visiting the Conservation it was regrettably impossible to find either of the fragments, due to the reasons mentioned above. Consequently, a definitive identification of the fragments was not possible.

Prasat M-NE nowadays still contains a pedestal, albeit not in situ, but leaning against the western wall (Fig. 6.6). As all pedestals in the corner towers – apart from M-SE – it is 1.2 metres square, and about 84 centimetres high. The top layer is gone, but when looking at the carvings for the tenon, it is obvious that it was made for an image. The hole becomes narrower towards the bottom, whereas for a *linga* it would have to be straight. The pedestal's top shows the usual alveoli for gold leaf deposits. Next to the pedestal are now placed a tenon with feet (Fig. 6.7). The restoration reports mention neither the pedestal nor the remains of the statue, but considering the policy of putting back material as close to its original location as possible, the feet seem to belong to the image which once stood inside this tower. Because the legs are broken just above the ankles, it is impossible to say whether the image was male or female. However, stylistically the feet seem to belong to the Bayon style. Comparing them with the feet of a Bayon-style sculpture in the Conservation d'Angkor, they are very similar (Fig. 6.8). Both are carved in a very crude way, and look very stout, with thick ankles. Because of its being a

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<sup>2</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1935:121

<sup>3</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1936:152.

<sup>4</sup> Documentation Conservation d'Angkor (subsequently DCA), no. 3507, 4175.

later addition the fragment inside M-NE cannot be utilised in determining the placement of the original sculptures.

As for two remaining images of Parvatī and Viṣṇu, towers M-NW and SW do contain pedestals, but no remains of images. Both pedestals show the typical indentations for gold leaf deposits, with their top layers gone (Fig. 6.9/10). The holes at the centre clearly show that they were carved for images, as they become narrower towards the bottom. During the restoration of 1 Gop W the team of the Conservation d'Angkor found the torso and legs of a female image<sup>5</sup>, and a month later in the south west part of the second enclosure both the head and feet, still with the tenon<sup>6</sup>. After putting the parts together (Fig. 6.11), the image was 1.55 metres high<sup>7</sup>, i.e. life-size, and believed to be the Parvatī mentioned in the inscription.<sup>8</sup> However, considering the style of the image that might not be the case. The most obvious feature that indicates a later date is the fishtail motif of the *sampot*, which was characteristic of sculpture of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, the waistline of the *sampot* curves down at the front, which is a feature of the Baphuon style (Fig. 6.12) – albeit not as far as usually. Moreover, the belt shows lozenge shaped decorations, which again is the feature of later iconography. Another later trait is the rather squat legs. When looking at the face, the eyebrows are curved, and the eyes have an almond shape, which again is typical of the sculpture of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Elements hinting at earlier, i.e. tenth century styles are the frontal flap of the pleaded *sampot*, and the tiered style of the crown. Overall, the image seems to be of later date than the East Mebon, and cannot be taken as proof for an original image.

Drawing on the physical evidence discussed above, it is now possible to conclude that all five images mentioned in st. CCXVIII were actually erected at the five central *prasats*.

### Stanza CCVIII

Turning now to stanza CCVIII, it mentions that “the great warrior, who accomplished the duties of a king, erected this statue of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, together with eight *lingas* of the eight forms of Śiva”. Regarding the eight *lingas*, we have evidence for them in the eight small brick towers around the central platform. The restoration reports mention bases with *lingas* still in situ in

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<sup>5</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1938:9. DCA 5422.

<sup>6</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 06/1938:7.

<sup>7</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 07/1938:8.

<sup>8</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1938:9.

towers M-1 and M-8<sup>9</sup>, and M-1 still does contain the base. The base is 60 centimetres square and 44 centimetres high, with the top layer still in place. This layer has an octagonal hole to fit the octagonal central part of the *liriga* (Fig. 6.13). From tower M-8 both the base and *liriga* were removed, and consequently now only the indentations in the floor to receive the base are visible. At present, towers M-2, 4, 6, and 7 neither contain any remains of a base, nor a *liriga*. However, inside the central sanctuary four bases are kept which have identical measurements, and carvings as the one in M-1. Of these four, one still has the top layer with the octagonal hole for a *liriga*. Consequently, these bases are the ones from four of the towers, which at present do not contain anything. Since the report explicitly mentions that they found *lirigas* in towers M-1 and 8, it might be possible that the base with the top layer inside M-CS actually is the one from M-8. Inside tower M-3 we still find a base, with the top layer with the octagonal hole indicating a *liriga* laying broken in the debris next to the little *prasat* (Fig. 6.14). Tower M-5 at present contains a lot of brick rubble, so that only the top of the base inside is visible (Fig. 6.15). However, the base is 60 x 60 centimetres square, and does contain identical alveoli as the other bases, thus must be the original *liriga* base. Concluding from the above analysis, for only one tower no base can be found nowadays. However, at the bottom of the inner terrace, opposite M-i we can find a pedestal consisting of two parts, which do not fit together well (Fig. 6.16). The top layer, which measures 53 x 54 centimetres, does not fit the bottom part at all, which is 60 centimetres square and 45 centimetres high. They might not belong together, and the bottom part might instead belong into one of the eight towers. Alternatively, due to its location near 2 Gop W, it might also be the pedestal discovered together with a mother goddess in the north aisle of the gate<sup>10</sup>. The measurements given by the respective report for that pedestal were 62 x 62 x 47 centimetres, which means the size of the pedestal was almost identical to the ones in the eight *prasats*. To conclude, even though none of the *lirigas* is still in place, we can find definitely seven, possibly even eight, bases for *lirigas* in the East Mebon, either still in situ in the brick *prasats*, kept in the central sanctuary, and maybe at the base of the inner terrace. The conservation team found two of the *lirigas* still in place in M-1 and 8 in the 1930s. Consequently, the *lirigas* mentioned in the inscription were erected in the eight brick towers.

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<sup>9</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1936:174.

<sup>10</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1938:9.

Regarding the images of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, matters are different. As analysed in chapter 5.2.3 even though the grammatical object is in the singular, it can refer to both Viṣṇu and Brahmā as separate images. Unfortunately, no traces of either the images or their pedestals are left, or were at the time the Conservation d'Angkor restored the temple. What seems to be likely is that the images were actually mentioned twice. This repetition is somewhat similar to the Pre Rup inscription, which first mentions the five central images in one stanza (st. CCLXXVII), and then devotes one stanza to each of the four images placed in the corner towers individually (st. CCLXXVIII – CCLXXXI) for a little explanation. As a result, there were only one Viṣṇu, and one Brahmā installed at the East Mebon.

#### Stanza CCVII

Stanza CCVII says the king “established these two images of Śiva and Parvatī”, for neither of which physical evidence can be found. This lack of physical evidence might indicate that the images were actually mentioned twice in the inscriptions, such as the Viṣṇu and Brahmā of the previous stanza. Contrary to the pure mention of the images in the final stanza, st. CCVII tells us that the images of Śiva and Parvatī were founded for “the good of his parents who had attained the same status as Śiva (*sasthānatā*)”. Again, there was only one pair of Śiva and Parvatī founded, even though they are mentioned two times.

The placement of the images seems to have been as follows. The central sanctuary housed the *līṅga* Śrī Rājendresvara, representing the Absolute Śiva, which is clearly mentioned in the inscription, and supported by the pedestal in front of it. Regarding the corner towers, as already established, Brahmā was installed in M-SE, as is evident in the round pedestal. The remaining three images seem to have been placed as follows. Śiva and Parvatī, the divine couple, should have been positioned in paired towers, i.e. the two northern ones. This would place Śiva in M-NE, which is befitting, given that the northeast is Śiva's cosmic direction, and the *prasat* is guarded by male *devas*. Parvatī would thus be in M-NW, again a befitting placement in a tower with female *devatās*, and next to her husband. Consequently, the image of Viṣṇu must have been placed in M-SW. This might seem a bit strange, given that the tower is guarded by female *devatās*. However, the pairing of Viṣṇu with Brahmā in the two southern

towers would mirror their being mentioned together in the inscription, as are Śiva and Parvatī. Moreover, it might have been more important to have female guardians at both western towers for reasons of visual symmetry rather than be accurate in terms of their gender with respect to the image the *prasat* housed. Examples for male gods placed in towers with female *devatās* can be found at other temples as well, for instance Banteay Srei. Here, obviously for reasons of symmetry, the central tower is guarded by male *devas*, and the side *prasats* by *devatās*. However, BS-N and S housed an image of Viṣṇu and a Śiva-*līṅga* respectively.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, the practice seems to have been to have *devatās* for female deities, but with respect to male ones, female guardians were acceptable as well.

#### Other objects found at the temple

During the restoration of the East Mebon, the Conservation d'Angkor found several images and other objects, which are not mentioned in the inscription. Inside M-A they found two images of Ganeśa, one 20 centimetres high<sup>12</sup>, and the other 70 centimetres<sup>13</sup>. Unfortunately, no photograph exists of the smaller image, and only one of the larger sculpture (Fig. 6.17). Comparing the diadem to the Vajimukha of the same period now kept at the Musée Guimet (Fig. 6.18) it shows identical rows of patterns: at the centre a diamond shaped band, with rows of pearls beneath, and dentate projections above. The *sampot* is unfortunately very damaged, but it shows pleats and the usual flap at the front. Additionally, the photograph seems to indicate a broad, rather simple belt, comparable to sculptures of the time. The image seems to be contemporary with the temple and an original sculpture. Inside M-A the French also found a pedestal, 50 x 40 centimetres, which might belong to this image, as it seems a bit too large for the other Ganeśa.

Moreover, inside M-A the restoration team found a carved sandstone slab<sup>14</sup>, about 1.7 x 0.6 metres large. Unusually, the block was carved on two sides. The front shows a carving of nine *devas*, whereas the heavily weathered back depicts seven ascetics (Fig. 6.19). Unfortunately, there is not much left of the *ṛṣīs*. The central one seems to have his legs bound together, and judging from the outlines of the legs of the other ascetics, which are identical, they

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<sup>11</sup> Finot/Parmentier/Goloubew, 2000:10.

<sup>12</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 04/1936:184.

<sup>13</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:200. DCA 3505.

<sup>14</sup> DCA 3506.

all had that feature. Regarding their faces, one in relatively good condition is very similar to the deities' faces, rather square with thick lips. The rest of this side of the stone seems to have been plain, which might be due to the weathering, but the ascetics seem to sit on either a common platform, or some other kind of protrusion at the lower third of the stone. As for the deities, comparing their diadems with the one of Ganeśa, they are very similar, showing the same three-fold pattern. The deities' *sampots* are also very much like Ganeśa's, with pleats and a fold at the front. Regarding the background and frame of the carving, the deities' side shows a row of lotus petals at the bottom, which is very similar to the lintels of the East Mebon. In between the heads of the *devas* one can see a floral pattern, with three tips facing downward, whereas the space in between the bodies is uncarved. Contrasting this depiction of the nine deities with the one found at the Khleang, which dates from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 6.20), one can see several elements which link the two together. Similarities are the faces, which are almost square, the style of the *sampot*, and the row of lotus petals at the bottom. Differences are that in the Khleang carving the niches become more pronounced, even though the pillars between the deities are only carved in a very shallow way. Above their heads are arcatures decorated with floral motifs. It is somewhat difficult to identify the deities of the M-A stone due to the damaged state of the depiction. However, they seem to be, from left to right, Sūrya in his horse-drawn chariot, Candra on a pedestal, Yāma on his ox, a deity on an animal with two legs visible, Indra on Airāvata, probably Kubera, and Agni on their horse and ram respectively, Rāhu in a whirl of clouds, and Ketu on a lion. The fourth deity is almost impossible to identify, because not only are the attributes missing, but also the *vāhana* is badly damaged. Judging from what remains the *vāhana* seems to have had claws, and could be a bird. Around where the head of the *vāhana* should have been can be discerned a half-circle of what looks like feathers. Unfortunately, the photography of the stone is very bad, and the attributes of the deity unrecognisable. However, it might be Skanda on his peacock. Overall, and also in accord with the comparison to the Khleang depiction, the stone found in M-A is probably contemporary with the East Mebon and was placed there when the temple was built. The placement will be discussed in chapter 7.2.2.

Another depiction of the nine deities, about 1.7 x 0.4 metres large, was found inside M-B<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 6.21). In comparison with the stone found in M-A several differences are quite obvious. First of all, the faces, and headdresses are different. The faces are somewhat more elongated, and the diadems more crudely done. Another significant difference is the setting of the deities. In this carving there is no row of lotus petals at the bottom, but only horizontal lines, and the deities are set in clearly defined niches. The gods are separated by pillars, which carry quite floral looking arches. Looking at a depiction of the nine deities in the Baphuon style, i.e. the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 6.22), there are striking similarities. The bottom is plain, and the deities are set in even more elaborate niches, formed by arches with pillars, with triple-branched lotus stems above. Consequently, stylistically the depiction found in M-B seems to be later than the Khleang one, but earlier than the one of the Baphuon, probably dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This means the block was a later addition to the temple. As for identifying the deities, they are, from left to right, Sūrya in a horse-drawn chariot, Candra on a pedestal, Yāma on his ox, Skanda on a peacock, Indra on Airāvata, Kubera on a horse, Agni on a ram, Rāhu in clouds, and Ketu on a lion. The third deity was identified by K. Bhattacharya as Brahmā,<sup>16</sup> which seems somewhat doubtful. Looking at the *vāhana* (Fig. 6.23), even though it is badly damaged, it does look very much like the *vāhana* of the sixth and seventh deities with legs with hoofs. Moreover, the attribute in the deity's right hand resembles a round object: the fruit associated with Yāma. This god's mount is the buffalo, which would be in accord with the *vāhana* depicted. Thus it seems quite likely that the third deity is in fact Yāma, not Brahmā. Comparing this depiction to the nine deities of Kuk Rokar from 1001 CE, which also shows Yāma as the third divinity, it is very similar (Fig. 6.24). Even though the stone is a later addition, it was placed inside the building in the same manner as the one in M-A, on an elongated sandstone block, about one metre from the eastern wall and parallel to it.<sup>17</sup> Both these foundation blocks are still in the buildings, the one in M-A is 1.7 x 0.4 metres in size, and the one in M-B, which is heavily weathered and damaged, 2.1 x 0.3 metres (Fig. 6.25).

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<sup>15</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:201.

<sup>16</sup> Bhattacharya, 1956b:189.

<sup>17</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 1936:200.

In the northern entrance of 2 Gop W was found a 44 centimetre high mother goddess<sup>18</sup> with a pedestal, 62 x 62 x 47 centimetres. However, looking at the sculpture (Fig. 6.26) it is very crudely done, and the proportion of the mother's legs compared to her body is very awkward. Comparing the *sampot* to the one of the Ganeśa, the pattern is entirely different. Ganeśa's *sampot* shows the usual pleats, whereas this one has a floral pattern done in a very unsophisticated way. Moreover, unlike sculpture of the tenth century, the mother goddess does not have the three lines under her breasts, but near her navel. Overall, the image looks unfinished, e.g. the child's right leg and the mother's *sampot*. Taking these factors into account, it seems very likely that the image dates from a later period. The *sampot* with floral pattern suggests the Bayon style. However, given the very poor execution of the piece it might even be later than that period, and merely imitate its characteristics.

Other items mentioned in the restoration reports, which were found in the 1<sup>st</sup> enclosure are two bronze *nāgas*, one inside M-C<sup>19</sup>, and one in the southeast corner<sup>20</sup>, one conch in M-C<sup>21</sup>, and a hand holding a conch<sup>22</sup>. Unfortunately, of these items neither a more detailed description nor photographs exist, so it is impossible to determine where they might have been placed originally, or whether they were contemporary with the temple or not.

Nowadays, next to M-D a pedestal can be found (Fig. 6.27), which is not mentioned in the French reports. It is 70 x 80 centimetres and 40 centimetres high, and obviously supported an image: the hole for the tenon gets narrower towards the bottom.

Regarding the placement of the images, at least those mentioned in the inscriptions, for which a definite location can be determined, the symbolic meaning has to be examined as well. At the centre and physically highest place of the temple was founded a *linga* as the *avyakta* or *niṣkala* (amorphic) representation of the Absolute Śiva. Around him, in the corner *prasats*, were erected icons of again Śiva, his consort Parvatī, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā, all invoked at the beginning of the inscription. Their being in anthropomorphic form, *vyakta* or *sakala*, is the perceivable and tangible manner of the representation of the Primary Energy.<sup>23</sup> This

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<sup>18</sup> DCA 3747.

<sup>19</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1936:298.

<sup>20</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:202.

<sup>21</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1936:298.

<sup>22</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:202.

<sup>23</sup> Ganapati Sthapati, 2002:3f.

corresponds to the movement of the Essence into the manifest world, continued in the eight small *prasats*, containing the *aṣṭamūrti*, the eight elements which comprise the Universe. Thus the various images represent the outflow of power from the centre, the Absolute, to the surrounding Universe, constituted by the eight elements.

## 6.2 Pre Rup

The Pre Rup inscription mentions images founded at the temple in several stanzas, but only gives the location of one of them. The physical remains at Pre Rup are not as helpful in determining the original sculptures as the ones at the East Mebon, as will become evident in the following discussion.

### Stanza CCLXXVII

According to st. CCLXXVII, Rājendravarman founded “the *līṅga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara ... with these four ravishing images of Gaurī, Śaurī and Īśvara”. As has been discussed in chapter 5.2.3, the four images are dealt with separately in the following stanzas, and only the *līṅga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara will be examined now. Inside PR-CS nowadays there is still a pedestal, not in its original position at the centre of the shrine, but moved towards the western wall (Fig. 6.28). Its side length is 1.5 x 1.5 metres, with a height of 0.75 metres. On top of it are placed several modern Buddha images, and quite a bit of rubble. The pedestal is not very high, and too small for the carving on the floor, which is about 1.7 x 1.7 metres. Moreover, the redented top layer shows lotus petals, and the sides do not have the central band, but are curved inwards at the centre with just horizontal lines decorating them (Fig. 6.29). Compared to other pedestals, it is evident that it is one of the lion bases of the intermediate level of the lowest terrace (Fig. 6.30). Of these originally eight pedestals seven can still be found in situ: the eastern, southern, and northern ones, whereas only the southern one of the western staircase remains. The measurements of these pedestals are an average 1.5 metres square and 0.77 metres high, i.e. identical to the one inside PR-CS. As for the original pedestal being intended for a *līṅga*, the only evidence remaining is the fragment of a *yoni* next to PR-2 (Fig. 6.31). Unfortunately, the piece consists of only one corner, but its side length seems to have been about 1.2 metres. Regarding the *līṅga* itself, the restoration team found one north of the stairs of the pyramid, which was 1.35 metres high.<sup>24</sup> Considering the size, it was very important, and might have been the one in the central sanctuary. No detailed description exists of this *līṅga*, but usually Khmer *līṅgas* consist of three equally long parts, which would here be 3 x 45 centimetres. Given that

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<sup>24</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1931:4.

the original pedestal still in PR-SW is 1.05 metres high, and only the top part of the *līṅga* was visible once it had been installed in its base, this *līṅga* would have risen to a height of 1.5 metres, if the pedestal in the central sanctuary was about 1 metre high as well. This assumption is justified, as the pedestal of the central sanctuary of the East Mebon is even slightly higher than the ones of the corner towers. Hence, the pedestal of PR-CS might have even been higher than 1.05 metres, and the *līṅga* reached a height of even more than 1.5 metres.

#### Stanza CCLXXVIII

St. CCLXXVIII mentions that “[f]or his own prosperity he placed this Śvara Rājendravarṃeśvara in the region of Agni ... accompanied by the eight other gods (*dikpālakās*), beginning with Indra”. Hence, this is the only image in both inscriptions for which the location is given explicitly. Looking at the remains inside PR-SE we find a pedestal which again is no longer at the centre of the shrine but has been moved towards the western wall (Fig. 6.32). The square on the floor has a side length of 1.45 metres, whereas the pedestal is only 0.97 metres square. Regarding its height, it seems to consist of two pedestals on top of each other, the lower one 49 centimetres high, and the upper one 44 centimetres. Because of the Buddha image on top of the upper pedestal is it not possible to see what kind of hole is at the centre. Because there seem to be two pedestals, it is clear that they are not in their original location. Where they might have originally been is difficult to say, since the French do not mention them in their reports.

Regarding the *dikpālakās* mentioned as accompanying the image, there is no indication for them. One possibility might have been the guardians carved next to the doors in the interpilaster spaces outside. If they represent the eight guardians of space, these carvings should show differences. However, examining the eight carved *devas* closely, they are identical (Fig. 6.33). Their stance is straight, with one arm bent, possibly to hold a lance, and the other one facing down along the side of their body. The headdress of all of them seems to have been identical, with a diadem and pointed cap. Consequently, they do not seem to have represented the *dikpālakās*. Instead, these representations may have been placed inside the tower, around the image of Rājendravarṃeśvara. At present, next to the Buddha image is placed a 26 centimetre high sandstone statue (Fig. 6.34). The stance is half-seated, exactly like the *yakṣas* at Banteay Srei (Fig. 6.35), with the right knee up, the left hand on the left knee and the right

hand, which is missing, possibly holding an attribute. Regrettably, the image is badly damaged, with the head and arms missing and the rest heavily weathered. Hence, should this statue have been one of the *dikpālakās* it is no longer discernible. Another, even more likely, possibility might be evident in the *dikpālakās* still present at Phnom Rung in present-day Thailand (Fig. 6.36). Here the guardians were carved on the side of small sandstone cubes, mounted on their respective *vāhanas*. The placement of these cubes at present does not allow inferences about their original position. Some of them can be found at the outer side of the central tower on top of its dais, and some are placed inside the *mandapa*. Probably, though, originally all the stones were placed inside in their respective directions. Should the *dikpālakās* mentioned at Pre Rup have been similar to the ones of Phnom Rung, they could have been placed around the central pedestal, either on the floor or on smaller raised platforms. Of course that means that there was only very little space left for the priests to perform the rituals and for circumambulation of the Śiva image. Finally, the *dikpālakās* might not have been done in stone but for instance bronze instead. In this case, the images were probably either looted or even molten, and reused a long time ago, and cannot be traced anymore. In any case, if the *dikpālakās* were indeed placed around the Īśvara Rājendravarmeśvara, they should have been inside the sanctuary, and would have had to be rather small.

#### Stanza CCLXXIX

Stanza, CCLXXIX, mentions that "he has constructed also this Rājendraviśvarūpa, Hari, lovely". As will be argued below this image might have been erected in PR-NW. Currently, inside this tower a pedestal can be found, once again moved towards the western wall. The pedestal is too small for the floor carving, which is 1.45 metres square, whereas the pedestal is 1.1 metres square and 0.8 metres high (Fig. 6.37). As the other pedestals of these dimensions, it does not seem to be the one originally placed inside the *prasaṭ*. During the restoration of the temple, the French found a Viṣṇu statue in the northeast corner of the upper platform<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 6.38). Unfortunately, one month after the statue was found, it slipped during a thunderstorm and the head was separated.<sup>26</sup> Looking at the image, the most obvious characteristic of the *sampot*, which has a slight frontal scoop, is the fishtail motif, an indication of later styles. Moreover, the

<sup>25</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1931:7. DCA 2394.

<sup>26</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 04/1931:5.

*sampot* is fixed with a broad belt, carved with floral squares, and overall very short – it ends at the level of the tips of the fishtail. The legs of the sculpture are very stout with knees carved quite realistically. Regarding the upper part of the body, the chest is very narrow. The face is oval, with curved eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, and smiling lips. The hairline is straight, and does not come in at two points at the temples, with the overall hairdo looking like plaits, forming a simple yet somewhat large mitre. Around the mitre, at its bottom, is a ring of, as it seems, pearls to set it off. All these features are characteristic for the Bayon style sculpture, and can be found for instance at an Avalokiteśvara of Banteay Chmar (Fig. 6.39). The shape of the torso of both images is very similar, and the design of the *sampot* identical. Moreover, the Avalokiteśvara has the same thick legs as the Viṣṇu. Following from this comparison, the Viṣṇu image is definitely a later addition from the 12<sup>th</sup> or even 13<sup>th</sup> century, and does not necessarily indicate the placement of the original image.

#### Stanza CCLXXX

According to st. CCLXXX “[h]e erected here the daughter of the mountain, producer of fortune, for the benefit of Jayadevī”. As will be examined later in this chapter, the Parvatī was probably founded in PR-SW. Inside this sanctuary we find at present the only original pedestal still in situ (Fig. 6.40). Its size is 1.4 metres square and 1.07 metres high. Stylistically, it is very similar to the sandstone face of both the top level of the pyramid and the double base of the central *prasaś*. Its top and bottom bands are uncarved, as is its broad central band, with horizontal lines decorating the space in between. This very basic tripartite decoration can also be found at the stucco base of the eastern *devatā* of the northern side of PR-SW (Fig. 6.41). As regards the central hole of the pedestal, it is badly damaged, which makes it impossible to see whether it was intended for an image. Regarding the image itself, no trace of it is left.

#### Stanza CCLXXXI

As claimed in st. CCLXXXI the king “founded this Īśvara Rājendravarmadeveśvara for the prosperity of his younger relative, the king Śrī Harśavarman” probably in tower PR-NE. Currently, there is no pedestal inside this *prasaś*, only the floor carving intended for the pedestal can still be seen, which is the usual 1.45 metres square (Fig. 6.42). Again, we do not have any

evidence for the image itself. What is unusual about PR-NE, though, are the eastern *devas*. Unlike the other male guardians carved at Pre Rup, they do have four arms, and not the usual pointed cap but what looks like a mitre. Because the stucco has weathered away only the outlines are still visible. The only objects in their hands, which are still vaguely visible, are what looks like a round object in the northern guardian's upper right hand, and staffs in their lower left hands (Fig. 6.43).

For evaluating the founding of the five central images, two more objects have to be mentioned, both fragmented pedestals. One of them was found by the team of the Conservation d'Angkor while restoring the western part of the southern staircase of the pyramid.<sup>27</sup> Since the reports talk of a pedestal, not fragments of one, it seems to have been not necessarily unbroken, but still with its pieces there. Nowadays, a broken, almost complete pedestal is placed at the bottom of the pyramid opposite PR-S (Fig. 6.44). It measures 1.45 metres square and 1.05 metres high, which are the dimensions of the original pedestal inside PR-SW, and which also fit the floor square. Since only one of the five central towers contains an original pedestal today, it is only possible to conclude that this one belonged into one of the corner towers, possibly into PR-SE.

The remains of the second pedestal are nowadays at the base of the eastern staircase of the pyramid (Fig. 6.45). Since not enough fragments remain to re-construct the pedestal completely, its size cannot be determined with certainty, but the side length is definitely longer than 1.3 metres. The carvings of the sides are identical to the pedestals inside PR-SW and opposite PR-S. Hence, this pedestal seems to be an original one, probably once belonging inside one of the corner *prasats* of the top level. This means that of the five pedestals of the central *prasats* three are still in the temple, although only one is in situ, and two are missing completely. Due to the identical size of the three pedestals, they all seem to have belonged in corner towers. Looking at the pedestals of the East Mebon, the one of the central *prasat* is slightly larger than the corner tower ones, and this might have been the case at Pre Rup as well. Overall, there would be evidence for images in PR-SW in form of the original pedestal still in situ, and for PR-SE and NE in form of the two pedestals at the bottom of the pyramid. It

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<sup>27</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1933:2.

seems legitimate to ascribe the pedestals to these two sanctuaries, as the one opposite PR-S was found quite close to PR-SE, and the one at the bottom of the stairs would also be closer to PR-NE than PR-NW.

Regarding the placement of the images, it might have been the following. We do know for sure that the Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara *linga* should have been established in the central *prasaṭ*, as is clearly mentioned in the inscription. This placement of the abstract representation of Śiva as the Supreme Deity would also mirror the distribution of images at the East Mebon. Moreover, the image of Īśvara Rājendravarmeśvara together with the *dikpālakās* was installed in the southeast tower, also as given in the inscription. The remaining three images are one of Śiva, one Parvatī, and one Viṣṇu. The most straightforward one is the image of Īśvara Rājendravarmadeveśvara, as it should have been placed in PR-NE, given that it is an image of Śiva, and the northeast is Śiva's direction. This means that both eastern towers housed images of Śiva, which could have both been paired with the Parvatī to form a couple. Taking into account who these images were commemorating – Parvatī the king's maternal aunt Jayadevī, Īśvara Rājendravarmadeveśvara the former king Śrī Harśavarman, and Īśvara Rājendravarmeśvara in PR-SE the king himself – these family relations do not necessarily help either. The Jayadevī-Parvatī could have been paired with both her son and former king, or the present king, her nephew. One feature, which might help solve this problem, is the decoration of the sanctuaries. As usual the western towers are decorated with female *devatās*. However, PR-SW depicts two very unusual *devatās*: the northern one at its eastern side has four faces and four arms, and depicts Brahmā's śaktī Brahmī (Fig. 6.46). The southern *devatā* of the western side has a boar's head, and represents Varahī, the spouse of Viṣṇu in his boar-incarnation (Fig. 6.47). Considering that the *prasaṭ* is guarded by the spouses of two of the gods of the *trimūrti*, it seems likely that the tower contained the spouse of the third deity, to whom the temple was actually dedicated. This placement of Parvatī would leave PR-NW for Rājendraviśvarūpa, an image of Viṣṇu. As already discussed in the section on the East Mebon, the fact that the *prasaṭ* was guarded by *devatās* does not seem to be a reason why an image of Hari should not have been placed here.

## Stanza CCLXXXII

Stanza CCLXXXII mentions that “[c]harming with (accompanied by) the bright (brilliant) images of Śarṅgin and other gods, he erected the eight images of the god *aṣṭamūrtī*”. As discussed in chapter 5.2.3, even though the stanza mentions eight images, these representations of the eight forms of Śiva were in fact *lingas*. It was established in that chapter as well that the ‘brilliant images of Śarṅgin and other gods’ might have been four images founded together with the eight *lingas* in the brick towers on the lowest tier of the pyramid. However, which towers housed *lingas*, and which ones images? Currently, five of the towers still contain bases, about 60 centimetres square and 27 centimetres high. Towers PR-1 and 6 house *linga* bases (Fig. 6.48), whereas the bases of towers PR-2 and 5 do not have their top layer anymore, and the base in PR-8 is broken. The base in PR-1 still has its top layer, which octagonal hole clearly identifies it as a *linga* base. The top layer of PR-6 is broken, but the remains seem to indicate an octagonal *linga* opening as well. The bases in both PR-2 and 5 do not have the top layer anymore, so it cannot be determined with certainty whether they were intended for *lingas* or images. Tower PR-8 does contain pieces of the base, but no fragments of the top layer, and it cannot be said whether it was a *linga* or an image base. Six of the remaining seven towers, PR-3, 4, 7, 9, 10, and 12 at present contain brick rubble, and no remains of bases whatsoever, and only in PR-11 can the indentation for a base be clearly seen in the floor. An additional three bases are nowadays in PR-NE, NW and SW, identifiable by both their size and style (Fig. 6.49). As for the *lingas* or images themselves, the conservation team only found two *lingas* in situ, one in an eastern tower, possibly PR-1<sup>28</sup>, and one in a western *prasaś*<sup>29</sup>, and an additional one, east of the pyramid, but they do not give any details, i.e. the size, in the report<sup>30</sup>. Hence, for possibly twelve images and *lingas* founded in these towers, we do have as physical evidence eight bases and two, possible even three, *lingas*.

Regarding the placement of the *lingas* and images, taking into consideration the remains inside the towers, we have clear indications for *linga* bases in two towers next to the stairs: PR-1 next to the eastern, and PR-6 the western staircase. Altogether there are eight towers next to the four staircases; consequently the *lingas* might have been placed in the towers next to the

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<sup>28</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1922:141.

<sup>29</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:6.

<sup>30</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1934:2.

staircases with the images placed in the corner towers. This would to a certain degree parallel the arrangement in the East Mebon, where the *lingas* were erected in towers next to the axes – at Pre Rup stressed by the staircases. Theoretically, an alternative placement of images and *lingas* at Pre Rup might be possible as well, when we regard the lintels of the small towers. Only the four eastern towers' lintels show Indra on Airāvata, whereas the remaining eight *prasats* depict *kāla*. This arrangement of motifs might indicate that the *lingas* were founded in the towers with *kālas*, and the images in the towers with Indra on Airāvata. However, this assumption entails moving the top layer of one of the *linga* bases to PR-1, which seems not very plausible. Instead, the *lingas* seem to have been placed in the towers next to the staircases, and the images in the four corner towers.

#### Other objects found in the temple

In addition to the images mentioned in the inscription and evidence for them, in their reports the conservators of the Conservation d'Angkor mention other objects found throughout the temple, which in some cases cannot be attributed specific locations. These objects will be discussed in relation to where they were found in an order moving away from the central pyramid in a clockwise movement, not necessarily according to their size and possible importance.

During the restoration of the western part of the southern staircase of the pyramid, apart from the pedestal dealt with above, fragments of a lion head and pottery were found, together with the fragments of an image: parts of the face, two hands and one leg.<sup>31</sup> The report ascribes this image 'without doubt' to one of the five central towers. Due to lack of a more detailed description or photographs, or even the exact location where the fragments were found, nothing can be said about this image, not even whether it was male or female. At present, fragments of a lion can be found at the western platform of the first level which might have been the place where all the fragments were found. Considering that the fragments of the image were found together with the pedestal, it might be possible to identify them as originating from PR-SE, since no original pedestal is still inside, whereas PR-SW, another nearby *prasaṭ*, still contains the original pedestal.

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<sup>31</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1933:2.

East of the pyramid a depository with seventeen alveoli was found, and the fragments of a hand<sup>32</sup> – again no more details are given about these objects. Moreover, north of the east stairs was also found a pedestal, 55 x 55 x 45 centimetres large<sup>33</sup>, together with a *liriga* which might be the one from the central tower, as discussed above. Inside PR-N was found the fragment of an image, consisting of feet with the tenon<sup>34</sup>, which can still be seen today (Fig. 6.50). Stylistically, these feet belong to the Bayon period, and might thus belong to the Viṣṇu found at the top of the pyramid. Moreover, a 90 centimetre high *liriga* was found in PR-N as well<sup>35</sup>. This *liriga* does not seem to have belonged into one of the small brick sanctuaries, due to its size. As already explained above, two thirds of the *liriga* were contained within the base, and only the top third was visible. This means that the base for this *liriga* would have had to be 60 centimetres high, but the ones inside the small *prasats* are only about 30 centimetres, and could only support *lirigas* of a height of 45 centimetres. Whether this image was contemporary with the temple, or a later addition, and where it might have been placed cannot be said.

Inside PR-S the restoration team found a sandstone slab carved with seven ascetics (Fig. 6.51), on top of a laterite block.<sup>36</sup> All of the ascetics were in a very good condition, seated on individual pedestals, with their hands together in front of their chests. Their knee-length *sampot* shows a broad frontal flap, possibly held together by a belt. Their hairdo is a mitre of plaids, at the bottom of which is a ring of what looks like larger plaids to set it off. The *ṛṣi*'s faces are not as square as the ones of the East Mebon, and have quite realistic features, with curved eyebrows and downcast eyes. Because the representation of the ascetics at the East Mebon is so badly weathered, it is difficult to tell how similar these two representations actually are. The Pre Rup carving is certainly much deeper, and each *ṛṣi* sits on his own pedestal, whereas at the East Mebon representation the ascetics seem to sit on a common protrusion. Because *ṛṣi* in general do not show many characteristics suitable for dating them, it is difficult to say whether the Pre Rup block was contemporary with the temple. The only indication for this is the style of the *sampot*, which nevertheless could have been copied if the piece is of a later date.

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<sup>32</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1934:2.

<sup>33</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1931:4.

<sup>34</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:4.

<sup>35</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:5.

<sup>36</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1932:3. DCA 3867. The statement that the foundation block was made of laterite is a mistake, as it is in fact made from sandstone.

In one of the buildings east of the pyramid, the restorers found a well-preserved stone for offerings<sup>37</sup>. Unfortunately, they do not mention exactly where it was found. South of PR-K they unearthed a small male statue without head or arms<sup>38</sup>, of which no photograph is given. In the inventory of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, however, the image is dated to the late 11th century. The head of the figure might have been the one found in 1 Gop E already several years earlier<sup>39</sup>. The distance between the two buildings is very short, and the long time span in between results from the restoration being undertaken in a clockwise direction.

In addition to these objects mentioned in the reports, there are two of which only photographs exist, because they are either not mentioned in the reports, or the reports are missing. As can be seen in Fig. 6.52 part of a sandstone block depicting in all likelihood the nine *devas* was found at Pre Rup as well. Unfortunately, the report of the month when the photo was taken, June 1937, is missing<sup>40</sup>, so that the location of this stone is unknown, but should have been within the first enclosure. The fragment shows four deities in a very damaged condition. The two *devas* on the left can nevertheless be identified as Sūrya in his horse-drawn chariot, and Candra on a pedestal. The fourth deity might hold a halter in his right hand, and would be Varuṇa. However, nothing can be said about his *vāhana*, which is completely destroyed. In between the *devas* pillars can be seen, and above their bodies a triple arch formed by a floral pattern. Stylistically, the floral scrolls of the arches are very similar to the Khleang style piece (Fig. 6.20), but in between the arches seem to have been carvings as well, possibly depicting lotus stems. This feature can be seen at the Baphuon style depiction (Fig. 6.22). To sum up, the block of Pre Rup is closer to the Baphuon style depiction, and was a later addition, probably dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Another piece of which only a photograph exists is a brahmanical head, about 40 centimetres high (Fig. 6.53). This photograph was completely undocumented, with neither the date given when it was taken nor any other details. However, it might be the head found in the

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<sup>37</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1932:7.

<sup>38</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1934:1/2. DCA 3190.

<sup>39</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1931:6.

<sup>40</sup> The reports about Pre Rup stored at Phnom Penh end with December 1936. Afterwards, only fragmentary documents from the 1950s can be found. In Paris this report could not be found either.

southeast corner of the 'second'<sup>41</sup> enclosure when a termite hill was removed in this area in 1923.<sup>42</sup> In view of the size of the head, the image must have been about 1.4 to 1.5 metres high, and an important foundation which should have been placed within the inner enclosure. The head is crowned with a diadem and tiered crown, which show identical motifs as the Varuṇa from Prasat Kuk Don in the Pre Rup style (Fig. 6.54). Here, though, the crown is higher and the tiers more elaborate and pronounced. The crown shows intricate carvings, imitating floral patterns and jewels. Because of its shape it was Viṣṇu's mitre, even though its individual tiers are not as pronounced as for instance at the Phnom Bok image (Fig. 6.55). The central motifs of the diadem are diamond shaped flowers, with rows of pearls above and beneath, and dentate projections on top. The hairline curves in to points at the temples, and the beard meets the centre of the lower lip in a point. The eyebrows are almost straight, although they do not form a continuous line, and the eyes are almond-shaped, in a straight line. Considering these features, the head seems to be contemporary with the temple, and might be part of the original Viṣṇu image of PR-NW.

In the outer enclosure several objects were found as well, albeit most of them only small fragments. In between the two eastern *gopuras* the hand of a small statue holding a vase in form of a flacon<sup>43</sup> was discovered, and in between 2 Gop E and PR-II a small sandstone head with a chignon and an iron arrowhead<sup>44</sup>. If the hand is in fact DCA 2356, it was made of sandstone as well, and could be part of the same image as the head with the chignon found nearby only a month later. However, for the head no entry into the inventory of the Conservation d'Angkor could be found, so that it is impossible to trace it. At the north west corner of 2 Gop S were found a bronze thumb, a toe and one bracelet, with the rest of the image missing<sup>45</sup>. Again due to the lack of either an inventory number or an entry form, these fragments cannot be traced.

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<sup>41</sup> Event though the report mentions the 'second' enclosure, it seems to be the inner one. In several instances the numbering of the enclosures is not followed correctly in the reports, with the inner enceinte being numbered the second one. One reason could be that the reports were typed by a secretary who might not have been familiar with the temples or the system of numbering the enclosures. Considering the fact that the French were restoring PR-I inside the inner enclosure in 1922, the corner mentioned here seems to be the one next to PR-B.

<sup>42</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 08/1923.

<sup>43</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1931:8. DCA 2356.

<sup>44</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1931:5.

<sup>45</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1933:2.

In the western chamber of 2 Gop N the conservation team found the fragments of a female statue, with the limbs separated and the head missing. Unfortunately, no old photograph exists of this image, and we have to rely on the very short description given in the report. Apparently, the image had a nude torso, in each hand a lotus flower, and a *sampot* decorated with flowers.<sup>46</sup> After having been put together, the image was 1.32 metres high.<sup>47</sup> This image is in fact now kept in the Conservation d'Angkor (Fig. 6.56), and clearly belongs to the Bayon style. During this period numerous images of *Prajñāpāramitā* with a flower-decorated *sampot* were crafted, whereas in earlier periods the *sampots* usually show pleats. The fact that the image holds lotuses in her hands prompted the conservators of the Conservation d'Angkor to identify her as Lakṣmī. Considering the possible date of the image, this is not necessarily the case, because the image might as well represent *Prajñāpāramitā*, as who she is identified in the 1997 inventory of the Conservation. However, given the Viṣṇu image found at Pre Rup, which dates from the same period, it is quite likely that the two images were founded together as a couple, and this sculpture indeed represents Lakṣmī. Independently of who this image represents, it is noteworthy that originally not a *Prajñāpāramitā* or Lakṣmī had been founded, but a Parvatī. This raises the question, whether the founder of the image was aware of this or not. Given that during the reign of Jayavarman VII the language of the inscriptions had not changed, it would have been possible to read the Pre Rup foundation stele to know the original foundations. Thus it seems likely that the two images were indeed founded as a couple, regardless of the original dedication of the towers. What surprises, though, is the fact that Jayavarman VII founded two Viṣṇuite images, and not Avalokiteśvara and *Prajñāpāramitā*, as might be expected given his adherence to Mahāyāna-Buddhism. However, this image might have been founded by his second wife, queen Indradevī for her late sister queen Jayarājadevī, as suggested of the similar Lakṣmī image of Preah Ko<sup>48</sup> (Fig. 6.57). As stated in st. LIX of the inscription of the Phimeanakas<sup>49</sup>, K. 485, Jayarājadevī was instructed in Buddhism by her sister, and seems previously to have followed Brahmanism. After her death her sister founded images of her in all towns, according to st. XCVI of the Phimeanakas<sup>50</sup>. Consequently, similar to the

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<sup>46</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1935:8. DCA 3398.

<sup>47</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 12/1935:133.

<sup>48</sup> Jessup/Zephir, 1997:324.

<sup>49</sup> IC II:169/177.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.:172/180.

image of Preah Ko, this one might have been founded by Indradevī for her late sister, representing her as a Brahmanical deity, according to her initial faith.

Apart from these objects found inside the temple, the restorers also discovered one statue with four arms about forty metres east of the temple<sup>51</sup>, while they were excavating the laterite causeway. Apparently, this image seems to have been looted, and then abandoned. Once again, no detailed description or DCA number is given; hence the image cannot be traced. Regarding the forms available in the inventory, none of the descriptions fits the image.

Again the placement of the images epitomises the outflow of the Essence from the centre to the periphery of the temple, and further into the kingdom. As at the East Mebon, the central icon is a *linga* embodying the Absolute Śiva, with *vyakta* representations of Śiva, Parvatī, and Viṣṇu in the corner towers, surrounded by the eight manifest forms of Śiva in the small *prasats*.

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<sup>51</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1929:591.

### 6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, several aspects about both temples need to be brought out, which are not only in relation to the inscriptions. Regarding the East Mebon, for the thirteen images, and *lingas* mentioned in the inscription we have physical evidence for all of them. This equals a survived ratio of 100%. Considering the century-long looting and weathering, which becomes very clear in the descriptions the researchers of the Conservation d'Angkor give of the temples, and the photographs they took, it is surprising that remains of sculptures were found at all. In addition to the ones named in the inscription, we do have evidence for further contemporary sculptures, i.e. the two images of Ganeśa, of whom at least one is contemporary, and the depiction of the nine *devas* in M-A. Besides these images, there are later objects, such as the nine *devas* in M-B, dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Parvatī, again from the 11<sup>th</sup>, or possibly even 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the mother goddess done in the Bayon style. Apart from these dateable items there are several fragments which are either too small to be dated, or of which no photograph exists.

The results for Pre Rup are somewhat different. Regarding the twenty-five images mentioned in the inscriptions, we have definite physical evidence for eleven of them in the form of pedestals: eight in the twelve small *prasats*, and three in the corner towers on the upper platform. Moreover, we do know of three of the eight *lingas*, but since they might be associated with still existing bases, they are not counted in addition to them. If the identification of the *linga*, and the Viṣṇu head found is correct, it would be proof for another two images. This just makes a percentage of 53%. Contrary to the East Mebon, we do have a lot more fragments found at this temple, which might be expected due to its larger size. Several of them cannot be attributed, although the depiction of the ascetics might be contemporary. Two large images, one Viṣṇu and one Lakṣmī, possibly intended for the central towers to replace or supplement earlier ones, were found as well, executed in the Bayon style.

The placement of the images in both temples reflects the outflow of spiritual power from the centre. Here we find a *linga* representing Śiva, the Absolute. Surrounding this image are *vyakta* images of again Śiva, his spouse, and the other members of the *trimūrti*. These immanent deities are surrounded by the *aṣṭamūrti*, which constitute the universe, surrounding the temple in form of the kingdom. Thus the temples are not just a representation of cosmology

in terms of their architecture, the central pyramid and *prasats* representing Mount Meru, and the enclosure walls the surrounding continents. This mirroring of the macrocosm is supplemented by the images as well in a more spiritual way. Entering the temples and walking around them and up to the central sanctum was not just a geographical journey from the profane world around to the top of the axis mundi. It was also a spiritual journey from the manifest, profane universe to the transcendental Absolute at the centre of the compounds, where the devotee would have been in direct contact with the divine.

Overall, the inscriptions seem to have mentioned only the main images, whereas additional lesser ones could have been founded in surrounding shrines. One possible explanation is that the deities mentioned in the inscriptions were the central images, dedicated at the same time as the temple, whereas the others might have been erected later on. Another possibility is that the inscriptions only mentioned the main images, whereas lesser deities were founded in a somewhat less official way. If this was the case, the question arises who founded these images. As we know from inscriptions, it was not unusual for the king to found images at foundations of high officials, for instance a Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā at the temple of Virendravikhyāta at Kdei Car<sup>52</sup>. Conversely, it might have been possible for officials to found images at the king's temples as well. This would have increased the bonds between king and his subordinates, and secured his political position and power.

Comparing the East Mebon and Pre Rup, by and large the state of the former temple is much more unchanged than Pre Rup. Even though the images themselves were not found, apart from the Brahmā, at least the original pedestals are still in situ. At Pre Rup, on the other hand, even though three pedestals remain from the central quincunx, only one is in place, whereas three of the other four *prasats* contain different pedestals. PR-NW contains a probably later smaller pedestal, whereas in PR-SE two smaller pedestals stacked on top of each other were found. The central sanctuary even contains a lion base from the western staircase. The question arises as to why that is. Due to the lack of inscriptions, it is difficult to say when these changes were made. One common feature of these pedestals is that they are considerably

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IC, VI:125/127, st. XIII-XIV.

smaller than the original ones would have been. This gives rise to the speculation that they might have been put up very late, after the temple had been looted and the original pedestals either removed from the *prasats* or destroyed. As we have seen, two of the corner towers' pedestals are still at the temple, however broken and removed from the towers. Hence, the local community might have felt it necessary to put up other pedestals in place of the original ones.<sup>53</sup> That Pre Rup continued to be important is evident in two examples. Firstly, at an unspecified date south of PR-NE a *stupa* had been erected for a monk of Wat Bo in Siem Reap<sup>54</sup>, which was demolished by the French<sup>55</sup>. And secondly, in 1950 it is mentioned in the reports that a 40 to 50 centimetre high Buddha statue disappeared from PR-SW. This image had been venerated as a *neak tā*, an ancestor spirit.<sup>56</sup> This lasting sanctity of Pre Rup is also evident phonetically in its name. As discussed in chapter 3.2.2, contrary to the accepted written way, Pre Rup, the locals call it Preah/Vrah Rup, which means 'sacred image'. Even though this name might be the one used originally by the population, the perpetual use of it does signify importance, and a continuity of sacredness. It might be possible that the pedestals were put up to replace looted ones, so that images, which were sacred to the local population, could still be venerated properly. Looking at the *prasats* even today, every one of them contains at least one Buddha image which is worshipped more or less regularly. And particularly the central sanctuary still draws worshippers on a daily basis, easily visible at the incense, candles, and other implements.

This continuity of sacredness, and significance might have been already a reason for later kings, particularly Jayavarman VII it seems, to come back to the temple to found images. That the Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī in the Bayon style are significant foundations is evident in their being life-size, which allows the assumption that they might have been intended for the central shrines. The question is, what happened with the original images. Two scenarios seem possible. First, the new images might have been placed next to the old ones, and thus not only the continuity be visible for everybody, but also the respect for the earlier king. Secondly, the original images might have been removed from the *prasats* and the new ones put up instead. Again, if the identification of the single head is correct, and it is the Viṣṇu mentioned in the

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<sup>53</sup> Conversations of the present author with locals selling souvenirs or worshipping at the temple did not result in conclusive answers. People see the temples as fairly static places, which have 'always' been like they are now.

<sup>54</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 08/1931:7.

<sup>55</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1931:7.

<sup>56</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 08/1950:6.

inscription, it would be an indication that the original images were kept in the temples, although possibly at a different location.

To conclude, it seems that the images mentioned in the inscriptions were indeed erected, even though for several of them there is no more physical evidence. However, in light of not only looting, but also considerable later changes which took place already during the Angkor period, this does not surprise. Overall, the trustworthiness of the inscriptions with respect to these claims has been established. This conclusion does have implications on the truthfulness of other statements made in the inscriptions. For instance, when st. A XIII of the Bat Chum inscription claims that Rājendravarman did restore the old Yaśodharapura, we can now assume with considerable greater certainty that in fact he did.

This chapter established whether the images mentioned in the inscription were actually installed, and if so where. Consequently, the main focus was on the *prasats* and other buildings housing lesser images, as M-A or PR-S. Since these buildings are only part of the temple complexes, the next chapter will examine the other buildings within the compounds as well to establish a more balanced view of the temples and how they were used.

## 7. The Purpose of Individual Buildings

This thesis aims to examine Ph. Stern's classification of Cambodian temples, and one point of the criticism is that so far the specific purpose of individual buildings, particularly the subsidiary ones, has not been analysed. This chapter seeks to fill this analytical gap, and determine the intended purpose of individual buildings within the temple compounds. What has to be remembered is, that even though the temple compounds are structurally complete entities in themselves they need people to display their full meaning and functionality: there is a reciprocal relationship building – people.<sup>1</sup> The temples, although complete in themselves as representations of cosmology, are only made whole through the presence of humans with rituals and worship – the usage of the site.

The following analysis therefore serves two purposes. Firstly, it will enable the comparability of buildings and with it the comparability of the overall temple compounds in terms of architectural features. Similarities or discrepancies between temples and their elements will become evident, and these will allow a more detailed examination of the architectural history. One defining element of Ph. Stern's two categories of temples is their layout, focusing very much on the central elements, i.e. the sanctuaries. However, the sanctuaries constitute only about one-third of the edifices within the East Mebon and Pre Rup, and to enable a more detailed analysis the close scrutiny of all buildings is indispensable. Secondly, and more importantly, the usage of individual buildings and the temples overall during Angkorean times shall be established. By focusing on the shrines this can be achieved only partly, as they constitute the very final stage of the journey the devotees are undertaking inside the enclosures. As was established in chapter 3.3.1, architecture comprises of two conceptions: the built and the space created. Since the aim of this chapter is to establish the usage of sites, we are mainly concerned with the space created, although the built material will enter the discussion as well, as within architectural interpretation both concepts have to be considered. As Meiss states,

[a]rchitecture is the art of the hollow; it is defined both from the interior and from the exterior; walls have two sides. We penetrate it with our body and not only with our mind. Any critique of architectural history must take account of this double aspect of hollow and solid in buildings. A work of architecture which is designed or considered only from the exterior ceases to be architecture and becomes a stage

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<sup>1</sup> Arnheim, 1977:217.

set. Conversely, the reduction to just the spatial characteristics eludes the concrete signs and symbols underlain by its material nature.<sup>2</sup>

Problematic about determining the function of specific edifices within the Cambodian temples, apart from the shrines, is that the buildings are not mentioned in the inscriptions. To clarify their role within the temple site the approach taken in this chapter therefore interweaves several analytical threads. Firstly, the architectural evidence is analysed in detail. Drawing upon the groups of buildings established in chapter 4, these will be analysed in greater detail and with internal variations in mind which will help elucidate the intended purpose of buildings. Because of the reciprocal relationship between “visual properties and functional characteristics”<sup>3</sup> it is possible to draw conclusions regarding the intended purpose of a building from its architectural features. Secondly, the epigraphic evidence will be taken into account. As we have seen in chapters 5.2.3 and 6, the inscriptions contain information about the temples they were written for, which will be included in the present chapter. Thirdly, India will be drawn upon in two regards as a cultural reference. In terms of architectural features, the Indian treatises on that subject will be utilised, as they were known and in all likelihood applied in ancient Cambodia. Additionally, current ritual practices will be referred to due to the historical continuity evident in India. Worship “is conceived as an evocation, reception and entertainment of the god or goddess as a royal guest”<sup>4</sup>, the regulations of which are laid down in the texts. Because of this,

[w]hat may be observed in present-day Hindu Asia indicates that they [the rituals] have not basically altered from what was practised in the earliest periods of Hinduism, even though the ancient rituals have doubtless become greatly simplified.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in explaining what must have gone on in Khmer temples regarding rituals it is legitimate to look at present-day India as a model.

Several limitations of this approach need mentioning here. Regarding the architectural analysis, even though certain purposes will be suggested for various buildings, the conclusions drawn will have to remain tentative. Indeed, a set of architectural features does allow for certain activities to be carried out in that particular edifice. However, in most cases this will not be

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<sup>2</sup> Meiss, 1998:101.

<sup>3</sup> Arnheim, 1977:205.

<sup>4</sup> Michell, 1988:63.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.:63.

limited to one possibility. For instance, the presence of a door at a hall might indicate storage space, but does not immediately allow for more specific conclusions. For these to be reached other interpretive tools will have to be utilised. The interpretation of the epigraphic evidence contains possible shortcomings as well. As has become clear in chapters 5.2.3 and 6, the information pertaining to the actual temples is very limited, and mostly restricted to the images founded. Functions of other buildings have to be inferred from stanzas dealing mainly with other matters. For instance, when st. CCXXXVI of Pre Rup mentions several rituals involving the sacred fire, this allows the inference that the fire had to be kept somewhere within the compound. Firm conclusions as to where this might have been can ultimately not be drawn. Finally, the reference to India entails two problems. Even though the Indian *śāstras* were known in Cambodia and in all likelihood used, they originate in India, and divergences between Indian texts and Cambodian practices are not only possible but likely. As seen in chapter 5.2.2 Indian religious concepts are evident in the ancient Cambodian inscriptions; however, in several instances their application varies in the two countries. Consequently, the architectural treatises might not have been applied to the letter, which increases the difficulty of drawing definitive conclusions. Looking at the realisation of the guidelines in the two countries, Indian temples have a significantly different form from Cambodian ones, with one main shrine, a number of *mandapas* leading up to the central sanctuary, and lesser shrines around. Space within an Indian compound is therefore not organised in as strictly a symmetrical way as in Khmer temples, and overall we find fewer, larger buildings. Thus, the Indian *śāstras* can only be a guideline when interpreting ancient Cambodian sites. A second problem regarding the Indian texts is the fact that I have to rely on secondary sources, which in themselves already contain interpretations. This is due to the fact that at present my knowledge of Sanskrit is not sound enough to utilise the original texts. Related to this is that so far it has not been established exactly which treatises were used in Kambujadesa. Attempting to answer this question would go far beyond the scope of this thesis, so that the reference to secondary literature, which constitutes a syncretism of the various texts, appears a legitimate option. Given that so far the usage of subsidiary buildings has not been discussed in detail in the literature, the intended purposes suggested here, though they have to remain tentative, do advance our knowledge about these edifices, and can open up a more detailed debate.

Overall, despite the possible shortcomings of the individual tools, the approach of interweaving them in this chapter will allow tentative suggestions as to the intended purposes of certain edifices. Specified architectural features allow inferences as to the use of the buildings, whereas prescribed uses necessitate particular architectural features. Given that the usage of the Angkorean sites has so far escaped discussion, the interpretation offered here will form a much needed contribution to our understanding of the temples as actively practised sites.

In the following the methodology of the approach will be introduced in detail in section 7.1, whereas section 7.2 contains the application of the methodology to the East Mebon and Pre Rup.

## 7.1 Methodological Considerations

In the first part of this chapter, general approaches of determining the function and use of buildings will be discussed. Within the context of Angkorean temples, two main sources will be utilised: general architectural theory, and the *vāstu śāstras*, the Indian treatises dealing with the specifics of not just temples, but also sculpture and other buildings.

The application of general architectural theory to the temples is possible, because certain architectural features are not limited to a specific kind of building, but can be applied to various types, and can be interpreted in the same way. For instance, doors and windows are thresholds, whether used within a secular or a sacred context.

In the following, first general architectural theory will be examined closely. Subsequently, the prescriptions of the Indian texts will be analysed. In this part of the chapter the discussion will be somewhat theoretical, with the practical application of the findings in section 7.2.

### 7.1.1 Architectural theory

General architectural theory concerns several features of architecture: firstly, the physical features of the buildings such as the walls, doors or windows. Secondly, to facilitate an interpretation of the building, these elements have to be considered in relation to each other, and the degree of order or chaos has to be determined. The more ordered a building is, the easier it is to understand and interpret. Thirdly, the visual perception, i.e. the dynamics of a building, has to be analysed. Depending on size, mass or relief of buildings the “field of forces”<sup>6</sup> surrounding them will change, and influence how they are perceived by an onlooker. In the following first individual elements will be discussed in depth, and subsequently the overall order, and perception and dynamics of a building will be examined.

#### Architectural elements

The most fundamental element in a building is its relationship to the ground on which it is built. This link is established through the plinth which acts as a seating of the building, and an intermediary between walls and ground. Thus the plinth has a twofold relationship: one to the

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<sup>6</sup> Arnheim, 1977:26.

building it carries, and the second to the ground on which it is built.<sup>7</sup> Determining factors for the visual perception of the plinth include its height, the material it is made of and its texture. Depending on these features, a plinth can be more part of the ground, or part of the building, and can also indicate the significance of the building.

The continuation of the plinth are the walls, which “are there to carry the ceiling and roof, guide our movements, enclose our activities, our objects and tools, accommodate us and lead us from one place to another.”<sup>8</sup>

Mirroring the lower transition in a building from ground to walls is the upper one, the transition between walls and roof.<sup>9</sup> As with the plinth, this transition can be designed in various ways in terms of material or decorative elements. Another factor which is relevant in this context is the design of the roof itself. The basic, practical function of a roof is to shelter the interior of the building it is covering. However, it can also have other, more symbolic functions.

Internally, space is structured by walls but also by the floor at the bottom, and the ceiling at the top. The floor of a building provides space for moving through the building, for placing objects, and for sitting or sleeping. The variable significance connected with these activities can be conveyed by different materials: floors in storage spaces will not be like those in living rooms. The counterpart of the floor is the ceiling, which gives shelter and protection.<sup>10</sup> Important is the distinction between ceiling and roof: even though a building (usually) will have a roof, it does not necessarily have a ceiling. One example would be a shed, which has a roof, and open beamwork rather than a proper ceiling.

These elements – walls with plinth, roof, floor, and ceiling – are the basic features of any building. They define its limits, and create an interior and exterior – both of individual buildings and whole sites – which have to be reconciled by doors or windows. The openings of a building determine the degree of closedness or openness, the perceived access to it. The openings, the doors, and windows, and their position, size, and number define and structure space. Generally, the larger they are the more they open up the space and help “mediate between the worlds separated by architectural barriers”<sup>11</sup>. Through including openings interpenetration is given, the

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<sup>7</sup> Meiss, 1998:84.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.:129.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.:85.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.:126, 130.

<sup>11</sup> Arnheim, 1977:226.

continuity between different spaces, and the degree of this link between spaces is determined by the number, size, and kind of openings used.

These elements, windows and doors, are thresholds, and have three functions:

- a utilitarian role: to grant passage, allow light inside, and ensure ventilation
- a protective function: passage through a door can be controlled, a window has a selection of the view, and how much is exposed, which depends on the degree of difference between interior and exterior, and
- a semantic function: the nature of the space 'behind' is indicated by architectural elements, with a special behaviour necessary on either side.<sup>12</sup>

Because of these interrelated functions, thresholds become 'places' themselves; they

control the permeability of a limit, confirming spatial discontinuity whilst at the same time allowing one to cross it physically or visually. ... But thresholds are even more, indications which proclaim the nature of the places to which they give access or which they represent.<sup>13</sup>

However, a distinction has to be made between the various thresholds. Doors are more leading into the building behind, rather than out into the surroundings. Thus, entering and the entrance are more important than the exit. Windows, on the other hand, are perceived rather the other way round: one looks out of a building, rather than into it.

As mentioned above, one of the practical purposes of doors and windows is to allow light inside the building or room. In determining the light sources for a room or building, one has to consider that the "level of illumination can be sufficient or insufficient for certain activities"<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, different ways of lighting a room or building will create a very different atmosphere. Decisive about whether lighting is good or bad is not only the quantity of light allowed in, but also the quality.<sup>15</sup> Thus, "on a practical ... level, light and shade regulate the use of a space more often than do its size and form."<sup>16</sup> In other words, if the interior is dark, the usability of even a large room is more constrained than that of a well-lit small one.

The analysis of a building has to consider its outside as well, the design of which will affect the visual weight of the building, determined by the texture and colour of the outside, but

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<sup>12</sup> Meiss, 1998:149.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.:148.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.:121.

<sup>15</sup> Rasmussen, 1997:207f.

<sup>16</sup> Meiss, 1998:126.

also the height. The texture of the material used for the building can either be shown, or hidden,<sup>17</sup> which would in turn decrease its weight for as Rasmussen suggests

[i]f all irregularities ... were planed away and all crevices filled out so that the sides were absolutely flat and smooth, and it was then painted a light color, it would be impossible to tell what material it was made of.<sup>18</sup>

Thus not just texture, but also colour determines the weight, and "is used to emphasize the character of a building, to accentuate its form and material, and to elucidate its divisions."<sup>19</sup>

Significantly, colour conventions vary in different cultures:

[c]orrectly used, color may express the character of a building and the spirit it is meant to convey. ... By the use of a single color, or definite color scheme, it is possible to suggest the chief function of a building. But within the same building a variety of colors may be used to accentuate form, divisions and other architectonic elements.<sup>20</sup>

The 'correct use' is determined according to cultural conventions, and what one society 'likes' or considers 'special' might not be so for someone else. Another factor influencing the perceptual weight of a building is its height. In this respect three forces have to be considered and balanced by the architect. On the one hand, the building's weight seems to decrease with height: the higher a building, or part of it, the lighter it seems – as if it was "let off the leash"<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, the load of these higher parts seems to be smaller than that of the lower ones. On the other hand, increased height of a building adds to its potential energy, and increases its visual weight. The balancing of these forces is a question of style<sup>22</sup>, and with respect to the temples is solved in the Indian treatises through detailed prescriptions as to the relative proportions of the buildings.

#### The issue of order

Moving from elements composing the individual buildings, we now consider the overall order within compounds or larger architectural arrangements. Order is created through "repetition, alignment and juxtaposition of identical elements and similar methods of construction"<sup>23</sup>, and necessitated through the inherent nature of perception of objects. This perception is somewhat problematic, as no object can be perceived from all sides at once; one has to walk around it in

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<sup>17</sup> Rasmussen, 1997:163.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.:91. Rasmussen here uses the example of a wooden box to illustrate his point. However, this is done in the context of buildings, and can be applied to them as well.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.:215.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.:218.

<sup>21</sup> Arnheim, 1977:46.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.:46ff.

<sup>23</sup> Meiss, 1998:31.

order to know what it looks like.<sup>24</sup> According to the degree of organisation the elements we see, and the relationship between them, are more or less easy to see and understand.<sup>25</sup> Generally, the more complex a building is the greater is the need for order, while it is harder for order to be achieved.<sup>26</sup> Order "must be understood as indispensable to the functioning of any organized system, whether its function be physical or mental."<sup>27</sup> For this order to function, all parts have to be integrated into the whole. This is necessitated by our way of seeing a building, which is a process of moving back and forth between the whole building as constructed by the contemplating mind, and the parts of the building as experienced and seen in space and time. Practically, this acquisition of size is not just the case with individual buildings or temple compounds, but also their surroundings, as no building exists in isolation.

In practical terms, how can order be established and understood? Order is normally achieved through grouping of individual architectural elements, and depends on repetition, similarity, proximity, a common enclosure, symmetry, and orientation of the parts. This structuralist approach deals with the 'semantics of architecture', the range of variation within and between types of buildings, which also allows determining which elements are necessary for the building to be recognised as a certain type.<sup>28</sup> Thus a correspondence between visual form and function is assumed. For the purpose of determining these semantics as an initial stage, empiricism and structuralism are useful tools to create an inventory of buildings and their features, and thereby create comparability. Consequently, even though followers of this approach might go as far as to assert that "[s]emantic unity can reinforce and sometimes even replace formal coherence"<sup>29</sup>, I would argue that structuralism is indeed a useful tool, but only one among several.

Fundamentally, order is created through regularity. A prerequisite to orientate us is to make the chaos of nature simpler, and one method of achieving this is regularity. To a certain degree, regularity is also a technical necessity.<sup>30</sup> For instance, for building a wall bricks of different dimensions could certainly be used but only with considerable effort and time involved.

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<sup>24</sup> Arnheim, 1977:110.

<sup>25</sup> Meiss, 1998:38.

<sup>26</sup> Arnheim, 1977:178.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.:62.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.:198, 206.

<sup>29</sup> Meiss, 1998:32.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.:50.

A special form of regularity is symmetry, a balance arising from reflecting elements on one side of an axis to the other.<sup>31</sup> Though desirable in a building project because it is highly ordered symmetry can only be applied where it suits the building programme, and might be used in varying degrees, according to the function of a building.<sup>32</sup>

Another method of creating order is to introduce contrast between architectural parts, which means making the interdependence of elements explicit. The differences need to be pronounced, otherwise they are not discernible, and no 'dialogue' between the two opposites will be possible.<sup>33</sup> This structuralist notion of pairs of binary oppositions does bring out differences, but should only be used as one tool among others, as the differences in themselves do not allow inferences yet as to potential uses.

Depending on the use of these features a hierarchy can be established, the "combination of elements in relation to a scale of importance ... [with] a dependent relationship between these elements."<sup>34</sup> This can be achieved through size, disposition, or singularity of form. Thus hierarchy is one means of integrating the context of architectural attributes. Depending on this context, varying degrees of complexity can be realised when "elements are grouped in such a way as to present more than one interpretation to the observer."<sup>35</sup>

Order is independent from technical capabilities or constructional requirements. It is innate to humans, and we strive towards it. Its actual expression, however, is culturally determined. Thus, for instance, the striving towards symmetry in ancient Khmer temples is not necessarily paralleled in other cultures, be they contemporary or later, or even later Khmer culture.

### Dynamics within architecture

Moving on to the perception of buildings, one has to consider their dynamics. These work along horizontal and vertical axes. Horizontally, there is no distinction between the various directions,

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.:65.

<sup>32</sup> Arnheim, 1977:165.

<sup>33</sup> Meiss, 1998:44.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.:43.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.:45-46.

and humans can move freely. The main distinction in this respect is achieved by attaching value to the path of the sun, which determines the cardinal directions.<sup>36</sup>

The visual field also extends vertically, and is determined by height, mass, and relief of the architecture.<sup>37</sup> The vertical axis is determined by gravity, and is so distinguished from all other directions. According to Arnheim even though

[g]eometrically there is no difference between going up and going down, ... physically and perceptually the difference is fundamental. ... Thus the gratification in climbing consists in the conquering of one's own inert heaviness for the purpose of attaining a high goal – an experience inevitably endowed with symbolic connotations. Climbing is a heroic liberating act; and height spontaneously symbolizes things of high value, be it the value of worldly power or of spirituality.<sup>38</sup>

Thus the upward movement receives predominance over the downward one, which equals digging down towards the foundations, becoming involved with matter. Thus, being built on the ground, rising up high, the building acts as a link between matter and the sky, it is a means to transcend the ground, and represents the quest for “scaling the heights”<sup>39</sup>. Overall though, the vertical and horizontal have to be balanced in a building. If it is predominantly vertical, it might seem to penetrate the ground, whereas if it is predominantly horizontal, it is perceived like floating on the ground.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the dynamics of a building act both ways: up and outwards, but also, because of gravity, down and inwards. A somewhat special case is the pyramid, because “[t]he complementary relation between rising and descent, contraction and expansion, constitutes the internal dynamics of the pyramid.”<sup>41</sup> Expansive forces operate from within, and compressive forces from without. Keeping the building visually in balance depends on the main, i.e. the longest axis of the building.<sup>42</sup>

One final feature of the dynamics has to be taken into account as well: the process of moving through a building or compound. By walking through space we experience it and familiarise ourselves with it, which is a dynamic process.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.:154.  
<sup>37</sup> Arnheim, 1977:25.  
<sup>38</sup> Ibid.:33.  
<sup>39</sup> Ibid.:34.  
<sup>40</sup> Ibid.:39ff..  
<sup>41</sup> Ibid.:235.  
<sup>42</sup> Ibid.:239.  
<sup>43</sup> Meiss, 1998:156.

### 7.1.2 The Indian Texts

Fundamentally, the function of the temple is to enable contact between humans and the divine, to dissolve the boundaries between the two worlds, and assist humans in their quest for unity with the divine. In terms of its layout, the temple is a representation of cosmology, and has to be built according to strict rules so that this representation can be achieved adequately: "The relationship that develops between forms and their meanings within the Hindu temple is essential to its function as a link between the gods and man."<sup>44</sup> These regulations are written down in various Indian texts, the traditions of which go back "into an undefined past."<sup>45</sup> The term *vāstu* derives from √ *vas* 'to reside', and becomes *vāstu* 'residence, building site'. For example, texts dealing with regulations of buildings are the *Mānasāra*, and *Mayamata*. Both texts are divided into a number of chapters, each dealing with one issue, not just in relation to temples but all kinds of buildings, and also settlements.<sup>46</sup>

The focus of activity in the temple is rituals and worship, *pūjā*, which are very similar in temples dedicated to different gods. *Pūjā* is a very important part of Hinduism, and takes over the significance of the Vedic sacrifice.<sup>47</sup> Worship "is conceived as an evocation, reception and entertainment of the god or goddess as a royal guest"<sup>48</sup>, the regulations of which are laid down in the texts. Interestingly,

[w]hat may be observed in present-day Hindu Asia indicates that they [the rituals] have not basically altered from what was practised in the earliest periods of Hinduism, even though the ancient rituals have doubtless become greatly simplified.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, in explaining what must have gone on in Khmer temples regarding rituals it is legitimate to look at present-day India as a model.

#### Layout

The fundamental plan of the site is determined by the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, which is

an amalgamation of three constituent concepts: *Vastu*, the consecrated site or the canvas of its operation in an ideal form of a square, the purpose, the theme, the

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<sup>44</sup> Michell, 1988:61.

<sup>45</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:5, n. 7.

<sup>46</sup> Acharya, 1918; Dagens, 1970/1976.

<sup>47</sup> Renou/Filliozat, 1947-49:573.

<sup>48</sup> Michell, 1988:63.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.:63.

*Nama*, *Puruṣa*, the mediator and the principle of form or *Rupa*, and *Mandala*, the mechanism of its application, or *Karma*.<sup>50</sup>

Being a square, the perfect shape, it embodies the most important outline within temple architecture.<sup>51</sup> This square is classified according to its divisions into thirty-two types of grids with up to 1,024 subsquares, on which all elements of architecture are based. For instance, temples are based on a grid with either 64 or 81 squares, and windows on that with either 49 or 81 squares.<sup>52</sup> Each of these subdivisions is associated with a divinity, altogether forty-five, which remain the same in the various *maṇḍalas*. Because the number of subsquares changes, the number of squares dedicated to each deity differs. However, at the centre is always placed Brahmā, and at the periphery the 32 *padadevatās*, who are also called *prākāradevatās* (Fig. 7.1).<sup>53</sup> These deities correspond to various numerological associations. 32 equals four times eight, with eight denoting the cardinal and intercardinal directions each of which is presided over by a divinity, and associated with a planet, and a *nakṣatra*, a house of the moon. Moreover, the *maṇḍala* is associated with the movement of the sun, and the zodiac, which in turn is associated with the twelve Ādityas, the manifestations of the sun god. Thus the *maṇḍala* is a reconciliation of the solar and lunar cycles as well, as evident in the number 32 = 4 + 28: four regents of the four planets who rule over the equinoxial and solstitial points + the regents of the 28 *nakṣatra*.<sup>54</sup> Contained within the overall square is the *puruṣa*, the cosmic man, who is pressed down by the divinities in their respective subsquares (Fig. 7.2).<sup>55</sup> The origin of the *puruṣa* as the cosmic man is in Ṛg Veda 10.90, the so-called Puruṣa Sūkta.<sup>56</sup> Further stories in other texts tell the falling to earth of the *puruṣa*, which is the source of the *puruṣa* contained within the *maṇḍala*, e.g. the Bṛhat Saṃhitā:

There was once some existing thing (*sattva*) not defined by name, unknown in its proper form it blocked heaven and earth; seeing that, the Devas (gods) seized it of a sudden and laid it on the earth face downwards. In the same position as they were when they seized it, the Devas stayed on it where it lay. Brahmā made it full of gods and called it Vāstupuruṣa.<sup>57</sup>

Thus the *puruṣa* as existence is the base for everything, and spiritually supports the physical building of the temple. Significant is that the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala governs not only the

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<sup>50</sup> Chakrabarti, 1998:63.

<sup>51</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:22-28. The sacredness of the square originates from the Vedic Fire altar. The square altar denotes the heaven, whereas the terrestrial world is indicated by a round one.

<sup>52</sup> Chakrabarti, 1998:64.

<sup>53</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:85.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.:29-39.

<sup>55</sup> Chakrabarti, 1998:64.

<sup>56</sup> See appendix 2.3 for the whole hymn.

<sup>57</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:73.

horizontal but also the vertical dimensions of the temple. Moreover, it regulates the larger context of the temple within the settlement, and determines the placement of temples within or outside the community. However, the texts give more than one possible location for the temple of a certain divinity. Overall, the orientation of a temple is determined in three ways:

- the cosmic orientation: towards the east, the rising sun, although the west and south are permitted as well, not the north because here is the cremation ground and “the contagion of the dead body, its impurity, must not enter the temple”<sup>58</sup>
- the metaphysical orientation: towards the centre of the settlement, and
- the orientation with regards to men: deities in their benevolent aspect should face towards the settlement, those in their ferocious aspect should face away. Śiva temples generally should face away from human settlements, and ideally be placed in forests or on mountains.<sup>59</sup>

This theoretical and spiritual background is realised in the actual layout of the temple (Plan 7.1). Generally, a temple should face a cardinal direction, not one of the inter-cardinal ones, and the prescriptions of *āgamas* for placing deities have to be observed.<sup>60</sup> The centre, associated with the navel of the *puruṣa* and Brahmā, is occupied by the *garbhagr̥ha*, the ‘womb-chamber’. Here the main image is housed. The texts give lists of 16 forms of Śiva *mūrtis*, ten different kinds of *linga*, and 21 Viṣṇu *mūrtis*.<sup>61</sup> These images are for “easy contemplation and for cultivating devotion or Bhakti towards them by performing acts of worship by means of offerings”<sup>62</sup>, and are the most important aspect of the temple. The images of the temple have to be crafted to specific requirements and, because of their function as receptacles of the divine, they are consecrated ceremoniously, as they could otherwise not fulfil their purpose.<sup>63</sup> The stand for the deities, the *deva pīṭha*, can either be separate or part of the deity. The pedestals in Cambodia are usually separate. In the *garbhagr̥ha* various rituals have to be performed before it can receive the central deity. Most significantly, it has to undergo the *garbhanyāsa*, an

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.:235. In Cambodia most temples face indeed towards the east, although particularly during the pre-Angkor period numerous sanctuaries are oriented towards the other directions as well, even towards the north as for instance at Sambor Prei Kuk.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., I:233ff.

<sup>60</sup> Sastri/Gadre, 1990:lxiv.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.:lxii.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.:lx.

<sup>63</sup> Michell, 1988:62.

impregnation by a deposit of precious stones, put beneath its centre. Additionally, inside the *pīṭha* or underneath it is enshrined a metallic plate inscribed with the *chakra* of the deity, which is installed in the *garbhagr̥ha* at an auspicious time. Here also the opening of the eye ceremony, the *nayanonmilana*, is performed. This ceremony is needed to ensure that the images will "benefit the growth and progress of the land"<sup>64</sup>. During the carving of the image the eyes are only indicated in outline. The details, the pupil and the cornea, are only finished in detail during the *nayanonmilana*, after which the image can be consecrated and worshipped.<sup>65</sup>

Architectural features of this innermost part of the temple are the triple base, consisting of the *adhishṭhāna*, *upapīṭha*, and *pīṭha* for installing the deity.<sup>66</sup> Generally, pedestals are very important, because they raise

the level of what is placed above and adds to it beauty and durability. It consists of a number of facets ... [and] is placed below the seats of deities, at the lower part of pillars and in every other structure or construction where ornamentation, strength and raising of the level are required.<sup>67</sup>

Inside the *garbhagr̥ha* space for the circumambulation of the deity is prescribed as well, as is the *go-mukha*, an outlet for the *abhiṣeka* at either side or the back. Ideally, the *garbhagr̥ha* should have three or five doors, although one is permitted as well, with *dvārapālas* next to them, and also multiple lamps, *pouṣa*, for burning oil and incense.<sup>68</sup> The divine presence which is only manifest temporarily during the ceremonies is not only in the images, but the temple as a whole is part of it. For the deities to become manifest in the world of humans adequate and appropriate rituals have to be performed.<sup>69</sup>

In front of the *garbhagr̥ha* should be placed the *dhwaja stambha*, the flagstaff, as well as the *bali pīṭha*, an altar, with *mandapas* on either side and in front of it.<sup>70</sup> The inner compound has to be surrounded by a number of *prākāras*, enclosures, with *gopuras* at the cardinal directions, their doors aligned, and double. The *prākāras* should have *vāhanas* and minor deities placed in the walls, and if there are more enclosures than one, each outer enclosure wall

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<sup>64</sup> Ganapati Sthapati, 2002:107.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.:107ff.

<sup>66</sup> Sastri/Gadre, 1990:lxv.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.:lxix.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.:lxv.

<sup>69</sup> Michell, 1988:62.

<sup>70</sup> Sastri/Gadre, 1990:lxiv.

is to be one-fourth higher than the inner one.<sup>71</sup> Finally, the temple needs a sacred tank, either within the enclosure or next to it.<sup>72</sup>

Within the *prākāras* various types of subsidiary buildings can be found, some of them in specific locations. Even though all temples are dedicated to a main deity, local ones are also allowed to have their own shrines in the appropriate places, i.e. the direction they are associated with.<sup>73</sup> These images should be erected within the inner enclosure, either on special platforms, in special *mandapas*, or in front of the principal deity.<sup>74</sup>

For several kinds of building a specific location is mentioned, which are given in Overview 7.1 below in a clockwise order starting from the east. This list of correspondences between directions, deities, and functions of buildings will be significant in section 7.2 in our attempt to allocate specific functions to buildings within temple compounds in Cambodia, specifically the East Mebon and Pre Rup.

Overview 7.1: Subsidiary temple buildings, with directions and deities associated with directions, given in clockwise order.<sup>75</sup>

Cardinal direction	God associated with direction	Building
SE	Agni, Gandharva	Kitchen, with open yard with well
SW	Pitr	<i>Mandapa</i> for keeping <i>vāhanas</i>
W	Mitra, Śoṣa	Temple of principal <i>devīs</i> , can also be location of <i>garbhagrha</i>
WNW	Vanhi	<i>Kalyāna mandapa</i>
NW	Rōga	<i>Mandapa</i> for keeping dresses and ornaments of deities
NNW	Bhallāṭa, Danta	<i>Yāgasāla</i> for performing <i>homās</i>
N	Bhāskara, Bhūdhara	Surrounding deities
NNE	Bhujānga	Hall for keeping objects for everyday use, garden, tank
NE	Īśa	Grain store

Other buildings, which are not associated with specific directions are sheds for elephants, horses, and cows attached to the temple, *mandapas* for *abhiṣeka* and *alarikāra*, and an *āsthāna mandapa* where the deity is seated in state.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.:xxxix.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.:lxiv.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.:xl.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.:lxiv.

<sup>75</sup> After Sastri/Gadre, 1990:xxxix, lxiv-lxv; Kramrisch, 1996, I:32; and Chakrabarti, 1998:68-74.

<sup>76</sup> Sastri/Gadre, 1990:lxv.

## Measurements

Because numbers are “considered an expression of the structure of the universe and a means of effecting the interplay between the universe and man”<sup>77</sup>, the *vāstu śāstras* contain lengthy passages on measurements, which are all in relation to each other and determine both the architecture and the sculpture.<sup>78</sup> These regulations are far too many and detailed to be given in this chapter, and an overview of the various types of temple with regards to the relations between their measurements is given in Table 7.1. Their main aim is to ensure that ultimately the temple – or whichever other building – is a coherent, interrelated whole.<sup>79</sup> Measurements are given in various texts, although not all texts might quote all measurements. A list of these is given below:

- 8 *paramānu* = 1 *rathadhūli* (speck of dust),
- 8 *rathadhūli* = 1 *vālāgra* (tip of hair),
- 8 *vālāgra* = 1 *likshā* (nit),
- 8 *likshā* = 1 *yūkā* (louse),
- 8 *yūkā* = 1 *yava* (corn of barley),
- 8 *yava* = 1 *arigula* (finger’s breadth),
- 8 *arigula* = 1 *vitastī* (span of hand),
- 2 *vitastī* = 1 *hasta* (length of forearm),
- 4 *hasta* = 1 *dhanus* (bow) or 1 *daṇḍa* (rod),
- 8 *daṇḍa* = 1 *rajju* (rope),
- 2,000 *daṇḍa* = 1 *kośa*,
- 2 *kośa* = 1 *gavyuti*,
- 2 *gavyuti* = 1 *yojana*,
- 100,000 *yojana* = the Earth.<sup>80</sup>

These measurements are used for all elements of the temples, so that these are built in relation to each other, and ensure an auspicious whole:

The proportionate measurement of plan and elevation in the three dimensions of space, and the conformity in principle of the plan and the Vāstumaṇḍala, underlie the general rules or norms of the temples in Vāstuśāstra.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Michell, 1988:73.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.:75.

<sup>79</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:237.

<sup>80</sup> Acharya, 1918:2-3; Chakrabarti, 1998:38.

## Building materials

In the *vāstu śāstras* the building materials are linked to the various castes, for instance stone and wood with the gods, *brahmins*, kings and hermits.<sup>82</sup> Stone is seen as the most sacred material, and "it is a hundred times more meritorious to build a temple in brick than to build one in wood ... it is even ten thousand times more meritorious to build a temple in stone than brick."<sup>83</sup> The texts give detailed rules regarding how to find and use the various materials adequately. Both stone and timber are seen as having an age and gender. Generally, only mature stone and timber should be used. The gender of stone is only relevant when crafting an icon, as for male icons male stone should be used, and for female images female stone. When working with timber, only the same kind of wood should be joined together. The felling of trees has to be accompanied by rituals, and when used timber has to be placed according to the orientation when it was still a tree, i.e. when used horizontally the inside of the tree must face downwards and the surface side upwards. For bricks only red, smooth soil may be used, and is to be treated adequately. The dimensions of bricks are given in detail in the various texts.<sup>84</sup> Thus, every material has to be used to set rules, and may not be reused, as it would then lose its spiritual and protective function.<sup>85</sup>

With regard to Cambodian temples it is difficult to ascertain whether these rules were applied. With respect to stone a significant factor is the original placement within the living rock which cannot be known after the block was hewn out. Regarding wood, all of it has rotten away in the meantime, so no statements can be made about this material at all.

## Architectural elements

Now, various architectural elements shall be described in greater detail, firstly the *garbhagrha*. Its inner walls are supposed to be plain, and because it lies at the end of the preceding *mandapas* it is dark inside. This darkness is because the cell imitates a cave. These have special significance, because they are seen as places for meditation and habitation of the gods,

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<sup>81</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:228.

<sup>82</sup> Michell, 1988:78.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.:79, no source given.

<sup>84</sup> Chakrabarti, 1998:141ff.

<sup>85</sup> Michell, 1988:79.

especially Śiva.<sup>86</sup> Before approaching the centre the devotee has to perform the *pradakṣiṇa*, the ritual circumambulation of the shrine, in order to purify his spirit and focus on the main divinity. In Śiva temples the *pradakṣiṇa* does not consist of a circumambulation, but instead the devotee has to walk the following route: from the *nandin* opposite the central image – Caṇḍa, who is west of the northern door – *nandin* – *somasūtra*, the water chute – *nandin* – Caṇḍa – *nandin*. To assist the purification process, most of the sculptural representation can be found on the perpendicular walls, which represents aspects or stories of the main divinity. The size of images is regulated by the *śāstras* as well, which distinguish four systems of height, however with identical proportions. The face, the basic unit of measurement of images, is usually 12 *arīgulas* high, only the largest images, those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, have a face of 13 *arīgulas*. Not included in these systems is the height of the crown, which always forms a unit with the head and can rise to considerable height.<sup>87</sup> Thus “[t]he Indian system of proportionate measurement of the body of the image is based on number, organically correlated to the body of man and its main divisions, a face length being the module.”<sup>88</sup>

Above the *garbhagr̥ha* rises the *vimāna*, the superstructure. Various types are classified according to their height of one to twelve storeys, which again are subdivided into three classes each: small, medium, and large according to their width. The pinnacle should have a height of four *hasta* in temples.<sup>89</sup>

Doors, which should be twice as high as they are wide<sup>90</sup>, are much more than mere entrances. When walking up to the *garbhagr̥ha*, the main image is seen through the doorframe which thus becomes the visual frame for it. The link to the central image is also made through the depiction of the deity in the centre of the lintel, surrounded by *dvārapālas* at the bottom of the doorjambs. At the centre of the threshold is carved a lotus, which is not to be stepped on, and which represents the universe, as well as the state of dispassion the devotee has to be in when approaching the divinity. Thus the door represents the god through whom the Absolute, contained in the *garbhagr̥ha*, is entered. On the way out, upon leaving the *garbhagr̥ha*, the door again becomes a frame, this time for the *vāhana* placed opposite the main shrine.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.:69.

<sup>87</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, II:299-312.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.:311.

<sup>89</sup> Acharya, 1918:19.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.:32.

<sup>91</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, II:312ff.

Windows, *gavākṣa*, in Indian temples are usually not real openings, but niches on the outer side of the main shrine which contain images. Their shape is curvilinear, and derived from bending wood, such as bamboo or branches. Thus windows only have symbolical significance, because it is through them that the divinity looks out. This is often symbolised by lions, the solar animal placed in the *gavākṣa*.<sup>92</sup>

A final feature which shall be dealt with here is the *kīrttimukha*, the face of glory. Usually, this motif can be found at the apex of an arch or its centre, mainly above the *gavākṣa* (Fig. 7.3), and on the front of the threshold to the *garbhagr̥ha* on either side of the lotus flower. This face combines elements of lion, ram, dragon, serpent, fish, bird and humans, and has no lower jaw. The mouth issues forth garlands, with the whole *gavākṣa* contained in between them. The *kīrttimukha* is also known as Rāhu, the eclipse, Kāla, time, and Grāsa, the devourer, which all have their own stories told in the various texts. At the same time it is Asura, the Supreme Being, who breathes the Breath of Life, which is represented by the missing lower jaw.<sup>93</sup>

### Dynamics

The dynamics of the temple are relevant in a twofold way: the movement of spiritual forces, and the physical movement of the devotee through the temple. The divine forces move outwards from the central shrine. They are most potent at the cardinal points, where subsidiary images are placed, and at the corners, where they are linked to the *dvārapālas*, who are placed around the shrine.<sup>94</sup> "It is thus from the centre that the dynamic movement of the mass of the temple proceeds in the main and intermediate directions showing forth as sculptured form in its ultimate levels of progression."<sup>95</sup> Because Indian temples are mainly characterised by enshrinement on multiple levels, primarily the main image, but also lesser images in various lesser shrines and niches, Hardy sees the composition of the temple as aedicular: "in its developed forms, this architecture [Indian temples] depends for its visual structure, its expression and meanings, on the combination and interrelation of images of shrines."<sup>96</sup> This sequential chain is visible in the dynamics where form evolves from form, as expressed by various architectural features. Hardy

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.:318ff.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.:322ff.

<sup>94</sup> Michell, 1988:66.

<sup>95</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, II:302.

<sup>96</sup> Hardy, 1998:135, n. 6.

describes eight of them: projection, staggering, sputting, bursting of boundaries, progressive multiplication, expanding repetition, pictorial representation, and gyration. However, at the temples dealt with in this thesis, only two of these features can be found: projection, and expanding repetition. Projection (Fig. 7.4) suggests movement, which can be forward, sideways, or diagonal, and can at Khmer temples be found, e.g. at the superstructure of the *prasats*, the columns next to doors, and pediments. Expanding repetition (Fig. 7.5) means that elements will be repeated in increasing size at different levels.<sup>97</sup> At the Cambodian temples this is clearly visible at the different storeys of the *vimāna*. Here the same elements can be found at every level decreasing in size with every level further up. Thus, we find a dynamic pattern “of centrifugal growth, clearly and unambiguously represented, through architectural means”<sup>98</sup>. This dynamics of forces acts in both directions: in the down- and outward movement of the divine manifestation (as the main movement), but also the in- and upward movement of the devotee’s desire for union with the divinity. Because of this dynamism “[m]anifestation is to be understood not as a single event but a continuous process – not fixed cosmology but ceaseless cosmogony.”<sup>99</sup>

The second aspect of the dynamics of a temple is the physical movement of the devotee. Correct movement through the temple is essential for attaining spiritual liberation. Its most important element is the clockwise circumambulation, *pradakṣiṇa*, of the image, parts of the temple, or even the whole compound. During the *pradakṣiṇa* of the main image other images are passed, for instance those carved on the outer walls, but also subsidiary shrines, and prepare the worshipper for the central icon. Though complete sculptural entities in themselves they are part of the overall conception of the temple. The movement of the devotee is oriented towards the central image, and is mirrored by the architecture: the various enclosures the worshipper has to traverse are increasingly sacred as the worshipper nears the centre. This movement of the devotee is not just towards the centre but also symbolically towards the mountain top which the temple symbolises. This top is located at the highest point of the temple, above the central shrine, and forms an axis with the central image upwards, supporting the

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.:110-114.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.:107.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.:109.

universe.<sup>100</sup> One main difference between temples in India and Kambujadesa is that in Cambodian ones the central sanctum is built on top of a tiered pyramid. These two elements together represent the cosmic mountain: the pyramid its slopes, and the sanctuary tower(s) the mountain top(s). In Indian temples, on the other hand, the mountain is represented by the *vimāna* over the main sanctum. The shrine as such is constructed directly on the ground without further elevation.

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<sup>100</sup> Michell, 1988:70.

## 7.2 Application of the two approaches to the temples

As we have seen specific architectural elements allow certain uses, whereas particular uses require respective architecture. In the Cambodian case this process is one of inference, as the inscriptions do not contain information regarding this issue. Moreover, there is a lack of archaeological material – the only findings at both temples which indicate a non-religious use are rollers and pestles (Plan 7.10b). These might have been used in the kitchens for the preparation of offerings, and for preparing the lunch served to devotees, priests and the poor every day.

As has become evident above, even though general architectural theory, a more Western approach, does not focus very much on the actual expression of the sacred within architecture, its analysis of individual elements, such as windows or the plinth, but also the dynamics of a building does complement the approach of the *vāstu śāstras*.

In this section, first some general analyses, valid for both temples, will be presented, and subsequently individual buildings will be analysed, first at the East Mebon, and then at Pre Rup.

### 7.2.1 General remarks

#### Floor of the temples

The floors of both temples consist of laterite blocks. Even though they are arranged in a somewhat orderly way, the resulting surface is quite rough, and not very pleasant to walk on barefoot. Given the overall meticulous execution of the temples, this seems surprising, and suggests that the floor might originally have been covered. In all likelihood this cover was not made of stone, as traces of it should be left. Perhaps the laterite was covered with sand. This would make the floor more pleasant to walk on, and at the same time ensure a pleasant visual impression. We still find floors covered with sand in modern Wats, but also at temples in India. Moreover, the main walkways could have been covered with mats woven from bamboo or rattan. These are found in present-day India – even though there the mats seem to function more as a protection against the heat of the stone floor.

## Plinths – *upapīṭha* and *adhisṭhāna*

As we have seen, plinths are the transition between ground and walls, and are assigned significance in the Indian texts as well, since they elevate whatever is above. Features to be analysed are height, material, and elaborateness. With respect to these elements, we find seven kinds of plinths in the temples. In what follows we will move outwards from the central *prasats* of the East Mebon comparing them as we do so to the buildings at Pre Rup.

1. Generally, the plinths of all the main sanctuary towers are two layers of sandstone, about 50 to 60 centimetres high, those of the small towers only one layer of about 25 centimetres. These layers are carved elaborately (Fig. 7.6). Because they are made from the same material as the surrounding floor, they seem to belong more to the floor than the building, partly also because of their inward curving shape – they seem to literally grow out of the floor. Their visual height is even increased by the horizontal brick carvings at the bottom of the walls, the *adhisṭhāna*, which act as a continuation of the *upapīṭha*, even though they are part of the wall. Together with these brick carvings, the plinth reaches a height of almost 1.5 metres at the main shrines, and about 75 centimetres at the small ones, and forms a substantial part of the *prasat*.

2. Another kind of plinth can be found at the laterite buildings and inner *gopuras* of the East Mebon, which consists of only one layer of uncarved sandstone, and is visually continued by horizontal mouldings of the laterite wall. Altogether the sandstone layer and laterite mouldings reach a height of about one metre. A similar kind of plinth can be found at buildings PR-N and PR-S at the base of the pyramid of Pre Rup. These plinths again consist of uncarved sandstone, albeit two layers, continued by horizontal carvings in the brick wall (Fig. 7.7). The surrounding floor of all these buildings is laterite, thus there is a clear distinction between ground and building. Moreover, the material of the wall is different again. Even though the material of floor and walls at the buildings of the East Mebon is the same, laterite, because the floor was in all likelihood covered with sand, this does not make a difference visually. Because of this difference in materials of floor, plinth and wall, perceptually the building seems to be put on the ground, rather than grow from it as the *prasats* do. Still, because of the differing materials of plinth proper and walls, the impression of the building being elevated is quite strong.

3. The next kind of plinth is visible at the corner halls in the outer enclosure of the East Mebon (M-b, c, f, g, k, l, o, and p), and all of the halls at Pre Rup. These buildings are lifted up on two to four layers of moulded laterite, continued by the plain wall (Fig. 7.8). Because this plinth is – apart from the inner halls of Pre Rup which are raised on four layers laterite – not very high, only about 50 centimetres, and made from the same material as the walls and the surrounding floor, it is visually not very striking.

4. The fourth type of plinth can be found in the outer enclosure of the East Mebon at the halls next to the *gopuras* (M-a, d, e, h, i, m, n and r), and the outer *gopuras* themselves. The plinths of these buildings consist of one layer of laterite, and one layer of carved sandstone (Fig. 7.9). The laterite walls above this sandstone layer are not moulded, thus the overall height of the plinth is only about 50 centimetres. The sandstone layer is inserted between the laterite foundation layer and the laterite wall which perceptually accentuates the raising of the building.

5. The plinth of the inner *gopuras* of Pre Rup consists of two layers of unmoulded laterite and one layer of carved sandstone. These carvings consist of one row of lotus petals at the centre, bordered by plain bands. Above the sandstone layer is the brick wall, which is plain immediately above the sandstone, but carved with horizontal bands a bit further up (Fig. 7.10). Overall this plinth is fairly high, about 1.5 metres. The visual impression of these buildings depends very much on the standpoint of the viewer. From the outside, the added sandstone vestibule is predominant, and only allows a proper view of the side passageways which are entirely made of sandstone and linked to the main mass through brick walls. Thus, even though the lowest layers are of the same material as the surrounding ground, laterite, this continuity can hardly be seen. Here the laterite floor might indeed have been visible, because it is the very narrow rim of the inner terrace next to the enclosure wall. Thus, this small band of laterite, which was not meant for circumambulation, was very likely not covered with sand. From the inside, the impression is a very different one, as here the main mass of the *gopura* can be seen properly. Because the floor here was probably covered, the continuity of material was not visible. However, the overall shape of the base as curving inward was evident.

6. Again a different kind of plinth is found at the outer *gopuras* of Pre Rup, which are raised on two layers of unmoulded laterite, continued by horizontal bands in the brick wall above, reaching a height of about 50 centimetres (Fig. 7.11). The windows of the walls of the

side chambers of the main entrance – both the real ones of 2 Gop E and the false ones of the other three *gopuras* – are set on the laterite layers, which results visually in a diminished height of the plinth, and lessens its significance.

7. Finally, the seventh type of plinth is that of the large brick towers in the outer enclosure. These are built on a common platform of six layers of unmoulded laterite, and on two to four layers of uncarved sandstone. Only the lower part of the brick wall is carved with horizontal bands (Fig. 7.12). That the sandstone layers are uncarved might be because the towers overall are not finished. However, this kind of massive base cannot be found at any other building within the compound, not even the central *prasats*, and results visually in almost an exaggeration of the raising of the towers.

This detailed analysis of the various plinths will be significant in the discussion of the function of the various buildings.

#### Transition wall – roof, and superstructure

A further architectural feature which can be discussed with reference to both temples is the transition between walls and roof, i.e. the superstructure. Contrary to the many variations of the plinths, here only two types can be distinguished, according to the shape of the superstructure. Common to both types of transition is that the carvings and mouldings of the upper part of the wall mirror those of the lower part, above the plinth, in shape and height.

In the first type the superstructure consists of beamwork covered by tiles. This kind of roof can be found in all the halls of both temples, and the outer *gopuras* of the East Mebon. Here it does not matter whether the top layer of the wall was laterite or sandstone, as the technique used for adding the roof was the same at all buildings. Into this top layer a wooden beam was inserted, onto which the roof construction was built (Fig. 7.13). None of these buildings had a ceiling, so the beamwork seems to have been visible from inside.

The second kind of transition between walls and roof can be found in the *prasats*, the laterite buildings of the first enclosure of the East Mebon and its inner *gopuras*, PR-N and -S, and all the *gopuras* of Pre Rup. Here the superstructure has four levels – at least in those buildings where it is still visible – and is built of brick, i.e. the same material as the walls below. Only in the laterite buildings of the East Mebon is the material of the superstructure not the

same as that of the walls below (Fig. 7.14). Due to the continuation of material, and the triangular shape of the superstructure, visually there is a less poignant break between wall and superstructure than in the other buildings. Here, the superstructure seems to grow out of the walls, and to be a continuation of them. This impression is stressed particularly by the architectural and decorative elements, which are repeated on the various tiers of the superstructure. This triangular shape stresses the vertical axis, and the buildings seem to continue towards the infinity of the sky. This shape is directly related to their spiritual and symbolic significance as the representation of the cosmic mountain and its peaks.

Another feature which shall be mentioned here is the ceiling. The only buildings where a wooden ceiling was inserted are the *prasats* (Fig. 7.15). Thus, having a ceiling seems to be one of their defining elements as sanctuaries: "Inside the Garbhagrha ... a ceiling, however, as a rule, occupies the position of a flat roof."<sup>101</sup> This might originate in the analogy of cell and cave. As mentioned in the previous section, caves have great importance as places for meditation and dwelling places of Śiva. By leaving the interior open towards the top, the enclosed atmosphere of a cave could not be recreated. Thus a ceiling has to be added. In buildings without this spiritual connotation this feature was not necessary, as the roof served 'only' the practical purpose of sheltering the interior.

#### Texture of the outside of the buildings

We have seen that the texture of the outside of a building is a main factor in determining its visual weight. Moreover, in the section on plinths and walls, materials and their combination were also mentioned. Thus, texture needs to be examined. Nowadays, the various materials are visible immediately but this was not the case originally. Looking at the *prasats*, those of the East Mebon display a curious feature: they are covered with little holes (Fig. 7.16), used to attach plaster. At Pre Rup some of the plaster is still in situ, and from what is left it seems the plaster consisted of a fairly coarse mass, covered by at least one layer of whitewash to create a smooth surface (Fig. 7.17). The plaster may have been painted, but that cannot be determined with certainty. Although we know about the plaster from the Romduol inscription, no information is available regarding finish of these temples. Thus, st. VIII of the stele of Romduol states,

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<sup>101</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:180.

"Rājendravarman ... founded the East Mebon with five sanctuaries, riveting with stucco."<sup>102</sup> The account of Chou Ta-Kuan mentions a 'Golden Tower', the Bayon, and the 'Tower of Bronze', the Baphuon<sup>103</sup>, but whether towers were gilded or covered with bronze in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and on brick superstructures is not certain.

As for the sandstone surfaces of the East Mebon and Pre Rup, it is difficult to say how they were treated. Possibly they were painted, but no traces are left. Another façade is that of the laterite. Due to the coarse quality of the stone, it seems likely that it was also covered with plaster. The question now is how this surface was treated. Was it coated in plain plaster, or was the plaster moulded like that of the *prasats*? One possibility is that the walls of the halls were not decorated, whereas those of the five inner laterite buildings of the East Mebon might have been decorated. This idea is based on the finding of the stone of the nine *devas* in M-A and M-B, as well as images of Ganeśa, which might indicate that these buildings were subsidiary shrines. This will be discussed further in the next section.

As a result the discussion of the effect of the different materials of plinth, walls and superstructure above is somewhat theoretical, as they might not have been immediately visible. Thus the main difference between the parts made of different materials are their carvings and mouldings: the finest and most detailed ones are the sandstone and moulded stucco. Brick carvings are less refined and the crudest mouldings are those of the laterite.

### Enclosure walls and *gopuras*

The enclosure walls of the temples fulfil various purposes. Symbolically, they represent the mountain ranges surrounding Mount Meru. Practically, they separate areas with differing degrees of sanctity, which could also be closed off through doors. The outermost, second enclosure wall with its *gopuras* marks the limit of the temple, separating the profane from the sacred. This is particularly the case at Pre Rup, as the East Mebon was separated from the purely profane by the waters of the *baray* that once surrounded it. Pre Rup, in contrast, was surrounded by a dense settlement (Fig. 7.18). The enclosure wall separating the various enclosures within the temple compound, in contrast, divides areas of differing degrees of sacredness. Taking into account the placement, and the differing degrees of separation

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<sup>102</sup> IC II:59/60.

<sup>103</sup> Chou Ta-Kuan, 1987:2.

achieved by the different walls, their height varies accordingly. Thus the outer wall of the East Mebon is not significantly higher than the inner wall – 2.25 and 1.5 metres respectively. Pre Rup on the other hand, which was surrounded by the buzz of Yaśodharapura with all its activities, needed to be separated more distinctly. Consequently, the outer wall is much higher than the inner one – 4 as opposed to 2.5 metres.

The *gopuras* are openings within these thresholds, linking their inside and outside. Due to this function they are significant places themselves, accommodating transition and indicating the nature of the space behind. In the Mānasāra fifteen kinds of gate towers are distinguished, varying in height between one and seventeen storeys, all with their respective decorative elements.<sup>104</sup> Generally, thresholds are liminal places, and in a temple they define the boundaries between the sacred within and the profane without. To prepare a person traversing the threshold for the nature of the space behind certain rites have to be performed which are rites of preparation for union. Van Gennep distinguishes three types of rites, which he calls

rites of separation from a previous world, *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage *liminal (or threshold) rites*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world *post-liminal rites*.<sup>105</sup>

These types of ritual are not necessarily executed always and with equal elaborateness. However, in each transition one or more of them have to be performed to at least a certain degree to purify the worshippers and prepare them for the space behind. As we have seen the spaces surrounding the various *gopuras* differ in terms of sacredness, and a transition from one to the next is determined by the degree of difference. Entering the temple from the outside the transition is the most significant one, as the worshipper leaves the profane world and enters the sacred world of the gods. The inner *gopuras* facilitate a transition from a space with lesser to a space with higher sanctity. Considering the interior space of the *gopuras*, that of the outer cruciform ones is quite large, and can accommodate elaborate rituals (Plan 7.2). The inner square *gopuras* provide much less interior space (Plan 7.3), which seems to indicate less elaborate rituals – at this point of the process the cleansing of the devotee should be quite advanced through the rituals performed at the outer *gopuras*, but also the rituals having taken place within the outer enclosure.

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<sup>104</sup> Acharya, 1918:25-26.

<sup>105</sup> Gennep, 1960:21.

Because of their role as facilitating this transition the *gopuras* have lintels over their doors. The lintels protect the temple and the *gopuras* themselves, but also protect the devotees passing through or beneath them. Most of these lintels depict either the *lokapāla*, or *kāla*. The *lokapāla*, the guardians of the directions, have immediate protective functions. The *kāla* above the doors represents the cessation of time upon entering the temple and its enclosures. Moreover, as has been discussed in section 7.1.2, it also represents the breathing of the Breath of Life outwards, towards the world of humans. Other motifs, for instance the Narasiṃha of the eastern lintel of 1 Gop W at the East Mebon, are associated with thresholds. Narasiṃha slays the demon Haranyakaśipu on the threshold of a door, and is thus himself a liminal, transitory figure, very befitting the liminal character of a *gopura*.

The above discussion shows how the combination of general theory with the *vāstu śāstras* can lead to a more detailed analysis of the buildings, and indicates a first step towards the interpretation of individual buildings.

Although the main purpose of the temples was to house the images, the temples served other functions as well. Intellectually they were centres of learning. They housed schools for mainly *brahmanic* pupils studying such subjects as grammar and astrology, and also studying sacred texts. The same activities can still be witnessed in temples in India nowadays. This function also demanded space for some of the students who lived inside the temple compound. More popular education took place inside the compound as well, for instance the recital of the Vedas, the epics and Purāṇas, performances with dance and music as part of the rituals, and the singing of hymns.<sup>106</sup> The dances are referred to, for instance, in the inscription of Lolei, which mentions in st. LXIX that “outside the dance hall, etc., they [the worshippers] should not eat anything else than betelnut.”<sup>107</sup> Another communal activity was the meals distributed in the temple not just to priests, but also pilgrims, regular worshippers, and the poor. These meals were not necessarily simple, and prepared daily for lunch.<sup>108</sup> Again, this practice can still be seen in Indian temples (Fig. 7.19), and was probably known in Kambujadesa as well.

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<sup>106</sup> Michell, 1988:58.

<sup>107</sup> Bhattacharya, 1999c:37/45.

<sup>108</sup> Michell, 1988:60.

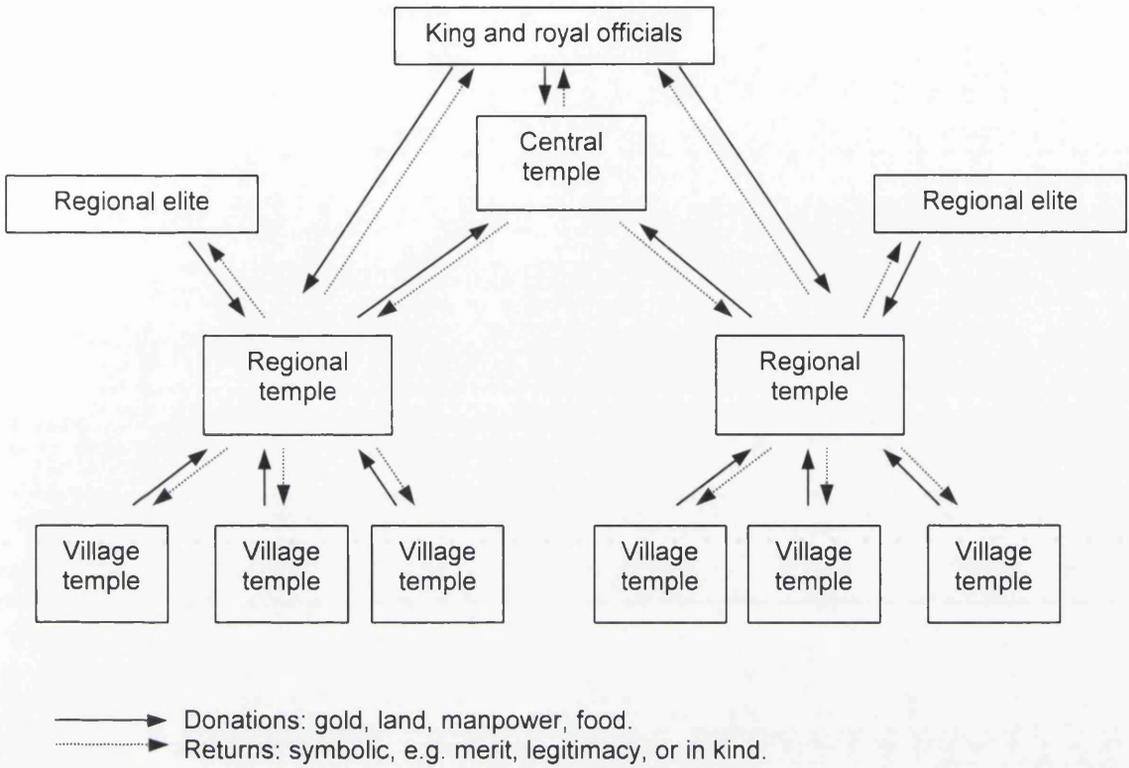
A further significant role of temples was that they were economic centres, integrated in a temple network spanning the entire kingdom. Local elites were bound to the central power through the temple network. New temples, built by local elites, expanded the economic base of the kingdom, and led to the legitimisation of the local elites through the centre. This recognition of their power was paired with the responsibility to share the production with the state via the temple network. A second factor was the significance of rituals. The cults of the centre integrated the subordinates, and “[b]y successfully fulfilling his role as the hypothetical focus of all sanctity and power, the king maintained the orderliness of the world”<sup>109</sup>, thus sustaining the realm, which “came about through the integration of indigenous folk traditions, symbols, and religious beliefs into a cult that was visibly concentrated in the centre.”<sup>110</sup> Consequently, the function of the temples was twofold, economic and ritual, in both directions. The system integrated the local elites via the temples and let them work for the state instead of allowing them to compete with it, and have power of their own. This reduced the risk of usurpers, and at the same time the economic and spiritual welfare of the state, and its expansion were secured.<sup>111</sup> A schematic overview of this system is given in Overview 7.2 below. This function as economic centres entailed significant administrative tasks, which needed to be housed, as well as the goods traded within the system.

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<sup>109</sup> Hall, 1985:159.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.:159.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.:153-165.



When analysing the various buildings as to their possible purpose, all the functions and activities mentioned above will have to be taken into account.

### 7.2.2 East Mebon

As indicated in the introduction, the identification of the purpose of various buildings is problematic. However, by analysing their various features the inference of use and purpose is possible, as already seen in part 7.2.1. The first temple to be analysed is the East Mebon, which predates Pre Rup. The order of the buildings analysed will start at the central towers, moving outwards. This sequence was chosen because the intended purpose of the buildings at the centre of the compound have been discussed already in the last chapter, and form therefore the background from which to analyse the rest of the edifices. See the computer graphics for an impression what the East Mebon might have looked like originally.

<sup>112</sup> After Hall, 1985:167.

## Inner enclosure

It has already been established that the five central towers were sanctuaries and housed the images mentioned in st. CCXVIII. The central prasat housed the *līṅga* Śrī Rājendreśvara, M-NE the Girīśa (Śiva), M-SE the Brahmā, M-NW the Gaurī, and M-SW Śauri (Viṣṇu). Moreover, it was established that the eight small brick towers surrounding the central platform housed the *aṣṭamūrti* mentioned in st. CCVIII, represented by *līṅgas*. One interesting question would be to ascertain which tower housed which *līṅga*. The only indications are the different lintel motifs, listed below:

- M-1: elephant head above the body of a lion
- M-2: lion emitting garlands
- M-3: Indra on Airāvata between two inward-facing lions emitting garlands
- M-4: Indra on three-headed Airāvata
- M-5: Indra on Airāvata between two outward-facing lions emitting garlands
- M-6: Indra on Airāvata
- M-7: lion swallowing an elephant
- M-8: lion emitting garlands.

The manifestations of Śiva represented by the *līṅgas* are earth, water, fire, air, ether, sun, moon, and the sacrificer. Considering the lintel motifs, we see that four of them depict Indra on Airāvata, albeit in different stances, two lions emitting garlands, and two show rather unusual motifs: a lion swallowing an elephant, and what looks like an elephant swallowing a lion. This similarity and multiple occurrence of the same motif makes it quite difficult, not to say impossible, to assign the *līṅgas* to a specific tower. Nevertheless, one possibility might be the following: in the two lintels with elephant and lion together the animals could be interpreted as depicting sun and moon respectively. The lion is considered a solar animal, and the elephant might have had lunar connotations in Kambujadesa. Thus lintel M-1 could have depicted the moon, and M-7 the sun. Given that the *aṣṭamūrti* can be grouped into the five elements, and the three other realities, the sacrificer would go with sun and moon, and might have been placed in between them, in tower M-8, which shows a lion with garlands. This would leave towers M-2 to 6 for the five elements. Four of them show Indra on Airāvata, and the fifth one, M-2, again a lion. This might have been the one dedicated to the fire, based on the assumption that the

sacrificer was associated with the other lion-lintel, and that sacrifice is closely related to fire. Thus the other four elements would have been placed in *prasats* protected by Indra, the master of the natural elements. The preceding discussion is, of course, pure speculation, but given the different motifs, it is quite interesting to at least attempt to determine which one might have been associated with which manifestation of Śiva.

The next group of buildings in the inner enceinte are the laterite buildings in the corners. As we have seen in chapter 6.1 within M-A and M-B sculptures were found. M-A contained several pieces. Most importantly, a sandstone block has been found that depicts the nine deities on one side and seven *ṛṣis* on the other. This stone was placed altar-like on a sandstone slab. The fact that the block is contemporary with the temple, and was found in situ, seems to indicate this building served as a subsidiary shrine. Comparing these buildings to the *prasats*, several discrepancies have to be noted. Firstly, these buildings are not square but rectangular. However, this might not be a problem as shrines can be rectangular according to the *śāstras*.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, they do not have a ceiling inside which, as seen above, is one defining factor of a shrine. At present the shape of their superstructure is no longer discernible, as only a few bricks are left, so the shape has to be inferred from buildings in other temples (Fig. 7.20). Similar structures, rectangular without ceiling, and a comparable plinth in a similar placement, can be found at Pre Rup, namely PR-N and PR-S (Fig. 7.21). The superstructure of these buildings was made from brick as well, and in its present state indicates four levels, rising to considerable height. Moreover, the two 'libraries' of Banteay Srei are comparable as well (Fig. 7.22). The superstructure of the buildings at Pre Rup and Banteay Srei is characterised by long narrow openings, which can also be found at buildings in similar locations at Preah Ko and Bakong, albeit not long and narrow, but square (Fig. 7.23/24).

In the literature this type of building is usually called a 'library', and this is the term used for M-A to E as well<sup>114</sup>, based on the inscription of Prasat Khna. This inscription, dating from either the reign of King Rājendravarman or his son King Jayavarman V, was found at exactly this type of building, placed in the southeast corner of the enceinte. Though badly damaged, the

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<sup>113</sup> Kramrisch, 1996, I:278, 281.

<sup>114</sup> See for instance Glaize, 1993:207.

inscription in st. XXII says that “[b]y this Hiranyaruci ... was built this *pustakāśramaḥ*.”<sup>115</sup> Coédès subsequently interprets the term *pustakāśramaḥ* as ‘library’, and concludes that the building at which the inscription was found, indeed served as the library of Prasat Khna.<sup>116</sup> Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to visit Prasat Khna myself, and can thus not compare the building itself with those at the East Mebon – and Pre Rup for that matter – to determine in how far the edifices are similar. That libraries as such might have existed is indicated from what we know about the pre-Angkor period, particularly the Funan<sup>117</sup> period. The History of the Tsin states about Funan in the third century CE that “[t]here are books, and depots of archives and other things.”<sup>118</sup> Due to this evidence for ‘books’, and ‘archives’ already in early centuries, it can safely be assumed that during the 10<sup>th</sup> century books and other written material existed as well which had to be stored.

Coming back to the five buildings at the East Mebon, possibly not all of them served as libraries. Another possibility for these buildings might have been to house the ritual fire. Fire was an important ingredient of all rituals, used both to entertain and cleanse the divinity. The first epigraphic evidence for these ‘houses with fire’ dates from the reign of King Sūryavarman I, and they seem to have been most popular under King Jayavarman VII, who built 121 of them throughout the kingdom. Architecturally these buildings are different, with a long hall preceding a tower beneath which the fire was kept.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, buildings like M-A to E are found at most temples, and in the inscriptions two rites associated with fire are referred to: *lakṣahoma*, ‘one hundred thousand oblations’, and *koṭīhoma*, ‘ten million oblations’.<sup>120</sup> The former is mentioned in st. CCXXXVI of Pre Rup:

CCXXXVI Although it had been burnt one hundred thousand times by the *hotar* in the fire of the (sacrifice) *lakṣahoma* celebrated by the king, the germ of all things produced a great fruit as if it had been sowed in water.<sup>121</sup>

Thus, the sacred fire had to be kept within the temple, in a building specifically dedicated to it. Unfortunately, the superstructure of the laterite buildings at East Mebon no longer exists.

<sup>115</sup> Coédès, 1911f:406.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.:405–406.

<sup>117</sup> There are certain difficulties attached to using this term. In the present context, ‘Funan’ is being used as a period, lasting from around the turn of the eras until the sixth century CE, rather than a specific kingdom.

<sup>118</sup> Pelliot, 1903a:254.

<sup>119</sup> Jacques/Freeman, 1997:269.

<sup>120</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:148.

<sup>121</sup> IC I:99/135.

Given the similarities with buildings in other temples, the superstructure was probably quite high, and contained holes of probably a rectangular shape. This shape would be suitable to keep the sacred fire burning, whilst ensuring ventilation letting fresh air in, and smoke and heat out. The placement of a building housing the sacred fire is appropriate in the southeast corner of the inner enclosure, as this is close to the central sanctum, and placed in the direction of Agni, the god of fire.

Considering that in M-A the carved sandstone block with the nine *devas* and seven *ṛsis* was found, this building might have housed both the stone and the fire. The association of these two elements is known from Indian texts, for instance various Purāṇas,<sup>122</sup> thus they might have been housed within one building at the East Mebon.

Regarding the other four laterite buildings, within M-B again a stone depicting the nine *devas* was discovered. As established in chapter 6.1 this piece belongs stylistically to a later period, probably the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. Even though the stone was placed in a comparable manner as that in M-A, and the base is still there, the carving was a later addition. Thus the building might have served a totally different purpose previously to the stone's foundation. Other objects found in M-B to M-E are just fragments of images, for instance hands, or *nāgas*, which do not allow a determination as to which images they belonged to or where they were placed originally.

One indication that the buildings might indeed have had sacred connotations is the fact that they had carved lintels over their doors. Apart from the rectangular buildings, these can only be found at *prasats*, and *gopuras*, and seem to indicate sacredness: *prasats* house images of deities and *gopuras* are thresholds linking the various enclosures. Due to the lack of more sculptures contemporary with the temple, it is unfortunately impossible to determine which images these buildings might have contained. At this stage it can only be stated that the buildings seem to have had sacred connotations, with one of them housing a stone with the nine *devas* and seven *ṛsis*, and potentially the sacred fire, and one or more of the others possibly being libraries.

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<sup>122</sup> Bhattacharya, 1961:148, n. 7.

The final group of buildings of the inner enclosure are the four *gopuras*. The inner *gopuras* facilitated a transition from an area less sacred to the most sacred first enclosure. This increasing degree of holiness is architecturally represented by the similarity in form of *gopuras* and sanctuary towers. Nevertheless, the decorative scheme is somewhat different, and the *gopuras* are less elaborate. For instance, because the *gopuras* did not house images, their interpillar spaces are not decorated with guardian figures.

#### Outer enclosure

The analysis of the buildings in the outer enclosure, i.e. the halls, is particularly significant as it has not been undertaken so far. Instead the literature is filled with statements, and contains no closer examination of the buildings. For instance, M. Glaize merely states that the halls were for the servants of the temples.<sup>123</sup> C. Jacques in his description of Pre Rup says about them:

All along the inner wall there are eight 'long galleries' with tiled roofs, two for each quadrant. They have varying ground-plans; no convincing explanation for this has been advanced but they certainly housed statues. ... The 'long halls' would cease to be a feature of subsequent state temples, from Ta Keo onwards, as 'peripheral galleries' were substituted for them.<sup>124</sup>

This 'explanation' raises two issues: firstly the almost automatic assumption that the halls were subsidiary shrines, and secondly that the continuous galleries found in later temples replaced the halls, and possibly even evolved out of them. However, I will argue that the halls served various purposes which the galleries might not necessarily have fulfilled. The very first continuous galleries can be found at the Phimeanakas (Plan 7.4, Fig. 7.25), and Ta Keo (Plan 7.5, Fig. 7.26). However, at both places they are not suitable for anything being done inside – at Ta Keo they were never even accessible.

At the East Mebon sixteen halls classified in two groups can be found within the outer enclosure (see our analysis in chapter 4.2): the laterite halls in the corners, and the halls combined of laterite and sandstone next to the outer *gopuras*. A short overview of their architectural features is given in Overview 7.3 below.

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<sup>123</sup>

Glaize, 1993:201.

<sup>124</sup>

Jacques, 1997:100-101.

Overview 7.3: Halls in outer enclosure – architectural features.

	<b>Laterite halls</b>	<b>Combination halls</b>
<b>Building material</b>	Laterite	Laterite + sandstone
<b>Plinth</b>	Laterite	Sandstone
<b>Carvings</b>	Basic	Elaborate
<b>Vestibules</b>	In courtyard	At long axis, facing <i>gopura</i>
<b>Number of columns</b>	4	6 / 4
<b>Entry</b>	Doors (1.85 x 0.9 metres)	Portals (1.85 metres wide)
<b>Windows</b>	Rectangular (0.55 x 1.2 metres)	Square (1.35 x 1.25 metres)
<b>Internal division</b>	No	Yes

Because each group consists of eight almost identical halls, those buildings which diverge from the 'norm' shall be dealt with first. However, at the outset some general remarks shall follow.

It is certainly legitimate to assume that function and form are related, and that form allows inferences as to the purpose. If we look at the general features of the halls, their differences can be grouped together into the categories of elaborateness of building and decoration, and degree of openness. The elaborateness is indicated by the materials used, the plinths, and carvings, whereas the degree of openness is determined by the entrances, windows and size of their vestibules.

Comparing the halls, the combination halls show much more elaboration than the laterite buildings. First of all, they are composed of two different materials which are combined in a complex way. The sandstone layer at the bottom of the wall is not a proper layer, but only about half as wide as the wall, placed at the outside. For the inside of this layer laterite was used, continued by layers of laterite for the wall above (Fig. 7.27). The top layer on which the roof was built consisted entirely of sandstone, which was thus simply substituted for the laterite. Another element which shows more embellishments are the carvings of the column tops. Here an additional row of upturned lotus flowers was added, which increases the breadth of the carvings by a good ten centimetres. Moreover, the sandstone layers at the plinth and top of the wall are carved more lavishly than the laterite of the other halls is moulded.

Turning now to the degree of openness, one has to compare the sizes and types of openings. As can be seen in the overview given in Table 7.2 the combination halls are much more accessible and open than the laterite halls. Considering their entrances, they all had open

portals with a width of about 1.85 metres (Fig. 7.28). The height can only be guessed at since none of the vertical elements remain, but – based on the height of the doorjambs of the other halls – it was probably about 1.9 metres as well. The width of the vestibules, irrespective of their depth, was about 5.5 metres at the outer side, and about four metres in between the columns. At M-d it looks as if there might have been an almost two metre wide step at the centre of this opening (Fig. 7.29), but because of the damaged state of the buildings it cannot be established whether all of them had this element. At the laterite halls, on the other hand, the vestibules were only about 3.6 metres wide at the outer side, and about two metres in between the columns, and the width of the doors was 0.9 metres. Moreover, the halls could be closed as they had door leaves (Fig. 7.30), which means that access to them could be controlled. Another component determining their openness are the windows. Even though the windows of the side chambers of the combination halls were smaller than those of the main room, overall the windows of the combination halls were larger than those of the laterite halls: 1.3 x 1.2 and 1.1 x 1 metres as opposed to 0.6 x 1.25 metres. In view of all windows having balusters, which limited the light permeating the window, a larger size did still mean increased level of lighting inside.

In consequence, the combination halls show a higher degree of both elaborateness and openness.

Based on these general findings, we can now turn to individual buildings. Three halls which diverge from the norm that windows are only inserted on one side are M-c, and M-f, having windows on both sides, and M-o, having no windows at all. M-c shows a further deviation, as its windows do not contain balusters but sandstone slabs. M-c (Plan 7.6, Fig. 7.31) and M-f (Plan 7.7, Fig. 7.32), both laterite halls, have eight windows each, five on the southern side, and three on the northern one. The northern windows are opposite the southern windows, as are the two doors. Because of this placement a much better air flow, and thus ventilation, was ensured than in the halls with windows on only one side. Moreover, the quantity of light allowed in was much higher as well. Even though all buildings were constructed of stone, and were probably quite cool inside, the better ventilation and lighting in M-c and f meant that the interior was much more suitable to spend time there. Additionally, because of the doors, whatever was inside could be kept very safely. Thus their main characteristics are:

- controlled access (small entrances)

- good ventilation (openings on opposite walls)
- comparatively high level of lighting (many windows), and
- safe interior space (closable doors).

Considering now the different functions of the temple, and the requirements for buildings to fulfil these, halls M-c and f might have served two purposes. Firstly, they could have been administrative buildings. The East Mebon was one of the two central temples of Rājendravarman's kingdom, i.e. the centre of the temple network outlined above. The administrative effort of planning, regulating, and organising of the network must have been considerable. Moreover, given the high degree of organisation of the Khmer kingdoms as evidenced in the Khmer language inscriptions, it seems likely that all the exchanges involved were documented meticulously. Thus, the records for the transactions had to be stored someplace. The halls fulfilled both uses – storage of documents and pleasant working space. Alternatively, the halls might have been used for educational purposes. As the central temple the East Mebon was a centre of learning, and exactly the same features which would have accommodated the administration, would also be prerequisites for a 'temple college': light and pleasant interior, and a high level of safety for keeping the texts. Potentially, both purposes were performed in the two buildings, one for the administration, and the other as a space for learning.

Another building without windows is M-o (Plan 7.8, Fig. 7.33) in the northeast corner. The building is in a very damaged state, but judging from what remains, and also the debris next to it, the only opening was on the southern side, subdivided by two freestanding columns into three 2.75 metre wide parts. Examining the two columns still standing, the eastern one shows carvings on only three sides, with the one where the wall would have met it uncarved. The other column, in contrast, is carved on all four sides. The placement of the columns, and the holes visible in the floor near them indicate that originally four columns were put up, two of them freestanding, and two immediately bordering the wall. This opening was in one line with the wall, and no traces of vestibule(s) can be found, even though initially they were assumed by the

French, each 2.7 metres deep.<sup>125</sup> Thus, the building shows a totally different layout than all the others, and is highly accessible with a bright interior which is easily visible from outside. Again considering the various purposes the buildings might have had to fulfil, the *śāstras* in the NNE and NE prescribe a hall for keeping objects for everyday use, a garden and tank, and a grain store. M-o does not seem to have been used for either of these purposes, as it was unsuitable as a storage space because of its wide opening. Alternatively, three other purposes seem possible.

Firstly, because the building was fairly large with an interior space of around 14 x 4 metres, and open, it might have been used for the daily lunches provided for the priests, devotees and the poor. Given that the East Mebon was not readily accessible due to its location at the centre of the *baray*, these meals might have taken place at a different location within the capital.

Another possible function of M-o might have been as a dance hall. This is mentioned in the Lolei inscription in st. LXIX (see above). Even though at Lolei there is no indication for such a building, which must have been built from perishable materials, the temples obviously did have at least one building reserved for the performance of dance and music as part of the rituals. Judging from dance presentations nowadays, which are based on traditional dances handed down over generations, these do not necessarily need a lot of space. Thus, M-o might have indeed been used for these performances.

The third potential function of M-o might have been to house the foundation stele. At the East Mebon, the stele was found in the northern porch of 2 Gop E in 1922<sup>126</sup>. What was unusual about this was first of all that the inscription was broken off from its base, i.e. removed from its original placement. The Indian texts do not suggest an appropriate location for the foundation stele of a temple. Many of the Indian inscriptions were written on the temple itself, mainly its plinth (Fig. 7.34); this seems to have been the common practice which might in consequence not have necessitated a special building for steles. In ancient Khmer temples, the foundation inscriptions were written on steles which had to be housed somewhere. Unfortunately, most of the steles were not in situ anymore when they were discovered, and it is very difficult to

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<sup>125</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 12/1937:4. See also the plans of the East Mebon in Glaize, 1993:following p. 203. However, in contrast to the report, Plan 7.7 clearly shows M-o without vestibules. Thus it seems surprising, that the wrong layout of M-o can still be found in recent publications, for instance Jacques/Freeman, 1997:98.

<sup>126</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 1922:141.

determine whether a predetermined location did exist, or whether the steles could be placed in various locations according to the preferences of the founder. Given that the inscription of the East Mebon was definitely not found in situ, the original placement still has to be determined. Comparing East Mebon with Pre Rup's PR-H where the inscription was found in situ, there is a very strong indication that M-o was in fact the hall where the inscription had been placed originally. Both M-o and PR-H have wide portals to enable people coming into the temples to see the inscriptions easily. Because of the lack of a door it was also possible for people to go in and look at the stones more closely, to walk around them, and read them. Moreover, both halls show indentations at their centre, where the base of the steles would have been put (Fig. 7.35). On balance, this function seems to be the most likely one for M-o.

Looking at the other halls, which do show the features outlined for the two categories, the function of individual halls is difficult to determine, exactly because of their similarity. Generally, the laterite halls seem to have functioned as storage space: they could be closed and access controlled, and a comparatively dark interior would not have been a problem. As we know from the inscription of Baksei Chamkrong, the images of the East Mebon were already founded four years before its official consecration with rituals taking place as well. As we have argued, the proper execution of the rituals demanded a certain number of implements for instance dresses and ornaments of the deities, or oil lamps and other vessels. These had to be kept in a safe place within the temple compound. The laterite halls and their closable doors provided this space. Hence, the possible function of these buildings is an indication for the building sequence within the compound as well.

The combination halls, with easier access and a better-lit interior, might have served as dance halls, or for communal activities, such as the recital of sacred texts and the singing of hymns.

Thus, even though the halls in the outer enclosure show a certain number of differing architectural characteristics which do indicate their function to a certain degree only a few buildings stand out. For those buildings, determining their purpose is less problematic, even

though it still is not possible with certainty. For the remaining buildings this aim cannot be achieved, and only general deliberations be brought forward.

The final group of buildings are the outer *gopuras*. Their architectural features, elaborateness and complexity of building materials, and decorative elements are similar to those of the combination halls. As already indicated in section 7.2.1 the function of the outer enclosure wall and the *gopuras* was primarily symbolic, because the temple was already separated from the profane by the waters of the *baray*. Thus the wall is 'only' 2.25 metres high, and the *gopuras* are one-tiered buildings with a beamwork roof covered with tiles (Fig. 7.36). Symbolically, the wall represented a mountain range encircling Mount Meru. When nearing the temple by boat, the viewer had to look up to the temple, thus even though the wall was not very high itself, because of this perspective probably seemed higher and quite impressive. The same in all likelihood holds true for the *gopuras*. The roof was added using the same technique as for the roofs of the halls, and was probably not much higher than those. However, exactly because of the perspective they were seen from seemed taller.

### 7.2.3 Pre Rup

For the investigation of Pre Rup the same approach will be applied as at the East Mebon: starting with the central buildings, then those buildings which are distinct from the others and can thus be accorded a function more easily, and finally the remaining buildings.

#### Inner enclosure

The dedication of the main towers is mentioned in st. CCLXXVII to st. CCLXXI of the Pre Rup foundation stele. As established in chapter 5.2.3 the *līṅga* Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara was founded in the central *prasat*, the Īśvara Rājendravarmeśvara in PR-SE, the Rājendraviśvarūpa in PR-NW, Parvatī in PR-SW, and finally the Īśvara Rājendravarmedeśvara in PR-NE. Moreover, the small brick *prasats* on the first level of the pyramid housed the *aṣṭamūrti* mentioned in st. CCLXXXII, and possibly four more images of Śarṅgin and others. As argued in chapter 6.2 there are two possibilities as to the placement of these eight to twelve images. Looking at the lintels of the *prasats*, the four eastern ones depict Indra on Airāvata, the other

eight a *kāla*. Given the close association of *kāla* with Śiva, these shrines might have housed the *liṅgas*. Based on the pedestals still in situ and the findings of the team of the Conservation d'Angkor during the restoration, however, the alternative placement seems more likely, namely that the *liṅgas* were placed in the eight towers next to the staircases, and the four other images in the corner towers.

At Pre Rup we now have to consider the two buildings at the base of the pyramid: PR-N and PR-S (Plan 7.9). These buildings have been referred to in the previous chapter in the discussion of the laterite buildings of the East Mebon. As at the East Mebon, in one of them, PR-S, a sandstone block was found that depicted seven *ṛṣi*s, and a fragment of a stone with the nine *devas*. Stylistically, only the block with the *ṛṣi*s is contemporary with the temple, the other one is an addition from the 11<sup>th</sup> CE. The superstructure of PR-N and S shows three rows of rectangular holes, which made the buildings suitable for housing the ritual fire. As we have seen PR-S, located in the southeast quarter of the inner enclosure, might have housed the fire which would be in accord with Agni as the guardian of the Southeast. In addition, as M-A, it might have contained at least the stone with the seven *ṛṣi*s, possibly also another one with the nine *devas*.

PRR-N could well have been a library. This would again mirror what was already said about M-A to E.

Nowadays both buildings contain a lot of broken material, for instance in PR-N the bottom part of a sculpture – feet and tenon – are placed. This fragment might once have belonged to the Viṣṇu image found near PR-NE. Thus, it is very difficult to determine which objects were housed in these buildings originally, and which ones were placed there for 'storage'. Overall, the most likely functions for these two buildings seem to have been PR-S as a subsidiary shrine for the sacred fire, and the seven *ṛṣi*s and possibly nine *devas* – supported by the architectural layout: rectangular with lintel and door – and PR-N a library, as indicated in the inscription of Prasat Khna.

Chapter 4.2.2 established that the halls of the inner enclosure are very similar architecturally. They are laterite buildings with a beamwork roof with tiles. Most of them are

subdivided into one main room and two side chambers, with the vestibule added at the long axis, linked to the interior through a door opening inwards. Only few of the ten buildings diverge from this 'norm': PR-B, C, H, and I.

PR-B and C are very similar, and shall be dealt with together (Plan 7.10/11, Fig. 7.37/38). Both halls have their vestibule at the centre of the main room, built into the courtyard. Moreover, they do not have three interior rooms, but rooms at either end which can be entered through a wide opening. At PR-B these openings are 4.75 metres wide in the east and 4.55 metres in the west, both subdivided into two by a freestanding column. The openings of PR-C are both 4 metres wide, again with a freestanding column. Entry into both halls is through three doors, one from the vestibule and one from each side room. Another divergence from the other halls is the number of windows, and their placement on both sides. PR-B has altogether 17 windows, eight on the northern side, and nine on the southern one opposite the eight northern windows and the door. Each side room has another window. PR-C has only nine windows, five on the southern side, and four opposite those on the northern, plus one window in each side room.<sup>127</sup> Given that PR-A and K have five, and the rest of the halls only three windows altogether, the interior of PR-B and C was very well lit. Additionally, due to their placement on opposite walls, good ventilation was ensured as well. Regarding their function, it might have been similar as those at the comparable halls at the East Mebon, M-c and f. PR-B and C could have been used as administrative buildings, or for educational purposes.

The next building differing from the other halls is PR-H (Plan 7.12, Fig. 7.39). It has a vestibule built into the courtyard which is only supported by four columns at its corners, bordered by two 2.25 metre wide openings which are linked to the wall by a column. Overall the opening is 7.5 metres wide which made the building highly accessible with its interior bright and easily visible from outside. In 1934 the foundation stele of Pre Rup was found here in situ (Plan 7.13):

Indeed, the laterite pavement at the interior of the building was dug to receive the tenon of the stele. In addition, the very particular composition of that edifice seems to show well that it was built for it. The placement of its columns, largely open, allows free access to the stele; the position of this one in the axis of the median span of the columns ... and the emptiness of the hall in the East and the West of

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<sup>127</sup> See Table 7.3 for details.

the inscribed block make easy the reading of the inscriptions. All this encourages to believe in this assumption.<sup>128</sup>

Again looking at the East Mebon, PR-H is quite similar to M-o: both buildings are very accessible through their wide openings, which also allow people to see what is inside. However, despite this easy visibility through the wide openings the inscriptions were well protected from wind and rain.

The most unusual building of Pre Rup is PR-I in the northeast corner. The building is constructed entirely of laterite, with three laterite blocks each forming the four corners, surmounted by a roof made of five layers of laterite plus the finial (Plan 7.14, Fig. 7.40). This building has given rise to speculations ever since its discovery in 1922. At that time it was likened to the corner buildings of the enclosure of Angkor Thom: "The characteristic of this shelter consists in the somewhat special form of its vault which approaches that of the Prasat Chrung of Angkor Thom."<sup>129</sup> Later on H. Parmentier compared it to the laterite buildings housing the corner inscriptions of the East Baray,<sup>130</sup> and comparable buildings at Prei Prasat, Prasat Komnap (Plan 7.15), and Prasat Ong Mong (Plan 7.16).<sup>131</sup>

The initial hypothesis was that square buildings might have been intended for square inscriptions, such as the ones of the East Baray, Prasat Komnap and Prei Prasat, and rectangular buildings for rectangular inscriptions, as at Pre Rup. These might belong in halls in the northeast corner of the enclosure.<sup>132</sup> Subsequently, though, a different hypothesis was developed contradicting the previous one. At Pre Rup PR-I seems to have been built for the rectangular foundation stele, which was moved to PR-H only later. Afterwards the sandstone basin and water outlet as visible today were added at PR-I.<sup>133</sup>

This discussion is linked to a second one, regarding the overall significance of Pre Rup: the *āsramas* of King Yaśovarman. The inscriptions found at the *āsramas* founded by King Yaśovarman in the late ninth century mention three main *āsramas*, of which only two were

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<sup>128</sup> "En effet, le dallage en latérite, à l'intérieur du pavillon, était creusé pour recevoir le tenon de la stèle. D'autre part, la composition toute particulière de cet édifice semble bien montrer qu'il fut construit pour elle. Son entrecolonnement, largement ouvert, permettant libre accès à la stèle; la position de celle-ci dans l'axe de la travée médiane de l'entrecolonnement ... et le vide de la salle, à l'Est et à l'Ouest du bloc inscrit rendant facile la lecture des inscriptions. Tout incite à croire en cette hypothèse." Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1934:1-3.

<sup>129</sup> "La caractéristique de cet édicule consiste dans la forme un peu spéciale de sa vouté qui se rapproche de celle des prasat Chrung d'Angkor Thom." Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1922:152.

<sup>130</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:184.

<sup>131</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:185. See also Trouvé, 1932:77.

<sup>132</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1934:4.

<sup>133</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1934:2.

found, but not the Śivāśrama. Because of its location on the axis from Kutīśvara through Prasat Ong Mong, to Prasat Komnap and Prei Prasat G. Trouvé saw Pre Rup as an important centre both geographically and spiritually, and definitely linked to the *āśramas* of Yaśovarman.<sup>134</sup> Because the fifth inscription of the East Baray was found at Prei Prasat, near the southeast corner of the *baray*, A. Barth thought the Yaśodharāśrama should be looked for there. This was disputed by E. Aymonier because there is no permanent construction of this period in the area.<sup>135</sup> Consequently, because of the architectural similarity of PR-I to these various other buildings, it was assumed that Pre Rup might in fact have been built at the site of the earlier Śivāśrama.<sup>136</sup> H. Parmentier on his part contested this, because Pre Rup was founded and built by King Rājendravarman, i.e. at a later time.<sup>137</sup>

Given the architectural similarity of PR-I with the buildings mentioned above, it might be possible to see a link to King Yaśovarman. However, how can Pre Rup fit this assumption? Firstly, Pre Rup might have been built at the site of the Śivāśrama. Had that been the case, it is possible to assume that this fact might have been mentioned in the epigraphy. Regarding the East Mebon, its placement within the Yaśodharatātāka has been pointed out several times. Thus, had Pre Rup replaced the *āśrama* that fact might or even should have been stated as well. A second alternative regarding PR-I might be that even though Pre Rup was not necessarily built at the site of the former *āśrama*, PR-I might still have been the construction housing the stele of the Śivāśrama, moved to the new location inside Pre Rup. This option probably depends on whether the *āśrama* was still functioning in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century. If it was still functioning it seems quite unlikely that the building housing its foundation stele would have been removed and put up at a different location. If on the other hand the *āśrama* had ceased to operate, this might have been a possible step to take. Why would Rājendravarman have done this? Probably for reasons of spiritual and political legitimacy. Thus, again it seems unlikely that this would not have been mentioned in any inscription.

Thus, why is there this similarity between PR-I and the various earlier edifices? The problem with evaluating the various possibilities is that because of the later addition of the sandstone parts inside PR-I it is impossible to determine what the floor originally looked like.

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<sup>134</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:7.  
<sup>135</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1932:171.  
<sup>136</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1932:3.  
<sup>137</sup> Trouvé, 1932:81.

Moreover, the square inscription, which might have been housed inside, has not been found either. With respect to the hypothesis that the foundation stele was originally placed here, this seems somewhat unlikely. First of all, we have to ask who would remove the stele later on and why? Secondly, the stele is 1.3 metres wide, and the interior of PR-I only about 2.5 metres, which would leave very little space for people to enter the building, and see the inscription. Given its placement in the corner, very close to both PR-H and K, there is not much space outside as well for people to stand and look at the stele.

Overall, the least unlikely assumption seems to be that a link to King Yaśovarman, and his foundations did exist in some form, and a specific reference to it in the inscriptions was not necessary because it might have been well-known anyway.

As for the remaining buildings, because of their formal similarity, individual purposes are difficult to assign. PR-A and K distinguish themselves from the other halls because they have five instead of three windows, and thus are somewhat better lit. Functions fulfilled by the halls might have been as safe storage space, after all they only contained few and small windows, and could be closed by doors. Objects kept in them could have been in PR-D in the southwest corner the *vāhanas*, in PR-E or F in the northwest corner the dresses and ornaments of the images, and in PR-G all sorts of other objects for daily use. Though this is speculative it would be in keeping with the *śāstras*.

Surrounding the inner enclosure is the wall with its four *gopuras*. As argued above, the inner enclosure wall separated areas of differing degrees of sacredness. Consequently, the purification rituals performed here – if at all – were probably not very elaborate, as is suggested by the comparatively small interior.

#### Outer enclosure

The five large brick *prasāds* in the eastern half of the outer enclosure were certainly sanctuaries (Fig. 7.41), based on their architecture as sanctuary towers with pedestals inside. Looking at their lintels, four of them depict Viṣṇuite motifs: Vajimukha, Viṣṇu on Garuda, Rāma on Hanuman, and Narasiṃha. The fifth one shows Indra on Airāvata, a neutral motif. In order to

interpret them, we will have to take into account a later king: Jayavarman VI. The six lines of inscription K. 527 referred to in chapter 5.2.1 date from 1002 *śaka* (1080 CE) and are the only evidence for this monarch at Angkor. The text of the three stanzas is:

- I Homage to the Destructor of Madhu (Viṣṇu) who, (having seen) arrogant Daitya lying permanently in the eight areas of space, carries the eight arms which he acquired by his heroism, for the simultaneous destruction of ...
- II King Śrī Jayavarmadeva, who ascended to power (in the year demarcated) by the moon (= 1), the sky (= 0), the sky (= 0) and (2) the arms, making die fear, in the ocean and the mountains, fish and the enemies, having destroyed ... thanks to his irresistible and unequalled rigour, like that of Mādhava, protected starting from the ocean the entire earth, filled with good *brahmins*.
- III Previously, circulated ... of Kali ..., but during his extremely peaceful reign, like Manu ... the worst robbers emerged ... exposing during the night ... for saying what is good, he gave life to this and then to that.<sup>138</sup>

According to the inscription of Samron King Harśavarman III reigned until 1011 *śaka* (1089 CE), so the two reigns would overlap for about a decade. According to Cœdès this is not unusual in the history of Kambujadesa, and considering the location of the inscriptions of these two kings it seems Harśavarman's territory was south of the Tonle Sap, whereas Jayavarman was placed north of it, up into present-day Thailand.<sup>139</sup> More detailed information about his coronation is given in the Ta Prohm inscription, st. XIII:

- XIII Having obtained the supreme royalty at the Holy City of Yaśodharapura the King Jayavarmadeva, vanquisher of the mass of his enemies, erected in all directions up to the sea pillars of glory, whose ancestors resided at Mahīdharapura.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> I Hommage au Destructeur de Madhu (Viṣṇu) qui, (ayant vu) les arrogants Daitya résidant en permanence dans les huit régions de l'espace, porte les huit bras qu'il a acquis par son héroïsme, pour la destruction simultanée de ...

II Le roi Śrī Jayavarmadeva, qui accéda au pouvoir (dans l'année marquée) par la lune (=1), le ciel (=0), le ciel (=0) et les (2) bras, faisant mourir de peur, dans l'océan et les montagnes, les poissons et les ennemis, ayant détruit ... grâce à sa rigueur irrésistibles et inégalées, comme celles de Mādhava, protégea à partir de l'océan la terre entière, remplie de bons brāhmanes.

III Auparavant, circulaient ... de Kali ..., mais durant son règne extrêmement paisible, tel Manu ... les pires voleurs surgis ... exposant pendant la nuit ... pour dire ce qui est bien, il donna la vie à celui-ci et ensuite à ceux-là.

Cœdès, 1943-1946c:15.

<sup>139</sup> Cœdès, 1929a:298-300.

<sup>140</sup> XIII Ayant obtenu la royauté suprême dans la ville sainte de Yaśodharapura, le roi Jayavarmadeva, vainqueur de la masse de ses ennemis, planta dans toutes les directions jusqu'à la mer des piliers de gloire, et fixa la résidence de sa race à Mahīdharapura.

Cœdès, 1906:51/72.

The last part was corrected to "... dont les ancêtres résidaient à Mahīdharapura." Cœdès, 1929a:297, n. 1.

Thus, Jayavarman VI appears to have originated at Mahīdharapura, in all likelihood located in the north possibly the Mun valley, and been crowned at the old capital at Angkor. How much time he spent there is not certain, but most of his inscriptions originate from present-day Thailand. Other inscriptions dating from his time are K. 391 from Nom Vān, invoking Śiva.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, Aymonier states that according to an inscription from 1102 CE a king and his *guru* had founded images in honour of Bhadrēśvara at Wat Phu,<sup>142</sup> which would correspond to Jayavarman VI as well. Additionally, Parmentier dates the *antarsala* in front of the central shrine, the *nāga*-balustrades and border stones to the reign of Jayavarman VI.<sup>143</sup> The king's posthumous name was Paramakaivalyapada, which suggests that he was a Śivaite.

Returning to the large brick towers of Pre Rup, Coédès states that the inscription was found at the northeast sanctuary. Examining the doorjambs of PR-NE, this inscription can barely be found, as it is so badly weathered. Given that st. I invokes the transcendental Viṣṇu, and that the lintels of the large *prasats* in the outer enclosure show Viṣṇuite motifs, the two elements might be linked. Analysing the lintels closely, they look very awkward, partly due to their unfinished state. Given that none of them was finished, it appears reasonable to assume that at least parts of them might have been carved at the time of Jayavarman VI.

Looking at the central motifs, we notice that not only are they unfinished, but they are also not integrated into the overall composition. This sets them apart from the other lintels at Pre Rup: they are placed not at the centre of the lintel, but towards the top so that the head of the deity reaches up into the row of devotees which should have formed the upper border of the lintel. The lintel at PR-I is unfinished, the central deity possibly being a Vajimukha (Fig. 7.42). Only the lower part, foliage scrolls, is finished with the deity squeezed in above the garland and the face unfinished. PR-II depicts Viṣṇu on Garuda, the most balanced arrangement (Fig. 7.43). The foliage is almost finished, as is Garuda. Viṣṇu with four arms is set in a very deep niche, and the head is broken away. PR-III shows Rāma on Hanuman (Fig. 7.44), again with only the scrolls of the lower part finished, and the rest merely carved in outline, particularly Rāma. PR-IV depicts Indra on Airāvata (Fig. 7.45), with Indra again set in a very deep niche, but Airāvata is only carved in outline. Finally, PR-V shows Narasiṃha slaying Haranyakaśipu (Fig. 7.46) in a

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<sup>141</sup> St. I, IC II:297/298.

<sup>142</sup> Aymonier, 1904, III:163-164.

<sup>143</sup> Parmentier, 1914a:30-31.

very similar stance as the western lintel of 1 Gop W of the East Mebon (Fig. 7.47). Haranyakaśipu is shown across Narasiṃha's lap, holding the right leg with his left arm. Apart from the head and torso of Narasiṃha the lintel is almost finished.

The spatial arrangement of the lintels is somewhat unbalanced. The central deities of the lintels of PR-I, III, and IV are placed in the upper third and are visually squeezed in between the upper border and the garland below. Only the arrangement of PR-II and V, where the central motifs are most finished, is balanced. Consequently, even though the overall spatial arrangement is that of the other lintels of Pre Rup, the execution is not. Parts of the lintels appear to have been carved in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, for instance the foliage scrolls, but the central motifs were only begun – if at all – at that time. Thus, it is suggested here that the central motifs were carved at the time Jayavarman VI had the inscription carved, and possibly even an image of Viṣṇu founded. Where the images might have been placed can only be speculated upon. Given that the inscription was carved at PR-NE the image might have been founded there. Alternatively, since the outer brick towers seem to have been in an unfinished state, the image might as well have been founded there. As has been established earlier, the central towers of the two rows were raised on a higher plinth and had increased significance. Consequently, had an image of Viṣṇu been placed, it should have been either in PR-II or PR-IV. Considering that the eastern lintel of PR-II shows the deity on his *vāhana* Garuda, this seems to be the more likely alternative.

The question arising now is why would Jayavarman VI return to Pre Rup? Even though he reigned for about 27 years, he did not build a large temple at the old capital, despite being crowned there. As established above, most of his inscriptions bear witness to activities north and northwest of Angkor. Nevertheless, as stated in st. XIII of Tā Prohm one ritual did take place at Yaśodharapura, namely Jayavarman VI's coronation, so he might have wanted to leave his mark there without having to engage in a large temple project. It was not unusual for a later king to undertake additions or alterations at earlier foundations, e.g. Sūryavarman I at Phimeanakas and Ta Keo, both started by Rājendravarman's son Jayavarman V, or continuous changes at temples like Wat Phu or Preah Vihear. At Angkor the five towers of Pre Rup, quite impressive buildings, might have been an easy option. It is unusual that the *prasats* were consecrated as Viṣṇuite sanctuaries, given that Pre Rup was Śivaite, and Jayavarman VI

himself seems to have been Śivaite. However, we know from st. XIX-XXI of K. 383 from Preah Vihear that he made pilgrimages, among others to Śrī Campeśvara, possibly housed at Prasat Kok Po north of the West Baray at Angkor.<sup>144</sup> Consequently, the dedication of the towers at Pre Rup might have been a sign of religious tolerance – as practised by Rājendravarman himself – and perfectly acceptable with his Śivaite conviction.

To conclude, the towers PR-I to V appear to have been part of the original building plan, and constructed during King Rājendravarman's reign. Part of the eastern lintels was done at that time as well, but overall the *prasats* were left unfinished, probably due to the king's death. Based on the six-line inscription from Jayavarman VI, and the eastern lintels, which seem to have been altered later on, I argue that these towers were (re-)dedicated to Viṣṇu during the latter king's sojourn at Angkor. This practice would be in accord with religious practices, and the changes we know of at other temples.

The eight halls of the outer enclosure of Pre Rup can be divided into two groups<sup>145</sup>: the six parallel to the southern and northern walls, and the two in the western part. The former group are built entirely of laterite, have a vestibule on either end, linked to the main room by a door, and windows on one side. In contrast, PR-d and e have one layer sandstone at the top of the walls, only one vestibule facing the *gopura*, with the second one closed off to form a side chamber, and windows on both sides. Entry into all halls is through open portals, this means that they were easily accessible. As at the combination halls of the East Mebon, these halls may have served as dance halls, or for communal activities like the recital of sacred texts, and the singing of hymns. Moreover, they might have been used as accommodation space for resident students or pilgrims.

Noteworthy in the outer enclosure is the amount of space available in between the halls and the outer enclosure wall. During restoration work, south of PR-a a laterite platform was found (Plan 7.17). This indicates that next to the laterite halls buildings of perishable material might originally have been constructed. These could have served as living quarters of the priests attached to the temple, or as *mandapas* for the preparation of offerings.

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<sup>144</sup> Coedès/Dupont, 1943-1946:142/146.

<sup>145</sup> See Table 7.4 for details of their openings.

The surrounding enclosure wall and its *gopuras* have been dealt with in section 7.2.1. They served to divide the profane world outside from the sacred one inside, as is visible in their considerable height. The main passageway of these *gopuras* has two side chambers, in which might have been placed images of guardians, and which provided space for cleansing rituals.

### 7.3 Conclusion

Overall, the function of the various buildings at East Mebon and Pre Rup seems comparable. The purpose of the sanctuaries and *gopuras* is immediately obvious, but similarly the halls and other buildings appear to have served quite comparable purposes. Although these cannot be determined with certainty, the architectural features of the buildings are valuable tools for discussing them. Even though the buildings at the two temples might differ in terms of execution, size and decorative details, general resemblances can be found. For instance, both temples have halls with doors and portals, or rectangular buildings with lintels, a fairly high superstructure and no ceiling in which sculptures were found. These shared architectural characteristics make the buildings comparable, and indicate certain common purposes. For instance, a large number of windows suggests a comparatively bright interior, whereas wide openings with supporting columns point towards easy accessibility, and visibility of whatever is inside. Using these general features, and the more specific information given in the Indian *śāstras*, the use of several buildings could be suggested.

Within the inner enclosure at both temples rectangular buildings can be found with one door facing the central *prasats*. At least at the East Mebon one still housed the original stone with nine *devas* and seven *ṛṣis* in a southeast building, M-A. This placement might have been mirrored at Pre Rup in PR-S, where unfortunately the stone with the seven *ṛṣis* was not found in situ anymore. Still, it seems likely that the two southeast buildings did house these stones, and, judging from the architecture of their superstructure, the sacred fire as well. That the sacred fire was kept in these buildings is in accord with Agni as the guardian of the southeast. The other four buildings at the East Mebon, and PR-N might have been used as libraries, as indicated in the inscription of Prasat Khna.

M-c and f, and PR-B and C, all similar buildings, might have been used as administrative buildings, or possibly for educational purposes as recital rooms for students attached to the temples. This suggestion is based on their having many openings – windows and doors – to allow light and air, and to create a pleasant *Raumklima*. At the same time entry into their undivided main room was through doors, i.e. access could be controlled, and the interior be closed and locked. This creates buildings with a safe interior, which are pleasant to stay in at the same time.

M-o and PR-H might have housed the foundation steles, strongly indicated by the fact that the Pre Rup stele was found in situ in PR-H. This function was suggested because both halls show a very open conception: entry was through wide openings, allowing not only easy access physically, but also visually to see whatever was placed inside, probably the inscription stones.

Halls with doors and only few windows, M-b, g, k, l, and p, and PR-A, D, E, F, G, and K might have been used as safe storage space, for instance for the dresses and ornaments of the images, other objects for everyday use, and possibly for the goods traded throughout the temple network. Other halls, with open portals, might have been used for communal activities such as the recital of sacred texts, the singing of hymns, or as dance halls, as mentioned in the Lolei inscription. Some of them might have also served as space for preparing the offerings.

Due to the lack of archaeological findings at both temples these uses are difficult to prove, and can only be a proposal. However, since the long halls have been somewhat neglected in the literature, it was deemed necessary to discuss their possible purpose. The main relevance of this examination will become clear in the final section of this thesis, which will deal with the two temples as a whole in relation to Ph. Stern's classification. One of his defining characteristics for the categories was the layout of the temple – focusing very much on the sanctuaries. I will argue that this part of his definition is not useful when applied to East Mebon and Pre Rup due to their similarity, as has been indicated already in chapter 3.2.

Consequently, an analysis of the other buildings within the compounds is a valuable means of increasing the comparability of the two temples, in order to establish their overall purpose. This will be attempted in the next chapter.

## 8. Conclusion

My interdisciplinary analysis of the East Mebon and Pre Rup clearly suggests that the two foundations share significant features. Following Ph. Stern's discussion of the temples at Angkor, and his definition of the temples either as honouring ancestors or honouring the state two aspects of the temples were examined: the architecture and the epigraphy. This chapter will attempt to synthesise my findings by discussing the similarities and differences between the two temples, and by suggesting what their overall purpose may have been.

Examining the temples' basic layout, we find strong similarities. Both have a quincunx of towers at the centre – Pre Rup's is elevated on a three-tiered pyramid – with smaller sanctuaries around them, and long halls parallel to the two enclosure walls, which contain four *gopuras* in each of the cardinal directions. The layout of Pre Rup is somewhat more complex because of the larger number of buildings, 50 as opposed to 42 at the East Mebon.

The central sculpture of both temples was a *linga*, the Śrī Rājendreśvara at the East Mebon, and Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara at Pre Rup. Both *lingas* symbolise Śiva, the Absolute, in an *avyakta* image. As discussed in chapter 3.2 the *lingas* represent a spiritual link between king and Śiva, indicated in their names: Rājendreśvara at the East Mebon, and Rājendrabhadreśvara at Pre Rup. These *lingas* are surrounded by four *vyakta* images in the corner towers, representing the immanent Śiva, Parvatī, Viṣṇu, and at the East Mebon Brahmā. Around the central quincunx are arranged smaller *prasats*, containing eight *lingas* of the manifest forms of Śiva. At Pre Rup the *aṣṭamūrti* seem to have been supplemented by four more images of Viṣṇu and other gods. Again at both temples we find buildings southeast of the arrangements of *prasats* housing the nine *devas*, and possibly the sacred fire as well. This location relates directly to Agni, the guardian of the southeast. The placement of the images expresses visually the outflow of divine power from the central shrine moving down and out into the kingdom. At the centre is the Absolute, the non-manifest, surrounded by the manifest forms of the deities, and finally the *aṣṭamūrti*, which constitute the universe. Moving towards the central shrine during worship, a devotee would pass these images in succession, progressing

from the profane world outside through areas of increasing sanctity up to the Absolute at the centre and top of the foundations.

Around the sanctuaries and lesser shrines at both temples we find long halls which run parallel to the enclosure walls. At the East Mebon these halls were only constructed in the outer enceinte, whereas Pre Rup has them in both enclosures. Technically, these buildings are very homogenous, and the varying techniques, which were used, e.g. for assembling door and window frames, do not reflect a technological development but were in use at the same time. Nevertheless, the building sequence, which I have tentatively established, produces valuable insights into the functions of these halls. Since the buildings are not mentioned in the inscriptions, their potential purpose had to be inferred using general architectural theory and the Indian *śāstras*. Due to (dis-)similarities regarding layout, degree of openness and elaborateness between the halls various functions could be suggested. Interestingly, similar buildings can be found in the respective locations at both temples, despite the fact that the East Mebon has halls in only one enclosure, whereas Pre Rup has them in both enceintes. Nevertheless, their total number is almost the same: 16 at the East Mebon, and 18 at Pre Rup. In the southern half of both temples there appear to have been halls used for administrative or educational purposes. In the northeast corner were the halls housing the inscriptions. For the remaining halls functions can only be suggested tentatively, as they are very similar in their architectural features. According to the purposes allotted by the *śāstras* for temple buildings located in the various directions, halls with closable doors could have contained in the southwest corner the *vāhanas* of the deities venerated in the temples, in the northwest corner halls for the dresses and ornaments used for adorning the images can be found, and the northern halls might have contained other objects for everyday use. Halls with open portals could have been used for dance performances, which were an integral part of the rituals, or as space for communal recitation of sacred texts, or the chanting of hymns. Overall, the use of space within the temples appears to have been fairly similar, although certain functions had to be allocated to different enclosures at Pre Rup, while being within the same one at the East Mebon.

The intriguing fact that Rājendravarman was the only Angkorean monarch to build two representations of Mount Meru to found two *liṅgas* has never been satisfactorily explained.

According to Ph. Stern's categorisation regarding Mount Meru it is unusual that the East Mebon was built with a quincunx of towers, quite unlike the earlier ancestor temples of Preah Ko and Lolei, which had been built in rows. Taking into account the references made to the East Mebon in other inscriptions of King Rājendravarman, however, they all mention the five towers or even the towers' likeness to Mount Meru rising from the ocean. This feature seems to have been very significant, and directly related to the temple's location at the centre of the East Baray, and completed the very literal representation of the macrocosm at the centre of the kingdom. When King Rājendravarman returned to Angkor after King Jayavarman IV's sojourn at Koh Ker, he centred his capital not around King Yaśovarman's state temple on Phnom Bakheng, but chose the area south of the East Baray instead. This *baray* was not just a means to link himself to the earlier king by building his first temple at its centre, but also the ideal location for the construction of a Meru. Generally, a king was the spiritual centre of his kingdom, being likened to Indra on top of Mount Meru. By constructing this Meru at the centre of the Yaśodharatātāka King Rājendravarman made visible his spiritual prowess. He could, just like Indra, rule over and manipulate the elements, i.e. the water, which was on the one hand necessary for practical purposes, but also of high spiritual significance. Given that the former capital had been neglected, as mentioned in the Baksei Chamkrong inscription, and that the centre of the kingdom had been at Koh Ker for more than a decade, this foundation was clear evidence for the king's spiritual and political power, and an important factor to legitimise and secure his rule.

That Pre Rup, on the other hand, was built with a quincunx of towers at the top of its pyramid is to be expected. It was indeed the central temple of the kingdom, at the centre of its capital. In order to recreate a microcosm mirroring the macrocosm of the gods it needed a Mount Meru at its centre, which could best be embodied by a quincunx of towers. In this respect King Rājendravarman followed previous examples: King Indravarman's Bakong (even though this temple might have had only one central tower), and King Yaśovarman's Bakheng.

Overall, the symbolic significance of the temples as representations of Mount Meru received predominance over seemingly 'established' rules of earlier reigns as to the layout of the foundations.

Following from this, the existence of two *lirigas* at the centre of the temples is not unexpected either. In order to explain their existence, I have argued that the concept of the

*devarāja*, which had been a significant part of Ph. Stern's categories, is not immediately relevant. As established in chapter 3.2.2, independently of whether the *devarāja* was a *līṅga* or a cult, the *devarāja* is not mentioned in either of the foundation steles or in any other contemporary inscription, and appears to have been relatively unimportant at the time even though it seems to have existed according to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription. Given the symbolic significance of the temples as representations of the cosmic mount, they should have housed the transcendent Śiva in form of a *līṅga* at their centre.

Regarding their names, both bear a name combining that of the king with Śiva: Śrī Rājendreśvara at the East Mebon, and Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara at Pre Rup. The names not only have spiritual significance, but a political dimension as well. The king was thought to be at the centre of his microcosm, mirroring Indra, the king of the gods, on top of Mount Meru. Thus the names of the *līṅgas* not only express the spiritual link between king and his god, and the outflow of religious power, but also an outflow of political power – these two were never separated in peoples' minds because the king was located simultaneously at the political and the religious centre of the kingdom. His main duty was to create and maintain an auspicious kingdom; he also was the mediator between the divine and human realms. Though human, he had divine traits, and was the central and highest point of the kingdom, from where his power descended into the whole kingdom. This is expressed in the name of the Śrī Rājendreśvara of the East Mebon. In the Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara of Pre Rup the notion is re-confirmed, and even extended to include the national divinity of the Kambuja, Bhadreśvara, both as an epithet of Śiva, and a reference to the most sacred sanctuary at Wat Phu. Even though this was not necessarily intended to indicate Rājendravarmān's political sovereignty over this area – though that was probably the case – it makes explicit the spiritual prowess of the king, who can incorporate that name within the name of one of his central *līṅgas*, and link himself with the most sacred sanctuary of his realm.

Concerning the epigraphic evidence as to the religious background of the temples and the information given about the temples themselves, i.e. the images founded there, considerable similarities could be established as well. The Śivaite faith of the king is clearly evident in the invocations which praise Śiva as the Supreme Deity. Nevertheless, both

inscriptions express the religious tolerance of the time, as both invoke other deities as well, for instance Viṣṇu – Pre Rup even as the *āḍipuruṣa*. Overall, the inscriptions bear evidence to the monism of *āṭman* and *brahman* as proclaimed in Advaita Vedānta, and also reveal a profound knowledge of the relevant Indian texts, either through mentioning them explicitly or through indirect references. Out of this monism result the supplications King Rājendravarman includes at the end of his three main inscriptions: “protect this foundation (*dharma*) as yours”<sup>1</sup>. By protecting the earlier foundation, King Rājendravarman’s successors will reap the same benefits as if it was their own foundation, as explicitly stated in the Pre Rup inscription: “It is the one *āṭman* which is the agent and enjoyer in different bodies, so may you increase the fact that the sages in all foundations see their own foundation.”<sup>2</sup> I would argue that the commemorative images founded in both temples can be interpreted within this framework as well. By founding images for their good not just the king’s *karma* is enhanced, but the *karma* of his relatives is enhanced as well. The foundations then can be seen as bridges linking Rājendravarman to his ancestors in the past, and to subsequent kings in the future. This results in immortality for all due to the unity of *āṭman*, because they all share in the merit and good *karma* following from the founding and protecting of the temples.

I have established that this supplication of Rājendravarman was indeed followed by the identification of the later additions to both temples. At the East Mebon a stone of the nine *devas*, and a life-size female image, both dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE, have been found as well as the image of a mother-goddess carved in the Bayon style. At Pre Rup the fragment of a sculpture representing the nine *devas* has been found, which dates from the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE, as well as a Viṣṇu image and possibly one of Lakṣmī carved in the Bayon style. The 11<sup>th</sup> century images might have been placed in the temple at the time when Jayavarman VI added a short inscription at Pre Rup, and seems to have modified some of the lintels of the large brick towers of Pre Rup’s outer enclosure. The alterations at the *prasats* can only be proposed, but given that the inscription is Viṣṇuite in character, and that the eastern lintels depict this deity as well, a link appears not impossible. As we have seen in chapter 7.2.3 the inscription is the only evidence for King Jayavarman VI at Angkor, as he seems to have reigned north of the old

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<sup>1</sup> Pre Rup, st. CCLXXXVI. Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

capital. The only time he appears to have been at the former capital was for his coronation, as mentioned in King Jayavarman VII's Ta Prohm inscription. Nevertheless, since he decided to leave his mark and add this inscription at Pre Rup, he might have altered the lintels – as is indicated by both the inscription and the lintels being Viṣṇuite – and added the two stones of the nine *devas* as well.

Regarding the Bayon style images, those founded at Pre Rup are considerable additions to the temple, as both of them are life-size, and might originally have been placed inside the central sanctuaries. The image of Viṣṇu, found next to the northeast corner tower, and the Lakṣmī, found in the outer north *gopura*, were clearly not in situ anymore, and could well have been removed from one of the central towers.

These later additions indicate that King Rājendravarman, his temples, and his reign were considered by later generations to have been significant to the history of Kambujadesa, and appropriate for later kings to refer back to, and add images and inscriptions at his foundations. Given the number of fragments found at both temples, particularly though Pre Rup, many more images had been installed there, which have since disappeared. Even though the fragments do not allow accurate dating because of the lack of decisive characteristics, they suggest that the foundations were indeed significant, and in use over a long period of time. For Pre Rup this is also indicated in it being one of the few temples which were still in use at the time Angkor was re-discovered.

In conclusion, the two main temples of King Rājendravarman, East Mebon and Pre Rup, which have not been systematically examined in detail up to now, show considerable similarities, both in their architecture and their epigraphy. They both embody the same religious concepts – Mount Meru, outflow of spiritual (and political) power – and refer to identical ideas in their inscriptions: the monism of Advaita Vedānta embedded in the king's Śivaite faith, combined with a deep religious tolerance. In terms of their layout King Rājendravarman's temples are unique, because he was the only king to construct two temples with a quincunx of towers at their top. This is explicable when considering the circumstances of his reign. He

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<sup>2</sup> Pre Rup, st. CCLXXXVII. Translation by Prof. K. Bhattacharya.

returned the capital back to its former location, which had fallen in disarray during his predecessors' sojourn at Koh Ker. In order to legitimise his rule and secure his position King Rājendravarman constructed the East Mebon at the centre of the Yaśodharatāka to show his spiritual prowess. Mirroring Indra, the king of the gods and lord over the elements, on top of Mount Meru, Rājendravarman could control the elements, i.e. the water, and thus ensure prosperity and auspiciousness for his kingdom. The Meru at Pre Rup was necessitated as the representation of the cosmic mount and axis mundi at the centre of Rājendravarman's capital and kingdom. This is not surprising and parallels can be found at many earlier and later reigns. In combining his own name with that of Śiva in the names of the two *lingas* founded in the central sanctuary King Rājendravarman makes explicit not just his devotion to Śiva, but also expresses his own spiritual and political prowess at the centre of the microcosm.

Generally, the fundamental similarities between the two temples do not warrant a classification as suggested by Ph. Stern as ancestor and state temple. On the contrary, they reveal the necessity for close studies of the architecture and epigraphy of individual temples first, which might only subsequently allow the formulation of broader categories.

## 9. Future Research Projects

This study has been a significant addition to the existing material on the temples of Angkor. Until now, no detailed study of the East Mebon and Pre Rup exists, which is very unfortunate, given how large the foundations are. As with all research, this study raises as many questions as it answers. Some of the projects planned by the present author for the future shall be introduced briefly here.

As already hinted at in the introduction to this thesis, the political significance of the temples has not been analysed in detail, due to limitations of space. Nevertheless, this dimension of the foundations is significant as well. Thus, one future project will be to study the historical situation of 10<sup>th</sup> century Angkor closely. The most interesting question regarding the external relations is 'what were the relations between Kambujadesa and Champa?'. Inscriptions written at the time hint at a war lead by King Rājendravarman against the Cham. What was the significance for the internal politics of the time? To uncover the internal politics of the time, which appears to have been one of strong centralisation, calls for the study of the dozens of inscriptions known from Rājendravarman's reign. These issues will have direct impact on the interpretation of the East Mebon and Pre Rup as the central foundations of the kingdom.

Another issue, which could only be dealt with partly in this thesis, and which needs examining, is the comparison between Khmer and Indian temples, possibly also temples in other regions of Southeast Asia. This will determine the Indian influence at various periods, and in how far this might be discernible at the temples. For instance, at early Khmer temples the *kudu*, faces in niches, can be found, but not at later ones. This analysis needs not only to include questions of style, but also function. As established in this thesis, even though the Khmer temples distinguish themselves from the Indian ones in terms of layout and elevation, there are strong functional similarities. What needs to be done now, not just at the East Mebon and Pre Rup, is to attempt to establish in how far the other regulations, e.g. those pertaining to measurements, were followed as well.

One last project leading on from this thesis shall be mentioned here: the rituals. Unfortunately, so far no detailed study has been undertaken to determine which rituals were performed in the temples. In the literature references can be found, but no in depth analysis. The inscriptions do allude to rituals, and with the possible function of various buildings established, it should be possible to determine with much more certainty what actually happened within the temple compounds, and how similar the rituals performed in Kambujadesa were to those in India.

## Glossary

**Abhiṣeka.** (Skt.) Anointing ritual for the consecration of a king.

**Adhiṣṭhāna.** (Skt.; architectural term) Base of a building.

**Agni.** Deity of fire; guardian of the southeast.

**Airāvata.** Three-headed elephant, Indra's mount, which was borne out of the Churning of the Sea of Milk.

**Anastylosis.** Block-by-block reconstruction of a monument. Used extensively by the Conservation d'Angkor.

**Apsaras.** (Skt.) Celestial dancer. *Apsarases* were created during the Churning of the Sea of Milk.

**Ārogyaśāla.** (Skt.) So-called hospitals which were built by Jayavarman VII. However, it is probably more appropriate to call them 'halls of diseaselessness'.

**Āśrama.** (Skt.) 1. Hermitage. 2. The four stages of life: student, householder, hermit, ascetic.

**Aṣṭamūrti.** (Skt.) The eight manifest forms of Śiva: earth, water, fire, air, ether, sun, moon, sacrificer.

**Asuras.** (Skt.) Demons.

**Ātman.** (Skt.) Individual self. In monism seen as identical with the Absolute (*brahman*), in dualism seen as separate.

**Avalokiteśvara (Lokēśvara).** 'Compassionate Lord'. Bodhisattva of compassion; wears Amitābha Buddha in his headdress. He is the most venerated *bodhisattva* in ancient Cambodia, and most often represented during Jayavarman VII's reign.

**Avatar.** (Skt.) Divine incarnation; most importantly the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalkī. Particularly Kūrma, Narasiṃha, Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa can be found depicted in Khmer carvings, either as static central motifs of lintels and pediments, or as part of a narrative scene.

**Avyakta.** (Skt.) Amorphic; formless.

**Baray.** (Kh.) Large man-made water management structures, built above ground by piling up dikes. Their use was twofold. In their religious function they symbolised the oceans around the world. Their practical purpose was for flood-control, as freshwater tanks and probably also 'fish ponds'.

**Barrel vault.** Vault constructed as continuous semi-circular arch. This distributes the weights evenly down the sides of the walls to the ground.

**Bhadreśvara.** 'Benevolent Lord'; epithet of Śiva; patron deity of Wat Phu in southern Laos.

**Bhakti.** (Skt.) Love, devotion to a deity; this concept was introduced into Brahmanism during the epic period, mainly through the Bhagavat Gītā, but also other texts.

**Bodhisattva.** 'Enlightened Being'. In Theravada Buddhism it is the historical Buddha before attaining enlightenment. In Mahāyana Buddhism these are Buddhas-to-be, which have

already gained enlightenment but do not yet enter nirvana in order to help other souls to reach enlightenment.

**Brahman.** (Skt.) Universal self.

**Brahmanism.** Generic term for Śivaism and Viṣṇuism.

**Cakra.** (Skt.) Wheel, disk. Representation of the sun. One of the attributes of Viṣṇu.

**Cakravartin.** (Skt.) 'He, who is at the centre of the wheel'. Universal ruler, supreme monarch in the Indian political tradition. This concept was transferred to Southeast Asia, and references can be found in the epigraphy.

**Calantī pratīma.** (Skt.) Movable cult object, mainly a statue of the patron deity of the temple, which is carried in procession during festivals.

**Clastic rocks.** From Latin *clastus* = broken.

**Capillarity.** As result of adsorptive forces between water and the surface of a narrow tube (capillary) and tension forces at the water surface water will rise up this tube.

**Champa.** Land of the Cham. Rivalling kingdom in present-day south Vietnam.

**Churning of the Sea of Milk.** One of the most important stories in Hindu mythology. In order to produce *amṛita*, the elixir of life, gods and *asuras* had to work together to churn the ocean of milk. They used Mount Mandara as a pivot and the serpent king Vasuki as rope. To prevent Mount Mandara from sinking into the ocean, Viṣṇu took the form of the tortoise Kurma and supported the mountain on his back. After thousand years of churning, the first things to emerge from the ocean were the *apsarases*.

**Corbelled vault.** Constructed by building out series of corbels acting as cantilevers until they meet to complete the span.

**Deva.** (Skt.) Male divinity; they are depicted as guardian figures in the interpilaster spaces of those tower shrines that are dedicated to male ancestors at the ancestral temples and at the central sanctuaries.

**Devatā.** (Skt.) Female divinity; they are depicted as guardian figures in the interpilaster spaces on *prasats*.

**Devī.** (Skt.) Goddess; *śakti* of a god. Usually appellation of Śiva's wife.

**Dikpālaka.** (Skt.) Eight guardians of the cardinal and intercardinal points.

**Dikṣā.** (Skt.) Initiation ritual.

**Dvarapāla.** (Skt.) Guardian of the gates.

**Gajasīṃha.** (Skt.) Mythical figure consisting of the body of a lion, and the head of an elephant. On Khmer temples it is depicted in lintels or reliefs.

**Garuda.** Mount of Viṣṇu. He is a mythical being, half bird, half-human, and the enemy of the *nāga*.

**Gaurī.** Consort of Śiva; also known as Parvatī.

**Gopura.** (Skt., architectural term) Entrance pavilion, gate of a temple or sacred compound.

**Guṇa.** (Skt.) Quality.

**Guru.** (Skt.) Spiritual teacher.

**Haṃsa.** Celestial swan or goose; *vāhana* of Brahmā and Varuṇa.

**Harihara.** Composite god; left half is Viṣṇu, right half Śiva.

**Hariharālaya.** First capital of the Angkor plain, founded by Jayavarman II, and later capital of king Indravarman I, who built the temples of Preah Ko and the Bakong there.

**Indratatāka.** *Baray* built by King Indravarman at Roluos.

**Īśvara.** Lord; epithet of Śiva.

**Jñānamārga.** (Skt.) Way to salvation through knowledge.

**Kāla.** (Skt.) 'Black one', originally epithet of Śiva. Connected to the the representation of time and its cessation. As an architectural element it is depicted as a face without lower jaw. It is said to possess protecting power. In Khmer architecture it is found above doorways in the central portion of the lintel.

**Kalpa.** (Skt.) Cosmic time cycle.

**Kambu.** Mythical ancestor of Khmer lunar dynasties; for first time mentioned in inscription of Baksei Chamkrong.

**Kambujadesa.** (Skt.) 'Land of the Kambu'; name used in inscriptions for the Angkorean kingdom.

**Karma.** (Skt.) What as a western concept would be called fate. The accumulation of the merit of good or bad deeds of a being over time determine the rebirth in the next life. Retribution (positive or negative) does not have to follow immediately, but might take several more lives to manifest themselves.

**Karmamārga.** (Skt.) Way to liberation through action.

**Kauṇḍinya.** Brahmin, who according to legends arrived from India. According to the stories he was the founder father of the solar Angkorean dynasties.

**Kubera.** Guardian of the north and of the earth's treasures.

**Lakṣaṇa.** (Skt.) Characteristic mark.

**Līṅga.** (Skt.) 'Sign, symbol'. Symbolic representation of Śiva's creative power, representing fertility and prosperity. Sculpturally, the *līṅga* is the most common representation of Śiva, and is placed within the *yoni*, the womb. Usually, *līṅga* in ancient Cambodia are tripartite to symbolise the *trimūrti*. the bottom square part represents Brahmā, the octagonal central part Viṣṇu, and the round top part Śiva.

**Lintel.** Horizontal piece of stone or timber across an opening to take the weight of the wall above it. In Khmer architecture only as ornament and lavishly decorated: at the centre *kala*, at the ends *makaras* or *nāgas*. In later periods showing scenes from Indian epics.

**Lokapāla.** (Skt.) The four Great Guardian Kings of the world.

**Lokeśvara.** See Avalokiteśvara.

**Mahābhārata.** One of the two great Indian epics: story of two rival clans, Pāṇḍava and Kaurava, culminating in the battle of Kurukṣetra.

**Mahāyāna.** The so-called great vehicle of Buddhism. In this branch of Buddhism *bodhisattvas*, enlightened beings, which postpone their entry into *nirvāṇa*, help the devotees to reach enlightenment and thus *nirvāṇa*.

**Makara.** Aquatic animal, from Javanese tradition. In Angkor it has the body of a reptile, the trunk of an elephant and parts of a lion. It is depicted over doorways at both ends of the lintels.

**Maṇḍala.** (Skt.) 'Circle, discus; area, territory'. Diagramme deriving from the conception of the universe in India. It is used as an aid in meditation. Politically, it is being used to denote a 'state' which depends on the prowess of its leader for its political power and sphere of influence.

**Māyā.** (Skt.) Illusion.

**Merā.** Wife of Kambu.

**Mokṣa.** (Skt.) Liberation from the cycle of rebirths.

**Mount Kallāsa.** The abode of Śiva on Mount Meru.

**Mount Mandara.** The abode of Viṣṇu on Mount Meru.

**Mount Meru.** Both in Hindu and Buddhist mythology the centre of the universe with the city of Indra, king of the gods, on its summit. In Hindu mythology the continent Jambudvīpa, and seven chains of mountains and oceans surround it. In Buddhist mythology, Jambudvīpa lies south of Mount Meru, at the other cardinal directions being three other continents. All this is also surrounded by mountains and oceans.

**Mūrti.** (Skt.) The aspect, shape or form assumed by a god.

**Nāga.** (Skt.) Water serpent, guardian of the subterranean realm. Highly venerated in Angkor and depicted as balustrades and at the edges of pediments.

**Nagara.** (Skt.) City. In ancient Cambodia developed into 'Angkor'.

**Nāgī.** (Skt.) Female *nāga*.

**Nandi.** 'Happy'. Bull, Śiva's *vahana*.

**Neak tā.** (Kh.) Spirits of the village elders. Their veneration is part of the pre-Hindu beliefs of the Khmer.

**Nirvāṇa.** (Skt.) 'Extinction, vanishing'. End of the chain of existence.

**Pāśupata.** Sect of Śivaism.

**Pātāla.** (Skt.) Splendid realms beneath the world of humans, inhabited by semi-divine beings such as *nāga* and *yakṣas*.

**Pediment.** Gable or gable-like ornament over door or window, at Angkor triangular and richly decorated, mainly with scenes from the Mahābhārata or Rāmāyaṇa.

**Phnom.** (Kh.) Hill, mountain.

**Pradakṣiṇā.** (Skt.) Circumambulation of a temple in a clockwise direction.

**Prakṛti.** (Skt.) Nature; the creative energy of the Supreme Being.

**Praṇava.** (Skt.) Sacred syllable *oṃ*.

**Prasāda.** (Skt., architectural term) Superstructure of the temple.

**Prasat.** (Kh.) Tower-shrine.

**Pūjā.** (Skt.) Devotional worship.

**Purohita.** (Skt.) High priest.

**Puruṣa.** (Skt.) Spirit; the cosmic man.

**Quincunx.** Set of five pieces, with four pieces at the corners and the fifth at the centre.

**Rāmāyaṇa.** One of the two great Indian epics: story of Prince Rāma, whose wife Sītā is kidnapped by Rāvaṇa and recovered by Rāma with the help of the monkey-god Hanuman.

**R̥ṣi.** (Skt.) Sage.

**Śaka.** (Skt.) Indian chronology, used for giving dates in Cambodian inscriptions.

**Śakti.** (Skt.) Energy; female aspect of a god.

**Saṃsāra.** (Skt.) Cycle of rebirths.

**Śāstra.** (Skt.) 'Knowledge, arts'.

**Sampot.** (Kh.) Cloth, worn around the waist.

**Śāstra.** (Skt.) Knowledge; arts.

**Sedimentary rock.** Is derived from accumulated sedimentary material, transformed into rock by compaction and/or cementation.

**Smṛti.** (Skt.) Tradition.

**Śrutī.** (Skt.) Revelation.

**Svāyaṃbhū.** (Skt.) Self-existent.

**Svāyaṃbhuvallīnga.** (Skt.) Naturally occurring stone outcrops; most sacred form of *lingas*. The most important one within ancient Cambodia was the one behind Wat Phu in southern Laos.

**Theravāda.** The so-called old form of Buddhism. Only monks can attain enlightenment and there are no *bodhisattvas* to assist the believer in his attempt to reach enlightenment.

**Upapīṭha.** (Skt., architectural term) Base.

**Vimāna.** (Skt., architectural term) Superstructure of the temple.

**Yakṣas.** (Skt.) Semi-divine beings, living in realms beneath the world of humans. They are associated with Kubera, Lord of wealth and guardian of the north.

**Trimūrti.** (Skt.) Brahmanical trinity: Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā.

**Tympanum.** Triangular space enclosed by a pediment, springing from the lintel. It is of high importance for decoration at Khmer temples.

**Vāhana.** (Skt.) Vehicle of a god or goddess.

**Vaṇa.** (Skt.) The four classes of society: *brahmin, kṣatriya, vaisya, sudra*.

**Varuṇa.** Guardian of the west.

**Vāstu.** (Skt.) Space occupied by a built form.

**Vyakta.** (Skt.) Morphic.

**Yakṣas.** Semi-divine beings, living in realms beneath the world of humans. They are associated with Kubera, Lord of wealth and guardian of the North.

**Yoga.** (Skt.) Meditative practice; one of the six *darśana*s of Brahmanism.

**Yojana.** (Skt.) Unit of measurement, sometimes given as 4 in other sources as 9 to 10 miles.

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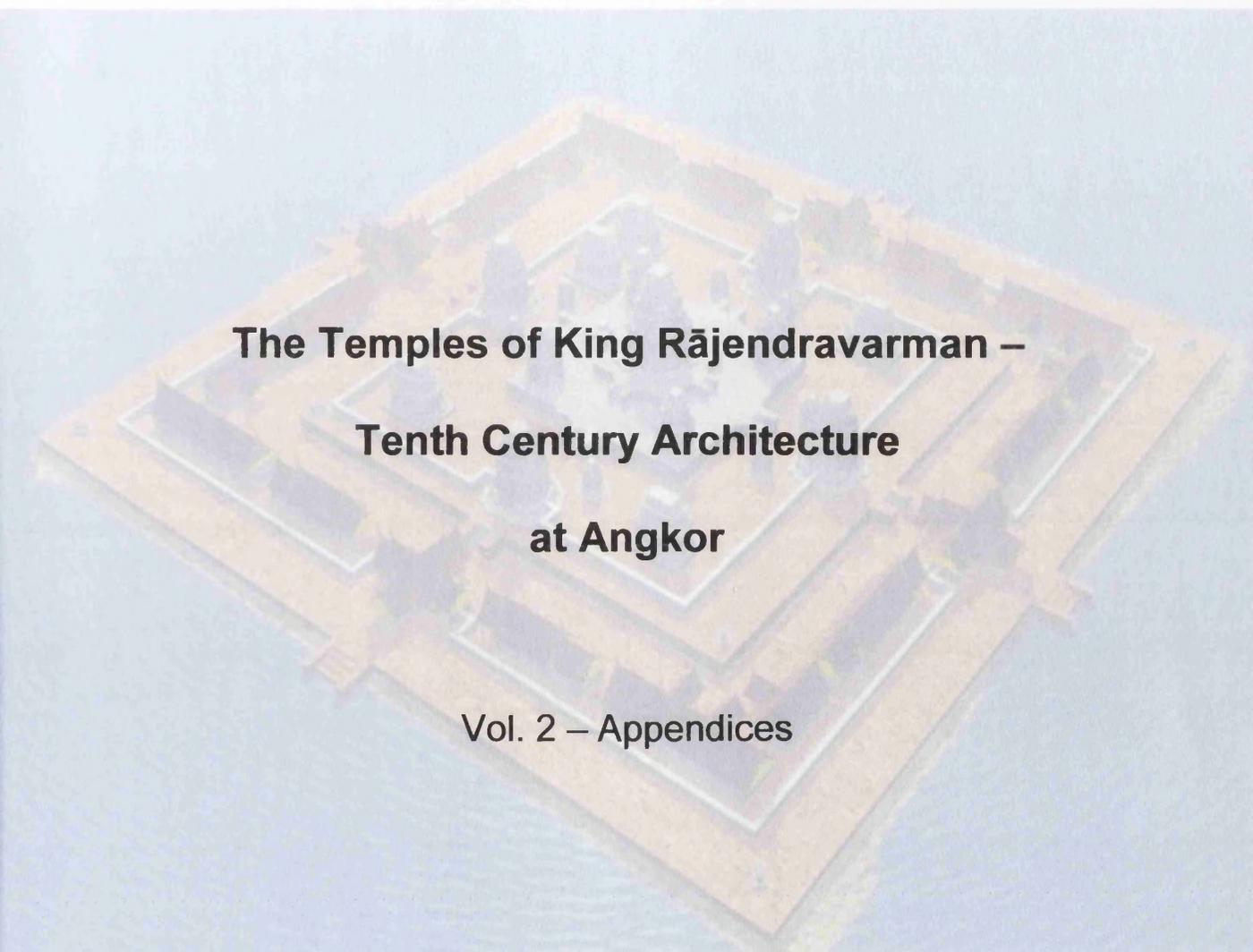
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**The Temples of King Rājendravarman –  
Tenth Century Architecture  
at Angkor**

**Vol. 2 – Appendices**

Alexandra Haendel

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
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Pich Keo & Smith, N., 1996, *Khmer Art in Stone*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, pp. 14-37.)

1.1 Baksei Chamkrong (K. 286)<sup>1</sup>

INSCRIPTION DE BAKSĒI ČĀMKRŌN

89

TEXTE

*Piédroit sud*

- I (1) // eko py anekahṛdaye ◡◡ - ◡◡ - -  
 - - ◡◡ - ◡◡◡ - ◡◡ - ◡◡ - so pi  
 (2) bhāsvattanau sakala indur ivāndha[kāre]  
 - - - - ◡◡◡ - ◡◡ - ◡◡ - - ya //
- II (3) candrārdhamaulicaraṇāmuvujaro ◡ - -  
 - - ◡ tam bhuvanam aṣṭata - ◡ - ti  
 (4) prakhyāpayan prakṛtiçaktim ana ◡ - -  
 - yāñjalīn dadad ive ◡◡ kāraṇeṣu //
- III (5) sāksī bhavān vyavahṛtau pariṇā ◡ - -  
 - - - - ◡◡◡ - ◡◡◡ vovudhīti  
 (6) yaḥ prādvivāka iva sabhyatamaḥ paṭiṣṭh - -  
 - - - - ◡◡◡ - n namatācyutan tam //
- IV (7) vande raviṇḍajam [akī]rṇṇadalaiḥ<sup>2</sup> pra[phu]ll[am]  
 - - - - ◡◡◡ - çrayato raviṇḍam  
 (8) vīryyaṃ mada ◡ madhukhetabhayor<sup>3</sup> jjahāsa  
 - - - - v. sa ◡ k[e]saradantarājyā //
- V (9) siddhin dadhātu [para]m[e]çvaraçārṇgimūrttiç  
 çli[ṣṭa]prabhāṃ parisareṇa viçeṣayantī  
 (10) gaṅgeva yatra yamunāsahitā sapatnyāḥ<sup>4</sup>  
 bhāgyāpakarṣavidhinā militāmvikāyāḥ //
- VI (11) vande bhavau bhuvanakāraṇam ekadehāv  
 avyaktavuddhivad anekagatiprabhinnau  
 (12) svarggāpavarggajanakāv iva dharmmamārggau  
 hṛdyau himādrīkanakādrīsamāgamābhau
- VII (13) gaurīm grṇāmi bhayamīlitalocanā yā  
 svedodgamapracurakaṇṭakamaṇḍitāngī  
 (14) roṣāt pinākadhanoṣo madane pi dagdhe  
 viddheva mārggaṇaṇatena punar vvireje //
- VIII (15) vāgīçvarīcaraṇapaṅkajayugmam īde  
 vidvanmanassarasi rūḍham upāttarāgam  
 (16) namrāmarendragāṇaṇeçkharapādmarāga-  
 samkrāntarāgapariraktam ivonnakhārccih //

(1) *BEFEO*, XXVIII, p. 131 ; *Les États hindouisés*, p. 116.

(2) Ou : [udī]rṇṇa° ?

(3) *Sic*, pour °kaṣṭa°.

(4) *Corr.* : sapatnyā.

<sup>1</sup> Coedès, G. (1952) *Inscriptions du Cambodge*. Vol. 4, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi/Paris, pp. 88-101.

- IX (17) gaṅgācchaṭā vijayate sphuritācchavindur  
indvarddhakoṭiviṣamān nabhasaḥ patanti  
(18) tārākulākulitajihmataraṅgabhaṅgā  
vicchinnatāramaṇihāravijrmbhiteva //
- X (19) lakṣmyādhi vo duritam ādhiṣu ghāniṣiṣṭa  
lakṣmīpater iva tanor ddiḡi viḡvamūrteḥ  
(20) vyāpte jagaty akhilam ekaguṇena yasyāḡ  
ḡobhāmayena pariḡeṣaguṇeṣu kā vāk
- XI (21) svāyambhuvan namata kamvum udīrṇnakīrttiṃ  
yasyārkkasomakulasāṅgatim āpnuvantī  
(22) satsantatis sakalaḡāstratamopahantrī  
tejasvinī mṛdukarā kalayābhipūrṇā //
- XII (23) merām udārayaḡasaṃ surasundarīṇām  
īde<sup>1</sup> trilokaguruṇāpi hareṇa nītā  
(24) yā dakṣasrṣṭyatiḡayaiṣaṇayā maharṣer  
akṣitrayādaravatā mahiṣitvam uccaiḥ //
- XIII (25) ḡrīkamvubhūbharabhṛtaḡ ḡrutavarmmamūlā  
maulād apāstavalivandhakṛtābhimānāḥ  
(26) sannandakāḥ sphuṭasudarḡanadrṣṭavīryyā  
mūrttāḡ cakāṣati harer iva vāhudaṇḡāḥ //
- XIV (27) yān rohanādrim iva rūḡhavidūrabhūmīm  
āsādya sadḡuṇamaniṃ maṇikārakalpāḥ  
(28) kīrttyamvudapratiravāṅkuritan narendrās  
saṅcaskire nijaramāramaṇīmṛjārtham //
- XV (29) yeṣām pratāpavisaram bhuvaneṣu kīrṇṇam  
anyaujasām praḡamanodyatam iddhavīryyam  
(30) vīkṣyaurvvavahnir iva jātabhayo nv agāḡḡham  
ambhodhimadhyam agamat praniletukāmaḥ //
- XVI (31) ḡrīrudravarmmanṛpatipramukhās tataḡ ḡrī-  
kaundinyasomaduhitrprabhavāḥ kṣitīndrāḥ  
(32) jātā jagattrayavikīrṇnayaḡaḡprakāḡā  
dakṣāḥ prajāviracane ḡrutaḡālino ye
- XVII (33) vrahmāṇḡdamaṇḡdalavilīnabhiyeva yeṣān  
tīvrapratāpavisarārkkasahasradīptyā  
(34) āhlādayanti parito nu digamvarāṇi  
ḡaḡvadyaḡaḡḡubhaniḡākaramaṇḡdalāni //
- XVIII (35) kāntyā na kevalam akelini paṅcavāṇa  
ity akṣilakṣagatayā jagatām pade ye  
(36) saṃmohanonmadanamādanaḡoṣadīpair  
apy urjjitair ddadṛḡire yudhikarmmabhiḡ ca //

- XIX (37) tatsantatāv ajani yo jayavarmmanāmā  
 ṛīmān mahendraçikhare padam ādadhānaḥ  
 (38) koṭyādhvarasya çatayajvajayī yaçiṣṭho  
 rājanyamaulinikaṣikṛtapādapīthaḥ //
- XX (39) ṛikamvubhūbhṛd inavañçalalāmagoptā  
 govarddhanoddhṛtikaro narakāhito yaḥ  
 (40) jīṣṇur bhujāṅgadamano vṛṣakaṅṭhakāri  
 -- ∪ [k]āntinidhir amvujalocanābhaḥ ◉
- XXI (41) kīrttin divaṃ çatamakhasya ca dhūmritābbhām  
 -- [a]saṃkhyamakhajair ddiviṣatāñ ca lakṣmīm  
 (42) raktām raṇeṣv asilaṭām rudhirair vvibbūtyā  
 çubhrā diçaç ca suhṛdo vidadhe samaṃ yaḥ //

*Piédroit nord*

- XXII (1) tasyātmajo jayy ajayaçriyo yo  
 ripuñjayaç ṛījayavarmmanāmā  
 (2) vṛddhapriyatvād iva vṛddhavidyā-  
 rāgī yuvā çrītaruñiviraktaḥ //
- XXIII (3) vṛddhiṃ guṇaṃ yo guṇavṛddhihīnām  
 vikalpayām āsa nayan nayādhyah  
 (4) yuktyānuçāstā prakṛtiṃ patiṣṭho  
 mṛjīm vidhitsann iva saṃkramajñāḥ //
- XXIV (5) tanmātulasyendranibhasya bhūtyā  
 yaç ṛīndravarmmeti babhūva putraḥ  
 (6) nendraçavdena bhuvi sthito pi  
 lebhe sukhāñdrapade cirāya //
- XXV (7) simhāsanam ratnamayūkhajālair  
 ākrāmato yasya citan nṛpāṇām  
 (8) mūrddhno bhi pādamaṃ makuṭāni<sup>1</sup> petur  
 bhānīva bhānor udayan nabhastah<sup>1</sup>//
- XXVI (9) ṛīndreçvaram liṅgam umāpateç ṛī-  
 dharāmvikādeḥ pratimāç ca bhūmau  
 (10) yo tiṣṭhipad dikṣu ca kīrttim iddhāñ  
 cakhāna vīryyañ ca ripos taṭākam //
- XXVII (11) tatsūnur āsīd asamo yaçasvī  
 yaç çrīyaçovarmmapadan dadhānaḥ  
 (12) āsūkṣmakāmṛātapayodhicīna-  
 campādideçād dharaṇer adhīçaḥ //

(1) Corr. : *mukuṭāni*. — La même graphie se retrouve dans diverses inscriptions du Ćampa : ISCC, XXII, A, 6 ; B, 8 ; XXVI, 4, 1 ; XXIX, C, 10.

- XXVIII (13) ambhojanābhasya sunābhipadmaṃ  
padmāsano nityam alaṅkariṣṇuḥ  
(14) itīva çambhuḥ puruṣottamasya  
hr̥tpadmam adhyāsta cirāya yasya //
- XXIX (15) pañcādrīkūṭeṣv iva pañcameru-  
kūṭeṣu ca dvīpatale mahābdheḥ  
(16) çatādḥikan devam atiṣṭhipad yo  
yaçodharam sthānam apāñ cakḥāna //
- XXX (17) tasyābhavad viṣṭapaharṣakārī  
çrīharṣavarmmā tanujapratītaḥ  
(18) caturddigīçakṣitipālamauli-  
māṅikyamālādyutirañjitānghriḥ //
- XXXI (19) çastre laghur yyo yaçasi prakāçaḥ  
stambhaḥ samādḥau pracalaḥ parārthe  
(20) vīryye gurus samvaraṇaḥ ca doṣe  
satvashtito<sup>1</sup> pi dviguṇātirekī //
- XXXII (21) sa dharmmavṛddhyai vidhinā pitṛṇāñ  
cāmīkarīr īçvarayor ihārccāḥ  
(22) imāḥ pratiṣṭhāpitavān murārer  
indrādripāde pratimāç ca devyoḥ // ☉ //
- XXXIII (23) athānujas tasya jayī yaçīṣṭhas  
sodaryyajānmā jītakāmakāntīḥ  
(24) çrīçānavarmmā tamasān nihantā  
kalābhipūrṇno nṛpatīndur āsīt //
- XXXIV (25) yuktyāgamodāharaṇaiḥ prasiddham  
sādhyam pratiṣṭhāpya ca dharmmam ekam  
(26) vādīva yaḥ kāmam anekam arthan  
naiyāyiko nirṇayam unnināya //
- XXXV (27) pīṭṛṣvasus tasya patīḥ paṭīṣṭhaç  
çriyojjvalaç çrījayavarmmanāmā  
(28) çriyāṃ vibhūtyā bhuvanatrasya  
sthānam purī yena kṛtā mahimnā //
- XXXVI (29) cirāya nābhyamvujadhātṛdhārī  
khinno bhaved eṣa itīva jīṣṇuḥ  
(30) caturbhujam bhāravaho bhujastham  
sandarçayām āsa parākrame yaḥ //
- XXXVII (31) çarvvasya liṅgan navadhā nimābhiç  
caturmmukhāder nnavahastaniṣṭham  
(32) sthāne dhike sthāpi mahāpadānam  
suduṣkaram liṅgapure ca yena //

(1) Corr. : *sattva*<sup>o</sup>. La forme *salva* paraît être l'orthographe usuelle à cette époque. Les inscriptions de Bât Çum (*J. As.*, 1908 <sup>2</sup>, p. 213) n'en connaissent pas d'autre.

- XXXVIII (33) ḡrīharṣavarmmā tanayas tadīyo  
yo harṣadāyī jagatām vijetā  
(34) tejiṣṭhavīryyo yaḡasā variṣṭhaḡ  
prājñah prabhāvād avikhaṇḡitājñah //
- XXXIX (35) kokṣeyako<sup>1</sup> yasya bhujapraṡiṣṭho  
raṇe ripakṣakṣatajena digdhaḡ  
(36) adhokṣajena kṣubhitasya sāḡner  
llakṣmīm uvāhām vunidhau mahādreh //
- XL (37) bhrātā tadīyo vayasā ḡṇaughair  
jjyeṣṭho jagadḡītaguṇodayo bhūt  
(38) yo rājyalakṣmyā jitarājakaḡ ḡrī-  
rājendravarmmā jagatīpatīndrah //
- XLI (39) yena prayuktā khalu daṇḡanītir  
vviḡeṣakṛt kṣṇagateḡ ḡubhaḡrīḡ  
(40) kalyānavarṇnasthitim ādadhānā  
vidamvayām āsa rasendralakṣmīm //
- XLII (41) kāntir yyadīyā lalitā nisargḡāt  
sahasranetrāṇy api nandayanī  
(42) kāntin trinetroruruṣām vidhātrīm  
smarasya dūrād adharī cakāra //
- XLIII (43) anekapānekadhanaprayuktair  
ddānām vubhiḡ puṣkarapuṣkalārddrah  
(44) siktā sravadbhir bhuvanadrūmālīm  
veveṣṭyate kīrttilaṭā yadīyā //
- XLIV (45) ḡaive pure siddham ajasya liṅgam  
siddheḡvaram siddhavibhūtiḡubhram  
(46) dvīpe taṭākasya yaḡodharasya  
niveḡitam yena ca liṅgam arccāḡ //
- XLV (47) sa divyadrḡvā parameḡvarasya  
hiraṇmayīm apratimām vidhānaiḡ  
(48) upāskṛtemām pratimām pravīṇah  
prāsādaḡobhāñ ca sudhāvicitrām //
- XLVI (49) jīvas saurayuto mṛḡādhipagatir bhaumas sumārggo vudhaḡ  
kāvyenāptaghaṭādhipo dinakaro mīneḡvaraḡ candramāḡ  
(50) puṣyeḡo pi vṛṣodito navarasāṅgaiḡ kridamānaḡ ḡako  
dhanyā hotrapadasthitā grahagaṇās svasthe yaḡassvāmini //
- XLVII (51) dhārmṡiko bharati dharmṡam adharmṡo  
vādḡate yam anayos suvalīyān  
(52) pūrvva ity amitadhīr nna yayāce  
bhāvinas sukṛtino naradevān //

(1) Corr. : *kaukṣe*°.

- XLVIII (53) devadravyavināḥe  
 sati dharmmācāraviplutācarite  
 (54) nirddoṣāṣ sādhujanā  
 vahukṛtvo jñāpanai rājñām // om namaḥ ḡivāya //

## TRADUCTION

I. A Celui qui, bien qu'unique, dans le cœur de plusieurs ..... dans son corps brillant, comme la pleine lune dans la nuit ..... (hommage à Parameḡvara !)<sup>1</sup>.

II. .... le lotus des pieds de Celui qui a pour diadème le croissant de la lune<sup>2</sup> .... manifestant la puissance de sa nature .....

III. Honorez Acyuta qui, témoin de l'activité [ou : dans un procès] ... qui, comme un juge très subtil et très clairvoyant, comprend parfaitement .....

IV. Je salue Celui qui est né du lotus<sup>3</sup>, dont le lotus épanoui aux pétales serrés (issu du nombril de Viṣṇu) reposant (sur l'Océan), s'est moqué de l'héroïsme furieux de Madhu et de Kaiṭabha... avec la rangée de dents que sont ses filaments.

V. Puisse l'image de Parameḡvara-Ḡārṅgin (Hari-Hara), qui permet de distinguer par leur contiguïté l'éclat inhérent à chacun d'eux, procurer le succès, de même que la Gaṅgā (obtient le succès) lorsqu'elle s'unit à la Yamunā, en enlevant à sa rivale Ambikā sa part (de leur époux commun) à qui celle-ci était (précédemment) unie<sup>4</sup>.

VI. Je vénère les deux Bhava (Ḡiva et Umā), cause de l'univers, réunis en un seul corps, mais divisés en de multiples conditions comme l'*avyakta* et la *buddhi*, menant comme les deux chemins du Dharma (respectivement) au ciel et à la délivrance, plaisant au cœur, brillant comme la montagne d'or et la montagne de neige réunis<sup>5</sup>.

(1) Les six dernières syllabes de cette stance devaient être : *parameḡvarāya*.

(2) Ḡiva.

(3) Brahmā.

(4) On sait qu'après leur confluent à Prayāga (Allahabad) et sur une certaine distance, les eaux claires de la Jumna continuent à courir parallèlement aux eaux sombres du Gange sans se mélanger avec elles. La Gaṅgā et Ambikā (Umā) ont pour époux commun Ḡiva (*BEFEO*, XXXIX, p. 21) : en s'unissant à la Yamunā, la Gaṅgā triomphe de sa rivale. — Au début du deuxième *pāda*, la restitution *ḡliṣṭa* proposée par F. W. Thomas semble la plus satisfaisante.

(5) *Avyakta* ou *mūlaprakṛti* « l'élément primordial » et *buddhi* « la connaissance », premier des grands principes constituant le *vyakta*, sont les deux formes de la *prakṛti*. — Les deux chemins du Dharma sont le *karmamarga* « chemin de l'action » et le *jñānamarga* « chemin de la connaissance ».

VII. J'invoque Gaurī : bien qu'au moment où dans sa colère l'Archer au Pinaka (Çiva) brûla Madana (l'Amour), elle ait fermé les yeux de crainte et ait vu la sueur perler à chacun des poils de son corps, et qu'elle ait été comme transpercée de cent flèches, elle resplendit encore.

VIII. J'adore les deux lotus des pieds de Vāgīçvarī, poussés dans le lac de l'esprit des sages, colorés [ou : provoquant la passion], émettant de leurs ongles des rayons, comme s'ils étaient illuminés par l'éclat combiné des rubis que portent sur leurs diadèmes les troupes des Immortels inclinés.

IX. Victorieuse est la Gaṅgā, dont la masse faite de gouttes étincelantes et pures, tombe du ciel où le croissant de la lune projette ses cornes, et produit en brisant les volutes de ses vagues un jaillissement d'étoiles, comme si s'était rompu un collier de brillantes pierreries.

X. Que Lakṣmī écarte le mal de vos esprits, comme (elle l'écarte) dans l'espace du corps de son époux aux formes multiples, Elle dont l'unique qualité de beauté occupe complètement l'univers, — à quoi bon parler de ses autres qualités ?

XI. Honorez Kambu Svāyambhuva dont la gloire (comme un astre) s'est levée à l'horizon, et dont la bonne lignée, ayant obtenu la conjonction de la race solaire avec la race lunaire, écarte de tous les *çāstra* l'ignorance [ou : les ténèbres], répand sa puissance [ou : son éclat], lève des impôts légers [ou : des rayons doux], et est accomplie dans tous les arts [ou : a ses *kalā* au complet]<sup>1</sup>.

XII. J'implore Merā, la plus illustre des femmes célestes, que Hara, guru des trois mondes, très désireux de surpasser au bénéfice de ses trois yeux la procréation de Dakṣa, a donnée d'en haut du ciel comme reine au *maharṣi*<sup>2</sup>.

(1) C'est en qualité de branche de la race solaire que la lignée de Kambu dissipe les ténèbres et répand son éclat, et en qualité de branche de la race lunaire qu'elle a des rayons doux et ses *kalā* au complet. Cette union entre les deux familles est un fait attesté par l'épigraphie, et cette question a été étudiée du point de vue sociologique par E. PORÉE-MASPERO dans un article intitulé *Nouvelle étude sur la Nāgī Somā*, JA, CCXXXVIII, 1950, p. 237, dont j'ai discuté les conclusions (*Les règles de la succession royale dans l'ancien Cambodge*, Bull. Soc. Ét. indoch., XXVI, 1951, p. 117). Je suis convaincu que la répartition des rois khmèrs entre les deux familles légendaires est inspirée des traditions indiennes, et que leur union dont parle cette stance l'est aussi. De même que, dans l'Inde, c'est Ilā, fille de Manu fondateur du sūryavaṃça, qui épouse Budha, fils de Soma, de même au Cambodge, c'est une princesse de la famille solaire de Çreṣṭhavarman qui, d'après la stèle de Tā Prohm, devient femme de Bhavavarman, souverain de la race lunaire. De même que, dans l'Inde, les pays où domine le sūryavaṃça occupent une position septentrionale par rapport à ceux où domine le somavaṃça, de même au Cambodge, les Kambuja de race solaire étaient primitivement situés au nord du Fou-nan où régnait une dynastie lunaire.

(2) Dakṣa est un prajāpati dont les filles (en nombre variable suivant les textes) ont donné naissance aux dieux, aux démons, aux hommes et aux animaux. L'auteur veut dire

XIII. Ceux qui portent le fardeau de la terre de Çrī Kambu [ou: le fardeau de la terre, de la conque et de Çrī<sup>1</sup>], qui ont Çrutavarman pour racine [ou: la naissance (du bras) protégée par une cuirasse fameuse]<sup>2</sup>, qui s'enorgueillissent d'avoir à l'origine<sup>3</sup> rompu les liens du tribut [ou: du démon Bali], qui prennent leur plaisir dans le Bien [ou: ayant avec eux l'épée Nandaka], qui montrent leur héroïsme tout en manifestant leur bel aspect [ou: par le (disque) Sudarçana], brillent comme les longs bras de Hari incarnés<sup>4</sup>.

XIV. S'étant approchés d'eux comme de la terre élevée<sup>5</sup> et lointaine du mont Rohana, les (autres) rois semblables à des joailliers façonnèrent le joyau de la vertu de Bien jailli bruyamment du nuage de leur gloire, à l'intention du teint pur de la Fortune, fidèle favorite (des rois Çrutavarman, etc.).

XV. C'est parce qu'il avait vu leur héroïsme enflammé, épandant sa chaleur dans tout l'univers et occupé sans cesse à réduire la chaude énergie de leurs ennemis, que le feu Aurva, comme saisi de frayeur, est allé au milieu de l'océan profond, dans le désir de s'y cacher<sup>6</sup>.

XVI. Ensuite apparurent les rois dont le premier fut Çrī Rudravarman, tirant leur origine de Çrī Kaunḍinya et de la fille de Soma, répandant dans les trois mondes l'éclat de leur gloire, habiles à gouverner leurs sujets, possédant la Çruti.

XVII. Comme s'ils avaient craint que l'éclat de leur puissance aussi ardente qu'un millier de soleils, ne fit fondre la sphère de l'œuf de Brahmā, les disques de ces lunes brillantes que sont leurs gloires

apparemment que les descendants du couple Kambu-Merā surpassent tout ce qui a été créé avant eux. — On peut se demander si le nom de Merā n'a pas été forgé pour expliquer le nom des Khmèrs et lui fournir une sorte d'étymologie.

(1) La terre, sous la forme d'une petite boule tenue dans la main inférieure droite, et la conque sont parmi les attributs ordinaires de Viṣṇu.

(2) Ce second sens est très hypothétique.

(3) Ma traduction de 1909 avait pris le mot *maula* dans le sens d'« indigène » (« d'avoir délivré l'indigène des chaînes du tribut ») ; bien que cette interprétation ne soit pas exclue, l'emploi de *maulād* avec un sens adverbial est beaucoup plus vraisemblable et tout aussi intéressant du point de vue historique : l'origine de la royauté des Kambuja est attribuée à une libération.

(4) Il semble résulter de cette comparaison avec les bras de Viṣṇu, qui sont au nombre de quatre, que Çrutavarman et ses successeurs furent eux aussi au nombre de quatre, ce qui placerait cette dynastie dans un passé moins reculé qu'on ne le croyait, puisque la stance XVI place immédiatement après elle celle qui eut pour premier roi Rudravarman, roi du Fou-nan au début du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle.

(5) Y aurait-il ici une allusion aux hautes terres du moyen Mékong qui furent le berceau des rois de la lignée de Çrutavarman ?

(6) Allusion possible au repli des derniers rois du Fou-nan vers les rives du Golfe de Siam, et peut-être même jusqu'à Java, s'il est vrai, comme je l'ai proposé, que les Çailendra d'Indonésie descendent des « rois de la montagne » founanais.

perpétuelles<sup>1</sup>, rafraîchissent de toute part l'espace des points cardinaux.

XVIII. « Ce n'est pas seulement avec l'indolent Amour (qu'elle s'unit) », ainsi pensait le monde où la Beauté était venue se faire l'objet de tous les regards (en la personne de ces rois); c'est ainsi que ceux-ci brillèrent, aussi bien par leur puissant éclat qui desséchait et affolait de tous les égarements (de l'Amour), que par leurs exploits dans le combat.

XIX. Dans cette lignée naquit le fortuné et très glorieux Jayavarman<sup>2</sup>, qui établit sa résidence sur le sommet du Mahendra, qui vainquit par un *koḷihoma* le dieu aux cent sacrifices (Indra), et dont le tabouret était devenu la pierre de touche des diadèmes royaux.

XX. Portant la terre de Cṛī Kambu [ou: la terre, la conque et Cṛī], protecteur et ornement de la race solaire [ou: gardien des vaches folâtres de noble race], augmentant la prospérité de la terre [ou: soulevant le mont Govardhana], désastreux pour l'enfer [ou: pour (l'Asura) Naraka], victorieux, vainqueur des flatteurs [ou: du serpent], ennemi des adversaires de la Loi [ou: ennemi de Kaṃsa (ou de Vṛṣabha)<sup>3</sup>], trésor de beauté..., il avait l'éclat du dieu aux yeux de lotus (Viṣṇu).

XXI. Il produisit à la fois: par les (fumées) issues de ses innombrables sacrifices, l'obscurcissement de la gloire et du ciel (d'Indra) aux cent sacrifices; par le sang répandu dans les combats, le rougissement (de honte) de la Fortune de ses ennemis et de la liane de son épée; par sa magnificence, l'éclat radieux des orientes et de ses amis.

XXII. Son fils victorieux, possédant une Fortune invaincue [ou: la fortune de Viṣṇu], vainqueur de ses ennemis, nommé Cṛī Jayavarman, était, comme par suite de son affection pour les vieillards, passionné pour la science antique, et (bien que) jeune, sans passion pour la jeune Cṛī.

XXIII. Grand politique, éducateur habile, il conduisait au mérite et à la fortune ses sujets dépourvus de mérite et de fortune, en les modifiant adroitement, comme un connaisseur des gradations qui

(1) On peut se demander si, en comparant les gloires des rois descendant de Kauṇḍinya, et successeurs de Rudravarman, aux disques de la lune, le poète n'a pas voulu laisser entendre que ces rois furent au nombre de 12, comme les lunaisons de l'année: pour les deux siècles écoulés entre le règne de Rudravarman et l'avènement de Jayavarman II, ce nombre est parfaitement vraisemblable.

(2) La stèle de Prè Rup (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, I, p. 74), d'accord avec les inscriptions digraphiques de Yaçovarman, fait descendre Jayavarman II des seigneurs d'Aninditapura, qui descendaient eux-mêmes du couple Kauṇḍinya-Somā.

(3) Si Vṛṣakaṇṭha est analysé comme un composé *taṭpuruṣa*, il désigne « l'adversaire (par excellence) de Vṛṣa (= Viṣṇu) », c'est-à-dire Kaṃsa; mais s'il est interprété comme un *karmadhāraya*, il désigne Vṛṣa ou Vṛṣabha. Dans les deux cas, l'ennemi de Vṛṣakaṇṭha est Viṣṇu, qui est visé par toutes les autres épithètes de cette stance.

désire réaliser la pureté [ou : Doué de méthode, maître habile, il appliquait le *guṇa* et la *vr̥ddhi* à une forme primitive dépourvue de *guṇa* et de *vr̥ddhi*, en la modifiant avec justesse, comme un connaisseur des divers degrés, désireux d'employer (la racine) *mṛj* (« purifier »)].

XXIV. Son oncle maternel, semblable à Indra, eut grâce à sa bonne fortune un fils nommé Çrī Indravarman qui, bien qu'établi sur la terre avec le titre d'Indra des hommes, obtint pour longtemps les jouissances (célestes) du séjour d'Indra.

XXV. Lorsqu'il monta sur son trône recouvert par les réseaux (formés par) les rayons de leurs joyaux, les diadèmes des rois tombèrent de leurs têtes à ses pieds, comme les étoiles (tombent) du ciel au lever du soleil.

XXVI. Sur la terre, il a placé un liṅga de l'époux d'Umā sous le nom de Çrī Indreçvara avec les images de Çrīdhara, Ambikā et autres, et il a creusé un bassin<sup>1</sup> ; dans les points cardinaux, (il a placé) sa gloire flamboyante et (il a miné) la force de ses ennemis.

XXVII. Son fils sans égal, couvert de gloire, reçut le nom de Çrī Yaçovarman et fut le maître suprême de la terre qui a pour limites les Sūkṣma-Kāmṛāta, l'océan, la Chine et le Campā.

XXVIII. « Celui qui est assis sur le lotus (Brahmā) désire sans cesse orner (de sa présence) le beau lotus du nombril de Celui qui a un lotus dans le nombril (Viṣṇu) », c'est sans doute dans cette pensée que Çambhu s'est assis pour longtemps sur ce lotus qu'est le cœur de cet homme sans égal [ou : de ce Viṣṇu].

XXIX. Sur les cinq sommets d'un Meru, comme si c'eût été sur les cinq sommets du mont (Meru)<sup>2</sup>, ainsi que dans une île du grand océan<sup>3</sup>, il a établi plus de cent dieux<sup>4</sup>, et il a creusé le bassin de Yaçodhara<sup>5</sup>.

(1) Indreçvara correspond à la pyramide de Bākoñ. Les images divines mentionnées ensuite sont peut-être celles qui sont énumérées sur la face B de la stèle de Bākoñ (*Inscr. du Cambodge*, I, p. 35). Le bassin est l'Indrataṭāka ou bassin de Lolei. Le temple de Parameçvara (Prāḥ Kō) n'est pas mentionné.

(2) C'est-à-dire dans les cinq tours d'un monument pyramidal, qui ne saurait être que le Bākhèñ. Mais peut-être pourrait-on traduire : « sur les sommets de cinq montagnes, comme sur les sommets du Meru ». Il serait alors question de cinq monuments différents construits sur cinq collines disposées à peu près en quinconce. Le Phnom Bākhèñ au centre, le Phnom Bók à l'est et le Phnom Krôm au sud, portant chacun une construction de l'époque de Yaçovarman, répondent exactement à cette conception. Pour le nord, on pourrait songer au Phnom Dēi où a été trouvée une inscription de Yaçovarman (*BEFEO*, XVIII, ix, p. 13), mais on ne voit pas où placer la cinquième colline qui devrait être à l'ouest.

(3) L'île du grand océan doit désigner l'île, situé au centre de l'Indrataṭāka, où Yaçovarman fonda le temple funéraire d'Indravarmeçvara (Lolei).

(4) *Devam* est un singulier collectif, à moins que le poète n'ait voulu dire que le roi avait érigé le même dieu, en l'espèce un *çivaliṅga*, plus de cent fois : à elles seules les 109 tours du Bākhèñ, contenant chacune un liṅga, justifieraient l'expression.

(5) Le Bārày Oriental.

XXX. Il eut un fils bien-aimé, Çrī Harṣavarman, qui causait la joie de l'univers, et dont les pieds étaient éclairés par la splendeur des guirlandes de rubis couvrant les diadèmes des rois des quatre points cardinaux.

XXXI. Agile en escrime, brillant de gloire, rigide dans la méditation, empressé au service des autres, grave dans son héroïsme, fermé au mal, bien que doué de la qualité de bonté, il possédait en excès les deux (autres) qualités<sup>1</sup>.

XXXII. Pour l'augmentation du dharma de ses parents il a, suivant la règle, érigé ici<sup>2</sup> ces images d'or des deux Içvara (Çiva et Umā), et au pied de l'Indrādri les images de l'ennemi de Mura (Viṣṇu) et de deux Devī<sup>3</sup>.

XXXIII. Ensuite son frère cadet né de la même mère, Çrī Içānavarman, victorieux, surpassant l'Amour par sa beauté, dissipant les ténèbres, possédant tous les arts [*ou*: toutes les *kalā*], fut une lune parmi les rois.

XXXIV. S'étant proposé comme objet de démonstration l'unité du Bien, laquelle est à la fois démontrée par la perception, la tradition et l'inférence, en bon controversiste naiyāyika qu'il était, il en a déduit comme corollaire la pluralité de l'Agreable et de l'Utile<sup>4</sup>.

XXXV. Le mari de la sœur de son père, le très habile Çrī Jayavarman, enflammé par Çrī, fonda une ville qui par son ampleur fut le siège de la puissance des Çrī des trois mondes<sup>5</sup>.

XXXVI. « Depuis le temps qu'il porte le Créateur sur le lotus de son nombril, ce (Viṣṇu) doit être fatigué », c'est comme dans cette pensée que ce roi victorieux [*ou*: ce Viṣṇu], laborieux [*ou*: portant

(1) En tant qu'agile et brillant, le roi possédait la qualité de *sattva*, en tant que rigide et empressé, celle de *rajas*, et en tant que grave et fermé, celle de *tamas*.

(2) A Bāksēi Čāmkrōṇ.

(3) J'avais traduit en 1909 : « Il érigea ici-même, au pied de la montagne d'Indra, les images en or de deux Içvara, ainsi que celles de l'ennemi de Mura et de deux Devī ». Cette interprétation n'est pas impossible, mais la répétition *ihārcāḥ... pratimā ca* me paraît plutôt entraîner celle qui est adoptée ci-dessus. L'Indrādri se trouvant alors dissocié de l'expression *iha* « ici même », est à chercher ailleurs qu'au Bākhēṅ. On peut songer soit à une véritable colline, peut-être au Mahendraparvata = Phnom Kulēn, soit à un temple-montagne, par exemple à celui d'Indreçvara (Bākoṅ).

(4) C'est à mon maître Alfred Foucher que je dois l'interprétation correcte de cette stance dont l'intention est d'énoncer qu'en se proposant uniquement d'accomplir son devoir (*dharma*), le roi en a retiré du plaisir (*kāma*) et des bénéfices (*artha*).

(5) Il s'agit de la fondation de la cité éphémère de Chok Gargyar (Kòḥ Ker). Les dimensions colossales des monuments de ce site justifient la mention de leur grandeur (*mahiman*). De plus on peut, sans être accusé de vouloir raffiner, voir dans l'expression *çriyām vibhūtyā bhuvanatrasya*, une allusion au nom de la divinité principale de Kòḥ Ker, Tribhuvanēçvara (Cf. BEFEO, XXXI, p. 13).

Viṣṇu], a montré par sa puissance qu'il tenait sur son bras le dieu aux quatre bras (Viṣṇu).

XXXVII. A Liṅgapura, dans un lieu éminent, il a érigé, exploit difficile ! un liṅga de Çarva, placé à une hauteur de neuf fois neuf coudées, avec les images de Brahmā et d'autres dieux<sup>1</sup>.

XXXVIII. Son fils Çrī Harṣavarman, causant la joie des créatures, vainqueur, brûlant d'héroïsme, doué d'une gloire sans égale, savant, possédait une puissance assurant l'inviolabilité à ses commandements.

XXXIX. Dans la bataille l'épée que tenait son bras, trempée dans le sang des troupes ennemies, lui procurait la même Lakṣmī (que celle) de la grande montagne enflammée agitée dans l'océan par le dieu né sous l'essieu (Viṣṇu).

XL. Son frère, son aîné par l'âge et la vertu, fut le roi Çrī Rājendrarvarman, qui surpassait les autres rois par sa puissance royale et dont le monde chantait les vertus naissantes.

XLI. Exercée par lui, la justice avait la splendeur du feu qui opère la dissolution (du monde) [ou : l'analyse (des éléments)] ; établissant son séjour dans une bonne caste [ou : dans l'or], elle a raillé la puissance des rois [ou : du mercure].

XLII. Sa beauté charmante, réjouissant dès sa naissance un millier d'yeux, sans exception, a rabaisé la beauté de l'Amour qui a mis longtemps à exciter la colère du dieu aux trois yeux (Çiva).

XLIII. Arrosée par le flot de l'eau de ses donations [ou : du liquide frontal] comprenant des éléphants et une foule de richesses [ou : produit par une multitude d'éléphants], et rafraîchies par de nombreux lotus [ou : de nombreuses pointes de trompes], la liane de sa gloire enlace la rangée d'arbres de l'univers.

XLIV. Dans la ville de Çiva<sup>2</sup>, il a installé Siddheçvara, miraculeux liṅga de l'Éternel, brillant d'un pouvoir miraculeux, et dans l'île du bassin de Yaçodhara<sup>3</sup>, un liṅga et des images.

XLV. Ce roi habile, doué d'une vision divine, a ajouté<sup>4</sup> cette

(1) Le sens de cette stance, qui relate l'érection du liṅga Tribhuvanēçvara au sommet de la grande pyramide de Kōḥ Ker, a été élucidé dans *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I, pp. 69-70.

(2) Çivapura, nom qui a été porté par plusieurs sanctuaires, doit désigner ici celui du Phnom Sandak, où sous le règne de Yaçovarman un disciple de Somaçiva avait érigé un Bhadreçvara en 895 (*ISCC*, p. 334), divinité à laquelle Rājendrarvarman avait voué une dévotion particulière, et où il a laissé une inscription khmère de 956 (K. 192) et une inscription sanskrite malheureusement ruinée et à peu près illisible (K. 193).

(3) L'îlot du Mébôn Oriental, où il faut donc supposer que dès 948 Rājendrarvarman avait fait une fondation, antérieure au Mébôn de 952.

(4) C'est le sens qu'il faut, je crois donner à *upaskṛ*, puisqu'on sait par la stance XXXII que le monument initial de Bāksēi Çamkrōṅ date de Harṣavarman I<sup>er</sup>. La

incomparable image en or de Parameçvara, avec les rites appropriés, et la splendeur de ce prāsāt décoré de stuc.

XLVI. Jupiter uni à Saturne est dans le Lion ; Mars, dans le Capricorne ; Mercure avec Vénus, dans le Verseau ; le soleil domine dans les Poissons et la lune dans Puşya ; levé avec le Taureau, Çaka joue avec les (8) Corps, les (6) saveurs et le nombre neuf<sup>1</sup> ; propices, les planètes, ses Gaṇa, font fonction de hotar en présence du Seigneur de gloire bien établi en sa (demeure).

XLVII. « Le juste soutient le Dharma, l'injuste le détruit, mais le plus fort des deux, c'est le premier », c'est dans cette pensée que Celui qui a un esprit sans limites (Rājendrarvarman) juge inutile de faire appel à la bienveillance de ses successeurs (pour entretenir sa fondation).

XLVIII. Si les biens des dieux sont détruits, par suite de pratiques mauvaises dans l'observance du Dharma, les gens de bien en sont innocents, selon les proclamations répétées des rois.

Om ! Hommage à Çiva !

question qui reste à résoudre est de savoir s'il faut entendre que Rājendrarvarman y ajouta « la splendeur d'un prāsāt décoré de stuc », c'est-à-dire un prāsāt qui correspondrait à la tour actuelle (construite sur la pyramide de Harşavarman I<sup>er</sup>), ou s'il faut comprendre qu'il ajouta à un prāsāt déjà construit par Harşavarman I<sup>er</sup> « la splendeur d'une décoration de stuc ». La première interprétation est la plus vraisemblable.

(1) Date correspondant d'après A. BARTH à mercredi 23 février 948 A. D.

- I. (1) traigunṣyādhyaçikhIndubhāskarakarapradyotanodgīthajair  
agryaiḥ padmajakañjadṛktrinayanair adhyāsitaic çakti[bhiḥ] |  
samrodhasthitisambhavātmarataye bhinnas tridhaiko pi yas  
tasmai nityacite Çivāya vibhave rājño rthasiddhyai namaḥ ||
- II. (2) rūpaṃ yasya navendumaṇḍitaçikhan trayyāḥ pratītaṃ paraṃ  
vijāṃ Vrahmaharīçvarodayakaraṃ bhinnaṃ kalābhis tridhā |  
sākṣādaḥsaram āmananti munayo yogādhighamyan namas  
samsiddhyai praṇavātmame bhagavate tasmai çivāyāstu vaḥ ||
- III. (3) ekā . . prāk kalahamsavibhramagatiḥ kāntonmadā yā sati  
bhittvāṅgaṃ gagaṇodgatātmarataye yā tānavatvaṃ punaḥ |  
padmaṃ mānasasambhṛtaṃ nijaruciprojjrmbhitaṃ bibhrati  
sā çaktiç Çivas[ya]ṅgatodayakarī Gaurī parā pātu vaḥ ||
- IV. (4) yenaitāni jaganti yajvahutabhugbhāsvannabhaḥsvannabhaḥ-  
kṣītyambhaḥkṣaṇadākarais svatanubhir vyātanvataivāṣṭabhiḥ |  
uccaiḥ kāraṇaçaktir apratihatā vyākhyāyate nakṣaraṃ  
jyāt kāraṇakāraṇaṃ sa bhagavān ardhenducūdāmaṇiḥ ||
- V. (5) Nārāyaṇan namata yo vibhutāṃ vitanvan  
lokatrayan tripadalaṅghitamātram eva |  
dṛṣṭvā turīyapadam āpt[u]m ivādhunāpi  
nidrācchalena vidadhāti samādhim abdhau ||
- VI. ambhojabhūr jjayati yo vadanaic caturbhir  
oṅkāravāridaravaṃ samam ujjagāra |  
(6) kṣetrāhitan tribhuvanodayapūraṇārtham  
utsūnatām iva nayan nijavījam ādyam ||

<sup>1</sup> Finot, L. (1925a) Mebon. Inscriptions d'Angkor, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 25-314, 309-352.

- VII. maṇḍāñçumaṇḍalavinirggatavāridhārā  
Mandākinī jayati dhūrjjaṭinā dhṛtā yā |  
mūrdhnā nagendratana yārddhaçarīrasandheḥ  
premānuvandham iva darçayitum prakṛṣṭam ||
- VIII. (7) āsīd ānīrarāçer avanīpatiçīroratnamālārccitānghrīr  
Vālādityābhīdhāno py arikulakamalopaplavākhaṇḍacandraḥ |  
S[o]mākaunḍinyavañçāmvaratalatilako bhūpatir bhūrikīrttir  
ddordaṇḍoddyotitāninditapurabharitām rājyalakṣmīm vahan yaḥ ||
- IX. (8) proddṛptadviṣatān dadhād yudhi vadhūvaidhavyadīkṣāvīdhīm  
vaddhnan yaç çīçirāñçuraçmiviçadām satkīrttimālām guṇaiḥ |  
Svarggadvārapure Puraṇḍarapuraprasparddhisaṃvarddhane  
sārthvaç (1) çārvvam atiṣṭhipat savibhavaṃ liṅgaṃ vidhānānvitam
- X. (9) vrahmakṣatraparamparodayakarī tadbhāgīneyī satī  
puṇyaṃ nāma Sarasvatīti dadhatī khyātā jagatpāvanī |  
nānāmmāyagirām gabhīram adhikam pātram dvijānām varam  
sindhūnām iva sindhurājam agamad yā Viçvarūpaṃ priyam ||
- XI. (10) Somādye sārabhūte nījakulanivahe bhūridhāmmi vyatīte  
Rudropendramarendraprabhṛtisuravarais saṅgate nandanārtham |  
tadvañçakṣīrasindhoḥ pravikarītayaçāḥpārijātābhijātā  
lebhe janmāvadātā bhuvanahitakarī yā dvītyeva Lakṣmīḥ ||
- XII. (11) yā nāmnāpi Mahendradevyabhihitā bhūbhṛtsutaiveçvarī  
devī divyavilāsinībhir asakṛt saṅgīyamānastutiḥ |  
bhāsvadvañça — — — — purādhīçāvanīçātmajo  
yām saṃprāpya Mahendravarmanīpatis sārtham adhād īçatām ||
- XIII. (12) lakṣmīn tīkṣṇetarāñçor adhikam adharayan dhvastadoṣāṇḍhakāro  
vaddhnan padmānuvandham prakāṭitatapasā tena patyā prajānām |  
devyān tasyām [Adi]tyān divasakara ivotpāditaḥ Kaçyapena  
çrīmadrājendravarmmāvanīpatir abhavat tejasām ākaro yaḥ ||
- XIV. (13) dugdhāmvrāçer iva pūrṇacandraç  
caṇḍāñçuratnād iva citrabhānuḥ |  
çuddhānvayād yo nitarām viçuddhaḥ  
prādurbabhūvākhillabhūpavandyāḥ ||

(1) Corr. sārvaç.

- xv. tejaḥprakaṣas tamaso vināṣo  
 diṣāṃ prasādaḥ sphuṭatā kalānām |  
 yattigmatejas tuhināṅcukṛtyaṃ  
 yenodaye tan nikhilaṃ vitene ||
- xvi. (14) ramyo pi samyakprasavena saumyaḥ  
 santānakas santatam udgatena |  
 mahāphalaṃ yaṃ samavāpya bhūmnaḥ  
 ruroha kōṭim ramaṇīyatāyāḥ ||
- xvii. vivarddhamāno nvaha[m i]ddhakāntir  
 vapurviṣeṣeṇa manohareṇa |  
 yas sarvvapakṣodayam ādadhānas  
 tiraçcakāraiva himāṅçulakṣmīm ||
- xviii. (15) yaç çaiçave py āçu tathā kalābhiḥ  
 pūrṇo nvaham çabdaguṇe tidīptaḥ  
 yathā kalāvattvam apīndulabdhāñ  
 jādyānvitān dūram adhaçcakāra ||
- xix. nirasya doṣā[n pra]saram sphuranti  
 prakāçitārthā bhuvane çnuvānā |  
 vidyānavadyena mukhena yasya  
 prak saṃgatainīva dinasya dīptiḥ ||
- xx. (16) āsādyā çaktim vivudhohanitāṃ  
 māheçvarīm jñānamayīm amoghām  
 kumārabhāve vijitārivarggo  
 yo dīpayām āsa mahendralakṣmīm ||
- xxi. pṛthupratīta[pra]thitaguṇaughais  
 sadvañçajātaṃ prathane pradhānam  
 dhanur mahat kṣatrakulañ ca tulyaṃ  
 yaç çikṣayā nāmayati sma tuṅgam ||
- xxii. (17) çīṣtopadiṣṭaṃ pratipadya sadyaḥ  
 kṣetraṃ yaṃ utkrṣṭam akrṣṭapacyam  
 çradhdhāmbhasā siktam arukṣad uccaic  
 çāstrasya cāstrasya ca vījam agryam ||
- xxiii. yas sarvatas sarvaguṇān paṭimnā  
 ruces sadā dhāraviṣeṣam ujjan |  
 upādade lokahitāya bhāsvān  
 rasān iva pratyaham astatandriḥ ||

- xxiv. (18) udyānabhāgasya vasantasampad  
ivāṃṛtāñcor iva paurṇamāsī |  
āmuṣṇatī yasya viçeṣaço bhā  
samujjajimbhe navayauvanaçrīḥ ||
- xxv. yatrāpi puṃlomahataḥ prakṛtyā  
nirūpitaṃ lakṣaṇam astaçeṣam |  
kenāpy asāṃkhyāgamavad vibhāvyaṃ  
prakāçayām āsa maheçabhāvam ||
- xxvi. (19) vālyāt pravṛddhaṃ prabhṛtiprabhūtaṃ  
yad yasya saundaryyam ananyalabdham |  
dhruvaṃ vidhātāyayavīcakāra  
tad rañjayan yauvanakāntim ṛddhām ||
- xxvii. nirudhnamānas satataṃ manobhūr  
yyasya sphuṭe nūtanayauvane pi |  
saundaryyasandarçana jātalajja  
ivāntikan nopasasarpa darppāt ||
- xxviii. (20) yasyāṅgalāvanyam ananyarūḍhaṃ  
drṣṭvā Ratīḥ premanimilitākṣī |  
manye na mene patim ātmanīnaṃ  
pinākinetrāgniçikhāvalīḍham ||
- xxix. dhanurvvikarsapratatoruçaktir  
yuvapravīro yuvarājalakṣmīm |  
ayonijāṃ yo janakopanītāṃ  
Sītāṃ satīm Rāma ivoduvāha ||
- xxx. (21) yadārkkavimvād iva hemakumbhād  
ambhomṛtenāgalatābhīṣekaḥ |  
tataḥprabhṛty eva vivṛddhibhājā  
bhūtaṃ himāñcor iva yasya lakṣmyā ||
- xxxI. snānām vubhis tīvram amantravandhyais  
tejonalo yasya samedhate sma |  
tatsparddhayevāçrujalaiḥ patadbhir  
ddiviṣāṃ samaṃ çokahutāçano pi ||
- xxxII. (22) alaṃkṛtenākṛtakaiç çrutādyair  
hr̥dyair nñijāṅgaiç ca nisarggakāntaiḥ |  
agrāmyabhūṣopacayena yena  
vibhūṣaṇaṃ maṅgalam ity upāttam ||

- XXXIII. navāṃ navāṃ dhyānamahābhīṣeke  
yo bhuktaratnābharāṇo babhāra |  
pītambhasaḥ kumbhabhavana lakṣmīm  
ambhonidher udgataratnarāṣeḥ ||
- XXXIV. (23) uccāvacaḥ uccapadādhirūdhair  
grahaḥ bhīveva kṛtavigraho pi |  
āropito yas svayam apy akāṅkṣas  
siṃhāsane hāṭakaṣailatuṅge ||
- XXXV. yasyāṅgakānteḥ kva tathānavādyam  
vidyeta manye py upamānam anyat |  
saṃkrāntam ādarṣatale pi vimvam  
anarham ādhāravaṣān nijam yat ||
- XXXVI. (24) yatrābhīṣikte patatāmbhasārdrā  
vasundharā vāridhicārukāñci |  
ūrdhvīcakāraikam ivātapatram  
yaṣassphurac candrakalāvadātam ||
- XXXVII. svalakṣaṇalakṣitasarvvasampat  
phalam samākhyāti puro vipākam |  
yasyāṣiṣo vipraṇaprayuktāḥ  
kṛtānuvādā iva saṃbabhūvuḥ ||
- XVXXVIII. (25) dvirephamālā iva pārijātan  
dhiyo munīnām iva cātmayogam |  
vyāpāram anyāṅ jagatām vihāya  
dṛṣo dvitī[yaṃ] pratipedire yam ||
- XXXIX. itas tato vidyud ivādyutac chrīs  
tāvan nṛpāṇām pracalā prakṛtyā |  
ramyā ṣarat prādurabhūn na yāvad  
yadiyayātrāsamayo nirabhrā ||
- XL. (26) tivrāstranīrājanarājitaṣṭīr  
ddīpto mahāmaṇḍaladīkṣayā yah |  
vidyāṅgamantraiḥ ca kṛtātmaguptīr  
asā[dhāya]t siddhim udārābhūtim ||
- XLI. yasmin vidhaty apracalatpaṭākām  
paṭākinīm digvijayāya yāti |  
dvīdrājalakṣmīḥ pracacāla pūrvvam  
urvvī tu paṣcād valabhāragurvvi ||

- XLII. (27) niçamya saumitrim ivābhiyāne  
bhigarjitan nirjjitameghanādam |  
tūryyadhvanim yasya daçāsyatulyair  
dūrād dviṣadbhir vibhayāṃ babhūve ||
- XLIII. pratāpavahner iva dhūmajālam  
valoddhutam yasya rajaḥ prayāṇe |  
apy aspr̥çad vairivilāsinānām  
udaçrayām āsa vilocanāni ||
- XLIV. (28) kṣamān nipīdya prathamam pravṛttam  
srotāṃsi kālūṣyam atho rajobhiḥ |  
yāne nayan yasya samutpapāta  
samghaḥ camūnām iva vaddharoṣaḥ ||
- XLV. kīrṇaḥ kvacid bhañjitabhūmibhṛdbhir  
anvasyamānaḥ paravāhinibhiḥ |  
kvacic ca yasya pratataḥ prayātuḥ  
svarvāhinīmārgga ivāsa mārggaḥ ||
- XLVI. (29) viyat — — — varāṇaṅ janānāṅ  
ceṣṭāsv açaktim vihatam prakāçam |  
yad yat pradoṣas tanute tamobhis  
tat tac cakārāriṣu valair yyah ||
- XLVII. vitatya pakṣadvayam āttanādam  
yasmin rayāt tarkṣya iva prapanne |  
dviṅnāgavṛṇḍam hatavīryyasampad  
gantavyatām ūdhatayāvatasthe ||
- XLVIII. (30) Mq.
- XLIX. vāṇāsanam bibhrati yatra yuddhe  
çuddhe çaratkāla ivābhidr̥ṣṭe |  
itas tato līnatayāçu moghā  
meghā ivāsan laghavo narendrāḥ ||
- L. (31) *Toute la stance mq., sauf le dernier mot : ābhimānam ||*
- LI. satyavimūḍhasya pataṅgasāmyam  
sametya sānanda ivārivarggaḥ |  
yadvāhudaṅḍāraṇijaṅ jvalantan  
tejonalam yadvipade bhiṣede ||

- LII. (32) a, b, c mḡ. ; d : . . . . . ṅān nabhasi pravṛddhaḥ ||
- LIII. nijāsanam prāpya ripūn nirasya  
ruddhvā marudvartma manorayaṅ ca |  
vijitya yasyābhyasato vatasthe py  
atandra . . . . . ||
- LIV. (33) a, b, c mḡ. ; d : vāṅais samaḥ saṃyati saṅjahāra ||
- LV. çilīmukhā mūrdhani cāpamuktā  
jhāmkāraramyā dviṣatām nipetuḥ |  
svassundarīhāstalatāvimukta-  
maṇḍāragandhānugatās tu yasya ||
- LVI. (34) a-b mḡ.  
. . . . . tu vandhaṅ  
cakartta bhūbhṛnnivahottamāṅgam ||
- LVII. çastravraṅśrasrutidhārayādrau  
ruddho py arīndrair yudhi yo didīpe ,  
dviṭchāyayācchādita eva bhānur  
bibhrat tanutran tyajati svadīptim ||
- LVIII. (35) a-b mḡ.  
— — — [du]rvaryyavikīrṇnakīrttir  
daçāṅanan durhṛlam unnināya ||
- LIX. na svīcikīrṣur yudhi cakricakraḥ  
bajraṅca no bajrabhṛto pi jiṣṇuḥ |  
yaç çaktiyukto nu maheçvarāstraḥ  
sudussahaḥ prāpya jītārivarggaḥ ||
- LX. (36) a-b mḡ.  
— — — tan tv asya vilāsinīnām  
abhidyatārād dhṛdayaḥ svayaṅ ca ||
- LXI. yo mathyamānas samare rivīrair  
ggāmbhīryayogān na jahau prasādam |  
hrado hi kālūṣyam upaiti bhogāt  
stamveramair amvunidhir nna jātu ||
- LXII. (37) a-b mḡ.  
dīdyute vidyud iva sphuranty a-  
jihvāpi jihveva bhujoragasya ||

- LXIII. snigdhāsipātapratighātahāne  
muṣṭer llaghutvāt smṛtīvibhramād vā |  
punaḥprahāreṇa kṛte ripāte  
bhujāpavādaṃ bubhujē bhṛṣaṃ yaḥ ||
- LXIV. (38) a-b mḡ.  
divyāṅganānām avatāraṇārthaṃ  
saupānasampattim ivākarod yaḥ ||
- LXV. randhre bhīyogaṃ nijapakṣaraksāṃ  
vibhajya yo dūṣaṇasādhanābhyām |  
hṛtōttaraprākramam ātatāna  
kurvan paṭun niṣpratibhaṃ vipakṣam ||
- LXVI. (39) a mḡ.  
. . . . . tatayā phalatvam |  
vidher vvidheye viparItavṛtter  
vṛttam kṛtī yo nucakāra yuddhe ||
- LXVII. sakhyānunitāpi sadābhīmukhye  
prāgalbhyam icchaty api çatrusenā |  
parānīmukhī vīkṣya babhūva dūrād  
vadhūr nnavoḍheva samidratau yam ||
- LXVIII. (40). . . . . ç  
çl(i)ṣṭe mahājau vijayakriyā[m] ca |  
nāpārthako vikramasampad ei  
yo yuktaṃ uktaḥ khalu yuktividbhiḥ ||
- LXIX. durggābhisamparkkavivarṇadeho  
guhāṇanālocanaloladrṣṭḥ |  
yasyārisaṃgho mṛgakṛttivāsā  
vane sthitaḥ sthānusamo py anīçāḥ ||
- LXX. (41) . . . . . varasya  
manoratho yasya vṛthā babhūva |  
norvvī yadurvvivijigīṣutāyāṃ  
vadanyatāyām api nālamarthī ||
- LXXI. preṅkhatprārūdhasphuṭavidrumaughō  
hares samākṛāntinimagnanāgaḥ |  
antarvvanair durggatayābdhitulyo  
yasyārideço pi jahāti lakṣmīm ||



- LXXX. (46) yasyātejiṣṭhatayāsa nītir  
naitāntam rjvī na yathā pareṣām |  
muktvārkkacandrau na gatir grahāṇīm  
pratīpavakrānyatamasya kasya ||
- LXXXI. sanmantramūlaiḥ caturaḥ caturbhis  
sāmādibhir yyo vividhaprayogaiḥ |  
apāyaṣaṃrodhibhir abhyupāyair  
vedaiḥ ca saṃsādhayati sma siddhim ||
- LXXXII. (47) sadāpi mūlaprakṛtiḥ pratītaḥ  
citraṃ mahat karmma ca darḥayan yaḥ |  
śāḍguṇyayogāt triguṇam pradhānam  
atulyam ācaṣṭa vināpi vācā ||
- LXXXIII. prāyeṇa jihmo pi vidhir vvidheye  
mantraprabhūtsāhaviḥṣaḥaktiḥ |  
apāyadrṣṭeḥ pratikūlapakṣe  
nukūlayām āsa bhiyeva yasya ||
- LXXXIV. (48) trivarggasamṣarggasuhṛdbhir ārād  
rāṣṭre guṇaughair avabhartsyamānāḥ |  
doṣā ruṣevāḥ vipakṣapakṣam  
aḥiḥriyan yasya guṇāḥrayasya ||
- LXXXV. nirbhidyā sadyaḥ svam avadyam udyān  
yo nyāyino nyān vinināya yuktyā |  
tamāṃsy api ghnān sakalāṃ kalaṅkam  
upekṣate svam kṣaṇadākaro hi ||
- LXXXVI. (49) suḥāsanād avyasanāc ca yasya  
prajā sujātā na vipattiḥāṅkā |  
Ajātaḥator api rājaputrī  
duḥāsanāt prāpa parām purārttiṃ ||
- LXXXVII. chidrapratīkṣā praḥamāttaḥlās  
sudurddharāḥ khaṇḍitadhāmabhiḥ ca |  
yaṃ pāṛthivaṃ pātram avāpya lakṣmyas  
stheṣṭhā ivāpas suvidagdham āsan ||
- LXXXVIII. (50) yaḥ ḥaḥsiṃhīm paritaḥ carantiṃ  
vidrāvyahiṃsrām arivarggamārgge |  
vṛṣeṇa yogād uditaprajām tām  
pupoṣa lakṣmīm mahiṣīm avāpya ||

- LXXXIX. aṅgaṇat sūrigaṇo tirāṅṅāṃ  
sahasradoṣaṇ dhuri Kārttavīryam |  
yadā tadā sarvvagūṇair anūne  
nūnaṃ kathā kā pūnar eva yasmin ||
- XC. (51) divaḥpṛthivyor api giyamānaṃ  
jiṣṇor yaço py arjītavīryasampat |  
karṇṇāsukhaṃ çotrasukhasya çañke  
yasyopamārhaṃ yaçaso na jātam ||
- XCI. ākrāntadigvyomni payomucīva  
pragarjīte yasya yaçasy a[n]āttam |  
na kevalaṃ ratnam upāyanaṇ drāk  
prādād gajādyāṇ ca vidūrabhūmiḥ ||
- XCII. (52) lakṣāddhvarotthaiḥ sthagayadbhir āçi  
dhūmair niruddhvārkaḥkarākarair yyaḥ |  
divaṇ ca çātakratavīṇ ca kīrttiṃ  
malīmasatvaṃ yugāpan nināya ||
- XCIII. yaddhūmasandarçanato numānam  
agnes tad evāvyabhicāram uktam |  
navan tu tad yan maḥhadhūmadṛṣṭau  
vṛṣṭer vasūnām anumānam eva ||
- XCIV. (53) svayampṛapannābhir ayācamānaṃ  
pūrṇṇaṃ susāmpadbhir ivādbhir abdhim |  
rikto pi yaṃ prāpya yatheṣṭapūrṇṇaḥ  
pūnar vvavarṣābhra ivārthisārthaḥ ||
- XCV. cakṣurmanoharyy api darçayac ca  
karāgraçobhām api sadrasārdram |  
yasyenduvimvaṃ çubharaṅgavṛtter  
nṛttopamārhan na kuraṅgaduṣṭam ||
- XCVI. (54) çhāyāçrito py anyanṛpo vijetum  
drptadviṣo lam kim utā svayam yaḥ |  
āstām ravis saṃkramitorutejāç  
candro na kim santamasāny udasyet ||
- XCVII. sandarçayām āsa tathānyabhūṣā  
na bhūriçobhām maṇidarppaṇāṇ ca |  
[r]ājāṅṅāṃ yathāṅṅāṇijakarṇṇapūri-  
kṛtā yadyā nakhadarppaṇaçṛtḥ ||

- xcviii. (55) anyo pi san kenacid eva tulyo  
guṇena no yanmahimānam āpa |  
nṛttavrato yāti hi nīlakaṇṭho  
na tāvataiveçvaratām mayūrah ||
- xcix. sadāgatiḥ snehakarī vibhutvaṃ  
bibhraty adabhraṃ dadhatī prakāçam |  
pṛthvī yadiyā racanāñ javatsu  
dhatte mahābhūtamayīva kīrttiḥ ||
- c. (56) vadanyatāçauryyavapurvvilāsa-  
gāmbhīryyamādhuryyadayādayo ye |  
teṣām ivaiko nilayaḥ prayatna-  
dhiyādhiko yo vidadhe vidhātrā ||
- ci. pratītavīryyo bhuvī Kārttavīryyo  
vīryyaṃ yadiyaṃ dvibhujorjjitaṃ prak |  
vīkṣeta ced ātmabharāya janye  
manyeta manye svasahasrahastān ||
- cii. (57) dūrāt pratāpair ddiviṣatām vijetur  
yasya svayuddhan nitarān durāpam |  
gandhadvipasyeva madotkatasya  
vitrāsītānyadviradasya gandhaiḥ ||
- ciii. vihāya saṅgam paradevatāsu  
çraddhā ca bhaktiç ca parā yadiyā |  
Çrīkaṇṭham utkaṇṭhatayā prapanne  
Gaṅgābhavānyāv iva devadevam ||

B

- civ. (1) saundaryyasargga. . . . . vidhātā. . . . . |  
jātarūpamayastambha[m] yam eka[m] bhuva. — — — ||
- cv. itthaṃ kṛto mayā Kāmo dagdha[h] kila Pinākinā |  
itīveçvaratān nīto vidhātrā yo tisundarah ||
- cvi. (2). . . . . vidyā . . . . . |  
. . . . . [ca]turāsyaprajā[pati]m ||
- cvi. lakṣmīm vakṣassthale kṣīptvā kīrttim pāre payonidheḥ |  
vidyayā kāmato reme vṛddhayaiva yuvā pi yah ||

- CVIII. (3) jugopa gām Vasiṣṭhasya Dilīpa[h] prāk prajecchayā |  
labdhvā prajāś. svavīryeṇa Bhārggavyas t. . . . m ||
- CIX. bhuvanāplāvanodvele yatkīrttikṣīrasāgare |  
chāyavyājena bhūr bhītyā nūnam indum upāçritā ||
- CX. (4) sahasrabhogabharito va . . . . bhavo pi yaḥ |  
anantaḡuṇayukto pi vinatārttib[ito] bhṛçam ||
- CXI. urvvīm āvṛṇvatāmbhodhi-mekhalābhogamaṇḡitām |  
ekāçchatreṇa mahatā merur yyena vṛthākṛtaḥ ||
- CXII. (5) kalikaṇṡakasamparkkād āskhala[n pā]dahānitaḥ |  
dharmmaḥ kṛtārthatāras tu yaṃ samāḡamya susthitaḥ ||
- CXIII. yasya vīryyānilōddhṛto dhāmadhūmadhvajo yudhi |  
dvidvadhūnām vidhūmo pi vāṣpadhāram avarddhayat ||
- CXIV. (6) acirabhānibhāriçṛis stheyasyā . . d yaṃ āçritā |  
ḡuṇānuvandhavaddhāpi kīrtti. . . . pradigdruṡā ||
- CXV. rūdhaḥ Çrinandane yasya raṇe raktāsipallavaḥ |  
vāhukalpadrumo dikṣu yaçāḥpuṣpam avākirat ||
- CXVI. (7) yadyāne drṡtadantīndradantanirghātataḡitā |  
ruṣevo[r]vvi mahāsatvān rajasātandram āvṛṇot ||
- CXVII. samididdhe kṛpāḡagnau mantrasādhanavṛhitaḥ |  
hṛtvārivaktrapadmāni yas samrājyam ajījanat ||
- CXVIII. (8) drḡho py adhrṣyasātvo pi tuḡgo-py unmūlite — |  
mathane nantavīryyena yo na bhūbhṛtkulōdgataḥ ||
- CXIX. ṡṣiteva dviṣām lakṣmīḥ pluṡṡā tejogninā bhṛçam |  
yasya puṣkarajām dhārām prāpya cikṣepa na kṣaṇam ||
- CXX. (9) pādāmvujarajo yasya caritānukṛter iva |  
. . . . bhūbhṛdvarāḡgeṣu [pa]daṃ datvā çriyan dadhau ||
- CXXI. nidrāvidrāṇadrk strīvaj jaṡharenāvahat prajāḥ |  
Harir yyas tu hṛdaiveças suvodhasphuṡapauruṣaḥ ||
- CXXII. (10) drṡtārīndra[m] v[i]jityājau yo nujagrāha tatkulam |  
. . . . . r bhinnebhendro mṛḡādhīpaḥ ||

- CXXIII. nistriñçavallabhaṃ vaddhvā guṇayuktais tu mārggaṇaiḥ |  
rjubhir yyo vijityārīn bheje rīhān sadguṇair iva ||
- CXXIV. (11) nipītan Nīlakaṇṭhe[na] kaṇṭhālaṅkṛtaye viṣam |  
vivudhānā[m] . . . . rīhantu . . . o dvāntaṃ vacomṛtam ||
- CXXV. sāndrair yasyādhvare dhūmair ūrdhvagaruddhadṛṣṭibhiḥ |  
vraddhno dhunāpi digbhrāntais svadhuryyair bhrāmyate dhruvam ||
- CXXVI. (12) sa . . . ya dhāma . . . . yo dviṣamidbhis samīnmakhe |  
[a]kṣīṇān dakṣi[ṇām] kīrttiṃ di[g]dvijebhyaḥ samādiçat ||
- CXXVII. dviṣatān nyastraçastrāṇām <sup>(1)</sup> praṇāmaçithilīkṛte |  
cāpasyaiva guṇe yasya viratir na tu dhanyinām ||
- CXXVIII. (13) suvrīto pi suhrddhṛdyo bhujō yasya mahībhujāḥ |  
durhṛdām asuhr[dām ca] praṇītas sarvvadā rāpe ||
- CXXIX. ekadravyāçritam bhāvaṃ jñātvā dvidjātibhāvitam |  
kārmṃmukeṣūcītañ karmma saviçeṣaṃ vyadhata yah ||
- CXXX. (14) çūlinādhyāsītāṃ bhaktigambhīrām yasya hṛdguhām |  
tanneirānalabhītyeva viviçur nānyadevatā ||
- CXXXI. rāmāṇām hṛdayārāme tiṣṭhantaṃ kāmataskaram |  
prajihīrṣur ivāçrānto yo viveça muhur mmuhuh ||
- CXXXII. (15) yogodyato pi yaç çāntau nāmnaiva dvidbhayaṅkaraḥ |  
dūrād dhī rājasimhasya gandhaṃ ghrātvā dvipā drutāḥ ||
- CXXXIII. mantravīryyaprayogādhyam prapyānanyavareva yam |  
kṛtārthā kāmādā pṛthivī karajāmarddamārdhavāt ||
- CXXXIV. (16) yuktir etāvatā tyaktā kāntiratne pi darçite |  
yaj jagaccittasarvvasvam [ā]hrta[m] yena sarvvadā ||
- CXXXV. nyastaçastro vane supto Harir yyogaparo py ajaḥ |  
kāntārdhāñçadharo Rudro yañ jigīṣuṃ smarann iva ||
- CXXXVI. (17) sphuṭāsīndīvarasrasta-raktamadhvāsavecchayā |  
dviçhrīr bhṛṅgīva babhṛāma yasya dormrādasannidhau <sup>(2)</sup> ||

(1) Corr. nyasta<sup>o</sup>.

(2) Mrāda, çai-maṅque dans PW. est peut-être un dérivé de mrad, froter.

- CXXXVII. nakṣatrankulasampannam bhūtānām avakācakṛt |  
vyomevāripuram yasya çabdamātreṇa lakṣitam ||
- CXXXVIII. (18) çarakarmākulo (1) yasya vāhinīdurggasamgataḥ |  
vane khadgasahāyo ris samyatsamstha iḥa drutaḥ ||
- CXXXIX. vairiṇo dhyānaniratā vītarāgā guhāçayāḥ |  
yasyeçasyānghriyogena vinā nālam vimuktaye ||
- CXL. (19) kāham bharttrā parityaktā çvāpadais sthātum utsahe |  
itīvāripurī yasya prāviçad dāvapāvakaḥ ||
- CXLI. yasya satvavato vīryam raṇe dṛṣṭvā dviṣadgaṇaḥ |  
satvepsayeva simhādiyuktaḥ anvayasat vanam ||
- CXLII. (20) madonmatto pi tuṅgo pi niyojyo dharmmasādhanē |  
iūbhendragano yena dvijebhyo dāyi bhūriçāḥ ||
- CXLIII. vibhaktiprakṛtīnām yas saptadhā vidadhat pade |  
taddhitārthaparaç çāsīd āgamākhyātakṛtyavit ||
- CXLIV. (21) pratāpānalasantaptā çanke dāhābhīçankayā |  
āplāvītāsakṛd dhātrī yena dānamvuvṛṣṭibhiḥ ||
- CXLV. sumanohāriṇī yasya guṇair vva[dh]ā vikāsinī |  
lokatrayaçriyādyāpi kīrttimālā dhṛtādhiḥkam ||
- CXLVI. (22) yasya sāgaragambhīra-parikhā bhasmasātkṛtā |  
Campādhirājanagarī vīrair ājñānukāribhiḥ ||
- CXLVII. vivarṇṇau caraṇau yasya nṛpamaulimaṇitviṣā |  
sarvvavarṇṇānuraktā tu nirmmalorvvī bhujoddhṛtā ||
- CXLVIII. (23) kalir ekāntavāmo pi dakṣiṇo yasya çāsane |  
drutārīn anududrāva tejonalabhayād iḥa ||
- CXLIX. tathā nīranidher yyena kṣoṇī niṣkaṇṭakī kṛtā |  
nādyāpi skhalitā kīrttir yathaikā sarvvato gatā ||
- CL. (24) guṇeṣu mukhyayā vṛtṭyā gaṇyā dravyeṣv avaritata |  
gaṇanāpi mataḥ yasya kāçyapīyam anujjhataḥ ||

(1) Corr. çarakarmā.

- CLI. yathākāman dviṣadkāmāḥ kva nīlīyo nu nirbhayam |  
yad yasya yāne dhūlibhis sāndhakārīkṛtā diçāḥ ||
- CLII. (25) prādhvam kṛtā sadā premnā vidagdhadhiyam utsukā |  
na [n]irāsthata yañ jātu rājavidyā kulāṅganā ||
- CLIII. sāksātprajāpatir dakṣo dakṣiṇakṣanam akṣiṇot |  
sakalam sakalāṅkam yaḥ kalidoṣākaram kṛt ||
- CLIV. (26) [sa]dā kṛte makhaçate yas tatair dhūmanīradaiḥ |  
çarady api nabhaç cakre prāvṛṣṭiḥ malīmasam ||
- CLV. parastrīvimukho yo pi sadāçāravicaḥṣaṇaḥ |  
kenāpy ājau paraçrīṇām pāṇigrahavidhiṃ vyadhāt ||
- CLVI. (27) yasyenasyaṇyatejāṃsi tejasā jayatodaye |  
nūnam aurvvānalo dyāpi līno spharddhitayāmvudhau ||
- CLVII. vaddhā vidhātrāhīndreṇa riktā nūnam iyan dharā ||  
yena svakīrttiratnena pūrayitvā vṛṣāṅkitā ||
- CLVIII. (28) bhinnebhakumbhanirmuktā muktā yena raṇāṅgane ||  
rejire vidhavāriçrīvāṣpāṇām iva vindavaḥ ||
- CLIX. kīrttinādāmvudadhvāna . . . . . |  
. . . . . n tribhuvanakṣetre dharmmavījam avarddhayan ||
- CLX. (29) siṃhena nopamānārho yasya çauryyeṇa sāmyuge |  
tathā hi yadbhiyārātir adhyaçeta guhām hareḥ ||
- CLXI. vānīrājīva (1) rājāṅça . . . . . |  
. . . . . [sa]rojāni niryyānti mukhamāṇḍalāt ||
- CLXII. (30) . . . . . tejonalasaṃgatā |  
kali[m] nyak[ku]rv[v]atī yasya rājyaçrīr damayanty abhūt ||
- CLXIII. yaçov[i]stārasa[m]kṣiptā kṣiti[r] yya[s]ya — — — ||  
. . . . . ||
- CLXIV. (31) . . . . . yam ekam atitejasam |  
nūnam ullekhitas Tvaṣṭrā bhramamāro py abhāskarāḥ ||

(1) Corr. vañī°.

- CLXV. योग्यं वराम् यम आद्या मर्त्यालोके ।  
..... ॥
- CLXVI. (32) [tāra]y[i]trī titīrṣūṇā[m] gambhīrāpanmahānadīm ॥  
Vedavyāsan na suṣuve yasya vāk satyavaty api ॥
- CLXVII. रजो गुणसम्पत्कृद् अपदम् प्रतिघा[ता]म् ।  
..... ॥
- CLXVIII. (33) jīrṇāhīndreṇa vidhṛtā sācaleyañ caled iti |  
yūni nūnaṃ nyadhād vedhā yatrāhīne vasundharām ॥
- CLXIX. विभूतिर भूतपूर्ववपि राज्ञां च गुणसम्पत्[ता]म् ।  
..... ॥
- CLXX. (34) sambhṛtāḥ kṣmābhṛtām lakṣmīr āvalyāt kanyakā iva |  
yathākālam upāyair yyo nīrapāyair upāyata ॥
- CLXXI. षड्दक्षिण्ये प्य अधि यो विना द्विरवचनम् गुरुम् ।  
..... ॥
- CLXXII. (35) yasyopamānaṃ sañjātan na kiñcid guṇavistaraiḥ |  
vuddhvā vauddham mataṃ mene nyatīrthair api nānyathā ॥
- CLXXIII. कालदोषमवुद्धौ मग्ना दुर्युग्गे गम्भीरभिषङ्गे ।  
..... ॥
- CLXXIV. (36) çubham çubhāmyunā yūnā manuvartmānuvarttinā |  
rasāyanam vīnā bhāvi yena varṣīyasājaram ॥
- CLXXV. विश्वविकीर्णैर युगपद् यस्या तेजोभिर उज्ज्वलैः ।  
..... ॥
- CLXXVI. (37) rājñam kṛtyam iti jñātvā yaśya durggasamāçrayaḥ †  
na dānavabhayād abdhim adhiçete ripur Mmadhoḥ ॥
- CLXXVII. अपि कामादयो दोषाः स्थाने येन नियोजिताः ।  
गु ..... ॥
- CLXXVIII. (38) mañṣibhir mmanohatya pivadbhiç caritāmṛtam |  
atipānād ivodgīrṇam yasya kāvyair nnijais saha ॥
- CLXXIX. दोषान्दक्षरावहलान् जगज्जतम् यथा यथा ।  
यस्या. .... ॥

- CLXXX. (39) dharmmeṇa samstūtānām yo niṣiddhyajagatām api | (1)  
vināçahetun nāsthe kṣanabhaṅgaprasaṅgitām ||
- CLXXXI. anekakratur apy uccaiḥ-pado gopatir apy agāt |  
akrodhana[s]ya . . . . . ||
- CLXXXII. (40) Bhṛgumātram api prāpya vahneḥ pratihatam purā |  
tejas tv adhākṣīd yasyāpi mahāntam vāhinīpatim ||
- CLXXXIII. vadanyas svaçriyañ cakre suhṛtsādhāraṇīm ḥarim |  
vakṣonikṣiptalakṣm[ī] . . . . . ||
- CLXXXIV. (41) tarṣo harṣeṇa samprāpya vyanīyata vanīpakaiḥ |  
yaṃ mahāntam hradam iva prasannaṃ sphuṭapuṣkaram ||
- CLXXXV. asūryyapaçyam asuhṛt-strīvaktrakumudākaram |  
uccais samkocayām āsa . . . . . ||
- CLXXXVI. (42) patacchilīmukhacchāya-cchannadvidvadanāmvue |  
rārāja rājahamso yaç caran raṇamahāhrade ||
- CLXXXVII. samṃukhīno raṇamukhe yasya nāsīd asīdataḥ |  
preṅkhatsvakhadgasamkrāntam [p]ra . . . . . ||
- CLXXXVIII. (43) dhanurddarçanamātreṇa tīrthadhvaṅkṣā dviṣo drutāḥ |  
kāmaṃ puro na yasyājau bhujāṅgārīr api stbītaḥ ||
- CLXXXIX. sālakānanaramyām yaḥ sphuṭapuṣpaçilīmukhām |  
drutebhyaḥ paṭavīm dvidbhyo yoddhṛdbhyo . . . . . ||
- CXC. (44) prollasat-kīcakaçatā kaṅkādibhir upāçritā |  
çūnyāpy aripurī yena Virāṇanagarī kṛtā ||
- CXCI. kevalam rājanāgānām vīryyam mantra ivāharat |  
yo nādyūnatayā prāṇān kṣīpan tārksya i[va] ||
- CXCII. (45) drṣṭvā yasyādhvaram Çakra-yaçovibhramçaçamkayā |  
dhūmaspārçaecchalān nūnam udaçrunayanā Çacī ||
- CXCIII. ruddhānyatejaso yasya pādacchāyām açiçriyan |  
meror ivelāpatayas sitacchātratyaço niçam ||

(1) Corr. samstutanām . . . . niṣidhya . . . .

- CXCIV. (46) sṛṣṭau candrārkkayor dhātānādarād iva bhinnayoḥ |  
yam ekan tapanāhlāda-samartham asamam vyadhāt ||
- CXCV. upāntasevām vāñchantyo yatpādan tivrātejsam |  
mauliratnprabhāmbhobhir asiñcan bhūpapañktayaḥ ||
- CXCVI. (47) navam priyam aho loke yad vihāya dhanus Smaraḥ |  
unmamāthān ganācittam yatkāntyānupamānaya ||
- CXCVII. sphuṭāṣṭadikprāntadale hemaçailorukarṇṇike |  
yaço gandhāyata yasya bhuvanaikasaroruhe ||
- CXCVIII. (48) udvāntarāgāḥ sphuritā yasyānghrinakharaçmayah |  
aṣparddhanta natorvvīndra-mauliratnamarīcibhiḥ ||
- CXCIX. anvaruddhyata yasyājñām phalapasavasampade |  
ājanmavandhyaç cūto pi Vasiṣṭhasya Dilīpavat ||
- CC. (49) sahaśramukhasamkīrttyam gambhīram guṇavistaram |  
yasya bhāṣyam iva prāpya vyākhyākhinnāpi dhīmatām ||
- CCI. çrīmat-Siddheçvaram liṅgam Siddhaçivapure girau |  
varddhayām āsa yo bhogair apūrvvaiḥ çivikādibhiḥ ||
- CCII. (50) tatrāpi liṅgam Çarvvasya Çarvvanīpratime çubhe |  
yas samyak sthāpayām āsa pitṛṇān dharmmavṛddhaye ||
- CCIII. yadupakramamāseva çrī-Bhadreçvaraçūlinah |  
bhogo nyatrāpi devān yaḥ pūjābhir udamīmilat ||
- CCIV. (51) vivṛddhin dharmmasindhūnām Çrīndravarmmādibhūbhṛtām |  
svamaṇḍalasya ca samam yaç cakre nṛpacāndramāḥ ||
- CCV. Yaçodharataṭākasya dakṣiṇenāpi dakṣinah |  
yaç Çaurigaurīçanimāḥ Çambhor liṅgam atiṣṭhipat ||
- CCVI. (52) sa Somavañçāmvarabhāskaraç Çrī-  
Rājēndravarmmā tad idan nṛpendrah |  
svarggāpavarggādhigamasya liṅgam  
liṅgam pratiṣṭhāpitavān Smarāreḥ ||
- CCVII. samprāptayoḥ prāptayaçās svapitror  
bhuvah patis so pi bhavodbhavana |  
sa[m]sthānatām sthāpitavān sthitijño  
nime ime dve Çivayoç çivāya ||

- CCVIII. (53) mahābhujas so pi caturbhujasya  
nimām imām anvujanmanaç ca |  
atiṣṭhipan niṣṭhitarājakṛtyo  
liṅgān yathāṣṭāv api cāṣṭamūrtteḥ ||
- CCIX. ratnollasadbhogasahasradīptam  
sa cāpy ahīnan draviṇasya rāçim |  
açeṣam apy eṣv aditeva çeṣam  
deveṣu devendrasamānavīryaḥ ||
- CCX. (54) sa kalpayām āsa Mahendrakalpas  
sadā sadācāravidhiṃ vidheyam |  
çaivaçrutismṛtyuditā[m] saparyyām  
paryyāptamāsām iha devatānām ||
- CCXI. sa cāpi Vācaspatidhīs s[u]dhīran  
dharmmānugan dharmmābhṛtām purogaḥ |  
tān bhāvino bhāvitarājadharmmān  
idaṃ vaco vocata Kamvujendrān ||
- CCXII. (55) rakṣyasya samrakṣaṇam . . . . . [ya]t  
sa kṣatradharmmo vidito yadā vaḥ |  
puṇyan tad etat parirakṣateti  
vijñāpanā sādhyatīva siddham ||
- CCXIII. dharmmo yuge smin sthīram ekapāt sa  
katham samasthasyata susthito yam |  
bhavādṛçām çāstradṛçām sa no cen  
mahābhujastambham upāçrayiṣyat ||
- CCXIV. (56) dharmmāpadas sādhu . . . . . kāpi  
lajjeta karttā kim uta svayañ ca |  
rakṣādhikāri nṛpafir vyīçeṣād  
iti pratitam bhavatām idan tat ||
- CCXV. santo yaçodharmmadhanā na vāhyam  
dhanam dhanāyeyur ihātmano pi |  
prāg eva devādīdhanam satām vo  
viniçcayo yan nanu vaddhamūlaḥ ||
- CCXVI. (57) tathāpi bhūya - - yāmi yuṣmāms  
tad akṣatam rakṣata puṇyam etat |  
mā hārṣṭa devasvam iti prakāçan  
na dharmmahetoḥ punaruktadoṣaḥ ||

CCXVII. abhyarthito sūn api samprayacchen  
mahān mahimnā kim uta svakṛtyam |  
ataç ca visrambhavalapragalbhā  
vāk prārthanābhaṅgabhayojjhitaṣā ||

CCXVIII. (58) çākābde gaṇyamāne kṛtanagayasubhir māghamāsasya punye  
çuklasyaikādaçāhe nimişam api bhava yāti varṣārddham indau |  
arccābhiç Çaurigaurīgiriçakajabhuvām sārddham arddhendumauleç  
çṛt-Rājendreçvarākhyam sthitim akṛta parām līngam atredam ābhih ||

TRADUCTION.

I. A Çiva, au Seigneur des pēnsers éternels, à l'Unique, qui, pour se donner le plaisir de la création, de la conservation et de la destruction, s'est divisé en trois [sous la forme des dieux] suprêmes : Celui qui est issu du lotus (Brahmā), Celui qui a des yeux de lotus (Viṣṇu) et Celui qui a trois yeux (Çiva), — sur lesquels reposent les Puissances, — issus de l'*udgītha* qui fait briller les rayons du soleil, de la lune et du feu, riches de la triade des Guṇas, hommage, pour la réalisation des buts du Roi !

II. A Celui dont la forme, au chignon orné de la lune nouvelle, reconnue comme supérieure aux Trois Vedas, est la semence qui produit Brahmā, Hari et Içvara, quand elle se divise en trois d'après ses éléments, que les saints disent être la manifestation de l'Absolu et intelligible seulement par l'extase, au bienheureux Çiva, qui a la syllabe Om pour essence, hommage ! Qu'il vous donne la prospérité !

III. La [déesse] dont la démarche a la grâce du cygne, l'épouse fidèle, éperdue d'amour pour son bien-aimé, celle qui, d'abord unique, démembrant ensuite son corps, s'élance dans l'espace, et, pour jouir d'elle-même, revient à la ténuité ; qui porte un lotus formé dans son cœur et épanoui par sa propre lumière, la Puissance qui fait poindre [pour l'homme] l'absorption en Çiva, que la sublime Gaurī vous protège !

IV. A Lui qui développe les mondes par ses huit corps ayant la forme du sacrifiant, du feu, du soleil, du vent, du ciel, de la terre, de l'eau et de la lune ; à Lui, la cause des causes, qui proclame hautement, quoique sans paroles, l'irrésistible puissance de son action ; au Bienheureux qui a pour diadème le croissant de la lune, victoire !

V. Adorez Nārāyaṇa qui, étendant son empire, à peine eut-il vu les trois mondes escaladés en trois pas, — comme pour conquérir le quatrième séjour, pratique maintenant encore, sur l'océan, la contemplation sous l'apparence du sommeil.

vi. Victoire à Celui qui est né du lotus (Brahmā), qui a lancé de ses quatre bouches en même temps le tonnerre de l'Om̄kāra, comme si, pour parachever la création de l'univers, il eût voulu faire fructifier (1) sa semence primordiale déposée dans le champ (2).

vii. Victoire à Mandākinī (Gaṅgā), dont les ondes sortent du disque de la lune, et que Dhūrjati (Çiva) porte sur sa tête, comme pour faire voir le puissant lien d'amour qui l'attache à cette moitié de son corps qu'est la fille du roi des monts (Umā) !

viii. Il y avait un roi glorieux, dont les pieds étincelaient de la guirlande des bijoux [qui ornaient] la tête des rois jusqu'à la mer ; qui, malgré son nom de Bālāditya (soleil levant), était une pleine lune pour le malheur de ces lotus : les masses de ses ennemis ; qui, parure de ce ciel qu'est la race de Kauṇḍinya et de Somā, portait la Fortune royale conférée (3) par Aninditapura illustré par son bras (4).

ix. Aux femmes des ennemis orgueilleux il conférait, dans le combat, le sacrement de la viduité. Avec ses qualités il tressait une guirlande de gloire aussi brillante que les rayons de la lune d'hiver. A Svargadvārapura, dont la prospérité le disputait à celle de Purandarapura (5), bienfaisant pour tous, il érigea un liṅga de Çarva, avec des richesses, pourvu d'un culte.

x. Gloire de sa [double] lignée de brahmanes et de kṣatriyas, la noble sœur de sa mère, portant le nom faste de Sarasvatī, illustre, purifiant le monde, alla vers son époux Viçvarūpa, le meilleur des brahmanes, réceptacle supérieur et profond d'hymnes des divers textes sacrés, comme [la meilleure] des rivières (6) va vers l'Océan.

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(1) *Utsāna* manque dans les dictionnaires ; *sāna* est cité comme un doublet inusité de *sāta*, pp. de la racine *su*, « produire, engendrer ».

(2) La parole sacrée fait fructifier les germes innés dans le cœur, comme le tonnerre les grains dans les champs (cf. st. CLIX).

(3) Je suppose que *bharita* est une forme irrégulière pour *bhārīta*.

(4) Cf. la strophe parallèle de Praḥ Ēnkosei (ISCC., p. 84) : Valadityo pi san yo hita kula-kamalakuñcanāyakaandraḥ somā-kaunḍinya-vañçe nikhilaguṇanidhir ddiṭpakīrttyātapatro daurddaṇḍa-dyotitaninditapura-vilasad-rajyalakṣmīn dadhanaḥ.

« Bien qu'étant Bālāditya (soleil levant), il était une lune incomparable pour fermer les lotus des races hostiles ; dans la race de Somā et de Kauṇḍinya, [ce roi] réceptacle de toutes les vertus, ayant un parasol de gloire éclatant, faisait la félicité de la Lakṣmī royale d'Aninditapura illuminée par son bras. »

(5) La ville d'Indra.

(6) La Sarasvatī.

xI. Dans cette race illustre ayant pour tige Somā et unie aux plus grands des dieux, à commencer par Indra, Upendra (Viṣṇu) et Rudra, [mais alors] épuisée et déchue, — née pour en faire la joie, destinée à être pour cette mer de lait, sa famille, un arbre céleste fleuri de gloires, — prit naissance [une fille] pure, bienfaisante pour le monde, telle qu'une autre Lakṣmī (1).

xII. Bien qu'elle eût nom Mahendradevī, elle était fille de roi et *Ṛcvarī*, reine dont les louanges furent chantées plus d'une fois par les femmes célestes. Le fils du roi des rois de..... pura, le roi Mahendravarman, [issu] d'une race brillante, quand il l'eut obtenue [pour épouse], exerça vraiment une souveraineté effective (2).

xIII. Surpassant de loin la beauté de la lune, dissipant ces ténèbres que sont les vices, nouant une guirlande de lotus (ou : une alliance avec Padmā = *Ṣrī*, la Fortune), mine de splendeurs, le roi Rājendravarman fut engendré en cette reine par ce Prājāpati (ou : par ce maître des sujets) à l'éclatant *tapas* (ascétisme ou chaleur), comme le Soleil par Kaṣyapa en [Adi]ti (3).

xIV. Comme la lune [sortant] de la mer de lait ou le feu de la pierre de soleil (4), il sortit d'une pure lignée, doué d'une pureté plus grande, révééré par tous les rois.

xV. Son ardent éclat dissipait les ténèbres, tandis que la clarté de ses *kalās* (talents ou parties du disque lunaire) apaisait l'horizon : ainsi, soleil, il remplit dès son apparition tout le rôle de la lune.

xVI. Le bienfaisant Santānaka, bien que charmant par sa fructification propre et régulière, quand il eut obtenu de la terre [ce roi] comme un fruit magnifique, atteignit au plus haut point du charme (5).

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(1) Je suppose qu'il s'agit d'une fille de Sarasvatī et de Viṣvarūpa ; mais cela n'est pas dit clairement dans le texte.

(2) Il y a ici une série de jeux de mots. Tout en étant par son nom Mahendradevī (épouse d'Indra), elle était *Ṛcvarī* (souveraine et épouse de *Ṣiva*) ; et Mahendravarman ne fut vraiment *Ṛcvara* (souverain ou *Ṣiva*) qu'après qu'il eût épousé cette *Ṛcvarī*.

(3) Rājendravarman étant le fils aîné de Jayavarman IV (850-864 çaka), il faut admettre que ce dernier portait, avant son avènement, comme dynaste de la principauté dont le nom a disparu de la strophe XII, le nom de Mahendravarman.

(4) *Candāṃṣuratna* est probablement une périphrase pour *sūryakāntī*.

(5) Le Santānaka est un des arbres céleste : il est bienfaisant, *saumya* ; le roi lui aussi est *saumya*, comme descendant de Somā : il peut donc être considéré comme un fruit de l'arbre divin.

xvii. Croissant de jour en jour, ayant une beauté de flamme, par le charme rare de sa beauté faisant surgir de tous côtés des partisans, il éclipsait la lune (1).

xviii. Dès son enfance, il était complet en talents ; de jour en jour, il s'enflammait pour l'éloquence ; comme la possession des *kalās* appartient aussi à la lune, mais accompagnée de froideur, il la surpassait de loin (2).

xix. Rejetant les défauts (ou : les ténèbres), versant un torrent de lumière, illuminant les objets, se répandant par le monde, la science, sur sa bouche infailible, était pareille au brillant éclat du jour paraissant à l'orient.

xx. Armé de la puissance de Maheçvara, faite de connaissance, efficace, conférée par les dieux, — dans le rôle de Kumāra, vainqueur de la foule de ses ennemis, il fit resplendir la fortune de Mahendra (3).

xxi. Par des masses de cordes (ou : de qualités), larges, sûres, étendues, il courbait également, au moyen de l'éducation, son grand arc et son haut lignage princier, fait d'un excellent bambou (ou : issu d'une noble race), sans rival pour l'expansion.

xxii. En rencontrant soudain ce terrain d'élite vanté par les habiles, fertile sans labour, la graine supérieure de la science et des armes, arrosée par l'eau de la foi, s'est puissamment développée.

xxiii. Toutes les vertus [éparses] de tous côtés, il se les appropriait avec adresse, versant toujours un torrent d'éclat, — comme le soleil, dans l'intérêt du monde, absorbe chaque jour les eaux, sans se lasser.

xxiv. Comme la grâce du printemps sur les jardins, comme le jour de la plénitude pour la lune, ainsi s'est levée, ravissante, splendide, la beauté de sa fraîche jeunesse.

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(1) Le roi croissait sans cesse, tandis que la lune croît et décroît ; il avait une beauté flamboyante, tandis qu'elle n'a qu'un éclat froid ; il suscitait en même temps tous les *pakṣa* (partisans), tandis qu'elle n'a que des *pakṣa* (quinzaines) successifs : pour ces trois raisons, il était supérieur à la lune.

(2) La lune n'acquiert que peu à peu ses *kalās* (16 portions) ; lui, dès son enfance, eut toutes les *kalās* (talents) ; et même la possession de toutes les *kalās* s'accompagne chez elle de froideur, tandis qu'il était ardent pour le beau langage.

(3) Jeu de mots sur *kumāra* qui signifie : a) Skanda, fils de Çiva ; b) prince héritier : dans le premier sens, le prince possédait la puissance de Çiva, père de Kumāra ; dans le second, il faisait briller la gloire de Mahendra[varman], son père.

xxv. Par un contact aussi menu qu'un poil, sa nature tout entière s'exprimait ; par quelque [mystère], il rendait manifeste [en lui] l'essence de Maheça, que les traités du Sāṅkhya et les Āgamas eux-mêmes ne permettent pas de percevoir.

xxvi. Développée depuis l'enfance, riche dès le début, sa beauté, que nul autre ne posséda, a été sûrement morcelée par le Créateur pour embellir le doux éclat de sa jeunesse parfaite.

xxvii. L'amour qu'il maîtrisait sans cesse, même dans l'épanouissement de sa jeunesse neuve, comme frappé de honte par la vue de sa beauté, n'osait, par orgueil, s'approcher de lui.

xxviii. En voyant sa beauté, que nul autre n'atteignit, Rati, les yeux battants de passion, cessa, je pense, de croire son époux digne d'elle, lui qui fut léché par la langue du feu de l'œil de Çiva.

xxix. Déployant sa force puissante pour tendre l'arc, héros éminent parmi les jeunes gens, il posséda la fortune de prince héritier, non issue d'une matrice, mais conférée par son père, comme Rāma la noble Sītā (1).

xxx. Lorsque de l'aiguère d'or, comme du disque du soleil, ruissela l'eau du sacre, pareille à l'ambrosie, depuis cet instant sa fortune participa à la croissance de la lune.

xxxi. Par les eaux des ablutions, stériles pour les ignorants du Veda, le feu de son éclat se fortifiait ; de même, comme par envie, le feu du chagrin s'accompagna, chez ses ennemis, d'une pluie de larmes.

xxxii. Orné de parures non factices, telles que la science, et aussi de la beauté de son corps charmant par nature, il adoptait les ornements raffinés qui venaient s'y joindre comme des moyens de préservation (*maṅgalam*).

xxxiii. Ayant reçu le grand ondolement de la méditation et ayant pour parure les bijoux dont il usait, il portait sur lui, toujours renouvelée, la beauté de la mer, dont l'eau fut bue et la masse de gemmes rejetée par Agastya.

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(1) Les épithètes *ayonijā* et *janakopānītā* s'appliquent à la fois à la dignité de yuvarāja et à Sītā : la première, « non issue d'une matrice », c'est-à-dire non transmise par sa mère, fut conférée à Rājendravarman par son père (*janaka*) ; la seconde, Sītā, n'est pas non plus issue d'une matrice, puisqu'elle est née du sillon, et elle fut donnée à Rāma par son père Janaka.

xxxiv. Par les diverses planètes parvenues à leur point culminant, bien qu'il se tint, comme par crainte, à l'écart d'elles, il fut mis, sans le désirer, sur le trône royal, escarpé comme le Meru.

xxxv. Où pourrait-on trouver un autre exemple aussi parfait de beauté physique ? Sa propre image reflétée sur la surface d'un miroir est indigne de lui, en raison du support.

xxxvi. Au moment de son sacre, la Terre humide de l'eau ruisselante, la Terre qui a pour belle ceinture la mer, éleva en quelque sorte son parasol unique, brillant de gloire, blanc comme les *kalās* de la lune.

xxxvii. Le fruit de toute prospérité définie par ses caractères propres annonce d'avance sa maturité : les vœux que formulaient pour lui des foules de brahmanes paraissaient une répétition.

xxxviii. Comme les essaims d'abeilles vers le Pārijāta, comme les âmes des Munis vers la méditation de l'Ātman, ainsi, négligeant toute autre activité, les yeux des hommes se portaient vers lui seul.

xxxix. La fortune des rois, volage de nature, ne brillait çà et là comme un éclair, et l'aimable automne ne se montrait sans nuages qu'au moment de son entrée en campagne.

xl. Ayant sa fortune reluisante de la lustration de ses armes redoutables, illuminé par le sacre d'un grand empire, gardant sa personne au moyen des Vidyās, des Aṅgas et des Mantras, il atteignit un succès d'une haute essence.

xli. Quand il déployait sa bannière inébranlable, quand il allait à l'armée pour la conquête du monde, la fortune des rois ennemis chancelait d'abord, ensuite la terre s'alourdissait sous le poids de ses troupes.

xlii. Comme s'ils eussent entendu Saumitri (Lakṣmaṇa) jetant, au moment de l'attaque, un cri plus haut que le tonnerre, les rois ennemis, pareils à Ravana, en entendant de loin le son de ses instruments de musique, étaient frappés de terreur.

xliii. Telle qu'un torrent de fumée [jeté par] le feu de son héroïsme, la poussière soulevée par ses armées entrant en campagne, faisait pleurer, sans même les toucher, les yeux des femmes des ennemis.

xliv. Après avoir comprimé la terre (ou : la patience) au début de sa carrière, et, dans sa marche, poussé les fleuves à l'impureté par ses poussières (ou : ses passions), la foule (ou : la congrégation) de ses armées donnait l'assaut en fixant sa fureur (ou : en enchaînant la colère).

XLV. Tantôt pleine de rois courbés et jonchée d'armées ennemies, tantôt étendue devant sa marche, sa route était comme la route des armées du ciel.

XLVI. [L'obscureissement] du ciel, l'arrêt des hommes, l'impuissance d'agir, l'abolition de l'éclat : tout ce que le soir opère au moyen des ténèbres, il le faisait aux ennemis au moyen de ses armées.

XLVII. Quand, étendant ses deux ailes retentissantes, il accourait impétueusement, pareil à Garuḍa, ces nāgas que sont les ennemis, frappés dans leur énergie, se voyaient contraints de fuir.

XLVIII. . . . .

XLIX. Quand il levait son arc dans la bataille, comme dans une pure automne-traversée de pluie, les rois, serrés l'un contre l'autre comme des nuages légers, étaient promptement réduits à l'impuissance.

L . . . . .

LI. Réalisant la comparaison de l'homme trompé sur la vérité avec le papillon, la foule joyeuse des ennemis bravait, pour sa perte, le feu flamboyant de sa majesté, issu de l'*araṇi* de son bras.

LII . . . . .

LIII. Ayant obtenu son trône et dispersé ses ennemis, occupé l'atmosphère et maîtrisé la violence du cœur, tandis qu'il lançait infatigablement [ses traits], s'arrêta. . .

LIV. . . . avec ses traits il anéantit dans le combat. . .

LV. Les flèches lancées par son arc, à l'harmonieux cliquetis, tombaient sur la tête des ennemis, laissant après elles le parfum des [fleurs de] mandāra tombées de ces lianes que sont les mains des nymphes du ciel.

LVI. . . . il trancha la tête à une foule de rois.

LVII. Même investi par les rois ennemis dans le combat, sur la montagne, il resplendissait des flots de sang qui coulaient de ses blessures ; tandis que le soleil, même portant une cuirasse, perd son éclat sous l'ombre de son ennemi qui le couvre.

LVIII. . . . ayant une gloire irrésistible et universelle, il tira le méchant Rāvaṇa. . .

LIX. Ne désirant pas s'approprier dans le combat le disque de Viṣṇu ni conquérir le foudre d'Indra, armé de son seul épieu (ou *çakti*), qui le mettait en possession du javelot de Maheçvara, il vainquit la troupe de ses ennemis.

LX. . . . . de loin le cœur des femmes se fendait de lui-même. . .

LXI. Pilonné dans le combat par les guerriers ennemis, sa profondeur lui permettait de garder sa sérénité : un étang se trouble quand les éléphants s'y baignent, mais non l'océan.

LXII. . . . . brille comme l'éclair, étincelante, bien que sans langue, comme la langue du serpent. . . . .

LXIII. Quand son épée humide [de sang] tombait sur l'obstacle pour le briser, si, par suite de la légèreté de son poing ou d'une distraction de sa pensée, un second coup était nécessaire pour abattre son ennemi, il encourait les vifs reproches de son bras. . . . .

LXIV. . . . . pour faire descendre les femmes célestes, il fit en quelque sorte un magnifique escalier.

LXV. Attaquant les points faibles et ménageant ses hommes, il étendait par la séduction, et par la force les succès obtenus, rendant stupide le plus habile adversaire.

LXVI. . . . . la qualité de fruit, dans le combat il imitait habilement la manière d'agir du Créateur qui met dans son œuvre des activités opposées. . . . .

LXVII. Telle une nouvelle mariée qui, bien que sollicitée par son amie de faire face, bien que souhaitant elle-même d'être hardie, si elle voit de loin [son époux], tourne le dos, telle était devant lui l'armée ennemie dans la volupté du combat.

LXVIII. . . . . Celui qui dans une grande bataille obtient la victoire, ce n'est pas l'homme d'un courage sans but, mais celui qui prend les conseils des habiles.

LXIX. Le corps décoloré par le contact de ses forteresses (ou : de Durgā), les yeux hagards d'avoir contemplé l'entrée des cavernes (ou : le visage de Guha)<sup>(1)</sup>, la foule de ses ennemis, vêtue de peaux d'antilope, se tenait dans la forêt, immobile comme un pieu, n'ayant plus de maître (ou : sans pourtant être Īça).

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(1) Guha ou Skanda, dieu de la guerre. *Corr.* Guhāṇa en guhānana ?

LXX. . . . . son désir était frustré : à celui qui veut conquérir ou donner la terre, la terre ne suffit jamais.

LXXI. Le pays de ses ennemis, où se trouvent en foule les coraux clairs, grands, étincelants, où plongent les nāgas à l'approche de Hari, aussi inaccessible que la mer par ses forêts intérieures, perd cependant sa fortune.

LXXII. . . . la réalisation du but, — appliqué au développement de la triade (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*) ; les quatre points cardinaux, dont il connaissait la portée, il les saisit, comme les sciences, dès sa jeunesse.

LXXIII. Se faisant place dans le monde par sa toute-puissance, inaccessible aux autres, supérieure aux mieux doués, sa gloire, pure comme l'éther, jouit d'une suite interrompue de qualités et de discours (1).

LXXIV. La Terre était auparavant amaigrie par la disparition des . . . causée par les diverses espèces de traitements de Suçrūta ; [ce roi], habile à éliminer tous les maux, lui rendit son embonpoint au moyen des six Rasas et [des six] Aṅgas.

LXXV. Son éclat, qui faisait pâlir tout autre éclat, était en tête (ou : à l'orient) et de grand rayon (ou : ayant un grand disque) ; parvenu à la grande souveraineté, [ce roi] brilla puissamment comme le soleil [arrivé] au milieu du jour.

LXXVI. Lorsque, armé d'une redoutable puissance, il gravit ce roi des monts aux lions dressés, [le trône], non seulement les étoiles perdirent leur éclat, mais les têtes diamantées des rois tombèrent.

LXXVII. Quand se dressa en un seul point [du monde] son grand parasol blanc, brillant comme la lune, la chaleur, délaissant toute la terre envahit le cœur de ses ennemis.

LXXVIII. Désireux sans doute de contempler longtemps sa beauté, tous les mondes ont cherché à obtenir par d'innombrables sacrifices la faculté de regarder sans cligner des yeux, en vue de contenter leur envie.

LXXIX. Aimant à voir chez ses amis sa propre Fortune comme dans un miroir, il la leur faisait passer successivement, tel qu'un reflet de lui-même, dans le miroir des joyaux [qu'il leur donnait] après les avoir portés.

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(1) Jeu de mots sur *çabda*, *guṇa*, *anubandha*, trois termes techniques de la grammaire sanskrite.

LXXX. En raison de son extrême énergie, sa politique, à la différence des autres, était parfaitement droite : hormis le soleil et la lune, quelle autre planète n'a une marche oblique ou rétrograde ?

LXXXI. Par les quatre Vedas, Sāma etc., ayant pour racine les Mantras, ayant de multiples applications, moyens d'écarter les malheurs, il réalisait habilement le succès.

LXXXII. Toujours reconnu comme protagoniste de la guerre (ou : Matière primordiale), montrant une grande et admirable activité (ou : l'action variée du Mahat), par le seul exercice des six Guṇas <sup>(1)</sup>, sans [avoir besoin] de paroles, il proclamait incomparable sa triple excellence (ou : le Pradhāna formé de trois Guṇas).

LXXXIII. Le Créateur, bien qu'il biaise ordinairement devant sa tâche, et qu'il ait [d'autre part] la force sans égale de Maître de Mantras, lui obéissait comme par crainte du regard destructeur qu'il jetait sur ses adversaires.

LXXXIV. Menacés de loin, dans son royaume, par les abondantes vertus amies de l'union avec le Trivarga, — les vices, comme par dépit, se sont ralliés bien vite aux ennemis de ce roi, appui des vertus.

LXXXV. C'est après avoir extirpé ses propres défaillances qu'il se levait pour châtier, dans la juste mesure, les autres délinquants : même en chassant les ténèbres, la lune considère intégralement sa propre tache.

LXXXVI. Par suite de leur bonne éducation et de leur absence de vices, ses sujets loyaux ne craignaient pas le malheur ; jadis, par suite de sa mauvaise éducation, la princesse fille d'Ajātaçatru elle-même encourut une grande infortune.

LXXXVII. Attentives aux lacunes, tirant leur caractère de l'apaisement, invincibles pour ceux dont la force est incomplète, les Prospérités, ayant pris pour réceptacle ce roi expérimenté, furent comme des eaux devenues parfaitement stables.

LXXXVIII. Sa lance, lionne qui rôdait de tous côtés sur la route des ennemis, terrible à ceux qu'elle devait chasser, et qui de son union avec un mâle (ou : un homme puissant) obtint des fils (ou : des sujets), il la nourrissait, ayant obtenu pour reine la Fortune.

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(1) Les six éléments constitutifs de la politique.

LXXXIX. La foule des sages a mis au premier rang des grands rois Kārtavīrya qui avait mille défauts : que dire de celui-ci qui est pourvu de toutes les qualités sans exception ?

xc. Bien que chantée sur la terre et dans le ciel, la gloire de Jīṣṇu (Arjuna), réalisant la perfection de l'héroïsme, n'est pas comparable à la sienne, puisqu'elle est une souffrance pour Karṇa, tandis que l'autre est un délice pour les oreilles <sup>(1)</sup>.

xcI. Telle qu'un nuage occupant tous les points du ciel, lorsque retentissait sa gloire, la terre lointaine (ou : la terre de Vidūra) offrait avec empressement, sans qu'on eût à les prendre, non seulement ses bijoux mais aussi d'autres présents, éléphants etc. <sup>(2)</sup>.

xcII. Par la fumée qui montait de ses centaines de milliers de sacrifices et qui voilait tous les points cardinaux, interceptant le faisceau des rayons solaires, il maculait en même temps le ciel et la gloire de Çatakratu (Indra).

xcIII. On déclare correct le raisonnement qui conclut de la vue de la fumée au feu ; mais le vrai, c'est ce raisonnement nouveau, qui, de la vue de la fumée de ses sacrifices, conclut à une pluie de richesses.

xcIV. Comme, au contact de l'océan, un nuage se gonfle d'eaux qui lui viennent d'elles-mêmes sans en être sollicitées ; ainsi, après l'avoir abordé, l'armée des malheureux, d'abord vide, [se retirait] pleine à souhait et versait à son tour une pluie [de bienfaits].

xcV. Ravissant les yeux, montrant la beauté de ses rayons (ou : de ses doigts), humectée d'un suc excellent (ou : de bon goût), la figure de ce roi était comme un disque lunaire qui, ayant une rotation de belle couleur (ou : un bon style de théâtre) méritait [en outre] d'être comparé à la danse, mais qui n'était point, [comme la lune], déparé par une antilope <sup>(3)</sup>.

xcVI. Appuyé à son ombre, un autre roi peut vaincre les ennemis orgueilleux, que dire de lui-même ? Sans le soleil, auquel elle emprunte son large éclat, la lune assurément ne dissiperait pas les ténèbres.

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(1) Jeu de mots sur *karṇa* = a) oreille ; b) adversaire d'Arjuna et de ses frères dans le Mahābhārata.

(2) Jeu de mots sur *vidūrabhāmi* : a) terre lointaine ; b) pays de Vidūra, où les gemmes se forment au son du tonnerre.

(3) Puisqu'il était *çubharaṅga*, « de belle couleur », il ne pouvait être, comme la lune affecté de *kurāṅga* « laide couleur » ou « antilope ».

xcvii. Les parures des autres rois et leurs miroirs de pierres précieuses ne jetaient qu'un faible éclat auprès des splendides miroirs des ongles [de ses pieds], qui devenaient pour eux pendants d'oreilles [sous forme de] commandements.

xcviii. Un autre pouvait l'égaliser par quelques qualités, il n'égalait pas sa grandeur : le paon sait danser et il a le cou bleu, il n'arrive pas pour autant au rang d'Īçvara.

xcix. Toujours en mouvement, attractive, omniprésente, forte, large, imposant l'ordre aux turbulents, sa gloire semble faite des grands éléments.

c. Eloquence, vaillance, beauté, grâce, profondeur, douceur, bonté : ces [vertus], et d'autres encore, il en fut le séjour unique ; et par le Créateur il fut créé supérieur encore en énergie et en intelligence.

ci. Si Kārttavīrya, à la vaillance reconnue sur la terre, voyait devant lui la vaillance de ce roi alimentée par deux bras [seulement], il croirait, je pense, que, dans le combat, ses mille bras ne sont pour lui qu'un fardeau.

cii. La force guerrière de ce vainqueur des ennemis distance de bien loin toutes les autres puissances, comme l'odeur d'un éléphant en rut et ruisselant de *mada* celle des autres éléphants terrifiés.

ciii. Rejetant tout attachement à d'autres divinités, sa Foi et sa Piété suprêmes se tournaient avec désir vers Çrikanṭha (Viṣṇu), comme Gaṅgā et Bhavānī vers le dieu des dieux (Çiva).

civ. . . . . création de beauté. . . . pilier d'or unique, que le Créateur. . . .

cv. « Tel j'avais créé Kāma, qui fut brûlé par Pinākin (Çiva) » : dans cette pensée, le Créateur donna la souveraineté à [ce roi] d'une beauté parfaite.

cvi. . . . . la science. . . . . le Créateur aux quatre visages. . . . .

cvi. Laissant la Fortune sur sa poitrine et la Gloire sur l'autre rive de la mer, il prenait le plaisir d'amour, lui jeune, avec la vieille Science.

cvi. Autrefois Dilīpa, par désir d'une postérité, garda la vache de Vasiṣṭha : ayant obtenu des sujets (1) par sa propre énergie, ce Bhārgaviya. . . . .

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(1) Jeu de mots sur *prajā*, « postérité » et « sujets d'un roi ».

cix. Devant la mer de lait de sa gloire débordant sur le monde, la terre effrayée a pris l'apparence d'un reflet de lune.

cx. Bien que comblé de mille jouissances (ou : replis) . . . . . bien que doué de qualités infinies (ou : d'Ananta), il était très secourable à la peine des humbles (ou : de Vinatā) (1).

cxI. Ombrageant d'un grand parasol unique la terre ornée de sa ceinture d'océans, il rendit le Meru inutile.

cxII. Tout chancelant de sa rencontre avec son ennemi Kalī, par suite de la perte de ses pieds, Dharma, après avoir trouvé [ce roi], se tint ferme, illuminé par son succès.

cxIII. Dans le combat, le feu de sa majesté, attisé par le vent de son héroïsme, — bien que sans fumée, faisait verser aux femmes des ennemis des torrents de larmes.

cxIV. La Fortune des ennemis, semblable à une lueur éphémère, s'appuya sur lui [par désir] de stabilité ; sa Gloire, quoique liée à une série de qualités (ou : par une série de cordes), s'échappa vers tous les points de l'horizon.

cxV. L'arbre Kalpa de son bras, poussé dans le Nandana du combat (2), ayant comme bourgeon son épée rougie, dispersait dans toutes les directions les fleurs de sa gloire.

cxVI. Dans ses marches, la Terre, comme irritée d'être frappée par les coups des défenses des éléphants furieux, enveloppait sans cesse de poussière les grands guerriers.

cxVII. Fortifié par l'accomplissement des Mantras, il porta sur le feu de son épée, enflammé par [ce] combustible, des lotus — les têtes des ennemis — et engendra [ainsi] la toute-puissance royale.

cxVIII. Il était solide, inaccessible, élevé, déracinant . . . , d'une énergie infinie (ou : ayant l'énergie d'Ananta) dans la destruction (ou : dans le barattement) ; et pourtant il n'était pas de la race des Monts (3).

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(1) Allusion à l'histoire de Vinatā, mère de Garuda, réduite à l'état d'esclave des serpents à la suite d'un pari imprudent ; jeux de mots sur *bhoga* « jouissance » et « repli », et *ananta* (« infini » et nom d'un roi des serpents).

(2) Nandana, parc du ciel d'Indra, où croît l'arbre Kalpa, qui procure la satisfaction de tous les désirs.

(3) Allusion au barattement de la mer de lait au moyen du mont Mandara et du nāgā Ananta. Le jeu de mots sur *bhābhṛt* n'est pas clair : le sens de « roi » est exclu, puisque Rājendravarman était précisément de race royale : l'auteur n'aurait-il pas eû en vue la « race des [Rois des] Monts », c'est-à-dire des Çailendras de Çrivijaya ?

CXIX. La Fortune des ennemis, comme dévorée de soif, brûlée qu'elle était par le feu de sa majesté, dès qu'elle trouva l'onde née de son lotus (de son cœur), ne perdit pas un instant [pour s'y désaltérer].

CXX. La poussière des lotus de ses pieds, comme suivant l'exemple de sa conduite, quand elle se posait sur les têtes des rois, leur donnait la prospérité.

CXXI. Tel que Hari, les yeux embués de sommeil, il portait, comme une femme, ses enfants (ou : ses sujets) sur son sein : mais il était un Çiva par le cœur, et sa virilité était claire pour les hommes intelligents.

CXXII. Après avoir vaincu dans le combat un orgueilleux roi ennemi, il traitait avec bonté sa famille, [comme] le lion qui a déchiré le roi des éléphants....

CXXIII. Ayant enchaîné son favori, le glaive, et vaincu les ennemis par ses flèches droites munies d'une corde (ou : par ses demandes loyales pourvues de qualités), il distribuait les biens selon les mérites.

CXXIV. Le poison bu par Nilakanṭha devint une parure pour son cou ; l'ambrosie de sa parole vomie par.... pour les sages...

CXXV. Assurément Vraddhna (le soleil) est aujourd'hui encore fourvoyé par ses coursiers, égarés par les fumées épaisses et aveuglantes qui s'élevaient de ses sacrifices.

CXXVI. . . . . Dans ce sacrifice : la guerre, avec ces bûches : les ennemis, il assignait à ces brahmanes : les points cardinaux, un salaire indestructible : la gloire.

CXXVII. Quand les ennemis, déposant leurs glaives, se prosternaient devant lui, il détendait la corde de son arc et cessait [de les combattre], mais non les archers.

CXXVIII. Le bras de ce roi était correct (ou : arrondi) et secourable pour ses amis ; mais, dans la guerre, il était toujours résolu à l'égard des ennemis et des malveillants.

CXXIX. Ayant reconnu que les sentiments entretenus par [toutes] les espèces d'ennemis se fondent sur une seule chose, il exécutait supérieurement la manœuvre habituelle des arcs.

CXXX. Dans la grotte de son cœur, habitée par Çiva et profonde en piété, les autres devatās, par crainte du feu de son œil, ne pénétraient pas.

CXXXI. Il pénétrait sans cesse, inlassable, dans le cœur des belles, comme pour y frapper le pirate Amour qui s'y tient embusqué.

CXXXII. Bien qu'élevé à la sérénité par la méditation, il terrifait, par son nom seul, les ennemis : quand ils sentent de loin l'odeur du lion, les éléphants s'enfuient.

CXXXIII. Quand elle eut trouvé [ce roi] riche de la pratique de la prudence et de l'héroïsme, la Terre, comme [une femme] sans aucun autre amant, parvenue à ses fins, lui donna son amour, à cause de la douce pression de ses ongles.

CXXXIV. Il ne dérogeait aux convenances qu'en ceci que, tout en montrant le trésor de sa beauté, il attirait à lui tous les cœurs.

CXXXV. Ayant déposé ses armes, endormi dans la forêt, Hari l'Incréé s'abandonne entièrement au Yoga ; mais Rudra garde la moitié de son épouse, comme s'il pensait à [ce roi] qui aspire à la conquérir.

CXXXVI. Par désir de ce nectar : le sang dégouttant de ce lotus : sa claire épée, — la Fortune des ennemis fut affolée, comme Bhrûgin, au frottement de son bras.

CXXXVII. Sur un seul mot de lui, la ville de ses ennemis fut, comme le ciel, parcourue par les constellations et offrant de la place aux êtres (1).

CXXXVIII. Troublé par le jeu de ses flèches, bien que pourvu d'armées et de forteresses, l'ennemi, comme en pleine bataille, s'enfuit dans la forêt, n'ayant pour compagnon que son glaive.

CXXXIX. Plongés dans la stupeur (ou : adonnés à la méditation), privés de couleur (ou : dépouillant la passion), réfugiés dans les cavernes (ou : retirés dans leur cœur), les ennemis, sans la contemplation des pieds de ce Seigneur, ne pouvaient parvenir à la délivrance.

CXL. « Comment, abandonné par mon époux, pourrais-je résister aux bêtes féroces ? » Dans cette pensée, la ville des ennemis entra dans le feu purificateur de son incendie.

CXLI. Ayant vu dans le combat la vaillance de ce héros, la foule des ennemis, comme par désir d'obtenir du courage (ou : des bêtes), se réfugia dans la forêt hantée de lions, etc.

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(1) C'est-à-dire ruinée et déserte (?).

CXLII. Même enivrés par le rut, même de haute taille, même utilisables pour l'accomplissement du Dharma, les éléphants étaient par lui donnés bien souvent aux brahmanes.

CXLIII. Employant dans les mots les sept sortes de thèmes et de désinences, il était de première force pour le sens des *taddhitas* et connaissait les *krtyas*, le verbe et l'augment.

CXLIV. La Terre ardaît du feu de sa majesté : par crainte qu'elle ne prit feu, je pense, il la baigna maintes fois des torrents d'eau de ses donations.

CXLV. Ravissante, liée par ses qualités, épanouie, la guirlande de sa gloire est, aujourd'hui encore, hautement portée par la Fortune des trois mondes.

CXLVI. La ville du roi de Campā, ayant pour fossé profond la mer, fut réduite en cendres par les guerriers obéissant à ses ordres.

CXLVII. Ses pieds étaient décolorés (*vivarṇa*) par l'éclat des gemmes des diadèmes des rois ; mais la terre immaculée, soulevée par son bras, était bienveillante à toutes les castes (*varṇa*).

CXLVIII. Kali, quoique absolument gauche (ou fourbe), était droit sous son règne : il s'enfuit derrière ses ennemis en fuite, comme par crainte du feu de son éclat.

CXLIX. La terre jusqu'à l'océan fut par lui si complètement débarrassée d'ennemis (ou : de broussailles) qu'aujourd'hui encore sa gloire, allant seule de tous côtés, ne trébuche pas.

CL. Sa préoccupation s'adressait principalement aux qualités, secondairement aux substances (ou : richesses) : il ne s'écartait pas de la doctrine de Kāçyapa.

CLI. Où le désir des ennemis eût-il pu se jouer à l'aise et sans crainte, puisque la poussière soulevée par sa marche obscurcissait tous les points de l'espace ?

CLII. Celle que toujours écarte l'amour, qui s'éprend d'une intelligence mûrie, cette femme noble : la science royale ne le dédaigna (?) jamais.

CLIII. Habile comme le Créateur incarné, il détruisait, au moment opportun, avec adresse, toute la masse impure des vices de Kali.

CLIV. Par les nuages de fumée tendus par la centaine de sacrifices qu'il offrait constamment, il rendait en automne, comme dans la saison des pluies, le ciel brouillé

CLV. Détournant les yeux de la femme d'autrui, expérimenté dans la bonne conduite, il accomplissait pourtant dans le combat le rite du mariage avec les Fortunes de l'ennemi.

CLVI. C'est sans doute par jalousie de l'éclat de ce grand prince, qui surpassa, à son lever, tous les autres, qu'aujourd'hui encore le feu sous-marin se cache dans la mer.

CLVII. Liée par le Créateur au Roi des Serpents, et indigente, la Terre, sans doute, fut par ce roi remplie du trésor de sa gloire et marquée du sceau du Taureau (1).

CLVIII. Les perles que, sur le champ de bataille, il faisait jaillir des tempes des éléphants mis en pièces, brillaient comme les larmes de la Fortune des ennemis rendue veuve par lui.

CLIX. .... le son de ce nuage qu'est le retentissement de sa gloire..... faisaient croître la semence du Dharma dans le champ des trois mondes.....

CLX. Par sa valeur dans le combat, son ennemi n'était pas digne d'être comparé à un lion, car c'est par peur de lui qu'il se réfugiait dans la caverne du lion.

CLXI. Comme une série de paroles. . . . portion du roi. . . . les lotus sortent du cercle de sa bouche.

CLXII. .... unie au feu de sa majesté, sa Fortune royale, méprisant Kali, était Damayantī.

CLXIII. La terre resserrée par l'expansion de sa gloire . . . .

CLXIV. .... lequel seul doué d'un éclat extrême . . . assurément, dessiné par Tvaṣṭar lui-même le Māra de l'erreur est sans éclat (?).

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(1) Le sens paraît être que grâce au roi Rājendravarman, la terre, primitivement pauvre, a été enrichie d'un trésor de gloire ; et que, liée par le Créateur au serpent Ćeṣa qui lui sert de support, elle a ensuite reçu la marque du Dharma (Loi), comparé ordinairement à un Taureau.

CLXV. L'ayant trouvé comme époux digne d'elle, dans le monde des hommes....

CLXVI. [Salvatrice] de ceux qui veulent franchir la rivière profonde de l'infortune, sa parole, bien que véridique (ou : Satyavati) n'enfanta point Vedavyāsa.

CLXVII. Les [hommes] droits par leur union avec les vertus, écartent les calamités....

CLXVIII. « Cette vieille Terre, portée par le Roi des Serpents, chancellerait » : dans cette pensée, sans doute, le Créateur confia la terre à ce jeune [roi] parfait.

CLXIX. La puissance, bien qu'existant antérieurement, et la foule des qualités des rois.....

CLXX. Il abordait en temps voulu, par des moyens infailibles, les fortunés accumulés des rois, comme des jeunes filles sorties de l'enfance.

CLXXI. Bien que versé dans la grammaire, sans redoublement. . . .

CLXXII. Rien n'était comparable à l'ampleur de ses vertus : ayant compris la doctrine bouddhique, il n'avait pas d'idées fausses, même sous l'influence d'autres maîtres (?).

CLXXIII. Noyée dans la mer des vices du temps, infranchissable, profonde et redoutable.....

CLXXIV. Beau, jeune, suivant les traces de Manu, supérieur à tous, il rendait, sans élixir de vie, le bonheur exempt de vieillesse.

CLXXV. Par son éclat resplendissant, disséminé partout en même temps...

CLXXVI. S'il s'appuyait sur une forteresse, c'est parce qu'il savait que tel est le devoir des rois ; ce n'est pas par crainte des Dānavas que l'Ennemi de Madhu (Viṣṇu) fait de la mer son séjour.

CLXXVII. Les défauts mêmes, à commencer par l'amour, étaient appliqués par lui en leur lieu...

CLXXVIII. Les sages buvaient. . . l'ambrosie de ses exploits et, saturés de boisson, ils la rendaient sous forme de poèmes.

CLXXXIX. A mesure que s'épaississaient sur le monde les ténèbres des vices, il...

CLXXX. Que les hommes fussent renommés pour leurs vertus ou méritassent le châtement, il ne prenait pas comme motif de les détruire le fait qu'ils étaient soumis à l'impermanence.

CLXXXI. Bien qu'étant le Dieu aux multiples sacrifices, le Très Haut, le Maître des Vaches, [Indra] alla... de lui qui n'était pas irascible.....

CLXXXII. L'ardeur du Feu fut jadis éteinte pour avoir rencontré le seul Bhṛgu ; la sienne brûlait le chef d'une grande armée.

CLXXXIII. Généreux, il faisait partager sa prospérité à ses amis ; Hari, ayant Lakṣmī couchée sur sa poitrine...

CLXXXIV. Les pauvres étanchèrent leur soif quand ils eurent la joie de le rencontrer, pareil à un grand lac paisible couvert de lotus épanouis.

CLXXXV. Ces touffes de lotus — les visages des femmes des ennemis — qui ne voyaient pas le soleil, il les fit de haut se fermer...

CLXXXVI. Il brillait, cygne royal nageant sur le grand lac du combat, qui avait pour lotus les visages des ennemis ombragés par la volée de ses flèches.

CLXXXVII. Nul ne pouvait tenir tête à ses assauts sans répit. Rencontré par son épée frémissante....

CLXXXVIII. Dans le combat, à la seule vue de son arc, les ennemis s'enfuyaient comme un vol de corbeaux : en présence de Kāma, l'Ennemi des serpents (Garuḍa) lui-même ne tient pas.

CLXXXIX. Il... aux guerriers ennemis en fuite une... adroite, au visage embelli par ses boucles, ayant pour flèches des fleurs épanouies.

CXC. Ayant des centaines de brillants Kīcaka (ou : de bambous bruisants), habitée par Kaṅka et autres (ou par des hérons et autres oiseaux), la ville des ennemis, bien que déserte, devint, grâce à lui, la capitale de Virāṭa (1).

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(1) Allusion aux incidents racontés dans le Virāṭaparvan du Mahābhārata. Kaṅka est le nom sous lequel Yudhiṣṭhira se présente à Virāṭa, Kīcaka celui de général de ce prince.

cxci. Comme une formule magique, il ôta seulement leur énergie à ces nāgas, les rois, sans leur arracher la vie par voracité, comme Garuḍa.

ccxii. En voyant son sacrifice, par crainte de la décadence de la gloire de Çakra, Çacī, sous prétexte du contact de la fumée, eut les yeux pleins de larmes.

ccxiii. A l'ombre des pieds de ce roi qui éclipsait l'éclat des autres, comme au pied du Meru, se réfugiaient les rois, renonçant au parasol blanc.

ccxiv. Lors de la création, le Créateur dédaigneusement sépara le soleil et la lune ; mais il a fait ce roi unique, incomparable, capable à la fois de brûler et de rafraîchir.

ccxv. Désirant honorer de près ses pieds à l'ardent éclat, les files des rois les baignaient des ondes de lumière versées par les gemmes de leurs diadèmes.

ccxvi. « Oh ! un nouvel attrait pour le monde ! » Et, abandonnant son arc, Smara tourmenta le cœur des femmes par l'incomparable beauté de ce roi.

ccxvii. Dans le lotus unique du monde, qui a pour pétales extérieurs les huit points cardinaux et pour large péricarpe le Meru, sa gloire faisait office de parfum.

ccxviii. Eclatants, resplendissants, les rayons des ongles de ses pieds rivalisaient avec ceux des gemmes ornant les diadèmes des rois prosternés.

ccxix. Un manguier stérile depuis sa naissance obéissait à son ordre de produire des fruits, comme Dilīpa à Vasiṣṭha.

cc. L'immensité de ses vertus, profonde, célébrée par mille bouches, était pour les sages un commentaire qu'ils ne se lassaient pas de gloser.

cci. Il accrut de possessions sans précédent, palanquins etc., le fortuné liṅga Siddheçvara, [situé] à Siddhaçivapura, sur une montagne.

ccii. Au même endroit il érigea exactement, pour l'accroissement du mérite de ses ancêtres, un liṅga de Çarva et deux statues de Çarvāṅī.

cciii. Dans le mois même <sup>(1)</sup> de cette inauguration de Bhadreçvara porteur du trident, il consacra ailleurs encore des dieux par des offrandes <sup>(2)</sup>.

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(1) *Māse va*, pour *māsa eva* ?

(2) *Bhogo* est inexplicable. Peut-être faut-il corriger *bhogānyatra*, « sans possessions ».

cciv. Ce roi, lune, gonfla ces océans de mérite spirituel, les rois Indravarman et autres, en même temps qu'il arrondissait sa propre sphère.

ccv. Au Sud du Yaçodharatāka (1) [ce roi] habile érigea les statues de Çauri (Viṣṇu) et de Gaurī (Umā) [et] un liṅga de Çambhu.

ccvi. Ce roi Rājendrarvarman, soleil de ce firmament qu'est le Somavaṃça, a érigé le liṅga de Smarāri (Çiva), gage de l'obtention du ciel et de la délivrance.

ccvii. Ce glorieux roi, connaisseur en stabilité, établit, pour le bonheur, ces deux statues de Çiva [et de Pārvatī], à la ressemblance de ses père et mère obtenus par [la grâce de] Bhavodbhava (Çiva).

ccviii. Et ce grand guerrier, qui accomplissait les devoirs d'un roi, érigea cette statue de Viṣṇu et de Brahmā (2), de même que huit liṅgas du [dieu] aux huit formes (Çiva).

ccix. Lui, dont la vaillance était égale à celle du roi des dieux, donna à ces dieux — comme chose accessoire — une masse complète de richesses embellie par des milliers d'insignes rutilants de bijoux.

ccx. Lui qui était pareil à Mahendra, il établit ici, en l'honneur de ces divinités, un rituel de bonne observance à pratiquer toujours, un culte prescrit par les textes sacrés et la tradition des Çaivas et s'étendant à tous les mois.

ccxi. Et ce roi, qui avait l'intelligence de Vācaspati, qui marche en tête des rois observateurs du Dharma, a adressé aux rois futurs du Cambodge, qui cultiveront les devoirs royaux, ces paroles fermes et conformes au Dharma.

ccxii. La protection de ce qui est à protéger... Puisque vous connaissez ce devoir des rois, protégez cette œuvre pie : l'injonction réalise en quelque sorte la réalité.

ccxiii. Dharma, c'est certain, n'a qu'un pied durant ce yuga : comment pourrait-il se tenir debout, s'il ne s'appuyait sur ce pilier que sont les grands rois tels que vous, qui ont la connaissance des çāstras ?

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(1) Le Baray oriental.

(2) Sans doute Brahmā assis sur le lotus sortant du nombril de Viṣṇu.

ccxiv. La détresse de Dharma ferait honte à l'auteur même [de l'œuvre] et particulièrement au roi qui a la charge de la protéger : cela vous est bien connu.

ccxv. Les sages, qui ont pour richesse la vertu et la gloire, ne sauraient désirer pour eux-mêmes, en ce monde, une richesse éphémère : il en est ainsi à plus forte raison, si cette richesse est celle des dieux etc. Vous qui êtes sages, n'auriez-vous pas cette volonté enracinée en vous ?

ccxvi. Et cependant je vous [adjure] encore : Gardez cette œuvre scrupuleusement ! N'enlevez pas le bien des dieux ! Cela est évident : mais, dans l'intérêt du Dharma, il n'y a pas de mal à se répéter.

ccxvii. Un [roi] magnanime, supplié, abandonnerait par grandeur d'âme sa vie même, à plus forte raison ses projets : c'est pourquoi ma parole, résolue sous l'influence de la confiance, est exempte de la crainte de voir repousser sa requête.

ccxviii. En l'année çaka comptée par les Vasus, les montagnes et les dés (874), au jour propice, onzième de la quinzaine claire de Māgha, [le karaṇa] Bhava [ayant commencé] depuis un instant, la lune arrivant au milieu du Taureau, ce līṅga de Çiva, appelé Çrī-Rājendreçvara, a trouvé ici une parfaite stabilité, avec ces statues de Çauri (Viṣṇu), de Gaurī, de Giriça (Çiva) et de Brahmā.

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STÈLE DE PRÈ RUP  
TEXTÈ.

77

## A

- I. (1) ṛgbhir vvaññiçikhākālāpavisaravyaktābhīr aindrīn diçam  
prodyadvāyusamīritena yajuṣā yo dīpayan dakṣiṇām  
sāmnā candamarīciraçminikarapadyotitenāparāñ.  
kauverīñ ca vibhāti tais sa.nuditais tasmai namaç çambhave ©
- II. (2) oñkārād atanus tanoti jagatām eko pi janmasthanī-  
vyastir (4) vyaktasamastaçaktinīlayo yo yogiyogātmakāḥ  
bhūyo nīrajajanmakāñjanayanaçṛīkañṭhamūrttir vvaçī  
çavdāntasthitaye çivāya vibhave çāntāya tasmai namaḥ ©
- III. vrāhmīm indau savitrīm savitari vitatām (3) vaiṣṇavīm pālanīm yad  
raudrīm saṃhārahetum hutabhujī ca kalām arppayat triprakārām.  
dṛṣṭan dṛkçaktidṛgbhis triṣu racitavapus. sūkṣmam apy eṣu tasmai.  
tattvajñānām parasmai pariḥṭarajase vrahmaṇe stān namo va ©
- IV. pāre satvarajastamaskam api yo nityan niviṣṭaḥ pade  
traigu(4)nyena caturvīdhena vivīdhābhivvyaktir āvirbhavan  
viçvākārādharo nirastasakalākāro pi dedīpyate  
vandantām bhagavantam ādipurūṣan tam vāsudevaṃ vibhum ©

(1) Corr. : *vyastir* (?).

- V. śadgarbhaprabhavāya vuddhijananīm vidyām vinirmāya yā garbhe saptamagarbhakārṣanakarī haṃsasya sūte śtame mūrttā kaṃsavadho(5)ddhuram vidadhātī nādan nabhasthorddhvaga sādya çaktir akṛtrimā bhagavato nārāyaṇī namyatām ⊙
- VI. āsīd āsindhusīmasphuritasitayaço rāçisañcārārājad rājyaçrīmaṇḍitāninditapuravikasanmātrvañçādhipatyah somākaunḍinyavañçyo dadhad anatānṛpadvādaçā(6)dityadīptiç çrīvālādityabhūpo valayam iva bhuvo maṇḍalam līlayā yah ⊙
- VII. yām viçvarūpabhaṭṭo yo patnīm sarasvauīm vipro lebhe tādbhaginīsutām vasiṣṭho rundhatīm iva ⊙
- VIII. vrahmakṣatriyayor vvañçe jāyā dvivedabha(7)ṭṭasya pāraṃparyyodite tayoh jātā vedavatīti yā ⊙
- IX. yasyāḥ puṇyaguṇasya mātṛjananībhrātus tanūjo jītā-rāteç çrīnṛpatīndravarmmanṛpateç çauryyeṇa çaurer iva çṛṅge çrījāvavarmmaṇah kṛtavato māhendračaile purīm mātur mmātula nātulo tulakalaç çrīpuṣkarākṣo nṛpaḥ ⊙
- X. (8) svarggadvāre pure yā puri puri ca purā sthāpitaṃ bhūmibhartrā çrīvālādityanāmnā nijakulatilakenaiçvaram lingam iddham bhartrā tenaiva vedadvitayamayadṛçā (4) pūjayitvā samastair bhogais svarggapraṭiṣṭhām alabhata vilasatkīrttisandīpitāçā ⊙
- XI. yā tatkulīnāvanipālavañça-param(9)parāyām uditā mahatyā mahendradevīti mahīva gurvī devī surastrīva divo vatīrṇā ⊙
- XII. mahīpater vvedavatīpitur yyah kalām kulīnas sakalān dadhāṇah rājanyavañçābdhiniçākaraç çrī-mahendravarmmā mahanīyakīrttiḥ ⊙
- XIII. tenorvībhrdvarāṅge vidalitātama(10)sā pādavinīyāsālīlām ātanvānena tasyān narapativanitāmūrdhadhūtānghridhūlyām devyām vaiyasvatākhyo manur iva raṇinā rājadharmmānurakto yaç çrīrājendravarmmety ajani duhitari tvaṣṭur urvvīpatīndrah ⊙

(1) Le caractère *ma* a peut-être été transformé en *ca* par surcharge.

- XIV. prāg vedābhyasanān dvijena janitāṃ ṣṛiṇiṣṭarūpeṇa yat  
taptāṃ yat tri(11)vidhān tapās śaha tayā pātnyā dvivedena yat  
bhūbhṛdbhiḥ ca tadānvaye sāmuditair yyat tena tēnāñcumad-  
vañṣyānām harir ādīdeva iva yo vañṣe tadīye bhavat ॐ
- XV. sañjāto vijayī nijena jayinā tejaḥprakarṣeṇa yo  
nīcībhāvitavān aṣeṣam api santejasvivrṇḍā(12)rakam  
kenāpi pratipādītākhilamahisāmṛājyasampadguṇān  
arkkādin asahiṣṭa bhūrimahāsām uccāṣṭrayān āṣṭrayān ॐ
- XVI. mātuḥ kṣatriyavañṣadugdhajaladher llabdhodayāyāḥ ṣṛiyaḥ  
ṣṛibharttuḥ puruṣottamasya ca pitur bhāsvatkule bhāṣvataḥ  
kāntyā kāma ivādhiko pi (13) niravadyāṅgo niruddhas suto  
yo garbheṣvaraḥ avdam arthyam abhṛtāntāṃ guṇair aiṣṭvaraiḥ ॐ
- XVII. somākhyāt sarggasārād bhavapurarucirāl līṅgam āhlādanatvaṃ  
vālādityāt prabhutvan tribhuvanakamalonmīlānāyādādānaḥ  
vahner ddīptim pitus svān mahati bhavapure pīṣṭvarād iṣṭvaratvan  
devī(14)yuktāt kumāro diṣi diṣi viditas sarvvatejomayo yaḥ ॐ
- XVIII. durggābhiyogād viphalīkṛtāri-  
kāmkṣam yaḥ odābhyudayāya dakṣam  
mahendrato labdhamahābhiṣekam  
rarāja ṣaurer iva yasya vālyam ॐ
- XIX. satvaṃ guṇakarmmadadhānam iddham  
sāmānyam anyeṣu viṣeṣam icchan  
vya(15)dhatta dhātā samavāyāvṛttiyā  
yasyākhilam lakṣaṇam agryam aṅge ॐ
- XX. kāmas svakāntidinakṛtikiraṇair vikīrṇaiḥ  
pītānyakāntijayaḥ colavapalvalāmbhāḥ  
yatkāntisāgaram apāram upetya magno  
manye karoti makaran nijavāhanam yat ॐ
- XXI. vyākhyāmayīm upagamayya ha(16)tāndhakārām  
rākām inah paṭimadīptyānusampraveṣāt  
vidyendumaṇḍalam udīrṇnarasāmṛādrām  
sarvvān apāyayata yo vivudhān rasajñah ॐ
- XXII. yasyāstraṣikṣāñ carataḥ praṣamsā  
loke karot karṇāmanahpraśādam  
karṇapraṇītā mahati tu nindā  
nuṣṭryate dyāpi dhanāñjayasya ॐ

- XXIII. (17) daṇḍaṇ trikhaṇḍaṇ pṛthulaṇ salīlaṇ  
lulāva lohaṇ kadaḷīdalābhaṇ  
saktīkṛpāṇaṇ laghupātayaṇ yaḥ  
kim ucyate māṇsamaye ridehe ⊙
- XXIV. nilotpalasyāpi dale yasīva  
nāsiḥ chidāçaktim agāt pareṣāṃ  
yasyaiva mantrauṣadhivīryayogād  
vajropamāyāṃ kim utāñçayaṣṭau ⊙
- XXV. (18) dhanur dhanurvvedavidāṃ varo pi  
vidhūya maurvvīravapūritāçah  
prayogato bhijvalitaṇ vipaçcid  
yaç cāpaçavdan na cakāra kañ cit ⊙
- XXVI. yasyākalaṅkās sakalāḥ kalālīr  
alaṅkariṣṇoḥ kila vālabhāve  
candras tulārthīva tulām alabdhvā-  
dhunāpi vṛddhau punar eti vālyam ⊙
- XXVII. mūrddhābhiṣiktas sukumārabhāvo  
(19) dṛptadviṣattāradāriçaktiḥ  
nināya kīrṇṇān diçi kamvusenāṃ  
yo devasenāṃ iva kārttikeyaḥ ⊙
- XXVIII. sadānavārīkṛ adikprayāto  
nāgendrabhīmo bhagavān iveçah  
vrāhmair vvidhānaiḥ parirakṣito yo  
bhasmīcakārāripurāṇi roṣāt ⊙
- XXIX. çarān tarīkṛtya çarīrayaṣṭīr  
utkṛtya kṛtsnāṇi çirāṃsy a(20)rīṇām  
khadgī gadābhṛt karikumbhapeṣī  
prāduçcakārāstram amānuṣaṇ yaḥ ⊙
- XXX. jitvaikavīro diçam indraguptāṃ  
yo dakṣiṇān dehabhṛtān didīpe  
prāçetasīñ cetasi sottarāñ ca  
na rājasūyāya tu jiṣṇur ekām ⊙
- XXXI. pratyantapṛthvīm sakalāṃ vijitya  
vālo pi yūno nṛpatīn pratāpya  
(21) pratītayā kamvupurīm yaçasvī  
samyojayām āsa jayaçriyā yaḥ ⊙

- XXXII. raṇārṇṇavād yasya jayāmṛtena  
jātaṃ yaçaḥ kostubharatnamī ārdram  
trailokyam ahlādayati tridhaikaṃ  
mūrttāṃ murārer hṛdayaṃ mudeva ⑥
- XXXIII. kalābhir ahlādayitum samasta-  
lokaṃ vivṛddhābhir anukrameṇa  
vimuktavālyo (22) pi çaçiva sāksāt  
kalākṣayaṃ yo-na vabhāra bhūyaḥ ⑥
- XXXIV. avasthitim çaicavajāṃ vilupya  
rājāçriyā saṅgamakāmkṣayeva  
stheyo tra tiṣṭheti kṛtājñayā yo  
nīto navaṃ yauvanam ādarinyā ⑥
- XXXV. yā kāntir atyanyanarendrasargga-  
çobhā çicutve dadṛçe nu yasya  
tāṃ yauvane karttumanāḥ pra(23)krṣṭāṃ  
yatnaṃ viriṅco nitarāṅ cakāra ⑥
- XXXVI. vilokya dikpālajaye jayādhyāṅ  
jayaçriyāliṅgitam Irṣyayeva  
yam ālilīṅge guruvāṅniyuktā  
kulocitā kamvujarājyalakṣmīḥ ⑥
- XXXVII. yābhir yyato jhātīti bhūmibhṛto nyarāṣtre  
sasraṃsire samararaṅgagatā gṛhītāḥ  
rājyaçriyaṃ ṣa(24)darimūrttibhir eva tābhir  
yyas tāṃ adhārayad atatpuruṣaprayogāt ⑥
- XXXVIII. yasyāṅgalagnaṃ vihite bhīṣeke  
tīrthāmvu yāvan nā jagāma çoṣam  
tejo jvalatīāvad açoṣayat dvid-  
vadhūjanānām adhare madhūni ⑥
- XXXIX. jātaṃ varāṅgābharāṇaṃ bhavasya  
navendum udvīkṣya navārkkāvīmvam  
cūdāmaṇībhūya nu yasya serṣyaṃ  
bhā(25)sā çiro rañjayad Içvarasya ⑥
- XL. dhruvan dḥarābhāradharasya yasyā-  
hīndro maṇīṅ bhōgasabasradīptāṅ  
āhṛtya haṛṣād ivā vītabhāro  
bhūṣāsu hāimīṣu vavāndha sarvyaṅ ⑥

- XLI. strīnān didṛkṣākṣubhitā yadīyaṃ  
 grasaty akṛtte sati kānticandram  
 nimeṣacandradviṣi cakricakra-  
 krudheva raktā (26) dadṛçur dṛço ṅcam ⊙
- XLII. rājyasthitau tribhuvanābhyudayāya yasya  
 yā kāçyapī ratir abhūd aditiprabhūtā  
 manvantare surapater iva goptur asmin  
 pūrvvendrasampadi na sā kṛtasannidhānā ⊙
- XLIII. siṃhāsanastham avalokya mahībhṛtaṃ yaṃ  
 hrṣṭā mahī sumahatī çriyam ānināya  
 siṃhāsane sthitavatī svayam e(27)va rāmāt  
 sītāṃ çriyam tv apajahāra mahībhṛto pi ⊙
- XLIV. vistīrṇaratnarucirañjita hemadaṇḍam  
 yasyaikam eva çuçubhe sitam ātapatram  
 meror ivoparigataṃ sakalenduvimvaṃ  
 sadbhaktivāriṣu tu tatpratativimvam anyat ⊙
- XLV. nirvvikriyāyāṃ prakṛtau kṛtāyāṃ  
 apy eṣa yasyāvīr abhūd vikāraḥ  
 (28) haimīva yad ratnamayīva cāsīd  
 raīmauliratnair natabhūbhujāṃ bhūḥ ⊙
- XLVI. kṣoṇībhṛtān dīptavatī varāṅgeṣv  
 āhlādanī vāg dahanī ca yasya  
 tejomayī sūryyaçaçāṅkavahni-  
 saṅghātatulyākṛtalokayātrām ⊙
- XLVII. mādyanti yair anyamahībhṛtas taiç  
 çaçāma yo (29) rājyasukhopabhogaiḥ  
 prāvṛṭṭpravṛddhair jaladāmvuvarṣaiḥ  
 sindhor viparyyeti payo hi nābdheḥ ⊙
- XLVIII. rājauvatīty anyanṛpo nvaçāt prān  
 nīpātanāl lakṣaṇam antareṇa  
 yo lakṣaṇais saṃskṛtavarṇnavarddhi-  
 padais tu sādhutvadharān dharitrīm ⊙
- XLIX. kulakramais svair api rājavidyān  
 dīptām atītair bhū(30)vi bhāvibhiç ca  
 yo dīpayat prāpya viçeṣato syan  
 tamāṃsi madhyāhna ivārkkabhāsam ⊙

- L. na bhūbhṛto bhūt pariṇīya kanyām  
ekān nu nāke parameṣvaraḥ prāk  
bhūtvā tu bhūyo bhūvi yo dhikaçrīḥ  
kanyāçatam bhūr adhiketi nākāt ⊙
- LI. bhrāntāvarugaṇmṛdukārmukam. etya rāmaṃ  
rājyād apeta(31)m ariṇāpahṛtā purā çrīḥ  
yañ jānakti kila dṛḍhākṣatakārmukan tu  
rājyasthirasthitim açakyata nāpaharttum ⊙
- LII. nyakkarttum icchan nikhilān ivānyān  
yūno navayauvanam ādadhāṇaḥ  
datvā madam yaḥ pramadāmaṇassu  
çāntim svakīye manasi vyatārīt ⊙
- LIII. yathā yathāvarddhata yauvanaçrīḥ  
kāle(32)ndunā yasya vivṛddhibhājā  
samudraveleva tathā tathoçcair-  
uddyotidṛṣṭaḥ guṇaratnam ṛddham ⊙
- LIV. mahendrasampatparivṛṇhitaçrīr  
āpūryamānā vivudhair anekaiḥ  
dharmmyā sudharmmeva divo vatīrṇṇā  
babhau sabhā yasya bhūvi pragalbhā ⊙
- LV. dharmmānukūlau kavir arthakāmau  
dharmmañ ca kāmārtha(33)kṛtārthayoḡam  
trivarggam ekāntam ivaikavarggam  
yo sevato dāraphalānuvandham ⊙
- LVI. traikālyavijñānavato pi yasya  
sākṣād iveçasya narendramūrtteḥ  
netrīkṛtas tattvavicāradakṣaḥ  
pūṣeva dikṣu pracacāra cāraḥ ⊙
- LVII. itas tatas svāçrayatas samantād  
āgur guṇā yaṃ svaya(34)m anyadiyāḥ  
gāmbhīryaratnākaram ekapātram  
satvābhipūrṇṇan nikhilā ivāpaḥ ⊙
- LVIII. yaç cāravācopamayānumānā-  
rthāpattisaṃvidbhir abhāvayugbhīḥ  
kāryyaṇy akārṣīt ṣaḍ aṣac ca sarvvaṃ  
ṣadbhīḥ pramāṇair adhigamya gamyam ⊙

- LIX. svacchāmuvuvāpikavarīvilāsā  
vikāsipadmotpalapuñja(35)netrā  
mūrtteva pūrṇendumukhī diçaç çrīr  
yyaṃ sevamānā çaradā sasāda ⑥
- LX. dharmmyān dadhāno vivudhārthasiddhin  
dviṭkāmavidhvañsanavidyayādhyah  
rudrādrijāsaṅgamavad yadīyo-  
ddyogo jāṛmbhe vijayābhijūṣṭah ⑥
- LXI. padmodaye dattaguṇo pi yuktyā  
pūṣeva doṣāvasaran nīrasya  
(36) yantendriyāçvasya bhuvo vibhūtyai  
saṃmantraṇaṃ mantribhir agrahīd yaḥ ⑥
- LXII. catvāro pi mahāgabhiragatayo py āçāsv api sthāsnavo  
bhūbhṛdbhaṅgakṛto pi varddhitatamais svair vvāhinīvistaraiḥ  
çrījanmāvanayo pi karttum api gāṃ ratnair alaṃ pūritān  
nopāyair jalarāçayo tipaṭubhi(37)r yyasyopameyā jadāh ⑥
- LXIII. ambhodharadhvānagabhirayā yad-  
vānyā kakubbhyas tvaritās samantāt  
samāyayur nadya iva dhvajinyo  
drāk prāvṛṣā veditayātrayāptaiḥ ⑥
- LXIV. vyatītavatyāṃ çaradi krameṇa  
diçcakravālātataavāṣpalakṣyā  
hemantalakṣmīr abhiṣektum āçā(38)d  
yaṃ yogyam ātharvvaṇikīva siddhiḥ ⑥
- LXV. suvarṇṇavarṇṇas suravo vitīrṇṇaṃ  
purodhasā havyam upādadānaḥ  
pradakṣiṇāvarttaçikhaç çikhīva  
dideça yasmai jayaçabdam uccaiḥ ⑥
- LXVI. āmṛtyādhārayā yaç çriyam anupagataksīṇabhāvāṃ vivṛddhāṃ  
prāpat kṛtsnārkkavimvād iva kalaçaçatāt kāladhautāt pata(39)ntyā  
puṣye puṣye bhiṣikto vidhur upagatavān vṛddhim ekārkkavimvād  
eva kṣīṇas tv abhāgyappravirahitam aho bhavya evāsti bhāgyam ⑥
- LXVII. svabhāvataḥ prāg api kāntim agrīyāṃ  
yasya vyatānīd apabhūṣam aṅgam  
saṃvaddhasarvvābharāṇan tu bhūyaḥ  
kāṃ apy abhikhyāṃ apuṣat prakāmam ⑥

- LXVIII. satyopa(40)mā nūṇam anāṭṭaḥaktir  
 yyasyāṅgakānter bhayituṃ babhūva  
 mithyopamādarḥatalaṃ praviṣṭā  
 kāndarppakāntiḥ prativimvalecā ⊙
- LXIX. niḥḥeṣabhūmaṇḍalalaṅghanāya  
 yo viṣṇuvad' vīkṣitavikramo pi  
 nākrāntavān ullikhitam pṛthivyām  
 ācāracāruḥ parigham prayāsyān ⊙
- LXX. kakṣyābhir aḥvair iva (41) saptabhir yyo  
 niryyāya yātrānīlayodayādreh  
 bhāsvān nāvīnōditavān vabhāse  
 bhītin nayan vairitamāñṣi dikṣu ⊙
- LXXI. dvijādhirājāmalamaṇḍalēna  
 sphuṭābhir āḥīrbhir udīritābhiḥ  
 jyotsnābhir iddhābhir ivābhiyānā-  
 rambhe jajrmbhe kumudākaro yaḥ ⊙
- LXXII. saṃghāram ekatra didṛkṣuṇeva  
 (42) puñjīkṛtair ddaivavalena sainyaiḥ  
 anuprayāto gajavājivṛnda- (1)  
 sāndraiḥ pratasthe rijiḡṣayā yaḥ ⊙
- LXXIII. yāne pṛthor vrahmapadam ḥriye han  
 drutēti bhūr yyaśya mudēva yāne  
 bhūtvā rajo sañkhyapadātimaraddāc  
 chrīsampade viṣṇupadam prapede ⊙
- LXXIV. vyūḍhe pi tulyam parakī(43)yasainye  
 yasyaiva senā dadṛḥe sasārā  
 upādhinaddhe sphaṭīke pi gādha-  
 rāge sti dīptir nna hi pādmarāḡi ⊙
- LXXV. mandradhvanau garjjati yasya cāpe  
 mukteṣuvṛṣṭāv abhavaj jigīṣoh  
 ārād ivārād api ratnasūr bhūr  
 vvidūrabhūr eva tu meghabhāre ⊙

(1) Corr. : °vṛnda°.

- LXXVI. kṣātrīm bhujāj jātim ajasya jātām  
(44) yas sādhayām āsa parair nniṣiddhām  
dṛṣṭaḥcrutānanyajavāhuvīryyād  
yuddhe nyathaivānupapadyamānāt ☉
- LXXVII. çauryonnatir yyasya hatāhitāsrg-  
vālapravālodgamalāñchitājau  
puṣoṣa puṣṭā kusumāstraçaktim  
vāsantasamprāptir ivāstraçikṣām ☉
- LXXVIII. sindūradigdhād aridantikumbhā(45)t  
sandhyāpiçaṅgād gagaṇād ivājau  
tejasvino yasya karāsibhinnāt  
papāta muktāphalatarākālī ☉
- LXXIX. kilālalākṣāruṇitā vikīrṇa-  
vāñāvatañsā drutamauktikasrak  
yaṃ prāptavatyāḥ praharantam āçu  
reje raṇōrvvī paṭadhīva lakṣyāḥ (1) ☉
- LXXX. proṭām pravīrāçarīrayaṣṭim  
andolayi(46)tvā diçi narttayantī  
çaktir yyadīyā hṛtatārakāṅgī  
gauhīva dṛṣṭā nu surais sarāgam ☉
- LXXXI. bhinnāriraktair aruṇā vireje  
bhujojjvalā yasya raṇe sidhārā  
kīrtteḥ prakīrṇeva çikhā samasta-  
dyīpaikadīpībhavituñ jvalantīyāḥ ☉
- LXXXII. gadābhīpiṣṭārikarīndradanta-  
kṣodaṃ valakṣaṃ kṣubhitam samīke  
keçe(47)ṣu lakṣmyās suratakṣamāyā  
yaḥ ketakīkesaravad (2) vitene ☉
- LXXXIII. tivrārjunāstrahatabhīṣmavipakṣayuddho  
yoddhā yudhiṣṭhira ivārkkajadīptirodhi  
yo jātaçatrur iti bhīmagadāvarugna-  
duryyodhanoruvinipātaraṇāvasānaḥ ☉

(1) Corr. : lakṣmyāḥ.

(2) Corr. : ketakī.

- LXXXIV. pratyastrapātapātalair (1) arisaṃprayuktāny  
 ā(48)strāny (2) abhedyatanur apy akhilāni roddhā  
 khadgāñs tu sadvyajanavad bhramitān marudbhir  
 uṣmacchido sahata yo raṇaraṅgataptaḥ ☉
- LXXXV. kṛpāṇapāṇiḥ kṛpaṇe kṛpāluḥ  
 kṛpām vyadhād-yo jitavairivīraḥ .  
 gaṅgām vulīne tu na dhārttarāṣṭre  
 cakruḥ kṛpām vyūham apāsya pārthāḥ ☉
- LXXXVI. gomaṇḍalasyopākṛti(49)ñ cikīṛsur  
 unmūlayan bhūmibhṛtaṃ bhujena  
 govarddhanam kṛṣṇa ivāspade yo  
 bhūyas svakīye kṛtavān akampyam ☉
- LXXXVII. snigdhasipātanakareṇa yathāvakaṣam  
 yena sthitām vidalitām svatanuṃ prapaçyan  
 caṅke nivarttanabhiyā dviṣato ntarātmā  
 prētasya saṃparivṛto bhṛçam a(50)psarobhiḥ ☉
- LXXXVIII. aho yuvaiva svam uraḥ sthiro yam  
 apy ekadādān na parāṅganābhyah  
 itīva yasya pratikūlabhāvā  
 vakṣo rilakṣmīr aviçad raṇeṣu ☉
- LXXXIX. tīkṣṇāsīdhāram api yañ jayinañ jayaçṛīr  
 āliṅgya vakṣasi vṛhaty akarōt sarāgam  
 naisarggikam svasubhagatvām udāharantī  
 gaurī(51)vā dagdhamakarādhvajadeham içam ☉
- XC. yam ekam aukas (3) sakalāvaniçriyām  
 alaṅkṛtāṅgaṃ navayauvanāçriyā  
 prapadya padmā puruṣe purātane  
 ninīṇḍa nūnam svaratiṃ purātānīm ☉
- XCI. visarjita yena raṇeṣu jīva-  
 grāhañ grhītā vahūvo rivīrāḥ  
 bajrī valīm viṣṇuvalena vāddhvā-  
 (52)dhunāpi nonmuñcati bhīruvat tu ☉

(1) Corr. : \*paṭalair.

(2) Corr. : astrāny.

(3) Corr. : okas.

- XCII. nayan.nayenaiva parākramaṃ yaḥ  
parākramena pratihatya hantā  
dviṣāṃ pratīghātajadaś tu siñho  
dantīndradanta lvayanir dditānsaḥ ⑥
- XCIII. dviṣo drutā yasya hatāvaṇeṣāś  
tyaktāyudhā yudhy api rājasinḥhāḥ  
vidudruvur vvanyakarīndrabhitāḥ  
puna(53)r vvane vālamṛgāyamānāḥ ⑥
- XCIV. tejognidāhāt kila yasya ke cij  
jale mamajjur jaladheṣ vvipakṣāḥ  
ke cit tv amuṣmād auṣṭālo yaṃ  
itīva tarkkāḍ aviṣaṇ davāgnim ⑥
- XCV. ṣokānalo netrajalaiv ajasrañ  
jajvāla yadvairivilāsinīnām  
vaidhavyasantāpitamānaśānām  
avindhanaṃ va(54)hnim ivānukurvvan ⑥
- XCVI. hañśās śitacchatraruco vanebhāḥ  
paryyantapālā dhṛtarājaṣabdāḥ  
siñhāḥ purīm yadvacanād arīnām  
sarājaliām iva rañjayanti ⑥
- XCVII. dhāmāgnidagdhā nidhanaikasindhau  
magnāribhūmir vvata sañhṛteva  
nodeti yasyāpi mahāvarāha-  
dañṣṭroddhṛtādyāpi puna(55)r vvikīrṇā ⑥
- XCVIII. dadhvāna bherī ravapūritāṣā  
yasyocakair yyā.jayaghośanāyai  
taddhvānamudvīcir ivānukurvvan  
dandhvanyate sindhudhavo dhunāpi ⑥
- XCIX. yaṣobhir udyadbhir udāttagītais  
tirohitam yasya yaṣo nyadīyam  
vrīdād ivādyāpi samāhṛtam ṣat  
kvāpi prayāti svaritopagītam ⑥
- C. (56) kīrtyāṃ sapatnyām api cāpalam svan  
nikṣīpya lakṣmīr apunargrahāya  
hriyeva yaṃ prāpya patim gabhīrañ  
gāmbhīryam abdhher jananāj jahāra ⑥

- Ci. lakṣmīṅ calatvāt salilan dṛavatvādi  
dveṣan dviṣadbhyo maraṇaṃ manuṣyāt  
upāyavid vārayitum prabhur yyo  
na tu svakīrtin dayitān digantāt ⊙
- Cii. vasundharām (57) sindhucatuṣṭayodho-  
niṣṭhyūtaratnoddhuradugdhadhārām  
yajñāya yaç çrotriyavālavatsām  
samām samīnām iva gām adhukṣat ⊙
- Ciii. çradhābhaktyor aghagiribhidor vviṣṇupādāçrayiṅyor  
ekāntiṅyor vvidhijalanidhiṃ bhinnayos samprayāntyoḥ  
madhye gaṅgāravitanayayor devanādyor ivāsa  
(58) çlāghyā yasya pratidinavivṛddhādhdhvarārambhaçobhā ⊙
- Civ. dhūmo nu māpayitum agnim upāttahavyaṃ  
yajñeṣu yasya nabhasā hutigandhir udyan  
sāndro jagāma kakubhām vivareṣu devān  
āvāhayanā iva divaṃ saha vedamantraih ⊙
- Cv. çacīkace hāri na pārijāta-  
puṣpaṃ makhe yasya sadotsuke(59)ndre  
jātañ jītārer amarair vvimuktaṃ  
sañyanmakhe sarvvaṃ ivopariṣṭāt ⊙
- Cvi. pradakṣiṇāvarttaçikhaç çikhābhir  
huto hutāço vitataṃ vitānam  
bhrānteṣu paçyatsv aṇaribhramasya  
yasyānubhāvān na çaçāka dagdhum ⊙
- Cvii. mīmāṃsako nākitabhūr vvi bhūtyā  
sākṣātkrte divyasukhopabhoge  
(60) yo dhītya yajñāyudhinān dvijānām  
satyāpayāṃ vedagiraç cakāra ⊙
- Cviii. dhāmābdhihemagirināgavanādi nūnam  
ambhaççilebhakalābhaprāmukhāvaçeṣam  
ity āsa yuktyanugatā pratigṛhṇatām vāg  
ratnādyasāñkhīyam iva yacchati yatra dikṣu ⊙
- Cix. yenārthinām parvvavivarddhamānā  
dānapravṛtīḥ kramāçaḥ (61) prayuktā  
uccaiḥpadārohaṇalampatānām  
rarāja saupānaparampareva ⊙

- CX.           çauryyādayo yañ jahataṃ çrayanto  
duṣṭān priyān apy avalokya sarve  
çañke nukarttuṃ guṇinaṃ guṇaughā  
duṣṭaṃ priyaṃ rejur apāsya darppam ☉
- CXI.           apūrvvam adhyaiṣṭa kuto pi yogaṃ  
yo yena nirddasyu dadhāra rāṣṭram  
(62) dimvā hy abhūvan madhukheṭabhādyāḥ (1)  
prasahyavedādiharāḥ purāpi ☉
- CXII.           kānter guṇānāṃ yaçasām vivṛddhir  
dbṛter ddhiyāṃ yasya ca vīryakīrtyoḥ  
prāptāparāṃ koṭim api prapede  
punaḥ punar nūtanatām anantām ☉
- CXIII.           kacagrahāl lagnam ivārilakṣmī-  
mālyāṃ yaço yo nu kare sugandhi  
avākīrad vāsayitūṃ hatadvid-  
vasābhir urvvin diçi (63) visratāṅgīm (2) ☉
- CXIV.           prasādamādhyasthitaratnahema-  
harmmye gryatejahparivāragehe  
dharmmyāritāpacchidi yasya rāṣṭre  
prajā niviṣṭā mumude divīva ☉
- CXV.           vyāptasya tejodahanasya kāmyā  
kīrttir vviçuddhā kathitā samīpe  
phalāni dātūṃ sakalāni çaktā  
yaṃ sāmīdhenīva nijārtham āha ☉
- CXVI.           trātun trilokīm kalikālakālyām(64)s  
sandarçayan nṛttam uvāha sarvvaṃ  
vārṣadhvajān tāndavapāṭavaṃ (3) yo  
nijāṃ prayogaṃ tv avāner akampam ☉
- CXVII.           svasmāt padād vigalitās sati pārthivatve  
tyuccaiḥpadañ ciram avāptūṃ ivoruvāñchāḥ  
yasyārayaç caraṇapañkajareṇavaç ca  
mūrdhno dhyaçerata mahībhṛdadhīçvarāṇām ☉

(1) Cette orthographe singulière est attestée par d'autres inscriptions : ISCC., LVIII, C, 21 ; LIX, B, 19, D, 19.

(2) Écrit primitivement *visri*<sup>o</sup>. L'*i* a été annulé par un point gravé au milieu.

(3) Corr. : *tāṇḍava*<sup>o</sup>.

- CXVIII. guṇaikadeçais sadrço pi kaiç ci(65)t  
sāmīpyamāne sati yasya kaç cit  
sādrçyabhit tatkṣaṇam āsa vaidyaç  
caturbhujasyeva caturbhujō pi ⊙
- CXIX. parāṇmukhī yoṣid ivācirodhā  
senā dviṣām sādhasavayakāri  
lakṣmīs tu lagnorasi yena yoddhrā  
dhrṣṭā bhujīsyeva bhṛçam rasajñā ⊙
- CXX. tiṣṭhan tv anenāñsi manāñsi sādhor  
durātmanām apy atiniṣṭhurāṇi  
malīmasāni prasabham prakṛtyā  
yo yāñsy a(66)yaskānta ivācakarṣa ⊙
- CXXI. naukāvalī yasya rarāja yāne  
pūrṇṇā payodhau sitasītasārthā  
gaṅgām vuvēgena visāritāntar-  
nnīā samantād iva haṅsamālā
- CXXII. jaladhilalitavastrān tajjalonnunnaratna-  
prakararacitacañcadvicikāñcikalāpām  
prthulagirinitamvān nirmmalacchatravaktrām  
striyam iva ramayām yaḥ kṣmāñ cakārānuraktām ⊙

B

- CXXIII. (1) bhuvanatritayākīrṇṇām yasya kī[rt]t[im] ~ — stavaḥ  
krço pi tapasā gaṅgām bhagīratha ivāvahat ⊙
- CXXIV. pūrṇṇe varṇṇasamūheṇa pade yo yojayat kriyāḥ  
lopāgamavikārajño py alopāgamavikriyāḥ ⊙
- CXXV. yasya stambhādivad gamyaḥ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
(2) abhāvagamyo tyantāsan doṣas tu çaçaçṛṅgavat ⊙
- CXXVI. puruṣagrāhaṇam śhānau (1) mithyājñānam pareṣv api  
yasmin paramagambhīram samyakjñānam ajāyata ⊙
- CXXVII. çṛīyaçojanmabhūmitvan nayan nayaparākramau  
bhurbhuvassvaççriyam (2) ivā- bhṛta tadbhāji yo ~ ~

(1) Corr. : *sthānau*.

(2) Corr. : *bhūr<sup>o</sup>*.

CXXVIII.	≡ ≡ ≡ [ba](3)lavān vīro pañcānām pāndusūnām (1)	rūpavān dhīdhanāç ca yaḥ ekādeça ivābhavat ⊙
CXXIX.	sākṣātkṛte çive çāntān yo dānavārisaṃsaktam	kṛtārthaṃ goparigrahe karam mana ivākarot ⊙
CXXX.	punaḥ punar ivāriṣur ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ (4) ti yo dyāpi	açvamedhakratukri[yām] dikṣv ahāryyam yaçoha[ya]m ⊙
CXXXI.	nītyā janitam ajñātan kuntyeva karṇam sodaryo	dviṭprārambham phalonmukham yasyārambho rjuno vadhīt ⊙
CXXXII.	manasthe paçyatām yasmin manojatvam anaṅgasya	sarvvakāntātiçāyini nivṛtta ≡ — — ≡
CXXXIII.	(5)sahasravartmani guṇe smṛtiruddhetaraguṇa-	gīte yasya vṛhadgaṇe çrutis sāmṇīva çāmyati ⊙
CXXXIV.	yadyam çaramṛtsnābhir hṛdyam hṛdi varastrīṇām	yyaçah kāmēna kāntijam lagnaṃ lkihitam akṣaram ⊙
CXXXV.	caturdçaçprakārābhir (6) dhāteva manvavasthābhir	yyo vidy[ābhir] — — — ≡ vvabhāra bhuvanasthitim ⊙
CXXXVI.	abhišekāmbhasā yasya sārvvabhaumasya santāpam	siktā katipayāpi bhūḥ sarvvabhūmer apāharat ⊙
CXXXVII.	yasya vinyāsa evāsīd bhūbhṛnmūrdhasu bhāras tu	ratnasimhāsane padoh yattey ≡ ≡ — — ≡
CXXXVIII.	(7) dhṛtam ekasitacchatram mukhopamārthivāsanna-	yasya mūrdhni vyarājata caram pūrṇendumaṇḍalam ⊙
CXXXIX.	gaurīm haraçarīrārdha- çrīr ālilinge lagnāṅgī	harām vikṣyersyayeva yam tādṛçī ysām itīçvaram ⊙
CXL.	prakṛtir yyasya çukla ≡ tathāpy atīva viditā	≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ — (8) rañjitā varjjitā varṇṇasaṅkaraiḥ ⊙
CXLI.	puraskṛtya kṛtī vahni- sabhām veṣī viveçāgnis	vahnitulyapurohitau ṛtīya iva yas tayoh ⊙

(1) Corr. : pāṇḍu°.

CXLII.	y'o gīto gurur eko pi candadaṇḍadharan <sup>(4)</sup> dharmma-	laghudāṇḍo nvaçāt prajām rājam pratyādçann i[va]
CXLIII.	≡≡≡ (9)d ekapad dharmmah aṣṭādaçapadañena	kalinā vikalah kṛtah yenāṣṭādaçapād iva ⊙
CXLIV.	niçāyām api yuñjāno vyavahāre nirāsthad yo	vidhāya vidhim āhnikam doṣābhāsam anāgasah ⊙
CXLV.	yānāyānīndracāpāpi (10). namrarājaçirorakta-	sendracāpeva ya[m] çarat ratnāñçubhir acodayat ⊙
CXLVI.	digjayāyābhiyāto yo vyaktakevalasatvo pi	valoddhūtena dhukṣitam rajasājñanat tamah ⊙
CXLVII.	samhāre nena taptāsmī- çṛisarggāya rajobhūtā	tiva rosād vasundharā yāne yasyārkkam āvr̥ṇot ⊙
CXLVIII.	tejasvi(11)ive samāne pi jagrāhājijayair juṣṭan	dhūman dhūmadhvajo dhvajam tejo jājvalitan tu yah ⊙
CXLIX.	vivr̥ddhā vāhinī yasya babhañja vibhrameṇaiva	prāvṛṣṭiva çarady api bhūbhṛto mārggarodhinah ⊙
CL.	vibhidya çātravaṃ vyūham garūdmān iva māhendran	yo viçac cakrarakṣitam ja(12)yāmṛtajighṛkṣayā ⊙
CLI.	kṣatranakṣatranakṣatra- raṇaraṅgāmvarārūḍho	nāthān yas tejasā jayan reje ravir ivoditah ⊙
CLII.	yo dhūnvan nūddhvanidhanur sākṣādbhūto dhanuççikṣā-	dhanurvveda iva svayam sauṣṭhavaṃ samadarçayat ⊙
CLIII.	dhanurjyāghātajhaṅkārā vairivaktrāraviṇḍeṣu	muktā (13) yena çilimukhāh raktamadv apīvan raṇe ⊙
CLIV.	raktāktāsilatā yasya jvāleva sarppasatrāgneḥ	kṛttaiç çliṣṭā bhujair ddiviṣām- patatsārppārvvudā vabhau ⊙
CLV.	yasyāsivapuṣṭi dr̥ṣṭvā- vyagāhantārayo gaṅgā-	ntakālajñā ivātmanah kālindīsaṅgamāçayā ⊙

(4) Corr. : caṇḍa°.

- CLVI. (14) ghaṇāpakāriṇo (1) bhūbhṛt-  
yo bhāṃkṣīd bhujabajreṇa pakṣān utthānaveginaḥ  
jambhārir iva jṛmbhitāḥ ⊙
- CLVII. sakalanyāyakuṣalo  
siṃhāvalokitanyāyam py ekavīro raṇe raṇe  
anyāyam iva yo jahau ⊙
- CLVIII. preṅkhadhāgena (2) yenājau  
svarggataṃ svāntarātmānaṃ vegokṛttam areṣ ṣiraḥ  
(15) ūrdhvocchalad ivānvagāt ⊙
- CLIX. tejasvino rer astrair yyo  
svabhāvabhāsuro merur rañjīto tīva bhāsurah  
iva ratnamarīcibhiḥ ⊙
- CLX. jayaçrīr asidhārāyam  
puṣkalān puṣṇatī kāmān yenāpi sthāpitā sthīram  
prajodayam avarddhayat ⊙
- CLXI. pratyādiçantīvākīrttim  
yasya (16) vajjayikī kīrttir aindrīm indrajitā kṛtām  
vyāpyorvvīm vyaçnute divam ⊙
- XLXII. jaghānārībhakumbhālīm  
yo sinilotpalenodyan - bhinnām çrīkavarīm iva  
muktāntaḥkusuṅṅāvalim ⊙
- CLXIII. anityaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ sarvvaṃ  
nityaṃ ātmayaço dhatta iti vādan nudann iva  
yaḥ parākramasaṅskṛtam ⊙
- CLXIV. puṃvatpragalbhā kān[t]āpi  
lakṣmīm ajam ananyotkām (17) yam anaiṣīd raṇakriyā  
sunandendumatīm iva ⊙
- CLXV. dhātrā bhuvanasantāpa-  
mudādāyi dhruvaṃ yatra vidhvaṃsakṣamalakṣaṇe  
kāmakāntir anaçvari ⊙
- CLXVI. jīṅṅāsura iva yatīrtter  
prasāritakaro dyāpi ggatimānañ jagattraye  
prayāti = ~ ~ ~ ⊙
- CLXVII. (18) strīvivādāt kalāhānir  
yatnād viṇīya vīterṣyā indor iti haro nv adāt  
yatra bhūbhāratīçriyaḥ ⊙
- CLXVIII. khadgakhaṇḍitadantīndra-  
yaç cakre dīpikākoṣṭim dantaṣaṇḍojjalānalaiḥ  
ājirātrau jayaçriyaḥ ⊙
- CLXIX. vītanidraṃ prajāvṛddhau  
smaraṇād iva daityā[r]e yasya bhramati çāsanam  
= = = (19) viçvasaṃhṛtaḥ ⊙

(1) Corr. : ghanā°.

(2) Corr. : preṅkhal°.

CLXX.	dīkṣito raṇayajñāya prāpto py anāmayapadam	bhītvā (1) yo mītramaṇḍalam priyām bheje jayaçriyam ⊙
CLXXI.	padmārthī bhīmaseno yo digrājarājyam akarod	bhūbhṛdgahanapāragah dhvastakāntālakākulam ⊙
CLXXII.	yasyādhunāpi na vyeti (20) lagnayā mandaragirau	kīrtti = = ~ — ~ = pṛktevāmṛtavipruṣā ⊙
CLXXIII.	yenodgatā divi yudhi dattā bhūṣā iva yaço-	cchinnaviṇmūrdhamaulayah gāyidivyaṅganāgaṇe ⊙
CLXXIV.	yatkīrttyekārṇṇavaprānta- hemādrimūrdhdhapuline	taraṇaklāntaçaaktayah viçrāntā vivudhā dhruvam ⊙
CLXXV.	= = = (21) naddhapadmardhir mahībhṛnmūrdhni yasyājñā	dviṣaddhvāntavimarddini prabhā bhānor ivābabhau ⊙
CLXXVI.	çṛis sthitorahkuvalaye çṛipriye yena tu yaçaç-	çṛidhareṇa hṛtodadheḥ çṛir ājer ddiṇmukhāmvuje ⊙
CLXXVII.	dṛçi padmadyutiṃ pāṇau bibhrāṇo yo pi bhū — =	pṛthiviṃ vakṣasi çriyam — (22)ṇitah parameçvaraḥ ⊙
CLXXVIII.	bhūmibhṛnamathanam bibhrad yasya viṣṇor iva babhau	vilasadratnabhūṣaṇam vakṣaç çṛiratimaṇḍiram ⊙
CLXXIX.	bhāsvattatataro bhūri bhūbhṛdbharttā mahimnā yo	maṇḍalālaṅkṛtonnatih meror nātyaçarāt sthitim ⊙
CLXXX.	duryyodhanadviṣan nītvā jayaçriyam açalyām yo	bhaṅga = = ~ — (23)jasā dharmmarājo nv apālayat ⊙
CLXXXI.	yuddhābdhimathanāl labdham asvārtham eva yenāpi	yaçoratuāṇ jagattraye çṛidhareṇa vyakīryyata ⊙
CLXXXII.	yas trilokīpriyām prāyaç . ai = = = ~ r. n =	calaccandrārkkalocanām = (24)ṇapāṇam apāyayat ⊙
CLXXXIII.	yatpādakalpavṛkṣo pi dṛptārau hi vadanyatvan	kāmado nādita çriyam natis sādhayatiçvare ⊙
CLXXXIV.	aho ṣvabhāyo dustyājyo yenārihṛdayāhlāda-	yadvakṣasthāvarīkṛtā hāriṇi çṛih kṣaṇam kṣaṇam ⊙

(1) Corr. : bhītvā.

- CLXXXV. [p]ū[rñṇen]do rāhuṇā gra(25)stāt kāmāl lidhān nu vabhinā  
kāntir drutā mukhāmbhoje . . . yasyāṅge cābhaye çrītā ⊙
- CLXXXVI. etāvata vudhair ukto padajñaç çābdiko pi yaḥ  
nāstīti yācakagaṇam yan novāca kadā ca na ⊙
- CLXXXVII. netrendriyeṇa kāmasya darppañ jetāram ekadā  
pratyādiçann iveçam yo jayatsa(26)rvvendriyais sadā ⊙
- CLXXXVIII. çaktivuddhigatinām yo dharāmbhonidhimerūṇam  
dharīçakre mahodayaiḥ kṣamāgāmbhīryadhīratāḥ ⊙
- CLXXXIX. pradhānagaṇasamsiddhyai nyastam yena trayan triṣu  
abhiyāne rajo dharmme satvan dviddhīdaye tamaḥ ⊙
- CXC. vipatsaro vanagato yatitulyo (27) py arātirāt  
na kaç cid agaman mokṣam yasmād bhīto bhavād iva ⊙
- CXCI. vanam ripupurīkurvvan vanīkurvvan ripoh puram  
yaḥ padārthaviparyāsam itiçabda ivākārot ⊙
- CXCII. pūrñendun nūditan dṛṣṭvā yasyāsyasmarāṇād dviṣaḥ  
jyotsnābhir adres santaptāç çītale pi çilātale ⊙
- CXCIII. kṛtā(28)nurāgaç çrīkaṇṭhe maṇḍalāgradhurandharaḥ  
vṛttorur vyāyatastheyān yas svavāhur ivābabhau ⊙
- CXCIV. doṣoddhāraṇ gūṇotkarṣam vañçajānām çubhān gatim  
yo dhanurmmaṇḍala ivā - kārṣīt prakṛtīmaṇḍale ⊙
- CXCV. nihatārātihariṇam rājendor api maṇḍalam  
yasya taddayi(29)tonmukta- vāṣpāmbhobhir alakṣyata ⊙
- CXCVI. hatānām yadyaçaççauryyam gītam svarggāṅganāgaṇaiḥ  
hṛdyam hṛnmāhicāriṇam maṇmathasyeva çāsanam ⊙
- CXCVII. nigrāhānugrahau bhāsvān mārggāv uttaradakṣiṇau  
yaḥ paryāyeṇa saṅkrānto madhye samarasas tayoh ⊙
- CXCVIII. samāpya raṇaya(30)jñam yo vasubhir ddivīpurāhṛtaiḥ  
ārebhe vaidikam vidvān yudhiṣṭhira ivādhvaram ⊙
- CXCIX. prajarddhir adhikā yasya surabhījyām anujjhataḥ  
prajālopo dilīpasya prāg abhūt projjhataḥ tu tām ⊙

CC.	yasyādhvarāgnisamparkkam dhūmair adīṣṭaṣ channo rkko	ivāpannas samaṇḍalah havirbhāgajighṛ(31)kṣayā ⊙
CCI.	sarvvaratnaiḥ sthirā yasya kṣaṇikāmbhodamuktābhir	dānavṛṣṭir hiraṇmayī vṛṣṇo vṛṣṭis tu vaidyutī ⊙
CCII.	dānaikārṇṇavamagnāpi rarājodayamadhyasthā	dīptā yajñānalair api yasya sthitidharā dharā ⊙
CCIII.	samastam yo karod rāṣṭram svasmin haras tu sa(32)hate	avāṣpan namrabhūbhṛtām cvaçure vāṣpavāhinīm ⊙
CCIV.	yo vikramatrayāyāsa- cakrāma kṛtsnam ekena	çaṅkām çārṅgī nu nāçayan vikrameṇa punar jagat ⊙
CCV.	tāpanāhlādanakṣatra- sandhyodaya ivopāsyo	guṇārkkendukarānvitah mantriṇām yo natikramāt ⊙
CCVI.	atasmiṁs tad iti prāyah guṇeṣu ratnagrahaṇād	pratya(33)yam heyam eva yaḥ agrahīd vyasanikṛtāt ⊙
CCVII.	mārīca iva rāmasya yasyārīrajo vīro pi	nāmādyekākṣaraçravā jagāmānanyajām bhīyam ⊙
CCVIII.	nānākārasvadehārdhā- çārṅgīçvarau tadarddhābhyām	sandhyanādarīṇāv iva yañ cakratur atādṛçam ⊙
CCIX.	na kevalam pa(34)davidhau vyāpṛtā nopameyaiva	yadvāg varṇṇavidhāv api samarthaparibhāṣayā ⊙
CCX.	jagatām varddhayan vijam nāṅgakāntyaiva jātyāpi	kṣatāt trāṇam vitanvatā yena kāmo vinirjītaḥ ⊙
CCXI.	sudakṣiṇān dilīpam yaḥ ajaiṣīt kṣatradharmmeṇa	pratigṛhṇantām adhvare tām pātreṣu tu dattavān ⊙
CCXII.	rakṣi(35)tam yena saujanya ratnam kostubhanāmeva	asādhāraṇabhūṣaṇam hr̥dyan nārāyaṇorasā ⊙
CCXIII.	çaptā duṣṭasvarenaitya yan tu suṣvaradattāçir	dadhīcam svarggatā puṇaḥ bhāraty adyāpi bhūratā ⊙
CCXIV.	parākramaparadvandvam dikstrīṣṇu raktam paraval-	yadyaço pi napuṁsakam liṅgavād iva viçrutam ⊙

CCXV.	sītāṃ la(36)bdhum açakto rir çrīmadādityavidveṣī	yyasya maṇḍodarīrataḥ (1) rāvaṇābho niçācaraḥ ⊙
CCXVI.	çūnyānātmādivādaṃ yo sarvvatra vyāpinīm ātma-	yuktyā pariharann iva vibhūtiṃ pratyapādayat ⊙
CCXVII.	ya eko saṅkhyaguṇavān prādur āsīd guṇaguṇi -	kutārkkikajigīṣayā vyatirekaṃ vadann iva ⊙
CCXVIII.	(37) na kevalaṃ gandhavatī yaçobhir yyasya diççakra-(2)	kriyate bhūs sugandhibhiḥ kīrṇṇair dyor(3) apy atadguṇā ⊙
CCXIX.	prāk prayujyopasarggaṃ yaç dhātor iva ripor artha-	çāstrajñāḥ pratyayaṃ param pratipattyai padaṃ vyadhāt ⊙
CCXX.	yaçaçcandrasya janako anasūyānuyāto yo	daçadiggarbhagāmināḥ rarājātrir ivāparaḥ ⊙
CCXXI.	(38) purāṇārthānurakto pi navārtha eva kenāpi	vṛddhavāntpriyo pi yaḥ kāvyē rāṅkṣīn manohare ⊙
CCXXII.	niçkale pi çive nitya - sakalāṃ yaḥ kalāṃ prāpa	saṃsaktas sakalīkṛte candrārddho na tu jādyataḥ ⊙
CCXXIII.	svīkurvanty unnatiṃ sarvvām tathā hi lajjāvyājena	varṇṇitā yasya sadguṇāḥ mukham apy ānatan tadā ⊙
CCXXIV.	(39) kaumāraṇ dadhatā yo nu jarasā varjjitam prāpyam	kārttikeyena kevalam aprāptam prāpa yauvanam ⊙
CCXXV.	akāryyaṃ prṣṭhataḥkāraṃ yena priyahitam prājyam	anuçīṣṭā prajākhilā anyonyasya vyativyadhāt ⊙
CCXXVI.	tīryakkṛtya kṛtī kṛtyam çāstroktam yaḥ prakṛtavān	kṛtsnam prākṛtibhiḥ kṛtam navīnam akṛtam paraiḥ ⊙
CCXXVII.	(40) prāpya hīnānuvandham yad- naṣṭā harajaṭājūtam (4)	guṇam kīrttindvalaṅkṛtam kīrttir gaṅgeva bhūbhujām ⊙

(1) Corr. : *mando*.

(2) Noter le sandhi diç° pour dik°.

(3) Corr. : *dyaaur*.(4) Corr. : *ojūṭam*.

CCXXVIII.	yasyāpi nityavīpsārtham yaço nuraktais kavibhiḥ	kevalan na dvir ucyate koṭīkṛtvō py asaṃbhramaiḥ ⊙
CCXXIX.	etāvatānumeyo yo dviṣam sā(41)ṅgam ivānaṅgam	yoddhā çastravidām varaḥ yac cicchedāsīdhārāyā ⊙
CCXXX.	jātāḥ prajāoater yyasmād daçāṅgāyaiva dharmmāya	dakṣān medhādayo daça dayitās tasthire sthirāḥ ⊙
CCXXXI.	kāntin dṛṣṭām punar dṛṣṭvā vivudhāv ūcatuḥ kṣīṇām	dvau purūravasah purā rddhām yasya tu te khilāḥ ⊙
CCXXXII.	yamasya mahiṣākarṣā(42)d yasyorvvi mahiṣī hr̥dyā	ivāptun dharmmarājatām dakṣiṇāçām sadānvagāt ⊙
CCXXXIII.	yasya praçāsato rāṣṭre kenāpi dṛṣṭayā kantayā	py aikāgārikavarjite hr̥tam sīmantinīmanaḥ ⊙
CCXXXIV.	vṛddhānuçāsanāsudhā- vṛddhabhūpavarāṅgaçrī-	sindhau magnō pi yo niçam laṅghanañ caṇaṇam vya(43)dhāt ⊙
CCXXXV.	rajastamobhyān nirmukto prakṛtir yyo pi vuddhyādeḥ	yuktas sarvvaguṣair api paramaḥ puruṣo mataḥ ⊙
CCXXXVI.	lakṣaço lakṣahomāgnau sarvvayījam ivāmvūptam	hūtam yasyāpi hotṛbhiḥ mahat phalam ajiṇat ⊙
CCXXXVII.	coditau sūtamagadhau stavī(44)ti svarasenaiva	purā tuṣṭvatuḥ pṛthum yān tu sarvvam idaṅ jagat ⊙
CCXXXVIII.	bhūbhṛty anamre vidhvaste chinṇapakṣāpādeçena	svābhūbhṛttvabhayād iva namanti girayo nu yam ⊙
CCXXXIX.	çṛsomeçvarabhṭtād yo vudhān vyākhyātavēdārthām	mīmāṅsām çrūtavān dvijāt vrahmaṇyān adhyajīgamat ⊙
CCXL.	rājapaddhatir adyā(45)pi yayāyātā nṛpatayo	yatprāṇitā prakāçate lokadvayahitair yyutāḥ ⊙
CCXLI.	niṣkalaṅkatayā naiva apakṣapātapūrṇeṇa	çaçāṅkam prajāhāsa yaḥ maṅḍalenāpy aharnniçam ⊙
CCXLII.	rājyan napuṃsakāvasthām babhau vijitavairīndram	api prāptam prajārdhikṛt (46) yasya jiṣṇor ivehitam ⊙

CCXLIII.	bhramitā maṇḍarabhrāntyā abhrāntaṃ merum iva yaṃ	lakṣmīr amṛtamanthane suvarṇṇaṃ prāpya susthitā ⊙
CCXLIV.	vrahmāṇḍakoṭāre py alpe kṣṣṇenevāsyakuhare	yaço yēnorudarçitam trailokyam sarvvaçaktinā ⊙
CCXLV.	nītyāçīṣat kamvupurīm gīrvvāṇavāritārīndrām	vā(47)gīçasya purodhasaḥ yo bajrīvāmarāvatīm ⊙
CCXLVI.	çamite py anvaçād durggaṃ meruṃ kurvanty avadhya hi	durggamaṃ yo rimaṇḍale dhāma vedhohariçvarāḥ ⊙
CCXLVII.	pradhānabhūtā bhūteṣu guṇibhūtāni bhūtāni	guṇā yasmin praçāsati vyatyayo (48) pi mahodayaḥ ⊙
CCXLVIII.	çrīkesaraṃ yaçogandhaṃ yatpādajalajaṃ reje	sāmrajyasarasi sphuṭam duṣṭaṃ rājanyaçaṭpadaih ⊙
CCXLIX.	mṛdūcakāra yaç çastram haras tu kusumāstraika-	asaṅkhyam saṅyati dviṣām kusumāstramṛdūkṛtaḥ ⊙
CCL.	yasya daṇḍayato khaṇḍam adaṇḍyādaṇḍanāmbhodher	daṇḍyān dedīpya(49)te yaçañ induvimvam ivoditam ⊙
CCLI.	dattebhaçatadānāmvu- paribhramati yatkīrttir	matteva vitate dhvare adyāpi bhuvanairaye ⊙
CCLII.	kamaloṭkāpihitvaiva yasyāgād vāhukamaḥ	kamalaṃ kaṇṭakānvitam kamalā hatakaṇṭakam ⊙
CCLIII.	vrahmārthito (50) viçuddho yaç çuddhasphaṭikavarṇṇo pi	çuddha eva çivas tv asau bhūyo bhūn nīlalohitaḥ ⊙
CCLIV.	yatpratāpānalo dhākṣīd vairiṇas saṃmukhīnān kiṃ	vāhiniantarggatān api punaḥ kāṣṭhāntaradrutān ⊙
CCLV.	eka evaikajaladhau yatkīrttyekārṇṇave stotra-	prasuptaḥ puruṣottamaḥ pravuddhā va(51)havas tu te ⊙
CCLVI.	yasya stavāyāpi kavi- caritāmṛtasamparkkāt	prayatnānantarīyakam kāvyān na vyeti vedavat ⊙
CCLVII.	bhītā bhīṣayamāne bhūh datvānyeṣu vahukṣīram	kiñ cid evādiçat pṛthau yasmiñs tv abhayade khilam ⊙

CCLVIII.	jahatsvārthābhīmukhyena vṛttir yyasya samāsādir	parārthapratipādane iva (52) sāmartyamaṇḍitā ⊙
CCLIX.	mokṣaprāptinimittena samanvito pi yo naiva	tattvajñānena bhāsvatā vimukto hṛdayān nṛṇām ⊙
CCLX.	ekatraivātmano gātre haro yas tu jagannāthas	vyadhād bhūtiṃ rajomayīm saptasv aṅgeṣu sāvīkīm ⊙
CCLXI.	niškāmo pi parasveṣu dātun nālaṃ svam anyasmāi	yo vadanyo pi pātavam jagrāhānyasya kevalam ⊙
CCLXII.	(53) jayaḥ parājayo vā syād yasmiṃs tu jaya evāsīd	ity acaṅkānyayoddhṛṣu asandigdho raṇe raṇe ⊙
CCLXIII.	çrīr aho niṣṭhurā yuddhe rugnanighnadārātībha-	yatkucābhyām atādayat dantāgraṃ yadurasthalam <sup>(1)</sup> ⊙
CCLXIV.	nālaukaḥkarakīrṇāsu visparddhivākīrad yoddhā	puṣpavṛṣṭiṣu yo jayi kīrttimaṇḍāramañjarīḥ <sup>(2)</sup> ⊙
CCLXV.	bhūṣām(54) vaddhnann ivāpūrvvām yaçaçcandrasahasrāṇi	khaṇḍabhūṣe bhavē dhikām yo khaṇḍāny adīçad diçi ⊙
CCLXVI.	yadvapussahakārasya dṛgbhṛṅgī kīrttikusumā-	lagnā-kāntiphale nṛṇām kṛṣṭā nirggantum akṣamā ⊙
CCLXVII.	ātmanam içvaram vaktum prakṛtāv anudāsīnaḥ	yo vāñchann iva karaṇam kartavyam akarot kṛtī ⊙
CCLXVIII.	(55) devān yaç çrīndravarmmaçrī sthāpitān kalpīte stheyo	yaçovarmmādibhir nṛpaiḥ yajñāṅge tair atīṣṭhipat ⊙
CCLXIX.	yaçodharataṭāke çrī- adṛṣṭam api dharmmaṃ yaḥ	yaçovarmmakṛte kṛtī pratyakṣam samadarçayat ⊙
CCLXX.	kamvuvīçvambharāyām yaḥ sthāpitānāṃ ca yajvaiko	tridaçānām svayambhuvām bhūtvā pūjām avarddhayat ⊙

(1) Corr. : <sup>o</sup>urasthalam.

(2) Corr. : <sup>o</sup>mandāra<sup>o</sup>.

- CCLXXI. (56) rājendunā yena yathā yathā ॠ-  
bhadreçvare diyata maṇḍalaçrīḥ  
tathā tathāvarddhata niṣkalaṅkā  
candraçriyaṃ hrepayituṃ mudeva ⑥
- CCLXXII. campādhipaṃ vāhuvalena jītvā -  
yacchac chriyaṃ yo haraye tadyāṃ.  
svayambhuve rodhasi viṣṇupadyāç  
campeçvarākhyāṃ iva karttum arthyāṃ ⑥
- CCLXXIII. sitānaditīrakṛtāspadāyai  
dvā(57)ratrayaṃ yo diçad eva nadyai  
yathākhyam eṣā tripathena gacchatv  
itīva haimaṃ saba bhūribhogaiḥ ⑥
- CCLXXIV. yaçodharā yena purī parokṣā  
dharmmārthakāmair iyam abhyapūri  
kṛtvā punar bhāratasaṃhiteva  
vedais tribhis satyavatīsutena ⑥
- CCLXXV. yācñā yaçovarmmaṅpasya yogā-  
cāroktavijñaptir ivārthaçūnyā  
dharmmyā svadharmmoddharanoḍdhatena  
yenārthavattāṃ gamitā tra(58)yīva ⑥
- CCLXXVI. magnānyabhūbhṛikulamānaçṛṅge  
py ucchrāyabhāg atra taṭākapaḍme  
yanmānaviṣṇur bhuvanaṃ vilaṅghya  
paḍaṃ vyadhāt tūryyapaḍāvadātam (1) ⑥
- CCLXXVII. sa ॠrājendrabbhadreçvara iti viditaṃ liṅgam atraidam agryaṃ  
gauriçauriçvarāṅñāñ catasṛbhīr abhirāmābhīr arceābhīr ābhīḥ  
kīrttiṃ vaktuṃ prasannaṃ mukham iva muditasyordhvam āsyaiç  
caturbhīç  
çambhor bhāsvadbhīr iddhe çikhitanuvasubhī sthā(59)payāṃ āsa  
çāke ⑥
- CCLXXVIII. tenānimādyair (2) nñihito guṇaiç ॠ-  
rājendravarmaçvara içvaro yam  
aṣṭābhīr indrādibhīr ātmabhūtyai  
bhūpālabhāvas sva ivāgnidiksthaḥ ⑥

(1) La lecture ॠryya<sup>o</sup> n'est pas certaine.

(2) Corr. : tenāñi<sup>o</sup>.

- CCLXXIX. rājendraviçvarūpe-  
çvaro pi viçvākṛūr harir hārī .  
tribhuvanakevalakānti-  
prakara ivākāri tenāsmīn ⊙
- CCLXXX. çrīharṣadevajananī-  
jayadevyās svārjjayāya janitaçrīh  
jananījaghanyajāyās  
tene(60)ha sthāpitā girijā ⊙
- CCLXXXI. rājendravarṃmadeve-  
çvaram içvaram içvaro vaniçānām  
çrīharṣavarṃmanṛpater  
anujasyā sa bhūtaye kṛtavān ⊙
- CCLXXXII. siddhā daçādhyātmikaliṅgalakṣyāç  
çārṅgyādītārapratimābbhirāmāh  
mūrdhenduniṣṭhyūtasudhorudhārā  
ivāṣṭa mūrtīr akṛtāṣṭamūrtteḥ ⊙
- CCLXXXIII. trailokyalakṣmīr iva lokapālair  
aṣṭābhīr āsāditarājabhāvaiḥ  
puñjikṛtāiṣu kṣitipena tena  
deveṣu dattā vi(61)vidhā vibhūtiḥ ⊙
- CCLXXXIV. sūvarṇābhogī maṇirāçisāndras  
samudrāvāt tātparikalpito smīn .  
velāvivṛddho stv anātīya deva-  
pūjāvidhis tūryyaravormminādaḥ ⊙
- CCLXXXV. indreṇa tenādhikṛtaiḥ payodaiḥ  
pūmbhis svadharmmaikarasaṃ pradeyam  
saṣāçrasaṃ pātravaçāt samāpya  
daivīm payo divyaṃ ivānnaṃ ijjām ⊙
- CCLXXXVI. bhaviṣyataḥ kamvujabhūbhujāç çrī-  
rājendravarṃmā vidito vadanyaḥ  
sa yācate yā(62)çata ity udāraṃ  
rakṣantu dharmmaṃ svam imāṃ bhavantāḥ ⊙
- CCLXXXVII. ātmāyam eko vahudhā vibhinne  
karttopabhoktā ca yataç çarīre  
tatas svadharmmagrahaṇaṃ vudhānān  
dharmmeṣu sarvveṣu vivarddhatāṃ vahī ⊙

- CCLXXXVIII. upādbibhedād api kartṛbhedo  
yaḥ kalpitaḥ karmmaphalāni bhettum  
bhāktas sa bhedyah paramārthavuddhya  
bhāseva bbānor anayāndhakārah ⊙
- CCLXXXIX. labdhā dharitrī tapasā bhavadbhi(63)r  
asyāṃ yad astīdam aḥsam etat  
saṅrakṣaṇīyaṃ kṣaṇam apy upekṣyan  
na syān nipīdyeta yadiha kaiç cit ⊙
- CCXC. kṣatāt paritrāṇavidhānāliṅgā  
kṣatroktir eṣābjabhūvo bhujād vaḥ  
prasūtibhājāṃ bhujavīryabhūri-  
bhūṣābhṛtāṃ bhāsayaāt svān artham ⊙
- CCXCI. nidrāyujāṃ rājasukhe çriyāpi  
dharmmo vipadyeta yadā tadāstāt  
pravo(64)dhanam vas tadupakriyāyai  
nārāyaṇasyeva payaḥpayodhau ⊙
- CCXCII. yato nimittād adites sutatvaṃ  
straiṇaṅ ca viṣṇur bhagavān ajo pi  
çivo jagāmāmvujanmanaç ca  
tad astu dharmmasthitipālanam vaḥ ⊙
- CCXCIII. yamābhyupetā niyamābhirāmā  
rāmeva sā satyavataḥ priyāstu  
dattāndhadṛṣṭir ddadhatī dhṛtir vvo  
yaçaççarīre mama dharmmajivam ⊙
- CCXCIV. ratnādidevasva(65)m idaṅ jighṛkṣur  
bhūṣāyamānam viṣam eva kas syāt  
çṛīkaṅṭhakaṅṭhāsthītakālākūṭam  
iveti vuddhir vviduṣān dṛḍhā vaḥ ⊙
- CCXCV. bhūyāsta yūyaṅ ciram āttarājyā  
dharmmotsukās tyāgaṅair vvariṣṭhāḥ  
tejodhikāḥ koçavalarddhimantaḥ  
karandhamādyā iva pūrvvabhūpāḥ ⊙
- CCXCVI. kulīnam utkā kulajeva kanyā  
bhavadvidham prāpya patim varaiṣā  
çālīnatāṃ mārddava(66)m ānayanī  
yācñā nijān (1) no vivṛṇoti bhāvam ⊙

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(1) Corr. : nijan.

CCXCVII. svarggāpavarggapraçamaikavīthī  
vānī mamaiṣeçvaramūrdhamālā  
gambhīram ānandayatān mano vo  
maṇḍākinīvāmvuudhiṃ praviṣṭā ①

CCXCVIII. maraṇaṃ idam inānāṃ yācanaṃ yuktaṃ uktaṃ  
kṛtibhir abhimatārthāprāptaḃ yat prayuktaṃ  
tad amṛtaṃ anugamyān dharmmasaṃvarddhanārthaṃ  
yad abhimatamato haṃ dharmmarāgeṇa yāce ②

## TRADUCTION.

I. A ce Çambhu qui brille, éclairant la région d'Indra (= l'est) au moyen des Ṛk manifestés par le dénouement du faisceau de flammes, le sud au moyen du Yajus agité par le vent qui s'élève; l'ouest au moyen du Sāman illuminé par la collection des rayons lumineux de la lune, la région de Kuvera (= le nord) par les (trois Veda) réunis, hommage soit rendu !

II. A Celui qui, bien qu'unique et dépourvu de corps, se manifeste par la syllabe *Oṃ* dans ces individualités que sont les conditions de naissance des créatures, (à Celui) qui est le lieu où se manifestent toutes les Puissances, qui a pour essence le yoga du yogin, et qui, de plus, se manifeste maître de lui-même, sous la forme du dieu né du lotus (Brahmā), du dieu aux yeux de lotus (Viṣṇu) et de Çrī Kaṇṭha (Çiva) — à Çiva résidant au milieu de la syllabe (*Oṃ*), omniprésent, apaisé, hommage soit rendu !

III. A Celui qui place ses trois portions : celle qui est Brahmā, génératrice, dans le soleil ; celle qui est Viṣṇu, conservatrice, dans la lune ; et celle qui est Rūdra, destructrice, dans le feu ; — à Celui dont le corps manifesté dans ces trois dieux est, bien que tenu, discerné par les yeux doués d'une vue surnaturelle de ceux qui connaissent la réalité, à ce Brahman suprême, exempt de passion, hommage soit rendu !

IV. A Celui qui, bien qu'arrivé pour l'éternité dans le monde suprême à la condition dépourvue de *sattva*, de *rajas* et *tamas* (1), apparaît (en ce monde) sous des manifestations diverses, grâce à la quadruple triade de qualités (2), et qui, bien qu'ayant dépouillé toute forme, respandit sous la forme de l'Omniprésent, à ce bienheureux Vāsudeva, mâle primordial et éternel, salut !

(1) Je suppose un *a* privatif élidé au début du composé *saṭva*<sup>o</sup>.

(2) Ceci doit faire allusion à la doctrine des Pañcarātra relative aux quatre *vyāha* ou manifestations de Viṣṇu (cf. F. OTTO SCHRADER, *Introd. to the Pañcarātra*). L'existence du système Pañcarātra est attestée au Cambodge dès le règne de Yaçovarman (cf. BEFEO., XXXII, pp. 98, 107).

V. A Celle qui, ayant créé dans une matrice la connaissance (*vidyā*), mère de l'intelligence, pour la production de six embryons, (puis) ayant extrait (de cette matrice) le septième, s'incarna dans le huitième engendré par le Haṃsa (Viṣṇu), et poussa un cri de joie (à la pensée) du meurtre de Kaṃsa, à la Puissance céleste, élevée, inaccessible et non artificielle du Bienheureux, à Nārāyaṇī (1), hommage soit rendu !

VI. Il y eut un roi dont la gloire candide resplendissait jusqu'aux limites de l'océan, dont la souveraineté (héritée) de sa famille maternelle brillait dans la ville d'Aninditapura ornée par la Fortune royale et régnait en guidant les foules [ou : brillait par sa marche dans les signes du zodiaque], un descendant de Somā et de Kauṇḍinya, ayant l'éclat des douze soleils que sont les rois insoumis, Çrī Bālāditya [= soleil levant], qui par sa marche tenait le cercle (de son empire) comme (le soleil tient) l'orbe de l'univers.

VII. Sarasvatī, fille de sa sœur, fut prise pour épouse par le brâhmane Viçvarūpabhaṭṭa, comme Arundhatī par Vaṣiṣṭha.

VIII. Dans la descendance de ce brâhmane et de cette kṣatriyā naquit Vedavatī, épouse de Dvivedabhaṭṭa.

IX. Le roi Çrī Nṛpatīndravarman, frère vertueux de la mère de la mère de celle-ci, vainqueur de ses ennemis comme s'il avait possédé l'héroïsme de Çauri (Viṣṇu), eut pour fils le roi Çrī Puṣkarākṣa, à l'adresse sans égale, oncle maternel de l'oncle maternel de la mère de Çrī Jayavarman, qui établit sa capitale sur le sommet du mont Mahendra.

X. Ayant, au moyen de richesses accumulées, fait honorer par cet époux (Dvivedabhaṭṭa) qui connaissait la double collection des Veda, le brûlant liṅga d'Īçvara érigé auparavant dans la ville de Svargadvāra et dans chaque cité par le roi nommé Çrī Bālāditya, qui était l'ornement de sa propre famille, cette (Vedavatī) qui éclairait les points cardinaux de sa renommée étincelante, prit sa résidence au ciel.

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(1) Il s'agit de Yoganidrā, le sommeil cosmique = Māyā, l'illusion = Avidyā, l'ignorance, considérée tantôt comme Durgā, çakti de Çiva, tantôt comme Vaiṣṇavī, çakti de Viṣṇu (c'est le cas ici). — Sur l'ordre de Viṣṇu, elle introduisit successivement dans le sein de Devakī, femme de Vāsudeva, six embryons, qui, après leur naissance, furent l'un après l'autre tués par Kaṃsa. Le septième, Balarāma, formé d'une portion de Çeṣa, fut enlevé de la matrice de Devakī avant sa naissance et transféré dans celle de Rohiṇī, autre femme de Vāsudeva. Le huitième, Kṛṣṇa, incarnation de Viṣṇu, fut après sa naissance confié à Yaçodā, tandis que l'enfant de cette dernière, en qui s'était incarnée Nidrā, était substitué à Kṛṣṇa auprès de Devakī. Kaṃsa saisit l'enfant de Yaçodā (qu'il croyait être celui de Devakī) et l'écrasa contre une pierre. Mais Nidrā, montant au ciel se transforma en un être gigantesque qui, dans un rire terrible, annonça la mort de Kaṃsa (*Viṣṇupur.*, V, 1-III).

XI. Dans cette grande lignée de rois constituant la famille de cette (Vedavati), naquit Mahendradevi, vénérable comme la Terre, semblable à une déesse, épouse des dieux, descendue du ciel.

XII. Le roi, père de Vedavati, eut pour descendant Çri Mahendrarman, versé dans tous les arts, lune (éclairant) l'océan de cette famille royale, doué d'une illustre renommée.

XIII. Dans cette reine (Mahendradevi) qui secouait la poussière de ses pieds sur la tête des reines, ce roi (Mahendrarman), destructeur de l'ignorance [ou : de l'obscurité], qui étendait ses pas [ou : le jeu de ses rayons] sur la tête des rois [ou : des montagnes], engendra le roi des rois Çri Rājendrarman, attaché au devoir des rois, — comme dans la fille de Tvaṣṭar le soleil engendra le Manu nommé Vaivasvata.

XIV. Grâce à l'étude du Veda pratiquée autrefois par le brâhmane Çri Viçvarūpa, grâce à la triple ascèse endurée par Dviveda avec son épouse et par tous les rois de leur descendance, grâce à tout cela, il fut dans sa famille solaire comme Hari, le dieu suprême des descendants de la race solaire<sup>(1)</sup>.

XV. Né vainqueur, bien qu'il eût (déjà) par l'intensité innée et victorieuse de sa majesté, rabaissé complètement le plus éminent des nobles, il surpassait (encore) en quelque sorte le soleil et les autres (astres), réceptacles d'abondante lumière qui résident en haut, (mais) dont toutes les qualités auxquelles ils doivent leur éminente souveraineté sont produites<sup>(2)</sup>.

XVI. (Né) d'une mère (qui était une) Çri née dans l'océan de lait d'une famille de kṣatriya, et d'un père, époux de Çri, homme éminent<sup>(3)</sup>, (ce roi) brillant dans la race solaire, engendré sans obstacle<sup>(4)</sup> et sans défaut, tel Kāma, mais supérieur en beauté (à ce dernier), portait le nom adéquat de Garbheçvara (« roi de naissance »), qu'il devait à ses qualités souveraines.

XVII. Ayant reçu comme caractéristiques, pour l'épanouissement du lotus des trois mondes : la fraîcheur de Somā, quintessence de la création et brillante dans Bhavapura ; — la suprématie de Bālāditya ; — la lumière du

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(1) Ou peut-être mieux : Grâce à l'étude du Veda pratiquée et à la triple ascèse endurée autrefois par le brâhmane Çri Viçvarūpa, par Dviveda et son épouse, et par tous les rois... — C'est cette chaleur accumulée et concentrée dans sa famille qui lui vaut d'être comparable à Hari, chef de la race solaire.

(2) Et non pas innées comme celles du roi.

(3) Çribhartr̥ (époux de Çri) et Puruṣottama (mâle suprême) sont des épithètes de Viṣṇu.

(4) Aniruddha, fils de Pradyumna, est considéré comme une forme de Kāma.

feu ; — la souveraineté de son propre père, seigneur de la puissante cité de Bhavapura, uni à la reine ; — ce roi tout en *tejas* fut dans chaque région de l'espace considéré comme un jeune homme [ou : Kumāra = Kārttikeya] (1).

XVIII. Sa puissance, ayant frustré les intentions de l'ennemi par l'attaque de leurs places fortes [ou : le désir du péché par l'exertion difficile], experte à causer la prospérité de la ville donneuse de gloire (= Yaçodharapura) [ou : pour la prospérité de Yaçodā], ayant reçu le sacre d'Indra [ou : du (mont) Mahendra], brillait comme celle de Çauri (Viṣṇu).

XIX. Désirant que la qualité de bonté (*sattva*), brillante et génératrice d'actes vertueux, possédée par les autres hommes en commun (avec les deux autres qualités), soit séparée, le Créateur, au moyen d'une union intime, l'a fixée tout entière dans le corps de ce roi comme étant sa caractéristique principale.

XX. Au moyen des rayons émanant du soleil de sa beauté, Kāma avait bu l'eau de cette mare qu'est la médiocre gloire née de la beauté des autres hommes, mais lorsqu'il rencontra l'océan sans limites de la beauté de ce roi, il y fut submergé : c'est sans doute pour cela qu'il a pris le makara pour monture.

XXI. Ayant fait venir tous les sages auprès de la pleine lune faite de gloire, qui détruit l'ignorance [ou : l'obscurité] par la pleine lumière de l'intelligence, ce roi [ou : ce soleil] connaissant la saveur (*rasa*) les désaltérait au disque lunaire de sa science, humide de l'ambrosie du suc (*rasa*) qu'il en exprimait.

XXII. La renommée, acquise par ce roi dans la science des armes, causait dans le monde la joie de l'oreille (*karṇa*) et de l'esprit, tandis qu'on entend encore aujourd'hui le grand reproche adressé par Arjuna à Kārṇa (2).

XXIII. C'était un jeu pour lui que de couper en trois une large barre de fer, en la frappant légèrement d'un seul coup de son épée, comme (s'il eût frappé) un tronc de banaanier. A quoi bon parler (du coup de son épée) dans le corps, fait de chair, de l'ennemi ?

(1) Somā (dont le nom, grâce à une homonymie avec *soma*, « lune » dans le composé *somākhyāt*, évoque l'idée de fraîcheur), et Bālāditya, étant des ascendants du roi Rājendravarman, la mention du feu (*vahni*) doit cacher une allusion à un autre de ses ancêtres, peut-être à Viçvarūpa. Quant au père du roi, Seigneur (*īçvara*) de Bhavapura (la ville de Bhava), uni à la reine (*devī*), il est assimilé à Çiva. Or Çiva, et le Feu, dans lequel tomba la semence de Çiva, sont considérés tous deux comme pères de Kārttikeya. Enfin Soma, Sūrya (ici Bālāditya = soleil levant), Agni et Çiva sont des régents des points cardinaux. Il y a donc ici une série d'allusions et de doubles sens.

(2) *Mahābhārata*, VII, 148.

XXIV. Grâce à la puissance magique de ses formules et de ses herbes, l'épée de ses ennemis ne parvenait pas à couper seulement une pousse de lotus bleu, comme si celle-ci eût été en fer. A quoi bon parler du tronc de son corps, semblable au diamant ?

XXV. Bien qu'il fût le premier des archers, agitant son arc et remplissant l'espace du bruit de sa corde, il était d'une telle adresse qu'il pouvait à volonté se servir de son arc sans faire aucun bruit.

XXVI. Désireuse en quelque sorte d'égaliser ce roi qui aimait les parures, et qui (même) dans sa jeunesse possédait au complet les arts (*kalā*) immaculés, mais ne pouvant encore maintenant y réussir, la lune, dans sa période croissante, retourne à la jeunesse (1).

XXVII. Sacré (roi) par aspersion de la tête, jeune [*ou* : ayant la nature de Kumāra], déchirant de son épée celui qui aide l'ennemi arrogant [*ou* : l'arrogant ennemi Tāraka], il menait l'armée de Kambu répandue dans l'espace : comme Kārttikeya conduit l'armée des dieux (2).

XXVIII. S'avançant dans les orientes qu'il avait transformés en kraal pour prendre des éléphants en rut [*ou* : qu'il avait rendus hostiles aux Dānava], terrible pour les rois des éléphants [*ou* : Bhīma pour les rois des éléphants], semblable au vénérable Īça, protégé de toutes parts par les préceptes brāhmaniques, de colère il réduisit en cendres les villes ennemies [*ou* : le corps de l'ennemi (Kāma)] (3).

XXIX. Faisant pénétrer ses flèches à travers les corps (minces comme) des tiges; coupant toutes les têtes des ennemis, porteur d'épée, porteur de bâton (4), écrasant les bosses frontales des éléphants, il manifestait dans la science des armes une habileté surhumaine.

(1) Le roi, dans sa jeunesse (*vālabhāva*) possède au complet les arts (*kalā*) sans tache, alors que la lune qui a une tache (en forme de lièvre) ne possède dans sa période croissante (*vālya*) que des portions (*kalā*) incomplètes. C'est pour essayer d'égaliser le roi qu'à chaque période croissante (*vṛddhi*) elle retrouve la jeunesse (*ou* la croissance, *vālya*).

(2) Kumāra « jeune homme », Çaktidhara « porteur d'épée », Tārakajit « vainqueur du (daitya) Tāraka, Mahāsena (ou Senāpati) et Siddhasena « chef d'armée, chef des Siddha » sont autant d'épithètes de Kārttikeya.

(3) Dānavāri « ennemi des Dānava », Bhīma « terrible », Īça « maître », Bhagavat « vénérable » sont des noms de Çiva; on sait de plus que c'est ce dieu dont la colère brûla Kāma. Bhīma est d'autre part le nom d'un des fils de Pāṇḍu, auquel le Mahābhārata attribue plusieurs combats victorieux contre des éléphants (VI, 102; VII, 190; VIII, 60).

(4) Khaḍgin, « porteur d'épée », est un nom de Çiva, et gadābhṛt, « porteur de bâton », est une épithète de Viṣṇu.

XXX. Il brillait dans l'esprit des hommes, héros unique ayant conquis la région gardée par Indra (l'est) <sup>(1)</sup>, le sud, l'ouest et le nord, tandis que pour le sacre (de Yudhiṣṭhira), le vainqueur (Arjuna) n'avait conquis qu'une seule région <sup>(2)</sup>.

XXXI. Après avoir conquis toute la terre adjacente et brûlé, bien qu'enfant, les rois en pleine jeunesse, ce glorieux unit la ville de Kambu à la Victoire qui y était revenue <sup>(3)</sup>.

XXXII. Avec l'ambrosie de la victoire, sa fraîche gloire, — joyau Kaushtubha né de l'océan de la bataille, — réjouit les trois mondes, comme si le cœur unique de l'ennemi de Mura (Viṣṇu) s'était par plaisir incarné trois fois.

XXXIII. Pour réjouir le monde entier au moyen de ses arts accrus successivement, bien qu'il fût sorti de l'enfance [ou : de la lune croissante], il ne manifesta plus ensuite de diminution de ses arts, comme le fait la lune (pendant la période décroissante) <sup>(4)</sup>.

XXXIV. L'ayant arraché à l'enfance et désireuse de s'unir à lui, la Fortune royale, reconnaissante et respectueuse, le conduisit à la prime jeunesse en lui disant : « Reste ici ! ».

XXXV. Afin de rendre (encore) supérieure, dans sa jeunesse, sa beauté qui, dans son enfance dépassait (déjà) l'éclat extrême des autres rois, le Créateur fit un suprême effort.

XXXVI. Voyant qu'il s'était couvert de victoire dans sa victoire sur les gardiens des points cardinaux et qu'il était embrassé par la Victoire, la Fortune royale des Kambuja, fidèle à sa famille et poussée par une voix puissante <sup>(5)</sup> l'embrassa comme par jalousie.

XXXVII. Dans les autres royaumes, les rois parvenus sur le champ de bataille et saisis par les manifestations des six ennemis furent déchus du pouvoir royal, tandis que lui posséda ce pouvoir par six, les (6) ennemis

(1) Il y a ici, très probablement, une allusion à Indravarman III, roi du Champa, qui était le voisin à l'est de Rājendrarvarman.

(2) A savoir le nord. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, II, 24 (*Digvijayaparvan*).

(3) Après le séjour à Chok Gargyar (Kōh Ker) pendant le règne de Jayavarman IV.

(4) On sait que *kalā* désigne à la fois les arts, au nombre de 64, et les 16 portions ou « doigts » de la lune ; cf. supra, st. XXVI.

(5) Peut-être faut-il comprendre : « à l'instigation du guru », c'est-à-dire du chapelain royal (*rājaguru*) qui dut jouer un rôle important pendant l'enfance et la jeunesse de Rājendrarvarman.

(intérieurs) et les (8) manifestations (de Çiva), en ne prenant pas (*ṣaḍ-ari-mūrtti*) comme un (composé) déterminatif (1).

XXXVIII. Autant l'eau des tīrtha qui adhérait à son corps lors de la célébration de son sacre eut de peine à sécher (2), autant son brûlant éclat desséchait le nectar sur les lèvres des femmes ennemies (3).

XXXIX. Considérant que la jeune lune était devenue l'ornement de la tête de Bhava, le disque du jeune soleil, jaloux, devint le joyau de la chevelure de ce seigneur (*īçvara*) (4) et illumina sa tête de sa lumière.

XL. A ce roi qui portait constamment le poids de la terre, le roi des serpents (5), comme s'il avait été joyeux d'être délivré de son fardeau, donna les bijoux brillants sur ses mille têtes et les assembla tous avec des ornements d'or.

XLI. Dans cet ennemi de la lune (Rāhu), non décapité, qu'est l'œillade des femmes saisissant la lune de sa beauté, les yeux palpitant du désir de la voir, et comme enflammés de la colère du disque de Viṣṇu, n'en voyaient qu'une partie (6).

XLII. Sous son règne (la terre) fille de Kaçyapa et d'Aditi fit, pour la prospérité des trois mondes, les délices de ce roi qui la protégeait comme (l'eût fait Indra) le maître des dieux, tandis que durant ce Manvantara, elle n'avait pas été réunie à la fortune des rois précédents (7).

XLIII. Voyant ce roi installé sur le trône aux lions, la vaste Terre, joyeuse, lui amena la Fortune, alors que se tenant elle-même sur le trône aux lions, elle avait enlevé à Rāma, bien qu'il fût roi, Sītā qui était sa Fortune (8).

(1) Les six ennemis intérieurs sont les mauvaises passions. En prenant le composé *ṣadarimūrtti*, non comme un *tatpuruṣa*, composé déterminatif signifiant « manifestation des six ennemis », mais comme un *dvandva*, composé copulatif donnant en termes figurés la date de son avènement 866 ç. = 944 A. D., le roi a obtenu la royauté.

(2) Par suite de la fraîcheur de son corps.

(3) Prises de passion pour lui ; ou brûlées de chagrin causé par la mort de leurs époux.

(4) Bhava et *īçvara* sont des noms de Çiva.

(5) Çeṣa qui est censé porter la terre.

(6) L'œillade des femmes dévorant des yeux sa beauté est comparée à Rāhu dont la gueule ne laisse voir, au moment de l'éclipse, qu'une portion de la lune.

(7) Qui n'avaient pas, comme lui, possédé la terre.

(8) Au moment où Sītā va monter sur le bûcher, la Terre jaillit du sol, assise sur un trône, et l'emmène dans le monde souterrain.

XLIV. Son unique parasol blanc au manche d'or, illuminé par l'éclat des bijoux qui y étaient incrustés, brillait comme un autre disque de la pleine lune qui du sommet du Meru se serait reflété dans l'eau de sa piété.

XLV. Bien que la matière (*prakṛti*) ait été faite inaltérable, une altération s'y produisit lorsque la terre fut changée en or et en pierres précieuses par les richesses et les bijoux de la tête des rois inclinés.

XLVI. Sa voix, faite de lumière, brillant sur la tête des rois, rafraichissait et réchauffait (tour à tour) la marche du monde créé (par elle), comme si elle avait réuni en elle la lune et le soleil (1).

XLVII. Il restait calme au milieu des plaisirs de la royauté qui rendent fous de joie les autres rois ; les pluies tombant des nuages, accrues par la mousson, font retourner (2) l'eau du fleuve (vers l'océan), mais non celle de l'océan.

XLVIII. *Rājanvatī* : « elle a un bon roi ». Auparavant un autre roi avait gouverné la terre sans (que celle-ci possédât) la qualité distinctive provenant de cette exception grammaticale ; lui, au contraire, gouverna la terre pourvue de bonté, avec les qualités distinctives provenant du fait que le mot est augmenté d'une lettre (la lettre *n*) [ou : que le rang des castes a été amélioré] (3).

XLIX. Ayant obtenu la science royale, successivement illustrée sur terre par ses prédécesseurs, et (devant l'être) par ses successeurs, il la fit briller d'une manière exceptionnelle, en dissipant l'ignorance [ou : l'obscurité], comme midi fait briller la lumière du soleil.

L. Il y eut bien autrefois au ciel Parameçvara (4) qui avait épousé une fille du mont (5), mais maintenant que ce roi, doué d'une Fortune suprême, est venu sur terre et qu'il a épousé cent vierges, la terre est supérieure au ciel.

LI. Etant échue à Rāma qui avait renoncé à la royauté et dont l'arc faible s'était brisé en tremblant, la Fortune fut autrefois ravié par l'ennemi ; mais si la fille de Janaka (6) était échue à ce roi fermement établi sur le trône et dont l'arc solide n'était pas brisé, elle n'aurait pas pu être enlevée.

(1) *Vāc*, la Voix, s'unit à *Prajāpati* pour créer l'univers. La voix du roi participe de la chaleur du soleil et de la fraîcheur de la lune.

(2) Cf. st. LXIII. Il y a un jeu de mots sur *vīparī* = changer de nature, devenir mauvais.

(3) PĀṆINI, VIII, 2, 14 (*rājanvān saurājye*) mentionne une exception à la règle en vertu de laquelle le *n* final d'un thème en *-an* tombe en composition devant une consonne : *rājavān* « possédant un roi » devient *rājanvān* quand il s'agit d'un « bon roi ». Le sens de cette stance est le suivant : sous le règne précédent, la terre avait un roi, elle était *rājavatī* ; mais sous le règne de Rājendravarman, qui est un « bon roi », elle devient *rājanvatī* par l'addition de la lettre *n* (avec un jeu de mots sur *vārṇa* = « lettre » et « caste »).

(4) *Śiva*, mais aussi nom posthume de Jayavarman II.

(5) *Pārvatī*, fille de l'Himavat.

(6) *Sītā*, qui est considérée comme une incarnation de *Lakṣmī*.

LII. Comme s'il avait désiré humilier tous les autres, ce jeune roi, dès sa prime jeunesse, provoqua la passion dans les esprits des jeunes femmes, mais réalisa la paix dans son propre cœur.

LIII. En même temps que la Fortune de sa jeunesse augmentait grâce à la lune croissante du temps, le joyau de sa vertu augmentait et brillait aux regards en s'élevant comme la marée montante.

LIV. Augmentant sa Fortune par la prospérité de Mahendra <sup>(1)</sup>, et remplie de nombreux sages [ou : dieux], sa vertueuse et noble assemblée brillait comme Sudharmā <sup>(2)</sup>, descendue du ciel sur la terre.

LV. Ce sage, (pratiquant) le profit et le plaisir conformément à la règle, et la règle au profit du plaisir et du profit, pratiquait les trois devoirs comme un devoir unique, exclusif, aboutissant à un résultat éminent.

LVI. De ce roi qui, tel Īça devenu visible sous l'aspect d'un roi, possédait la connaissance des trois temps <sup>(3)</sup>, l'espion dont il avait fait un guide et qui excellait à rechercher la vérité, s'avavançait dans les orientes comme Pūṣan <sup>(4)</sup>.

LVII. D'ici, de là, de leur propre lieu de résidence, de toute part, les qualités des autres venaient à lui, de même que toutes les eaux vont dans un seul récipient (l'océan), réceptacle des joyaux, doué de profondeur, plein d'être vivants [ou ; de bonté].

LVIII. Etudiant avec les six moyens de connaissance (*pramāṇa*) tout ce qui, être ou non-être, est connaissable, il accomplit ses desseins par la comparaison (*upamā*) des rapports verbaux (*vāc*) des espions, ainsi que par l'inférence (*anumāna*), l'inférence fondée sur les circonstances (*arthāpatti*) et la perception (*saṃvid*), unies à la preuve négative (*abhāva*) <sup>(5)</sup>.

LIX. Jouant dans le filet d'un lac d'eau limpide, ayant pour œil une masse de lotus rouges et de lotus bleus en train de s'épanouir, la Fortune comme incarnée sous l'aspect (d'une femme ayant) le visage de la pleine lune et lui faisant hommage de l'automne, s'installa dans les points cardinaux.

(1) Peut-être y a-t-il ici une allusion au mont Mahendra, le Phnom Kulén.

(2) Nom de la *sabhā*, ou assemblée des dieux.

(3) Matin, midi et soir : ou naissance, stabilité, ruine.

(4) Pūṣan cause la révolution du jour et de la nuit. Il guide les hommes en voyage et surveille l'univers.

(5) Terminologie vedāntique.

LX. Réalisant la juste (*dharmya*) réussite de l'utilité (*artha*) des sages [ou : des dieux], possédant la science qui détruit le désir (*kāma*) des ennemis [ou : l'ennemi *Kāma*], son zèle, telle l'union de Rudra et de la fille du mont (*Durgā*), s'étala favorisé par la victoire (*vijayā*) (1).

LXI. Bien que par magie il eût reçu en don les vertus lors de la production du (trésor) *Padma* (2) [ou : la naissance des lotus], détruisant comme *Pūṣan* l'occasion du péché [ou : le moment de la nuit], conducteur du cheval des sens (3), il prenait en vue de la prospérité du monde l'avis de ses conseillers.

LXII. Bien qu'ils fussent au nombre de quatre, bien qu'ils possédassent les conditions de grandeur et de profondeur, bien qu'ils fussent fermement établis dans les orientes, bien qu'ils brisassent les montagnes [ou : les rois] par l'expansion de leurs rivières [ou : des armées] augmentant l'obscurité, et qu'ils fussent le lieu de naissance de la Fortune, les océans, même pour remplir la terre de bijoux, n'étaient pas comparables aux stratagèmes extrêmement ingénieux [ou : excessivement salés] de ce roi, (parce que les océans sont) stupides [ou : inertes] (4).

LXIII. Venues en hâte de toutes les directions au son de sa voix profonde comme le murmure de l'océan, les armées se rassemblaient comme le font en hâte les rivières (à la voix) des pluies dont le commencement est annoncé par les experts (5).

LXIV. L'automne étant passé, la Fortune de l'hiver, caractérisée par les vapeurs répandues dans le cercle des orientes, vint à son tour, par désir d'on-

(1) Son zèle pratique les trois devoirs *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, cf. st. LV; détruisant *Kāma*, il est assimilé à *Çiva*; causant le bien des dieux, il est assimilé à *Devī* qui est *Jagaddhātṛ* par sa victoire sur les *Asura*, et *Vijayā* « victorieuse ».

(2) Il s'agit de l'opération magique *Padminī* décrite par le *Mārkaṇḍeyapur.*, ch. LXVIII. Les vertus engendrées par cette opération sont énumérées *ibid.*, 9-12.

(3) *Yantṛ* est à prendre dans le sens de *niyantṛ*, terme par lequel est désigné le régent de chacun des sens. La comparaison de ceux-ci avec un cheval complète la comparaison du roi avec le soleil qui fait épanouir les lotus, dissipe l'obscurité, et conduit un char attelé d'un cheval à sept têtes (ou de sept chevaux).

(4) Les océans ont en commun avec le roi, la grandeur, la profondeur, la stabilité dans les régions de l'espace, la faculté de détruire les montagnes par l'inondation (ou les rois par une armée) et comme lui ils ont engendré *Çrī*, la Fortune. Mais, bien qu'ayant sur lui l'avantage d'être quatre, ils n'arrivent pas à l'égaliser en ce qui concerne la production des richesses, parce que le roi use de stratagèmes très ingénieux (ou plus salés que l'eau des océans), tandis que les océans sont stupides (ou inertes).

(5) Les armées cessent de faire campagne pendant la saison pluvieuse et se rassemblent dans la capitale à l'annonce des pluies : le roi les appelle à lui, comme l'océan, à la même saison, appelle les rivières réalimentées par les premières ondées.

doyer ce roi qualifié (pour le pouvoir), comme si c'eût été l'accomplissement du rite basé sur l'Atharva (véda) (1).

LXV. Couleur d'or [ou : ayant pour caste une bonne caste], faisant un bruit [ou : ayant une voix] agréable, recevant l'offrande présentée par le prêtre domestique, ayant ses flammes [ou : ses mèches de cheveux] tournées vers la droite, le Feu, tel un ascète, proféra pour lui un cri de victoire strident.

LXVI. A chaque mois de Puṣya, ce roi ondoyé par le flot ambrosiaque tombant de cent aiguères polies par le temps (2), comme de tous les disques du soleil, obtint une Fortune augmentée et exempte de diminution, tandis que la lune, même après avoir subi sa croissance; pâlit devant l'éclat d'un seul disque du soleil. Ah ! même au temps présent, il existe une condition privée d'infortune ! (3)

LXVII. Son corps dépourvu de parures manifestait déjà naturellement une beauté extrême ; mais en portant toutes ses parures, il pouvait à son gré accroître sa beauté de n'importe quelle façon.

LXVIII. C'est certainement pour atteindre à la ressemblance correcte et efficace avec la beauté de son corps que la beauté de Kandarpa, fausse ressemblance et faible reflet de son image, est entrée dans le miroir de ce roi (4).

LXIX. Bien que, pour sauter par-dessus le cercle de l'univers entier, sa force [ou : son pas] fût considérée comme égale à celle de Viṣṇu, ce roi charmant par ses bonnes manières, ne franchissait pas en marchant un obstacle marqué d'un trait sur la terre.

LXX. Sortant, avec ses sept ceintures comme avec sept chevaux (5), de la montagne du levant qui était son point de départ, brillant, nouvellement levé, il brillait dans les régions de l'espace, plongeant dans la terreur l'obscurité des ennemis.

LXXI. Les bénédictions prononcées à haute voix par le cercle pur des rois et des brâhmanes [ou : le disque sans tache de la lune] s'approchant de lui, le réjouissaient [ou : le faisaient s'épanouir], comme une gerbe de lotus blanc sous l'action des brillants rayons de la lune.

(1) Il s'agit de l'ondoïement du roi au moyen de l'eau du ciel (*Atharvaveda*, IV, 8, 5).

(2) Allusion à une cérémonie royale annuelle (*puṣyasnāna*) destinée à prévenir famine et épidémies, et célébrée au mois de Puṣya. Cf. *Çabdaśāstram*, *Kālikā* P. 89.

(3) Celle du roi.

(4) La beauté du dieu de l'amour n'arrive à égaler la beauté du roi qu'en entrant dans le miroir où se reflètent les traits de celui-ci.

(5) Les chevaux du soleil, à qui cette stance compare le roi.

LXXII. Accompagné par ses soldats réunis en masse en un seul endroit avec des troupes d'éléphants et de chevaux, comme par une armée céleste désireuse de voir le combat, il s'avancait désireux de vaincre l'ennemi.

LXXIII. « Je me suis enfuie au séjour de Brahmā lors de la course de Pṛthu pour la richesse (çrī) », en disant ces mots et comme pleine de joie, la Terre réduite en poussière par le piétinement des innombrables fantassins prenant part à la marche guerrière de ce roi, arriva au séjour de Viṣṇu pour la possession de Çrī (1).

LXXIV. En présence de l'armée ennemie, même aussi nombreuse que la sienne, son armée apparaissait pleine de force (2); dans un cristal coloré et placé (dans une parure) comme substitut (d'une pierre véritable), il y a bien un certain éclat, mais ce n'est pas celui du rubis.

LXXV. Lorsque, désireux de vaincre, il faisait gronder dans la masse des nuages (3) son arc au son grave et répandait une pluie de flèches, même de loin, comme s'il avait été près (4), la Terre se mettait à produire des bijoux, même dans les contrées lointaines.

LXXVI. La condition de Kṣatriya, née du bras de l'Incréé, que les ennemis lui disputaient, il s'en empara dans la bataille par la force de son bras qui n'avait pas d'autre origine connue (que son propre bras), et qui ne s'était encore manifestée nulle part ailleurs.

LXXVII. Nourrie dans la bataille marquée par l'apparition de ces jeunes bourgeons (5) que sont les gouttes de sang de l'ennemi tué, la grandeur de son héroïsme augmentait son habileté à manier les armes, comme l'arrivée du printemps augmente la puissance du dieu (de l'amour) à l'arme fleurie.

LXXVIII. Dans la bataille, les bosses frontales des éléphants ennemis barbouillées de rouge, fendues par l'épée (qui était un) rayon de ce roi puissant [ou : brillant], laissèrent tomber un rang d'étoiles (qui étaient des) perles, comme fait le ciel rougi par le couchant.

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(1) La terre, piétinée par ses armées, s'élève au ciel sous forme de poussière. Sur la poursuite de la Terre par Pṛthu qui veut obtenir d'elle les plantes nourricières, cf. *Mahābhārata*, VII, 69, et surtout *Viṣṇup.*, I, XIII, 69 et suiv.

(2) *Sāra*, « force, moëlle, sève, élément essentiel d'un corps ».

(3) Comme le son du tonnerre.

(4) *Ārāt* signifie à la fois « de loin » et « de près ».

(5) Le mot *pravāla* évoque l'idée de rougeur, car il signifie aussi « corail ».

LXXXIX. Rougie par la laque du sang (répandu), ayant pour guirlande les flèches tombées çà et là, pour couronne les perles détachées, la terre du champ de bataille semblait avoir en vue (de ressembler à) un portrait de Lakṣmī ayant obtenu (pour époux) ce roi ardent au combat.

LXXX. Sa puissance (*çakti*), ayant secoué et fait danser le pilier du corps du chef ennemi fixé dans la région de l'espace <sup>(1)</sup>, est considérée avec passion par les dieux comme Gauhī (la *çakti* de Guha = Skanda) ayant saisi le corps de Tāraka.

LXXXI. Dans le combat, la lame de son épée, rougie par le sang des ennemis qu'elle avait fendus, flamboyant dans sa main, brillait comme si elle avait été la flamme de sa renommée étincelante, jaillie pour devenir la lampe unique de tous les continents.

LXXXII. La blanche poudre (provenant) de l'ivoire des éléphants ennemis, écrasée par sa massue et secouée par lui dans la bataille, était répandue par lui, comme des étamines de pandanus, sur la chevelure de Lakṣmī soumise à ses transports amoureux.

LXXXIII. Aux prises avec un ennemi terrible tué par ses armes de jet blanches et acérées [ou : avec l'ennemi Bhīṣma tué par les armes acérées d'Arjuna], tel un guerrier ferme dans la bataille [ou : Yudhiṣṭhira], arrêtant la lumière née du soleil [ou : l'éclat de Karṇa], il était sans ennemis [ou : Ajāta-çatru (= Yudhiṣṭhira)], mettant fin au combat par la grande (*uru*) destruction des ennemis difficiles à vaincre et brisés par sa terrible massue [ou : par la destruction de la cuisse (*ūru*) de Duryodhana brisée par la massue de Bhīma] <sup>(2)</sup>.

LXXXIV. Bien que son corps fût invulnérable, il arrêtait toutes les armes de jets lancées par l'ennemi, au moyen d'écrans de protection qui renvoyaient les armes, mais lorsqu'il était échauffé par l'ardeur de la bataille, il supportait les épées agitées par les Marut qui le rafraîchissaient comme de bons éventails.

LXXXV. Tenant l'épée dans sa main, mais compatissant aux malheureux, il avait pitié du héros ennemi qu'il avait vaincu ; tandis que les fils de Prthā <sup>(3)</sup> n'eurent pas pitié du fils de Dhṛtarāṣṭra qui avait abandonné son armée et s'était caché dans l'eau du Gange <sup>(4)</sup>.

(1) La région de l'espace dont ce roi ennemi était le maître.

(2) Allusion à l'épisode du combat de Duryodhana avec Bhīma (*Mahābhārata*, IX, 55 et suiv.) au cours duquel ce dernier, sur un signe d'Arjuna, frappe Duryodhana à la cuisse d'un coup de massue, portant ainsi un coup défendu à son adversaire, qui aurait été invincible dans un combat régulier et loyal.

(3) Autre nom de Kuntī, mère des Pāṇḍava.

(4) C'est l'épisode qui précède le combat de Duryodhana avec Bhīma mentionné ci-dessus (st. LXXXIII). Cf. *Mahābh.*, IX, 29-32.

LXXXVI. Désireux de rendre service à l'orbe de la terre [ou : au troupeau des vaches], déracinant le roi (ennemi) [ou : le mont] avec son bras, comme Kṛṣṇa (déracina le mont) Govardhana, il le rendait encore plus inébranlable, en le tenant en son pouvoir.

LXXXVII. Voyant son propre corps à la place qui lui convenait (1), déchiré par l'épée gluante abaissée par la main de ce roi, l'âme interne de l'ennemi mort; par crainte de s'enfuir (2), s'entoura vite d'Apsaras.

LXXXVIII. « Ah ! fidèle malgré sa jeunesse, il n'a pas donné une seule fois sa poitrine à d'autres femmes », c'est en quelque sorte dans cette pensée que pendant les combats la Fortune des ennemis, dépouillant sa nature (3), s'est installée à demeure sur sa poitrine.

LXXXIX. Bien qu'il tint une épée tranchante, la Victoire ayant embrassé ce vainqueur, se livrait sur sa large poitrine aux transports de la passion, proclamant que son propre bonheur lui appartenait de naissance ; telle Gauṛī (embrassant) Īça qui avait brûlé le corps de Kāma.

XC. Lorsqu'elle eut obtenu en partage ce roi, unique séjour des félicités (çrī) de toute la terre, au corps orné par la beauté (çrī) de la prime jeunesse, Padmā (4) méprisa alors son ancienne passion pour un précédent homme [ou : pour le *puruṣa* primordial].

XCI. Il relâcha les nombreux héros ennemis qu'il avait capturés vivants dans la bataille, tandis que comme un lâche, Indra, ayant capturé Bali grâce à la force de Viṣṇu (5), ne l'a pas encore relâché jusqu'à présent (6).

XCII. Il tuait ses ennemis en opposant la prudence à la prudence, la force à la force, tandis que le lion dont l'épaule a été déchirée par les deux défenses du roi des éléphants, ne se défend que mollement.

XCIII. Ces lions que sont les rois des ennemis en déroute, et qui avaient échappé à son massacre, abandonnant leurs armes même en pleine bataille, s'en retournèrent en fuyant dans la forêt, devenus de faibles gazelles effrayées par le roi des éléphants sauvages.

(1) C'est-à-dire, sur le champ de bataille, seule place digne de voir la mort d'un guerrier.

(2) Et de perdre ainsi le bénéfice de sa mort sur le champ de bataille, qui doit lui valoir de renaître au ciel, et de jouir des Apsaras.

(3) Qui est d'être volage.

(4) Autre nom de Çrī, identifiée ici à la *prakṛti*.

(5) Sous la forme du nain (Vāmanāvatāra).

(6) Mais le maintient prisonnier dans le monde souterrain.

XCIV. Des ennemis brûlés par le feu de sa majesté, en vérité, les uns plongèrent dans l'eau de l'océan, mais les autres, raisonnant en quelque sorte ainsi : « Ce (feu-)ci est très frais, (en comparaison de) celui-là » (1), entrèrent dans le feu de la forêt incendiée.

XCV. Les larmes des femmes de ses ennemis, dont le veuvage brûlait l'esprit, entretenaient sans relâche l'éclat du feu de leur chagrin, imitant en quelque sorte l'eau qui alimente le feu (sous-marin).

XCVI. Par son ordre, les oies couleur du parasol blanc, les éléphants sauvages gardant les frontières, les lions portant la parole royale, charment la ville des ennemis comme avec des amusements royaux (2).

XCVII. Brûlée par le feu de sa puissance, plongée dans l'océan de la destruction et, hélas ! comme anéantie, la terre des ennemis réduite en miettes ne se relèverait pas, même si elle était soulevée aujourd'hui par le croc de Mahāvarāha (3).

XCVIII. Son tambour qui, remplissant l'espace de son grondement et ayant pour vagues la joie de son bruit, a résonné pour proclamer bien haut sa victoire, résonne encore aujourd'hui, imitant en quelque sorte l'agitation de l'océan.

XCIX. La gloire des autres, qui avait été éclipsée par sa gloire ascendante chantée bien haut [ou : avec l'accent *udātta*], et qui aujourd'hui encore s'est comme par honte retirée (4) quelque part, rôde [ou : disparaît] chantée par les morts [ou : avec l'accent *svarita*].

C. Lorsqu'elle eut reçu en partage cet époux (au caractère) profond, la Fortune abandonnant définitivement, comme par honte, sa propre inconstance à la Gloire, bien qu'elle fût sa rivale, prit la profondeur de son père l'Océan.

CI. Connaissant les stratagèmes, il pouvait détourner la Fortune de l'inconstance, l'eau de son cours, la haine des ennemis, la mort de l'homme, mais non pas sa femme chérie, la Gloire, de l'horizon.

CII. En vue du sacrifice, il trayait la Terre qui, telle une bonne vaché âgée d'un an, portait un lait lourd des bijoux issus des seins des quatre océans, et avait pour jeune veau un brâhmane versé dans les Veda (5).

(1) Le feu de la majesté royale est plus ardent que le feu de la forêt en flammes.

(2) Les oies sauvages, les éléphants, les lions hantent la ville déserte de l'ennemi.

(3) Viṣṇu sous la forme du sanglier, qui retira la terre de l'inondation.

(4) Le mot *samāhṛtam* complète le double sens, car l'accent *svarita* « circonflexe » est une combinaison (*samāhāra*) des accents *udātta* « aigu » et *anudātta* « grave ».

(5) C'est-à-dire que la terre, intégralement possédée par ce monarque universel, lui livrait ses richesses en vue de l'offrande (*dakṣiṇā*) au brâhmane accomplissant le sacrifice.

CIII. Entre sa foi et sa piété qui, comme les rivières divines, la Gaṅgā et la (Yamunā) fille du Soleil, fendaient la montagne du péché, avaient pour séjour les pieds de Viṣṇu et, dévouées au même objet, s'avançaient chacune de son côté vers l'océan des rites, se trouvait la magnifique entreprise de ses sacrifices, augmentée chaque jour et digne de louanges.

CIV. Pour donner la mesure du feu qui avait reçu l'oblation au cours de ses sacrifices, l'épaisse fumée tenant de la vapeur du soma le parfum de l'oblation, alla en s'élevant dans les fissures des orientes, comme pour chercher les dieux au ciel en compagnie des formules védiques.

CV. Dans le sacrifice, auquel Indra aspire sans cesse, il n'offrait pas la fleur du Pārijāta <sup>(1)</sup> qui se trouve dans la chevelure de Çaci; mais dans ce sacrifice qui est la bataille, ce roi victorieux (offrait) en quelque sorte toutes (les fleurs) produites (sur le champ de bataille) <sup>(2)</sup>, comme si les Immortels les lui avaient lancées du haut (des cieux) <sup>(3)</sup>.

CVI. Par l'effet de la majesté de ce roi, impavide au milieu des gens tremblants qui regardaient, le feu aux flammes tournées vers la droite, mangeur d'oblations à qui avait été présentée l'oblation, ne put avec ses flammes brûler le dais étendu <sup>(4)</sup>.

CVII. La jouissance du bonheur divin ayant été réalisée par la puissance céleste <sup>(5)</sup> des brāhmanes qui ont pour arme le sacrifice, cet adepte de la Mīmāṃsā, après avoir étudié les hymnes védiques, en fit la critique.

CVIII. « En vérité, l'eau, la pierre, le jeune éléphant, et les autres (objets), ont (respectivement) pour séjours l'océan, le Meru, la jungle et autres (lieux) », c'est en vertu de ce raisonnement que la voix de ceux qui reçoivent (des dons) se faisait entendre dans l'espace, là où il offrait une infinité de joyaux et d'autres (richesses) <sup>(6)</sup>.

CIX. En faveur des solliciteurs, désireux de s'élever à une haute situation, sa propension à la générosité, augmentant à chaque fête [ou : à chaque marche] et pratiquée par degrés, apparaissait comme un escalier.

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(1) L'arbre qui exauce les désirs, et dont les fleurs rouges servent à la parure de l'épouse d'Indra.

(2) Ces fleurs sont les blessures des ennemis.

(3) Traduction conjecturale.

(4) Allusion probable à un commencement d'incendie éteint miraculeusement.

(5) Traduction conjecturale de *nākitabhār*<sup>o</sup>. Le mot *nākita*, qui doit être apparenté à *nāka* « ciel » ne figure pas dans les dictionnaires.

(6) Parce qu'il était le séjour, ou le réceptacle des richesses.

CX. Ayant observé ce roi qui, même s'ils lui étaient chers, évitait les mauvais qui sont adonnés au vol et aux autres (crimes), tous les hommes, pour imiter semble-t-il sa vertu, rejetèrent l'orgueil mauvais qui leur était cher, et apparurent comme des parangons de vertu.

CXI. Récemment, il a délivré des Dasyu le royaume avec lequel il désirait s'unir par tous les moyens ; autrefois aussi il y avait eu des fauteurs de troubles ; à commencer par Madhu et Kaiṭabha, ravisseurs des Veda.

CXII. La croissance de sa beauté, de ses vertus, de sa gloire, de sa fermeté, de sa sagesse, de son héroïsme et de sa renommée, bien qu'ayant atteint une hauteur [ou : un croissant de lune] inégalée, obtint sans relâche un renouveau sans fin (1).

CXIII. Pour parfumer, avec la moëlle [ou : avec le cosmétique] des ennemis tués, la terre dont les membres exhalaient dans l'espace l'odeur du sang, il répandit sa gloire parfumée, guirlande de la Fortune des ennemis, qui adhéraient en quelque sorte à sa main, parce qu'il l'avait prise par les cheveux.

CXIV. Installées dans son royaume ayant en son milieu le palais d'or et de pierres précieuses de sa bonté, pourvu de la résidence fortifiée de son éminente majesté, et détruisant la chaleur de l'ennemi du juste, les créatures étaient heureuses comme si elles avaient été au ciel.

CXV. La renommée désirable [ou : facultative] (2), pure, racontée [ou : récitée] en présence du feu de sa majesté dont elle était une propriété inhérente (3), et capable de donner tous les fruits, proclama qu'elle avait ce roi pour objet, comme la *sāmidhenī* (4) (a le feu pour objet).

CXVI. Pour sauver les trois mondes arrivés à l'époque de Kali, il emporta tout (l'univers), manifestant aux yeux (du monde) la danse de (Çiva) qui a le taureau pour enseigne et qui est habile au tāṇḍava ; mais sa propre manifestation ne secouait pas la terre (5).

CXVII. Tombés de leur propre séjour [ou : de son pied] depuis qu'il détenait la royauté, mais désireux en quelque sorte de gagner pour longtemps un séjour extrêmement élevé, ses ennemis et les grains de poussière de ses

(1) Contrairement à la lune qui, après sa période de croissance, décroît.

(2) Comme le sont certains rites, ou certaines formules.

(3) Allusion à l'exemple classique en logique : *dhūmo vahninā vyāptaḥ*.

(4) Formule récitée en allumant le feu du sacrifice.

(5) Comme le fait le tāṇḍava, la danse de Çiva.

pièd<sup>s</sup>-lotus se placèrent sur le sommet des rois des monts [ou : sur la tête de rois des rois] (1).

CXVIII. Quiconque, même semblable à lui par autant d'éléments de vertu que l'on voudra, arrivait en sa présence, voyait s'évanouir sa ressemblance, comme un magicien (mis en présence de Viṣṇu) verrait s'évanouir sa ressemblance avec le dieu aux quatre bras, même si (grâce à sa magie) il avait quatre bras.

CXIX. A sa vue, l'armée ennemie, prise de peur, détourna son visage (2), comme une jeune mariée, mais la Fortune s'attacha vite à la poitrine de ce guerrier, comme une courtisane impudente et experte.

CXX. Tout en restant à sa place, il attirait violemment à lui, par suite de sa nature, les esprits sans tache des bons aussi bien que (les esprits) endurcis et impurs des mauvais, comme l'aimant (attire) les objets en fer.

CXXI. Quand il allait en expédition sur l'océan, la file serrée de ses barques, caravane de voiles blanches (3), apparaissait exactement comme une guirlande d'oies sauvages entraînée par le courant rapide de la Gaṅgā.

CXXII. Comme avec une femme ayant pour vêtement flottant l'océan, ayant pour ceinture les vagues agitées et ornées d'une multitude de bijoux jaillis d'icelles, ayant pour fesses les larges montagnes et pour visage le parasol immaculé, il prit son plaisir avec la Terre qui s'était donnée à lui.

CXXIII. La louange de... bien qu'amaigrie par les austérités, répandait sa renommée dans les trois mondes, comme Bhagīratha (4) (répandit) la Gaṅgā.

CXXIV. Dans un lieu rempli de la collection des castes [ou : dans un mot plein d'un assemblage de lettres], bien qu'il connût (aussi) les altérations provenant d'un manque [ou : les dérivés provenant d'une élision], il accomplissait (seulement) des actions [ou : il employait des verbes] qui étaient des transformations par augmentation et non par déficience [ou : des dérivés par augment et non par élision].

(1) Tout le sel de cette stance réside dans l'ambiguïté du mot *pada* = « séjour » et « pied » : les ennemis du roi, chassés de leur pays se réfugient au sommet des montagnes, et la poussière tombée des pieds du roi se répand sur la tête des rois inclinés.

(2) C'est-à-dire « prit la fuite ».

(3) Sur cette expression, cf. *ISCC.*, p. 492, note 3.

(4) Le roi dont les austérités forcèrent la Gaṅgā à descendre sur la Terre.

CXXV. Sa [vertu] était perceptible comme un pilier ou tel autre objet (bien visible), mais chez lui le péché absolument inexistant devait être considéré comme un non-être, comme une corne de lièvre (1).

CXXVI. La perception d'un principe animant dans ce qui est inanimé (*sthānu*) [ou : du *puruṣa* dans Çiva], bien qu'elle fût chez les autres une fausse doctrine, devint chez lui une doctrine exacte et très profonde (2).

CXXVII. Faisant de la sagesse et de la valeur les fondements de sa fortune et de sa gloire [ou : la patrie de Çrī Yaço (varman)], il apportait en quelque sorte la fortune des trois mondes à celui qui participait (à sa fortune et à sa gloire) [ou : à celui qui habitait (la patrie de Çrī Yaço (varman) = le Cambodge)].

CXXVIII. (Juste), fort, héroïque, beau et sage (3), il était comme la réunion, en un seul corps, des cinq fils de Pāṇḍu.

CXXIX. Ayant réalisé la prospérité, il fit en sorte que sa main fût, comme son âme, calme, heureuse dans la conquête de la terre et adonnée aux libations (faites à l'occasion) des dons.

CXXX. Comme s'il était désireux de répéter sans cesse le sacrifice de l'Açvamedha, il (lâche) encore maintenant dans les points cardinaux le cheval de sa gloire, qu'on ne peut capturer.

CXXXI. Son entreprise anéantit l'entreprise des ennemis, née à son insu de la politique et tout près de porter ses fruits, comme Arjuna tua Karṇa (qui était né) de Kuntī, et (dont il était à son insu) le frère.

CXXXII. Dans ce roi résidant à demeure dans le cœur de ceux qui le regardaient, et possédant toutes les femmes, la qualité d'Anaṅga qui est de naitre dans le cœur....

CXXXIII. Quand on chantait sa vertu aux mille chemins (4), multiple (5), l'audition (*çruti*) des vertus des autres, bloquée par le souvenir (*smṛti*) (de ses vertus), était arrêtée, comme s'il s'était agi du Sāman (6).

(1) Exemple classique d'une chose qui n'existe pas.

(2) Percevoir le principe animant dans l'inanimé est une erreur, mais percevoir le *puruṣa* dans Çiva [avec peut-être un troisième sens : percevoir le *Puruṣa* = Çiva dans le pilier (cosmique)] est une vue profonde.

(3) Les cinq épithètes sont respectivement celles des cinq Pāṇḍava : Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula et Sahadeva.

(4) Bien que je ne connaisse pas dans la littérature védique de texte portant ce titre, la ressemblance de ce nom avec celui de *Çatapatha* brāhmaṇa me fait supposer que le double sens s'étend à *sahasravartman*, et que ce terme doit contenir une allusion littéraire.

(5) *Bṛhat* et *Gaṇa* sont les noms de deux espèces de Sāman.

(6) Lorsqu'on chante le Sāman, la *çruti* est oblitérée par la *smṛti*.

CXXXIV. La gloire née de sa beauté, et plaisante au cœur, était un caractère d'écriture que l'Amour avait gravé d'une façon indélébile dans le cœur des nobles femmes avec la poudre de ses flèches.

CXXXV. Avec les quatorze espèces de sciences <sup>(1)</sup>..., il maintint la continuité du monde, comme le Créateur avec les apparitions des (quatorze) Manu.

CXXXVI. Malgré sa surface restreinte, la terre humectée de l'eau du sacre de cet empereur universel délivra de la chaleur la terre entière <sup>(2)</sup>.

CXXXVII. Le seul fait de placer ses deux pieds sur le trône aux lions et aux joyaux, fut un fardeau pour les têtes des rois...

CXXXVIII. L'unique parasol blanc tenu au-dessus de sa tête apparaissait comme le disque de la pleine lune se mouvant auprès de lui et désirant en quelque sorte ressembler à son visage.

CXXXIX. Ayant vu Gaurī occupant la moitié du corps de Hara <sup>(3)</sup>, Çrī comme par jalousie, et se disant : « Puissé-je lui ressembler ! », embrassa ce maître (Īçvara) et s'attacha à ses membres.

CXL. Les éléments constitutifs de son Etat [ou : 1° la substance primordiale — 2° le radical] purs, éclairés [ou : 1° passionné — 2° nasalisé]..., (furent) néanmoins perçus comme entièrement exempts de la confusion des castes [ou : 1° des qualités — 2° des lettres].

CXLI. Habile, se faisant précéder par ses deux chapelains semblables à deux feux, il entraît après eux dans l'assemblée sous l'aspect du troisième.

CXLII. Bien qu'il fût loué comme le maître <sup>(4)</sup> unique, il gouvernait ses sujets d'un bâton léger, donnant en quelque sorte une leçon à Dharmarāja qui tient un bâton cruel.

CXLIII. Le Dharma à un seul pied..., mutilé par Kali, fut doté en quelque sorte de dix-huit pieds par ce (roi) qui connaissait le vers de dix-huit pieds <sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) Les 4 Veda, les 6 Vedāṅga, le Purāṇa, la Mimāṃsā, le Nyāya et le Dharma.

(2) Parce que cette eau s'était rafraîchie au contact de son corps.

(3) Dans la combinaison androgyne Ardhanārī.

(4) *Guru* « lourd » s'oppose à *laghu* « léger » appliqué au bâton (*daṇḍa*) qui est le symbole de l'autorité judiciaire.

(5) Les stances à 4 pada de 18 syllabes appartiennent à l'espèce *dhṛti*. Or, *Dhṛti*, la Décision, est personnifiée comme l'épouse de Dharma (représenté ici, comme à l'ordinaire sous la forme d'un taureau perdant successivement une patte à chacun des âges Tretā°, Dvāpara° et Kaliyuga°).

CXLIV. Ayant institué une audience journalière et travaillant même la nuit, il enlevait, au cours d'un procès, l'apparence de faute pesant sur l'innocent.

CXLV. Bien que n'ayant pas d'arc-en-ciel pour (guider) sa marche, l'automne (1) le pressait, pourvue en quelque sorte d'un arc-en-ciel par les rayons des bijoux colorés sur la tête des rois-inclinés.

CXLVI. Parti pour la conquête des orientes, bien qu'il manifestât seulement la qualité de bonté (*sattva*), il produisait l'obscurité (*tamas*) suscitée par la poussière (*rajas*) soulevée par son armée.

CXLVII. « C'est par lui (le soleil) que je suis brûlée à l'époque de la destruction (du monde) »; c'est comme dans cette pensée que la Terre en colère se transformant en poussière pendant la marche de ce roi, cacha le soleil en vue de produire la Fortune.

CXLVIII. Bien que leurs éclats fussent égaux, le feu prit pour étendard la fumée; tandis que lui prit (pour étendard) sa majesté étincelante et agitée par la victoire dans les combats.

CXLIX. Bien que ce fût l'automne, son armée nombreuse [ou : la rivière en crue], comme en pleine saison des pluies, brisa par sa violence même les rois [ou : les montagnes], qui obstruaient son chemin.

CL. Ayant brisé l'armée ennemie qui s'était protégée par la formation en cercle (2), il se rendit comme Garuḍa (3), dans la région de Mahendra (4), par désir de s'emparer de l'ambrosie de la victoire.

CLI. Surpassant par son éclat ces étoiles et cette lune que sont les rois, monté dans le ciel du champ de bataille, il brillait comme le soleil levé.

CLII. Agitant l'arc au bruit entraînant, se manifestant comme le Dhanurveda (5) incarné, il démontra sa supériorité dans l'art de manier l'arc.

(1) La saison sèche, pendant laquelle on n'a pas l'occasion de voir d'arc-en-ciel, marque la reprise de l'activité guerrière.

(2) *Cakra* est un terme technique de l'art militaire désignant un certain ordre de bataille.

(3) Garuḍa se rendit au ciel d'Indra pour y dérober l'ambrosie.

(4) La région d'Indra est l'est. Il s'agit peut-être aussi du Champa, où le roi aurait pénétré après avoir défait l'armée des Chams. Mais on peut tout aussi bien prendre Mahendra dans le sens de Mahendraparvata, le Phnom Kulén : le roi ne se serait installé dans la région d'Ankor qu'après avoir défait les armées du dernier roi de Kôh Ker.

(5) Traité de la science des archers.

CLIII. Décochées [ou : lâchées] par lui, les flèches [ou : les abeilles], faisant entendre le bourdonnement mortel de la corde de l'arc, buvaient dans la bataille le nectar du sang dans les lotus des visages ennemis.

CLIV. La lame de son épée teinte de sang, et saisie par les bras coupés des ennemis, brillait comme la flamme du feu dans le sacrifice des serpents (!), dans laquelle tomba une grande multitude de serpents.

CLV. Voyant son épée et sa personne, et comme se rendant compte que leur dernière heure était arrivée, les ennemis plongeaient, par désir du confluent de la Gaṅgā avec la Kāṁdī (2).

CLVI. Avec la foudre de son bras, il brisait les troupes des rois [ou : les flancs des montagnes], qui nuisent aux masses populaires [ou : aux nuages] et qui sont promptes à se mettre en marche [ou : escarpés], tel (Indra), l'ennemi de Jambha, qui se serait manifesté (sur terre).

CLVII. Bien qu'il fût habile dans toutes les méthodes (*nyāya*), ce héros unique évita dans toutes les batailles, comme étant irrégulière (*anyāya*), la manière (*nyāya*) dont regarde le lion (3).

CLVIII. violemment tranchée dans le combat par son glaive vibrant, la tête de l'ennemi volant vers le haut, suivit en quelque sorte sa propre âme qui allait au ciel.

CLIX. Rougi (de sang) [ou : illuminé] par les traits de son puissant [ou : brillant] ennemi, il brillait à l'extrême, comme le Meru brille naturellement par le scintillement de ses bijoux.

CLX. La Victoire, installée par lui à demeure dans la lame de son épée, augmentait la prospérité de ses sujets en remplissant tous leurs désirs.

CLXI. Rejetant en quelque sorte la mauvaise réputation d'Indra causée par Indrajit (4), sa renommée victorieuse, après avoir conquis la terre, s'empara du ciel.

CLXII. Avec le lotus bleu de son épée, il frappait la rangée des bosses frontales des éléphants ennemis, qui était semblable à la tresse des cheveux

(1) Accompli par Janamejaya (*Mahābhārata*, I, 51 et suiv.).

(2) L'eau, particulièrement sacrée, du confluent du Gange avec la Yamunā à Prayāga (Allahabad) est celle qui doit être employée pour l'ablution rituelle des morts.

(3) Le lion regarde en arrière.

(4) « Vainqueur d'Indra », fils de Rāvaṇa, qui par son pouvoir magique réussit à s'emparer d'Indra et à l'emporter à Laṅkā.

de Çrī, défaite et laissant voir une guirlande de fleurs au milieu des perles qui s'en échappent<sup>(1)</sup>.

CLXIII. « Tout composé est impermanent », c'est comme pour réfuter cette sentence qu'il rendit *permanente* sa propre gloire qui était (pourtant) *composée* d'héroïsme.

CLXIV. « Hardie comme un homme »<sup>(2)</sup>, bien qu'elle fût femme, la Bataille le conduisit à la Fortune, qui ne désirait que lui, comme Sunandā (conduisit) Aja à Indumatī.

CLXV. A lui qui avait des qualités capables de détruire les tourments du monde<sup>(3)</sup>, le Créateur donna avec joie, pour toujours, la beauté impérissable de Kāma.

CLXVI. Désirant en quelque sorte connaître jusqu'où sa renommée s'étendait dans les trois mondes, . . . marche encore maintenant le bras étendu.

CLXVII. « Le déclin de la lune a pour cause une querelle de femmes »<sup>(4)</sup>, c'est dans cette pensée que Hara, s'étant efforcé d'éduquer la Terre, l'Eloquence et la Fortune, les lui donna, exemptes de jalousie.

CLXVIII. Avec les étincelles jaillies de la quantité de défenses des rois des éléphants brisées par son glaive, il fit dans la nuit de la bataille une multitude de lampes de victoire.

CLXIX. Son gouvernement, qui a renoncé au sommeil, s'agite pour la prospérité de ses sujets, comme en souvenir de l'ennemi des Daitya . . . entièrement détruit.

CLXX. Initié au sacrifice de la bataille, ayant brisé le cercle de ses ennemis, et atteint le séjour exempt de maladies, il jouit de la victoire chérie.

CLXXI. Désirant obtenir la Fortune [ou : (le trésor) Padma], possédant une grande armée [ou : Bhīmasena], franchissant les repaires des rois [ou : les gorges inaccessibles de la montagne], il remplit les royaumes des points

(1) Les bosses frontales des éléphants sont censées être remplies de perles.

(2) Allusion littéraire. *Puṇyal pragalbhā* est l'expression même appliquée par Kalidāsa dans le *Raghuvamśa* (VI, 20) à Sunandā, au moment où elle va présenter Aja à Indumatī.

(3) Contrairement à Kāma, l'Amour, qui excite les passions.

(4) Il s'agit de la querelle entre les mansions lunaires causée par la préférence de la lune pour Rohiṇī.

cardinaux avec les boucles de cheveux répandues <sup>(1)</sup> par les femmes [ou : il bouleversa le royaume d'un des rois des points cardinaux (Kuvera) par la confusion dans la belle Alakā <sup>(2)</sup>].

CLXXII. Maintenant encore, sa renommée. . . ne périt pas comme si elle avait touché une goutte d'ambrosie adhérent au mont Mandara.

CLXXIII. A la troupe des nymphes célestes qui chantaient sa gloire, il a donné en guise de parures les diadèmes, montés au ciel, des têtes ennemies coupées dans la bataille.

CLXXIV. Les dieux, ayant épuisé leurs forces en traversant l'unique océan de sa renommée, se reposent à jamais sur cet îlot qu'est le sommet du Meru.

CLXXV. Son ordre, faisant croître les lotus. . . , détruisant l'obscurité des ennemis, brillait sur la tête des rois [ou : sur les sommets des montagnes] comme la lumière du soleil.

CLXXVI. Çrī prise dans l'océan par (Viṣṇu) porteur de Çrī se tient sur le lotus bleu de la poitrine (de ce dieu), mais cette Çrī qu'est la Gloire de ce roi, prise par celui-ci dans la bataille, se tient dans le lotus des orient, cher à Çrī.

CLXXVII. Bien qu'il portât (comme Viṣṇu) l'éclat du lotus dans son œil, la terre dans sa main et Çrī sur sa poitrine. . . il était un maître suprême (un Çiva).

CLXXVIII. Causant la destruction des rois [ou : supportant le frottement de la montagne <sup>(3)</sup>], parée de bijoux scintillants, pavillon de plaisir de Çrī, sa poitrine brillait comme celle de Viṣṇu.

CLXXIX. Plus répandu que le soleil, ayant son ascension ornée par plusieurs territoires [ou : par plusieurs disques], maître des rois [ou : des montagnes] par sa majesté [ou : par sa grandeur], il ne dépassait pas le site du Meru <sup>(4)</sup>.

CLXXX. Ayant brisé par. . . l'ennemi difficile à vaincre [ou : Duryodhana], ce roi juste [ou : Dharmarāja = Yudhiṣṭhira] protégea la fortune sans défaut [ou : privée de Çalyā <sup>(5)</sup>].

(1) Sans doute, de chagrin.

(2) La cité de Kuvera. L'épisode de Bhīma semant la confusion et la mort dans la troupe des Rākṣasa de Kuvera est raconté dans le *Mahābhārata*, III, 158 et suiv. (*Yakṣayuddhaparvan*).

(3) Le mont Mandara que Viṣṇu tient embrassé pendant qu'il baratte l'océan.

(4) Supérieur au Soleil, il ne dépassait pas le Meru, qui marque le point culminant de la course de cet astre, tandis que celui-ci continuant sa marche vers l'occident, décline de plus en plus.

(5) Oncle des Pāṇḍava, tué par Yudhiṣṭhira.

CLXXXI. Le joyau de sa gloire, extrait du barattement de l'océan de la bataille, fut distribué généreusement dans les trois mondes, par ce roi qui portait la Fortune [ou : qui était Āṛidhara = Viṣṇu].

CLXXXII. A la... chère aux trois mondes, ayant pour yeux le soleil et la lune qui se meuvent, il faisait boire....

CLXXXIII. Même le Kalpavṛkṣa de ses pieds, qui réalisait tous les désirs, ne donna pas la Fortune à l'ennemi arrogant ; car c'est l'humilité qui provoqué chez le maître la libéralité.

CLXXXIV. Ah ! il est difficile de dépouiller sa nature : la Fortune (volage) qu'il avait immobilisée sur sa poitrine, enlevait à chaque instant la joie du cœur des ennemis.

CLXXXV. Fuyant la pleine lune dévorée par Rāhu, et Kāma consumé par le feu, la Beauté prit refuge dans le lotus de son visage et dans son corps exempt de danger.

CLXXXVI. Bien qu'il fût versé dans la grammaire, les savants prétendaient qu'il ignorait les mots parce qu'il ne répondait jamais : « Non » à la foule des quémandeurs.

CLXXXVII. Faisant en quelque sorte honte à Āiva qui, une seule fois, avait vaincu l'orgueil de Kāma par le (seul) organe de l'œil, il le vainquait constamment par tous ses organes des sens.

CLXXXVIII. Par la prééminence de sa puissance, de sa sagesse et de sa conduite, il rabaissa la patience, la profondeur et la fermeté (respectivement) de la terre, de l'océan et du Meru.

CLXXXIX. En vue de la réalisation complète des attributs de la matière, il les fixa tous trois dans trois choses : la poussière (*rajas*) dans l'approche (de son armée), la bonté (*sattva*) dans la loi, et l'obscurité (*tamas*) dans le cœur des ennemis.

CXC. Effrayé par lui, comme par Bhava, le roi des ennemis en proie à l'adversité, bien qu'il fût parti dans la forêt comme un ascète, n'obtint pas la délivrance.

CXCI. Faisant de la forêt la ville des ennemis, et de la ville des ennemis une forêt, il retourna en quelque sorte le sens de ces mots.

CXCII. Quand ils voyaient la pleine lune se lever, les ennemis, au souvenir de son visage (1), étaient brûlés par sa lumière, même s'ils se trouvaient sur une froide dalle de pierre dans la montagne.

(1) Brûlant de majesté.

CXCIII. Attaché à Çrikanṭha (Çiva) [ou : au cou de Çrī], portant le fardeau de ses états [ou : une épée à l'extrémité arrondie], dur et fort, ayant la cuisse ronde [ou : étant rond et large], il ressemblait à son propre bras.

CXCIV. Dans l'ensemble (*maṇḍala*) des parties constituantes de l'Etat, comme dans la position de l'arc nommée *maṇḍala*, il causa la destruction du péché [ou : l'élévation du bras], la prospérité de la vertu [ou : la traction de la corde], et la bonne situation de ses parents [ou : la bonne marche des (flèches) de bambou] (1).

CXCV. Bien qu'il fût une lune entre les rois [ou : une lune brillante], son territoire [ou : son disque], ayant en guise de gazelle (2) les cadavres des ennemis, était marqué par l'eau (3) des larmes répandues par leurs femmes.

CXCVI. Pour ceux qu'il avait tués, son héroïsme glorieux chanté par les troupes des nymphes célestes, était aussi plaisant au cœur que l'ordre de l'Amour [ou : le Kāmaçāstra] pour ceux qui pratiquent la science du cœur.

CXCVII. Brillant [ou : soleil], entrant alternativement dans ce chemin du nord et ce chemin du sud que sont la coercition et la faveur, placé à égale distance de chacun d'eux, il avait des sentiments égaux.

CXCVIII. Ayant accompli le sacrifice de la bataille avec les richesses prises dans la ville des ennemis, ce sage entreprit comme Yudhiṣṭhira un sacrifice conforme au Veda (4).

CXCIX. L'accroissement de sa postérité était extrême, parce qu'il ne négligeait pas le sacrifice parfumé (*surabhi*) ; autrefois Dilīpa fut privé de progéniture parce qu'il avait négligé (l'hommage à la vache *Surabhi*) (5).

CC. Comme s'il s'était uni avec le feu du sacrifice de ce roi, le soleil avec son disque se cacha, invisible, dans les fumées (de ce sacrifice), par désir de prendre sa part de l'oblation.

CCI. Faite d'or, la pluie de ses dons était constante, et pourvue de tous les bijoux, tandis que celle d'Indra, procédant de la foudre, est passagère et pourvue (seulement) des perles (tombant) des nuages.

(1) Sur la position de l'archer nommée *maṇḍala*, cf. *Çabdakalpadruma*, III, 441, citant un extrait du *Dhanurveda* qui éclaire cette stance.

(2) Les taches de la lune sont censées avoir la forme d'une gazelle (ou d'un lièvre).

(3) Comme la comète Jalaketu.

(4) Sur le sacrifice *açvamedha* célébré par Yudhiṣṭhira, cf. *Mahābhārata*, XIV, 10, 12, 63-65, 72.

(5) Cf. *Raghuyaṃça*, I, 75-77.

CCII. Bien que noyée dans l'unique océan de sa libéralité et brûlée par les feux de ses sacrifices, la terre soumise à sa règle semblait se trouver en pleine prospérité.

CCIII. Il supprima les larmes dans les Etats des rois soumis, tandis que Hara laissa couler chez son propre beau-père (l'Himālaya) un torrent de larmes (1).

CCIV. Cet archer [ou: Viṣṇu], écartant (de lui) la crainte de la fatigue résultant de trois pas, enjamba de nouveau tout l'univers en un seul pas.

CCV. Doué de ces rayons solaires et lunaires que sont (respectivement) les vertus royales de réchauffement et de rafraîchissement, il méritait d'être honoré, pour ainsi dire au crépuscule et à l'aurore, par le défilé respectueux de ses conseillers (2).

CCVI. « Ceci est dans ce qui n'est pas ceci », il adopta généralement cette proposition qu'il convient pourtant de rejeter, car il était passionné pour la recherche des joyaux dans les vertus (3).

CCVII. A l'audition de la première syllabe de son nom, le roi des ennemis, malgré sa vaillance, conçut une crainte que ne lui causait nulle autre (syllabe), comme Mārīca (entendant la première syllabe du nom) de Rāma (4).

CCVIII. Méprisant en quelque sorte les diverses unions de la moitié de leurs propres corps (5), Ārṅgin et Īvara firent, avec ces deux moitiés de corps, ce roi qui ne ressemblait à aucun autre.

CCIX. Ce n'est pas seulement aux règles concernant les dignités [ou: les mots], mais encore à celles concernant les castes [ou: les lettres], que s'appliquait sa parole, que nul n'égalait en fait de discours appropriés [ou: en fait de règles relatives aux synonymes].

(1) Traduction conjecturale.

(2) En astronomie, *nati* désigne l'inclinaison, et *krama* la marche d'un corps céleste. Quant à *mantrin*, il doit aussi avoir, comme à la stance LXI, un sens astronomique que je n'ai pas trouvé dans les lexiques.

(3) Peu clair. Peut-être le texte veut-il dire tout simplement qu'en cherchant les joyaux (c'est-à-dire ce qu'il y a de meilleur) dans les vertus, le roi y cherchait ce qui ne s'y trouve pas naturellement, le réceptacle des joyaux étant l'océan.

(4) Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Arāṇyak.*; XXXIX, 18. Le nom de Rājendravarman commence par la même syllabe que celui de Rāma. En employant l'expression *anyanaja*, qui est un surnom de Kāma, le poète cherche peut-être à suggérer l'idée que le nom de roi provoquait l'amour en même temps que la crainte.

(5) Sous la forme de Harihara.

CCX. Etendant (à tous) sa protection contre le danger, il surpassait, non seulement en beauté corporelle mais encore en noblesse <sup>(1)</sup>, Kāma qui (comme lui) fait prospérer les germes des créatures.

CCXI. Dans le sacrifice, par son observance des devoirs royaux, il surpassa Dilīpa qui avait épousé Sudakṣiṇā <sup>(2)</sup>, car (au lieu de prendre une bonne offrande, *sudakṣiṇā*) il la donnait dans des plats [ou : aux personnes dignes de la recevoir].

CCXII. Il gardait la bonté comme une parure merveilleuse, tel le charmant joyau Kaustubha (gardé) par la poitrine de Nārāyaṇa.

CCXIII. S'étant approchée de Dadhīca, Bhārātī, maudite par sa voix offensante, s'en retourna au ciel <sup>(3)</sup>, mais (venue à) ce roi, et ayant reçu de sa voix harmonieuse une bénédiction, elle se plaît encore à présent à demeurer sur la terre.

CCXIV. Bien que sa gloire (*yaças*) soit (du genre) neutre [ou : non mâle], lorsqu'elle est suivie de l'énergie (*parākrama*), dans le composé copulatif (*yaçaḥparākrama*), elle provoque l'amour des femmes des points cardinaux, parce qu'elle a en quelque sorte le genre du mot suivant <sup>(4)</sup> [ou : un membre viril obéissant].

CCXV. Incapable de s'emparer de la terre cultivée [ou : de Sītā], épris d'une femme au sein noir [ou : de Mandodarī], ennemi du glorieux fils d'Aditi (le soleil) [ou : de Viṣṇu = Rāma], se déplaçant la nuit [ou : rākṣasa], son ennemi avait l'aspect de Rāvaṇa.

CCXVI. Repoussant en quelque sorte, avec raison, la doctrine du vide et de l'impersonnalité, il établissait sa puissance personnelle en la répandant partout.

CCXVII. Possédant à lui seul d'innombrables vertus, il se manifesta, comme pour enseigner la différence entre les qualités et celui qui les possède <sup>(5)</sup>, par désir de triompher des mauvais logiciens.

(1) Le roi est supérieur à Kāma en beauté corporelle (*aṅgakānti*), car Kāma réduit en cendres par Çiva est sans corps (*anaṅga*); et il lui est supérieur par la naissance (*jāti*), car Kāma est non-né (*aja*).

(2) Cf. *Raghuvamṣa*, I, 31.

(3) Le *Mahābhārata*, IX 51, raconte comment Dadhīca engrossa la Sarasvatī en laissant tomber dans ses flots un peu de sa semence; mais il n'est pas question, dans ce passage, de malédiction.

(4) Le genre de *parākrama* qui est du genre masculin.

(5) Cette différence réside dans le fait que dans son cas, le possesseur est unique, mais que les vertus possédées sont innombrables.

CCXVIII. Sa gloire parfumée, répandue dans tout l'horizon, ne parfume pas seulement la terre, mais aussi le ciel qui ne possédait pas (auparavant) cette qualité (1).

CCXIX. Ayant d'abord provoqué l'infortune, puis la confiance [ou : ajouté le préfixe, puis le suffixe] de l'ennemi, comme s'il se fût agi d'une racine grammaticale, ce connaisseur des traités arrangea sa situation en vue de lui procurer du profit [ou : composa un mot en vue d'obtenir un sens].

CCXX. Père de cette lune qu'était sa gloire se mouvant à l'intérieur des dix points de l'espace, pratiquant l'absence d'envie [ou ; suivant Anasuyā], il brillait tel un autre Atri (2).

CCXXI. Bien qu'attaché aux choses anciennes [ou ; au sens des Purāṇa] et se plaisant aux discours des vieillards [ou ; aux vieux écrits], il aimait aussi en quelque sorte cette chose nouvelle qu'est un poème charmant [ou ; le nouveau poème (nommé) Manohara (3)].

CCXXII. Constamment dévoué à Çiva qui, bien qu'étant sans parties (*niṣkala*), l'avait rendu complet (*sakala*), il acquit tous les arts (*kalā*) au complet (*sakala*), tandis que la demi-lune ne (les obtient) pas, par apathie (4).

CCXXIII. Ses nobles vertus, lorsqu'elles sont vantées, acquièrent toute leur élévation, bien que cependant, sous prétexte de modestie, son visage soit alors baissé.

CCXXIV. Grâce à Kārttikeya qui lui avait donné intégralement sa qualité d'éphèbe, il obtint une jeunesse exempte de vieillesse, convenable, non obtenue avant lui (5).

CCXXV. Instruits par lui, tous ses sujets, ayant renoncé aux actions criminelles, s'empressèrent de ne faire que ce qui leur était mutuellement agréable et salubre.

CCXXVI. Habile, laissant complètement de côté l'action pratiquée par les anciens sages et enseignée par les traités, il n'accomplissait que celle qui est nouvelle, et qui n'a pas encore été pratiquée par d'autres.

(1) L'élément « terre » est en relation avec l'organe « nez », et a pour qualité l'odeur.

(2) Atri est le nom d'un ṛṣi et d'une étoile de la Grande Ourse. C'est l'époux d'Anasūyā et le père de Soma.

(3) Le *Catalogus* d'AUFRECHT mentionne un *Manoharakāvya* sur lequel je n'ai aucun renseignement.

(4) Par manque de dévotion envers Çiva sur la tête de qui elle réside, la demi-lune reste incomplète.

(5) *Aprāpta* signifie aussi « impubère ».

CCXXVII. Ayant rencontré sa vertu sans obstacle, ornée de la lune de sa renommée, la gloire des rois disparut comme la Gaṅgā dans la tresse du chignon de Hara.

CCXXVIII. En vue (d'indiquer) la continuité par la répétition (d'un mot), sa gloire n'est pas seulement répétée deux fois par les poètes qui la chérissent, mais elle est (répétée) dix mille fois même par ceux qui sont indifférents.

CCXXIX. Pour avoir la mesure de l'habileté aux armes de ce guerrier, il faut se rendre compte qu'avec la lame de son épée, il fendait l'ennemi comme si celui-ci avait été une incarnation de (l'Amour) sans corps.

CCXXX. Les dix (qualités), à commencer par l'intelligence [ou : par Medhā], nées de ce maître des créatures habile [ou : filles du prajāpati Dakṣa], demeurèrent chères et fidèles à la loi (royale) en dix articles [ou : les épouses fidèles de Dharma à dix membres] (1).

CCXXXI. Deux dieux (2) en revoyant la beauté de Purūravas qu'ils avaient vue auparavant, la déclarèrent diminuée, mais tous les (dieux déclarèrent) la sienne augmentée.

CCXXXII. C'est comme en vue d'obtenir (pour lui) la royauté juste [ou : la condition de Dharmarāja] en attirant le buffle de Yama, que la Terre, sa reine [ou : sa bufflesse] chérie se conforma toujours à un désir droit [ou : alla vers la région du sud] (3).

CCXXXIII. Bien que le royaume ait été, sous son gouvernement, débarrassé des voleurs, le cœur des femmes, dès qu'elles l'apercevaient, était en quelque sorte ravi par sa beauté.

CCXXXIV. Bien que constamment plongé dans l'océan d'ambrosie des anciens préceptes, il pratiquait comme conduite l'union avec cette belle femme qu'est la Fortune des anciens rois.

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(1) Sur la descendance de Dakṣa, dont dix des cinquante filles épousent Dharma, cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, 75.

(2) Probablement Mitra et Varuṇa qui jouent un rôle dans la légende de Purūravas ; mais je n'ai pas retrouvé le texte sur lequel est basée cette allusion.

(3) Le sud est la région de Yama, nommé aussi Dharmarāja, qui a pour monture le buffle. — On est tenté de voir ici une allusion au transfèrement de la capitale, Aṅkor étant au sud de Kōḥ Ker, et le retour de Rājendravarman dans la ville de Yaçovarman ayant eu, semble-t-il, pour objet de renouer avec les traditions de la légitimité (*dharmarājatā*), interrompues par les règnes de Jayavarman IV et de Harṣavarman II.

CCXXXV. Bien qu'il fût uni à toutes les qualités (*guṇa*), il était exempt d'impureté (*rajas*) et d'obscurité (*tamas*) ; bien qu'il fût producteur (*prakṛti*) d'intelligence et autres (facultés), il était considéré comme le premier des hommes (*puruṣa*).

CCXXXVI. Bien qu'il ait été brûlé cent mille fois par les hotar dans le feu des (sacrifices) *lakṣahoma* célébrés par ce roi, le germe de toute chose produisit un grand fruit comme s'il avait été semé dans l'eau.

CCXXXVII. C'est pour répondre à une invitation que le Sūta et le Magadha <sup>(1)</sup> chantèrent autrefois les louanges de Prthu <sup>(2)</sup>, mais c'est de sa propre initiative que tout l'univers chante les siennes.

CCXXXVIII. Une fois détruit (par lui) le mont non incliné [ou : le roi insoumis], les monts craignant en quelque sorte leur propre condition de porteur de la terre [ou : leur condition de roi] s'inclinent devant lui pour la raison qu'il leur a coupé les flancs [ou : qu'il a détruit les partis ennemis].

CCXXXIX. Après avoir appris du brâhmane Çrī Someçvarabhaṭṭa <sup>(3)</sup> la Mīmāṃsā qui explique le sens du Veda, il fréquentait les sages appliqués à la science brâhmanique.

CCXL. On peut voir encore aujourd'hui la route royale qu'il avait construite [ou : le traité de règles royales qu'il avait institué], par laquelle arrivaient (vers lui) les rois attachés au bien des deux mondes.

CCXLI. Il se moquait de (la lune) qui est tachée d'une marque en forme de lièvre, non seulement parce qu'il était lui-même sans tache, mais encore parce que le cercle des Etats voisins [ou : son disque] est riche et sans factions [ou : plein et sans périodes (croissante puis décroissante)].

CCXLII. Son empire, causant la prospérité de ses sujets bien qu'il fût doué du genre neutre [ou : augmentant la postérité, bien qu'il fût dénué de membre viril], et ayant triomphé du roi des ennemis, brillait comme l'effusion de soleil.

CCXLIII. La Fortune qui avait été secouée par le mouvement du mont Mandara dans le barrattement de l'ambroisie, fut stable lorsqu'elle eut obtenu ce roi, inébranlable et tout en or [ou : de bonne caste] comme le Meru.

(1) Poètes de cour, panégyristes.

(2) Le premier des rois légendaires.

(3) Ce nom a été porté dans l'Inde par de nombreux écrivains, mais il est possible qu'il s'agisse ici d'un brâhmane du Cambodge.

CCXLIV. Même dans un petit trou de l'œuf de Brahmā il montrait une large gloire, comme le tout-puissant Kṛṣṇa montre les trois mondes dans le trou de sa bouche (1).

CCXLV. Grâce à la politique du chapelain Vāgīṣa [ou : maître de la voix], il gouverna Kambupurī comme Indra (gouverne) Amarāvati, dont (les dieux) qui ont pour flèche la parole avaient écarté les rois ennemis.

CCXLVI. Dans un territoire ennemi, même pacifié, il s'assurait le commandement d'une citadelle d'accès difficile, car les (dieux) inviolables, le Créateur, Hari et Īvara (eux-mêmes) ont pris pour demeure le Meru (2).

CCXLVII. Sous son règne, les vertus sont devenues l'essentiel [ou : les attributs (*guṇa*) sont devenus la matière (*pradhāna*)] dans les êtres, et les êtres sont devenus vertueux [ou : les éléments (*bhūta*) sont devenus les attributs (*guṇa*)] ; cette révolution elle-même est un grand bonheur.

CCXLVIII. Ayant pour étamine la fortune (Çrī) et pour parfum la gloire (Yaço) (3), s'épanouissant dans l'étang de la souveraineté, le lotus de son pied semblait souillé par ces insectes que sont les princes.

CCXLIX. Dans le combat, il a émoussé un nombre incalculable d'armes des ennemis, tandis que Hara n'a émoussé que l'unique arme fleurie de (l'Amour) qui a pour armes des fleurs.

CCL. La gloire de ce roi qui punissait les coupables, mais qui avait un océan de mansuétude pour les innocents, brille entière comme le disque de la lune levée.

CCLI. Comme enivrée par l'eau (répandue à l'occasion) du don [ou : par la sécrétion frontale] de cent éléphants dans le sacrifice accompli par lui, sa gloire erre encore aujourd'hui dans les trois mondes.

CCLII. La Fortune (*Kamalā*) avide de prospérité (*kamalā*), cachant justement son lotus (*kamala*) garni d'épines, obtint le lotus de son bras qui avait tué ses ennemis [ou : dont les épines avaient été enlevées].

CCLIII. S'étant purifié, à la requête de Brahmā, il était exclusivement pur, tandis que Çiva, bien qu'étant aussi de la couleur du cristal pur, était plus généralement rouge sombre.

(1) Cf. *Bhāgavatapur.*, X, VIII, 36.

(2) Citadelle inexpugnable des dieux.

(3) Allusion au nom de la capitale Çrī Yaço(dharapura) ou à celui de son oncle Çrī Yaço(varman).

CCLIV. Le feu de sa majesté brûlait les ennemis lui faisant face, même s'ils se cachaient dans une rivière ; à quoi bon parler de ceux qui s'étaient enfuis dans les bois ?

CCLV. L'Être Suprême dort tout seul dans l'unique océan ; mais dans l'unique océan de sa renommée, nombreux sont ceux qui sont éveillés par ses louanges.

CCLVI. Grâce au contact de l'ambrosie de sa conduite, un poème, même s'il n'a d'autre source que l'effort du poète pour chanter sa louange, ne périt pas, tel le Veda <sup>(1)</sup>.

CCLVII. A Prithu qui l'avait effrayée, la Terre prise de peur livra n'importe quoi <sup>(2)</sup> ; donnant aux autres beaucoup de lait, elle donne tout le reste à ce (roi) qui l'a délivrée de l'effroi.

CCLVIII. Dans son zèle pour faire abandon de son propre profit [ou : de son sens originel <sup>(3)</sup>] en faveur du profit d'autrui [ou : d'un autre sens], sa conduite [ou : la formation grammaticale], comme la conciliation et autres (manières d'agir) [ou : comme un composé grammatical, etc.], s'ornait de l'identité de ses buts (avec ceux d'autrui) [ou : de l'identité des sens].

CCLIX. Bien qu'il possédât la radieuse connaissance de la réalité qui a pour objet l'obtention de la délivrance, il ne fut jamais délivré du cœur des hommes <sup>(4)</sup>.

CCLX. Hara a placé dans un seul de ses membres <sup>(5)</sup> sa puissance faite de passion (*rajas*), tandis que ce sauveur des créatures [ou : Jagannātha = Viṣṇu] a disposé dans ses sept membres <sup>(6)</sup> la sienne, qui est faite de bonté (*sattva*).

CCLXI. Bien qu'il fût libéral et ne désirât pas le bien d'autrui, il employait non seulement sa propre habileté, mais encore celle d'autrui, à faire des dons à autrui <sup>(7)</sup>.

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(1) Le Veda est immortel parce qu'il est d'inspiration divine, tandis qu'un panégyrique du roi, d'inspiration humaine, serait périssable sans l'ambrosie de sa conduite.

(2) Cf. supra st. LXXIII.

(3) Cf. PĀṆINI, II, 7, 1, et *Dictionnaire* de MONIER-WILLIAMS, s. v. *jahat*, pour d'autres références.

(4) Parce qu'ils l'aimaient.

(5) Le liṅga, avec sans doute un jeu de mots sur *rajas* = sperme.

(6) Les sept éléments de l'État (*prakṛti*).

(7) Il forçait les autres à être généreux.

CCLXII. « Est-ce une victoire ou une défaite ? » : tel est le doute qui plane au sujet des autres guerriers, mais en ce qui le concerne, sa victoire était certaine dans chaque combat.

CCLXIII. Dans la bataille, la Fortune, ah ! la cruelle ! frappait de ses deux seins la poitrine de ce roi sur laquelle s'était brisée la pointe de la défense de l'éléphant ennemi qui l'avait frappé.

CCLXIV. (Brahmā) qui a pour séjour le lotus ayant répandu de ses mains une pluie de fleurs, ce guerrier vainqueur répandait, comme par émulation, les boutons de fleurs du *mandāra* de sa renommée (1).

CCLXV. Comme s'il avait attaché à Bhava, qui n'a qu'une parure incomplète (2), une parure éminente et inouïe, il produisit dans les orientes les mille lunes complètes de sa gloire.

CCLXVI. Attirée par la fleur de sa gloire sur le fruit de la beauté du manguier de son corps, l'abeille de l'œil des hommes ne pouvait plus s'en détacher.

CCLXVII. Cherchant en quelque sorte une raison pour se dire maître [ou : dire que l'âme individuelle (*ātman*) est l'âme suprême (*içvara*)], ce roi actif et exempt d'indifférence, fit son devoir à l'égard des éléments constitutifs de l'Etat [ou : de la matière (*prakṛti*)].

CCLXVIII. Aux dieux érigés par les rois Çrī Indravarman, Çrī Yaçovarman et leurs successeurs, il confirma les éléments du sacrifice fixés par ces rois (3).

CCLXIX. Dans l'étang de Yaçodhara fait par Çrī Yaçovarman, ce roi actif fit apparaître une œuvre méritoire qui était encore invisible (4).

CCLXX. Devenu l'unique sacrificateur, il accrut le culte des trente dieux érigés sur la terre de Kambu.

CCLXXI. C'est dans la mesure où elle a été donnée à Çrī Bhadreçvara par cette lune d'entre les rois que la Fortune de ses Etats, sans tache, s'est accrue, comme par joie de faire honte à la Fortune de la lune (5).

(1) *Mandāramañjarī* pourrait être un titre d'ouvrage, cf. AUFRECHT, *Catal.*, I-V, mais il n'est nullement certain que le poète ait cherché un double sens.

(2) La demi-lune qui orne son chignon.

(3) Il confirma les fondations et prestations de ses prédécesseurs.

(4) Le Mébon oriental.

(5) Qui a une tache et souffre périodiquement de diminution. Bhadreçvara est le vieux sanctuaire du Tchen-la à Vāt Ph'eu. Cf. BEFFÉO., XII, II, p. 7, et XXVIII, p. 124.

CCLXXII. Ayant vaincu par la force de son bras le roi de Campā, il offrit la Fortune de ce roi à Hari Svayambhu sur la rive de la Viṣṇupadī (la Gaṅgā), comme pour donner un sens à son nom de Campeçvara (1).

CCLXXIII. A la Rivière située sur la rive de la Sitānadī (2), il donna une triple porte en or avec de nombreuses richesses, comme s'il s'était dit : « Que conformément à son nom elle aille par un triple chemin » (3).

CCLXXIV. Après avoir restauré cette ville glorieuse [ou : Yaçodharapurī] (devenue) invisible (4), il la remplit de justice, de profit et de plaisir, comme (Vyāsa), fils de Satyavati, qui a rempli le recueil du Bhārata avec les trois Veda.

CCLXXV. Grâce à ce roi rehaussé par l'élévation de ses devoirs propres [ou : de son *dharma*], la juste prière du roi Yaçovarman qui était dépourvue (d'idée) de profit (*artha*) (5) comme la requête prononcée par un ascète [ou : qui a pour objet le vide comme la pensée (*viññapti*) des Yogācāra], a acquis une signification (*artha*) comme la triple science (6) [ou : une réalité comme la Triade (bouddhique) (7)].

CCLXXVI. C'est ici, sur le lotus de cet étang, dont la pointe ressemblait à la famille submergée d'un autre roi (8), que Viṣṇu semblable à ce roi et participant à son élévation, posa après avoir franchi l'univers son pied purifié par... (9)

(1) Plusieurs sanctuaires vishnouïtes de Campeçvara sont mentionnés dans diverses inscriptions (cf. *Index du Cambodge* d'AYMONIER, s. v.). Leur localisation n'est pas certaine. D'après la présente stance, celui-ci était situé au bord de la Gaṅgā, c'est-à-dire sans doute du Mékong.

(2) Nommée dans l'inscription de Prāsāt Prām, st. XXXIV (BEFEO., XIII, VI, p. 25).

(3) La Gaṅgā porte le nom de Tripatha, parce qu'elle coule successivement à travers le ciel, la terre et le monde souterrain.

(4) Envahie par la forêt pendant le séjour de Jayavarman IV et de son successeur à Kôh Ker.

(5) Ou vide de sens; allusion aux supplications de Yaçovarman à la fin de ses inscriptions. Elles ne servirent à rien puisque sa capitale et ses fondations furent abandonnées.

(6) Science védique des hymnes, des sacrifices et des chants (*rg, yajuṣ, sāmān*).

(7) Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha.

(8) Jayavarman IV, dont la royauté, probablement usurpée (cf. BEFEO., XXXI, p. 17), interrompit la succession des descendants de Yaçovarman, et dont la dynastie fut renversée à son tour par Rājendravarman.

(9) Par Brahmā ou par la Gaṅgā (cf. GOPINATHA RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pp. 165-166). Le mot *tāryyapad(a)* est d'une lecture douteuse.

CCLXXVII. Ce roi a établi ici ce liṅga principal nommé Çrī Rājendrabhadreçvara, avec ces quatre charmantes images de Gaurī, Çauri et Içvara, comme le visage souriant et élevé de Çambhu, joyeux de proclamer sa renommée par quatre bouches brillantes, le Çāka étant éclairé par les rayons du corps du feu [ou : par les (8) Vasu les (8) corps et les (3) feux] (1).

CCLXXVIII. Pour sa propre prospérité, et comme s'il avait été sa propre substance royale (2), il a placé cet Içvara Rājendravarmeçvara dans la région d'Agni (sud-est), avec les attributs de finesse atomique, et les autres (attributs) en compagnie des huit (gardiens des orient) à commencer par Indra.

CCLXXIX. Et il a fait aussi ce Rājendraviçvarūpa (3), Hari ravissant, ayant l'aspect de l'Omniprésent, ici dans ce (temple) qui est comme l'amoncellement de toute la beauté des trois mondes.

CCLXXX. Il a érigé ici la fille du mont (Umā), productrice de fortune, afin que Jayadevī, mère de Çrī Harçadeva, et sœur cadette de sa mère (4), puisse obtenir le ciel.

CCLXXXI. Ce roi des rois a fait cet Içvara Rājendravarmadeveçvara pour la fortune de son cadet le roi Çrī Harçavarman (5).

CCLXXXII. Avec (oes) brillantes images de Çārṅgin et des autres (dieux), il a fait ces huit effigies du dieu aux huit formes (6) réussies, charmantes, reconnaissables à leurs dix marques particulières, versant en quelque sorte à profusion le nectar répandu par la lune de la tête (de Çiva) (7).

CCLXXXIII. Aux dieux réunis (ici), ce (roi) a donné une fortune [ou : une Vibhūti = Lakṣmī] multiple, comme la Lakṣmī des trois mondes donnée par les huit Lokapāla devenus rois.

CCLXXXIV. Que dans l'avenir le culte des dieux, fixé ici par lui, pourvu d'or, plein d'une quantité de bijoux, ayant pour bruit des vagues le son des instruments de musique, soit comme l'océan augmenté par le temps [ou : le flot].

(1) 883 ç. = 961 A. D.

(2) Cf. *BCAI.*, 1911, p. 46.

(3) Statue de Viṣṇu, commémorant Viçvarūpa, ancêtre du roi (st. VII).

(4) Sœur de Mahendradevī, épouse de Jayavarman IV, et mère de Harçavarman II.

(5) Son cousin Harçavarman II, fils de Jayadevī qui était sœur de sa mère.

(6) Sur les huit *mūrti* de Çiva, cf. stèle de Bākoṅ, st. XXV, supra p. 34, note 7.

(7) La demi-lune qui orne le chignon de Çiva.

CCLXXXV. Que, (tels) des vaches, les hommes placés à la tête (de cette fondation) par ce roi [ou : par Indra], ayant reçu dans un bol, en offrande aux dieux, une nourriture divine douée des six saveurs, donnent un lait ayant pour unique saveur [ou : pour unique plaisir] leur devoir propre.

CCLXXXVI. « Le roi Cṛī Rājendravarman, averti, libéral, implore sans relâche les futurs rois des Kambujā », dans cette pensée, protégez cette grande œuvre (*dharma*) qui est la sienne.

CCLXXXVII. Puisque dans un corps divisé en de multiples parties, il n'y a que cette seule individualité (l'*ātman*) qui agisse et qui jouisse, ô vous qui êtes des sages, puissiez-vous dans toutes les bonnes œuvres (*dharma*), saisir de plus en plus votre devoir propre (*svadharmā*)<sup>(1)</sup>.

CCLXXXVIII. Même (basée) sur la distinction des attributs, la distinction établie entre l'auteur (d'une bonne œuvre) et celui qui y participe, en vue de distinguer les fruits de l'acte (qui reviennent à chacun d'eux), doit être rejetée, comme l'éclipse de la mauvaise méthode (doit être détruite) par la clarté solaire de la Vérité suprême<sup>(2)</sup>.

CCLXXXIX. Vous avez conquis la terre par vos exertions ; vous devez protéger tout ce qui se trouve à sa surface. Votre attention ne doit pas être en défaut un seul instant, au cas où quelqu'un viendrait à troubler ici (cette fondation).

CCXC. Ô (rois), vous qui êtes issus du bras de (Brahmā) né du lotus, et qui êtes abondamment parés par la force de votre bras, puisse le mot *kṣatra*, caractérisé par l'action de sauver de la destruction<sup>(3)</sup>, manifester en ce qui vous concerne son propre sens<sup>(4)</sup>.

CCXCI. Ô vous qui êtes plongés avec la fortune dans ce sommeil qu'est la jouissance du pouvoir royal, si cette œuvre venait à périlcliter, réveillez-vous en sa faveur, comme Nārāyaṇa (endormi) sur l'océan de lait<sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) Qui est de les protéger.

(2) Il y a sans doute un double sens grammatical : *kartṛ* = sujet, *karman* = objet, *paramārtha* = le meilleur sens.

(3) Le *kṣatra*, pouvoir royal, est, suivant une étymologie fantaisiste du *Raghuvamṣa* (II, 53) « ce qui sauve de la destruction » (*kṣatāt trāyat*).

(4) En vous faisant sauver de la ruine cette fondation.

(5) Viṣṇu se réveille de son sommeil cosmique pour sauver le monde en s'incarnant dans ses divers avatars.

CCXCII. Que le motif <sup>(1)</sup> pour lequel le bienheureux Viṣṇu, bien qu'il soit incréé, a pris naissance dans le sein d'Aditi <sup>(2)</sup>, et Çiva (a pris naissance) de (Brahmā) né du lotus <sup>(3)</sup>, soit pour vous la raison de garder cette fondation (*dharma*) établie (ici).

CCXCIII. Que cette mienne résolution (Dhṛti), telle une jeune femme obéissant au devoir [*ou* : s'étant approchée de Yama], charmante par sa réserve, chère à l'homme véridique [*ou* : à Satyavat], enseignant la doctrine à l'ignorant [*ou* : donnant la vue à l'aveugle (Dyumatsena)], vous donne la vie selon la Loi, dans un corps de gloire <sup>(4)</sup>.

CCXCIV. « Si quelqu'un était désireux de prendre aux dieux ces biens, bijoux et autres leur servant d'ornement, que ce soit (pour lui) exactement comme le poison Kālakūṭa qui est resté dans la gorge de Çṛīkaṇṭha (Çiva) » : que telle soit votre opinion bien établie, ô vous qui êtes sages.

CCXCV. Ô vous qui obtiendrez la royauté, soyez toujours attachés au Dharma, excellents par les vertus de libéralité, éminents par la majesté, riches en trésors et en armées, comme les anciens rois à commencer par Karandhama <sup>(5)</sup>.

CCXCVI. Comme une jeune fille de bonne famille, pleine de désir, ayant obtenu un époux bien né tel que vous, cette prière qui est la nôtre, dévoile sa propre nature en employant la modestie et la douceur.

CCXCVII. Que cette mienne parole, unique chemin du ciel, de la délivrance et de l'extinction, guirlande sur la tête des rois [*ou* : de Çiva], réjouisse votre esprit profond, comme la Mandākinī <sup>(6)</sup> entrée dans l'Océan (le réjouit).

CCXCVIII. On dit avec raison que la supplication est la mort des rois, lorsqu'elle a pour but d'obtenir la réalisation de leurs désirs. Mais celle que, par passion pour le Dharma, je profère en ayant uniquement pour but la prospérité du Dharma, (cette supplication) est l'immortalité vers laquelle il faut tendre.

(1) Ce motif est le sauvetage du monde.

(2) Sous la forme du nain (Vāmanāvatāra).

(3) Sous la forme de Rudra, *Viṣṇupur.*, I, VIII (début) et cf. GOPINATHA RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, pp. 46-47.

(4) Dhṛti est l'épouse de Yama. Ici elle est identifiée avec Sāvitrī, l'héroïne du *Pratīvatāmāhātmya* ou *Sāvitrīyupākhyāna* du *Mahābhārata* (III, 293-299).

(5) Roi légendaire.

(6) La Gaṅgā céleste.

## Appendix 2 – Hymns in the R̥g Veda<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Hymn to Rudra, R̥g Veda 1.114<sup>2</sup>

- 1 We bring these thoughts to the mighty Rudra, the god with braided hair, who rules over heroes, so that it will be well with our two-footed and four-footed creatures, and in this village all will flourish unharmed.
- 2 Have mercy on us, Rudra, and give us life-force. We wish to bow low in service to you who rule over heroes. Whatever happiness and health Manu the father won by sacrifice, we wish to gain that with you to lead us forth.
- 3 We wish to gain your kindness, Rudra, through sacrifice to the gods, for you are generous. O ruler over heroes, come to our families with kindness. Let us offer the oblation to you with our heroes free from injury.
- 4 We call down for help the dreaded Rudra who completes the sacrifice, the sage who flies. Let him repel far from us the anger of the gods; it is his kindness that we choose to have.
- 5 Tawny boar of the sky, dreaded form with braided hair, we call you down and we bow low. Holding in his hand the healing medicines that we long for, let him grant us protection, shelter, refuge.
- 6 These words are spoken for Rudra, the father of the Maruts, words sweeter than sweet, to strengthen him. And grant us, O immortal, the food for mortals. Have mercy on us, and on our children and grandchildren.
- 7 Do not slaughter the great one among us or the small one among us, nor the growing or the grown. Rudra, do not kill our father or our mother, nor harm the bodies dear to us.
- 8 Do not harm us in our children or grandchildren, nor in our life-span, nor in our cows or in our horses. Rudra, do not in fury slaughter our heroes. With oblations we call you here for ever.
- 9 I have driven these praises to you as the herdsman drives his cattle. Grant us kindness, father of the Maruts, for your kindness brings blessings most merciful, and so it is your help that we choose to have.
- 10 Keep far away from us your cow-killing and man-killing power, O ruler of heroes. Have mercy on us and speak for us, O god, and grant us double protection.
- 11 Seeking help, we have spoken in homage to him. Let Rudra with the Maruts hear our call. Let Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky grant this to us.

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<sup>1</sup> Because the aim of this appendix is to allow the reader to read the whole hymns in context, not just individual stanzas referred to in the main text, the appendix does not contain any footnotes given in the sources of the hymns used here.

<sup>2</sup> O'Flaherty, 1981b:224-225.

## 2.2 Hymn to Viṣṇu, Ṛg Veda 1.154<sup>3</sup>

- 1 I will proclaim the mighty deeds of Viṣṇu,  
Of him who measured out the earthly spaces;  
Who, firmly propping up the higher station,  
Strode out in triple regions, widely pacing.
- 2 Because of this his mighty deed is Viṣṇu  
Lauded, like some fierce beast that is much dreaded,  
That wanders as it lists, that haunts the mountains:  
He in whose three wide strides abide all creatures.
- 3 Let my inspiring hymn go forth to Viṣṇu,  
The mountain-dwelling bull, the widely pacing,  
Him who has measured out with but three footsteps,  
Alone, this long and far-extended station;
- 4 Him whose three footsteps filled with mead, unfailing,  
Revel in blissful joy; who has supported  
Alone the universe in three divisions:  
The earth and sky and all created beings.
- 5 I would attain to that his dear dominion  
Where men devoted to the gods do revel.  
In the wide-striding Viṣṇu's highest footstep  
There is a spring of mead: such is our kinship.
- 6 We long to go to those your dwelling-places  
Where are the kine with many horns, the nimble:  
For thence, indeed, the highest step of Viṣṇu,  
Wide-pacing bull, shines brightly down upon us.

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<sup>3</sup> Radhakrishnan/Moore, 1957:8.

### 2.3 Puruṣa-Sūkta, Ṛg Veda 10.90<sup>4</sup>

- 1 The Man has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. He pervaded the earth on all sides and extended beyond it as far as ten fingers.
- 2 It is the Man who is all this, whatever has been and whatever is to be. He is the ruler of immortality, when he grows beyond everything through food.
- 3 Such is his greatness, and the Man is yet more than this. All creatures are a quarter of him; three quarters are what is immortal in heaven.
- 4 With three quarters Man rose upwards, and one quarter of him still remains here. From this he spread out in all directions, into that which eats and that which does not eat.
- 5 From him Virāj was born, and from Virāj came the Man. When he was born, he ranged beyond the earth behind and before.
- 6 When the gods spread the sacrifice with the Man as the offering, spring was the clarified butter, summer the fuel, autumn the oblation.
- 7 They anointed the Man, the sacrifice born at the beginning, upon the sacred grass. With him the gods, Sādhanas, and sages sacrificed.
- 8 From that sacrifice in which everything was offered, the melted fat was collected, and he made it into those beasts who live in the air, in the forest, and in villages.
- 9 From that sacrifice in which everything was offered, the verses and chants were born, the metres were born from it, and from it the formulas were born.
- 10 Horses were born from it, and those other animals that have two rows of teeth; cows were born from it, and from it sheep and goats were born.
- 11 When they divided the Man, into how many parts did they apportion him? What do they call his mouth, his two arms and thighs and feet?
- 12 His mouth became the Brahmin; his arms were made into the Warrior, his thighs the People, and from his feet the Servants were born.
- 13 The moon was born from his mind; from his eye the sun was born. Indra and Agni came from his mouth, and from his vital breath the Wind was born.
- 14 From his navel the middle realm of space arose; from his head the sky evolved. From his two feet came the earth, and the quarters of the sky from his ear. Thus they set the worlds in order.
- 15 There were seven enclosing-sticks for him, and thrice seven fuel-sticks, when the gods, spreading the sacrifice, bound the Man as the sacrificial beast.
- 16 With the sacrifice the gods sacrificed to the sacrifice. These were the first ritual laws. These very powers reached the dome of the sky where dwell the Sādhyas, the ancient gods.

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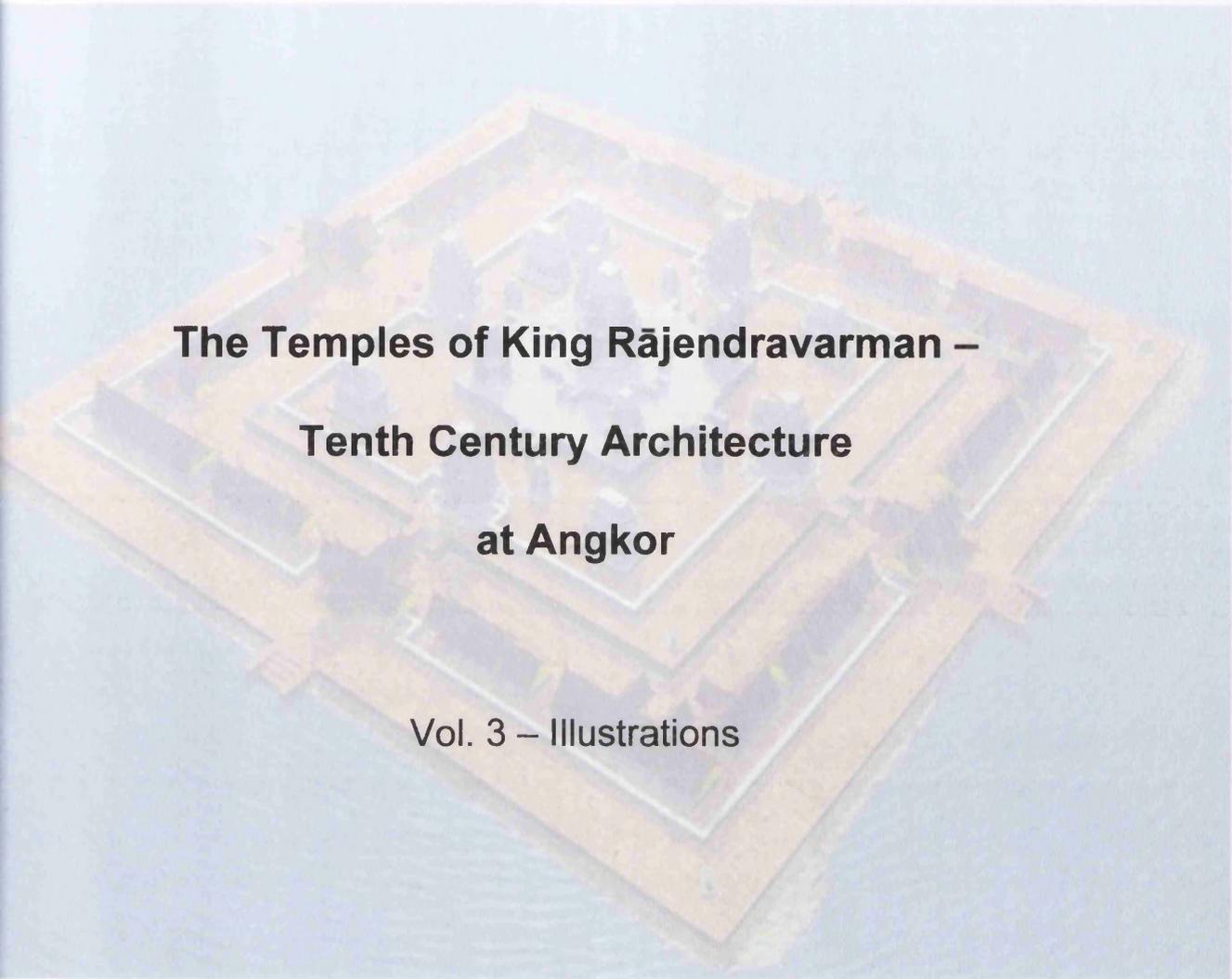
<sup>4</sup> O'Flaherty, 1981b:30-31.

## Appendix 3 – Styles in Ancient Khmer Art<sup>5</sup>

Style	Date	Description
<b>Styles of the pre-Angkor period</b>		
Phnom Da	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> CE	Relatively homogenous, mostly representations of deities of Viṣṇuism, upper part of <i>sampot</i> falls to front and is folded like fan, hair dressed in plaits, covering neck, elongated, almond-shaped eyes, oval faces with finely-arched eyebrows
Sambor Prei Kuk	c. 600-650 CE	Only few statues remain, but a lot of reliefs, most of the images are females, tendency towards realism, follow Indian canon of beauty: rounded, slightly separated breasts, broad hips, swaying movement, high arched eyebrows, aquiline nose
Prei Khmeng	c. 635-700 CE	Not too many images, bas-reliefs, developed parallel to style of Sambor Prei Kuk, new feminine beauty: elegant heads, softer bodies, slanting shoulders ⇒ very graceful
Prasat Andet	late 7 <sup>th</sup> – early 8 <sup>th</sup> CE	Within both styles less stylistic unity, very varied, slim figures, dress only hinted at, face is very naturalistic with distinct Khmer features
Kompong Preah	c. 706-800 CE	Even more diffused than the two preceding styles, still almond-shaped eyes and arched eyebrows
<b>Styles of the Angkor period</b>		
Kulen	c. 800-875 CE	No longer supports, but free sculpting, all statues of this style represent Viṣṇu, although Jayavarman II was Śaivaite, main aim to represent the power of the god ⇒ not elegant, but as young man in the flower of his strength, for first time diadem and jeweled cap for chignon
Preah Ko	late 9 <sup>th</sup> CE	Revival of pre-Angkor iconography plus new criteria, e.g. growing schematization of drapery, octagonal pagoda-like miter of Viṣṇu, diadem worn on forehead as jeweled crown fastened by ribbon at nape of neck, skirt with pleat folded over at top and small triangular pleated panel draped over left hip, thick unbroken line of eyebrows, male images have closely-shaven beard covering chin and cheeks
Bakheng	early 10 <sup>th</sup> CE	Mutation: clothes have pleated look in contrast to earlier plain look, stylisation of faces and bodies, very formal, geometric, straight eyebrows
Koh Ker	mid 10 <sup>th</sup> CE	Move toward gigantism, more diversified, more group images, figures are softer, esp. the faces have an almost human smile
Pre Rup	third quarter 10 <sup>th</sup> CE	Loss of movement, softness of modelling
Banteay Srei	third quarter 10 <sup>th</sup> CE	Limited to a few temples, most importantly Banteay Srei itself, free-standing images are very much in the Pre Rup style, innovative: temple decoration, has a unique beauty, influential on later styles

<sup>5</sup> After Jacques, C. (1999) *Angkor*. Transl. by J. Carroll. Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, Cologne, pp. 174-182; Pich Keo & Smith, N. (1996) *Khmer Art in Stone*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, pp. 14-37.

Khleang	late 10 <sup>th</sup> CE	Bridges style of Pre Rup with that of Baphuon, faces are softer than Pre Rup, but somewhat stiff, sometimes diadem is lacking
Baphuon	11 <sup>th</sup> CE	Very soft, graceful, smaller figures (not the bronzes), different proportions: more elongated, smiles, outlines of eyes, lips, mustache, beard marked by incisions, hips closely molded in finely pleated cloth, costumes leave belly almost completely uncovered, rise high at the back, are quite simple, as is the headdress, because style lasted for almost a century it shows internal development, e.g. representation of jewelry and dress
Angkor Wat	late 11 <sup>th</sup> – late 12 <sup>th</sup> CE	Return to Bakheng style: hieratic, geometric, nearly all divinities wear tiara which is taller and thinner than in earlier periods, hair is plaited over top of the head Buddha frequently represented
Bayon	late 12 <sup>th</sup> – early 13 <sup>th</sup> CE	Many reliefs show signs of hasty execution, religion had changed to Mahāyāna Buddhism ⇒ different requirements of statuary: should communicate spiritual essence of new religion: compassion, salvation Style: more earthly, human, lively, most famous: smile, great care placed on faces, are almost like portraits



**The Temples of King Rājendravarman –  
Tenth Century Architecture**

**at Angkor**

**Vol. 3 – Illustrations**

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#### Plan East Mebon

(Pl. 28. Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, *Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor*. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.)

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(Pl. 30. Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, *Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor*. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.)

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(Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, *Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor*. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, plan 30.)

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d d: detail of rubbing of face B.

(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, n. 1037.)

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- Fig. 7.14 East Mebon – M-NE.
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(AIRSAR image acquired by NASA/JPL in September 2000 as part of the PacRim 2000 mission. Colour composite image (RGB = LhhLhvPvv) generated by Scott Hensley, Ian Tapley and Tony Milne and provided courtesy of the University of Sydney's Greater Angkor Project.)
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- Fig. 7.42 Pre Rup – lintel of PR-I, Vajimukha.
- Fig. 7.43 Pre Rup – lintel of PR-II, Viṣṇu on Garuda.
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- Plan 7.1 Bṛhadīśvara Temple, Thaṅjāvūr.  
(Tadgell, 1990:96.)
- Plan 7.2 Pre Rup – 2 Gop S.  
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- Plan 7.4 Phimeanakas.  
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- Plan 7.9 PR-S.  
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- Plan 7.10 PR-B.  
a Plan of the building.  
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b Roller and pestle found inside.  
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- Plan 7.17 Pre Rup – laterite platform south of PR-a.  
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- Table 7.1 Proportions of the Temples.  
(Kramrisch, St., 1996, *The Hindu Temple*. Reprint. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, Vol. 1:table following p. 232.)
- Table 7.2 East Mebon – dimensions of vestibules, entrances, and windows of halls in outer enclosure.
- Table 7.3 Pre Rup – details of windows of halls in inner enclosure.
- Table 7.4 Pre Rup – details of windows of halls in outer enclosure.

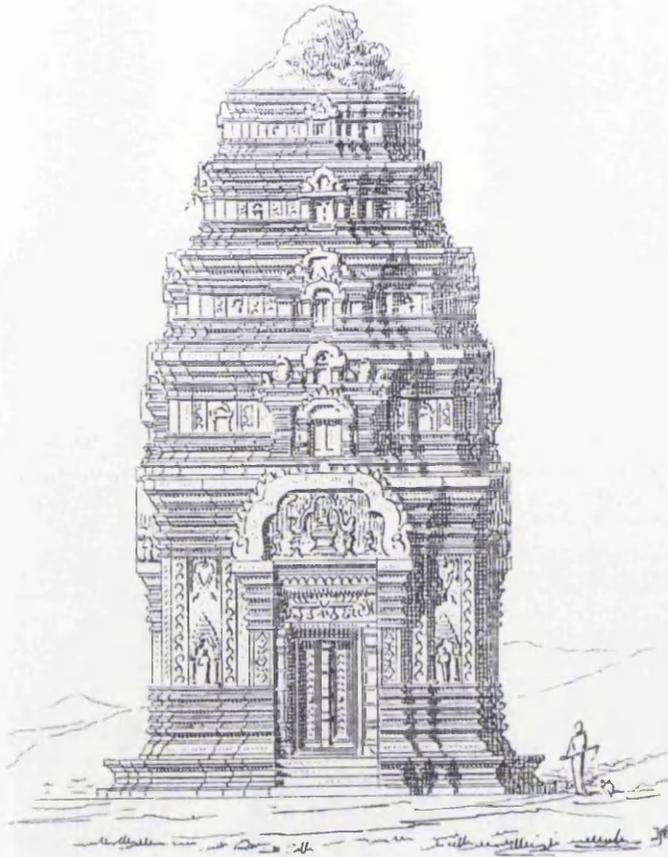


Fig. 2.1: *Prasat* in the style of Indravarman.

This drawing of the south side of the northeast sanctuary of Lolei clearly shows the structure of a *prasat* in the style of Indravarman. The towers have a four-tiered superstructure, with false doors at the centre, surmounted by pedestals. In between these false doors and the corners niches can be seen, which might have contained faces looking out. These elements were done in brick. Sandstone elements were the doors, lintels, columns, and the guardian figures. The decorative features of the interpilaster spaces around the guardians were moulded in stucco. (Parmentier, 1919:plan xvii).



Fig. 2.2: Stucco decoration.

The stucco, here at the southwest sanctuary of Pre Rup, consisted of several layers. The innermost layer seems to have been fairly coarse to enable the moulding of the decorative features. Subsequently, it appears to have been covered by one or more finer layers to give it a smooth finish. At this *devatā* the coarse layer can be seen at the skirt, whereas the area around her navel clearly shows a much smoother finish. (If not indicated otherwise, all photographs are the author's own.)

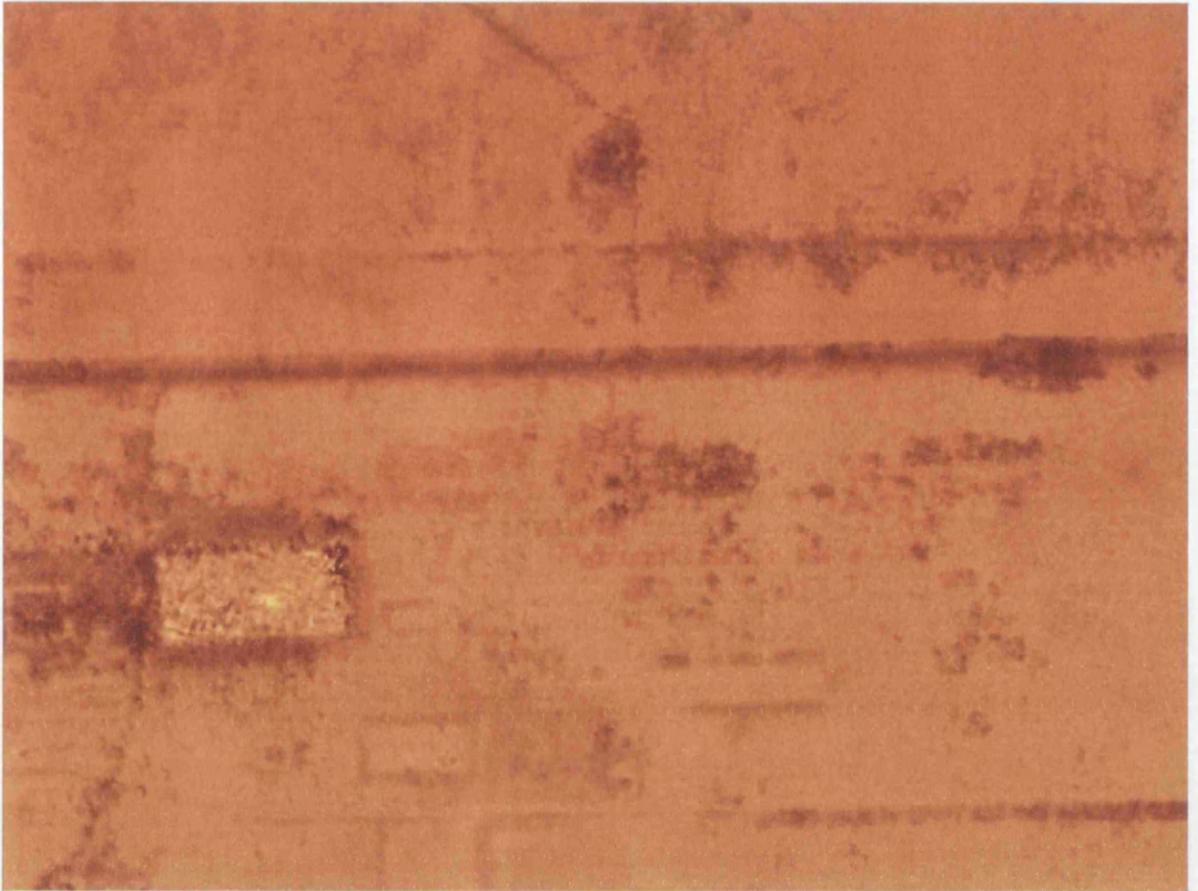


Fig. 2.3: Area around East Baray – Satellite image.

This image shows the area between Banteay Kdei at the left edge with Srah Srang, the large bright rectangle, next to it. The dark line north of Srah Srang is the south dike of the East Baray. East of Srah Srang Pre Rup can be seen as a little dark spot. East and north of Pre Rup are the causeways, visible as dark lines. That east of Pre Rup is somewhat larger, because of the vegetation in this area. Due north of Pre Rup, inside the former *baray*, is the East Mebon, again a dark area because of the dense vegetation around the temple nowadays.

This image also shows clearly the very symmetrical placement of the two temples, with the south dike of the *baray* acting almost like a mirror.

(AIRSAR image acquired by NASA/JPL in September 2000 as part of the PacRim 2000 mission. Colour composite image (RGB = CvvLvvpvv) generated by Scott Hensley, Ian Tapley and Tony Milne and provided courtesy of the University of Sydney's Greater Angkor Project.)

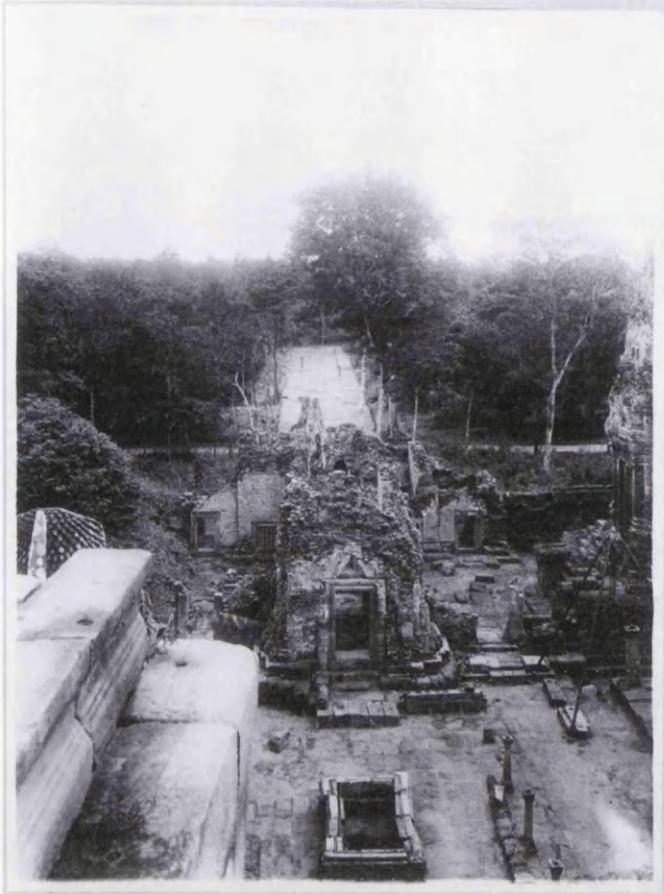


Fig. 2.4: Pre Rup – East causeway.  
a: from pyramid with east *gopuras* in foreground.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 12997.)



b: towards pyramid.  
Here the border stones flanking the causeway can be seen clearly.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 12998.)



Fig. 2.5: Pre Rup – northern causeway where it met the dike of the *baray*, aerial view. The former north causeway is easily visible because of the vegetation growing there nowadays. This line still connects Pre Rup and the south dike of the *baray*, visible as the thick line of vegetation on the right. A close examination of this area did not reveal any findings as to where the boats might have left for the East Mebon.



Fig. 2.6: Pre Rup and East Mebon – aerial view. This photograph shows clearly the function of the south dike of the East Baray as a mirror between Pre Rup, at the bottom of the image, and the East Mebon towards the north.

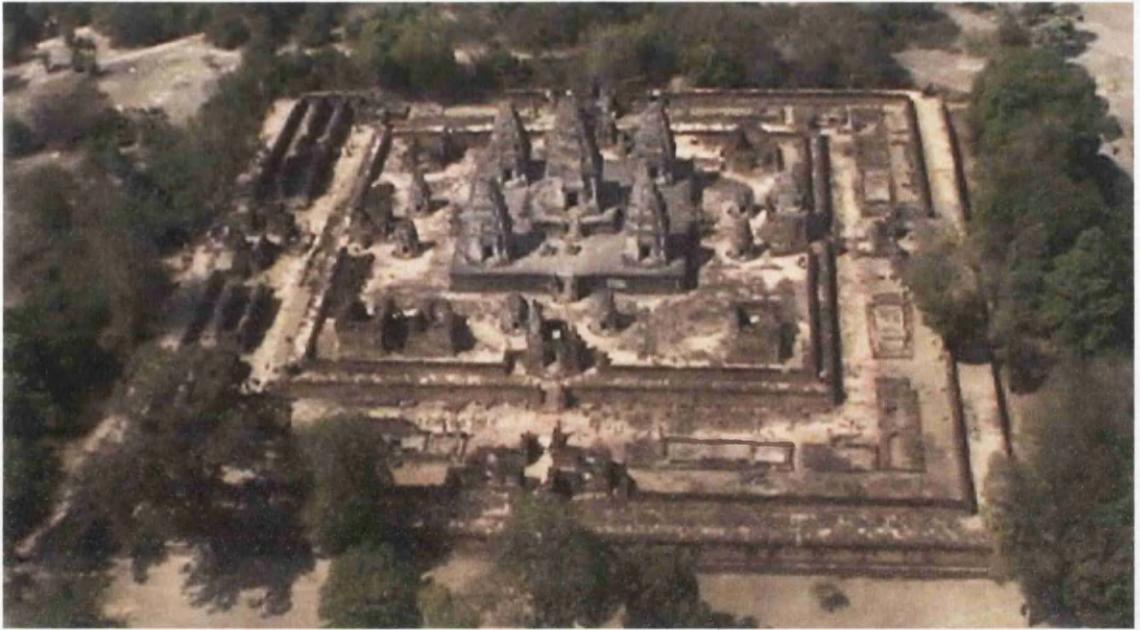


Fig. 2.7: East Mebon – aerial view.

The temple was built on a laterite island at the centre of the East Baray. In front of the outer *gopuras* the landing stages can be seen. The temple consists of two enclosures with walls and four *gopuras* each. At the centre is an additional platform, on which are built the five sanctuaries. Around this platform are another eight *prasats*, dedicated to the eight manifest forms of Śiva.



Fig. 2.8: East Mebon – view from east.

The island rises four meters above the bottom of the *baray*, and is surrounded by a 2 metre high enclosure wall, which contains four cruciform *gopuras*.



Fig. 2.9: East Mebon – outer terrace.  
The outer terrace, here the northwest corner, is plain. The only decoration are four elephants, placed diagonally at the corners.



Fig. 2.10: East Mebon – 2 Gop E from west.  
The outer *gopuras* have a cruciform groundplan with one main, and two side entrances at the sides.



Fig. 2.11: East Mebon – 2 Gop E, inside.  
 The main entrance of the outer gopuras has two small side chambers which are linked to the side passageways through open portals.

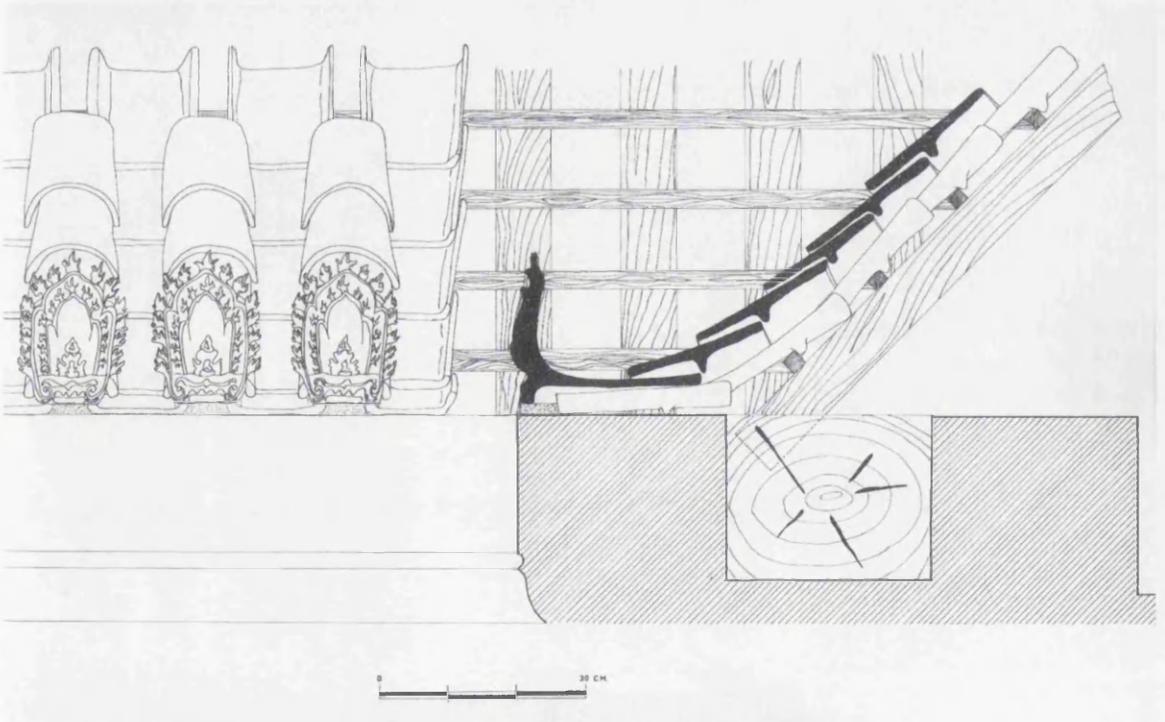


Fig. 2.12: East Mebon – roof construction of outer halls.  
 All halls in the outer enclosure were covered with a beamwork roof with ceramic tiles.  
 (Dumarçay, 1973:plan xxix).



Fig. 2.13: East Mebon – M-a from northwest.



Fig. 2.14: East Mebon – M-b from west.



Fig. 2.15: East Mebon – M-c from northwest.



Fig. 2.16: East Mebon – M-c, westernmost window of south side with sandstone slabs. Unlike all the other halls in the outer enclosure, M-c does not have balusters inserted into its window frame, but seven sandstone slabs. The slabs of this window are carved with a diamond-shape floral pattern. Unfortunately, most of the other windows are badly weathered, so no carving remains there. However, it is legitimate to assume that all slabs showed the same decorative feature.



Fig. 2.17: East Mebon – M-d from northwest.



Fig. 2.18: East Mebon – M-e from northeast.



Fig. 2.19: East Mebon – M-f from northeast.



Fig. 2.20: East Mebon – M-f inside.

The windows of M-f contain balusters. The five windows of the south wall are placed opposite the two doors and three windows in the north wall.

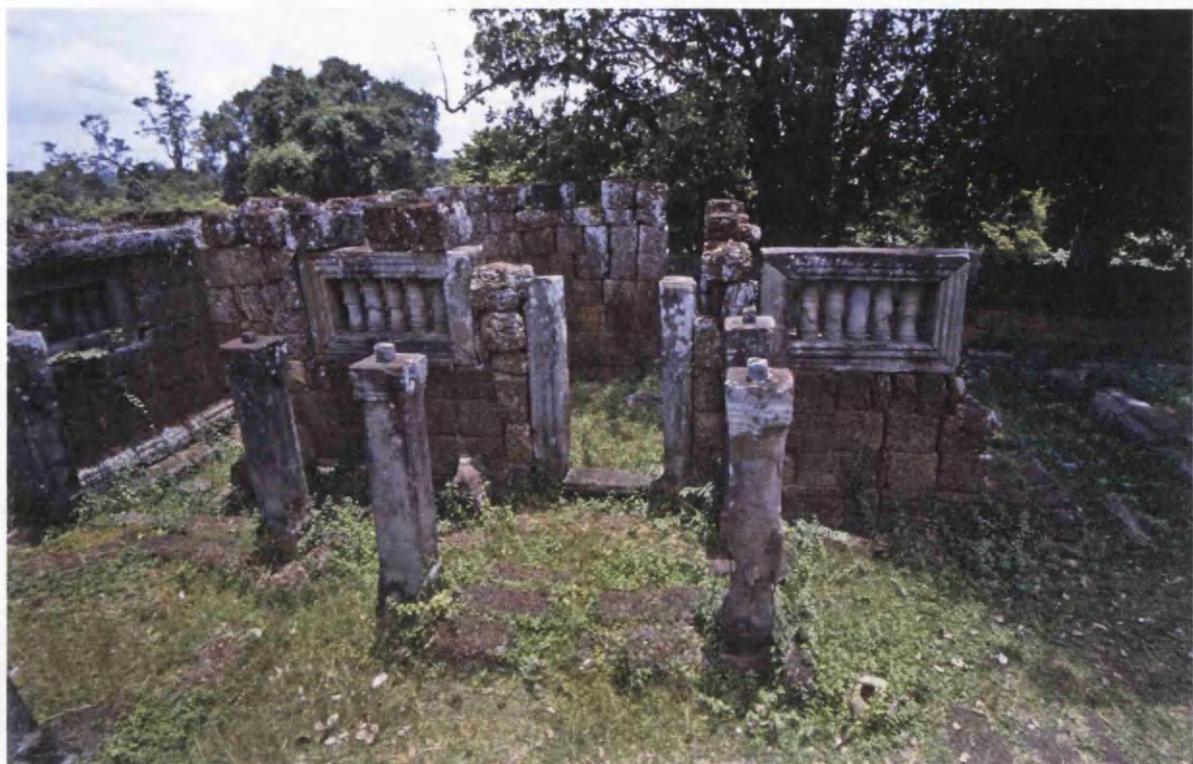


Fig. 2.21: East Mebon – M-g from east.



Fig. 2.22: East Mebon – M-h from northeast.



Fig. 2.23: East Mebon – M-i from southeast.

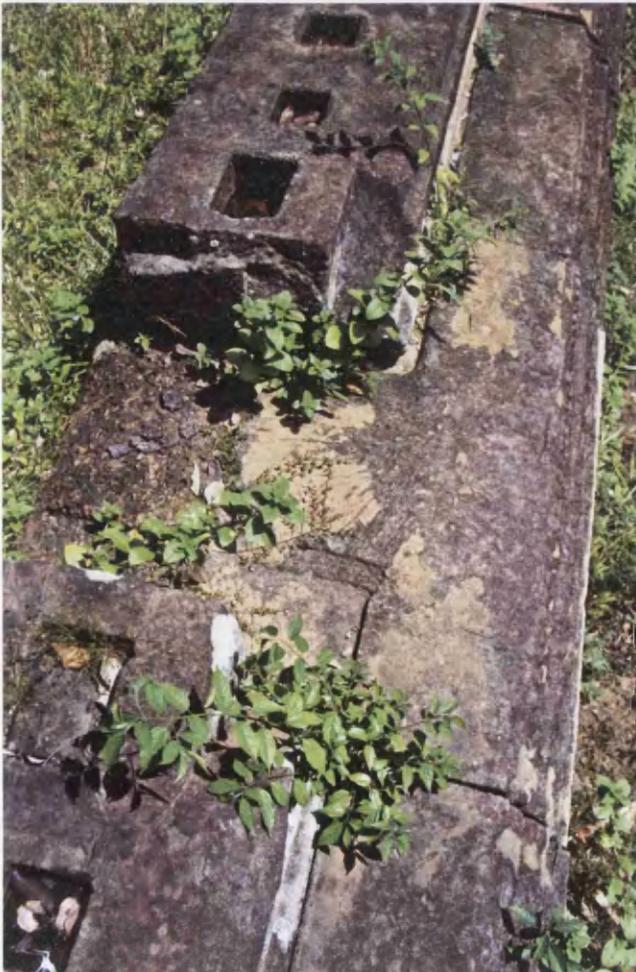


Fig. 2.24: East Mebon – M-h, carving for windows. The windows of the halls were placed onto the sandstone layer. Their exact location are still visible because of the indentations carved for placing the lower part of their frame. At the top, one lower frame still in place can be seen. The square hole was to receive the joint from the side part, and the round holes were carved for the balusters.



Fig. 2.25: East Mebon – M-k from east.



Fig. 2.26: East Mebon – M-l from southeast.



Fig. 2.27: East Mebon – M-m from south.

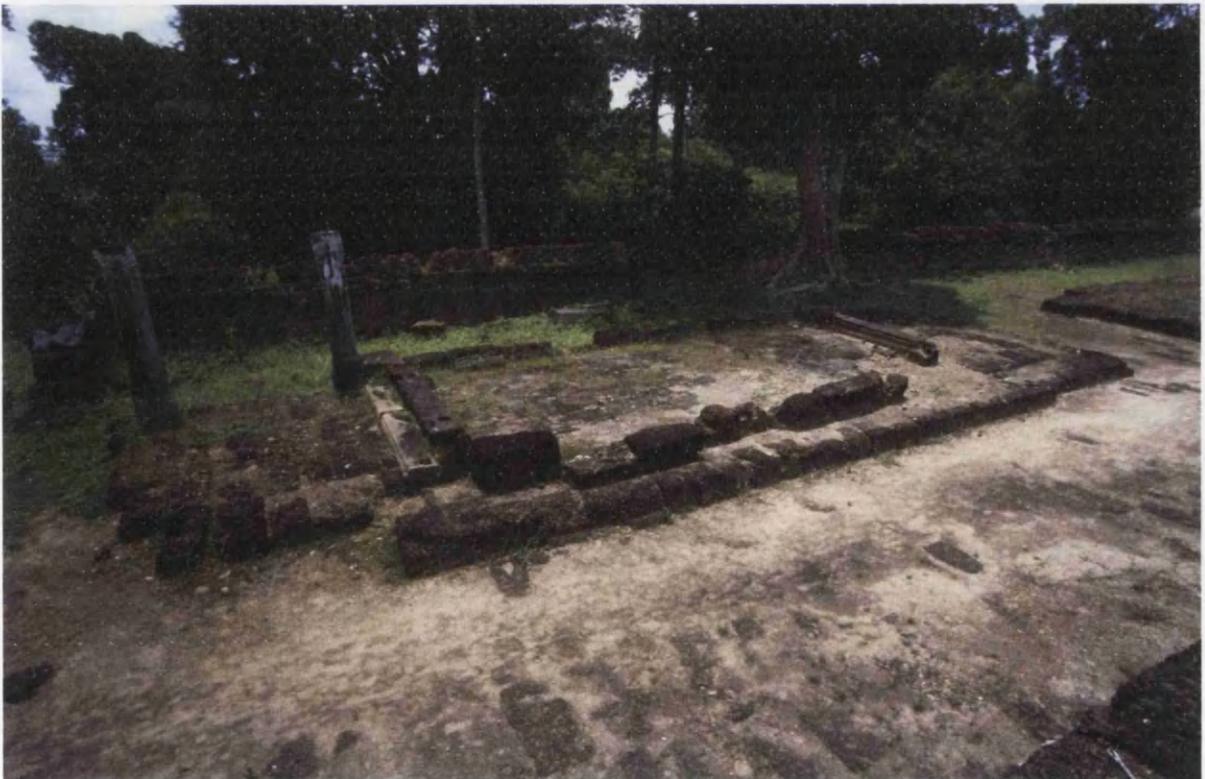


Fig. 2.28: East Mebon – M-n from south.



Fig. 2.29: East Mebon – M-o from southwest.



Fig. 2.30: East Mebon – M-o, placement of columns.

Unlike the other halls in the outer enclosure, M-o did not have vestibules built into the courtyard. Instead, the two remaining columns are placed in line with the wall. From the damage of this area it is possible to infer that originally four columns had been placed: two next to the wall, and an additional pair to form a tripartite entry.



Fig. 2.31: East Mebon – M-p from west.



Fig. 2.32: East Mebon – M-r from west.



Fig. 2.33: East Mebon – holes in between M-r and inner platform.  
In between M-r and the inner platform five rows of five holes each were discovered during the restoration process.



Fig. 2.34: East Mebon – holes on top of the inner platform.  
In addition to the five rows in between M-r and the inner platform, two holes on top of it, next to a water drainage, were discovered as well.



Fig. 2.35: East Mebon – holes next to M-r.  
The three holes next to M-r actually damage the building, and might be later modifications of the temple, as all the other holes as well.

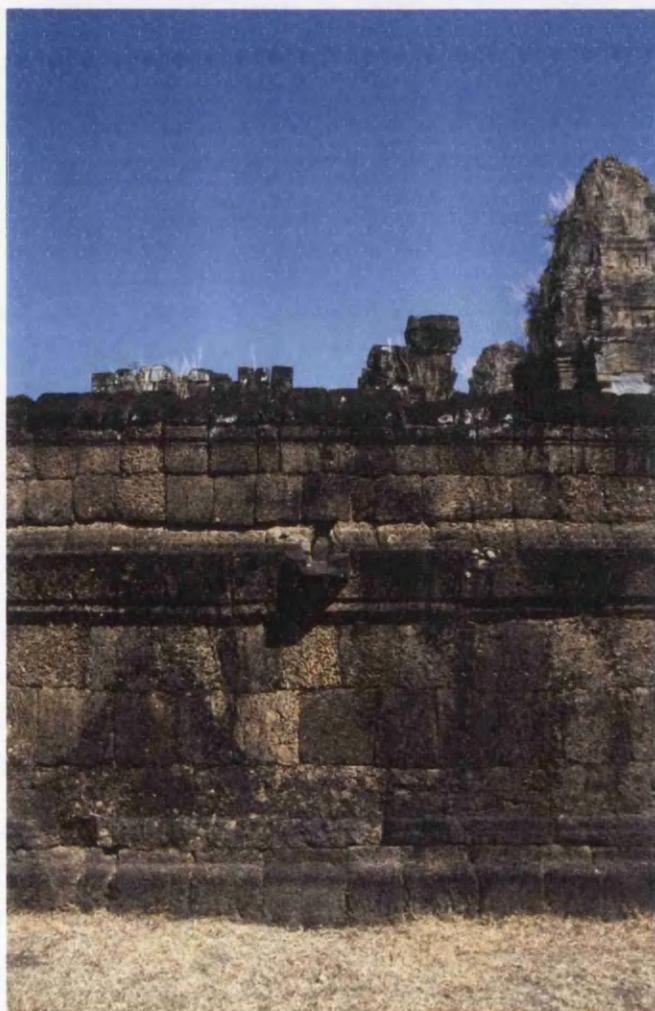


Fig. 2.36: East Mebon – inner terrace and enclosure wall.  
The platform of the inner enclosure is 2.25 metres high, and carries the inner enclosure wall. Clearly visible here is a water drainage. All together the inner platform had nine of them.

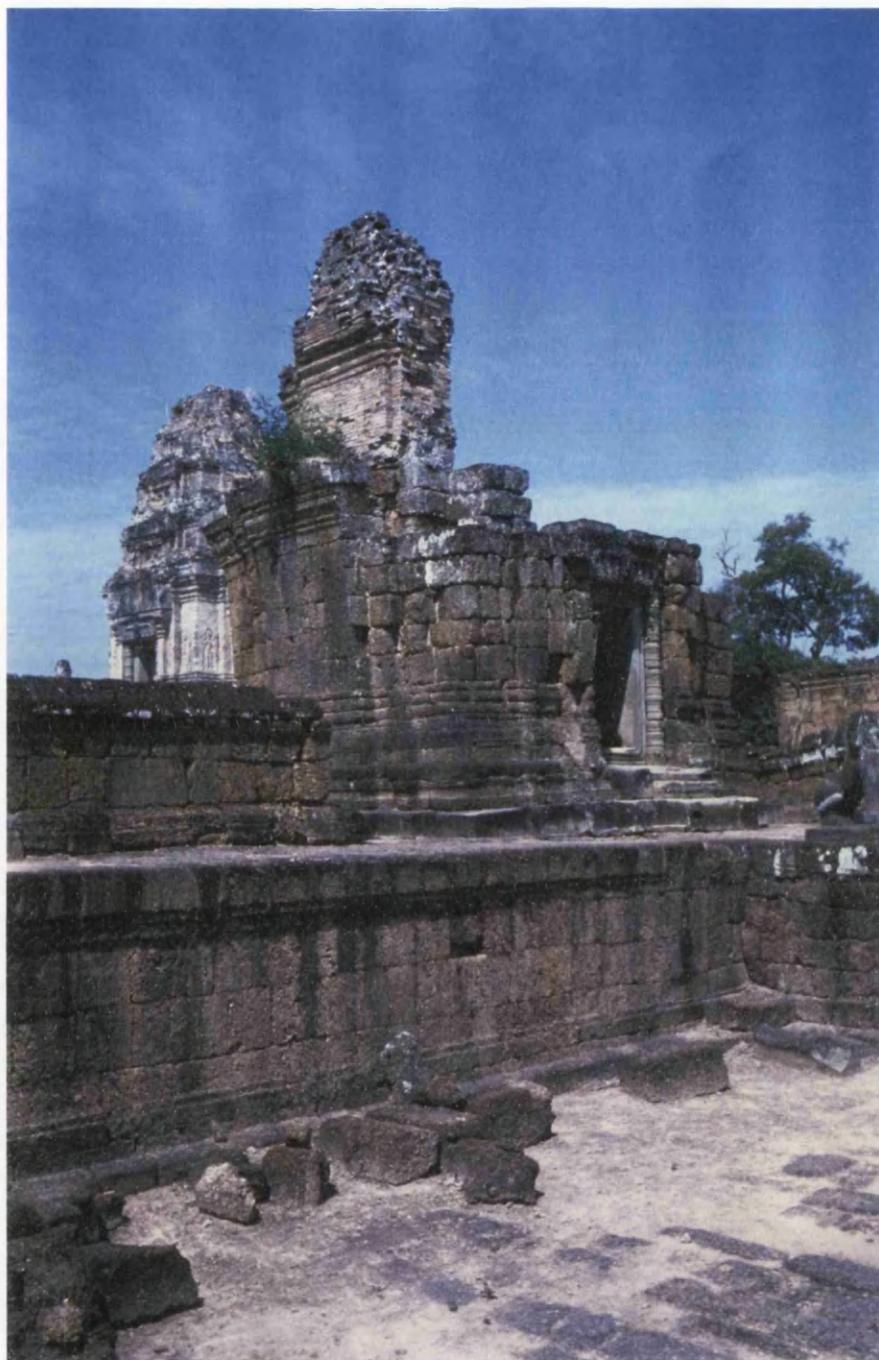


Fig. 2.37: East Mebon – 1 Gop E from southeast.

The inner enclosure wall is punctuated by four square *gopuras*. Their lower part, constructed from laterite, carries a brick superstructure. All *gopuras* show horizontal bands as decoration, and had lintels over their doors.



Fig. 2.38: East Mebon – 1 Gop E, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata.



b: west lintel: Kṛṣṇa killing Kaliya.



Fig. 2.39: East Mebon – 1 Gop S, lintels.

a: south lintel: the lintel is badly weathered, and the central motif no longer visible.



b: north lintel: the central motif might depict Kubera, the guardian of the North, on two lions.



Fig. 2.40: East Mebon – 1 Gop W, lintels.  
a: west lintel: Varuṇa with a halter in his right hand on *kālā*.



b: east lintel: Narasiṃha slaying the demon Haranyakaśipu.



Fig. 2.41: East Mebon – 1 Gop N, lintels.  
a: north lintel: Garuda.



b: south lintel: Garuda.

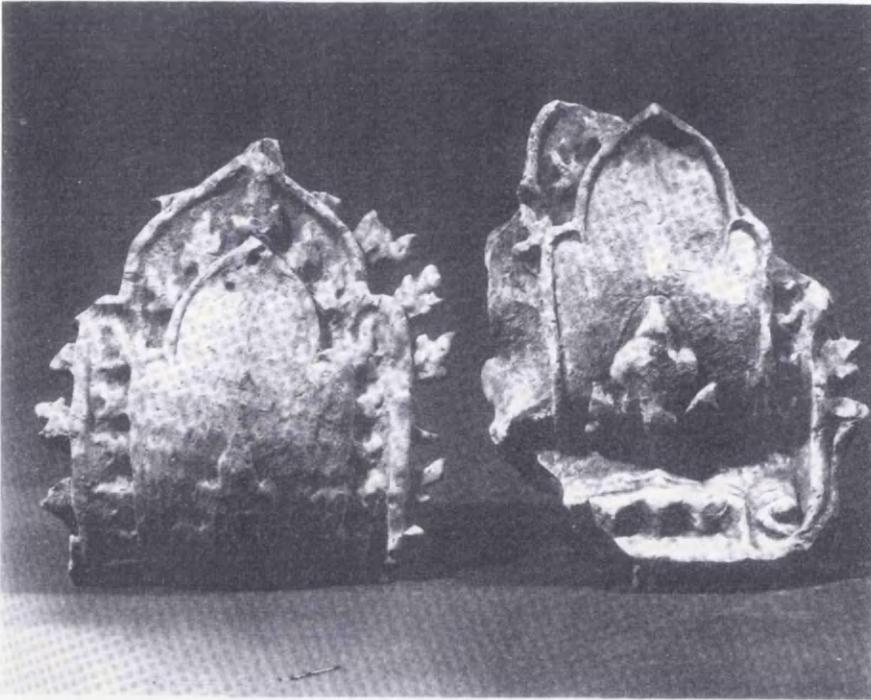
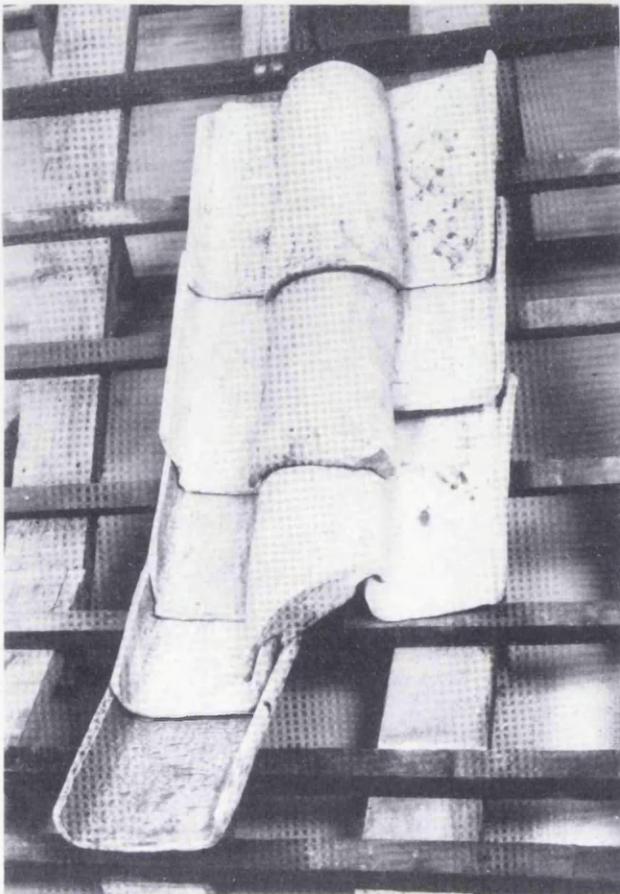


Fig. 2.42: Tiles.

a: Tiles at the edge of the roof.

Tiles found at both the East Mebon and Pre Rup were similar. The tiles at the edge were decorated with a lotus-petal motif. (Dumarçay, 1973: photograph 17).



b: Tiles covering the roof. The roof was covered using a technique as shown here. (Dumarçay, 1973: photograph 25).



Fig. 2.43: East Mebon – M-A and M-B from northwest.



Fig. 2.44: East Mebon – M-C from northeast.



Fig. 2.45: East Mebon – M-D from east.



Fig. 2.46: East Mebon – M-E from southwest.



Fig. 2.47: East Mebon – M-D, remnants of brick superstructure.



Fig. 2.48: East Mebon – M-B, steps leading up to the door.  
M-B and M-C have an additional sandstone layer inserted at their entrance, and consequently two instead of one step. As a result the level of the interior is raised as well compared to the other three halls.



Fig. 2.49: East Mebon – M-A, lintel: Varuṇa (?) on *kāla*.



Fig. 2.50: East Mebon – M-B, lintel.



Fig. 2.51: East Mebon – M-C, lintel: deity on *kāla*.  
Noteworthy about this lintel is the *kāla* at the centre, which is depicted with two hands, palms facing outwards. Usually, within Khmer temples *kālas* are depicted without hands, and because of the two hands this depiction is very similar to Javanese ones.



Fig. 2.52: East Mebon – M-D, lintel: three lions.



Fig. 2.53: East Mebon – M-E, lintel: Gajahlakṣmī.



Fig. 2.54: East Mebon – M-A, brick floor.

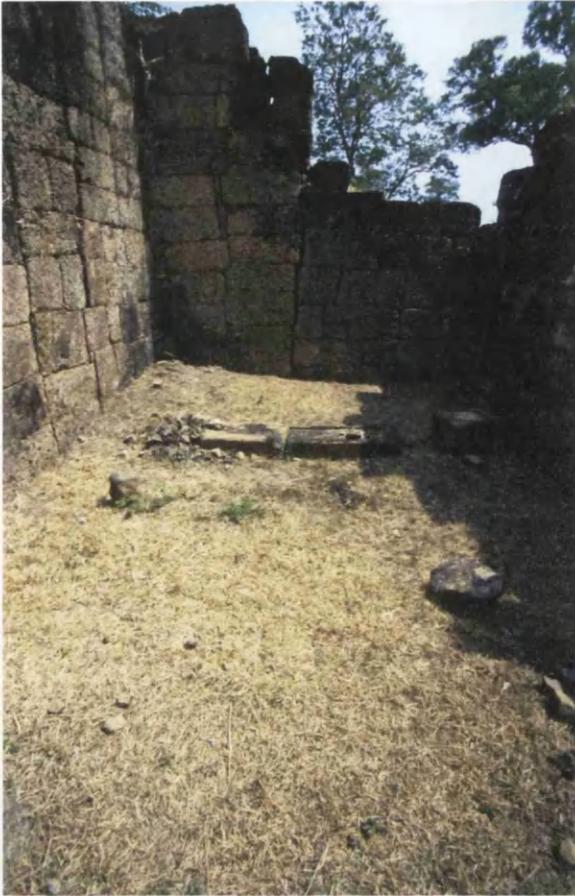


Fig. 2.55: East Mebon – M-A, inside.  
The stone with the nine *devas* and seven *ṛṣis* was found on the sandstone slab placed at a distance of about one metre parallel to the western wall.

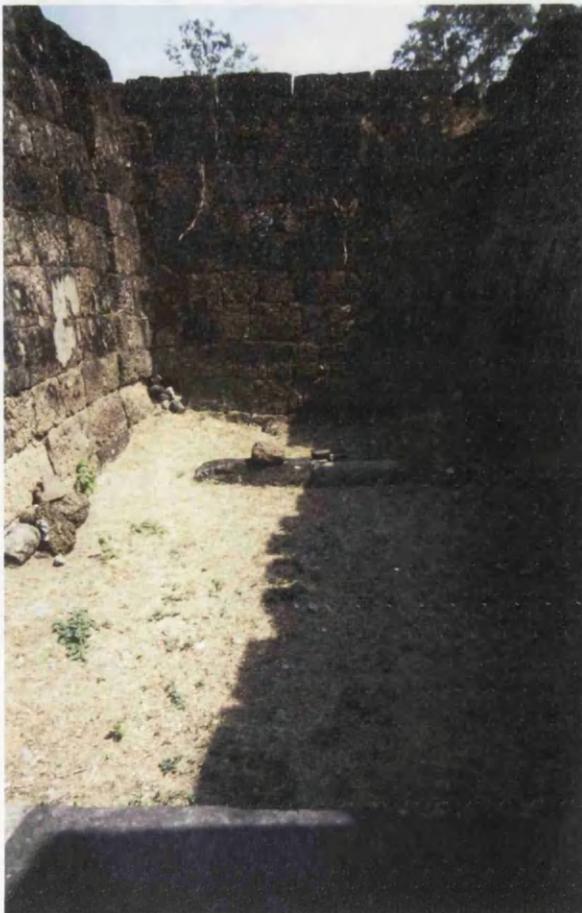


Fig. 2.56: East Mebon – M-B, inside.  
Mirroring the placement in M-A, in M-B another sandstone block carved with nine *devas* was found



Fig. 2.57: East Mebon – M-E, inside.

Nowadays a two metre square hole can be seen inside M-E. According to the respective restoration report inside the building fragments of a square stele were found, which might have been placed here.



Fig. 2.58: East Mebon – M-1 from east.

The eight small brick towers surrounding the central platform are not in a well-preserved state. Originally, they appear to have had a four-tiered superstructure, one door facing east and three false ones in the other directions. Their decorative elements, the door, lintel, and columns were carved in sandstone.



Fig. 2.59: East Mebon – pedestal from small brick tower.

Originally, all small *prasats* housed a *liṅga* each, representing the eight *mūrti* of Śiva. This pedestal is now placed inside the central sanctuary.



Fig. 2.60: East Mebon – M-1, lintel: elephant with lion body.



Fig. 2.61: East Mebon – M-2, lintel: lion emitting the garlands.



Fig. 2.62: East Mebon – M-3, lintel: Indra on Airāvata in between two lions facing outwards.



Fig. 2.63: East Mebon – M-4, lintel: Indra on three-headed Airāvata .



Fig. 2.64: East Mebon – M-5, lintel: Indra on Airāvata in between two lions facing outwards.



Fig. 2.65: East Mebon – M-6, lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.66: East Mebon – M-7, lintel: lion swallowing elephant.



Fig. 2.67: East Mebon – M-8, lintel: lion emitting garlands.



Fig. 2.68: East Mebon –  
*bali pīṭha*.  
a: *bali pīṭha* from  
southwest.



b: *bali pīṭha*: top part with alternating *nāgas* and *Garudas*, and carved lotus flower.



Fig. 2.69: East Mebon – indentation at bottom of east stairs.  
The indentation at the bottom of the east stairs leading up to the central quincunx of towers is 44 x 45 centimetres large.



Fig. 2.70: East Mebon – indentation at bottom of west stairs.  
The indentation at the bottom of the west stairs leading up to the central quincunx of towers measures 49 centimetres east-west.



Fig. 2.71: East Mebon – indentation at bottom of north stairs.  
The indentation at the bottom of the north stairs leading up to the central quincunx of towers is 45 centimetres square.



Fig. 2.72: East Mebon – central platform.

The central platform, on which is built the quincunx of sanctuaries, is 32 metres square, and 2.75 metres high. It is coated with sandstone, the carvings of which have weathered away.

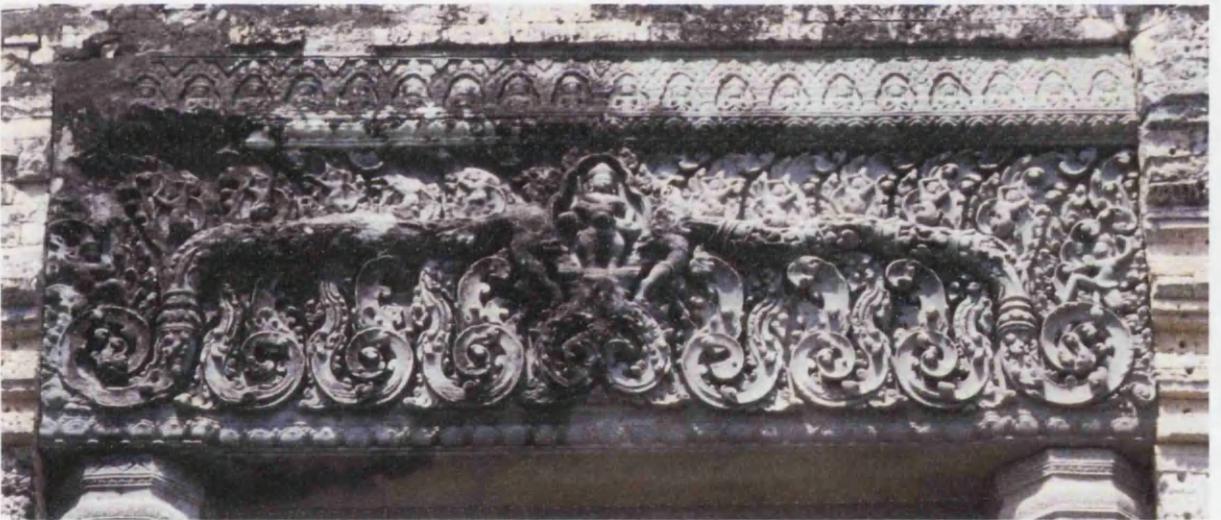


Fig. 2.73: East Mebon – central platform from east.

The central *prasat* is constructed on an additional 1.75 metre high base.



Fig. 2.74: East Mebon – M-CS, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: south lintel: Yāma on his buffalo.



c: west lintel: Varuṇa on a *haṃsa*.



d: north lintel: Kubera on a lotus-throne.



Fig. 2.75: East Mebon – M-SE, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata ?



b: south lintel: Yāma on his buffalo.



c: west lintel: Varuṇa on a lotus-throne.



d: north lintel: lion swallowing an elephant.



Fig. 2.76: East Mebon – M-SW, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: south lintel: weathered.



c: west lintel: Varuṇa on a *haṃsa*, with two *makaras* and a lion.



d: north lintel: Kubera on a three-headed lion.

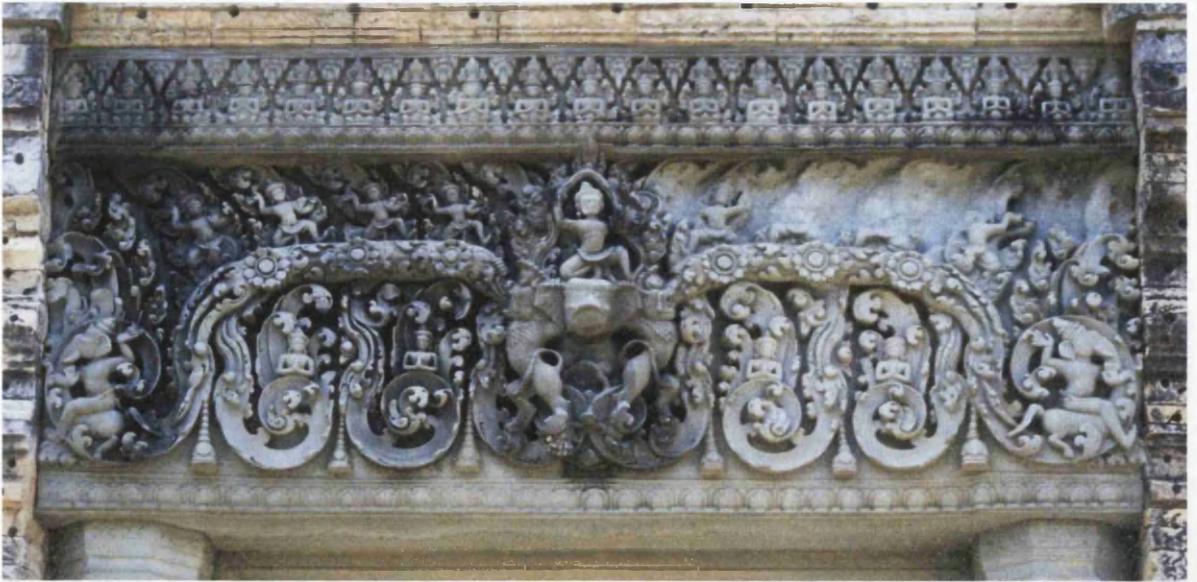
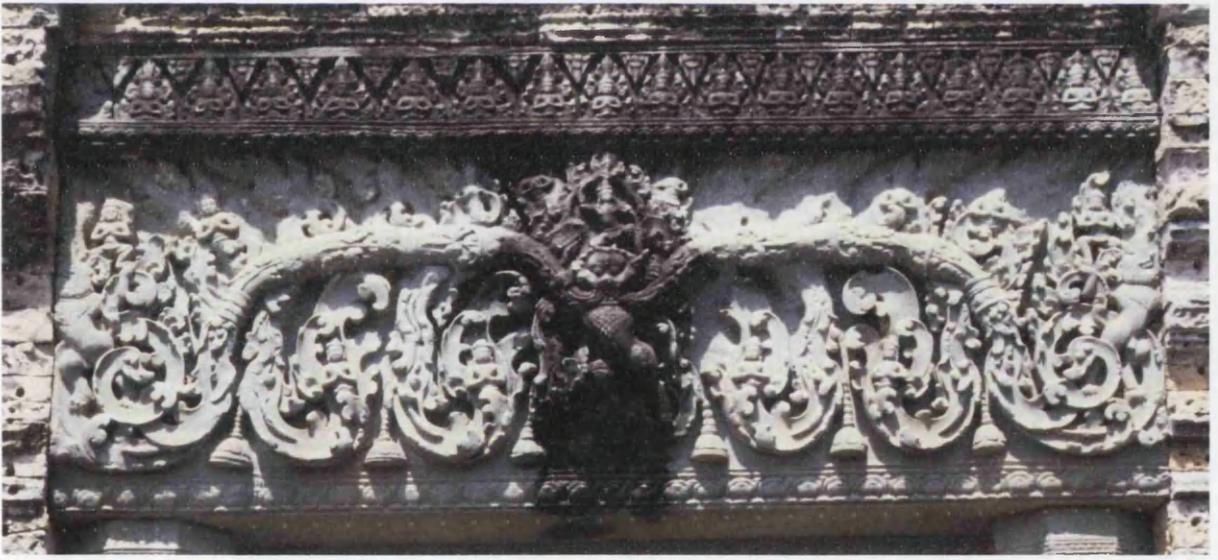


Fig. 2.77: East Mebon – M-NW, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata in between two lions.



b: south lintel: Yāma ? on a lion.



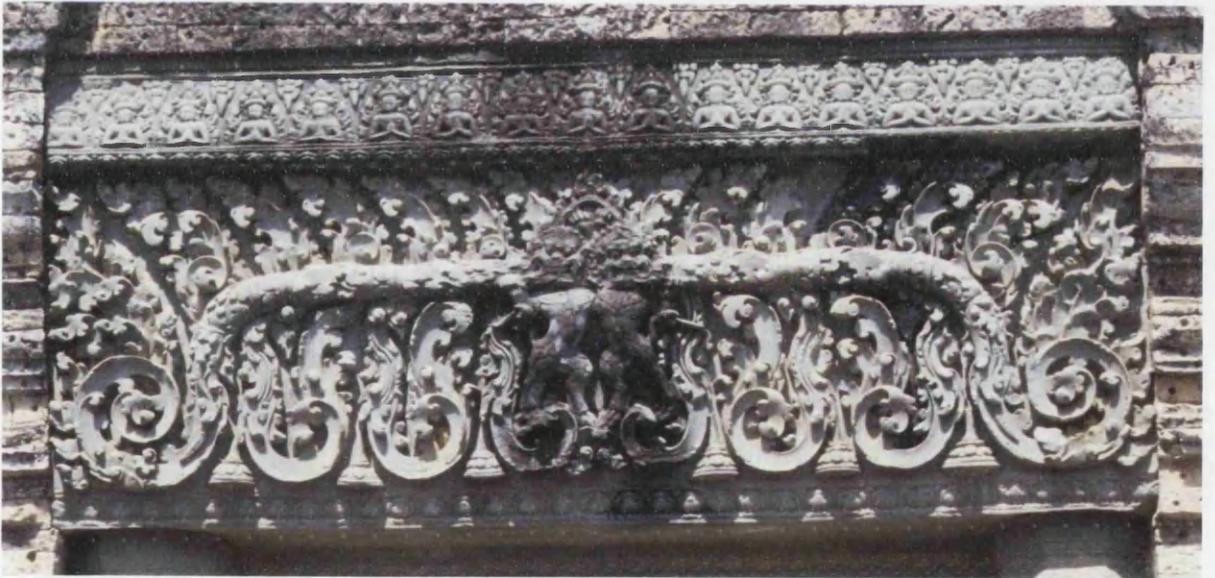
c: west lintel: Varuṇa on *kāla*.



d: north lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.78: East Mebon – M-NE, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on three-headed Airāvata .



b: south lintel: two lions.



c: west lintel: *kinnara*.



d: north lintel: Garuda in between two lions.



Fig. 2.79: East Mebon – pedestal east of M-CS.

This square pedestal was intended for a *linga* as indicated by the octagonal top layer. This was carved to fit around the octagonal middle part of the *linga*.



Fig. 2.80: East Mebon – *nandin*-pedestal in front of M-CS.

Just in front of M-CS are the remains of a *nandin*-pedestal, 2 x 1.2 metres large, and 44 centimetres high. Of the sculpture itself nothing remains. However, it might have been cast in bronze, and been molten and reused in later times.



Fig. 2.81: East Mebon – indentations east of M-CS.  
a: general view of the three indentations from south.



b: close-up west indentation.



c: close-up northeast indentation.



d: close-up southeast indentation.



Fig. 2.82. Pre Rup – aerial view.

Pre Rup was founded at the centre of King Rājendravarman's capital. The temple consists of two enclosures and a stepped pyramid at the centre. Parallel to the enclosure walls were built long halls: eight in the outer and ten in the inner enceinte. On the pyramid seventeen sanctuary towers were founded, twelve on the lowest level, and five at the top, with the central *prasat* being elevated on an additional four metre high platform.



Fig. 2.83: Pre Rup – 2 Gop E from east.

The four outer *gopuras* have a cruciform groundplan with three entrances. The main entry has sandstone vestibules added at the main axis, and two side chambers with outwards facing windows. The side entrances, which are separate from the main entry, are mere passageways without large interior space.

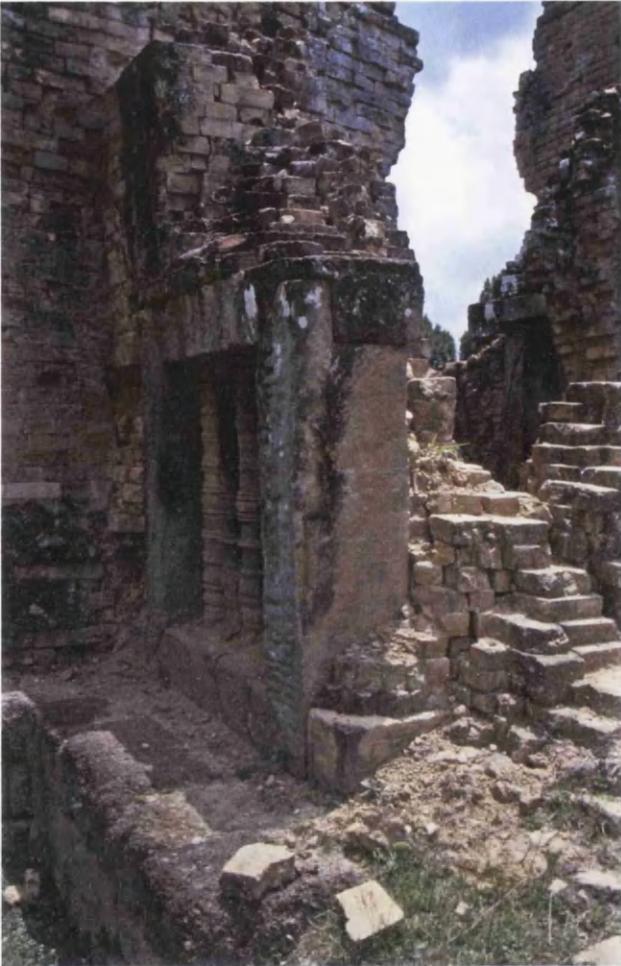


Fig. 2.84: Pre Rup – 2 Gop S – false east window.

Unlike 2 Gop E the other three outer *gopuras* have false windows in the side chambers of their main passageway.

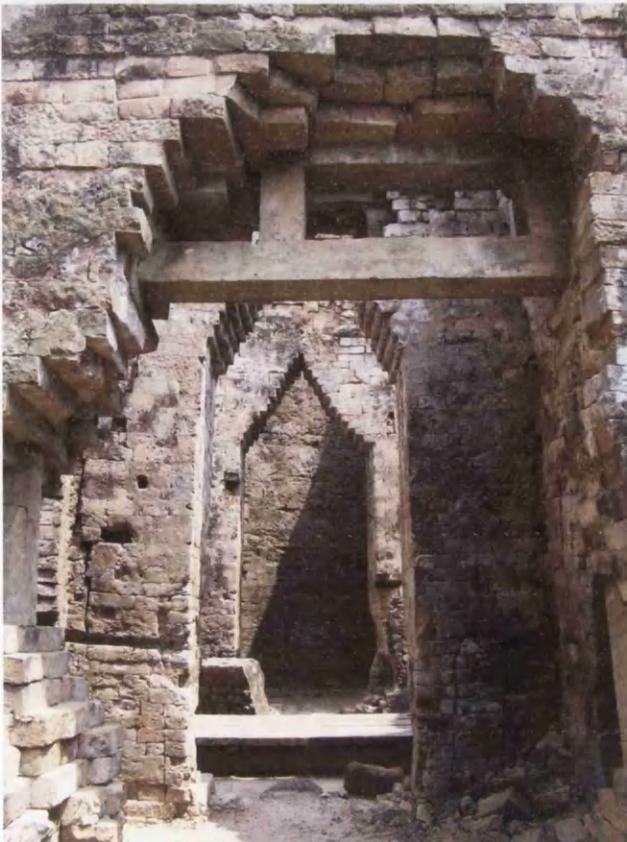


Fig. 2.85: Pre Rup – 2 Gop E, inside main passageway.

Next to the main passageway all outer *gopuras* have side chambers. This space might have been used for cleansing rituals the devotees had to undergo on their way into the temple. Moreover, images of guardian deities might have been placed here as well, although no physical evidence remains to support this assumption. This image shows the interior of 2 Gop E, from the south passageway through the damaged wall into the south side chamber, the main passage, and the north side chamber.



Fig. 2.86: Pre Rup – 2 Gop E, lintels.  
a: outer east lintel: Indra above foliage scrolls.



b: inner east lintel: *kāla*?



c: outer west lintel: Varuṇa on *haṃsa*.



d: inner west lintel: Varuṇa on a *kāla*.



Fig. 2.87: Pre Rup – 2 Gop S, lintels.

a: outer south lintel: deity (?) on *kāla*.



b: inner north lintel: lying on its face.



c: outer north lintel: broken at centre, the central motif possibly depicts Kubera.



Fig. 2.88: Pre Rup – 2 Gop W, lintels.  
a: outer west lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: inner west lintel: devotee on *kāla*.



c: outer east lintel: Indra (?) on *kāla*.



d: inner east lintel: Indra on Airāvata.



Fig. 2.89: Pre Rup – 2 Gop N, lintels.  
a: outer north lintel: Kubera.



b: inner north lintel: *kāla*.



c: outer south lintel: *kāla*?



d: inner south lintel: *kāla*?



Fig. 2.90: Pre Rup – PR-a from southwest.



Fig. 2.91: Pre Rup – PR-b from southeast.



Fig. 2.92: Pre Rup – PR-c from southeast.



Fig. 2.93: Pre Rup – PR-f from northeast.



Fig. 2.94: Pre Rup – PR-g from north.



Fig. 2.95: Pre Rup – PR-h from north.



Fig. 2.96: Pre Rup – PR-d from northwest.



Fig. 2.97: Pre Rup – PR-e from west.



Fig. 2.98: Pre Rup – top layers of PR-e and PR-E.

Contrary to all other halls at Pre Rup, the top layer of the walls of PR-d and e was made from sandstone not laterite. Nevertheless, the technique used to construct the roof on top of this layer was the same at both types of halls.

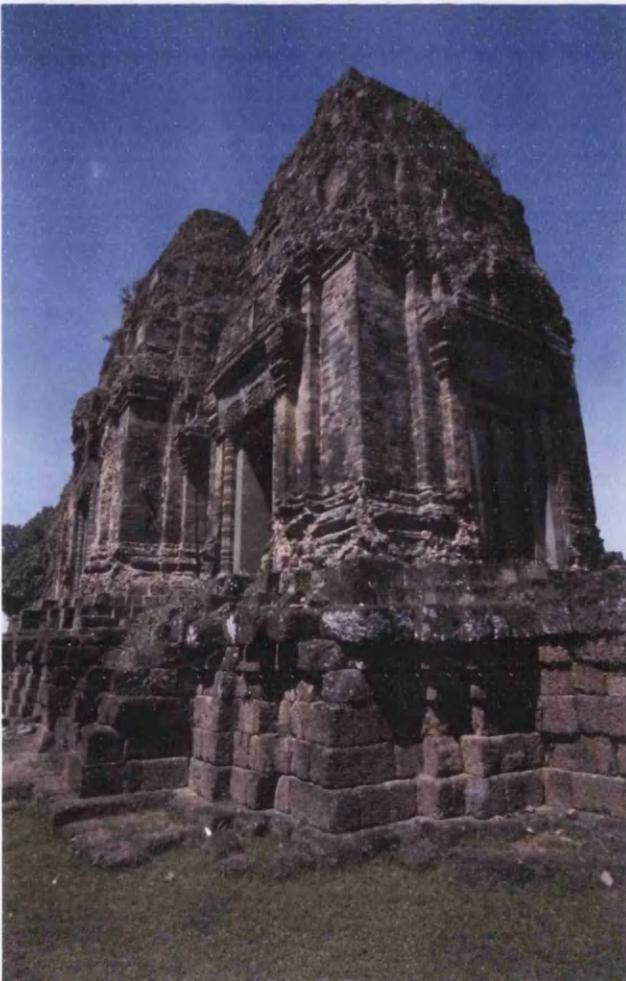


Fig. 2.99: Pre Rup – PR-III to V from north.

View towards the three southern *prasats* from 2 Gop E. The two groups of large brick towers stand on a common platform of six layers of laterite. Each tower has an additional base of sandstone.



Fig. 2.100: Pre Rup – PR-I, lintel: Vajimukha?



Fig. 2.101: Pre Rup – PR-II, lintel: Viṣṇu on Garuda.



Fig. 2.102: Pre Rup – PR-III, lintel: Rāma on Hanuman.



Fig. 2.103: Pre Rup – PR-IV, lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.104: Pre Rup – PR-V, lintel: Narasiṃha slaying Haranyakaśipu.

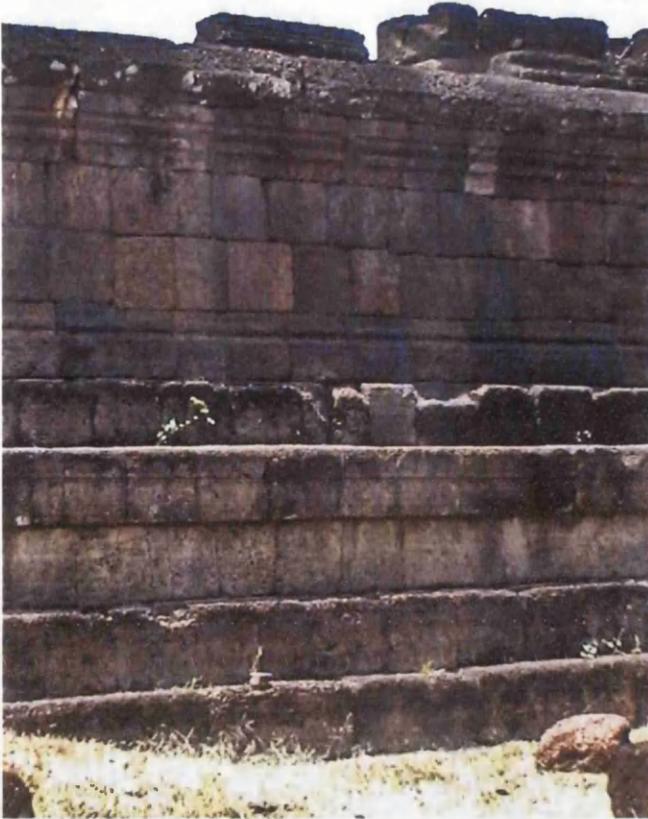


Fig. 2.105: Pre Rup – platform and enclosure wall of the inner enceinte.

The inner enclosure was built on a two metre high laterite platform, and surrounded by a two metre high laterite wall.



Fig. 2.106: Pre Rup – 1 Gop E from west.

This photograph shows clearly the combination of building materials of the inner *gopuras*: a plinth of laterite and one layer of sandstone, and a brick tower on top. The inner *gopuras* are very similar in shape to the sanctuaries. Their decorative elements, i.e. doors, lintels, and columns were done in carved sandstone.



Fig. 2.107: Pre Rup – 1 Gop N from north.  
The side passageways of 1 Gop E and W were replaced by windows at the inner north and south *gopuras*.



Fig. 2.108: Pre Rup – 1 Gop E, sandstone vestibule.  
At 1 Gop E and W were added sandstone vestibules at the outside of the main entrance. These vestibules are not finished, as they only show very limited decorative carving.



Fig. 2.109: Pre Rup – 1 Gop E, lintels.  
a: outer east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: inner east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



c: west lintel: Varuṇa on *haṃsa*.



d: south lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.110: Pre Rup – 1 Gop S, lintels.  
a: south lintel: deity on *kāla*.



b: north lintel: deity on *kāla*.



Fig. 2.111: Pre Rup – 1 Gop W, lintels.  
a: outer west lintel: *kāla*?



b: inner west lintel: Varuṇa on *haṃsa*.



c: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



d: north lintel: Varuṇa? on *kāla*.



e: south lintel: Varuṇa? on *kāla*.



Fig. 2.112: Pre Rup – 1 Gop N, lintels.  
a: north lintel: Trivikrama?



b: south lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.113: lintel of Muang Khaek depicting Trivikrama.

This lintel of Muang Khaek, done in the Koh Ker style, depicts Trivikrama. The stance of Viṣṇu in the Pre Rup lintel is very similar, although the carving is somewhat less elaborate than this one. However, the Pre Rup lintel is badly weathered and overgrown with lichens, so that the carving can no longer be seen properly. (Freeman, 1998:36).



Fig. 2.114: Pre Rup – PR-A from north.



Fig. 2.115: Pre Rup – PR-B from northwest.



Fig. 2.116: Pre Rup – PR-C from northeast.

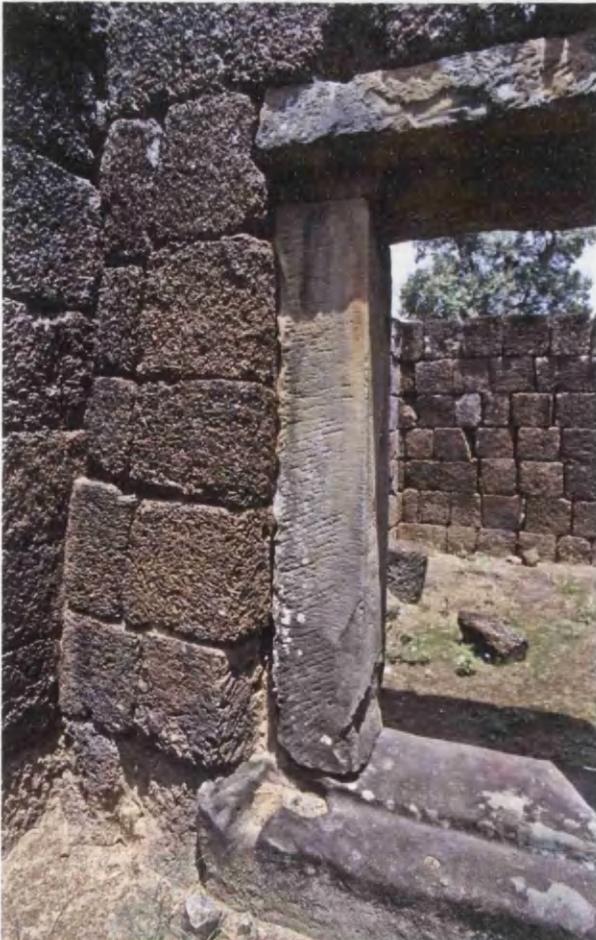


Fig. 2.117: Pre Rup – PR-C, doorframe of north door from inside.

The sandstone frame of the doors was not carved at the inside, only the outside. At the bottom the hole for receiving the wooden door leaf can be seen clearly. Because of these doors the buildings provided sheltered and secure storage space.



Fig. 2.118: Pre Rup – PR-D from northeast.



Fig. 2.119: Pre Rup – PR-E from southeast.

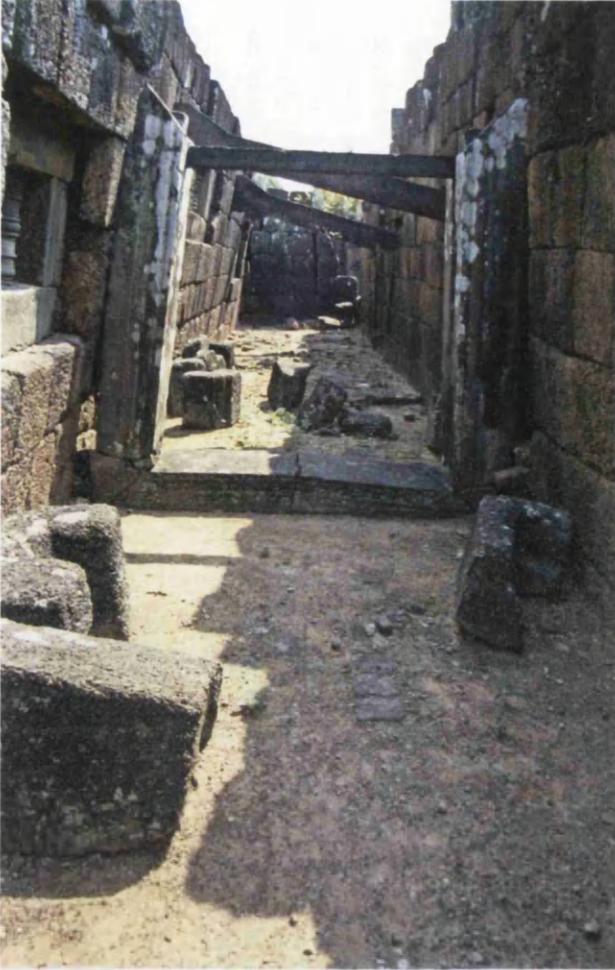


Fig. 2.120: Pre Rup – PR-D, inside.

The floor of PR-D was made of brick, laid on top of the laterite foundation. The internal division of the halls into one main and two side chambers was through open sandstone portals.



Fig. 2.121: Pre Rup – PR-F from southeast.



Fig. 2.122: Pre Rup – PR-G from south.



Fig. 2.123: Pre Rup – PR-H from southwest.



Fig. 2.124: Pre Rup – PR-I from southwest.

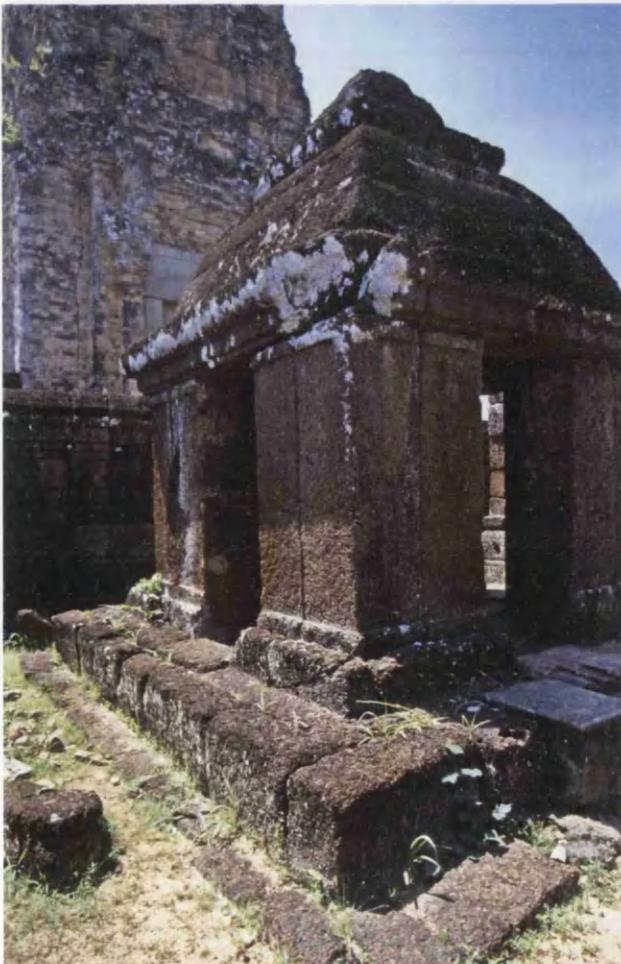


Fig. 2.125: Pre Rup – PR-I from northwest.  
To enable access the building has steps at its south and west sides, but none in the north next to the enclosure wall.



Fig. 2.126: Pre Rup – PR-K from south.



Fig. 2.127: Pre Rup – PR-N from north.

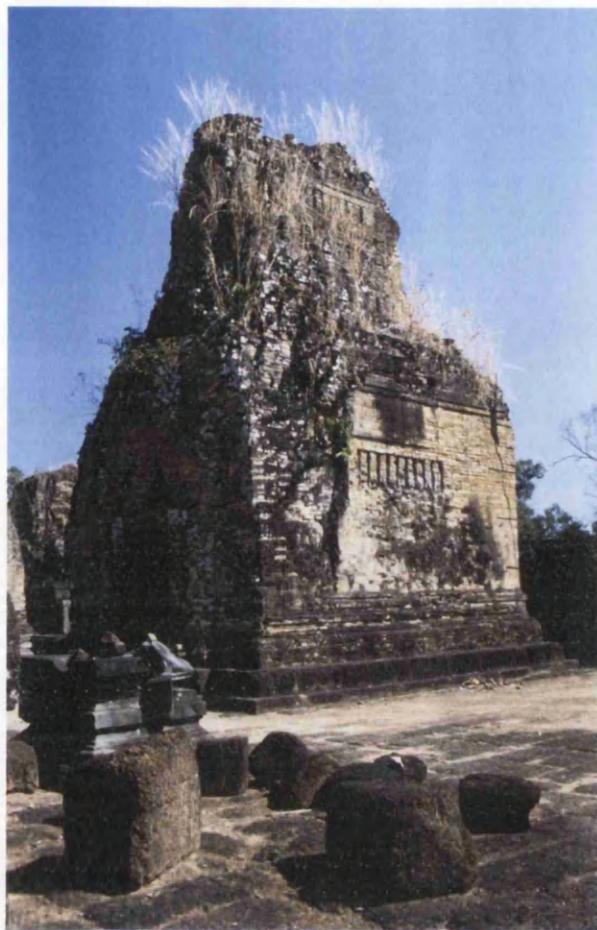


Fig. 2.128: Pre Rup – PR-S from south.



Fig. 2.129: Pre Rup – PR-N, close-up of the three rows of holes.

On their north and south sides both PR-N and S have three rows of holes in their walls and superstructure, which might be an indication that the buildings housed the sacred fire.



Fig. 2.130: Pre Rup – PR-N, sandstone block inside.  
Inside PR-N this sandstone block can be found. Possibly it was used to support a carving of the nine *devas*.



Fig. 2.131: Pre Rup – PR-N, pedestal inside.



Fig. 2.132: Pre Rup – PR-S, sandstone block inside.  
Inside PR-S this sandstone block is placed parallel to the western wall. On top of it was found a sandstone block carved with seven *r̥sis*.



Fig. 2.133: Pre Rup – PR-S, lintel: Varuṇa on three lions.



Fig. 2.134: Pre Rup – *nandin*-base at bottom of east staircase from northwest.



Fig. 2.135: Pre Rup – laterite floor at bottom of northeast corner of pyramid.

At the bottom of the northeast corner of the pyramid an unusual feature can be seen. Forming a rectangle of 1.25 x 3.5 metres the laterite blocks of the floor are not laid parallel to the halls, but diagonally to the rest of the floor.

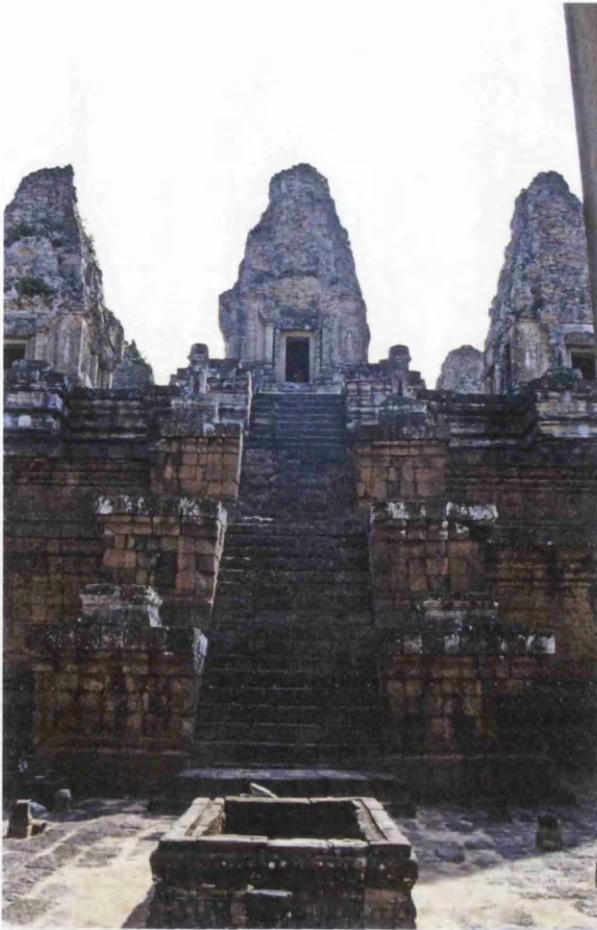


Fig. 2.136: Pre Rup – pyramid with quincunx of towers from east, with *nandin*-base in foreground.



Fig. 2.137: Pre Rup – PR-1 from east.



Fig. 2.138: Pre Rup – PR-8  
from east.



Fig. 2.139: Pre Rup – PR-1, lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.140: Pre Rup – PR-2, lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.141: Pre Rup – PR-11, lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.142: Pre Rup – PR-12, lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



Fig. 2.143: Pre Rup – PR-4, lintel: *kāla*.



Fig. 2.144: Pre Rup – PR-5, lintel: *kāla*.



Fig. 2.145: Pre Rup – PR-6, lintel: *kāla*.



Fig. 2.146: Pre Rup – PR-7, lintel: *kāla*.



Fig. 2.147: Pre Rup – PR-8, lintel: *kāla*.



Fig. 2.148: Pre Rup – PR-10, lintel: *kāla*.

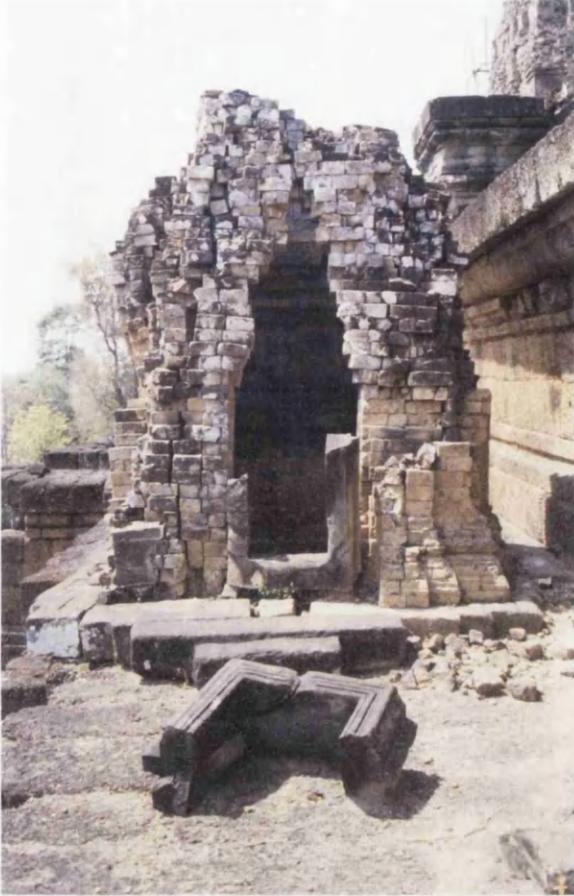


Fig. 2.149: Pre Rup – PR-3  
from east.

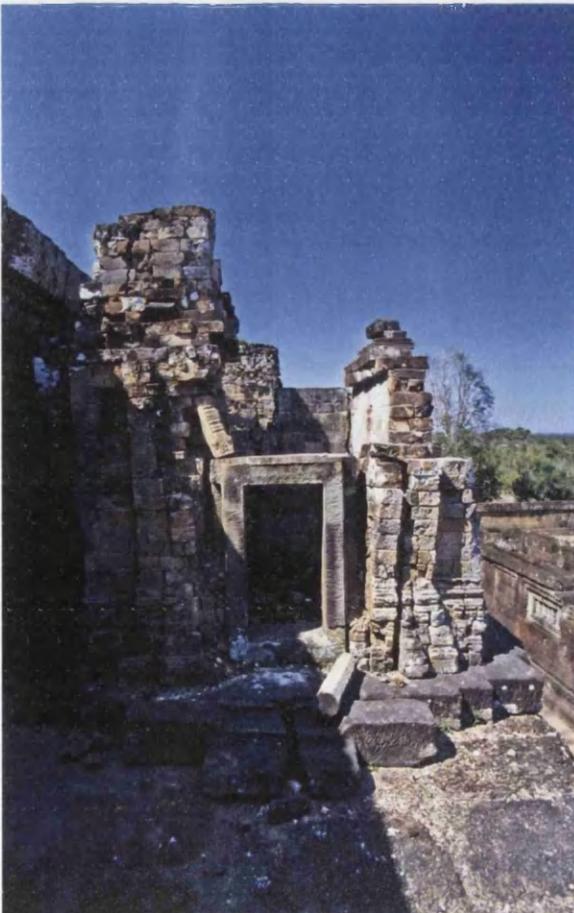


Fig. 2.150: Pre Rup – PR-9  
from east.



Fig. 2.151: Pre Rup – PR-3, lintel: *kāla*.  
This lintel is now kept in the Conservation d'Angkor in Siem Reap.



Fig. 2.152: Pre Rup – quincunx of *prasats* on top of the pyramid from east.



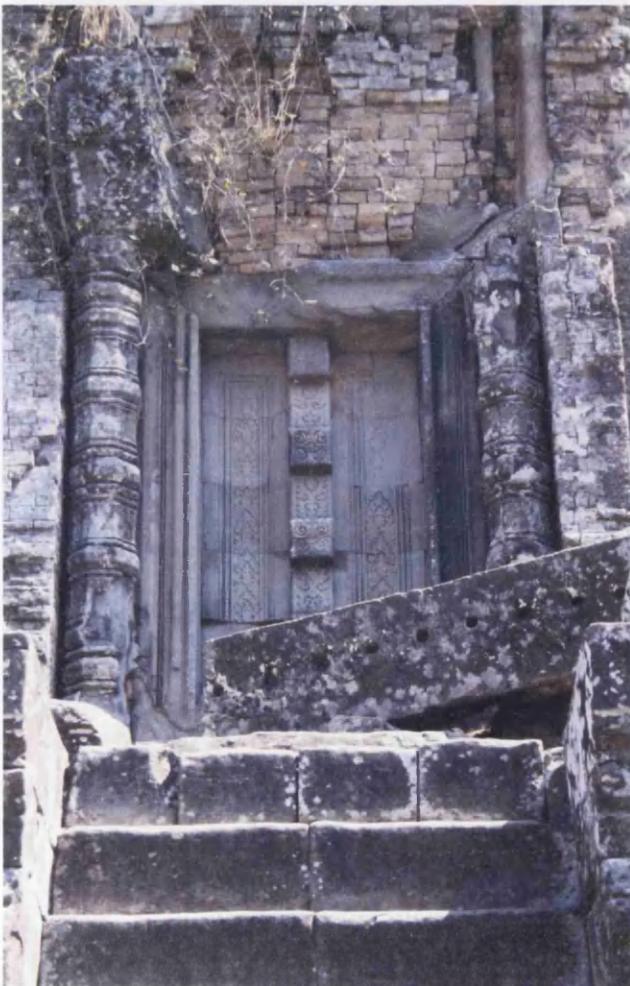
Fig. 2.153: Pre Rup – PR-CS, lintels.  
a: east lintel: badly weathered, so the central motif is no longer discernible.



b: south lintel: badly weathered, before it collapsed.



c: south lintel: after it fell down, causing substantial damage to the *prasaṭ* and the base on which it stands.



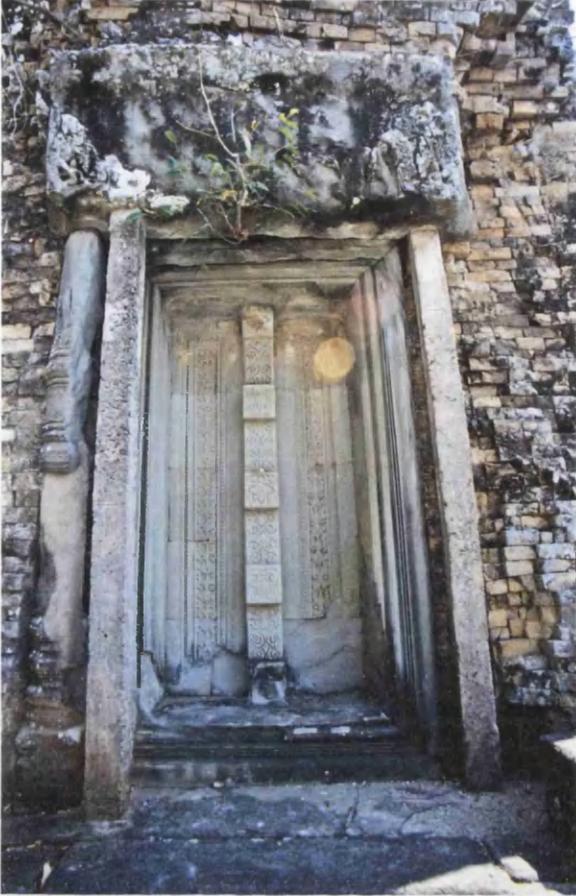
d: west lintel: this lintel is upside down at the bottom of the door.



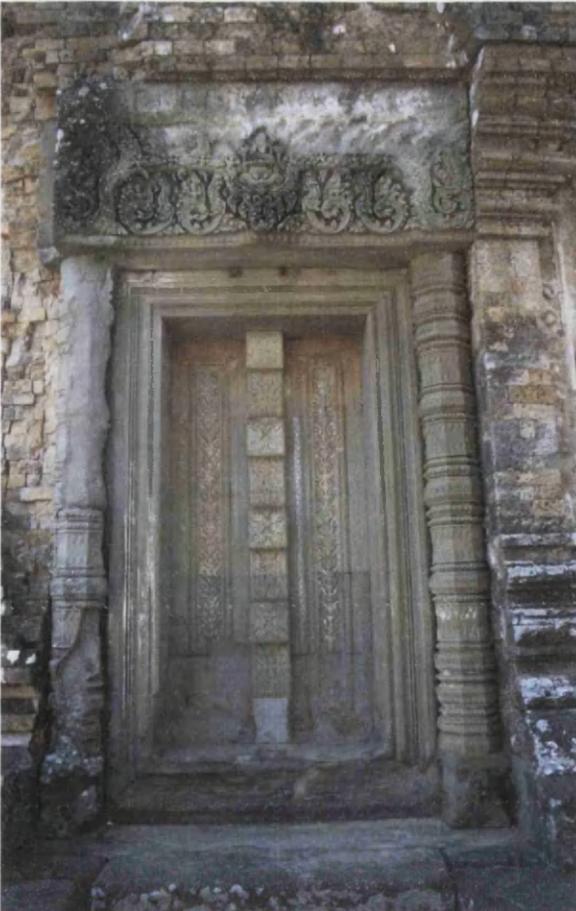
e: north lintel: Indra on Airāvata.



Fig. 2.154: Pre Rup – PR-SE, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: south lintel: badly weathered.



c: west lintel: badly weathered.



d: north lintel: Kubera on a *kāla*.



Fig. 2.155: Pre Rup – PR-SW, lintels.  
a: east lintel: badly weathered.



b: south lintel: Yāma on a three-headed bull, below are three lions.



c: west lintel: badly weathered.



d: north lintel: badly weathered.



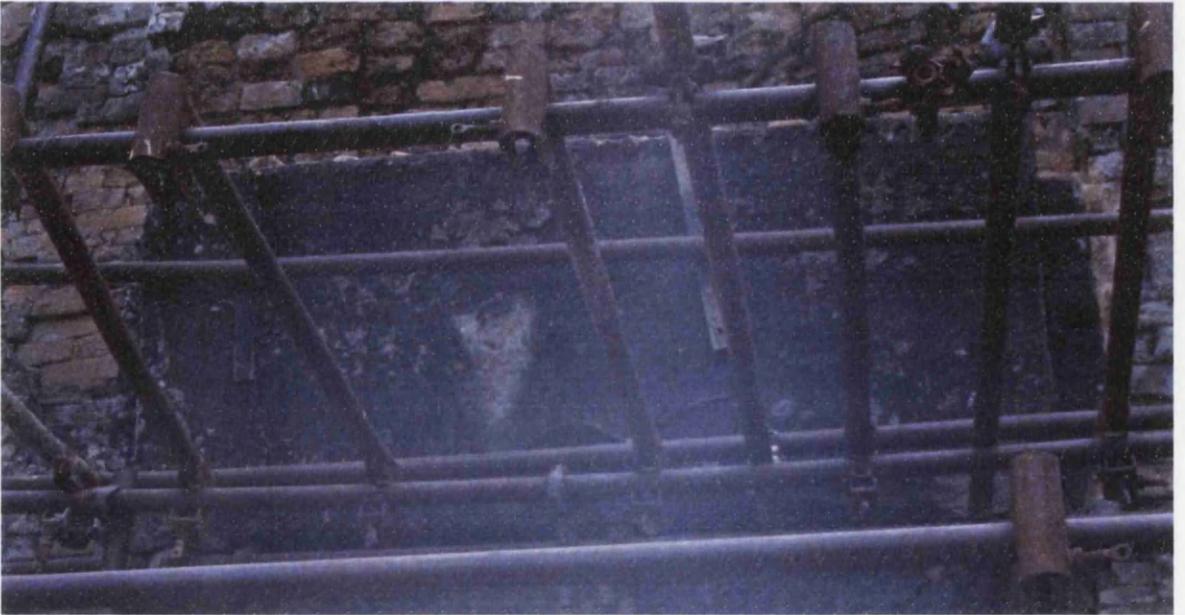
Fig. 2.156: Pre Rup – PR-NW, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: west lintel: the central motif is damaged, but it probably depicted a deity on a *kāla*.



Fig. 2.157: Pre Rup – PR-NE, lintels.  
a: east lintel: Indra on Airāvata .



b: south lintel: badly weathered.



c: west lintel: badly weathered.

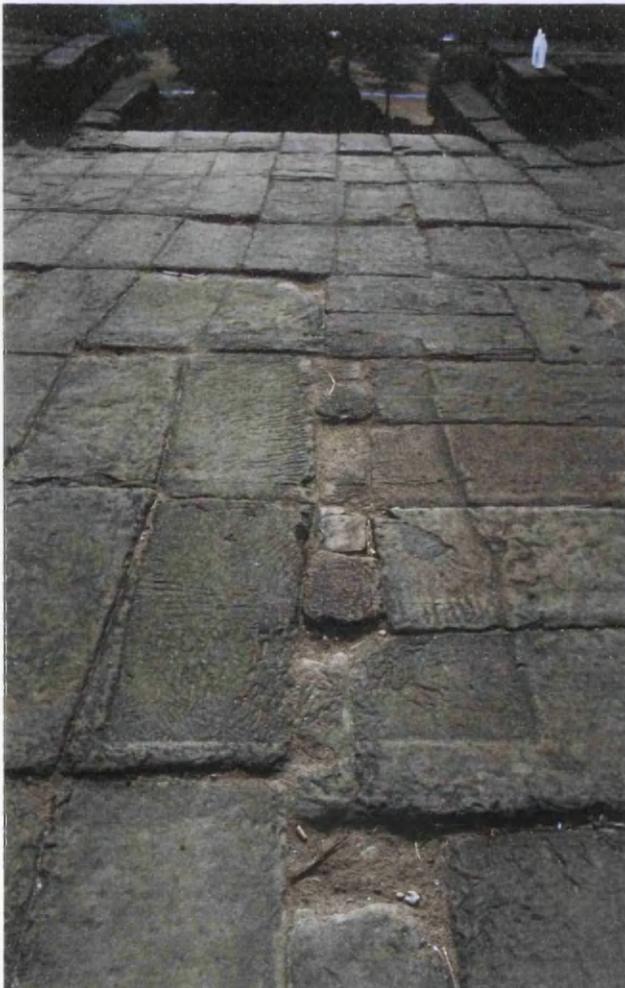


d: north lintel: Garuda?



Fig. 2.158: Pre Rup – indentation for *nandin*-base in front of PR-CS.

a: the indentation, measuring 1.83 x 0.9, is located at the bottom of the steps leading to the central *prasat*.

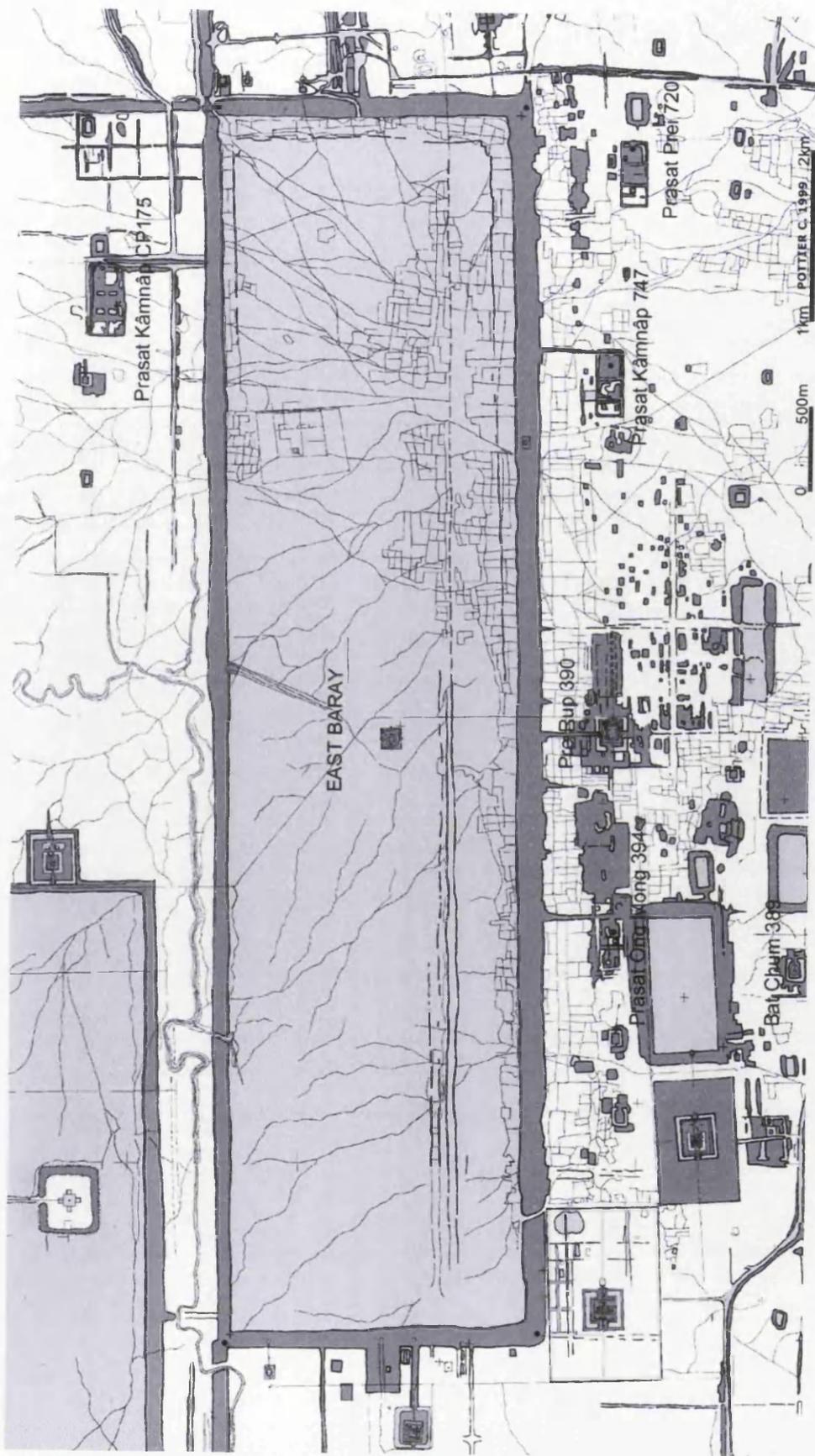


b: close-up; the indentation is only about one centimetre deep, thus not easily visible.

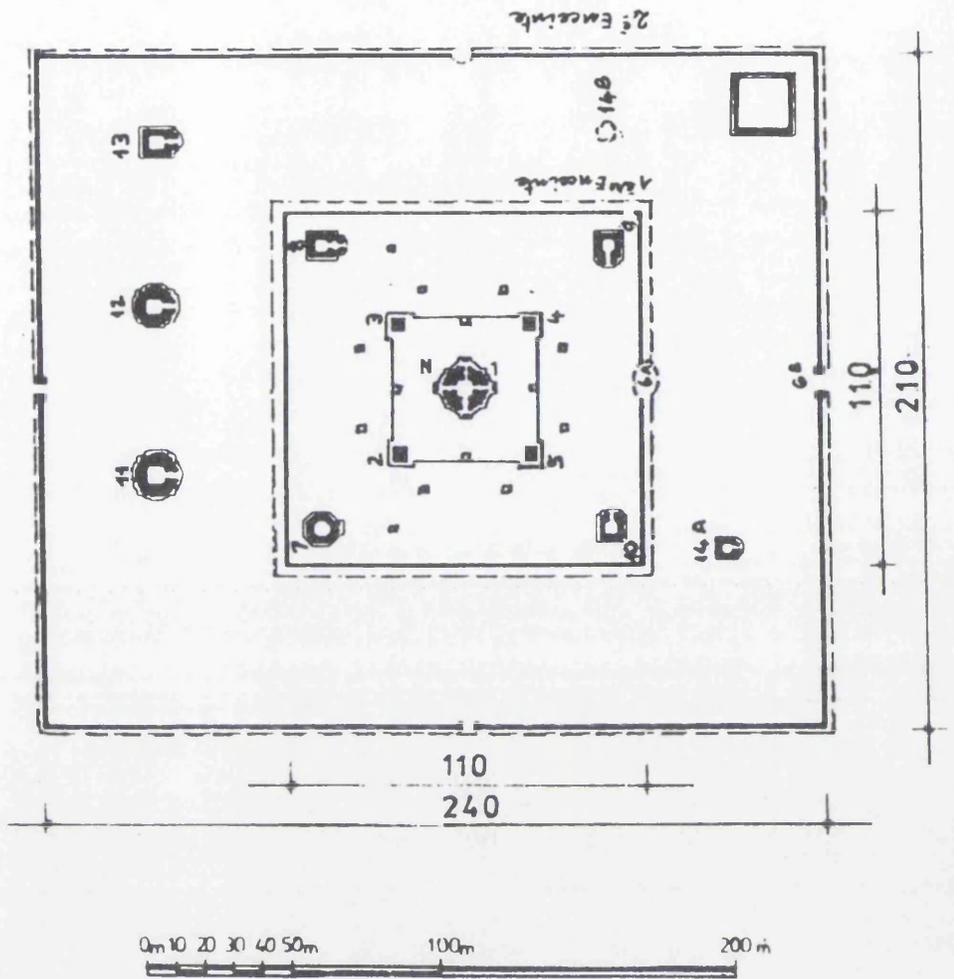


Fig. 2.159: Brhadīśvara Temple, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram – two *nandins* opposite main sanctuary.

At the temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram two statues of *nandin* can be found outside the central sanctuary. The one at the back is one of the largest *nandins*, and made from stone, although not a monolith. The smaller statue in front is bronze. Given that the Brhadīśvara Temple is almost contemporary with the temples of King Rājendravarman, dating from the reign of King Rājendra (1012 – 1044 CE), it is not impossible to assume that at Pre Rup two images of *nandin* were founded as well: one right in front of the main *prasat*, and a second larger image at the bottom of the east stairs.



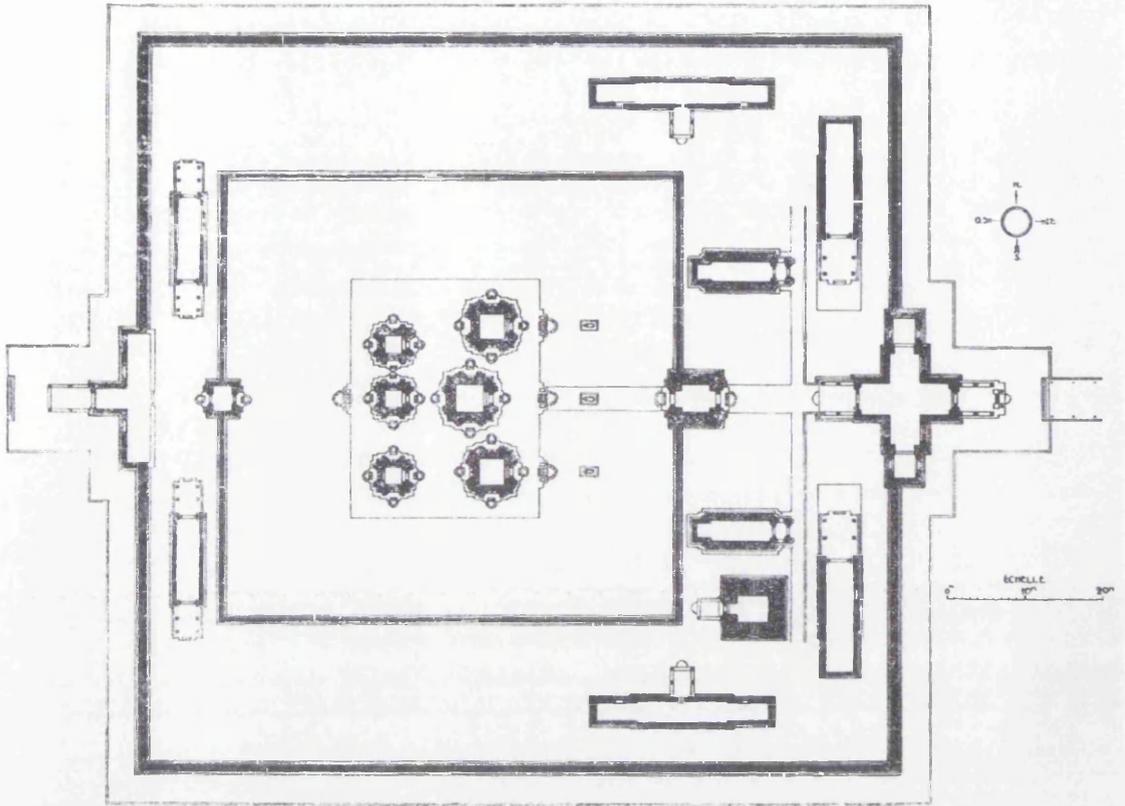
Map 2.2: The alignment of temples parallel to the south dike of the East Baray. The temples of Kutisvara, just north of Banteay Kdei, Prasat Ong Mong, Pre Rup, Prasat Komnap, and Prasat Prei are on one line parallel to the south dike of the East Baray. (Pottier, Ch., 2003, About Yaçovarman's Buddhist açrama in Angkor, *The Buddhist Monastery: A cross-cultural survey*, (ed. by P. Pichard and F. Lagirarde), pp. 199-208. École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, p. 201.)



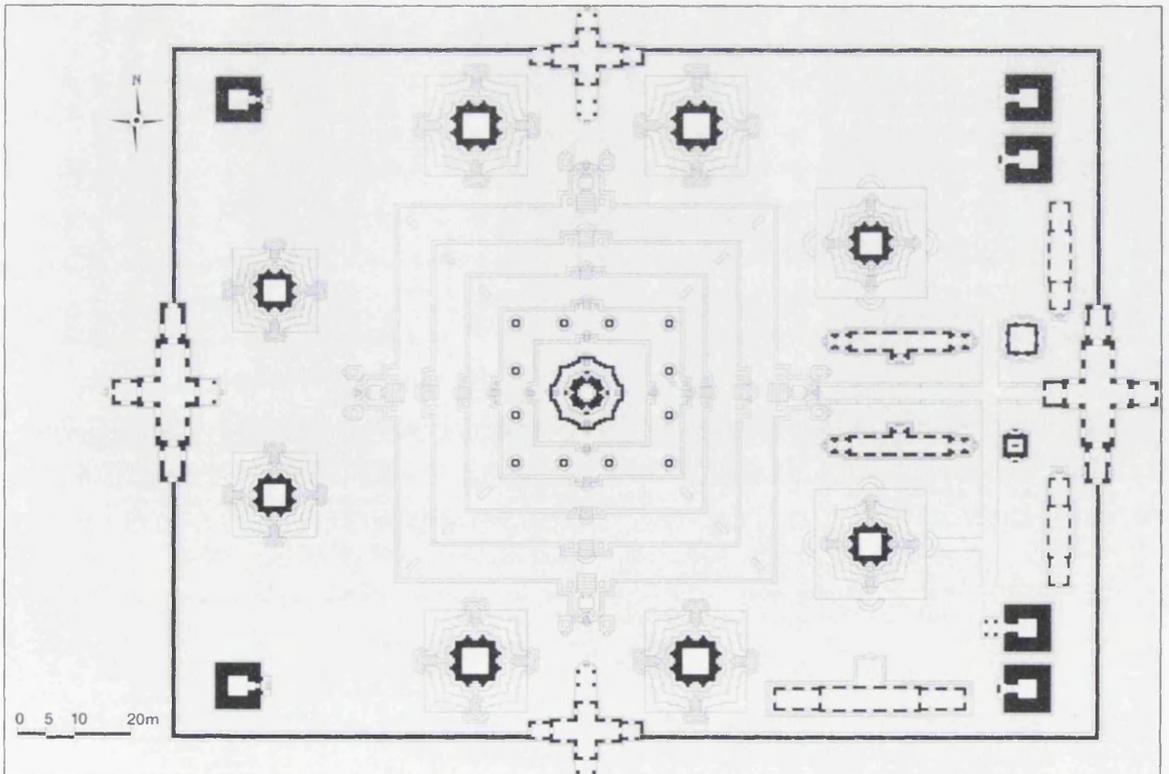
Plan 2.1: Sambor Prei Kuk – plan of North group.

The temples of the North group of Sambor Prei Kuk are located within two enclosure walls. Even though not all of the buildings remain, it appears that they were not necessarily placed or oriented in relation to each other.

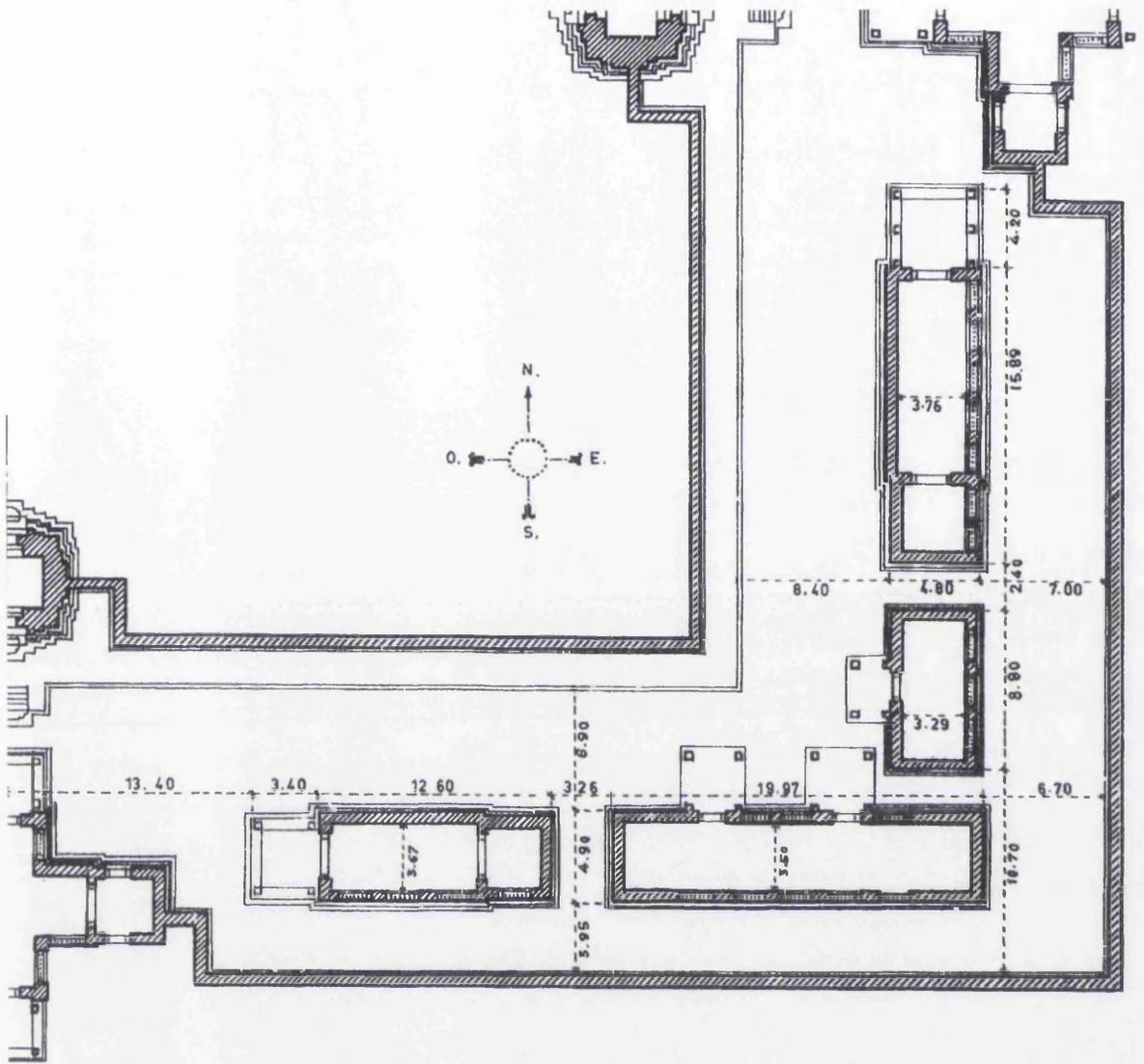
(Tranet, 1997:114.)



Plan 2.2: Preah Ko – groundplan.  
 (Glaize, 1993:plan xxvi, after p. 256.)



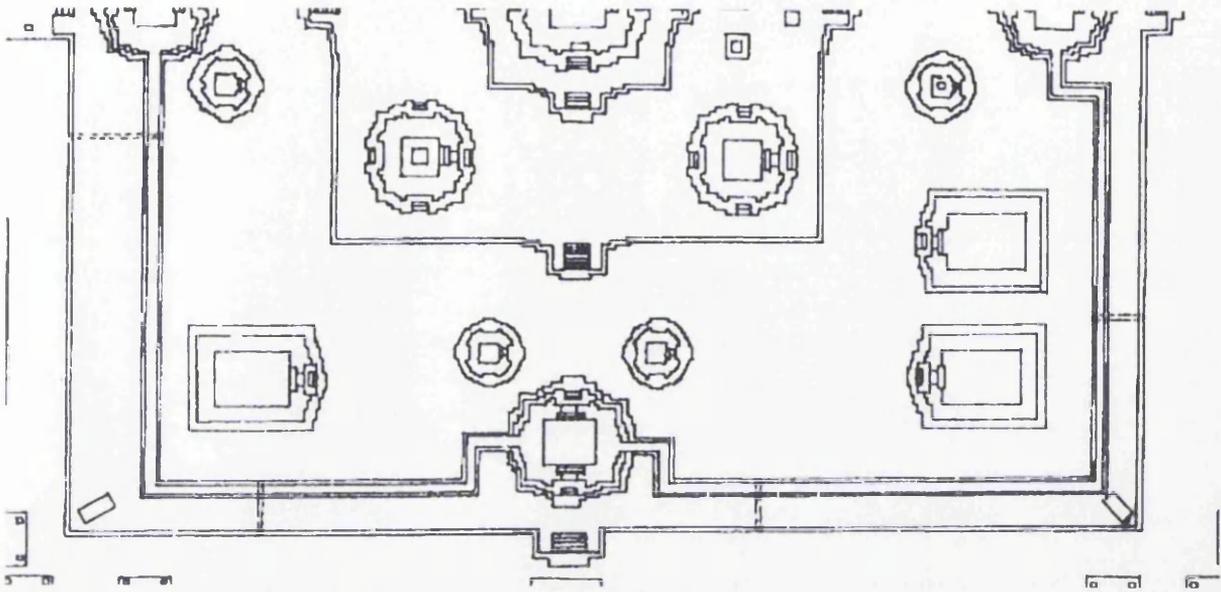
Plan 2.3: Bakong – groundplan.  
 (Jacques/Freeman, 1997:68.)



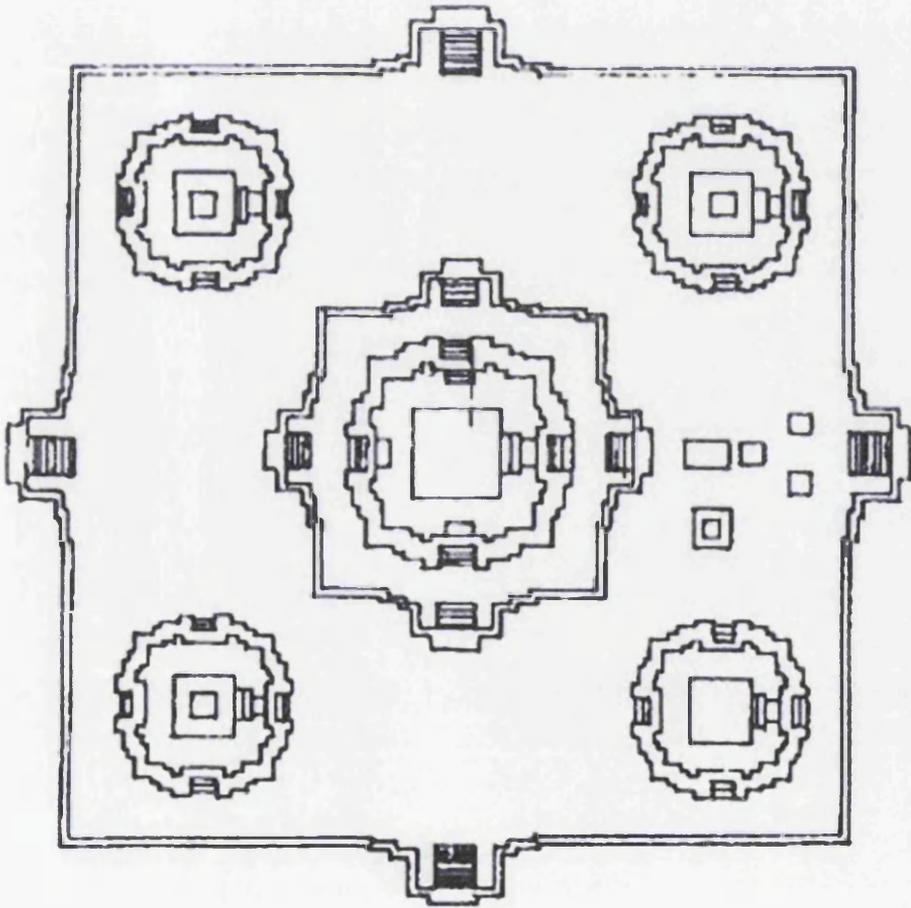
Plan 2.4: East Mebon – southeast corner of outer enclosure.

The halls in the outer enclosure are built very close next to each other, particularly those in the corners, with only very little space in between their vestibules. Only in the east half is the distance between halls and outer enclosure wall significant.

(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2157A.)



Plan 2.5: East Mebon – south half of inner enclosure.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 3108.)

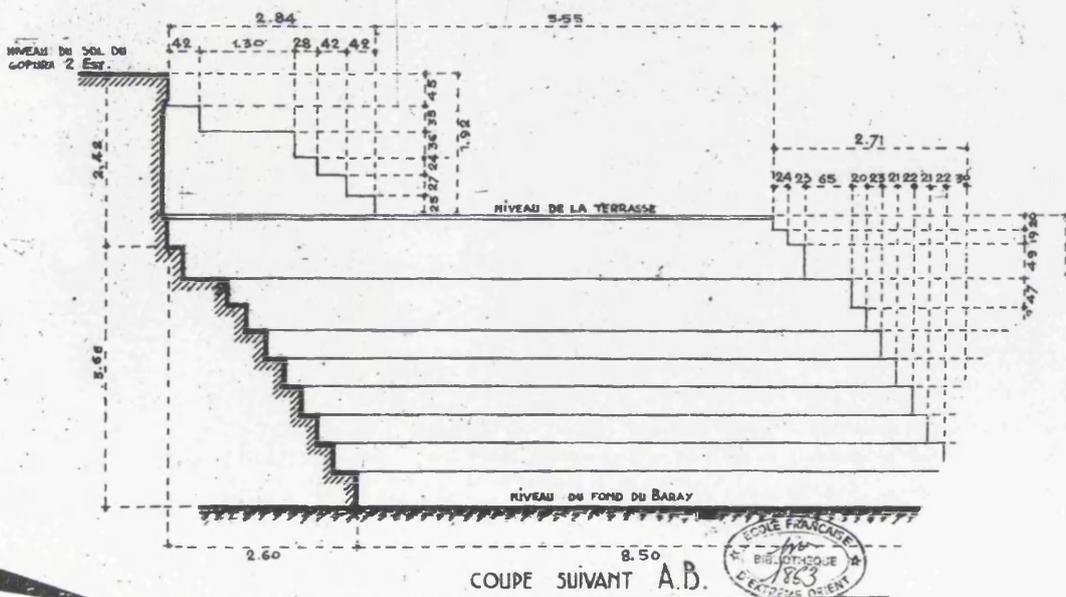
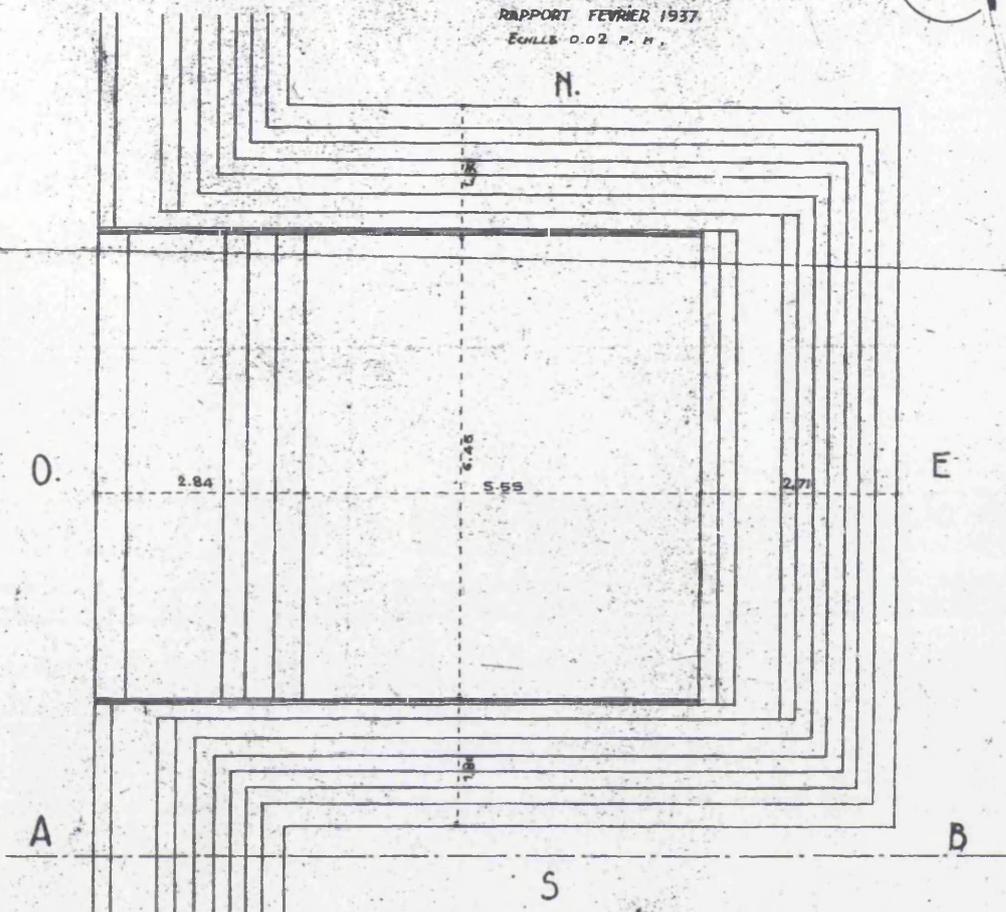


Plan 2.6: East Mebon – central quincunx of *prasats*.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 3108.)

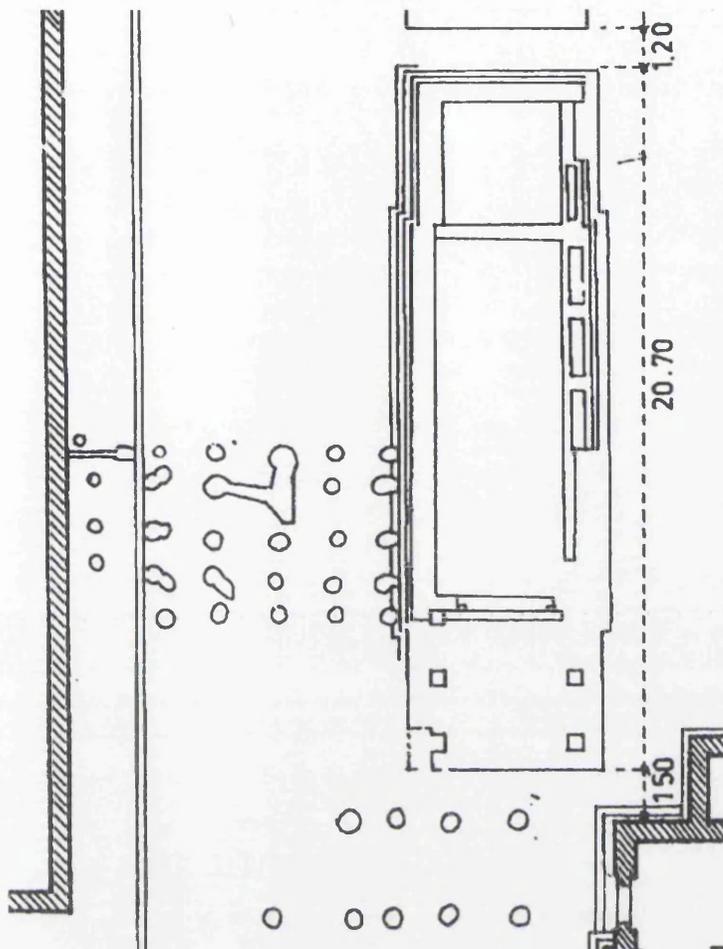
MEBON - ORIENTAL

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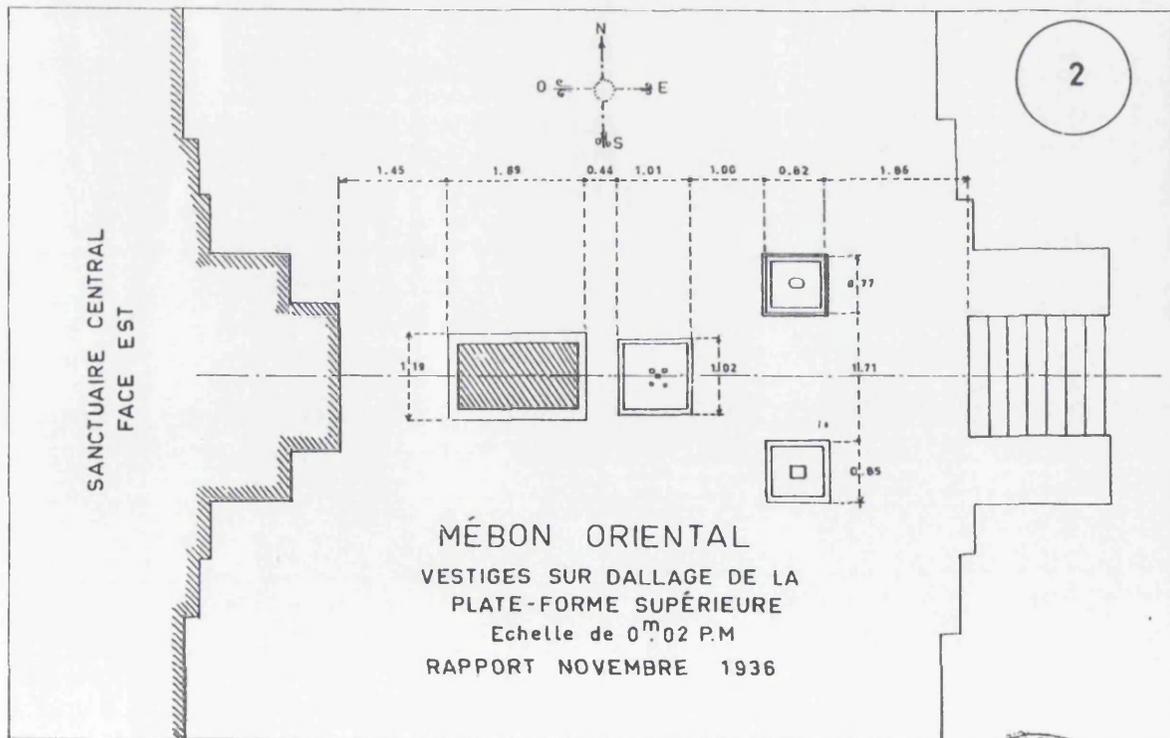
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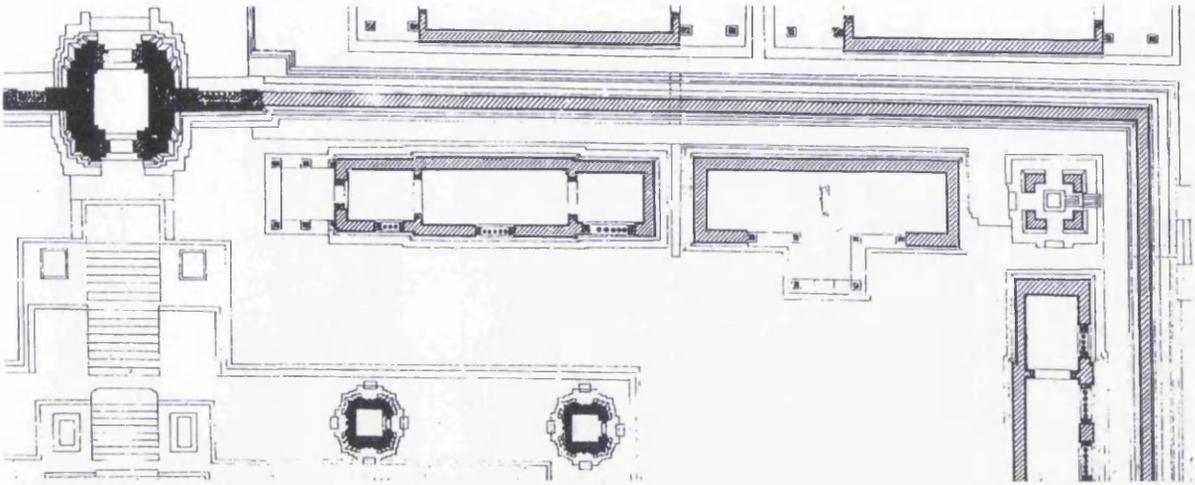
Plan 2.7: East Mebon – east landing stage.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1863.)



Plan 2.8: East Mebon – holes around M-r.  
 In between M-r and the terrace of the inner enclosure, and M-r and 2 Gop E several rows of holes were found, some of which are no longer visible.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2157C.)



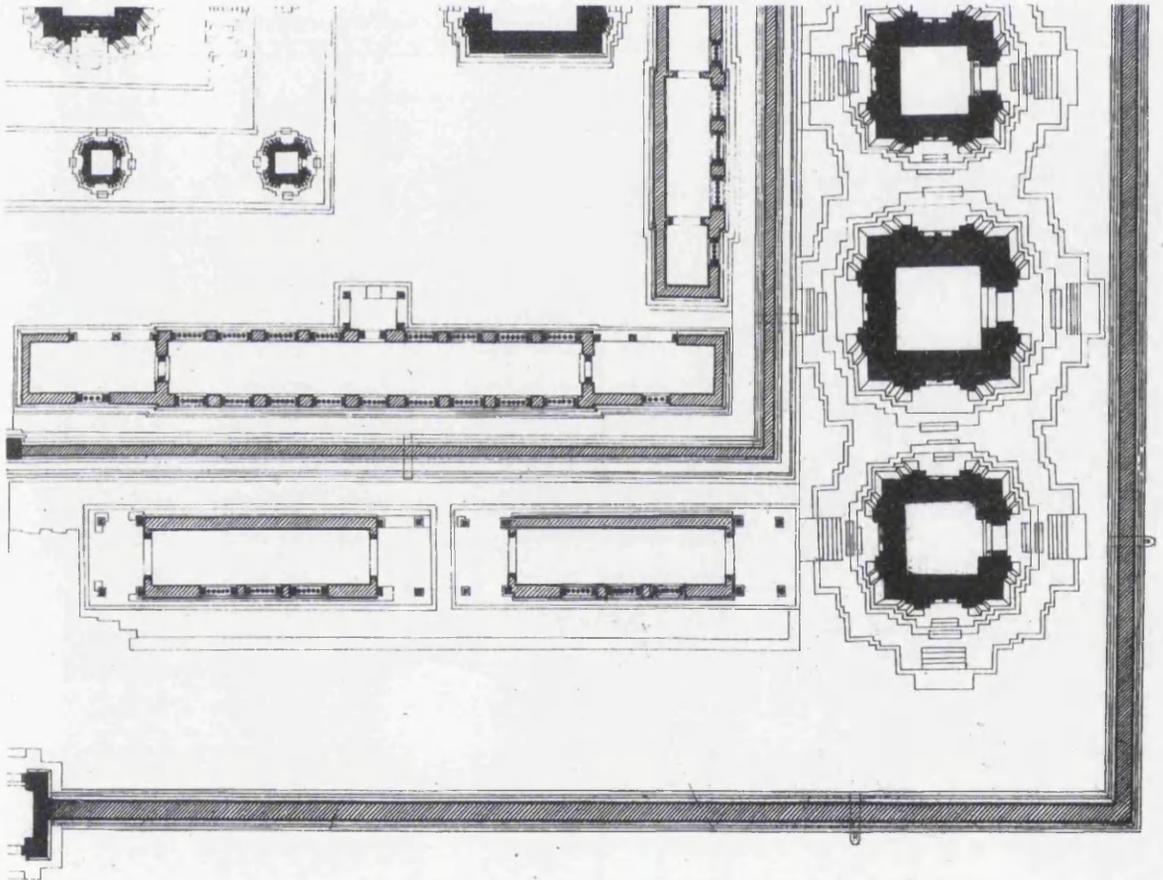
Plan 2.9: East Mebon – indentations in sandstone east of M-CS.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2112.)



Plan 2.10: Pre Rup – southeast corner of outer enceinte.

The halls parallel to the enclosure walls are placed close to it, to ensure maximum space for the enceintes around. The distance between the halls is minimal.

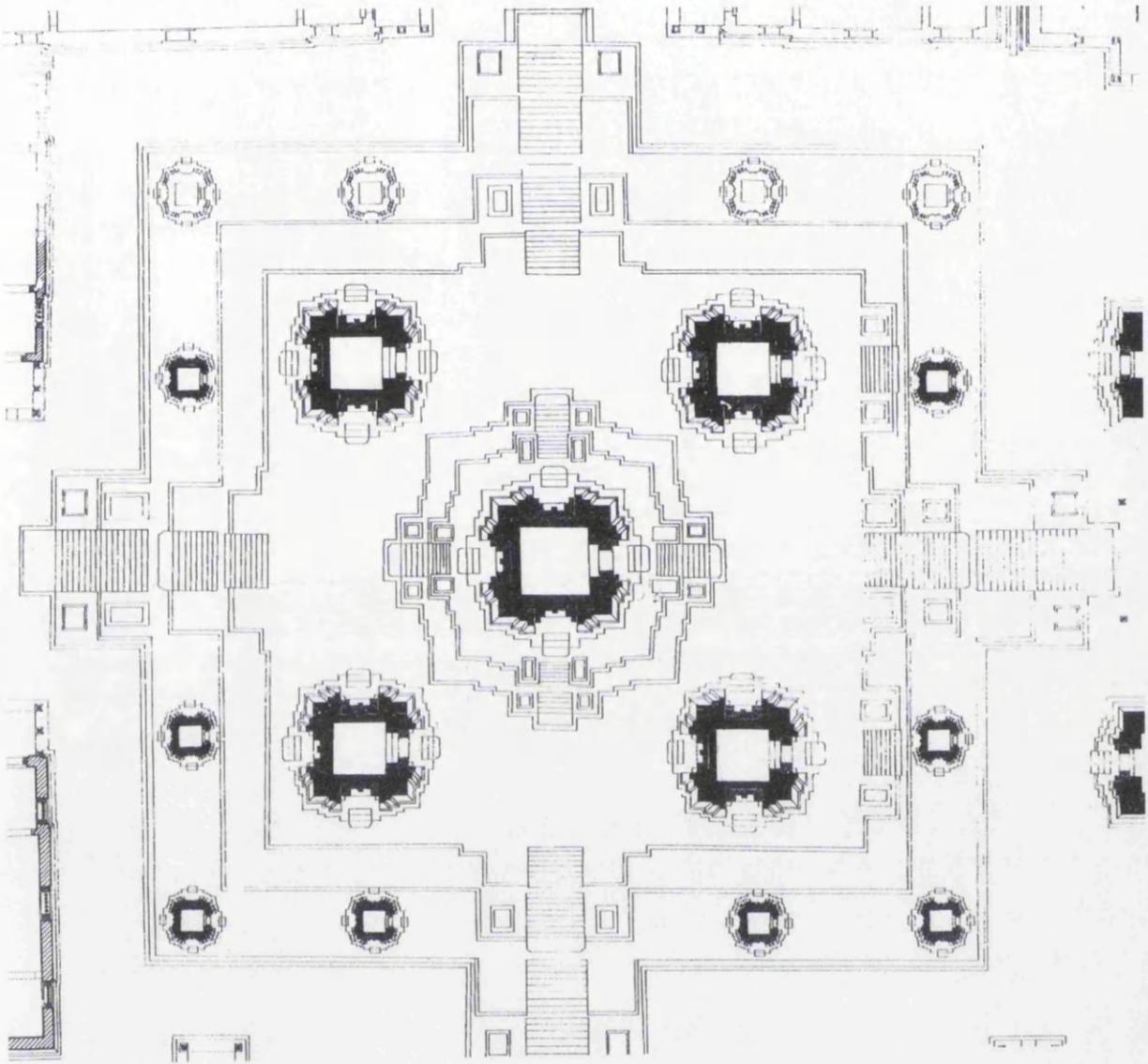
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1377.)



Plan 2.11: Pre Rup – northeast corner of inner enclosure.

In between the halls of the outer enclosure and the outer wall can be found a several metre wide space. Here might have been placed buildings from perishable material.

(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1377.)



Plan 2.12: Pre Rup – pyramid.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1377.)

Table 2.1: East Mebon – lintels of inner enclosure.

Building	East	South	West	North
1 Gop E	Indra on Airavata	<sup>1</sup>	Kṛṣṇa killing Kaliya	
1 Gop S		<i>Badly weathered<sup>2</sup></i>		<i>Kubera (?) on 2 lions</i>
1 Gop W	Narasimha		<i>Varuṇa on kāla</i>	
1 Gop N		Garuda		Garuda
M-A			Varuṇa (?) on <i>kāla</i>	
M-B			<i>Badly weathered</i>	
M-C	Deva on <i>kāla</i>			
M-D	Three lions			
M-E			Gajahlakṣmi	
M-1	Elephant with lion-body			
M-2	Lion			
M-3	Indra on Airavata + 2 lions			
M-4	Indra on 3 – headed Airavata			
M-5	Indra on Airavata + 2 lions			
M-6	Indra on Airavata			
M-7	Indra on Airavata			
M-8	Lion			
CS	Indra on 3 – headed Airavata	Yāma on buffalo	Varuṇa on <i>hamsa</i>	Kubera on lotus-throne
SE	Indra on Airavata + lions?	Yāma on buffalo	Varuṇa on <i>kāla</i> + <i>hamsas</i>	Lion + elephant
SW	Indra on 3 – headed Airavata	Badly weathered	Varuṇa on <i>hamsa</i> + 2 <i>makaras</i> , lion	Kubera (?) on 3 – headed lion
NW	Indra on Airavata + 2 lions	<i>Deva</i> on lion	Varuṇa on <i>kāla</i>	Indra on Airavata
NE	Indra on 3 – headed Airavata	Two lions	Kinnara	Garuda + 2 lions

<sup>1</sup> An empty field indicates that this location did not contain a lintel originally.

<sup>2</sup> Italics indicate that the lintel still exists, but is no longer in situ.

Table 2.2: Pre Rup – lintels of outer enclosure.

Building	East	South	West	North
2 Gop E inside	kāla	<sup>1</sup>	<i>Varuṇa on throne<sup>2</sup></i>	
outside	<i>kāla</i>		<i>Varuṇa on haṃsa</i>	
2 Gop S inside		- <sup>3</sup>		<i>Upside down</i>
outside		-		<i>kāla?</i>
2 Gop W inside	<i>Indra on Airavata</i>		Devotee on <i>kāla</i>	
outside	Indra (?) on <i>kāla</i>		Indra on Airavata	
2 Gop N inside		Damaged		<i>kāla?</i>
outside		<i>kāla?</i>		-
PR-I	Vajimukha?	unfinished	unfinished	unfinished
PR-II	Viṣṇu on Garuda	unfinished	unfinished	unfinished
PR-III	Rāma on Hanuman	unfinished	unfinished	unfinished
PR-IV	Indra on Airavata	unfinished	unfinished	unfinished
PR-V	Narasimha	unfinished	unfinished	unfinished

<sup>1</sup> An empty field indicates that this location did not contain a lintel originally.

<sup>2</sup> Italics indicate that the lintel still exists, but is no longer in situ.

<sup>3</sup> A '-' indicates that the lintel no longer exists.

Table 2.3: Pre Rup – lintels of inner enclosure.

Building	East	South	West	North
1 Gop E inside	Indra on Airavata	<sup>1</sup>	<sup>2</sup>	
outside	<i>Indra on Airavata</i> <sup>3</sup>			
N entr.	<i>Deva on kāla</i>			
S entr.	<i>Indra on Airavata</i>			
1 Gop S		<i>Deva on kāla</i>		<i>Deva on kāla</i>
1 Gop W inside	Indra on Airavata		<i>kāla</i>	
outside			<i>kāla</i>	
N entr.			<i>kāla?</i>	
S entr.			<i>Varuṇa on kāla:</i>	
1 Gop N		Indra on Airavata		Trivikrama?
PR-N			<i>Varuṇa on haṃsa?</i>	
PR-S			<i>Varuṇa on 3 lions</i>	
PR-1	Indra on Airavata			
PR-2	Indra on Airavata			
PR-3	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-4	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-5	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-6	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-7	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-8	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-9	-			
PR-10	<i>kāla</i>			
PR-11	Indra on Airavata			
PR-12	Indra on Airavata			
CS	Weathered	Weathered <sup>4</sup>	<i>Weathered</i>	Indra on Airavata, 2 lions
SE	Indra on Airavata	Weathered	Weathered	Kubera on <i>kāla</i>
SW	Weathered <sup>5</sup>	Three lions	Weathered	Weathered
NW	Indra on 3 – headed Airavata	Weathered	<i>kāla?</i>	Deva on <i>kāla</i>
NE	Indra on Airavata	Weathered	Weathered	Garuda?

<sup>1</sup> An empty field indicates that this location did not contain a lintel originally.

<sup>2</sup> A '-' indicates that the lintel no longer exists.

<sup>3</sup> Italics indicate that the lintel still exists, but is no longer in situ.

<sup>4</sup> This lintel fell down in February 2003, damaging both the sandstone base, but also the brick superstructure (see Fig.).

<sup>5</sup> This lintel caved in on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1933 (Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1932:4), and was put up again by the Italian restoration team in February 2003.

## Chapter 3



Fig. 3.1: Technique of using small drills for deep carvings in 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries.  
a: lintel in Pre Rup style with Indra on his *vāhana* Airavata as central motif, Musée Guimet.  
(Musée Guimet, MG 14911.)



b: detail: holes resulting from carving with drills.

This close-up of the lintel shows the drill-holes resulting from the technique of using small drills to achieve a significant depth of the carvings. This technique is a characteristic of the temples of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, and was lost later on.

(Musée Guimet, MG 14911.)



Fig. 3.2: Koh Ker –  
Prasat Thom.  
a: aerial view from south.



b: from east.



Fig. 3.3: Pre Rup – stupa south of PR-NE.

This stupa had been constructed at an unspecified date for a monk of Wat Bo in Siem Reap. Shortly after this photograph had been taken, the stupa was demolished. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 12960.)



Fig. 3.4: Lolei – towers from east.

The four towers of Lolei are arranged in two pairs, the eastern towers dedicated to male ancestors, and the western towers to their respective wives.

## Chapter 4

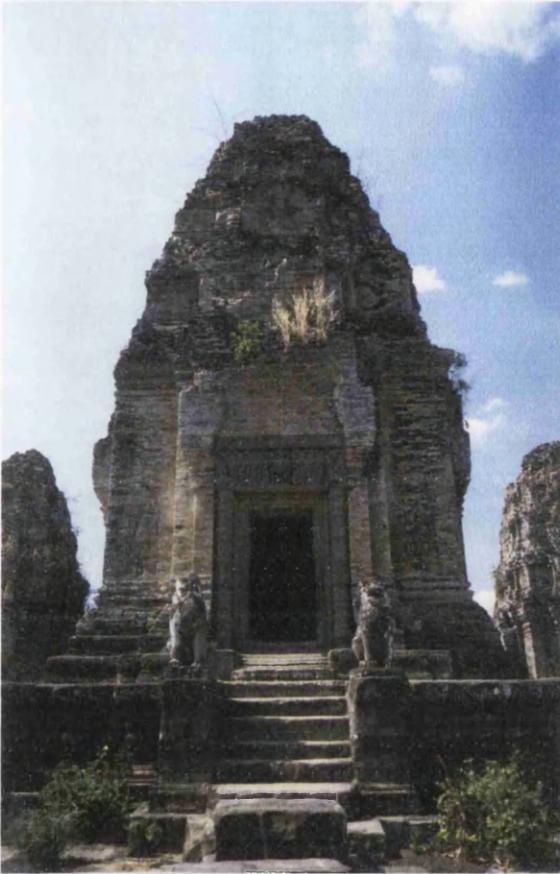


Fig. 4.1: East Mebon – central sanctuary from east.

The stucco with which the towers were covered originally has long disappeared. The decorative motifs were only carved in outline in the brick, so the details can only be guessed at.



Fig. 4.2: Preah Ko – superstructure.

a: central east sanctuary from east.



b: superstructure of southwest tower.  
The superstructure of the *prasats* of Preah Ko is similar to that of the East Mebon. At the centre of the tiers were false doors, covered in stucco, some of which is still visible here.



Fig. 4.3: Lolei – northeast *prasat* from east.

The decorative scheme of the superstructure of Lolei is very similar to Preah Ko and the East Mebon. At the centre of the tiers are again false doors. The interpilaster spaces are decorated with niches, which might have contained faces looking out.



Fig. 4.4: Banteay Srei – decorative scheme of superstructure.  
a: the central *prasats* from west.



b: superstructure of the north tower.  
The four tiers of the superstructure are lavishly carved. At the centre is a false door surmounted by a pediment. The interpilaster spaces are decorated with niches with small guardian figures in them. The corners carried smaller replicas of the sanctuaries, and other antefixes, most of which have disappeared by now.



c: close-up of second tier of the superstructure of the west side of the north sanctuary. The central motif of this pediment is a *kâla* surrounded by foliage. The motif of the lintel of the false door might have been a *kâla* as well, but is is damaged. The small kneeling figures in the niches carved in the interpilaster spaces can be seen clearly.

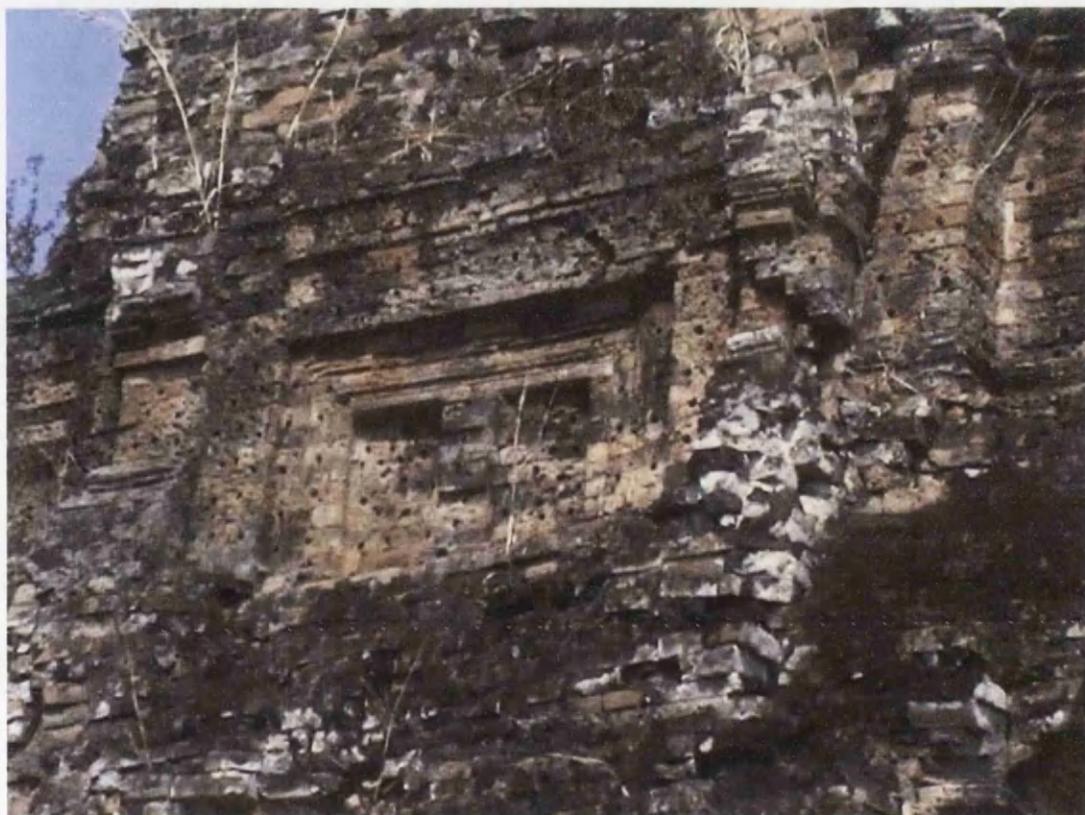


Fig. 4.5: East Mebon – superstructure of M-NE from west. The tiers of the superstructure of the towers of the East Mebon had false doors at their centre, possibly with pediments above, which are badly damaged now. The interpilaster spaces are plain now, but might have been decorated with motifs moulded in plaster and stucco.



Fig. 4.6: East Mebon – M-NE from east.

The walls were decorated with horizontal bands carved in the brick at their top and bottom. Similar bands can be found at the top of the columns carrying the pediments.



Fig. 4.7: East Mebon – *upapīṭha* and *adhīsthāna* of M-SE.

The plinths of all *prasats* consist of two layers of sandstone, the lower one more elaborately carved than the upper one. Here the horizontal bands of the lower part of the brick wall can be seen as well.



Fig. 4.8: East Mebon – platform of M-CS from east.

The central *prasat* is raised on an additional platform set on a plain *upariṭha*. The bands show patterns of lotus petals and buds, and other floral and geometrical motifs.



Fig. 4.9: East Mebon – central platform from east.

The platform of the five central towers is set on one layer of uncarved sandstone, and shows the same overall composition as the platform of the central sanctuary. It might have been carved as well, but this is no longer discernible, possibly due to weathering.

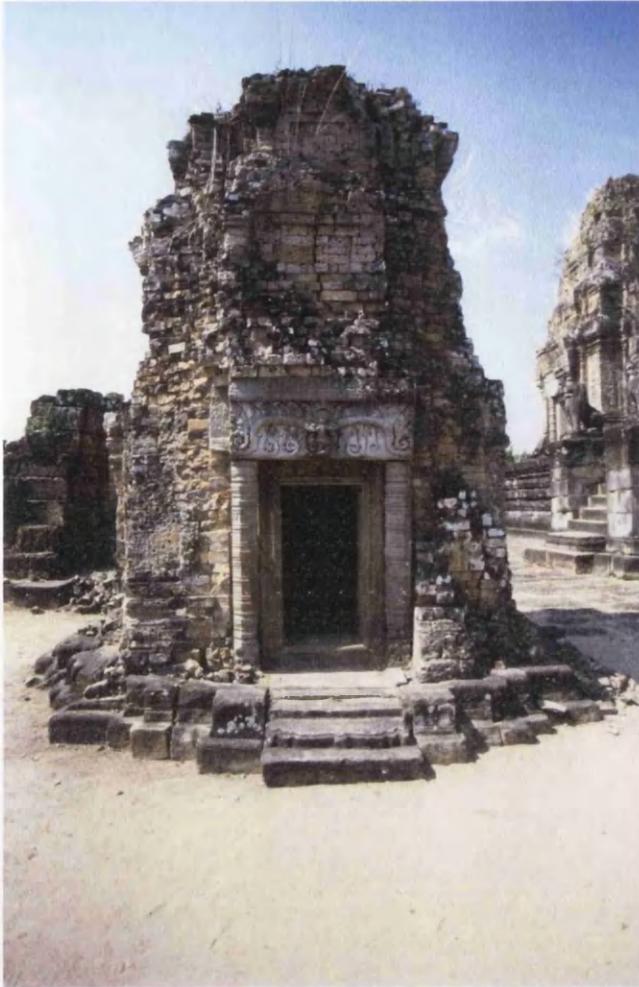


Fig. 4.10: East Mebon – decorative scheme of the small brick towers.

a: M-2 from east.

Because of the bad state of preservation the small brick towers are in at present, their decorative details are no longer visible. However, they might have closely resembled the five central towers.



b: M-1, steps and base of tower.

The *upapitha* of the small *prasats* consist of only one layer of sandstone, which is carved to resemble two. This should in all likelihood increase the height of the towers visually.



Fig. 4.11: East Mebon – M-A and B from northwest.

These buildings consist of laterite walls, built on one foundation layer of sandstone, and a brick superstructure.



Fig. 4.12: Banteay Srei – superstructure of south library.

The two libraries in the inner enclosure of Banteay Srei show a similar layout as the buildings at the East Mebon. Their superstructure, which is more a roof, was constructed of brick in between sandstone 'walls'.



Fig. 4.13: Pre Rup – PR-N from north.

Both PR-N and S are similar buildings as the laterite ones of the East Mebon. Their superstructure consists of four tiers, two of which have a row of holes. This shape is the most probable one for the East Mebon buildings.



Fig. 4.14: Preah Ko – southeast corner building.

Contrary to the laterite buildings of the East Mebon, this one is square, and has holes in its walls as well, not just the superstructure.



Fig. 4.15: Bakong – southeast corner building.

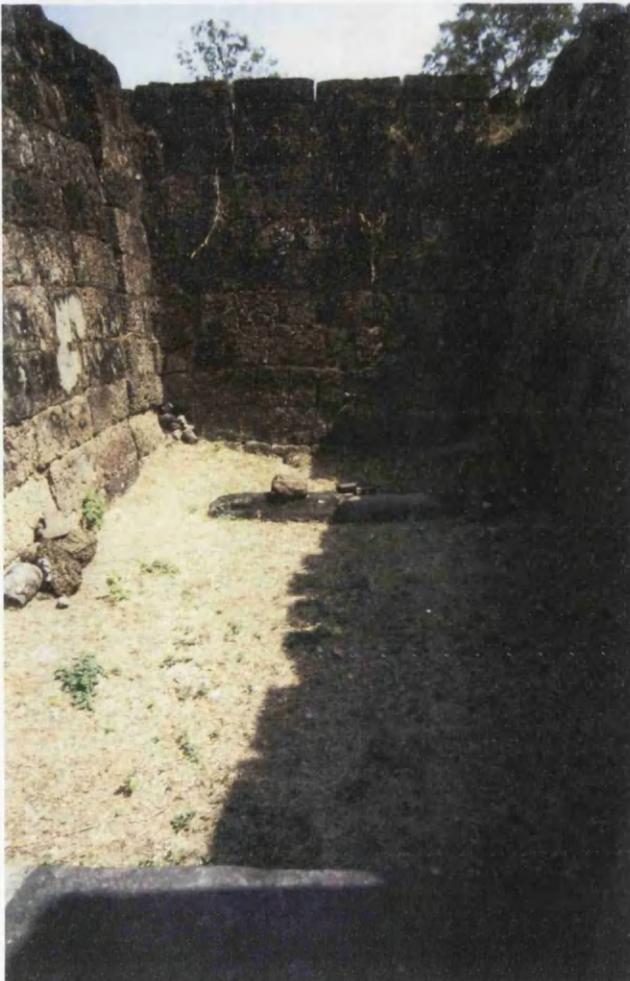


Fig. 4.16: East Mebon – M-B inside. None of the corner buildings did have a ceiling. If a ceiling had been included, the walls should show ledges for placing it.



Fig. 4.17: East Mebon – mouldings of walls of laterite buildings.  
a: M-A from south. The walls of the laterite buildings show horizontal lines as mouldings of their walls – here the lower part of the south wall of M-A.



b: M-D from southeast.  
The carvings of the top part of the walls closely resemble those at the bottom.



Fig. 4.18: East Mebon – inner *gopuras*.

a: 1 Gop N from east. The inner *gopuras* show a similar combination of building materials as the laterite buildings: they are constructed on one layer of plain sandstone, have a main structure of laterite, and a superstructure of brick. The shape of the *gopuras* resembles those of the sanctuary shrines.



b: 1 Gop E from southwest. The walls show similar horizontal bands moulded into the laterite at their top and bottom.



c: 1 Gop E from southwest.  
The brick superstructures of the *gopuras* are very damaged, but they had the same horizontal bands as the lower laterite part.



d: 1 Gop N, brick superstructure.  
The superstructure was constructed to resemble an arched wall.



e: 1 Gop N, lower mouldings of the laterite wall.

The mouldings of the laterite wall are even higher than the enclosure wall, which makes them look somewhat awkward.



Fig. 4.19: East Mebon – laterite halls in outer enclosure.

a: M-b, door from inside.

The doors of the laterite buildings were very standardised, with a size of about 2 x 1 metres.



b: M-b, carving of columns.



c: M-b, from east.

This building had three windows towards the east, all with five balusters.



d: M-b, close-up of window.



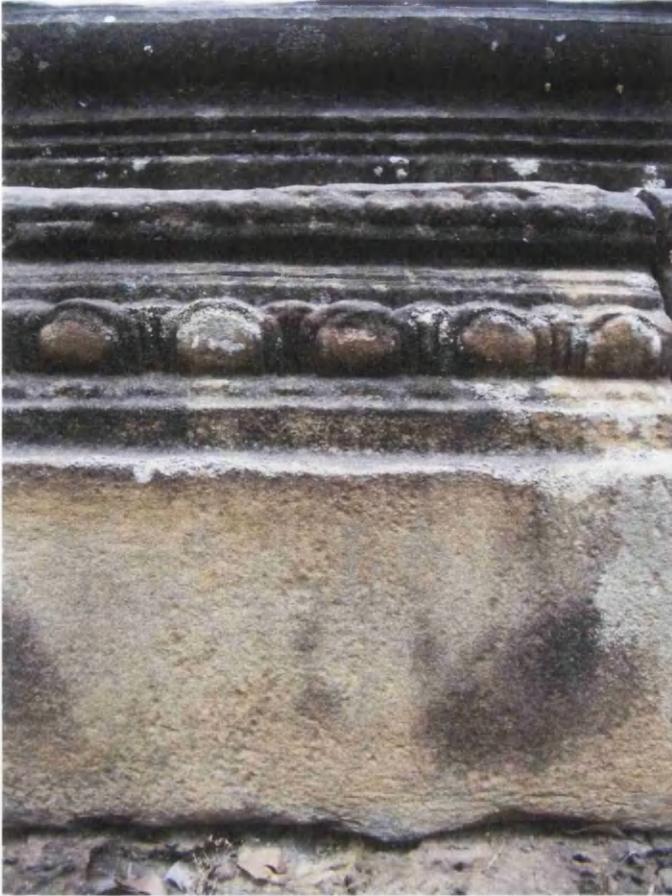
Fig. 4.20: East Mebon – M-a, carving of columns.  
In addition to the patterns of the columns of the laterite halls, those of the combination halls show a band of hanging lotus flowers below the other bands.



Fig. 4.21: Pre Rup – PR-A, carving of columns. The same combination of motifs as at the combination halls of the East Mebon can be found at those of Pre Rup.



Fig. 2.22: East Mebon – combination halls in outer enclosure. a: M-a, sandstone layer for inserting the roof. This sandstone layer at the top of the laterite walls shows the same carvings as the columns.



b: M-a, sandstone layer of vestibule.

The carvings of this layer closely resemble those of the top layer of the wall, and the top of the columns, and result in a very balanced visual impression.



Fig. 4.23: East Mebon – windows of M-c.

a: windows of north wall from inside.

Unlike all the other halls of the East Mebon, M-c does not contain balusters, but seven sandstone slabs.



b: frame of westernmost window of north wall.

The sandstone frame of the windows is literally locked into the laterite wall, so the windows and their slabs must be contemporary with the temple.



Fig. 4.24: East Mebon – carving at base of east lion in front of north door of M-CS.

At the base of this lion the same diamond-shape floral pattern as at the slabs of the windows of M-c can be found, so this seem to have been a standard pattern of the time.



Fig. 4.25: Banteay Srei – windows of north hall in inner enclosure.

The long north hall in the inner enclosure of Banteay Srei shows similar windows as M-c. Here the window is constructed from laterite, just like the surrounding wall, but the resulting loopholes are very similar to M-c.

(Finot/Parmentier/Goloubew, 2000:plate 5b.)



Fig. 4.26: East Mebon – outer *gopuras*.

a: 2 Gop N from southeast.

The combination of building materials of the outer *gopuras* is the same as that of the combination halls right next to them.



b: 2 Gop E, *upariṭha*.

The carvings of the laterite layer of the outer *gopuras* is identical to that of the combination halls.



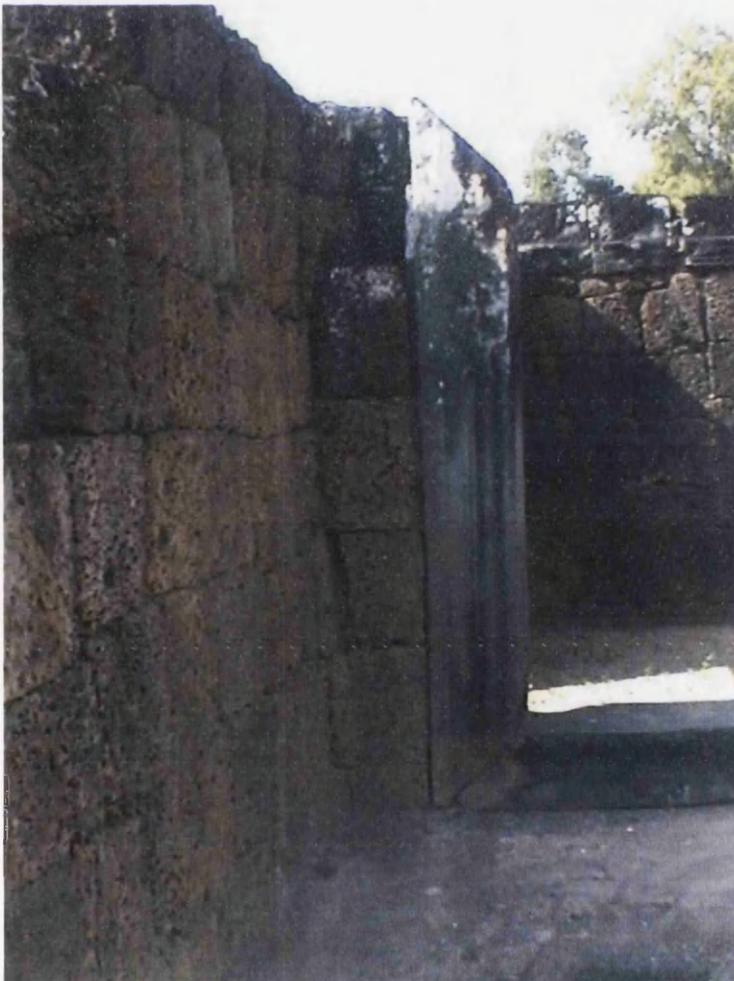
c: 2 Gop W, south window from west.

The windows of the outer *gopuras* are almost square, and contain five sandstone balusters.



d: 2 Gop E, carvings of columns.

The columns of the outer *gopuras* show the same motif of hanging lotuses as the combination halls of this enclosure, and other temples of Rājendravarman.



e: 1 Gop E, from main room towards north passageway with portal.

The internal subdivision of the outer *gopuras* was achieved through a portal of four sandstone blocks. This portal was linked to the walls through laterite blocks.



Fig. 4.27: East Mebon – central towers on top of sandstone platform.

The sandstone *upariṭha* of the central towers was set in pre-carved indentations.



Fig. 4.28: East Mebon – central platform on top of laterite terrace of inner enclosure.

The sandstone platform of the quincunx of towers was set in pre-moulded indentations of the laterite terrace of the inner enclosure. This meticulous way of assembling the temple is evidence for the contemporaneity of the sandstone parts.



Fig. 4.29: Bṛhadīśvara Temple, Thanjavūr from northwest.

The Bṛhadīśvara Temple at Thanjavūr was built by King Rājarāja. As is evident in the inscriptions the king established a *liṅga* and worshipped here already five years before the temple's consecration.



Fig. 4.30: East Mebon – inner enclosure wall.

a: 1 Gop N, from south.

The inner enclosure wall is bent double next to the east, south, and north *gopuras*. This is necessary for the wall to meet the sides of the *gopuras* at their centres.



b: 1 Gop W, from north.  
The only side where the inner enclosure wall is straight is the western one.



Fig. 4.31: East Mebon – distance M-e to 2 Gop S.  
The sandstone *upapīṭha* of M-e – on the right – touches the *upapīṭha* of 2 Gop E because of the very limited space available for the vestibule of the hall.



Fig. 4.32: East Mebon – distance M-m to 2 Gop N.  
The distance between the vestibule of M-m to 2 Gop N is only minimal. Unfortunately, the vestibule is badly damaged, so the exact distance cannot be measured anymore.

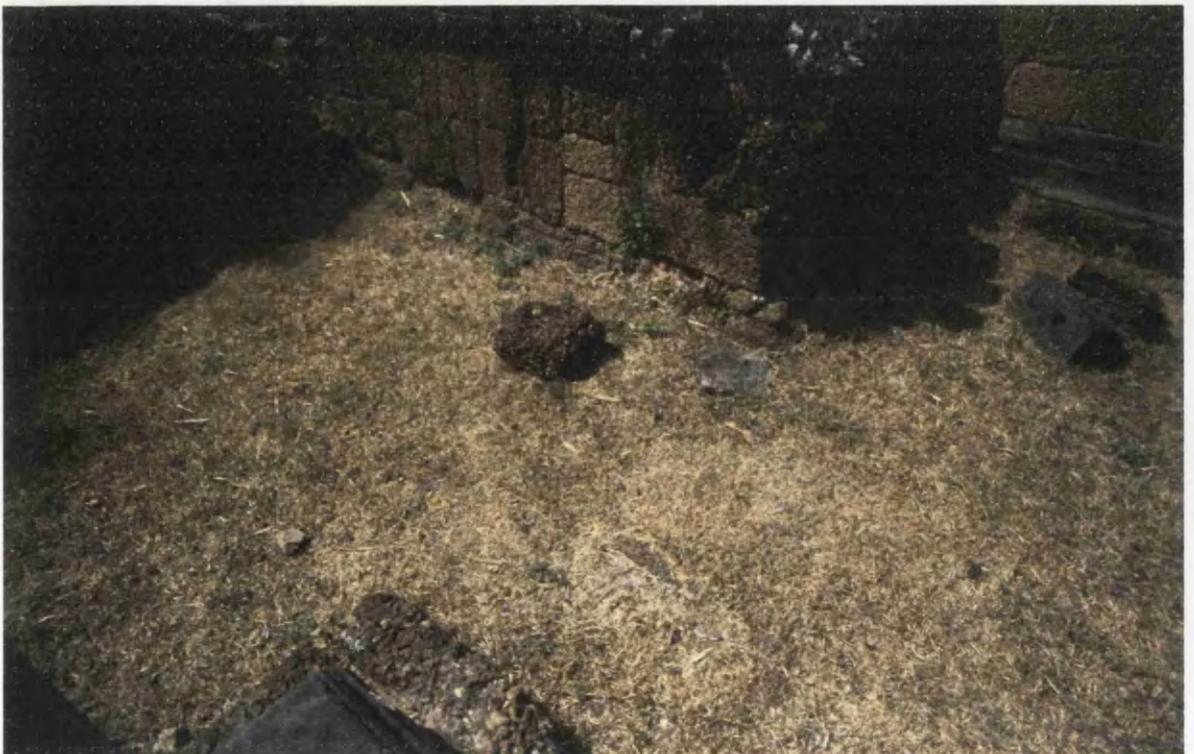


Fig. 4.33: East Mebon – distance M-d to 2 Gop S.  
Due to the larger eastern half of the outer enclosure there was more space available for M-d. The distance between the vestibule (at the bottom of the photograph) and the outer *gopura* is about one metre.



Fig. 4.34: East Mebon – distance of vestibules of M-b and M-c.

The distance of the vestibules of M-b at the centre of the photograph and M-c on the right is only minimal. Nevertheless, entry into the two buildings was not hindered because the vestibules are next to and not in front of each other.

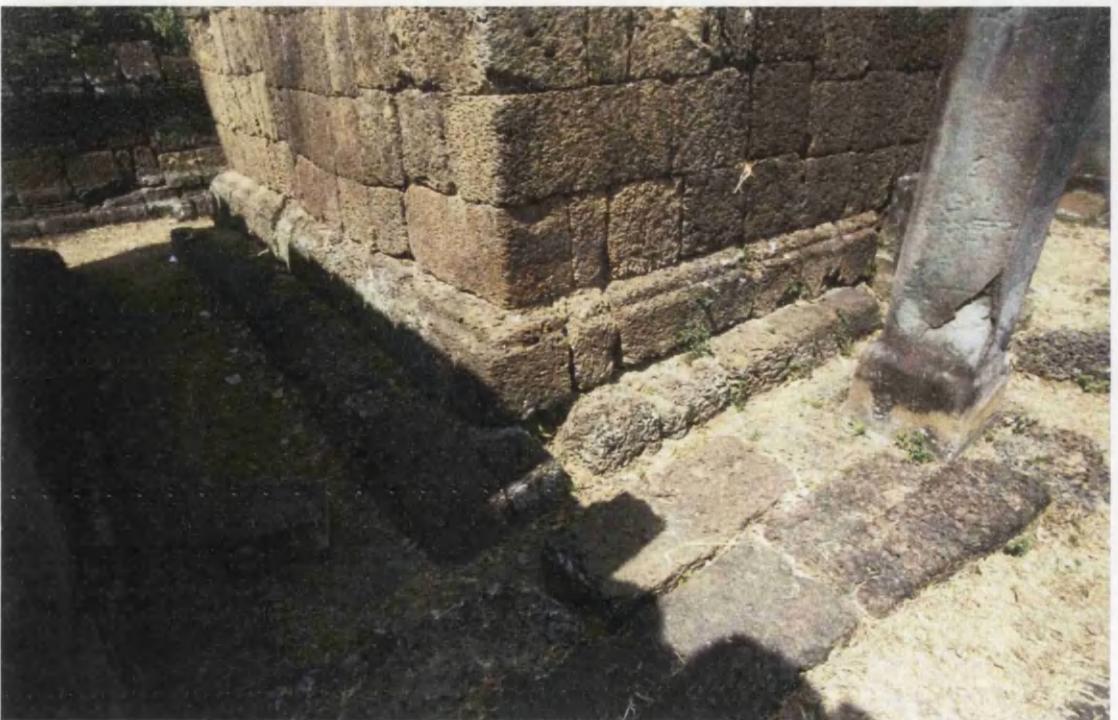


Fig. 4.35: East Mebon – distance of vestibules of M-f and M-g.

The distance in between the two halls in the southwest corner is equally small as between M-b and M-c.



Fig. 4.36: East Mebon – distance between vestibules of M-k and M-l. As in the southern corners of the outer enclosure, the distance between M-k and M-l is very short. Nevertheless, entry into the buildings should not have been hindered by this closeness.



Fig. 4.37: East Mebon – landing stage in front of 2 Gop E. The vestibules of the outer south, west, and north *gopuras* form almost continuous stairs with the steps of the landing stages in front.



Fig. 4.38: East Mebon – alignment of outer *gopuras* and halls.

The western halls are built very close to the enclosure wall. The wall itself has double bends next to the *gopura*. These are necessitated because the western walls of the halls (here M-h) are in line with the centre of the sides of the outer *gopura*.



Fig. 4.39: East Mebon – space in between M-a to c and outer enclosure wall.

The distance between the outer enclosure wall and the halls in the eastern half of the outer enclosure is about 6.7 metres. One possibility is that originally buildings of perishable material, i.e. wood or bamboo, might have been constructed.



Fig. 4.40: Pre Rup – superstructure of central towers.

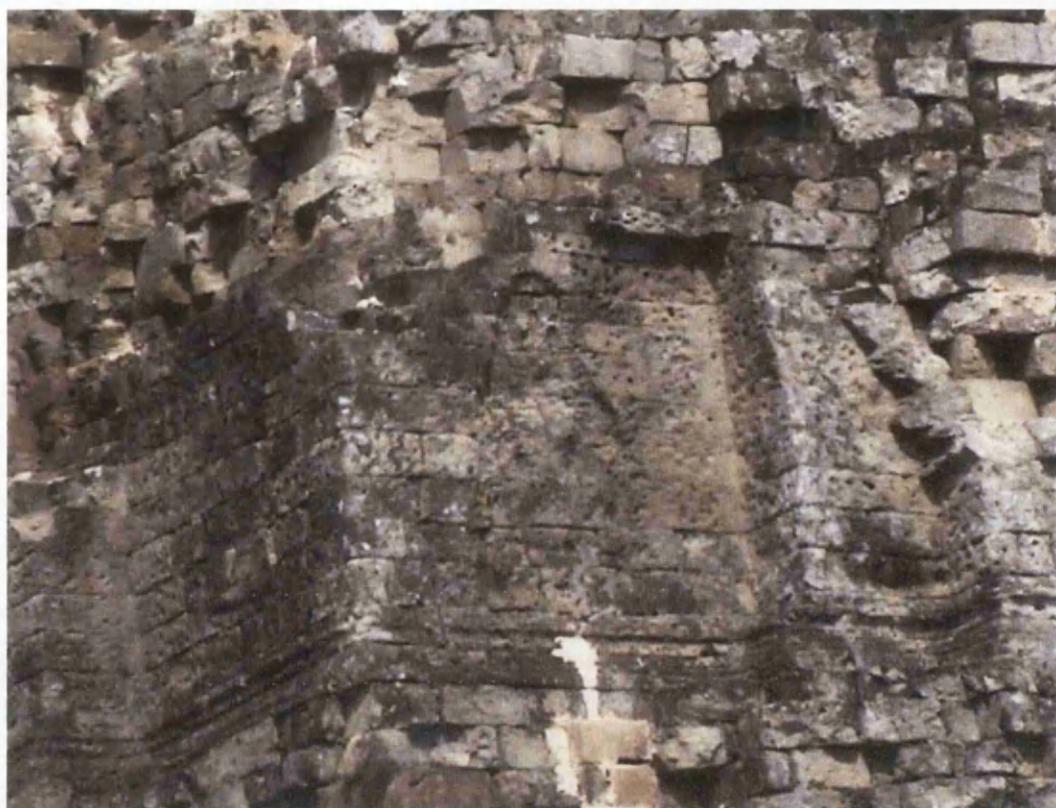
a: superstructure of PR-NW from east.

The superstructure of the central towers is very similar to that of the towers of the East Mebon. At the centre of the tiers false doors can be seen, which were originally covered with plaster.



b: close-up of false door.

In parts the original plaster is still in place, but it is too badly weathered for the original motifs to be discernible.



c: close-up of interpilaster space.

The interpilaster space was carved with niches, which appear to have contained figures. Unfortunately, the brick is too damaged to see any details. However, the figures might have been standing females, and could have represented *apsaras*.



Fig. 4.41: Pre Rup – carvings of wall of PR-NE from west.

The walls of the central *prasats* show similar horizontal bands as the towers of the East Mebon.



Fig. 4.42: Pre Rup – carvings of columns carrying the pediments of PR-NW. The upper part of the columns carrying the pediments shows similar horizontal bands as the walls of the towers.

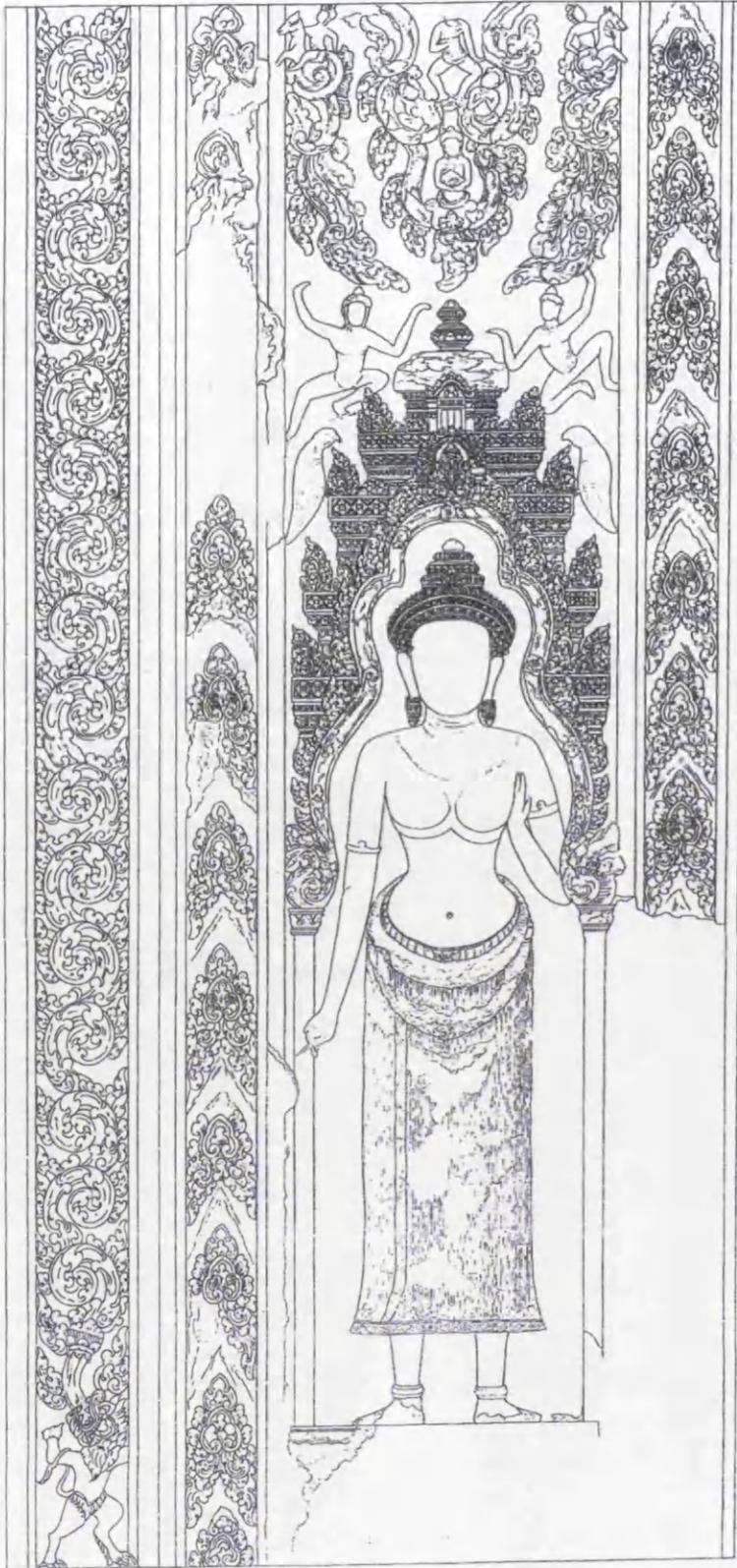


Fig. 4.43: Pre Rup – *upapiṭha* and *adhiṣṭhāna* of PR-SE. The plinth of the central towers consists of two layers of sandstone, the upper one of which is moved in about 20 centimetres, and directly continued by the horizontal brick carvings.



Fig. 4.44: Pre Rup – plaster decorations of central towers.  
a: PR-SW, east *devatā* of north side.

The guardian figures were carved in brick and then covered with plaster, which was moulded to create elaborate details. This heavenly scene portrays the female guardian standing in an arcature moulded to resemble a six-tiered tower similar to the sanctuaries. Above are two flying attendants, and all around floral motifs.



ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT	UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS	INDO-CHINE	1924
COCHINCHINE	VIETNAM	PREAH RUP	1924
		TOUR SUD OUEST	1924
		FACADE NORD COTE EST	1924

b: PR-SW, east *devatā* of north side, drawing.  
 Because of the damaged state of the plaster, the overall composition is better visible in this drawing.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1411.)



c: PR-SW, east *devatā* of north side, detail of building.  
The superstructure of the building, in which the guardian figure stands, resembles closely the superstructure of the *prasats*.



Fig. 4.45: Pre Rup – details of plaster of PR-NW.  
a: floral scrolls.  
The front of the columns carrying the pediments are decorated with floral scrolls.



b: tile pattern.

The sides of the columns carrying the pediments are decorated with the same tile pattern as parts of Banteay Srei.



Fig. 4.46: Banteay Srei – tile pattern.

Large parts of Banteay Srei are carved with a square tile pattern, for instance the walls of the *antarsala* of the central tower. Clearly visible here is also the similarity between the guardian figures here and those at Pre Rup.

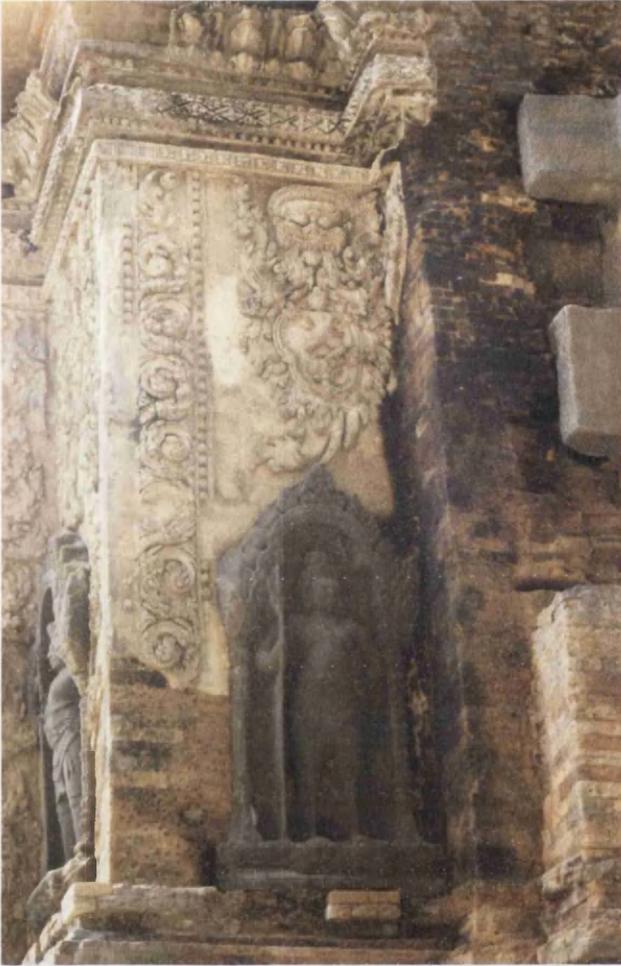


Fig. 4.47: Preah Ko – decoration of interpilaster space.

The interpilaster spaces of Preah Ko, here the south side of the southeast tower, were decorated in a very similar way to Pre Rup. The guardians, which at Preah Ko are later sandstone additions, are surrounded by moulded plaster. At the top can be seen a *kāla* emitting foliage, into which a small figure is set. Next to the corners the same floral scrolls as at Pre Rup and Banteay Srei can be seen.



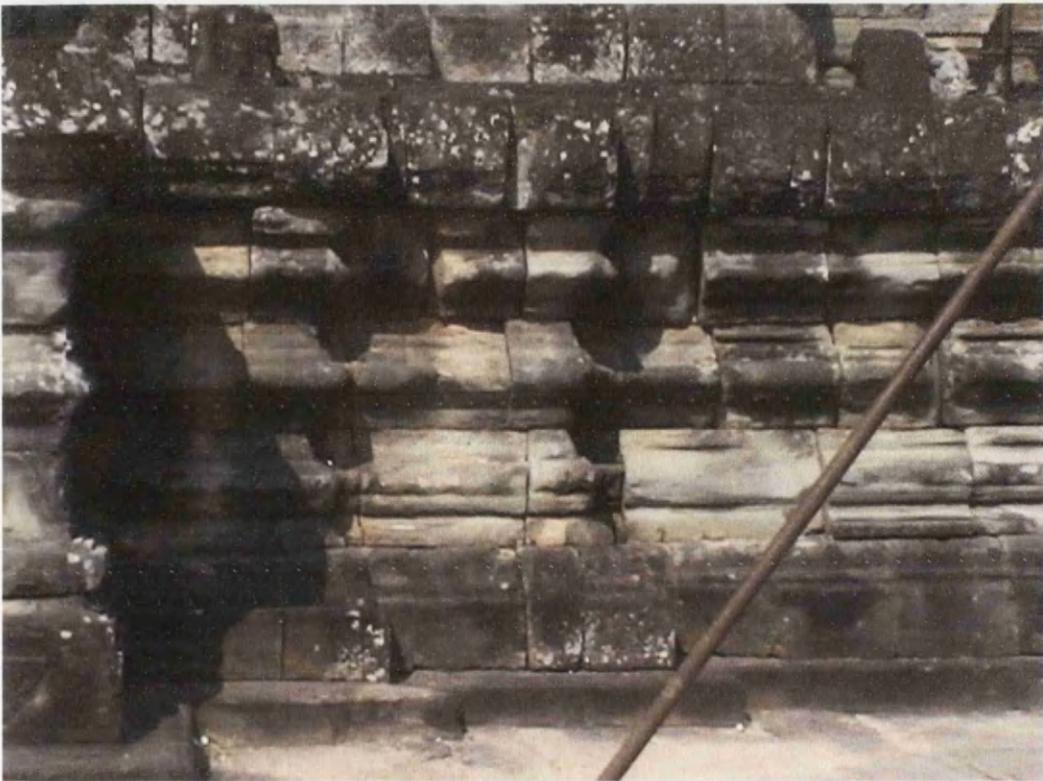
Fig. 4.48: Pre Rup – pedestal of central sanctuary.  
a: from east.

The additional pedestal of PR-CS is divided in two parts, reaching a height of four metres.



b: upper part.

Both parts of the pedestal are divided into three broad bands. Here at the upper part the carvings of lotus petals and buds, and floral and geometrical patterns is still visible.



c: lower half.

The lower half of the pedestal was in all likelihood carved similar to the upper one. However, these carvings are no longer visible, probably because of weathering.

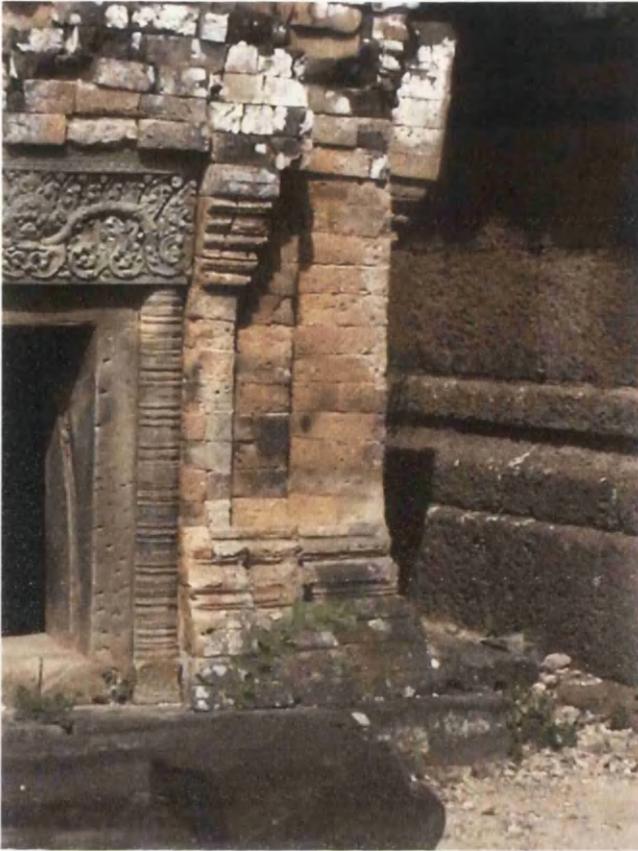


Fig. 4.49: Pre Rup – decorations of small *prasats*.

a: plinth of PR-4 from east.

The carvings of the *upapiṭha* and *adhishṭhāna* of the small sanctuaries seems to have been similar to the central towers'. Unfortunately, the small *prasats* are in a bad condition, and the details no longer visible.



b: PR-1 from south.

The small sanctuaries appear to have had a four-tiered superstructure as well. At the centre they also have false doors.



Fig. 4.50: Pre Rup – tiers of the pyramid.

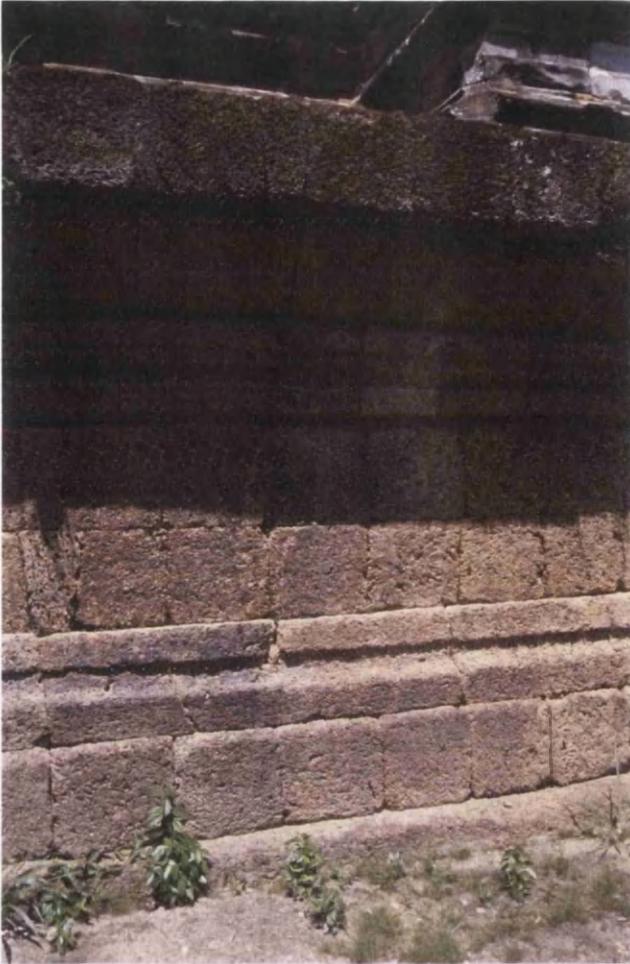
a: pyramid from east.

The pyramid of Pre Rup consists of three tiers, the topmost of which is coated in sandstone, and resembles the pedestal of the central sanctuary.



b: top level of the pyramid.

The top level is coated in sandstone, and shows similar carvings as the pedestal of the central sanctuary.



**c: second level.**

The second level is constructed from laterite, and shows only minimal mouldings at the top and bottom.



**d: lowest level.**

The lowest level of the pyramid is split in two: a lower bottom part and a higher top part. The lower part visually acts as a dais for the whole pyramid, and the upper as the lowest part of it.



e: north staircase from east.

The staircases of the lowest level are constructed in two parts as well, on each of which were small platforms for lions.



f: south staircase from east.

The staircases of the lowest level are split in two identical parts (each 3 metres high), whereas the level of the pyramid itself is not split equally (the lower part is 1.5, the upper 4.5 metres high), so the link between the two looks somewhat awkward.

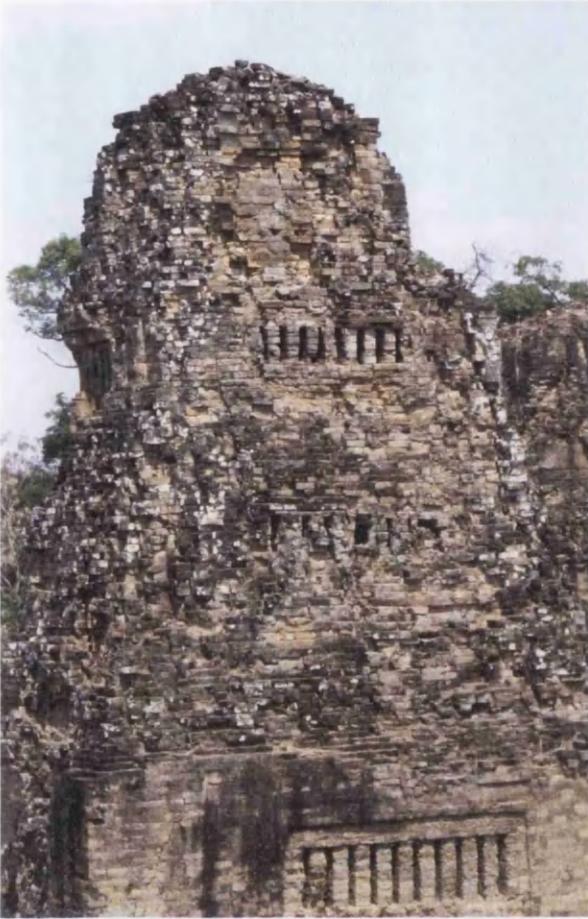
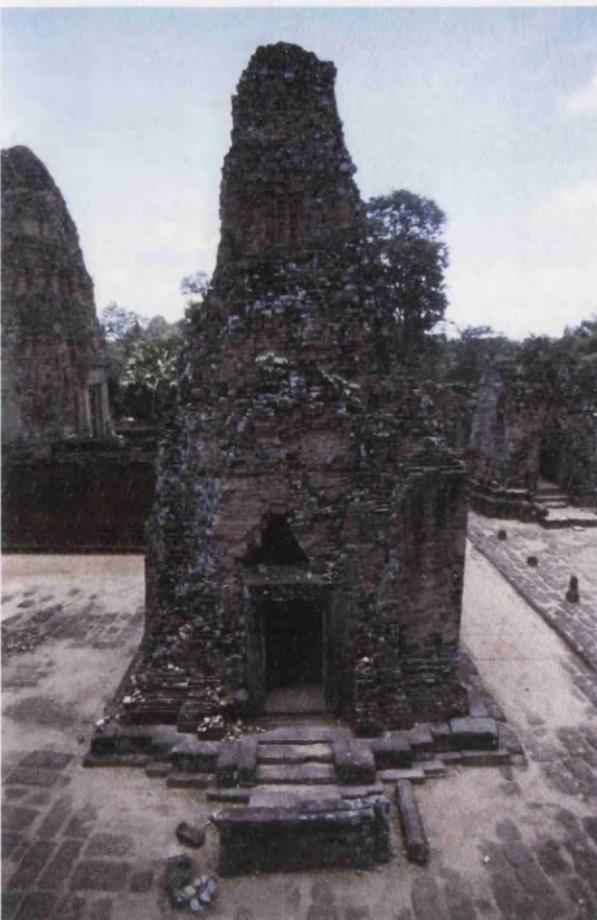


Fig. 4.51: Pre Rup – PR-N and S.

a: superstructure of PR-N from south.

The superstructure and side walls of these two buildings show three rows with up to ten rectangular holes.



b: PR-N from west.

The walls of the two buildings were carved with horizontal bands.



c: PR-G, inside.

The portals and internal divisions of the halls are constructed of four sandstone slabs, and show carved lines around them, to give the visual impression of a frame.



d: carvings of columns.

The columns are carved with the same patterns as those of the combination halls of the East Mebon, and show a band of upturned lotus flowers below the lotus petals and buds.



Fig. 4.52: Pre Rup – halls in inner enclosure.

a: plinth of PR-K.

The plinth of the halls consists of horizontal bands, moulded in four laterite layers.



b: PR-B, vestibule from north.

The vestibules of PR-B and C are constructed on one layer of laterite and one layer of sandstone, and are thus higher than the vestibules of the other halls.



Fig. 4.53: Pre Rup – open side rooms of PR-B and PR-C.  
Both PR-B and C have two open side rooms, entered through wide portals, split in two by one column each.  
a: PR-B, east side room from north.



b: PR-C, west side room from north.



Fig. 4.54: Pre Rup – open vestibule of PR-H.  
Entry into PR-H was through a vestibule built into the courtyard. Its opening was continued on either side, so that the opening was altogether 7.5 metres wide.

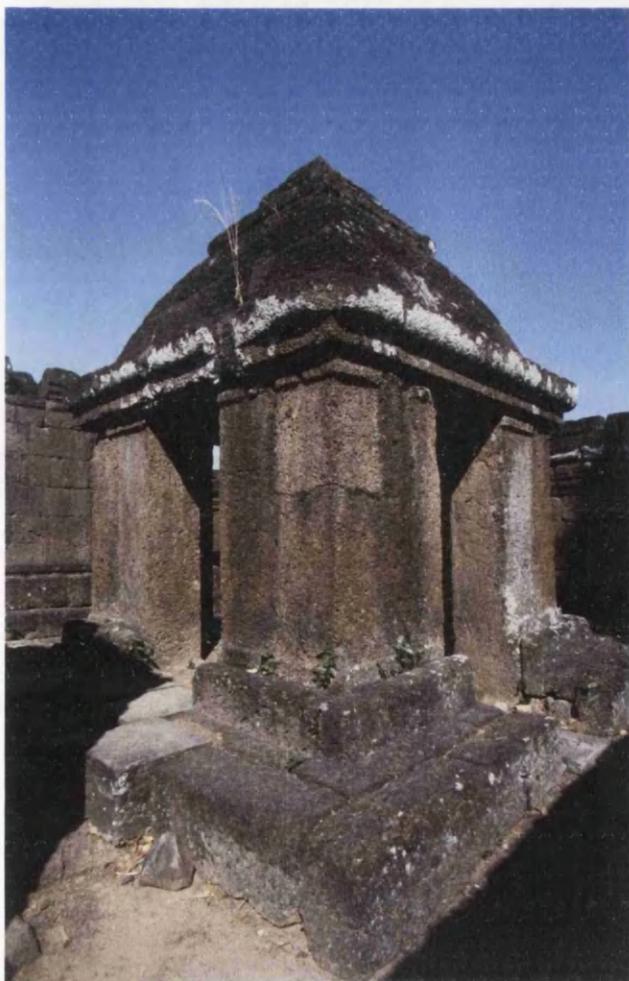


Fig. 4.55: Pre Rup – PR-I.  
PR-I is constructed of three laterite blocks at each corner, and a laterite roof, and is thus unlike any other building within the compound of Pre Rup or the East Mebon.



Fig. 4.56: Pre Rup – construction of internal divisions of halls in inner enclosure.

a: PR-K from south.

Usually, the sandstone slabs forming the portal and internal divisions were linked to the later walls with brick.



b: PR-F from east.

At PR-F these links were done in laterite. Although this is a deviation from the norm, the building is overall so similar to the other halls, that this is no indication for its dating from a different period.



Fig. 4.57: Pre Rup – windows.

a: PR-E, window of main room.

The windows of the main rooms of the halls are about 0.6 x 1.4 metres large, and have five sandstone balusters.



b: PR-E, window of side chamber.

The windows of the side chamber are somewhat smaller, 0.5 x 1 metre, and only have three balusters inserted.



Fig. 4.58: Pre Rup – *nandin*-base at bottom of east staircase.  
The *nandin*-base has a ca. three centimetre wide trench carved into its top layer. Even though this is somewhat unusual, it appears to have been an additional technique of inserting sculptures into their bases.



Fig. 4.59: Pre Rup – lion-base in front of PR-SE.  
The northern lion-base in front of PR-SE shows the same trench as the *nandin*-base.



Fig. 4.60: Pre Rup – architectural features of the inner *gopuras*.

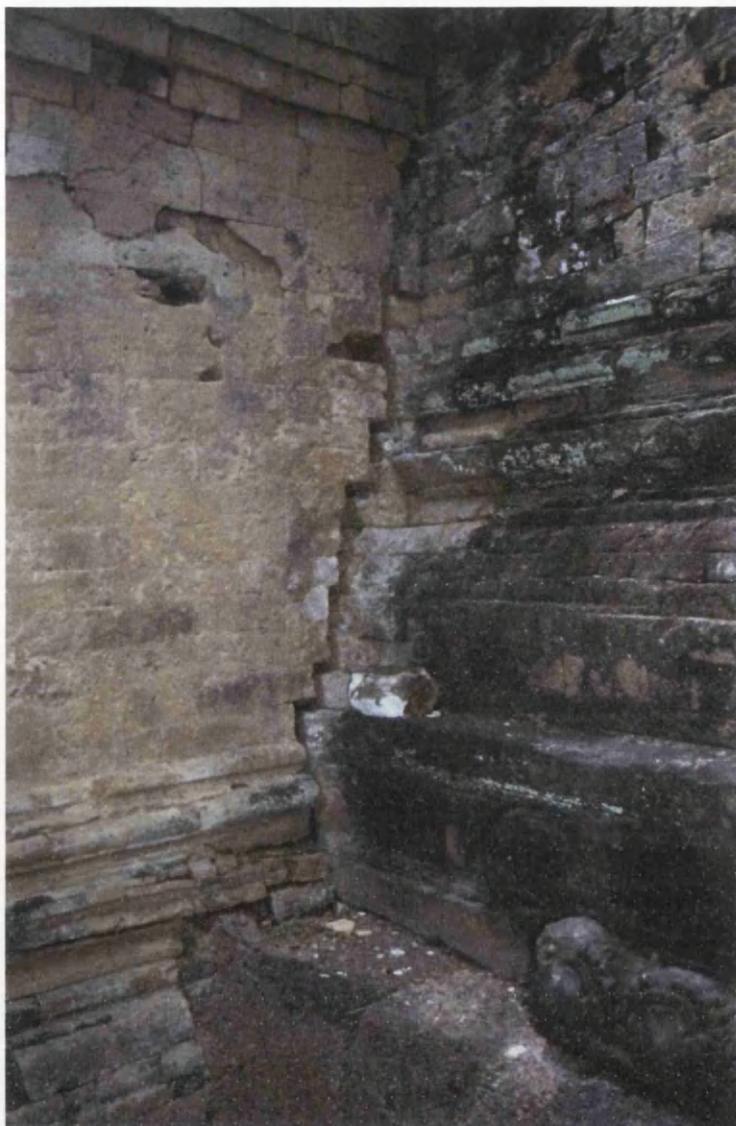
a: 1 Gop E from north.

The inner *gopuras* are built of brick on a plinth of laterite and sandstone. Their superstructure is badly damaged, but it seems to have resembled the sanctuary towers.



b: 1 Gop W, link side passageway to main structure.

The two side passages of 1 Gop E and W are linked to the main structure through a brick wall, the carvings of which resemble the horizontal bands of the main structure.



c: 1 Gop W, close-up of brick wall.



d: 1 Gop W, S lintel.

The lintels over the side passages were kept in place through links to the sandstone door frame below. Because they were not really locked into the brick walls next to them, they do not show the side extensions of the other lintels.



Fig. 4.61: Pre Rup – sandstone vestibules of 1 Gop E and W.

a: 1 Gop E, sandstone vestibule from southeast.

The sandstone vestibules look somewhat awkward, because their carvings are not integrated exactly with those of the brick structure and its plinth.



b: 1 Gop E, close-up of link between sandstone vestibule and brick structure.



c: 1 Gop E, close-up of sandstone next to the brick structure. In order to link the sandstone better with the brick, that side of the blocks, which bordered the brick, was carved to fit the brick properly. This is a very work-intensive technique, which was not in use for much longer.

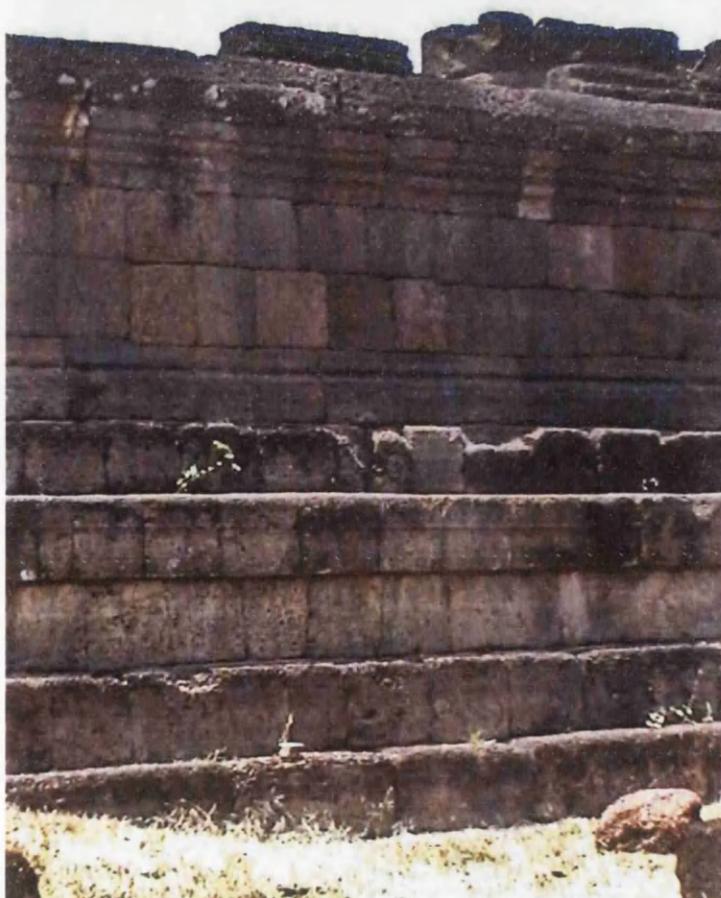


Fig. 4.62: Pre Rup – terrace of the inner enclosure.

The inner enclosure is elevated on a two metre high terrace, whose sides resemble the mouldings of the central pyramid.

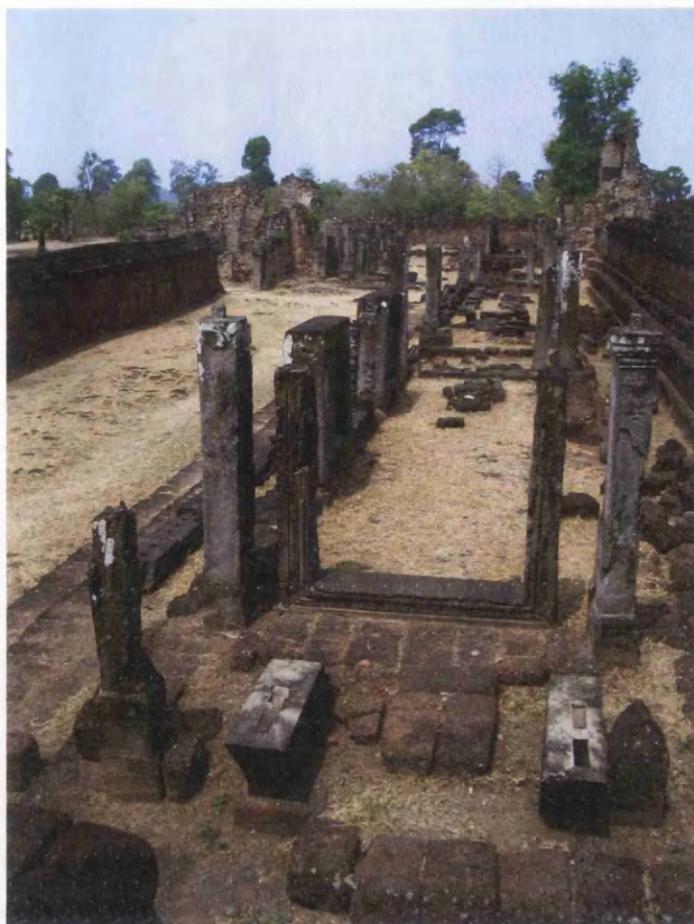


Fig. 4.63: Pre Rup – halls in outer enclosure.

a: PR-a and b from southwest. The halls along the north-south axis show the same building programme, and are constructed entirely from laterite, apart from their windows facing outwards, and the columns of their two vestibules.



b: PR-c, from south.

How many windows the halls had, can only be determined for a few. PR-c seems to have had three with five balusters each.

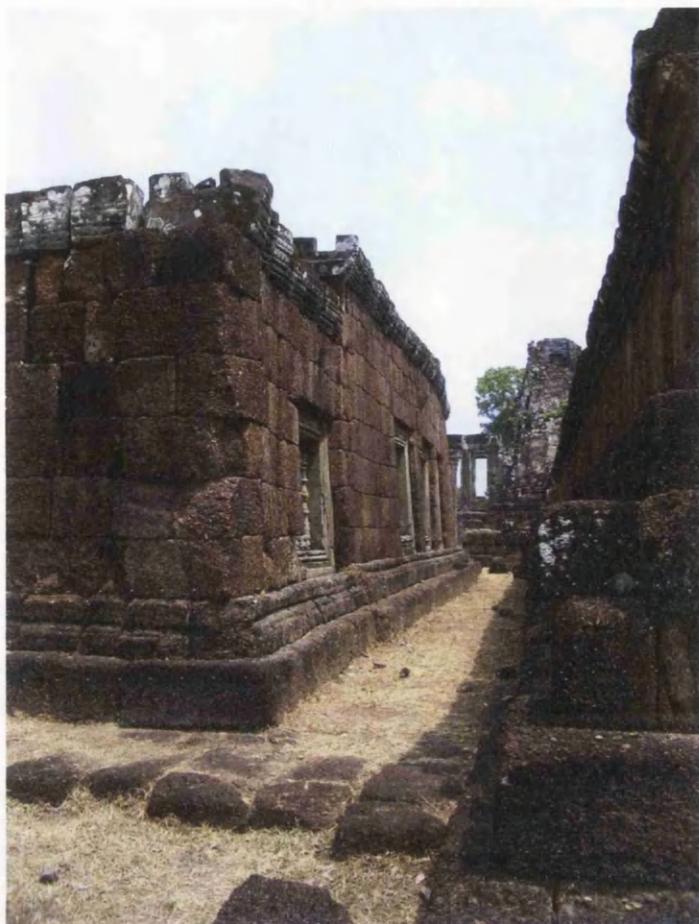


Fig. 4.64: Pre Rup – halls in outer enclosure.

a: PR-d from south.

PR-d and e show a different building programme than the other six halls with sandstone layers inserted, windows on both sides, and one vestibule closed off to form a side chamber.



b: PR-d from north.

The vestibule facing towards the enclosure wall was closed off to form a side chamber.

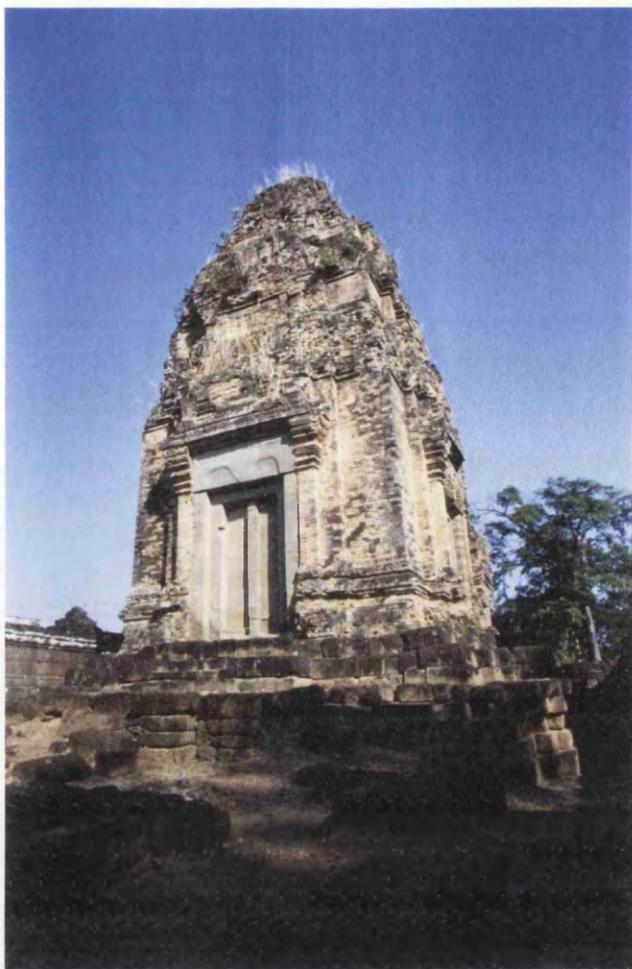


Fig. 4.65: Pre Rup – architectural features of brick towers in outer enclosure.

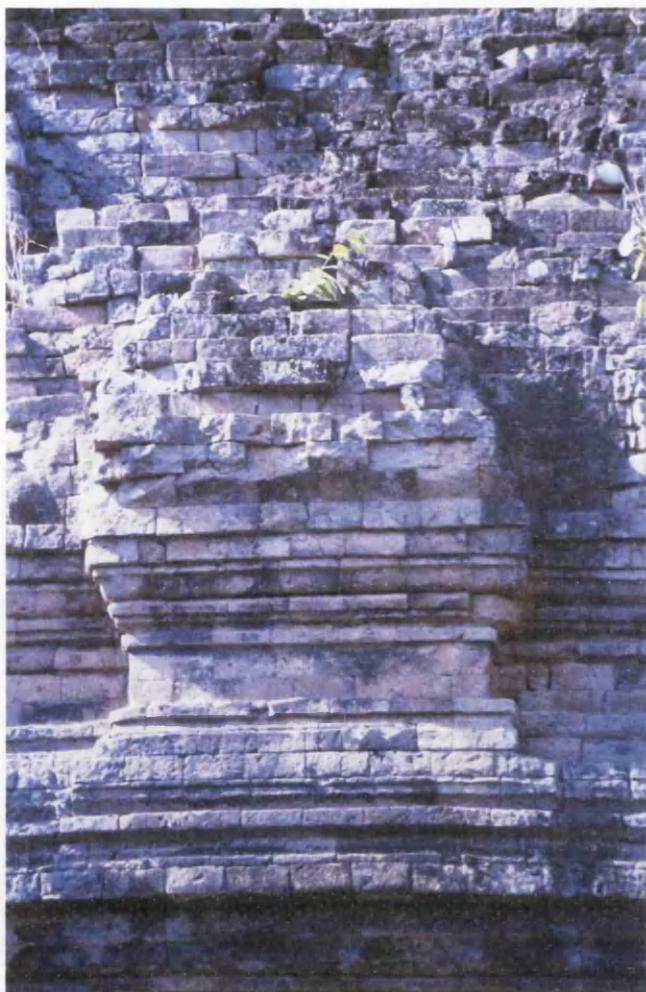
a: PR-II from south.

The overall decorative scheme of the towers is very similar to the central quincunx, with false doors, a four-tiered superstructure, and horizontal carvings at the top and bottom of the walls.



b: PR-III north pediment.

At the centre of their pediments the towers have an architectural feature, which is reminiscent of the style of Sambor Prei Kuk. This feature was possibly added to highlight the modern-ness of the rest of the buildings.



c: PR-III, close-up of centre of north pediment.



d: PR-III from northeast.

The towers are constructed on a six layer of laterite high base, and each tower has an additional base of two or four layers of sandstone.



Fig. 4.66: Pre Rup – outer *gopuras*.

a: 1 Gop N from south.

Unfortunately, not much is left of the brick superstructure of the outer *gopuras*. But judging from what remains at 1 Gop N, it was more than three metres high.



b: 1 Gop E from east.

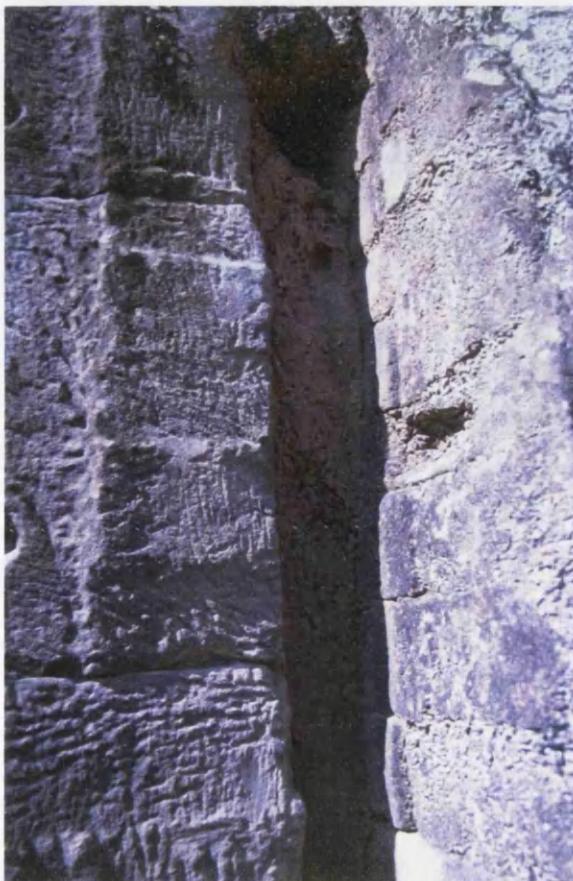
The outer *gopuras* had one main entrance at the centre, and two side passages, separated from the main one. The main structure was built of brick.



Fig. 4.67: Pre Rup – vestibules of outer *gopuras*.

a: 1 Gop E, inner vestibule from south.

The sandstone vestibules of the outer *gopuras* are built on one layer of laterite, and are unfinished, as is visible in the just started carvings.



b: 1 Gop E, link sandstone vestibule – brick structure.

As at the inner *gopuras*, the sandstone blocks of the vestibules were carved to mirror the brick, which shows that they were contemporary with the temple.



Fig. 4.68: Pre Rup – link between top sandstone level of pyramid and lower laterite level. The sandstone face of the uppermost tier of the pyramid is set in pre-moulded indentations in the laterite.



Fig. 4.69: Pre Rup – link between sandstone platform and central towers. The bases of the towers are set in pre-carved indentations of the platform. All this shows that the sandstone is contemporary with the temple.



**Fig. 4.70: Pre Rup – mouldings of inner halls and enclosure wall.**  
The mouldings of the halls of the inner enclosure, here PR-A, and the enclosure wall are identical, and create visually a homogenous impression



**Fig. 4.71: Pre Rup – distance between outer halls and inner terrace.**  
The distance between the outer halls, here PR-c, and the terrace of the inner enclosure is too short to allow for the buildings to be constructed before the inner enclosure.



Fig. 4.72: Pre Rup – space between PR-a and outer enclosure.

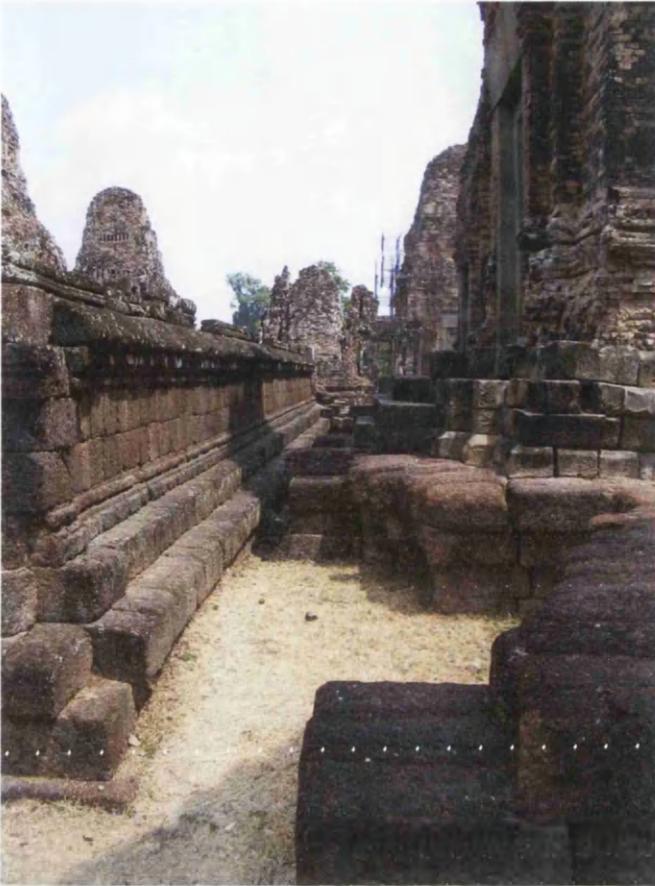
In between the halls of the outer enclosure, here PR-a, and the outer wall was enough space for storing the building material of the halls. Thus they might not necessarily have been constructed before the outer enclosure wall.



Fig. 4.73: Pre Rup – distance between brick towers in outer enclosure and the enclosure walls.

a: PR-III to V from north.

In between the laterite platform of the *prasats* and the outer enclosure wall is only very limited space for reaching the towers further away from the *gopuras*.



b: distance between PR-V and inner enclosure.

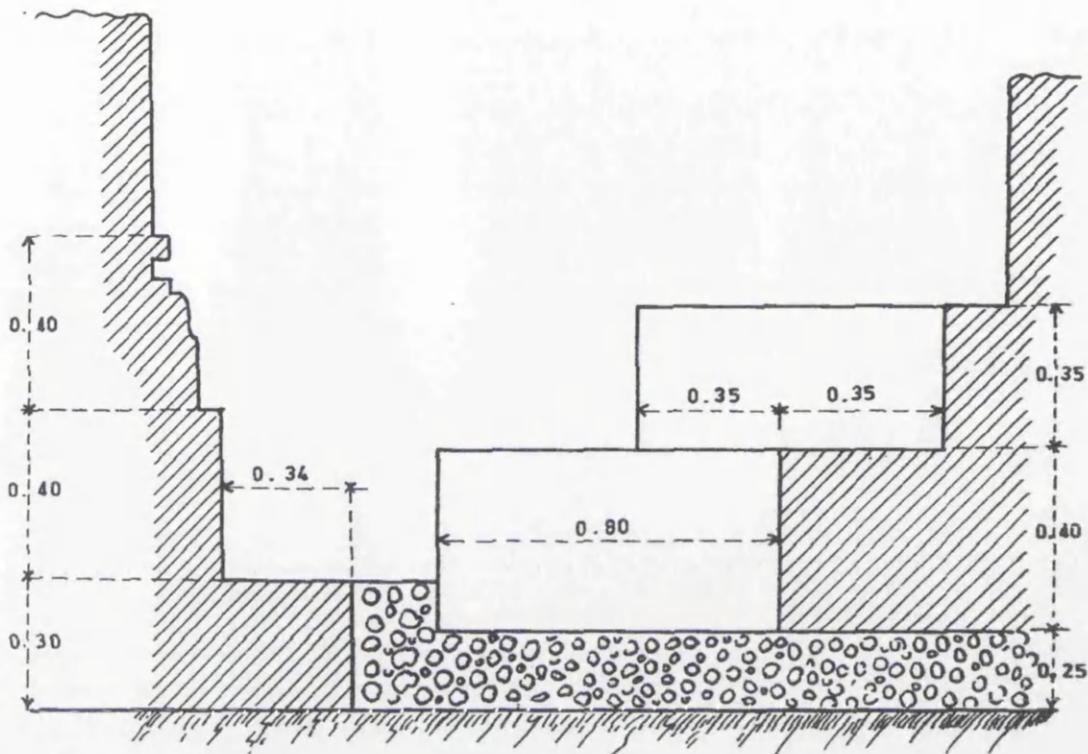
The distance between the platform of the towers and the inner enclosure is only a few centimetres, and far too small to move in between.



c: distance between PR-V and inner terrace.

This photograph shows the same part of the temple as 4.78b, however, during the restoration. Clearly visible is that the laterite base of the *prasats* does not continue the laterite terrace of the inner enclosure.

(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 12972.)



CROQUIS N° 1

Fig. 4.74: Pre Rup – link of large towers to enclosure wall.

The *prasats* were constructed on a laterite layer, which continued from that of the enclosure wall. Unfortunately, it cannot be established whether this laterite layer also continues the laterite platform of the halls in the outer enclosure.



Fig. 4.75: Pre Rup – lintels of *prasats* in outer enclosure.

a: PR-I west lintel.

This carving of this lintel had hardly commenced before it was abandoned again. Clearly visible is that the lintel was composed of three sandstone blocks. The general spatial organisation is visible, with a central motif flanked by a garland on either side.



b: PR-IV south lintel.

This lintel was never even begun, and only its being composed of three sandstone blocks is visible.



Fig. 4.76: Pre Rup – space south of PR-II.

South of PR-II a sixth tower was planned, the foundation of which was built, but the tower itself was never finished.



Fig. 4.77: Pre Rup – pediment of PR-II.

The pediments of the *prasats* show an architectural structure at their centre, which might have been embellished to resemble a palace, similar to those at the shrines of Sambor Prei Kuk.



Fig. 4.78: Sambor Prei Kuk – flying palace.

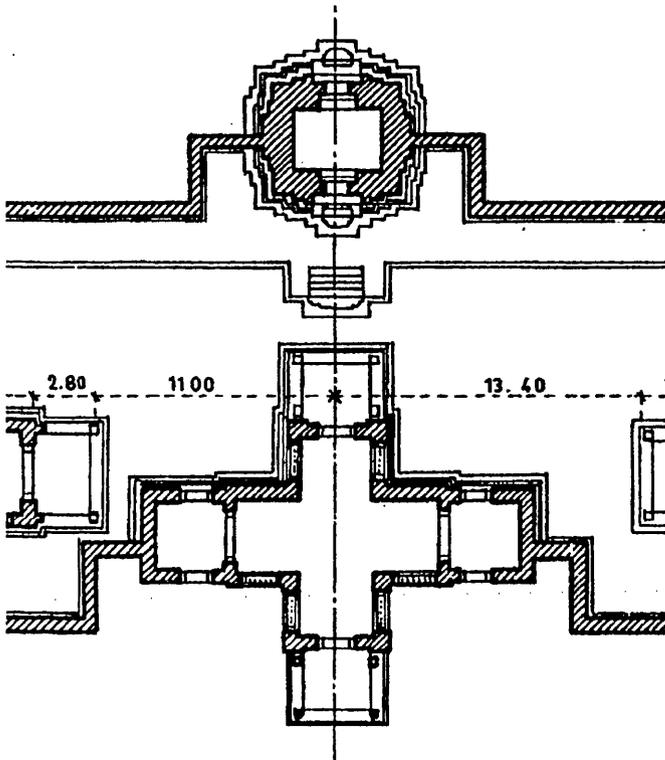
The walls of the sanctuaries of Sambor Prei Kuk, here the northeast side of sanctuary N7, show so-called flying palaces, which are populated with heavenly beings, possibly deities as well.



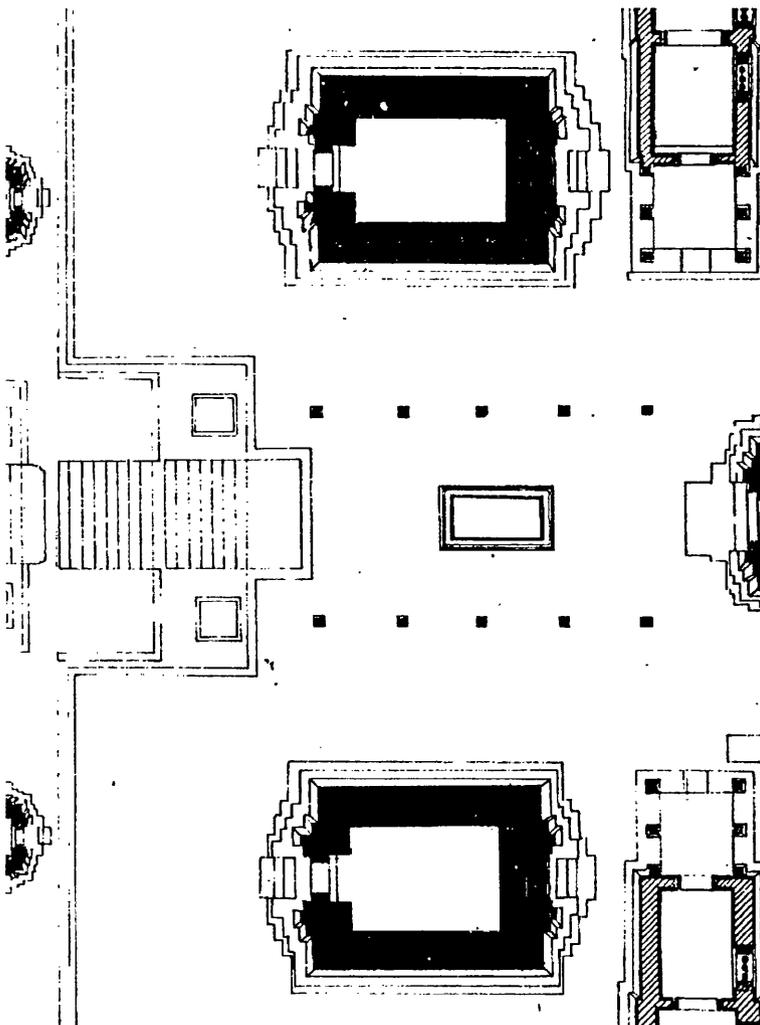
Fig. 4.79: Banteay Srei –  
pediments.  
a: east pediment of the *antarsala*  
of the central sanctuary.  
The pediment shows Indra on  
Airāvata at its centre.



b: west pediment of south library.  
This pediment depicts not just a single deity on his *vāhana*, but a whole story.



Plan 4.1: East Mebon – enclosure walls next to *gopuras*. All enclosure walls, apart from the inner one on its western side, have double bends next to the *gopuras*. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2157.)



Plan 4.2: Pre Rup – area east of pyramid with PR-N and S, and *nandin*-base. The structures east of the pyramid, PR-N and S and the *nandin*-base, are aligned in relation to each other, and the east staircase of the pyramid itself. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2133.)

Table 4.1: East Mebon – features of halls in outer enclosure.

	Building Material		Internal Division		Vestibule		Columns			Windows	
	laterite	combination <sup>1</sup>	yes	no	protruding <sup>2</sup>	added <sup>3</sup>	no. of col.	carvings	small	large	no. of bal.
								Type 1 <sup>4</sup>	Type 2 <sup>5</sup>		
<b>M-a</b>		X	X			X	6	X		X	5
<b>M-b</b>	X			X	X		4		X		5
<b>M-c</b>	X			X	X		4		X		7 slabs
<b>M-d</b>		X	X			X	4	X		X	5
<b>M-e</b>		X	X			X	4	X		X	5
<b>M-f</b>	X			X	X		4		X	X	5
<b>M-g</b>	X			X	X		4		X	X	5
<b>M-h</b>		X	X			X	6	X		X	5
<b>M-i</b>		X	X			X	6	X		X	5
<b>M-k</b>	X			X	X		4	?	?	?	?
<b>M-l</b>	X			X	X		4	?	?	?	?

<sup>1</sup> 'Combination' here indicates that the lowest and top levels of the walls are sandstone, contrary to the walls built entirely of laterite.

<sup>2</sup> This means that the vestibules are built into the courtyard. All these vestibules are linked to the halls with doors.

<sup>3</sup> These vestibules were added onto the long side of the hall, facing the gopura next to the hall. Entry into the halls is through open portals.

<sup>4</sup> Type 1 carvings are the more elaborate ones, which have an additional band of lotus flowers hanging down.

<sup>5</sup> Type 2 carvings do not show the band of lotus flowers.



Table 4.2: Pre Rup – features of the halls of both enclosures.

	Building Material		Internal Division		Vestibule		Columns			Windows <sup>1</sup>		
	laterite	combination	yes	no	protruding <sup>2</sup>	added <sup>3</sup>	no. of col.	carvings	rect.	square	no. of bal.	
PR-a	x			x		2	4	x		x	5	
PR-b	x			x		2	4	x		x	5	
PR-c	x			x		2	4	x		x	5	
PR-d		x	x			1	6	x		x	5	
PR-e		x	x			1	6	x		x	5	
PR-f	x			x		2	4	x		x	5	
PR-g	x			x		2	4	x		x	5	
PR-h	x			x		2	4	x		x	5	
2 Gop		x					-			x	5	
PR-A	x		x			x	6	x	x		5	
PR-B	x			x	x		4	x	x		5	

<sup>1</sup> The characteristics of the windows are given in greater detail in tables 7.3 and 7.4.

<sup>2</sup> This means that the vestibules are built into the courtyard. All these vestibules are linked to the halls through doors.

<sup>3</sup> These vestibules were added onto the long side of the hall, facing the *gopura* next to the hall. Entry into the halls is through open portals.

<sup>4</sup> Type 1 carvings are the more elaborate ones, which have an additional band of upturned lotus flowers.

<sup>5</sup> Type 2 carvings do not show the band of lotus flowers.



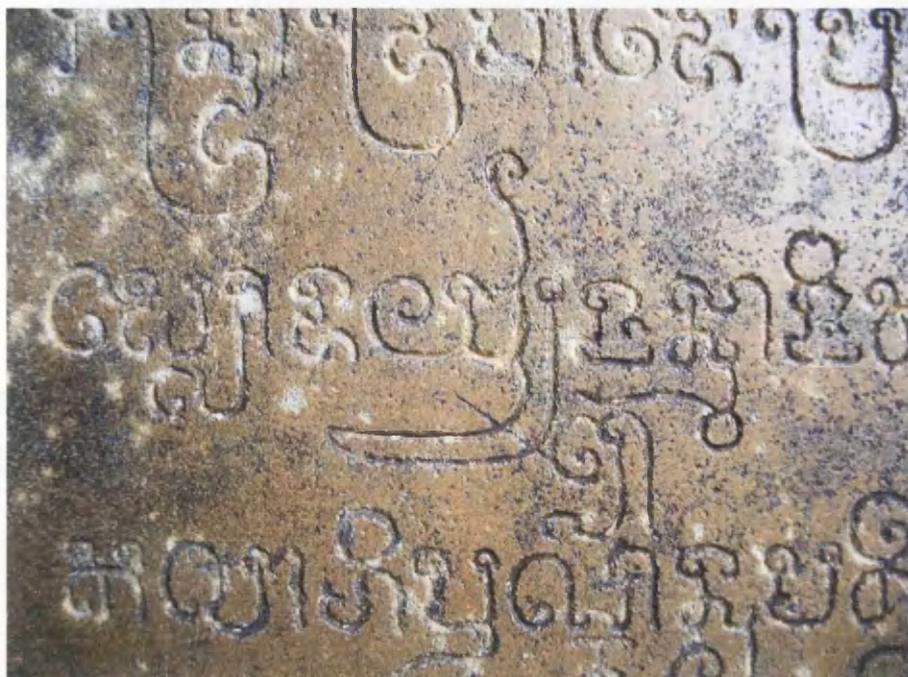
Chapter 5



Fig. 5.1: Baksei Chamkrong.  
a: from east.



b: east door.  
The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong  
was carved on both jambs of the east  
door.



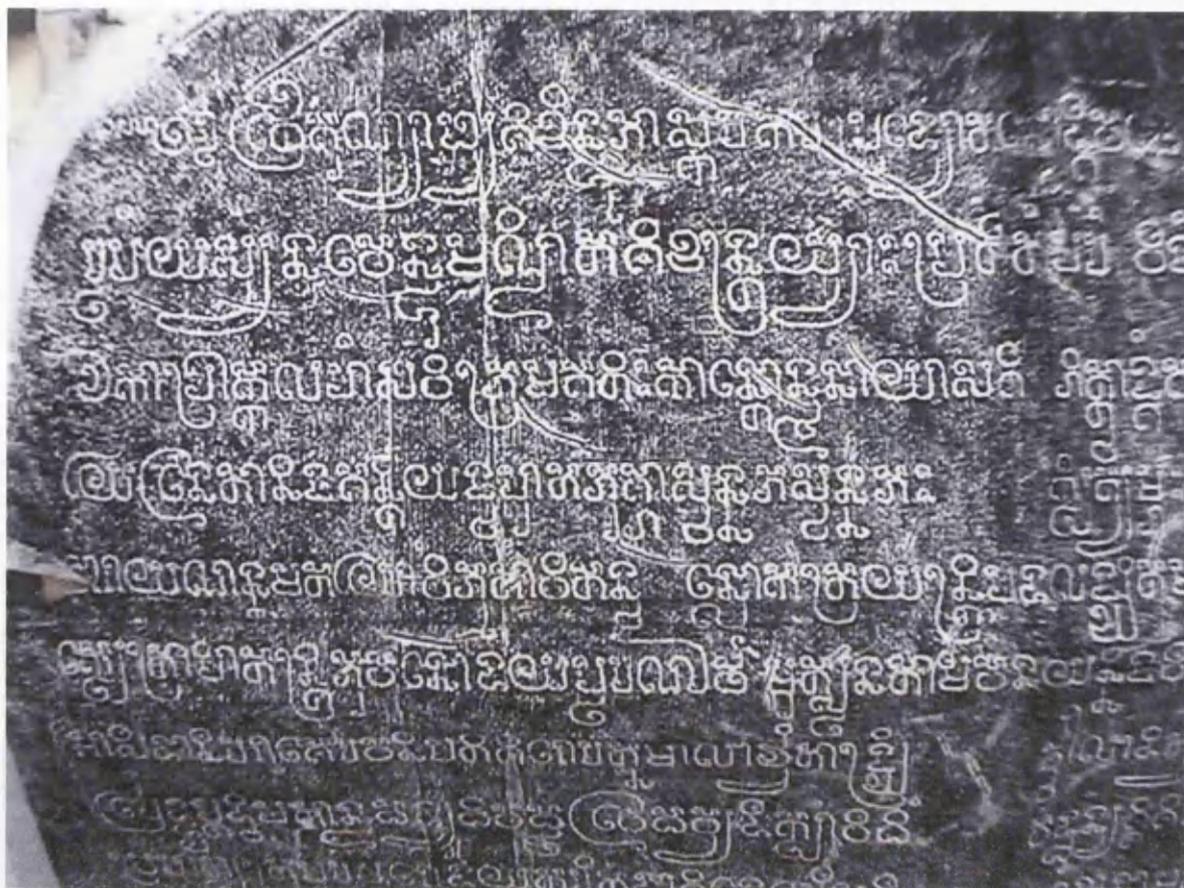
c: close-up of inscription of north jamb.

The inscriptions of Baksei Chamkrong are very well preserved, and can still be read easily. Noteworthy is the very beautiful writing of this period.



Fig. 5.2: East Mebon – inscription.  
a: face A of the inscription.

This photo shows clearly the various pieces into which the inscription was broken when it was found in the outer east *gopura*.



b: detail of rubbing of face A.  
 This detail shows the beginning of face A.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, n. 365.)



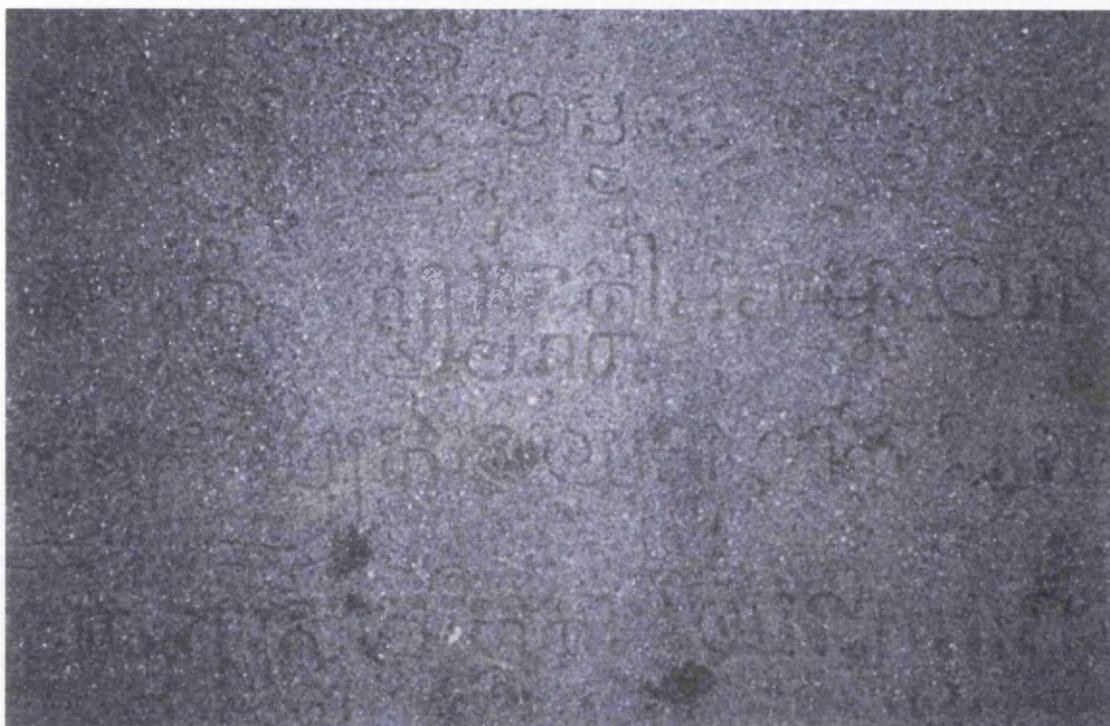
Fig. 5.3: East Mebon – inscription, close-up of bottom.  
 At the bottom of the inscription were carved lotus flowers.



Fig. 5.4: Pre Rup – inscription.  
a: face A of the inscription.

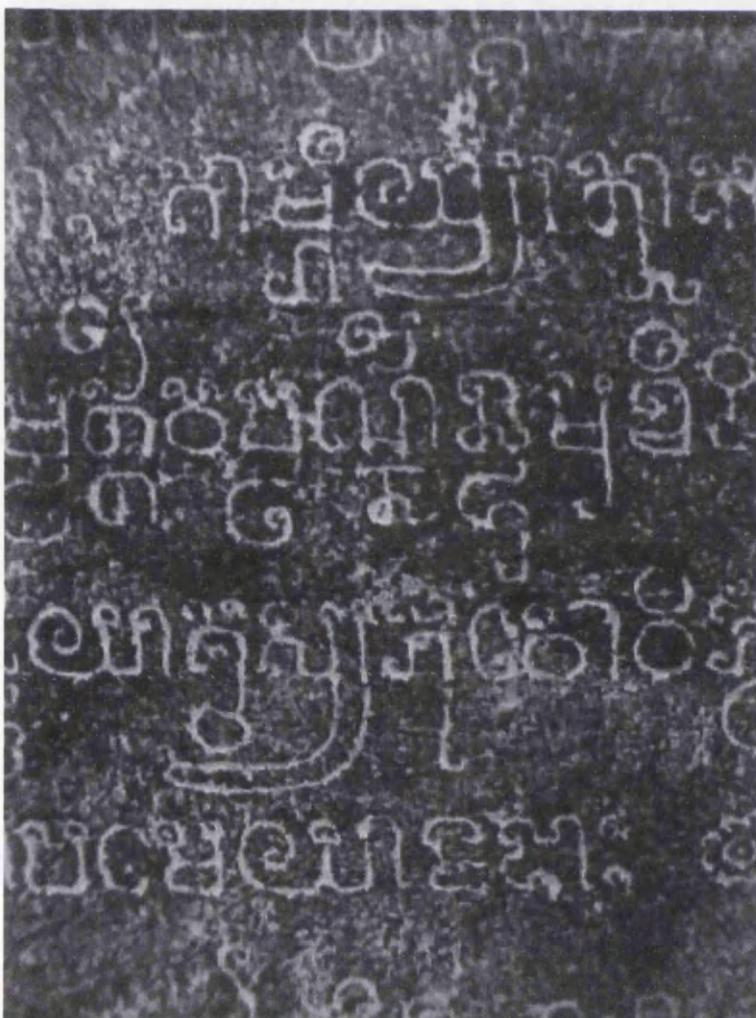


b: bottom of the inscription.  
As at the inscription of the East Mebon, at the bottom were carved lotus flowers. This photo also shows how the tenon of the inscription was originally inserted into the floor of PR-H.



c: detail of writing.

This close-up of face A clearly shows how fine the writing of the inscription was.



d: detail of rubbing of face B.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, n. 1037.)



Fig. 5.5: Banteay Samre – pediment with the birth of Brahmā.

According to Finot's interpretation of st. CCVIII of the East Mebon inscription, only one image of Viṣṇu and Brahmā were founded. Had that been the case, the image would have resembled this carving of the birth of Brahmā at Banteay Samre.

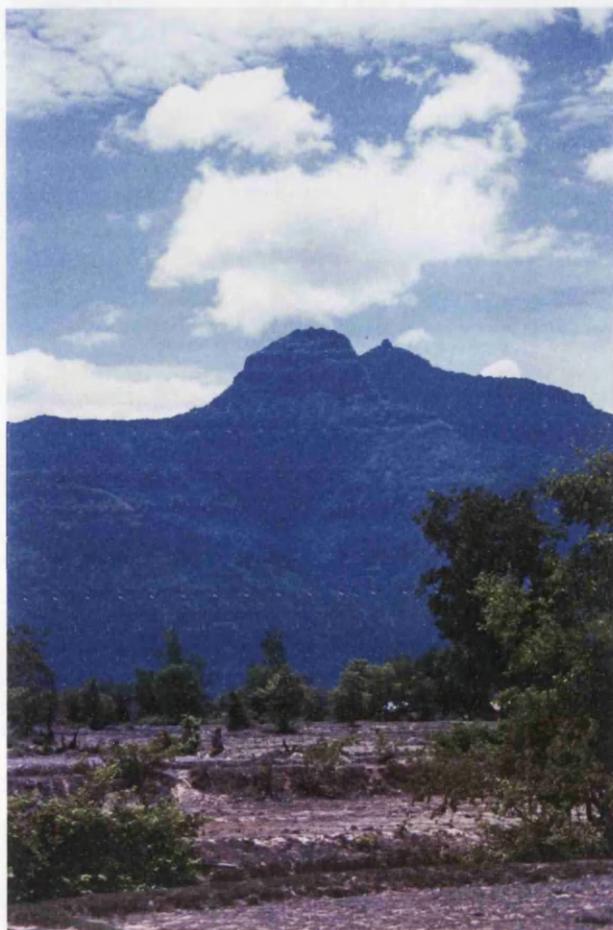


Fig. 5.6: Wat Phu.

a: from afar. The mountain behind Wat Phu is where the *svayambhuvaliṅga* can be found.



b: from the bottom of the hill, with causeway leading up to the temple.

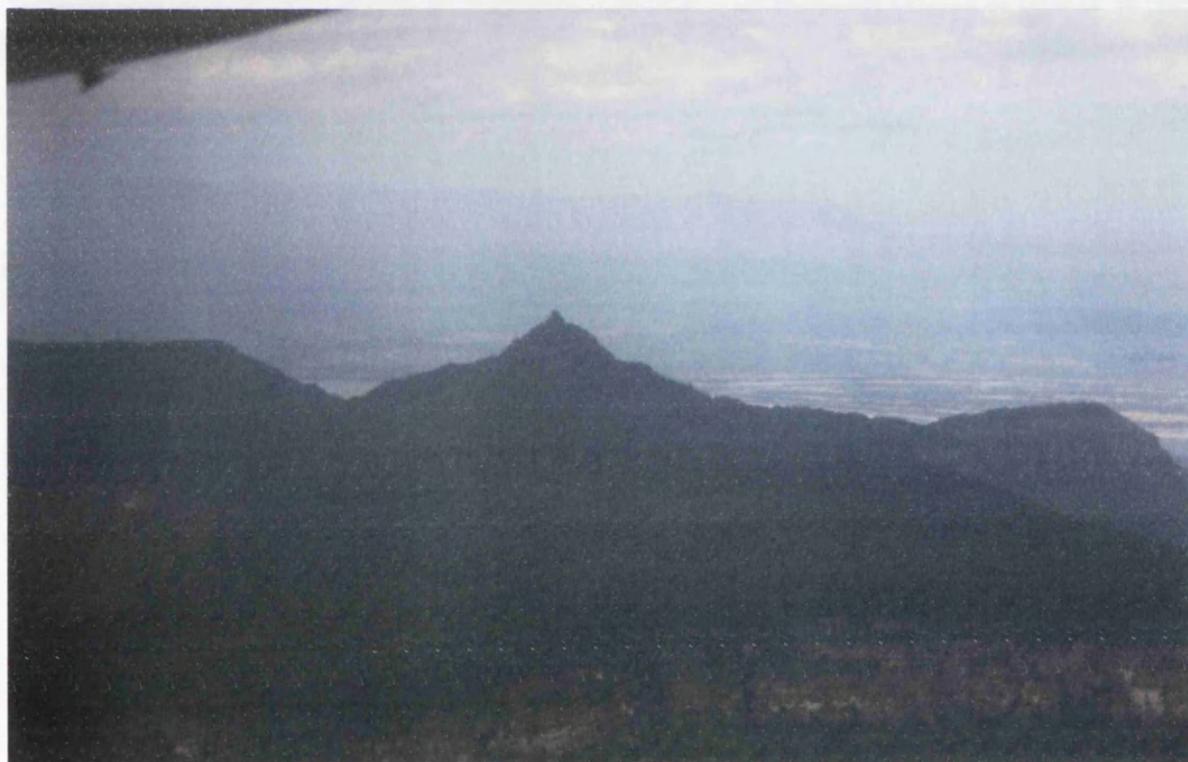


Fig. 5.7: Wat Phu - mountain with *svayambhuvalinga* behind the temple, aerial view. Behind the temple is a mountain carrying a natural *linga*. In this view Wat Phu would be on the other side of the hill. In the distance the Mekong plain can be seen, which was the location of a considerable settlement, recently excavated by a UNESCO team.



Fig. 5.8: Wat Phu – spring behind the sanctuary.  
This spring is located just behind the sanctuary of Wat Phu. It receives its sanctity from the fact that it never dries up.



Fig. 6.1: East Mebon – pedestal in front of M-CS.

The pieces of the pedestal were found scattered around by the team of the Conservation d'Angkor, and put together to resemble a pedestal. The broken top layer clearly shows an octagonal hole at its centre, indication that it was intended for a *linga*. Consequently, this appears to be the pedestal which was originally placed inside the central shrine.



Fig. 6.2: East Mebon – indentation inside M-CS.

This indentation was carved to receive the pedestal.



Fig. 6.3: East Mebon – round pedestal inside M-SE.

Unfortunately, the pedestal is broken. However, it can clearly be seen that it is round, and probably supported an image of Brahmā.



Fig. 6.4: Brahmā pedestal from Prasat Trapeang Pong.

This pedestal was discovered in the south sanctuary of Prasat Trapeang Pong in Hariharālaya, and once bore an image of Brahmā.



Fig. 6.5: East Mebon – round *snadroni* at bottom of central platform. This *snadroni* belongs to the pedestal inside M-SE, and was found broken at the bottom of the platform.



Fig. 6.6: East Mebon – pedestal inside M-NE.

The pedestal inside M-NE is placed against the western wall. Judging from the indentation in the floor, however, this is the original pedestal.



Fig. 6.7: East Mebon – feet and tenon inside M-NE. This fragment of an image was found inside the *prasat*. Stylistically, it dates from the Bayon style.

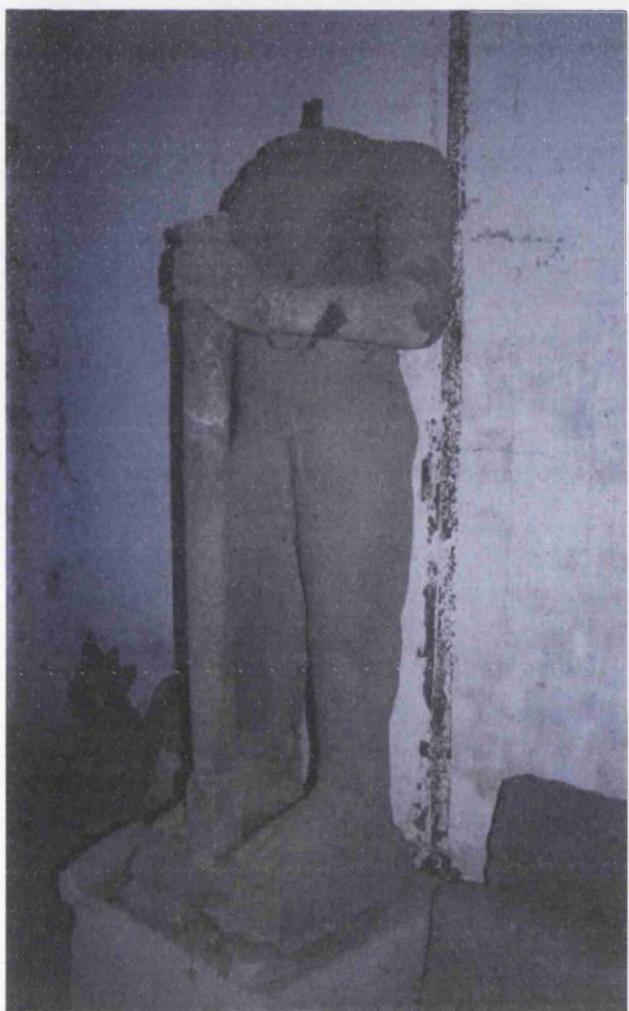


Fig. 6.8: Bayon style guardian figure. a: the image in the Conservation d'Angkor.



b: close-up of the feet.



Fig. 6.9: East Mebon – pedestal inside M-NW. The pedestal is placed against the west wall, and was originally placed within the indentation in the floor.



Fig. 6.10: East Mebon – pedestal inside M-SW.

Again, the pedestal, originally placed inside the indentation in the floor, is leaning against the west wall.

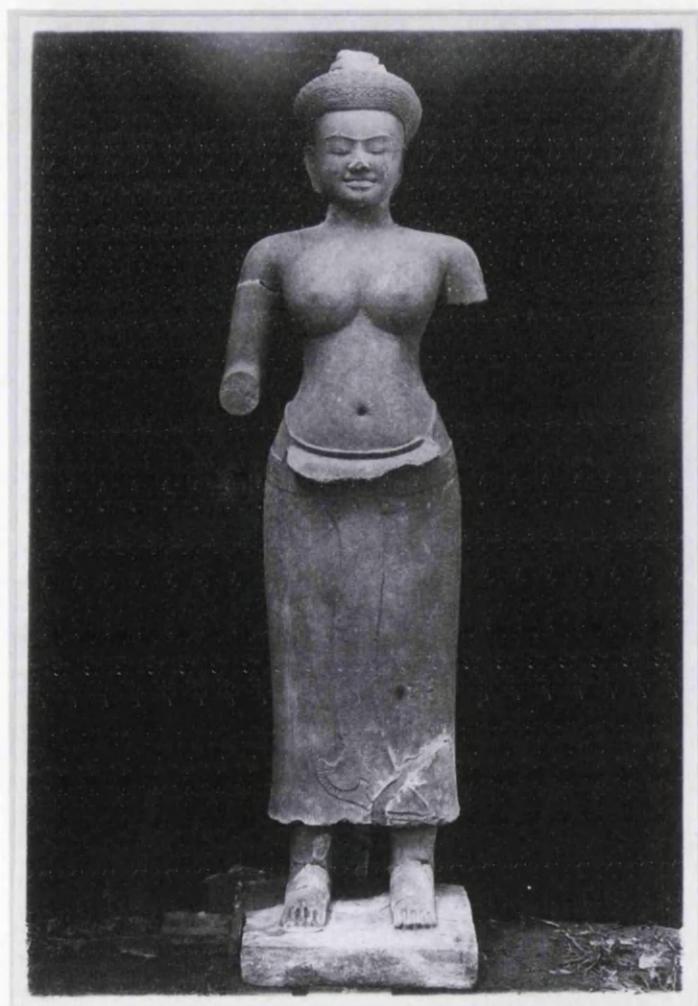


Fig. 6.11: East Mebon – female image found in 2 Gop W.

The 1.55 metre high image was initially believed to be the Parvatī mentioned in the inscription. However, stylistically the image belongs to a later period, and 10<sup>th</sup> century features, like the flap of the *sampot*, are only imitated. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 13691.)

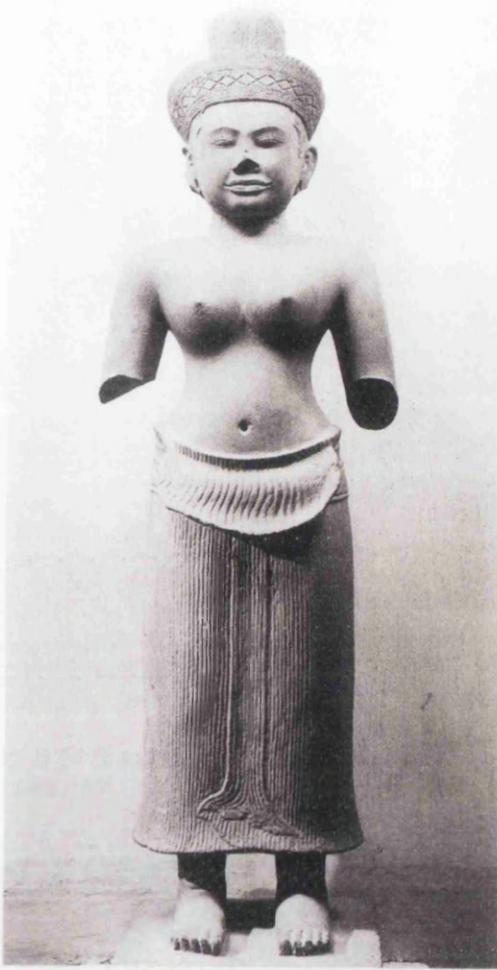


Fig. 6.12: Female image in Baphuon style.

This image shows several similar features to the Mebon image. The *sampot* is done in a very similar manner with the frontal flap, and the fishtail motif. Moreover, the line of the eyebrows is similar, as is the diadem, although this image is less refined than the Mebon one.

(Dalsheimer, 2001:141, NMPP 1670.)



Fig. 6.13: East Mebon – pedestal inside M-1.

*Prasat* M-1 still contains the original *linga* base, clearly visible at the octagonal hole.



Fig. 6.14: East Mebon – pedestal of M-3.  
a: pedestal.



b: top layer with octagonal hole.



Fig. 6.15: East Mebon – pedestal inside M-5.



Fig. 6.16: East Mebon – pedestals next to M-i. Opposite M-i are placed two pedestals on top of each other, one of which might have originally belonged into one of the small sanctuaries, as indicated by its size.

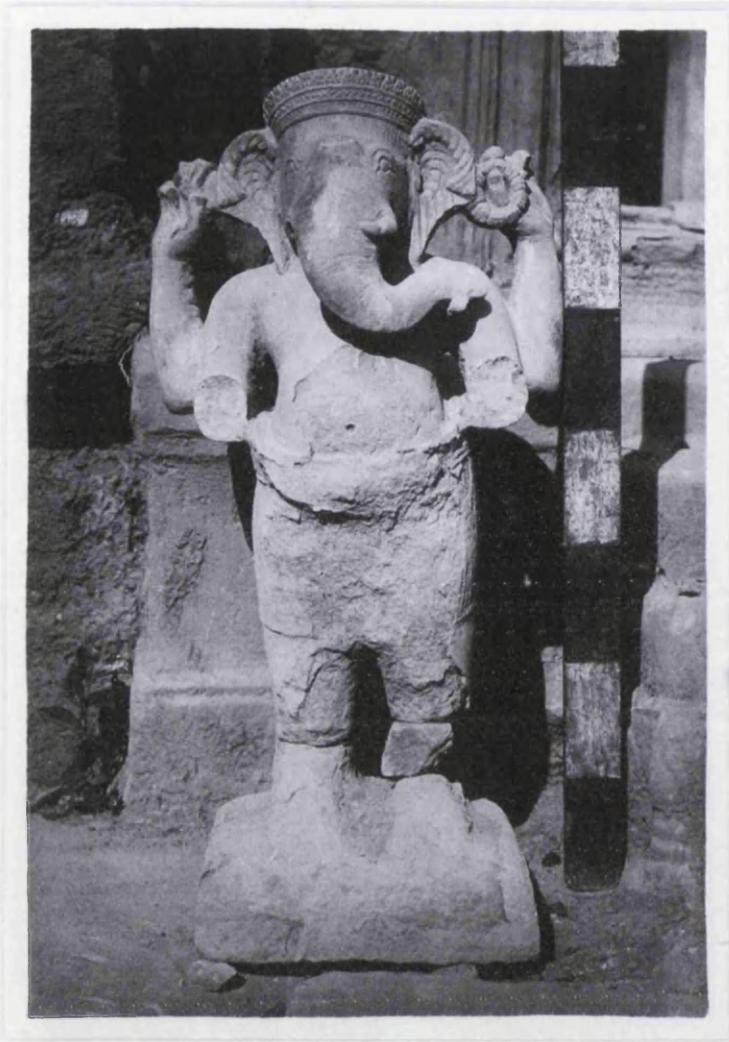


Fig. 6.17: East Mebon – Ganeśa found inside M-A. This image of Ganeśa is 70 cm large, and is stylistically contemporary with the temple. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 13660.)



Fig. 6.18: Vajimukha. This image of Vajimukha was carved in the Pre Rup style. Comparing it with the Ganeśa found in M-A it becomes evident that the Ganeśa is indeed contemporary with the temple. (Musée Guimet, MG 18099.)



Fig. 6.19: East Mebon – sandstone block carved on both sides found in M-A. Stylistically, the carvings belong to the time of King Rājendrarvarman, and appear to have been found in situ.

a: nine *devas*.

This carving of the nine devas is carved on one side of the sandstone block.  
(Library of the National Museum, Phnom Penh, CDA 3879.)



b: seven *ṛṣis*.

On the blocks other side are seven *ṛṣis*.

(Library of the National Museum, Phnom Penh, CDA 3878.)



Fig. 6.20: Stone of the nine *devas*, Khleang style.

This depiction of the nine *devas* dates from the Khleang style, and is somewhat later than that of the East Mebon.

(Jessup/Zephir, 1997:240-241.)



Fig. 6.21: East Mebon – stone of the nine *devas* found in M-B.

This depiction of the nine *devas* found inside M-B is now kept in the Conservation d'Angkor.



Fig. 6.22: Nine *devas* in the Baphuon style.

(Jessup/Zephir, 1997:249.)



Fig. 6.23: East Mebon – fourth deity of the carving of M-B. The deity was identified as Brahmā by K. Bhattacharya. However, the *vāhana*, though damaged, looks more like a buffalo. The attribute in the god's right hand is a round object. Overall, the deity appears to be not Brahmā but Yāma on his buffalo.



Fig. 6.24: Carving of the nine *devas* from Kuk Rokar. The fourth deity of this carving of the very early 11<sup>th</sup> century shows strong similarities to the one of the stone found in M-B. This deity can clearly be identified as Yāma on his buffalo. (Dalsheimer, 2001:215, NMPP 1658.)

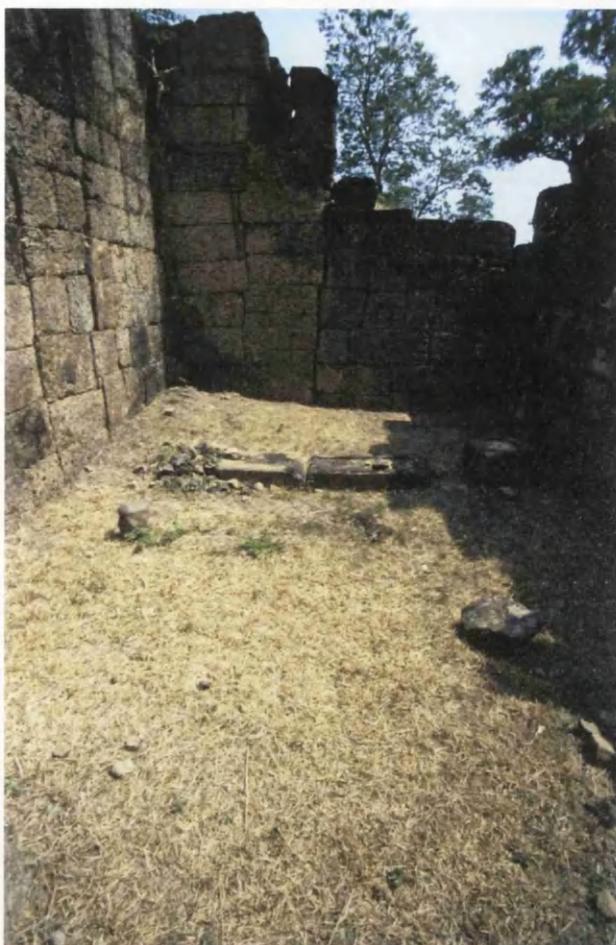


Fig. 6.25: East Mebon – sandstone block for carving of nine *devas* in M-A.

When the sandstone carvings were found inside M-A and M-B, both were placed on top of a long sandstone block, parallel to the western wall, here to be seen at the centre of the photograph.



Fig. 6.26: East Mebon – mother goddess found in 2 Gop W.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 13684.)



Fig. 6.27: East Mebon – pedestal next to M-D.

This pedestal is standing next to M-D. It might be the one found in 2 Gop W with the mother goddess.

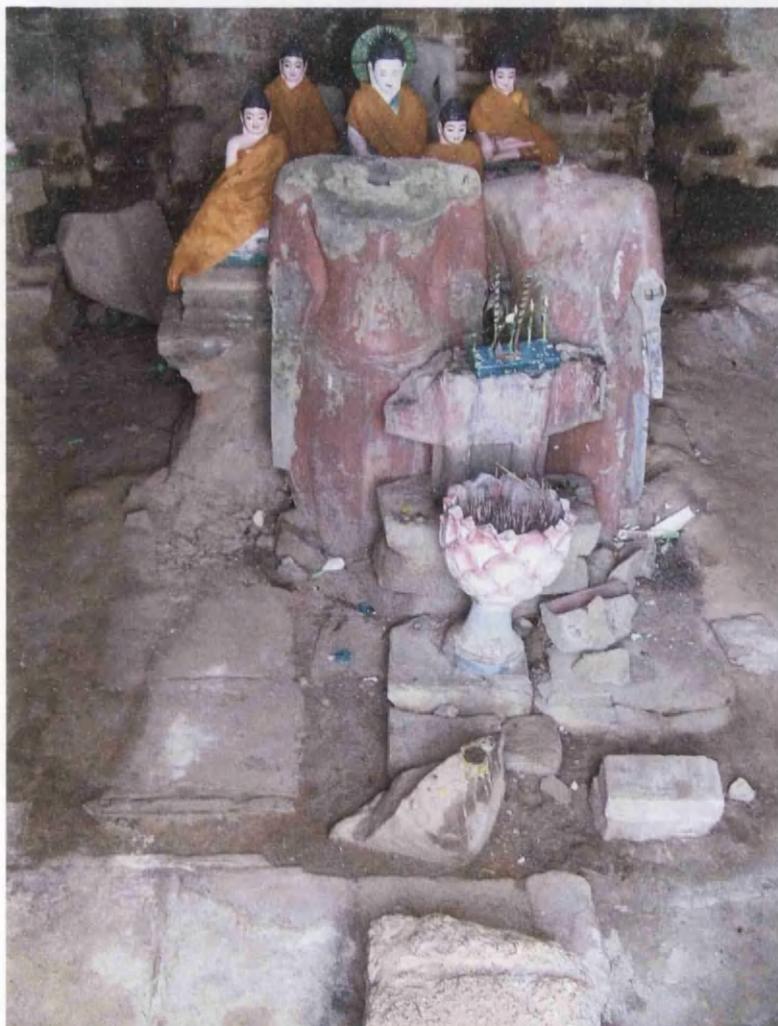


Fig. 6.28: Pre Rup – pedestal inside PR-CS.

On top of the pedestal inside PR-CS several modern Buddha images can be found, which are venerated daily by the locals. In front, the indentation for the original pedestal can be seen.



Fig. 6.29: Pre Rup – close-up of pedestal inside PR-CS.  
The pedestal now inside PR-CS was one of the lion pedestals placed on the lowest level of the pyramid.



Fig. 6.30: Pre Rup – pedestal of lion on first level of pyramid.



Fig. 6.31: Pre Rup – fragment of *yonī* next to PR-2.

The side length of this *yonī* was probably about 1.2 metres, which would fit the pedestal which should have been placed inside PR-CS.

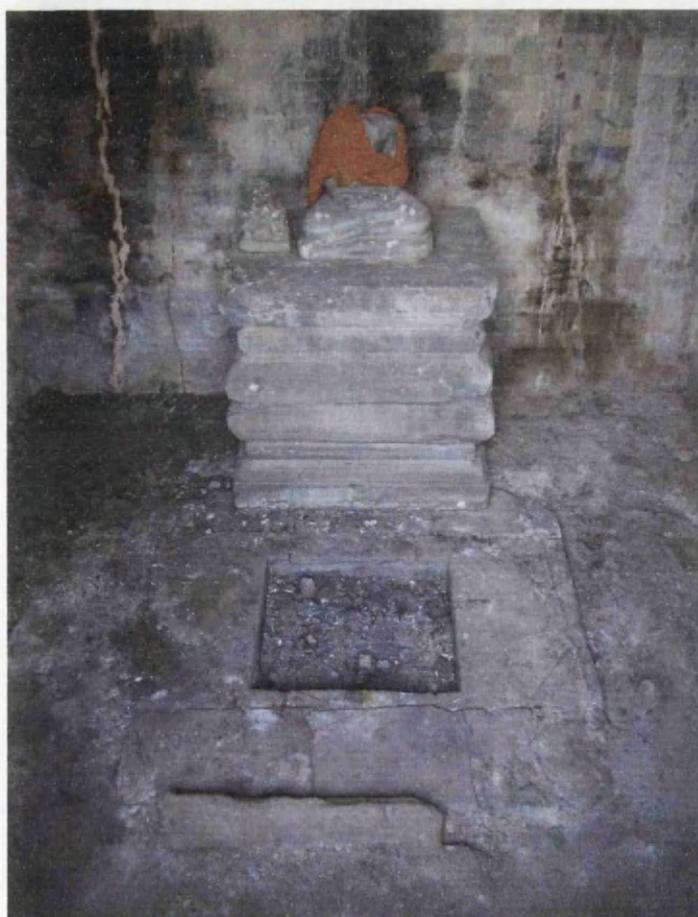


Fig. 6.32: Pre Rup – pedestal inside PR-SE.

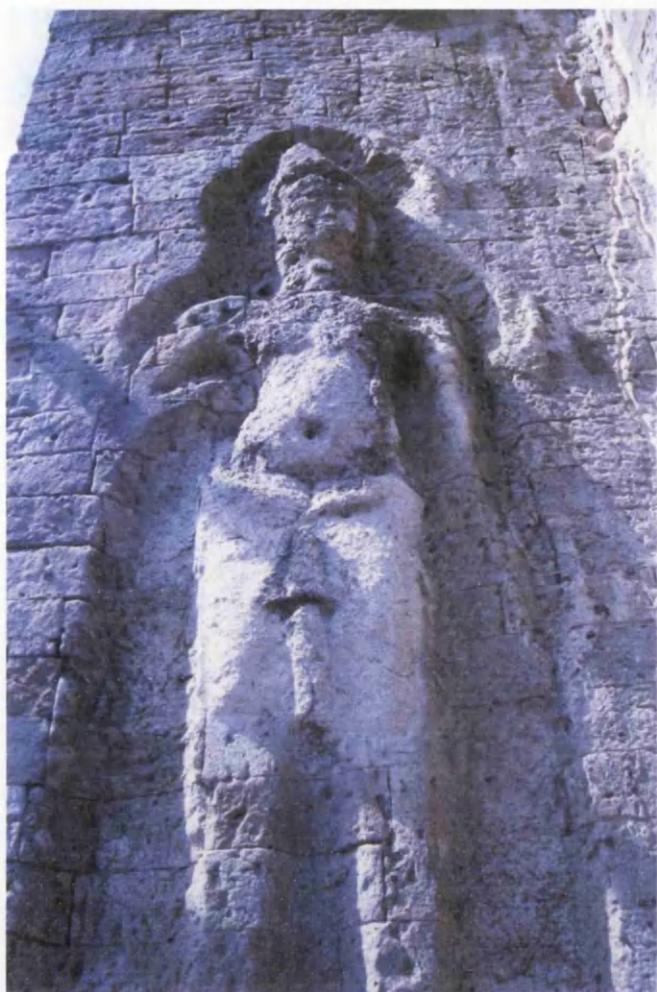


Fig. 6.33: Pre Rup – guardian of PR-SE.

The guardian figures of PR-SE are identical in their stance, and thus seem not to have represented the *dikpālakās*.



Fig. 6.34: Pre Rup – small sandstone image inside PR-SE.



Fig. 6.35: Banteay Srei – kneeling *yakṣa* outside central *prasats*.



Fig. 6.36: Phnom Rung – *dikpālaka* placed outside the main shrine.

Those *dikpālaka*, which are still left of the original eight ones, are not placed around the central shrine coherently. This one, Śiva on his bull, is placed outside the *mandapa* in front of the shrine, whereas a few others can be found inside.



Fig. 6.37: Pre Rup – pedestal inside PR-NW.



Fig. 6.38: Pre Rup – image of Viṣṇu found south of PR-NE.

This image was found just south of PR-NE. Shortly after the photograph was taken, the image fell over during a thunderstorm and the head broke off.

(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 12930.)



Fig. 6.39: Avalokiteśvara of Banteay Chmar in Bayon style.  
(Dalsheimer, 2001:172, NMPP 1708.)



Fig. 6.40: Pre Rup – pedestal inside PR-SW.  
This pedestal is the only original one still in situ in the central quincunx of towers.



Fig. 6.41: Pre Rup – PR-SW, plaster moulding of pedestal of west *devatā* of north side.

The pedestal of the *devatā* is very similar to the one inside the shrine, and allows inferences as to what the decorative carvings of the pedestals did look like originally.

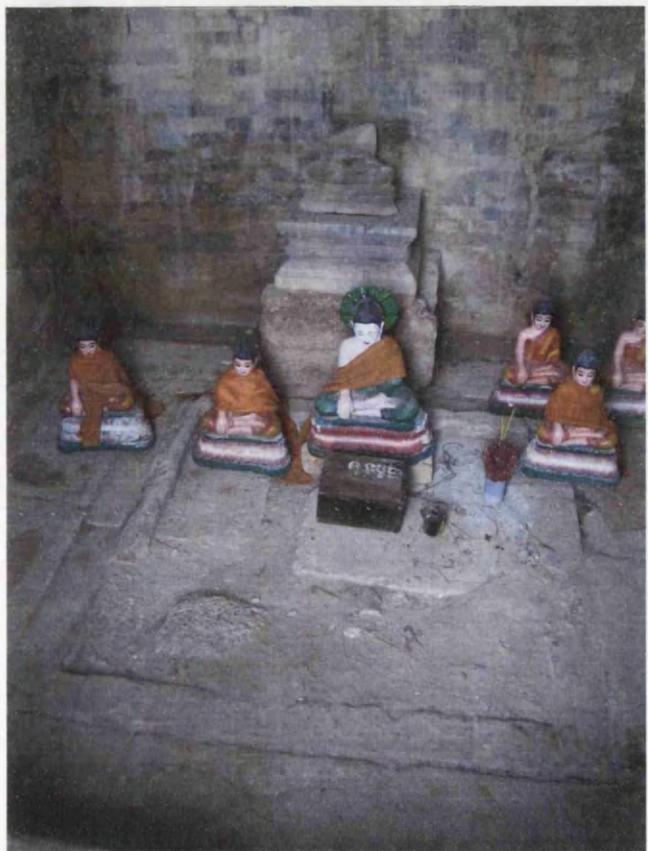


Fig. 6.42: Pre Rup – indentation for pedestal inside PR-NE.



Fig. 6.43: Pre Rup – eastern guardians of PR-NE.  
a: north deva.



b: close-up of north deva.



Fig. 6.44: Pre Rup – pedestal opposite PR-S.



Fig. 6.45: Pre Rup – pedestal at bottom of east staircase.



Fig. 6.46: Pre Rup – north  
*devatā* of east side: Brahmī.

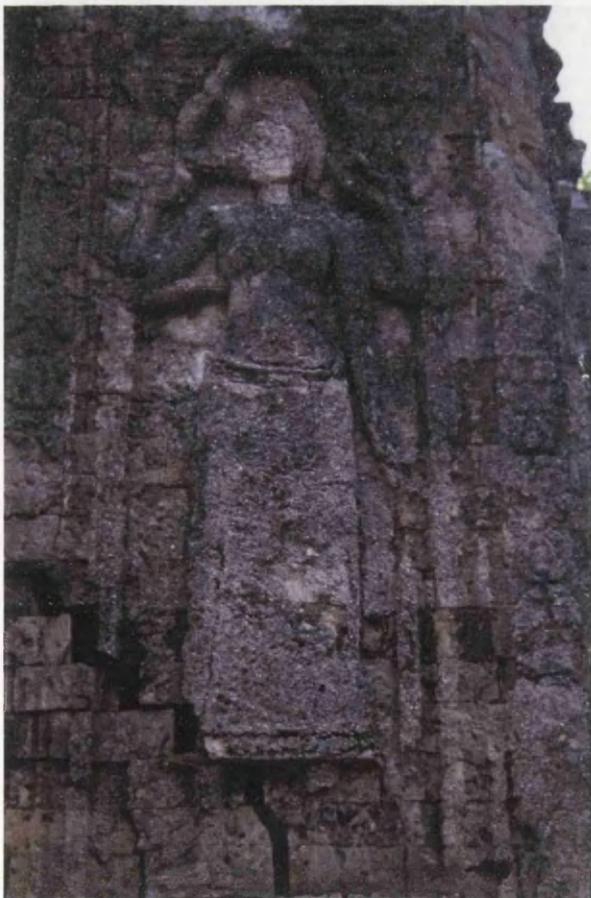


Fig. 6.47: Pre Rup – south  
*devatā* of west side: Varahī.



Fig. 6.48: Pre Rup – pedestal inside PR-1.



Fig. 6.49: Pre Rup – pedestal of small sanctuary, inside PR-NW.



Fig. 6.50: Pre Rup – feet and tenon inside PR-N.

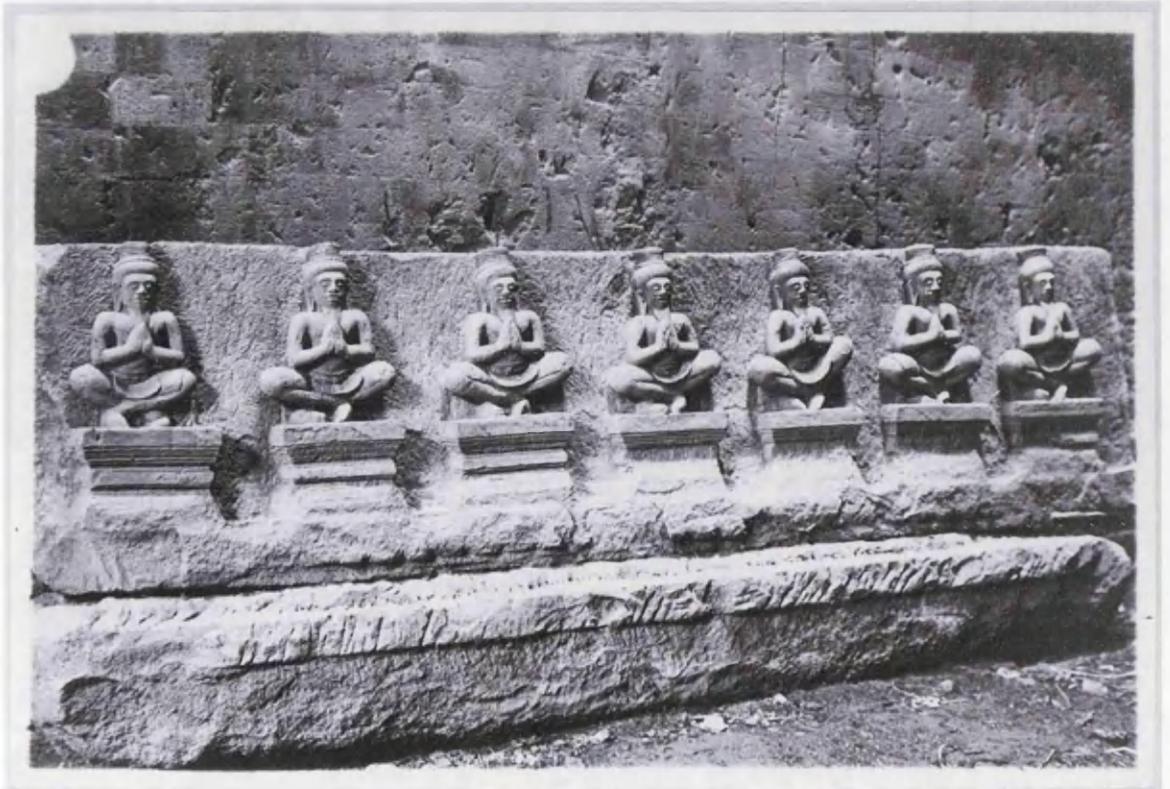


Fig. 6.51: Pre Rup – sandstone carving with seven *r̥sis* found inside PR-S.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 13082.)

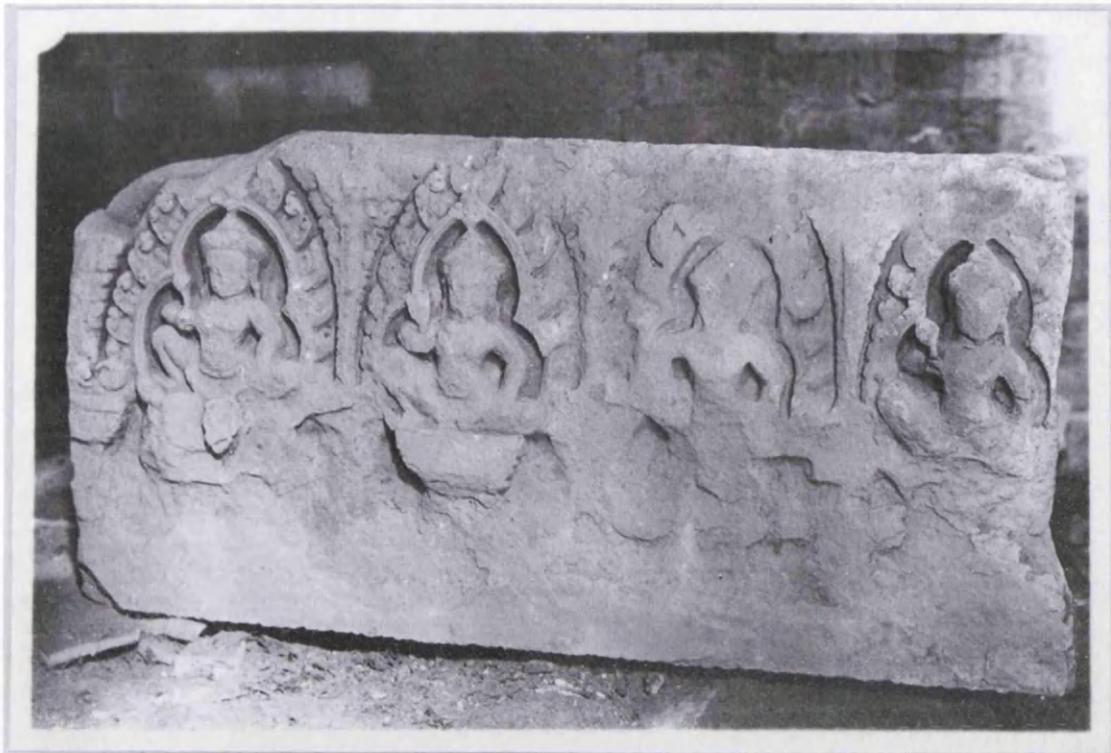


Fig. 6.52: Pre Rup – fragment of carving with the nine *devas*.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, INVLV 13083.)



Fig. 6.53: Pre Rup – head of  
Viṣṇu.  
a: front.  
(École Française d'Extrême-  
Orient, INVLV 13113.)



b: back.  
(École Française d'Extrême-  
Orient, INVLV 13115.)



Fig. 6.54: Varuṇa from Prasat  
Kuk Don.  
(Jessup/Zephir, 1997:219.)



Fig. 6.55: Viṣṇu from Phnom Bok.  
(Jessup/Zephir, 1997:205, MG  
18102.)

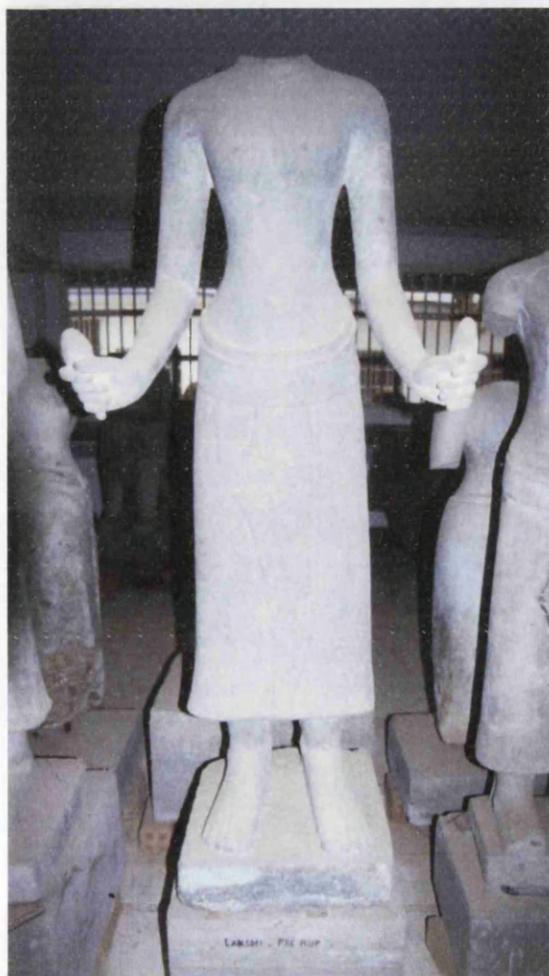


Fig. 6.56: Pre Rup – female image found  
in 2 Gop N.  
This image of presumably Lakṣmī is now  
being kept in the Conservation d'Angkor  
in Siem Reap.

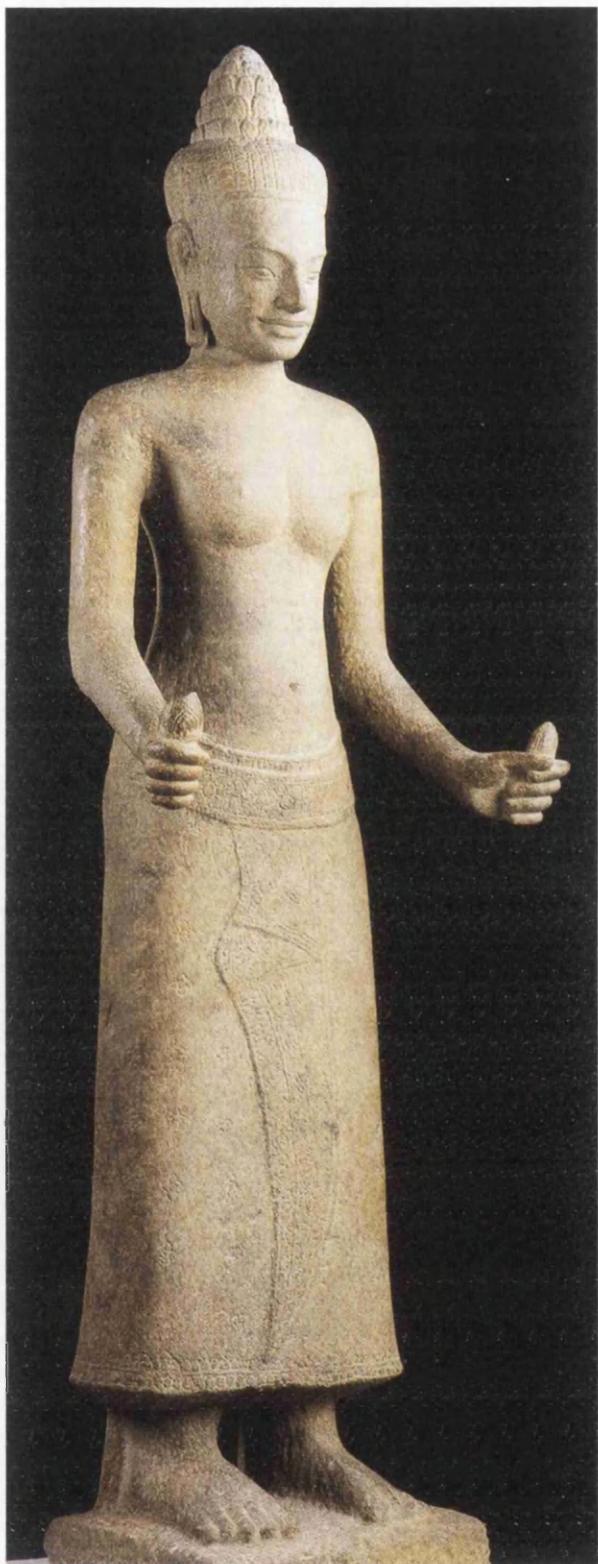


Fig. 6.57: Preah Ko – Lakṣmī image in Bayon style. (Dalsheimer, 2001:165, NMPP 1698.)

Table 6.1: East Mebon – the images mentioned in the inscription and physical evidence found.

Inscription Stanza	Image	Architecture
St. CCVII	Śiva Parvatī	Same images as mentioned in st. CCXVIII
St. CCVIII	Viṣṇu Brahmā <i>aṣṭamūrti</i>	Same images as mentioned in st. CCXVIII <i>liṅgas</i> : 3 bases found in situ in 8 small brick towers (1, 3, 5), 4 bases inside CS, three of these seven have top for <i>liṅga</i> (1, 3, one in CS), 1 and 8 had <i>liṅgas</i> in them <sup>1</sup> ⇒ rest probably for <i>liṅgas</i> as well
St. CCXVIII	Śrī Rājendreśvara Viṣṇu Gaurī Śiva  Brahmā	In front of CS: pedestal for <i>liṅga</i> SW: pedestal for sculpture NW: pedestal for sculpture NE: pedestal for sculpture, feet and tenon SE: round pedestal for sculpture, S of E stairs: round snanadroni, pieces of male statue <sup>2</sup> , E of CS head of Brahmā <sup>3</sup> , standing four-armed statue (?) <sup>4</sup>
Not mentioned in inscription <sup>5</sup>		M-A: Ganeśa 70 cm possibly with its pedestal <sup>6</sup> M-A: stone with nine devas and seven ascetics <sup>7</sup>
Cannot be dated <sup>8</sup>		SE corner of 1 <sup>st</sup> encl.: bronze <i>nāga</i> , hand holding conch <sup>9</sup> M-A: 20 cm Ganeśa <sup>10</sup>
		M-C: bronze <i>nāga</i> with three heads, conch <sup>11</sup>
Later additions		M-B: stone with nine devas <sup>12</sup>
		1 Gop W: female image, <sup>13</sup> 1.55 metres high <sup>14</sup> In 2 Gop W mother goddess with possibly her pedestal <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1936:174.

<sup>2</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1936:152.

<sup>3</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1935:121

<sup>4</sup> DCA 3507/4175.

<sup>5</sup> These are objects which are contemporary with the temple, but not mentioned in the inscription.

<sup>6</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:200. DCA 3505.

<sup>7</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:200. DCA 3506.

<sup>8</sup> These items cannot be dated with certainty, because the fragments are either too small or were not photographed.

<sup>9</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:202.

<sup>10</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 04/1936:184.

<sup>11</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1936:298.

<sup>12</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1936:201.

<sup>13</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1938:9; 06/1938:7. DCA 5422.

<sup>14</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 07/1938:8.

<sup>15</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 05/1938:9. DCA 3747.

Table 6.2: Pre Rup – the images mentioned in the inscription and physical evidence found.

Inscriptions		Architecture
Stanza	Image	
St. CCLCCVII	Śrī Rājendrabhadreśvara  Gaurī Šaurī Īśvara	N of E stairs: 1.35 m high <i>līnga</i> <sup>16</sup> , next to PR-2 fragment of yonī prob. image of st. CCLXXX prob. image of st. CLXXIX prob. image of st. CCLXXVIII, CCLXXXI
St. CCLXXVIII	Īśvara Rājendravarmeśvara in PR-SE  <i>dīkṣālakāś</i>	Possibly pedestal at base of pyramid, opposite PR-S, and fragments found at southern staircase <sup>17</sup> Possibly small statue inside PR-SE
St. CCLXXIX	Rājendraviśvarūpa	Head of Viṣṇu (?) <sup>18</sup>
St. CCLXXX	Umā	Pedestal inside PR-SW
St. CCLXXXI	Śrī Rājendravarmadeveśvara	Possibly pedestal at base of eastern staircase of pyramid
St. CCLXXXII	Śarngin other gods aṣṭamūrti	In 12 brick towers: all together eight bases remain; five bases found in situ, two for <i>līngas</i> (1 and 6), two have no top layer, but could be for images (2 and 5), 1 broken base in PR-8, 1 base each in PR-NE, NW, and SW, in six towers rubble (3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12), in PR-11 carving for base, one <i>līnga</i> eastern towers <sup>19</sup> , possibly PR-1, one in western towers <sup>20</sup> , one E of pyramid <sup>21</sup> .
Not mentioned in inscription <sup>22</sup>		PR-S: stone with seven ascetics <sup>23</sup>
Cannot be dated <sup>24</sup>		PR-N: 90 centimetre high <i>līnga</i> <sup>25</sup>
		Stone with nine devas
		Near 2 Gop E: hand holding flacon <sup>26</sup> , possibly of same image head with chignon <sup>27</sup>
		2 Gop S: bronze thumb, toe, bracelet <sup>28</sup>
		40 metres east of Pre Rup: statue with four arms <sup>29</sup>
Later additions		NE corner of upper platform statue of Viṣṇu <sup>30</sup>
		2 Gop N: 1.32 metre high female image <sup>31</sup> PR-N: feet with tenon, possibly Viṣṇu's? <sup>32</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 11/1931:4.  
<sup>17</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1933:2.  
<sup>18</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 08/1923.  
<sup>19</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1922:141.  
<sup>20</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:6.  
<sup>21</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 09/1934:2.  
<sup>22</sup> Contemporary objects.  
<sup>23</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 10/1932:3. DCA 3867.  
<sup>24</sup> These objects have either not been photographed, or are too unspecific to date, as e.g. the ascetics.  
<sup>25</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:5.  
<sup>26</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1931:8. DCA 2356.  
<sup>27</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1931:5.  
<sup>28</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1933:2.  
<sup>29</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1929:591.  
<sup>30</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 03/1931:7. DCA 2394.  
<sup>31</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1935:8. DCA 3398.  
<sup>32</sup> Rapport d'Angkor, 01/1932:5.

Chapter 7

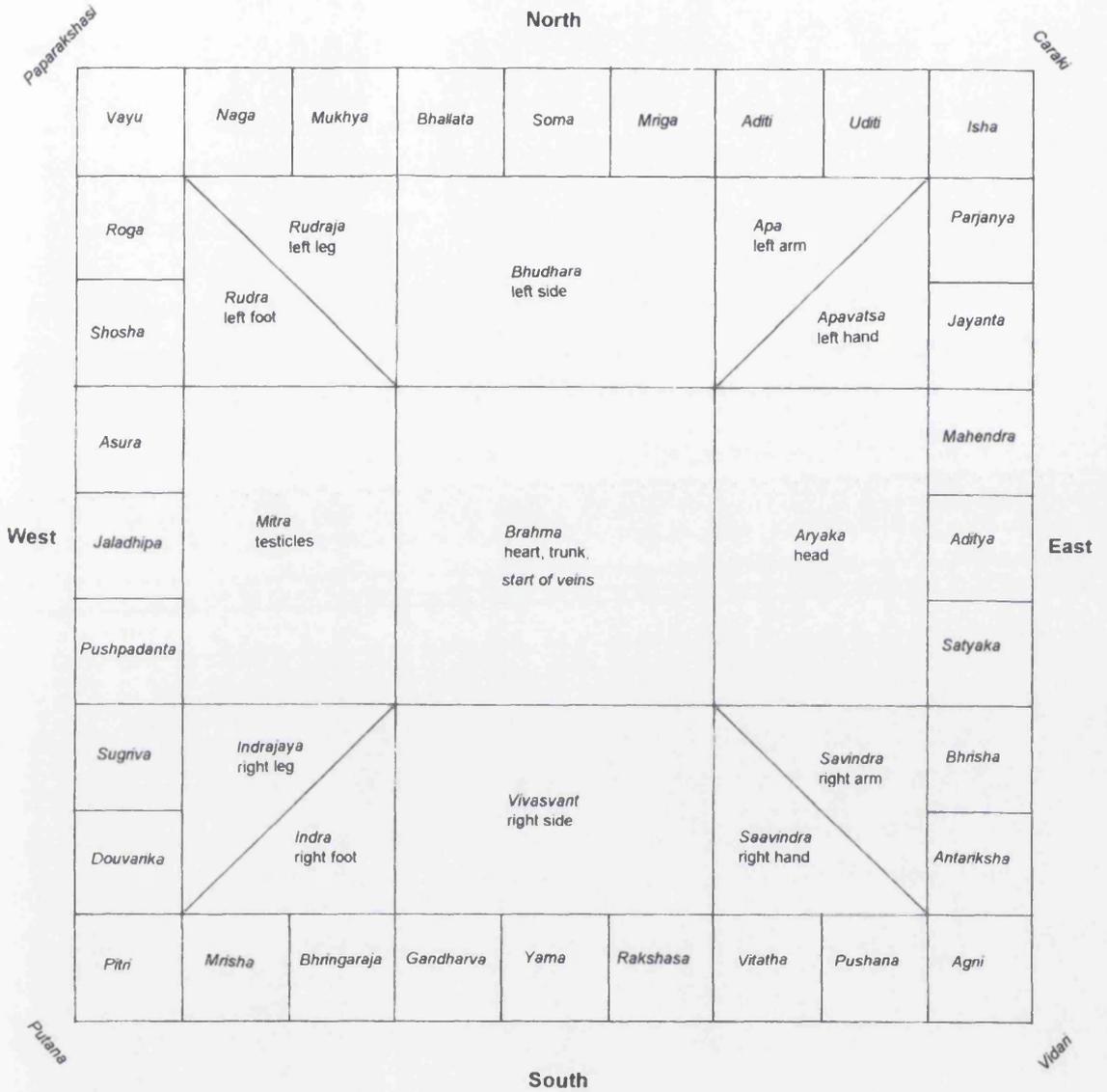


Fig. 7.1: Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala with allocation of deities to the various subsquares. (Chakrabarti, 1998:72.)

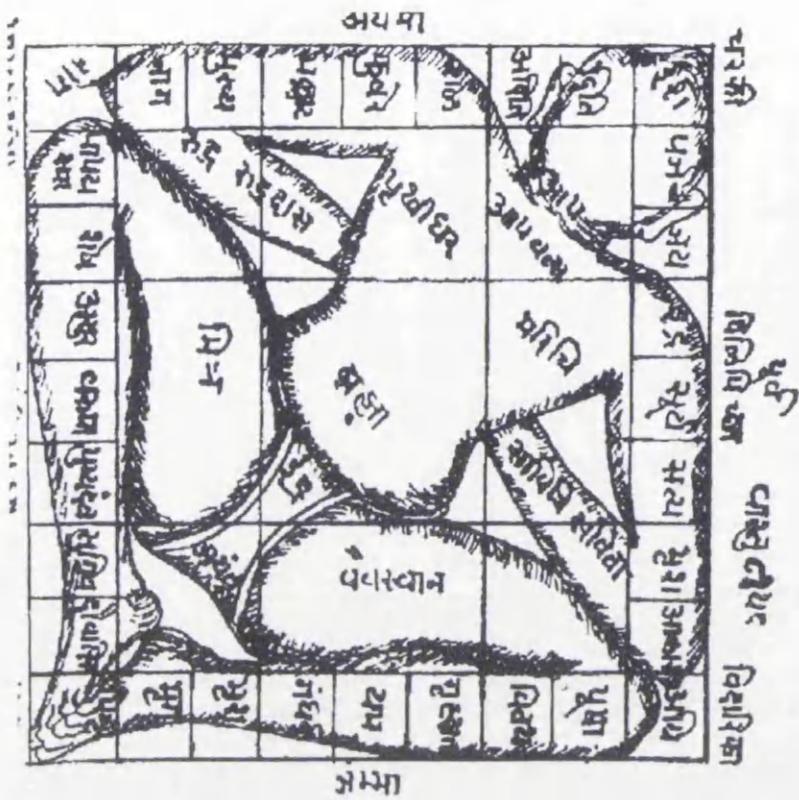


Fig. 7.2: Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala – the *puruṣa* being pressed down by the other deities. (Chakrabarti, 1998:104.)



Fig. 7.3: Brhadīśvara Temple, Thanjavūr – *kīrttimukha* above *gavākṣa*.

At Indian temples the *kāla*-motif can be found above the windows, and at the entrance to the inner sanctum.

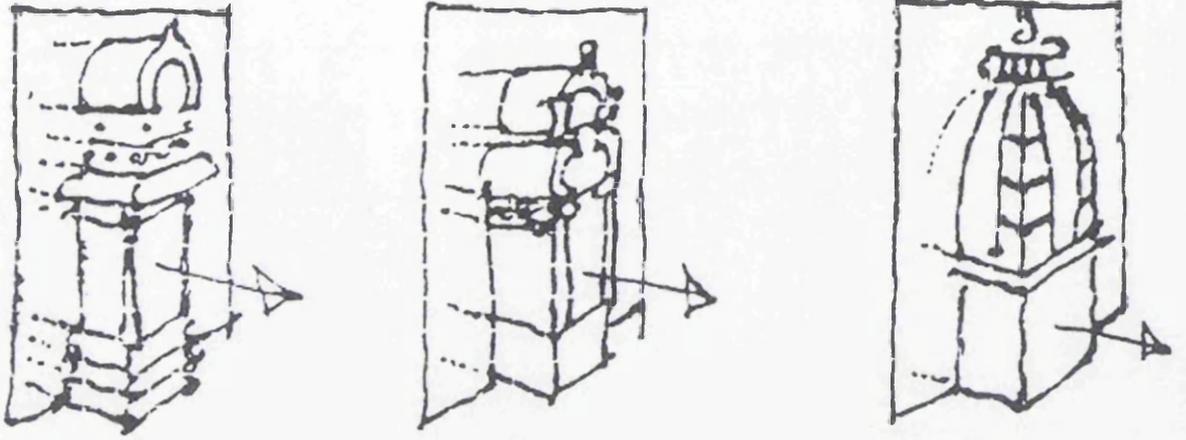


Fig. 7.4: Projection as a means to create dynamics in architecture.  
(Hardy, 1998:112.)

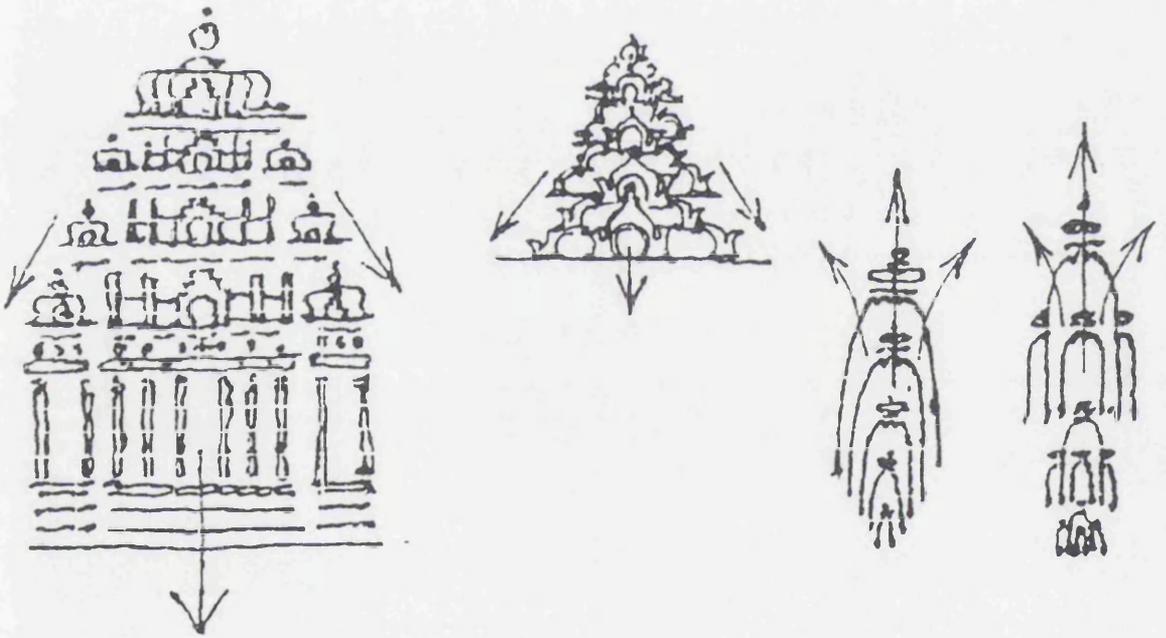


Fig. 7.5: Expanding repetition as a means to create dynamics in architecture.  
(Hardy, 1998:113.)

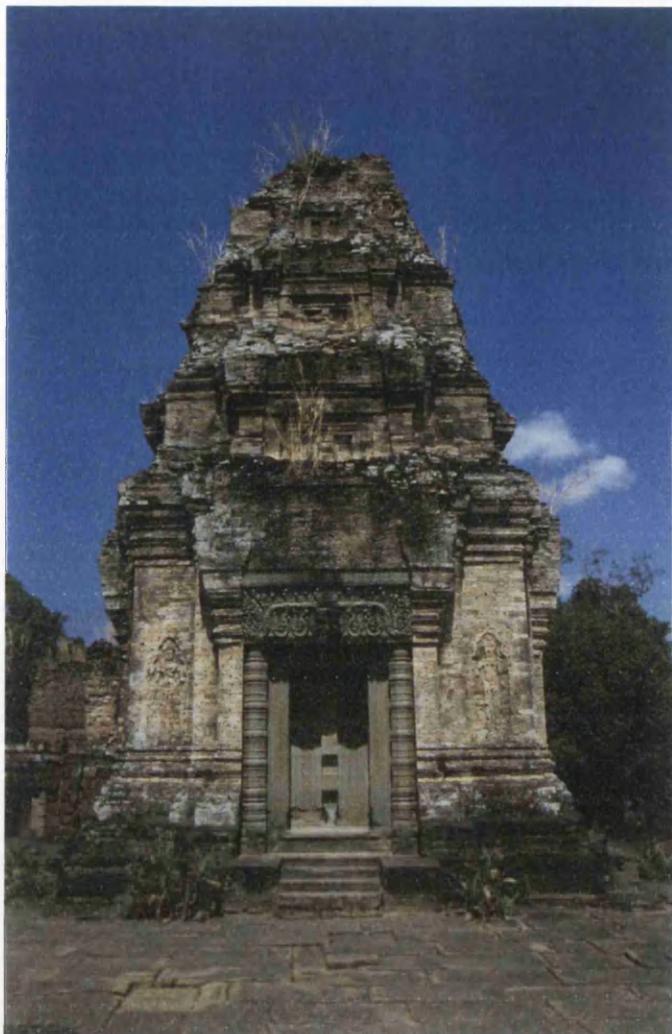


Fig. 7.6: East Mebon – M-NE.

Because the plinths of the *prasats* are made from the same material as the surrounding floor the buildings seem to rise from the ground, rather than be visually entirely separate entities.



Fig. 7.7: Pre Rup – PR-N.



Fig. 7.8: Pre Rup – PR-K.



Fig. 7.9: East Mebon – 2 Gop N.

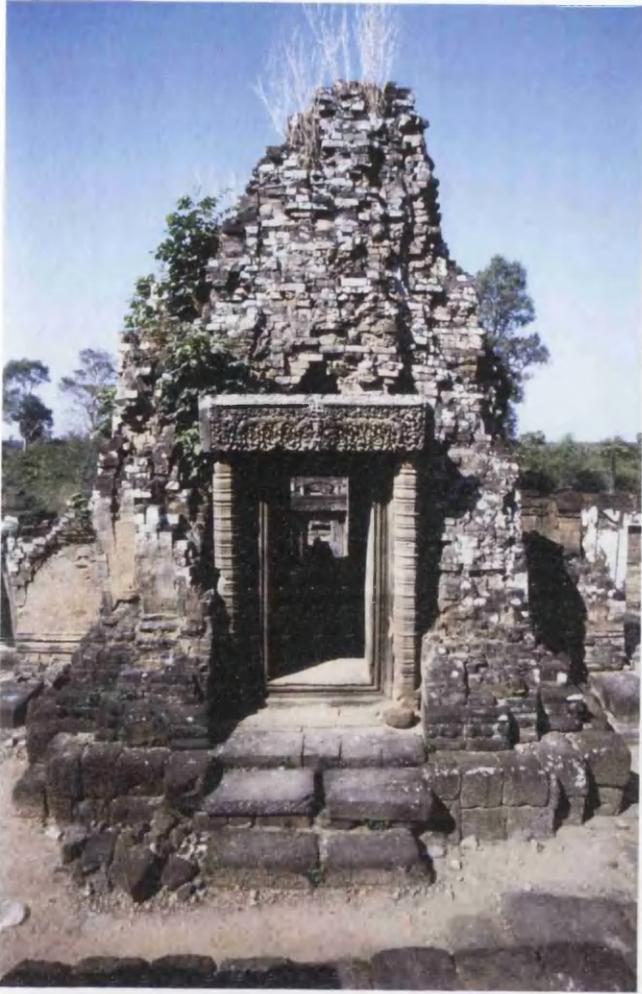


Fig. 7.10: Pre Rup – 1 Gop W.



Fig. 7.11: Pre Rup – 2 Gop N.

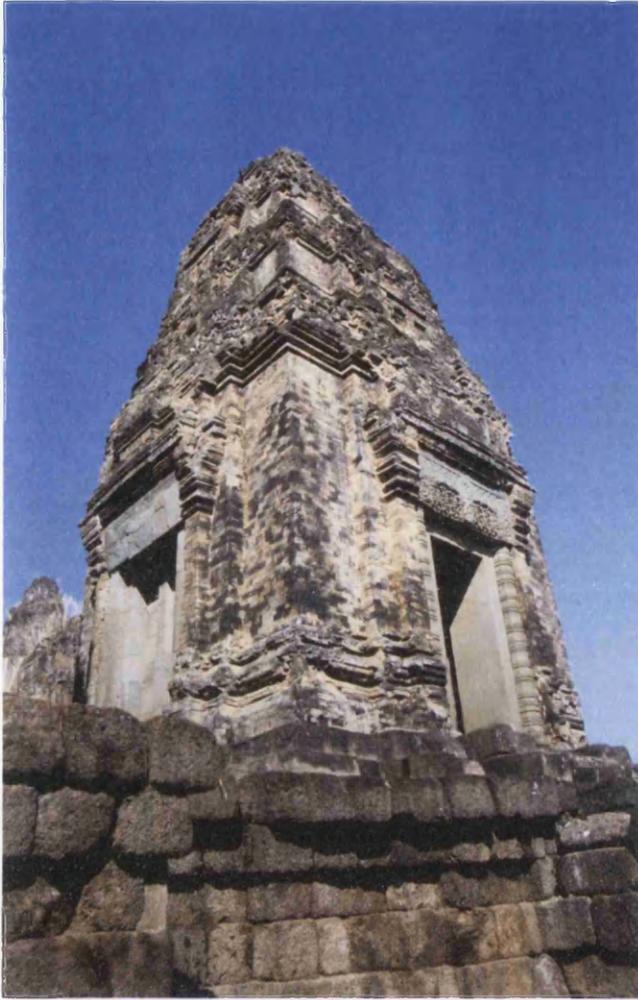


Fig. 7.12: Pre Rup – PR-III.

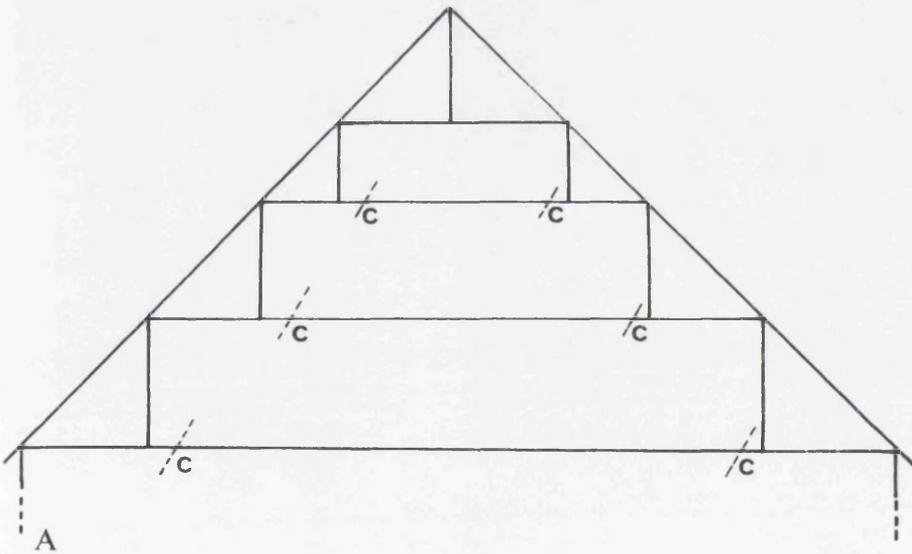
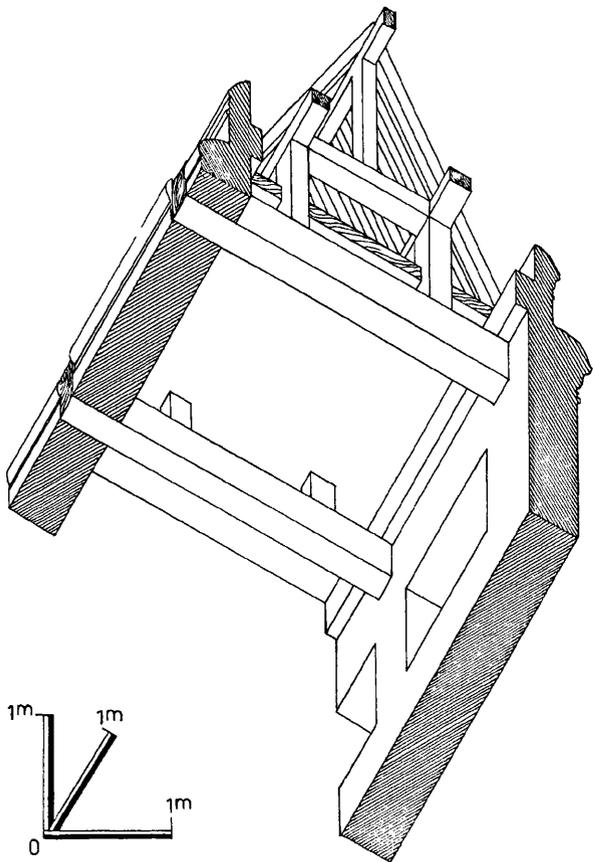


Fig. 7.13: Wooden beamwork roof construction.

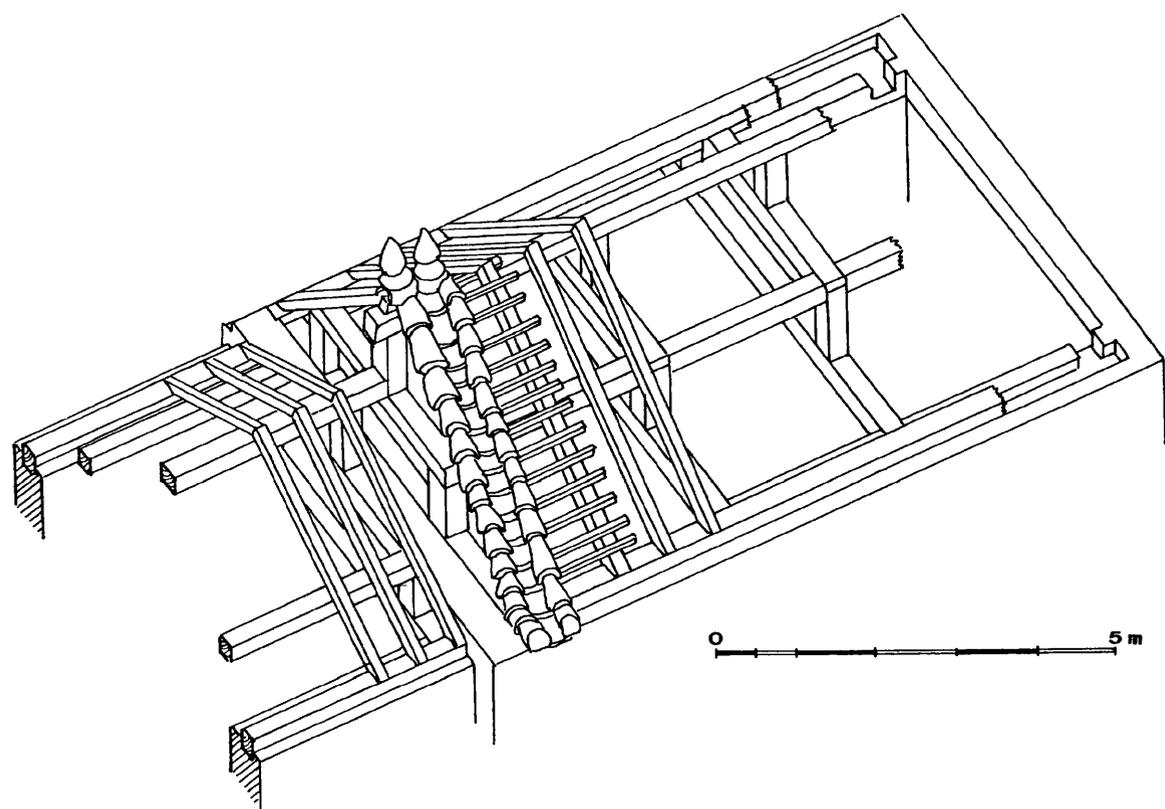
a: schematic illustration of sagging beamwork.

This technique of roof construction rests on the knowledge that a wooden beam will break at a point located at one-fifth of its length (shearing point), here marked as 'c', if supporting an over-heavy weight. The sagging beamwork construction brings all the weight of the superstructure in between the points of support and the shearing points.

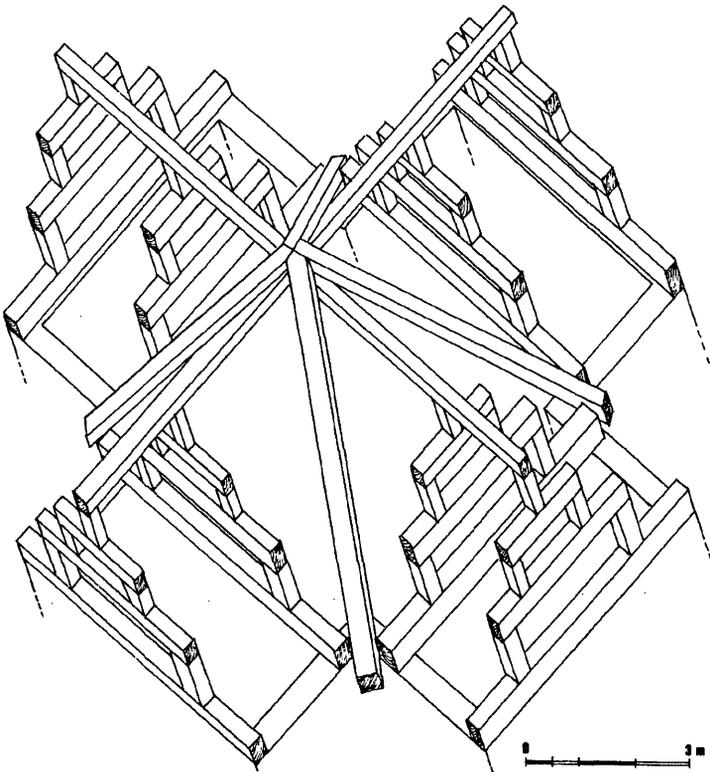
(Dumaray/Royère, 2001:fig. 3A.)



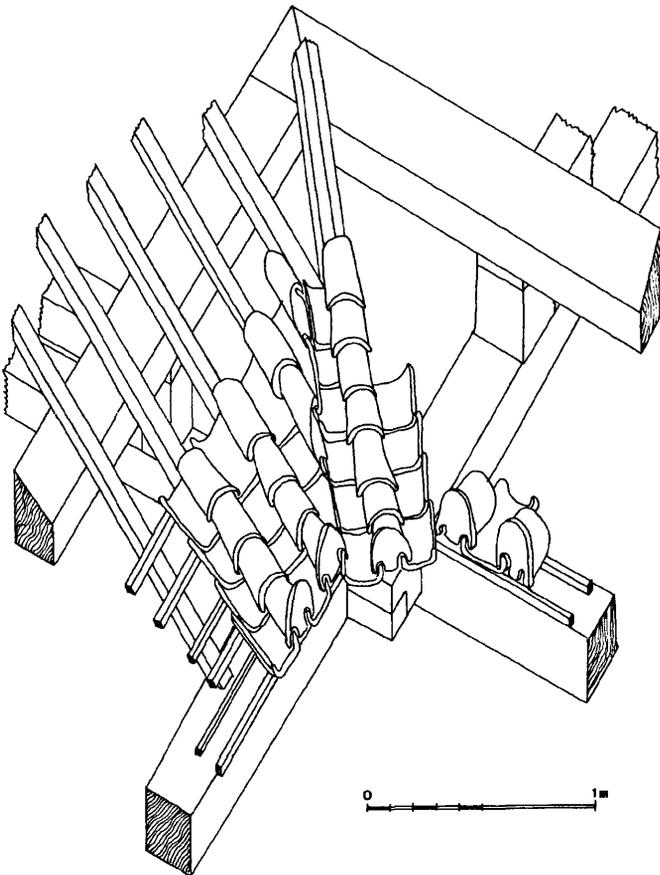
b: sagging roof construction at one of the long halls of Pre Rup.  
(Dumarçay, 1973:plan ix.)



c: roof construction with tiles in a long hall with vestibule.  
(Dumaray/Royère, 2001:fig. 4.)



d: roof construction over a cruciform building, for instance the outer *gopuras* of the East Mebon.  
 (Dumaray/Royère, 2001:fig. 5.)



e: technique of adding tiles at  
 the corner of a roof.  
 (Dumaray/Royère, 2001:fig. 6.)



Fig. 7.14: East Mebon – M-NE.



Fig. 7.15: East Mebon – ledge for ceiling inside M-4.  
At the transition point between walls and superstructure of all *prasats* can be seen a several centimetre deep ledge. Here a wooden ceiling was inserted to create a cave-like interior.



Fig. 7.16: East Mebon – holes for attaching stucco at M-SE.



Fig. 7.17: Pre Rup – plaster at PR-NW.

Most of what is left of the plaster at Pre Rup nowadays is the very coarse layer applied to the brick wall. This layer was moulded, and the pattern then covered with thinner layers of stucco, and possibly painted.

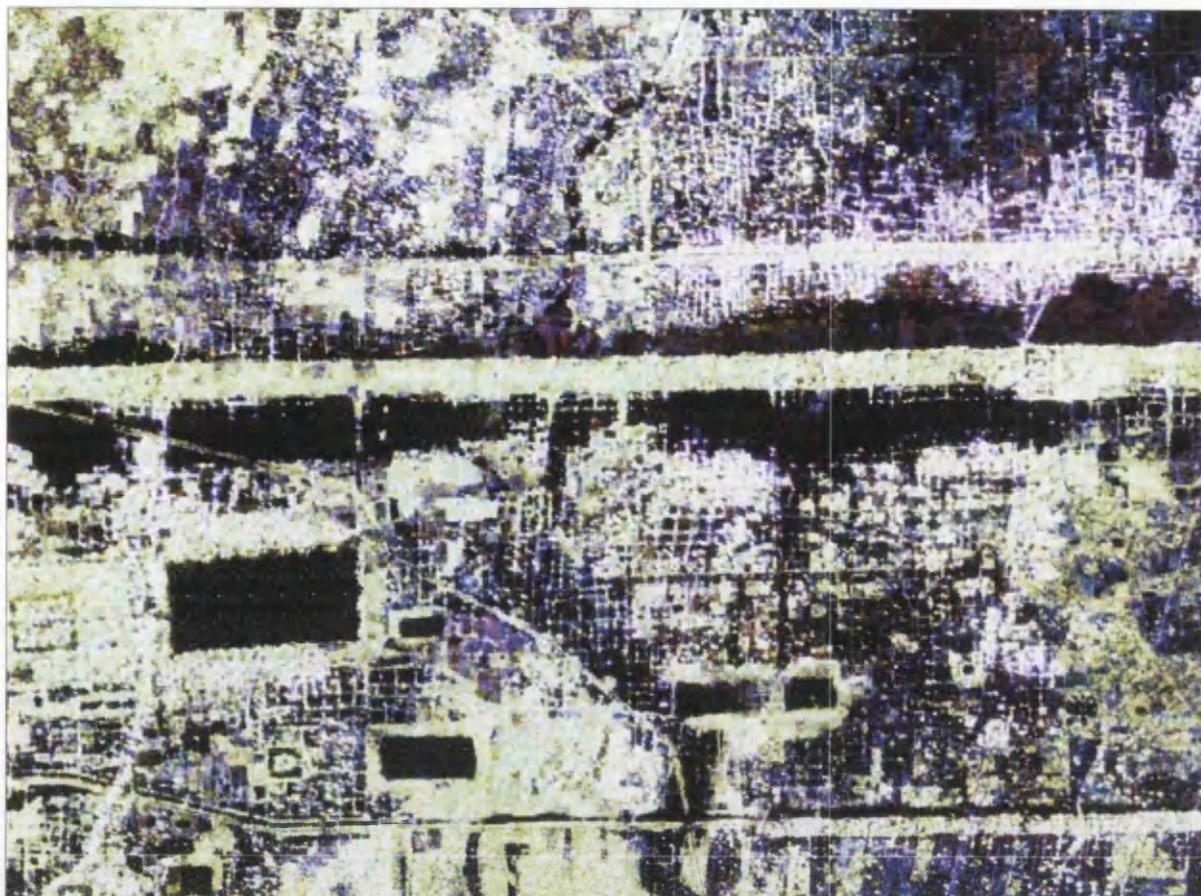


Fig. 7.18: Area around East Baray – satellite image.

Srah Srang can be seen as the large dark rectangle on the left hand side. Slightly north and to the east of it is Pre Rup, visible as a light green area, with the east causeway next to it. South of this causeway and around Pre Rup the formerly densely settled area of the capital can be seen. This is visible in the small squares and rectangles, which indicate former housemounds and ricefields.

(AIRSAR image acquired by NASA/JPL in September 2000 as part of the PacRim 2000 mission. Colour composite image (RGB = LhhLhvPvv) generated by Scott Hensley, Ian Tapley and Tony Milne and provided courtesy of the University of Sydney's Greater Angkor Project.)

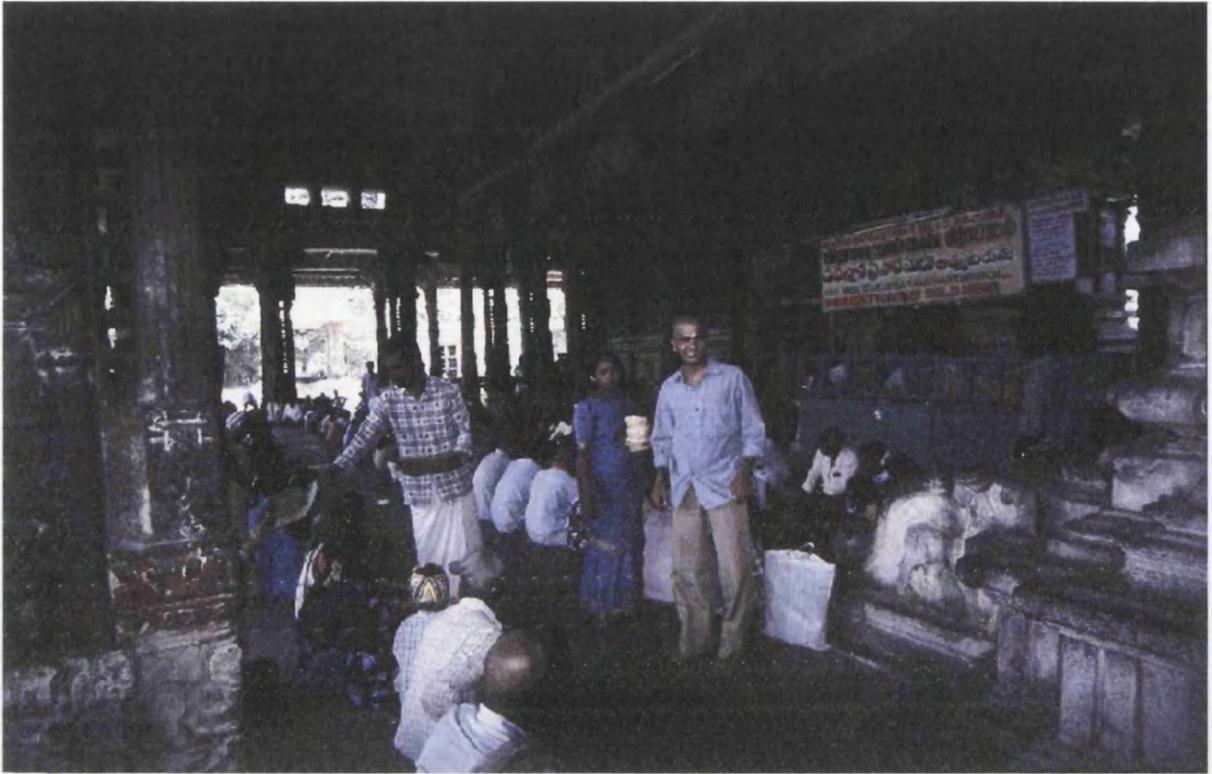


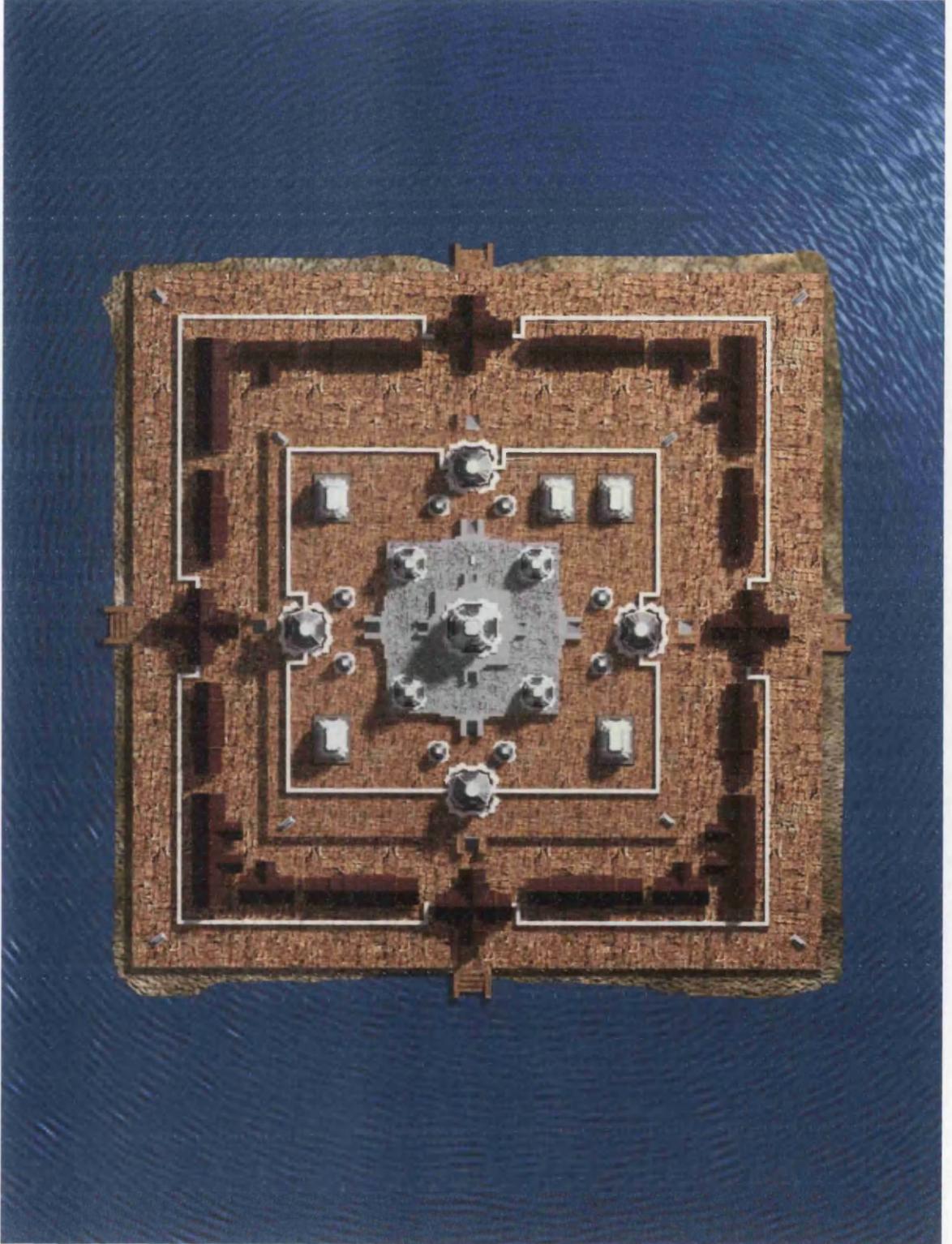
Fig. 7.19: Ekambareśvara Temple, Kanchipuram – lunch offered to devotees. In Indian temples lunch is still being given to worshippers, and the poor every day. This might have been practiced at temples in Kambujadesa as well.

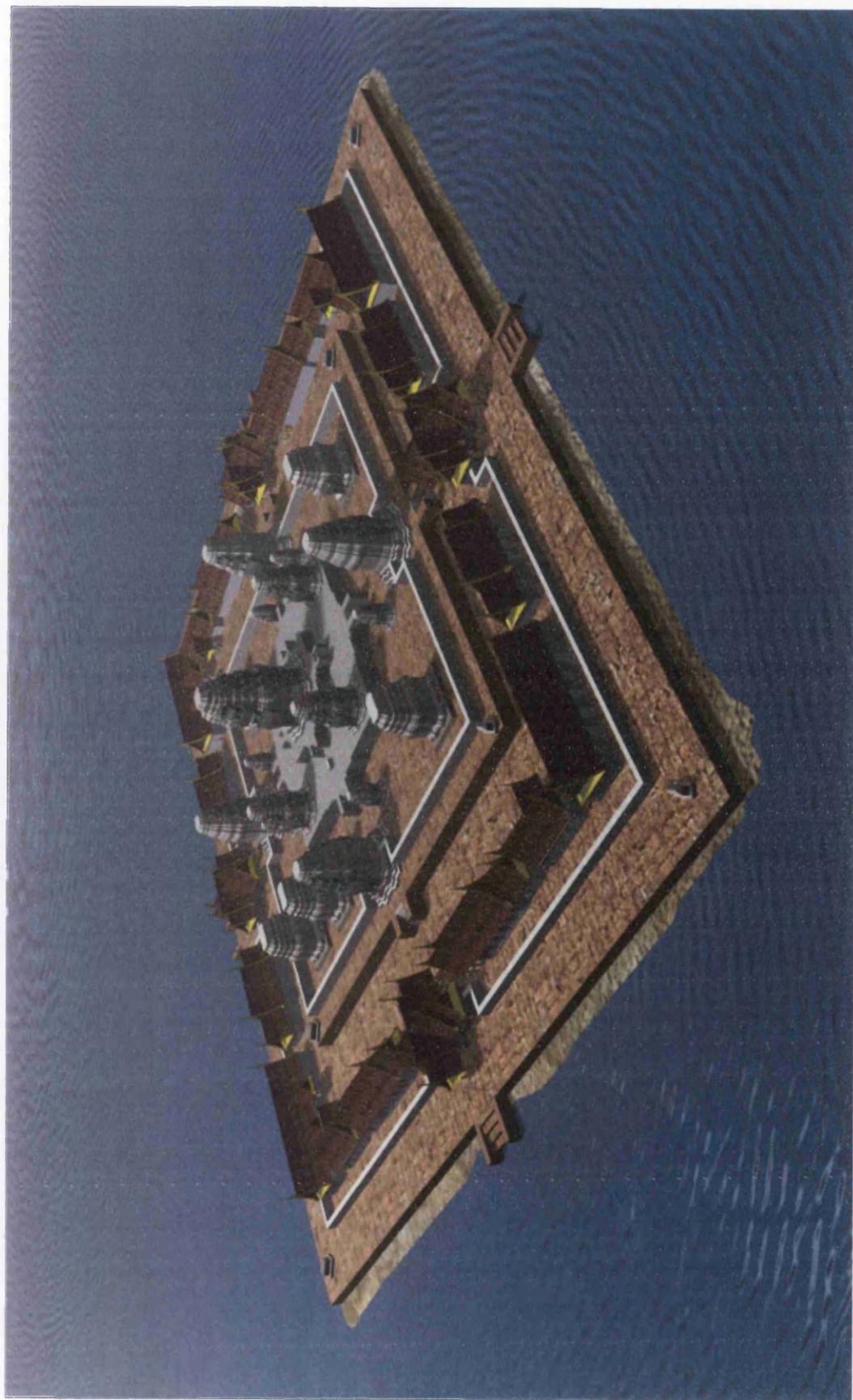
Computer graphic 1: East Mebon from top.

Originally, the East Mebon might have looked similar to this image, with the halls forming an almost continuous row of buildings surrounding the outer enclosure. Contrary to these more practical buildings, the inner enclosure contained the sanctuaries.

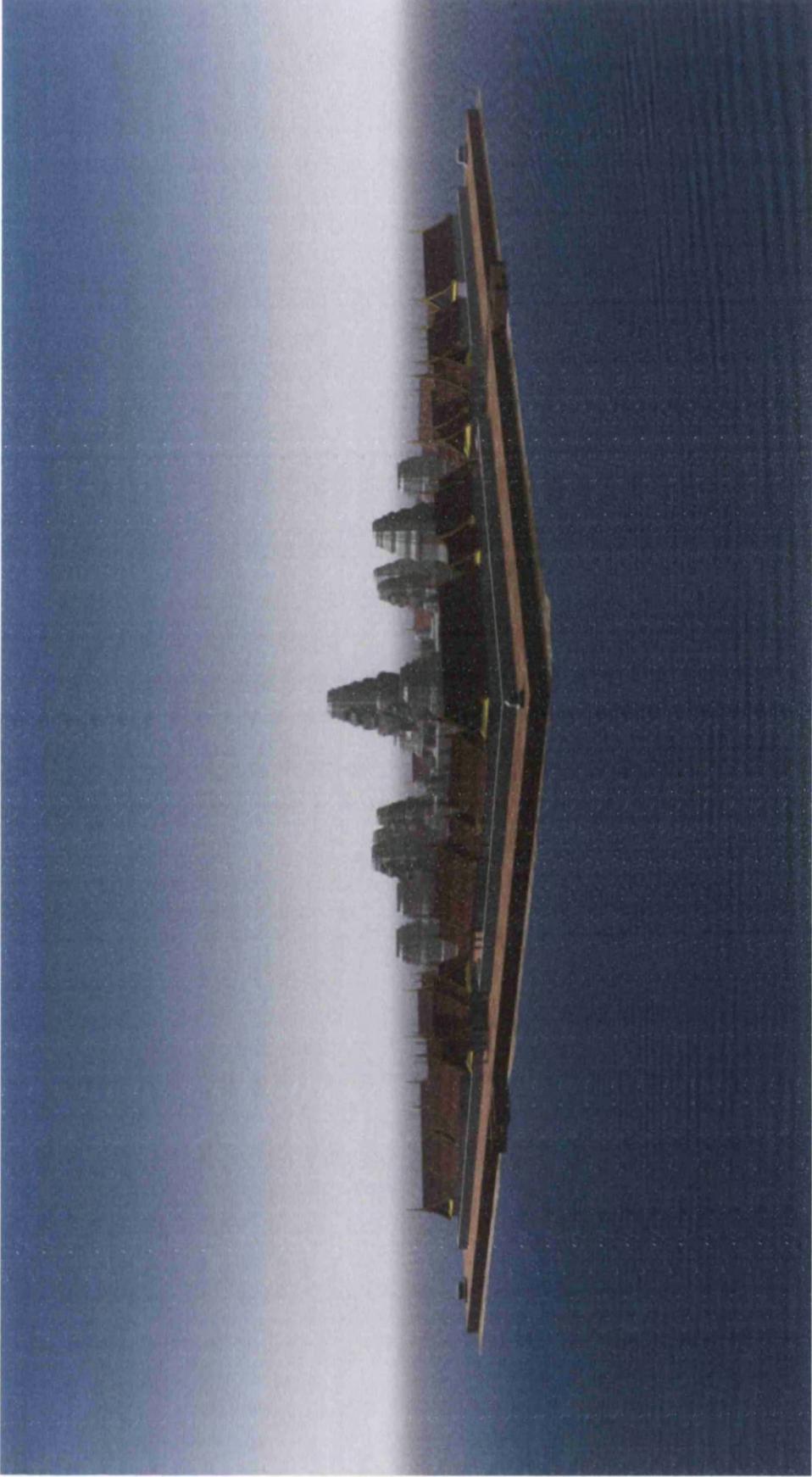
This view shows very clearly how the East Mebon resembled Mount Meru with its five peaks at the centre of the universe.

(Tom Chandler, Nikhil Pais, Liang Chen.)





Computer graphic 2: East Mebon from northeast.  
(Tom Chandler, Nikhil Pais, Liang Chen.)



Computer graphic 3: East Mebon – elevation.

This perspective gives a good impression of the vertical dimension of the temple. The shrines at the centre would have risen high into the sky, and surmounted all the other buildings around. For a visitor nearing the temple the outer enclosure wall and halls must have looked quite impressive, and only allowed a proper view of the sanctuaries once one was inside.

(Tom Chandler, Nikhil Pais, Liang Chen.)



Fig. 7.20: East Mebon – M-D.

The superstructure of the five laterite buildings was constructed of brick, of which only very little remains.

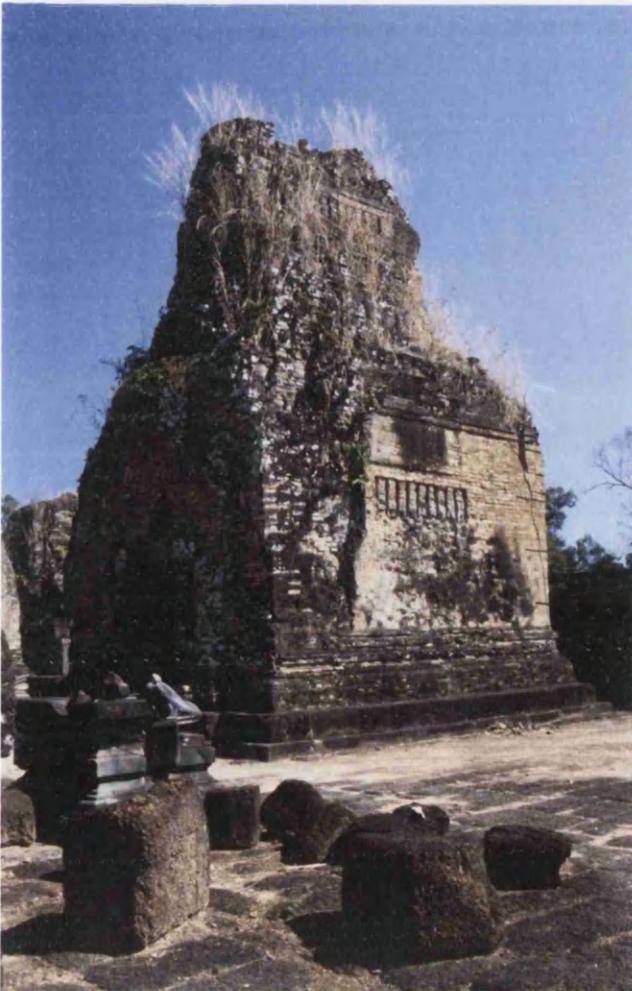


Fig. 7.21: Pre Rup – PR-S.

The superstructure of the two brick buildings east of the pyramid at Pre Rup might be similar to those originally built at the laterite buildings at the East Mebon.



Fig. 7.22: Banteay Srei – south library in first enclosure.  
As at PR-N and S, the 'libraries' at Banteay Srei have openings in their superstructure. Even though the shape of the roof is somewhat different, this might be similar to the East Mebon buildings.

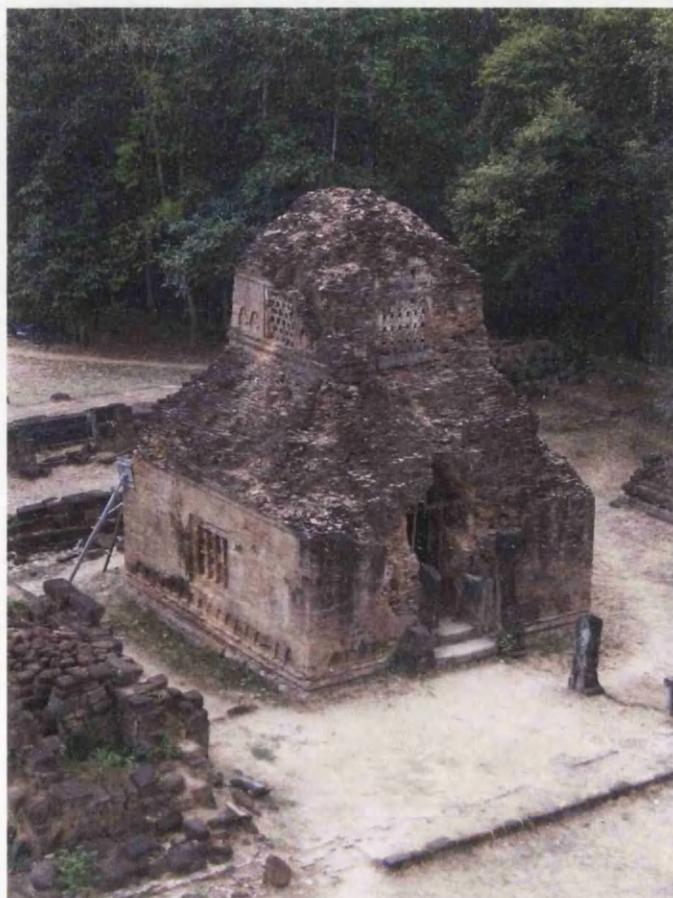


Fig. 7.23: Preah Ko – square building in southeast corner of first enclosure.



Fig. 7.24: Bakong – square building in southeast corner of first enclosure.



Fig. 7.25: Phimeanakas – gallery of top level. The galleries at the Phimeanakas do not provide enough space to house images or rituals, even though they are accessible.



Fig. 7.26: Ta Keo - gallery of first level of pyramid.  
The galleries at Ta Keo were never accessible, and could thus not be utilised for housing images or rituals.



Fig. 7.27: East Mebon – M-r,  
construction of sandstone  
face of lowest layer of  
combination halls.  
The bottom of the walls of  
the combination halls  
consisted of two layers. The  
inner one was constructed  
from laterite, and the outer  
one from sandstone.



Fig. 7.28: East Mebon – M-a, open portal.



Fig. 7.29: East Mebon – M-d, entrance into the vestibule of the hall.



Fig. 7.30: East Mebon – M-k,  
door construction with holes  
for wooden door leaves.



Fig. 7.31: East Mebon – M-c.



Fig. 7.32: East Mebon – M-f.



Fig. 7.33: East Mebon – M-o.

M-o originally had four columns, of which only two are left now. They framed a three-part open entrance, two next to the walls, and two freestanding.

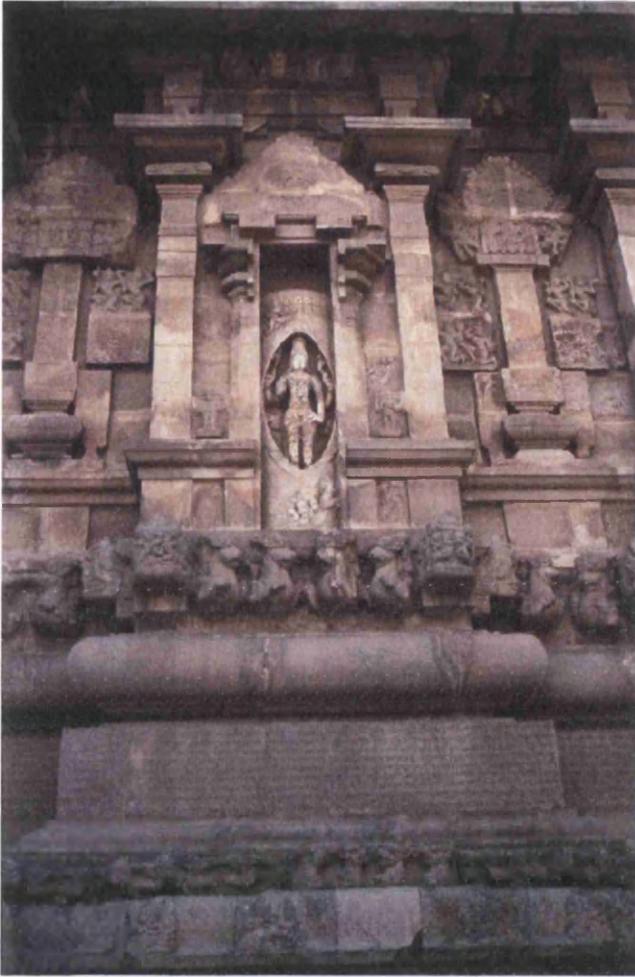


Fig. 7.34: Brhadīśvara Temple, Thaṅjāvūr – inscription written on plinth of main temple. Although this inscription is unusual because of its length and the degree of detail with which it talks about the foundation, the fact that it was written around the plinth of the sanctuary seems to be fairly standard.



Fig. 7.35: Holes at centre of halls for inscriptions.  
a: East Mebon, M-o.



b: Pre Rup, PR-H.

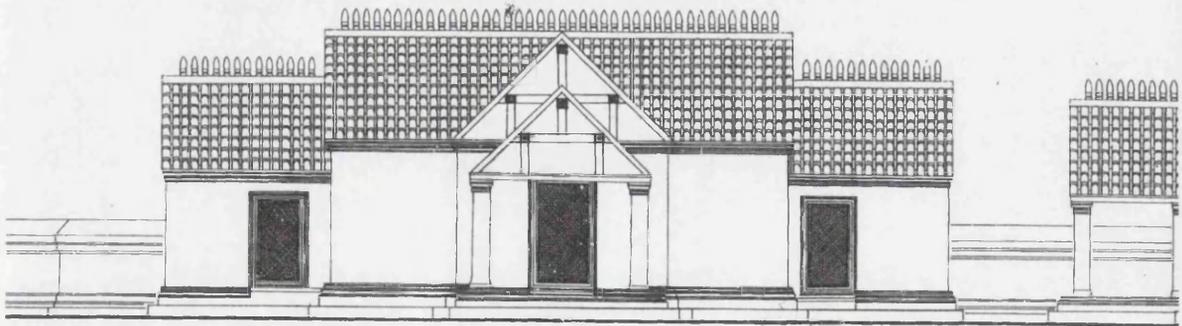


Fig. 7.36: East Mebon – 2 Gop S, drawing.

This drawing gives a good impression what the outer gopuras of the East Mebon might have looked like with their roofs with tiles.

(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1852.)

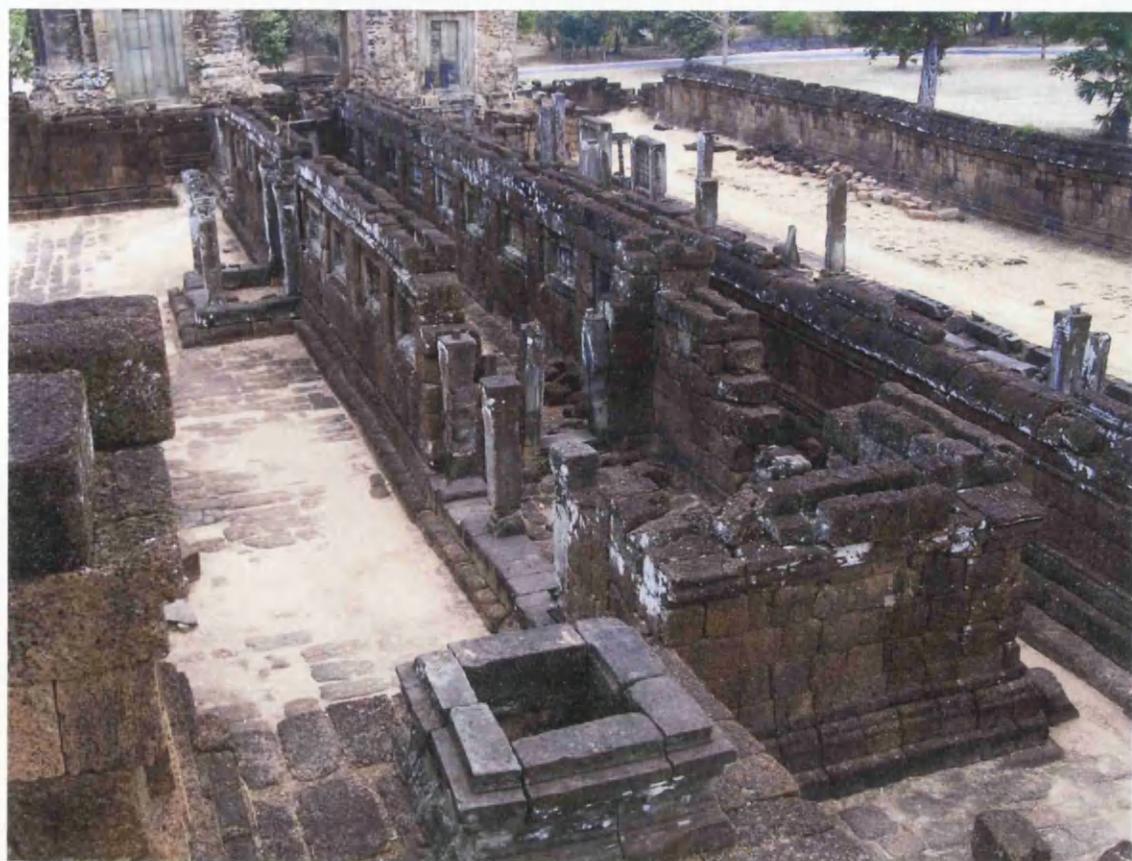


Fig. 7.37: Pre Rup – PR-B.



Fig. 7.38: Pre Rup – PR-C.



Fig. 7.39: Pre Rup – PR-H.



Fig. 7.40: Pre Rup – PR-I.



Fig. 7.41: Pre Rup – PR-II.



Fig. 7.42: Pre Rup – lintel of PR-I, Vajimukha.



Fig. 7.43: Pre Rup – lintel of PR-II, Viṣṇu on Garuda.



Fig. 7.44: Pre Rup – lintel of PR-III, Rāma on Hanuman.

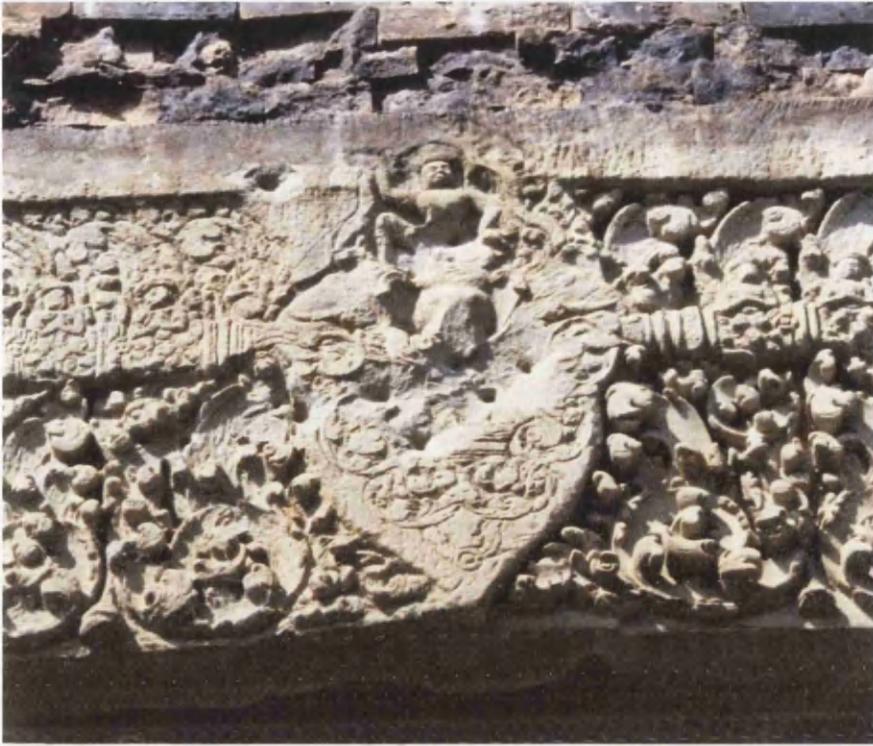


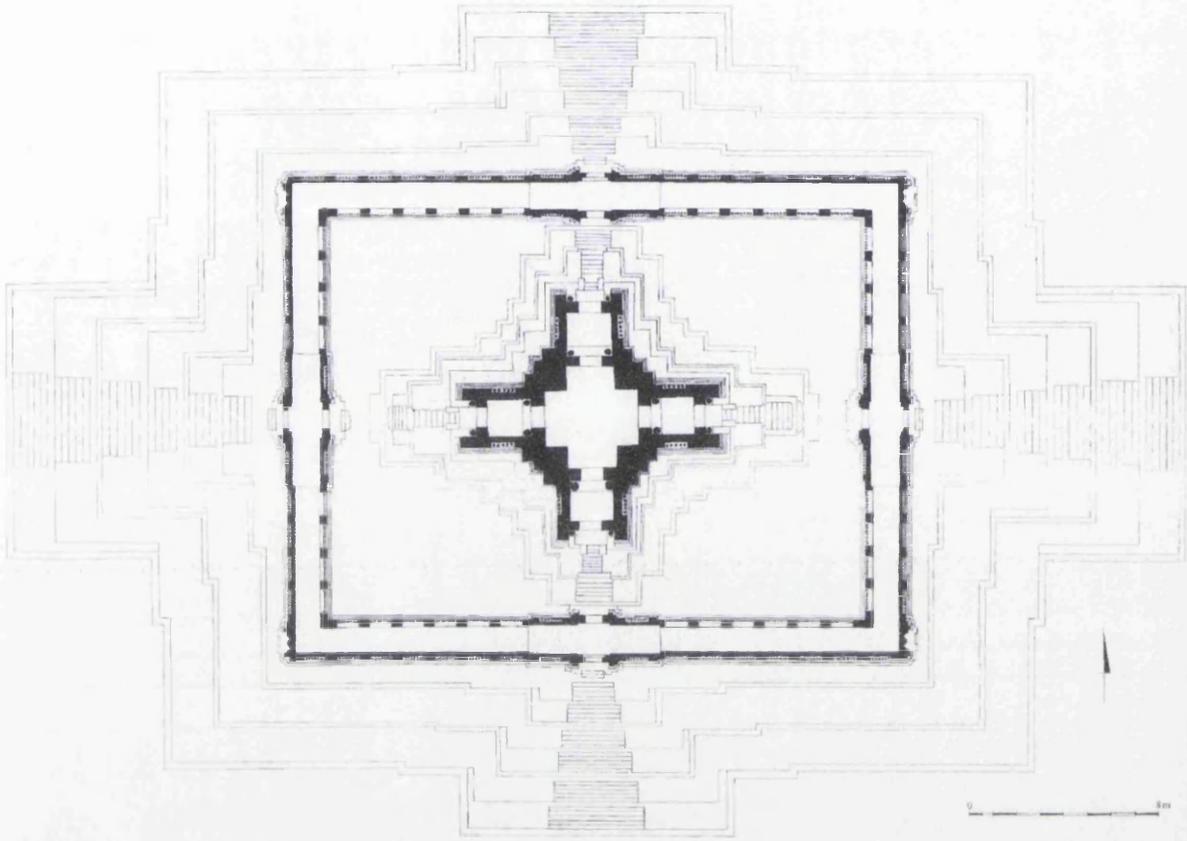
Fig. 7.45: Pre Rup – lintel of PR-IV, Indra on Airavata.



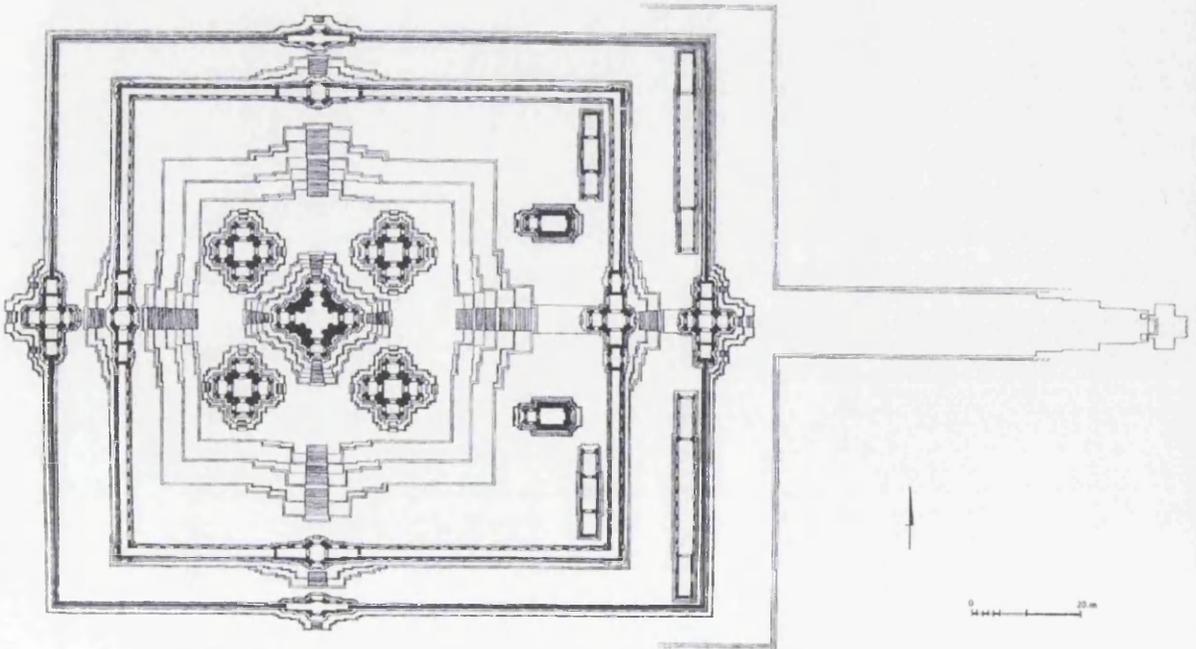
Fig. 7.46: Pre Rup – lintel of PR-V, Narasimha slaying Haranyakaśipu.



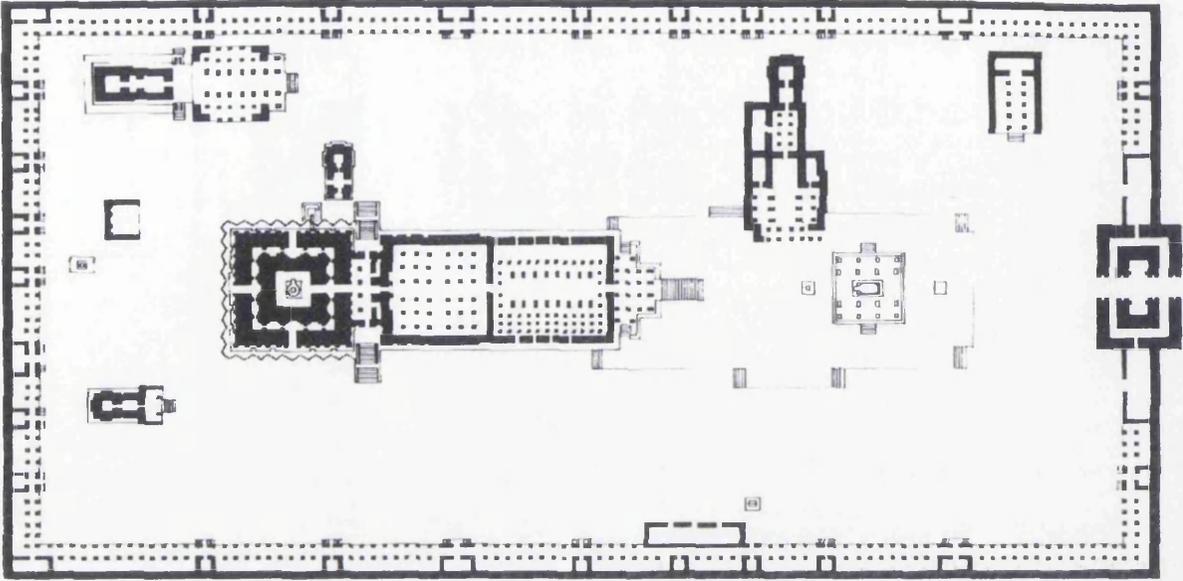
Fig. 7.47: East Mebon – lintel of 1 Gop W, Narasiṃha slaying Haranyakaśipu.



Plan 7.1: Phimeanakas.  
(Dumaray/Royère, 2001:fig. 67.)

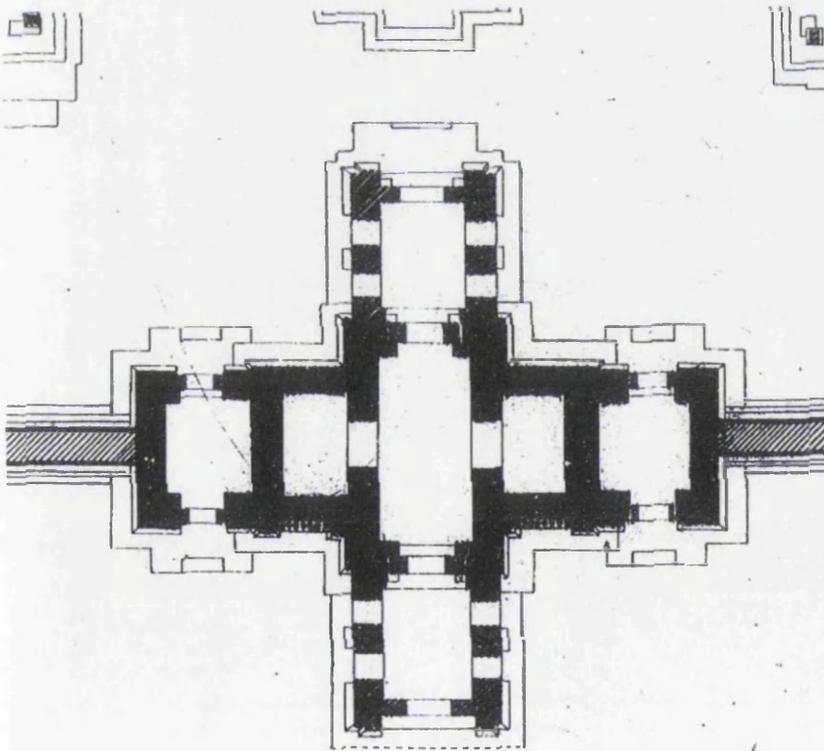


Plan 7.2: Ta Keo.  
(Dumaray/Royère, 2001:fig. 65.)



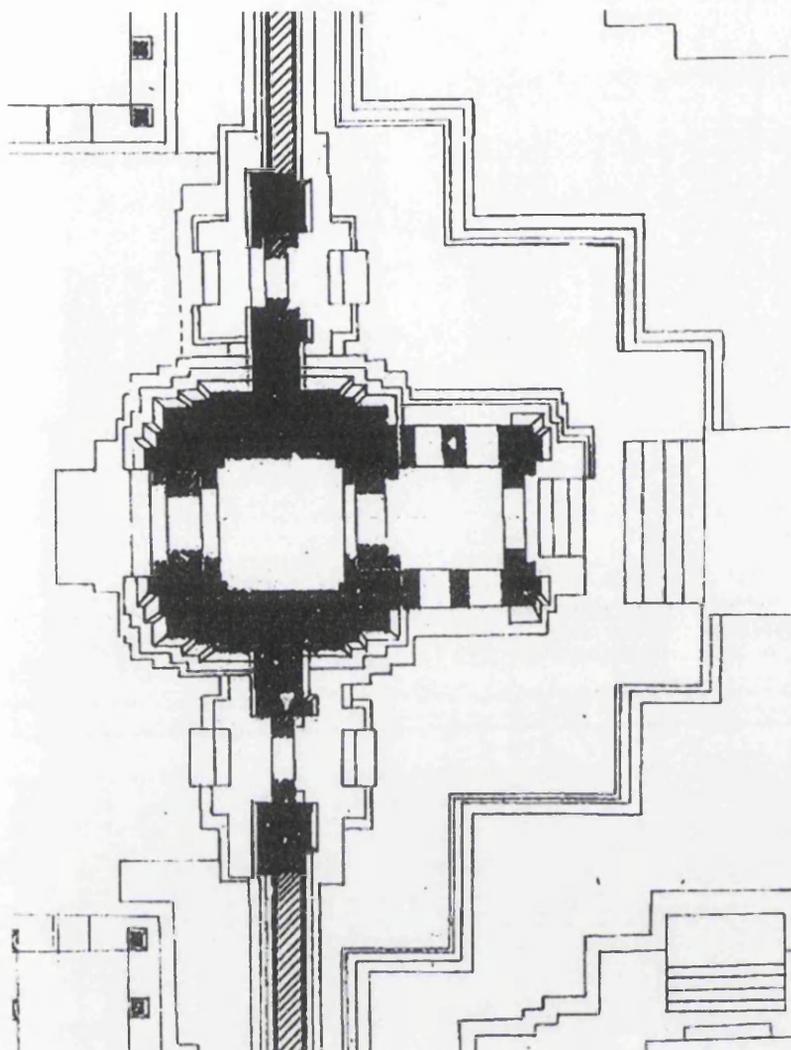
Plan 7.3: Brhadīśvara Temple, Thaṅjāvūr.

The great temple of Thaṅjāvūr, built only slightly later than those of King Rājendravarman, represents a typical South Indian temple. The main shrine is preceded by *mandapas*, and surrounded by only a few lesser shrines. The compound is surrounded by an enclosure wall, with continuous galleries on the inner side. (Tadgell, 1990:96.)

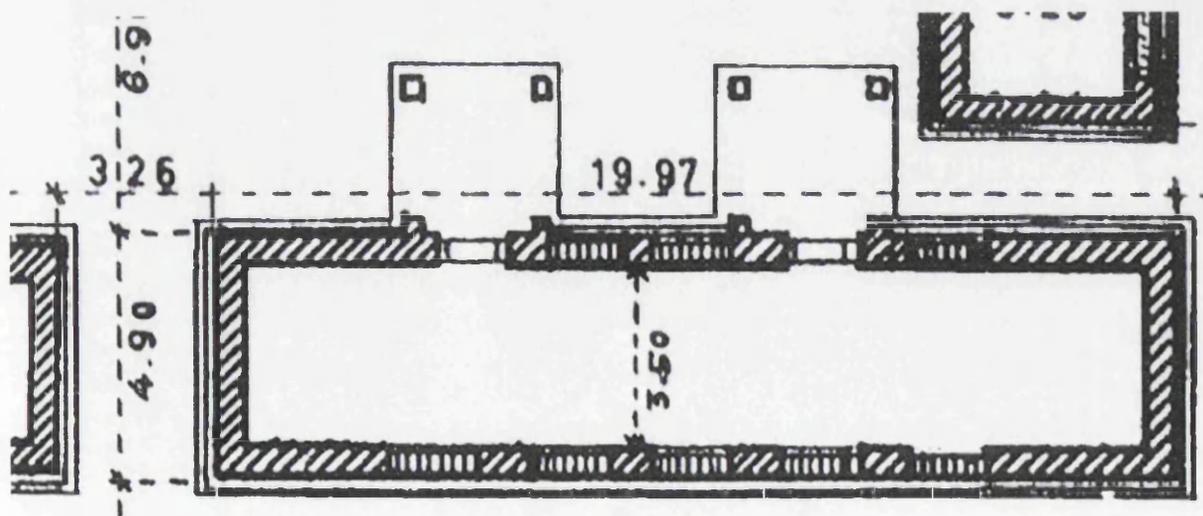


Plan 7.4: Pre Rup – 2 Gop S.

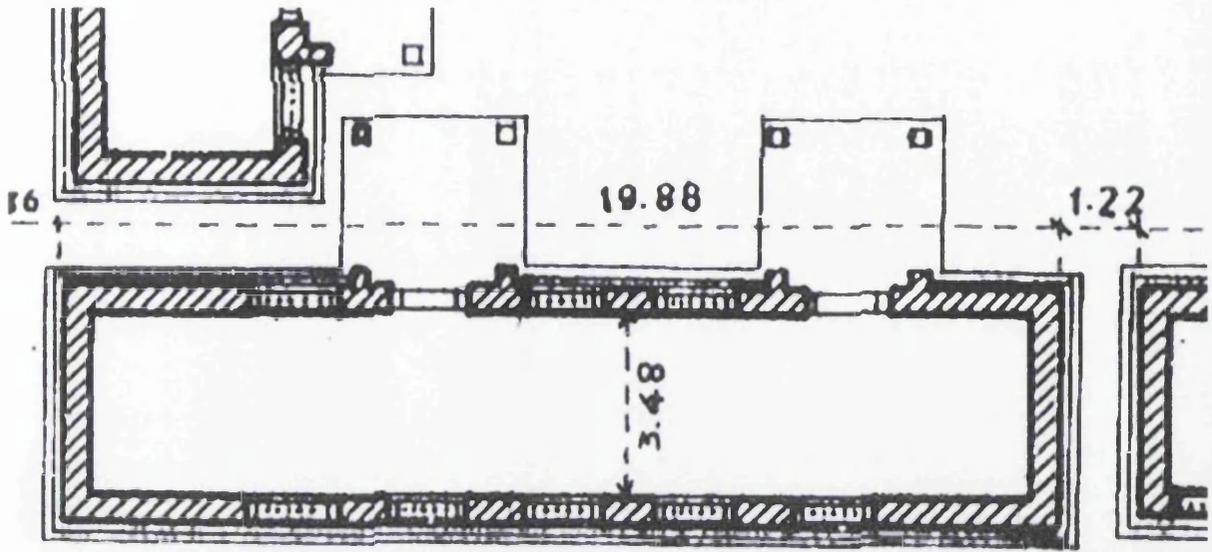
The cruciform layout of the outer *gopuras* could have provided space for rites of passage for the devotees to purify themselves before entering the temples. (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1377.)



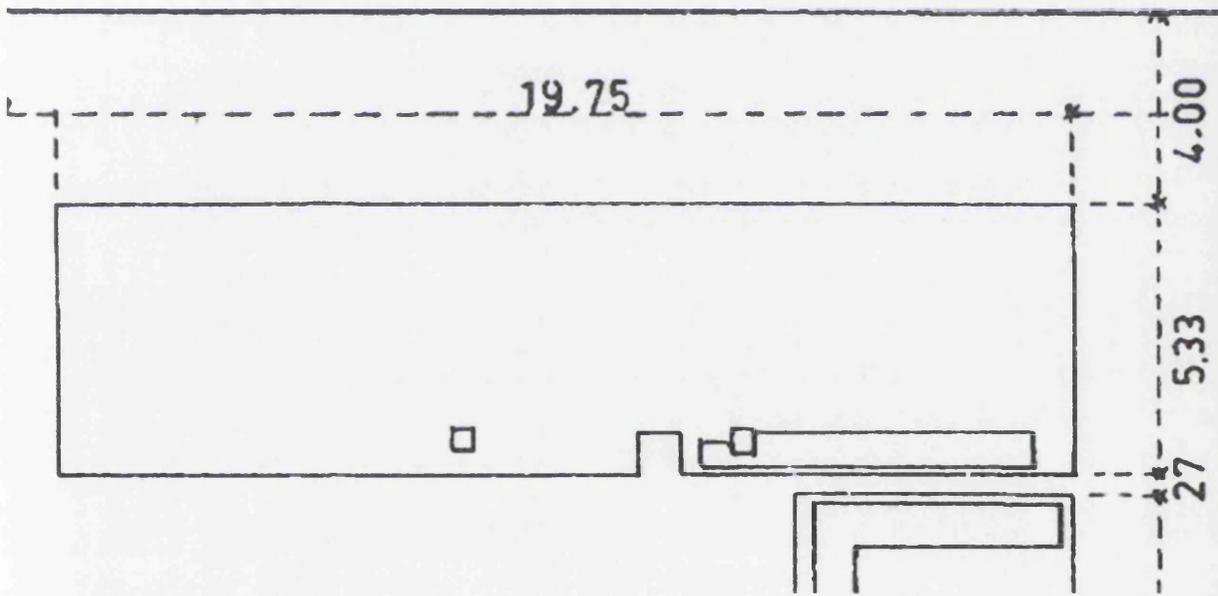
Plan 7.5: Pre Rup – 1 Gop E.  
 The inner *gopuras* were usually built with a square layout, resembling the sanctuary towers.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2133.)



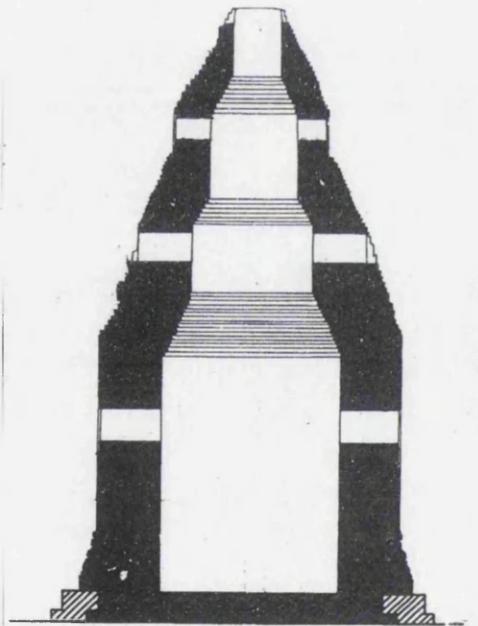
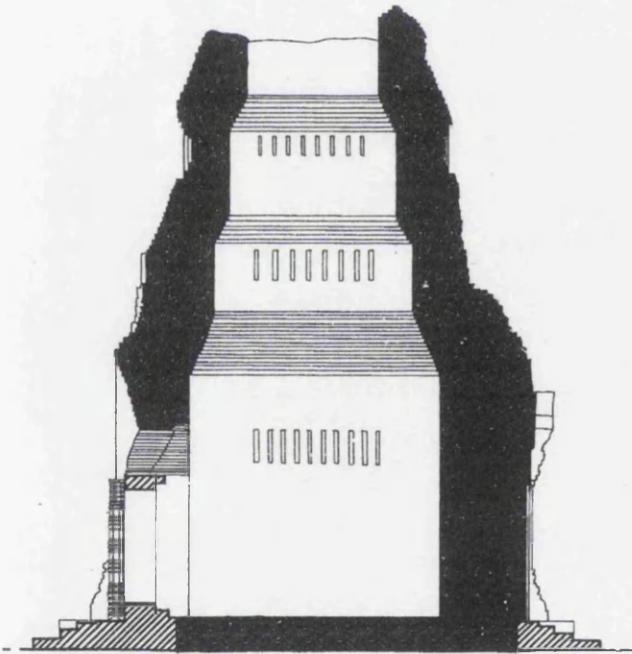
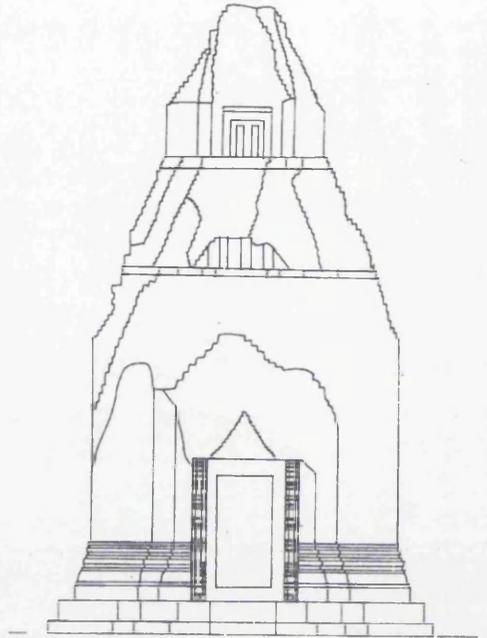
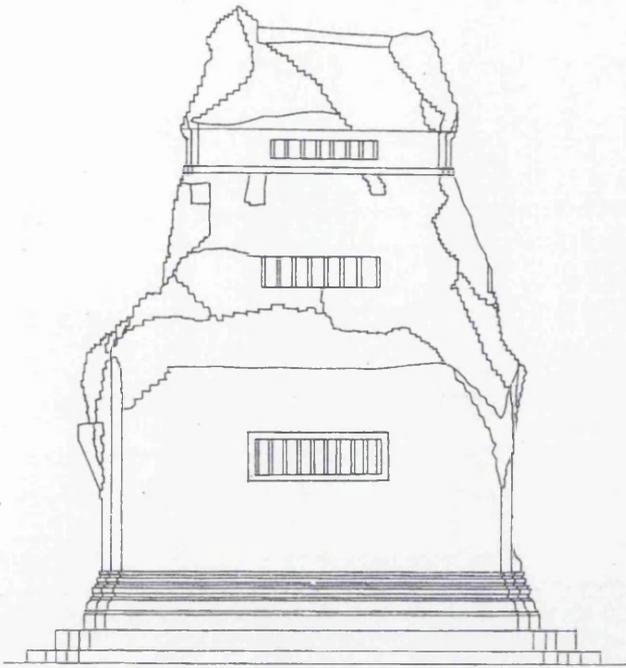
Plan 7.6: M-c.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2157A.)



Plan 7.7: M-f.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2157A.)



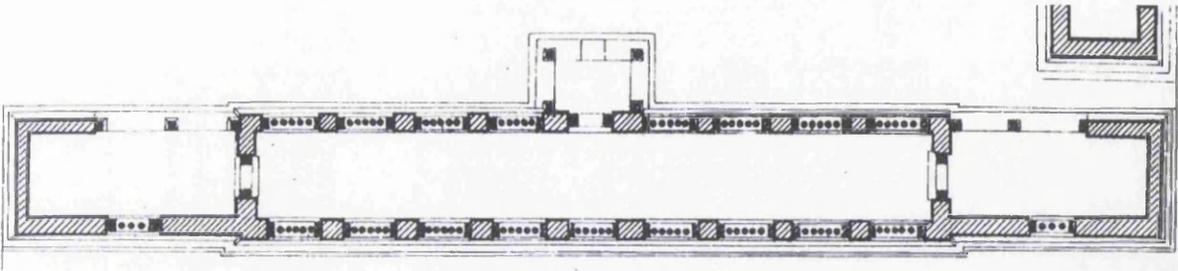
Plan 7.8: M-o.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2157C.)



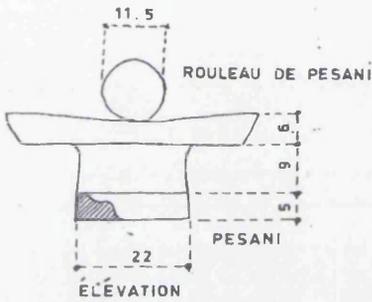
ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT		C/A/P 2516
CONSERVATION D'ANGKOR		
PRE RUP TOUR C2		



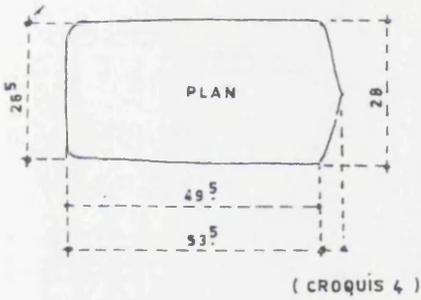
Plan 7.9: PR-S.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1382.)



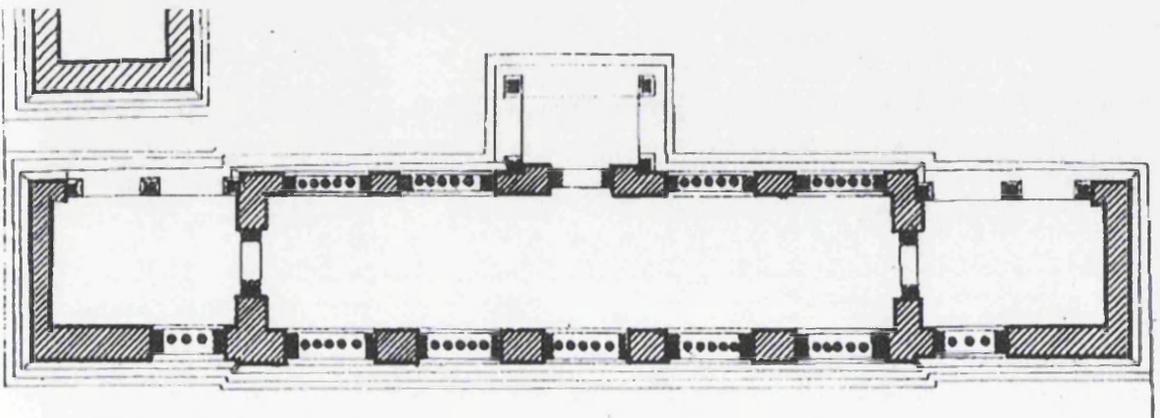
Plan 7.10: PR-B.  
 a: Plan of the building.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2133.)



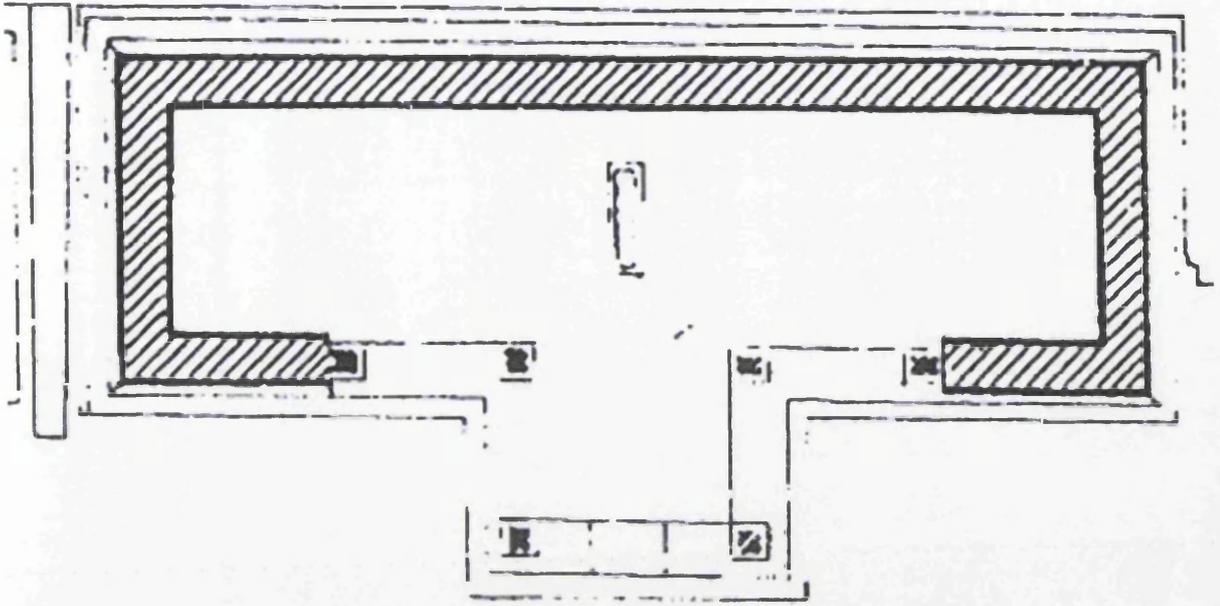
b: Roller and pestle found inside.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 2133A.)



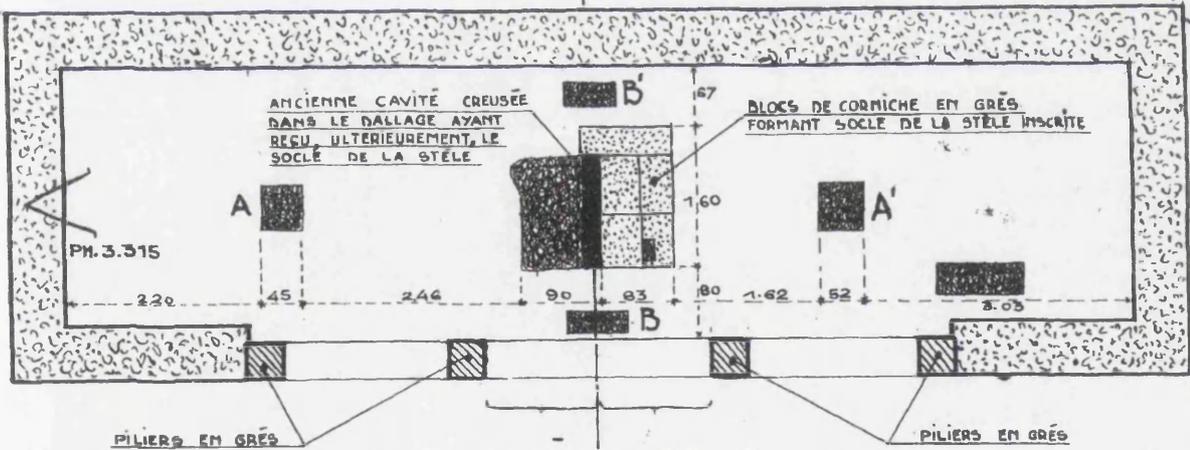
PRÉ RUP  
 E. F. E. O. DÉCEMBRE 1932



Plan 7.11: PR-C.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1377.)



Plan 7.12: PR-H.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1377.)



PRE - RUP

ANGLE N.E. DE L'ENCEINTE I  
SALLE LONGUE SITUÉE A L'OUEST DU PAVILLON  
A BORNE INSCRITE

RAPPORT OCTOBRE 1934

CROQUIS N° 1<sup>bis</sup>

CA/P/269

Plan 7.13: PR-H, location of inscription when it was found.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1939.)

PR-1 (D 1111)

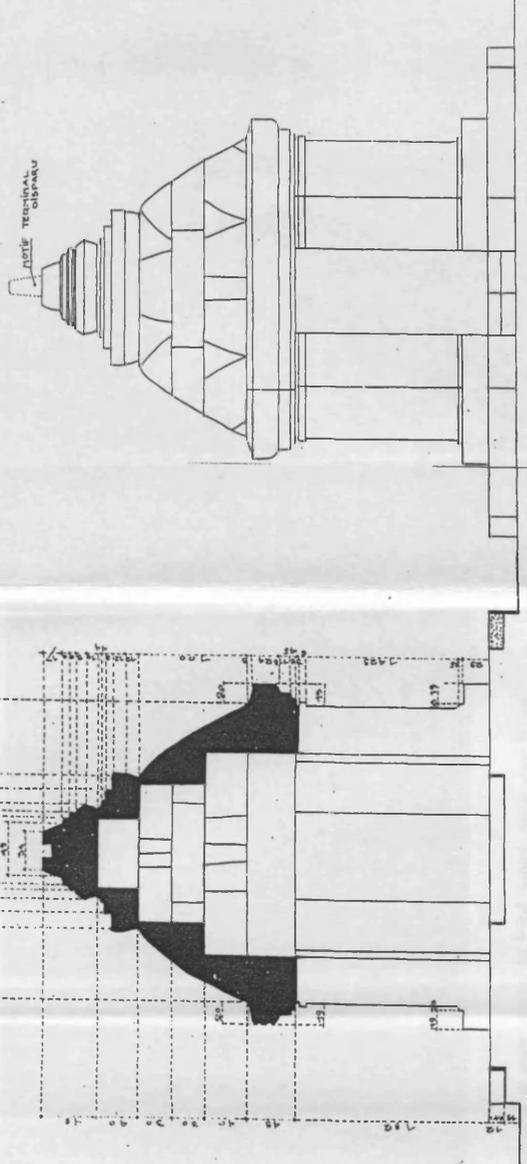
①

TYPE D'ÉDICULE  
EN LATÉRITE DESTINÉ  
À ABRITER UNE STÈLE  
INSCRITE.

(RECONSTITUTION)

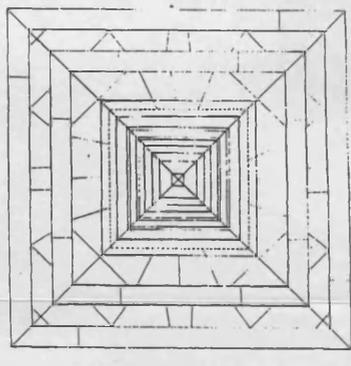
(ÉCHELLE DE 0.04 P.M.)

PRÉPARÉ PAR L'ARCHITECTE P.P.L.G. SAUSSIGRE  
E.F.E.O. SEINERAP PARIS 1932



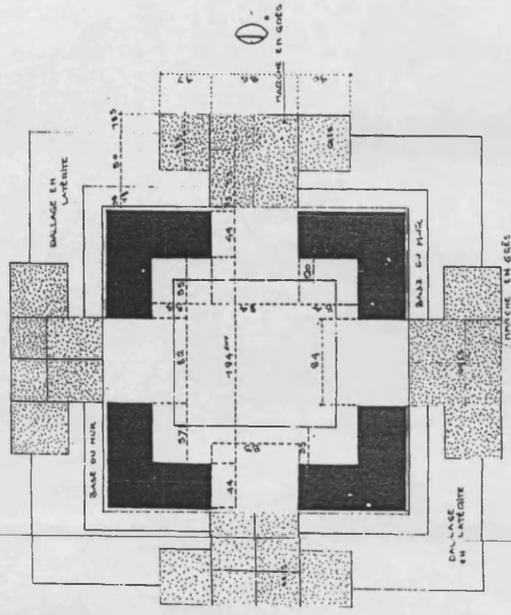
COUPE TRANSVERSALE

ÉLEVATION

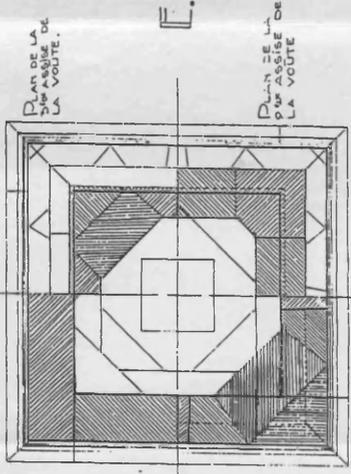


CA/P/265

PLAN DE LA VOÛTE  
(VUE EXTÉRIEURE)

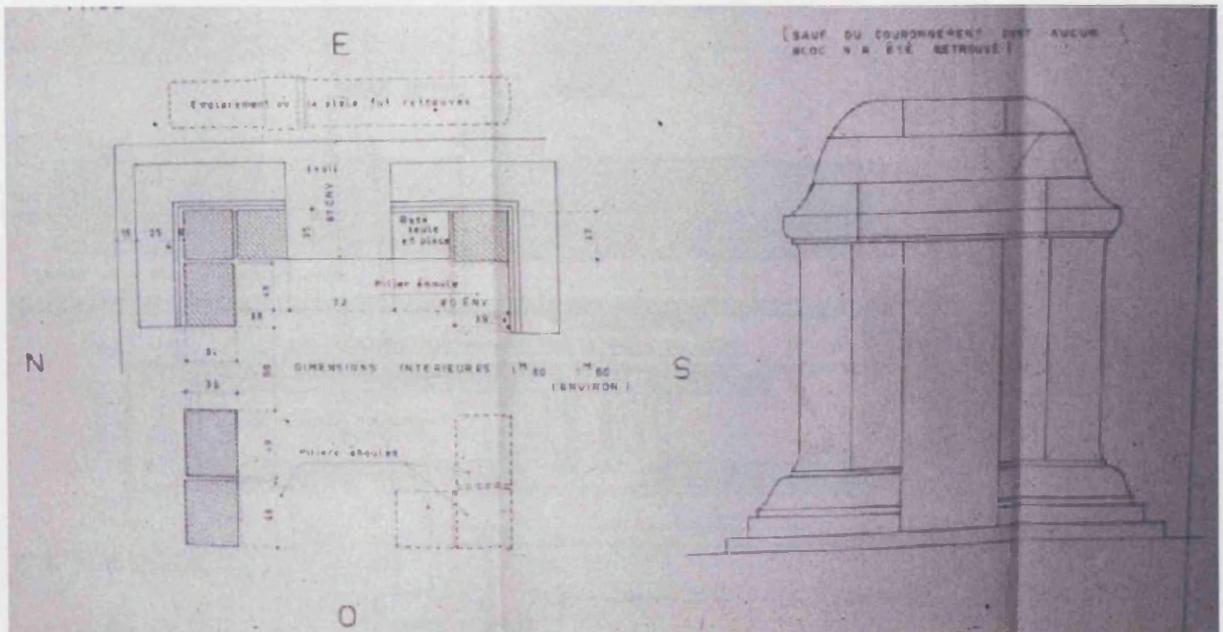


PLAN DU PETIT ÉDIFICE.  
(VUE INTÉRIEURE)



PLAN DE LA VOÛTE.  
(VUE INTÉRIEURE)

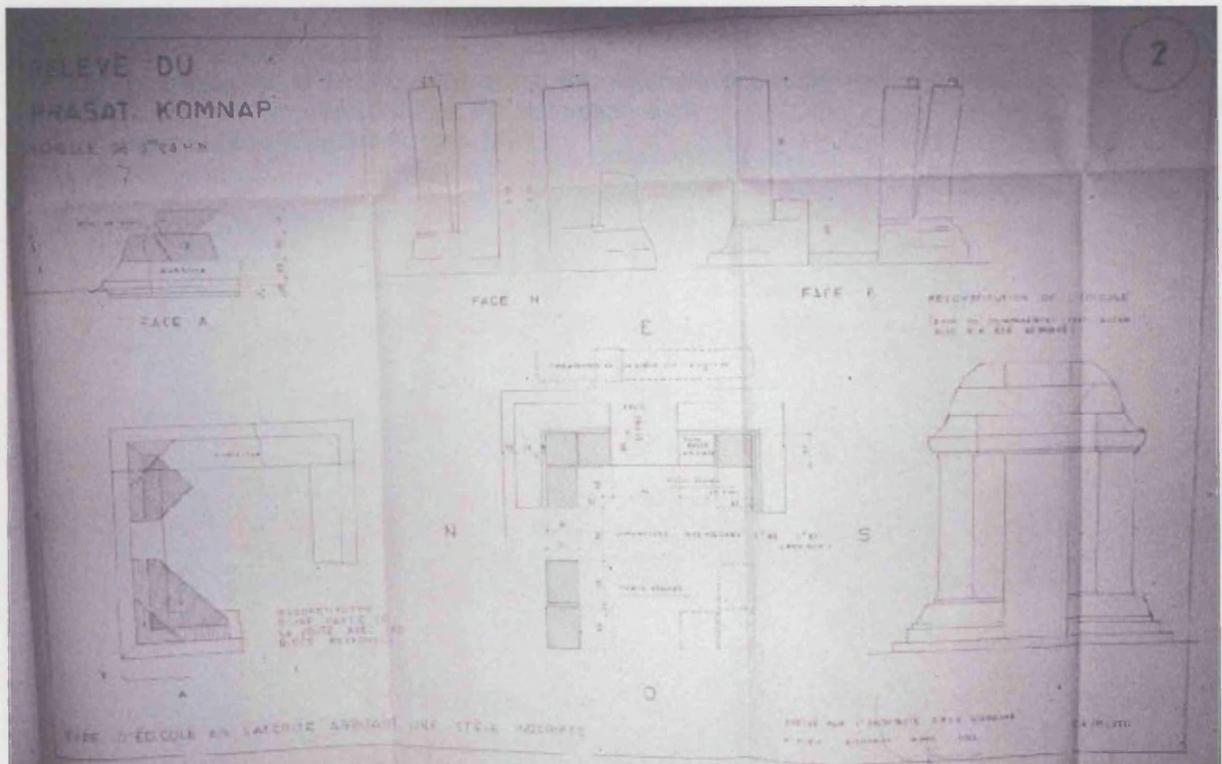
Plan 7.14: PR-1.  
PR-1 is the most unusual building of Pre Rup, and its architecture was studied extensively by the team of the Conservation d'Angkor.  
(École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1941.)



Plan 7.15: Prasat Komnap.

The small laterite building at Prasat Komnap is very similar to PR-I, which gave rise to the assumption that the buildings might have been connected.

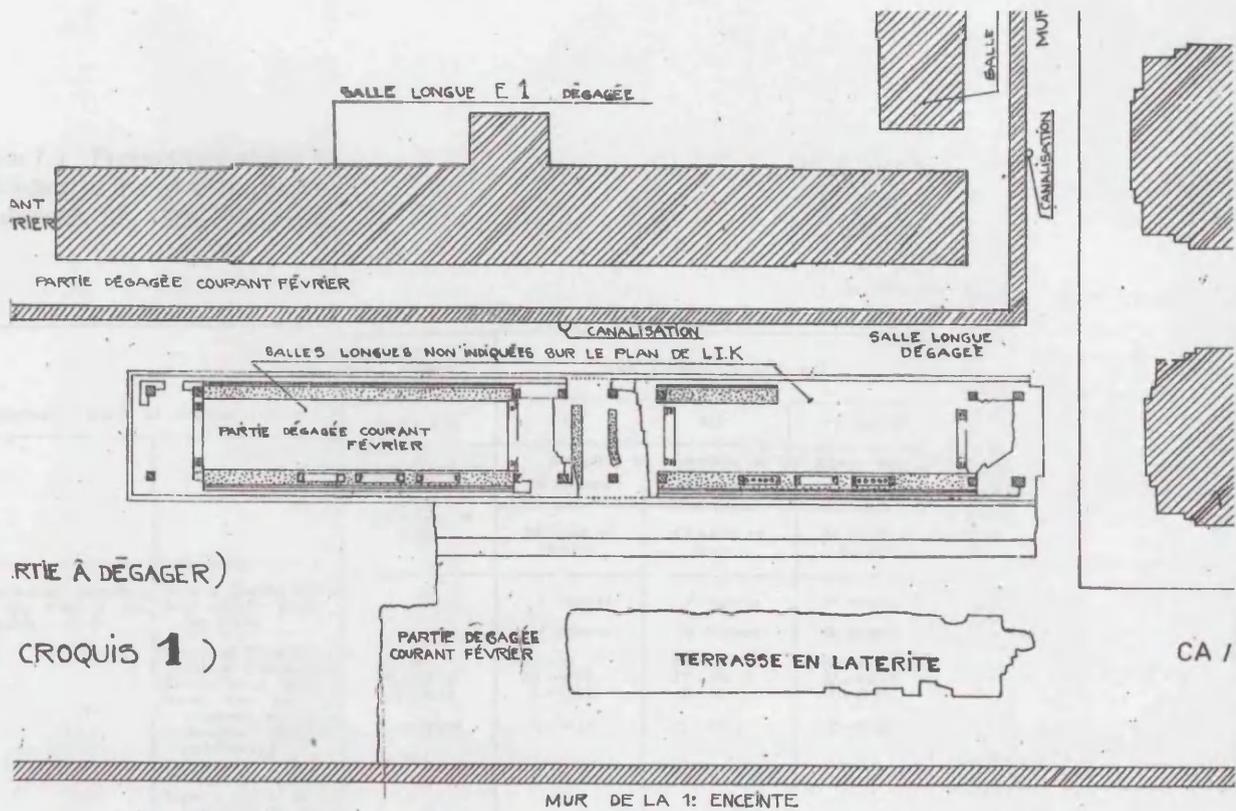
(Plan accompanying Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1932, Library National Museum, Phnom Penh.)



Plan 7.16: Prasat Ong Mong.

The laterite edifice of Prasat Ong Mong is very similar to that of Prasat Komnap and PR-I.

(Plan accompanying Rapport d'Angkor, 02/1932, Library National Museum, Phnom Penh.)



Plan 7.17: Pre Rup – laterite platform south of PR-a.  
 In the outer enclosure, in between PR-a and the southern enclosure wall, the remains of a laterite platform were discovered during the restoration work.  
 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, plan 1871.)



Table 7.2: East Mebon – dimensions of vestibules, entrances, and windows of halls in outer enclosure.<sup>1</sup>

	Vestibule <sup>2</sup>	Entrance		Portal (width)	Windows <sup>3</sup>	
		Door			Main room	Side chamber
M-a	5.90 x 4.74			1.84	1.35 x 1.25	1.10 x 1.00
M-b	3.60 x 1.84	1.85 x 0.84			0.60 x 1.20	-
M-c	E: 3.85 x 3.56 W: 3.70 x 3.35	1.87 x 0.94 1.85 x 0.88			0.55 x 1.25	-
M-d	5.50 x 3.80		1.55		1.30 x 1.20	1.08 x 1.04
M-e	5.30 x 3.02		1.75		1.30 x 1.20	1.19 x 1.02
M-f	E: 3.70 x 3.12 W: 3.63 x 3.07	1.90 x 0.90 1.90 x 0.90			0.58 x 1.26	-
M-g	3.50 x 1.95	2.03 x 0.98			1.20 x 1.06	-
M-h	5.30 x 5.40		2.34?		? x 1.25	1.00 x 0.90
M-i	5.10 x 4.10		?		? x 1.25	1.07 x 0.95
M-k	2.25 x 1.93	? x 0.93			?	-
M-l	E: 3.47 x 2.44 W: 3.44 x 2.27	1.79 x 0.91 ? x 0.91			?	-
M-m	? x 3.50			1.84	? x 1.20	? x 1.14
M-n	5.80 x 3.23			1.84	?	?
M-o	-			2.75 – 2.75 – 2.75	-	-
M-p	3.64 x 2.17	? x 0.90			?	-
M-f	5.85 x 4.27		1.82		? x 1.24	? x 1.15

<sup>1</sup> All measurements are in metres.

<sup>2</sup> The size given here is the length at the outer corners. The measurement given first is the width upon entering. This was considered the most practical solution, as the purpose of this table is to reach comparability of the various openings.

<sup>3</sup> The size of the windows is given height x width. The size listed here is the average of the windows of the building.

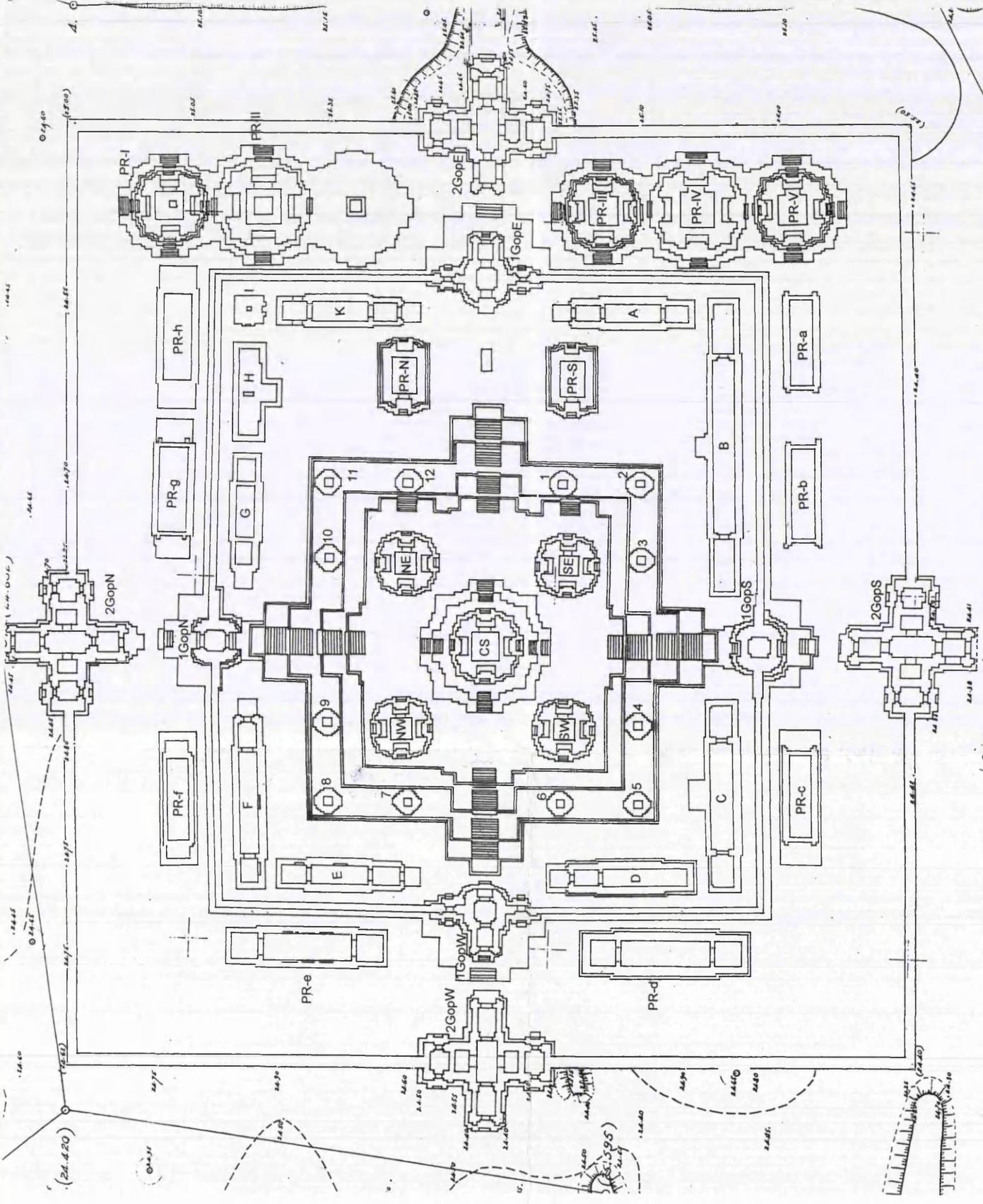
Table 7.3: Pre Rup – details of windows of halls in inner enclosure.<sup>4</sup>

	PR-A	PR-B	PR-C	PR-D	PR-E	PR-F	PR-G	PR-K
<b>Number</b>	5	19	11	3	3	3	3	5
Main room	3	9 + 8	5 + 4	1	1	1	1	3
Side chamber	2 x 1			2 x 1	2 x 1	2 x 1	2 x 1	2 x 1
Side room		2 x 1	2 x 1					
<b>Location</b>	East	South, North	South, North	East	East	South	South	East
<b>Size (h x w)<sup>5</sup></b>	0.80 x 1.50	0.70 x 1.60	0.70 x 1.50	0.60 x 1.35	0.60 x 1.35	0.60 x 1.40	0.60 x 1.35	0.70 x 1.30
Side chamber	0.63 x 0.92			0.50 x 0.95	0.50 x 0.95	0.50 x 0.95	0.60 x 0.95	0.55 x 0.90
Side room		0.70 x 1.15	0.70 x 1.25					
<b>Balusters</b>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Side chamber	5			3	3	3	3	3
Side room		5	5					

<sup>4</sup> Halls PR-H and PR-I are not considered in this overview, since neither of these two buildings has windows.  
<sup>5</sup> The sizes given here are averages for the respective buildings.

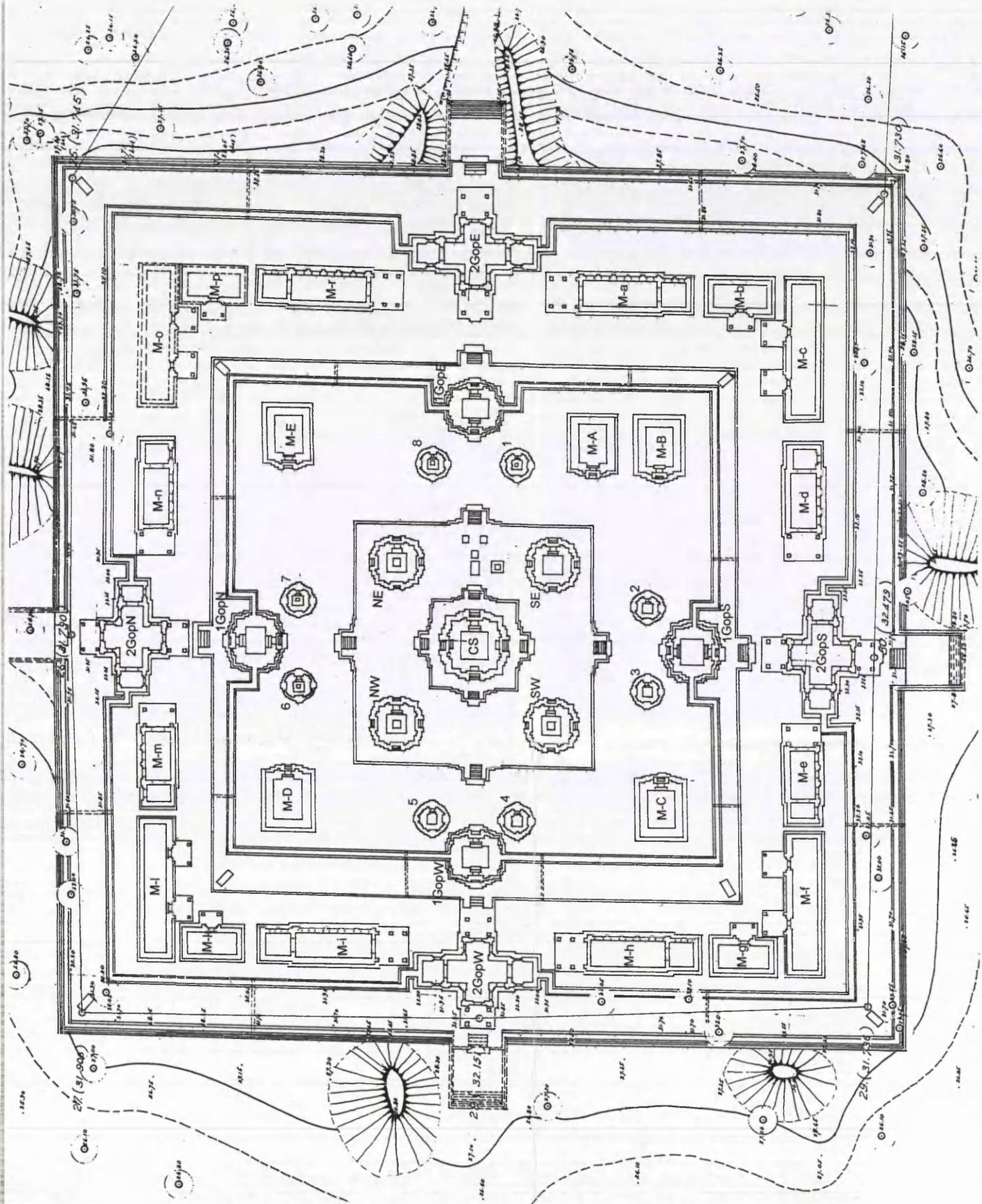
Table 7.4: Pre Rup – details of windows of halls in outer enclosure.

	PR-a	PR-b	PR-c	PR-d	PR-e	PR-f	PR-g	PR-h
Number	5	5?	3?	8	8	3	5?	5?
Main	5	5?	3?	2 x 3	2 x 3	3	5?	5?
Side				2 x 1	2 x 1			
Location	South	South	South	East, West	East, West	North	North	North
Size (h x w)	1.40 x 1.40	1.40 x 1.40	1.40 x 1.40	1.45 x 1.35	1.40 x 1.40	? x 1.40	? x 1.40	? x 1.40
Side				1.20 x 1.13	1.18 x 1.12			
Entrance								
Balusters	5	5?	5	5	5	5?	5?	5?
Side				5	5			



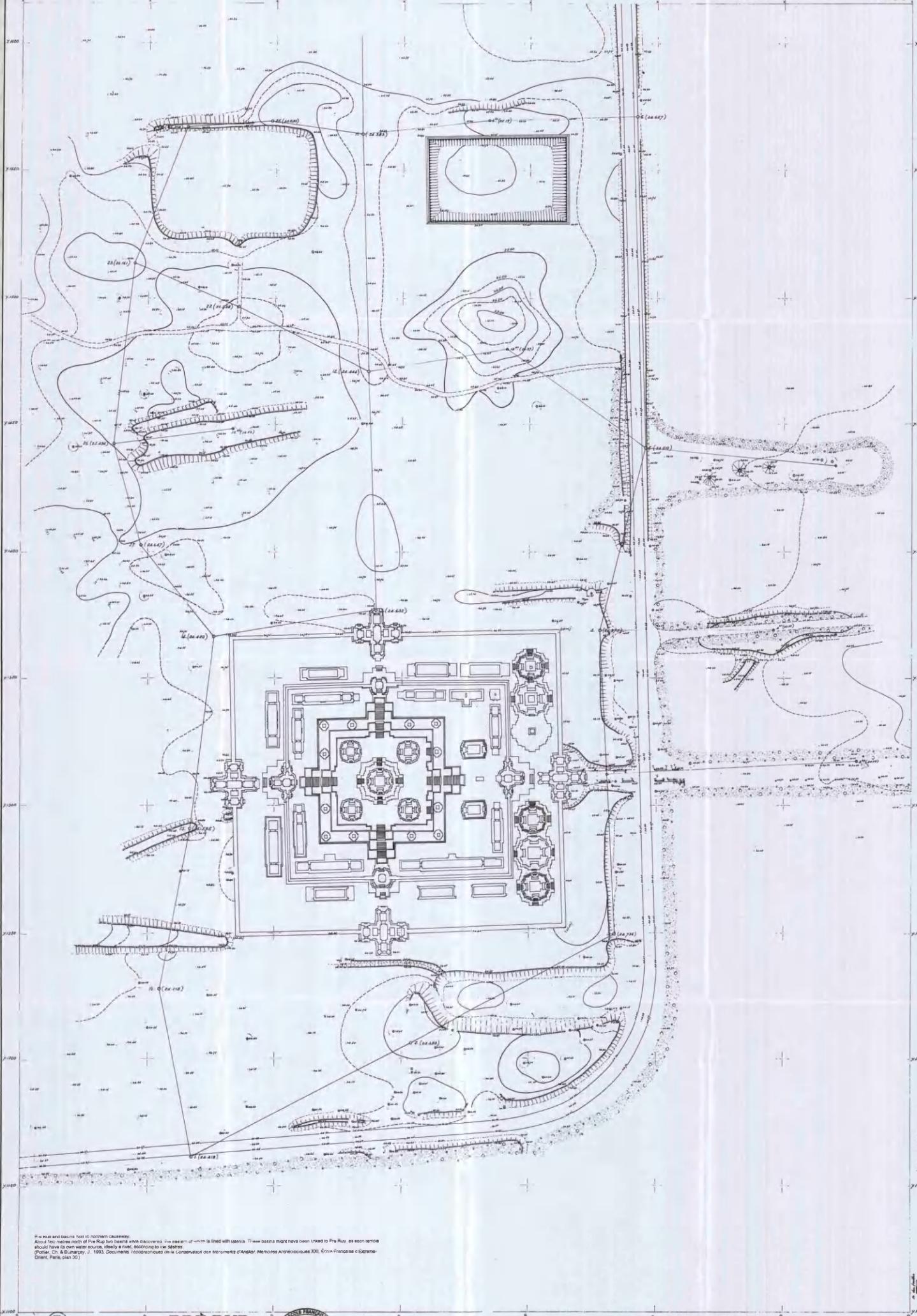
Plan Pre Rup  
 (Pl. 30. Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor. Memoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.)





Plan East Mebon  
 (Pl. 28. Pottier, Ch. & Dumarçay, J., 1993, Documents Topographiques de la Conservation des Monuments d'Angkor. Mémoires Archéologiques XXI, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.)





Pre Rup and basins (not in northern clearance).  
 About 140 basins north of the Pre Rup temple were discovered; the eastern of them is lined with basins. These basins might have been linked to Pre Rup, as each terrace should have its own water source, ideally a river, according to the theory.  
 (Pothol, Ch. & Dumery, 1983, documents, reproduced in Le Correspondant des Monuments d'Angkor, Mémoires Archéologiques XII, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, plan 30.)

