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ONE BUDDHA CAN HIDE ANOTHER

BY

MARTIN POLKINGHORNE,
CHRISTOPHE POTTIER, CHRISTIAN FISCHER*

December 14th 2012 marked the twentieth anniversary of the inscription of Angkor as an UNESCO World Heritage Site which effectively reopened the site for scholarship[1]. Twenty years on Khmer Studies is characterised by a perceptible dynamism which, beyond the visibility of various conservation teams on the ground, is demonstrated by the development of numerous collective and individual research programs at both the national and international level. Current research regularly produces new discoveries and data, and contributes to enhance our interpretations of the Angkorian world. The innovation of these findings means they can often be made with little recognition of issues which faced scholars of the past. Sometimes however, these researches address more fundamental questions and are directly confronted with assumed knowledge that has remained valid for decades, successfully evading critical scrutiny. To be unaware of the problems of these interpretations results

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* Martin Polkinghorne (The University of Sydney), Christophe Pottier (École française d'Extrême-Orient), Christian Fischer (University of California, Los Angeles).

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inevitably in an accumulation of misinformed scholarship leading to dead ends and skewed conclusions.

New research typically rests upon 150 years of accepted interpretations. Many of these assumptions have not been demonstrated but accepted for so long that they have attained a kind of legitimacy. The conclusions are usually adopted for several of the less researched periods of the Angkorian chronology, but it is also the case for periods better well informed and considered as glorious. Emblematic examples would be the foundation of Angkor by Jayavarman II, and also his most famous successor, Jayavarman VII, celebrated as the last great sovereign of Angkor. The reign of this monarch is the subject of innumerable works beginning with the fundamental scholarship of George Cœdès (1928, 1947) and continuously researched by the best minds of Angkorian studies (Groslier 1973, Mus 1961, Stern 1965). During the last twenty years, the achievements of Jayavarman VII continue to inspire a notable share of the research. For example, the recent work *Bayon: New Perspectives* (Clark, ed. 2007) offers several major and innovative contributions. The passion for Jayavarman VII reflects the particular position of his reign in Khmer history; "a revival of Angkor, between tradition and modernity", but also precursory of the decline of Angkor; "after a figure such as Jayavarman VII, the creativity of the civilization had been exhausted, which perished almost to a murmur" (Hawixbrock 1998: 65).

The present paper relates to the period of Jayavarman VII at the end of the 12th century, the abandonment of Angkor in the first half of the 15th century, and the so-called re-occupation in the 16th century. It is challenging to confront such vast and complex subjects in their entirety, while at the same time considering the full repercussions of the discoveries presented here. Contrary to the scale of this task, we return to a small discovery unearthed almost 80 years ago, but which has remained unknown, its importance not noted at the time and its implications never fully understood. The subject of this interest, a small head of a statue, lies primarily in the context of its discovery, namely at the bottom of what is commonly considered the foundation shaft of the central tower of the Bayon, the heart of Jayavaman VII's capital. This early Ayutthayan style head was buried with the fragments of a large statue of a Buddha on nāga which had apparently occupied the most privileged

position of worship in the Kingdom. We will consider the details and context of this small statue and propose some reference marks of comparison. This undertaking inevitably leads to a re-examination of Jayavarman VII's central idol and interrogates several of the historical assumptions habitually considered as acquired. The implications suggest new avenues of research and contribute to the complex history of Angkor from the reign of Jayavarman VII until the reoccupation of Angkor in the 16th century, including the so-called sack of Angkor by the Thai.

Discovery of the Bayon Buddhas

In August 1933 the recently appointed Conservator of Angkor, Georges-Alexandre Trouvé completed a two year campaign devoted to restorating the towers of the Bayon, marked by the daring construction of spectacular wooden scaffolding over the central tower. Before dispatching his workmen to another restoration site, the young French architect charged a team with the responsibility of cleaning the cella of the central shrine of the Bayon. On Wednesday the 16th August, a square pit became visible under the pavement of the cella[2] and Trouvé undertook to excavate it, inspired by his recent discovery of an underground chamber at the pyramid of Ak Yum (JDF 2-9 Décembre 1933:229-233, RCA12/33). The following day, the first fragments, starting with the head, of a monumental Buddha seated on a *nāga* were recovered from that pit (JDF 17 Août 1933:184, RCA08/33). It appeared very quickly from the exceptional size of the statue that Trouvé had unearthed the central idol of Jayavarman VII's Bayon (BEFEO 1933, 1117, Fig. 1), and the focal point of the Khmer Empire from the late 12th to at least the early 15th century, just a few years after the identification of the Buddhist character of the temple (Finot 1925: 246-247). Throughout August and September of 1933 the entire Buddha including its peculiar octagonal pedestal was released from its inglorious resting place and by October

[2] Early european travelers visiting the room noticed that depression, approximately one metre deep, in the pavement and interpreted it as a pond (Dumarçay 1973, 42). The cavity was later filled by Commaille, the first conservator of Angkor, to avoid accidents (BEFEO 1933: 1117).

the great sculpture was completely reconstituted in a lower courtyard of the temple. The Buddha was immediately considered the original image of the Bayon and the residing king, His Majesty Sisowath Monivong, had the sculpture installed and reconsecrated for worship at Prasat Prampil Lavaeng (Buddhist Terrace No. 1) flanking the Royal Way opposite the Terrace of Elephants on the 17th of May 1935, where it is located to this day.

Trouvé recovered almost all the Buddha fragments in the first five metres but excavated until he encountered the water table at fourteen meters deep. Trouvé did not rule out the possibility of the existence of an underground chamber below the water table. Critically, he concluded that he had just dug through a previous excavation of an undetermined date (JDF 10: 194). If there had been a sacred deposit, that once consecrated the sanctuary, temple, and kingdom, it had been stolen then. His search for an underground structure or foundation shaft comparable to the one precipitously identified in Ak Yum two months before, probably explains some ambiguities in his description and misinterpretation of the Bayon looters' shaft as part of the original construction (RCA09/33 and BEFEO 33: 1117). Trouvé later concluded that the shaft of Ak Yum was also the result of looting and also demonstrated the absence of such a constructed shaft in the deep excavation made the following year in Angkor Wat (RCA 09/34). The existence of a foundation shaft representative of some kind of *axis mundi* is a common misinterpretation of Trouvé's findings at Ak Yum, Angkor Wat and the Bayon[3] and has also contributed to the hypothesis that the big Bayon Buddha was broken into pieces

[3] For example, in a study devoted to Trouvé's excavation of the Bayon central shrine, Shimoda (2011: 12) declares: "…they also dug horizontally in east, west and south directions at a depth of 12.5 m from the top. In the horizontal directions, they reach a wall made of "sandstone blocks offcuts with four corners", which is recognized as "the edge of the old vertical hole". Shimoda suggests that the horizontal pits allowed Trouvé to "identify the edges of the old shaft and to find one fragment of a quadrangular sandstone block, proving that [he] was still at the centre of the old excavation". Yet Trouvé makes no mention of any "wall" made of blocks, and the "edges" were what Trouvé described in his daily journal as "the strong and compact embankment on which the monument sits, whereas the shaft has been dug and later back-filled with sand mixed with fragments of stone and sculpted blocks, a conglomerate less packed [than?] the rest of the embankment" (JDF 10: 197, 16th Août 1933).

and thrown down into the pit during an iconoclastic event (cf. Cunin 2004, v2: 164).

The exceptional accuracy of Trouvé's daily journal, reports, photographs and surveys, allow us to re-examine the details of this excavation made 80 years ago, to precisely reconstruct the stratigraphy he encountered and to localize the various objects found. Sandstone architectural elements (most from the temple itself), wood (probably from the ceiling of the room), and fragments of roof tiles were found between five and ten metres deep. The last objects were found at twelve and a half metres deep. These included two thumbs of the large Buddha, two blocks pertaining to its base, and another Buddha head, 0.19m height, broken into to fragments.[4] Trouvé immediately associated the head with the body of a seated Buddha, 0.50m high, discovered at the western entry to the central room at the foot of the northern door jamb (RCA09/33). For Trouvé, "this head proved well without any doubt that some excavations were made at an undetermined period, then back-filled with the materials previously excavated and some mutilated pieces (Big Buddha, [small Buddha head]) since it belongs to a divinity abandoned at the room entrance" (JDF 10: 195, Fig. 2). Preoccupied with the discovery of the spectacular big Buddha, Trouvé failed to recognise the early Ayutthayan style and the late date of the small Buddha. After being awarded the medal of the Royal Order of Monisaraphon for the discovery he sailed for France in November for a well-deserved six-month convalescence. Upon returning to Angkor the following summer, he was immediately taken by other investigations, including the excavation of the central shrine of Angkor Wat (Trouvé 1935: 483-486).

None of Trouvé's successors were particularly interested in the small Buddha, besides a conservator who restored it at the Conservation d'Angkor probably before the 1970s. Many authors have written about the discovery of the big Bayon Buddha (e.g. Cœdès 1943: 195, 1944: 318-319, Cunin 2007: 187-188, Dumarçay 1996: 41, B.-P. Groslier 1973: 264, 269, 297-306, Jacques 1999b: 370, Mus 1962: 527-529), but none noticed the small one. Unrecognised until now, Trouvé had discovered a 15th century image made in the early Ayutthayan style buried with

[4] DCA3317, N.441, EFEO photo cliché Cambodge INVLU06578, 18103.

the big Buddha. Paradoxically of diminutive proportions, the small Bayon Buddha simultaneously questions our understanding of the post-Jayavarman VII iconoclasm that the destruction of the big Bayon Buddha is purported to authenticate, the Ayutthayan invasion of 1431 / 1432, and post-15th century occupation at Angkor.

The small Bayon Buddha and early Ayutthayan style

The image found at the bottom of a probable looting shaft next to the thumbs of the big Bayon Buddha is of the early Ayutthayan or U-Thong type[5] and was likely carved by an Ayutthayan artist in Angkor. The image illustrates the Buddha in the popular Theravādan pose of *māravijaya*, or calling the earth to witness, representing the moment of the Siddhārtha Gautama's enlightenment. Replete with monastic robes, the poor condition of the torso means that an associated scarf is only visible in outline, though similar images suggest this was forked and bordered. It has a long oval face, arched eyebrows, semi-closed eyes, a thin, long and straight nose, smiling lips with a hemmed upper edge or *phrai*[6], and a round protruding chin. The earlobes, now missing, were extended and connected with the shoulders. The hair is characterised by many small round curls and separated from the head by a narrow band culminating in the middle of the forehead in a widow's peak. Limbs and digits are elongated and slender, with legs in the half-lotus position. The Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* no longer remains, but we can envisage it was a flame enclosed at the base by a row of lotus petals. The sculpture's hair still retains evidence of black lacquer that is delimited by the hair band. At 68.5cm high and 46.5cm wide the image is small to analogous examples in

[5] Due to the problematic attribution of the U-Thong stylistic categorisations the authors choose to preference the designation of "early Ayutthayan". For original definitions of the U-Thong types see Griswold, A.B. and Lung Boribal Buribhand. 1952. *Guide to the Art Exhibits in the National Museum*, Bangkok. Stylistically the Buddhas shown in Fig. 3 are of the U-Thong C type, though this label originally referred only to bronze and all stone U-Thong images were thought to date to the 17th century.

[6] See Nǭ na Pâkam 1983: 53-59.

Ayutthaya and its surrounding territory, and comparable to the other examples from Angkor.[7]

Ostensibly an early Ayutthayan Buddha at Angkor may seem anomalous or exceptional. However, over forty analogous images have been identified *in-situ* at Angkor Wat, the Bayon, in storage at The National Museum of Cambodia, the Conservation d'Angkor, and the Musée Guimet, and in the documentation of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (clichés EFEO fonds Cambodge, chroniques, journaux de fouilles, and rapports d'Angkor) (see Appendix).[8] The small Bayon Buddha is not

[7] A description of the Buddha given in the Conservation d'Angkor records dated 5th April 2001 by Nadine Dalsheimer reads: «Buddha assis attestant la terre. Coiffure et chignon ornés de petites boucles rondes en saillie, bordure inférieure en accolade en liseré lisse. Cadre du visage ovale, front bas et étroit, arcades sourcilières fortement arquées incisées, yeux globuleux mi-clos, paupière incisée en léger relief. Nez fin, long et droit; bouche menue légèrement souriante, lèvres au contour ourlé. Menton rond; joues très rondes; oreilles fines et allongées aux lobes ourlés. Cou assez long et fin marqué de trois plis. Épaules larges et tombantes, torse très fin et long, pectoraux bombés, abdomen plat. Bras fins et longs; main droite attestant la terre; main gauche en méditation; paume plate, dos légèrement bombé, doigts longs et fins, éminence thénar bien en relief, ongles ovales délimités par incision. Dos très droit; fesses plates. Jambes fines, cuisses plates, genoux carrés et mollets fins. Plante du pied droit plate en saillie par rapport aux orteils longs et fins, bombés à leur extrémité. Vêtement supérieur lisse couvrant l'épaule et le bras gauche jusqu'au poignet, double épaisseur sur le poignet, tombant sur la cuisse gauche jusqu'au socle. Écharpe lisse posée par-dessus, sur l'épaule. Vêtement inférieur lisse tombant jusqu'aux chevilles terminé par un liseré lisse en retrait; maintenu par une ceinture large et lisse. Socle mince et lisse en forme de haricot épousant le contour des formes de Buddha; partie supérieure ornée de stries rayonnantes peu visibles».

[8] The sculptures listed in the Appendix are those that can be identified as early Ayutthayan style with a high degree of certitude. Over ten additional sculptures at Angkor Wat, the Bayon and the Conservation d'Angkor that are incomplete or in a poor state of conservation may also be identified as early Ayutthayan. The authors are also aware of 4 bronze Buddhas of the early Ayutthayan or U-Thong C style found north of Angkor Wat in 1968 (EFEO photo cliché Cambodge INVLU03947, INVLU19891_3, INVLU19892). Similarly, Angkor Wat was the original find spot for another bronze image of the Buddha in *māravijaya* dating to the late 14th-early 15th century now housed in the Angkor National Museum (EFEO photo cliché Cambodge INVLU19891_1). These images have a square face with a straight headband separating the hair from the forehead. There are likely more related images in bronze and further research is required of collections from the National Museum of Cambodia and the Angkor National Museum, though correspondences between bronze and stone should be considered with caution (See Griswold and Lung Boribal *op. cit.*, and Woodward 1997: 176-177). Other sculptures with a possible association with Ayutthayan style include a walking Buddha from the Bakan of Angkor Wat (#2228) and a reclining Buddha situated on the eastern terrace of the Bayon. The reclining Buddha has

an isolated image and the original find-spots of the additional sculptures are associated with late occupations at Angkor and include Angkor Thom, Angkor Wat, the Bayon, Phnom Krom, Preah Palilay, Preah Pithu and Tep Prenam. In 1955, the accomplished art historian, Jean Boisselier, clearly aware of the complexity of the task, stated that his reflections regarding styles after the Bayon were only assumptions requiring further research (Boisselier 1955: 245). With the exception of the work of Giteau (1975) little progress has been made on a precise sculptural chronology after the early 13th century (see also Dagens 2003: 261, Thompson 1997, 22-32). Nevertheless, the sculptures identified as early Ayutthayan at Angkor (Fig. 3) undoubtedly correspond with a distinct and introduced style, rather than a concurrent stylistic development to that which occurred at Sukhothai, Lopburi, and Ayutthaya.

Early Ayutthayan images are conventionally dated to the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century from association with the Wat Ratchaburana deposit. Wat Ratchaburana was identified with Wat Ratchabun from the *Luang Prasœt* and *Phan Chanthanumat* versions of the Royal Ayutthayan chronicles by Prince Damrong (1926). Written in 1680 and 1795 respectively the chronicles record the founding of a temple by King Bòromrāchā II in 1424 at the cremation site of his two brothers killed in a duel for the throne after their father passed away (Cushman 2000: 14-15, *Phra Phuttharūp læ phra phim* 1959: 8, *Phraratchaphongsawadan krung si ayutthayā chabap pan chanthanumat* 1964: 11).[9] The precise foundation date of the temple is unclear, however Chinese annals (the *Ming shi-lu*) suggest that Bòromrāchā II ascended the throne in 1416 (Wade 2000: 263-264). Art historical analysis of stucco on the *prang* indicate an early 15th century construction (Leksukhum 1979). After looting revealed sacred deposits the central crypt of the *prang* was opened in 1957 by the Thai Fine Arts Department and numerous rooms filled with Buddhist images and tablets of different types and styles were recovered. The presence of diagnostic Kashmiri coins and votive tablets with Chinese inscriptions supports 15th century date. Of note for the present paper

long and slender fingers, a forked and bordered scarf, and a band separating the forehead from the head, characteristic of early Ayutthayan images.

[9] For an alternative dating of Wat Ratchaburana see Piriya Krairiksh (2002).

is that most of the Buddha images were created in the 'early Ayutthayan' style with an oval-shaped slender face, arched band at the hairline, and flame *uṣṇīṣa* analogous to the images at Angkor (Chirapravati 2005: 81-84, see also Woodward 2010: 381-382).[10] Over 300 stone Buddha from early Ayutthayan period monuments in storage at the Chantharakasem National Museum (Ayutthaya) and the Somdet Phra Narai National Museum (Lopburi) show convincing stylistic association with the Angkor images. Larger stone images from monuments like Wat Ratchaburana and Wat Mahathat of the Buddha in *māravijaya* were made of several blocks of sandstone. They were covered with a layer of stucco to hide the joins and coated with lacquer (usually black), which would then have been gilded.

Stone Analysis of the early Ayutthyan style

From visual observations, the stone used for the 'early Ayutthayan' Buddha sculptures found in Angkor was identified as sandstone. Based on the color and texture visible on the clean breaks of a few sculptures, it could be further inferred that the type of sandstone is most likely of local origin. However, as most sculptures are heavily weathered, the identification of the sandstone type for the majority of the sculptures was challenging and required further scientific investigations.

The analysis of the stone was conducted on site without taking any samples and scientific data were obtained by combining the non-invasive analytical capabilities of two portable instruments that could be easily deployed in the field: a UV/Vis/NIR[11] reflectance spectrometer[12] operating between 350 and 2500 nm and a handheld X-ray fluorescence

[10] See especially Siriphan (2005: 196, 197) now housed at the Chao Sam Phraya National Museum

[11] UV/Vis/NIR: Ultraviolet/Visible/Near Infrared

[12] Reflectance spectra were acquired with a FieldSpec® 3 spectrometer (Analytical Spectral Devices Inc., Boulder, Colorado) equipped with a high intensity contact probe fitted with a halogen light source. The instrument measures the reflectance in the 350 to 2500 nm spectral range with a resolution varying from 2 to 10 nm. Sample reflectance was calibrated against a white Spectralon® standard and measured on a circular area of about 10 mm in diameter.

spectrometer[13] (XRF). Together, these techniques provide both elemental and molecular compositional data that reflect the mineralogy of the sandstone. Out of the forty two early Ayutthayan sculptures (Fig. 3) identified in this study, more than fifteen were analyzed, among which the seated Buddha whose head was found by Trouvé in the central shaft of the Bayon cella (Fig. 3, number 18); the three seated Buddha busts still in the galleries of Angkor Wat (Fig. 3, number 2, 3 and 4); as well as several Buddha heads currently in storage at the Conservation d'Angkor (See appendix).

All reflectance spectra collected on these early Ayutthayan Buddha sculptures show similar profiles with diagnostic absorptions in the near infrared characteristic of smectite and chlorite mineral phases (Fig. 4), and more importantly, they share these spectral features with the grey[14] sandstone used for the building of the temples in the Angkor area. This sandstone belongs to the Terrain rouge geological unit and was extensively quarried during the Angkorian period in the southeastern foothills of the Kulen Mountain, a few kilometers north and west of Beng Meala (Douglas, Carò and Fischer 2010: 1-18, Carò and Im 2012: 1455-1466). Conversely, the spectral signature of the grey sandstone differs markedly from the one of the sandstone used for the Buddha sculptures in Ayutthaya[15]. Consistently, absorption bands in the near infrared indicate the presence of kaolinite (Fig. 4), a clay mineral characteristic of the quartz-rich sandstone formations belonging to the Khorat group in Thailand and which are known as the Grès Supérieurs in Cambodia, where they rest on the older Terrain rouge unit (Workman 1977, Racey et al. 1996).

This major difference between the sandstone types used for the Buddha's in Ayutthaya and the early Ayutthayan sculptures found in Angkor was further confirmed by XRF analysis. Trace element identification allowed to clearly separate the two types of sandstone based on strontium (Sr) and rubidium (Rb) concentrations (Fig. 5). Moreover, data

[13] XRF data were collected with a handheld Niton XL3t GOLDD+ spectrometer (Thermo Scientific) equipped with a silver anode 50 kV X-ray tube and a peltier-cooled silicon drift detector (SDD). Spot size is about 8 mm in diameter and acquisition time was set to 90 s (soil mode).

[14] Following the color-based classification of Delvert (see Delvert 1963: 469)

[15] More than fifty Buddha sculptures and heads located at the Wat Mahathat temple and the Chantharakasem National museum were analyzed during the 2012 field campaign.

collected on grey sandstone samples from numerous temples in Angkor[16], quarries[17] and even Khmer-style sculptures[18] are rather well clustered indicating the same geological source. From the non-invasive analysis of the stone, it can therefore be concluded that the sculptors carved the early Ayutthayan Buddhas found in Angkor with the same local grey sandstone that was previously used by the ancient Khmer for both statuary and monumental architecture in Angkor.

Ayutthayan relations with Angkor

The Khmer had a long association with the area of Ayutthaya and Angkor has always been revered by peoples north and west of the Dangreks. As recorded in the chronicles, for the literate circles of Ayutthaya Angkor was always "Nagara Hlvan", the great capital without equal (Charnvit 1976: 117 n35, Vickery 1977: 517, 1982: 78-79). There was an unambiguous cultural connection between the regions of Ayutthaya and Angkor in the 15th century. Vickery (1973: 52, 2004: 18) considers that Khmer must have been an important and prestigious language outside the Cambodian state. Three metal *preah patima* (votive tablets) from the Wat Ratchaburana deposit are inscribed with Cambodian script using the word *namo*, meaning "homage" (Chirapravati 2005: 92, *Chittrakam læ sinlapawatthu* 1958: 63). A brief inscription from a gold plate also found at Wat Ratchaburana uses the Khmer word *oy*, «give (to)» (Cœdès 1965: 205, Vickery 1973: 60-61).[19] Similarly, gold sheets with donors' names and titles in the deposit use Khmer script, though the language

[16] Data from Kucera et al., 2008.

[17] Data from Carò and Im 2012.

[18] Although the grey sandstone was primarily quarried for the building of the temples in Angkor, its use by sculptors from Ayutthaya is not surprising because during the 13th century, beside the particular sandstone of volcano-sedimentary origin identified on several Bayon-style sculptures (Douglas and Sorensen 2007: 115-125; Douglas 2008: 357-366), the grey sandstone was already a material used by Khmer sculptors for sculptures such as the Ganesha of Srah Ta Set (MG18052, musée Guimet; see Baptiste and Zéphir 2008: 315).

[19] Vickery (1973: 61, n.35) additionally cites five similar inscriptions from the 15th century that contain the word "oy".

appears to be Thai (Woodward 1997: 177).[20] Additional connections can be found in written records. Mid to late 15th century inscriptions from Tenasserim and Phichit list the same set of Khmer royal titles with minor variations (Vickery 1973: 53-57, 69, 2004:19 cf. Cœdès 1965: 203-205). Finally, the conventional title used by the Mongols for the early rulers of Ayutthaya was *kamrateṅ*, a common component of Cambodian royal titles during the Angkor period (Vickery 2004: 18).

A bond to the Khmer world is also seen in the material culture of early Ayutthaya. According to Garnier (2004: 39-40) archaeologists have found traces of a pre-12th century Dvāravatī structures at Ayutthaya under the temples of Wat Khun Muang Chai and Wat Mahathat. The central shrine of Wat Mahathat (Ayutthaya) contains re-used sandstone blocks from an earlier structure. One stone is decorated with a common Khmer decorative motif and likely originated as part of a temple terrace. The reused stone on top of the central *prang* bears the *kbach rachana*[21] of a *chakachan* flower frieze divided by *phñi tes* leaves used in countless religious structures in Cambodia beginning from at least the 8th century (see Chan and Chanmara 2005, Polkinghorne 2007a: *Figs*. A.9, A.11). The frieze is also replicated in stucco on many Ayutthayan monuments. Also rendered in stucco, the lions that surround the *stūpa* of Wat Thammikarat are characteristically Khmer in style, and are presumably influenced by Angkorian models. Similarly, Woodward (1995: 335-341) tentatively identifies a Khmer monument as the original structure of Wat Si Rattanamahathat at Lopburi.

In the Wat Ratchaburana deposit there were 191 Cambodian type metal and ceramic images. *Preah patima* Buddha images likely came to Ayutthaya from areas formally under Angkorian control.[22] The images depict two of the most common Mahāyāna Cambodian images reproduced during the time of Jayavarman VII. One illustrates a Nāga-protected Buddha

[20] Inscriptions of Thai in Khmer script are also seen from a district of Chainat (no. 48, 1408) and in the Dansai inscription which records some kind of treaty between Ayutthaya and Vientiane (1563) (Vickery 2004: 19-20).

[21] The term *kbach rachana* refers to the suite of Khmer decorative motifs taught to Khmer artists as an oral tradition and passed from generation to generation through learning and making (see see Chan and Chanmara 2005).

[22] *Preah patima* or votive tablets are rare in Khmer art south of the Dangreks (see Boisselier 1966: 332-333, 374-377).

flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Prajñāpāramitā, the other a Hevajra manadala (see Krairiksh 2012: 302-304, Chirapravati 2005: 84, 86, *Phuttharūp læ phra phim* 1959: 57-58). The presence and persistence of the Nāga-protected Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* rendered in stone at many Ayutthayan sites is similarly indicative of the legacy and significance of Khmer artistic and religious models.

Mobility of styles, sculpture and artists

The influence of Khmer art and culture in the Chao Phraya basin is known, yet the incidence of Thai style sculpture and artistic impact in Cambodia has been incompletely considered. Dupont (1935) and Boisselier (1955) identified the impregnation of Dvāravatī art in late Bayon period sculptures, especially of the Commaille type[23], and Giteau (1975) made numerous post-Angkorian correspondences with Thai art, but none have distinguished the presence of early Ayutthayan art at Angkor.[24] If the early Ayutthayan images were crafted with Cambodian stone by Ayutthayan sculptors how did the artists come to reside at Angkor? The most probable conclusion is that the images are associated with the 1431 / 1432 sack of Angkor and represent a period of residence or occupation at the former capital. The principal sources of our knowledge about the Ayutthayan incursion at Angkor are the Ayutthayan and Cambodian chronicles which should be reviewed with caution[25]. However for

[23] Also see Boisselier 1966, Cœdès 1928, Dupont 1931-1934.

[24] In reference to specific heads and busts at the Bayon and Tep Prenam, Boisselier (1955: 129, 191, 249, pl. 101B, 114) cites an influence from Thai and Chinese aesthetics, but does not recognise the images as early Ayutthayan.

[25] The chronicles are reconstructions of history recorded long after the events they allege to report. They are contradictory and abound with errors having been transcribed numerous times. Additionally, mistranslation and attempts at correction by early western researchers increase the difficulties of interpretation (see Cushman 2000, Ewington 2008, Mak Phoeun 2002: 105-110, Vickery 1973, 1976, 1977a, 1977b, 2004). For early translations and interpretations of the Chronicles see Damrong 1968: 1-62, 222-418, Frankfurter 1914: 1-20, Garnier, F. 1871: 336-385, 1872: 336-385, Leclère 1914, and Moura 1883. Numerous scholars have investigated claims for additional or alternative Ayutthayan sieges and occupations of Angkor. There is evidence of ongoing military disputes between Angkor and polities north of the Dangrek as early as the 13th century. Zhou Daguan tells us that as

Vickery (1977a: 461 sqq, 1977b: 53, 55-56, 2004: 3, 19) the single event that unquestionably reflects reality is an Ayutthayan intrusion of some kind at Angkor around 1431 as recorded in the *Luang Prasœt* version of the Ayutthayan Chronicles.[26] Comparative analysis of the *Luang Prasœt* version and another chronicle fragment, the *2/k.125 fragment*, augments our knowledge about the infamous incident. Angkor is first discussed in the *2/k.125 fragment* in the context of the Ayutthayan King's son ruling there between 1441 and 1442 for an indeterminate period of time. If we accept the *Luang Prasœt* date for the sack as 1431 / 1432, then Ayutthaya had occupied Angkor for between 12 and 15 years (Vickery 1977a: 461 sqq, 1977b: 55-56). Identification of an early Ayutthayan Buddha in the shaft of the central cella of the Bayon, and subsequent recognition of over forty similar 15th century images is the first material evidence of this critical event in the history of the region.

The movement and mobility of sculptures in stone and bronze across the landscape of the Khmer empire and beyond is observed at least from the late 12th century and likely occurred much earlier. Sculptures could be transported as the spoils of war, as ritual retinue, and perhaps even as artistic models. A designated image can bring legitimacy and prosperity to its custodians[27] and donated images can confer merit and blessings upon the donor. During the time of Jayavarman VII twenty-three images of the *Jayabuddhamahānātha* were distributed throughout his kingdom, including to many locations in present day Thailand (K.908, see Cœdès 1941: 296, 1943: 194-196, 1958, 1960, Woodward 1994/1995: 105-111). The so-called portrait images of Jayavarman VII were also transported from their probable single point of creation and have been found

a result of repeated battles or wars with the Siamese the land had been completely laid to waste (2007: 79, n.99), and that ordinary people were ordered to battle (2007: 82). The Royal Ayutthayan Chronicles record several sieges of the Khmer capital in the late 14th and early 15th (Cushman 2000: 11, 14, Wyatt 1973: 32-35). Fragments of the Cambodian chronicles date the event to various times in the 14th and 15th centuries, and suggest that Angkor was occupied for less than a year (see Briggs 1948: 3-33, Cœdès 1918: 15-28, Groslier B.-P. 1958, Khin Sok 1988, Wolters 1966: 44-89). Wolters (1966: 52) and Wade (2011: 10) argue that there was a 14th century Ayutthayan occupation at Angkor based upon the Ang Eng fragment of the Cambodian Chronicles and *Ming Shi-lu* respectively.

[26] Also see Cushman (2000: 15), Briggs (1948: 24), Wolters (1966: 44).

[27] Famously, see the Emerald Buddha (Notton 1933).

in the farthest reaches of the Empire (Cœdès 1943: 194-196, Pottier 2000: 171-172).

The presence of monumental Khmer bronzes at the Mahāmuni Paya of Mandalay, reputedly from Angkor via Ayutthaya, similarly testify to the ease with which images travelled across kingdoms (Boisselier 1967: 312-334).[28] Versions of the Ayutthayan chronicles report that during the invasion of Angkor, images, including those of animals were brought to Ayutthaya (Cushman 2000: 15, McGill 1993: 447). Scholars typically argue that the Mahāmuni bronzes are the images recorded in the chronicles (e.g. see Boisselier 1967: 312-334). Likely from Angkor, the specific identification between text and image is problematic (see Vickery 2004: 47-48, cf. Vincent 2012: 134-162). In middle period Cambodia, the chronicles similarly report the movement and destruction of statuary as confirmation of victory and reappropriation of sacred power. During the foundation of Phnom Penh as a Royal residence in the early 15th century King Ponhea Yât is said to have brought numerous bronze images of the Buddha and statues of lions from Angkor to sanctify the august Caitya of Wat Phnom (Khin 1988: 71-72). At the end of the 16th century the capture of Longvêk by King Braḥ Narendrasūra (Naresuan) is recognised by the ruin of powerful images of the Buddha (Cœdès 1918: 19, Groslier, B.-P. 1958: 19, Khin 1988: 45-47, 213-217). If we accept Vickery's 12 to 15 year occupation hypothesis, then the early Ayutthayan sculptures at Angkor appeared not as the spoils of war, but as offerings of an occupying force and their artists.

Early Ayutthayan sculptures rendered in Cambodian stone suggest the presence of early Ayutthayan artists at Angkor. Artists are a valuable commodity for political administrations who implicitly utilise specialised artistic knowledge to legitimise, maintain and symbolise power (Geertz 1980, Polkinghorne 2007a, 2007b). Because of low population densities in mainland Southeast Asia, warfare for slave gathering and increasing the workforce were common (Reid 1988:123). Correspondingly, among the most prized labour were artisans whose skill and technical knowledge could be reappropriated in the invaders' own seat of power (Beemer

[28] See also Goloubew 1924a: 510-512 who describes a 12th century Khmer bronze image of Lokeśvara in Sri Lanka.

2009, McGill 2005a: 20). In Cambodia during the 10th century artists appear to be bound to the dominant political administration despite the physical movement of capitals and political change (Polkinghorne 2007b: 24-27). Movement of artists can account for the transmission and continuity of technical knowledge in mainland Southeast Asia during the rise and decline of successive empires (Boisselier 1967: 281-285). For example, an account of the foundation of the kingdom of Lan Chang in the 14th century tells of artists imported from Cambodia with the requisite skills to create images of the Buddha (see Boisselier 1967: 283, Finot 1917: 165). Similarly, Beemer (2009) records slave gathering warfare and the forced migration of Thai artisans to Burma in the 16th and 18th centuries.

Recognition of early Ayutthayan style at Angkor does not eliminate the possibility that Angkorian artists attempted to replicate the characteristic images. There is no doubt that the Ayutthayan styles had an influence upon local artistic fashions (see Boisselier 1955, Dupont 1935, and Giteau 1975). But in this case, although the Angkorian artists were among the most accomplished in all Southeast Asia, it is unlikely that they could faithfully reproduce another tradition without indigenous input. The inharmonious and crude composition of some images, for example one from Phnom Krom[29], may be representative of the cross-fertilisation of artistic customs.[30]

Evidence of occupation at the Khmer Capital

In addition to the stone sculptures there may be further evidence of an Ayutthayan residence at Angkor. Cœdès' (1918: 15-28) translation of the *Nong* fragment of the Cambodian chronicles notes the King of Ayutthaya, *samtec braḥ paramarājādhirāja* who raised an army against the

[29] See EFEO photo cliché fonds cambodge INVLU 00862_1 (head on right of image).

[30] The images presented in this paper are considered early Ayutthayan in style, but the difficulties presented by the U-Thong type categorisation are demonstrated by the diversity of facial composition (cf. Woodward 1997: 176-178, 300). For example, Buddha 35 (see Appendix) from the Musée Guimet (MG25066, see Baptiste and Zéphir 2008: 448) exhibits a square jaw typically associated with the U-Thong B type.

capital of *braḥ cau śrī dharmāśokarāja* (presumably Angkor in 1431 / 1432). After a siege of seven months *braḥ cau śrī dharmāśokarāja* asked two monks to offer the city to the Ayutthayan king. When *braḥ cau śrī dharmāśokarāja* died *samtec braḥ paramarājādhirāja* founded two pagodas for the monks, one called *vet jetubana*/*jetavana* at Angkor Wat (*bisnuloka*/*viṣṇuloka*) and another small pagoda called *vet noi* (Cœdès 1918: 26-27).[31] It is likely that these foundations were accompanied by requisite images of the Buddha, possibly in the style of the Ayutthayan king who commissioned them.

The badly preserved inscription K. 489 (see Cœdès 1951: 229-230) from Prasat Prampil Lavaeng (Buddhist Terrace No. 1)[32] dated palaeographically to the 14th or 15th century records two royal names: *dharmmikarājādhirāja* and *rājādhipatirāja*. Analysis of the *Luang Prasœt* and van Vliet-*Saṅgīṭiyavaṅś* Thai chronicles with the *Ming Shi-lu* suggests that King *parama rājādhirāja* II also held the title of *rājādhipatī*, who was the conqueror of Angkor (Vickery 1976: 227-228, 1977a: 225, 1978: 233-234, 2004: 19, 25, Vliet 1975: 63). For Vickery (2004: 19) correspondence of these names may provide a speculative record of this conquest.

Interestingly, material evidence at the find spot of K. 489 may also demonstrate an Ayutthayan occupation. The western square tiered terrace of Prasat Prampil Lavaeng which likely supported an image of the Buddha (Marchal 1918: 13) has similar elephant terrace mouldings to Wat Maheyong at Ayutthaya dated by the Royal Ayutthayan Chronicles to 1438 (Cushman 2000: 15, Leksukhum 2005: 66). These mouldings, unique at Angkor[33], which depict a series of elephants whose trunks project and support the terrace, employ re-used stones probably from the Royal Terraces.[34] Preah Vihear Prambuon Lavaeng (Buddhist Terrace No. 2), two hundred metres from Prasat Prampil Lavaeng, is the find spot

[31] The second pagoda was also likely in Angkor Wat. See also Péri 1923: 1-104.

[32] Coincidently Prasat Prampil Lavaeng is the present home of the Bayon Buddha. See also Giteau (1971: 127, 1975: 15-16).

[33] The mouldings are significantly smaller and distinct to those from The Terrace of Elephants and the gate of Angkor Thom.

[34] The employ of re-used and re-cut stones is common to the Buddhist Terraces of Angkor Thom (see Marchal 1918: 9).

of a small carved sandstone *dharmacakra*, a popular symbol in Thai Buddhism (see Brown 1996) and which is one of only two known at Angkor.[35] Additionally, the site of Preah Vihear Prambuon Lavaeng includes the remains of a large octagonal *stūpa* base. No side has any evidence of moulding. The structure is similar in dimensions and morphology to *stūpa* at Ayutthaya (Wat Ratchaburana, Wat Phra Ram, and Wat Thammikarat) reputedly dating to the late 14th and early 15th centuries (Cushman 2000: 11, 15, Garnier, D. 2004: 39-40, Leksukhum 2005: 68-69).[36]

There is tentative indication of a Thai presence at Angkor in the 15th century from the ceramic record of Angkor Thom. Although we do not know when they arrived at Angkor, 14th and 15th century Thai celadons were identified in excavations inside the Royal Palace (Dupoizat 1999: 110), at Srah Andong [north pond of Prasat Sour Prat] (Heng 2004: 229, 232), and to the west of the Terrace of the Leper King (Polkinghorne 2012: 7, 22). Thai ceramics, architectural and sculptural evidence suggest a 15th century Ayutthayan influence possibly coupled to the 1431 / 1432 incursion and occupation.

Was the big Buddha the central idol of the Bayon?

An early 15th century attribution to the small Buddha verifies that the big Bayon Buddha was demolished and interred at a late date. When Trouvé recovered the great statue and began to reassemble it in the Bayon forecourt, instead of sitting within a monolithic square or rectangular pedestal customary of most Angkorian images, the Bayon Buddha was set into a unique octagonal pedestal made up of numerous interlocking blocks. Comparison with other octagonal and multiple piece structures, notably *stūpa* at Angkor suggest that the pedestal was constructed no

[35] The other is at Preah Ang Thom on the Kulen (Boulbet and Dagens 1973: 37, Roveda and Sothorn 2009: 178).

[36] Another avenue of potential analogy between the artistic culture of late Angkor and early Ayutthaya may reside in the morphology and designs of *sema* stone, though preliminary analysis has not provided any clues (see also Giteau 1969).

earlier than the 15th century. After its construction the octagonal pedestal was modified again, evidenced by re-carving of the sandstone blocks and remains of metal cladding. The complex history of the idol prompts us to reconsider if the big Bayon Buddha was in fact the original divinity of the central shrine?

The Bayon Buddha depicts an extremely popular Angkorian iconographic representation. The Buddha is seated in the position of *dhyāna-mudra*, in deep meditation with eyes downcast on a multi-headed snake, whose heads rise above it to form a canopy. The symbolic interpretation that most scholars defer to is a synthesis of the primordial Khmer worship of nāga and the Sākyamuni Buddha who was sheltered by the serpent Mucalinda during his enlightenment (See Cœdès 1923: 37-39, Dupont 1950: 39-62). Others raise serious questions about this identification preferring to consider some kind of Mahāyāna association (See Lobo 1997: 95, Sharrock 2011: 481-491, Woodward 1979: 72-83, 2007: 7). The Bayon Buddha has been associated with additional speculative meanings. As the *Buddharāja*, an apparent Buddhist substitute for the famed Śivaite *devarāja*, Cœdès (1943: 195, 1944: 318-319) believed that the Bayon Buddha was also an apotheosis of Jayavarman VII and the sum of the named images represented in the Bayon's lower galleries. Considering that spiritual belief systems at Angkor were founded on a substratum of chthonic earth cults and animism, Mus (1962: 527-529) and B.-P. Groslier (with Dumarçay 1973: 264, 269, 297-306) believed that the Bayon Buddha was a symbol of Jayavarman VII as the great genie of the kingdom materialising his authority by assembling the territorial genies of the earth at his feet.[37] No inscription at the Bayon or other Jayavarman VII period monument documents the Bayon Buddha.

Likely dating to the end of the 12th century the Bayon Buddha is typical of the Bayon style when images of the Buddha on nāga were pre-eminent and displays the characteristic mystical expression and smile of Angkor. The face, body, extremities, musculature and pose are analogous to the so-called portrait images of Jayavarman VII. Meditation is expressed by the semi-closed eyes that evoke the spirit of compassion, an apparent spiritual and artistic ideal of the time of the Bayon style. The hairstyle of

[37] See also Mus (1933: 367-410).

small spirals in low relief harks back to Baphuon style representations of the Buddha. The un-tiered chignon and *uṣṇīṣa* is uncommon in this period and characteristic of earlier images of the Buddha on nāga and the later Commaille type.[38] The ears are stylised and are drawn to connect with the torso. The Buddha's attire is simplified and the chest appears naked, though a robe is suggested by linking the left arm with the body (Boisselier 1952: 261-273, 1955: 222-224, 243-244, 247, 1956: 15, 94, 97, 1966: 256, 275-276, Cœdès 1943: 176-179, Dupont 1950: 57-60, Stern 1965: 171-174, Mus 1961: 363-381). The Buddha is unusual for its large stature[39] and its peculiar white sandstone that Trouvé at first identified mistakenly as limestone.[40] Similar images are found at the site of Nokor Krau, on the northern bank of the eastern part of the north moat of Angkor Thom and at Ta Prohm, recently discovered by the Archaeological Survey of India / APSARA restoration team. These sculptures are comparable in size[41] and were probably of the same image.[42]

We can suppose that big Buddha dates to the late 12th century, but was it the central image of the Bayon? Whereas the Preah Khan stele talks of an annual ceremony when the main gods of the empire (including Wat Nokor, Ta Prohm, Banteay Chmar, and Phimai) were invited as guests there is unusually no mention of the Bayon Buddha (Cœdès 1941: 281-282, 298-299, Jacques 2011: 38). The absence of the Bayon's central idol may suggest that the inscription was completed before the consecration of the big Buddha. The substantial size and weight (15 tonne) of the image no doubt required considerable planning in regard to its installation. Because the statue is higher and wider than the doorways of the central cella, Jacques (1999a: 370) and Cunin (2007: 188) believe that

[38] Images of the Buddha on nāga during the late 12th and early 13th century commonly have tiered *mukuṭa*. On the Commaille type see Boisselier (1955: 248-250, 1956: 110) and Dupont (1950: 60-61).

[39] 3.6m tall (4.7m including pedestal) × 1.67m wide.

[40] Distinct from the sandstone typical to Bayon style sculptures (See Douglas and Sorensen 2007: 115-124).

[41] Nokor Krau image: 2.11m tall (neck to the base of the *nāga* coil, the head and *nāga* hood are absent) × 1.58m wide (knee to knee). Ta Prohm image: 2.10m tall (neck to the base of the *nāga* coil, the head and *nāga* hood are absent).

[42] Maxwell 2007a: 92 additionally cites an image of the Buddha discovered by the World Monuments Fund at Ta Som. Although this image is Bayon style its overall morphology and dimunative size preclude it from being associated with the Bayon Buddha.

the image was established before the construction of the central tower mass, with a temporary structure necessary to protect the image. Jacques (2007: 48) has postulated that an image of Harihara replaced the Bayon Buddha after the iconoclasm on the basis of inscriptions in the adjoining sanctuaries that commemorate images of Pārvatī and Dhāraṇī, the consorts of Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively. This proposition now seems unlikely if the Bayon Buddha was in worship up until at least the 15th century. Dumarçay (1996: 41) judiciously suggest that the image was carried in lengthways, as it was removed by Trouvé during its excavation. The image was finalised and dedicated with its eyes opened at the completion of construction (Dumarçay 1996: 41). If the sculpture was installed lengthways then it is impossible to confirm that the big Buddha was the original statue of the Bayon as it was possible to move it in and out through both the eastern and western doors of the cella[43] from anywhere at any time later.

An octagonal pedestal

Of particular interest to this paper is the octagonal pedestal. When the Bayon Buddha was originally carved it was likely positioned in a square pedestal typical of Angkorian period sculpture. At a later date, a new octagonal pedestal was made for the image comprised of several sandstone blocks. The shape and composition of the pedestal is unique in Khmer sculpture, and it is argued here that it dates to the 15th century. A third modification phase is demonstrated by diagnostic flat chisel marks and traces of metal pins that appear to post-date the original polished surface of the sandstone.

From the bottom, the Buddha pedestal consists of four octagonal and two circular courses of stones, six courses in total. Not all sandstone pedestal components were recovered from the Bayon cella and during restoration missing pieces were replaced with laterite. Each octagonal tier consists of eight blocks and each block is rendered to fit with the other

[43] Furthermore, the western door was widened sometime after the original construction of the central tower (see Cunin 2004, v.2: 118, fig. 147).

blocks so that it is approximately 4/5th one face and 1/5th another. The topmost octagonal tier is incised with undecipherable assembly marks recorded as K. 776 (Cœdès 1966: 196-197, also see Dumarçay and Groslier, B.-P. 1973: 94). All but the two bottom courses bear traces of small holes, or dowel pins (approximately 3mm) containing traces of an unidentified metal (probably iron) which presumably once supported some form of metal cladding.

The profile of the pedestal modenature does not follow the classic Angkorian standard of symmetry, where the top and bottom of same dimensions are separated by a smaller median band. Instead the pedestal decreases in width with increasing height. In morphology it resembles the *stūpa* of Kôk Thlôk (IK474.03, west of the Bayon) and Wat Preah Ngok (IK479.02, a terrace north west of the Bayon). Like the Buddha pedestal each tier of these *stūpa* possess eight blocks and follows the 4/5th: 1/5th modular composition. The dating of these *stūpa* is obscure (see Marchal 1951: 583) but they are probably 15th century or later, consistent with other Theravādan foundations at Angkor. Another known octagonal pedestal is that which supports the 16th century inscription K. 82 of Vat Nokor in Kompong Cham.[44] The inscription dated 1566CE records a dignitary or a king transforming the 12th century central tower into a funerary *stūpa* and the installation of an image of the Buddha (Filliozat 1969: 93-106, Thompson 1999: 104-109, 340-350, Vickery 1977a: 229-233, 1977b: 71-72).[45] The K. 82 pedestal is a single block of sandstone that shows a morphological resemblance to the Bayon Buddha pedestal.

In addition to the unusual shape and modular construction a possible diagnostic aspect of the latest modifications to the pedestal are the presence of flat square chisel marks on the visible surfaces. Flat chisel marks are characteristic of numerous post-Angkor and 16th century sandstone

[44] Parmentier (1916: 29) considers that the pedestal is of an earlier date to the inscription however he offers no evidence to support this assumption. The inscription fits into the pedestal but appears to be missing a cover that would hide the mortise and tenon fitting.

[45] Vickery (1977a:88-89, 169-170, 197-199, 229-233) believes that this inscription likely commemorates a funerary monument to Aṅg Cand, whilst Thompson (1999: 340-350) argues that the quoted title is a meditation on the nature of Maitreya. See also Vickery (1977: 233) and a comparison with IMA4.

sculptures and constructions. It is difficult to be precise about the dating of these marks, however, their significance is demonstrated by their appearance on the central *stūpa* of Preah Khan[46], the late Buddhas of Phnom Bakheng and the Baphuon, the late constructions at the Terrace of Elephants, Preah Pithu X, Prasat Prampil Lavaeng, Vat Nokor (Kompong Cham), the Bayon, and at numerous locations in Angkor Wat. The chisel marks do not appear on architectural or sculptural elements carved during the Angkorian period. That is not to say that flat chisels were definitively not used between the 9th and 15th centuries, but if they were it is likely their marks were removed by finer tools and methods. The marks may indicate that a particular knowledge and technical expertise about carving sandstone had been lost or the importance to obtain a fine polished surface was no longer required. For example many post-Angkorian sculptures, including late restorations of the famed Ta Reach, were covered in stucco, lacquer, paint, and gilding thereby covering any rough marks created by a flat chisel. The chisel marks are not found on the Bayon Buddha sculpture but can be seen on numerous blocks of the pedestal indicating that it had been modified again before being discarded into the looters shaft.

Later modifications at Angkor

During the mid to late 16th century epigraphic and material evidence testify to numerous restorative programs carried out at Angkor Wat (Lewitz 1970: 99-126, 1971: 105-123, Vickery 1982: 81).[47] The distinctive flat chisel marks appear in these late modifications at the temple. A

[46] Jacques (1999b: 385) dates the *stūpa* of Preah Khan to the beginning of the 14th century, though there is little evidence to verify this date. The authors note a morphological correspondence between the *stūpa* of Preah Khan and 15th and 16th century wooden reliefs of *stūpa* and worshippers from the Suan Pakkad Palace Museum and National Museum, Bangkok (see McGill 2005b: 124-125, Cat. Nos. 27, 28). According to McGill (2005b: 124-125) the worshippers depicted on the reliefs show similarities to those from the late northeastern galleries of Angkor Wat and may have been carved in Cambodia.

[47] Additional painted décor on the stone reliefs, the re-use of round pilasters at the Bakan, and carved wooden ceilings in the third enclosure galleries are similarly thought to have occurred during this period.

number of Bayon period sculptures appear to have been restored with additional pieces of sandstone that bear these marks.[48] The doors of the central enclosure were blocked off to make the tower a Buddhist reliquary and the new surfaces were carved with standing Buddhas that under their flaking paint and lacquer veneer display flat chisel marks, suggesting they too were rendered in the 16th century.[49] Similarly, the late bas-reliefs at the north-eastern corner of the third enclosure concentric gallery are abundant with the marks. Apparent on the northern wing of the eastern gallery and the eastern wing of the northern gallery they are used to great effect to depict stylised cloud spirals and Agni's fire confronted by Garuḍa. Two inscriptions, K. 275 and K. 276 testify to the commencement date (1546CE) and completion date (1564CE) of the reliefs, and it is likely they were commissioned by Ang Chan (Cœdès 1962: 235-243).[50]

Considerable structural and decorative modifications were made to temples at Angkor often augmenting Brahmanic foundations into places of Buddhist pilgrimage. At Phnom Bakheng a number of sandstone and brick *prasat* were disassembled, re-employed and re-carved to produce a colossal seated Buddha, presumably in *māravijaya* (see Dumarçay 1971: 14-19, Marchal 1923: 541-542). The Buddha is commonly associated with the 16th century re-occupation of Angkor Wat, though a definitive date eludes scholars. Jacques (2006: 34) believes that Buddha must date to the end of the 17th or even to the 18th century because of the Arabic stele found in its base by Parmentier in 1920 (see Ferrand 1922: 160). While the archaeological context of the inscription suggests that it was

[48] See standing Vishnu and Avalokiteśvara in Gopura West IV (Central and Southern towers). Many images of the Buddha in Preah Pean and the Bakan also exhibit signs of restoration. The exact time of this conservation is unknown, but we can speculate it was during the mid to late 16th century when restorations are attested by inscriptional evidence.

[49] Observed on the western, northern and eastern images. The southern door is open.

[50] Nearly forty years have passed since the northeastern bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat have been systematically studied and new researches are required. The authors note that unfinished elements on the eastern wing of the northern gallery and have been marked-out with ink (see also Roveda 2001: 55-66). Giteau's (1975: 93-111) comparison with 16th century reliefs from Wat Nokor of Kompong Cham has been well documented, but there is sufficient scope to investigate potential links with Thai mural painting and relief carved in wood as noted by McGill (2005b: 124-125). On the northeastern reliefs see also Boisselier (1962: 244-248), and Goloubew (1924b: 513-519).

inscribed before the construction of the Buddha, there is some question about the original dating (see Abdoul-Carime and Mikaelian 2011: 5-59).

At Vat Nokor flat chisel marks are discernible on the 16th century re-carved western pediment of the central enclosure. The scene, unique in the iconography of Cambodia, apparently depicts Siddhartha before the great departure, and/or Maitreya.[51] Based on comparison with the 3rd enclosure north-eastern galleries of Angkor Wat Giteau (1967: 125-139, 1975: 126-128) dates the re-carved pediments of Vat Nokor to the 16th century. Chisel marks can be seen in the blank spaces in and between the carved palaces and figures. In addition, the same chisel marks can be observed on the top surface of the K. 82 octagonal pedestal.

Little is known of Angkor Thom in the 16th century, though the diagnostic chisel marks also appear on the central *prasat* modifications at Preah Pithu X, the Baphuon, the Royal Terraces and at the Bayon. Laid out in two registers, thirty-seven images of the Buddha in *māravijaya* and three orants have been carved onto the interior of the central *prasat* of Preah Pithu X. Some of the registers have been badly eroded, however between those that remain the flat chisel marks are clearly visible. Interestingly, Giteau (1975: 118-123), observed an association between depictions of chignon-covers on the pediments of Preah Pithu X and the north-eastern 3rd enclosure galleries of Angkor Wat, which also reputedly date to the 16th century. De Bernon's (2006: 175-181) careful analysis of two modern inscriptions (IMA 15, IMA 2) associates the thirty-seven Buddhas with the "thirty-seven auxiliaries of the illumination" and considers Preah Pithu X a meditation cell for Angkorian Buddhists of the 15th or 16th centuries. Additional flat chisel marks are evident on numerous sandstone blocks of the primary *uposathāgāra* of Prasat Prampil Lavaeng suggesting it was maintained throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. Finally, there may be some indication that the Bayon underwent some restoration in the 16th century. Flat chisel marks are found on pilaster from the southern portico of Tower 18. According to Cunin's (2007: 189-195) relative chronology this tower was erected during the 'second stage' of construction atop the original basements

[51] On the meaning of the pediments see Giteau (1967: 125-139) and Thompson (1999: 144-149).

established during the first stage. The exact date of this second stage is obscure and the flat chisel marks could indicate additional restorations at a later date.

To date there is no archaeological evidence to date the colossal sixty-metre image of a reclining Buddha entering *nirvana* on the western façade of the Baphuon. The construction is clearly posterior to the original construction of the monument. Scholars implicitly date the Baphuon Buddha to the 16th century corresponding to other modifications at Angkor during that century (e.g. Freeman & Jacques 2003: 104). Abundant flat chisel marks present on many original sandstone blocks including those around the Buddha's mouth, nose and eyes provide substantial evidence that this considerable undertaking was indeed made in the 16th century or after.

Traces of flat chisels are also visible on later modifications of the royal terraces, in particular at the northern staircase of the Terrace of the Elephants. On top of the terrace a wall section covered with reliefs around two three-headed elephants is a patchwork of sculpted panels reused from earlier phases of that monument. Of particular interest are the central part and the northern half of the M4 section wall, where flat chisels marks are visible on the new blocks made at the centre to connect the two old panels, and on the renewed carving of dancer figures on the M1 section (Pottier 1998: 101-111). The sum of correspondences of morphology and distinctive flat chisel marks allow the authors to offer a substantive argument for restoration of the Bayon Buddha pedestal during the 16th century or after.

Iconoclasm and 16th century reoccupation reconsidered

Recognition of 15th century early Ayutthayan Buddhas and 16th century modifications to the Bayon Buddha elicit a number of inconsistencies in conventional understandings of the history of Angkor between the 13th and 16th centuries. First among these is the participation of the Bayon Buddha in the iconoclasm purported to have occurred in the 13th century.

The internment of the Bayon Buddha is conventionally cited as an example of the post-Jayavarman VII iconoclasm program. A 15th century

early Ayutthayan Buddha and 16th century modifications make a role for the Bayon Buddha in the iconoclasm implausible. Furthermore, although the Bayon Buddha was found in pieces at the bottom of the cella, once it was reassembled it does not appear to have been defaced in a way necessary for ritual deconsecration. This discovery raises more questions than it answers.[52] The destruction of Buddhist images as a result of religious fundamentalism is anomalous after centuries of Brahmanic-Buddhist co-existence, but a political reaction against Jayavarman VII and his cronies is also inconclusive. As opposed to the temple reliefs, comparatively few known sculptures from this period, including those presumed to be the deified dignitaries appear to have been ritually desecrated.[53] Additionally, many of the spectacular inscribed stelæ of the Jayavarman VII period have been recovered intact still and

[52] The first phase of the iconoclasm, the immense destruction of images of the Buddha on numerous Jayavarman VII monuments is notionally attributed to Jayavarman VIII (Cœdès 1968: 212, Jacques 1997: 256, 280-283, 2007: 41). However, Jayavarman VIII cast as the iconoclast is supported only by hypothesis. The principal issue is the paucity and nature of inscriptions that deal with Jayavarman VIII and his reputed Brahmanistic fervour. The 1295CE inscription of Maṅgalārtha (K.567) presents Jayavarman VIII as a patron of Brahmanism, yet according to Vickery (2006: 119-125) this is consistent with his successors Śrindravaman (1295CE-1307CE) and Śrindrajayavarman (1307CE-1327CE) who sponsored the foundations of high-ranking Brahmanist officials (K.569, Banteay Srei see Finot et al. 1926) whilst affirming their preference for Buddhism in other inscriptions (K.144 Cœdès 1964: 34-36, K.217 Cœdès 1964: 43-44, K.754 Cœdès 1936: 14-21), K.920 Cœdès 1951: 111). An alternative candidate is Jayavarman Parameśvara who, in the first year of his reign, 1327CE, erected a *Śivaliṅga* in the Bayon (Cœdès 1942: 187, K.470). Another inscription authored by Jayavarman Parameśvara at Kapilapura (K.300 Barth, A. and Bergaigne, A. 1885-1893: 560-589) similarly attests to his worship of Śiva (Cœdès 1968: 228, see also Cunin 2004: 273-274, 435-436, 443, 455-457, Sharrock 2007: 233 and Vickery 2006: 167). Maxwell (2007a: 121) has suggested that the reaction was not religious, but political and was focussed upon the deified representations of officials and dignitaries. A distinct element of the remaining epigraphic program of the Bayon is the naming of officials and dignitaries of Jayavarman VII as deities. For example Rājendrapandita, a guru of Jayavarman VII, is identified under the name of Rājendradeva (second stage, Tower 26, K. 293-12, Maxwell 2007b: 130) as part of a Buddhist triad (Hawixbrock 1998: 66). Woodward suggests that these officials were not divinised *per se*, but that naming them as deities merely expresses the hope of eventual union of the mortal soul with god (pers. comm. 30th April 2013).

[53] The Banteay Kdei images appear ritual deposits rather than discarded images (Marui 2002: 411-428). There is no evidence to suggest that the Banteay Kdei hoard occurred at the time of the iconoclasm, rather it is consistent with analogous ritual deposits at Tep Prenam (Marchal 1943) and Phnom Bakeng (Dumarçay 1971: 15-16).

in-situ (e.g. Preah Khan, Ta Prohm, Prasat Chrung).[54] The inscriptions recording the veneration of high-ranking officials have also escaped destruction. If the first phase of the iconoclasm was focussed upon images of the Buddha, or on Jayavarman VII and his associates why was the Bayon Buddha, a symbol of Jayavarman VII's Buddhism and Jayavarman VII himself spared? If the Bayon Buddha survived the first Śivaite reaction it is possible that it was venerated during the second phase of Buddhist reappropriation. At an unknown time the work of the original iconoclasts (primarily re-carved *liṅga*) was ritually defaced, possibly to re-establish the Buddhist pre-eminence of the monument. If conducted by devotees of Theravāda, whatever the meaning of the Mahāyāna Bayon Buddha, Mahāyāna and Theravāda iconography and ideologies happily co-existed.[55] Brahmanic deities carved as part of the original iconographic program on the north inner enclosure gallery (east wing) similarly underwent considerable vandalism.[56] Faces on images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and *ṛṣi* have been intentionally chiselled out, though the vandalism shows no evidence of the flat chisel marks characteristic of the mid to late 16th century. If we accept a 16th century date for the carving of the Brahmanical reliefs of the north-east quadrant of Angkor Wat, then a post-16th century date for the second phase of iconoclasm is possible. Moreover, the violence and abandon that has been wrought upon these images is the kind of iconoclasm one would expect necessary of ritual deconsecration of sculpture. This is not observed on Jayavarman VII period Buddhist sculptures including the Bayon Buddha.[57]

[54] Not forgetting the Jayavarman VII period Phimeanakas inscription (K.485) which was broken in pieces and reused as ballast in front of the pyramid's eastern staircase. Considering the continuous use of the Palace after Jayavarman VII, this re-use is not entirely surprising and does not imply a specific will to erase the memory of that king (cf. Jacques 1999b: 374).

[55] At Ayutthaya earlier Mahāyāna images of the Buddha on nāga are common at the Theravādan sites.

[56] BY. 35-36 (numbering according to Parmentier 1927: Pl. V). Although Cunin (2007: 199-201) argues that these galleries were constructed during the style of the Bayon in the late 12th-early 13th century there is some debate about the carving date of the reliefs (Cunin 2007: 224, Dagens 1969: 155, Dumarçay and Groslier, B.-P. 1973: 64, Jacques 2001: 144).

[57] Similarly, alteration to the most accessible eyes of Bayon face towers adjacent to the central sanctuary appears not the result of iconoclasts attempting to deface the visage,

During the 16th century Angkor was alive with activity. Inscriptions, restoration works and new constructions confirm the increased attention for the site from Khmer royalty, religious officials, laity and foreign pilgrims. Not left to the jungle, the 16th century chisel marks that characterise the Bayon Buddha pedestal demonstrate a key role for this image and the Bayon during this period. This is not surprising considering the nearby activity at the Baphuon and likely worship at *uposathāgāra* (Buddhist terraces) throughout Angkor Thom. Possible candidates for restoration of the Bayon Buddha are kings who are purported to have restored and/or resided in the old capital. Knowledge of Ang Chan is fragmentary, and the chronicles do not record his establishment at Angkor (Khin Sok 1988: 149-160). The Portuguese Diego do Couto, reported that in 1550 or 1551 a king had stumbled across the ruins of Angkor and ordered the people to clear the temples and subsequently transferred his court to the old capital (Groslier, B.-P. 1958: 69), and it seems plausible that this records Ang Chan. By correlating the inscription dates with the chronology of Ang Chan, Cœdès (1962: 235-243) believes that this king was responsible for the carving of the 3rd enclosure gallery north-eastern quadrant low-relief, and he may have been responsible for additional restoration works (see also Giteau 1975: 93-111). According to the Nong Chronicle we also know of Ang Chan's son, Paramarāja, who was installed at Kompong Krassang in the region of Angkor, before an incursion against Ayutthaya (Groslier, B.-P. 1958: 21-22, Khin Sok 1988: 163). The modern inscriptions of Angkor Wat may also give clues to those who were responsible for restoration of the Bayon Buddha. IMA2 of 1577CE written by the queen-mother records the renovation of Angkor Wat by her son, and IMA3 written by the king himself details further restorations (Lewitz 1970: 104, 112-113). Most probably Jaya Jeṭṭhā, Giteau (1975: 87) suggests that this king was possibly responsible for the modifications to the central sanctuary. If we use epigraphic evidence, renewal of the Bayon Buddha pedestal perhaps lay at the hands of this king who in the same inscription demonstrates his awareness and respect for Angkor Thom.

but of devotees modifying the open gaze into semi-closed eyes perhaps to change their meaning. Though, Tower 4 appears to have been mutilated with the aim of destroying the image (cf. Cunin 2004: v1: 434-435, v2: 164-165, Glaize RCA 02/46). The modifications of the face towers are made without the distinctive flat chisels. (cf. Dagens 2001: 85).

Jaya Jeṭṭhā speaks of his royal ancestors who had "built the Large City, Indapaṭṭh, and Braḥ Bisṇulok" Lewitz (1970: 117-118). Indapaṭṭh was Angkor Thom and this citation could indicate that it was actively inhabited during this period. It may not be possible to be specific about the King or Kings responsible for different restoration programs at Angkor in the 16th century, but we can affirm that these bear diagnostic flat chisel marks that roughly place their modification in that period.

Old discoveries and new questions

Discovery of the early Ayutthayan Buddhas, additional material evidence of the Ayutthayan occupation, and 16th century modifications to the Bayon Buddha open the door for a nuanced questioning of the post Jayavarman VII period and relations between medieval Cambodia and Thailand.

The identity and motives of the perpetrators who interred the Bayon Buddhas remains obscure. As proposed at the time of its discovery by Trouvé, a probable conclusion is that their destruction lay at the hands of vandals or looters who had plundered the Bayon's sacred deposit (RCA09/33). A potential date for the vandalism may be found with Chinese ceramics recently excavated within a looted ritual pit in the Bayon's South Library (Yamamoto et al. 2011: 122-123). Conceivably, during the plundering of the South Library sacred deposit the robbers left behind contemporary ceramics which can date the action to the 18th century. At the same time this undertaking was replicated in the central shrine where the early Ayutthayan Buddha head and Bayon Buddha were interred one after the other to fill the looted pit. This fate is at odds with the significance and history of the great monument, but in accordance with the state of abandonment and disrepair of the Bayon when first described by 19th century European explorers

It is evident that the big Bayon Buddha was not broken ritually at the time of the so-called Śivaite iconoclasm. On the contrary, the big Bayon Buddha was likely the centre of the Bayon from the late 12th at least until the mid-15th century. Furthermore, the renovated pedestal and dowel pins suggesting metal cladding demonstrate this idol was the focus of an

active cult and the recipient of dedicated worship. Scholars must reappraise the post Jayavarman VII period including the supposed opposition of Brahmanism to Buddhism and the separation of politics and religion. The modifications place the big Buddha and the Bayon into the 16th century, a period when activity at Angkor Thom is unclear.

Materials analysis and the proliferation of images at Angkor Wat, the Bayon and other late religious sites suggests that the early Ayutthayan style images were made at Angkor by Ayutthayan artists during the decade long occupation. The images would have been presented to religious foundations in continuity of the Angkorian tradition, to make merit for their donors, and to likely pay homage to the significance of Angkor in the regional religious landscape. Inscriptions at the Bayon and Preah Khan indicate representation of the provinces in images sheltered by subsidiary shrines. Like provincial deities connected to the Khmer political centre by obligation, allegiance and tribute, the images and their donors were conferred with the blessing of these powerful religious centres.

Despite conflicts between Ayutthaya and Angkor 16th century restorations of the early Ayutthayan images illustrate a transcendence of faith. It is probable that the restorers understood the aesthetic and regional difference of the early Ayutthayan images. That their creators and style came from foreign lands did not undermine their sacredness or legitimacy at Angkor. The date of the 'early Ayutthayan' images concurs with analysis of the Chronicles placing a singular event in the early 15th century. Long overdue research is now required on Ponhea Yât, the presumed Khmer liberator of Angkor, his residence at Srei Santhor and Phnom Penh, and the transition to post-Angkorian urban settlements in southern Cambodia. Accordingly, the find spots of the Angkorian early Ayutthayan corpus (limited to Angkor Thom, Angkor Wat and Phnom Krom) signal the new north-south linear urban pattern and contraction of post-classic Angkor.

Figure 1: The Bayon Buddha (cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU6112)

Figure 2: early Ayutthayan Buddha found below the Bayon Buddha in the central shaft of the Bayon (cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18103)

Figure 3: early Ayutthayan Buddhas at Angkor
(see Appendix for photo credits)

Appendix

Number	*Inventory Number*	*Description*	*Site*	*Location*	*Stone analysis*	*Notes*
1	3666, N238	head and body	Angkor Thom	Depot Conservation d'Angkor (DCA)	X	cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU17438, cliché Polkinghorne, head missing
2	N1773	body	Angkor Wat	Angkor Wat	X	cliché Polkinghorne
3	?	body	Angkor Wat	Angkor Wat	X	cliché Polkinghorne
4	N227	body	Angkor Wat	Angkor Wat	X	cliché Polkinghorne
5	611	head	Angkor Wat	DCA	X	cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18391_1, INVLU18391_2, INVLU19141_1, INVLU19141_5
6	?	head	Angkor Wat	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU20535, INVLU20546
7	?	head	Angkor Wat	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU20547
8	?	bust	Angkor Wat	Angkor Wat		cliché Polkinghorne
9	N716	head	Angkor Wat	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventory n0716-33
10	N736	head	Angkor Wat	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventory n0736a33

Number	*Inventory Number*	*Description*	*Site*	*Location*	*Stone analysis*	*Notes*
11	1846, N532	head and body	Angkor Wat	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventory cl43a231
12	?	body	Bayon	Bayon		cliché Polkinghorne
13	?	bust	Bayon	Bayon		cliché Polkinghorne, components cast in concrete including head
14	?	body	Bayon	Bayon		cliché Polkinghorne, concrete cast head
15	?	body	Bayon	Bayon		cliché Polkinghorne
16	?	bust	Bayon	Bayon		cliché Polkinghorne
17	Ka1082	head	Bayon	National Museum of Cambodia		cliché Porte, Boisselier 1955 pl101A
18	3317 N441	head and body	Bayon, central shrine	DCA	X	cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU6587, INVLU18103
19	3753, N835, Palais Royal N43, MNPP Ka3015	head	Phnom Krom	National Museum of Cambodia		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU862_1
20	3754	head	Phnom Krom	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU882
21	3764	head	Phnom Krom	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU882

Number	*Inventory Number*	*Description*	*Site*	*Location*	*Stone analysis*	*Notes*
22	?	head	Preah Palilay	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18390
23	1571, N1211	head	Preah Pithu	DCA	X	cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18426, face missing
24		bust	Tep Prenam	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18055
25	4635, N839	head	Tep Prenam	DCA	X	cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18413
26	?	head	Tep Prenam	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU8846
27	?	head	Tep Prenam	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU8846
28	4643_1, N453	bust	Tep Prenam	DCA		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU19229, cliché UNESCO DCA Inventory d4643-45
29	N387	body	Tep Prenam / DCA	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventoryd4643-98
30	?	body	unknown	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU18062
31	?	head	unknown	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU16272

Number	*Inventory Number*	*Description*	*Site*	*Location*	*Stone analysis*	*Notes*
32	?	head	unknown	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU17430
33	?	head	unknown	?		cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU19063
34	N352	head	unknown	DCA	X	cliché EFEO, fonds Cambodge INVLU19148
35	MG25066	head	unknown	Museé Guimet		Baptiste and Zéphir 2008
36	N228	body	unknown / DCA	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventory n0228-97
37	5717, N817	head	unknown / DCA	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventory d5717-30
38	N75, 28/06/1993	bust	unknown 28/6/93 DCA	DCA	X	cliché Polkinghorne
39	N1251	head	unknown DCA	DCA	X	cliché UNESCO DCA Inventorycl21-57
40	N65	bust	unknown DCA	DCA		cliché UNESCO DCA Inventoryn0065-93
41	?	head	unknown	DCA		cliché Polkinghorne

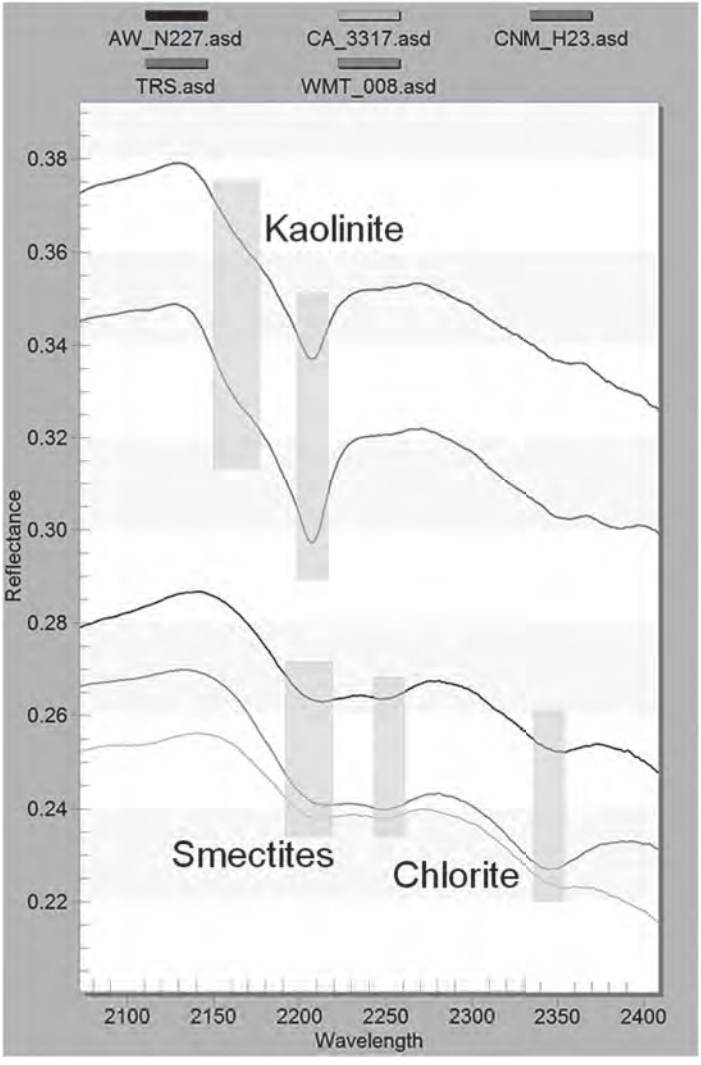

Figure 4: Reflectance spectra in the near infrared region of selected sculptures and grey sandstone reference (AW_N227: fig. 3, number 4; CA_3317: fig. 3, number 18; TRS: Terrain rouge sandstone; CNM_H23: Buddha head, Chantharakasem National Museum; WMT_008: seated Buddha, Wat Mahathat).

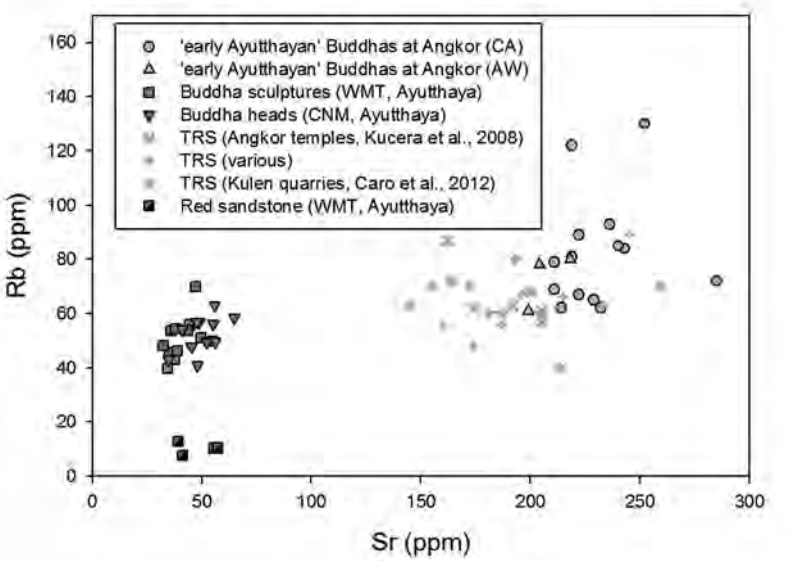

Figure 5: Strontium-Rubidium (Sr-Rb) bi-plot showing concentration variations of these elements in sandstone from quarries, sculptures and monuments (CA: Conservation d'Angkor; AW: Angkor Wat; WMT: Wat Mahathat; CNM: Chantharakasem National Museum; TRS: Terrain Rouge Sandstone).

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ABSTRACT

In 1933 Georges Trouvé of the École française d'Extrême-Orient excavated an enormous image of the Buddha seated on a nāga inside the central shrine of the Bayon. This image was celebrated as the central image of Jayavarman VII's Angkor Thom and apparently met its demise at the hands of iconoclasts sometime after that great king's rule. Little attention was paid to the head of another Buddha image found with the Bayon Buddha. This small image however, reveals much about Angkor between the 13th and 16th centuries. 1431 / 1432 CE is often cited as the date at which Angkor was abandoned, but our knowledge of this event is based on fragmentary chronicular evidence that has been little understood. The recognition of the small Buddha head as early Ayutthayan and identification of over forty other images of this type are the first material evidence of the 12 to 15 year Ayutthayan occupation at Angkor at this time. Reappraisal of the large Bayon Buddha, a late 12th century image, suggests that it was restored in the 16th century. A renovation at this time is consistent with similar deeds of piety performed at Angkor Wat and other important Angkorian sites. If the Bayon Buddha was dumped into a looters pit after its 16th century modification we question its part the so-called iconoclasm purported to have occurred in the 13th century.