ANGKOR
Exploring Cambodia's Sacred City

EDITED BY
Theresa McCullough, Stephen A. Murphy,
Pierre Baptiste, Thierry Zéphir

Alison Carter, Damian Evans, Piphal Heng,
Paul A. Lavy, Martin Polkinghorne,
Rachna Chhay, Miriam Stark

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Theresa McCullough, Stephen A. Murphy, Pierre Baptiste, Thierry Zéphir

PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT:
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Richard Lingner, Joy Qi Yi Ho, Diane Chee

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Reconfiguring kingdoms: The end of Angkor and the emergence of Early Modern period Cambodia

MARTIN POLKINGHORNE

It's difficult to confront such vast and complex subjects as the end of Angkor and the emergence of new Cambodian political centres, which together span over a period of four hundred years. To attempt this task in a single chapter involves selecting certain themes, evidence, and historical events at the expense of others. Since the early days of scholarship about Cambodia from the late nineteenth century, Angkor (around 800–around 1450) and the Early Modern period (around 1450–around 1850) have generally been viewed as independent historical eras punctuated by collapse.[1] The decline of Angkor is regarded as the watershed event, but it is typically conflated with a second Cambodian defeat at its sixteenth-century capital of Longvek.

This chapter will appraise factors coincident with the fragmentation of the Angkorian Empire between the late thirteenth and the fifteenth century, and Cambodia's participation in the booming Asian trade networks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Observing continuity has long been a fruitful way of appraising the legacy of Angkor in the Early Modern period.[2] The details of demise, persistence of occupation, and the characteristics of new capitals are subjects of ongoing study. In the process, a new challenge is to consider the period as a time of experimentation in political models and different forms of material culture adopted by members of the Cambodian elite as they opened up to Southeast Asian modernities.[3]

A colonial-era interpretation of a grand city ruined by catastrophe, and a succeeding people characterised by defeat and absence, has been challenging to address in popular perspectives of Cambodia.[4] A more persuasive reading by Grégory Mikaelian suggests that the narrative of loss has been a local response and a generative force for change in the face of internal instability and rival foreign polities ever since the demise of Angkor.[5] Nevertheless, when we view early photographs, like those taken at Angkor Wat in the 1860s (Cats. 4, 12), we notice the almost total absence of people and that the temples are overgrown with vegetation. It is no surprise that romantic visions of a lost civilisation discovered by intrepid explorers still flourish.

However, if we look a little closer we can see that Angkor was never "lost", and we can catch a glimpse of Cambodia's vibrant and significant history in the Early Modern period. In one of Émile Gsell's albumen silver prints of 1866 (Cat. 8), there is a small thatched dwelling adjacent to the western causeway of Angkor Wat. This was certainly one of about fifty buildings belonging to Angkor Wat's nineteenth-century Theravada sangha, descendants of a community of monks who had cared for the temple from at least the sixteenth century.[6] When pilgrims ventured further into the temple superstructure they were greeted by hundreds of Buddha images. Roughly half date to the Angkorian period, but the others were fabricated after the decline of Angkor, and their chronology remains little known to this day.[7] Angkor Wat has been a living monument, variously dedicated to spirits, deities, and the Buddha, embodied in architecture, statues, and symbols, from the moment of its inauguration in the twelfth century until the present day.

Despite different forms of on-going occupation, by the fifteenth century the defining characteristics of classical Angkorian civilisation—monumental stone architecture, a rich corpus of inscriptions in Old Khmer and Sanskrit, landscape-scale infrastructure, enormous low-density settlements, and an elaborate political economy—were no longer being replicated on an equivalent scale. It is lamentable, but understandable that colonial savants led by George Cœdès chose not to consider Cambodia's history as a continuum. Instead, for the most part these scholars were consumed with addressing Angkor's massive, seemingly inexplicable monuments and the kings who had ordered them built.

This situation was further exacerbated by the difficulty of interpreting (or even using) the principal written sources of the Early Modern period, the Royal Cambodian Chronicles.[8] Although translations and syntheses of these documents were prepared as early as the 1870s, most scholars since then have doubted their historical value.[9] Michael Vickery declared that the Chronicles appear totally fictional before about 1500.[10] The Chronicles are reconstructions of history recorded long after the events they allege to report, and were, in part, reproduced from oral traditions. None of the versions can be dated earlier than 1800. Moreover, having been transcribed numerous times, mostly from the Thai Chronicles, they are contradictory, abound with errors, and none say anything reliable about Angkor. As a result, the indistinct and modest forms of material culture combined with unreliable historical sources inspire scholars to question the portrayal of the period as a time of absence. Studies that consider the texts, archaeology, and art history of Cambodian history after Angkor, in fact, reveal the period as surprisingly rich and complex.

ANGKOR FROM THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Arguably the most significant characteristic of Cambodia's material and artistic culture from the late thirteenth century through the Early Modern period is Theravada Buddhism. Theravada had been known and practised to an extent in the Angkorian world, but it was not until sometime in the late thirteenth century, probably inspired by members of a sangha travelling from the Khorat Plateau (modern-day northeast Thailand), that this form of Buddhism became ascendant in Angkor.[11] The state-sponsored religions of Ayutthaya, Sukhothai, and their connected polities had long been Theravada by this time. The Chinese emissary Zhou Daguan described an active community of Theravada during his late thirteenth-century visit:

1
Iconoclasm at the Bayon. In the first act of vandalism, a seated Buddha in *dhyana* mudra was remodelled into a Shiva linga, in the second, the Shiva linga was removed.

> Zhugu *shave their heads and dress in yellow. They leave their right shoulder uncovered, and otherwise wrap themselves in a robe made of yellow cloth and go barefoot. For their temples they too can use tiles for roofing. In the middle of the temple there is just one icon, an exact likeness of the Sakyamuni Buddha…*[12]

To several writers Theravada was a grassroots, populist movement that offered a kind of anti-aristocratic message leading to the dissolution of Brahmanical power structures and eventually the collapse of Angkor.[13] Based on epigraphic and material evidence, however, the transition from Brahmanism and Mahayana Buddhism to Theravada was a gradual process. It is unclear if the Cambodian population ever whole-heartedly embraced Mahayana Buddhism, which appears to have dissipated rapidly after the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182/83–around 1220). Nonetheless, the metamorphosis between state-sponsored religious beliefs was likely to have involved considerable contestation within the Cambodian elite. Although we will probably never identify the perpetrators or fully understand their motivations, sometime after Jayavarman VII nearly all the Mahayana Buddhist iconography on the Angkorian temples was defaced (fig. 1).[14] Notionally attributed to Shaivite iconoclasts, many images of the Buddha were replaced with re-carved lingas. At an unknown time, much of the work of the original iconoclasts was ritually vandalised, possibly to re-establish the Buddhist pre-eminence of the monument.

Even so, different religions had co-existed in Cambodia for centuries, and the key to the triumph of Theravada resided in appropriating widely held overt and underlying indigenous belief systems. Theravada followed the longstanding pattern of associating itself with existing spiritual sites, just as Brahmanism coalesced with local and animist spirits.[15] Pali is recognised as the language of Theravada and the earliest Pali-language inscription at Angkor is dated to the turn of the fourteenth century.[16] Ashley Thompson argues the stele from Kok Svay Chek represents the act of converting the community of the surrounding landscape from Brahmanism to Theravada.[17] We can draw from the text some essential characteristics of the emerging Angkorian Theravada: inclusion of the prevailing religions, the building of an assembly hall (*vihara*), and the installation of a statue of the Buddha.

The Old Khmer-language section of the inscription is an expanded version of the Pali and lists a selection of objects donated to the new foundation. Among these is a bronze ritual conch holder (*ardhashankha*), devised to dispense holy water.[18] This item was well known to practitioners of Cambodian Mahayana, but must have seemed remarkable to followers of Theravada. Its presence alongside new iconographic forms of the Buddha suggests some kind of synthesis of practice familiar to adherents of both faiths. Similarly, the Khmer portion of another early fourteenth-century inscription demonstrates continuity in the royal and religious patronage structures. Just as kings and nobles attached their names to funding temples and images of Brahmanical gods during the Angkorian period, the inscription of Prasat Kombot tells how the king sponsored the construction of a Buddha image and advanced the career of a senior member of the sangha.[19]

The requirements of Theravada practice were met by reconfiguring certain Brahmanic temples in addition to introducing new architectural forms.[20] The Cambodian Theravada complex was typically characterised by a rectangular stone platform on an east-west axis that supported tiled structures made of wood. Known as a *vihara* or *uposathagara*, these buildings were used as assembly or prayer halls, and frequently presided over by images of the Buddha at their western end. Towering over the terrace to its west would be an appropriated pre-Buddhist *prasat*, as well as a more recent stupa. The sacred space was demarcated by the emplacement of *sima* (boundary stones) at eight, cardinal and inter-cardinal, positions.

2
Western Prasat Top, from the east, with a Buddhist terrace in the foreground.

There are hundreds of examples of these architectural transformations, but few can be dated with any certainty. Western Prasat Top in Angkor Thom is the most systematically studied Theravada complex (fig. 2).[21] This ensemble retains Brahmanical decorative elements from the tenth century, but charred wood samples, possibly from its *vihara* or *uposathagara* pillars, have been dated by radiocarbon analysis to the turn of the fourteenth century.[25] Similarly, construction layers of the Damnap Touc Buddhist Terrace, which was not adapted from an existing building, have dated Theravada practice outside Angkor Thom to the end of the thirteenth century.[23]

The image of the Buddha noted in the earliest Pali inscription was probably influenced by images from the Dvaravati and Lopburi regions in what is today central Thailand. It may have even been like a Buddha protected by the naga (Cat. 131) and a head of the Buddha (Cat. 136) in this exhibition. Shadowing the expansion of Khmer influence north of the Dangrek mountain range was an appropriation of iconographic types of representing the Buddha. At the time of Theravada ascendency, several iconic types of the Buddha image existed side-by-side: seated and protected by a naga in *dhyana* mudra; seated in *maravijaya*; standing with two hands raised in *vitarka* mudra; one or two hands raised in *abhaya* mudra; or standing with one hand at the side and another in a hand-on-chest gesture.[24] Hiram Woodward has suggested that the mix of iconographic and stylistic tendencies in the thirteenth century is unlikely to ever be unravelled.[25] Moreover, the entanglement of iconographies and their meanings is further evidence of experimentation in material culture to facilitate the transition from one set of beliefs to another. The emergence of Theravada accompanied the decline of Angkor, but was probably not a contributing factor to it.

CHANGES AT ANGKOR

The year 1431 is normally cited as the date of Angkor's collapse. At this time the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya proclaim that an Ayutthayan attack conquered the city, forcing the resident king to flee, and bringing the age of Angkor to a close.[26] Invasion by a foreign power was the first and most intelligible explanation for a catastrophic episode that purportedly involved the movement of hundreds of thousands of people. As recent research about the demise of Angkor transforms, the early fifteenth-century Ayutthayan invasion is understood as a coda to a suite of large-scale and long-term changes. Rather than the consequence of one event, Angkor's decline is now seen as a response to complex contributing factors, including unsustainable subsistence practices, over-commitment to massive infrastructure, severe climatic fluctuations, and the pursuit by large segments of the population of new economic opportunities.

According to Michael Vickery's interpretation of the Chronicles, the Ayutthayan intervention at Angkor occurred over a period of between twelve and fifteen years, and followed the installation of an Ayutthayan prince in Phnom Penh over twenty years earlier.[27] While the character of the conquest is not fully understood, evidence of the Ayutthayan occupation is emerging. Fragmentary evidence from inscriptions and the Chronicles suggests the establishment of Ayutthayan religious foundations.[28] There is additional material corroboration. More than fifty stone and bronze images of the Buddha in *maravijaya* in the early Ayutthayan style have been identified at numerous sites across Angkor (fig. 3).[29] The sculptures correspond with a distinct, introduced type made by artists trained in Ayutthaya, rather than a concurrent Angkorian stylistic development. Among this corpus is a head of the Buddha (Cat. 137) in this exhibition.

3
Seated Buddha in *maravijaya*. Cambodia, 15th century. Depot Conservation d'Angkor [3666, N238].

Most of the Theravada structures of Angkor remain understudied and some may well relate to the Ayutthayan occupation. For example, the western terrace of Prasat Prampil Lavaeng depicts a series of elephants at the base of what is probably a stupa. Analogous mouldings are observed at Wat Maheyong at Ayutthaya. Similarly, the site of Preah Vihear Prambuon Lavaeng includes the remains of a large octagonal stupa, similar in dimensions and morphology to those at Ayutthaya.[30] Dating of iron crampons that held together the colossal sixty-metre-long Baphuon Buddha in *parinirvana* also date construction of this sculpture to the Ayutthayan occupation of Angkor.[31] Finally, there is tentative indication of an Ayutthayan presence from the ceramic record of Angkor Thom. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Thai ceramics were identified in excavations inside the Royal Palace at Srah Andong (north pond of Prasat Sour Prat), and to the west of the Terrace of the Leper King.[32]

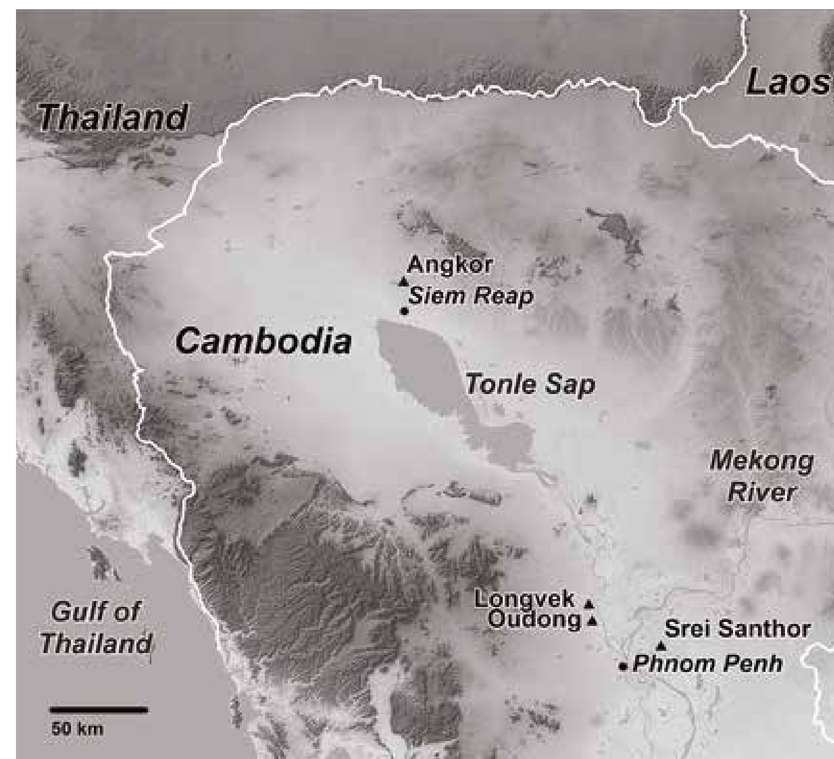
As we abandon the idea of a singular catastrophe, multiple lines of evidence can piece together the story of Angkor's demise. Chief among

these are the purported impact of coincident, prolonged, and acute climatic events. Critical to Angkor's urban expansion and sustainability was elaborate water management infrastructure that supported an immense agricultural system and evened out variations in the annual monsoon. By the end of the twelfth century, the hydraulic system was a labyrinthine network of canals, embankments, and reservoirs covering more than 1000 square kilometres.[33] Significantly, the system was interrelated, cumbersome, and susceptible to large and unrecoverable damage.[34] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the course of Angkor's gradual demise, hydro-climate reconstruction from tree rings has identified decades-long droughts punctuated by extremely intense monsoons.[35] The impact of these events is indicated by modifications to the *barays* (reservoirs) to mitigate the dry periods, and fatefully, by damage to key components of Angkor's infrastructure caused by floods. The result of damaged hydraulic and agricultural systems was reduced crop yields. Perhaps the underlying structures of the urban systems became redundant as Angkor's inhabitants carried out smaller-scale subsistence farming, which was free of taxation as the administrative elite had moved southwards.[36]

While it appears certain the end of Angkor was the convergence of multifaceted compounding factors, our knowledge of the approximately two-century decline is fragmentary. The last known Angkorian stone inscription linked to a construction is from the temple of Mangalartha dating to 1295; and the last inscription in Old Khmer dates to 1327.[37] During this period there were apparently minor modifications to architecture, but by the end of the fourteenth century or before, the capability to contract vast temple production systems, from quarries to finished monuments, had ceased.[38] So had, apparently, the manufacture of locally produced, high-fired stoneware ceramics.[39] There are examples of sculptures from the period, but production had contracted and the chronology is little understood.[40] Recent archaeological excavations have also obtained absolute radiocarbon dates and diagnostic trade ceramics that identify occupation at Angkor Thom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[41] From this data it is difficult to estimate the size of Angkor's population, but the presence of trade ceramics, especially Ming-dynasty porcelain, suggests continuity and a possible reinvigoration of international trade. Correspondingly, another explanation for the decline of Angkor is the pursuit of new economic opportunities and integration into the emerging China-Southeast Asia trading networks.[42]

EAST OF THE MEKONG

As Angkor's light began to dim, other urban and political centres began to gain importance. It is commonly believed that after the Ayutthayan invasion, Cambodian kings and courts occupied a sequence of settlements



4
Early Modern period capitals in Cambodia.

south of the Tonle Sap Lake at Srei Santhor, Phnom Penh (Chatomukh), Pursat, Barbaur, and other sites before relocating to Longvek in the first half of the sixteenth century, and then to nearby Oudong, where they resided intermittently until the 1860s (fig. 4). Despite their unreliability, the Chronicles remain the principal historical source for the period between the fifteenth and mid-nineteenth century. These texts seek to demonstrate Khmer cultural and dynastic continuity in spite of foreign usurpers. Correspondingly, there is a tendency to emphasise a linear and successive narrative of legitimate rule even when various leaders proclaimed themselves king and contended with each other.[43] Rather than discrete episodes of occupation, new investigations of the historical and material record are beginning to reveal the capitals of Early Modern Cambodia as variable and complex.

Significantly, material histories are not bound to the known textual records. It is impossible to offer a comprehensive commentary in this overview, and from among these settlements we will remark on aspects of Srei Santhor, Longvek, and Oudong, where the disciplines of history, archaeology, and art history continue to clarify what happened after Angkor.

Srei Santhor is habitually regarded as an alternative, transitory, or refuge settlement, featured in various episodes of Cambodian history in the fifteenth through seventeenth century. However, material evidence, foreign sources, and critical readings of the Chronicles can offer an enhanced representation. It seems likely that the area probably held

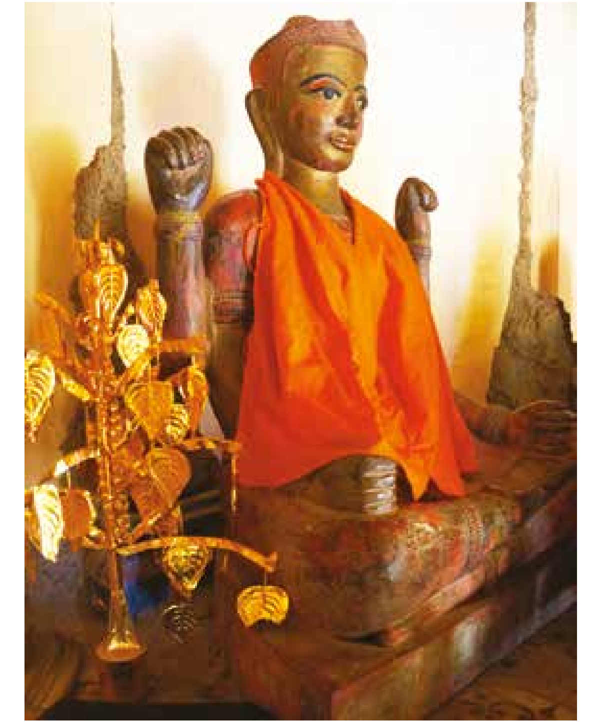
more prominence in the Early Modern period than has been credited. The region is approximately 25 kilometres northeast of present-day Phnom Penh. Forming a kind of 200-square-kilometre island between the parallel Mekong and Tonle Touc Rivers, Srei Santhor might be described as a series of settlements, paddies, ponds, embankments, and pagodas running north-south from where the Mekong runs east-west to the village of Sithor.[44] Much of the area is flooded during the monsoon season and water for agriculture is provided by a series of tributary canals (*braeks*) dug at angles to the Mekong or Tonle Touc Rivers, and semi-circular and linear dams (*damnaps*).[45] Its position east of the Mekong offered a strategic geographical location against rival Cambodian political factions at Longvek and Oudong, protection from Ayutthayan military incursions, and options to negotiate with polities in Vietnam.

The annals of emperors of the Ming dynasty, the *Ming shi-lu*, demonstrate that Srei Santhor was a site of significance at least from the late fourteenth century. The *Ming shi-lu* declares that in the years 1371 and 1373, an individual named, Hu-er-na, the Ba-shan prince of the country of Cambodia, sent an envoy to the Ming court who returned with various gifts.[46] According to Takako Kitagawa, Ba-shan refers to the place called Tuol Basan near the village of Baray in Srei Santhor.[47] The next mention of Cambodia in the *Ming shi-lu* notes renewed contact with the king of the country of Cambodia, who was presumably residing at Angkor.[48] Importantly, the region of Srei Santhor was a political centre of comparable status to Angkor and capable of sending its own envoys to China.[49]

Srei Santhor was the first capital of the Cambodian court after Angkor. The Royal Cambodia Chronicles report that King Ponhea Yat and his court fled the Ayutthayan invasion and established a palace at Tuol Basan.[50] Material evidence appears to demonstrate occupation in Srei Santhor at this time.

5
Stupa and *vihara* at Wat Sithor, Kandal province.

A preliminary survey of surface ceramics at Tuol Basan near Baray village recognised diagnostic Chinese trade-ware porcelain dating between the twelfth and seventeenth century. Similarly, relative dating of sculpture and large stupas at Wat Sithor, Preah Vihear Suor, and Wat Yeay Bang suggests a workshop of artists, architects, and builders active under elite patronage between the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century (figs. 5, 6). The unique combinations of architecture and sculpture attest to communities that were calling upon the Angkorian past and experimenting with novel forms.[52] After an indeterminate time at Basan, but certainly under a decade, Ponhea Yat (reigned 1405–63) relocated this branch of the Cambodian court again, this time to Phnom Penh.[53] Until the end of the seventeenth century, Srei Santhor can be regarded as one of two rival Cambodian polities.[54] Beginning with the usurpation of the dominant branch of Cambodia royalty at the beginning of the sixteenth century by an individual known as Sdech Kan, opposing centres located at Srei Santhor and Longvek, on the western bank of the Tonle Sap River, vied for preeminent status as the legitimate Khmer capital.[55]



6
Sculpture of a deity, 15th century (?), at Wat Sithor, Kandal province.

Among the most captivating questions about the relocation of the Khmer capital after Angkor relates to the city's population, which at its height in the mid-twelfth century is said to have numbered approximately 750,000.[56] Historical and material evidence on this subject is fragmentary. Understanding the persistence and dispersal of Angkor's population over this three-hundred-year period is challenging, especially if people were captured and dislocated as a spoil of war.[57] Nevertheless, a picture is beginning to emerge of enduring communities at Angkor, mobile centres of political and religious authority, and ongoing and new settlements in the region of Srei Santhor and subsequent capitals. These capitals never supported populations equivalent to Angkor, but by the end of the sixteenth century, and probably well before, the lands between the Tonle Sap, Mekong, and Tonle Touc Rivers may have supported many tens of thousands of people.

WEST OF THE TONLE SAP

The city of Longvek was reportedly founded by King Ang Chan I (reigned 1516/17 or 1526–66) during a time of political upheaval. Sometime in the early sixteenth century, Ang Chan returned from Ayutthaya, where he had been residing during a civil war, to claim Cambodian royal authority. After vanquishing Sdech Kan, Ang Chan established a new capital about forty kilometres upriver from Phnom Penh.[58] The site of Longvek has a series of earthen embankments that form a seven-square-kilometre rectilinear citadel against a natural barrier of flooded paddy and the Tonle Sap River to the east (fig. 7). Along its edge are fortified bastions, and excavations have discovered the remains of wooden palisades, which

7
Excavation of the Longvek citadel wall, at Longvek, Kompong Chhnang province.

8
Stupas at Phnom Preah Reach Troap, in Oudong, Kandal province.

may have surrounded the entire enclosure. The sacred landscape was marked by establishing images of the Buddha and foundations atop and around Phnom Preah Reach Troap—a small hill approximately eight kilometres to the south, which eventually became the necropolis for several of Cambodia's Early Modern kings (fig. 8).[59] Among the complementary foundations listed in the Chronicles is a royal bronze foundry at Boeung Samreth.[60] Recent archaeological survey and excavation have discovered the foundry and identified metalworking structures, technical ceramics, slag, and casting evidence (fig. 9).[61]

At the very centre of Longvek and the kingdom, Ang Chan commissioned a new iconographic model: four Buddhas in *abhaya* mudra, positioned back to back, facing the cardinal directions. Often associated with a stupa, this template was a metaphorical representation of Maitreya, the future Buddha.[62] Located in the cruciform assembly hall of Wat Traleang Kaeng, only the stone feet of the original colossal wooden Buddhas remain (figs. 10, 11). We might imagine that the iconography of these images was similar to two highly adorned sculptures of the Buddha in this exhibition (Cats. 140, 141). These images are much later, but they are crowned and standing in *abhaya* mudra, with at least one raised, outward-facing hand. The conventional scholarly interpretation suggests this mudra signifies the absence of fear. Stylistically, the quadruple Buddha most likely resembled the bust of the crowned Buddha (Cat. 139), a rare stone example from the Early Modern period.

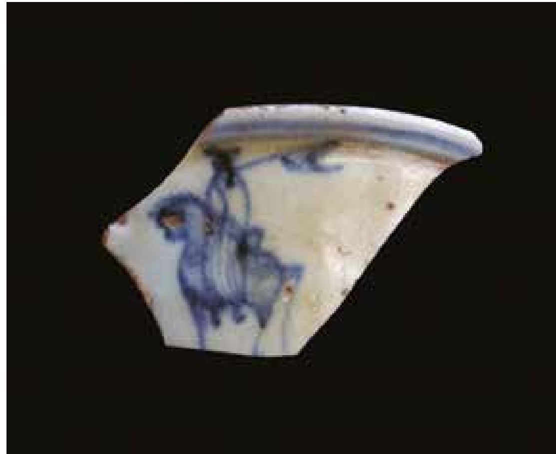
While the Chronicles declare the principal *vihara* and palace of Longvek were constructed around 1530, texts and material culture clearly demonstrate occupation in the area before this date.[63] Longvek holds a distinctive place in the collective memory of Cambodians as the location of the successful Ayutthayan invasion of 1594. This cultural rupture was mythologised in the legend of the magical brothers Preah Ko and Preah Keo, whose capture and detention in Siam during the invasion has explained a subjugation of Cambodian authority and prosperity (fig. 12).[64] Nevertheless, Longvek was recognised as Cambodia's most important political, religious, and commercial centre throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[65] The first recorded European missionary, Portuguese Gaspar da Cruz, visited Longvek in 1555, although the settlement was known to the European world before then, as it appears as Loach on Martin Behaim's globe of 1492.[66] Additionally, Longvek is attested in a variety of contemporary Asian sources.[67] Cambodia's transition to the Early Modern period is usually coupled to a globalisation of international trade and rise of mercantile entrepôts.[68] In the seventeenth century international settlements were established on the banks of the Tonle Sap River. Based at Ponhea Lu, communities of numerous ethnicities, including Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Portuguese, and Dutch, negotiated trade with Cambodian administrators through specific official representatives, themselves foreign nationals.[69]

9
Excavation of a furnace at the royal bronze foundry of Boeung Samreth, in Oudong, Kandal province.

10
Wat Tralaeng Kaeng, at Longvek, Kompong Chhnang province.

11
One of four pairs of monumental feet of the Buddha, at Wat Tralaeng Kaeng, Longvek, Kompong Chhnang province.

12
Contemporary sculpture of the brothers Preah Ko (an ox) and Preah Keo (a man), at Longvek, Kompong Chhnang province.



13
Fragment of a Ming-dynasty blue-and-white bowl decorated with the image of a figure on horseback. China, Jingdezhen kilns, late 15th or early 16th century. Excavated from Longvek, Kompong Chhnang province.

Between the end of the fifteenth and the nineteenth century, Longvek received trade ceramics from China, Japan, Thailand, and Vietnam. The largest proportion of ceramics date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, suggesting its greatest trading events occurred during this period (fig. 13).[70] Precise details of the mercantile activities are unclear, although it appears that trading could have been both state-controlled or negotiated privately. For example, a sixteenth century letter preserved from Oita prefecture in Japan from the Cambodian King Satha (reigned 1579–95), requests trade between Longvek and the Lord of Otomo. Later there is correspondence from an individual bearing the Cambodian honorific title of *Ukna* to Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa shogunate of Japan. Written in Khmer and Chinese, the 1605 letter issues a Cambodian certificate of passage for trade to the Japanese merchant Nagain Shiroemon.[72] Meanwhile, beyond the gaze of historical texts, communities on the periphery flourished. In the Cardamom Mountains, for example, researchers have dated upland jar and coffin burial rituals coincident with Angkor's demise.[73] Similarly, iron production continued at Preah Khan of Kompong Svay (Bakan) throughout the period from the fifteenth to seventeenth century.[74]

RETURN TO ANGKOR AND SOUTHERN TRANSFORMATIONS

While Angkor continued to sustain a local population, it was not until the mid-sixteenth century that it enjoyed royal and elite patronage again. Contemporary Portuguese accounts note an unnamed Cambodian king visited and subsequently reoccupied the old capital.[75] These stories plausibly correlate with the chronology of King Ang Chan and mid-sixteenth-century inscriptions at Angkor Wat that record the completion of bas-reliefs in the third enclosure gallery's north-eastern quadrant.[76] It was from this time that Angkor Wat became a hub of Theravada pilgrimage. Lines of carved text from Ang Chan's descendants and their retinue declare acts of restoration, donation, and piety designed to accumulate merit and authority within a Theravada belief system.[77] The specific focus of the merit-making was Preah Pean, already known by its toponym "Hall of a Thousand Buddhas" (fig. 14).[78] The temple was repurposed into a Buddhist stupa and hosted hundreds of donated images of the Buddha from greater Angkor and successive Cambodian and Southeast Asian polities. In addition to receiving new images, the monastic community curated and restored archaic images, some dating back to the ninth century.[79] Most of these images are different combinations of wood with lacquer, gilding, and other polychromatic veneers. Although its exact provenance is unknown, the twelfth-century female deity (Cat. 110), covered in lacquer and traces of gilding likely received these coatings as an act of merit-making at this time.[80]

14
Preah Pean, Angkor Wat.

While some sites at Angkor received renewed attention, political authority was maintained at Longvek. A set of inscriptions dated to the late sixteenth century record visiting monks from Ayutthaya first restoring images and sanctuaries at Phnom Preah Reach Troap before proceeding to renovate statues of the Buddha at Phnom Bakheng and Phnom Kulen.[81] Not long after these pilgrimages, Longvek suffered a military defeat at the hands of Ayutthaya. Nevertheless, with nearly two-thirds of the modern inscriptions at Angkor Wat dating to the seventeenth century, and radical state institutional reform evidenced by surviving palm-leaf legal codes, this period might be considered as among the most dynamic of the Cambodian Early Modern period.[82] A preliminary appraisal of excavations at Longvek reveals intensification of occupation and new phases of landscape modification during the first decades of the seventeenth century, when the Chronicles proclaim that King Chey Chettha II (reigned 1619–27) moved the seat of Cambodian royal authority to Oudong, approximately five kilometres south of the enclosed citadel.[83] Longvek continues to be named in European and Cambodian sources of the seventeenth century, and as late as 1715 in a Vietnamese source.[84] Occupation also continued at Srei Santhor, and as well as intermittently hosting the recognised lineage of Cambodian royalty, at the turn of the seventeenth century a description

by the Spanish chronicler Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio estimated the population to be more than fifty thousand people.[85]

During the seventeenth century there is a significant increase in foreign sources that deal with Cambodia.[86] Used in tandem with local texts such as legal codes and ritual treatises, historians continue to develop nuanced interpretations of the complex and significant political events.[87] The primary interest to both European and Asian reporters on Cambodia was trade. Although he never visited and was in fact seeking to instigate a Spanish invasion, Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio described Cambodia in 1604 as "holding the trade for the whole of Asia".[88] Records of trading agreements and shipping arrivals provide partial evidence. In the early seventeenth century, Cambodia is named one of the nineteen destinations worthy of red-seal certificates (*shuin*) issued by the Tokugawa Shogunate, and officially received 24 ships. Additionally, there was considerable trade on *tosen* (Chinese vessels) that originated from Cambodia. According to the Japanese sources, at least 76 or 77 Cambodian charted *tosen* arrived in Nagasaki between 1641 and 1745.[89]

After decades of civil disruption, Chey Chettha II established a new administrative centre at Oudong, repudiating Ayutthayan patronage. Although a rectilinear enclosure can be discerned in association with seventeenth-century ceramics west of the Tonle Sap River, the precise location and material details of the administrative centre of Chey Chettha II remains unverified.[90] The principal remains at Oudong, namely Khleang Pram and Veang Chas, appear to relate to the nineteenth-century occupation of King Ang Duong (reigned 1841–60), and it is hoped that archaeological investigations can appraise the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century landscapes of this settlement.

CONCLUSIONS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

From the mid-seventeenth century, historical sources note that Cambodian territories were increasing beleaguered by both Thai and Vietnamese polities. When the Nguyen lords seized control over sea outlets in the Prei Nokor (present-day Ho Chi Minh City) region and staged military interventions, the commercial and political significance of settlements at Longvek/Oudong and Srei Santhor diminished.[91] Correspondingly, a narrative of foreign incursion and repression aided by local factions competing for domestic authority permeates Cambodian history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the 1830s, indeed Cambodia had all but evaporated as an autonomous state.[92] While Phnom Penh had been a significant settlement and entrepôt for at least four hundred years, it finally hosted the Khmer political administration in the nineteenth century, first under the Vietnamese and then under the French, marking Cambodia's transition into the Modern period.[93]

While different forms of subjugation at Angkor and Longvek mark Cambodia's transition to the Early Modern period, it is misleading to define this period in terms of absence or retreat. Alternatively, the word *loss* might be considered a heuristic tool developed by Cambodian polities and institutions of the Early Modern and Modern periods to claim rebirth in the face of disorderly succession movements, rising mercantilism, and the imperial ambitions of neighbouring states.[94] Since the early years of the colonial era, Angkor has understandably been the primary focus of scholars seeking to comprehend Cambodia's past. To understand the decline and aftermath of Angkor, historians have deconstructed Cambodian textual sources.[95] A complementary path to the Early Modern period is to examine the immense and largely unexamined information residing in its material culture (fig. 15). New studies can consider communities unrecognised by histories tied to the Chronicles. Applied at Cambodia's Early Modern period capitals, these approaches are beginning to clarify how these settlements transformed. Despite a historical narrative of loss, between the late thirteenth and eighteenth century, Cambodia was full of diversity and complex innovative change.

15
Excavating at Longvek, Kompong Chhnang province.

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NOTES

1. Instead of using the term "post-Angkor", or the colloquial designation of "Middle Period" to situate the history of Cambodia in a global context, the term "Early Modern period" (around 1450–around 1850) is preferred in this essay.
2. Pou 1977, Ang et al. 1996, Thompson 1997, Thompson 1998, and Thompson 1999.
3. Mikaelian 2013.
4. Edwards 2007.
5. Mikaelian 2015; Mikaelian 2016.
6. On the habitations of the Angkor Wat sangha adjacent to the western causeway, see Anonymous 1907, p. 421; Anonymous 1909, p. 823.
7. Polkinghorne forthcoming 2.
8. For translations and interpretations, see Garnier 1871; Garnier 1872; Moura 1883; Leclère 1914; Mak Phoeun 1984; Khin Sok 1988; Vickery 1977a; Kitagawa 1998. Unless specified, this chapter cites the syntheses and French translations of Mak Phoeun 1984 and Khin Sok 1988, who relied primarily on the Royal Chronicle of the Great Khmer Kings (*Braḥ rāja baṅsāvatāra kruṅ kambjādhipatī*) or *Veang Thiounn Chronicle* (abbrev. VJ).
9. Maspero 1904, p. 8; Aymonier 1904, p. 736; Cœdès 1914, pp. 49, 53; Cœdès 1918, p. 15; Porée-Maspero 1961, p. 397; see especially Vickery 1977 and Mikaelian 2013.
10. Vickery 1977, pp. 367, 461, 490.
11. Woodward forthcoming.
12. Zhou 2007, pp. 52, 104, n.26. According to Harris 2007, p. 104, n. 26, *Zhugu* is derived from a respectful title used for monks in Siam.
13. Leclère 1899, p. 497; Finot 1908, p. 224; Briggs 1951, pp. 242–43, 257; Cœdès 1963, p. 107; Kulke 1993, pp. 375–76.
14. Cœdès 1968, p. 212; Jacques and Freeman 1997, pp. 256, 280–83; Vickery 2006, pp. 119–25; Maxwell 2007,p. 121; Woodward forthcoming.
15. Mus 2011; Thompson 1997; Thompson 1998; Assavavirulhakarn 2010. On religious syncretism at Angkor, see Estève 2009.
16. K.754 (K: Khmer inscription inventory number prefix), translated in Cœdès 1936 For commentary, see Thompson 1997, p. 27; Woodward forthcoming.
17. Thompson 1997.
18. Side A, Line 18. Discussed in Woodward forthcoming. See also Soutif 2009a, pp. 264–65.
19. K. 144, translated in Pou 1981.
20. Marchal 1918; Giteau 1969; Thompson 1997; Thompson 1998.
21. Nara 2012; Sato forthcoming.
22. Nara 2012, p. 193.
23. GT83 (GT: Georges Trouvé inventory number), Greater Angkor Project 2014.
24. Woodward 1997, p. 123 ff.; Woodward 2005, pp. 137–40.
25. Woodward 1997, p. 123.
26. Vickery 1977, p. 491; Khin Sok 1988; Cushman 2000, p. 15; Vickery 2004a.
27. Vickery 1977; Vickery 1977a; Vickery 2004.
28. Nong fragment of the Cambodian Chronicles, cited in Cœdès 1918, pp. 26–27; K. 489, translated in Cœdès 1951, pp. 229–30. See Polkinghorne et al. 2013; Pollkinghorne et al. 2018.
29. Polkinghorne et al. 2013.
30. Polkinghorne et al. 2013; Pollkinghorne et al. 2018.
31. Leroy et al. 2015.
32. Dupoizat 1999, p. 110; Heng 2004, pp. 229, 232; Castillo et al. 2018.
33. Evans et al. 2007.
34. Fletcher et al. 2008.
35. Buckley et al. 2010.
36. Buckley et al. 2010; Buckley et al. 2014.
37. K. 488, translated in Finot 1925, p. 393; K. 470, translated in Cœdès 1942, p. 187.
38. On modifications to architecture, see Thompson 1998; Groslier 2014; Groslier 1969; Pottier 1997; Polkinghorne et al. 2013; Leroy et al. 2015; Sato forthcoming.
39. For example, Ea et al. 2008; Tabata 2010; Desbat 2011.
40. Giteau 1975; Polkinghorne et al. 2013; Tun 2015.
41. Castillo et al. 2018; Dupoizat 1999, p. 110; Heng 2004, pp. 229, 232; Polkinghorne et al. 2015, pp. 139, 160, 263–66, 314. Forthcoming publications of the *Mission archéologique française à Angkor Thom* (EFEO) are expected to augment the chronology of Angkor Thom. At Angkor Wat, radiocarbon dates suggest fifteenth- and sixteenth-century occupation, see Stark et al. 2015.
42. Vickery 1977; Reid 1988; Lieberman 1995; Lieberman 2003.
43. Vickery 1977; Mikaelian 2013.
44. "…cette sorte d'île…" Giteau 1975, p. 7.
45. Nhim 2014, pp. 73–77.
46. Wade 2005; Wade 2011.
47. Kitagawa 2000. There is some debate about the location of Ba-shan of the Ming shi-lu and Tuol Basan of the Royal Cambodian Chronicles. Vickery (1977; 2004) believes Ba-Shan is present-day Ba Phnom. Others, including Giteau 1975, Forest and Ros 2001, and Nhim 2014 favour another area in Srei Santhor adjacent to Wat Sithor. Forthcoming archaeological survey and excavation may help to clarify the matter.
48. Wade 2011.
49. Also see Wolters 1966.
50. Khin Sok 1988, p. 66; Vickery 1977.
51. Kitagawa 2000. Additional ceramic collection is scheduled at Srei Santhor to augment the occupation chronologies.
52. Giteau 1975, pp. 62–71.
53. Cœdès 1913; Vickery 1977; Vickery 1977a.
54. Kitagawa 2000; Kitagawa 2007.
55. Vickery 1977; Kitagawa 2000; Kitagawa 2007.
56. Buckley et al. 2014, p. 4.
57. Reid 1988, p. 123; Beemer 2009.
58. Vickery 1977; Khin Sok 1988, pp. 101–50; Kitagawa 1998; Mikaelian 2016.

59. Mikaelian 2006; Men 2007.
60. Khin Sok 1988, pp. 150–51.
61. Polkinghorne forthcoming.
62. Khin Sok 1988, pp. 149–50; Thompson 1999; Thompson 2000; Thompson 2004.
63. Epigraphic material, architecture, and sculpture exists from the pre-Angkor, Angkor, and Early Modern periods. For example, on the epigraphy, see K.137, translated in Cœdès 1942, pp. 115–18; K.432, translated in Cœdès 1942, pp. 119–20; K.136, translated in Cœdès 1954, pp. 284–86.
64. Leclère 1914, p. 310; Mak Phoeun 1984; Khing 1991; Mikaelian 2012, Mikaelian 2016.
65. For text based sources on Longvek, see Khin Sok 1988; Mak 1984; Vickery 1977; Mikaelian 2009.
66. Cabaton 1911; Briggs 1950; Groslier 1958; Lejosne 1998; Piat 1973; Népote 2007.
67. Iwao 1966; Ishii 1998; Wade 2005; Kitagawa 1998; Kage 2012.
68. Reid 1988; Leiberman 1995; Leiberman 2003.
69. Iwao 1966, pp. 90–97; Mak 1995, pp. 176, 219, 236, 319.
70. Sato 2016; Sato and Polkinghorne 2017.
71. Kage 2012.
72. Kitagawa and Okamoto 2015.
73. Beavan et al. 2012; Beavan et al. 2015.
74. Hendrickson et al. 2013; Hendrickson et al. 2017; Hall et al. 2016.
75. Cabaton 1914; Groslier 1958.
76. K.296, K. 297 (Cœdès 1962); Vickery 1977.
77. Primarily known as the *Inscriptions moderne Angkor* (IMA), see translations and commentaries by Lewitz 1970; Lewitz 1971; Lewitz 1972a; Lewitz 1972a; Lewitz 1973; Lewitz 1973a; Lewitz 1974; and Pou 1975. Unless otherwise indicated, my readings of the IMA are limited to the translations of Pou / Lewitz cited in the text.
78. IMA 11 (Lewitz 1972a).
79. Polkinghorne forthcoming 2.
80. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 232.
81. K.285, K.465, translated in Khin Sok 1978, Pou 1989; K.1006, translated in Vickery 1982.
82. Mikaelian 2006; Mikaelian 2009.
83. Pou 1972; Pou 1975; Pou 1977; Mak Phoeun 1984; Mak Phoeun 1995; Mikaelian 2009.
84. Iwao 1966; Mak 1995; Kitagawa 1998; Lejosne 1998; Kersten 2003.
85. Cabaton 1914, pp. 95–96.
86. Iwao 1966; Mak 1995; Kitagawa 1998; Lejosne 1998; Kersten 2003.
87. Mak 1995; Mikaelian 2006; Mikaelian 2007; Mikaelian 2009.
88. Cabaton 1914.
89. Kitagawa and Okamoto 2015.
90. Kitagawa 1998.
91. Mak 1995; Kitagawa 1998; Mikaelian 2006; Mikaelian 2009.
92. Chandler 1973.
93. Cœdès 1913; Vickery 1977; Chandler 1973; Osborne 2008.
94. Mikaelian 2013; Mikaelian 2015; Mikaelian 2016.
95. Cœdès 1918; Vickery 1977; Vickery 1977a; Mak 1995; Ang et al. 1996; Thompson 1997; Kitagawa 1998; Thompson 1999; Kitagawa 2000; Thompson 2000; Thompson 2004; Vickery 2004; Mikaelian 2006; Mikaelian 2009; Mikaelian 2013; Mikaelian 2015; Mikaelian 2016; Ewington 2008.

ENDNOTES

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1. Charles-Émile Bouillevaux (1823–1913) published his account in 1858 (Bouillevaux 1858), while a Portuguese account, written by Diogo do Couto (around 1542–1616) dated as far back as the sixteenth century (Groslier 2006, pp. 49–56). The earliest account however dates back to the thirteenth century by the Chinese diplomat Zhou Daguan (1266–1346), who visited Angkor for eleven months in 1296–97.
2. Mouhot 1868; an English translation of Mouhot's work was published in London in 1864 (Mouhot 1864), further enhancing Angkor's international repute.

Cat. 2

1. Garnier 1873.

Cat. 4

1. Bautze 2012.

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1. Piemmattawat 2015, pp. 121–29.
2. Thomson 1867.
3. Bautze 2012, p. 307.

P. 64

1. Tillotson 1990, p. 182.
2. Baptiste and Zéphir 2013, pp. 241–42.
3. Brown 2013, pp. 103–52.

Cat. 20

1. Such views were commonplace among Europeans at the time. See, for instance, the writings of the French missionary Charles-Émile Bouillevaux, who visited Angkor in 1850 (Bouillevaux 1858).

Cat. 21

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2013, pp. 138–41.

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1. Sharrock 2007.

Cats. 26–28

1. As with Angkor, John Thomson was the first to photograph this monument, arriving a month before Gsell in 1866. See Bautze 2012.

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1. Plaster casts and some original objects were exhibited at the 1867 exposition, see Falser 2012, pp. 51–60.
2. See Baptiste essay, this volume.

Cat. 54

1. The original sculpture is now in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta.

Cat. 57

1. Delaporte 1880, pp. 183–84.

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1. Norindr 1996, p. 27; Deyasi 2015, p. 125.

Cat. 58

1. See Baptiste essay, this volume. See also Baptiste and Cramerotti 2017.
2. Léo de Bernard, *Le Monde Illustré*, 2 November 1878, p. 279.

Cats. 61–63

1. Morton 2000, p. 240.

Cats. 69–71

1. While in Marseille, Rodin completed a series of pen and watercolour drawings of the dancers.

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1. Bellina, 2014, pp. 22–24.

Cat. 86

1. Avalokiteshvara is interpreted in a few different ways, but generally means the Lord who looks down, or looks on from above, with mercy and compassion. He is also sometimes called Lokeshvara "Lord of the World".
2. He emanated from the right eye of Amitabha, one of the five Dhyana, the directional, Buddhas. Amitabha represents wisdom. The obtaining of wisdom and compassion are what is necessary to reach enlightenment.
3. The inscription was found at Prasat Ta Kam (K 244); see Cœdès 1951, p. 89; Finot 1925, pp. 227–56, pl. 16; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 152.
4. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 29–33.
5. The Phnom Da styles A and B, are categorised by Dupont 1955, pp. 21–70, followed by Boisselier 1966, pp. 235–38; Phnom Da refers to a site near Angkor Borei. Boisselier dates the style to the sixth century, though it influenced styles to the end of the seventh century, including this this piece, which he includes as Plate XXXI, 2. Compare to the figure of Parashurama in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [Ka.1608]. See also essay by Zéphir in this volume.

Cat. 87

1. Boisselier 1955, pl. 89; Malleret 1963, pls. XXXI and XXXIV.
2. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 22–23

Cat. 88

1. Reportedly found in Son Tho in Tra Vinh province, southern Vietnam, see a Buddha in Meditation, Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City [BTLS 5519], in New York 2014, p. 99.
2. See a sixth-century reliquary in New York 2014, p. 80.
3. See a Buddha seated on a throne, Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City [BTLS 5517], Singapore 2008, p. 65.
4. A standing, sandstone, Gupta-period Buddha from Sarnath, India, fifth century, was found in Surat Thani Province, Thailand in 1930 by Quartich Wales; in Singapore 2012, Cat. 1.
5. See a bronze Buddha, Sri Lanka, late Anuradhapura period (377 BC–AD 1017), in Von Schroeder 1990, Plate 45C; New York 2014, p. 99.
6. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 24–25.

Cat. 89

1. Prakrit is a script used less frequently in Southeast Asia than Pali or Sanskrit. Skilling 2014, p. 59. The Buddhist creed states that the end of suffering and the cycle of re-births can be found in the teachings of the Buddha. For a translation, see Skilling 2014, p. 59.
2. See a Buddha from southern Vietnam, eighth or ninth century, in the Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City [BTLS 5519], published in New York 2014, p. 99.
3. See John Guy referencing Peter Skilling in New York 2014, p. 97.
4. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 28.
5. See a standing Buddha in the Sarnath Museum, Uttar Pradesh, India [474], in Williams 1982, pl. 89.
6. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 27–28.

Cat. 90

1. See a figure of Harihara from Sambor Prei Kuk, early seventh century, National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [Ka.1607].
2. A large group of bronzes were discovered in a temple chamber in 1964, see Bunker 1971, pp. 67–68, and Bunker 2002, pp. 106–27.
3. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 34–35.

Cat. 91

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 38–39.
2. See a bronze Maitreya, northeast Thailand, early eighth century, Asia Society Museum, New York, Mr and Mrs John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection [1979.63], reproduced in New York 2014, p. 235.
3. Bunker 1971, pp. 67–76, and Bunker 2002, pp. 106–27.

Cat. 92

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 252–53.

Cats. 93–95

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 48–49.
2. Shiva represented as a trident was a popular image in Cambodia; see, for instance, a Stele, seventh century, schist, height 102 cm, National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [Ka.1741]. Another stone image, Angkor period, sandstone, 49×53 cm, National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [Ka.2445], shows the attributes of Shiva and Vishnu diagonally placed in equal hierarchy, possibly referring to Harihara, a form of Vishnu and Shiva, in one.
3. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 132–33.
4. Pal 2004, p. 173.
5. Snodgrass 1985, pp. 165–70.
6. Pal 2004, p. 172; Daniélou 1964, p. 231. In images of Harihara, a hybrid form of Vishnu and Shiva, Vishnu usually adopts the left, "feminine" side, see Cat. 96.
7. Pal 2004, p. 173.

Cat. 96

1. Most notably in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [Ka.1635], and the Guimet Museum [MG 14910]. See also Zéphir essay, Fig. 3.
2. A stone tablet in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [Ka.2445].
3. Modern town of Roluos, south of Angkor, about 13 km east of Siem Reap.
4. For a survey of tenth-century Harihara images, see Boisselier 1989, pp. 44–49.
5. See a figure in the Guimet Museum [MG 14910].
6. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 126–28.

Cat. 97

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 186–88.

Cat. 99

1. While based in Phnom Penh, Aymonier helped Delaporte in transporting sculptures from Angkor during the 1873 mission, see Falser 2012, pp. 65–66. His three-volume work on Angkor, *Le Cambodge* (1900–1904), was one of the first general surveys on the topic.
2. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 62–63.
3. Dupont 1941, pp. 233–54.

Cat. 100

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 90–92.
2. Jessup established the date of early ninth century based on the presence of the upper supports in Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 192.
3. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 192.
4. New York 2014, p. 154.

Cat. 101

1. The name Kalkin is not mentioned in Khmer texts. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 162.
2. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 218.
3. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 156–61.

Cat. 102

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 236–40.

Cat. 103

1. Three stylistically matching heads of Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma indicate the presence of such large triad groups. Guimet Museum [MG 18100, 18101, 18102].
2. For creation story, see Lintel of Vishnu Anantashayana, Guimet Museum [MG 18856].
3. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 145–49.
4. See Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 204.
5. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 216.

Cat. 104

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 142–44, and Baptiste and Zéphir 2013, p. 226.

Cat. 106

1. Classified by Dupont as "Prasat Andet" style. Boisselier 1966, p. 242.
2. See, for instance, Guimet Museum [MG 18094], published in Jessup and Zéphir 1997.
3. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 183–84.
4. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 68–71.

Cat. 107

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 102–5.

Cat. 108

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 129–31.
2. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 189.
3. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 208.

Cat. 109

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 246–48.
2. Most notably seen on a bronze figure of Avalokiteshvara, Thailand, tenth century, Metropolitan Museum of Art [1987.146].
3. Green 2014, p. 71.
4. Krairiksh 2012, pp. 293–94.

Cat. 110

1. Lerner 1994, pp. 46–47
2. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 232–35. The sculpture was found by Étienne Aymonier during his mission of 1882–83, and given to the Guimet Museum in 1890.

Cat. 111

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 226–29.
2. Barth 1885, pp. 47–50; Cœdès 1951, pp. 143–47.
3. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 226.

Cat. 112

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 354–55.

Cat. 113

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 294–95.

Cat. 114

1. The contemporary *apsara* dance only goes back to the 1950s and is a modern re-creation of the Angkorian tradition inspired by Queen Sisowath Kossamak Nearyrath (1904–1975), Norodom Sihanouk's mother (see Phim and Thompson 1999, p. 36).
2. Pou 1997, p. 230.
3. Pou 1997, p. 243.

Cat. 115

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 378–81; see also Baptiste 2012.

P. 273

1. Woodward 2014, pp. 122–29.

Cat. 116

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 178–79.

Cat. 117

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 112–14.
2. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 222–23.
3. Sharrock 2009, p. 120.

4. Marcus 1968.

5. Jumsai 1975, pp. 178–79.

Cat. 118

1. For a full discussion on the identification of this type of panel, see Pal 2004, pp. 180–81.

2. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 189–91.

3. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 240–41.

4. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 248–49.

5. Louis Malleret made an inventory of forty stone panels of this subject. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 240–41.

6. Tingley 1994.

7. Polkinghorne 2008, p. 23, note 2.

Cat. 119

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 214–17.

2. Polkinghorne 2008.

Cat. 120

1. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 299.

2. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 351. See also Baptiste essay, p. 40.

Cat. 121–122

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 431–32.

Cat. 123

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 335–37.

Cat. 124

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 344–45.

Cat. 125

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 358–59.

2. Lee 1969, p. 108.

3. See the *Ramayana* bas-relief "The Battle of Lanka", showing Ravana riding a chariot with naga finials, in the West Gallery, north wing, published in Le Bonheur 1995, p. 81.

Cat. 126

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 376–77.

Cat. 127

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 445.

2. For instance, the Ta Prohm foundation stele (K 273) gives the impressive number of 615 such dancers in this temple alone. See Cœdès 1906, pp. 44–85.

Cat. 128

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 372–73.

2. In the translation of Cœdès 1964, p.148, this short inscription (K. 963) translates to: "Offering of Kam—cara to Kamrateng Jagat Shri Bhadreshvara".

Cat. 129

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 306–7.

2. For further reading on this topic, see Sharma 1976; for Sadashiva in particular, see Srinivasan 1997.

Cat. 130

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 310–11.

2. Cœdès 1910, p. 35 and pl. IX.

Cat. 131

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 198–200.

Cat. 132

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 278–81.

Cat. 133

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 290–91.

Cat. 134

1. Woodward and Douglas 1994, p. 106.

2. Woodward and Douglas 1994, p. 106.

3. According to inscriptions, Jayavarman VII believed his father took the form of Lokeshvara when he died, and he built Preah Khan in his memory. In this way, he associates the king with having the compassion of Avalokiteshvara. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 312–15.

Cat. 135

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 404–5.

2. See Foucher 1913, pp. 99–103; The sculpture, the first ever documented "Commaille Buddha", which looks similar to the Guimet Museum piece, is now in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh [ka.1716].

Cat. 136

1. See Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 406–8.

Cat. 137

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 448.

Cat. 138

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 412–13.

Cat. 139

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 414–16.

2. Worshipper (*tep pramam*), Siem Reap, Angkor Wat, sixteenth century, wood, height 91 cm [Gha.315].

Cat. 140

1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, p. 449.

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AUTHORS

Pierre Baptiste is curator in charge of the Southeast Asian art department, Guimet Museum. During that time he has written many essays on the arts of Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam, and organised exhibitions on the arts of Southeast Asia.

Alison Carter is an assistant professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon. She has worked in Cambodia since 2005, and her current research focuses on residential areas of non-elite Angkorians.

Rachna Chhay is head, Ceramic Study Office, International Center of Research and Documentation of Angkor, APSARA Authority. She has worked as an archaeologist for APSARA Authority since 2003.

Damian Evans is a research fellow, French Institute of Asian Studies (EFEO). He specialises in using remote sensing techniques—including LIDAR—to study archaeological landscapes of early Southeast Asia.

Piphal Heng is a PhD candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His interests lie in Southeast Asian archaeological political economy, settlement patterns, organisational change, and ceramic production and consumption.

Paul A. Lavy is associate professor, South and Southeast Asian art history, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His primary research interest is the early Hindu sculpture of Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.

Theresa McCullough is principal curator, Asian Civilisations Museum. Her interests lie in South and Southeast Asian Hindu and Buddhist iconography, and the transmission of religious beliefs and philosophy throughout Asia.

Stephen A. Murphy is senior curator, Southeast Asia, Asian Civilisations Museum. He is particularly interested in the sixth to tenth century, and interactions between Southeast Asia, India, and China during that time.

Martin Polkinghorne is a research fellow, Archaeology, Flinders University, Australia. Along with his Cambodian and international collaborators, he is conducting the first-ever excavations of the capitals of Cambodia after Angkor.

Miriam Stark is a professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She has co-directed collaborative research projects since 1996 in both southern and northwest Cambodia. She is currently involved in the Greater Angkor Project, Khmer Production and Exchange Project, and the Lower Mekong Archaeological Project.

Thierry Zéphir is a researcher, Guimet Museum, where he currently works in the Southeast Asian Art Department. He also lectures on a regular basis in the École du Louvre, where he teaches Indian and Southeast Asian arts.