

# CAMBODIAN SCULPTURES

Selected from the

Murray Warner Collection of Oriental Art

A Catalogue Compiled

by

WALLACE S. BALDINGER

*Director*

MUSEUM OF ART

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

EUGENE

1955

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Exhibit Designed and Installed by

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In Consultation With Mark R. Sponenburgh

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Museum of Art

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CAMBODIA

An Introductory Sketch of the Land and the People

The land of the Kambuja, "sons of Kambu" whose name Europeans debased into "Cambodia," lies in the lower valley of the Mekong River, that four-thousand-mile waterway which rises in Tibet not far from the headwaters of the Yangtze River but which flows south-easterly away from it through the bulge of Asia made by Indo-China and empties eventually into the southern end of the China Sea. Cambodia is bounded on the north by the mountains of the Lao States, on the west by the Dong P'ya Fai, "Forest of the Lord of Fire," of Siam, and on the south by the shores of the Gulf of Siam.

The earliest known inhabitants of the Mekong Valley were described as "a small-eyed people who worshipped snakes," apparently in part of proto-Malayan origin. Already for centuries, however, before Kambu came from India in the fourth century of the Christian era to marry, according to legend, a princess of the Nagas or "cobra-gods," other Indian immigrants had been coming to intermarry with the aborigines and promulgate the faiths brought with them--Buddhism and Brahmanism. The mixed Indian-Melanesian populace of the Mekong Valley composed a vassal state tributary to the Empire of Funan which, though extending all the way from the Gulf of Siam to the borders of China, seems often in turn to have been tributary to the Middle Kingdom. A portion of the Mekong Valley inhabitants under the name of Chenla finally revolted, in fact, and brought Funan to an end in the seventh century.

Some two hundred years later a conqueror, whether an exiled Cambodian prince or a member of the Javanese royal family, crossed with an army from the Sailendra ("King of the Mountain") imperial court in Java, overwhelmed Cambodia and adjoining lands and consolidated them all into the mighty Khmer Empire, named after the Mekong Valley inhabitants themselves. This conqueror established himself as Jayavarman II (802-869) but his rise "like a fresh lotus," as one inscription puts it, obliged him to seek religious means to reinforce his military supremacy over the native populace. He revived in Cambodia, therefore, a religion already established there but much more highly developed in Sailendra Java--the Cult of Devaraja ("King-God") which held that the Emperor was himself an incarnation of deity.

Whatever the god whom Jayavarman II insisted was incarnated in him, and regardless of whether that god belonged to the Buddhist or the Brahman pantheon, the Emperor was drawing on a theology ideally predisposed to convince his subjects of his invincible power. Let us suppose that he called himself an incarnation of the Buddha, Shakyamuni, earthly founder of the former faith. Shakyamuni had for heavenly counterpart the Buddha of the Western Paradise, Amitabha, and Amitabha was one of the Five Heavenly (Dhyani) Buddhas, each of whom had or was to have a corresponding Earthly (Manushi) Buddha. These Buddhas presided over kalpas or Cycles of Universes occurring only, however, in the recent past or the immediate future. Kalpas are innumerable even as the years

of each kalpa are innumerable and each kalpa is ruled over by its own Heavenly Buddha and its own Earthly Buddha. By incarnating Shakyamuni Buddha, Jayavarman II not only established kinship with all Buddhas who have ever reigned or ever will reign; he became like them, according to Buddhist belief, a manifestation of Adi Buddha, the Supreme and Original Being, who ruled over all creations as a formless, self-existent and remote divinity. So likewise if Jayavarman II claimed, say, to be the incarnate Shiva, God of Destruction in the Brahman Pantheon. Out of the ashes of destruction new life ever springs forth, created by Brahma, God of Creation; and from the tender shoot life blossoms inevitably under the care of Vishnu, God of Sustenance. Shiva and the Devaraja in which he is incarnated are interchangeable thus with Brahma and Vishnu, and all three gods are in reality manifestations of Brahman, the Ultimate Life-force of the Universe.

So effective did the cult of the Devaraja prove that due partly to it, the Empire founded by Jayavarman II lasted for five hundred years, succumbing finally only to a Siamese rebellion. The Emperor's descendants distinguished themselves as mighty builders. Yasovarman (889-910) founded the great capital city of Angkor Thom and later emperors enriched and enlarged it. Suryavarman II (1112-1152) built the colossal Devaraja Temple of Vishnu known as Angkor Wat. Jayavarman VII (1182-1201) built at the heart of Angkor Thom the Devaraja Temple, Bayon, dedicated to Lokeshvara (Cambodian form of Avalokiteshvara, Bodhisattva of Mercy), and Indravarman II (1201-1243) enlarged the Bayon as a further dedication to Shiva. By embarking upon these gigantic enterprises, moreover, the Khmer emperors precipitated and sustained a five-centuries-long building boom that left over six hundred major monuments in Angkor alone and countless other provincial monuments and sacred images.

The Siamese who revolted against the Khmer Empire about the middle of the fourteenth century and a century later succeeded in destroying even its culture were a Mongoloid people originating in Nan-Chao, kingdom of southern China. Known as Thai, they had during the early centuries of the Christian era expanded southward into Indo-China and especially into the rice-productive river valleys of Siam (now called Thailand), where in the Mae Nam Valley at least, they had come under Khmer domination. When the Mongols invaded China, founded the Yuan Dynasty under Kublai Khan (1259), and then turned southward to conquer Nan-Chao in turn, hordes of Thai fled before them into lands already occupied by their kinsfolk.

The newcomers put such pressure on the older Thai population that they were impelled to embark on military ventures of their own, enterprises giving rise to the first Thai states ever to be established on Siamese soil: the Kingdom of Chiangmai (1291-1558) to northward and the Kingdom of Sukhothai (c.1260-1378) to southward. The city-state of Lop Buri on the Mae Nam managed to survive for a while as a remnant of Khmer provincial power, but by the middle of the fourteenth century the nearby Thai state of Suphan Buri (U-T'ong), known as the state of Ayutthaya when the capital was transferred to the city of that name in 1350, had grown strong enough to annex not only Lop Buri but the rest of Siam up to the borders of Chiangmai and even the whole of Cambodia. Twice during

the following century Khmer vassals tried unsuccessfully to throw off the Thai yoke and on the second occasion precipitated in reprisal a wholesale sack of Angkor so complete as to leave the city abandoned and desolate.

During the interim between the capture of Angkor in 1352 and its sack in 1431, Thai domination of the once-glorious Khmer capital effected a profound change in Cambodian culture. In spite of their Mongoloid origins, the Thai of the Mae Nam Valley had long before their overthrow of the Khmer Empire lost much of their cultural dependence on China in favor of a new orientation toward Ceylon and the Hinayana Buddhism which had experienced a great revival there under the Sinhalese king, Parakrama Bahu (1164-1197), "Incomparable Champion of the Faith." So enthused over Hinayana did the Kingdom of Sukhothai become, in fact, that its king exerted every effort to secure for his realm the miraculous image of P'ra Sihing (the "Sinhalese Buddha") from the king of Ceylon, an image which a century after its procurement by Sukhothai became the prize over which various Indo-Chinese kingdoms fought. Hinayana, "Lesser Vehicle" of Buddhism, is the ascetic, fundamentalist branch of the faith which holds that Shakyamuni Buddha was an actual human being whose relentless determination brought him at length to solitary spiritual victory and whom no man but a monk with corresponding soul-force and self-control could hope to emulate and achieve Nirvana. As adopted by the Thai, Hinayana influenced a sharp religious and cultural divergence from the Mahayana-Buddhist and Brahmanist bases of Khmer civilization.

When the sack of Angkor in 1431 led to its abandonment, the jungle took over. The once glorious capital became an abode of wild beasts and ghosts, dreaded by natives and forgotten by outsiders. Five hundred years later, Henri Mouhot, a French naturalist hunting for specimens of jungle life, discovered it purely by accident, a vast ensemble of ruins surpassing in quality perhaps as much as in magnitude the ruins of Palmyra or Thebes, even the palace and the gardens of Versailles. Mouhot's discovery was a prelude to French colonial expansion, which established a protectorate over Cambodia in 1864 and finally in 1907 won the cession by Siam to France of the whole region around Angkor. French scholars came to devote their lives to the study of Khmer culture as revealed through its art, especially after the founding of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in 1898. In spite of recent French reverses in Indo-China, such study continues.

When Gertrude Bass (Mrs. Murray) Warner, Donor of the Murray Warner Collection of Oriental Art and first Director of the University's Museum, visited Cambodia in 1924, she won the assistance of administrators of the Musée Albert Sarraut at Phnom-Penh in purchasing Cambodian sculptures for the Warner Collection. She had them select for her purchase, under personal supervision of George Groslier, Director of Cambodian Arts, original works representing successive eras in Khmer history and plaster casts made from reliefs in Angkor Wat and the Bayon at Angkor Thom. She sought further to buy examples of pre-Khmer sculpture but failed because of the rarity of such works.

FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURES FROM CAMBODIAN BUILDINGS AND ALTARPIECES

Display Case, Entrance Lobby

Subjects Based on Iconographical Analysis and Dates on Stylistic Analysis, Made by Wallace Baldinger in Consultation With Theodore Stern. Materials Identified by C. T. Bressler, Assistant Professor of Geology

1. HEAD OF DEVARAJA AS LOKESHVARA WITH LOTUS EMBLEM ON NAGA HOOD

Fragment of a stele. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety, with lateritic weathering of the surface. H.,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.). Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 213). Acc. no. Ca-18.

Lokeshvara, so called by the Cambodians, is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, most favored deity in the Mahayana pantheon. Born from a ray of light issuing from the right eye of Amitabha Buddha as he began his rule over the Western Paradise of the current kalpa, the Bodhisattva of Mercy is indeed the Buddhist Saviour who, like Jesus, descends into hell to convert sinners and carry them off safely to his Heavenly Father's Paradise. Though predestined like any Bodhisattva for ultimate Buddhahood, Avalokiteshvara out of his own infinite compassion has postponed accepting Buddhahood until every last creature of the present kalpa can through his help attain salvation. The Parinirvana (Entrance into Buddhahood) of Shakyamuni left the present world without any Buddha to care for it until the Buddhist Messiah, Maitreya, descends from the Tushita Heaven, and Maitreya's descent will merely signal the end of the present world. Consequently, lest the present world be abandoned to its misery, Avalokiteshvara has to do the rescue work on earth as Amitabha's Bodhisattva Son.

This head may be identified as that of a Lokeshvara image which seems in its somewhat individualized features to be an idealized portrait of the Khmer Emperor ruling as Devaraja ("God-king"). Behind the crown, indicating joint representation as Bodhisattva and Emperor, rises a high chignon composed of five braided locks of hair symbolizing the Five Heavenly Buddhas and taking the place of the miniature image of Amitabha ordinarily carved against the chignon on images of Avalokiteshvara. Elongated lobes of the ears, occasioned by the

wearing of heavy earrings (one of which appears in the left ear), join with the crown to signify the Bodhisattva-Emperor. Behind the Lokeshvara head extends the base of the hood of the five-headed cobra snake, the Naga King probably once represented as bearing the Bodhisattva on its coils and sheltering him from the sun with its hood in token of highest honor. The rear of this Naga hood is carved both to simulate serpent coils and to bear a circular disc of floral pattern. It resembles in this way the back of the hood of the Naga King supporting a stone Buddha in Reginald Le May's Collection (Le May, The Culture of South-east Asia, Fig. 151). If Le May is correct in his interpretation (ibid., p. 150), the disc may be taken not to symbolize the Dharma ("Wheel of the Law") of the Buddhist Triratna ("Three Jewels": the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha or Community) but to stand for "the jewel in the lotus," in reference (1) to Avalokiteshvara's prayer at birth, Om, manipadme, hum! ("Oh, the jewel is in the lotus!") (2) to Avalokiteshvara's alternate name, Padmapani ("Lotus-in-Hand"); and (3) to the fact that every soul which Avalokiteshvara saves is reborn into Amitabha's Pure Land as a jewel treasured within the petals of an opening lotus bud.

The lateritic sandstone out of which the head was carved is common in the Mekong River Valley but left unused by its inhabitants for either architecture or sculpture until Khmer times, when it became the preferred material. Known to the geologist as graywacke, this residual product of rock decay is created ideally by the alternate rains and sunshine of Cambodia. A soft ferruginous clay when quarried, by exposure to sun and air it hardens to a rocklike consistency and turns reddish through oxidation of the iron in its basalt, while the Gruyère-cheeselike gas-holes and the particles of quartz and white mica composing it make pleasing variations.

Considering the responsiveness of lateritic stone at the time of its quarrying, it is remarkable that an artist should have felt the superior demands of the style prevailing at the beginning of the Khmer Empire as to have carved the stone in the contradictory way apparent in this head--boldly block-like and square, with sharpest possible delineation of features, even to the point of projecting the eyebrows in an almost straight horizontal ridge, double-outlining by incision the eyes and the lips and engraving with hard precision the braids of the hair. The sculptor created a work of hieratic severity, in fact, less suggestive of the compassion

of a Lokeshvara than assertive of the earthly power of a Devaraja whose flat nose and flaring nostrils and full lips betrayed the God-king's origins in the Khmer people he ruled.

2. RIGHT HAND OF LOKESHVARA AS PADMAPANI HOLDING A LOTUS BUD

Fragment of an image. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety, with lateritic weathering of the surface. L., 4 ins. Khmer, perhaps Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.). Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 78). Acc. no. Ca-13.

The image the right hand of which this fragment is thought once to have consisted would have been a representation of Lokeshvara as Padmapani, the Bodhisattva Lotus-in-Hand or Lotus-Bearer, because the object grasped by it certainly represents a lotus bud. Padmapani created the present world, employing the power which Amitabha bestowed upon him for the purpose and following a procedure which involved producing the three major gods of the Hindu pantheon to carry on his work: Brahma to create the world, Vishnu to preserve it and Shiva to destroy it. The lotus here represented as in bud is intended to remind the worshipper that Padmapani's mission is to introduce the man's soul into the lotus in which it will be reborn as a jewel when the lotus blossoms on the pond of Amitabha's Paradise. In the present carving of Padmapani's hand the nails of the fingers have been engraved with a sharpness characteristic of early Khmer sculpture.

3. LEFT HAND OF LOKESHVARA AS PADMAPANI HOLDING THE BASE OF A TRISULA

Fragment of an image. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety, with lateritic weathering of the surface. L., 3 ins. Khmer, perhaps Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.). Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 273). Acc. no. Ca-24.

This fragment probably formed the left hand of the same Padmapani image as the preceding fragment (Acc. no. Ca-13) formed the right. Although the upper part of the object grasped by the left hand has been broken off short, the object was undoubtedly meant to be a trisula, the trident used by Shiva as a weapon, in which case a cobra serpent would have been represented as coiled around it. If so, the Padmapani image would have been carved as seated sideways on a roaring lion in manifestation of the much-changing

Bodhisattva as Simhanada-Lokeshvara, "The Lord With the Voice of a Lion." When Simhanada-Lokeshvara is invoked to cure leprosy, he attacks on his lion charger, borrowed from Durga, Shiva's wife, drives out the demons of the disease with his trisula, borrowed from Shiva, and roars his sermon on enlightenment so loudly as to drown the voices of all other preachers. The bracelet carved in low relief about the wrist indicates the Bodhisattva's princely rank.

4. TORSO OF LOKESHVARA AS PADMAPANI HOLDING A LONG-STEMMED LOTUS

Fragment of a stele. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety with lateritic weathering of the surface. H., 7 ins. Khmer, perhaps middle of Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.). Provenance; Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 82). Acc. no. Ca-14.

Although the head and legs are missing from this figure in relief, enough remains to identify it as Lokeshvara in the form of Padmapani, Lotus-bearing Bodhisattva. The right arm is flexed against the chest and the hand is raised in vitarka mudra, mystic gesture of Argument (fingers extended upward, with index finger touching thumb to form the "triangular pose"), while holding at the same time a long-stemmed lotus over the right shoulder. The left arm is extended to the side, holding the neck of the vase containing the amrita or Elixir of Life. The body of this vase, the kalasha, special symbol of Padmapani, has been broken off but the fracture across the left thigh indicates its original position. Padmapani is represented here as attired in further accord with the traditional iconography, in a short dhoti drawn tightly about his waist and secured by a jeweled belt and otherwise wearing only such ornaments as a bracelet at the left wrist. Erosion has resulted in considerable obliteration of surface detail, thus militating against any accurate dating, but the slender proportions, easy flexion of the body in the abhanga (thrust-out hip) posture, and generalized rounded treatment of planes would all seem to point to a time of execution around the middle of the Late Classic Period, in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, A.D.

5. LINGAM

Fragment of Devaraja temple or altarpiece. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety with pronounced lateritic weathering of the surface. H.,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Khmer, perhaps Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.). Provenance: unknown, but probably Angkor. Purchased, 1924 or 1925, somewhere in Cambodia. Acc. no. Ca-26.

Since the Khmer Emperors were regarded, even during the course of their own lifetimes, as Devarajas ("God-kings"), incorporating the joint incarnations of a Buddhist deity like Lokeshvara and a Brahman deity like Shiva (as a device for winning support of subjects of either religious persuasion), the Emperors counted heavily on their carvers to objectify and perpetuate the idea. They had these craftsmen carve free-standing columns in the phallic shape sacred to Shiva and their priests imbue the resulting lingams with the joint power of Shiva and themselves. Then they had their builders erect great temple complexes tier on tier around such lingams to form temple-mountains like Mount Sumeru, supposedly the highest peak in the Himalayas and the center of the universe. They conceived of each temple-mountain as peopled like Sumeru with all sorts of divine beings, as guarded by the Lokapalos, "Protectors of the World," and as supporting at the square summit on top of the Shiva's lingam the capital city of Indra, Amaravati ("Town Immortal"). The Khmer Emperors gave thus to the lingam as embodying both Shiva's power and their own a political as well as a religious significance. The present example, carved with the tight, hard precision of the early years of the Khmer Empire, may have been employed as a finial capping some doorway to a devaraja shrine or as the crown to some phallic altarpiece.

6. HEAD AND TORSO OF GANESHA

Fragment of an image from an altarpiece. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety with lateritic weathering of the surface. H.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c. 1450 A.D.). Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 205). Acc. no. Ca-17.

Ganesha is one of the five leading gods of the Brahman pantheon, the others being Shiva, Vishnu, Shakti (many-formed wife of Shiva), and Surya (the sun-god). Son of Shiva and his Shakti in her housewifely form as Parvati, Ganesha is "Lord of the Hosts," commander of all departed souls making up his Father's army. As the elephant-headed god, Ganesha is "The Remover of Obstacles" whom people about to embark on a journey

or some other enterprise are careful to invoke in the hope that Ganesha might bestow upon them a power to surmount all obstacles, even as the elephant who swims rivers, uproots trees, clears everything before him, and leaves footprints behind, larger than the footprints of any other creature, for assurance that wherever he has trod anyone else can go. As a pot-bellied god usually represented as reaching with his trunk towards the bowl of rice held in his left fore-foot, originally so shown in the present work, most likely, though the foot and bowl are lost, Ganesha is the popular God of Luck, favoring his adorers with abundant wealth. The crown, the jeweled band across the chest, and the armlets worn by Ganesha in the present representation betoken his prosperity-granting role, while the small size of the image suggests its use as a household shrine or a charm to be carried about on one's person.

7. HEAD OF DEVARAJA AS LOKESHVARA WITH PLAIN NAGA HOOD

Fragment of a stele. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety with lateritic weathering of the surface. H.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, middle of Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.). Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musee Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh. (Inventory no. 58). Acc. no. Ca-12.

This head offers an instructive comparison with that backed by the naga hood with the lotus emblem (Cat. no. 1), since it follows the same iconographic tradition, with the crown, the high chignon (here composed of three instead of five braided locks), and the over-arching Naga hood (here rendered solely with the serpent scales for texture on the back, without any symbolical addition) all pointing to its identification as another Devaraja as Lokeshvara. The features are rendered with the same sharply engraved lines and the same tightly drawn surfaces but the face reflects nonetheless a certain relaxation of the severe classic style with which the Khmer Empire started. The suggestion of individual portrayal continues, but the face is more animated and friendly in expression, with the ridges of the eyebrows forming a V-shaped dip at the head of the nose and the lips turning upward at the corners in a smiling echo of the eyebrow motive. Even the pupils of the eyes seem designed to enhance the vivacity of effect. In view of later changes in the style of Cambodian sculpture, one might ascribe a lapse of two or three generations between the time of execution of the first head and the time of execution of the present example, thus setting a date at about 850-900 A.D.

8. HEAD AND FRAGMENT OF TORSO OF DEVARAJA AS LOKESHVARA WITH  
MUKUTA HEADDRESS, BEFORE A NAGA-KING

Fragment of a stele. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety with lateritic weathering of the surface. H., 5  $\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, end of Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.) or beginning of Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.). Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 99). Acc. no. Ca-16.

The style of this Lokeshvara image marks a revolutionary change from that of the two Lokeshvara heads preceding (Cat. nos. 1 and 7)--a change to be accounted for probably in part at least by influences transmitted by way of Java from Bengal, where Buddhism was making its last stand in India and hoping through the ingratiating appeal of its imagery to resist complete absorption by a militant Hinduism. The new style as exemplified by the present sculpture replaced the hard severity of earlier Khmer art, therefore, with an easy, relaxed sweetness. It consisted in reductions in scale, softening of contours, rounding of masses, and exquisite fashioning of ornamental detail--characteristics all clearly here in evidence. Note how well in keeping with such quality are the dreamy, half-closed eyes, the pursed, childlike lips, the minute rendering of the Naga's scales and the stocking-caplike headdress called the mukuta.

9. HEAD OF SHAKYAMUNI (?) BUDDHA OR MAITREYA (?) BUDDHA

Fragment of a standing or seated image. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety with lateritic weathering of the surface. H., 5  $\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), probably eleventh century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 230) Acc. no. Ca-22.

The lack of crown or other ornament indicates that the present head is not intended for that of a Bodhisattva, while several of the mahapurusha lakshana (thirty-two superior marks of beauty) serve to identify it as the head of a Buddha: (1) the ushnisha, protuberance above the skull indicating divine wisdom attained only at the time of entrance into Buddhahood; (2) short hair, referring to Shakyamuni's having cut off his locks at the time of his flight from his father's palace, with the remaining short curls spiralling from left to right; (3) broad, smooth brow. Such other marks as the urna (shining tuft of hair between the eyebrows), the bull-like eyelashes, the brilliant black eyes, the forty dazzling white teeth lying close together, a voice like Brahma's, an exquisite sense of taste, a large, long tongue, and jaws like a lion's, are either missing or indeterminate.

If the spike-shaped ushnisha typical of Cambodian Buddha images (with its five hairlike coils symbolizing the Five Earthly Buddhas) can be interpreted as a stupa (Buddhist reliquary), then the head might be identified as that of Maitreya, the "Messiah of Buddhism," the Future (or Fifth) Earthly Buddha.

The style of carving reflects the same Bengalese-Javanese influence as does the preceding head (Cat. no. 8), but with the rounded forms and flowing contours and organized complex of repeated motives going together even more effectively to compose a work of extraordinary physical charm. Although the eyelids have been tampered with to suggest the pupils of eyes held wide open, the eyes were originally carved as almost closed, in an attitude of sweet revery comporting well with the short, pursed lips and gently spreading nostrils. The double-lined incision defining the edge of the hair in front and the sharply engraved detail of the curls suggest a bronze-chasing, technique with which the sculptor may be familiar.

#### 10. HEAD OF SHAKYAMUNI BUDDHA WITH TURBAN AND MUKUTA

From an image in the round. Medium-grain, dense sandstone of graywacke variety. Traces of gold and underlying black lacquer on surface. H.,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c. 1450 A.D.), first half of twelfth century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 201). Acc. no. Ca-15.

The head can be identified as that of an image of Shakyamuni by the ushnisha and the turban covering it (referring to Gautama's princely origin), the elongated lobes of the ears as extended by the earrings which Gautama wore until attaining Buddhahood, and the triple fold of flesh around the throat beneath the chin (one of the eighty anuvyanjana-lakshana, or inferior marks of beauty). The broken surface behind the head suggests the original presence of the seven-headed hood of the Naga King, Mucilinda, in which case the image belonged to the Buddha-Mucilinda type. Mucilinda would have been represented as providing with his coils a seat for the Buddha as he sat meditating beneath a tree at the side of a lake over which the Naga-king ruled and as protecting the Buddha with his hood from the sun and rain. Images of Buddha-Mucilinda, extremely common in Cambodia where Naga-worship had preceded the introduction of Buddhism, are further identifiable as Khmer when carved like this one, with a stocking-caplike mukuta covering the curls in front of the ushnisha.

The head bears witness to a continuing Bengalese-Javanese influence, so strikingly moderate and naturalistic as compared with that of India proper, which tended

always towards extremes of expressive emphasis. It evokes by its gently rounded volumes, almost completely closed eyes, and delicately fashioned details an atmosphere of dreamy serenity. When compared with the head preceding (Cat. no. 9), however, it betrays a certain resurgence of native Khmer genius akin to that manifested by the first two heads examined (Cat. nos. 1 and 2)--in its return to blocklike, squarecut proportions, hard-seeming surfaces, and firmly set lips.

11. HEAD OF DEVARAJA AS LOKESHVARA IN HIGH RELIEF

Fragment of a stele. Medium-grain, dense sandstone of graywacke variety with variegated blue-gray and yellowish weathering of the surface. H.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), probably first half of twelfth century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 58). Acc. no. Ca-12.

Although the chignon is missing above the lowest lock of hair, the jeweled crown, the earrings, and a projection of the broken surface to the front, which once perhaps supported a miniature figure of Amitabha Buddha, are arguments for declaring the head that of Lokeshvara, while the portraitlike individualization of features would seem again to point to the work as a Devaraja image. The Bengalese-Javanese influence no longer operates; native Khmer demands for linear schematization and angularity have come to replace it. So concerned was the sculptor with an effect attesting to the Emperor's political power, in fact, that he seems only as an afterthought to have decided to introduce the smile regarded as fashionable two or three generations earlier; this he did by simply drilling an overly sharp dimple into each corner of the lips.

12. HEAD OF DEVARAJA AS LOKESHVARA IN HIGH RELIEF, WITH BROAD SMILE

Fragment of a stele. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety, light in weight and with a vesicular structure approaching that of pumice. H., 4 ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c. 1450 A.D.), probably early thirteenth century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (inventory no. 242). Acc. no. 23.

Identified by the same means as the preceding example (Cat. no. 11), the head marks such progress beyond it towards abstraction and tectonic generalization as to have required at least a century to effect. Though on miniature scale, it suggests by its breadth of plane and heaviness of proportion, the operation of a megalomania giving rise to buildings of colossal masonry masses. Eyes, cheeks and jaws bulge as though their weight were pulling them earthward, while an exaggerated grin has come to replace the subtle smile of images done a century and a half to two centuries earlier.

13. HEAD OF DEVARAJA AS LOKESHVARA, IN ROUGHLY FINISHED STATE

Fragment of a standing or seated image. Carved sandstone of graywacke variety, weathered to a blue-grey tone, with traces of gold leaf at throat. H., 5½ ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), fourteenth century or later. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 214). Acc. no. Ca-19.

Although the fragment remains in a roughed-out state, with the marks of the punches employed by the sculptor everywhere apparent, the general shape of the crown, the pointed chignon, and the earrings make it identifiable as a Lokeshvara. In spite of its unfinished state, traces of gold remaining about the throat would seem to indicate that priests or private patrons had caused the image to be gilded for devotional purposes as though it had been finished. The eyes have been rendered as almost closed and the mouth turns upward to either side in a smile, in accord with the iconography beginning to crystallize towards the end of the tenth century, but the elongation in the proportions of the head and the geometrization of the component shapes seem to point to a date of execution in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

14. HEAD OF SHAKYAMUNI BUDDHA WITH KETUMALA

Fragment of a standing or seated image. Carved medium-grain sandstone of graywacke variety, well-cemented, allowing grinding to a smooth surface. H., 7 ins. Cambodian sculptor under rule of the Siamese Thai Kingdom of Ayutthaya (1350-1767 A.D.), before the sack of Angkor, 1431 A.D.; hence c. 1350-1431 A.D. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 228). Acc. no. Ca-20.

Differing sharply from other heads in this group of Khmer sculptures, that of Shakyamuni reflects a profound cultural revolution which the Thai rebels effected when they overthrew the Khmer Empire. It offers the measure of changes sweeping enough to replace the humanistic Khmer version of Mahayana Buddhism with the drily orthodox symbolism of Ceylon's Hinayana faith. The head follows Hinayana iconography, for example, with sharply protruding knobs like snail shells for hair and a ketumala rising from the ushnisha (as a variant on the urna ordinarily shown as a tuft of hair between the eyebrows in Mahayana images), a ketumala shaped like a lyre in the images of Ceylon but here like a flame, as in most images of Thai creation.

The stony, squarecut, portrait-like heads of the Khmer Devarajas have given way to an abstracted, mannered conception of deity more suggestive of casting and chasing in bronze than of carving in stone. Head and features have grown longer, their contours more curving, eyebrows have risen into high arches from a sharply ridged and elongated

nose with a hooked overhang. Lips have grown thinner, more tightly pressed together, with incisions defining them in decorative curves that turn upward at the corners in a mere symbol of a smile. Incisions treated as rococo-like curves do delineate, in fact, such other features as the knobby little chin, the downcast eyelids, and the convolutions of ears which once swept outward through their lobes as far as the shoulders.

15. FRAGMENT OF ROOF TILE

From a Khmer temple. Basalt-derived terracotta, kiln-fired and unglazed. Greatest L.,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Undetermined date under the Khmer Empire (800-c.1450 A.D.). Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 9). Acc. no. Ca-27.

Although a series of incisions were made in the freshly moulded clay before firing, to form a lozenge-shaped pattern on the back of the tile, there is neither sufficient indication of style upon which to base attribution as to date nor sufficient clue by which to identify the iconography and the nature of the building on which the tile was used.

16. FRAGMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL RELIEF

From a Khmer temple (?). Vesicular acid-volcanic rock, perhaps rhyolite. Greatest H., 5 ins. Greatest W.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Undetermined date under the Khmer Empire (800-c.1450 A.D.), but probably tenth century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (no Inventory no.). Acc. no. Ca-28.

The foliate decoration isolated against a flat background and rendered relief, with gracefully curving forms serving as foil to straight-edged forms, seems to compare in style with the carving of the Lokeshvara head with the plain Naga hood (Cat. no. 7), which we have ascribed to about the middle of the Early Classic Period (800-1000 A.D.).

17. FRAGMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL RELIEF

From a Khmer temple (?). Vesicular acid-volcanic rock, perhaps rhyolite. Greatest H., 6 ins. Greatest W.,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Undetermined date under the Khmer Empire (800-c.1450 A.D.), but probably tenth century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (no Inventory no.). Acc. no. Ca-29

This fragment may have formed a part of the same architectural relief as the preceding fragment, because the foliate motives follow the same general pattern and style of rendering and they seem to have been carved from the same stone.

18. FRAGMENT OF ARCHITRAVE EMPLOYING LOTUS AND ACANTHUS DECORATION

From a Khmer temple (?). Medium-grain sandstone of dense graywacke variety, with advanced oxidation of surface giving pinkish tone; mica flakes evident. Greatest H.,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Greatest W.,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c. 1450 A. D.), probably early thirteenth century. Provenance: Angkor. Purchased, 1924, from Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh (Inventory no. 292). Acc. no. Ca-25.

The piece may have come from some Khmer temple erected about the same time as the execution of the Lokeshvara relief head with the broad smile (Cat. no. 12). Certainly the heavy, fat forms and the stress on depth of shadow in between compare favorably with the broadly bulging masses of that head. The Classic style of earlier Khmer times has developed to a point where it is about to pass into a full-fledged Cambodian baroque, with insistence on deep space and a continuous forward and backward, as well as side to side, movement.

PLASTER CASTS OF RELIEFS OF CAMBODIAN BUILDINGS

Gallery I E and East Wall, Entrance Lobby

1. AUDIENCE OF PARAMAVISHNULOKA

Relief, S. Gallery, W. Wing, Angkor Wat: detail to W. Original relief carved in sandstone of graywacke variety (Cambodian: thma puok, "mudstone"), with lateritic weathering of surface. H., 43 ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), c. 1112-1180. Cast made to order of Gertrude Bass Warner by staff, Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh, 1925. Acc. no. Ca-31.

Distant northwestward by road from Saigon 343 miles and northward from Phnom-Penh 147 miles, lies Angkor (Cambodian corruption of the Sanskrit name, Nagara, meaning "capital" or "palace"), capital of the Khmers whom the Thai vanquished and finally obliterated in the fifteenth century. Amid a complex of more than a thousand temples, Angkor consists of two major centers: Angkor Wat ("Palace Monastery"), and, one mile to the north of it, Angkor Thom ("Great Capital"), a city at the zenith of its prosperity numbering more than a million inhabitants. To the east of the two Angkors the Siemreap River flows southward some five or six miles to flow into the north end of Tonle Sap ("Fresh Water Sea"), and to their west the ancient highway runs northward from that great body of water.

Consult the map at the entrance to Gallery I E

Descendant of many similar but less imposing and less unified temples erected by his predecessors, Angkor Wat was begun by Suryavarman II (1112-1152) to serve jointly as his tomb and as a monument to himself as Devaraja. It was finished by his nephew and successor, Dharanindravarman II (c. 1152-1181). Under the reigns of these two sovereigns it remained predominantly Vishnuistic, but under Jayavarman VII Mahayana Buddhist elements were added to it, and under Thai domination Hinayana Buddhist elements. Since Suryavarman II was supposed as Devaraja to be an incarnation of Vishnu, he was given the posthumous title of Paramavishnuloka, "He Whose Sphere is the Celestial Abode (loka) of the Highest Vishnu (parama-vishnu)." As the Brahman God of Sustenance incarnate, Suryavarman II conceived of his palace-tomb as earthly counterpart to Vishnu's Paradise, Vaikuntha, resting on the topmost summit of Sumeru, World-Mountain.

Everything about Angkor Wat can, in fact, be understood in terms of its intended function as Paramavishnuloka's Palace. The massive central spire of lingam once contained at the base of its 213 feet of height, for example, a portrait statue of Suryavarman II which served to identify his kingly power on earth with his divine role in heaven, while the four corner spires adjoining it and the numerous smaller spires echoing it in shape once hid similar portrait statues of Suryavarman's nineteen lords, each an incarnation of some avatar of Vishnu. Originally bedecked in gold, these spires punctuate an ensemble of squares within greater squares, an ensemble at the same time framed by a moat 650 feet wide, almost two and a half miles in perimeter, and traversed by a paved causeway three-tenths of a mile long leading to the West Gate, sole gate out of the four, which face the cardinal points of the compass, ever apparently to be used by pilgrims.

When one considers how effectively the spires give scale to the whole vast pyramid, with its succession of three terraced levels, its staircases, its courts, its galleries, and its overlapping roofs, one is ready indeed to accept Angkor Wat as a masterpiece. It is a masterpiece in magnitude of scale, in the clarity by which parts have been ordered into wholes. It is no less a masterpiece for the extraordinary richness of its architectural and sculptural detail. Although in the days of its glory it must have been overwhelming to the simple pilgrim, containing mural paintings in its sanctuaries as well as sculptured friezes like paintings on the walls of its galleries, the sculptural enrichment, now all that remains, more than holds its own as an adjunct to the architecture. Scarcely a square

inch of the sandstone has been left unworked, but the 800 yards of frieze in low relief covering the inside walls of the corridors climax everything else both in wealth of imagination and in force of expression. They depict in endless detail not only the exploits of Suryavarman II but by analogy the exploits of Vishnu and Vishnu's incarnation as Krishna, which the Hindu epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, recount.

See the photographic reproductions of Angkor Wat, east wall, Entrance Lobby

The reliefs on the wall of the West Wing of the South Gallery seem not to have been done until after the death of Suryavarman II in 1152, because an inscription accompanying them refers to him as Paramavishnuloka seated on Mount Sivapada "sending down the army." The present plaster cast, showing only the upper half of the section chosen for casting, represents Paramavishnuloka as seated thus at ease, with the cobra snake held in his right hand (symbol of destructive power) and the conch shell in his left (symbol of reproductive power). On the original relief Suryavarman's figure bears traces of gold leaf which the pious were once accustomed to affixing to it, but in the cast his regal pose and idealized male proportions leave no doubt as to his identity, as do likewise the multitudes of servants squatting behind him with umbrellas, fans, and fly-chasers. The details of foliage just below the ground-line of this scene indicate a lower zone which was omitted from the casting, one devoted to the portrayal of queens and court-ladies in procession through the forest.

When lighted obliquely from above, as we have illuminated the cast, the "Audience of Paramavishnuloka" becomes astonishingly bold and full in effect, despite the prevalent bas-relief format which the master-sculptor designing the whole frieze must have insisted upon (lest excessive shadows confuse the composition). The sculptor carved the work in situ under some such source of light, reflected into the gallery, perhaps, from some surface exposed to sunlight outside, because it is only as lighted in this way that the God-king's body assumes a dominant position and the background details maintain a rhythm of repeated motives.

2. PARADE OF ROYAL TROOPS WITH PARAMAVISHNULOKA COMMANDING FROM AN ELEPHANT

Relief, South Gallery, West Wing, Angkor Wat: detail to east. Original relief carved in sandstone of graywacke variety (Cambodian: thma puok, "mudstone"), with lateritic weathering of surface. H.,  $81\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), c. 1155-1180. Cast made to order of Gertrude Bass Warner by staff, Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh, 1925. Acc. no. Ca-32.

After leaving the "Audience of Paramavishnuloka," which occurs near the west (beginning) end of the band of reliefs on the wall of the West Wing of the South Gallery and shows Suryavarman II giving marching orders to his army, the pilgrim proceeded from right to left, in a counter-clockwise circumambulation of the ground-floor galleries, to overtake the ranks of Suryavarman's army marching out to meet the enemy. After passing eleven of the God-king's generals, each from his elephant commanding his own cavalry and infantry, the pilgrim finally overtook Paramavishnuloka himself, easily identified by the Devaraja's special contingent of fifteen umbrellas and numerous fly-chasers and fans hoisted around him, and by the conical-shaped tiara worn on his head, the *Mukuta*, sign of the Devaraja's kingly power and incarnation of divinity. That Suryavarman II was indeed Vishnu incarnate the pilgrim would further note by the ensign carried in front: a miniature image of Vishnu balanced like an acrobat on the head of Vishnu's vehicle, the sun-bird Garuda. By the time this portion of the reliefs was executed, Suryavarman II had been dead several years, his posthumous title of Paramavishnuloka had been given to him, and his re-absorption into Vishnu had given sculptors the special incentive for representing scenes of corresponding martial valor in which Vishnu's earlier avatars, Rama and Krishna, had figured--as they did on other walls at Angkor Wat.

Paramavishnuloka here stands in lordly ease, his Khmer battle-axe balanced easily over his shoulder, his all-knowing glance proclaiming his divine command over men. The Devaraja's quietude serves as a most expressive contrast with the rendering of the foliage in crisply linear, lacelike relief behind him and of the troops in rhythmically moving ranks below him.

3. PARADE OF ROYAL TROOPS WITH VIRENDRADHIPATIVARMAN COMMANDING FROM AN ELEPHANT

Relief, South Gallery, West Wing, Angkor Wat: detail between "Audience of Paramavishnuloka" and "Parade of Royal Troops With Paramavishnuloka Commanding From an Elephant." Original relief carved in sandstone of graywacke variety. (Cambodian: *thma puok*, "mudstone"), with lateritic weathering of surface. H.,  $82\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), c. 1155-1180. Cast made to order of Gertrude Bass Warner by staff, Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh, 1925, Acc. no. Ca-33.

On the way towards overtaking Paramavishnuloka on his elephant, the pilgrim would pass as the eighth general on elephant-back the lord Virendradhipativarman--shown in the present slab of relief to the right of that portraying Paramavishnuloka (although actually several slabs distant to the left in the gallery itself at Angkor

Wat). The chieftain is represented as properly less of a superman than Paramavishnuloka, standing less easily on his mount, holding less firmly his battle-axe and harness strap. But the relative calm of his figure is likewise made the foil to the rococo-like restlessness of the jungle trees and the powerful acceleration of movement from one column to the other among the foot soldiers below (which starts from a slower tread in the scene immediately preceding this, much like that of the troops commanded by Paramavishnuloka in the slab here shown to the left).

Attention is called to the differences of individual style with which the various sections of the reliefs here shown as plaster casts have been carried out. The "Audience of Paramavishnuloka" was done by an artist with a feeling for rounded and solid sculptural volumes, which he accentuated by reducing surface detail, such as that of the throne, to an absolute minimum. The "Parade of Royal Troops With Paramavishnuloka" was carved by a sculptor who saw the possibilities of realizing depth of space by diversifying the height of the relief and of realizing the possibilities of expressive emphasis by contrasting simplified with multi-detailed surfaces; his range of expression apparently qualified him for the task of rendering such an important passage as that featuring the Devaraja. The "Parade of Royal Troops With Virendradhipativarman" was completed by a carver of an older, more conservative school of his time, one given to more two-dimensional effects, with sharper edges and angularities and more separateness of accent. In all three cases, however, the sculptors worked with the exact locale and its specific variations of lighting. They rounded off all edges turning toward the light and undercut all edges turning away from it--to produce a character of constantly varying relief seen to proper advantage only when direct and reflected sources of light have, after much trial and error, been made to approximate the original conditions.

#### 4. DANCING APSARA IN OGIVAL FOLIATE FRAME

Relief, Vestibule of West Gate, Angkor Wat: detail of sculptural ornament. Original relief carved in sandstone of gray-wacke variety (Cambodian: thma puok, "mudstone"), with lateritic weathering of surface. H. from left foot to top of frame, 18½ ins. Khmer, Late Classic Period (1000-c.1450 A.D.), c. 1155-1180. Cast made to order of Gertrude Bass Warner by staff, Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom-Penh, 1925. Acc. no. Ca-30.

An apsara is an angel common to Brahmanism and Buddhism, a maiden-consort of a male angel called a gandharva. Living on the eastern slopes of Sumeru, she embodies all that is lovely and seductive. She sings, she plays musical instruments, she dances, as no chorus girl ever could, and whenever Vishnu needs to entertain souls whose virtuous

life has won them a vacation in his Vaikuntha paradise, she and her sisters are always on call to provide the welcome.

Hence the appropriateness of such a dancing apsara at the gateway to Angkor Wat. The pilgrim as he entered would get a foretaste of the joys of Paramavishnuloka's palace; as he departed her dancing form would be his last impression. Not an individual but a type of charm incarnate, she created with her companion entertainers a background for the splendor of the court and its assemblies. Disciplined by a lifetime of rigorous physical exercises and a continuous cultivation of inner spirituality, like the Cambodian dancers who have today revived the ancient art of Angkor, the apsara of this relief performs to perfection the dance of the God of Sustenance. Within her ogival frame of lotus and flame, bearing a triple mukuta upon her head to symbolize Brahma and Shiva as well as Vishnu, nude save for ornaments to accentuate her supple torso and limbs, she sets in motion and accelerates the cycle of existence. In contours of low relief brought out clearly under the subdued lighting of the vestibule, such apsara figures do more than decorate the architecture; they embody the Dance of Life.

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