

Continuity of Angkorian Sacred Space —An Example from Banteay Kdei Archaeological Excavation—

NHIM Sotheavin

Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, Sophia University

Introduction

Unlike other monuments in Angkor, there are no inscriptions mentioning the founder and date of construction of Banteay Kdei (Fig. 1 & 2).¹ Following his study of the Bayon style, Philippe Stern suggested that Banteay Kdei shared the same artistic style with the Bayon, and that it was a Buddhist temple during the reign of King Jayavarman VII (r. 1181- ca. 1218).² Additionally, the iconography and short inscriptions on doorframes from this temple are similar to other Mahayana Buddhist temples by this ruler during the late 12th – early 13th century. According to the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (K. 235), the site itself had been occupied since the 9th century, when King Jayavarman II, who reigned in 802 AD, ordered his minister to establish a village or district around the area, and also erect a place of worship in the village.³ The inscription mentions a village or district, called Kuti, which morphologically evolved to the current name of Banteay Kdei (Fig. 3).⁴

Since 1991, Banteay Kdei has been the site of archaeological research and preservation work by the Sophia University Angkor International Mission (currently Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development and hereafter Sophia Mission). At the same time, the purpose of the Sophia Mission is to train Cambodian archaeological students (Fig. 4), as well as carry out cultural heritage education programs for children and villagers who lived in the temple vicinity.⁵

Through scientific archaeological investigation, the Sophia Mission discovered that Banteay Kdei consisted of several historical phases and cultural layers, in its construction and occupation.⁶ Based on the destruction and modification of the Buddha carving on the columns and walls of the temple, as well as the discovery of 274 Buddhist statues in 2001, the Sophia University team confirms the religious movement, a Brahmanic reaction, that occurred in the middle of the 13th century (Fig. 5).⁷ This event occurred in the reign of king Jayavarman VIII (r. 1243-1295), who is thought to worship the Hindu god Shiva.

Based on the southward shift of political center (Srei Santhor, Longvek, and Oudong),⁸ following the invasion of the Siam army into Angkor sometime in the 15th century, scholars suggested that the

1 The temple is located in the small circuit of the Angkor Park, to the northeast of the Angkor Wat temple and close to the southeast corner of Banteay Ta Prohm.

2 Stern 1927: 38, 1965: 57-64.

3 Cœdès & Dupont 1943-46: 56-104; Ang 2013: 41-50.

4 For the name of Banteay Kdei, see., Nhim 2018: 37, see also, Ang 2014.

5 Marui 2010: 194-210; Nhim 2019: 31-47.

6 Marui 2001: 141-151; Arahi 2008; Tabata 2013: 77-101.

7 For a detailed discussion on the discovery of the 274 Buddhist statues see Ishizawa 2012: 8-29.

8 Nhim 2014-2016: 33-107.

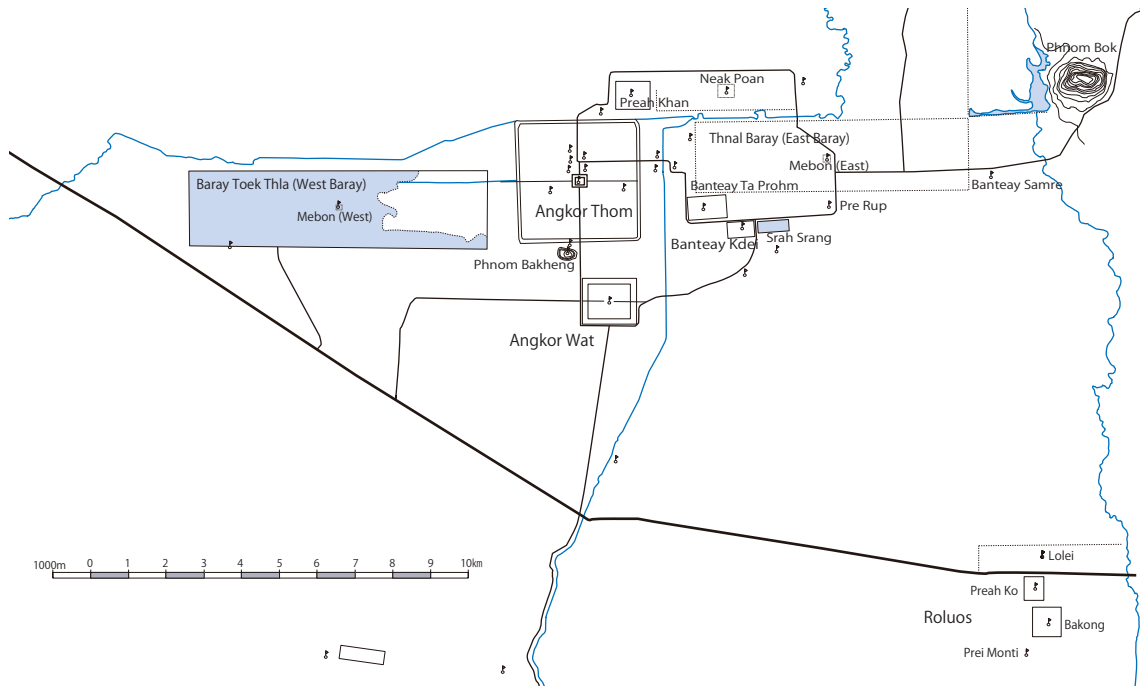


Fig. 1 Map of Angkor Park and the location of Banteay Kdei (Courtesy: Marui Masako, edited by the author)

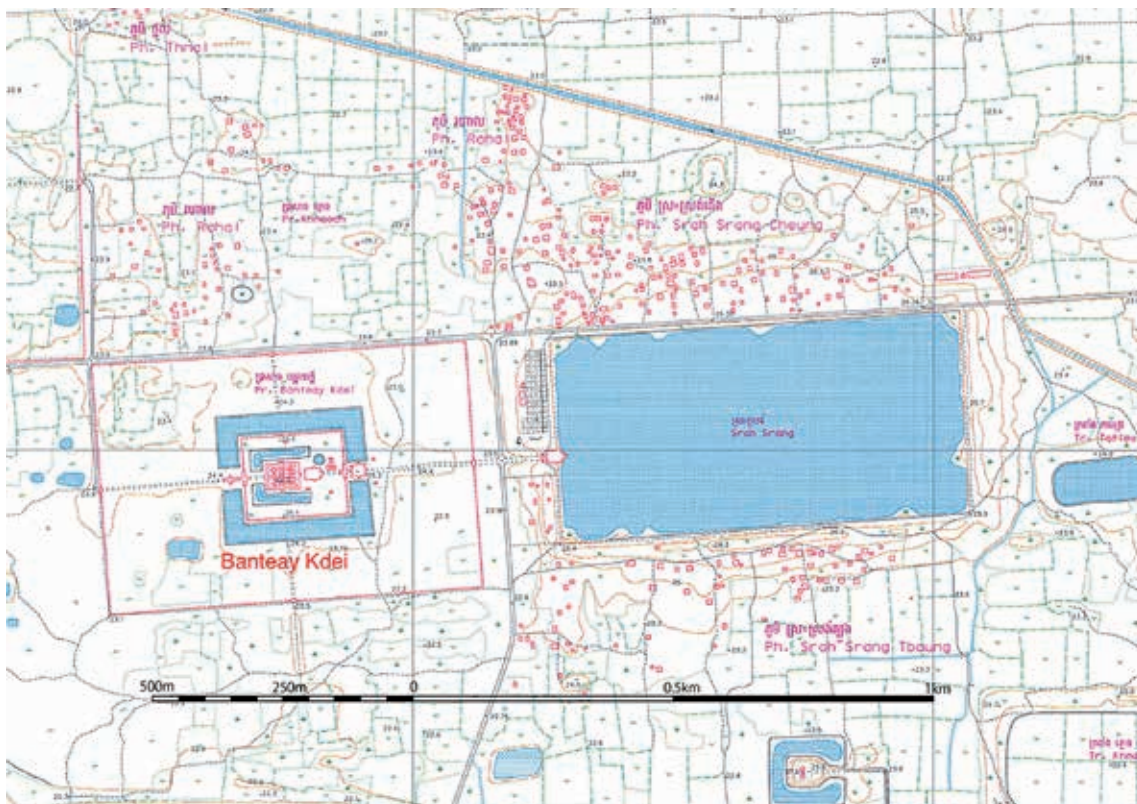


Fig. 2 Banteay Kdei and its vicinity (Map: JICA and APSARA, edited by the author)



Fig. 3 East gate of Banteay Kdei



Fig. 4 Training the RUFA's students



Fig. 5 The unearthed Buddhist images at Banteay Kdei in 2001
(Courtesy: Marui Masako)

Angkor capital city was abandoned.⁹ However, Angkor embraced a new religious belief. It became a place of worship for Theravada Buddhism, which deeply penetrated Cambodian society from the beginning of the 14th century onwards. The so-called “Buddhist Terraces” were discovered in the Angkor monuments, especially in Angkor Thom.¹⁰ These Theravada Buddhist structures were erected from around the beginning of the 14th to 15th century.¹¹ A similar structure (hereafter *Khoeun Preah Vihear*, a term that will be introduced below) also exists in the compound of Banteay Kdei, and suggests that the site has been used since the early Angkor period as a place of worship for diverse religious faiths, namely Brahmanism, Mahayana Buddhism, and Theravada Buddhism in the middle period.

⁹ Cœdès 1968: 236; Groslier 2006: 3-19.

¹⁰ Marchal 1918: 1-40.

¹¹ The erection of the *Vihear* (or Theravada Buddhist structure) is mentioned in the Pali inscription dated to the beginning of the 14th century. Cf. Cœdès 2008. If the report of the Chinese envoy Zhou Daguan who came to Angkor in 1296 is accurate, the Theravada Buddhist structure may have been built from around the end of the 13th century. Cf. Zhou Daguan 2006: 29.

To counter the repeated claims that the Angkor was abandoned and left in the jungles, this paper first highlights continuity in Angkor based on textual and material evidence after the 15th century. Then, it explores an example of the continuing occupation at Banteay Kdei, as a sacred site. Our archaeological excavation conducted at the Khoeun Preah Vihear in the Banteay Kdei compound, in August 2019, unearthed some cremation burial reliquaries. However, we could not pinpoint the exact date when they were brought for burial at the site. We hypothesized that those artifacts were not too old, because of the glass bottles that were constantly placed near those reliquaries. In order to solve this question, the first investigation was conducted in Rohal village which is located close to the temple of Banteay Kdei to interview and find out whether there was any relationship between the older villagers and those artifacts. Also, our aim in this investigation was to gain some information related to the situation of the site of Banteay Kdei before and during the internal conflict in Cambodia in the 1970s and 1980s.

The scope of this study includes multi-disciplinary approaches such as the study of textual material, scientific archaeological excavation, and oral history,¹² to unlock the history of Banteay Kdei as well as Angkor. While the overall object of this study is not to present an in-depth survey of Banteay Kdei or Angkor in the Middle Period, we hope renewed interests and understanding will evoke future discussions.

1. Some Evidence in Angkor during the Middle Period

The Middle Period ranges from the beginning of the 14th to the 19th century. There are several criteria that need to be considered with reference to the change of a “period,” which roughly amounts to the change of a civilization. At the start of the 14th century, the nation’s religion changed from Brahmanism and Mahayana Buddhism to Theravada Buddhism. Early in the 14th century Sanskrit epigraphy came to an end and the first Pali inscription appeared, namely the inscription of Kok Svay Chek.¹³ Here, the ending of the one and the beginning of the other was not a mere coincidence. That is to say, it was the tilting of religious ideology in favor of another. Everything fitted together. The last and small Brahmanic temple was called Mangalārtha¹⁴ and it was built in the late 13th century, and it was almost an anomaly at Angkor because of the new faith that was already widespread there. It is clear that in 1308 AD a king ordered the erection of a Buddhist monastery, and accordingly the Brahmanic cult over there clearly became a minority cult. By 1327 AD, there could have still been Brahmins here or there who continued their religious tradition and rituals,¹⁵ yet the religion was soon to be totally eclipsed.

Although all the Khoeun Preah Vihear are not dated to the same period, we suggest that these Khoeun Preah Vihear were probably erected from around the 14th and 15th century onwards. Indeed, most of the structures were reused by utilizing blocks of stone, both laterite and sandstone, from the

12 For a detailed discussion on the people’s history, see, Marui 2019: 91-111.

13 Cœdès 2008: 115-127.

14 It is called “Prasat Top” by the local inhabitants. The temple is located within Angkor Thom, to the east of the Bayon temple, along the road to Thvea Chey (Victory gate).

15 Inscription K. 470, found at the Bayon temple, mentions an offering to one or many Brahmins. If the words of G. Cœdès are exact the rite was performed in 1327 AD. Cf. Cœdès 1942: 187-189.

Angkorian period temples. As a word of caution, we must state however that much has been stated with regard to the adoption of Theravada Buddhism, as being due to the urge for expansion and domination of power from the outside. This however is not certain, but Ayutthaya began to impose its weight on Angkor, and through it came the Theravada religion. Recent palynological studies in Angkor suggest a decrease of population after the 14th century.¹⁶

These “Khoeun Preah Vihear” indicate that Angkor was not totally abandoned, since it had small communities of people, if not urban at least rural. They certainly suggest however that Angkor had no means of raising imposing buildings. Indeed, one could argue that Theravada Buddhism did not demand such a massive effort for temple building as witnessed in the case of Brahmanic Angkor, but in the case of Spean Prasat Keo it is obvious.¹⁷ For its construction they reused blocks of fallen temples, and this gave rise to two phenomena.

Here, we shall clarify the narrative of what modern people believe, with reference to the expressions “discovery of Angkor” and “abandonment of Angkor.” These ideas were instigated by the Europeans in the second half of the 19th century, when the book of Henri Mouhot was published. He was a French national who visited Angkor at the beginning of 1860, and who described with profound admiration the glorious masterpiece of Angkor.¹⁸ In fact, in his notes H. Mouhot never mentioned “abandonment” or “discovery.” However, he did declare that the massive structure of Angkor was totally forgotten by the Cambodian people.¹⁹ A. Thompson asserts that, “this rhetoric of loss and recovery is not however strictly a colonial fabrication.”²⁰ Hence arise the questions: Was Angkor abandoned or rediscovered? And was Angkor forgotten?

Ang Chan, a well-known king of the 16th century founded the capital of Longvek, but he briefly returned to the ancient capital of Angkor. The return to Angkor by King Ang Chan was initially referred to in the account of a Portuguese named Diogo Do Couto, who visited Angkor in the year 1550. He also declared, “the King of Camboja (Ang Chan) was in Angkor to hunt elephants and clean the vegetation and small trees that had grown up on the temple.” The account also describes the condition of the Angkor temples, which at that time was called Angar.²¹ The two inscriptions at Angkor Wat dated 1546 and 1564 mention that the king, possibly King Ang Chan, completed the two northeastern panels, which were left incomplete by H. M. Mahāvīśṇuloka.²²

Later, King Ang Chan’s grandson King Sattha, also returned to Angkor and restored some parts of Angkor Wat. The inscriptions of the 16th century, registered as IMA 2 and IMA 3, mention that the king’s mother declared the meritorious act of the restoration of Braḥ Bisṇulok (Angkor Wat) by her son (King Sattha).²³ If Angkor, which was built by their ancestors had been a forgotten entity,

16 Penny et al, 2019.

17 J. Dumarçay suggests that the construction of the bridge, which crosses the Siem Reap River, prolonging the road of the victory gate of Angkor Thom and contouring Prasat Keo, was constructed at the end of the 15th century. Cf. Dumarçay 1994: 380.

18 Mouhot 1864 (I & II).

19 Mouhot 1864 (I): 279.

20 Thompson 2004: 90.

21 Groslier 2006 [1958]: 52-55.

22 Cœdès 1962: 235-248.

23 Pou 1970: 96-126.

how could the Cambodian people of the middle period have still remembered the name Viṣṇuloka and later wrote Bisṇulok? Viṣṇuloka or Bisṇulok bears the memory of the posthumous name of King Suryavarman II, namely “Parama Viṣṇuloka,”²⁴ the founder of the Angkor Wat temple in the first half of the 12th century. In fact, the name Bisṇulok frequently appears in inscriptions of the 16th and 17th centuries. For instance, in the inscription of the 16th century we find “...*braḥ mahānagar indrapraṣṭh nu braḥ bisṇulok*...”²⁵ Also, in another inscription from the 17th century dated 1632 AD we find written, “...*indipath (Indapaṭṭh) mhānagar srīsudhar pavar bīsṇūv-lok* (Bisṇulok).”²⁶

Braḥ Mahānagar or Mhānagar Srīsudhar (Angkor Thom) is a derivative of the ancient name of Śrī Yaśodharapura, established by King Yashovarman I at the beginning of the 10th century, indicating that the Khmer kings always kept the first city’s name of Angkor in history. As an example, after Angkor was attacked by the Ayutthaya army sometime in 1431, the capital was shifted to the south and the name of the first capital was Srei Santhor (srī sandhar) which is now located in the Kompong Cham province. Also, Indrapraṣṭh or Indapaṭṭh was added as an element in a certain title of a city of that time, that is, Angkor Thom. The name also appeared in the famous poem of Lpoek Aṅgar Vatt, which was composed in the 17th century. The poem speaks of a heavenly abode on earth, in which Angkor Wat was built for Indra’s half-human son Braḥ Ketumālā (Preah Ketmealea). Indra ordered his divine architect, Bisṇukār (Vishvakarman), to construct a replica on earth of his own palace in the heaven, and to call it Indrapraṣṭha.²⁷

These lines of evidence illustrate the fact that the religious soul of the Khmer and the idea of Khmer greatness, remained attached to Angkor. Professor Ang Choulean, the renowned Khmer ethnologist noted, “how can one explain that it was the local inhabitants, who in all likelihood showed the Spaniards the location of the royal palace of Angkor Thom in the 16th century, and for sure, the French in the 19th?”²⁸

There are many other pieces of evidence,²⁹ but here we shall present just a few more examples. Although with regard to the reclining Buddha of 75m length at the back of the Baphuon temple the precise date is unclear, yet earlier researchers had suggested that the statue of the reclining Buddha was probably erected in the 16th century, when King Ang Chan reoccupied Angkor. However, recent researches claim that it was constructed at least between 1431 and 1444 AD, based on modeled radiocarbon dating.³⁰ Moreover, material evidence of the 15th century has recently revealed this, through an analysis of a small Buddha image that was discovered in the well of the central tower of the Bayon temple, the 13th century Buddhist temple of Jayavarman VII, along with a large statue of the Buddha protected by the Nāga. Fifty other Buddhist images which were found in Angkor, the characteristic stones were proposed manufactured in Angkor, in the 15th century.³¹

According to inscription K. 465, the Buddha image in a meditative form at Phnom Bakheng

24 The inscription is found on the wall of the 1st gallery of the southern section of Angkor Wat.

25 APSARA Authority & CKS 2013: 42.

26 APSARA Authority & CKS 2013: 56.

27 Aymonier 1878.

28 Ang 2007: 376.

29 Ang et al. 1998: 81-91.

30 Leroy et al. 2015.

31 Polkinghorne 2018.

was constructed in the 16th century.³² The inscription K. 465, which is dated to 1583 AD, describes a high-ranking religious man who came a long way, far from Cambodia, visited Phnom Bakheng, erected a column “satam” and restored 26 Buddha images. He then went to Phnom Preah Reach Troap (Oudong), restored 50 Buddha images and a Vihear.³³ The inscription K. 715, which is dated to 1586 AD, mentions the name of the writer of the inscription as Cau Moha Kosal, who came to Phnom Kulen to repair the broken Buddha image Preah Ang Thom at Phnom Kulen.³⁴ Also, another inscription K. 1006 of Phnom Kulen, states that a person having the name Braḥ Rājamuni came from Ayutthaya to see the statue of the Buddha, and then he came to see the god at Phnom Bakheng.³⁵ In the Ruot Preah Pean (Gallery of Thousand Buddhas) are found many Buddhist images, which are believed to have been constructed or brought to Angkor Wat for worship from the 16th century onwards. At Angkor Wat, 41 Khmer inscriptions were inscribed in the middle period. The evidence consequently reveals that Angkor in the middle period became a spiritual site for Buddhist believers, not only for local inhabitants but also travelers from neighboring countries and far away Japan.³⁶ Thus, Angkor was transformed into an important site for pilgrims during that period.

2. Evidence Found at Banteay Kdei after the Angkor Period

2.1. Terms Referring to the Theravada Buddhist Structure

Here, we shall briefly introduce issues related to the use of terms referring to the “Theravada Buddhist structure or Khoeun Preah Vihear.” Terms used to address the Theravada Buddhist structure are still obscure, since there is no specific term used by the local inhabitants. Some terrace structures in Angkor Thom were specifically named by local inhabitants, as for example: Preah Ang Kok Thlok, Preah Ang Ngok, Vihear Pram Pi Lveng, Wat Tang Tok, Wat Tep Pranam, Wat Kang Chak, Kang Chum and Wat Preah Se-armetrei.

Since these structures functioned as Vihear (*vihāra*, Buddhist sanctuaries), we propose calling them “Khoeun Preah Vihear,” where “Khoeun” means “basement or terrace” and Preah is an honorific term placed before the specific term “Vihear,” which means “Buddhist sanctuary.” In contemporary Cambodia, the Vihear is located in the pagoda compound in which is generally enshrined a Buddha image facing east, and where monks gather for prayer. In the Middle Period however, the Khoeun Preah Vihear might have been classified into 3 types: 1) Khoeun Preah Vihear, which is surrounded by eight cardinal points of Sema stones (*sīmā* or Boundary stones) and an installed pedestal. 2) Khoeun Preah Vihear, which is attached to the western side with Chedei (*cetiya* in Pali, or stupa) and/or the ancient ruin. 3) Some Khoeun Preah Vihear are just simple platforms or terraces without Sema stones. These Buddhist structures supported a wooden structure covered with roof tiles. In Banteay Kdei, we found the first type of Khoeun Preah Vihear, which is surrounded by Sema stones and a pedestal at the western side of the platform (Fig. 6).³⁷

³² However, C. Jacques proposes that the construction was erected in the 17th century. Cf. Jacques 2006.

³³ Khin 1978: 271-280.

³⁴ Khin 1980: 133-134.

³⁵ Vickery 1982: 77-86.

³⁶ The 14 Japanese calligraphies written in the 17th century have been found on the columns and walls of Angkor Wat temple. For a detailed discussion on Japanese calligraphies see, Ishizawa 2015. See also, Thompson 2004.

³⁷ The surrounding Sema stones were found during the archaeological excavation conducted in 1996 and 1997.



Fig. 6 Khoeun Preah Vihear in Banteay Kdei, views from the west side

According to the Cambodian Dictionary of the Buddhist Institute, the Buddhist sanctuary or structure which is surrounded by Sema stones is also called *uposathāgāra* (pronounced, Uboothakea).³⁸ Nevertheless, with reference to the term *uposathāgāra*, based on the Ayutthayan example M. Giteau suggests that it is a place where the monks gathered to pray or perform a ceremony, and the sanctuary where the Buddhist statue is enshrined is the Vihear.³⁹ A. Thompson on the other hand provided a similar meaning in the Cambodian dictionary, and emphasized the fact that the term *uposathāgāra* is appropriate for elements of the early stage of the Theravadin complex. She also noted that the term was inscribed in the ancient inscription (K. 407), and suggested that even today the term is still used to refer to the temple, namely Bos Preah Nan (or *pos braḥ nand*) located in the Kompong Cham province, where *pos* is an abbreviation for the Pāli term *u-pos-athāgāra*.⁴⁰

On the other hand, the inscription dated 1308 AD, which was written in Pali and the Khmer language, mentions the term *vihāra* (Vihear) in both languages.⁴¹ The *vihāra* was ordered to be built by the king, for monks and enshrined Buddhist images. The inscription does not mention the word *uposathāgāra*. However, in a Thai inscription dated 1413 AD and found at Wat Bopeream in the Sukhothai province mentions the erection of a *braḥ vihāra* and *braḥ uposath*.⁴² This means the terms *braḥ vihāra* and *braḥ uposath* were separately used to refer to the Buddhist structures.

See, Miyamoto 2003, 2010.

38 Institut Buddhique 1967-68: 1813.

39 Giteau 1969: 106.

40 Thompson 1999: 45-47.

41 Cœdès 2008: 120-121.

42 Anchana Chitsuthiyan & Santi Pakdeekam, 2008: 241.

In Thailand they practically used only Ubosod (*uposath*) (an abbreviation of *uposathāgāra*), to indicate the Buddhist structure that is surrounded by the Sema, which symbolized objects to limit the boundary, and the Ubosod is generally used by monks for their ritual activities.⁴³ Thai people usually refer to the ordination hall as Ubosod, where the building is located next to the public hall which is called *vihāra* (Vihear).

Although the term *uposathāgāra* is applicable and may be employed to refer to the Theravada Buddhist structure in certain regions and times, yet, based on my investigation and research conducted in the villages, I found that locating people who still remember or know the word, is not simple. In the case of Banteay Kdei however, according to our interviews conducted with villagers at the Rohal village, we see that older villagers simply use the term “Wat Banteay Kdei (Banteay Kdei pagoda),” to refer to the Buddhist structure located within the Banteay Kdei compound. Hence, to avoid confusion, in this article I prefer using the term Khoeun Preah Vihear. Also, the term Khoeun Preah Vihear is widely known and used among researchers of the APSARA Authority.⁴⁴

2.2. Findings from Archaeological Excavations

In August 2019, archaeological excavation was conducted in collaboration with the APSARA Authority, at the Khoeun Preah Vihear in the Banteay Kdei compound.⁴⁵ The purpose of the excavation was to understand the relationship between the Khoeun Preah Vihear and a small laterite building that is situated nearby (Fig. 7 & 8).⁴⁶ Furthermore, it was to confirm the burial reliquaries unearthed during the excavation conducted during the period spanning 1996-97. In particular, it was to train Cambodian students from the Royal University of Fine Arts.

During the archaeological excavation conducted in the western section of the Khoeun Preah Vihear during the years 1996 and 1997, it was learned that the Theravada Buddhist structure was built over an Angkorian Period building. Mr. Miyamoto, an archaeologist who conducted this excavation, suggested that based on the condition of the Khoeun Preah Vihear, it was probably constructed sometime around the 15th and/or 16th century.⁴⁷ The excavations at that time unearthed numerous buried urns, which used Chinese, Vietnamese and unknown ceramics. According to Mr. Miyamoto, some Chinese ceramics can be identified and dated to the 16th and 17th century.⁴⁸

Similarly, buried reliquaries were unearthed at two other temple sites just at the outskirts of the Angkor complex. The first site is Kok Patri, located 4 kilometers west of Siem Reap town and along the National Road No. 6, on the way to the airport. Another site is the Lolei temple, located in the Roluos group. It was built during the reign of King Yashovarman I at the end of the 9th century and dedicated to the king's ancestors.

43 Kanol Chayawatana, 1980: 9. The translation from Thai was assisted by Mr. Leang Sirang, a PhD candidate of Silpakorn University in Thailand. I wish to thank him.

44 The reports were written in Khmer and only for internal use among the APSARA Authority staff. See for example, APSARA Authority 2001-2002. My thanks are due to Dr. Ea Darith, an archaeologist of the APSARA Authority, for proving the information concerning the reports. See also, APSARA Authority 2001.

45 The archaeological excavation was directly led by Prof. Marui Masako, a professor of Sophia University.

46 Since the small building had no name, for our research we named it “C19”.

47 Miyamoto 2010: 140-141.

48 *Ibid.*, 144.

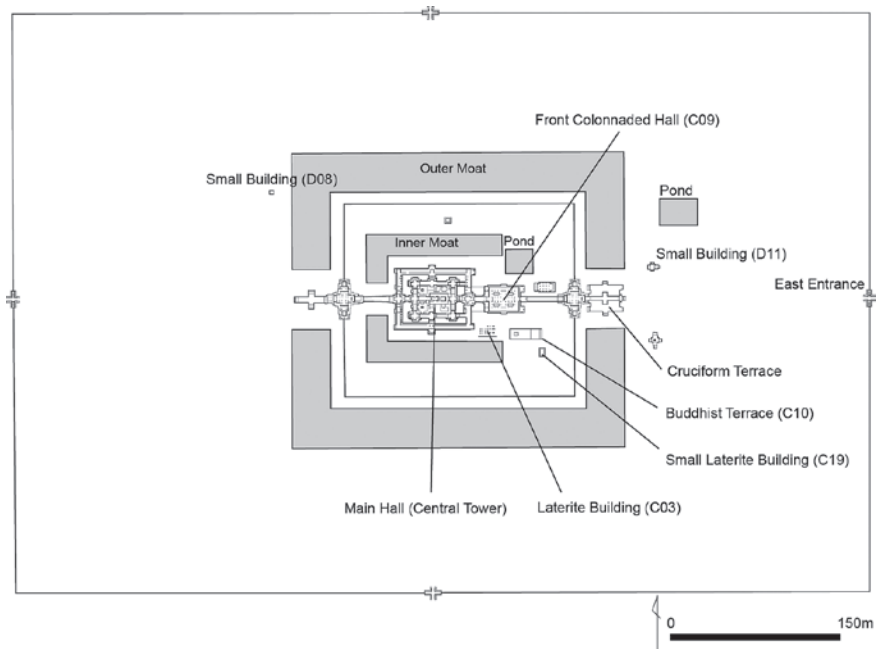


Fig. 7 General plan of Banteay Kdei (Courtesy: Miyamoto Yasuharu)

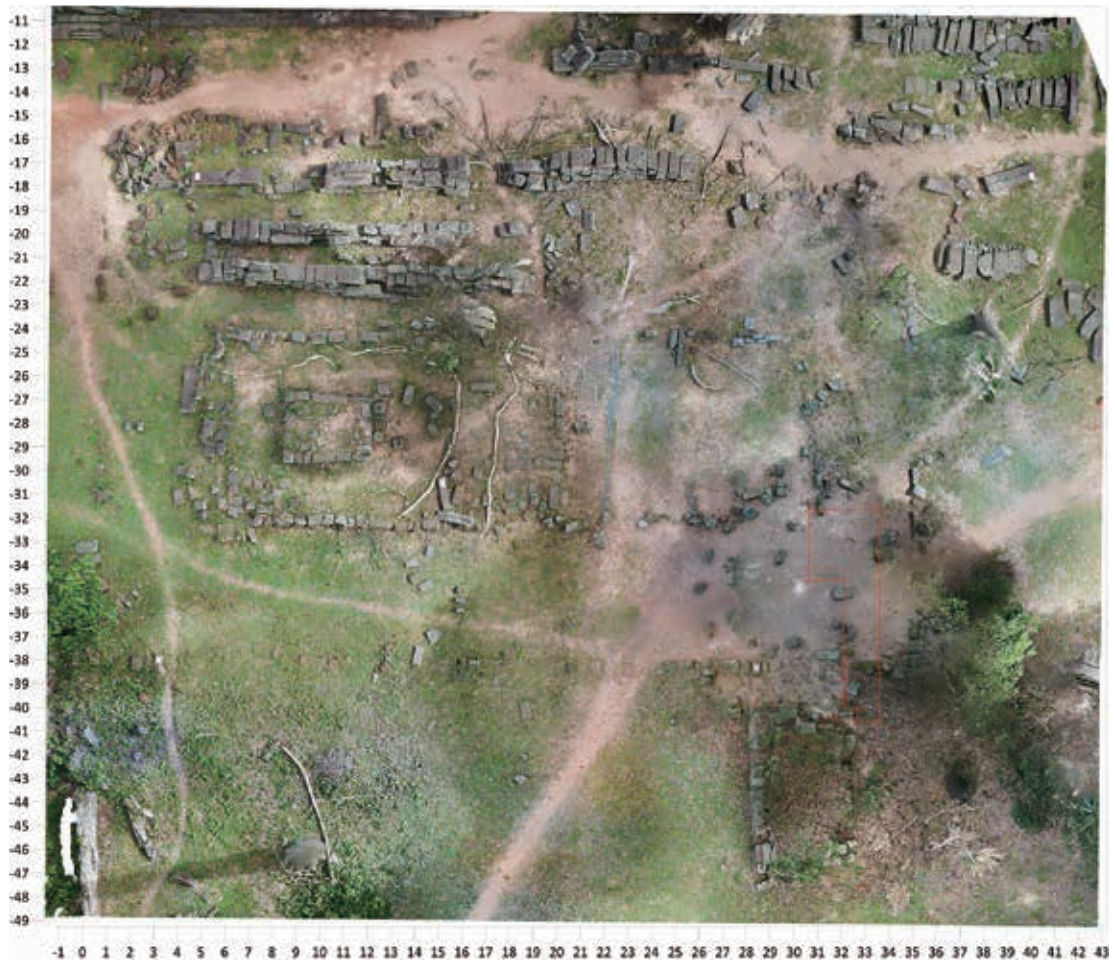


Fig. 8 Orthophotography of Khoeun Preah Vihear in Banteay Kdei, The red line is the excavated trench (Courtesy: Phin Phakdey)

Based on the architectural ornaments that were unearthed at the site, we know that the Kok Patri ruin was originally erected in the Angkorian period, but it was also used as a Buddhist place in the middle period. Archeological investigation conducted by the APSARA Authority in 2005, revealed a Theravada Buddhist structure and a Chedei of the middle period. Also, many ceramic containing cremated ashes were discovered, including Chinese ceramics (dated from around the 15th to 19th century), Japanese ceramics (dated from the 16th to 18th century), Thai potteries (dated from the 15th to 16th century) and Khmer potteries (dated from the 15th to 19th century). Some ceramics and potteries contained cremated bones within them. Through the C14 data analysis conducted by the Rafter Radiocarbon National Isotope Center GNS Science of New Zealand, the cremated bones were dated to between (1465 to 1648) AD.⁴⁹ The archaeological excavation conducted at the Lolei temple also unearthed 11 buried reliquaries, among which one was Khmer pottery (of unknown date) and the other 10 were Chinese ceramics. The Chinese ceramics were identified as being originally from the provinces of Fujian and Guongdon, and dated to the middle of the period spanning the 17th to 19th century.⁵⁰

In addition, archaeological excavation conducted by B. P. Groslier at Srah Srang (located just to the east of Banteay Kdei) in the early 1960s, uncovered many objects that were offerings for funerals. Some objects were dated from the 11th to the 13th century, but some were fabricated in the 14th and 15th century. It is suggested that even if Srah Srang was not a funeral place, it was exactly like a hidden burial-ground, used especially during times of trouble when the Ayutthaya army attacked Angkor in the 15th century.⁵¹ On the contrary however, there is no concrete evidence of any buried urns in the Middle Period or Angkorian Period, according to recent reports concerning the Khoeun Preah Vihear investigations, in Angkor Thom and other temple sites in the Angkor Park.⁵²

Referring to the buried urns in the temple, the question arises as to whether there was a transmitted tradition from the Angkor period to the middle period and to the present day. As mentioned above, from the archaeological excavation, we have not yet found evidence of buried urns that date to the Angkor period. Also, the ancient inscriptions mention nothing about the related traditions. Zhou Daguan, a Chinese envoy, reported, “There are no coffins for the dead,.....they carry the body outside the city, to some remote and uninhabited spot, where they abandon it and then return.....the sovereigns though are buried in the tower, I do not know if they bury their bodies or just their bones.”⁵³ And he also declared that Angkor Wat was the tomb of Lu Ban, who was a legendary ancient Chinese artisan.⁵⁴ As seen in Zhou Daguan’s description, the temple might have been a burial place for the king, but it is not certain whether his description was something he heard

49 APSARA Authority 2013: 225-234. This unpublished report was provided by Mr. An Sopheap, an archaeologist of the APSARA Authority, whom I wish to thank. Mr. An Sopheap was a member who conducted the archaeological investigation at Kok Patri ruin.

50 Tho et al. 2014.

51 Dumarçay and Courbin 1988: 21-45.

52 Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties 2012: 123-164; Chhan 2000: 295-303. The APSARA Authority has also conducted the archaeological investigation in Angkor Thom since the 2000s, but they have not found any buried urns (personal communication with Dr. Ea Darith).

53 Zhou Daguan 2006: 53.

54 *Ibid.*, 20.

from the people or merely a legend.

With reference to this subject, G. Cœdès debated as to whether Angkor Wat was built as a ‘temple or a tomb.’ This was the idea raised by Jean Przyluski, namely that Angkor Wat was the tomb of the king.⁵⁵ According to Cœdès’s interpretation, Angkor Wat was not a tomb but the residence of God Vishnu, which was the symbolic residence of the king after death, and this fact is linked to his posthumous name, “Paramaviśṇuloka.” The custom of giving a posthumous name to the king was formulated since the pre-Angkor period. For example, the inscription of Tang Krang mentions “vraḥ kamrateñ añ ta dau svargga Śivapura” which is the posthumous name of king Jayavarman I (r. 652 – 681 AD).⁵⁶

The Angkorian apotheosis associated with the construction of temples where rulers reunited with their respective gods⁵⁷ was no longer practiced. However, the Middle Period ordinary people continued to use these temples as sacred space where they wish to be reunited with the ancient divinities by performing religious acts, making offerings of valuable objects, and placing their cremated ashes in these temples. For instance, we have the inscription written in the 16th century at Angkor Wat (IMA 2) by the queen mother, who sacrificed her beautiful hair in order to celebrate a rite at Angkor Wat. The inscription mentions that the queen mother saved her hair mixing with Khmuk (lacquer mixed with burned woods) to paint the Buddhist image at the Bakan (central tower of Angkor Wat).⁵⁸ Also, this tradition has been continuously practiced until the present day as well, when people construct the Buddhist statue at the pagoda.⁵⁹

In the Angkor period, the temple construction was done mostly as a dedication to the gods, and they were used by the king and his entourage to perform rituals related to the king. However, in the middle period, after the transformation of the religion into Theravada Buddhism, the Brahmanic temples were also converted to Theravada Buddhist temples, and since then the temples have been reused not only for kings but also for the common people. This is obvious in case of the Chedei of Jayanand (Cheynon) which was erected in the 18th century, and which is located close to the 1st eastern gallery of Angkor Wat (Fig. 9).⁶⁰

Most unearthed reliquaries which dated to the middle period, and especially those found at Banteay Kdei, were probably buried by villagers who lived in the communities around the area. Although their convictions to god were symbolically transmitted since ancient times, their tradition of cremation burial was practically begun from the middle period onwards, and coexisted in Theravada Buddhist belief. In addition, we found cases of inscriptions in the middle period related to the term “Dhātu, or Theat” meaning “reliquary, or burial of cremated bones.”⁶¹ For example the

55 Cœdès 2007.

56 Vong 2016: 2.

57 Cœdès 1911; Ang 2014.

58 Pou 1970: 103-4.

59 Ang 2006-2007: 28-31.

60 Jayanand also composed a long poem recorded in an inscription (IMA 38) at the 1st eastern gallery facing the Chedei. See, Pou 1975: 293-325.

61 The term “Dhātu, or Theat” designates Angkorian temples that had been reused as the site in the middle period. Most of those temples are located at sites along the Mekong river. For example, Prasat Preah Theat Baray is located at Srei Santhor, in the Kampong Cham province; Prasat Preah Theat Toek Cha is located in



Fig. 9 Chedei of Jayanand, views from the east side of the Angkor Wat temple

term appeared in the Pali and Khmer inscriptions of Wat Nokor (K.82), inscribed in 1566 AD.⁶² Here, we shall simply introduce the term “Dhātu” in both Pali and Khmer.

In Pali “...(7) **dhātukaṃ** sabuddharūpaṃ laggaṭṭhānaṃ sabbaṃ rūpa...”

“...a **reliquary** with an image of the Buddha in a fixed location, of perfect beauty...”⁶³

in Khmer “...(8) yasa śrī saugandhapad (9) sṭhapak braḥ mhāsirik (10) **dhātu** āy jaiyabi (11) rasākti thve mhāvihār...”

“...(8) Śrī Śaugandhapad, (9) is the founder of the great fortunate (10) **reliquary** here at the Jaiyabi- (11) rasākti, he made the great *vihāra* (monastery)...”⁶⁴

The buried reliquary tradition has been continuously practiced until the present day. Basically, after cremating the body the bones are collected, stored in an urn, and placed at the pagoda. Alternatively, some families prefer maintaining their relative’s reliquary in a Chedei, which is located inside of the pagoda.

In our archaeological excavation of August 2019 at the eastern part of the Khoeun Preah Vihear in the Banteay Kdei compound, we unearthed the cremated bones within three small potteries (or

the Kampong Cham province; Prasat Preah Theat Kvan Pi is located in Kratie province, etc.

62 The Wat Nokor temple is located in the Kompong Cham province. The main temple construction was carried out in the reign of King Jayavarman VII (1181- ca. 1218), dedicated to the Mahayana Buddhism, and it was converted to Theravada Buddhism in the 16th century, and the form of a Chedei (stupa) was erected on the original ancient tower.

63 Filliozat 1969: 99-100.

64 *Ibid.*, 103-104.



Fig. 10 The unearthened objects (Courtesy: Marui Masako)



Fig. 11 Urns taken at a ritual ceremony, Wat Run (Courtesy: Ang Choulean)



Fig. 12 Urns taken at Phnom Chiso (Courtesy: Ang Choulean)

containers with lids) and three bowls, and also some bottles that were constantly placed near those potteries and bowls (Fig. 10). We assumed that the unearthened objects are fairly new, and the soil layer of the burial objects was not so old. A village lady who worked at the excavation said, “We used such types of urns to place the cremated bones in earlier times, but now we do not use them anymore.”

Two red potteries were very interesting, because such potteries appear to have been widely used in Cambodia during the 1980s. This is based on two photographs of Professor Ang Choulean, and the first was taken at a ritual place in Wat Run (Run pagoda), which is located near Phnom Bok in Siem Reap (Fig. 11). Another was taken at the Phnom Chiso site, which is located in the Takeo province (Fig. 12). Although this type of pottery is a modern product, yet we are not certain about the date when they were brought for burial at the site. Based on the trademark and French letters, we gather that one of those bottles was probably produced in the 1960s or early 1970s, in Cambodia.

3. Interview with an Elderly Lady at Rohal Village

After finishing our archeological excavation, we conducted our investigation at the Rohal village.⁶⁵ Fortunately we met an elderly lady, Yeay Pheach, who was 85 years old, agreed to share her life history (Fig. 13). She was born in 1934 in Rohal village, where she now lives. Her father

⁶⁵ The interview was conducted by Prof. Marui Masako, Mr. Choeun Vuthy, and the author, on 22nd August 2019.

died at 88 years of age during the Pol Pot regime sometime in 1978, in a village where her family was relocated. (Her father was perhaps born in 1890?). When she was young, she used to visit Banteay Kdei, and still saw some pillars of the Vihear. There was a pagoda within the Banteay Kdei compound during her father's time, and her uncle, her father's older brother, was ordained a monk at Wat Banteay Kdei. He later moved to another pagoda located in the Angkor Wat compound. In the Banteay Kdei compound at that time, there were only monks who resided there.

The same evidence was presented by the French explorer Albert Tissandier, who visited Angkor in the early 1890s,⁶⁶ which was around the time of Yeay Pheach's father. Tissandier described that within the Banteay Kdei compound lay a dreary Buddhist monastery, where monks prayed before a Buddhist statue on a terrace that was adequate. They lived in primitive huts made of coconut palm leaves. In his general map of Banteay Kdei, which he referred to as "monastère de Ekdey, meaning monastery of Ekdey, or in Khmer, Wat Ekdey," he observed using the words, "emplacement of the pagoda and modern cell of the monks," with reference to the place we now refer to as the Khoeun Preah Vihear (Fig. 14).

With reference to the words "monastery of Ekdey," which he used as the name of Banteay Kdei, there probably was some confusion regarding the name of the pagoda, or regarding the use of the word "Ekdey," which was employed by the monks. Earlier, the word "Ekdey," which derived from "āy kuṭī, or āy/ac kṭī"⁶⁷ was



Fig. 13 Yiey Pheach, Rohal village

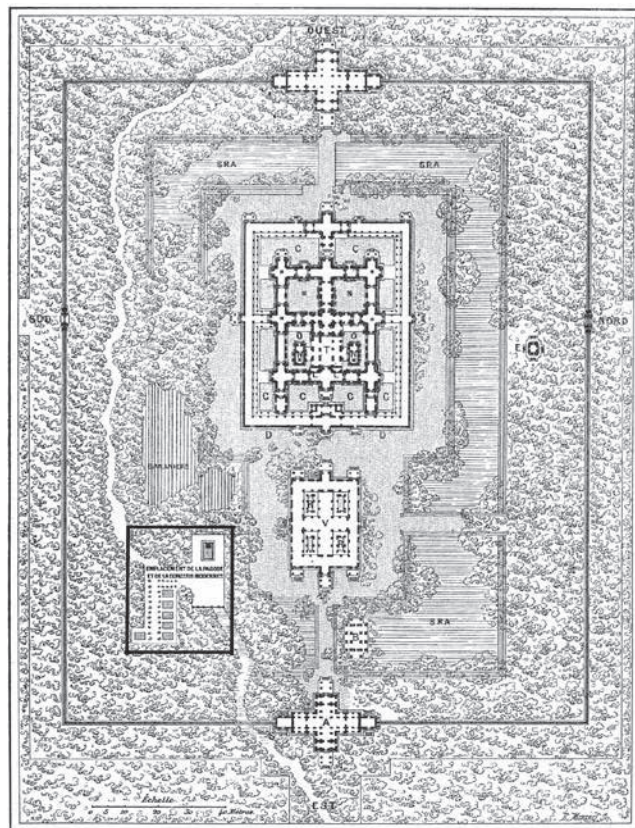


Fig. 14 Black square line is Khoeun Preah Vihear and cell of monks that mentioned by Albert Tissandier in his map of Banteay Kdei (Tissandier 1896: 39), edited by the author

66 Tissandier 1896: 38-42.

67 Pou 2017: 11.

used by a monk to refer to himself, like the word “I.” Nowadays however they use the word “Atma.” He also probably confused the word “Bon-tai, or Banteay” with the name of a village located close to the temple. The name of Banteay Kdei has been in use long before the visit of Tissandier, as evidenced by Henri Mouhot, whose visit occurred during the year 1860, and who wrote “Pontéey Kedey, or Banteay Kdei.”⁶⁸

In reply to our questions related to the buried urns, she stated that in the case of her father’s reliquary, it was buried at the pagoda in Angkor Wat after the Pol Pot regime, when she returned to her village in the 1980s. However, some of her relatives were buried at Banteay Kdei. In the early 1970s and 1980s, some families buried the bodies of their relatives at Kok Khmoch, the burial mound that is located at a small temple, so-called Kuṭiśvara, just at the western side of Rohal village (Fig. 15). Before bringing the reliquaries for burial at Banteay Kdei and Angkor Wat, they cremated the bodies in an open space in the village using firewood (but now they have erected a place for cremation in the village) (Fig. 16). When they bury the reliquaries, they always invite monks to recite the Dharma and have a meal, which is called Nimon Lok Chhan.⁶⁹



Fig. 15 & 16 Kok Khmoch, or Kuṭiśvara temple and the new cremated place (Courtesy: Choeun Vuthy)

According to her account, during the conflict in the early 1970s when Americans dropped bombs in the area, some villagers escaped to take shelter in Banteay Kdei, and some in Banteay Ta Prohm. At that time, some villagers buried the urns of their relatives in Banteay Kdei. Also, in the 1980s after the Pol Pot regime and after they had returned to their villages, some in the Rohal village brought the urns of their relatives to bury them in the Khoeun Preah Vihear within the Banteay Kdei compound. Since the 1990s, although burying urns at the temple was prohibited, yet

68 Mouhot 1864 (II): 13 (the present day name Prasat Ta Prohm was also written by H. Mouhot as “Pontéey Ta Prohm, or Banteay Ta Prohm”). Even nowadays, the local residents still call “Banteay Ta Prohm”). For the detailed discussion on the term “Kdei, or kuṭi,” see, Ang 2014.

69 Traditionally, Khmer people do not keep family’s urns at home for long. As early as possible, when they have the time and money, they bring the urns to the pagoda. The reason for this is because according to their belief, if they keep the urn at home the soul of the dead person cannot proceed to rebirth and the next life.



Fig. 17 Bangskol ceremony (Courtesy: Marui Masako)

every year during the Phcum Ben⁷⁰ and the Khmer New Year (April 13-15), her family members and other villagers gather to conduct a ceremony, namely the Bangskol,⁷¹ at the Khoeun Preah Vihear in Banteay Kdei, as a dedication for their dead relatives (Fig. 17).

Concluding Remarks

Based on textual and material presented in this paper, we have clarified the fact that the site of Banteay Kdei was continuously occupied since the early Angkorian period. This temple was modified during the middle period as a Theravada Buddhist worship place and continued to be used till today.

The site was first adopted as a village or district along with a place of worship in the early 9th century, a fact we realize from evidence extracted from the inscriptions. Since then a large community had most likely developed there. According to the inscriptions of Prasat Bat Chum (K.266 and K.267), which was erected in the 10th century, we learn that many religious activities were performed at the site, and then in the late 12th century, the Mahayana Buddhist temple of Banteay Kdei was erected.

From the 15th century onwards, although the central political power had shifted towards the south to around Phnom Penh, the site was still claimed by the local community. Material evidence excavated at Srah Srang by B. P. Groslier in the 1960s, revealed that the site was used as a burial ground in the 15th century. When the religious belief of the people was converted into Theravada Buddhism from the 14th century onwards, the Khoeun Preah Vihear was probably erected sometime around the 15th or 16th century in the Banteay Kdei compound by the local communities. Moreover, according to the record of Albert Tissandier and interview of Yeay Pheach, the Khoeun Preah

70 Phcum Ben, or Fortnight of the dead, is a ceremony conducted for a fortnight in September and October, depending on the Khmer lunar calendar.

71 Bangskol is a Pali word which originally referred to old and dirty Sampot, or clothes that were thrown away at the garbage pile, and Buddhist ordained priests or monks gathered them to make ropes for use (Cf. Institut Buddhique 1967-68: 555.) Nowadays the word Bangskol is the name of a ceremony, where people invite monks to recite the Dharma and pray for their ancestors, especially at the Chedei in the pagoda.

Vihear was still used for religious practices as a Buddhist monastery, at least until the beginning of the 20th century and probably until around the 1920s.

In addition, the discovered reliquaries dated to the 16th and 17th century, and the recently unearthed urns and other objects brought for burial sometime in the 1980s at the Khoeun Preah Vihear also clarify the fact that Banteay Kdei is a site of continuing worship site, extending over historical and cultural layers. Although, the cremation burial begun from the 15th or 16th century, yet the worldview of people with reference to the relationship with god, underwent a symbolic transformation from the Angkor period. This is because the temple built in the Angkor period was dedicated to Brahmanical and Mahayanist gods and represented an image as an abode of god/gods; afterwards the temple itself became a sacred site for the people of the community. In brief, the temple coexisted in and/or had a multifaceted link with the community since the middle period.

Hence, the objective of this study is not only to reveal the continued occupation and historical development of Banteay Kdei, but to also cover issues in the broader context of Angkor. It serves to advance our understanding of the middle period as a bridge linking the ancient and modern, and provokes a rethinking of terms such as ‘abandonment of Angkor, or ‘forgotten,’ or ‘discontinuity,’ that are employed by modern people.

The so-called “abandonment of Angkor” is merely the abandonment of a royal capital, and not a culture. Also, later rulers returned to briefly settled in Angkor during the 16th century. Other facts also point in this direction, such as the fact that the name Srei Santhor (Sri Sandhara) is a derivative of the name of the ancient capital Sri Yasodhara. This indicates that the abandonment of Angkor was not the death of the Angkorian culture. One thing is certain and must now be stressed, and that is the fact that in the consciousness of the Khmer, Angkor will forever remain the focal center of their culture, heritage and their identity. In other words, Angkor is their soul.

Acknowledgements

In collaboration with the APSARA Authority and the Royal University of Fine Arts, the Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development which was led by Professor Marui Masako (Professor of Sophia University) conducted archaeological excavation at the Khoeun Preah Vihear in the Banteay Kdei compound. For this paper, I owe an immense debt of thanks to my Professor Ishizawa Yoshiaki for his immeasurable advice and providing a chance to participate in every Sophia Mission. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Professor Marui Masako for her advice and help over the years. Heartfelt thanks are due to Professor Cyril Veliath for his encouragement and checking my writing. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Ang Choulean who influenced me very much concerning this study. I would also like to thank Dr. Piphah Heng, Postdoctoral Researcher of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, USA, for his comments and discussions on the topic. Also, I wish to thank many friends for always help to find some documents.

The excavation was conducted during August (1st to 21st), 2019. The participants in the excavation project were as follows:

1. Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, Sophia University
 - Prof. Marui Masako / Professor, Sophia University
 - Mr. Miyamoto Yasuharu / Chief Curator, Osaka City Board of Education
 - Mr. Choeun Vuthy / Technical Staff, Sophia Asia Center
 - Mr. Harayama Takashi / Graduate Student, Sophia University
 - Mr. Nhim Sotheavin, PhD / Researcher, Sophia Asia Center
2. APSARA Authority
 - Mr. Tho Thon / Technical Staff, APSARA Authority
 - Mr. Meas Rithirathet / Technical Staff, APSARA Authority
3. Preah Vihear National Authority
 - Mr. Phin Phakdey / Technical Staff, Preah Vihear National Authority
4. Students from the Faculty of Archaeology, Royal University of Fine Arts
 - Ms. Ing Morokot, Graduated
 - Ms. Phuy Meychean, 4th year
 - Mr. Lok Pahna, 3rd year
 - Ms. Ngoun Chan Dariya, 2nd year
 - Mr. Thon Linsay, 2nd year
5. Five villagers from Rohal village, Banteay Kdei.

References

- Ang, Choulean.
 2006-2007. "Ka Phcoep Nisai Tov Noeng Tep (To be reborn in the divine world)," *Khmer Renaissance*, Yosothor-Friend of Khmer Culture, Phnom Penh, pp. 28-31 (in Khmer).
 2007. "In the Beginning was the Bayon," in *Bayon: New Perspectives*, edited by Joyce Clark, River Book, Bangkok, pp. 364-377.
 2013. *Molthan rien phiesa Khmer boran (Basic study of ancient Khmer language)*, Yosothor, Phnom Penh.
 2014. "Ros Nov Kdei Na?," *Khmer Renaissance*, Yosothor, Phnom Penh, pp. 114-120 (in Khmer).
- Ang, Choulean, Ashley Thompson, and Eric Prenowitz.
 1998. *Angkor: A Manual for the Past, Present and Future*, APSARA, Phnom Penh.
- Anchana, Chitsuthiyon and Santi, Pakdeekam, Editors.
 2008. Sukhothai Inscription: Thai and Khmer language, *Thai-Cambodian Culture Association*, Bangkok (in Thai and Khmer language).
- APSARA Authority.
 2001. *Angkor Thom: A Short History*, Department of Culture, Siem Reap.
 2001-2002. Ancient antiques at the present-day's sites in Angkor Thom, *Department of Culture*, APSARA Authority, Siem Reap (unpublished reports, in Khmer language).
 2003. Archaeological Investigation at Kok Patri ruin, *Department of Conservation of Monuments and Preventive Archaeology*, Siem Reap (unpublished reports, in Khmer language).
- APSARA Authority & CKS.
 2013. *Inscriptions of Angkor Wat: Ancient, Middle and Modern Period*, Phnom-Siem Reap.
- Arahi, Hisao.
 2008. *Étude de l'évolution architecturale et des techniques traditionnelles utilisées au temple de Banteay Kdei, à Angkor*, Doctoral dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2 vols.
- Aymonier, E.
 1878. Textes Khmers, publiés avec une traduction sommaire, Saïgon.

- Chhan, Chamroeun.
2000. "The Ceramic Collection at Preah Khan Temple, Angkor," *Journal of Khmer Studies, UDAYA*, No. 1, Phnom Penh, pp. 295-303.
- Cœdès, George.
1911. "Note sur l'apothéose du cambodge," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, Paris, pp. 5-16.
1942. *Inscription du Cambodge*, Vol. 2, EFEO, Hanoi.
1962. "La date d'exécution des deux bas-reliefs tardifs d'Angkor Wat, avec une note de J. Boisselier," *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 250 (2), Paris, pp. 235-248.
1968 [1964]. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Translated from French by Susan Brown Cowing, East-West Center Press, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
2007. "Ankor Vat, Temple ou Tombeau?," Translated from French to Khmer language by Ang Choulean, *Journal of Khmer Studies, UDAYA*, No. 8, Phnom Penh, pp. 81-89.
2008. "La plus ancienne inscription en Pāli du Cambodge," Translated from French to Khmer language by Ang Choulean, *Journal of Khmer Studies, UDAYA*, No. 9, Phnom Penh, pp. 115-127.
- Cœdès, George & Dupont, Pierre.
1943-46. "Les stèles de Sdok Kak Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihār," *BEFEO*, vol. 43, Hanoi, pp. 56-104.
- Dumarçay, Jacque.
1994. "Histoire des retenues d'eau Khmères," *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 282 (2), Paris, pp. 371- 390.
- Dumarçay, Jacque and Courbin, Paul.
1988. *Documents Graphiques de la Conservation d'Angkor (1963-1973) et La Fouille du Srah Srang*, EFEO, Paris.
- Filliozat, Jean.
1969. "Une inscription cambodgienne en Pali et en Khmer de 1566 (K. 82 Vatt Nagar)," *Communication Académie des Inscription et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, Paris, pp. 93-106.
- Giteau, Madeleine.
1969. *Le Bornage rituel des temples bouddhiques au Cambodge*, EFEO, Paris.
- Groslier, Bernard Philippe.
2006 [1958]. *Angkor and Cambodia in the sixteenth century: According to Portuguese and Spanish Sources*, Translated from the French version by Michael Smithies, Orchid Press, Thailand.
- Institut Buddhique.
1967-68. *Vachananukram Khmer (Dictionnaire Cambodgien)*, 5th edition, Part 1-2.
- Ishizawa, Yoshiaki.
2012. *Challenging the Mystery of the Angkor Empire: Realizing the Mission of Sophia University in the Asian World*, Sophia University Press, Japan.
2015. "The World's Oldest Plan of Angkor Wat: The Japanese so-called *Jetavana*, an Illustrated Plan of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Khmer Studies, UDAYA*, No. 13, Phnom Penh, pp. 47-61.
- Jacques, Claude.
2006. "History of the Phnom Bakheng Monument," In *Proceeding of the Phnom Bakheng Workshop on Public Interpretation*, Center for Khmer Studies, Siem Reap, pp. 23-40.
- Kanol, Chayawatana.
1980. *The Sema in Central Part of Archaeology A.D. 1300-1500*, M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Graduate School, Silpakorn University.
- Khin, Sok.
1978. "Deux inscriptions tardives du Phnom Bakheng K.465 et K.285," *BEFEO*, Vol. 65, Paris, 271-280.
1980. "L'Inscription de Prah Thom du Kulen K.715," *BEFEO*, Vol. 67, Paris, pp. 133-134.
- Leroy, Stéphanie, Hendrickson Mitch, Delqué-Kolic Emmanuelle, Vega Enrique, Dillmann Philippe.
2015. First Direct Dating for the Construction and Modification of the Baphuon Temple Mountain in Angkor, Cambodia, <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article> (retrieved June 20, 2020).
- Marchal, Henri.
1918. "Monuments secondaire et terraces bouddhiques d'Angkor Thom," *BEFEO*, vol. 18, Hanoi, pp. 1-40.

- Marui, Masako.
2001. "Archaeological Research at Banteay Kdei Temple: Overview of Investigations over the Past Ten Years," *Journal of Khmer Studies*, UDAYA, Phnom Penh, pp. 141-151.
2010. "Cultural Heritage and Communities Coexisting: *Public Archaeology* in Cambodia, 1999-2009," *Public Archaeology*, vol. 9, pp. 194-210.
2019. "Historical Dialogue between Archaeology and a Local Community in Angkor," *Sophia Journal of Asian, African, and Middle East Studies*, vol. 37, Sophia University, Tokyo, pp. 91-111.
- Miyamoto, Yasuharu.
2003. 「アンコール期以後のバンテアイ・クデイ」、*Investigation of the Angkor Monuments: Findings Concerning the Study of the Angkor Monuments*, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development and Institute of Asian Culture, Sophia University, 10, pp. 37-51 (in Japanese).
2010. 「アンコールは何を継承してきたのか：バンテアイ・クデイ遺跡を出発に」、石澤良昭・丸井雅子 (共編) 『グローバル/ローカル：文化遺産』上智大学出版、pp. 135-160 (in Japanese).
- Mouhot, Henri.
- 1864 [1986]. *Travels in Indo-China, Siam, Cambodia, and Laos, During the Years 1858, 1859, and 1860*, Vol. I & II, White Lotus, Thailand.
- Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties.
2012. *Western Prasat Top Site Survey Reports on Joint Research for the Protection of the Angkor Historic Site*, Monograph, No. 9, Nara.
- Nhim, Sotheavin.
- 2014-2016. "Factors that Led to the Change of the Khmer Capitals from the 15th to 17th century," *Renaissance Culturelle du Cambodge*, vol. 29, Sophia University, pp. 33-107.
2018. "A Study of the Names of Monuments in Angkor, Cambodia," *Renaissance Culturelle du Cambodge*, vol. 30, Sophia University, Tokyo, pp. 13-68.
2019. "Cultural Heritage Education in Angkor: From Academics in Archaeology to the Local Community," *Sophia Journal of Asian, African, and Middle East Studies*, vol. 37, Sophia University, Tokyo, pp. 31-47.
- Penny, Dan, Tegan Hall, Damian Evans, and Martin Polkinghorne.
2019. "Geoarchaeological Evidence from Angkor, Cambodia, Reveals a Gradual Decline Rather than a Catastrophic 15th century Collapse," *Proceeding of the National Academy of Sciences* 116 (11): 4871-76, doi.10.1073/pnas.1821460116 (retrieved August 5th, 2020)
- Polkinghorne, Martin, Christophe Pottier, and Christian Fisher.
2018. "Evidence for the 15th century Ayutthayan Occupation of Angkor," in *The Renaissance Princess Lectures: In the Honor of Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on her Fifth Cycle Anniversary*, The Siam Society, Thailand, pp. 99-132.
- Pou, Saveros (Lewitz).
1970. "Textes en Khmer Moyen: Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor 2 & 3," *BEFEO*, Vol. 57 (1), Paris, 96-126.
1975. "Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor 34 et 38," *BEFEO*, Vol. 62 (1), Paris, pp. 283-353.
2017. *Un Dictionnaire du Khmer-Moyen*, Sastra Publishing House, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
- Stern, Philippe.
1927. *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'art Khmer*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation, tome 47, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Gauthier, Paris.
1965. *Les monuments Khmers du style du Bâyon et Jayavarman VII*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Tabata, Yukitsugu.
2013. "The Banteay Kdei Temple: Preliminary report of the excavation at Banteay Kdei temple, August 2012," *Renaissance Culturelle du Cambodge*, vol. 28, Sophia University, pp. 77-101.
- Tissandier, Albert.
1896. *Cambodge et Java: Ruines Khmères et Javanaise (1893-1894)*, G. Masson, Éditeur, Paris.
- Thompson, Ashley.
1999. *Mémoire du Cambodge*, Thèse pour obtenir de grade de Docteur de l'Université de Paris 8, (unpublished).
2004. "Pilgrims to Angkor: A Buddhist 'Cosmopolis' in Southeast Asia," *Bulletin of the Students of the Department of Archaeology*, No. 3, Department of Archaeology, Royal University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh, pp. 88-119.

Tho, Thon. et al.

2014. Reliquaries at Lolei temple, Report to the *Department of Conservation of Monuments and Preventive Archaeology*, Siem Reap, 8 pages (in Khmer language).

Vickery, Michael.

1982. "L' Inscripton K.1006 du Phnom Kulen," *BEFEO*, Vol. 71, Paris, pp. 77-86.

Vong, Sotheara.

2016. *Angkor Inscriptions of Cambodia: Studied, Translated and Edited Texts*, Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2nd edition, Phnom Penh (in Khmer).

Zhou, Daguang (Tchou Ta Kuan)

2006. *The Customs of Cambodia*, edited and newly translated from the French by Michael Smithies, The Siam Society, Bangkok.