



# カンボジアの文化復興(31)

——アンコール遺跡および伝統文化復興の研究・調査

RENAISSANCE CULTURELLE DU CAMBODGE (31)

2019-2020年 合併号

上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター

Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, Tokyo



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# 研 究 論 文

# コー・ケー都城を世界遺産登録に推薦する

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石澤良昭

## I. コー・ケー遺構にはどんな歴史とコンセプトが隠されているか

### (1) 創設者ジャヤヴァルマン4世の経歴 ～1052年の碑文から～

カンボジア王国コー・ケー都城は、プリア・ヴィヒア州に位置する10世紀前半の都城遺跡である。ジャヤヴァルマン4世王は、当時のアンコール王朝第4代目王ヤショヴァルマン1世(889-910年頃)の摂政役で、このヤショヴァルマン王の娘(王女)と結婚していた。クーデターを起こし、王位を篡奪し、ジャヤヴァルマン2世(802年)の時代から礼拝してきた神なる王(デーヴァラージャ信仰)の御神体(トリブヴァネシュヴァラ = Tribhuvanecvara)のシヴァ・リングを新都コー・ケーの地へ持ち去ったのであった。そして、ジャヤヴァルマン4世王はこの「シヴァ・リング」の御神体を手許に所有することをもって王権継承の正当性を主張したのであった。時は921年、「神なる王(Devarāja)」としての政治と宗教の両権限を、新都の造営により具体的に実現しようと試みたと碑文は伝えている。

(2) コー・ケー新都城はどの建物も基軸線を北西15度傾け、旧都アンコールを否定する新しいコンセプトをもって建設された。この新都城は北西に15度傾いている。それ故に、プラン寺院、ラハル貯水池、周壁は、すべてこの北西向き15度を遵守している。世界で初めての軸線北西15度の都城である。着工から23年間にわたりこの新都城は軸線北西15度のコンセプトで造営されてきた。アンコール都城の基軸線は東西南北であるが、詳細に調査すると、約2度ほどぶれている遺跡がある(事例:タ・プロムなど)。

### (3) 都城の中心部(未完成)は1200×1200mの巨大な都城

アンコール地域から130km離れた新都城コー・ケーは、中心部に①プランと呼ばれるピラミッド型国家鎮護寺院(基壇62×62m)があり、7層の基壇を積み、最上階に木造の中央祠堂があった。②人工の大貯水池ラハル(560×1200m)、③その他30カ所に新祠堂と新寺院を建設している。時代は921-944年。④建設者はジャヤヴァルマン4世。アンコール都城から脱出して、新開地コー・ケーにおいて篡奪した王位の正統性を主張する。

そして、王位の継承が実力主義である最初の事例である。彼はもとの地方の大富豪であり、大寺院、大リング、大都城、大王宮(木造)など、巨大な大仕掛けの建築を見せつけることで、旧アンコール都城に存続している政権を否定した。

### (4) バライ(Baray)「ラハル(Rahal)」の建設とその制約

ラハルのバライ建設者はジャヤヴァルマン4世。縦560m、横1200mの規模のバライ(貯水



池)の工事は貯水池の底の突き出た岩盤を削らなければならない困難な工事であった。同時に、パライの基軸も北西に15度そろえなければならなかった。

#### (5) 地域の口承伝承としての白象伝説

白象の墓といわれる高さ約20mほどの人造の小山は、土俗神のネアック・タ (Neak Ta) 信仰を兼ねたものである。コー・ケー都城壁に近接した西側にあり、この地方に生息してきた野生の象と村人の交流を綴った口承伝承の物語の舞台である。かつてアンコール→ベンメリア→コー・ケー→ワット・プー (ラオス南部) と旧街道筋でつながっていた。

#### (6) プラン (Prang) 寺院はコー・ケー版の須弥山 —基礎部は一辺62m

国家鎮護の寺院 (国分寺) として、ジャヤヴァルマン 4 世は高さ35m、7層のプラン寺院を建立。基礎部は一辺62mの正方形で、最上段は一辺12m。王国の守護神トリブヴァネシュヴァラの御神体リングが祀られていたという。頂上には大きなリングを安置するための巨大な土台石があり、その大きさには驚かされる。

#### (7) ジャヤヴァルマン 4 世の死去 (941年) とアンコールへの再遷都

ジャヤヴァルマン 4 世は941年に亡くなったらしく、この年、息子のハルシャヴァルマン 2 世が王位に就いたようである。ハルシャヴァルマン 2 世の母親はアンコール都城のラージェンドラヴァルマン 1 世 (944-968年) の母親と姉妹であった。このハルシャヴァルマン 2 世が王位を継承後、わずか2年でアンコール旧都勢力のラージェンドラヴァルマン 1 世が来攻し、御神体の「デーヴァラージャ・リング」は再びアンコールの地に戻されたという。

## II. 世界遺産に推薦するコー・ケー都城の特徴

### (1) 都城では巨大な仕掛けと新機軸の新しいコンセプトが次々実現した

コー・ケーの大遺跡群はいくつもの大仕掛けが確認できる。①都城がいつ建設され、いつ放棄されたかが分かっている。②この都城にはかつておびただしい数の木造寺院や僧院が建設され、③巨大な貯水池 (ラハル) が住民と家畜の飲み水であり、そして近隣の稲田の灌漑水源であった。ラハルはやはり15度北西に傾いている。近隣の建造物も同様に北西15度の基軸に従っている。④この都城は一辺1200mの正方形で、同じく北西に15度である。

### (2) コー・ケー都城の地理的位置と付属の祠堂の特徴

コー・ケー地方は陸路によるラオス南部チャンパサックへ向かう街道筋の途中に位置し、もともとカンボジア人がアンコール地方およびトンレ・サーブ湖方面に向かう旧街道であった。コー・ケーの南にある大きな村スライヤン (Srayang) には野生象の檻があり、それは馴象に仕込む堅固な囲いの「訓練施設」の名前に由来する。2つの大きな貯水池ラハルとアンドーン・プレング (Andong Preng) があり、その次には、遺跡ブラサット・ダン・トン (Pr. Dang Tong)、それから南下して、ブラサット・バンテアイ・ピー・チュアン (Pr. Banteay Pir Choan) があった。

### (3) 貯水池ラハルの特徴

ラハルは南北に延び、基軸線が北西に15度傾いた大貯水池で、南北に1200m、東西560mである。貯水池は、東と南は緩やかな斜面を利用して、南東角に流れ込む小さな河川からは、雨季には周辺の水を受け入れる。北と西は堤防を施している。貯水池から溢れた水は、北東角に向かって流れ、ラテライト製の水門を通過して、515m先の水路にまで達する。このバライは灌漑に利用され、そのため排水口は何か所もある。アンドン・ブレンは、ラハルの西約140mのところ掘削された貯水池で、大きさは縦35×横25mであり、近隣の田地へ用水を流していた。

### (4) プラサット・トム (Prasat Thom) = 本殿と王宮の特徴

プラサット・トムの第一周壁は砂岩壁であり、内部には21カ所の小祠堂と2つの経蔵がある。祠堂も経蔵も煉瓦造りである。そのうち9つの祠堂は、1つのテラスの上にまとめられている。ナーガの欄干のある東西の参道は内濠を横切り、この参道が遺跡全体の主軸である。すぐ側に旧「王宮」跡がある。往時の王宮は木造の屋根であった。現在は天井なしのラテライト壁に囲まれたまま放置されている。

### (5) コー・ケー都城の周壁、基壇、壁龕の特徴

①ピラミッド型プラン寺院がコー・ケーの代表的な建築である。②都城の周壁（未完成）の特徴は、壁そのものが非常に分厚く、③基壇の特徴は、基壇を飾る動物の頭を持つ守護神たちが並べられ、④台座の特徴は、プラサット・クラハム (Pr. Kraham 祠堂) の4つのガルダ (神鷲) のついた台座。5つ頭のシヴァ神のための台座は素晴らしい彫刻である。⑤プラサット・トムの塔門壁面のタペストリーは、その模様の配置が抜群であり、図像学上から高く評価されている。⑥その支柱はこれからの建物の柱の基本型を予告している。

### (6) コー・ケー遺跡の特徴 — 開口部、楣、破風を検証 —

①開口部の出入口の特徴は2つのタイプがある。第一のタイプは、八角形の柱に5つのモチーフが施されている。②第二のタイプは円柱が非常に繊細である。③出入口の楣の花房は真ん中の下部から始まり、左右に水平に延びて両端で下がり、再び巻き上がる。それらは常に唐草である。中央部のモチーフには、シンハ (獅子) の頭、クリシュナ、ガルダとヴィシュヌ神、インドラ神などが描かれている。④入口上部の破風の特徴は全体がU字を伏せたような形状を持ち、典雅なクメール美術様式のさまを見せている。

### (7) コー・ケー遺跡の建築と美術の特徴

①建築は「巨大好み」であると同時に優柔不断さを示す大遺跡の典型である。②クメール美術はこの時代に、新しい構成の大法則を示す。同一のモチーフを、寸法を変えて際限なく繰り返していることである。③コー・ケー都城はカンボジア国風の巨大なシヴァ寺院そのものである。シヴァ神をイメージする並外れた規格のリング像と、シヴァ神の一族やその神妃が大きな場所を占め、描かれている。シヴァ神は、図像学上において象徴的な「リング」で示されている。

(8) コー・ケーは第一級の美術作品を創出し、大いなる変革の時代を彫像表現で展開している。①コー・ケー美術は独創的な「美の世界」を構築し、代表的彫像作品を創り出すなど、非常に混沌としている時代と同時に大いなる変革の時代を示している。②宗教伝統主義と巨大な建造物志向とは、共にこの時代の変化に対する敏感な感覚を伴いながら展開している。③独自のオリジナリティーは、彫刻の像容の迫真性、この活気あふれる巧妙さ、控え目に表現された神の像容の単純化である。④有名な作品「二人の闘士像（格闘する神とアシュラ）」の丸彫り彫刻は、襷（ひだ）のある衣服の方がおそ



二人の闘士像

らくデヴァ（神）であろうし、もう一人は阿修羅（アシュラ）ではないか。考察から材質＝砂岩、高さ＝0.8m、造像年代＝10世紀第2四半世紀と判明し、発見場所はブラサット・トムであった。

### (9) コー・ケーの歴史とデーヴァラージャ・リングの御神体

①ピラミッド型プラン（Prang）が国家鎮護寺院であり、同時に御神体トリブヴァネシュヴァラのために建立された。②ジャヤヴァルマン4世は碑文の中で高さ36mある土台にリングを建立したと言及。③遺跡の年代確定は、チョック・ガルギャール（Chok Gargyar）の首都としての役割が921年からはじまり944年までの23年間続いたと考えられる。

## Ⅲ. 「コー・ケー都城遺跡」を世界遺産候補として推薦する理由

(1) アンコール都城から御神体（トリブヴァネシュヴァラ）を持ち出し、王位篡奪を正当化した歴史背景を開示し、王位獲得は実力主義であるという史実を最初に明らかにした事例である。御神体の所有が王位の正当性を裏付けている。

(2) 世界で初めてのその基軸が北西に15度の都城である。アンコール時代の都城とその建物（遺跡）はこれまでたくさんすでに確認されているが、基軸が北西に15度傾いて建設された都城は初めてであり、なぜかコー・ケー都城だけの特徴である。なぜ、基軸が北西に15度なのか、世界遺産として新価値を考える出発点であり、非常にユニークである。世界で一つだけ北西15度の文化遺産である。多分当時の宇宙観または吉凶禍福の占いにもとづく立論であろう。

(3) 都城の周壁が1200×1200mという巨大な都城である。その都城を約1100年前に建設に着手した史実は、世界遺産登録に値する文化的・歴史的価値がある。同時に旧都アンコールを否定するための、大都城、大寺院、大シヴァ・リングという巨大仕掛けは、民族エネルギーの発露として高く評価できる。巨大寺院（プラン寺院など）の建設により、先行したアンコール都城を否定することを国内外に知らせる証拠物件の都城としては高い歴史的価値がある。この史実は世界遺産の登録の基準に見合うものである。

(4) 「世界遺産登録」を補強する無形文化財の「白象墓」の口承伝承は、祭礼を執り行う時、地

域住民によりカンボジア土着の伝統儀式を検分することができる。加えて近隣の土俗の精霊信仰など調査し、アンコール時代の諸儀礼を復活することができる。口承伝承文化は無形文化遺産である。カンボジア伝統行事の一つとして白象伝説のこの小山を利用し、そこに伝統舞踊、影絵芝居（スバエク・トム）などを併演していく。白象墓の小山前に影絵芝居の白いスクリーンを設置し、焚火の前で影絵の主人公たちが、家族愛とその犠牲、さらに人間と動物を通じて勧善懲悪を演じていく野外劇場である。カンボジア正月のトロット（鹿頭踊り）など併せて地方における古典祭礼として演じられている。

(5) プラン寺院はコー・ケー版の須弥山であり、そこに王国の御神体トリブヴァネシュヴァラのリングを安置し、王が「神なる王」であることを宣言し、その新都城の存在意義を正当化した。須弥山と巨大シヴァ・リング立像は非常にわかりやすいシナリオである。この新都城の建設とプラン寺院の存在理由は、世界遺産登録に値する価値がある。

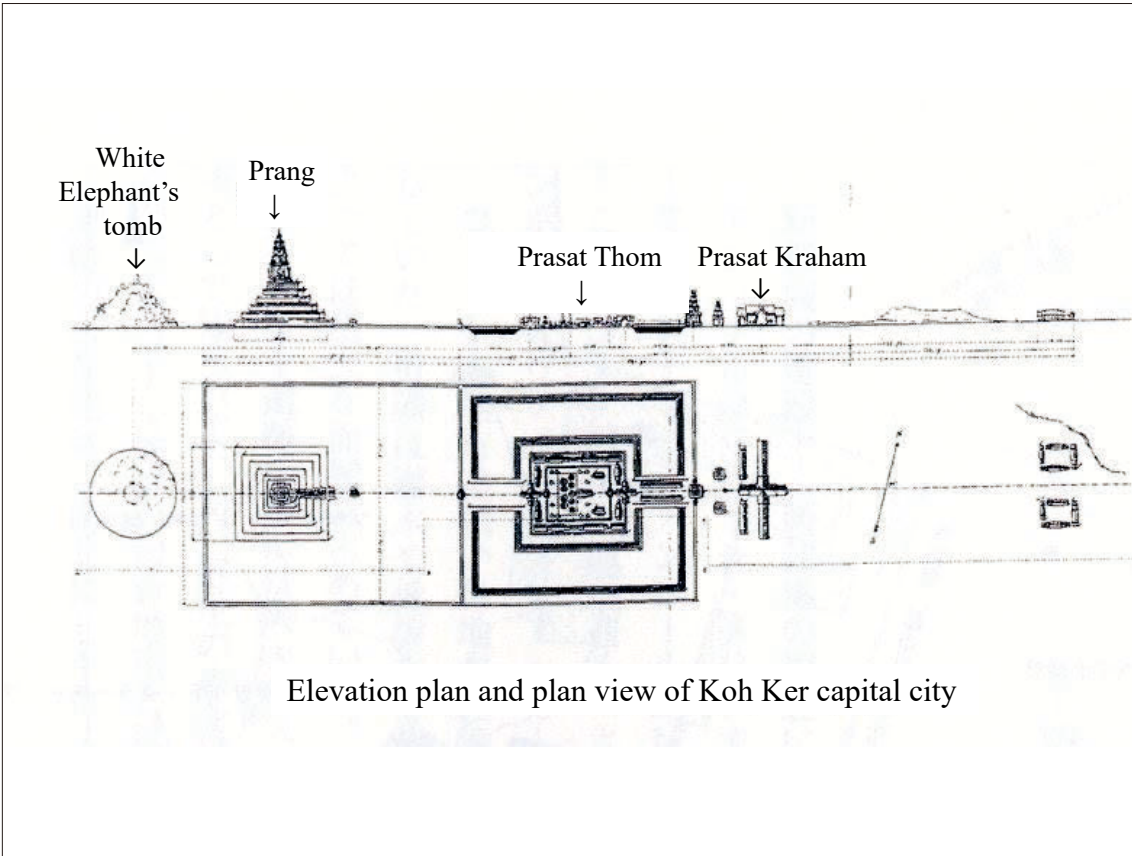
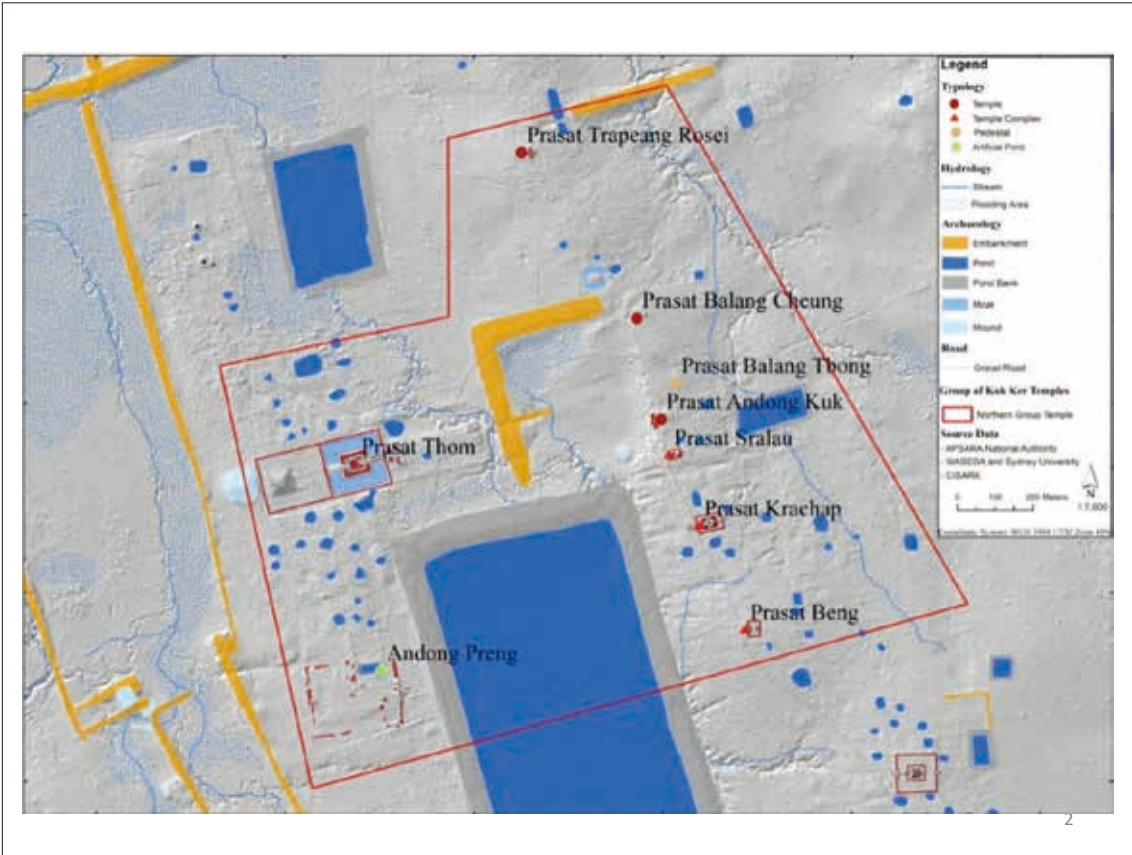
(6) 「王位は実力」で「実力は正義」を示す王位篡奪の最初の政治事件。王位を実力で奪った史実と、王権の背景にある大仕掛けの大都城、大寺院、大王宮をカンボジア的文脈で説明する最初の事例として、世界遺産登録に値する内容がある。カンボジアにおける王位継承はほとんどが実力主義であった。

(7) カンボジアが女系社会である史実は、この王位継承時の事例から判明できる。コー・ケーの後継王ハルシャヴァルマン2世と敵対するラージェーンドラヴァルマン王（944-968年）は従兄弟同士である。それは母親が姉妹であった。それでも両者は王位をかけて戦う敵同士。結局のところ実際の戦闘行為により決着をつけた。兄弟・親戚であっても容赦しない王位継承をめぐる史実はカンボジア史ではよくある事例である。カンボジアにおける最初の王位篡奪事件である故に、世界遺産登録に値する内容である。

(8) カンボジアは世界遺産立国を掲げ、コー・ケー遺跡はカンボジアの伝統文化の魅力を世界に向けて発信できる都城遺跡である。カンボジア人の全価値概念を示す新都城が、どのように建設に反映されているかを考察できる最もよい事例遺跡であり、特にその建設過程を現場で開示し、どのように造営されていったのか、途中経過を検証できる。その建設の新コンセプトと23年間の造営成果を現場で確かめ、どこまで建設が進んだかを踏査できる文化遺産である。このコー・ケー都城は未完成ではあるが、当時の都城建設を考えるうえで「夢」がふくらむ遺跡であり、世界遺産に登録できる有資格の遺跡である。

(9) 〈提案1〉地方創生活動に向けて、コー・ケーに①新地方遺跡博物館を建設し、②石造建造物保存・修復研究所の併設、③常設の保存官養成所を併設。遺跡の保存修復工事の検証からクメール式伝統技法を再発見できる。コー・ケー地方の自然地勢に立脚した都城建設であったが、困難な砂岩岩盤の除去の工事現場を住民や観光客に見てもらい、追体験ツアーが実施できる。貯水池（バライ）建設のために、砂岩の固い岩盤をどのように取り除き、工事をすすめたか、その苦





Elevation plan and plan view of Koh Ker capital city



**Prasat Kraham (red temple)**

East entrance to the main  
Pyramidal Prang (temple), made  
by bricks

**Koh Ker (921-944)**

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Causeway from the east entrance to the main complex of Prasat Thom,  
fallen columns and it used to have a wooden roof. (Field research,  
December 2000), Koh Ker (921-944)



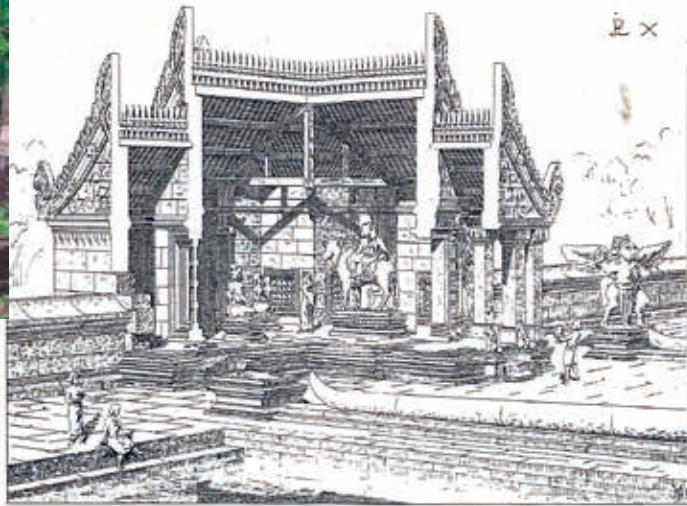
5

## Reconstructed Plan of Koh Ker (Parmentier. H)



Fallen columns and it used to have a wooden roof

Koh Ker (921-944)



6



Seven-tiered pyramid of Koh Ker, 42m high  
State ritual ceremony was performed on the top  
Koh Ker (921-944)

7





Simha altar at the top

Broken east stairway of Prang and bamboo handrail  
New western wooden stairway was erected in 2016.  
(Field research in 2011), Koh Ker 921-944)

8



Altar at the top of Prang,  
Pedestal supported by Simha,  
We could see Kulen mountain from this  
42m high of Prang  
Koh Ker (921-944)

9

Group of small brick ruins in the Prasat Thom compound, Koh Ker site  
Growing of tropical trees and vegetation  
Koh Ker (921-944)



10



Depicted scene of Yama god on the pediment, Prasat Krachap  
Koh Ker (921-944)

Three brick towers of Prasat Pram  
Growing tropical trees rooted on the towers  
Koh Ker (921-944)

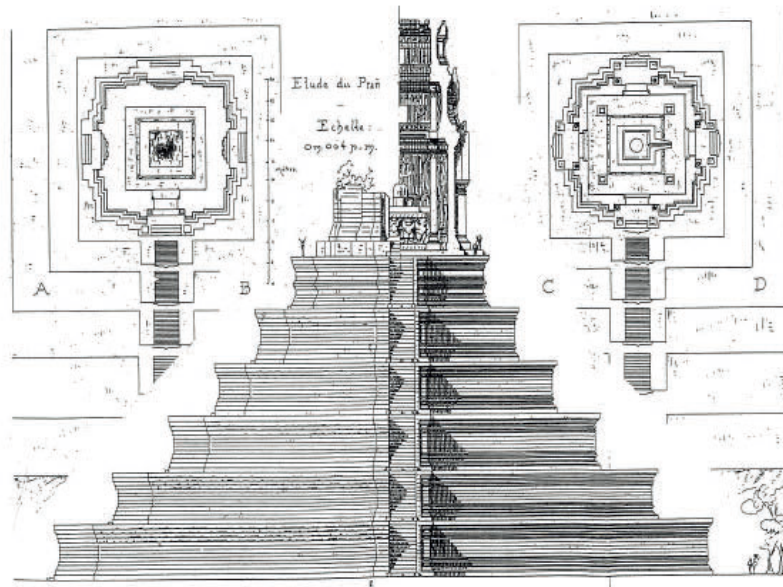


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Linga of Prasat Balang (north), located to the northeast of Rohal reservoir  
Linga is 1m high and 0.9m diameter installed on 3.4m squares of Yoni  
Koh Ker site was characteristically used the big sandstone, so we can find  
a 7 tone of sandstone at the site, Koh Ker (921-944)



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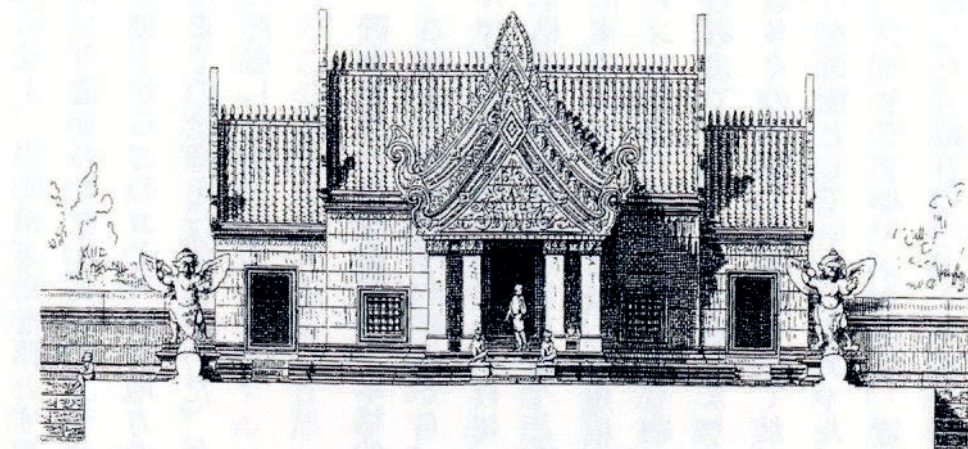


Reconstructed plan of pyramidal Prang (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est*, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

14

Reconstructed plan of Prasat Thom (Parmentier. H)

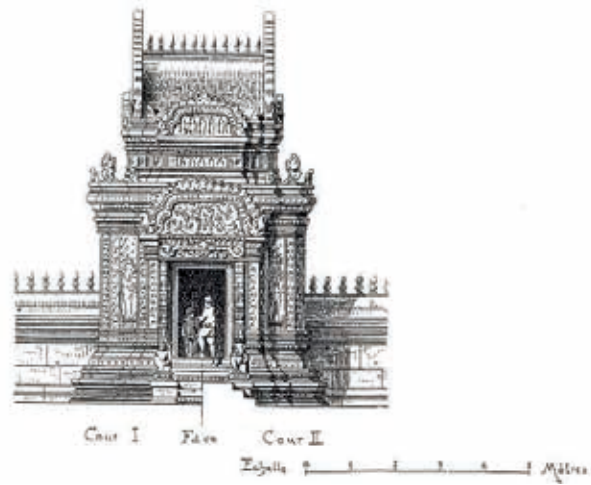


Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est*, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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KOH KER

Gopura de la 1<sup>e</sup> Encinte



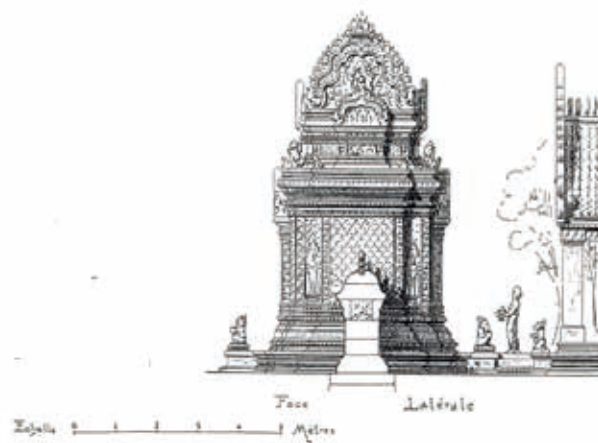
Gopura of the 1st enclosure (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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KOH KER

Gopura de la 1<sup>e</sup> Encinte



Gopura of the 1<sup>st</sup> enclosure, laterite tower (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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## US Museum Returns Stolen Rama Statue

By PETER FORD  
AND OUCH SONY  
THE CAMBODIA DAILY

A 10th century stone carving of the Hindu deity Rama, the last remaining statue from the Koh Ker temple complex that had been on public display outside Cambodia, was returned to Phnom Penh last week, officials confirmed yesterday.

The torso of Rama, which is missing its head, feet and hands, was flown back to Cambodia on Wednesday from the Denver Art Museum, with a formal ceremony at the Council of Ministers planned for next month, said Kong Virak, director of the National Museum in Phnom Penh.

"Receiving a statue with such special value is a joyous occasion, but we still have to work to find the others," he said, noting that based on photographs and archaeological evidence, there could be as many as ten more statues from the temple complex in Preah Vihear province still unaccounted for.

"We never expected that any of the stolen statues would be returned, so we are grateful that another one has come back to Cambodia," he said.

*Continued on page 2*

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Statue of Hindu deity Rama

### Statue...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Mr. Virak said representatives of the Denver Art Museum, where the 1.6-meter-tall torso had been on display until December, first contacted Cambodian officials in mid-2015 and sealed its return in an agreement with the Council of Ministers signed on February 16.

In a statement on Friday, the Denver Art Museum said the statue—believed to have been looted from Koh Ker in the 1970s—was returned to Cambodia following new research into the piece's provenance.

"We were recently provided with verifiable evidence that was not available to us at the time of acquisition, and immediately began taking all appropriate steps to deaccession the object and prepare it for its return home," Christoph Heinrich, the museum's director, is quoted as saying.

Following the discovery in 2012 of empty pedestals at Koh Ker's Prasat Chen temple, officials began to search for the stolen statues. Six have since been located and returned, including two from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2013, and four others held in collections at Sotheby's, Christie's, the Norton Simon Museum and the Cleveland Museum.

Anne Lemaistre, Unesco's representative to Cambodia, said that while the statue's return was greatly appreciated, four more statues from Prasat Chen are still believed to be held in private collections.

"To have all of the statues returned to Cambodia is something Unesco has been working hard to achieve, and we appeal to anyone who may currently have one of the remaining statues in their private collection to follow the nice gesture of the Denver museum and return it," she said.

Although the Rama statue is

back home, it may be a while before it goes on public display, said Mr. Virak.

"Repairing the torso will take time before it can be displayed with the other statues that have been returned," he said, without saying exactly what improvements were being made to the sculpture. "It will take at least a year."

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## Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development

Sophia University Angkor International Mission  
La Mission Internationale sur l'Etude Scientifique d'Angkor de l'Université Sophia.

カンボジア王国政府  
フン・セン首相閣下

### コー・ケー遺跡群を世界遺産登録に推薦する件

上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団(Sophia University Angkor International Mission)は、カンボジア王国政府アプサラ機構と共同で2000年12月から数次にわたり、コー・ケー遺跡群を調査いたしました。閣下のご好意により、コー・ケー遺跡調査のため、2000年12月カンボジア王国軍のヘリコプターを使わせていただきましたことを添えます。

#### 参考文献:

1. 石澤良昭 編『アンコール遺跡を科学する』第8号 18-37頁、2001年
2. 石澤良昭・三輪悟 著『カンボジア 密林の五大遺跡』連合出版、132-149頁、219-223頁、2014年
3. 石澤良昭 出演(ビデオテープ)「視点・論点」NHK(日本放送協会)『カンボジア密林の五大遺跡』、2016年

コー・ケー遺跡群は、ユネスコの世界遺産登録にふさわしい歴史・文化価値を備えた遺跡群として、ここに調査結果を報告申し、総合所見の学術推薦書を送付申しあげます。

2020年9月8日

上智大学教授  
上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター 所長  
2017年 R. マグサイサイ賞受賞者



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# A Recommendation for Registration of the Koh Ker as the World Heritage List

By Yoshiaki Ishizawa

Professor, Sophia University

Director, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development

2017 Ramon Magsaysay Awardee

## I. What is the history and what concepts lie hidden within the ancient structural remnants of Koh Ker?

(1) From inscriptions of the period extending from the appearance of Jayavarman IV to 1052 AD.

Koh Ker city is present day located in Preah Vihear province which was built in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Jayavarman IV, who was regent during the reign of King Yashovarman I (889–910 AD) in Angkor period and who was married to his daughter (the princess), launched a coup d'état and usurped the throne. He carried away to the new capital of Koh Ker the cult of Devarāja, the Tribhuvaneçvara (Tribhuvaniśvara) Shiva Linga, which had been the ritual sacred object since the days of Jayavarman II (802 AD). With the possession of this Shiva Linga, king Jayavarman IV affirmed the legitimacy of his kingship. The period was 921 AD, and the real truth of the political religious power of the Devarāja, was concretely displayed in the construction of the new capital city.

(2) The new capital city of Koh Ker was established with a fresh concept that counteracts that of the old capital city of Angkor, by tilting the base line 15 degrees to the northwest. This new city is tilted 15 degrees northwest. Hence, the Pyramid Prang temple, the Rahal Reservoir, and the surrounding wall, all comply with this facing northwest by 15 degrees. It is the world's first capital city having an axis of 15 degrees northwest. This new capital city was established over a period of 23 years, with the concept of the axis being tilted 15 degrees northwest. The axis lines of the Angkor capital city are north, south, east and west, but if we conduct a research in detail, some temples are tilted 2 degrees; for example Ta Prohm temple.

(3) The central area of the capital city (incomplete) constitute a massive structure of (1200 × 1200) meters.

The new capital city of Koh Ker lies 130 kilometers away from the Angkor area. Its central area is possessed of, (1) A pyramid-shaped national guardian temple called Prang, with a ground foundation of (62 × 62) meters. Seven tiers are stacked, and the topmost layer has a central shrine made of wood. (2) There is a man-made reservoir called Rahal (560 × 1200) meters. (3) Besides these, new temples were built in 30 other locations. The period was from AD 921 to 944. (4) The construction was carried out in the reign of king Jayavarman IV. Having escaped from the Angkor capital city, he asserted the legitimacy of the kingship he had usurped at the newly opened Koh Ker. This is the first instance of succession to the throne being realized on the basis of merit. He was the



original great autocrat of this area, and by erecting massive temples, lingas, city, and by utilizing other huge set-ups, architectural works, and so on, he counteracted the earlier political authority of the Angkor capital city.

(4) The construction of the Baray (Rahal) and its limitations.

The Baray (Rahal) was built in the reign of king Jayavarman IV. It was 560 meters long and 1200 meters wide. The building of the baray was a hard task as it involved scraping off rocks and stones at the bottom of the reservoir, and concurrently the orientation of the baray too had to be aligned 15 degrees in a northwesterly direction.

(5) Orally conveyed traditions of the region and ancient White Elephant Legend.

An artificial hillock of around 20 meters height, which is said to be the tomb of the White Elephant, also serves as an object of faith, in the Neak Ta or local belief. It is also a cultural tradition that links Angkor, Beng Mealea, Koh Ker, and Wat Phu (in Laos), by means of the old highway.

(6) The Prang temple is the Koh Ker version of Mount Meru—its foundations are 62 meters a side.

King Jayavarman IV built as a state temple the Prang temple of the seven tiers, having a height of 35 meters. The base is a square measuring 62 meters a side, and the topmost area measures 12 meters a side. It is said that it enshrined the linga, the divine body of Tribhuvaneçvara, the guardian deity of the kingdom. At the peak of the temple lay an enormous foundation stone, for purposes of enshrining a huge linga. The scale of its size was unusual.

(7) The death of Jayavarman IV (941 AD) and the relocation to Angkor.

It seems as if Jayavarman IV expired in 941 AD, and in the same year his son Harshavarman II appears to have ascended the throne. The mother of Harshavarman II was both mother and sister to Angkor's Rajendravarman I (944–968) AD. A mere two years after Harshavarman II had ascended the throne, Rājendravarman I, who was the earlier power in the Angkor capital city, came on an invasion, and the divine Devarāja Linga was once again returned to Angkor.

## **II. Special characteristics of Koh Ker, which is recommended for registration as a World Heritage List**

(1) The capital city puts into practice vast mechanisms and fresh concepts concerning novel contrivances.

The great archaeological ruins of Koh Ker are confirmed by huge contrivances. 1) We know when the capital city was erected and when it was discarded. 2) This capital city once constructed an immense number of wooden temples and monasteries. 3) A huge reservoir (Rahal) was the source of irrigation for the rice fields that were used to sustain the residents. The Rahal was also oriented 15 degrees northwest, and other edifices in the vicinity also followed a northwest orientation of 15 degrees. 4) The capital city was square-shaped, with each side having a length of 1200 meters, and it was also oriented 15 degrees northwest.

(2) The geographical location of the Koh Ker capital city and characteristics concerning the attached shrines.

Koh Ker area was a relay point on the ancient highway from Angkor to Wat Phu, Champasak province, Southern part of Laos which was originally occupied by the Khmers. Srayang, a large village lying south of Koh Ker, is the name of a robust training center for wild elephants. There are two reservoirs, Rahal and Andong Preng, next to these is the archaeological site Prasat Dang Tong, and on heading south we find Prasat Banteay Pir Chon.

(3) The characteristics of the Rahal reservoir.

The Rahal is a large reservoir that stretches from south to north. Its base is oriented 15 degrees to the west, it extends 1200 meters from south to north and 560 meters from east to west. In the east and south the reservoir utilizes a gentle slope, and small watercourses that flow into the southeastern corner receive the waters of the surrounding areas in the rainy season. Embankments have been provided in the north and west, and the water overflowing from the reservoir follows a 515 meters channel through a laterite sluice, toward the northeastern corner. The baray was used for irrigation, for which reason drains are visible in few places. Andong Preng is a reservoir that was excavated approximately 140 meters to the west of the Rahal. It has a length of 35 meters and a width of 25 meters.

(4) Prasat Thom – characteristics of the central tower and royal palace.

The first surrounding enclosure of Prasat Thom is of sandstone, and it contains 21 temples and two repositories for Buddhist scriptures (libraries?). These temples and repositories are both made of bricks. Nine of those temples are clustered on a single terrace. An east-west passageway with a Naga parapet crosses the moat, and this passageway is the principal axis of the entire archaeological site. Just next to it are the ruins of the 'Royal Palace,' enclosed by a laterite wall which is now having no ceiling.

(5) Characteristics of the surrounding wall, foundation, and niches of the capital city of Koh Ker.

1) The Prang temple with a pyramidal shape is representative of the architecture of Koh Ker. 2) The characteristic of the capital city's surrounding wall (incomplete), consists in the fact that it is very thick. 3) The characteristic of the foundation floor lies in the guardian deities having animal heads, which serve as decorations for it. 4) The characteristic of the pedestal is linked to the fact that the pedestal of Prasat Kraham has four Garuda statues attached to it. The pedestal for the five-headed God Shiva is especially ideal. 5) On the surface wall of the gateway of Prasat Thom, the tapestry is extraordinary. 6) That props inform us of the basic types of pillars.

(6) Features of the Koh Ker ruins – entrances, lintels, and verification of pediments –

1) The entrance gates are of two types. In the first type the octagonal pillars are provided with 5 motifs. 2) In the second type the cylindrical pillars are very exquisite. 3) The corollas of the lintels begin from the bottom middle, extends horizontally to the left and right, descend at both ends, and

wind up again. They are continually arabesque. In the central motifs we recognize a lion's head, as well as the deities Krishna, Garuda and Vishnu, Indra, and others. 4) The characteristic of the pediments lie in the fact of khmer art style that the whole things is U-shaped.

(7) The architectural and artistic features of the Koh Ker ruins.

1) It is a classic example of a ruin that reveals a deep fondness, and at the same time a lack of resolution. 2) Khmer art at that time reveals a great new rule, with reference to a new composition. The same motif is repeated unceasingly with differing dimensions. 3) The capital city of Koh Ker is Khmer style of a massive Shiva temple. An image of the Shiva Linga of unusual standard, and the kin of the God Shiva, occupy a vast space. The God Shiva is represented through many lingas.

(8) Koh Ker art engendered top-ranking artistic works. It gave rise to an era of great change through the expressions of its statues.

1) Koh Ker art created its own original world of beauty and produced representative works of sculpture. It is very chaotic, and yet at the same time it represents an era of great change. 2) Religious traditionalism and a tendency towards massive edifices together led to an alteration of the era, in a mood of refined feeling. 3) The distinctive novelty lies in the vividness of the features of the sculptures, their vibrant ingenuity, and their soberly displayed simplicity. 4) In the famous sculpture in the full round, namely, 'two combatants' (a god and Ashura grappling with each other), the one wearing garments with folds is probably a Deva (God), and the other is probably an Ashura. The quality of the material is sandstone, the height is 0.8 meters, the age of the Image is the second quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the place of discovery was Prasat Thom.



Two Combatants

(9) The history of Koh Ker and the principal image of the Devarāja Linga.

1) The pyramid-shaped Prang was the state guardian temple, and it was also built for the sacred body of Tribhuvaneçvara. 2) Jayavarman IV in his inscription asserts with reference that he erected a linga on a 36 meter high base. 3) As for the dating of the ruins, it is believed the role of Chok Gargyar as the capital city began in 921 AD, and it continued 23 years to 944 AD.

### **III. Inclusion as a World Heritage Site. Reasons for endorsing the Koh Ker ruins as a World Heritage Site.**

(1) The disclosing of the historical setting that involved the removal of the Divine Body (Tribhuvaneçvara) from the Angkor capital city, and the justification of the usurpation of the throne, serve to clarify the historical truth that the winning of the throne was an issue based on meritocracy. Possession of the Divine Body confirmed the legitimacy concerning the occupation of the throne.

(2) This is the first instance in the world of a capital city, where the orientation is 15 degrees northwest. So far, several capital cities and buildings (ruins) of the Angkor period have already

been confirmed. Yet this is the first case of a capital city being established with an orientation of 15 degrees northwest, and for some reason Koh Ker is the only such special capital city. Why was the base axis tilted 15 degrees northwest? As a world cultural heritage, this should serve as a starting point for a fresh evaluation of the monument. This is something extremely rare, for it is the only cultural heritage monument in the world that is oriented 15 degrees to the northwest. Probably, it was based on the cosmology and/or the good or bad fortunetelling at that time.

(3) The capital city is a massive monument with a surrounding wall of dimensions (1200 × 1200) meters. The historical fact that the establishment of the capital city began around 1100 years ago, culturally indicates that it merits registration as a World Heritage Site. At the same time, the vast contrivances meant for purposes of denying the old capital city of Angkor, such as the massive capital city itself, the enormous temple, and the large Shiva Linga, can be valued highly as manifestations of national energy. The construction of mammoth temples (such as the Prang temple and others), is evidence that the denial of the earlier Angkor capital city was an event that was communicated both within the nation and abroad. These capital cities serve as valued evidence of this truth, and this historical fact is in conformity with the criteria for World Heritage registration.

(4) The oral tradition of the White Elephant is an intangible cultural property, that fortifies the issue of ‘World Heritage Registration.’ During festivals, one may view traditional Cambodian rituals performed by the local people of the area, and besides, we will be able to investigate the local spirit beliefs of the residents of the vicinity, and thereby resurrect the courtesy and etiquette of the Angkor era. The culture of the oral tradition is an intangible cultural asset. As a traditional cultural event, by using the hillock of the White Elephant legend, performances may be staged with reference to traditional dances, shadow plays (Sbek Thom), and others. Before the hillock of the White Elephant a white screen used for shadow plays can be set up. It would be an open-air theater before a bonfire, where the main characters of shadow plays stage performances, wherein the good are rewarded and the evil are punished, through humans and animal with family love and sacrifice. During Khmer new year, Trot is performed based on the traditional ritual in the area.

(5) The Prang temple is the Koh Ker version of Mount Meru. Within the temple the divine body of the nation, the Linga of Tribhuvaneçvara was venerated, the king was proclaimed as being ‘divine,’ and the meaning behind the existence of the new capital city was justified. Mount Meru and the huge Shiva Linga statue are scenarios easy to understand. The reasons for the erection of the new capital city and existence of the Prang Temple, constitute issues that merit their registration among the Cultural Heritage of the World.

(6) It was the first political case of usurpation of royal authority power, which asserted the fact that ‘Ability is Justice.’ The historical truth that royal power was seized through skill, and the massive set-ups that lay at the background of this royal power, such as large capital cities, huge temples, and royal palaces, indicate that the site deserves to be included among the World Cultural Heritages, as first example of an archaeological site described in a Cambodian context. There is content. The

succession to the throne in Cambodia was mostly meritocracy.

(7) The historical truth that Cambodia had a matrilineal society, may be judged from these cases of succession to the throne. The succeeding king, Harshavarman II, and the opposed king Rajendravarman (944–968) AD, were cousins. Their mothers were sisters. Even so, the two were actual enemies who desired the throne, and the issue was settled by war. When historical facts surrounding the throne indicate the truth that people are unforgiving even with regard to brothers and relatives, it is a sign that the monument deserves to be registered as a World Heritage Site.

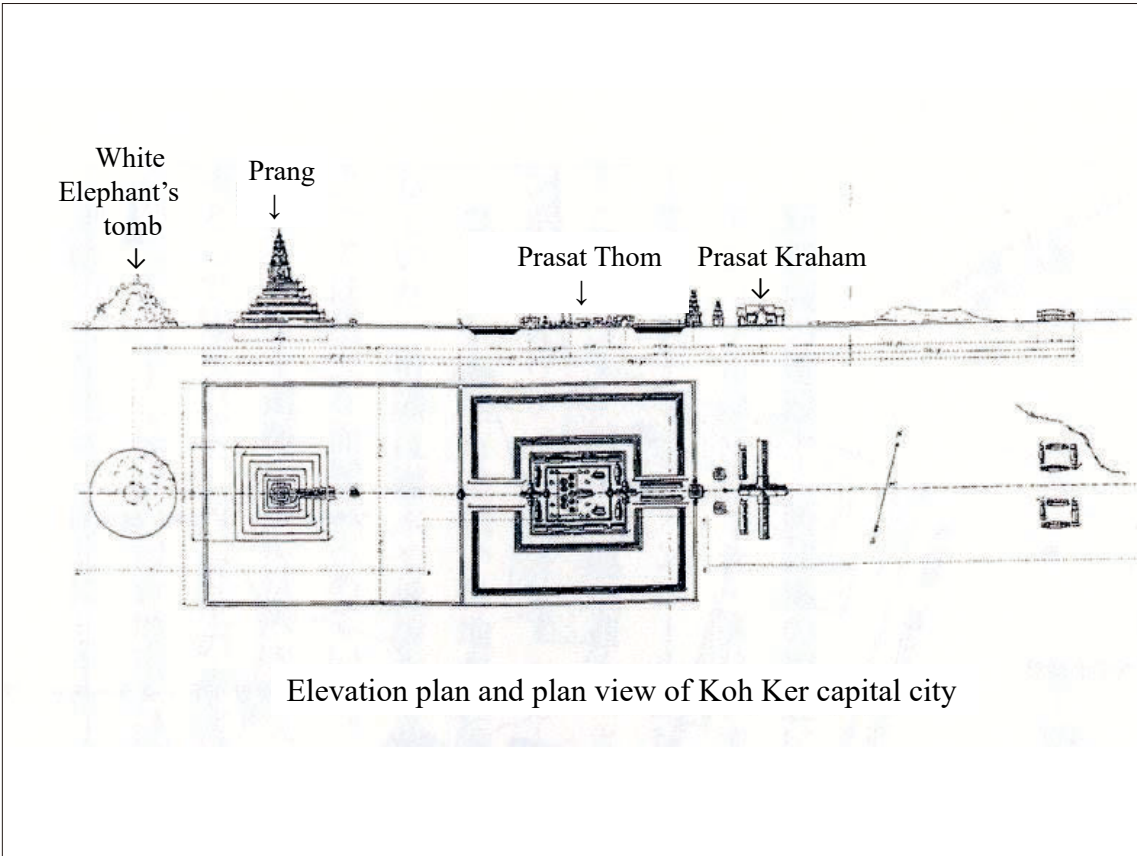
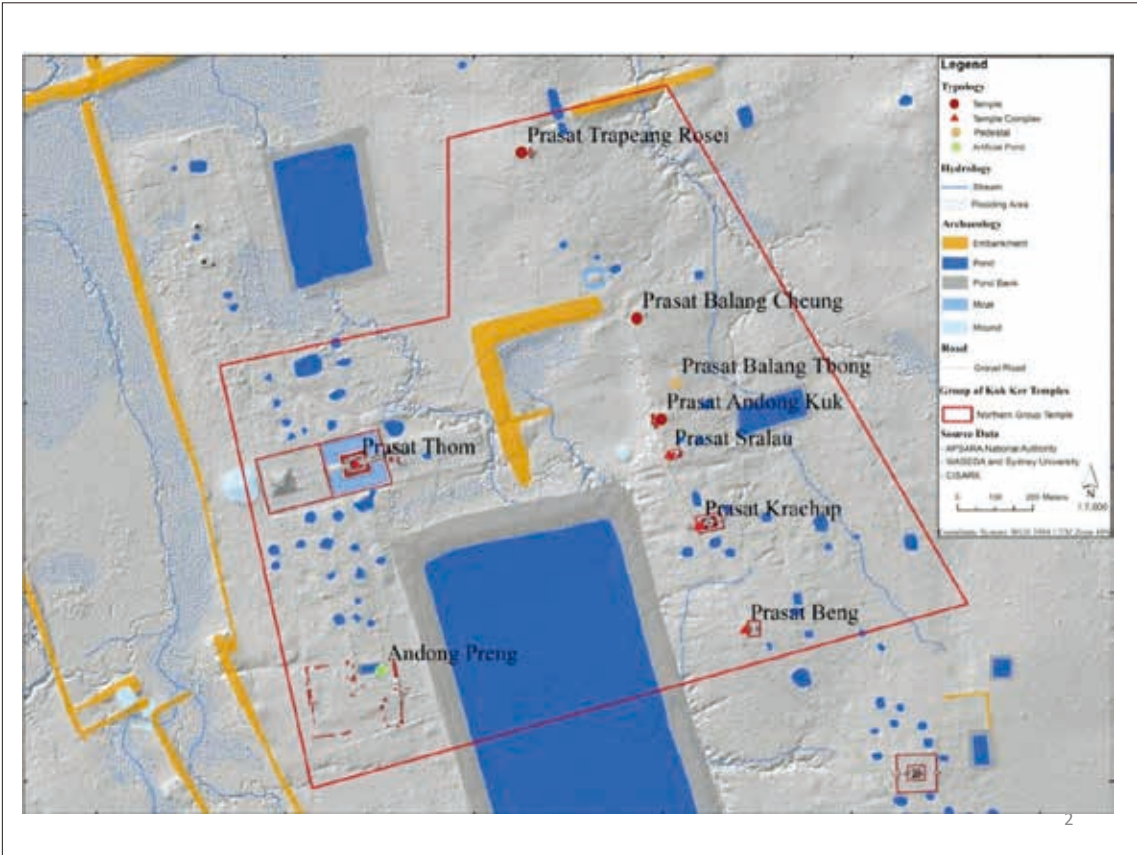
(8) The Cambodian nation is presented as a World Heritage Site. Koh Ker is a capital city whose ruins can display and communicate the charm of traditional Cambodian culture to the world. The new capital city exhibits concepts embodying all values of the Cambodians, and it is a site best suited to carry out investigations related to the manner of construction. In particular, the progress of the construction can be shown at the site, and the way in which the construction proceeded can be verified. The new concepts in the construction, and the construction results of the past 23 years, can be confirmed at the site, and it is also a cultural heritage site where we can check and see the extent to which the construction had progressed. This Koh Ker capital city is incomplete. Yet, on considering the establishment of the capital city of that era, we see that it is a ruin where our dreams expand, a ruin well qualified for registration as a World Heritage Site.

(9) For the re-vitalization of the region, we could plan on the erection in Koh Ker of a new local archaeological museum, as well as a stone edifice that serves as a Research Institute for Conservation and Restoration. Through such place of conservation and restoration work, we will be able to rediscover Khmer traditional practices. The establishment of the capital city was based on the natural terrain of the Koh Ker area. By showing the local people and tourists the difficult sandstone bedrock construction areas, we can conduct tours for personal experience. The means whereby the tough sandstone bedrock was removed for the construction of the Baray, will be reviewed. Here, the work went on, but the dreadful experiences the people underwent will be studied. With regard to the capital city, experiential tours can be conducted.

(10) A personal experience of the cosmological view of the Cambodians, as well as courses related to a viewing of the ruins, can be newly established. We will consider also how the Cambodian view of the universe has been realized in the establishment of the capital city. The placement relationship existing between the three-edifice-set, that is the capital city, the National Guardian Temple, and Royal Palace, as well as the pyramid-shaped temple, each of the temples, will be studied. In particular, the positioning of the principal deity, the God Shiva, and the size of the main hall, will be analyzed. This capital city is a cosmological world. How was the chief deity placed? This positioning, as well as its cultural and historical significance, will be inspected.

(11) We shall inspect the place of the originality of Koh Ker art. Aside from the planning of grand edifices, this will be an occasion for us to review the art. Culture can be conveyed through the





Elevation plan and plan view of Koh Ker capital city



Prasat Kraham (red temple)

East entrance to the main  
Pyramidal Prang (temple), made  
by bricks

Koh Ker (921-944)

4

Causeway from the east entrance to the main complex of Prasat Thom,  
fallen columns and it used to have a wooden roof. (Field research,  
December 2000), Koh Ker (921-944)



5

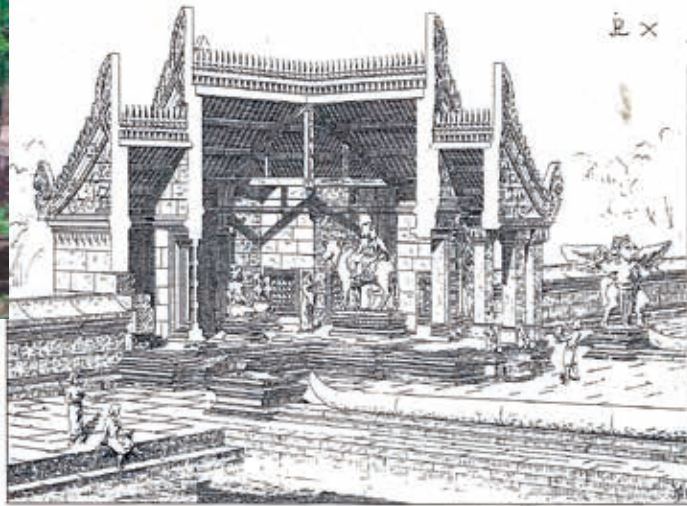


## Reconstructed Plan of Koh Ker (Parmentier. H)



Fallen columns and it used to have a wooden roof

Koh Ker (921-944)



6



Seven-tiered pyramid of Koh Ker, 42m high  
State ritual ceremony was performed on the top  
Koh Ker (921-944)

7



Simha altar at the top

Broken east stairway of Prang and bamboo handrail  
New western wooden stairway was erected in 2016.  
(Field research in 2011), Koh Ker 921-944)

8



Altar at the top of Prang,  
Pedestal supported by Simha,  
We could see Kulen mountain from this  
42m high of Prang  
Koh Ker (921-944)

9

Group of small brick ruins in the Prasat Thom compound, Koh Ker site  
Growing of tropical trees and vegetation  
Koh Ker (921-944)



10



Depicted scene of Yama god on the pediment, Prasat Krachap  
Koh Ker (921-944)

Three brick towers of Prasat Pram  
Growing tropical trees rooted on the towers  
Koh Ker (921-944)

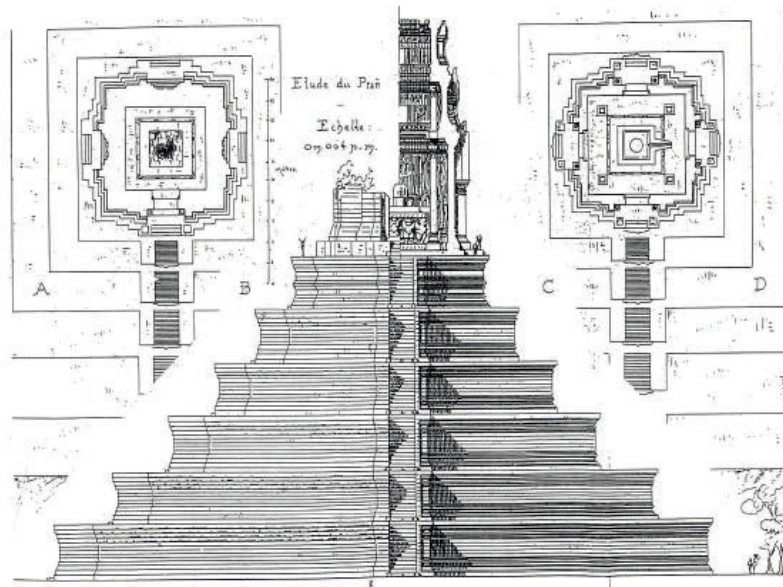


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Linga of Prasat Balang (north), located to the northeast of Rohal reservoir  
Linga is 1m high and 0.9m diameter installed on 3.4m squares of Yoni  
Koh Ker site was characteristically used the big sandstone, so we can find  
a 7 tone of sandstone at the site, Koh Ker (921-944)



13

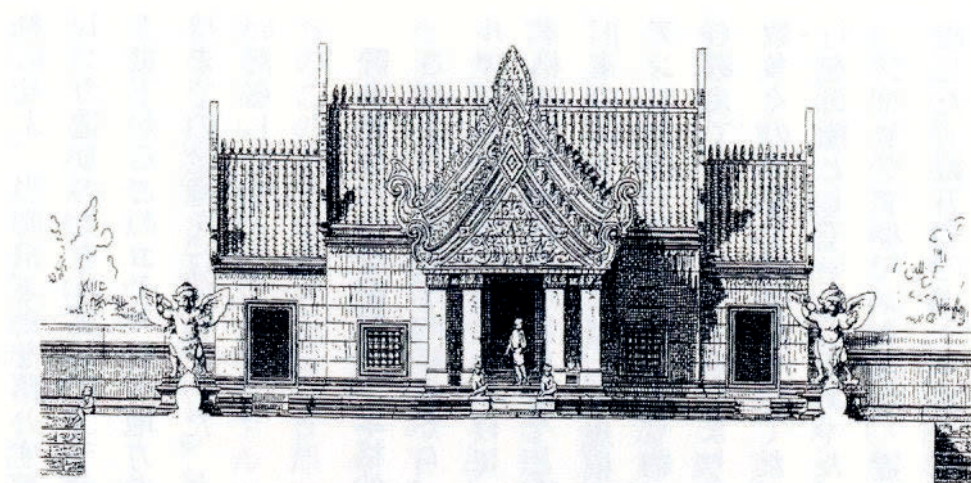


Reconstructed plan of pyramidal Prang (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.:*L'Art Khmer Classique. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est*, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

14

Reconstructed plan of Prasat Thom (Parmentier. H)

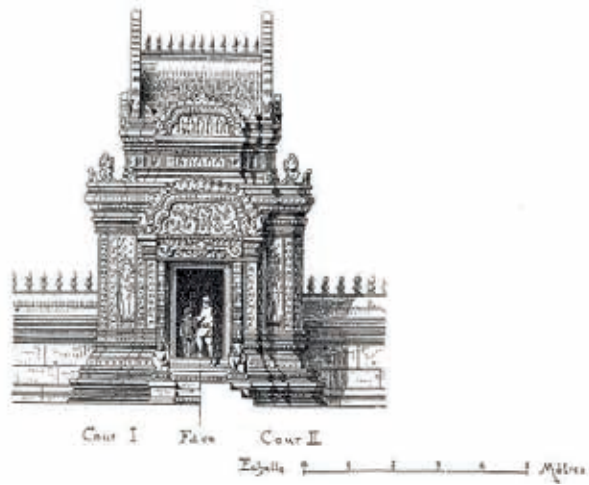


Parmentier. H.:*L'Art Khmer Classique. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est*, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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KHMER

Gopura de la 1<sup>e</sup> Encinte



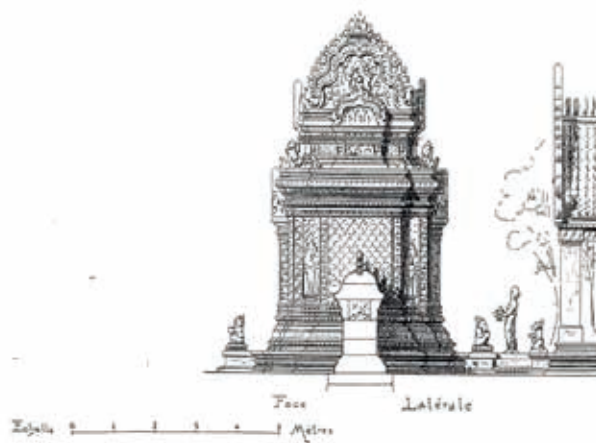
Gopura of the 1st enclosure (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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KHMER

Gopura de la 1<sup>e</sup> Encinte



Gopura of the 1<sup>st</sup> enclosure, laterite tower (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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## US Museum Returns Stolen Rama Statue

By PETER FORD  
AND OUCH SONY  
THE CAMBODIA DAILY

A 10th century stone carving of the Hindu deity Rama, the last remaining statue from the Koh Ker temple complex that had been on public display outside Cambodia, was returned to Phnom Penh last week, officials confirmed yesterday.

The torso of Rama, which is missing its head, feet and hands, was flown back to Cambodia on Wednesday from the Denver Art Museum, with a formal ceremony at the Council of Ministers planned for next month, said Kong Virak, director of the National Museum in Phnom Penh.

"Receiving a statue with such special value is a joyous occasion, but we still have to work to find the others," he said, noting that based on photographs and archaeological evidence, there could be as many as ten more statues from the temple complex in Preah Vihear province still unaccounted for.

"We never expected that any of the stolen statues would be returned, so we are grateful that another one has come back to Cambodia," he said.

*Continued on page 2*

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Statue of Hindu deity Rama

## Statue...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Mr. Virak said representatives of the Denver Art Museum, where the 1.6-meter-tall torso had been on display until December, first contacted Cambodian officials in mid-2015 and sealed its return in an agreement with the Council of Ministers signed on February 16.

In a statement on Friday, the Denver Art Museum said the statue—believed to have been looted from Koh Ker in the 1970s—was returned to Cambodia following new research into the piece's provenance.

"We were recently provided with verifiable evidence that was not available to us at the time of acquisition, and immediately began taking all appropriate steps to deaccession the object and prepare it for its return home," Christoph Heinrich, the museum's director, is quoted as saying.

Following the discovery in 2012 of empty pedestals at Koh Ker's Prasat Chen temple, officials began to search for the stolen statues. Six have since been located and returned, including two from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2013, and four others held in collections at Sotheby's, Christie's, the Norton Simon Museum and the Cleveland Museum.

Anne Lemaistre, Unesco's representative to Cambodia, said that while the statue's return was greatly appreciated, four more statues from Prasat Chen are still believed to be held in private collections.

"To have all of the statues returned to Cambodia is something Unesco has been working hard to achieve, and we appeal to anyone who may currently have one of the remaining statues in their private collection to follow the nice gesture of the Denver museum and return it," she said.

Although the Rama statue is

back home, it may be a while before it goes on public display, said Mr. Virak.

"Repairing the torso will take time before it can be displayed with the other statues that have been returned," he said, without saying exactly what improvements were being made to the sculpture. "It will take at least a year."

160229 The Cambodia Daily

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## Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development

Sophia University Angkor International Mission  
La Mission Internationale sur l'Etude Scientifique d'Angkor de l'Université Sophia.

Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Decho Hun Sen  
Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia  
Phnom Penh

Dear Samdech Prime Minister,

Since December 2000, Sophia University Angkor International Mission, in collaboration with the APSARA National Authority, has been conducted the research at Koh Ker archaeological site. With Samdech's goodwill, in December 2000 we were allowed to use the military helicopter for our research at the Koh Ker complex. I sincerely would like to give my gratitude for your support.

### References:

1. Yoshiaki Ishizawa, *Investigation of the Angkor Monuments*, No. 8, pp.18-37, 2001. (in Japanese)
2. Yoshiaki Ishizawa & Satoru Miwa, *Cambodia: The Five Great Temples in the Jungle*, Rengo Publishing, pp.132-149, pp.219-223, 2014. (in Japanese)
3. Yoshiaki Ishizawa, Viewpoint and Discussion: The Five Great Temples in the Jungle, *NHK Broadcasting Program*, 2016. (in Japanese)

Koh Ker archaeological site has historical and cultural value that is suitable for registration as UNESCO World Heritage List. I would like to report our result of study as sending with the attached documents of the academic recommendation of the general findings.

September 8, 2020

Prof. Dr. Yoshiaki Ishizawa

Director, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development  
Recipient of the Ramon Magsaysay Award of 2017



CC: H.E. Madame Phoeurng Sackona,  
Minister of Culture and Fine Arts

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អនុសាសន៍សម្រាប់ការចុះបញ្ជីក្រុមប្រាសាទកោះកេរ  
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ក. តើបុរាណដ្ឋានកោះកេរបង្កប់នូវប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនិងទស្សនៈអ្វីខ្លះ?

១) ប្រវត្តិព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២ - យោងលើសិលាចារឹកចាប់ពីរាជ្យរបស់ព្រះអង្គ  
ដល់គ.ស.១០៥២-

ព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២ ដែលកំពុងមានរាជានុសិទ្ធិ និងបានរៀបអភិសេកជាមួយរាជ  
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នេះ ។

២) រាជធានីថ្មីកោះកេរមានខ្សែអ័ក្សងាកទៅពាយ័ព្យ១៥អង្សា សាងសង់លើទស្សនៈថ្មី  
ដោយបដិសេធរាជធានីចាស់អង្គរ

រាជធានីថ្មីនៅកោះកេរបានសាងសង់នៅលើខ្សែអ័ក្សដាក់ទៅពាយ័ព្យ១៥អង្សា ។ ដូច្នោះហើយប្រាសាទប្រាង្គរហាល (អាងផ្ទុកទឹក) កំពែង ទាំងអស់សុទ្ធតែគោរពអ័ក្សពាយ័ព្យ១៥អង្សានេះទាំងអស់ ។ នេះជារាជធានីមុនគេបង្អស់នៅលើពិភពលោក ដែលមានខ្សែអ័ក្សពាយ័ព្យ១៥អង្សា ។ រាជធានីថ្មីរយៈកាល២៣ឆ្នាំនេះ បានត្រូវកសាងឡើងដោយឈរលើទស្សនៈខ្សែអ័ក្សពាយ័ព្យ១៥អង្សានេះឯង ។ ទោះបីរាជធានីអង្គរសាងសង់ដោយមានខ្សែអ័ក្សកើតលិច-ជើងត្បូងក្តី ប៉ុន្តែមានប្រាសាទខ្លះមានខ្សែអ័ក្សដាក់ចេញ២អង្សា ដូចជាប្រាសាទតាព្រហ្មជាដើម។

៣) សល់ស្លាកស្នាមរាជធានី (មិនទាន់ចប់សព្វគ្រប់) ដ៏ធំមួយ ១២០០ម x ១២០០ម

រាជធានីថ្មីកោះកេរដែលឃ្លាតពីតំបន់អង្គរ១៣០គីឡូម៉ែត្រនេះមាន៖ (១)ប្រាសាទដែលមានរាងជាសាជី (ខ្សែក្រោមទំហំ ៦២ម x ៦២ម) ហៅថាប្រាង្គ ជាប្រាសាទសម្រាប់រាជ្យ មានខ្សែតម្រួតគ្នា៧ជាន់ ហើយនៅជាន់លើបំផុតមានមណ្ឌបជាទីសក្ការបូជានៅចំកណ្តាលសង់អំពីឈើ ។ (២)អាងជីកផ្ទុកទឹកដ៏ធំមួយហៅថារហាល (៥៦០មx១២០០ម) (៣)ក្រៅពីនេះមានប្រាសាទតូច៣០ទៀតដែលបានកសាងនាសម័យកាលរវាងឆ្នាំ៩២១-៩៤៤ ។ (៤)អ្នកកសាងគឺព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២ ។ ព្រះអង្គបានគេចចេញពីរាជធានីអង្គរ ទៅរៀបចំរាជធានីថ្មីនៅកោះកេរ អះអាងនូវភាពត្រឹមត្រូវស្របច្បាប់នូវរាជ្យដែលដណ្តើមបាននេះ ។ នេះជាសក្ខីភាពដ៏បូងបង្ហាញនូវគុណ្ណបធិបតេយ្យ (លោកសក្ការៈបានពីថ្មីដែរនិយម) នៃការស្នងរាជ្យ ។ ព្រះរាជាអង្គនេះ ដើមឡើយជាស្តេចត្រាញ់ម្នាក់ ។ ដើម្បីបដិសេធអំណាចគ្រប់គ្រងនៅរាជធានីចាស់នៅអង្គរ ព្រះអង្គបានសាងសង់សំណង់មានទ្រង់ទ្រាយធំៗ ដូចជាមហាប្រាសាទ មហាលិង្គ និងមហារាជធានីជាដើម ។

៤) ការសាងសង់បារាយណ៍ «រហាល» និងឧបសគ្គប្រឈមមុខផ្សេងៗ

អ្នកកសាងបារាយណ៍ «រហាល» គឺព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២ ។ ការងារជីកបារាយណ៍ទទឹង៥៦០ម៉ែត្រ បណ្តោយ១២០០ម៉ែត្រនេះ ជួបនឹងការលំបាកយ៉ាងខ្លាំង ពីព្រោះត្រូវដាច់ស្រទាប់ផ្ទាំងថ្មនៅបាតបារាយណ៍ ។ ព្រមជាមួយនេះត្រូវរក្សាខ្សែអ័ក្សដាក់ទៅពាយ័ព្យ១៥អង្សាផង ។

៥) រឿងនិទានប្រចាំតំបន់ ៖ រឿងព្រេងស្តេចជីវីស

កូនភ្នំដែលសាងដោយមនុស្សកំពស់ប្រមាណ២០ម៉ែត្រ ដែលគេគិតថាជាផ្លូវរបស់ស្តេចជីវីសនេះ បូកផ្គុំជាមួយជំនឿក្នុងស្រុក (ជំនឿលើអ្នកតា) បានត្រូវអ្នកស្រុកនិទានពីមាត់មួយទៅមាត់មួយបន្តរហូតមក តាមដងផ្លូវបុរាណចេញពីអង្គរ ទៅបេងមាលា ទៅកោះកេរ រហូតដល់វត្តភ្នំ (ប្រទេសឡាវ) ។

៦) ប្រាសាទប្រាង្គតំណាងឲ្យភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុបែបកោះកេរ ៖ គ្រឹះមួយជ្រុងមានប្រវែង៦២ម៉ែត្រ

ព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២បានកសាងប្រាសាទប្រាង្គ មាន៧ជាន់ កម្ពស់៣៥ម៉ែត្រនេះ ចាត់ទុកជាប្រាសាទកណ្តាលរបស់ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រ ។ គ្រឹះមានសណ្ឋានចតុកោណស្មើដោយជ្រុងនីមួយៗមានប្រវែង៦២ម៉ែត្រ រួចហើយខឿនជាន់លើបង្គស់មួយជ្រុងមានប្រវែង១២ម៉ែត្រ ។ នៅទីនេះគេតម្កល់ព្រះសិវលិង្គ ដែលជារូបស្នងអាទិទេពថែរក្សាការពាររាជាណាចក្រ គឺព្រះត្រីកូរន័ស្វរ ។ នៅជាន់លើបង្គស់នេះ មានទម្រង់ដ៏មាំមួន ដែលមានទំហំធំមិនគួរជឿកើត ។

៧) មរណភាពនៃព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២ (គ.ស.៩៤១) និងការវិលត្រឡប់មកអង្គរវិញ

ព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២បានសុគតនៅឆ្នាំ៩៤១ ហើយក្នុងឆ្នាំដដែលនេះ ព្រះបាទហរស្សវរ្ម័នទី២ ដែលជារាជបុត្របានឡើងស្នងរាជ្យបន្ត ។ មាតារបស់ព្រះបាទហរស្សវរ្ម័នទី២ ត្រូវជាបងប្អូនបង្កើតនឹងមាតារបស់ព្រះបាទរាជេន្ទ្រវរ្ម័នទី១ (គ.ស.៩៤៤-៩៦៨) ដែលគង់នៅអង្គរ ។ ក្រោយព្រះបាទហរស្សវរ្ម័នឡើងគ្រងរាជ្យរវាងពីរឆ្នាំប៉ុណ្ណោះ កងកម្លាំងព្រះបាទរាជេន្ទ្រវរ្ម័នទី១ បានចូលមកវាយដណ្តើមយកព្រះសិវលិង្គទេវរាជ ត្រឡប់មកតម្កល់ទុកនៅរាជធានីអង្គរវិញ ។

**ខ. លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃរាជធានីកោះកេរ និងអនុសាសន៍គាំទ្រជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក**

១) រាជធានីដែលធ្លាប់បញ្ជាក់នូវទស្សនៈថ្មីនៃយន្តកម្មដ៏ធំ និងគម្រោងថ្មី

លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃក្រុមប្រាសាទកោះកេរ គឺយន្តកម្មដ៏ធំនេះឯង ។ (១) យើងដឹងថារាជធានីនេះកសាងនៅពេលណា ហើយបោះបង់ចោលនៅពេលណា ។ (២) នៅរាជធានីនេះ នាសម័យនោះមានសំណង់សាសនាសង្កឹមដ៏អំពីឈើដ៏សន្លឹកសន្លាប់ និង(៣) អាងផ្ទុកទឹក «រហាល» ដែលជាប្រភពទឹកសម្រាប់ប្រព័ន្ធធារាសាស្ត្រផ្គត់ផ្គង់ស្រែចម្ការចិញ្ចឹមប្រជារាស្ត្រ ។ រហាលមានខ្សែអ័ក្ស១៥អង្សារង្វាស់ទៅពាយ័ព្យ ។ ប្រាសាទក្បែរខាងទាំងឡាយក៏ងាកស្របដោយគោរពខ្សែអ័ក្ស១៥អង្សារនេះជានិច្ច ។ (៤) រាជធានីនេះមានសណ្ឋានចតុកោណស្មើ ដែលជ្រុងនីមួយៗមានប្រវែង១២០០ម៉ែត្រ ក៏ងាកស្របទៅនឹងខ្សែអ័ក្ស១៥អង្សារនេះដែរ ។

២) ទីតាំងភូមិសាស្ត្រនៃរាជធានីកោះកេរ និងលក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃប្រាសាទទាំងឡាយ

រាជធានីកោះកេរ គឺជាទីតាំងសំខាន់មួយភ្ជាប់ផ្លូវបុរាណពីអង្គរ ទៅវត្តភូ ខេត្តចម្ប៉ាសាក់ ប្រទេសលាវបច្ចុប្បន្ន ដែលពីមុនមានខ្មែររស់នៅ។ ស្រយម្តងជាស្រុកដ៏ធំមួយនៅខាងត្បូងកោះកេរ មានន័យចេញពី «ទីផ្សារ» ដំរីព្រៃ ។ មានអាងផ្ទុកទឹកពីរ គឺរហាល និងអណ្តូងប្រេង បន្តទៅទៀតមានប្រាសាទដងទង ហើយចុះទៅខាងត្បូងទៀតមានប្រាសាទបន្ទាយពីរជាន់ ។

៣) លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃរហាល

រហាលលាតសន្ធឹងពីជើងទៅត្បូង ដោយមានខ្សែអ័ក្សងាកទៅទិសខាងលិច១៥អង្សារ និងមានបណ្តោយជើង-ត្បូង១២០០ម៉ែត្រ និងមានទទឹងកើត-លិច៥៦០ម៉ែត្រ ។ អាងផ្ទុកទឹកនេះទាញយកអំណោយផលពីស្ថានភាពដីដែលមានទឹកម្រាលនៅអង្គេយ៍ ដោយបញ្ចូលទឹកពីទីក្បែរខាងតាមកូនអូរតូចៗ ដែលហូរចាក់មកទិសអង្គេយ៍នៅរដូវវស្សា ។ គេបានលើកជាទំនប់នៅទិសពាយ័ព្យ ។ ទឹកដែលហៀរចេញពីអាងត្រូវបានបញ្ចេញតាមទ្វារទឹកបង្ហូរតាមចង្ហូរ ដែលធ្វើពីថ្មបាយក្រៀមប្រវែង៥១៥ម៉ែត្រឆ្ពោះទៅទិសឦសាន ។ ដោយសាររហាលដែលជាបារាយណ៍នេះត្រូវបានប្រើសម្រាប់ប្រព័ន្ធធារាសាស្ត្រ ដូច្នោះហើយទើបយើងឃើញមានទ្វារបញ្ចេញទឹកជាច្រើនកន្លែង ។ អណ្តូងប្រេងដែលមាន

ចម្ងាយពីរហាលប្រមាណ១២០ម៉ែត្រទៅទិសខាងលិច គឺជាស្រះជីកផ្ទុកទឹកដែលមាន  
បណ្តោយ ៣៥ម៉ែត្រ និងទទឹង២៥ម៉ែត្រ ។

២) លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃប្រាសាទធំ និងព្រះបរមរាជវាំង

នៅក្នុងបរិវេណកំពែងថ្មភក់ដែលព័ទ្ធខាងក្រៅ យើងឃើញមានប្រាសាទជាទី  
សក្ការបូជា២១កន្លែង និងមានបណ្តាល័យ២កន្លែង ។ ទាំងប្រាសាទ ទាំងបណ្តាល័យ ជា  
សំណង់ធ្វើពីឥដ្ឋ ។ ក្នុងចំណោមនោះ ប្រាសាទជាទីសក្ការបូជា៤សង់នៅលើខឿនរួមតែ  
មួយ ។ ផ្លូវចូលពីកើតទៅលិចអមដោយបង្គន់ដៃនាគ ឆ្លងកាត់កសិន្ទុនោះជាខ្សែអ័ក្ស  
គោលសម្រាប់ក្រុមប្រាសាទទាំងមូល ។ នៅជាប់នឹងផ្លូវចូលនោះ មានស្លាកស្នាម «ព្រះបរម  
រាជវាំង» ដែលមានជញ្ជាំងថ្មបាយក្រៀមព័ទ្ធជុំវិញ តែគ្មានជំបូល ។

៥) លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃកំពែង, ខឿន និងអង្កែនៃកំពែងរាជធានីកោះកេរ

(១)ប្រាសាទប្រាង្គដែលមានរាងជាសាជី ជាស្ថាបត្យកម្មតំណាងឲ្យបុរាណដ្ឋាន  
កោះកេរ ។ (២)លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃកំពែងរាជធានី (សង់ពុំទាន់រួចរាល់) គឺមានកម្រាស់  
ក្រាស់ក្រែលែង (៣)លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃខឿន គឺនៅត្រង់រូបចម្លាក់អ្នកយាមដែលមាន  
ក្បាលជាសត្វ ។ (៤)ជើងទម្រដែលមានរូបគ្រុឌបួននៅប្រាសាទក្រហម និងជើងទម្រ  
ដែលមានរូបព្រះឥសូរមានព្រះកេស៥ មានលក្ខណៈវិសេសវិសាលណាស់ ។ (៥)ក្បាច់  
នៅពាសលើជញ្ជាំងខ្លោងទ្វារប្រាសាទធំលេចធ្លោគួរស្ងប់ស្ងែង ។ (៦)សសរទ្រជា  
ប្រផ្នូលមួយបង្ហាញបែបរចនាបថគំរូ សម្រាប់សសរទាំងឡាយ ។

៦) លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃការរចនាទ្វារនៅកោះកេរ ៖ ផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់ទៅលើទ្វារ បង្អួច ផ្តែរ និង  
ហោជាង-

(១)លក្ខណៈនៃការរចនាទ្វារចេញចូលមាន២ប្រភេទ ។ ប្រភេទទី១ គឺមានក្បាច់៥  
យ៉ាងធ្លាក់នៅលើសសរ៨ជ្រុង ។ (២)ប្រភេទទី២ គឺចម្លាក់នៅលើសសរមូលមានលក្ខណៈ  
ល្អិតឆ្មាស្រស់ស្អាតជាទីបំផុត ។ (៣)ចង្កើមផ្កាចាប់ផ្តើមពីភាគកណ្តាលផ្នែកក្រោមនៃផ្តែរ  
រីកសាយផ្តេកទៅឆ្វេងស្តាំដោយទម្លាក់ចុងចុះក្រោម ហើយចាក់ជាកងវិលរមូលឡើងលើ

វិញ ដោយរក្សាក្បាច់ភ្លឺវល្លិជានិច្ច ។ នៅផ្នែកកណ្តាលគេប្រទះឃើញចម្លាក់ជាក្បាលសិង្គ ក្រឹស្នា គ្រុឌ និងព្រះនារាយណ៍ជាដើម ។ (២)ហោជាង មានសណ្ឋានជាអក្សរ បង្កាប់ ។

៧) លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃស្ថាបត្យកម្ម និងសិល្បៈនៃប្រាសាទកោះកេរ

(១)ជាប្រភេទគំរូមួយនៃប្រាសាទដែលបង្ហាញនូវទំនោរទៅរកអ្វីដែលធំ ដែលស្របជាមួយនោះនៅមានចិត្តរាវែកគិតច្រើន ។ (២)សិល្បៈខ្មែរបានបង្ហាញនូវច្បាប់ថ្មីធំមួយនៃការចងក្រងផ្ទុំ ។ គឺជាការយកប្រធានបទដដែលមកធ្វើឡើងវិញ ដោយកែប្រែទំហំមិនឈប់ឈរ ។ (៣)រាជធានីកោះកេរ វិស័យដូចជាប្រាសាទបូជាព្រះឥសូរដ៏ធំមហិមាមួយ ។ នៅទីនោះ ចម្លាក់លិង្គដ៏ធំហួសខ្នាត ដែលជានិមិត្តរូបនៃព្រះឥសូរនិងពូជពង្សព្រះឥសូរបានគ្របដណ្តប់ទីតាំងមួយភាគយ៉ាងធំ ។ គេបង្ហាញព្រះឥសូរជាចម្លាក់លិង្គយ៉ាងច្រើន ។

៨) សិល្បៈកោះកេរបង្កើតសមិទ្ធផលសិល្បៈលំដាប់ថ្នាក់លេខមួយ បកស្រាយសម័យកាលដែលប្រែប្រួលយ៉ាងពេញទំហឹង តាមរយៈការបង្ហាញបដិមា ។ (១)សិល្បៈកោះកេរ



កសាងពិភពសម្រស់មួយចេញពីគំនិតនៃប្រឌិតថ្មីស្រឡាង ប្រសូត្រស្នាដៃចម្លាក់ជាតំណាងឲ្យសម័យនោះ ដែលកំពុងរីករវ និងដែលកំពុងប្រែប្រួលខ្លាំង ។ (២)ការនិយមសាសនាប្រពៃណី និងទំនោរទៅរកមហាសំណង់តែងវិវត្តស្របទៅជាមួយវិញ្ញាណដែលរហ័សញាក់ញោចទៅតាមការប្រែប្រួលនៃសម័យនោះ ។ (៣)ភាពដើមដែលផុះឡើងនេះ គឺចេញពីការធ្លាក់ឲ្យឃើញ

យ៉ាងសាមញ្ញ យ៉ាងស្ងៀមស្ងាត់ និងយ៉ាងប៉ិនប្រសប់ នូវទ្រង់ទ្រាយបដិមាដែលពោរពេញទៅដោយភាពភ្ញៀវភ្ញាតិតៗចេញពីក្នុងដងខ្លួនបដិមា ។ (៤)រូបចម្លាក់ពេញក្លនៃស្នាដៃដ៏ល្អីមួយ ៖ «គូប្រយុទ្ធពីរូប ( ទេពនិងអសុរ)» នេះ យើងគិតថា រូបស្ងៀកសំពត់មានផ្នត់

ប្រហែលជាទេព ហើយម្នាក់ទៀតជាអសុរ ។ បដិមាទេពធ្វើពីថ្មភក់ មានកម្ពស់០.៨ម៉ែត្រ កសាងនៅដើមពាក់កណ្តាលសតវត្សទី១០ ដែលគេប្រទះឃើញនៅប្រាសាទធំ ។

៩) ប្រវត្តិកោះកេរ និងលិង្គទេវរាជ

(១)ប្រាសាទប្រាង្គដែលមានរាងជាសាជី គឺជាប្រាសាទសម្រាប់រាជ្យ កសាងឡើង ដើម្បីតម្កល់ព្រះត្រីកូនឥសូរ ។ (២)ព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២ បានប្រកាសជាផ្លូវការនៅលើ សិលាចារឹកអំពីការតម្កល់លិង្គនៅលើជើងទម្រកម្ពស់៣៦ម៉ែត្រ ។ (៣)តាមការកំណត់ រជ្ជកាលនៃប្រាសាទនេះ យើងគិតថាគោកគគី (Chok Gargyar) មាននាទីជាបាណ្ឌវចានីចាប់ពី ឆ្នាំ៩២១ ដល់ឆ្នាំ៩៤៤ ពោលគឺមានរយៈកាល២៣ឆ្នាំ ។

**គ. យោបល់គាំទ្របេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោកនៃរាជធានី**

**កោះកេរ**

១) បង្ហាញឱ្យឃើញប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រអំពីយុត្តិកម្ម (ការចាត់ថាស្របច្បាប់) នៃការដណ្តើមរាជ្យ ដោយយកនិមិត្តរូបនៃទេពសម្រាប់អំណាចព្រះរាជាដែលតំណាងដោយ ត្រីកូនឥសូរ ទៅជាមួយព្រះអង្គ ។ នេះជាព្រឹត្តិការណ៍មួយបង្ហាញយ៉ាងច្បាស់នូវការពិតនៃប្រវត្តិ សាស្ត្រ ដែលថាដំណើរឡើងគ្រងរាជ្យគឺពឹងលើសមត្ថភាពនិយម ។ កម្មសិទ្ធិលើនិមិត្តរូប នៃទេពសម្រាប់អំណាចព្រះរាជា ជាកសុភាងបញ្ជាក់នូវលក្ខណៈស្របច្បាប់នៃការឡើង គ្រងរាជ្យ ។

២) កោះកេរជារាជធានីមុនគេបង្អស់នៅលើពិភពលោក ដែលប្រកាន់ទិសខ្សែអ័ក្ស១៥ អង្សារងាកទៅពាយ័ព្យ ។ រហូតមកដល់បច្ចុប្បន្ន គេបានចុះរាជធានីអង្គរនិងស្ថាបត្យកម្ម ទាំងឡាយទៅក្នុងបញ្ជីបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោកជាច្រើនរួចមកហើយ ប៉ុន្តែនេះជា ករណីដំបូងដែលរាជធានីមានខ្សែអ័ក្ស១៥អង្សារងាកទៅពាយ័ព្យ ដែលយើងច្ងល់ថា ហេតុអ្វីបានជាគេមានតែនៅរាជធានីកោះកេរនេះប៉ុណ្ណោះ? ចម្ងល់នេះគឺជាចំណុច ចេញដំណើរគិតដល់តម្លៃថ្មីមួយជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។ វារឿងដ៏កម្រ

មួយ ព្រោះថាមរតកវប្បធម៌ដែលប្រកាន់ខ្សែអ័ក្ស១៥អង្សារង្វាក់ទៅពាយ័ព្យនេះ មានតែ មួយគត់នៅលើពិភពលោក ។

៣) ជា រាជធានីដ៏ធំទូលាយពេកក្រៃ មានផ្ទៃដី ១២០០ម៉ែត្រ x ១២០០ម៉ែត្រ ។ រឿងពិតជាក់ ស្តែងនៃប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រដែលថារាជធានីបានកសាងឡើងប្រមាណ១១០០ឆ្នាំមកហើយនេះ មានតម្លៃគ្រប់គ្រាន់សម្រាប់ចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។ ស្របជាមួយនេះ ការតាំងចិត្តកសាងកំពែងដ៏ធំ រាជធានីដ៏ធំ សិវលិង្គដ៏ធំ ដើម្បីបដិសេធរាជធានីចាស់ ពោលគឺអង្គរនេះ អាចវាយតម្លៃខ្ពស់បានថាជាឋានពលជាតិសាសន៍ដែលហូរចេញពី ព្រលឹងរបស់ខ្លួនមក ។ តាមរយៈការសាងសង់មហាសំណង់ (ប្រាសាទប្រាង្គជាអាទិ)នេះ បានប្រកាសទៅក្នុងនិងក្រៅស្រុកឲ្យដឹងថានេះជាវត្ថុតាំងរបស់រាជធានីថ្មី ដែលបដិសេធរាជធានីអង្គរ ។ ចំណុចនេះមានតម្លៃខ្ពស់ណាស់ ។ ភស្តុតាងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនេះ សមស្រប ទៅនឹងបទដ្ឋានវិនិច្ឆ័យនៃការចុះបញ្ជីបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។

៤) រឿងព្រេងស្តេចជំរិសដែលជាមរតកវប្បធម៌អរូបីហើយដែលជួយពង្រឹង «ការចុះ បញ្ជីបេតិកភណ្ឌពិភពលោក» ជម្រុញយើងឲ្យអាចសិក្សាអំពីប្រពៃណីដើមរបស់អ្នករស់ នៅក្នុងតំបន់ តាមរយៈការប្រតិបត្តិពិធីផ្សេងៗរបស់ពួកគេ ។ បន្ថែមលើនេះ ការសិក្សា ស្រាវជ្រាវជំនឿជីវចលរបស់អ្នកស្រុកនៅតំបន់ជិតខាង អាចផ្តល់ជីវិតរស់រានឡើងវិញ ដល់ពិធីសំបូងសង្គ្រោះទាំងឡាយនាសម័យអង្គរ ។ រឿងព្រេងដែលនិទានតមាត់គ្នា គឺជា មរតកអរូបីយ៍ ។ ចាត់ទុកជាពិធីប្រពៃណីមួយ ដែលអាចយកកូនភ្នំស្តេចជំរិសដាក់ជាទី តាំងសម្រាប់សម្តែងរបាំប្រពៃណី ល្ខោនស្បែកធំជាដើមបាន ។ ការរាំរែកពីមុខអណ្តាត ភ្លើងចុះស្រមោលលើស្បែកដែលដាក់តម្កើងនៅមុខកូនភ្នំស្តេចជំរិសនេះ គឺជាល្ខោន កណ្តាលវាលមួយ សម្តែងទូន្មានអំពីការធ្វើបុណ្យបានបុណ្យធ្វើបាបបានបាប ។ របាំត្រដី សម្តែងនៅពេលចូលឆ្នាំខ្មែរ ក៏អាចចូលរួមរំលឹកអំពីពិធីបុណ្យជាប្រពៃណីរបស់អ្នកស្រុកនៅ ទីនោះដែរ ។



៥) ប្រាសាទប្រាង្គ គឺតំណាងឲ្យភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុនៅកោះកេរ ។ ជាកន្លែងតម្កល់បូជាត្រីកូន ឥសូរ ដែលជាទេពសម្រាប់អំណាចព្រះរាជា ដូចដែលព្រះបាទជ័យវរ្ម័នទី២បានប្រកាស ជា«ទេវរាជ» បញ្ជាក់នូវភាពស្របច្បាប់នៃវត្តមានរាជធានីថ្មីនេះ ។ វិធីសម្តែងដែលមានភ្នំ ព្រះសុមេរុ និងចម្លាក់សិវលិង្គដ៏ធំមហិមាទេវតា នាំមកនូវភាពងាយយល់ជាទីបំផុត ។ អត្ថ ន័យនៃវត្តមានរបស់រាជធានីថ្មី និងប្រាសាទប្រាង្គនេះ ជាឧទាហរណ៍មួយមានតម្លៃពេញ លេញសម្រាប់ចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។

៦) ជាព្រឹត្តិការណ៍នយោបាយដ៏បួងបែងសំអំពីការដណ្តើមរាជ្យ ដោយបង្ហាញថា «សមត្ថ ភាពគឺជាយុត្តិធម៌» ។ ការគ្រងរាជ្យនៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជាភាគច្រើនផ្អែកលើសមត្ថភាព។ បុរាណដ្ឋានដែលពន្យល់តាមបរិបទកម្ពុជានូវប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រជាក់ស្តែងនៃការដណ្តើមរាជ្យ ដោយសមត្ថភាពខ្លួន ការរៀបចំការពិគ្រោះការសាងសង់រាជធានី មហាប្រាសាទ មហារាជ វាំងនេះ មានតម្លៃសម្រាប់ចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។

៧) ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រពិតនៃសង្គមខ្មែរដែលយកខ្សែខាងម្តាយជាធំ បានត្រូវបំភ្លឺយ៉ាងច្បាស់ តាមករណីសិក្សាពេលស្នងរាជ្យនេះ ។ ព្រះបាទហរស្សវរ្ម័នទី២ដែលជាព្រះរាជាស្នងរាជ្យ នៅកោះកេរ ត្រូវជាបងប្អូនដ៏ដូនមួយជាមួយព្រះបាទរាជេន្ទ្រវរ្ម័ន (៩៤៤-៩៦៨) ។ ព្រះ មាតាទាំងពីរត្រូវជាបងប្អូនបង្កើត ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងនេះក៏ដោយ ព្រះរាជបុត្រទាំងពីរនេះជា សត្រូវដណ្តើមរាជ្យរវាងគ្នា ដែលដោះស្រាយដោយការប្រយុទ្ធគ្នា ។ ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រពិតពាក់ ព័ន្ធនឹងការដណ្តើមរាជ្យដោយវាយប្រហារគ្នាគ្មានអាណិតអាសូរ ទោះជាបងប្អូនរួមសាច់ លោហិតក៏ដោយនេះ មានតម្លៃអត្ថន័យសម្រាប់ចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភព លោក ។

៨) ប្រជាជាតិខ្មែរបង្ហាញជាប្រទេសបេតិកភណ្ឌពិភពលោក ដែលយើងឃើញថា កោះកេរជាប្រាសាទដែលបញ្ចេញផ្សព្វផ្សាយនូវសម្រស់មន្តស្នេហ៍នៃវប្បធម៌ទំនៀម ទម្លាប់ខ្មែរទៅពិភពលោកបាន ។ រាជធានីកោះកេរដែលបង្ហាញនូវទស្សនៈទាំងអស់នៃ មនុស្សខ្មែរ ជាករណីប្រាសាទដ៏ប្រសើរមួយសម្រាប់សិក្សាពិចារណា ថាតើបានត្រូវកសាង

ឡើងយ៉ាងណា ជាពិសេសការបង្ហាញដំណើរការនៃការកសាងនេះនៅទីតាំងផ្ទាល់ អាច ឲ្យយើងផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់វឌ្ឍនភាពតាមតំណក់កាលបាន ។ កោះកេរជាមរតកវប្បធម៌មួយ អាច ឲ្យយើងពិនិត្យតាមដានឡើងវិញថាការសាងសង់នេះបានឈានដល់ត្រឹមណាហើយ តាមរយៈការបញ្ជាក់នូវទស្សនៈថ្មីនៃការសាងសង់ រួមជាមួយសមិទ្ធផលដែលបានទទួល ក្នុងរយៈពេល២៣ឆ្នាំនៃការសាងសង់នេះ ។ កោះកេរមិនបានសាងសង់រួចរាល់ជាស្ថាពរ ឡើយ ប៉ុន្តែគឺជាប្រាសាទទាក់ទាញយើងឲ្យចូលក្នុងសុបិនជ្រៅទៅៗ នាពេលដែលយើង គិតស្រម័យដល់ការសាងសង់រាជធានីនាសម័យកាលនោះ ដែលបង្ហាញថាជាប្រាសាទ មានលក្ខណៈសម្បត្តិគ្រប់គ្រាន់ដើម្បីចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។

៩) ឈានទៅរកវឌ្ឍនភាពតំបន់ ដោយតម្លើងគម្រោងកសាងសារមន្ទីរតំបន់ ភ្ជាប់ជាមួយ វិទ្យាស្ថានស្រាវជ្រាវជួសជុលនិងថែរក្សាសំណង់បុរាណធ្វើពីថ្ម រួមជាមួយការបង្កើត នាយកដ្ឋានបណ្តុះបណ្តាលធនធានមនុស្ស ចាប់តាំងពីជាងដាច់ថ្ម រហូតដល់មន្ត្រីអភិរក្ស មានសារៈសំខាន់ណាស់ ។ តាមរយៈការងារជួសជុលថែរក្សានេះ យើងនឹងអាចរកឃើញ មកវិញនូវបច្ចេកទេសបុរាណដែលបង្កប់ក្នុងសំណង់ទាំងនោះ ។ រាជធានីកោះកេរបាន កសាងឡើងនៅលើសណ្ឋានដីធម្មជាតិនៅតំបន់នោះ ដូច្នេះយើងអាចរៀបចំដំណើរ ទស្សនាដោយនាំភ្ញៀវទេសចរ និងអ្នកស្រុកទៅមើលការដ្ឋានបុរាណដែលពោរពេញទៅ ដោយភាពលំបាកជាមួយនឹងផ្ទាំងស្រទាប់ថ្មកកជាច្រើន ។ យើងអាចពិនិត្យគន្លងនៃការ លំបាកនេះ នៅការដ្ឋានជីកអាងផ្ទុកទឹករហាល ថាតើមនុស្សជំនាន់នោះកាប់គាស់ថ្មដ៏រឹង ប៉ែសនៅបាតបារាយណ៍នោះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច? តើមនុស្សជំនាន់នោះជំនះការងារទាំង នេះដោយដឹកនាំការដ្ឋានតាមវិធីណា?

១០) រៀបចំវគ្គសិក្សាតាមការដកបទពិសោធន៍ និងតាមការទស្សនាប្រាសាទទាំងឡាយ ដោយឈរលើទស្សនៈសុខុមលោកតាមបែបខ្មែរ ។ យើងអាចធ្វើការសិក្សានៅទីតាំងផ្ទាល់ ដើម្បីយល់ដឹងថា តើទស្សនៈសុខុមលោកតាមបែបខ្មែរនេះ បានបង្កើតដោយបង្កប់នៅ ក្នុងការស្ថាបនារាជធានីថ្មីដោយរបៀបណា? ដោយគិតពិចារណាទៅលើទំនាក់ទំនងនៃ ការកំណត់ទីតាំងសំណង់ រាជវាំង ប្រាសាទធំតូច និងមណ្ឌបសម្រាប់ព្រាហ្ម ។ ដោយហេតុ

ថា រាជធានីនេះជាសុខុមលោកមួយនោះ តើគេបានតម្កល់ទេពជំទុកនៅទីណា? យ៉ាងដូចម្តេច? ហើយគិតពិចារណាអំពីអត្ថន័យវប្បធម៌ និងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធជាមួយ ។

១១) យើងអាចសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវរកភាពដើមដែលបង្កប់នៅក្នុងសិល្បៈកោះកេរមកវិញ ។ នេះជាឱកាសសម្រាប់យើងសិក្សាពិចារណាអំពីទំនោរចិត្តស្ថាបនាសំណង់ធំស្តើមស្តែ រួមជាមួយទេពកថានោះ ដែលអាចឲ្យយើងផ្សព្វផ្សាយវប្បធម៌នេះតាមការពិនិត្យពិចារណាក្នុងន័យជាសិល្បៈជាបដិមានុវភាពដើមពិតៗនៃប្រាសាទកោះកេរ។ ទំនោរចិត្តស្ថាបនារូបចម្លាក់ធំៗ បានធ្វើឲ្យលេចត្រដែតឡើងនូវជីវិតរស់រវើក និងព្រលឹងពិតៗនៃរូបចម្លាក់ទាំងនោះ ផ្តល់ជាឱកាសឲ្យយើងសួរថាតើត្រូវវាយតម្លៃដូចម្តេច? រួមជាមួយស្ថានភាពសំណង់កំពែង និងសំណង់ខ្សឿនប្រាសាទ នៅលើផ្តែរ ហោជាង អង្កែ ជាដើម ។ យើងអាចសិក្សាបញ្ជាក់ថាក្នុងរយៈពេលសាងសង់២៣ឆ្នាំ តើគេធ្លាក់រូបទេពអ្វីខ្លះដែលជាសិល្បៈចម្លាក់ក្រឡោតរចនាលំអទាំងនេះ? យោងលើន័យនេះ កោះកេរជាប្រាសាទដែលសមសួរនឹងចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។

យោងលើចំណុចទាំង១១ដែលបានបកស្រាយយ៉ាងលម្អិតខាងលើនេះ ខ្ញុំសូមផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍រ៉ាប់រងដល់ការចុះបញ្ជីបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោកនៃក្រុមប្រាសាទកោះកេរនេះ ។

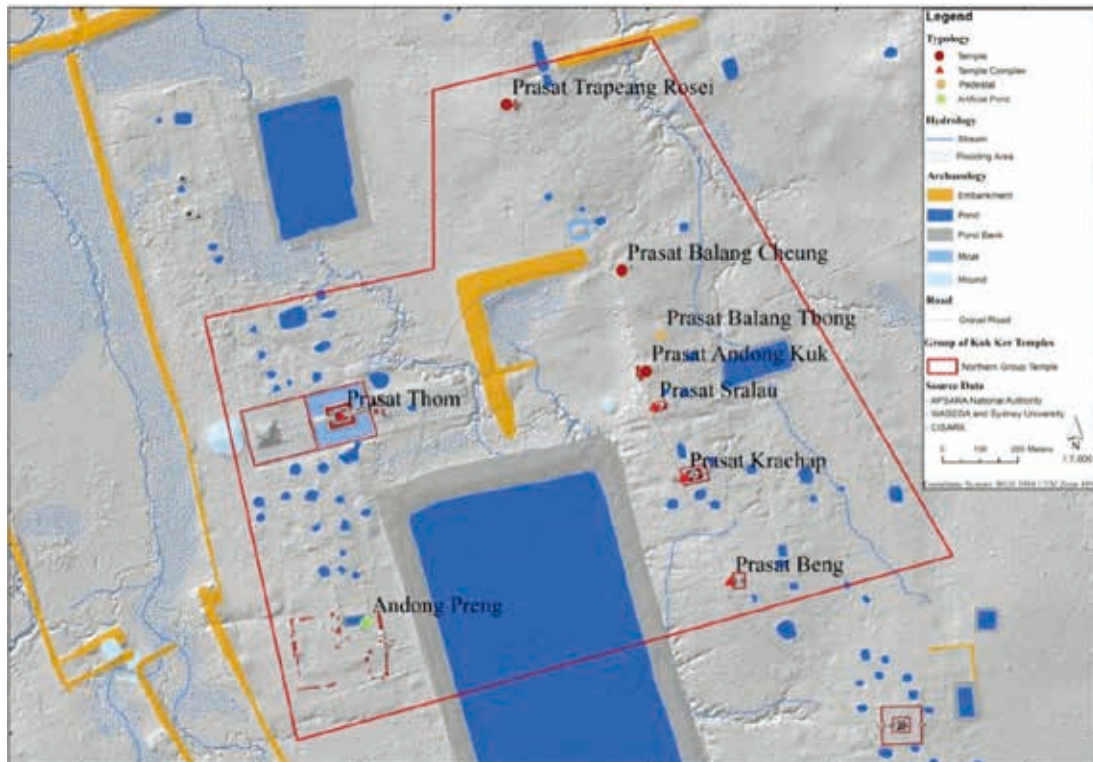
## Research Documents



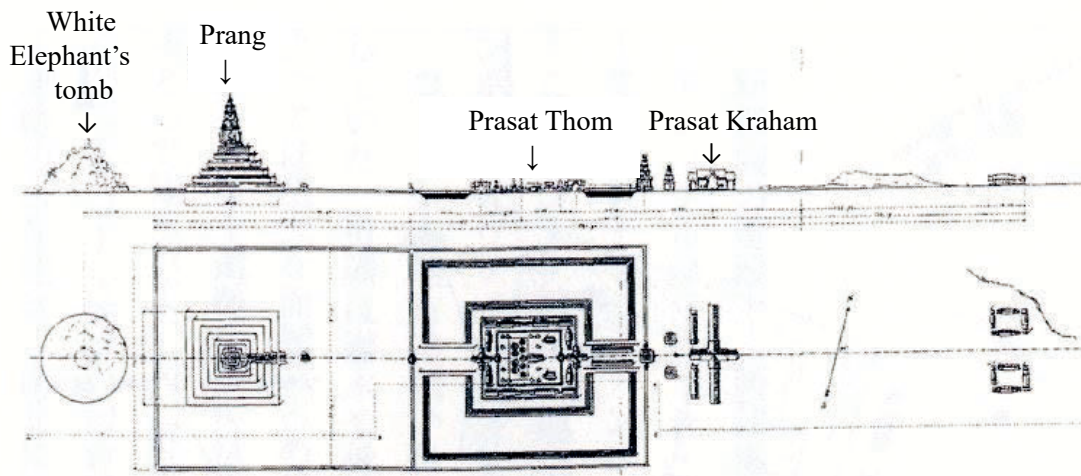
Prasat Thom (right) and Prasat Prang  
Capital city has an axis of 15 degrees northwest  
Koh Ker (921-944)

MCHA 図説より

1



2



Elevation plan and plan view of Koh Ker capital city



### Prasat Kraham (red temple)

East entrance to the main  
Pyramidal Prang (temple), made  
by bricks

Koh Ker (921-944)

Causeway from the east entrance to the main complex of Prasat Thom, fallen columns and it used to have a wooden roof. (Field research, December 2000), Koh Ker (921-944)



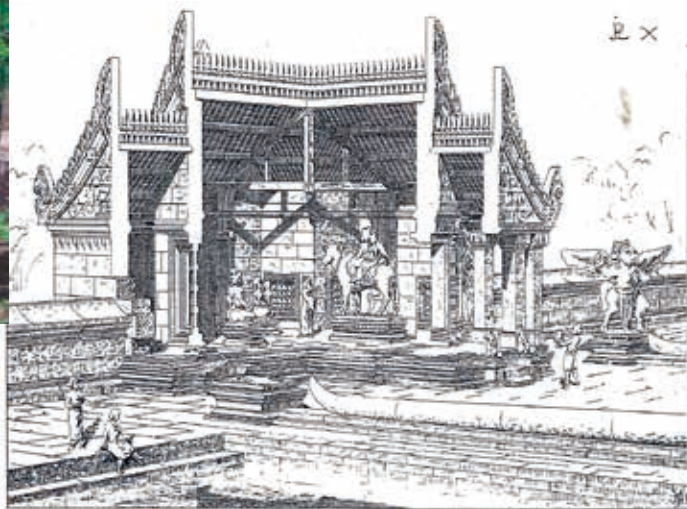
5

### Reconstructed Plan of Koh Ker (Parmentier. H)



Fallen columns and it used to have a wooden roof

Koh Ker (921-944)



6



Seven-tiered pyramid of Koh Ker, 42m high  
State ritual ceremony was performed on the top  
Koh Ker (921-944)

7



Simha altar at the top

Broken east stairway of Prang and bamboo handrail  
New western wooden stairway was erected in 2016.  
(Field research in 2011), Koh Ker 921-944)

8



Altar at the top of Prang,  
Pedestal supported by Simha,  
We could see Kulen mountain from this  
42m high of Prang  
Koh Ker (921-944)

9

Group of small brick ruins in the Prasat Thom compound, Koh Ker site  
Growing of tropical trees and vegetation  
Koh Ker (921-944)



10





Depicted scene of Yama god on the pediment, Prasat Krachap  
Koh Ker (921-944)

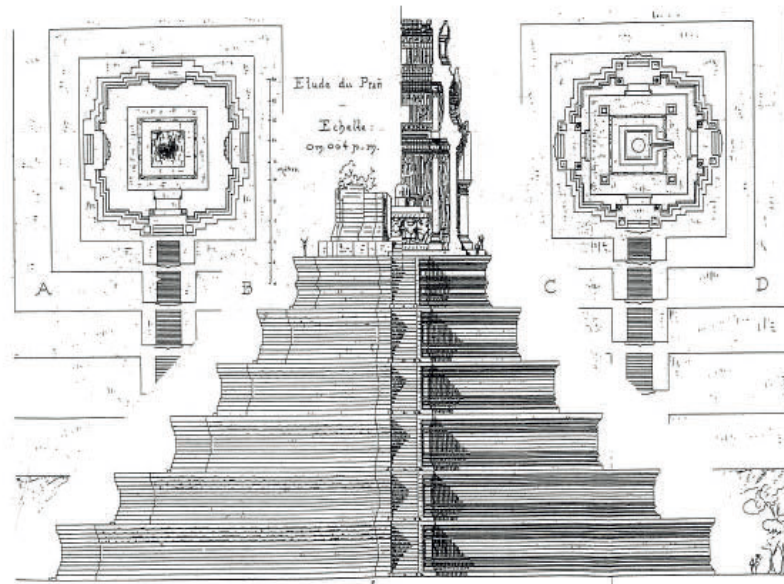
Three brick towers of Prasat Pram  
Growing tropical trees rooted on the towers  
Koh Ker (921-944)



Linga of Prasat Balang (north), located to the northeast of Rohal reservoir  
 Linga is 1m high and 0.9m diameter installed on 3.4m squares of Yoni  
 Koh Ker site was characteristically used the big sandstone, so we can find  
 a 7 tone of sandstone at the site, Koh Ker (921-944)



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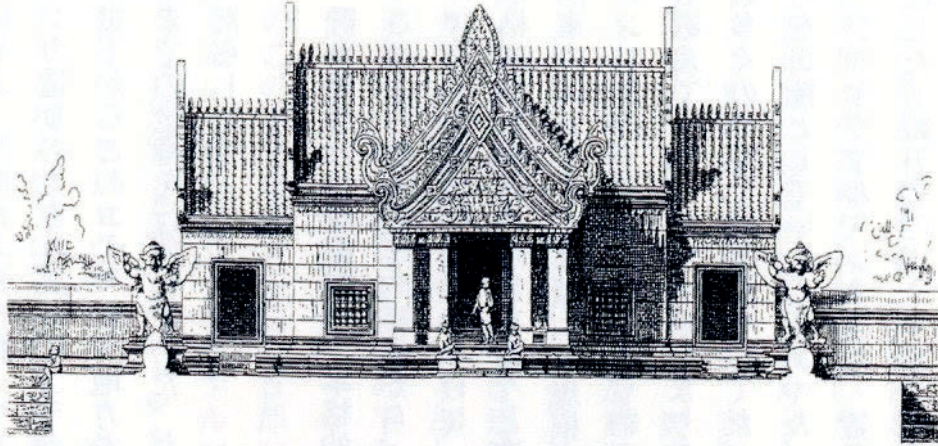


Reconstructed plan of pyramidal Prang (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

14

Reconstructed plan of Prasat Thom (Parmentier. H)

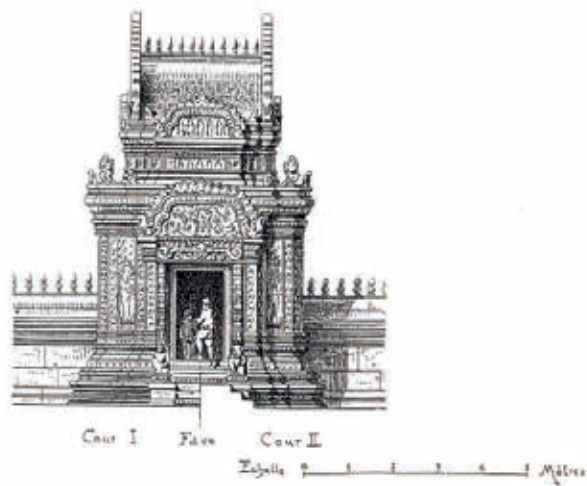


Parmentier. H.:*L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

15

KONKER

Gopura de la 1<sup>re</sup> Enclosure



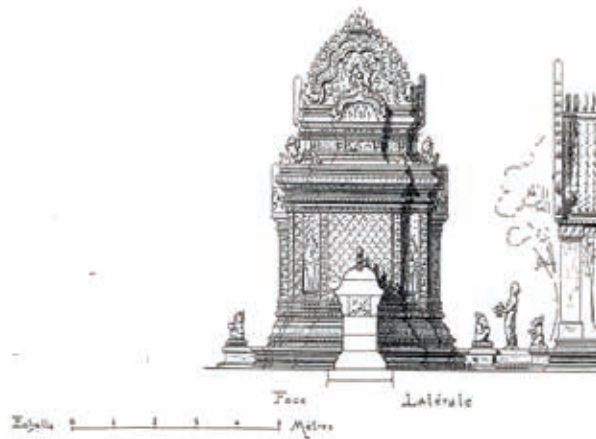
Gopura of the 1st enclosure (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.:*L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

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ក្បែរ

Gopura de la 1<sup>re</sup> Enclosure



Gopura of the 1<sup>st</sup> enclosure, laterite tower (Parmentier. H)

Parmentier. H.: *L'Art Khmer Classique*. Monuments du quadrant Nord-Est, Paris, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

17

## US Museum Returns Stolen Rama Statue

By PETER FORD  
AND OUCH SONY  
THE CAMBODIA DAILY

A 10th century stone carving of the Hindu deity Rama, the last remaining statue from the Koh Ker temple complex that had been on public display outside Cambodia, was returned to Phnom Penh last week, officials confirmed yesterday.

The torso of Rama, which is missing its head, feet and hands, was flown back to Cambodia on Wednesday from the Denver Art Museum, with a formal ceremony at the Council of Ministers planned for next month, said Kong Virak, director of the National Museum in Phnom Penh.

"Receiving a statue with such special value is a joyous occasion, but we still have to work to find the others," he said, noting that based on photographs and archaeological evidence, there could be as many as ten more statues from the temple complex in Preah Vihear province still unaccounted for.

"We never expected that any of the stolen statues would be returned, so we are grateful that another one has come back to Cambodia," he said.

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Statue of Hindu deity Rama

## Statue...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Mr. Virak said representatives of the Denver Art Museum, where the 1.6-meter-tall torso had been on display until December, first contacted Cambodian officials in mid-2015 and sealed its return in an agreement with the Council of Ministers signed on February 16.

In a statement on Friday, the Denver Art Museum said the statue—believed to have been looted from Koh Ker in the 1970s—was returned to Cambodia following new research into the piece's provenance.

"We were recently provided with verifiable evidence that was not available to us at the time of acquisition, and immediately began taking all appropriate steps to deaccession the object and prepare it for its return home," Christoph Heinrich, the museum's director, is quoted as saying.

Following the discovery in 2012 of empty pedestals at Koh Ker's Prasat Chen temple, officials began to search for the stolen statues. Six have since been located and returned, including two from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2013, and four others held in collections at Sotheby's, Christie's, the Norton Simon Museum and the Cleveland Museum.

Anne Lemaistre, Unesco's representative to Cambodia, said that while the statue's return was greatly appreciated, four more statues from Prasat Chen are still believed to be held in private collections.

"To have all of the statues returned to Cambodia is something Unesco has been working hard to achieve, and we appeal to anyone who may currently have one of the remaining statues in their private collection to follow the nice gesture of the Denver museum and return it," she said.

Although the Rama statue is

back home, it may be a while before it goes on public display, said Mr. Virak.

"Repairing the torso will take time before it can be displayed with the other statues that have been returned," he said, without saying exactly what improvements were being made to the sculpture. "It will take at least a year."

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# Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development

Sophia University Angkor International Mission  
La Mission Internationale sur l'Etude Scientifique d'Angkor de l'Université Sophia.

## **គោរពជូន សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា**

សម្តេចនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ជាទីគោរព

ចាប់តាំងពីខែធ្នូ ឆ្នាំ២០០០មក ក្រុមសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវអន្តរជាតិអំពីអង្គរនៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យសូហ្វីយ៉ា (Sophia University Angkor International Mission) សហការជាមួយនិងអាជ្ញាធរជាតិអប្សរា បានធ្វើការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវជាច្រើនលើកអំពីក្រុមប្រាសាទកោះកេរ ។ ក្រោមសណ្ឋានចិត្តយោគយល់របស់សម្តេច នាខែធ្នូ ឆ្នាំ២០០០នោះ យើងខ្ញុំបានទទួលសេចក្តីអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យប្រើប្រាស់ឧទ្ធាតុគ្រនៃកងយុទ្ធពលខេមរភូមិន្ទដើម្បីធ្វើការសិក្សានេះ ។ ខ្ញុំសូមសម្តែងអំណរដ៏ជឿជាក់ច្រាលជ្រៅជាទីបំផុត ចំពោះសណ្ឋានចិត្តដ៏ល្អវិសេសវិសាលនេះ ។

នៅទីនេះ ខ្ញុំសូមសេចក្តីអនុញ្ញាតដ៏ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ជម្រាបជូននូវរបាយការណ៍នៃការសិក្សាដូចខាងក្រោម ៖

១. យ៉ូស៊ីអាគី អ៊ីស៊ីសាគី «សិក្សាអង្គរជាលក្ខណៈវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ», លេខ៨, ឆ្នាំ២០០១ (ភាសាជប៉ុន) ។
២. យ៉ូស៊ីអាគី អ៊ីស៊ីសាគី និង សាតុរិ មីកា «ប្រាសាទធំៗទាំងប្រាំនៅកម្ពុជា», ឆ្នាំ២០១២, រោងព្រឹត្តិបត្រ (ភាសាជប៉ុន) ។
៣. យ៉ូស៊ីអាគី អ៊ីស៊ីសាគី «មហាប្រាសាទកប់ក្នុងព្រៃនៅកម្ពុជា», ឆ្នាំ២០១៦, ផ្សាយតាមទូរទស្សន៍NHK (ភាសាជប៉ុន) ។

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លទ្ធផលនៃការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានបង្ហាញថាកោះកេរ គឺជាក្រុមប្រាសាទមាន  
តម្លៃជាប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ និងវប្បធម៌ដ៏ធំធេងដែលខ្ញុំសូមអះអាងថា មានតម្លៃសមស្របក្នុងការ  
ចុះបញ្ជីជាបេតិកភណ្ឌវប្បធម៌ពិភពលោក ។ នៅទីនេះ ខ្ញុំសូមភ្ជាប់នូវលិខិតគាំទ្រដែលឈរ  
លើការសិក្សាលម្អិតនៃការបកស្រាយគ្រប់ជ្រុងជ្រោយរបស់ខ្ញុំ គោរពជូនសម្តេចនាយករដ្ឋ  
មន្ត្រី ដោយទឹកចិត្តសោមន្សរិករាយជាទីបំផុត ។

សូមសម្តេចនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ទទួលនូវសេចក្តីគោរពដ៏ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់អំពីខ្ញុំ ។

ភ្នំពេញ ថ្ងៃទី៨ ខែកញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ២០២០



សាស្ត្រាចារ្យបណ្ឌិត **យ៉ុងស៊ីនេតី អ៊ុនស៊ីនេតា**  
ប្រធានមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលអាស៊ីសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវនិងបណ្តុះបណ្តាល  
ធនធានមនុស្ស នៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យសូហ៊ុយ៉ា  
ទទួលរង្វាន់ រ៉ាម៉ុង ម៉ាកសាយសាយ (Ramon Magsaysay Award) ឆ្នាំ២០១៧

# ヨゼフ・ピタウ学長から40年

## —ソフィア・ミッションとアジア地域研究—

上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター所長  
2017年ラモン・マグサイサイ賞受賞者  
石澤良昭

### A-1 大学をあげて「難民救済」のソフィア・ミッション（国際奉仕活動）（1979年から）

カンボジアでは、1970年から隣国のベトナム戦争の煽りを受け、大混乱がはじまった。ポル・ポト政権（1975年－1979年）下では約150万人以上の大虐殺があった。こうした政治混乱から数百万人のカンボジア人難民がタイ国境に逃れた。その後、カンボジアではベトナムに支援されたヘン・サムリン政権が誕生（1979年）した。同派に加えて、ポル・ポト派、シハヌーク派、ソン・サン派の4派に分かれての内戦が1993年まで24年間続いていた。

「ソフィア・ミッション」というのは1979年から始まる上智大学の教職員・学生・賛同者による国際奉仕活動である。私たちはカンボジア人難民問題を見過ごすわけにはいかなかった。大学では1979年から「インドシナ難民に愛の手を」の救済キャンペーンを開始。同年12月、J.ピタウ学長を中心に教職員が新宿駅の駅頭に立ち、「インドシナ難民に愛の手を」のために募金活動を実施した。そして、タイ国境にあるカオイ・ダンやサケオなどの難民キャンプへ食糧と医薬品を届け、戦争孤児を収容するセンターには学生ボランティアを派遣した。

水面下では和平交渉が進み、1991年10月にカンボジア和平パリ会議が開催された。このパリ和平協定により、ヘン・サムリン政権を含む4派による最高国民評議会（SNC）が設置された。日本からは今川幸雄特命全権大使がプノンペンに赴任した。1992年、明石康氏が国連カンボジア暫定統治機構（UNTAC）代表に任命され、さらに、国連難民高等弁務官（UNHCR）の緒方貞子氏（本学名誉教授）がカンボジア人難民の早期の帰還実現に尽力された。そして、カンボジアは1993年に王国として再発足し、ゼロからの国家建設が始まった。

### A-2 難民は「人間としての」「人間らしさの根本」の問題である —上智大学の決意—（1980年）

J.ピタウ学長は、「今、インドシナ半島では、何十万、何百万という人々が故郷を追われ、難民となって苦しんでいる。この人々のことを忘れてはなりません。上智大学では、去年（1979年）の暮れ以来、この人々のために募金運動を行ったばかりではなく、今、ボランティアの（上智の）学生たちが、現にタイの難民キャンプで、懸命に奉仕活動をつづけております。私たちは、単なる思いつきでこんなことを始めたわけではありません。これこそ、上智大学の根本的な理念、さらには、人間としての、人間らしさの根本にかかわることだと信じてこそ、この活動を行っているのです」と語り、新宿駅で募金活動を行った。（『上智大学通信』第84号1980年3月25日発行）

さらにJ.ピタウ学長は続けて「学内での募金だけでなく79年末に私（ピタウ）が新宿駅で街頭募金を行うと、教職員、学生が自発的に駅頭に立ち始めたのはうれしいことでした。約2週間で700万円の募金が集まりました。タイの難民キャンプに飛びました。食糧と医薬品を届け、さ



らに（上智の）学生をボランティアとして（孤児センターに）派遣できないかと考え、その視察も兼ねました。カンボジアとの国境近くに点在する難民キャンプをいくつか訪ねました。悲惨な光景でした。その中の一つで、孤児を収容する「孤児センター」を見て、ここなら学生でも一緒に遊び、身の回りの世話などができるのではないかと考えました。翌年2月から2年間、学生や教職員が次々と現地入りしました。」とその決意を述べた（『時代の証言者』読売新聞 2009年11月5日）。

#### A-3 カンボジア民族の栄光の精神的支柱アンコール・ワットをカンボジア人の手で救済 (1980年)

なぜ民族の元気を取り戻す起爆剤がアンコール・ワットなのか。なぜなら、アンコール・ワットは民族栄光の象徴である。ポル・ポト政権下では、遺跡保存官は知識人と見なされ、40数名のうち、生きて帰ってきたのは3名だけであった。難民救済と遺跡救済を掲げるソフィア・ミッションは、内戦で傷つき、失意のカンボジアの人たちを慰め、民族として誇りを取り戻してもらいたいと願い、カンボジア人のだれもが崇敬する「アンコール・ワット（修復工事）」をカンボジア人の手で修復することを提案した。遺跡救済班は1980年代に戦塵の煙るカンボジア国内に入り、1993年からアンコール・ワット西参道においてカンボジア人の保存官養成を開始した。カンボジア人同士の民族の和解とアイデンティティ再構築のため、アンコール・ワットの修復に手をつけたのである。私たちの提案はさらに一歩進めて、「カンボジア人による、カンボジアのための遺跡修復（By the Cambodians, for the Cambodians）」を保存官養成の目標に掲げた。上智大学は、現地カンボジアに土地を購入し、「上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター」を1996年に建設した。日本の大学として東南アジア現地に常設の地域研究拠点を開設したのは初めてであった。カンボジアを拠点としたアジア地域研究を目標に掲げているが、当面は、難民救済とアンコール遺跡救済を継続し、ゼロになったカンボジア人保存官の養成を実施してきた。

#### A-4 J. ピタウ学長年頭挨拶は「アジアと協力し、新しい世界を築くためアジア研究を強化」 (1980年)

「今年は80年代の最初の年になりますが、これから上智大学はどのような道を歩むべきか。「量より質」、それは私たちの今まで一つの基本的な方針でしたが、これからもそれを強く打ち出したいと思います。この80年代、私たちの夢であった中央図書館も完成するでしょう。そこで、学問的雰囲気高める、精神的なものを深めるということは、私たちの今後の課題であると思います。第2に上智大学の建学の精神を考えてみますと、この永遠の価値のための教育を与えるべきでありましょう。第3に私の一つの大きな希望ですが、今までどちらかというと上智大学は西洋に目を開いて、西洋中心に国際性を強調してきました。これからの80年代ではアジアを中心にしながら、アジアを理解し、さらにアジアと協力して新しい世界を作るという使命があると思います。つまり国際性の意味を再考する、その意味で4年前に立てた10年計画の中にアジア研究を強化するという項目が盛り込まれています」（『上智大学通信』昭和55年（1980年）1月23日発行から引用）。

#### A-5 アジアと協力して新しい世界を創る「アジア文化研究所」の設置を決定（1980年－1982年）

上智大学は1980年5月の理事会においてアジア研究体制（アジア文化研究所設置構想）を承認した。そして、大学評議会（1980年6月25日）の議題として、「アジア文化研究所（仮称）設置案」が諮られ、J.ピタウ学長からその構想案が述べられ、設置の主旨を承認した。さらに、「アジア文化研究所（仮称）」設立準備委員会第1回会合（1980年9月30日）が開かれ、準備委員会委員長から説明があった。「既存の研究組織において欠けている分野を当面は考えていきたい。例えば、イスラム研究を目的の中心とする。アフリカも含むことになるかもしれない。歴史・宗教などの人文系社会科学系研究に重点を置く。対象国としてはフィリピン、インドネシアは含まれるがイスラムが中心である。新地域名を挙げたのは新鮮味を持たせるためでもある。地域研究としてフィリピン、インドネシア、西南アジアを3本の柱とする」。そして「アジア文化研究所（仮称）」設立趣旨としては、「東アジアの一隅において、キリスト教的ヒューマニズムを基礎として、東西文化交流を念願する本学の建学の理念にかんがみ、近隣友邦たるアジア諸地域の宗教・言語・社会・歴史等を総合的に調査研究し、必要な教育活動を行うことの重要性が、今日ますます高まりつつある。そのため、将来恒久的に本学の特色の一つとなるようなアジア諸地域の文化および社会に関する研究、とりわけ、その地域の伝統文化、伝統的生活様式についての専門的研究を行う、さらにその理解の上に、現代の社会・文化諸現象を把握することを目指した研究機関の設立が望まれる。このような研究機関を設立し、アジア諸地域との学術文化交流を図り、また研究、交流の成果を世に問うことをもって、アジアのみならず世界の平和と発展に寄与しうることを期して、本研究の設立（1982年）の趣旨とする」。

次にアジア地域に関する、授業を開講する「アジア文化副専攻（仮題）」新設の件については、外国語学部教授会がこの設立を受け入れ、「アジア文化副専攻（仮題）」が承認された。大学評議会（1981年2月18日）において上智大学アジア文化研究所規程が承認された。そして外国語学部がアジア文化研究所の設立母体になることを承認。柳瀬陸男学長が兼務ではあるが、初代アジア文化研究所長に就任された。

#### A-6 アジア文化研究所内に「アンコール調査室」を開設（1992年4月1日）

上智大学は1979年からインドシナ難民の救済活動に取りかかった。1982年に設立されたアジア文化研究所では、所長を含めて3名の所員で発足したが、さしあたり、カンボジア難民問題に取り組み、アンコール遺跡の救済問題を継続することになった。1980年代後半からカンボジアでは、平和構築に向けて作業が始まり、国連カンボジア暫定統治機構（UNTAC）、日本の自衛隊の活動（PKO）など、マスコミはカンボジア報道に終始した。

日本では、産・学・官の有志が集まり、アンコール・ワット救済の任意団体が結成された。正式には1991年4月17日に「アンコール遺跡救済委員会」が設立され、会長に石川六郎氏（鹿島建設(株)社長）、事務局長に石澤良昭アジア文化研究所長、監査役に酒井幸弁護士（上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団副団長）が就任した。次に、同顧問に就任した大谷啓治学長（1993年－1999年）の指示により、同委員会の事務局「アンコール調査室」が本学アジア文化研究所内に開設された。同委員会には、外務省・文化庁をはじめマスコミ各社、ゼネコンなど約65社が参加した。同年4月29日には「アンコール遺跡救済日本代表団」31名がアンコール遺跡の現場を視察し、フ

ン・セン首相を表敬訪問した。同年10月にはカンボジア和平協定がパリで調印された。

上智大学は、前述のとおり1979年の難民救済とアンコール・ワット救済の両問題に取り組むため、カンボジア現地に大学の海外研究施設を建設することになった。その上智大学アンコール研修所は、敷地4,800㎡、研修所母屋282㎡、倉庫36㎡である。開所式は、1996年8月29日に行われ、カンボジア王国政府ヴァン・モリヴァン（Vann Molyvann）国務大臣など関係者80人が列席し、大谷学長が式辞を述べた。土地の取得費を含め、研修所建設の総経費は、全額寄付で賄われた。朝日新聞(株)、(株)東京海上日動キャリアサービス、(株)資生堂、(株)求龍堂および個人の篤志家などからご厚意が寄せられた。住所は、カンボジア王国シェムリアップ州のSiem Reap郡（Srok）のPhum Treang Slokram村である。

#### A-7 「アジア人材養成研究センター」と改称 —大学海外研究拠点の「グランド・レイアウト」第1号—（2002年—2013年）

学校法人上智学院理事会は、2001年5月、創立100周年（2013年）に向けて、「上智大学 教育・研究・キャンパス再興グランド・レイアウト（新ホフマン計画）」を学内外に発表した。その第1号は「アジア人材養成研究センター」の設置であった。設置の趣旨は、①アジア現地に暮らす人たちの自立を援ける地域研究の施設である。同時に、②アジア現地から学び、そこに住む人たちとの協働作業（調査・研究・現場実習など）を通じて地域の発展に貢献し、村落・環境・地域開発・生態系および文化遺産などの新しい地域資源の研究を行う。③上智大学の各学部および大学院各研究科等と密接に協力しながら、アジアの地域研究、中でも東南アジアや南アジア等を研究し、現地の州政府・市町村と提携する。本研究センターは、カンボジアにおける人材養成に加え、④そこから生まれる地域発の濃い地域研究を基軸に、地球世界およびアジア世界に学術貢献することを目標とする。設置の形態は、「大学附置教育研究機関」であり、現地に寄り添う「イエズス会方式」である。⑤上智大学の教育精神「Men and Women for Others, with Others（他者のために、他者とともに）」を、現地アジアにおいて実践していく。そして、⑥例えば、カンボジアには学ぶべき「知」の遺産があり、その上で私たちは日本の「知」を語るという姿勢を貫いてきた。それがカンボジアの人たちの信用度（クレディビリティ）を高めてきた。⑦遺跡の保存修復の人材養成の国際協力は、遺跡（文化）と村落（人間）と森林（自然）を三位一体に捉え、周辺の地域住民の協力を得て展開していく。

#### A-8 どのような地域人材を養成するか（1996年—現在）

上智大学の地域研究は、現地研究拠点に立脚した地域研究であり、現地の固有の問題などの研究を出発点として構築され、そこは研究者が現地に捧げる研究作業の場であり、住民との共同作業場としても成立する。日本の大学として初めて設置されたアジア地域研究の拠点である。アジア現地の地域的固有問題を解明し、そのうえでグローバル・イシュー（世界的課題）に取り組み、そこは定点観測をする研究拠点でもある。

##### 1) 保存官・石工等の養成：

1991年からの考古発掘および遺跡修復の現場実習の経験に基づき、考古・建築・保存科学系のカンボジア人研修生・保存官候補を受け入れ、学位取得もしくはこれに準じる学術・技術を習得

し、国際舞台で活躍できる保存官および地域研究者の候補を育成する。

2) アンコール地域研究者の養成：

保存官・地域研究員・石工・作業員の中から、自然（森林）・人間（村落）・文化（遺跡）を基軸にした自国（カンボジア）研究を推進する研究者を育成する。遺跡保存・地域研究・文化観光学・伝統文化等の分野における専門家・研究者が輩出されることが期待される。

3) 文化遺産保全のボランティアの養成：

①遺跡を守るボランティア、②村落儀礼等を守るボランティア、③自然環境・森林などを守るボランティアを育成する。④遺跡近隣に住むパゴタの僧侶・村の役人・サラリーマン・小中学校の教員などが、村人を対象に文化遺産保全講座を開き、遺跡の意味・価値・重要性を講義し、時には発掘・修復現場見学会を開催し、理解を深めることを目標とする（「アジア人材養成研究所センター設置の趣旨」2002年10月グラント・レイアウト、第1期（2001年－2005年）上智学院理事會）。（参照：『東京人』（都市出版）No. 333 上智大学と四谷界隈の100年 2013年12月増刊号 pp. 50-53）

（A-4からA-8については以下を参照：石澤良昭：ヨゼフ・ピタウ先生とアジア人材養成研究所センター—グラント・レイアウト第1号、アジアへ出かけてソフィア・ミッション—『アンコール遺跡を科学する』第20回アンコール遺跡国際調査団報告（2016年）pp. 11-28、上智大学アジア人材養成研究所センター）

#### B-1 王国政府は幹部養成が急務：カンボジア人留学生の大学院教育 —学位取得プログラムから—（1994年－2014年）

最初のカンボジア人留学生3名は1994年に上智大学大学院地域研究専攻へ入学した。これらの留学生は、王国政府の幹部候補生であった。合計18名の留学生は、英語による博士学位請求論文を5年間で仕上げなければならなかった。彼らは国づくりを背負って来日したが、論文執筆に必要な英語は、母国が内戦状態だったため、ほとんど学習する機会がなかった。初年度、彼らは上智大学の学内で開講されている英語の授業に聴講生として出席した。手を差し伸べてくださったのは、SJハウスの神父様（複数の先生）であった。英語の論文の添削を手伝ってくださった。それに、同級生の日本人院生など、上智大学が総がかりでカンボジア人留学生たちを支援した。学位請求論文提出者は、18名（博士7名、修士11名）であった。全員が母国に戻り、カンボジア王国政府の要職に就き、現在活躍している。

プノンペン大学副学長オム・ラヴィ女史およびカンボジア王国文化芸術省副局長エック・ブント氏の両氏は本学大学院卒業生であるが、2019年度に「日本・カンボジアの友好親善に貢献した」として、日本政府（外務省）からカンボジア人として初めて、表彰を受けたのであった。両氏の受章伝達式はカンボジア王国の日本大使館において行われた。上智大学にとっては何よりも嬉しいニュースであった。（参照：『アンコール遺跡を科学する』第21回アンコール遺跡国際調査団報告（2020年）p. 12、上智大学アジア人材養成研究所センター）

#### B-2 アンコール・ワットで民族再団結工事 —西参道修復の第1期起工式—（1996年－2007年）

1996年（平成8年）8月29日、起工式には大谷啓治学長が出席してシェムリアップ市内で行わ

れた。この西参道工事は、カンボジア王国政府アンコール地域遺跡整備機構（略称：国立アプサラ機構）との共同事業であり、上智大学は国家再建に奔走するカンボジアの人たちを励まし、ゼロから国づくりをはじめた彼らを勇気づけた。波及効果が大きいこの民族再団結の工事は、日本大学片桐正夫教授（故人）および石工棟梁小杉孝行氏（故人）の指導によりアンコール・ワットで開始された。2007年11月、西参道200mのうち、第1工区100mが12年に及ぶ修復工事を経て完成した。若手カンボジア人保存官の実習をかねて実施された。カンボジア王国の副首相ソク・アン（Sok An）閣下が出席のもと、近隣住民2,400名が集まり、渡り初めが行われた（参照：上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団編『アンコール・ワット西参道修復工事第Iフェーズ』2011）。

### B-3 世紀の大発見：274体の仏像を地中から発掘 —イオン(株)の協力で現地に仏像博物館の建設— (2001年－2010年)

2001年に、考古学の研修中のバンテアイ・クデイ寺院境内から、偶然にも274体の仏像が地中の埋納坑から発掘された。文字どおり世紀の大発掘となった。ジャヤヴァルマン8世（1243年－1295年）は、ヒンドゥー教を篤信し、反対派の仏教徒への見せしめに「仏像狩り」を命じた。これら大量の国宝級の仏像が、考古学現場実習中のカンボジア人研修生の手で発掘されたのである。2010年8月、同じ境内からさらに8体の仏像が発掘されている。2002年3月、岡田卓也氏（イオン(株)名誉会長）が、アジア人材養成研究センターに立ち寄られ、一時保管していた廃仏274体を見学された。氏は仏像尊顔の美しさに感動し、これらを展示するための博物館建設を提案、その建設費全額を本学に寄付された。新博物館は、16,200㎡の敷地に建築面積1,728㎡の2階建てである。2007年11月2日、シハモニ国王ご臨席のもとに、博物館の落成式が挙行された。同時に、イオン(株)からはこの博物館建物の贈呈状が国立アプサラ機構へ交付された。博物館入り口正面には、カンボジア王国の国章が掲げられ、カンボジアでも最も格式の高い仏像博物館として設置された（仏像の図録は：石澤良昭監修・著『シハヌーク・イオン博物館 アンコールの仏像』NHK出版2007）（参照：特集カンボジア支援としてのミュージアム「シハヌーク・イオン博物館」『Musée（ミュゼ）』83号（2008年1月25日）pp.8-17）。

### B-4 上智大学学外共同研究：アンコール遺跡の環境保全プロジェクト —ISO14001認証取得— (2003年－現在)

2019年にアンコール地域を訪れた観光客は約650万人を数えた。2000年頃からの観光客の急増に伴い、遺跡環境が劣化し、膨大なゴミ、車両排気による大気汚染、未処理下水による川の水質汚染、ホテルや駐車場建設による自然林の破壊、歴史景観の消滅など、深刻な問題が起こっていた。ユネスコなどからは、環境破壊の大きな懸念が示された。私たちは2003年5月から「上智大学学外共同研究プロジェクト」を立ち上げ、アンコール遺跡環境保全のための「ISO14001」の認証取得に向けてアプサラ機構と協力し、約1,200名の全職員と実務者に対して環境保全の実務研修を3年間にわたり実施してきた。実務研修では、上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター、国際規格研究所、日本品質保証機構（JQA）が環境保全教育を担当し、ISO取得マニュアルのテキスト（英語）をカンボジア語に翻訳し使用した。関係者全員が遺跡現場を廻り、さらに集落や中学校も訪問し、ゴミ・ゼロのコンクールを実施した。村の僧侶たちにも協力をお願いした。取得

のための準備期間は3年間、ISOの求める「環境マネジメント」とは何かを想定しながら、アプサラ機構、地域住民、関係者が一丸となって審査を受ける準備を行っていた。その結果、厳しい審査を経て、2006年3月「ISO14001認証」に合格し、晴れて認証を取得できたのである。そして、同年4月、アンコール・ワットにおいて認証式が行われた。遺跡入場証には「ISO14001」という文字が印字されている。数ある「世界遺産」のうち、ISO14001の取得は、アンコールが世界で初めてであり、ユネスコから高く評価された。これは上智大学のアンコール遺跡群の環境保全に対する大きな貢献である。取得後3年ごとの継続審査に合格し、現在に至っている（参照：『上智大学通信』第319号 2006年6月20日発行2面）。

#### B-5 カンボジア発上智大学21世紀 COE プログラム —アジアにおける「知」の再編成を目指す—（2002年－2006年）

文部科学省公募の「21世紀 COE プログラム（2002年－2006年）」では、本学が提出した「地域立脚型グローバル・スタディーズの構築」が採択された。その採択の理由を日本学術振興会は、「カンボジア、特にアンコール・ワットの歴史文化の総合調査研究・交流などの実績は評価できる。上智らしい国際性を活かし、グローバル・スタディーズの構築をさらに具体的に進められることを期待する」（日本学術振興会 HP）であった。カンボジアにある本学のアジア人材養成研究センターを会場として、4年間にわたり4回の国際シンポジウムが開催された。第1回「地域から発信するグローバル・スタディーズの方法論構築」2002年12月27日～29日／出席者約180名（8カ国）、第2回「文化遺産とアイデンティティとIT（情報技術）」2004年3月12日～14日／出席者約130人（12カ国）、第3回「カンボジア版地域自立型発展は可能か—小さな民と農民の声を発信させよう」2005年2月21日～22日／出席者約120名（9カ国）、第4回「文化遺産と環境と観光」2005年12月31日～06年1月1日／出席者約180名（11カ国）（参照：石澤良昭・丸井雅子共著『グローバル・ローカル文化遺産』上智大学出版会 2010）。

#### B-6 文部科学省公募の「大学教育の国際化推進プログラム」に採択（2006年－2009年）

上智大学は「文化遺産教育戦略に資する国際連携の推進—熱帯アジアにおける保存官・研究者等の国際教育プログラム」（2006年－2009年）を申請し、採択された。カンボジアにある本学研究センターにおいて、4年間にわたり文化遺産の保存・修復をメイン・テーマに掲げた大学院レベルの講義および現場研修が実施された。このプログラムは本学大学院の地域研究専攻内に併設され、日本で初めて国境を越えて併設された「文化遺産学」の大学院教育であった。英語によるアジア文化遺産の専門家会議であり、併せて現場体験の研修が実施された。教授陣は日本、フランス、カンボジア、ミャンマーから、大学院学生は日本、フランス、カンボジアから4年間で約90名がカンボジアのシェムリアップにある上智大学アジア人材養成研究センターに集まり、上智大学大学院の実習認定単位が付与された（参照：石澤良昭編『文化遺産教育戦略に資する国際連携の推進—熱帯アジアにおける保存官・研究者の国際教育プログラム—』上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター刊、2006～2009）。

#### B-7 「上智大学国際化拠点整備事業（グローバル30）」―現地アジアでの上智モデル事業― (2009年－2013年)

本学は全国の13大学とともに「グローバル30（国際化拠点整備事業）」（2009年－2013年）に採択された。全国の大学の中から上智大学が選ばれたことは何よりの快挙であった。本学では理工学部において英語による大学院教育を実現し、その後の大学院教育と研究の深化につながった。

国際化拠点整備事業では、アジアにおける事業現場の視察のため、2012年1月、中川正春文部科学大臣（当時）はじめ随員10人の日本政府文部科学省関係者が、アンコール・ワット西参道修復工事現場を訪れた。現地では本学大学院で学位を取得したカンボジア人リ・ヴァンナ博士（シハヌーク・イオン博物館長：当時）や5人のカンボジア人大学院卒業生、アンコール・ワット西参道の工事を担当した保存官や技官（石工職）ら19人が一行を出迎え、本学のカンボジアにおける20数年に及ぶ国際協力事業と現地の人材養成の成果について、彼ら自身が英語で説明した。建学の精神と結びついた本学のアジアにおける国際化拠点事業は、「上智モデル」として世界から注目され、先駆的研究と教育活動の事業として評価された。

#### B-8 文化庁「国際協力拠点交流事業 ―カンボジアにおける文化遺産保存のための拠点交流事業―」(2010年－2013年)

本研究センターは、文化庁の「カンボジアにおける文化遺産保存のための拠点交流事業」（2010年－2013年）により4年間にわたり約20名のカンボジア人考古学・建築学の学生に文化遺産保存修復の保存官・専門家養成プログラムを実施した。日本・カンボジア両国の教授陣が専門講義と実習を担当した。同プログラムは、第1回が2010年7月～9月、第2回が2011年7月～9月、第3回が2011年12月、第4回が2013年7月～9月にわたり実施された。併せて、公開シンポジウム（英語・カンボジア語）「*International Symposium on Khmerology in Phnom Penh*（クメール学研究国際シンポジウム）」は、2012年1月にプノンペン大学で開催された（石澤良昭編『カンボジアにおける文化遺産保存』アジア人材養成研究センター2013）。

#### B-9 文化庁「国際協力拠点交流事業 ―東南アジア5ヵ国における文化遺産保存のための拠点交流事業―」(2014年－2016年)

「東南アジア5ヵ国における文化遺産保存のための拠点交流事業」がカンボジア現地の本学アジア人材養成研究センターで開かれた。タイ・ミャンマー・ベトナム・ラオス・カンボジアの大陸部東南アジア5ヵ国から石造文化遺産の現場の担当者43名が集まり、各国のカントリー・レポートが発表され、熱気あふれる質疑応答が行われた（参照：『東南アジア5ヵ国における文化遺産保存のための拠点交流事業 成果報告書』2014年、2015年、2016年刊行の全3巻、上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター刊）。

#### B-10 アンコール・ワット西参道をオール・ジャパンで修復 ―第2期工事始まる― (2016年－2024年)

アンコール・ワット西参道の修復工事の第2期工事（2016年－2024年）は国立アプサラ機構と共同工事として着工した。この工事では、日本国外務省のODA（一般文化無償資金協力 機

材供与9,400万円) が付与された。日本から修復に必要な機材が現地に届き、現在使用している。両国の専門家が「アンコール・ワット西参道修復技術交流研修委員会」(技術教育・工事指導)をつくり、技術問題を協議しながら施工を進め、2020年で4年目となった。この間、合計4冊の工事報告書が刊行された(参照:アンコール・ワット西参道修復技術交流研修委員会編『アンコール・ワット西参道第2工区・第3工区 修復工事設計・施工計画』2017、『アンコール・ワット西参道第2工区・第3工区 修復工事設計・施工基本計画』2018、『2018年度活動成果報告書』2019、『2019年度活動成果報告書』2020 これら4冊、上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター刊)。

#### B-11 ソフィア・ミッション(上智大学)が国際社会から評価され、2017年ラモン・マグサイサイ賞を受賞(2017年)

上智大学の国際奉仕活動ソフィア・ミッションが高く評価され、アジアのノーベル賞といわれているR・マグサイサイ賞を本研究センター所長石澤良昭が代表して受賞した。授賞式は2017年8月31日、フィリピンのマニラ市内で行われた。同賞は、フィリピンの故ラモン・マグサイサイ大統領を記念して創設された国際賞である。授賞式では、同賞財団の評議員より、「アンコール・ワット遺跡保存修復は、カンボジア人の手でなされるべきとの信念に基づき、①アンコール遺跡を守るカンボジア人専門家の人材養成に尽力したこと、②カンボジア人が民族として誇りを取り戻すきっかけとなったこと、③アンコール・ワット遺跡に代表される文化遺産を国際社会が人類の至宝として保存していく重要性を広く世界に訴求したこと」が受賞理由として述べられた。

この受賞は、上智大学がカンボジアで推進してきたソフィア・ミッションに対する国際的な評価である。大学からは財政支援を継続的にいただき、ソフィア・ミッションが実施できた。心から感謝いたしたい(石澤談)(石澤良昭教授マグサイサイ賞受賞記念講演会『建学の精神をアジアの現地で実践』2017年11月6日)。

#### B-12 文化庁「アセアン10カ国における文化遺産の継承と博物館の新しい役割のための拠点交流事業」(2017年-2019年)

アセアン10カ国では国内の道路・ホテルなどの建設により「開発遺物」が出土し、その取扱いに博物館が苦慮している事実に基づき、10カ国の担当者にアンコール遺跡に集まってもらった。カンボジアの先行事例に基づき「開発遺物」の問題を討論し、その問題点を3冊の報告書にまとめた。会場はシェムリアップ市(上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター)。ワークショップ実施日:2017年11月13日~19日、2018年11月2日~8日、2019年11月25日~12月2日の3回(参照:石澤良昭編『アセアン10カ国における文化遺産の継承と博物館の新しい役割』No.1~No.3、上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター刊、2017~2019、東京)。

(英語発表:ISHIZAWA, Y: Activities for Exchanges in International Cooperation for Inheritance of Cultural Properties and the New Role of Museums within ASEAN 10 Countries (Report on International Workshop in 2017-2018) ICOM (国際博物館会議) KYOTO 2019 Venue: Inamori Memorial Hall Kyoto, Date: 2nd September 2019)



### B-13 古窯跡発掘のためのカンボジア人中堅幹部養成特別研修（1999年－2000年）

カンボジアのシェムリアップ州タニ村で大規模な古窯跡群が発見された。日本の国際交流基金の支援により、タニ村の窯跡群において古窯跡保存についての研修が実施された。日本とカンボジアの考古学研修生12名が出席し、上智大学青柳洋治教授（故人）および杉山洋研究員（奈良文化財研究所）から窯跡整備・公開展示について、詳しい講義と保存の実践例が示された（参照：石澤良昭編『古窯跡発掘のためのカンボジア人中堅幹部養成特別研修2ヵ年計画』報告書、上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター、2000）。

## 小さなソフィア・ミッションの活動記録

### C-1 3神父が学生交流プロジェクトを開始（1959年－1964年）

イエズス会3神父（P. Riestch, SJ（東京、SJハウス）、Gomane, SJ（バンコック、イエズス会学生寮）、Larre, SJ（ベトナム・ホーチミン市、イエンド・イエズス会学生寮））は、AUVIT（Amitié Universitaire entre Vietnam-Japon-Thaïlande）を立ち上げ、東南アジア3カ国の学生交流を実施してきた。ベトナム戦争勃発のため1964年に中止。

### C-2 王立芸術大学（プノンペン）における日本人教授陣による集中講義（1991年－2001年）

場所はプノンペン市内の王立芸術大学校舎（期間：1991年－2001年）。受講学生延べ約2,800名。カンボジア人教授がポル・ポト政権下の知識人粛清により行方不明になり、専門講義が開講できなかった。上智大学は同大の窮状を助けるため、日本人教授陣が特別講義をできるようにプロジェクトを立ち上げた。日本人の教授・専門家はアンコール遺跡における人材養成のため、プノンペン経由で同国へ出入国するが、シェムリアップへの往復途中で下車し、プノンペンに滞在し、専門分野の集中講義を担当した（上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団のボランティア活動）。

### C-3 NHKスペシャル「水の帝国 アンコール・ワット」（1997年）

1997年11月16日に全国放映。JICA作製の5000分の一地形図資料に基づき、国際航業㈱のコンピュータグラフィックを駆使させていただき、約900年前のアンコール王朝時代の田越灌漑を復元し、その画面上に再現した。アンコール王朝の繁栄を支えた水利都市の解明につながり、たいへん好評を博した。B. Ph. グロリエが1979年に提示したアンコール王朝最盛期の可耕地面積60万ヘクタール、粳米生産約12,600トン、1平方キロあたりの人口密度526人という数字は、いくつもの石造大伽藍を造営中の建築作業員とその家族の食糧を賄うという点から考えると妥当な数字である。このJICA作製の5000分の一地形図資料により、グロリエの水利都市論が裏付けられた。画期的な大発見であった。

### C-4 NHK「プロジェクトX、挑戦者たち、アンコール・ワットに誓う師弟の絆」（2001年）

2001年11月21日放映されたこの番組は、大好評を博した。日本航空の機内番組としても採用された。物語は内戦のあとカンボジアではゼロからの国家再建が始まり、アンコール・ワット修復を手伝う日本人石工棟梁小杉孝行氏（故人）とそこに弟子入りしたカンボジア人石工トイさんと

の実話である。アンコール・ワットをカンボジア人の手で修復しようと立ち上がった石工トイさんの奮闘物語である。国家再建にかけるカンボジア人の根性物語でもある。

#### C-5 アンコール文化遺産教育センターの開設 ―地域の住民と手を携えて文化遺産を守る活動― (2011年)

2011年12月、バンテアイ・クデイ遺跡内に「アンコール文化遺産教育センター」が日本国外務省の「草の根文化無償」により建設された。開所式には佐久間勤理事（現上智学院理事長）が学院を代表して出席した。このセンターは周辺の住民および小学校・中学校生徒に対し、自国の文化遺産への理解の深め、保存活動に参加してもらえるよう教材パネルを常設展示している。

#### C-6 国際シンポジウム「過去から未来へ アジアにおけるカトリック教会の使命：上智大学の貢献」 International Symposium : Between Past and Future, the Mission of the Catholic Church in Asia : the contribution of Sophia University (2014年)

ローマで開催された上智大学創立100周年記念事業である。石澤所長が“*International Cooperation among Jesuit Universities in Asia, Sophia's Current Development of Human Resources in Cambodia*”を研究発表した。日時：2014年3月14日・15日。会場：ローマ教皇庁立グレゴリアン(Gregoriana)大学 マテオリッチ講堂。出席者約150名。(参照： *The Journal Gregorianum*, Rome, 2014)

#### C-7 国立プノンペン大学から名誉博士号授与 (2020年)

石澤良昭教授は、2020年に国立プノンペン大学開学60周年を記念し、カンボジア王国に多大の貢献があった理由で同大学から「名誉博士号」授与決定の通知を受けた。コロナ禍のため授与式は未済。

#### 文部科学省科学研究費など公的助成金 (1986年～2018年) 受領一覧 (石澤良昭が研究代表者・拠点リーダー・事業担当責任者)

助成年	内 容
1986年	昭和61・62・63年度日本学術振興会国際共同研究（1年次：宗教とアジア社会（キリスト教とアジア社会）、2年次：宗教とアジア社会（仏教とアジア社会）、3年次：宗教とアジア社会（儒教とアジア社会））研究代表者（～1989年3月）
1987年	昭和62年度文部省研究成果公開促進費（「大学と科学」公開シンポジウム『アジア、その多様な世界』）研究代表者
1987年	昭和62年度文部省海外学術研究（下ビルマにおけるビルマ社会の形成研究）研究代表者
1991年	平成3・4・5年度文部省科学研究費補助金重点領域（文明と環境：アンコール文明・マヤ文明の盛衰と環境変動）研究代表者（～1994年3月）
1993年	平成5・6・7年度文部省科学研究費補助金国際学術研究（カンボジア・アンコール・トム遺跡学術調査）研究代表者（～1996年3月）
1996年	平成8・9・10年度文部省科学研究費補助金国際学術研究（「熱帯アジア（東南アジア・インド）の遺跡調査による新発掘保存修復方法論の構築研究」）研究代表者（～1999年3月）
1996年	平成8・9・10年度国際交流基金アジアセンター（アンコール時代窯跡調査・保存・公開マスタープラン作成プロジェクト）研究代表者（～1999年3月）

1996年	平成8年度文部省科学研究費補助金研究成果公開促進費（「大学と科学」公開シンポジウム『アジア知の再発見』）研究代表者
1997年	平成9・10年度国際交流基金アジアセンター（カンボジア・シェムリアップ州村落における民族伝統文化財の基礎的調査）研究代表者（～1999年3月）
1999年	平成11・12・13年度文部省科学研究費補助金国際学術研究基盤研究（A）（「熱帯アジア（インド・東南アジア）3国の村落と文化遺産の共存モデル案構築研究」）研究代表者（～2002年3月）
2002年	平成14年度国際交流基金アジアセンター（『アンコール・ワット付近から発掘された大量の仏像の調査・研究目録』出版）研究代表者
2002年	平成14・15・16・17年度文部科学省科学研究費基盤研究（A）（熱帯アジア（東南アジア・インド）における歴史水利都市の調査・研究）研究代表者（～2006年3月）
2004年	平成16年度国際交流基金アジアセンター（国際シンポジウム『文化遺産とアイデンティティとIT（情報技術）—アンコール・ワットと3次元（3D）技術の活用』）研究代表者（～2005年3月）
2006年	平成18・19年度文部科学省科学研究費基盤研究（B）海外調査（カンボジアとインドにおけるナーガ座仏のルーツ研究）研究代表者（～2008年3月）
2013年	平成25・26・27年度文部科学省科学研究費基盤研究（A）海外調査（検証アンコールワットへの道）研究代表者（～2016年3月）
2015年	平成26年度国際交流基金アジアセンター（アンコール・ワット修復人材養成プロジェクト形成のための調査・研究活動）事業担当責任者（～2015年5月）
2015年	国際交流基金アジアセンター（アンコール・ワット修復人材養成プロジェクト）事業担当責任者（～2018年6月）

以上

# **Forty Years after President Joseph Pittau, S J**

## **—Sophia Mission (since 1979) and Sophia University Asia Area Studies—**

By Yoshiaki Ishizawa

Professor, Sophia University

Director, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development

2017 Ramon Magsaysay Awardee

### **A-1. The Sophia Mission for “Refugee Relief” (International Service Activity) by the whole University (since 1979)**

A great turbulence arose in Cambodia in 1970, when the country faced the impact of the war in neighboring Vietnam. Under the Pol Pot regime (1975–1979) there occurred a massive genocide of over a million and a half people, and a few million Cambodian refugees fled this chaos by moving to the Thai border. Later in 1979 the Heng Samrin regime appeared in Cambodia, a regime backed by Vietnam. The civil war which comprised four blocs including this one, namely the Pol Pot, Sihanouk, and Son Sann blocs, persisted for 24 years until 1993.

The Sophia Mission International Service comprises a global service activity by students, faculty members, and advocates of Sophia University, which commenced in 1979. We were unable to ignore the Cambodian refugee issue, and so in 1979 the university began a relief campaign entitled “Extending hands of Love to Indochinese Refugees.” In December of the same year, under the leadership of President Pittau, S J, the Faculty and staff stood at the entrance of Shinjuku Station and conducted fund-raising activities for “Indochinese refugees.” Food and medicines were conveyed to refugee camps located on the Thai border such as Khao-I-Dang and Sa Kaeo, and student volunteers were dispatched to centers that accommodated war orphans.

Yet, peace dialogues proceeded below the surface. The Cambodia Paris Peace Conference was convened in October 1991, and through this Paris peace accord the Supreme National Council (SNC) was constituted, comprising four blocs including the Heng Samrin faction. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Yukio Imagawa of Japan was assigned a fresh task at Phnom Penh, and Yasushi Akashi was appointed representative of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), in 1992. Even more, Mme. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (and Professor Emeritus of our university) aided the return of the Cambodian refugees, and in 1993, Cambodia as a kingdom started nation-building once again, from scratch.

### **A-2. Refugees comprise problems for ‘Humanity’ and basically ‘Humanness’**

—The decision of Sophia University— (1980)

President Pittau, S J, declared, “Now in the Indochinese Peninsula hundreds of thousands of people, millions of people, have been displaced from their homes and suffer as refugees. We should not forget such people. In Sophia University, since the end of last year (1979), not only have we carried out the accumulation of funds, but students of Sophia are currently working intently as volunteers, engaged in works of service within refugee camps in Thailand. This task was not

commenced merely on an impulse. We began because we believed this to be the fundamental ideal of Sophia University, and what's more, it is linked to our core as human beings, to the core of our humanness." Having said this, he commenced fund-raising activities at Shinjuku station. [*Sophia University Newspaper*, No. 84, Issued on March 25, 1980].

President Pittau, SJ, subsequently continued, expressing the following resolution, "when I stated that this fund-raising activity would be conducted not just within the campus, but that at the close of 1979 I intended conducting it at the entrance of Shinjuku station as well, I was happy to see that students as well as members of the administrative and teaching staff spontaneously began to stand at the station. Within two weeks a collection of 700 million yen was made. I thereupon flew to a refugee camp in Thailand. I mused over the issue of offering food and medicines, the option of sending Sophia students as volunteers, and conducting an inspection. I visited some refugee camps scattered near the Cambodian border. It was a sorrowful sight. One of them was an orphanage center that sheltered orphans, and I felt that in such a place even students could play with them, take care of their surroundings, and so on. From February the next year over a period of two years, students and members of the secretarial and teaching staff entered the site in steady sequence." [Witness of the Times, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 5, 2009].

#### A-3. Saving Angkor Wat in order to reclaim the Pride of the Cambodian People (1980)

Why has Angkor Wat become the detonator that rejuvenates the people? The reason is because under the Pol Pot regime archaeological conservation officers were viewed as intellectuals, and hence out of around 40 of them only three managed to survive and return alive. Moved by a desire to console and reclaim the ethnic pride of the Cambodian people who had been blighted by the civil war, the Sophia Mission, which was involved in the rescue of both refugees relief and ruins, proposed as a place of reconciliation the construction site of Angkor Wat, a site revered by all Cambodians. In the 1980s, the archaeological relief team entered Cambodia which was smoldering from the dust of combat, and from 1993 they commenced providing human resource training to the Cambodians at the western causeway of Angkor Wat. They set about working on the restoration of Angkor Wat, for the sake of both ethnic reconciliation and the creation of an identity among the Cambodian people. We even advanced our proposal a step further, by presenting as the goal of our human resource training the fact that the restoration of the monuments should be carried out by the Cambodians for the Cambodians. In 1996 Sophia University purchased land in Cambodia, and erected the "Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development. This is the first instance of a university in Japan opening a permanent area studies center in Southeast Asia. Currently we are continuously involved in targeting the relief work linked to refugees and the Angkor monuments, as well as the training of Cambodians as conservation officers, and the research in area studies that accompanies it.

#### A-4. In 1980, President Pittau, SJ, in his New Year's Address said, "Collaborate with Asia and strengthen Asian studies in order to build a new world (1980)

"This is the opening year of the 1980s. What manner of a path should Sophia University hereafter take? "Quality before quantity." That has been a key policy of ours so far, and I wish to continue advancing it firmly forward. During the 1980s our dream of a central library may be realized. Over

there our academic ambience will be enhanced, and I am of the view that the deepening of our spiritual ambience will hereafter become a topic for us all. Second, on considering the founding spirit of Sophia University, we realize that we need to offer an education befitting this eternal value. Third, I have a great hope. Until now Sophia University has focused its eyes towards the West and has emphasized an internationality centered on the West. In the coming 1980s I feel we have a mission to comprehend Asia and cooperate with it, so as to create a new world while focusing on Asia. That is to say, the significance of internationality is to be reviewed and clauses linked to the reinforcement of Asian studies need to be incorporated, within the ten-year plan that was framed four years ago. [Quoted from *Sophia University Newspaper*, Issued on January 23, 1980].

#### A-5. The Creation a New World by collaborating with Asia. The decision to establish the 'Institute of Asian Cultures' (1980–1982)

In March 1980, the Board of Trustees of Sophia University granted approval to the Asian Studies System (Plan for the creation of the Institute of Asian Cultures), and at a meeting of the University Council held on June 25, 1980, the launch of the Institute of Asian Cultures (provisional title) was mulled over as part of the agenda. President Pittau, S.J., proposed the concept of the plan, and endorsed the objectives behind its establishment. Later on September 30, 1980, the first meeting of the Preparation Committee for the Establishment of the Institute of Asian Cultures (provisional title) was held, and the chairperson of the committee presented an explanation as follows. “For now, I wish to consider fields that we lack in our existing research organizations. Research in Islam for instance, shall be the object of our focus. Africa also may possibly be included. Stress will be laid on humanities and social sciences, such as history and religion. Nations under focus will include the Philippines and Indonesia, but Islam would be the object of focus. A reason for presenting this new area was also to impart a fresh taste. The Philippines, Indonesia, and Southeast Asia form the three pillars of area studies.” Also, the aim behind the launch of the “Institute of Asian Cultures” was to raise “in an East Asian corner a foundation for Christian Humanism. This was done in view of the university’s founding philosophy that seeks east-west cultural exchange, by carrying out all-inclusive enquiry and research on the religions, languages, societies, histories, and other such fields within the diverse regions of Asia, whose people are our neighbors and friends. Today, the significance of conducting essential educational activities in this context, is steadily increasing. Hence, research on the culture and society of the Asian regions, which will constitute a lasting feature of the university in the future, and particularly specialized research on the traditional cultures and lifestyles of these regions, should be carried out. In addition, based on such a perception, we hope a research institute will be established with the aim of understanding current social and cultural phenomena. By launching such an institute we shall aim for academic and cultural exchange with diverse Asian regions, and inform the world of the results of our own research and exchange. The goal behind the founding of this institute is to contribute to peace and development, not just in Asia but in the world as well.”

Next, regarding the establishment of the teaching body, namely the “Minor in Asian Cultures (provisional title),” the Faculty of Foreign Studies concurred with its institution and so the Minor in Asian Cultures was approved. On February 18, 1981, the University Council approved the

Regulations of the Sophia University Institute of Asian Cultures, and also the fact that the Faculty of Foreign Studies would be the founding body of the Institute. Dr. Mutsuo Yanase, S.J., served as the university president, yet he was appointed as the first director of the Institute of Asian Cultures.

#### A-6. Opening of the Angkor Research Office within the Institute of Asian Cultures on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1992

From 1979 our university has been involved in relief activities for Indochinese refugees, and in the Institute of Asian Cultures that was initiated in 1982 which had 3 people including the director, the tackling of the Cambodian refugee issue and relief issue of the Angkor ruins continued. From the latter half of the 1980s work aimed at peace-building began in Cambodia, and media associated with groups such as the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and the Japan Self-Defense Force (PKO), had continuously reported on Cambodia. In Japan, volunteers hailing from the industries, academia, and government, assembled to form a voluntary organization for the relief of Angkor Wat. Officially, the “Angkor Monuments Relief Committee” was formed on April 17, 1991, with Rokuro Ishikawa (President of the Kajima Corporation) as chairman, Yoshiaki Ishizawa (Director of the Institute of Asian Cultures) as secretary general, and Attorney Mme. Miyuki Sakai, Vice-President of the Sophia University Angkor International Mission assumed office as auditor. Following this, under the direction of President Keiji Otani (1993–1999) who assumed the post of advisor, on April 1, 1992, the committee secretariat, that is the “Angkor Research Office,” was opened within the university’s Institute of Asian Cultures. Commencing with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Agency for Cultural Affairs, in this committee about 65 companies including media companies, general contractors and others took part, and in October the same year the Cambodian Peace Accord was signed in Paris.

In 1979, having raised the issues of both refugee relief and the relief of Angkor Wat, Sophia University decided to erect an overseas research base at the site of the ruins. The Sophia University Angkor Training Center has a site of area 4800 square meters, a training center main building of 282 square meters, and a warehouse of 36 square meters. The inauguration ceremony was conducted on August 29, 1996, and around 80 individuals including Van Molyvann, the Minister of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, were present, and President Otani delivered a congratulatory address. All expenses linked to the erection of the training center including the cost of land acquisition, were fully covered by donations. Compliments were conveyed by the Asahi Shimbun, the Tokyo Marine & Nichido Career Service, the Shiseido Company Ltd., the Kyuryudo Co., Ltd. and other warmhearted individuals. The address of the center is: Phum Treang Slokram village in Srok Siem-Reap County, Siem Reap Province, Kingdom of Cambodia.

#### A-7. October 2002. Retitled, the “Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development” —the “Grand Layout” of the University’s Overseas Research Base. No. 1— (2002–2013)

In May 2001, in view of the centennial of the university’s founding, the Board of Directors of the Sophia School Corporation proclaimed within and outside the university a “Sophia University Education, Research, and Campus Revitalization Grand Layout (New Hoffman Project).” Here, the first point was the establishment of the Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development.

The object of this establishment was to provide facilities in support of the independence of the people of Asia. Yet we shall simultaneously learn from the local regions of Asia, and by conducting collaborative works with the residents of those areas (survey, research, onsite training and so on), we shall further the growth of those areas via research on new regional resources, such as villages, environment, regional development, ecosystems, cultural heritage, and so on. In close cooperation with Sophia's faculties, graduate schools, graduate divisions and so on, we shall conduct in Asia area studies that includes Southeast and South Asia, and collaborate with local state governments and municipalities. Aside from training human resources in Cambodia, this center aims at making academic contributions to the global and Asian worlds, on the basis of the intensive area studies that arises from the region. Its form of establishment was as a "university-affiliated educational research institute" of a "Jesuit mode," situated close to the site. Sophia University's educational spirit of "Men and Women for Others, with Others," is currently being applied in Asia. In Cambodia there is a legacy of "knowledge" to be gained, and besides, we have sustained the posture of speaking about the "knowledge" of Japan. This has served to increase the credibility of Cambodians. International cooperation in the development of human resources for conserving and restoring the archaeological sites will progress onwards with the aid of the villagers in the vicinity, by viewing as a trinity the archaeological sites (culture), community (people) and forests (nature).

#### A-8. What manner of local human resources do we train? (1996–Present)

Formal Area Studies at Sophia University is based on research at the local level, and it is viewed as having local level research as its starting point. Researchers dedicate their efforts to the field, and it eventually comes to be established as a shared work place done with others. It is the initial base for Asian area studies in a Japanese university, a research base with fixed-point observation significance, that clarifies the regional uniqueness of Asia and tackles global issues.

##### 1) Training of Conservation officers, stonemasons, and others:

Since 1991, based on the on-site training in archaeological excavation and archaeological site restoration, we accepted Cambodian trainees in archeology, architecture, and conservation science. We trained candidates who could acquire degrees or learn the equivalent academics and techniques to serve as conservation officers and area researchers.

##### 2) Training of Angkor area researchers:

From among the conservation officers, area researchers, stonemasons, and workers, we train researchers who promote research pertaining to their own countries, based on nature (forests), humans (villages), and culture (ruins). We expect specialists and researchers in fields such as conservation, academic promotion, cultural tourism, and lifelong education to be produced.

##### 3) Training of volunteers in cultural heritage conservation:

We train, (1) Volunteers to protect the ruins. (2) Volunteers to protect villages. (3) Volunteers to protect the forests. Monks of the pagodas, villagers, office workers, elementary and junior high school teachers, and others living close to the ruins offer courses on cultural heritage conservation for villagers, tutor them on the significance, value, and importance of the archaeological excavation and temple restoration sites, and seek to deepen their perception of them. ["Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development –The Purpose behind its establishment," October 2002,



Grand Layout, First Phase (2001–2005) Board of Directors, Sophia School Corporation]. [Please refer: “*Tokyojin*, No. 333, 100 Years of Sophia University and the Yotsuya Locality,” December 2013, Special Issue, pp. 50–53], [From A-4 to A-8, please see., Yoshiaki Ishizawa “Joseph Pittau, S.J, and Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development: The First Grand Layout, Sophia Mission in the Field of Asia,” *Investigation of the Angkor Monuments* (No.20), Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2016, pp. 11-28].

#### B-1. Urgent necessity to train Government Officials for the Kingdom of Cambodia in the 1990s: Graduate School Education for Cambodian Foreign Students —From the Degree Acquisition Program— (1994–2014)

The first three Cambodian international students to join the Sophia University Graduate School of Area Studies did so in 1994, and they were executive candidates of the Kingdom’s Government. A total of 18 international students had to complete and submit a doctoral thesis in English, within a period of 5 years. They entered Japan with the responsibility of building a nation, yet they had no opportunity to acquire the English necessary to write a treatise, owing to the fact that their home country was in a state of civil war. In their first year they attended all English classes offered on campus, and besides several priests of the SJ House who happened to be professors at the Sophia university lent a helping hand, by assisting them in touching up the English theses they wrote. In addition, their Japanese classmates and others, and also Sophia University as a whole, assisted those Cambodian foreign students. Those who submitted treatises for the attainment of degrees were 18 in number, (7 doctoral and 11 master’s theses). All of them subsequently returned to their home countries, and they are currently active working in key positions within the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia. In 2019, Ms. Oum Ravy, the Vice-president of Phnom Penh University, and Mr. Ek Bunta, Deputy-Director General in the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of the Kingdom of Cambodia, both of whom had acquired degrees from the Graduate School of Area Studies of Sophia, were awarded the illustrious Commendation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan. It was the first Cambodian commendation of the Japanese Government for their “contribution to the friendship and goodwill between Japan and Cambodia.” This was the best news for Sophia University. [Reference: Yoshiaki Ishizawa “Two Graduated Cambodian Students of Sophia University received a public recognition from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan,” *Investigation of the Angkor Monuments* (No. 21), Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2020, p. 12].

#### B-2. The 1996 Ethnic Unity Project at Angkor Wat —The First Phase of the Initiation Ceremony for the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat— (1996–2007)

On August 29, 1996, (Heisei 8), an initiation ceremony was held in Siem Reap, that was attended by President Keiji Otani. This construction project on the western causeway was a joint venture, realized with the National Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem-Reap (abbreviation: APSARA Authority). Ethnic rallying projects having a large ripple effect were begun in Angkor Wat via the guidance of the late Professor Masao Katagiri of Nihon University and the late Takayuki Kosugi a stonemason, so as to inspire Cambodians striving to

rebuild their nation, assisting those who have begun building a country from scratch. In November 2007, of 200 meters of the western causeway 100 meters of the first construction zone was completed after 12 years of restoration work, and the formal opening of the causeway was carried out in the presence of His Excellency Sok An, Deputy Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and 2,400 neighbors who had assembled. [Reference: Sophia University Angkor Ruins International Survey Team, *Angkor Wat Western Causeway Restoration Work Phase I*, 2011].

### B-3. A Great discovery of the Century. Excavation of 274 Buddha statues from the earth —Erection of a Museum in Siem Reap, Cambodia with the cooperation of Aeon Co. Ltd.— (2001, 2010)

In 2001, 274 Buddha statues were by chance excavated from an underground pit in the precincts of Banteay Kdei Temple, and this was literally a great excavation of the century. Jayavarman VIII (1243–1295) who had gained a zeal for Hinduism, ordered a show of hostility towards Buddhists who formed the opposition (that is to say, he ordered the rooting out of Buddha statues). These vast numbers of Buddhist statues that formed a national treasure were excavated by Cambodian trainees during their archaeological training, and in August 2010, eight more Buddha statues were unearthed from the same precincts. In March 2002, Mr. Takuya Okada (Honorary Chairman of Aeon Co., Ltd.) stopped by the Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, to witness the 274 rejected Buddhas that had been temporarily stored. Impressed by the beauty of the statues he proposed erecting a museum to display them, and the entire construction cost was donated by him to the university. The museum is a two-story structure having a building area of 1,728 square meters, erected over a site of 16,200 square meters. On November 2, 2007, the inauguration ceremony of the museum was held in the presence of His Majesty King Norodom Sihamoni, and at the same time Aeon Co. Ltd. issued a letter of presentation of this museum building to the APSARA National Authority. The national emblem of the Kingdom of Cambodia is displayed in front of the museum entrance, and it has been declared the most prestigious museum for Buddha statues in Cambodia. [Catalog of Buddhist Statues: Ishizawa Yoshiaki, Supervision/Authorship, *Preah Norodom Sihanouk-Angkor Museum, Angkor Buddhist Treasures from Banteay Kdei*, NHK Publishing, 2007].

### B-4. 2003 Sophia University Off-Campus Joint Research: Angkor Monuments Environmental Conservation Project —ISO14001 Certification Acquisition Plan— (2003–Present)

In 2019, around 6.5 million tourists visited the Angkor area. Around 2000, with this rapid increase in tourists however there arose certain serious problems, such as the worsening of the ruins, accumulation of vast quantities of garbage, air pollution due to vehicle exhaust, river water pollution due to untreated sewage, damage to natural forests due to building hotels and parking lots, vanishing of the historical scenery, and so on. The UNESCO and other bodies have voiced concern over this ecological destruction. From May 2003, by way of a joint project outside the university, with a view to get the certification of the “International Organization for Standardization (ISO),” we carried out practical training on environmental preservation for about 1,200 staff members, over a period of 3 years. As regards this practical training Sophia University, the International Standards Institute, and

the Japan Quality Assurance Organization (JQA) dealt with the issue of environmental conservation education, and after undergoing extremely arduous examinations, we obtained the “ISO14001 certification” in March 2006. In April of the same year a certification ceremony was conducted at Angkor Wat, and the words “ISO14001” was printed on the archaeological site admission card. This gaining of the ISO14001 in the “World Heritage” area was the first in the world, and it was an event highly appraised by the UNESCO. [Reference: *Sophia University Newspaper*, No. 319, Issued on June 20, 2006].

#### B-5. Sophia University’s 21<sup>st</sup> century COE Program from Cambodia —Aiming at a reorganization of “Knowledge” in Asia— (2002–2006)

The “Sophia University 21<sup>st</sup> century COE Program (2002–2006)” from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, was evaluated as a research program aimed at forming a global research and education center, and the creation of an “area-based global studies” that was submitted by the university, was adopted. The reason for its adoption was the fact that the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science stated, “The achievements of comprehensive research and exchanges on the history and culture of Cambodia, and especially Angkor Wat, can be assessed. Utilizing an internationality that is characteristic of Sophia, we look forward to the creation of the type of Global Studies that can be promoted more definitively (Website of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science).” Four international symposiums were held over a period of 4 years, at our research center in Cambodia. The first was on “Creating a Methodology for Global Studies from the Areas.” It was held from December (27–29), 2002, and about 180 people participated (from 8 nations). The second was on “Cultural Heritage, Identity, and IT (Information Technology).” This was held from March (12–14), 2004, and about 130 participated (from 12 nations). The third was on the theme, “Is a Cambodian version of regional self-sustaining development possible? Let us permit the voices of little people and farmers to be heard.” This was held from February (21–22), 2005, and about 120 participated (from 9 nations). The fourth was on “Cultural Heritage, Environment, and Tourism.” It was held from December 31, 2005 to January 1, 2006, and around 180 participated (from 11 nations). [Reference: Yoshiaki Ishizawa and Masako Marui, *Global and Local Cultural Heritage*, Sophia University Press, 2010].

#### B-6. “Program for Promotion of Internationalization in University Education,” by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology —Support for Strategic International Cooperation— (2006–2009)

Sophia University applied to and was accepted for the (2006–2009) program labelled, “Promotion of International Cooperation that contributes to Cultural Heritage Education Strategies—International Education Program for Conservation Officers and Researchers in Tropical Asia.” At the Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, graduate-level lectures and on-site training were held for 4 years, having as the main topic the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage. This program was juxtaposed to the Area Studies Program of our graduate school, and it became the first established graduate school education program in Japan that dealt with “cultural heritage studies.” Meetings in English by specialists on Asian cultural heritage, as well as on-site

experience training sessions, were held. The professors who attended came from Japan, France, Cambodia and Myanmar, and the graduate students who joined for a period of 4 years totaled around 90. They hailed from Japan, France, and Cambodia, and gained credits for their study from the graduate school of Sophia University. [Reference: *Promotion of International Cooperation that contributes to Cultural Heritage Education Strategies—International Education Program for Conservation Officers, Researchers in Tropical Asia*, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2006–2009].

B-7. “Sophia University Internationalization Center Development Project (Global 30)”  
—A Local Asian Project modeled on Sophia— (2009–2013)

Our university along with 13 others nationwide, was chosen for the “Global 30 (Project for Establishing Internationalization Centers)” (2009–2013). Here, what is most special, is the fact of its having been chosen from among universities all over the nation. Graduate school education in English was realized in the Faculty of Science and Engineering, and this led to a subsequent deepening in education and research. In January 2012, ten individuals from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology of the Government of Japan, including Mr. Masaharu Nakagawa, Minister at that time for Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, visited the site of the Angkor Wat Western Causeway restoration work, to inspect the site of the project for the institution of an internationalization base. At the site, Dr. Ly Vanna, a Cambodian who had obtained his degree at our graduate school (and who at the time was Director of the Sihanouk Aeon Museum), 5 other Cambodians who had also gained degrees at our graduate school, and 19 officials (stonemasons) in charge of the construction at the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat welcomed the group, and they themselves described to the visitors the outcome of the over 20 years of international cooperation and local human resource development, that our university had achieved in Cambodia. Sophia University’s Internationalization Center Project in Asia, is linked to the University’s founding spirit. It has drawn worldwide attention as a Sophia model, and has been valued as a pioneering project.

B-8. Agency for Cultural Affairs “International Cooperation Center Exchange Program —  
Center Exchange Program for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Cambodia”—  
(2010–2013)

The Research Center, by way of the “Center Exchange Program for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Cambodia” (2010–2013) of the Agency for Cultural Affairs held a specialist training program, wherein it promoted preservation and restoration of cultural heritage to around 20 Cambodian archaeological and architectural students, over a period of 4 years. Here professors and specialists from Japan and Cambodia were in charge of specialized lectures and practical training. The same program was first initiated from July to September 2010, the next initiation was from July to September 2011, the third from December 2011, and the fourth from July to September 2013, Concurrently a public symposium (in both English and Cambodian), the “International Symposium on Khmerology in Phnom Penh,” was held at the University of Phnom Penh in January 2012. [Reference: Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Cambodia*, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2013].

B-9. Cultural Heritage Preservation Center Exchange Project in 5 Southeast Asian Nations  
—Agency for Cultural Affairs “International Cooperation Center Exchange Project—  
(2014–2016)

The “Center Exchange Project for Cultural Heritage Protection in 5 Southeast Asian Nations” was conducted at our university’s Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development in Cambodia. Forty-three individuals in charge of cultural heritage sites from the 5 continental Southeast Asian nations of Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, gathered to present their country reports, and they had a lively question and answer session. [Reference: *Achievement Report of the Center Exchange Project for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Five Southeast Asian Nations*, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2014, 2015, 2016 (No. 3)].

B-10. Restoration of the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat in All Japan  
—Phase 2 of the construction commences— (2016–2024)

The second phase of the restoration of the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat (2016–2024), began as a joint task with the National Apsara Authority. This work was chosen as Overseas Development Aid by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (General Cultural Free Fund Cooperation: The equipment provided was 94 million yen). The equipment necessary for the restoration came from Japan, and is currently in use. Specialists of both nations formed the “Angkor Wat Western Causeway Restoration Technology Exchange Training Committee” (technical education and construction guidance), and continued the construction while discussing technical issues. This is the fourth year since they began in 2016. There were 4 reports have been published. [Reference: *Angkor Wat Western Causeway 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Construction Zone Restoration Work Design/Construction Plan*, Angkor Wat Western Causeway Restoration Technology Exchange Training Committee Edition, 2017, *Angkor Wat Western Causeway 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Construction Zones Restoration Work Design and Construction Basic Plan*, edited by the same committee, 2018, *Report on the Outcome of the Activities of 2018*, edited by the same committee, 2019, *Report on the Outcome of the Activities of 2019*, edited by the same committee, 2020. The 4 volumes are published by Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development].

B-11. The Sophia Mission (Sophia University) receives the 2017 Ramon Magsaysay Award

The Sophia Mission, which encompasses the international service of Sophia University, was conferred the R. Magsaysay Award, which is referred to as the Asian Nobel Prize. The award ceremony was held on August 31, 2017 in the city of Manila, in the Philippines. This is an international award, created in commemoration of the late President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines. At the ceremony, a councilor of the award foundation declared, “Based on the conviction that the conservation and restoration of the Angkor Wat ruins had to be carried out by the Cambodian people, (1) Efforts were made to train Cambodian experts in safeguarding the Angkor ruins. (2) This was an opportunity for Cambodians to regain their national pride. (3) The reason for conferring the award is the fact that the global community has hereby widely made known to the world the value of preserving our cultural heritage as signified by the Angkor Wat ruins, as a treasure for humankind.”

Professor Ishizawa of this Sophia mission activity declared, “This award is an international evaluation of the Sophia mission, promoted by Sophia University in Cambodia. I was able to carry it out with the continuous support of the university. I am grateful.” [Reference: “Awarding of the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 2017,” *Investigation of the Angkor Monuments* (No. 21), Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2020, p. 9]. [Commemorative Lecture of the Ramon Magsaysay Award of Professor Yoshiaki Ishizawa, *Practicing the Founding Spirit in the Field of Asia*, November 6, 2017) (unpublished)]

#### B-12. Center Exchange Project for the Passing on of Cultural Heritage and the New role of Museums in 10 nations of ASEAN (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2017, 2018, 2019)

Within the 10 nations of ASEAN, museums have faced problems dealing with “development relics,” that appear due to the construction of roads and hotels in the nations concerned. We got people in charge from the ten nations to assemble at the Angkor archaeological site in order to discuss the problem of development relics, and summarized the issues in three reports. The venue was Siem Reap city (Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development), and the workshop dates were: November (13–19), 2017; November (2–8), 2018; November 25–December 2, 2019. [Reference: (Presentation in English): Yoshiaki Ishizawa, “The Passing on of Cultural Heritage and the New Role of Museums in the 10 ASEAN Nations,” No. 1–No. 3, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development, 2017–2019, Tokyo] [Reference: (Presentation in English): Yoshiaki Ishizawa, Activities for Exchanges in International Cooperation for Inheritance of Cultural Heritage Properties and the New Role of Museum within ASEAN 10 Countries (Report in the International Workshop in 2017–2019), ICOM, Kyoto 2019. Venue: Inamori Memorial Hall Kyoto. Date 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2019].

#### B-13. Special training for mid-level Cambodian executives on excavating ancient kiln ruins (1999–2000)

A large group of ancient kilns were discovered in Tani village located in the Siem Reap Province of Cambodia, and with the support of the Japan Foundation, training was conducted on the preservation of old kilns, among the kiln ruins of Tani village. Twelve trainees in archaeology from Japan and Cambodia attended, and the late Professor Yoji Aoyagi and Researcher Hiroshi Sugiyama showed practical examples in detailed lectures on kiln site maintenance and their public exhibition. [Reference: Yoshiaki Ishizawa, *Special training for Cambodian mid-level Executives on the excavation of ancient Kiln sites, Two-year Plan, Report*, Sophia University, 2000].

#### Activity Record of a small Sophia Mission

C-1) Three Jesuit priests organized the students exchange program in 1959 (Frs. Rietsch, SJ, Gomane, SJ, and Larre, SJ) launched the AUVIT (Amitié Universitaire entre Vietnam-Japon-Thaïlande), and they had been conducting student exchange in three Southeast Asian nations. (1959–1964). In 1964 this activity was canceled due to the outbreak of the Vietnam War.

C-2) At the Royal University of Fine Arts (in Phnom Penh), intensive lectures were delivered by Japanese professors, and the site of the lectures was the Royal University of Fine Arts. (Period:

1991–2001). A total of around 2,800 students participated. Japanese professors from Sophia University, created the program and were in charge of those special lectures, because Cambodian professors had almost disappeared owing to the purges conducted by the Pol Pot regime. They entered the country via Phnom Penh for human resource training at the Angkor archaeological site, but remained in Phnom Penh on their way to Siem Reap, and they were in charge of those intensive lectures. (A volunteer activity).

C-3) An NHK special program entitled, “Water Empire Angkor Wat,” was broadcast on November 16, 1997. In the Angkor dynasty era wherein the nation thrived in agriculture, we reproduced by the use of computer graphics the raised footpaths between rice fields of about 900 years ago, from the 1/5000<sup>th</sup> topography material produced by the JICA. This was to show how the two-crop system of rice paddy irrigation was carried out. It helped in the clarification of the Angkor dynasty’s Hydraulic city and was well received. This JICA map supports the theory of Groslier’s study on the hydraulic city.

C-4) NHK “Project X Challengers: The Bonds between Masters and Disciples who swear by Angkor Wat.” It was broadcast on November 21, 2001, and was very well received. It was also screened as an in-flight program of the Japan Airlines.

C-5) The opening of the Angkor Cultural Heritage Education Center —An enquiry into history hand-in-hand with local residents—

In December 2011, the “Angkor Cultural Heritage Education Center” was erected at the Banteay Kdei ruins by Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, via the Grassroots Cultural Grant aid. Professor Tsutomu Sakuma, the Head of the board of Trustees (currently Chancellor of Sophia University), attended the inaugural ceremony on behalf of the Sophia School Corporation. This center has a permanent display of teaching material panels, so that local residents as well as elementary and junior high school students can deepen their understanding of the cultural heritage of their nation.

C-6) An International Symposium, “Between Past and Future, the Mission of the Catholic Church in Asia: The Contribution of Sophia University,” was organized in Rome. A presentation was made by the Director, Professor Ishizawa, on the topic, *International Cooperation among Jesuit Universities in Asia, Sophia’s Current Development of Human Resources in Cambodia*. (Project in Commemoration of the Centennial of the founding of Sophia University). Date: March 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014, Venue: Matteo Ricci Auditorium, Pontifical Gregorian University. [Reference: *The Journal Gregorianum*, Rome, 2014. Between Past and Future, the Mission of the Catholic Church in Asia: the contribution of Sophia University]

C-7) In 2020, Professor Yoshiaki Ishizawa was notified by the National University of Phnom Penh that in commemoration of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University’s establishment, he would be awarded an honorary doctorate. However the awarding ceremony has not yet been completed due to the COVID-19 transmission. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

## A List of Public Grants (1986–2018)

(Dr. Yoshiaki Ishizawa was the Principal Researcher, Leader of the Center,  
as well as Person in Charge and Responsible for the Project)

Year of the Grant	Content
1986	1986, 1987, 1988, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science International Joint Research [First year: Religion and Asian Society (Christianity and Asian Society), Second Year: Religion and Asian Society (Buddhism and Asian Society), Third Year: Religion and Asian Society (Confucianism and Asian Society)]. Principal Investigator (–March 1989).
1987	1987, Ministry of Education Research Results Publication Promotion Fund (“University and Science,” Public Symposium, “Asia, Its Diverse World”). Principal Investigator.
1987	Overseas Academic Research by the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports, and Culture in Showa 62. (Study on the formation of Burmese Society in Lower Burma). Principal Investigator.
1991	Ministry of Education Scientific Research Grant for Priority Areas for 1991, 1992, 1993, (Civilization and Environment: Rise and fall of the Angkor and Maya Civilizations and Environmental Changes). Principal Investigator, (–March 1994).
1993	1993, 1994, 1995, Ministry of Education Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research International Academic Research, (Cambodia Angkor Thom Archaeological Survey). Principal Investigator, (–March 1996).
1996	1996, 1997, 1998, Ministry of Education Scientific Research Grant International Academic Research, “Research for the Construction for a New Excavation, Conservation, and Restoration Methodology by Archaeological Survey in Tropical Asia (Southeast Asia, India).” Principal Investigator, (–March 1999).
1996	1996, 1997, 1998, Japan Foundation Asia Center (Angkor era Kiln site Survey, Preservation, Public Master Plan Creation Project). Principal Investigator, (–March 1999).
1996	1996 Ministry of Education Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research, Research Results Disclosure Promotion Fund (“University and Science,” Public Symposium, “Rediscovery of Asian Knowledge”). Principal Investigator.
1997	1997, 1998, International Exchange Fund Asia Center, (Basic Survey of Ethnic Traditional Cultural Properties in Siem Reap Province, Cambodia). Principal Investigator, (–March 1999).
1999	1999, 2000, 2001, Ministry of Education Scientific Research Grant International Academic Research Infrastructure Research, (A), “Tropical Asia (India, Southeast Asia), Research on the Construction of a Model for the coexistence of villages and Cultural Heritage in three nations.” Principal Investigator, (– March 2002).
2002	2002 Japan Foundation Asia Center, (Publication of the “Investigation and Research catalog for a large number of Buddhist statues excavated from the vicinity of Angkor Wat”). Principal Investigator.
2002	2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research, (A) (Survey and Research of Historical Water Use in Cities in Tropical Asia (Southeast Asia and India). Principal Investigator, (–March 2006).
2004	2004, Japan Foundation Asia Center (International Symposium, “Cultural Heritage, Identity, and IT (Information Technology)–Angkor Wat and the Utilization of 3D Technology,”). Principal Investigator, (–March 2005).
2006	2006 and 2007, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) Overseas Survey, (Study of the Roots of the Buddha on a Naga in Cambodia and India). Principal Investigator, (–March 2008).
2013	2013, 2014, 2015, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research, (A) Overseas Survey, (Verification of the Road to Angkor Wat). Principal Investigator, (–March 2016).
2015	Survey conducted for the formation of the 2014 Japan Foundation Asia Center (Angkor Wat Restoration Human Resources Development Project). Person in charge and responsible for Research, as well as activities related to the Research Project, (–May 2015).
2015	Japan Foundation Asia Center (Angkor Wat Restoration Human Resources Development Project) Manager, (–June 2018).



# Continuity of Angkorian Sacred Space

## — An Example from Banteay Kdei Archaeological Excavation —

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### Introduction

Unlike other monuments in Angkor, there are no inscriptions mentioning the founder and date of construction of Banteay Kdei (Fig. 1 & 2).<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> Additionally, the iconography and short inscriptions on doorframes from this temple are similar to other Mahayana Buddhist temples by this ruler during the late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (K. 235), the site itself had been occupied since the 9<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> The inscription mentions a village or district, called Kuti, which morphologically evolved to the current name of Banteay Kdei (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

Through scientific archaeological investigation, the Sophia Mission discovered that Banteay Kdei consisted of several historical phases and cultural layers, in its construction and occupation.<sup>6</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 5).<sup>7</sup> 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),<sup>8</sup> following the invasion of the Siam army into Angkor sometime in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, scholars suggested that the

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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.

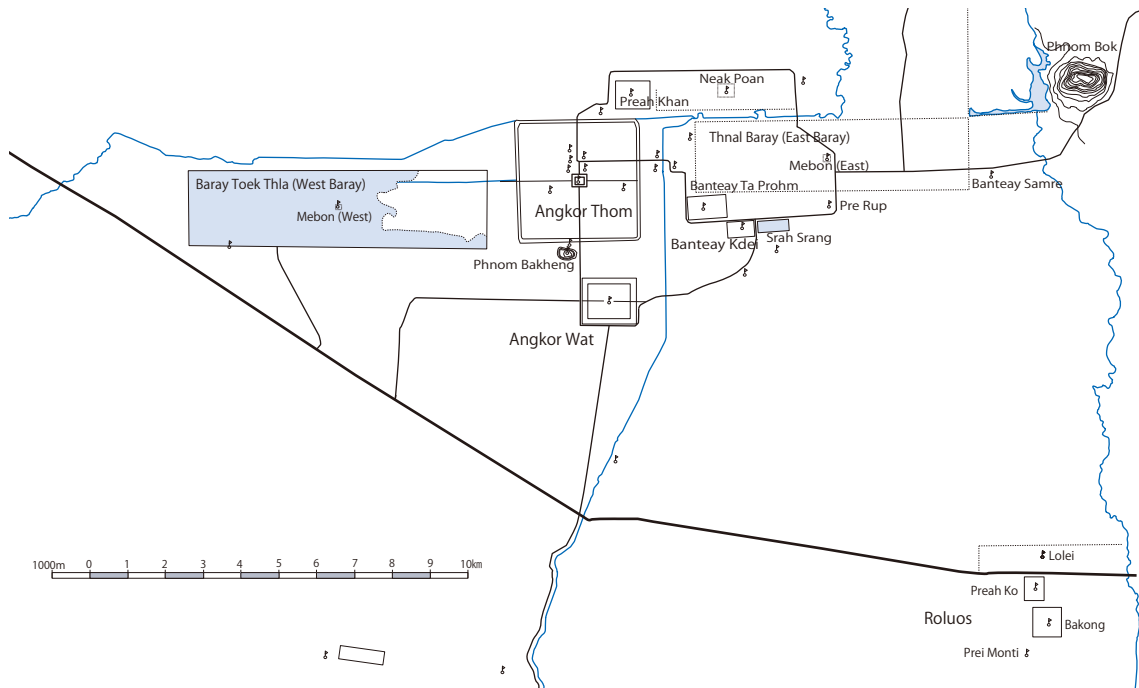


Fig. 1 Map of Angkor Park and the location of Banteay Kdei (Courtesy: Marui Masako, edited by the author)

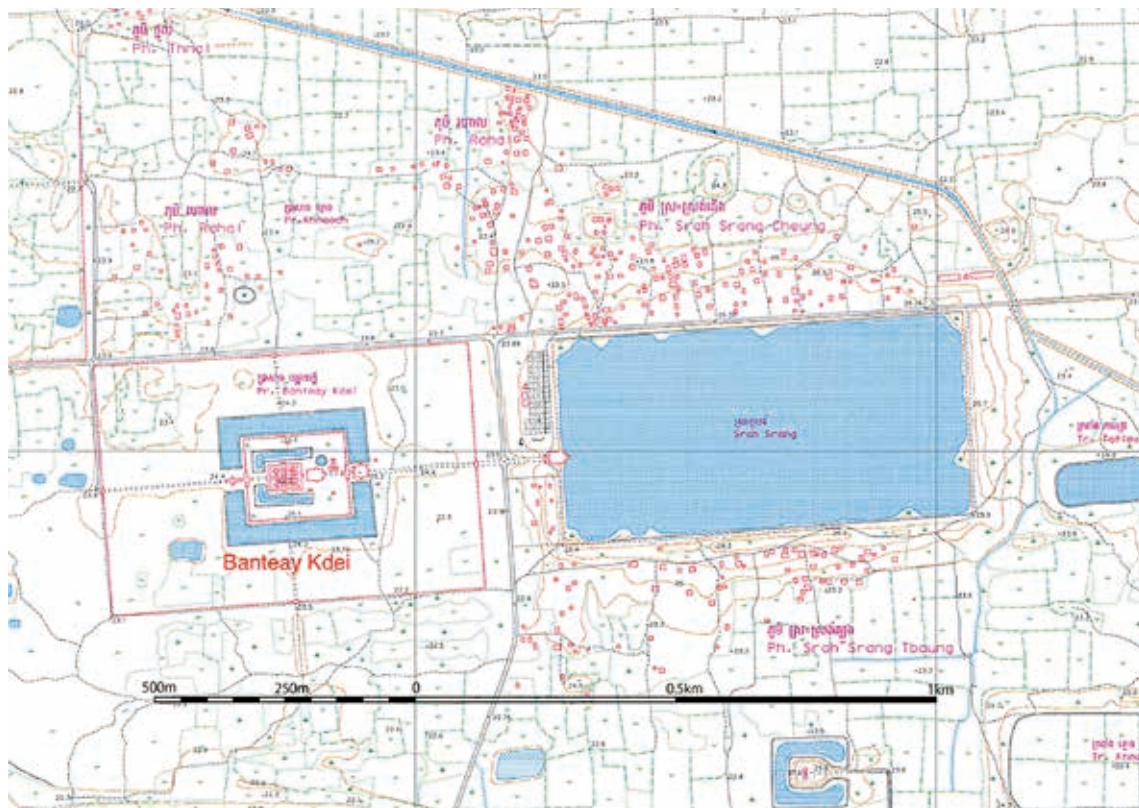


Fig. 2 Banteay Kdei and its vicinity (Map: JICA and APSARA, edited by the author)



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.<sup>9</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The so-called “Buddhist Terraces” were discovered in the Angkor monuments, especially in Angkor Thom.<sup>10</sup> These Theravada Buddhist structures were erected from around the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> Cœdès 1968: 236; Groslier 2006: 3-19.

<sup>10</sup> Marchal 1918: 1-40.

<sup>11</sup> The erection of the *Vihear* (or Theravada Buddhist structure) is mentioned in the Pali inscription dated to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>12</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> century, the nation’s religion changed from Brahmanism and Mahayana Buddhism to Theravada Buddhism. Early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century Sanskrit epigraphy came to an end and the first Pali inscription appeared, namely the inscription of Kok Svay Chek.<sup>13</sup> 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 Mangalārtha<sup>14</sup> and it was built in the late 13<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Indeed, most of the structures were reused by utilizing blocks of stone, both laterite and sandstone, from the

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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 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> A. Thompson asserts that, “this rhetoric of loss and recovery is not however strictly a colonial fabrication.”<sup>20</sup> Hence arise the questions: Was Angkor abandoned or rediscovered? And was Angkor forgotten?

Ang Chan, a well-known king of the 16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

Later, King Ang Chan’s grandson King Sattha, also returned to Angkor and restored some parts of Angkor Wat. The inscriptions of the 16<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>23</sup> If Angkor, which was built by their ancestors had been a forgotten entity,

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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 15<sup>th</sup> 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,”<sup>24</sup> the founder of the Angkor Wat temple in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, the name Bisṇulok frequently appears in inscriptions of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. For instance, in the inscription of the 16<sup>th</sup> century we find “...*braḥ mahānagar indrapraṣṭh nu braḥ bisṇulok*...”<sup>25</sup> Also, in another inscription from the 17<sup>th</sup> century dated 1632 AD we find written, “...*indipath (Indapaṭṭh) mhānagar srīsudhar pavar bīsṇūv-lok (Bisṇulok)*.”<sup>26</sup>

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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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 16<sup>th</sup> century, and for sure, the French in the 19<sup>th</sup>?”<sup>28</sup>

There are many other pieces of evidence,<sup>29</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, material evidence of the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup>

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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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).<sup>37</sup>

32 However, C. Jacques proposes that the construction was erected in the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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, Ubosothakea).<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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*.<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> 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*.<sup>42</sup> This means the terms *braḥ vihāra* and *braḥ uposath* were separately used to refer to the Buddhist structures.

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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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup>

## 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.<sup>45</sup> 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).<sup>46</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> and/or 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>48</sup>

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 9<sup>th</sup> century and dedicated to the king’s ancestors.

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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.

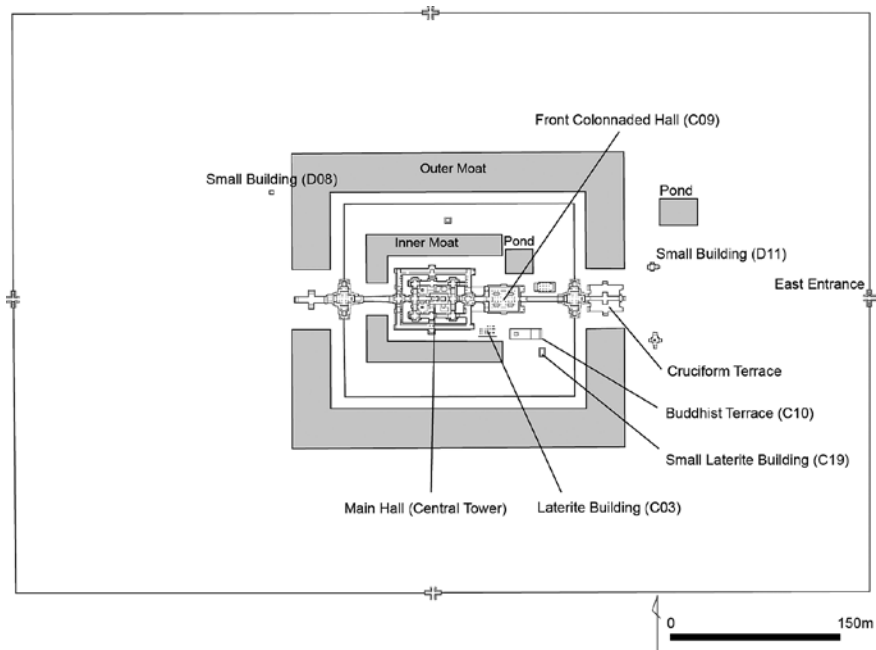


Fig. 7 General plan of Banteay Kdei (Courtesy: Miyamoto Yasuharu)

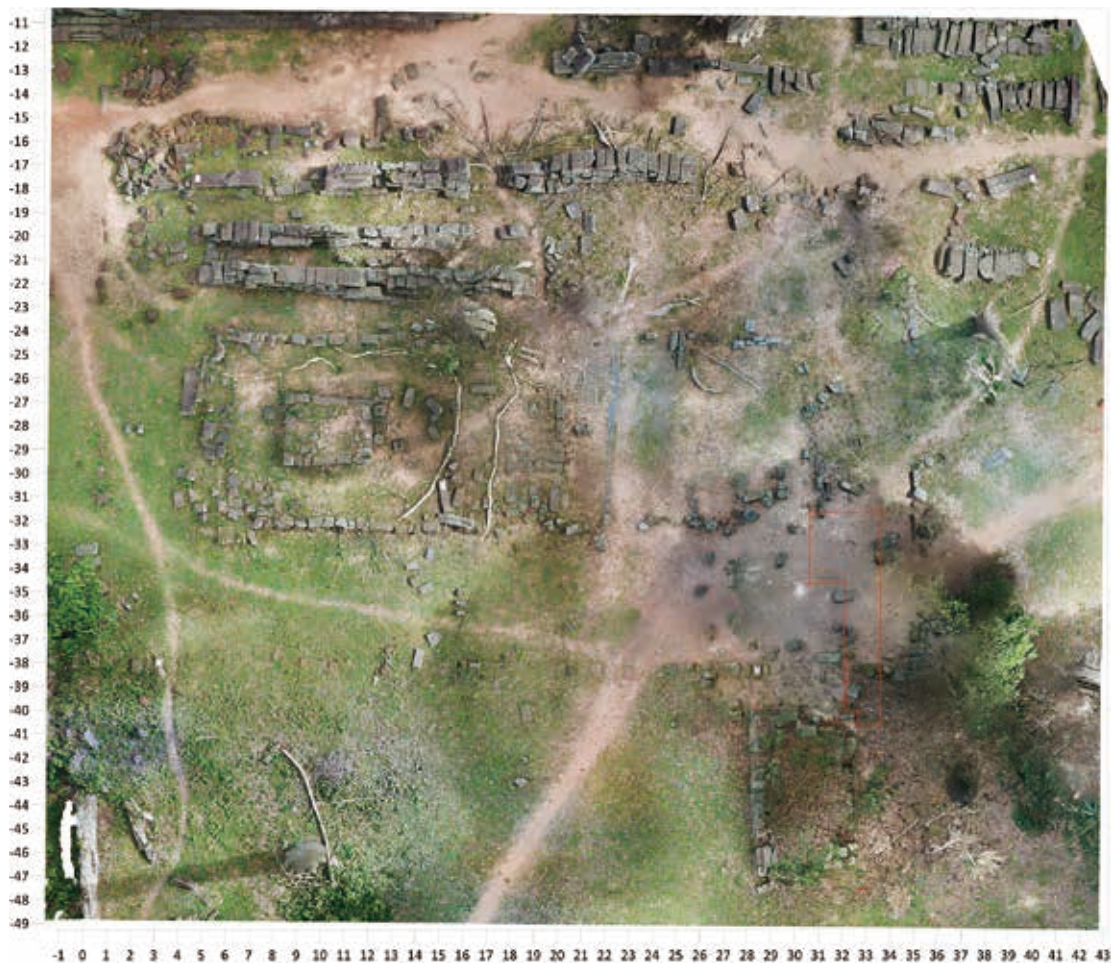


Fig. 8 Orthophotography of Khoeun Preah Vihear in Banteay Kdei, The red line is the excavated trench (Courtesy: Phin Phakdey)

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 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century), Japanese ceramics (dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century), Thai potteries (dated from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century) and Khmer potteries (dated from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup>

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 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but some were fabricated in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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.”<sup>53</sup> And he also declared that Angkor Wat was the tomb of Lu Ban, who was a legendary ancient Chinese artisan.<sup>54</sup> 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

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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.<sup>55</sup> 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).<sup>56</sup>

The Angkorian apotheosis associated with the construction of temples where rulers reunited with their respective gods<sup>57</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>58</sup> Also, this tradition has been continuously practiced until the present day as well, when people construct the Buddhist statue at the pagoda.<sup>59</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup> century, and which is located close to the 1<sup>st</sup> eastern gallery of Angkor Wat (Fig. 9).<sup>60</sup>

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."<sup>61</sup> For example the

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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 1<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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...”<sup>63</sup>

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)...”<sup>64</sup>

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

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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 16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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

<sup>65</sup> The interview was conducted by Prof. Marui Masako, Mr. Choecun Vuthy, and the author, on 22<sup>nd</sup> 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,<sup>66</sup> 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"<sup>67</sup> was



Fig. 13 Yiey Pheach, Rohal village

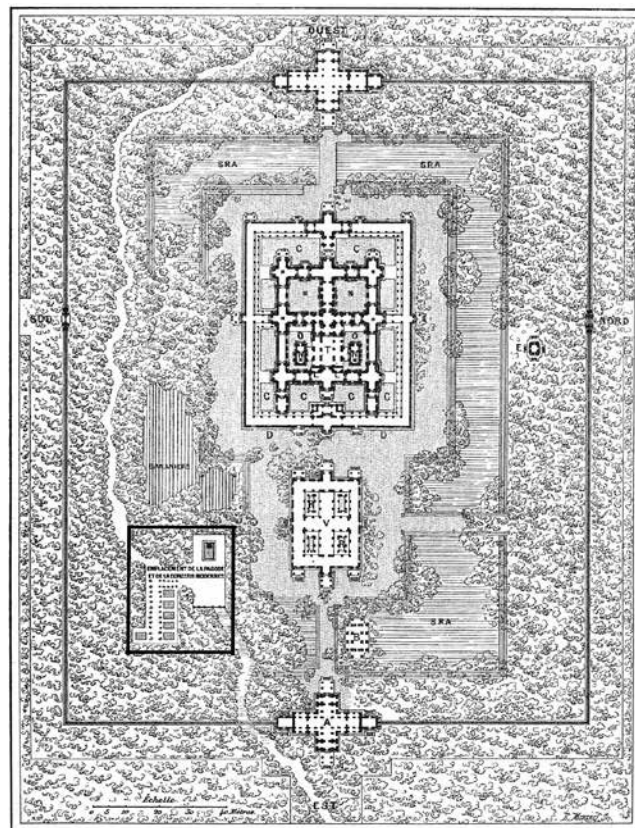


Fig. 14 Black square line is Khoeun Preah Vihear and cell of monks that mentioned by Albert Tissandier in his map of Banteay Kdei (Tissandier 1896: 39), edited by the author

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.”<sup>68</sup>

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.<sup>69</sup>



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 Ben<sup>70</sup> and the Khmer New Year (April 13-15), her family members and other villagers gather to conduct a ceremony, namely the Bangskol,<sup>71</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> century, we learn that many religious activities were performed at the site, and then in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Mahayana Buddhist temple of Banteay Kdei was erected.

From the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> century. When the religious belief of the people was converted into Theravada Buddhism from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Khoeun Preah Vihear was probably erected sometime around the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> century and probably until around the 1920s.

In addition, the discovered reliquaries dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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.

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  - Ms. Phuy Meychean, 4<sup>th</sup> year
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5. Five villagers from Rohal village, Banteay Kdei.

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# A Commentary on *Lpoek Aᅅgar Vat* (*Poem of Angkor Wat*)

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With reference to the *Lpoek Aᅅgar Vat*, or *Lboek Angkor Wat*, it is a fact that certain researchers of the past had summarized, studied, and presented notes on this fundamental poem, basically both in Khmer and in the French language. According to Professor Khing Hoc Dy, the text in Khmer was first published and briefly translated by E. Aymonier in 1878. The text was later studied and briefly translated by J. Moura in 1883, and further by Khmer scholars such as Nhok Thè̃m in 1959, Pich Bun Nil in 1971, Saveros Pou in 1975 and 1977, and Khing Hoc Dy in 1983 and 1985.<sup>1</sup>

The title ‘*Lpoek Aᅅgar Vat*’ was translated into a variety of ways by preceding researchers, as ‘Establishment of Angkor Wat, Foundation of Angkor Wat, Legend of Angkor Wat, Poem of Angkor Wat,’ and so on. On comparison with certain classical literature and middle period inscriptions at Angkor Wat (researchers labelled them *Inscriptions Moderne d’Angkor*, or IMA), and from her own linguistic analysis, S. Pou discovered that the poem was composed in the 1542 śaka, which is A.D. 1620.<sup>2</sup>

*Lpoek Aᅅgar Vat* was a very well-known work of literature among scholars, both Khmer and foreign. Another work similar to *Lpoek Aᅅgar Vat* is the legend of Prasat Angkor, which was well-known among the Khmer people, and which is associated with the foundation of Angkor Wat. With other well-known legends and folktales, this legend was collected and published by the Institut Boudhique in the [‘*Prachum Roeng Preng Khmer*,’ or the *Collections of Khmer legends*, or in French, ‘*Contes et Legendes Cambodgiens*’].<sup>3</sup> Similarly, another folktale, namely the *Nān Tibv Sūᅅācand* (or *Neang Toep Sodachan*, which is the name of a nymph and daughter of the god Indra) was very popular in the 1960s, and it was also produced as a theater drama and movie. Both these folktales, namely the *Nān Tibv Sūᅅācand* and the legend of Prasat Angkor, begin with the birth of Preah Pisnukar (or *Braᅅ Bisᅅukār*, *Vishvakarman*, the divine architect) and Preah Ketmealea (or *Braᅅ Ketumālā*, the son of a king who appears in the legend).

In this brief article, I attempt to introduce a short commentary on the poem, in particular, the writer’s description regarding some of the depictions on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat. I also seek to provide a narrative summary of a section linked to the description of the god Indra ordering Preah Pisnukar to build the palace of heaven for Preah Ketmealea on earth, from the Khmer text into English. The presented Khmer text in this article was published by E. Aymonier in 1878, a copy of

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1 Pierre d’Angkor 1985: i-vi.

2 Pou 1975: 124.

3 Institut Boudhique, *Prachum Roeng Preng Khmer (Recueil des Contes et Légends Cambodgiens)*, Fasc. 5, Première édition, Phnom Penh, 1963, pp. 1-27. The legend of Prasat Angkor was recently studied and published by the Ministry of Education. See, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports 2017: 1-28.

which is extracted from the Google book.<sup>4</sup>

### A Commentary on the Text

The Lpoek Aṅgar Vat was composed as a poem rich in alliterative and rhyming words, and the poet used meters such as Pad Brahmagit (Bat Prohmkoet), Pad Kākagati (Bat Kakketi), and Pad Bamnol (Bat Pomnol). The Khmer text consists of 31 pages [with pages numbering 1 to 31 on the upper right of the page by the author, and including two pages (namely pages 1 and 2) for the writer of the poem's preamble, named Pañ (or Pang)]. The text was written using the *mūl* (or Moul) script which is more classic and beautiful, with regard to the text.

The beginning of the story informs us as to how Preah Ketmealea was taken by god Indra who was his father in his previous life to the palace of Indra in heaven, and then how Angkor Wat was constructed by Preah Pisnukar, the divine architect, on earth, in fulfillment of a promise by Indra to his son Preah Ketmealea (pages 3 to 11, please see the narrative summary below).

The following pages were illustrated as a series of carved reliefs. For instance, decorative carvings, architectural ornaments, and the story of Rāmakerti<sup>5</sup> depicted scenes of Hindu gods and Naraka (or Noruok, which refers to hells). They included also the king seated on a palanquin, and so on.

From pages 12 to 24, compared to other scenes, the story of the Rāmakerti is much more detailed. There are many versions of the Rāmakerti in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that were narrated in an orderly manner by elderly people, and published in books and audiovisual works such as the Rāmakerti by Ta Chak (his full name is Mi Chak, and he is from the Siem Reap Province),<sup>6</sup> the Rāmakerti by Ta Krut,<sup>7</sup> a long prose version of the Rāmakerti compiled by a monk named Vichea Thor,<sup>8</sup> and the Rāmakerti by Ta Soy.<sup>9</sup> Unlike these versions of the Rāmakerti mentioned above, the story of the Rāmakerti in Lpoek Aṅgar Vatt is a step by step description through the carved reliefs on the panel of the Rāmakerti at Angkor Wat, and it was not narrated by the writer in an orderly manner.

The writer begins to describe as an introduction to the story of the Rāmakerti, 'the departure of Braḥ Rāma (Preah Ream) to the gate of the demon (the city of Lanka) that is now calamity.' The following is a brief summary: "In the prosperous city of Srī Ayuthyā, there was a king named Braḥ

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4 Aymonier 1878. I received this Khmer text (extracted from Google Book) through the kindness of Mr. Hun Chhunting and Mr. Hout Saosekharith to whom I offer my thanks.

5 Rāmakerti or Reamker is the Khmer version, both oral and written, of the Ramayana epic. Because there were no Khmer literature documents that existed or were found prior to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the earliest version of the Rāmakerti among Khmer literary works was dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the Thai version of Rāmakien was composed at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by King Rāmā I. Cf. Pou 1986: 203-211, 1977.

6 Bizot 1973.

7 Ta Krut or Neay Maha Krut was born in the Kompong Cham province, and he was a famous storyteller during the 1960s. His well-known recitation of the Reamker was recorded in 1965 and 1968. The recordings were taken to France by Alain Daniel and Jacques Bunnet for their research. The record of the recitation of the Reamker by Ta Krut has been recently restored by Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center, and is now available online, at <https://bophana.org/boutique/the-reamker-by-ta-krut/>.

8 This version consists of 107 parts and was edited and published by Dik Keam. Cf. Dik Keam 1964.

9 Ta Soy (or his full name Phka Soy) was born in Lovea Em district, Kandal province. His recitation of the Reamker was noted and compiled by Pich Bunnin with the preface by Ang Choulean. Cf. Pich Bunnin 2000.



Pāt Dasarath (Preah Bat Tusaroat)<sup>10</sup> who ruled over the entire world. There was a great hermit who trained Braḥ Rāma (Preah Ream) and Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa (Preah Leak). Braḥ Rāma and his brother Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa traveled in the forest towards the Braḥ Nagar of king Mithilā (City of king Mithila), where lay the residence of Nān Sītā (Neang Seda). Because of his strength and glory, king Mithilā permitted Braḥ Rāma to marry Nān Sītā. It was not long after that Kruṅ Rābṇ Asūr (or Krong Reap, the demon king), rose to compete in a determined manner against Braḥ Rāma. Then the three of them, namely Braḥ Rāma, Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa, and Nān Sītā set out for the fight. The three walked inside the quiet forest. A huge demon (Mahā Yaksā) came to quickly abduct Nān Sītā and take her away. Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa promptly ran after the demon in order to fight, and Braḥ Rāma shot an arrow and killed the demon in the forest. Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa left in order to be ordained as a great hermit. Nān Sūrapanakhā (Neang Surbankha)<sup>11</sup> rushed swiftly towards the palace of the king, in order to attract and console the king. Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa got angry and brandished his sword. Kruṅ Khara (Krong Khar)<sup>12</sup> marched with an army to battle. Many soldiers died in the battle. Mahārīk (Moharik)<sup>13</sup> converted himself into a golden deer and went toward the Āsram.<sup>14</sup> Braḥ Rāma followed the golden deer into the forest mountain. Kruṅ Rābṇ turned himself into a Brahman sage to abduct Nān Sītā and fly into the sky. Jatāyu<sup>15</sup> spread his wings to make it dark. Kruṅ Rābṇ pulled the ring and threw it at Jatāyu, breaking Jatāyu's wing and causing him to fall down. Kruṅ Rābṇ flew into the city of Lanka. The demon deer was shot dead by Braḥ Rāma. Braḥ Rāma returned to the palace and sorrowed over his losing of Nān Sītā...” Then, followed a description in great detail, related to the scene of the fight between the armies of monkeys and Yeaks (demons).

Pages 24 to 25 mention the great hermit (Braḥ Mahā Īsī) who resided on the top of Himabānt (the Himalayas), which is compared to Sumeru (Mount Meru), in a heavenly palace (bhimān at Sthān Traitriṅ), and also describes the disturbance from Tusasokan (probably the name of demon).<sup>16</sup> Pages 25 to 26 illustrate scenes of Naraka (Norok, or the hells), and it consists 30 tiers in which are described the names of the hells where tortures take place, and where sinners were punished and tortured by many ways.<sup>17</sup> At the end of page 26 to 27, the writer mentions the name of Preah Ketmealea who was seated on a palanquin, and a prince who came to show respect.<sup>18</sup> Then, page 27 describes the parade of the army that was led by the king, and of the soldiers wearing leather and iron helmets, and holding arrows, swords, many kind of weapons, and so on.

From end of pages 27 to 31, the writer praised the great and elegant work of Preah Pisnukar, by

10 The father of Braḥ Rāma and Braḥ Lakṣmaṇa.

11 A female Yeak (demon).

12 He is the older brother of Nān Sūrapanakhā.

13 He is a demon who helped Kruṅ Rābṇ to capture Nān Sītā.

14 A place where Braḥ Rāma and Nān Sītā reside.

15 Jatāyu is depicted as a big bird who tried to rescue Nān Sītā.

16 This description seems to be related to the scene of Śiva in the form of hermit seated in a yogic position on the top of the mountain, and beneath is the image of Ravana shaking the mountain. This scene is called Ravana shaking mount Kailasa. It is located at the 1<sup>st</sup> gallery of the south-western corner. In the same corner, there are also other sculpted relief scenes of Śiva having the form of a hermit.

17 This scene is called the panel of Heavens and Hells. It is located at the eastern wing of the 1<sup>st</sup> southern gallery.

18 This scene is called the historic procession for which King Suryavarman II gave orders to his ministers. The panel is located at the western wing of the 1<sup>st</sup> southern gallery.

describing in general the architectural elements, sculpted statues, carved motifs, reliefs, and so on.

### **A Narrative Summary of the Story of Preah Ketmealea<sup>19</sup>**

Once in a glorious time in the past, there was a king named Braḥ Pād Vañ' Ascār (or Preah Bat Vong Oschar), who was law-abiding and a man of generosity. The king had a blessed and most beautiful consort who surpassed all concubines. He had a son, named Preah Ketmealea, who was most exceptional, meritorious, and courageous. Preah Ketmealea's glory was well-known everywhere, not only on the earth but also in the Sthān Traitriṅ (or Sthan Traitroeng, the residence of god Indra). God Indra realized that Preah Ketmealea was his son in a previous life, who was reborn as a son of king Preah Bat Vong Oschar. Then, Indra descended to the earth and took Preah Ketmealea to Sthān Traitriṅ.

However, the presence of Preah Ketmealea there was unsettling and disturbing to all the Devatas (or angels), because Preah Ketmealea was a human and had a human smell, and so the Devatas informed Indra about the matter. Hence Indra decided to send Preah Ketmealea back to the human world. Preah Ketmealea felt unhappy and suffered mentally, because he had led a harmonious, uplifting, and enjoyable life in the great and splendid palace, namely Bejjayanta Ratana (or Bejayant Ratana),<sup>20</sup> and he did not wish to depart from that comfortable atmosphere.

Indra understood and had compassion on his son over his sorrowful feelings, and eventually promised to build on the earth everything, just the same as it was in heaven, for his son's desire and satisfaction. Hence, when Preah Ketmealea asked Indra to build the palace and other places that existed in the Sthān Traitriṅ, Indra ordered all Devatas to gather, and ordered Braḥ Bisnukār (Preah Pisnukar, or the divine architect) who was brilliant and intelligent, to build the great palace Bejayant on earth, which would be respected by all Devatas. Indra then ordered the construction of Preah Ko,<sup>21</sup> and dispatched guardians to protect the son, and he also ordered Preah Pisnukar to supervise and organize all servants from all over the world. These included the Khmer, Siam, Burmese, Mon, Lav (Laos), Chvea (Malay), Cham, Langka (Sri Lanka), Yuon Cas' Kai Soen (ancient Vietnamese and Tâi-sön), Karien, Kloeng (Indian), Barang (It is generally referred to European people), Stieng, Phnong, Tumpuon, Chin Hokkien (Chinese Hokkien), Chin Katang (Cantonese), Chipon (Japanese), and others.

Preah Pisnukar ordered the clearing of the forest around Phnom Bakheng,<sup>22</sup> and the bringing of high quality stones to construct the complex. The temple was perfectly good and neat with all places

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19 The name Ketmealea is the basis for the name of the monument Beng Mealea, the modern Buddhist pagoda Wat Beng Mealea, and the village and commune Phum Beng Mealea, which is located in the Svay Loeu district, Siem Reap province. See., Nhim 2018: 15.

20 Bejayant Ratana, in Sanskrit Vaijayanta and in Pali Vejayanta, is the sacred palace of Indra. The name of the Bayon temple, which is located at the center of Angkor Thom, is a corruption of this Sanskrit and Pali name of Indra's palace. See., Nhim, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

21 It probably matches the name of the monument Krol Ko, which is located near the Preah Khan temple in the grand circuit road of Angkor Park. It was built in the reign of King Jayavarman VII, during the late 12<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Nhim, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

22 It is the name of the hill and monument which is located close to the southern gate of Angkor Thom. For the name of Phnom Bakheng, see., Nhim, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

in stone, including the Rong Chomnun (meeting hall), four beautiful Srah (ponds), the left and right Hortrai (a place to keep all related religious treatises),<sup>23</sup> and the intertwining Rong Tong (galleries). The temple had nine towers with rich decorative motifs of flowery designs. There were three tiers with dense shapes and ornamented, consisting of many triangular designs, up to the precious five towers (Bakan Tieng Pram).<sup>24</sup>

The king (Preah Ketmealea) entered Nokor (Capital city), namely Intapras,<sup>25</sup> to be the great king (Mahārāja, or Mohareach). This entire great and perfect masterpiece had been managed by Preah Pisnukar.<sup>26</sup>

### Brief Remarks

The author of the Lpoek Aṅgar Vat seems to emphasize the fact that Angkor Wat was not constructed by humans but by gods. This was because of its great and marvelous architectural construction, which made it unbelievable that any human being could have built it. The descriptions on the carved reliefs seem like a guide to show people around the temple. However, regarding the descriptions in the section on the Rāmakerti the author appears to have known the story well, and especially the names of all the characters.

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23 It is now called the Baṅṅālai 'library' from the direct translation of the French word 'bibliothèque'.

24 The local communities still refer to the main central towers of Angkor Wat as Bakan. This name is also used as a generic term for the name of monuments, such as Banteay Bakan, which was erroneously called Preah Khan Kompong Svay by some scholars. The temple was built in the reign of king Jayavarman VII. The temple is now located in the Preah Vihear province.

25 The name is written in Sanskrit as Indrapraṣṭha and in Pali as Indapatta (it is a corrupted way in Khmer pronunciation Indapaṭh), which mean the city of Indra. The name is still used nowadays when referring to the two pagodas located in the compound of Angkor Wat, namely Vatt Indapaṭh Purī Khāñ Joēñ (or Wat Indabath Borei Khang Choeng, the northern pagoda) and Vatt Indapaṭh Purī Khāñ Tbūñ (or Wat Indabath Borei Khang Thbong, the southern pagoda).

26 Besides the above description, this section mostly describes the sculpted motif decorations, and praised all the beautiful reliefs and sculptures by comparing them to heaven.

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# ស្នើកម្ពុជរាជ



១ ឈានម្តងសេដ្ឋី ឧតបញ្ចោ លសោត្តម ឆ្មោះកង្កែប វិវេចន៍  
 សាធុការ ពិលកាល ។ រ៉ូមអង្គម្បូរ ព្រះពុទ្ធិក្រុល ដាវវិញ្ញា  
 តាមល្បែងកប់ដំ តាតសាដំសត្រា ស្នើកម្ពុជរាជ ឆ្មោះបោកមក  
 ហោង ។ មានចិត្តសាត្វ អាចចាសត្រា ត្រូវការកន្លង កាត្វាធី  
 ពិស្សតិទ្រង់ហោង បែនឆ្មោះហោង ពុំយូតស្ងើលការ ។ អង្គអញ  
 រ៉ូមស្ងួត សំណាងសំលាម ទានប្បវត្តា កង្កែបរ៉ូមពិត ក្នុងចិត្ត  
 ម្នីម្នី កុំឱ្យមានឃ្នា ឃ្នាគង្គលតិចស្ងើ ។ តែដំបែនត្រាហ្មតត ៖  
 លើកស្មៅពិតតាមដំនង ដំណើរតិមុនហោង អ្នកប្រាជ្ញលោក្យ លើ  
 កម្មកស្រាប់ ។ រ៉ូមតោរស្ងួតពិស្ស មិត្តបកាយដាវវិញ្ញា ចំណង  
 ចង់ដាសម្ប ដាវវិញ្ញាពេញស្តុកសារ ។ អង្គអញស្ងួតកំណើត ៖  
 កប់កាលកើត ៗ តោវតា ស្មោះស្មោះត្រិច្រិច្ចា ពិតពុំឃ្នាឃ្នាស្ងើ  
 ហោង ។ រ៉ូមស្ងួតកំណើតតាម ដាវវិញ្ញាច្រិះអង្គហោង ច្រិះសីហ  
 កន្លង លើកស្មៅតោវស្មោះច្ប ។ កាលច្រិះពិតយុត ត្រៀមស្រាប់

២០៨  
 ស្រុកសោះសព្វស្វា ចាប់ព្រះប្រទេសស្រីព្យា បបួរចានត្រាសហៀរហោង ។  
 ខ្ញុំមស្រមក៏ខ្សឹប្រាត យោនយកកវត្តច្រើមៗដង ព្រះអង្គសោះដងហោង  
 ស្រមចានឡូចបងប្រព្រួន ។ ខ្ញុំមស្រមចានត្រឡើងឆ្នាំ ចប់អសអាត្រៃកេ  
 តដង ស្រមចិត្រល្អរកដង ដាស់លេញដងព្រាតដោរ ។ ខ្ញុំមស្រមមានសំប  
 ដ្ឋីដ ស្រសប្បដ្ឋីដក្រាំងក្រាវីរ រដ្ឋបចិត្រដិតសោរ អសអ្នកដង  
 ទុព្វពុំចាន ។ ខ្ញុំមស្រមមានព្រាដ្ឋី កាត់សាធាព្រាដ្ឋីប្រាណា ខ្ញុំមស្រម  
 ចានឱ្យដាន អសដងស្រមហាចកដង ។ សំណូមនេះដណា ខ្ញុំម  
 ប្រាដ្ឋីស្រាបហៀរហោង ស្រមចានឡូចបងណាដ ស្រមអញ្ជាខ្ញុំមស្រមប្រ  
 ដ្ឋី ។ ត្រៃកម្ពុសាសុច្ឆិត រវីរិតហារនៃរា ឱនអង្គអរសាធា ត្រៃ  
 ព្រាត្រាបក្រោមព្រះល្យលក្ខណ៍ ។ តោះដងត្រូវល្បឿងដង លុតលើក  
 លើដស្មោះដោមដាក់ សីរសាដាក់ដ្ឋីដដាក់ ឱ្យវត្តឱនលំអុត  
 ។ ស្មោះស្មោះពីចិត្រដង បង្គំមត្រងព្រះសាម្ពុទ្ធ ស្មោះស្មោះដាមកដ្ឋ  
 ត្រៃកម្ពុការដងដងឃ្លា ។ ព្រះអង្គពីកេត្រា មាលមាសមារត្តត្រឡើង  
 ព្យ រក្សីភ្លើបាត្រោដព្រា ចិត្រោដចងដងដងសុកល ។ ផ្ទុលផ្ទុក  
 សព្វសត្វដង តាតាមដងដោមដាក់ដល ដិត្រានស្មោះមដ្ឋល ព្រា  
 ដីរកស្នដាតដា ។ តោះអញ្ជាខ្ញុំមសាត ឱសាឃ្មាត់ឱ្យចិត្ត :  
 ចាប់ចងដាតាព្យា ស្រិតស្រិតព្រះបរមី ។ ស្មោះអាចដាព្រាមារ  
 តោះពុះពាមាយាដី ចាត់បបបដដីដ្ឋី ត្រៃសសែដលុះដ្ឋីចេស្តា  
 ។ យើងខ្ញុំមស្រណោះសល់ បិតពុំយលព្រះធម្មា យលតែព្រះរា  
 ស្រិតលើអាស្ថាព្រះអង្គ ។ ដើព្វខ្ញុំមត្រៃកសាធា ឱនសីរសាបង្គុម  
 ដ្ឋី ព្រះរូបប្រសើរដ្ឋី ព្រាសសត្វដងដងក្រោយណា ។ ស្រាច់នៃ  
 ដងព្រាដ្ឋី ចចារចែងសសើរដ្ឋមហា ប្រសាត់ដងព្រាមព្រា កដ្ឋ :

១៦៤  
 តាមភីសីចិត្តត្រឡប់ ។ ប្រាសាទនេះខ្ពង់ណាស់ ព្រះឥន្ទ្រនិព្វនេន្ទ្រប្រែ ថ្មីព្រះ  
 ពិស្វនុកាស្យ ចុះមកក៏ច្បាប់ខ្លា ។ កាលោះអស់ចារត្រឡប់ មាន  
 ខ្សែច្រវែល្យាភាវ ស្តេចទ្រង់ព្រះធាតុ ហោរព្រះចានរដ្ឋអស់ចារ  
 ។ ស្តេចមានព្រះអំណាច សេព្យស្ស្យាភាវក្សេត្តិ ត្រូវត្រង់អសក្ស  
 ណា សិទ្ធិខ្សែបង្កើតព្រះបរមី ។ ស្តេចមានវរាហ៍ ទ្រង់ព្រះធាតុខ្សែត្រូវ  
 តោមកាយស្រស់សោភ័ ជាច្បាប់ច្បាប់អស់ស្តេច ។ អាណែតកោវ  
 បរិពារ ឱ្យស្រីក្នុងក្រុង ឱ្យស្រស់ទង់ទង់ រៀបរយរៀងបំរើដី  
 ត្រូវ ។ ព្រះមហាខ្សែត្រក្រល ជាតស្ស្យាអង្គឧកខ្សែ សិទ្ធិមកប្រដិប្រក  
 ច្បាប់បង្កើតក្រុង ។ សិទ្ធិតាមព្រះធាតុ ទ្រង់តោមាសស្តេច  
 ណាហោង ដ៏ច្បាប់ស្រស់ស្រាយ ជាម្រិតព្រះព្រះខ្សែ ។ អាណែត  
 កោវព្រះព្រះ ។ ត្រូវតែក្នុងកោវមាសព្រះ ព្រះព្រះស្រែចក្ក ។  
 ទ្រង់ត្រឡាតាសាចា ។ អាណែតកោវដ៏រៀ ។ ត្រូវតែកោវយាន  
 ក្នុងក្រុងកោវក្រុង ។ ក្នុងនេះសេសមាស ។ អាណែតកោវទេស  
 នាងសុគលសែនយោធិ ខ្សែបង្កើតយោធិ ត្រូវត្រូវលើក្រុង  
 ត្រឡប់ ។ ស្តេចមានព្រះករុណា ប្រសើរស្រស់ស្រាយ ប្រសើរព្រះ  
 ភាមិស្រ ហោរព្រះតែមាសហោង ។ ប្រព្រះក្រុងមាស ប្រសើរការ  
 ត្រឡប់ ។ ព្រះសព្វស្រាយហោង អស់ចារតែកាលោះណា ។ ក៏  
 ត្រឡប់សាល់ដ៏ចង់ ។ ស្រស់ស្រាយត្រឡប់ សំដៅព្រះឥន្ទ្រ បើក  
 និព្វនេន្ទ្រប្រែមកហោង ។ យល់ព្រះក្រុងមាស មានសំការត្រឡប់  
 ទ្រង់តោមាសច្បាប់ លើសលែងលើខ្សែ ។ ដ៏តោមប្រតិប្រត  
 ណា ចុះចាត់ស្រាត្រឡប់ ត្រឡប់ យកប្រតិប្រតិប្រត ប្រតិព្រះចានរដ្ឋអស់  
 ចារ ។ សំដៅព្រះឥន្ទ្រ ដ៏តោមព្រះណាខ្ពង់អស់អាត្ម ទ្រង់តោ

១៧.

កោះសព្វហរ តើហតិក្រព័ន្ធវិញ ។ ទើងស្តេចចុះចាត់ស្មាន ស្មារតី  
 មានព័ន្ធវិញ យកកងក្រហមហើយ ដំបង្កើតសោត្រៃសិវ័ន្ត ។ ព្រះត  
 ង្គស្តេចសន្តត ដាក់ដប់បុត្រព្រះអង្គនោះ ប្រលោម្នុងបរាស្ត្រ ហាក់  
 កើតពីធុនក ។ កាលោះទើងស្តេចស្មាន ដាក់ព័ន្ធវិញសាស្ត្រនោះ សិន  
 យីហត្រះសិវសារ បិទដុំមន្តិក្នុងម្នាសិវិស្ស ។ ទេព្នុងដុំដុល សិនឱ្យ  
 កខ្វល់ដាក់ក្រៃ ព័ន្ធវិញដុំដុល ឆ្លើងសោត្រៃសិវ័ន្ត ។ ម្នាសិវ  
 ទេព្នស្តេច ដាក់ព័ន្ធវិញសិវសារ ស្ស្រាបស្មានស្តេច ព័ន្ធវិញសា  
 ដុច្នោះស្ស្រា ។ ទាស្តេចយាងយោធរយក ម្នាស្តេចមកស្តេចស្ស្រា យើង  
 ព័ន្ធវិញដុំដុល ដុំមន្តិក្នុងម្នាសោត្រៃសិវ័ន្ត ។ កោះទើងព្រះត្រៃ ដឹកស្ត  
 បន្តល្បួន ចាំហេតុបុត្រប្រាណ អញ្ជើងហោងទើងព័ន្ធវិញ ។  
 បើដូច្នោះក៏ក៏ក៏ ដាក់ក្រៃដុំដុល អញ្ជើងយកមក ហើយ  
 អញ្ជើងដុំដុលចុះសោត្រៃ ។ កាលោះឱ្យត្រៃ កើតមាលារាជហោងចោរ :  
 អាស្រ័យដឹកស្តេចសោត្រៃ ព្រាសានដំបងស្រាច់ ។ តាមហោងពេជ្រ  
 ដុំដុល ចិញ្ចែងក្រៃសំភ្លាម ព្រាដំប្រះច្រុះលេង ព្រាស្រាច់ស  
 យលសព្វស្ស្រា ។ ដំបងសាសពាសដំសោត្រៃ រក្សាស្តេចមាសព្រាស្រា  
 មារកង្កែបសិវា ពេជ្រពាលរក្សាស្រា ។ ទើងស្តេចសោត្រៃ  
 ដល់លក្ខណ៍សោត្រៃមកមកាល ម្នាស្តេចព្រាស ។ ក៏ដូច្នោះដុំដុល  
 រក្សាយ ។ តាមដំបងស្រាស ក៏ដុំដុលដុំកាស ព័ន្ធវិញសព្វ  
 ស្ស្រា កញ្ជក់ចែមមាសម្រឹយ ។ ព្រាស្រាច់ច្រុះសោត្រៃ វិសេស  
 ស្ស្រាចុះចាត់ ។ កញ្ជក់កញ្ជក់សោត្រៃ ល្អប្រលើដុំដុំដុល ។ ដ  
 ឡើងដើមល្អប្រលើ ដំបងដុំដុលព្រាសាស្ត្រ ម្នាសោត្រៃយោធរ  
 លា ព័ន្ធវិញសោត្រៃសាស្ត្រ ។ កញ្ជក់កញ្ជក់ស្រាច់ សោត្រៃស្រាច់



២៧១

គ្រឿងគោម ក្រែងកង្កួលក្បែរ មាណគាលៈប្រិយបារ ។ ឱក្ខន្ត្រា  
 សាទសួរ សីនវិយ្យលភីនាជន ឆ្លើយប្រិយស្ត្រោះគ្រាល គួរស្រុកលាភគ្ន  
 រឿងរាយ ។ វិយ្យលនិងមាណ កោវប្បវាសន៍នាមប្ប រក្សលក្ខេបាត្រា  
 ជំព្រា ឡប់ដំណើរក្រិណិយ ។ ត្រិសាត្រស្លៀកល្ងេន សួរសប្ប  
 ក្រុងភាគតន្ត្រិយ រតាមរបៀបស្រី ទើព្រអក្សរកេរ្តិ៍មង្គ ។ បរិ  
 វិសោកា អសអង្គរទ្រង់គោមក្ស ប្រិយៈអង្គ្រា គ្រួលព្រាត្រា  
 ប្រិលតតត្រង ។ បរិវរដ្ឋបទាម ទ្រង់ច្រើនត្រិព្រាបដង សិនប្រិម  
 ។ ទ្រង់ តាំងប្បនអង្គល្អប្រិព្រ ។ សំរាប់ព្រះត្រា ចោមនេវាប្រិសើ  
 ទ្រត្រ លេព្រសុត្តសំរាតត្រ ច្រើន្រីត្រសុត្តិល្ង ។ មើលមាន  
 កាលប្រិក្ស លោតសង្កឹកខ្ពស់ត្រិល្ង ខ្យលបកល្ងន់ល្ងស្រីត្រ  
 បែកល្ងមស្រីត្រប្រិសព្រា ។ តនកោវនទ្រិគ្រា មាឡាខ្យលក្រង  
 ចិត្ត សំរាប់អង្គត្រ ដរដ្ឋិមគ្រអសនេព្រង ។ ប្រិអសនេព្រ  
 កញ្ច កើនឱសារតាមក្រង ច្រើនប្រិមស្រសប្បកង លេនសប្ប  
 ដ្ឋិគ្រ ។ មានតាំងតើមបរិភាគ ខ្ពស់ដោមខ្យត្របែកត្រិល្ង  
 កំពស់ស្រោងល្ងត្រិល្ង ហាសិបយោដ្ឋបរិមន្តល ។ ទ្រង់ផ្កាដ្ឋិដ្ឋិ  
 ភាគ គ្រិណិយប្រាត្រិយោដ្ឋយល នេត្តាដងរល សេព្រស្រា  
 សុត្តគ្រិណិយ ។ តំដៃលនិងស្រីត្រិល្ង ដរសុត្តត្រិក្រងអាត្រ  
 មានអសដ្ឋាបរិវរ ដុះដររឿបរឿងរ្យ ។ ខ្លីដ្ឋិមតែកាតែស គ្រិណ  
 វិលសដ្ឋិមកាសកាយ វិចេកកាតែសល្ង ដ្ឋិលក្រងនកោវមហា  
 មង្គ ។ ព្រុលេវិកពាតកពាត ផ្កាអញ្ញត្រិអ្នបប្បង វិដ្ឋិលកោវត្រ  
 យង បែកពាតកពាតតើមចំរា ។ ចន់គ្រមានលន្ត ដុះបងហែរ  
 ទ្រង់ប្រាម ប្រិលិតប្រិលិយច្រា សំអង្គប្រាស្រ្រៀវអង្គ ។ ក្រង

២៧២

ពោរស្បែក ក្នុងសិទ្ធិយស្រស់ៗ ផ្ទុះឈ្លានមាសនិងផ្ទុះ វាពាក់  
 ពាក់ផ្ការន្តស្រី ។ មុខក្រែងឡើយក្លាច ស្រស់ស្រេចស្រាវមាណក្សី  
 រំដេញមាសវិក្កិយ លែបដាវរៀងលើគ្រឿងសែត ។ អសនាដទេព  
 អក្សរ សិទ្ធិស្មោះសរអរអាណិត ហែលហារបែរផ្ការចែក ក្បា  
 ក្រាលក្រងប្រកាសអង្គ ។ ខ្លះក្រងផ្ការុំដួល រៀបដាវឡើយបញ្ចុះ ៖  
 គេកលើដង្កូវប្រហង្ស កាត់ចាត្រូវទេហើរហោះ ។ កាត់ម្យងល្អប  
 ស្បែក លើដង្កូវប្រហង្ស បែរផ្ការក្សេចក្សោះ ផ្ការម្លឹះរុ  
 តកោវម្លឹះលាវ ។ ក្រងដាវបក្សីលាវ ល្អរពិសីម្លើងមើលក្បា កាត់  
 ម្យងល្អបក្សី ក្រងដាវបសោមបង្កិត ។ ខ្លះក្រងដាវសារិការ កែវ  
 កាមផ្ការហៀរហើរទឹក លែបដាវសោមបង្កិត ទុំមង្គុល់ផ្លៀងម្លើងមើ  
 លក្បា ។ សិទ្ធិក្រៀងលេងលើច ទ្រៀមក្រក់ទ្រៀមក្រក់ក្បា រៀប  
 ហៀរពារតា សលើដង្កូវអង្គកោសី ។ កាត់ខ្លះល្អរុំតំប យល់  
 សំណាមស្រស់ប្រិមប្រិយ អ្នកតំបអស់តាំងស្រី ទេពអក្សរចុះស្រះ  
 ស្រី ។ ខ្លះហែលបែរផ្ការស្កន់ ល្អរនិងក្បាសរកុំប្លង់ ល្បាដាវផ្ការ  
 លំចង់ ផ្កាដល់បុលកោវស្បង់កាច់ ។ ខ្លះសោតល្អស្រដៀង គ្រា  
 ស្រដៀងហែលលំដាច់ ដល់ហៀរដៀងកាត់កាច់ ផ្កាត្រឹមតំកោវ ៖  
 ល្អសែត ។ បង់អ្នកបង់អក្សរ ហែលវិភាគត្រាមដៃត ក្បា  
 ដឹកលេងក្សេមក្សា រាល់ដើមផ្ការល្អសរដង ។ បែរចានស្រ  
 ចតែត្រា លេងសាច្យក្នុងស្រះស្រង់ កាត់ខ្លះហែលដំរង់ បែរ  
 កាច់ល្អកក្នុងដុលសា ។ លេបដាវកាត់ ។ ច្រកក្រក់ល្អរដៀង ម្លើ  
 ងមើលរូបក្រង អសនាដកាត់ សើចលេងក្បាតក្បាយ សាច្យ  
 ណាស់ណារ មកក្នុងស្រែហារ កោវកាត់តាំងម្យង ។ ល្អបក្សី



២៧៦

សៀវភៅអរពេក្យហោង ស្រមស្តេចប្រណិយ ឃ្មុតធីយនាម្នង ហោរអស  
 នេព្វងង មកធ្វើដំបូរ ។ រឿព្រះនេរោ ដាក់ជអក្កោ ស្ថាប័យត្រៃត្រូវ :  
 បុនចិត្រចង់តាម ប្រញាប់បុហិម្ម ស្តេចតៀបក្សេតិ ហោរឡៃចំណង់ ។  
 ឱ្យអសនេរោ កាត់កែងសព្វសា រតើតាងង តាំងព្រះចិត្តលោក្ខ ក  
 មាលហោរៈដ្បង ដំបូរពលស្រេចហោង នេរុបុត្រនេរោ ។ ពិតពុទ្ធិ  
 យក ពេជ្ជយន្ត្តោះមក សាងឱ្យបុត្រ យងយល់ដំបូរ ពានយោជ្ជ្ជោះ  
 សា អសតាំងនេត្តា ស្របស្រែងដីឡៃ ។ សំដេចសក្តោ ប្រសើរដ្ឋបេដ្ឋ  
 រំពឹងរំពៃ ដឹងព្រះពិស្សនុការ ព្រាងក្លែងវ្យៃ យល់ល្ងមតៃឡៃ ទានតៃ  
 ងដំបូរ ។ ឈ្មោះហោររោងចង្ក្រ លោកាក្កុតំម នេត្តាដ្ឋបដ្ឋម ោះ  
 ល្ងមឱ្យសាង ត្រាងដឹងបដ្ឋម បាមិម្ភលដ្ឋម ឱមនុសលោក្ខ ។ ពិតព្រ  
 មស្រេចប្រាច ក្លែងដើព្វសំដេច សហស្សចត្វ អសបរិពារងង សែន  
 កោដ្ឋសំខ្យោ នេរុបុត្រនេរោ ចុះមកជម្នង ។ សាងតាំងព្រះកោ :  
 ប្រសើរដ្ឋរកោ អង្គម្ភមកងង ដាអុកកក្ក ដីស្មានសព្វងង កុំឱ្យ  
 ហោរម្នង ដលកងបុត្រ ។ កាលស្តេចតាំងបុត្រ រីស្សរីសុទ្ធ មក  
 ដលហៀណារ ឱ្យព្រះរីស្សកម្ម ឯដអាងត្រៃត្រា អសតាំងបរិពាល  
 ពិកុត្តស្មានងង ។ ទេព្វឱ្យតែនពល រវាគារល រីករីរដើងតាំង :  
 ត្រាមតិលុត្តស នករងមងង ពានស្រេចហៀហោង សព្វបរនេស្ស  
 ។ ខ្យោស្លៀមក្សមា មនលារលតា ញាតាមលំការ យុនច្ចុសតៃ :  
 សែន ទ្រៃណាសត្រៃបត្រា កាត្យែងហង្ស តាំងត្រីងទៃកង្រង ។  
 ចាត្រង្គ្រងព្វង កុំពុនក្នុងងង ទ្រៃនៃត្រៃត្រា ចិត្តកុហុកក្លៃ  
 ន កដីរក្សាត្រ កុំកុយស្មានតាំង ហៀហង្សតាំង ។ ដីពុនត្រៃ  
 ងវ្យៃ រំដើងត្រាសត្រៃ បីបើកកក្លៃ ត្រៃយុនពានីង ទៃក



២៧៦

ឯករាជ្ជ ខ្លបខ្លួនពុទ្ធពាង្ស កប្បបកបទ្រង់ ធួកឆ្លើមឡាច្រង់ ។ កុន  
 មើលតោវច្រង់ ពីស្បុនកាសាង សត្វសំបក្កាតហោង ព្រុកក្ក :  
 ព្រេនពាតក្រង់ គ្រាយក្លែបម្រង់ វាស្យាលព្វវាហ ។ ពាក្យឆ្នាំ  
 បួន រួកទ្រឹមដាស់ដួន ចែកដាមក្រក ក្នុងក្នុងសិទ្ធិស្រាវ ប្រសំប្រ  
 ចម្រុចក្ក្ក ព្រះកែតមាលា មានបុរ្យស្របស្រង់ ។ ប្រព្រះពីស្បុនកា  
 រក្សាបសព្វសា តើហតាត្បៃដ វារ្យបក្កកា កាត់ផ្ទះវៀងដ ខ្លះ  
 កាត់កស្រែដ ឈរក្សាចន្លោះ ។ ក្លែងវៀងដដាត ក្សាវារ្យបយក្ក  
 រូបក្រិចស្មានស្មោះ ឈរឈានតាមទ្រង់ ក្សាទាតត់ខ្លះ វប្បវពោះ  
 ក្រិចវៀងដនោះឈារ ។ កុនមើលកាត់ឃ្មា ឲ្យស្រាតត្រា សិទ្ធិកែវ  
 មុក្កកា ពីទ្រវតីធា រៀងរៀសោកា ក្រិកកក្ក ក្រិស្តាលសព្វស្យ  
 ។ កុំព្វលស្រួចស្រង់ ក្នុងក្នុងសំយុង កញ្ចក់ទ្រោះទ្រា ក្រិខែកក្រ  
 ដួច ព្រោះស្រួចយលធា ក្លែងព្រោះក្នុងស្រួចស្រួច កញ្ចលវិហារ  
 ។ ផ្ទះផ្ទះមុក្កដេច សំផ្រួលសំផ្រាច ដងក្នុងខ្លះ កែបកាលក្ក  
 កំពេច សិទ្ធិលេខបញ្ច ក្លែងក្នុងសំដា ក្នុងកាត់ដងដង ។ សំសរស្ត  
 ទ្រង់ ក្រោមក្រាសសិទ្ធិ ក្នុងវៀងស្រង់ ក្នុងក្លែងក្លែងស្រង់ :  
 សំរេចកែតក្ក ទ្រង់ទ្រិយសោតហោង លកល្លសល្លរក្រិ ។ ហាត  
 ដួចក្រិល ដុំដុំមនេះកា កោស្តកិល្យ សំរាបព្រះក្ក លីក្កប្រ  
 ចារ ក្រិដ្ឋស្រកិល្យ ល្អរតតក្ក ។ ប្រដាបដាស្មាន ក្លែងបេន  
 សោតមាន ចាស្តិមនីស្មាន ពេទ្រមកក្កាត ស្មានស្មានសោកា សិទ្ធិ  
 ដុំសំលីប្រកិកក្រាសក្រិ ។ ប្រដាបក្រិស្មាន បង្កមសោកា ក្លែងស្តាំម  
 ប្រព្រៃ ប្រណុកសាធា លោះឈ្យពេក្រក្រិ ហាតស្រកិល្យ ។  
 ទិព្វទេព្វទេវ ។ ក្រិដ្ឋរក្រិលកោវ ប្រដាបលកោវ មហារាជម្ម :



១៧៤

តើក្រែបបុណ្ណ ។ ខ្លះក្បាលក្រែបដាមក្នុង ខ្លះក្បាលមហា ហែមហង្សប្រ  
 សើដ្ឋបរ ។ ខ្លះដាតាកសោម្ពា ខ្លះដាត្រិច្ច ក៏ចាប់ពាក្យសិយ ។  
 ព្រាវត្តកចំលាក់អសក្តិ ក្រែបក្បាលដ្រី ហាក់មានវិញ្ញាណរូបរស ។  
 ប្រសាទត្រាមរុកស្រេចស្រល ផ្តល់ផ្តើមខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ ត្រង់ត្រកែកស្រោងស្រួច  
 ។ ឲ្យស្រាវតុំពូលម្រង់ច្រូច ដុះដោមបីត្រង់ ត្រងែកកណ្តាលវិហារ ។ គ្រួស  
 គ្រួស ត្របកប្បុរ្យ ក្បួនក្បាច់រុច្ឆណា រំយួលសំម្រាច់ស្អាតស្អាង ។ កាត់  
 ហ្សាបី ត្រងែចម្រង់ព្រង់ សីម្មាដំបូង ត្រឡើងត្រង់ប្រសស្រេច ។ ដង  
 ក្បាច់ព្រាមុតដេច ព្រាវត្តកក្បួនក្បាច់ រំលេងប្បដ្ឋាបីប្រពៃ ។  
 មុតត្រាហ្មសោកសំបង្កើតឲ្យ ដំបូងដំបូងស្រែ ប្រកដ្ឋប្រកបសារសព្វ  
 ដ្ឋដ្ឋដំបូងដំបូងដ្ឋបប ដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋ ពោរមុតសំម្រាច់កកក្តង  
 ។ កាំមយ្យសីម្មាដំបូង ស្លឹកខ្មៅសោះដង កាំមរំលេងប្បរា  
 ។ សីសរស្តុំមុតឡើងរាល់ ផ្តង់ផ្តង់សីដសា រតើហស្តកប្រតិកឡើងរួច  
 ។ ដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋ ដើងឡើងរាល់រួច ចំលាក់ក៏គ្រួស ល្អឲ្យ ។  
 ប្រកាបស្រាបបីប្រពៃ ដំបូលសោះស្រែ លើកប្រសាទស្រាវស្រេច ។ ដ្ឋ  
 ត្រលែងកែងមុតដេច សោកសីដស្រស្រេច ប្រសាទដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋ ។  
 ប្រសាទដំបូងមាណ្ឌ ត្រព្វសព្វពោរព្រកា មគ្គបត្រាបដ្ឋិតលើក  
 ។ ដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋ សាទស្តុរសោកា ចំលាក់ចំលាក់អសក្តិ ។ គ្រួស  
 ដាវបរក្នុរាវី ហោរៈកក្កវត្ត ក៏ស្រីប្រលើដ្ឋដ្ឋដ្ឋ ។ រូបផ្តង់បញ្ចង់  
 សោកា យរយមឡើងក្នុង លេងលើហប្រសាទសោកហោង ។ ខ្ពង  
 ម្រលសីស្រលកក្បង ដងក្នុងមុតយ្យដ ប្រកបសោវលក្ខណៈខ្ពង ។  
 ដ្ឋតចាវព្រាវស្តាដស្តាត ខ្លះប្បដ្ឋខ្លះកាត កែមកាលកែសសោ  
 កសំប ។ ចង្កៈឡើងឡើងម្រលក្នុង ពោះសោកសីដក្បួម ក៏ដ្ឋចត្រ



២៧៤

ពុំប្រុងប្រយ័ត្ន ។ ព្រះសុខ្ខ័យៈអង្គរ សិវពោកមាលា កត្តក្រមរាត្រីភ្នំ  
 ចង់ដោយចំណង់តែស្វ័យ ព្រះពោលនង្គី សត្វសំបបញ្ញាល្អវិញ្ញាណ ។  
 ខ្លះដោយខ្លះត្រង់ដុំប្រពៃ ខ្លះដើរឲ្យយកដៃ សឹកស្ងៀមកាន់ត្រង់  
 ព្រាង ។ ខ្លះសោតសិវសក់បញ្ញា ខ្លះសោតកាន់ដា លំពត្តក  
 កាន់លើដង្កើ ។ ខ្លះកាន់ក្រិស្ណនាំដង្កើ ខ្លះកាន់ពោរក្រិម្រង ក្រិ  
 ទេសនាំដង្កើលង ។ ខ្លះផ្លែឈើឈ្លៀងមើលក្នុង ខ្លះចូលព្រៃ  
 កាន់ស្រាងដើមនង្គី ។ ខ្លះលើចក្រក្រិម្រងប្រិមប្រិម ហាក់ដឹងស្រិក្ស  
 សំណែះសំណាល់មកក្នុង ។ បើកនមើលនោះលុះដាក់ ត្រីហត្ថច  
 ក្រារក្រាត់ ប្រិម្យប្រិមាលម្អង ។ ហាក់ដឹងស្រិក្សមកដង្កើ ដំបូង  
 ផ្លែដង្កើ ដាក់មកក្នុងក្រងចង់ចិត្ត ។ ម្ល៉េងមើលនោះហៀហាក់ពិភ្វ  
 ខ្លះដើរកាន់ដ្ឋិត ខ្លះកាន់សត្វសេកដង្កើលា ។ បង្កើមនោះលើហន  
 ដង្កើរ ខ្លះកាន់ប្រុងប្រា ពោរផ្ការក្រិដំដង្កើ ។ ស្រៀកទៀនខ្ទប់  
 ចង្កើដង្កើ អត្ថមស្រីដង្កើ ក្រងទ្រិលព្រិកាបត្រិក្រាន់ ។ សិវពោក  
 ក៏ដង្កើតីដាវ ព្រៃដៀវក្រង រលេងពោរល្អនង្គី ។ សិវស្នាដ  
 រូបរាងសោត ត្រិក្រងអង្គស្រិ កញ្ចក់ចិញ្ចៀនព្រះនុវង្គ ។ ព្រិកាប  
 ត្រិក្រងព្រិកាញដ លរលមបីរហង្គ ព្រិកាស្រិលៈអង្គរ ។ ហាក់ដើ  
 យាងយាសយាត្រា កែអង្គររោ ក្រិក្រងព្រិកាស្រិ ។ ខង្កើព្រៃ  
 ក្រងប្រិមប្រិម ហាក់ដឹងស្រិក្ស សំណែះសំណាល់ស្រិហារ ។ អន្តរលំនោ  
 នអង្គ ចក់ចង់សីរសា បង់ត្រិកាបង្កាច់ស្រង ។ ព្រិក្រិលបិតម្រល  
 ផ្លែដង្កើ វិវាសលំព្រៃ ត្រិទេសត្រិទេសស្រិលស្រិ ។ ខ្លះចាប់វិវាម  
 តែកាច តែត្រិក្រងក្រង ក៏ដង្កើល្អស្រិល ។ ល្អាល្អល្អ  
 ត្រិសប្រិក្រង ល្អកល្អមល្អិតល្អយ ត្រិល្អត្រិទេសស្រិលស្រិ ។

២៧

តែត្រូវឲ្យបរិបូណ៌សេចក្តីសម្រេច កុំឲ្យខ្វះខាត ក្នុងការងារ  
 កាល ។ ឡើងមើលយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រកាល គេតែងតែចង់ដឹង ក៏ចង់  
 គោរពចិត្តស្នេហា ។ ពុំតែតែងតែចង់ តែគោរពសេចក្តីស្នេហា ពុំស្នេហា  
 ពុំស្នេហាចិត្តឆ្លើយ ។ ចង្អុលឡើងមើលដាក់ហ្វឺ ពុំចង់ចេញស្មើ  
 អាណ្តោះអាស្រ័យពេញលេញ ។ ពុំយល់ដឹងសីល លោក្យក៏ចេញការ  
 សំរាប់សំរួលដង្ហែង ។ ហាក់ដូចជាបង្កើតស្រីស្រី មើលហ្វឺស្រីស្រី  
 ស្រីមុនពុំដោះដីដោះ ។ រូបនាំដំបូងពាន់យន្តគោរព ឆ្លាតៗល្អឆ្លាត  
 ល្អឆ្លាត ដំបូងពាន់ក៏មានខ្លះ ។ លោក្យក៏ត្រូវគោរពដោះដោះ  
 ដើរក្បែរដើរកោះ ដើរក្រុងដើរក្រុងយង់ដណា ។ ស្រីណាសាច់  
 មុខហ្វឺ ហាក់ស្នេហាស្នេហា ក៏មានត្រូវត្រូវលើហាស្យ ។ ផ្ទះផ្ទះដំ  
 ផ្ទះផ្ទះក្រុង ក្រុងដំបូង ព្រះរាជគោរពកាលយាត្រា ។ ឆ្លាតៗបរិបូ  
 យុត្តិក្រិយណា គឺគឺយុត្តិក្រិយណា ក៏ស្រីយុត្តិក្រិយណា ។ កុំ  
 ឱ្យម្តងម្តងស្រីស្រី ធុរកិច្ចក្រិយណា អាណាគឺស្រីស្រីស្រី  
 ។ ឆ្លាតៗក៏ដំបូងព្រះបាទ មេស្រីក៏ដំបូងព្រះបាទ ។ ។  
 ច្បាប់ដំបូង ព្រះអាទិត្យមុខហ្វឺ ស្នេហាដំបូងយា ពុំគឺគោរពក៏គួរ  
 ស្រី ។ ហ្វឺក៏ត្រូវដាក់ដាក់ក៏ត្រូវ បញ្ចូលព្រះក្រុង ព្រះក្រុង  
 យុត្តិ ។ ក្រុងដំបូងសាទសោកា រុងរឿងពេញ ធុរកិច្ចមុខព្រះ  
 រាជ ។ ក្រុងដំបូងព្រះបាទ មហាព្រះក្រុងក៏ម ព្រះបាទស្រីក្រុង  
 ។ ច្បាប់ច្បាប់ស្រីស្រីស្រី ដំបូងព្រះបាទព្រះរាជព្រះបាទ ។  
 ព្រះគោរពមហាព្រះបាទ ព្រះបាទមហាព្រះបាទ ពុំគឺគោរពសីល  
 សីល ។ ក្រុងដំបូងព្រះបាទ ព្រះអាទិត្យស្រីស្រី ក៏ត្រូវដំបូង  
 ព្រះបាទ ។ ក្រុងដំបូងសាទស្រីស្រីស្រី ក៏ត្រូវស្រីស្រីស្រី គោរព

២៨១

ទេព្យដីក្រសែត្រៃ ។ ពួកវាប្រព្រះតម្រូវខ្សែ ស្តេចស្មិតស្មានព្រៃកេរ្តិ៍  
 លើសលើហានេក ។ ព្រលព្រលដីកស្មុបរា ដីរាវតាវា ក្បាដីមន្តិល  
 ដំដំហ្នៀ ។ ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្មយក្សយមសមនាយ មិម្ពលមកថ្ម បង្កម្រលំម  
 ស្មិត ។ ស្មមខ្សែរោកដុំខ្លី រស្មេចមានមេត្រី ប្រសើរដ្ឋប្រដ្ឋិពារហោង  
 ។ ស្តេចវាទ្រីហាលោក្យដង ទ្រង់សីលទ្រព្រទ្រង់ មន្តលទ្រព្រកុត្តដំដំហ្នៀ ។  
 ពួកវាប្រព្រះត្រៃ ទ្រើសទ្រង់វិទ្ធិស្មា ក៏ក្នុងលើហាត្រឆកង ។ ហិចហោរ  
 ផ្ទួញក្រងអាស្រ័យ កាលកាចរិកា វិពាសស្មនលោះចាត់បង ។ រៀងរាល់  
 លុះពាលព្រះអង្គ ចាប់ប្រដីសង្ខត្រង់ វាព្រះកម្មាទេព្យដៃ ។ ពួកមហាប្រសិ  
 កាល្យ កោត្តវិទ្ធិត្រៃ ក៏តំមព្រះរាមពោរព្រះលក្ខ ។ ពោរព្រសិទ្ធិ  
 សីលធូរព្រដីយក្ស វិទ្ធិសិទ្ធិសក្ក ព្រដីកព្រដីមុហិម្ម ។ ពួកវាប្រព្រះ  
 កម្មា ពោរព្រះអណ្តាញ ក៏ស្តេចដើរទេសព្រដីចរ ។ តើអង្គត្រាចត្រង់ព្រះ  
 ទករ មិទ្ធិលំដប់រ លំពោរទេព្យដៃសេដ ។ ពួកវាព្រះចានមិទ្ធិលំ :  
 ឱ្យអសនេក លើកធូរសហស្សសច្ចម្រង ។ នេកព្រដីដ្ឋបអង្គ  
 សោតសិដតេទ្រង់ ដុំដីដីខ្សែអសក្តិយ ។ នេកព្រះដីដីខ្សែ ព្រះដីក  
 ដី ព្រះសោតដីលើហាវាដហង្ស ។ ព្រះដីកឆ្វេកពោលព្រង ព្រះសោត  
 ដីអង្គ ខ្សែកាលសហស្សល្វើងកា ។ ដីរមាសដីសីង្គដីខ្សែ ព្រះដី  
 យក្ស ពាក្យកន្លប់ដំដំហ្នៀ ។ សិដហោរចុះមកប្រព្រាយ ដីខ្សែខ្សែ  
 ខ្សែ សិដលើកព្រចានល្វើងកា ។ ពួកវាប្រព្រះចានកម្មា ស្តេចមានចេ  
 ស្តារ ក៏លើកចានដ្ឋបលាង ។ ចានលាងសេកាដ្ឋបង មុហិម្មដីហោ  
 សំដីដំពោរវិទ្ធិប្រកង្ក ។ ពួកវាព្រះចានកម្មា តំមព្រះកង្កប្រ ពោ  
 ប្រក្រសាត្រក្រល ។ ព្រៃព្រះក្រងកត្តបរមិស្មា ចុះមកព្រយ ប្រក្រ  
 តប្រលងចេស្តារ ។ សិទ្រីដព្រះក្រងកត្តបរមិស្មា ពោរពោរពាក្យ ពាក្យ



១៧៣

វារកត្តាគឺសង្ខារ ហោះចិញ្ចៀនព្រះនុ៎ះ ក៏ត្រូវចំអេដដុតាយុះ ។  
 ចាត់ខ្យល់ប្រយាបន្តាត់ចុះ ក្រុងរាត្រីហោះឆ្កោះ ក៏ដល់នករលុត្ត ។  
 ត្រាត់ដាវបព្រះរាមា ចាញ់ប្រើសកាលា អស្មរកលុះដំខ្សែ ។ ហៀត្តា  
 ក៏ដាច់ព្រះអង្គឆ្មៃ វិលវិលមកល្ងៃ ពុំឃើញដីវិញដីកា ។ ត្រឡោចតែ  
 ពីអង្គរ សែនស្សោសោកា ក៏ស្តេចត្រេចរកមហែស៊ី ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំឃ្មោះ  
 សោតអសក្តិ ត្រាត់ដាវទ្រពិ ប្រយុតប្រលងដីនា ឆ្មៃផ្គុំផ្គុំផ្គុំ  
 រេក ផ្គុំលទាមរកា កត្តាលលើហាមហាប្រឡូត្យ ។ ហៀត្តាត្រាត់ដាវ  
 ទ្រពិ ក៏ដីនាស្មៃ ៗ វិញ្ញីលើសត្រែ ។ ពាល្យផ្គុំលទ្រពិខ្សែ ដីតកោវ  
 ព្រះត្រៃ កុំលុដបរកត្តកោហិក ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំឃ្មោះសោតត្រាត់ដាវ ស្ម័គ្រប  
 ដីនា ក្រវត្រដអសមុត្តមគ្រិយ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំឃ្មោះសោតត្រាត់ដាវ  
 ពាល្យមុះហ៊ឺមា ក្រណស្មុយក្បាលទ្រពិ ។ គង់នាំដីប្រឹងប្រែងក្រវី  
 ចោលក្បាលទ្រពិ កុំល្ងាតោវគ្រាតោហិក ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំពាល្យក្រោង  
 ដីនាស្ម័គ្របរកត្ត ប្រយុតប្រយាតវិលខ្សែ ។ សីដមាណុំលំដងខ្សែ  
 ចាស់ខ្លែងដាច់ខ្សែ ប្រឡូបប្រពាបសោះសា ។ ហិចហោះក៏កាត់ខ្សែ  
 ត្រ កាត់កាត់តោវក្ស កត្តាលអកាសទ្រពិ ។ ស្ម័គ្របព្រាខ្សែពា  
 លី រក្ខត្តលក្សី វៃក្រាមកកុដបុត្តា ។ ឬផ្គុំផ្សំឃ្មោះសោតលកា  
 ដាច់ព្រះរាមា ស្តេចត្រេចតាមរកម្តេស៊ី ។ តើពព្វៈពាលយក្តីអង្គីខ្សែ  
 ស្តេចមាណុបរមី ក៏ផ្គុំលខ្សែយក្តីមរតា ។ ហៀត្តាត្រាត់ដាវហ៊ឺមា  
 យាដយាសលីលា រំលុដខ្សែយក្តីរោះតោវ ។ ប្រោះស្ម័គ្របយម  
 តោវ ហៀត្តាមព្រះតោវ នករចារ្យខ្សែ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំស្ម័គ្របដីប្តីយ  
 ក៏ដីនាស្ម័គ្រប ប្រយុតកត្តាលវិហិក ។ ហៀត្តាត្រាត់ដាវព្រះរាមា ខ្លែងសា  
 ក្រុងពាលីលុះក៏ខ្សែដីវិត ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំដាច់ព្រះលីលា ដីនាអសពលស្ស ចិត



២៧៥

ឧប្បករណ៍នោះឡើយ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំគ្នាគ្រប់គ្រង ជាស្រុកស្រាវជ្រាវ ពិសេសក្រុង  
 រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ។ ហើយគ្រប់គ្រង អង្គការ វិលវៀរចក្ខុវិស័យ អំពីព្រះសិវរាជ  
 ណា ។ ផ្នែកផ្សេងៗ ហោះលើវិហារ ក្រុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ក៏ត្រូវបានគ្រប់គ្រង  
 យក ។ ហើយគ្រប់គ្រងសេណាយក លិង្គអង្គការ ដំបូងបង្អស់ហោះហា  
 នគ្រា ។ ហោះតាមប្រយុទ្ធសោយសា អង្គការហោះហា ក៏ចាប់ផ្តើមខ្លះ  
 ទាំងស្រុង ។ គ្រប់គ្រងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ឱ្យបើកទ្វារទ្រង់ ឱ្យចំណុះ  
 ឱ្យប្រកួតប្រជែង ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំស្រុកស្រាវជ្រាវ តាំងអស់ពលស្វ ទោវតាច  
 រុំលាងទាត់ឱ្យ ។ គ្រប់គ្រងតំបន់ក្រុងស្រុក ទាស់ទែងវិលវៀរ ចាប់  
 ចាប់ស្រុកស្រាវជ្រាវ ។ តាំងទោវតាចក្រុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ មានម្ចាស់ហោះហា កាល  
 ផ្គុំផ្សំទោវតាចឱ្យ ។ ទោះបីក៏ម្ចាស់ស្រុក សន្តប្រទេស កត្តល  
 ប្រកួតប្រជែង ។ គ្រប់គ្រងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ឱ្យទ្រង់រឹត ទ្រង់អស់មន្ត្រីយយោធា  
 ។ គ្រប់គ្រងពិភពអាណាធិបតី ក៏ក្រុមហោះហា សំខ្លះទោវតាចស្រុកស្រាវជ្រាវ  
 ។ គ្រប់គ្រងក្រុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ក្រុងស្រុកឱ្យ បង្កើតពិភពអាណា  
 ធិបតី ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំពោះសោតហោះហា លោកៗគ្រប់គ្រង ពិភពអាណា  
 ធិបតី ។ គ្រប់គ្រងព្រះរាជវាំង ទ្រង់ត្រូវណាត្រូវ ទទួលពិភព  
 កហោវា ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំគ្រប់គ្រងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ទ្រង់ប្រើយក្ស ទោវតាចសេ  
 ញាចរ ។ ទ្រង់ចំណុះទ្រង់ក្ស ចំណុះពានរ គឺចោតចាតុសេ  
 ណា ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំសោតគ្រប់គ្រងហោះហា ពេញពេញហោះហា ប្រយុទ្ធនោះ  
 ពេញសេនា ។ ឧប្បករណ៍សេនា ព្រះពលពានរ ទ្រង់ប្រើប្រ  
 យុទ្ធប្រយុទ្ធនោះ ។ ដំបូងបង្អស់ ទ្រង់ប្រើប្រយុទ្ធនោះ ប្រយុទ្ធនោះ  
 ប្រយុទ្ធនោះ ។ ពានរ រុករានដំបូង ប្រើប្រយុទ្ធនោះ ប្រយុទ្ធនោះ  
 រុករាន រុករាន ដំបូង ។ គ្រប់គ្រងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ទ្រង់ប្រើប្រយុទ្ធនោះ គ្រប់គ្រង

១៧៦

អំបពរក្រសា ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំគ្រប់កត្តាមុខហិមា បើកតាត្រីដៃយា ចាំផ្សំផ្គុំ  
 ដីកពានរ ។ ត្រួតត្រាព្រះកម្មច្រើនសរ អវិជ្ជាចង្អុលបរ រំលងរំលំបតាត  
 ខ្សែ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំគ្រប់កត្តាគ្រោងត្រៀម ប្រើអាមាត្យខ្សែ អញ្ជើញកំបក្រសា  
 មកណារ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំកំបក្រសា លើកតាត្រីលីលា ព្រះរៀមស្តេចយល  
 អស្មារ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំត្រួតត្រា តាតតំបសាម្មា ប្រយុត្តនិដិព្រះលក្ខណ៍  
 ។ ព្រះលក្ខណ៍ច្រើនសរ ក៏ដូច ផ្គុំលក្ខណ៍ក្រសា ក៏លុះអំណាចព្រះអង្គ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំ  
 ផ្សំផ្សំនិកលោមយុដ ច្រើនសរចាញ់បដ ស្រពាតក៏ដាច់តាត ។ ពាន្តពា  
 ក៏ព្រះលក្ខណ៍អាណា រោងអសពលស្វា ត្រីព្រោងៗដីខ្សែ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំ  
 ព្រះកម្មទ្រាលត្រៀម កាច់កោងនាងខ្សែ ដឹងចោរឱ្យចែះស្លឹក ។ ត្រួតត្រា  
 គ្រប់កត្តាមុខហិមា ហិមាហោរៈមកណារ ក៏តាតរោងរត់ខ្លួនខ្លួយ ។  
 ផ្គុំផ្សំព្រះលក្ខណ៍ត្រៀម ត្រីលក្ខណ៍វិជ្ជាស្វា ក៏ដឹងកោងនាងសាង ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំ  
 ផ្សំផ្សំនិកយក្ខណ៍ កត្តាលក្ខណ៍ស្វា រំលងរំលំពលយក្ខណ៍ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំ  
 ផ្សំសោតត្រួតត្រាគ្រប់ កត្តាគ្រោងបទបដ ព្រះកង្កែបត្រីច្បងណា ។  
 អស្សុម្មត្រីសេនស្វាសោកកា ក៏កាងខាងខ្លួន ក៏ហួតមហាត្រីវិយ  
 ។ យក្ខណ៍សិរសាខ្សែ លេកាដី បុណ្យបដសីយាដ្ឋិមរ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំ  
 ផ្សំត្រួតត្រាមហាសារ លើកពលចេញចរ ប្រយុត្តរោងអង្គតណារ  
 អង្គតក៏កាងខាងខ្លួន ផ្សំព្រាមហាសារណា ក៏លាញ់វិសាសអង្គក្ស ។  
 ត្រួតត្រាគ្រប់មហាអង្គក្ស រោងព្រះលក្ខណ៍ត្រៀម ក៏ត្រីប្រយុត្តរោង  
 ក្ស ។ ព្រះលក្ខណ៍ដឹងស្រីព្រាង ផ្គុំលក្ខណ៍មហា យក្ខណ៍រោងពល  
 ពលខ្សែ ។ ផ្គុំផ្សំត្រួតត្រាសិរ លើកពលមកដី រំលើញ  
 រំលើញខ្សែខ្លួន ។ ត្រួតត្រាព្រះកម្មស្តេចតុដ កោងនាងបីដំរីដ  
 បុណ្យបដអង្គលយក្ខណ៍ ។ ត្រួតត្រាសិរកេតហោរ បដ្ឋិមក្ស ស្រម



១៤៧

យាតត្រៈកមស្តេចលុប ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យគ្នាភ័យខ្លាច បាណ្ណានប្រព្រឹត្ត :  
 ប្រយុត្តនោវត្រីសីលោ ។ ត្រីសីលោសរសាត្រុយ បាណ្ណានមុះហិ  
 មា ឱស្សបកស្ទុះឫលបាប ។ បាលកោវនាដ្ឋនាត្រ បីត្រលាប វិល  
 វៀរឆៀងនាប សំបូបអាក្រាតិមក្ខ ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យគ្នាភ័យខ្លាច លើ  
 កាលកិច្ចក កំភាន្តកោវនាដ្ឋសាត្រ ។ គ្រាន់ដំរីពិតសេណា កំ  
 កាន់ខាត្តង្គ ទទួលប្រយុត្តនោវត្រី ។ ធីតិកស្ទុះស្រែងដុត្រង កោះ  
 អង្គកោវអង្គ កំដួលកោវកំលបរា ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យគ្នាភ័យខ្លាច ក្បាល  
 លង់មុះហិមា ត្រីនាគកាន់ដំបង ។ ឱស្សបសេណាវត្រីសយ្យង  
 កាន់ខាត្តង្គបីសំពង កំពោះប្រយុត្តនោវត្រី ។ ពាកពានប្រព្រឹត្ត  
 ក្នុង ឱស្សបមុះហិមា ត្រីនាគកំដួលមហាក្បាល ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យដំនេស្សមក្ខ  
 មា មីដំបងល កំកាន់ដំបងដំបង ។ គ្រាន់ដំរីពិតសេណា :  
 កាន់ខាត្តង្គចេញចរ ទទួលប្រយុត្តនោវត្រី ។ ត្រីបិណ្ឌកស្ទុះហិមា  
 កំដួលទទួលមក្ខណា វិលសនាដំពលយក្ខយស ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យដំនេស្សមក្ខ  
 ខាស លើកាលត្រីលក្រាស កំកាន់ដំបងដំបង ។ គ្រាន់ដំរីពិត  
 មា ឱស្សប កំកាន់ដំបងពេជ្រ ប្រយុត្តនោវត្រី ។ ឱស្សបវៀ  
 វិលវៀង កំដួលមក្ខណា កំលុះឡើងវៀមរា ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យគ្នាភ័យ  
 ត្រីនា លរងដំបងហិមា កំកាន់ដំបងក្បាល ។ គ្រាន់ដំរីពិតសេណា  
 ព្រងដំ កាន់ដំបងខាវវៀង ទទួលប្រយុត្តនោវត្រី ។ ឱស្សបវៀ  
 មុះហិមា កំដួលកំត្រីនា បារវិលសខ្លីវៀង ។ ផ្គង់ឱ្យសោតត្រង  
 វៀ ឫលពាក្យលើសត្រី កំកាន់ដំបងត្រីវិល ។ គ្រាន់ដំរីពិតសេណា  
 លី កាន់ខាត្តង្គវៀង ទទួលប្រយុត្តនោវត្រី ។ សត្រីពាក្យវៀង មុះហិ  
 មា មុតមហាយក្ខ វិលសសាបស្ទុះអសហៀ ។ ទទួលមក្ខណា





២៧

ត្រីតា វិទ្យុសហានគ្មារ ប្រយុតប្រយាតតោវគុណំ ។ ខ្លះខែដំណើរ  
 ខែដំណើរវាង ប្រក្កតប្រណាំង ប្រតាប្រឡូសវិលវៃយ ។ ពលស្វាមុហិមា  
 ដំរីក្សេ លិង្គក្សេ ឃ្មោះវិទ្ធិដង ។ ចាបដំរីក្សេសីតោវសីដ :  
 ភាងកងសង្កែដ ក៏ដំរីកងក្លលទាននា ។ ចាបចោលតោវលើហាយក្សេ  
 ចាត់ក៏ចាត់ស្មា ចាត់ខ្លងចាត់ខ្លងចាត់ដៀ ។ កម្មត្រូវតោវដ៏ខ្សែ :  
 ស្កត់ស្កាបពេក្សត្រៀ វង្វេកវង្វេលវង្វេល ។ ខ្លះដួលក្នុងខ្សែពោះទ្រៃ  
 ល វង្វេវង្វេល ប្រពាទ្ធិប្រពាត់លើហាក្ស ។ យក្សខ្លះខែដំណើរហិ  
 ហា ស្មោះបីត្រីតា ប្រឡូបប្រចាបចុងដៀ ។ ស្វលោកក្រែវក្រែវដំណើរ  
 ដៀ ខ្លះខែដំណើរ លោកចាបពានលើយលក្លែង ។ ខ្លះពានពាត់  
 ខ្លងដំណើរ ដៀលោកប្រឹងលើដ ប្រចាបប្រកាបនិព្វាន ។ ប្រចាប :  
 តន្ត្រីអារាវល គង់តាបដៀស្កាត់ ត្រលេកត្រឡាបត្រី ។ ស្វខ្លះចូល  
 ចាបដំរី សង្កត់ហ្វៀដ្យ បង្កើលសំរុញសំរុត ។ ស្វខ្លះពាក្យលម  
 ម្មត្រ គុដនាពាឯកក្កត បង្កាត់ដំរីដួលក្រែម ។ ពោះយក្សប្រដីយុត  
 ត្រលោម ចំប្បវដំណើរ អនិកតន្ត្រីកម្មហិមា ។ អសសេណាពល  
 ពាននា ស្មោះចាបសរ អាវលអសរសេណា ។ ចាបពានគីនកាច  
 សោះសារ ត្រឡ់អសនាំដស្វ ចំចាំដនាត់ប្រើចក្រាស្រីត្រៀ ។ ស្វខ្លះក៏  
 ភាងដំណើរ ខ្លះខ្លាំងវិលវៃ ដូកដូកដំរីហោះត្រឡូច ។ ត្រលោម  
 ចាបសរភាចក្លូច ពុំខ្សែលេងរួច ប្រឡូចទាំងភាចដំណើរ ។ យក្ស  
 ដំណើរស្វាស្វាត ប្រយុតប្រយាត ប្រពាត់ប្រកាបច្រើនត្រៀ ។ ហាក្ស  
 ដ្យុចរុបរសរីស្ស ត្រូវត្រូវដំណើរ ចំលាត់ចំលោវចេញណា ។ :  
 ។ នេះបទកាត្តិ ។ ផ្លូវឃ្មោះសោតខ្សែ ត្រូវត្រូវត្រៀ បរពត្តកោ  
 ហិ ដំណើរតាស្មាន ហេមប្បពានក្សណា ដំណើរច្រែមហា ដំណើរ



២៧២  
 ម្នាក់ អាត្រាអស់ខ្លួន ទុកពីដំបូង ព្រមព្រៀលសិនភ្លើង ។ បុរ  
 កែវត្រូវជាប់ ទុកស្លឹកស្លាប ឡើងហ្វឹកត្រើង បញ្ជូនភ្លើង ៣  
 ៣ ព្រាសយប់ដើម ក្រាបត្រើសិនភ្លើង ។ រំលាត់អាត្រា ។ មាតិកាត្រា  
 ក្លែង ចាតិកាប្រាហែក ដំបៅខ្លួនកោត្តា ស្លាបហ្វឹកសិរិញ អំប្រើញ  
 យីហង្ស ក្លែងត្រួតពារពារ ព្រិកាបតកត្រី ។ ទុកខ្លះសោត យំមក  
 ទុកត្រើត្រើ ចាប់ចិតសិរសី ប្តូរតំរូវវាល ចាត្រាតាបត្រីយ  
 ដួលដេកដល់ដី ដៃកង់ប្រើព្រាព្រាល ។ បុរកែវដាំភ្លើង កោរពារលេង  
 លើដ បំប្រាស់ផ្កាបង្ការ កាលបុរហេតុចិត្ត ពុំពិតប្រាកដ លោក  
 កុកបញ្ចូល ដុតសត្វតំរូវស ។ ទុកម្សុំពោះស្រៃ ចុងដើមដំបូង  
 ដុកអត្តសណា ដាក់ប្រិលច្រវែក អត្តសត្រា ចុងដៃកសោះសារ  
 ដាលមាត់កោះដង ។ ទុកម្សុំណា ពោះសំមមុះហិមា អាត្រាត្រា  
 ដ ដាំប្រើកតេរខ្លួន សាមាទពេញហោង ម្សុំពោះសោតចុង សក  
 ខ្លាបដីកោះ ។ ទុកម្សុំពោះស្រៃ ចុងដើមដំបូង ផ្កាបដើមត្រីក្បូ  
 ខ្លះពោះខ្លួន ខ្លះឡើងវិញ ដៃកដើមមុះហិមា សិនកែវដាំភ្លើង  
 ។ ម្នាក់ខ្លះចុងកោល ខ្លះឡើងខ្លះចោល ខ្លះយកក្បាលចុះ ព្រើងដី  
 ដី ខ្លះព្រាពោះ កើតពាំមហែកពោះ យកហែកទាំងស្រី ។ ខ្លួន  
 រុកដង ច្រើនពាល់ក្នុង អាណែតតាសដេរ ប្រើប្រាស់យល ពុំស្គ  
 ល់ល្ងើយហោង កោះប្រសិស្រីដង សិនមាលត្រីពុំអង្គ ។ ផ្កាម្សុំពោះ  
 ណា ព្រះតែតុមាលា មានបុរាណ កុងលើហត្រិល សំដេចដង  
 ហោង ស្តេចម្សុំព្រង ក្រាបប្រើបង្គំ ។ សិនលាពោះប្រិក រៀប  
 មន្ត្រីយមុក អាណែតខ្លើងដួម ព្រាយសសំម្សាតិ មហាទ្វិក  
 តំរូវ ដីស្រែត្រចង់ម ខ្លើងត្រើមុះហិមា ។ សិនដីក្បូល តាមម







ប្រធានិកក្ស ។ ចិស្វរកំពូលកាងយាយ មាសបែរោមក្ស ត្រីកែត្រី  
 ដីដំដោមដួង ។ កំពូលកំពស់ស្រោងស្រួច ក្នុងក្នុងកាលរួច កំដៅកំ  
 ទួចទឹកដាល ។ រូបទេពប្រណាំងរឿងរួច ក៏កាន់ក៏ក្នុង ពីពោលប្រ  
 ក្នុងដីត្រព្វ ។ ទ្រង់សារទៀតស្រុកស្សាសព្វ តាំងប្រសារទ្រព្វ សិទ្ធិរូប  
 ស្រ្យទេពអក្សរ ។ កាន់ផ្ការល្យកមាសដុបរា ទ្រង់កស្រិពារ ក៏ល្មារច្រ  
 ព្វរូបរក្សកាល ។ រាជហាលត្រព្វញ្ញារទ្រព្ធ រឿងរួចទោវដាល កំពូល  
 កំពែងក្រោមត្រៀម ។ ក្នុងស្រ្យរូបភាគសង្ឃឹម សង្ឃឹមធ្វើស្នំម ធុត្យា  
 លក៏លើកតំពារ ។ ទេព្វណាភ្លើងផ្លុះសោះសា ត្រៀមទោវមាត់ញ្ញា ។  
 ប្រសារទ្រលើផ្ទះបរិមា ។ កែរណារមាផ្សូរហែវា កែសែនលើដីការ  
 ក៏ល្មារទោវរឿងរួច ។ ប្រើប្រើដីសង្ឃឹមកេរក្ស ធ្វើដីមើលសព្វស្ស  
 ប្រយោជ្ជប្រយាត់ត្រព្វក្ស ។ ដីមនៃដីមាសម្លេបរិមា រុទ្ធិរឿងប្រាសប្រា  
 ល ចំលាក់ចំលើវស្រសម្រេច ។ ទ្រង់ប្រាងរុទ្ធិរឿងក្សរក្សាច រូបរាង  
 ស្រសម្រេច រំលេងទោវក្សាចផ្លើនឆ្មៅ ។ មាទ្របសោះសោតល្អេញ  
 ឆ្មៅ សព្វត្រៀមលំកោ ក៏តទ្វារចន្លោះល្វើណា ។ អំរីក្សមាសមែ  
 ទាំងសោះ ស្សសព្វញ្ញារត្រៀម រំលើករមាត់កាលរួច ។ ល្អាវប្រិច្ច  
 ច្នោះកើតក្ស ផ្លើនឆ្មៅទ្រៀមព្រៀម ពីចិត្តកោរក្សកេត្តា ។ ហាត្ត  
 ដួងរិមាទត្រៀម ចុះចាត់ស្មារតី ក៏ស្រុកមកទោវកែងដី ។ ដាង  
 ម្សប្រដាប់ទ្វារទ្រៀម ទោវបទាត្រៀម ទោវរូបអំរីក្សសំមញ្ញ ។ សីដ  
 ទាងទាវមាត់សព្វស្ស សក្ខដដំដំញ្ញា ទោវពោលដីទ្រៀមព្រៀម ។  
 យលម្ហារបរិទ្រព្វ ហែលលេងលីលា លំលេកត្រាលដុលដី ។ ក្នុង  
 កោវលើស្មាដំដី ស្រុកស្រុក រូបរាងវិញ្ញាណរូបរាស ។ រិតក្ស  
 ទឹកទ្វាយខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ អសារខ្ពង់ស្រេចស្រស់ ប្រដាប់សីដមាសប្រាសប្រាស

២៧

រូបនាគលោលើកត្រូវការ អរិយធម៌ត្រូវអាល ក៏ហោលលេងលើហង្ស  
 សា ។ ឃ្មុតឃ្មុតហាត់ដេញមេតា ឲ្យដឹងតា ។ កេរដឹងនាគកោះ  
 ណា ។ រូបរាងសីហ៍ហ្វៀវហោះ ថ្ងៃថ្ងៃស្ងួតស្អុះ ក៏ចាប់អំឡិតយុវ  
 យុវ ។ យន្តកែសម្រួលរាងសីហ៍ដង ចរចេញលេងលេង ក៏ហោះក  
 ក្នុងលទ្ធិ ។ ចុះចាប់ទងកែសម្រួល ចាប់ចានចាប់ឱ្យ រូបារន្តរូបារ  
 រីស្ស ។ ថ្ងៃថ្ងៃដឹងស្អុះដឹងលឿ ទេត្រកោះរំលែក ក្រលេកក្រលុ  
 ងដឹងស្អុះ ។ យន្តឃ្មុតធូររូបហង្ស ឈរឈប់ថ្ងៃថ្ងៃ ត្រឡឹក  
 ត្រឡោរទេត្រ ។ យន្តស្មានកោរយន្តល្ងែងកា ពាយុត្រង់កា ក  
 ក្នុងលឿអាតាសកង ។ យន្តហង្សរាងរូបកត់កង ចរចេញលេង  
 លេង ក៏ហោះកក្នុងលឿ ។ យន្តកែលេងលើលា ភ្លេងដឹងហ្វៀវ  
 ថ្ងៃយុត្តកក្នុងលទ្ធិ ។ យន្តហង្សក៏ដឹងពាំមក ដំដុះដំដុះ ត្រ  
 បតប្បន័មសុវណ្ណ ។ យន្តក្រុងភ្លេងនាបតាតា តាតពារ្យហត្ថា :  
 សំដឹងកោររិទ្ធិបិត្រីក ។ រូបខ្លាចាប់អង្គអំរឹក្យ ក្រាបក្រាមទ្រៃ  
 ទ្រៃក្ស ក្រលំសក្រលាបហានទ្រៃ ។ ហាត់ដូចរូបារសរីស្ស សក្ក  
 សំដឹងពេក្យទ្រៃ ក៏ស្មោះលោលោតរីលឿ ។ រូបក្នុងលាស្លឹមស្លៃ  
 កោតកោរទ្រៃទ្រៃ ក៏ស្របក្រាមម្តប់អាត្ម ។ រូបកោររូបកោ  
 មហ៍ដ្ឋ រូបហង្សតា ។ អាណិតអាណន្តណាសលឿ ។ រូបចា  
 ក្នុងដក្រាសទ្រៃ ទំដង្វែក្រៃក្រៃ ថ្ងៃថ្ងៃថ្ងៃចាប់ទងក្រៃ ។  
 រូបខ្លាហោតលេងដៀងៗ ខ្លាហោតទងក្រៃ ក៏ទំដងលេងលើហា  
 ត្រីក្ស ។ រូបសីតកោររូបសារីតា ទំដង្វែក្រៃក្រៃ ក៏ថ្ងៃថ្ងៃ  
 ដ្ឋដង្វែក្រៃ ។ រូបសីលារីសោតហោង យាងយាងស្រៀងដ្ឋដង្វែក្រៃ ដំដ  
 ត្រាហត្ថារក្ស ។ កែងកាងយាងយាងដឹងដឹង ចាប់ដង្វែក្រៃ

ឆម ដុំយដុំដុំកែងកា ។ ឡើយតាងទេពអក្សរ ថ្មកស្រីតា :  
 ក៏កាន់នៃយក្សតាំងទង ។ រោមទងក្បាលបីលំពាង ស្រស់ស្រែចក្រដួង  
 ប្រលូកស្រលាះទោមនាយ ។ កាលណោះព្រះតែតុមាលា ពីសែសសោ  
 ក ស្តេចឱ្យប្រកាបសព្វត្រង់ ។ ទេពស្តេចឱ្យរៀបប្រកាប ទ្រាប់ប្រើ  
 ពល់នាត់ ឱ្យរៀបចោរច្រើនត្រង់ដៃយ ។ ចប់ ។ ល្បើកនេះឫក  
 លាភជ័យរលដ តែងតំពីក្នុងនករក៏ត លើកតាមប្រកាបបុរ្យឡ  
 តិ កងរក្សព្រះតែតុមាលាដៃ ។ ស្តេចមានបុរ្យឡើងប្រលើដួង :  
 ដួងស្នូនយុវលដដំដើមត្រៀ ក្បាលក្បាលដំដើមកម្រល់ដៃដៃយ ឡត្រ  
 ដៃស្តេចក្នុងសុត្តន្តបិដកខ្លះ ។



# 研究調查報告

## I. 考古学分野

# バンテアイ・クデイ第60次発掘調査概報

## —前柱殿東南小堂 C10（いわゆる上座仏教の「仏教テラス」） および小塔 C19での発掘調査—

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### 1. 調査に至る経緯と経過

#### (1) 調査経緯

上智大学によるバンテアイ・クデイ発掘調査は、同遺跡の歴史的展開の考古学的解明を目的として1991年に始まり、これまで前柱殿 C09一帯（1991-2001）、続いて東参道沿い小建物 D11一帯（2001-2017）で実施されてきた（図1、写真1、2）。とくに前柱殿 C09南側一帯では、調査を通じて前柱殿 C09の基礎地業が明らかにされたことに加え、建造時期が異なる複数の遺構を検出し、外回廊東南列柱殿 C03と各遺構との築造に関わる前後関係を検証することもできた（中尾2000；Sophia University Angkor International Mission2001）（図2）。

これら一連の調査の中で、前柱殿 C09南側に位置する東南小堂 C10西辺では、アンコール期から近現代に至るまでの利用を類推させる遺構や遺物を層位的に確認した<sup>1)</sup>（上野1992；上野他

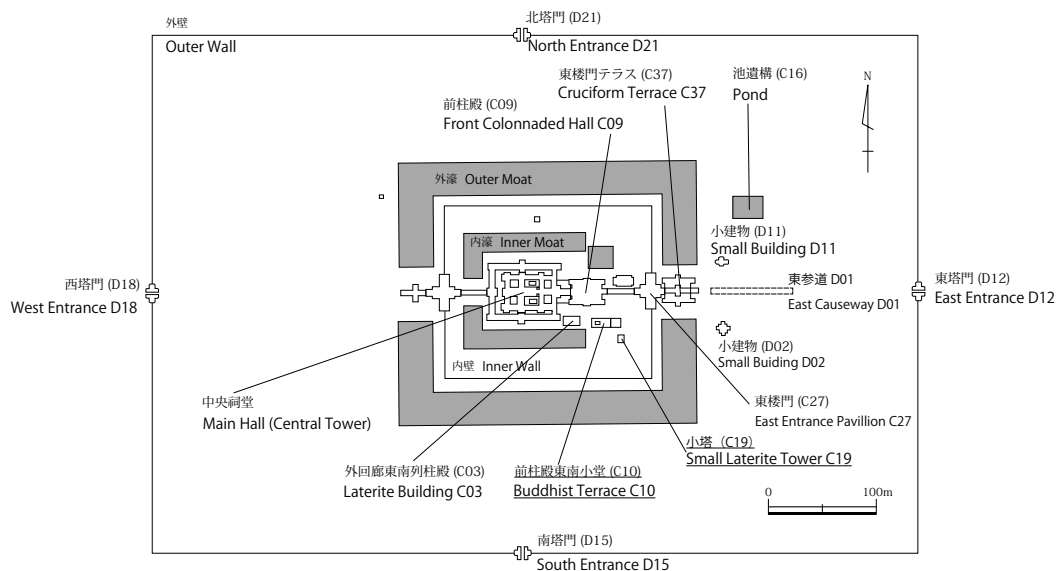


図1 バンテアイ・クデイの伽藍配置

1) 東南小堂 C10西辺の調査は、第19次調査（1996年8月）および第21次調査（1997年3月）の2回実施された。調査時の報告では、東南小堂 C10を「前柱殿東南小堂（建物96）」と記載しているが、その後上智大学調査



写真1 バンテアイ・クデイ東塔門



写真2 前柱殿 C09 (南から撮影)

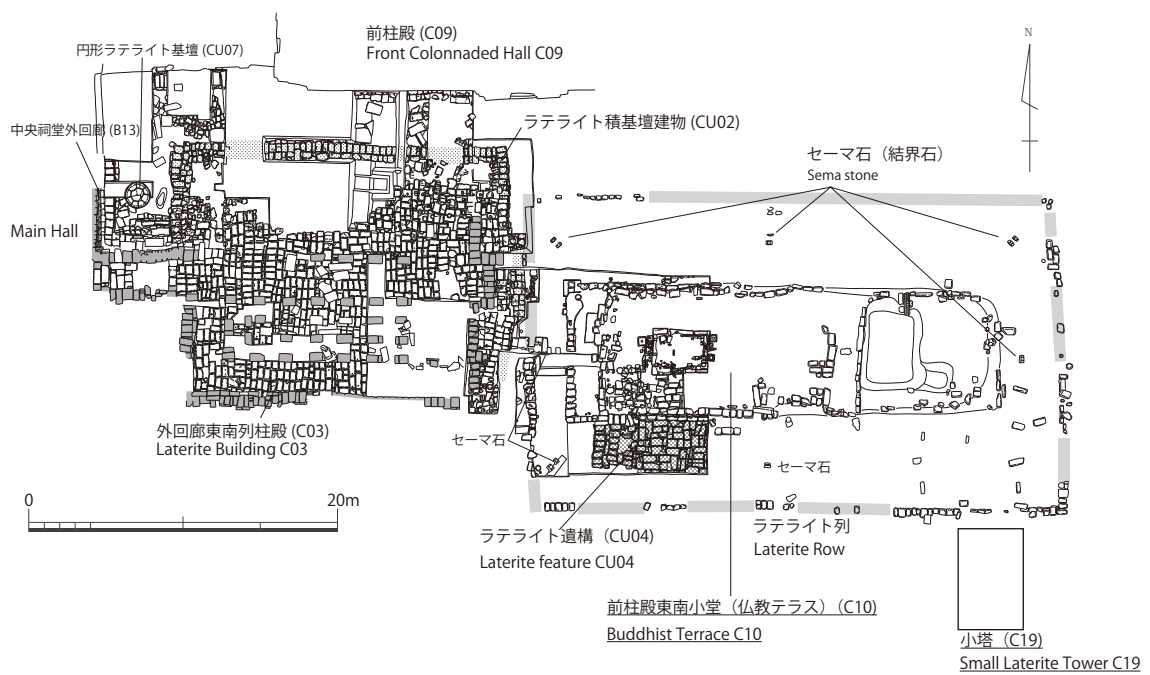


図2 前柱殿 C09南側一帯調査による検出遺構



写真3 現代の上座仏教の布薩堂 (アンコール・トム内)

1998；中尾他1998, 1999；NAKAO and others1998)。東南小堂 C10の遺構としての特徴は、いわゆる上座仏教の「仏教テラス」と先行研究（MARCHAL1918）で指摘される構築物に分類され、アンコール・トム都城内では現在の上座仏教信仰の布薩堂<sup>2)</sup>として機能している（写真3）。バンテアイ・クデイの仏教テラス、すなわち東南小堂 C10については、調査成果および先行研究を踏まえながら、バンテアイ・クデイの歴史的展開について考察が加えられてきた（宮本2003, 2010）。しかし東南小堂 C10の遺構全体像の解明、さらに大乘仏教以降のバンテアイ・クデイの歴史的変遷解明のためには、未調査個所である同遺構東辺における発掘を通じてより詳細な資料を得ることが必要と考えられた。

## （2）調査目的

今回の第60次調査では、これまでの調査では未解明の C10東辺を中心にトレンチを設定し、同遺構の全容解明を目指す。また、C10南側に建つラテライトを主材とする小塔 C19と、C10との建築の前後関係も明らかにすることを目標の一つとして設定した（写真4～6）。

## （3）調査個所

前柱殿東南小堂 C10（仏教テラス）東辺地区および小塔 C19北辺 約30m<sup>2</sup>（図3）

## （4）調査期間

2019年8月1日（木）－8月21日（水）（計21日間）

## （5）調査参加者（所属、肩書はすべて調査時のもの）

丸井雅子	（上智大学総合グローバル学部）
Nhim Sotheavin	（上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター、上智大学アジア文化研究所）
宮本康治	（大阪市教育委員会事務局）
Tho Thon	（アプサラ国立機構）
Meas Rithyrathet	（アプサラ国立機構）
Phin Phakdey	（ブレア・ヴィヒア国立機構）
Choeun Vuthy	（上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター）
Ing Morokoth	（文化芸術省無形遺産局）
Phuy Meychean	（王立芸術大学考古学部4年）
Lok Panha	（同大 考古学部3年）

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団によるバンテアイ・クデイ建物インベントリー作成作業を経て、東南小堂 C10という登録番号と呼称へ修正され現在に至る（上野；1997, 1998；河野1991a, b；上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団1997；藤木1991）。

- 2) 上座仏教寺院境内に必ずある3つの建物（布薩堂 vihera, 講堂 sala chan, 僧房 kot）のひとつが布薩堂。特別な儀礼的行為によって定められた浄域（sima）を持つ建物。浄域はカンボジア語でセイマー（seyma）と呼ばれる。上座仏教の出家生活に不可欠な空間であり、三蔵教のひとつである律蔵がその詳細を規定する（小林2013）。

なお、布薩堂はカタカナではしばしば「ヴィハーラ」や「ヴィヒア」等と記載されることがある。





写真4 前柱殿東南小堂 C10 (仏教テラス) (手前)、  
前柱殿 C09 (右奥)、中央祠堂 (奥)



写真5 発掘区作業の様子 (奥が C19)



写真6 小塔 C19 (南西角から)

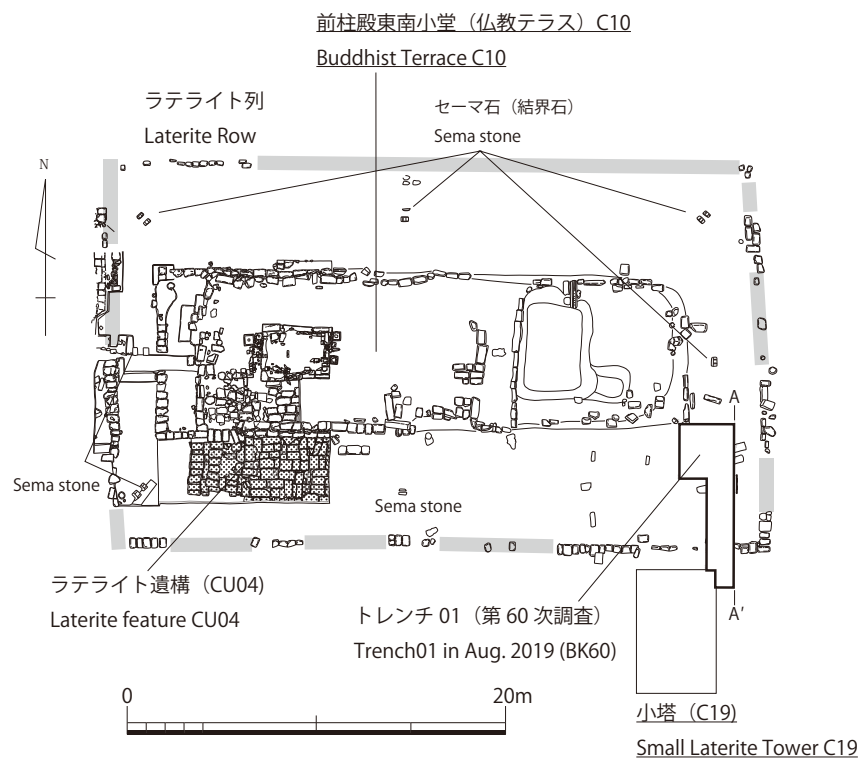


図3 第60次調査調査区

Thon Limsay (同大 考古学部 2年)  
Ngoun Chan Dariya (同大 考古学部 2年)  
原山 崇 (上智大学国際教養学部 4年)

## 2. 調査成果

### (1) 測量調査およびドローンによる撮影

発掘調査に先立ち、プレア・ヴィヒア機構専門家ピン・パクダイ氏の協力を得て、調査区の測量とドローンを用いた空中写真撮影が実施され、数値標高モデル(図4)とオルソ画像(図5)が作成された。

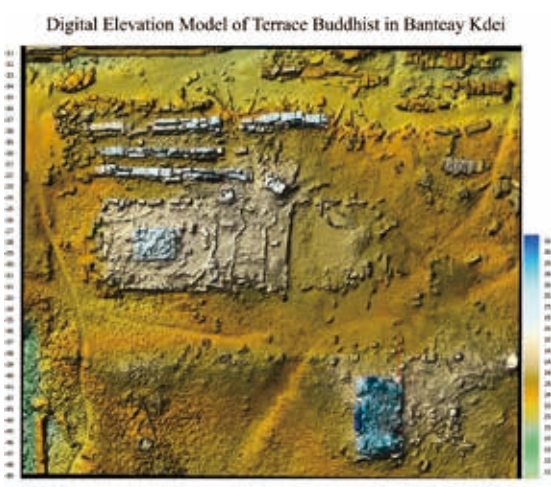


図4 三次元座標値データ:数値標高モデル  
(提供:ピン・パクダイ氏)



図5 オルソ画像(提供:ピン・パクダイ氏)

### (2) 層序の概要

第60次調査は、C10とC19の間に調査区を設定し、調査時はそれぞれトレンチ01北(T01-N)、トレンチ01南(T01-S)とした。またトレンチ01北で部分的に深掘した箇所はトレンチ01北サブトレンチ(T01-N-Sub)とした(図3)。本報告では、まとめてトレンチ01として記述する。今回の調査区では東面(南北軸)において以下の7層が確認できた。上層から概略を記す(図6-1)。

第1層:褐色細粒砂で、現代の堆積である。(表土層)

第2層:にぶい褐色を呈す中粒砂で、土器や瓦の小片、砂岩小片、ラテライト粒等を僅かに含む。ラテライト列南側のC19近くでは、建物部材の一部と推定される砂岩塊を多く含むため、C19廃絶後の堆積土と考えられる。

第3層:にぶい褐色から褐灰色を呈す細粒砂で、砂岩小片、ラテライト粒等を少量含む。蔵骨器群の埋土。蔵骨器群の埋納坑である。

第4層:にぶい褐色を呈す細粒砂で、砂岩小片、ラテライト粒、瓦小片等を少量含む。ラテライト列南側のC19近くではラテライト粒と砂岩小片の量はその北側よりも多く、固く締まる。ラテライト列北側の第4層上端は、上層(第3層)との明確な区分が難しく、



根による攪乱も見られる。蔵骨器群は、この第4層を掘り込んで埋められていた。

第5層：にぶい褐色から赤褐色を呈す中粒砂で、砂岩片、ラテライト粒、瓦片を多く含み固く締まる。この層の上にラテライト列が据え置かれたと考えられる。

第6層：褐色を呈すシルト質中粒砂で、砂岩片、ラテライト粒を非常に多く含み固く締まる。瓦片はごく少量含む。第7層を掘り込むような造作が観察される。C19基壇最下段直下にもこの第6層が観察されたことから、C19構築に際しての地業の可能性が示唆される。

第7層：にぶい橙色を呈すシルト質細粒砂で、砂岩塊、ラテライト粒を多く含む。ラテライト遺構（第19次調査で、C10南西部分でC10構築前の下層から検出されたラテライト遺構CU04の一部の可能性もある。詳細は、次の（3）検出遺構の概要〔ラテライト遺構〕にて説明。：上野、他1998）廃絶後の堆積であろう。

### （3）検出遺構の概要と構築順序

下層のものより順に、検出された遺構の概要を記す（図6-2、写真7）。

#### 〔ラテライト遺構〕

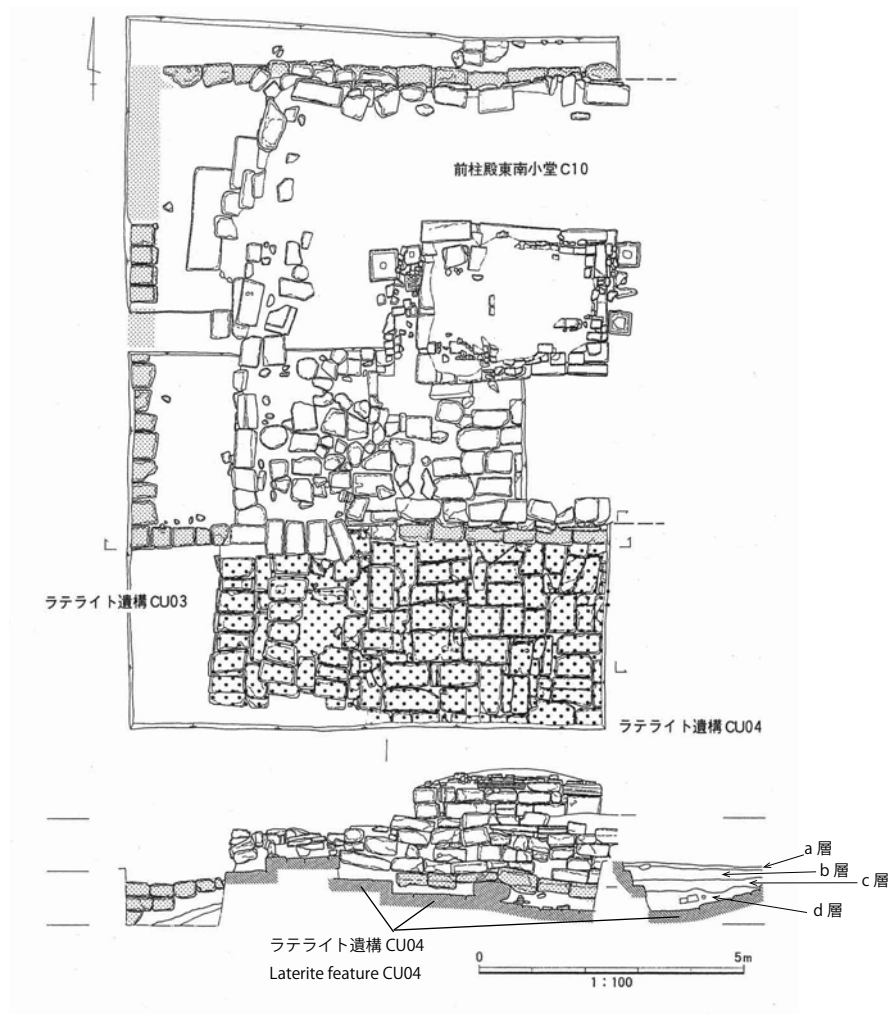
発掘区（トレンチ）内では、トレンチの東壁と西壁および南側でラテライト2段を敷き詰めた構築物を検出した。これをラテライト遺構と呼んでおく（写真8）。トレンチが狭小のため全形は不明であるが、東側、および西側に広がっている可能性がある。このラテライト遺構は、第19次調査において検出されたラテライト遺構（第19次調査報告作成時はラテライト敷石・構築物Aとした。その後、ラテライト遺構CU04と番付された。以降、本報告ではラテライト遺構CU04もしくはたんにCU04と称す）の一部ではないかとも類推されている。CU04は仏教テラスC10構築以前の遺構であることが確認され、部分的には3石もしくは4石以上を積み上げている。CU04の上には青銅製五銛杵や砂岩製遺物（ナーガ上のブツダ坐像片、菩薩頭部等）を含む層が堆積している。これら遺物はCU04の構築時や廃絶の時期を示唆するものであろう（図7）。今回の調査で検出されたラテライト遺構の全容、および過去調査で検出された遺構との関係については、今後の調査で精査する必要がある。



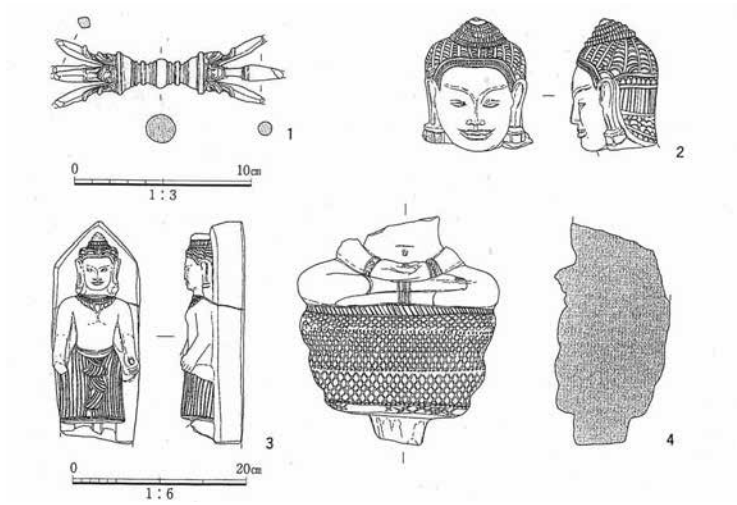
写真7 調査区完掘状況



写真8 下層から検出されたラテライト遺構  
（トレンチ東壁）



7-1 前柱殿東南小堂 C10（仏教テラス）西・西南調査区出土遺構



7-2 出土遺物（d層出土）

図7 C10（仏教テラス）西南地区出土遺構と遺物（第19次調査）（宮本2003より転載）

### [小塔 C19とラテライト列]

小塔 C19 (図 8、写真 6) は現状の平面は、南北約7.50m、東西約4.48m の長方形を呈す。最下段のラテライト 2 段の上に砂岩 1 材を段上に加工した材、さらにその上に緩やかな曲線でくり型が施された砂岩が 2 段、その上にラテライトが 3 段から 4 段続く。現在の最上段にはくり型が施された砂岩が残る部分もあるが、当初の構造は不明である。

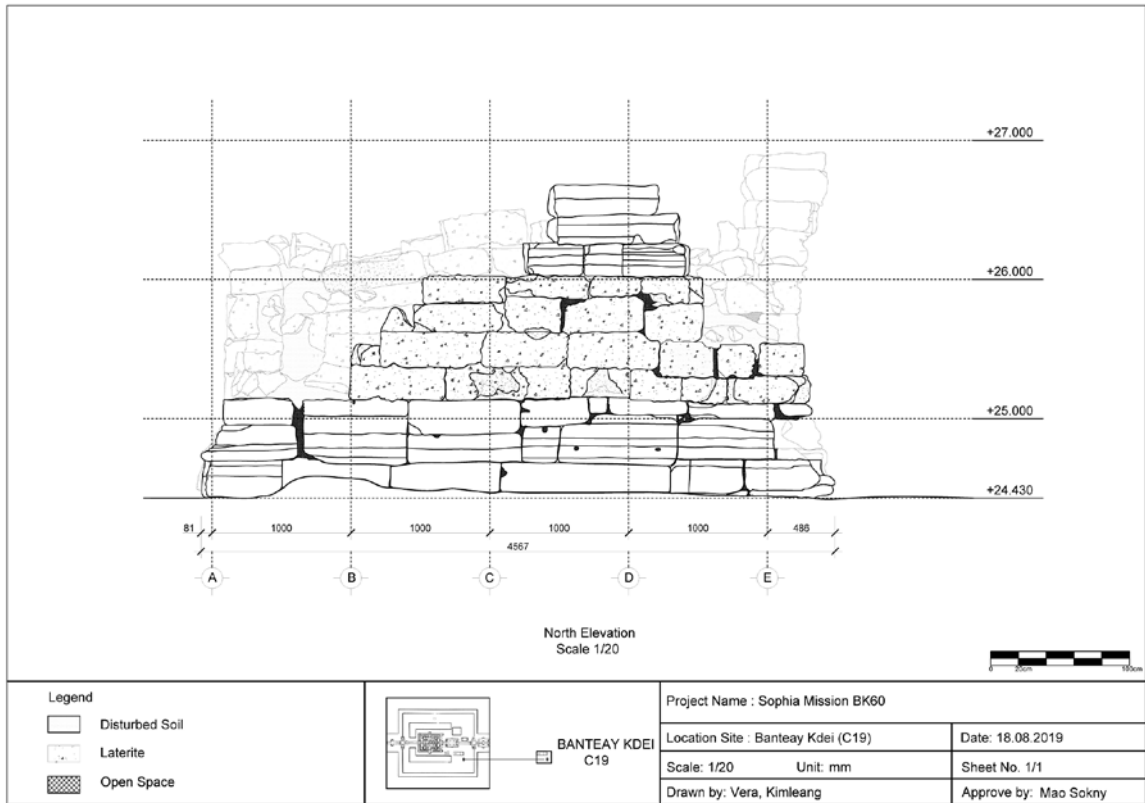
ラテライト列 (写真 9) は、その一部が調査前から地上に露出していた遺構で、C10とセーマ石 (結界石) を取り囲むような配列が確認されている (上野、他1998; 中尾、他1999; 宮本2003, 2010)。ラテライト列は南北約21.00m、東西約36.00m の長方形を呈す。ラテライトの大きさは均一ではないが、長さ約0.50-0.70m、幅0.40-0.50m、厚さ0.20-0.40m で、多くの個所では 1 - 2 段、小口積みとしている。ラテライト列を据えるための掘り込み地業等は観察されなかった。

C19およびラテライト列の構築過程を、残存する部材および周囲の堆積土の状況から判断すると、次のような前後関係が提示できる。C19構築のため、一帯の土 (第 7 層) を掘り込んで整地する。この地業はバンテアイ・クデイ前柱殿南側調査で確認されている「砂地業」と類似するが、ここでは整地のために砂岩片やラテライト粒を多く混ぜて固く締める (第 6 層)。地業の途中で C19の基壇となるラテライトをまず 1 段敷設し、さらに 2 段目のラテライトを積み周囲を整地する (第 5 層)。ラテライト 2 段の敷設が済むと、その上に砂岩を置く。また、C19上部構造の積み上げとほぼ同時並行でラテライト列が配置された可能性が高い。砂岩の加工と堆積土の観察に基づくならば、C19落成時の地表面は砂岩の段差あたりだった可能性が高い (図 6-1、写真 10)。その後、ある一定の時間を経て、C19から部材の砂岩が崩落し周囲に堆積土とともに埋もれていった (第 2 層)。

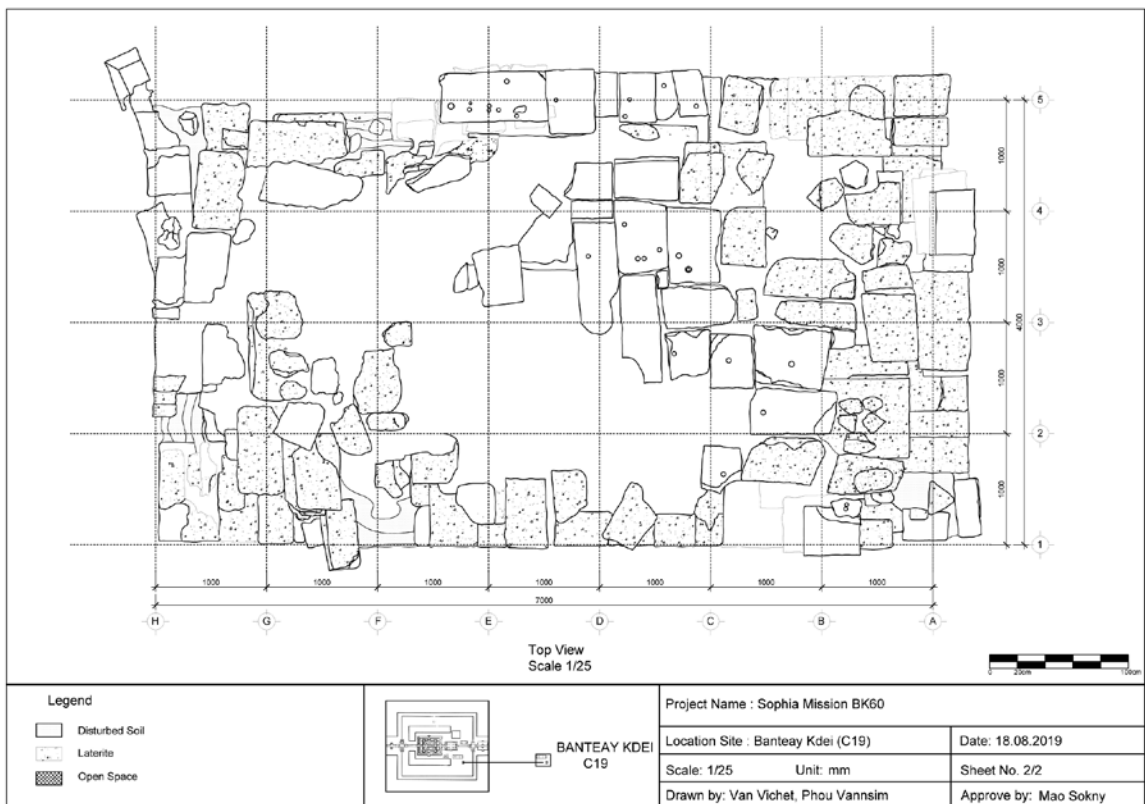
### [蔵骨器群埋納坑]

現代の蔵骨器群である。過去の調査においても、C10周囲で蔵骨器が確認されている。1992年、C10東側で 1 メートル四方の試掘を実施したところ現代のものと思われる蔵骨器やガラス瓶の一部が出土し、直ぐに調査を中止し埋め戻した (上野1992)。第19次、21次調査では、C10西側から C10構築後の堆積土中から蔵骨器が複数出土し、その中の一部に16世紀末から17世紀初頭にかけての景德鎮産青花小壺が使用されていた。今回出土した蔵骨器群が現代のものであると断定する理由は、村の人からの話しと出土容器に基づく。近代以降の C10周囲の様相に関する建築および考古学分野の先行研究 (荒樋2001; 宮本2003, 2010) と、村の人への聞き取り調査に基づく現代の C10あたりの様子については、次項で詳しくまとめたい。

今回の調査で確認した蔵骨器群出土遺構の概要は次のとおりである。トレンチ北東隅に近いところで、蔵骨器等が納められた落ち込みが見つかった。土坑として明確な輪郭は確認できなかったが、トレンチ内でのその落ち込みの上端は南北1.10m で、緩やかに掘り下げられ、底部分の下端は南北0.60m、下端幅 (東西) は約0.20-0.40m を数える。底は多少の凹凸はあるがほぼ平らに均されている。その中に、ほとんどが正置状態で、蓋付鉢 2 点、磁器製の鉢 2 点、金属製の蓋付容器 1 点、ガラス瓶 5 点、等を確認した。蓋付鉢 2 点にはいずれも中に火葬骨が納められていた。磁器製鉢 2 点にも火葬骨が盛られた状態で出土した。金属製蓋付容器は、現代でもよく見る蔵骨器である。出土状況や落ち込み造作から判断すると、これらはほぼ同時にまとめてここに埋めら



8 - 1 小塔 C19立面図（北面）（王立芸術大学建築学部学生による実測）



8 - 2 小塔19平面図（現状の最上段）（王立芸術大学建築学部学生による実測）

図 8

れた可能性が高い。トレンチ東壁内には他にも同様の容器類やガラス瓶が観察され、落ち込みの規模はさらに東に伸びると推測される（写真11）。

蔵骨器群のうち3点（鉢2点、ガラス瓶1点）を取り上げ、観察、実測、写真撮影等記録化作業をおこなった。これについては、本号掲載の別稿にて詳しく報告する（宮本2020）。なお、記録化作業終了後はこれら3点を再び元の位置に戻し、発掘調査終了後は村の長老の助言により蔵骨器群出土場所で儀礼をおこない、埋め戻しが開始された（写真12）。

#### [まとめ：各遺構の構築順序とC19周辺の様相]

今回のトレンチで検出された遺構を、あらためて下層から確認したい。まずラテライトが辺り一帯に敷かれる。これはC10南東下層で確認されているラテライト遺構 CU04の東側部分の可能性も残している。その後、C19の構築作業が始まり、やや後れてラテライト列が据え置かれた。現代のある時、村の人たちがこのC10東側に穴を掘り火葬骨を入れた容器を次々を納めて土を被せて供養した。なお、トレンチからはC10とC19の構築順序を直接検証することができなかった。今後の調査の課題としたい。



写真9 C10（仏教テラス）を囲むように配置されたラテライト列



写真10 小塔C19基壇部分（北東角）



写真11 蔵骨器群出土状況



写真12 蔵骨器群埋戻し前の儀礼



#### (4) 遺物

蔵骨器群については、先述したとおり本号掲載の宮本報告に詳しい。それ以外の出土遺物として、瓦片が指摘できる。瓦片は小片が大半で、とくに C19そばの第5層、6層に多く含まれていた。瓦類のほか、土器、陶磁器が僅か出土している。出土遺物は破片で約300点である（写真13）。蔵骨器群以外の遺物については、今後整理作業を進めてあらためて報告したい。



写真13 出土遺物（第7層出土）の例

### 3. C10周辺の近現代史と蔵骨器群

#### (1) 建築分野と文献資料

建築分野から長きにわたってバンテアイ・クデイの歴史の変遷を研究していた荒樋久雄は、欧文の文献を渉猟した末に19世紀末のバンテアイ・クデイの様子を叙述したラエディリッヒ (Laedrich) とティッサンディエ (Tissandier 1896) に辿り着いた (荒樋 2001)。ラエディリッヒは、僧侶の住まいがバンテアイ・クデイ内にあり、その近くの野外で僧侶がブツダ像を礼拝していることに言及し、ティッサンディエも、僧侶の住む粗末な小屋があり、みすぼらしいパゴダで仏陀に祈りを捧げている、と書き残している (荒樋 前掲書: 167)。ティッサンディエはバンテアイ・クデイ平面図を残し、図中には「パゴダ」と「僧侶の住まい」が描かれている (図9)。「パゴダ」がC10であることは間違いないであろう。C10は西側に一段高い基壇が築かれ、そこに仏像が置かれたと考えられる。これら僧房やパゴダは、1920年代にアンコール保存事務所が同遺跡内整備事業を進めた際、最終的にはバンテアイ・クデイから移転させられ、現在に至る (荒樋 前掲書: 168)。

#### (2) 考古学資料

C10周辺で実施された考古学調査 (第19次、第21次) では、C10を「パゴダ」と断定する資料を得てはいない。C10の構築時期は、バンテアイ・クデイが建造されたバイヨン期以降のある時期と推定されるが、それが13世紀なのか、アンコール期の末期なのか、あるいはポスト・アンコールなのかは未だ確定できない。興味深いのはC10南西地区の調査を通じて出土した蔵骨器群である。周囲に掘り方等は確認できず、どのように蔵骨器が埋められたのか、そこに置かれたのかは不明だが、容器として用いられていた青花小壺は16世紀末から17世紀初頭 (明末～清初) にかけての景德鎮産と考えられる。C10はこのような歴史的展開を経て、19世紀末にティッサンディエが実見した「パゴダ」へと繋がるのである (宮本 2003, 2010) (図7)。

#### (3) ライフヒストリー

バンテアイ・クデイの現代の様相については、アジア人材養成研究センターのチュン・ブティ (Choeun Vuthy) を中心に取り組んでいる近隣の村における聞き取り調査や村人との対話の会を

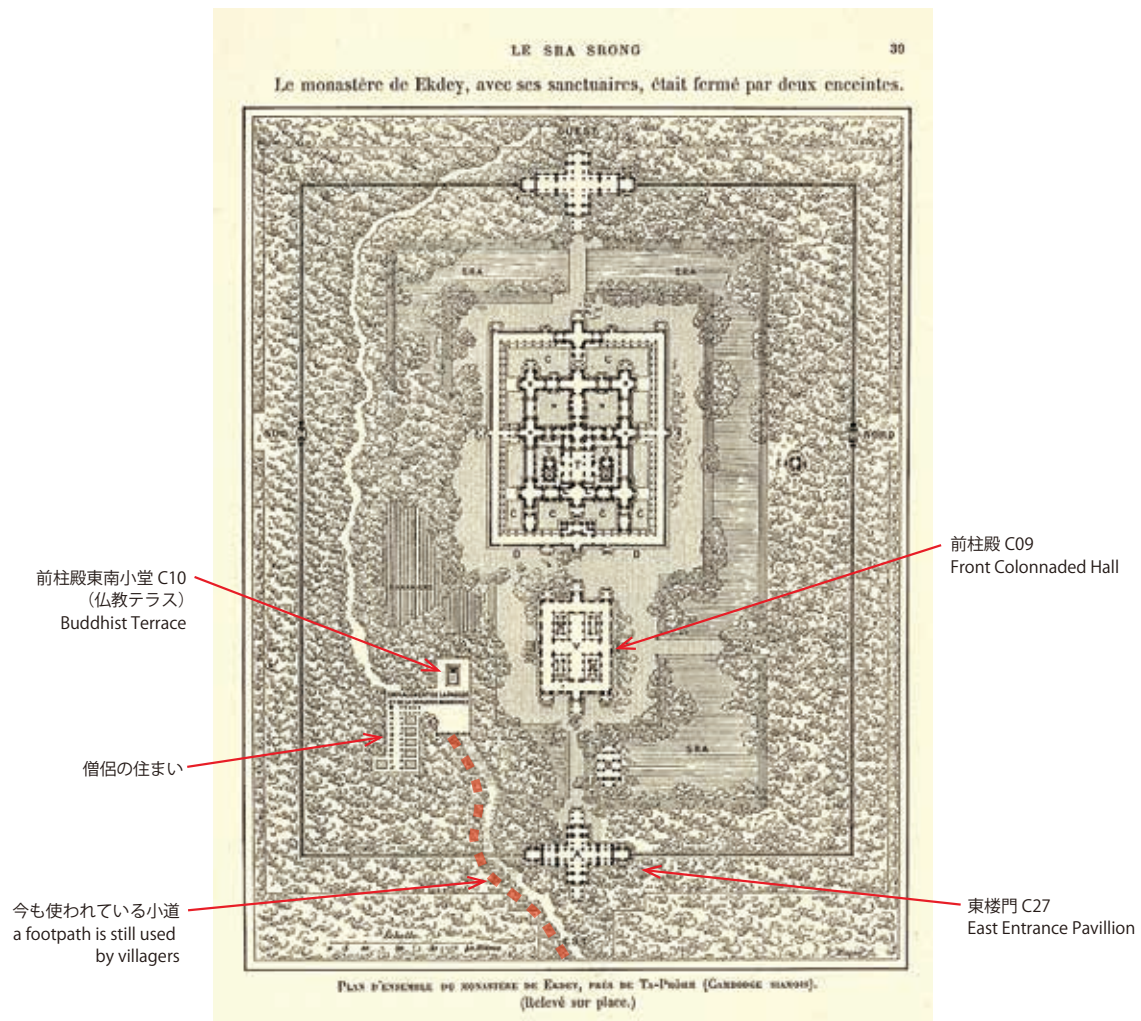


図9 ティッサンディエによるバンテアイ・クデイ平面図 (Tissandier1896)

通じて、メタナラティブではない歴史の叙述が試みられている (Nhim2019; Marui2019; 丸井2020) (写真14)。C10周辺に関して、2019年8月の調査時において次のような体験や記憶を聞くことができた。

「父が、‘中 (筆者注：バンテアイ・クデイの中、の意) の寺で兄がお坊さんをしていた’、と言っていたのを覚えている。自分が小さい時にはすでに中の寺は無かった。しかし、あのあたり (筆者注：C10周辺) に丸太が転がっていて、寺の柱だった、と大人が話していた。今はその柱も無いね。どこに持って行ったのか。」 (北スラ・スラン村、女性、85歳)

「小さい時、ここ (筆者注：C10周辺) に木の柱が何本か置いてあるのを見たことがある。大人が‘昔ここに寺が建っていた’と教えてくれた。」 (ロ・ハール村、男性、75歳)

さらに、カンボジアの盂蘭盆会 (祖先祭祀の儀礼で、カンボジア語でプチュム・バンという。毎年9月あるいは10月がその期間で、日本でいう盆に相当する) 期間に、村人が主催しC10あたりで僧侶を招いて功德を得る儀礼が執り行われていることがわかった。集まる村人は、かつてここに親族を葬った人たちである。2019年は9月21日朝7時過ぎに総勢約40人の村人が集まり、近くの寺から3名の僧侶が招かれ、「経文や儀式を熟知する俗人の祭司 (アチャー)」 (高橋2012)



写真14 村人との対話の会（提供：三輪悟氏）



写真15 盂蘭盆会の様子

に先導されてその儀礼がC10東側の開けた場所でおこなわれた（写真15）。集まった人たちが、この盆の儀礼について説明してくれた。

「ボル・ポト時代（1975-1979年）が終わり、人々が元々住んでいた村に戻ってからも、このあたりの治安は不安定だった。家族が死んだとき、葬る場所が無かった。一番近い寺はアンコール・ワットの中の寺で遠く、寺に埋葬するにはお金もかかった。そこでこの近くの村の人たちの多くは、バンテアイ・クデイのここ（筆者注：C10あたり）に葬った。ある時は、すでに火葬した骨を納めた容器を、ある時は筵に包んだ亡骸をそのまま、このあたりの土を掘って埋めた。自分は実母の遺骨をここに埋めた。なぜそこに埋めるようになったのかはわからないが、もっとずっと前もそのようにしていたのではないか。」（ロ・ハール村、女性、60歳）

「若くして亡くなった息子の遺骨がここに埋まっている。だから毎年、盆の儀礼はここに来る。盆の期間中は、他の寺へも行くよ。」（北スラ・スラン村、女性、82歳）

他の人たちの話も総合すると、ボル・ポト時代が終わってからの様子は次のようにまとめることができる。バンテアイ・クデイ周辺の村人には、身近に寺が無かった。遠くの寺に埋葬しようとしても、墓を作るための費用が高かった。そこで、近くのバンテアイ・クデイ内のかつて寺があったというあたりに埋葬する人が多かった。火葬した骨を、当時よく普及していた蓋つきの納骨容器に入れる家族もいれば、市場で買って来たあるいは自分の家にあった鉢などの食器に入れて皿で蓋をして埋める人もいた。お金がある人は、金属製の蓋付容器に入れる。火葬せずに亡骸をそのまま筵で包んで埋める人もいた。蔵骨器とともに、ガラス瓶に水を入れて一緒に埋める風習があったようだ。こうした行為は、1980年代にずっと続いていたようである。しかし、アンコールが世界遺産登録されることが決まった前後から、埋葬は禁止事項となった。今は、盆の儀礼が、残るのみである。

#### 4. 学生研修

王立芸術大学考古学部学生4名、および卒業生で現文化芸術省無形遺産局専門家1名、そして上智大学国際教養学部学生1名を対象に研修を実施した。午前中はバンテアイ・クデイで発掘調査を、午後は上智大学センターにて文化遺産関連特別講義を受講した。特別講義と遺跡研修、見学は同時期に研修していた王立芸術大学建築学部学生との共同で（写真16、17）、プログラムは次のとおりである。



写真16 王立芸術大学学生研修（発掘調査）



写真17 バンテアイ・チュマル見学

## （1）特別講義

8月7日（水）

Dr. Nhim Sotheavin, Sophia University

（上智大学 ニム・ソテイーヴン）

“General History of Angkor”

8月9日（金）

Dr. Kuy Vet, Acting director, Angkor Conservation

（アンコール保存事務所所長代理 クイ・ヴェット）

“Recent Conservation Projects by Angkor Conservation”

8月13日（火）

-1. Prof. Hung Chunteng, Lecturer, Banteay Meanchey University

（バンテアイ・ミエンチェイ大学教員 フン・チュンテン）

“Education and Research on Ancient Khmer Inscriptions”

-2. Mr. Phin Phakdey, Archaeologist, Preah Vihear Authority

（プレア・ヴィヒア機構考古学者 ピン・パクダイ）

“A study on the relationship between ancient archaeological site and ritual tradition in modern community”

8月14日（水）

-1. Dr. Im Sokrithy, Director of Angkor Training Center, APSARA Authority

（アプサラ機構アンコール研修センター長 イム・ソクリティ）

“History of Angkor”

-2. Mr. Un Moninita, Archaeologist, Heritage Education (NGO) and APSARA Authority

（NGO ヘリテイジ・ウォッチ考古学者、アプサラ機構兼務 ウン・モニニタ）

“Heritage Watch and Cambodian Culture”

8月16日（金）

Prof. Heng Sophady, Rector of Royal University of Fine Arts

（王立芸術大学学長 ヘン・ソパディ）

“State of knowledge on Cambodian Prehistory”

## (2) 遺跡研修、見学 (抄録)

8月8日 (木)

- 午前 • アンコール・ワット西参道修復現場見学 (アプサラ機構による説明)
  - 引き続きアンコール・ワット内見学 (ニム・ソテーヴンによる解説)
- 午後 • バンテアイ・クデイ見学 (ニム・ソテーヴンによる解説)

8月9日 (金)

- 午前 • アンコール・トム内上座仏教の仏教遺構、寺院見学 (ニム・ソテーヴンによる解説)
  - 西バライ修復現場見学 (アプサラ機構による説明)

8月17日 (土)

- 終日 • バンテアイ・チュマール見学、バンテアイ・ミエンチェイ博物館訪問 (アンコール保存事務所考古学者 Khan Lakhena 氏による案内、アプサラ機構 Chhom Kunthea 氏による碑文説明)

8月19日 (月)

- 午前 • 西トップ修復現場見学 (奈良文化財研究所による説明)

## 5. 広報活動

アプサラ機構報道局を通じて、8月11日午前、カンボジア国内テレビ局数社による合同取材を受けた。インタビューには、ニム・ソテーヴンと研修学生たちが答えた (写真18)。収録は約1時間続き、翌日以降テレビニュースやネットニュースで配信された。



写真18 テレビ局の取材を受ける

## 6. まとめ

第60次調査では、当初目的として掲げていたC10東側も含めた全容解明には至らなかった。設定したトレンチが小規模であったため、C10東端およびその基壇部分を精査することができなかった。一方で、ラテライト列と小塔C19の構築過程には仮説を提示することができた。今後、C10一帯の遺構の特徴と構築過程も含めたあたり一帯の展開を明らかにするため、追加の調査が必要となる。また、今回のように近現代の信仰実践の痕跡を考古学的に観察し記録化できたことは、アンコール遺跡と人々の関わり合いを考察するための重要な方向性を示したとも言えよう。もちろん、とくに時代が下るほど、現代に近づくほど、人々の価値観や考え方に配慮した慎重な調査手法が社会的に求められる。

今回調査したいわゆる仏教テラス周辺を見ると、現代の村の人たちの信仰実践はバンテアイ・クデイ全体ではなく、上座仏教の寺の跡地とされる仏教テラス周辺に限られている。村に暮らす現代の人々の伝統は、少なくともバンテアイ・クデイにおいては前近代からの上座仏教との身体的かつ記憶は確実に継承されている、と言えるかもしれない (MARUI2019)。

## [謝辞]

バンテアイ・クデイ第60次発掘調査およびそれに伴う学生研修および文化遺産教育活動は、真如苑からの支援を受け実施したものである。また、バンテアイ・クデイの現代の諸相をめぐる地域の人々へのインタビューを含むライフヒストリー研究に関しては、京都大学東南アジア地域研究研究所共同利用・共同研究拠点「東南アジア研究の国際共同研究拠点」(2019年度)研究課題「世界遺産アンコールをめぐるグローバル規範再考：地域情報学による在来知の発掘」(研究代表者：丸井雅子)の助成を受けたものである。

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# バンテアイ・クデイ前柱殿東南小堂（C10） 東部における出土蔵骨器について （第60次調査出土資料）

大阪市教育委員会事務局  
宮本康治

## はじめに

2019年8月に実施した第60次調査では前柱殿東南小堂（C10）付近を対象とし、隣接する建造物との関係や下層の状況などについて調査を行った。その中で近現代に属する時期の蔵骨器と関連遺物を含む落込みが検出され、遺物の一部を取り上げ記録作成等を行った。本編ではその状況について概観するとともに確認された蔵骨器について資料紹介、検討を行う。

## 1. 出土遺構とその概況

調査区の北東隅に近いところで蔵骨器等が納められた埋納坑が検出された。前柱殿東南小堂（C10）基壇の東端部である。落込み東側は調査区外に延びており、全形は不明だが検出された範囲では不整形な円形を呈するようである。調査区にかかるところでは南北1.1mほどの規模である。深さは検出した第4層の上面からで0.3mほどである。

## 2. 検出蔵骨器と関連資料の概要

調査した範囲では調査区壁面で確認したものも含めて15点あまりの蔵骨器および関連遺物が検出された。落込みは調査区外に広がっており、全体ではさらに多くの容器等が埋納されていることが推測される。検出した範囲での概要を見ておくと、南北0.6m、東西0.3mほどの範囲に分布し、上下関係はあまり明確ではなく近接した高さで検出された。いずれの容器もほぼ正置状態を保っており、また容器が大きく破損したりした状況も認められなかったことが注意される。

検出した遺物の内訳は青花あるいは色絵等の可能性がある磁器類の鉢が2点、不明陶器の鉢が1点、蓋の伴う鉢が2セットつまり蓋と身で計4点、土器かとみられる破片が1点、金属製の蓋の伴う脚付の容器1セット2点、ガラス瓶が5点等である。

以上のうち2件（3点）を取り上げ、記録作成を行った。取り上げた2件も含め、調査終了時には埋め戻している。

## 3. 図化資料の概要（図1、写真1～4）

図化を行ったのは先述したもののうち北寄りで見出した陶器製の蓋付鉢1セット2点とガラス製瓶1点の計3点である。それぞれの概要を記していく。

図1-1・1-2、写真1・2は施釉陶器で、蓋を伴う脚付の鉢である。共通する点を見ておくと、双方ともロクロ成形によるとみられ、無釉の部分は明黄橙～灰白色、施釉部分は黄褐～褐色を呈し、胎土は精良で焼成は良好だがやや軟質である。もともとセットとして焼成されたかは不明で



あるが、釉調は類似している。

蓋は上端を一部欠くがほぼ完形で、丸みのある高い器形である。身と合わせるかえりがつき、外面上端に鈍い段がつく。最大径8.9cm、かえりの下端で口径7.6cm、残存高4.7cmである。外面側は施釉され、蓋の下端から内面側は無釉である。

脚付の鉢状を呈する身側は、丸みのある器形に末広がりの脚部が続く器形である。口縁部は内傾する。脚部は外傾し端部は断面に丸みをおびる。底面は外周側のみが接地する。器高11.4cm、体部の最大径で12.5cm、口縁上端部で9.2cm、底径8.5cmである。口縁上端から内面側および脚部下端が無釉で、それ以外は施釉される。内部は火葬骨が口縁よりも高い程度まで納められている。骨を取り出しての観察は行わなかったので内面側の観察はできていないところがある。

図1-3、写真3・4はガラス製の瓶で、ビール瓶の可能性はある。口縁端部は断面が丸みをおび、その下位で外側に肥厚する。鈍い段の下に縦方向のしわ状の痕跡がある。器高17.5cm、胴部径7.2cmである。黄褐色を呈する。外面側の肩部、外面下端、底面に陽刻の文字等が見られるところがある。外面肩部(図中a)に「33□C□」とあり、容量等を示す可能性があろう。外面下端(図中b)には「BRASSERIE KHMER」とあり、生産地や醸造所等を示す可能性はある。底面には(図中c)不明の文字があり、それに続き「CA□□」および数字の「1」とあるようだが、不明瞭で判読しがたい部分がある。

このうち、前者の蓋付鉢は火葬骨が納められ、蔵骨器であることが明らかである。付近の墓地資料での例や聞き取りからは、火葬骨を納めるための専用の器であると推測される。また今回検出したものの中にはほぼ同型の容器がもう一組あることが注目される。一方、ガラス瓶については容量や文字の状況からビール瓶の可能性はあるが、年代等の詳細は明らかにはできていない。近現代の慣習においても火葬骨を納める際に水を供えて供養することが知られており、そのための容器であることが推測される。

#### 4. 検出蔵骨器資料の位置づけ等について

遺構全体の状況からまずみると、これらは近接して検出されてはいるが、埋納が単独かどうか容器のセット関係等は明確にはできていない。ただし不定形な落込み内でまとまって検出されており、高さも近接しいずれも正置された状況を保ち、乱された状況ではなかったため、幾度も掘り返され埋納されたとみるより、ある程度まとまって埋められたとみるほうが妥当であろう。

次に含まれている容器には大きくみて蔵骨器とみられるものと瓶があるが、近年の慣習についての聞き取りなどからすると、火葬骨を納めた蔵骨器と、それと水を供える瓶等をともにおく形が知られることから、今回検出されたものもそうした葬送儀礼に伴い、セットをなしていた可能性があろう。またその中でも蔵骨器に用いられている容器には今回図化した蓋の伴う陶器の他、金属製の蓋付容器、陶磁器の碗あるいは鉢を用いるものなど多様なものが認められた。陶器および金属器のものは現代の寺院等で見られた類例からみて専用のものと考えられる一方、碗・鉢形のものには転用された可能性もあろう。容器の種類等に時期的な推移があるか、また確認された容器の産地や由来等は今後の課題となるであろう。なお、遺構そのものの年代については蔵骨器で近年まで見られる器形が含まれ、ガラス製瓶では時期は不詳なもの古くさかのぼるものではないことなどから近現代でもかなり現代に近い時期に下る可能性があるのではなかろうか。

なお、今回の調査では近現代の状況も本遺跡のもつ性格の重要な手がかりと考え、取り上げて図化等を行った。そして、作業終了時には埋め戻して簡単な供養も執り行った。地域の人々の感情に十分慮しながら調査を進めることも求められよう。

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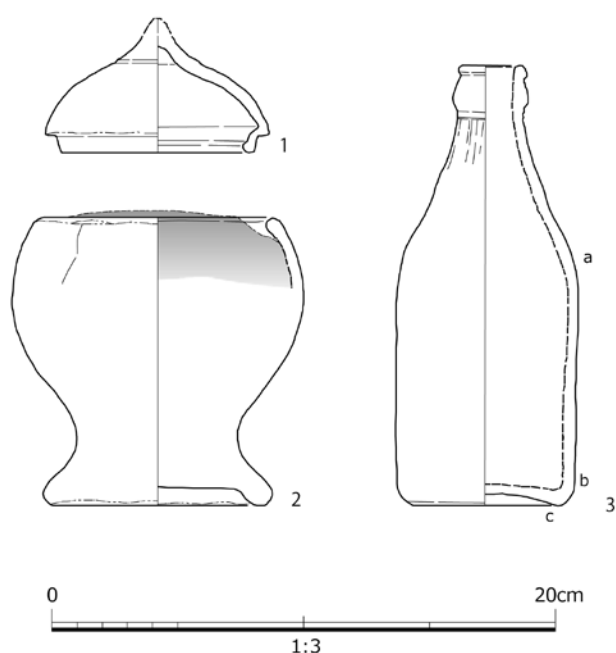


図1 出土遺物実測図（1, 2：陶器製蔵骨器、3：ガラス製瓶）  
Fig. 1 Drawings of excavated artifacts (1, 2: ceramic funerary urn, 3: glass bottle)



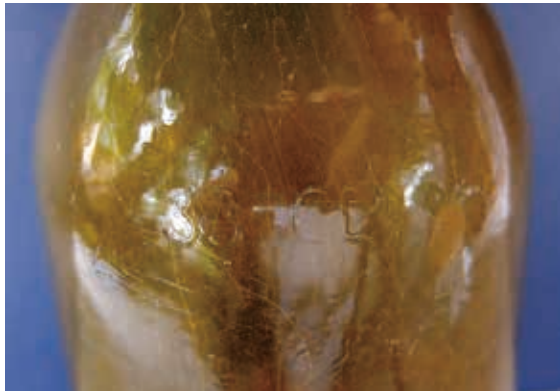
写真1 陶器製蔵骨器（組み合わせた状態）  
Ph. 1 ceramic funerary urn (combined state)



写真2 陶器製蔵骨器（外した状態）  
Ph. 2 ceramic funerary urn (separated state)



写真3 ガラス製瓶  
Ph. 3 glass bottle



4-1 肩部の「33□0□」  
4-1 “33□0□” on shoulder



4-2 外面底部の「BRASSERIE KHMER」  
4-2 “BRASSERIE KHMER” on lower end



4-3 底面の「CA□□」等  
4-3 CA□□ on the bottom

写真4 ガラス製瓶の陽刻文字  
Ph. 4 embossed letters on the glass bottle

# アンコール・ワット西参道環濠内および参道における 発掘調査出土の遺物について (西参道修復事業(第二期修復事業出土資料))

大阪市教育委員会事務局  
宮本康治

## はじめに —遺物報告に至る経緯・経過—

アンコール・ワット西参道においてはその北側の修復工事が進められており、東半分の第Ⅰ期工事については2007年に完了し、その経過は報告書の形でも示されている(上智大学ほか2011)。現在その西半の部分において第Ⅱ期の修復工事が進められている(図1・2、写真1)。当該の修復工事においては、参道の構築や改変の状況などについて、考古学的な知見を得ることも一つの課題となっている。

そこで工事に先立って確認の発掘調査を行うことが計画され、まず環濠内の堆積や基礎の状況について基礎的な情報を得ることを目的として発掘調査を2015年の年末に行った。その結果の概要については日本語による報告を行っている(丸井ほか2016)。その後参道の修復工事の本格的な開始に先立って、2017～2018年にかけて5カ所において部分的な掘り下げを行い、参道内の構築の状況および崩落や改変の過程などを確認する作業を行った。これらの確認調査についてはその一部について英語により概要を報告し(Sophia center 2018)、口頭での発表を行ってきている(丸井ほか2019)。

本稿では環濠内での調査についての概報時には資料化が十分ではないところもあったため出土遺物について報告するとともに、参道での試掘時の出土遺物の一端を紹介することにする。そこで環濠内における状況と参道上におけるものと項目を分け、調査地の状況について簡略に触れながらそれぞれの出土遺物を示し検討を加えていく。なお、参道上における調査については現在修復作業が進行中でもあるため暫定的なものとなるため、加わりつつある資料については改めて報告を作成することにしたいと考えている。

## 1. 西参道北側環濠内出土遺物について

### (1) 出土地点・層位の概要と遺物の概況

西参道北側の環濠内においては2015年に発掘調査を行った。調査を行ったのは参道北側で中央にあるテラスのすぐ西側の地点で、約10㎡の広さである(図2)。調査時の概報(丸井ほか2016)をもとに調査位置と堆積の概略等を見ておくことにしよう。ここでは参道の基礎の基礎部がラテライトが徐々に広がる形で積み上げられている状況が確認され、円柱がのる部分を1段目とするとも少なくとも6段で築かれること、調査した範囲では最下から5段目までラテライト片を含む土砂で整地され、その上に機能時の堆積が遺存していることなどが明らかになった(図3)。ここでは大略9層に区分される地層が確認され、下位より第9～6層はラテライト片等を含む堅緻な地層で参道構築時に整地したものとみられた。第5層は黒色の粘土から細粒砂の細かな堆積物が

らなり、静水状態で堆積したことがうかがわれ、参道構築後の機能時の堆積である。第4・3層はさらに後の機能時の堆積で、第1・2層は近現代のものとみられた。このうち、出土遺物は第5層で主に出土し、第4層以上でも少量があった。

出土遺物には崩落したとみられる石材もあるが、それを除くと計87点があり、うち5点を除いて第5層のものである。無釉の土器、黒褐釉・無釉陶器、中国産磁器、瓦等が含まれ、より上層では土器、陶磁器があった。前回の概報時には概況を示すのにとどまっていたため、まとめて出土のあった第5層からの遺物を中心に紹介していくことにする。

## (2) 各遺物の概要 (図4、表1、写真4～35)

### ・土器 (1～7)

土器には壺あるいは甕類等が含まれる。そのうち壺あるいは甕類1～4、コンロの一部とみられる5、甕類の体部片6・7を示す。なお、7のみ第4層からの出土である。

1は甕類の口縁から肩部にかけて、口縁は横方向のナデで調整し、体部外面はタタキメかとみられる痕跡、内面は指等によるオサエ痕が残る。口径18.6cmである。2は広口の壺の口縁から体部で、口縁端部は外上方に肥厚し、肩部に沈線がめぐり、3は同様に口縁部で、端部外面に沈線がめぐり、4は壺類の口頸部から肩にかけての破片である。屈曲部付近に段がめぐり、5は船形を呈するコンロの破片で、器を支える脚部分から体部にかけてとみられる。内外面とも横方向のナデを施し、脚付近は沿ったナデである。残存している外周からすると径28cmほどの円弧を描く可能性があり、3カ所で支持する形であろう。被熱の痕跡はあまり観察できない。6は甕類の体部片で外面にスガが付着する。内面は横方向のナデ状の調整である。7は第4層からのものであるが、甕類のタタキメの状況のため図示した。外面には矢羽根状のタタキ痕跡があり、内面には不整形ではあるが円形を呈するくぼみがあり、無文のあて具痕の可能性のある破片である。

### ・無釉陶器 (8・9)

無釉陶器には壺等の体部から底部があった。8は壺の肩部で、回転によるナデがめぐり、9は壺類の底部で、底面は調整の痕跡は認められず、外面は斜め方向のナデあるいはハケメ状の痕跡がある。内面側は回転によるナデが認められる。

### ・黒褐釉陶器 (10～12)

10は壺類の口縁部である。端部は横方向に突出する。11は壺の頸部で外面に6あるいは7線で一単位となる波状文がめぐり、12は壺類の体部下半から底部にかけてである。あまり釉薬のかかりがよくない。円盤状の底部に外反する体部が続く。底面は調整が見られず、体部の内外面は回転によるナデが見られる。底径16.8cm、残存高18.4cmである。

### ・中国産磁器類 (13・14)

13は青磁碗の口縁から体部にかけての破片である。復元口径15.5cmで、やや浅い形態である。口縁部外面には別個体の口縁が溶着している。体部内面には不明瞭だが凹線が1条めぐり、体部外面には下半でにおい稜線がめぐり、14は碗の体部とみられる破片である。内面には不明瞭な凹

凸があり花文等の可能性があろう。ともに釉調等は龍泉窯のものに類する。

・不明陶器 (15)

第4層からのもので口縁部の破片と推測する。器形は不明である。口縁端部は無釉で内外面に明褐色の釉薬がかかる。

・瓦 (16)

平瓦で、端面と側面のそれぞれ1面のみが残り、全体の法量は不明である。ストッパーの状況からみると幅はその付近で15cm前後と推測される。側面の部分は上方へと折り曲げ、ストッパーを除いた高さは4.7cmほどである。ストッパーは幅1.6cm、高さ0.7～0.8cmほどである。側面および端部についてはナデを施す。無釉である。

(3) 小結

以上主なものを紹介したが、西参道で1998年に調査を行った地点での状況とも比較しながら整理しておこう。まず全体的な傾向から見ておくと、参道東端の1998年調査地では全体で1,500点あまりの遺物が出土し、とりわけ瓦が1,100点以上と多い点が注意される。本調査地では全体で100点に満たず、瓦も10点未満で少ない。1998年調査地が20㎡ほどで今回の調査の2倍程度の面積はあるものの、寺院の主要部に近いということと対応する可能性が高いであろう。他の資料についても中国産陶磁器、クメール陶器なども今回の調査と比較すると多く、廃棄・投棄される地点に近いことが関係することが想定できるが、その一方で本調査地では甕等を含む無釉の土器類がやや多いことが注意される点である。

次に時期的な点について本調査地での各地層の年代について改めて整理しておくと、今回主に紹介した第5層については中国産磁器では12～13世紀等のものがあり、黒褐色陶器などアンコール期のものが主体となっている。第4・3層については年代を明確にできるものがなく不詳であるがポストアンコール期の可能性があろう。第2層は近代以降である。このため建造後に堆積するような状況となり、そこに投棄されたものが含まれた状況とみられる。東端の1998年調査地では12・13世紀を主とする時期のものと、および14世紀等のそれ以降の時期の陶磁器があり、時期幅があることが推測されている。本調査地では幅を明確にするものは少ないが大局的には類する傾向とみられる。また双方の調査地で16あるいは17世紀以降に下る時期のものはあまり多くはない傾向が見られた。アンコール・ワットについては16あるいは17世紀には活動が活発となり繁栄したことがさまざまな側面から指摘されているが、そうした時期に下る資料は多くはないといえよう。そのため環濠内に投棄されているものが寺院内あるいは周辺における活動とどのように関連するか今後とも注意していく必要がある。

遺物種・器種ごとの状況では、本調査地では土器類でススが付着した煮炊具も含まれていた。そのため、寺院内・外等の由来は不明なものの、近辺で用いられた調理等に関する用具が投棄されたものであろう。また中国産青磁では口縁に別個体が溶着したものがあつた。別個体片が溶着したものを除外せずに使用していたことは、選別をあまりせずに用いていた可能性があり、中国産磁器類の受容のありかたを推測する手がかりとなろう。

## 2. 西参道試掘地点出土の遺物について

### (1) 出土地点の概況と層位

参道においては2017年から2018年にかけて参道内の地層の状況や、崩落や修復・改変の状況を確認するため、5地点での確認調査を行ってきた（図5）。修復作業が進行中のため暫定的な状況ではあるが、出土遺物の一端を示しておく。

地層の状況については前述の概報において報告済みの第1トレンチを例にとって概況を示しておく（図6、写真36）。ここでは参道の上面から約4m以下（標高18.0m付近）まで盛土内を掘削し、以下についてボーリングを行って地下の状況を観察している。ここでは掘り下げて断面観察できた部分について盛土の状況を中心にしておく。標高18m付近から20m前後までは一部乱れるところはあるものの、もとの盛土が遺存しており、第15～07層がそれに当たる。それより上位では盛土が流出してラテライト材が乱れ、新たに土砂が入れられるなどしていた状況が観察されており、06層より上位がそれである。このように、参道の構築に伴って盛土された状態を保っているとみられる部分と、土砂が流出するなどして部分的に崩落したり、その後の修復等で変化を受けていたりするいわば二次的あるいはそれ以降の部分とに大別される状況があることが観察されている。

今回報告を行う3点ある遺物のうち、1は第5トレンチからの出土で、参道構築に伴う盛土層からのもので、本来の状況を保つ盛土層の可能性が高い。一方で2・3については第3トレンチからの出土で、参道構築後に生じた崩壊等に伴う地層からのものである。

### (2) 出土遺物の概要（図7、表2、写真37～42）

#### ・施釉陶器（1）

壺の頸部から底部にかけてである。頸部片と体部片は直接は接合しないが、諸特徴から同一個体とみて、あわせて図示する。クメールのものとみられ、内外面にオリーブ褐色を呈する釉薬がたれるなどして施釉陶器としているが、典型的な黒褐釉陶器のように外面の広範囲に厚く施釉されてはいない。頸部には三段の段がめぐり、体部は肩が屈曲しており、にぶい凹線が二条めぐり、段状になっている。底部径10.0cm、体部の最大径を図る部位で20.1cmほどである。

#### ・土器（2）

無釉の土器である。口縁が外反し、端部に向かって厚みを減じる。0.5～1.0mm大の砂粒を比較的多く含み、淡赤褐色を呈することが特徴である。口径17.4cmである。

#### ・中国産磁器類（3）

龍泉窯系とみられる稜花の盤の口縁部である。小片のため口径は明らかではないが、端部の内側ににぶい段があり、稜花のラインが認められる。類例からみて13あるいは14世紀ころのものであろう。

### (3) 小結

参道上での確認調査から遺物の状況を一部ではあるが紹介した。まず参道の盛土層に伴うもの

としてはクメールの施釉陶の出土があり、今後さらに検討していくことで年代論等にもかかわる資料となろう。また参道内の土砂の流出や崩壊時そしてそれ以降の堆積からの遺物として土器および中国産青磁などが確認されている。青磁は龍泉窯産の盤とみられアンコール地域の寺院遺跡では見られる器種であり、アンコール・ワットでも用いられていた状況がうかがわれた。これらは二次的な堆積からのものであるため間接的な資料ではあるものの、崩落や改変の時期的な手がかりとなるとともに一帯にもたらされた陶磁器・土器類の状況を知る手がかりとなろう。

### 3. まとめ

以上、西参道にかかわる調査のうち、環濠部および参道上での調査の概略にふれながら出土遺物の概要を示してきた。

まず環濠内調査での出土遺物では、中国産陶磁や土器・陶器、瓦等が含まれていた。以前の調査と比較して全体的な量や、とりわけ瓦が少ないなど、参道際ではあるが寺院中心から離れていることとの関連がうかがわれた。また土器には火にかけた調理具とみられる甕類があるなど、寺院等での煮炊に用いられたものを投棄したものも含まれているようである。時期的な状況では土器類や黒褐釉陶器等、中国産青磁で、アンコール期のもものとみられるものが主体となっているようである。第4・3層でも明確な時期的な手がかりは見られない。以前の調査（丸井1999）ではアンコール期のなかでも、枢府手の白磁などで13ないし14世紀代の可能性もあることを指摘してきているため（宮本他2010）、主となる堆積はある程度の時期幅をもつことが推測されよう。またその一方でアンコール・ワットが活況を呈したともされる16ないし17世紀のものは現状ではあまり見受けられないことも注意される点である。また中国産磁器類では1998年および今回の報告で扱う環濠内の調査では、1998年の資料に見られるように、合子もあるもののそれ以外に碗等の器種が一定量含まれていることが注意される。寺院およびその周辺においても、用いられた陶磁器の種類や器種などに変化があるか注意される点である。

一方、参道の確認調査についてはいまだ暫定的な状況ではあるが、出土遺物の一部を示した。オリジナルの盛土に伴う遺物ではクメールの施釉陶器があり、今後も検討を加えていくことで年代を検討する手がかりとなる可能性がある。また二次的な堆積に伴うものではあるが、中国産青磁で龍泉窯系とみられる盤や無釉の土器類等が出土しており、13～14世紀あるいはそれ以降時期がうかがわれた。地層の状況からでは構築年代を直接示すものではなく、内部が崩落した時点およびそれ以降の改変の時期の一端を示すものであろう。参道においては部分的な内部の確認調査を行った後に現在修復作業が進行中であり、今後もこうした成果がさらに増加することが想定される。そうした成果については今後検討を加えて改めて紹介等を行っていくことにしたい。参道の築造、そして改造・修復等の過程を検討していくうえでも重要な点となっていくものと思われる。

西参道に関連の調査としては、参道盛土あるいは環濠内など通常はあまり調査の手が及びにくいところであり、修復に伴う貴重な機会をとらえ、関連する資料を蓄積することが求められよう。今回は参道の盛土関連について暫定的な報告となったが、今後また資料を加えてまとめなおすとともに、投棄石材ほか他の遺物も含めていずれ検討を加え、参道のたどってきた過程について考古学的な知見をまとめておくことも課題となってこよう。



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写真1 西参道調査地の全景（北西から）

Ph.1 Investigation site of Angkor Wat western causeway (from northwest)

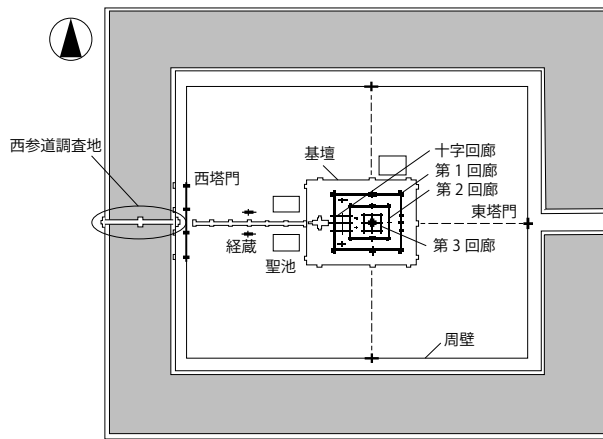


図1 アンコールワットの平面配置  
Fig. 1 Plan of Angkor Wat

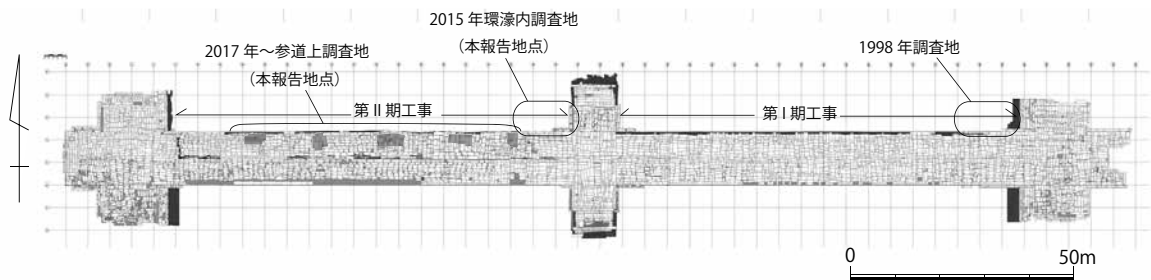


図2 アンコールワット西参道と調査地  
Fig. 2 Western causeway of Angkor Wat and investigation site

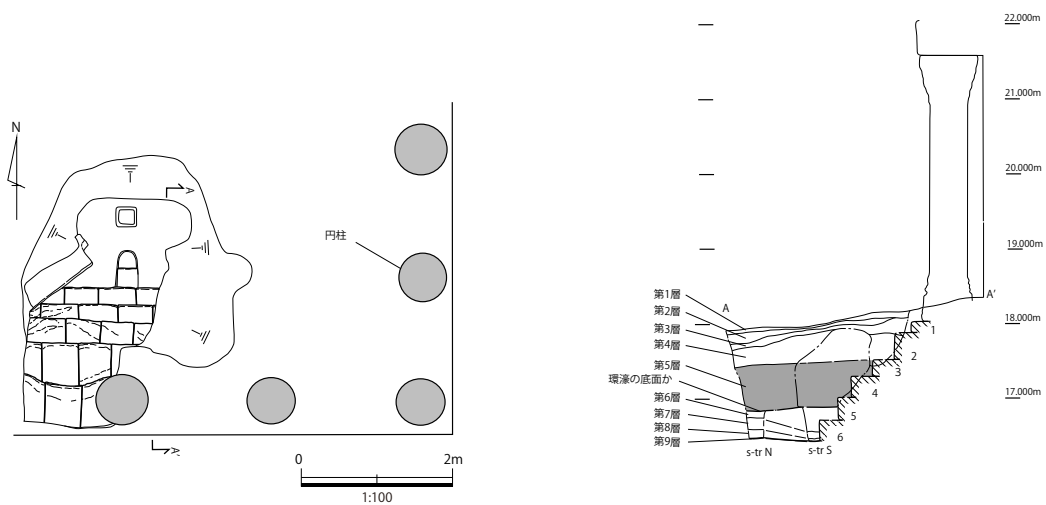


図3 環濠内調査の平面・断面図  
Fig. 3 Plan and section of research area from the moat



写真2 環濠調査地の状況（北西から）  
Ph. 2 Excavation research at the moat (from northwest)



写真3 調査区の状況（北西から）  
Ph. 3 Research area at the moat (from northwest)

表1 環濠内出土遺物観察表

Tab. 1 Table of observation on excavated artifacts from the moat

No	層位	種類	器種	口径	器高	胎土	焼成	色調	備考
1	5	土器	甕	18.4	(5.3)	2～3mm赤色粒	やや軟質	10YR7/3 にぶい黄褐～ 2.5YR5/6 明赤褐	
2	5	土器	甕	28.8	(6.8)	0.5～1.0mm大砂粒	やや軟質	10YR6/6 明黄褐	内外面 鉄分付着
3	5	土器	甕	30.2	(2.8)	0.5～1.0mm大砂粒	やや軟質	7.5YR5/6 明褐	
4	5	土器	壺頸～体部	30.1 (体部)	(7.3)	2mm大砂粒	良好	7.5YR5/3 にぶい褐	
5	5	土器	コンロ	-	(9.0)	1～2mm大赤色粒	堅緻	7.5YR8/3 浅黄橙～	
6	5	土器	甕類体部	-	-	1mm大砂粒	良好	断面等：10YR6/3 にぶい黄橙、 外面縁：10YR1.7/1 黒	
7	4	土器	甕類体部	-	-	2mm大砂粒	やや軟質	10YR6/4 にぶい黄橙	
8	5	無釉陶器	壺肩部	19.8 (肩部)	(6.2)	1.5mm大砂粒	良好	内外面：7.5Y6/4 にぶい褐 断面：10YR6/3 にぶい黄橙	
9	5	無釉陶器	壺底部	16.0 (底)	(8.0)	0.5～1.0mm大砂粒	良好	7.5Y5/6 明褐～ 10YR6/6 明黄褐色	
10	5	黒褐釉陶器	壺	19.8	(3.1)	0.5mm大砂粒	良好	断面：10YR7/1 灰白～、 釉：2.5Y3/1 黒褐色～	
11	5	黒褐釉陶器	壺頸部	15.6 (頸部最大)	(4.7)	1.5mm大黒色粒	良好	断面：10Y6/1 灰、釉：2.5Y3/2 黒褐、 内面：10YR8/2 灰白	
12	5	黒褐釉陶器	壺底部	16.6 (底径)	(18.4)	5mm大砂粒	良好	断：内外面：N7/ 灰白～N6/ 灰、 釉：7.5Y5/3 灰オリープ	
13	5	中国産青磁	碗	15.3	(3.0)	精良	良好	断面：5Y8/1 灰白、釉：7.5Y6/2 灰オリープ～	外面に別個体 溶着
14	5	中国産青磁	碗	(16.3) 体部	(4.3)	精良	良好	断面：5Y8/1 灰白、釉：7.5Y7/2 灰白～	
15	4	不明陶器	不明 (口縁)	-	(1.7)	精良	良好	断面：7.5YR7/4 にぶい橙、 釉：7.5YR7/2 明褐灰	
16	5	瓦	平瓦	残存長 15.0	残存幅 9.6	5mm大砂粒	良好	5YR7/4 にぶい橙	

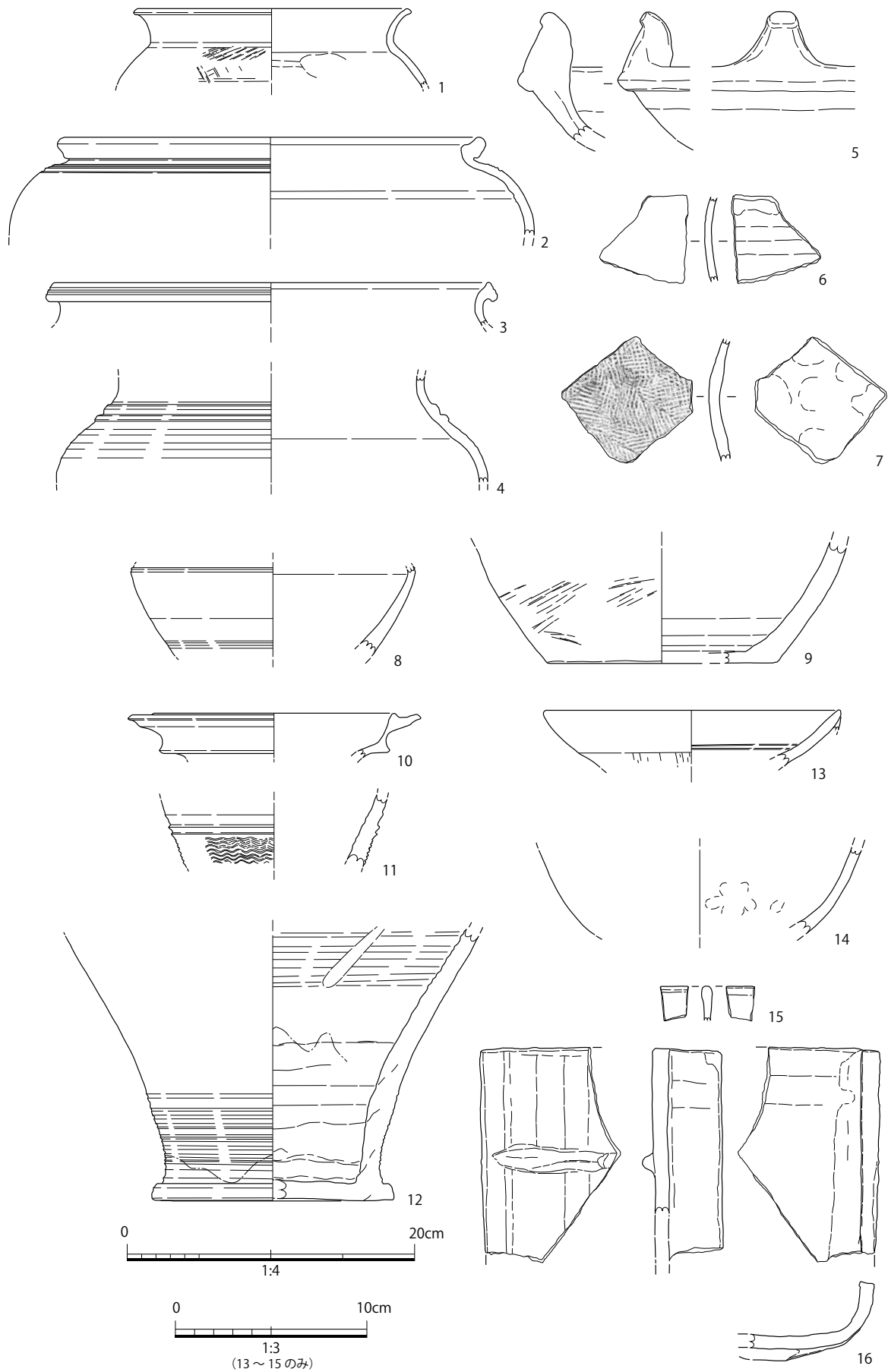


図4 環濠内出土遺物実測図  
 Fig. 4 Excavated artifacts from the moat



写真 4 No. 1 (外面)  
Ph. 4 No. 1 (outside)



写真 5 No. 1 (内面)  
Ph. 5 No. 1 (inside)



写真 6 No. 2 (外面)  
Ph. 6 No. 2 (outside)



写真 7 No. 2 (内面)  
Ph. 7 No. 2 (inside)



写真 8 No. 3 (外面)  
Ph. 8 No. 3 (outside)



写真 9 No. 3 (内面)  
Ph. 9 No. 3 (inside)



写真10 No. 4 (外面)  
Ph. 10 No. 4 (outside)



写真11 No. 4 (内面)  
Ph. 11 No. 4 (inside)



写真12 No. 5 (外面)  
Ph. 12 No. 5 (outside)

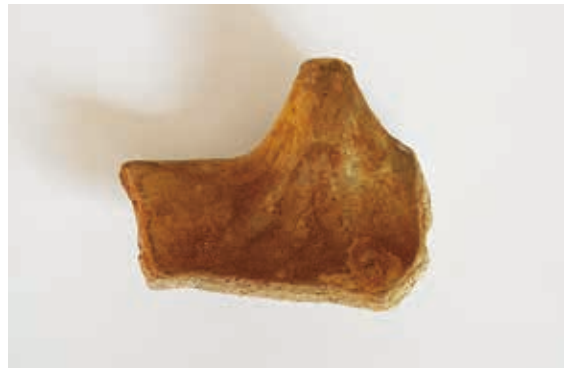


写真13 No. 5 (内面)  
Ph. 13 No. 5 (inside)



写真14 No. 6 (外面)  
Ph. 14 No. 6 (outside)



写真15 No. 6 (内面)  
Ph. 15 No. 6 (inside)



写真16 No. 7 (外面)  
Ph. 16 No. 7 (outside)



写真17 No. 7 (内面)  
Ph. 17 No. 7 (inside)



写真18 No. 8 (外面)  
Ph. 18 No. 8 (outside)



写真19 No. 8 (内面)  
Ph. 19 No. 8 (inside)



写真20 No. 9 (外面)  
Ph. 20 No. 9 (outside)

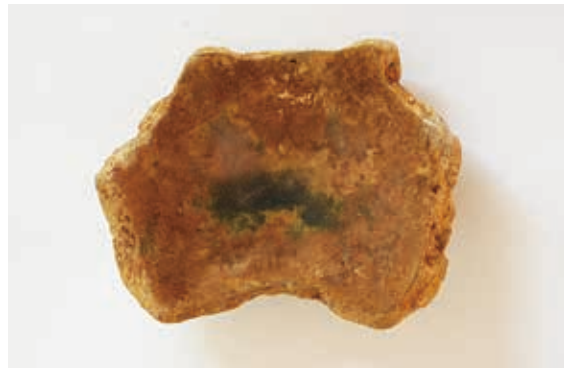


写真21 No. 9 (内面)  
Ph. 21 No. 9 (inside)



写真22 No. 10 (外面)  
Ph. 22 No. 10 (outside)



写真23 No. 10 (内面)  
Ph. 23 No. 10 (inside)



写真24 No. 11 (外面)  
Ph. 24 No. 11 (outside)



写真25 No. 11 (内面)  
Ph. 25 No. 11 (inside)



写真26 No. 12 (外面)  
Ph. 26 No. 12 (outside)



写真27 No. 12 (内面)  
Ph. 27 No. 12 (inside)



写真28 No. 13 (外面)  
Ph. 28 No. 13 (outside)

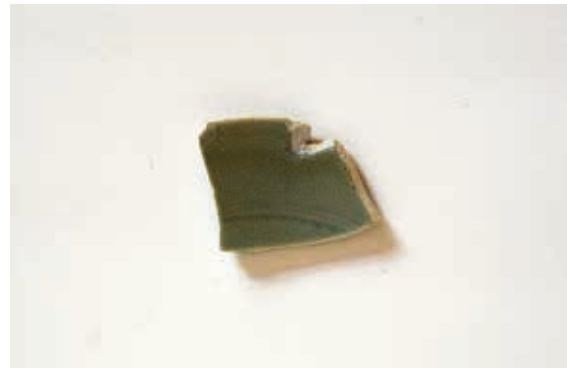


写真29 No. 13 (内面)  
Ph. 29 No. 13 (inside)



写真30 No. 14 (外面)  
Ph. 30 No. 14 (outside)



写真31 No. 14 (内面)  
Ph. 31 No. 14 (inside)



写真32 No. 15 (外面)  
Ph. 32 No. 15 (outside)



写真33 No. 15 (内面)  
Ph. 33 No. 15 (inside)



写真34 No. 16 (上面)  
Ph. 34 No. 16 (upper surface)



写真35 No. 16 (下面)  
Ph. 35 No. 16 (lower surface)



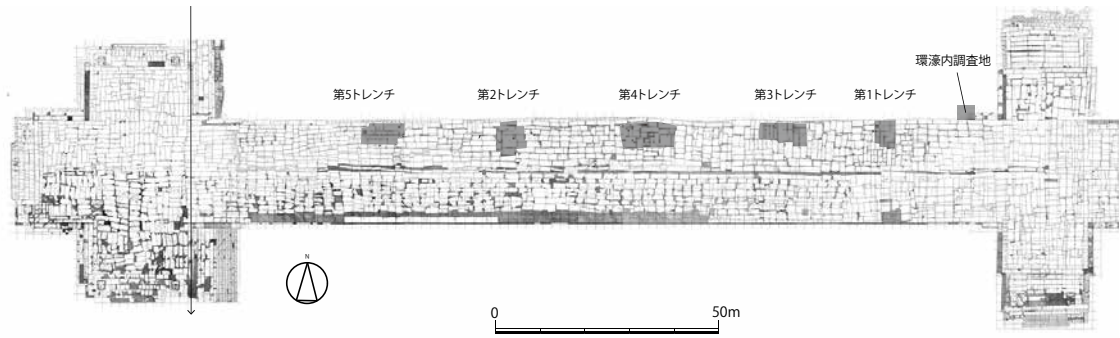


図5 西参道内調査地点の位置  
Fig. 5 Investigation site on the western causeway



写真36 西参道第1トレンチの調査状況(西から)  
Ph. 36 Trench 1 on the western causeway (from west)

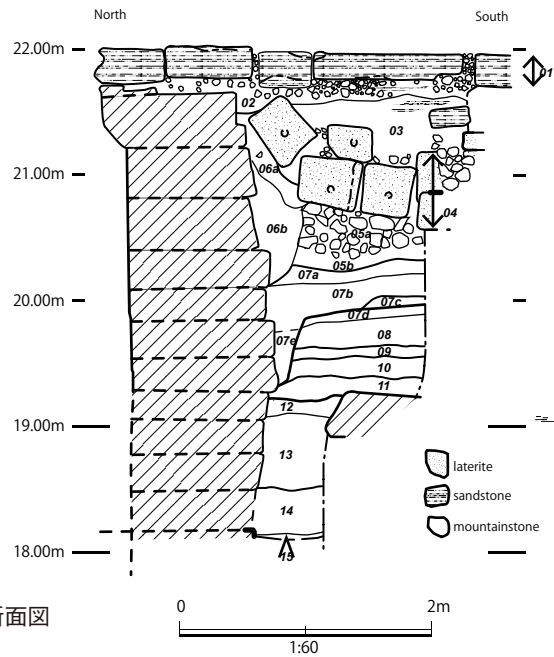


図6 西参道第1トレンチの断面図  
Fig. 6 Section of trench 1

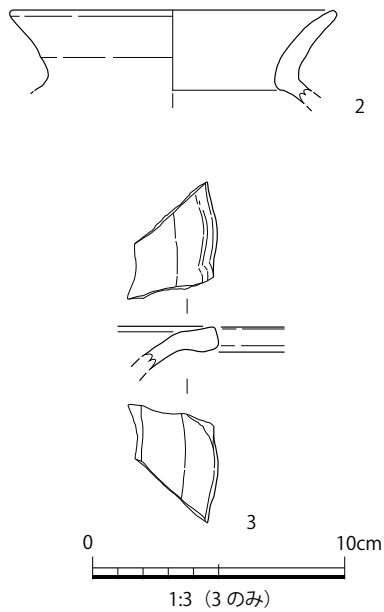
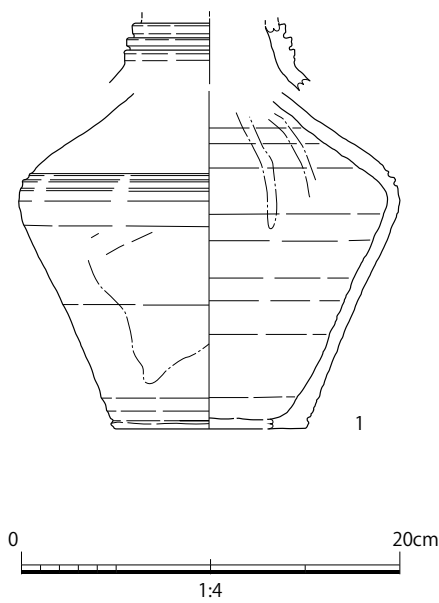


図7  
西参道出土の遺物  
Fig. 7  
Excavated artifacts  
from the western  
causeway



写真37 No. 1 (外面)  
Ph. 37 No. 1 (outside)



写真38 No. 1 (内面)  
Ph. 38 No. 1 (inside)



写真39 No. 2 (外面)  
Ph. 39 No. 2 (outside)



写真40 No. 2 (内面)  
Ph. 40 No. 2 (inside)



写真41 No. 3 (外面)  
Ph. 41 No. 3 (outside)



写真42 No. 3 (内面)  
Ph. 42 No. 3 (inside)

表 2 参道出土遺物観察表

Tab. 2 Table of observation on excavated artifacts from the causeway

No	調査区	層位	種類	器種	口径	器高	胎土	焼成	色調	備考
1	5	参道構築盛土	黒褐釉陶器	壺	20.2 (肩部)	(17.8)	0.5 ~ 1.0 mm大砂粒	良好	断面：10YR6/3 にふい黄褐、内外面：5Y5/1 灰~10YR7/3 にふい黄褐、軸：2.5Y4/ オリーブ褐	
2	3	参道内崩落時	土器	甕	17.2	(4.3)	0.5 ~ 1.0 mm大砂粒	やや軟質	7.5YR6/6 橙~5YR6/6 橙	
3	3	参道内崩落時	中国産青磁	稜花盤	-	(1.7)	精良	良好	断面：5Y8/2 灰白、釉：10Y7/2 灰白~7.5Y7/3 浅黄	

## II. 建築学分野

# バンテアイ・クデイにある小建物復原の試み

奈良女子大学 古代学・聖地学研究センター  
上野邦一

## 1 まえがき

アンコール遺跡群のうち、バンテアイ・クデイでは1981年以来、発掘調査を継続してきている<sup>1)</sup>。そのうち1994年からは建物 D02<sup>2)</sup> 付近に、1997年からは建物 D11付近にトレンチを設定している(図1)。2000年から2001年にかけて、D11の南で首と胴部を分離した仏像など274点が出土したことは大きな成果の一つで、報告や論稿がある<sup>3)</sup>。

さて、D02やD11の周辺での発掘調査では、瓦がかなり出土する。D02やD11はラテライトを構造主体とする建物であるが、D02やD11以外に瓦の出土量に見合う建物跡はほかに発見されていない。D02、D11は一部が瓦葺建物であった可能性が高く、この建物に葺いてあった瓦が付近に散乱して、発掘調査で出土していると考えられよう。この二つの建物のほかに、D11の西で発見された門遺構(D25)は瓦葺であったと考えられる。そこで、D02とD11の二つの建物と門D25とが、どのような建物であったのか考えてみた<sup>4)</sup>。

クメール建築では、レンガ、ラテライト、砂岩が構造主体となる建物が主流となる以前に、現存しないがかつて木造構造の屋根を持つ建物が多くあったことが、瓦が出土していることから分かる。また、碑文からも木造建築があったことは確実である<sup>5)</sup>。出土する瓦には2種類があり、日本の本瓦葺の丸瓦と平瓦にあたる。クメール建築周辺の発掘調査では、軒先の飾瓦も出土する。この飾瓦は、丸瓦の軒先端に置いていたと考えられる瓦で、多くの瓦葺では軒の先端に軒飾瓦を

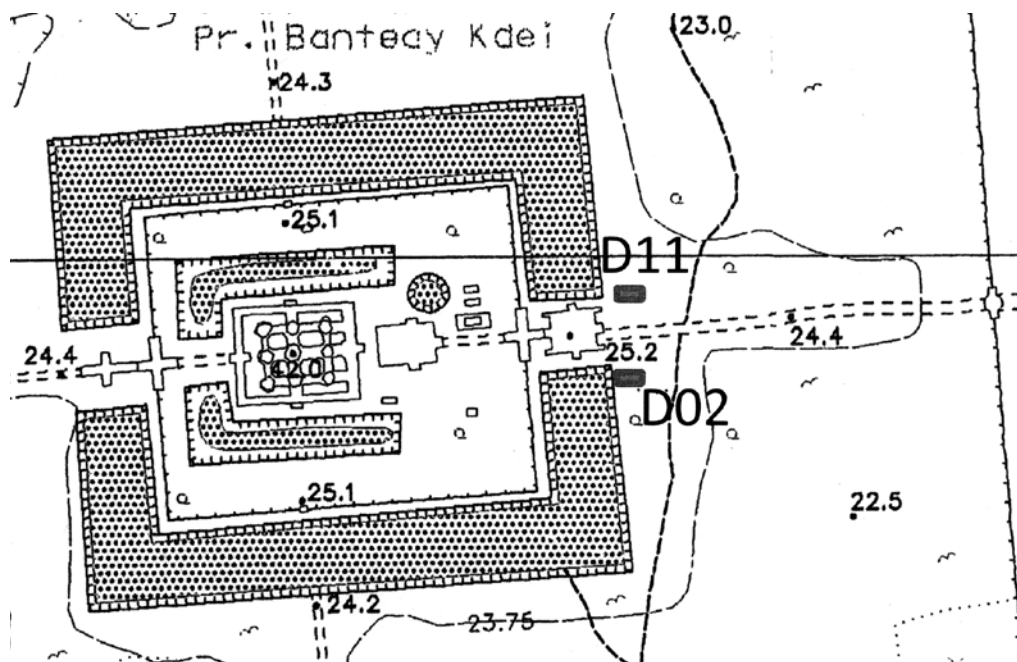


図1 D02、D11位置図

置いていた。ただ、管見するかぎり日本の軒平瓦に相当する飾瓦の出土がなく、この場合平瓦の先端に飾瓦を置かないことが考えられる。平瓦の先端に飾瓦を葺かない事例が日本にかつてあったことは拙稿でも指摘した<sup>6)</sup>。軒平瓦に相当する瓦は出土していないので、平瓦の先端は、日本の事例のように平瓦を数段重ねて置いていた可能性がある。

## 2 D02建物の復原

### (1) 現況 (図2)

D02は東を正面とする祠堂である。主室を中央に置き、副室<sup>7)</sup>が主室の四辺につく(図3)。主室中央にはヨニが残っていて、当初はリングが立っていただろう。構造主体はラテライトで、扉枠、窓枠に砂岩を用いるという常套工法である。

2015年8月に実施したD02周辺の発掘調査で、主室中心から南7.5mほど、北8.5mほどの位置



図2 D02現況写真

で東西に連なると思われる壁を発見している。この壁が東西辺にもあるとして相応の位置では未調査であるが、D02を囲んで四周する壁があったことが想定される。

発掘調査では、この壁の頂部が現地地表下すぐに発見されていて壁本体は埋没していた。壁の底部が旧地表面と考えられるので、D02一帯は、この建物が建設された当時と比較して1.5mほど埋まっていると考えられる。

### (2) 平面の変遷 (図3)

D02建物は増築が認められ、当初、第二段階、第三段階の3時期が考えられる。現況では分かりにくいですが、基壇を観察すると南北の副室の外側にさらに第二副室を設けた基壇が残存していて、第二副室を増築していたことが分かる。さらに、四周に基壇跡があり、増築を行っていたと想定される。この増築部分を第三副室と呼ぶことにする。第三副室は壁体が残存していないので、増築部分の主構造は木造によると想定する。当初の平面は、全体は十字形平面で、主室の東西南北に副室がある。東西の副室の方が、南北の副室よりやや広い。さらに南北の副室は、主室からのみの出入り口がある。

確認できていないが、D02を四周する壁があったとすると、少なくとも東には門があったと想定される。

第二段階は、南北の副室の外側に第二副室を増築する。第二段階の増築部分の構造体はラテライトである。

第三段階は、全体に十字形平面となる四つ角に、それぞれ部屋(第三副室と仮称する)を増築する。ただし、東側の二つの第三副室は、第二副室の出入り口を考慮していて、痕跡から東側に出入り口を設けたことが分かる。西側の第三副室は、第二段階の建物の壁面に沿って目一杯に増

築している。こちらも、痕跡から西側に出入り口を設けている。第三段階の増築部分では、基底部のみが認められ、壁の様相は残っていないので、主構造は木造と考えられる。もし、壁構造であれば、多少でも壁部分が残るのが通常なので、壁の様相が残っていないということは、壁構造ではなかったと判断するのが自然であろう。木造としても、建物内部に間仕切り壁を持ったかどうかは不明で、想定図では間仕切り壁を除いて描いてみた。

第三段階の増築部では、構造壁は残っていないが、入口部の痕跡があり底部のみが残る。この底部は砂岩であり、構造が壁構造であった可能性は、全否定はできない。ただ、その場合でも、屋根を支える小屋組は木造で屋根は瓦葺であっただろう。

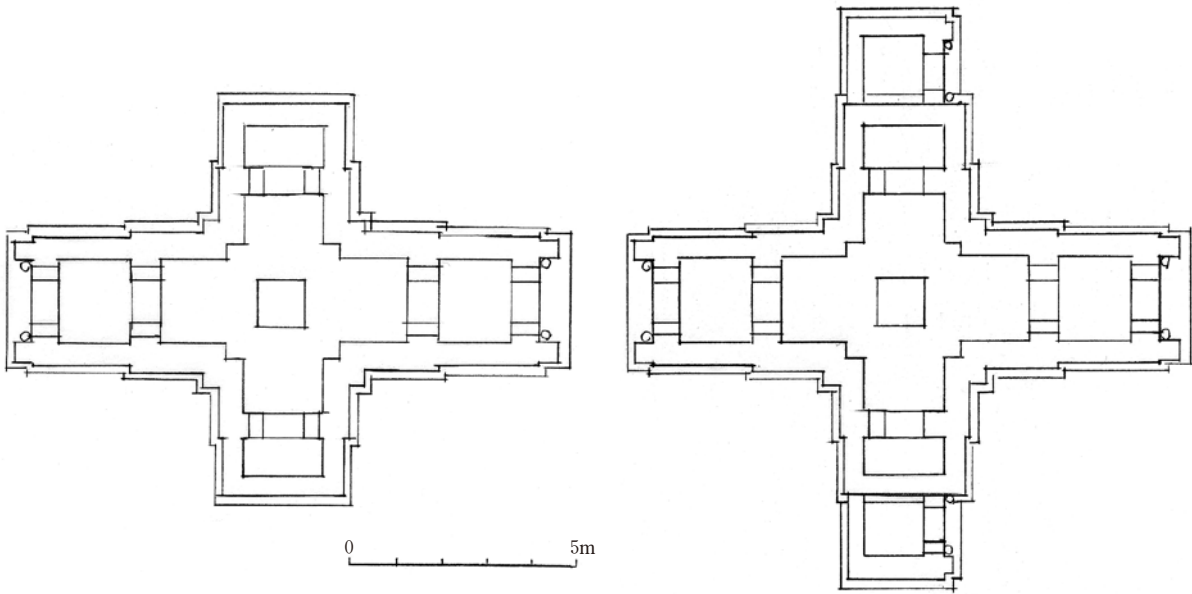


図 3-1 D02当初の平面図 扉は省略している。

図 3-2 第二段階の平面図

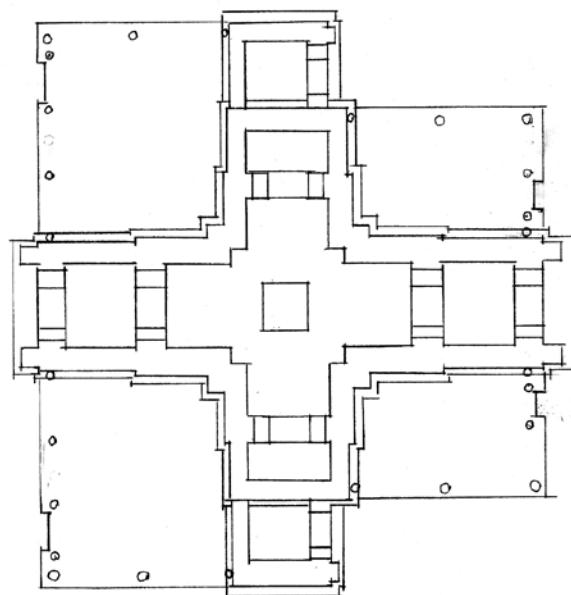


図 3-3 第三段階の平面図

### (3) 復原の考察 (図4)

主室と副室は、壁が人間の背ほど立ち上がるので、屋根はおそらくコーベルアーチ<sup>8)</sup>で、主室上部は砲弾型の形状になる構造物になる。第二副室も同じく壁が立ち上がるのでコーベルアーチだろう。前述したように、第三副室は木造瓦葺きと想定される。

入口部分にペディメント (妻壁) が立ち上がると想定して作図している。これに伴って、屋根はもっと複雑だった可能性がある。その場合、屋根のどこかで谷ができ、雨仕舞は一段と難しく

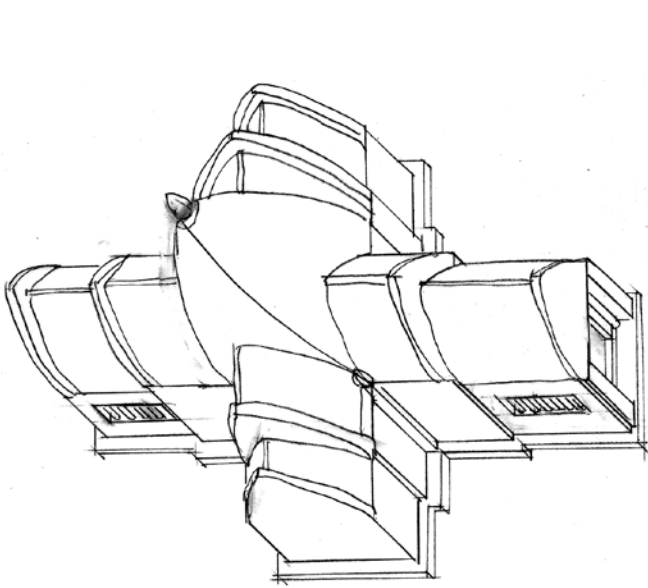


図4-1 D02当初の想定図

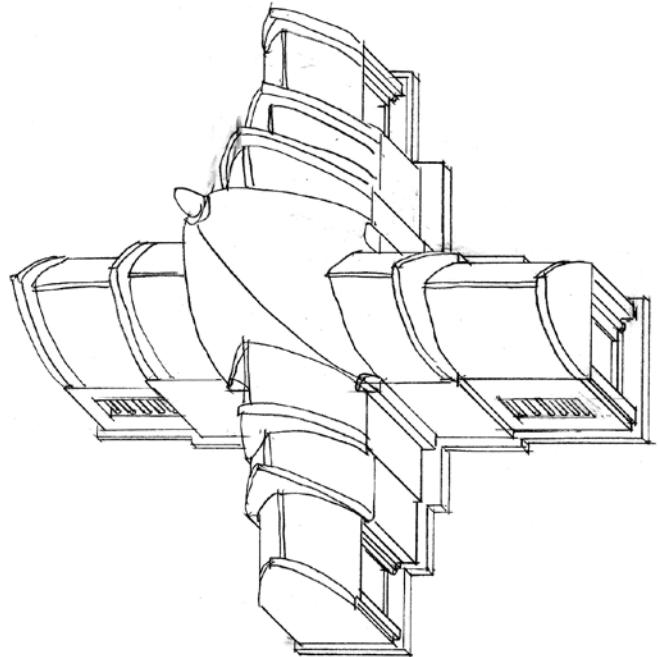


図4-2 D02第二段階の想定図

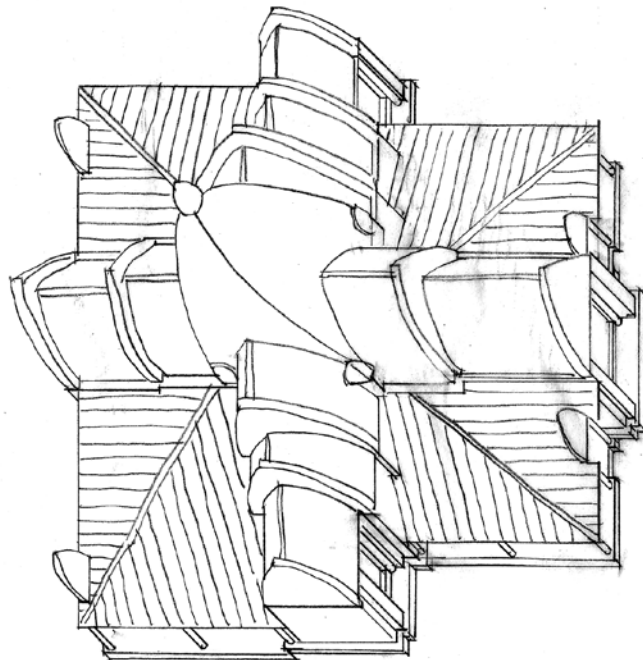


図4-3 D02第三段階の想定図

なる。想定図では、谷部分を造らず単純な屋根を描いた。

木造部分の妻壁の様相は、厳密には不明である。しかし、時代は下るが現存する周辺国にある木造寺院などを考慮すると、D02の妻壁にレリーフを施していた、と考えている。想定図では、細部は描いていない。建物の全体の様相を提示するにとどめていることを御容赦願いたい。

### 3 D11建物の復原

#### (1) 現況 (図5)

D11は、D02と規模・平面は違うがバンテアイ・クデイの中軸線をはさんでD02と対になる建物で、東を正面とする。構造の主体はラテライトで扉枠・窓枠は砂岩であるが、一部の扉枠・窓枠にもラテライトを用いる。ほぼ正方形の主室を中央に配し、主室の東西に副室を置く。東副室の方が西副室よりもやや広い。主室の中央には、ヨニを設置した痕跡があるが、ヨニ本体は失っている。



図5 D11現況写真

#### (2) 平面の変遷 (図6)

当初、第二段階の2時期の変遷が考えられる。

当初は現存するとおりの平面である。第二段階で、南北に副室を、東西に第二副室を増築している。D11建物周辺にペディメントが置いてあり、これらに桁を入れた方形の穴が穿ってあり、桁を大入れした柄穴と考えられる (図7)。このペディメントにはレリーフが施されていて、そのレリーフの一部を壊して柄穴を穿っている。すなわち、建物がいったんは完成した後に、レリーフを壊し、ほぼ見えなくなるのに、増築を行ったことになる。

遺構の現況では痕跡がなく確認できないが、ペディメントの柄穴を考えれば、東西の副室の外

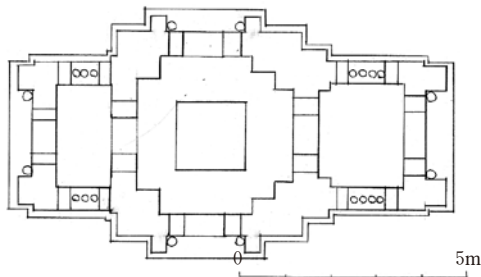


図6-1 D11当初の平面図  
扉は省略している。

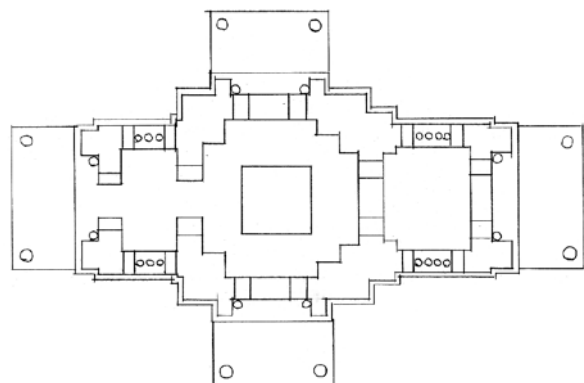


図6-2 D11増築後の平面図





図7 D11周辺に残っている妻壁・枿穴がある：筆者撮影

側にさらに第二副室を増築し、南北には主室の外側に副室はないが、東西の第二副室にならって副室と仮称する部屋を増築していたことになる。

### (3) 復原の考察 (図8)

中央部には人の背丈ほどの高さで壁が残っているので主室上部はおそらくコーベルアーチで、砲弾型の構造物になる。

東西の副室でも、人の背丈ほど壁が残存していて立ち上がっているので屋根部分はコーベルアーチであろう。増築した南北の副室、東西の第二副室に相当する部分の基底部にあたる所では、壁の様相をうかがわせる痕跡はない。D02の第三段階の箇所でも前述したように、組積造の壁の痕跡が認められないので、増築した副室は木造で屋根は瓦葺であったと考えられる。

想定図は、図4と同じく、細部は描いていない。建物全体の様子を伝えるための作図であることを御容赦願いたい。

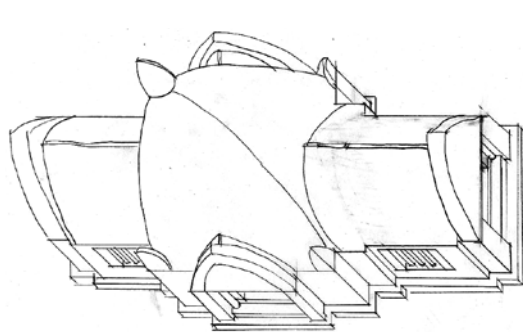


図8-1 D11当初の想定図

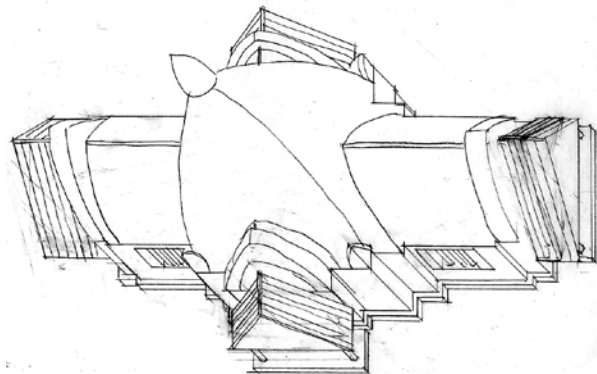


図8-2 D11増築後の想定図

## 4 D11の西に位置する門 D25

### (1) 遺構の概要 (図9)

この一帯は表土が覆っていて、建物の基礎の一部しか見えない。この場所は2003年8月に第

39次発掘調査を実施している（図10）。上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団の発掘調査の成果をまとめてみる。

トレンチ23で、建物跡が検出されている。ラテライトの基礎の上面に、砂岩で基壇を造っている建物跡である（図11）。壁体が残存していないので、木造軸組の建物であると判断する。周辺に瓦が散乱して出土することから、瓦葺きだと想定される。D11の中軸線を延長して、この中軸線が検出遺構の



図9 D25発掘調査時遺構写真：筆者撮影

中軸線でもあると考えて対称に折り返すと平面図を得ることができ（図12）、規模が小さい門と想定される。D11に対しての西門と考えられよう。平面は単純な方形ではなく、角を示す石があるので、何度か屈折を伴う平面だったであろう。

さて、西門があるということは東門の存在が予想され、さらに西門・東門に連なる周壁の存在も想定される。しかし、D11を中心として西門の対称となる位置での発掘調査では門は確認できていない。また、周壁が想定される位置でも発掘調査は未着手である。周壁は確認できていないが、西門の存在を考えて、D11を囲う周壁があったと考えられよう。

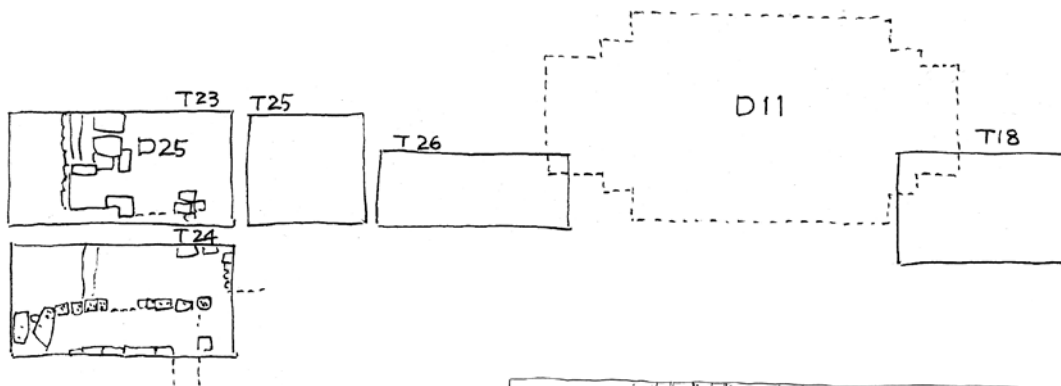


図10  
第39次発掘調査位置図：筆者作図

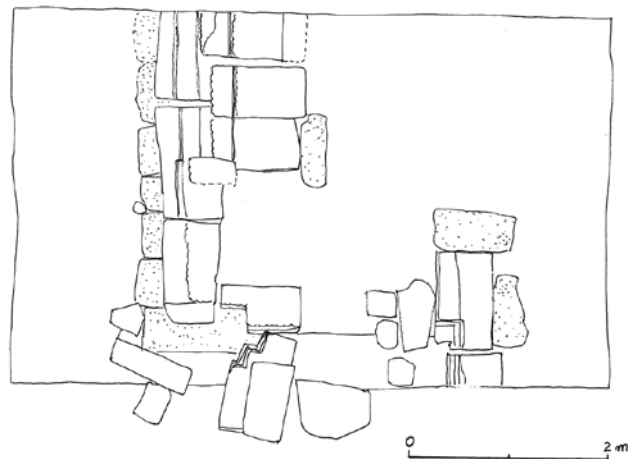


図11 T23区発掘調査遺構図：筆者作図

(2) 平面の変遷 (図12)

発掘調査で検出した基壇部を考察する限り、増築を認めることはできない。最初に建てた建物跡がそのまま残っていると判断するので、平面変遷はない。D02、D11の復原考察で前述したように、D25の遺構面には組積構造の壁の様相はないので、D25は木造で、屋根は瓦葺と考えられる。

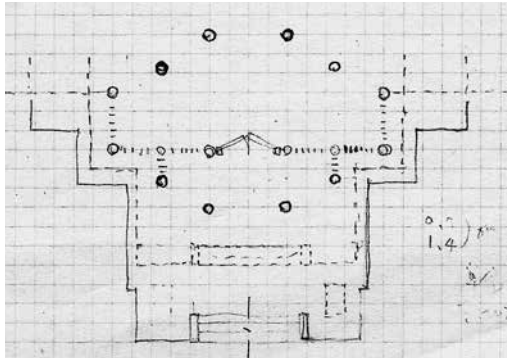


図12 遺構略平面図：筆者作図

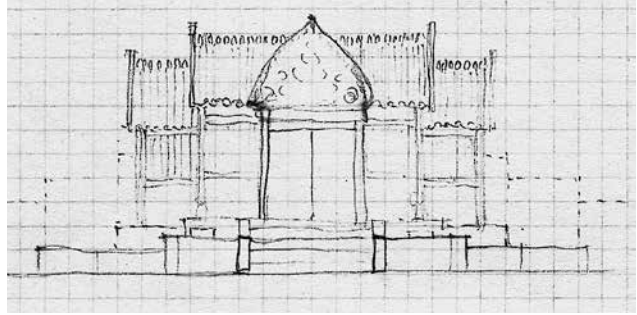


図13 想定復原立面図：筆者作図

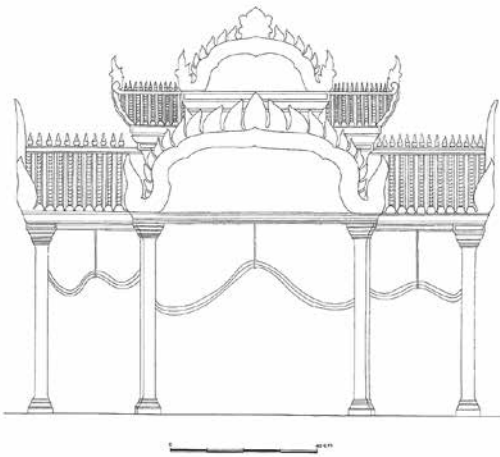


図14 アンコール・ワットの回廊に見える建物の事例  
J. デュマルセ『クメールの小屋組と瓦』  
(フランス極東学院考古学報告Ⅷ、1973)



図15 バイヨン周壁に見える建物の事例：筆者撮影

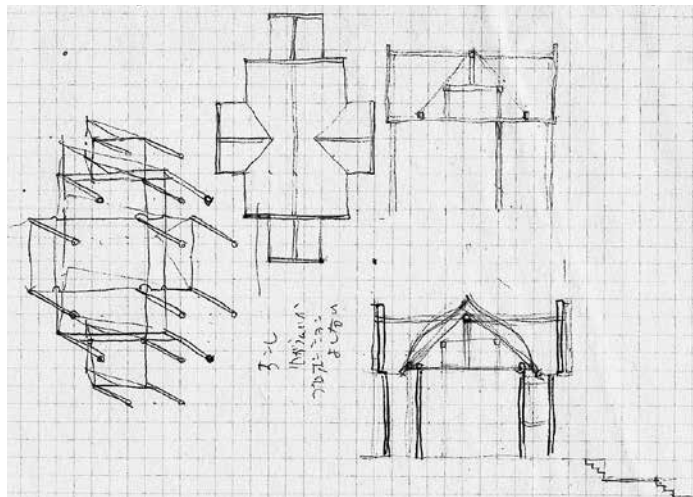


図16  
復原考察図。構造図・屋根伏図ほか  
：著者作図

### (3) 復原の考察 (図13)

アンコール・ワットやバイヨンのレリーフには、屋根を段違いにするような建物を多く表現している (図14・15)。遺構の様相から、この D25遺構でも屋根は段違いにするのではと想定した (図13)。

## 5 まとめ

D02、D11は増築の結果、瓦葺の部分をも有する建物であったことは確実であり、門 D25は木造建物であったと考えられる。D02、D11は前述のように増築を行っている。最終段階で、木造部分を増築しているということは、D02と D11は共通する。

D02は四周する壁を持ち、D11もおそらく四周する壁で囲まれていたと考えられる。発掘調査以前では、D02や D11は独立して建つ小祠堂ではないかと考えられていた。しかし、周壁を持つ小寺院の様相を持っている。アンコール遺跡群の中の同様の様相を持つ小祠堂や、独立して建つ祠堂についても、今後解明を進める必要がある。例えばタ・プロムや、プリア・カーンで (図17)、中心区画の近くに四周する壁で囲まれる建物を持つ小区画がある。アンコール地域ではないが、バンテアイ・チュマールにも同様の区画がある。これらの小区画について、論考は管見するかぎり無い。

アンコール遺跡群についてはさまざまに論考が加えられてきて、多くのことが明らかになってきている。しかし、解明すべき分からない事柄も多く、筆者は「東南アジアでの建築との出会いと研究」<sup>9)</sup>で未解明の諸点を指摘している。またかつて、バンテアイ・クデイの小建築について考察したことがある<sup>10)</sup>。

大寺院の中にさらに区画される小寺院のような部分の意味は何なのか。このことを明らかにするのは将来の課題である。

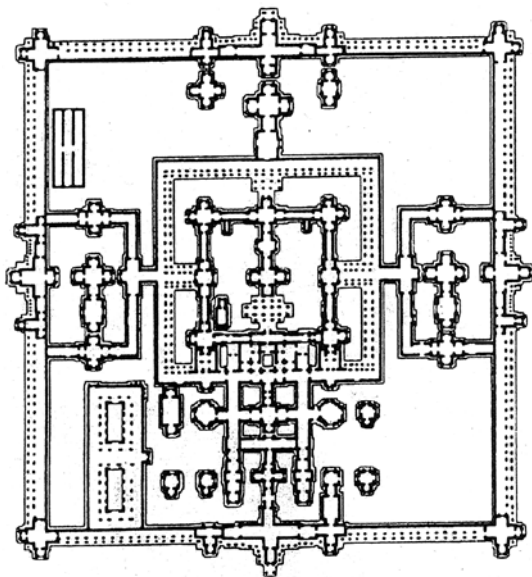


図17-1 タ・プロム中心区画  
千原大五郎  
『東南アジアのヒンドゥー・仏教建築』

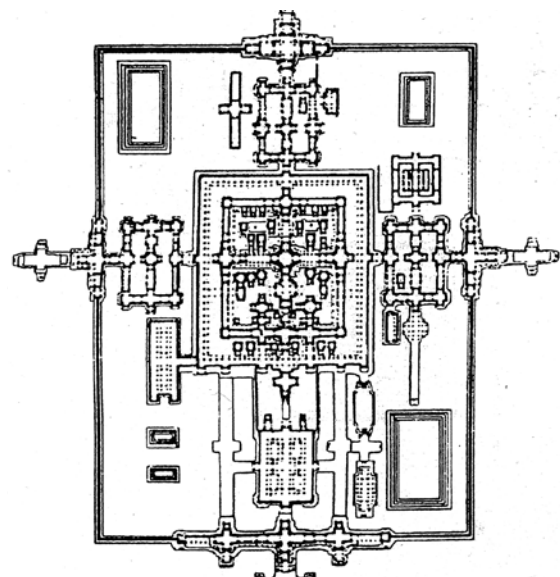


図17-2 プリア・カーン中心区画  
千原大五郎  
『東南アジアのヒンドゥー・仏教建築』

ただ、バンテアイ・クデイ、タ・プロム、プリア・カーンの小区画を並べて比較する限り、この順序に造営され、発展整備されていったように見える。本稿では、こうした指摘にとどめ、寺院の造営年代にも関わるので、丁寧な考察は将来に委ねたい。

## 謝辞

発掘調査の成果については、上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団から提供を受けた。記して感謝する。

## 注および参考文献

### 注

- 1) バンテアイ・クデイでの発掘調査については、下記論稿が詳しい。  
中尾芳治「発掘調査の経過」『アンコール遺跡の考古学』（連合出版、2000）  
中尾芳治「アンコール遺跡の考古学」『季刊文化遺産18』（鳥根県並河萬里写真財団、2004）
- 2) D02とは「バンテアイ・クデイ建物一覧」（上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団、1997）で名付けた遺構番号である。D区の2番目という意味。以下D11も同様。
- 3) 上野邦一「274体の廃仏の発掘と埋め方をめぐって」『季刊文化遺産18』（鳥根県並河萬里写真財団、2004）  
出土した仏像などについては、石澤良明、大村次郷『アンコールの仏像』（NHK出版、2007）などがある。
- 4) クメール建築の復原に関して、バンテアイ・クデイの一建物の復原を試みたことがある。  
上野邦一「半壊したラテライト建物の復元」『アンコール遺跡の考古学』（連合出版、2000）
- 5) 石澤良明『アンコール・王たちの物語』（NHKブックス、2005）ページ249  
プリア・ヴィヘル地区に“10世紀初めのヤシャヴァルマン一世の治世の木造の寺院を建立していた”ことが碑文から分ると指摘する。
- 6) 上野邦一「東南アジアでの建築との出会いと研究」『カンボジアの文化復興（30号）』（上智大学アジア人材養成研究センター、2018）
- 7) 主室・副室の用語は、祠堂内にある空間を分割して名付けた仮称である。崇拜物を安置した空間を主室とし、その外側に配置される空間を副室と呼ぶことにする。副室のさらに外側に配置される空間を設けた場合、第二副室と仮称することにする。
- 8) コーベルアーチ（右図）は、迫出しアーチともいわれる。ローマの建築に見られる真正アーチに対して区別する用語である。石材やレンガを、内側に徐々に出して、空間を覆う技法である。クメールの建物や、ベトナム・チャンパの建物に用いられている。
- 9) 注6に同じ
- 10) 上野邦一「クメール寺院において中心区画周辺にあるラテライト建物について」『日本建築学会大会学術講演梗概集』（日本建築学会、1998）



コーベルアーチの事例：筆者撮影

## 参考文献

「カンボジアの文化復興」

# 特 別 寄 稿

# アンコール遺跡観光（1999年-2020年）と カンボジアにおける新型コロナウイルス

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## 1. はじめに

アンコール遺跡群はカンボジア北西部のシェムリアップ州にある9～15世紀のアンコール時代に建築された石造の宗教建造物群である。遺跡群はフランス植民地時代を経て、内戦後の1992年に世界文化遺産に登録された。世界の文化遺産観光地の中でもとくに人気の高い観光地<sup>1)</sup>として知られる。1990年代より順調に観光客数を伸ばし続け、2018年には260万人<sup>2)</sup>の外国人が遺跡チケットを購入してアンコール遺跡群を見学し、2019年には660万人<sup>3)</sup>を超える外国人がカンボジアを訪問した。

筆者は上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団の一員<sup>4)</sup>として、1997年10月に初めてカンボジアのアンコール・ワットを訪れ、1999年から現在まで現地駐在員として現地の様子を継続的に観察してきた。この間チケットの販売管轄権が2度移譲され、チケット販売ブースは2度場所が変わった。訪問者の国籍の内訳も大きく変容を遂げている。

2020年1月末以降、アンコール遺跡観光は新型コロナウイルスの影響を大きく受けた。3月にアンコールを訪れる外国人は過去四半世紀に未経験の歴史的な激減を示した。同年4月よりカンボジア人の若者が自転車に乗りエクササイズの間としてアンコール遺跡群を利用し始めた。現地人の若い女性がマウンテンバイクで遺跡地域を走る姿は新しいアンコール観光の姿である。そこで、これまでの観光動向やチケットの販売システムの変化と経過を整理し、過去20年間の外国人旅行者の観光の傾向を整理考察するとともに、今般の新型コロナウイルスによる観光客激減時に観察された状況について、さらには新たな動向についてもまとめておきたい。2020年3～8月まで研究者が実質的に入国できない空白の半年間の記録<sup>5)</sup>をしっかりと残す意義は大きい。

## 2. 統計に見るアンコール遺跡観光の規模と変化

### 2-1. 外国人入国者数の推移

外国人のカンボジアへの入国者数については1993年以降について、観光省発表の年間統計<sup>6)</sup>（図1と図2）が有益である。1993年から2019年までの27年間において前年比で減少したのは二度だけである。一度目は1997年で、同年7月5日にプノンペンで武力衝突が起きたことが大きく影響した。二度目は2003年でSARS（重症急性呼吸器症候群）が世界的に流行し風評被害などが影響した。その後2005年頃にアジアで流行した鳥インフルエンザによる影響はあったと考えられるが統計上前年を割ることはなかった。2020年は今般の新型コロナウイルスの影響により2003年に次ぐ三度目の減少となる見込みである。

年	人数(人)	前年比(%)	年	人数(人)	前年比(%)	年	人数(人)	前年比(%)
-	-	-	2001	604,919	130%	2011	2,881,862	115%
-	-	-	2002	786,524	130%	2012	3,584,307	124%
1993	118,183	-	2003	701,014	89%	2013	4,210,165	117%
1994	176,617	149%	2004	1,055,202	151%	2014	4,502,775	107%
1995	219,680	124%	2005	1,421,615	135%	2015	4,775,231	106%
1996	260,489	119%	2006	1,700,041	120%	2016	5,011,712	105%
1997	218,843	84%	2007	2,015,128	119%	2017	5,602,157	112%
1998	286,524	131%	2008	2,125,465	105%	2018	6,201,077	111%
1999	367,743	128%	2009	2,161,577	102%	2019	6,610,592	107%
2000	466,365	127%	2010	2,508,289	116%	2020	-	-

図1 カンボジア入国者数（外国人）の推移（観光省2020）

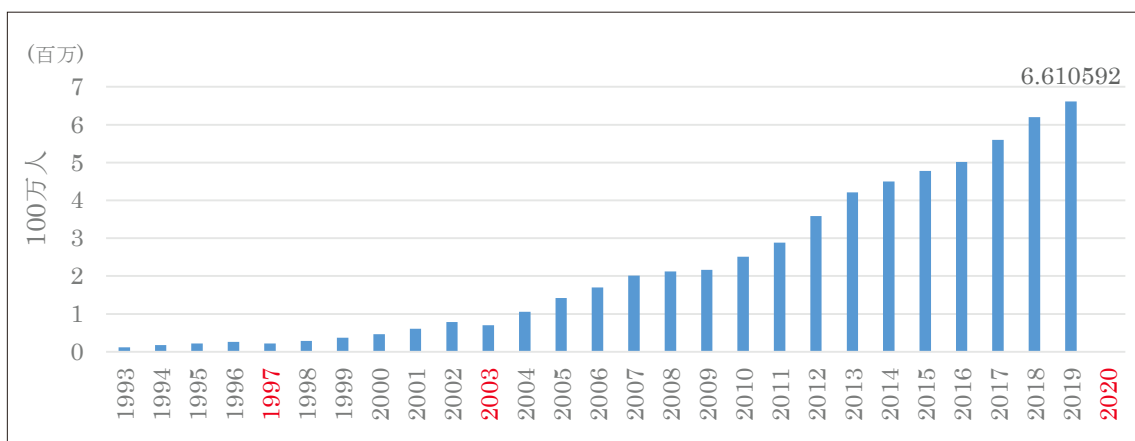


図2 カンボジア入国者数（外国人）の推移（観光省2020統計を基に筆者作成）

年毎の国籍別内訳をみると、国籍別統計が確認できる1999年以降では、1999～2001年まではアメリカ人がシェアのトップであり、2002～2003年は日本人、2004～2008年は韓国人、2009～2016年まではベトナム人、2017～2019年は中国人がそれぞれトップとなっている。1999～2019年までの21年間に於いて常にトップ10にとどまった国は、アメリカ、日本、中国、フランスの4カ国だけである。以下、各国ごとに記す。

**a) アメリカ人（図3）**

アメリカ人は、統計のある1999年から2001年までは国籍別シェアはトップであった。その後も常にトップ10に入り続け、安定した成長を見せてきた。2017年にはピークとなり、26万人が訪れ5%のシェアを占めた。その後若干の減少に転じている。

**b) フランス人（図4）**

フランスは、旧宗主国であり過去20年間非常に安定した成長を示している。2018年にピークとなり17万人が訪れシェアは3%であり、翌2019年には減少している。

**c) 日本人（図5）**

日本人は、2001年から2002年にかけて5.4倍という猛烈な伸びを見せ、2002～2003年の2年間



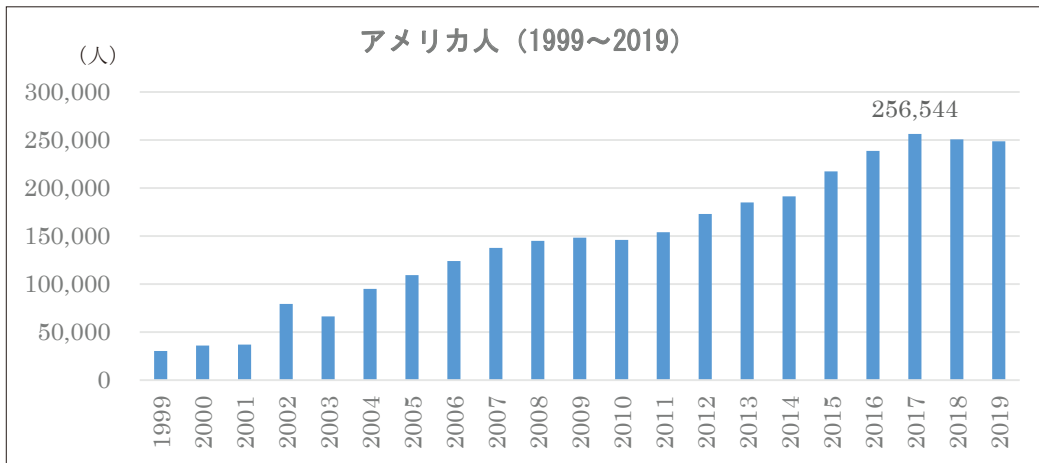


図3 アメリカ人のカンボジア入国者数 (観光省2020)

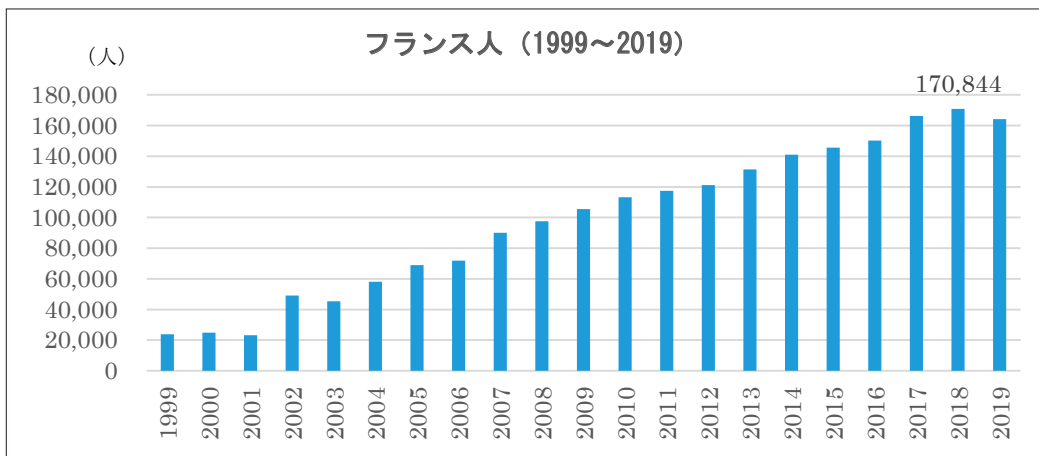


図4 フランス人のカンボジア入国者数 (観光省2020)

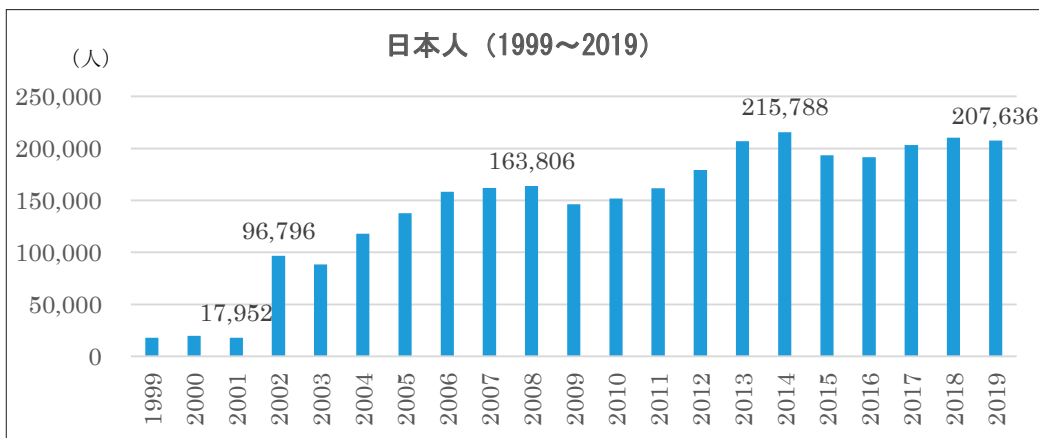


図5 日本人のカンボジア入国者数 (観光省2020)

は国籍別のトップに躍り出た<sup>7)</sup>。常識的にはにわかに信じがたい伸びではあるが、ここでは統計を基に記す。2002年に急伸した背景は何であったのかよくわからない。その後2004年以降大きく伸びたものの韓国に越された。2013年以降はほぼ横ばいが続くが、ピークは2014年の22万人であった。2019年は21万人が訪問し国別のシェアは3%であり、順位は7位である。2018年に21万

人を越えたものの、翌2019年には再度減少している。

#### d) 韓国人 (図6)

韓国人は1997年のアジア通貨危機の影響を大きく受けた。筆者が1997年10月に初めてカンボジアを訪れた後、一時期韓国人が目に見えて減った時期があったことを記憶している。しかしながらその後2002年以降急成長を見せ、2004年には日本を抜き、同年より2008年までのシェアはトップであった。これに伴いシェムリアップ市内には韓国料理店が急増した。2006年11月にはアンコール-慶州世界文化エキスポ<sup>8)</sup> (写真1) がシェムリアップで開催され、開催跡地は「キョンジュ (=慶州)」と呼ばれ現在に至る。2009年にはトップの座をベトナムに譲った。2000年代の後半にはカンボジアへの投資が急増し、アンコール観光においても首位を得たことから「韓国ブーム」を感じさせた。一時期大韓航空とアジアナ航空がシェムリアップに直行便を飛ばしたことがそれをよく示している。筆者は2009年から2013年にかけてはベトナム航空やタイ航空に比し相対的に安い運賃設定があったことから、シェムリアップから東京への一時帰国の際にソウル (インチョン) 経由便を利用した。2016年末に大韓航空は今後の需要増が見込めないことから、ソウル-シェムリアップ間の直行便の運航を停止した。その後も新型コロナウイルスとは無関係に運航していない。

一時期とはいえ日本人の2倍以上の渡航者がいた韓国人であるが、2019年の時点では約1.2倍と僅差で韓国人が多くなっている。韓国の人口は約5,100万人であり、日本の人口1億2,600万人の半数にも満たない。この人口の差を踏まえるといかに韓国人がカンボジアに大挙して訪れていたかが分かる。その背景については筆者は十分に理解していないが、韓国において何らかアンコールブームがあったことは確かと考えられる。図6中の1999年から2001年までは統計の欠如で人数を示していない。

#### e) ベトナム人 (図7)

2007年10月5日にカンボジア、ラオス、ベトナム3カ国間の観光大臣が共同宣言<sup>9)</sup> に署名した。その後、2008年12月5日よりカンボジア-ベトナム2国間のビザ免除協定<sup>10)</sup> の発効を契機として、2009年以降急増を続け、2009~2016年までの8年間は国籍別シェアのトップであり続けた。2015年の99万人をピークとしその後減少に転じている。2017年にはトップの座を中国人に譲った。入国者の中の何割がアンコール遺跡観光を行ったかは統計の不足により検証できない。ただし当時「ホーチミンからバス (写真2) でカンボジアに入国し、プノンペン市内を経由せずシェムリアップに直行する」事例が多くあった。実際シェムリアップ市内にベトナム語のプレートを付けたバスが何台も並んでいたことを覚えている。

統計のある2016年は入国者のうちベトナム人が第1位 (96万人) であったが、遺跡チケットの購入数はシェア3%で11位 (7万人) であった。つまり入国数の内7%しかアンコール遺跡を見ない計算となる。図7中の1999年から2002年までは統計の欠如で人数を示していない。

#### f) 中国人 (図8)

中国人は、2010年にはベトナム人 (47万人)、韓国人 (29万人) に次ぐ3位 (18万人) であっ

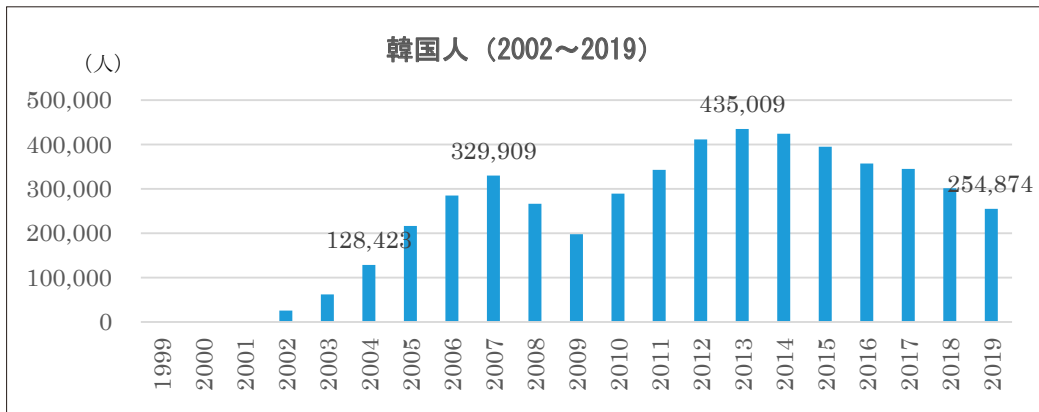


図6 韓国人のカンボジア入国者数（観光省2020）

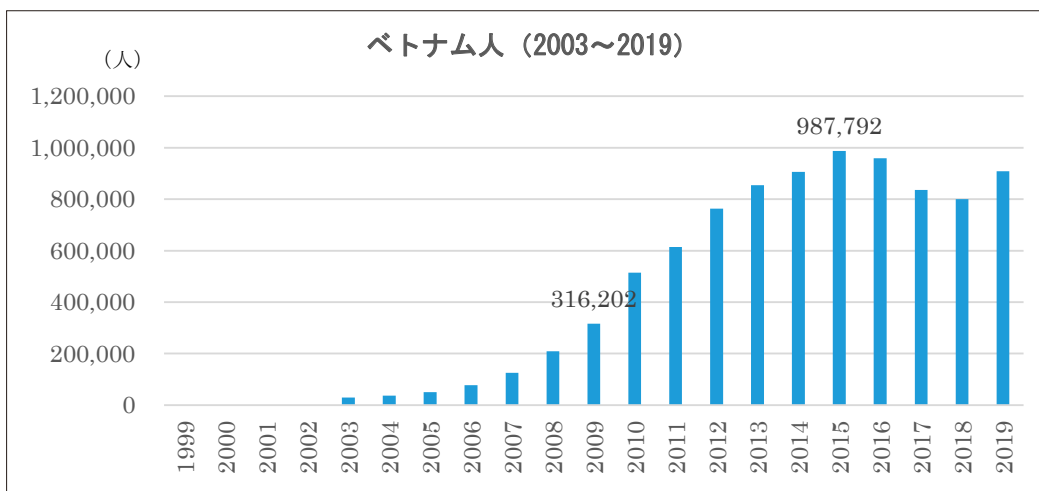


図7 ベトナム人のカンボジア入国者数（観光省2020）

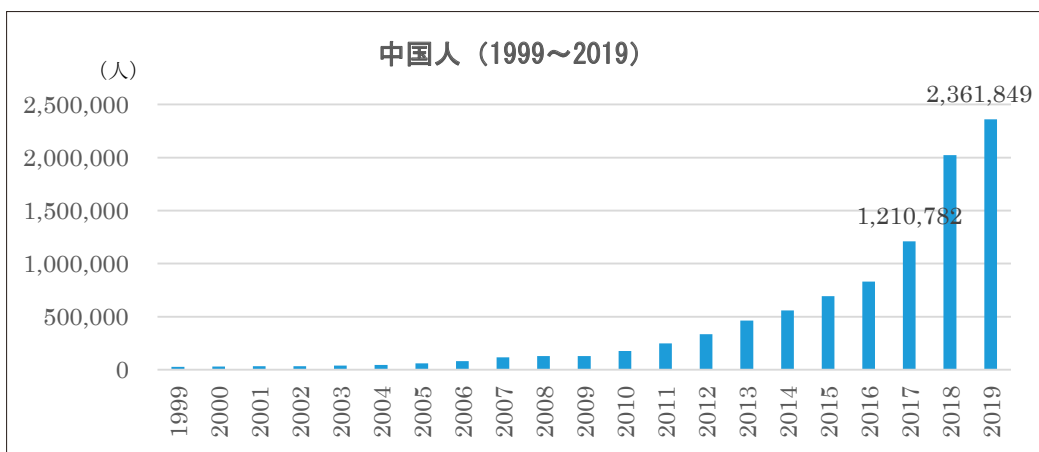


図8 中国人のカンボジア入国者数（観光省2020）

たが、その後6年間安定した伸びを見せた。2017年には前年比46%増という驚異の伸びを示し、同年初めて1カ国からの入国者数が100万人を超えて、121万人がカンボジアを訪れた。2017～2019年は国別シェアでトップとなった。2019年には236万人に達し36%のシェアとなった。人口1,600万人のカンボジアに対して200万人超の中国人が訪問するというインパクトの大きさは想像

に余りある。近年の伸びだけが注目されるが、実は統計のある1999年以降常にトップ10に入り続けている4カ国の一つである。

中国は2013年に習近平主席が国策として「一帯一路」政策を打ち出し、カンボジアにおいても水力発電所<sup>11)</sup>の建設や高速道路<sup>12)</sup>の建設などが進んでいる。首都プノンペンの市内には中国資本による超高層ビル(写真3)が林立し首都の景観を変えつつある。沿岸部の町シアヌークヴィル<sup>13)</sup>はここ数年における中国資本による開発で町の姿を一変させた(写真4)。シアヌークヴィルへの中国人の移住者の数は8万人を超えるとの統計もあり、都市人口の半数に相当し、国内でも特殊で異質な街に変容した。フンセン首相は2019年8月に「オンラインギャンブル禁止」の方針を打ち出し、これを受け一時的に多くの中国人が国外へ脱出した。

#### g) タイ人 (図9)

タイは国境を接する隣国であり、90年代より一定数の入国者数を継続している。

ここ数年あまりは両国間の関係が比較的安定していることも手伝い、タイからの入国者数は大幅に増加している。

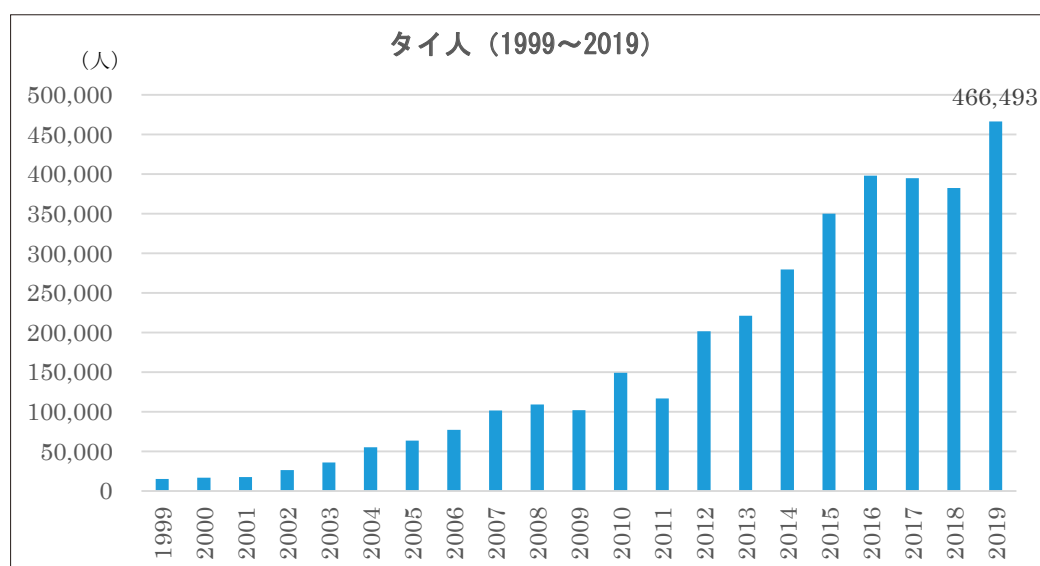


図9 タイ人のカンボジア入国者数 (観光省2020)

#### h) ラオス人 (図10)

ラオスからの入国者は2007年から急激に増えたことがわかる。2009年に初めて入国者数のトップ10入りし、2014年には中国人、韓国人に次ぐ3位となり10%のシェアを占めるまでになった。2019年の時点でもタイ人に追い越され4位となったがシェアは6%を占めている。

なお2019年の国籍別の入国者数の上位10カ国を前年のデータ添えて示したものが図11である。第1位は中国、2位はベトナム、3位はタイ、4位はラオス、5位は韓国、6位はアメリカ、7位は日本、8位はマレーシア、9位はフランス、10位はイギリスという順である。第1位の中国が全体の36%のシェアを占め圧倒的多数となっている。中国と第2位のベトナムの2カ国だけ

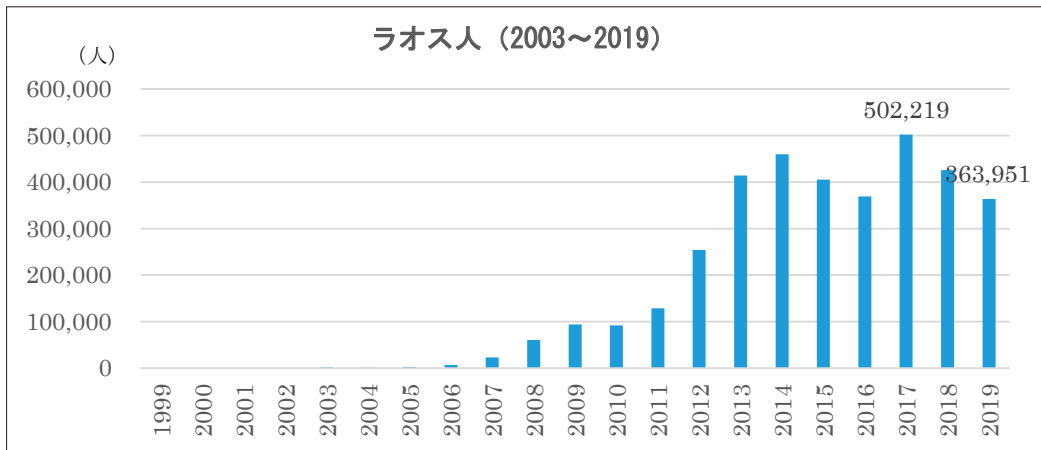


図10 ラオス人のカンボジア入国者数 (観光省2020)

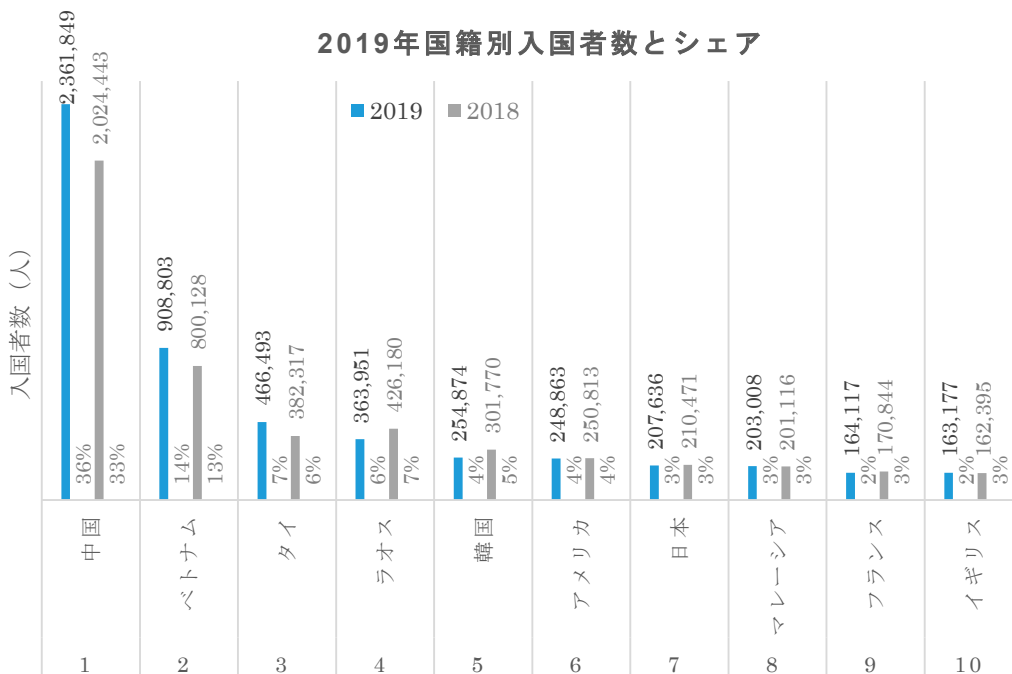


図11 2019年国籍別入国者数 (観光省2020)

で全体の50%を占める。過去数年間における中国人の急増でこれまでのバランスが大きく変わりつつある。第2～4位を、カンボジアと国境を接するベトナム、タイ、ラオスが占めるようになってきたことは、地域社会経済の発展を示すと考えられる。

以上は、観光省のカンボジア入国者統計であり、シェムリアップやアンコール遺跡群を訪れる観光客数を直接的に示すものではない。またカンボジア国内に確かにいるはずである北朝鮮国籍者の記載が見られないことから、外交官は網羅していない。入国者数と遺跡チケット購入者数の間にはある程度一定の相関関係が見られ、入国者数を把握することで、アンコール遺跡訪問者数を予測できる指標になりうることを以降の項で示す。

## 2-2. アンコール遺跡チケットの販売

遺跡チケットの販売統計は、2010年から2015年までの分はアプサラ機構がウェブに公表するもの、2016年以降から2020年7月までの分はアンコールエンタープライズが公表する詳細なデータを基として独自に集計を行った。2010年から2019年までの10年間を平均すると、入国者のうち、約45%がチケットを購入しているという計算となる。ただし2019年の割合は33%と減少しており、アンコール観光目的以外の入国者が増えていることがうかがえる（図12・13）。入国者数の伸びがアンコール観光の収益増加には必ずしも繋がっていないのである。あるいは観光で訪れる目的地がアンコール遺跡群以外に分散化が進み多様化していると解釈することも可能である。

2019年の年間統計によると、国籍別のチケット購入者数は図14のとおりである。第1位の中国人が全体の40%のシェアを占め、第2位のアメリカ人は7%であり、圧倒的多数といえる。

また、チケット購入者数と売り上げの関係（図15）を見ると、2017年に売り上げが急上昇するが、これはチケット料金の値上げが大きな要因である。値上げの内容は後に述べる。購入者数、売り上げともに2018年をピークとして2019年には前年比15%減となっている。この理由については、チケットの値上げが一要因かもしれないし、中国人の増加による観光地としての価値が下がった面も否定できない。訪問希望者が一巡し、リピーターになっていないともいえるかもしれない

年	入国者数 (人)	購入者数 (人)	購入者／入国者 の割合(%)	購入者数の前年比 (%)	売り上げ (US\$)	売り上げの前年比 (%)
2010	2,508,289	1,155,055	46%	-	33,113,500	-
2011	2,881,862	1,442,611	50%	125%	42,185,300	127%
2012	3,584,307	1,808,623	50%	125%	51,319,180	122%
2013	4,210,165	2,021,715	48%	112%	57,687,680	112%
2014	4,502,775	2,350,937	52%	116%	59,342,000	103%
2015	4,775,231	2,100,018	44%	89%	60,053,700	101%
2016	5,011,712	2,197,254	44%	105%	62,582,200	104%
2017	5,602,157	2,457,023	44%	112%	107,976,439	173%
2018	6,201,077	2,590,815	42%	105%	116,646,685	108%
2019	6,610,592	2,205,697	33%	85%	98,988,894	85%

図12 入国者数とチケット購入者数、同売上（2010-2019）

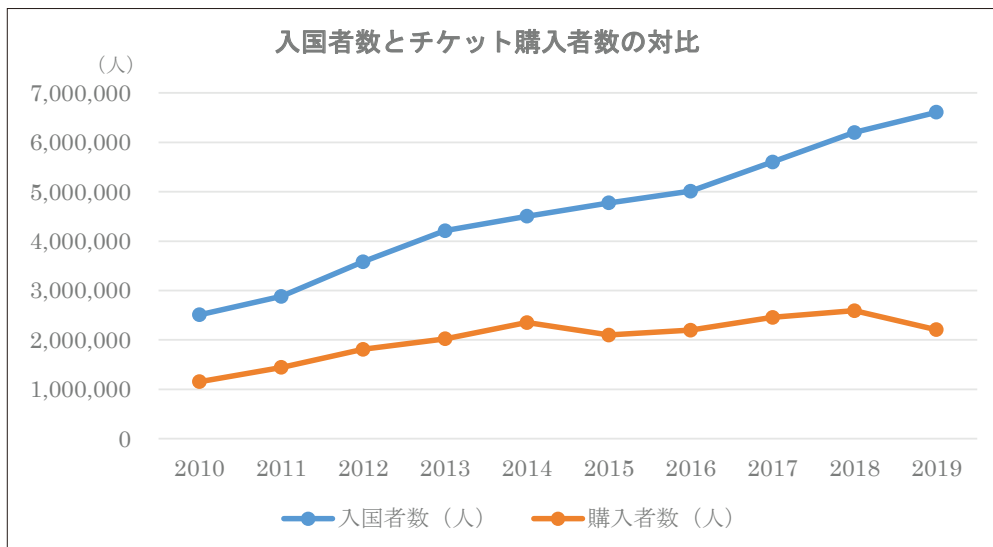


図13 入国者数とチケット購入者数

2019年の国籍別チケット購入者数（順位）

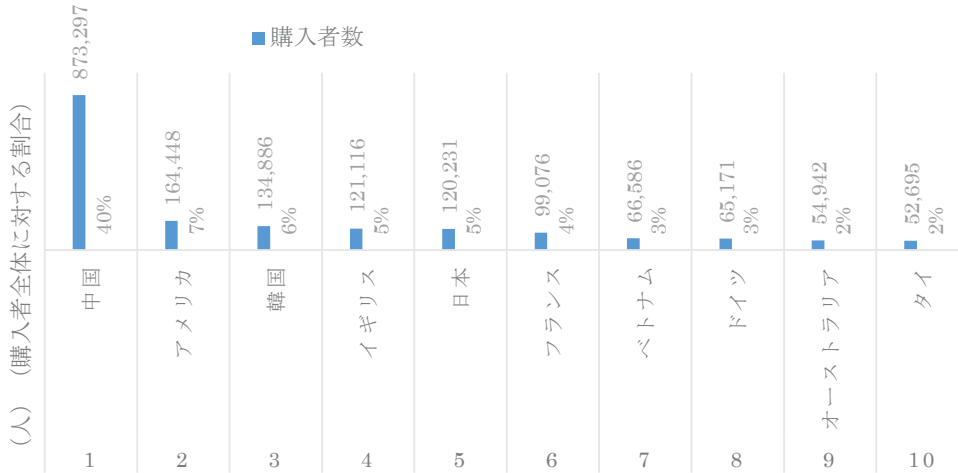


図14 2019年の国別チケット購入者数とその割合

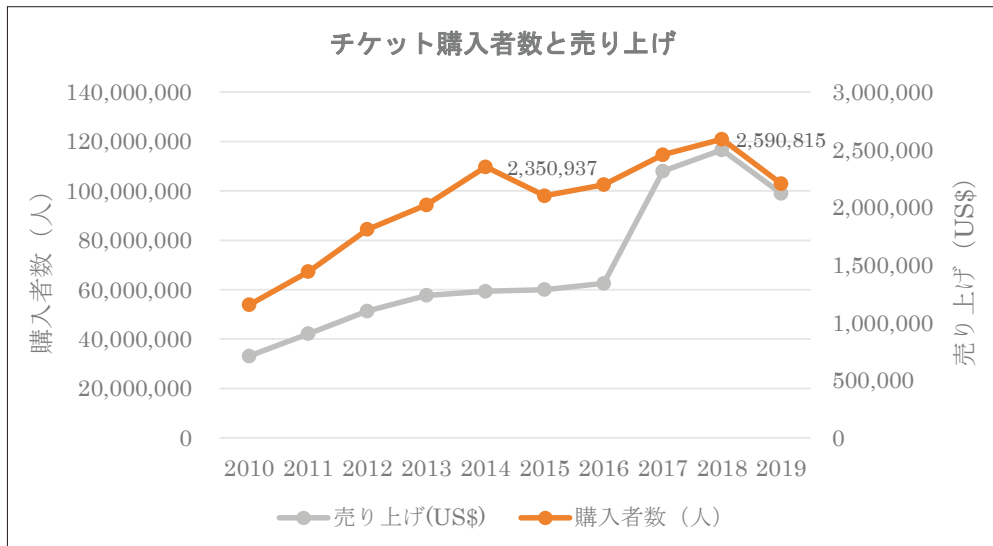


図15 チケット購入者数と売り上げの相関関係

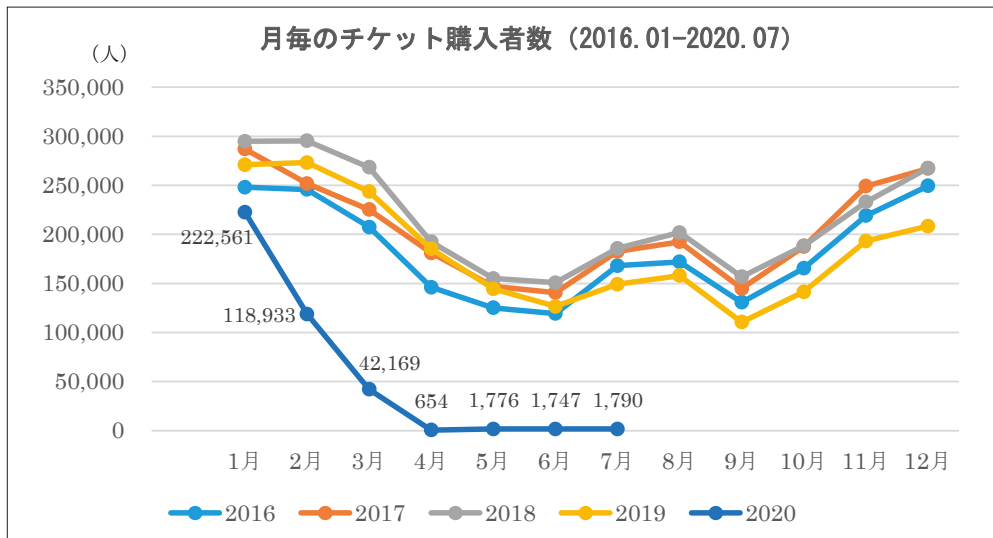


図16 過去5年間の月毎のチケット購入者数

い。後の項で述べるが2020年の新型コロナウイルスの影響は一連の流れの中で起きており、観光客の減少をすべて新型コロナウイルスに起因すると結論付けるのは誤りであることをあらかじめ指摘しておく。

チケット統計の年間の変化を見ると、4～9月までの閑散期と10～3月までの繁忙期に大きく二分できる。閑散期においても7～8月には一時的に数が伸びる。繁忙期ではとくに12～2月に最大を迎える傾向が顕著である。図16を見ると新型コロナウイルスの影響でチケット購入者が激減する様子がよくわかる。新型コロナウイルスの影響は1月末から見られ、2月、3月と減り続け3月末に底をつき99%減の状態となり、4月以降はほぼ99%減のまま7月まで変わっていない。

### 2-3. アンコール遺跡チケットの販売組織

ここで一度遺跡チケットの販売組織について振り返ってみたい。1999年4月以前のアンコール遺跡チケット（写真9A）販売は、観光省が行っていた。販売所は町からアンコール・ワットへ向かう道路沿いの小さな小屋（写真5）であり、販売とチェックの双方を一カ所で行っていた。その後1999年5月より、遺跡チケットの販売管理はソカ・ホテル<sup>14)</sup>が行うことになった。新しい券売所（写真6）がアンコール・ワットへ向かう道路沿い、旧券売所の少し南の保護ゾーン内に位置する場所に新規に建設された。チケット料金は、1日20ドルであった。後に3日券（40ドル）、7日券（60ドル）という仕組みが追加された。

2016年1月1日より、それまで17年間続いたソカ・ホテルによるチケット（写真9B）販売が終わり、カンボジア政府アンコールエンタープライズ<sup>15)</sup>が業務を継承した。2016年4月7日から券売所が場所を変え、60m沿いのキョンジュ地区<sup>16)</sup>に新たに建設された大型施設（写真7、8）に移った。北朝鮮が建設したパノラマ博物館<sup>17)</sup>の前を車が通過する動線には不自然さが残るが、水面下での交渉で紆余曲折があったことを思わせる。

その後2017年2月1日より大幅な値上げ（写真9C）が行われ、90年代より20年以上変わっていなかった料金体系が大きく変化した。1日券（37ドル、85%上昇）、3日券（62ドル、55%上昇）、7日券（72ドル、20%上昇）となった。各券種共通で販売額の内2ドルはジャヤヴァルマン7世子供病院<sup>18)</sup>への強制寄付<sup>19)</sup>との設定も新たに加わった。

なお遺跡修復関係者には、無料で発行される遺跡入場パス（特別年間パス）がある（写真10）。

### 2-4. アンコール遺跡チケット購入者数の国籍別の動向

アンコール遺跡チケットの購入者数につき、2016年から2019年までの4年間の推移を、2019年の購入者数上位6カ国（中国、アメリカ、韓国、イギリス、日本、フランス）とカンボジアと国境を接するベトナム・タイ・ラオスについて国籍別に見てみたい。またその際同時に入国者数を盛り込んだ図表を作成し動向分析の指標にしたものが以下である。

#### a) 中国人（購入者数：1位、入国者数：1位）

中国人については、過去4年間の統計を見ると他国と比較して特異な傾向が読み取れる。入国者数は急激に増加し3倍近くとなった。一方でアンコール遺跡チケット購入者数は2018年の112万人をピークとして2019年には減少に転じ3割近く減っている。入国者数に対するチケット購入



者の割合は2016年の80%から減少を続け2019年には37%となった。旅行目的以外の入国者が急増していることが分かる。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	830,003	1,210,782	2,024,443	2,361,849
チケット購入(人)	667,285	910,107	1,123,597	873,297
購入割合	80%	75%	56%	37%

図17

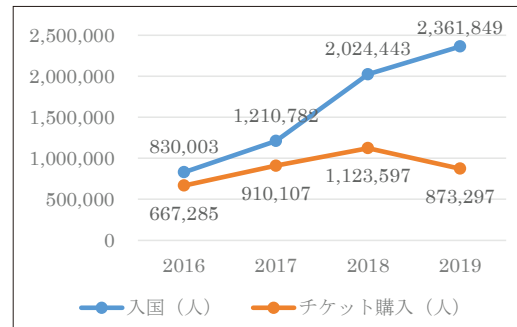


図18

#### b) アメリカ人 (購入者数：2位、入国者数：6位)

アメリカ人は入国者数とチケット購入者数の双方が非常に安定的である。

6割以上がアンコール観光をしている。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	238,658	256,544	250,813	248,863
チケット購入(人)	154,691	155,414	166,974	164,448
購入割合	65%	61%	67%	66%

図19

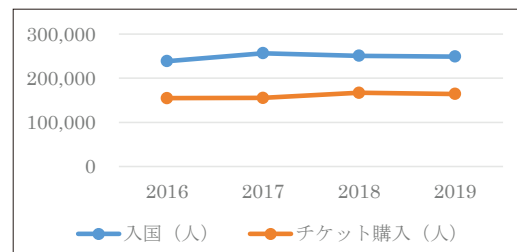


図20

#### c) 韓国人 (購入者数：3位、入国者数：5位)

韓国人は入国者数、チケット購入者数共に微減が続いている。

チケット購入者の割合は微減が続いているが、約6割がアンコール観光をしている。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	357,194	345,081	301,770	254,874
チケット購入(人)	246,610	246,535	184,395	134,886
購入割合	69%	71%	61%	53%

図21

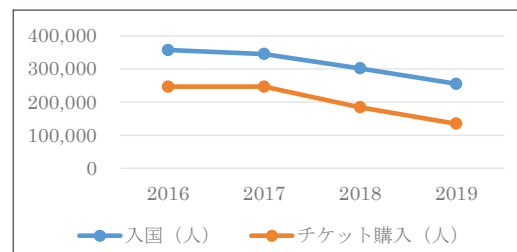


図22

#### d) イギリス人 (購入者数：4位、入国者数：10位)

イギリス人も非常に安定した傾向を示している。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	159,489	171,162	162,395	163,177
チケット購入(人)	125,999	138,972	134,189	121,116
購入割合	79%	81%	83%	74%

図23

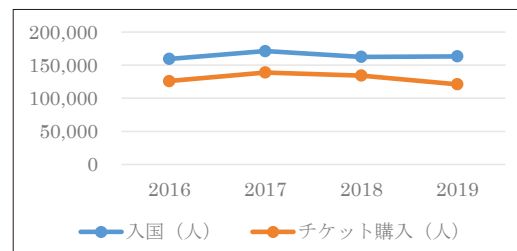


図24

約8割がアンコール観光をするという高い水準を保っている。

e) 日本人（購入者数：5位、入国者数：7位）

日本人も安定した傾向を示している。あえていうと、ここ数年における観光業界における日本人マーケットは伸び悩んでいる。チケット購入者の割合は微減傾向を示しており、観光目的以外のビジネス目的の入国者の割合が増えていることを統計（図25、26）が裏付けている。しかしなお6割の日本人がアンコール観光目的である。

年間を通じた日本人の統計（図27）を見ると、11月から3月までの乾季に多くが訪問する。4月は新年度が始まる季節であり、また現地の酷暑期でもあることから旅行を組みにくい事情があり減少する。5月から10月までの雨季は全体傾向としては減少するが、8月の夏休みに訪問者が一気に増える。また月ごとの統計には表現されないが、ゴールデンウィークなどの特殊な長期休暇にはイレギュラーに突出して訪問者が増えるのは例年の傾向といえる。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	191,577	203,373	210,471	207,636
チケット購入(人)	125,410	124,550	120,072	120,231
購入割合	65%	61%	57%	58%

図25

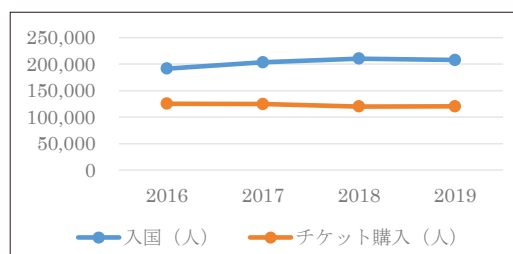


図26

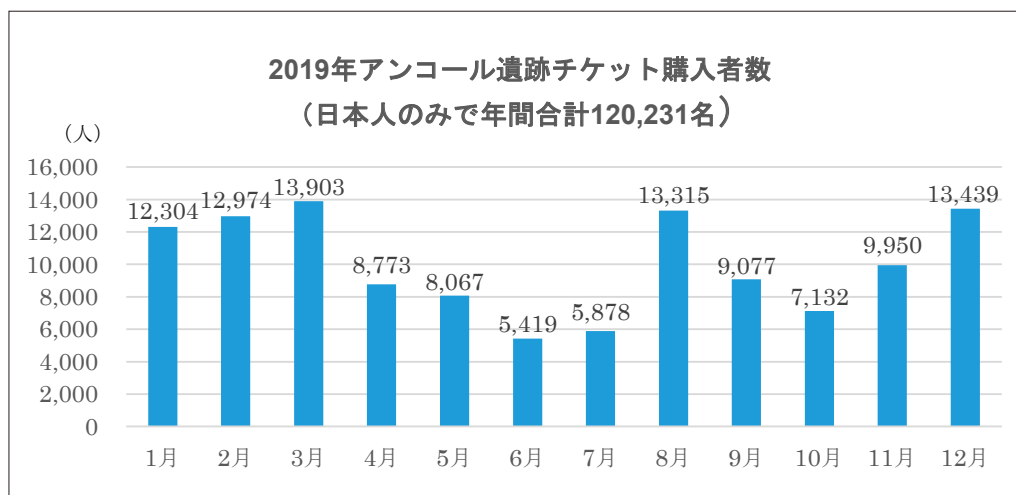


図27 日本人の2019年各月のチケット購入者数（アンコールエンタープライズ統計を基に筆者作成）

f) フランス人（購入者数：6位、入国者数：9位）

フランス人は安定的な傾向が見られ、遺跡訪問目的が6割以上である。旧宗主国としてアンコール観光においてもう少し存在感があると思われたが、意外と絶対数は多くはない。ただしコロナ禍の中では2月以降は常にチケット購入者数2位の立場を保っている点は非常に興味深い。安定した在住者がおり、文化への関心が高く家族連れなどでの訪問が増えたためと思われる。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	150,294	166,356	170,844	164,117
チケット購入(人)	99,180	100,800	105,446	99,076
購入割合	66%	61%	62%	60%

図28

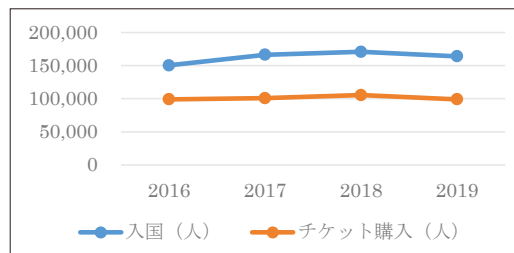


図29

### g) ベトナム人 (購入者数：7位、入国者数：2位)

カンボジアと国境を長く接するベトナム人の傾向はここ数年非常に安定的である。

入国者数に比しアンコール観光に来る人数の割合は10%未満と低いのが特徴である。10年ほど前に入国者が急増した頃、アンコール・ワット前で急にベトナム語が聴こえる割合が増えたことを記憶している。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	959,663	835,355	800,128	908,803
チケット購入(人)	68,496	65,675	66,645	66,586
購入割合	7%	8%	8%	7%

図30

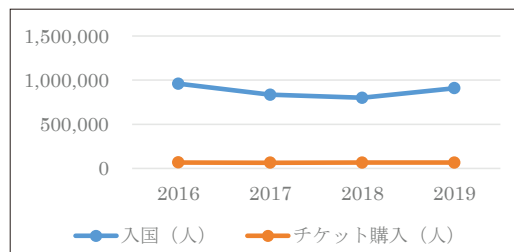


図31

### h) タイ人 (購入者数：10位、入国者数：3位)

タイとカンボジアの政治的な関係は、しばしば往来者数に影響する。近年両国の関係が比較的安定していることから、タイからの入国者数は過去10年で急増している。一方で遺跡観光においては減少傾向にあるものの一定数を確保している。

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	398,081	394,934	382,317	466,493
チケット購入(人)	85,809	67,335	65,947	52,695
購入割合	22%	17%	17%	11%

図32

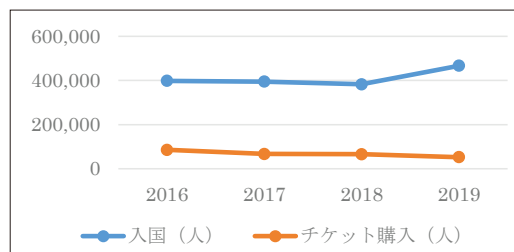


図33

### i) ラオス人 (購入者数：50位、入国者数：4位)

ラオスからの入国者数は過去10年で急増した。一方でアンコール遺跡観光する人の割合は1%未満

年	2016	2017	2018	2019
入国(人)	369,335	502,219	426,180	363,951
チケット購入(人)	1,857	1,881	880	1,274
購入割合	0.50%	0.37%	0.21%	0.35%

図34

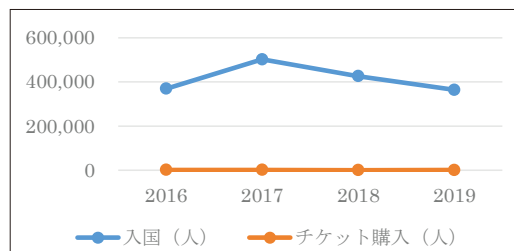


図35



写真1 世界文化エキスポの両国（カンボジア、韓国）マスコット（2006年11月）



写真2 ベトナムからのバス（2013年2月11日）



写真3 プノンペンの中国資本による高層ビル（2019年4月6日）



写真4 シアヌークヴィルのライオン像の背後には大型ビルが建設中（2019年3月10日）



写真5 1999年以前の券売所（2016年4月8日）



写真6 1999～2016年3月までの券売所（2016年4月8日）



写真7 2016年4月以降の券売所（2016年4月8日）



写真8 券売所（左）と北朝鮮の博物館（右）（2016年4月8日）

満と極小である。これは経済的事情を反映しているだろうし、国境周辺でのビジネス目的の入国ではないかと考えられる。先に述べたベトナム人、タイ人の例とは大きく異なる点である。

《各種入場チケット》

写真9 遺跡チケットの変遷



A 観光省発行（1995年7月6日付）、狐塚芳明氏提供



B ソカ・ホテル発行（2015年7月5日付）、原田ゆか氏提供



C 値上げ後の遺跡チケット  
アンコールエンタープライズ発行（2017年2月9日付）、横須賀愛氏提供

写真10 遺跡入場バスの変遷



A アンコール保存事務所発行  
（有効期間：1999年3月4日～同年12月31日）



B アプサラ機構発行  
（有効期間：1999年7月12日～2000年7月12日）

写真11 遺跡入場カード



アンコールエンタープライズ発行  
（有効期間：2020年5月17日～同年11月17日）、  
加藤大地氏提供

### 3. シェムリアップにおける新型コロナウイルスの影響

カンボジアにおける1人目の感染者が確認された1月27日から8月までの感染者数累計をグラフ化すると図36のとおりとなる。詳細の事情を度外視し3月後半を第一波とすると、次に7月後半から8月前半を仮に第二波とする二度に区分できる感染者の増加時期があったことが分かる。少なくとも国内において感染が確認された感染者数の統計からはそのように読み取ることが自然である。8月31日現在の国内における累計感染者数は274人とどまり、死者は出ていない。また感染者のうち9割以上が国外からの入国者であり、市中感染は起きていない。公式発表における統計的事実を見る限り、カンボジア国内における新型コロナウイルスの感染予防対策は結果としてこれまで成功しているといつてよい。このことを念頭におき、1月からの国内の状況につき、以下シェムリアップの事例を中心に振り返ってみたい。

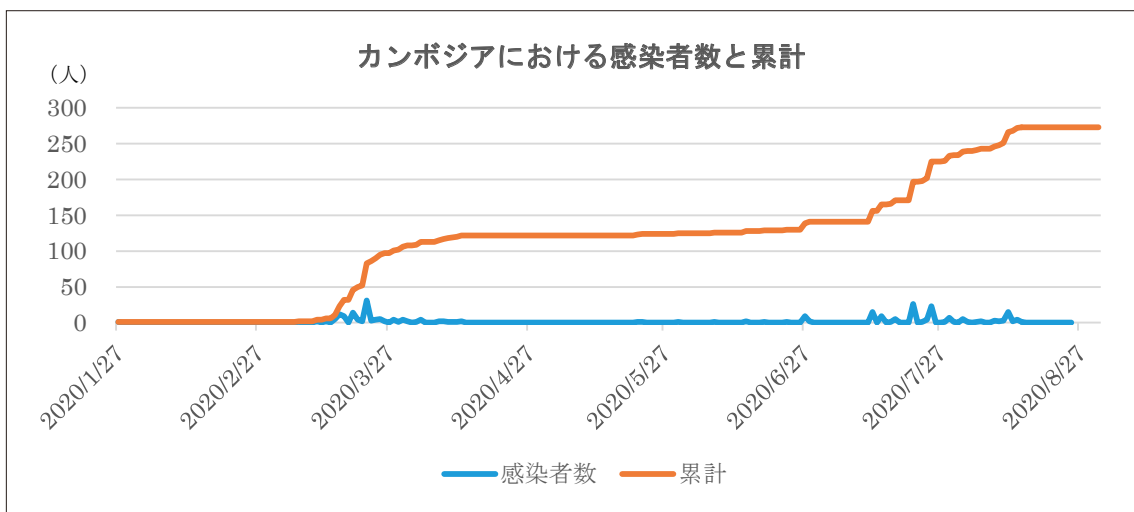


図36 カンボジアにおける感染者数とその累計

カンボジアにおいては1月末より世界各国同様に新型コロナウイルスの影響を受けている。3月以降は研究者の入国も実質的に難しくなり、国外よりカンボジア国内の正しい状況を把握することが困難になったと考えられる。そこで本稿ではカンボジアのとくにシェムリアップにおける新型コロナウイルスの影響を具体的に記録することで、後世の検証に資することを意図したい。

#### 3-1. 国内の感染者発生状況

##### a) 初期：1月27日～3月6日（感染者1名でその後変化なし）

カンボジアにおける最初の感染者は1月23日に武漢から直行便でシアヌークヴィル入りした中国人男性で、27日に陽性が判明した。中国国内では1月23日に武漢が都市封鎖された。カンボジア国内では、その後39日間は新規感染者は確認されなかった。この間フンセン首相は訪中し、2月5日には北京で習近平主席と面会するなど、政府として大きな危機感を持っていなかったことが伺える。2月13日には各国で寄港を拒否されたクルーズ船ウエステルダム号がシアヌークヴィル港に入港し、翌14日には一部乗客の下船を許し、フンセン首相がマスク未着用で迎えるなど、世間を驚かせた。しかしその後も感染者は確認されず3月を迎えた。3月3日にシェムリアップ

を發ち日本（名古屋）に帰国した日本人男性の陽性が翌4日に確認されたことでカンボジア国内、とくにシェムリアップでは緊張感が一機に高まった。筆者の肌感覚ではこの日以降カンボジア人の意識が変化し始めた。つまり外国人に対し警戒心を示し始めた印象がある。

**b) 第一波の感染拡大期：3月7日～4月12日（第一波122人目感染まで）**

国内1人目の中国人男性の陽性が確認されてから40日後、3月7日にカンボジア人初の陽性（国内陽性2人目）が確認された。この男性が先に帰国し日本で陽性が確認された日本人の濃厚接触者であったことより、日本人男性より感染したと考えられる。

アンコール・ワットのあるシェムリアップ日本人社会においては大きな衝撃となった。またこれを契機としてカンボジア政府もこれまでの比較的緩い対応から舵を切り、首都プノンペンとシェムリアップ市の学校を即休校とし、4月13～16日のカンボジア正月に際して予定されていたアンコールソクランのイベントの中止を即決した。この時の政府の対応は非常に機敏なものであったことを特記しておきたい。3日後の3月10日には西参道の修復作業員の出勤管理における指紋認証は感染予防の観点より停止され、写真撮影に切り替わった。同日某スーパーでは体温検査で37度以上で入店を拒否、マスクの価格上昇、コメの買い占め、という状況が観察された。

3月11日にはWHOがパンデミックを宣言した。3月15日頃から感染者が急増し、16～22日の1週間に二桁増の日が3日間あった。3月16日には全国において学校が閉鎖された。3月17日からはイタリア、スペイン、ドイツ、フランス、アメリカからの入国が禁止され、翌日にイランも追加された。17日には全国の娯楽施設（カラオケ、クラブ、ディスコ）や博物館に対しても閉鎖命令が出された。3月22日にシアヌークヴィルにおけるフランス人の集団感染による31名の新規感染者増で1日当たりの最大数を数えた。累積感染者数が10名を超え11名となった3月15日から、累積感染者数が100名を超えた28日までわずか13日間であった。30日からは到着ビザ、Eビザ、観光ビザの発給が停止され、31日からは陰性証明がないと入国できない措置が取られるなど、3月後半はめまぐるしい動きがあった。

**c) 感染安定期：4月13日～5月16日（第一波感染者全員の陰性確認まで）**

4月13日以降は新規感染者が出ないまま1カ月が経過した。5月16日には、患者の全員が治癒・退院し、国内に陽性者が1人もいないことが発表された。特筆すべき事項として、多くの患者がその後治癒し死者が1名も出ていないことが挙げられる。隣国のベトナムでも死者は長らく発生しなかったし、ラオスでは現在まで死者は出ていないことから、何らかの共通する環境条件の影響があるのではないかと考えられる。本件については今後科学的な検証が行われ、その理由が明らかになり新型コロナウイルスの予防対策への貢献となることが期待される。

**d) 感染第二波への警戒期：5月17日～7月前半（国内陽性者ゼロ以降）**

国内における陽性者がゼロとなって後、5月21日には海外からの帰国者から陽性者が見つかると、その後週に1人程度のペースで陽性者が確認され、7月前半までは散発的に感染者が見つかる状態が続いた。この間、感染者のほぼすべてが海外からの帰国者であり市中感染は起きていないと考えてよい。この事実より国内における新型コロナウイルスへの警戒感は弱まり、6月以降マス

ク着用者の数は激減し、市民生活はほぼ平常通りという状態となっている。

**e) 感染第二波的傾向を示す時期：7月後半から8月前半まで**

7月後半から感染者の確認数が増えた。ただしその大半は海外からの帰国者であった。カンボジア政府は感染者の確認数の多いインドネシアとマレーシアからのフライト受け入れを8月1日から停止した。8月13日からはフィリピンからのフライト受け入れも停止している。その後カンボジア政府の決定により、正月休みの代休として8月17日～21日までの5日間は連休となった。前後の週末を含めると最大で9連休となり、カンボジア版 Go To キャンペーンの様相を呈した(写真31)。観光省発表によると、8月17～21日までの5日間に国内においてカンボジア人約140万人が移動した。このことで国内における感染拡大が心配されたが、そのような報道は目に見えない。

**3-2. アンコール遺跡群の観光への影響**

外国人旅行者については、遺跡チケット販売の統計を詳細に見ると、1月末からの減少傾向がはっきりとわかる。チケットの購入者数は図16にあるように新型コロナウイルスの影響で2月以降激減し、4月(654人)に底(写真18～20)をついた後も、5月(1,776人)、6月(1,747人)、7月(1,790人)と通常に比し99%減の状況で低値安定となっていることがわかる。今後については、国際線の再開状況にもよるが、タイやベトナムなどの近隣諸国や世界の感染状況を見る限り、劇的な変化や改善は見込めないと考えられ、当面恐らく年内はこの状況が継続するものと予測される。

4～7月に共通していえることとして、99%減の状況下においてもなお、中国人がシェア第1位であり、フランス人が第2位である点は興味深い。両国とも国内の在住者の訪問が多いと思われる。実際アンコール・ワットにいくと、4月や5月には中国人数名のグループ(写真24、26、28、29)による遺跡見学が行われていたことを実見している。フランス人の場合は、小さなお子さんを伴う夫婦による観光などの事例(写真30)が散見された。

アンコールエンタープライズは5月22日に在住外国人向けに半年間200ドルというパス(写真11)を発行する旨を公式に発表した。一日券37ドルでは高すぎて遺跡へ行かなかった在住者の中には、このパスを購入して、遺跡に頻繁に通う人が増えた。

一方でカンボジア人の参拝者については、入場無料であることから正確な統計はないが、3月末の約1週間は、遺跡から人の姿が消えた。外国人だけではなく、カンボジア人が恐れをなして外出を控えたのである。西参道前は静まり返り、西参道の終点付近ではいつもは見かけない鳥が羽を休める姿が見られた。3月25日午後3時頃にアンコール・ワットの内参道を撮影した写真がある(写真12)。本来であれば夕日を見る時間帯であり、混みあっているべき内参道に人の姿はなかった。しかもこの時はとくに人が居なくなるのを待つ必要もなく、人の居ないアンコール・ワットを撮影することができた。この光景は1993～4年頃の1年間に1～2.5万人の外国人が訪問していた状況が再現されたようで極めて稀な光景であった。

西参道の修復工事については、この間支障なく進めることができた。修復工事のために一時的に通行止めの措置をとっている西参道には作業員が30～40名ほどいた。一方で通常であれば多く



の観光客が通行するはずの仮設の浮き栈橋には人の姿が見えなくなった。ただし外国人の観光に際してのチケット販売とチェックの業務は、一時も中断されることなく継続されたことを明記しておきたい。

### 3-3. カンボジア人の新しい動き

3月末に遺跡から人の姿が消える一方で、少数の若者たちはアンコール・ワットやバイヨンで自撮り写真（写真14、15）に興じ、恐らくSNSにアップしたと思われる。その後4月（写真18、19）に入ると、外国人の姿は消えたままであったが、一部のカンボジア人が、三密を回避できる場所として、遺跡を訪れるようになった。カンボジア人の家族連れが数名から10名以上の単位でアンコール詣でをする姿が多く見られるようになった（イメージ写真25）。他方、自転車に乗り遺跡地域を訪れるカンボジア人（写真21、23、27）がこの頃から急に増えていった。この傾向は正月に一度ピークを迎え、その後再度下火となったものの、大きな傾向としてはその後も増え続けていった（写真22、25）。当初は男性中心の自転車ブームであったが、その後5月になると若い女性ら（写真23）が自転車に乗る姿がみられるようになりブームは急激に加速していった。6月に入り、新型コロナウイルスの影響の長期化がわかってくると、旅行業界は国内需要の開拓に向けて舵を切り始めた。その一つは郊外のクーレン山でのキャンプなどのアウトドアであった。

### 3-4. 市内の様子

WHOがパンデミックを宣言した3月11日頃より国内の緊張感は高まって行った。カンボジア人は新型コロナウイルスを極度に恐れ、自主的に不要不急の外出を控えるようになった。同時に食品デリバリー業が急伸し、パンダなどの配送バイク（写真16、17）が市内に目立つようになった。本来であれば夜に最も外国人旅行者が集まるパブストリートは、3月末から4月にかけて漆黒の闇と化した（写真13、20）。

## 4. 新型コロナウイルス感染状況のカンボジアとアセアン+3の比較

8月27日現在におけるアセアン+3諸国の感染状況<sup>20)</sup>を表にすると図37となる。

フィリピン、インドネシア、マレーシアの感染者数は5桁となっており非常に多い。しかし6万人近い感染者がいるシンガポールの死者数が27名と極端に少ないのは何故だろうか。

その一方で、ミャンマー、カンボジア、ブルネイ、ラオスの感染者数は3桁以下と少ない。カンボジアとラオスは現在まで死者が出ていない。ベトナムも7月30日以前までは死者ゼロであった。

各国の人口、国土面積、気候、生活、宗教などの違いにより感染諸状況に差異が生じると考えられ、これらを科学的に分析することは今後の感染対策に寄与するであろう。また一方で医療体制、検査数の違いも統計に大きく影響すると考えられる。当然ながら情報管理などの体制は実態をどこまで正確に表しているかに決定的に影響を及ぼす。

カンボジアにおいては、感染の爆発的な拡大がなぜ起きていないのだろうか。第一に、家庭や会社、店舗におけるエアコンの普及率が低く、「密閉」という状況が生まれにくい。巨大なデパートなどもそれほど多くは存在しないし、国民の一定層以外は利用しない。移動も密閉状態を生

む電車やバスではなく、自家用車やバイク、自転車あるいはトラックの荷台などで通気性の良い環境が多い。第二に国外から入国する外国人が主たる初期の感染源と仮定すると、一般に外国人と地元民は買い物や食事においても、大きく趣向が分かれており、交わる率が少なかったことが考えられる。第三に国土面積に比し人口が少なく、人口密度が低いことで「密集」が生まれにくい。第四に人口構成比をみると、症状が現れにくい若年人口の割合が多く、重症化しやすい高齢人口が少ないことがある。第五に、新型コロナウイルスが高温多湿や紫外線に弱いと仮定するとカンボジアでは半屋外の生活者が多く、ウイルスが長く生存しにくい環境であったかもしれない。第六に、カンボジア政府は3月7日以降は対応が素早く全国の学校やカラオケ、運動施設などを早期に閉鎖し、措置を徹底したことで、感染原因を減らすことに成功したことが考えられる。第七に、カンボジアにおいては「本当は感染爆発が起きていて、検査数が少なく把握できていないか政府が隠蔽しているのではないか」という懸念を筆者や一部のカンボジア人は当初から抱いていた。しかしながら「原因不明の死者が出た」などの噂もなく、必ずしもこれを疑う根拠はむしろないと今は考えている。

アセアン諸国で感染が爆発した国々についての詳細で正確な知見を持っていないが、例えばインドネシアやマレーシアでは宗教行事に由来して感染者が爆発的に拡大した可能性が高い。またシンガポールにおいては密集して暮らす労働者が感染拡大の温床になったといわれている。ベトナムで感染者や死者が少ないのは、ごく初期より政府による厳格な対応をとったからではないかと考えられる。

	国名	感染者数	世界順位(感染者数)	死者数	回復者数
1	フィリピン	202,361	22	3,137	133,460
2	インドネシア	160,165	23	6,944	115,409
3	中国	85,004	35	4,634	80,044
4	日本	66,453	44	1,252	53,482
5	シンガポール	56,495	46	27	54,971
6	韓国	18,706	74	313	14,461
7	マレーシア	9,291	89	125	8,978
8	タイ	3,404	120	58	3,237
9	ベトナム	1,034	159	30	632
10	ミャンマー	580	167	6	345
11	カンボジア	273	181	0	264
12	ブルネイ	144	189	3	139
13	ラオス	22	202	0	21
	アセアン+3 合計	603,933		16,529	
	世界合計	24,176,836		825,696	
	世界の中での割合	2.5%		2.0%	

図37 アセアン+3の感染状況（8月27日14時更新 NHK 特設サイト）

## 5. まとめ

### 5-1. アンコール観光の動向

2013年以降常に年間200万人以上の外国人が遺跡チケットを購入し、カンボジア人を含めれば、恐らく少なくとも年間300~400万人の観光客が毎年アンコール・ワットを訪れている。訪問者の合計は、平均で1日1万人前後、宗教行事等で訪問者が多い日には1日2万人以上が訪れている

と推測される。

2020年の新型コロナウイルスの影響によりこの構図は大きく崩れた。ウイルス問題の終息とともに外国人観光客の客足は回復すると考えられるが、原状回復には少なくとも数年単位での時間が必要なことが徐々にわかってきた。

他方でこの20年間カンボジア人の観光客数は一貫して伸びてきた肌感覚がある。国内のインフラ整備が進み経済事情も好転してきたことにより国内を大移動してアンコール・ワットを見ることはすでにこの10年来の一つの流行となっている感がある。

今回の新型コロナウイルスの問題に際しては、感染源と認識されている外国人訪問者が減ったことや、三密を回避できる感染の恐れが少ない屋外の遺跡であること、学校が休校となり子供たちが時間をもてあましたこと等がカンボジア人のアンコール・ワット行きを後押ししたと考えられる。若者たちがSNSにアップする画像や動画などがこの動きをさらに加速させていることは間違いない。今後も引き続きこれまで以上のカンボジア人がアンコール遺跡群を訪問することになる。カンボジアの国旗に描かれる文化遺産を多くの同国人が訪問することは大変に喜ばしいことといえる。祝祭日や連休など特定の期間に大挙して訪れる場合の許容収容人数には一定の限界があると思われるので、管理者であるアプサラ機構はその対応を念頭に取り組むことが今後さらに求められるであろう。

筆者はカンボジア日本人会シムリアップ支部の企画として7月25日（土）17：30～18：30にアンコール・ワット前から生配信（無料）を行った。第3回オンライン交流会「アンコール・ワット生配信～上智大学三輪悟が遺跡を語る」というタイトルで、アンコール・ワットの夕景をライブで配信した。この時ライブで約110名が同時視聴し関心の高さが伺われた。その後8月1日（土）にはJTBとHISがオンラインツアー（有料）を配信し、その後旅行各社はコロナ禍の中の新しいビジネス展開の可能性に邁進していった。

## 5-2. ポストコロナのアンコール観光

新型コロナウイルスの影響によって、外国人観光客の受入れを前提としたアンコール観光に大きく頼ってきたカンボジアの旅行業界は大きな打撃を受けている。当初夏か秋には回復するだろうとの短期終息を見込んでいたがこれは見当が外れた。世界における現在の感染状況を見る限り、ワクチン開発が進み感染抑制に成功し、経済的な裏付けを確保し安心安全な海外旅行が再開されるまでには年単位、あるいは数年単位での時間を要すると今の時点では考えざるを得ない。

今回の危機に際して、ポストコロナのアンコール観光という観点において考慮すべき点をいくつか挙げたい。

### a) 国内需要の喚起

外国人観光客のみに頼る従来の方式を改め、カンボジア人の富裕層を含めた国内需要を見直す好機と考えてみる。コロナ禍の中で、カンボジア人の潜在的需要が想像以上に大きいことがわかった。カンボジアは内戦からの復興を遂げ経済的に豊かになったことは疑う余地がない。次に心の豊かさを求める動きが出ており、コロナ危機を契機として国内需要発掘をさらに進めるべきである。

#### **b) カンボジア人の入場有料化**

アンコール遺跡群の入場料金徴収方式を改め、これまで無料で入場してきたカンボジア人からも一定の料金を徴収できる方式を模索することが必要と考える。現代の仏教寺院が境内にあり、現在の信仰の場としての位置づけも大きいことから、課題があることは承知している。少しずつ議論を深め、時間をかけてでも有料化を実現すべき時が来ている。自国民の信仰心（=寄進する心）を考慮すれば、有料化の実現は必ず成功すると考えられる。安定的な入場料金収入が遺跡の保全に資することを国民に分かりやすく提示することが不可欠である。

#### **c) リスク分散の観点**

2019年のカンボジア入国者数は660万人を超え、うち4割弱の240万人が中国人であった。アンコール観光におけるチケット購入者全220万人のうち、4割の87万人が中国人であり、他の国籍者を大きく引き離し圧倒的多数を占めている。このことから近年のホテル、レストラン等は中国人対応を重視する傾向が進んだことは周知の事実である。しかしながら、先に示したとおり近年中国人入国者に占めるアンコール観光者の割合は大きく減少する傾向にある。一方で日本人や西洋人旅行者は中国人観光客が増えた現状を嫌い、結果としてアンコール観光の人気低下につながっている可能性を否定できない。カンボジア政府や旅行業関係者はこのことを十分に承知の上で、長期戦略を持ち中国人マーケットに対応すべきである。少なくとも中国人に特化したビジネス一辺倒ではリスク集中が過ぎてあまりに危険である。

#### **d) 年間を通じた平均的需要の確保**

カンボジアの気候条件が雨季と乾季で大きく異なることから、繁忙期と閑散期に二分化されることは周知の事実であり、ある程度はやむを得ない。各国の学校の休みに合わせて学生旅行者が増えることは世界共通の事情ともいえる。今後の国内需要を考えると、カンボジアの祝祭日に合わせた突発的な需要の増減が考えられるが、これをいかに年間を通じた平均化したものにするかを考えることに努めたい。2019年の遺跡チケット購入者数の事例をみると、最大の2月（273,259人）と最小の9月（110,677人）では約2.5倍の開きがあり、ホテルやレストランにおいて従業員の安定した雇用確保が難しい状況にある。

#### **e) 遺跡入場収入が遺跡保全に資することの可視化**

2017年のチケット料金の値上げを機に、アンコール遺跡チケットの年間売り上げは3年連続で日本円で100億円を超えた。現状この収益が直接的に遺跡管理に貢献しているかどうかは一般人の目にはわからない。今後カンボジア人の有料化も念頭にもう少し遺跡への貢献を可視化することで、現状の高い入場料金に対する支持意見の醸成が必要になってくるのではないだろうか。2017年の値上げに際してジャヤヴァルマン7世両院への強制寄付がチケット1枚当たり2ドル付与されたが、このくらい分かりやすい可視化が良いと思われる。

#### **f) オンラインツアー**

コロナ禍とその長期化の深刻さを認識した旅行各社は、6月あるいは7月以降こぞってオンラ

インツアーの可能性を模索し、目新しさもありその一部は成功しているように見える。コロナ禍が継続する間は、形式を発展させながら今後も続くと思われる。またコロナが終息した後もオンラインツアーは一定の割合で継続し、実地ツアーと共存するものと考えられる。

#### 追記

本稿は2020年8月末までの状況を基に記し、その後に発生した事象は反映していない。ハンガリー外相がカンボジア出国後のタイで陽性と判明し、接触者が感染した11.3事案や、初の市中感染となった11.28事案などは項を改めて書きたい。



写真12 人の居ないアンコール・ワット（3月25日）



写真13 電飾の消えたパブストリート（3月28日）



写真14 バイヨンでセルフィーに興じる若者（3月29日）



写真15 家族連れ（3月29日）



写真16 フードパンダ配達バイク（4月3日）



写真17 ニャム24配達バイク（8月20日）



写真18 人の居ないアンコール・ワット（4月7日）



写真19 閉じたバンテアイ・クデイ内土産物屋（4月7日）



写真20 電飾ゼロのパブストリート（4月8日）



写真21 遺跡へ向かう自転車の若者（5月3日）



写真22 人の出が増えつつあるアンコール・ワット（5月5日）



写真23 トムへ向かう自転車（5月16日）



写真24 中国人観光客（5月16日）



写真25 増えるカンボジア人観光客（5月18日）



写真26 ガイド付きの中国人観光客（5月30日）



写真27 カンボジア人の自転車の団体（6月5日）



写真28 久しぶりに見た大型バス（6月6日）



写真29 カンボジア人学生を伴う中国人団体（6月6日）



写真30 幼子を連れる西洋人カップル（6月24日）



写真31 正月代休に込み合うパブストリート（8月21日）

## 註

- 1) 2018年トリップアドバイザーによる「Travelers' Choice® awards for the best landmarks in the world」で第1位となった。  
<https://www.tripadvisor.com/blog/best-world-landmarks-famous-attractions-travel-bucket-list/>
- 2) アンコールエンタープライズの統計による。
- 3) カンボジア観光省公表の統計（2020）による。
- 4) 日本大学理工学研究科（修士課程1年）在学中であった1997年10月20日～12月20日まで、指導教官の片桐正夫教授に誘われて上智大学アンコール遺跡国際調査団（団長：石澤良昭教授）建築班のアンコール・ワット西参道調査に初参加した。その後修士課程在学中に計6回の現地調査に参加し計約260日間現地に滞在した。

- 5) 筆者は京都大学東南アジア地域研究研究所のウェブサイトにて5月29日付で「新型コロナウイルス—カンボジアの事例—」と題して寄稿し、カンボジアのシェムリアップにおいて5月までに観察された事象について比較的詳細を記している。  
<https://covid-19chronicles.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/post-048-jp-html/>
- 6) 本稿ではカンボジア観光省が2003～2020年までに作成した18年間分の統計を参考にした。入手した範囲においては1998年以前に關しての国籍別のデータを見つけられなかった。
- 7) 手元の統計資料による。ただし伸びが大きすぎて不自然だと感じる。入手したデータに誤りがある可能性があることを記しておきたい。
- 8) アンコール—慶州（キョンジュ）世界文化エキスポは2006年11月21日から2007年1月9日にかけてシェムリアップの60m 道路北側（現在の遺跡チケット販売所周辺）にて開催された。
- 9) Cambodia Daily 紙（2007年10月10日付）による。
- 10) カンボジアとベトナムは2008年11月4日に二国間のビザ免除協定を結び、同年12月5日より発効した。
- 11) カンボジア国内には少なくとも8カ所の中国が建設した水力発電施設がある。2012年にはポーサート州に建設中の Stung Atay Dam 工事中に死亡事故が発生した。また2015年9月にはカンボート州の Kamchay Hydropower Dam の緊急放流による洪水被害の事例がある。現在カンボジア国内の消費電力の約4割を水力発電に依存するが、2019年は水不足により十分に発電ができなかったことから電力不足に陥り国内各地で停電が多発するという事態もおきており、安全面や環境問題なども含め解決すべき多くの問題を抱えている。
- 12) 首都プノンペンとシアヌークヴィルを結ぶ総長190km の高速道路の建設工事が2019年3月に始まっており、4年間の工期で完成する予定。
- 13) シアヌークヴィルは首都プノンペン市民が週末や休日に日帰りや宿泊を伴い訪問する行楽地として長年一番人気の場所であった。近年の中国人の増加に伴い、物価高騰や治安の悪化を受けて、カンボジア人が「あそこには行きたくない」と公言するようになった。
- 14) アプサラ機構とソカ・ホテルは、1999年4月22日同意書に署名し、総収入の額に関わらず、ソカ・ホテルはアプサラ機構に年間100万米ドルを支払うことになった。2001年1月1日からは総収益が年間300万米ドルを超えるとアプサラ機構に70%、それ以下だと折半することになった。
- 15) カンボジアの観光省と財務省から成る組織。当初アプサラ機構も入るとの話もあったが、結論としては除外された経緯がある。
- 16) 2006年11月21日にアンコール—慶州世界文化エキスポ開会式が開催された。韓国のノムヒョン大統領とカンボジアのフンセン首相が出席し盛大な開会式を行った。式の演出としてアンコール地域の観光用の象が出演し、カンボジア空軍のパラシュート部隊が会場に降下するなど、筆者の知る限り過去20年間におけるシェムリアップ開催のイベントとしては最大規模であった。このイベントにちなんでこの地区に「キョンジュ」という愛称がついた。愛称はシェムリアップの地元民に広く知られているが、愛称の由来についてはほとんど知られていない。
- 17) 2016年12月4日に落成した博物館。北朝鮮が2,400万ドルを拠出して建設された。国連の制裁決議と関連し、館入り口の掲示によると2019年11月25日から閉館となっている。
- 18) 1999年3月にスイス人の医師 Beat Richner 氏により建設された子供病院。15歳以下の子供は無料で診察を受けることができる。シェムリアップ州のみならず近隣の他州からも多くの子供が診察を受けにくる。創設者の Beat Richner 氏は2018年9月に亡くなった（享年71歳）。
- 19) アンコールエンタープライズ統計によると、2017年2月から2020年3月までに7,350,811人分、合計14,701,622ドル（日本円で16億円超）がジャヤヴァルマン7世病院への寄付として扱われている。
- 20) 8月27日付NHKニュースサイトに掲載されている統計より。<https://www3.nhk.or.jp/news/special/coronavirus/world-data/>



編 集

Editor

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**カンボジアの文化復興(31)**

——アンコール遺跡および伝統文化復興の研究・調査

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