

BANTEAY SREY: A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE AND ITS BUILDER

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ปราสาทบันทายศรีสร้างขึ้นในคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ ๑๐ โดยพระราชกรูของพระเจ้าชัยวรมันที่ ๕ (ครองราชย์ระหว่างค.ศ.๙๖๘-๑๐๐๑) ซึ่งรู้จักกันในนามว่า ชัยฉวราหะ ถึงแม้ปราสาทนี้จะไม่ได้อสร้างโดยพระมหากษัตริย์ แต่ก็มีคุณค่าด้านศิลปะและการออกแบบสูงทัดเทียมกับสถาปัตยกรรมอันยิ่งใหญ่อื่นๆ ในสมัยอาณาจักรพระนคร และยังไม่มปราสาทซึ่งมิได้สร้างโดยกษัตริย์หลังอื่นใดเทียบเคียงได้

วิทยานิพนธ์เรื่องนี้เสนอความเห็นว่ ปราสาทบันทายศรีสร้างขึ้นเพื่อเป็นเครื่องแสดงพรสวรรค์อันยิ่งใหญ่ของผู้สร้างคือพระราชกรูชัยฉวราหะ วิทยานิพนธ์นี้มีวัตถุประสงค์สำคัญ ๒ ประการ ประการแรกคือการค้นหาหลักฐานเพื่อพิสูจน์ว่ปราสาทบันทายศรีมีความสำคัญเป็นพิเศษในประวัติศาสตร์ศิลปะของกัมพูชา ทั้งลวดลายและการตกแต่งบนองค์ประกอบต่างๆของปราสาทเป็นการนำเทคนิคทางศิลปะที่มีปรากฏอยู่ทั้งในบริเวณใกล้เคียงและบริเวณที่ห่างไกลออกไปมาผสมผสานกับการสร้างสรรค์ใหม่ซึ่งได้รับแรงบันดาลใจมาจากวรรณคดีและศาสนาได้อย่างลงตัว วัตถุประสงค์สำคัญประการที่สองคือ การค้นคว้าบทบาทและสถานภาพของชัยฉวราหะ ผู้ซึ่งดำรงทั้งสติปัญญา ความรู้ ตำแหน่งในราชสำนัก และอำนาจอย่างสูงสุดแบบที่ไม่เคยปรากฏมาก่อนในอาณาจักรพระนคร ดังพบว่า พระราชกรูเป็นผู้ที่มีทั้งวิสัยทัศน์เกี่ยวกับการสร้างปราสาท ทุนทรัพย์และอำนาจที่ต้องใช้สำหรับการก่อสร้าง และความรู้ทางศิลปะและวรรณคดีที่จำเป็นในการออกแบบก่อสร้างปราสาทหลังนี้อย่างครบถ้วน ทั้งหมดนี้จะช่วยสร้างความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับความสำคัญและอิทธิพลของปราสาทบันทายศรีได้เป็นอย่างดี

สาขาวิชา เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา

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ปีการศึกษา 2554...

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SOKHA SEANG: BANTEAY SREY: A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE AND ITS  
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The Banteay Srey Temple was constructed in the tenth century by a royal *guru* (preceptor) of King Jayavarman V (968-1001 A.D.), known as Yajñavarāha. Although it is not a royal building, the quality of the art and design of this temple places it on par with many of the other great Angkorean architectural works; a position that is not matched by any other non-royal construction.

This thesis argues that Banteay Srey was constructed as a showcase for the profound talents of its builder, the royal guru Yajñavarāha. The research focuses on two objectives. First, it establishes that Banteay Srey does indeed occupy a special place in Cambodian art history, showing that its design elements draw on the best existing techniques from near and far within Cambodia, harmoniously combined with innovative results of literary and religious inspiration. Second, it explores the extraordinary role and stature of Yajñavarāha, whose combination of intelligence, education, position within the court, and ultimate power were unprecedented in Angkor. He had the vision required to conceive of Banteay Srey, the means and authority needed to order its construction, and the artistic and literary knowledge necessary to design a work whose place and influence we are still coming to fully understand.

Field of Study: Southeast Asian Studies

Student's Signature.....

Academic Year: 2011

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Rationale

*"Banteay Srey is by far the prettiest of the Khmer temples and it certainly merits the description of 'jewel' or 'gem'. In addition, it is also one of the most impressive in terms of layout, and its proportions are as perfect as its decoration. Its history alone would merit a whole chapter – the history of its creation and that of its discovery, misadventures, and admirable reconstruction" Claude Jacques.*<sup>1</sup>

Many art experts share the opinion of Claude Jacques about Banteay Srey temple, and compliment the temple in their own terms. Michael D. Coe called the temple "the highest achievement in art and architecture of classic Angkorian civilization".<sup>2</sup> Louis Finot, Henri Parmentier and Victor Goloubew, who wrote the first monograph on the temple, called it "the most perfect works of Cambodian art".<sup>3</sup> The most popular phrase, first applied by Maurice Glaize, describes the artistic achievement of this temple as a "precious gem or jewel of Khmer art".<sup>4</sup> Paradoxically, considering its fame and the admiration scholars have shown for the temple, few works are devoted exclusively to the temple of Banteay Srey.

According to the foundation stele of Banteay Srey temple (K.842),<sup>5</sup> we learn that the construction of the temple began in the middle of the tenth century and was completed in 967 A.D., the last year of the reign of king Rājendravarman II (944-968 A.D.). It was constructed by two *Brāhmaṇas* (priest), royal *guru* (preceptor) Yajñavaraha and his brother Viṇukumāra. However, for unknown reasons, it was not until 968 A.D., the first year of the reign of Jayavarman V (968-1001 A.D.), that the temple was consecrated with a *liṅga* of Śiva, known as *Śri Tribhuvanamaheśvara* "the Great Lord of Three Worlds" in the central sanctuary.

Upon its first visiting in 1914 by French Lieutenant Marec of the Geographical service,<sup>6</sup> the temple did not immediately get the attention of the French archaeologists. It was not until 1919 that the temple started to acquire interest from French archaeologists, thanks to a presentation by Henri Parmentier in his paper of the same year entitled "L'Art

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor* (Bangkok: River Books, 1990), Page 86.

<sup>2</sup> Coe, D., M., *Angkor and the Khmer Civilization* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), Page 110.

<sup>3</sup> Finot, L., Parmentier, H., and Goloubew, V., *A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor*, translated by Stape, J.H. (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2000), Page xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group*, translated by Tremmel, N., (1993), Page 183.

<sup>5</sup> Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1 (Hanoi, 1937), Page 147.

<sup>6</sup> Finot, L., et al, *A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page xvii.



d'Indravarman". Parmentier described the temple as a small sandstone construction, whose size was compensated by remarkable perfection of execution and extraordinary delicacy of the sculptures.<sup>7</sup>

Sadly, before any programs could be established for the study of the temple, in 1923, a group of looters of antiquities visited the temple and chiseled out a number of *devatas* (guardian angel) decorating the flank of the south shrine. Fortunately, the thieves were arrested and the loot was recovered. Shortly after, in 1924, the French started their operation of cleaning the temple, and study of the temple was conducted by a group of French scholars under the direction of Henri Parmentier with collaboration of Victor Goloubew.<sup>8</sup>

In 1926, the first monograph about the temple was published by l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, entitled *Le Temple d'Ishvarapura*.<sup>\*</sup> It comprises three main parts: Architecture, Statuary, and Inscriptions. The work, however, contains a number of mistakes in the interpretation of its history and construction due to the misreading of the inscriptions. However, it should be noted that any study of Banteay Srey temple and its builders requires the use of information from this text as it is the only major work to provide and compile almost the whole history of the inscriptions, and of explanations of the art, history, and architecture of the temple.

In 1929, by comparing the inscriptions discovered in the Banteay Srey temple with inscriptions of two other temples, Sek Ta Tuy and Trapaeng Khyong, George Cœdès pointed out the mistakes in the study of Finot, Parmentier and Goloubew with regard to their interpretation of temple's history.<sup>9</sup> Finot, Parmentier and Goloubew had claimed that most parts of the temple were built in the fourteenth century while Cœdès believed it was to date from the tenth century. Cœdès's claim was supported when a foundation stele of the temple was found by Henri Marcharl in 1936 during his restoration work of the temple with anastylosis technique, a skill he learned from restoration work conducted in Java.<sup>10</sup>

If the interpretation of the history in Finot, Parmentier and Goloubew is wrong, their interpretation of art and architecture must also be reconsidered and a new study of this temple is required. However, little significant work has focused on Banteay Srey temple. A few remarkable, but very broad, works including Coral Gilberte de Rémusat<sup>11</sup> and

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<sup>7</sup> Parmentier, H. "L'Art d'Indravarman", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient (BEFEO)*, volume 19 (1919): 66.

<sup>8</sup> Finot, L., et al, *A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page xvi.

<sup>\*</sup> The book was translated into English by Stape, J.H, retitled to "*A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor*" (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Cœdès, G., "La Date du Temple de Banteay Srey", *BEFEO*, volume 29 (1929).

<sup>10</sup> Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 183.

<sup>11</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution* (Paris, 1940).

Bosselier Jean,<sup>12</sup> have mentioned Banteay Srey, but their primary concern is on the overall evolution of Khmer art. The most recent important work on the temple was done in 1999 by Mr. Eric Bourdonneau, and focuses mainly on the relationship between the iconography and architecture.<sup>13</sup>

In this thesis, the research will go beyond art and iconography in the study of Banteay Srey, and explore the temple's origin and prestige. The starting point is that it was not a royal construction, but was built by a *guru* of king Jayavarman V, known as Yajñavaraha. This causes us to wonder how influential and powerful this *guru* must have been, and how his temple achieved such high esteem.

Reviewing the existing literature related to the topic of this study, we can see that most scholarship has focused on the temple itself, and not on its builder, the *vra*□ *guru* of Jayavarman V, as either an individual, or as a member of a special Angkorean elite group. This thesis will extend this study in two ways. First, in addition to using the information from the inscriptions of Banteay Srey temple for analysis, all inscriptions referring to the *vra*□ *guru* Yajñavaraha during the reign of Jayavarman V will be explored. Later inscriptions mentioning this *vra*□ *guru* and the temple will also be investigated. Second, the art, architecture, and iconography of the temple will be studied. However, this thesis will not merely interpret the story and art of the temple in relation to the building and the king, Jayavarman V, but also decipher the history and contents of the temple as it casts light on its builder, *vra*□ *guru* Yajñavaraha.

## 1.2 Objective of the Study

- To describe the uniqueness of Banteay Srey temple in comparison to other Angkorean temples.
- To explore the role and status of the royal *guru* in the construction of Banteay Srey temple.

## 1.3 Hypothesis

Past studies of Angkorean temples generally explain their architecture, decoration, and iconography within the framework of Hindu or Khmer civilization. Built by kings, the temples represent the continuation of royal status and authority. In rare cases, however — Banteay Srey, Sdok Kok Thom, Kravan — temples were constructed by non-royal figures. Of these, the architectural and artistic accomplishments of the Banteay Srey

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<sup>12</sup> Boisselier, J., *Le Cambodge* (Paris, 1966).

<sup>13</sup> Bourdonneau, E., "Redéfinir l'originalité de Banteay Srey: Relation entre Iconographie et Architecture", *Aséanie* 3, (1999).

temple stand alone in rivaling the greatest Angkorean temples. This study hypothesizes that this achievement can be traced to the unique education, talent, vision, and status of its builder, Yajñavarāha, royal *guru* of King Jayavarman V, and that Banteay Srey is best understood as a monument to his singular position in Angkorean history.

#### **1.4 Methodology:**

The research methodology is straightforward, and consists of two parts. First is the comparative study, searching out what is perceived as unique in this small temple as compared to other Angkorean constructions. The thesis will look at all aspects of the temple, including the artistic object, its story, display, construction, and elaborate the special contribution of the royal *guru* Yajñavarāha.

Second, epigraphic evidences from Banteay Srey temple and other inscriptions that reference it and its builder will be used in this study. However, it must be noted that information from the inscriptions cannot always be treated as fact. There are conflicts in the stories inscribed on the stones, especially when the inscriptions of different periods discuss the same subject or story. To deal with this problem, information from contemporary inscriptions of the period of Yajñavarāha will be treated as more reliable, and thus more significant.

#### **1.5 Significance and Usefulness of the Research:**

- An understanding of the special place of Banteay Srey temple in Cambodian architecture.
- Better knowledge of the role and power of the royal *guru* who built the Banteay Srey temple.

#### **1.6 Literature Review**

As mentioned previously, there are very few studies about Banteay Srey temple or its builders. The first French scholar to study this temple was Henri Parmentier. His 1919 article “L’Art d’Indravarman” includes Banteay Srey in the group of temple constructed in the reign of king Indravarman I (877-889 A.D.).

In 1926, a more detailed study of the temple by a group of French scholars, namely, Louis Finot, Henri Parmentier and Victor Goloubew came out. Their book, *Le Temple d’Ishvarapura*, comprises three main parts: Architecture, Statuary, and Inscriptions. Their study is based upon the misconception (due to the misreading of the inscriptions) that most parts of the temple were built in the fourteen century, which confused their interpretation of the architecture, art, inscriptions and history of the temple. In addition to errors in interpretation, another weak point of this research is that the authors overlook the inscriptions which were contemporary with the Banteay Srey temple. Moreover, other inscriptions were discovered many years after the book's publication. Despite its

errors *Le Temple d'Ishvarapura* is the only major work to compile and provide almost the whole collection of inscriptions and explanation of the art, history, and architecture of the temple. It is also the only work that attempts to elucidate the history of the *guru*, the builder of Banteay Srey temple.

Aside from the work of Parmentier, Finot, and Goloubew mentioned above, there are a few more works that are useful in terms of describing and comparing the artistic style and architecture of Banteay Srey to other temples.

Coral Gilberte de Rémusat's *L'Art Khmer* (1940) and Jean Boisselier's *Le Cambodge* (1966), provide explanations of architecture and art of Angkorean temples. The main goal of both works was to discuss the evolution of the Khmer temple. The two books provide descriptions of each Khmer art style and the development from one style to another, and define the artistic style of Banteay Srey. Both works will be used as the guideline for comparing the art style of Banteay Srey to other Khmer art styles.

Eric Bourdonneau's article, "Redéfinir l'originalité de Banteay Srey" (1999), is a very significant recent work that focuses mainly on the decoration of the Banteay Srey temple. This article provides a good analysis of the relationship between the iconography upon the walls of Banteay Srey temple and its architecture.

Vittorio Roveda's article, "The Archaeology of Khmer Images" (2004), makes a very interesting argument concerning the date of decoration part of the temple. Roveda firmly believes that the decorations of the temple, especially those on important pediments with complex narration of Hindu iconography, were productions of the eleventh to the fourteen centuries. Roveda's work is the only recent work questioning the date of the temple.

## **CHAPTER II BACKGROUND**

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section elaborates the three different eras of Khmer art styles and its dating in Cambodian history. The second section provides some knowledge about the political situation in the tenth century, including the growing power of the officials in comparison to the kings. The third section describes the shifting of the locations of the capital in tenth century and location of Banteay Srey temple.

### **2.1 Khmer Art Styles in Parallel with Cambodian History**

Traditionally, the ancient history of Cambodia could be divided into three great eras with Angkor, Cambodia's period of greatness, being used as the central naming point. Hence, we have the pre-Angkor, Angkor, and post-Angkor periods. Khmer art is treated in the same manner by art experts; however, it was subdivided into fourteen styles by French scholars in twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> Each Khmer art style was named by a characteristic monument, or by the location in which objects or monuments of a particular style were found. Each style is dated in chronological order, and is clarified by the indication of the monument's date learned from epigraphy and comparative studies. However, the time frame of these styles should not be considered as a fixed frame of time but rather as flexible joints, in which the beginning of a new style overlapped with the end period of previous style.<sup>2</sup>

#### **2.1.1 The Pre-Angkorean Era: first to eighth centuries**

When it comes to the study of Cambodian history during this era, two types of written source documents were used by historians: the local stone inscriptions and the Chinese record.

Generally, two Chinese words, 'Funan' and 'Chenla,' that described supposed local kingdoms or states were used by modern historians as historical periods in the pre-Angkorean era (Funan from the first to the sixth century and Chenla from the seventh to the eighth century).

According to Chinese records, Funan was a kingdom which had trade relationship with China and had ruled the area believed to be the Mekong delta for many centuries until it

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<sup>1</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution..., *op. cit.*; Boisselier, J., Le Cambodge..., *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Boisselier, J., Le Cambodge..., *op. cit.*, Page 41.

was conquered in the early seventh century by Chenla, Funan's vassal state.<sup>3</sup> The word 'Chenla' was used by Chinese as the name for Cambodia until at least the end of the Angkorean Era.<sup>4</sup> Thus, for modern historians, this usage is only for convenience and these terms do not describe any unified states, or kingdoms, cities, or definite territories.<sup>5</sup> The correlation between Funan and Chenla has always been debatable<sup>6</sup> and will not be discussed here.

The first Khmer inscription K.600 was incised in 611 A.D.<sup>7</sup> It was discovered in Angkor Borei in the Southern part of Cambodia where recently, many Khmer experts believe to be the capital of Funan. It is in this location that many statues of Indian influence were discovered and the first Khmer art style was assigned by the French experts as the Phnom Da style, the name of the mountain in Angkor Borei. This style is known exclusively for statuary.<sup>8</sup>

Toward the end of the seventh century, the period in which the word 'Chenla' had increased in number in the Chinese record and the word 'Funan' disappeared,<sup>9</sup> a city called Isānapura was founded at Sambor Prei Kuk near Kampong Thom.<sup>10</sup> In this location, a number of brick monuments and Khmer inscriptions have been discovered. Scholars name almost everything from statues to temples as a style of Sambor Prei Kuk, referring to the name of the location. During the same period, another style called the Prei Khmeng style was classified by Khmer art experts referring to the name of the temple founded in Siem Reap province.

During the whole eighth century, it is believed that the Chenla kingdom was divided into two rival states. One state located below the chain of Dangrek mountains was called "the Water Chenla", and another one situated in the north as far as upper Laos was called "the Land Chenla".<sup>11</sup> Not all modern historians, however, agree with this theory. Michael Vickery and David Chandler believe that there could have been more than two rival states

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<sup>3</sup> Cœdès, G., The Indianized States of Southeast Asia (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1968), Page 65.

<sup>4</sup> Vickery, M., History of Cambodia, Summary of lectures given at the Faculty of Archaeology, (Phnom Penh: Royal University of Fine Arts, 2001-2002), Page 23

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Page 16.

<sup>6</sup> Cœdès (The Indianized States of Southeast Asia..., *op.cit.*, Page 65) believed in the credibility of the Chinese record. Therefore he came with a conclusion that there are distinctive difference between the people of Funan and Chenla, and the later is what he perceived as the beginning of the Khmer history. On the other hand, Michael Vickery (History of Cambodia..., *op. cit.*, Page 21) relying on local inscriptions challenged Cœdès that the people of Funan were more likely to be the Khmer.

<sup>7</sup> Cœdès, G., Inscriptions du Cambodge, volume 2, (Hanoi, 1942), Page 22-23; Jenner, N. P., A chrestomathy of pre-Angkorian Khmer (University of Hawaii, 1980), Page 31.

<sup>8</sup> Boisselier, J., Le Cambodge..., *op. cit.*, Page 42.

<sup>9</sup> Vickery states (History of Cambodia..., *op. cit.*, Page 20) that the last mention of the word 'Funan' in Chinese record was between 620 and 640 A.D. The first date for the word 'Chenla' in Chinese records was 616 A.D.

<sup>10</sup> Vickery, M., History of Cambodia..., *op. cit.*, Page 31.

<sup>11</sup> Cœdès, G., The Indianized States of Southeast Asia..., *op. cit.*, Page 85.

or there were actually many chiefdom states from the beginning.<sup>12</sup> We know very little about the history of the eighth century because there are fewer Chinese reports and local inscriptions. For Khmer art, there are some significant temples and statues founded in this period which is classified into the style of Kampong Preah, a name of a temple believed to be built in this century.<sup>13</sup>

### 2.1.2 The Angkorean Era: ninth to fifteenth centuries

According to Chandler the Angkorean period has no start or finish, and dividing the Pre-Angkorean and Angkorean era could be misleading. For example, many similar aspects of Khmer art are found in both periods. Nevertheless, Chandler believes that it is useful to use the period from 802 A.D. to 1413 A.D. to mark Cambodia's "glorious time",<sup>14</sup> and these dates are widely used to refer to the Angkorean period.

Depending on the Sdok Kok Thom inscription of 1052 A.D.,<sup>15</sup> Jayavarman II was consecrated as *Cakravartin*, or universal monarch in 802 A.D. He established a cult of god-king or *Devarāja* on Kulen mountain at a temple many scholars believe was a pyramid temple named Krus Preah Aram Rong Chen.<sup>16</sup> After finishing the ritual ceremony of *Devarāja* on Kulen mountain, Jayavarman II moved to establish his imperial capital at Hariharālaya, Roluos in modern day. It is here that the great king is believed to have died in about 835 A.D.<sup>17</sup> It was during the reign of Jayavarman II that the first Angkorean Khmer art style, the Kulen style, was created. The name of the style came from the name of the mountain in which many monuments and statues were founded.

Toward the end of the ninth century, the Khmer capital was situated at Roluos and three kings succeeded Jayavarman II there. The first successor was his son, Jayavarman III. This king constructed a shrine in Hariharālaya.<sup>18</sup> The second was his nephew,

<sup>12</sup> Vickery, M., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*; Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia* (Bangkok: Silkworm Book, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> In pre-Angkorean period, some Khmer art experts offered one more artistic style called "Prasat Andet". I followed Boisselier Jean (*Le Cambodge...*, *op. cit.*) in excluding this style from the chronology.

<sup>14</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 35.

<sup>15</sup> Coëdès, G., Dupont, P., "Les stèles de Sdok Kok Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihar", *BEFEO* 43, (1943): 56-154. This inscription is numbered as K.235.

<sup>16</sup> Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 9; Jessup, H. I., *Art and Architecture of Cambodia* (Singapore: Thames and Hudson world of art, 2004), Page 65.

<sup>17</sup> It used to be thought that Jayavarman II died in about 850 A.D. However Vickery (*History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*) demonstrated that a Khmer inscription shows the starting time of Jayavarman II's campaign in uniting the realm dated back as far as 770 A.D. This causes scholars to question the date of the king's death. There is also another alternative reading by Claude Jacques of the inscriptions dating the time of the king's death as in 83? A.D. (Quoted in Vickery, M., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*).

<sup>18</sup> There are some buildings dated to the reign of Jayavarman III. However, there is no evidence telling us which one are his (Briggs, L. P., *The Ancient Khmer Empire* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1951), Page 97). Regardless, there is an inscription from Prasat Sak describes that he constructed a shrine (Higham, C., *The Civilization of Angkor* (University of California Press, 2001), Page 59).

Indravarman I, who acceded to the throne in 877 A.D., probably after the death of Jayavarman III.

Indravarman I constructed some great architectural monuments which inspired successive kings.<sup>19</sup> His most remarkable work is the Indratataka, a water reservoir some 3.8 km long and 800 m wide in the city of Hariharālaya. He also constructed the first artificial mountain temple, the Bakong temple. Another remarkable work is the Preah Ko temple which was built with six brick towers and dedicated to his parents, his maternal ancestors, and Jayavarman II.<sup>20</sup> It is this temple that art scholars use as a referring name for the second art style of Angkor, the style of Preah Ko, which include almost every construction founded in Rolous.

At the end of the ninth century, the death of Indravarman I led to conflict for the throne that apparently involved two of his sons.<sup>21</sup> The victor was Yaśovarman I whose coronation was around 889 or 890 A.D. Yaśovarman I's first work was to build one hundred *āśramas* (hermitage) throughout his domain. He also finished the construction of Indratataka, the reservoir initiated by his father. In the middle of the reservoir, he built the Lolei temple, dedicated to his father, Indravarman,<sup>22</sup> in the style of Preah Ko.

The biggest decision by Yaśovarman I was to move the capital from Rolous to Angkor where a new capital, Yaśodharapura, was founded. The capital was named in his honor, and it stood as the capital until at least the fifteenth century.<sup>23</sup> In the center of his new capital, he built the Bakheng temple, a mountain temple on natural hills with some significant differences in artistic style to Preah Ko. Scholars use the name of this temple as a new Khmer art form, the Bakheng Style.

Yaśovarman I died around 910 A.D. He was succeeded by two of his sons, who reigned over Yaśodharapura (Angkor) until 928 A.D. They were probably not powerful, since little was known about them. This might be because the power was mostly in the hand of Jayavarman IV, a brother of one of Yaśovarman's wives who established a rival city at Chok Gargyar, presently Koh Ker. Jayavarman IV proclaimed himself King when the son of Yaśovarman died in 928 A.D.<sup>24</sup> There are many constructions of colossal size which were built at Koh Ker during Jayavarman IV's reign of approximately two decades. Scholars used the term Koh Ker to name the style for all the construction built during the second quarter of the tenth century, not just at Koh Ker but also at Angkor, and other

<sup>19</sup> Stern, P., "Diversité et Rythme des Fondations Royales Khmères", *BEFEO*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (1951): 649-685 quoted in Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 42-43.

<sup>20</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 42-43.

<sup>21</sup> Briggs, P. L., *The Ancient Khmer Empire...*, *op. cit.*, Page 105.

<sup>22</sup> Coe, D., M., *Angkor and the Khmer Civilization...*, *op. cit.*, Page 102.

<sup>23</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 45.

There was a slight interruption from 921-944 A.D. when Jayavarman IV moved the capital to Koh Ker.

<sup>24</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 47.

It's used to be thought that Jayavarman IV is a usurper of the throne. However this theory is lately disagreed by many scholars.



places in Cambodia such as Prasat Neang Khmau in Takeo province and Prasat Choeng Ang in Kampong Cham Province.<sup>25</sup>

After Jayavarman IV's death in 942 A.D., his son continued to rule Koh Ker briefly. Little is known about him. In 944 A.D., Jayavarman IV's nephew returned to Yaśodharapura as king Rājendravarman II.<sup>26</sup> Upon returning to Angkor, the king imitated the procedure enacted by Yaśovarman I, building a temple honoring his ancestors in the middle of the lake. Chandler suggested that it was his way of indicating his intention to restore kingship at Yaśodharapura rather than starting a dynasty of his own.<sup>27</sup> Two mountain temples, the Mebon and Pre Rup, were built under the reign of Rājendravarman II.<sup>28</sup> The characteristic brick towers of these temples do not follow what we saw at Koh Ker. They seem to follow the pattern of temples in the ninth century with a slight modification in artistic style. Here scholars assigned a new art style as Pre Rup, referring to the name of one of his temples.

It was also during the reign of Rājendravarman II when the the Banteay Srey temple was built, probably starting in the middle of the tenth century and finishing in 967 A.D. It was built by a subject, Yajñavarāha, who later became the royal *guru* of his son Jayavarman V.<sup>29</sup> Scholars assigned the name of this temple as a form of art style, Banteay Srey style.

Jayavarman V succeeded Rājendravarman II in 967 A.D., and continued ruling Angkor until his death in 1001 A.D.<sup>30</sup> Despite his long reign, the only remarkable constructions built by this king are mountain temple, Takeo, which remains unfinished and Phimeanakas.<sup>31</sup> During his reign, two artistic styles were assigned by scholars. One is Banteay Srey as mentioned previously, while the other is that of Khleang, the name of a temple built by his successor Jayavīravarman.

The death of Jayavarman V in 1001 A.D. led to a civil war where three parties contended for the throne: his nephew Udayādityavarman I, Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman. In 1011 A.D., the war was concluded with Sūryavarman I as victor.<sup>32</sup> He ruled Angkor until his death in 1050 A.D. This king did not construct massive temples (mountain temple) as previous kings had done,<sup>33</sup> probably because he was a Buddhist king. Most of the construction built in his reign followed the style of Banteay Srey and Khleang.

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<sup>25</sup> Chen C., "Le Site de Koh Ker et Le Regne de Jayavarman IV," Phd. Thesis, (Paris, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2011): abstract.

<sup>26</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 47.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> cf. Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op. cit.*, Page 147.

<sup>30</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 48.

<sup>31</sup> Briggs, P. L., *The Ancient Khmer Empire...*, *op. cit.*, Page 140.

<sup>32</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 48; Vickery, M., "The Reign of Sūryavarman I and Royal Factionalism at Angkor"..., *op. cit.*, Page 2269-244.

<sup>33</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 48-51

Udayādityavarman II succeeded his father Sūryavarman in 1050 A.D. He ruled Angkor until 1066 A.D., and built the Baphoun, mountain temple, housed with a *liṅga* associated with his reign. The name of his temple was assigned as another style of Khmer art.<sup>34</sup>

The death of Udayādityavarman II in 1066 A.D. led to another struggle for the position of Angkorean monarch. Until the end of the eleventh century, two kings ruled Angkor in chronological order in what seems an unfriendly environment. They were Harṅavarman III, Jayavarman VI and his brother, Dharanindravarman I. Little is known about them.<sup>35</sup>

The turmoil in the country continued until Sūryavarman II ended the fragmentation by uniting different political parties. He ascended the throne in 1113 A.D. and ruled until 1150 A.D.<sup>36</sup> In his reign, Sūryavarman II began constructing Angkor Wat, the largest temple of all Khmer monuments, dedicated to Viṅnu. The name of this temple was used as reference for Khmer art form in this period, the Angkor Wat style. It is the only style that lasted for almost a century, dated from 1080 to 1177 A.D.<sup>37</sup>

After the death of Sūryavarman II in 1150 A.D., there are almost no inscriptions produced between 1145 and 1182 A.D.<sup>38</sup> Most of the knowledge concerning this period of time are collected from inscriptions during the reign of Jayavarman VII from 1181 to 1220 A.D.<sup>39</sup> From these inscriptions, we learn that after the accession of Yaśovarman II (probably in 1150 A.D.) there was a series of rebellions by Tribhūvanādityavarman. During the same period, the country was at war with Champa (1167 to 1181 A.D.).<sup>40</sup> The king Yaśovarman II was eventually killed and Tribhūvanādityavarman captured the throne. He ruled Angkor from 1166 A.D. until he was killed in 1177 A.D., during the sack of Angkor by Champa.<sup>41</sup>

According to the inscriptions, in 1178 A.D. a prince who later become king Jayavarman VII put an end to the anarchy caused by Champa's invasion. He successfully forced the Champa back from Cambodia. In 1190-1191 A.D. he managed to sack and conquest Champa. In his reign, we see a growth in number of monuments built.<sup>42</sup> Many of them are foundation for Buddhism, categorized in a style called Bayon, the name of the official state temple of king Jayavarman VII.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, Page 51.

<sup>35</sup> Briggs, P. L., *The Ancient Khmer Empire...*, *op. cit.*, Page 176-187.

<sup>36</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 56-57.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the list of Architectural style by Freeman, M., Jacques, C., *Ancient Angkor* (Bangkok: River Book, 2003), Page 30.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., Page 61.

<sup>39</sup> Briggs, P. L., *The Ancient Khmer Empire...*, *op. cit.*, Page 205.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Page 207.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Chandler, D., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 65.

After Jayavarman VII's death, Angkor was the capital of the kingdom until the fifteenth century. However, there are no significant architectural achievements. Most remains from this period were called the art of post-Bayon.

### 2.1.3 The Post-Angkorean Era

The Khmer art of post-Angkorean era undergoes a profound change compared to its predecessor. They are not separated into many styles like the previous period, and a few art objects remained since they were not made of the durable materials used in the Angkorean period.<sup>43</sup> The absence of art elements made of durable objects may be related to the decline of Khmer civilization and are probably related to new belief in "Theravada Buddhism".<sup>44</sup> Boisselier reasons that after the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII, the quarries of sandstone has almost exhausted, and can no longer permit the opening of large projects. The perishable construction material or mix of both durable and perishable are better and more suitable for Theravada Buddhism.<sup>45</sup> This means the convenience of using wood to construct bigger hall or building that can receive more people.

#### Khmer Art Style in Chronological Order<sup>46</sup>

##### **Pre-Angkorean Era**

Phnom Da Style	540? A.D to 600 A.D
Sambor Prei Kuk Style	aprx. 600 A.D to 650 A.D
Prei Kmeng Style	A.D 635 to 700 A.D
Kompong Preah Style	706? A.D to 800 A.D

##### **Angkorean Era**

Kulen Style	825 A.D to 875 A.D
Preah Ko Style	875 A.D to aprx. 893 A.D
Bakheng Style	aprx. 893 to 925 A.D
Koh Ker Style	921 to 945 A.D
Pre Rup Style	947 to 965 A.D
Banteay Srey Style	967 to 1000 A.D
Khleang Style	965 to 1010 A.D
Baphuon Style	1010 to 1080 A.D
Angkor Wat Style	1110 to 1175 A.D
Bayon Style	1177 to 1230 A.D

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Boisselier, J., *Le Cambodge...*, *op. cit.*, Page 42.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> I followed Boisselier (*Le Cambodge...*, *op. cit.*, Page 42) in organizing this table.

<b>Post-Angkorean</b>	After 1435 A.D
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**Table 2.1** Chronology of Khmer Art

## 2.2 The Political Situation during the Tenth Century

Throughout the reigns of Indravarman (877-889 A.D.) and Yasovarman (889-910 A.D.), almost all inscriptions were royal inscriptions, ordered either by the kings or members of the royal family or by high-ranked officials close to the king.<sup>47</sup>

This trend slowly changed during the 10th century, especially from the reign of Jayavarman IV (928-941 A.D.) to Jayavarman V (968-1001 A.D.). The number of inscriptions by officials who were not royal, sometimes only middle-ranking officials, increased significantly while concurrently the number of royal inscriptions decreased.<sup>48</sup> Most of the inscriptions created by non-royals are concerned with control and development of land given to them by the kings and the positions which their families held from one generation to the next.<sup>49</sup> This demonstrates that from the tenth century the bureaucracy developed very rapidly, and the influence of the officials was also on the rise in contrast to the King's influence.<sup>50</sup>

The growth of bureaucratic power intensified notably during the reign of King Rājendravarman (944-968 A.D.), during which many monuments were built or "sponsored by officials or high-ranking official *Brahmans* who must have taken advantage of the tender age of the sovereign to assure themselves of privileged positions at the court".<sup>51</sup> This trend continued into the reign of Jayavarman V, who was also the extremely youthful at the time of his accession".<sup>52</sup> The long period of the minority of these two successive kings "made the country more dependent on the great families of the learned classes. The great sacerdotal families which exercised the hereditary right to furnish the principal religious functionaries, increased in number and power".<sup>53</sup>

<b>High-Ranked Officials from the End of Ninth to the End of Tenth Century</b>		
<b>King</b>	<b>Reign</b>	<b>Officials</b>

<sup>47</sup> Vickery, M., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 78.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Coèdès, G., *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 116.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Briggs, P. L., *The Ancient Khmer Empire...*, *op. cit.*, Page 134.

Indravarman	(877-898 A.D.)	<p>-During Indravarman's rule, most of the inscriptions and monuments are products of the king or royal family.<sup>54</sup></p> <p>-There are, however, mentions of some of the highest level officials. First, the King's own <i>purohita</i>, probably a <i>rājapurohita</i>, was a certain Nivāsakavi (K.923, K.256), who was in the record of the same period, and is said to have held the same position under Jayavarman III (854-877 A.D.). Second is the King's <i>guru</i>, named Śivasoma (K.809), who was an uncle of Jayavarman II (802-835? A.D.). Third, the king's <i>hotar</i>, named Nandikācārya (K.937).<sup>55</sup></p>
Yaśovarman	(889-910 A.D.)	<p>-Names of any high level official mentioned in the contemporary record during the reign of Yaśovarman were not found. The inscriptions "are of a much more pronounced royal character".<sup>56</sup></p> <p>-However, the name of a military leader, Śri Jayāyudha, who claimed to have conquered Champa and other countries is mentioned (K.832B) in addition to Amarabhāva, who first was an ascetic in charge of Indravarman's monasteries and then chief <i>ācārya</i> under Yaśovarman (K.853).<sup>57</sup></p>
Harīavarman	(910-921 A.D.)	<p>Little is known about this reign. However, a temple named Kravan was constructed by a number of official. One of them is Jayavīravarman, who Vickery suggests to be ancestor of the king Jayavīravarman of the same name, Sūryavarman's rival in 1001-1011 A.D.<sup>58</sup></p>
Jayavarman IV	(928-941 A.D.)	<p>We know little about the officials of this reign, as many inscriptions of this reign have yet to be edited or translated. A few names are known from the inscriptions in later period.</p>
Rājendravarman	(944-968 A.D.)	<p>-As already mentioned earlier, his reign was notable for the surge of official influence, probably due to his ascending the throne at a young age. Many constructions and the inscriptions were products of officials.</p> <p>-The most important of the officials in his reign, mentioned in the inscriptions (e.g. K.532) was the <i>Rājakulamahāmuntri</i> (great minister of the royal family) whose identity remains unknown.<sup>59</sup></p> <p>-The king's <i>hotar</i> was Śivacārya (K.265). Another</p>

<sup>54</sup> Vickery, M., "The Reign of Sūryavarman I and Royal Factionalism at Angkor"..., *op. cit.*, p. 230.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Vickery, M., *History of Cambodia*..., *op. cit.*, Page 92.

<sup>59</sup> Vickery, M., "The Reign of Sūryavarman I and Royal Factionalism at Angkor"..., *op. cit.*, Page 231.

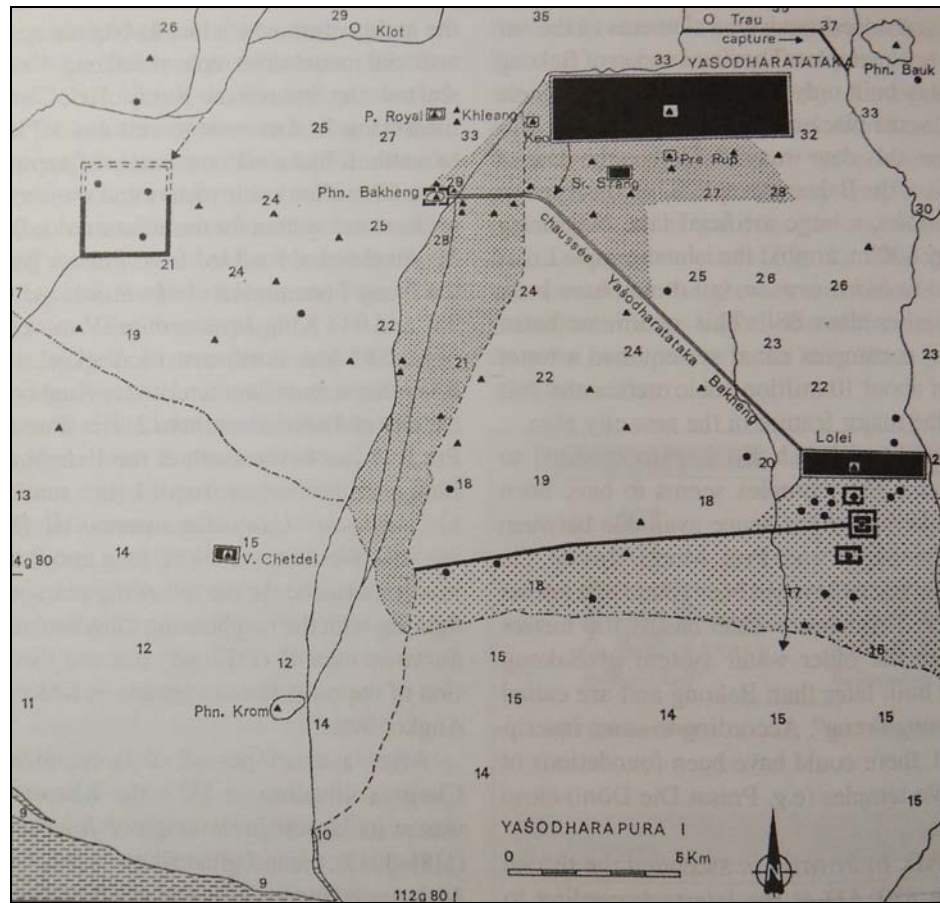
		<p>inscription mentions an <i>ācārya</i> named Rudrācārya, who was a pupil of Śivasoma, Indravarman's <i>guru</i>, and who was related to Srī Jayendravarman. Rudrācārya's title also indicates that he might be a royal descendent. Additionally, there was <i>vra</i>□ <i>mratā</i>□ Śrī Kavindrārimathana, whose precise role is unknown, but who was put in charge of much of Rājendravarman's construction work, and in his inscription (K.260) gives himself as much prominence as the king.<sup>60</sup></p>
Jayavarman V	(968-1001 A.D.)	<p>The pattern set under the Rājendravarman continued in the reign of Jayavarman V.</p> <p>-The <i>Rājakulamahāmuntri</i> (K.85) remained one of the chief ministers.</p> <p>-At the same time, Yajñavarahā (K.842), the royal <i>guru</i>, seems to have been gaining increasing importance. A few inscriptions provide a genealogy showing him on his mother's side as directly descendent from Kings Indravarman, Yaśovarman and Har□avarman. This makes him, in a way, closer to the old Angkorean royalty than the king he served and provides additional evidence of the growing importance of officials.<sup>61</sup></p>

### 2.3 Capitals of the Tenth Century Angkor

For the whole ninth century, the Khmer capital was located at Hariharālaya, now known as Rolous. In the early tenth century, the capital was moved by Yaśovarman to Yaśodharapura located about twenty kilometers northwest of Hariharālaya (see fig. 2.1). A few decades later, during the reign of Jayavarman IV, the capital was moved again to a new location, called Chok Gargyar (Koh Ker) located about one hundred kilometers northeast of Yaśodharapura (See fig. 2.2). Again, in the middle of tenth century, king Rājendravarman II returned the capital to Yaśodharapura, where it stayed as the Khmer capital until the end of the Angkorean era.

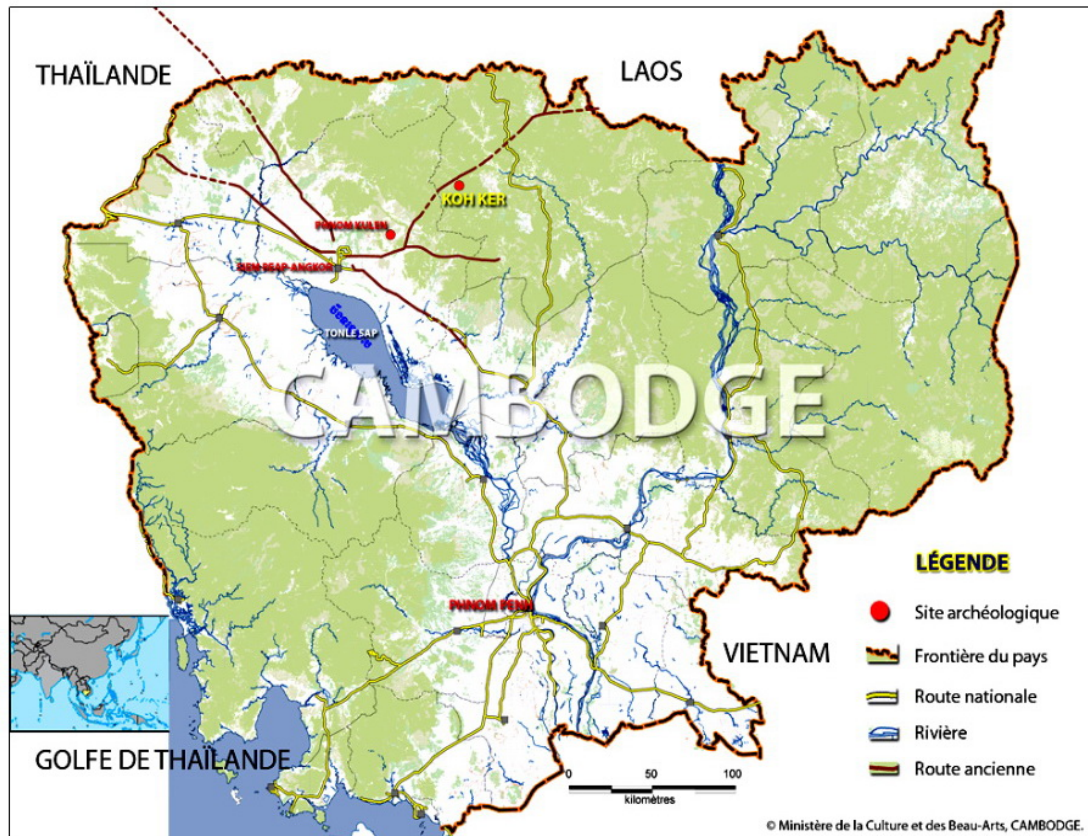
<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 2.1** Yaśodharapura and Hariharālaya (Groslier B.P.)<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in Falser, S. M., The Pre-Angkorean Temple of Preah Ko (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2006), Page 9.

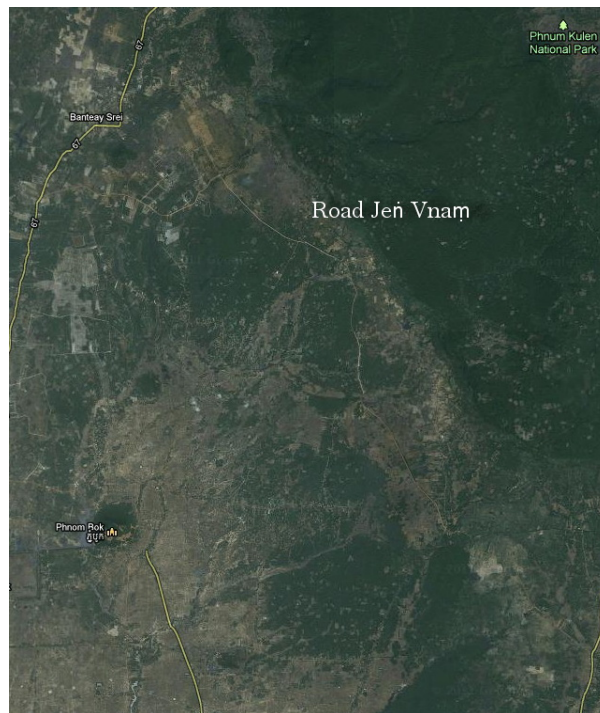


**Figure 2.2** Map of Cambodia, Showing the ancient roads (Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of Cambodia)<sup>63</sup>

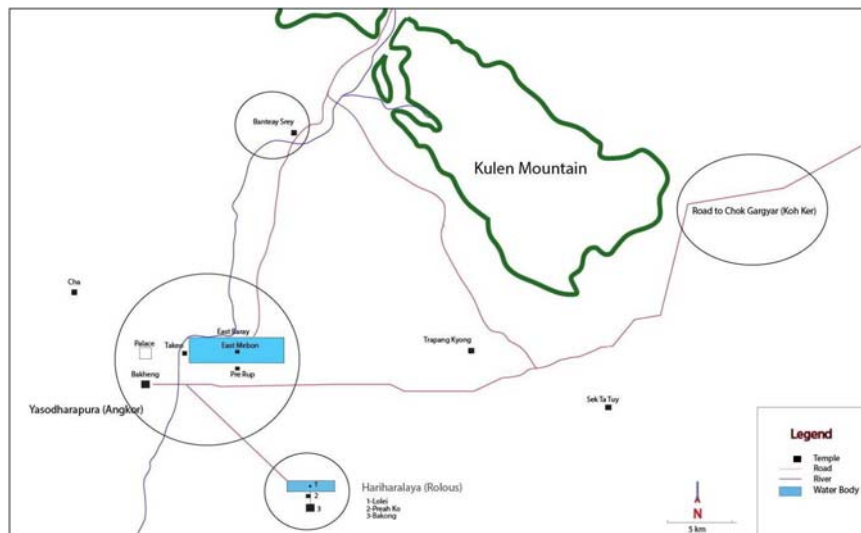
Banteay Srey temple (which shares its ancient name, Śrī Tribhuvanamaheśvara, with the *liṅga* installed in its central shrine) was not located in any of the Angkorean capital. It is located in a land called Īśvarapura, about twenty kilometers northeast of Angkor, almost at the foot of the Kulen Mountains. In ancient times, there are probably two roads that connected Banteay Srey to the Khmer capitals. First, there is high possibility that the modern road used today connected Banteay Srey temple to Angkor group are old road?. The second road is recorded in the inscription of the temple (K.783 and K.570) as *Jeṅ Vnaṅ* – ‘Foot of Mountain’. This road is probably the one seen from aerial photo connected Banteay Srey temple to two other temples built by the royal *guru* Yajñavarāha, namely Sek Ta Tuy and Trapang Khyong (see fig. 2.3 and 2.4).

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Chen C., "Le Site de Koh Ker et Le Regne de Jayavarman IV" ..., *op. cit.*, Page 11.





**Figure 2.3** Aerial photo of proposed road Jeñ Vnañ (Foot of mountain road)<sup>64</sup>



**Figure 2.4** Banteay Srey temple and Khmer capitals of tenth century.

<sup>64</sup> Google map, retrieved on 12 May 2012.

## CHAPTER III BANTEAY SREY AND ITS BUILDER

This chapter focuses on the *guru* Yajñavarāha, and what we know of him and Banteay Srey from the inscripational record. It is divided into three sections. The first section provides an overview of the inscriptions found at Banteay Srey temple (detailed translations can be found in the appendix). The second section describes what the inscriptions of Banteay Srey and elsewhere tell us about the temple's history. The third and longest section discusses in detail the life of Yajñavarāha, the primary builder of Banteay Srey temple. It includes subsections on his background, his education, his influence and relation to the kings, his role as the royal *guru*, and his legacy.

### 3.1 Overview of Inscriptions

There are fourteen inscriptions in total discovered in this small temple. These inscriptions are divided into three groups based on the date. Ten inscriptions, including the founding stele, were created in the tenth century, contemporary with the royal *guru*, Yajñavarāha. Two inscriptions were dated in the eleventh century. The last two were engraved a few hundred years later, in the fourteenth century.

#### Tenth Century Group:

Inscription Number	Location	Lines/Languages	Date (A.D)
K.570	East Gopura III, East Interior Door, South Doorframe	22 Sanskrit and 23 Khmer	969
<b>Synopsis:</b> The Sanskrit portion praises the god Śrī Tribhuvanamaheśvara, the name of the <i>liṅga</i> installed in the central shrine of the temple (it is also the name of the temple). The Khmer part describes donations of Jayavarman V to the temple. It also mentions the boundary of the temple.			
K.571	East Gopura III, East Interior door, North Doorframe	33 Khmer	10th Century
<b>Synopsis:</b> The inscription records and elaborates the allowances made by an unnamed sovereign (Rajendrarvarman II or Jayavarman V) to various priests and their domain, including the Banteay Srey temple.			
K.573	Southwest Annex Building, North Door, East Doorframe	2 Sanskrit	10th Century
<b>Synopsis:</b> Yajñavarāha installs an image of a <i>guru</i> .			
K.574	South Shrine, South	2 Sanskrit	10th Century

	Doorframe		
<b>Synopsis:</b> Jahnvi, younger sister of Yajñavarāha erects a <i>liṅga</i> of Íśvara.			
K.575	North Shrine, South Doorframe	6 Sanskrit	10th Century
<b>Synopsis:</b> Śrī Prthivindrapandita, a relative and spiritual friend of Yajñavarāha, erects a statue of Viṅnu.			
K.783	West Gopura I, West Door, South Doorframe	2 Sanskrit 7 Khmer*	10th Century
<b>Synopsis:</b> Yajñavarāha places an image of Umāmeheśvara in the west gopura I			
K.842A K.842B	East Gopura IV, South Gallery	A: 28 Sanskrit B: 16 Sanskrit and 11 Khmer	968
<b>Synopses:</b> These inscriptions are the founding steles. The Sanskrit portion tells the finishing date of construction of Banteay Srey temple (967 A.D.). It elaborates the background of the royal <i>guru</i> , his knowledge, his role, and his family. It also talks about the joining of the god of Banteay Srey with a god Śrī Bhadreśvara (at Koh Ker). The Khmer portion tells us that these inscriptions are engraved in 968. Much of the story is the same as in the Sanskrit - a royal announcement of the setting up of an image of Śrī Tribhuvanamaheśvara by the royal <i>guru</i> of Íśvarapura and its union with Śrī Bhadreśvara in Liṅgapura.			
K.869A K.869B	East Gopura II, North Gallery	A: 36 Sanskrit B: 20 Sanskrit	968
<b>Synopses:</b> The inscriptions are reproduced copies of K.842.			

#### Eleventh Century Group:

Inscription Number	Location	Lines/Languages	Date (A.D)
K.569A	East Gopura III, West Interior Door, North Doorframe	10 Khmer	1011
<b>Synopsis:</b> Records the order of king Suryavarman I to chief lord Sindura, bidding him to inscribe a proclamation of the terms of his endowment to Banteay Srey temple. The rest of the inscription is largely indecipherable.			
K.572	East Gopura III, West Exterior Door, North Doorframe	12 Khmer	1011
<b>Synopsis:</b> This inscription appears to be a copy of K.569A. The content is almost identical.			

#### Fourteenth Century Group:

Inscription Number	Location	Lines/Languages	Date (A.D)
K.568	East Gopura III,	58 Sanskrit	13 to 14th Century

\* The Khmer text of K.783 continues the Khmer text of K.570.

	West Interior Door, South Doorframe		(Probably, the same year as K.569B)
<b>Synopsis:</b> Describes the character of the king Śrī Indravarman who probably came to visit the temple. It also mentions Yajñavarāha as ancestor of the royal <i>pa□dit</i> of Śrī Indravarman.			
K.569B	East Gopura III, West Exterior Door, North Doorframe	20 Khmer	1304
<b>Synopsis:</b> This inscription offers some historical background about the Khmer kings during this late Angkorean period. It also tell us about a royal <i>pa□dita</i> who claims to be descendant of Yajñavarāha.			

### 3.2 Banteay Srey in the Inscriptional Record

Based on surviving inscriptions, our knowledge of Banteay Srey can be divided into four distinct periods. First, the period described in inscriptions contemporary with its builder. This begins with the temple's construction in the middle of tenth century, its completion in 967 A.D., and consecration in 968 A.D., dedicated to Siva. This period includes other tenth-century inscriptions (K.570, K.571, K.573, K.574, K.575, K.783, K.842, K.869), which indicate that the royal *guru* Yajñavarāha and his family were the owners of the temple. Evidence for the second period comes from early eleventh-century inscriptions (K.569A, K.572). These inscriptions do not mention any connection to the royal *guru* at all. The language and script is very poorly executed in comparison to the inscriptions of the tenth century. This is probably because the royal *guru* or his descendants were no longer in control of the temple. Third, according to early twelfth century inscriptions (Phnom Sandak K.194, and Preah Vihear K.383), the temple was rewarded to the royal *guru* Śrī Divākarapa□□ita by king Sūrayavarman II. These inscriptions also report that this royal *guru* restored the temple to some of the glory it enjoyed under Yajñavarāha. Jacques believes that Banteay Srey temple underwent a long period of disuse, the second period referred to above, until it was gifted to the royal *guru* Śrī Divākarapa□□ita.<sup>1</sup> Fourth, fourteenth-century inscriptions of Banteay Srey temple (K.568, K.569B) describe the visit by the king Śrī Indravarman (1295-1327 A.D.) to the temple. Another inscription also reports that a fourteenth century royal *pa□dita* (scholar) Śrī Madhurendra claimed to be descended from the royal *guru* Yajñavarāha of tenth century. Little is known about the intermittent years between the third and fourth periods, or of the time after the fourteenth century until modern study of the temple began.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jacques, C., "Moats and Enclosure Walls of the Khmer temples", in *Interpreting Southeast Asia*, Past, editors, Elisabeth, A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover, and Peter D. Sharrock, (Singapore, 2008): 8.

<sup>2</sup> The references of each inscription: K.568 (Jenner N. P., "K.568", in *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions*, unpublished), K.569A, B (Jenner N. P., "K.569", *op. cit.*), K.570 (Jenner N. P., "K.570", *op. cit.*), K.571 (Jenner N. P., "K.571", *op. cit.*), K.572 (Jenner N. P., "K.572", *op. cit.*), K.573, 574, 575 (Inscription number 6-8 in Finot, L., et al, *A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor...*, *op.cit.*, Page 82-83), K.783 (Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op.cit.*, Page 143), K.842A, B (Jenner N. P., "K.842B", *op. cit.*; Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op.cit.*, Page 148), K.869A, B (Cœdès,

### 3.3 Yajñavarāha, the builder of Banteay Srey temple

In most books about Angkorean civilization, Yajñavarāha is not given much attention, and sources used for analysis are limited to a few selected inscriptions, especially those of Banteay Srey temple. This section will use a wide range of inscriptions to examine the life of Yajñavarāha.

#### 3.3.1 Yajñavarāha's Background

The first inscription mentioning the name Yajñavarāha is K.842, dated 968 A.D. According to this inscription, he was the royal *guru* of King Jayavarman V, and his title in Khmer was *steñ añ vrañ guru*. George Cœdès suggests that in the reign of Jayavarman V, Yajñavarāha was probably promoted to the status of *Kamrateñ añ vrañ guru*, which appears in numerous inscriptions during this reign and seemed to have played a leading role at the beginning of the reign.<sup>3</sup>

Virtually identical Sanskrit inscriptions at three different temples, namely Banteay Srey (K.842), Trapan Khyong (K.662), Sek Ta Tuy (K.619, K.620),<sup>4</sup> reveal that Yajñavarāha was a royal descendent (see fig. 3.1). His mother was daughter of King Harñavarman, son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Indravarman. His father was a *Brahman* (priest) named Dāmodara, a follower of *Veda* described as being equal in intelligence and nobility to the chaplain of Indra.

The Sanskrit inscription of Banteay Srey (K.842) shows that he had a brother from the same mother named Visnukumāra, who shared the responsibility of constructing the Tribhuvanamehesvara (Banteay Srey). Another Sanskrit inscription from this temple (K.567) describes that he had a sister named Jahnāvi, who erected the *liñga* of Iśvara in one tower of the temple. His name reappears hundreds of years later in a fourteenth century Khmer inscription of Banteay Srey Temple (K.569B), where a lord of Śrī Madhurendra, a royal *paññita* (scholar), claimed that he was descendent of *vrañ guru* Yajñavarāha.

According to the inscription K.842B mentioned earlier, the *vrañ guru* Yajñavarāha was in control of a city called Iśvarapura where he had constructed a few buildings. The size of his city/*-pura* was unknown, but Banteay Srey temple was probably the main

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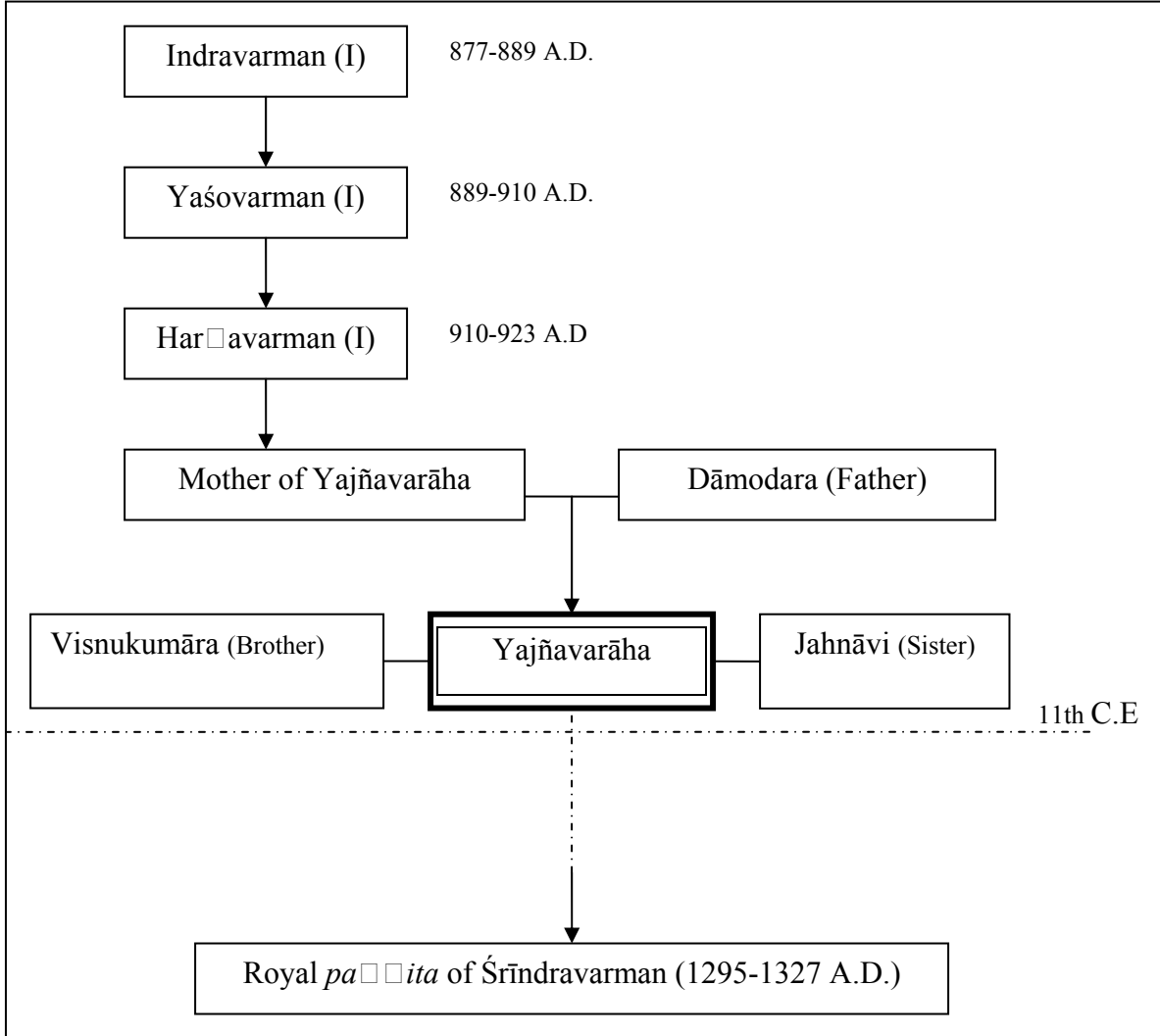
G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op.cit.*, Page 156), K.194 and K.383 (Cœdès, G., Dupont, Page, "Les stèles de Sdok Kok Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihar"..., *op. cit.*).

To avoid repetitions of quotation, the inscriptions will be cited by number if it was referred to original translation once in the thesis..

<sup>3</sup> Cœdès, G., *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*..., *op. cit.*, Page 117.

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion of the inscriptions K.662 of Trapaeng Khyong and K.619, K.620 in related to the inscriptions K. 842 of Banteay Srey temple in Cœdès, G., "La Date du Temple de Banteay Srey", *op.cit.*

compound in his land. He was also responsible for the construction of at least two more temples, Prasat Trapang Khyong, and Prasat Sek Ta Tuy.



**Figure 3.1** Genealogy of Yajñavarāha (from K.842, K.574, K.569B)

### 3.3.2 Yajñavarāha's Education and Knowledge

The founding stele of Banteay Srey (K.842) gives light to the educational background of this royal *guru*. On the Sanskrit part of the stele, from stanza XII to XVI, Yajñavarāha is referred to as a *guru* who is devoted to the God Śiva. He was also a scholar with expertise in the knowledge of many skills. In stanza XX, he was described to be the "first to know the doctrine of Patanjali, Kaṇḍāda, Akṣapāda, Kapila,<sup>5</sup> Buddha, Medicine, Music, and Astronomy". In stanza XXI, his knowledge of several languages and writings is mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Cœdès (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op. cit.*, Page 147, footnote 1) states that Patanjali, Kaṇḍāda and Kapila are respectively the founders of Yoga system. Akṣapāda is another name of Gautama, an Indian philosopher and logician who created Nyaya Sutra in the second Century.

Yajñavarāha was also an expert in writing small narrative stories and composing theater plays. In stanza XXIV it is implied that he had written many poems, which were so good that he was envied by wise scholars living in other continents. He also was responsible for teaching his brother Viññukumāra the knowledge of grammar, arts, and Yoga (stanza XXIX). All the claims in this inscription can be easily validated in the work left by this *guru*, including the variety of artworks in his temple, the bilingual inscriptions written in poetic style.

### 3.3.3 Yajñavarāha's Influence and Relation to the Kings

Yajñavarāha served both Rājendravarman and his son Jayavarman V. There is little known about his relation with Rājendravarman, but it is generally assumed that he was some kind of minister to this king. Two things which can be inferred about the two men is the respect and trust between them. According to inscription K.842, the Banteay Srey temple was completed in 967 A.D., but it was not consecrated until 968 A.D., probably as a sign of respect to the king who died or was sick in that year.

The same inscription shows that prince Jayavarman V was sent to live and possibly study with this *guru* (stanza XVIII). Claude Jacques believed that Yajñavarāha took the young prince in when there was some kind of revolt against his father, Rājendravarman. Regardless of the exact purpose served by the prince's stay, the result is that after his ascension to the throne in 968 A.D., he favored the *guru* greatly. Stanza XVIII of the same inscription informs us how the young king constantly honored his *guru* with “parasols of peacock feathers, litters of gold and other insignias”.

As previously mentioned, Cœdès notes that Yajñavarāha was probably promoted to *Kamrateñ vrañ guru*, a position of great importance. This research agrees with Cœdès that Yajñavarāha had a leading role, which I believe to continue throughout Jayavarman V's reign. Many Khmer inscriptions show that *vrañ guru* had been an important figure, probably second only to the king throughout the reign of Jayavarman V. The word *vrañ guru* appears at least forty times in more than twenty different Khmer inscriptions scattered throughout the country (see Table 3.1). The last inscription mentioning *vrañ guru* during this King's reign was in 994 A.D. (K.257N).<sup>6</sup>

Yajñavarāha's promotion from *steñ añ* to *Kamrateñ añ* in the reign of Jayavarman V is questionable, as the precise meaning of both words is unknown. Evidence from many Khmer inscriptions made during the reign of Jayavarman V show that these honorific titles do not differ much in their meaning. For example, in line 3 of the inscription K.257S<sup>7</sup> dated 979 A.D., *vrañ guru* is accompanied by the honorific *steñ 'añ*. In line 31 of the same inscription, his honorific title is given as *kañ steñ 'añ*. Similar usage of these

<sup>6</sup> cf. Jenner, N. P., "257N", *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions*, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> cf. Jenner, N. P., "257S", *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions*, *op. cit.*

varying forms, along with *Kamrate* 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓, in this period, may indicate that it is safer not to consider these two titles as being very different (see Table 3.1).

Recall that Cœdès only noted that Yajñavarāha was important at the beginning of the reign. This is not unreasonable, considering that the mention of the *guru* in the inscriptions in Table 3.1, is made only by title and without a personal name. It remains unclear whether all these *gurus* are the same person. It is possible that Cœdès assumed that Yajñavarāha was the royal *guru* only for a number of years in the early reign of Jayavarman V while in the later reign of Jayavarman V, the *guru* are unknown or unidentified.

The question remains "Do all mentions of *vra* 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 *guru* in the inscriptions of this reign refer to Yajñavarāha?" This research argues below that all the royal *gurus* mentioned in Table 3.1 are the same person.

Date	K.Number	Line	Title	Location
968	K.659	5 and 6	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Preah Vihear
	K.831	3 and 4	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Battambang
	K.842*19, 20, 22		ste 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap
969	K.171	2	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap
972	K.1141B	12	ste 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Korat (Thailand)
974	K.343S	2 and 16	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Preah Vihear
	K.444A	6 and 13-14	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Kampong Thom
	K.444B	13	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Kampong Thom
	K.868A	3, 8, 24	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	BanteayMeanChey
977	K.143A	12	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Kampong Thom
	K.1152B	4	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Prachinburi (Thailand)
978	K.538A	4	ste 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Angkor Thom
	K.538B	11	ste 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Angkor Thom
979	K.1229C	19-20, 32	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap?
	K.1229D	26, 31	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap
	K.257S	3, 26, 31	ste 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓, ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap
980	K.356	1	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Preah Vihear
981	K.85	3, 5	kamrate 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Kampong Cham
982	K.262S	7	ste 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap
985	K.344	30, 33	ka 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	?
994	K.257N	26	[steñ] 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓	Siem Reap

**Table 3.1** Titles used with *vra* 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 *guru* in inscriptions from the reign of Jayavarman V.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Their locations bibliography can be found in Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 8, (1966); and Jenner, N. P., *Manual of Angkorian Inscriptions*, *op.cit.*

There were about 10 undated Khmer inscriptions during the reign of Jayavarman V bearing the word *vra* 𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 *guru* which I do not include in the list.



First, the name Yajñavarāha is mentioned in early inscriptions of Jayavarman V's reign. Thus, it is possible that the *vra*□ *guru* mentioned only by title throughout the remainder of the reign was still Yajñavarāha, or at least for a period of time. From 968 to 1001 A.D., the *vra*□ *guru* is mentioned by title only which seems to indicate that only one *guru* served under Jayavarman V.

Second, if we look at the inscription K.444 dated 974 A.D., we find two royal directives from Jayavarman V of which one orders a sacrifice to Sarasvatī marking the completion of his studies; this *guru* was generally assumed to be Yajñavarāha.<sup>9</sup>

Third, in inscription K.85 dated 981 A.D., the use of the titles *vra*□ *guru* and *rajākulamahamantri* follows the same pattern used in previous inscriptions during the reign of Jayavarman V (e.g. K.659, K.831, K.444). This is not a strong argument yet it sustains the view that Yajñavarāha was still the *guru* of Jayavarman V.<sup>10</sup>

A potential problem arises with the inscription K.257N, dated 994 A.D. If we consider the likely age of the *guru*, whose mother was the daughter of King Har□avarman I (910-923 A.D.), Yajñavarāha may have been more than 60 years old by the year 994 A.D. Still, it is possible that he remained alive. Another inscription from the same temple, K.257S dated 979 A.D., mentions a *vra*□ *guru* who most likely was Yajñavarāha, if we consider the *guru* in K.85 dated 981 A.D., to have been Yajñavarāha.

Thus, if it is accepted that the *guru* of K.257S was Yajñavarāha, one can reasonably conclude that K.257N of the same temple, dated 994 A.D., also refers to Yajñavarāha as there is no mention of a change. It would be uncommon to inscribe two different royal *gurus* on the inscriptions of the same temple without differentiating between them. However, it could be possible since fifteen years had passed between the two inscriptions.

One of the strongest arguments to support the view that all the royal *guru* in Table 1 are the same person can be found in the content of inscription K.257N dated 994 A.D. In lines 24 to 26, it is said that the east boundary of a tract of land donated to the god of Prasat Cha bordered with the land belonging to the *vra*□ *guru*. The Banteay Srey temple is located east of Prasat Cha. Therefore, it is very likely that the referring *vra*□ *guru* in the inscriptions of Prasat Cha is Yajñavarāha. Therefore, it would be conceivable to conclude that this *guru* still served the King Jayavarman V.

Potentially conflicting information from other inscriptions of the eleventh century must be addressed. Two families claimed to have served as *gurus* under Jayavarman V: the family of Yogiśvarapandita, allies of Sūryavarman I during the civil war\* and the family

<sup>9</sup> cf. Jenner, N. P., "K444", *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, op. cit.*; Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge...*, *op. cit.*, Page 62-8.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Jenner, N. P., "K.85", "K.659", "K.831", in *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, op. cit.*

\* This civil war started shortly or immediately after the death of Jayavarman V in 1001 A.D. It lasted for a decade until 1011 A.D.

of Kavīdrapa□□ita, who was allied with Jayavīravarma, Sūryavarman's enemy (K.276 and K.598).<sup>11</sup>

Date	K.Number	<i>vra guru/ Individual</i>
968 A.D.	K.842	Yajñavarāha
1006 A.D. (reign of Sūryavarman) <sup>12</sup>	K.598 K.276	Kavīdrapa□□ita Yogiśvarapandita

**Table 2.2** Claims of *vra guru* from different official families.

This study argues that there was only one *vra guru* during the reign of Jayavarman V. Then how does one account for these additional two inscriptions? Vickery suggests that during the early eleventh century, and especially in the reign of Sūryavarman I, many claimed to have been descended from kings or great families or to have served under previous kings. Some claimed to have descended from families even older than Jayavarman II.<sup>13</sup> Such claims were often used by officials in this period for status and political reasons. Since both K.598 and K.276 postdate Jayavarman V's reign, without further evidence this thesis believes that both claims are fabricated to increase status.

### 3.3.4 Yajñavarāha's role as Royal Guru

Royal *guru* was recorded in Khmer inscriptions as “*vra guru*” while on the Sanskrit part of the inscriptions, it was recorded as “*raja guru*” (eg. K.842).<sup>14</sup> Both Khmer and Sanskrit could be translated normally to English as “Royal Preceptor”, “Royal Mentor” or simply “king’s teacher”.

Two other categories of teachers in the Angkorean inscriptions are shown along with the word *guru*; the *ācārya*, and *upadhyāya*. In India, “the Sanskrit word *upadhyāya* is described as a teacher ‘who subsists by teaching a part of the vedas, or Vedangas, grammar etcetera. He is distinguished from the *ācārya* who invests the student with the

<sup>11</sup> cf K.276 K.598B, C, D in Jenner. N. P., "K.276", "K.598", in Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, *op. cit.* See also K.598A in Cœdès, G. Inscriptions du Cambodge, volume 2, *op. cit.*, Page 97.

<sup>12</sup> Cœdès (Inscriptions du Cambodge, volume 5, (Hanoi, 1937), Page 147) suggests that the date of K.276 was later than 1037 A.D., date of inscription Vat Ek, K.205.

<sup>13</sup> Vickery, M., "The Reign of Sūryavarman I and Royal Factionalism at Angkor"..., *op. cit.*, Page 226-244.

<sup>14</sup> In one occasion, the word “*rā jaguru*” was transcended into Khmer language seems to imply different meaning. It might be as mean for some kind of teacher but not as “royal *guru*”. This case is seen in line 22 of the inscription K.842B where the word “*rā jaguru*” appears with the word “*vra guru*”. However, the former referred in the inscriptions with lower status than the later. On the other hand, on side A of the Sanskrit part of the inscription, the word “*rā jaguru*” is used correspondent to “*vra guru*”.

K.842B, Line 22: “It shall be the responsibility of the Śaivite *ācārya* who serves as royal preceptor (*rā jaguru*) [and] receives reports to comply with the endowment of the ste□ 'añ the holy *guru* (*vra guru*)” (Jenner, N. P., "K.842B", Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, *op. cit.*).

sacrificial thread and instructs him in the *Vedas*, in the law of sacrifice and religious mysteries. Further a *guru* is a spiritual parent or preceptor from whom a youth receives the initiatory mantra or prayer, who instructs him in the *Sastras* (book, documents) and conducts the necessary ceremonies up to that of investiture which is performed by the *ācarya*.”<sup>15</sup>

However, in Khmer inscriptions, the three words show very little distinction.<sup>16</sup> In the inscription of Sdok Kok Thom (K.235 dated 1052 A.D.), Śivasoma was called *guru* of King Indravarman I and was referred to as *ācarya* of the same king in the inscription of Prasat Kandal Dom (North).<sup>17</sup> In the inscription of Sdok Kok Thom, on the Sanskrit part, stanza 38, a man named Vamaśiva was described as *hotar* (a class of priest) of Indravarman and *guru* of Yaśovarman.<sup>18</sup> Finally, in the Khmer part of the same inscription, Face D: line 1-5, he was described as *upadhyāya* of prince Yaśovarman.<sup>19</sup> Therefore it seems that there was little distinction between *guru* and *upadhyāya*.

Chakravarti remarks that there was some difference in the rank between the *guru* of a king and that of a prince. *Upadhyāya* might be used for the teacher of a prince but not that of the king. This is evidently seen in the description of Śivasoma, *guru* of Indravarman who was described as *guru*, both in the Sanskrit and Khmer parts of the inscriptions, while Vamaśiva was described as *guru* in the Sanskrit part and as *upadhyāya* in the Khmer part of the inscription. Later in the Khmer part, he was called *guru* but this is because Yaśovarman became king.<sup>20</sup>

Besides being a teacher, the person who was royal *guru* could also have several other roles in the royal court. In the same inscription (Sdok Kok Thom), the royal *guru* was sometimes described holding different titles. For example Śivakaivalya, who served under the reign of Jayavarman II, was called on different occasions *rājaguru*, *rājapurohita*, and *purohita*.<sup>21</sup>

This was not limited to the royal *guru* among the educated elites; priests who served under the kings of Angkor could have more than one title. However, it should be remarked that unlike most other high offices (eg. *purohita*, *hota*, *tamrvac*), which could have more than one grade or more than two persons holding the same position, the royal *guru* had only one person serving under the king.<sup>22</sup> Thus, it seems clear that the *guru*'s

<sup>15</sup> Chakravarti, A., *The Sdok Kok Thom Inscriptions*, volume 1 (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1978), Page 134.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Chakravarti, A., *The Sdok Kok Thom Inscriptions*, volume 2, (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1978), Page 24.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Page 107.

<sup>20</sup> Chakravarti, A., *The Sdok Kok Thom Inscriptions*, volume 1..., op. cit. p. 134.

<sup>21</sup> Cœdès, G., Dupont, Page, "Les stèles de Sdok Kok Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihar"..., op. cit., Page 62-63.

<sup>22</sup> Chakravarti, A., *The Sdok Kok Thom Inscriptions*, volume 1..., op. cit., Page 135.

duties were not limited to teaching. Vickery goes so far as to say that the royal *guru* might have been some kind of minister in the central government.<sup>23</sup>

Earlier, I mentioned the Sdok Kok Thom inscriptions in the context of alternative ways of referring to teachers. These inscriptions were engraved during the eleventh century by a large official family, recording the acquisition of various properties through their service for the Angkorean Kings for many centuries. They had claimed to serve under Angkorean monarchy as far as the king Jayavarman II, about two and half centuries before the date of the inscriptions.

Most of the *gurus* mentioned at Sdok Kok Thom are from the ninth century, so there might be difficulty in believing references to individual names. However, since the inscription was dated 1052 A.D., some information concerning officials of high rank, such as the royal *guru* or *rājapurohita*, can be assumed to be a system used in the eleventh century.

It can be assumed that the role of royal *guru* of Yajñavarāha in the second half of the tenth century was probably the same or only slightly different to what is described in 1052 A.D. at Sdok Kok Thom.

In addition to being royal *guru*, in the inscriptions of Trapang Khyong (K.662) and Sek Ta Tuy (K.619, K.620) Yajñavarāha was referred to as *acāraya purohita*. This might mean that he held two or more positions in the royal court the same as the description of royal *guru* Śivakaivalya of Jayavarman II who also held two more positions as *rājapurohita*, and *purohita*. However, these inscriptions (K.619, K.620, K.662) were constructed in contemporary period with K.842 (date 968 A.D.), therefore their date might be earlier or later. Considering the architecture of the temple of Sek Ta Tuy and Trapang Khyong, these inscriptions were probably installed before the date of K.842 in the reign of Rājendravarman II, the period on which Yajñavarāha held position of *acāraya purohita*, and he might be promoted to royal *guru* in the reign of Jayavarman V.

There are a number of inscriptions describing different works he performed, it seems clear that he had many roles serving under the king Jayavarman V. Besides his nominal role of teacher, he could advise the king on the establishment of new villages and temples, serve as witness to different kinds of land and property transactions, select places for new construction, transmit the king orders to lower ranking officials, and even perform rituals on behalf of the king. This is the same as what is seen in India during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and might be interpreted as Indian influence; the *rājaguru* of the Chola system was “the adviser in all matters temporal and sacred”<sup>24</sup>

Examples of Activities of Yajñavarāha from inscriptions:<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Vickery, M., *History of Cambodia...*, *op. cit.*, Page 31. 92.

<sup>24</sup> Vickery, M., "The Reign of Sūryavarman I and Royal Factionalism at Angkor"..., *op. cit.*, Page 229-230.

<sup>25</sup> See Jenner, N. P., *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions*, *op. cit.*

- K.831, date 968 A.D. Along with another high rank official, they are responsible of transmitting royal directive to a lower rank official instructing him to ascertain the particulars of an endowment to Śiva...
- K.171, date 969 A.D. Along with other high rank officials, under the order of the king, they record and identify the slaves, small articles, and rice-lands offered up to an unnamed divinity.
- K.444, date 974 A.D. He performs a ritual ceremony when king Javavarman V completed his study.
- K.343, date 974 A.D. He informs the king of about a land belong to an official. The content implies the legality for the official to own the land.
- K.1229, date 979 A.D. Being witness and order the legality of transferring land and property and boundary marking.

### 3.3.5 Yajñavarāha's Legacy

Our usual understanding of many royal *gurus* of early Angkor period are derived from inscriptions that were carved at later dates. For example, the Sdok Kok Thom inscription, engraved in the eleventh century, elaborates the history of a family who had been *gurus* or high-ranked officials as far as the time of Jayavarman II. These claims of past glory can be seen as a way to justify or legitimize the power of elites, and may sometimes be true if they refer to recent events. Vickery claimed that at least seventeen of this kind of inscriptions, which allude to high position in the past, are found in the eleventh century.<sup>26</sup>

A better understanding can be obtained by focusing on contemporary, rather than historical, references to *guru*. After tabulating the instances of *guru* found in Khmer inscriptions in chronological order, this study found that this word began to appear very frequently in the second half of the tenth century, the time when Yajñavarāha was *guru*.

From the time of pre-Angkorean era, there are only two inscriptions bearing the word *guru*. Both inscriptions are undated, approximately carved in the sixth to seventh centuries. In the inscription K.689, the word *guru* appears twice on face A, lines 17 and 19, with honorific '*nak kamratāñ 'āñ*'. In the second inscription, K.711,<sup>27</sup> the word *guru* is simply a personal name and not meant as a title.

After that the word *guru* does not appear anymore until 804 A.D. in the inscription K.124, in the reign of Jayavarman II. In line 17 of K.124 there was a *guru* name Suvīra "...*vra* (17) *pu* *ya kamrate* *'āñ guru suvīra*...". Much later, the eleventh century inscriptions at Sdok Kok Thom claim that Jayavarman II's *guru* was Śivakaivalya. Little

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Jenner. N. P., "K.711", in Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, *op. cit.*

was known about this period to determine which name was correct or whether both *guru* served the same sovereign.

After this inscription, no inscriptions bearing the word *guru* appear in the ninth century. Until roughly middle of tenth century, inscription K.872, dated 946 A.D., contains "*sre travā* □ *guru*" means "riceland of *travā* □ (pond) *Guru*". There are also a few undated inscriptions bearing the word *guru* that are believed to date from the middle of the tenth century or later. These inscription are K.175, K.414, K.650, K.71.<sup>28</sup> All these inscription bear the word *guru* with honorific title, *Kamraten āñ vra* □ *guru* (this title with *vra* □ allows us to know that he is a royal *guru*).

One must bear in mind, however, that the rarity of *guru* in the Khmer inscriptions does not mean that there were no *gurus*, but rather that the inscriptional record is a fragmentary history, as many other elite titles are also seldom mentioned.

But suddenly at the end of Rājendravarman and the whole reign of Jayavarman V, the number of mentions of the royal *guru* jumped, with at least twenty inscriptions bearing the word "royal *guru*". This prominence may be explained by the importance of Yajñavarāha to the young king, who probably depended on him greatly.

After the reign of Jayavarman V, we saw many inscriptions inscribed by elites claiming to have been *guru*, or related to *guru*, under previous monarchies (e.g. K.598, K.276, K.944). Some claims reached as far back as the reign of Jayavarman II, in the case of K.235.<sup>29</sup>

This trend was probably started by the unique power of the tenth century royal *guru*, Yajñavarāha. This provided a way for relatively modern elites to make claims of historical importance even though they were not themselves royal - or had not even been related to members of the royal court.

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<sup>28</sup> K.175 and K.650 were created in the reign of Jayavarman V. K.71 was probably inscribed in the reign of Rajendravarman II or Jayavarman V. Scholars dated K.414 between the end of ninth to end of eleventh centuries. Cf. Jenner. N. P., "K.71", "K.175", "K.414", "650", in *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Jenner. N. P., "K.276", "K.598", "K.944", in *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions, op. cit.*; Cœdès, G., Dupont, Page, "Les stèles de Sdok Kok Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihar"..., *op. cit.*

## CHAPTER IV ARCHITECTURE

Banteay Srey temple in its entirety should be considered a form of religious and artistic expression of its builder, the *guru* Yajñavarāha. Choices made with respect to its layout and composition reflect the knowledge and intentions of the builder. This chapter will examine the temple's architecture as a means of understanding this connection. It is divided into three sections. The first section explains the purposes of the construction of the Banteay Srey temple. The second section describes the overall plan of the temple and also the main buildings. The last section discusses the materials used for the construction of this temple.

### 4.1 The Purpose of the Construction

Khmer temples were constructed with durable materials, such as brick, sandstone, and laterite. They were built as palaces of one or many gods.<sup>1</sup> However, it should be understood that Khmer temples were not places for public religion or meeting places for the faithful. Rather, most temples were the personal works of a king or member of the elite, hoping to accumulate “spiritual merit” for themselves or their family.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the temples were also used for some public functions. On some occasions, the faithful would crowd into the external enclosure and prostrate themselves at the passing of idols and relics carried by the priest for their adoration and worshiping.<sup>3</sup> On other occasions, common worshippers would encircle the temple, either walking in the ritual direction of *pradashina* (clockwise) or in the opposite direction in funeral ceremonies called *prasaya*.<sup>4</sup>

Cœdès, an expert on Khmer epigraphy, stated that “*the principal temples, those that were of royal origin, are funerary temples or mausolea and, in some respects, tombs, if one is to assume that the ashes were placed there under the statue representing the deceased in his divine aspect. These were not public temples or places of pilgrimage, but rather the final resting place for the Cambodian sovereign, throned in his divine aspect, as in a palace... the last resting place of a being who, during his life, enjoyed certain divine rights, and for whom death consummated his assimilation to a god - a funerary palace in which his mortal remains were laid to rest, but where his statue also stood representing him in the form of a god*”.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Freeman, M., Jacques, C., *Ancient Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 30; Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 21.

<sup>2</sup> Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 23.

Beside constructing temples for their own benefit, another important work for the Angkorean kings was to construct temples dedicated to their ancestors. Usually the king's own temples were built in the form of a pyramid, while temples dedicated to ancestors are built on ground-level or on a platform.

This act might be among the oldest tradition of Angkorean kings. It started from at least the reign of Indravarman I. The king built a pyramid temple (Bakong) as his state temple and constructed Preah Ko temple dedicated to his parents and ancestors. The following king also practiced the same tradition. Yasovarman I built Lolei temple to dedicate to his father while Bakheng temple was built as his state temple.<sup>6</sup> This trend was continued by many Angkorean kings. The last king to practice this tradition was Jayavarman VII. He built Bayon as his state temple while he constructed Ta Prom to honor his mother, and Preah Khan to honor his father.<sup>7</sup>

For non-royal dignitaries, the construction of a pyramid temple might be interpreted as treason or some kind of ill intention toward the kings. In the whole Angkorean period, no pyramid temple was ever built by a dignitary. One might alternately claim that dignitaries did not build pyramid temples because of their expense. However, for someone like Yajñavarāha, constructing a pyramid temple probably would be affordable since as far as evidence shows, he had at least three temples constructed for his family. The inscriptions also mention him as being affluent, and he had various constructions projects in Koh Ker and other areas (K.842, śloka XXI, XXVI).

For Yajñavarāha, Banteay Srey was built as a devotion to god and also to honor his parents and teacher (*guru*). One inscription of the temple states that he and his brother consecrated a *liṅga* in the central shrine (K.842) while another Banteay Srey inscription shows that the south shrine was installed with another *liṅga* called Isvara by his sister, Jahnavi (K.574). An image of Viṣṇu was installed in the north shrine by Śrī Prthivindrapandita, Yajñavarāha's relative and spiritual friend (K.575). On the west *gopura* I, an image of Umāmeheśvara was installed by Yajñavarāha for increasing the merit of his parents (K.783). Yajñavarāha also installed an image dedicated to Vidyaguru (K.575), who might have been his *guru*.

## 4.2 The Structure of the temple

<sup>6</sup> See discussion in Stern, P., "Diversité et Rythme des Fondations Royales Khmères"..., *op. cit.*, Page 649-685.

<sup>7</sup> The Tap Prom's main image represents Prajnaparamita, which was modelled on Jayavarman VII's mother (Freeman, M., Jacques, C., Ancient Angkor..., *op. cit.*, Page 136-137). The main image of Preah Khan is Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara in the form of Jayavarman VII's father (Higham, C., The Civilization of Angkor, *op. cit.*, Page 129)



It is without doubt that Khmer temples were constructed with a symbolic order to represent the universe, or what is described by many scholars as a “microcosm” of the world, as learned from the original Indian cosmology. The central shrines with one or multiple towers are considered to represent mount Meru, the center of the world where gods live. The enclosures are representations of the chain of mountains surrounding the continent while the moat is the symbol of ocean.<sup>8</sup> Banteay Srey was also built with this concept of cosmology. However, it was not constructed to represent Mount *Meru*, this temple was constructed to represent Mount Kailasa, the residence of Siva, to whom Yajnavaraha devoted himself (see 5.16, discussion of sculpture in round, *gana* and antiflex).<sup>9</sup>

The proportions of its buildings were in smaller size compared to other Khmer monuments. It is as if the builders attempted to make it half scale model.<sup>10</sup> Dumarçay offers a fine explanation to this peculiarity by comparing to characteristics of Indian architecture, whose elements have been reduced in size, based on a model applied as a design template.<sup>11</sup> Such application is expressed by "rigor geometric" in the way the temple was erected, particularly the three central towers attached to each other and the terrace wide enough to allow a wider space for the platform.<sup>12</sup>

The expansion of eastern entrance *gopura* (from the center to the periphery) might be peculiar, but it is not unprecedented. Bourdonneau points out that this kind of arrangement "is traditionally associated with the monuments of royal and not a private foundation," as seen at Preah Ko, in the late ninth century, or in Tanjavur temple, long before Banteay Srey's time, in India.<sup>13</sup> In inscription K.842, Yajñavarāha claimed that he was a royal descendent, therefore it is logical for his temple to be built that way.

The fourth enclosure is also a problem in the architectural plan of Banteay Srey. Scholars used to believe that there are four enclosures, and the fourth one is formed from timber palisade.<sup>14</sup> This belief held that the wooden fence soon rotted away, leaving only the durable construction — the fourth *gopura* as is seen today.

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<sup>8</sup> Cœdès, G., The Indianized States of Southeast Asia..., *op. cit.*, Page 119; Glaize, M., The Monuments of the Angkor Group..., *op. cit.*, Page 23; Freeman, M., Jacques, C., Ancient Angkor..., *op. cit.*, Page 23.

<sup>9</sup> Boisselier, J. "Prasat Thom of Koh Ker and Banteay Srey", SPAFA Journal, volume 3, translated by Puranananda, J., (1993): 4-9.

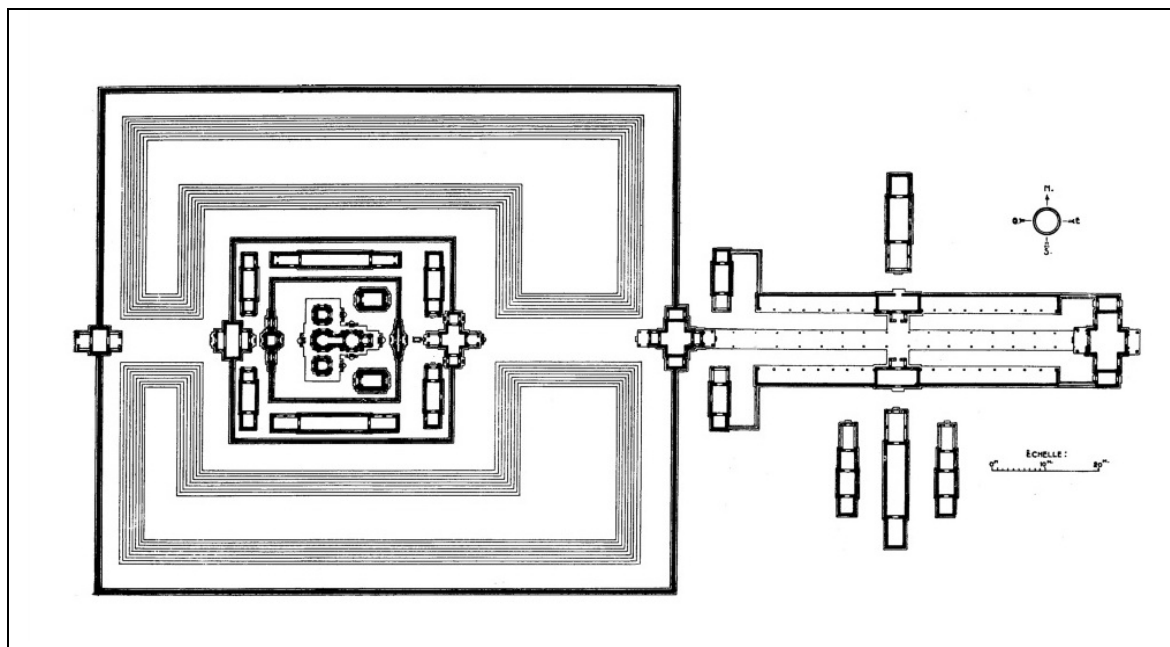
<sup>10</sup> Glaize, M., The Monuments of the Angkor Group..., *op. cit.*, Page 183.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Bourdonneau, E., "Redéfinir l'originalité de Banteay Srey: Relation entre Iconographie et Architecture"..., *op. cit.*, Page 30.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Bourdonneau, E., "Redéfinir l'originalité de Banteay Srey: Relation entre Iconographie et Architecture"..., *op. cit.*, Page 30.

<sup>14</sup> Glaize, M., The Monuments of the Angkor Group..., *op. cit.*, Page 183.



**Figure 4.1** Layout plan (Glaize 1993)

Bruno Dagens believes that the four concentric enclosures of Banteay Srey temple increase the number of *gopura* to eight. This architectural arrangement was first introduced in South India in the early eleventh century.<sup>15</sup> Roveda questions Dagens's view since what appears at Banteay Srey predated those in India architectural manuals at least 40 years.<sup>16</sup> For Roveda, this theory supports his belief that much of what we see at Banteay Srey today were built in 11th century<sup>17</sup> (see the discussion of the date of the decoration and iconography on page 115).

However, Jacques questions the real existence of the fourth enclosure. He states that everyone had claimed the presence of the fourth enclosure without even trying to look for any traces of possible posts or remains at the sites.<sup>18</sup> To Jacques, at least an earth bank would be expected to be seen as a trace of the fourth enclosure, but that not even a trace of one remains now. Thus Jacques believes that there is actually no fourth enclosure from the beginning<sup>19</sup> and the old theory of the Banteay Srey temple was constructed with a classic "axial plane" layout should be altered.<sup>20</sup> However at the very least, the Banteay Srey temple was developed with a "centered plan" in mind, and what appears on the layout that featuring a different plan actually results from later additions: generally the access causeway leading to the central shrine through populated areas of the town or

<sup>15</sup> Albanese, M., *Angkor: Splendors of the Khmer Civilization* (Bangkok, 2006), Page 181; Dagens, B., *Les Khmers* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003), Page 236.

<sup>16</sup> Roveda, V., "The Archaeology of Khmer Image", *Aséanie* 13, (2004): 41.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 87.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Jacques, C., "Moats and Enclosure Walls of the Khmer temples"..., *op. cit.*, Page 5.

city.<sup>21</sup> According to Jacques, these parts of the temple might have been added later in the twelfth century when a *guru* of Suryavarman II, Divakarapa□□ita, restored the temple.<sup>22</sup>

To date the fourth enclosure's existence remains debatable and as yet has no final solution. This study follows Jacques in believing that there is no fourth enclosure. However, his view that most constructions in the east of the third enclosure were constructed in a later period must be questioned. Considering the decorative element, there is no reason to believe that those on the buildings outside and inside the third enclosure are of different eras.

Regardless, for ease of description, the buildings situated outside the third enclosure will still continue to be referred to as belonging to the fourth enclosure. The description of each enclosure, starting from the causeway, the third enclosure, the second enclosure, the first enclosure and the main buildings will be provided.

#### 4.2.1 The Fourth Enclosure

Practically, the fourth enclosure means all the buildings located east of the third enclosure. The main architectural feature is the causeway (75 meters long) with an entrance *gopura* on the so-called fourth enclosure. This causeway comprises a central cruciform chamber flanked by north and south galleries. The main paved way is flanked by two rows of stone posts (see fig. 4.4). There are six long-hall buildings. Three are located south of the causeway, two at the end close to the third enclosure and one at the north of the causeway.

The entrance *gopura* consists of the usual grouping of ornamental columns, pilasters, and pediments, with no lintel (see fig. 4.2). The pediment are triangular and has signs of where the roof timbers were once placed. However, its decoration is dentate in a typical of classical Khmer style (see fig. 4.3).<sup>23</sup>

The galleries are constructed with laterite walls. Their front side is wide open with a row of sandstone square pillars. The galleries are believed to have been roofed with wood and tiles (See. fig. 4.6). In the middle of both south and north galleries is a pavilion giving access to the outside: one long-hall building to the north, three long-hall buildings to the south.

Each long-hall building was constructed with three chambers. The walls are laterite, and the windows are fitted with sandstone balusters. The front part of each building, mostly constructed of sandstone, includes square pillars, its decorative elements, the pediment, pilasters, and columns. The roof would have been made of wood and tiles (see fig. 4.5).

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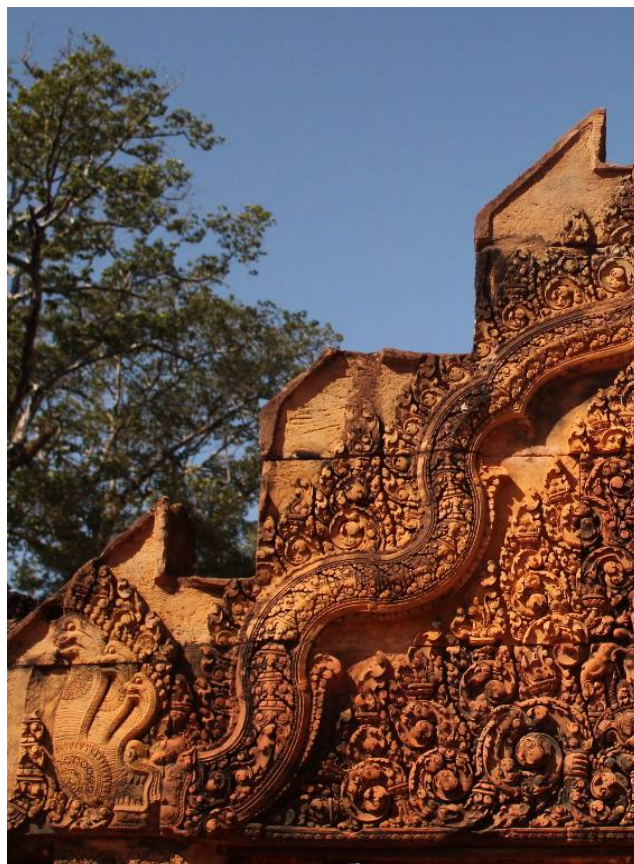
<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 88.



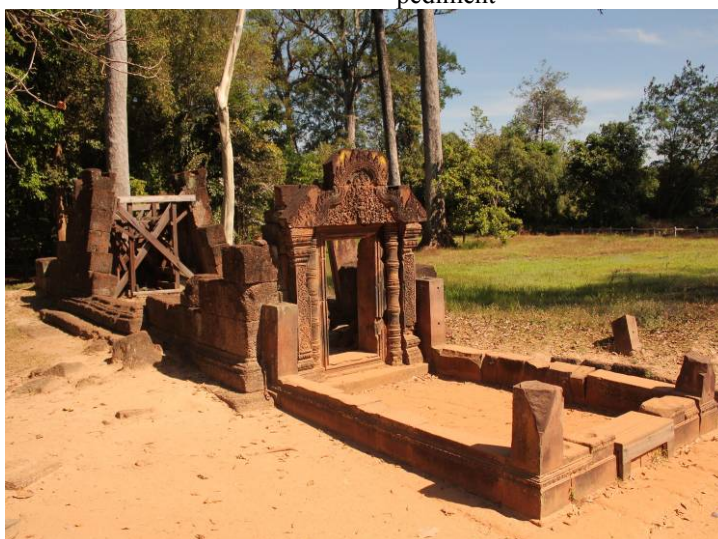
**Figure 4.2** The fourth enclosure, east *gopura*, column, pilaster, pillar (from left to right)



**Figure 4.3** The fourth enclosure, east *gopura*, east pediment



**Figure 4.4** Stone post along the causeway



**Figure 4.5** Long building with three chambers, north of causeway



**Figure 4.6** Left, south gallery; Right, square pillar of gallery

#### 4.2.2 The Third Enclosure

The third enclosure is constructed of laterite, measuring 94 meters by 109 meters. It contains only a wide moat which represents the ocean (see fig. 4.7), and two *gopuras*, located on the east and west walls of the enclosure.

The east *gopura* serves as an entrance from the east. This *gopura* is built in a cruciform shape with five chambers, one in the center and the other four extending in four directions. There is a porch on the plain square pillars. At the end of the central chamber, there are real windows barred with stone balusters. The side chambers have open bays which Jacques suggests to be a mimic doorway.<sup>24</sup> In the central chamber, stand a *yonī* made of sandstone (see fig. 4.8).

The west *gopura* serves as an entrance from the west. This *gopura* consists of three chambers, one in the center and two extending east and west.

<sup>24</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 88.



**Figure 4.7** Third enclosure, moat, and second enclosure (picture taken from third *gopura*)



**Figure 4.8** Left, east *gopura*, third enclosure; right, *Yoni* made of sandstone.



**Figure 4.9** West *gopura*, third enclosure

#### 4.2.3 The second enclosure

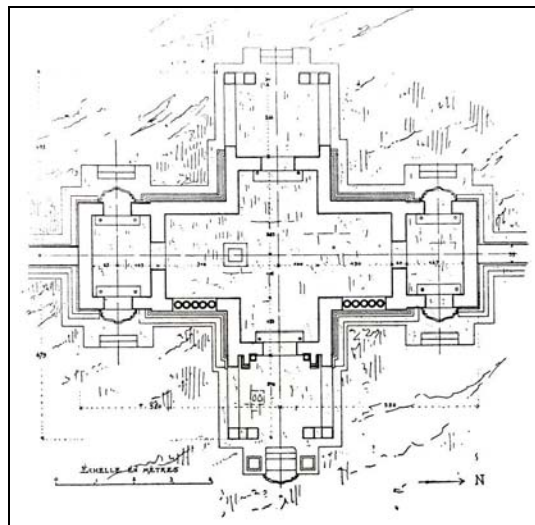
The second enclosure is 42 meters long and 38 meters wide and is built of laterite. It has two *gopuras* on the east and west, like the third enclosure. Within its wall, there are six long-hall buildings.

The east *gopura* serves as an entrance from the east. Similar to the east *gopura* of the third enclosure, it comprises a cruciform chamber in the center and four rooms extending in each direction (see fig. 4.10). The pediments of this *gopura* are made in triangular form finished with spiral motifs at the end of the arch, a pediment style first created at Koh Ker (See fig. 4.11).

On the west side, at the exit, there is a small figure of *Nandi* (*Śiva*'s mount) looking towards the main shrine (See fig. 4.13). This arrangement is borrowed from previous temples such as Preah Ko temple.

The west *gopura* serves as an entrance from the west. Mostly constructed of laterite, except for its decorative elements, the pilaster, the pediment, the lintel and the column and doorframe, which are sandstone.

There are six long-hall buildings which are slightly taller than the long-halls outside of the third enclosure. Each building has three chambers with walls made of laterite, except for windows fitted with balusters made of sandstone. The pediment, the pilaster, the column, the doorframe are also sandstone. Some hind pediments are built of both sandstone and laterite. Four of the buildings (the two beside each of the east and west *gopura*) have a lintel facing inside (see fig. 4.12). The other two long-hall buildings, on the north and south of the second enclosure, have no lintels, similar to the long-hall buildings of the fourth enclosure.



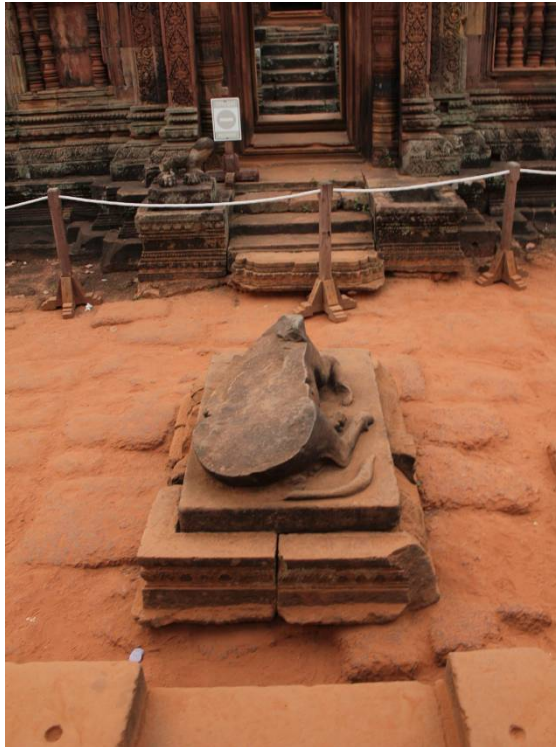
**Figure 4.10** Plan of East *Gopura*, Second Enclosure (Finot, L., et al 2000: 28)



**Figure 4.11** East *Gopura* II,  
triangular pediment



**Figure 4.12** Long-hall building, within enclosure



**Figure 4.13** *Nandin*, Śiva's mount, in front of east *gopura* I.



#### 4.2.4 The First Enclosure

The first enclosure was built almost entirely from brick forming a square with each side measuring 24 meters. There are two *gopuras* built on the east and west wall. Within the first enclosure are two libraries, three towers, and an antechamber.

The east *gopura*, built completely in sandstone, serves as the only entrance into the main compound of the temple (see fig. 4.13). On both of its pediments are depictions of the dancing Śiva, facing outside, and the dancing Durga (*Durgā Mahi*□*āsuramardinī*) facing inside.

The west *gopura* was built entirely of brick except for sandstone doorframe, lintels, and columns (see fig. 4.14). There are two unusual things about this *gopura*. First, it occupies a square-shaped site measuring 3.2 meters on each side, the same size as that of the central sanctuary and the antechamber. Second, it has no door on the west side, which suggests that it should perhaps be regarded as a sanctuary itself rather than as a passageway.<sup>25</sup>

There is still no answer for the first oddity but the second one is probably not very strange if we compare Banteay Srey temple plan with two other temples of Yajñavarāha, namely Sek Ta Tuy and Trapaeng Khyong. The plans are almost identical, with the main shrines surrounded by the enclosures with only one way out, to the east. The only difference is that there is no *gopura* on the wall of Sek Ta Tuy and Trapaeng Khyong temples.

The libraries are probably the most important buildings constructed at Banteay Srey in terms of art development (see fig. 4.20). It is on the pediments of these libraries that the first complex narrative scenes of Hindu mythology were created.

Following the arrangement made at Prasat Thom in Koh Ker, both libraries were placed south and north of the antechamber with its doorways opened to the west and false doorways to the east. The buildings use sandstone as main material with some part of the wall filled with laterite, and the roofs are entirely brick, the typical combination of material seen in many constructions built in the tenth century. The roofs are vaulted brick and their cross-section is in the shape of a false triple nave, a form seen in many other libraries,<sup>26</sup> especially two other temples built by Yajñavaraha (Sek Ta Tuy and Trapaeng Khyong). Jacques suggested that this style of library construction might have originated at Banteay Srey.<sup>27</sup>

The central shrine consists of three towers, with a dentated square ground plan, one real door and three false doors. On the most impressive of the three towers the external

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<sup>25</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 88.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

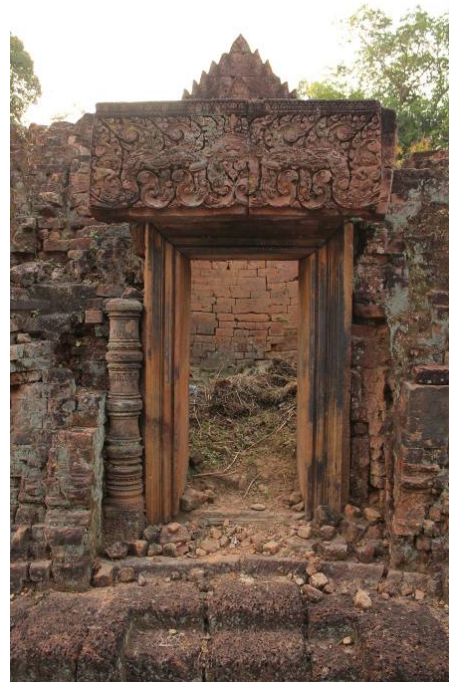
<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

surface is covered completely with decoration. On the flank of the central tower are the *dvārapala* (See fig. 4.17) in niches, while on the flank of north and south towers are *devata* (See fig. 4.18). Both *dvārapala* and *devata* are not new creations, as they were used at temples such as Preah Ko and Bakong. However, at Banteay Srey, both the *devata* and *dvārapala* are influenced greatly by Koh Ker style. There are flying animals supporting the niche in the form of a building, which represent the flying palace for *devata* seen in Sambor Pre Kuk style, and revived in the style of Koh Ker.

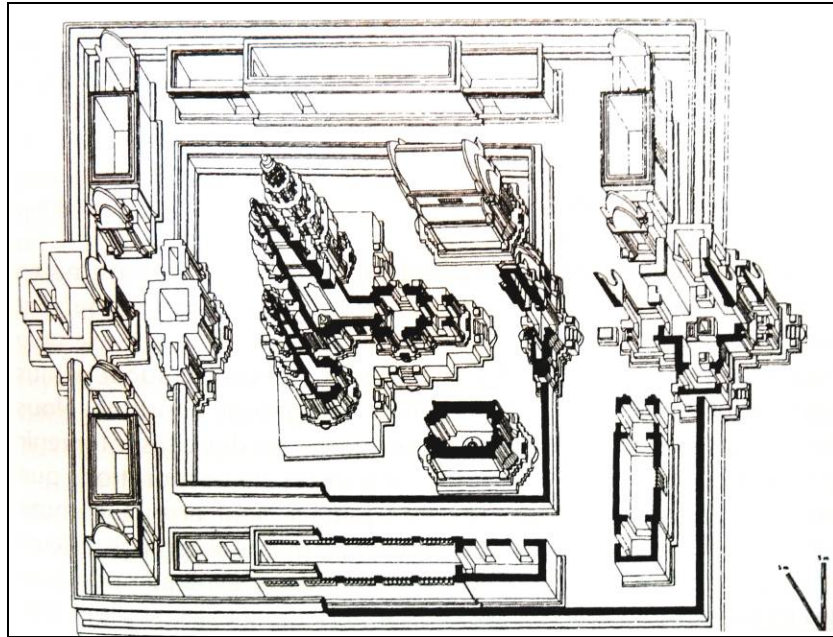
The antechamber is covered with two different square motifs forming a check-pattern (See fig. 4.19). The combination of the sanctuaries and the antechambers on the terrace make the whole complex in a T shape. The Antechamber is also influenced by Koh Ker style; it was built for the first time at Prasat Thom. On the terrace of the T shape (or *mandala*), there is a combination of guardians in the form of animals and mythical beings.



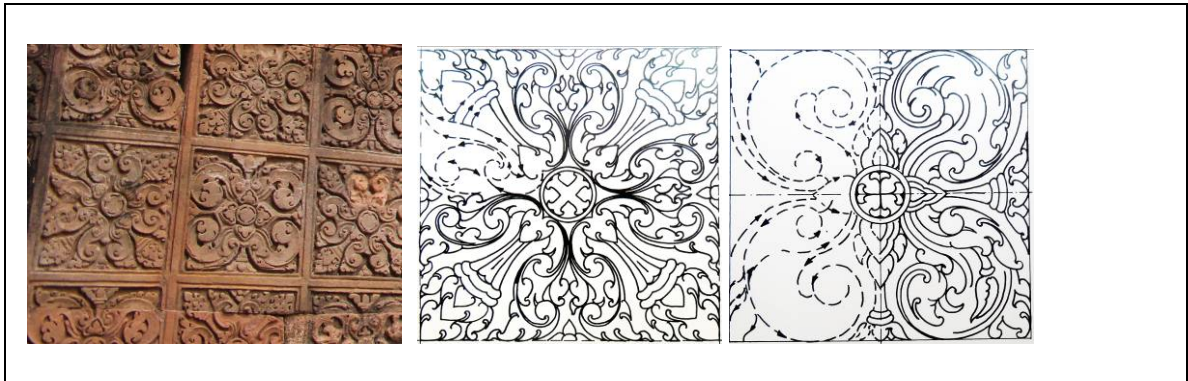
**Figure 4.14** East *gopura*, First Enclosure



**Figure 4.15** Central building, west *gopura*, First Enclosure



**Figure 4.16** image of Banteay Srey compound, within second enclosure (Dagens 2004: 231)



**Figure 4.17** Square motif on the wall of antechamber. Both Skates (Chan 2005: 43)



**Figure 4.18** Central shrine, east flank of south blinded door, dvārapala



**Figure 4.19** South shrine, north flank of east door, devata



Figure 4.20 Antechamber, (picture taken from the south)



Figure 4.21 Left, central shrine (picture taken from the back). Right, north library.

#### 4.3 Materials used at Banteay Srey Temple

At least four materials are used to construct the temple of Banteay Srey. The three towers in the centre of the temple and the east *gopura* of first enclosure are constructed completely in red sandstone. The antechamber is also covered entirely with sandstone, except its brick vaulting roof. The libraries are mostly sandstone, except the brick roof and some parts of the wall which are laterite. The use of red sandstone for the construction is remarkable. Glaize states that the nature of red sandstone can be worked on like wood. It "has inspired the artist not to carve in volume, but rather, in the reduced scale of the composition and proximity of the building - whose bare wall have disappeared under a dense overall decoration".<sup>28</sup>

Laterite was used mostly for the enclosures (second and third), similar to many other temples of the same period. The long-hall buildings are almost constructed with laterite except the decorative parts built with sandstone, and the roofs believed to be woods and tiles. Sometime laterite were used as supplements to the wall and other part of important buildings such as library or *gopura*.

Bricks were used to construct the entire first enclosure except each corner which is in sandstone. It was also used to build the vaulting roof of important buildings, libraries, antechamber, and the entire west *gopura* of first enclosure.

From the hole left on the remaining durable part of the buildings, It can be assumed that woods were used mainly as a beam for the roof of most buildings except those within the first enclosure.

The use of laterite and brick to supplement parts of important building, for example, laterite on the wall of libraries and brick for the roof of libraries and antechamber might imply the limitation of finance for the construction.

However it should be noted that the main material is red sandstone. This material was probably not very common to find since only few Angkorean temples were built using red sandstone as the main material. Even the use of normal sandstone was not yet a common practice in the tenth century. Furthermore, only at Banteay Srey temple that red sandstone was used to construct the whole towers of temple. Therefore, it is probably not a finance reason that some parts of the important buildings (i.e. libraries) were filled with less valuable material (laterite, brick) but rather the lack of red sandstone itself.

The use of bricks for the first enclosure might come from many reasons. One of them might be considered as some kind of ideology not to surpass the king's construction.<sup>29</sup> However, brick should not be considered far inferior to sandstone. Rājendravarman constructed the towers of his state temple with mostly brick, and only the important

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<sup>28</sup> Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 183.

<sup>29</sup> Dagens, B., *Les Khmers...*, *op. cit.*, Page 236.

decoration parts like lintels, pediments, and columns are sandstone. The use of brick for the construction of the roofs, the first enclosure and the the west *gopura* could also be considered as "archaism", the term used by scholars to describe the inspiration to create or keep old tradition or recreate the old art. If it is not for "archaism", why would the west *gopura* of first enclosure was entirely constructed in brick except its decorative parts while the east is entirely sandstone, and the *gopura* of second and third enclosure are combination of sandstone and laterite.

Actually, when looking at the decoration of lintels, pediments, columns, pilasters of the Banteay Srey temple, It is found out that many of its decorative elements are seen at other earlier temples, tracing back as far as Sambor Prei Kuk in pre-Angkorean period. It is a common practice for the later generations to construct their works with the inspiration from the past work. This trend had been seen in many Angkorean works. However, It should be remarked that at Banteay Srey the "archaism" was pushed to the extreme.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, I believe that the use of brick for the first enclosure is related to "archaism", the combination of all kind of materials used previously for the construction.

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<sup>30</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution..., *op. cit.*, Page 52.

## CHAPTER V DECORATION AND ICONOGRAPHY

More important even than the architecture of Banteay Srey, in helping us understand the notability of the *guru* Yajñavarāha, is its rich decoration and detailed iconography. These two aspects of the temple reflect the builder's broad knowledge of Khmer and Indian art, as well as his deep familiarity with Hindu religious traditions and iconography. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first describes and discusses characteristics of the temple's decorative elements. The second section describes and explains the iconographic scenes found at this temple. The final section responds to problems in the dating of Banteay Srey's decorations and iconography.

### 5.1 Decoration

The main buildings within the first enclosure of the temple are almost entirely covered with decoration. This section is organized in terms of the six main decorative elements: lintel, pediment, columns, pilaster, niche, and statue in the round.

#### 5.1.1 The Lintel

Most lintels of Banteay Srey temple are similar to works founded in many great temples constructed before its time. However they are not slavish imitations. They are the reproductions with more details in decoration and also modifications to make their own styles.

In terms of art, the lintels of Banteay Srey are influenced by works at Lolei, Preah Ko, and Bakong temples. One of them even reproduces the details of the lintel it draws inspiration from (see Figs. 5.1 and 5.2).<sup>1</sup> It also shares some similarities with its preceding style, Pre Rup, while many of its iconographic scenes in the center of the lintel are loaned from Koh Ker.

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<sup>1</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution..., *op. cit.*, Page 52.





**Figure 5.1** Bakong Lintel<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 5.2** Banteay Srey Lintel

The characteristic feature of lintels at Banteay Srey is the combination of floral and figures (e.g. god, animal, human). The floral depictions on the lintels of Banteay Srey are quite elegant and refined with varied forms. Jacques described it as a “metamorphosis of a lotus more mythical than realistic”.<sup>3</sup> This refers to the combination of various floral forms and mythical animals intertwined together.

The most common lintels are the type with two symmetrical parts through a central vertical axis. This system was used in many lintels of monuments preceding Banteay Srey temple. It is characterized by foliage branches coming out of the central motif to form an arch (see fig. 5.2). From the same symmetrical system, a new form is created in this style, the foliage branches spread out from the central motif in the form of horizontal blossoms, similar to the decoration of the vertical blossom motif seen on pilasters and many lintels of registered towers (see fig. 5.3).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Andy's Cambodia, Image of Bankong lintel [online], 20 March 2012. Source <http://blog.andybrouwer.co.uk/2009/03/bakong-lintel-views.html>

<sup>3</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 179.

<sup>4</sup> Finot, L., et al, *A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 37.



**Figure 5.3** A, lintel; B, Pilaster

Another system founded at Banteay Srey is the reuse of Pre-Angkorean technique, a division of lintel into quarters which are found at many temples of Sambor Prei Kuk and the Prei Khmeng style (see fig. 5.4, top). Rather than medallions as seen in Pre-Angkorean period, the mark of each quarter is positioned with a head of a monster holding a pendant or an elephant head, a borrowing from the central motif on the lintels of Lolei temple.<sup>5</sup> After Banteay Srey temple, this technique continued to be used in the lintels of successive art styles until the beginning of Bayon style.<sup>6</sup>

Coincidentally, from this technique another remarkable characteristic is created. That is the two-arch system which places two arches of foliage branches, each with two symmetrical parts of its own, into one lintel (see fig. 5.4, bottom).

<sup>5</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 179.

<sup>6</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 52.



**Figure 5.4** Top, Lintel of Sambor Prei Kuk Style,<sup>7</sup> Bottom, Banteay Srey

### 5.1.2 The Pediment

The pediment is one of most important elements in the art of Banteay Srey. It presents both an imitation of the past art and a surprising innovation. The most remarkable new creation is narrative scenes carved on the tympanum, the first time it was carved on this part of architecture element.<sup>8</sup>

The motif on the tympanum of the temple displays the attempt of the decorator to create this new placement. It had probably undergone some experiments at this temple in what could be called an attempt by artists to bring what appears on the lintel into tympanum. Good evidences to support this idea can be seen on the pediment found at the *gopura* of second enclosure (see fig. 5.5). The arch of foliage branches spreads out from the central part of the tympanum. This theme was mostly used on the lintels in earlier monuments but at Banteay Srey it was brought to the tympanum. Other fine evidence is the scene of abduction of Sītā on the pediment of the south long-hall in front of the third enclosure, showing an almost identical motif with the lintel of the west side of central shrine (see

<sup>7</sup> Andy's Cambodia, Image of lintel of Sambor Prei Kuk [online], 20 March 2012. Source <http://blog.andybrouwer.co.uk/2009/03/bakong-lintel-views.html>

<sup>8</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 64.

fig.5.6). On one pediment of the long-hall building south of the causeway is portrayed a scene of *Garuda* dominating *Naga* at the end of the arch. This kind of motif is seen on the lintel of preceding temples such as the lintel of Phnom Bok temple (see fig. 5.7).



**Figure 5.5.** East gopura II, detail of foliage in the form of arch on pedimen



**Figure 5.6.** Left, pediment; Right, lintel: detail of the scene of the abduction of Sida. The central motifs are almost identical.



**Figure 5.7.** Left, the end of pediment arch at Banteay Srey temple, Right, the end of lintel arch at Phnom Bok.

In terms of designs, three types of pediment are used at Banteay Srey:

- 1) pediment in the shape of an upside-down U, divided into three sections, with a dentated outline (see fig. 5.8)
- 2) the multi-curved pediment (see fig.5.5)
- 3) the triangular pediment (see fig. 5.9).<sup>9</sup>

These three types are inventions of the past. Scholars believe that the artistic style of pediment at Banteay Srey, except on its tympanum, passed directly from the style of Koh Ker.

The first type of pediment appears exclusively on the three main shrines and on the north and south door of its antechamber. The decoration inside the tympanums depicts plant motifs surrounding a figure from a small narrative scene or mythical being. The arch of the pediment is decorated with branches of blossoms spread from the top, some of the blossoms being displayed in top view while the rest being displayed in side view. At both ends of the arch are *makara* splitting out *naga*.

<sup>9</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 179-180.



**Figure 5.8.** North Shrine, East pediment



**Figure 5.9** East gopura, second enclosure, triangular pediment

The second type of pediment is displayed on various parts of the temple except the three main shrines. It appears on the front door of the antechamber, the secondary building, the *gopura* and the libraries.

Many pediments of this type contain bas-relief on their tympanum with complicated narrative stories, and with the quality Jacques described as unmatched by many, except the lintels in the Preah Ko style, the bas-reliefs at Angkor Wat, and by one or two lintels of its own style.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

The arches of the pediments of this style have great diversity. The arches of the libraries are carved with *Kala* on the top spreading branches of blossoms from its mouth, and at the end of the branch is *Makara* spitting out a lion on the lower pediment, *Makara* spitting out *Garuda* on the second register pediment, and *Makara* spitting out *Naga* on the third register pediment.

The pediments of other buildings also display many creative works of the arch which end with *Makara* spitting out *Naga*, *Makara* holding pendant with its trunk, *Makara* spitting out *Naga* dominated by *Garuda*, Javanese *Makara* spitting out Khmer *Makara* holding a pendant with its trunk.<sup>11</sup>

The third type of pediment, the triangular one, is an imitation of the style of wood pediments (H. Parmentier).<sup>12</sup> This type appeared for the first time in Koh Ker style at Prasat Thom and Krachap, and continued to be used as temple pediment for about a century until its disappearance at Vat Phu temple.<sup>13</sup> At Banteay Srey, these pediments are found at the *gopura* of the second enclosure. The tympanum contains only some floral motif and a figure of a guardian. Its arch is carved with small and big diamond motifs between two rows of pearl motif. At the end of the arch is a big curl in the shape of snail shell.

### 5.1.3 Columns

Rémusat described the evolution of columns of the Banteay Srey style as “temporary suspension”. He believes that the decorators of this temple preferred the themes of the past.<sup>14</sup> Two types of columns are founded at Banteay Srey temple. The first type is the cylindrical column (see fig. 5.10 A): columns with this shape had long disappeared from Khmer temples, from at least around the end of the ninth century. Prior to Banteay Srey, the latest of this type of column is seen at Bakong temple in Preah Ko style. It reappears at Banteay Srey temple (967 A.D.) in what is characterized by Rémusat as “borrowing of the past”.<sup>15</sup>

The second type of column is octagonal, the most common shape seen during the Angkorean period and very similar to the column of its preceding styles (see fig. 5.10 B).

The most remarkable change in both types of column of Banteay Srey temple from the column of previous monuments is the end of the previously common use of rings to mark

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<sup>11</sup> Javanese Makara is the term used by Coral de Rémusat (*L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 121)

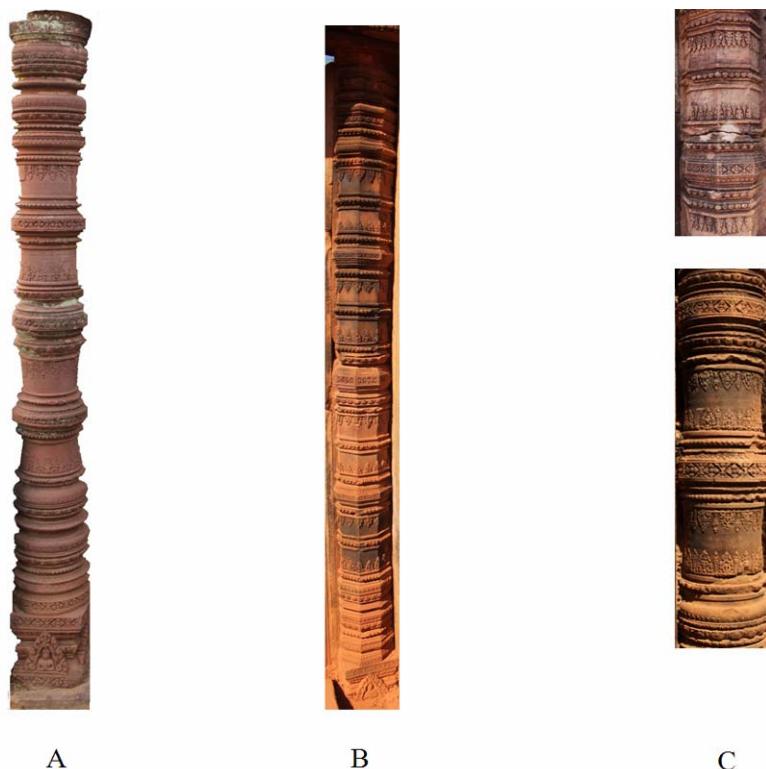
<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Boisselier, J., *Le Cambodge...*, *op. cit.*, Page 167.

<sup>13</sup> Boisselier, J., *Le Cambodge...*, *op. cit.*, Page 167 and 169.

<sup>14</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution*, *op. cit.*, Page 121.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

the shafts at one-eighth intervals.<sup>16</sup> This gives the columns large space with small repeated garlands and pendants coming out from either lower or upper part of the ring.<sup>17</sup> This gives the columns the appearance of extreme simplicity or plainness (see fig. 5.10 C).<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 5.10.** A cylindrical column, B octagonal column, C detail of both column  
**5.1.4 Pilasters**

There are a variety of pilasters at Banteay Srey temple. All are made of sandstone. A certain number of them are imitations of previous styles. For example, the shaft of foliage of Preah Ko style reappears here in a more simple form (see. Fig 5.11, 5.12 D).<sup>19</sup> A new innovation is also seen in this style: the appearance of *Garuda* alternating with *Kala* (See. Fig 5.12 A). Beside the floral motif, the pilasters are also decorated with various animal and mythical beings: *Kala*, *Makara*, lion, *Naga*, *Garuda*, and *Devata* (see. fig. 5.12).

<sup>16</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 179; Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 121.

<sup>17</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 121.

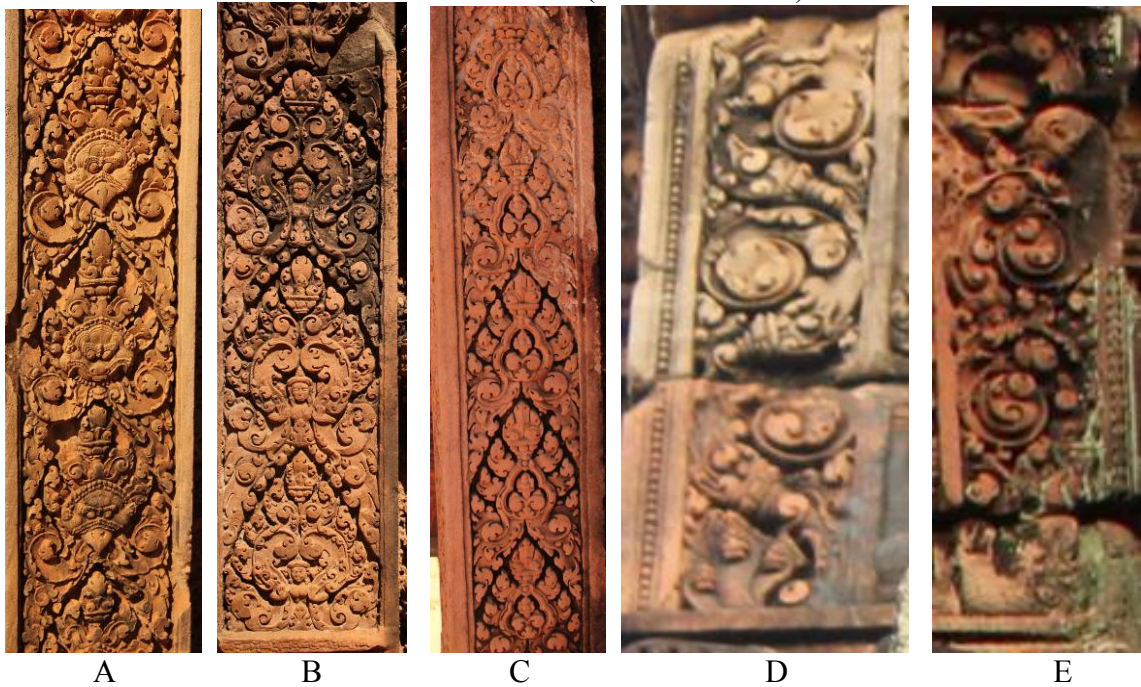
<sup>18</sup> Jacques, C., *Angkor...*, *op. cit.*, Page 179; Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 121.

<sup>19</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution...*, *op. cit.*, Page 121.





**Figure 5.11.** Left and right, pilaster with flora motif metaphoses with lion. Middle is normal flora motif (Boisselier 1966)



**Figure 5.12** A garuda and kala. B devata. C. flora. D Naga. E. Makara

### 5.1.5 Dvārapala and Devata

These statues can be found on the flanks of the main towers. The male figure, called *dvārapala*, is located on the flank fields of the central shrine while the female figure, called *devata*, is located on the flank field of both north and south shrines.<sup>20</sup> These guardians of Banteay Srey represent top achievements of stylistic perfection. Both *dvārapala* and *devata* are shown with elegant bodies. They are depicted in a slightly high hipped stance which makes the statues look natural standing and appear obliquely turned towards the entrance in the slightest way. The body stands spatially independent in its niche, the arms of the guardian are shown bent with elbow behind the column while the outstretched arm is in front of it (see fig. 5.13).<sup>21</sup>

The *dvārapala* is shown with naked torso without any jewelry. The hair style is set in a cylindrical chignon. The hand is shown holding a lotus bud in one hand and spear in the other (see fig. 5.13). The bottom part of the niche is shown with three lions supporting the building depicted on the niche, while above is shown two flying male figures and a head of *Kāla* spitting out a lotus. On top of the *Kāla* are female figures playing cymbals to provide rhythm to a female dancer with a large bell dress, like those that can be seen in the art of Bakheng, and particularly of Phnom Krom (see fig. 5.13).<sup>22</sup> Above the *Kāla* head's motif are shown two flying swans and a small row of floral pendant and garland (see fig. 5.15).

The *devata* does not wear any head gear but the hair appears to have been styled. The figure is shown wearing ornaments. The designs of earrings, necklaces and waistbands is rather intricate. The dress worn on the lower part of the body is also stylized (see fig. 5.14). The *devata*'s building is supported by three flying swan. Above the niche is shown the same two flying figures as in the niche of *dvārapala*, and a *Kāla* head spitting out an elephant, a motif borrowed from the central motif of Lolei temple. On top of the *Kāla* is shown a figure of a flying bird morphed with lotus and at the end of each foliage branch comes out from the *Kāla*'s head is *Garuda* which is also spitting out a pendant of lotus (see fig. 5.14 and fig. 5.16).

The display of guardian figures on the flank of the shrines with three supported animals and also various motifs associated with flying above the building is probably the decorators' expression of a flying building, or in other words the residence of the divine. The bas-relief of flying building is rarely seen in early Angkorean period but appears many times on the walls of brick temples founded in Sambor Pre Kuk style.

<sup>20</sup> I follow Glaize (*The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 183) in calling the beings in niches of Banteay Srey temple as *Dvārapala* for male figures and *devata* for female figures.

<sup>21</sup> Falser, M. S., *The Pre-Angkorean Temple of Preah Ko...*, *op. cit.*, Page 117.

<sup>22</sup> Glaize, M., *The Monuments of the Angkor Group...*, *op. cit.*, Page 187.



**Figure 5.13** Central tower, east flank of south blinded door, *dvārapala*



**Figure 5.14** South tower, north flank of east door, *devata*



**Figure 5.15** Central tower, east flank of south blinded door, dvarapala



**Figure 5.16** North tower, south flank of east door.

### 5.1.6 Sculpture in the round

When it comes to the sculpture in the round, Banteay Srey temple contains many masterpieces. First, the idols of gods installed in the main buildings of the temple. In the north shrine of the temple, an image of Visnu was installed. This installation was also reported in the inscription on the doorframe of the tower (K.575 and fig 5.17). The Visnu image was moved from the temple to the National Museum in 1920, but sadly was stolen in 1980.<sup>23</sup> In the south shrine of the temple, a sister of Yajñavarāha, named Jahnavai, reported in the inscription (K.574) of the south shrine that she installed an idol of *linga*, which has never been found. In the central shrine, the inscription reports that an idol of sivalinga was installed there, this *linga* was name Tribh... which was also the name of the temple in Angkorean time. It, too, remains undiscovered.



**Figure 5.17** The image of Visnu, North Shrine (Finot, L, et al 2000)

Perhaps the most excellent work is the image of Umāmeheśvara (See fig. 5.18). The inscription (K.783) records that this image was installed in the east gopura I by Yajñavarāha for the purpose of making merit for his parents. This statue was presented perfectly with Uma sitting on the lap of Siva, with excellent decoration and proportions. It is especially noteworthy that this image of Umamahesvara at Banteay Srey temple was the first such statue to be created in the round; previously, Umamahesvara was depicted only on bas-relief.

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<sup>23</sup> Ly, B., "Picture-Perfect Pairing: The Politics and Poetics of A Visual Narrative Program at Banteay Srey Temple", *Udaya Journal* number 6 (2005): 156.



Figure 5.18 First Enclosure, west gopura, Umāmeśvara (Finot, L, et al 2000)

The *Gana* is the most interesting among all the sculpture in the round found at Banteay Srey temple. *Gana* can be considered as the guardians of the gods; they were shown frequently in the form of demi-god or Yaksha. They are deities of a lower level who reside in the bottom of the slope of Mount Kailasa, the abode of Siva.<sup>24</sup> In Khmer art, The image of *gana* appeared the first time at Sambor Pre Kuk, a pre-Angkorean site, in Kampong Thom province. It was probably revived at Koh Ker, and continued as part of the style of Banteay Srey.<sup>25</sup> Though the use of *gana* at Banteay Srey is not original, their detailed decoration shows significant improvements from the style of Koh Ker. The decoration of the crown is more detailed and intricate, the body of the sculpture is more proportional in comparison to the bulkier and more simple decoration of Koh Ker (Cf fig. 5.19 against 5.20, 5.21, 5.22). The presentation is also different; at Koh Ker the *Gana* are shown with the hands together in *anjali*mudra, while at Banteay Srey temple each *gana* is portrayed holding a short weapon with right hand placed on the right knee.

<sup>24</sup> Boisselier, J. "Prasat Thom of Koh Ker and Banteay Srey" ..., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Personal Contact with Dr. Chen, Chanratana, Professor of Art History of Southeast Asia at Royal University of Fine Arts.



**Figure 5.19.** The *gana* of Koh Ker.<sup>26</sup>

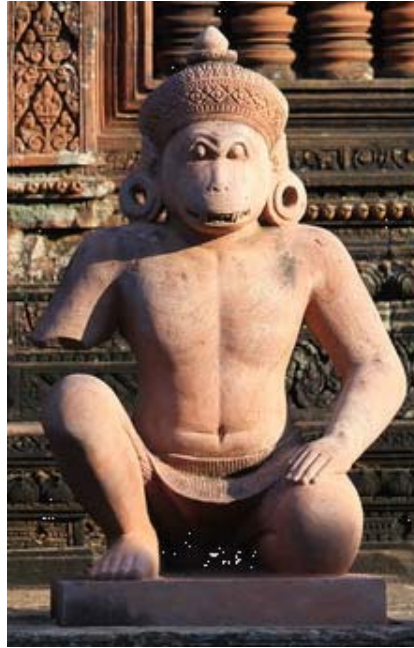
The symbolic meaning behind this arrangement is very important in the iconographic perspective. By comparing the feature of the statues of *gana* to the images shown in the reliefs on the pediments of the libraries at Banteay Srey temple, which also feature the same mythical beings on the bottom tier of the pyramid (i.e. Kailasa), Boisselier was able to identify the *gana* as follows:<sup>27</sup>

1. *Gana* in the form of human-monkey hybrid (see fig. 5.20 ). This represents Nandikesvara, who is also featured on the pediment of the library. This *gana* is bigger in proportion in comparison to all other statues of *gana* found at Banteay Srey temple. The intent is to show the importance of this *gana*, who is the mount of Siva, Nandin, in transformation.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/pigalleworld/7002780294/sizes/l/in/photostream/> on May 20 2012

<sup>27</sup> Boisselier, J. "Prasat Thom of Koh Ker and Banteay Srey" ..., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.



**Figure 5.20** Gana in the form of Monkey

2. Gana in the form of ascetic with smiling face (see fig. 5.21). This gana is often confused with Siva. In fact, it is Nandisvara, who the Indian texts informs us that the Nandin, again, transformed himself to have the same appearance as Siva, and thus is portrayed as the head of the *gana*.



**Figure 5.21** Head of gana (Finot, L, et al 2000)

3. Gana in the form of Yaksha (see fig. 5.22). This would be Mahakala, who is normally associated as a guardian. Kala is a god of death or time, sometimes identified with Yama.





**Figure 5.22. The Gana in the form of Yaksha**

4. Gana in the form of garuda (see fig. 5.23). These are also featured in the the first tier of Mount Kailasa of the library. They were installed in front of the North Shrine, whose inscription tells us that an image of Vishnu was installed there, which fits if we consider that garuda is Vishnu's mount.



**Figure 5.23 Gana in the form of Garuda<sup>29</sup>**

<sup>29</sup> Lessing Photo Archive, Image of gana in the form of garuda [online], 12 May, 2012. Source: <http://www.lessing-photo.com/search.asp?a=L&lc=202020206666&co=Cambodia&ci=Phnom%20Penh&ln=Musee+Royal&p=2&ipp=6>

5. Gana in the form of human with lion head (see fig. 5.24). While we are not sure of the identity of this guardian, on the pediment the mythical being is also featured on the first tier of the pyramid, among other gana.



**Figure. 5.24** Gana in the form of human with lion head<sup>30</sup>

6. Gana in the form of human with horse head (no image). Boisselier believed that an image moved from Angkor to Vietnam was actually brought from Banteay Srey temple. Based on his description of its proportions, pink sandstone, and decoration style, the identity of this gana could be Vajimuka or Kalkikaya, or may be a normal mythical being who living as guardian in the bottom of Mount Kailasa. This gana is also featured among other gana in the relief of the pediment of the libraries.

Antiflex sculptures are placed on the tiers of the registered towers of the temple. They are also part of cosmology, and represent the being living on different tiers of Mount Kailasa. Various mythical beings are portrayed: the demi-god, the guardian, the ascetic, the *devata*, and others are all found on various tiers of the temple towers. This arrangement, again, parallels that seen on the pyramid of the pediment of the libraries, where these beings are also featured (see fig. 5.25 A. B)

<sup>30</sup> Lessing Photo Archive, Image of Gana in the form of human with lion head, [online], 23 May 2012.

Source:

<http://www.lessing-photo.com/dispimg.asp?i=05010435+&cr=9&cl=1>



Figure. 5.25 Antiflex of the shrine of Banteay Srey temple, left, ascetic, right, Ganesha

## 5.2 Iconography

Apart from Banteay Srey's excellent and detailed decoration, the display of Hindu iconographic narratives is one of the most important parts of the temple. On its lintels are mostly revival works of Hindu scenes that appeared at previously-built temples, especially at Koh Ker. On its pediments are displayed for the first time complex iconographic scenes. Meanwhile, heraldic displays of Hindu god also appear on both lintels and pediments. This section provides a list of scenes found on lintels and pediments (see page 92 and 94), background stories and some elaboration of the scenes. It must be noted before reading that many of the iconography depicted at this temple are unprecedented, for example, The Abduction of Sītā by Viradha, Story of Apsara Tilottama, Ravana Shaking Mount Kailasa, while others like the Burning of Khandava Forest and the Burning of Kamadeva by Siva do not appear at other temple at all.

### 5.2.1 Combat between Arjuna and Śiva

This scene is from the Hindu epic, Mahābhārata. While the Pandavas brothers were exiled in the forest, Arjuna is instructed by Indra to propitiate the god Śiva with penance (*tapasya*). Pleased by his austerities, Śiva decides to reward him. However, when Śiva arrives, a demon named Muka, in the form of a wild boar, charges toward Arjuna. Śiva disguises himself as a Kirāta, a wild mountaineer, and shoots an arrow at the boar, killing it. However, Arjuna happens to shoot the beast with an arrow at the same time. They argue over who shot first, and a battle ensues. They fight for a long time, and Arjuna is shocked that he cannot conquer this Kirāta. Finally, he

recognizes the god, and surrenders to him. Śiva, pleased with his bravery, gives him a powerful weapon called Pashupatastra, which later in the Mahābhārata aids him against his enemy.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Wikipedia, [Kirātārjunīya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirātārjunīya) [online] 23 May 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kir%C4%81t%C4%81rjun%C4%ABya> retrieved on 12 March 2012.







**Figure 5.28** Central shrine, south lintel, combat between Arjuna and Śiva

In the center of the lintel is the combat scene between Arjuna and Śiva. Below them is a charging boar, a demon named Muka in disguise. Two smaller figures holding bows undoubtedly represent the scene when both Śiva and Arjuna shoot the beast simultaneously. (According to their hairstyles, the right bowman is Śiva, the left is Arjuna.)

### **5.2.2 Bhīmā fighting with Jimuta (Mahābhārata)**

This scene tells of the Pandava brothers having to choose some place of residence where they will not be discovered in the thirteenth year of their exile. After discussion, they decide to stay in Matsyas since its monarch, Virata, is a virtuous king, powerful and liked by all.

Staying in the kingdom, they don disguises to conceal themselves from Duryodhana's spies. For three months, they remain undetected. However, in the fourth month, there is a grand festival participated in by wrestlers and athletes from all parts of the country. Among them, one wrestler named Jimuta is outstanding, since he is taller and stronger than the others. He defeats anyone who comes before him, disappointing the other wrestlers. The king Virata, unable to tolerate the prowess of this wrestler anymore, calls for his cook, Vallabha (Bhīmā, one of Pandava brothers in disguise) and orders him to fight in the competition. Bhīmā is a little reluctant, afraid of being discovered, but he cannot disobey the king's order. At first, both Bhīmā and Jimuta look equally powerful. They kick, hit, throw, push each other around, and both are hopeful of victory. At last, Bhīmā is able to seize Jimuta by his sturdy arms, and lifts him up. Then Bhīmā whirls his opponent round and round a hundred times till Jimuta becomes unconscious, then dashes him to death on the ground.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Virata Parva, [Chapter 1-2](http://www.philosophy.ru/library/asiatica/indica/itihasa/mahabharata/eng/gbmb04xt.html), [online] 13 March 2012. Source <http://www.philosophy.ru/library/asiatica/indica/itihasa/mahabharata/eng/gbmb04xt.html>



**Figure 5.29** North shrine, south lintel, central motif: Bhīmā fights with Jimuta

Some scholars named this scene as "K□□□a fights against an Asura". But the title is unclear, and in the stories of K□□□a there is no scene of him fighting like this. It is more fitting to interpret the scene as Bhīma fighting with Jimuta. Therefore I propose changing the identification of this scene.

### **5.2.3 Bhīmā fighting against elephant and lion**

The story continues from the previous scene after Bhīmā defeats Jimuta. The king again orders him to fight with other wrestlers and when all are defeated, he orders Bhīmā to fight with lions, tigers, and elephants.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Virata Parva, Chapter 2 [online] 13 March 2012. Source <http://www.philosophy.ru/library/asiatica/indica/itihasa/mahabharata/eng/gbmb04xt.html> retrieved on 13 March 2012





**Figure 5.30** First enclosure, east gopura, east lintel, central motif: Bhīmā fighting against elephant and lion

Again, this story is previously reported as Kṛṣṇa fighting against elephants and lions. I have tried to find this scene in various Kṛṣṇa-related books, however, there is no such a scene and the story is more fitting as Bhīmā than Kṛṣṇa. Therefore, it is proposed to change the identification of the scene in this work.

### 5.2.3 The Slaying of Jarasandha (Mahābhārata)

In this scene, Jarasandha is perceived by Kṛṣṇa as an obstacle for the Yudhistira (one of Pandava's brother) to become an emperor. Kṛṣṇa knows that it is not possible for Yudhistira to defeat Jarasandha in a conventional war, as Jarasandha is a great military general, and due to a blessing cannot be killed with weapons. Instead, Kṛṣṇa devises a clever plan to make Bhīmā wrestle with the proud and aging Jarasandha.

Kṛṣṇa knows that Jarasandha is very good in giving charitable donations. After performing his Śiva's pooja (Śiva's rite), he usually gives whatever the Brahmins asked for. Kṛṣṇa takes advantage of this. On one occasion Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, and Bhīmā disguise themselves as Brahmins and meet Jarasandha. Kṛṣṇa asks Jarasandha to choose any one of them for a wrestling match. Jarasandha chooses Bhīmā, the strongman, to wrestle. The two of them fight for 27 days. Bhīmā does not know how to defeat Jarasandha, so he seeks the help of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa knows the secret by which Jarasandha can be killed. Since Jarasandha was brought to life when two lifeless halves joined together, conversely, he can be killed only when his body is torn into two halves and prevented from merging again. Kṛṣṇa takes a stick, breaks it in two and throws them in both directions. Bhīmā gets the hint. He tears Jarasandha's body into two and throws the halves in two directions. However, the two pieces come together and Jarasandha is able to attack Bhīmā again. Bhīmā tires after several such futile attempts. He again seeks the help of Kṛṣṇa. This time, Lord Kṛṣṇa takes a stick, breaks it in two and throws the left piece on right side and the right piece on the left side. This time, Bhīmā tears Jarasandha's body in two and throws the halves in opposite directions. Thus, Jarasandha was killed as the two pieces could not merge back into one.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Wikipedia, [Jarasandha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarasandha), [online], 12 May 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarasandha> retrieved on 13 March 2012



**Figure 5.31** North shrine, north lintel, central motif: Bhīmā killing Jarasandha.

Previously scholars named this lintel as Kṛṣṇa tears an Asura apart. However, there is no story from Mahābhārata, Harivamsa, the Bhagavata Purana, and the Viṣṇu Purana with a scene in which Kṛṣṇa kills an asura this way. This scene fits with a story in Mahābhārata in which Bhīmā kills Jarasandha. Therefore the name of the lintel is corrected here to fit the story.

### 5.2.5 Hayagrīva (Viṣṇu's Reincarnation)

The story describes that while Viṣṇu sleeps on the serpent Ananta Shesha on the primeval ocean, a lotus sprouts out from his navel. In the middle of the lotus is the creator god, Brahma, sitting and contemplating creating the cosmos and the universe. During the creation, the demons Madhu and Kaitabha steal the Vedas from Brahma and deposit them deep within the waters of the primeval ocean. Viṣṇu realizes the problem, manifests himself as Hayagrīva, and kills both of them, retrieving the Vedas. The bodies of Madhu and Kaitabha disintegrate into 2 times 6—or twelve—pieces (two heads, two torsos, four arms and four legs). These are considered to represent the twelve seismic plates of the Earth.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Wikipedia, [Madhu-Kaitabh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhu-Kaitabh) and [Hayagriva](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hayagriva) [online] 20 May 2012. Sources <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhu-Kaitabh> retrieved on 13 March 2012, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hayagriva> retrieved on 13 March 2012



**Figure 5.32** First enclosure, east gopura, west lintel, central motif: Hayagrīva kills Madhu and Kaitabha.

### 5.2.6 Abduction of Sītā by Virādha

Virādha is a minor character in Ramayana. During Rama's exile, a scene in the forest of Dandaka forest, Rama and the group come upon him (demon). He is a devotee of Lakshmi, who now incarnated as Sītā. Hence Virādha wants to own the goddess. He tries to kidnap Sītā and lift her and was about to take her away, Rama and Lakshmana had tried their best shooting the demon with bow, to no result. It was revealed by Virādha himself to the group that he was blessed with a wish from Brahma that he is invincible against weapons. So the brothers Rama and Lashman kill this demon by breaking his arms, then burying him alive in a grave.<sup>36</sup>



**Figure 5.33** Central shrine, west lintel, abduction of Sītā

<sup>36</sup> Wikipedia, [Viradha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viradha), [online], 20 May 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viradha>



**Figure 5.34** Third enclosure, east gopura, east inner pediment, abduction of Sītā

The scene often get confused with the Abductation of Sītā by Ravana. The lintel depicts Virādhā lifting Sītā, while his hand holding a spike or spear. On the pediment, the scene is shown with two more figures, which are Rama and Lakshman. On the right side is Rama since Sītā is looking at him for help.

### 5.2.7 Valin and Sugrīva (Rāmāyaṇa)

Valin rules the kingdom of Kishkindha; his subjects are the vanaras, or monkeys. Tara is his wife. One day, a raging demon by the name of Maayaavi comes to the gates of the capital and challenges Valin to a fight. Valin accepts the challenge, but when he sallies forth, the demon flees in terror into a deep cave. Valin enters the cave in pursuit of the demon, telling Sugrīva to wait outside. When Valin does not return, and upon hearing demonic shouts in the cave and seeing blood oozing from its mouth, Sugrīva concludes that his brother has been killed. With a heavy heart, Sugrīva rolls a boulder to seal the cave's opening, returning to Kishkindha, and assumes kingship over the vanaras. Valin, however, ultimately prevails in his combat with the demon and returns home. Seeing Sugrīva acting as king, he concludes that his brother has betrayed him. Though Sugrīva humbly attempts to explain himself, Valin will not listen. As a result, Sugrīva is ostracized from the kingdom. Valin forcibly takes Sugrīva's main wife, Ruma, and the brothers become bitter enemies.<sup>37</sup>

In exile, Sugrīva makes the acquaintance of Rama, the Avatar of Viṣṇu, who is on a quest to rescue his wife Sītā from the demon Ravana, king of the Rakshasas.

<sup>37</sup> wikipedia, [Sugriva and Vali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sugriva_and_Vali) [online] 10 April 2012. Source [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sugriva#Sugriva\\_and\\_Vali\\_have\\_a\\_disagreement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sugriva#Sugriva_and_Vali_have_a_disagreement).

Rama promises Sugrīva that he will kill Valin and reinstate Sugrīva as the king of the monkeys. Sugrīva, in turn, promises to help Rama with his quest.<sup>38</sup>

Together, Sugrīva and Rama go to seek out Valin. While Rama stands back, Sugrīva shouts a challenge, daring him to battle. The brothers rush at each other, fighting with trees and stones, with fists, nails and teeth. They are evenly matched and indistinguishable to the observer, until Sugrīva's counsellor Hanuman steps forward and places a garland of flowers around Sugrīva's neck. It is then that Rama emerges with his bow and drives an arrow through Valin's heart. When Valin is dead, Sugrīva reclaims the monkey kingdom, takes back his former wife, Ruma, and takes over Valin's main wife, Tara, who becomes empress, and her son by Valin, Angada, who becomes crown prince.<sup>39</sup>



**Figure 5.35** Central shrine, north lintel. Left, central motif: Valinn and Sugrīva; right, Tara?

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 5.36** First Enclosure, west gopura, east pediment, Valin and Sugriva

On the lintel, the central motif depicts the fight between Valin and Sugriva. Two small figures of bowmen on the quarter mark of the lintel are Rama and Lakshmana. Both ends of the lintel show images of adult and infant monkeys; these could be Tara and her son, Angada.

On the pediment, the scene is slightly longer than the one on the lintel. In the center, the two similar monkeys fighting are Valin and Sugriva. On the right side, Rama shoots an arrow while Lakshmana sits behind. On the left side, Valin is shot with an arrow in his chest, held by his wife Tara, who looks very sad. Standing nearby is Sugriva.

### **5.2.8 The fight between Bhīma and Duryodhan**



**Figure 5.37** The fight between Bhīmā and Duryodhan, West Gopura I, West Pediment<sup>40</sup>

This scene is from Mahābhārata. Both Bhīmā (standing with a mace in the center) and Duryodhan (jumping) learned the art of mace fighting from Balarama (second from the left holding a plough). Bhīmā is physically stronger (as depicted with a bigger body than others) while Duryodhan is more skilled.

Long before this event, in the episode of Game of Dice, the Pandava brothers (Bhīmā and his brothers) were tricked into losing everything including their very own selves. They eventually even lost their common wife, Draupadi. The winners (Duryodhan and his brothers) had tried in many ways to humiliate the Pandava brothers. In their last provocation, Duryodhan orders Draupadi to sit on his thigh. Enraged, Bhīmā vows in front of the entire assembly that one day he will break that very thigh of Duryodhan in Battle.

Long after that, when Duryodhan faces the Pandava brothers (Bhīmā, and four others sitting on the right side of pediment) and Kṛiṣṇa (four arms on the left side) alone on battlefield, Yudhishthira makes him an offer that he may pick any of the Pandava brothers to fight against one-on-one with a weapon of his choice, and that if he defeats that Pandava, Duryodhana shall be deemed the victor of the war. To ensure a fair fight, Duryodhana picks his sworn enemy, Bhīmā over the other Pandava brothers, whom he could have effortlessly overwhelmed with his skill at fighting with the mace. Balarama, who is affectionate equally to both parties, decides to remain neutral.

<sup>40</sup> [Image of Pediment Bhīma and Duryodhan](http://www.superstock.com/preview.asp?image=4034-125862&imagex=1&id=16761915&productType=3&pageStart=0&pageEnd=100&pixperpage=100&hitCount=21&filterForCat=&filterForFotog=) [online] 20 May 2012. Source <http://www.superstock.com/preview.asp?image=4034-125862&imagex=1&id=16761915&productType=3&pageStart=0&pageEnd=100&pixperpage=100&hitCount=21&filterForCat=&filterForFotog=>

During the fight, Duryodhan gains the advantage by exhausting Bhīmā with his skill. At this point, Kṛṣṇa, observing the fight, calls out to Bhīmā and signals to him by repeatedly clapping his own thigh with his hand. To others it would appear like applauding the fight, but as Kṛṣṇa intends, Bhīmā is reminded of the oath he made to crush Duryodhana's thigh as retribution for insults to Draupadi. Bhīmā viciously attacks Duryodhana with a mace and strikes his thigh, and Duryodhana finally falls in battle, mortally wounded.

Bhīmā's act is considered cheating, since when fighting with the mace it is forbidden to hit below the waist. Bhīmā's act enrages Balarama who was previously neutral. He threatens to kill Bhīmā, only to be stopped by Kṛṣṇa (on the left side of pediment) reminding Balarama of Bhīmā's vow to kill Duryodhana by crushing the very thigh his wife was ordered to sit on.<sup>41</sup>

### 5.2.9 Story of Apsara Tilottama (Mahābhārata)



<sup>41</sup> Wikipedia, [Duryodhana](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duryodhana) [online], 23 May 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duryodhana> and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhima>.



**Figure 5.38** East Gopura III, West Pediment, story of Apsara Tilottama.<sup>42</sup>

The scene is created from a story in another story. In the epic Mahābhārata, the story of Tilottama was told by a divine sage Narada to the Pandava brothers to warn them of their possible future quarrel between them due to their common wife Draupadi.<sup>43</sup> The tale is narrated with two brothers Sunda and Upanda, son of asura, Nikumbha. The two brothers are described as inseparable siblings who share everything: kingdom, bed, food, house, seat, etc. After practicing severe austerities on the Vindhya Mountain for a long time, they are able to compel the creator-god Brahma to grant them a wish. They ask for great power and immortality. Brahma grants them the first request, but denies the second, instead blessing them that nothing but themselves can hurt one another. Soon, the brothers decided to attack heaven and drive the gods out. Conquering the whole universe, the demons started harassing sages and creating havoc in the universe.

The gods and seers seek refuge with Brahma. Brahma then orders the divine architect Vishvakarma to create a beautiful woman. Vishvakarma collects all that is beautiful from the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) and all the gems of the world and from them creates an alluring woman with unrivaled beauty. As she was created bit by bit from the gems, Brahma names her Tilottama, and directs her to seduce both of the demon brothers in order to cause contention between them.

As Sunda and Upasunda are enjoying dalliance with women and engrossed in drinking liquor along a river bank in the Vindhya Mountains, Tilottama appears there plucking flowers. Bewitched by her voluptuous figure and drunk with power and liquor, Sunda and Upasunda each take hold of one of Tilottama's hands. Each brother argues that Tilottama should be his wife, and they grab their clubs and attack each other, ultimately killing each other. The gods congratulate her and Brahma grants her the right to roam freely in the universe. Brahma also decrees that no one will be able to look at her for a long time due to her luster.<sup>44</sup>

The scene depicted on the lintel is when Tilottama appears plucking flowers, and the confrontation between the two brothers each trying to take Tilottama for his own.

### **5.2.10 The burning of the Khandava Forest**

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<sup>42</sup> Image of Apsara Tilottama, [online], 12 March 2012. Source. [http://oakaboo.com/o/pictures/noindex/picture.original/326638/The\\_pediment\\_representing\\_the\\_fight\\_bet\\_w](http://oakaboo.com/o/pictures/noindex/picture.original/326638/The_pediment_representing_the_fight_bet_w)

<sup>43</sup> In Mahābhārata Draupadi is the wife of the Pandavas brother, Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva.

<sup>44</sup> wikipedia, [Tilottama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tilottama), [online] 23 May 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tilottama> retrieved on 20 March 2012.

One time, Agni developed indigestion, for which he approaches Kṛishṇa and Arjuna and seeks their help in burning the Khandava forest. Brahma had earlier prescribed to Agni as a cure to consume the forest's vegetation along with its inhabitants. Arjuna and Kṛishṇa agree to help, and Agni in return facilitates for Varuna to provide them with weapons and accessories.

Agni delegates to Kṛishṇa and Arjuna the responsibility of thwarting any obstacles and preventing the inhabitant creatures from escaping the fire. Once they were armed and ready, Agni begins to engulf the forest in flames. The heat is so intense that the water in the ponds and lakes boils, killing marine life. Birds that try to fly away are pierced by Arjuna's shafts. Many living creatures perish in the flames.

In the same forest lives a snake by the name Takshaka, who is a close friend of Indra. However, at this time, Takshaka has gone to Kurukshetra, leaving his wife and son Aswasena at home.

Indra realizes Agni's attempt to burn the forest, and comes to the rescue of his friend's family and other dwellers of the forest. He dispatches heavy showers to douse the flames, but those showers dry up mid-air due to the intense heat. When Indra increases the intensity of the showers, Arjuna retaliates by covering the sky with arrows, thus sheltering the forest from the rains.

While this is going on, Takshaka's wife tries to escape with her son by rising up from the earth. Arjuna, realizing this, cuts off her head by an arrow. Indra then deploys heavy winds that make Arjuna temporarily unconscious. During this moment, Aswasena escaped.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Mahabharata [online], 12 May 2012. Source <http://www.apamnapat.com/articles/Mahabharata016.html> on retrieved on 12 March 2012



**Figure 5.39** North library, east pediment the burning of the Khandava Forest

On the pediment, Arjuna is on the left chariot holding a bow and mace while Krishna is on the right chariot with four arms. Indra is seen mounting his elephant Airavata in the sky, dancing with Vajra in his hand. There are many arrows in the air counter the rain poured by Indra. Different birds and animals are seen scattering. Takshaka's wife and Aswasena are seen rising in the sky.

### 5.2.11 Śiva burning Kāmadeva

After the death of Sati, Lord Śiva enters into yogic penance on Kailasa. Lord Śiva is no longer interested in the world. Taking advantage of the situation, a demon named Tarakasura, son of Vjraṅga and Varangi, does Tapas (penance and austerities), pleasing Lord Brahma and earning two boons. As the first boon, he asks Brahma to make him the most powerful man in the world. As the second boon he requests that his death may only happen at the hands of a son born to Śiva – thinking that Śiva will never again marry.



**Figure 5.40** South Library, West Pediment, Śiva burning Kāmadeva

After receiving the boons, Tarakasura shows his true color and starts attacking the demi gods, saints and humans. He defeats all the Kings and Devas and takes control over earth and heaven. All the Devas and saints seek refuge at the feet of Brahma who tells that the only solution for this problem is to bring back Lord Śiva to the world and stop his penance.

Brahma tells them that Goddess Sati was reborn as Goddess Parvati and is doing penance to get Śiva as her husband. But Śiva is not ready to stop his intense penance. Brahma asks the gods to take the help of Kāmadeva (god of love) to stop the penance by creating sexual desire and passion in Lord Śiva.

Kāmadeva arrives in front of Śiva along with Ratidevi (Kāmadeva's wife), and shoots five arrows of flowers at the heart of Śiva. Śiva's meditation is interrupted and he is terribly angry. He opens the third eye on his forehead, and a fierce blazing flame comes out of his third eye, burning Kāmadeva to ashes. Wounded by the love-arrow, Śiva becomes attracted to Parvati. After marriage, they have a child named Kartik who later kills Tarakasura.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> quoted from <http://www.hindu-blog.com/2009/11/story-shiva-burning-kamadeva.html> retrieved on 23 March 2012.

On the pediment, Śiva sits on the throne on the top of pyramid representing the mount Kailasa, with his third eye looking at Kāmadeva, who shoots an arrow at him from the right side. The garland handed down to Parvati on the left side of Śiva represents marriage, or that the love-arrow is working. Behind Kāmadeva is standing Ratidevi, Kāmadeva's wife, who is very sad that her husband gets incinerated.

### 5.2.12 Ravana shaking Mount Kailasa

Asura Ravana has taken over Langka island from the God of Wealth, Kubera, to be his own, he flies his chariot towards the foot of Mount Kailasa. There he meets a little monkey, Nandikesvara, who stops him and does not allow him to pass Mount Kailasa, claiming that Mount Kailasa was home of Lord Śiva.

Ravana is very angry, and lifts up Mount Kailasa and starts to shake it. The whole mount shakes, and the birds, monkeys, lions, elephants, tigers, and all the forest animals are frightened. Hermits who are meditating are also very fearful. Uma, Śiva's consort, is shocked and asks her husband to stop the shaking. Lord Śiva knows about the situation and puts one of his fingers on the ground. Immediately, the shaking stops and Ravana is trapped under the mountain. In his anger, Lord Śiva imprisons Ravana under Mount Kailasa for a thousand years.



**Figure 5.41** South Library, East Pediment, Ravana shaking mount Kailasa

On the pediment, the pyramid represents Kailasa mountain. On the first tier of the pyramid monkeys are depicted on both ends. This monkey is probably Nandikesvara (Śiva's mount, Nandi transforming himself into a monkey), who stops Ravana from passing through the mountain. In the bottom center is Ravana with multiple heads and multiple arms, angry and shaking Kailasa, and all the animals around him are frightened and running away. On top is Śiva in the center, and his wife, Uma, frightened, has jumped onto Śiva's thigh and is holding him tightly.

### 5.2.13 The Slaying Of Kamsa



**Figure 5.42** North library, north west pediment, The Slaying Of Kamsa

Kamsa was told in a prophecy that the eighth child of Devaki, his sister, will kill him. A loving brother, he does not want to kill Devaki, and so instead imprisons both Devaki and her husband, Vasudeva. Kamsa successfully kills the first six children of Devaki. The seventh child, Balarama, is saved when he is moved to another woman's womb. When the eighth child, Kṛṣṇa, is born, he is secretly taken out of the prison to be raised by foster parents.

Many years later, when both Balarama and Kṛṣṇa are adolescents, Kamsa realizes their identity, and becomes more and more alarmed after many attempts to

kill them fail. Kamsa throws Vasudeva and Devaki again into the prison, and invites Kṛṣṇa to Mathura, his city, planning to kill him there. He sends Akrura to bring Kṛṣṇa back. However, Akrura is a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa, and tells Kṛṣṇa of Kamsa's evil plan.

Balarama comes along with his brother Kṛṣṇa. When they arrive at the palace, a big drunk elephant named Kuvalayapida rushes toward Kṛṣṇa. Kamsa had deliberately stationed the elephant there to kill Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa cuts off the trunk and pulls off the tusk, and the huge animal falls down and dies. Next Kamsa sends two renowned wrestlers, Mushtika and Chanura to kill Kṛṣṇa and Balarama. Kṛṣṇa takes on Chanura and Balarama takes on Mushtika. Soon the two wrestlers are killed. After that Kamsa continues sending more wrestlers to kill Kṛṣṇa and Balarama, only to be killed in vain.

When he sees his two formidable wrestlers killed by the boys, Kamsa is bewildered and filled with fear. He orders the killing of the boys and also Nanda, Kṛṣṇa's adoptive father, Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's god-father, and Ugrasena, Kamsa's own father, to be killed. Kṛṣṇa becomes very angry with him and within seconds, he jumps over and catches hold of Kamsa's hair and pushes him to the ground. Then Kṛṣṇa straddles Kamsa's chest and begins to strike him over and over again until he is dead.

Eight brothers of Kamsa learn that their elder brother has been killed. They combine forces trying to kill Kṛṣṇa. The eight brother are Kṛṣṇa's uncles, and he cannot kill them according to Vedic law (except Kamsa, since he can only be killed by Kṛṣṇa). Balarama, who was not born from the womb of Devaki, thus takes on the eight brothers, killing them all.<sup>47</sup>

On the pediment, in the center is the scene in which Kṛṣṇa is holding Kamsa's hair before killing him. In the Indian tradition, Kamsa was killed with bare hand and sheer force. However, in the scene at Banteay Srey temple, he is killed by a weapon held by Kṛṣṇa, which Roveda claims is in accord with the Khmer traditon.<sup>48</sup> On the ground floor of the building in the scene, Roveda suggests that the two men lying on the ground could be the wresters defeated by Kṛṣṇa and Balarama. The figure depicted with an elephant tusk in his hand is Balarama and in the other place is probably Kṛṣṇa.<sup>49</sup> This scene could also interpreted as the fight between Balarama and the eight brothers of Kamsa. In the episode (x44), Balarama was described as using the elephant tusk to kill the eight brothers. This scene also shows Kamsa's brothers being killed one by one, and their wives are seen trying to carry them or hold them.

<sup>47</sup> Krsnabook, Chapter 43 and 44, [online], 12 May 2012. Source <http://www.krsnabook.com/ch43.html>

<http://www.krsnabook.com/ch44.html>

<sup>48</sup> Roveda, V., "The Archaeology of Khmer Image"..., *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

### 5.2.14 Narasiṃha killing Hiranyakashipu

The story starts with Hiranyakashipu being angry with god Viṣṇu for killing his brother, Hiranyaksha, in Viṣṇu's previous avatara of Varaha. He decides to attempt to kill Viṣṇu by gaining mystical powers from Brahma through many years of great austerity and penance. Brahma becomes very pleased with Hiranyakashipu's penance, and grants him a boon. Hiranyakashipu asks Brahma to fulfill his desire that:

He will not meet death from any of the living entities created by Brahma;  
 He will not die within or outside of any residence;  
 He will not die during the day or night;  
 He will not be killed by any weapon;  
 He will not be killed by any human or animal;  
 He will not be killed by any demi-god or demon or by an great snake;  
 He will have no rival;  
 He will receive sole lordship over all the entities and presiding deities;  
 He will receive mystic power attained by long austerities and the practice of Yoga;  
 And all of these can not be lost at any time.

Later, Hiranyakashipu has a son named Prahlada. This child grows up to become a devoted follower of Viṣṇu, much to his father's disappointment. Hiranyakashipu decides to kill the boy, however, every time he attempts to do so, Prahlada is protected by Viṣṇu's mystical power. Prahlada had always refused to acknowledge his father as the supreme lord of the universe and claims instead that Viṣṇu is. Hiranyakashipu points to a nearby pillar and asks if "his Viṣṇu" is in it. Prahlada answered, He was, He is and He will be. Hiranyakashipu is unable to control his anger, and smashes the pillar with his mace and tries to kill Prahlada. Viṣṇu appears in the form of Narasiṃha and attacks Hiranyakashipu in defense of Prahlada. In order to kill Hiranyakashipu and not upset the boon given by Brahma, the form of Narasimha is chosen. Hiranyakashipu cannot be killed by human, deva or animal. Narasimha is neither one of these as he is a form of Viṣṇu incarnate as a part-human, part-animal. He comes upon Hiranyakashipu at twilight (when it is neither day nor night) on the threshold of a courtyard (neither indoors nor out), and puts the demon on his thighs (neither earth nor space). Using his sharp fingernails (neither animate nor inanimate) as weapons, he disembowels and kills the demon.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> wikipedia, Narasimha, [online] 01 March 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narasimha>





**Figure 5.43** Long Hall, north of causeway. pediment.



**Figure 5.44** North shrine, east pediment.

### 5.2.14 Nataraja or Dancing Siva

The scene of Siva dancing represents the end of a circle of a universe, which reaching the stage of being too weary or chaos. Therefore Siva performs his devine dance to destroy this old universe in preparations for a new one created by Brahma.<sup>51</sup>



**Figure 5.45.** First Enclosure, east gopura, east pediment, Siva dancing.

### 5.2.15 Durgamahisasuramardini

The story elaborates that a demon name Mahisasura was blessed by Brahma that he could not be defeated by man. He have created chaos in the universe, all the gods go to see Brahma for the solution, which he can not solve. The gods, then, go to Siva and Visnu for help, but they can not help either. It is said that Durga was created by the effort of all the gods combined together to defeat the demon. Upon meeting the Mahishasur, the battle is persued. Mahishasur has changed the form many times. First he is a buffalo demon, and she defeats him with her sword. Then he changes forms and became an elephant, yet agains is defeated. He keeps change the form but could not defeat Durga. In the end, he changes his form again into buffalo. The god Durga runs out of patiences, and became very angry, she roared with delight that she will kill Mahishasur. At the same time, the Mahishasur who had emerge only half into his buffalo form was paralyzed by the extreme light emitting from the goddess's body. Durga then proceeds to cut off his

<sup>51</sup> wikipedia, [Nataraja](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nataraja), [online], 12 March 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nataraja>

head.<sup>52</sup> On the pediment, the scene shows durga with eight arms, her mount, the lion, and Mahishasur in the form of buffalo being dominated.



Figure 5.46 First Enclosure, East gopura, west pediment, Durgamahisasuramardini.

### 5.3 Date of the iconography and decorations

This primary goal of this section is to reply to what has been written by Roveda (2004) regarding the date of the temple, and especially of its iconography and decorations. Roveda believes that most parts of the temple were constructed in a later period (eleventh to fourteenth century) rather than the accepted date of 967 A.D., as inscribed on the founding stele. Roveda claims that the temple is the result of elaborate reconstruction in several phases of older buildings, with modification carried out by several kings or members of the royal elite from the eleventh to fourteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

If the temple was actually rebuilt in later centuries, it would mean that what has been written in this chapter, and indeed the entire thesis, is unfounded; after all, the goal has been to illustrate what we can learn about Yajñavarāha from this temple that he built and

<sup>52</sup> wikipedia, [Mahishasuramardini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahishasuramardini), [online], 12 March 2012. Source <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahishasuramardini>

<sup>53</sup> Roveda, V., "The Archaeology of Khmer Image"..., *op. cit.*, Page 21.

decorated. Therefore, it is important for this thesis to show the flaws in Roveda's theory. It is helpful, however, to first examine previous study into the origin date of Banteay Srey.

From the time of its modern discovery, the date of Banteay Srey temple has been a problem for scholars. The first few researchers who studied this temple dated it to 1304 A.D., relying on the inscriptions found on the doorframe of the temple.<sup>54</sup> This date was later corrected by Cœdès, whose claim found support when the founding stele, telling that it was completed in 967 A.D., was discovered in 1937 near the fourth enclosure of the temple.<sup>55</sup>

Even if the founding stele is correct, though, dating Khmer temples is difficult because it is not uncommon for them to be reconstructed or modified in later periods. Indeed, the decorative elements of Banteay Srey share similarities to both its predecessors and its successors. Previous Khmer art experts Stern, P, Coral de Rémusat, G.,<sup>56</sup> had been aware of this problem, but still accepted 967 A.D. as its date. To explain stylistic discrepancies, they suggest that the artistic style of elements of Banteay Srey were deliberate copies of its predecessors. From Roveda's point of view, the same argument could be applied to a later date of construction.

There is no doubt that some additional work was done on Banteay Srey after its original construction. Two identical inscriptions (Phnom Sandak K.194, dated 1119 A.D.; and Preah Vihear K.383, dated 1121 A.D.) mention that the temple was given by king Suryavarman II to his royal *guru*, Śrī Divākarapa□□ita. This *guru* restored the temple; and worshipped its divinity as in the days of the royal *guru* of Paramavīraloka (a posthumous appellation of Jayavarman V, and thus the *guru* referred to is Yajñavarāha).<sup>57</sup> Roveda argues that this "restoration" actually led to extensive renovation, and the addition of new elements.

It cannot be said with complete certainty how much of the work was restoration, and how much was innovation. We do know for certain that after a long period of disuse, the

<sup>54</sup> Finot, L., et al, *A Guide to The Temple of Banteay Srey at Angkor...*, *op. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> Cœdès, G., "La Date du Temple de Banteay Srey" *...op.cit.*; Cœdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op. cit.*

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Roveda, V., "The Archaeology of Khmer Image" *...*, *op. cit.*, Page 40.

<sup>57</sup> Cœdès, G., Dupont, P., "Les stèles de Sdok Kok Thom, Phnom Sandak et Prah Vihar" *...*, *op. cit.*, Page 56-124.

Translation of the inscription from line 14-17: "At the sanctuary of the High Lord of the World at Īsvarapura — which was the work of My High Lord the *vra*□ *guru* in the reign of His Majesty My High Lord Paramavīraloka [and] was given anew to My High Lord the Most Venerable the *Guru* Śrī Divākarapa□□ita by His Majesty My High Lord Śrī Sūryavarmadeva after all the lands [and] slaves of the said divinity had been sold by the *pādamūla* in order to pay for other [purposes] — My High Lord the Most Venerable the spiritual preceptor Śrī Divākarapa□□ita bought [them] all back, [and] restored the sanctuary and the worship of the said divinity as [they had been] in the days of My High Lord the *vra*□ *guru*" (Jenner, N. P., "K.842B" in *Manual of Angkorean Inscriptions*, *op. cit.*)

temple was worked on sometime before 1119 A.D.<sup>58</sup> However, most art experts who are familiar with the inscriptions still believe that most of what can be seen at Banteay Srey temple was constructed in the tenth century.<sup>59</sup>

Boisselier, also cited by Roveda, wrote in 1946 that the *dvarapalas* of Banteay Srey could be attributed to the years 1116-1119 A.D.<sup>60</sup> Boisselier adds that eight statues found inside the towers of Banteay Srey can be taken to characterize the style of Angkor Vat.<sup>61</sup> But if we reread Boisselier carefully, his claims are very weak: the first one saying “could be” and the second “can be”. Neither remark reappears in his later works on Khmer art.<sup>62</sup>

The dating of the complex narrative scenes that appear on some of the tympanums of Banteay Srey temple also cause concern for Roveda. He does not agree with the claim that these represent the first appearance of such sophisticated scenes in Khmer temples, and argues that they could only have been created in the late eleventh or twelfth century. He observes that Pre Rup and East Mebon (Pre Rup Style), erected only six and fourteen years earlier, respectively, do not have that kind of tympanum, and even their lintels contain only heraldic type decorations.<sup>63</sup> He suggests that as Banteay Srey’s predecessor, the fact that Pre Rup does not even have Hindu scenes on the lintel raises the question of how, just a few years later, complex narrative scenes were sculpted not just on the lintels but also the tympanums of Banteay Srey.

The lack of these features at Pre Rup is weak evidence, though, as in fact many lintels from temples of previous periods, including the pre-Angkorean period, are sculpted with Hindu scenes. Such scenes on Khmer decorative elements are not uncommon. Banteay Srey might not have been able to borrow from Pre Rup, but it could and did borrow greatly from Koh Ker. Many Hindu stories sculpted on the lintels of the temples at Koh Ker were recreated at the Banteay Srey temple.

Additionally, though it was indeed unprecedented for sophisticated Hindu scenes to appear on tympanums, the true breakthrough was the development of complex narrative scenes in the first place, not the precise location of their carving. Once these began to appear on lintels, the transfer to other surfaces, such as the tympanum, seems logical and inevitable. This is typical of the type of innovation seen at Banteay Srey temple, where it

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<sup>58</sup> I followed Jacques, C., ("Moats and Enclosure Walls of the Khmer temples"..., *op. cit.*, Page 8) in thinking that the temple was underwent a long period of disuse depended on little content from the inscriptions.

<sup>59</sup> Boisselier, J., *Le Cambodge*, *op. cit.*; Coral de Rémusat, G., *L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution*..., *op. cit.*; Jacques, C., "Moats and Enclosure Walls of the Khmer temples"..., *op. cit.*.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Roveda, V., "The Archaeology of Khmer Image"..., *op. cit.*, Page 22

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Boisselier, J., *Le Cambodge*..., *op. cit.*

<sup>63</sup> **Narrative type**: displaying a scene taken from Hindu Iconography, for example, Krisna Killing King Kamsa. It is different from **heraldic type** which display an image of god, or symbol with no complex story, for example, displaying image of *Indra*, or *Kāla*.

repeats motifs found on lintels on its tympanums (see discussion on pediments in section 5.1.2).

Roveda makes another argument about the date of the temple, saying that the "combination of new and old motifs on lintels" that appear at Banteay Srey temple, and which are also featured on a lintel of Prasat Sralau,<sup>64</sup> imply that the temples were constructed at the same time. Central to this argument is the claim that Prasat Sralau was built in the eleventh century. He cites inscriptions to support his dating of Prasat Sralau. The inscriptions (K.782)<sup>65</sup> are found on the doorframe of one of the temple's towers. The south doorframe is inscribed with 32 lines of Sanskrit, and the north doorframe is inscribed with 24 lines in Khmer. These two inscriptions bear a date of 1071 A.D. Roveda argues that since both temples bear lintels with the same style, both temples should be considered as contemporary, using the date of 1071 A.D.

Following this line of logic, as support for the claim that decorations at Banteay Srey appeared only as part of later renovations, Roveda claims that most of the artistic style of the temple was created in the second half of eleventh century, and that the pediments of western *gopura* of the third enclosure of Banteay Srey temple along with many of its sandstone decorations should be categorized as Baphuon style (1010 to 1080 A.D).

However, Roveda's argument has a fundamental flaw. He describes Prasat Sralau as a three-towered temple build of red sandstone. In fact, the towers of this temple were constructed in brick. Roveda may have been misled by the red sandstone lintel currently kept in National Museum of Phnom Penh. This is a crucial point, because brick-tower temples ceased to appear in Khmer architecture starting from the beginning of eleventh century,<sup>66</sup> decades before Roveda argues Prasat Sralau was built. Since Prasat Sralau is made of brick, it is impossible to think that it was constructed in the eleventh century, indicating that the date of 1071 A.D. is not the founding date of that temple.

How can the date of 1071 A.D. given in the inscriptions at Prasat Sralau be explained? It must be argued that they were not founding steles. Inscriptions are often added well after construction, as seen at Banteay Srey. Although its founding stele dates the temple to 967 A.D., there are many additional inscriptions dated to the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Prior to the discovery of the founding stele in 1937, Banteay Srey, too, was misdated.

The pre-eleventh century date for Prasat Sralau makes its decorative similarities with Banteay Srey consistent with evidence from other early temples. Two other temples

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<sup>64</sup> Roveda, V., "The Archaeology of Khmer Image"..., *op. cit.*, Page 40; Jessup, H. I.; Zephir, T., Angkor et Dix siècles d'art Khmer (Paris, 1997), Page 222-223.

<sup>65</sup> cf.K.782 in Coèdès, G., *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, volume 1, *op.cit.*, Page 221.

<sup>66</sup> Coral de Rémusat, G. (L'Art Khmer: Les Grandes Étapes de son Évolution,...*op. cit.*, Page 35) states that in eleventh century, brick was no more important in the construction of the Khmer temple, and were treated as secondary material.

bearing the inscriptions inscribed by the royal *guru* Yajñavarāha in the tenth century also share some decorative elements found at Banteay Srey temple. At Sek Ta Tuy temple, the sandstone pilasters were created in the same style of Banteay Srey. At Prasat Trapaeng Khyong is found an almost identical lintel that shares many unique traits of Banteay Srey-style decorations.

At the start of this section it was pointed out that if Roveda's claims of eleventh to fourteenth century renovations of Banteay Srey temple were true, then the temple has little to teach us about the tenth century. This section has subsequently shown that while Roveda's arguments are interesting, they are somewhat open to interpretation, and lack strong support. Although the use of narrative Indic scenes on tympanums was innovative in terms of placement, the essential artistic style was already well developed. While the inscriptions at Prasat Sralau do date from the eleventh century, nothing in the text gives reason to think it they are founding steles. Finally, the red brick construction of Prasat Sralau lays to rest any claim that it might have been constructed in the eleventh century or later.

It may never be known for certain whether the tenth century features of Banteay Srey were part of its original construction, were later restorations of its original constructions, or were entirely new elements added in later centuries. However, given the dated founding stele of Banteay Srey temple, the affirmative evidence of the twelfth century inscriptions (which described "restoration"), the similarities between Banteay Srey and other tenth century temples, and the lack of any substantial argument for construction later than the tenth century, this study must conclude that the most widely accepted belief still holds: that Banteay Srey is a temple whose superb achievements in terms of decoration and narrative scenes were constructed in the tenth century by the royal *guru*, Yajñavarāha.

## CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

This thesis focuses on the Banteay Srey temple and its builder, Yajñavarāha, the royal *guru* of Jayavarman V. It begins with the hypothesis that Banteay Srey is a temple of extraordinarily high accomplishment, despite not being a royal building, and argues that these accomplishments are directly due to the great influence and means, deep knowledge and vision, and unmatched creativity of the royal *guru* who commissioned it.

Banteay Srey temple was constructed for private purposes, and its several buildings house images of many gods installed by the members of Yajñavarāha's family. In addition to images installed to express religious devotion, Yajñavarāha installed images of gods to honor his parents and his own *guru*. The temple's symbolism is unique. While most Khmer temples were constructed to emphasise and represent Mount *Meru*, the residence of all the gods, Banteay Srey temple is symbolic of Mount Kailasa, the specific residence of the god Siva, to whom Yajñavāha was devoted.

In its layout, Banteay Srey temple is mostly influenced by its predecessors, especially Prasat Thom in Koh Ker. It has three main towers built on a platform, with an extended antechamber from the central tower, many long hall buildings, and libraries arranged to the north and south of the antechamber. The projection of its eastern *gopuras* from the centre outward shows its different from other temples built by officials, for example, Kravan or Batchum temples. This characteristic follows the traditions usually seen on the temples of the king or royal family, such as that seen in Angkor at Preah Ko temple, built in the ninth century, or in India at Janjavur temple, built centuries before the date of Banteay Srey temple. This is logical considering that Yajñavarāha claimed to be royal descendant. There are also non-traditional aspects of the design; most notably the relatively small size of its main shrines. This is believed to be the result of Indian influence.

In short, Yajñavarāha wanted to build his temple following Khmer tradition, but on the finer, more precise Indian scale. While the Banteay Srey temple does not attain the grandeur of the capital temples built by the king, it compensates with its ornate artistry. The decorations at Banteay Srey borrows design elements from many places, including Angkor, Koh Ker, Rolous, and even the pre-Angkorean Sombor Prei Kuk, thus demonstrating the *guru's* broad knowledge of regional architecture and design. However, the decorations at Banteay Srey are not merely slavish copies but also improve upon the source designs. This combination of inspirations, harmoniously merged with innovative new designs, helps make Banteay Srey's artistic decorations among the finest of any Khmer temple, before or since. The level of detail in the work shows the great skill of the decorator, and the evident knowledge of the arts from various places demonstrates the broad knowledge of the builder.



The iconography depicted on the reliefs of Banteay Srey is notable in several respects. First, the reliefs represent the first time that narrative scenes appeared on pediments in a Khmer temple. Additionally, Banteay Srey shows a previously unseen level of complexity in its narrative scenes. Its most notable examples include Krishna Killing King Kamsa, Śiva Reducing Kāmadeva to Ashes, and Ravanna Shaking Mount Kailasa. The detail found in these scenes tell stories of great depth, clearly demonstrating the great extent of the builder's knowledge of Hindu mythology. Furthermore, some of the stories depicted in Banteay Srey do not appear at any surviving Khmer temples (e.g. the Burning of Khandava Forest), or represent the first known instance of a story in Khmer iconography (e.g. Apsara Tilottama). Thus, in addition to the *depth* of knowledge of each story demonstrated by the detail in the carvings, the depiction of many less common stories indicates the builder's great *breadth* of knowledge of the traditional stories of Hinduism.

Yajñavarāha's status in the kingdom is probably only second to the king he served. The inscriptions describe his great power and knowledge. He is reported to have been a royal descendent and a scholar of great expertise. According to the inscriptional record, he was the first in Cambodia to know the doctrine of Patanjali, Kaṇāda, Akṇapāda, Buddha, Medicine, Music, and Astronomy. He was also knowledgeable in language, arts, story narration, theater, poetry, grammar, and yoga. It is also clear that Yajñavarāha was in a position of unique trust with the royal family. King Rājendravarman sent a son to live at his home, and that young prince was later crowned king Jayavarman V in 968 A.D. Subsequently, Yajñavarāha was constantly favored and rewarded by the young king with gifts and influence. Various inscriptions from the reign of Jayavarman V indicate that the *guru* was in charge of a wide range of works in the king's stead, for instance, acting as witness to land and property transactions, advising on the establishment of new villages, and performing religious rituals for the king. He also enacted various works throughout the kingdom, some located as distant as Prachinburi province of Thailand or Kampong Cham province of eastern Cambodia. The inscriptions also describe him as affluent. He is reported to have constructed many buildings besides the Banteay Srey temple, two of them being Sek Ta Tuy and Trapaeng Khyong temples. His influence and power were so strong that after his death, *guru* became an increasingly desired role for the Angkorean elites.

All of these elements--the ornate decoration of Banteay Srey, its unparalleled iconography, and the surviving inscriptions that describe his greatness--combine to paint a portrait of an extremely gifted and powerful individual, a man uniquely qualified to oversee the construction of this exquisite example of Angkorean art and architecture.

There remain some limitations in this research. First of all, not many academic works focus specifically on Banteay Srey temple, especially in its relations to its builders. While this thesis attempts to use the inscriptional record from the reign of Jayavarman V to illustrate the importance of the royal *guru* Yajñavarāha, it should be noted that this study

does not compare him to other known royal *gurus*, either from India or elsewhere in the region, who may or may not have held similar roles. The study was also unable to draw on previous studies of the relations between the temple to the individual who commissioned it, as Angkorean researchers primarily focus attention on the historical study of temples and the monarchy in general, rather than researching individual officials and their actions.

This work is focused on only one temple, constructed by a royal *guru* in the tenth century. The author believes that this research demonstrates the need for more studies of temples built by officials during the Angkorean period, especially at the start of the tenth century, and continuing through the end of the Angkor period. Rather than following the traditional path of focusing on the larger context of king and society, such studies should look more deeply into individuals as reflected by their works. A prime candidate for such a further study would be the eleventh century temple Sdok Kok Thom, which like Banteay Srey was also built by a royal *guru*. Such studies would also benefit from exploring the contrasting characteristics of temples built by kings and those built by officials, to help us understand the role and status of the Angkorean elites more generally.

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