

An Iconological Study on the Arrangement of Images at Preah Khan in Angkor

—The Temple Complex at the Foundation Period—

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Introduction

Preah Khan, a temple complex built by Jayavarman VII (reigned 1181-1218?), is one of the most notable temples of all Angkor sites. Its grounds are rectangular in shape, measuring some 800 meters east to west and 700 meters north to south, and are surrounded by a moat. The complex is enclosed by four enclosures arranged as concentric rectangles, with a tower gate standing central to each side of each enclosure (**Fig. 1 and 2**). Groups of small shrines (hereinafter referred to as “subsidiary shrines”), two libraries, two colonnaded halls and other structures are arranged around the central main shrine inside the 1st enclosure that surrounds the innermost section of the temple area. Complex buildings (hereinafter referred to as “subsidiary temple complexes”) with cruciform ground plans, lie in the north, west and south sections of the area between the 2nd and 3rd enclosures. Various other buildings are arranged inside the temple area, forming the temple complex.

Three times between the beginning and the middle of the 20th century, the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO) undertook surveys and clearance work to remove collapsed masonry and plants growing around the buildings at Preah Khan, as well as carrying out emergency repairs.⁽¹⁾ The traces of repairs and emergency treatment carried out by EFEO, such as doorframes strengthened with reinforced concrete, mortar filling cracks in the masonry and gaps between joints, can be observed inside the temple complex. Besides this, restoration work has been in progress since 1991 as a joint project by the World Monuments Fund (WMF) and the Authority for the Protection and Safeguarding of Angkor and the Region of Angkor (APSARA)⁽²⁾. Nevertheless, the present situation is that masonry still remains in a collapsed state in many locations within the temple site.

When EFEO undertook clearance work in November 1939, a stone stele engraved with a long inscription in Sanskrit (K.908)⁽³⁾ was discovered among the collapsed masonry near the north gallery of the west vestibule in the east tower gate of the 1st enclosure. This stele was

inscribed with various information, stating that a principal deity had been installed in the temple's central main shrine, that the temple was built on a site where there had once been a fierce battle between the Khmer and the Chams, and that the temple was called "Jayaśrī" (meaning "glory of victory" in Sanskrit) to commemorate victory over Cham forces by the Khmer army led by Jayavarman VII on this site.⁽⁴⁾

Particularly interesting among these descriptions is a series of statements indicating that specific images were installed in specific locations within the temple. Below, the romanized transcription of these statements by George Cœdès will be followed by Thomas S. Maxwell's English translation, with additional notes by the author.⁽⁵⁾

[Verse 34] *sa śrījayavarmmanṛpaś |*
śrījayavarmeśvarākhyalokeśam |
vedenducandrararūpair | udamīlayad atra pitṛmūrttim ||

It was here (in Jayaśrī / Preah Khan) that King Jayavarman, in the year Form-Moon-Moon-Vedas (1113 or 1114 Śaka= 1191/92 AD)⁽⁷⁾ opened the eyes of [the Bodhisattva] Lokeśa under the name of Lord Jayavarmeśvara [being] the image of [his] father.

[Verse 35] *āryāvalokiteśasya | madhyamasya samantataḥ |*
śatadvayan trayośītis | tena devāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ ||

Around [this] central Ārya-Avalokiteśa he (Jayavarman) established two hundred and eighty-three gods.⁽⁸⁾

[Verse 36] *vivudhās śrītribhuvana | varmeśvarapurassarāḥ |*
trayaḥ pratiṣṭhitās tena | pūrvasyān diśi bhūbhṛtā ||

In the eastern direction he, the king, established three gods, beginning with Lord Tribhuvanavarmeśvara.⁽⁹⁾

[Verse 37] *kāṣṭhāyān dakṣiṇasyāṃ śrī | yaśovarmeśvarādayaḥ |*
tena pratiṣṭhā devā | viṃśatir dvādaśa uttarā ||

In the southern area, he established thirty-two gods, starting with Lord Yaśovarmeśvara.⁽¹⁰⁾

[Verse 38] *śrīcāmpēśvaravimvādyaś | triṃśat paścimatas surāḥ |*
kauveryāṃ śivapādādyaś | catvāriṃśat pratiṣṭhitāḥ ||

In the west, he (Jayavarman) established thirty gods, starting with the image of Lord Cāmpēśvara;⁽¹¹⁾ in the north, forty, starting with a Śivapāda.⁽¹²⁾

[Verse 39] *eko vr̥ihigṛhe devaś | caṅkrameṣu punar daśa |*
catvāraś copakāryāyām | ārogyāyatane trayah̥ ||

One god at the rice-storehouse (*vr̥ihigṛha*, *place for storing rice*), then ten in the ambulatories (*caṅkrama*, *walkways or corridors*), four in the staging post (*upakāryā*, *post station*), and three in the hospital (*ārogyāyatana*, *place for treating the sick*)⁽¹³⁾.

[Verse 40] *dvāreṣu ca caturdikṣu | caturviṃśati devatāḥ |*
ete śātāni catvāri | devās triṃśac ca piṇḍitāḥ ||

Twenty-four deities in the gateways [located] in the four directions. These put together [with the 283 gods mentioned in verse 35, make a total of] four hundred and thirty gods.⁽¹⁴⁾

Firstly, verse 34 describes the installation of a statue representing the temple's principle deity. According to the verse, we know that the divinity was called Jayavarmēśvara, a reference to the name of Jayavarman VII himself, and that the appearance of the statue was modeled on that of his own father. The word *Lokeśa* (meaning "lord of the world" in Sanskrit) is interpreted as the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, because of the next verse 35⁽¹⁵⁾ describing the *Lokeśa* as Avalokiteśa. Starting with the verse 35, the inscription first states that 283 images were enshrined around the central Avalokiteśa, the following few verses describe specific statues and other images enshrined in the various cardinal directions around them. **Fig. 3** shows a schematic diagram of the arrangement of images as described in this inscription, which suggests that the arrangement had been systematically planned when the stele was dedicated. From this description alone, however, it is difficult to clarify which images were enshrined in which buildings comprising the actual temple complex, how the images enshrined in each location within the buildings were represented, whether they were not depicted as images of specific divine images but in fact portraits or *linga*, and in what kind of combinations these objects of worship were arranged.

How, then, does the actual temple complex of Preah Khan embody the statements on the arrangement of images, as indicated on the stele? In this article, the main focus will be on identifying which building inside the actual temple corresponds to the location of each image's arrangement as described in the inscription. The analysis is done by examining the arrangement of images as represented in the actual temple, based on data obtained in field surveys, and comparing this with statements on the arrangement of images on the stele.

After this, an attempt will also be made to discuss as far as possible the symbolic meaning attached to the arrangement of images described on the stele. Elucidating the meaning attached to this arrangement of images will assist in exploring the religious beliefs and political views of Jayavarman VII, who built the temple, and in turn the historical background of Angkor at the time.

Selection of Data and Methodology

In an attempt to clarify the identity of images enshrined in the various buildings that comprise the Preah Khan temple complex, four types of artifact are considered. They consist of fully carved statues (hereinafter referred as “statues”), pedestals, inscriptions carved on doorjambs, and decorative bas-reliefs carved on the doorways. Data on these artefacts were mainly gathered in field surveys⁽¹⁶⁾ from October to December, 2010 and from April to May, 2011.

When a statue is found inside the temple, its divinity can easily be identified based on its iconographic characteristics. However, very few statues have so far been discovered in the temple complex – certainly nowhere near the 430 mentioned on the stele. Moreover, many statues have been found with their heads or limbs missing, while in some cases only the heads or limbs have been found, making it difficult to identify the divinity. Another problem is that statues are thought to have been installed by inserting a tenon formed underneath the statue into a mortise drilled in the top of the pedestal, making it relatively easy to move statues from place to place. In fact, most of the statues found so far are thought to have been moved to a different location some time after they were initially installed, and were found in different locations from the original place of installation. It means that, even if the identity of the divinity can be known from the detail on the image, the statue may not necessarily have been installed in the place where it was discovered.

Pedestals can still be found inside some of the buildings inside the temple complex. Given the present reality that many of the statues have been lost, however, the only information to be obtained from pedestals is how many statues were installed on them, depending on the number of mortises. For example, a pedestal with only one mortise would have been used for a single statue, but pedestals with three mortises could conceivably have accommodated three statues.

Some doorways at Preah Khan have short inscriptions in old Khmer carved on their doorjambs (hereinafter referred to as “doorjamb inscription”). They give detailed

information such as the name of a statue, the name of the person who the statue represented, and the name of the person dedicating the statue. However, inscriptions like this cannot be observed on all doorjamb but are limited to just a few locations. They will therefore not suffice to generalize the arrangement of images in the temple complex as a whole.

Meanwhile, each of the buildings that comprise the Preah Khan temple complex has at least one doorway, and the main structural members of doorway are pediment, lintel, colonnettes, pilasters and doorframe (Fig. 4). Various decorative bas-reliefs are carved on these structural members, including patterns based on animal motifs, patterns consisting of circles and scrolls, or carved images of divinities and scenes from stories depicting Hindu myths or Buddhist narrative stories (hereinafter referred to as “doorway decoration”). It is possible that the identity of statues could be inferred from this doorway decoration.

This article will mainly discuss doorway decoration, as an artifact that survives in greater numbers than other types of artifact and enables us to make general inferences as to the identity of the enshrined images, even indirectly. By supplementing it with other data whenever necessary, the arrangement of images represented in the actual Preah Khan temple will be proposed.

From the next section onwards, the identity of statues thought to have been installed in each building will be inferred from bas-relief carvings in doorway decoration, and particularly from the themes of iconographic representation carved on the pediments and lintels.⁽¹⁷⁾

Descriptions concerning the arrangement of images in a Khmer temple are a characteristic of the Preah Khan stele inscriptions that have not been observed in other inscriptions. The K.273 stele (1186) discovered at Ta Prohm, also built in the same period, states that a principal deity named Jayarājachūdāmani, representing the appearance of Jayavarman VII's mother, was worshipped at the central main shrine, with 260 other images worshipped to either side and around it.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, it does not mention where each image is enshrined in the various buildings inside the temple. Besides, a 29-line old Khmer inscription carved on a doorjamb at Banteay Chhmar (K.227) (12th century) gives the name of the central image and the names of images enshrined to its northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, but the statements only refer to part of the temple area, and do not describe the arrangement of images in the temple as a whole.⁽¹⁹⁾

Phillipe Stern classified the styles of decorative bas-reliefs in Khmer temples from the perspective of art history, and considered it possible to divide Preah Khan into four phases of temple construction.⁽²⁰⁾ Olivier Cunin who classified the relative chronology on construction

process of the temples in the period of Jayavarman VII from the perspective of architectural history divided the process of the temple construction into six phases by confirming traces of extension and reconstruction work that can be observed at Preah Khan.⁽²¹⁾ Estuo Uchida divided the construction process of the temple complex into four phases from the magnetic susceptibility of the sandstone.⁽²²⁾

The author has classified the styles of all doorway decoration that can be observed at Preah Khan in order to suggest the construction process of the temple complex from the perspective of the stylistic transition of doorway decoration. The classification was carried out based on the forty-eight criteria established for each five members constituting a doorway (Table 1, 2 and Fig. 5-10). To be concrete, there are ten criteria for the pediment, starting with the shape of the frame and the iconographic subject of the bas-relief and its arrangements, eight criteria for the lintel, starting with the composition of decorative patterns. Thirteen criteria for the pilaster, starting with the shape and decorative pattern on each moulding forming the capital and the base, and the composition of decorative pattern carved on the shaft as well, seven criteria for the colonnette, starting with the iconic image carved on the base and the composition of decorative patterns on the moulding forming the shaft are follow, the four criteria for doorframe and six criteria for imitative door.

As a result of classifying the stylistic features based on these items, the following six criteria appeared to be able to show the stylistic features of doorway decoration that can be observed at Preah Khan (Table.3). They are the iconographic representation of images carved on the tympanum of the pediment, the composition of decorative patterns on the lintel, such as garlands, leaves and leaf-shaped niches, the composition of decorative patterns on mouldings forming the capital and the base of a pilaster, and the elaborateness and fineness of carvings on the shaft of a pilaster and a colonnette.

To consider the process of stylistic transition of doorway decoration along the construction of Preah Khan, the constructive chronology has been established by confirming the traces of extension and reconstruction work observed at the temple complex. Taking some examples, there are six small subsidiary shrines distributed along the 1st enclosure on the west sides of the southwest and northwest courtyards. Observing the part of these shrines joined to the enclosure, the side walls of the shrines were built with stone blocks piled up around pillars disposed inside the enclosure and the walls intercept the passage of the aisle (Fig.11). Therefore, these shrines seem to be constructed later than the 1st enclosure and the pillared aisle inside it. Another example is the three pillared corridor connecting the central main

shrine and the south, west, and north gates of the 1st enclosure. At the doorways of the anterior rooms of the central main shrine and each tower gate connecting the corridors, bas-relief images on pilasters have been partly defaced. These traces suggest that the pillared corridors were built after the central main shrines and tower gates of the 1st enclosure. Considering the fact that the construction process of this temple complex can be analogized from these traces and the classification of stylistic features based on the six items mentioned above, the construction process of Preah Khan temple complex can be divided into five phases (Table.4). Although there are some differences in the divisions of temple construction phases identified by three scholars' and the author's perspectives, it is clear that they all agree for the most part. The fact that differences appear in the division of construction phases in each study is attributed to the time lag between the stone quarrying phase, the construction phase, the wall decoration phase, and the temple consecration phase in the process of temple construction. It is possible, in fact, that the phases of quarrying, construction and decoration did not necessarily coincide.⁽²³⁾

In this way, it became clear that Preah Khan temple complex had been built stepwise by repeated extension and reconstruction work. Among its construction phases, most of the doorway decoration at the extended or reconstructed buildings such as the two examples mentioned above show the stylistic features of the fourth or fifth phases. It suggests that the temple complex of Preah Khan in the foundation period was built in three construction phases. Therefore, the buildings constructed from the fourth to fifth phases could be regarded as extensions or reconstructions after the foundation period. Hereinafter, this article will consider the iconographic subjects and representations of doorway decoration, focusing on the buildings that had been constructed from the first to the third construction phases.

For the discussion in this article, therefore, the whole temple of Preah Khan, thought to have been built already in 1191 or 1192 when the principal deity mentioned on the stele was enshrined, will be divided into six sections as follows (Fig. 1): the "central section" (1st enclosure and the buildings inside it), the "eastern section" (east tower gate of the 2nd and 3rd enclosures), the "southern section" (south tower gate of the 3rd enclosure and the southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure), the "western section" (west tower gate of the 3rd enclosure and the western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure), the "northern section" (north tower gate of the 3rd enclosure and the northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure), and the "outer periphery" (the four tower gates of the 4th enclosure).

Although there is no room to explain the doorway decoration on the buildings constructed after the foundation period in detail, see author's previous article regarding the differences of the styles of doorway decoration and the arrangement of the images between the main buildings and the subsidiary shrines inside the 1st enclosure, due to the differences of the construction periods.⁽²⁴⁾

Arrangement of Images at Preah Khan Temple⁽²⁵⁾

Central Section

In the central main shrine inside the 1st enclosure, the bas-reliefs on most of the doorway decoration have been intentionally defaced, making it difficult to identify the subjects of the images. The only location where the subject can be inferred from surviving portions is the lintel on the west face of the main chamber. A swollen head as if wearing a diadem and two arms attached to both sides of an upper torso can be observed in traces of the bas-relief surviving inside the foliate niche in the center of this lintel. In addition, the style of wearing a *sampot* around the waist and traces of images thought to be *apsaras* or worshippers can also be seen around the central image, suggesting that the bas-relief originally represented the image of a four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara (Fig. 12-1, 12-2). Besides, bas-reliefs of Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images survive on the pilaster of the doorway of the south vestibule (Fig. 13-1, 13-2). In fact, it seems to assume that Buddhist beliefs were strongly represented in this central main shrine, especially as a four-armed seated Avalokiteśvara holding a rosary, a sacred text and a flask, with Amitābha Buddha at the front of his bun, as well as two statues of seated Buddha on nāga have been found here.⁽²⁶⁾

Lintels carved with Buddhist images are also found in the group of main buildings within the 1st enclosure, including four gates, corner shrines and galleries surrounding this central main shrine. A lintel in the east tower gate of the 1st enclosure has a bas-relief depicting a standing Avalokiteśvara, with items in each of its four arms and two kneeling worshippers at his feet (Fig. 14-1, 14-2). The south tower gate has a lintel depicting a scene from the *Mūgāpakka Jātaka*, one of a 547 stories of "Jātakas" about the previous lives of the Buddha. In Khmer iconography, this Jātaka is represented as a scene in which Prince Temiya pretends to be blind, deaf and dumb to avoid becoming the next king. Two swordsmen, sent by his parents to help him regain his sanity, hold their swords over the prince's head⁽²⁷⁾ (Fig. 15-1, 15-2). This lintel shows the two swordsmen facing each other and holding their swords up horizontally, and although the bas-relief below them has been defaced, it is presumed that the

prince Temiya was originally depicted there. A scene from the *Vessantara Jātaka* in which Prince Vessantara gives two children to a Brahmin was depicted on a lintel that had fallen from the doorway of the west tower gate and lay on the floor (Fig. 16-1, 16-2).

Besides them, several lintels depicting Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images carved in the center have also been found in each tower gate of the 1st enclosure. Turning to the arrangement tendency based on the subject of images carved on the lintels, many of the doorways on the two central axes extending east-west and north-south from the central main shrine have bas-reliefs depicting a standing Avalokiteśvara or scenes from Jātakas, while many lintels depicting Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images have been observed on other doorways. The fact that many doorways on the two central axes depict images of standing Avalokiteśvara cannot be unrelated to the fact that the principal deity Lokeśa, thought to be Avalokiteśvara, was installed in the central main shrine. The distribution of standing Avalokiteśvara images (the same as the principal deity) on the two axes in the central section, where people coming and going would have been particularly frequent, must have served to emphasize that this whole area was a place representing belief in Avalokiteśvara. Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images are also well known to have been depicted as miniature Amitābha Buddha in the Khmer iconography of the time, not only as an image on coiffure mentioned above, but also as innumerable images carved on Avalokiteśvara's body. Here, these images of Avalokiteśvara and other Buddhist images must have been carved on lintels of doorways outside the two central axes as motifs consecrating the various buildings of the central section as a group of Buddhist buildings.

Meanwhile, inside the buildings positioned on the two central axes, not only do many square and rectangular pedestals survive, but also several places can be seen where holes have been bored in four corners of the floor stone. It suggests that canopies were installed over the images.⁽²⁸⁾ Besides them, several Buddhist statues including a seated Buddha on a nāga, a standing Avalokiteśvara, Buddhist triad have been discovered inside these buildings.⁽²⁹⁾

In the above-mentioned doorjamb inscriptions in the central section, the title *kamrateñ jagat* ("lord of the world" in old Khmer) is often followed by a divine name in which a phrase eulogizing a ruler is combined with the name Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara, lord of the world).⁽³⁰⁾ For instance, the old Khmer inscription *kamrateñ jagat śrīraṇadivyalokeśvara rūpa 'nak sañjak harisoma chven* (K.621)⁽³¹⁾ survives on a doorjamb of the east vestibule in the east tower gate. This inscription consists of the divine name Raṇadivyalokeśvara (meaning "lord of the sacred battle"), followed by *rūpa*, a loan word from Sanskrit meaning "form, shape,

image”, and finally the name of the individual on whom the image is modeled (the divinity’s historical model). In this case, the name of the individual is accompanied by the title *sañjak*, meaning a high-ranking official.⁽³²⁾ Many more inscriptions following this format of the “divine name + *rūpa* + individual name” can be observed in the central section. From these inscriptions, it can be understood that the divinity worshipped here was modeled on a high-ranking official, who had been accorded divine status by attaching the word *Lokeśvara* (meaning both Avalokiteśvara as Buddhist divinity and “lord of the world”, the latter probably referring to Jayavarman VII) to his name.

In this way, the high-ranking officials who served in the entourage of the king must have been enshrined to attend on the principal deity in the center (= a symbol of Jayavarman VII) by combining various words or phrases praising the ruler Jayavarman VII in the divine name. Images of the standing Avalokiteśvara or its manifestation as small Amitābha Buddha images were selected as decorative bas-reliefs for the doorways of shrines where these images were enshrined, and are thereby thought to have consecrated the *Lokeśa*.

Eastern Section

Many of the pediments and lintels of doorways in east tower gate of the 2nd enclosure have collapsed. On surviving members, the bas-relief doorway decoration has largely been defaced or worn down, and the subject of the images can only be identified in a very few cases. An example in which the subject can be confirmed is a pediment representing *Bhūridatta Jātaka* on the north-face doorway of the main chamber the east tower gate.⁽³³⁾ Court ladies from the kingdom of *nāgas*, depicted in the form of many-headed snakes, are seated on the middle and lower layers of the pediment (Fig. 17-1, 17-2). In addition, the bas-relief on the lintel of the east-face doorway of the main chamber shows a scene from the Biographies of Buddha in which the maiden *Sujāta* gave *Shakyamuni* a bowl of milk rice porridge when he had abandoned his ascetic practice (Fig. 18-1, 18-2).

From a statement in the doorjamb inscription (K.906) on the east face of the east vestibule, we know that a divinity called *Tribhuvanavarmēśvara* was worshipped in this tower gate. This name is probably suggesting Jayavarman VII’s former king *Tribhuvanadityavarman*, who had usurped the throne after assassinating his predecessor *Yaśovarman II*. Besides this, the inscription also bears names that refer to Jayavarman VII’s mother and father.⁽³⁴⁾ As such, the intention here may well have been to express ancestor worship, in which the king worshipped his own parents and honored his own ancestors and lineage, while at the same

time, by honoring the previous kings, expressing the legitimacy of his rule and his lineage as kings of Angkor. For the doorway decoration, furthermore, Buddhist images are thought to have been chosen to represent his beliefs.

The east tower gate of the 3rd enclosure consists of three towers aligned north to south. As the main east entrance to the temple complex, it is larger in scale and more complex in planar composition than the other three tower gates of the 3rd enclosure. The pediments are in a poor remaining condition and none of the bas-relief subjects can be identified, but many subjects of the bas-relief on the lintels can be. On the central tower of the east tower gate, four lintels depicting Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images can be observed. Meanwhile, a lintel depicting a standing Avalokiteśvara can be seen in the northern tower and a lintel depicting a standing Prajñāpāramitā on the southern tower. The standing Avalokiteśvara has four arms and holds objects in its hands. The standing Prajñāpāramitā has two arms and holds a lotus flower and a square object thought to be a sacred text in her hands. Besides them, two lintels depicting a scene from the *Vessantara Jātaka* and one lintel depicting a scene from *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, in which Garuḍa carries the body of the nāga king toward the sea, can also be observed.

Thus, the eastern section of the temple complex also represents Buddhist belief. Meanwhile, a doorjamb on the east face of the east vestibule of the central east tower gate are engraved with the divine name Caturlokanātha, meaning “Lord of the Four Worlds”⁽³⁵⁾. It may be interpreted as a name symbolizing the principal deity Lokeśa installed in the central main shrine, indicating Jayavarman VII himself, as a ruler integrating the four building groups arranged inside the 3rd enclosure, that is, the east tower gate of the 2nd enclosure and the three subsidiary temple complexes inside the 3rd enclosure.⁽³⁶⁾ If we examine the arrangement tendencies of images in doorway decorations based on this interpretation of doorjamb inscriptions, the Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images in the central tower could conceivably be represented as manifestations of Avalokiteśvara or Jayavarman VII himself as the principal deity. This divinity is flanked on one side by a lintel carving of a standing Avalokiteśvara representing his father and on the other by a standing Prajñāpāramitā representing his mother, thus forming the Buddhist triad.⁽³⁷⁾

Southern Section

The southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure has collapsed in many places, and reconstruction work is not complete. Most of the doorway members have either

been lost or buried under surrounding collapsed masonry, making it difficult to confirm the state of the bas-relief. Even when structural members are still in place, the subjects are often difficult to identify as the bas-relief has been intentionally defaced.

The subject of doorway decoration could only be identified on two of the lintels in the field surveys. One of them had fallen from the north-face doorway of the main chamber of the south tower gate and had been placed on the west side of the north wing inside the chamber. It had a bas-relief depicting an image of Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha in its center (Fig. 19-1, 19-2). The other lintel had been placed on the east side of the south tower gate west vestibule, and depicted a scene from the Biographies of Buddha “Defeat of Māra” (Fig. 20-1, 20-2). When Māra tried to prevent the Buddha from meditating, the Buddha touched the ground with his right hand, causing the earth goddess Thoranī to appear from under the ground. She then caused a flood by wringing out her long hair, as a result of which Māra’s army was washed away. A bas-relief image in the center of the lintel shows Thoranī wringing her hair.⁽³⁸⁾

Elsewhere in this subsidiary temple complex, traces of defaced Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha bas-reliefs can be observed on the pilasters of the central shrine, while a standing Avalokiteśvara, a standing Prajñāpāramitā⁽³⁹⁾ and other statues related to Buddhism have been discovered inside the building. In this subsidiary temple complex, doorjamb inscriptions have been observed in five locations. In each of them, the divine name is preceded by the title *kamraten jagat* and the divinity’s historical model by the title *kamraten aṅ*.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In most cases, the divine name includes part of the name of the historical model. Of these, Yaśovarmeśvara, inscribed on the doorjamb of the west tower gate, is a combination of Yaśovarman and *īśvara* (lord, king), suggesting that Yaśovarman II, the king two reigns before Jayavarman VII, is deified here.

Besides it, an inscription on the north-face doorjamb in the main chamber of the south tower gate states that a divinity named Dharaṇīndradeva modeled after a person named Dharaṇīndrapaṇḍita is enshrined there. This is thought to represent Dharaṇīndravarman II, father of Jayavarman VII. The north-face doorjamb of the southwest corner shrine also bears the names of three divinities thought to be modeled on the images of Mahīdharapaṇḍita, his father and his mother. This Mahīdharapaṇḍita is thought to refer to Mahīdharapaṇḍitaditya, the father of Dharaṇīndravarman II and grandfather of Jayavarman VII.⁽⁴¹⁾ How these divinities modeled on actual individuals were depicted and worshipped is not clear. It may be that, as well as worshipping the father and grandfather of Jayavarman VII and expressing ancestor

worship by honoring his own ancestors and lineage, he also wanted to express his own legitimacy and that of his lineage as kings of Angkor by suggesting his link to the king two reigns before himself. Buddhist images are thought to have been chosen for the doorway decoration to represent his beliefs.

EFEO carried out emergency repairs on south tower gate of the 3rd enclosure in 1952 and 1953,⁽⁴²⁾ but no full-scale restoration work was undertaken and masonry lay fallen in many locations. The subject of the images in doorway decorations can only be identified on two of the lintels, both of which show scenes from Jātakas. One is a scene from *Mūgapaṅka Jātaka*, the other is a scene from the *Śivi Jātaka* in which King Śivi cuts flesh from his own thigh to feed a hungry hawk, thereby rescuing a pigeon that had been caught by the hawk (Fig. 21-1, 21-2).⁽⁴³⁾ Meanwhile, the doorjamb inscription (K.907) on the north vestibule of the south tower gate mentions a divinity by the name of Ratnalokeśvara, who takes the form of an individual called Ratnavajra... (the ending is missing) with the title *sañjak*. This divine name is compounded from part of the name of the divinity's historical model, followed by Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara, lord of the world). As mentioned in connection with the main building group inside the 1st enclosure, it is thought that this image was modeled on a real person who had the title *sañjak*, but was also given a name meant to honor the king Jayavarman VII and indicate belief in Avalokiteśvara.

Thus, Buddhist images can generally be observed in the southern section of the temple area consisting of the southern subsidiary temple complex and south tower gate of the 3rd enclosure, and it may be inferred from the doorjamb inscriptions that Yaśovarman II, Jayavarman VII's father and other ancestors were worshipped here.

Western Section

In the western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure, the tower-shaped roof over the central shrine and the vaulted roof over the vestibule have collapsed, and fallen masonry makes it impossible to confirm the doorway decoration in some places. Of the doorway members, many of the pediments and lintels have collapsed, but several of the collapsed lintels have been placed inside the chamber. Also, several of the pediments have been restored by WMF on the grounds between the western subsidiary temple complex temple and west tower gate of the 3rd enclosure.⁽⁴⁴⁾

As bas-reliefs on doorway decoration in which subjects can be identified, images of Viṣṇu and his incarnations including Kṛṣṇa and Rāma can be recognized on many pediments and

lintels. For example, the top of the tympanum on one of the pediments can be identified to bear a bas-relief image of “Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa”, which depicts Viṣṇu raising his four arms above Garuḍa, standing with wings spread wide (Fig. 22-1, 22-2). In another case, the bas-relief on the pediment depicts the scene of “Kṛṣṇa lifting Mount Govardhana”, in which Kṛṣṇa lifts the mountain Govardhana with one hand and holds it up like an umbrella to protect cows and cowherds from torrential rains sent by Indra (Fig. 23-1, 23-2).

Bas-reliefs depicting Kṛṣṇa can be recognized in many locations on the lintels. As for the doorjamb inscriptions, in just a few cases these state that a divinity bearing the name of the dedicator has been enshrined, but the vast majority give a divine name formed from one of Viṣṇu’s many names, his wives or his incarnations. These names are preceded by the phrase *kamrateṅ jagat*, but this is not followed by the name of the image’s historical model – suggesting that, in this subsidiary temple complex, the images are not modeled on historical individuals, but the temple was planned as a place for worshipping Viṣṇu and related Hindu divinities.

Restoration work was carried out on the west tower gate of the 3rd enclosure between 1942 and 1945 by EFEO⁽⁴⁵⁾. Places where mortar has been filled to secure the masonry can be observed in various parts of the building. Although the doorway decoration has been discolored by seeping rainwater and the bas-reliefs have been worn down, the subjects of the bas-reliefs can easily be discerned in most cases, and numerous pediments and lintels depicting Viṣṇu images and scenes from the *Rāmāyana* and the legends of Kṛṣṇa can be recognized. The scene in which Rāma meets the monkey king Sugrīva and they form an alliance is depicted on the pediment of the east-face doorway in the north vestibule (Fig. 24-1, 24-2)⁽⁴⁶⁾. Although the image in the center of the upper layer has been worn away, the bas-relief is assumed to have depicted Rāma. The monkey to his left must be Sugrīva. On the middle and lower levels, a number of seated monkeys are having a discussion. Besides this, lintels with bas-reliefs of “Viṣṇu on Garuḍa” and “Kṛṣṇa killing Kansa” have also been found.

Northern Section

The northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure was restored by EFEO between 1954 and 1956, mainly in the central section, and is maintained in relatively good condition today. Numerous traces of mortar used to fill breakages in the masonry during the restoration can still be recognized. On the doorways, similarly, although many places that have been repaired with mortar can be seen, numerous examples of bas-relief in a good

remaining condition can be observed overall. In the central shrine, there are pediments carved in the image of the Hindu triad, with Śiva in the center and Viṣṇu and Brahma on either side (Fig. 25-1, 25-2), as well as another pediment depicting a dancing Śiva image (Fig. 26-1, 26-2).

Beneath these pediments, there are lintels with bas-relief images related to Viṣṇu such as Garuḍa and Kṛṣṇa. In other words, pediments bearing Śiva images are combined with lintels bearing Viṣṇu images. Again, images related to Viṣṇu and his incarnations are also found on the pediments of doorways in buildings surrounding the central shrine (tower gates, libraries and corner shrines), suggesting an intentional arrangement of Śiva and Viṣṇu images in the central shrine and surrounding buildings. Doorjamb inscriptions on the south and east tower gate give divine names incorporating the words *senāpati* (an army commander) (K.627) and *sarvañjaya* (victor) (K.631), vocabulary suggesting a eulogy to a ruler who is victorious in battle, combined with *gāṇḍīva* (Arjuna's bow) (K.627), Viḡhneśa (another name for Ganeśa) and Śaṅkara (another name for Śiva) (K.628)⁽⁴⁸⁾. Here, the use of expressions reminiscent not only of Śiva and Arjuna but also of a ruler who was victorious in battle are seen as an attempt to liken the mighty power of the ruler to that of Śiva. The "ruler" here is of course Jayavarman VII, and these divinities were probably enshrined to praise the valor of Jayavarman VII in defeating Champa and recapturing the capital of Angkor. A seated statue of Śiva's son Ganeśa has been discovered mounted on a pedestal inside the central shrine of this subsidiary temple complex.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Besides them, a stone slab depicting Viṣṇu in bas-relief has also been found inside the chamber, and it is conceivable that the images of Viṣṇu were arranged and worshipped around Ganeśa in the center.

The north tower gate of the 3rd enclosure underwent emergency repairs by EFEO between 1952 and 1956,⁽⁵⁰⁾ but no full-scale restoration work has been carried out, and collapsed masonry is scattered in many places. As for the remaining condition of the doorways, some members have collapsed, while some bas-reliefs have been worn away due to natural weathering and are difficult to identify. Some bas-reliefs remain in relatively good condition, however. On the pediments and lintels, while there are several examples of lintels decorated with seated ascetics, hardly any of the others could be identified as they have collapsed. Conversely, images related to Viṣṇu such as Kṛṣṇa and Rāma could be recognized on the half-pediments.

In view of the above, doorway decoration in the northern section shows a tendency for Śiva images to be arranged on pediments in the central building and those related to Viṣṇu,

his wives, and his incarnations to be arranged on lintels in surrounding buildings, suggesting that Śiva was worshipped in the center and Viṣṇu in the surrounding area.

Outer Periphery

All four tower gates in the 4th enclosure consist of three towers standing in line. As doorway decoration in which the subject of images can be identified, lintels depicting of Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images and pediments depicting a standing Avalokiteśvara and battle scenes have been observed. These images were most likely used to represent, on the exterior of these outermost tower gates, the fact that the temple mainly was concerned with belief in Avalokiteśvara, and that it was built to commemorate the victory by Jayavarman VII. Inscriptions on east-face doorjambs of the main chambers in the northern and southern towers of the east tower gate each retain three divine names and the names of their dedicators. Moreover, rectangular pedestals with three mortises remain inside the main chamber of each tower on both sides of three of the four tower gates (the exception being the south tower gate). From these facts, it should be seen as highly likely that the three divinities mentioned in the doorjamb inscriptions were originally mounted on these pedestals.

Comparison between Iconographic Representations on Doorways and the Stele

So far, we have divided the Preah Khan temple complex into six sections, identified the subjects of bas-reliefs carved to decorate doorways in the various buildings in each section, and discussed their arrangement tendencies. Wherever necessary, the arrangement tendency of the image that was probably installed in each building has been inferred from doorjamb inscriptions, statues and pedestals. Now, by comparing these artefacts with statements concerning the arrangement of images on the stele, we will consider which buildings inside the actual temple complex have consistencies in the descriptions given on the stele.

Verse 36 of the stele states "In the eastern direction he, the king, established three gods, beginning with Lord Tribhuvanavarmesvara". It may be that the building referred to here is east tower gate of the 2nd enclosure. We know, from doorjamb inscriptions in this tower gate, that a divinity called Tribhuvanavarmesvara was worshipped here, and this name is clearly the same as that of the divinity mentioned on the stele.

Verse 37 states "In the southern area, he established thirty-two gods, starting with Lord Yašovarmesvara". The building corresponding to this statement is thought to be the southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure. Doorjamb inscriptions in the

subsidiary temple complex reveal that a divinity called Yaśovarmeśvara was worshipped here, and this is thought to be the same divinity as that mentioned on the stele inscription.

Verse 38 states “In the west, he established thirty gods, starting with the image of Lord Cāmpēśvara”. The building corresponding to this statement could conceivably be the western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure. The fact that Cāmpēśvara, mentioned on the stele as a divinity established in the west, is thought to be another name for Viṣṇu, and that the name is used when describing the battle with Champa, suggests that this location was closely related to Viṣṇu.⁽⁵¹⁾ In the discussion in the previous section, doorway decoration depicting Viṣṇu and related divinities and doorjamb inscriptions describing these divinities were confirmed in the western section. As for the reason why this divinity was arranged on the western section of Preah Khan and the relationship between Champa and Viṣṇu, the author’s latest article has discussed in detail.⁽⁵²⁾

Verse 38 also states “in the north, (he established) forty (gods), starting with a Śivapāda”. The building corresponding to this statement is thought to be the northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure. In this subsidiary temple complex’s doorway decoration, Śiva tends to be carved on pediments and arranged at central buildings, on the other hand, Viṣṇu tends to be carved on lintels and arranged at surrounding buildings, consistent with the statement on the stele mentioning Śivapāda as the main deity.

In the four tower gates that make up the 3rd enclosure, the identities of divinity that can be inferred from the subject of images and doorjamb inscriptions in doorway decoration, and statues that have been discovered, and others, have the same characteristics as those in the building groups arranged inside the respective tower gates. Specifically, the east tower gate of the 3rd enclosure, like the east tower gate of the 2nd enclosure, was a place related to Buddhism, at the same time, images and inscriptions thought to symbolize the parents and predecessor of Jayavarman VII as well as Jayavarman VII himself have also been recognized. It may be inferred from doorjamb inscriptions that the south tower gate, like the southern subsidiary temple complex, was not only a place related to Buddhism but was also where the king two reigns before Jayavarman VII and the king’s ancestors were worshipped. The same is true of the west and north tower gate. Considering these facts, it would seem possible to interpret the locations east, south, west and north where images were enshrined, as described on the stele, as consistent with the building groups in the actual temple, including the respective tower gate in the 3rd enclosure – or more specifically, the eastern section, southern section, western section and northern section.

However, it would be difficult to interpret the statement in verse 36 that “In the eastern direction he, the king, established three gods, beginning with Lord Tribhuvanavarmeśvara” as meaning that these three divinities were the total of images that must have been enshrined in east tower gate of the 2nd and 3rd enclosures. Rather, it would seem more natural to think of these three as enshrined in east tower gate of the 2nd enclosure, considering that this tower gate is smaller in scale than the other building groups in other directions. In the east tower gate of the 2nd enclosure, meanwhile, it is inferred that the Buddhist triad with its triangular arrangement was represented by making the Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha image in the central chamber the main divinity, with Avalokiteśvara as left-side attendant and Prajñāpāramitā as right-side attendant aligned on the north and south chambers, respectively. It would mean that the Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha image as the central divinity was a manifestation of the principal deity (Lokeśa) in the central main shrine inside the 1st enclosure. These three divinities could implicitly refer to Jayavarman VII and his parents. Based on the above, it would seem that the four tower gates in the 3rd enclosure were planned as representing the group of buildings arranged inside each tower gate such as the three subsidiary complexes, and that the statues enshrined inside each tower gate also had consistencies with those enshrined in buildings inside the tower gate. However, it is hard to discern any evidence in support of this theory from the description on the stele, and so the theory must remain no more than a matter of conjecture.

Thus, based on the fact that the locations in which statues were enshrined to east, west, south and north as described on the stele can be identified, the statement in verse 35 that “Around [this] central Ārya-Avalokiteśa he established two hundred and eighty-three gods” must refer to the central section including the 1st enclosure buildings within it. In the central section, the principal deity Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara) in the center is surrounded by another standing Avalokiteśvara, as well as Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images and other Buddhist images. It has been pointed out that a tendency to solemnly decorate the Buddhist shrine group is seen in the arrangement of images, and that the divine names given in the doorjamb inscriptions could be meant to eulogize both Avalokiteśvara and Jayavarman VII himself. This is consistent with the three aspects seen in the image of the principal deity Lokeśa worshipped in the central main shrine – namely, the aspect of Avalokiteśvara, that of Jayavarman VII's father, and that of Jayavarman VII – and the images in the central section are thought to have been arranged around the principal deity in the center.

Verse 40 states that “(he established) Twenty-four divinities in the tower gates [located]

in the four directions” . The buildings corresponding to this statement are thought to be the four tower gates of the 4th enclosure. In three of these four gates, pedestals thought to have held three statues each can be observed inside the main chambers of the shrine towers on both right and left sides. The exception is the south tower gate, where collapsed masonry lay scattered. As well as this, doorjamb inscriptions in these main chambers state divine names incorporating the name of the person who dedicated the statue. Taking these facts into account, it is highly likely that 24 divinities were worshipped in the four tower gates of the 4th enclosure, consistent with the description on the stele.

Meanings Attached to the Arrangement of Images at Preah Khan

A certain consistency is seen between the arrangement of divinities at Preah Khan, as inferred from the above discussion, and the arrangement of images as described on the stele. It has been made clear that, as stated on the stele, there was an intentional arrangement of images whereby specific images were arranged in specific locations. To sum up the arrangement of images inside the temple, the central temple section has Buddhist divinities with Avalokiteśvara in the center, the eastern and southern sections have Buddhist images, the western section has divine images connected with Viṣṇu, and the northern section has divine images connected with Śiva.

In addition to this arrangement of images when the temple as a whole is seen from above, if we look at each section in detail, we find an arrangement of images whereby divinities related to an image worshipped in the center of each section is arranged around that image. In the central section, for example, scenes from Jātakas and Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha images are arranged around Avalokiteśvara, while images of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are arranged around Viṣṇu in the temple west section. In the northern section, images related to Viṣṇu are arranged around Śiva in the center, though the background to this relationship between Śiva and Viṣṇu images must be a subject for further study in future. In any case, however, we know that in the Preah Khan temple complex, arrangements of images with a relationship between “center and periphery” on two different scales are superimposed over each other, and that a complex world comprising a diversity of divinities is represented. In this way, Preah Khan could be unique temple in which various images from Buddhism and Hinduism were brought together inside one temple complex.

According to the statements made in verses 158 to 166 of the stele, the kings of Java, Yavana and Cham would visit Angkor with holy water every year to attend a festival held at

Preah Khan.⁽⁵³⁾ From this, we know that the influence of Angkor at that time reached as far as the Malay Peninsula, northern Vietnam, and the eastern and southern coasts of the Indochina peninsula. People living in this vast area would have included not only Buddhists but also Hindus and worshippers of local animistic beliefs. In order to integrate people with these various beliefs under the control of Angkor, Jayavarman VII must have intended to make this Preah Khan a major religious center of Angkor, and to have it visited by people from various different areas.

Moreover, from descriptions in the form “divine name + *rūpa* + individual name” found in doorjamb inscriptions, we know that images bearing the name of Jayavarman VII himself, his achievements, his ancestors, and kings of Angkor were worshipped in the east and south of the temple, where Buddhist images were arranged. By thus exalting himself, his ancestors and past kings and arranging them in the Buddhist worldview espoused by Jayavarman VII, he might have asserted that he and his lineage were suitable to be kings of Angkor. At the same time, the fact that dedicators of images and the historical individuals who became models for the images were also deified and worshipped in various sections of the temple, irrespective of whether they followed Buddhism or Hinduism, can be discerned from details in the doorjamb inscriptions. Moreover, the title *kamraten jagat* (“lord of the world” in old Khmer) is used in common for the divine name of these deified ancestors and individuals. It would seem that an attempt was made to legitimize royal authority by linking individuals professing various beliefs with the successive kings of Angkor, as well as Jayavarman VII himself and his lineage inside the Preah Khan temple complex, based on this kind of personality cult and ancestor worship.

Conclusion

In the foregoing, we have discussed the meanings attached the arrangement of images at Preah Khan. This multilayered temple complex is woven from a diversity of beliefs including Buddhism, Hindu and ancestor worship, centered around the principal deity Lokeśa incorporating the name of Jayavarman VII himself and bearing a likeness to his own father. If it could be seen as an aspect of religious syncretism, then it could perhaps be said that this arrangement of divinities embodies Jayavarman VII’s intention for this construction mentioned above.

Matsuura has conducted detailed studies on the tradition whereby the attributes of historical individuals were incorporated in statues based on historical records found in

inscriptions.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In his analysis, though stating that it would be overhasty to draw simplistic conclusions on historical developments, he points out that inscriptions stating “divine name + *rūpa* + individual name” to signify “a Buddhist or Hindu statue taking the appearance of a historical individual” were first seen in embryonic form in the second half of the 10th century, but did not become widespread. Moreover, there is no sign of these developing in the 11th century either, but they suddenly seem to have developed on a large scale during the reign of Jayavarman VII.

However, from Preah Khan temple complex, there is an arrangement of images with the main deity, Lokeśa, located in the center, surrounded with other images bearing attributes of historical individuals such as high-ranking officials or local lords. From the arrangement, we can discern at least two intentions as follows. Firstly they could have tried to show the dignity of the king by showing Lokeśvara as the main deity representing the king and his father with other images of high-ranking officials and local lords around the main deity. Secondly, there might have been a custom of deification of individuals based on personality cults and ancestor worship, regardless of whether they follow Hinduism, Buddhism, or any other beliefs behind this multiple arrangement. We can discern that Jayavarman VII tried to integrate various peoples who had different beliefs in a single temple, by taking advantage of the tradition. In other words, it is sufficiently conceivable that the characteristic arrangement of images at Preah Khan could have taken shape against the background of a political strategy by Jayavarman VII to govern people of various beliefs spread across the vast territory of his kingdom. On the other hand, for the individuals who were permitted to dedicate images bearing their own attributes or those of their close relatives inside the temple, it must have been both an expression of loyalty to Jayavarman VII, as well as a symbol of their status at that time. By expressing his own political justification through the arrangement of images in the temple in this way, Jayavarman VII must have intended to legitimize his rule as king.

The findings obtained in this article are merely the results of a single case study. In future, these findings will need to be positioned within the context of Angkor history. To that end, firstly, it will be useful to study the religious and political background of the rule of Jayavarman VII in more detail, by comparing the arrangement of images in other temples built in the same period as Preah Khan with those of Preah Khan. One would also like to explore trends between multiple temples from the same period in terms of the reasons for choosing individual images represented in doorway decoration, and to decipher the meaning

behind the use of each different images in various doorways.

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Abbreviations

APSARA	Authority for the Protection and Safeguarding of Angkor and the Region of Angkor
EFEO	École Française d'Extrême-Orient
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient
JFCA	Journaux de Fouille de la Conservation d'Angkor
RCA	Rapports de la Conservation d'Angkor
WMF	World Monuments Fund

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Notes

- (1) Details of clearance work carried out by EFEO are recorded in *Journaux de Fouilles des Conservateurs d'Angkor (JFCA)*, and *Rapports de la Conservation d'Angkor (RCA)*, among others.
- (2) WMF 1991-1999; 2011.
- (3) Cambodian inscriptions have all been given an inventory number preceded by the letter K. Inscriptions found at Preah Khan have been deciphered by George Cœdès and Thomas S. Maxwell (Cœdès 1941; Maxwell 2007a).
- (4) Stele Verse 32 [Side A lines 63-64].
- (5) Stele Verses 34-40 [Side A line 67 – Side B line 8].
- (6) Cœdès, 1941: 274-275; Maxwell 2007a: 32-46.
- (7) The year in which Lokeśa was enshrined, as stated in this inscription, has been interpreted as veda (“Veda”, = 3 or 4), indu (“moon”, = 1), candra (“moon”, 1), rūpa (“form”, = 1). The numeral referred to as veda has been interpreted in two ways until now, because the Vedic scriptures sometimes consist of three Vedas (Rig Veda, Yajur Veda and Sama Veda) and sometimes of four (the aforementioned plus Atharva Veda). The number could therefore be either 3 or 4. Due to the practice of writing word-numerals in reverse order, 3-1-1-1 or 4-1-1-1 may be interpreted as referring to the year 1113 or 1114 in the Śaka era, which would correspond to 1191 or 1192 in the Christian era (Maxwell 2007a :32-33).
- (8) Cœdès interprets this as meaning 283 gods including Ārya-Avalokiteśa in the center. Maxwell does not include the latter, counting only those around the central image as the 283 (Cœdès 1941: 288; Maxwell 2007a: 33).
- (9) The name of the divinity Tribhuvanavarmēśvara is thought to be based on part of the name of Tribhuvanadityavarman, Jayavarman VII's predecessor (Maxwell 2007a: 35).
- (10) The name of the divinity Yaśovarmēśvara is thought to be based on part of the name of Yaśovarman II, the king two reigns before Jayavarman VII (Jacques 2007: 47; Maxwell 2007a: 36-37).
- (11) In post- 8th century Cambodian inscriptions, Cāmpēśvara is used as another name for Viṣṇu. The etymology of the name is unknown. Bhattacharya points out that this name is used to mean Viṣṇu when referring to wars against Champa (Bhattacharya 1961: 122).
- (12) Śivapāda means “Śiva's foot”. Maxwell suggests that footprints of Śiva carved on a stone slab may have been worshipped as symbols of Śiva (Maxwell 2007a: 38; Sahai 2011: 74).
- (13) Both Cœdès and Maxwell give theories on the interpretation of the buildings listed in verse 39, and which of the buildings still extant in the temple today could correspond to them. However, neither of these could really be called the leading theory (Cœdès 1941: 262, 289; Maxwell 2007a: 42-44). When opinion is divided over the identity of a building, this author gives the Sanskrit word marked on the inscription followed by the general interpretation in parentheses.
- (14) These 430 gods may be interpreted as the total number of images listed in verses 35-40. However, if verse 35 is interpreted according to the theory of Cœdès explained in Note 8 above, the 430 gods would be the total including the principal deity, while if interpreted according to Maxwell's theory, it would be the total without the principal deity.
- (15) Cœdès 1941: 258; Maxwell 2007a: 33.

- (16) The author conducted a field survey on pedestals in 2008 (Kubo 2008). She also conducted field surveys on decorative bas-reliefs found on doorway members, statues, and doorjamb inscriptions from October to December 2010 and April to May 2011, with the results compiled in her degree thesis (Kubo 2012). When writing it, she referred to photographic data recorded during surveys by EFEO, and also endeavored as far as possible to draw on data that could be traced back to the situation at the time when Preah Khan was first built.
- (17) To assist in identifying the subjects of iconographic representation, the author referred to the report by Christine Hawixbrock, who gathered data on statues, bas-reliefs and doorjamb inscriptions discovered mainly at Preah Khan (Hawixbrock 1989), and works by Vittorio Roveda, who broadly introduces decorative bas-reliefs in many sites of Khmer temples (Roveda 2005), among others, as well as checking with sources on images.
- (18) Cœdès 1906 : 44-86.
- (19) Aymonier 1901: 344.
- (20) Stern 1965.
- (21) Cunin 2006.
- (22) Uchida 2002.
- (23) Bak 2004: 37.
- (24) Kubo 2015.
- (25) The discussion in this section and the next is summarized in Annex Tables.
- (26) Hawixbrock, 1989: 43-44; EFEO JFCA 1939.1.19, 1940.4.17.
- (27) Nakamura 1991: 9-10; Roveda 2005: 249.
- (28) Kubo 2008: 27; 2012: 355.
- (29) Hawixbrock, 1989: 43-45; EFEO RCA 1940. 4.
- (30) Cœdès mentions that the phrase *kamrateñ jagat* was used to precede the names of divinities, kings and high-ranking officials in inscriptions from the 10th century onwards (Cœdès 1951).
- (31) Cœdès 1951: 98; Maxwell 2007b: 125.
- (32) The word *sañjak* has been found on old Khmer inscriptions from the 10th century and later. The Wat Ek inscription (K.211, 1037AD) encourages the notion that *sañjak* may have been an official post related to religion, in a status below that of the king's family and followers (Jenner 2009: 612). Aymonier interprets the seven *sañjak* mentioned in the Prasat Ben inscription (K.230, 1026AD) as referring to local leaders, judges and religious officials, among others (Aymonier 1901: 352). In response, Jenner asserts that, although it is difficult to define the position and work of the *sañjak*, the word could possibly refer to army generals and high-ranking officials in Angkor, based on multiple examples including the inscription mentioned above (Jenner 2009: 612).
- (33) Nakamura 1991: 166; Roveda 2005: 252.
- (34) Cœdès 1951: 111; Maxwell 2007b: 35.
- (35) The author has conducted a detailed study on the interpretation of this divine name, and the problem of what symbolic meaning was attached to the divinity seen in the temple complex (Kubo 2014a).
- (36) Kubo 2012: 445.
- (37) On the eulogies to Avalokiteśvara and Prajñāpāramitā in the opening lines of steles discovered at Preah Khan and Ta Prohm (Ta Prohm stele [K.273] Verses 4, 5 [Side A, lines 7-10] ; Preah Khan stele [K.908] Verses 4, 5 [Side A, lines 7-10]), Cœdès inferred that the central Buddha implicitly referred to

- Jayavarman VII himself, the standing Avalokiteśvara to his father, and the standing Prajñāpāramitā to his mother, respectively. Among other reasons, this was because the eulogies to these two divinities can be interpreted as having the double meaning of also eulogizing Jayavarman VII's parents, and because a seated Buddha sitting on a nāga serpent has been discovered in the central tower at Bayon (Coédès 1906: 49; Coédès 1941: 271; Kubo 2012: 385).
- (38) Thoranī, the name used in the modern Khmer language, is thought to be a corruption of the Sanskrit and old Khmer word dharanī (“the earth”). In the Angkor period, it is conceivable that this female divinity was called Dharanī, but since she is generally known as ព្រះធារណី (Preah Thoranī, meaning the [female] divinity Thoranī)” in Cambodia today, the name Thoranī will be used in this article (Dalsheimer 2001: 276; Roveda 2005: 235-238).
- (39) Hawixbrock 1989: 62. JFCA 1928.8.2.
- (40) Coédès says that kamrateñ añ came to be used from the 10th century onwards to precede the names of actual individuals who provided historical models for divinities (Coédès 1951: 98).
- (41) Coédès 1968, Annex: Genealogy of Kings.
- (42) EFEO RCA 1952. 1; 1953. 11.
- (43) Roveda 2005: 249; Foucher 1955: 324-326.
- (44) WMF 1992a: Annex.
- (45) EFEO RCA 1942. 9; 1945. 1.
- (46) Shastri (tr.) 1976: 163-179; Hawixbrock 1989: 28.
- (47) WMF 1992b: 16.
- (48) Coédès 1951: 115; Maxwell 2007b: 134.
- (49) EFEO RCA 1943. 4-5, 6; Hawixbrock 1989: 72. This seated statue of Ganeśa is now on permanent display at the Angkor National Museum in Siem Reap.
- (50) EFEO RCA 1952. 8; 1956. 6.
- (51) See Note 11.
- (52) Kubo 2019.
- (53) Java was the name of a country with its center on the islands of Java or Sumatra, or the Malay peninsula. Yavana was the name of a dynasty located in Annam in northern Vietnam, while Cham was a dynasty stretching from the east coast to the south of Vietnam. Maxwell guesses that, if we can assume this event to have actually taken place, foreign kings and priests gathered from provincial temples must have transported water there from their own lands in order to pour it on the principal deity enshrined in the center of Preah Khan. By taking part in this festival, the divinities of various regions within the territory of Angkor and those of surrounding countries are thought to have been symbolically subsumed into Angkor. As such, it is thought that this festival was not only intended as an international event, but was also held to ensure political integration through religious ritual (Maxwell 2007a: 98).
- (54) Matsuura 2014.

Sources of Illustrations and Photographs

All figures and photographs in this article were created and taken by the author.

Table.1 Sample of Inventory Sheet on Doorway Decoration (First Half)

Monument No.	Kh-Si-0001	Photos (Photo No.)	
IK No.	522		
Doorway code	E3-SuW-GE-W		
Date of construction			
Date of restoration			
Width of doorframe (mm)	960		
Height of doorframe (mm)	1890		
Width of colonnette [left] (mm)	-		
Width of colonnette [right] (mm)	-		
Width of pilaster [left] (mm)	360		
Width of pilaster [right] (mm)	360		
Contents for survey		Code	Remarks
Doorway type		A	Pediment, lintel, pilasters, colonnettes, and doorframe
Remaining condition		3	Lintel & Colonnette are missing.
Pediment	a.Material	1	Sandstone
	b.Shape of frame	4	Plural wavy frame
	c.Decoration around frame	3	Foliage
	d.Decoration pattern of frame	3	Pattern of leaves
	e.Decoration on both ends of frame (outer end)	2	Nāga with Makara
	f.Decoration on both ends of frame (inner end)	2	Makara
	g.Shape of frieze	5	Obtuse-angled bands
	h.Decoration pattern on frieze	6+3+5	Flower pattern, double layered beads pattern, pattern of depressed circles
	i.Composition of relief on tympanum	4	Three horizontal
	j. Subject of bas-relief on tympanum	5+9+9	Top layer: Narrative scene, Middle and Bottom layer: Row of animals (Krishna lifting Mount Govardhana + cows & cattlemen + cows & cattlemen)
Lintel	a.Material	1	Sandstone
	b.Composition of lintel	1c	A lintel left on the north side in front of the entrance (Upside down).
	c.Central decoration (Bottom part)	1c	
	d.Central decoration (Top part)	1c	
	e.Decoration on both sides of central Decoration	1c	
	f.Decoration pattern of both sides (Bottom part)	1c	
	g.Decoration pattern of both sides (Top part)	1c	
	h.Decoration of both ends	1c	
Pilaster (left)	a.Material	1	
	b.Capital molding & decoration patterns	3+9+8+10	Flat molding with scroll, ovolo with foliage, cyma recta with frontal lotus petals, ovolo with paisley leaves
	c.Base molding & decoration patterns	1g	Badly worn
	d.Decoration on bottom of shaft (front)	6	Trefoil arch with foliage and animal motifs and pillars
	e.Decoration on bottom of shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	f.Decoration in niche on bottom (front)	3	Figure in niche (Ascetic)
	g.Decoration in niche on bottom (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	h.Edge decoration of shaft (front)	4	Beads pattern within line
	i.Edge decoration of shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	j.Composition of relief on shaft (front)	3	Chevron pattern
	k.Composition of relief on shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	l.Decoration on middle of shaft (front)	4	Pattern of leaf-shaped niches with scroll motifs (Ascetic in niche)
	m.Decoration on middle of shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway

Table.2 Sample of Inventory Sheet on Doorway Decoration (Latter Half)

Contents for survey		Code	Remarks
Pilaster (right)	a.Material	1	Sandstone
	b.Capital molding & decoration patterns	3+9+8+10	Flat molding with scroll, ovolo with foliage, cyma recta with frontal lotus petals, ovolo with paisley leaves
	c.Base molding & decoration patterns	1g	Unable to identify due to natural weathering
	d.Decoration on bottom of shaft (front)	6	Trefoil arch with foliage and animal motifs and pillars
	e.Decoration on bottom of shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	f.Decoration in niche on bottom (front)	3	Ascetic in niche
	g.Decoration in niche on bottom (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	h.Edge decoration of shaft (front)	4	Beads pattern within line
	i.Edge decoration of shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	j.Composition of relief on shaft (front)	3	Chevron pattern
	k.Composition of relief on shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
	l.Decoration on middle of shaft (front)	4	Ascetic in niche
	m.Decoration on middle of shaft (outside)	1h	Unable to identify due to extended building or structure around doorway
Colonnade (left)	a.Material	1a	Collapsed down and still undiscovered the stone material
	b.Shape of niche (front)	1a	
	c.Shape of niche (inside)	1a	
	d.Decoration in niche (front)	1a	
	e.Decoration in niche (inside)	1a	
	f.Form of section	1a	
	g.Decoration pattern of shaft	1a	
Colonnade (right)	a.Material	1a	Collapsed down and still undiscovered the stone material
	b.Shape of niche (front)	1a	
	c.Shape of niche (inside)	1a	
	d.Decoration in niche (front)	1a	
	e.Decoration in niche (inside)	1a	
	f.Form of section	1a	
	g.Decoration pattern of shaft	1a	
Doorframe	a.Material	1	Sandstone
	b.Decoration pattern on doorframe	3	Straight lines
	c.Decoration pattern on doorjamb	4	3+edge decorations of pattern of leaves and vines
	d.Type of angle joint	3	Combinations of butt and miter joint
Imitative Door	a.Material	-	nothing
	b.The number of blocks	-	
	c.Decoration pattern on frame (front)	-	
	d.Decoration pattern on panels	-	
	e.Decoration pattern on rails and stiles	-	
	f.Decoration pattern on doorstep	-	
Remarks			
Inscription (Kh) on southern doorjamb (O7, K. 637) (Cœdès 1947-50: 114)			
kamraten jagat rāmadeva			
kamraten jagat lakṣmaṇa			
vraḥ bhagavatī sītā			

Table.3 Six Criteria Showing the Stylistic Features of Doorway Decoration in Preah Khan














Category	Criteria	Code	Detailed feature	Drawing and photograph
Stylistic feature	Decoration pattern of both sides of lintel (Fig 6: g, f)	A	Garland motif with foliage	
		B	Small scroll plant motifs with long foliage	
		C	Large scroll plant motifs with short foliage	
	Molding & decoration patterns on capital & base of pilaster (Fig 7: b, c)	a	Flat molding with scroll, ovolo with foliage, cyma recta with frontal lotus petals, and ovolo with paisley leaves	
		b	Flat molding with flower, ovolo with foliage, cyma recta with frontal lotus petals, and ovolo with paisley leaves	
		c	Flat molding with flower, ovolo with foliage, cyma recta with frontal lotus petals, and baguette with buds	
		d	Flat molding with lozange enclosing a flower, cyma recta with frontal lotus petals, and baguette with buds	
	Decoration on the middle of shaft of pilaster (Fig 7: j, k)	α	Pattern of leaf-shaped niches with scroll motifs	
		β	Standing male figure	
	Elaborateness and fineness of carvings	Figures on tympanum of pediment (Fig 5: j)	1	Figure with small oval face and straight eyebrows
2			Figure with large square face and inverse V-shaped eyebrows	
Decoration on the middle of shaft of pilaster (Fig 7: l, m)		I	Decorative pattern carved finely and elaborately, figure with small oval face in leaf shaped niche	
		II	Decorative pattern carved roughly and simply, figure with large square face in leaf shaped niche	
		III	Standing male figure carved finely and elaborately	
		IV	Standing male figure carved roughly and simply	
Decoration in niche of colonnette (Fig 8: d,e)		i	Figure with small oval face	
		ii	Figure with large square face	

Table.4 Construction Phases of Preah Khan Temple Complex Based on Doorway Decoration

Construction phase	Section	Building	Stylistic feature			Elaborateness and fineness of carvings		
			Decoration pattern of both sides of lintel	Molding & decoration patterns on capital & base of pilaster	Decoration on middle of shaft of pilaster	Figures on tympanum of pediment	Decoration on middle of shaft of pilaster	Decoration in niche of colonette
1	1st enclosure and the main buildings inside it	Central main shrine, Halls on the east and west of the central main shrine, Tower gates, Galleries, Corner shrines, Libraries	A&B	a&b	α	1	I	i
1	2nd enclosure and the subsidiary shrines inside it	Main chamber of the east tower gate	A	a	α	1	I	i
1	Tower gates of the 3rd enclosure	Main part of each tower gate	A&B	a&b	α	1	I	i
1	Southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Central shrine, Tower gates, Corner shrines, Libraries	A	a&b	α	1	I	i
1	Western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Central shrine, Tower gates, Corner shrines, Libraries	A&B	a&b	α	1	I	i
1	Northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Central shrine, Tower gates, Corner shrines, Libraries	A&B	a&b	α	1	I	i
2	1st enclosure and the main buildings inside it	Pillared aisle attached to the tower gates	-	b	α	1	-	-
2	1st enclosure and the main buildings inside it	Pillared corridors on the south, west, and north of the central main shrine	-	b	α	2	-	-
3	4th enclosure	Each tower gate on the four directions	A&B	c	α	2	I	i
3	Subsidiary shrines inside the 1st enclosure	Subsidiary shrines in the northeast courtyard and subsidiary shrines in the southeast courtyard	A&C	c	α	1&2	I&II	i&ii
3	Western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Halls on the east and west of the central shrine	C	b	α	2	II	ii
4	Subsidiary shrines inside the 1st enclosure	A subsidiary shrine in the southwest courtyard, and a subsidiary shrine in the northwest courtyard	C	c	α	1	-	-
4	Tower gates of the 3rd enclosure	Pillared ailes and porches attached to the east, south and north tower gates and the porch attached to the west tower gate	-	c	-	2	-	-
4	Buildings on the east inside the 3rd enclosure	Pillared hall, libraries	C	c	α	2	I&II	i&ii
4	1st enclosure and the main buildings inside it	Vestibules of libraries	-	c	α	-	-	-
4	Subsidiary shrines inside the 1st enclosure	A subsidiary shrine in the southwest courtyard and a subsidiary shrine in the northwest courtyard	C	c	α	2	II	ii
4	Subsidiary shrines inside the 1st enclosure	Subsidiary shrines in the southwest courtyard and subsidiary shrines in the northwest courtyard	C	c	α	2	II	ii
4	Subsidiary shrines inside the 1st enclosure	A subsidiary shrine in the northeast courtyard, a subsidiary shrine in the southeast courtyard, a subsidiary shrines in the southwest courtyard and a subsidiary shrines in the northwest courtyard	C	c	α	-	II	ii
4	2nd enclosure and the subsidiary shrines inside it	Subsidiary shrines inside the enclosure	C	-	-	2	-	ii
4	2nd enclosure and the subsidiary shrines inside it	Vestibules of the east tower gate	C	-	-	-	-	ii
4	Northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Halls on the east and west of the central shrine	C	c	α	2	II	ii
4	4th enclosure	Shrine (so called "Darmasala")	C	c	α	2	II	ii
4	Buildings on the east inside the 3rd enclosure	Enclosure between the pillared hall and east side of the the 2nd enclosure	-	c	α	-	II	ii
5	Other buildings inside the 3rd enclosure	Two-storied building	-	d	α	2	I	i
5	1st enclosure and the main buildings inside it	Entrances of the tower gates attached to the pillared corridors connected to the 2nd enclosure	A&C	d	β	-	III	i
5	2nd enclosure and the subsidiary shrines inside it	Other entrances of the enclosure except the east tower gate and the pillared ailes attached to the enclosure	C	b&c&d	β	2	IV	ii

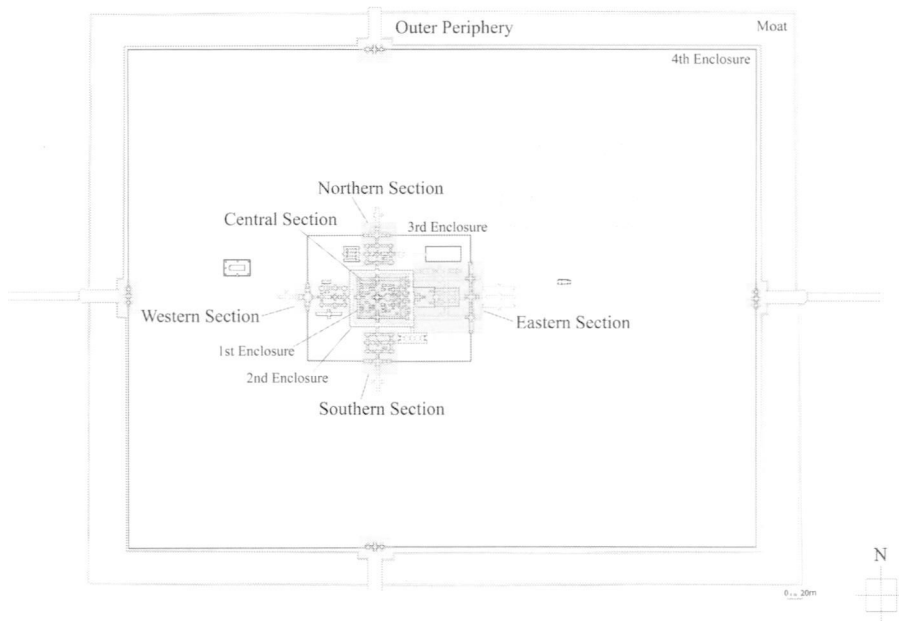


Fig.1 Layout of Preah Khan Temple Complex (Whole Site)
(Drawing by the Author Based on the Appendix of Cœdès 1951)

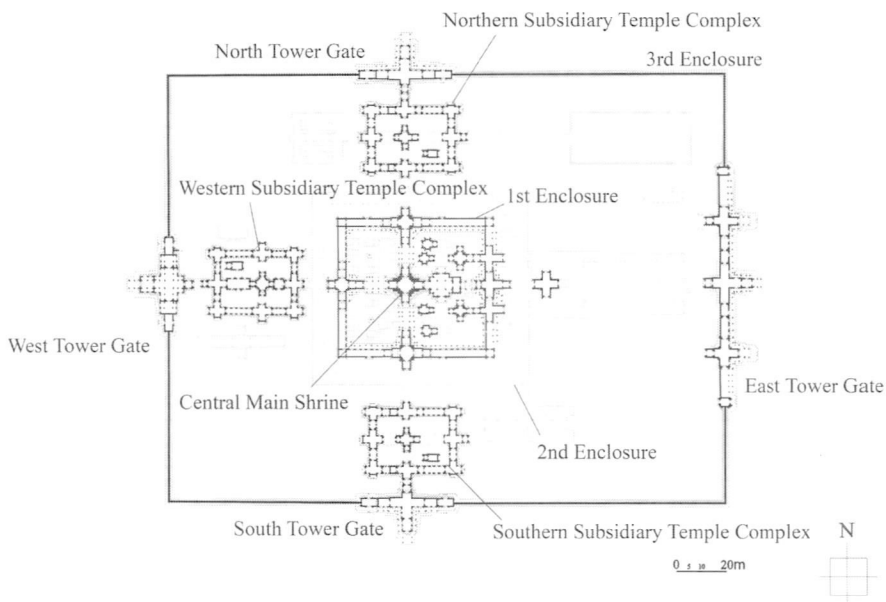


Fig.2 Layout of Preah Khan When the Principal Divinity Was Dedicated (Inside the 3rd Enclosure)
(Drawing by the Author Based on the Appendix of Cœdès 1951)

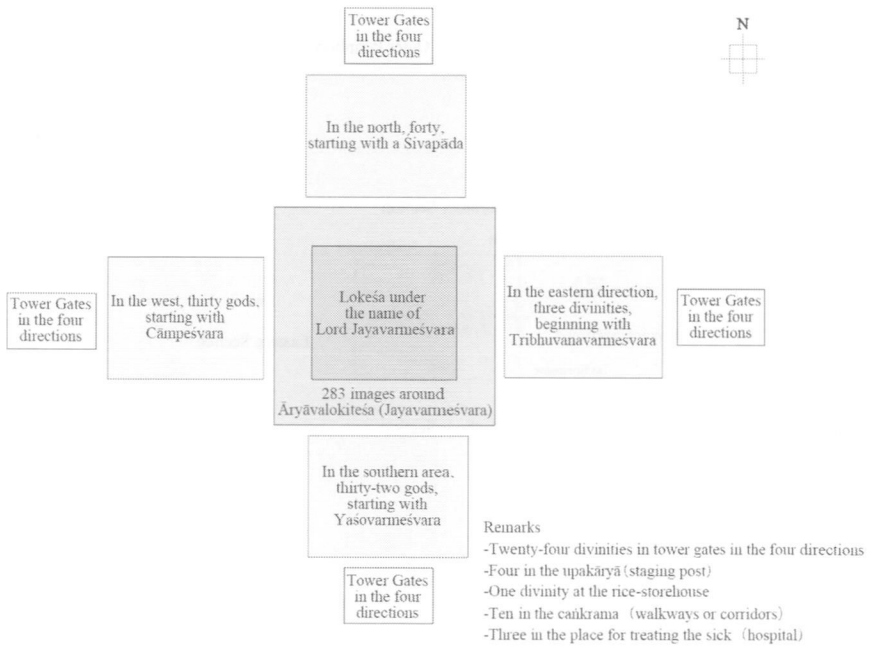


Fig.3 Arrangement of Images Based on the Description on the Preah Khan Stele

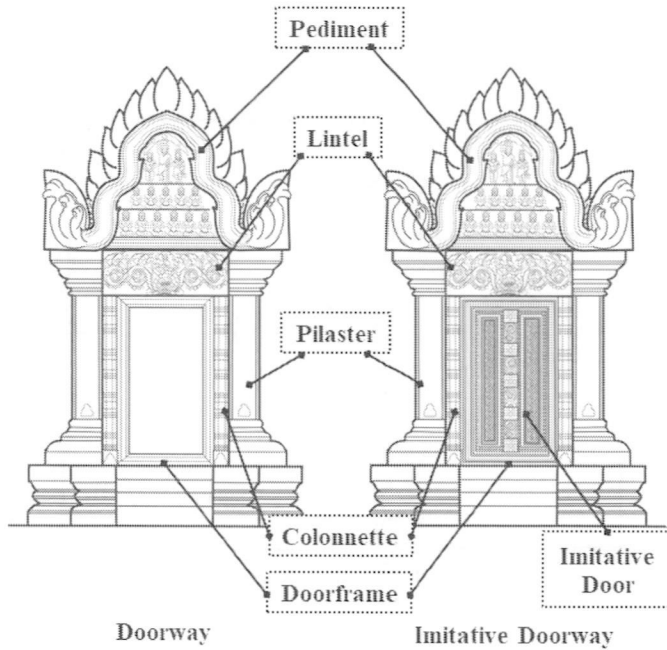


Fig.4 Doorway Structural Members

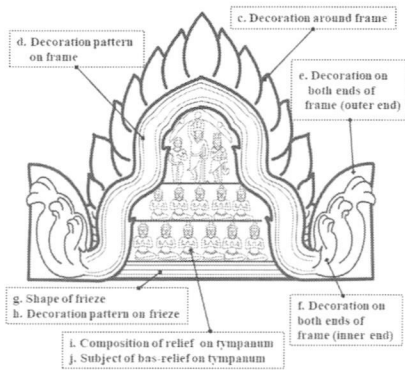


Fig.5 Criteria for Pediment

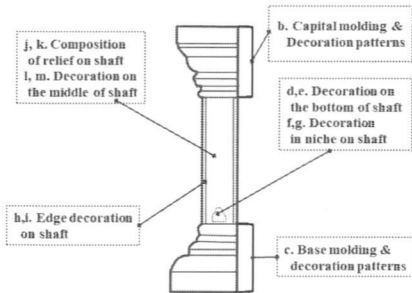


Fig.7 Criteria for Pilaster

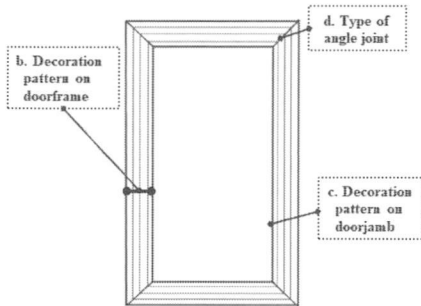


Fig.9 Criteria for Doorframe

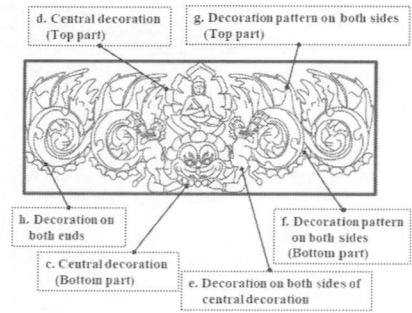


Fig.6 Criteria for Lintel

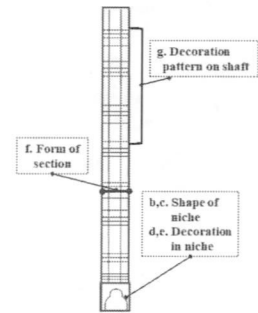


Fig.8 Criteria for Colonnade

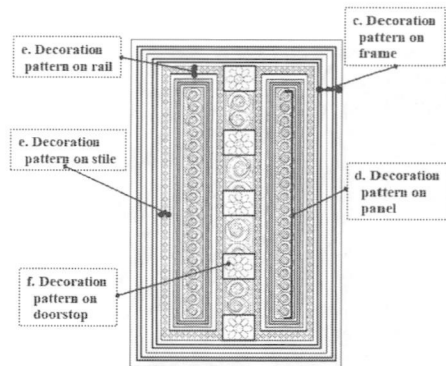


Fig.10 Criteria for Imitative Door



Fig.11 Extended Wall Intercepting Passage of Aisle



Fig.12-1 Trace of a Standing Lokeśvara on a Lintel in the Central Main Shrine

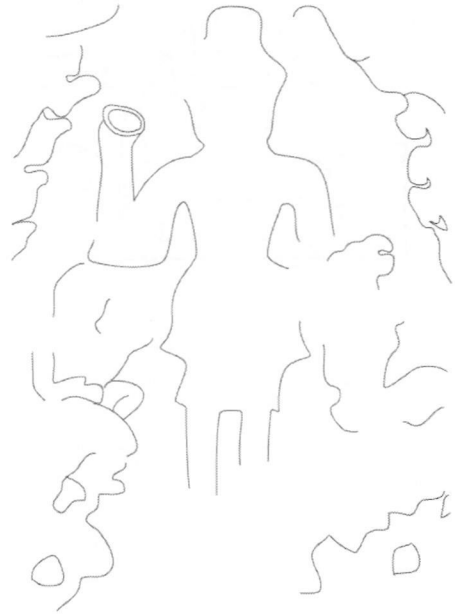


Fig.12-2 Drawing of Fig.12-1



Fig.13-1 Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha Images on a Pilaster in the Central Main Shrine

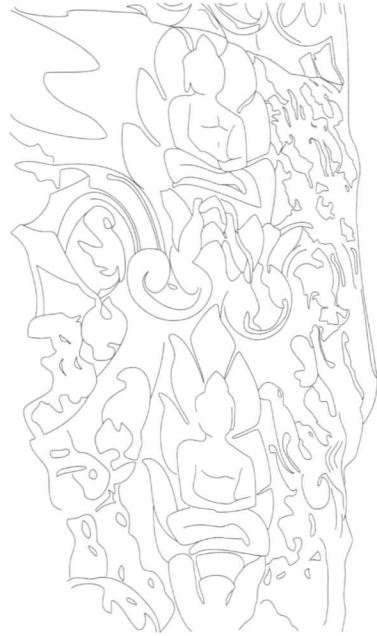


Fig.13-2 Drawing of Fig.13-1



Fig.14-1 Standing Lokeśvara on a Lintel in the East Tower Gate of the 1st Enclosure



Fig.14-2 Drawing of Fig.14-1



Fig.15-1 Mūgapakka Jātaka on a Lintel in the South Tower Gate of the 1st Enclosure



Fig.15-2 Drawing of Fig.15-1



Fig.16-1 Vessantara Jātaka on a Lintel That Had Fallen from the West Tower Gate of the 1st Enclosure



Fig.16-2 Drawing of Fig.16-1



Fig.17 Bhūridatta Jātaka on a Pediment in the East Tower Gate of the 2nd Enclosure

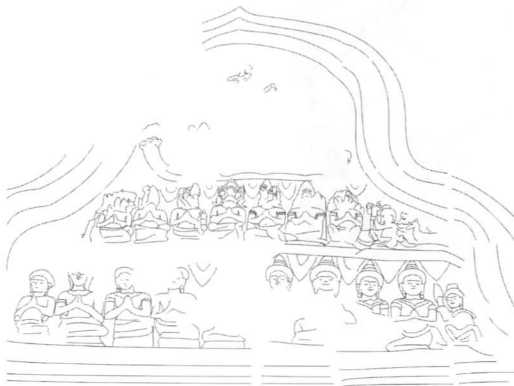


Fig.17-2 Drawing of Fig.17-1



Fig.18-1 Sujāta's Gift on a Lintel in the East Tower Gate of the 2nd Enclosure



Fig.18-2 Drawing of Fig.18-1



Fig.19-1 Dhyāna Mudrā Buddha on a Lintel That Had Fallen from the Southern Subsidiary Complex



Fig.19-2 Drawing of Fig.19-1



Fig.20-1 Defeat of Māra on a Lintel That Had Fallen from the Southern Subsidiary Complex

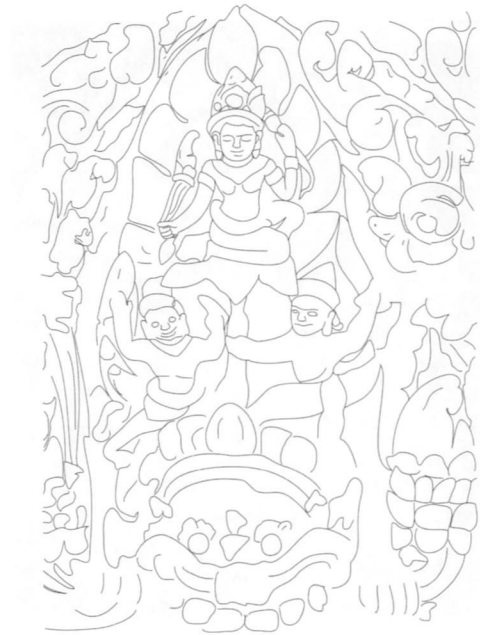


Fig.20-2 Drawing of Fig.20-1



Fig.21 Śīvi Jātaka on a Lintel That Had Fallen from the South Tower Gate of the 3rd Enclosure



Fig.21-2 Drawing of Fig.20-1



Fig.22-1 Viṣṇu on Garuḍa on a Pediment in the Western Subsidiary Temple

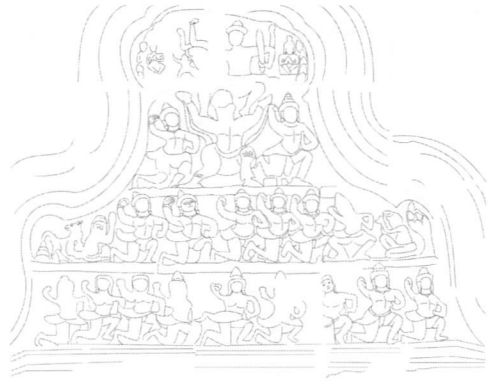


Fig.22-2 Drawing of Fig.22-1

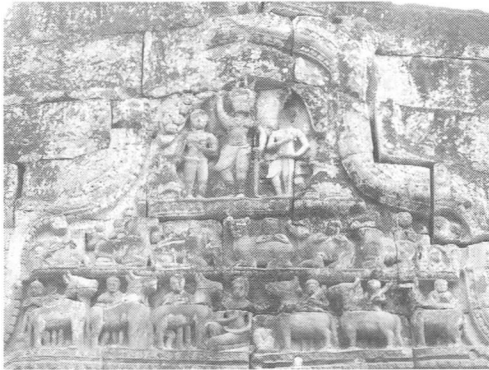


Fig.23-1 Kṛṣṇa Lifting Mount Govardhana on a Pediment in the Western Subsidiary Complex



Fig.23-2 Drawing of Fig.23-1

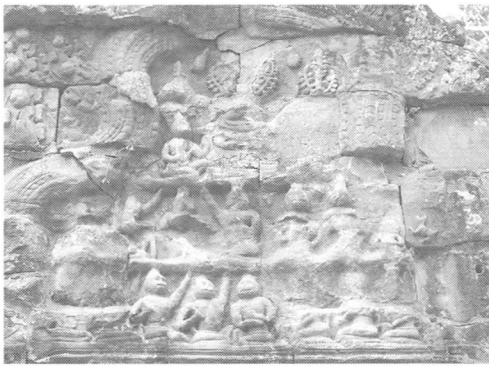


Fig.24-1 Alliance of Rāma and Sugrīva on a Pediment in the West Tower Gate of the 3rd Enclosure



Fig.24-2 Drawing of Fig.24-1



Fig.25-1 Hindu Triad on a Pediment in the Northern Subsidiary Complex



Fig.25-2 Drawing of Fig.25-1



Fig.26-1 Dancing Śiva on a Pediment in the Northern Subsidiary Complex



Fig.26-2 Drawing of Fig.26-1

Appendix Table 1-1. Comparative Table of Arrangement of Deities Based on Doorway Decoration and the Stele Inscription (1)

Section inside the temple	Building	Doorway decoration				Stele inscription		Interpretation of stele inscription	
		Location	Subject of image	Image notes	Content of description	References	Content of description	References	
Central section	Buildings inside the 1st enclosure and gates	Doorways on east-west and north-south axes	Standing Avalokitesvara	Buddhist images. Subject differs depending on whether the doorway is on the main axes or not.	283 images around the principal deity Avalokiteśa (Lokēśa).	K. 908 Verses 34-35 [Side A, lines 67-70] Cœdès 1941: 274-275; Maxwell 2007a: 32-33.	Lokēśa named Jayavarman VII's likeness of Jayavarman VII's father (=Dharmindravarman II).	Maxwell 2007a: 32-33.	
		Other doorways	Scene from <i>Jātakas</i> Buddha in dhyaṇa mudrā Scene from the life of Buddha						
	Eastern section	East tower gate of the 2nd enclosure	East-face doorway of the main chamber	Buddha	Buddhist images.	Three deities including Tribhuvanavarmesvara	K. 908 Verse 36 [Side B lines 71-72] Cœdès, 1941: 275; Maxwell 2007a: 34.	Incorporates part of the name of Jayavarman VII's predecessor Tribhuvanadityavarman.	Cœdès 1951: 11; Maxwell 2007a: 35.
			North-face doorway of the main chamber	Scene from <i>Jātakas</i>					
			Northern tower	Standing Avalokitesvara	Could represent the Buddhist Triad.				
Southern section	Southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Central tower	Buddha in dhyaṇa mudrā		32 deities including Yaśovarmanesvara	K. 908 Verse 37 [Side B lines 1-2] Cœdès 1941: 275; Maxwell 2007a: 35.	Incorporates the name of Yaśovarman II, two reigns before Jayavarman VII.	Jacques 2007: 36-37.	
		Southern tower	Standing Prajñāpāramitā						
		South tower gate	Scene from the life of Buddha Buddha in dhyaṇa mudrā	Few remaining examples. Most of works identified are Buddhist images.					
		North-face doorway of the main chamber	Scene from <i>Jātakas</i>						
		South-face doorway, south vestibule doorway of the main chamber	Buddha in dhyaṇa mudrā						
Western section	Western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Southern porch-style doorway	Battle scene		30 deities including Čampeśvara	K. 908 Verse 38 [Side B lines 3-4] Cœdès 1941: 275; Maxwell 2007a: 37.	Čampeśvara is another name for Viṣṇu. It can be confirmed in an inscription describing a battle with Čampa.	Bhattacharyya 1961: 122.	
		Doorways of the central shrine, doorway of the hall on the west of the central shrine, doorways of tower gates, and doorway of northeast corner shrine	Viṣṇu Scene from <i>Rāmāyana</i> Scene from the legends of Kṛṣṇa Śiva	Many images related to Viṣṇu. No trend can be discerned in the western subsidiary temple complex.					
		North-face doorway, east vestibule doorway of the main chamber	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu arranged centrally in the West tower gate, incarnations arranged around him.					
		Other doorways	Scene from <i>Rāmāyana</i> Scene from the legends of Kṛṣṇa						
			Seated ascetic						

Note: Appendix 1-1, 1-2 show the consistencies between the descriptions on the Preah Khan stele inscription and artifacts confirmed at the site (doorway decoration and Stele inscription (K.908). Other tables have been created for doorjamb inscriptions (Appendix 2-1, 2-2, 2-3, 2-4).

Appendix Table1-2. Comparative Table of Arrangement of Deities Based on Doorway Decoration and the Stele Inscription (2)

Section inside the temple	Building	Location	Doorway decoration		Image notes	Stele inscription	Interpretation of stele inscription	References
			Subject of image			Content of description	Content of description	References
Northern section	Northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Doorways of the central shrine and West tower gate	Śiva	Śiva images in center, Viṣṇu images arranged around it. In the central shrine, Śiva arranged on pedestals, Viṣṇu on lintels.	40 deities including Śivaṇḍa	K. 908 Verse 38 [Side B lines 3-4] Coedes 1941: 275; Maxwell 2007a: 37.	Śivaṇḍa means "Śiva's foot". Śiva footprints engraved on a stone slab could have been worshipped here.	Maxwell 2007a: 38.
			Viṣṇu					
			Scene from <i>Rāmāyana</i>					
Northern section	North tower gate of the 3rd enclosure	Collapsed on the north of the tower gate	Scene from the legends of Kṛṣṇa	Many images of Viṣṇu incarnations.				
			Seated ascetic					
			Scene from Rāmāyana					
Outer periphery	Tower gates of the 4th enclosure	West-face doorway of the central passage and east and west-face doorways of the southern chamber of west tower gate, North-face doorway of the eastern chamber of north tower gate	Standing Avalokiteśvara	Buddhist images; in particular many standing Avalokiteśvara.	24 deities in gateways in the four directions	K. 908 Verse 40 [Side B lines 7-8] Coedes 1941: 275; Maxwell 2007a: 45.	Refers to the gates in all four sides of the 4th enclosure. Six deities may have been enshrined on each of the rectangular pedestals still surviving inside the gates today.	Coedes 1941: 289; Maxwell 2007a: 45-46.
			East-face doorway of the southern chamber of east tower gate, west-face doorway of the eastern chamber of south tower gate, north-face doorway of the western chamber of north tower gate					
			Buddha in dhyāna mudrā					
			West-face doorway of the northern chamber of west tower gate					
			Battle scene					
			Battle scene					

Appendix Table2-1. Table of Doorway Inscriptions (1)

Section	Building	Location of doorway	K. No.	Deity name		Meaning	Name of individual		Name and Meaning	Title	Name of dedicator
				Title	Name		Title	Name and Meaning			
Central section	Buildings inside the 1st enclosure and gates	East-face doorway of the main chamber of the east tower gate (center)	K.621	kamraten jagat	<i>śrītribhuvana</i> deva	God of three worlds	—	—	—	—	—
		Doorway of the east vestibule of the east tower gate (center)	K.621	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīraṇadvyalokēśvara</i>	Lord of the sacred battle	anak sanjak	harisoma chveni	—	—	—
		East-face doorway of the main chamber of the east tower gate (south)	K.907	kamraten jagat	<i>śrījyāyudha</i> deva	Part of personal name + deva	anak sanjak	<i>śrījyāyudha</i> varamma	—	—	—
		East-face doorway of the main chamber of the east tower gate (north)	K.920	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīraṇendrāraja</i> deva	God who is the king of the people	anus (=anak) sanjak	<i>viśeṣa</i> teṇ vo	—	—	—
		Doorway of the south vestibule of the south tower gate	K.907	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīmahāvīryalokēśvara</i>	Great holy lord of the world	anak sanjak	Defaced	—	—	—
		Doorway of the north vestibule of the south tower gate (south)	K.907	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīraṇalokēśvara</i>	Lord of three worlds	anak sanjak	devapura	—	—	—
		Doorway of the north vestibule of the south tower gate (north)	K.907	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīraṇamūhābhaya</i> prabhañjaka	Destroyer of the eight great fears	—	—	—	—	—
		Doorway of the east vestibule of the west tower gate (west)	K.907	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīparamatraloka</i> ...	Supreme three worlds...	—	—	—	—	—
		Doorway of the west vestibule of the west tower gate	K.907	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīparamadvīvalokēśvara</i>	God who is supreme over all other gods	—	—	—	—	—
		Doorway of the south vestibule of the north tower gate (north)	K.914	[ka]mraten jagat	<i>śrīsarvvalokēśvara</i>	Supreme holy lord	anak sanjak	<i>vikrama</i> rddhipura	—	—	—
		Doorway of the north vestibule of the north tower gate (north)	K.914	kamraten jagat	<i>śrī</i> ...	Lord of the whole world	—	—	—	—	—
		Doorway of the north vestibule of the north tower gate (north)	K.914	kamraten jagat	<i>śrīraṇaṅga</i> māthā	Unknown	anak sanjak	arjuna	—	—	—
		South-face doorway of the ambulatory (northeast side)	K.462	[kamraten] jagat	<i>śrīsamadvīvalokēśvara</i>	Lord of the battlefield	anak sanjak	stuk sli	—	—	—
		North-face doorway of the ambulatory (northwest side)	K.462	Defaced	... <i>dhes</i> varī	Lord of the sacred battle	anak sanjak	...ā	—	—	—
		Defaced	... <i>sva</i> rī	Unknown	anak sanjak kamraten	<i>śrīrdharidhara</i> pura	—	—	—		
		Defaced		Unknown	anak sanjak ta pvas	<i>śrīrdharidhara</i> pura jī... varamma	—	—	—		

Romanization of Sanskrit inscriptions is based on (Creelis 1951: 107-116).

Appendix Table2-2. Table of Doorway Inscriptions (2)

Section	Building	Location of doorway	K No.	Deity name		Meaning	Name of individual		Name of dedicator	
				Title	Name		Title	Name and Meaning		
Eastern section	East tower gate of the 2nd enclosure	Doorway of the east vestibule of the main chamber (east)	K.906	kamraten jagat	śrītrihuvanavarmmeśvara	(1) King and protector of three worlds (2) Part of name of previous king Tribhuvanadyavarman + śvara	kamraten añ	mahāparamanirvāṇapada (Great person who made the supreme, perfect Buddhist deliverance)	—	
				[kamraten] jagat	śrīmahādharaṅgajaiçāidāmañi ...	(1) Crest of the king of Mahādharaṅga (2) Part of Mahādharaṅga, the father's birth lineage + part of mother's name Jayançāidāmañi	Defaced	Defaced	—	
	East tower gate of the 3rd enclosure	East-face doorway of the east vestibule of the main chamber of the east tower gate (center)	K.462	kamraten jagat	śrīçaturlokanātha	Lord of the four worlds	—	—	—	
				kamraten jagat	śrīvīreṇdeśvara	Lord who is the leader of heroes vīreṇḍa (lord of heroes) + śvara (lord)	—	—	—	
Southern section	Southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	North-face doorway of the main chamber of the south tower gate	K.624	kamraten jagat	śrīdharaṅgandraeva	(1) Part of historical model name + deva (2) dharaṅgī - indra - deva	kamraten añ	śrīdharaṅgandraevopāḍita	—	
				kamraten jagat	Defaced	—	—	—		
				kama[ten] jagat	śrīyśovarmmeśvara	Name of past king Yśovarman + śvara (lord)	—	—		
				kama[ten] jagat	śrīpṛ... (ending defaced)	Part of historical model name	[ka]mraten añ	śrīpṛthivindralakṣṇī	—	
				kamraten jagat	śrībhūpe... (ending defaced)	Part of historical model name	kamraten añ	śrībhūpeṇḍralakṣṇī	—	
	Southern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	North-face doorway of the main chamber of the north tower gate	North-face doorway of the main chamber of the north tower gate	K.907	kamraten jagat	śrīdharaṅgandresvara	Name of past king Dharaṅgandresvarman + śvara (lord)	kamraten añ	śrīdharaṅgandraevopāḍita	—
					kamraten jagat	śrīsamantaprabhēśvara	Lord who shines light in all directions samanta (in all directions) + prabhā (radiance, light) + śvara (lord)	—	—	khōḥ vā vnuṛ phicik
					kamraten jagat	śrībhāratīśvari	bhāratī (name of female deity) + śvarī (queen)	—	—	—
					kamraten jagat	śrīmahādharendraeva	Part of historical model name + indraeva	—	—	—
					kamraten jagat	śrīmahādharaeva	Part of historical model name + deva	guru janañi janaka [vrah] kamraten añ	śrīmahādharaevopāḍita	—
South tower gate of the 3rd enclosure	Doorway of the north vestibule	K.907	kamraten jagat	śrīratmalokēśvara	Part of historical model name + śvara	anak satjak	śrīratnavajra ...	—		

Romanization of Sanskrit inscriptions is based on (Cœdes 1951: 107-116).

Appendix Table2-3. Table of Doorway Inscriptions (2)

Section	Building	Location of doorway	K. No.	Dedicator name		Meaning	Name of individual		Name of dedicator	
				Title	Name		Title	Name and meaning		
Western section	Western subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	West-face doorway of the main chamber of the east tower gate	K. 637	kamraten jagat	rāmadēva	Rāma + deva	—	—	—	
				kamraten jagat	lakṣmaṇa	Lakṣmaṇa	—	—	—	
		East tower gate (Detailed location unknown)	-	vrah bhagavati	śiṭā	Śiṭa	—	—	—	—
				kamraten jagat	nārīyaṇa	Nārīyaṇa (another name for Viṣṇu)	—	—	—	
		North-face doorway of the main chamber of the south tower gate	K. 462	[kama]ṭen jagat	śrīvirendrīyudhe...	Part of dedicator name	—	—	—	—
				[kamraten] jagat	śrīvirendrīyudhe...	Part of dedicator name	—	—	—	—
				[kamraten] jagat	śrīvirendrīyudh...	Part of dedicator name	—	—	—	śrīvirendrīyudh...
		Doorway of the western vestibule of the west tower gate	K. 634	kamraten jagat	garudavāhana	Garudavāhana (referring to Viṣṇu)	—	—	—	—
				kama...	Defaced	Defaced	—	—	—	—
				kama...	...śvara	Unknown	—	—	—	—
				kama...	Defaced	Defaced	—	—	—	—
		East-face doorway of the main chamber of the north tower gate	K. 907	kama...	Defaced	Defaced	—	—	—	—
				kama[ten] jagat]	śrīvijāḍḍiyadeva	Part of dedicator name + deva	—	—	—	—
kama[ten] jagat]	[śrī]vijāḍḍiyadeveśvara			Part of dedicator name + śvara	—	—	—	—		
kamraten [jagat]	[śrī]vijāḍḍiyalakṣmī			Part of dedicator name + lakṣmī	—	—	—	—		
South-face doorway of the northeast corner shrine	K. 632	kamraten jagat	hayasira	Hayasira (Viṣṇu's incarnation Hayagrīva)	—	—	—	—		
		kamraten jagat	narasinha	Narasinha (incarnation of Viṣṇu)	—	—	—	—		
North-face doorway of the southwest corner shrine	K. 636	kamraten jagat	advīha	Kṛṣṇa who supports Mount Govardhana	—	—	—	—		
		vrah bhagavati	śrī	Śrī (wife of Viṣṇu)	—	—	—	—		

Romanization of Sanskrit inscriptions is based on (Cœles 1951: 107-116).

Appendix Table2-4. Table of Doorway Inscriptions (4)

Section	Building	Location of doorway	K. No.	Dedicator name			Meaning	Name of individual			Name of dedicator	
				Title	Name	Meaning		Title	Name and meaning	Title	Name and meaning	
Northern section	Northern subsidiary temple complex inside the 3rd enclosure	Doorway of the east vestibule of the east tower gate	K. 627	kamraten jagat	senapati gāndhva	Gāndhva, commander of the army senapati (army commander, general), gāndhva (name of Arjuna's bow)	—	—	—	anak sajjak	eren	
				kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśakti	śrīya (sun), śakti (power)	—	—	kamraten añ	śrīśretharvarman		
		South-face doorway of the main chamber of the south tower gate	K. 628	kamraten jagat	śrī ta eren	eren (many)	—	—	—	—	—	—
				vrah	vighneśa	Another name for Gaṇeśa	vrah (body)	gajapūta (elephant figure)	—	—	—	—
		East-face doorway of the west tower gate	K. 631	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Śaṅkara (felicitous, another name for Śiva), Śivara (lord, king)	—	—	—	—	—	—
				kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara (lord, king)	—	—	vrah kamraten añ	—	—	—
		North-face doorway of the southeast corner shrine	K. 629	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara (queen)	—	—	—	—	—	—
				kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara (queen) + lakṣmī (wife of Viṣṇu, goddess of prosperity and beauty)	—	—	—	—	—	—
		South-face doorway of the northeast corner shrine	K. 630	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + deva	—	—	—	—	—	—
				kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	kamraten añ	—	—	—
East-face doorway of the east tower gate (south side)	K. 642	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + lakṣmī	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + deva	—	—	—	—	—	—		
East-face doorway of the east tower gate (north side)	K. 623	[kamraten] jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		[kamra]len jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Tower gates of the 4th enclosure	K. 907	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + deva	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Outer periphery	West-face doorway of the west tower gate (south side)	K. 931	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—		
			kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—		
None	North-face doorway of the north tower gate (west side)	None	kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—		
			kamraten jagat	śrīśrīśretharava	Part of name given to dedicator + Śivara	—	—	—	—	—		

Undescribed

Romanization of sanskrit inscriptions is based on (Creelis 1951: 107-116).

要 旨

アンコールのプレア・カンの尊像配置に 関する図像解釈学的研究

— 創建期の寺院伽藍に焦点をあてて —

久 保 真 紀 子

アンコールの最大版図を築いたジャヤヴァルマン7世は大乘仏教を篤信した王として知られ、その統治期（西暦1182～1218年頃）に、バイヨンヤタ・プロームに代表される数多くの大規模な仏教寺院を建立した。それらの仏教寺院の中でもプレア・カン、179個もの長大なサンスクリット語碑文を刻む石柱（いわゆる創建碑文）が発見された寺院として知られている。その長大な碑文には、同王の系譜や偉業への賛辞のほか、この寺院の創建年代（1192年頃）とみなしえる本尊の造立年代や、この寺院で行われた儀式や寄進物のリストなど、様々な事柄が記載されている。中でも、寺院伽藍内中央に本尊である観音菩薩を安置し、その周囲の特定の区域に特定の諸尊を意図的に安置したことが読み取れる詳細な記述は、他のアンコール期の碑文を見渡しても例がなく、同王がプレア・カン建造に込めた世界観や宗教観などの寺院建造意図を読み解く資料としての可能性を秘めている。

プレア・カンは、段階的な増改築を繰り返すことで今日の大伽藍を形成するに至ったことが、これまでの建築学や考古学あるいは岩石学などに立脚した研究によって広く知られており、その増改築は、寺院創建年代の以前から以後にわたる一定の期間において段階的に行われたことが明らかとなっている。筆者はこれまで、プレア・カンの大伽藍を形成する各施設の出入口構成部材に着目し、その様式的特徴を類型化することで、寺院創建時、すなわち本尊が安置された当時の伽藍がどのような姿であったかを再検討した。

本稿では、まず、筆者がどのような考察過程を経てプレア・カン創建時の伽藍構成を提示するに至ったのか、簡単に紹介する。次に、観音菩薩である本尊を含め、寺院創建以前の建造と推定される伽藍構成施設内に、その当時安置されていた尊像を特定することが難しい現状において、出入口構成部材の中でも、尊像や宗教説話の一場面（神話や仏伝など）を表した浮彫装飾に着目し、その主題を同定することで、創建時に施設内に

安置されていたと思われる彫像の尊格を類推する。補足資料として、出入口枠に刻まれた古クメール語の碑文などを取り上げることで、創建時の尊像の配置構成を示し、創建碑文に記された尊像配置との比較検討を行い、その整合性を検証する。そして最後に、プレア・カン
の寺院伽藍内の尊像配置に込められたジャヤヴァルマン7世の寺院建造意図に言及する。