

TANTRIC BUDDHISM AT ANGKOR THOM

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THE BÀYON AT ANGKOR (FIG. 1) IS A PIVOTAL monument in more ways than one: pivotal because it stood at the symbolic center of Jayavarman VII's empire; pivotal because it belongs to a historic turning point which, on the one hand, marked the culmination of the period of monumental architecture that lasted from the ninth through the twelfth century and, on the other, heralded the less grandiose traditional Theravāda Buddhist culture of thirteenth- through twentieth-century Cambodia; and pivotal because it has for so long been the focus of scholarly attention. There is still no consensus regarding the identity of the faces on the towers. The most recent suggestion, that they represent the god Brahmā, is a revival of an identification discarded in the early decades of this century, one that early Western writers had adopted from local usage (though the Khmer name is actually Brahma, without the long *ā*, probably due to a connection with the Brahma heavens of Buddhist cosmology).¹ In the first half of the thirteenth century the chapels of the Bàyon held statues commemorating, in part, royal ancestors and famous provincial images; the Bàyon is today no less populated by their spirits than by Western scholars' interpretations, whether current or half-forgotten, of the meaning of the temple.

If the iconographic program of the Bàyon were a simple matter, one that lent itself to the sort of demonstration that proves one name correct and all others false, the building would long ago have ceased to be an enigma. What follows in this article should not be understood as such a demonstration, but rather as a series of hypotheses (none entirely original) that appear to explain much of the data and to allow agonizing choices to be avoided. It has long been realized that while the Bàyon was being built there were changes in plan.² I will propose that the most significant change was accompanied by a shift in religious orientation. The route to this suggestion is a circuitous one that begins with a discussion of a stone sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a work that provides some clues to the character of Jayavarman VII's Buddhism and to the nature of the original iconographic program of the Bàyon.

Hevajra

The bust in figures 2, 3, and 4 has in recent years been identified as an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara,

with a third tier of four heads missing.³ The eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara was known in Cambodia in the late twelfth century,⁴ but it never became popular as an icon. The correct identification is surely the one first proposed—that the bust depicts not the Bodhisattva of compassion, but the Tantric Buddhist deity Hevajra. Alan Priest published the sculpture as Hevajra in 1937. It may not have been he, however, who first made this identification, for the bust was purchased in 1935, along with other important Khmer sculptures, from the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. It came from "near the East Gate (Porte des Morts [*sic*]) of Angkor Thom"—the name for Jayavarman's city-within-a-city, with the Bàyon at its center. "The broken top of our figure and the arrangement of the heads," wrote Priest, "indicate that it was originally eight-headed, a single head forming the top register."⁵ Eight heads would accord with Khmer bronze images of Hevajra (fig. 5);⁶ this bronze also demonstrates that there need be no greater facial indication of Hevajra's fierce aspect than open eyes. The Khmer bronzes have sixteen arms, and examination of the sides of the Metropolitan image suggests that it also had eight arms on each side (fig. 3).⁷

The Khmer bronzes also depict Hevajra dancing. On the basis of the Metropolitan bust alone, it is difficult to be certain if the original sculpture depicted a dancing figure—whether, indeed, the head is tilted or one shoulder higher than the other. It seems, however, that fragments of the same image remain in Cambodia and that these demonstrate that the image was of a dancing figure. These fragments have not been published, but in 1969 Bruno Dagens wrote that "a large stone statue . . . unfortunately extremely mutilated, represents Hevajra dancing, as do the bronze images, and comes from a chapel situated east of the Porte des Morts of Angkor Thom, where several studies of Lokeśvara have also been found."⁸ Dagens's interest in the statue of Hevajra developed while he was cataloging the sculptures in the storage shed of the Conservation d'Angkor; it is his belief that the New York and Angkor fragments belong to a single image.⁹

In the sections that follow, I will argue that the deity Hevajra occupied a particular position in Jayavarman's Buddhist pantheon. The structural order found in the king's well-known triad of Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara)-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā could, it seems, be expressed in a more esoteric

form. This form is embodied by a votive tablet in which Hevajra appears (fig. 6). Not every detail is clear, and in order to reconstruct this iconographic system it is necessary to make use of Japanese materials (because Shingon Buddhism preserves an earlier form of Tantric Buddhism), more or less contemporary Indian texts, and later Tibetan traditions. Even an imperfect reconstruction of this esoteric system seems to provide a place for the Bāyon.

Jayavarman's Triad

The early 1190s was probably the period in which the cult of Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara held sway at Angkor.¹⁰ Before its rise, as George Coedès made clear some years ago, the central element of Jayavarman VII's Buddhism lay in the worship of a triad consisting of Lokeśvara, the Buddha, and Prajñāpāramitā.¹¹ This triad is found on both a tiny scale (fig. 7) and on a grand one—in the temples built by Jayavarman, namely:

Preah Khan (dedicated to Lokeśvara, 1191);	the Bāyon (no dedicatory inscription, but having a Nāga- protected Buddha as its principal image); ¹²	Tà Prohm (dedicated to Prajñāpāra- mitā, 1186).
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It was traditional in Cambodia for images and temples to serve a commemorative function; they joined the soul of someone living or recently deceased (to use imprecise language) to the deity. The corresponding mortals were:

Jayavarman's father (accord- ing to the Preah Khan inscrip- tion);	Jayavarman (surmise);	Jayavarman's mother (ac- cording to the Tà Prohm in- scription).
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It is known from inscriptional evidence that images of this triad had been set up in Cambodia in the tenth century. One of these inscriptions describes Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, as *jina santānakāriṇī*, "begetter of the series of Buddhas."¹³ The notion of wisdom (*prajñā*) as the mother of enlightenment can be traced back, in fact, to the earliest Buddhist "wisdom" literature.¹⁴ If the mother of enlightenment is wisdom, the father is compassion (*karuṇā*). Although this concept seems not to have been explicitly stated in Khmer epigraphy, the association of Avalokiteśvara with

compassion is widespread. The qualities embodied in the triad are, therefore:

compassion; enlightenment; wisdom.

The structural parallels with the womb mandala (or Mahākaruṇagarbha-maṇḍala) of the Shingon Buddhists of Japan are particularly strong.¹⁵ There the deities are:

Avalokiteśvara; the Buddha the Bodhisattva
Mahāvairocana; Vajrapāṇi.

This triad was also known in Southeast Asia.¹⁶ Moreover, in the womb mandala literature (as elsewhere) lies another relevant level of classification—"Buddha families" (which have had considerable importance in Tibet):

<i>padma</i> ("lotus") family, headed by the Buddha Amitābha;	Buddha or <i>tathāgata</i> family;	<i>vajra</i> ("dia- mond" or "cud- gel") family, headed by the Buddha Akṣobhya.
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As noted above, the Lokeśvara-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā triad stands at the core of Jayavarman's Buddhism, but it seems to make no place for Hevajra. The votive tablet (fig. 6), however, does provide some clues. There may be texts preserved in Chinese or Tibetan in which a system exactly parallel to that in the tablet is described, but until such texts are identified, it will be necessary to explore Hevajra's historical antecedents in order to understand more clearly his relationship to the concepts embodied by Jayavarman's triad.

Krodhas, Buddha Families, and High Patron Deities

Hevajra's relationship to the triads of the previous section is at best an ambiguous one, or so three prominent aspects of the deity suggest. In Tibet, Hevajra is what is known as a "high patron deity," the equivalent of a Buddha. Does he therefore belong in the center? He is also a form of the Buddha Akṣobhya and a member of the *vajra* family; therefore, he must belong on the right. In the *Hevajra-tantra*, however, he is an embodiment of *upāya*, or "skillful means"—a quality akin to *karuṇā*. This places him on the left. Hevajra is indeed a deity who was invented—in about the tenth century. In the paragraphs that follow, it is argued that Hevajra nevertheless had a prehistory in another guise, as the hitherto most prominent of the *krodhas*, namely, Trailokyavijaya, and that an understanding of this prehistory helps clarify his relationship to the qualities and deities of the triads described above.

Representations of *krodhas*, “angry ones,” or *vidyārājas*, “kings of magical spells,” may have first appeared in the Buddhist caves of western India as attendants to Bodhisattvas. Evidence of their dissemination from there is suggested by a Nepalese bronze the Los Angeles County Museum calls Vajrapāṇi and dates to the eighth-ninth century (fig. 8); the *krodha* is the attendant dwarf figure upon whose head the Bodhisattva’s left hand is placed.¹⁷ In a later Pāla stele, the relationship of the two figures is similar, but, as the Bodhisattva is Mañjuśrī, the attendant figure can be specifically identified as the *krodha* Yamāntaka, “slayer of death.”¹⁸ The Tantric *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes reference to such a head-touching as a prelude to Mañjuśrī’s order to Yamāntaka that the *krodhas* of the ten directions of space be assembled.¹⁹

In the literature and art of the Shingon Buddhists of Japan, the *krodhas* acquired a more independent importance. The arrangement at the Kyoto temple Kyōō-gokoku-ji (Tōji), where Kūkai, the founder of Shingon Buddhism, resided from 823 to 831,²⁰ appears to be the same as that found, for instance, in a commentary (translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra, 705–74) to the “Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings”:

Yamāntaka (W)		Vajrayakṣa (N)
	Acala (center)	
Kuṇḍali (S)		Trailokya- vijaya (E) ²¹

At the Tōji, however, this quincunx of *krodhas* stands beside a central quincunx of the five Buddhas, on the other side of which are five Bodhisattvas. The *krodhas* are, therefore, the third level of a three-tiered system and, in a sense, attendants to the Bodhisattvas.

Implicit in the west-center-east axis of the quincunx is the notion of three Buddha families or classes—*padma* in the west, Buddha in the center, and *vajra* in the east, where Trailokyavijaya is situated. In the womb mandala of the Shingon Buddhists, *krodhas* appear in a special section (fig. 9), and there, according to the traditional interpretation, the *krodhas* are attached to these same families. The figures in this section are:

Trailok- yavija- ya (<i>vaj- ra</i> fami- ly);	Yamān- taka (<i>padma</i> family);	Prajñā- pārami- tā;	Vajra- hūṃka- ra or Trailo- kyavaj- ra (<i>vaj- ra</i> fami- ly);	Acala- nātha ²² (Bud- dha family).
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“Acalanātha,” wrote Ryuju Tajima, “personifies the authority of the Buddha class, Yamāntaka the authority of the *padma* class; Trailokyavajra the authority of the *vajra* class; Trailokyavijaya is merely the same as Vajra-hūṃkara or Trailokya-vajra.”²³ The function of the *krodhas* is “to obey the orders of the Buddha to exercise their violence against beings difficult to conquer.”²⁴

The capacity for violence does not come easily, it can be imagined, to beings who embody compassion (*karuṇā*), which is closely tied (as indicated in the section on Jayavarman’s triad) to the *padma* family. The tendency arose for the dominant *krodhas* to be those having origins in or ties to the *vajra* family—and capable also of smiting enemies like death and false understanding with the diamond (*vajra*) of wisdom. The womb mandala provides evidence of this tendency. In the Shingon view, this mandala is based on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, in which the *vidyārāja* attached to the compassionate Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is the horse-headed Hayagrīva.²⁵ Hayagrīva appears in the Avalokiteśvara section of the womb mandala, but in the *krodha* section (of fig. 9, as described above), it is Yamāntaka who personifies the authority of the *padma* class, not Hayagrīva. A series of links—with *prajñāpāramitā* and the *vajra* family—suggests that Hayagrīva’s replacement is tinged with *vajra*-class superiority. Yamāntaka’s usual Bodhisattva is Mañjuśrī, who in the womb mandala embodies the quality of *prajñāpāramitā*; he has characteristics similar to those of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi but is distinct from him in certain ways.²⁶ Yamāntaka, therefore, due to his traditional association with Mañjuśrī, does have at least some qualities of a *vajra*-class *krodha*, and in the *krodha* section of the mandala he usurps the position of the natural *padma*-class *krodha* Hayagrīva. The superiority of *vajra*-class *krodhas* is also demonstrated by the presence of both Trailokyavajra, “the *vajra* of the three worlds,” and Trailokyavijaya, “the conqueror of the three worlds.” For this superiority there are ancient roots; the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi himself began life as a *yakṣa* general (*senāpati*) who protects the Buddha.²⁷

In the Tibetan traditions that developed in the centuries following the formation of Shingon Buddhism, some *krodhas*, like Yamāntaka and Hayagrīva, achieved new heights of importance. Others, like Trailokyavijaya, were eclipsed or replaced. In the classification found in the “Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras” by the dGe-lugs-pa (“yellow hat”) monk mKhas-grub-rje (1358–1438), the class Kriyā-tantra has three families: *tathāgata*, *padma*, and *vajra*. The master of the *tathāgata* family is the

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the wrathful one is Yamāntaka; the master of the *padma* family is Avalokiteśvara, the wrathful one, Hayagrīva.²⁸ In Tibet these two *krodhas* became high patron deities, equivalents to a Buddha. In Dragon (‘Brug) bKa’-rgyud-pa tradition, Hayagrīva and the Buddha Amitābha are the fierce and peaceful high patron deities, respectively, of the *padma* family, and Yamāntaka and Akṣobhya are the high patron deities of the *vajra* family.²⁹ That is to say, according to mKhas-grub-rje (in highly abbreviated form):

<i>padma</i>	<i>tathāgata</i>	<i>vajra</i>
Avalokiteśvara	Mañjuśrī	
Hayagrīva	Yamāntaka	

And in Dragon bKa’-rgyud-pa tradition:

<i>padma</i>	<i>tathāgata</i>	<i>vajra</i>
Amitābha		Akṣobhya
Hayagrīva		Yamāntaka

Hayagrīva and Yamāntaka appear in these classifications, but Trailokyavijaya, the most powerful *krodha* in both the Shingon womb mandala and in the companion diamond mandala, where a sub-mandala is named after him, is conspicuously absent.³⁰ There is a simple reason for his absence. Trailokyavijaya, the quintessential *vajra*-family *krodha*, gave birth to new divinities—Heruka, Hevajra, Saṃvara, and others—who became so important as high patron deities that they were almost never classified as mere *krodhas*. In her treatise on Tantric iconography, Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann commented on the formal similarities between Trailokyavijaya and Saṃvara but then hesitated in attaching Trailokyavijaya to the “Cycle of Hevajra” because no text says that Trailokyavijaya is a form or another name of Heruka/Hevajra.³¹ Once it is understood that Trailokyavijaya is the historical predecessor of Hevajra and his equivalents, however, the relationship can be seen in proper perspective.

The *Hevajra-tantra*, in which Hevajra is a supreme divinity and which was not translated into Chinese until the eleventh century, represents a development later than that of Shingon Buddhism.³² It is true, in a sense, that Hevajra was an invention—“evidently a deification of a formula of invocation, *he vajra* (*oh vajra*),” as Giuseppe Tucci has written. “Since the *vajra* is the symbol of nonexistence beyond time and space, it was easy to extol it and to transpose it into another symbol, a representation which could be taken as a support of concentration.”³³ Both Hevajra’s appearance and his importance, however, would be inexplicable had he not

usurped the place and incorporated the qualities of the *vajra*-family *krodha* Trailokyavijaya.

The collection of mandala descriptions known as the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, which dates from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, suggests something of the bifurcation that occurred. Heruka and Hevajra, separated from the old *krodha* class, appear at the center of their own mandalas. The *krodha* category persisted, but it was not as important as it had been. There is one mandala (no. 21, the Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Mañjuśrī),³⁴ however, in which “Herukavajra” appears as southwest *krodha*—a reminder of the level of beings from which Hevajra has risen, but from which he has elsewhere separated himself.

Here a problem arises. If Hevajra, historically speaking, was a transformation of Trailokyavijaya, then a glance back at the triads set out in this and the previous section suggests not only that he is a member of the *vajra* family (which he is) and a form, from one point of view, of the Buddha Akṣobhya (which he is), but also that he should embody the quality of wisdom (*prajñā*). That, however, is not the case. In terms of the left-right distinction presented as

karuṇā (“compassion”) *prajñā* (“wisdom”)

he belongs on the left, not on the right. He actually holds in his embrace a female *Prajñā*, a personification of wisdom. He does not embody *karuṇā*, however, but a related concept—*upāya*, “skillful means.” Compassion is expressed by skillful means when a Bodhisattva creates illusions in order to alleviate the sufferings of others. Because of his *upāya*, Hevajra has more in common with Avalokiteśvara than with Vajrapāṇi.

So if, as has been argued, Trailokyavijaya was a precursor of Hevajra, Hevajra’s connection with *upāya* and his acquisition of a female partner also represent an important alteration of Trailokyavijaya’s character. The whole development would have been made possible by the historical superiority of *vajra*-class *krodhas*, examples of which have been presented. Later Tibetan traditions provide evidence of this superiority. The Dragon bKa’-rgyud-pa Buddhists, for instance, consider their fierce high patron deities (even Hayagrīva) to be forms of Akṣobhya, head of the *vajra* family, but they arrange them in five different families.³⁵ Similarly, Heruka (Hevajra) can serve as the fierce manifestation of any of the Buddhas of the five families by changing his colors and his attributes, though his primary color remains blue or black to indicate his origin in the *vajra* family.³⁶

The Votive Tablet

The plaster impression now in the Bangkok National Museum (fig. 6) was probably made in the 1920s, at the same time objects in the National Museum were being cataloged.³⁷ It is not known where the twelfth-century bronze mold was then or may be now. The figures on the votive tablet are described in table 1.

TABLE 1. Figures on the Votive Tablet

Y3. Nāga-protected Buddha.		
A. Dancing figure with seven visible faces arranged in tiers of three, three, and one; sixteen arms; the feet on a corpse.		B. Figure in <i>pratyāliḍha</i> pose, with three visible faces and twelve arms, the principal arms in <i>prajñāliṅganābhinaya</i> or <i>vajrahumkāra-mudrā</i> pose, and with an animal skin (?) behind the arms and the feet on two corpses.
	Y2. Seated figure with three visible faces and six arms, the principal arms in <i>prajñāliṅganābhinaya</i> (?) pose.	
X. Standing figure with four arms.	Y1. Standing figure with six or eight arms.	Z. Figure in <i>pratyāliḍha</i> pose, the right arm raised high, the feet on a corpse.

A. Hevajra. This image is identical in type to the bronze in figure 5 and to others identified as Hevajra by George Coedès in 1923.³⁸ Coedès's identification is certain because one of the bronzes depicts in the deity's right hands the animals listed as attributes of Hevajra in the *Hevajra-tantra* and in mandala 8 of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.³⁹

X. Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara). Four-armed forms are common in bronze.⁴⁰

Y1. Probably a Bodhisattva. Although not necessarily Lokeśvara, six- and eight-armed Lokeśvaras are depicted at Banteay Chmar.⁴¹

Y2. Probably the Buddha Vajrasattva, as described in mandalas in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.⁴²

Y3. In the Khmer art of the late twelfth century, the Nāga-protected Buddha should be considered a supreme Buddha, not merely a depiction of an episode in the life of Gautama.

Z. Probably the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who frequently appears in this form and pose.⁴³

B. Probably Saṃvara, the Śrī Cakrasaṃvara described in *Niṣpannayogāvalī* mandala 12, although he is usually shown in the *āliḍha* pose, not *pratyāliḍha* (its reverse). If it in fact exists, the animal skin behind the figure would be an elephant hide.⁴⁴

To summarize:

- (A) Hevajra (Y3) Supreme Buddha (B) Saṃvara
(Y2) Vajra-sattva
(X) Lokeśvara-(Y1) Bodhisattva-(Z) Vajrapāṇi

It can be seen that these deities have a structural order like that of Jayavarman's triad. Compassion (Lokeśvara, on the left) and wisdom (Vajrapāṇi, on the right) will bring about complete Buddhahood. The meaning of the steps along the path may not be immediately apparent; the role of the central Bodhisattva (Y1), for example, is uncertain. But the basic structure is clear, and it is reasonable to view Hevajra and Saṃvara as compatible with this structure. Hevajra, therefore, is here a *padma*-family deity associable with the quality of compassion; Saṃvara, a *vajra*-family deity associable with wisdom. Ultimately, however, both belong to the *vajra* family. At the same time, the separate lotus stalks suggest that Hevajra and Saṃvara are also equivalents to and substitutes for the Buddha. The votive tablet seems to reflect a lost stage in the development of the pantheon, a stage in which Hevajra had something of a dual role—partly subservient, reflecting his *krodha* ancestry, and partly supreme, anticipating his future as a high patron deity in Tibet.⁴⁵

Angkor Thom

If the Buddha triads are writ large in Jayavarman's temples, so, in some way, should be the deities of the plaster votive tablet. One possibility is:

	Nāga-protected Buddha in the Bāyon	
Hevajra outside the Portes des Morts	Faces on the Bāyon towers	?

Preah Khan - ? - Tà Prohm

If the votive tablet does in fact describe an iconographic system followed by the planners of Angkor Thom, then the sculpture now in New York may have been intended as an image of some importance. "Partly subservient," because helping to guard the city; "partly supreme," because summing up values embodied by different images. Ultimately, of course, the hypothesis will stand only if some counterpart to the Saṃvara on the right-hand side can be identified. No stone images of Saṃvara are known. It is possible, however, that a

second image of Hevajra—a stele found somewhere west of Angkor Thom—played a role like that of Saṃvara on the votive tablet.⁴⁶

The identification that will dominate the remainder of this article is the one in the middle of the diagram—that of the faces on the Bâyon towers as the Buddha Vajrasattva. The identification itself is not new; it is one Jean Boisselier suggested a number of years ago.⁴⁷ If there is a spiritual path to the Nāga-protected Buddha that originally sat in the central sanctuary, there is also a path away from it, and the relationship between the principal image and the faces on the towers is most easily understood from the latter point of view. Structurally considered, the faces on the towers must somehow be tinged with the protective and martial qualities of the guardians and lords of the directions of space that stood in the same place on earlier towers. The central Buddha, therefore, has projections or manifestations with something of a fierce quality.

Evidence of this kind of relationship has been preserved elsewhere. In one submandala of the Shingon Buddhist diamond mandala, the supreme Buddha Mahāvairocana takes the form of Vajrasattva out of compassion for creatures not easy to convert.⁴⁸ A passage in a Chinese biography of the Buddha describes a similar projection. At the time of the Buddha's entrance into *nirvāṇa*, all of the gods except Śiva came to witness the event. Attempts to force Śiva to come failed. Finally, from his left side the Buddha emitted Vajrasattva, who rose as high as the Brahma heavens, confronted Śiva, and brought about his attendance.⁴⁹

There is another connection with Tantric traditions. In the Shingon diamond mandala, there are sixteen diamond beings (one called Vajrasattva, the others with names like Vajrarāja and Vajrarāga), four of whom surround each of the four directional Buddhas.⁵⁰ These diamond beings also appear in mandalas of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.⁵¹ The Bâyon, in the original plan, had a cruciform gallery in which sixteen of the sanctuaries (nos. 22, 23, 39, 25, 26, 27, 42, and so forth in fig. 10) were surmounted, when built, with reserves of stone where faces were intended. The intermediary sanctuaries (nos. 38, 40, 41, 43, etc.) now have towers with faces, but these are later additions.⁵² The sixteen towers with faces in the original plan may, therefore, have been intended to represent the sixteen diamond beings of a Tantric mandala.

The Matter of Brahmā

There are very good reasons for calling the faces on the Bâyon towers Brahmā or, in local nomenclature,

Brahma. This is the traditional Cambodian interpretation, one preserved, for instance, in the name Tà Prohm ("Grandfather Brahma"). There is also a tradition of Brahma gates in Thailand—a tradition that may date back nearly to the time of Jayavarman VII.⁵³

The Brahmā identification has recently been revived by Jean Boisselier.⁵⁴ Although his arguments have not been presented in full, they appear to have developed in the following way. In the southeast Prasat Chrung inscription, from one of the four corners of Angkor Thom, there is the line, "having at its head the assembly hall of the city of gods, his [the king's] land is like the sky."⁵⁵ George Coëdès believed that the Prasat Chrung inscriptions belonged to the very end of Jayavarman VII's reign.⁵⁶ (Unfortunately, the date of the king's death has never been established.) In a Pāli text, the *Janavasabha-sutta*, a visit by Brahmā Sanañkumāra to this assembly hall—wherein dwell the thirty-three gods of Indra's heaven—is described.⁵⁷ This Brahmā, taking the form of Pañcasikha, creates thirty-three images of himself, one on the couch of each of thirty-three gods.

At some point the scriptural passage became incorporated into mainland Southeast Asian cosmological traditions. In a cosmology compiled in Bangkok in 1802, it is said that when Sanañkumāra (as Pañcasikha, with five topknots on his head) appears over the throne of any *devaputra* in the Devasudharmadevasabhā, that *devaputra* feels great joy, as if a king had received a new *abhiṣeka* and were rejoicing in the prosperity of his kingdom.⁵⁸

The theory, therefore, is that the faces on the towers represent the appearance of Brahmā Sanañkumāra to the gods of Indra's heaven.

Indrābhiṣeka

The argument presented thus far can be summarized as follows: (1) The presence of an image of Hevajra outside the Portes des Morts suggests that there were Tantric elements in the official Buddhism of Jayavarman VII. (2) A votive tablet in Bangkok suggests that these Tantric elements stated, in slightly different language, the concepts embodied by Jayavarman's triad (Lokēśvara-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā). (3) If the faces on the Bâyon towers are interpreted according to this Tantrism, they should represent Vajrasattva (or a deity best known elsewhere as Vajrasattva). (4) At the same time, the tradition that the faces represent Brahmā is of considerable antiquity, and the Prasat Chrung inscription provides evidence for believing that the faces, even during the lifetime of Jayavarman VII,

were thought to represent the visit of Brahmā Sanañkumāra to Indra's heaven.

There is obviously a dilemma here, and in suggesting a way out of it, not every loose string can be tied. It is possible, of course, that an encompassing syncretism was planned from the very beginning. On the other hand, the change in plan at the Bāyon provides evidence not just of a filling-in, but of a conscious shift of intention. The cruciform plan was turned into a rectangular one, and faces were added to the eight small corner chapels (38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49). With these eight and the four (24, 28, 32, 36) at the corners of the rectangle, there were now twenty-eight towers in the enclosing gallery system instead of sixteen. Since it is the number sixteen that can be linked to Tantric mandalas, there are reasons to believe that the faces were originally conceived as Vajrasattva, but with the building of additional towers they became known as Brahmā.

A hypothesis can be proposed about this change—namely, that it should be connected with the “Indrābhiṣeka” ceremony, or Indra consecration, undergone by Jayavarman.⁵⁹ The evidence may be set forth as follows.

First, in the outer gallery of bas-reliefs at the Bāyon, western side, there is an inscription that says, in part, “The king retires into the forest at the moment when he celebrates the holy Indrābhiṣeka.”⁶⁰ Although there is considerable uncertainty about the identification of the historical scenes depicted in the outer gallery,⁶¹ it is probable that on the southern side is shown the Cham naval expedition (1177) and Jayavarman's installation at Angkor (1181); at the southern end of the western gallery, internal disturbances that took place in or after 1182 are illustrated; the Indrābhiṣeka follows; and on the northern gallery the invasions of Champa that commenced in 1190 seem to be depicted (the beginning of what Cham inscriptions later called the Thirty-two Years' War).⁶² Therefore, the Indrābhiṣeka may have taken place between 1182 and 1190.

Second, the Indrābhiṣeka is found in Thai tradition, though it has been performed but rarely. In 1557, for instance, nine years after the reigning king's accession, both an *ācāriyābhiṣeka* and an Indrābhiṣeka were carried out on the occasion of the dedication of a new palace, following the loss of the old one through fire.⁶³ Among the activities in an Indrābhiṣeka is a ritual reenactment of the churning of the sea of milk.⁶⁴ This element suggests a connection with Angkor Thom; the *devas* and *aśuras* flanking the Angkor Thom gates must in some way allude to the myth of the churning.⁶⁵

Third, an inscription of King Kyanzittha of Burma (reigned ca. 1084–1113) refers to a *mud-*

dhābhiṣeka and an Indrābhiṣeka upon “a *pañcaprāsāda* adorned with twenty-eight royal chambers, on a jeweled throne inlaid with stone of azure hue.”⁶⁶ Five (*pañca*) and twenty-eight total thirty-three, the number of gods in Indra's heaven. It is possible that the Bāyon's twenty-eight enclosing tower-sanctuaries, in the revised plan, allude to the twenty-eight chambers of a Burmese Indrābhiṣeka. According to a later tradition, Jayavarman VII had a court brahman from Burma, but there is no specific evidence that it was he who carried out the Indrābhiṣeka.⁶⁷

Lastly, in the passage from the 1802 Thai cosmology, Brahmā Sanañkumāra's visit to Indra's heaven is likened to a new *abhiṣeka*.

The data set out in the four preceding paragraphs enable us to speculate that the change in plan at the Bāyon and the Indrābhiṣeka bore some relation to each other. The Angkor Thom complex took a significant ritual—one that may have been performed by foreign priests introducing new ideas—and made it concrete. Vajrasattva faces were already partly in existence at the Bāyon; in a brilliant feat of the imagination they were transformed into Brahma.

We are still a long way, however, from fitting together into a cohesive story what is known about the religious developments of Jayavarman's reign. A matter of some importance, for instance, is the date at which the change to a quadrangular gallery was decided upon. Jacques Dumarçay has divided the construction of the Bāyon into four stages. He believes that construction began at the start of Jayavarman's reign (1181). The second and third stages are later than most of Tà Prohm (dedicated in 1186) and of Preah Khan (1191). Carving of the decor took place only at the end of the third stage. Steps were taken to change from a cruciform to a quadrangular gallery sometime during the second stage.⁶⁸ In other words, whether the decision was made in the late 1180s, close to the suggested time of the Indrābhiṣeka, or later, after the dedication of Preah Khan in 1191, the archaeological evidence does not really say. But the change of direction must have occurred around these years.

A related but more significant problem is that of the relationship between this “change of direction” and the cult of Lokeśvara. It is Philippe Stern who did the most to isolate this Lokeśvara cult, having as its diagnostic feature the presence of pediments with an image of a standing Lokeśvara. Contrary to the line of argument in this article, Stern believed that there was a necessary religious connection between these pediments and other developments of the period—the tower-sanctuaries with faces and the gods and demons flanking entranceways. “Now—and this is perhaps the most unexpected result of our

researches," he wrote,

this great reform, at once religious and aesthetic, does not correspond to the entire reign of Jayavarman VII. It arises suddenly nearly ten years after his coronation, at the beginning of what we call the transition to the second period of the Bâyon style. If finally the tower-sanctuaries continue to multiply, the vogue—if I dare use that word—of Lokeśvara seems in the third period [that of the decoration of the Bâyon] rather in decline.⁶⁹

An identifiable Buddhist text, the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, provides insights into the nature of this cult of Lokeśvara, popular in the early 1190s.⁷⁰ This was the very time when a decision may have been made about a change in plan at the Bâyon. The argument in this article has made no space for a Lokeśvara period at all. It has, instead, merely suggested that the shift

was from an early period, in which the Vajrasattva faces were planned, to a later period, in which the faces were envisaged as Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra. Should a Lokeśvara phase be inserted into the history of the faces? Perhaps, but the data do not seem to require it. Let us suppose through most of the 1180s a dependence on the triad, in either its exoteric or esoteric aspects; then, a period of religious crisis, brought on in part by the submission of the king to an Indrābhiṣeka, and a crisis that allowed the cult of Lokeśvara to rise to the fore; and finally, a period dominated by the values—however they may eventually come to be defined—of the Indrābhiṣeka.⁷¹

Notes

For their comments on an earlier version of this article I thank Prof. Luis O. Gómez, Ms. Eleanor Mannika, and the two anonymous readers selected by the editor of another journal. I have also profited from the contributions of Dr. Forrest McGill, Ms. Eleanor Mannika Morón, and Ms. Sandra F. Collins to a seminar on the Bâyon at The University of Michigan in 1975 and from conversations with M. Yves Coffin. I must again thank officials of the Fine Arts Department of Thailand for helping me in many ways between 1969 and 1972.

1. For the recent Brahmā identification, see below and n. 54. A historical survey of interpretations can be found on pp. 7–10, pt. 2, of Jacques Dumarçay, *Le Bayon: Histoire architecturale du temple*, 2 pts., Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Mémoires archéologiques no. 3; pt. 1: *Atlas et notice des planches* (Paris, 1967); pt. 2, text, together with Bernard Philippe Groslier: *Inscriptions du Bayon* (Paris, 1973). Brahmā, for example: John Thomson, *The Antiquities of Cambodia: A Series of Photographs Taken on the Spot* (Edinburgh, 1867), pl. 15; p. 67: "Each tower is surmounted with a four-faced Phrohm [Brahmā]." In 1911, Louis Finot, believing that the Bâyon was a Śaiva temple, observed that to put Brahmā at a higher position was to denigrate Śiva. "Mais puisque le liṅga servait parfois de couronnement aux sanctuaires et qu'il y avait des liṅgas à quatre et cinq visages, ne peut-on voir dans les tourelles à quatre faces la traduction architecturale d'un liṅga primitif?" ("Sur quelques traditions indochinoises," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, 1911, pp. 21–22.) In 1925 the Buddhist nature of the Bâyon was discovered. Most Buddhist interpretations have in the past decades depended on one or another of the possibilities suggested by Paul Mus in "Le symbolisme à Aṅkor-Thom: Le 'Grand Miracle' du Bâyon," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1936, pp. 57–68. Mus's statements are hard to summarize without distortion: it is "Brahmā" power that permits the Buddha to perform the Great Miracle and Avalokiteśvara to become Samantamukha ("face-partout") in the *Lotus Sutra*. Jayavarman partakes of the same power; Mus speaks of the "'Grand Miracle' de Jayavarman VII, traduit par une architecture énigmatique" (p. 65) and says, "Dans l'univers, Lokéśvara, à travers tout le Cambodge, Jayavarman, le bodhisattva et le roi sont également 'face-partout'" (p. 68). New perspectives have been introduced by Jean Boisselier in "Vajrapāṇi dans l'art du Bâyon," *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Congress of Orientalists* (Leiden, 1957), vol. 2: *Communications*, pp. 324–32 (see below); and by J. Filliozat, "Emigration of Indian Buddhists to Indo-China c. A.D. 1200," in *Studies in Asian History: Proceedings of the Asian History Congress, 1961* (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 45–48. ("It may be fruitful to seek their [the four-faced towers'] origin in Indian architecture. . . . Similar representations are well known in Nepal and Tibet. . . ." [p. 47].) Illustrations of some of the material discussed by Boisselier can be found in Victor Goloubew, "Sur quelque images khmères de Vajradhara," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 5 (1937): 97–104.
2. Henri Parmentier, "Notes d'archéologie indochinoise. VIII. Modifications subies par le Bâyon aux cours de son exécution," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 27 (1927): 149–69; and "Notes d'archéologie indochinoise. IX. Autres modifications subies par le Bâyon au cours de son exécution," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936): 281–86.
3. Sherman E. Lee, *Ancient Cambodian Sculpture* (New York, 1969), p. 111. George Coëdès proposed that the sculpture was Avalokiteśvara in a letter to Alan Priest at the Metropolitan dated 21 May 1937.
4. Jean Boisselier, "Précisions sur quelques images khmères d'Avalokiteśvara: les bas-reliefs de Bantây Čhmâr," *Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1964): 73–89, esp. pp. 75, 80.
5. Alan Priest, "A Collection of Cambodian Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 32 (1937): 85–86.
6. The Hevajra identification was established by George Coëdès in *Bronzes khmères*, *Arts Asiatiques* no. 5 (Brussels and Paris, 1923), pp. 44–45.
7. I thank Mr. Martin Lerner for making possible an examination of the sculpture in 1977.
8. Bruno Dagens, "Étude sur l'iconographie du Bâyon," *Arts Asiatiques* 19 (1969): 123–67, esp. p. 143 (author's translation). I have been unable to determine when exactly the Hevajra was uncovered. Alan Priest's purchase blank is dated 13 December 1935, and no earlier correspondence regarding the purchase survives (I thank Mr. Martin Lerner, curator of Indian and Southeast Asian art, for his assistance). Henri Marchal was excavating at the Portes des Morts in December 1935, but the Hevajra must have been discovered before then. See "Recherches dans Aṅkor Thom," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936): 619. Other stone images of Hevajra found at Angkor, but not this one, are mentioned by Alice Getty in *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (n.p., 1928; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1962), p. 143. The Metropolitan image is illustrated also in Maurice Glaize, *Les monuments du groupe d'Angkor* (Paris, 1963), fig. 9.
9. Oral communication, New Delhi, February 1981.
10. See below and n. 69.
11. George Coëdès, *Angkor: An Introduction*, trans. and ed. Emily Floyd Gardner (Hong Kong, 1963), pp. 97–98.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 100; Coëdès, "The Central Image of the Bayon of Angkor Thom," *Indian Art and Letters* 2 (1934): 8–10; Henri Marchal, "Principal Works Carried Out on the Site of Angkor During the Year 1933," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1933* (Leiden, 1935), pp. 27–34.
13. Inscription of Prasat Beng Vien. G. Coëdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 8 vols. (Hanoi and Paris, 1937–66), 5:99, 101. Evidence concerning tenth-century developments is pulled together in Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "Studies in the Art of Central Siam, 950–1350 A.D.," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1975), 1:30–35.
14. E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (The Hague, 1960), p. 9 passim; *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*, ed. E. Conze (New York, 1964), p. 146.
15. The best guide to this mandala is Ryujun Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas et la doctrine de l'ésotérisme Shingon*, *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* n.s. 6 (Tokyo and Paris, 1959).
16. Although the Buddha is unspecified, in the king of Srīvijaya's inscription of A.D. 775, for instance: G. Coëdès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, vol. 2 (Bangkok, 1961), pp. 20–24. For additional material on the provenience of the

- inscription, see M. C. Chand Chirayu Rajani, "Background to the Sri Vijaya Story—Part II," *Journal of the Siam Society* 62, no. 2 (July 1974): 292–94.
17. Cf. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection* (Boston, 1966), no. 77, p. 78.
 18. The University of Iowa Museum of Art, Iowa City, *Pala Art: Buddhist and Hindu Sculpture from Eastern India, ca. 800–1200 A.D.* (Iowa City, 1969), catalog by Wayne Begley, no. 9.
 19. Ariane Macdonald, *Le maṅḍala de Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Collection Jean Pryzluski no. 3 (Paris, 1962), pp. 77–78.
 20. On Kūkai and the Tōji, see Yoshita G. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York, 1972), pp. 54–58.
 21. M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1935), 1:144 (the commentary, Nanjō no. 1435 = Taishō no. 994); Takaaki Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art no. 8 (New York and Toyko, 1972), figs. 64–67, 76–79, 82, 110–13, 147–49, 154.
 22. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṅḍalas*, p. 85.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 86. Author's translation.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 84. Author's translation.
 25. Robert Hans van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan* (Leiden, 1935), p. 54.
 26. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṅḍalas*, pp. 74, 106.
 27. Étienne Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde," in *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Chinoises no. 20 (Paris, 1966), 1:113–59.
 28. F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague, 1968; reprinted as *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* [Delhi, 1978]), pp. 103–5, 119, 125, 127.
 29. Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 43.
 30. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṅḍalas*, pp. 211–14.
 31. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'iconographie du Tāntrisme bouddhique*, Bibliothèque du Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie vol. 1 (Paris, 1975), p. 38.
 32. D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra-Tantra*, 2 vols. (London, 1959).
 33. Giuseppe Tucci, "Nomina Numina," in *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, ed. J. K. Kitagawa and C. H. Long (Chicago and London, 1969), pp. 5–6.
 34. Mallmann, *Introduction*, pp. 60–62.
 35. Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā*, p. 42.
 36. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (New York, 1957), pp. 79, 205.
 37. Coedès's "Tablettes votives du Siam" appeared at this time in *Études Asiatiques*, 2 vols., Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient vols. 19–20 (Paris, 1925), 1:145–62. Other articles about votive tablets include Jean Boisselier, "Aperçu historique sur les 'Saintes Empreintes' de la Thaïlande," in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne no. 28 (Paris, 1968), pp. 153–60; and Stanley J. O'Connor, "Buddhist Votive Tablets and Caves in Peninsular Thailand," *Sinlapa lae bōrānkhādī nai Prathet Thai, Art and Archaeology in Thailand*, ed. Fine Arts Department of Thailand (Bangkok, 1974), pp. 67–84.
 38. Coedès, *Bronzes khmèrs*, pp. 44–45, pls. XXXI, XXXII.
 39. Mallmann, *Introduction*, p. 185.
 40. Coedès, *Bronzes khmèrs*, pls. XXV, XXVI.
 41. Boisselier, "Bas-reliefs de Bantāy Čhmār" (see n. 4), pp. 75–79.
 42. Mallmann, *Introduction*, p. 420.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 415; for the Tibetan manual "Three Hundred Gods," nos. 169–71, see Blanche Christine Olschak and Geshé Thupten Wangyal, *Mystic Art of Ancient Tibet* (New York, 1973), p. 155.
 44. Mallmann, *Introduction*, pp. 188–89.
 45. There is a type of Khmer votive tablet, however, in which Hevajra appears in the center of his own mandala. It is well illustrated in an article by J. J. Boeles that provides an analysis which might be revised in the light of the interpretation of figure 6 provided here. See Boeles, "Two Yoginīs of Hevajra from Thailand," in *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, ed. Ba Shin et al., 2 vols., Artibus Asiae Supplementum 23 (Ascona, 1966), 2:14–29.
 46. Illustrated in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925), pl. LXVIB. Also described in Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 143.
 47. Boisselier, "Vajrapāṇi" (see n. 1), p. 330.
 48. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṅḍalas*, pp. 206–8, 211.
 49. Leon Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha* (Paris, 1951), pp. 235–37.
 50. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṅḍalas*, pp. 168–69. On the problem of whether these beings should be called Bodhisattvas, see Alex Wayman, "Reflections on the Theory of Barabuḍur as a Maṅḍala," in *Barabuḍur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. Luis O. Gómez and Hiram W. Woodward, Jr. (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 143–44.
 51. Mallmann, *Introduction*, pp. 396–400.
 52. Dumarçay, *Le Bayon*, pp. 59–60.
 53. On the gate at Wat Mahāthāt, Chaliang, see A. B. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (Bangkok, 1967), p. 11; fig. 9. The massive four-faced stone now at the Chao Sām Phrayā National Museum in Ayutthayā was originally part of a gate on the grounds of the royal palace. See Phrayā Bōrānrāthchathānin, *Rüang krung kao* [About the old capital], Prachum Phongsāwādān [Collected chronicles] vol. 63 (Bangkok, 1936), p. 138 (and cf. n. 63 below). Perhaps the gate was called *brahmasukuta* (or *brahmasugata*): see *Kham hai kân chāo krung kao* [Account by the people of the old capital] (Bangkok, 1967), p. 217. This gate is probably the one labeled on a nineteenth-century map of Ayutthayā as *pratū phrom* ("brahma gate"): see *Chalòm phra rātcha anusāwari somdet phra Rāmāthibodī* . . . [Commemoration of the King Rāmādhīpatī monument] (Ayutthayā, 1970), pp. 132ff. There are gates with *brahma* names in the royal palace in Bangkok (*brahmaśrīvasti* and *brahmasobhā*): see the map in *Rüang rāchūpaphōk lae rāthchathān* [About royal regalia]

- (Bangkok, 1952). The Tusitasāstā gate in the royal palace is surmounted by a tower having a human face in each of the four directions.
54. See D. L. Snellgrove, ed., *The Image of the Buddha* (Paris and Tokyo, 1978), p. 410; and Madeleine Giteau, *The Civilization of Angkor* (New York, 1976), pp. 176, 213.
 55. *sudarśanasudharmāgryā yasya dyaur iva medinī*: Coëdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 4:233.
 56. *Ibid.*, 4:208.
 57. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, trans. T. V. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, pt. 2, Sacred Books of the Buddhists vol. 3 (London, 1910), pp. 244–45.
 58. *Traiphūmlôkwinitchayakathā (Traibhūmilokavinicchaya-kathā)*, 3 vols. (Bangkok, 1977), 3:157.
 59. I owe a great debt to Forrest McGill and Eleanor Mannika, who have pursued the subject of the Indrābhiṣeka more deeply than I have. See McGill, "The Art and Architecture of the Reign of King Prāsāthōng of Ayutthayā (1629–1656)," (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 57–68; Mannika, "The Churning of the Sea of Milk and the Khmer Royal Consecration," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Toronto, 12–15 May 1981.
 60. G. Coëdès, "Études Cambodgiennes. XXVIII. Quelques suggestions sur la méthode à suivre pour interpréter les bas-reliefs de Bantāy Čhmār et de la galerie extérieure du Bāyon," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 32 (1932): 74. Author's translation.
 61. B. Ph. Groslier, who believes that the galleries should be circumambulated in a counterclockwise direction, has written, "Si nous admettons comme l'a montré G. Coëdès, que l'Indrābhiṣeka marque le succès du roi, on a toutes raisons de la dater d'un peu avant 1181 puisque les textes nous disent que ce fut l'année de la consécration" (*Inscriptions du Bayon* [see n. 1], p. 162).
 62. Following Coëdès, "Quelques suggestions," pp. 78–80. He does not discuss the northern gallery, however. For a summary of events in Champa, see Jean Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient vol. 54 (Paris, 1963), pp. 315–23.
 63. *Phra rāthaphongsāwadān krung kao chabap Luang Prasöt* [Luang Prasöt recension of the annals of Ayutthayā], cs. 919. It is possible that the stone head referred to in n. 53 dates from this time, but the chronology of Ayutthayā art is still too flexible to permit certainty.
 64. For instance, H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Supplementary Notes on Siamese State Ceremonies* (London, 1971), pp. 14–15.
 65. As has been reasonably pointed out by Groslier, *Inscriptions du Bayon*, p. 239, where references to the literature on this issue can be found.
 66. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (reprint ed., Rangoon, 1960), pp. 136, 141.
 67. Mangalartha inscription (A.D. 1295), stanza XI; Louis Finot, "Inscriptions d'Ankor, 11," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925): 393–406. It has been argued, however, that this brahman was not appointed until the first or second decade of the thirteenth century: see Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire* (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 236.
 68. Dumarçay, *Le Bayon*, pp. 60, 61, 64.
 69. Philippe Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bāyon* (Paris, 1965), p. 130. Author's translation, preserving Stern's italics.
 70. For the relevance of this text to Khmer Buddhism, see Boisselier, "Bas-reliefs de Bantāy Čhmār."
 71. Readers of two earlier articles will recognize that this article also concerns the relationship of cosmopolitan to provincial cultural change in Jayavarman's empire. But I have reached conclusions in this article that I had not anticipated when the other two were written. See Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "The Bāyon-Period Buddha Image in the Kimbell Art Museum," *Archives of Asian Art* 32 (1979): 72–83; and "Some Buddha Images and the Cultural Developments of the Late Angkorian Period," *Artibus Asiae* 42 (1980): 155–74. In the *Archives* article there is a significant error on p. 82: the Buddha *vimaya* was honored at the Bāyon; see Groslier, *Inscriptions du Bayon*, pp. 90, 223. "Some Buddha Images" has been rendered nearly incomprehensible by faulty references to the illustrations. Correct as follows: p. 156, 1. 23: A.D. 1100 (A.D. 1000); p. 159, 1. 16: or adoptions (of adoptions); p. 160, 1.2 of text: Figs. 12 and 18 (Figs. 11 and 17); p. 161, 1. 27: figure 15 (figure 14); p. 162, 1. 5: 17 (16); 1.7: 15 (14); 1. 19: 18 (17); 1. 20: 18 (17), 15 (14); 1. 21: 18 (17); 1. 22: 13 (12); 1. 23: 11 (10); 1. 24: 17 (16); p. 172, 1. 3: apocryphal (apocryphal); 1. 9: figure 3 (figure 2); p. 174, 1. 2: 21 and 22 (20 and 21); 1. 20: 10 to 18 (9 to 17). The captions of figures 11 and 18 should be corrected in accordance with the chart, p. 160.



FIG. 1. The Bâyon, Angkor. View from the north. Photo by Yves Coffin.



FIG. 2. Bust identified here as Hevajra. Stone. Ht. 52 in.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1935.

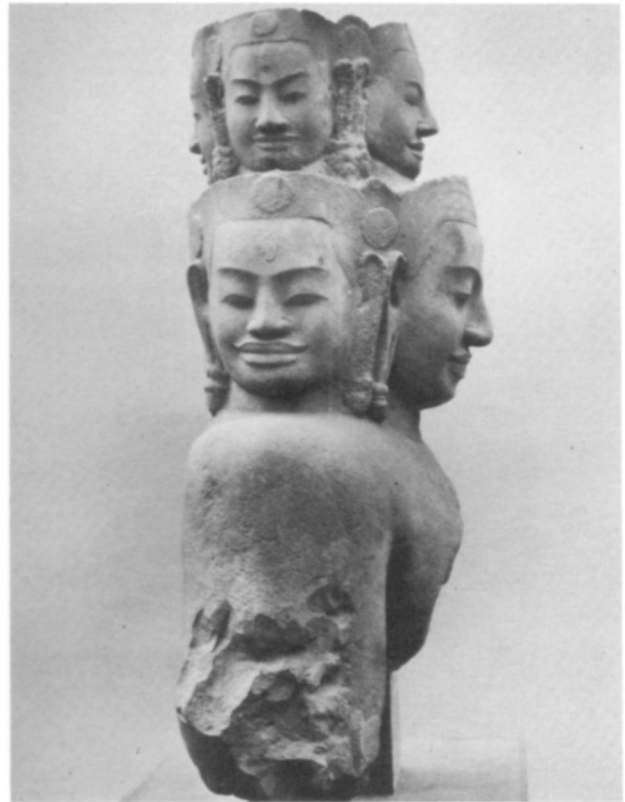


FIG. 3. Side view of the fig. 2 bust.



FIG. 4. Back view of the fig. 2 bust.



FIG. 5. Hevajra. Bronze. Ht. 6¼ in. National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.



FIG. 6. Votive tablet. Plaster. Ht. 4¼ in. National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand. Photo by David Knapp.



FIG. 7. Triad of Lokeśvara, Buddha, and Prajñāpāramitā. Bronze. Ht. 2½ in. Private collection, Bangkok, Thailand.



FIG. 8. Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. Alloy of bronze with gilt traces. Ht. 5½ in. Nepal, eighth-ninth century. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, formerly the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection.



FIG. 9. *Krodha* section, womb mandala. From Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*.

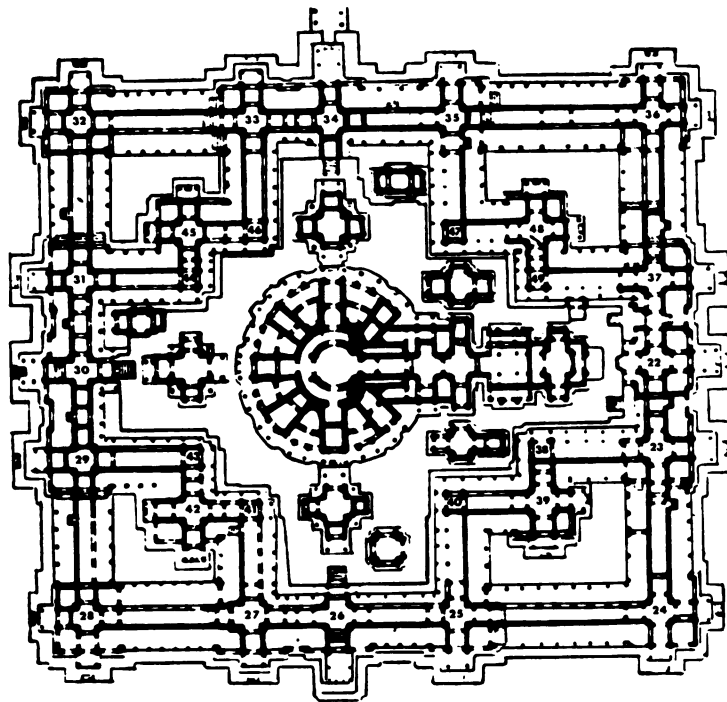


FIG. 10. The Bāyon, inner gallery system and sanctuary.