



The Provenance of Four Sandstone Sculptures from Cambodia

• WILLIAM A. SOUTHWORTH •

This article examines the acquisition and provenance of four sculptures from Cambodia in the Rijksmuseum collection. The question of provenance has become increasingly sensitive over recent years, in particular for art objects from Southeast Asia. A burgeoning trade in the illegal export of antiquities from the region compels museums to determine the history of each object. In the case of Cambodia, many sculptures in European collections or on the international art market have little or no information as to how or when they were first brought out of the country. Moreover, details of where an object was actually found are rare and limited only to a few selected examples in the oldest museum collections. In general, once this information has been lost it is almost impossible to recover. In the present instance, however, consultation of documents held in Amsterdam and Paris has made it possible to reconstruct both the process of acquisition and the exact provenance of the four sculptures concerned.

The vvak in Cambodia

The four sandstone sculptures featured in this article were all acquired in Cambodia in the early 1930s by the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst (vvak) or 'Asian Art Society in the Netherlands'. The Society, which is

Detail of fig. 12

still active today, was founded in Amsterdam in 1918 by a group of private collectors and scholars, with the idea of promoting the study and appreciation of Asian art in the Netherlands through special exhibitions and events. The success of these temporary exhibitions encouraged the committee of the Society to establish an Acquisition Fund in 1928, for the purchase of outstanding examples of Asian art for future display in a permanent museum collection. In less than six months, a remarkable sum of 150,000 guilders was collected for this purpose through private donations alone.¹

In order to use these funds effectively, the Curator of the Society's collection, H.F.E. Visser (1890-1965) and its President, Herman Karel Westendorp (1868-1941), both embarked on tours of Asia with the idea of acquiring important artefacts for the collection. In the summer of 1930, Westendorp travelled to Indonesia in the company of his wife (fig. 1), the artist Betsy Westendorp-Osieck (1880-1968). In Java, he began negotiations with the Dutch Archaeological Service in the Netherlands East Indies (Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië) for the gift or loan of twelve Central Javanese sculptures for display in the Society's permanent collection in Amsterdam. After meeting up with



Fig. 1
Betsy Westendorp-
Osieck and Herman
Karel Westendorp.
Courtesy of the VVAK.

Visser in Japan for a highly successful series of journeys and acquisitions during the autumn of 1930,² the Westendorps returned by ship to Saigon via Shanghai to begin their trip to Cambodia.

Unfortunately, severe stomach pains forced Westendorp to return to Singapore, where he was admitted to hospital. His illness was never fully diagnosed, but the pain gradually began to subside and after ten days he was declared fit to continue his journey.³ He and his wife subsequently left Singapore on board the *André Lebon* on 27 December, arriving in Cambodia at the end of the year. After visiting the Musée Albert Sarraut (now the National Museum) in Phnom Penh, they travelled by car to the town of Siem Reap on 1 January 1931 to visit the famous ruins of Angkor.

Their home during the visit was to be the *Hôtel des Ruines*, situated in the archaeological park near the main western causeway to Angkor Wat (fig. 2).

The Angkor Conservancy

The Angkor region had once been the centre of a powerful Khmer or Cambodian empire that extended its rule from the ninth to the thirteenth century into many neighbouring areas of modern Thailand, Vietnam and southern Laos. By the end of the fourteenth century, however, the empire's power had declined, and when the centre of royal authority was moved to the south, to the area of modern Phnom Penh, the former capital gradually fell into decay. The existence of a great ruined city in the jungles of Cambodia was later reported to an excited European public in the 1850s, and when Cambodia signed a Treaty of Protectorate with France in 1867, French scholars took a leading interest in the archaeology of the region. However, the Angkor area itself was not initially included in the treaties with Cambodia and it was only after a separate treaty with Siam (modern Thailand) in 1907 that French archaeologists were able to take formal control over the long-term management of the site.

At this time, Angkor was already famous for its overgrown, entangled, but eminently romantic ruins (fig. 3).⁴ To help bring some order to the chaos, however, by conserving the surviving buildings and safely opening the area to more visitors, an Angkor archaeological park was created under the supervision of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* or French School of the Far East (EFEO). The Conservation d'Angkor or Angkor Conservancy, initially led by Jean Commaille (1868-1916), was consequently established by the EFEO to manage all archaeological activity at the site.





As the temples were gradually cleared of trees and undergrowth, sculptures were also found and collected at the Conservancy's headquarters and depot. Only a few statues remained intact within the temples themselves, but pieces of broken statues and sculptural fragments lay scattered across the whole site and were often discovered among the roots of trees or under piles of building debris. Due to lack of space, only the finest pieces were brought to the Angkor Conservancy and many of these were subsequently distributed to museums in Phnom Penh, Hanoi or Paris.⁵

At the time of Westendorp's visit, the Conservation d'Angkor was led by Henri Marchal (1876-1970), who had replaced Jean Commaille in the difficult period following the latter's murder by robbers on 29 April 1916. Marchal had met Westendorp and his wife the previous summer in Indonesia, where he had spent four months as a guest of the Dutch Archaeological Service, studying the temples of ancient Java and in particular the techniques of stone architectural reconstruction. Marchal had arranged to meet the Westendorps at Angkor and had agreed to help the vvak in its attempt to acquire some examples of Khmer sculpture for the proposed museum in Amsterdam. The diaries of H.K. Westendorp provide short descriptions of their visits to the various temples and of their later reception by Marchal:

Thursday, 8 January.

Marchal came to collect us at 7 o'clock. We went with him to the Bayon, and now saw far more, including the great faces from close up. The sun was really not yet strong enough for photos. Then to Preah Khan, where we clambered round to the innermost sanctuary. At the Porte la Victoire 2 photos, I think only the last good. Afterwards to the dépôt. Piles of heads, torsos etc. The most beautiful are for Paris, or

reserved for Phnom Penh and Hanoi, but I nevertheless selected 3 pieces – a big head, a piece with 3 heads, and a figure – which I hope to get for the Museum. That would be something!!⁶

Marchal himself did not have the authority to authorize a donation or sale of sculptures, but was dependent on the decision of George Cœdès (1886-1969), then Director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, who was responsible for overseeing the archaeological and museum service throughout Indochina. Nevertheless, Westendorp and his wife returned to the store the next day to finalise their selection in advance of an official request:

Friday 9 January

... Bets and I [had] already walked all around the 'hangar' and looked at the sculptures that stood there. There is a large figure, very beautifully preserved ... I shall ask for it, but probably without success – and so it turned out. Nevertheless, our journey was not at all in vain, because I have been able to exchange the big head selected yesterday, which only moderately appealed to us, for a truly magnificent head, of the highest quality, which would definitely cost 20 to 30,000 francs in Paris. If Cœdès gives his consent – which I do not wish to doubt – then my effort to return to Indochina would be a coup for the Society!⁷

On the following day, the Westendorps left Siem Reap to return to Phnom Penh, but their visit was only the beginning of a long and complex acquisition process.

The Acquisition

A number of letters concerning the purchase of the three sculptures from Cambodia have been preserved in the archives of the vvak, now kept at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.⁸ These can now be supplemented by the internal correspondence of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, currently held in the archives of the

EFEU in Paris. A file containing over twenty individual letters and telegrams detailing every aspect of the sale, many including handwritten transcripts, has recently been consulted there (fig. 4).⁹ It is clear from these documents that Westendorp had come well prepared. Cambodia at this time was a Protectorate of France and part of the wider administration of French Indochina or Indochine française. Before leaving Europe, Westendorp had been given a letter of introduction by his friend, Raymond Koechlin (1860-1931), one of the founders of the Société des Amis du Louvre and President of the Conseil des Musées Nationaux. This letter was addressed to George Coëdès, the Director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi.¹⁰ Moreover, Henri Marchal had already sent a telegram to Coëdès on 4th December to inform him of Westendorp's plans.¹¹ In response, Coëdès wrote a letter the same day to the Governor General of French Indochina, Pierre-Marie-Antoine Pasquier (1877-1934; known by his nom de plume of 'le Gougal'), to tell him about Westendorp's visit and to request approval in principal for his acquisition of sculptures for the Society's museum in Amsterdam.¹² The approval was actually granted by the office of the Governor General on 20 December 1930, while Westendorp was still in hospital in Singapore.¹³

Following his visit to the depot at Angkor, Westendorp sent a handwritten letter to Georges Coëdès, asking in polite and polished French for official permission to purchase the three sculptures he had chosen.¹⁴ This was supplemented on 15 January by a typewritten letter from Henri Marchal, in which he gave details of each of the three sculptures and an additional female torso:

Mr Westendorp has not requested it, but he has chosen it to replace one of the pieces that might be refused, should this occur. None of these

pieces is included on the lists that cover deliveries to the museums or prohibitions on leaving the depot.¹⁵

In February 1931 Westendorp returned to the Netherlands, where he received a letter from Marchal advising him of Coëdès's decision. The sculptures could not be given to the Vereniging, but could be acquired by it for a sum of 2,000 piastres,¹⁶ a price Westendorp considered 'un prix d'ami'.¹⁷ Photographs of the Cambodian sculptures were shown to the Committee of the Society on 31 March. The purchase of the three sculptures was unanimously approved, with a rider to the effect that a request should be made for the fourth sculpture as well. This decision was communicated by letter and telegram¹⁸ to Henri Marchal and sent on to George Coëdès.¹⁹ However, due to the exceptional quality of the sculptures, a further confirmation of the sale was requested from the Governor General, who gave his formal assent on the 26 May 1931. In his letter to the Governor General, Coëdès wrote:

I have the honour of asking you to freely sanction the definitive release of these sculptures, the export of which will not deprive the archaeological heritage of Cambodia of any unique piece, but will contribute to expanding the knowledge of Khmer art in one of the countries of Europe most likely to take an interest in it.²⁰

The final price agreed for all four sculptures was 2,400 piastres.²¹ In confirming this sum and in response to Westendorp's earlier letter, Henri Marchal wrote on 13 May:

I must agree with you that these prices, given the beauty of the pieces you have chosen, are much less than their real value. But I will be happy to see Khmer art well represented in a museum in Holland, alongside the fine pieces that you have had from Java.²²

N° D'ORDRE		DATES	DÉSIGNATION DES PIÈCES	OBSERVATIONS
des pièces	du registre			

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE
D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT
SERVICE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE
CONSERVATION DES MONUMENTS
D'ANGKOR
N° 17.-

Sum. Riap. le 15 Janvier 1931.

RECEVU LE 23 Janvier 1931 N. 1976
PRESIDENT LE 10 1931

Ministère des Monuments

Ministère
de l'Instruction Publique
et des Beaux-Arts

Palais de Louvre
le 28 Janvier 1931

R10
Van der Woude

Angkor le 10 Janvier 1931

Monsieur Coedès,
Directeur de l'École d'Extrême-
Orient.
Hanoi.

Monsieur le Directeur,

Ci. inclus je me permets
de vous envoyer une lettre de mon
ami, M. Raymond Koechlin, que
j'aurais désiré vous remettre
personnellement. Mais j'ai eu la
malchance de tomber malade; j'ai
du passer une dizaine de jours à
l'hôpital à Singapour, ce qui a
changé tout le plan de mon voyage.
Malheureusement, cela ne nous a pas
empêché de voir Angkor après ma
guérison; nous sommes d'y retourner.

de l'école française
orient.
dresser les photos 212b,
dépôt demandées par M. Wea-
cor pour le Musée d'Amster-
de hauteur et
ta n°s 1987, 1988
e à 4 faces dont
n: elle mesure
en avec égale-
mesure Cm38 de
est d'Ankor Thom.
E244 figurant
estendorp ne l'a



Fig. 4
File of letters
concerning the sale.
Paris, EFEO archives.

Fig. 5
Photograph no. 2127
of AK-MAK-228 and 221
at the Conservation
d'Angkor (nos. 1244
and 2319).
Paris, EFEO archives.

The money was not to be sent to Marchal or to the EFEO, but rather to the École des Arts Cambodgiens in Phnom Penh, a college founded alongside the present National Museum by Georges Groslier (1887-1945) for the training of a new generation of Khmer artists.²³ The sculptures were sent in two crates from Siem Reap to Phnom Penh on 12 September 1931,²⁴ before being taken to Saigon on the fifteenth for shipment to Amsterdam.²⁵

The Provenance

Although the acquisition was conducted entirely within the former colonial framework of French Indochina, it is nevertheless hard to be critical either of the intentions of those involved in the purchase or its final outcome. While undoubtedly larger and more important sculptures remain on display at the National Museum in Phnom Penh and at Angkor itself, the four sculptures acquired by Westendorp during his Asian tour nevertheless retain their own significance as part of the early history of Khmer art in the Netherlands. The sculptures were proudly displayed in the new Museum van Aziatische Kunst, which opened in 1932 in rooms belonging to the Stedelijk Museum – the municipal museum of Amsterdam. Shortly afterwards, an article featuring the four sculptures from Cambodia was commissioned by the VVAK from the young French orientalist and art historian Pierre Dupont (1908-1955), who was himself a student of George Cœdès. However, although Dupont's article accurately describes the art historical significance of the statues and their aesthetic value, no indication is given as to where the statues were found.²⁶ This omission reflected the interests and concerns of the time and of the Society itself, which actively promoted the aesthetic quality of Asian art outside and beyond the

boundaries of its specific cultural context. The original archaeological or architectural provenance of the statues consequently remained unpublished and has been forgotten ever since. It is clear from the surviving correspondence, however, that this was not the case at the time of the sale. In fact, the Conservation d'Angkor kept detailed records of where each sculpture was found before it was brought to the depot. This key information is revealed in the internal correspondence, now kept in Paris, between Henri Marchal and George Cœdès, in particular in Marchal's letter of 15 January 1931:

I have the honour of sending you the photographs ...of the three pieces from the depot requested by Mr. Westendorp during his visit to Angkor for the Museum in Amsterdam:

The statue of a woman numbered 2319 measures 57 cm in height and comes from the Prasat Phnom Con Lu...

The piece numbered 1425 is a head with 4 faces, of which one, carrying a figure in the chignon, is broken: it measures 38 cm in height and comes from Ta Prohm...

Finally, the bodhisattva head no. 485 measures 38 cm in height and was found close to the west gate of Añkor Thom.

The female statuette without head no. 1244 appearing in photo 2127 comes from Chau Say.²⁷

This letter reveals for the first time the names of the temples where each of the sculptures was found. One of the photographs mentioned in the letter (photo 2127) is still attached to the file in Paris and shows the two female torsos in the Angkor Conservancy, with their respective inventory numbers added in ink at the bottom (fig. 5). Moreover, the inventory numbers for all four sculptures, mentioned here and in two other letters,²⁸ can be cross-referenced with the archaeological records of the

Conservation d'Angkor, preserved in six hand-written volumes at the headquarters of the EFEO in Paris. Entitled the *Journal des Fouilles*, these volumes were consulted in October 2011 and provide precise details as to where, when and how each sculpture was found (fig. 6).

The Head of Lokeśvara

Of the four sculptures acquired by Westendorp in 1931, three were found at Angkor itself. The first to be discovered was the head of Lokeśvara (Conservation d'Angkor no. 485, now AK-MAK-226) so admired by the Westendorps on their second visit to the depot (fig. 7). Pierre Dupont ascribed this head to the art of the Bayon, a style named after the Bayon temple at Angkor, which was built at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Indeed, it is a perfect example of this style.²⁹ Although earlier stone statuary from Angkor is largely Hindu in inspiration, the sculpture of the Bayon School is dominated by Buddhist imagery, including statues of the Buddha seated in meditation and standing figures of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Known in ancient Cambodia under the name of Lokeśvara or 'Lord of the World', Avalokiteśvara was associated with universal compassion and viewed as the active manifestation of the cosmic Buddha Amitabha, who is depicted in meditation at the front of his headdress.

During this period, an entirely new planned city enclosure was constructed at Angkor, with the Bayon temple at its centre. Known today as Angkor Thom or 'Great Angkor', the city was based on a square plan with surrounding stone walls and a wide defensive moat. Access to the city was restricted to five gates (one at the centre of each of the four walls, with an additional gate on the eastern side), each gate surmounted by four colossal stone faces (fig. 8). According to Marchal's letter, the head

of Lokeśvara was found near the west gate of Angkor Thom (see fig. 2A) and this can be confirmed by details in the *Journal des Fouilles* for 1924, at a time when the archaeological service was restoring the original line of the road leading eastwards from the west gate of the city to the central temple of the Bayon. It is clear from this account that the head was found by Marchal himself:

Saturday, 26 April 1924.

Went with the head Ranger to examine the proposed line of the road connecting the Bayon to the west gate of Angkor Thom. This line leading from the axis of the Bayon arrives slightly to the south of the axis of the west gate.

A readjustment, which will not be visible to the eye, will allow us to rectify the line.

On arriving close to the west gate, at about a hundred metres from it, I noticed some blocks of laterite and several dressed pieces of sandstone, which emerged from the top of a raised mound of earth. – A cordon of laterite was partially visible on the south side, like the edge of a terrace (?) and on the north side, at the level of the ground, a rather beautiful bodhisattva head was found with a figure in the chignon, which I have taken back to the store (no. 485).³⁰

Thanks to Marchal's diligence in recording the inventory number given to this sculpture at the Conservation d'Angkor, both in his excavation journal and in his letter to Coëdès, we can now be certain that this is indeed the sculpture bought by Westendorp for the Society's collection. Moreover, as well as telling us the exact position and date of the head's discovery, the journal also gives some tantalizing details regarding other parts of the statue and the archaeological context in which they were found. Three days after first finding the head, Marchal continues:

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Fig. 6

Journal des Fouilles,
vol. 6, pp. 125-26.
Paris, EFEO archives.

126
Vendredi 12

IP

J'ai abattu un arbre qui marque la
façade du Gopura Ouest de la III^e enceinte
sur la chaussée qui précède le Gopura
et qui se remet en état pour relever la
salutade en uaga. (TAPROHM)

On trouve un peu au Nord de la char-
magala de Prak Khan une petite tête
sans grand caractère. A elle-même a d'ordinaire
et clinquent en pointe qui augmente le petit
dessus de sculpture qui s'avance à presen-
te de cet édifice et qui je résume pour
memoire :

- 1 - le beau corps de femme - fluet - agencouilli
à l'européenne.
- 2 - les mains de la bondelle debout à terre
de laque -
- 3 - le petit Buddha assis sans tête
- 4 - la tête mentonnière la-dessus. (voir* p. 127-16)

Samedi 13

Le Caporal qui entre le bloc à l'intérieur
du passage central du Gopura E. IV de
TAPROHM découvre sous les pierres écoulées
au centre même du dit Gopura une fort
jolie tête à 4 visages - opposés deux à
deux. L'un de ces derniers est cassé et
disparu. - mais l'expression des 3 autres
physionomies est particulièrement fine :
de plus la coiffure en casque cylindrique
porte - au dessus de la face disparue
s'est nettement la figure du dhyanî-bud-
dha Amitâha. Détail précieux qui
précise l'identification des 4 visages
opposés 2 à 2 si fréquents dans l'art du
Pagan avec Avalokitegarâ. (H25)

TP

ca 1425
Lundi 15

Mis une équipe au Barkhen suivant

desiré exprime par M^r le chef du Service Archéologique pour achever le travaux de dégagement interrompus à la base de la pyramide. Cette équipe entreprend d'abord le dégagement de l'édicule en briques A sur la face Est près de l'angle SE que les éboulements ont en partie - A la suite ces remblais d'éboulements autour des 2 édifices A et B ont été égalisés en plateforme et en partie élevés par les boues annamites qui occupaient il y a 10 ans cette portion de l'esplanade à la base du temple. Je fais enlever la charpente (poutres) et les tuiles (également poutres) qui recouvraient l'édicule B.



Bak

Mardi 16

x Suite de l'énumération de sculptures trouvées dans le dégagement de la chambre a gala de Trah Khan: (voir p. 126 - 12)
 5° une stèle avec personnage à 4 bras assis à l'indienne adossé.
 6° une divinité assise à l'indienne sans tête.

P. Kh.

Fait visiter le Depot D. Chikou Tchoum aux 3 peintres suivant:

Depot

M^{me} Lochard (commande par Direction) M^r St. Breccq et M^r Fyca

Mercredi 17

Fait rentrer au magasin les belles statues trouvées dans la Gopura E - IV de Tortolom (voir 126-18) sous le N° 1425

CA 1425

T.P.

Bak

Je fais consolider la partie inférieure de l'angle SE de la tour en brique près de l'angle SE de la base de la pyramide



Fig. 7
Head of Lokésvara
from Angkor
Thom, Cambodia,
c. 1175-1250.
 Sandstone,
 h. 36 cm, w. 20 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. AK-MAK-226;
 on loan from the
 Vereniging van
 Vrienden der
 Aziatische Kunst.



Fig. 8
Carved stone faces
above the South gate
of Angkor Thom.
 Photo: Anna Ślaczka.

Tuesday 29th April 1924.

Sent a team to make some probes to identify the exact nature of the remains discovered on Saturday the 26th near the west gate of Angkor Thom.

We found under a tree, where the bodhisattva head was discovered, the body of the same with 4 arms. It appears after the first probes that we must be in the presence of 2 water drainage channels, which pass under the embankment of earth and must in former times have linked the Bayon to the west gate, We found a completely glazed tile (486) in the excavation pit.³¹

It is naturally frustrating that although the glazed tile was brought back to the depot, no mention is made of what happened to the body. Indeed, its size and the shortage of storage space may have prohibited its inclusion. However, one week later, further discoveries were made at the same location:

Tuesday 6th May 1924.

We found in uncovering the northern extremity of the water drainage channel (?) at A, to the east of the west gate of Angkor Thom, at exactly the same place where the head and body of the bodhisattva were found (p. 163 – 26 and 165 – 29) several statue fragments [including] the hands of the Avalokiteśvara (on account of a book) and a statue of a standing female, but only roughly outlined (placed under the no. 491).³²

These details confirm that the statue was originally four-armed and probably held the standard attributes of Lokeśvara in Cambodia, including a book in his upper left hand and prayer beads in his upper right. Again however, we are left in suspense as to what may have happened to the hands. It is possible that these too were taken to the depot, but no inventory number has been listed for them. Some more, unrelated pieces of sculpture

were found further west on 9 May, together with the remains of five steps (three of laterite – a porous volcanic stone – at the bottom, and two of sandstone at the top) that appeared to mark the southern edge of the original road. Moreover, the remains of two laterite channels covered by flagstones were excavated on the following day at the same point where the head and body were found. This feature was restored before being hidden once more under the surface of the new road.³³ It is clear from this account that the statue was not in its original position, but had been collected (or abandoned) in antiquity at a point where a drainage ditch passed under the road. When, why or by whom this was done is uncertain, but sacred imagery was often ritually buried or discarded in water when no longer in use.³⁴ Although statues of Avalokiteśvara were common during the Bayon period, the quality of the head discovered here suggests that it might have come from the west gate itself, where the central passageway is flanked by an additional shrine on each side.

The Statue of a Woman from Chau Say

The second of the three statues discovered at Ankor was the last chosen by Westendorp, and was originally intended as a stand-by should permission not be granted for the purchase of one of the other three. It is an elegant statue of a female figure (Conservation d'Angkor no. 1244, now AK-MAK-228) in the same Bayon style and from the same period as the previous head (fig. 9). We know from Marchal's letter to George Cœdès that this figure was found at the temple of Chau Say (see fig. 2B), known today as Chau Say Tevoda, which stands east of the city on the south side of a road leading westward into Angkor Thom through the additional gate on the eastern side. This road continues westward until it enters the

open area directly in front of the royal enclosure or palace compound.

Henri Marchal attributed the temple of Chau Say to the Baphuon style of the eleventh or early twelfth century, but the present statue is clearly later in date.³⁵ This is in itself a good reminder that the temples at Angkor often remained in use long after their initial construction, and it is not unusual to find additional or replacement sculptures donated to earlier temples. In the case of Chau Say Tevoda, it is clear that although the temple itself must have been built in the eleventh or twelfth century, it nevertheless continued in use at least into the early thirteenth century. No specific reference to the discovery of the Rijksmuseum statue could be found in the *Journal des Fouilles*. However, as the numbers given to sculptures at the Conservation d'Angkor followed a sequential and roughly chronological order, based on the date of their arrival in storage, it is clear that the statue must have been discovered during clearance of the southwest quadrant of the temple between September and October 1926.³⁶

The Khmer word *tevoda* denotes a tutelary deity, often perceived as a beautiful goddess. In the case of the Rijksmuseum statue, the loss of the head and arms of the sculpture make it impossible to identify the female deity it was meant to embody. Nevertheless, her skirt with flower designs (fig. 10) and the moulding of her body are archetypal for female images of the Bayon style, which show a youthful figure and form.

The Head with Four Faces

Perhaps the most interesting of the four sculptures acquired by H.K. Westendorp in Cambodia is a fine sandstone head of a four-faced deity (Conservation d'Angkor no. 1244, AK-MAK-227). This head is again attributed to the Bayon style, and according to the documentation comes from the great temple

of Ta Prohm at Angkor (see fig. 2c). According to a four-sided stone stela inscription discovered in situ, this temple was founded by the king Jayavarman VII (c. 1181-1219 AD) in honour of his mother, and a central image of the 'Mother of Jinās' or 'Mother of Buddhas' was consecrated here in 1186-87.³⁷

The four faces of the sculpture are carved individually, but with a shared column of hair rising in the centre (fig. 11). The statue was probably intended to face each of the four cardinal directions, but the eyes of each face are closed in a serene, meditative expression. Two of the faces are slightly larger and more finely finished than the others. One of these faces is beautifully preserved, but the face on the opposite side is almost completely erased (fig. 12). This may have been done deliberately, during a later phase of anti-Buddhist iconoclasm or Hindu reaction at Angkor. However, above the lost face, an exquisite figure of the Buddha Amitabha can still be seen seated in meditation on the headdress. This feature was given special notice in the report of the discovery of the head in the *Journal des Fouilles*:

Saturday, 13 August 1927.

The corporal removing the blocks from the interior of the central passage of Gopura E. IV. at Ta Prohm has discovered under the fallen stones at the very centre of the said Gopura a really nice head with 4 faces in opposing pairs. One of these last is broken and lost, but the expression of the 3 other countenances is particularly fine; moreover the hair in a cylindrical chignon carries – above the lost face very clearly – the figurine of the dhyani-buddha Amitabha: A precious detail that confirms the identification of the 4 faces in opposing pairs – so frequent in the art of the Bayon – with Avalokiteśvara (1425).³⁸

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Fig. 9

Female figure in Bayon style from Chau Say Tevoda (Angkor), Cambodia, c. 1175-1250. Sandstone, h. 41 cm, w. 16 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-228; on loan from the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst.

Fig. 10

Rear view of the female figure in Bayon style (fig. 9).

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Fig. 11

Head with four faces from Ta Prohm (Angkor), Cambodia, c. 1175-1200. Sandstone, h. 34 cm, w. 40 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-227; on loan from the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst.

Fig. 12

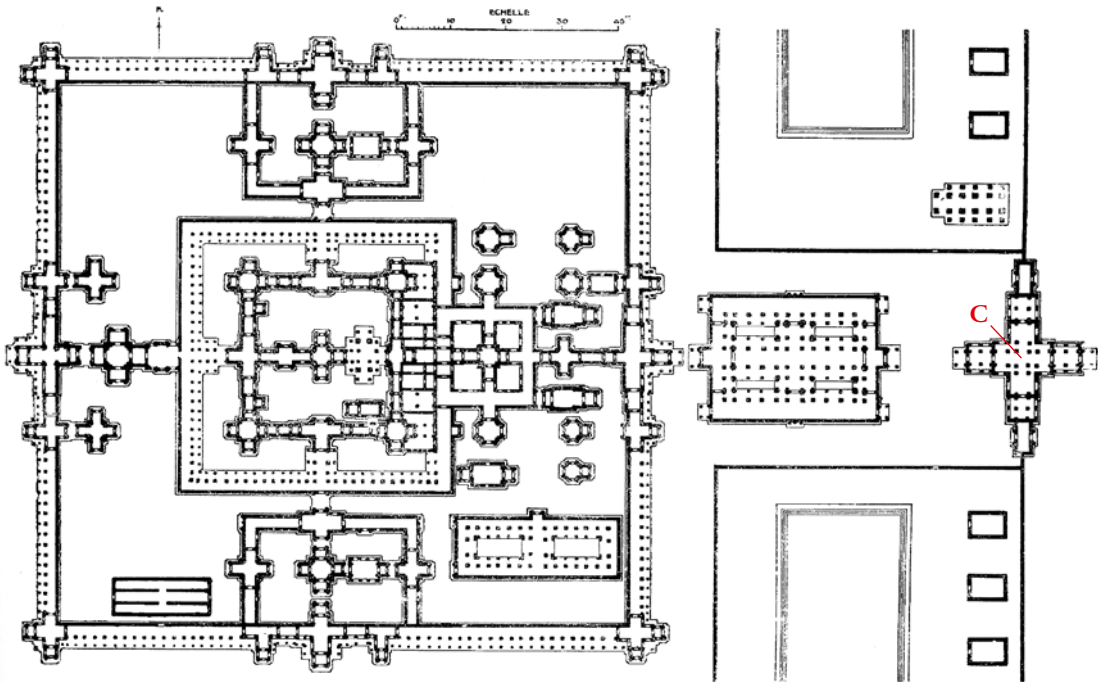
Rear view of the head with four faces (fig. 10).











Pl. XVII — TA PROHM



Fig. 13
Plan of Ta Prohm,
showing the location
of Gopura E. IV,
from M. Glaize,
*Les monuments du
groupe d'Angkor*,
Paris 1963.

Fig. 14
Detail of Buddhist
relief carving on the
eastern *gopura* of
the fourth enclosure of
Ta Prohm, showing
the earth goddess
wringing out her
hair to wash away
the army of Mara.
Photo: © 2010
J.M.A. Eijssermans.

The head was brought back to the depot four days later on Wednesday, 17 August.³⁹ Gopura E. IV (denoting the eastern *gopura* or gateway in the fourth consecutive enclosure wall surrounding the temple) is in fact the main entrance to the whole temple compound (fig. 13C). The gateway is much larger than its western counterpart and is decorated with unique sculptured panels representing Buddhist scenes (fig. 14).

Marchal used the small figure of Amitābha in the headdress to identify the image as Avalokiteśvara, and this association has been followed ever since. However, the identification seems doubtful when we compare the three surviving faces with the first of the sculptures bought by Westendorp at Angkor (see fig. 7). This head of Lokeśvara is of the same style and period as the four-faced head from Ta Prohm and also features a figure of Amitābha in the headdress. The face

however is broader and has a strong, square jaw, while those on the Ta Prohm sculpture are more feminine in appearance, with a triangular face and a delicate chin. It is therefore possible that this statue is of the female counterpart of Lokeśvara, identified in Cambodia as Prajñāpāramitā or the ‘Goddess of Transcendent Wisdom’, who is also sometimes known as ‘Mother of Jinas’.

The surviving faces can indeed be compared to a famous statue found near the temple of Preah Khan at Angkor in 1929 and now kept at the Musée Guimet in Paris (fig. 15).⁴⁰ This statue is one of several images believed to represent Jayavarman VII’s first queen, Jayarājadevi. She was identified with Prajñāpāramitā after her death and immortalized in statues ordered by her sister Indradevi, who replaced her as queen. In this case however, the deity does not wear a coronet and the chignon is lower and conical. Moreover, the figure has only one face. Nevertheless, bronze images of Prajñāpāramitā, identified by inscriptions on the base, have been found in Cambodia with eleven faces, arranged in two or three vertical tiers. One exceptional piece, now in the National Museum Phnom Penh, depicts the goddess with two heads; the lower with seven crowned faces and the upper with four. Only the frontal face on the upper head bears the image of Amitābha.⁴¹ Could the Rijksmuseum head be a fragment from such an image – perhaps even the central image of Ta Prohm? Sadly, no other fragments of the statue were reported when the head was found and we can therefore only speculate regarding its overall appearance and identification.

The Female Statue from Prasat Phnom Con Lu

The fourth sculpture is the only one found outside the Angkor region. It is a female figure (Conservation d’Angkor



Inventory no. 2319, now AK-MAK-221), chosen by Westendorp on his first visit to the depot (fig. 16).⁴² According to Marchal’s letter, this statue was found at a temple called Prasat Phnom Con Lu, which can be located about a hundred kilometres east of Angkor near the great temple of Preah Khan of Kompong Svay.⁴³ Although difficult to access, heavily mined and therefore rarely visited today, the temple of Preah Khan has nevertheless been known to European scholars from the time of the earliest French colonial expeditions.⁴⁴ After the archaeological mission to

Fig. 15
Kneeling figure of Prajñāpāramitā or the queen Jayarājadevi, from Preah Khan (Angkor), Cambodia. Sandstone, h. 125 cm (without tenon), w. 48 cm. Paris, Musée Guimet, inv. no. 18043. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée Guimet, Paris)/Michel Urtado.





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Fig. 16

Female figure in Baphuon style from Prasat Phnom Con Lu (Kompong Thom), Cambodia, c. 1000-1100. Sandstone, h. 40.5 cm, w. 16.1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-221; on loan from the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst.

Fig. 17

Rear view of the female figure in Baphuon style (fig. 16).

Cambodia led by Louis Delaporte in the 1870s, a large consignment of sculpture from the Preah Khan area was sent to Paris and is now displayed at the Musée Guimet.⁴⁵ All these sculptures can be attributed to the Bayon style current at Angkor during the late twelfth to early thirteenth century.

In contrast however, the Rijksmuseum statue appears to be about a century earlier in date. The high-backed, pleated skirt (fig. 17) can be clearly ascribed to the Baphuon style and dated from the eleventh to twelfth century. It was found on the afternoon of 21 April 1930 by the great French archaeologist Henri Parmentier, who had been conducting a new survey at Preah Khan and was staying at the nearby village of Krasang (now called Ta Seng):

I was at Krasang on the 21st to see a new monument in the afternoon, the Prasat Phnom Con Lu, at 5 kilometres North-Northeast of the village; a square laterite shrine, profiled, open to the east, and raised on a rough pyramid. I brought back from here to the Angkor depot an exquisite female statuette, 57 cm in height, of which the feet are missing and the head separate from the body (I 2319).⁴⁶

Unfortunately, the Prasat Phnom Con Lu is only known from this description and its exact location remains uncertain. It may relate to an area located about one and a half kilometres northeast of the central temple (fig. 18D), on the far side of a large rectangular pond or basin that was only fully explored in the early twentieth century. According to information gathered by G. Morand, one of the early surveyors at the site:

The great pond situated on the north side of Preah Khan is called Bang Srê Lek. Following the embankment that extends along the east side of this pond, one can see in the undergrowth a completely ruined limonite building,

with traces of an enclosure and a small structure furnished with a sandstone doorway on its south side.⁴⁷

It was not until 1937 that archaeologists realized that this small shrine, discovered to the northeast of the temple of Preah Khan, was in fact located within the confines of an enormous square, moated city enclosure, with the temple at its centre (see fig. 18). The size and circumference of the moat is even greater than at Angkor Thom and the city of Preah Khan is in fact the largest enclosed area of ancient Cambodia.

Parmentier's account of the discovery of the statue, however, suggests that the Prasat Phnom Con Lu was located even further to the northeast, outside the city boundary. The territory around Preah Kham is famous for its iron production, and the same outlying areas were used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for iron smelting.⁴⁸ The statue preserved today in the Rijksmuseum is therefore an important and intriguing testimony to the early occupation and religious development of this region.

Conclusion

By examining the provenance of these four sculptures, through the letters and telegrams preserved in the archives of the VVAK in Amsterdam and the EFEO in Paris, we have been able to reconstruct in detail each stage of their purchase and acquisition. Moreover, through the original records of the Conservation d'Angkor, it is now possible to determine the precise history of their discovery, thereby revealing their original archaeological context. This information is of more than merely anecdotal interest, because it allows us to re-evaluate the sculptures according to their surroundings and to advance our iconographic understanding and appreciation of the monuments themselves.

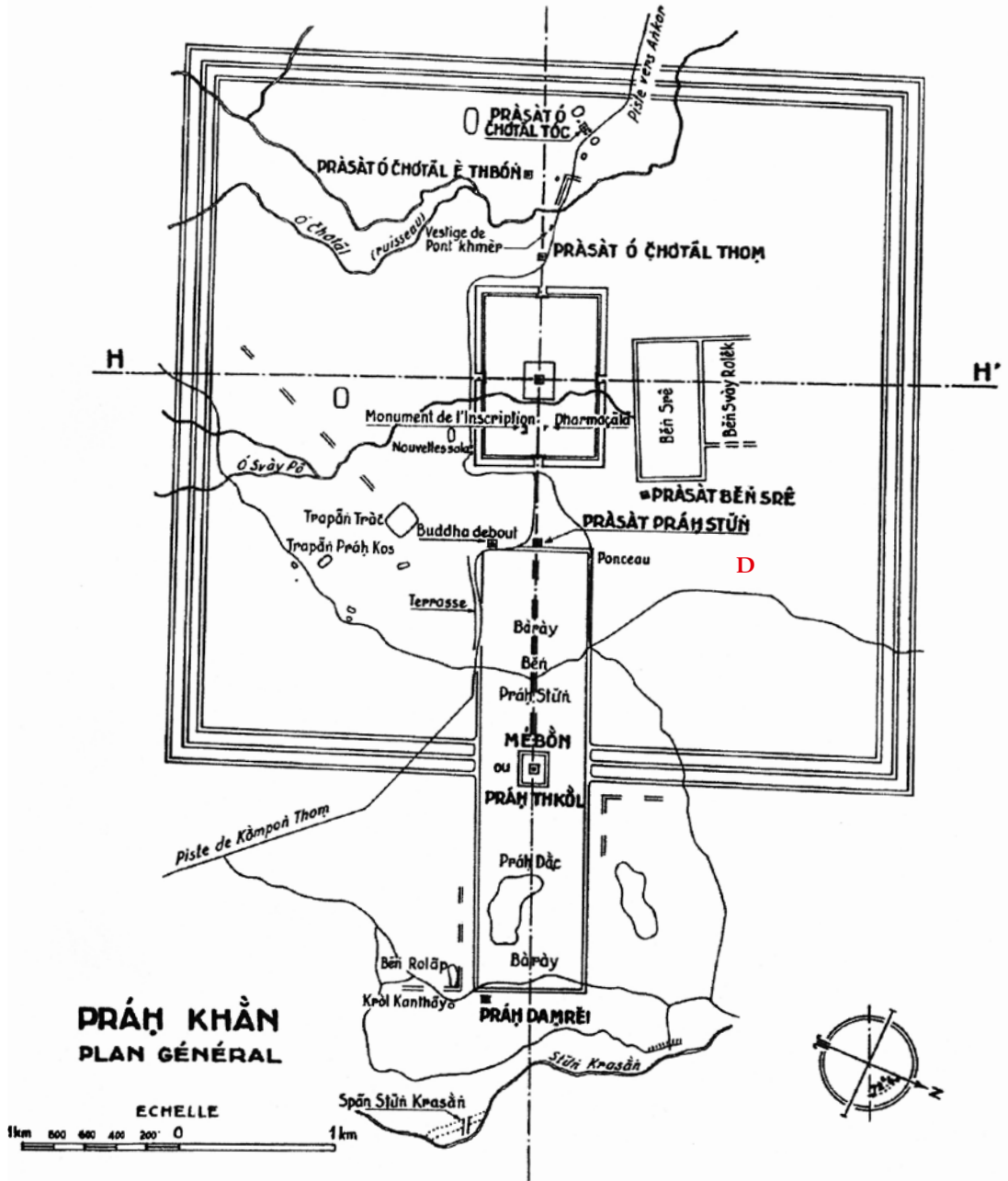


Fig. 18

Preah Khan of Kompong Svay. Plan from H. Mauger, 'Práh Khàn de Kòmpon Svây', in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 39 (1939), pp. 197-220, pl. xxxvii.

Cf. p. 200.

NOTES

- 1 See M. Draak, 'Chronicle of the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst', in P. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), *Asiatic Art in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1985, pp. 9-27.
- 2 This part of their journey, concerning their stay in Japan, has been reconstructed from the private journals or diaries of both Betsy Westendorp-Osieck (see M. Draak, 'Het Rode Boekje van Mevrouw Westendorp', *Aziatische Kunst* 15 (1985), no. 4, pp. 9-12) and Herman Karel Westendorp (see M. Fitski, 'De Blauwe Boekjes van Mr. H.K. Westendorp', *Aziatische Kunst* 38 (2008), no. 4, pp. 39-47).
- 3 These details of their trip to Cambodia have been taken from the diaries of H.K. Westendorp, which have been preserved intact for this stage of his tour of Asia. I am especially grateful to my colleague Menno Fitski, who is currently editing Westendorp's diaries, for kindly providing me with the dates and quotations used in this article. See also W.A. Southworth, "'The Vereniging" at Angkor. Four Sandstone Sculptures from Cambodia', *Aziatische Kunst* 42 (2012), no. 1, pp. 18-27.
- 4 For further information on the photographs of J.G. Mulder, a native of Haarlem, see J. Kleinen, 'Jan-George Mulder (1869-1922): salesman, adventurer and photographer', in J. Kleinen et al. (eds.), *Lion and Dragon. Four Centuries of Dutch-Vietnamese Relations*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 114-17.
- 5 The main recipients of sculpture redistributed in this way were the Musée Albert Sarraut (now the National Museum) in Phnom Penh; the Musée Louis Finot (now the National Museum of Vietnamese History) in Hanoi; and the Musée Guimet (now recognized as the Musée nationale d'art orientale) in Paris.
- 6 'Donderd[ag]. 8 Januari. Marchal komt ons om 7 uur halen. We gaan met hem naar Bayon, en zien thans veel meer, ook de groote gezichten van dichtbij. Foto's, echter is de zon nog niet sterk. Vervolgens naar Prah Khan, waar wij rondklauteren naar de binnenste sanctuaire. Naar Porte la Victoire 2 foto's, denk alleen de laatste goed. Vervolgens naar het dépôt. Hoopjes koppen, torzen etc. De mooiste zijn naar Parijs, of gereserveerd voor Phnom Penh en Hanoi, maar ik zoek toch een 3 tal stuks uit, – een groote kop, een stuk met 3 koppen, en een figuurtje – die ik hoop te krijgen voor Museum. Dat zou wat zijn!!'
- 7 'Vrijdag 9 Januari ... Bets en ik [hadden] al om de „hangar” heen geloopt en de sculpturen die daar staan bekeken. Er is een groote figuur bij, heel mooi bewaard... Ik zal erom vragen, maar het zal wel niet lukken, – en zoo komt het ook uit. Toch is onze tocht allerminst vergeefs geweest, want de groote kop, gisteren uitgezocht, en die ons maar matig beviel, heb ik kunnen ruilen tegen een waarlijk prachtige kop, van den aller-beste kwaliteit, en die in Parijs zeker frs 20 à 30.000 zou kosten. Als Cœdès zijn toestemming geeft, – waaraan ik niet wil twijfelen, – dan is mijn effort om naar Indochina terug te gaan, een bof voor de Vereeniging!'
- 8 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Archive of the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, 3c. Westendorp Correspondence: 127 and 128 (hereafter vvak 127 and 128).
- 9 Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Archives Box IX – G9, 'Cession d'objets archéologiques'; section R.10.5, 'Subdivision ventes'; 'Cessions des sculptures khmères à M. Westendorp, Directeur du Musée royal d'Amsterdam 1930-1932' (hereafter EFEO).
My sincere thanks are due to the directorate and staff of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris: To Professor Franciscus Verellen, Directeur de l'École and to Dr Cristina Cramerotti, former Conservatrice de la bibliothèque, for their permission to consult and photograph the relevant letters in the archives; to Mr Saming Prasomsouk, Bibliothécaire, for help in finding and consulting the documentation; to Ms Isabelle Pujol, Responsable de la photothèque, and to Dr Christine Hawixbrock, Membre associé de l'EFEO, for their kind help in the photographic library. Special thanks are also due to Professor Pierre-Yves Manguin, Directeur d'Études de l'EFEO and Professeur à L'École des Hauts Études au Sciences Socials (EHSS), for advising me on where I should look and whom I should contact in advance; and to Dr Ian C. Glover, former lecturer in Southeast Asian archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology (UCL) London, who first suggested consulting the archives of the EFEO in Paris based on his own successful research there in the 1990s.
- 10 EFEO 3: Letter from H.K. Westendorp to G. Cœdès ('Directeur de l'École d'Extrême-Orient'), from Angkor to Hanoi, 10 January 1931.
- 11 EFEO 1 (no. 247): Telegram from H. Marchal ('Conservateur Angkor') to G. Cœdès ('Direc-

- [teur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient'), Siem Reap to Hanoi, 4 December 1930.
- 12 EFEO 1a. (no. 2763): Letter from G. Cœdès ('Le Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient') to P. Pasquier ('Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine'), Hanoi, 5 December 1930.
- 13 EFEO 2 (no. 4229 sa.): Letter from P. Pasquier ('Le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine') to G. Cœdès ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient'), Hanoi, 20 December 1930.
- 14 EFEO 3: Letter from H.K. Westendorp to G. Cœdès ('Directeur de l'École d'Extrême-Orient'), from Angkor to Hanoi, 10 January 1931.
- 15 EFEO 4 (no. 17): Letter from H. Marchal ('Le Conservateur des monuments du groupe d'Angkor') to G. Cœdès ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient'), from Siem Reap to Hanoi, 15 January 1931: 'M. Westendorp ne l'a pas demandée mais il l'a choisie pour remplacer l'une des pièces qui pourrait lui-être refusée au cas où cela se produirait. Aucune de ces pièces n'est portée sur les listes qui prévoient des envois à des Musées ou des interdictions de sortie du dépôt.'
- 16 VVAK 127, 2: Letter from H. Marchal to H.K. Westendorp, Siem Reap to Amsterdam, 9 February 1931. The *piastre de commerce* was introduced as the main currency of French Indochina in 1885 and was originally a silver coin based on the Spanish and Mexican *peso*. In 1930, it was linked to the French franc at a rate of 1 piastre = 10 French francs.
- 17 VVAK 127, 3, and EFEO 5: Letter from H.K. Westendorp to H. Marchal ('Le Conservateur d'Angkor'), from Amsterdam to Siem Reap, 1 April 1931.
- 18 VVAK 127, 4: Telegram from H.K. Westendorp to H. Marchal, Amsterdam to Siem Reap, 1 April 1931.
- 19 EFEO 6: Letter from H. Marchal to G. Cœdès ('Mon cher ami'), Siem Reap to Hanoi, 21 April 1931.
- 20 EFEO 12 (no. 3079): Letter from G. Cœdès ('Le Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient') to P. Pasquier ('Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine'), Hanoi, 28 April 1931; approved and signed, 26 May 1931: '... j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de bien vouloir sanctionner définitivement la cession de ces sculptures dont l'aliénation ne privera le patrimoine archéologique du Cambodge d'aucune pièce unique, et contribuera à répandre la connaissance de l'art khmer dans un des pays d'Europe le mieux placé pour s'y intéresser.'
- 21 The prices for each sculpture were as follows: No. 485 = 600 piastres, no. 1244 = 400, no. 1425 = 800 and no. 2319 = 600. VVAK 128, 2: Letter from G. Groslier ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École des Arts Cambodgiens') to H.K. Westendorp, Phnom Penh to Amsterdam, 15 September 1931.
- 22 VVAK 127, 5: Letter from H. Marchal to H.K. Westendorp, Siem Reap to Amsterdam, 13 May 1931: 'Je puis vous affirmer que ces prix, étant donné la beauté des pièces choisies par vous sont très inférieures à leur valeur véritable. Mais je serais heureux de voir l'Art Khmer bien représenté dans un musée de Hollande à côté des belles pièces que vous avez eues à Java.'
- 23 EFEO 15 (no. 200): Letter from G. Groslier ('Le Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens') to G. Cœdès ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient'), Phnom Penh to Hanoi, 2 April 1932.
- 24 VVAK 127, 6: Letter from H. Marchal to H.K. Westendorp, Siem Reap to Amsterdam, 12 September 1931.
- 25 VVAK 128, 2: Letter from G. Groslier ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École des Arts Cambodgiens') to H.K. Westendorp, Phnom Penh to Amsterdam, 15 September 1931.
- 26 P. Dupont-Caullier, 'Het Khmer beeldhouwwerk in het Museum van Aziatische Kunst te Amsterdam', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 11 (1934), no. 7, pp. 195-200.
- 27 EFEO 4 (no. 17): Letter from H. Marchal ('Le Conservateur des monuments du groupe d'Angkor') to G. Cœdès ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient'), from Siem Reap to Hanoi, 15 January 1931: 'J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser les photos ... des trois pièces du dépôt demandées par M. Westendorp lors de son passage à Angkor pour le Musée d'Amsterdam: la statue de femme numérotée 2319 mesure 0m57 de hauteur et provient de Prasat Phnom Con Lu ... La pièce numérotée 1425 est une tête à 4 faces dont une cassée portant une figurine sur le chignon: elle mesure 0m38 de hauteur et provient de Ta Prohm ... Enfin la tête de bodhisattva n° 485 mesure 0m38 de hauteur et a été trouvée près de la porte Ouest d'Ankor Thom. La statuette féminine sans tête n° 1244 figurant sur la photo 2127 provient de Chau Say.'
- 28 VVAK 127, 6: Letter from H. Marchal to H.K. Westendorp, Siem Reap to Amsterdam, 12 September 1931; and 128, 2: Letter from

- G. Groslier ('Monsieur le Directeur de l'École des Arts Cambodgiens') to H.K. Westendorp, Phnom Penh to Amsterdam, 15 September 1931.
- 29 Dupont-Caullier, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 198-99.
- 30 Paris, EFEO archives, *Journal des Fouilles*, vol. 4, pp. 162-63; 'Samedi 26 [avril 1924] Allé avec le chef Forestier reconnaître le tracé en exécution de la route reliant le Bayon à la porte ouest d'Angkor Thom. Ce tracé parti de l'axe du Bayon arrive légèrement au sud de l'axe de la porte ouest. Un redressement qui ne sera pas sensible à l'œil permettra de rectifier le tracé.
- En arrivant près de la porte ouest à une centaine de mètres environ de celle-ci je remarque des massifs de latérite, et quelques blocs taillés en grès qui affleurent sur une petite éminence de terre. – Un cordon de latérite apparaît partiellement du côté sud, comme en bordure d'une terrasse (?) et du côté nord on trouve au ras du sol une assez belle tête de bodhisattva avec figurine au chignon que je fais rentrer au magasin (n° 485).'
- 31 Paris, EFEO archives, *Journal des Fouilles*, vol. 4, p. 165; 'Mardi 29 [avril 1924] Mis une équipe à faire des sondages pour reconnaître la nature exacte des vestiges reconnus le samedi 26 près de la porte ouest d'Angkor Thom.
- On trouve sous l'arbre où fut trouvée la tête de bodhisattva le corps du susdit avec 4 bras. Il semblerait d'après les premiers sondages qu'on doit en présence de 2 rigoles d'évacuation d'eau qui passeraient sous le remblai de terre qui devrait autrefois relier le Bayon à la porte ouest.
- On trouve dans la fouille de sondage une tuile vernissée entière (n° 486).'
- 32 Paris, EFEO archives, *Journal des Fouilles*, vol. 4, p. 168; 'Mardi 6 [mai 1924] On trouve en dégaugeant l'extrémité nord de la rigole d'écoulement d'eau (?) en A à l'est de la porte O. d'Angkor Thom, juste au même endroit où furent trouvés tête et corps du bodhisattva (163 – 26 et 165 – 29) plusieurs débris de statues des mains d'Avalokiteśvara] (à cause de livre) et une statue féminine debout mais ébauchée seulement (mis sous le n° 491).'
- 33 Ibid., pp. 169-70, 189. For the recent archaeological excavation of a similar laterite structure within Angkor Thom, see J. Gaucher, 'Angkor Thom oder die Geometrie der Macht', in W. Lobo and H. Ibbitson Jessup, *Angkor. Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas*, Munich 2006, pp. 179-83 (esp. p. 182, fig. 4).
- 34 For details of the decapitation and ritual burial of over two hundred Buddhist statues in a pit excavated at the temple of Banteay Kdei, see Y. Ishizawa and M. Marui, 'La découverte de 274 sculptures et d'un *caitya* bouddhique lors des campagnes de fouilles de 2000 et 2001 au temple de Banteay Kdei à Angkor', *Arts Asiatiques* 57 (2002), pp. 206-18.
- 35 H. Marchal, *Guide archéologique aux temples d'Angkor. Angkor Vat, Angkor Thom et les monuments du Petit et du Grand Circuit*, Paris/Brussels 1928, pp. 139-40. The Baphuon temple and style are generally ascribed to the eleventh century AD, but the present author has argued for a later dating of both from the late eleventh century into the early twelfth century. See W. Southworth, 'The Date of the Baphuon and the Later Chronology of Angkor', in E.A. Bacus et al. (eds.), *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past. Monument, Image and Text*, Singapore 2008, pp. 25-43.
- 36 A note on the transfer of sculptures found at Chau Say to the Conservation d'Angkor is included in the 'Chronique' section of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 26 (1926), p. 510.
- 37 For details of the inscription, see G. Coëdès, 'La stèle de Ta-Prohm', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 6 (1906), pp. 44-86.
- 38 Paris, EFEO archives, *Journal des Fouilles*, vol. 6, p. 126; 'Samedi 13 [août 1927] – Le Caporal qui enlève les blocs à l'intérieur du passage central du Gopura E. IV. de Ta Prohm découvre sous les pierres écroulées au centre même du dit Gopura une fort jolie tête à 4 visages – opposés deux à deux. L'un de ces derniers est cassé et disparu – mais l'expression des 3 autres physionomies et particulièrement fine; de plus la coiffure en chignon cylindrique porte – au-dessus de la face disparue – très nette – la figurine du dhyani-buddha Amitābha. Détail précieux qui précise l'identification des 4 visages opposés 2 à 2 si fréquents dans l'art du Bayon avec Avalokiteśvara (1425).
- The account of this find was also reported among other work at Ta Prohm in the *Bulletin* of the EFEO, but without mention of the location within the temple or the later inventory number: 'A Ta Prohm, on a relevé la balustrade de n[a]gas et un dvārapāla tombés devant le gopura Ouest de la 3e enceinte (pl. XLII, B). Dans le même temple, on a trouvé une tête à quatre faces que la figurine d'Amitābha dans le chignon permet de reconnaître comme une tête de Lokeśvara, ce qui vient à l'appui de l'interprétation actuelle des tours à quatre visages du Bayon' (from the 'Chronique'

- section of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 27 (1927), pp. 488-89).
- An undamaged pediment, showing a four-armed figure of Lokeśvara, was discovered at the Bayon by Henri Parmentier between December 1923 and January 1924 (see the 'Chronique' section of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 24 (1924), pp. 307, 314). It was almost entirely obscured by later building and encouraged the view that the Bayon temple had originally been Buddhist in conception. The identification of the towers with four faces at the Bayon and on other structures of the same period with Loke[s] vara remains problematic, however, and there is currently no consensus on this issue.
- 39 Ibid., vol. 6, p. 127: 'Fait rentrer au magasin les belles têtes trouvées dans le Gopura E. IV. de Ta Prohm (voir 126-13) sous le n. 1425'.
- 40 This comparison was already made by Dupont-Caullier, op. cit. (note 26), p. 200; see also W.A. Southworth, 'Straks weer te zien in het Rijksmuseum. Een gebeeldhouwde kop met vier gezichten van Angkor', *Aziatische Kunst* 42 (2012), no. 1, pp. 28-31. The statue (MG 18043) was sent to the Musée Guimet in 1931 and is possibly the 'large figure, very beautifully preserved' that Westendorp saw at the depot on 9 January. For further details, see P. Baptiste and T. Zéphir, *L'Art khmer dans les collections du musée Guimet*, Paris 2008, pp. 304-05 (cat. no. 92).
- 41 Phnom Penh, National Museum, inv. no. 5333, h. 15 cm. See G. Groslier, *Ars Asiatica* XVI. *Les collections khmères du Musée Albert Sarraut à Phnom-Penh*, Paris 1931, p. 56 and pl. xv, 1; N. Dalsheimer, *Les collections du musée national de Phnom Penh. L'art du Cambodge ancien*, Paris 2001, p. 270 (no. 148). Although this example is seated with a conical chignon, a similar standing bronze figure with a cylindrical headdress, now in the National Museum Bangkok, has recently been published by Piriya Krairiksh. The author associates the eleven heads and eleven pairs of arms with the eleven states of consciousness described in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* and suggests that the image specifically depicts 'the Mother of Jinas'. See P. Krairiksh, *The Roots of Thai Art*, Bangkok 2012, p. 294, fig. 2.267.
- 42 The head of the statue, shown in the photograph from the Conservation d'Angkor (fig. 5) and in the article by Dupont-Caullier, op. cit. (note 26), fig. 1, was sadly stolen during its exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam between 1932 and 1952 and has never been recovered.
- 43 Although known by this name since the first inventory of Lunet de Lajonquière in 1902 (see note 47 below), the temple is today situated in the modern province of Kompong Thom. The old province name is only included to avoid confusion with the temple of Preah Khan at Angkor.
- 44 E. Doudart de Lagrée, *Explorations et missions*, Paris 1883, p. 255 (Prea Kan); F. Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine*, Paris 1885, p. 85 (Preacan).
- 45 L. Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge*, Paris 1880, p. 64. These statues were taken from three outlying temples located on the south-west corner, at the centre and on the south-east corner of a *baray* or artificial reservoir to the east of Preah Khan, namely the Prasat Preah Stung, Preah Thkol and Preah Damrei respectively (see map, fig. 18). The sculptural association with the Bayon style has been underlined by more recent finds; see C. Pottier, 'A propos de la statue portrait du roi Jayavarman VII au temple de Préah Khan de Kompong Svay', *Arts Asiatiques* 55 (2000), pp. 171-72.
- 46 Quoted from the 'Chronique' section of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 30 (1930), p. 222: 'J'étais à Krasanà le 21 pour voir dès l'après-midi un monument nouveau, le Pr. Phnom Con Lu, à 5 km. N. - N. - E. du village, sanctuaire carré de latérite, épannelé, ouvert à l'Est et remonté sur une pyramide grossière. J'en ai rapporté au dépôt d'Ankor une délicieuse statuette féminine dont les pieds manquent et qui a la tête séparée du tronc, de 0 m. 57 de hauteur (I 2319).'
- 47 Reported in E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, 3 vols., Paris 1902, 1907 and 1911 (Inventaire archéologique de l'Indo-Chine I; Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, vols. 4, 8 and 9). Vol. 1, p. 254: 'Le grand bassin situé sur la face Nord de Prah Khan s'appelle Bang Srê Lek. En suivant la chaussée qui longe ce bassin à l'E., on aperçoit dans le sous-bois un bâtiment en limonite complètement ruiné, avec des traces d'enceinte et un édicule muni d'une porte de grès sur sa face S.' Known as the Prasat Srê Lek or Prasat Beng Srê, this small temple is numbered 180 in Lajonquière's inventory, while the Prasat Phnom Chon Lu has been given the modern inventory number of 180.02.
- 48 I am grateful to Dr Mitch Hendrickson, Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Chicago, for this information.