

THE WORLD'S OLDEST PLAN OF ANGKOR VAT:
THE JAPANESE SO-CALLED *JETAVANA*, AN ILLUSTRATED PLAN OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Yoshiaki Ishizawa

Director, Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development

Cambodia and Japan in the 16th and 17th Century

The Angkor Empire, which built grand monuments including those now registered as the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Angkor, came under attack by the army of the neighboring Siamese Ayutthaya dynasty (today's Thailand), around 1431. This led to the fall of the ancient capital of Angkor, thereby ending the Empire's history of 600 years. The kingdom's capital was then transferred to Srei Santhor, Phnom Penh, and Longvek in 1529, and then to Oudong in 1618. Phnom Penh has been the capital city from 1867 to this day.

Recent research has uncovered the fact that descendants of the Angkor rulers returned to Angkor Thom between 1546 and 1576, where they repaired the derelict structures and encouraged locals to move back to the area.¹ Western missionaries, visiting Cambodia around this time, also left documents with details concerning the ancient capital. Angkor Vat on the other hand was turned into a Buddhist temple (Theravada Buddhism) after the collapse of the Khmer Empire, and continues to attract nearby residents as a place of Buddhist worship.

In Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi accomplished the unification of the nation (1590). Following the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Shogunal government in 1603, and around this time Japan received a large number of international visitors including Christian missionaries and international traders. There were active exchanges with people of other countries on board the *Shuin-sen* (vermillion seal ship)² trading ships. The destinations covered most of today's Southeast Asia, where a number of "Japanese villages" arose. Documents indicate that the

¹ Groslier 1958.

² The system was established by the Shogunate to control foreign trade by issuing the letter with vermillion seal for travelling to foreign countries. It was considered a pass for safe conduct and a guarantee of permission to trade.

Pl. III
 PLAN D'ENSEMBLE DU TEMPLE
 ECHELLE 1/500

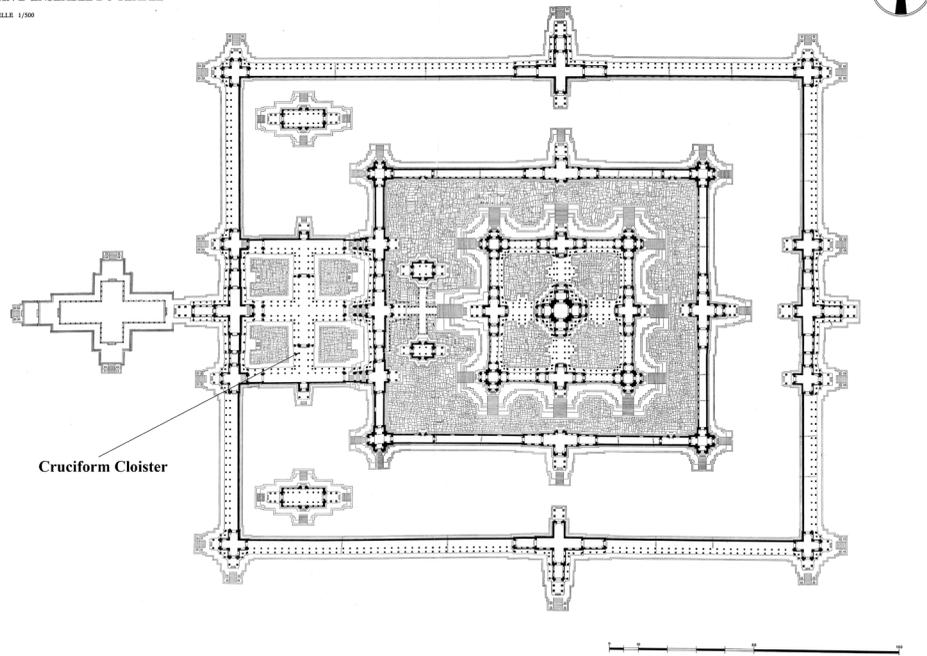


Fig.1. Plan of Angkor Wat (From Guy Nafilyan. *Angkor Vat: Description Graphique du Temple*. EFEO, A. Maisonneuve. Paris, 1969.)

Japanese people of that time thought Southeast Asia was part of Southern India.³

Ink inscriptions by Japanese worshippers are found on walls and pillars of Angkor Vat's cruciform cloister at fourteen locations, and those still legible indicate that they were made over a twenty-year period from 1612 (in the seventeenth year of Keicho) to 1632 (in the ninth year of Kanei). Until war broke out in Cambodia in the 1970s, about 300 statues of the Buddha of various sizes and of the modern age were placed within the cloister.

Age of Ink Inscriptions and the Birthplaces of the Inscribers

Dr. Chuta Ito was the first academic from Japan to make reference to the Japanese inscriptions at Angkor Vat.⁴ In July 1912 when His Majesty the Meiji Emperor visited Tokyo Imperial University, Dr. Chuta Ito made a presentation entitled "Jetavana and Angkor Vat." I shall comment the illustrated plan of *Jetavana* later in this essay.⁵ In the 1930s, three academics, Professors Katsumi Kuroita, Seiichi Iwao and Sennosuke Odaka, conducted an on-site study and reported their findings.⁶ More recently, in February 1958, Junzo Shimizu undertook more detailed study at

³ Nishikawa 1708; Kitagawa 2015; Endo 2002; Nhim 2013; See also Rollin 1968.

⁴ Ito 1912.

⁵ Gionshoja (*Jetavana*) Drawing Plan, Shokokan Museum, Mito City, See Fig. 2.

⁶ Kuroita 1930; See also Odaka 1939.

The World's Oldest Plan of Angkor Vat

Angkor Vat.⁷ This paper is indebted particularly to the latter work.

A total of fourteen Japanese inscriptions remain at Angkor Vat, thirteen at the cruciform cloister and the last on the southern entrance wall of the North Library in the courtyard of the outer enclosure. These inscriptions were written on flat surfaces of stone pillars, directly with ink. It is believed that the stone surfaces were originally painted red, and that the inscriptions were made over the red surface. The inscriptions typically start at a height of about 2 to 2.5 meters from the floor, and end at about 1.5 meters from the floor. I suspect they used a small step or ladder to write the inscriptions.

The fact that they used such a platform contributed to the preservation of the writing, for had they written at the level of the human eye, the inscriptions might have been erased. Given the pillar width of 40cms, most of the texts did not exceed three or four lines. The only inscription of any significant length is one identified as Inscription A, signed Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa (Fig. 3). Most other inscriptions record only the inscribers' nationality, place of birth, their own names and names of those in their accompanying group. We read, for example, "Japan", "Sakai" (present day, Osaka prefecture) and "Higo" (present day, Kumamoto prefecture). These might be considered a kind of graffiti. Following is a list of eleven texts according to the year of inscription, according to Professor Shimizu's study:⁸

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1612 (in the seventeenth year of Keicho) | 14 th day of the seventh month | 1 case |
| Year unknown | Seventh month (date unknown) | 1 case |
| Year unknown | (Month and date unknown) | 4 cases |
| Year unknown | (Month and date unknown) | 1 case |
| 1632 (in the ninth year of Kanei) | 20 th day of the New Year | 1 case (by Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa) |
| 1632 (in the ninth year of Kanei) | 20 th day of the New Year | 1 case |
| 1632 (in the ninth year of Kanei) | 15 th day of the tenth month | 1 case |
| 1632 (in the ninth year of Kanei) | The New Year (date unknown) | 1 case |

The data indicates that Japanese visited Angkor Vat at least thrice during this period, namely on the 14th day of the seventh month 1612, 20th day of the first month 1632, and 15th day of the tenth month 1632. In the last case listed (1632), the barely visible characters indicate that the visit

⁷ Shimizu 1965.

⁸ Only in three cases was information about the year fully erased and unrecoverable.

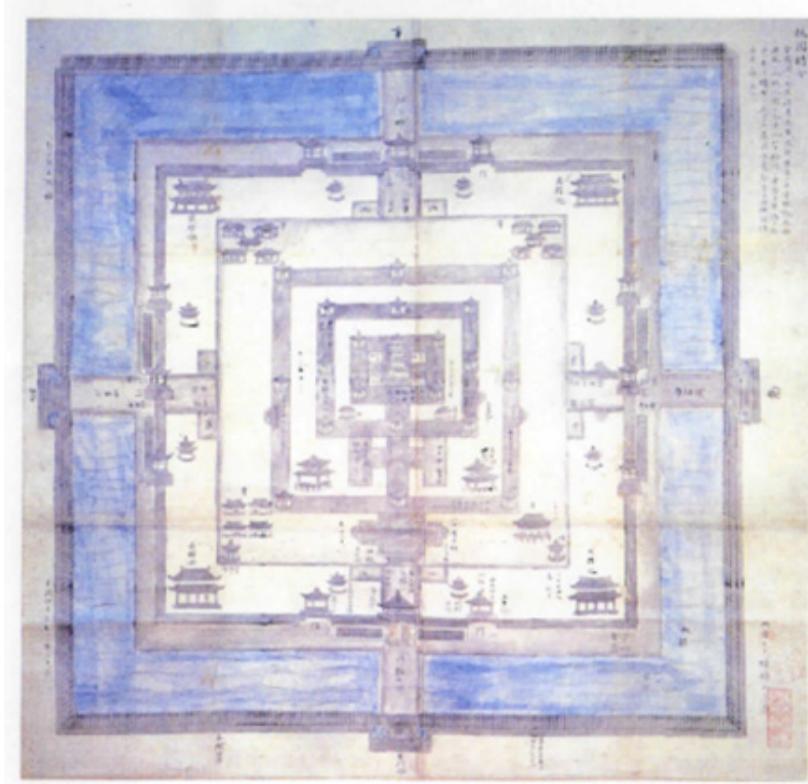


Fig.2. Jetavana Illustrated Plan (owned by the Suifu Meitoku-kai Shokokan Museum in Mito). It is believed that this drawing is a copy made by Fujiwara Tadayoshi in 1715 (in the fifth year of Shoutoku), of the plan drawn by an interpreter called Shimano Kenryo from Nagasaki who visited Cambodia on board a Dutch ship on the mission of the third Tokugawa Shogunate Iemitsu. It is widely suspected that Shimano Kenryo was his alias. This plan is the world's oldest existing illustrated plan of Angkor Vat. Note that the drawing reveals four causeways. (Image courtesy the Shokokan Museum, Mito)

was in January, although the date is unknown. Accordingly there were at least four times visits by the Japanese.

As for the birthplaces of these visitors, Kaemonnojo of Higo in Kumamoto prefecture had the trade name Yasuhara-ya, indicating that he was a merchant or trader who traveled on Shuin-sen trading ships. According to the study of Professor Shimizu the same inscription referred to two people, namely “Mr. so and so” of Higo and Saemonnojo of Hizen, both of Kyushu.

Geographical names found in the inscriptions include Senshu Sakai (present day, Osaka prefecture), Hizen, Higo, as well as what appears to be “Osaka.” Many of the visitors were from Hirato, Nagasaki and Hizen in Kyushu, followed by merchants from Sakai and Osaka. They are only partial records, due to the surfaces having peeled off or having been otherwise lost in some sections. New digital imaging technologies could lead to the further identification of currently illegible sections, or to the discovery of new inscriptions.

Who Traveled on the Shuin-sen (Vermillion Seal) Trading Ships?

“Shuin-sen” were Japanese merchant ships with a vermilion-sealed letter issued by the Shogunal government. The term refers to Japanese trading ships that operated from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, carrying the “Shuin-jo” (vermillion seal) license for visiting overseas. Toyotomi Hideyoshi is believed to have issued the first Shuin-jo around 1592 (in the first year of Bunroku). The method of issuing Shuin-jo to trading ships for smooth international trade was passed on to the Tokugawa Shogunate, with some three hundred and fifty to sixty Shuin-sen ships traveling to various parts of Southeast Asia, from 1601 (in the sixth year of Keicho) to the start of the period of national isolation about thirty years later. The Shuin-sen, typically a seventy to six hundred-ton outward voyage vessel, used the early winter’s northerly wind to travel south, and returned to Japan on the southerly wind in early summer. Their nineteen or more destinations included Luzon (Philippines), Cambodia, Siam (Thailand), Champa (southern Vietnam), Java (Indonesia) and Patani (modern Thailand). A Japanese community was established at each of these destinations, and each community had around seven thousand inhabitants.

Of the Japanese inscriptions remaining on the stone pillars of Angkor Vat, those with known dates, 1612 and 1632, correspond to the period when Shuin-sen ships actively operated. The inscribers are therefore believed to have been those on board these vessels. Many of the inscriptions written in 1612 refer to “Sakai, Japan,” leading to the speculation that they belonged to a group sent by merchants in Sakai in Osaka. Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa, who served the Matsura Clan of Hirado in Nagasaki, is believed to have arrived in Cambodia sometime between the end of 1631 and the first month 1632, and is likely to have traveled on the Matsura clan’s trading ship.

Shuin-sen carried not only the crew required to operate the vessel but also a number of “guest” merchants, who conducted their own trading activities at each destination. Since they were not involved in loading and unloading cargo it would have been possible for them to visit Angkor Vat, for example before the ship set sail again. Yasuhara-ya Kaemonnojo of Higo in Kyushu might have been one of such “guest” merchants. The reference in Inscription No.1 to “nine accompanying parties” might indicate a group of such Japanese travellers.

Yet, we cannot assume that all the travellers were merchants, as seen in the example of Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa, who embarked on international travel in order to pursue Buddhist practice in performing good deeds for the souls of his parents. The travellers included merchants as well as those from families of warriors. This coincided with turbulent times, as for example Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea (1592-1598) and the Battle of Sekigahara (1600). There were countless cases of the rise and fall of warlords, and it was a period of social upheaval. The establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunal government created a class of warriors who had their upward ambitions stemmed. This caused them either to end up as Ronin (warriors with no master) or to fail in fulfilling their aspirations, and some of them gave up on turbulent Japan and

sought a fresh start overseas. A typical example would be Nagamasa Yamada of Ayutthaya, a Japanese warrior and merchant in the early seventeenth century. Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa might have been another who lamented the helpless social conditions of warring times, and prayed for stability when he visited Angkor Wat. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some Japanese people were subsequently hired as bodyguards by local aristocrats and other influencers, or appointed as commanders of the Royal Guard due to their martial arts skills.⁹

Around the same time, Japanese Christians (Kirishitan in Japanese) who were victims of harsh persecution were traveling to Southeast Asia in search of a better life. They possibly built the church in the Japanese town of Ponhea Loe on the Tonle Sap River in Cambodia.¹⁰ In fact at one stage, Christians made up the largest group of Japanese migrants. Those who actually resettled in Cambodia would have had sufficient opportunity to visit Angkor Wat.



Fig. 3. Ink inscription of Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa at Angkor Wat. (Photograph by Author)

寛永九年正月二初而此所来ル生国日本
肥州之住人藤原之朝臣森本右近太夫
一房 御堂ヲ心 為千里之海上ヲ渡一念
之儀ヲ念シ生々世々婆婆寿世之思ヲ清ル者也
為其二仏ヲ四躰立奉ル物也
撰州北西池田之住人森本儀太夫
右実名一吉善魂道仙士為婆婆ニ
是ヲ書物也
尾州之国名谷之都後室其
老母者 明信大姉為後世ニ是
書物也
寛永九年正月廿日

Fig. 4. Republication of the Japanese text of the original in Fig. 3.

Translation

I arrived here during the New Year of 1632 [in the ninth year of Kanei] for the first time. I am Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa from Japan, a resident of Hishu [present day, Kyushu] and an attendant of the Fujiwara clan, of a high rank. I traveled thousands of miles by sea to come to this site, in order to offer four Buddha images in a ritual to

⁹ Ishizawa 1998; See also Polenghi 2009.

¹⁰ Iwao 1995 : 115-121.

cleanse and purify the souls of those living and those deceased.

I hereby write this inscription for the current life prosperity of my father Morimoto Gidayu [present day in Osaka and Hyogo prefectures], who lives in Ikeda in northwest Sesshu.

I hereby write this inscription for her sake in the afterlife of my late mother Myoshin-Daishi [posthumous Buddhist name] from Owari [present day, Gifu prefecture].

20th day of the New Year¹¹, 1632 [in the ninth year of Kanei].¹²

Recently Identified Footsteps of Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa

In 1633, a year after Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa visited Angkor Vat, the Japanese Shogunal government officially banned its citizens from traveling abroad. By then, the *Fumie* (copper tablet bearing an image of Christ) practice of identifying Christians had already started in Japan (since 1628). Until recently, it was unclear whether Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa returned to Japan or resettled in a local Japanese community after visiting Angkor Vat.

In 1993, his fourteenth-generation descendant, the late Kenzo Morimoto (Tsuyama City, Okayama Prefecture), identified the temple where Ukondayu was buried, shedding light on several new facts.¹³ The grave was at Joganji Temple in Kyoto, with a tombstone and mortuary tablet for Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa and his father, Morimoto Gidayu.

- (1) The tombstone carried the posthumous Buddhist name of Gidayu.
- (2) The mortuary tablet showed that Gidayu died on the 11th day of the sixth month 1651, and that the person by the name of Morimoto Sadayu=Ukondayu Kazufusa died on the 18th day of the third month 1674.
- (3) The grave featured a note saying that Morimoto Gijuro, a feudatory of the Hosokawa Clan actually of the Kumamoto Prefecture in Kyushu, visited and repaired the grave on the 25th day of the fourth month 1849 (in the second year of Kaei).

There are several problems with these findings. First, the tombstone and epitaph inscription only feature the posthumous Buddhist name, with no reference to the family name Morimoto. Secondly, why was Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa listed as Sadayu on the mortuary tablet? Why did he change his name from Ukondayu to Sadayu? Lastly, why did Morimoto Gijuro, head of the Morimoto family, the eighth-generation descendant of Gidayu decide to combine the two men's graves and carry out repair work one hundred and seventy-five years after Ukondayu Kazufusa's death?

Ukondayu Kazufusa appears to have returned to Japan during the turbulent times around

¹¹ For the Gregorian calendar, it was on February 28th.

¹² The Japanese inscriptions were found in Angkor Wat by Shimizu Junzo, Shimizu 1965 : 221-265.

¹³ Morimoto Family Tree Investigation in 1990 by Morimoto Kenzo, Tsuyama City, Okayama Prefecture.

the start of Japan's Sakoku (Prohibition of the Seas) policy. Ukondayu and his father were vassals of the Kato clan, but at the time the Kato warlord family was stripped of its status (1632), and Higo (present day, Kumamoto) became part of the Hosokawa Clan. With the government stepping up its persecution of Christians, farmers having Christian faith from Shimabara of Hizen and Amakusa of Higo, staged an uprising from 1637 to 1638 (from the fourteenth to the fifteenth year of Kanei). In 1635 (in the twelfth year of Kanei), the government declared a ban on Japanese ships traveling overseas, and announced the death penalty for those returning from abroad. The Morimoto family, which served the Hosokawa clan, had to hide Ukondayu Kazufusa's history of overseas travel so as to avert any investigation into other members of the extended family, and thereby avoid any accusation of Christianity. It is suspected that Ukondayu Kazufusa adopted an alias and went into hiding, partially as a show of the Morimoto family's consideration for the Hosokawa Clan. Ukondayu Kazufusa and his father Gidayu moved to the father's hometown in the Yamazaki district of Kyoto. Gidayu, who was born in Yamazaki, Kyoto, in 1563, would have been eighty-eight when he died. These historical findings indicate the extent to which people had to hide their history of overseas travel, in response to the country's Sakoku policy.

Who Created the *Jetavana* Illustrated Plan?

The Shokokan Museum in Mito city has an ancient plan of Angkor Vat, entitled the *Jetavana* Illustrated Plan (Fig. 2). The drawing, on a piece of paper measuring 68.45cm in length and 75cm in width, illustrates architectural structures in black ink, and uses various colors including blue for water and yellow for statues. Dr. Ito, a renowned architectural historian, had long insisted that the Illustrated Plan was that of Angkor Vat. *Jetavana* is a legendary monastery in central India, where the "historical" Buddha Sakyamuni is reputed to have resided.

Even before the age of Shuin-sen trading, Japanese voyagers who had heard about the grand Angkor Vat temple complex traveled up the Mekong River, went across the vast Tonle Sap Lake, and walked through dense forests to reach the site. Judging by their sense of distance, they believed that Angkor Vat was somewhere in southern India.¹⁴ It is no wonder therefore that in those ancient days many Japanese people mistakenly believed that Angkor Vat was *Jetavana*, one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries in India. The people, who made the original mistake that Angkor Vat was *Jetavana*, must have been from among the Japanese mariners who sailed the South Seas in much earlier times.

The stamp on the Illustrated Plan indicates that it was owned by Shikundo, which refers to Tatehara Suiken who later became the governor of the Shokokan Museum, and who died on the 14th day of the third month 1823, at the age of eighty. This plan needs further study. Fujiwara Tadayori wrote a note at the back of this drawing in 1772, when Tatehara Suiken was forty-three

¹⁴ Nishikawa, Kai-tsushoko.

years old. We cannot rule out direct contact or correspondence between these two. It is assumed that the existing *Jetavana* drawing plan and the note on the back are duplicates that Tatehara Suiken created, to be stored at the Shokokan Museum. Fujiwara Tadayori's grandfather, Datayoshi, obtained a copy of this drawing plan from an interpreter (?) in Nagasaki, which means it was duplicated at least twice. Dr. Ito's research on this drawing plan drew the attention of French researchers, and it subsequently featured in a research paper by Noël Péri.¹⁵

There is a collection of essays called *Kasshi Yawa* featuring essays of Matsura Seizan the Daimyo regional ruler, feudal lord of the Matsura clan based in Hirado in Kyushu. The book contains his essays written over twenty years from November 1821 until his death in June 1841. Volume 21 of *Kasshi Yawa* contains the following passage:¹⁶

The Daimyo Kato Kiyomasa had an attendant called Morimoto Gidayu, who had a son called Uemon. After Gidayu was released from duty, Matsura Seizan occasionally invited Uemon as a conversation companion. Uemon had traveled overseas and went to China and all the way to India, where he saw shrimps while crossing a river. They were enormous, measuring several Shaku [1 shaku=approx. 30cm] long. He then climbed Mt. Dantoku to visit Jetavana, and sketched the layout of the site. As his descendants, we still retain the drawing plan, although it is only a duplicate copy now.

The passage recorded the existence of the *Jetavana* drawing. Morimoto Gidayu's son Uemon as described in the *Kasshi Yawa*, refers to Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa. In the note for *Kasshi Yawa*, Matsura Seizan declared, "As his descendants, we still retain the drawing plan, although it is only a duplicate copy now." It indicates that the Matsura household definitely had the drawing of *Jetavana* although it may not necessarily have been the original.

Is "Shimano Kenryo" the Name of the Individual Responsible for Producing the *Jetavana* Drawing Plan, an alias?

The origin of the *Jetavana* drawing plan that is preserved in the Shokokan Museum is explained at the back of the drawing. The note at the back declares that in 1715 in Nagasaki, Fujiwara Tadayori's grandfather Tadayoshi created this duplicate copy of a drawing possessed by an interpreter (?). The note continues to state that while the drawing did not carry any date, the interpreter Shimano Kenryo created the drawing while travelling to *Jetavana* in India, on the order of the third Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1623-51). The 1630s was when the Prohibition of the Seas

¹⁵ Péri, "Essai sur les Relations du Japon et l'Indochine", 119-126. See also Lachaud, *Angkor and its Secret from a Foreign Perspective*, 63-67.

¹⁶ Matsura, *Kasshi Yawa*, 33.

policy was finally taking shape, casting doubts as to whether an interpreter could have carried out such a voyage. Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa wrote the inscription in 1632: would it have been possible to make such a trip under the strict enforcement of the Prohibition policy and amidst the confusion of the Shimabara Rebellion? Did Shimano Kenryo actually go to India? The account of his travel leaves several questions unanswered. Furthermore, who was Nanigashi of Nagasaki whom Fujiwara Tadayoshi met? He may have been one of the descendants of the Morimoto family, serving the Matura clan. One of the reasons why the surname “Morimoto” was not mentioned, could perhaps be the fact that Tadayoshi did not refer to the name on purpose.

The *Kasshi Yawa* points to several interesting historical facts. First, it makes it clear that Ukondayu Kazufusa accomplished the mission of visiting the site, returned to Japan, and continued serving the Matura clan. Second, there is a question as to whether a person by the name of Shimano Kenryo actually existed as an interpreter in Nagasaki at that time. Close examination of miscellaneous historical documents failed to discover any reference. Third, who were Fujiwara Tadayoshi and Fujiwara Tadayori? These two people mentioned in the note at the back of the *Jetavana* drawing ostensibly made by Shimano Kenryo, are thought to have been magistrates of Nagasaki or someone in similar positions. Yet, their names do not appear in any document. They may have been local civil servants. Fourth, the bottom-right corner of the *Jetavana* drawing has a note stating, “From here to the passage to Mt. Dantoku (*Jetavana* = Angkor Vat).” Let me point out that the *Kasshi Yawa* has a reference to Uemon climbing Mt. Dantoku to visit *Jetavana*. This is not mentioned at the back of the drawing. Furthermore, the author clearly declared his intention of “drawing the layout of the temple and taking it home.” In addition, the recent discovery of Ukondayu Kazufusa’s grave finally clarified the fact that he returned to Japan and died in 1674. I introduce here decisive proof of these historical facts. The references by the *Kasshi Yawa* present a credible record of substantiated historical facts. When the note at the drawing’s bottom right corner is compared to the one at the back, the existence of Fujiwara Tadayoshi and Fujiwara Tadayori becomes questionable. If that is the case, it is highly likely that Shimano Kenryo was someone’s alias, rather than the name of a person who truly existed.

Conclusion: Observations and Issues Concerning the Morimoto Family’s Historical Reference Materials

This study has raised several questions, and our future task lies in trying to answer them. In addition, a number of new discoveries and fresh considerations have been presented.

- (1) Information from the Joganji Temple in Kyoto has identified anew the years when Ukondayu Kazufusa and his father Gidayu died (namely 1674 and 1651 respectively). The discovery of their grave and mortuary tablet has uncovered several historical facts,

- including the fact that Ukondayu Kazufusa had returned to Japan.¹⁷
- (2) Why has the tombstone at the Joganji Temple in Kyoto not carried their surname of Morimoto? The surname of the deceased is normally included in the tombstone. The “Morimoto Sadayu”, mentioned in the mortuary tablet at the Joganji Temple refers to Morimoto Ukondayu Kazufusa. This is a new historical discovery.
 - (3) Is it possible to prove that Morimoto Sadayu and Morimoto Ukondayu are the same individual?
 - (4) Is it safe to assume that reference to the “great grandfather Ukondayu” was deliberately removed from the *Hosokawa Clan Samurai Register* for fear of persecution due to his overseas travel record?
 - (5) Why did Morimoto Gijuro, vassal of the Hosokawa clan, go to Kyoto in 1849 and combine the graves for Gidayu and Sadayu? What was the reason behind it?
 - (6) According to the *Kasshi Yawa*, Uemon (Ukondayu) visited Angkor Vat before returning to Japan to continue serving the Matura clan. Based on this information, does not the reference to Uemon “sketching the layout” indicate that the *Jetavana* drawing plan was the work of Ukondayu?
 - (7) The note at the back of the drawing is supposed to have been written by Fujiwara Tadayoshi and Fujiwara Tadayori, although their identities are unclear. The identity of the interpreter Shimano Kenryo referred to in the note, is also unclear. Are these aliases? If so, whose aliases are they?¹⁸
 - (8) The note at the bottom right corner of the *Jetavana* drawing plan corresponds to the content of the *Kasshi Yawa*. What does this mean? Does this not reinforce the link to Uemon, who appears in the *Kasshi Yawa*?

Ukondayu’s visit of Angkor Vat led to a series of events. While not all of them are clarified, we can now have a general overview:

- (A) The introduction of the Sakoku national isolation policy and subsequently intensified persecution forced him to hide his history of overseas travel.
- (B) Ukondayu himself could have been subjected to the *Fumie* (copper tablet bearing an image of Christ) and other social punishments.
- (C) If his history of overseas travel had become public, it could have caused trouble for Ukondayu who was serving the Matura clan, as also for the Morimoto family, which

¹⁷ Ishizawa 2014 : 11-35.

¹⁸ With reference to Noël Péri, Groslier mentions that “This is a copy, dated 1715, with an anonymous manuscript note attributing the original to Shimano Kenryô, an interpreter in Nagasaki, sent on a pilgrimage to the holy Buddhist sites by Iyemitsu, the third Tokugawa Shogun. Shimano Kenryô is incidentally known... Shimano Kenryô set sail on a Dutch vessel and landed in Cambodia, which he thought was the site of Magadha. He visited Angkor and identified Angkor Wat, drew a plan of it, making the *Jetavana*...” (Cf. Groslier 2006 : 98-99; See also Groslier 1958 : 128-129).

held government positions in Kumamoto, as well as the Hosokawa clan, which the Morimoto family members served.

- (D) It was for this reason that Ukondayu changed his name. On his death, his grave only carried his posthumous name. His descendants erased his existence from the family tree and ensured that the surname “Morimoto” did not appear on his tombstone, in an effort to hide the fact that the family had a person who had traveled overseas.
- (E) Despite this move, the *Kasshi Yawa*, published in the 1820s, included a reference to Ukondayu’s visit to Angkor Vat. In more recent times, a joint grave of Gidayu and Ukondayu has been discovered.
- (F) The direct descendants of the Morimoto family rebuilt the grave and mortuary tablet (still showing Ukondayu’s alias) in 1849. Repair work was carried out on the tombstone and mortuary tablet in Kyoto one hundred and seventy-five years after his death. It was some two hundred years after Japan’s Sakoku Prohibition policy, and the family may have thought that they no longer needed to hide his existence.
- (G) If the name of the person responsible for the *Jetavana* drawing, Shimano Kenryo, was an alias, could the alias have referred to Ukondayu? Is it possible to substantiate this theory with the note at the bottom right corner of the *Jetavana* drawing plan with content identical to the description in the *Kasshi Yawa*?

In any event, the Japanese inscriptions left on the stone pillars of Angkor Vat uncovered commercial activities and frequent exchanges of people between Japan and Cambodia in the seventeenth century. The true intentions behind those Japanese inscriptions are unclear, but those who wrote them must have consolidated their religious faith with their visit, falsely believing that Cambodia was the land of *Jetavana*. Japanese people in those days respected Cambodia as the land of *Jetavana* and engaged in exchange based on shared Buddhist practices, in addition to pursuing links through commercial activities. The inscriptions are the only recorded proof of this bilateral exchange.

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ABSTRACT

The World's Oldest Plan of Angkor Vat: The Japanese so-called Jetavana, an Illustrated Plan of the Seventeenth Century

Yoshiaki Ishizawa

This article takes a new look at the oldest known map of 12th-century Angkor Wat temple, a Japanese ink and watercolor document dated to the early 18th century but thought to be a reproduction of a 17th-century original. The essay synthesizes and analyzes a range of old and new research in Japanese, French and English on the circumstances in which the map was produced, including consideration of the specific historical figures associated with the map itself and other Japanese legacies from this period at Angkor Wat and elsewhere in Cambodia, as well as the broader historical context in which the encounter that produced the map took place. As the life of the map itself is traced so are the lives of the men who left it and other traces of their presence at Angkor Wat.

RÉSUMÉ

Le plus ancien plan d'Angkor Vat : le soi-disant Jetavana, un plan japonais illustré du 17^{ème} siècle

Yoshiaki Ishizawa

L'article propose un regard nouveau sur le plus ancien plan d'Angkor Vat, temple du 12^{ème} siècle, dessiné en encre japonaise et en aquarelle au début du 18^{ème} siècle, supposé être cependant une reproduction d'un original du 17^{ème}. Il analyse une série de publications en japonais, français et anglais, anciennes et récentes, et en fait une synthèse pour tenter de dégager les circonstances dans lesquelles le plan a été dressé. Il prend en considération les figures historiques concernées par ce plan, et aussi d'autres vestiges japonais de cette période à Angkor Vat et ailleurs au Cambodge, dans un plus ample contexte historique où le plan est né. De même que la pérégrination du plan est retracée, de même sont retracées celles des hommes qui nous l'ont légué tout comme d'autres empreintes qu'ils ont laissées à Angkor Vat.

សង្ខេប

**ប្លង់អង្គរវត្តរបស់ជប៉ុនដែលចាស់ជាងគេលើលោក : ប្លង់គូរលោស.វ.ទី១៧
ដែលគេអះអាងថាជាប្លង់វត្តជេតពាន**

Yoshiaki Ishizawa

អត្ថបទនេះពិនិត្យជាថ្មីឡើងវិញទៅលើប្លង់ប្រាសាទអង្គរវត្ត ដែលសាងនៅស.វ.ទី១២។ ប្លង់ដែលគូរនឹងទឹកខ្មៅជប៉ុនហើយផាត់ពណ៌នេះ ធ្វើឡើងនៅដើមស.វ.ទី១៨ ប៉ុន្តែគេជឿថាចម្លងពីប្លង់ដើមមួយទៀត គូរនៅស.វ.ទី១៧។ អ្នកនិពន្ធព្យាយាមធ្វើវិភាគព្រមទាំងសំយោគលើការសិក្សាថ្មីនិងចាស់ទាំងប៉ុន្មានជាភាសាជប៉ុន, បារាំង, និងអង់គ្លេសដែលមានមក ដើម្បីឱ្យឃើញច្បាស់ពីទេសកាលដែលប្លង់នោះកើតឡើង។ ជាមួយគ្នានេះមានការពិចារណាលើមនុស្សនិងស្លាកស្នាមជប៉ុននានាដែលទាក់ទងផ្ទាល់ ឬត្រឹមតែជាប្រយោលនិងប្លង់នេះដែរ។ នេះជាការតាមដានបកស្រាយទៅរកកំណើតប្លង់ប្រាសាទផង ព្រមទាំងស្លាកស្នាមផ្សេងៗនៃអ្នកដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធជាមួយនៅអង្គរវត្ត។

